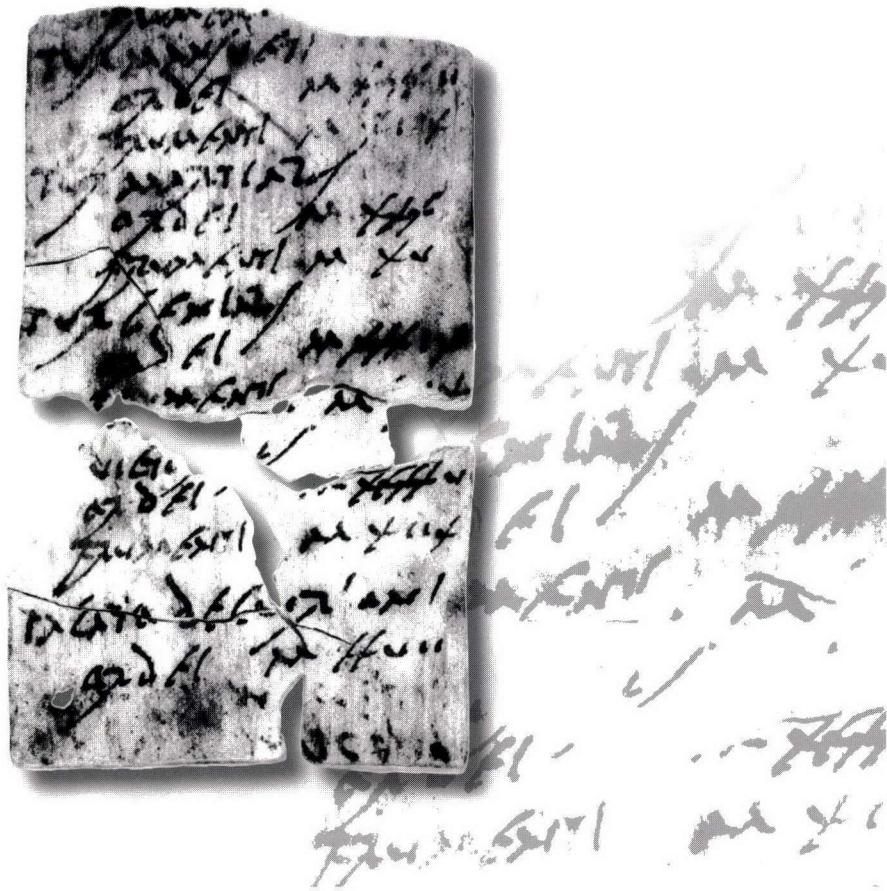


CENTRALITY and MARGINALITY of ANCIENT DOCUMENTS

Edited by Satoshi URANO and Yukinori FUKATSU



Front Cover illustration

Ink-written tablet, part of an account found at the fort of Carlisle in north-west England, detailing three days' rations of wheat and barley issued to the sixteen troops (*turmae*) of a Roman cavalry regiment before c. 105 (see p. 251). Each troop was named after its troop-commander, and numbered some thirty men and horses, although actual strengths must have varied. The fragments read: 'Troop of Mansuetus, 42 bushels of barley; 18 bushels of wheat. Troop of Martialis, 30 bushels of barley; 15 bushels of wheat. Troop of Genialis, 39 bushels of barley; 18 bushels of wheat. Troop of Victor, 45 bushels of barley, 18 bushels of wheat. To the troop-commander Pacatus, 27 bushels of barley.' The wheat was eaten by the men, the barley by their horses.

CENTRALITY and MARGINALITY of ANCIENT DOCUMENTS

CENTRALITY and
MARGINALITY of
ANCIENT DOCUMENTS

Edited by
Satoshi URANO and Yukinori FUKATSU

Seikokai Shuppan

© *Satoshi Urano and Yukinori Fukatsu* 2009

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without prior permission of the publisher.

Published by Seikokai Shuppan Limited.(Anglican Church Related Publishing Co.)
9-5 Shin-ogawacho, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo Japan 162-0814

Book design by Toshikazu Tamiya

Typeset by Horie Seisaku

Printed and bound in Japan by Souei Tosyo Printing Co., Tokyo

ISBN978-4-88274-203-6 C1022 Y7429

CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Writing the History of Ancient East Asia from Non-Literary Evidence.....	Ki-Tong LEE...7
1. Introduction.....	7
2. Some non-literary Chinese sources: from the ‘oracle bones’ of <i>Yin-xu</i> to the <i>Dun-huang</i> documents.....	8
3. Writing on stone steles in Korea and wooden slips in Japan.....	14
4. Exploiting non-literary material: the possibility of forming a new historical image.....	19
Bureaucracy and Documentation in the Roman Empire	Alan K.BOWMAN...23
Introduction.....	23
1. Archives and records.....	27
2. Record-keeping practices.....	33
Conclusion.....	36
The World of Ancient Japanese Documents	Eiichi ISHIGAMI...41
1. Japan’s ancient historical documentary materials as objects for comparative research on the history of ancient written language.....	41

1.1 The limitations and possibilities of Japan's ancient historical documentary materials as objects of study	41
1.2 The diversity and plurality of written language	42
1.3 The Spread of <i>Kanbun</i>	43
1.4 The Selection of the Object of Study	46
1.5 The <i>Shôsôin</i> Documents	47
2. The forms and functions of texts	50
2.1 A model for the communication of information in written language	50
2.2 The concept of <i>shiryô-tai</i> or "historical document as physical object"	51
2.3 The writing surface	53
2.4 Detection of the order of temporal layers	56
2.5 Transformation	61
2.6 Individual documents and groups of documents	61
2.7 The communication of historical information and social relationships	62

Culture and Ideas Carried by Chinese Characters in Ancient East Asia: The Japanese Viewpoint

.....Tokio SHINKAWA.....67

Introduction	67
1. The site of <i>Asuka-Ike</i> and its wooden tablets	67
2. An inscribed wooden tablet	69
3. Mass-production of the 'sea-borne' texts	71
4. Emergencies and everyday problems	73
5. Medical practice	74
Conclusion: 'shining brightly' or 'enlightening' (<i>sho-ken</i> 照見)	76

Public and Private Discourse on Stone in the Inscriptions of the Greek East.....	Charles CROWTHER.....81
---	-------------------------

The Greeks and their Names in the Ancient World: Innovation and Tradition.....	Elaine MATTHEWS.....107
---	-------------------------

Names.....	107
Greek names.....	109
Roman names.....	114
‘Greeks’.....	116
Greek interpretation of Roman names.....	117
Greek names under Roman influence.....	122

Recently Unearthed Laws (China).....	Itaru TOMIYA.....133
--------------------------------------	----------------------

I. Laws unearthed in the frontier area.....	135
II. Laws from ancient tombs.....	137
(1) <i>Qin</i> statutes from 雲夢睡虎地.....	137
(2) <i>Qin</i> slips from 雲夢龍崗.....	138
(3) Han slips from 江陵張家山.....	139
(4) Jin statutes from Jin tombs at 玉門花海鄉畢家灘.....	141
III. Questions that the discovered legal documents are asking us	142

Literacy and Local Administration in Ancient Japan	Minami HIRAKAWA.....151
---	-------------------------

1. The written materials discovered in local areas.....	151
2. <i>Koku-Fu</i> wooden tablets.....	152
3. <i>Gun-Pu</i> wooden tablets.....	153
4. <i>Mesi-bumi</i> wooden tablets.....	157

5. <i>Fū-kan</i> wooden tablets	159
6. <i>Koku-chi</i> wooden tablets	160
7. Ceramic ware with inscriptions (<i>Bokusyo-doki</i>)	163
8. Interpreting archaeological evidence of written materials	163

Provincial Administration in the Kingdom of *Silla*
in the Sixth Century: Wooden Tablets from the Fort
of *Seongsan-Sanseong* in Haman-Gun, South Korea

.....Sung-Si LEE···169

Introduction	169
1. The fort of <i>Seongsan-Sanseong</i> and its wooden tablets	170
2. Text-style and content	171
3. The historical background of the use of wooden tablets	174
4. Provincial administration and the role of literacy	175
(1) The construction of the fort and mobilization of labour	175
(2) Literacy and administration	176
(3) The system of transport in the kingdom of <i>Silla</i>	179
Conclusion	181

Some Remarks on Cadastral Inscriptions in the Later
Roman Empire; Significance of the Labour Force Assessment
in the Civic Society

.....Satoshi URANO···185

1. Settings of the discussion	185
2. Problems	188
3. <i>IMag</i>	191
4. <i>IHy</i> 85 and 86	209

The Origins of Japanese Wooden Tablets

.....Yasuhiro TERASAKI	225
1. Introduction	225
2. Sites yielding tablets	225
3. The capitals of Japan	226
4. Surviving structures which have yielded tablets	228
5. The ditch and the pit	230
6. The discovery of the ' <i>Prince Nagaya tablets</i> '	231
7. The contents of the Prince Nagaya tablets	232
8. Conclusion	235
Appendix	236

Words from the Western Frontier. Roman Writing-tablets

from Wales and Carlisle	Roger S.O. TOMLIN	241
The Period		241
The two kinds of tablet		242
Caerleon		243
Carlisle		244
Docilis to Augurinus		248
The barley/grain account		251
Tomen-y-Mur		254
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS		256
BIBLIOGRAPHY		257

Introduction

Recent decades have seen a flood of discoveries of ancient documents of all kinds, and especially non-literary, from all over the world. Finds such as the *Qin-Han* strips of bamboo and wood from Hunan province and elsewhere in China, or the eighth-century *Heijo*-capital wooden tablets in Japan, were reported sensationally at the time as front-page news.¹ Even the *Vindolanda* tablets, which received a more sober treatment in the 1970s, have now become a favourite subject of TV documentaries. In consequence, our knowledge of the ancient world is far richer than it was, not just in the nineteenth century, but even a decade ago. It is no exaggeration to say that ancient documents and the information they provide are accumulating faster than we can catch up with them.

This volume consists of papers given at a symposium called ‘Centrality and Marginality of (non-literary) Ancient Documents’, which was held in December 2004 in Rikkyo University, Tokyo. This was the very first attempt, it should be emphasised, by scholars from West and East who regularly study ancient documents to exchange knowledge and experience, and to search for some hints at least of methodological principles with which to strike a balance between ‘centrality’ and ‘marginality’. This antithesis is fundamental to *non-literary* documents which have mostly been found in *peripheral* areas, in spite of the growing significance of their quantity and research-potential. By discussing this together, we hoped we might discover themes which are common to the ancient worlds of the East and West, and to gain new perspectives which would be closed if we confined ourselves to the limits of our own world.

Seven contributors come from Japan, four from the United Kingdom, and one from Korea. Some are archaeologists who were present at the scene of discovery, and most are scholars who have deciphered letters and characters, often fragmentary, and have increased the sum of

knowledge by publishing texts and commentaries. Certainly all the contributors and participants are historians, whose ambition it is to enrich our picture of the ancient world by deciphering ancient documents and interpreting them in the light of fresh ideas and innovative approaches.

To make the theme of this book more clear, we should begin with some notes on vocabulary and related matters.

First of all, the word ‘document’ is used in quite a narrow sense: not simply as a record, as a medium of information purposely written, drawn, painted, inscribed or modelled, but also as opposed to ‘literary’ texts or ‘literature’ treasured in libraries and archives, which every age has valued highly as part of its culture. Ancient documents, unlike literary texts, lose their social and cultural context, and survive only by chance until they are discovered in the course of excavation, exploration, or other academic research; they are literally relics, surviving fragments of ancient materials used to communicate or store information, such as fired clay, stone, wood, bamboo, papyrus, paper, etc. By this definition, there is something ‘shabby’ and ‘neglected’ about ancient documents and documentary studies. In western academic circles, in fact, it was not until the late nineteenth century that Greek papyri came to be regarded not only as a source of lost literary texts, even of just a few precious words or sentences, but also as an indispensable source of information about the life and thought of ordinary people in Antiquity. In eastern academic circles likewise, it was only in the twentieth century that historians began to study such finds as oracle bones and inscribed wooden strips in China, stone epitaphs in Korea, and inscribed bronze artefacts (swords, mirrors, and ‘bell-shaped’ vessels) in Japan. Even then, these excavated documents, despite being recognized as a historical source, tend to be regarded as merely a supplement to the ‘authentic’ account transmitted by the historical writers of Antiquity. The harvest reaped by ancient documentary studies still tends to be treated, in both East and West, as only ‘marginal’ in terms of history.

Documentary studies, it is fair to say, have always tried to play the central role, subject to the principles of good working practice, in fields of research where they can achieve the most. Ancient documents

contain a wealth of information about the workings of ancient minds in the keeping of records. Their form and content range very widely, from the official (for example directives, identifying tags, passports) to the private (accounts, signed deeds, letters), from the serious (petitions, contracts, tax-receipts, copies of laws) to the light-hearted (graffiti, doodles), from the very public (usually epitaphs) to the confidential (for example curse tablets); they can be long-winded or succinct, elegant or careless, immovable or portable, and so on. The objects themselves range widely too, from grave goods to buried treasure, from scraps of papers having used as reinforcing materials of sliding screens in palaces to those of wood or bamboo having abandoned in the dump yards as 'waste writing materials'. The range of texts is extraordinarily wide, and they speak to us in areas of ancient administration, economics and law, where literary texts are dumb. Their rich diversity is a unique source for cultural and social history. Documentary studies by now have surely established a central position in administrative and military history, whilst economic history and legal history cannot be written without their contribution. Their importance is demonstrated by every paper in this volume.

Next, the antithesis between 'centrality' and 'marginality' applies to where the ancient documents were found. They survive by chance, as already said, but it should be added that they inevitably survive in 'marginal' or peripheral areas of the ancient world and ancient societies because of natural and/or socio-cultural conditions. Organic writing materials inevitably decay or deteriorate; for them to survive with characters or graphic information legible, they require arid or anaerobic or very cold conditions. Even inorganic materials are unstable. A metal like lead, with its low melting-point, will not survive fire; iron and bronze will rust and corrode in damp soil. Stone certainly resists decay, but for this very reason it is often re-used in building by persons not interested in the inscribed message, conquerors for example, or later immigrants. Most documents originate from the ruling class, and thus tend to be destroyed when there is a change of regime. Ancient documents, especially if made of organic materials, are exposed to so many natural and cultural hazards that they seldom survive except in marginal areas such as *Vindolanda*, Middle Egypt, the Gobi desert, *Taga-fort* (Tagajo) in northern Japan. It is all the more remarkable that quite

a few seventh- to eighth-century non-literary paper documents should have been preserved in temples in the ancient capitals of Japan, Asuka and Nara, a case surely paralleled by that of the fifth- to seventh-century Latin papyri (accounts, etc.) which survive in the Vatican.² But we should also remember that the political and cultural centres of the worlds of these documents were *Changan*, the capital of the *Tang* Empire, and Constantinople, the capital of the early Byzantine Empire. Japan and Italy lay on the very edge of these two civilizations.

Ancient documents originating from the 'centre of power' are virtually all formal inscriptions, limited in number, which never include such desirable items as the secret correspondence of great politicians or the minutes of an imperial council. Even administrative documents seldom inform us about the functioning of the central government within the capital. However, we need not conclude that documents from peripheral areas were always irrelevant to the political and administrative centre. Whatever the form of political organization, there had to be links between every locality and the centre of power. From a wider perspective, that of the common political and religious background, and of shared relations with other states, the culture of the 'periphery' inevitably reflected that of the 'centre', both in the Mediterranean world and that of East Asia. This resulted in new cultural and political 'centres' being formed or planted in the 'periphery', even in different countries with differing languages. By working through this chain of cause and effect, we should be able to gain a better historical image of the centre and the periphery than we could ever gain from the inadequate testimony of the centres themselves. By means of papers on the subject of ancient *mentalité* and public administration, we may hope to develop models in which the terms 'centrality' and 'marginality' can be used as tools of interpretation.

The final point worth making is that the languages used in documents profoundly influence the methodology and perspective of documentary studies. Chinese characters are ideograms, while alphabets are phonograms. The lack of just one Chinese character or even of its radical will sometimes make it impossible to understand a whole sentence, whereas a lacuna consisting of one alphabetical letter seldom matters. Characters differ decisively one from another in their information-value. As a matter of methodology, therefore, eastern

scholars are more interested in the graphic style of characters than western scholars are. If we know the format of a western document, we can usually grasp its meaning even if only a few letters remain. On the other hand, differences in the information-value of a character in Antiquity might influence the magical and mystic power of the character, which resulted in different systems of notation, graphical habits, writing materials in the literate classes of East and West. This in turn might determine, or at least affect, the quality and characteristics of power and authority in either world. These considerations, despite having little direct connection with ‘centrality’ and ‘marginality’, the theme of this book, should stimulate discussion in future comparative studies.

The translation and transliteration of Japanese and Korean words and sentences, as can well be imagined, have led to countless difficulties. Even the pronunciation of ancient words and proper names, for example, is desperately different in modern Chinese, Korean and Japanese. Our rule has been to respect modern political geography. In the final stages, Tomlin, Crowther, Fukatsu and Urano were responsible for changing, deleting and adding words and sentences, lest English readers be embarrassed by a flood of Chinese characters and unfamiliar personal names and names of places (the latter in particular being italicized), but we can hardly expect to have satisfied even ourselves. Whatever value our translations may actually have is due to energetic and conscientious collaborators, in particular Steven Nelson (Hosei University), Kinuko Hasegawa (the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science), Ji-Eun Lee (St. Hilda’s, Oxford University), and Taisuke Okada (Takachiho University), who prepared the first translations which were presented at the symposium. Their contribution was not only vital to the success of the symposium, it is also the foundation of this volume.

We are glad to acknowledge by name the persons who were indispensable to the whole project, but we should conclude in all modesty by thanking two public bodies, Rikkyo East Asian Environment Institute and the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science. The symposium could not have been held without assistance and funding

from the former, and publication has been funded in part by the latter.

Y. Fukatsu
R.S.O. Tomlin
S. Urano

- 1 This may surprise English readers unfamiliar with the political tension roused by historical issues in East Asia, which sometimes makes an archaeological discovery into a national event.
- 2 J. O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445-700*, Lund, 1954.

Writing the History of Ancient East Asia from Non-Literary Evidence

Ki-Tong LEE
Dongguk University

1. Introduction

History in modern times, it has been said, is merely the study of historical material. If so, it is crucial to bear in mind that the various historical data are not singular, but very diverse. The German historian Ernst Bernheim, author of a classic book about methods of historical research, divided all historical material into two categories: 'legends' and 'remains'. For Bernheim, 'legends' mean what has been written about a certain event, including the various opinions and interpretations added by posterity. 'Remains', on the other hand, he divided into two sub-categories: 'remains' in the narrow sense, and 'monuments'. The latter, he suggested, could be included in the category of 'legends', because a monument itself is a form of historical commemoration. Other ways of categorising historical evidence than Bernheim's have also been devised, which depend on differing theoretical perspectives, such as evidence direct and indirect, silent and explanatory, raw and secondary.

Silent historical evidence, artefacts long buried in the earth, emerged in the 20th century. Thanks to such discoveries, ancient history in particular has made remarkable progress. This evidence from the earth, a source often described as 'non-literary', has made it necessary to revise radically or even to reconstruct the previous history of East Asia as well as of the ancient Mediterranean world. It has been actively discussed in the current academic world of historical studies. It is reported, for instance, that in the 78th General Assembly of UAI (Union académique internationale), six papers were presented at a workshop entitled 'China and the Mediterranean World: the evidence

of archaeology until the tenth century'. This workshop took place at the Institut de Estudis Catalans in Barcelona, Spain, in late May 2004.

The aim of this paper is to discuss discoveries of non-literary evidence in East Asia, and the change they have wrought in ancient history. China was central to the ancient world of East Asia. It has long been known that Chinese culture matured very early, and in antiquity dominated the mainstream culture of East Asia. It is also acknowledged that the creation of states in ancient Japan and Korea, and their cultures, resulted from their persistent exposure to Chinese culture through their constant political intercourse with China, while Chinese culture flourished and spread to neighbouring regions. For that reason, I would like to examine the impressive results of research stimulated by the emergence of non-literary sources, in China especially, but also in Japan and Korea. Furthermore, I want to mention some problems raised by the various types of excavated evidence. I would be very grateful for your comments and criticism.

2. Some non-literary Chinese sources: from the 'oracle bones' of *Yin-xu* to the *Dun-huang* documents

The British archaeologist Sir Leonard Woolley, famous for excavating the Mesopotamian city-state of Sumer, wrote that 'the whole history of Egypt was restored by archaeological work. I believe that we know more about the daily life of Egypt in the 14th century B.C. than that of England in the 14th century A.D.' It has long been established that the earliest Chinese writing belongs to the 14th century B.C. or so, in the *An-yang* period of the *Yin* dynasty. This is known from the excavation in 1899 of bones inscribed with characters at *An-yang Yin-xu*, in He-nan near the northern edge of the Yellow river. The script on these bones is hieroglyphic. They are often called "oracle bones (卜辭)", since they inquired after the will of the gods. As the decipherment of the script made steady progress, the history of the later *Yin* dynasty which had been shrouded in mystery was gradually unveiled. Only 1,500 out of a total of 4,500 texts have yet been deciphered, but it is still a great achievement to have proved that the names of kings and the royal genealogy of the *Yin* dynasty, as recorded in the chapter of "Authentic History of *Yin*" (『殷本紀』) in *Shiji* (『史記』), are largely

accurate.

During the *Zhou* dynasty, texts were mostly inscribed on bells (鐘) and ritual vessels (鼎). The study of bronze vessels, with special emphasis on their inscriptions, the so-called 鐘鼎學, is known to have existed one thousand years ago in China. Such ancient bronze artefacts were widely collected in the *Song* period. Ô Yang-xiu, a distinguished man of letters and historian, arranged them in *Ji-gu lu* (『集古札』). The study of these inscriptions on bronze was encouraged by the Emperor *Hui-Zong*, who was himself a famous painter, and was further consolidated in the *Qing* period by the progress of research into ancient writing and history. Investigation became more and more systematic under the name of 金文(學) (“inscribed text studies on bronze vessels”), and made a ground-breaking contribution to making the history of the *Western Zhou* better known. Longer texts on metal objects were discovered in particular when the Cultural Revolution ended its first stage. It was hoped that it would then be possible to write a more precise history of the *Western Zhou*, but the difficulties also became evident. Chronology is fundamental to ancient history. To establish a chronology, the starting-point is to determine how many years each king was on the throne. However, the duration of each king’s reign during the *Western Zhou* period remains unresolved, even with the help of texts inscribed on bronze vessels. This is the major handicap in studying the history of the *Yin-Zhou*, in contrast to Egyptian history, where it is possible to establish the chronology of the Egyptian pharaohs with an accuracy of ten years or even less, at least from 2,000 B.C. and the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.

The invasion of northern peoples in 770 B.C. forced the *Zhou* to move its capital from *Xi-an* to *Luo-yang* in the east. During the *eastern Zhou* period the bronze age with its use of bronze for ritual utensils is said to have ended, and the ancient aristocracy declined. About half a century after the capital had been transferred, the *Spring and Autumn period* began, ending in 468 B.C., the last year recorded in “*Zuo-shi zhuan*”, *Chun-qui* (『春秋』「左氏傳」). The Warring States period after that lasted for approximately 250 years. Documents inscribed on silk scrolls now appeared, and because they were so convenient to send and to store, they were widely used as writing material for the next thousand years. Silk-scroll writings produced in *Chu* in the fifth or fourth century

B.C. were illegally excavated from an ancient tomb near Chang-sha in Hu-nan, just after the end of the Second World War, and were flown to the U.S.A., where they now belong to the Metropolitan Museum in New York. In August 1967, a major symposium was held at Columbia University to discuss various aspects of one of these texts on silk. Akira Fujieda describes vividly in his book *The Cultural History of Letters* (1970) how moved he was at the special exhibition, when he saw the silk fragment and the infra-red photograph that revealed its microscopic structure. Other documents on silk-scroll, amounting to some 120,000 characters, were excavated at *Ma-wang-tui Han* tomb no. 3 in Chang-sha in 1973. This discovery has stimulated study of Chinese ancient history and the history of ideas.

From the period of the *Warring States*, slips of bamboo began to be used widely for writing as well as silk-scroll, and great numbers of such slips have now accumulated. At quite an early date, in 279-280 A.D. during the early *Western Jin* period, the tomb of King Xiang (318-296 B.C.) of *Wei* in the *Warring States* period was illegally excavated and a vast quantity of ancient texts was collected under the name of *Ji-zhong shu* (『汲冢書』). Among these texts, *Zhu-shu Ji-nian* (『竹書紀年』) is well-known for its significant contribution to the chronology of the transition from the *Yin* dynasty to the *Zhou*.

As for the *Qin* period, in 1975, about a thousand bamboo slips were unearthed from the *Qin* tomb at Shui-hu-di of Yun-meng in Hu-nan, and were important in elucidating the provisions of the *Qin Statutes* (『秦律』) and how to interpret it. After then, when some 20,000 bamboo slips of the *Qin* period were found in the ruins of a fort of the *Qin-Han* period at *Long-shan, Hu-nan*, in July 2002. Some scholars claimed that the history of the *Qin* period would have to be re-written.

As for *Han* period, some 7,500 bamboo slips had already been discovered in the Han tomb no.1 of Yin-que shan in Lin-yi, Shan-dong in 1972. The majority were books on strategy which had been lost, and they open new avenues of research into Chinese military science. In 1983 some 12,000 bamboo slips were excavated from an ancient tomb of the *Han* period at Zhang-jia-shan in Jiang-ling, Hu-bei, including 526 under the title of *The Statutes and Ordinances of the Second Year* (『二年律令』). This 'Second Year (二年)' has been convincingly explained as the second year of the reign of the Empress Li-hou (186 B.C.). Further

interpretation and commentary may be expected in the future, now that ‘The Statutes and Ordinance of the Second Year: The *Han* slips of *Zhang-jia-shan* (『張家山 漢簡』「二年律令」)’ was published eight years ago.

On the later dynasties, large numbers of *Wu* bamboo slips from the period of the Three Kingdoms were discovered in ancient wells (井戸) on the principal street of Chang-sha shi in 1996. Some 2,400 wooden tablets were discovered here, as well as some 100,000 bamboo slips. The tablets, described as *I-min-jeon-pyeol* (lists of grain fields and taxation figures), date from 235-6 A.D. (the fourth and fifth years in the reign of King Sun-quan of *Wu*) and contain detailed regulations of contemporary tenant-farming, stimulating research into the socio-economic history of the Three Kingdoms period.

As is well known, the *Qin* unified China, but only lasted about ten years after the unification. Internal fighting ensued for some years, until the Han reunified China in 202 B.C. The practice of using stone for writing now developed. The *Qin* emperor Shi-huang-di, famous for reforming the script and standardizing weights and measures, erected memorials in all parts of China to praise his achievement of unification. According to *Shiji* (『史記』), seven monuments in all were erected. None has survived, except for fragments in Mt. Tai-shan and elsewhere. This practice of writing on stone began to spread during the Han period, and in the Later *Han* period the number of stone inscriptions, for example monuments of individual achievements and virtuous deeds, increased significantly. Many of them have survived, to be extensively exploited in historical research as a source which complements other data.

However, it is documents of wood or bamboo slips which have been crucial in revolutionising historical research into the *Han* period. In the *Later Han* period, the use of paper for writing increased significantly. Previously it had been used only to wrap fabrics, bronze mirrors, etc. Nonetheless, no paper documents of the *Han* period survive. Slips of wood or bamboo are less robust than bronze or stone, but vast quantities from the Han period have been excavated, even though they only survive in certain conditions, such as in deserts, arid environments, and even wells (井戸). Slips of the *Han-Jin* periods were repeatedly discovered by scholarly European explorers who ventured into the deserts of central Asia in the first years of the twentieth century, when

they first came to academic notice. In 1901, for example, Sir Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin discovered wooden slips of the Jin period (third or fourth century A.D.). Stein was excavating ruins at *Niya* in the south of the Tarim basin, while Hedin 400 km to the east excavated ruins, probably of the *Lou-lan* dynasty, in some western Lop-Nor. Stein next discovered the *Dun-huang Han* slips in the ruins in the He-xi Corridor (河西回廊) of the *Han*-period. In 1930 Forke Bergman of the Hedin research group found the *Ju-yan Han* slips, 10,000 in number, in ruins of the *Han* period in the Ye-chi-na river valley between Gan-su and the Mongolian autonomous district. After the rise of modern China, Chinese archae-ologists in 1973 and 1974 discovered the new *Ju-yan Han* slips, 20,000 in number, in the area investigated already by Bergman. Subsequently some 20,000 wood slips were excavated in the ruins of a station of the public postal service (驛傳施設) in eastern Dun-huang shi, dating from the middle Former *Han* and *Wei-Jin* periods.

Wooden slips of the *Han* period have mostly been found in the western frontier region, and the reason is closely related to the *Xiong-nu* expedition of the *Han* emperor Wu-di. The *Xiong-nu*, a nomadic people, had been driven beyond the Great Wall by the *Qin* emperor Shi-huang-di, but they rapidly regained their strength during the chaotic transition from the *Qin* to the *Han* dynasties, and increasingly threatened the *Han* western frontier. In the period 133-90 B.C., the emperor Wu-di successfully waged war against them twice, and established four 'provinces', in He-xi, including Dun-huang. He also built walls and watchtowers along the border line itself, to forestall enemy invasion. The *Han*-period slips discovered in the last century all relate to the administration of this western frontier, and show that the central *Han* system of administration extended without modification down to the lowest levels on the frontier itself.

Recording imperial edicts on paper, instead of bamboo, became the rule in China between the third and the fourth centuries A.D., and the era of bamboo or wooden slips came to an end. Various kinds of document, written on paper between the fourth and tenth centuries, were collected by European scholars during their exploration of Dun-huang and Turfan in Eastern Turkestan. A large collection of ancient manuscripts was recovered by Stein in 1907, and by the French scholar Paul Pelliot in 1908, from a stone chamber at *Qian-fo-dong*, *Mogao-ku* in

Dun-huang *Mogao-ku* in Dun-huang. There was great scholarly interest in this discovery. The earliest of the *Dun-huang* documents dates from the fourth century, and the latest from the early eleventh, with the majority belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries. Particular attention was attracted by fragments of the census registration of the *Western Liang* (416), one of the Sixteen Kingdoms. Only a few documents of the *Tang* period were discovered. Many other ancient manuscripts and documents were discovered in three excavations directed by two German scholars and explorers, Albert Grünwedel and Albert A. von Le Coq, in some sites of *Gao-chang* kingdom, 900 km north-west of Dun-huang in the Turfan basin between 1902 and 1907. Among these Turfan documents, those in Chinese script mostly date from the mid-eighth century when the region was under *Tang* rule. The majority relate to contemporary *Tang* administration, whether civil in particular (for example census registration and tax collection) or military and relating to frontier-conditions. Scholars studying the legislation and government of the *Tang* period find much more to interest them in these documents than in those from Dun-huang.

In concluding the topic of documents from Dun-huang and Turfan, I should mention the expeditions to western China organised by Kozui Otani, director of the *Nisi-Hongan-ji* temple at the end of the *Meiji* period. Zuicho Tachibana, a member of the second expedition from 1908 to 1909, discovered a group of ancient documents on the site of an ancient castle (海頭古城) of the *Nu-ran* kingdom near Lake Lop Nor. These form the '*Li-bai* archive (李柏文書)', and include letters which *Li-bai*, a general in command of the Former *Liang* kingdom (西域長史), sent to the kings of several neighbouring states, for example *Yangi* (焉耆國), in the early fourth century. During the third expedition of 1912, Tachibana and his colleague, Koichiro Yoshikawa, collected some five hundred volumes of ancient documents in Dun-huang. These discoveries in Dun-huang, in addition to the acquisition of the Turfan documents, prompted a boom in Japanese *Dun-huang* studies.

3. Writing on stone steles in Korea and wooden slips in Japan

The *Han* emperor Wu-di, while resisting the *Xiong-nu* by campaigning

against *Da-wan* kingdom in the west, campaigned against Old Chosun in the east. Old Chosun resisted the invading *Han* army in the capital of *Pyong-yang* for a year, but it was overcome in 108 B.C. and divided into four *Han* provinces (郡) including *Le-lang*. 26 years later, the *Zhen-fan* province, south of *Le-lang* province, was united into *Le-lang* province, and governed by the southern commander (南部都尉). Seven years later, the headquarter of *Xuan-tu* province, east of *Le-lang*, was relocated to the *Lian-dong* area, and governed by the eastern commander (東部都尉). As a result, the *Le-lang* province became the eastern outpost of the *Han* empire. As in the *Dun-huang* province on the western frontier, the garrisons of the *Le-lang* province constructed walls and watchtowers against the *Kogryŏ* people. The provincial governor also enacted its own laws and regulations in sixty chapters relevant to local conditions, comparable with the Statutes and Ordinances of the Northern frontier current in the *Dun-huang* province.

When Korea was under Japanese rule, some 190 clay seals were discovered in a group of ancient tombs in the *Le-lang* district of *Pyong-yang*, where the *Le-lang* province had its capital. They record the names of 22 of the province's 25 prefectures (県), and imply the use of wooden slips since clay was used to seal documents or valuable items before despatch. One wooden tag (木札), 23.7 cm long, on which the phrase '三匹故吏朝鮮丞田肱謹遣吏再拜奉祭' is written in clerical script, was excavated from an ancient tomb within the *Le-lang* district in 1931. The '*Le-lang Han* slips', as Osamu Oba calls it, are those of the only *Han* period, to be reported from this region. In the late 1980s North Korea reported that a great number of artefacts in the age of *Le-lang* slips had been unearthed in constructing a 'unification' road, a large market, and a residential area in the *Le-lang* district. They included bundles of multiple bamboo slips (冊書) containing the whole of Books 11 and 12 of *Lun-yu* (『論語』, *The Analects of Confucius*), but further details have not been published.

The *Le-lang* province lasted for about 420 years, so it is depressing to think how few *Han* period slips have been discovered in its remains. The discovery of a few inkstones (硯) in the ancient tomb of Suk-am-ni in the district of *Le-lang* suggests that the use of slips flourished in the *Le-lang* period. The use of slips spread to neighbouring communities which traded with *Le-lang* at the time. A small knife used to erase

writing (削刀) was excavated with a writing-brush from the Daho-ri wooden-chamber tomb No. 1 in Chang-won-gun, Kyong-nam, in the south of Korea. This tomb dates from the second century B.C. Inscribed pottery and inkstones (硯) have been found at *Pungnap T'osung* Fort, Seoul, the site of the first capital of *Paekche*.

Inscribed iron swords, for example the 'round-headed' sword (環頭大刀), said to have been excavated in Korean peninsula but now in the Tokyo National Museum, may also be mentioned as evidence for writing in ancient Korea. The best example is the "seven-branched" sword, a treasure of *Isonokami-jingu* shrine in Nara prefecture, Japan, made in *Paekche* in the fourth or fifth century, and brought to Japan. It is now in the *Isonokami-jingu* shrine at Tenri. However, most of the epigraphic evidence (金石文) consists of stone steles. Korea has always been rich in stone, so many stone pagodas were built in temples of the ancient and medieval periods. Japanese archaeologists and art historians actually call it 'the country of stone pagodas'. One of the most famous is the stele of King Kwanggaeto which stands in Ji-an, Ji-lin in north-eastern China, which runs to about 1,800 characters in all, and was erected in A.D. 414. Its importance as evidence of relations between Korea and Japan in antiquity, as well as its contribution to the history of *Koguryo*, cannot be over-emphasised. The inscribed text is essential for any study of the history of *Koguryo*, and provides the criteria by which we may evaluate its development until the early fifth century. Another example from the *Koguryo* period is the fifth-century *Jungwon-Koguryo* stele, which was discovered in Chungju, Chung-buk, in 1979. This inscribed text is important for any investigation of relations between *Koguryo* and *Silla* in the fifth century. In 1971 the tomb of King Muryong (A.D. 501-23) of *Paekche* was excavated in Kongju, Chung-nam. The epitaph on stone (誌石; 買地券) of the king and queen was discovered, as well as many other relics. Research into the history and culture of *Paekche*, which had stagnated, was reinvigorated by this discovery.

Silla unified the Korean peninsula for the first time in the late seventh century, after its conquest of *Koguryo* and *Paekche*. The history of *Silla* began with the study of writing on stone steles. Yasukazu Suematsu, a leading Japanese scholar of the ancient history of Korea, noted in the 1950s that modern research into the history of *Silla* really

began with a monument commemorating the tour of inspection by King Chin-hung (A.D. 540-576). Its founding father, in his opinion, was Chung-hui Kim (1786-1856). In 1816, Chung-hui Kim, a distinguished calligrapher and bureaucrat, made a rubbing of an ancient stone monument covered with moss which stood in Buk-han san, in Seoul. He was convinced that this stone stele was a monument commemorating the tour by King Chin-hung, and analysed the inscribed text by comparing it with the relevant passage in *Samguk Sagi* (『三国史記』, *Chronicles of three Kingdoms*). King Chin-hung erected such monuments whenever he made a royal tour in a newly conquered area, just as did King *Ashoka* of ancient India. Four such monuments had been discovered by 1929, and have long been regarded as a primary source for research into the history of *Silla*. Subsequently other sixth-century monuments were found, and by 1989 more than ten stone steles were known, produced between A.D. 503 and 591. One of them was erected at Naeng-su-ri in Young-il-gun, Kyong-buk, in 503. It records a conflict between civilians over the reversion of property rights resolved by King Gal-mun (the equivalent of a vicegerent), after he had discussed it with his officials. Another inscription was set up at Bong-pyong-ri in Wul-jin-gun, Kyong-buk, in 524. It records the verdict of the imperial court, after interrogating and punishing officers for a frontier incident. Korean scholars therefore treat these inscriptions as prime evidence of administrative and criminal law system, since they confirm that the penal and administrative code promulgated in the seventh year of King Bup-hung (A.D. 520) had a revolutionary effect on *Silla*. A system of administration based on ties of kinship (族制) was transformed into one of legislation and institutions. Somewhat later inscriptions show how *Silla* governed its newly conquered territory, and reveal local societies being organized under the leadership of tribal chieftains. This evidence ushered in a new era in the historical study of *Silla*.

It is uncertain when paper was first used in *Silla* for writing, but by the eighth century at least it was undoubtedly used for administrative documents and for copying the classics (寫經). A good example is the first and second *Silla* census registration books in *Shosoin* (正倉院) in Japan. The treasures of *Shosoin* also include a well-known tag (小箋) of woven hemp inscribed in ink in *Silla* script. This was attached to a

woollen textile imported in trade with *Silla* in about the eighth century. Thirty years ago, it was found that paper and wooden slips were used simultaneously for official documents. Some fifty wooden slips were discovered in the *Anapchi* pond at *Kyongju*, the ancient capital of *Silla*, in 1975. This artificial pool was constructed in the palace in c. A.D. 674, when *Silla* was fighting fiercely against the *Tang* Empire. The *Tang*, after being the allies of *Silla* when it conquered *Paekche* and *Koguryo*, now revealed ambitions of their own to conquer the Korean peninsula. The *Anapchi* wooden slips had been used in the *Sae-taek* (later called the *Jung-sa-sung*), the secretariat of the King and Crown Prince in the reign of King Kyong-dok (A.D. 742-65). According to Sung-shi Lee, some slips are imperial orders, under the heading of ‘策事’ (“administrative matters”) modelled on the Chinese practice; others are official orders (牒) from the imperial court carried by couriers (急使) to the frontier, or directives relating to defence, like the wooden slips from the *Heijo Palace*. Apart from these, the others are mostly plain tags.

A few wooden slips have been found in a moat at *Wol-sung* in *Kyongju*, palace where there was a royal palace, and in the ruins of a government office (官衙) nearby; also in the reservoir of *Y-sung San-sung* to the south of Seoul, where troops guarding the border of *Silla* were based during the war between the Three Kingdoms in the early seventh century. A few slips of the *Paekche* period have been found in *Bu-yeo*, the ultimate capital of *Paekche*: at the *Neung-san-ni* temple, for example, and in the valley of the kings’ tombs, in the *Gunngnamchi* pond, and at the site of a government office. It is worth noting that the *Neung-san-ni* temple slips include verses consisting of four sentences four words long. A fragment from the *Gunngnamchi* pond is interesting for its evidence of the census system of the later *Paekche* period. Wooden slips containing phrases from Book 5 (「公治長」) of *The Analects of Confucius* were discovered in the mound of Bong-hwang-dae at Kimhae. 116 wooden slips of the mid- or late sixth century were discovered in the excavations at the *Sung-san San-sung* reservoir which have been in progress since 1991. The discovery attracted great scholarly interest. This was the site of an important town in the state of *Alla* (安羅國), often mentioned in the chapter of “Emperor *Kin-mei*” in *Nihon Shoki* (『日本書紀』, *The Chronicle of Japan*) which became a bastion of *Paekche* after its conquest by *Silla* in the mid-sixth century. Small finds also

imply the use of wooden slips, for example a writing-brush, a knife used for erasing, and four pieces of wood perhaps used as *Daisenjiku* to label documents. Except for them, some of wooden slips are thought to be the name plates of persons who provided workforce, the others are the tags attached to the cargos of taxation in kind which was shipped down the Nak-tong gan river and stored here.

Thus far I have briefly discussed ancient non-literary material from Korea. Since Japanese scholars will discuss ancient non-literary material from Japan, I will not pursue the topic, but I should mention that Korean scholars are much interested in ancient Japanese sources, and enthusiastic in comparing them with the Korean. This interest and enthusiasm arise from the belief that all three countries, China, Japan and Korea, shared much the same experience since they belonged to an East Asian culture based on Chinese script. In Japan, iron swords with engraved characters have been discovered in the ancient tombs of Inaridai in Ichihara city, Chiba prefecture, Inariyama in Gyôda city, Saitama prefecture, and Edafunayama in Tamana-gun, Kumamoto prefecture. These tombs are thought to have been constructed in the late fifth century. An inscription consisting of 115 characters was found in the ancient tomb of Inariyama, and is well known for suggesting that the *Yamato* regime controlled the eastern frontier of Japan. Speaking as a Korean scholar, I am worried that evidence of writing on stone steles is so scanty in Japan, compared with Korea. But the situation is quite different in the seventh and eighth centuries, the age of wooden slips. The number from Japan is now quite enormous (300,000), whereas only 300 are known from Korea. Most of the Japanese slips are tags which were attached to taxation in kind levied locally and transported to the capital. Although multi-slip documents or binding-slips (冊書・編綴) have not yet been found in Japan, many Japanese slips carry whole texts, whereas in Korea the majority are extremely fragmentary, often amounting to only few words. These differences demand investigation, since both countries were using wood and paper in the same period.

In Japan, research into wooden slips has been active, and results have accumulated. A Society for the purpose was founded in 1979, and Volume 4 by Watanabe Akihiro of the 26-volume *History of Japan* published by a publisher Kodansha, which covers the *Nara* period, is entitled *Heijo Capital and the Century of Wooden Slips*. Japanese ancient

historians' passion for wooden slips is obvious from the title.

Research extends beyond wooden slips, of course. Minami Hirakawa has taken the lead in studying ink inscriptions on potsherds discovered in the ruins of a government office and residential complex dating from the seventh and ninth centuries. Ink texts on lacquered paper have also been examined. They were found in pits (土坑(穴)) in the remains of forts (城跡) in the north-east, and date from the late eighth century. As a result of this research, it appears that the use of potsherds and lacquered paper for administrative documents spread from administrative offices to village communities, in the period when the use of wooden slips was at its peak.

4. Exploiting non-literary material: the possibility of forming a new historical image

China was undeniably the centre of ancient East Asian culture, and in conjunction with Korea and Japan created the world of East Asia. Writing is a very important factor in ancient civilization. In its level and variety, the evidence from China surpasses that from Korea and Japan. In the case of the wooden slips which Akira Fujieda calls 'administrative writings', the chronological gap between China on the one hand, and Korea and Japan on the other, is wide. In China, wooden slips were mostly used by the administration during the *Han* period, before the use of paper. In Korea and Japan on the other hand, both wooden slips and paper were commonly used in the seventh and eighth centuries. Osamu Oba has cautiously suggested that the use of wood slips in Japan may have come in the first instance from the Korean peninsula, with the idea that their use in Korea may go some way to bridge the chronological gap between their use in China and their introduction in Japan. However, Haruyuki Tôno has noted that Japanese slips are of different quality than the Korean.

According to some historians of mathematics, as many as 500,000 clay-tablets inscribed with cuneiform characters have been discovered in Mesopotamia since the 19th century. About 300 relate entirely to mathematics, and 200 of these are calculation tables. This is a crucial discovery for our knowledge of mathematics in ancient Babylonia, and proves that ancient Greek algebra was largely inherited from the

Babylonian. Can the analogy be extended to non-literary historical evidence in East Asia? Various medical books and military treatises, long lost in China, have been unearthed in a large numbers. But it is doubtful whether such discoveries can actually create a scholarly discipline, as happened with Mesopotamia. Literary sources relating to the culture and history of the *Xian-qin* era, classical literature for example, survive more abundantly in China than in any other part of the world. For that reason, at the beginning of the 20th century when the inscribed bones and the *Dun-huang Han* slips were first discovered, Guo-wei Wang stressed the need for a system of research which would correlate excavated artefacts and literary sources with each other.

The late Professor Ki-baek Lee, a leading Korean historian, in his article on the political system of *Silla*, noted that inscriptions on stone (金石文) are not unimportant as historical evidence, but differ from the records of authentic history (正史) since it contains what was agreed to be significant. He added, however, that this is not always the case with ancient history, when evidence often disappears altogether. What happened to the stele of King Kwang-gaeto is an example. But broadly speaking, he considered his first judgement to be correct. This is a warning against a tendency to exaggerate the value of non-literary sources. But it must be emphasised that new material, unearthed in the last hundred years in many parts of East Asia, has given new life to the study of ancient history which had been hampered by lack of evidence. It has also encouraged innovative reconstructions and new approaches to writing history.

The new discoveries are too diverse for easy generalisation, but they provide a wealth of information which literary sources do not yield at all. The 'oracle bones' of *Yin-xu*, the inscribed bronze vessels of the *Yin-Zhou* periods, and the *Dun-huang* and *Ju-yan Han* slips, are primary, contemporary documents. The wooden slips of the *Heijo* capital are a virtual '*Shosoin*' archive from under the earth. Literary sources moreover are liable to alteration or exaggeration due to political bias. On the other hand, inscribed objects discovered underground were originally made for practical purposes. So it can be assumed that they are genuine, and that their texts correspond to what was actually the case. Itaru Tomiya attributed the establishment and continuation of absolute monarchy in ancient China to a multi-layered system of administration

based on written documents, as illustrated by the *Han* wooden slips. He tried to compare this development of the *Han* period with that of the *Tang* empire, which is interesting, because the *Tang* was governed by laws and regulations, and was established when the use of paper became widespread. Thus excavated material is unique in providing the basis of wide-ranging narrative, say of political and administrative structure, which is hardly possible from literary sources however abundant.

Excavated material is also important for microhistory and the study of *mentalité*. The information it provides looks trivial at first sight, but it can offer a vital hint for solving some significant problem. Akira Fujieda had the opportunity of examining a silk fragment of the Warring States period in China which was discovered in the territory of *Chu*, and later confessed to being strongly attracted by its similarity to the Melanesia-Polynesian culture in the Pacific. Japanese ink texts on potsherds may consist of only a couple of letters, poor evidence indeed, but they can offer a key to investigating questions not answered by literary evidence, such as the lower social strata and the religious rituals of ancient society, the mentality of a people.

Non-literary sources, as I have said, emerged from many parts of East Asia in the last hundred years. They were all buried, except for texts inscribed on stone steles and the *Dun-huang* documents. Such evidence is very much archaeological. We must therefore explore its provenance rigorously, together with stratification, distribution, and association with other artefacts excavated at the same time. Toshio Kishi, a leading scholar in the study of Japanese wooden slips, insisted that any study of the slips divorced from archaeology would diminish their importance as historical evidence. As it happens, Zuo-bin Dong, who made a fundamental contribution to the dating of letters inscribed on 'oracle bones', treated the exact find-spot as a significant detail in his argument.

Finally, we should pay as much attention to the natural environment in which this evidence was found, as to the archaeological data alone. Conservation of these objects is a problem. Since *Dun-huang*, *Ju-yan* and *Nu-ran* are situated in areas of desert or steppe, the wooden slips of the *Han-Jin* periods found here can be preserved as they are. But the wooden slips from the *Heijo* palace were found in damp soil, so they

had to be preserved in formalin immediately after excavation. Otherwise, they would have collapsed when dry. The *Silla* wooden slips excavated from the Anapchi pond looked very fresh in 1977, when I directed the excavation, but they looked rather different five years later, when I saw them in the national museum at Kyongju. Warping and distortion could not be prevented, despite impregnating the wood with phenol. Moreover, since phenol is hygroscopic, a means must be devised of preventing the wood from gradually going black.

Bureaucracy and Documentation in the Roman Empire

Alan K.BOWMAN
University of Oxford

Introduction

I imagine that it is not in dispute that the Roman imperial state (a term which I here use to comprise both the later Republic and the Empire) was both a literate society and a bureaucratic one. It is judged to be in a fundamental sense a literate society even by those who think that a relatively small proportion of its inhabitants actually possessed the ability to read or write in (principally) the Latin or Greek languages.¹ No-one doubts that the administration of the empire, at least in the post-Augustan period, was centrally dependent on bureaucratic structures in which writing was the enabling technology for communication at a distance and for the storage and retrieval of information.² Without doubt, some areas were more complex or 'advanced' in this respect than others. In most 'advanced' or complex societies, whether city-states or empires, the bureaucratic and administrative functions exist as one element in a structure characterised by differentiation and separation of power, authority and function.³ In many modern developed societies following a more or less democratic political model we tend to insist on the need clearly to separate legal, military, administrative and religious functions. In ancient societies those distinctions developed after the archaic periods as city states became more complex.⁴ In the case of the Roman imperial state it is crucial to understand that the position of Emperor is thought to embody all those functions not merely in a symbolic way but also in a direct sense: that is, the emperor in some sense actually ran the empire, although, given the size of the empire and the weight of business, he could not do it on his own. As well as being the ultimate symbol and stamp of authority he was also, to

put it in modern terms, the *chef de bureau*, Supreme Commander and 'Lord Chief Justice': 'he will be seen throughout, in command of armies, controlling finance, exercising supreme jurisdiction, issuing edicts and taking decisions that had the force of law ...'.⁵

It must follow from this that the empire has to be understood as a hierarchically structured bureaucracy in which only a tiny percentage of the work filters up to the higher levels and there is an effective system of delegation with a vast mass of documentation and official activity in the lower reaches. This is the model which most 20th century historians adopted and the notion that the bureaucracy became larger and more parasitic in the later empire has also been persuasive, although by modern standards it was still perhaps not all that large: 'it [sc. the government] allowed the numbers of the civil service to expand beyond the real needs of the administration and its, emoluments, licit and illicit, to grow inordinately'; 'the emperors and their ministers were so snowed under with papers that they signed them without reading them, and the clerks of the central ministries could thus put through for those prepared to pay for them illegal grants of land, privileges, titles and immunities.'⁶ By and large, it has not attracted much admiration: 'the study of the bureaucracy of imperial Rome may seem to some to lead us into one of the most arid wastes on the map of history'.⁷ Large bureaucracies tend to be seen as oppressive, wasteful and corrupt.⁸ The bureaucracy of the later empire has been well analysed, particularly by A.H.M.Jones, and I do not intend to discuss it here.⁹ For the earlier empire, however, modern accounts do not quite explain satisfactorily whether or how it worked in any coherent or unified way in a vast empire characterised by two dominant languages, many regional sub-cultures and a relatively small number of people actually able to read and/or write with some degree of proficiency. There have been attempts to illustrate it diagrammatically but most that I have seen are not very transparent and leave one wondering whether they represent anything that might ever actually have existed or happened.¹⁰

The mass of documentary evidence that has accrued in the past century or so, particularly the papyri from Egypt but also inscriptions and writing tablets, has given us a better opportunity to observe how it worked on the ground, from the bottom up rather than top down. If we disregard the documentary evidence completely, as we would have

had to do before about 1880, we would have a very vague and partial impression of what the bureaucracy of the Roman empire was, derived from literature and from some iconographic sources. We know that at his death Augustus left with his freedmen and slaves a *breviarium totius imperii*, containing financial accounts and a record of the empire's military strength. According to a now unfashionable view, the emperor Claudius created a centralised bureaucracy with imperial freedmen in charge of 'departments' but, even were this accurate, we would have little idea of what they actually did save for a few literary and therefore idealised descriptions. The correspondence of the Younger Pliny gives us some idea of what he, and his emperor, might be able to discover from the archives and how copies of relevant documents might be retrieved and attached to letters. The ceremonial burning of records of debt took place under the eye and the presidency of the emperor Hadrian and in the reign of his successor the sophist and rhetor Aelius Aristides was able to paint a picture of an idealised emperor who 'has no need to wear himself out travelling the round the whole empire ... it is very easy for him to stay where he is and manage the entire civilised world by letters which arrive almost as soon as he has written ...'¹¹

For a little more detail from the same period we can turn to Lucian's description of his duties as a functionary of the bureaucracy in Egypt: 'the initiation of court cases and their arrangement, the recording of all that is done and said ... keeping the clearest and most accurate copy of the magistrate's decisions with trustworthiness and *putting them on public record to be preserved for all time*', encapsulating in the last phrase one of the prime features of a bureaucracy — the permanence of the record.¹² Then there is the military bureaucracy, in the words of Vegetius: 'in some [sc. recruits] the knowledge of symbols (*notae*) and expertise in calculation and reckoning is selected, for the administration of the entire legion, including special services, military services and money, is recorded daily in the acts with, one might say, greater exactitude than records of military and civil taxation are noted down in the official files.'¹³ And in the later empire, we have the verbal and pictorial accounts of the office of the *primicerii notariorum* and the *magister scriniorum* from the *Notitia Dignitatum*.¹⁴ From the fifth/sixth centuries we have two different perspectives on the experience of the imperial bureaucrat from the pens of Cassiodorus and John the Lydian.¹⁵

Despite some visual representations, we have not been able to avail ourselves of a great deal of archaeological evidence and the researcher who wants to know where record-offices were located, what they looked like and how they were organised will not find much information. Literary sources reveal the multiple archives of the late Republic but we have little or no physical evidence, although we know in a general what was in them — the public records were preserved on wax tablets and Cicero knew that copies of laws could be found and consulted.¹⁶ But we cannot do for Republican or imperial Rome what could be done for Ebla, two millennia earlier, or, to some extent for Pylos, where excavations revealed the remains of the record-offices themselves. From the later empire we have some evidence for the archives of the praetorian prefect beneath the hippodrome in Constantinople. The principia of the military fort at Bu-Njem in Africa contain on one wing a row of offices which must be connected with the production of the documentation. The prospect of evidence for a record-office (or perhaps a library) in the Egyptian Delta town of Mendes has never materialised.¹⁷

All this gives us only a rather general idea of the character of the bureaucracy and certainly does not allow us to see in any detail how it actually worked. The accumulation of documentary evidence—above all the Egyptian papyri and wooden-writing tablets from a number of sites, mainly in the western empire, has made a really significant impact and has given us the opportunity to raise new questions. In fact, this evidence has taken the focus away from Rome and cast much more light on what was going on in the provinces. A superficial survey of caches of public and private administrative documents (I will return to that distinction later), ignoring scattered individual finds, reveals that Egypt is by far the area best represented. If we look beyond Egypt, we find papyri from Mesopotamia and Judaea (the Dead Sea Caves and Masada), ostraka from Bu-Njem, the writing tablets from Campania, from Vindonissa (Switzerland), Dacia and northern Britain (Vindolanda and Carlisle).¹⁸ Scattered finds would allow us to put more pins in the map but obviously we would still only be dealing with the tip of the iceberg and that there remain huge geographical areas which are completely unrepresented. Even where evidence does survive, the quantity of recovered documents as a proportion of those-ever-written

is tiny. R.O.Fink calculated that in the period AD 1-300 the Roman army will have produced at least 225 million separate pay-records for individual soldiers—of which 3 have survived.¹⁹ It is nevertheless worth emphasising that they do survive at the extremities of the empire, which suggests that they will also have been present in the more central and more ‘developed’ parts. They do also suggest links and common characteristics which make it hard to dismiss everything as an isolated, atypical phenomenon. At the other end of the spectrum, there is sufficient variation and idiosyncrasy to warn us against deriving generally valid patterns from odd bits of evidence which have to be seen in their local context. The remainder of this paper attempts to navigate a course between these hazards.

1. Archives and records

It is interesting to consider how far there was a real change in bureaucracy between the Roman Republic and the Empire, from city-state to imperial power. The evidence for record-keeping and archival practice in the late Republic is significant but has been thought more characteristic of a city-state mentality than a highly developed instrument of control and power, and the physical organisation of the archives in Rome at that time seems to have been little short of chaotic.²⁰ But the evidence for the preservation of laws, at least, goes back much further: Polybius knew that records existed in Rome.²¹ On the other hand, given Rome’s extensive contact with the Hellenistic east where public documentation is so well embedded, it does seem surprising that there is so little which is Roman-inspired before 100 BC and it was not until 59 BC that the proper mechanisms for recording senate proceedings in Rome were put in place.²² The procedures outlined in the *tabula Heracleensis* for census-taking suggest upper level bureaucratic functions in Rome but under-developed mechanisms in the municipalities of Italy where Roman citizens declared themselves orally and on oath to the local magistrates, who then entered the information in the public records of the *municipium* and sent the *libri* to Rome.²³ But the SC de Aphrodisiensibus, of 39 BC, shows clear evidence of mechanisms for the organisation and filing of information.²⁴ Augustus can hardly have created an empire-wide bureaucracy *de novo* even in his long reign

and it would be natural to suppose that the developing imperial system incorporated and exploited local traditions and practices where they existed: that it could do in the east (though we have explicit and detailed evidence for it only in Egypt), but in most areas of the west that was not possible. But documents such as the inscription of Pompeius Strabo and the *tabula Contrebiensis* would suggest that use of Roman bureaucratic practice and the Latin language had already begun to penetrate the Spanish communities by the 80s BC.²⁵

It is Egypt which has supplied us with the best evidence for the organisation of bureaucracy in the Roman empire. This has long been believed to owe more than a little to the Ptolemaic infrastructure already there and this, in turn, has a debt to the long scribal tradition in dynastic Egypt, although we should not underestimate the extent to which the early Ptolemies deliberately set out to create a functioning bureaucratic system in Greek, diminishing (without destroying) the role of demotic documents, a process which was to culminate early in the Roman period.²⁶ The tendency to view Egypt as quite exceptional in the context of the Roman Empire is now less prevalent than it was a generation ago. Nevertheless, we must take seriously the statement of the Alexandrian author Philo who described the administration of Egypt as ‘intricate and diversified, hardly grasped even by those who have made a business of studying them from their earliest years’.²⁷ I choose a few examples from the enormous range of available material, beginning with three items which illustrate concern over the maintenance of archives and records. An edict of the provincial governor Mettius Rufus, issued in AD 89:

‘Claudius Arius the strategos of the Oxyrhynchite Nome has informed me that neither private nor public business is receiving proper treatment owing to the fact that for many years the abstracts in the property record-office have not been kept in the manner required, although the prefects before me have often ordered that they should undergo the necessary revision, which is not really practical unless copies are made from the beginning. Therefore I command all owners to register their property at the property record-office within six months, and all lenders the mortgages which they hold, and other persons the claims which they possess.’²⁸

Another edict of a prefect, Titianus, from AD 127, which is

preserved at Oxyrhynchus instructs all *nomikoi* to send copies of their reports to the Library of Hadrian, one of the record offices in Alexandria.²⁹

Finally, a much longer and more explicit text paints a grim picture of the state of disorganisation which needed to be rectified in the record office of the capital of the Arsinoite Nome in the late first and early second century AD: damage to documents, ineffectual attempts at *kollesis*, failure to transfer them, impracticality of recovering missing sections from the archives in Alexandria (though it was in theory possible), the heavy use of the archives. All of which is part of a saga stretching over several decades in one of the largest metropolises of Egypt, a town with perhaps considerably more than 30,000 inhabitants.³⁰

From this and related material several points of general importance emerge. One is the continuing preoccupation with the proper maintenance of the records, and in this context it is interesting that the earliest of the edicts, that of Mettius Rufus in AD 89 is cited in a document almost 100 years later, showing both that it was relevant and that copies of it were retrievable. Some of this material will undoubtedly have been available in the archives of the provincial governor.³¹ Another is the attention to detail in the local record-offices of towns and villages throughout the country, and the fact that these were part of a hierarchical structure in which copies of local records had to be supplied to the appropriate central office in Alexandria.³² A third point is the volume of documentation held in record-offices which related to private matters and the fact that such matters were rendered subject to *demosiosis* (public registration of the document) is an important feature of the bureaucratic system and is integral to the process of validation of claims made on the basis of what are essentially private legal documents.

As a matter of fact, we can get a good sense of the great quantity of such archival material in a far smaller place, the village of Tebtunis in the Arsinoite Nome for which we have abstracts of contracts deposited in the registry (*grapheion*) during specific years of the reign of the emperor Claudius (the last four months of AD 41/2, the whole of AD 45/6 and the first four months of AD 46/7). These records show the care with which contracts were summarised and catalogued and yield, by a simple calculation, the mean volume of such contracts (most in

Greek but some few in demotic Egyptian) is 58 per month for the periods represented.³³ Taken in conjunction with the evidence cited above, we should conclude that these are not simply dead letters but are documents which were frequently consulted and played a large role in the regulation of the social and economic relations of the villagers. A further simple calculation of my own reveals that over the course of a single year about 350 different people, male and female, appear as parties to written contracts. At a rough estimate this is likely to constitute at least 20-25% of the adult population of the village. The importance of this figure is not so much as a demonstration of rates of literacy, for we do not of course know how many of these individuals wrote or could have written their own contracts, but as an indication of the minimum proportion of people whose socio-economic relations in so-called 'private' affairs were recorded and regulated by bureaucracy and written documentation. We cannot conclude that these were just people of higher social status for about one-third of the individuals have Greek names (generally an indication of higher social status) and about two-thirds Egyptian names (generally an indication of lower status). This suggests, as does other evidence from Egypt and elsewhere, that even if the number of literates was not high, those who were literate were distributed over a wide spectrum of social status and not just confined to the socio-economic elites.

Approaching the bureaucracy through the material I have just cited emphasises that what are normally regarded as the private affairs of individuals are in some important sense part of the public record and are indeed, in a more substantive sense, subject to regulation by the state. Whether such regulation was more or less dominant in the Roman than the Ptolemaic period is not a question I want to address in detail here, but it does underline the importance of bureaucracy and documentation as a mechanism of control. In one sense that may be regarded as 'passive' since most of these documents were generated on the initiative of the individuals concerned rather than the state. But there is a great deal of evidence for top-down control in the form of documentation required by the imperial authority, its constituent parts (such as the army) or its agents and this has to be characterised as a very active form of population control. The single most prominent instrument in this respect is the Roman census. This originated as the

census civium Romanorum, for which the data were compiled in lists on the basis of oral declarations. In the early imperial period, incidences of this census were rare, occurring only under the emperors Augustus, Claudius and Vespasian. We have only one, recently recognised example of a written return for the census of AD 47/8 under Claudius.³⁴ Of more practical importance were the individual census arrangements in each province, recording all individuals and property, not just Roman citizens, forming the basis for taxation and other governmental operations.³⁵ Different provinces operated with different cycles and different procedures and only Egypt supplies evidence of individual census returns in the fourteen-year cycles, with supplementary documentation submitted in the intervals. As far as the organisation of bureaucratic procedures was concerned, we can say with confidence that there was no standardisation across provinces, but more than that, there was not any strict standardisation in the documentation within the province of Egypt: census returns from different districts show substantial variation in the formulae used — how they arose or who devised the local exemplars is not known.³⁶ One imagines that no written documentation as complex as this could have been produced in northern Britain in the 90s AD, where we have evidence that a census was conducted by Roman military officers early in the history of the occupation of the region, but any attempt to infer the nature and scale of the written record would be mere speculation.³⁷

Alongside the basic census records, it is clear that there existed, at least in Egypt, a huge mass and variety of documents required or compiled by bureaucrats which served to record population, property (moveable and immovable), tax liability, births and deaths and so on. These seem to have continued to be submitted even in a period when the basic census mechanism had been suspended or fallen into disuse (between about AD 257 and 299).³⁸ That was revived in a slightly different form by Diocletian and we continue to find evidence for what are apparently new sorts of bureaucratic documentation (e.g. declarations by trade guilds of their stocks to the *logistes*) into the later empire.³⁹ Since it is clear that we cannot assume anything like complete standardisation throughout the empire, we should certainly not suppose that they existed in the same form or density elsewhere but there are individual pieces of evidence which do seem to imply the

existence of some form of bureaucratic records elsewhere. The legal authority Ulpian gives us information about the census which suggests that general rules about the format of the information existed.⁴⁰ It is difficult to see, for example, how the details of tax assessments recorded on a famous inscription from Messene in the Peloponnese could have been generated from anything but a bureaucratic operation of this type.⁴¹ And registrations of births from Egypt certainly state clearly the procedures required by the Augustan legislation, the *lex Aelia Sentia* and the *lex Papia Poppaea*, which cannot have been confined to Egypt.⁴² These are provisions of Roman law and must be taken to apply to places in which Roman law was valid, i.e. the whole empire, and the presumption is that the validity of documents drawn up according to Roman law or valid in Roman courts was universal. But there are also documents and procedures valid in peregrine law which demonstrate not standardisation and uniformity but a degree of interoperability which explains, for example, why we find papyri from Egypt recording financial transactions connected with slave-sales in the island of Rhodes, in Bostra and in Aurelia Tripolis.⁴³ Documents from the Judaeian Desert relating to the province of Arabia in the early second century clearly show the ways in which provincialisation brought local law and procedures of documentation into the framework of the Roman legal system.⁴⁴

The papyri from the Judaeian Desert offer a clear demonstration that any attempt to make a systematic comparison between bureaucratic documents found in Egypt and those found elsewhere runs into the difficulty that, for the most part, we are not able to compare like with like. And it is important to remember that the records of the Tebtunis grapheion are unusual (though not unique) in giving us documentation which must originally have constituted part of the contents of a bureaucratic office. Other groups of papyri might originate in the archives of the town council, for example.⁴⁵ A very large proportion of relevant documents are presumably copies kept by private individuals or bureaucrats for their own records. These might serve a practical purpose: individuals who kept records of the status of members of their family going back six or seven generations presumably did so in order to validate their own claims for status recognition or privilege.⁴⁶ There is virtually no evidence of this sort outside Egypt, but, for what

it is worth, the evidence of census records and other details of the taxation system suggest that the differences between Egypt and other parts of the eastern empire decreased rather than increased after the beginning of the fourth century.

The military bureaucracy, noted by Vegetius, deserves special notice, partly because we have been fortunate in recent years in acquiring relevant new material from widely dispersed parts of the empire: Egypt's Eastern Desert (Mons Claudianus and other sites), Africa (Bu Njem) and northern Britain.⁴⁷ For the most part the evidence, once again, does not give us precisely comparable documentation from different places. Where it does (e.g. in the form of pay records, strength reports or discharge certificates), we find a fairly close correspondence in form and content, as we would expect, given the role of the *aerarium militare* and the fact that the army was in some sense a single, unified institution. It is, of course, also relevant that the military documentation is predominantly in Latin even in the Greek-speaking parts of the empire. But there is also evidence for similar operations being documented in slightly different bureaucratic forms in different places (e.g. *renuntia* and 'rapports journaliers'), which suggests that we should allow for some local initiative and idiosyncrasy.⁴⁸ Once again, however, we should not overlook the difficulty of identifying with certainty documents which constituted part of the official archives of military units. The files of the Twentieth Cohort of Palmyrene Archers have survived in part, but significant quantity, at Dura Europos.⁴⁹ From elsewhere we have a mixture of the relics of such files along with other kinds of records, some of which clearly document the activities of military units in relation to institutions and individuals in the local context.⁵⁰

2. Record-keeping practices

This sort of activity, of which I have given a very superficial survey, clearly generated a huge amount of documentation and it is inconceivable that it could have worked in a completely centralised fashion, with all documentation (or at least abstracts of the information) reign channelled to Rome. The Egyptian evidence suggests a distributed model with a good deal of information being fed from local record offices

into the central archives in the provincial capital.⁵¹ Although there is little specific evidence from other areas, there is no reason to doubt the validity of this model, even if the Egyptian bureaucracy was more complex and productive than that which may be imagined for (say) Britain or Lusitania; but the sparse documentation for such regions, even if it fits the general framework which we have envisaged, prevents us from visualising in any detail how developed the bureaucratic structures might have been except in places where municipal institutions were fairly well embedded.⁵²

There is a good deal of interesting evidence for the technicalities of archival practice which cannot be discussed in detail here and can only be listed summarily: filing, reference numbers for sheets and columns, the making of abstracts and duplicates, blanks or templates, pasting of rolls, sealing, witness authentication, statements of submission, rules concerning the opening of sealed documents such as wills and so on. Quite a lot of this, but by no means all of it, comes from papyri; there are also traces of it on writing tablets and inscriptions.⁵³ There are also conventions about recording the placing or location of documents, as well as the visual appearance of the document itself. Military diplomas of discharge, which are themselves abstracts, regularly refer to the place in Rome in which the original record is to be found. In some cases the actual type of material on which the document was inscribed or written is integral to the authority or validity of the document itself. The case can be made for laws on bronze, curses on lead, public records on wax tablets, where in effect the physical appearance of the artefact will suggest what kind of a text it is and what authority it carries.⁵⁴ Even if they are not completely universal, the fact that such patterns emerge from the random and small sample of evidence that survives is very suggestive of the ways in which the authority of bureaucratic procedures as a way of controlling information and action was validated. Which is not to say that bureaucracy and written documentation was the only way of doing this.

Finally, it is worth paying some attention to the personnel involved in operating the bureaucracy of imperial Rome. As already stated, it is generally agreed that by modern standards the numbers were small. Care needs to be taken in identifying the ancient counterparts of the modern 'civil service' — there is no ancient sector which precisely fits

the model of the modern, salaried bureaucrat without political, military or legal authority. In the early empire, imperial slaves and freedmen and the *officiales* of governors and other functionaries perhaps come closest.⁵⁵ It should be evident that even if the number of people who could read write documents was relatively restricted, the production of documents and the supervision of bureaucratic operations involved a large number of people, from high officials and magistrates to local liturgists, military scribes or clerks, shorthand writers. Emperors and governors subscribed documents, clerks who might be free or servile copied or wrote them, local officials or liturgists took on the duties of supervising record-offices or those of city or village *grammateus* — and as one famous example from mid-second century Egypt shows that a village scribe might himself be *agrammatos*, unable to write.⁵⁶ Given that, the detail in which certain bureaucratic operations is recorded is very striking. A long account of the activities of a local administrative official in the far south of Egypt in AD 232 records and certifies his various engagements and displays them publicly. Here is a brief extract:⁵⁷

Hand 1 Record of acts of Aurelius Leontas, strategos of the Ombite Nome and Elephantine, year 11 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus (AD 232).

Pachon 1 (26 April). The strategos went to the office in the morning and attended to matters of business. **Hand 2** Certified

Hand 1 Pachon 2 (27 April). The strategos went to the office and attended to matters of business. **Hand 2** Certified

Hand 1 Pachon 3 (28 April). ... the strategos ... in Omboi through the aide. **Hand 2** Certified

Hand 1 Pachon 4 (29 April). The strategos ... in the office ... **Hand 2** Certified

Hand 1 Pachon 5 (30 April). The strategos ... **Hand 2** Certified

Hand 3 I, ...tas, assistant, publicly displayed it and registered it. (Date)

It is not clear why this needed to be done, or for whose benefit, but it is striking that the main text is the work of one hand and that there are certifications in 5 different hands by the assistants who were responsible for displaying and registering the record. This gives at least some

idea of the role of bureaucracy and the number of individuals who might participate directly in a medium-sized town in southern Egypt.

Conclusion

This brief survey does no more than scratch the surface of a complex subject. It suggests that the bureaucratic habit was central to the organisation of information and that this was a powerful tool of control which, while having its origins before the imperial age and owing a great deal to other imperial powers, especially in the east, grew in sophistication and complexity after the end of the Republic, embracing within its framework a huge variety of devolved or distributed institutions and practices which were able to exist in a loosely ordered hierarchy which was never completely centralised, at least in the first three centuries (the development of the praetorian prefecture and the other offices in the later empire looks like a different story). To a certain extent it matches the model for the spread of Roman law and its complementary relationship with the mass of peregrine laws that pre-existed Roman rule and continued to be recognised as valid.

We can observe, though not in any detail (Egypt excepted) the organisation of records offices in a fairly loose network which mostly allowed the retrieval of information when required. We can infer that the totality of documentation that ever existed was immense, certainly in proportion to the number of people capable of reading and/or writing a document but full literate skills for the majority are not necessary in order to explain how and why the lives of the majority of people were controlled by written documents. The illiterate or semi-literate might be familiar with literate practices and recognise important features of the 'grammar of legibility' or the significance of types of documentation. There is a range of local variation (not only between east and west) in what we might be tempted to regard as 'standard' documents which must indicate a significant degree of broad conformity and comprehensibility within a flexible system.

1 See W.V.Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge MA, 1989), taking a fairly

- minimalist position. Debated by various authors in J.Humphrey (ed), *Literacy in the Roman World* (JRA Suppl.3, 1992) and A.K.Bowman, G.D.Woolf (eds) *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1994). Abbreviations of papyrological publications may be found in J.F.Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (4th ed. Atlanta, 1992) or the web edition: John F. Oates, Roger S.Bagnall, Sarah J.Clackson, Alexandra A. O'Brien, Joshua D. Sosin, Terry G.Wilfong, and Klaas A.Worp, *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, <<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>>.
- 2 For an attempt at an overview see T.F.Carney, *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1971), Book I.
 - 3 J.Goody, *The Logic of Writing and the Organisation of Society* (Cambridge, 1986), 87-98.
 - 4 K.Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge, 1978), 74-96.
 - 5 The quotation is from B.M.Levick, *The Government of the Roman Empire, a Sourcebook* (London, 1985), 6. See also F.Millar, 'Emperors at work,' *JRS* 57 (1967), 9-19 and *The Emperor in the Roman World* (2nd ed.1992), M.Peachin, *Index Vice Caesaris, Deputy Emperors and the Administration of Justice during the Principate* (Stuttgart, 1996), esp. 75-88.
 - 6 A.H.M.Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1964), 1046, 1056-7.
 - 7 H.S.Jones, *Fresh Light on Roman Bureaucracy* (Oxford, 1920), 38.
 - 8 R.Macmullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (New Haven and London, 1988), ch.3. For low level examples from Egypt see *P.Coll.Youtie* 21 (= *.P.Oxy.* XLV 3264), *P.Beatty Panop.* p.xxx.
 - 9 See also C.M.Kelly, 'Later Roman bureaucracy: going through the files,' in A.K.Bowman, G.D.Woolf (eds), *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1994), ch.11.
 - 10 For example Carney, *op.cit.* (n.2), 37, W.E.H.Cockle, 'State archives in Graeco-Roman Egypt,' *JEA* 70 (1984), 106-22 at 111, cf. F.Burkhalter, 'Archives locales et archives centrales en Egypt romaine,' *Chiron* 20 (1990), 191-216.
 - 11 Augustus, Suetonius, Aug.101; Claudius, F.Millar, *op.cit.* (n.6), chs.3, 5; Pliny, Ep.10.56, 65, 72; Hadrian, M.T.Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton, 1987), pl.41; Aelius Aristides, *To Rome* 33.
 - 12 *Apologia* 12.
 - 13 *de re militari* 2.19.
 - 14 *ND, Or. XVII-XVIII*, P.C.Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum* (New York, 1981), 85-91, figs. 20, 63.
 - 15 On Cassidorus' *Variae*, Carney, *op.cit.* (n.2), Book II, and on Lydus' *De Magistratibus*, *ibid.*, Book III.
 - 16 C.H.Williamson, 'The display of law and archival practice in Rome,' in H.Solin, R.Salomies, U.Liertz (eds), *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini: Helsingiae 3-*

- 6 *Sept. 1991 habiti* (Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanisticarum Litterarum 104, 1995), 239-51, Cicero *Att.*12.36.
- 17 Ebla, A.Archì, 'Archival record-keeping at Ebla 2400-2350 BC,' in M.Brosius (ed), *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions* (Oxford, 2003), 33 (fig.2.7); Pylos, J.Chadwick, *The Mycenaean World* (Cambridge, 1976), figs. 8-9; Constantinople, Kelly, *op.cit.* (n.9); Bu-Njem, R.Marichal, *Les ostraca de Bu-Njem* (Tripoli, 1992), pp.5-10; Mendes, Cockle, *op.cit.* (n.10), 119.
- 18 Non-Egyptian papyri, H.M.Cotton, W.E.H.Cockle, F.G.B.Millar, 'The papyrology of the Roman Near East: a survey,' *JRS* 85 (1995), 214-35; writing-tablets, *Tab.Vindol.* I, pp.33-6, *Tab.Vindol.* II-III, R.Marichal, 'Les tablettes à écrire dans le monde romain,' in E.Lalou (ed), *Les tablettes à écrire de l'antiquité à l'époque moderne* (Turnhout, 1992), 165-85, R.S.O.Tomlin, "Roman manuscripts from Carlisle: the ink-written tablets," *Britannia* 29 (1998), 31-84, M.A.Speidel, *Die römischen Schreibtafeln von Vindonissa* (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft pro Vindonissa XII, Brugg, 1996), G.Camodeca, *L'archivio puteolano dei Sulpicii* (Napoli, 1992-).
- 19 *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* (Case Western Reserve, 1971), p.242, M.A.Speidel, 'Roman army pay scales,' *JRS* 82 (1992), 87-106.
- 20 Williamson, *op.cit.* (n.16). For Augustus' reorganisation of the archives see Dio 54.36.1.
- 21 3.26.1.
- 22 Williamson, *op.cit.* (n.16). Cicero, pro Sulla 41-4 has an excellent account of his efforts to authenticate and publicise the record of proceedings in the senate in 63 BC: recorded by individual senators, entered in the public records and left with individuals for safe-keeping.
- 23 *Roman Statutes* I, 24, lines 142-56.
- 24 J.M.Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London, 1982) no.8, lines 1-4.
- 25 *ILS* 8888, J.S.Richardson, 'The tabula Contrebiensis: Roman law in Spain in the early first century BC,' *JRS* 73 (1983), 33-41.
- 26 D.J.Thompson, 'Literacy in early Ptolemaic Egypt,' *Proc. XIX International Congress of Papyrologists* (Cairo, 1992), 77-90, N.Lewis, 'The demise of the demotic document: when and why?' *JEA* 79 (1993), 276-81 (= Id., On Government and Law in the Roman Empire (*ASP* 33, 1995), 351-6).
- 27 *In Flaccum* 3.
- 28 *P.Oxy.* II 237.27-34.
- 29 *P.Oxy.* I 34.1-16; note also *P.Oxy.* II 238 (completion of *meteora*) and *P.Gnom.* 100 (notaries given a deadline for registration of documents).
- 30 *P.Fam.Teb.* 15. There is no good evidence for the population of Arsinoe; for perhaps too low an estimate, + or - 30,000, see R.Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London, 2002), 331; for some comparable data see A.K.Bowman, 'Urbanisation in Roman Egypt,' in E.Fentress (ed.) *Romanization and the city. Creation, transformations and failures* (*Journal of Roman Archaeology*,

- Suppl.38, 2000), 173-87 at 178.
- 31 For a through study see R.Haensch, 'Das Statthalterarchiv,' *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Rom.Abt.* 109 (1992), 209-317.
- 32 Cockle, *op.cit.* (n.10), Burkhalter, *op.cit.* (n.10).
- 33 *P.Mich.* II 121, 123, *P.Mich.V* 238. For a detailed analysis see L.R.Toepel, *Studies in the Administrative and Economic History of Tebtunis in the First Century AD* (Diss. Duke University, 1973), ch.II.
- 34 D.W.Rathbone, 'P^{SI} X 1183: record of a Roman census declaration of AD 47/8,' in T.Gagos, R.S.Bagnall (eds), *Essays and Texts in Honor of J.David Thomas* (*ASP* 42, 2001), 99-113, with a summary of the census procedure at 110.
- 35 R.S.Bagnall, B.W.Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge, 1994).
- 36 For Judaea see now H.M.Cotton, 'The Roman Census in the Papyri from the Judaean Desert and the Egyptian κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή,' in Lawrence H. Schiffman (ed), *A Climate of Creativity. Papers from a New York University Conference Marking the Retirement of Baruch A. Levin* (Leiden-Boston 2003), 105-22.
- 37 *Tab.Vindol.* II 304, *ILS* 1338, cf. *Tab.Vindol.* III 611 introd.
- 38 Bagnall and Frier, *op.cit.* (n.35), Rathbone, *op.cit.* (n.34), 111, n.52.
- 39 A.H.M.Jones, *The Roman Economy* (Oxford, 1974), ch.x, *P.Oxy.* LIV 3731ff.
- 40 *Dig.* 50.15.4.
- 41 *IG* 5.1.1432-3 (trans. B.M.Levick, *The Government of the Roman Empire, a Sourcebook* (London, 1985), no.70).
- 42 *FIRA* III, 2, 4, cf. Rathbone, *op.cit.* (n.34).
- 43 *P.Oxy.* L 3593-4, XLII 3053-4.
- 44 H.M.Cotton, 'The guardianship of Jesus son of Babatha: Roman and local law in the province of Arabia,' *JRS* 83 (1993), 94-108.
- 45 M.Drew-Bear, 'Les archives du conseil municipal d'Hermoupolis Magna,' *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia III* (Napoli, 1984), 807-13.
- 46 E.g. *P.Oxy.* XIV 1648, XVIII 2186.
- 47 *O.Claud.* I-III, *O.Florida*, Marichal, *op.cit.* (n.17), Speidel, *op.cit.* (n.18), *Tab.Vindol.* II-III, Tomlin, *op.cit.* (n.18).
- 48 *Tab.Vindol.* II 127-53, III 574-9, Marichal, *op.cit.* (n.17), 1-62.
- 49 C.B.Welles, R.O.Fink, J.F.Gilliam, *The Excavations at Dura-Europus, Final Report V, Part I: the Parchments and Papyri*. New Haven, 1959 (*P.Dura*).
- 50 *O.Florida*, Marichal, *op.cit.* (n.17).
- 51 See Cockle, *op.cit.* (n.10), Burkhalter, *op.cit.* (n.10), R.H.Pierce, 'Grapheion, catalogue and library in Roman Egypt,' *Symb.Osl.* 43 (1968), 68-83, Haensch, *op.cit.* (n.31).
- 52 E.g. Baetica after the grant of the *ius Latii* by Vespasian, see the J.González, 'The Lex Irnitana: a new copy of the the Flavian Municipal Law,' *JRS* 76 (1986), 147-243, Tablet VA, Ch.C.
- 53 There is a good discussion by W.Clarysse, 'Tomoi Synkollesimoi,' in

- M.Brosius (ed), *op.cit.* (n.17), 344-59 but I know of no up-to-date account of all the evidence for notarial and archival conventions in the papyri of the Roman period; Tablets, Marichal, *op.cit.* (n.18). Inscriptions, C.Moatti, *Archives et partage de la terre* (Coll. Ecole française de Rome 173, 1993). For an account of notarial expenses for preparing documents see *P.Oxy.* XIV 1654.
- 54 Diploma. C.H.Williamson, 'Monuments of bronze: Roman legal documents on bronze tablets,' *Cl.Ant.* 6 (1987), 160-83, E.Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World* (Cambridge, 2004).
- 55 See N.Purcell, 'The apparitores: a study in social mobility,' *PBSR* n.s.51 (1983), 131-8.
- 56 H.C.Youtie, 'AGRAMMATOS: an aspect of Greek society in Egypt,' *Scriptiunculae* II (Amsterdam, 1973), 611-26 at p.620-2.
- 57 *W.Cbr.* 41.I.1-15.

The World of Ancient Japanese Documents

Eiichi ISHIGAMI
The University of Tokyo

1. Japan's ancient historical documentary materials as objects for comparative research on the history of ancient written language

A specialist of ancient Japanese history should probably refrain from speaking on the topic of the history of the Japanese language, but I would like to say a few words on the subject, since it is a necessary prerequisite to an understanding of ancient historical materials and to the discussion of ancient written documents as source materials for the study of written language.

1.1 The limitations and possibilities of Japan's ancient historical documentary materials as objects of study

1.1.1 Limitations

From Japan of the eighth century and later, there survive many extant original written sources (documents and records) and other works of historical significance (literature and religious texts) which have been passed down to us in the form of both original manuscripts and manuscript copies. They come to us as a body of documentary materials great in number and with many distinctive attributes. However, it is not so easy to judge how appropriate it is to treat these materials as objects for comparative study on a global scale of the written source materials of the ancient or classical period.

One reason for this is that Japan's written language was based on the written language system imported from China and the Three Kingdoms of Korea during the Yayoi and Kofun periods (first to seventh centuries A.D.). It then developed in its own distinctive ways from the seventh century. The fact that Japan's system developed as a result of the importation and reception of a foreign system means that,

within the Chinese or East Asian context, the Japanese writing system is derivative, secondary, or perhaps even imitative in nature, and therefore not to be viewed as completely self-sufficient in its own right. In short, two major limitations must be recognized when considering the ancient Japanese written language as an object for comparative study on a global scale:

1. The area in which the ancient Japanese written language functioned effectively was confined to the Japanese archipelago, which is comparatively small in area when viewed in the context of the contemporary cultural sphere identified by its use of Chinese characters, namely, China, the Three Kingdoms of Korea, and surrounding areas.
2. Japan's development of a culture of written language was delayed, derivative, and passive, when compared with that of the Three Kingdoms of Korea. It was delayed and passive in terms of the introduction and development of Chinese and Buddhist cultures, and of writing as a fundamental technological tool of those cultures. The overwhelming influence of Chinese and Korean cultures on Japan meant that they continued to dominate many aspects of Japanese culture throughout the period in question.

1.1.2 Possibilities

The outstanding characteristic of Japan's ancient written language as a field for academic study is the existence today of quite a substantial body of written source materials of a distinctive quality. The quantity and quality of this material ensures that it cannot and should not be ignored in any comparative study of the ancient writing cultures of the world.

1.2 The diversity and plurality of written language

1.2.1 Analytical approaches

In general terms, when written source material is to be used as evidence of the culture of a particular region or society, we must consider the following methods and analytical approaches.

1. The diversity and pluralism of different phases of language within a certain region or society (i.e. class, occupation, gender, age, place, and space).

2. The plurality of language in general, and its multi-layered quality, within a certain region or society.
3. The place of written language within a certain linguistic system.
4. The diversity and plurality of written characters within a certain writing system.
5. The synchronic constructions and diachronic transitions of linguistic rules and vocabularies that exist within a certain region or society.
6. The influence of neighboring linguistic systems on the language of a certain region or society, and its function in diachronic transitions within that language.
7. The identification of connections between surface structure and deep structure. That is to say, identification of the relationship between the spoken or written linguistic products on the surface, and the deeper phenomena that they embody, namely the wishes and intentions of people involved in communication, or the connections between people and nature or man-made objects.

1.2.2 *Kanbun, hentai kabun and wabun*

In simple terms, the ancient written language of Japan embraced three partial systems.

1. *Kanbun* or Chinese writing. This consists of its grammar, characters (Chinese characters — henceforth to be referred to, according to Japanese practice, as *kanji* — and their Chinese pronunciations), and vocabulary.
2. *Hentai kanbun* or modified Chinese writing (otherwise Japanized Chinese writing). This consists of its grammar, *kanji* (including *kokujji* [Chinese characters conceived in Japan], the Japanese method of using characters, and Japanese pronunciations), and vocabulary (including the Japanese method of using words).
3. *Wabun* or Japanese writing. This consists of its grammar, *kanji*, the *katakana* and *hiragana* syllabaries, and its vocabulary (both Chinese and Japanese words).

1.3 The Spread of *kanbun*

The written language used in politics and religion comprised standard Chinese and Chinese characters (i.e. *kanbun* and *kanji*) as used throughout the East Asian *kanji* cultural sphere. It was initially

employed and adopted for international trade between Japan and China and the Korean Three Kingdoms. During the period from the first to the fifth century, the adoption and use of the written Chinese language expanded as the Japanese body politic and society developed. The “*Manyi-chuan*” (section on foreign peoples) of the *Songshu* (History of the *Liu Song* Dynasty) records a memorial submitted to the Chinese court in 478 by a Japanese leader by the name of Bu (perhaps the King Yûryaku).

The adoption of written Chinese as the language of ideas is symbolized by the arrival from *Pekche* of a *Gokkyô hakase*, or scholar of the five Confucian classics (*Yi, Shu, Shi, Li* and *Chunqiu*; the *Classics of Changes, Documents, Odes, and Rites, and the Spring and Autumn Annals*) from *Pekche*, which is said to have occurred in the early sixth century, and the mid-sixth century transmission of Buddhism from the same country. Although based on the reception of earlier Chinese commentaries and the instruction of Buddhist priests from *Koguryo*, commentaries were written in Japan in the early seventh century on three important Buddhist sutras: the *Saddharma-pundarika sutra* (Lotus Sutra, Jpn. *Hokekyô*), the *Vimalakirti-nirdesa sutra* (Vimalakirti Sutra, Jpn. *Yuima-kyô*), and the *Srimaladevi-simhanada sutra* (Queen of Srimala Sutra, Jpn. *Shôman-gyô*). This indicates that by the seventh century in *Wakoku*, the contemporary name for Japan, philosophical writing and commentary had already begun.

Documents associated with the *Kenzuishû* (mission to the Chinese *Sui* court) of 607 are important not simply as texts related to foreign diplomacy, but more significantly as products of Japanese political thought that tried to assert in writing the national framework of *Wakoku*. Moreover, early attempts to compile official histories (*hongi*) of the state, which date to the first half of the seventh century, probably reflected Japanese experience in recording in the Chinese language and Chinese characters phenomena of a distinctively Japanese nature, including spoken expressions and Japanese ways of naming things. This accumulation of experience resulted in the *Nihon shoki* (*The Chronicle of Japan*) and *Kojiki* (*The Records of Ancient Matters*).

The practical technologies of writing that developed within the sphere of politics and administration with the acquisition of standard Chinese grammar expanded rapidly during the sixth and seventh

centuries. This was due to the acquisition of Chinese works, such as those on Confucian philosophy, as well as the classics of Chinese Buddhism, the dispatching of the *Kenzuishi* and *Kentōshi* missions (missions to the *Sui* and *Tang* courts), the adoption and compilation of the *Ritsuryō* penal and administrative systems, and the dissemination of their codes of law. The use of *kanbun* and *kanji* as an administrative tool spread rapidly as a result. Concrete examples include the expanded use of *mokkan* (wooden tablets) after the middle of the seventh century; the increasing number of extant inscriptions on metal and stone of the seventh century and later; and the completion of the *Kōgo-nenjaku* (670) and *Kōin-nenjaku* (690) Census records, both of which are thought to have recorded several millions of names.

The compilation of numerous administrative texts also implies the spread of a uniform system of measurements (which is seen in the size of paper and the uniformity of length in official formats), the large amount of paper products and writing instruments, the formation of a bureaucracy of skilled writers, the establishment of standard document formats, and an administrative system for spreading knowledge of these standards, issuing edicts, and delivering documents.

From the eighth century, however, the use of a non-standard form of Chinese known as *bentai kanbun* became more pronounced. This resulted from a number of factors, including not only the misuse and misunderstanding of *kanji* and *kanbun* and deteriorating standards of Chinese literacy, but also the creative adaptation of Chinese and Chinese orthography brought about by the need to express vernacular Japanese in written form.

Efforts to write Japanese using *kanji* and Chinese vocabulary can be seen in inscriptions on metal and stone artifacts (*kinsekibun*) from the fifth and sixth centuries, but it was not until the latter half of the seventh century that marked developments can be seen, with the attempts at historical narrative that culminate with the *Kojiki* and *Nihon shoki*, and the songs and poems included in the *Man'yōshū* (*Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves*). The written expression of the Japanese vernacular developed further in the eighth century with the establishment of a written style known as *senmyō-tai*, in which *kanji* were used to express the vernacular Japanese employed in *senmyō* and *norito*. The former implied both imperial edicts delivered in the vernacular and written

versions of them committed to paper so that they could be conveyed by a messenger (*senmyō-shi*), while the latter were imperial words offered to the gods in ritual contexts.

Along with *man'yō-gana*, or the use of a limited range of Chinese characters for sound rather than meaning as a means of writing vernacular Japanese, the development of a method for reading Chinese in Japanese word-order, known as *kanbun-kundoku-hō*, was another factor that facilitated the development of the Japanese *kana* syllabaries. This method is said to have appeared in the reading of the sutras from the eighth century. By the tenth or eleventh centuries, this gave rise to a style of *wabun* known as *kanji-kana-majiri-bun*, which made extensive use of Chinese vocabulary and the distinctive grammatical characteristics of Chinese read in Japanese word-order. The evolution of the Japanese writing system culminated in the appearance of the *kana* syllabaries, which made possible the editing of the first official anthology of Japanese *waka* poetry, the *Kokin waka-shū*, and the writing of *kana* literature such as the *Tosa nikki*, both of which date from the first half of the tenth century.

In this way, over the course of one thousand years from the first to the tenth century, a multi-layered writing system was created in Japan, comprising standard *kanbun*, *bentai kanbun*, and *wabun* (with its substyles *senmyōtai*, *kanji-kana-majiri-bun*, and *kana-bun*).

1.4 The Selection of the Object of Study

In this paper, I would like to present certain aspects of the culture of written language that can be seen in the *Shōsōin* documents, a body of documentary materials written on paper. I have chosen them because, at the Historiographical Institute at the University of Tokyo, where I am currently employed, a survey of these documents has been ongoing for around one hundred years now. I have participated in the compilation of the *Inventory of the Shōsōin Documents*, as published by the Historiographical Institute. I have also undertaken collaborative research with researchers from the *Shōsōin* Office of the Imperial Household Agency, who have been conducting a survey of the *Shōsōin* documents in the process of compiling the *Anthology of Shōsōin Documents in Facsimile*.

1.5 The *Shôsôin* Documents

1.5.1 The *Shôsôin* and the *Shôsôin* Documents

The *Tôdai-ji* temple stands on the eastern outskirts of Nara, originally called *Heijô-kyô*, which was the capital of Japan between 710 and 784. Its central object of worship is the *Daibutsu* or Great Buddha, a monumental sculpture of the Buddha Vairocana, which was consecrated in 752. The *Shôsôin* treasury, one of the repositories of the temple, houses a collection of documents known as the *Shôsôin-komonjo*, literally “ancient documents of the *Shôsôin*”. Hereinafter I will refer to them with their more common designation: the *Shôsôin monjo* (*Shôsôin* documents).

The *Shôsôin monjo* are a body of documents from the eighth century, written in *sumi* (India ink) on paper. As documentary source materials that have been preserved in the temple repository for over one thousand two hundred years, they are extremely valuable historical documents.

The *Shôsôin* treasury is a raised-floor style warehouse or repository made of wood with tile roofing, constructed around the year 756. It measures 14 meters in height, 33 meters in width and 9.4 meters in depth, while the floor is raised 2.5 meters above ground level. It has three storage areas: *Hoku-sô* (northern warehouse), *Chû-sô* (middle warehouse) and *Nan-sô* (southern warehouse). The *Hoku-sô* houses items once owned by Shômu dajô-tennô (701-756, ruled 724-749), who died in the fifth month of 756. The *Shôsôin monjo* were stored in *Nan-sô* until the beginning of the nineteenth century, but are now held in the *Chû-sô*.

Since the *Hoku-sô* of the *Shôsôin* could only be accessed by imperial order, after the *Meiji* Restoration (1868) it came under the jurisdiction of the government from 1875, and from 1884 under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Imperial Household (forerunner of the present-day Imperial Household Agency).

In addition to the *Shôsôin monjo*, the collection of the *Shôsôin* also includes several other bodies of documents: 1) registers such as the *Kokka chinpô-chô*, a list of the relics or former possessions of Shômu as dedicated to the *Shôsôin* upon his death by his consort, Kômyô kôtaigô (701-760, empress in 729-749); 2) account books and inventories of the *Shôsôin* collection kept between the eighth and thirteenth centuries;

and 3) the *Tōnan-in* documents (transmitted by the *Man-dokoro*, or central administrative body of *Tōdai-ji*) donated to the Imperial Household by *Tōdai-ji* in the nineteenth century.

The *Shōsōin monjo* are a group of documents with a distinct origin. At the eighth-century *Tōdai-ji*, the nation's central temple, there were two important administrative bodies: the *Jike*, made up of temple priests; and the *Zō-Tōdaiji-shi*, in charge of the construction and management of the temple under the supervision of the *Daijōkan*, or Council of State. The *Shōsōin monjo* derive from the *Shakyō-sho*, a government scriptorium in charge of copying the Buddhist sutras, which fell under the jurisdiction of the *Zō-Tōdaiji-shi*.

This *Shakyō-sho* was originally the sutra scriptorium of the family offices of Fujiwara Kōmyōshi (later Shōmu's consort, then Empress, and eventually Empress Dowager). With her change in status to Empress, it then came under the jurisdiction of the *Kōgōgū-shiki* (offices of the Empress's Household) and later the *Konkōmyō-ji* temple, the forerunner of *Tōdai-ji*. With the establishment of *Tōdai-ji*, it finally came under the jurisdiction of the *Zō-Tōdaiji-shi* in about 749. The job of the *Shakyō-sho* was to copy, proofread (i.e. correct errors in copying from the original), and collate (i.e. undertake revisions by means of comparison with other copies of the same sutra, a process known in Japanese as *kanjyō*) the complete body of sutras requested by Kōmyō kōtaigō from 736-755 (the *Gogatsu-tsuitachi-kyō*). During this time, in response to the needs of both public and private sectors, a huge number of sutras and religious texts were copied. After this, this kind of work became more limited in scope, but it continued until 776. The *Shōsōin monjo* are documents and registers preserved by the *Shakyō-sho* concerning the copying carried out during this period. It is believed that the contemporary *Shakyō-sho* was located at the building labelled *Kyōbō* on the *Tōdaiji-sankai-shiishi-zu* (Map of the sanctuary of *Tōdai-ji* in 756), which can be seen to the northeast of the *Daibutsu-den* building, the main hall which houses the statue of the Great Buddha.

1.5.2 Sorting the *Shōsōin monjo* and making their contents available to the public

The *Shōsōin monjo* were discovered in the *Nan-sō* in 1693, contained in the *karabitsu* (legged boxes) in which they had first been put into the

repository. When the *Shōsōin* repository was opened for repairs during the years 1833 to 1836, the documents were examined by Hoida Tadamoto (1791–1847). He made a selection of the most valuable items from the huge number of documents that survived, and edited a 45-volume collection that is now known as the *Seishū*. After the *Meiji* Restoration, the government undertook another survey of the contents in 1875 to 1882, which produced four more collections: the *Zokushū* in 50 volumes; the *Zokushū-besshū* in 50 volumes; the *Zokushū-kōshū* in 50 (later 43) volumes; and the *Jinkai* in 39 volumes and 3 sub-volumes. In 1892 to 1904, the remaining materials were compiled into the 440 volumes and 2 sub-volumes of the *Zokuzokushū* by the Ministry of the Imperial Household. In total, then, 667 volumes and 5 sub-volumes have been compiled.

In the process of ordering the documents, however, certain documents were selected and removed from their original places, while others were taken apart so as to facilitate the reconstruction of earlier, primary documents, the reverses of which had been re-used at an early date to produce secondary documents. This process of re-ordering, needless to say, partially disturbed the order in which they had been preserved in the boxes from the eighth to nineteenth century, that is to say, the original *kansu* (or *makimono*, scrolls) and *kukuri* (bundles). The contents of a *kukuri* are generally documents relating to a particular topic: single documents are placed on top of each other and then rolled up; to these are added related *kansu*, and the whole group of documents is bundled up together in a wrapping sheet known as *tsutsumigami*.

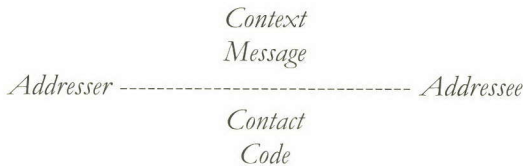
The Historiographical Institute quickly realized the importance of the *Shōsōin monjo*, and set about producing typographical reprints of their contents, and restoring fragments to their original sequence. This effort produced the *Dainibon-komonjo: Hennen-monjo* in 25 volumes (1901–1940). This is a collection of historical sources in which the texts of the *Nara* period are arranged in chronological order. At present, the Historiographical Institute is undertaking the important work of restoring the *Shōsōin monjo* included in the *Dainibon-komonjo: Hennen-monjo* to their original forms. To accomplish this task, the Institute performs an annual survey, the results of which are published as *Shōsōin monjo mokuroku*, or *Inventory of the Shōsōin Documents* (1987 to the present). So

far, the Institute has compiled and published inventories of the *Seishū*, *Zokushū*, *Zokushū-kōshū*, *Zokushū-besshū*, and *Jinkai*, the first five volumes of an expected total of twenty.

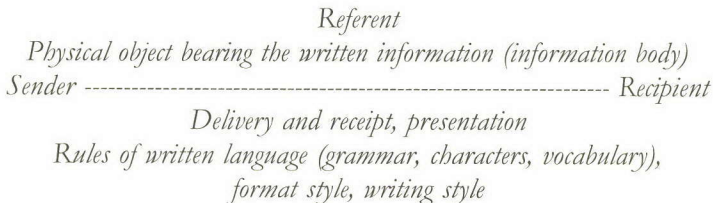
2. The forms and functions of texts

2.1 A model for the communication of information in written language

The “act of verbal communication” according to Roman Jakobson’s definition of a speech-event, has six constitutive factors (“Linguistics and Poetics” in Roman Jakobson’s *Selected Writings*, vol. 3 [1981], pp. 21-22).



If we were to rewrite this model as a model for communication of information by means of written language, it would appear as follows. However, because written language is conveyed by a physical object, such as paper, it is transmitted by means of delivery and receipt. We might call the physical object by which the written information is conveyed, the “information body” or “information object”.



I used this model in my *Nihon kodai shiryō-gaku* (Historical Materials on Ancient Japan, 1997), where I presented it in a modified form as a model for the communication of historical information. By doing so, I hoped to clarify phenomena associated with the delivery and receipt of

documents (or, more broadly, historical sources) that occur in a particular historical context. In the case of spoken language, the message is transmitted by means of utterance and hearing through the physical phenomenon of sound. Transmission of written language is achieved by the delivery and receipt of the physical object which carries the information — in the case of historical materials this would be a document. For example, if we represent this transmission in a diagram, it might appear as follows:

*The historical conditions that the historical material relates to and denotes
the historical material as physical object*
Sender of the historical information ----- Recipient of the information
Delivery and receipt, presentation
Language rules (grammar, characters, vocabulary), format style, writing style

Historical materials regarded as physical objects (in concrete terms, documents and the like) correspond to the message conveyed from sender to recipient in linguistic communication, and represent a method for the communication of intention by means of written language. This is unlike transmission by sound, in which the message disappears into the air as soon as the transmission is effected: transmission by written language takes the form of linguistic information conveyed by a physical object, which can be stored and preserved, and continue to exist.

2.2 The concept of *shiryô-tai* or “historical document as physical object”

As I explained above in describing the communication of information in written language, a historical source can be seen as an “information-body” or “information-object.” In order to emphasize the physicality of historical source materials, which tend to attract attention only for the strings of characters that are written on them, I would like to introduce the concept of *shiryô-tai*, or “historical document as physical object.” The historical document as physical object comprises three elements: the message as the information to be transmitted; the body conveys it, or ‘carrier’, as the physical object on which the message is placed; and the mode by which the message and the conveying body or

‘carrier’ are linked (that is, the position of message on the carrier, how it is placed and attached to it).

Shiryō-tai: *historical document as physical object*



The information transmitted by historical documents as physical objects may be defined as follows:

Message (in the broad sense) — information to be transmitted.

Message (in the narrow sense) — written information placed on the body of the document, information that can be converted into language.

Text: information formulated as a written language-construct.

Added Message: a message added some time after the historical document was formed.

“Message in the broad sense” means the information transmitted by the *shiryō-tai* and the acts of delivering, receiving, or presenting it. This embraces all the information that the recipient can comprehend: the quality and form of the conveying body; the space and actions involved in its delivery and receipt or presentation; and the various aspects of the message in the narrow sense conveyed by the conveying body.

The idea of “added message” is important to the concept of *shiryō-tai* since the source material as a physical object generally acquires a multi-layered temporal framework in the course of time. Examples of such ‘temporal multi-layering’ include the addition of glosses, commentary, rubrication and the like to existing sources, and the addition of a secondary document to a primary one.

2.3 The writing surface

2.3.1 Characteristics of the paper as raw material in the *Shōsōin monjo*

As well as making new paper for use as the writing surface for documents, registers and other books, there was widespread re-use of the blank reverse of paper no longer needed, which is called *hogo* (otherwise *hogyū*).

In addition to its use for documents, registers and other books, paper was used for many other purposes: as wrapping for groups of books such as sutra scrolls, or groups of documents; as blotting paper (for blotting up excess ink); as material to protect writing paper during the fabrication and copying processes; and for wrapping up pigments, squares of paper being made into pouches for powdered pigment, and tied at the top of the pouch). Any paper that was no longer needed could be treated as *hogo* and re-used for documents and registers.

1) The paper of the *Shōsōin monjo*

The various types of paper used in the *Shōsōin* documents can be categorized as follows.

A New (unused) paper.

B Outdated administrative documents sent by the government to the *Shakuyō-sho* (sutra scriptorium) of *Konkōmyō-ji*. A large body of census and taxation records no longer needed by the government were sent to the sutra scriptorium in about 745 for clerical use. The taxation records, known as *shōzai-chō*, were financial reports concerning the income, storage, and outlay of unhulled rice levied as tax at the local government levels of *koiku/kuni* (provinces; of the same scale as today's prefectures) and *gun/kōri* (county). Census records that have come down to us because their reverses were used for documents and registers at the *Shakuyō-sho* include the 702 census of *Mino* and *Chikuzen* Provinces, and the 721 census of *Shimōsa* Province. They represent source material for research on the ancient family which is valuable even in global terms.

C Documents disposed of by administrative bodies supervising the sutra scriptorium, such as the *Kōgōgū-shiki* and *Zō-Tōdaiji-shi*.

D Documents disposed of at the sutra scriptorium, re-used for secondary documents.

- E Documents brought into the *Shakyo-sho* by its officers that were no longer needed, either stored with other documents of the office, or re-used for secondary documents.
- F Paper for sutra-copying later disposed of.
- G Paper used as wrapping-paper and the like which later became unnecessary.
- H Paper with characters written on it deriving from the treasures of the *Shôsôin*, which became part of the *Shôsôin monjo* during modern surveys (such as wrapping for cinnabar), and paper used for purposes other than writing.

2) Types of documents associated with sutra-copying projects

Documents and registers drawn up and accumulated in connection with sutra copying to be found in the *Shôsôin monjo* include the following.

- a Documents relating to sutra copying sent from other institutions or individuals to the *Kôgôgû-shiki*, *Konkômyô-ji*, *Tôdai-ji*, or *Zô-Tôdaiji-shi*, that were then passed down to the sutra scriptorium (largely originals).
- b Documents drawn up at the *Zô-Tôdaiji-shi* or sutra scriptorium (largely drafts or copies).
- c Registers drawn up and stored by the sutra scriptorium.
- d Documents sent to the scriptorium from other government offices, temples, and individuals (largely originals).
- e Documents and registers associated with the *Ishiyama-in* temple (or *Ishiyama-dera*, located in Ôtsu, Shiga Prefecture), which was founded as a branch temple of *Tôdai-ji*.
- f Miscellaneous items, such as wastepaper resulting from writing activity (with one or both surfaces written on), and paper kept for secondary use (lining, cleaning, gluing and other handwork).

3) *Tsugibumi* and *dankan*

Most of the *Shôsôin monjo* have been passed down as *kansu* (scrolls) or *kukuri* (bundles). In addition, there is also a significant number of documents and registers that have become separated from their original contexts, as well as fragments of both.

The scrolls generally take one of two forms: scrolls made up of a

number of independent documents or registers that have been pasted together, or scrolls comprising a single document or register made up of many sheets of paper pasted together. A single scroll made up of multiple documents or registers is called *tsugibumi* (“joined document”). By contrast, the paper of a single document or register made up of a multiple number of sheets is called *tsugigami* (“joined paper”). Some scrolls have rollers at their core, while other scrolls lack them.

In studying the *Shōsōin monjo*, we use the term *dankan*, literally “fragment,” in a more technical sense to refer to single sheets of paper or groups of sheets pasted together whose right and left edges have been separated from their adjoining sheets for some reason physically or logically significant. Although the term is usually used more literally to refer to individual fragments of paper, we use it in this way to make it easier to describe the paper that makes up documents and registers.

The first stage in reconstructing documents and registers that have been taken apart and rearranged is to regard the paper in its present state as *dankan* (disconnected fragments), and then to rejoin *dankan* which can be reckoned to belong together. This re-joining process returns *tsugibumi* and *tsugigami* to their original form.

2.3.2 The double segmental construction of written documentary materials

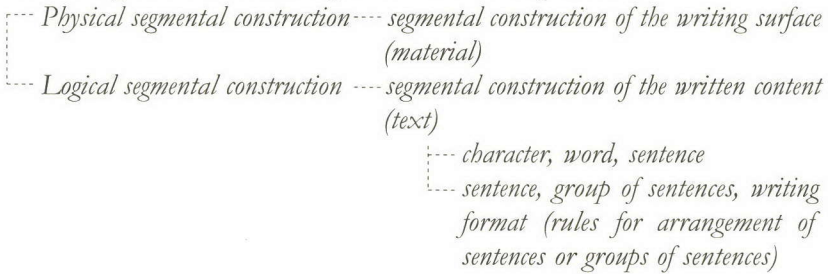
1) The writing surface

By understanding an historical document as a physical object, it becomes possible to reconsider the relationship between the message and the body which convey it.

In order to turn a linguistic expression into written language, the language must be attached to a medium — the writing surface. Paper that is used for writing documents, registers, records, and other books is called *ryōshi*, or “paper for writing.”

Inscribed documentary materials have what might be called a ‘double segmental structure’: the segmental structure of the written language itself — the character, word, sentence; writing format — and the segmental structure of the writing medium (*ryōshi*) — the line, sheet, group of sheets; blank and written sections; obverse and reverse.

The double segmental construction of written documentary materials



In ancient Japan, the paper used for ordinary documents and registers was made of *kôzo* (paper mulberry), and the great majority of examples measure just under one *shaku* from top to bottom by just under two *shaku* from right edge to left (one *shaku* being just over 29 centimeters). Paper of this size was used according to stipulated styles (width and height of lines) and formats (different for document and register type). All of these modes of standardization help us to reconstruct the original documents and registers from *dankan* and single fragments. It might be said that the basis of this reconstruction is the double segmental structure which has been posited for inscribed, documentary materials.

2.4 Detection of the order of temporal layers

2.4.1 Temporal layers

Having defined an historical document as a physical object with a double segmental structure, we must understand it as a three-dimensional structure in which the layers of written information are stacked on the surface of the body which conveys it.

It is a characteristic feature of putting language into writing that the means of transmission, often paper, is a material that continues to exist for a long time. Since the body which conveys it can be inscribed repeatedly, historical source materials often possess a multi-layered structure in which the inscribed information is built up from an initial layer, which might be called its temporal foundation, and a number of additional layers.

In the case of the *Shôsôin monjo*, drafts and copies of original documents often perform multiple functions at their source, while received

documents are often used for a secondary purpose in the further handling of matters by the institution that received them. For these reasons, the Shôshôin documents often present a multilayered temporal framework of information in written language.

2.4.2 Detecting ‘temporal layers’ and their ‘trail of transmission’

The *Shôshôin* documents include an example of three layers, *Zoku-zokushû* 16-1-1 (Fig.1), which has two layers of documents on the original obverse and an additional document on the reverse. The present reverse (the original obverse) has a *Sha-Issaikyô-sho ge* dated the twenty-ninth day of the eighth month of 748 (*Tenpyô* 20). This document was revised to produce the *Zô-Tôdaiji-shi ge* dated the seventh day of the ninth month of the same year. On the present obverse (the original reverse), there is another *Zô-Tôdaiji-shi ge* of exactly the same date. (The first two documents are typographically reprinted in *Dainihon komonjo* 10: 374-377; the third in *Dainihon komonjo* 10: 377-379.)

The first document (*Sha-Issaikyô-sho ge*, 748.8.29) was drawn up by Shihi-no-Marô, an *anzu/anju* (a low-grade official in charge of documents and records) of the *Shakkyô-sho* scriptorium, and sent to its supervisory institution, the *Zô-Tôdaiji-shi*. It comprises a report on the situation regarding the copying of sutras on both public and private commission for the years 743 to 747. The *Shakkyô-sho* undertook two primary types of sutra copying: *jôsha*, or the official copying of the *Issaikyô* (complete Buddhist canon; the *Gogatsu-tsuitachi-kyô*); and *kansha*, or the occasional copying of various sutras commissioned publicly and privately (by the imperial court, nobles, government officials, Buddhist priests, etc.). The report drawn up by Shihi-no-Marô is a report of the latter type. It lists sutras that have been transported for the purpose of copying and those have not, and gives the number of cords (*o*, attached to the outer cover of a scroll, wrapped around it and tied to keep it closed) and rollers (*jiku*) needed for the binding of sutras that have already been copied. The *Shakkyô-sho* report was requested by the *Zô-Tôdaiji-shi* so that it could make a further report to its supervisory institution, the *Daijôkan* (Council of State).

At the *Zô-Tôdaiji-shi*, the report to be sent to the *Daijôkan* was drafted by making amendments to the report sent from the *Shakkyô-sho*, by changing parts of its contents, its title, format, and date, to produce the

○造東大寺司解案文書目録

寫一切經所解 申奉請未奉請經論疏(并請經抄) 卷五 部七百七十五卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

大法若經 一部六百卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

法花經 十部八十卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

手經廿一卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

最勝王經 二部廿卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

花嚴經 一部廿卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

已上依十九年十一月廿四日具弁大德直奉請平攝師所

十一面經 一卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

唯識論 一卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

尊勝珠林 一卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

已上十四部 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

唯識論 一部 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

Fig.1 The Layered documents

Fig.1.1 Sha-Issaikyô-sho ge (748.8.29) and Zô-Tôdajji-shi ge (748.9.7, the draft version) (Shosoin Document, Zokuzokushû 16-1-1, Dainihon-komonjo Vol.10,374-377)

天平20年(748)8月29日写一切經所解, 天平20年(748)9月7日造東大寺司解案(草案)(続々修16帙1①, (『大日本古文書』10, 374~377)

造東大寺司解 申奉請經論疏事 合奉請經論疏冊四部七百七十五卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

大法若經 一部六百卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

法花經 十部八十卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

最勝王經 二部廿卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

手經廿一卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

四分律抄 一部六卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

花嚴經 一部廿卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

八卷金光明經 一部八卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

唯識論 一卷 依尼公十八年二月廿一日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

已上十四部 依尼公十八年七月廿七日宣所奉寫 一部六卷

玄菟頭從五位下 王 天平廿九年七月七日主典從八位下出口伊美吉

Fig.1.2 Zô-Tôdajji-shi ge (748.9.7, the secondary copy of the fair copy of the original) (Shosoin Document, Zokuzokushû 16-1-1, the reverse, Dainihon-komonjo Vol.10, 377-379)

天平20年(748)9月7日造東大寺司解案(続々修16帙1①裏, (『大日本古文書』10, 377-379)

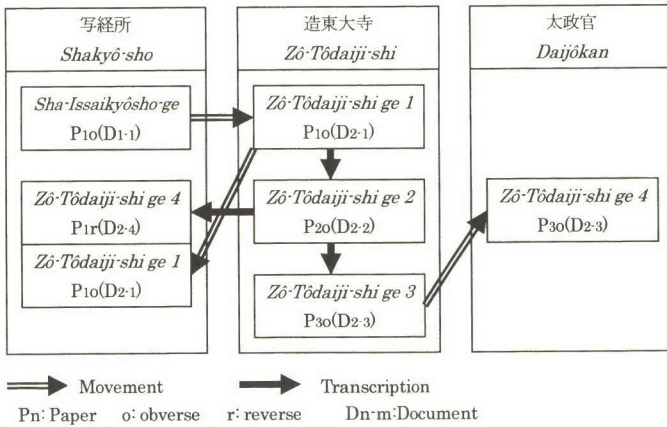


Fig.1.3 The process of derivation and transformation

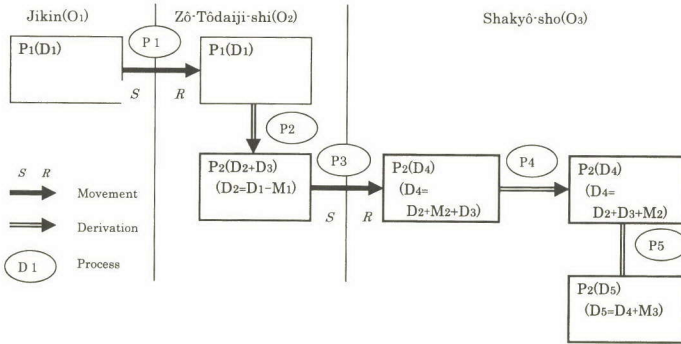
second document on the original obverse.

The document on the original reverse, *Zō-Tōdaiji-shi ge* 748.9.7, is a clean copy of the draft, that is the second layer, on the obverse, and thus seems to be a copy of the report sent to the *Daijōkan* from the *Zō-Tōdaiji-shi*. It is impossible, however, to copy a document while looking at the other side of the paper on which it is written, so it appears that the third document is a further copy of a fair copy of the 748.9.7 *Zō-Tōdaiji-shi ge* draft.

Although it was submitted to the *Zō-Tōdaiji-shi* and re-used to draft a further report, the document as a whole has come down to us because it was preserved in the holdings of the *Shakyō-sho* scriptorium. This was because the *anzū* Shihimō-Maro made a copy of the fair copy of the *Daijōkan* report onto the reverse of the draft, which was no longer needed, and then took it with him back to the *Shakyō-sho*.

To summarize, therefore. The document *Zokuzōkenshū* 16-1-1 possesses a three-layer temporal structure, with two layers on the original obverse (the present reverse) and one layer on the original reverse (the present obverse). First submitted as a report to a higher institution, it was used there to draft a further report. At this point it was of no further use to that institution, so a further document was added to the reverse by a member of the institution which had sent it originally, who took it back with him to its place of origin. The paper of

The formulas of the process of Jikin *busbō-mon*



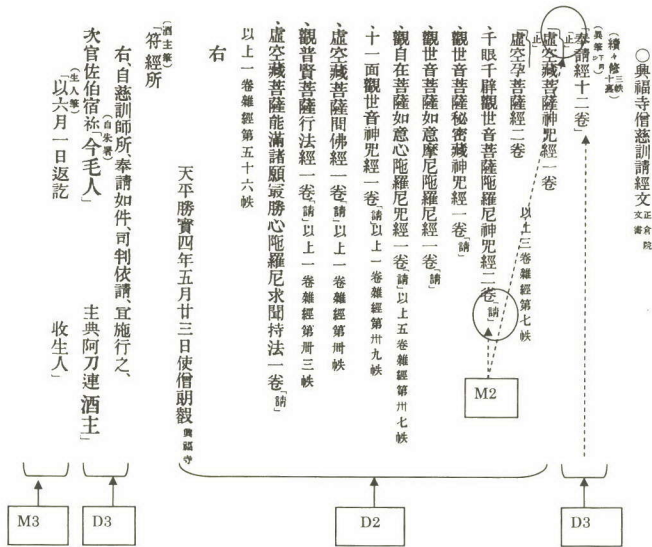
- Process 1 $S(O_1) - P_1(D_1) \rightarrow R(O_2)$ [Movement 1]
- Process 2 $W(O_2) : P_2 + [D_1 - M_1] = P_2(D_2)$ $W(O_2) : P_2 + [D_2 + D_3] = P_2(D_2 + D_3)$ [Derivation 1]
- Process 3 $S(O_2) - P_2(D_2 + D_3) \rightarrow R(O_3)$ [Movement 2]
- Process 4 $W(O_3) : P_2 + [D_2 + M_2 + D_3] = P_2(D_4)$ [Derivation 2]
- Process 5 $W(O_3) : P_2 + [D_4 + M_3] = P_2(D_5)$

On: Organization or Individual W : Writing

$S - P_n \rightarrow R$: Sending P_n from S to R (S : Sender R : Recipient)

$P_n(D_n)$: Document on a paper D_n : Description of Document M_n : Message added to D_n

Fig.2.2 The process of diachronic derivation and transformation



which the document was made, therefore, experienced two dislocations, and leaves us with a record of this ‘trail of transmission’.

2.5 Transformation

A document dated the twenty-third day of the fifth month of 752 (*Tenpyō-shōbō* 4), *Kōfukuji-sō Jikin bushō-mon* (reverse of *Zoku-zokushū* 3-10-2(3), *Dainibon komonjo* 12: 298-299), presents an interesting example of a document being reused repeatedly and transformed in the process.

To summarize its contents, in reply to a written request from the *Kōfukuji* priest Jikin to be allowed to borrow 12 sutra scrolls, an official at the *Zō-Tōdaiji-shi* drew up a summary of his request, and to the left of the summary added an order (*fu*) to the *Shakyō-sho* scriptorium to lend them to him. Received by the *Shakyō-sho*, the document was then reused as a record of lending the scrolls to Jikin, and later transformed yet again into a record of the return of the scrolls, when Jikin returned them on the first day of the sixth month. (Fig.2)

2.6 Individual documents and groups of documents

2.6.1 ‘Strata’ within sub-archives

There are many cases among the *Shōsōin monjo* where documents function not individually, but in groups. A typical strata structure for a group of materials can be set out as follows, taking into account the factors of the type of aggregate, and the temporal layer structure of each historical document as a physical object.

Stratum 1: ‘archive’ of documents written over a long period

Stratum 2: ‘archive’ of documents written or assembled at one time

Stratum 3: ‘archive’ of documents originating from a subordinate institution, organized according to the type of project

Stratum 4: ‘archive’ of documents forming a group

Fig.2 The Transformation process of the document

Fig.2.1 *Kōfuku-ji-sō Jikin bushō-mon* (752.5.23)

(*Shōsōin Document, Zoku-zokushū* 3-10-2(3), the reverse, *Dainibon-komonjo* Vol.12, 298-299) 天平勝宝4年(752)5月23日興福寺僧慈訓奉請文(続々修3帙10②(3)裏、『大日本古文書』12, 298~299)

- Stratum 5: Individual documents
- Stratum 6: Fragments

The *Sbōsōin monjo* is an example of Stratum 1, namely a group of materials generated within a particular institution, while Stratum 2, as well as Stratum 3, is represented by groups of materials generated within a subordinate institution or for the purposes of individual types of project in many cases.

In terms of the structure of individual documents, the most important stratum to consider is the fourth, namely that of documents forming a group. Three different types can be identified.

1) Sub-archive type I

Multiple documents (individual documents; originals, copies and drafts) pasted together to form a *tsugibumi* (“joined document”). A typical example can be seen with *bushō-mon*, which refers to individual documents and *tsugibumi* concerning *bushō*, the lending and borrowing of sutra scrolls. A *tsugibumi* comprising multiple *bushō-mon* documents also functions as a lending and borrowing ledger.

2) Sub-archive type II

Multiple documents recopied in sequence on paper consisting of the required number of sheets pasted together. Although the constituent elements of the group are individual documents, they do not function as such.

3) Sub-archive type III

A group of documents designed to function integrally as a register, consisting of individual documents and additional sheets intended for some specific purpose (such as covers or total sheets).

2.7 The communication of historical information and social relationships

Among the documents relating to the lending and borrowing of sutra scrolls, an interesting example is presented by the following set of documents. *Zō-Tōdaiji-shi chō (an)* (*Zokushū-besshū* 6-5), dated the twenty-seventh day of the third month of 753 (*Tenpyō-sbōhō* 5), is a document-

copy that was preserved in the *Shakyō-sho* scriptorium. The draft of the same document (*Zokushū-besshū* 6-6) was attached to the book-chest in which the sutra scrolls were transported, along with the original document, to the borrowing institution, the *Sōgō* (an institution controlling priests and nuns). The draft remained attached to the book-chest until it and the scrolls were returned to the scriptorium, whereupon it was removed and preserved, and has thus come down to us today. (Fig.3)

The *Shōsōin monjo* collection includes many documents that travelled back and forth, or through several different points. In the case of

造東大寺司昧 僧綱務所
 奉請仁王經壹佰部 二百卷 之中拾叁部請留東大寺
 見奉請捌拾柒部 五十一部黃紙及表綺緒朱軸 六部黃紙及表綺緒
 九部白紙及表綺緒 七部紅紙標表綺緒 六部標紙淺綠表綺緒
 三部胡桃紙標表綺緒 以上卅一部丹軸 三部黃紙及表綺緒漆塗輪
 一部黃紙及表綺緒紫檀輪 一部黃紙及表綺緒梨輪
 竹絲快十七枚 並緋裏緋裏組帶 納漆塗小字機一合並机敷布一條
 右、依今日牒百奉請如前、
 天平勝寶五年三月廿七日 上馬養
 吳有
 次官佐伯宿禰
 右、以四月七日、依先貞奉納如前、
 又自三綱所、奉請仁王經廿三卷 上馬廿
 只上二卷下卷二

Fig.3 The documents for lending sutras
 Fig.3.1 *Zō-Tōdajishi chō* (751.3.27) (the draft, moved with sutras)
 (*Shōsōin Documents, Zokushū-bessyū* 6-6, *Dainibon-komonjo* Vol.3, 622-623)
 天平勝寶 5 年 (753) 3 月 27 日造東大寺司解案 (続修別集 6 ⑥, 『大日本古文書』 3, 622-623)

造東大寺司昧 僧綱務所
 奉請仁王經壹佰部 二百卷 之中拾叁部請留東大寺
 見奉請捌拾柒部 五十一部黃紙及表綺緒朱軸 六部黃紙及表綺緒
 六部標紙淺綠表綺緒 三部胡桃紙標表綺緒 以上卅一部丹軸
 三部黃紙及表綺緒漆塗輪 一部黃紙及表綺緒紫檀輪 一部黃紙及表綺緒梨輪
 竹絲快拾柒枚 並緋裏緋裏組帶
 右、依今日牒百奉請如前、
 天平勝寶五年三月廿七日

Fig.3.2 *Zō-Tōdajishi chō* (751.3.27)
 (the copy, kept by *Shakyō-sho*)
 (*Shōsōin Documents, Zokushū-bessyū* 6-5, *Dainibon-komonjo* Vol.3, 621-622)
 天平勝寶 5 年 (753) 3 月 27 日造東大寺司解案 (続修別集 6 ⑤, 『大日本古文書』 3, 621-622)

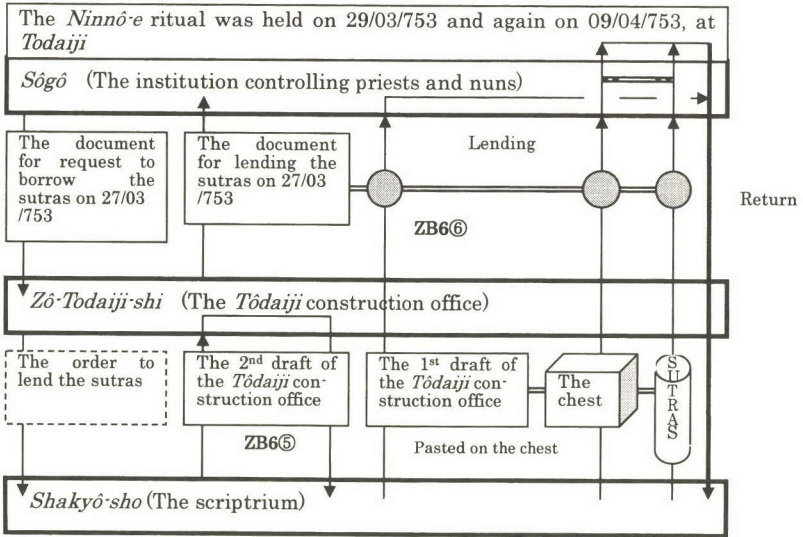


Fig.3.3 The Process of Lending of Sutras with Documents

documents relating to the lending and borrowing of sutra scrolls, the document moves in conjunction with the scrolls in their book-chests, and with messengers who carry the book-chests to effect the movement of the scrolls. These documents show that the transmission and movement of bodies of information in writing was often accompanied by the transmission or movement of people, property and/or labour. In other words, that these bodies were created and transmitted not only to communicate intent, but to facilitate the transmission and movement of people, property, and/or labour.

In social relations, the exchange of written information, not only regulate the behavior of others, it is also a means of effecting the exchange or movement of people, property, and/or labour. We might therefore express the social repercussions of the communication of written information in the following way.

Conditions causing transmission [*Conditions information relates to*]
Intent, people, labor, supplies [*Object of transmission*]
 Sender of the information --- Information body --- Recipient of the information
 Contact [*Method of information transmission*]
 Rules (*format, grammar, vocabulary*) [*Rules for the writing of information*]

In my opinion, those of us who study inscribed documentary sources should establish a model for the communication of historical information through the transmission of an information-object, which comprehends historical document as such an information-object. Social relations are fundamentally based on the exchange of intent between people or groups of people. The communication of historical information is precisely an exchange of intent effected by the document as a means of communication. This exchange of intent is indicative of the relationships between people and groups of people through the medium of intent, and is based upon society's various economic relationships.

Analysing the process by which documents gain a 'temporal framework', and analysing the textual structures which result, give us a means of approaching social structure.

Intent (deep structure) underlies form (the forms of expression, surface structure); intent can be detected through form. This approach is fundamental to my understanding of the study of written source materials.

Culture and Ideas Carried by Chinese Characters in Ancient East Asia: The Japanese Viewpoint

Tokio SHINKAWA
Waseda University

Introduction

The adoption of Chinese characters in ancient Japan raises some important questions. In this paper I shall examine the wooden tablets from *Asuka-Ike* in Nara prefecture, with a view to the intellectual attainment, the ‘wisdom’ of the ancient Japanese who had recently adopted Chinese characters. I hope this inquiry will shed some light upon the formation of the intellectual and philosophical world of ancient Japan.

1. The site of *Asuka-Ike* and its wooden tablets

The site of *Asuka-Ike*, of which an area 200 m from north to south, by 100 m from east to west, has been excavated, was divided into two by a wall. The northern half is thought to have been mostly concerned with administration, the southern half with manufacture. In the excavations since 1991, some 8,000 wooden tablets have been found, although many are only uninscribed scraps. The great majority, more than 7,700, were found in the northern half (**Fig.1**).

The site as a whole, and thus the wooden tablets, dates approximately to the late seventh and early eighth centuries AD, largely to the reign of the emperor Tenmu. It consists of the ruins of the *Asukaji* temple and its annex, south-eastern *Zen-In*. This temple is known to be one of the oldest in Japan, and its sanctuary the most extensive, while the annex was founded by Dô-shô (629-700) and other scholars who

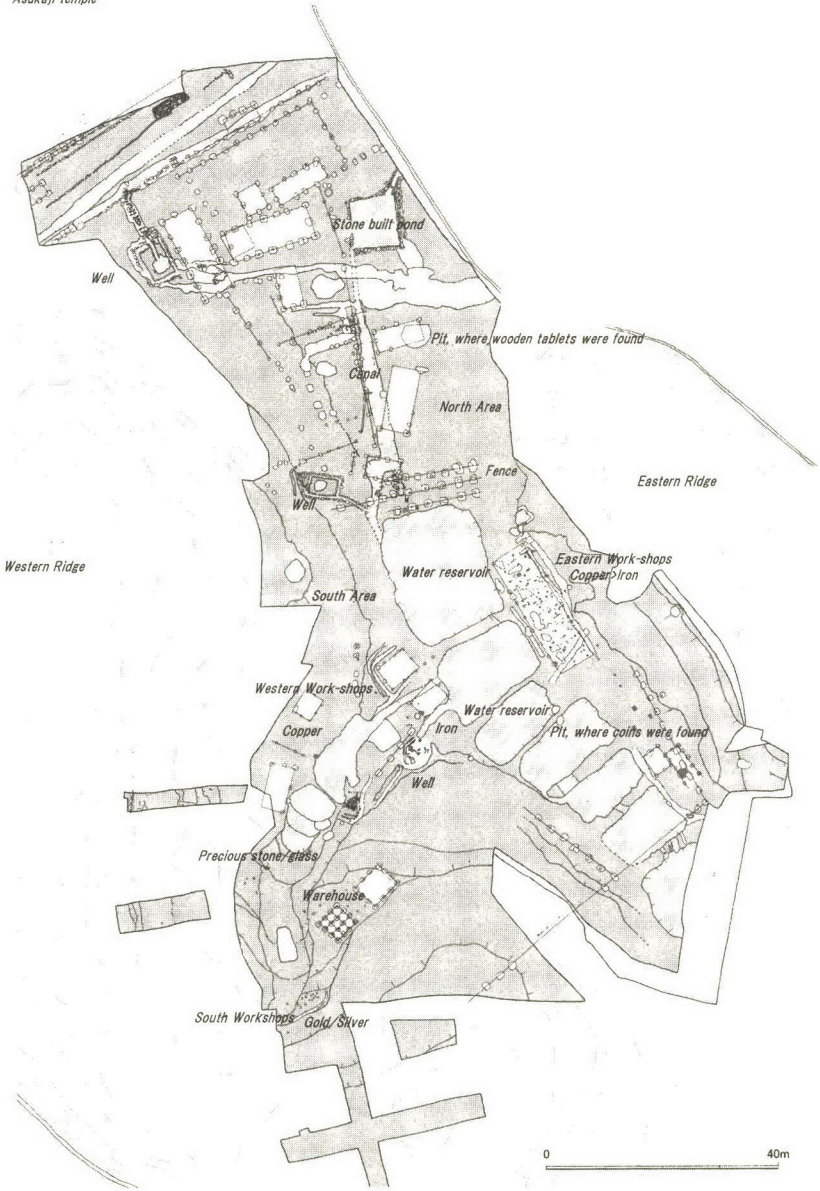


Fig.1 The site of Asuka-Ike

returned to Japan after completing their studies in China under Gen-jō (?-664), one of the most famous scholar-monks of the *Tang* dynasty. Thus we may expect to find a strong Chinese cultural influence on the Asian periphery where these temples were located. Despite our limited knowledge of ancient Buddhism and its temples, these wooden tablets will surely guide us towards important issues in the history of eastern Asia, for example the influence of Buddhism, temples and monasticism on seventh-century Japan, and the development of political and religious life under governmental initiative.

2. An inscribed wooden tablet

I begin with three passages written in sumi, ‘Indian’ ink, on three faces of four of a long wooden block (**Fig.2**).

- 1) 觀世音經卷 (*Kanzēon Kyō-kan*; *Kanzēon* sutra)
- 2) 支為[昭?]支照而為
- 3) 子曰学··是是 (*Shi iwaku manabite* ·· *zēze*; *The Master says, when you learn* ·· *such and such*)

1) is obviously a reference to the *Kanzēon-bosatsu* sutra, the chapter of the Buddhist Goddess of Mercy within the Lotus Sutra, one of Buddhism’s most important and popular texts. 2) is difficult to interpret, but may be based on a phrase typical of Buddhist sutras, as I will show below. 3) contains a phrase often used in the *Analects*, the most important Confucian text. Thus 1) and 3), although the latter is fragmentary, used language closely related to popular texts of the time. For this reason we think they belong to writing exercises in Chinese characters, but it should also be noted that the writer did not hesitate to inscribe the name of a Buddhist sutra and a common Confucian phrase on the same wooden material. This suggests that he did not yet have a deep understanding of the difference between these two systems of religious-ethical thought, which had only just been introduced from China.

2) by contrast offers a glimpse of deeper spiritual insight by the writer. Although we cannot understand the passage as a whole, the concluding phrase ‘而為’ ‘*then, therefore*’ or ‘*then, for the sake of someone*’ is

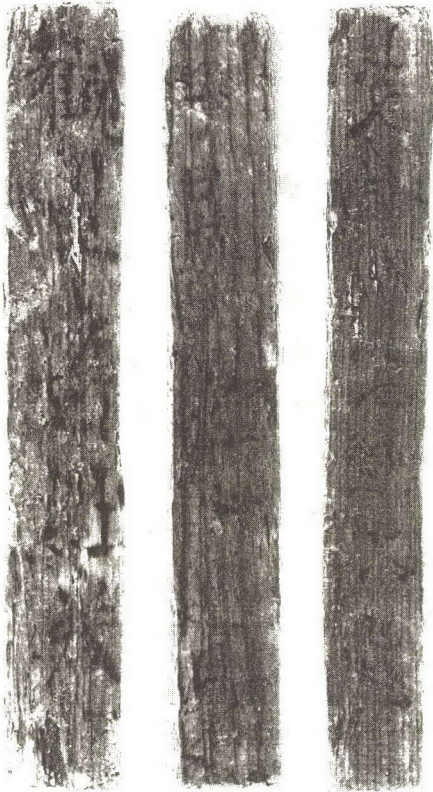


Fig.2



Fig.3

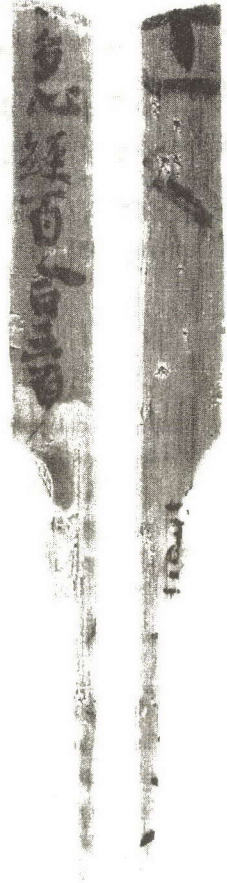


Fig.4

well attested in the *Kanzeon-bosatu* sutra named in 1). This contains eighteen examples of the phrase ‘而為說法’ ‘then, therefore giving sermons’, and one of ‘而為衆生說法’ ‘then, giving sermons for the sake of laity’. The character 照, *shō* (‘shining’ or ‘enlightening’) is often found in sutras, and was popular with monks as a name-element: some tablets from *Asuka-Ike* attest the monk 智照 *Chi-shō* (literally, *Wisdom-Shining*) who introduced the Lotus Sutra, probably from China. The word 光明 *Kō-myō* (‘bright light’), closely related in its meaning to 照 *shō*, occurs repeatedly on another tablet (Fig.3). It is a word often found in Buddhist sutras and related texts. The Lotus Sutra, for example, says that the ‘bright light’ (*Kō-myō*) of Bodhisattva ‘shines’ (照) upon the world and its people. The *Kanzeon-bosatu* sutra referred to in 1) also refers to 普明照世間 (*shining universally upon the world*). So the use of ‘而為’ and ‘照’ in 2) suggests that the writer took the *Kanzeon-bosatu* sutra as his starting-point, but showed a certain degree of creativity.

3. Mass-production of the ‘sea-borne’ texts

Let us now examine the wooden tablet which reads 「(…) 多心經百合三百 (…)」 (Fig.4).

The *Tashin* sutra 多心經 is formally called the *Hannya-bara-mittashin* sutra, which was translated into Chinese by the *Tang* scholar Gen-Jo in AD 649. This passage can be interpreted as meaning ‘100 (百) copies of the *Tashin* sutra, grand total (合) 300 (三百)’.

The *Tashin* sutra is a concise text which usually consists of only 262 letters. In summary it says that *Kanjizai-bosatsu*, another name for *Kanzeon-bosatsu*, relieves people from all sufferings, after ‘revealing’ (照見, ‘*shō-ken*’, literally ‘shines brightly’) the truth that all existence is empty. We can therefore observe some similarities between the *Tashin* sutra and the *Kanzeon* sutra mentioned above.

First of all, then, the *Kanzeon* sutra, although not so concise as the *Tashin* sutra, is quite a short one. Second, the *Kanzeon* sutra, like the *Tashin* sutra, preaches that the goddess illuminates the true nature of the world with her wisdom, and relieves its people from all suffering.

According to *Nihon-shoki*, *The Chronicle of Japan*, the *Kanzeon* sutra was one of those adopted and recited in the *Taikandaiji* temple and at the Imperial Court, to relieve the suffering of the emperor *Tenmu* in his

fatal illness. This would mean that the *Kanzeon* sutra was especially popular in his reign. On the other hand, although we have no mention of the *Tashin* sutra in *The Chronicles of Japan*, we do know from *The Inventory of property of the Houryuji temple* in 746 that 100 volumes of the *Kanzeon* sutra and 750 volumes of the *Tashin* sutra had already been dedicated in the temple. This means that there was a group of people, perhaps including laity, who repeatedly recited a set of the *Kanzeon* and *Tashin* sutras to which was sometimes added the *Yakushi* sutra, the sutra of *Yakushi Nyorai*, the Goddess of Medicine, in one volume. (See *Ubasoku-kumotsu-bun, List of the Offerings, the Warehouse, Todaiji temple*, after the year 732). Wooden tablets which record the loan of Buddhist sutras or the words 'Keizō' (a store-house for sutras) are found among the *Asuka-Ike* tablets. We may therefore conclude that two kinds of sutra, the *Tashin* sutra and an anonymous sutra (but probably the *Kanzeon* sutra), were being circulated together *en masse* in the region of the site and its vicinity.

In the wooden tablets from the site of *Asuka-Ike*, we find the names of monks such as *Chi-chō* 智調, *Chi-tatsu* 知達, *Gwan-kei* 願惠, as well as *Chi-shō* 智照. *Chi-chō* was a pupil of *Dō-shō*, who has already been mentioned as a founder of the south-eastern *Zen-in* at Asuka (see 『日本靈異記』 *Nihon-ryōi-ki, Strange stories of Japanese Buddhism*, 1, 22), while *Chi-tatsu* is said to have travelled by a ship of Korean *Silla* to China of the *Tang* dynasty in 658, and to have studied under *Gen-jō* (the fourth year of Empress Saimei, *Nihon-shōki, The Chronicles of Japan*, a. 658). These monks may be called the 'Wisdom' group, since their names often contain syllables of the word 'wisdom' (*Chi-e*: 知 (= 智) 恵), which was closely linked to the *Kanzeon* and *Tashin* sutras. This group I think made a great contribution to the mass-production and countrywide distribution of the *Kanzeon* and *Tashin* sutras. They arrived in Tang China after *Dō-shō*, who had already arrived there in 653, and they intended to study *Gen-jō*'s translations of sutras into Chinese and the culture of the Early *Tang*. When they returned home, they naturally went to where *Dō-shō* now was. The site of *Asuka-Ike* preserves remarkable traces of their activity.

4. Emergencies and everyday problems

By mass-producing the *Kanzeon* and *Tashin* sutras, and distributing them widely, what benefits did the ancient Japanese expect?

The benefits of reciting the *Kanzeon* sutra, according to *Kei-Kanzeon-Ougenki*, 71 chapters ('Descriptions of what people experience, when they achieve union with the Goddess' *Kanzeon*), are as follows: relief from imprisonment or arrest (chapter 22), avoiding thieves (14), swords (8), floods (6), fire (4), beasts (2), and demons (1), finding one's way (i.e. getting directions) (5), returning home (5), being saved from virulent diseases (3), giving birth to boys (1), and so on.

Direct relevance to everyday life is rather slight, on the whole, the emphasis being on disasters, especially those associated with travel or crises such as war.

Japan was defeated at the battle of *Hakusukinoe* in the Korean peninsula in 663. As a result, Japanese soldiers and monks studying abroad were deported or migrated voluntarily from the Korean peninsula to the mainland, returning later to Japan by the early eighth century. It is recorded in *The Chronicles of Japan* that the *Kanzeon* sutra was especially popular at this time. This surely reflects the growing anxiety of avoiding shipwreck, arrest (including imprisonment) and war, and of returning home safely. The benefits expected of the *Kanzeon* sutra evidently express what people felt in China. However, let me also draw attention to the account in *The Chronicles of Japan* already mentioned, that other people resorted to the *Kanzeon* sutra when the emperor Tenmu fell critically ill. The benefit they expected was not quite the same: the sutra was expressly intended for the 'regular and everyday difficulties', 生老病死苦 '*sei-rou-byō-shi-ku*' (birth, ageing, illness, death and pain) of daily life, not the extraordinary dangers or crises of war and long journeys. Does this indicate a resort to the *Kanzeon* sutra in Japan at two levels, both in moments of crisis and in the problems of daily life?

It is certainly true that the influence of Chinese tradition and customs was widespread, and that many people were migrating by sea into north-eastern Asia and the Korean peninsula, so that in occasional moments of crisis Japan certainly resorted to the *Kanzeon* sutra. This

was due to the influence of people with actual experience of travelling or war, and may be inferred from the presence of monks whose names are recorded in tablets from the site of *Asuka-Ike*.

However, these were not concerns shared by the population as a whole, but only the experience of a limited number. We may conclude that the *Kanseon* sutra, although it was first applied in moments of crisis, was reinterpreted by the Japanese to apply to ordinary problems, and acquired its general application to ‘everyday difficulties’. Alternatively, we might identify a process in time of recognizing the ‘pain’ in ‘everyday difficulties’, and of making it part of people’s daily life.

5. Medical practice

Let us return to the *Asuka-Ike* tablets. They contain many medical allusions, for example (Fig.5):

- 1) a person is 時氣 (*ji-ki*)
- 2) a person is 瘡 (*son*)
- 3) 蜚 (*bai*), 皮伊 (*ba-i*), 尸 (*shi*), 之 (*shi*), 忤 (*go*), 懼 (*go*)

Medical practice not only diagnoses a disease, it also creates it, in the sense of giving it a name such as 1) 時氣 ‘*jiki*’ or 2) 瘡 ‘*son*’ in the process. ‘*jiki*’ (literally ‘seasonal force’) is triggered by the conflict between the ‘force’ of the human mind (氣) and that of the seasonal climate, according to a medical book written during the *Sui* dynasty in China, (*Shohyou-genkou-ron*, ‘On the seasonal origins of disease’ 9). This concept goes back to the Chinese philosophical school of 陰陽 *On-myō* (i.e. Taoism), which regards the universe as consisting of ‘forces’. The ancient Japanese needed some such theory or explanation of disease, and indeed such words as ‘*jiki*’ to give a name to physical disorders.

Text 3) is a note of how to pronounce a series of medical terms, the first word 蜚 being pronounced as the next 皮伊 ‘*ba-i*’ (or ‘*bi-i*’), 尸 as 之 ‘*shi*’, and 忤 as 懼 ‘*go*’ (or ‘*gu*’). This indicates the process of learning how to pronounce Chinese characters; in other words, how the Japanese first responded

Fig.5

to the use of unfamiliar Chinese characters, especially to terms relating to diseases.

With regard to the characters 蜚 and 尸, it may be noted that the words ‘*hai-si*’ (蜚尸) and ‘*hai-kyou-ryu-si*’ (蜚凶流尸) refer to winged demons surrounded by flame which manifest themselves in the houses of those dying of disease. They have another name, ‘*hi-si-ryu-kyou*’ (飛尸流凶). This became the name of a specific disease, the symptoms of which were sudden, acute pain in the heart and stomach. Thus the tablet attests an effort to identify the word 蜚尸 by its sound, a stage in the recognition of new diseases.

The character 忤 generally means ‘go against’, but in this context it would refer to 客忤, a disease in children triggered by a change in the ‘external force’ (外氣). This disease 客忤, as well as ‘*ji-ki*’ and ‘*hi-shi*’, is mentioned in *Senkin-yokubō* (千金翼方), written by Son Shibaku (who lived 581-681).

懼 means ‘fear, grief, surprise, disease’. In *Senji-mon*, (“*A thousand characters in a prose textbook*”) we find the phrase ‘悚懼恐惶’, and the writer who expressed the sound of 忤 with the character 懼 may have wanted to describe the terminal stage of this disease as one of ‘trembling with fear’.

We should emphasize that these states of disease or physical abnormality needed first to be recognized and systematically described. This entailed being aware of pain, and how to treat it. The two were not related like cause and effect; the treatment may well have been imported to Japan, for example by exiles from *Pekche* after the battle of *Hakusukinoe*. It is highly likely that they brought medical prescriptions with them, as well as the *Kanzeon* sutra.

A new system of thought can be seen developing in Japan. The attempt was first made in 675 to centralize medical practice, knowledge and skills, which had previously been the preserve of immigrants from India, *Pekche*, or *Silla*, or of students who had studied abroad. 679 is the year of notable regulations. Monks and nuns were ordered to live in temples, and when they ‘aged’ or ‘fell ill’ or ‘became senile’ there, instructions were given for their transfer to another building, where the old were to remain at rest and the sick were to take medication. For if they stayed in the temple, the ‘sacred place’ would be ‘polluted’ or ‘dirty’.

The pain and suffering of old age or disease were considered, not just in relation to their victims, but as being a contagion which reduced the ‘clean, sacred’ space into a state of ‘impurity’. In other words, to treat ‘pain’ was to treat ‘impurity’, implying that the former was subordinate to the latter. From this polarity emerged the ideal of achieving a clean, ‘pure’ physical body and space; this clean, ‘pure’ body is the agent of ‘*Matsuri-goto*’, public administration either secular or sacred, which was in the process of being re-organised; and the space is where this administration was conducted, that it to say in the Imperial Court, the Imperial residence, the Ministries, and the streets. By creating this model of administration, a new dimension of meaning was given to the ideas of ‘disease’ and ‘mourning the death of one’s parent’ (重服 *ju-buku*).

The regulations of 679 should be understood within the context of this reform. Their aim was to impose this threefold connection — between the ‘suffering’ of diseases in old age, the ‘impurity’ that prevents the administration of public affairs, and the state of ‘purity’ that guarantees their effective administration — as a rule of conduct within the temple-world of monks and nuns. This undoubtedly suggests the role expected of temples, Buddhism, and priests in Japan during the second half of the seventh century, and in fact we catch a glimpse at the *Asuka-Ike* site of various activities connected with public administration.

A tablet from *Asuka-Ike* mentions the death of a priest, which should be seen in this context. Another tablet shows that a ration of rice was issued to starving men or women at the priests’ discretion, a measure that must be understood as a part of the process of identifying and organising the starving. Problems of this kind contributed to the complex reform of public administration.

Conclusion: ‘shining brightly’ or ‘enlightening’ (*shō-ken* 照見)

I would like to conclude with an inscription worth considering in the light of the activities that are inferred from the wooden tablets of the *Asuka-Ike*. This is *Fune-no-Ougo-bosi*, a funeral epitaph in memory of Ougo, referring to the year 668 which can be dated sometime between 668 and the early eighth century.

The epitaph says that Ougo was born into the Fune family during the reign of the emperor Bi-tatu, and served the empress Sui-ko and the emperor Jo-mei, and that when he died in 641, he was buried together with his wife. What is noteworthy is the passage that goes ‘the emperor Jo-mei shone brightly ‘照見 *shô-ken*’ | the emperor knew his extraordinary talent | and his meritorious service worthy of honour’, and tells us that Ougo gained official rank.

The passage contains the word ‘照見 *shô-ken*’ (‘shining brightly’), which is not found in sources such as *The Chronicle of Japan*, let alone other inscribed epitaphs. However, it may be recalled that it did occur in the *Tashin* sutra quoted above. So it is highly probable that the epitaph of Ougo drew it from the *Tashin* sutra, which is thought to have been disseminated widely from the *Asuka-Ike* site: the word was adopted as a result of hearing, reciting and reading this concise sutra letter by letter.

There is a further support for this hypothesis. The Fune family were immigrants from the mainland, who excelled in the recording, writing, and reading of documents. 惠尺 *E-ryaku*, a monk active in compiling and preserving historical documents, was a member of this family; and *Dô-shô*, moreover, with his close ties to the *Asuka-Ike* site, was his son. So it is hardly surprising, therefore, that the immediate descendants of Ougo of Fune and their kinsmen should have learnt a great deal from the *Tashin* sutra. Nor does its use contradict the dating of the inscribed epitaph.

The problem lies in the way in which ‘*shô-ken*’ in the *Tashin* sutra, with its Buddhist sense of ‘illuminating’, should have become ‘*shô-ken*’ in the inscribed epitaph, with its sense of the emperor ‘shining brightly’ in public administration. The ideas and vocabulary of Buddhism found in sutras such as the *Tashin* and the *Kanzeon* actually preceded the philosophy of public administration, for which they provided a moral foundation and a mode of expression.

However, it would be rash to conclude that this process simply reflected the reality that the emperor came to be regarded as the equal of Buddha and the saints of Buddhism. While the original Buddhist *shô-ken* meant that the ‘wisdom’ of Buddha and the saints of Buddhism is ‘illuminating’ (*shô-ken*) the whole world to relieve humanity and every living creature from ‘suffering’, the secular use of *shô-ken* by the

Japanese administration implied that the ‘wisdom’ of the emperor ‘shining brightly’ (*shō-ken*) illuminates the world in searching for virtuous subjects whose ‘talent’ or ‘service’ merit official ranks. Thus ‘*shō-ken*’ in the sense of relieving suffering is replaced by ‘*shō-ken*’ in the sense of conferring official rank.

This shift can also be seen in the *Nasunokuni-no-Miyatuko* inscription, which seems to have been erected in about 700. It says that a deceased local magnate attained official rank on two occasions in the reign of the emperor Tenmu, first as “governor” (an empty title) and then as ‘*tuidaini*’ (his real rank, 36th in 48 ranks of official hierarchy of the day). In this inscription too, the characters ‘*shō*’ and ‘*ken*’ appear together, which virtually amounts to ‘*shō-ken*’.

It follows that the idea of official ranks being conferred by imperial or royal ‘*shō-ken*’ was already current at the end of seventh century. The *Nasunokuni-no-Miyatuko* inscription just cited appears to be strongly influenced by Buddhism and Confucianism, and especially by such works as the *Daihannya* sutra and the *Analects of Confucius*. They have been attributed to monks who had recently arrived from *Silla*, and it would seem that people in the area of the Asuka-Ike site were receptive to the new learning.

However, it would be misleading to suppose that the idea of ‘*shō-ken*’ had an independent, abstract origin within the administration of public affairs as they concerned the Emperor or royalty. It could not have been conceived, let alone practised, without a re-reading of the texts of Chinese civilization which do not distinguish the secular from the religious, that is, between the *Analects of Confucius* and the *Tashin* and *Kanzōon* sutras. In consequence, the festivals which focused upon the Emperor and royalty, found a lasting basis upon which to proceed.

It is true that such a concept of ‘*shō-ken*’, which equated relief from suffering (including disease and starvation) with the grant of official titles (indicating that the bearers were competent to administer public festivals), is self-contradictory, paradoxical and distorted. But this is what happened in the late seventh century. The wooden tablets discovered from the *Asuka-Ike* site provide us with a valuable picture of activities there.

Selected Bibliography

- (1) Ito, K., and Takeuchi, A., 'On the wooden tablet(s) with the word 'Jimei' from the site of Asuka-Ike', *Nanto-Bukkyo* 79, 2000.
- (2) Inukai, T., 'The linguistic value of 7th-century wooden tablets', *Mokkann-Kenkyu* 23, 2001.
- (3) Imaizumi, T., 'Inscriptions on stone and metal', *Nihon-no-Kodai*, ed. by Kishi, T., vol.14, 1988.
- (4) Shinkawa, T., 'The inscription of Kunino-miyatsuko (prefect of Nasu) and Buddhism', *Nihon-Rekishi* 532, 1992.
- (5) Shinkawa, T., *Nihon-Kodai-Bunkashi no Kousou (The Structure of Ancient Japanese Cultural History)*, 1994.
- (6) Shinkawa, T., *Nihon-Kodai no Taigai-Kousyou to Bukkyo (The Foreign Policy of Ancient Japan and Buddhism)*, 1999.
- (7) Shinkawa, T., 'Considering the wooden tablet with the word 'Ten-Kou' (天皇)', *Shinika* 11-9, 2000.
- (8) Shinkawa, T., *Kanji-Bunka no Naritachi to Tenkai (The History and Development of the Culture of Chinese Characters)*, 2002.
- (9) Terasaki, Y., 'The early period of the *ritsu-ryo* (律令) state and tablets from the site of Asuka-Ike', *Kokushigaku* 173, 2001.
- (10) National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara, Asuka Historical Museum, *Nihon-Kodai no Boshi (Ancient Japanese Inscribed Epitaphs)*, 1979.
- (11) National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara, *Asuka, Fujiwara-Kyu-Hakutsu-Chosa-Shyutsudo-Mokkan-Gaibou (Reports on Wooden Tablets from the Asuka and Fujiwara-Palace Excavation)* vol. 11, 13, 14 (1993, 1998, 1999).
- (12) National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara, *Nara-Kokuritsu-Bunkazai-Kenkyujo-Nenpo (Annual Report of the National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, Nara)* 1998-II, 1999-II, 2000-II.
- (13) National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara, *Nara-Kokuritsu-Bunkazai-Kenkyujo-Kiyo (Bulletin of Nara National Research Institute of Cultural Assets)*, 2001.
- (14) Hanaya, H., 'The results and significance of the excavation of workshops at *Asuka-ike*', *Nihon-Koukogaku* 8, 1999.
- (15) Fukui, F., *Hannyashingyo no Sougouteki-Kenkyu (The Study of Hannyashingyo)*, 2000.
- (16) Makita, T., *Rikuchō-Koitsu-Kanzenon-Ougenki no Kenkyū (A Study of Kanzenon-Ougenki: Descriptions of what people experience, when they achieve union with the Goddess Kanzenon, in Rikuchō period)*, 1970.
- (17) Maruyama, Y., *Nihon-Kodai no Iryo-Seido (The Medical System of Ancient Japan)*, 1998.

- (18) Mokkan-Gakkai, *Mokkan-Kenkyu (Studies of Wooden Tablets)* vol. 14, 21 (1992, 1999).
- (19) Yoshikawa, S., 'A re-examination of the wooden tablets from *Asuka-Ike*', *Mokkan-Kenkyu* 23, 2001.

Public and Private Discourse on Stone in the Inscriptions of the Greek East

Charles CROWTHER
University of Oxford

This is a paper about the reading of inscriptions — their visibility, legibility and the framing provided by their physical context. Intentions are not easily guessed, but limits for the ways in which inscribed texts can have been intended to be seen and read can be drawn; the conclusions are sometimes unexpected. The material that I will present is gathered from opposite ends of Asia Minor and divergent political, institutional and cultural traditions.

One of the simplest and most eloquent of all Greek inscriptions is a gravestone from Chios inscribed in elegant Ionic lettering of the mid-fifth century B.C. — which once served as an altar in a church in the south-east of the island, but is now displayed in the exemplary epigraphical gallery of the excellent archaeological museum in Chios town (**Fig.1**):¹

	Ἡροπύθο	(The tomb of) Heropythos
	τῷ Φιλαίῳ	the son of Philaios
	τῷ Μικκύλῳ	the son of Mikkylos
	τῷ Μανδροκ<λ>έος	the son of Mandrokles
5	τῷ Αὐτοσθένεος	the son of Autosthenes
	τῷ Μανδραγόρεω	the son of Mandragores
	τῷ Ἐρασίῳ	the son of Erasies
	τῷ Ἴπποτίωνος	the son of Hippotion
	τῷ Ἑκαίδεω	the son of Hekaides
10	τῷ Ἴπποσθένης	the son of Hipposthenes
	τῷ Ὀρσικλέος	the son of Orsikles
	τῷ Ἴπποτίωνος	the son of Hippotion
	τῷ Ἑκάῳ	the son of Hekaos

τὸ Ἐλδίο
15 τὸ Κυπρίο.

the son of Eldios
the son of Kyprios

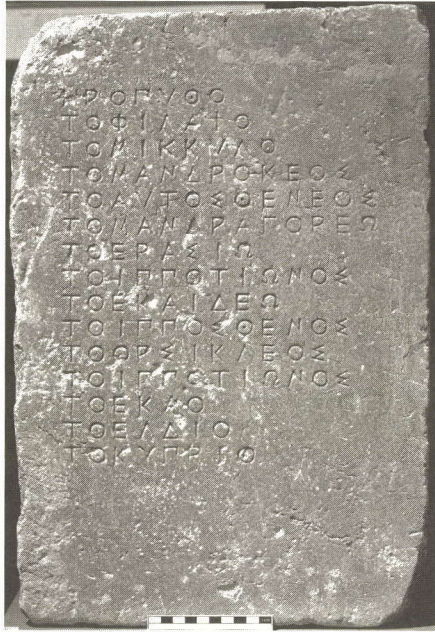


Fig.1 Heropythos gravestone, Chios Archaeological Museum inv. 800

Heropythos in the mid-fifth century (c. 475 for L.H. Jeffery, c. 450 for Wade-Gery) traces his family line back for fourteen generations (350 years for a 25-year generation span, 450 for the longer generation favoured by Wade-Gery) to the beginning of recorded or recollected history, to Homeric times and probably to the beginning of Greek (alphabetic) writing. Strikingly the names in his lineage are almost all different; only Hippotion recurs, at an interval of four generations. Two of the fourteen names (Autosthenes and Hipposthenes) are not uncommon — both strong $\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ compounds — but three are sole attestations, and a further five have only a handful of other attestations.² The list shows no trace of the common pattern of Greek nomenclature of alternating names through generations in the male line (Nikias the son of Nikokles the son of Nikias the son of Nikokles, and

so on) — whether because naming patterns were less regular in archaic Greece, or grandparents' names in this family were carried by other siblings who fell outside the direct line from Heropythos to Kyprios.³

This simple list expresses pride and distinction and a sense of the length of recorded time. It identifies and expresses the aspirations and sense of history — the *μνήμη* — of Heropythos and his family. And Heropythos himself, or the heirs who had the text inscribed, judged that the names themselves were enough to express what mattered.

A later Chian epitaph, dating to the end of the second century or beginning of the first century B.C., invokes the generations of the dead more obliquely, and uses other means to express identity: the text of the epigram, inscribed on the front face of a substantial base, was supplemented by the striking figure of a bronze cockerel. The inscribed text, in the form of an elegy, politely encourages the passer-by to pause briefly and consider (**Fig.2**):⁴

[εἴ σοι]μὴ βαρὺ τοῦτο παραστείχοντι πυθέσθ[αι,]
 [ἴσθι μ]ε Νικίῳ παῖδα ἀναπαυόμενον
 [...]να· ζῶν δὲ ἔλιπον γηραιὸς, ὀδίτα,
 [ἔνδε]κα πληρώσας ἑβδομάδας βίτου·



Fig.2 Funerary epigram for a Chian farmer, Chios Archaeological Museum inv. 1038

- 5 [ἰδρυθεὶς] δὲ ἐπ' ἐμῷ τύμβῳ χάλκειος ἀλέκτ[ωρ]
 [μάρτυς] ἐφέστηκεν σώφρονος ἀγρυπνίης·
 [ἦα μὲ]ν ἐκ προγόνων ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ πολλὰ γεωργό[ς]
 [νῦν δ' εἴπ]ας χαίρειν μνήσαι ὁδοιπορίας.

“If it is not a burden for you, as you pass by, to learn this, know that I [---]n, the child of Nikias, am reposing (here); I left life in old age, traveller, having fulfilled 11 times seven-years of life; set on my tomb a bronze cockerel stands as a witness to prudent early-rising; (descended) from noble ancestors I was for many years a farmer; but now say farewell, and think of your journey.”

There is a certain charm in the combination of pride and modesty, in which attention is solicited for a second by this plain but crafted text, and the virtues of a life in the countryside, on the land but evidently not as a labourer, are commended to passing consideration. But the effectiveness of the monument depends on the interaction, with gentle irony and unassuming humour, between inscription and image, which together offer a characterisation of the deceased, whose name, fortuitously, is lost on the broken edge of the stone. His epitaph, which seems to preserve a private voice, speaks effectively and directly across time.

A different example of the interplay of text and image is offered by a public honorific inscription on a statue base for a Roman empress which must have once occupied a dominating position in the public space of the city of Lampsakos (**Fig.3**):⁵

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>Ἰουλίαν Σεβαστήν,
 Ἑστίαν, νέαν Δήμη-
 τρα, ἡ γερουσία, τὸ δὲ
 εἰς τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ τὴν βά-
 5 σιν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐ-
 τοῦ δαπάνημα ποιησαμέ-
 νου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπὲρ τῆς
 εἰς τοὺς στεφάνους εὐ-
 σεβείας τοῦ ἱερέως τῶν
 10 Σεβαστῶν καὶ στεφανηφόρου
 τοῦ σύμπαντος αὐτῶν οἴ-</p> | <p>Julia Augusta,
 Hestia, the New Demeter,
 the gerousia (honoured), and the
 expenditure on the statue and the
 (statue-)base and its erection
 was made
 from his own resources in token
 of his piety towards the crowns
 by the priest of the
 Augusti and crown-bearer
 of their whole family</p> |
|--|---|

<p>κου καὶ ταμίου τοῦ δήμου τὸ δεύτερον Διονυσίου 15 τοῦ Ἀπολλωνοτείμου.</p>	<p>and treasurer of the people for the second time Dionysios the son of Apollonoteimos.</p>
---	--

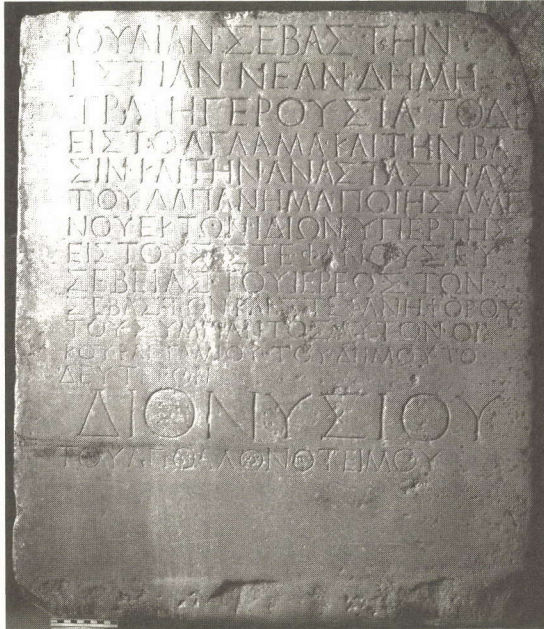


Fig.3 *Lampsakos* 11, honours for Julia Augusta, Ashmolean Museum inv. C2.46

There is nothing remarkable in the inscription itself, although there has been some discussion of the identity of the Julia Augusta who was honoured by the *gerousia* of Lampsakos: Livia or Julia Domna? Livia seems a more likely, although not a certain identification.⁶ The inscription is cut in large plain, well-executed lettering on an orthostat which would have formed the front face of a substantial statue base. But there is one striking feature of the inscription. Visitors to Lampsakos, or Lampsakenes themselves, when they encountered the monument would have found their eyes drawn first towards the statue, which is lost, and its distinctive iconography would have left little doubt that they were viewing an imperial figure. But when they looked at the

base and its inscription the first word that they may have seen, centered in the penultimate line of the text, and cut, as it were, in bold in perceptibly larger lettering would have been not the name of the Augusta, the honorand, but of her priest, Dionysios, who paid for the statue. The experience of viewing and reading this monument is subversive of expectations, subtle and brazen at the same time. The spectator sees the statue, which depicts an imperial matriarch, turns to the identifying text and reads the initial identification, that this belongs to Dionysios, and is drawn by the incongruity to read the rest of the text, which identifies Livia (or Julia Domna) briefly with her significant titles, but offers a longer account of Dionysios' own standing and contribution. The point is simple and effective; a personal claim to civic prominence is infiltrated into an important public monument honouring the imperial family and by implication its priest in Lampsakos. The text is intended and inscribed to be read, but the way in which it is read is dictated by its form.

I turn next to a different epigraphical tradition, which in its full form belongs to the other edge of Asia Minor. A first approach can be made through an honorific inscription from Ephesos. An orthostat of white-veined marble (**Fig.4**), now displayed in the Randolph Gallery of the Ashmolean Museum, records in large lightly-cut letters, heavily decorated with serifs, the dedication of an honorific statue for King Antiochos I of Commagene in the sanctuary of Artemis by the *demos* of Ephesos:⁷

- Βασιλέα Ἀντίοχον Θεὸν *vacat*
 Δίκαιον Ἐπιφανῆ Φιλορώμαιον
 καὶ Φιλέλληνα, τὸν ἐγ Βασιλέως
 Μιθραδάτου Καλλινίκου καὶ *v*
 5 Βασιλίσσης Λαοδίκης Θεᾶς *v*
 Φιλαδέλφου, τῆς ἐγ Βασιλέως
 Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς Φιλομή-
 τορος Καλλινίκου, εὐσεβῶς *v*
 διακείμενον πρὸς τὴν θεὸν *v*
 10 διὰ προγόνων, ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐ-
 νοίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑα<υ>τὸν *v*
 ἀνέθηκεν.

“(The people) dedicated (this statue of) King Antiochos, the God, Just, Manifest, a Friend of the Romans and a Friend of the Greeks, the son of King Mithradates the Gloriously Victorious and of Queen Laodike the Goddess, the Brother-Loving, the daughter of King Antiochus the Manifest, Mother-loving, the Gloriously Victorious, inheriting a pious disposition towards the goddess from his ancestors, because of his virtue and good-will towards it.”

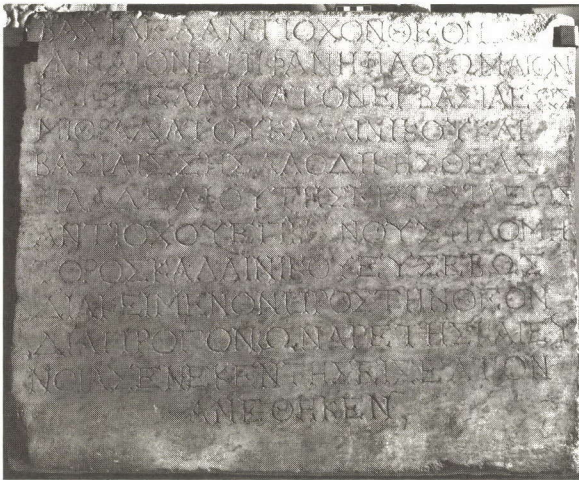


Fig.4 OGIS 405, honours for Antiochos of Commagene at Ephesos, Ashmolean Museum inv. G.1184.

A detail of the king’s titulature — the absence of the epithet μέγας (“the Great”) — indicates that the dedication belongs to the early years of his reign, and perhaps immediately before his adoption as a Roman client king by Pompey in 64 BC, when his kingdom was enlarged to encompass the twin cities of Seleukeia and Apameia commanding the crossing-point of the river Euphrates at Zeugma.⁸ An inscription on a basalt stele set up simultaneously by Antiochos himself at a sacred site near the modern village of Sofraz Köy in Commagene (Fig.5), reflects the king’s ancestral affection for Artemis by consecrating a sanctuary jointly to her, in the guise of *Diktynna*, and to her brother *Apollo Epekoos*, the god who listens to prayer (Fig.6).⁹ The king uses the same titulature at the head of the document, but adds the proud qualification

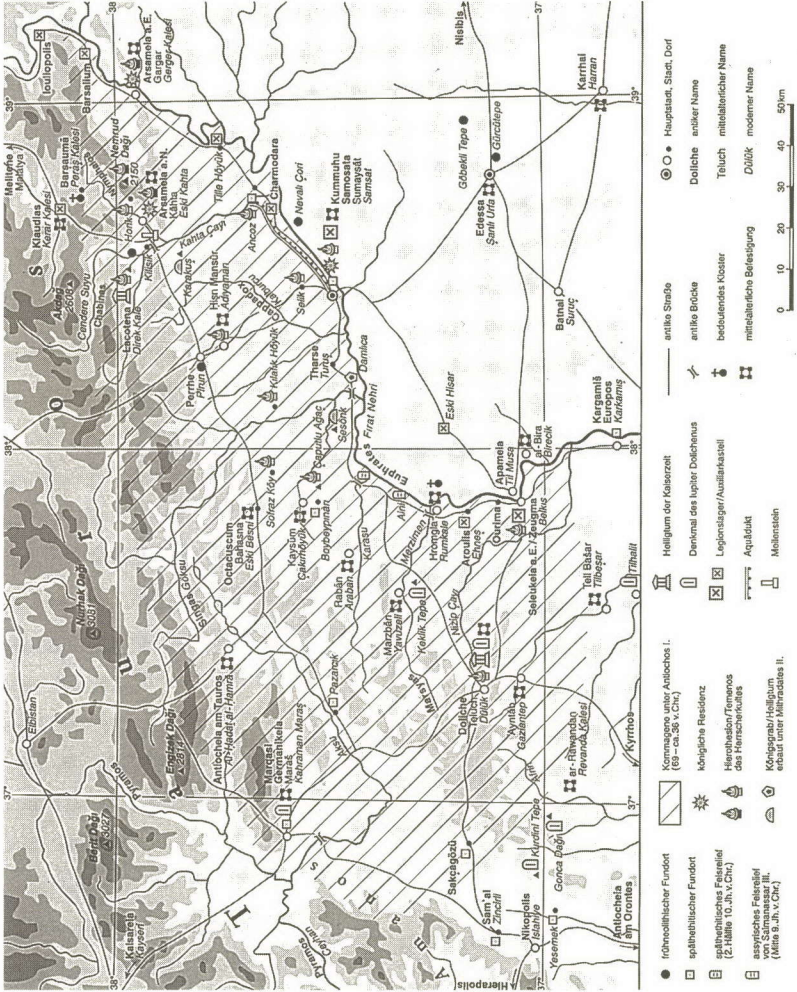


Fig.5 Commagene map, reproduced courtesy of the Forschungsstelle Asia Minor, Münster

that he is the first of his line to have assumed the (Armenian) tiara. In the consecration of the sanctuary Antiochos associates himself closely with Apollo and Artemis and expresses the wish that the temenos and its cult will be respected by visitors of all ranks:

- ὅσοι δ' ἂν τῶν βασιλέων ἢ δυναστῶν ἢ στρατ[ηγῶν]
 25 [ἦ] ἔθναρχῶν ἢ ἄλλοι τινὲς παραγένωνται εἰς τοῦτο τὸ
 ἱερὸν καὶ β[ρούλων]-
 [ται] ἐπιθύειν καὶ σπενδοποιεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν
 καθιδρυμένω[ν ἐν]
 [το] ὑπὸ τῷ ἱερῷ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ εἰκόνι τῇ
 καθιδρυμένῃ σὺν τα[ῖς τῶν]
 [θεῶν] εἰκόσιν, κατὰ ταῦτὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν
 τῇ βασιλε[ῖα ἰε]-
 [ροῖς] ἐν οἷς καθίδρυνται καὶ αἱ ἐμαὶ εἰκόνες σὺν ταῖς τῶν
 θεῶν εἰκ[όσιν,]
 30 [σ]υναύξουσιν [αὐ]τοῖς τῶν τε θεῶν καὶ τὰς ἐμ[ὰς τι] μὰς
 καὶ τὸ[ν πρέ]-
 [πον]τα <σ>εβ[ασμ] ὄν ἀπομερίζουσιν εὐμεν[εῖς εἴησα]ν
 οἱ θεοὶ κ[αὶ παρ']
 [ὄλον] αὐτοῖς τὸν χ[ρόνον] τὰ παρὰ τούτων ἀπ[αντάσθω]
 ἀγαθά·

“Whoever of the kings or dynasts or generals or ethnarchs or any others comes into this sanctuary and wishes to make burnt offerings of incense and libations on the altars established in this sanctuary, and likewise to the image of me that has been established together with the images of the gods, and in the same way in the other sanctuaries in the kingdom in which my images have been established together with the images of the gods, and will join with them in increasing the honours of the gods and of myself and offer the [appropriate reverence], may the gods be well disposed towards them and may they [experience for all] time the good things that come from them (the gods)”.

The regulations reflect an aspiration that the sanctuary will become—or already was—an international one. There is no evidence to suggest that this was ever the case, although there are some indications that it was an ancient place.¹⁰ But the same text was also displayed at a site



Fig.6 Sofraz Köy stele, Gaziantep Archaeological Museum



Fig.7 Zeugma stele, Gaziantep Archaeological Museum

through which kings and dynasts and generals certainly passed. Recent excavations at Zeugma have uncovered a similar stele (Fig.7).¹¹ The identity of the deities in whose sanctuary the Zeugma stele was placed remains unclear, although it seems clear that it occupied a dominating position overlooking the river crossing and river valley; foundations for a substantial late Hellenistic building close to the findspot may belong to an associated temple. The coincidence of the text of the Zeugma stele with that of the Sofraz Köy inscription seems to indicate that it dates from a similar context—perhaps immediately after Zeugma came under Antiochos' control in 64 BC.

Thirty years later the inscribed stele at Sofraz Köy was remodelled by the addition of a relief sculpture on its opposite face showing Antiochos standing on an equal footing and shaking hands with Apollo. The discontinuity between text and image is revealed by a feature of the

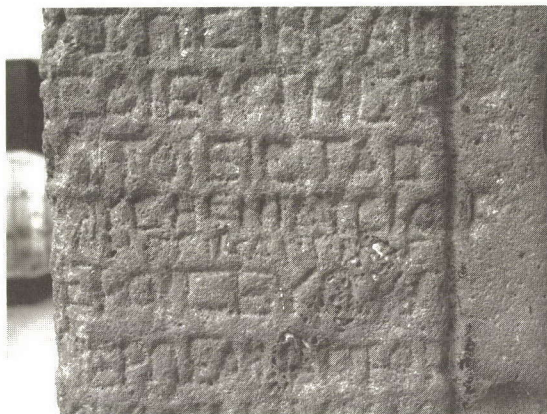


Fig.8 Right edge of Sofraz Köy stele, Gaziantep Archaeological Museum

stele that puzzled its first editors.¹² The cutting of the relief removed letters from the edge of the original inscription (**Fig.8**). The significance of this detail did not become apparent until the discovery of the Zeugma stele, which carried the same scene, but on which the original text not only lost letters on its edges to the cutting of the relief sculpture, but was almost entirely erased and replaced by a new text. At Sofraz Köy the addition of a relief scene to the stele, without the replacement of its original text, which allowed the focus of the cult in the sanctuary to be modified, is an interesting assertion of the primacy of image over text. The visual message of the *dexiosis* (“handshaking”) scene is clear and powerful—Antiochos interacts equally with the deity—but could co-exist with the continuing dedication of the sanctuary to Apollo and Artemis, although the former has now become a sun-god in the depiction of him on the relief. At Zeugma, in contrast, where the temenos was set within an established urban context, Antiochos considered it necessary to replace the inscription on the stele at the same time as remodelling its visual message. At sanctuary-sites across the kingdom of Commagene (Zeugma itself, Samosata, Ancoz, Doliche),¹³ the same iconography was repeated, and supplemented with a series of new inscribed texts, which have transmitted some of the most remarkable prose documents of the Hellenistic world. The new texts reflect Antiochos’ renewed sense of his place in history and the cosmos and clearly belong to the last years of his reign:¹⁴

- [*vacat* Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἄντιοχος]
 [*vacat* Θεὸς Δίκαιος Ἐπιφανῆς Φιλορώμαιος]
 [*vacat* καὶ Φιλέλλην, ὁ ἐκ βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου]
 [*vacat* Καλλινίκ] ου καὶ β [ασιλίσσης Λαοδίκης]
vacat Θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφο [υ τῆς ἐκ βασιλέως Ἄντι]-
vacat ὄχου Ἐπιφανοῦς Φιλομήτ [ορο]ς Καλλ[ινί]κου
 " τοῦτον τύπον ἰδίας γνώμης νόμον τε κοινῆς εὖς<ε>-
 5 βείας εἰς χρόνον ἅπαντα προνοίαι δαιμόνων στήλαις
 ἐνεχάραξεν ἱεραῖς. " ἐγὼ πάντων ἀγαθῶν οὐ μόνον κτῆ-
 σιν βεβαιοτάτην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδίστην
 ἀν[ι]θρώποις
 ἐνόμισα τὴν εὐσέβειαν, " τὴν αὐτὴν τε κρίσιν καὶ δυνά- ^{ιν}
 μews εὐτυχούς καὶ χρήσεως μακαρίστης αἰτίαν ἔσχον,
 10 παρ' ὄλον τε τὸν βίον ὥφθην ἅπασιν βασιλείας ἐμῆς καὶ
 φῦ- ^{ιν}
 λακα πιστοτάτην καὶ τέρψιν ἀμίμητον ἠγούμενος τὴν "
 ὀσιότητα· δι' ἃ καὶ κινδύνους μεγάλους παραδόξως διέφυ-
 γον καὶ πράξεων δυσελπίστων εὐμηχάνως ἐπεκράτησα "
 καὶ βίου πολυετοῦς μακαρίστως ἐπληρώθην. " ἐγὼ πατρῶαν
 15 βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν εὐθέως Διὸς τε Ὀρομάσδου καὶ
 Ἀπόλ-
 λωνος Μίθρου Ἥλιου Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτάγνου Ἡρακλέους
 Ἄρεως
 τοῦτο νέ<ο>ν τέμενος παλαιᾶς δυνάμεως ἔκτισα "
 καὶ τύ- "
 χης ἐμῆς ἠλικιωτῶν θεῶν μεγάλων τιμὴν ἐποιησάμην, ἐν
 ἱεραῖ τε λιθεῖαι μιᾶς περιοχῆς ἀγάλμασι δαιμονίοις χα-
 20 ρακτῆρα μορφῆς ἐμῆς δεχόμενον θεῶν εὐμενεῖς δε-
 ξιάς παρέστησα, "
 μίμημα δίκαιον φυλάσσων ἀθανάτου
 φροντίδος ἧ πολλάκις ἐμοὶ χεῖρας οὐρανοῦ εἰς βοθη[ί]-
 αν ἀγώνων ἐξέτειναν. "
 χώραν τε ἱκανὴν καὶ προσό- ^{ιν}
 δους ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀκινήτους εἰς θυσιῶν πολυτέλειαν ἀ-
 25 πένειμα θεραπείαν τε ἀνέγλειπτον καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐπι-
 λέξας σὺμ πρεπούσαις ἐσθῆσιν Περσικῶι γένει *vacat*
 κατέστησα, κόσμον τε καὶ λειτουργίαν πᾶσαν "
 ἀξίως τυχῆς ἐμῆς καὶ δαιμόνων ὑπεροχῆς ἀνέ ^{ιν}
 θηκα. περὶ δὲ ἰ<ε>ρουργιῶν αἰδίων διατάξιν πρέπου-
 30 σαν ἐποιησάμην, ὅπως σὺν αἰς ἀρχαῖος καὶ κοι-

νὸς νόμος ἔταξεν θυσίαις καὶ νέας ἑορτὰς
 εἷς τε θεῶν σεβασμὸν καὶ ἡμετέρας τι-
 μὰς ἅπαντες οἱ κατ' ἐμὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιτε-
 λῶσι ὃ σώματος μὲν γὰρ ἐμοῦ γενέθλιον
 [Αὐδναίου ἑκκαίδεκάτην, διαδήματος δὲ]
 [Λύου δεκάτην ἀφιέρωσα μεγάλων δαιμόνων]
 [ἐπιφανείαις, αἵτινες ἐμοὶ καθηγεμόνες]
 [εὐτυχοῦς ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείαι πάσῃ κοι]-
 [ρῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαι κατέστησαν κτλ.]

“[Great King Antiochus, the God, Just, Manifest, a Friend of the Romans and a Friend of the Greeks, the Son of King Mithradates the Gloriously Victorious] and of [Queen Laodike] the Goddess, the Brother-Loving, [the Daughter of King] Antiochus the Manifest, Mother-loving, the Gloriously Victorious, engraved for all time by the providence of the deities on sacred stelai this depiction of his own thought and law of common piety.

I came to believe piety to be, of all good things, not only the securest possession but also the sweetest enjoyment for men; it was this judgment that was for me the cause of my fortunate power and its most blessed employment; and throughout my whole life I was seen by all men as one who thought holiness the most faithful guardian and the incomparable delight of my reign. Because of this I escaped great perils against expectation, readily gained control of desperate situations, and in a most blessed way obtained the fulfilment of a life of many years.

After succeeding to my ancestral kingdom I immediately established this new sanctuary of the ancient power of Zeus-Oromasdes and of Apollo Mithras Helios Hermes and of Artagnes Herakles Ares and I made the honour of the great gods grow in step with my own fortune, and I set up in sacred stone of a single compass alongside images of the deities the representation of my own form receiving the benevolent right hands of the gods, preserving a proper depiction of the undying concern with which they often extended their heavenly hands to my assistance in my struggles.

I set aside sufficient land and undisturbed revenues from it for the lavish provision of sacrifices and for an uninterrupted cult, and having selected priests I appointed them with suitable clothing of Persian

character, and I dedicated the whole array and ministry in a manner worthy of my fortune and the pre-eminence of the gods. I established an appropriate regulation concerning the sacred observances for them to be everlasting, so that all the inhabitants of my kingdom might offer together with the sacrifices required by ancient and common law also new festivals in reverence of the gods and in my honour. The birthday of my body, [the sixteenth of Audnaios, and the day of my assumption of the diadem, the tenth of Loios, I consecrated to the manifestations of the great deities who were my guides in a prosperous rule and were responsible for universal blessings for my whole kingdom].”

The relationship which Antiochos asserted in these texts between himself and the united gods of his dynasty’s pantheon has its fullest expression in the monumental sculptural assemblages on the East and West terraces of the summit of Nemrud Dağı (**Fig.9**), which show Antiochos seated alongside, to the left, Artagnes-Herakles-Ares and, to the right, Oromasdes Zeus, the personification of Kommagene, and Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes. The seated sculptures were flanked by series of relief stelai depicting Antiochos’ ancestors, extending to the left through the Orontids towards an Achaemenid ancestor in Darius I, to the right along a Seleucid line towards Alexander the Great, and expressing the dual origin of the king’s dynasty.¹⁵ The relief stelai carried summary inscriptions identifying the individual ancestors of the king, but ranged along the rear surfaces of the thrones of the deities Antiochos had a long cult inscription cut in beautiful, clear lettering which reproduced and, in some respects, elaborated the text of the cult inscriptions from the sanctuary sites of Samosata, Zeugma and Ancoz (**Fig.10**).¹⁶ The Nemrud Dağı text expressed Antiochos’ intention that the mountain summit should become the *hierothesion*, the temple tomb, in which he would himself be buried. The text also provides for the annual celebration in the sanctuary of two significant dates: the anniversary of his birth on 16 Audnaios (late December/January) and of his assumption of the diadem on 10 Loos (July).

Similarly elaborate inscriptions were cut into dressed rock faces on Antiochos’ instructions at two other dynastic *hierothesia*: Arsameia-on-the Nymphaios (**Fig.11**),¹⁷ the burial place of his father Mithradates, and Arsameia-on-the-Euphrates (**Fig.12**),¹⁸ where royal ancestors from Arsames to Samos (**Fig.13**), Antiochos’ grandfather, were buried. The



Fig.9 Nemrud Dağı colossal seated statues of Antiochos' pantheon on the East terrace

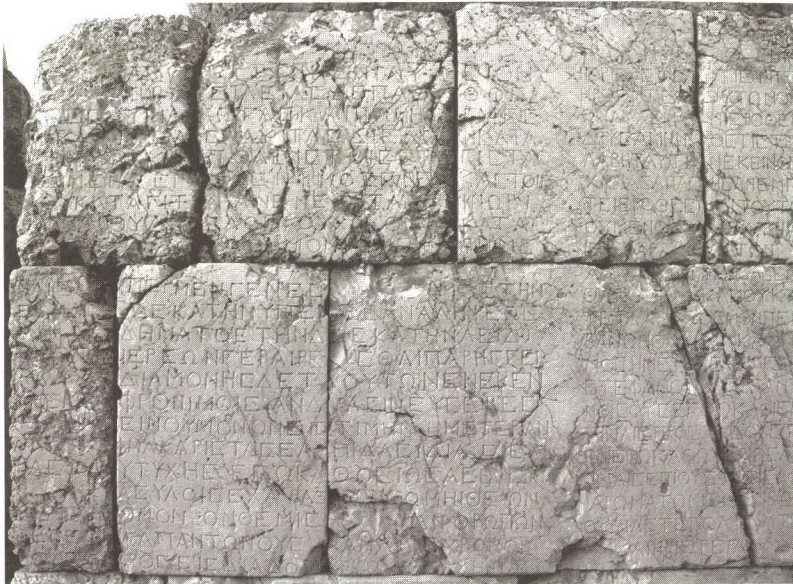


Fig.10 Nemrud Dağı inscription (OGIS 383)



Fig.11 Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaios cult inscription



Fig.12 Arsameia-on-the-Euphrates

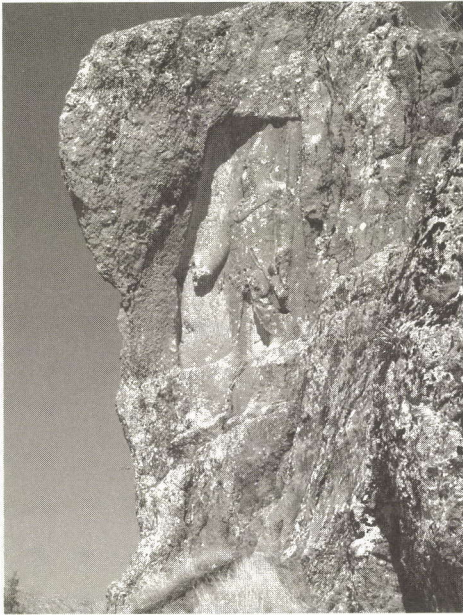


Fig.13 Arsameia-on-the-Euphrates rock-cut relief showing Antiochos' grand-father Samos

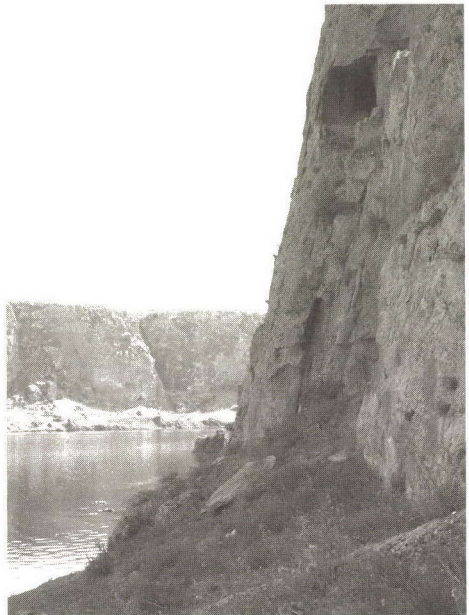


Fig.14 Damlica in the Euphrates valley

language of the inscriptions from Arsameia-on-the-Nymphaios is, in some respects, more remarkable even than that of the Nemrud Dağ texts. The opening section in which Antiochus took pains to describe his own and his ancestors' contribution to the establishment of the settlement at Arsameia as a fastness, is almost a prose-poem, with a refined sense of prose rhythms, exemplifying E. Norden's characterisation of the Commagene cult inscriptions as primary examples of Hellenistic *Kunstprosa*.¹⁹

Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀντίοχος Θεὸς
 Δίκαιος Ἐπιφανῆς Φιλορώμαιος
 καὶ Φιλέλλην, ὁ ἐκ βασιλέως Μιθρα-
 δάτου Καλλινίκου καὶ βασιλίσ-
 5 σης Λαοδίκης Θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου
 τῆς ἐκ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς
 Φιλομήτορος Καλλινίκου ἐν Ἀρσαμεί-
 αι τῇ πρὸς τῷ Νυμφαίῳ ποταμῷ περὶ πα-
 τρώϊων δαιμόνων ἰδίας τε τιμῆς, ἣν θε-
 10 ῶν κρίσις ἐκύρωσε, μνήμην τε αἰώνιον
 καὶ νόμον ἀκίνητον ἀσύλῳ στήλῃ παρα-
 θέμενος ἀθάνατον κήρυγμα χρόνῳ καθ-
 ἔλιπεν. Ἀρσάμειαν μὲν ταύτην,
 ἥτις ἐν κόλπῳ διδύμων μαστῶν Νυμφαί-
 15 ον ἐξ ἀφθάρτων πηγῶν φέρει ῥεῦμα, πρόγο-
 νος ἐμὸς Ἀρσάμης ἔκτισεν. ἥς αὐτοφυῶς
 δυσὶν πετραίοις λόφοις διειρημένης κατι-
 δῶν ἐκείνος εἰς [β] ὕθιον στόμα χωριῶν θεο-
 δόσιον πόμα φερόμενον εὐτρόφου νάμα
 20 τος ἑκατέρωθεν τιχίσας δικόρυφον σῶ-
 μα φύσει μὲν τόπων ἀμφίπολις κατέστη-
 σεν, ἐπωνυμίας δὲ χάριτος ἰδίας Ἀρσάμει-
 αν ἀνηγόρευσε ἀνάλωτόν τε διάθεσιν
 ὄχυρμάτων φροντίσιν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ χορηγί-
 25 αῖς ἐπαυξήσας ἀπόρθητον ὀρμητήριον
 πατρίδι κατεσκεύασεν βίοις τε ἡμετέ-
 ροις ἄσυλον ἐστὶαν πολέμου κατέστησεν.

“Great King Antiochus, the God, Just, Manifest, a Friend of the Romans and a Friend of the Greeks, the Son of King Mithradates the Gloriously Victorious and of Queen Laodike the Goddess, the Brother-Loving, the Daughter of King Antiochus the Manifest, Mother-loving, the Gloriously Victorious: at Arsameia by the Nymphaios river concerning his ancestral deities and his personal honour, which the judgement of the gods has validated, committing an everlasting memory and an immutable law to an inviolable stele, left for Time an immortal edict. This Arsameia, which carries in the cleft of twin breasts from inextinguishable springs the stream of the Nymphaios, my ancestor Arsames founded. Where this is divided naturally by two rocky cliffs, (Arsames) seeing the god-given draught of a well-nourished stream flowing into the sunken mouth of the land walled its twin-peaked body on both sides and established a double-city according to the nature of the place and called it Arsameia after his personal favour, and augmenting an impregnable disposition of fortifications through his own intelligence he established an unassailable haven for his fatherland, and created an inviolable hearth from war for our lives.”

The elaborated, artful, redundant and rhythmic prose poetry of the second-series Commagene inscriptions makes them difficult to represent in translation and raises the question of the audience for which they were intended. They seem to present a vision and a closed system — but one which was only partially implemented. Antiochos’ plans for fixed festivals to mark his accession and birth dates at the *hierothesion* on Nemrud Dağı reflect extreme examples of wishful thinking. The two dates, in Loos and Audnaios, fall approximately in mid-summer and mid-winter. The possibilities of assembling and entertaining a multitude at an altitude of 2,000 m. on the snow-bound upper slopes of Nemrud Dağı in January are remote. A recent archaeological survey of the sanctuary and its surroundings reached the eloquent and despairing conclusion that there is no more than lightest sprinkling of sherds from the whole of antiquity.²⁰ The *hierothesion* appears never to have been used.

The epigraphical sophistication of the Commagenian inscriptions persisted briefly under Antiochos’ successor Mithradates II. A document inscribed in the wall of a rock-cut chamber in the cliffs of the Euphrates valley (Fig.14) near the modern village of Damlica

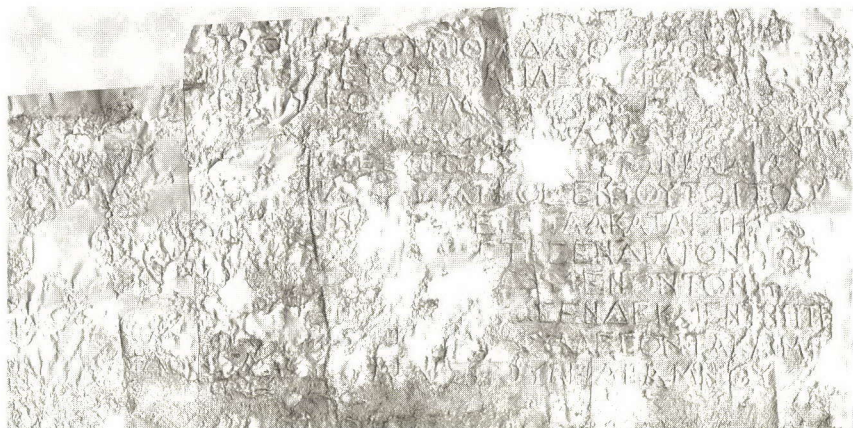


Fig.15 Squeeze of the Damlica inscription (*SEG* 41, 1501)

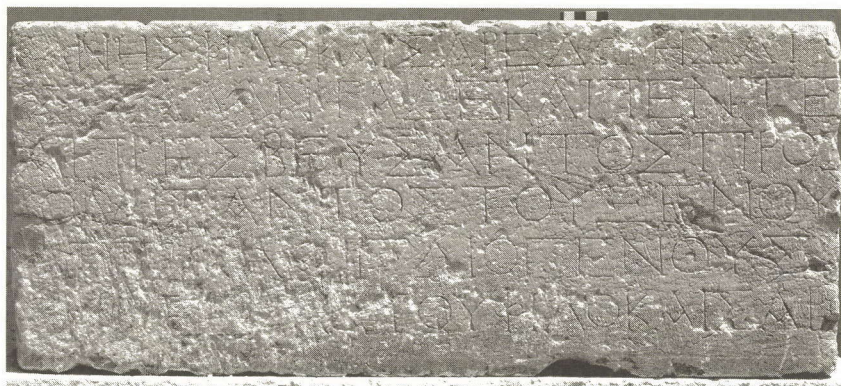


Fig.16 *IGRR* IV, 954, Chios Archaeological Museum inv. xx

shows the same characteristic style and execution (*SEG* 41, 1501: **Fig. 15**).²¹ But the language of the text is plain; and this is the last substantial royal text of the Commagenian dynasty from Commagene itself. The deities of Antiochos' pantheon seem to have reverted to their local forms after his passing.²² The ensuing epigraphical picture is sparse and develops as if the interlude with Antiochos had never happened.

The dynasty reappears instead after three generations in Ionia, from where this paper started, in a series of inscriptions from the island of

Chios, analysed by Louis Robert²³ and later by Peter Fraser,²⁴ which reflect the activity, benefactions (**Fig.16**),²⁵ and connections with the Julio-Claudian imperial family of Antiochos IV Epiphanes (reigned AD 38-72).²⁶ The dedication to Antiochos I in the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesos in the early years of his reign and his great-great grandson's benefactions on Chios, where he held the eponymous magistracy, reflect the enduring cultural aspirations of the dynasty.

There is a comparison to be drawn between the Commagene texts and the elaboration and sophistication of the language of civic documents from the cities in Western Asia Minor in the course of the second and first centuries BC.²⁷ This development is perhaps most apparent in the long decrees for citizen benefactors that begin to make their appearance in the second half of the second century BC. The most striking concentration of this material comes from Priene, where the west and east interior walls of the sacred stoa built on the north side of the agora by Orophernes in the middle of the second century (*I.Priene* 204) were covered with columns of lettering in small script describing the contributions to the welfare and public life of the city by a series of notable citizens (*I.Priene* 107-138). The longest of these inscriptions, which details the career of Moschion the son of Kydimos (*I.Priene* 108), extends beyond 380 lines and outruns even the Commagene texts.

The development of rhetoric in the public language of Greek cities is parallel in a sense and provides a literary context for the learning which was deployed in the composition of the Commagene cult inscriptions. But the epigraphical contexts are very different. The Commagene inscriptions fulfil all the requirements for an inscription to be legible: the letters are boldly cut, on clean surfaces, and are large, but there is little evidence that the inscriptions were widely read. The long benefactor inscriptions from Priene were inscribed in small, uneven lettering, in at least one case evidently by teams of stonecutters working alongside one another on separate columns (*I.Priene* 109), but summarised at the outset in a few lines of larger, more strongly incised letters, arranged around incised honorific crowns (**Fig.17**). So we have the paradox of texts inscribed to be read, but without an audience, in Commagene, and the presence of a daily audience in the bustle of public and commercial life in the stoas surrounding the agora at Priene

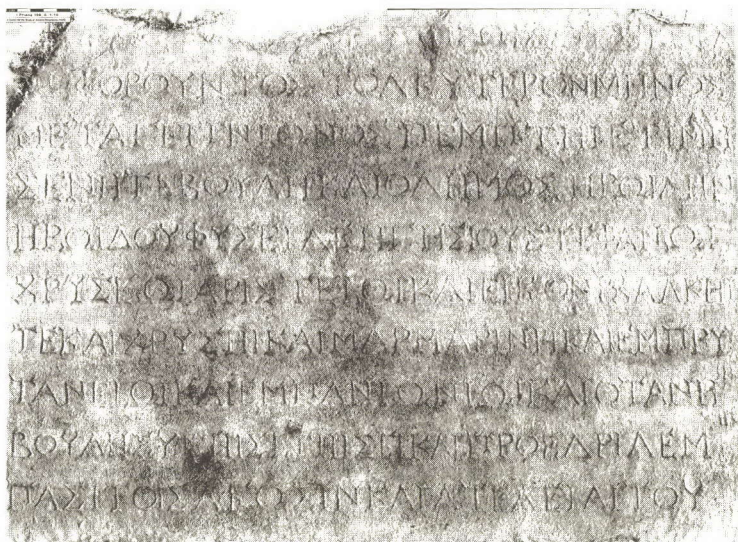


Fig.17 Heading of a benefactor decree (*I.Priene* 109) from the Nordhalle at Priene



Fig.18 Arsameia-Gerger cult inscription

for texts that were inscribed so as not to be read *in extenso*, but only apprehended in outline.

Antiochos' inscriptions refer and regulate the cult observance of the inhabitants of his kingdom and refer on occasion to citizens, but they had no wider audience or posterity than the internal one of the royal circle in which they were composed. Their purpose in a large sense is served by their survival, and by their defiant isolation. Visitors to the summit of Gerger Kalesi, Antiochos' Arsameia-on-the-Euphrates, which became and remained a fortress and outpost through the Byzantine period and under the Mamluks, and endured as the seat of a patriarch of the Syriac church until the end of the 17th century, continued to pass in front of Antiochos' cult-inscription cut into the rock face as they ascended through the upper portal into the citadel itself (**Fig.18**) long after the dynasty itself ceased to be remembered.

References:

- Crowther, C., Facella, M., 2003: "New Evidence for the Ruler Cult of Antiochus of Commagene from Zeugma", *Asia Minor Studien* 49: 41-80.
- Dörner, F.K., Goell, Th., 1963: *Arsameia am Nymphaios*. Berlin.
- Dörner, F.K., Naumann, R., 1939: *Forschungen in Kommagene*. Berlin.
- Facella, M., 2005: *La dinastia degli Orontidi nella Commagene ellenistico-romana (Studi ellenistici XVII)*. Pisa.
- Fraser, P.M., 1952: "Inscriptions from Commagene", *ABSA* 57, 96-101.
- Fraser, P.M., 1978: "The Kings of Commagene and the Greek World", in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien*, ed. Şahin, S., Schwertheim, E., Wagner, J. vol. I, 359-74. Leiden.
- Gauthier, Ph., 1985: *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs*. Paris.
- GIBM: *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum (1874-1916)*. Oxford.
- IGLS: *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, vol. I. Commagène et Cyrresthique, ed. Louis Jalabert, L., Mouterde, R. (1929). Paris.
- IGRR: *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* (1911-1927). Paris.
- I.Lampsakos: Frisch, P., *Die Inschriften von Lampsakos* (1978). Bonn.
- I.Priene: *Inschriften von Priene*, ed. Fr. Hiller von Gaertringen (1906). Berlin.
- Jeffery, L.H., 1961: *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*. Oxford.
- LB-W: Le Bas, Ph., Waddington, W.H., *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* (1847-1877). Paris.
- LGPN: *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. ed. Fraser, P.M., Matthews, E., et alii: volume I: Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica (1987); volume II: Attica

- (1994); volume IIIa: Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia (1997); volume IIIb: Central Greece (2000); volume IV: Macedonia, Thrace, Northern regions of the Black Sea (2005). Oxford.
- Moormann, E.M., Versluys, M.J., 2003: "The Nemrud Dağı Project: second interim report", *BABesch* 78: 141-166.
- Norden, E., 1898: *Die Antike Kunstprosa*. Leipzig.
- OGIS: *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. Dittenberger, W. (1903-5) Leipzig.
- Robert, J., 1967: "Épigramme de Chios", *REG* 80: 282-92.
- Robert, L. 1938: *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*. Paris.
- Şahin, S. 1991, "Forschungen in Kommagene II: Epigraphik", *Epigraphica Anatolica* 18, pp. 99-113.
- SEG: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Volumes 1-51, 1924-2005. Amsterdam.
- SGDI: *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, ed. Collitz, H. (1884-1915). Göttingen.
- Wade-Gery, H.T., 1952: *The Poet of the Iliad*. Cambridge.
- Wagner, J., Petzl, G., 1976, "Eine Neue Temenos-Steile des Königs Antiochos I. von Kommagene", *ZPE* 20.3: 201-223.
- Wagner, J., Petzl, G., 2003: "Relief- und Inschriftfragmente des kommagenischen Herrscherkultes aus Ancoz", *Asia Minor Studien* 49: 85-96.

- 1 Chios Archaeological Museum inventory number 800. Discussed by Wade-Gery 1952, 8-9; Jeffery 1961, 338, no. 47 and pl. 65.
- 2 LGPN I-IV attestations: Heropythos: 7; Philaios: 17; Mikkylos: 12; Mandrokles: 4; Autosthenes: 21; Mandragores: 2; Erasies: 1; Hippotion: 8; Hekaides: 1; Hipposthenes: 29; Orsikles: 2; Hekaos: 1; Eldios: 2; Kyprios: 3.
- 3 A Mikkylos the son of Heropythos, who seems likely to be the son of Heropythos and great-grandson of Mikkylos, appears in a late fifth-century list of names from Chios: *SGDI* 5657, l. 5.
- 4 Chios Archaeological Museum inventory number 1038: ed. pr. of Robert 1967.
- 5 *I.Lampsakos* 11.
- 6 See the commentary in *I.Lampsakos* ad loc.
- 7 Ed. pr. of W.H. Waddington, *LB-W* 136d; *OGIS* 405; cf. Fraser 1978, 359-360 (*SEG* 28, 1315).
- 8 Appian, *Mith.* 114. Cf. Wagner-Petzl 1976, 201-223. On Antiochos in general see now Facella 2005, ch. VII.
- 9 Kommagene text SO: ed. pr. of Wagner-Petzl 1976, 201-223 (reprinted as *SEG* 26, 1623, and with corrections in Crowther-Facella 2003, 71-74 no. 3).
- 10 Wagner-Petzl 1976.
- 11 Crowther-Facella 2003.
- 12 For what follows, see Crowther-Facella 2003, 56-64.

- 13 **Samosata**: Sx: relief stele with cult inscription and Apollo *dexiosis* scene, *GIBM* 1048a (*OGIS* 404); revised text in Crowther-Facella 2003, 68-71, no. 1; Sz: relief stele from Selik, with cult inscription and Herakles *dexiosis*: Fraser 1952; **Ancoz**: ANa-h, fragments of relief stelai with cult inscriptions, ed. pr. of Wagner-Petzl 2003; **Doliche**: *SEG* 32, 1385; revised text in Crowther-Facella 2003, 71, no. 2.
- 14 Commagene text BEc: Crowther-Facella 2003, 45-48.
- 15 *OGIS* 383, 38-41: κα|θ' ἃ παλαιὸς λόγος Περσῶν τε καί|³⁰ Ἑλλήνων - ἐμοῦ γένους εὐτυχες | τάτη ρίζα - παραδέδωκε (“just as the ancestral tradition of the Persians and the Greeks—the most blessed root of my family—has handed down.”).
- 16 *OGIS* 383.
- 17 Cult inscription from the *hierothesion* at Arsameia on the Nymphaios: ed. pr. of F.K. Dörner in Dörner-Goell 1963, 36-91.
- 18 Cult inscription from the *hierothesion* at Arsameia on the Euphrates: *IGLS* I, 47.
- 19 Cf. Norden 1898, 140-143.
- 20 Moormann-Versluys 2003.
- 21 Şahin 1991, 101-5.
- 22 Crowther-Facella 2003, 65-68.
- 23 Robert 1938, 128-44.
- 24 Fraser 1978.
- 25 *JGRR* IV, 954.
- 26 For Antiochos IV, see now Facella 2005, ch. VIII.5.
- 27 Gauthier 1985, 55-63, 72-74.

The Greeks and their Names in the Ancient World: Innovation and Tradition

Elaine MATTHEWS
University of Oxford

This paper takes as its starting point not a collection of documents but the personal names of the Greeks. This does not mean that I shall not refer often to documents, for without documents we would not be able to use names in the way I propose to do. Starting from consideration of the naming systems of both the Greeks and the Romans, I hope to use names to throw some modest light on the large and complex subject of Greek reaction to the arrival of the Romans in their world - what we might call Greek 'reception' of the Romans, and in doing so I will draw on both literary sources and documents to complement one another.

Names

Personal names are a fundamental aspect of any society — so fundamental that it is only too easy to take our own for granted, and it is salutary occasionally to step back and consider how names function in other societies. In some, the personal name is considered so much a part of the individual (somehow *is* the individual) that to disclose it is to put oneself in the power of another person. In some, the personal name is given for life, in others it may be changed, perhaps to avoid the name of a ruler, or someone in disgrace or recently deceased (so-called taboo names). The choice of names may be regulated by secular or religious authorities, or be governed by family traditions, or may be a matter of complete choice. Whichever of these applies (and there are many more possible permutations), names tell us something about a society's outlook, beliefs and values.

The openness of the Greek attitude to names is well illustrated by a

story in the fifth-century historian Herodotus, concerning a non-Greek people in Asia Minor, the Lycians. He says that they are unique among mankind in naming themselves by reference to their mother and not their father. 'Ask a Lycian who he is, and he will tell you his own name and his mother's, then his mother's mother's and so on'.¹ This story encapsulates the Greek view that an essential part of identity, and indeed legal status, was your name, and where you were 'from', in both the genealogical sense of your ancestors, and in terms of where, in the world, you originated and belonged.

As it happens, documentary sources do not support Herodotus' description of the Lycians as a matrilinear society. That we are able to check up on Herodotus in this way brings us straight to the central theme of this conference, the role of documents in our study and interpretation of ancient worlds. Documents are absolutely central to our knowledge of Greek names and our ability to use them to interpret Greek society. From literature alone, we would know the names of (some) kings and queens, generals, city politicians, honorands of poems, recipients of letters, characters in plays, and individuals attested sporadically in works of geography, medicine etc. The evidence would be patchy, and effectively a closed 'corpus.'²

Documents, on the other hand, an open-ended source resulting from the work of archaeologists and from chance finds, widen hugely the geographical, chronological and social range of our knowledge. Tens of thousands of surviving tombstones, for example, attest the names of relatively ordinary people. Manumissions of slaves, recorded on stone at cult centres such as Delphi, give us the names of this large group whose appearances in our sources were previously limited, often to a comic portrayal on the stage.

It is no coincidence that the value of Greek names as a 'research tool' for the study of the ancient Greek world was established at the same time as the publication of the first collections of inscriptions, in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Inscriptions were not new, of course: they had been recorded by travelling scholars, notebook in hand, since Cyriac of Ancona in the fifteenth century;³ and Greek names had long featured in name-studies because of their recurrence in the name-stock of most European countries.⁴ But from the early 19th century, at first largely through the work of French and German

scholars, the publication of documents and the study of Greek and Roman names were together placed permanently on a scientific basis.⁵

So great is the number of names now known, and so frequent the discovery of new documents attesting them, that to be fully exploited they require a dedicated collection of all the evidence. In the early 1970s, the British Academy established the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names project to fulfil this purpose. In the five volumes published since 1987, each dedicated to a different region of the Greek world, the project has documented some 300,000 individuals, with over 35,000 names; a further 200,000 individuals await publication. My observations about names in this paper will draw on the resources of this Oxford project.⁶

Greek names

Greek personal names conformed to the so-called Indo-European pattern, which was prevalent throughout Europe until the middle ages. Under this system, an individual was given one name only, soon after birth and usually by the father, and that remained the individual's name for life.⁷ We have seen, from Herodotus, that to a Greek, 'who are you?' was a natural question, which expected, in reply, a name and the name of the father, the patronymic. In historical times, the patronymic was usually expressed by the father's name in the genitive case. These two words, name and father's name, constituted the essential public and legal identity of a Greek, female as well as male.

We find this question already in Homer when Odysseus, far from home, is asked in four pithy words (*Odyssey* 7. 238) τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; — 'who are you and where are you from?' — a question which he answers (two books later) by 'I am Odysseus son of Laertes ... Ithaka is my home.' Here we see added the third element in Greek identity: the place of origin, which we term the 'ethnic', τὸ ἐθνικόν. In Greek this is a grammarians' term, and our use of it largely derives from its use by Stephanos of Byzantion, a grammarian of the sixth century AD. Stephanos' *Ethnika*⁸ provides an invaluable alphabetical list of place-names accompanied by the adjectives derived from them. For this adjective he uses either τὸ ἐθνικόν or ὁ πολίτης 'the citizen'. In Stephanos' use of these two terms apparently interchangeably, we

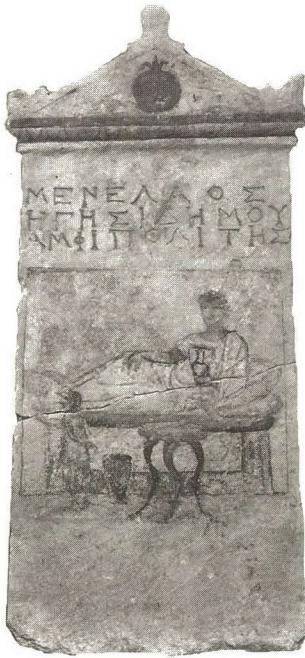


Fig.1 Tombstone of Menelaos. Painted stela from Demetrias, Thessaly. 3rd century BC

The deceased Menelaos lies on a couch, with a servant standing nearby; pomegranate decoration in the pediment.

Text: ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ ΗΓΗΣΙΔΗΜΟΥ, ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ 'Menelaos son of Hegesidemos, from Amphipolis'

The ethnic, of Amphipolis in Macedonia, is given because Menelaos died in Thessaly, away from home.

(Volos Museum. Courtesy of the 13th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Volos; *Polemon* 5 (1952-3) p. 57 no. 3; *LGPN IV Menelaos* (22))



Fig.2 Tombstone of Gazourios, from Chersonesos on the Black Sea. The relief shows the military weapons (helmet, arrows, greaves etc.) of the deceased. The name Gazourios occurs 4 times at Chersonesos, and is of Persian origin. It is notable that Gazourios' father has the Greek name Metrodoros. (Text published in B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae* I² 471 (St Petersburg, 1916; *LGPN IV Gazourios* (3)) [Satoshi, I need to check it is this one in the office tomorrow]

have the essence of the ambiguity of the Greek ethnic. It denoted both location/origin and civic status.⁹

Because the ethnic was an integral part of the identity and status of the individual, it has been termed ‘the third part of the personal name’. But it is important, and interesting, to note that the ethnic was not a fixed part of the Greek naming system, but was used or not used, or adapted, according to circumstances. Within the home city, the city-ethnic (‘Athenian’, ‘Megarian’) was not used by citizens, though in cities with an internal deme structure (e.g. Athens, Rhodes, Alexandria), an ‘ethnic’ based on the deme, the demotic, was used, in private as well as public contexts. At Athens, for example, the demotic occurs on tombstones, of women as well as men.¹⁰

Away from home, the practice changed. Demotics were not used abroad, but the city-ethnic was, even in the most informal contexts such as a graffito scratched on a cave wall. But the situation was more subtle than that. In a confederacy of Greek cities, the ‘ethnic’ of the confederacy might replace that of the home city in certain contexts. So, a general of the Aitolian League would be listed as ‘Aitolian’ when performing that function, rather than with the ethnic of his city of origin, which might not even be Aitolian. The ethnic, then, did not simply assign a fixed political status to the individual, as we shall see the Roman system did, but could be adapted to place him, in a nuanced way, within the wider Greek world.

This *system of naming* operated throughout the Greek world, as did the custom of handing names down within the family, mainly from grandparent to grandchild. Documents in their thousands illustrate and substantiate this practice, which continues today in modern Greece; the spirit of it is nicely summed up in a grave epigram from Kibyra in Asia Minor: ‘my name is Palygos ... I took my name from my father’s father.’¹¹

If we turn now to the *formations* of Greek names, we find them described in the ancient sources, from Aristotle on,¹² and confirmed now by study of the thousands of names which documents have revealed. Morphologically, Greek names were of two types: ‘simple’ — names based on one noun or adjective, with or without a suffix — and ‘compound’ - names formed by combining two nouns, adjectives, verbs or adverbs. These compounds could, in their turn, be abbreviated to

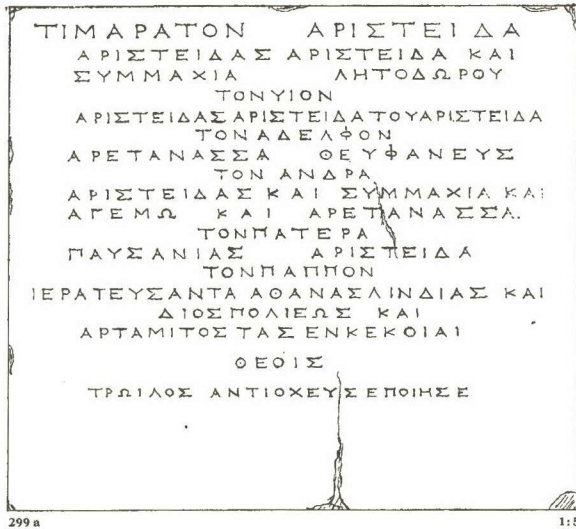


Fig.3 Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos. Fouilles de l'acropole. II Inscriptions* (1941), no. 299, from which five generations of the family can be extrapolated (see Figure 4).

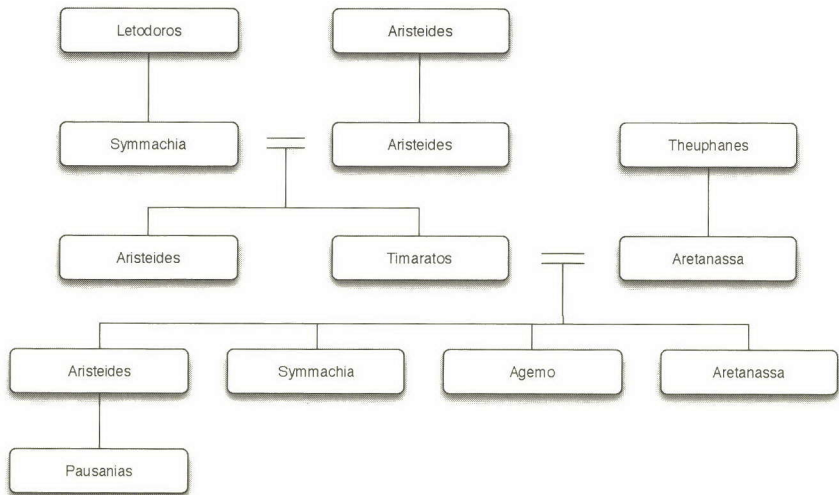


Fig.4 Family stemma derived from *Lindos* 299. Three children of Aristeides and Aretanassa inherit names from parent or grandparent; one, Agemo, appears to be a new name in the family.

form ‘hypocoristic’ (‘endearment’) forms.

Within this broad rule of formation, and with virtually the whole Greek language to play with, Greeks showed almost limitless inventiveness in the *content* of their names, drawing on animals, plants, parts of the body, military prowess, civic institutions, moral qualities etc. (The elements carry connotations or values, but should not be given an exact translation.) Three examples:

ἄριστος ‘aristos’, adjective meaning ‘good’, ‘noble’. Simple name Aristos, Aristion; compound names Aristippos (‘good’ ‘horse’), Aristopolis (‘good’ ‘city’), Aristonikos (‘good’ ‘victory’), Aristoboulos (‘good’ ‘council’) etc.; a total so far of note ????? 175 different names in which Aristo- is the first element.

λέων ‘lion’ making Leon, fem. Leaina; compound Leontokrates (‘lion’ ‘power’), Leontippos (‘lion’ ‘horse’), Aristoleon (‘good’ ‘lion’), Qrasuleon (‘bold’ ‘lion’) etc. So far, over 102 different forms.

πόλις ‘city’, Aristopolis (‘good’ ‘city’), Nikopolis (‘victory’ ‘city’); so far over 100 different names terminating in—polis.

While the overwhelming majority of names were based on desirable attributes, there were exceptions: στραβός ‘squinting’ forming Στραβων; σιμός ‘snub-nosed’ forming Σίμος, Σιμός, Σιμίσκος; αἰσχρός ‘ugly’ forming Αἰσχρος, Αἰσχρίων. If these names were originally chosen because of real characteristics of the baby, they nonetheless went into the name stock and were handed down in families.

Theophoric names, based on the names of gods, formed another recognised category.¹³ These provide the most common of all Greek names, the simple adjectival forms based on the gods Dionysos (Dionysios) Apollo (Apollonios), and Demeter (Demetrios),¹⁴ but the full range of theophoric names embraced compound names, in which the name or the cult title of a god, including local deities, nymphs, river gods and the like, was followed (never preceded, one of the few accepted but unspecified customs) by a termination implying ‘gift’, ‘birth’, ‘fame’ etc.: for example, Dionysodoros, Nymphodoros, Moirodoros etc.

While Greek naming *practices* were pan-Greek, and names such as Dionysios also qualify for that description, it is in the *content* of names that we find distinct local patterns. Names based on the river Kephisos,

for example, (Kephisodoros, Kephisodotos etc.) are almost exclusively attested in Boiotia and Attica through which that river flowed. In these reflections of local cults and landscape lies the research potential of names, to assist the historian of religion in charting the spread of new cults, the demographer in tracing the movements of peoples, and occasionally the epigrapher in determining the origin of an inscription. The importance of documents in substantiating these local characteristics cannot be overstated.

From literature, we catch rare insights into individual opinions about names and their suitability¹⁵ but these opinions show, what documents clearly attest, that for Greeks name-giving was a personal choice. Despite the social systems of kinship and residential groups in the polis, name-giving remained a family prerogative. Though they maintained the tradition of handing on parents' names within the family, they were otherwise free to adopt names for their children as they wished. The Greek system thus offers both tradition and innovation.

Roman names

The fully-developed Roman naming-system involved five elements: praenomen—nomen/gentilicium—patronymic—Roman voting tribe—cognomen. Thus, M. Tullius M. f. Cor. Cicero. In practice an individual had three names — praenomen, nomen and cognomen, hence the term 'tria nomina' to describe the naming-system which the Romans spread, through grants of citizenship, throughout their large empire. In this term 'tria nomina' we see at once the fundamental difference between the Romans and all other peoples of the Indo-European community of languages. Another unique feature of the Roman system was the second element, the nomen or gentilicium, which was an *inherited* family name. In most naming systems in Europe, inherited family names did not develop until the Middle Ages.

Yet it is relevant to our study to be aware that the Roman 'tria nomina' system was the result of several centuries' evolution, and shared common features with other peoples in Italy. Evidence for the early Roman system has to be deduced from references in the grammarians,¹⁶ and from the earliest Latin inscriptions, but the accepted view is that originally the Romans also bore one name only,

with a patronymic in the adjectival form of the father's name (e.g. Quintius = son of Quintus). At some point, perhaps in the seventh century BC, the patronymic ceased to change from generation to generation, and became fixed and hereditary as the nomen/gentilicium, the 'family' name, common to all members of a gens. In other words, the individual was placed, by his nomen, within a family, and the family within the wider civic unit.¹⁷

At this stage of the evolution of Roman nomenclature, an individual had just two names, and the true 'personal' name was the praenomen. Surprisingly in that case, the total number of praenomina was quite small, and actually diminished over time; by the late Republic, only about 18 were in general use, the most common Gaius, Lucius, Marcus, Publius, Quintus. Since the praenomen was not important in establishing identity outside the family, the practice arose, perhaps as early as the sixth century BC, of abbreviating it: e.g. T(itus), M(arcus), G(aius). The contrast with Greek 'personal' names could not be greater.

The third element, the cognomen, began as a privilege of the patrician class, an unofficial surname based on some personal characteristic or achievement such as military conquests, which then became hereditary, and distinguished a particular branch of a clan.¹⁸ The earliest indisputable evidence of a such a cognomen is the sarcophagus of L. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio, born around 340 BC. By the second half of the second century, the cognomen was required in official documents, and throughout the first century, and even more under the empire, it became wide-spread, proliferated in form and meaning, and came in practice to serve as the distinguishing personal name. Like Greek names, the cognomen could denote physical characteristics, good and not so good,¹⁹ mental qualities, circumstances of birth, occupation, fauna and flora, place-names, etc.

A fundamental difference between the two systems is that the Roman system by its very structure defined the individual's position and status within the Roman state, and as such was regulated from an early stage, as census rules, for example, show. While civic status was of fundamental importance to Greeks, it was maintained through the patronymic, since citizen rights were established through the father, but the naming *system* did not embody it in a more structured way.

‘Greeks’

The Greeks were, from the earliest times, aware of themselves *as Greeks*, bound, above all, by their common language. The Olympic Games provide perhaps the best known example: from 776 BC, every four years, these games at Olympia in the Peloponnese drew competitors from throughout the Greek world.

Yet, while conscious of what united them, and what distinguished them from non-Greeks, in virtually everything they did, diplomacy, trading, colonising, waging war, the Greeks acted as individual city-states or, at most, confederacies of city-states. The ‘Greek’ colonising movement of the eighth to the early sixth century BC is a good instance. It left Greek settlements over most of the then known world—in modern terms, from Turkey to Spain, from the Ukraine to Tunisia—but the colonies were sent from a small number of cities.

Megara, for example, a modest mainland city squeezed between and overshadowed by its larger neighbours Korinth and Athens, was the mother city of Megara Hyblaia in Sicily, and northwards on the Bosphoros, of Chalkedon and Byzantion, which more than a thousand years later would be renamed as Constantinople and become the capital of the eastern Roman empire. Another of its colonies, Heracleia Pontica on the south shore of the Black Sea, in its turn sent out colonies to Chersonnesos and Kallatis. The Ionian city of Miletos in Asia Minor added Abydos, Sinope, Pantikapaion, Olbia, and Iстриa to what was, in effect, a network of ‘Greek’ colonies around the Black Sea.

Colonisation also led to early contact between Greeks and Romans. The earliest Greek colony on the Italian mainland, Cumae, founded around 740 BC from the Euboian city of Chalkis, dominated the coastline of Campania for more than 200 years; it engaged in conflict with and defeated the Etruscans, enjoyed good relations with the Romans, before being defeated by the Oscans. Only in 180 BC did it adopt Latin as its official language, and even in the first years of the Roman empire, Strabo could describe it as retaining the characteristics of a Greek city.²⁰

The settlers took with them their cults and traditions, their dialects and their personal names. Each area of colonisation presented a

different set of external circumstances, and the colonies interacted with different non-Greek peoples.²¹ Through the many documents from these areas we can see this interaction at work, particularly through intermarriage: in the Black Sea colonies, for example, we see Thracian, Scythian, and Iranian names alongside Greek names in families, handed down to succeeding generations in the Greek way.

Hellenization was not formal conquest, and it was not unified or unifying. When we come to look at Greek response to the Romans, we shall need to remember not to expect a unified response, but one which varied from region to region, and even from city to city; and also that, for centuries before they encountered the Romans, the Greeks had, in different parts of the world, been interacting with peoples other than themselves.²²

In the rest of this paper, I want, through names, to look at the Greeks' perception of the Romans when they first encountered them in their own world; and then to examine the various ways in which they adapted their own naming practices when they found themselves part of the Roman world.

Greek interpretation of Roman names

The expansion of Rome, from a Latin state which had achieved dominion over Italy, to a world power, controlling not only Italy and Sicily but Spain and N. Africa, and eastwards Greece and beyond, took little more than a century, from roughly the mid-third to the mid-second century BC. Three major conflicts with the rival state of Carthage successively gave Rome her first overseas province, Sicily; secured the defeat in 202 BC, after a long struggle marked by failures as well as successes, and by alliances on both sides with Greek states, of the Carthaginian Hannibal by P. Cornelius Scipio, who took the cognomen Africanus; and finally, in 146 BC, the total destruction of Carthage, and the incorporation of its territory into a new Roman province of Africa.

Roman engagement with Greeks began on Italian soil, when Greek cities of the mainland and Sicily resisted Roman expansion. Soon, however, Rome was actively engaged on Greek soil, as military ally or as arbiter in the affairs of Greek cities, confederacies and kingdoms,

on the mainland and in Asia Minor. From the Greek point of view, Rome was at this time one of several external powers to be enlisted as allies or played off against each other. But so skilfully did the Roman general Titus Quinctius Flamininus manage his defeat, with Greek allies, of Philip V of Macedon in 197 BC, that the following year, at the Isthmian Games (another pan-Greek festival), in the name of the Roman senate and of himself as proconsul he declared the freedom of the Greeks, in Greece and in Asia²³ and was in consequence showered with honours as saviour and benefactor. Over the next 50 years, however, the reality of Roman control became evident.

Our main source for this unprecedented rise of one state to control of most of the then known world is the Greek historian Polybius, who set out to write a ‘universal’ history²⁴ to match the ‘universality’ of Roman power. Rigorous and programmatic in his approach to writing history, he valued above all eye-witness accounts, but also drew on written sources, memoirs, letters and archives, and documents of all kinds, including inscriptions. Polybius personally discovered a bronze tablet left by Hannibal recording the numbers and formations of his troops.²⁵ But he criticizes the historian Timaeus for his indiscriminate use of ‘inscriptions at the back of buildings and lists of proxenoi on the jambs of temples’²⁶ — a very apt description of the situation modern epigraphers often find themselves in in pursuit of inscriptions!

It is hard to imagine an individual better qualified by his own experiences to write such a history. Polybius was born into an élite family in Megalopolis, a city in Arkadia in the Peloponnese, at that time a member of the Achaian Confederacy formed to resist the expanding power of Macedon and, on the whole, pro-Roman.²⁷ His father Lykortas was prominent in the affairs of both the city and the Confederacy, and was a close friend and supporter of Philopoimen, the dominant figure in the Confederacy.²⁸ When aged only about 20, Polybius was appointed, alongside his father, a member of an embassy to Ptolemy V Epiphanes (cancelled when Ptolemy died); he carried the ashes at the funeral of Philopoimen;²⁹ ten years later, he held the military office of Hipparch of the Achaean Confederacy, and was no doubt destined for its highest office, that of General.

But after Rome’s final defeat of the Macedonian kingdom in 167 BC, Polybius was among 1000 Achaeans judged not to have been

sufficiently pro-Roman and sent into exile in Rome. Unlike his compatriots, who were soon despatched to various provincial Italian cities, Polybius remained in Rome, at the request of P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, whose mentor and close friend he became. Scipio Aemilianus was by adoption a member of one of the most illustrious and militarily successful families in Rome, the adoptive grandson of the P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus who had defeated Hannibal at Zama.³⁰ This younger Scipio Aemilianus also enjoyed military successes in Spain and North Africa, and was responsible for the final destruction of Carthage in 146 BC. Polybius accompanied Scipio on his military campaigns, and was present at the destruction of Carthage.

He was also in Greece after the destruction of Korinth in the same year, where his mediations on behalf of his fellow-Greeks earned him their gratitude, in the form of statues and dedications. The text of one such dedication survives, so providing us with documentary evidence of Polybius:

‘The city set up this very fine statue to Polybios son of Lykortas in recognition of his fine deeds.’³¹



Fig.5 IG V(2) 370. An idealised representation of Polybius, found in 1880 at the site of ancient Kleitor (Peloponnese). Dressed as a soldier, with raised right hand, he is presented as a hero. The relief therefore captures the gratitude felt towards him by his fellow-countrymen.

Pausanias, the second century AD author of a *Description of Greece*, records seeing a marble base at Tegea with the words ‘on this base stands the statue of Polybios son of Lykortas’,³² and a plaque at a sanctuary not far from Megalopolis, with a likeness and a text recording him as a friend of Rome and benefactor of his fellow-Greeks.

In his historical narrative, Polybius refers to individuals by a single name, scarcely ever with the patronymic. So, King Philip V of Macedon is simply ‘Philip’; Ptolemy V Epiphanes, ruler of Egypt, is at his first appearance ‘Ptolemy the king’, then simply ‘Ptolemaios’.³³ And Titus Quinctius Flaminius, liberator of Greece, is simply ‘Titos’, and his troops ‘those accompanying Titos’³⁴

What is interesting for us here is that Polybius, who surely understood completely how Roman names worked, chose to use one name, and that the praenomen. In contrast, the Roman historian Livy, writing in Latin, whose narrative of the same events is largely based on that of Polybius, refers to Romans in the Roman manner. In the case of Flaminius, he most often refers to him as Titus Quinctius, but occasionally as Flaminius and twice, when recording his election to office, as Titus Quinctius Flaminius.

The perception of Romans as identifiable by their praenomen alone is not unique to Polybius, but is paralleled in inscriptions from various parts of the Greek world. These suggest that, even in the most formal contexts, in the early stages of the Roman presence, that is at least in the first half of the second century BC, Greeks thought Romans could be named on Greek terms.

A second-century dedication from Chalkis in Euboia by two holders of the post of gymnasiarch, Aristomachos the son of Aristokleides and Amphikrates the son of Eurynomos is ‘to Titos the saviour and benefactor’ (*IG XII (9) 931*). More than two hundred years later, Plutarch, in his *Life* of Flaminius, reports seeing the dedication by the grateful people of Chalkis of a gymnasium ‘to Titos and Herakles’, and of a Delphinion to ‘Titos and Apollo’; there was still in his time an elected ‘priest of Titos’, and sacrifices and libations and a ceremonial hymn in his honour.³⁵

We know that games in honour of Flaminius as liberator were instituted in many Greek cities, some of which were still being celebrated 200 years later. From Argos in the Peloponnese, an

inscription of around 100 BC honours one of its citizens, Augis the son of Aristomedes, for several generous financial benefactions to his city, including a substantial donation in support of the games called $\tau\alpha\ \tau\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$.³⁶

The same phenomenon can be observed in decrees of this period in which Greek cities honoured citizens who had represented their interests with leading Romans. A decree from Lampsakos in northern Troas in Asia Minor,³⁷ dated 196 BC, honours one Hegesias (no patronymic), who went on an arduous embassy to Rome on behalf of his city. He passed first through Greece, where he made contact with ‘Leukios’ — this is L. Quinctius Flamininus, brother of T. Quinctius Flamininus, in charge of the Roman fleet. Then a detour to Massalia (Marseilles), where he and his fellow ambassadors hoped to gather support for their cause, because Massalia was, like Lampsakos, a colony of Phokaia.³⁸ Finally to Rome, with which Lampsakos claims ‘kinship’ because of their mutual connection with Troy, the home of Aeneas. From here he was referred to the Commission of Ten in Greece with ‘Τίτος’ — this is our T. Quinctius Flamininus, now regulating affairs in Greece.³⁹

In that capacity, some time between 196-194 BC, Flamininus addressed a letter to the city of Chyretiai in Thessaly, from ‘Titos Quinctios Roman Proconsul’⁴⁰

This formula, praenomen + nomen + Roman office, is found in contemporary decrees in honour of Flamininus at Kos and Gytheion,⁴¹ showing that some communities learnt early on, perhaps through knowledge of official letters, how to address Romans.

So far we have been concerned with prominent figures; but before the Romans came as liberators and conquerors, they came as travellers and traders. An excellent place to examine this more diffuse Roman presence is the island of Delos, in mythology the birthplace of the gods Apollo and Artemis, and the principal cult centre of the Ionian Greeks. As a cult centre, Delos attracted international visitors and many private and public donations. It was also a major commercial centre (*the* major centre for the trade in slaves). It had, therefore, many foreign residents, from Italy as well as from the east.

The archives of the sanctuary, incorporating the accounts and inventories, provide a rich record of the dedications and other

transactions of the island's many dedicants, private individuals, officials, kings and cities. From around the mid-third century to 140 BC, i.e. over roughly the same period as that covered by the *Histories* of Polybius, we can trace how Delians perceived the Romans by looking at how they recorded their dedications in the inventories.⁴² Down to the first years of the second century, Romans are treated entirely like Greek visitors, with only their praenomen and the ethnic 'Romaïos'.⁴³ So, 'Quintos the Roman', 'Aulos the Roman' (Aulus Attilius the commander of the Roman fleet in 192-191 BC), and, of course, 'Titos the Roman'.⁴⁴

But from the early years of the second century onwards, use of the duo nomina becomes more common, accompanied, where appropriate, by Roman office. 'Titos the Roman' becomes 'Titos, Roman Consul' and finally 'Titos Quinctios, Roman Consul'. The ethnic as such tends to drop out; Ῥωμαῖος where used is attached to the office rather than the person. This shift suggests that Greeks now began to understand Roman names on Roman terms (the cognomen was not yet firmly established at Rome).

On Delos, an explanation may be found in the real political change which took place in 166 BC, when the island was deprived of its independence by Rome, and placed under Athenian control. But in the Greek world at large, the same recognition was taking place. No doubt Greeks were quick to learn through their increasing familiarity with official documents, such as Flamininus' letter noted above, emanating from Roman officials sent to administer the new Roman provinces.

Greek names under Roman influence

I would like now to move forward a century or more to the time when Roman rule was an acknowledged reality, and see how the Greeks responded in their own nomenclature. Given how large and diverse the Greek-speaking world was, we should not expect to find a single pattern, but variations from region to region, and from city to city. Thirty years ago, the French scholar G. Daux, in a short but still important article on this subject,⁴⁵ suggested that the evidence would reward more detailed analysis giving full weight to differences of place and chronology. That statement remains true, and what follows offers no more than a sample of the evidence.

Roman control did not of itself make a formal impact. Greek remained the language of daily life, Greeks retained their names, their patronymic and their family traditions, and the Romans did not try to make them do otherwise. That is, unless a Greek became a Roman citizen.

We noted the responsiveness of Greek nomenclature to new influences, and that includes Latin. From the late third century BC we find Latin names in the Greek world, used in the Greek manner. Common examples are Markos (spelt Μάρκος and Μᾶρκος), Gaios and Titos. The earliest Markos appears in the mid-third century BC in Apollonia in NW Greece, but that is unusually early, and elsewhere these names normally start to appear in the second century BC or later. Their bearers may well be immigrants of one kind or another, traders or freedmen, but, whatever their origin, they bear their names in the Greek manner i.e. singly with a patronymic, and their names pass down within families.⁴⁶

Note that a name which looks Latin may in fact be Greek e.g. Λεύκιος was a regular translation of the Latin Lucius (also transcribed as Λούκιος), but it was also a Greek name formed from the adjective λευκός,⁴⁷ first attested in a sixth century BC dedication to Apollo from the island of Samos. Similarly, the name Στράβων/Strabo is both Greek and Latin: as a Greek name it is first found in fourth century BC Cyprus; as a Latin cognomen it first appears in the second century BC., when the adjective 'strabon' entered the Latin language as a loan word from Greek, meaning 'squinty eyed'. This ambiguity has provoked extensive debate about the early career of the geographer Strabo.⁴⁸

The real challenge to Greek nomenclature came with Roman citizenship, which began as a rare privilege and reward but in time spread more and more widely, until in 212 AD the emperor Caracalla granted Roman citizenship to all. A Roman citizen had to adopt the tria nomina. In the earlier period at least, the praenomen and nomen, were normally taken from the person who granted the citizenship,⁴⁹ and the Greek 'personal' name became the cognomen. To take an early classic example: the historian Theophanes of Mytilene, granted Roman citizenship by Gn. Pompeius in the 60s BC,⁵⁰ became Gnaeos Pompeios Theophanes; and Theopompos of Knidos, a close friend of C. Julius Caesar, became Gaios Iulios Theopompos, when Caesar

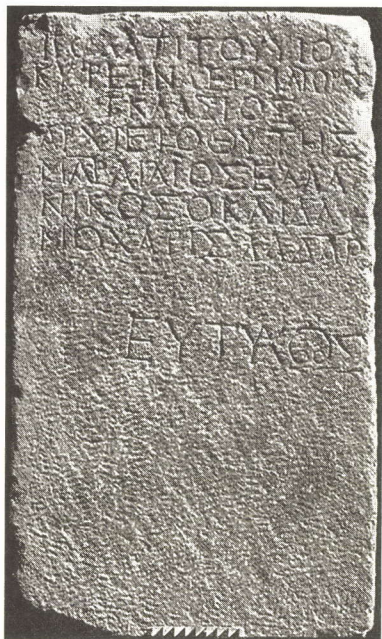


Fig.6 Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos. Fouilles de l'acropole. II Inscriptions* (1941) no. 471, c. 220AD

granted him Roman citizenship in the early 40s BC.

Thus the Greek personal name, now the cognomen, retained its function as the identifying name. Latin cognomina were also chosen, but there was no one-way trend towards Latin cognomina; Greek and Roman cognomina would run in parallel in families, so that brothers might be (e.g.) C. Ioulios Maximinos and C. Ioulios Alexandros, and both cognomina might be handed down to the next generation.

For a Greek the praenomen could not function as an identifying name, and this view is confirmed by the widespread practice of giving the same praenomen to all the children in an enfranchised family, in marked contrast to Roman practice, where brothers would each have different praenomina.

The Roman voting tribe was also an irrelevance, and was often omitted in nomenclature. On the other hand, its retention was not considered incompatible with a local ethnic or demotic. For example, from the island of Rhodes where, it has been argued, Roman names were accepted relatively late by the local aristocracy (mid-first century AD)⁵¹ we find correct use of the Roman tribe alongside retention of the local deme (*ILindos* 471; c. 220AD):

Τίτος Φλάουιος Τιτύου υἱὸς Κυρεῖνα Ἐρμαγόρας γ Κλάσιος.

This example shows strict adherence to Roman practice, including the Roman tribe and patronymic (but not abbreviated), but combined with a Rhodian deme and a Greek patronymic.

The patronymic was indeed the real challenge for a Greek with

Roman citizenship, because the Roman system used the father's praenomen which to a Greek was not the personal name. On such an important issue we should expect Greek resilience, and we find variations of it in documents from many regions.

In Theopompos the son of Artemidoros, the friend of Caesar, and his family, we have the opportunity to observe how his Roman nomenclature was handled in different places, because he was honoured both at home in Knidos and elsewhere.

In two texts from Knidos (*IKnidos* 51; 57):

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ἀρτεμιδώρου υἱὸς Θεόπομπος

The Roman order is followed, but the father's name is given in the Greek patronymic form. Since Theopompos was a first generation citizen, his father did not, of course, have a praenomen, but this formula remained widespread.

His sons Artemidoros and Hippokritos are (nos. 55; 54):

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Γάϊου υἱὸς Ἰππόκριτος
Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Γαίειου υἱὸς Ἀρτεμίδωρος

The patronymic is in strict Roman form of praenomen plus 'son of' (but the praenomen is not abbreviated).

Contrast his daughter Nossis (no. 53):

Ἰουλία Νοσσίς Θευπόμπου θυγατέρα

Her patronymic is in Greek style. She is not given a praenomen, as was usual for a Roman woman at that time.

Theopompos was also honoured at Delphi (*Fouilles de Delphes* 3 (1) 527):

Γ. Ἰούλιος Θεόπομπος Ἀρτεμιδώρου Κνίδιος

Greek patronymic after the cognomen; ethnic.

In Rhodes (*Inscriptiones Graecae* XII (1) 90):

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Θεύπονπος Ἀρτεμιδώρου

Greek patronymic, no ethnic.

In Kos (*An. Ep.* 1934 no. 91):

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Ἀρτεμιδώρου υἱὸς Θεύπομπος

Greek patronymic in the Roman position; no ethnic.

The practice of simply adding the father's name in the genitive after the cognomen was quite widespread, but is found especially in Thrace.

So far, we have for the most part been observing retention of the Greek patronymic within or alongside the Roman formula. But there were other rather unusual and unexpected ways of representing the patronymic. The formula ὁ πρίν + gen. of father's name is rare, but is firmly attested and correctly interpreted by G. Daux as a statement of the patronymic.⁵² For example, in *Inscriptiones Graecae* X (2) (1) 564, from Thessaloniki, three brothers are named as:

Αὐρ. Ἀλκιδάμας, Αὐρ. Πυρούλας, Αὐρ. Δούλης οἱ πρίν Πύρρου Ἀλκιδάμου

The force of οἱ πρίν is 'who formerly would have been called the sons of Purros the son of Alkidamas.' This text dates just after the universal grant of citizenship by Caracalla, by which everyone who did not previously have citizenship became an Aurelius; the formula οἱ πρίν expresses their former identity as sons of Purros, which would have been used in any legal transactions they carried out.

The termination — ιανός was added to Greek names to give them a patronymic force: Nikopolis — Nikopolianos; Kleonymos — Kleonymianos; Philippos — Philippianos; Demokrates — Demokratianos; Dionysios — Dionysianos, and many more. Latin names in — ianus based on the

nomen e.g. Aelianus, Aemilianus, were also common, and may have influenced the formation of some of these Greek names in — ianos. However, there are cases where we can be sure that this adjective based on the name was intended to carry a patronymic force.⁵³

Finally, there was another way of recording descent in the Greek way, which was especially common in Asia Minor. This consisted of adding a numeral to indicate two or more generations of the same name. We saw a good example of this in the inscription from Rhodes:

Τίτος Φλαοῦίος Τίτου υἱὸς Κυρεῖνα Ἑρμαγόρας γ Κλάσιος.

Here, not only is the Roman patronymic given, but the gamma after Hermagoras states that Hermagoras' father and grandfather both bore this name. Multiple generations could also be given in full, even within the Roman onomastic formula. From many examples, *Tituli Asiae Minoris* II 143, from Lydai in Lycia, imperial period:

Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Διοφάντου τοῦ Ἑλιοδώρου τοῦ Ἑλιοδώρου
τοῦ Διοφάντου υἱός

Βουλτίνια Ἑλιοδώρος Ῥωμαῖος καὶ Λυδάτης

In these and other ways, Greeks managed not to accept absolutely the restrictions of Roman nomenclature, even when accepting the privilege of Roman citizenship.

- 1 1.173. 5. Herodotus goes on to tell us that among the Lycians legitimacy of birth and citizenship rights were conferred through the mother.
- 2 The first (and until *LGPN* the only) comprehensive name collection was that of Pape-Benseler: W. Pape, G.E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (Braunschweig, 1863-1870). This work is still valid for mythological figures, and persons occurring in literature.
- 3 Cyriacus of Ancona 1391-1452; see now *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels*, edited and translated by E. W. Bodnar with Clive Foss (Harvard University Press, 2003).
- 4 William Camden, for example, whose name is attached to the Chair of Ancient History at Oxford, wrote on personal names at length in his *Romaines*,

published in 1605.

- 5 The classic article is by J.-A. Letronne: ‘Observations philologiques et archéologiques sur l’étude des noms propres grecs, *Annales de l’Institut Archéologique* 17 (1845), 251-346.
- 6 For full details, see the LGPN web site <http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk>.
- 7 I should make it clear that what follows is inevitably a simplification, and there are, of course, exceptions to every ‘rule’ to be found in the thousands of individual cases attested in our documentary sources; but these exceptions do not undermine the fundamental position outlined here.
- 8 The *Ethnika* survives in an epitome of the original 60 books. The original also included other assorted information, such as etymologies, foundation legends, famous sons, proverbs and so on. Stephanos drew on earlier writers, including geographers and historians, grammarians and antiquarians, many of whose works have not survived.
- 9 Our translation ‘ethnic’ is not a comfortable term to work with for another reason: ‘ethnos’ in Greek has connotations which suggest a *contrast* with the polis, an organisation of tribal groupings precisely not based on the city, yet we use ‘ethnic’ of all adjectives which denote origin/belonging, whether to a city, confederacy or other regional grouping.
- 10 We may note in passing that the many other forms of organization within cities—e.g. phylai— were used in lists of members, but did not occur as adjectives attached to an individual’s name.
- 11 T. Corsten, *Inscr. v. Kibyra* 104: grave epigram of Πάλυγος from Rhaukos in Crete: πατρός πατρός ἐμοῦ τοῦτο λαβὼν ὄνομα. The documentary record from the island of Rhodes is full enough to provide excellent illustrations of Greek family naming practices. See, e.g., Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos. Fouilles de l’acropole. II Inscriptions* (1941), stemmata p. 30 ff.
- 12 e.g. Aristotle, *Poetics* 1457. Modern accounts: Oxford Classical Dictionary, names, personal, Greek; LGPN web site <http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk>.
- 13 ὀνόματα θεαφόρα and ὀνόματα ἄθεα in Klearchos of Soloi, 63 (Athenaeus 10 448e); fragments in F. Wehrli, *Klearchos* (1948).
- 14 From the published LGPN volumes: Dionysios 3898, Demetrios 2547, Apollonios 3080.
- 15 Aristophanes, *Clouds* 60 ff. for a comic domestic wrangle about the naming of a child, which suggests that a compound name was considered high class. Much later, Apollonius of Tyana, *Ep.* 72 to his brother Hestieios: ‘Our father Apollonios was born of 3 generations of Menodotos — you want to call yourself Lucretius — whose descendant are you? it is base to take someone’s name and not have their εἶδος’.
- 16 ‘Varro simplicia in Italia fuisse nomina ait neque praenomen ullum neque cognomen habuerint.’
- 17 Etruscan inscriptions of the seventh century show the same pattern; their

- gentilicial system was fully established by the 6th century BC.
- 18 e.g. Cornelii, then Cornelii Scipiones, then Cornelii Scipiones Nasicae.
- 19 e.g. Paetus ‘squinty’, Strabo ‘cross-eyed’, cf. Pliny, *NH* 11. 150, that both these cognomina derive from eye-defects.
- 20 Strabo 5.4.4.
- 21 Herodotus says that traders needed to know 7 languages to do trade with the Scythians. Phokaian and Samian traders in Massalia knew the Celtic languages.
- 22 In Asia Minor, for example, where Greeks had been settled since the start of the first millenium, and both intermarried with native populations such as Carians, and responded to powerful neighbours such as Persia.
- 23 Plb. 18. 46: ‘The senate of Rome and Titus Quinctius Flamininus the proconsul, having defeated King Philip and the Macedonians in battle, leave the following states and cities free, without garrison, subject to no tribute and in full enjoyment of their ancestral laws: the peoples of Korinth, Phokis, Lokris, Euboaia, Phthitoic Achaia, Magnesia, Thessaly and Perrhaibia’. Cf. end of section: ‘when by a single proclamation all the Greeks inhabiting both Asia and Europe became free, with neither garrison nor tribute to burden them, but enjoying their own laws.’ Cf. Livy 32-40.
- 24 ἡ τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων συντέλεια. See I 1. 5: ‘There can be no-one so petty or so apathetic in his outlook that he has no desire to discover by what means and under what system of government the Romans succeeded in less than 53 years in bringing under their rule almost the whole of the inhabited world, an achievement which is without parallel in human history’. The 53 years are from 220–167BC, the start of the Hannibalic War in the 140th Olympiad to the Roman defeat of Perseus at Pydna.
- 25 3. 33: ‘I discovered on Cape Lakinion a bronze tablet which Hannibal himself had had inscribed with these details while he was in Italy, and since I considered this to be an absolutely trustworthy piece of evidence, I had no hesitation in following it’.
- 26 12. 11. 2.
- 27 Plutarch *Titos* 13. 5 records that the Achaians purchased the 1200 Romans who were in slavery in Greece as a result of capture during the Hannibalic War, and made a gift of them to Titus Quinctius Flamininus, who took them back to Rome.
- 28 Philpoimen: see R.M. Errington, *Philopoemen* (1969); Plutarch chose Philopoimen’s *Life* to be in parallel to that of T. Quinctius Flamininus. Polybius also wrote an encomium of Philopoimen, which is lost.
- 29 Plutarch, *Philopoimen* 21. 3.
- 30 And also his nephew by marriage, since his aunt Aimilia was the wife of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus. See Polybius on these relationships, 21. 23 ff.
- 31 Τοῦτο Λυκόρτα παιδὶ πόλις περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.

ἀντι καλῶν ἔργων εἶσατο Πολυβίω.

IG V (2) 370 from Kleitor in Arkadia; cf. 304 from Mantinea. Both texts have restorations, but the meaning is clear.

32 8. 48. 8: ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῆς Πολύβιος ὁ Λυκόρτα.

33 Although it became a title, Ptolemaios was a personal name, originally Macedonian.

34 ὁ Τίτος and οἱ περὶ Τίτου (18.1) Other leading Romans are treated the same way: e.g. P. Cornelius P.f. Scipio is 'Poplios'.

35 Plutarch, *Titos* 16. Plutarch was reporting these texts from inscriptions which could still be seen in his day. In the quotation from the hymn, 'Titos' is the only name used.

36 G. Daux, *BCH* 88 (1964) p. 569 f. = *SEG* 22, 266. Unusually, Augis is given the ethnic 'Argaios', though he is in his home city. See G. Klaffenbach, *Chiron* 1971, p. 168, for a supplement on inscriptions recording honours to Flamininus. At Gytheion in the Peloponnese, games in his honour were still being celebrated in 15 AD, but the record gives his full tria nomina: *SEG* 11, 923.

37 *Syll* 591 = P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften v. Lampsakos* 4.

38 Phokaia, in Asia Minor, was largely responsible for the Greek colonies and trading settlements in France and Spain, notably Massalia and Emporion. Herodotus 1 165. 1.

39 Other examples, *SEG* 18, 570: c. 180 BC, decree in honour of a citizen of a small Lycian city Araxa, describes among his services to his city and associated communities, a mission to two Roman commissioners in Greece, probably at Aramea, referred to as Appios (πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Ἀππιον) and Poplios (πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πόπλιον). This formula echoes Polybius' description of Flamininus' soldiers as οἱ περὶ τὸν Τίτον. Another example from around the same time and context, *SEG* 25, 445, refers throughout to a Roman commissioner Manios, who is the Roman consul and commander Manius Acilius Glabrio.

40 *IG IX* (2) 338 : Τίτος Κοῖνκτιος στρατηγὸς ὑπατος Ῥωμαίων.

41 Kos, *PH* 128, Τίτον Τίτου Κοῖ[γκτι]ον στραταγὸν ὑπατον Ῥωμαίων; Gytheion *Syll.* 592.

Τίτον Τίτου Κοῖγκτιον στραταγὸν ὑπατον Ῥωμαίων ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Γυθεατᾶν τὸν αὐτοῦ σωτήρα.

42 The evidence is collected and analyzed by M.-F. Baslez, 'La première presence romaine à Delos (vers 250-140)' in A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East* (Athens, 1996).

43 The ethnic Ῥωμαῖος was also used to denote 'Italian', but that is too large a subject to enter into here.

44 Note that Titos is not always T. Quinctius Flamininus. One inventory records 'the offering of Titos the Roman', but this is Titus Mentius, as is

- made clear in another inventory entry (427, 11 with comm.) where he is listed as Τίτος Μέντιος Ῥωμαῖος.
- 45 G. Daux, 'L'onomastique romaine d'expression grecque' in *L'onomastique latine* edd. N. Duval and H.-G. Pflaum (Paris, 1975).
- 46 Single Latin names used as Greek names were not limited to praenomina; nomina and cognomina also feature. e.g. Valens Οὐάλης; Primos Πρίμος; Klaudios Κλάυδιος and many more.
- 47 *LSAG* p. 341 no. 5. That Leukios is a truly Greek name and not necessarily the transcription of Latin Lucius was first pointed out by Wilhelm, in *JDOAI* 3 (1900) p. 57.
- 48 See S. Potheary, *Mnemosyne* 52 (1999) 691 f. 'Strabo: his name and its meaning', for a full discussion of the name and its implications. Interestingly, all the relatives Strabo refers to (only 2 are named) are named in relation to his mother.
- 49 Later, when citizenship was more common, it is less clear how the praenomina and nomina were chosen or bestowed. There is also plenty of evidence of nomina used as cognomina, and other 'incorrect' usages within the tria nomina. There is great variation from place to place, and over time.
- 50 See V.I. Anastasiadis, G.A. Souris, *Chiron* 22 (1992) pp. 377-382 for a new text relating to Theophanes..
- 51 A. Bresson, 'L'onomastique romaine à Rhodes' in A.D. Rizakis (n.42), 225ff. argues that the Rhodians consciously resisted Roman names until the mid-first century AD. Thereafter they adopted tria nomina in their élite families, but retained Doric Greek names.
- 52 G. Daux (n. 45) p. 408. Daux cites a useful parallel in *POxy* 41, 1972, no. 2978.
- 53 Adjectival patronymics occur in Homer, and remained in use in the historical period in Thessaly and Boiotia.

Recently Unearthed Laws (China)

Itaru TOMIYA
Kyoto University

The first unified state in Chinese history was that of the *Qin* dynasty founded by Shi huangdi in 221 BC. Of course, we know that written laws had existed before *Qin* times, namely in the *Spring and Autumn and Warring States* periods, but we confine our scope to the period of *Qin* and *Han* times, as our present concern is the written laws of the unified empires.

It is well-known that the *Qin* dynasty ruled based on legislation. Unfortunately, however, no historical materials that might have illuminated the contents have come down to our day. On the other hand, those of the *Han* dynasty, which was able to control its empire for more than 400 years, can be met in a number of historical materials today. However, no complete but only fragments of them have survived to date.

Over two millennia from *Qin-Han* times until *Qing* in the 20th century, the Chinese legal system had stood on two principal law codes, statutes *lü* and ordinances *ling*.

Statutes are collections of criminal laws and regulations, and ordinances are collections of administrative laws and regulations not involving punishments. These definitions, however, were formulated chiefly on the basis of *Tang* Statutes and Ordinances, which prevailed A.D.618-907, and thus are considered applicable to the contemporary Japanese statutes and ordinances system as well, which modeled the *Tang* system, but cannot apply to the *Qin* and *Han* statutes and ordinances.

During the *Qin* and *Han* periods, whereas the statutes, consisting of criminal laws and regulations as in the *Tang* dynasty, was in the form of a written law code, the ordinances had not yet grown to that level. The law code I mention here is defined as a collection of laws and regulations classified as having a certain intention, like 選舉令 the

Ordinances on Election and 官品令 the Ordinances on Official Rank during the *Tang* period. According to this definition the *Han* ordinances were not mature enough to be called a law code. The *Han* ordinances were a file of orders issued from the emperor, or imperial edicts. Some imperial edicts were intended to be permanent, and some were temporary or limited to certain localities. If we view the *Qin* and *Han* ordinances in the definition for the *Tang* ordinances that has permanent and universal characters, they may look quite different from what we expect.

I hope that I have made it clear that the *Qin* and *Han* statutes and ordinances have the characters described above.

While the *Qin* and *Han* statutes and ordinances are cited in some historical written materials, no statute as a law code and no ordinance as a file has been preserved intact to our day. They were lost in part or whole. But in the 20th century new materials came to light, written on wood and bamboo, which would tell us of the ancient history of China. Usually known as wood and bamboo slips (or simply slips in a collective sense including both), these materials are contemporary with people who lived in *Qin* and *Han* times. Among these unearthed slips were many *Qin* and *Han* statutes. Those slips consist of two groups.

The first group consists of slips from the north-west frontier of China, for example Mongolia, Dunhuang etc. The other group is the slips unearthed at ancient tombs in inland China.

The slips in the first group that came from the frontier area are made of wood, tens of thousands in number, found in the ruins of *Han* beacon towers, whose remains still stand on site today. With a beacon tower, there was a military base or an administrative office. That is why some of the wood slips unearthed are inscribed with statutes and ordinances. The slips known as the *Ju Yan* and *Dunhuang Han* slips are administrative documents such as orders issued to military bases or administrative offices, ledgers and name lists written at administrative offices, and reports from subjects or subordinates. Slips were thrown away when they were of no use or shared the fate of the beacon tower as it collapsed into a ruin. Thereafter the sand of the deserts and the highly dry weather protected slips from decaying, putting them in “hibernation” for 2000 years.

The slips in the second group were found among the burial articles, which are placed in coffins. Different from those found in the frontier area, the slips of this group were not thrown away, but were placed in coffins with the intent of preserving them forever as precious items. The greatest part of slips of all those unearthed are tomb inventories of burial articles and books. The discovered books in particular include those which had been totally lost and have not been known to us at all. Any of them brings up sensational topics.

The finds both from the frontiers and ancient tombs include *Qin* and *Han* statutes and ordinances and similar materials. But these two groups show different characters each other. Let me now explain the details.

I. Laws unearthed in the frontier area

Statutes, *i.e.*, written laws, were kept at military and administrative offices such as headquarters of the commandants and company stations. This means that the laws unearthed at these sites might be statutes of this kind. But this is not the case. It is not known whether, during *Han* times, the archives of government offices kept the written laws just as administrative offices in Japan today equip their workplace with copies of the *Statutes Book*. Though we know that during *Han* period government offices apparently had their copies of laws and regulations, as indicated by a number of excavated lists, the legal slips found are not such sets of laws and regulations to be entered in an archive. The provisions in the discovered laws were of a category that was attached to a document submitted to an upper office so as to show grounds for the description in the document. To make this clearer, here are some examples. 功令, the Ordinances on Credit was among those unearthed:

- 功令第□五候長士吏皆試射□去□□弩力如發弩發十二矢中□矢六爲程過六矢賜勞十五日 45 · 23 131 A8 (破城子)
- 功令第□五士吏候長蓬隧長常以令□秋試射以六爲程過六賜勞矢十五日 285 · 17 A8 (破城子)

These are the provisions for the personnel rating of civil officers.

Why were they at this site (A8)? It may be that an administrative office at site A8 was to submit the name list of their rated clerks to an upper office along with the provisions for the rating involved.

● 右以令秋射二千石賜勞名籍及令

267 · 11 A8(破城子)

The contents of this slip is the title of the document, which shows that the document is a 賜勞名籍, the name list of persons who earned a special point called 勞 for their work performance. The document, along with referenced law provisions used as grounds for the assessed point, was to be sent to an upper office. When the document was actually submitted, a title slip like the one here was bound at the end of the document.

Pay attention to the symbol “ ● ” here. It indicates that the slip thus marked had to be distinguished from others within the same set of bound slips. This document, consisting of bound slips, may have included: (1) name list; (2) provisions (功令, the Ordinances on Credit in the present case); and (3) title. I think, that it should be noticed as well that the symbol “ ● ” is placed at the head of 功令 the Ordinances on Credit shown above.

The slip below is another example. This is 捕律, the Statutes on Arrest excavated at a *Han* beacon tower at Dunhuang and belonging to the *Han* reign.

● 捕律亡人匈奴外蠻夷守棄亭口逢口者不堅守降之及從塞徼外來絳而賊殺之皆要斬妻子耐爲司寇作如

79.D.M.T12:26 D983 馬圈灣

This is a part of 捕律, the Statutes on Arrest, which defined the punishments to be inflicted on those who surrendered to an alien tribe. If my theory, that is, that a title slip attached to a document is marked “ ● ”, is correct, it can follow that this slip bears legal provisions that accompanied an indictment of a lawsuit. That is, a court document, along with relevant provisions, was sent from an administrative office at 馬圈灣 *Majuanwan* (ruin No. D21) or received thereat. If this slip is a document sent from D21, the slip can be concluded to be the duplicate of the document. (The title on this slip is the same as the one on 功令, the Ordinances on Credit among the *Ju Yan Han* slips I mentioned

earlier in this lecture.)

As described thus far, the statutes or ordinances excavated in the frontier area were attached to documents written by frontier administrative officers, and hence it can be conjectured that such statutes and ordinances were limited to those which were closely related to the tasks of the offices. That is, the laws and regulations found on the frontiers were with particular topics only.

In closing this section, let us pay special attention to an important fact. 功令, the Ordinances on Credit and 捕律, the Statutes on Arrest cited above are only an excerpt from the ordinances and statutes, not the intact whole of the provisions. In general the original statutes and ordinances do not take a style as shown above, which begin with the name of the statutes or ordinances in the phrase “捕律, the Statutes on Arrest states ...” or “功令, the Ordinances on Credit ...”, and then provisions follow. In these cases, inconsistency in the wording of 功令, the Ordinances on Credit 35 also indicates that the inscribed sentences are only excerpts.

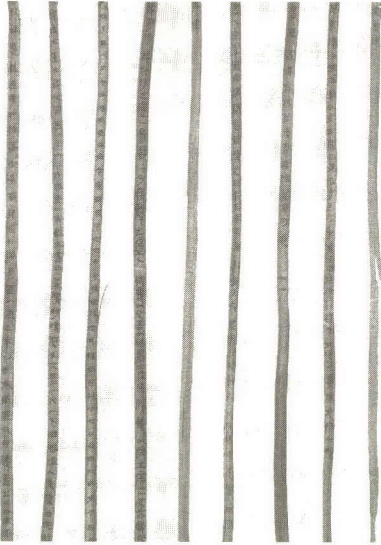
II. Laws from ancient tombs

Now that unearthed statutes and ordinances are available with their contents, we can inquire into the details: what volumes statutes included; on which slip the name of a volume was written within a document of bound slips; in what order the volumes were arranged, and so on. It is from ancient tombs that we can reveal the style of law codes of their day. Ancient tombs contained complete sets of statutes and ordinances among burial articles.

Let me now introduce some legal slips excavated at ancient tombs.

(1) *Qin* statutes from 雲夢睡虎地

In 1975 twelve *Qin* tombs were excavated at 雲夢睡虎地 Yun meng shui hu di, 湖北省 Fu bei. Tomb No. 11 had a coffin housing a skeletonized corpse surrounded by more than 1,100 bamboo slips. The slips can be classified into ten categories including the personal chronology of the buried person. Of those bamboo slips some 400



pieces bore *Qin* statutes and annotations on them under 18 volume titles.

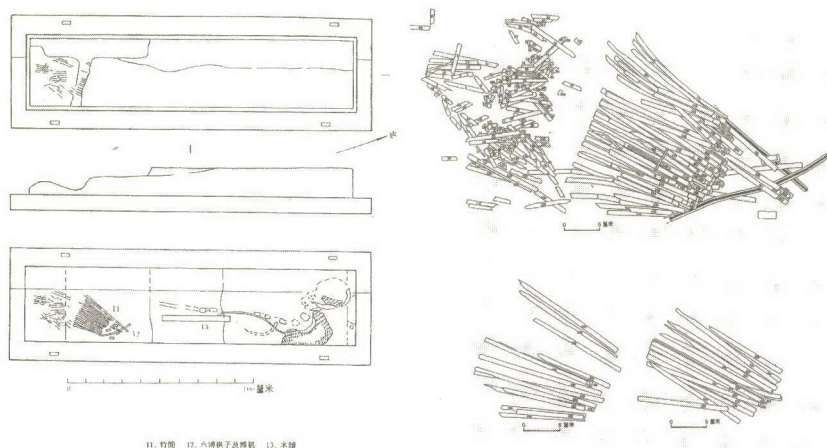
The coffin that contained these 睡虎地 Shui hu di *Qin* slips was of a lower civil officer named Xi, who died around 217 BC, in the *Qin* of *Warring States* period. Thus it follows that the statutes can be laws enforced in *Qin* just before the *Qin* dynasty unified the empire, 221BC. These slips indicate that there were no substantial differences between the *Qin* statutes before and after the unification. This is demonstrated by *Qin* slips from 雲夢龍崗 Yun meng long gang which follow.

(2) *Qin* slips from 雲夢龍崗

In 1989 and 1991 nine tombs of the *Qin-Han* period were excavated. That site is approximately 30 km as the crow flies away from 睡虎地 Shui fu di tomb No. 11 mentioned above. Of those nine tombs, tomb No. 6 was found to contain 293 fragments of slips and some 150 of these are complete slips, which were placed at the foot of the corpse in the coffin.

These bamboo slips known as the 雲夢龍崗 Yun meng long gang *Qin* slips bear new words such as 皇帝 (emperor) and 黔首 (commoner), which were coined after the unification by Shi huangdi. That fact proves that the inscriptions were written no earlier than 221 BC. The contents are again *Qin* statutes. Some provisions written therein are the same as those in the 睡虎地 Shui fu di *Qin* slips. The 龍崗 Long gang *Qin* slips discovered have thus demonstrated that the 睡虎地 Shui fu di *Qin* statutes continued to be in force after the unification and therefore were official statutes in the *Qin* Empire.

The following 18 statutes have been confirmed as having their volume title and retaining their contents:



11. 竹簡 12. 六通狹子及殘簡 13. 木匣

工人程, Statutes on Norms for Artisans; 廐苑律, Statutes on Stables and Parks; 倉律, Statutes on Granaries; 金布律, Statutes on Currency; 關市律, Statutes on Passes and Markets; 工律, Statutes on Artisans; 均工律, Statutes on Equalizing Artisans; 徭律, Statutes on Labour; 司空律, Statutes on the Controller of Works; 軍爵律, Statutes on Aristocratic Rank Bestowed for Military Action; 置吏律, Statutes on the Establishment of Officials; 效律, Statutes on Checking; 傳食律, Statutes on Rations at Relay Station; 行書律, Statutes on the Forwarding of Documents; 內史雜律, Statutes on the Minister of Finance Miscellaneous; 尉雜律, Statutes on the Commandant Miscellaneous; 屬邦律, Statutes on the Dependant States.

(3) Han slips from 江陵張家山

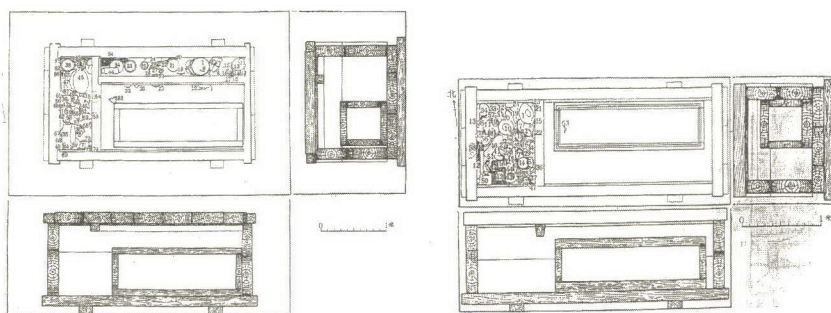
From December 1983 till January 1984 and from 1985 till 88, many tombs were excavated at 張家山 Zhang jia shan in 江陵縣 Jiang ling, 湖北省 Fu bei. Written slips were unearthed in five tombs, No. 249, 258, 327, and 336. Legal documents were found in tombs No. 247 and 336. In particular tomb No. 247 contained about 900 bamboo slips in total, on which *Han* statutes and lawsuit cases were written. The slips were in two boxes placed along with a coffin in the outer coffin. The boxes were at two different locations. Unfortunately a considerable part of

the slips had been damaged and deformed by mud that leaked into the outer coffin. As a result of their restoration to their original condition, considering the circumstances of the excavation, the continuity of the inscriptions, and other factors, it turned out that the slips from tomb No. 247 were inscribed with the following 27 statutes and 關津令 the Ordinances on Fords and Passes:

賊律 Statutes on Banditry; 盜律 Statutes on Robbery; 具律 Statutes on the Composition; 告律 Statutes on Denunciation; 捕律 Statutes on Arrest; 亡律 Statutes on Abscondence; 收律 Statutes on Impoundment; 襍律 Miscellaneous statutes; 錢律 Statutes on Coinage; 置吏律 Statutes on the Establishment of Officials; 均輸律 Statutes on Equalizing Transportation; 伝食律 Statutes on Rations at Relay Station; 田律 Statutes on Agriculture; 市律 Statute on _____ Markets; 行書律 Statutes on the Forwarding of Documents; 復律 Statutes on Exemptions; 賜律 Statutes on Bestowals; 戶律 Statutes on Households; 效律 Statutes on Checking; 傳律 Statutes on Enrollment; 置後律 Statutes on the Establishment of Heirs; 爵律 Statutes on Ranks; 興律 Statutes on Levies; 徭律 Statutes on Statute Labour; 金布律 Statutes on Currency; 秩律 Statutes on Salaries; and 史律 Statutes on Scribes.

Following the *Qin* statutes, the *Han* statutes have emerged at last from the distant past. The *Han* statutes, however, raised a question about the meaning of one set phrase. The first piece of the classified slips bears the contents of 賊律 the Statutes on Banditry. On its back were written four characters “ ■ 二年律令 ” (the Statutes and Ordinances of the Second Year). The last piece of the classified slips was inscribed “ 律令二十□種 ”. Both of these phrases appear to be the titles of something. On the one hand, many researchers take “ 二年 ” in 二年律令 as the second year of 呂后 Empress Dowager Lu (187 BC) and thus assume that these *Han* statutes and ordinances belong to the early years of the *Former Han*, which ruled B.C.202-A.D.8. On the other hand some researchers think that these 28 *Han* laws have been given a collective name 二年律令 just for tentative convenience.

二年律令 the Statutes and Ordinances of the Second Year, available in quantities or more than 500 slips, will undoubtedly help the historical



study of institutions in the *Han* period.

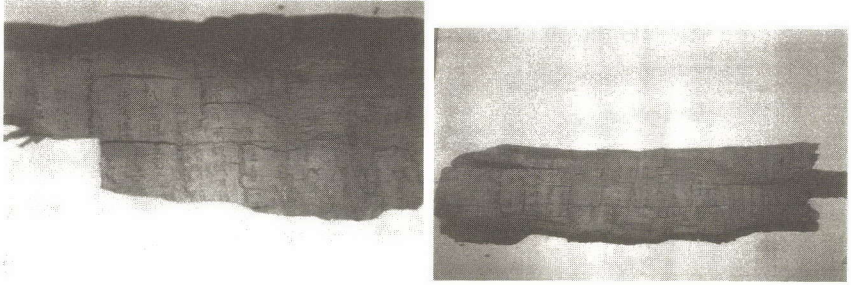
(4) **Jin** statues from **Jin** tombs at 玉門花海鄉畢家灘

Following the abundant finds of *Qin* and *Han* statues and ordinances, *Jin* statues also came to light.

In 2003 the 甘肅省考古文物研究所 excavated a total of 53 tombs of the 3rd to 5th centuries at 玉門花海鄉畢家灘 Yu men hua hai xiang bi jia tan. A relatively small tomb among them, estimated to belong to the period of *Xi Liang* or *Bei Liang* which occupied this area from AD 360 to 400, contained a coffin to the back of whose lid was attached a piece of cloth-like material inscribed with provisions of *Jin* statutes.

Thus far more than 50,000 characters have been identified, and three statues are confirmed as having been written: 諸侯律 the Statutes on Lord, 捕亡律 the Statutes on Arrest and Abscondence, and 繫訊律 the Statutes on Interrogation. Some writing therein read “凡十二條五百六十九 …… 諸侯律第卅” and “凡五万二千二二言 …… 諸侯律注第卅.”

Jin Shu: History of the Criminal Code records that there were 20 volumes of statute including a total of 620 articles written in 27,657 characters and that ordinances were in 40 volumes including 2,306 articles. A historical source writes that the 20 volumes of statutes were arranged in such an order that 刑名律 the Statutes on Names of the Punishments was the first with 諸侯律 the Statutes on Lord at the end. In the 玉門花海 *Jin* statues, 諸侯律 the Statutes on Lord is designated Volume 20, which demonstrates that 諸侯律 the Statutes on Lord was placed at the 20th position, i.e., the last. If “12 articles in 569 characters” is the breakdown of 諸侯律 the Statutes on Lord, the



principal statutes such as 刑名律 the Statutes on Names of Punishments and 盜律 the Statutes on Robbery are considered to have more articles, and hence the figure “620 articles in 27,657 characters” may possibly take on a special meaning.

III. Questions that the discovered legal documents are asking us

It is marvel that we can see with our own eyes the *Qin* and *Han* statutes and ordinances, which had been lost for centuries and whose substance had been thought irrecoverable to know. In addition, even *Jin* statutes and ordinance as well have now unveiled themselves. The value of the discoveries is thus priceless indeed. These materials will undoubtedly advance the historical study of legal institutions in ancient China to a great degree.

I will publish my private findings about the unearthed materials elsewhere. Though in this lecture I will not touch upon them, I should like to discuss here why those written slips and other materials were buried where they were discovered. All legal documents so far excavated were found among burial articles in tombs. Why is it that more than a thousand slips were packed in a coffin as if they were intended to be a garment to protect the person buried? Why were the 玉門花海 *Jin* statutes and their annotations attached to the back of the lid of a coffin.

According to conventional interpretations, the buried person was engaged in a profession somehow related to law; therefore these legal

documents accompanied his body. That is to say, the bereaved thought that the dead person not only had used them during his lifetime but also would need them in the world after death. If so, why did they attach slips to the coffin lid? The contents of the laws placed in a tomb have no definite character in common. In the case of the *Qin* and *Han* statutes, not all of them were housed in a coffin. In one case, with the 睡虎地 *Shui fu di* *Qin* tombs, 效律 the Statutes on Checking, the law concerning inspection, is distinct. On the basis of conventional interpretations, the buried person Xi was a scribe for responsible inspection. But, in another case, we are unable to interpret the case of the 張家山 *Zhang jia shan* *Han* tomb. The buried laws cover too broad a range of fields to determine the person's profession.

Why were legal documents, provisions, and records buried together? We should not answer the question in a hurry, but should wait until more written slips and paper documents are unearthed, which can reasonably be expected in the not too distant. For now I nevertheless postulate a hypothesis as follows.

I think that these legal documents, provisions in statutes and ordinances, and even annotations on these were placed in a tomb as part of burial articles as an amulet. In doing so, people, especially the bereaved, expected that evil spirits and demons would be unable to disturb the peaceful sleep of the dead in the world after death.

Burial articles were expected to keep evil spirits from entering the grave and ease the soul of the dead, or in short exorcise evil spirits, include a contract for purchase of real estate engraved on lead, grave guardian vases, and grave guardian beasts. As ancient people seemed to expect the horn of a grave guardian beast to threaten and fight back against evil spirits, they may have inscribed a spell to guard the grave on grave guardian vases, bargain and sale contracts, and the like imitation documents (e.g., a contract for purchase of real estate engraved on lead) in the hope that these would guarantee the contents of the grave. A spell as shown below was found on a grave guardian vase from a Later *Han* (A.D.25-220) tomb excavated at 靈寶縣張灣 *ling bao Zhang wan*, He nan, 河南省.

天帝使者、謹為楊氏之家、鎮安隱冢墓、謹以鉛入金玉、為死者解適、生人除罪過、瓶到之後、令母人為安、宗君自食地下租、歲二千萬、子々孫々、士宦

位侯公、富貴將相不絕、移丘丞墓伯、下當用者、如律令 (『文物』75—11)

This is intended to command civil officers in the world after death to ease the soul of the dead and pray for the prosperity of his offspring. The spell is written in red on the body of the ceramic vase. At the 張灣 Zhang wan tomb four similarly inscribed vases were placed one each at the four corners of the coffin chamber. It is thought that arranged in such a way, they would tend to keep demons from entering. That is, these grave guardian vases were expected to function for the easement of the dead person's soul and to exorcise evil spirits. I think that these legal documents were added to burial articles for the same reason. Why should that be so? The peculiar character of the law in ancient China makes it possible to answer the question.

In the ancient China, the character of law and punishment were formulated with intent to deter crimes and maintain social order by the use of threatening. The rulers enacted and enforced their laws on this principle. From ancient through to modern times Chinese law and punishment almost totally lack the Western idea that the law is a kind of contract and that therefore punishment is a penalty for failure to keep it. The purpose of punishment in China is to deter rather than reward in China. I postulate that when ancient Chinese people attached legal documents to a coffin, such purpose and power of legal documents in effect in the real world were hoped likewise to be in effect in the world after death as well; people borrowed deterrence and threat directed to the public in the real world to threaten demons in the nether world. Just as the law in the real world was intended to maintain peace and good order, it can be assumed that the law was buried in the hope of a peaceful posthumous life and the security of the grave.

A grave guardian spell and a contract for purchase of real estate engraved on lead are closed with a fixed phrase “如律令” (according to law). As the demand written therein verged on the absurd, a new phrase “急急如律令” came into use. “如律令” was a fixed closing phrase in imperial edicts and similar governmental orders and documents from an upper to a lower office. Meaning “according to law,” this phrase was intended to add dignity and threat to documents so that an issued order be duly executed. By writing the same phrase on a document addressed to the world after death, people must have

hoped it would work as a threat. The word “急” in “急急如律令” implies “急” in “驚(警)事告急” (report an emergency in an alert), hence meaning emergency. Thus “急急如律令” can mean “Do not ~!” or “WARNING! ~”.

If my theory shown above is true, we may understand why the dead body in the 睡虎地 Shui fu di *Qin* tomb was surrounded by *Qin* statutes and why statutory provisions were attached to the lid of the 玉門花海 Yu men hua hai coffin as if they were meant to be a Buddhist sutra. But my theory raises a general question as well.

If the statutes and ordinances from ancient tombs are addressed to the world after death, can we regard them as real-world historical materials without any conditions, and safely use them as evidence contemporary with a period when the tomb was constructed?

To avoid misleading you, I should mention that I have no intention of dictating a view that the unearthed legal materials are all fictitious, non-realistic imitation documents. It is highly probable that the provisions written therein were enforced and executed in the real world. For someone who is going to bury laws in a grave, current laws in force would indeed be most convenient. Then, is it true that there was nothing other than current laws in force that had deterrent power? While real-world laws were used as a burial article in an early stage, they would be displaced by non-realistic materials. Such a tendency can be identified in the contract for purchase of real estate engraved on lead. Although legal materials excavated so far do not show any distinct feature of this kind, yet we cannot rule out a possibility that imitation documents will be found among future discoveries. For there was no stipulation that a burial article must be a real-world official document in force.

皇帝	emperor, August
天子	son of Heaven
上	the throne
陛下	your his) Majesty, at the foot of the steps
皇后	empress
太后	empress dowager
王	prince, vassal king

攝政 將軍	regent generals
大司馬 將軍 大將軍 驃騎將軍 車騎將軍 衛將軍 前・後將軍 左・右將軍	regent general-in-chief general of cavalry on the Alert general of chariot and cavalry general of defense general of the van/rear general of the east/west
臺閣	offices in charge of imperial communication
尚書 尚書令 尚書僕射 尚書左・右丞 尚書	imperial secretariat director of the imperial secretaries vice director of the imperial secretaries first/second deputy director of the imperial secretaries imperial secretaries
御史臺 御史中丞 御史	prosecutors' office palace prosecutor imperial prosecutor
謁者臺 謁者僕射 謁者	receptionists' office vice director of the imperial receptionists imperial receptionist
中書臺 (侍中) 中書・謁者令 中書 中謁者	palace secretariat director of the palace secretaries and receptionist palace secretary palace receptionist
三公 丞相 (司徒) 御史大夫 (司空) 大尉 (大司馬)	executive council chief minister chief secretary supreme commander

九卿	二千石	ministers fully 2000 bushels
太常		minister of ceremonial
郎中令		minister of the palace
衛尉		minister of the guards
太僕		minister of the stables
廷尉		minister of justice
典客		minister of guests affairs
宗正		minister of ancestral worship
治粟內史·大司農		minister of treasury
少府		minister of household agency
中尉		minister of capital security
二千石		2000 bushels
將作大匠		superintendent of construction
水衡都尉		superintendent of the imperial hunting park
典屬國		superintendent of colonies
內史		governor of the capital area
京兆尹		governor of the capital center
左馮翊		governor of the capital east
右扶風		governor of the capital west
司隸校尉		commissioner of the capital region
城門校尉		colonel of the city gates
北軍·營官		garrison officers
中壘校尉		colonel of the capital garrison
屯騎校尉		colonel of the garrison cavalry
步兵校尉		colonel of the garrison infantry
長水校尉		colonel of the charge river garrison
越騎校尉		colonel of the elite cavalry
胡騎校尉		colonel of the auxiliary cavalry
射聲校尉		colonel of the archers
虎賁校尉		colonel of the charioteers
議郎		consultant courtier
中大夫		palace courtier
諫議大夫		advisor
博士		academician

部・州・郡	supra/regions/provinces
刺史	inspector
太守	provincial governor
丞	deputy governor
長史	senior clerk
都尉	lieutenant commander
諸侯国・諸侯王	vassal kingdoms/kings
相	administrator
內史	mayor of fief capital
縣・道	prefectures marches
令・長	prefect
丞	deputy prefect
侯国・列侯	marquisates marquises
相	administrator
家丞	household manager
吏	clerk
都尉府	headquarters of the commandant
都尉	commandant
候官	company
候	company commander
部	
候長	platoon commander
燧	section/squad
西域長史府	Western Region headquarters of the commandant
西域長史	western region commandant
編綴簡	binding slips
单独簡	single use slips
冊書	multi slip document
収卷	roll up into a compact bundle

多面体	polygonal rod
檄	notification
露布	bare slip
粉	tag
符 / 傳	tally/identifikation
過書	passport
檢	address label
陰刻	incised seal (negative seal)
陽刻	carved in relief (positive seal)
封泥匣	seal case
墓誌	epitaph/Grave Memoir
碑碣	upright stone stele
画像石	stone relief
墓碑	Grave tablet
詔書	imperial edict
上奏	subject memorial
隸書體	clerical script
篆書體	seal script
楷書體	square script
活字體	block script
草書體	cursive/running script
諡	post humous name
諱 (本名)	personal name
字	courtesy name/style
称号	assumed name
經書	confucian classics
礼	rite/ceremony/courtesy
孝	piety/filial
『儀禮』	the book of etiquette and ceremonial
『禮記』	note of rites
『尚書』	the book of historical documents
『詩經』	the book of poetry

『論語』	confucian analects
『孟子』	the works of Mencius
去勢	castrate, castration
宦官	eunuch
誹謗	slander
祝詛	curse

Literacy and Local Administration in Ancient Japan

Minami HIRAKAWA
National Museum of Japanese History

New archaeological discoveries inform us that the government in ancient Japan used written documents in a wider area of administration during the seventh century AD. The promulgation of *Taibo-Ritsuryo*, the first general law code of Japan at the beginning of the eighth century (AD.701), established the framework of local administration, and at the same time a principle of the centralized administration of documents, in accordance with which the central government as a matter of course issued official orders to local governments and the latter sent back official reports to the former. In this paper, I would like to explore some aspects of local societies under this system, in the light of the archaeological evidence for writings.

1. The written materials discovered in local areas

The *Taibo-Ritsuryo* Code regulated the hierarchical structure of local administration, namely, *Koku - Gun - Ri* (国-郡-里 ; province - district - township). In the period between 717 and 740, *Gō* (郷 village) was inserted between *Gun* and *Ri* (里) temporarily (*Gō - Ri* system). As the document-based administrative system was established and became widespread, the writings on wooden tablets and papers (sometimes on clay vessels as well) penetrated deeply down to the local societies. My main focus in this paper will be on wooden tablets used at the local level.

I would like to begin by setting out the typology of wooden tablets discovered in the provinces of ancient Japan:

***Koku-Fu* wooden tablets (国符木簡)** refer to those sent from *Kokushi* (国司 : provincial governor dispatched from the capital) to *Gunji* (郡司 : the governor or head of the district, usually appointed from among the local magnates). '*Fu* (or *Pu*)' (符) means written orders from a higher

office to a subordinate one, and its format is regulated in *Kushiki-rei*, “Regulations on the offices” in the Code.

Gun-Pu wooden tablets (郡符木簡) refer to those used by a governor of the *Gun* district, to issue orders to his subordinates. While a standard wooden tablet is around 30 cm in length, which is equivalent to 1 *syaku*, an ancient Chinese-Japanese foot, a *Gun-Pu* wooden tablet is usually twice as long, i.e. around 60 cm. This is the largest type of portable wooden tablet. The orders recorded on the *Gun-Pu* tablets so far known to us are all related to the summoning of a person.

Mesi-Bumi wooden tablets (召文木簡), like *Gun-Pu* tablets, were also used for summoning persons. However, as far as we know, while *Gun-Pu* was used to issue orders from *Gun* (district) to *Ri* (township), *Mesi-bumi* was used to send commands to the junior officials within a *Gun*.

Fū-kan wooden tablets (封緘木簡) were plates attached to the main documents: the official letter was inserted in-between two wooden plates, then bound by a string, and finally sealed by writing the letter ‘Fū’ (封: ‘sealed’) or dropping ink upon it. These were used in the same way as present-day envelopes, and often, though not always, the names of the addressees or addresses were written upon them.

Koku-Chi wooden tablets (告知札) belong to a special category of wooden tablets, designating notice boards put up for public display. Their purpose seems to have been different between in Capitals and in local society (see below).

2. *Koku-Fu* wooden tablets

(No. 1) Wooden Tablet No.15 from *Yashiro* site in Nagano prefecture
 符○更科郡司等○可□〔致カ〕□□
 【「□人酒部宍人部〈 〉」\ 『月三月酒人部弓物部大□〔能カ〕万呂』】
 (313)×(34)×4 019

I order. To the governors of Sarashina-Gun (更科郡) and other districts. You should do...

(name of a person?)March, Saka-bitobe-no Yumi and Mononobe-no Onomaro

This wooden tablet is the written order addressed from the provincial governor of *Shinano* (信濃国) to the heads of *Sarashina-Gun* and other districts. It was discovered at *Yashiro*-site, where the office of *Sarashina-Gun* is believed to have been located. According to the literary evidence in the tenth century AD, *Shinano* was made up of ten districts (*Gun*), of which *Sarashina* was one. The tablet, as discovered, was divided vertically into two, with some parts excised from its top.

This tablet contains more than one addressee, and in this sense, it is considered to have been first forwarded from *Sarashina-Gun* to other districts, and ended up abandoned at *Yashiro*-site in the government office of *Sarashina-Gun*. We know that, in the case of *Ise* province, which consisted of twelve districts, the districts were broadly divided in two blocks, and the written orders of the government were sent out to each block, and circulated to each district in turn within the block. In this light, *Shinano*, too, might have been divided and ruled in several administrative blocks. Besides, it also reveals for the first time that a government order was issued not on paper but on a wooden tablet.

3. *Gun-Pu* wooden tablets

The *Gun-Pu* wooden tablets provide us with valuable information about the rule of local areas by local magnates. Importantly in the case of these tablets, a person entrusted with the order took the tablet with him and went to summon the person in question, and then brought him to the relevant place and, probably after the inspection of the governor of the *Gun* etc., he disposed of the tablet. From this it is inferred that the area where *Gun-Pu* tablets were discovered might have been where people were brought for summons, namely, the office of *Gun* or its related buildings.

(No. 2) Wooden tablet No.114 from *Yashiro* site in Nagano prefecture
<Fig.1>

符○屋代郷長里正等○／○敷座二枚○鱒□一升○芹□／匠丁糧代布五段
勘夫一人馬十二疋／□〔神力〕宮室造人夫又殿造人十人 〓

□持令火急召□□者罪科○少領

(392)×55×4 019

I order. To the head of Yashiro village and heads of townships. Two carpets, fish ... Five pieces of linen to be given to artisans as their salary. You should do, hurry up and come. If you (delay?), you should be punished. Vice Governor of the District.

(No. 3) Wooden tablet No.16 from *Yashiro* site in Nagano prefecture
符○余戸里長・〈 〉 □□ (99)×35×3 019

I order. To the head of Amarube township

Tablets no. 2 and 3 are *Gun-Pu* tablets discovered at the same site as tablet no. 1. In these two tablets, the address and the word ‘*Fu*’ (符), which means a written order, were carefully scraped off and then excised. In particular, in tablet No. 2, the section which contains the first five letters, “符 屋代郷長”, was cut vertically in five and then thrown away <Fig.2>. This method of disposing tablets is not particularly unusual, for similar examples have recently been found in a wooden tablet from *Aki-Kokubun-ji* temple site in Higashi-Hiroshima (an invoice from the *Gun* to the local governor), and in another from *Shimotsukikuma-C* site in Fukuoka (vd. No. 4 below).

(No. 4) *Shimotsukikuma-C* site in Fukuoka Prefecture <Fig.3>

□三人 右為皇后官職少属正八位上

□ □□□〔脚カ〕力者宜知状限今日戌時□進來御□〔示カ〕到奉行

354×44×4 019

Three people. For the sake of Shô-Sakan of Kougou-gû-shiki (Minor Assistant Secretary-General of the Empress patrimony), Shô-Hachi-i Jo (23rd of 30 ranks) you should take well into consideration that matter, and come here by 10 o'clock tomorrow morning and carry out the order.

The order of the governor of a *Gun* carries utmost authority within the territory. If a tablet with the governor’s instructions written on it were carelessly discarded, anyone could manipulate them by scraping

off words as they chose. Thus, in order to prevent forgery, these *Gun-Pu* tablets were deliberately cut off around the address and the letter 'Fu' (符), which means a written order, the most important part of the tablets, before being disposed of.

Moreover, if we look closely at tablet no. 2, among the addressees “屋代郷長里正等” (the head of *Yashiro-Gō* and the persons in charge of *Ri* (里) that constitute the *Gō* (郷)), only the first part “屋代郷長” was struck out with a transverse knife cut <Fig.1><Fig.2>. This reflects the rigid hierarchy between the head of *Gō* and persons in charge of *Ri* under the *Gō-Ri* system (717-740): it indicates that this *Gun-Pu* tablet was primarily addressed to the governor of *Gō* and the persons in charge of *Ri* were not taken seriously as local administrators by the *Gun*. From the ways in which tablets were discarded, we can glimpse the workings of the local administrative organization, namely, the *Gō-Ri* system.

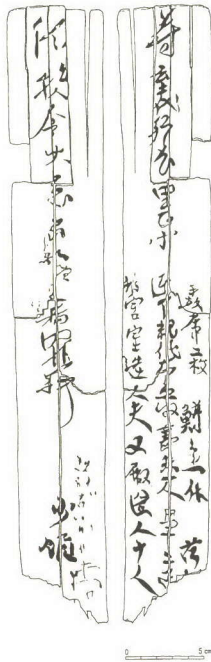


Fig.1

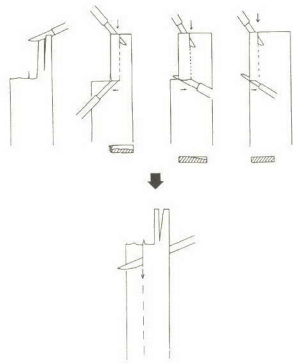


Fig.2

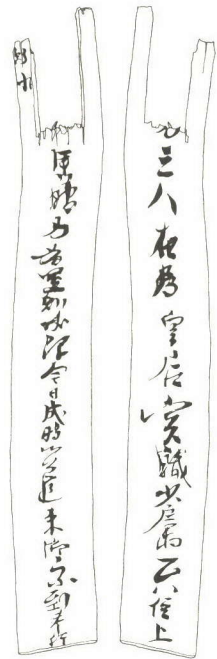


Fig.3

(No. 5) Wooden tablet No.11 from *Yamagaki* site in Hyogo prefecture
 「丹波国氷上郡」

365×35×7 043

Tanba *province*, Hikami *district*.

Tablet no. 5 belongs to the category of a so called *Fū-kan* tablet which sealed official letters etc., and therefore, it is natural to think that the place in which it was abandoned was the one to which the letters were addressed; it might be that *Yamagaki* site was where the buildings relating to the government office of *Hikami* district were located. In *Yamagaki* site, the remains of a building (whose pillars were embedded directly in the ground) have been found, surrounded by a square ditch. Even though relatively small, it has the typical shape of an official government building. Several wooden tablets were found inside the ditch, together with numerous clay vessels and wooden products including some with ink writing. The wooden tablets all belong to the period between 702-715, and many clay or wooden vessels with ink writings record the word “春部 *Kasukabe*”, the old name of the current region where the site was located, now called “*Kasuga*” town. A *Gun-Pu* tablet was also found at the same *Yamagaki* site, (No. 6 below):

(No. 6) Wooden tablet from *Yamagaki* site in *Hyogo* prefecture

符春部里長等○竹田里六人部○□□○依而□

／春部君広橋／春部鷹麻呂 || ○／神直与□／右三人 || ○□〔部カ〕里長
 □□〔弟足カ〕木参出来／四月廿五日○碁万侶／○少領／今日莫不過急々
 ○□

619×52×7 011

I order. To the officials of Kasukabe township and others.

*Kasukabe-no-Kimihirobashi, Kasukabe-no-Takamaro,these three.....
 25th of April. Gomaro. Vice governor of the Gun.*

In this tablet, the government office in *Hikami Gun* addresses the head of *Kasukabe-Ri* and others, and orders them to summon certain specified individuals. *Hikami Gun* is geographically divided by a river into eastern and western parts, and it was in *Hikami-Gō* in the west that the *Gun* government building was located. *Yamagaki* site was in

Kasukabe-Gō, a strategic transportation hub in the east, and is believed to be a branch office of the *Gun* government office. This tablet informs us about the way in which administration was conducted in a local branch office: the vice governor of the *Gun* was stationed there, and the heads of *Kasukabe-Ri* and other townships in the east frequently visited it for official business.

As mentioned above, one of the characteristics of the *Gun-Pu* form tablets is its extraordinary length. This may be related to the fact that they were often sent for the summons of a person. After the order of summon was issued to the relevant administrators under its authority, the *Gun-Pu* tablets had to be brought and presented to them by the summoners sent with the order. The tablets were a sort of proof of their assignment, and their great length would have served to awe the recipients.

In the case of Chinese wooden tablets, we know that the length of a tablet generally corresponds to the authority and importance of the contents written therein. While normal Chinese tablets are usually one *syaku* (ancient Chinese-Japanese foot), tablets twice as long were used for military matters. We learn from “Collective Biography of *Xiōngnú*”, *Shiji* (『匈奴列傳』『史記』), *Records of the Grand Historian* that a *Chanyu*, king of *Xiōngnú* replied in a tablet larger than that sent by the emperor of China, by which he tried to show his superiority to him. In other cases, we also know that the ‘ranks’ of the literary texts written on tablets were determined according to their lengths (for example, *Chūn Qiū* (『春秋』), *Spring and Autumn Annals*, was written on tablets measuring two *syaku* and four *sun* (ancient Chinese inch), while *Xiao Jing* (『孝經』), *Classic of Filial Piety*, on tablets of one *syaku* and two *sun*). These characteristics of Chinese tablets might have had some influence on the form of ancient Japanese tablets.

4. *Mesi-bumi* wooden tablets

(No. 7) Wooden tablet from *Kaminagano-A* site in Fukuoka prefecture
 郡召稅長膳臣澄信○／右為勘→／持事番□□等依□
 不避晝夜視護仕官□〔舍カ〕而十日不宿□〔直カ〕→\只今曉參向於郡
 家不得延□〔怠カ〕□□\大領物部臣今繼○□□□ (365)×83×5 019

*The Gun official of the summons. Kashiwade-no-omisuminobu...
In spite of his duty to guard the building day and night, [he] did not come on
night duty on the tenth day (or for ten days).....The officer of the Gun.
Mononobe-no-omi Imatsugu.*

Tablet No. 7 records that the *Gun* government office in *Kiku-Gun* (企救郡) in the province of *Buzen* (豊前) summoned a tax-collector (税長) called *Kashiwade-no-omi, Suminobu*. It is further specified in detail that the person in question should have worked and supervised at the government office day and night, but that he did not come to work on the tenth day (or for ten days), which caused some problems, and probably for this reason, he was ordered to come to the *Gunke* (郡家), *Gun* local office, by dawn to be questioned.

Kaminagano-A site is situated around a kilometer upstream along the river from the estimated location of *Kiku Gun* office (in the area of *Nagano*). This wooden tablet was discarded there by an official probably on his way back from the *Gun* office. It was found in the upper part of a layer of gravel, which also contained materials dated to *Yayoi* and *Nara* periods when the place used to be a river path. In the layer immediately above was a deposit of smaller black pebbles, which yielded materials dated to the first half of the ninth century AD.

(No. 8) Wooden tablet from *Kasumi-Enoda* site in Toyooka city, Hyogo Prefecture <Fig.4>

召史生奈胡□□何故意□□不召今怠者大夫入坐 (表)
牟待申者曾見々々見々与○六□□日／主帳／少□〔領力〕 〓 (裏)
(477)×32×8

*We summoned Shishō, a provincial apparitor, nevertheless, why have not you
summoned him? If you fail this time, Kokushi, the provincial governor, is to
come in person. recto*

*We are waiting for his (the apparitor's) immediate appearance! he must
appear immediately! []th June, Accountant and Vice governor of the Gun.
verso*

This tablet, which had been horizontally cut into three pieces and discarded, records an attempt of two high officials of *Izushi Gun* office

to summon an apparitor of *Tajima* province office.

Nearly 150 items of wooden festival artefacts, which include mainly *Igushi* (sacred skewer), and other items such as human-, horse-, birds-, swords-shaped dolls and images, and a clay vessel with the word “神田” (the divine vice field) written in ink, were discovered around the ditch and the water facilities at *Kasumi-Enoda* site. Tablet no. 8 was among them. These artefacts are believed to have been discarded at the time of a religious ceremony around the middle of the eighth century AD.

Sentences on the tablet continue from *recto* to *verso*, and *okurigana* and particles (notations in Japanese *kana* which are attached to the Chinese characters, and tell you how to read the words) were written in small letters on the right hand side (this is called *Sen-myō-tai*).

This tablet illuminates an important aspect of the relationship between the office of *Gun-ji*, the governor of *Gun*, and that of *Kokushi*, the governor of Province. In the *Ritsuryō* Code, it is prescribed that if a *Gun* official came across an official of the province in the street, the former should dismount and pay respect to the latter. In spite of this norm, however, it is noteworthy that this tablet was issued by a higher-ranked *Gun* official to some unknown high official of the province to order the summons of a lower-ranked apparitor of the province.

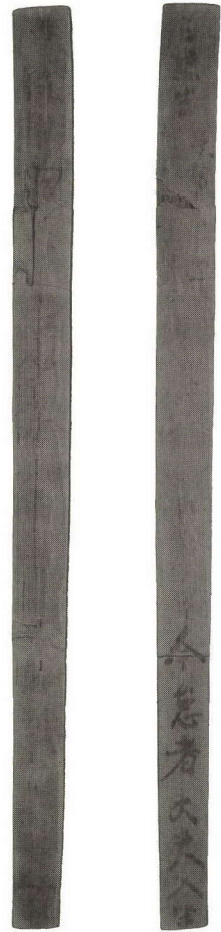


Fig.4

5. *Fū-kan* wooden tablets

(No. 9) Wooden tablet from *Ichibe* site in Hyogo prefecture <Fig.5>

(墨点) 坂沙進送

530×48×8 043

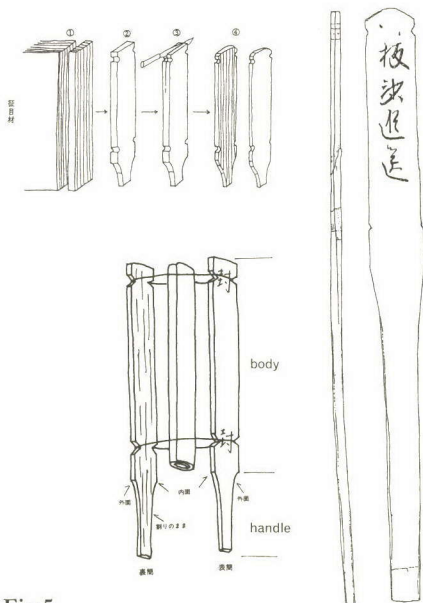


Fig.5

the tablet was exchanged between the branches of the same administrative unit.

(a dot in *sumi* ink) *I reply*

The item above is a large-sized *Fū-kan* tablet preserved complete. It was made from a thick piece of wood cut from the top to the upper part of the handle in a rectangular paddle shape. A slight spot of black ink apparent on the surface at the top where the tablet was cut is a trace of the seal made on the string which tied the tablet.

This *Fū-kan* tablet does not specify the sender or recipient but only records the words that indicate that the document was sent and then received. This limited annotation suggests that

6. *Koku-chi* wooden tablets

Koku-chi tablets, which were put up to notify the ordinary public know such things as searches for missing persons or missing horses, have been found in ancient capital cities such as *Heijo-Kyo* or *Nagaoka-Kyo*, as shown in the following two.

(No. 10) Wooden tablet from *Higashi-sanbo-Oji* boulevard, *Heijo-Kyo* Capital (early ninth century AD) <Fig.6>

告知○往還諸人走失黒鹿毛牡馬一匹／在験片目白／額少白 〓 \ ○件馬以
 今日六日申時山階寺南花菌池辺而走失也○九月八日 \ ○若有見捉者可告
 来山階寺中室自南端第三房之
 993×73×9 051

A notice. To passers-by. One dark reddish brown horse has run away. It has a white circle around one eye, and its forehead is slightly white. This horse

went missing near Hanazono pond, south of Yamashina temple (alias Kofuku-ji temple), at 4 o'clock today, on 6th of this month. If anyone has seen or captured this horse, please come and inform us in the third room from the south of Yamashina temple.

(No. 11) Wooden tablet from at *Sakyo-rokujo-itibo-gocho*, *Nagaoka-Kyo* Capital

謹告知往還上中下尊等御中迷□少子事○右件少子以今月十日自勢多□\錦□〔織カ〕□麻呂/年十一/字名者錦本云音也○皇后宮舍人字名村太之□〔家カ〕□□||

(325) ×35×2 019

A notice. To ladies and gentlemen who pass by here. A missing infant. The infant who is missing ... of his own accord on the spur of the moment on the 10th of this month ... Nishiki-□-Mara. Eleven years old. Also known as Kin-pon. A servant of the palace of the empress, and (a child?) of the house of Muratashi (村太之)...

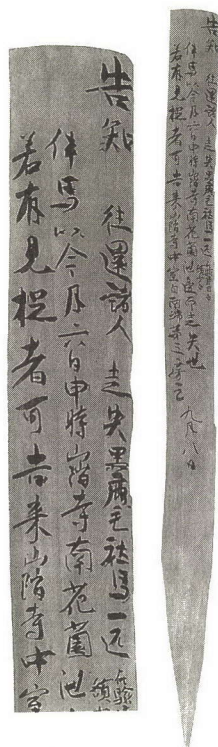


Fig.6

In local societies, on the other hand, putting up the *Koku-chi* tablets was important for providing written proofs to back up oral notifications. It is considered that *Koku-chi* tablets were not intended to be read by ordinary people in villages since most of them were probably illiterate.

(No. 12) Wooden tablet from *Kamo* site in Ishikawa prefecture <Fig. 7>

This tablet was recovered from around the intersection where ancient *Hokuriku-dō* (one of the major roads in ancient Japan) and the great canal that ran into *Kaboku-gata* (a lagoon) meet. On this basis, it is believed that the notice board was put up to be seen at some place on *Hokuriku-Dō*.

符深見村 鄉驛長并諸刀弥等
應奉行壹拾條之事

一 田夫朝以寅時下田夕以戌時還私秧
一 禁制田夫任意喫魚酒狀

一 禁斷不勞作溝墾百姓狀

一 以五月卅日前可申田殖免狀

一 可搜捉村邑內竄若為諸人被疑人狀

一 可禁制无乘原糞坐百姓狀

一 可禁制里邑之內故喫醉酒及戲逸百姓狀

一 可填勸農業狀 村里長人申百姓名

案內被國去 月廿八日符併勸催農業

法條而百姓等恣事逸遊不耕作喫

魚鯢亂為宗播種過時遂稱不熟只非

弊耳復致肌腫之苦此郡司等不治

之 而豈可 然哉郡宜求知並口示

事早令勸作若不遵符旨稱倦懈

由加勸決者謹依符旨仰下田領等宜

每村屢迴諭有懈怠者移身進郡行

國道之齋廢轉進之勝示路頭嚴加禁

領刀弥有怨憎隱容以其人為罪背不

有符到奉行

大領錦村主

主政八戸史

擬大領錦部連真手磨

擬主帳甲臣

少領道公 夏 副擬主帳宇治

少領勸了

嘉祥 年 月 日

二月十五日請田領文部浪磨

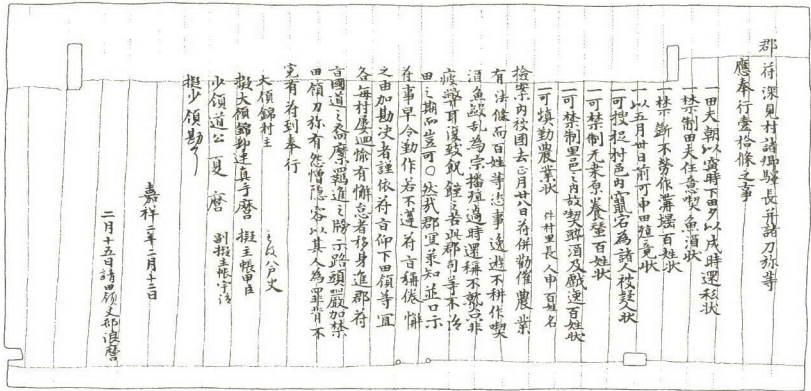


Fig.7

If we take into consideration its missing upper part, the tablet in a complete form would have measured 28.9 cm in length and 61 cm in width, which is equivalent to a standard piece on paper in ancient Japan. Moreover, the number of lines written on the tablet corresponds to that on paper. These facts lead us to suspect that there was an original document on paper, from which the word-by-word copy was made onto the tablet. The tablet contained bans or instructions encouraging people to cultivate and work on the land, and it is also stated clearly that ordinary farmers were to be orally informed of these orders. In contrast to the attempt to enforce a thoroughly 'literate' administration, there existed a largely 'illiterate' ordinary public. In this



Fig.8

way, the tablet offers valuable evidence that symbolises an important aspect of literacy in the ancient world.

7. Ceramic ware with inscriptions (*Bokusyo-doki*)

'*Bokusyo-doki*' (the term for inscribed ceramic ware) are often discovered among the archaeological remains of ancient dwellings. They are believed to have been used mainly in religious feasts to pray for good fortune and longer life. The words on them would have come originally from official administrative documents <Fig.8>.

8. Interpreting archaeological evidence of written materials

Careful and thorough observation is important for the better

understanding of these inscribed materials. This paper has already examined the places where they have been found, the ways in which they were discarded, their sizes, and shapes. I turn now to consider the calligraphy of the letters.

First of all, to understand letters in ancient Japan is to know their shapes by sight, as we can see from the following examples (Nos. 13-14). Secondly, the use of letters is supplemented by oral communication, as we see in Nos.12;15.

(No. 13) <Fig.9>

The writer memorized the cursive and semi-cursive writing styles of the letter “得” (gain) by sight and copied it onto the vessel as it is.

(No. 14) <Fig.10>

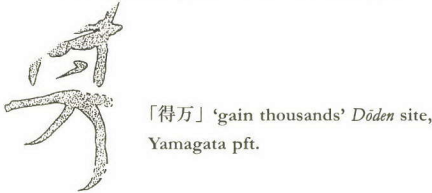
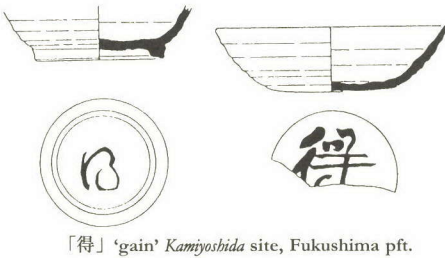
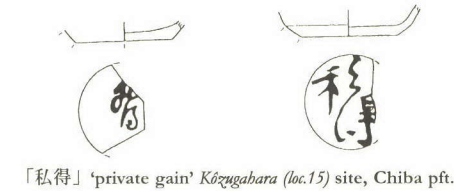


Fig.9

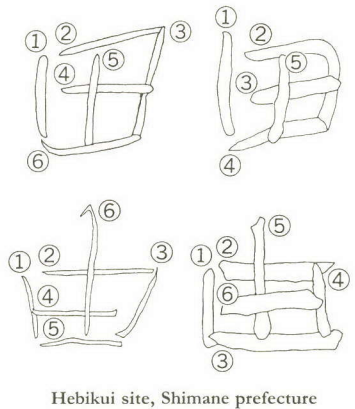


Fig.10

This writer memorized the letters “田” (rice field) and ”由” (reason) by sight and copied them onto the vessel without being able to learn the correct order of strokes to write them.

(No. 15) Wooden tablet no.1 from *Kamo* site, Ishikawa prefecture

「謹啓 丈部置万呂 献上人給雜魚十五隻 无礼状具注以解」

□□□□ [伯姓カ] 消息後日參向而語

『『勘了』七月十日 潟嶋造□主』

480×33×5 011

To Hasesukabe-no-Oki-maro, It's now my honour to report that I present an offering of fifteen lots of fish. I do not write the detail of my offering. [...name of a person] will visit you and report it to you viva voce. 10th July, I, Katashima no miyatsuko [] nusi. I saw (second hand).

This tablet records the items sent from *Katashima no miyatsuko* [] nusi to *Hase-tsuka-be no Oki-maro*, and was discovered at the same site as tablet no. 12. The tablet itself is believed to have been discarded around the middle or end of the ninth century AD. According to the tablet, *Katashima no miyatsuko* [] nusi undertook to provide fish for distribution to the participants in certain events and also to make an oral report about the farmers. In local societies, wooden tablets tended to be used more often than paper, this was probably because the size of wooden tablets could visually invoke authority in a symbolical way. Such a tendency for the use of wooden tablets would have been inevitable in ancient local societies whose population was still overwhelmingly illiterate. Examining these archaeological written artefacts provides us with clues to understand the society and people that produced them.

Finally, I would like to conclude this paper by analysing the personal names recorded in the archaeological materials with writings, taking also literary evidence into consideration. It will then lead us to speculate psychology of local chiefs in ancient Japan.

(No. 16) Lacquered paper No. 2 from *Taga-jō* fort, Miyagi prefecture

(略) 磐城臣千

Iwaki-no-omi Sen (a person's name)

(No. 17) Wooden tablet No. 2 from *Aratame-jouri* site, Miyagi prefecture

Governor Ō-no-omi, On 1st of May

Tablet no. 16 was a written official report from *Iwaki Gun* to *Taga Fort*, a centre of provincial administration. This governor of the *Gun* held the surname *Iwaki*. Tablet no. 17 was a *Gun-Pu* wooden tablet issued from a governor of *Iwaki-Gun* to the local government offices under its jurisdiction, and this time the surname of the governor was recorded as 於保 Ō.

The governors of *Iwaki Gun* were not the officials dispatched from the capital but magnates from its locality. Their full hereditary surname was, according to literary evidence, 於保磐城 Ō-no-Iwaki (the third year of *Shingo-keiun*; *Shoku-Nihongi, the second of the Six National Histories*, a. 769). Of this, the name Ō originated from Ō (多), an aristocratic family in the capital. Moreover, according to a dated wooden tablet (AD 853) discovered in the same level, it is believed that the governor of *Iwaki Gun* in tablet no. 16 was probably the same individual as *Iwaki-no-omi* Okimi (磐城臣雄公), a governor of *Iwaki-Gun*, mentioned in literary sources (the tenth year of *Shōwa*, *Shoku-Nihonkōki, the fourth of the Six National Histories*, a. 843).

It is noteworthy that when the governor of *Iwaki Gun*, a local chief, issued an order to subordinate local branches, he used the name Ō, which originates from the surname of an aristocratic family in the capital. By doing so in local politics, there might have been a merit in emphasizing his connection to the capital.

↖	Beginning of new line of sentence
↙	Beginning of split sentence
//	Beginning of second split sentence (double split sentence)
	End of split sentence (including double split sentence)
·	Distinction of either side of tablet when both sides contain letters
□	One unreadable letter
《 》	Missing letter(s), the number of which can be estimated The approximate length of the letters is shown by ○, as in 《○○》
〈 〉	Missing letter(s), the number of which is uncertain The approximate length of the letters is shown by ○, as in 《○○》
←, →	Judging from the context, more than one letter is considered to be missing at the top or bottom of the text The approximate length of the missing letter(s) is shown by —, as in ←——
…	A damaged and disconnected part of tablet
○	There is no letter (often omitted)
■	An unreadable letter erased deliberately
{ }	A letter(s) written vertically to the grain of the wooden tablet
* A [× B]	The letter A was written over the letter B, the former replacing the latter
~	A readable letter that was stroke out (the mark is put below the letter)
「 」	The second hand
『 』	The third hand
()	Note of revision or explanation
[]	Note of revision, especially concerning the letter(s) to be replaced in the text
カ	Note put forward by the editor but doubtful
§	Note of quotation
	Line inscribed
※	Line painted by <i>sumi</i> ink
◎	Circle or double circle sign
▲	Triangular sign
◇	Hole pierced in the tablet
Γ	<i>Furoku</i> , some kind of symbol other than Sanskrit or drawing on amulets
β	Sanskrit
E	Drawing
Δ	Family name or signature

Θ	Brand (seal made by branding iron)
011type	Rectangular tablet
015type	Rectangular tablet with its side pierced
019type	Rectangular tablet with one end square and the other lost
021type	Small rectangular tablet
022type	Small pyramid shaped tablet
031type	Rectangular tablet with cuts on both edges at both ends
032type	Rectangular tablet with cuts on both edges at one end
033type	Rectangular tablet with cuts on both edges at one end and with the other end sharpened
039type	Rectangular tablet with cuts on both edges at one end and with the other end lost
041type	Paddle style tablet with cuts on both edges
043type	Paddle style tablet with cuts on both edges at one end
049type	Paddle style tablet with cuts on both edges at one end and the other end lost
051type	Rectangular tablet with one end sharpened
059type	Rectangular tablet with one end sharpened and the other end lost
061type	Wooden material with ink writing whose purpose of use is known
065type	Wooden material with ink writing whose purpose of use is unknown
081type	Original form is not clear because of crack, corrosion, or other cause
091type	Scrap wood

Provincial Administration in the Kingdom
of *Silla* in the Sixth Century:
Wooden Tablets from the Fort of *Seongsan-Sanseong*
in Haman-Gun, South Korea

Sung-Si LEE
Waseda University

Introduction

The fort of *Seongsan-Sanseong*, some 1,400 m in circumference, lies at the modest elevation of 140 m above sea-level in the modern village of Kaya-Gu, in Haman-Gun county, Kyongsangnam-Do (慶尚南道咸安郡伽耶邑), in what was *Alla*, one of the chiefdoms of *Kaya*. Within a few hundred metres is the Marisan kobun-gun group of ancient burial mounds which includes one of the largest in the *Kaya* and extends along the ridge for 2 km from north to south, with the traditional site of an ancient imperial palace 1 km west of its northern end. The fort thus lay at the centre of ancient *Alla*.

The *Kaya* chiefdoms occupied the valley of the river Naktong-gan in central and southern Korea, but were not unified politically until the mid-sixth century AD. During the first half of the century, the *Silla* and *Pekche* kingdoms fought fiercely for supremacy, final victory going to *Silla*, which gained control in 562. Its conquest of *Alla* was the defining moment in the struggle between the two kingdoms.

The fort of *Seongsan-Sanseong* was the subject of eight excavations between 1991 and 2002 conducted by the Changwon National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Korea (大韓民國国立昌原文化財研究所).¹ By March 2004, more than 116 wooden tablets had been discovered, 94 of them inscribed in ink, as infra-red photography has shown. Despite increasing numbers of tablets being found in Korea since 1975, the present total is only about 300.² So the



Fig.1 *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort

Seongsan-Sanseong tablets are the largest assemblage from a single site in this period.

In this paper I present the results of excavation and study by the *Changwon* National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage.

1. The fort of *Seongsan-Sanseong* and its wooden tablets

In the course of four campaigns (1991-94) the Institute excavated the walls, gates, buildings, drainage systems etc., and established that the walls were built of rammed earth with partial stone revetment to front and back, this buttressing being a technique characteristic of *Silla* work.³ This showed that the surviving walls belong, not to the *Alla* period, but to the kingdom of *Silla* after its conquest of *Alla*.

Twenty-eight tablets in all, as well as many other wooden objects, were found in a waterlogged level some 3-4 metres deep. They were made of pine or chestnut, woods native to Korea. They were finished on both sides, and twelve had a cut in the bottom edge, and two were pierced with a hole. They were legibly inscribed in *sumi* [carbon-based] Indian ink.

Excavation has continued of the waterlogged level inside what is thought to be the east gate. Another 81 tablets were discovered in 2002,

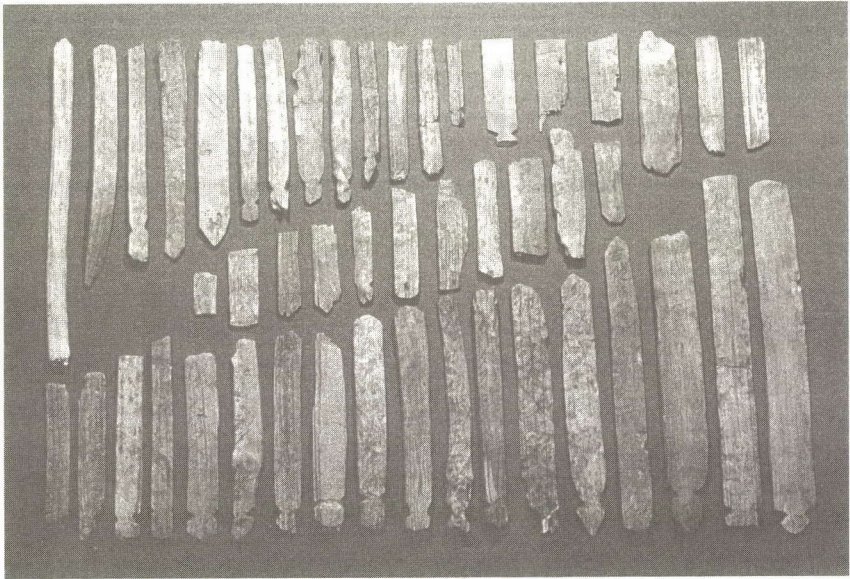


Fig.2 *Seongsan-Sanseong* tablets

and a further tablet in 2003. These have not yet been published, but according to an interim report, they are of the same type as the first 28.⁴ The materials of 65 out of the 81 found in 2002 were specified: pine (53), willow (4), fir (3), chestnut (3), oak (1), zelkova (1). The longest of the ink-inscribed tablets is 29.3 cm long.⁵

To judge by the Japanese equivalents, the cut or hole was used to attach a tablet to something as a commodity label. This can be assumed for most of the tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong*, but three are thought to be *Daisenjiku*, tags used to identify paper-roll documents, and several others were clearly used for other purposes.

I will now examine the twenty-eight tablets discovered in 1992 and 1994 which have been officially published, but will also refer to the others discovered in 2002.

2. Text-style and content

Nijuda tablets (commodity labels) usually record the place of origin, a

person's name, his *gaii* (official rank, discussed in detail below), and the commodity itself. Place-names often end with the words < 伐 *Beal* >, < 城 *Seang* >, < 村 *Cong* >, and examples are < 甘文城 *Kammun-seang* > (金泉市開寧面; modern Kinchong City, Keneong-Meong); < 下幾 *Hagi* > (醴泉郡豐山; modern Yechong-Gun, Pungsan); < 本波 *Honpa* > (星州郡星山; modern Seongju-Gun, Seongju), < 及伐 *Kup-Peal* > (榮豐郡順興面; modern Yeongpun-Gun, Sungfung-Meong), < 仇伐城 *Kubeal-Seang* > (義城郡; modern Wiseang-Gun), < 鄒文 *Chumun* > (probably in the region of modern Wiseang-Gun),⁶ < 古陴伊 *Kodai* >, < 古陴一 *Kodail* > (modern Andong-Gun 安東郡) and < 汲伐城 *Kup-Peal-Seang* >, a variant of < 及伐 *Kup-Peal* > (榮豐郡順興面; modern Yeongpun-Gun, Sungfung-Meong). These places are thought to be in the modern region of Kyongsangpok-To (慶尚北道).⁷ *Kuli-bal* (仇利伐), attested in four tablets, is thought by some to be *Haman*, where the tablets were discovered, but I would rather identify it with the fort of *Kuli-Seong* (仇利城), as in Inscription 2 from the fort of *Namsan-Sinseong* (南山新城碑, dated 591), in the region of Chungchongnam-Do, Yokchong-Gun (忠清南道沃川郡).⁸ In any case, a large majority of the place-names in the tablets so far discovered belong to the region of Kyongsangpok-To (慶尚北道), which was controlled by the kingdom of *Silla* in the early sixth century at latest.

Personal names are recorded in two to four characters, and the method of writing coincides with that of sixth-century inscriptions from *Silla*.⁹ In principle, one name is recorded per tablet, but some tablets (at least four) appear to record two names each, and similar tablets have been discovered since. We must bear this in mind when considering the purpose of the tablets.

Noteworthy are tablets that record a person's name in a different hand (異筆), or incorporate a correction by the sign of reverse reading (顛倒符 ㄷ). Two are apparently written by the same hand except for the person's name (「仇利伐上多者村」); since this was added by another hand, it is probably the man's own signature. There are four other sets of tablets written by one and the same hand.¹⁰

gaii (official 'outer' ranks, in distinction to *naii*, 'inner' ranks) will be discussed later, but we find three tablets recording < 一伐 *Il-beal* > (the outer eighth rank), one < 上干支 *Sang-Hangi* > (the outer sixth rank), and another < 一尺 *Il-cheak* > (the outer ninth rank).¹¹

Apart from place-names, personal names, and *gaii*, there are nine



Fig.3 Ancient *Silla*

tablets which contain words ending with the character < 稗 *Pae* >, for example < 稗 *Pae* >, < 稗—*Pae Il* >, < 稗石 *Pae Seak* >, < 稗 · *Pae* · >.

This word < 稗 *Pae* > means literally the cereal ‘millet’, and its original form is < 稗—石 *Pae Il Seak* >; the other forms are only abbreviations.¹²

The characters < 鹽 *Yeom* > (salt) and < 麦 *Meak* > (wheat) also occur at the end of a sentence. Salt, like wheat and millet, was an essential item in the military diet. About half of the 24 tablets do not refer explicitly to provisions, but judging by Japanese wooden tablets, what was self-evident was probably abbreviated, since the type and quantity of provisions were fixed.¹³

To summarise, then. The *Seongsan-Sanseong* tablets usually contain a place-name, a person’s name, his *gaii*, the name of the commodity, and its quantity, with occasional abbreviation or variation. It is certain from their physical appearance and contents that they were labels attached to the commodity, like many examples found in Japan, for its transport over long distances. The place-names and the names of persons and their rank (*gaii*) evidently refer to those who furnished the millet, wheat and salt, as tribute, and were presumably also responsible for transporting them.

3. The historical background of the use of wooden tablets

There is little evidence of when these tablets were used as labels and discarded, but we can make a guess from the way in which ranks were expressed. As mentioned above, we have three evidence of them on the tablets; < 一伐 *Il-beal* >, < 上干支 *Sang-Hangi* >, < 一尺 *Il-cheak* >. In the kingdom of *Silla*, the eleven *gaii* ranks are thought to have been created in 520, so as to grade aristocrats in the capital, together with the system of *kyōi* (京位). In 674, after the fall of the kingdoms of *Pekche* and *Koguryo* (高句麗), *gaii* was abolished and absorbed into *kyōi*, in which there were seventeen ranks.¹⁴ Changes in how *gaii* and *kyōi* are recorded thus enable us to guess at the date of a tablet. The official rank first recorded as < 干支 *Hangi* >, for example, gradually becomes one-character < 干 *Han* > by abbreviating the suffix < 支 *Gi* >, a change which occurs before the *Changnyeong* inscription (昌寧碑) of 561. The latest evidence so far of < 干支 > is the inscription of 551 from the fort of *Myongfwal-Sanseong* (明活山城碑), therefore we can safely suppose that

the shift from *Hangi* to *Han* occurred in the decade between 551 and 561.¹⁵ A *gaii* called *Sang-Hangi* is recorded in the *Seongsan-Sanseong* tablets, which probably all belong to the same period and were discarded before 561.

In the light of literary evidence, the *Samguk-Sagi* (*Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms*) says that *Ashila* (阿尸良国 = *Alla* 安羅) was destroyed in the reign of *Silla* King Poppun (法興王) (514-540), and later became the site of the *Gun* (provincial government), while *Nibonsyoki*, *The Chronicle of Japan* (in the chapter, “22th year of the reign of Emperor Kinmei” AD 561) reports that the kingdom of *Silla* built a fort on Mt. Hashimure in *Ala* (阿羅 = 安羅 *Alla*) in 561. Though excavation has shown that the fort was built in a style typical of the kingdom of *Silla*,¹⁶ the excavators admitted that the level in which the tablets were found could have belonged to the period before it was built.¹⁷ All these allude to the plausible possibility that the *Seongsan-Sanseong* tablets were in use from around 540 to 561 and were then discarded. The wooden tablets are thus contemporary evidence of the conquest of *Alla* by the kingdom of *Silla*.

To summarise, then. The *Seongsan-Sanseong* tablets were in use for some twenty years, from around 540 to 561. The persons responsible for attaching these labels and transporting military supplies (including the magnates named) were evidently of already well controlled regions distant from *Seongsan-Sanseong*. They had been incorporated into the kingdom of *Silla* since the early sixth century at latest, and were put to use in transporting military provisions to a fort which defended its conquests. The tablets are evidence of how this new stronghold was administered, and the burden it represented.

The expansion of *Silla* accelerated in the sixth century, but how this process was organised has largely remained unknown. The *Seongsan-Sanseong* tablets are now an invaluable source for the organisation of manpower and supply in one of its frontier strongholds.

4. Provincial administration and the role of literacy

(1) The construction of the fort and mobilization of labour

On the other hand, the kingdom of *Silla* strengthened its power locally by ordering newly incorporated chieftains to provide the labour

which constructed an imperial fort. Ten inscribed *stelai* from *Namsan-Sinseong* Fort, which was constructed around the hillside in the suburb of the capital in 591, were built by chieftains of various origins to commemorate their contribution.¹⁸ They show that the kingdom of *Silla* organized local inhabitants and the *Yuk-pu* people (六部, six local-based political groups living at the capital), to build the fort. The building-site was divided into more than two hundred sections, and each of them was allotted to each group.¹⁹ The local people who took part were organized by villages or forts, and the *Yuk-Pu* people, who lived in the capital, into groups called *Ri*. The fort inscriptions record each group with its quota, the names of local officers who supervised each working party, the names of local chieftains with *Gaii* (official ranks) in charge, and the names of the people from villages and forts who did the actual work.

As mentioned above, a local place name recorded in four wooden tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort was also listed in the *Namsan-Sinseong* inscriptions. In other words, local people who were requisitioned for work at the capital were also required to transport military supplies such as millet, salt, and wheat, as tribute over long distances.

(2) Literacy and administration

The requisition of local labour by village and fort, under the leadership of local chiefs, required a systematic administrative structure to make it work. As I have already noted, the place-names recorded on the tablets are centred on the area of Kyongsanpok-To. For geographical reasons, the Naktong-gan River was essential to communications between Kyongsanpok-To and the fort of *Seongsan-Sanseong*.²⁰ Of the place-names in tablets from the fort, those which can be identified with modern place-names are concentrated in the area of the upper and the middle course of the Naktong-gan River (modern Kyongsanpok-To). One reason for this geographical concentration may be the establishment of two large administrative areas in 552, *Sang-Ju* (上州; the Upper province) and *Ha-Ju* (下州; the Lower province). *Sang-Ju* corresponds more or less to modern Kyongsanpok-To, and *Ha-Ju* to Kyongsangnam-Do. Before this period, the letter 州 (*Ju*) in *Silla* means 'village' or 'military stronghold'. But from this date, a wider and somewhat different meaning of *Ju* existed alongside the earlier meaning. In other

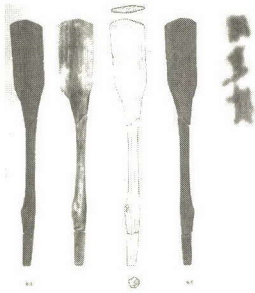


Fig.4a *Daisenjuku*-tags from *Seongsan-Sanseong*

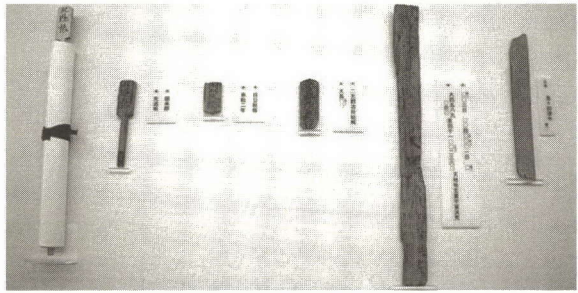


Fig.4b *Daisenjuku*-tags from *Shōsōin*, Japan

words, from about the middle of the sixth century, local administration in *Silla* was structured on the basis of larger units. In view of the range of place-names, it may be conjectured that the wooden tablets from the fort of *Seongsan-Sanseong* were used to requisition labour according to the new administrative system of *Ju*.²¹

As is well known, the capital of *Sang-Ju* was transferred from 沙伐, *Sabeal* (modern Sangju) to 甘文 *Kammun* (modern Kinchong) in 557, and this place-name *Kammun* (fort) appears three times, in two of the twenty-eight tablets discovered in 1992 and 1994. Therefore it is highly likely that *Kammun* was already the capital of *Sang-Ju*, when *Seongsan-Sanseong* tablets were used.²² I suggest that *Kammun*, the capital of *Sang-Ju*, took the lead in supplying the fort of *Seongsan-Sanseong*.

To make such systematic requisition of the local population possible, the government needed detailed knowledge of the inhabitants of villages and forts. In this connection it is worth mentioning the *Jeokseong* Fort inscription (赤城碑), discovered in Chungchongpok-To, Tanyang-Gun, Tanyang-Myeong (忠清北道丹陽郡丹陽面) in 1978.²³ It records various privileges (佃舍法) granted to the family of a certain villager, who provided services to *Jeokseong* Fort under *Silla* rule. According to the inscription, his family consisted of a wife, a mistress, elder sons, elder daughters, younger sons and younger daughters. They were classified apparently by their blood-relationship or by age-difference. It is unlikely that this classification was made solely for the purpose of granting privileges to him, and we must surely consider the possibility that such a classification by age was applied in general within

the system of provincial administration. To judge by the way in which place-names and personal names are recorded in the *Seongsan-Sanseong* tablets used as freight tags, the control by *Silla* of the inhabitants of villages and forts so as to levy tribute from them was more extensive and thorough than has been previously imagined. To go to this trouble of recording personal names as well as commodities was evidently a means of double-checking who contributed what. If *Silla* ordered the people of *Sang-Ju* and their chiefs to transport supplies over distances of more than 100 km to *Seongsan-Sanseong*, it follows that the tablets attached to each item were tags to be checked at least at the moment of dispatch and of delivery.²⁴

It may be noted that the tablets discovered at *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort in 2002 included three wooden objects that closely resemble *Daisenjiku*, tags used in identifying paper-roll documents, the cylinder used for rolling paper documents and identifying them by name. One of them was actually inscribed with the letters for *Daisenjiku*-tags.²⁵ A *Daisenjiku*-tag survives in the *Shōsoin* archive (正倉院) in Japan, as is well known, and quite a number have been discovered at the sites of local provincial offices later than the eighth century.²⁶ Significantly, the *Daisenjiku*-tag discovered at *Seongsan-Sanseong* refers to 'Ido-chong village' (利豆村). The use of *Daisenjiku*-tag implies documents that needed to be labelled, as well as a system of administration which used paper documents regularly, and thus the context in which rolled paper was preserved. Moreover, this mass of paper indexed by *Daisenjiku*-tag must have been stored over a long period of time. If there was discovered a *Daisenjiku*-tag marked 'such and such village', it means that the attached document related only to that village, and that there must have been other cylinders for other villages. It follows from this, and the contents of the *Jeok-seong* Fort inscription already mentioned, that the administrative system of the kingdom of *Silla* in the sixth century was document-based, and controlled the local population according to their village or fort. It is also likely that the tags attached to items delivered from the villages or forts of *Sang-Ju* were checked inside the fort of *Seongsan-Sanseong*, these tags then being kept as the basis of paper documents.

Thorough analysis of these tablets as freight tags casts light on their background, the document-based system of provincial administration in *Silla* which included a census of the inhabitants of each village and

fort. If we turn to Japan in about the same period, we find that *The Chronicle of Japan* dates the census list of male cultivators (田部) in a part of the imperial patrimony in *Kibi* province (吉備の白猪屯倉) to 569.²⁷ This fact is significant, when we consider the document-based administration of *Silla*. I suggest that the classification by (elder) son, (elder) daughter, male infant, female infant (「子」「女」「小子」「小女」) in the *Jeokseong* Fort inscription probably related to a census-listing by village or fort. By controlling the inhabitants in this way, the government was able to organise them as a labour force and a source of tribute. The evidence all suggests that by the middle of the sixth century, census-lists had been compiled, and a system of forced labour and payment of tribute had been introduced in the kingdom of *Silla*.²⁸

(3) The system of transport in the kingdom of *Silla*

In the previous section, I noted that the Naktong-gang River was used for the long-distance movement of goods from the region of its headwaters to *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort in the lower valley. In this respect, we must consider a wooden tablet that refers to a certain local chief 大村主 舡主人.²⁹ Its top is apparently damaged, but the bottom is pointed in outline, naturally so, and not as the result of deliberate cutting, which makes it unique among the tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort. In other respects also, it seems to be slightly different from other tablets or ‘tags’.

The first three letters < 大村主 > (*lit.* ‘great village chief’) probably refer to a village chief with a rank, as people in that position were usually given titles of honour: from other inscriptions of *Silla* we know of village chiefs named < (郡) 上村主 (*lit. gun* ‘upper village chief’), (郡) 中村主 (*lit. gun* ‘middle village chief’) (*Namsan-Sinseong* Fort inscription in 591) or < 上村主, 第二村主, 第三村主 > (*lit.* ‘upper village chief, second village chief, third village chief’) (*Inscription on bronze bell of Kyōkōji temple 竅興寺鐘銘* in 856). Furthermore, the last three letters < 舡主人 > are thought to describe duties said to be 某+人, which is often found in Sillan inscription from the sixth century, and this chief probably held an official position with such duties.³⁰ If so, then since the first letter < 舡 > is used as an abbreviation of the archaic letter < 船 > (‘ship’), < 舡主人 > would mean < 船主人 > (*lit.* ‘shipmaster’), and it would follow that < 大村主 > supervised ships used for transportation.

Although it is more than four centuries later in date, we should consider here the system of transportation by ships in the early *Koryŏ* period. In vol. 79 of *Koryŏ History*, compensation for cargoes lost at sea depends on whether the ship had left by the agreed date (「限内発船」) or not (「限外発船」), when goods were moved from thirteen regional depots to the central depot in the capital. In other words, the letter < 船 > referred to ‘ships’ in the *Koryŏ* system of sea-transport.

So < 大村主船主人 > can be understood as a village chief supervising waterage, and taking passage himself. The tablet which records < 大村主船主人 > must have related with transport by river in the Naktong-gan River.

Let us return to the system of waterage in the early *Koryŏ* period. Official storehouses were established along the rivers and coast, and the taxes collected from the farmers in each administrative unit were delivered to each depot, and then shipped to the central depot in the capital. These taxes were paid in kind, and after being collected in a storehouse, were delivered to their destinations by 郷吏, local magnates who took passage to supervise their transportation and delivery to the central storehouse in the capital, after measuring the amount for which they were responsible. Under their supervision, boats’ crews, sailors, and various other operatives were recruited for the transportation by ship.³¹ Since < 大村主船主人 > was evidently in charge of the crew, there must have been people from the forts and villages involved in waterage under the control of village-chiefs, just as crews directed by local magnates were responsible for the *Koryŏ* system of waterage.

According to a survey conducted by the Governor-General of Korea, the Naktong-gang River was navigable as far as Andong City (安東市) by sailing boats of 50 piled stones (50 石積帆船) burden,³² and it was used by oared boats until modern times.³³ Commodities such as millet, wheat, or salt brought into *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort, were undoubtedly transported by ship from the upper waters of the Naktong-gang River. At all events, this wooden tablet confirms that military provisions were being carried by ship down the Naktong-gang River, in a system which belongs to the kingdom of *Silla* in the sixth century. Its assertion of control over the Naktong-gang River, it should be noted, was essential to its control of the *Kaya* chiefdoms.³⁴

Conclusion

The majority of wooden tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort were used as freight ‘tags’ attached to military provisions transported by local people (including their chiefs) down the Naktong-gang River, from the region of *Sang-Ju* in its headwaters and middle course to *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort.

Numerous unfinished or unused tablet ‘tags’ and *Daisenjiku* have also been found in *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort, which suggests that ‘tags’ were even made in the fort itself. Moreover, when documents or ‘tags’ relating to tribute were received in *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort, they were probably checked and sorted there, and stored for future reference.

This is all valuable evidence for provincial administration in the frontier districts newly acquired by the kingdom of *Silla*. Further systematic study of the tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort is anticipated, when new aspects will be revealed.

1 For the tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort, see Changwon National Research Institute of Cultural heritage (ed.), *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort, Seoul, 1999 (cited as *Fort*, 1999); *Special Issue: Seongsan-Sanseong Fort Wooden Tablets, Hanguk-Kodesa-Yeonggu* 19, 2000 (cited as *Tablets*, 2000); Sung-Si Lee, ‘The Current State of the Study of Wooden Tablets in the Republic of Korea and Wooden Tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort’, in *Tablets*, 2000; id., ‘What Can We Know from the Tablets from *Seongsan-sanseong* Fort during the *Silla* Period?’, *Gekkan Sinica* 11-9, September 2000; M. Hirakawa, ‘Current Studies of Wooden Tablets of Ancient Japan and New Aspects’, in *Tablets*, 2000 (later in *Kodai-Chibo-Mokkan no Kenkyu*, Tokyo, 2003); Gyu-Ok Cheong, ‘The Archaeological Background of the Wooden Tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort’, in *Kankoku-Syutsudo-Mokkan no Sekai* (Chosen Bunka Kenkyujo, Waseda University (ed.)), Tokyo, 2004 (= *Waseda*, 2004); Ministry of Cultural Heritage (ed.), ‘News Reports on the Wooden Tablets from Seongsan-Sanseong Fort in Haman-gun’ Deajeon, 23 February, 2004 (= *New Reports*, 2004); Yong-Hyeong Lee, ‘The wooden tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort in *Haman-Gun*’, in Changwon National Research Institute of Cultural heritage (ed.), *Ancient Inscribed Wooden Strips from Korea*, Seoul, 2004. (= *Strips*, 2004)

2 For wooden tablets from Korea, see Sung-Si Lee, ‘On wooden tablets from Korea’, *Mokkan-Kenkyu* 19, 1997; id. ‘The Use of Writing in Ancient Korea’,

- in *Kodai-nihon — Moji-no-arū Fūkei* (National Museum of Japanese History (ed.)), March 2002; Seon-Te Yun, ‘A Survey of Wooden Tablets Discovered in Korea’, in *Strips*, 2004.
- 3 *Fort*, 1999.
 - 4 *New Reports*, 2004.
 - 5 Sang-Jin Pak, Ea-Geong Kang, and Gyu-A So, ‘Types of Trees Used for Wooden Tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort in *Haman-gun*’, in *Strips*, 2004; Gyu-Ok Cheong, ‘The Archaeological Background of the Wooden Tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort’, in *Waseda*, 2004.
 - 6 “鄒文 *Chumun*” appears in the *Tanyang-Jeok-seong* Fort inscription. Its location is identified in Y. Takeda, ‘The *Silla* Rule of *Sinseong* Fort During the Reign of King Jinfung 眞興王’, *Chosen-Gakubo*, 93, October 1979.
 - 7 For identification of place-names in the *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort tablets, see Seong-te Yun, ‘The Functions of *Silla* Wooden Tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort in *Haman-gun*’, *Jindan-Hakpo* 88, December 1999.
 - 8 Yong-Hyeong Lee, ‘The Wooden Tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort in *Haman-Gun* and the provincial administration of *Silla* in the sixth century’, *Journal of Korean National Museum* 5, Seoul, 2003, suggests two possible locations of “*Kuli-bal*” (仇利伐).
 - 9 For the characteristics of personal names see also *New Reports*, 2004.
 - 10 *New Reports*, 2004; Yong-Hyeong Lee, ‘The Wooden Tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort in *Haman-Gun*’ in *Strips*, 2004.
 - 11 *New Reports*, 2004; Yong-Hyeong Lee, *Strips*, 2004.
 - 12 Sung-Si Lee, ‘Current situations of the study of wooden tablets of South Korea and wooden tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort’ in *Tablets*, 2000; M. Hirakawa, ‘Current Studies of Wooden Tablets of Ancient Japan and New Viewpoints’, in *Tablets*, 2000.
 - 13 *New Reports*, 2004; Yong-Hyeong Lee, *Strips*, 2004.
 - 14 Y. Takeda, ‘The Establishment of Official Rank Systems in *Silla*’, in *Chosen-Rekishi-Ronju*, part 1, 1975.
 - 15 For the range of notations of *kan’i* (official ranks for courtiers), see Y. Takeda, ‘*Sillan* Official Ranking System in Inscriptions’, in *Egami-namiokyoju koki-kinen-ronsyū, Rekishi-ben*, Tokyo: Yamagawa-syuppansya, 1977; id., ‘Notes on the Establishment of *Silla*’s Official Ranking System’, in *Historical Development of Korean Society and East Asia*, ed. by Y. Takeda, Tokyo: Yamakawa-syuppansya, 1997.
 - 16 *Fort*, 1999.
 - 17 See Gyu-Ok Cheong, *Waseda*, 2004.
 - 18 National Museum of Kyeongju (ed.), *Silla in Written Material Evidence — the Written Records and Handwritings of the Sillan People*, Seoul, 2002.
 - 19 For the *Namsan-Sinseong* inscriptions, see Hong-Sop Jin, ‘A General Survey of *Namsan-Sinseong* Inscriptions’, in *Sangoku-jidai no Bizyutsu-bunka*, Seoul,

- 1976; Jong-Ok Lee, ‘The Provincial Rule of Silla in the Light of *Namsan-Sinseong* Inscriptions’, *Rekishigakubo* 64, Seoul, December 1974; T. Tanaka, ‘The Inscriptions of Silla, part 1-9’, *Kankoku-Bunka*, 5-1/7-3, 1983-1984; Bang-Neong Pak, ‘A Study of *Namsan-Sinseong* Inscription n. 9’, *Bizyutsu-Shiryō* 53, June 1994.
- 20 See Seong-Te Yun, *Strips*, 2004; Yong-Hyeong Lee, *Strips*, 2004.
- 21 Sung-Si Lee, ‘A Re-examination of *Silla* Yuk-jong’.
- 22 Yong-Hyeong Lee, *Journal of Korean National Museum* 5.
- 23 For the *Jeok-seong* Fort inscription, see Danguk Univ. *Sabakcha*, 12 (special issue for *Silla Tanyang Jeok-seong* Fort), Seoul, 1978; Y. Takeda, ‘The *Silla* Rule of *Sinseong* Fort During the Reign of King Jinfunḡ’ (*op.cit.* n.6); Y. Takeda, ‘Evidence for East Asian History in the Fifth and Sixth Century: the *Chungwuong* Inscription of *Koguryō* to *Jeok-seong* Fort Inscription of *Silla*’, in *Higashi-ajia ni okeru Nihonkodaishi-koza*, ed. by M. Inoue, vol. 4, Tokyo: Gakusei-sya, 1980.
- 24 Only one name is usually recorded in tablets from *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort used as freight-tags, but nine tablets found so far have two names each. see *New Reports*, 2004; for the significance of two names, see Yong-Hyeong Lee, *Journal of Korean National Museum* 5.
- 25 *New Reports*, 2004; Yong-Hyeong Lee, in *Strips*, 2004.
- 26 For *Daisenjiku* in ancient Japan, see T. Kato, ‘The Administration of *Kuni* and *Gun*: Analysis of the Wooden Tablets from the Site of *Kokufū*’, *Mokkan-Kenkyū* 15, November 1993; A. Hojo, ‘Ancient *Daisenjiku*: Heritage in Shosoin and Excavated Articles Relating to Local Government’, in *Kodai-chusei-shiryōgaku-kenkyū*, part 1., ed. by K. Minagawa, Tokyo: Yoshikawa-Kobunsha 1998; K. Sugimoto, ‘The Documents and *Daisenjiku*’ (abstracts), *Mokkan-Kenkyū*, 24, November 2002.
- 27 H. Tono, *A History of the Ancient Writing*, Tokyo, 1994, p. 207.
- 28 M. Hirakawa, *Tablets*, 2000, p. 375, points out that the form of writing in the *Seongsan-Sanseong* Fort tablets is very similar to that of tags attached to tribute in ancient Japan after the 7th century, and shows that the system of taxation had already been established by the middle of the 6th century.
- 29 *New Reports*, 2004, p.72.
- 30 For example “書写人” (*Myongfwal-Sanseong* Fort inscription), “立石碑人” (*Jeok-seong* Fort inscription), “面石捉人”, “小石捉人” (*Namsan-Sinseong* Fort inscription), “文作人” (*Ujak* inscription AD 578) etc.
- 31 H. Kitamura, ‘The System of Storehouses for Waterage in Koryō’, in *Chosenshi-Ronsyū*, part 1, Tokyo: Ryukei-shosya, 1979.
- 32 M. Yoshida has kindly suggested to me that one *stone* in Korea is equivalent to 0.56 Japanese *stone*, and if this is right, one *stone* in ancient Korea is about 80 kilograms.
- 33 Japanese Colonial Government of Korea, *Surveys of Rivers in Korea*, 1929.

- 34 Sung-Si Lee, 'The Formation of the *Silla* Nation and *Kaya*', in *Periodical History of Japan*, vol. 2, Tokyo:Yoshikawa-kobunkan, 2002.

Some Remarks on Cadastral Inscriptions in the Later Roman Empire; Significance of the Labour Force Assessment in the Civic Society

Satoshi URANO
Rikkyo University

1. Settings of the discussion

No sooner was a unique series of inscriptions discovered in the Greek islands and western Asia Minor than they attracted the keen attention of historians in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some of them preserved inventories not only of persons (landowners, sometimes slaves, *coloni* and family members), animals (kinds and numbers) and lands (acreages and sometimes types; numbers of trees, in case of the olive) per household or farm, but also of their numerical values commuted into abstract measuring units, either with symbols ZU, KE, KZU, ZKE or without; some showed lists of the former only, the others of the latter.¹ These inscriptions were immediately recognized as copies of late antique “cadastres (die Kataster)” or “census records” for practical use; the symbols ZU, KE, KZU and ZKE came to be recognized as the abbreviations of Greek terms ζύγα, κεφαλαί, κεφαλόζυγα and ζυγοκεφαλαί, supposed transl(iter)ations of *inga*, *capita* and *inga sive (vel, aut) capita*, controversial late Latin concepts, the meanings of which had long been subject to various interpretations, but which were thought of as somehow relating to the late antique taxation system, the so-called Diocletianic *capitatio-ingatio*.

As is well known, an influential theory of *capitatio-ingatio* had been formed by the middle of the twentieth century. Its main authors, A. Déleage and A. H. M. Jones, pointed out that “*capitatio*”, “*ingatio*” and “*capitatio sive ingatio*” often meant a system of assessing the contributory

capacities of taxpayers, in other words, taxable resources throughout in the Empire.² They thought that *ingum* (ζύγον), a fiscal unit of the assessment of land, and *caput* (κεφαλή), that of labour power, were made to have equivalent value to each other, and therefore to be aggregable under this system; various taxes were levied on their total amounts (*i.e.* of *capita vel inga*).³ This theory envisaged each cadastral inscription as reflecting the full range of the standardized process of combined assessment, and seems to have categorized them into roughly three types;

- 1) Declarations of persons and animals, and lands.
- 2) Civic primary registers of taxable resources under each taxpayers' name.
- 3) Civic secondary registers of taxable resources respectively commuted into ζύγα, and κεφαλαί, and then (sometimes) aggregated into ζυγοκεφαλαί.⁴

For example, Déléage attributed *IHyph 86* to type 1), *IHyph 85* to type 2), *ITral* to type 3) and *IMag* to the exceptional⁵; Jones followed him as a rule, but rather preferred to regard *IHyph 85* and *86* as representing two subcategories of type 1), and *IMag* as a variant of type 3).⁶ It is worth noting that the most supportive evidence for their theory were *ITher* and *LAsty*; the former was categorized as being type 2) (accompanying amounts of κεφαλόζυγα, but in fact only those of ζύγα in the marginal space) and the latter was in type 3). Both show the symbols (KZU and ZKE) of the aggregated values of *juga* (ζύγα) and *capita* (κεφαλαί),⁷ which were interpreted as equal to *capita vel inga*, *i.e.* the essential conception of a combined assessment unit of *capitatio-ingatio*.

Later, cadastral inscriptions came to be thought as not so informative as they had previously been believed, especially since works by A. Cerati and W. Goffart impugned the Déléage-Jones theory in the 1970's.⁸ Cerati admits that *LAsty* is obvious evidence of the combined ("bivalent" in his word) assessment practice; but as for the range of its application, he stands with Piganiol who viewed it as very limited and thought the separate system of *ingatio* dominant; the bivalent system could survive for any length of time in the later period only in the

Asian diocese where cadastral inscriptions were discovered, and in some of the western provinces, underdeveloped, he says, regions of the empire.⁹ On the other hand, Goffart similarly undermines the documentary value of these inscriptions but thinks a little differently. He claims that the combined system itself had only a short life all over the Roman world after its creation; there ensued the general devolution of the assessment basis from person to land. After postulating three meanings of mutually interrelated “*caput*”,¹⁰ he asserts that the meaning of *caput* equivalent in value to *ingum*, became only “a nuisance”, when the tax system had been “rooted exclusively in land” since the fourth century on¹¹; ζυγοκεφαλαί attested in the Justinianic laws can be seen as an empty vestige of the bivalent system, as this word, he claims, had the same meaning as ζύγα within the framework of the assessment system under Justinian.¹² *LAsty* and *ITher* are no more than evidence of the early practice of the combined system.¹³

Putting differences aside, and suspending Goffart’s hasty “marginalization” of ζυγοκεφαλαί,¹⁴ three aspects of the late antique taxation system were emphasized and accepted by some scholars¹⁵; 1) local diversity, 2) continuous change and 3) general preponderance of land-based assessment. Accordingly, cadastral inscriptions had also come to be thought of en bloc as bearing out something local, short-lived and atypical until Thonemann and Harper published their papers respectively in 2007 and 2008.¹⁶

The focal point shared by them dwells mainly in the rural economy (the distribution of landholdings, labour forces, forms of cultivations and so on) in Aegean islands and western Asia Minor in the Later Empire, details of which cadastral inscriptions are expected to show. That is to say, they attempt to revive especially Jones’ discussions and revise his view by taking newly discovered inscriptions into considerations, and re-inspecting old ones.¹⁷ They certainly succeeded in making something clearer than before, and of course I myself am not a little indebted to their arguments. However, there tenaciously linger the problems of time and place. They share the major premise that cadastres were inscribed on stones at the initiative of a particular *vicarius Asiae* soon after some specific census was held; *i.e.* in *ca.*310 after the Tetrarchic census (Thonemann), or after one of 371 under Valens (Harper). If they are right, the informativity of the entire documents

can be fully rehabilitated, as the cadastre inscriptions will provide us with useful data for economic analyses in a specific age; but the arguments behind their premise are inevitably too conjectural and circumstantial, when none of them has any sign of date.¹⁸

Then, should we stay our steps in making efforts to recognize the economic and/or administrative significance of the micro-cosmos of names, words and abbreviations and of internal linkage among them, which were obvious to those who inscribed and read them at that time? I think that such an attitude is quite defeatist, as cadastral inscriptions are still challenging documents that show us practical aspects of late Roman tax administration. Accordingly, we shall look at them from our own focal points to show them in a new light.

2. Problems

At first glance, we can easily notice a certain range of diversities in the formats of cadastral inscriptions, as many scholars have already pointed out; they do not seem to have been standardized. For example, entries of *IMag* are names of lands or farms within the civic territory, while those of *ITral*, *ITber* and *IAsty* are those of landowners followed by sub-entries of lands/farms and others. *IAsty* shows the total amounts of ζύγα, κεφαλαί and ζυγοκεφαλαί respectively per landowner, whereas *ITral* and *ITber* record only those of ζύγα, though *ITral* showing each amount of κεφαλαί per land in sub-entries (see below). *IHypp* 85 seems to show the aggregated amounts of labour power-based units and those of landed properties, but lacks their corresponding symbols. Cerati and Goffart abandon their own attempts to categorize them into any types, and allude to the possibility that such diversities reflected development or change in the taxation system from the late third to the sixth century, even within the confined provinces of the Asian diocese.¹⁹ However, such a supposition cannot be sufficiently grounded, when they outline the process of change only vaguely and do not show which format corresponded to which stage of the development.²⁰ Therefore Déléage's consistent typology still seems to provide us with a basic framework for discussions. Of course, we should not presume that all cadastral inscriptions were related exclusively to the uniform imperial assessment of the contributory

capacities of tax payers, but rather keep another possibility in our minds: that such diversities might have reflected the late antique reality of the (semi-)autonomous fiscal system discretely diversified city by city rather than province by province.

Secondly, as for the preponderance of land-based assessment, we need to accept that *capita* was a less important fiscal unit than *ingra*, when the combined system was not applied universally as Cerati suggests, and if burdensome taxes were levied on the land-based units exclusively. Goffart writes that *capita* and *capitatio humana*, assessment of human labour power, began to be mentioned in the law codes only after the late fourth century, invariably “in the negative context”; he thinks that these facts allude to the reality that they were insignificant from the first and thus mentioned only when they were abolished.²¹ However, this allegation is based on another: his unsupported insistence that almost all *capitatio* mentioned in the codes meant not labour power-based assessment, but just the “general tax liability”. In any case, we know that all cadastral inscriptions except for *ICos* recorded the declarations of persons and animals, along with those of lands, and as he himself admits, none of them can be dated. Such conditions make us think of the labour force assessment as having had its own significance in the tax administration at least in the Asian diocese, and so demand us some more explanations, if we insist that *capita* was or became less important than *ingra* as a unit of the assessment of taxable resources.²²

Among other provinces, Egypt, where the land-based assessment (so-called *arouratio*) prevailed throughout the Roman period, provides us with some evidence for κεφαλή in the fourth and fifth centuries. κεφαλή and ἀνὴρ (its supposed equivalent) surely functioned as a kind of fiscal unit or measure independent of ἄρουρα, a traditional measure of land. R.S. Bagnall insists that κεφαλή and ἀνὴρ, though their names induce us to suppose that they represented something like labour-power based units, should also have been measures of land.²³ They are known to have been evaluated at a numerical value with a fraction (*BGU* I, 21; *P.Cairo Goodspeed* 12; *SB* V 7756), just as was κεφαλή in other provinces where a woman is thought to have been assessed at a fraction of one κεφαλή; nevertheless, such a fraction cannot be interpreted as representing woman’s labour power, as it did elsewhere,

because women had never been declared in Egypt. On the other hand, a controversial document of 359 (*SB V 7756*) shows that a woman named Philadelphé had several minor taxes imposed on her assessed value of $1 \frac{1}{6}$ κεφαλαί; moreover, these taxes had the nature of land taxes, not of personal impositions, as J. Lallemand suggested.²⁴ Thus, Bagnall claims, this κεφαλή must have been “a means, however rough, of measuring landed property (owned by her)”.

In spite of his confident argument, he overlooks a possibility that Philadelphé may have had a son or sons under her guardianship and/or *coloni* attached to her farm,²⁵ whose labour power was assessed at $1 \frac{1}{6}$ κεφαλαί in total, and paid taxes levied on their heads. Moreover, he does not explain why it was necessary for κεφαλή to be used independently of ἄρουρα, if the former was a measure of land similar to the latter. J.Gascou spoke in his lecture in 2001 in Nagoya, Japan, to the effect that it is quite possible to suppose that κεφαλή represented “professional qualification or labour force”.²⁶ However, if so, how can we come to terms with Lallemand’s observation that it was land taxes that were levied on Egyptian κεφαλαί? Gascou’s lecture was no less suggestive also in this respect, as he argued that “land taxes”, such as those “of commutation of barley and other grains, and of cloths in the title of *vestis militaris*”, were not only levied on *aroura* but also on κεφαλαί as seen in *P.Cairo Isid.* 72, while legal texts testify that “*capita* served to assign fiscal burdens and various munera, including *annona militaris* which is regarded as a land tax par excellence”.²⁷ I think his point alludes to the probability that *capita* (κεφαλαί) had its own importance insomuch as it was sometimes used in levying taxes of a land-tax nature on taxpayers independently of the traditional land-based unit or measure, even in fourth century Egypt where *arouratio* was definitely dominant.

Thus, our aim in the following is firstly to make the nature and the purposes of some controversial cadastral inscriptions clear in either central or local administrative and social contexts; especially focusing on *IMag* which was thought of by Jones as parallel to the Egyptian urban census records, but by Déléage as irrelevant to the census administration itself,²⁸ and *IHyph 85 & 86* having been thought to be village declarations.²⁹ In fact, both are likely to have stood somehow outside the imperial census/tax administration, and each of them

shows several interesting aspects in dealing with the value of labour force assessments, compared with those from the formal census cadastres of Déleage's three types (*ITral*, *ITher*, and others); *IMag* is characteristic in showing the overall paucity and the uneven distribution of the value of labour force assessment, while *IHypp* is in its dealing with citizens' labour force assessment. Then, our second aim is to explain in what a manner the value of labour force was assessed, registered, and made operative in the various administrative and economic spheres of fourth century local civic society, in the light of the knowledge gained from other cadastral inscriptions and papyri mentioning the κεφαλαί, the latter of which show how taxes were levied on them in reality.³⁰

3. *IMag*³¹

1. At first, before examining the characteristics of *IMag* in detail, I show its external attributes and features in contradistinction to those of *ITral*; that will be helpful for the following discussions, as the kind of the latter's data is thought to have been the original ones for the former.

As is well known, Tralles and Magnesia were cities adjacent each other and spreading their territories over the basin of the river Maeandros in Caria. *ITral* and *IMag* have now been lost or buried again, but fortunately we can avail ourselves of three sketches from the hands of Fontrier, Pappakonstantinou and Keil (see **Figs.1a, 1b, 1c**) for *ITral*³²; as for *IMag*, one photo of the right half of column d) and the entirety of e) was published in O. Kern's *Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* (see **Fig.2a**) and squeezes are preserved now in *Inscriptiones Graecae* in Berlin.³³

We are able to reconstruct four entries of landowners from *ITral* (those of Fulvios, a priest, of Tatianos, Kritias, Latron, three city councillors of Tralles), and 95 entries of farms (including 12 very uncertain³⁴) with the name of their declarants (not only Magnesian but also Tralleian, Ephesian and Colophoean) from *IMag*. Their formats are as follows;

ITral

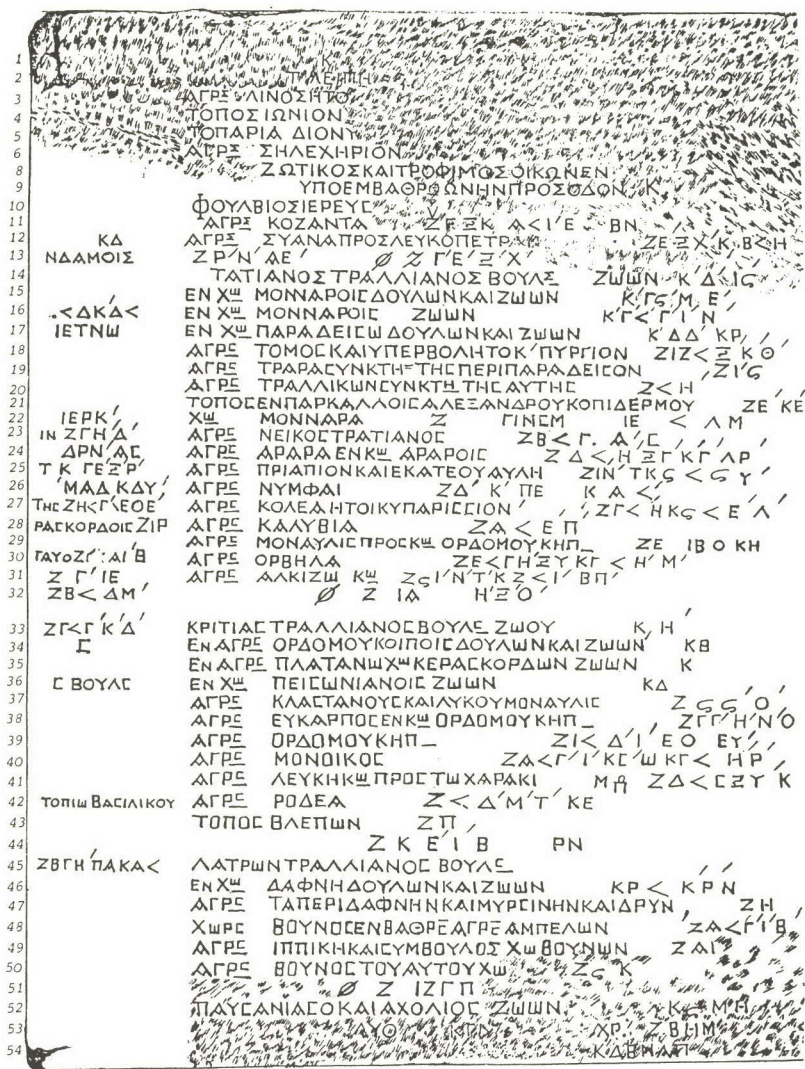
So-and-so a declarant (his or her order, status, or profession),

At place *A*, *such and such* κεφαλαί of slaves (and animals)

at place *B*, *such and such* κεφαλαί of slaves (and animals)

	1	...Κ... ΠΟΛΕΤΗ ΑΓΡ' ΑΙΝΟΕΗΤΟ ΤΟΠΟΣ ΙΗΝΙΟΝ	
ΑΥΤΗΣ Ν ΚΝΔΣΙΕΒΛ	5	ΤΟΠΑΡΙΑΔΙΟ ΑΓΡ' ΕΙΛΕΧΗΡΙΟΝ	Ι ΕΟΥΚ
Ω Ν Κ Ε Κ Σ Ν Ε Μ Ω Ν Κ Σ Ε Ξ Ω Ν Κ Γ Ε Ν		ΖΩΤΙΚΟ ΕΚΑΙ ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟΣ ΟΙΚΩΝΕΝ ΥΠΟ ΕΜΒΑΘΡΩΝ ΗΝ ΠΡΟΣΟΔΟΝ Κ	
Κ Β ΟΝΔΑΜΟΙΣ Ξ Β Ν Α Ξ	10	ΦΟΥΛΒΙΟΣΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΑΓΡ' ΚΟΖΑΝΑΤΑ ΑΓΡ' ΣΙΑΝΑ ΠΡΟΣΕΛΥΚΟΠΕΤΡΑ Ξ Ε Ξ Ξ Κ Β Κ Η	Ξ Γ Ξ Κ Α Κ Ι Ε Β Ν Ξ Γ Ε Ξ Ξ
Ω Ξ Δ Κ Δ Κ Π Ε Β Ν Ω Ξ Β	15	ΤΑΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΤΡΑΛΛΙΝΟΣ ΕΒΟΥΛ' ΖΩΩΝ Κ Δ Ι Ξ ΕΝ ΧΩ ΜΟΝΝΑΡΟΙΣ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΖΩΩΝ Κ Γ Κ Σ Μ Ε ΕΝ ΧΩ ΜΟΝΝΑΡΟΙΣ ΖΩΩΝ Κ Γ Κ Γ Ι Ν ΕΝ ΧΩ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΩ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΖΩΩΝ Κ Δ Δ Κ Ρ ΑΓΡ' ΤΟΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΕΡΒΟΛΗ ΤΟΚ ΠΥΡΓΙΟΝ Ξ Ι Ζ Ξ Κ Θ ΑΓΡ' ΤΡΑΡΑ ΓΥΝΚΤΗ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΟΝ Ξ Ι Ζ	
Ι Ε Ρ Κ Ι Ν Ξ Γ Η Λ Δ Ρ Ν Α Ξ Τ Κ Γ Ε Ξ Ρ Μ Α Δ Κ Δ Υ Τ Η Σ Ξ Η Γ Ι Β Ο Ε Ρ Α Κ Κ Ο Ρ Δ Ο Ι Σ Ξ Ι Ρ	20	ΑΓΡ' ΤΡΑΛΛΙΚΩΝ ΣΥΝΚΤΗΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ Ξ Κ Η ΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΝ ΠΑΡΚΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΚΟΠΤΙΔΕΡΜΟΥ Ξ Ε Κ Ε ΧΩ ΜΟΝΝΑΡΑ Ξ Κ Γ Ι Ν Ε Μ Κ Ι Ε Κ Λ Μ ΑΓΡ' ΝΕΙΚΟΣ ΤΡΑΤΙΑΝΟΣ Ξ Β Κ Γ Α Ε ΑΓΡ' ΑΡΑΡΑ ΕΝ ΚΩ ΑΡΑΡΟΙΣ Ξ Δ Κ . . Η Ξ Ρ Κ Γ Λ Ρ	
Κ Σ Γ Ι Π Ι Ε Ρ Κ Ι Ν Ξ Γ Η Λ Δ Ρ Ν Α Ξ Τ Κ Γ Ε Ξ Ρ Μ Α Δ Κ Δ Υ Τ Η Σ Ξ Η Γ Ι Β Ο Ε Ρ Α Κ Κ Ο Ρ Δ Ο Ι Σ Ξ Ι Ρ	25	ΑΓΡ' ΠΡΙΑΠΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΑΤΕΟΥ ΑΥΛΗ Ξ Ι Ν Τ Κ Σ Κ Σ Ψ ΑΓΡ' ΝΥΜΦΑΙ Ξ Δ Κ Π Ε Κ Α Κ ΑΓΡ' ΚΟΛΕΑ Η ΤΟΙ ΚΥ ΠΤΑΡΙΣΣΙΟΝ Ξ Γ Κ Η Κ Σ Κ Ε Λ ΑΓΡ' ΚΑΛΥΒΙΑ Ξ Α Κ Ε Π ΑΓΡ' ΜΟΝΑΥΛΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΩ ΟΡΔΟΜΟΥ Κ Η Π Ξ Ε Κ Ι Β Ο Κ Ε ΑΓΡ' ΟΡΘΗΛΑ Ξ Ε Κ Γ Η Ξ Υ Κ Γ Κ Η Μ ΑΓΡ' ΑΛΚΙ ΖΩ Κ Ξ Ξ Σ Ι Ν Τ Κ Ξ Κ Ι Β Τ	
Ε Α Υ Θ Ξ Α Ι Β Ξ Γ Ι Ε Ξ Β Κ Δ Μ Γ Κ Γ Κ Δ Γ	30	ΚΡΙΤΙΑ ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΒΟΥΛ' ΖΩΟΥ Κ Η ΕΝ ΑΓΡ' ΟΡΔΟΜΟΥ Κ Η ΤΟΙΣ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΖΩΩΝ Κ Β ΕΝ ΑΓΡ' ΠΛΑΤΑΝΩ Χ ΚΕΡΑΚΟΡΩΝ ΖΩΩΝ Κ ΕΝ ΧΩ ΠΤΕΙΩΝ ΙΑΝΟΙΣ ΖΩΩΝ Κ Δ ΑΓΡ' ΚΛΑΣΤΑΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΥΚΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΥΛΙΣ Ξ Σ Σ Ο ΑΓΡ' ΕΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΕΝ ΚΩ ΟΡΔΟΜΟΥ Κ Η Τ Ξ Γ Η Ν Ι Σ ΑΓΡ' ΟΡΔΟΜΟΥ Κ Η Τ Ξ Γ Κ Δ Ι Ε Ο Ε Υ ΑΓΡ' ΜΟΝΟΙΚΟΣ Ξ Α Κ Γ Ι Κ Ε Ω Κ Γ Κ Η Ρ ΑΓΡ' ΛΕΥΚΗ Κ Ξ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΧΑΡΑΚΜ Π Ξ Δ Σ Γ Ξ Ψ Κ ΑΓΡ' ΡΟΔΕΑ Ξ Δ Μ Τ Κ Ε ΤΟΠΟΣ ΒΛΕΠΩΝ Ξ Π Ξ Κ Κ Ε Ι Β Ρ Ν	
Ε Β Ο Υ Λ Υ Κ Ι Σ Κ Ο Π Τ Ω Β Α Σ Ι Λ Ι Κ Ο Υ Ξ Β Γ Η Π Α Κ Α Κ	35	Α Α Τ Ρ Ω Ν Τ Ρ Α Λ Λ Ι Α Ν Ο Σ Ε Β Ο Υ Λ ΕΝ ΧΩ ΔΑΦΝΗ ΔΟΥΛΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΖΩΩΝ Κ Γ Κ Κ Ρ Ν ΑΓΡ' ΤΑ ΠΕΡΙ ΔΑΦΝΗ Η ΚΑΙ ΜΥΡΣΙΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΡΥΝ Ξ Η Χ Ω Ρ Β Ο Υ Ν Ο Σ Ε Ν Β Α Θ Ρ Α Γ Ρ Α Μ Π Ε Λ Ω Ν Ξ Α Κ Γ Β ΑΓΡ' Ι Π Π Ι Κ Η ΚΑΙ Ε Μ Β Ο Λ Ο Σ Χ Ω Β Ο Υ Ν Ω Ν Ξ Α Ι ΑΓΡ' ΒΟΥΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΧΩ Ξ Σ Κ Ξ Ξ Ι Ζ Γ Π Π Α Υ Ε Α Ν Ι Α Σ Ο Κ Α Ι Α Χ Ο Λ Ι Ο Σ Ζ Ω Ω Ν Κ Σ Μ Η Λ Ε Κ Λ Υ Ο Ξ Δ Κ Κ Γ Ι Λ Ι Χ Γ Ζ Β Η Μ Κ Δ Β Ν Α Γ Ρ	
Κ Β Κ Κ Ο	50		
Κ Β Κ Κ Ο	54		

Fig.1a Fontrier, BCH 4, 1880



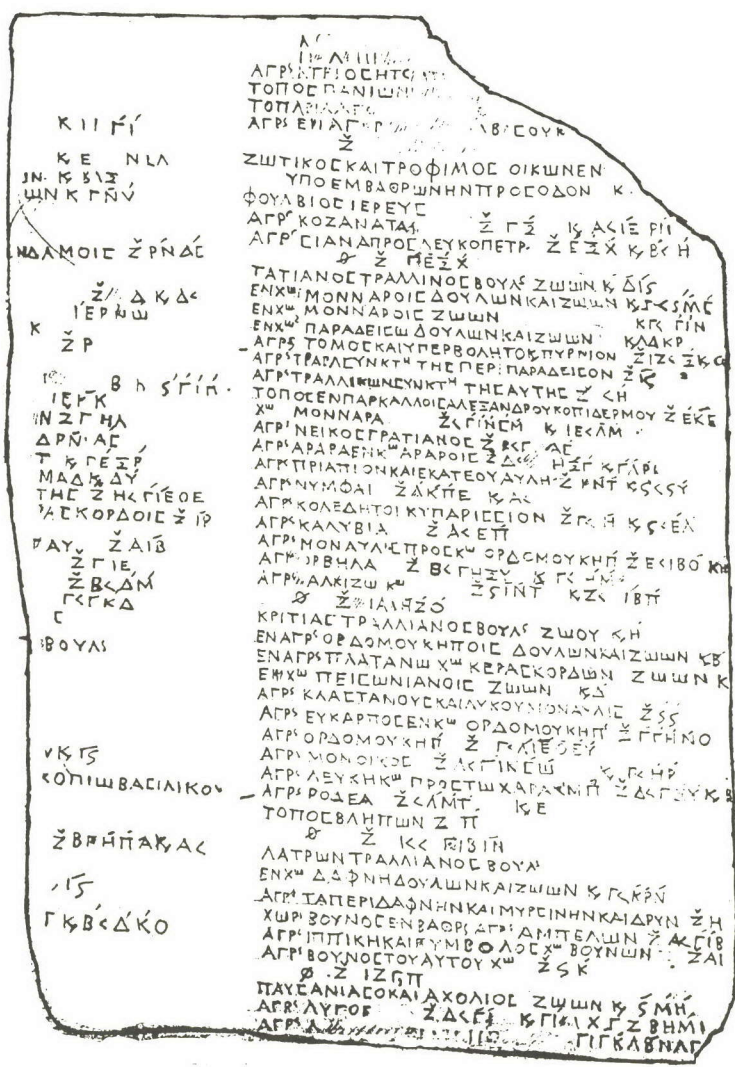


Fig.1c Keil; in Poljakov, *Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa I*, 1989

.....

On place *a*, *such and such* ζύγα, *such and such* κεφαλαί

On place *b*, *such and such* ζύγα

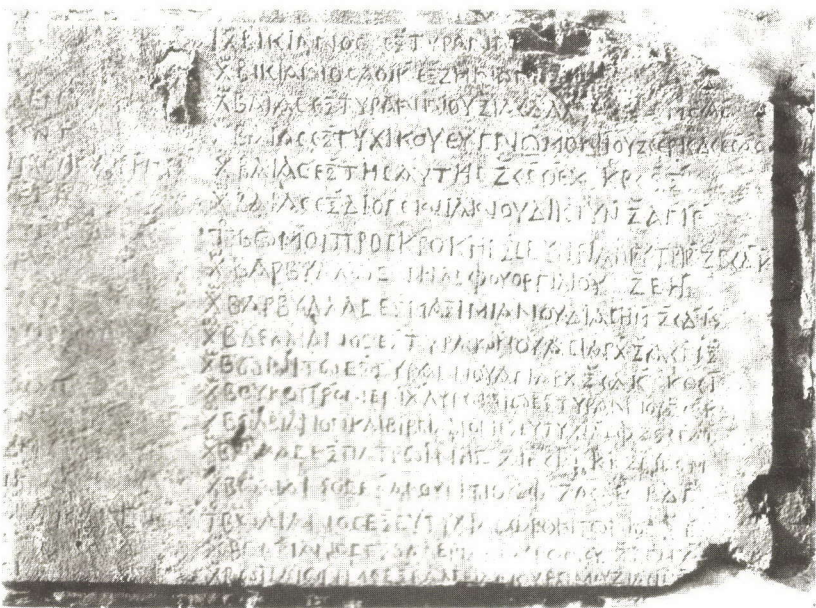
On place *c*, *such and such* ζύγα, *such and such* κεφαλαί

Total, *such and such* ζύγα

IMag

So-and-so a place, From (*the declaration*) of *so-and-so* a person, (sometimes his or her order and origin)

such and such ζύγα, *such and such* κεφαλαί



d.

e.

Fig.2a Kern, *Inscriben von Magnesia am Maeandros*, 1900 Nr.122

ITral, a list of the commuted amounts of the taxable resources arranged landholder by landholder, looks like roughly preserving the outline of the format of original declarations, while *IMag*, a list of the commuted amounts of resources arranged place by place in a roughly

alphabetical order within the whole civic territory (see below), seems to record data abstracted from and re-sorted of those of the secondary registers of the *ITral* type. We cannot say whether they are related to the combined system of imperial *capitatio-iugatio* or not, but their data could be used for either the combined system or the separate one, as both amounts of κεφαλαί and those of ζύγα were both clearly calculated and inscribed.

2. As Jones particularly noted, entries of *IMag* often lack descriptions of κεφαλαί (45 farms out of 83³⁵ are those with only ζύγα), and even when it has them, some show only disproportionately small amounts compared with those of ζύγα; on this ground, Jones supposed that some farms or lands must have been cultivated by independent *coloni* living in neighbouring villages and declaring their families and lands under their own names.³⁶ If so, not a little κεφαλαί of independent rural *coloni* and their families must also have been recorded somewhere on the list of all civic resources (total sum of which, logically, outweighs that of ζύγα of their own holdings, as the value of “redundant labour force” for the latter); but actually such cases are rare in *IMag*.³⁷ To explain the universal paucity of κεφαλαί compared to ζύγα consistently, Jones argued that this cadastre was not a cover-all list of the whole civic resources but a list recording only those owned by urban landowners; lands and labour force of the independent rural peasants were “separately recorded elsewhere”.³⁸ Recently, Harper also takes this view.³⁹

However, the calculation of ζύγα on *IMag* leads us to a different assumption. As is widely accepted, the extant parts of *IMag* are thought to represent only less than eight percents of all entries of the cadastre.⁴⁰ The sum of the extant ζύγα amounts to 366.8 (as calculated by Harper),⁴¹ while the number of declarants is 65 (including 14 other cities’ citizens); so we need to admit that the total ζύγα of this city amount to 4,585 and declarants to 812 at least. The figure of ζύγα corresponds to the arable land of 458,500 *jugera* (=114,625 *ha*), if we accept Thonemann’s recent brilliant elucidation of numerical figures of *ITher* (it seems to me highly persuasive) and apply to it his commutation ratio of 1 *iugum* = 100 *iugera* arable (also equal to 15 *iugera* vine, or to 300 olive trees).⁴² As such a high figure as 114,625 *ha* far exceeds the

estimated cultivable area in this city's territory, 47,100 *ba*,⁴³ we cannot think that the rural area of the city was occupied by arable lands only. However, we can adopt Thonemann's (also plausible) estimate that 1 *iugum* corresponds to ca. 43-44 *iugera* on average in Aegean islands and coastal areas of Western Asia Minor (*i.e.* with the more profitable forms of land use of oleiculture and vine-cultivation properly interwoven in the cultivation pattern); the supposed total sum of ζύγα can be equated to 199,448 *iugera* = 49,861 *ba*, which falls safely within the margin of error. Harper, defending his own argument, suggests a somewhat arbitrary commutation ratio of *iugum* : *iugera* = 1:12,⁴⁴ but this is not very convincing, as we need to think that the same rate was applied for everywhere within a diocese unanimously; and Thonemann's commutation ratio in *ITher* seems rock-solid. Thus, we have a good reason to believe that *IMag* was a cover-all cadastre recording all the cultivated land within Magnesian territory, with the landholdings of the independent rural *coloni* included.

The low number of declarants might tell against the cover-all nature of *IMag*. However, the supposed number of 800 odd is too low even for Jones' "urban census record"⁴⁵; we need to explain the reason in any case. We notice that every name of declarants in the genitive was preceded by the preposition ἐξ. As clearly inscribed in b 7, ἀπογραφῆς follows after ἐξ, and as a rule was omitted. So the meaning of each entry is "from the declaration of Mr. or Ms. *so and so*". On this ground, one may conclude that the whole Magnesian rural territory was divided among just about 800 landowners including 175 citizens of other cities. But I would rather like to suppose that 800 names did not always represent individual landowners, but sometimes those who were in charge of declarations literally; some of them might have been protectors of local communities, representatives of tax-consortiums, *conductores* of the long term lease land or joint-proprietors, whose declaration of ζύγα and κεφαλαί collectively represented a hidden population's landholdings and labour force.⁴⁶

Then how can we explain the under-represented and ill-distributed κεφαλαί in *IMag*?⁴⁷ According to the so-called "manning ratio", one person's (either male or female) labour is thought to be necessitated for the cultivation of 5-10 *iugera* on average⁴⁸; so the Magnesian cultivable land of ca.188,000 *iugera* demands at least 18,800 agricultural labourers.

In fact, the supposed total of ca. 4,400 κεφαλαί (this figure can represent more than 13,000 labourers, according to Thonemann's provisional *caput-commutation* ratio)⁴⁹ is not unequivocally scarce, because we can expect that the landless *plebs urbana*, being exempted from *capitatio*-assessment under Diocletian and then after 313⁵⁰ (*i.e.* their κεφαλαί were not recorded on *IMag*⁵¹) filled the gap to some extent, as an agricultural workers or free tenants. Furthermore, some declarants of lands without the value of κεφαλαί themselves must have been members of the *plebs urbana*, who with their families were exempt from *capitatio*, but went out cultivating lands every day.⁵² As is well known, cities in the ancient Roman world were of a primarily agricultural nature.⁵³

These suppositions, not fully demonstrable but quite workable for explaining the paucity (both quantitative and of occurrences) and the uneven distribution of κεφαλαί in *IMag*, urge us to believe that a limited number of κεφαλαί recorded on it did not reflect the real magnitude and actual distribution of the labour force. Moreover, *IMag* does not show neither which type of labour force was appropriated to which type of cultivation, nor how much labour force was necessary for any specific type of land usage in Magnesia at all. Such information was dispensable for Magnesians in compiling *IMag*. On the other hand, recording the entire value of taxable resources and its publicly agreed distribution in the whole city was far more important, as various taxes were levied on such an entity of *guotas* every year. Therefore, the *IMag* type cadastre can be interpreted as having been intended to fix and index every liability farm by farm. However, if so, why was the value of the labour force thought to have to be fixed and perpetuated as attached to the land, though it was mobile assets, in contrast with the immobile landed properties? Above all, slaves could be sold, transferred and manumitted. We need to inspect for what a purpose and in what a manner *IMag* dealt with *capita* (κεφαλαί), especially focusing on the servile labour force, and then discuss what its consequences were.

3. From the legal and economic rationalist viewpoint, it would be reasonable to suppose that each landowner, especially a great landlord who ran many farms within and outside a civic territory, freely

deployed troops of servile labourers everywhere on his estates, according to either the season or other necessities, while *coloni adscripticii*, so-called “semi-servile” labourers, were destined to be attached to some specific land; the latter had a right to cultivate the land plots where they lived by hereditary right, whereas the former, as mobile assets of owners, as a rule lacked such a right.⁵⁴ Then, the assessed value of servile labour power should theoretically have been attached not to the farm but to the owner himself. However, in actual fact, we cannot find any trace of the distinction between servile and non-servile κεφαλαί in *IMag*, the value of κεφαλαί was only expressed as a unitary figure attached to the specific farm or land-plot as described above.

Again, were the servile κεφαλαί bracketed together with non-servile and livestock, and registered en bloc as those attached to land only for administrative convenience? On this point, *ITral* is highly informative; there, κεφαλαί of slaves (generally along with livestock) were, as far as we know, always registered at various places independently, neither as attached elements of landowners’ own farms, nor as those aggregated with *coloni adscripticii*’s. A councillor Tatianos registered 3 1/2 1/6 1/45/ and 4 1/4 1/20 1/100 κεφαλαί of slaves and their livestock at *chorion Monnara* and *chorion Paradeisos* respectively, in spite of listing *chorion Monnara* itself with an assessed value of 1/2 1/3 1/10 1/50 1/240 ζύγα and 15 1/2 1/30 1/40 κεφαλαί (perhaps of *coloni adscripticii*) at another entry among his own properties. Another councillor, Kritias, also registered 2 κεφαλαί of slaves and their livestock at *agros Ordamou Kepoi*, while declaring this *agros* (assessed at 3 1/2 1/4 1/15 1/75 1/400 ζύγα without the assessment of κεφαλαί) separately. In contrast, the third councillor Latron registered 3 1/2 1/20 1/150 of slaves and livestock at *chorion Daphne* without enrolling this *chorion* among his properties. Though we can only suppose that the places of servile labour-force registration were chosen according to their domiciles,⁵⁵ we clearly recognize the landlords’ and/or civic authorities’ (who were responsible for the local assessment) preference or inclination to keep slaves off any specific landed property; perhaps based on the legal principle that the slave owners always could assign and dispose of their servile labourers freely.

As is well known, a law of 371 ordered that “*quemadmodum originarios*

absque terra, ita rusticos censitosque servos vendi omnifariam non licebat". Jones interpreted this law as introducing a new fiscal principle that "rural slaves were tied to the actual land which they cultivated and could only be sold with it" since 371.⁵⁶ If we accept his reading, we have to agree that *ITral* was inscribed prior to the promulgation of this law, as it recorded only cases of un-tied slaves.⁵⁷ However, in fact the law did not deal with rural slaves in general, but only with those who were *censiti*. Latin "*censere*" means "to assess" or "to determine by the census", so in its wider meaning the Tralleian type of slaves can also be called *censiti servi*; but here *rustici censitique servi* must have been those who "were certified" to have lived on and cultivated their masters' estates on a hereditary basis, as they were ordered to be treated just like "*originarii*" = *coloni adscripticii* who had already been qualified to enjoy their hereditary tenancy. Otherwise, their masters were obliged to take not a few risks to concede the right to cultivate the land to even newly acquired rural slaves who might be untrustworthy and/or unskilled; such a measure is not only impractical but repressive. So the law means that "slaves who are in the rural area and determined (to be attached to the specific lands) by the census cannot be sold without (their attached) land everywhere, just like *originarii* cannot". If this interpretation is right, we can safely say that this law envisaged *vice versa* the existence of rural slaves who were (or continued to be) assessed as independent of land just like as those recorded in *ITral*; and if *ITral* belonged to the post 371 era, it may reflect the Tralleian slave owners' reluctance to declare their servile assets as "attached".

In either case, our interest lies in the manner in which κεφαλαί of the "un-tied" slaves were handled at the actual scene of the census administration in Tralles and in its adjacent city, Magnesia. Of particular note is the fact that nowhere in *ITral* was the total sum of κεφαλαί per landowner inscribed, but only those of ζύγα. This fact allows us to suppose that un-tied servile κεφαλαί were not thought to be aggregated with land-attached non-servile (*coloni*'s) ones, while they were un-attachable to the land itself. If so, what did make them non-aggregable? To answer this question, let us turn our attention to the manner of declaration. We have good examples of it in the cadastres from Thera, which seems to be a collection of original declarations.⁵⁸

In *ITher*, under the heading of each land owner (ΔΕΣΠΟΤΙΑΣ Τῶ

δεῖνα; “Domain of *such and such* a person”), the declaration of land, olive trees and livestock comes first, and then individual information about slaves (name, age, their own livestock) and *coloni* (name, land to which they are attached, age, livestock) with families (name, age, relationship to the *colonus*) follows. Interestingly, all names of slaves and of *coloni*’s family members emerge in the accusative, those of *coloni* in the nominative. This fact implies that the declarant of slaves was their master, while the *colonus* himself was the declarant of his family; *i.e.* when a landowner declared/registered κεφαλαί of *coloni* and their families, he or she declared them on their behalf. Slaves were declared simply with the formula “καὶ δούλους ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας; And (I declare) slaves on the rural area”⁵⁹ and their domiciles were, here in contrast with the cases of Tralleian slaves, not specified at all but just described as “on the rural area” vaguely, though many of them seem to have had *de facto* families (and accordingly barracks or huts to be inhabited somewhere).⁶⁰ On the margin of *ITher* 343, commuted amounts of ζύγα per *chorion* were written or inscribed later, but there is no total amount of κεφαλαί, either of slaves or of *coloni*, not to say of the aggregated.

In all probability, the non-aggregability of or at least, the reluctance to aggregate servile and non-servile κεφαλαί was derived from the difference of their declarants, who were responsible for the tax payments ultimately. Landlords were not taxpayers but just agents or intermediaries for taxes levied on κεφαλαί of their *coloni*; declarants = taxpayers were *coloni* themselves. On the other hand, for taxes on their slaves’ κεφαλαί, slave owners themselves were declarants = taxpayers. Here a traditional legal and financial principle seems to have continued to survive: “none should be annoyed by other person’s burden”.⁶¹ Furthermore, as for the registration process of the servile κεφαλαί, the absence of the descriptions of places where slaves were declared at the first stage (*ITher*), indicates a plausible possibility that the places of slaves’ registration were decided later, if necessary, at the second stage where a register of ζύγα and κεφαλαί was compiled (*ITral*), maybe ordinarily in accordance with slaves’ domiciles which did not necessarily belong to landlords’ estates (cf. *choria Paradeisos* and *Daphne* on *ITral*).⁶²

When such a sequence seems to have been taken place, are we to suppose that the servile κεφαλαί were calculated into each total of

κεφαλαί on *IMag*, a list sorting data of resources by land name?; in other words, was such a kind of un-tied servile labour force as seen in *ITral* and *ITher* recorded as an element attached to land in the cadastre of the *IMag* type? To get some clue to the answer of this question, let us discuss the labour force structure of some great landlords' estates on *IMag*, that may enable us to make a comparative analysis with those on *ITral* and *ITher*, both of which recorded sizable estates belonging to one or several landowners.⁶³

We immediately notice that some of Magnesian large estates were not assessed at any value of κεφαλαί. A *chorion* named *Euormianou* (f 5-8; altogether valued more than 18.5 ζύγα) was enrolled as divided into four parts, none of which had the amount of κεφαλαί; another named *Barin* (d 5-8; more than 16 ζύγα including those of *chorion Dynei's*) into four parts, also with no evaluation of the labour force. We can safely suppose that each of these estates, as having the same name, originally had belonged to a single owner, was alienated to others later, and was not cultivated by semi-servile labourers to be attached to the land, but by the other kind(s) of labourers. On the last point, supposed candidates are 1) *plebes urbanae* who were exempt from *capitatio*, 2) free villagers-tenants who registered their *capita* in their own names, 3) semi-servile *coloni* whose *capita* were attached to other lands, 4) slaves who were detached from the land, and a mixture. Though any type can explain the reason why κεφαλαί were absent there, *chorion Euormianou* is especially worth further speculation. Remarkably, two of four parts of this estate (four plus odd ζύγα and more than three ζύγα, respectively) were declared by the same Paulos, the councillor, independently. Why were these two parts of the same estate owned by the same person, both alike lacking the amounts of labour force, declared and registered separately? For the difference in the kinds of cultivation? However, there is no trace of that taken into a consideration in the cadastre inscriptions. For example, each estate in *ITher* 343 always consisted of a mixture of cultivations (arable, vine and olive) and had only a unitary amount of ζύγα. Or, for the difference in their locations? Improbable, because it had already been set down in a variety of the estates' names (as well exemplified in the name *chorion Barin Eripion*; d 8). Then the likely major reason is the difference of the labour force structures and forms of management between two parts

of an estate. I suppose that one was cultivated by servile labourers (or by free workers under (a) servile manager(s)), and the other by tenants (either free or semi-servile⁶⁴) for years; Paulos must have bought or inherited not only two parts of the estate but also slaves who had worked on one of them under the former landowner, registered slaves' κεφαλαί separately from the land, and declared land parcels independently from one another. A parallel case can be observed in *ITral*; as cited above, the councillor Kritias declared the servile labour of two κεφαλαί at his land named *Ordamou Kepoi*, while registering this land itself as assessed at ca. 3.6 ζύγα and no value of κεφαλαί. He, though seemingly using his slaves in the cultivation of this land, did not attach their κεφαλαί to the land itself.

We have another example of the separate declarations of two parts of the same single estate by the same person. *Chorion Baias* (e 2-5; altogether valued at more than 15 ζύγα) was enrolled as divided into four parts, two of which were declared by Tychikos, son of Eugnomonios; about 0.6 ζύγα and more than four κεφαλαί on the one hand (e 4), ca. 0.6 ζύγα and more than two κεφαλαί on the other (e 5). As both parcels were equipped with too much labour force for their small sizes, we may be permitted to think that these lands were small hamlets inhabited by two separate groups of *coloni*, just like *chorion Monnara* declared by a Tralleian councillor Tatianos in *ITral*, and supplied redundant labour force to the other two parcels. It is also possible to think that Tychikos might have been the *patronus vicorum* of these hamlets, as he himself seems to have been a powerful landlord, having his residence in the rural area.⁶⁵

It may be possible to suppose that these great landlords registered the value of their servile labour force as attached to other lands than where their slaves actually worked. However, I am rather inclined to think that the servile labour force was not recorded on *IMag* at all, but declared and registered landlord by landlord through a separate and parallel procedure, because of the very fact that the ratio of κεφαλαί to ζύγα is appreciably lower in *IMag* than in any of the other cadastres.⁶⁶ If the servile κεφαλαί were not counted into the values of labour power recorded in *IMag*, the relatively uneven distribution and the general scarcity of labour power observed there can be explained consistently.⁶⁷

4. We have thus reconstructed, though with some uncertainties, the sequence of *capita*-registration process in *IMag*, while making it clear that each amount of κεφαλαί on *IMag* did not reflect the actual labour force structure of individual lands or estates; some lands were assigned too low an estimate of workforce, the others too high. We can assume that the actual deployment of labour force in each land continued to change after *IMag* was inscribed in the natural course of events; alienation and division of lands, and death, birth, marriage, divorce and flight of labourers could easily and sometimes heavily affect the workforce structure. In some cases taxes on *capita* (and on *capita vel iuga* as well)⁶⁸ might have become overburdened taxpayers who owned a small land-plot with high κεφαλαί value. When such a negative impact to result from fixing κεφαλαί was naturally recognized, what was the purpose of inscribing and perpetuating such an unreal amount of labour force on stones in *IMag*?

On this point, a law of 293 is decisively important. It says “If the (value of the) labour power-based assessment of the farm sold (= *capitatio praedii venditi*) was said to be lower (than its registered value) by the vendor, whether intentionally or unintentionally, and (later) has been found to be higher, he (=vendor) is sued for the very part of the price, minus which the purchaser could have paid, if the latter had known from the beginning”.⁶⁹ This law, which seems to have been promulgated soon after the introduction of the system of *capitatio-iugatio*, was not intended to protect the purchasers who found more labourers working in their newly acquired farm, but those who found themselves subject to the higher value of the assessment of labour force than they had realised, which should result in the heavier tax burden on them; *huiusmodi onus et gravamen functionis*.

Here an economic consequence of fixing *capita* to land is eloquently presented; the value of the labour force, once assessed, was not easily revised in accordance with the reality of the deployment of workforce; hence soon it became thought necessary that the amount of the difference between real and formal value of the labour force should be so embedded in the value of a farm as to cheapen the latter’s price. It is highly probable that Magnesian people had already known such an outcome well, and postulated it when they compiled *IMag*. This document is known to have been inscribed on the walls of the *cella* of

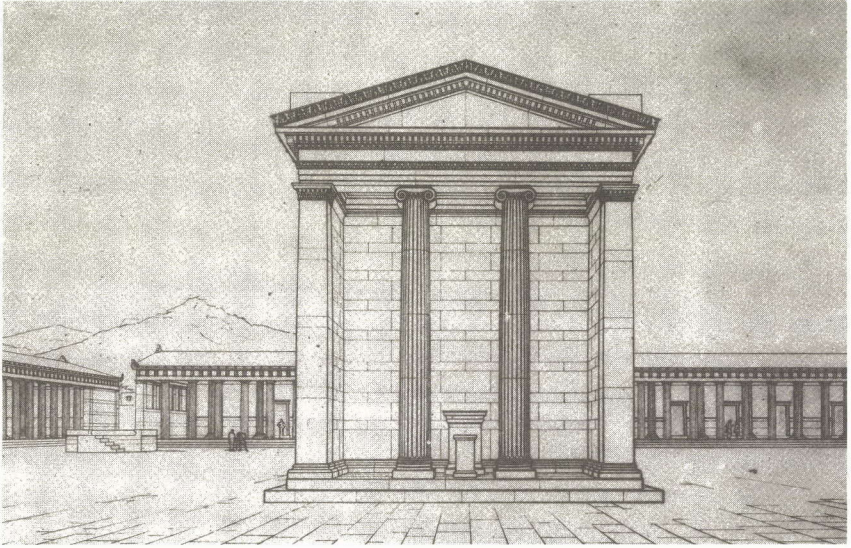


Fig.2b Rear (east side) view of the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis in Magnesia reconstructed by F.Kritchen

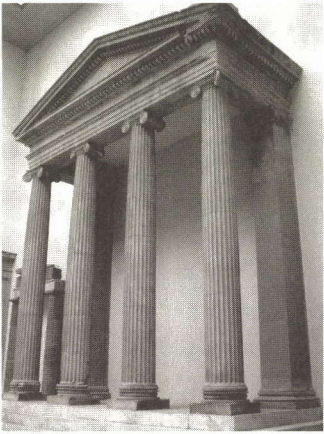


Fig.2c Façade of Temple of Zeus, Pergamon Museum, Berlin.

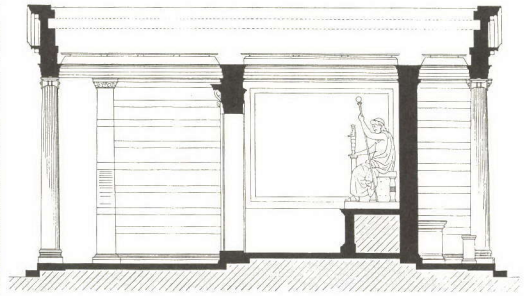


Fig.2d Inside of Temple of Zeus reconstructed by J. Kohte

the *Zeus Sosipolis* (“Pacifying the City”) temple located at the centre of the commercial agora (Figs.2b, c, d). This means that the citizens unanimously agreed on perpetuating every name of land-plots, farms and places within the territory and every fixed value of ζύγα and κεφαλαί attached to it, and indexing them, perhaps in order to eliminate every cause of fraud and cheating in real-estate transactions. Anyone who wanted to acquire or inherit a landed property, just by coming into the temple and consulting to *IMag*, could know what amounts of *capita* and *iuga* were booked officially, what amounts of taxes he or she would have to pay in future, and whether the land was priced fairly or not in the light of knowledge of the actual labour force deployment. *IMag* must have been originally a kind of fixed asset ledger or ground register index among many, archived under the civic *tabularius*.⁷⁰

Finally, let us have a short look into how the landowners = taxpayers came to terms with the difference of the formal value (or rather cost) of κεφαλαί from the real one, and sum up our discussion on the fixing of the value of labour force resources. We can surmise that great landlords moderated the aforesaid impact of ill-distributed κεφαλαί, as they could avail themselves of a variety of labour; they were able to deploy mobile labourers (either rural slaves or free workers) freely on their estates, if necessary. On the other hand, small landholders might have been annoyed by such a difference, especially when they bought or inherited a tiny bit of land with a relatively heavy burden of κεφαλαί attached. In this respect, we may obtain some information from a set of four papyri of the mid-fourth century Karanis, a well known village in Arsinoite; one is a land assessment of five holdings owned by more than six villagers (one holding was held by the co-heirs of a deceased couple: *P.Col.* 128) and the other three are tax receipts delivered to them (*P.Col.* 127, an incomplete one, 129 and *P.NYU.* 14). These holdings were assessed and taxed as follows;

The landowners, being relatives of each other in this case, are thought to have formed a kind of consortium for tax payments. Comparing three receipts, they were allocated tax amounts as a rule in proportion to the acreage of their landholdings, but the latter’s distribution shown in *P.Col.*128 seems to be different from that in 363/364 when three taxes were paid. According to Gascou’s adjustment, if the

amounts of acreage were 33 for Valerios, 20 for Aion, 13 7/8 for Heras, 5 3/4 for Tapaeis, and 12 1/2 for coheirs, the apportionment of taxes can be explained consistently.⁷¹ Thus, the main part of the taxes was levied on each landholding at a flat rate per *ἄρουρα*, based on the *arouratio*. However, it is remarkable that, as seen in two receipts, the rest was levied on κεφαλαί attached to Varelios and Heras respectively. Importantly, it was not Aion, the second wealthiest in landed property, but Heras, the third, who was assessed in κεφαλαί along with Varelios, the wealthiest; here, κεφαλαί were irrelevant to the real numbers of (male) labourers, because Aion's possession, in spite of its actually having at least his own workforce, had no value of κεφαλαί⁷². On the other hand, and significantly, there seems to have been a land transaction between Aion and Heras, perhaps in a period after *P.Col.128* was written and before taxes were imposed on them (Aion alienated about eight aroura of land to Heras). These all point to two alternative possibilities; one that Heras, among others, inherited the very parcel of land with κεφαλαί attached *ab initio*, or the other that Aion alienated a portion of his land to Heras as a compensation for the latter's undertaking the cost of *capitatio* taxes. I prefer the latter to the former for these land plots seem to have had belonged to an ancestor from whom five parties inherited, and therefore the original landed property must have had a unitary amount of κεφαλαί. We cannot say

Date	?		363.Oct/Nov	363/4	363/4
Text	<i>P.Col.128</i>	(adjusted)	<i>P.NYU 14</i>	<i>P.Col.129</i>	<i>P.Col.127</i>
Taxpayer			Unspecified	<i>Vestis militaris</i>	Wine and Meat
Valerios	33 ar.	(33 ar.)	23,300 tal.	26,400 tal.	23,100 tal.
			(keph.) 3,000 tal.	(keph.) 4,600 tal.	(artok.) 1,800 tal.
Aion	28 ar.	(20 ar.)	14,000 tal.	16,000 tal.	14,000 tal.
Heras	2.525 ar.	(13.875 ar.)	9,700 tal.	11,100 tal.	9,800 tal.
			(keph.) 3,000 tal.	(keph.) 4600 tal.	
Co-heirs	12.5 ar.	(12.5 ar.)	8,750 tal.	10,000 tal.	8,750 tal.
Tapaeis	5.75 ar.	(5.75 ar.)	4,000 tal.	4,600 tal.	(4.000?) tal.
Total	81.875 ar.	(85.125 ar.)	66,450 tal.	77,300 tal.	---

Table 1

artok. = ? ar. = aroura keph. = kephale tal. = talanta

why five interested parties did not share the κεφαλαί among themselves proportionally to each acreage, but it seems that the amount of, perhaps two, κεφαλαί was not thought to be divided into less than one unit, and the wealthiest two heirs should have shared them half and half; Aion did not like such a scheme, so alienated eight *aroura* of land together with his share of κεφαλαί to Heras.

As our Karanis case shows, taxes were not always levied on *capita* (κεφαλαί), and even when they were, the amount of the *capitatio* taxes made up just about ten percents of the whole (see **Table 1**); *capita* was functioning as a supplementary fiscal unit to *iuga* (ζύγα) in the imperial taxation system.⁷³ In fact, the labour force distribution was vulnerable to the change of socio-economic circumstances especially in case of small peasants; anyone might have happened to bear many children who had no option but to work on their father's small plot, while jobless second and third sons might have been obliged to work away from home. If data of the actual deployment of labour force should have been constantly updated in accordance with such a continuously changing reality, the total amount of clerical and office work would have far exceeded what imperial and civic governments could afford. It was extremely difficult for the authorities to catch up the actual information of labour force distribution in the rural territory; the formal values of *capita* always could not help differing from the real ones. In such a situation, it was safe for the imperial government to levy more taxes on *iuga* than on *capita* lest they crushed small taxpayers.

In turn, for taxpayers, it was only way to adopt the “allocation optimization of resources” in order to cope with the reality of the so called “fossilization” of labour force assessment; the cost of *capita* was allocated to anyone who was eager or able to undertake the land of which value was reduced by the attached *capita*. The land with higher value of *capita* was nothing more or less than the land of higher tax rate. The fixing of the values of *capita* and the disclosure of their information were necessary for everyone not to be burdened by the unexpected and un-desirous heavy taxes everywhere in late antique Roman world. As far as a part of taxes continued to be levied on *capita*, the official or “fossilized” records on mortal and movable human labourers (and animals) had no less actual meaning than those of eternal and immovable land, as the former defined the quality of the

latter in regard to the tax rates. This is the reason why *IMag* was inscribed on the wall of the temple of Zeus, the guardian god of the civic social and economic life.

4. *IHy* 85 and 86⁷⁴

1. It is the next question, what was the significance of some cadastral inscriptions which seem to have recorded the output of exhaustive surveys of landed properties and labour power of citizens with their commuted values without symbols of κεφαλαί and ζύγα. *IHy* 85 and 86 are worth considering.

These inscriptions consist of declarations preserving assessments of properties and family members of persons who inhabited the territory of Hypaipa. However, as Cerati and Goffart pointed out,⁷⁵ it is not necessary to relate them to *capitatio-ingatio*, as there is no entry explicitly commuted into κεφαλαί and ζύγα.⁷⁶ Jones alone dared to interpret the sign of “O” inscribed at the end of each declaration and followed by numerical figures as “ὄ(μοῦ= (=total)”, such and such *capita*.⁷⁷ Hence he assumed that O/A in the entry of Aur. Synodios (*col.1, l.9, IHy* 85 see **Fig.3a**), who declared neither family nor property but himself, meant “total = 1 *caput* (for one adult man)”. His hypothesis

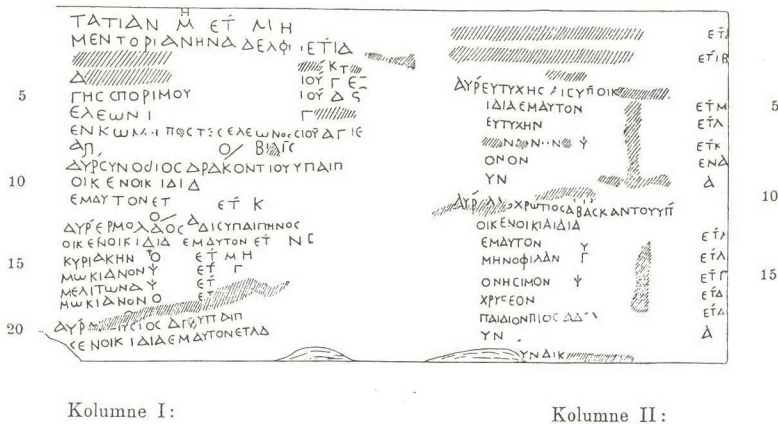


Fig.3a Keil-Premerstein III, Nr.85

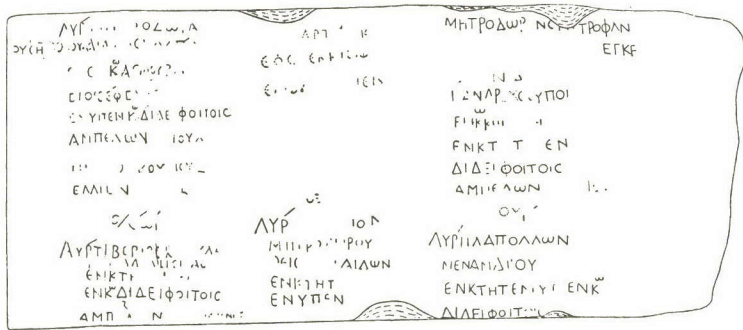


Fig.3b Keil-Premmerstein III, Nr.86

can stand on its own merits, but for the moment we call what he called *capita vel inga* just “unit(s)”. In the case of the son of Tatia (*col.1, l.1, IHyp 85*), this man declared not only his mother and sister (over ten years old), but also 3.2 *ingera* of vineyard and more than 4 *ingera* of arable land. His total was assessed at B (=2) plus fractions.⁷⁸ Curiously no scholar has mentioned this “B plus fractions”,⁷⁹ as both this number and 1 of Aur. Synodios were inscribed on the last line of each entry, we can easily conclude that labour power-based units and land-based units are aggregated into it. It is difficult to determine how many units two women were assessed at. However, it is sure that landed property of as much as *ca. 2 ba* was assessed at less than 1 plus fractions (if a woman was assessed at only fractions⁸⁰), when a man was at 1. Therefore, we can say that this combined assessment was far from having the nature of a land-based one, but rather that of a labour power-based one.

2. It is not at all sure whether either of these inscriptions had a village origin. They were inscribed neither on steles, bases of statues nor altars, on which village inscriptions are often discovered, but on *orthostatés*, stone panels (*ca. 50 cm*×*100 cm*), one of blue striped marble, the other of white marble, which were usually used as wall materials for large-scale buildings, such as temples. This fact rather points to a civic origin.⁸¹ Moreover, *IHyp 86* (Fig.3b) was reported to have been found among the pavement stones near the Protestant Church in the central urban district of Ödemiş (Kilisise Mahalle block), whereas *IHyp 85* was

among those deposited in the Armenian cemetery, 200-300 m away from Kilisse Mahalle. Ödemiş, now the largest modern city (inhabited by over 60,000 people) in the Middle Kaystros plain, was also that in the day of Josef Keil who discovered these inscriptions during 1905-1911. Many stones and construction materials had been brought into every quarter of this city from the ruin of Hypaipa, the nearest treasury of construction materials (5 km north of it, on the southern slope of Mt. Tmolos).⁸² So, it is plausible that these stone plates were brought from Hypaipa to different places several hundreds metres distant from each other in the central district of Ödemiş.⁸³

3. If this supposition is right, it becomes still more important that all declarants both in *IHyp* 85 and in 86 were described as “Ἕπ(αιπῆνος) ; Citizen of Hypaipa”, as far as we can read their *origines*. This is quite natural, as I assume that both had a civic origin. In the case of *IHyp* 86, the situation is a little complicated. This inscription consists of declarations of lands by *enkeketeores*, the non-residential landowners. They had their domiciles in various villages in the territory of Hypaipa and held their lands in a village named Dideiphoita also situated in its territory. We cannot find any declarations of their families on it. This fact suggests the plausible possibility that there might be other parts of inscriptions, though now lost, recording declarations of families and, if any, landed properties in their resident villages, arranged by village names. I myself think that such inscriptions could also have had a civic origin, as declarants were citizens. However, Jones, as well as Déléage, supposed that they had a village origin, as he presumed that villagers, even if they were citizens, were subject to the declaration of *capitatio* as *plebs rusticana*, from which the *plebs urbana* were exempt.⁸⁴ Such a supposition is quite dubious from the legal point of view. Can we suppose that only domicile differentiated one person’s legal status from another’s among citizens of the same city? For example, was a wealthy citizen who retired to his rural *villa* ranked as a member of the *plebs rusticana*? I don’t think so, in accordance with my own interpretation of the meaning of “*enbathrikon*” estates in *IMag* and *ITral*.⁸⁵ Why were *rustici rustici*? Because they were non-citizens who did not perform munera *civilia*, civic duties, while citizens performed civic duties that belonged not only to their *origines*, but also to their *domicilia*, when they

resided in other cities as *incolae*. We should distinguish villages of citizens and those of free persons who were non-citizens.⁸⁶ On the other hand, the *plebs urbana* came to be freed from *capitatio*, since they were subject to civic duties, just as Christian priests devoting themselves to services to God or *palatini* performing imperial services were exempt from civic *munera*. The imperial principle is that “no one should be annoyed by more than two burdens”.⁸⁷

To sum up. When the *plebs urbana* were exempt from the assessment of *capita*, the assessments of citizens’ families of Hypaipa cannot be for that, but rather for burdens of citizens. In this light, we should remember that from the last years of the third century to the early fourth the Roman jurists, Hermogenianus and Arcadius Charisius categorized *munera civilia* into *patrimonia*, *personalia* and *mixta* according to the nature of the burdens (*Dig.* 50. 4. 1; 18). Apart from the case of *capitatio-iugatio*, every city needed to assess every citizen’s property and family in order to maintain its own public services, ranging from various magistracies to construction, maintenance, repairing of civic buildings or streets. I think it more plausible that Hypaipan cadastral inscriptions were not made (only) for the purpose of distributing imperial taxes but (also) for that of assessing civic burdens (of course, it *could* be used for the former), and the contributory capacities were sometimes assessed in other kind of abstract units than ζύγα or κεφαλαί (i.e. such as O/A or O/B ...) as the basis for levying *munera mixta* or *personalia* among citizens.⁸⁸ It is true that we don’t know from legal texts how *munera personalia* or *mixta* were levied on every citizen. Probably the method and manner are different in every city. However, it was necessary to distribute the burdens among citizens on an egalitarian, or at least widely acceptable basis. In any case, perhaps these inscriptions belong to earlier in late Antiquity when the conceptions of *munera* came to be elaborated, and if so, they show us the vigorous aspect of civic activities by the relatively lower echelons of society which are seldom known to us. I show a matrix of the declarants and the declared in *IMag* and *IHyp* as **Table 2**.

My purpose was to put each of the documents, which have long been regarded as “a set” or “a series”, at first of central significance, and later of only marginal importance for the discussion of late antique fiscal, taxation and social systems, in what seems to be the right place.

Workforce	Cadastrés	<i>IMag</i>	<i>IHyP85</i>	<i>IHyP86</i>	<i>IHyP</i> lost part
<i>Plebs urbana</i> (w. land)		D (<i>i/c</i>)	D (land/family)
<i>Plebs urbana</i> (wo. land)		...	D (family)
<i>Plebs rusticana</i> (w. land)		D (<i>i/c</i>)
<i>Plebs rusticana</i> (wo. land)	
<i>Enkekteror</i> (w. land)		D (<i>i/c</i>)		D (land)	D (land/family)

w = with. wo = without, D = declarant, *i/c* = *iuga* and *capita*

Table 2 Declarants and declared on *IMag* and *IHyP*

I know well that there still remain some uncertainties in the process of the distribution of tax burdens and *munera* among tax-payers, but I believe that each of our documents, cadastral inscriptions, had its own significance and implication in various contexts of the financial history of the later Roman Empire.

* The first draft of this article was written during sabbatical leave from Rikkyo University, Tokyo in 2002-2003. Since the symposium was held in 2004, fortunately I have had time to rewrite sections 2 and 3 thoroughly. I would like to thank Dr. Barbara Levick, St. Hilda's College, Oxford, for very kindly reading drafts. I claim authorship of all mistakes.

1 per household; *IG* XII.3,180-182 (= *LAsty* : Astypalaea, with symbols ZKE, GHS ZU, ANTHR KE); *IG* XIII.3, 343-349 (= *ITber* : Perissa, with IO and KZU); Keil und Premerstein, *Eine dritte Reise in Lydien*, *DAKW*, 1914, (= *IHyP* : Hypaepa, without any symbol) Nr.85 and 86; *Inscripfen von Tralleis und Nyssa*, 1989, Nr.250, P. Thonemann, Estates and the Land in Late Roman Asia Minor, *Chiron* 37, 2007, 444-447 (= *ITral* : Tralles, with ZU and K); Déléage, *La capitation*, pp.183f. (= *ICHios* : Chios, with ZU and KE); *IGRR* 4, 1083, (= *ICos* : Cos, with ZU); per farm and *chorion*; *Inscripfen von Magnesia am Maeander*, 1900, Nr.122 (= *IMag* : Magnesia ad Maeand., with ZU and KE) cf. Jones, *The Roman Economy*, 1974, 234. Otherwise, simply "Parzelle", "localité", "quartier" or "place", as in H.Bott, *Die Grundzüge der diokletianischen Steuerverfassung*, Diss.Universität Frankfurt a.M., 1928, 43, A.Déléage, *La capitation du Bas-Empire*, Macon, 1945, 194 and W.Goffart, *Caput and Colonate. Towards a History of Late Roman Taxation*, Toronto, 1974, 118. Some of *choria* belonged to a couple of landowners at the same time.

2 A.Déléage, *La capitation du Bas-Empire*, 1945, 255; A.H.M.Jones, *The Roman*

- Economy*, 1974, 284. Goffart, 36, n.19 prejudicially insists that *capitatio* and *iugatio* should and can always be interpreted as referring exclusively to the assessment system itself. However, most scholars think that they sometimes referred to taxes on a labour power-based unit of liability and those on a land-based one respectively.
- 3 Though their origin is far from obvious, one possible explanation is Goffart's in his postscript, 139ff. On the (supposed) actual function of this system, see below nn. 68 and 73.
 - 4 Déléage, ch.4; Jones, ch.10 & 13.
 - 5 Déléage, 194 thought of it as exceptional, because it is a list of resources arranged place by place. From the view point of the actual tax payments, his view is practical, as substantive taxes were raised from each taxpayer, not from each farm. As for *IMag*'s purpose, see below, p.206.
 - 6 *IHyph* 85 as well as 86 contains declarations of the age and sex of family members of the declarants, which were thought to have been necessary in assessment of *capitatio*. Jones, in his categorizing of this inscription as being of type 1), stressed the fact that the Asian urban population was exempted from *census* for *capitatio* through almost the whole of Late Antiquity (cf. *Cod. Theod.* XIII, 10. 2).
 - 7 Their emendations of *LAsty* and *ITber* are undoubtedly "sensible", though they themselves owed much to previous epigraphists' endeavours. Cf. Goffart, 118. See notes in Déléage, 163-196. Especially the interpretations of KZ and ZK owed much to Paton (*IG XII. 2, 37*), R.Herzog (*Koische Forschungen und Funde*, 1899, 56-61), and Hiller von Gaertringen (*IG XII. 3, Suppl.*, 1904, 278). Recently, Thonemann (n.1) published revised editions of these two documents (for *ITber* only partially) based on the close inspections of Berlin squeezes. His transcriptions provide us with safer and more reliable bases for their future study.
 - 8 A.Carati, *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire*, Paris, 1975 and Goffart, *op.cit.*
 - 9 Cerati, 255-260, though not fully developing the argument, regarded *LAsty* recording the symbol ZK(Ε) as later evidence, perhaps on the ground that the word ζυγοκεφαλαί is attested only in the sixth century laws (*Cod Inst.*, X, 27,1; *Novellae Inst.*, 17.8).
 - 10 Three meanings; 1) "headings" (= those on the census records), 2) "unsecured share of assessment" (=assessed only roughly at a flat rate of a *caput* per taxpayer, the counterpart of a secured share, *iugum*, an exactly assessed one) and 3) "perishable components in the assessment schedule" (= those of the same value as *iuga* in the bivalent system).
 - 11 Goffart, 62-65.
 - 12 *ibid.*, 96, n.12.
 - 13 *ibid.*, Appendix 1.

- 14 His equation of ζύγα and ζυγοκεφαλαί is problematic, as they were mentioned as fiscal units independent of each other in the laws he quotes. We can never say from the words of Justinianic laws that personal elements were never considered in the assessment of ζυγοκεφαλαί.
- 15 J.-M.Carrié, L'Égypte au IV^e siècle: fiscalité, économie, société, in *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology, New York, 24-31 July, 1980*, Ann Arbor, 1981, 437: “capitatio et jugatio peuvent coexister dans une même province, comme deux modes d’assiette distincts”.
- 16 Thonemann, art.cit.(cited above n.1); K.Harper, The Greek Census Inscriptions of Late Antiquity, *JRS* 98, 2008, 83-117.
- 17 Newly discovered inscriptions. *ITher.S*; Thera; E. Geroussi-Bendermacher, Propriété foncières et inventaire d’esclaves: Un texte inédit de Perissa (Thera) tardo-antique, in V. I. Anastasiadis et P. N. Doukellis (eds), *Esclavage antique et discriminations socio-culturelle*, 2005, 335-358. *IMyt.N*; Mytilene; R. Parker and H. Williams, A Fragment of a Diocletianic Tax Assessment from Mytilene, *EMC* 39, 1995, 267-273. New editions of *ITral* and *LAsty* are shown in Thonemann. Cf. above n.7. Such an attitude is clearer in Harper, as shown in his paper’s title.
- 18 Thonemann 436f. brings forth inscriptions of the Diocletianic Price edict discovered in Phrygia, Caria and other provinces, as a parallel case to cadastral inscriptions, while stressing that the latter were discovered only within the *dioecesis Asiana*. He concludes, “Similarly, one particular *vicarius* (or three provincial governors) decided that the census-records in his diocese were best displayed publicly on stone.” However, we should remember that the promulgation of the Price edict was an especially memorable and historically isolated incident (therefore we can date Price edict inscriptions specifically in and around 301), while censuses could have always been held locally, if they were not general. At least for *IMag*, I prefer Harper’s argument (87f) to Thonemann’s, though the former’s placing it in Valens’ time does not seem to be sufficiently grounded. Some, or even many of the *lamprotatoi* (*clarissimi*) on *IMag* might not have been active Constantinopolitan Senators, but just *honorati*; a habit of conferring empty titles to local notables had already been diffused throughout the empire under Constantine’s sons. Cf. Album of Tingad where five *clarissimi* were recorded under Julian’s reign. A. Chastagnol, *L’album municipal de Tingad*, Bonn, 1978. On the other hand, the absence of title-holders of *spectabiles* and *illustres* on the list, may allow us to infer that it did not belong to the era of the sons of Theodosius and after. As for the remaining cadastres, we seem to have no clue to determine their dates, even roughly (but for *ITral* —and probably also *ITher* —may belong to before 371, see below p.200).
- 19 Cerati, 244-260.; Goffart, Appendix 1.
- 20 My picture of cadastral inscriptions cannot help remaining rather static

than dynamic, as I take neither Cerati-Goffart's side nor Thonemann-Harper's in dating them. See above, n.18. My view that these documents, at any rate, belong to the later Roman administrative practices, however, might have its own merit in a wider context, as it may make it clear that legal principles of tax administration had been maintained in some aspects and been changed only slowly in others from the early to later Roman imperial periods.

21 Goffart, 62-65, especially n.67.

22 I use the word "unit" as meaning "unit of measurement of taxable resources" and at the same time "unit of taxation". Thonemann, 436 says "ζυγοκεφαλον, representing *inga* plus *capita* on a single scale ... was not, strictly speaking, a unit of taxation", but "rather ... a way of expressing total taxable resources of an individual as a proportion of the total resources of the empire". However, his wordings of "single scale" and "total resources" are misleading, when we cannot specify what made the value of a *caput* equal to that of an *inga* in the aggregation of them. In fact, as it is assumable that taxes were levied on either *inga*, *capita* or their aggregated unit (*capita vel inga*) case by case, each of them was "a unit of taxation" in its strict meaning. See below n.68.

23 R.S.Bagnall, *P. Oxy.* 1905, *SB* V 7756 and Fourth-Century Taxation, *ZPE* 37, 1980, 191, 194 "it is hard to see what this (= an agreed standard for distribution) can be except for property".

24 J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte*, Bruxelles, 1964, 185 n.2.

25 J.Gascou, Problème de l'imposition personnelle en Égypte au Bas-Empire (fin IIIe/Vie siècle), Lecture in Nagoya, Japan 2001 pointed out the latter possibility.

26 Gascou, *ibid.* M.Carrié, 441 follows R.Remondon who defined *kephalé* only vaguely as "the contributory faculty of each taxpayer". Cf. R.Remondon, La date de l'introduction en Égypte du système fiscal de la capitation, *Proceedings of the XII (1968) International Congress of Papyrology*, Toronto, 1970, 435;

27 Gascou, art.cit., "taxes foncières été recueillies sur les têtes recensées à Karanis", "le produit de l'*adaeratio* de l'orge, d'une autre denrée et de pièces de vêtements au titre de la *vestis militaris* a été mis sur le compte des levées personnelles". "les *capita* personnels servaient ... à assigner des titres fiscaux et des *munera* divers dont l'annone militaire qui passe pour l'impôt foncier par excellence". Cf. *Cod. Theod.* xi, 1.15; *unusquisque annonarias species pro modo capitacionis et sortium praebiturus* (If any person should make payments of annonarian commodities in proportion with *capita* and *sortes*.... I follow Jones, 281 and Goffart, 40 who interpreted *sortes* as meaning *inga*).

28 Jones, 239; Déléage, 194 did not specify the nature and purposes of *IMag*.

29 Above, n.6.

30 Egyptian *epikephalaion poleôs* is out of our scope, because it was a tax on

traders organized in guilds. Cf. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton, 1993, 154. As for the Egyptian *anér*, Gascou persuasively demonstrates that its meaning was same as that of κέφαλη, though it is necessary to discuss in more depth about the μερισμός of ἀνήρ = κέφαλη; *i.e.* the procedure of their apportionment.

- 31 *IMag* was discovered in the *cella* of the Zeus temple during the first excavation in the 1880's. Professor O. Bingöl, Ankara University, kindly let me know that he thinks they must have been reburied *in situ*.
- 32 *ITral* was reported to be discovered somewhere in the pavement of the Aydın-Menderes road in the late nineteenth century (cf. *Mouseion* iii, 1880), so it is difficult for us to determine its socio-cultural setting. This inscription was attested by J.Keil as ornamenting the façade of a girls' high school in Izmir before 1909 (*K-P* III S.69), and probably lost for ever in the fierce struggle between Greece and Turkey after WW I. (Thonemann, 443 says "presumed destroyed in 1923"). Thonemann thinks of Fontrier's transcript sketched and revised in 1880, as the most reliable in numerals and abbreviations, because it makes sense in many places.
- 33 Only Fragment a) of *IMag* was republished in Thonemann, 441f on his own inspection of the squeeze. I have not yet had a chance to see them.
- 34 a 1, b 18, c 1, c 6, d 17-18, e 1-3, f 9, g 1, h 1.
- 35 Only those of which transcription seems be sure.
- 36 Jones, 238, 283.
- 37 *ibid.*, 239; If R. Duncan-Jones' (*Roman Economy*, 1974, 327) "manning ratio (25 *ingera* arable, 8 *ingera* vine, 5 *ingera* olives per a man)", Thonemann's (465) "*ingum* commutation ratio" (100 *ingera* arable, 15 *ingera* vine, 300 olive trees per *ingum*) and his (478) "*caput* commutation ratio" (two adult men, three adult women, four boys) is applicable, only 6 or 7 cases (b 7, 12, 18, c 4?, e 4, 5, g 4) except for estates of great landlords.
- 38 Jones, 239.
- 39 Harper, 96.
- 40 R.Duncan-Jones, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, 1990, 137-138; cf. Harper, 88, n.37.
- 41 Harper, 96 ; Thonemann, 472 calculates 340.82 *ingra*. He thinks of *IMag* as a cover-all list of lands in the Magnesian territory, without detailed discussion.
- 42 Thonemann, 465.
- 43 R.Marchese, *The Lower Maeander Flood Plain: A Regional Settlement Study*, 1986, 317.
- 44 Harper, 96.
- 45 Harper, *ibid.* estimates an urban population of Magnesia as "5,000-10,000, with a rural population at several times this number". According to his estimation, the urban population except for the landowning class amounts to 4,000-9,000. I cannot imagine how such many in the *plebs urbana* supported

themselves and their families only with urban employments in this inconspicuous (except for in its having the sanctuary of *Artemis Leukobryene*) agricultural city. I accept his estimate of the number of urban population (which presupposes no very high level of urbanisation), but not that of the rural population. In Aegean coastal area of Asia Minor where so many cities concentrated, it does not seem that there was enough capacity in *choria* and *agroï* recorded in *IMag* for as many rural residents as several times of urban residents' number to be housed. At best, say, 10,000 of the rural population in accordance with my own calculation of extant κεφαλαί (see below p.198) must have been able to be. As for the *plebs urbana* as the supposed agricultural work force, see below nn.51-53.

46 cf. Thonemann, 441, n.26; "Proprietor and declarant were not necessarily the same person". For example, in the first fragment of *ITher* (IG XII, 3. 343) dealing with the property owned by a deceased Paregorios, in addition to his daughter, two persons (Loukianos and Skeptikos) declared two parcels of the property with the formula "ἐξ ἀπογραφῆς δεῖνα" just like declarants in *IMag*, in spite of the headings of the list remaining "δεσποτίας Παρεγορίου". We cannot say which they were, Paregorios' heirs themselves or interim curators. On the other hand, *choria* declared by great landlords, such as *clarissimi*, *perfectissimi* or decurions, might not have been possessed by themselves. They were men of influence, so could have behaved as legitimate (or even illegal) patrons of local communities, though after 371 every land owner, however small land they own, had to declare it formally under his or her name (*Cod. Theod.*, XI. 1. 14); cf. J. -U. Krause, Spätantike Patronatsformen im Westen des Römischen Reiches, München, 1987. We may see an example of village patrons, in Tatianos in *ITral*. He declared ca. 0.6 ζύγα and more than 15 κεφαλαί in a hamlet Monnara, where he himself also installed slaves and livestock valued more than 3 κεφαλαί. If as many κεφαλαί as 15 represented the labour force of Tatianos' *coloni adscripticii* (= more than 40 persons) and such a disproportionately small area of land as 0.6 ζύγα (=15 *ha* arable or 2.3 *ha* vine) belonged to himself, such estates would have been just loss-making and no one would have liked to run. On the other hand, small peasants with tiny land plots could have maintained themselves by providing neighbouring landlords with their workforce. Therefore, it might be better for us to think that Tatianos acted as Monnareian hamlet's proxy as the *patronus vicī* in the declaration of their *capita* and *inga*.

47 Proportion between κεφαλαί and ζύγα ranges from 1:6 to 15:1 on *IMag*. Jones, 238; He calculate the proportion between *capita* and *inga* in Magnesia as 4:5, but I am not sure on which numerical figures his calculation is based. I count all recorded and reach the proportion of roughly 7:8. In other cadastres, 1 1/3 :1 (Astypalaya and Tralles).

48 cf. Harper, 98.

- 49 I count 350 κεφαλαί on *IMag*. On Thonemann's commutation ratio, see above n.37; if the total sum of *capita* consists of families' each of which has two children countable as workforce, 4,400 *capita* means 13,200 labourers (6,600 adults, 6,600 under-age). I do not accept Harper's schedule (1 caput=1 adult man = 2 adult women), which is not demonstrable in the Asian diocese.
- 50 Jones, 239; *Cod. Theod.* XIII, 10, 2; I think *IHyb* 85 and 86 include some citizens of this type = *plebs urbana*. In Hypaepa, some citizens lived in villages within the civic territory. see below p.211.
- 51 We may be able to bring forward evidence for the exemption of *plebs urbana* (and *decuriones* as well) from *capitatio* on *IMag* and *ITral*. As Thonemann, 459f noticed, two estates being qualified as ἐμβαθρικών (b 6 in *IMag*, col.II, 48 in *ITral*) were neither assessed at *capita* nor *inga*, while a declarant in col.II 8f of *ITral* was annotated as ὑπο ἐμβαθρώνων πρόσσοδον. He interprets the "embathric" lands as "civic or curial lands under emphyteutic lease" holdings in the light of the tenth century technical wording. However, ἐμβαθρικών, a word of very rare occurrence, was probably used during the limited period in the later Imperial age, so we rather should suspect that this might have been a technical word translated from the Latin, than search for its origin in a later Greek usage, as Thonemann did. ἐν + βάθρον can be translated "in *sedem*" in Latin, i.e. "in (one's) residence". The meaning of *sedes* is clearly defined in Pomponius' explanation of the legal technical word "*incola*" (*Digesta* 50. 16. 239. 2); *incola est qui aliqua regione domicilium suum contulit: quem Graeci paroikon appellant. Nec tantum hi, qui in oppido morantur, incolae sunt, sed etiam qui alicuius oppidi finibus ita agrum habent, ut in eum se quasi in aliquam sedem recipiant.* (*incola* is a person who transfers his residence to another region, whom Greeks call 'paroikon'. *Incolae* are not only those who remain in a village, but also those who possess their landed properties in a village territory into which they retreated, as if it were their *sedes*, i.e. (urban) residence.) We can naturally guess both Tychikos, one of the owners of "embathric" *chorion Apollonareion* in Magnesia and Latron, a decurion who owned an "embathric" estate named *Bounos* in Tralles were registered as retreating into their rural, quasi urban, residential (=embathric) estates, so they were exempted from the registration of their own and their families' *capita* and their rural premises' *inga*. Latron's case well fits my supposition; his 'embathric' *chorion Bounos* (col. II 48) belonged to large estates of *chorion Bounoi* (49), along with *agros Hippike kai Symbolos* (49), and *agros Bounos* (50) which were also belonged to him. The latter two *agrois* were assessed at one odd and six odd respectively without the amount of κεφαλαί. We can safely assume that *chorion Bounoi* had at least three estates which belonged to Latron and only *chorion Bounos* was exempt from the *ingatio* and *capitatio* as the owner's quasi urban residence. Latron attached his tenants and slaves who were working on *chorion Bounoi* as serving for his domestic affairs; i.e. as *capita* exempted from the declaration of an urban

resident. The enbathric lands might have been levied a kind of civic tax or *munus* independent of the imperial taxes, as the words ἐμβαθρώνη πρόσοδος make us infer some kind of revenue. In any case, if my supposition is right, enbathric cases can be indirect proofs of the exemption of urban residents from *capitatio* in the ages when these cadastres were made.

52 I think that they, in spite of their being citizens of Magnesia, might have lived in villages in the territory, as did citizens of Hypaipa. See below p.211.

53 Nevertheless, no scholar has conceived of the possibility that the urban *plebs* might have been a stock pot of the labour force for the cultivation of the civic rural territory. Both Magnesia and Tralles are situated on a fertile basin of the river Maeandros, so we can safely suppose that the agricultural area was close to the urban area in the fourth century, as it still is. Marchese supposes 15,000 for the Magnesian urban population, Harper 5,000-10,000. See above n.45.

54 Hitherto, the theory of fiscalité, stressing *coloni adscripticii*'s "semi-servile" nature, tends to neglect a legal aspect of the later Roman *colonatus* which protected the hereditary rights of *coloni adscripticii*. In *ITber 343*, we may find some traces of free deployment of labour by landlords. A landowner declared *chorion Politike*, assessed at 26 *jugera* arable, eight *jugera* vineyard, eighteen olive trees, and *paroikoi* (= *coloni*) Theodoros, 30 years old, who was attached to this farm and himself declared his wife, 20 years old, daughter, two years old and an ox through his landlord. According to the "manning ratio" of Duncan-Jones (see above, n.37), labour force - land acreage proportion looks well balanced at first glance. However, the colonus' wife, as mother of a two year old baby, cannot be expected to work as hard as an adult man, so we need to think that this farm must have tended to lack human-power. Furthermore, five to ten years before, Theodoros, a hereditary *colonus*, might have been a single orphan, and if so, the work force of this land must have decisively failed. He could have hired a free agricultural labourer, but the landowner might have sent one of his rural slaves to cover the scarce workforce and young colonus' inexperience (of course, fruits and crops should have been shared between the *colonus* and the slave-master). Such a situation, though mere imaginary one, could have happened anywhere at any time in a great landlord's estates; movable labour force is thought to have been indispensable for maintaining the flexibility of estates management.

55 Cf. Thonemann, 458.

56 *ibid.*, 232; *Cod. Iust.*, 11. 48. 7.

57 Thonemann, 458 takes this view.

58 However, as is well known, amounts of ζύγα per a landowner were inscribed later on the margin in *ITral 343*. Cf. Jones, 229.

59 *ITber.S.* A 1, *ITber 343*, l.16.

60 Harper 118 enumerates 18 cases of partially incomplete monogamy

families of slaves in *ITber.S*. In *ITber 343* also there emerge two slaves Eutychea, 60 years old, and Polychronios, 40 years old, who might have been mother and son.

- 61 See H.-J. Horstkotte, *Die Steuerhaftung im spätrömischen Zwangsstaat*, Frankfurt a.M., 2. ergänzte Auflage, 1988, 61-65.
- 62 The newly discovered *ITber.S* records as many as 152 slaves (only legible) without specifying their residences. They probably belonged to one great landlord, as the formula of this inscription is that of declaration of assets per a landlord, as mentioned above. Their κεφαλαί might have been registered at places the landlord preferred later at the next stage of the creation of the register. Otherwise, under the names of urban landlords themselves, in the other type of register.
- 63 *Lasfy* is a unique register in recording the values of ζύγα, κεφαλαί and ζυγοκεφαλαί per a landed estate, but we cannot know the breakdown of κεφαλαί in it, so it is not useful for discussions here. The division between ἀνθρώπων κεφαλαί and ζώων κεφαλαί alludes to the possibility that the former includes the servile labour force, but we cannot exclude the possibility that there were no slaves among Herakleides' agricultural workers.
- 64 Paulos declared a land named [--] *kieon meikron*, which was assessed at less than 1/4 ζύγα and more than five κεφαλαί. Though we can neither know how extensive Paulos' whole estates were, nor whether this land was there near *chorion Euormianou*, it is possible to suppose that *coloni adscripticii* or free peasants settled on the former might have worked on the latter. However, cf. above n.46.
- 65 On Tychikos, see *IMag* a 8, b 6, f 6, and above n.51. Among others, *chorion Atarachianos* had five declarants (b 10-14); among them a Pistikos declared 1 1/4 1/50 ζύγα and 15 1/2 1/120 κεφαλαί of obviously high value, while three of five declarants did about twenty ζύγα in total without any κεφαλαί; here we may see a landlord who housed his *coloni* in a village, where most agricultural land was owned by other landowners (as a Tralleian councillor Tatianos owning *chorion Monnara* in *ITral*). On the other hand, Pistikos is conspicuous in his registering exceptionally large value of κεφαλαί (in *chorion Aulon*, over 91 and probably in *chorion Barbarianes*, over 31). Thonemann supposes he was an emery-mining entrepreneur, but there is no evidence. He could have been the patron or the tax farmer of Aulon village and others, where free peasants lived.
- 66 On the *capita: iuga* proportion in cadastre inscriptions, see above n.47.
- 67 Among other entries in *IMag*, *chorion Artemidos pros synor(iois) monopyrgou Heraklitou* assessed at more than 10 ζύγα has no κεφαλαί. This estate is thought to have belonged to the temple of *Artemis Leukophryene* (cf. Thonemann, 438), and if so, it is remarkable that it does not show the amount of temple slaves' κεφαλαί on this all-embracing cadastre. We meet some other

- entries for large estates which have no κεφαλαί. cf. *chorion B[...]* assessed at more than 21 ζύγα (d 1), *chorion Barbyllo* at ca.5 (e 8), *chorion Bolbianon kai Birgillion* at ca.6.5 (e 13), *chorion Bettianos* at more than 10 (e 17), *chorion Bopainon me(ros)* 1/2 at 11.5 (e 18). All these lands were so large as to demand a servile bailiff and/or accountant in their managements.
- 68 In the scheme of the imperial tax administration, which taxes was levied on *iuga* (ζύγα), on *capita* (κεφαλαί) or on *capita sive iuga* (ζυγοκεφαλαί) must have been on case-by-case basis, though it is probable that those on *iuga* were levied most frequently. We have very few instances of taxes on *capita* and those on *capita sive iuga*.
- 69 *Cod. Iust.*, 4. 49. 9; *si minor a venditore sive sciente sive ignorante dicebatur capitatio praedii venditi et maior inventa sit, in tantum convenitur, quanto, si scisset emptor ab initio, minus daret pretii*.
- 70 On civic *tabularii*, for example, *Cod. Iust.*, 11. 58. 1 (a.313).
- 71 Cf. *P.Col.* 7, 96-97.
- 72 A Diocletianic law and the famous edict of Aristius Optatus of 297 mention the rural plebes or ἄγροικοί being subjected to the assessment of *capita* (= κεφαλαί). *Cod. Iust.* 11. 55. 1; *P.Cairo Isid.* 1. However, the evidence on our Varelios' *consortium* suggests that such a measure was not observed both in Asia and in Egypt.
- 73 Such a system must have been designed from the beginning, as the values of *capita* and *iuga* were not equal to each other at all; say, the price of two rural slaves (=1 *caput*) was no match for that of 100 *jugera* arable land (=1 *iugum*). The tri-valence of rural resources (*capita, iuga and capita vel iuga*) must have simply imitated the trichotomy of civic *munera* (*munera personalia, patrimonalia and mixta*) which had been developed in the late third century. We cannot know whether there was any principle or criteria to determine on which occasion and at which rate any specific type of three units was to be chosen to apply for.
- 74 On *IHypp* 85, the Vice-president of Ödemiş Archaeological Museum said to me that inscriptions excavated from some Armenian cemetery were now in their collection, but a local historian Mr. Yavuz affirmed that the Armenian cemetery of Ödemiş was demolished and cleared for the construction of the new City Hall, after the public announcement in 1930's.
- 75 Cerati, 245; Goffart, 115.
- 76 In I.3 on the fragment of a list of village-names discovered near Ödemiş (*IHypp* 87), Keil-Premmerstein transcribed “ζύ(γα)”, with the following number illegible, but they confessed that this letter “ist nicht ganz sicher”.
- 77 Déléage 169 also interpreted this sign as expressing “en tout, ὁ(μοῦ)”.
- 78 The second character of the fractions is illegible on Keil's sketch of this inscription, but if it can be emended as Δ', the total (B Δ' I' C') should be 2 1/4 1/10 1/200.

- 79 The reading B is sure on Keil's sketch, in spite of the comment of "illegible" by Déléage 169 and Goffart 115, neither of whom had examined this inscription in person.
- 80 Jones 230-231 pointed out that women were assessed at from a half of to the equal of a man in the imperial *capitatio*.
- 81 We know there is a ruin of a *Kaisareion* 10km WSW of Hypaipa (cf. *K-P* iii, 107). However, stones derived from its ruins were re-used in a village named Jussuf Deressi. Stones of long forgotten rural ruins tend to be used in the neighbouring area.
- 82 Keil-Premerestein, 65; from my personal impression, the ruins of Hypaipa are characterized by the thorough despoliation of its stones. I could see only one fragmentary column lying on the earth. Keil-Premerestein, 65, "Das antike Stein- und Baumaterial der Stadt selbst ist weithin zerstreut. Besonders die vielen alten Friedhöfe in der Umgebung von Ödemisch enthalten viel davon. Dann auch die Moscheen, Kirchen und Privathäuser dieser selbst ganz modernen Stadt sowie der umliegenden Ortschaften".
- 83 There is another possibility: that the village Dideiphoita was in the area of Ödemiş itself, as L.Zgusta, *Die kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, 1967, s.v. Dideiphyta suggests. However, where in Ödemiş, which covers too wide an area to be pointed out as an original place? In Kilisse Mahalle block, where *IHyP* 86 was found? But this stone was found among pavement stones of the newly constructed Protestant church complex. So such a supposition, that a stone had not been moved from its original place and not had been reused as construction material until the most recent years of the urbanization is quite unnatural, when stones of Hypaipan origin were dispersed beyond the territory of Ödemiş over 100 square kilometres.
- 84 Jones, 240.
- 85 See above n.51.
- 86 *Cod. Inst.*, 11. 55.1: *Ne quis ex rusticana plebe, quae extra muros posita capitacionem suam detulit et annonam congruam praestat, ad ullum aliud obsequium devocatur ...*. Here, the *plebs rusticana* was exempt from any other duties (probably of course, including civic duties) than imperial tax. "*Quae extra muros posita*" is an explanation of *rusticana plebs*, so we should not take this as meaning "*quisquis extra muros positus*". Cf. above n.50-52.
- 87 Cf. Horstkotte (cited in n.61); Of course, it was very difficult to apply this principle in practice. For example, whereas villagers on the estates were exempt from civic *munera*, their landlords were subject. So, the actual burden of civic *munera*, such as maintenance of civic roads in rural territory, must have been performed by the former.
- 88 According to Arcadius Charisius (*Dig.* 50. 4. 18. 27), the distinction between these *munera* seems ambiguous. He wrote "*sed ea, munera quae supra personalia esse diximus, si his qui funguntur ex lege civitatis suae vel more etiam de propriis*

facultatibus impensas faciant ... mixtorum definitione continebuntur; those *munera* which we called “*personalia*”, are defined as “*mixta*”, when those who perform them spend money from his own pocket according to the civic law or even by custom.

The Origins of Japanese Wooden Tablets

Yasuhiro TERASAKI
Nara University

1. Introduction

Forty years have passed since 1961 when the first wooden tablet, or *mokkan* (木簡), came to light at *Heijyô* capital, an ancient capital of Nara. The total today of wooden tablets discovered at sites all over Japan is 300,000. In this paper, we focus on tablets of the ancient period, especially those prior to the tenth century. Some 200,000 tablets of this period have been uncovered from about 400 sites. (see **Appendix**)

The purpose of this paper is to characterise wooden tablets as a primary source. We will therefore examine the nature of the ancient Japanese sites and structural remains which have yielded tablets.

2. Sites yielding tablets

General facts about sites which have yielded wooden tablets of the ancient period are as follows:

- 1) Most tablets have been unearthed from the sites of capitals, especially *Heijô*.
- 2) Many buildings of the provincial administration (provincial and district offices) have yielded tablets, although the numbers are rather small.
- 3) Other sites, such as villages, workshops and temples, have also yielded tablets.

Notwithstanding a few exceptions, this is the general picture of where and to what extent wooden tablets were used in ancient Japan. It also suggests how writing spread in Japan, after it was adopted from

China. It spread first from capitals to provincial offices, and then to villages, reflecting the distribution of the literate population. However, as excavations have proceeded, more tablets have been found in more distant provinces, indicating that ancient literacy was more widespread than previously suspected.¹

3. The capitals of Japan

There is a chronological pattern in the distribution of tablets found in the capitals. Only 38 tablets have been attributed to the *Naniwa* palace (Ôsaka, Ôsaka prefecture; 652-655) in the middle of the seventh century, yet 1,600 have been attributed to the *Asuka* palace (at Asuka, Nara prefecture; 673-694) in the latter half of the century, then about 22,000 to the subsequent *Fujinara* palace and capital (at Kashihara, Nara; 694-710) and finally more than 160,000 to the *Heijô* palace and capital (at Nara, Nara) founded in 710. In contrast, the number of tablets decreased dramatically afterwards: fewer than 10,000 have been attributed to the *Nagaoka* palace and capital (Nagaokakyô, Kyôto; 784-794) at the end of the eighth century, and no more than 370 to the *Heian* capital (Kyôto, Kyôto) founded in 794.²

Without considering such factors as the duration of each capital or palace, We may conclude

- 1) Wooden tablets were rarely used in the *Naniwa* palace.
- 2) Their use gradually increased in the *Asuka* palace.
- 3) The use of tablets increased dramatically in the period of the *Fujinara* palace.
- 4) They increased further in the *Heijô* palace.
- 5) After the *Nagaoka* palace, there was an irreversible decline in the use of tablets.

However, there are further considerations. Conditions at present are different on each excavation-site. One-third of the 120-hectare *Heijô* palace has been excavated, but only one-tenth of the 100-hectare *Fujinara* palace; by contrast, the other palaces have remained almost untouched.

Nonetheless, the distinct increase in the number of tablets from stages 2) to 4) cannot be ignored. This reflects the development of capitals in ancient Japan, from the *Asuka* palace under the emperor Tenmu to the *Fujimura* palace under the empress Jitô and her successors, and then to the *Heijô* capital under the empress Genmei and her successors. The development of capitals entailed an increase in the number of government officers. The period which extends from the reign of Tenmu to the first half of the eighth century saw the compilation of the penal and administrative code or *Ritsu-ryô* (律令), the basic legal code of the ancient Japanese state. The process has been called the establishment of the 'Ritsu-ryô State'.

With the establishment of this 'Ritsu-ryô State', a system of administration based on oral communication was replaced by one based on written documents. The use of writing increased dramatically. The marked increase in the number of tablets unearthed between stages 2 to 4 can therefore be seen to reflect the increasing use of writing in the capitals.

How then should we understand the decline from stage 5)? It would be inappropriate to see this decline in the number of tablets as a decline in the use of administrative documentation from the end of the eighth century. There are some important differences in conditions at the various sites.

For example, the fact that there are only 1,200 tablets from the *Nagaoka* palace in comparison with 8,700 from the *Nagaoka* capital can be explained thus: the palace is located on higher ground where the water table is lower, a point to which I shall return. Another example: the poor finds at the *Heian* capital are the result of its being archaeologically almost intact: the modern city of Kyôto lies over the ancient capital.

Therefore, although the use of tablets may indeed have decreased after the end of the eighth century, it is difficult to draw conclusions from the present state of discovery. Casual factors must always be taken into account. There might be a dramatic increase in discoveries due to a bonanza at a single site. This happened in excavation at the *Heijô* capital, as will be discussed below.

In sum, it is the sites of capitals that have yielded the most tablets, *Heijô* capital yielding the largest number. *Heijô* was the capital of the

‘*Ritsuryō* State’ established in the eighth century, and the centre from which contemporary use of writing must have spread most widely. That is why *Heijō* has been the prime example in study of the tablets, which has developed by comparing tablets from the *Heijō* palace with those of different dates, places and contexts.

4. Surviving structures which have yielded tablets

We now turn to the next question: which parts of the surviving structures actually yielded the tablets? It is best answered from the example of the *Heijō* palace site (see **Appendix**).³

Heijō palace was located in the middle of the northern part of *Heijō* capital, and covered about 120 hectares, consisting of a square with sides 1 km long from north to south, and east to west, with a rectangular extension (*Tō-in*: 東院) to the east (see **Fig.1**). The palace was divided into three blocks, according to function. The first was called *Dai-ri* (内裏) and was the emperor’s residence, located centrally but towards the north-east. The second was the Halls of State, called *Chōdō-in* (朝堂院), two complexes of buildings for public ceremonies and affairs of state, located in the central palace area. The third block was called *Zō-shi* (曹司), and was the office area surrounding *Dai-ri* and *Chōdō-in* where officials did their daily work.

This third block, the governmental office area, is where most of the tablets have been found. The first and second blocks, *Dai-ri* and *Chōdō-in*, have yielded very few tablets. In other words, most of those found in the *Heijō* palace were found in the governmental offices. This fact suggests that *Dai-ri* and *Chōdō-in* were public spaces which were always cleaned after ceremonies and affairs of state. The place where tablets were most frequently used was the administrative offices.

In this office area or *Zō-shi*, moreover, tablets were found in a ditch, pit, well, and post hole. These had all been dug into the contemporary ground level, which suggests that wood survives better when saturated in water at greater depths.

These are the conditions which have preserved the tablets for more than a thousand years. Scientific analysis has shown that the wood when excavated is very fragile, but retains its shape because water has leached out the cellulose.

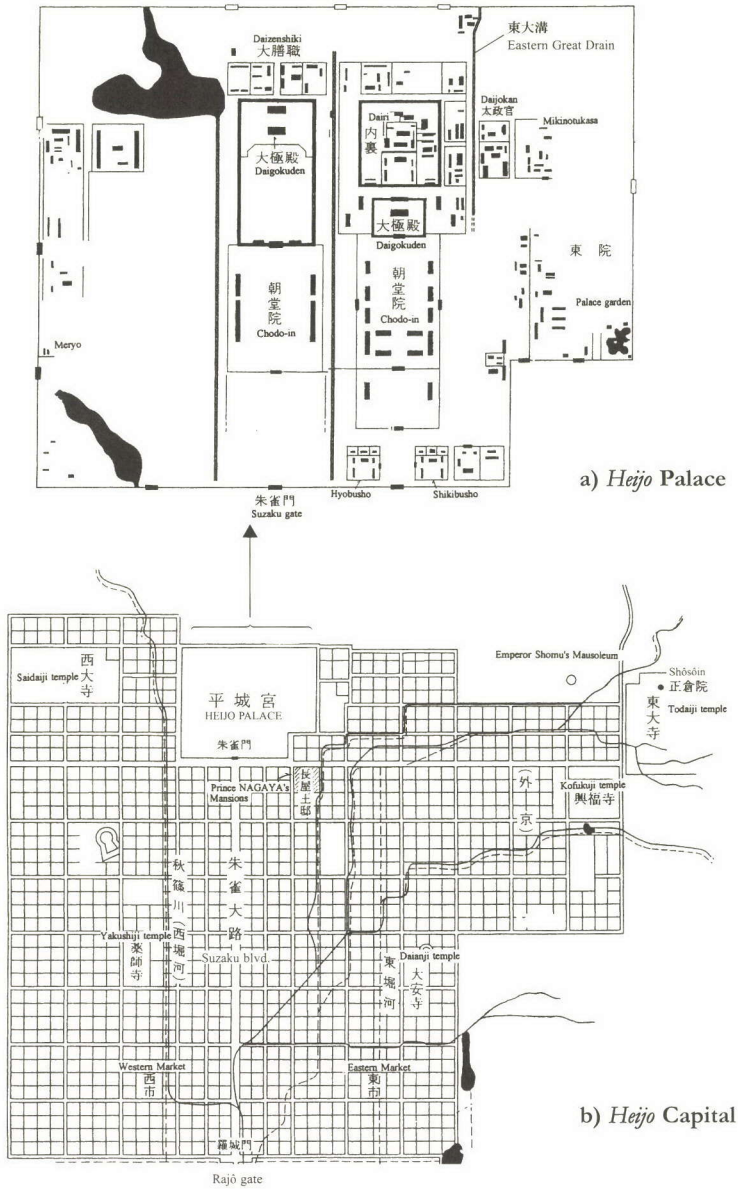


Fig.1 Heijo Capital and Palace

The tablets which actually survive, of the many which must have been used, are those found in favourable conditions. They survive better at the *Heijō* palace, as already mentioned, because of the higher water table. But in unfavourable conditions, at the *Nagaoka* palace for example, many must have been lost.

Wooden tablets have mostly been recovered from specific areas: a drainage ditch, a rubbish pit, a well which was abandoned and filled in, and a post hole. They had clearly been discarded. There is less chance of discovering them in public areas such as *Dairi* or *Chōdō-in*. On the other hand, there is a good chance of finding them in the office area or *Zōshi*, especially in marginal areas such as a sewer or a rubbish dump.

In brief, then, wooden tablets were mostly used in office work. Those which have been recently excavated, and happen to have survived for more than a thousand years, are tablets which had been discarded. That is why most of them are broken, and seldom survive in their original condition, something we should keep in mind when we analyse their contents.

5. The ditch and the pit

Of the structural remains mentioned above, it is especially the ditch and the pit that have yielded tablets. The exact conditions in each are different.

The ditch served as a drain for some years, during which artefacts including wooden tablets accumulated. The running water tended to carry them away from where they had been discarded originally.

The pit, on the other hand, was deliberately dug for dumping rubbish, and was filled in soon afterwards. Associated artefacts were deposited there over quite a short period, and probably derived from the immediate vicinity, where they had been discarded.

These different circumstances of deposition must be borne in mind when analysing the tablets as historical objects. When and how they were used and discarded is just as important as their contents. Thus, since the immediate history of the tablets found in the pit is comparatively clear, they are a better source of information.

The quantity of tablets excavated from *the Eastern Great Drain, Todaikō*, for example, that ran from north to south through the area

east of *Dairi*, does not provide any information except their actual contents. We do not know their date or origin, only that they came from somewhere upstream.

By contrast, the tablets uncovered from a pit at a corner of the office area north of the western part of *Dairi* can be seen as artefacts belonging to the same archaeological context as other tablets, because they were all found in the same pit. In other words, if a tablet is dated to the twentieth year of Tempyô or 748, other tablets found with it can be assigned the same date. Moreover, it is possible to infer the function of the office from which the tablets came by collating their contents. Thus it was that the office was identified as *Daizenshiki* (大膳職), the Office of the Imperial Food Service.

6. The discovery of the 'Prince Nagaya tablets'

In summer 1988, a great number of wooden tablets was excavated at the *Heijô* capital. From the contents of these tablets, the site was subsequently identified as the residence of Prince Nagaya, a high-ranking minister in the first quarter of the eighth century. It was an unprecedented bonanza. Over 35,000 tablets were found in the same pit at the residence. Because of the mass of information they contained, their discovery has made a tremendous impact on the study of Japan's ancient history.

The contents of the tablets show that they were used in *Nagayaô Kareisho*, Prince Nagaya's administrative office, one of the offices granted exclusively to high-ranking officials in the ancient period. There were more than a hundred low-ranking administrative officials, such as *toneri* (舍人) headed by a number of chiefs, who administered household affairs both inside and outside Prince Nagaya's residence. This huge find of tablets from *Kareisho* therefore provides material for reconstructing relations between the Prince's household and external organizations, as well as the movement of men and goods within the household.

For this reason a variety of studies based on the *Prince Nagaya tablets* has proliferated: first, a study of the political status of the Prince himself; second, a study of the economic base of his household; and third, a study which analyses the nature of the household of ancient

aristocrats in general.

The greatest merit of the *Prince Nagaya tablets* is that, with the *Heijō palace tablets*, they make comparative studies possible. The *Heijō tablets* were used in palace offices, and are thus evidence of how tablets functioned in the public sector. The *Nagaya tablets* were used in the Prince's residence, and reflect the private life of aristocrats in the same period. So the *Prince Nagaya tablets* have attracted the attention of many scholars.⁴

Another merit of the *Prince Nagaya tablets* is that they numbered 35,000, and were found in a single pit. We have already mentioned the higher value of the remains from the single pit as a historical source, and the *Prince Nagaya tablets* are a fine example.

To summarise, then: the *Prince Nagaya Tablets* were discarded all together, early in 717, from the household administration (*Kareisho*) of Prince Nagaya.

We have already emphasized that the tablets excavated are a tiny fraction of those in use at that time. The survivors depend on favourable soil conditions, and were discovered by accident. Inevitably those that are found give an incomplete picture. The *Prince Nagaya tablets* were an accidental discovery, but their archaeological context and their origin in the centre of household administration allow us to infer that such a large number reflects the general nature of tablets used in household administration, even if we do not know just why they were discarded en bloc in the year 717.

7. The contents of the *Prince Nagaya tablets*

There is only space here for a broad classification of types.

Wooden tablets are divided overall into three categories, according to their contents: documents (*monjo*: 文書), tallies (*tsukefuda*: 付札), and others. Documents can be subdivided into two types: (1) a document in the narrow sense (*monjo*: 文書). From its style or content, it is clear who issued it and who received it. (2) A record which does not include this information (*kiroku*: 記録). These are slips, account books, and so on. Then there are two types of tallies: (1) tags which were attached to taxation in kind sent by different localities to the capital (*nifuda*: 荷札). (2) Tags used for storing and handling the various items (*buppin-*

tsukefuda: 物品付札). Apart from these two categories, there are other types of tablets which were used for writing practice, notice boards, and other unidentified purposes.

The *Prince Nagaya tablets* can be classified in this way, but it is better to subdivide them with an eye to their contents. The *Heijō palace tablets* are divided into seven types as follows:

Type I: Documents or *monjo* which take the form of reports (*Ge*: 解, *I*: 移) or orders (*Fu*: 符), as specified by the law code for inter-office affairs. These record transactions between offices or between offices and individuals. In the *Prince Nagaya tablets*, they represent documents transmitted to the headquarters of Prince Nagaya's household, *Kareisho*, from external organizations. These external organizations were governmental offices of the *Heijō* palace, or *Kareishos* of other aristocrats.

Type II: Documents which include the words *shin* (進) or *shinjō* (進上), used to mark the dispatch of items such as vegetables from supply or storage. Prince Nagaya's household owned estates, which included part of the Nara basin and elsewhere, whose management it entrusted to subordinate officials.

Type III: The 'record' or *kiroku* consists of slips recording the rice issue. The daily ration of rice issued to every staff member in the household was recorded on an individual tablet. These tablets were kept for a certain period of time, and were later combined and recorded on paper. The personnel of Prince Nagaya's household can be reconstructed from these tablets.

Type IV: Personnel records: reports on the work of officials, transit passes marked with the fingerprint of staff members, and so on. Reports on the work of subordinate officials of *Kareisho* are similar in form to those from *Heijō* palace. The transit passes in tablet form were used as ID cards.

Type V: Tax tags, or certificates of tax payment. Like those from *Heijō* palace, they were attached to tribute sent from the provinces. They are not exactly similar to those from *Heijō* palace, but this reflects

different systems of tax payment.

Type VI: Tags used for the storage and handling of various items (*buppin-tsukefuda*).

Type VII: Tablets for writing practice and other purposes.

The proportion of each type in the total number of *Prince Nagaya tablets* is as follows:

Type I: 7%; Type II: 7%; Type III: 48%;
Type IV: 4%; Type V: 24%; Type VI: 7%;
Type VII: 3%.

This may reflect the distribution of all tablets used in Prince Nagaya's household. It is remarkable that the percentage of Type III tablets is so high, compared with the others; the tablet illustrated as **Fig.2** is typical of Type III.

(recto) 内親王御所米一升受嶋女
(verso) 九月廿日道末呂

*Rice one shô to the Princess('s house-hold),
through Shimame,
20th September, Doumaturo (gives).*

The Princess was Kibi-nai-shin-nô, the wife of Prince Nagaya. Shimame was one of her slave girls. The *Shô* of this period was equivalent to c. 700 ml, and was one day's ration. Doumaturo was an official responsible for issuing daily rations to the household.

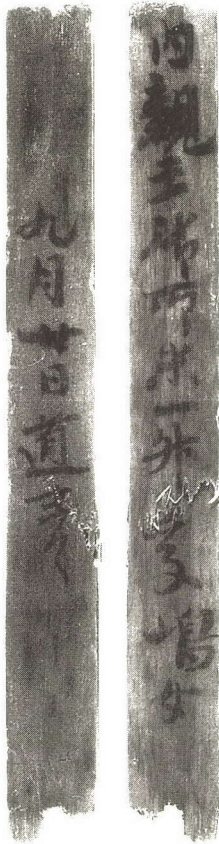


Fig.2A tablet of Prince Nagaya relating to the issue of rice to the Princess.
National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Nara.

The rations recorded on the tablets are always very small, the recipients are almost always individual persons, and they are recorded by the day; countless tablets of this kind must have been produced in the household, and their data must have been summarized periodically, probably not on tablets, but on paper. If so, we may suppose that wooden tablets or paper was used as the situation demanded.

8. Conclusion

In China, wooden or bamboo tablets (*kan-toku*: 簡牘) were used at first as the sole writing material, until paper began to be used contemporaneously with them. In Japan, tablets had coexisted with paper from the beginning of the use of writing.

Ever since study of the tablets began, scholars have tried to explain why tablets and paper coexisted. Some regard the tablets as a substitute for paper, which was precious at the time. Others focus on how tablets furnished a distinctive writing medium compared with paper, tablets being used when it was more convenient to do so. Neither approach is unreasonable. In fact, the reverse of most public documents on paper preserved in the *Shôsô-in* Archive (the '*Shôsô-in monjo*'), was re-used for writing. This shows that paper as a writing medium was expensive. Tablets, too, must have been better suited to certain purposes, for example as tax tags attached to tribute sent from the provinces to the capital. Paper was too fragile to serve as tags. These arguments, however, are limited to the choice between tablet or paper.

The great numbers of tablets that have come to light suggest there was a wide variety in their use. The coexistence of tablets and paper is especially important. Some recent studies have focused on the function of wooden tablets used with paper. The issue-slips for the rice ration (the *Prince Nagaya Tablets*, Type III) are particularly suitable as a subject here, since tablets relating to a single transaction were combined and then recorded in account books made of paper. This study therefore extends beyond tablets to documentation and accounting in ancient Japanese culture.

Appendix

Sites where wooden tablets were discovered

Name of site	Total number of tablets
【Nara Prefecture】	
<i>Heijo</i> palace (PAL)	48,223
<i>Heijo</i> capital (CAP)	112,687
(mansion of Prince Nagaya: (second street to the east:	35,118)
	74,221)
<i>Yakushiji</i> (TEMP)	244
<i>Toshodaiji</i> (TEMP)	16
<i>Sairyuji</i> (TEMP)	81
<i>Hokekeji Amida-iyodoin</i> (TEMP)	15
<i>Hokekeji</i> (TEMP)	45
<i>Todayji</i> (TEMP)	258
<i>Todayji Shosouin</i> (TEMP)	346
<i>Daianji</i> (TEMP)	50
<i>Hieda</i> site (RIV)	28
<i>Fujivara</i> palace (PAL)	7,842
<i>Fujivara</i> capital (CAP)	14,441
<i>Asuka</i> palace (PAL)	1,597
<i>Sakafuneishi</i> site (PAL)	448
<i>Ishigami</i> site (PAL)	85+
<i>Yamadadera</i> (TEMP)	64
<i>Sakadadera</i> (TEMP)	18
<i>Kidera</i> (TEMP)	19
<i>Asukaike-nanpō</i> site (GOV)	14
<i>Asukaike</i> site (PRO)	8,263
【Kyoto prefecture】	
<i>Nagaoka</i> palace (PAL)	1,166
<i>Nagaoka</i> capital (CAP)	8,732
<i>Heian</i> capital (CAP)	370
<i>Toba-rikyu</i> site (DET)	46
<i>Saganoin</i> site (DET)	25
【Osaka prefecture】	
<i>Naniwa</i> palace (PAL)	38
<i>Kamitabe</i> site (SET)	13
【Hyogo prefecture】	
<i>Yamagaki</i> site (GOV)	21

<i>Fukata</i> site (GOV)	34
<i>Hakaza</i> site (GOV)	76
<i>Nyogamori</i> site (GOV)	15
<i>Ichinobe</i> site (GOV)	18
<i>Tajima-Kokubunji</i> (TEMP)	42
<i>Sumairi</i> site (RIT)	16
【Shizuoka prefecture】	
<i>Iba</i> site (GOV)	108
<i>Kajiko</i> site (GOV)	16
<i>Kajiko-kaita</i> site (GOV)	15
<i>Shiroyama</i> site (GOV)	40
<i>Goten-Ninomiya</i> site (GOV)	11
<i>Mikogaya</i> site (GOV)	10
<i>Kori</i> site (GOV)	17
<i>Shinmeibara-Motomiyagawa</i> site (SET)	18
【Tokyo prefecture】	
<i>Tama new town</i> site (SET)	25
【Saitama prefecture】	
<i>Kosbikida</i> site (SET)	10
【Shiga prefecture】	
<i>Miyamachi</i> site (PAL)	7,110
<i>Nishigawara-miyanouchi</i> site (SET)	17
<i>Nishigawara-morinouchi</i> site (SET)	58
【Nagano prefecture】	
<i>Yashiro</i> site (SET)	131
【Tochigi prefecture】	
<i>Shimotuke-kokufu</i> (GOV)	5,161
【Fukushima prefecture】	
<i>Negishi</i> site (GOV)	10
<i>Yadama</i> site (SET)	15
<i>Oosanda</i> site (SET)	10
<i>Attame-jyouri</i> site (RIV)	35

【Miyagi prefecture】

<i>Tagajyo</i> site (GOV)	409
<i>Sanno</i> site (LOC)	25
<i>Ichikawabashi</i> site (LOC)	99

【Iwate prefecture】

<i>Isawajyo</i> site (GOV)	26
<i>Shirarayama</i> site (LOC)	57
<i>Chusonji</i> (TEMP)	23
<i>Yanagi no gosho</i> site (MAG)	61

【Yamagata prefecture】

<i>Kamitakada</i> site (SET)	10
<i>Furushida higashi</i> site (MAG)	61

【Akita prefecture】

<i>Akitayo</i> site (GOV)	313
<i>Hotta no saku</i> site (GOV)	80

【Ishikawa prefecture】

<i>Uneda-Jichu</i> site (SET)	10
<i>Sashie-B</i> site (SET)	10
<i>Kamiaraya</i> site (MAN)	57
<i>Tomizu-Onishi</i> site (MAN)	12

【Toyama prefecture】

<i>Kitatakagi</i> site (SET)	10
<i>Higashikiizu</i> site (SET)	10

【Niigata prefecture】

<i>Hachimanbayashi</i> site (GOV)	71
<i>Shimononishi</i> site (GOV)	37

【Tottori prefecture】

<i>Iwayoshi</i> site (GOV)	21
<i>Omido-baiji</i> (TEMP)	22

【Shimane prefecture】

<i>Izumo kokufu</i> site (GOV)	19
<i>Aoki</i> site (GOV)	31
<i>Shiratuki</i> site (SET)	25

<i>Santadani-I</i> site (SET)	10
【Hiroshima prefecture】 <i>Aki-kokubunji</i> (TEMP)	30
【Yamaguchi prefecture】 <i>Suô-kokufu</i> site (GOV)	43
<i>Suô-zeyu</i> site (PRO)	13
<i>Naganobori</i> site (PRO)	820
【Tokushima prefecture】 <i>kannonji</i> site (GOV)	99
【Ehime prefecture】 <i>Kume-Kubota II</i> site (GOV)	12
【Fukuoka prefecture】 <i>Dazajfu</i> site (GOV)	1,177
<i>Kourokan</i> site (GOV)	73
<i>Takabatake</i> site (TEMP)	13
<i>Motooka-Kuwahara</i> site (SET)	42
【Oita prefecture】 <i>Iizuka</i> site (SET)	55
【Saga prefecture】 <i>Nakahara</i> site (SET)	11

palace site = (PAL)

capital site = (CAP)

temple site = (TEMP)

river site = (RIV)

government office site = (GOV)

production site = (PRO)

detached palace = (DET)

settlement site = (SET)

ritual site = (RIT)

urban residence of magnates = (MAG)

local city site = (LOC)

manor site = (MAN)

- 1 For details of the tablets from the outlying provinces, see above, Hirakawa.
- 2 By 'palace' here is meant the area of which the emperor's residence was the centre, and by 'capital' the extended urban area around the 'palace'.
- 3 Nara City ed., *World Heritage. Historic Monuments of Ancient Nara*: Nara 1999.
- 4 Nara National Cultural Properties Research Institute ed., *The Wooden Tablets from the Nara Capital Site I*: Nara 1995.

Words from the Western Frontier

Roman Writing-tablets from Wales and Carlisle

Roger S.O. TOMLIN
University of Oxford

The Period

‘When Vespaian recovered Britain with the rest of the world, there came great generals, outstanding armies, and the enemy’s hopes dwindled.’¹ The historian Tacitus is referring to the renewed offensive in Britain, the conquest of Wales and northern Britain during the years 71 to 83. Claudius invaded Britain in 43, and the Romans conquered the south-east, the Midlands, and the south-west, before they came to a halt in the 60s. Then Vespaian, who had been a general in Claudius’ invasion, emerged from civil war as the new Emperor; after recovering the Rhine frontier, he reinforced the British army, and his three successive governors of Britain expanded Roman rule from the Midlands into the north and west: first Petilius Cerialis (71-73/4) conquered the Brigantes in northern England, and advanced as far as Carlisle, where the timbers of the first fort have been dated to *c.* 72/73; then Julius Frontinus (73/4-77) conquered the Silures in South Wales, where he built a new legionary base at Caerleon in *c.* 75; and finally Julius Agricola (77-84), Tacitus’ father-in-law, completed the conquest of North Wales in 77, and then advanced beyond the Tyne-Solway isthmus into Scotland.² This is the background to my writing-tablets: the initial conquest and the first generation of Roman rule in the north and west, say from the late 70s until *c.* 105.

Until thirty years ago, for written evidence of this period we depended on Tacitus’ biography of Agricola and a few inscriptions. But since then, first at Vindolanda in 1973, and then at other sites, wooden writing-tablets have been found. Much the greatest number come from the northern frontier, from the fort of Vindolanda, and they have been

published excellently.³ My subject is writing-tablets from three other frontier-sites, in Wales and the North-West: two I have mentioned already, the fort of Carlisle and the legionary base of Caerleon; the third is the fort of Tomen-y-Mur in North Wales. This wide arc of distribution shows that Vindolanda is not unique; that we can still hope for tablets from other Roman sites, provided the earliest levels are water-logged and organic materials can survive.

The two kinds of tablet

These wooden writing-tablets are of two kinds, waxed *stilus* tablets and inked tablets, about as thick as cardboard and paper respectively. They were used in different ways.

Waxed stilus tablets (*tabulae ceratae* or *cerae*) were made of silver fir (*abies alba*), a regular-grained softwood which splits easily into thin sheets.⁴ (It was also used for barrel staves.) It was not a wood native to Roman Britain, so tablets must have been imported. They were made in various formats, but the commonest is a rectangle *c.* 150 by 100 mm, *c.* 6 mm thick, one face of which was hollowed out to take a coating of black wax (beeswax and soot). The scribe wrote in this with a needle point, his *stilus* pen, and used the other end, a fish-tail, to make erasures. In Britain it is rare for this wax to survive—although it does in the last tablet I shall be describing—and usually we have to reconstruct the writing from the diagonal scratches left in the wood by the *stilus*. Tablets were hinged together, so as to protect the waxed surfaces by putting them on the inside. They were used both for legal documents—the sale of property, leases, loan notes, wills, etc.—and for correspondence, with special formats being made for both.

The text of legal documents was protected from fraudulent alteration by duplicating it, and then sealing off one copy; this ‘inner’ text would be written on the first two tablets of a set of three, with a special groove for a binding-cord and the witnesses’ seals. Letters, on the other hand, were written on pairs of tablets; and sometimes these were made half the usual size, like a modern postcard. This format could be improvised by breaking a conventional tablet into half—examples have been found at Carlisle—but purpose-made tablets have been found in London. None of these has yet been read, but we know that they were

meant for letters, since the recipient's 'address' is written on the outside.⁵ It is unfortunate, from our point of view, that waxed tablets were intended for re-use: letters were often written on second-hand tablets, which means that, once the wax has gone, the text is an undecipherable palimpsest of scratches. It was natural to re-use them when answering a letter: Augustine, for example, apologises for writing a letter on parchment because he has no tablet, and asks his correspondent to send him back any of his own tablets he happens to have.⁶ Legal documents, however, were often filed for reference—examples from Vindolanda, Vindonissa and Pompeii carry an inked text on the fore edge to identify them, implying that they were shelved on their sides—so here there is a better chance that the tablet has only been used once.⁷

The other kind of tablet is written in ink: we think of it as typical of Vindolanda, which is where they were first found; but in fact they have been found at other sites, notably Carlisle, while Vindolanda has also produced more than two hundred stylus tablets, most of them still undeciphered. Inked tablets were collectively called 'limewood' (*tilia*),⁸ but those which have been analysed were made of alder wood, which grows readily in Britain; and unlike *stilus* tablets, they could be made locally as a substitute for Egyptian papyrus. They were thick shavings of wood, flattened out and trimmed into rectangles to make a 'page', and probably treated with size or something similar, like modern paper, so as to take the ink. This was like our own 'Indian' ink—or indeed Chinese and Japanese black ink—that is, soot or lampblack in water, with gum arabic as a binding-agent. The scribes wrote with a reed pen, like the quill pens used in the early-modern West; we do not know how far they also used metal nibs.⁹

Caerleon

The first of my tablets (**Fig.1**) — an inked tablet, perhaps the earliest yet found in Britain—was found in 1985 at Caerleon, during excavation before rebuilding the museum.¹⁰ Caerleon is now a large village, and it is the first Roman site I ever visited; in fact I was born about five miles away, and I think of its Second Legion *Augusta* as 'my' legion. The tablet was found in the well of an officer's house belonging to the first,

timber-built fortress, which dates, as I have said, from *c.* 75. It is a strip of wood, 30 by 83 mm, carrying twelve lines of text—but of which only the line-endings remain. There is no continuous sense. I should mention here that documents (accounts and memoranda) were usually written *transversa charta*, across the grain of the wood; whereas letters (correspondence) were written parallel with the grain. This means that a document ‘page’ is taller than it is wide—like a modern book-page, in what my hateful inkjet printer calls the ‘portrait’ format. But letters were written broad-axis, in the ‘landscape’ format. This means that Roman military documents on wood tend to be tantalising strips which preserve a vertical cross-section of the text, but no continuous text; letter-fragments, on the other hand, may consist of only two or three lines.

The Caerleon fragment, as I have said, consists of line-endings, and the rest of each line is missing—and beyond a guess. There is the phrase [*ad opin*]ionem peten[*dam*]*]*—the detachment of soldiers ‘to fetch pay’. There is another phrase, *in praetori[um]*, perhaps a reference ‘to headquarters’. And ‘timber’ is mentioned twice, *mate[...]* and [*ma*]teriarum, which is not surprising since a turf and timber legionary fortress used up 16,100 cubic metres of timber, 16,800 (metric) tons.¹¹ How many hectares of ‘paper’ were also used at Caerleon, we do not know; this fragment is the only survivor—in fact, it is the only inked tablet yet found in Wales.

Carlisle

Carlisle has been much more productive.¹² Although it is now a city, not a village like Caerleon, *Luguvalium* in the late first century was smaller than a legionary fortress, but more than a big fort: it was the local ‘capital’, judging by the Vindolanda tablet which locates a ‘district officer’ (*centurio regionarius*) there; and I will be quoting evidence for its unusual garrison of legionaries and cavalry.¹³ This combination is found at Caerleon in the 70s, which like other early legionary fortresses was occupied by a cavalry regiment (*ala*), as well as the legion.¹⁴ Later, when Hadrian’s Wall was built, its most senior officer was based at Carlisle (Stanwix); and in the third century, legionaries as well as cavalry were based there once more.¹⁵ So it was always a major military site,

ever since Cerialis aimed for it, and Agricola advanced from it into Scotland. It is appropriate, therefore, that it has produced fragments of three tablets associated with Agricola.

The first (**Fig.2**) is a scrap of inked tablet, the end of the address of a letter addressed:

‘To [*name lost*] trooper of the *ala Sebosiana, singularis* of Agricola.’¹⁶

This was a cavalryman detached for special service in the governor’s mounted bodyguard. His regiment had belonged to the German army which supported Vitellius, one of Vespasian’s rivals in the civil war; we can now deduce that Cerialis took it with him to Britain with other reinforcements from the Rhine. I shall be quoting other tablets for evidence that an (unnamed) *ala* was stationed at Carlisle; it was probably the *ala Gallorum Sebosiana*.

A second fragment, part of a *stilus* tablet, attests an officer on Agricola’s staff. It carries traces of two texts, but part of the second text is legible where the surface was used only once:

‘[*name lost*], *beneficiarius* of Agricola, has promised faithfully that it shall be given’.¹⁷

This legal phrase occurs in waxed tablets from Dacia, modern Roumania, and it is used either of the warranty given by a vendor or on his behalf, or of the promise made by a debtor to repay his debt.¹⁸ A *beneficiarius* was quite a senior legionary attached to an officer’s staff; he was identified by the rank or name of the officer whose favour (*beneficium*) he enjoyed. Best known are the ubiquitous *beneficarii consularis* (abbreviated to BF COS), who were detached from their legions as agents of the governor (*consularis*), but sometimes a *beneficiarius* took his governor’s personal name instead, like the *singularis* of Agricola already mentioned, and this seems to have been the case here.¹⁹

The third fragment (**Figs.3 and 4**) is part of another *stilus* tablet, and is evidence at Carlisle, if not of Agricola and his staff, then of the legion he once commanded under Cerialis, the Twentieth, which was now one-quarter of his own army. Like the Caerleon tablet, this tablet was found underneath the museum, or rather in a pot-hole in a Roman road

uncovered by archaeological excavation in the museum base-ment.²⁰ It measures 144 by 63 mm, more than half the original, and it retains its rims on three sides, including the top-edge notch for the binding cord. The waxed coating is lost, but the stylus has scored the wood as usual. Although the tablet was re-used, for once the two texts can be distinguished. This is because the letters of the first text are now mostly incomplete, and although they confuse the reading, it is possible after a time to pick out the letters of the *second* text because they are much better preserved and are regularly spaced. They are the first seven lines of a dated text:

‘In the 9th consulship of the Emperor Domitian, on the 7th day before the Ides of November’ [7 November 83]. I, Quintus Cassius Secundus, soldier of the Twentieth Legion, century of Calvius Priscus, have written that I owe Gaius Geminius Mansuetus, soldier of the same legion, century of Vettius Proculus, one hundred *denarii* which ...’²¹

This is a ‘note of hand’ (*chirographum*), a formal acknowledgement of indebtedness addressed by one soldier to another, the first example from Britain of a type of document already well known in Egypt, Palestine and Upper Germany.²² We have lost the promise of repayment with interest, and the date it fell due. There is no sign that the note was ever cancelled by being crossed-out, but if the debtor is the same as Cassius Secundus, a veteran aged 80 buried at Chester, then he would have lived to repay his debt.²³ His ‘note of hand’ is a private document, filed away by the lender, but it raises some interesting public questions.²⁴

Is the date significant? 83 was the year when Vespasian’s son Domitian increased army pay from three annual payments of 75 *denarii*, to three of 100 *denarii*. Is Cassius Secundus anticipating his first instalment, or is the sum only a coincidence? 83 was also the year of Agricola’s crowning victory at Mons Graupius, when he defeated the Caledonians in the late summer or early autumn. All four of his legions were present, including the Twentieth, but the actual fighting was done by the auxiliaries. In this formal document, why does the Twentieth not bear its usual title of *Valeria Victrix*? Had the title not yet been given?

Was it given for the final ‘conquest’ of Britain, not (as previously thought) for the legion’s minor role in the defeat of Boudica? And what is the legion—or rather, part of it—now doing in Carlisle? After watching the auxiliaries massacre the Caledonians, the legionaries are now settling down to men’s work: money-lending.

It would be kinder to say that Agricola secured his conquests in 83 by wintering the legions at various strategic points. Carlisle was a winter-quarters; this is implied by another *stilus* tablet (**Fig.5**), which is addressed:

‘At Newstead or Carlisle, to Marcus Julius Martialis’.²⁵

The man is not explicitly a legionary, but in Britain the imperial nomen *Iulius* is typical of soldiers and especially legionaries. It is noteworthy that his correspondent did not know his exact station, but knew it was one of two major bridgeheads in the north, at both of which we have other legionary evidence.²⁶ Two further points are worth noting. This is the clearest indication we have that the locative place-names in Roman ‘addresses’ are not the place of writing, but the place to which the tablet was to be sent.²⁷ And the tablet is one of those I have already mentioned: after being sent to Martialis, it was broken into half and notched to take a new binding-cord, indicating that it became a ‘post-card’ pair for future correspondence.²⁸

Soldiers also use *Iulius* as a cognomen, a usage found in scraps of Carlisle ink tablets. One letter begins:

‘[...]us to Julius his comrade, greetings. I have just sent you ...’

And another ends with the greeting:

‘[... Greet] Praesens in my (own) words, and all (my) colleagues. I hope that you fare well, Julius.’²⁹

But the ink tablets are poor fragments compared with the wealth at Vindolanda, except for two which are important for preserving new details of the army’s logistics. They were both found in a pit, probably a latrine pit, where they were dumped as rubbish before c. 105. One is a

document — or rather, three or four versions of the same document — and the other is a letter. First the letter (**Fig.6**).³⁰

Docilis to Augurinus

This letter consists of two ‘pages’, c. 200 by 70 mm, each scored vertically for folding into half as a ‘diptych’. This two-diptych format is familiar at Vindolanda: two columns of writing per ‘page’, four columns to a letter.³¹ There are double binding-notches to the left and right, so that diptychs could be folded together, tied and sealed. They are now broken into four leaves, which were tightly stuck together when found. Except for damage at the corners, they are complete, but the writing is faint and blurred, and has almost disappeared from ‘pages’ 2 and 4. However, because the text was repetitive and formulaic, its general content is clear:

‘Docilis to Augurinus his prefect, greetings. As you ordered, we have attached below all the names of lancers who were missing lances, either who did not have fighting lances, or who (did not have) the smaller *subarmales*, or who (did not have) regulation swords. Troop of Genialis senior: Verecundus, (one) fighting lance and two *subarmales*. Troop of Albinus [*whole page lost*]. Troop of [*name*]: Docca, two *subarmales*. Troop of Docilis: Pastor, two *subarmales*; Felicio, (one) fighting lance. Troop of Sollemnis: [...]*jatus*, (one) fighting lance and two *subarmales*. Troop of Mansuetus: [...]*s* (one) fighting lance; Victorinus (?)son of [...]*ra*, (one) fighting lance. Troop of Martialis: [...]*so*, (one) fighting lance. Troop of Genialis: Festus, two *subarmales*; Maior, two *subarmales*; [*name*], [two] *subarmales*; [*name*] (one) fighting lance. Troop of Victor: [...]. (*2nd hand*) May you fare well, Augurinus, with your family, (my) lord.’

The last words are written in Docilis’ own hand; they are his ‘signature’. He is a cavalry officer reporting to his unit-commander. Augurinus is otherwise unknown, but Docilis names himself in the text, and is also mentioned in my next document: he was a decurion, commanding the eleventh of the sixteen troops (*turmae*) in the

regiment. This is not actually named, but it was obviously a cavalry *ala* 500-strong, and probably the *ala Gallorum Sebosiana*, as I have said already. It consisted of ‘lancers’ (*lanciarii*), so called because they were armed with two types of lance, the ‘fighting lance’ and the smaller *subarmalis*, as well as swords.

Docilis does not say why men had lost their lances. According to third-century jurists it was a capital offence for a soldier to lose or part with his weapons, but this was in time of war; and they ignore accidents and casual loss.³² Two men of Docilis’ own *turma* are missing lances: if this had been an offence, it would have reflected badly on the decurion himself, and he might be expected to have concealed the loss. But he uses the neutral term ‘missing’, and reports to Augurinus ‘as you ordered’, a bureaucratic turn of phrase. His neutral tone is appropriate either to battle-losses or to casual loss and damage during training and patrol-work, when the missile lance would have been especially at risk; it is notable that he reports no missing swords.³³

This is surely a routine report, but for us it is unique.³⁴ It tells us that weapons were inspected at the unit level or below. Inspection of the men’s weapons is, of course, a stock virtue attributed to emperors and commanders-in-chief.³⁵ But there is a reliable instance, because uncoloured by any rhetoric, that of the historian Arrian who, when he visited Apsarus during his official tour of the Black Sea coast, ‘saw the weapons’ of the five cohorts based there.³⁶ The military writer Vegetius also says in general that the centurion or decurion must see that his men keep their weapons and armour clean: ‘the glitter of arms strikes very great fear in the enemy’.³⁷

Since the missing weapons are always a ‘fighting lance’ (*lanciam pugnatoriam*) or two ‘under-arm lances’ (*subarmales duas*), or both items together, it follows that they were the trooper’s standard weapons, together with his ‘regulation’ sword. All three terms occur here for the first time, but they accord with Josephus:

‘The cavalry have a long sword on their right side, a long pike in one hand, a shield slanted across the horse’s flank, and in a quiver slung alongside three or more javelins, broad-pointed and as big as spears’.³⁸

The long sword and the 'lance', in the modern sense of a cavalry thrusting-spear, are often represented on cavalry tombstones and Trajan's Column.³⁹ The Column also illustrates the carrying position of the shield, but not the secondary armament of quiver and javelins.⁴⁰ Two tombstones of the Emperor's mounted guards, the *equites singulares Augusti*, do depict a shield and a barbed javelin (and thus a missile), but other evidence is hard to find.⁴¹ This may be typical of tombstones: cavalrymen are conventionally depicted passing right, brandishing their thrusting-spear. Usually they hold it above their head and thrust downwards; it is not a missile. Often an attendant carries one or two spears, but it is not clear whether they are missiles or spare thrusting-spears.⁴² The latter is suggested by the portrait of Tiberius Claudius Maximus of the *ala II Pannoniorum* capturing the Dacian king Decebalus: he holds a sword in his right hand, a shield and two long spears in his left.⁴³

The Carlisle letter is much the earliest instance of the word 'lancer' (*lanciaris*), which next occurs on a tombstone of the early third century, when it means a legionary armed with four or five throwing lances.⁴⁴ Thereafter it is almost always used of infantry armed with lances, the prototypes of the late-Roman Lancers of the *Notitia Dignitatum*. There is only one sure instance of a mounted *lanciaris*, in the epitaph of Valerius Maxentius in c. AD 300, who is a 'trooper of the Lancers, in the cavalry sub-unit'.⁴⁵ It seems, therefore, that in the third century the term *lanciaris* retained its primary sense of '(a soldier) armed with a lance', but had become a term more often used of infantry than cavalry.

In his letter, Docilis seems to be using 'lancer' as a collective term for all the troopers in his regiment, no doubt because the 'lance' was their principal offensive weapon. The word itself is Celtic, and meant the typical weapon of Gallic armies, which used 'lances' to break an opposing battle line, or to pick off enemies: it was evidently a dual-purpose weapon, a thrusting-spear or a missile.⁴⁶ This ambiguity remained when it was adopted by Roman auxiliary units of Gallic cavalry like the *ala Gallorum Sebosiana*, which is why Docilis qualifies the men's 'lances' as either 'fighting' or 'under-arm'. His letter is the first evidence of these terms, our sources otherwise referring to 'lances' unqualified or to 'javelins' (*iaculus* or *iaculum*).⁴⁷ When a Vindolanda fragment says that British cavalry did not use swords or stay seated(?)

to throw their javelins, the implication is that this is what Roman cavalry did.⁴⁸ Josephus describes the tactic: the garrison of Ascalon, an infantry cohort and a cavalry *ala*, sortied against the attacking Jews; after the Jews' ranks had been broken, the cavalry surrounded groups of them and killed them by throwing javelins.⁴⁹

The barley/grain account

The name of Docilis also occurs, as I have said, in an interesting document (**Figs.7 and 8**). There are three incomplete versions, and evidence of at least a fourth, but only one is at all legible; the others repeat the format and preserve part of the lost heading. So I will speak of them as if they were one document.⁵⁰

It is written in a single column across the grain of a long strip of wood, which was then folded upon itself three times, and secured by means of a hole punched in one corner. I think it was tied here with string, perhaps with an identifying tag. The text begins with an illegible three-line heading which probably incorporated a date. The body of the text is a list of sixteen cavalry troops (*turmae*), followed by a two-line summary. Each troop is identified as usual by the name of its decurion or troop-commander, including Docilis, who is the eleventh. After the name of each troop is an indented, two-line, entry of 'bushels' (*modii*), first of barley and then of wheat, with numerals. At the bottom there is the total number of bushels, first of barley and then of wheat.

The format is important, since superficially it resembles that of the two 'wooden notebooks' in 'concertina format' found at Vindolanda.⁵¹ But they consist of 'diptychs' hinged together, whereas this document is a single strip of wood folded into four like a concertina, equivalent to a short papyrus roll. So it plays no part in the Roman evolution from the 'volume' to the 'page' for record-keeping, and throws no light on the origins of the *codex*.⁵²

The first entry reads:

- 'Troop of Genialis:
 - 42 bushels of barley
 - 18 bushels of wheat'

And so on, through all sixteen troops. It is simpler to tabulate the entries:

<u>TROOP</u> of	<u>BARLEY</u> , bushels of	<u>WHEAT</u> , bushels of
Genialis	42	18
Agilis	39	18
Albinus	45	18
Gentilis	33	15
Peculiaris	33	15
Pacatus	39	15
[]	36	15
[]	60	18
Se[.]us	33	15
Sodalis	36	15
Docilis	45	[18]
[Sollemnis]	[45]	[18]
Mansuetus	42	18
Martialis	30	15
Genialis	39	18
Victor	45	18
‘for Pacatus’	27	
TOTAL	669	267

Like Docilis’ letter, this document is unique for us, but routine for the Roman army: it records the issue of barley and wheat to the sixteen troops of a ‘500-strong’ cavalry regiment. One decurion, Pacatus, receives an extraordinary issue of barley.⁵³ The regiment is evidently that of Docilis, at the time when he reported missing lances: the troops, including his own, are listed in the same sequence, and incidentally confirm that there were two decurions both called Genialis; the officers’ names are appropriate to an *ala* from the Rhineland.⁵⁴

The horses would have eaten the barley, the men the wheat.⁵⁵ These were the staples of their diet, but just as the men did not live on bread alone, the horses, depending on the time of year, would have either

been fed hay or green fodder as well, or been allowed to graze for themselves.⁵⁶ The figures are difficult to interpret, since they are the products of three unknown factors: the size of the individual rations, the number of horses, and the number of men. In broad terms, we know that a cavalry troop numbered thirty men and three officers; that a likely ration was about 4 bushels of wheat for a man per month, 12-15 bushels of barley for a horse. But the details are complicated, and I will only generalise.

Since there are no fractions, it is almost certain that numbers were being rounded-up.⁵⁷ The numbers of men certainly were: each troop receives either 5 or 6 bushels of wheat per day, and it is inconceivable that all sixteen of them contained either x or y men (one of only two sub-totals). Rounding-up would have been simplified by the fact that the men were probably not issued with individual rations of corn, but with a ration for their sub-unit which they ground, cooked and ate communally.⁵⁸ Presumably the regimental quartermaster-general (*summus curator*) worked to some rule of thumb: so many horses, so many men, per bushel per day. The barley-figures range more widely—from 11 bushels a day to 20—and they suggest a wider variation in the number of horses. In fact, if we plot each troop's barley figures against the wheat, we find there were six different ratios between horses and men.

The one certainty is that all figures are divisible by three, so that three days' rations must be meant.⁵⁹ Roman infantry on the march, according to Josephus, carried three days' rations. This may have been the routine interval of issue.⁶⁰ We only have one ancient estimate of the annual needs in barley of an *ala*: 90,000 bushels in Egypt in AD 187.⁶¹ At this rate, three days' worth of barley would be almost 734 bushels, which is quite close to the 669 bushels at Carlisle, especially since they represent actual consumption, whereas the Egyptian figure is an estimate based on establishment.⁶² The correlation suggests that the Carlisle regiment was near its full strength—nine troops ostensibly full-strength, seven just below—which is a tribute to the logistics and organisation of the Roman army in northern Britain in *c.* AD 100. The figures also reinforce the impression that the Roman army of occupation was quite a burden upon a primitive agrarian economy.⁶³

Another point worth making is that the *ala Gallorum Sebosiana* was producing more than a hundred versions of this document every year,

at a time when there were about a hundred *alae* in the whole Empire. This means more than ten thousand documents a year, and more than three million in the history of the Imperial army — of which this is the first example to be found. It is an index of how small is our share of all the Roman ‘paper’ there ever was; another is the Roman soldier’s pay-sheet, of which he had three per year. It has been estimated that 288 million of these were written; but only about five actually survive.⁶⁴

Tomen-y-Mur

My last document (**Figs.9 and 10**) is another rare survival, for which I return to *stilus* writing-tablets and to Wales.⁶⁵ It was found in the mid-19th century, perhaps in *c.* 1840, but was unknown until the owner brought it to the British Museum three years ago, with a contemporary letter describing its discovery:

‘The wooden book in q(uestio)n was found at Bodyfuddau farm in the Parish of Trawysfynydd Co(unt)y Meirioneth by the farm servants as they were cutting turf for fuel. It was found deep in the Earth with a thick layer of peat soil covering it. The soil at that spot is, a little under the surface, always moist, and, at the depth in which it was found, is not affected by atmospheric changes—hence the excellent state of preservation of the wood. The book when first found was of the form and size of a thick octavo. It consisted of some 10 or 12 leaves. These were joined together with a wire which was *entirely corroded* when it was first found. All the leaves except the covers had a narrow raised margin on both sides in order to preserve the impression—The covers on the inside only. All the leaves were written upon on both sides—the two covers on the *inside only*—I saw the book a few days after it was first found—only 2 or 3 of the leaves *then* contained the inscription perfect—On the rest it had been partly obliterated by the carelessness of the farm servants.’

This is a good description by a 19th-century Welsh antiquary of the only Roman *codex* ever found in Britain. Unfortunately it is now lost, except for one leaf which was taken to London for identification; a

century and a half later, this reached the British Museum. It is a complete *stilus* tablet, 147 by 99 mm, recessed on one face for the wax, which actually survives as a black stain with writing in it. The witness I have just quoted thought the language was probably Celtic, but in fact it is Latin. Here is the translation:

‘... before I die, I order that [*name lost*] be my sole heir ...

‘Let all others be disinherited for me [...] on no other terms than that as much as I shall give, have given, shall have ordered to be given [...] and you [...] enter upon, accept my estate [... *within*] the next hundred [*days*] after my death in which you know or can know that you are my legitimate heir, in the presence of witnesses [...] let the heirs be those who know that they are [...] of this property.

‘But if you do not thus accept my estate, if you refuse to enter upon it, be thou disinherited [...], whom I have instituted as my sole heir.’

These are standard formulas from a Roman will, a *testamentum per aes et libram*.⁶⁶ The testator’s name is lost, and so is that of his heir; we only know that she was a woman. It was a privilege—and a duty—for Roman citizens to make a valid will; they numbered millions (4,957,000 in the census of AD 14), but only one set of tablets survives complete, the will of the cavalry trooper Antonius Silvanus.⁶⁷ This was written on 27 March 142, and it was found in Egypt with fragments of two other wills, themselves now reduced to a single tablet each.⁶⁸ Also from Egypt comes part of one tablet of a fourth will.⁶⁹ So far as I know, these are the only tablets which survive.

So the Bodyfuddau will is an extraordinary survival—and especially for where it was found. The farm cut its peat on the shoulder of a mountain called Craiglaseithin, near an undated site called Ffridd Bod y Fuddau: three huts and, despite the altitude (350 m), ‘an extensive field system, defined by low banks and stone walls covering some 3 hectares, which is almost completely filled with narrow cultivation ridges’.⁷⁰ The nearest Roman site, the fort of Tomen-y-Mur, is down in the valley, 5

km away.

The handwriting resembles that of the four dated *stilus* tablets from Britain, all of the period AD 75-125, and in the absence of other dating-evidence this is a reasonable date for the Bodyfuddau tablet.⁷¹ It coincides more or less with the military occupation of Tomen-y-Mur, which was the nearest source of Roman citizens: the commanding officer, perhaps a few of his officers and men—but also the veterans, who received citizenship on discharge. However, this Roman will was found, not in the fort, but up in the mountains. My guess is that it belongs to the farmstead of an auxiliary veteran who bought land locally with his savings, or acquired it with a wife. The only asset the Roman government gave him on discharge was Roman citizenship, and he asserted it by contracting a Roman marriage and making a Roman will. Its formulas argue that Latin and the use of Roman Law percolated through the army into the furthest corners of the province.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Inscriptions, tablets and papyri are cited by volume (where applicable) and by item-number, not by page. Page-numbers (p.) refer to editorial comment. Inscriptions published in *Britannia* are cited by volume, year, page and number.

BGU	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
FIRA III	<i>Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani</i> , III, <i>Negotia</i> (ed. V. Arangio-Ruiz)
ILS	H.Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (1892-1916)
<i>P. Amberst</i>	B.P.Grenfell, A.S.Hunt (eds.), <i>The Amberst Papyri ... of ... Lord Amberst of Hackney</i> , i (1901), ii (1902)
<i>P. Mich. VII</i>	<i>Latin Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection</i> (ed. H.A. Sanders)
<i>P. Yadin</i>	H.M.Cotton, J.Geiger, <i>Masada II, The Yigael Yadin excavations 1963-1965, Final Reports, The Latin and Greek documents</i> (1989)
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	B.P.Grenfell, A.S.Hunt, and others (eds.), <i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> (1898-)
RIB	R.G.Collingwood, R.P.Wright, <i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> , I (1965), II (1990-95)

RMR	see Fink 1971
<i>Tab. Luguval.</i>	see Tomlin 1998
<i>Tab. Vindol.</i> I, II, III	see Bowman and Thomas 1983, 1994, 2003

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) Ancient Authors

Cited by their familiar name, but only by the (abbreviated) title of their work if more than one survives to their name.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*

Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*

Arrian, *Ars Tactica*

Periplus maris Euxini

Augustan History, *Hadrian*

Avidius Cassius

Alexander Severus

Maximini duo

Augustine, *Letters*

Caesar, *Bellum Civile*

Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*

Codex Theodosianus

Dio Cassius, *Roman History*

Diodorus Siculus, *Library*

Digest

Fronto, *Ad Verum Imperatorem*

Gaius, *Institutes*

Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*

Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*

Nonius Marcellus, *de Compendiosa Doctrina*

Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*

Pliny (the younger), *Letters*

Onasander

Polyaenus, *Stratagemis*

Suetonius, *Divus Iulius*

Divus Augustus

Tacitus, *Agricola*

Annales

Historiae

Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*

(2) Modern authors

Alföldy, G. 1975: *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*

- Balty, J.C. 1988: 'Apamea in Syria in the Second and Third Centuries A.D.', *JRS* 78, 91-104
- Balty, J.C., and Van Rengen, W. 1993: *Apamea in Syria: the Winter quarters of Legio II Parthica*
- Birley, A.R. 1981: *The Fasti of Roman Britain*
- Bishop, M.C., and Coulston, J.C.N. 1993: *Roman Military Equipment*
- Boon, G.C. 1984: 'A Trulleus from Caerleon with a stamp of the First Cavalry Regiment of Thracians', *Antiquaries Journal* 64 (1984), 403-7
- Bowman, A.K., and Thomas, J.D. 1983: *Vindolanda: the Latin Writing-Tablets* [cited as *Tab. Vindol. I*]
- Bowman, A.K., and Thomas, J.D. 1994: *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets* [cited as *Tab. Vindol. II*]
- Bowman, A.K., and Thomas, J.D. 2003: *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets* [cited as *Tab. Vindol. III*]
- Crew, P. 1988: 'Ffridd Bod y Fyddau', *Archaeology in Wales* 28, 79-80
- Crew, P., and Musson, C. 1997: *Snowdonia from the Air*
- Crook, J A 1967: *Law and Life of Rome*
- Davies, R.W. 1971: 'The Roman Military Diet', *Britannia* 2, 122-42 = R.W. Davies, *Service in the Roman Army* (1989), 187-206
- Dickson, C., and Dickson, J. 1988: 'The diet of the Roman army in deforested central Scotland', *Plants Today* July-August, 121-6
- Dixon, K.R., and Southern, P. 1992: *The Roman Cavalry*
- Espérandieu, E. 1907: *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine*
- Fink, R.O. 1971: *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* [cited as RMR]
- Foxhall, L., and Forbes, H.A. 1982: 'Sitometreia: The Role of Grain as a Staple Food in Classical Antiquity', *Chiron* 12, 41-90
- Groenman-van Waateringe, W. 1989: 'Food for soldiers, food for thought', in J.C. Barrett, A.P. Fitzpatrick and L. Macinnes (eds.), *Barbarians and Romans in North-West Europe*, 96-107.
- Guérard, O., and Jouguet, P. 1940: 'Un testament latin *per aes et libram* de 142 après J-C (Tablettes L. Keimer)', *Études de Papyrologie* 6, 1-21
- Hyland, A. 1990: *Equus: the horse in the Roman world*
- Johnson, A. 1983: *Roman Forts of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD in Britain and the German Provinces*
- Kreuz, A. 1994/95: 'Landwirtschaft und ihre ökologischen Grundlagen in den Jahrhunderten um Christi Geburt: zum Stand der naturwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen in Hessen', *Berichte der Kommission für Archäologische Landesforschung in Hessen* 3, 59-83
- Lepper, F.A., and Frere, S.S. 1988: *Trajan's Column*
- Marichal, R. 1992: 'Les tablettes à écrire dans le monde romain', in E. Lalou (ed.), *Les tablettes à écrire de l'antiquité à l'époque moderne* (1992), 165-85
- Pippidi, D.M., and Russu, I.I. 1975: *Inscriptiile Daciei Romane I*

- Schleiermacher, M. 1984: *Römische Reitergrabsteine: die kaiserzeitlichen Reliefs des triumphierenden Reiters*
- Shirley, E.M. 1996: 'The building of the legionary fortress at Inchtuthil', *Britannia* 27 (1996), 111-28
- Sijpesteijn, P.J., and Worp, K.A. 1977: 'A Latin papyrus from the Vienna Papyrus Collection', *ZPE* 24, 91-4
- Speidel, M.A. 1996: *Die römischen Schreiftafeln von Vindonissa* (1996)
- Speidel, M.P. 1970: 'The Captor of Decebalus: a New Inscription from Philippi', *JRS* 60, 142-53 = *Mavors* 1 (1984), 173-87
- Speidel, M.P. 1994: *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter Equites Singulares Augusti*
- Tomlin, R.S.O., and Annis, R.G. 1989: 'A Roman altar from Carlisle Castle', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 89, 77-91
- Tomlin, R.S.O. 1992: 'The Twentieth Legion at Wroxeter and Carlisle in the First Century: The Epigraphic Evidence', *Britannia* 23, 141-58
- Tomlin, R.S.O. 1996: 'The Vindolanda Tablets', *Britannia* 27, 459-63
- Tomlin, R.S.O. 1998: 'Roman Manuscripts from Carlisle: the Ink-Written Tablets', *Britannia* 29, 31-84 [cited as *Tab. Lugval.*]
- Tomlin, R.S.O. 2001: 'A Roman Will from North Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 150 (2001), 143-56
- Tomlin, R.S.O. 2003: 'Documenting the Roman Army at Carlisle', in J.J. Wilkes (ed.), *Documenting the Roman Army: Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan*, 175-87
- Zingale, L M 1991. *I testamenti romani nei papiri e nelle tavolette d'Egitto: silloge di documenti dal I al IV secolo d.C.*

1 Tacitus, *Agricola* 17.

2 For the three governors and their dates, see Birley 1981, 66-81. Tacitus may have exaggerated Agricola's achievement at the others' expense.

3 Bowman and Thomas 1983, 1994 (reviewed by Tomlin 1996), and 2003.

4 Marichal 1992. See also Bowman and Thomas 1983, 44-5; Speidel 1996.

5 *RIB* II.4, 2443.6 and 10 (Carlisle); *ibid.*, 1, and *Britannia* 34 (2003), 374, No. 23 (London).

6 Augustine, *ep.* 15 (to Romanianus). He is referring to ivory tablets, but the principle is the same.

7 Speidel 1996, 98, No. 3, with p. 36, n. 11. Bowman and Thomas 2003, 12.

8 To the references in Bowman and Thomas 1983, 42, and 2003, 13 n. 20, add *CIL* ii 1143 = Alföldy 1975, No. 143: the governor's decision is read from a tablet, 'decretum ex tiliā recitavit'.

9 Bowman and Thomas 2003, 13. A thick metal point was apparently used to cut the 'address' into the outer (unwaxed) face of stylus tablets used for correspondence.

- 10 *Britannia* 17 (1986), 450, No. 84.
- 11 Shirley 1996, tabulated at 121.
- 12 Tomlin 1998.
- 13 *Tab. Vindol.* II, 250.8-9. See below, n. 15.
- 14 Boon 1984.
- 15 Tomlin and Annis 1989. In brief, see *Britannia* 20 (1989), 331, Nos. 4 and 5.
- 16 *Tab. Luguval.* 44, '[eq(uiti) al]ae Sebosianae sing(ulari) Agricolae'.
- 17 '[...] beneficiarius Agric[olae] dari fide promissit.' The reading is referred to in *Britannia* xxiii (1992), 148, and detailed by Tomlin 2003, 180.
- 18 Compare Pippidi and Russu 1975, 229, No. 39 (*CIL* iii, p. 945), 't(antam) p(ecuniam)...fide promisit Veturius Valens' (the vendor's promise of reimbursement); *ibid.*, 201, No. 33 (*CIL* iii, p. 931), 's(upra) s(cripta) dari fide sua promisit Iulius Alexander' (a promise to repay 140 *denarii* borrowed, with interest).
- 19 It is just possible that Agricola was then legate of the Twentieth Legion (when he would still have had *beneficarii*), but the loan note of 7 November 83 explicitly belongs to his governorship, and so must *Tab. Luguval.* 44 (the *singularis*) since a legionary legate did not have *singulares* drawn from auxiliary units. One of the earliest documents from Carlisle (*Tab. Luguval.* 6, no later than AD 79 according to the archaeological context) also refers to a *beneficiarius*.
- 20 Tomlin 1992, 146-50.
- 21 Tomlin 1992, 147, 'imp(erator) Domitiano VIII co(n)s(ule) | VII Idus Novembres. Q(uintus) Cassius | Secundus, miles leg(ionis) XX (centuria) Calvi | Prisci, scribsi me debere | G(aio) Geminio Mansueto, militi | leg(ionis) eiusdem (centuria) Vetti Proculi, denarios centum quos [tibi?] | [...].'
- 22 Since Cassius Secundus' note of hand is incomplete, we cannot be entirely sure the debt was due to the loan of 100 *denarii* rather than the purchase-price of something, but a loan is almost certain, both from the natural meaning of *debere* ('to owe') and by comparison with the other texts cited in Tomlin 1992, 148, n. 33, which show soldiers borrowing or lending money.
- 23 For an example of crossing-out, see Speidel 1996, 98, No. 3, who cites further evidence of the practice at 100, n. 15. Cassius Severus' tombstone (not dated, but probably Hadrianic / Antonine) is *RIB* 526.
- 24 Tomlin 1992, 150-58.
- 25 *RIB* II.4, 2443.10 = *Britannia* 19 (1988), 496, No. 31: 'Trimontio aut Luguvalio M(arco) Iulio Martiali'.
- 26 For Newstead on the river Tweed, there is an amphora which belonged to a (legionary) tribune: see *RIB* II.6, 2492.7. For the Antonine period, compare *RIB* 2120, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2127.
- 27 Bowman and Thomas 1994, 43-45; 2003, 17.

- 28 See above, n. 5.
- 29 *Tab. Luguval.* 19, 'Iulio c[o]ntu[bernali] suo salu[tem]'. *Tab. Luguval.* 42, '[salutabis] Pra[ese]ntem verbis meis et collegas om[ne]s opto bene valeas Iuli'. In this and other quotations, round brackets () supply words omitted but understood in the Latin; square brackets [] restore words which have been lost, or indicate gaps in the original.
- 30 *Tab. Luguval.* 16, where a fuller commentary will be found.
- 31 Bowman and Thomas 1994, 40-41.
- 32 *Digest* 49. 16.3, 13 (Herennius Modestinus), 'miles qui in bello arma amisit vel alienavit, capite punitur'. *Ibid.*, 16.14 (Iulius Paulus), 'arma alienasse grave crimen est', but depending on the importance of the armour or weapons.
- 33 This is not certain, since we only have about half the text, but when Docilis specifies 'swords' (8), he is probably summarising Augurinus' orders. The troopers were armed with swords as well as lances, but their swords were protected by scabbards, and even in close-quarter combat would not have been easily broken or lost. Actually to lose one's sword was a serious offence, judging by the fictional account in Apuleius (*Metam.* ix 41) of a soldier lying low in barracks while his comrades investigated this 'breach of his military oath'.
- 34 The closest parallel known to me is RMR 83 (AD 251), a list of troopers and their horses, some of which are missing; it looks like the product of special circumstances.
- 35 Tacitus, *Ann.* xi 18: Corbulo allegedly executed a soldier for wearing only a dagger while he was digging. Augustan History, *Hadrian* 10.7: his restoration of discipline included attention to arms and equipment; compare Dio Cassius 69.9.1, and especially *ILS* 2487, the inspection at Lambaesis which includes his comment that *alae* were better equipped than part-mounted cohorts. Fronto, *Ad Verum Imp.* 2. 1.19: Laelianus Pontius inspects corselets and saddles. Augustan History, *Avidius Cassius* 6.2: 'arma militum septima die semper respexit'; *ibid.*, *Maximini duo* 6.2: 'gladios, loricas, galeas, scuta, tunicas et omnia armorum illorum cottidie circumspicere'. There is a very late and fictionalized account of a weapons inspection (by King Clovis) in Gregory of Tours, *HF* ii 27.
- 36 Arrian, *Periplus* 6.2.
- 37 Vegetius ii 14 (trans. Milner). This commonplace is attributed to Caesar by Polyaeus (viii 23.20); compare Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 67.2. Much the same advice is given to generals by Onasander (28), in a work dedicated to Quintus Veranius, who died as governor of Britain in 58.
- 38 Josephus, *BJ* iii 96 (trans. Thackeray, adapted). The translation 'pike' is misleading, but Josephus used the Greek equivalent of *contus* [the two-handed Sarmatian 'tilting-lance'] because he had just used the proper word 'lance' [a one-handed thrusting-spear] for the weapon carried by infantry guardsmen (iii

- 95), and was unwilling to repeat himself.
- 39 Schleiermacher 1984, *passim*; notably No. 46 (Worms), an *equus* of the *ala Sebosiana* shortly before it came to Britain. The metal weapons have all disappeared from Trajan's Column, but three lance-positions can be deduced from the attitude of the troopers' right arm: brandished overhead for throwing or thrusting; carried at the ready pointing forwards at 45 degrees; and actually being thrust downwards at an enemy.
- 40 For the shield, see Cast 278, most accessibly in Lepper and Frere 1988. For cavalry passing left, see Cast 91 (two cavalry scouts greeting Trajan), 98 (cavalry surrounding Dacians), 256 (Trajan's mounted escort), 387 (cavalry surrounding Decebalus). Saddle blankets with elaborate fringes are precisely depicted, but there is no sign of any quiver suspended from the saddle. In 98 the cavalryman's left shoulder is fully visible, crossed by the baldric of his sword, but there is no sign of any quiver.
- 41 Speidel 1994, Nos. 83 (AD 150s) and 355a. Schleiermacher 1984 illustrates two examples of a cavalryman carrying two short javelins within his shield, neither of them typical: No. 15, a (third-century?) mounted *explorator*; No. 114, a legionary *beneficiarius consularis*. The right arm of No. 99 is lost, but in his left hand he holds a shield and another lance.
- 42 Schleiermacher 1984, Nos. 10 (unit?), 17 (*ala Noricorum*), 20 (*ala Claudia*), 27 (*ala Noricorum*), 30, 36, 42 (*Cohors IIII Thracum*), 46 (*ala Sebosiana*), 52. The 'funeral feast' motif of the riderless horse with attendant includes a pair of spears: see, for example, Espérandieu 1907, Nos. 6463 (*ala Sulpicia*), 6465 and 6454 (*ala Afrorum*), 6448 (*ala Noricorum*), all at Cologne. Exceptionally in Speidel 1994, No. 686 a riderless horse is led by a figure carrying a bundle, presumably of javelins, like that in the gravestone of a *custos armorum* which forms the frontispiece of Bishop and Coulston 1993. But I cannot follow them (1993, 69) in seeing the two spears in Espérandieu No. 6465 as a 'bundle or quiver'.
- 43 Speidel 1970, 149 with Pl. XV. The stone was commissioned by Maximus in his own lifetime, so is likely to be authentic. Speidel observes that Maximus was about to cut off Decebalus' head, so he was not portrayed 'spearing the prostrate foe in the usual fashion of cavalry tombstones'.
- 44 Balty 1988, 101, with Pl. xiv (2) = Balty and Van Rengen 1993, 26, Pl. 5, *discenti(s) lanciari(um)*; *ibid.* 24, Pl. 3; and 25, Pl. 4, *lanciarius*.
- 45 *ILS* 2791 (Rome), <a>eq(uiti) ex numero lanciarorum ... <i>scola <a>equitum. By his name he was a soldier of Tetrarchic date, and quite likely a casualty of the Battle of the Milvian Bridge (AD 312).
- 46 Diodorus Siculus v 30.4 (a Gallic spear with an iron head one cubit long). Nonius Marcellus glosses the *matera* as a 'heavy Gallic weapon' (ed. Lindsay, p. 892), and couples it with the *lancea* in two passages cited from Sisenna. But Sisenna (again quoted by Nonius Marcellus, ed. Lindsay p. 891) also couples

- the lance with the *sparus* as a missile weapon.
- 47 The elder Pliny's first book was *Liber de iaculatione equestri*, cited by Pliny, *ep.* iii 5.3; compare Pliny, *NH* viii 162. At Lambaesis, Hadrian refers to both 'spears' and 'lances' being thrown as 'javelins': 'iaculati estis non ineleganter, hast[is usi] quamquam brevibus et duris; lanceas plures vestrum [par]jiter miserun[t]' (*ILS* 9134).
- 48 *Tab. Vindol.* II 164: 'gladis non utuntur equites nec residunt Brittonculi ut iaculos mittant'.
- 49 Josephus, *BJ* iii 17. Arrian's *Ars Tactica* details the training methods to achieve this result.
- 50 *Tab. Lugdun.* 1, where a fuller commentary will be found.
- 51 *Tab. Vindol.* II 190 = *Tab. Vindol.* I 4. *Tab. Vindol.* III 581, with the format discussed at pp. 23-24.
- 52 The 'volume' (*volumen*) was a papyrus roll, with the text written in a series of columns across the short axis. The *codex* was literally a 'block (of wood)', but the term was applied to a block of wooden tablets; and later, by transference, to the 'book' formed by binding sheets of papyrus or parchment together.
- 53 Lines 52-3 of the main version (1A). There is no evidence in the versions B and D(ii) of an extraordinary entry here, but unfortunately the traces are ambiguous. The 27 *modii* would have fed a small *turma*, but since the *tur(ma) Pacati* has already (in line 20) received an average amount of barley (39 *modii*), *Pacatus'* 27 *modii* can hardly have been intended for his *turma*. Perhaps instead he was engaged in some detached duty which involved the feeding of horses, like the troopers in the contemporary 'Hunt's *Pridianum*' [*RMR* 63] who were sent 'to get horses' (*equatum*, ii 20). One irregularity is noticeable: the *turma Pacati* is one of the three which receive 39 *modii* of barley, but it receives less wheat than the other two (*Agilis* and *Genialis junior*), only 15 *modii*.
- 54 *Genialis*, *Martialis* and *Victor* are all typical soldiers' names with no more significance than *Agilis* or *Sodalis*, although it may be noted that in first-century Britain we already know of another decurion called *Genialis* — in the ala *Thracum* at Cirencester (*RIB* 109) — and of two *alares* (ibid., and *RIB* II.7, 2501.209). But *Albinus*, *Gentilis* and especially *Pacatus* are frequent names in Gaul, and so are *Mansuetus* and *Sollemnis*, which both 'conceal' a Celtic name-element, as indeed do *Docilis* (which is uncommon) and *Se[...]**us*.
- 55 Soldiers ate barley instead of wheat only as a punishment: Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 24; Vegetius, *Epit.* i 13. Barley is a frequent item in *Tab. Vindol.* II 190, and the editors suggest that it was eaten by the commandant's horses. They note (with references) that it was not a regular item of human diet. Minute traces of barley were found in human sewage at Bearsden (Dickson 1988, 122), and indigestible bran from milling the wheat might have been fed to horses, but any consumption of barley by men and of wheat by horses

would be insignificant. Barley and wheat are alternatives in a third-century Latin papyrus (Sijpesteijn and Worp 1977), but the context is obscure, except that it is military.

56 For the army's diet, see Davies 1971. Foxhall and Forbes 1982, 74, suggest that grain contributed about 70-75% of the calories in the 'average classical diet'. For the horses' diet, see Hyland 1990, especially 90-91. Dixon and Southern 1992, 211-2, suggest that oats also were fed to horses in northern Britain, but this remains hypothetical.

57 The only way in which fractions would not naturally result, would be if both men and horses were allotted $1/3$ rd or $2/3$ rds of a *modius* each per day. $2/3$ rds can be disregarded (it is far too much), but $1/3$ rd of a *modius* would be feasible for a horse; however, it would be far too much for a man, though feasible (if rather lavish) if it was shared by a man and his servant. But on this calculation the horse-strengths per *turma* would range from 30 to 45, the man-strengths (each man having his own servant) only from 15 to 18.

58 Johnson 1983, 197-202, also citing Josephus *BJ* iii 85.

59 A multiple of three days (six days, nine days, etc.) can be excluded, since the rations would be far too small unless each and every *turma* was grossly under-strength, which is improbable. The *modius* was divided into sixteenths (*sextarii*), and there is no obvious bias elsewhere towards one-thirds. A *turma* may have been reckoned as three *decuriae* of 10 men each (but there is no direct evidence of this), but even so, if the rations of each *turma* were the sum of three allocations, they would not necessarily be divisible by three.

60 Josephus, *BJ* iii 95; compare *Codex Theodosianus* vii 4.6 (AD 360), where it is customary for soldiers on campaign to receive biscuit for two days, bread the third day; wine and sour wine on alternate days; pork one day, mutton the other two days; and *ibid.*, vii 4. 4 (AD 361?), biscuit for two days, bread and wine the third day. This implies an established three-day issue cycle. Three days' rations were also issued to official travellers crossing the Oxyrhynchite nome, two days at the Oxyrhynchus *mansio*, one day at the Tacona *mansio*, but this is probably a coincidence (*P. Oxy.* lx 4087). Another tradition speaks of 17 days' rations (Ammianus Marcellinus xvii 9.2; Augustan History, *Alex. Sev.* 47.1) or more than half a month's rations (Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* ii 37, compare Caesar, *BC* i 78, twenty-two days), but these amounts were issued for specific campaigns. If 15 or 18 *modii* were interpreted as 17 days' rations, it would follow that the men of the *turma* ate about one *modius* of wheat a day; this would have fed a maximum of 10 men, one-third of establishment, which is much too low.

61 *P. Amherst* ii 107, expressed as 20,000 *artabae*.

62 The two *alae*, in Carlisle and in Egypt, are almost a century apart, but their establishment — sixteen *turmae* of thirty troopers and three officers each — would have been the same. The Egyptian figure is obviously rounded-up, a

calculation based on paper strength inherently likely to be an over-estimate with a built-in provision against contingencies such as short-fall in collection, loss in storage for a year, interruptions of supply. The Carlisle figure by contrast is based on the *actual* ration-strength, even if it has been rounded-up in detail, and it is inherently more accurate (and thus lower) since it is an estimate of three days' consumption, not one year's. It would have been surprising if it were as high as the Egyptian figure.

- 63 Groenman-van Waateringe 1989. For the estimated cost in labour and land of feeding the Roman garrisons in the *limes* salient north-east of Mainz, see Kreuz 1994/95, 76-83.
- 64 Fink 1971, 242, commenting on RMR Nos. 68 and 70, to which can now be added *P. Yadin* 722.
- 65 Tomlin 2001, summarised as *Britannia* 35 (2004), 347, No. 27.
- 66 So called because it was the fictive sale of the testator's property 'by bronze and scales', in the archaic ceremony of sale known as *mancipatio*. See Gaius, *Institutes* ii 101-4.
- 67 This 'marvellous survival' is translated by Crook 1967, 131-2. It is *FIRA* III, 129, No. 47 = Zingale 1991, No. 5, and is well illustrated with useful commentary by its first editors, Guérard and Jouguet 1940.
- 68 *BGU* VII 1696 = Zingale 1991, No. 14 and *BGU* VII 1695 = Zingale, No. 8.
- 69 *P.Mich.* VII 437 = Zingale 1991, No. 15.
- 70 Crew 1988. See further, Crew and Musson 1997, 23.
- 71 The will would have been dated at the end, with a note of where it was written. The dated tablets from Britain are *Britannia* 23 (1992), 147 (Carlisle, 7 Nov. 83); *RIB* II.4, 2443.11 (London, Domitianic); *Britannia* 34 (2003), 373, No. 22 (London, Flavio-Trajanic); *Britannia* 25 (1994), 302, No. 34 (London, 14 March 118).



Fig.1 Caerleon: ink-written tablet relating to military duties(?)

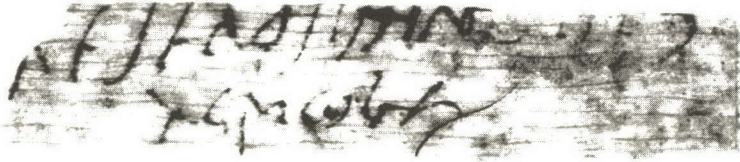


Fig.2 Carlisle: ink-written tablet addressed to a singularis of Agricola



Fig.3 Carlisle: stilus tablet relating to a loan, dated 7 November 83 (photo)

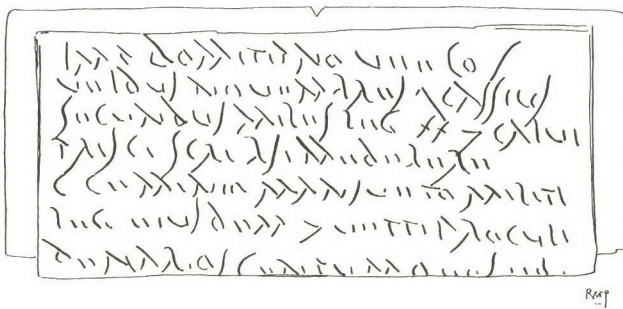


Fig.4 Carlisle: stilus tablet relating to a loan, dated 7 November 83 (line-drawing)

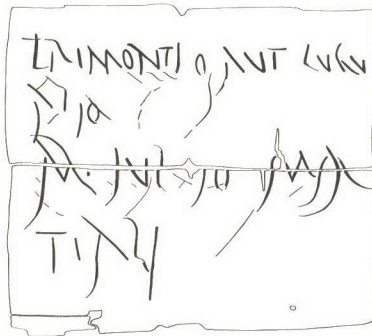
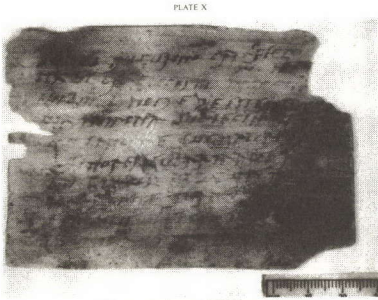


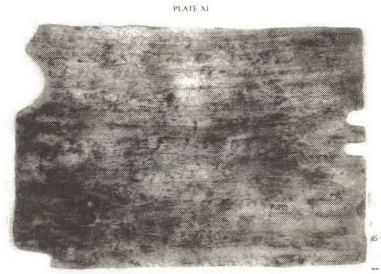
Fig.5 Carlisle: stilus tablet addressed to Julius Martialis 'at Newstead or Carlisle'



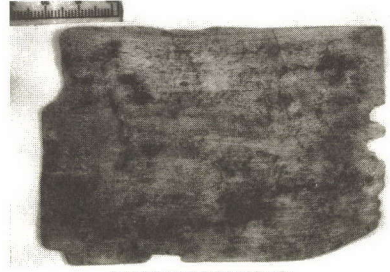
A. Carlisle ink tablets: 16 (i). Width 101 mm. (p. 57)



B. Carlisle ink tablets: 16 (ii). Width 103 mm. (p. 58)



A. Carlisle ink tablets: 16 (iii). Width 102 mm. (p. 58)



B. Carlisle ink tablets: 16 (iv). Width 102 mm. (p. 58)

Fig.6 Carlisle: ink-written tablet, the letter of Docilis to Augurinus

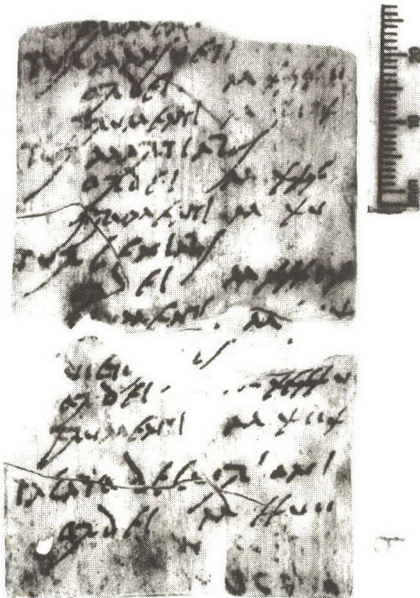


Fig.7 Carlisle: ink-written barley / grain account (detail: troops of Mansuetus, Martialis, Genialis and Victor)

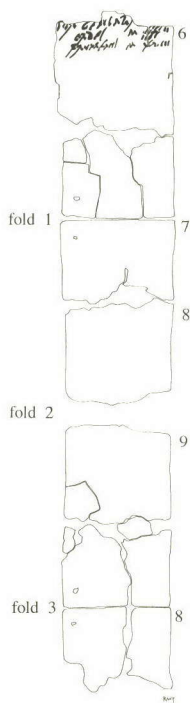


Fig.8 Carlisle: ink-written barley / grain account (line-drawing of format)



Fig.9 Near Tomen-y-Mur: stilius tablet of a will (photograph)

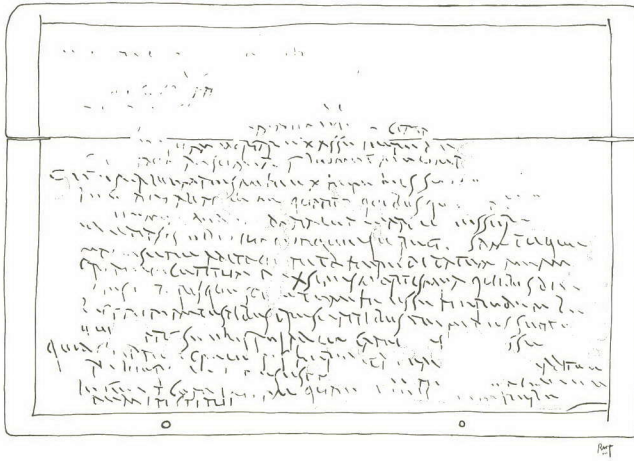


Fig.10 Near Tomen-y-Mur: stylus tablet of a will (line-drawing)

