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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 continously, 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

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I take this opportunity to commemorate Prof. Dr. Sencer Şahin, my late supervisor, who first offered me the opportunity to work on this inscription for my PhD and who provided continuing and invaluable support during the completion of my thesis and subsequent book. He gave his greatest support that a scholar could ever do for his student, by making me work on this inscription. My indebtedness towards him is not only for this inscription but also for all kinds of support he provided during my academic career. I am grateful to Dennis Feissel, who kindly shared his observations on many restorations in the Greek text and on the commentary, Philip Rance and Hugh Elton for their important remarks, which improved both text and commentary. The other people whom I thank and should name are: Metin Pehlivaner, Akan Atilla, Ayşe Korkut, the late Prof. Ihor Ševčenko, Elizabeth Harrison, Roger Tomlin, James Howard Johnston, Cyril Mango, Michael Whitby, Peter Thonemann, A. Vedat Çelgin, Christos Malatras, Burak Takmer, Mehmet Alkan, Mehmet Oktan, Nurşah Çokbankir; I should also thank the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations at Koç University for hosting me in my research and the Turkish Science Academy for the award given within the programme of "Young Scientist Awards (BAGEP)". Finally, I appreciate T. Michael P. Duggan and Francis Hagan for polishing the English of this paper and for their remarks.

[1] İnan 1983, 17-18.

[2] Şahin 1988, 255-256; cf. Mitchell 1990, 120; Brandt 1992, 197-198.

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 author[4], 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.

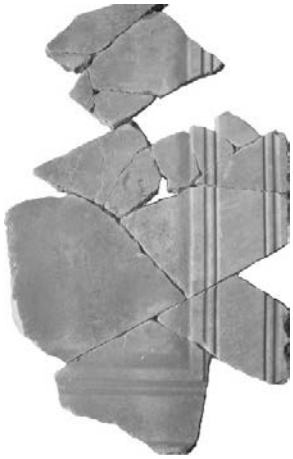


Fig. 1) *Detail from the reverse face of the Slab A*



Fig. 2) *Reverse face of the Slab C*

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 parpets) 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

[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 E 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 cursive form (Fig. 3d).



a) *Angular alpha* b) *Rho* c) *Phi* d) *Omega*

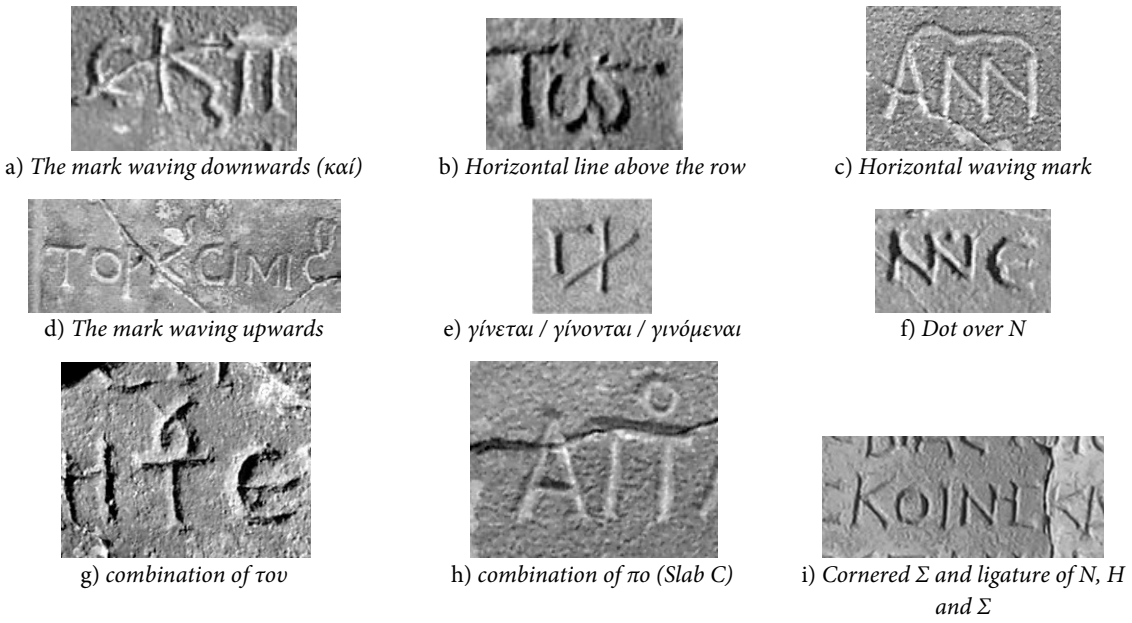
Fig. 3) *Some letters of the inscription*

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 occurences. 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✝ (Fig. 4e), a sign which can also be observed on papyri.[9] 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 occurences of Σ, where it was cornered (Fig. 4i). In addition to these common uses, ϐ is often used to combine the diphthong of OY, sometimes this combination is placed over T to derive του (Fig. 4g). In Slab C, O is placed over Π to form ἀπό (Fig. 4h).

[9] Blanchard 1974, 10 (PHamb. I 12 18 209-210^{P} – pl. 5) and s. 14 (PLond. III, 267, 1012 37 633^{P} – pl. 95); Oikonomides 1974, 142 and Plate III.



a) *The mark waving downwards (καί)* b) *Horizontal line above the row* c) *Horizontal waving mark*

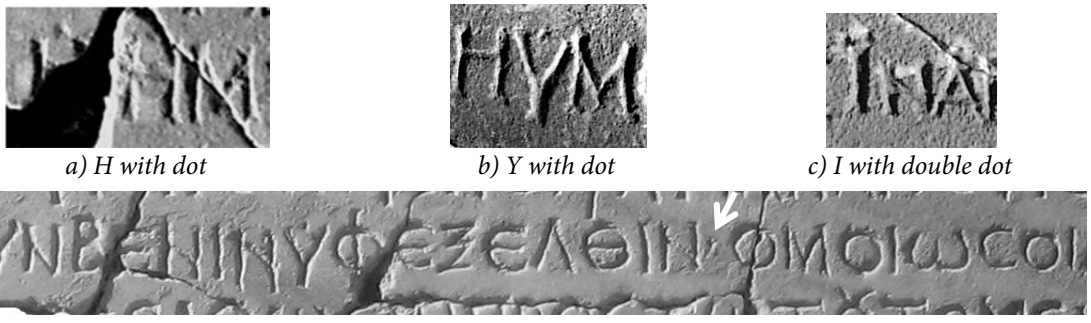
d) *The mark waving upwards* e) *γίνεται / γίνονται / γινόμεναι* f) *Dot over N*

g) *combination of τον* h) *combination of πο (Slab C)* i) *Cornered Σ and ligature of N, H and Σ*

Fig. 4) *The types of abbreviations and ligatures in the inscription*

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 **ὑ**μέτερον in A 28'de, **ὑ**πό in B 30, **ὑ**ποτεταγμένα in A 29 and B 31, αὐτοῖς in B 25, **ὑ**φεξελθῖν in B 41, **ὑ**μετέρα in B 61 and 68, and **ὑ**φίστασθαι 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 **ἵ**να, it was placed in B 20 for **ἰ**δίων, 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: ὑφεξελθῖν·).



a) H with dot *b) Y with dot* *c) I with double dot*

d) Colon mark in B 41.

Fig. 5) *Diacritics and punctuation in the inscription*

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,[10] there is no remnant of pigment or of its support visible to the eye today in the letters of even lines.

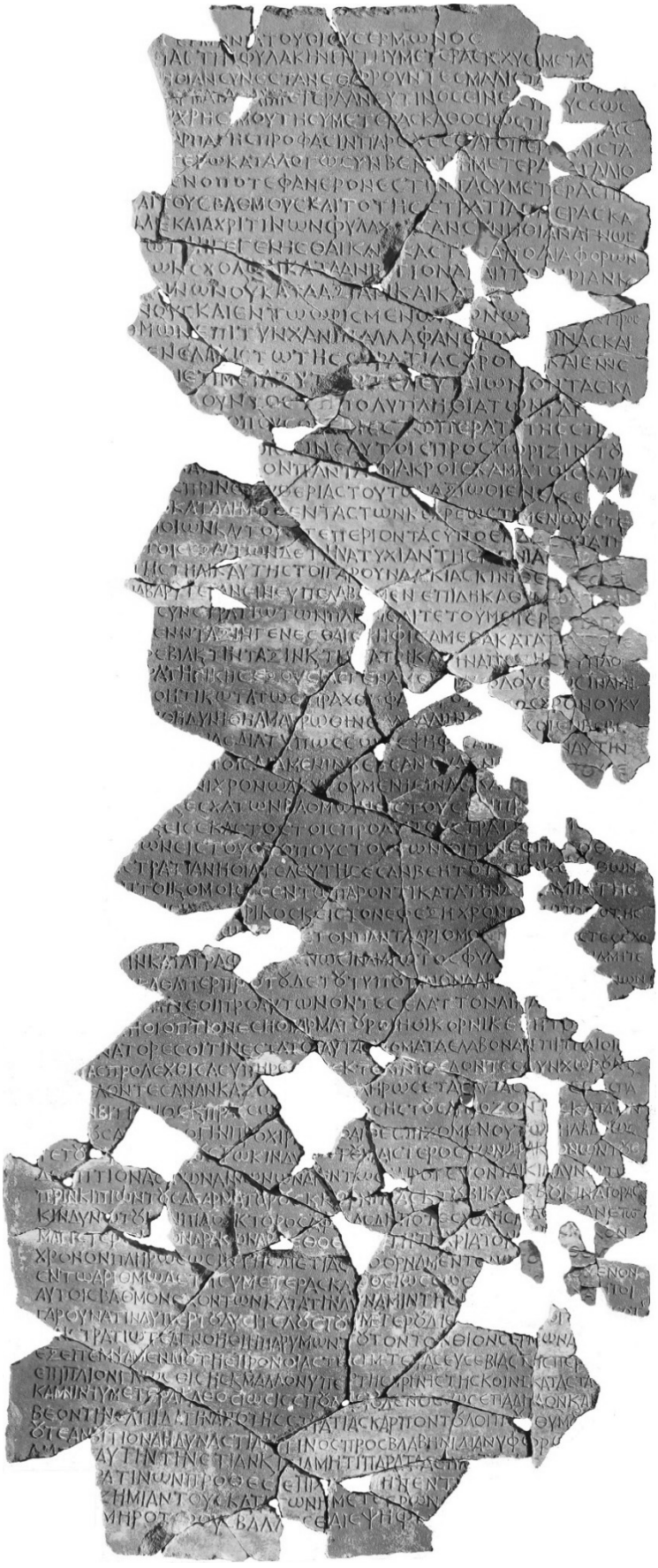


Fig. 6) *The differences between the lines and the remains of paintwork*

e) Comparison with other Anastasian Edicts

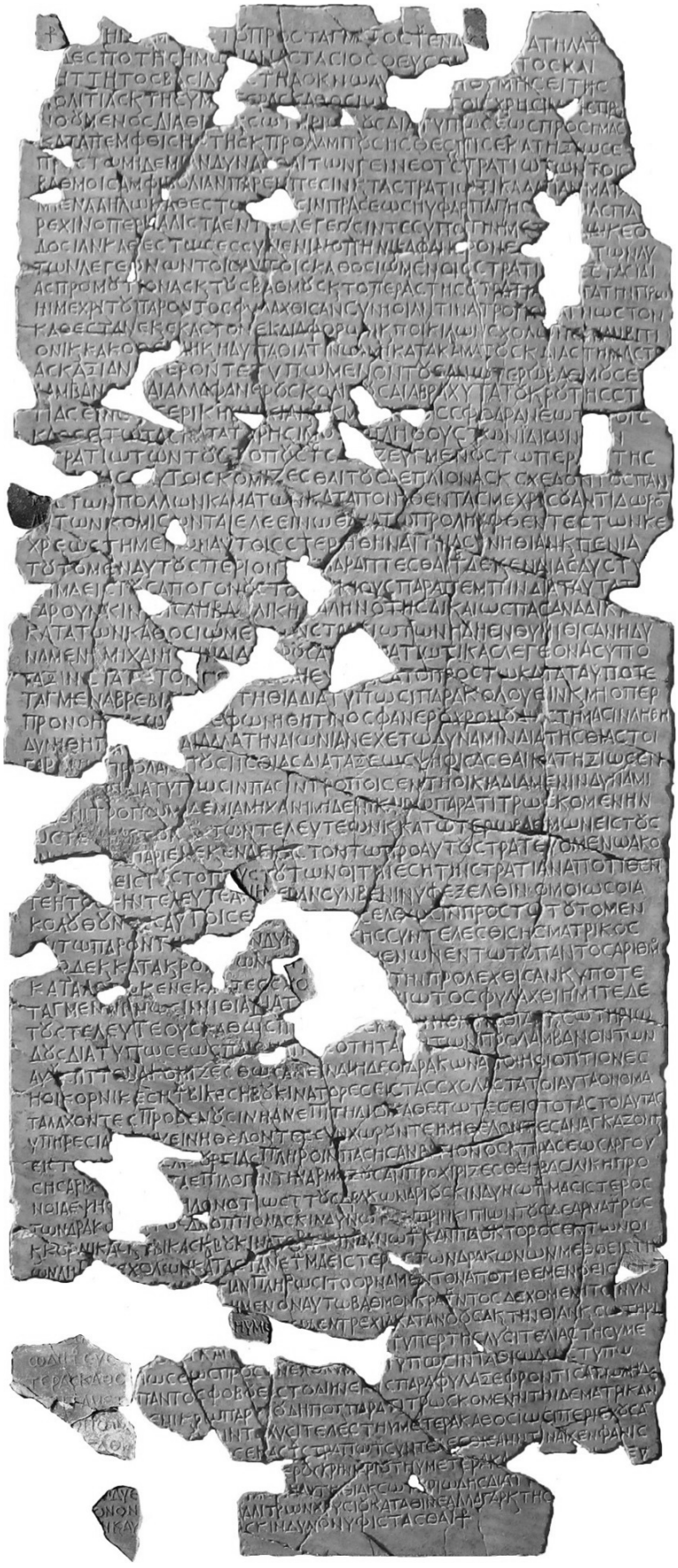
Similar edicts issued by Anastasius were discovered in Qasr El-Hallabat and Bostra of Arabia (see below fn. 12), in Ptolemais and Taucheira of Pentapolis, Cyrenaica (see below fn. 13). The letters are cut slightly more carelessly compared to the edict from Perge. But in general, the cutting of the letters and sizes are similar, except for some differences in the form of letters Α, Λ, Δ, 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 marbe 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.

[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. 7) *Slab A*



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

Fig. 8) *Slab B*



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

Fig. 9) *Slab C*

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 προλάμπουσα "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 malpractises, 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 malpractises 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 / edictum*) of the *magister militum* and finally a notice (γνῶσις / *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,[11] 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.[12] 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.[13] 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.[14] 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.[15]

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*.[16] In another inscripton 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.[17] 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,

[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 1867, 187; Waddington 1868; *LBW* III/6 1906[a]; 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.

[15] Bean – Mitford 1970, 193-194 nos. 214 and 215.

[16] IChrAM 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 editon of this inscription).

in some technical phrases and in its paleographic features.[18] 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.[19]

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[20] 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:

[αβγ]	*Square bracket*: For letters, which cannot be read or did not survive and are restored by the editor.
⟨αβγ⟩	*Angular bracket*: For letters omitted by the carver and added by the editor.
{αβγ}	*Brace*: For letters carved excessively and subtracted by the editor.
⟪αβγ⟫	*Double angular bracket*: For letters carved erroneously and substituted by the editor.
ạ̣β̣γ̣	*Underdot*: For letters, the traces of which survive but cannot be read clearly.
(αβγ)	*Round bracket*: for the expanded part of abreviated words.
ΑΒΓ	*Upper case*: For letters that can be read clearly on the material but cannot be construed.
αβγ	*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.
vac.	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

[⸸] Ἑρμηνία τοῦ θίου σέρμωνος·
[Τῆς πολιτ]ίας τὴν φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εἰσχύει μετὰ τ[ὴν]
[τοῦ θεοῦ βο]ήθιαν συνεστάνε θαρροῦντες μάλιστα ὑ̣π̣ο̣γ̣[ρ]α̣-
[φέντα τὰ πρ]άγματα τ̣ὰ̣ ὑμέτερα ἄνευ τινὸς εἶνε συν̣[χ]ύσεως
[κ(αὶ) μὴ κατὰ το]ῦ χρησίμου τῆς ὑμετέρας καθοσιώσ(εώς) τι[σι]ν̣ [π]ρ̣άσε-
[ως ἢ καὶ ὑφ]αρπαγῆς πρόφασιν παρέχεσθαι, ὅπερ μ̣ά̣λιστα
[ἐν τῷ ὑμε]τ̣έρῳ καταλόγῳ συνβέν̣ι̣, ἡ ἡμετέρα μ̣ε̣γαλιό-
[της ἐθέσπισ]εν. Ὁπότε φανερόν ἐστιν τὰς ὑμετέρας πρ[ο]-
[κοπὰς κ]αὶ τοὺς βαθμοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς στρατίας̣ πέρας κα-
[τὰ τὴν π]άλε καὶ ἄχρι τινῶν φυλαχ[θῖ]σ̣αν συνήθιαν ἄγνωσ-
[τον τρόπ]ῳ τινὶ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ [ἔ]καστο̣ν̣ ἀ̣π̣ὸ διαφόρων
[καὶ ποικίλ]ων σχολῶ̣ν̣ κατὰ ἀνβ[ι]τίονα [κ]αὶ πο[ν]η̣ρίαν κ(αὶ)
[χάριν τ]ινῶν, οὐ κατὰ ἀξίαν καὶ κατ[ὰ] π̣[όνους κ(αὶ)] σ̣τ̣ρ̣α̣-
[τίας χρό]νους καὶ ἐν τῷ ὡρισμένῳ χ̣[ρ]όνῳ τ̣[ῶν ἔ]ν̣προσ-
[θεν βα]θ̣μῶν ἐπιτυνχάνιν, ἀλλὰ φανερούς τινας καὶ
[ὀλίγους] ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ τῆς σ[τ]ρατίας χρόνῳ καὶ ἐν νέ-
[ᾳ ἡλικίᾳ κα]ὶ ἔτι μεταξὺ τ[ῶ]ν̣ τ̣ελευτ̣αίων ὄντας κα-
[τὰ τοῦ λυσιτελ]οῦντος τ̣ῇ̣ π̣ολυπληθίᾳ τῶν ἰδί[ων συν-]
[στρατιωτῶν τοὺς τ]όπους, οἵτ̣ι̣ν̣ε̣ς̣ [τ]ῷ̣ πέρατ[ι] τῆς στρ[ατί-]
[ας αὐτῶν ἐπεζευγμέν]ο̣ι̣ ε̣ἰ̣σ̣ί̣ν̣, ἑαυτοῖς προσπορίζιν, τοὺ̣[ς]
[δὲ πλίονας] κ̣α̣[ὶ σχεδ]ὸν πάντας̣ μακροῖς καμάτοις κατα-
[πονηθέντα]ς, πρὶν ἐ[λε]υθερίας τούτω̣ν̣ ἀξιωθῖεν, ἐλεει[νῷ]
[θανάτῳ προ]καταλημφθέντας τῶν κ̣εχρεωσ̣τ̣η̣μένων στε-
[ρηθῆνε συν]ηθιῶν κ(αὶ) αὐτού[ς] τε περιόντας ὑπὸ ἐ̣ν̣δίας κατατή-
[κεσθαι κ](αὶ) τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ τὴν ἀτυχίαν τῆς πενίας̣ παρα[π]έ-
[μπιν· διὰ] τ̣ῆς τηλικαύτης τοιγαροῦν ἀδικίας κινηθέ[ντ]ες ἀξί-
[ως, ἥντι]ν̣α βαρυτέ[ρ]αν εἶνε ὑπελάβ[ο]μεν, ἐπιδὴ καθ᾽ ὑμῶν τ̣ῶ̣ν
[ἡμετέρων] συνστρατιωτῶν πλη[μμ]ελῖτε, τὸ ὑμέτερον τάγμ̣[α]
[ὑπὸ ὡρισμ]ένην τάξιν γενέσθαι ἐψηφισάμεθα κατὰ τ̣ὰ ὑποτε-
[ταγμένα β]ρ̣έβια κ(αὶ) τὴν τάξιν κ(αὶ) τὴ[ν μ]άτ̣ρικα [τ]ὴν ἀπ̣ὸ̣ τ̣ῆς ὑψηλο-
[τάτης στ]ρ̣ατηγικῆς ἐξουσίας γεναμέ̣ν̣[η]ν ἀ̣κ̣ολούθω̣ς, ἵνα μὴ
[ὅπερ προνο]ητικωτάτω⟨ς⟩ ἐ̣πράχθη φα[νερ]ο[ῦ τιν]ος χρόνου κύ-
[κλοις τῇ λ]ήθῃ δυνηθῇ̣ ἀμαυ̣ρωθῆνε̣, ἀλλὰ διηνε[κῆ ἔ]χοιεν βεβέ-
[ωσιν. Διὰ γὰρ τῆς θ]ίας διατυπώσεω[ς] ἐψηφισάμ[εθα τὴ]ν αὐτὴν
[τάξιν πᾶσιν τρό]π̣οις διαμένιν βεβέαν, οὐδεν[ὶ τρόπῳ,] οὐ̣[δ]ε-
[μιᾷ μηχανῇ, οὐδε]νὶ χρόνῳ ἀκυ̣[ρ]ουμέ̣νης, ἵνα ἕκα[στος ἐκ τῶν]
[τελευτέων] κ(αὶ) ἐσχάτων βαθμῶν εἰς τοὺς ἔ̣ν̣προ̣[σθεν βαθ-]

[μοὺς παρίοι κ](αὶ) εἷς ἕκαστος τοῖς πρὸ α[ὐ]τοῦ στρατε[υο]μ[ένοις]
[ἀκολουθ]ῶν εἰς τοὺς τόπους τούτων, οἵτινες ἢ ἀ[π]οθ[ῖν]-
[το τὴ]ν στρατίαν ἢ οἱ«ς»τελευτῆσε σ«υ»νβέη, τούτοις ἀκολουθῶν
[προκό]πτοι κ(αὶ) ὁμοίως ἐν τῷ παρόντι κατὰ τὴν δύ[ν]αμιν τῆς
[συντελεσ]θίση[ς μάτ]ρικος κ(αὶ) εἰς τὸν ἐφεξῆς χρόνο[ν] ἡ ποσότης
[τῶν στρατε]υ[ομέν]ω[ν πλήσ]ε τὸν πάντα ἀριθμὸν κ[(αὶ) ἐν τῆς ἑκά]στες σχο-
[λῆς κατὰ τ]ὴν καταγραφ[ῖσαν γ]νῶσιν ἀμίωτος φυλ[αχθίη κ(αὶ) ἵ]να μήτε
[οἱ τελευτῆοι] καθάπερ πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ τύπου πλίονα ἀρ[ιθμὸν τῶν ἀν]νων(ῶν)
[κομίζοιντο] μήτε οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ὄντες ἐλάττονα, ἵνα [μηδὲ οἱ δρα-]
[κωνάριο]ι ἢ οἱ ὀπτίονες ἢ οἱ ἀρματοῦροι ἢ οἱ κόρνικε[ς] ἢ τού[βικες ἢ]
[βουκι]νάτορες, οἵτινες τὰ το[ι]αῦτα [ὀ]νόματα ἔλαβον, ἀνεπιτήδιοι [ὄν-]
[τες] τὰς προλεχθίσας ὑπηρε[σίας] ἐκτελῖν, ἢ θέλοντες συνχωροῦντ(αι)
[ἢ μὴ θ]έλοντες ἀνανκάζο[ντε εἰς τὸ π]ληρῶσε τὰς αὐτὰς [ὑπηρ]εσ[ία]ς, πά-
[σης ἀ]νβιτί[ο]νος κ(αὶ) πράσεω[ς καταργ]ούσης, τοὺς ἁ[ρ]μόζοντ[ας] κατὰ τ[ὴ]ν
[ἁρμόζ]ουσα[ν ἐπιλ]ογὴν προχιρ[ίζεσ]θαι θεσπίζομεν, οὕτω [δ]ηλαδ[ὴ] ὥσ-
τε τοὺ[ς δ]ρ[ακωναρί]ους τῷ κινδ[ύνῳ] τοῦ μαίστερος τῶν δρακώνων, τοὺς
δὲ [ὀ]πτίονας [τ]ῶν ἀννωνῶν, αἵ ἐν τῷ εἴδι ῥογεύονται, κινδύνῳ τ[ῶν]
πρινκιπίων, τοὺς δὲ ἀρματούρους κ(αὶ) κόρνικας κ(αὶ) τούβικας κ(αὶ) βουκινάτορας
κινδύνῳ τοῦ κ[α]νπιδούκτορος ἀφ᾽ [οἱ]ασδήποτε σχολῆς καθ[ισ]τάνε, τῶ(ν)
μαγιστέρω[ν τ]ῶν δρακωναρ(ίων), [μ]εθ᾽ ὃ ἐ[ν ταύ]τῃ τῇ χρίᾳ τὸν [ὡρι]σμένον
χρόνον πληρώσωσιν τῆς διετίας, [τ]ὸ ὀρνάμεντον [ἀ]πο[τι]θεμέ[νων],
ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ δὲ τῆς ὑμετέρας καθοσιώσεως [τὸν ἀ]φ[οριζ]όμενον
αὐτοῖς βαθμὸν ἐχόντων κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς [μάτρικος.] Ἵνα μὴ τοι-
γαροῦν ἅτινα ὑπὲρ τοῦ λυσιτελοῦς τοῦ [ὑ]μετέρου διε[τυπώσαμεν], ᾧ γ[ενν]εότ(ατοι)
[σ]υνστρατιῶτε, ἀγνοηθίη παρ᾽ ὑμῶν τοῦτον τὸν θῖον σέρμωνα [ὑμῖν]
ἐξεπέμψαμεν, δι᾽ οὗ τῆς προνοίας τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβίας τῆς περ[ὶ ὑμῶν]
ἐπὶ πλῖον γνωσθίσης κ(αὶ) μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰρήνης τῆς κοινῆς καταστά[σεως]
κάμνιν, ἡ ὑμετέρα καθοσίωσις σπουδάσι, οὐδενὸς ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἄδηλον κ(αὶ) ἀβ[έ]-
βεον τὴν ἐλπίδα τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατίας καρπὸν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀθυμοῦ[ντος]
οὔτε ἀνβιτίονα ἢ δυναστίαν τινὸς πρὸς βλάβην ἰδίαν ὑφορῳ[μένου].
Διὰ [γὰρ] ταύτην τὴν ἐτίαν κ(αὶ) ἵνα μή τι παρὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας [διατάξις]
[τῇ τολμη]ρᾷ τινων προθέσι ἐπιχ[ιριθ]ίη, πεντ[ήκοντα λιτρῶν τοῦ]
[χρυσίου] ζημίαν τοὺς κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων [βασιλικῶν διατάξ-]
[εων τολ]μηροτέρους βάλλεσθαι ἐψηφι[σάμεθα ₰].

2. Slab B: *Praeceptum Magistri Militum* / The precept of the army commander

Ⱡ Ἑρμην[ία τοῦ] μ[εγί]στου προστάγματος τοῦ ἐνδ[οξ](οτάτου) στ[ρα]τηλάτου·
[Ὁ] δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἀναστάσιος, ὁ εὐσε[βέστα]τος καὶ
[ἀ]ήττητος βασιλ[εύ]ς, τῇ ἀόκνῳ αὐ[τοῦ ἐν]θυμήσει τῆς
[π]ολιτίας κ(αὶ) τῆς ὑμ[ετ]έρας καθοσιώ[σεω]ς τοῖς χρησίμ[ο]ις προ-
νοούμενος, διὰ θί[ας κ(αὶ)] σωτηριώ[δ]ους διατυπώσεως πρὸς ἡμὰς
καταπεμφθίσης τῆς κ(αὶ) προλαμπούσης, θεσπίσε κατηξίωσε
πρ[ὸ]ς τῷ μηδεμίαν δύνασθαι τῶν γεννεο(τάτων) στρατιωτῶν τοῖς
βαθμοῖς ἀμφιβολίαν παρενπεσῖν κ(αὶ) τὰ στρατιωτικὰ δαπανήματ[α]
μὴ ἐν ἀ«δ»ήλῳ καθεστῶτ[α τι]σὶν πράσεως ἢ ὑφαρπαγῆς [ἀφορ]μὰς πα-
ρέχιν, ὅπερ μάλιστα ἐν τῆς λεγεῶσιν τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετ[έραν] δικεο-
δοσίαν καθεστώσες συν⟨β⟩ένι{ν}. Ὁπηνίκα φανερόν ἐσ[τιν ἐκ] τῶν αὐ-
τῶν λεγεόνων τοῖς αὐτοῖς καθοσιωμένοις στρατι[ώτ]ες τὰς ἰδί-
ας προμουτίονας κ(αὶ) τοὺς βαθμοὺς κ(αὶ) τὸ πέρας τῆς στρατία[ς κα]τὰ τὴν πρώ-
ην μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος φυλαχθῖσαν συνή«θ»ιαν τινὰ τρόπο[ν] ἄγνωστον
καθεστάνε κ(αὶ) ἕκαστον ἐκ διαφόρων κ(αὶ) ποικίλων σχολῶν ἐπὶ ἀνβιτί-
ονι κ(αὶ) κακοθε[λί]ᾳ ἢ κ(αὶ) ἡδυπαθίᾳ τινῶν, μὴ κατὰ καμάτους κ(αὶ) διάστημα στρ⟨ατί-⟩
ας κ(αὶ) ἀξίαν [κ(αὶ)] κερὸν τετυπωμένον τοὺς ἀνωτέρω βαθμοὺς ἐ[πι-]
λαμβάν[εσθ]αι, ἀλλὰ φανεροὺς κ(αὶ) ὀλί[γ]ους «δ»ιὰ βραχυτάτου κ(αι)ροῦ τῆς στ[ρα-]
τίας ἐν ν[εωτ]ερικῇ [ἡλι]κίᾳ κ(αὶ) ἀκμ[ὴν ἐ]ν τοῖς σφόδρα νεωτ[έρ]οις
καθεστῶτας [κ]ατὰ τοῦ χρησίμου [τοῦ] πλήθους τῶν ἰδίων [συ]ν-
[σ]τρατιωτῶν τοὺς τόπους τοὺς [ἐπε]ζευγμένους τῷ πέρ[ατι] τῆς
[στρατία]ς ἑ[α]υτοῖς κομίζεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πλίονας κ(αὶ) σχεδὸν τοὺς πάν-
τας τῶν πολλῶν καμάτων καταπονηθέντας, μέχρις οὗ ἀντίδωρο(ν)
αὐτῶν κομίσωνται ἐλεεινῷ θα[ν]άτῳ προληφθέντες, τῶν κε-
χρεωστημένων αὐτοῖς στερηθῆναί τινα συνήθιαν κ(αὶ) πενίᾳ
τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὺς περιόν[τας] παράπτεσθαι, τοῦ⟨το⟩ δὲ κ(αὶ) ἐνδίας δυστ[ύ-]
[χη]μα εἰς τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοὺ[ς οἰ]κίους παραπέμπιν. Διὰ ταῦτα τ[οι-]
[γ]αροῦν κιν[ηθ]ῖσα ἡ βα[σι]λικὴ [γ]αληνότης δικαίως πᾶσαν ἀδικί[αν]
κατὰ τῶν καθοσιωμέ[νω]ν στρ[ατ]ιωτῶν ἤδη ἐνθυμηθῖσαν ἢ δυ-
ναμένην μηχανηθῆναι ἀ[ναι]ροῦσα τ[ὰς στρ]ατιωτικὰς λεγεῶνας ὑπὸ
τάξιν στατοῦτον γε[νέ]σθαι ἐ[ψη]φίσατο πρὸς τῷ κατὰ τὰ ὑποτε-
ταγμένα βρέβια [τῇ αὐ]τῇ θίᾳ διατυπώσι παρακολουθῖν κ(αὶ) μὴ ὅπερ
προνοη[τικ]ῶ[ς ἐξ]εφωνήθη τινὸς φανεροῦ χρόνου δι[α]στήμασιν λήθῃ
δυνηθῇ παυ[θῆν]αι, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἰωνίαν ἐχέτω δύναμιν. Διὰ τῆς θίας τοι-
γαροῦν κ(αὶ) προλαμπούσης θίας διατάξεως ψηφίσασθαι κατηξίωσεν
[τὴν αὐτὴ]ν διατύπωσιν πᾶσ[ι]ν τρόποις ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ διαμένιν δυνάμι,
[μηδ]ενὶ τρόπῳ, μηδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ, μηδενὶ καιρῷ παρατιτρωσκομένην,

ὥστε ἕ[κ]α̣στον̣ [ἐκ] τῶν τελευτέων κ(αὶ) κατωτέρω βαθμῶν εἰς τοὺς
[ἀ]ν̣[ω]τ̣[έρω] παριένε κ(αὶ) ἕνα ἕκαστον τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατευομένῳ ἀκο-
[λ]ου[θῖν κ](αὶ̣) εἰς τοὺς τόπο̣υς τούτων, οἵτινες ἢ τὴν στρατίαν ἀποτίθεν-
τε ἤ τοὺς τ̣ὴν τελευτέαν ἡμ̣έραν συνβένιν ὑφεξελθῖν· ὁμοίως οἱ ἀ-
κολουθοῦν[τ]ες αὐτοῖς ε[ἰς τοὺς τόπου]ς ἔλθωσιν, πρὸς τῷ τοῦτο μὲν
[ἐ]ν̣ τῷ παρόντι κ̣[ατὰ τὴ]ν δύν[αμιν τ]ῆς συντελεσθίσης μάτρικος,
[τοῦτ]ο δὲ κ(αὶ) κατὰ κ(αι)ρὸ[ν ⟨ἡ ποσότης⟩ τ]ῶν [σ]τ̣ρ̣[ατευομ]ένων ἐν τῷ τοῦ παντὸς ἀριθμο(ῦ)
καταλ̣ό̣[γ]ῳ κ(αὶ) ἐν ἑκάστες σχ[ολῆς κατὰ] τὴν προλεχθῖσαν κ(αὶ) ὑποτε-
ταγμένην γνῶσιν ⟪τῇ⟫ θίᾳ διατ[υπώσι ἀμ]ίωτος φυλαχθίη, μήτε δὲ
τοὺς τελευτέους, καθὼς π[ρὸ τῆς] ἐκφ[ω]νηθίσ̣η̣ς θίας κ(αὶ) σωτηριώ-
δους διατυπώσεως, πλίονα̣ π̣[ο]σ̣ότητα [ἀν]ν(ωνῶν) τῶν προλαμβανόντων
αὐτ̣οὺς ἥττονα κομιζέσθωσαν. Εἴνα ⟨μ⟩ηδὲ οἱ δρακωνάριοι ἢ οἱ ὀπτίονες
ἢ οἱ ⟨ἀρματοῦροι ἢ⟩ κόρνικες ἢ τούβικες ἢ βουκινάτορες εἰς τὰς σχολὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόμα-
τα λαχόντες προβένουσιν ἢ ἀνεπιτήδιοι καθεστῶτες εἰς τὸ τὰς τοιαῦτας
ὑπηρεσία[ς δια]ν̣ύειν ἢ θέλοντες συνχωροῦντε ἢ μὴ θέλοντες ἀναγκάζοντ(ε)
εἵς τ[ὸ τὰς αὐτὰς λιτ]ουργίας πληροῖν, πάσης ἀνβιτίονος κ(αὶ) πράσεως ἀργού-
σης, ἁρμ[όζοντ(ας) κα]τὰ ἐπιλογὴν τὴν ἁρμ̣ό̣ζ̣ουσαν προχιρίζεσθε ἡ βασιλικὴ πρό-
νοια ἐψηφ[ίσατο, δ]ηλονότι ὥστ(ε) τοὺς δρακωναρίους κινδύνῳ τοῦ μα⟪ε⟫ίστερος
τῶν δρακ[ώνων], τ̣ο[ὺ]ς δὲ ὀπτίονας κινδύνῳ τ̣[ῶ]ν̣ πρινκιπίων, τοὺς δὲ ἁρματούρους
κ(αὶ) κορνίκας κ(αὶ) τ̣ο̣ύ̣̣βικας κ(αὶ) βουκινάτορας κινδύνῳ τοῦ κανπιδούκτορος ἐκ τῶν οἰ-
ωνδήπ[ο]τ̣[(ε)] σχολῶν κα⟪θι⟫στάνε, τοῦ μαείστερ[ο]ς τῶν δρακώνων, μεθ’ ὃ εἰς τ̣ὴ̣ν̣
[αὐτὴν χρίαν διε]τίαν πληρώσι, τὸ ὀρνάμεντον ἀποτιθεμένου, εἰς [δ]ὲ τ̣ὸ̣(ν)
[ἀριθμὸν τὸν γεγεν]ημένον αὐτῷ βαθμὸν κρατοῦντος. Δεχομένη τοίνυν
[τοῦτο τὸ πρόσταγμα] ἡ ὑμ̣ε̣τ̣έ̣̣ρ̣̣α ἐντρεχία κατανοοῦσα, κ(αὶ) τὴν θίαν κ(αὶ) σωτηρι-
ώδη τοῦ εὐσ[εβε]σ[τά]τ[ου] κ(αὶ) ἀη̣[ττήτου ἡμῶν δεσ]π̣ό̣τ̣ο̣υ ὑπὲρ τῆς λυσιτελίας τῆς ὑμε-
τέρας καθο[σ]ιώσεως προσενεχθῖσαν̣ [δια]τύπωσιν, τὰ θιωδῶς τυπω-
[θέ]ντα μετ[ὰ] παντὸς φόβου εἰς τὸ διηνεκ[ὲ]ς παραφυλάξε φροντισάτω, μηδε-
[νὶ τρ]όπῳ μ[ηδ]ενὶ κ(αι)ρῷ παρ’ ο̣[ἰ]ουδήποτ(ε) παρατιτρωσκομένην. Τὴν δὲ μάτρικαν
. . . . . Ε̣Λ̣Θ̣. . . . . ΙΝ τὸ ⟪λ⟫υσιτελὲς τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ καθοσιώσι περιέχουσα(ν)
[κ(αὶ) ὑπὲρ τῆς λυσιτελεί]ας ἑκάστου στρατιώτου συντελεσθῖσα⟨ν⟩ ἥντινα {ΙΧ} ἐνφανισ-
[θῆνε διὰ τοῦ δεῖνα τοῦ ἡμετ]έρου σκρινιαρίου τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ κα[θοσιώσι ἐ]κ̣[ελ]εύ-
[σαμεν], ε̣ἰ̣δυε[ίης αὐτῆς ὅτι γρά]φ̣ι̣ ἡ αὐτὴ θία κ(αὶ) σωτ̣[η]ριώδης διατ[ύπωσις τοὺς τολμη-]
[ροὺς οὐ μ]όνον [πεντήκοντ]α λιτρῶν χρυσίου καταθῖνε, ἀλλὰ γὰρ κ(αὶ) τῆς [στρατίας]
[ἐκπίπτι]ν κ(αὶ) αὐ[τῆς τῆς ζωῆ]ς κίνδυνον ὑφίστασθαι ₽.

3. Slab C: *Notitia*

† Γνῶσις ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀννωνῶν
ὑποτεταγμένων τῷ θίῳ σέρμωνι·
Τριβοῦνος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἄνν. κδ′
4 Τριβ. μικρός· ἀνὴρ εἷς ἄνν. ι′

	Ὡρδ.	ἄνδρ. κ′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. η′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. ρξ′		
	Αὐγ.	ἄνδρ. κ′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. ς′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. ρκ′	ἐξ [ἐράρ.] ἄνν. κ′	
	Αὐγ. ἄλλ.	ἄνδρ. λ′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. ε′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. ρν′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. λ′	
8	Αὐγ. ἄλλ.	ἄνδρ. ο′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. δ′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. σπ′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. ο′	
	Φλαβ.	ἄνδρ. ξ′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. δ′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. σμ′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. ϙ′	
	Φλαβ. ἄλλ.	ἄνδρ. ρμ′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. γ′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. υκ′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. σι′	
	Σιγνιφ.	ἄνδρ. ι′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. γ′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. λ′	ἐξ ἐράρ. [ἄνν.] ιε′	
12	Ὀπτιό.	ἄνδρ. ι′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. γ′	Γ ✝ ἄν[ν.] λ′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. ιε′	
	Οὐερεδ.	ἄνδρ. ν′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. γ′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. ρν′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. οε′	
	Οὐερεδ. ἄλλ.	ἄνδρ. σκ[ε]′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. β′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. υν′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. σκε′	
	Β[η]ξιλ⟨λά⟩ρ.	ἄνδρ. ι′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. β′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. κ′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. [ι′]	
16	Ἰμμαγνιφ.	ἄνδρ. ι′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. β′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. κ′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. [ι′]	
	Λιβράρ.	ἄνδρ. β′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. β′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. δ′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. β′	
	Μήνσορ.	ἄνδρ. γ′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. β′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. ς′	ἐξ ἐράρ. [ἄνν.] γ′	
	Τούβικ.	ἄνδρ. δ′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. β′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. η′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. δ′	
20	Κόρνικ.	ἄνδρ. η′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. β′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. ις′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. η′	
	Βουκινάτορ.	ἄνδρ. β′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. β′	Γ ✝ [ἄνν.] δ′	[ἐξ ἐράρ.] ἄνν. β′	
	Πρέκωρ	ἀνήρ α′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. β′		ἐξ ἐρά[ρ. ἀνν.] α′	
	Ἀρματοῦρ. δουπλάρ.	ἄνδρ. κ′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. β′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. μ′	ἐξ ἐράρ. [ἄνν.] κ′	
24	Βενεφικ.	ἄνδρ. δ′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. β′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. η′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. δ′	
	Τορκ. σιμισ.	ἄνδρ. [ρλ]ς′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. α [∠]′	Γ ✝ ἄνν. σδ′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. ξη′	
	Βρακ. σιμισ.	ἄνδρ. σ[ν]ς′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. α∠′	Γ [✝ ἄ]νν. [τπ]δ′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. ρκη′	
	Ἀρματοῦρ. σιμισ.	ἄνδρ. [κ′	ἀπὸ ἀνν. α∠′]	Γ ✝] ἄνν. λ′	ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. ι′	
28	Μουνίφικ.	ἄνδρ. [.νθ]′	[ἀ]πὸ ἀν[ν. α′]	[Γ ✝] ἄνν. [.]νθ′		
	Κληρικοί κα[ὶ] δηπουτά[τοι	ἄνδρ. ...]ογ′				

The recurring abbreviations: ἄνδρ. = ἄνδρ(ες); ἀπὸ ἀνν. = ἀπὸ ἀνν(ωνῶν); Γ ✝ ἄνν. = γίνεται / γίνονται / γινόμεναι ἄνν(ωναι); ἐξ ἐράρ. ἄνν. = ἐξ (ὧν) ἐράρ(ιαι) ἄνν(ωναι).

C. Textual Critics

Even though the use of such as θαρ**ρ**οῦντες (A 3), ἐλά**ττ**ονα (A 46), ἀή**ττ**ητος (B 3, B 62 gen.), ἧ**ττ**ονα (B 49) might indicate Attic origin, there are many examples for ν, which is written instead of γ-nasal: ἐπιτυ**νχ**άνιν (A 15), συ**νχ**ωροῦντ(αι) (A 49), συ**νχ**ωροῦντε (B 52), ἀνα**νκ**άζο[ντε] (A 50), but in one instance γ-nasal is written in the classical form ἀνα**γκ**άζοντ(ε) (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⟪υ⟫νβέη (A 40); A for Δ: ΑΑΗΛΩ = ἀ⟪δ⟫ήλῳ (B 9); ΑΙΑ = ⟪δ⟫ιὰ (B 18); O for Θ: ΣΥΝΗΟΙΑΝ = συνή⟪θ⟫ιαν (B 14); C for E: ΜΑCΙCΤΕΡΟC = μα⟪ε⟫ίστερος (B 55); X for Λ, ΧΥCΙΤΕΛΕC = ⟪λ⟫υσιτελὲς (B 66); ΤΑ for ΘΙ, ΚΑΤΑCΤΑΝΕ = κα⟪θι⟫στάνε (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 stonecutter was probably written in majuscule.

b) Incomplete cutting:

[προνο]ητικωτάτω⟨ς⟩ (A 32); συν⟨β⟩ένι{ν} (B 11); τοῦ⟨το⟩ δὲ (B 44); ⟨ἁρματοῦροι ἢ⟩ (B 50).

c) Interchange of vowels and diphtongs:

The two major interchanges are ι for ει and ε for αι (see below). Sometimes ο is employed for ω: λεγεῶσιν (B 10), λεγεόνων (B 12), λεγεῶνας (B 30); although the word καθοσιώμενος might be morphologically correct (if accepted as καθοσιούμενος in Med. Pres. Part.), the use of this word in other inscriptions and literary texts is always given as καθ**ω**σιωμένος (Med. Perf. Part.) indicates the first omikrons of this word in the inscription (B 12 καθ**ο**σιωμένοις; B 29 καθ**ο**σιωμέ[νω]ν) should be understood as omega.[21] In two words ει is employed for ι: **ει**σχύ**ει** (A 2) and **εἵ**να (B 49). H is always used correctly.

d) Corrections:

Text A**:** l. 1 ἑρμην**εί**α ‖ l. 2 **ἰ**σχύ**ι**; πολιτ**εί**ας ‖ l. 3 βοήθ**ει**αν; συνεστάν**αι** ‖ l. 4 εἶν**αι** ‖ l. 7 συμβ**αί**ν**ειν** ‖ l. 8 μεγαλ**ει**ότης ‖ l. 9 στρατ**εί**ας ‖ l. 10 πάλ**αι**; φυλαχθ**εῖ**σαν; συνήθ**ει**αν ‖ l. 13 ἡδυπάθ**ει**αν ‖ l. 15 ἐπιτυ**γ**χάν**ειν** ‖ l. 18 πολυπληθ**εί**ᾳ ‖ l. 19 στρατ**εί**ας ‖ l. 20 προσπορίζ**ειν** ‖ l. 21 πλ**εί**ονας ‖ l. 22 ἀξιωθ**εῖ**εν ‖ l. 23 καταλη**φθ**έντας ‖ l. 24 συνηθ**ει**ῶν; ἐνδ**εί**ας ‖ l. 25 παραπέμπ**ειν** ‖ l. 27 ἐπ**ειδ**ὴ ‖ l. 28 πλημμελ**εῖ**τ**αι** ‖ l. 33 ἀμαυρωθῆν**αι**; βεβ**αί**αν ‖ l. 34 θ**εί**ας ‖ l. 35 διαμέν**ειν**; βεβ**αί**αν ‖ l. 37 τελευτ**αί**ων ‖ l. 40 στρατ**εί**αν; τελευτῆσ**αι**; συ**μβαί**η ‖ l. 42 συντελεσθ**εί**σης ‖ l. 43 πλήσ**αι**; τ**αῖ**ς ἑκάστ**αις** σχολ**αῖ**ς ‖ l. 44 καταγραφ**εῖ**σαν; ἀμ**εί**ωτος; φυλαχθ**εί**η ‖ l. 45 τελευτ**αῖ**οι; πλ**εί**ονα ‖ l. 46 κομίζωντ**αι** ‖ l. 49 προλεχθ**εί**σας; ἐκτελ**εῖ**ν; συγχωροῦντ**αι** ‖ l. 50 ἀνα**γ**κάζοντ**αι**; πληρῶσ**αι** ‖ l. 52 προχ**ει**ρίζεσθαι ‖ l. 54 εἴδ**ει** ‖ l. 56 καθιστάν**αι** ‖ l. 62 ἀγνοηθ**εί**η; θ**εῖ**ον ‖ l. 63 εὐσεβ**εί**ας ‖ l. 64 πλ**εῖ**ον; γνωσθ**εί**σης ‖ l. 65 κάμν**ειν**; σπουδάσ**ει**; ἀβέβ**αι**ον ‖ l. 66 στρατ**εί**ας ‖ l. 67 δυναστ**εί**αν ‖ l. 68 **αἰ**τίαν ‖ l. 69 προθέσ**ει**; ἐπιχειρηθ**εί**η.

[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 diphtong αι is used unchanged in 24[22] of 43 occurences, while ει 2[23] of 43.

Text B: l. 1 ἑρμην**εία** ‖ l. 2 πολιτ**είας** ‖ l. 5 θ**είας** ‖ l. 6 καταπεμφθ**είσης**; θεσπίσ**αι** ‖ l. 7 γενν**αι**οτάτων ‖ l. 8 παρενπεσ**εῖν** ‖ l. 9 παρέχ**ειν** ‖ l. 10 τ**αῖς** λεγε**ῶσιν** τ**αῖς** ‖ l. 11 δικ**αι**οσίαν καθεστώσ**αις** συνβ**αίνειν** ‖ l. 12 λεγε**ών**ων; καθ**ω**σιωμένοις; στρατιώτ**αις** ‖ l. 13 στρατ**είας** ‖ l. 14 φυλαχθ**εῖσαν**; συνήθ**ειαν** ‖ l. 15 καθεστάν**αι** ‖ l. 16 κακοθελ**είᾳ**; ἡδυπαθ**είᾳ**; στρατ**είας** ‖ l. 17 κ**αι**ρόν; στρατ**είας** ‖ l. 22 στρατ**είας**; πλ**εί**ονας ‖ l. 25 συνήθ**ειαν** ‖ l. 26 ἐνδ**είας** ‖ l. 27 οἰκ**είους**; παραπέμπ**ειν** ‖ l. 28 κινηθ**εῖσα** ‖ l. 29 ἐνθυμηθ**εῖσαν** ‖ l. 30 λεγε**ῶνας** ‖ l. 32 θ**είᾳ**; διατυπώσ**ει**; παρακολουθ**εῖν** ‖ l. 34 θ**είας** ‖ l. 35 θ**είας** ‖ l. 36 θ**είαν**; οἰκ**είᾳ** διαμέν**ειν** δυνάμ**ει** ‖ l. 39 παριέν**αι** ‖ l. 40 ἀκολουθ**εῖν**; στρατ**είαν** ‖ l. 41 ἀποτίθεντ**αι**; τελευτ**αί**αν; συμβ**αί**νειν ὑπεξελθ**εῖν** ‖ l. 43 συντελεσθ**είσης** ‖ l. 45 ἑκάστ**αις** σχολ**αῖς**; προλεχθ**εῖσαν** ‖ l. 46 θ**είᾳ** διατυπώσ**ει**; ἀμ**είω**τος; φυλαχθ**είη** ‖ l. 47 τελευτ**αί**ους; ἐκφωνηθ**είσης**; θ**είας** ‖ l. 48 πλ**εί**ονα ‖ l. 49 ἵνα ‖ l. 51 προβ**αί**νουσιν; ἀνεπιτήδ**ει**οι ‖ l. 52 συγχωροῦντ**αι**; ἀναγκάζοντ**αι** ‖ l. 53 πληρ**οῦν** ‖ l. 54 προχ**ει**ρίζεσθ**αι** ‖ l. 58 κ**αθι**στάν**αι** ‖ l. 61 ἐντρέχ**εια**; θ**είαν** ‖ l. 62 λυσιτελ**είας** ‖ l. 63 προσενεχθ**εῖσαν**; θ**ει**ωδῶς; παραφυλάξ**αι** ‖ l. 66 καθοσιώσ**ει** ‖ l. 67 συντελεσθ**εῖσαν** ‖ l. 68 ἐνφανισθ**εῖσαν**; καθοσιώσ**ει** ‖ l. 69 θ**είᾳ** ‖ l. 70 καταθ**εῖν**αι; στρατ**είας** ‖ l. 71 ἐκπίπτ**ειν**.

In Text B, the diphtong αι is used unchanged in 12[24] of 35 occurences, while ει 3[25] of 59.

Text C: l.2 θ**είῳ**.

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 πολιτ]ίας: 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 – [τοῦ θεοῦ βο]ήθιαν: Suggested by D. Feissel. It is also possible to restore this section as [ἀρχέαν συν]ήθιαν basing upon the phrase […κατὰ τὸ] ἀρχαῖον ἔθος in the Anastasian inscriptions from Arabia (see above fn. 12).[26] Instead of ἀρχέαν, παλεάν having the same meaning is also possible.

[22] παρέχεσθαι (A 6) ‖ καί (twice) (A 9) ‖ καί (A 10) ‖ γεγενῆσθαι, καί (A 11) ‖ καί (A 12) ‖ καί (A 13) ‖ καί (A 14) ‖ καί (A 15) ‖ καί (A 16) ‖ τελευταίων, καί (A 17) ‖ δικαίως (A 28) ‖ γενέσθαι (A 29) ‖ προχιρ[ίζεσ]θαι (A 52) ‖ βάλλεσθαι (A 71).

[23] ἐλεει[νῷ] (A 22); εἴδι (A 54).

[24] καὶ (B 2) ‖ δυνάσθαι (B 7) ‖ ἐ[πι]λαμβάν[εσθ]αι (B 17) ‖ κομίζεσθαι (B 22) ‖ κομίσωνται (B 24) ‖ στερηθῆναί (B 25) ‖ παράπτεσθαι (B 26) ‖ μηχανηθῆναι (B 30) ‖ γε[νέ]σθαι (B 31) ‖ π[αυθῆν]αι (B 34) ‖ ψηφίσασθαι (B 35) ‖ ὑφίστασθαι (B 71).

[25] [ἐν]θυμήσει (B 3) ‖ ἐλεεινῷ (B 24) ‖ [δια]νύειν (B 52).

[26] For instance, Maurice, Strat. 12. B. pref. 5-6: Πρὸς ἀρχαῖαν … τάξιν καὶ καταστάσιν στρατιωτικήν.

L. 3-4 – ὑ̣πο̣γ̣[ρ]α̣[φέντα τὰ πρ]άγματα: If the traces at the end of l.3 is taken as Υ̣Π̣Ο̣Γ̣.Α this restoration seems probable and there may be several different suggestions for the ending of ...άγματα, such as τ]άγματα.[27]

L. 6-7 – ὅπερ [μ]ά̣λιστα [ἐν τῷ ὑμε]τ̣έρῳ καταλόγῳ συνβέν̣ι̣: restored based upon the l.10-11 of Text B: ὅπερ μάλιστα ἐν τῆς λεγεῶσιν τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετ[έραν] δικεοδοσίαν καθεστώσες συν⟨β⟩ένι{ν}.

L. 8 – ἡ ἡμετέρα [με]γαλιό[της ἐθέσπισ]εν: the verb θεσπίζω is preferred based upon l.6 of Text B: (Ἀναστάσιος) θεσπίσε κατηξίωσε.

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

L. 12 – [ποικίλ]ων: 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 possiblity 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; κατ[ὰ] π̣[όνους: Suggested by D. Feissel. The word καμάτους stands in l.16 of Text B for this word. Another possibility might be καταπονήσις (= καταπονήσεις), 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 – ἐ͡ν νέ|[α̣ ἡλικίᾳ̣]: 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[εωτ]ερικῇ [ἡλι]κίᾳ̣". But these restorations cannot fit in the lacuna.

L. 26-27 – ἀξί[ως]: Suggested by D. Feissel.

L. 28 – [ἡμετέρων] συνστρατιωτῶν: The restoration is based upon γ[ενν]εότ(ατοι) [σ]υ̣νστρατιῶτε ἀγνοηθίη παρ᾽ ὑμῶν τοῦτον τὸν θῖον σέρμωνα [ὑμῖν] ἐξεπέμψαμεν in l.61-62 of Text A.

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 τ[ὰς στρ]ατιωτικὰς λεγεῶνας ὑπὸ τάξιν στατοῦτον γε[νέ]σθαι ἐ[ψηφίσ]α̣το. τὸ ὑμέτερον τάγμα refers to that in ἐν τῷ ὑμε]τέρῳ 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. ὑ̣πὸ̣ τ̣ὰ̣ λ̣[άμπρα τὰ τ]άγματα, ὑ̣ποταχ̣[θέντα διατ]άγματα, ἀ̣ποταχ̣[θέντα τὰ τ]άγματα or ... ἀλλ]άγματα 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 ". . . . .α . . . . . ἀγματα τὰ ὑμέτερα ἄνευ τινὸς εἶνε συν[χ]ύσεως / that your . . . ἀγματα should be without any confusion". So …άγματα here might have beeen a word synonymous with βαθμός. In this concept τάγμα might be suggested, but the use of this word in the inscription is associated with the military unit (Text A, l.28-29: τὸ ὑμέτερον τάγμ[α ὑπὸ καθεσταμ]ένην 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 occurence of τάγμα in the exact sense of βαθμός (*ordo*).

[28] Avi-Yonah 1940, 88. For instance N̊ = ν(εώτερος) *CIG* 3169.

στρατιωτικὰς λεγεῶνας in Text B. The surviving part "…ένην 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 ὡρισμ]ένην, which covers almost the same sense, is preferred.

L. 30-31 – τὴ[ν μ]άτρικα [τ]ὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑψηλο[τάτης στ]ρατηγικῆς ἐξουσίας γεναμέν[η]ν: 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 times[31] and in the sixth century by Ioannes of Gaza[32], the grammarian and poet. Further evidence is from the Anastasian edict from Arabia (see fn. 12), which reads τοῦ ἐνδο]ξοτάτου στρατηγοῦ τῆς Ἑῶ (l.31) and then mentions the same authority as τῇ εἰ]ρεμένῃ στρατηγικῇ ἐξου[σ]ίᾳ (l. 35).[33]

L. 32/33 – ἀλλὰ διηνε[κῆ ἔ]χοιεν βεβέ|[ωσιν]: Obviously the redactor seems to have switched from the singular ἐπράχθη in l.32 to the plural ἔ]χοιεν; χρόνου κύ[κλοις]: The parallel in Text B is l.33: χρόνου δι[α]στήμασιν. Based on this temporal meaning and space for the missing section, κύ[κλοις] is preferred.

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

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

L. 40 – οἵ⟪ς⟫ τελευτῆσε σ⟪υ⟫νβέη: ΟΙΑΤЄΛЄΥΤΗϹЄϹΑΝΒЄΗ (perhaps as οἵα τελευτῆσε σ⟪υ⟫νβέη) on the stone, but this is syntactically not correct.

L. 54 – [ὀ]πτίονας [τ]ῶν ἀννωνῶν, αἵ ἐν τῷ εἴδι ῥογεύονται: the word εἶδος usually meaning "shape; appearance" was employed for payments in kind (ἐν εἴδει) as distinct from payments in cash (ἐν

[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.

[30] Iust. Nov. 22.8: πρὶν ἂν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον στατοῦτον ἑκάστης ἐκκλησίας; 115.23t-25t: ΕΙΣ ΕΤΕΡΑΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΕΙΠΟΝΤΩΝ ΣΤΑΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΝ; 116.19-22: ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι πλεονάζουσιν ὅσον πρὸς τὸ ἄνωθεν ὡρισμένον καὶ τὸ καλούμενον στατοῦτον, μηδεμίαν γίνεσθαι ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν; 116.23-25: ὥστε ἀνάγκην εἶναι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐλλεῖψαι τὸ στατοῦτον ἕτερον ἀντὶ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος εἰσαχθῆναι κληρικόν; 473.33-35: εἴ τις ταῖς ἀληθείαις δοίη χρυσίον προφάσει στρατείας ἢ τοῦ στατοῦτον γενέσθαι τὸν παῖδα ἢ κατ᾽ ἄλλας τινὰς τοιαύτας αἰτίας…

[31] For example, in a Hellenistic inscription from Klaros: τοὺς δὲ κατοικοῦντας τὴν πόλιν ἠλευθέρωσε κατεγγυήσεων καὶ στρατηγικῆς ἐξουσίας, τῆς ἐπαρχείας ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτονομίας χωρισθείσης (IKlaros p. 63-66; SEG 39 1244).

[32] Ioan. 2.1-2: Ὁ λόγος στρατηγικὴν λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν | θαρρῶν πρόεισι τῷ στρατηγῷ συντρέχων.

[33] PPUAES III A 2, 24-41, no. 20, frg. 24-26; Feissel 2010, 128.

χρυσῷ / ἀργύρῳ) from the 3rd century A.D. onwards.[34] A similar use can be found in an Anastasian law in the *Codex Iustinianus* (12.37.19: ... μὴ λαμβάνειν τὰς ἀννόνας αὐτῶν τὸν ὑπομνηματοφύλακα ἐν εἴδει διὰ τὸ μὴ φθείρεσθαι). In Text B, this detail is not given, but only [ὀ]πτίονας κινδύνῳ τ̣[ῶ]ν̣ πρινκιπίων.

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

L. 66 – τοῦ λοιποῦ (*scil.* χρόνου).

L. 69 – [τῇ τολμη]ρᾷ: another possibilty can be [τῇ πονη]ρᾷ.

b) Text B

L. 1 – Ἑ̣ρ̣μ̣η̣ν̣[ία τοῦ] μ[εγί]στου 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.[35] But the word πρόσταγμα in the inscription of Casae dating from the reign of Zeno (see fn. 17) similarly has the adjective of μεγαλοφυές.[36] There is also "μεγίστη κέλευσις" in a Justinianic law in the Code.[37]

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

L. 11 – συν⟨β⟩ένι{ν}: 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 – συνή⟪θ⟫ιαν: ΣΥΝΗΟΙΑΝ on the stone. The middle stroke of Θ might later have been drawn through paint.

L. 18 – ⟪δ⟫ιά: 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 αὐτοῖς στερηθῆναί τινα συνήθιαν, since the verb στερέω is used with the genitive, and the accusative τινα συνήθιαν was placed in the syntax erroneously. The related section in l. 23-24 of Text A reads "τῶν κεχρεωστημένων στε[ρηθῆνε συν]ηθιῶν".

L. 40-41 – ὑ**φ**εξελθῖν (<- ὑ**π**εξέρχομαι) 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 ὑπεξαιρέω is turned into φ in some forms of ὑπεξαιρέω,[38] but this is related to the rough breathing in the root verb αἱρέω; the syntax of whole statement ἤ τοὺς τὴν τελευτέαν ἡμέραν

[34] *Iust.Nov.* 17.8: καὶ τὸ τῶν δεδομένων ποσὸν εἴτε ἐν εἴδεσιν εἴτε ἐν χρυσίῳ, ...; Cod. Iust. 1.4.18: ... στρατιῶται ἐν τοῖς σεδέοις αὐτῶν τὸ προσφερόμενον εἶδος ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἢ τῇ ἐνορίᾳ αὐτῆς γεωργουμένων...

[35] E. g. Aischin. leg. 102.6-8: …ὅτι μοι δοκοῖεν τὸ μέγιστον πρόσταγμα τοῦ δήμου…

[36] See in Feissel 2016, 675, l. 50 (Μεγαλοφυὲς τοίνυν πρόσταγμα…), 676, l. 56 (…τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς ἐξεφωνήθη πρόσταγμα…) and 676, l. 57 (…διηγ[ό]ρευτε τῷ μεγαλοφυεῖ προστάγματι…).

[37] Cod. Iust. 3.2.4.

[38] Theod. prov. 83.697.26:…ὑφεξαιρεῖται…; Caten. Act. 199.31: …ὑφεξαιρεθῆναι…; Caten. Mat. 84.28: … ὑφεξαίρει …; Caten. Luc. 76.10:…ὑφεξαιρῶν…; Hesych. upsilon.883-887: …ὑφεξαίρειν… etc.; Zon. 1790.10: … ὑφεξαίρειν…; Epiphan. Pan. 2.25.1: …ὑφεξαιρούμενος…

συνβένιν ὑφεξελθῖν is wrong. This should have been ἢ ὧν τὴν τελευτέαν ἡμέραν συνβένι (= συμβαίνει) ὑφεξελθῖν 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: ἡ ποσότης [τῶν στρατε]υ[ομέν]ω[ν πλήσ]ε τὸν πάντα ἀριθμὸν κ[(αὶ) ἐν τῆς ἑκά]στες σχο[λῆς κατὰ τ]ὴν καταγραφ[ῖσαν γ]νῶσιν ἀμίωτος φυλ[αχθίη]. The sense should in any case be that the number of soldiers in the units should not be reduced.

L. 46: γνῶσιν ⟪τῇ⟫ θίᾳ ...: ΓΝΩCΙΝΝΙΘΙΑ on the stone. NI after γνῶσιν seems a mistake and an article is required for θίᾳ διατυπώσι.

L. 46-49 – A subject-verb disagreement seems to have occured 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 αὐτούς in l. 49. So probably the most plausible approach to the sentence is taking the accusative words τοὺς τελευτέους and αὐτοὺς nominative (μήτε οἱ τελευτῆοι … 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 =Ἵνα

L. 50 – ⟨ἀρματοῦροι ἢ⟩: According to l.46-48 of Text A, which reads: ... ἵνα [μήδε οἱ δρα|κωνάριοι] ἢ οἱ ὀπτίονες ἢ οἱ ἀρματοῦροι ἢ οἱ κορνίκε[ς] ἢ τού[βικες | ἢ βουκι]νάτορες, this addition is necessary. ἀρματοῦροι are mentioned also in the *notitia*. So these officers seem to have been omitted by the scriber 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 – μα⟪ε⟫ίστερος: MACICTEPOC on the stone. The middle line of the first C was probably added later in paint.

L. 58 – κα⟪θι⟫στάνε: KATACTANE on the stone.

L. 60 – τὸν γεγεν]ημένον αὐτῷ βαθμὸν: suggested by D. Feissel.

L. 66 – ⟪λ⟫υσιτελὲς: ΧΥCΙΤΕΛΕC on the stone.

L. 67 – [κ(αὶ) ὑπὲρ τῆς λυσιτελεί]ας: for the lacuna at the beginning another suggestion might be [ὑπὲρ τοῦ λυσιτελοῦντο]ς ἑκάστου στρατιώτου "for the benefit of each soldier". But this is a little long for the lacuna. [καὶ τὰς πάσας ἄννωνα]ς ἑκάστου στρατιώτου "all annonas of each soldier" can also be suggested. Since this word refers to the salary in kind and cash of each soldier, it reads in accord with the Text C; ἥντινα {IX}: NTINAIX on the stone, perhaps συντελεσθῖσαν ἥντινα ἴχ' (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 – ε̈ἰδυε[ίης]: 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 ταῦτα, θεσπίζομεν αὐτὸν] στρατίας ἐκπίπτιν κ[αὶ …… ποινῇ ὑπο]βάλλεσθαι,…;

from Hadrianopolis (Feissel – Kaygusuz 1985, 399): … οὐ μόνο(ν) δὲ τοῦτο ἀλλὰ (καὶ) περὶ αὐ(τ)ὴν τὴν ζωὴν κινδυνεύσι; αὐ[τῆς τῆς ζωῆ]ς κίνδυνον ὑφίστασθαι: 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 τοῦ̣̇̇ ἀριθμοῦ ... τριβ(οῦνος) μικρός / *tribunus numeri ... tribunus minor.* They commanded legions in the late Empire. In the earlier periods, the *tribunus* was called χιλιάρχης / χιλίαρχος or λοχαγός in Greek.[39] According to Aemilius Macer and Vegetius, they were responsible for the discipline and for the inspection of the soldiers and units.[40]

In the list, there are two *tribuni*: τριβοῦνος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ (*tribunus numeri*) receiving 24 *annona* and τριβοῦνος μικρός (*tribunus minor)* receiving 10 *annona.*[41] 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".[42] Jones stated that Vegetius might have meant *vicarius*, who appears as the senior officer of the unit, or the representative of the senior tribune.[43]

L. 5 – ὠρδ(ινάριοι) / *ordinarii***.** According to Vegetius "Those, who lead the *ordines* in battle, (for they are the first) are named *ordinarii*"[44], "Thus the ten *centuriae* of the first *cohors* were directed by five *ordinarii*"[45] and "Those who fight in front of *signa*, around *signa* and in the first line are called *principes* (i.e. *ordinarii* or *principales*)"[46]. John the Lydian reported ταξίαρχοι ("commanders of the corps") as the Greek translation of ὀρδινάριοι.[47] They were also called ἑκατόναρχοι[48] ("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 τριβούνῳ κδ′, τῷ ἀκτουαρίου ιβ′, τῷ πριμικηρίου ς′, τῷ πρεσβυτέρου α′. 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 ducunt.*

[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 uocabantur (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(egetius) 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*;[49] Mommsen and Stein thought that common *centuriones* were *ordinati*, while *ordinarii* were the *primi ordines*.[50] Grosse stated that the first five *centuriones* in the first *cohors* were *ordinarii*.[51] This matter was discussed throughly 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*.[52] 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.[53] 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:[54] 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*.[55]

In the inscription from Perge there are recorded 20 *ordinarii*. If they were commanding two *centuriae*, as Janniard belives, 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 incompatable 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*.[56]

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[49] Cagnat 1900, 197; Sanders 1931, 275-279.

[50] Mommsen 1913, 376-377; Stein 1933.

[51] Grosse 1920, 116.

[52] Gilliam 1940, 130 and 148.

[53] Drew-Bear 1981, 110-111.

[54] Janniard 2007, 384 and 2015a, 403.

[55] *CIL* III 830 = 7631 (Dacia): *…Ge]nio sco|les ordi|natorum | suc c(uragentibus) L(ucio) Cilio | Aeliano et | [T]ib(erio) Aurel(io) Ro[…] | pirincip(ibus) pos(uerunt)*. Gilliam (1940, 135) stated that it is improbable to consider ordinate as primi ordines, since the number of *primi ordines* was insufficient to form a *schola*. Janniard (2007, 384) revised the the inscription as follows: *Ge]nio sco|les ordi|natorum | suc c(uragente) L(ucio) Cilio | Aeliano t|(r)ib(uno), Aurel(ius) Ro[…] | pirincip(s) pos(uit).*

[56] *PMunich* 2 = *PMonac*. 2 = Wilcken – Mitteis 1912, nr. 470 (AD 578): Φλ(αύιοι) Δῖος Παμινίου σὺν θ(ε)ῷ πριμικ(ήριος) καὶ Γεώργιος Δίου καὶ Πελάγιος Πασμῆτος καὶ Ἰωάννης Σαραπάμωνος καὶ Μακάριος Ἰσακίου καὶ Πάων Θεοφάνου καὶ Δῖος Πα[ο]υῶτος καὶ Δῖος Σερήνου ὀρδινάριοι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πρίορες ἀριθμοῦ Ἐλεφαντίνης οἱ προκ(είμενοι) ἐθέμεθα σοὶ ταύτην τὴν ἔγγραφον ἀποχὴν τῆς προβατορίας τῆς σῆς στρατείας καὶ στοιχεῖ ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένα ὡς πρόκ(ειται). Φλ(αύιος) Μακάριος Ἰσακίου ὀρδινάρ(ιος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀριθμοῦ παρακληθεὶς καὶ ἐπιτραπεὶς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδότων. δι᾽ ἐμοῦ Φλ(αυίου) Μακαρίου

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*."[57]

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.[58] The title of *Augustalis* is mentioned in the inscriptions from Laodiceia (Pisidia).[59] 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 (κα⟨ὶ ἀ⟩ποσχόλος αὐγουσταλίων εἶμαι).[60] Similarly, in a papyrus dating from ca. 530 A.D., a Flavius Ioannes is recorded as a *flavialis*.[61] 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*. Similarly, Flaviales are given in two groups, the first is 60 men and each received 4 *annonae*, the second is 140 men and each received 3 *annonae*.[62]

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.[63] They were the accountants of the centuriae and Vegetius wrote a detailed account on them[64] and he reported that they were called *draconarii* in his time.[65] He presented their number as 10 in the early

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Ἰσακίου ὀρδιναρ(ίου) καὶ ἀδιούτορ(ος) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἐγράφη. ἀποχὴ προβατο[ρ](ίας) τῆς στρατεί(ας) Πατερμουθί[ου] Δίου νεοστράτου τείρονος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ Ἐλεφαντί(νης).

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

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

[59] MAMA I 169.1: Φλάβιος Εὐάνδριος *αὐγουστάλιος* ἀρί[θμ]ου τῶν γεννεοτάτ[ω]ν λαγκιάρις ὄρ[θ]ωσεν; MAMA I 216: Φλάβιος Παῦλος Ζήνωνος *αὐγουστάλιος* καὶ ἀπὸ μαγίστρων καὶ Σωτηρίης τῆς ἐμῆς συνβίου ζῶντες ἀνεστήσαμεν μνήμης χάριν.

[60] *PRossGeorg* III 10.21-24: σὺν θεῷ ἴδε {ειδε} κα⟨ὶ ἀ⟩ποσχόλος {καποσσχολος} *αὐγουσταλίων* {αγουσσταλιων} εἶμαι {ημε} καὶ μετὰ τὰ πάσχα {πασσχα} καταλαμβάνω {καταλανβανω} ὑμᾶς {ησας} ἄρτι [ἐὰν θ]έλῃ ὁ θεός.

[61] *BGU* II 369: … ἀμφότεροι [ὁρμώμ(ενοι) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρσι]νοειτῶν πόλεως ἀπὸ ἀμφόδο(υ) Περσέας [ὑπογράφοντες ἰδίᾳ] χειρὶ Φλ(αουίῳ) Ἰωάννῃ *φλαουϊαλίῳ* ἀριθμοῦ [τῶν καθοσιωμ(ένων) Τραν]στιγριτανῶν υἱῷ τοῦ μακαρίου 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.[66] 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 *dioeceses* 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

[66] Priest 1983, 65-70.

[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 πεζός, τοῦ καταλόγου ὀπτίων, εἰς ὃν αὐτὸς ἀνεγέγραπτο· οὕτω γὰρ τὸν τῶν συντάξεων χορηγὸν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. οὗτος ὁ Γέζων, εἴτε παίζων εἴτε θυμῷ χρώμενος, ἢ καί τι αὐτὸν θεῖον ἐκίνησεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι δοκῶν ἀνέβαινε μόνος καὶ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἄποθεν τῶν τινες ξυστρατιωτῶν ᾖεσαν, ἐν θαύματι πολλῷ ποιούμενοι τὰ γινόμενα. ὑποτοπήσαντες δὲ Μαυρουσίων τρεῖς, οἳ ἐς τὸ φυλάσσειν τὴν εἴσοδον ἐτετάχατο, ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀπήντων δρόμῳ. ἅτε δὲ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὐ ξυντεταγμένοι ἐβάδιζον, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἕκαστος ᾖει. παίσας δὲ τὸν πρῶτόν οἱ ἐντυχόντα ὁ Γέζων ἔκτεινεν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάτερον διειργάσατο. ὃ δὴ κατιδόντες οἱ ὄπισθεν ἰόντες πολλῷ θορύβῳ τε καὶ ταραχῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρουν; cf. also Proc. bell. 3.17.1.

[72] For instance, Cod. Theod. 7.4.24 (398 AD): *…si quod amplius actuarios vel optiones accepisse constiterit…*; 8.7.22: *…actuarios quoque thymelae et equorum currulium, 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 - οὐερεδ(άριοι), οὐερεδ(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 commisioned 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 – β̣[η]ξ̣ιλ̣⟨λά⟩ρ(ιοι) / *vexillarii*. These officers held the *vexillum,* the flag of the relevant unit. A v*exillum* 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 – ἰμμαγνιφ(έραι) / *imaginiferi*. they were shown as Ἰμμαγνιφ(έροι?), which might be a scribal error. The reading perhaps should be ἰμ{μ}αγ⟨ι⟩νιφ(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:… ὑπομνηματοφυλάκων 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 praetoriae IIII, equites praetoriani CCCC, equites singulares imperatoris CCCCL, alae miliariae IIII, quingenariae V, Mauri eqites DC, Pannonii veredarii DCCC, classici Misenates D, Ravennates DCCC, exploratores CC, cohortes equitatae miliariae II, quingenariae IIII, 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: ἰμαγινιφέροι, εἰκονοφόροι.

[81] Veg. 2.7: *Librarii ab eo, quod in libros referunt rationes ad milites pertinentes.*

[82] Clauss 1999, 55: "Schreiber im officium einer militärischen Einheit. Einige von ihnen hatten als Buchhalter und Rechnungsführer spezielle Aufgabenbereiche."

L. 18 – μήνσορ(ες) / *mensores*. These were those who measured the field for several purposes.[83] 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*.[84] John the Lydian also indicates a distinction between these two,[85] while there seems to be no difference between them in the code of Theodosius.[86] 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.[87] 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.[88] 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.[89] Its Greek translation is given as κεραύλης by John the Lydian.[90] 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[91], 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.[92] *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 – ἀρματοῦρ(οι) δουπλάρ(ιοι) / *armaturae duplares:* The *Armatura* was the officer who trained the soldiers in weaponry. According to Vegetius the armaturae who were paid double, were called

[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 podismum demetiuntur loca, in quibus tentoria milites figant, uel hospitia in ciuitatibus praestant.*

[85] Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.6: μήνσωρες, προμέτραι … μητάτωρες, χωρομέτραι.

[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, κεραῦλαι.

[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*.[93] There are no simplares listed in the inscription from Perge, but *semissales*, who were paid one and half (see below). John the Lydian listed ἀρματοῦρα πρῖμα (*armatura prima*), which may refer to *armaturae duplares*.[94] Their number is 20.

L. 24 – βενεφικ(ιάριοι) / *beneficiarii*: Vegetius recorded that the *beneficiarii* were promoted through *beneficium* of *tribuni*.[95] The word *beneficium* can often be found in Roman law with the meaning of "favour" or "privilege".[96] 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.[97] John the Lydian stated that they were engaged in the service of veterans.[98] They number 4 men in the inscription.

L. 25 – τορκ(ουᾶτοι) σιμισ(σάλιοι) / *torquati semissales*: They are named after the *torques*/*torquis*[99], 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.[100] John the Lydian described them as "collar wearers, those who wear torcs".[101] 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.[102] This bracelet, called ψέλιον in Greek, was one of the favourite ornaments of the Persians.[103] John the Lydian described them as βραχιᾶτοι, ἤτοι ἀρμιλλίγεροι, ψελιοφόροι.[104] 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.[105]

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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: ἀρματοῦρα πρῖμα, 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: βενεφικιάλιοι, 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 uirtutis praemium fuit, quem qui meruisset praeter laudem interdum duplas consequebatur annonas.*

[101] Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.19-20: τορκουᾶτοι, στρεπτοφόροι, οἱ τοὺς μανιάκας φοροῦντες.

[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 – μουνίφικ(ες) / *munifices*. A *munifex* 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 *munifex* 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[ὶ] δηπουτά[τοι] / *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 church[111] 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

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[106] Veg. 2.7: *Reliqui munifices appellantur, quia munera facere coguntur.*

[107] Lyd., mag. 1.46.4.23: μουνεράριοι, λειτουργοί.

[108] Veg. 2.19: *…fascicularia tamen, id est lignum foenum aquam stramen, etiam legitimi milites in castra portabant. Munifices enim ab eo appellantur, quod haec munera faciunt.*

[109] Speidel 2001, 55.

[110] The ancient evidence and bibliography for regimental priests/clergy in the late Roman army is now assembled and discussed in Rance 2014.

[111] IGLS XXI 4, 50.

[112] Haensch 2004, 525.

[113] Jones 1964, 671.

[114] Maur. Strat. 1.3.17.1-3: Δηποτάτοι δὲ προσαγορεύονται οἱ παρακολουθοῦντες τῇ τάξει καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τραυματίας γενομένους ἀνακομίζοντές τε καὶ περιποιούμενοι.

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 suitable 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 distributed in kind, under the responsibility of *principia*; *armaturae*, *cornicines*, *tubicines* and *bucinatores* under the responsibility of the *campidoctor* from whatever type of *schola*; (57) *magistri draconarii*, 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 neither corrupt solicitation nor the power of someone to give harm to oneself. (68) Because of this reason, 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 [₰].

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 usurpation 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 *campidoctor* 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*

	NM	**APM**	**TA (NM x APM)**	**Ad**
Tribunus Numeri	1			24
Tribunus Minor	1			10
Ordinarii	20	8	160	
Augustales (1)	20	6	120	20
Augustales alii (2)	30	5	150	30
Augustales alii (3)	70	4	280	70
Flaviales (1)	60	4	240	90
Flaviales alii (2)	140	3	420	210
Signiferi	10	3	30	15
Optiones	10	3	30	15
Veredarii (1)	50	3	150	75
Veredarii alii (2)	225	2	450	225
Vexillarii	10	2	20	10
Imaginiferi	10	2	20	10
Librarii	2	2	4	2
Mensores	3	2	6	3
Tubicines	4	2	8	4
Cornicines	8	2	16	8
Bucinatores	2	2	4	2
Praeco	1	2	2	1
Armaturae Duplares	20	2	40	20
Beneficiarii	4	2	8	4
Torquati semissales	136	1,5	204	68
Bracchiati semissales	256	1,5	384	128
Armaturae semissales	20	1,5	30	10
Munifices	[-59]	1	-59	
Clerici and Deputati	-73 (?)			

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 remains 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 γνῶσις (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 γνῶσις was attached at the end of the inscriptions (see above fn. 13). The Justinianic (or Anastasian) inscription from Abydus is also followed by a γνῶσις (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 hiearchical 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*) anounced in his θείος σέρμων (*divinus sermo*), in which he included all the corruption together with the resolutions taken against these malpractices. This statuary *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 (*brevia* / βρέβια). It was attached to the new disposition of Anastasius as an announcement under a notification (*notitia* / γνῶσις).

(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*

[115] The account is discussed in Millar 2009, and a summary can be found in Rance 2012, 354-356.

phrases that the disposition was sent (καταπεμπφθεῖσα) 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[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 συνβένι" 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* "ὅπερ μάλιστα ἐν τῆς λεγεῶσιν τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἡμετ[έραν] δικεοδοσίαν καθεστώσες 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.[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.[118]

2. The Promulgation and Anouncement 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 ὑποτεταγμένην 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. ὁ θῖος σέρμων / *divinus sermo (Imperatoris)* / Divine Sermo (Text A)

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

[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⟨l⟩ge⟨n⟩t (see Feissel 2004, 299 l.45 and for the explanation see there p. 305).

[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).

[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:

— Casae (see above fn. 17, Feissel's edition), Zenon: Αὐτοκράτωρ Κ[αῖσαρ Φλ(άβιος) Ζήνων] εὐσεβὴς νικητὴς τρ[οπαιοῦχος ἀεισέβαστος] | [τ]οῖς μεγαλοπρεπεστάτ[οις κόμησιν καὶ τοῖς περ]ιβλ(έπτοις) τριβ(ούνοις) καὶ λοιποῖς ἀξιω[ματικοῖς τῆς Κασατῶν πόλεως.]

— Corycus (see above fn. 14), Anastasius: Αὐτοκράτωρ Κ(ῆ)σαρ Φ⟨λ⟩[ά(βιος) Ἀναστάσιος] εὐσεβὴς νικητὴς τρο[παιοῦχος ἀει]σέβαστος Αὔγουστος Λεοντ[ίῳ — — —].

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

There is a titulature for Anastasius in Text B: L.2-3. [Ὁ] δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἀναστάσιος, ὁ εὐσε[βέστα]τος καὶ [ἀ]ήττητος βασιλ[εύ]ς.

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

Emperor Anastasius anounces 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

[119] See LSJ s.v. διατύπωσις, in the meaning of "full and perfect shape": Aristot. *hist. an*. 551b.1-3: ὅταν δ' ἐκ τῶν σκωλήκων εἰς τὴν διατύπωσιν ἔλθωσι, καλοῦνται μὲν νύμφαι τότε…; in the meaning of "system": Plut. *Alex*. 72.6.1-72.7.1: οὗτος … τὸν Θρᾴκιον Ἄθων διατύπωσιν ἀνδρείκελον δέχεσθαι…; Hero *mens*., 23.1.4-5: …κατὰ τὴν τῶν μηχανικῶν διατύπωσιν…; Maur. 12.8,7.1.1-4: Μανδάτορας ἀγρύπνους, … σαγιττοποιούς, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πρὸς τὴν διατύπωσιν; The official usage of διατύπωσις is discussed in Amelotti – Zingale 1985, 62 and 136.

[120] For instance: SEG VII 1061 and 1062: (107/1061) ἔκ προνοίας καὶ *διατυπώσεως* Φλαουΐου Σιλουινιανοῦ τοῦ διασημο(τάτου) δουκὸς τὸ φρούριον ἐκτίσθη. (108/1062) ἔκ προνο[ία]ς καὶ *διατυπώσεως* [Φ]λ(αουΐου) Ἀρχελάου τοῦ λαμπρ[ο]τάτου κόμιτος καὶ ἡγεμόνος τὸ φρούριον ἐκτίσθη ἔτι σμδ; in the meaning of *disposition*, *constitution*: *IG* XII, 9, 907, l. 7-13 (Khalkis – ca. CE 359): …ἔγνωτε μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ παρουσίᾳ τῇ πάντων γενομένης *διατυπώσεως* καὶ …; *IG* XIV, 455 (Sicily – Catania, 434 A.D.): Φλάβιος Φῆλιξ Εὐμάθιος ὁ λαμπρ[ότ(ατος) ὑπατικὸς τῆς ἐπα]ρχίας εἶπεν· αἱ θερμαὶ αἱ Ἀχιλλιαναὶ ἐξ ἀρ[χ]αίας *διατυπώσεως* ἀνήλω[σαν…; *PLips*. 1.63 (Koptos/Antinooupolis – 388 A.D.): [ἐ]πειδὴ ἐπ[ὶ] τοῖς προσταχθεῖ[σιν] ὑπομνή[μ]ασι παρὰ {τῆ ἐξουσία τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος} [Φ]λ(αυίου) Εὐτολμίου Ἀρσενίου ἀπ[ὸ] λόγου *διατυπώσεως* γενομένης παρὰ τοῦ προηγησαμένου Εὐσεβίου λόγου ἀχύρου τοῖς ἀνιοῦσιν στρατιώταις…

[121] See above fn. 17 (Pamphylia, Casae): … μετὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δι[ατύπ]ωσιν ταυτῶν χρημάτων; IKition 2062, l. 5-6 (Kıbrıs, Kition): παρεχόντων τούτοις τὰ σιτηρε[ίσια — — — ταύ]της τῆς διατυπώσεως…; IGerasa 272 l. 7-8 (Arabia, Gerasa - 6. yy.): …ὁ μὲν ἐνκαθ[ιστάμενος — —] διατύπωσιν φυλάττετ[αι — — —].

in abundance in the Corpus Iuris Civilis.[122] 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.[123] 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 statuory 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.[124] 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.[125] The legal definiton of an another Justinianic law in an inscription from Isinda or Lagbe is given as θεία ψῆφος (*sacer apex*)[126], 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 θία]ν διατύπωσιν

[122] Iust. Nov., 270.7-9 (5th-6th c. A.D.): διὰ τὸ καὶ ὑποκεῖσθαι τῇ διατυπώσει τοῦ τῆς θείας μνήμης Ἀναστασίου τὸ μέτρον τῶν ἐξ ἑκάστου συστήματος εἶναι προσηκόντων λεκτικαρίων; 506.20-23: Ὑποκείσθω τοίνυν, καθάπερ εἰπόντες ἔφθημεν, ἡ ἡμετέρα διατύπωσις τῷδε ἡμῶν τῷ νόμῳ, ἧς τὸ ἰσότυπον ἀποκείσεται ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῆς σῆς ὑπεροχῆς ἅμα τῷδε τῷ νόμῳ πρὸς αὐτὴν καταπεμπόμενον; 593.9-13: βουλόμεθα γὰρ δι' ὑμῶν τοὺς παραβαίνοντας ταύτην ἡμῶν τὴν διατύπωσιν ἀπαιτεῖσθαι τὴν ὁρισθεῖσαν ποινὴν καὶ τιμωρίαις ὑποβάλλεσθαι·.

[123] Maur. strateg. 1.2.11.1-3: Χρὴ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς τὰ φαμιλιαρικὰ λαμβάνοντας πάντως παῖδας ἑαυτοῖς ἐπινοεῖν ἢ δούλους ἢ ἐλευθέρους κατὰ τὴν γενομένην διατύπωσιν ...

[124] For instance: IEphesos 217: …τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν θείων διατάξεων…; Iust. Nov. 506.20-21 …ἡ ἡμετέρα διατύπωσις τῷδε ἡμῶν τῷ νόμῳ…; Iust. Nov. 691.13 …θείας γὰρ ἡμῶν οὔσης διατάξεως τῆς βουλομένης…; Iust. Nov. 79.29-30 …τῇ θείᾳ ἡμῶν διηγορευμένων διατάξει…; 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 magnitudo…*; 11.43.11 (Anastasius): *Divinam dispositionem ab inclitae recordationis principe theodosio super his…*; 12.37.16pr (Anastasius): *Per hanc divinam dispositionem iubemus eos, quibus ex officio tuae sublimitatis militarium meritorum seu cuiuslibet praestationis committitur erogatio…*

[125] For instance, Didyma (Feissel 2004):…τόνδε τὸν θεῖον πραγματικὸν τύπον…; Mylasa (IChrAM 241; IMylasa 611): …τούτου τοῦ θείου πραγματικοῦ τύπου…; Ephesos (IEphesos VII 2, 4133A): …θείῳ πραγματικῷ τύπῳ…

[126] IChrAM 314.

πᾶσ[ι]ν τρόποις ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ διαμένιν δυνάμι, cf. A 34-35). On the other hand, the word τύπος employed in Text A (A 45: καθάπερ πρὸ τοῦδε 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 δεῖνι 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.[127] However, John the Lydian, who wrote in 6th century A.D., presents the case of Cyrus of Egypt[128], who was *praefectus urbi* in 426 and *praefectus praetorio* between 439-441, as an unfortunate situation, because he issued the decrees in Greek.[129] 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 ὑμετέρᾳ εἰσχύει μετά τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βοήθιαν συνεστάνε θαρροῦντες). He then gives the corrupt practices in order. Imperial legislative power took the action (l.7-8: ἡ ἡμετέρα μεγαλιότης ἐθέσπιζεν

[127] Barnish – Lee – Whitby 2000, 202-203; Rance 2007, 398; Rance 2010, 63-67; Rance 2015a, 579.

[128] PLRE II, p. 336-339, s.v. Fl. Tauros Seleukos Kyros 7.

[129] Lyd., mag. 2.12.2.

etc.). The word μεγαλιότης (*maiestas* / "majesty") is an imperial attribute[130] 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 malpractise experienced in the legions, the headquarters of which were at Perge in that time, saying ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ καταλόγῳ συνβένι. 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 follow:

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 ὑμέτερα ἄνευ τινὸς εἶνε συνχύσεως).

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

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

ἡ πρᾶσις: It basically means "sale",[131] 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 ὑφαρπαγή: This word is a derivation from the verb ὑφαρπάζω meaning "snatch away from under; take away underhand, filch"[132], and was not widely used.[133] A similar form of the word can be seen in a Justinianic inscription as συναρπαγή[134], and it appears as *obreptio*[135] in the Latin part of the same

[130] E.g. ACO II 1, 2, 59, 14-15: ἐν ὧι ἔργωι ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως μεγαλαυχεῖ ἡ ὑμετέρα μεγαλειότης, ἥτις πιστῶς καὶ κυρίως προενόησεν; ACO II 1, 3, 87, 42-44: Εἰ προστάττει ἡ ὑμετέρα μεγαλειότης, ἔχομεν διδασκαλίαν ὑποβαλεῖν; ACO II 1, 1, 7, 6-9: Δεσπότηι ἐμῶι Οὐαλεντινιανῶι αἰωνίωι αὐγούστωι Θεοδόσιος … δεδήλωται παρὰ τῆς σῆς μεγαλειότητος ἐν τῶι αὐτῶι ὕφει τῶν γραμμάτων; 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 permisit*….

[131] See LSJ s.v. πρᾶσις.

[132] See LSJ s.v. ὑφαρπάζω.

[133] ACO II 1,3 s59., 29-30: …εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐποίησεν καθ᾽ ὑφαρπαγὴν ἅπαξ, ἐμοὶ οὐδὲν κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας προκρίνειν δύναται…; 34: …εἰ ἅπαξ ἐποίησεν καθ᾽ ὑφαρπαγήν τινα ἢ συμβαίνει…; Basil., adv. Eunom. 29.520.23-26: …ἐκ τοῦ καθ᾽ ὑφαρπαγὴν αὐτῷ προληφθέντος λόγου… ; Greg. Nyss., epist. 16.2.6: …μονομερῶν ἀποφάσεων ὑφαρπαγαί…; Theod. Stud., epist. 362.14: …κατεσθίοντες τῇ ὑφαρπαγῇ τῆς αἱρέσεως…; 501.43 βλέπε μή που ὑφαρπαγῆς ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν σαυτοῦ τι προβάτων ὑπὸ τῶν αἱρετικῶν θηρῶν; 526.28: κατὰ διωγμοῦ αἰτίαν καὶ ὑφαρπαγὴ…

[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 praevertat, etiamsi nostri numinis per obreptionem detulerit indultum*; 5.8.1: *Quidam vetusti iuris ordine praetermisso 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 φυλαχθῖσαν συνήθιαν), but are unfulfilled due to the corruption of the system (l. 10-11: ἄγνωστον γεγενῆσθαι). The criteria predicated 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 laws[140] 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: γὰρ πρᾶγμα μόνῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ δεδομένον πειρῷτό τις *ὑφαρπάζειν*,… (trans.: Si enim causam soli imperio et fisco datam temptaverit aliquis *abripere*,…).

[137] For instance: Cod. Theod. 8.4.28: …*militiam armatam per subreptionem vel illicitum patrocinium transierit* …; 10.3.7: …*subreptio ista vacuetur et illut 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*; 1.4.15: …*decretum officium advocationis per subreptionem adripere*…; 10.16.7: *In fraudem annonariae rei ac devotionis publicae elicitum damnabili subreptione rescriptum manifestum est vires non posse sortiri circa omnes igitur par atque aequalis 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 Ambitu*); 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.[141] 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 influental contacts. These officers, who had the authority and position to appoint men to the vacant positions, led a luxurious life (ἡδυπάθια / *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 τινας 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 ἡλικίᾳ καὶ ἔτι μεταξὺ 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 ἑαυτοῖς προσπορίζιν), 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: τοὺς πλίονας 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: ἐλεεινῷ θανάτῳ προκαταλημφθέντας) in destitution before obtaining promotion, which would have made them free from heavy toil, as their reward for their wait and labour, and before they gained the right of retirement (l. 22: πρὶν ἐλευθερίας τούτων ἀξιωθῖεν), as they were broken by long-term heavy duties (l. 21: μακροῖς καμάτοις καταπονηθέντας) and deprived of the traditional bounties (l. 23-24: τῶν κεχρεωστημένων στερηθῆνε συνηθιῶν).

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 ἐ⟨π⟩έτεια εἰς μίωσιν τῶν συνηθιῶν τυπωθέντων) as fixed payments (*sportulae*). This word is used in the inscription from Abydus (see above fn. 18; γνῶσις συνηθειῶν ἃς παρῖχον πρὸ

6.22.2, 6.22.7, 6.24.5, 6.24.7, 6.26.11, 6.27.19, 6.27.3, 6.29.4, 6.30.3, 6.33.1, 7.1.18, 7.1.7, 7.20.13, 7.21.2, 8.1.1, 8.1.13, 8.1.16, 8.4.14, 8.4.18, 8.7.14, 8.7.19, 9.19.4, 9.26.1, *Nth* 24.

[141] ACO II 1,2, s. 57, 35-38: …εἰ μᾶλλον τῆι τῆς ταπεινοφροσύνης ἀρετῆι σπουδάσει ἥπερ τῶι τῆς ἀμβιτίονος πνεύματι φυσηθείη…; 4-5:…εἰς ἀφορμὴν ἀμβιτίονος ἑλκυσθῆναι…; s.58, 24-28: οὐδὲν πράττει μάτην οὐδὲ ὀγκοῦται οὐδὲ ἀμβιτιονεύει οὐδὲ ζητεῖ ἅπερ ἑαυτῆς ἴδιά ἐστιν…; s.59, 22-23: ὅτιπερ τὴν εἰρήνην τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν θεόθεν τεθεμελιωμένην ἀμβιτίονος πάλιν ἐπιχείρησις ταράττει; s.60, 21: …ἐθέλοι κοσμεῖσθαι ἥπερ ἀμβιτίονι ἐκτείνεσθαι…; 26-29: …οὕτω καὶ πᾶσα ἀμβιτίων ἐκκοπείη…; s. 62, 18: μηδὲν δὲ ἡ ἀναιδὴς ἀμβιτίων ἐπιθυμήσοι…; s.63, 9-12: …ἥπερ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀμβιτίονα δημοσιεῦσαι…; I 1,1, 111, 30: …κἂν τοῦτο προσταχθῆι ἐξ ἀμβιτίωνος,…; Hesych., alpha.3502: ἀμβιτιῶν· ἐπιτηδεύων παρεκβάλλειν τινὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίας; Suda epsilon.1532:Ἐξ ἀμβιτίωνος· ἐκ περιδρομῆς τι πράττων παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις.

ἐτῶν εἴκοσει καὶ εἴκοσει 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".[142] On the other hand, in two places in the Corpus Iuris Civilis, it means "additional payments".[143] 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.[144] 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 κατατήκεσθαι) and give their families nothing but poverty (l. 25-26: τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ τὴν ἀτυχίαν τῆς πενίας παραπέμπιν), 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 γενέσθαι 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".[146] It usually denotes the lists presenting abridged or summarized information[147] and it appears in the inscriptions with similar meanings[148]. Two short Greek laws

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[142] Haarer 2006, 219.

[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 ὑποτ[ε]ταγμένῳ βρεουίῳ…; PAbinn. 67: βρέουιον σίτου καὶ κριθῶν ἀπὸ [χ]ειρογράφων κώμης Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως·; Eus., HE 10.6.2.3: …κατὰ τὸ βρέουιον τὸ πρὸς σὲ παρὰ Ὁσίου ἀποσταλὲν…

[146] See LSJ s.v. βρέβιον; GLRB sv. βρέουιον (p. 318); PGL 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 ἀπήτησεν αὐτὸν *βρέβιον*, ὧν ἔλεγεν ἔχειν ἐπισκόπων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων καὶ εἰ ἔχει τινὰς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῆς; 8-3: ὧν μὲν οὖν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πεποίηκε τὸ *βρέβιον* τοῦτο· [Βρέβιον δοθὲν παρὰ Μελιτίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ] ἐγὼ Μελίτιος ἐν Λυκῷ, Λούκιος ἐν Ἀντινόου, Φασιλεὺς ἐν Ἑρμουπόλει…; Iust. Nov., 773.30-32: … οἱ ἀργυροπρᾶται καταγράφουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀντισυγγράφοις ἢ αὐτογράφοις *βρεβίοις*, δέχεσθαι κἀντεῦθεν αὐτοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν, …; Pall., diag. Ioan. Chrys. 19.15: …ἐν οἷς καὶ *βρέβιον* ἐπέδειξαν οἱ προειρημένοι, ὅπου τὰ κειμήλια παραδιδόασιν ὑπὸ μάρτυσι τοῖς δικασταῖ…; 32.7-9: τοῦτο διερευνᾷ τὰ βρέβια τοῦ οἰκονομείου καὶ εὑρίσκει ἀνάλωμα οὐκ ὠφελοῦν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν·; 70.5-7: ἵνα μὴ δεκαπλασιάσωσι 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…

[148] Millet 1899, 126, l. 29: … ὡς τὸ βρέβιον διἔξεισιν αὖθις τάττεται εἶναι ὑπ' αυτὴν καὶ …; IG XII, 9, 907. sat.12: …βρέβιον τῶν εἰρημένων ἁπάντων…; SB VI 7622.9: …καὶ τοῦ αὐτῷ συννηνωμένου βρεουίου [οἷς] τὰ ἀντίγραφα τούτου μου τοῦ διατάγματος… (15-18) δὲ οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ προπολειτευόμενοι ἑκά[σ]της πόλεως καὶ τοῦ θείου διατάγματος μεγάλου *βρεουίου* τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἔτι τε καὶ τούτου εἰς ἑκάστην κώμην εἴτ᾽ οὖν τόπον ἀποστεῖλαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰς γνῶσιν ἁπάντων ᾖ τάχο[ς] ἐλθεῖν τὴν μεγαλοδωρίαν τῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Καισάρων.

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.[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.[150] In the inscription from Casae (see above fn. 17) is a word formed as "βρεβιατικά".[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".[152] Feissel associates the word with royalties or gratuities (sportulae, συνήθειαι) related to a benefit.[153] There is also another word, βρεβίατωρ[154], mentioned in the novels of Justinian and this word denotes the official, *breviator,* who composed the βρέβια or *braviarium*.[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* (γνῶσις) on Slab C. This *notitia* lists the numbers and the payments to each rank/grade groups termed *scholae*. In the inscription the word γνῶσις 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 (γνῶσις and βρέβια) refer to the same list (Text C), they do not carry the same meaning. Apparently, γνῶσις, 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.[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*

[149] Cod. Iust. 1.42.1 and 2.

[150] Jones 1964, 405.

[151] Bean – Mitford 1970: …ὑπὲρ τῶ]ν καλουμένων βρεβιατικ[ῶν διάκρισιν ἐζήτησαν…(A.4), …οἱ μὲν τὰ καλούμενα βρεβιατικὰ κομιζόμενοι…(B.7), …τῶν τὰ βρεβιατικὰ *vac.* λαμβανόντων τὰ παρεχόμενα πρώην ἐκείνῳ … (B.10), …ἐ]κ τῶν βρεβιατικῶ[ν… (B.16), …τὰ καλούμενα βρεβιατικα… (C.7, 12, 13), …ἐκ τῶν πολλάκεις εἰρημένων βρε[βι]ατικῶν ἔλαβεν… (C.14), …ὠνήση[ται τὰ πολλά]κεις εἰρημένα [βρ]εβιατικὰ… (C.15), …μηδὲν λαβῖν ἐκ τῶν ἄνω καὶ π[ολλάκις εἰρη]μένων βρεβιατικῶν… (C.16).

[152] Bean – Mitford 1970, 58.

[153] Feissel 2016, 688-690.

[154] Iust. Nov. 506.29-31: ἵνα μήτε αὐτοῖς ἐξῇ παραβαίνειν μήτε τοῖς καλουμένοις βρεβιάτορσι νοθεύειν τι τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν διατεταγμένων.

[155] See LSLD s.v. *breviator*.

[156] Jones 1964, 451.

as ἀπογραφαὶ τῶν καταλόγων ("master-lists of the registers").[157] The official who was responsible for these lists, was called the *matricularius*.[158] These lists presented the names and grades/ranks of the men or staff in an establishement 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 ὑψηλοτάτης 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 malpractise 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 come to the unit, could be pocketed. This was a prevalent practise in antiquity, especially in the Later Roman World.[159] 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 malpractises 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. This required

[157] Lyd., mag. 3.2.2: …καὶ ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας, τῆς τῶν προμωτῶν λέγω, ἔτι καὶ νῦν αἱ λεγόμεναι μάτρικες, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπογραφαὶ τῶν καταλόγων, μνήμην ἀναφέρουσιν… "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 ματρικουλαρίῳ, 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.[160] *Optiones* (ὀπτίονες, see above p. 159) were responsible for the *annona* and were expected to have experience and skill in financial calculations. A*rmatura* (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. *Cornicines* (κόρνικες), *tubicines* (τούβικες) and *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.[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 c*ornicines*, *tubicines* and *armaturae* do not seem to have been built in accordance with their Latin forms. The Greek words for *cornicines* (sing. *cornicen*) and *tubicines* (sing. *tubicen*), are not κορνίκινες and τουβίκινες[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.[163] Mauricius, in the 6th c. A.D. used the word τουβάτωρ for *tubicen*.[164] The word ἀρματοῦροι (sing. ἀρματοῦρος) employed for *armaturae* could be formed as ἀρμάτουρ(?) or ἀρμάτωρ, which are attested in several inscriptions[165] and in literary sources[166]. John the Lydian employed the word ἀρματοῦρα.[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 *draconarii* should be placed under the responsibility of the *magister draconum*; *optiones* of *annonae*, which are distributed in kind, under the responsibility of *principia*; *armaturae*, *cornicines*, *tubicines* and *bucinatores* under the responsibility of the *campidoctor* from whatever type of *schola*" (l. 50-56).

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

[160] Speidel (1985, 286) stated the *draconarii* were chosen from amongst those soldiers who were rewarded with collars.

[161] See more in Rance 2015b and Janniard 2015b.

[162] Lyd., mag. 2.1.46.4.7-9: *τουβίκινες*, σαλπισταὶ πεζῶν. βουκινάτωρες, σαλπισταὶ ἱππέων. *κορνίκινες*, κεραῦλαι.

[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 αὔγουστε· τούβικας. ἀδικοῦμαι, μόνε ἀγαθέ, οὐ βαστάζω, οἶδεν ὁ θεός; 185.15-16:Ἰουστινιανὲ αὔγουστε, τούβικας. κύριε, σῶσον Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Θεοδώραν τὴν αὐγούστα; 249.28-29: Ἀναστασία αὐγούστα, τούβικας. σῶσον, κύριε, οὓς ἐκέλευσας βασιλεύειν.

[164] Maur. 12.8,22.6.1-3:Ὅτι δεῖ τὸν στρατηγὸν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχειν *τουβάτοράς* τε καὶ βουκινάτορας. 52.533-534.4: ἅμα τῷ βανδοφόρῳ καὶ μανδάτορι καὶ καμπιδούκτορι καὶ *τουβάτορι*.

[165] EG 4, 510, 3.A.1 (Iulia Concordia, 6th c. A.D.): ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς Στεφάνου σινάτορος σχολῆς ἀρματούρω(ν); IThrace, 86e (Thrake, Panion): [Π]έτρος στρατιότις καὶ ἀρμάτορ.

[166] Maur. 12.8,7.1.3: βουκινάτορας· ἀρματούρους· σαμιάτορας·

[167] Lyd., mag. 1.46.5.3-4: ἀρματοῦρα πρῖμα, ὁπλομελέτη πρώτη. ἀρματοῦρα σημισσάλια, ὁπλομελέτη μείζω

[168] See LSLD s.v. *principium*.

[169] Grosse 1920, 112.

tribuni by Ammianus Marcellinus.[170] Vegetius (II.7) equated this word with *principales milites* – an equivalence drawn that is incorrect according to Milner[171]. 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 *optiones*.

Campidoctor was the officer responsible for the training and exercises of the soldiers, e.g. drill instructer. 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.[172] It is understood from the Perge inscription that *armaturae, 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.[173] An inscription from Laodiceia Combusta records these officers could be ranked under the title of *ordinarius*.[174]

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*.[175]

Speidel, who compared this inscription to a passage from Prudentius[176], thinks that the *magister draconum* and the *magister signorum* are identical.[177] 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

[170] Amm. 12.3.2: *praesentibus Iovianorum Herculianorumque principiis et tribunis*; 25.8.16: *cum tribunis principiisque militum.*

[171] Milner 1993, 36 fn. 3.

[172] Grosse 1920, 126-127; For a detailed information on the *campidoctores* see Rance 2007, 401-407.

[173] Rance 2007, 401-407; Rance 2015c, 1013.

[174] MAMA I 168:…Παύλου ἀπὸ καμπιδουκτόρων ὠρδεναρίου… For the comments on this evidence see Stein 1933, 379, 386-387, Wheeler 2004, II, 168-169 and Rance 2007, 406.

[175] IPrusias, nr. 120: υἱὸς γενάμενος Γεωργίου, | τοῦ λαμπροτάτου σχ⟨ο⟩λαρίου καὶ μα|γίστερος δρακώνον, καὶ Εὐφη|μίας. ἐτελιόθι μην(ὸς) η′ Νοεμβρίου.

[176] Peristephanon 1.33-34: *Caesaris uexilla linquunt, eligunt signum crucis | proque ventosis draconum, quos gerebant, palliis | praeferunt insigne lignum, quod draconem subdidit. …* | (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.[178] 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 ⟨ἁρματοῦροι ἢ⟩ κόρνικες ἢ τούβικες ἢ βουκινάτορες εἰς τὰς σχολὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνόματα λαχόντες προβένουσιν … (l.55-58) ὥστ(ε) τοὺς δρακωναρίους κινδύνῳ 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 ὀρνάμεντον / *ornamentum*) representing his dignity. This decoration was probably the golden collar as Ammianus Marcellinus stated that each *draconarius* had a golden collar.[179] 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 συνστρατιῶται[180]), 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[181] / *pro communi pace*). The last sentence of this section reads, οὔτε ἀνβιτίονα ἢ δυναστίαν τινὸς πρὸς βλάβην ἰδίαν ὑφ̣ο̣ρ̣ω̣[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).

[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 στρατιῶται; Kyrill., Reg., 69.684.17-18: …καὶ οἱ σφόδρα γενναιότατοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν…; Chr. Pasch. 717.7-8: …τοὺς εὑρεθέντας ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐφίππους γενναιοτάτους στρατιώτας…; Leon Diak. 82.3-4: …καὶ μετὰ λεγεῶνος 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 Συστρατιῶται was employed by the emperors with the meaning of "fellow-soldiers". For instance, Titus: …νομίζων δὲ ὁ Τίτος ἐγείρεσθαι … "ὦ συστρατιῶται, λέγων, τὸ μὲν παρακελεύειν… (Ios., bell. Jud. 6.33-34); Commodus: ὁ Κόμοδος ἀπήντησέ τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπύθετο "τί ταῦτα, ὦ συστρατιῶται; τί βουλόμενοι πάρεστε;" εἰπόντων δὲ αὐτῶν "ἥκομεν" (Cass. Dio 72.9.3.2-3); Severus Alexander: …ἐβουλόμην μέν, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, τοὺς συνήθεις πρὸς ὑμᾶς ποιεῖσθαι λόγους (Herod. 6.3.3.1-2). In 457 AD Leo used this word, when he came to throne, see Cons. Porph., cer. 411-412: αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λέων νικητὴς ἀεὶ σεβαστός· ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοδύναμος καὶ ἡ κρίσις ἡ ὑμετέρα, ἰσχυρώτατοι συστρατιῶται, αὐτοκράτορά με τῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων δημοσίων πραγμάτων εὐτυχῶς ἐξελέξατο." This use can be observed in the later centuries as well, e.g. Sphrant., Chron. 414.24 : …γενναιότατοι συστρατιῶται… (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 aproximately 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*) attached 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

[182] The example for this restoration is IChrAM 314: …κατὰ τῶν ἡμε[τέ]ρων 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 urbem agendum praesumat executio militaris, ac si quid erit forte praeceptum, in notitiam prius urbanae veniat praefecturae quae aut compleat 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 praecepta neglexerit.*

[187] Bean-Mitford 1970, 51, nr. 31: …μεγαλοφυὲς τοίνυν πρόσταγμα… (C.10), …τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς ἐξεφωνήθη πρόσταγμα… (C.15), …διηγ[ό]ρευτε τῷ μεγαλοφυεῖ προστάγματι… (C.17); IChrAM 240 sat.17 (=IMylasa 613):…τις δυνή[θ]η στερ[η]θῆ⟨ν⟩ε, [τὸ ἡμέτερον] ⟨πρ⟩όσταγμα σπουδα[σ]άτω…; SEG XI, 464 (Peloponnesos, Sparta): …κατὰ πρόσταγμα [τ]οῦ λαμ(προτάτου) ἀνθ(υπάτου) Πουβλ(ίου) Ἀμπελίου [δι]ετυπώθησαν…; PLips, 1.63: …καὶ διὰ δευτέρου προστάγματος κελευσθεῖσι…

[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 Scytha**[192]**,** *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 Ioannes**[194]**,** *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 1st 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]

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[189] 1) Fl. Patricius: *Magister Militum Praesentalis* 500-518 A.D., PLRE II 840, s.v. Fl. Patricius 14. 2) Fl. Hypatius: *Magister Militum Praesentalis* 503 A.D., *Magister Militum per Thracias* 513 A.D., *Magister Militum Praesentalis* 513 A.D., *Magister Militum per Orientem* 516-518? A.D., PLRE II 577, s.v. Fl. Hypatius 6. 3) Fl. Areobindus Dagalaiphus Areobindus, *Magister Militum per Orientem* 503-504 A.D., PLRE II 143, s.v. Fl. Areobindus Dagalaiphus Areobindus 1. 4) Pharesmanes, *Magister Militum per Orientem* 505-506 A.D., PLRE II 872, s.v. Pharesmanes 3. 5) Urbicius, 5th – 6th c. A.D., PLRE II 1190, s.v. Vrbicius *qui et* Barbatus 2. 5) Ioannes, *Magister Militum Praesentalis* 514-515 A.D., PLRE II 608, s.v. Ioannes 60.

[190] PLRE II 1290-1291 (fasti).

[191] Theoph. 138.6-11: τούτοις ἀνθίστησι στράτευμα Ῥωμαϊκὸν Ἀναστάσιος, ἡγουμένου ὄντος Ἰωάννου τε τοῦ Σκύθου, τοῦ τὴν Ἴλλου καὶ Λεοντίου τυραννίδα καθελόντος, καὶ Ἰωάννου τὸ ἐπίκλην Κυρτοῦ, ἀμφοτέρων τοῦ Θρᾳκῴου στρατεύματος ἡγουμένων καὶ Διογένους (οὗτοι κόμητες σχολῶν ἐτύγχανον ὄντες) καὶ ἑτέρων τινῶν ἐπαινετῶν ἀνδρῶν.

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

[193] Malalas 389.4-5: Καὶ γνοὺς Ζήνων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε βοήθειαν πολλὴν καὶ στρατηλάτην Ἰωάννην τὸν Σκύθην.

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

[195] Theophanes 138.24-26: …πλὴν Ἰωάννης ὁ Κυρτὸς ὑπερβὰς τὰ στενὰ τοῦ Ταύρου καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἑλών, αἰφνιδίως αὐτοῖς ἐπιστὰς διέφθειρε τὸ στράτευμα τῶν πολιορκούντων, ἐπεξελθόντος καὶ Διογένους; PLRE II 362, v. Diogenianus 4.

[196] Mal. 393.12-17: Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας ὅτι συνάγονται οἱ Ἴσαυροι εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν χώραν τυραννῆσαι βουλόμενοι, εὐθέως ἐπεστράτευσε κατ᾽ αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς πέμψας στρατηγοὺς Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπίκλην κυρτόν, στρατηλάτην πραισέντου, καὶ Διογενιανὸν τὸν πατρίκιον, τὸν συγγενέα τῆς Αὐγούστας, καὶ ἄλλους μετὰ πλήθους Σκυθῶν καὶ Γοτθικῆς καὶ Βεσσικῆς χειρός.

[197] *POxy*. 1959 (29 Aug 499 A.D.): ὑπατείας Φλ(αουίου) Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) κα[ὶ] ὑπερφυεστάτ(ου) στρατηγ(οῦ).

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. 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) Title (L.1):

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

b) 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 piissimus 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 καταπεμφθίσης).

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 καθωσιωμένος (*devotus, devotissimus*; τοῖς αὐτοῖς καθοσιωμένοις 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 (ἀήττητος) 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 γενναιότατος.

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*[202] 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 δεῖνα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡμετ]έρου σκρινιαρίου). *Scriniarii* 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 *prafectura praetorio*.[203] 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.[204]

g) Sanctions (L. 69-71)

The differences are not only in expression, but also in the punishment. In the Text A there was only 50 pounds of gold, while in Text B the *magister militum* added expulsion from military service and capital punishment. Evidently the *magister militum* was able to increase penal sanctions.

D. The *Notitia* / ἡ γνῶσις (Text C)

The inscription on the third slab contains a unique list. This certainly requires further research by scholars focused on the units of the late Roman army. What I can mostly provide here is to give all the data I have collected from all fragments of the inscription.

The title of the list is γνῶσις. Although this word carries many meanings, in general – as should be understood here – it indicates a "notification" or "declaration". Although the word, which is *notitia*

[202] For some examples of γαληνότης / *serenitas/tranquillitas* employed to describe the imperial majesty see: Iust. Nov. 118.6.17; 119.11.2324; 120.11.34-35; 124.44.10 (ἡ ἡμετέρα ἐθέσπισε γαληνότης); Iust. Nov. 123.9.7 (πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν εἰσιέναι γαληνότητα). For γαληνοτάτος applied specifically to Anastasius see Urbicius, Epitedeuma 2.15-16 (τῷ γαληνοτάτῳ πάντων δεσπότῃ), probably writing the 490s, in the edition of Greatrex – Elton – Burges 2005, 55.

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

[204] For instance, BGU 12 2150 (472 A.D.), 2051 (476 A.D.), 2055 (481 A.D.) and 2064 (494 A.D.): ... σκρινιαρίῳ τῆς κατὰ Θηβαίδα στρατιωτικῆς (δουκικῆς) τάξεως ...; PNessana 19.1 (548 A.D.): Φλ(άουιος) Βικτορος [Ἀ]βρα[αμ]ίου [σκρ]ι[νι]άρ(ιος) κάστρου Νεσάνων; SB 22 15582 (533-536 A.D.): Φλ(άουιος) Στ[ρατήγι(ος)] ὁ Ἀ]βρα[αμ]ίου) κόμ(ης) | ἀπ(ὸ) ὑπ(ά)τ(ων) κ[α]ὶ [- yak.10 -].. | δι(ὰ) Ἀριστομάχ(ου) τ(οῦ) [ἐνδοξ(οτάτου)] | στρατηλάτ(ου) δι(ὰ) τοῦ σ[κρ(ινιαρίου)] | [κ]αὶ ταβουλ(αρίου) θ...

in Latin, usually appears in the context of lists concerning payments,[205] originally it did not necessarily have such a meaning. A γνῶσις 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 γνῶσις 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 γνῶσις attached.[209] The γνῶσις 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 (βρέβια).

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 Valentinan 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 somone 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. Iust.* 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:

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[205] For instance, Dagron 1985, 451-455 (Abydus inscription).

[206] IChCrete 59 (Girit, Bobia – 4th-5th c. A.D.): γνῶσις τ[ῶν διατυπωθέντων] καθ᾽ ἑκάστην [ἡμέραν…].

[207] ISardis VII, 1.19 (Sardis - 531-534 A.D.; = IChrAM 324): γνῶ(σις) τῶν διατυπωθ(έντων) ἤτοι κ(αὶ) ἐξωρισθέντων ἀνοσίων κ(αὶ) μυσερῶν Ἑλλήνων.

[208] For instance, Maur. strateg. 3.1, 5, 7; 12.A.1.

[209] Pentapolis (see above fn. 13): § 13 Γνῶσις τῶν μετὰ τὰ ἐ⟨π⟩έ[τε]ια [ε]ἰς μίωσιν τῶν συνηθιῶν τυπωθέντων·; Abydus (see above fn. 18): γνῶσις συνηθειῶν ἃς παρῖχον πρὸ ἐτῶν εἴκοσει καὶ εἴκοσει δύο τῶν στενῶν οἱ ναύκληροι.

[210] Veg. 2.7 (… *antiqua ordinatione 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 suo 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 *vexillationes*. The unit in Perge edict is a *legio*, either *comitatensis* or perhaps *palatina*.

No.	TITLE/RANK	NUMBER	No.	TITLE/RANK	NUMBER
1.	Tribunus Maior	1	**15.**	Librarii	2
2.	Tribunus Minor	1	**16.**	Mensores	3
3.	Ordinarii	20	**17.**	Tubicines	4
4.	Augustales	20	**18.**	Cornicines	8
5.	Augustales alii	30	**19.**	Bucinatores	2
6.	Augustales alii	70	**20.**	Praeco	1
7.	Flaviales	60	**21.**	Armaturae Duplares	20
8.	Flaviales alii	140	**22.**	Beneficiarii	4
9.	Signiferi	10	**23.**	Torquati semissales	136
10.	Optiones	10	**24.**	Bracchiati semissales	256
11.	Veredarii	50	**25.**	Armaturae semissales	[20]
12.	Veredarii alii	225	**26.**	Munifices	[?59]
13.	Vexillarii	10	**27.**	Clerici and Deputati	?73
14.	Imaginiferi	10			
					min. 1245

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]

[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.[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.



Fig. 10

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 deducted 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.

ABBREVIATIONS	**AG** = Commutable annona in gold	**TAK** = Total annona in kind
min. = minimum	**TAG** = Total commutable annona in gold	**TAM** = Total commutable annona per man
NM = Number of men	**AK** = Annona in kind	TAT = Total annona per title

TITLE/RANK	**NM**	**ANNONA PER MAN**			**ANNONA PER TITLE/RANK GROUP**		
		AK	AG (TAK / **NM**)	**TAM** (AK+AG)	TAK (**NM** x AK)	**TAG** (**NM x** AG)	**TAT** (**NM x TAM**)
Tribunus Numeri	**1**	24		**24**	**24**		**24**
Tribunus Minor	**1**	10		**10**	**10**		**10**
Ordinarii	**20**	8		**8**	**160**		**160**
Augustales (1)	**20**	5	1	**6**	100	**20**	**120**
Augustales alii (2)	**30**	4	1	**5**	120	**30**	**150**
Augustales alii (3)	**70**	3	1	**4**	210	**70**	**280**
Flaviales (1)	**60**	2,5	1,5	**4**	150	**90**	**240**
Flaviales alii (2)	**140**	1,5	1,5	**3**	210	**210**	**420**
Signiferi	**10**	1,5	1,5	**3**	15	**15**	**30**
Optiones	**10**	1,5	1,5	**3**	15	**15**	**30**
Veredarii (1)	**50**	1,5	1,5	**3**	75	**75**	**150**
Veredarii alii (2)	**225**	1	1	**2**	225	**225**	**450**
Vexillarii	**10**	1	1	**2**	10	**10**	**20**
Imaginiferi	**10**	1	1	**2**	10	**10**	**20**
Librarii	**2**	1	1	**2**	2	**2**	**4**

[215] Várady 1961, 367; Nicasie 1998, 73.

Mensores	**3**	1	1	**2**	3	**3**	**6**
Tubicines	**4**	1	1	**2**	4	**4**	**8**
Cornicines	**8**	1	1	**2**	8	**8**	**16**
Bucinatores	**2**	1	1	**2**	2	**2**	**4**
Praeco	**1**	1	1	**2**	1	**1**	**2**
Armaturae Duplares	**20**	1	1	**2**	20	**20**	**40**
Beneficiarii	**4**	1	1	**2**	4	**4**	**8**
Torquati semissales	**136**	1	0,5	**1,5**	136	**68**	**204**
Bracchiati semissales	**256**	1	0,5	**1,5**	256	**128**	**384**
Armaturae semissales	**20**	1	0,5	**1,5**	20	**10**	**30**
Munifices	[**-59**]	1		**1**	-59		**-59**
Clerici and Deputati	**?73**						
SUMS	**min. 1245**	AK 77,5	AG 57	**TAM 100,5**	TAK min. 1849	**TAG 1054**	**TAT min. 2869**

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,[216] 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"[217] 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,[218] when he commuted the ration allowances, uniforms and weapons into cash.[219] Procopius of Gaza wrote about the strength and the quality of the soldiers in Anastasius' army.[220] Similarly, Priscianus also mentioned

[216] Malch. 9:… Ζήνων βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων… καὶ χρηστῆς ἂν βασιλείας ἔτυχον Ῥωμαῖοι, εἰ μὴ Σεβαστιανὸς ὁ τότε παραδυναστεύων ἦγεν αὐτὸν ἐς ἐβούλετο, καπηλεύων ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἅπαντα καὶ μηδὲν ἄπρατον ἐῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλέως αὐλῇ διαπράττεσθαι. ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀπεδίδοτο πάσας, ἰδίᾳ δὲ λαμβάνων τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ τιμήματα.

[217] Cons. Porph., cer. 419.10 and 15-16.

[218] Cod. Iust. 1.42.1-2 ? (concerning civil and military *brevia* that needed to be sent every four months), 10.16.13 (concerning *annona* and tax payments, 496 A.D.), 10.19.9-10 (concerning tax collection, 496 A.D. and 498 A.D.), 11.1.1-2? (the abolition of the *collatio lustralis*, 498 A.D.) 12.37.16-17-18-19 (concerning the distribution of military *annonae*); Mal. 394.8-10: Ὁ δὲ θειότατος βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος ἐποίησε χρυσοτέλειαν τῶν ἰούγων τοῖς συντελεσταῖς πᾶσι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι τὰ εἴδη καὶ διατρέφεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

[219] Treadgold 1995, 153-158. and 179-182; Stein 1949, II 199-203 (La Coemptio).

[220] Procop. pan. Anast. 2.18: Φρούρια δὲ πανταχοῦ τῶν ὑπηκόων προβέβληται, καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἡλικία ῥωμῃ καὶ πλήθει συμπεφραγμένων· ἄνδρες ἀκμῇ ζέοντες, καὶ βλέποντές τι νεανικόν, καὶ ὡς ἄν Ὅμηρος εἶπε, θεράποντες Ἄρηος· οὐχ ὥσπερ πρώην ἀσθενεῖς καὶ γεγηρακότες, ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ὑπότρομοι, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν δεδιότες, καὶ τοῦ σώζοντος μᾶλλον δεόμενοι· ["Forts guarded the subjects everywhere, and also the youthfulness of soldiers closing the ranks with strength and multitude: men (soldiers) boiling with vigour, and looking

these soldiers and praised the victories of Anastasius.[221] 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.[222]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.[223] 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"].

[221] 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.

[222] Procop. BP 1.8.1-5; Jos. Styl. 54 (p. 43-44).

[223] SEG XXXII 1554, sat. 47; Feissel 2010, 128.

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

Özet

Bu makalede, Perge'de bulunmuş olan İmparator I. Anastasios'un (İ.S. 491-518) ordu ile ilgili fermanını içeren yazıtın revize edilmiş ikinci edisyonu yayımlanmaktadır. Bu yazıtın parçaları Perge'de 1974 yılı kazılarında gün yüzüne çıkarılmıştır. Akropolis tepesinin güneyindeki kuzey çeşmesinin güneyinde yak. 850 parça olarak çıkarılan yazıt Antalya Arkeoloji Müzesi'nde korunmaktadır. Yazıt, her ikisi de Latince'den Yunanca'ya çevrilmiş olan Anastasios'a ait bir imparatorluk fermanı ve *magister militum*'un emirnamesi ile birlikte bir lejyondaki askerlerin unvan/rütbe sınıflarına göre sayıları, aldıkları ayni ve nakdi maaşlarını içeren bir çizelge olmak üzere üç kısımdan oluşmaktadır.

Yazıtta değinilen ana konu bir lejyondaki askerler ve bu askerlerin, bulundukları birimleri ve *schola*'larında gerçekleşen yozlaşmalar ve mevki satışı nedeniyle geleneksel ödemelerden, emeklilik ikramiyelerinden mahrum bırakılışlarıdır. Ayrıca, ölmüş ya da kayıp statüsündeki 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 uygulamalara karşı önlemler getirmektedir. Anastasios lejyon içerisinde her bir unvan/rütbe grubundaki asker sayılarının 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. Listede içerilen unvan/rütbe adları şu şekildedir: *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 semissales, bracchiati semissales, armaturae semissales, munifices, clerici* ve *deputati.* Ayrıca Levha A ve B'deki metinlerde *principia*, *draconarii, magister draconum* ve *campidoctor* anılmaktadır. Yazıtın bazı kısımları eksik olsa da, mevcut metin Roma tarihi, ordusu, hukuk sistemi ve dilbilimsel açıdan önemli veriler içermektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: I. Anastasios; Geç Roma Ordusu; 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, cornicines, bucinatores, praeco, armaturae duplares, beneficiarii, torquati semissales, bracchiati semissales, armaturae semissales, munifices, clerici* and *deputati.* Additionaly, there are also some other titles/grades/posts mentioned in the text A and B as follow: *principia*, *draconarii, magister draconum* and *campidoctor.* 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.*

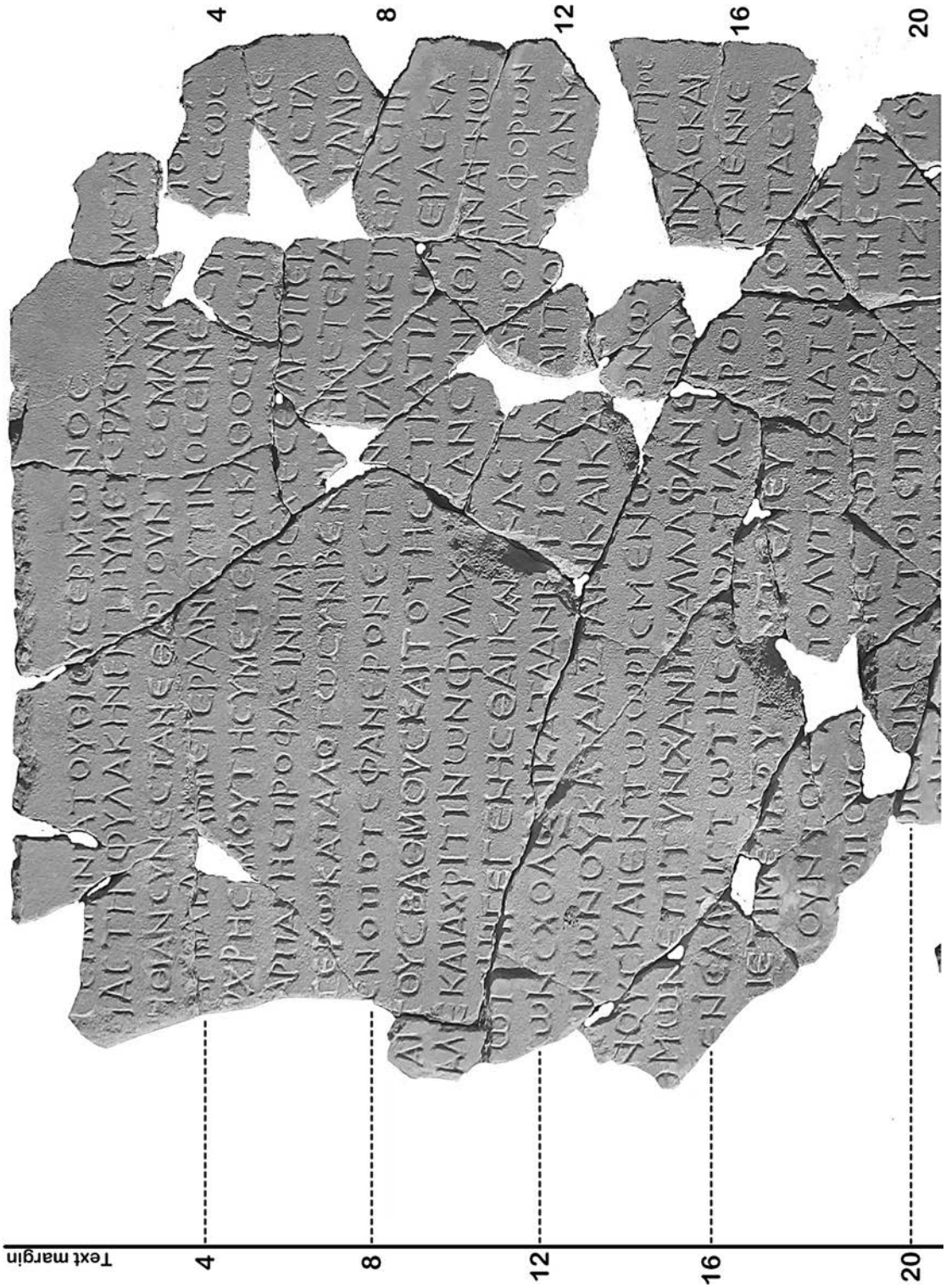


Fig. 11) Slab A, l. 1-20

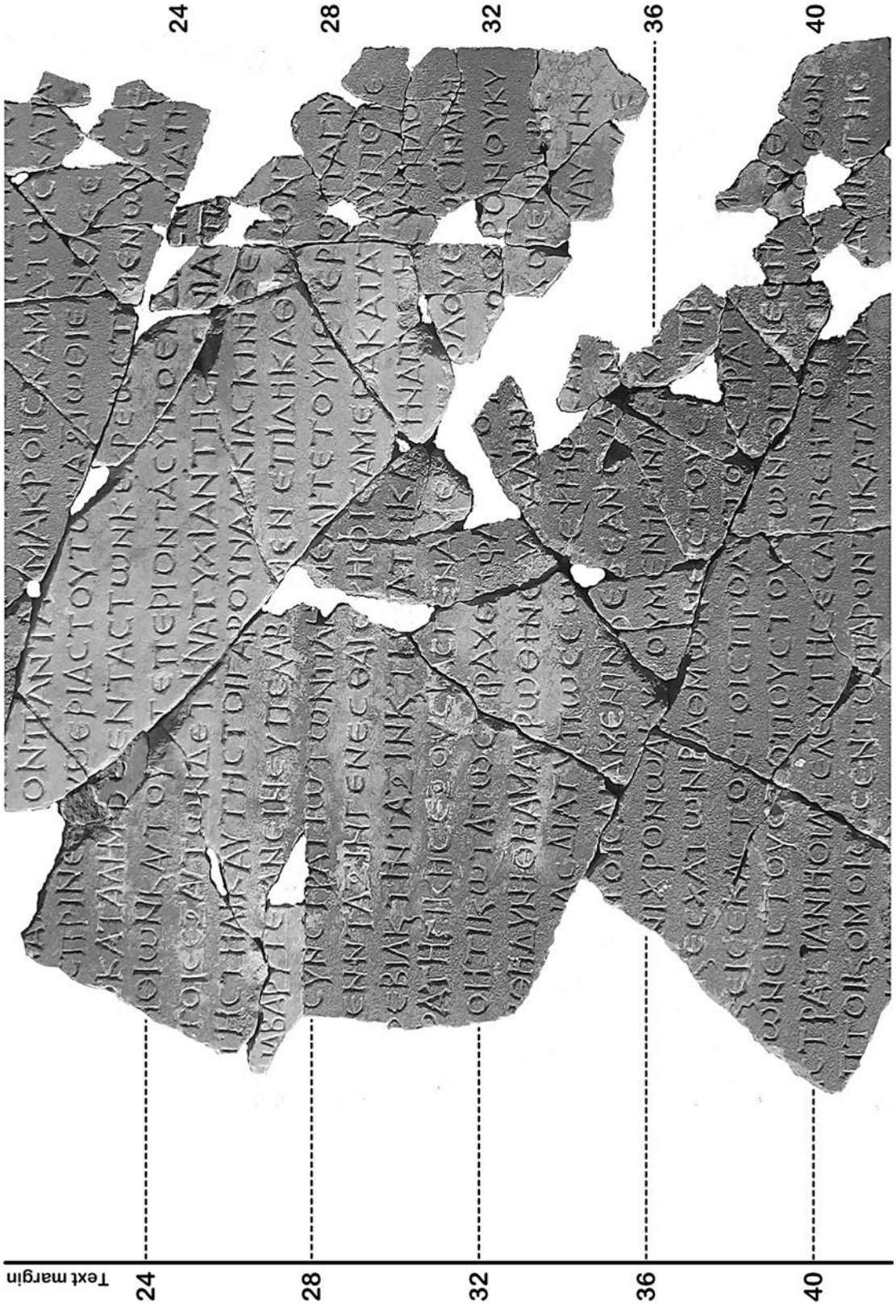


Fig. 12) Slab A, l. 21-41

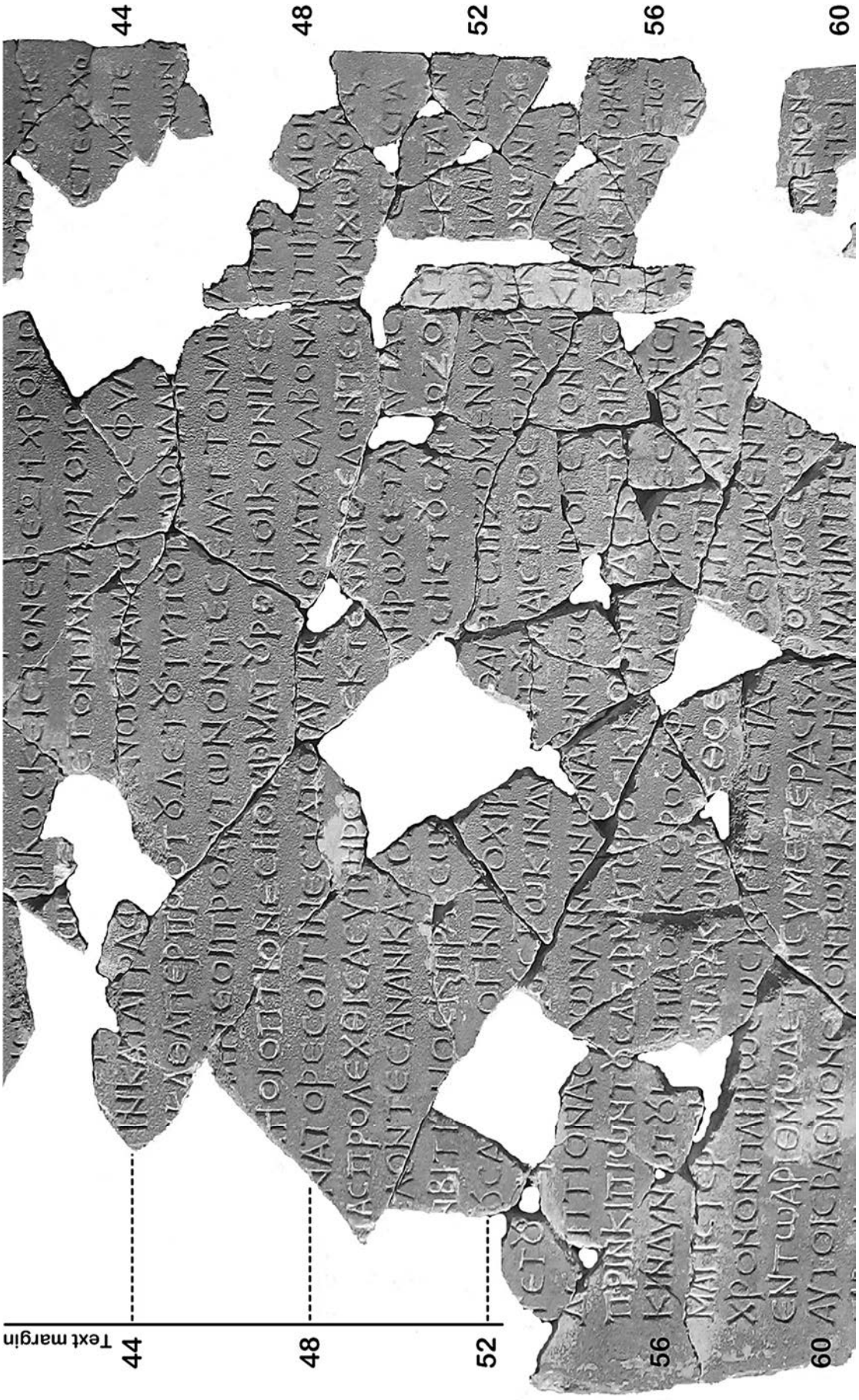


Fig. 13) Slab A, l. 42-60



Fig. 14) Slab A, l. 62-71

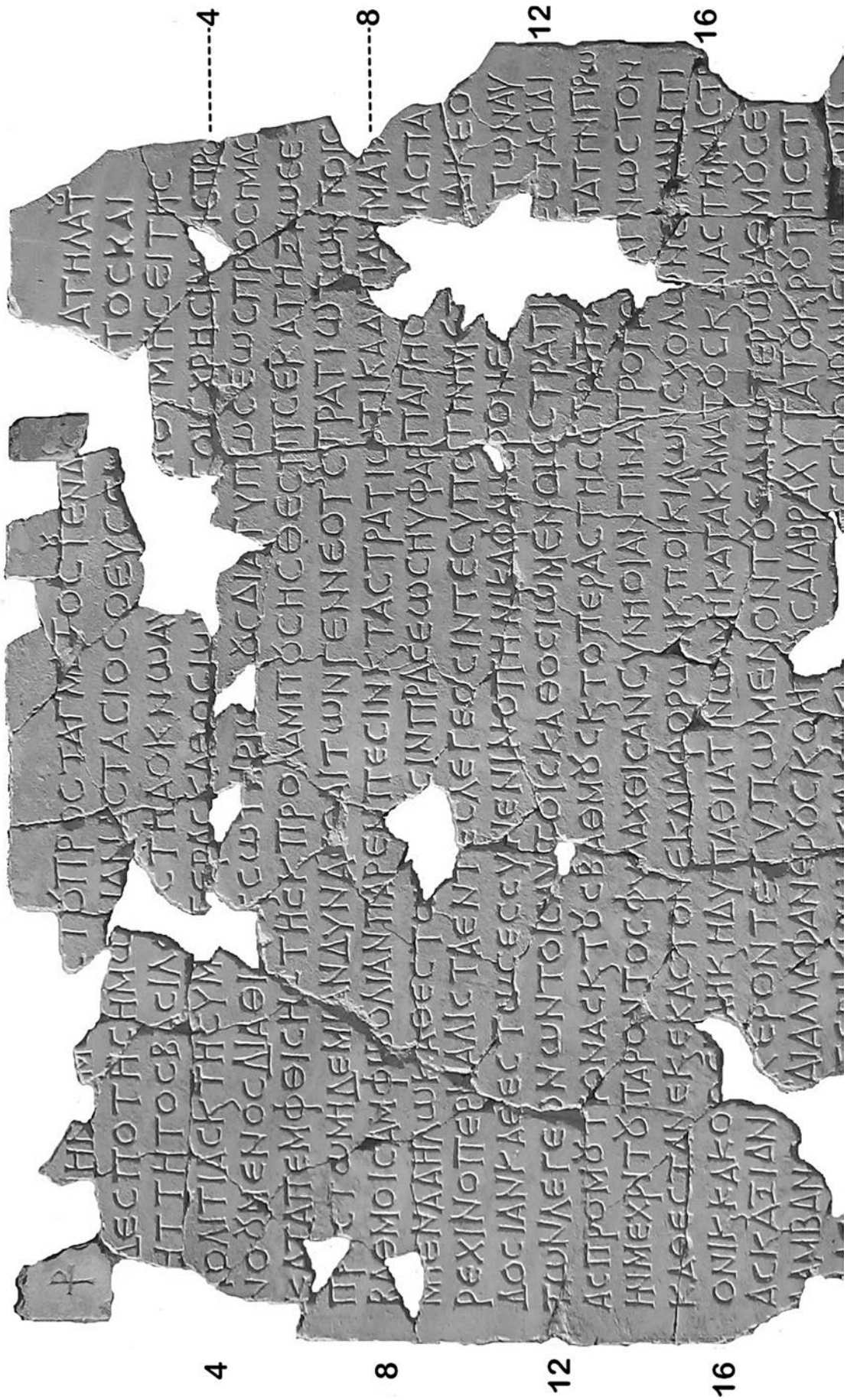


Fig. 15) Slab B, l. 1-18

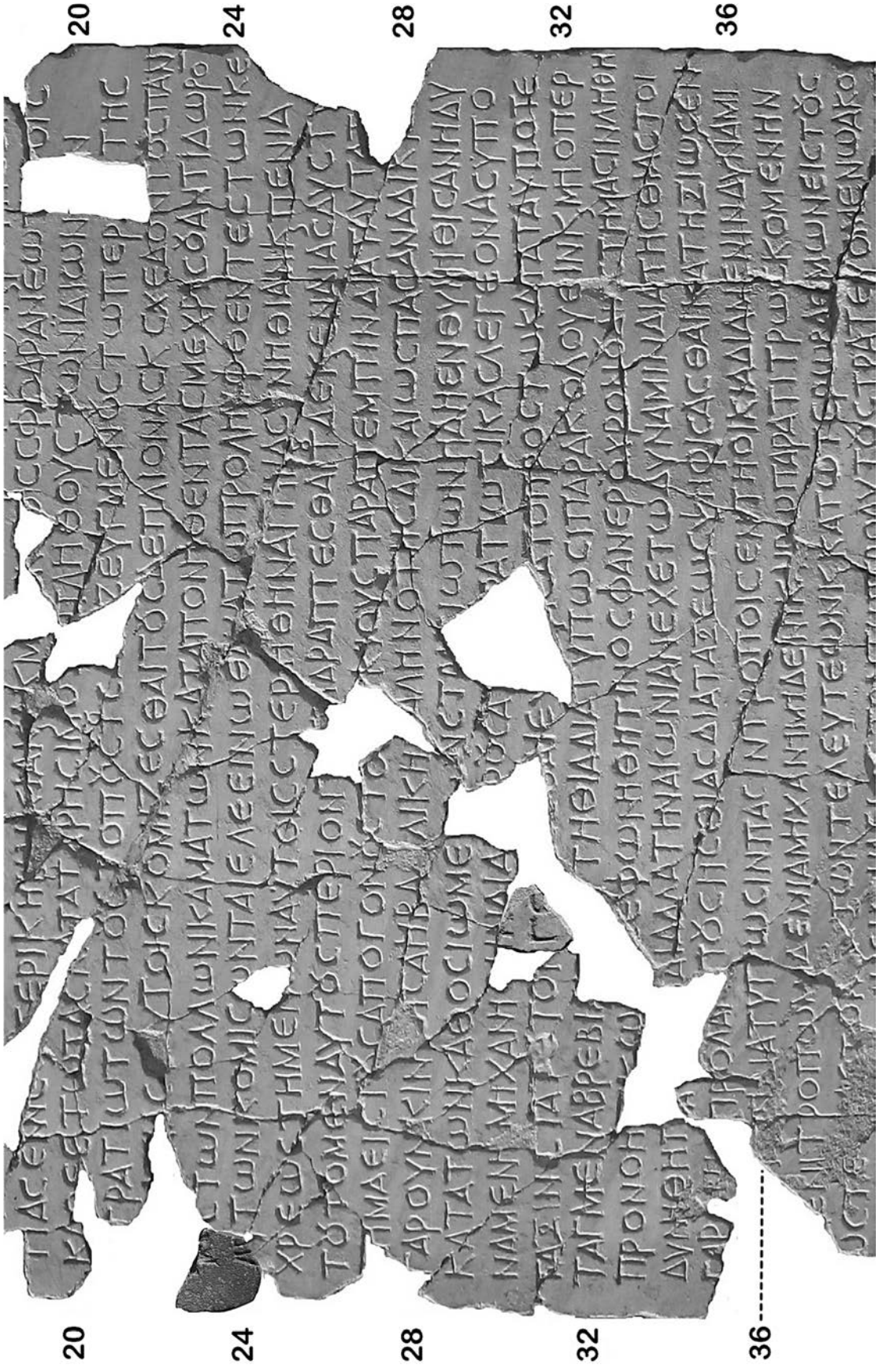


Fig. 16) Slab B, l. 19-38

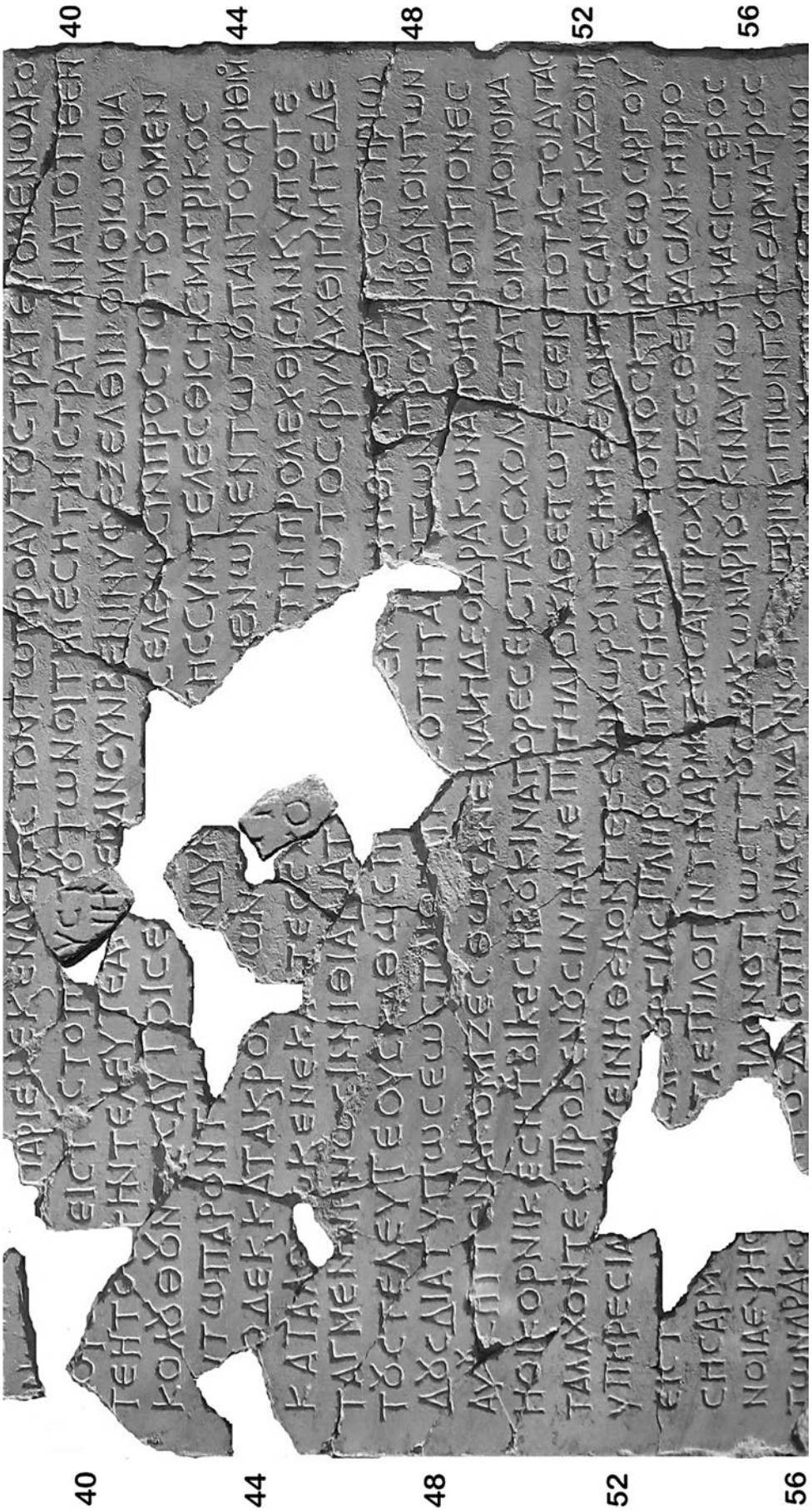


Fig. 17) Slab B, l. 39-56

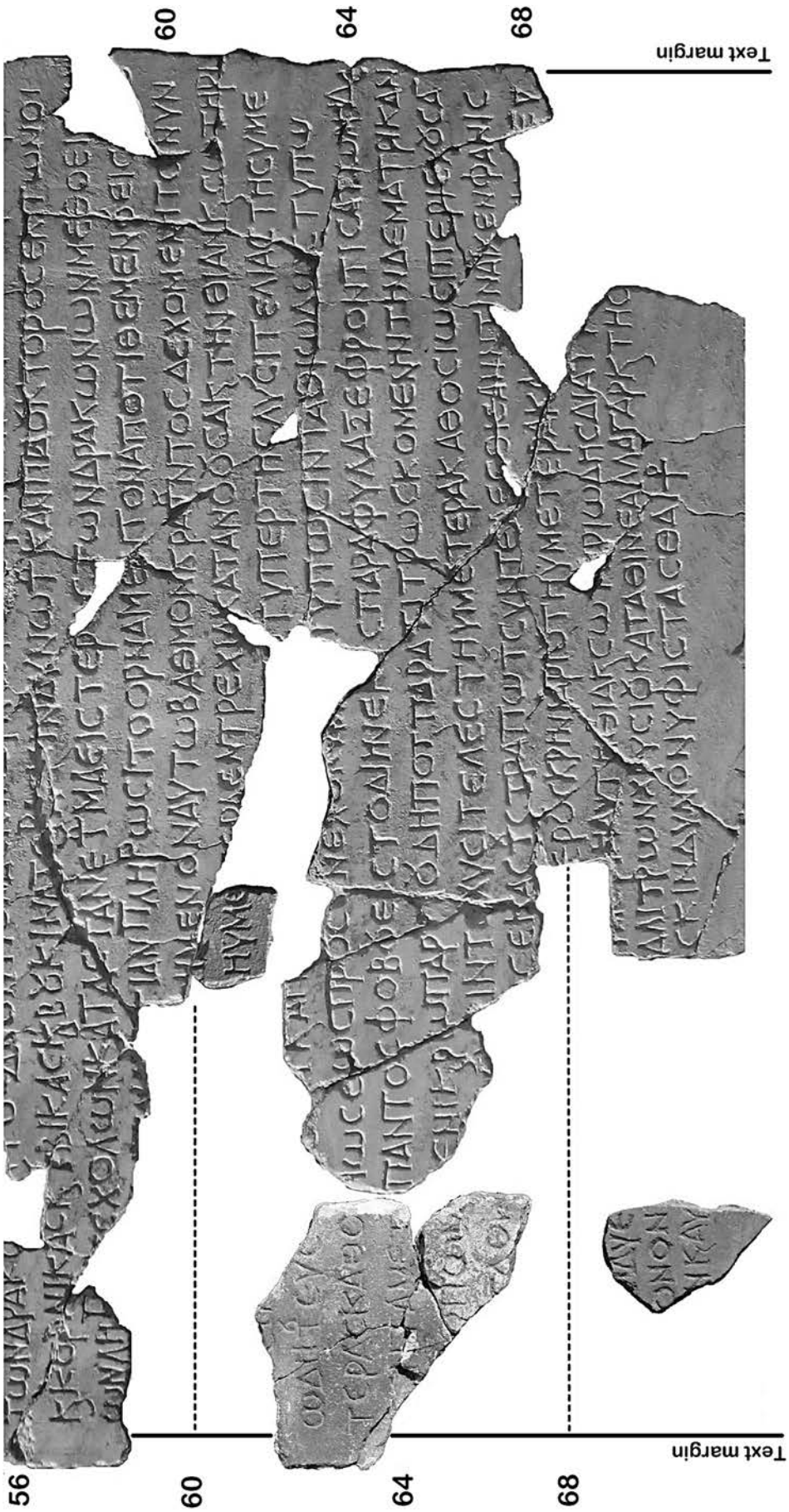


Fig. 18) Slab B, l. 57-71

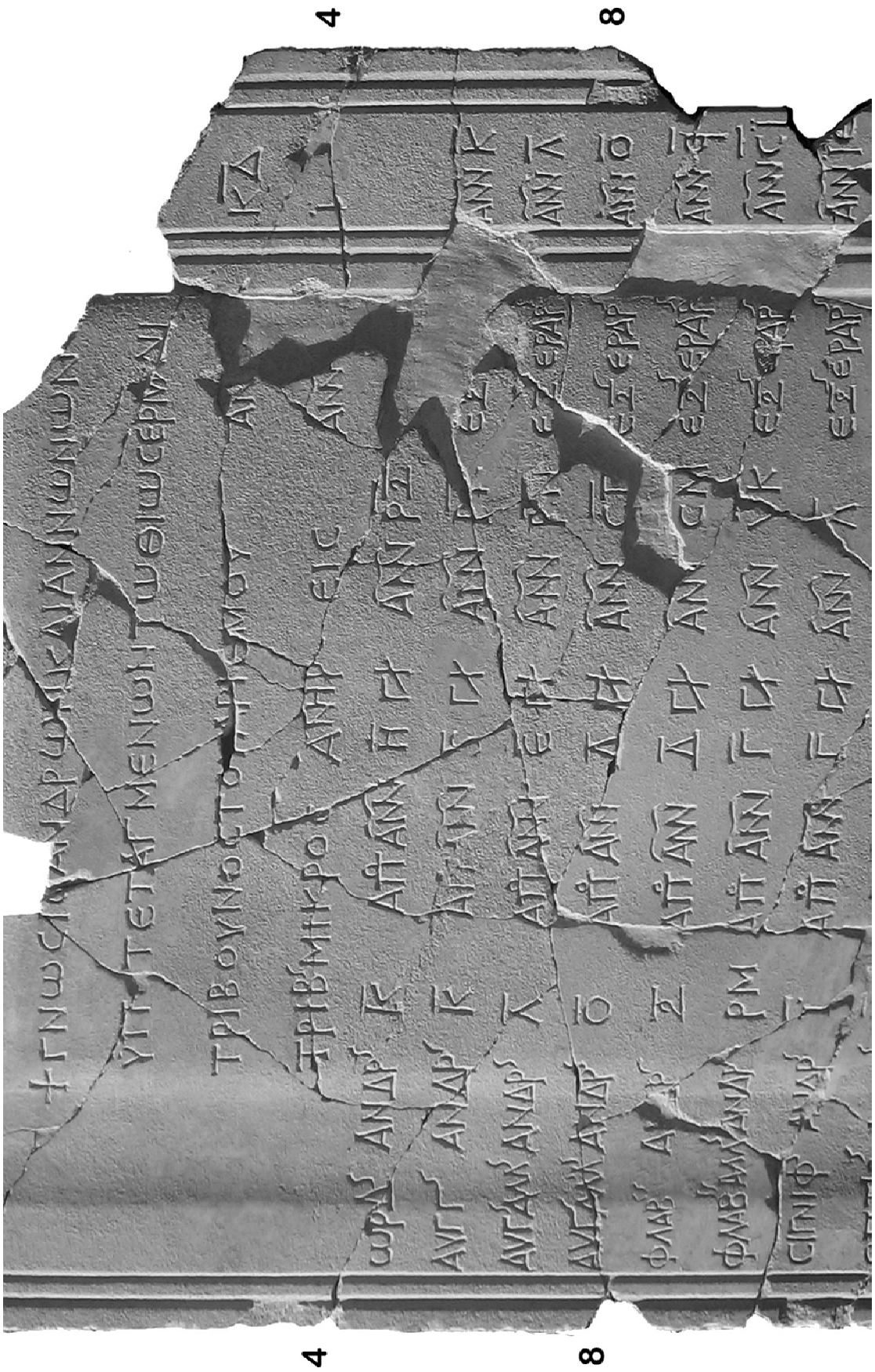


Fig. 19) Slab C, l. 1-11

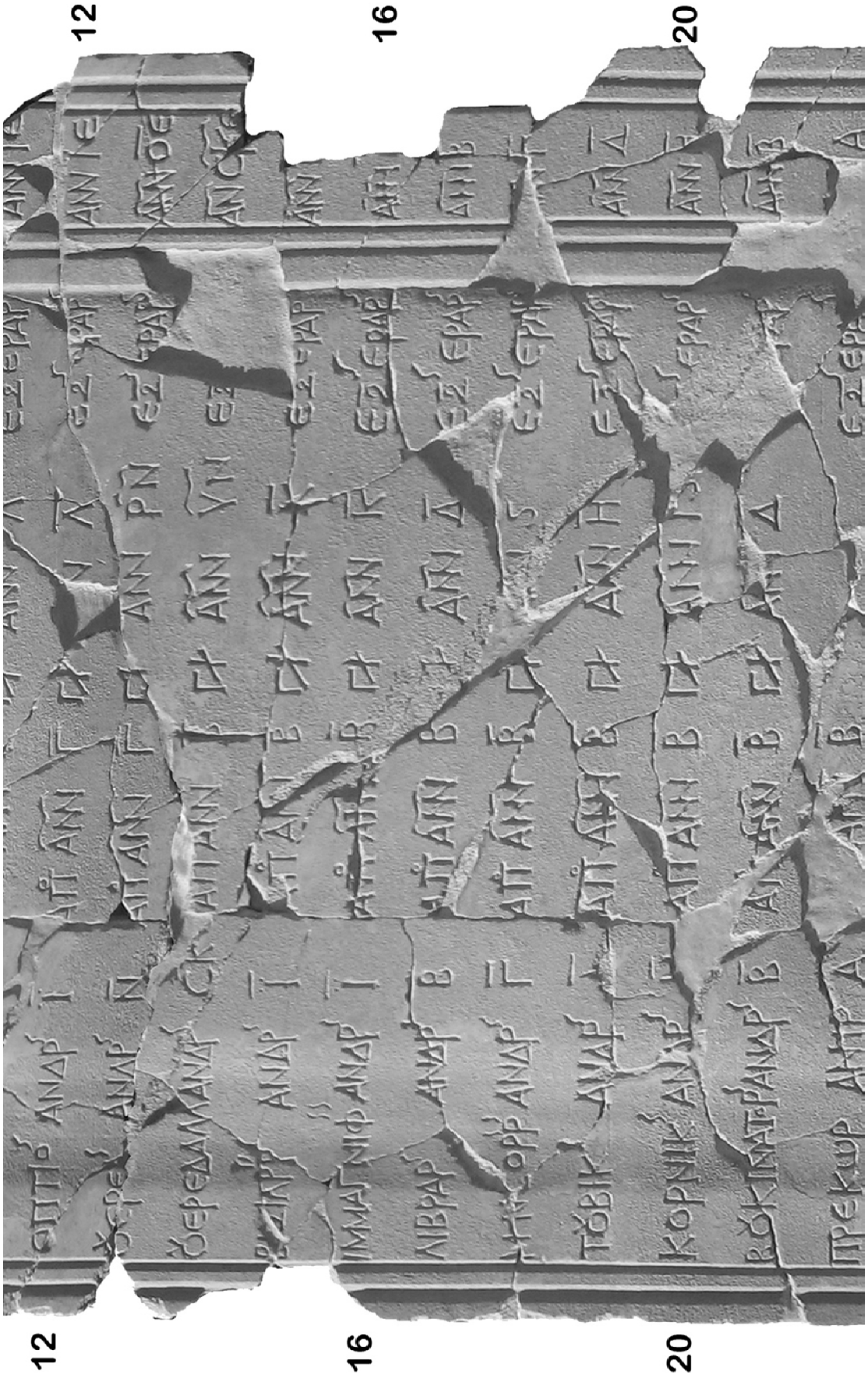


Fig. 20) Slab C, l. 12-22

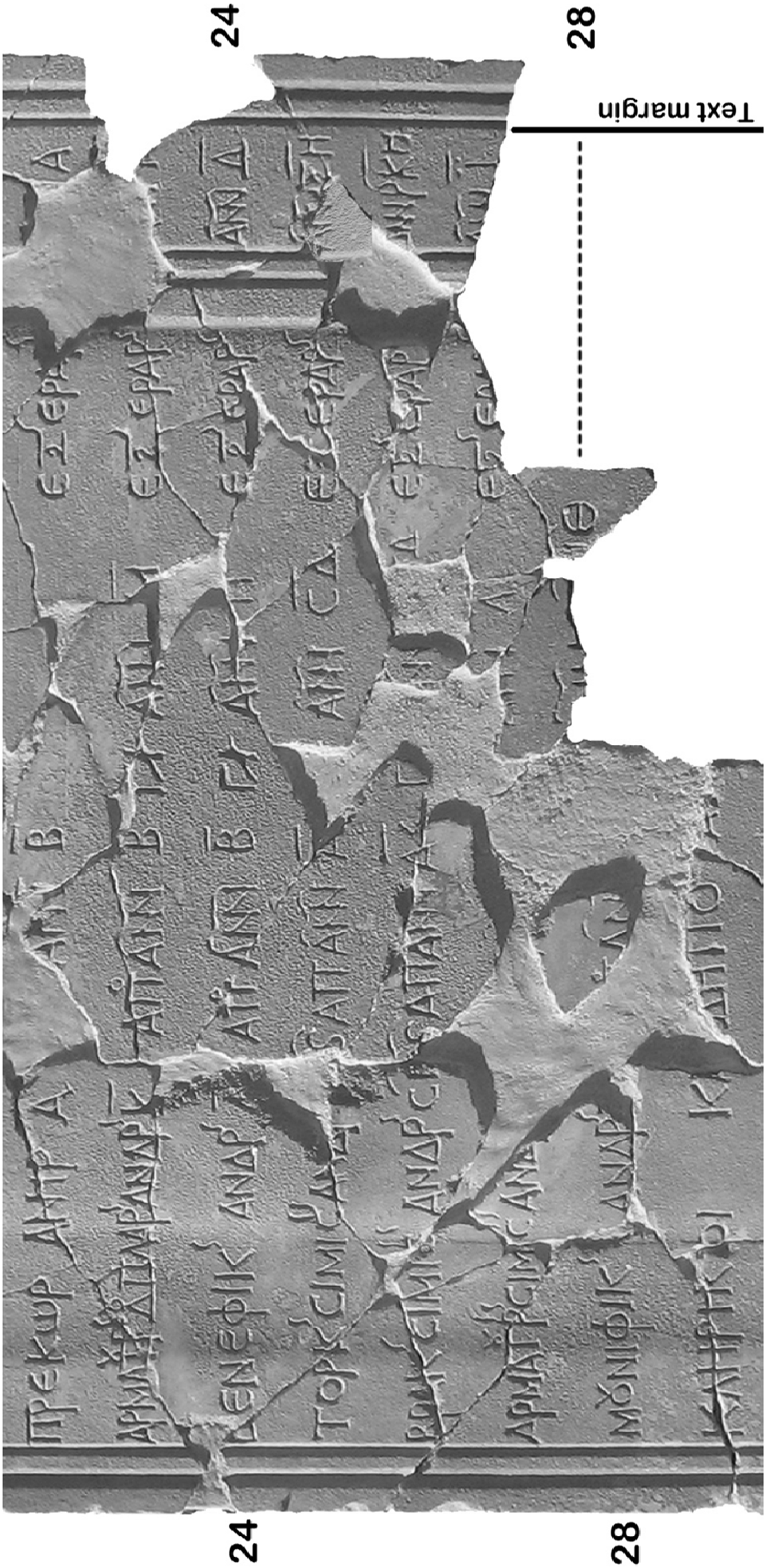


Fig. 21) Slab C, l. 22-29

THE UNMATCHED FRAGMENTS

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

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



1) 8,5 × 4,6 × 1,8

Exfoliated



2) 6,2 × 5 × 0,3-0,4



3) 7,6 × 3,6 × 1,3

Exfoliated



4) 6 × 3,7 × 0,5-0,6



5) 6,5 × 4 × 1,5

Exfoliated



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 × 4,9 × 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



21) 4 × 6,8 × 2,1

Exfoliated



22) 4,6 × 4,6 × 0,4



23) 4,5 × 5 ×1,3



24) 5 × 4 × 1,5



25) 5 × 3,7 × 1,5



26) ***E:***5,5 ***B:***4 ***K:***1,9



27) 5,5 × 2,5 × 1,4

Exfoliated



28) 5,3 × 3,7 × 1,4



29) 3,9 × 3 × 1



30) 5 × 4 × 1,8



31) 4,7 × 3,4 × 1,3



32) 4,3 × 4 × 1,4



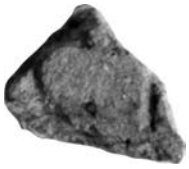
33) 4,7 × 4 × 1,9



34) ***E:***4 ***B:***4 ***K:***1,5-1,4



35) 3,5 × 3 × 1,1



36) 4,3 × 3 × 1,4



37) 3,7 × 4 × 1,5



38) 3,2 × 2,5 × 1,3



39) 3,8 × 4 × 1,3



40) 3,3 × 3,2 × 1



41) 5 × 3,8 × 2,5



42) 3 × 4,6 × 1,5



43) 3,5 × 3,8 × 1,5



44) 3,5 × 3,4 × 1,4



45) 2,7 × 6,5 × 1-0,7



46) 3,4 × 3,5 ×1,5



47) 4 × 3,6 × 1,8



48) 3,2 × 3,5 × 1,6-1,4



49) 3,7 × 4 × 1,8



50) 3,1 × 3,9 × 1



51) 4 × 3,2 × 1,4



52) 3,5 × 3,4 × 1,5-1,3



53) 4 × 3 × 1,6



54) 5 × 3,3 × 1,4

Exfoliated



55) 4 × 4,4 × 0,8;



56) 3,5 × 3,3 × 1,5



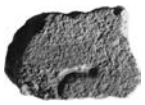
57) 4,3 × 3,6 × 1,6



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

Exfoliated



67) 4 × 3 × 1,8;

Exfoliated



68) 3,7 × 1,7 × 1,2

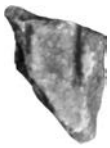


69) 3 × 3,5 × 1

Exfoliated



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

Exfoliated



75) 3 × 3,2 × 1



76) 2,7 × 2,2 × 1,4

Exfoliated



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