MILITARY SUPPLY DURING WARTIME

By

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Research on food in the ancient world has made an enormous advance in recent years. The subject has been tackled from different perspectives, one of them being the study of military supply in the Roman Empire¹. My work has followed this last approach: the study of food supply to distant regions and the intervention of the Roman government in the organisation of food supply to the army and to Rome.

Following this line of research, I believe I have sketched out the following:

-The *praefectura annonae* not only had the duty to control the required grain for the *frumentationes* in Rome but also had the function of controlling food supply to Rome and to the army. This view is contrary to the thesis of H. Pavis d'Escurac².

-As a result of the above, there never existed an office of the *annona militaris* because one office monitored all needs of the Roman state, that is, the supply to Rome and to the army. This approach contradicts the thesis by D. Van Berchem³.

-The Roman state, by accepting tax payments in goods, in addition to products obtained from Imperial lands, had a considerable volume of products by which it could influence market prices in Rome.

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¹ Current research has been biased by the work of D. van Berchem who denied the existence of a central office of food supply. See D. van Berchem, 'L'Annone militaire dans l'Empire romain au III^e siècle', *Memoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 10 (1937), 117-202; Idem, 'L'annone militaire est-elle un mythe?', in: *Armée et fiscalité dans le monde antique* (Paris 1977), 331-339; O. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian* (Berlin 1905), 230-246; R. Cagnat, *L'armée d'Afrique et l'occupation militaire de l'Afrique sous les empereurs* (Paris 1913), 311-326; J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Egypte d'Auguste à Diocletien* (Cairo 1918), 347-375 denied the existence of a central office of supply in Rome. See J. P. Adams, *Logistics of the Roman Imperial Army: Major Campaigns on the Eastern Front in the first three centuries AD* (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1976); L. Wierschowski, *Heer und Wirtschaft. Das römische Heer der Prinzipatszeit als Wirtschaftsfactor* (Bonn 1984). For military supply during the Roman Republic see: A. Labisch, *Frumentum commeatusque. Die Nahrungsmittelversorgung der Heere Caesars* (Maiseheim 1975); P. Erdkamp, *Hunger and the Sword. Warfare and Food Supply in Roman republican Wars (264-30 B.C.)* (Amsterdam 1998).

² H. Pavis d'Escurac, *La préfecture de l'Annone, service administratif impérial d'Auguste à Constantin* (Roma 1976).

³ Van Berchem 1937, op.cit. (n.1); Van Berchem 1977, op.cit. (n.1). Another contrasted opinion to the thesis of D. van Berchem is the one by A. Cerati, *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (Paris 1975).

- In this way, the state could also control the prices of those products that were offered to the soldiers and, consequently, soldiers were freed from any fluctuation in their salaries.

- I have also pointed out the fact that the Roman state withheld two thirds of the soldier's pay as payment for maintenance. This is shown in the Latin papyrus Genève no.1 and recently, in the Massada documents⁴.

- The facts stated in the paragraph above are significant for the elucidation of the functioning of the Roman economy and particularly for theories and discussions about the amount of coinage required to keep the army active.

- All these considerations have led me to propose that the finances of the Roman state were based on a system of compensations between Rome and her provinces and between each and every province. I have thus analysed the Roman system as a system of interdependencies of economic, political and social character, whereby it is required to know the development and function of each of the provinces in order to understand the role that each of them had in the total evolution of the Roman Empire. This is what I have called the "annony system" and "system of interdependencies".

For my research, I set off from the analysis of a particular research subject, that of the production and trade of Baetican olive oil. Through the study of this phenomenon, I have attempted to study the whole economic organisation of the Roman Empire. I believe that a detailed analysis of a specific historical phenomenon, insignificant as it may seem at first sight, might help to clarify the historical situation at a particular moment in time. Accordingly, my work has focused on two aspects: first of all, the study of the production and trade of Baetican olive oil during the early Roman Empire and, secondly, the economic and political implications of this trade. The work has been carried out always bearing in mind that, in the ancient world, as in our modern world, the control of foodstuffs is one of the most important aspects of any society. It was particularly so in Roman society where the Emperor was obliged to satisfy the needs of a triumphant people, Rome and her Army, and at the same time, to offer them the resources of a large Empire⁵.

⁴ H. Cotton & J. Gaiger, *Masada II. Yagazel Yadin Excavations 1963-1965. Final Report: The Latin and Greek Documents* (Jerusalem 1989), no. 722.

⁵ For my earlier work on this topic see: J. Remesal Rodríguez, 'Ölproduktion und Ölhandel in der Baetica: Ein Beispiel für die Verbindung archäologischer und historischer Forschung', *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* (1983/2), 91-111; Idem, *La annona militaris y la exportación de aceite bético a Germania* (Madrid 1986), translated as *Heeresversorgung und die wirtschaftliche*

I have therefore proposed a model for the interpretation of the Roman economy whereby the state had a significant role in promoting the economy. The needs of the state led it to rely for many commodities on private traders⁶ and therefore, behind the trade controlled by the state, a long-distance trade developed.

In my opinion, research on Roman government has usually been undertaken by making use of a technique that I would call “vertical prosopography”. First, this type of research was needed because it was necessary to define Roman administrative functions and their historical development. Second, there was no opportunity to develop a “horizontal prosopography” (a synchronic analysis of all functional levels in a particular administrative function) due to a lack of sources. This type of studies would allow us, in my opinion, to know more precisely not only the administrative practice of the Roman Empire but also the relationship between the numerous characters that managed the government and consequently, to gain a better knowledge of the society of the Roman Empire.

Beziehungen zwischen der Baetica und Germanien (Stuttgart 1997), with additional epigraphic evidence; Idem, ‘Die Organisation des Nahrungsmittelimportes am Limes’, in: *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms* (Stuttgart 1986), 759-767; Idem, ‘Die *Procuratores Augusti* und die Versorgung des Römischen Heeres’, in *Akten des 14. internationalen Limeskongresses* (Wien 1990), 55-65; Idem, ‘*Sextus Iulius Possessor* en la Bética’, in: *Alimenta. Estudios en homenaje al Dr. Michel Ponsich*. Anejos de Gerión 3 (Madrid 1991), 281-295; Idem, ‘*Instrumentum domesticum* e storia economica: le anfore Dressel 20’, *Opus* 11 (1992), 105-113; Idem, ‘El sistema annonario como base de la evolución económica del Imperio Romano’, in T. Hakens & M. Miró, eds., *Le commerce maritime romain en Méditerranée occidentale*. PACT 27 (Rixensart 1995), 355-365; Idem, ‘*Mummius Secundinus*. El *Kalendarium Vegetianum* y las confiscaciones de Severo en la Bética. SHA, *Severus* 12-13’, *Gerión* 13 (1996), 195-221; Idem, ‘Baetican olive oil and the Roman economy’, in S. Keay, ed., *The archeology of early Roman Baetica* (Portsmouth RI 1998), 183-199; Idem, ‘Politica e regimi alimentari nel principato di Augusto: il ruolo dello stato nella dieta di Roma e dell’ esercito’, in D. Vera, ed., *Demografia, sistemi agrari e regimi alimentari nel mondo antico* (Bari 1999), 247-272; Idem, ‘L. Marius Phoebeus mercator olei Hispani ex provincia Baetica. Consideraciones en torno a los términos *mercator*, *negotiator* y *diffusor olearius ex Baetica*’, in G. Paci, ed., *Epigraphai. Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini* (Roma 2000), 637-652; Idem, ‘Politik und Landwirtschaft im Imperium Romanum am Beispiel der Baetica’, in P. Herz & G. Waldherr, eds., *Landwirtschaft im Imperium Romanum* (St. Katharinen 2001), 235-255. The central discussion of the ideas here presented is to be found in my work on the *annona militaris* (Madrid 1986; German edition: Stuttgart 1997).

⁶ P. Herz, *Studien zur römischen Wirtschaftsgesetzgebung* (Stuttgart 1988); L. de Salvo, *Economia privata e pubblici servizi nell’ Impero romano. I corpora naviculariorum* (Messina 1992); B. Sirks, *Food for Rome* (Amsterdam 1991); E. Höbenreich, *Annona. Juristische Aspekte der stadtrömischen Lebensmittelversorgung im Prinzipat* (Graz 1997); *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 20, 2 (2001).

In this paper, I would like to explain my view of the organisation of the administrative office of food supply and the different levels of its administration and supply.

The Roman army made use, when patrolling or defending frontiers, of a logistic organisation that implied the conjunction of various factors. First, it was dependent on the resources that soldiers were able to produce in the *fabricae legionis*. Second, it was also dependent upon the resources that it could gather from around the occupied regions or nearby areas. Third, it depended on the resources that it could manage to carry from far away regions. In wartime, if the army was in enemy territory, it could plunder as much as it could.

The resources that the state could place at the disposal of its army had different origins: they could be products received by the State as taxes in goods, or products coming from the Imperial properties, or products acquired by the State in the market, or finally, products requisitioned by the State (*indictiones*).

The Imperial administrative office left to private hands the transportation of the products carried to Rome. Private traders received an economic compensation (*vecturae*) for carrying those products that were already property of the state. To stimulate the transportation of products to the Roman market, and, in my opinion, also to the army, traders received in exchange social privileges already from the time of the Emperor Claudius⁷. Consequently, as I have already remarked, the need to supply Rome and the army was the main motive that led to the development of long-distance trade and, as a result, this was the main factor for the development of the economy of the Roman Empire⁸.

During peacetime, the army was in a situation whereby it could gather all products required or that were at its reach, whether foodstuffs or any other kind of products, either from areas near its location or from areas which it passed through, as numerous papyri demonstrate⁹.

⁷ Suetonius, *Claudius* 18.2; Caius, *Inst.* I.32c.

⁸ See C. Carreras Monfort, *Una reconstrucción del comercio en cerámicas: La red de transporte en Britannia. Aplicaciones de Modelos de Simulación en PASCAL y SPANS* (Barcelona 1994); P.P.A. Funari, *Dressel 20 Inscriptions from Britain and the Consumption of Spanish Olive Oil*. BAR British Series 250 (1996); C. Carreras Monfort & P.P.A. Funari, *Britannia y el Mediterráneo. Estudios sobre el abastecimiento de aceite bético y africano en Britannia* (Barcelona 1998); C. Carreras Monfort, *Economía de la Britannia Romana: la importación de alimentos* (Barcelona 2000).

⁹ S. Daris, *Documenti per la Storia dell'esercito Romano in Egitto* (Milan 1964); R. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus* (Princeton 1971). See also Lesquier 1918, op.cit. (n.1) and J. Schwartz,

The decree by Sextus Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus shows how important it was for the Roman administrative office to guarantee the army supply as well as limiting the prerogative of the use of private means of transport by military and civil servants. However, as I have already commented somewhere else, I believe that what is significant is that soldiers had the same privileges as high-ranking civil servants¹⁰.

A well - known letter by Pliny the Younger, with the Emperor Trajan's reply, reveals that even the governor and a special envoy to the emperor had to place part of their guard at the service of the *procurator* who was a freedman having the mission of collecting grain in Paphlagonia. I would like to stress this 'subversion' of the social order. Part of the guard of the governor is placed under the orders of a freedman who was an imperial agent because the supply of food is of prime interest to the state. Any other considerations must abide to that¹¹.

Other documents, like the *Pridianum* from Moesia, reveal that soldiers could be sent to remote provinces with the duty of collecting certain products¹². In their journey from and back to their detachments, these soldiers made use of the system described in the decree of Strabo Libuscidianus. For these journeys, soldiers did not have to carry money with them as any expenses were paid (by means of the final payment of taxes) by the cities that they came across in their journey, as a passage in Siculus Flaccus shows¹³.

Until now, the role of *praefecti castrorum*¹⁴, *primipilares*¹⁵ and *frumentarii*¹⁶ in the supply of their units has been underlined. However, I

'Le Nil et le ravitaillement de Rome', *Bulletin de l'institut français de l'archéologie orientale (Le Caire)* 47 (1948), 179-200.

¹⁰ S. Mitchell, 'Requisitioned Transport in the Roman Empire. A new Inscription from Pisidia', *Journal of Roman Studies* 66 (1976), 87-105; Idem, 'The Requisitions Edict of Sextus Sotidius Strabo Libuscidianus', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 45 (1982), 99-100; A. Kolb, *Transport und Nachrichtentransfer im Römischen Reich* (Berlin 2000).

¹¹ Plinius Minor, *Epistulae* 10.27-28.

¹² *British Museum Papyrus* 2851; Fink 1971, op.cit. (n.9), nr.63.

¹³ Siculus Flaccus, *De conditione agrorum* (Ed. Lachmann) 165. 3-8: *Quotiens militi praeterunt aliive cui comitatus annona publica praestanda est, si ligna aut stramenta deportanda, quaerendum quae civitates quibus pagis huiusmodi munera praebere sollicitae sint.*

¹⁴ *P. Gen. Lat.* 1, recto, part II, sector A, 1-2 B, C; Fink 1971, op. cit. (n. 9), nr.10.

¹⁵ A. von Domaszewski & B. Dobson, *Die Rangordnung des Römischen Heeres* (Bonn 1967), 90; A. Mócsy, 'Das lustrum primipili und die annona militaris', *Germania* 44 (1966), 312-326; B. Dobson, 'The Significance of the Centurion and "Primipilaris" in the Roman Army and Administration', *ANRW* II 1 (1974), 329-434; Idem, *Die Primipilaren* (Bonn 1978); Idem, "The primipilares in Army and Society", in: G. Alföldy, B. Dobson & W. Eck, eds., *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit* (Stuttgart 2000), 139-152.

believe that the way by which these officials transmitted information on their needs has not been the subject of study yet, nor how the state acquired and distributed the materials requested. In my opinion, the *castra peregrina* of Rome, made up of soldiers from any legion, constituted the headquarters of the army where petitions of each unit were received and from where these petitions were sent to either the administrative office of the *annona* or to the provincial governors. The later, by means of military men of their *officium*, were the ones to seek resources. There has been recent emphasis on the role of *beneficiarii*, who carried out the orders of provincial governors, in performing these tasks¹⁷. Payment for products, obtained by purchase or requisition, was the responsibility of *procuratores*. Land transport was entrusted to cities within the limits defined in the decree of Strabo Libuscidianus. Maritime trade was in the hands of *navicularii* who received an economic compensation (*vecturae*) for this commitment. Nevertheless, we cannot forget the role that the Roman army must have played at least in times of war¹⁸.

The recent studies of the logistics of the Roman Imperial Army by T. H. Kissel and by J. P. Roth assemble an enormous amount of information, but do not, in my view, give a comprehensive treatment of the subject, at least in regard to the administrative aspects of military supply¹⁹.

In Table 1, I have compiled epigraphic evidence up to Severan times that explains the organisation, both administrative and logistic, of military supply in wartime. A “vertical” reading of this table shows how the organisation evolves through time. A “horizontal” reading, even though it is limited by lack of documents, shows specific operations at a certain moment in time and the various levels of the economic and financial administrative office of both the state and the army.

1. Financial administration of war

In the first column, I have listed the names of those who, in my opinion, represent the financial authority of military campaigns. The names refer to

¹⁶ M. Clauss, *Untersuchungen zu den principales des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Diokletian: Cornicularii, Speculatores, Frumentarii* (Bochum 1974).

¹⁷ J. Nelis-Clément, *Les Beneficiarii: militaires et administrateurs au service de l'Empire*. (Bordeaux 2000).

¹⁸ L. de Salvo 1992, op. cit. (n. 6); M. Reddé, *Mare nostrum. Les infrastructures, le dispositif et l'histoire de la marine militaire sous l'Empire romaine* (Rome 1986).

¹⁹ T. H. Kissel, *Untersuchungen zur Logistik des römischen Heeres in den Provinzen des griechischen Ostens (27 v. Chr. - 235 n. Chr.)* (St. Kaharinen 1995); J. P. Roth, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War, 264 B.C. - A.D. 235* (Leiden 1999).

Imperial slaves and freedmen who, under the title of *a copiis militaribus* first and *dispensatores* later, were in charge of the accounting of war expenditure. It is not yet known to which office these men were assigned. None of them indicates in their inscriptions any link to the *praefecturae* that seem to be most directly involved, that is, the *praefectura annonae* and that of the praetorian prefect. Like Rickman, I also believe that these men were dependent on the office of the *procurator a rationibus*²⁰. Even though the title *a copiis militaribus* does not explain the function of these men, the later use of the title *dispensator* makes it clear that these people were in charge of administrative and economic tasks. Both inscriptions, dated in the 2nd c. AD, seem to indicate specific positions related to certain military campaigns. Literary sources elucidate how the emperor paid personal attention to this matter²¹.

2. Reinforcement of the *praefectura annonae*

The second column shows civilians that contributed to reinforcing the office of the *annona*. These men were of equestrian rank from the time of the Flavians onwards. We are not in a position to establish a direct relationship between these people and military campaigns. It could well have been that they acted in times of food shortage. However, in the cases of Aurelius Papirius Dionysius²² and Furius Sabinus Aquila Timesitheus²³, their association with military supplies is clearly indicated. In my opinion, it is also clear in the cases of Sex. Iulius Possessor²⁴ and C. Attius Alcimus Felicianus²⁵. I understand the function of *proc. Romae frumenti comparandi* of M. Arrutius Claudianus as a task undertaken in Rome (*Romae* is therefore a locative)²⁶, in contrast to the function of M. Claudius Faustus Secu[ndus]

²⁰ G. E. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge 1971), 271-278. This opinion was already held by D. v. Berchem 1937, op.cit. (n.1), 143.

²¹ Suetonius, *Augustus* 101; SHA, *Vita Hadriani* 11.1; 21, 5; *Vita Antonini Pii* 8.11; *Vita Marci Antonini* 8.14; *Vita Alexandri* 44.2; 52.3.

²² CIL X 6662; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris, Vols. I-III 1960-1961, Supplément 1982) I nr. 181.

²³ CIL. XIII 1807; Pflaum 1960/1, op. cit. (n. 22) II nr.317; H.Devijver, *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum* (Leuven, I, 1976; II, 1977; III, 1980), F 99.

²⁴ CIL. II 1180; Pflaum 1960/1, op. cit. (n. 22) I nr.185; Devijver 1977, op.cit. (n.23), I 99; Remesal 1991, op.cit. (n.5), 281-295.

²⁵ CIL. VIII 822; 23948; CIL. XIII 1797; Pflaum 1960/1, op.cit. (n.22) II nr.327.

²⁶ AE 1972, 572; H. Devijver 1976, op.cit. (n.23) A.166. Iulius Possessor was also a *adiutor praefecti annonae ad oleum Afrum et Hispanum recensendum* in Rome, see Remesal Rodríguez 1991, op. cit. (n. 5) in contrast to the opinion of H. Pavis d'Escurac 1976, op.cit. (n.2).

of whom it is said that he was active *in provincia*²⁷. In other cases, like Carpus Palantianus²⁸, T. Flavius Macer²⁹, the unknown *procurator ad olea comparanda per regionem Tripolitanam*³⁰ or others that are known to have accomplished unusual tasks on behalf of the *annona*, it is not known if they acted in times of war or, as I have already said, in times of food shortage³¹. As I have already argued, the *subpraefectura annonae* was probably introduced as part of the enlargement of the organisational structure of the administrative office of the *annona* in response to the Marcomannic Wars. According to current evidence, some men received during the first century A.D. and until the middle of the second century A.D., the titles of *adiutores*, *curatores*, *comparatores*, and in later times, the title of *procuratores*.

3. *Curatores copiarum expeditionis (publicani)*

In the third column, we include names that have not been studied from the perspective here explained. As Vegetius says: De copiis expensisque sollers debet esse tractatus ut pabula, frumentum ceteraeque annonariae species quas a provincialibus consuetudo deposcit maturius exigantur, et in opportunis ad rem gerendam ac munitissimis locis amplior semper modus quam sufficit adgregetur. Quod si tributa deficiunt, prorogato auro comparanda sunt omnia³². When the army or the emperor³³ moved from one place to another, their supply was the duty of the provinces to which they went along. Most of the majority of the cities through which the army passed would not have had at their immediate disposal all the resources required to supply the needs of thousands of men or the funds to buy and distribute these resources. Guey has shown the significance of an inscription from Thiatira (Lydia), dedicated to someone whose name is only partially preserved, ...ius Secun... This person supplied legions of Trajan, the legiones V Macedonia, VII Claudia Pia Fidelis, IV Scythica and I Italica, during the Parthian campaign, and put at their disposal any financial resources needed³⁴. In

²⁷ CIL. VIII 12066; Devijver 1976, op.cit. (n.23) C 197.

²⁸ CIL. VI 8470.

²⁹ CIL VIII 5351; AE.1922, 19; Pflaum 1960/1, op.cit.(n.22) I nr. 98.

³⁰ AE. 1973, 76; Pflaum 1982, suppl. op. cit. (n.22) nr.278A.

³¹ For instance, *Sex. Attius Suburanus Aemilianus*, who was *adiutor Iulii Ursi praefecti annonae* in Flavian times, AE.1939, 60; Pflaum 1960/1, op.cit. (n.22) I nr.56; Devijver 1976, op.cit.(n.23) A 189.

³² Vegetius 3.3.

³³ H. Halfmann, *Itinera Principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich* (Stuttgart 1986).

³⁴ J. Guey, 'Inscription du second siècle relative à l'annone militaire', *Melanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 55 (1938), 56-77.

addition, I have shown that the Digest also attests the existence of men that act as publicani, by means of advancing money and resources to the provinces so as to supply the army and later, by charging them back and thus making a profit³⁵. One individual known to have performed this function is C. Valerius Marianus, attested as adlectus annonae for III Italica³⁶, a legion that was created by Marcus Aurelius as a result of the Marcomannic wars between the years 166 and 170 AD³⁷. In this category, I believe that it is necessary to include actions that have been considered until now as evergetism, namely the advancing of advance money and supplies to individuals' home towns in response to the requirements of a visiting army or emperor. Even though in some cases one can discern a philanthropic attitude, as in the case of the Palmyrian Malê, nick-named Agrippa³⁸, in other cases it is obvious that personal profit could be derived through advancing money and offering low-price products, as in the case of M. Solarius Sabinus³⁹. As Vegetius says, provinces had to provide for the required resources: but, if there are no taxes, gold can buy anything: Quod si tributa deficiunt, prorogato auro comparanda sunt omnia. Therefore, wealthy people could become prorogatores auri, making profit in times of war even under an appearance of evergetism.

In this way, the finances of war had a two-fold social repercussion: the provinces had to maintain the army while in movement and, in addition, men that had enough resources could benefit by financing war in advance. The state had also another way to finance war by means of the feared *indictiones* whereby civilians were obliged to sell products at a fixed rate. As Pliny complains, this actually meant an increase in taxes that was very much feared by civilians. Our literary sources are very sensitive to this problem: a good emperor is the one that keeps the balance between the interests of the state and those of society. Augustus, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus

³⁵ Dig. 16. 2. 20. (Papiniani Lib. XIII, responsorum): *ob negotium copiarum expeditionis tempore mandatum curatorem condemnatum pecuniam iure compensationis retinere non placuit, quoniam ea non compensatur*. Remesal Rodríguez (1986), op.cit (n.5), 98.

³⁶ CIL. V 5036 from Trento where he followed a municipal career. Cf. Pflaum 1960/1, op. cit. (n. 22) I apud nr 181 bis, 481 note 16.

³⁷ Dio Cassius 55.24.4; R.E. XII.2.1535.

³⁸ CIS II 3959; C. Dunant, *Le Sanctuaire du Baal-Shamin à Palmire. Vol. III: Les inscriptions* (Rome 1971), nr 44.

³⁹ AE 1921, 1 = SEG I 276; L. Wierschowski, *Heer und Wirtschaft. Das römische Heer der Prinzipatszeit als Wirtschaftsfaktor* (Bonn 1984), 261 n. 601 where the author gathers several other examples. See also other examples collected by S. Mitchell, 'The Balkans, Anatolia, and Roman Armies across Asia Minor', in S. Mitchell, ed., *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*. BAR. International Series 156 (1983) and Kissel 1995, op. cit. (n. 19), 84-88.

Aurelius⁴⁰ all were considered to be good emperors because of this. Pliny, while comparing the policy of Domitian with that of Trajan, writes: *emit fiscus quidquid videtur emere. Inde copiae inde annonae, de qua inter licentem vendentemque conveniat, inde his satietas nec fames usquam*⁴¹.

4. Transport to the frontline

Once products had been received at the military supply bases, they were transported to the battlefield under military control. This important mission was entrusted to equestrian military officers chosen for their ability who, in most cases, obtained military medals in return, as in the cases of L. Aburnius Tuscianus⁴² and M. Valerius Maximinus⁴³.

Supply bases could be set near the front line, as the missions of L. Aburnius Tuscianus and T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus⁴⁴ demonstrate, or very far away from the battlefield. For the latter, the missions of C. Cominius Bonus Agricola⁴⁵, M. Valerius Maximinus and L. Castricius Honoratus⁴⁶ are good examples. The first co-ordinated from Arles the collecting of products either from Gallia and Liguria or transported by the *navicularii marini* (who were the ones to offer the inscription)⁴⁷. The second controlled, from his position near the Danube headwaters, the river transport of products that reached Pannonia with the help of, on the one hand, the *vexillationes* of the fleet of Misenum, Ravenna and Britannia and, on the other hand, a light cavalry unit that had the duty of defending the convoy⁴⁸.

⁴⁰ Suetonius, *Augustus* 42.3; SHA, *Vita Antonini Pii* 8.11; *Vita Marci Antonini* 21.9.

⁴¹ Plinius Minor, *Panegyricus* 29. 5.

⁴² AE.1911, 161; Devijver 1976, op.cit.(n.23), A 5.

⁴³ H.-G. Pflaum, *Deux carrières équestres de Lambèse et de Zama (Diana Veteranorum), Libica* 3 (1955), 135-154 = AE 1956, 124; Pflaum 1960/1, op.cit. (n.22) I nr.181 bis; G. Alföldy, 'P. Helvius Pertinax und M. Valerius Maximianus', *Situla* 14/15 (1974), 199-215; Devijver 1977, op.cit.(n.23), V 23.

⁴⁴ CIG 3884; Pflaum 1960/1, op. cit. (n. 22) I nr.218 ter; Devijver 1976, op.cit.(n.23), A 132.

⁴⁵ CIL XII 672; Pflaum (1960/1), op. cit. (n. 22) I nr.186; Devijver 1976, op.cit. (n.23), C 220.

⁴⁶ CIL. II 1183; Dobson 1978, op. cit. (n. 15), n.158.

⁴⁷ CIL XII 672.

⁴⁸ Pflaum 1955, op.cit. (n.43), 123-154; Alföldy 1974, op. cit. (n. 43) believes the missions *ad deducendam per Danuvium quae in annonam Pannoniae utriusque exercitu denavigarent* are different to the mission *praepositus vexillationum classium praetoriarum Misensis item Ravennatis item classis Britannicae item equitum Afrorum et Maurorum electorum ad curam explorationis Pannoniae*, dating the former in A.D. 169 and the latter in A.D. 170-171. In my opinion, all the references are to the same mission. Valerius Maximianus, in order to transport products along the river, needed sailors and light cavalry to defend the convoy.

H.G. Pflaum⁴⁹ expressed surprise that C. Cominius Bonus Agricola carried out the duties of his mission as *adiutor procuratoris Augustorum ad annonam provinciae Narbonensis et Liguriaie* before he took his third *militia*. However, the mission that he undertook as well as the one by Ti. Plautius Felix Ferruntianus, were not civilian missions intermingled among their *militia* but special missions of military character, previous in both cases to the *praefectura* of a cavalry unit.

5. Head commanders of logistics

Any military campaign requires a good logistic organisation Vegetius puts the point well: *Saepius enim penuria quam pugna consumit exercitum, et ferro saevior fames est. Deinde reliquis casibus potest in tempore subveniri, pabulatio et annona in necessitatem remedium non habent, nisi ante condantur. In omni expeditione unum est et maximum telum, ut tibi sufficiat victus, hostes frangat inopia*⁵⁰

Hunger is worse than anything. The logistics headquarters had to be in the hands of someone, not only efficient, but also someone whom the emperor could trust. Some of the persons to whom was given this role are known to have already carried out important military tasks, for example C. Caelius Martialis⁵¹. Others, like L. Aurelius Nicomedes⁵² and T. Claudius Candidus⁵³, received military medals after carrying out the job. The great majority were rewarded with the entrance to the *ordo senatorius*, as is the case for Plotius Grypus⁵⁴, L. Aurelius Nicomedes, tutor to Lucius Verus and friend of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, T. Claudius Candidus, the great general of Septimius Severus, Cn. Marcius Rusticus Rufinus⁵⁵ and M. Aurelius Tutesianus⁵⁶. M. Rossius Vitulus⁵⁷, the head of supply for the three civil war campaigns of Septimius Severus, became a *ducenarius*.

A horizontal reading of the table shows that the evidence may be interpreted in accordance with the five functions that I have been

⁴⁹ Pflaum 1960/1, op. cit. (n. 22) I nr.186.

⁵⁰ Vegetius 3.3.

⁵¹ AE: 1934, 2; Pflaum 1960/1, op. cit. (n. 22) I nr.74; Devijver 1976, op.cit.(n.23), C 31.

⁵² CIL VI 1598; Pflaum 1960/1, op. cit. (n. 22) I nr.163.

⁵³ CIL II 4114; G. Alföldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco* (Berlin 1975), 130; Pflaum 1960/1, op. cit. (n. 22) I nr.203; Devijver 1976, op.cit. (n.23), C 128.

⁵⁴ Statius, *Silvae* 4.7.15; Pflaum 1955, op.cit. (n.43), 144, n.1. F. Bérard, 'La carrière de Plotius Grypus et le ravitaillement de l'armée en campagne', *MEFRA* 96 (1984), 259-324.

⁵⁵ CIL IX 1582; CIL X 1127. Pflaum 1960/1, op. cit. (n. 22) II nr.234.

⁵⁶ G. Alföldy, 'Zur cursus honorum des Aurelius Tuerarius', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 34 (1979), 247-272.

⁵⁷ Pflaum 1960/1, op.cit.(n.22) II nr.224; Devijver 1977, op.cit. (n.23), R 11.

commenting upon and corresponds to a well-structured model of organisation. War required a financial control of state resources and this task was entrusted to slaves and imperial freedmen that were probably assigned to the *officium a rationibus*. War obliged the *praefectura annonae* (the office that, in my opinion, was in charge of the supply to Rome and its army) to acquire resources for the army and this task was entrusted, from the Flavians onwards, to men of equestrian rank who executed it from Rome and from the provinces. The duty of the provinces where the army was in action or in transit was that of contributing to the maintenance of the army. This caused the appearance of actual *publicani* who advanced money or goods to the provinces, in exchange for profit, even though in some cases some men did it as an act of evergetism. War required that, once products reached their supply bases, whether near to or remote from the front line, transport to the actual front line had to be entrusted to military men of equestrian rank, who had soldiers and civilians to carry the resources entrusted to them. Finally, war required a logistic direction entrusted to someone who should be both capable and trustworthy.

War is a determining factor for the social and economic evolution of any society⁵⁸. Augustus had created a standing army, extended along a wide frontier. This army had, in theory, a defensive role. The life and the salary of a Roman soldier was not very stimulating. Augustus, however, knew how to give soldiers a stimulus or a future dream: the *aerarium militare*⁵⁹. This ensured soldiers the security of receiving resources to guarantee their pay and to permit their reinsertion into civilian life.

From the total amount of a soldier's pay, part of it was withheld to pay for expenses of his maintenance and equipment. The fact that the state supplied the army meant that, in the first place, soldiers were freed from any fluctuation in prices and therefore, soldiers were more operative in times of war because their subsistence was guaranteed. On the other hand, it also meant that resources, especially food, could be distributed from imperial properties and tax payments in goods, avoiding coinage circulation.

Although the army always played a part in the gathering of whatever it needed, especially in those areas next to their camps, the long-distance trade in staple products like grain and oil and probably many others, was left in

⁵⁸ A. Chastagnol, C. Nicolet & H. Effentome, eds., *Armée et fiscalité dans le monde antique* (Paris 1977); *Économie antique. La guerre dans les économies antiques*. Textes rassemblés par J. Andreau, P. Briant & R. Descart (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges 2000).

⁵⁹ M. Corbier, *L' aerarium Saturni et l'aerarium militare. Administration et prosopographie sénatoriale* (Rome 1974).

private hands (*mercatores, negotiatores, navicularii, and diffussores*⁶⁰). This made it possible that, besides a redistributive exchange system that guaranteed a certain benefit to traders, a free-market long-distance trade developed which formed the basis of the economic development of the Roman Empire.

In my opinion, soldiers dispatched to the *castra peregrina* at Rome and to the *officia* of provincial governors were the ones that set up the basis for the logistic structure of the army, through which news about the needs of each unit circulated. A unique office, the *praefectura annonae*, by means of the *procuratores Augusti*, was in charge of the administrative organisation for the collection and distribution of foodstuffs, either for Rome or for the army. In wartime, the system was reinforced in the way I have here attempted to explain.

Barcelona, May 2002

⁶⁰ As inscriptions dedicated to these people show. Remesal Rodríguez 2000, op. cit. (n. 5).

Table 1

Financial administration of war	Reinforcement of the Praefectura annonae	Curatores copiarum expeditionis	Transport to the frontline	Head commanders of logistics
T CLAUDIVS FAVSTVS <i>A copis militaribus</i> Cl. Nerón (libertus)	CARPVS PALANTIANVS <i>Adiutor praef. Annonae.</i> Nero (libertus)			
POLYCHRISVS <i>a copis militaribus</i> Flavios (libertus)	M.ARRVNIVS CLAVDIANVS <i>Proc. Romae frumenti Comparandi</i> (eques)			PLOTIVS GRIPVS <i>Arbiter secuenti annonae</i> (praef. Vehiculorum)
PAEZON <i>a copis militaribus</i> first half II A.D. (servus)	T. FLAVIVS MACER <i>curator frumenti comparandi in annonam urbis</i> (eques)	...IIVS SECVN[...] <i>Cura copiarum expeditionis.</i> 113/14 A.D.	L. AIBURN[NIVS TUSCIANVS] <i>Curator annonae bello Parthico ad ripam Euphratis</i> (Praef. Coh.) 114/117 A.D.	C. CAELIVS MARTIALIS <i>Copiarum curam adiuvit, qua universa Dacia devicta est</i> (Trib. Militum)
		M. SOLARIVS SABINVS (Hadrian) Malé (qui Agrippa) Palmira 129 A.D.		
SALVIUS <i>Dispensator Aug. Primae et secundae Expeditionis germ(anicae) fel(icissimae)</i> (servus) <i>dispensator rationum copiarum expeditionum felicissimarum secundae et tertiae germanicarum</i>	M.CLAVDIVS FAVSTVS SECV[N(D)VS] <i>Ad comparationem frumentum in provinciae.</i> (eques) S. IVLIUS POSSESSOR <i>Adiutor Praef. Annonae</i> (eques) 169 A.D.	C. VALERIUS MARIANVS <i>Adlectus annonae Leg. III italicae</i> 165/166 A.D.	M. VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS <i>Missus in procintu germanicae expeditionis ad deducendam per Danuvium quae in annonam Pannoniae utriusque exercitu denavigarent.</i> (trib. coh.) 169 A.D. L. CASTRICIVS HONORATUS (primuspilus) 169 A.D.	L. AVRELIUS NICOMEDES <i>Cura copiarum ei iniuncta</i> (Praef. Vehiculorum) T. CLAUDIVS CANDIDVS <i>praepositus copiarum expeditionis germanicae secundae.</i>

(servus)	<p>M. AVRELIUS PAPIRIUS DIONYSIUS <i>Praef. Vehicularum a copits Aug. per viam Flaminiam (eques)</i></p> <p>P. COMINIVS CLEMENS <i>Subpraef. Annonae</i> Post 170 A.D. (eques)</p>		<p>C. COMINIUS BONUS AGRICOLA <i>adiutor proc. Augg. ad annonam provinciae Narbonensis et Liguriae</i> 176-180 A.D. (Trib. leg.)</p> <p>T. PLAUTIUS FELIX FERRVNTIANVS <i>proc. Ad solaminia (sic) et horrea</i> (Trib. mil.) post 176 A.D.</p> <p>T. ANTONIVS CLAVDIVS ALFENVVS ARIGNOTVS <i>Curator annonae portus Seleusiae Pieriae</i> (Praef. Coh.) 175 A.D.</p>	177/78-180 A.D.
			<p>M. ROSSIVS VITVLVS <i>praepositus annonae expeditionis felicissimae urbicae</i> 193 A.D. <i>procurator arca expeditionalis</i> 193-194 A.D. <i>procurator annonae ob expeditionem felicissimam gallicam</i> 196-197 A.D. (Praef. Alae)</p>	
	IGNOTUS <i>procurator ad olea comparanda per regionem Tripolitanam</i>			

				<p>CN. MARCIVS RVSTICVS RVFTIVS <i>praepositus annonae</i> <i>Imp. Lucii Septimi Severi pii</i> <i>Perinaci et M. Aureli</i> <i>Antonini Augg.</i> Before 205 A.D.</p>
			<p>C. FVRIVS SABINIVS AQVILA TIMESITHEVS <i>proc. Prov. Syriae</i> <i>Palestinae ibi exactor</i> <i>reliquorum annonae</i> <i>sacrae expeditiionis</i> 232 A.D.</p>	<p>C. SULGIVS CAECILIANVS <i>praepositus thesauris dominicis et</i> <i>bastagis copiarum devehendarum</i> 231-233 A.D.</p>
		<p>C. ATTIVS ALCIMVS FELICIANVS <i>proc. annonae prov.</i> Narbonensis</p>		<p>M. AVRELIVS TVESIANVS <i>Praepositus sacrae</i> <i>annonae expeditionalis</i> 231-233 A.D.</p>
				<p>IGNOTVS <i>praepositus annonae expe-</i> <i>ditionis germanicae</i></p>