

HILLA HALLA-AHO – GIULIO IOVINE

THE LATIN TEXTS IN P.HAUN. INV. 315

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THE LATIN TEXTS IN P.HAUN. INV. 315*

P.Haun. inv. 315 is a twice-reused papyrus fragment (width 31 × height 21.3 cm), from the II c. AD, broken on all sides, and currently preserved in the Papyrus Hauniensis Collection in Copenhagen. It hosts three entirely Latin texts, which we publish in this paper. Very little is known about the circumstances of its finding, origin and provenance. It allegedly was acquired through F. Zucker from Agaibi Makarios¹ at Medinet el-Fayûm on 20 September 1930, not on its own, but together with a bunch of Greek papyri for which 40 Egyptian pounds were paid. It underwent some restoration in Berlin under the care of H. Ibscher². It was brought to our notice by the director of *The Papyrus Carlsberg Collection & Project* Prof. Kim Ryholt, who kindly permitted us to publish it here.

What remains of the original document is a roughly rectangular fragment that, if seen from the perspective of the *recto*, is far higher on the left side than on the right; it presents damaged and torn fibres all around the borders, and the overall colour is dark brown. No kollesis can be detected. The right portion of the fragment containing coll. III and IV of the *recto* is in fact detached from the main part, and ought to be moved slightly upwards (see details in **2**). The Latin texts found on this papyrus fragment can be described thus, in their likely chronological order: (a) on the *recto*, along the fibres, a list of soldiers, probably from a military bureau; (b) on the *verso*, across the fibres, a scribal exercise in at least three columns, matching hardly any known words or verses in the Latin language and literature; (c) again on the *recto*, along the fibres – the papyrus being rotated 90° – another scribal exercise, featuring two different types of scripts, but – as with the former one on the *verso* – not referring to any known text. What follows is the edition of the texts: those on the *recto* will be presented first (**1** and **2**), then the *verso* (**3**) will be covered.

1. The *recto*: a Latin military list

The list was originally organised in columns: one can see the remains of four of them in the surviving portion of the papyrus. The lower margin of the document appears to have survived. The length of the inter-columnium (three of them survive) is variable; so is the amount of the space covered by entries in a single column. This suggests that the document was updated from time to time, without any regular planning of the layout. The ink has been damaged by wear throughout the whole fragment. This, and the drawing of larger letters *transversa charta* (see **2**) above the text, has impaired reading in several places of the list. Notably, in col. IV l. 22 a horizontal fibre projects to the right, preserving a line more complete than those in the rest of the column, in which only the beginnings can be seen.

The script employed is an old Roman cursive. Overall, it can be dated from mid-I to II century AD; the fact that one of the soldiers's name is 'Hadrianus' allows us to narrow the chronological fork to the II century alone. Letters are upright and slowly executed: very few ligatures are to be detected, like *-us* or *kal* for *Kal(endas)*. Similarities can be detected with the script of *P.Berenike* II 123 (late I AD³), and – much less – that of *P.Oxy.* VII 1022 (AD 103⁴), mostly with *h*, *l* and *s*. *L* often has an upper ornamental stroke; *i* can have both an upper and a lower one (see e.g. col. II l. 18 *Apolinaris*). *M* can be seen both in a capital-like form and four strokes (col. IV l. 22 *Marciani*), and in a decidedly more cursive form (col. III

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¹ A Coptic dealer, active between 1930 and 1936 in the Fayyum. See F. Hagen – K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930. The H. O. Lange Papers*, Copenhagen 2016, pp. 101, 170 (fn. 527) and 191.

² We owe this information to Prof. Kim Ryholt *per litteras*.

³ TM 89148.

⁴ TM 78569.

l. 20 *Firmus*). *N* is mostly in its capital form, only in one case (col. IV l. 22 *Martiani*) apparently being drawn in two strokes. *S* is often upright and in two strokes. *U* tends to be angular. The name of ‘century’ is represented by its customary symbol (γ).

Lists of soldiers constitute a large percentage of the Latin military documents surviving on papyrus⁵. Aside from those typologies which have a clear purpose and, often, an actual name in ancient sources – e.g. the rosters (*matriculae*)⁶ – one can see several shorter and more informal lists whose purpose was so ephemeral that it is now mostly unclear, since we lack the production context⁷. The present list, aside from being fragmentary, offers little information on why and when it was created. The columns contain names, dating formulae, and names of centuries. At the bottom of the first three lies the same indication γ *Apollinaris* (‘century of Apollinaris’), as if the soldiers mentioned above were all to be referred to this particular century. In col. II l. 15 only one name is featured, closely joined by the indication of another century (that of *Hermesias*, l. 14) and followed by a dating formula: it is possible that the soldier was transferred from *Hermesias*’ to *Apollinaris*’ century, and the event was recorded on a specific list. Col. III also contains names followed in at least two cases out of three by a dating formula. In col. IV there is no longer a trace of *Apollinaris*, but a transfer may be hinted at in l. 22. Col. I is perhaps the most puzzling section: under or above the notation γ *Hermesiae* one cannot read any name. To conclude: it is plausible to describe this document as a military list from an unknown Roman unit in Egypt, drafted for an unknown purpose. Perhaps transfers from a unit to another were annotated – mainly, to *Apollinaris*’ century; but one cannot be sure other centuries were not mentioned⁸.

Of twelve surviving names, three have an abbreviated *praenomen* (L. *Apu-*, L. *Mumius*, P. *Ma[. . .]us Firmanus*) and were perhaps all *tria nomina*; five feature *nomen* and *cognomen* (*Aninius Iustus*, *Iulius <H>adrianus*, *Iulius Caelianus*); four feature only a *cognomen* (*Apollinaris*, *Hermesias*, *Firmus*, *Marcianus*), two of which being the *cognomina* of the centurions, following the symbol γ. The pattern seems to confirm the dating of this papyrus to the II AD, when the diacritic shift in Roman onomastics between the *tria nomina* (or *praenomen* + *nomen*) and *nomen* + *cognomen* was in full force⁹. Lists of soldiers from I BC–I AD sometimes report the *tria nomina* (or *praenomen* and *nomen*), patronymic and tribe of the legionaries¹⁰ – who were all Roman citizens by then.

⁵ Details of this documentary typology are given in K. Stauner, *Das offizielle Schriftwesen des römischen Heeres von Augustus bis Gallienus (27 v.Chr. – 268 n.Chr.)*. Eine Untersuchung zur Struktur, Funktion und Bedeutung der offiziellen militärischen Verwaltungsdokumentation und zu deren Schreibern, Bonn 2004; see the collection of samples in R. O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, Cleveland (Ohio) 1971; cf. too O. Salati, *Scrivere documenti nell’esercito romano. L’evidenza dei papiri latini d’Egitto tra I e III d.C.*, Wiesbaden 2020. The same author has also discussed the layout of Latin lists of soldiers in ‘Listing in the Roman Army: Formatting and Palaeographical Conventions of the Latin Lists on Papyrus’, forthcoming in R. Ast – T. Licht – J. Lougovaya (eds.), *Uniformity and Regionalism in Latin Writing Culture of the First Millennium C.E.*, Wiesbaden (forthcoming 2022).

⁶ Rosters were lists containing all the names of the soldiers serving in an individual unit. Further, detailed analysis by R. O. Fink in C. B. Welles – R. O. Fink – J. F. Gilliam (eds.), *The Parchments and Papyri. With an Account of Three Iranian Fragments by W. B. Henning*, New Haven 1959, 37–46; again Fink 1971, 9–18; Marichal (in *ChLA* VIII, 3–12); and K. Stauner, 2004, pp. 21–26.

⁷ This is the case – to use a subset I am particularly acquainted with – of many fragmentary lists within the Durene group, which contain little else than names and dating formulae, for their purpose was in the mind of the person who had them drawn up: e.g. *P.Dura* 96 (AD 250–256 (c.), TM 44828); 115 to 119 (AD 232 to c. 250, TM 44847 to 44851); 120 (AD 222, TM 44852), 122 (AD 242–256 (c.), TM 44854), 124 (AD c. 220–240, TM 44856).

⁸ This sort of transfer is usually found in *pridiana* and akin documents, in association with other information. See e.g. *ChLA* III 219 col. II l. 8 *translatu[s] in exercit[u]m Panno[n]i[is]* and perhaps l. 20 (AD 105, TM 69875); or *BGU* II 696 col. II ll. 22–31, see in particular 22–24 *translatu[s] ex coh(orte) I Fl(avia) Cil(icum) l in (centuria) Candidi Comm[odo] et Pompeiano co(n)s(ulibus) l Maevius Margellus [ex - -]* (AD 156, TM 69913). A list entirely devoted to this topic is perhaps to be found in *P.Dura* 121 (after AD 239–241 (c.), TM 44853) where transfers of soldiers or enrolment of new recruits in the Palmyrene cohort are annotated with dating formulae. The data provided, however, is much more complete in the Durene papyrus than here.

⁹ See B. Salway, What’s in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700, *JRS* 84 (1994) 124–145; pp. 128–136.

¹⁰ See e.g. the recently studied P.Cair. inv. JdE 95210, e.g. ll. 2–3 2 *P. Iunius P. filius Veturia l M. Helvius M. filius Pollia*, etc. (all written in Roman capital). The item was published in T. Derda – A. Łajtar – T. Płóciennik, Three Lists of Soldiers

In the image below I have used shapes to pinpoint the location and extension of the surviving columns and of the intercolumnar addition in col. IV. In order to give an exact idea of the reciprocal alignment of the surviving lines in any given column, I have maintained the same line numbers in the two transcriptions.

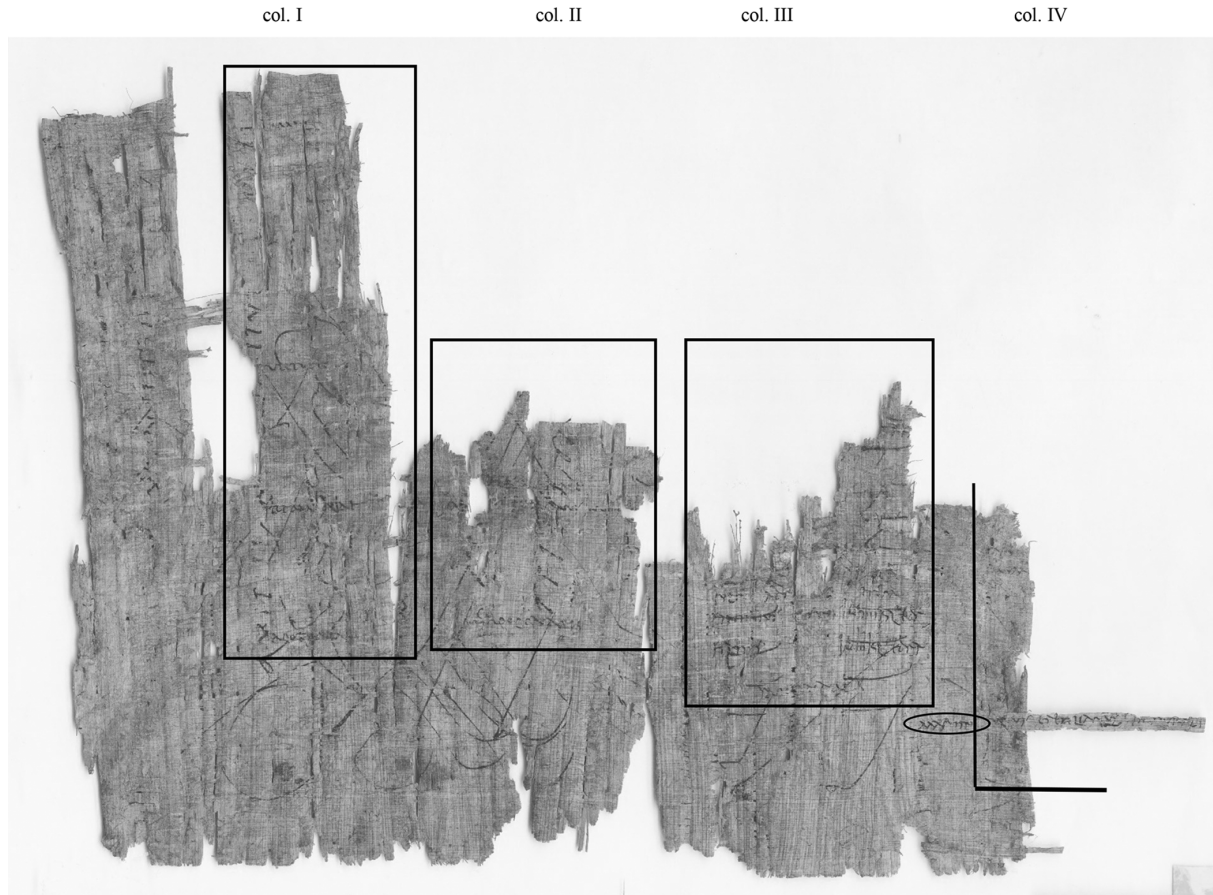


Fig. 1. The Latin List

col. I	col. II
— — —	
] .am	
5	
10	VIII
15	(centuria) Hērmēsiae P. Ma[. . .]us Firmanus in VIII K[a]l(endas) Iu[.]
	(centuria) Apolinaris
(centuria) Apolīnarīs	

on Papyrus Found in Qasr Ibrim, in A. Tomas (ed.), *Ad fines imperii Romani. Studia Thaddaeo Sarnowski septuagenario ab amicis, collegis discipulisque dedicata*, Warsaw 2015, pp. 47–57.

Col. I

Almost nothing survives from the first column; notations at ll. 1 and 10 cannot be precisely understood.

10 The line might have contained a dating formula; the last four letters are blurred and it is difficult to pinpoint a safe reading. I suspect the first letters to represent the figure *VIII*, but the sequence could also be interpreted in a different way. One might think of *VIII* as the number of a military unit¹¹; otherwise, by a slightly different reading, *VII Id(us) Oct(obres)* = October 9th, perhaps referring to the year previous to that in which the following entries were drawn up (May, June, July).

15 The name of the centurion *Hermesias* (gen. *Hermesiae*), probably a transliteration from the Greek name Ἑρμῆσις¹², is here visible for the first time in this document. The name is attested between the 1st and 4th century AD in Egypt and has never been found associated with a Roman soldier so far. Interestingly, the genitive is realized according to the Latin inflection system (*Hermesias Hermesiae*), instead of following the Greek inflection for masculine names in the -α declension (Ἑρμῆσις Ἑρμητίου). A large *t* from the scribal exercise (see below at l. 3 *gurtiabus*) runs exactly over the sequence -*sia*-.

19 The name of the centurion *Apolinaris* (gen. *Apolinaris*), standing for *Apollinaris* (which is in turn one of the several possible spellings of the name *Apollinarius* ~ Ἀπολινάριος¹³) is here visible for the first time in this document. In the extant Latin papyri the name *Apollinaris* is treated as a nominative; one might expect a genitive *Apollinari(i)*, since the original nominative is *Apollinarius*. This genitive in -*is*, unattested elsewhere, might be a mistake originated by an interference with other inflectional classes, like those with both nominative and genitive in -*is* (e.g. *Ciuilis*).

Col. II

14–5 The soldier *Firmanus*, perhaps (formerly?) belonging to the century of *Hermesias*, is associated with a dating formula: *VIII Kal(endas) Iu[n(ias)]* or *Iu[l(ias)]*, May 25th or June 24th of a given year. He is referred to by his *tria nomina*, including the abbreviated *praenomen P(ublius)*; as far as the *nomen* goes, the reading is uncertain. The initial letter resembles an *m*, but has a very odd curved stroke at the beginning, which can hardly be explained as an ornamental starting stroke. On the other hand, the *cognomen* *Firmanus*, unattested so far in documents from the Eastern provinces, is abundant in the European ones, from *Britannia* to *Moesia Superior*¹⁴. In the dating formula, the words *d(ie)* before *in*, and *ante* before *Kal*, are implicit¹⁵.

18 Once again, the century of *Apollinaris*.

col. III

col. IV

] . X Ka[l(endas)

15

[. .] . [] . . [] .
L. Apu . . []
L. Mumi[us]
. []Iulius Adriañus item
Aniñius Iustus in VIII Kal(endas) Febr(uarias)

¹¹ After the number one would expect an adjective or a genitive plural to define the origin or a characteristic of the unit (e.g. *Gallica, Apriana, Palmyrenorum, Vocontiorum* etc.), possibly abbreviated.

¹² TM Names 9302.

¹³ TM Names 2125.

¹⁴ I have consulted the Claus–Slaby database (<http://www.manfredclaus.de/it/index.html>) on June 15th 2020.

¹⁵ See e.g. *TPSulp* 9 = *AE* 1992, 272 ll. 1–2 [*Vad*]imonium factum C(aio) Vitrasio | Mauro in VI K(alendas) Iunias (Pompeii, AD 41–60); *AE* 2002, 1349 ll. 7–10 et habere semel in | anno diebus continuis | septem ex XII K(alendas) Octobr(es) in VI | K(alendas) easdem (Asia Minor, AD 136); *P.Dura* 54 col. II l. 1 XIII Kal(endas) Apriles. Ob diem Quinq[ua]trio[r]um supp[licatio]; in X Ka[l(endas) e]lasdem supp[licatio]nes (AD 222–35, TM 44772).

20 Firmus· in III Kal(endas) Febra(rias)
 7 Apollinaris

Marciani Iulius Cae[[ti]]lianus in XVIII Kal I[.]
 Iu[[lius]
 Liçini[us]

20 l. Februa(rias)

Col. III

12 Only part of a dating formula survives, enough for us to suppose that the format of this entry in the list was similar to that of the following lines (18–21) and of col. II ll. 14–15. Between this line and ll. 18ff., one cannot see traces of writing; perhaps a blank space was left between this entry and the following ones.

18–21 Three soldiers are referred to Apollinaris' century: two of them on a given day. Differently from the preceding column, there is no further century for the three soldiers in the remains of the papyrus. It might have been in the lacuna above this section (perhaps even above l. 12), if it was ever noted in the original document. *Praenomina* are not included, whereas in col. II they were – and will be in the first section of col. IV (ll. 14–17). Iulius Adrianus (the omission of the initial aspiration is regular in sub-standard Latin), the first soldier, is not marked by a dating formula, but by the adverb *item* 'in the same way', 'likewise', which usually refers to something already said (perhaps above, in the lost portion of the column). The name 'Iulius Hadrianus' is not attested so far among Roman soldiers; we do have, however, an 'Aelius Hadrianus' *decurio alaris*¹⁶ among several others listed in the marble inscription *I.Alex.Imp.* 106¹⁷ (AD 199). The second soldier, Aninius Iustus¹⁸, does something (or enters the century?) on January 24th; the third, Firmus, a week later on January 30th. After Firmus there is a blank space instead of the expected *cognomen* of the soldier, which is regularly featured for the first two names. Only a medial dot is visible. It is possible that the scribe ignored, or could not transcribe satisfactorily, or did not strictly need Firmus' second name in that particular circumstance, and signalled the absence of the *cognomen* with the medial dot.

19–20 At l. 20, *Febra(rias)* instead of *Februa(rias)*. This form is attested in Latin documents on papyrus¹⁹. In l. 19 I have restored the correct form in resolving the abbreviation, but the scribe might well have had *Febr(arias)* in mind.

21 For the third and last time in the surviving document, the century of Apollinaris is mentioned at the bottom of the column.

Col. IV

The remains of this column appear to be divided in two distinct sections: one at ll. 14–17, the other at ll. 22–24. The first probably began in the portion of the papyrus now lost, whereas the second might have consisted only of the partially surviving three lines.

14–17 The left portion of four Roman names. Only the last two (ll. 16–17) are somehow recognizable. *Praenomina* – *L(ucius)* for both of them – are noted. The first name might be an Apuleius (*L. Apule[us]*), but the identification is problematic, since traces after *u* are too blurred to lend any certainty. The second appears to be a *L. Mumif[us]*, misspelt for *Mummius*²⁰. Traces after the second *m* are that of an upright letter (such as *i*), which can hardly be interpreted as the left – oblique – stroke of *m*. Below his name one can detect very faint traces of ink, perhaps from a further line; then a blank space seems to be seen.

¹⁶ TM Per 394169.

¹⁷ TM 106272.

¹⁸ The name 'Aninius' (TM Names 29526) is attested only in a Greek papyrus from Egypt (*SB* I 4429 – AD 107, TM 23129), but is widespread in other regions of the Empire (I have consulted the Clauss–Slaby database on September 17th 2020). 'Iustus', on the other hand, is much more common (TM Names 9672).

¹⁹ It is used throughout in the abovementioned (fn. 15) *Feriale Duranum* (*P.Dura* 54 col. I, ll. 13–14 and 17), as well as *SB* XX 14386 (AD 277–82, TM 32180); *O.Bu Njem* 74 (AD 253, TM 73224), 76 (AD 259, TM 73226), and 77 (AD 259, TM 73227).

²⁰ TM Names 10655. A rare name in Egypt: it is spelt Μούμιος in *SB* V 8588 (AD 91), an *ostrakon* from Wadi Hammamat.

22–24 At least three names are recorded here. *Praenomina* are not noted. Notably, since only the initial portion of the column is preserved, and the only complete name is the first one of the three thanks to a single surviving strip of papyrus, it is possible that the relevant centuries (that of Apollinaris at the bottom, and perhaps a further century above the names) were in fact noted in the centre of the column with a bit of *eisthesis*, and therefore now lost to us. The first name is that of a Iulius Caelianus²¹. The scribe had begun writing *caeti-*, then erased *-ti-* with at least one oblique dash, and resumed writing *-lianus*. A thick, slightly serpentine horizontal line has been drawn below the final *-us*, for no perceivable reason: perhaps it belongs to the scribal exercise, running perpendicularly to the present text. The day (of his enrolment? of his transfer?) is noted: *in XVIII Kal(endas) I[ul(iis)] or I[an(uariis)]*, the 14th of June or the 15th of December. The figure *XVIII* is poorly preserved and not at all certain – the *X* almost completely lacks the lower right portion. If the number is in fact 18, then the only possible months in the lacuna are July or January, the 18th day before the Kalends of June being none other than the Ides of May. Notably, in the left margin of the name someone has annotated the name in the genitive case *Marciani*. It may be the name of a centurion, the symbol for *centuria* being perhaps omitted. Of the remaining two names only two *nomina*, Iulius and Licinius, are visible.

2. The *recto*: a scribal exercise

Sometime after the military list was drafted, and probably even after the *verso* was written, the *recto* was turned 90° and employed for a writing exercise. The scribe wrote against the fibres and produced, perhaps in different moments, at least 10 lines, of which only the left portion survives. As far as the meaning and words employed are concerned, the situation is puzzling: only very few of the detectable sequences of characters make any sense in Latin. Line 1 contains perhaps an intelligible portion (*quam nisi*) but it is completely isolated from any understandable context. At ll. 2 and 8, one may perhaps see a name resembling ‘Quintilianus’, only without the *n*. Figures might be referred to in ll. 4–6, which all begin with two or more *C*’s. Difficulties in reading the letters, which are damaged and, in most cases, intersect with the lines of the military list drawn below it, might account for some of the apparent ‘impossible’ words. See e.g. *P.Tebt.* II 686 (II–III AD²²) and its apparently incomprehensible sequences. If there was a real Latin verse or sentence beneath these phrases, it is now almost impossible to track down.

From the palaeographical point of view, one can remark how the scribe appears to be employing two different typologies of letters (as far as mere magnitude is concerned): for most of the writing frame, an old Roman cursive with very few ligatures, fit for an official document, or at any rate a document meant to be easily read. Close parallels are *SB XX* 14631²³ (AD 139), the copy of a release warrant from the prefect of Egypt; and *ChLA X* 413²⁴ (AD 165), the end of an official document with subscriptions, particularly for *e*, *s*, *t*. These have been rendered in the transcription with minuscule letters. For the beginning of the lines, and throughout the whole line in ll. 3 and 8–9, a chancery-like, large and upright old Roman cursive, whose samples can be found e.g. in *P.Stras.* I 36 (II AD²⁵), a partially preserved letter from a high-ranking official; *P.Dura* 59 (AD 241²⁶), a likewise partially preserved letter from the governor of Syria, Attius Rufinus; and *ChLA XLIII* 1254 (III AD²⁷), probably a writing exercise in a chancery script comparable to this text. These letters have been rendered in the transcription below with capital letters.

²¹ Unattested so far in Egypt, but widespread in the rest of the Empire (I have consulted the Clauss–Slaby database on September 17th 2020).

²² TM 97904. The papyrus will be republished by M. C. Scappaticcio (Napoli ‘Federico II’) in the *CLTP*.

²³ = P.Berol. inv. 8997; TM 23775.

²⁴ = P.Berol. inv. 7126; TM 69915.

²⁵ TM 31019.

²⁶ TM 44781.

²⁷ TM 171873.

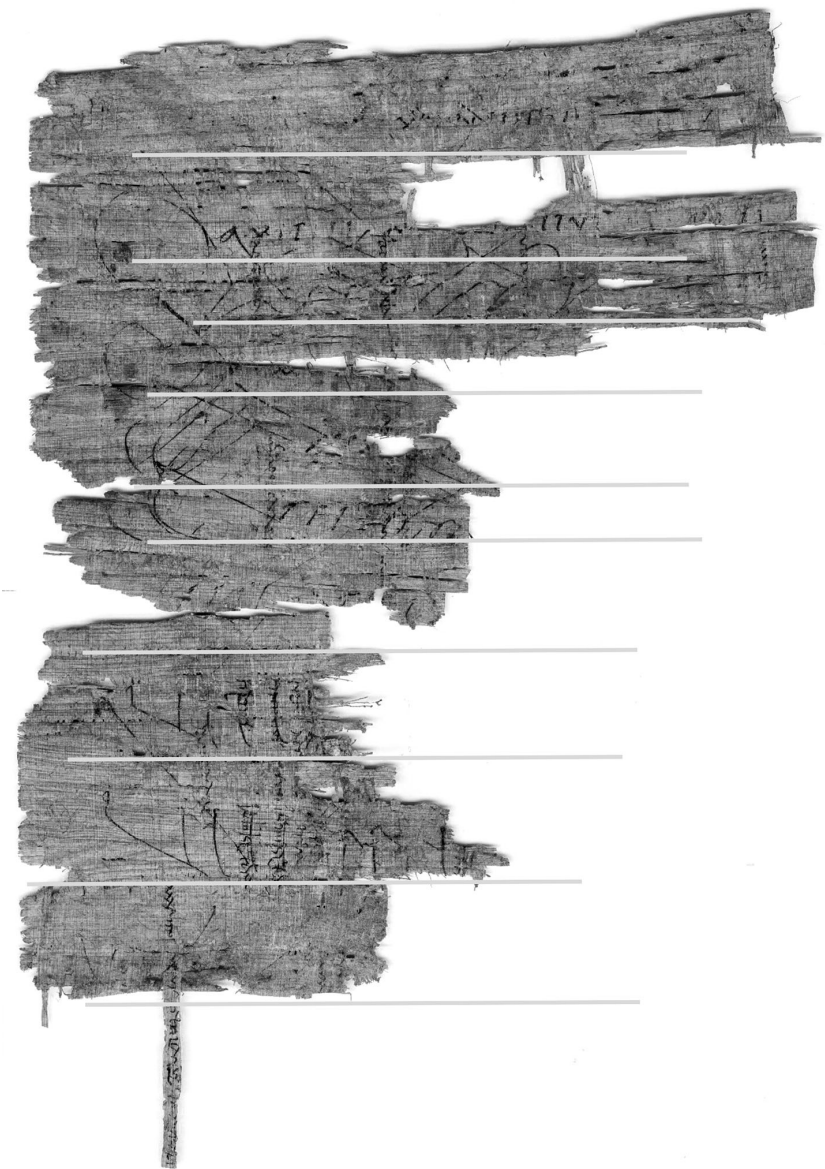


Fig. 2. The Scribal Exercise

Q[] quān nisi t[...][.....].[.....].[

Q Quitilian[.....].[.] .itut[...].[.] .mēi.[
GVRTIABVS

C .m.mlt[...].l.[

5 CČŞA arş .[.]ll . .u[
CCCA t̄it̄est̄o .[

.ilis r̄at̄e . .[

QVITIL[

VIII Ş ARN .[

10 *perhaps only strokes of pen*

— — —

3. The *verso*: a scribal exercise (?)

A further writing exercise was drafted on the *verso* across the fibres, at 180° to the military list on the *verso*. The right edge seems to contain a vertical space (intercolumnium) with traces of letters where the papyrus breaks off at both edges (possibly LL on the right), indicating that the preserved text is one of several columns. It consists of 18 lines, of which the first seven are preserved nearly in their entirety, all apparently with the same sequence of letters. The writing is in a well-formed, clear and upright cursive hand, which gets larger and more irregular towards the bottom. The ends of the lines have mostly been rubbed off. Because of the repetition of the same sequence of letters over multiple lines the text is probably a writing exercise of some kind.

There was text above the first line, judging by the traces of ink above the *denarius*-sign on the first line. At the beginning of each line, there is what looks like the letter *c*, written in a thinner pen and in a hastier manner than the actual text. The lines end in a *denarius*-sign (the symbol usually attested in Latin documents: ✕) followed by the figure *CCCCL*.

The reconstruction is made difficult by the fact that no full Latin words have so far been identified; ‘word’ divisions are thus somewhat arbitrary.

- cñ . ilici ab iiliicius inimmaḅ ili[ci disi]uncis i q denarii CCCCL
 cn . ilici ab iiliicius inimmaḅ ilici d[i]siuncis i q denarii CCCCL
 ccn . ilic[i] ab iiliicius [i]nimmab ilici disiuncis i [q] denarii CCCCL
 5 cn[.]ilici ab iiliicius inimmaḅ ilici d[i]siuncis i q denarii CCCCL
 ccn . ilici ab iiliicius inimmaḅ ilici dis[i]unc[i]s i q [denarii CCCCL]
 cn[. i]lici ab iiliic[i]us inimmaḅ ilici disiuncis i q denarii [CCCCL]
 cni [i]lici ab iiliicius inimmaḅ iici [d]is[i]uñç[i]s [i q] denarii CCCCL
 cn i[i]lici ab [i]i[i]c[i]us inimmaḅ ilici [disiuncis] i q [denarii CCC]CL
 ccn . i[i]lici ab iiliicius [i]n[i]mmaḅ ilic[i] disiuncis i q denarii CC[C]C[L]
 10 cn[. ili]ci ab iiliic[i]us [ini]mmaḅ ilici d[isiuncis i q] denarii [
 cn[. ili]ci ab iili[icius
 cn[. ili]ci ab iiliic[ius
 cn[. il]lici ab iilic[ius
 cn[. i]lici ab i[i]licius
 15 [c]n[. i]lici ab [
 cn[. i]lici ab iil[iicius
 ç[n .]i]lici ab i[i]licius
 [cn . i]lici ab i[i]licius

Hilla Halla-aho, University of Helsinki
 hilla.halla-aho@helsinki.fi

Giulio Iovine, Università di Bologna ‘Alma Mater Studiorum’, Dipartimento di Storia, Culture e Civiltà (DISCI)
 giulio.iovine2@unibo.it