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## ***ORIGO CASTRIS* AND THE LOCAL RECRUITMENT POLICY OF THE ROMAN ARMY\***

**Abstract:** The present paper concerns epigraphic and papyrological evidence for natural sons of soldiers in the Roman Empire who were accorded a fictitious *origo castris*. Analysis concerns primarily the so-called *laterculi*, or Latin and Greek inscriptions and papyri containing lists of soldiers and veterans discharged that year from military service. The paper's chronological scope is from the first to the third century AD. The presentation and analysis of the source material gives grounds for a theory to be advanced that the distribution of inscriptions and papyri attesting to *origo castris* was closely linked to changes in the recruitment policy of the Roman army over the first three centuries AD and especially with the spreading in the second century of the local recruitment model.

**Key words:** illegitimate children, Roman army, social origins of soldiers, Latin inscriptions, papyri

Roman army soldiers had no legal capacity for marriage. They maintained, however, long-term relationships with Roman or peregrine women resulting in children who lacked official recognition.<sup>1</sup> The sons born out of relationships with peregrine women did not have Roman citizenship, which made service in the legions a much harder proposition. Born usually to women living in *canabae*, or settlements by the camp, they lacked an *origo*.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, likely that soldier sons constituted an attractive source of recruits for the Roman army. The problem could be solved by granting them Roman citizenship at the time of recruitment and assigning them a fictitious *origo castris* and thus *tribus Pollia*.

The issue of *origo castris*, attested by inscriptions and papyri from around the Roman Empire in the context of children from informal marriages by soldiers, has been the subject of numerous studies, starting with Th. Mommsen and a student of his, G. Wilmanns.<sup>3</sup> Scholarly views put forward to date on the meaning of *origo castris* require, however, re-examination in view of primary evidence.<sup>4</sup>

\* I wish to thank my promoter Professor Adam Łajtar for consulting the first version of the paper and participants of the doctoral seminar "Epigraphic and Papyrological Studies" for their valuable insights they generously shared during our meetings. Finally I wish to thank the organisers of the conference of doctoral studies at the Center for Research on the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe of the University of Warsaw under the title "Research on Historical Heritage" (Program UE Tempus IV) for the opportunity to present the paper and publish it in the present volume.

<sup>1</sup> Some of the scholars believe there may have been a formal ban on such marriages by the soldiers, in force around

13 BC – AD 197. It is presumed it took the form of written instruction to provincial governors, binding for all inhabitants and known as *mandatum*. See ERMAN 1901, p. 238; MITTEIS 1912, p. 281; CAMPBELL 1978, pp. 153–166; WELLS 1998, pp. 180–189; PHANG 2001, pp. 2–4, 115.

<sup>2</sup> See Th. Mommsen's commentary to *CIL* III 6627, p. 1212; MIRKOVIĆ 1980, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> *CIL* III 6627, p. 1212; MÓCSY 1965, pp. 425–431; VITTINGHOFF 1971, pp. 299–318; MIRKOVIĆ 1980, pp. 266–268; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 520–521; ALSTON 1995, pp. 42–44; PHANG 2001, pp. 326–343.

<sup>4</sup> An attempt to collect all testimonies to *origo castris* in

The largest numbers of testimonies to *origo castris* come from Lambaesis in the province of Numidia, where the *legio III Augusta* had its camp, with far fewer from Egypt and the regions of the middle and lower Danube. It is worth paying attention first of all to the texts containing soldiers lists and the issue of the origins of the other recruits in particular. Before, however, moving on to the issue at hand, I wish to briefly characterise the nature of the sources. In order to treat the material under analysis systematically, the data I have gathered is presented in an appendix in the form of two tables.

The *origo castris* appears in 58 inscriptions and three papyri dated to the first to third centuries AD (cf. Appendix, tabs. 1–2). Most of them are official lists of soldiers and veterans discharged that year from service, although there are also epitaphs concerning individual soldiers. Where the term identifying a soldier's origins is usually found, Latin texts have the word (*ex castris*) (“out of the camp”), abbreviated to CAS, CAST or CASTR, or in an unabbreviated form, typically accompanied by *tribus Pollia*. Much less frequent is *tribus Collina*, characteristic for illegitimate children, termed in Latin inscriptions *spurii* or *filiii naturales*.<sup>5</sup> The term is not found in Greek inscriptions and papyri. It is interesting that it only applies to people directly connected to the army, never to civilians.

It is interesting that the name Castrensis (or Καστρῆσις in Greek) crops up in inscriptions and papyri.<sup>6</sup> A Greek inscription found at Ancyra and dated to the third century, mentions a certain Niketes, veteran of the *legio I Parthica*, who together with the child's mother sets up a tombstone to his 13-year-old son named Καστρῆσις, which may suggest illegitimacy, especially given the mother's name (Καλή) suggests peregrine origins.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to the Ancyra case, there are several other epigraphic and papyrological documents that attest to people named Castrensis, Καστρῆσις or Καστρησιός.<sup>8</sup> Apart from *P. Strasb. V 340*, however, their contents fail to provide enough clues to determine that we are dealing with a soldier or a soldier's child. We are forced to conclude that Castrensis functioned also as a normal name with no military connotations.

At the end of the 1980s Yann Le Bohec in his book on *legio III Augusta* analysed the origins of soldiers known from inscriptions on that legion.<sup>9</sup> His calculations show that over AD 117–161 more than half of soldiers whose *origo* is known were recruits from North Africa, including 14 % “out of camp”. In 161–192 North Africans make up 95 % of the legion's man force with the share of *castrenses* up to 21 %. The number of soldier sons attested in the inscriptions rose in 193–238 as well, when they made up 36 % of all recruits. In 161–238 there was a dramatic decline in the number of recruits from outside North Africa.

The example of *legio III Augusta*, stationed at Lambaesis, shows that as of the second century AD we see a significant increase in the numbers of soldiers of local origins. The practice of recruiting men who lived in the immediate vicinity of the camp, including a large proportion of the sons of soldiers, for legionnaire service became widespread only under Hadrian, according to Le Bohec.<sup>10</sup> Among the soldiers mentioned by the Lambaesis inscriptions there are, however,

inscriptions and papyri from the Roman Empire was first undertaken by M. Mirković (MIRKOVIĆ 1980, p. 266), and subsequently by S. E. Phang (PHANG 2001, p. 326). The collections presented by both scholars are, however, incomplete.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero in his defence speech for Titus Annius Milo suggests that membership of *tribus Collina* was in the republican period linked to inferior status and for that reason children born outside *matrimonium iustum* were included in the category, cf. Cicero, *Pro Milone* 9, 25. See also FERARO, GORLA 2010, pp. 344–345.

<sup>6</sup> I wish to thank my colleague, Paweł Nowakowski, for drawing my attention to that issue.

<sup>7</sup> SEG XXVII 863.

<sup>8</sup> Papyri: *P. Strasb. V 340* (Egypt, Arsinoite nome), *P. Mich. IV 223* (Karanis, Egypt), *P. Mich. IV 224* (Karanis, Egypt), *P. Mich. IV 171 R* (Karanis, Egypt), *P. Cairo Mich. 359* (Karanis, Egypt), *BGU III 775* (provenance unknown), *P. Oxy. XII 1471* (Oxyrhynchos, Egypt), *P. Mich. VIII 504* (provenance unknown); inscriptions: *IScM II 289* (Tomis, Moesia Inferior).

<sup>9</sup> LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 495–503.

<sup>10</sup> LE BOHEC 1989b, p. 495.

also recruits from outside the province in a likely echo of the continuation of a tradition going back to the period of civil wars.

The data collected by Le Bohec reflect changes in the recruitment policy of the *legio III Augusta* from the beginnings of the second century to the end of the Severan dynasty.<sup>11</sup> The model of local recruitment from all over the provinces of North Africa evolved gradually towards recruitment from the region around Lambaesis and finally from the camp itself. That would explain a significant increase in the numbers of testimonies to *origo castris* in the period between 161 and 192 and then over 193 to 238.

The situation is quite different in the Hellenophone East, where recruitment in the first century was already primarily from the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin.<sup>12</sup> The local recruitment model must have functioned in the eastern provinces of the empire already in the age of Augustus. Evidence for this is found in an inscription from Koptos in Egypt that contains the list of 36 legionnaires involved in construction works in the Eastern Desert.<sup>13</sup> Nearly a half of the soldiers listed come from Asia Minor, primarily from the cities of Galatia, Pont, Paphlagonia and Bithynia. Only three come from the West (Gallia and Italia), while as many as seven are from Egypt, including six from Alexandria and one from Paraetionium. Two are the sons of soldiers who, as may be presumed, had also served in Egypt. The number of recruits from this province was thus relatively high. J. C. Mann has rightly pointed out that the local recruitment model, similarly to the recruitment of soldiers' illegitimate children, appears in Egypt much earlier than in the Empire's other provinces.<sup>14</sup>

Each legionnaire listed carries the *praenomen* after his father, which is unlikely to be a coincidence. It is presumed that they initially lacked Roman citizenship and their origins were masked after a manner by a grant of a new name and fictitious filiation at the time of recruitment.<sup>15</sup> Generally speaking only Romans could be admitted to service in the legions, but a shortage of Roman citizen recruits in the eastern provinces led to the recruitment of *peregrini*.<sup>16</sup>

It is probably a similar situation that we find with the *recto* of the papyrus *P. Gen. Lat. 1*, containing a small fragment of a Latin list of soldiers or veterans dated to AD 90.<sup>17</sup> The exact place of its provenance is unknown. It may be supposed that the document comes from the archives of the *legio III Cyrenaica* stationed at Nikopolis near Alexandria in 10–106 since the *verso* of the papyrus contains documents relating to soldiers of that legion.<sup>18</sup> All of the four soldiers mentioned have a *praenomen* inherited from the father. The *origo castris* appears in the third and fourth lines, after the names of Quintus Iulius Ponticus and Gaius Valerius Bassus. The first belongs to the *tribus Collina*, as is typical for illegitimate children, while the other to the *tribus Pollia*. The same *tribus* is assigned to the man in the second line, Gaius Aemilius Proculus, which suggests that his *cognomen* may also have been followed by the *origo castris*.

The largest number of testimonies to the *origo castris* comes from an inscription found at Alexandria listing veterans of the *legio II Traiana*, dismissed in 194 and thus recruited presumably around 169.<sup>19</sup> Eight of the 41 soldiers come from Egypt and 24 “out of camp” (*ex castris*). If we assume that their fathers also served in legions stationed in Egypt, that would indicate a very high percentage of locally born soldiers.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, however, we have a dedication from Alexandria from AD 157, which shows 65 % of soldiers from the same legion, recruited presu-

<sup>11</sup> LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 507–508; 2000, pp. 81–82.

<sup>12</sup> LE BOHEC 2000, p. 80.

<sup>13</sup> *CIL* III 6627 = *CIL* III 14147 = *ILS* 2483 (see Appendix, tab. 1, no. 1). Dating of the inscription remains controversial. For more on the issue, see ALSTON 1995, pp. 29–30, and CUVIGNY 2003, pp. 267–268.

<sup>14</sup> MANN 1983, pp. 44–45.

<sup>15</sup> See Th. Mommsen's commentary to this inscription in *CIL* III 6627. See also ALSTON 1995, p. 30.

<sup>16</sup> MANN 1983, p. 45; POLLARD 2010, p. 453.

<sup>17</sup> See Appendix, tab. 2, no. 1. See also FINK 1971, p. 167, no. 37.

<sup>18</sup> FINK 1971, pp. 106–114, no. 9, and pp. 210–212, no. 58.

<sup>19</sup> *CIL* III 6580 = *CIL* III 12045 = *ILS* 2304 = *AE* 1947, 112 (see Appendix, tab. 1, no. 2). See also KAYSER 1994, p. 105.

<sup>20</sup> POLLARD 2010, p. 453.



ably in the early 130s, as having North African origins.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, among the soldiers mentioned in the inscription from AD 157, not one is said to come “out of camp”. J. C. Mann believes, however, that a sudden upsurge in North African recruits in this period is directly linked to the Bar-Kochba uprising, which called for extra military reinforcements.<sup>22</sup>

A papyrus dated to 193–197 with a probable list of *principales* of the auxiliary troops stationed in the province provides evidence that locals were also recruited to such troops.<sup>23</sup> Six of the soldiers are assigned *origo castris*. Four came from Lycopolis in the Nile delta and one each from Syene, Koptos, Antinoopolis and the Prosopite nome.

It is also auxiliary troops that we find in papyri *P. Berol.* 6866 and *P. Aberd.* 133,<sup>24</sup> concerning military wages. The document itself comes probably from the Arsinoe nome and is dated by consular names to 192. The *origo* of nine among the soldiers mentioned is given as *castris*.

From the Danube basin we have relatively few inscriptions attesting to *origo castris*. These are just two epitaphs, three military diplomas, one votive inscription and one *laterculus* found at the legionnaire camp at Viminacium.<sup>25</sup> The most interesting of the inscriptions is the last one.<sup>26</sup> It contains a list dated to 195 of the veterans of the *legio VII Claudia*, who were presumably recruited about AD 169. M. Mirković presumes the list originally contained 270 names, but in only 175 of the cases can the *origines* be determined.<sup>27</sup> Among these the lion’s share came from the province of Moesia Superior. The other veterans came mainly from the neighbouring Balkan provinces. What is surprising, however, is the small number of recruits from Asia Minor, which M. Mirković ascribes to the devastation wreaked by the plague brought by soldiers from a war in the East in the latter half of the 160s.<sup>28</sup> The inscription names eight or nine soldier sons who were assigned *origo castris*.

The number of soldiers discharged in 195 was more than double the average number of recruits.<sup>29</sup> The example of the Viminacium inscription shows that the approaching war with barbarians forced the Roman army to take extraordinary steps. The names of the soldiers listed in the inscription, with a majority of imperial *nomina*<sup>30</sup> and relatively numerous Thracian and Illyrian *cognomina*,<sup>31</sup> suggest that most of the recruit class of 169 either came from families with only recent Roman citizenship or received it only at the time of recruitment. What is more, Thracian and Illyrian names of soldiers are rarely found in the province, apart from this inscription.<sup>32</sup> Such large-scale local recruitment must have been linked to the Marcomannic Wars and the devastations caused by the aforementioned plague. In such cases the army relied primarily on recruits of local origins, who were granted Roman citizenship as they entered military service. These included sons of the soldiers who had presumably served in the same unit or at least one of the troops stationed on the middle and lower Danube.

<sup>21</sup> *AE* 1955, 238 = *AE* 1969, 633.

<sup>22</sup> MANN 1983, pp. 46–47.

<sup>23</sup> *P. Mich.* III 162 R (see Appendix, tab. 2, no. 4). See also FINK 1971, pp. 169–171, no. 39.

<sup>24</sup> See Appendix, tab. 2, no. 3, and FINK 1971, pp. 254–265, no. 70.

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix, tab. 1, nos. 52–58.

<sup>26</sup> *CIL* III 14507 = *IMS* II 53 (see Appendix, tab. 1, no. 55).

<sup>27</sup> MIRKOVIĆ 2004, p. 213.

<sup>28</sup> Recruits from Asia Minor made up a large proportion of soldiers listed in inscriptions as serving in the Danube provinces, see *IMS* II 53 (p. 98). On the other hand, drawing on J. F. Gilliam’s work (GILLIAM 1961, pp. 225–251), M. Mirković claims that a larger-than-usual number of soldiers discharged in 195 shows that the plague that reached the Balkans that year failed to make much of a dent in the army, see MIRKOVIĆ 2004, p. 214. On the consequences of the plague, see: LITTMAN, LITTMAN 1973; WISE-

MAN 1973; DUNCAN-JONES 1996; BAGNALL 2002; SCHEIDEL 2002; BRUNN 2003; GREENBERG 2003; BRUNN 2007.

<sup>29</sup> KOVÁCS 2009, p. 219.

<sup>30</sup> Dominant among them are *Aurelii*, who show up in the text as many as 65 times. Less numerous are the *Iulii* (17), *Claudii* (3), *Flavii* (6), *Cocceii* (2) and *Ulprii* (15). Data on onomastics of the legionnaires presented by M. Mirković have been complemented by me on the basis of a transcription of a new fragment of the inscription published by Mirković in 2004; see MIRKOVIĆ 2004, pp. 216–220.

<sup>31</sup> The *cognomina* found in the text that indicate peregrine origins for the soldiers include for example the Thracian Auluzon, Bithus, Daizo, Dines, Dolens, Drigissa, Mestula, Mucatra, Mucco, Rescuporis, Sinna, Tara( ) and Thithi and Illyrian Andio, Catandio, Dassius and Mestrius, see *IMS* II 53 (p. 98). On Thracian and Illyrian names in the inscription, see also MÓCSY 1974, p. 65.

<sup>32</sup> MÓCSY 1974, p. 249.



Apart from the Viminacium inscription *castrenses* feature in epigraphic material from the Danube provinces on an exceptional basis. Research by S. E. Phang<sup>33</sup> and M. Sołek<sup>34</sup> indicates, however, that both legionnaires and auxiliaries stationed in the area entered into long-term relationships with women carrying *duo nomina*, frequently their own freedwomen, more often than with peregrine women. That must have stemmed from the fact that the middle- and lower-Danube provinces were in the second and third centuries AD among the most Romanised in the Empire. Such unions produced children with Roman citizenship. There was thus no need for recruitment to the legions of the sons of soldiers with peregrine women, who would lack Roman citizenship. Such recruits must have been rare and must have served primarily as auxiliaries.<sup>35</sup>

A particular, if rare category of documents includes praetorian lists from the *Castra Praetoria* in Rome. Testimonies of *origo castris* appear in just four such documents.<sup>36</sup> In two cases we have exact dates, which allow for a conjecture that *castrenses* only came to serve in the praetorian guard as of the reign of Septimius Severus. Originally praetorians were recruited from Italy. Cassius Dio writes that some of them came also from Hispania, Macedonia and Noricum.<sup>37</sup> After taking Rome in 193 Septimius Severus ordered, however, a disbanding and disarmament of the guard and set up a new formation of diverse ethnic origins.<sup>38</sup> Among the new praetorians were troops from the border regions, who had supported his bid for imperial power. The new guard was thus made up primarily of soldiers from Thrace, Pannonia, Noricum and Moesia, which finds reflection also in the inscriptions discussed above.

What still calls for an explanation is the presence in the *laterculi* of people whose *origo* is defined with the term *castris*. We know that praetorian guards were also banned from marriage during service.<sup>39</sup> The analysis of funerary inscriptions of praetorians carried out by S. Panciera demonstrates, however, that they were much less likely to have close relationships with women than legionnaires or auxiliaries,<sup>40</sup> probably due to their unit's elite character.<sup>41</sup> We thus have reason to believe that the aforementioned *castrenses* were soldiers from the Danube provinces transferred to Rome before the end of military service. They came from the immediate vicinity of the camps and were most likely fathered by the locally stationed soldiers.

The analysis of source material indicates that an important influence on the distribution of inscriptions and papyri testifying to *origo castris* was the change in the Roman army's recruitment policy over the first three centuries AD and the widespread adoption of the local recruitment model in the second century in particular. The term first appears in Egypt, one of the Roman Empire's eastern provinces, where a shortage of Roman citizens led to recruitment of legionnaires from the local population. For reasons difficult to determine the largest number of *origo castris* testimonies comes from Lambaesis, the headquarters of the *legio III Augusta*. There are numerous indications that local recruitment became common at the end of the second and beginning of the third century AD. In contrast, however, to the other provinces of the empire, Numidia relied primarily on the sons of soldiers stationed at Lambaesis. On the middle and lower Danube the need to conduct an extra recruitment — unique, as it seems, in this region — among the local population came directly from the need for reinforcements amid the Marcomannic Wars. An echo of the aforementioned conscription may be found in the presence of *castrenses* among the soldiers of Septimius Severus's reformed praetorian guard.

<sup>33</sup> PHANG 2001, pp. 190–196.

<sup>34</sup> SOLEK 2014, p. 33.

<sup>35</sup> See Appendix, tab. 1, nos. 53, 54, 57, 58.

<sup>36</sup> See Appendix, tab. 1, nos. 48–51.

<sup>37</sup> Cassius Dio, *Historia Romana*, LXXIV 2, 4. This information is confirmed by epigraphic material collected by A. Passerini (PASSERINI 1939, pp. 146–159) and recently complemented by I. Łuś (ŁUŚ 2004, pp. 155–169, annexes 1–2).

<sup>38</sup> On this see PASSERINI 1939, pp. 171–180; DURRY 1968, pp. 247–249; KENNEDY 1978, pp. 288–296; TOPALILOV 2013, pp. 287–300.

<sup>39</sup> PHANG 2001, pp. 159–164.

<sup>40</sup> PANCIERA 1993, pp. 261–176.

<sup>41</sup> PHANG 2001, p. 160.

## Appendix

Table 1. Epigraphic testimonies

	<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>Provenance</b>	<b>Attestations</b>	<b>Date (AD)</b>	<b>Type of inscription</b>
1.	<i>CIL</i> III 6627; <i>CIL</i> III 14147; <i>ILS</i> 2483; <i>AE</i> 2001, 2048; CUVIGNY 2003, pp. 267–268	Egypt, Koptos	2	1–100	building inscription with a list of legionaries
2.	<i>CIL</i> III 6580; <i>CIL</i> III 12045; <i>ILS</i> 2304; KAYSER 1994, p. 105; <i>AE</i> 1947, 112	Egypt, Alexandria	24	194	list of veterans of <i>legio II Traiana Fortis</i>
3.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 2994; LE BOHEC 1989b, p. 204	Numidia, Lambaesis	1	101–200	epitaph
4.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 2950; <i>CIL</i> VIII 18303; LE BOHEC 1989b, p. 199	Numidia, Lambaesis	1	101–300	epitaph
5.	LE BOHEC 1989a, p. 213, no. 19; <i>AE</i> 1989, 879	Numidia, Lambaesis	3	101–300	military list
6.	LE BOHEC 1989a, p. 214, no. 20; <i>AE</i> 1989, 880a	Numidia, Lambaesis	2	101–300	military list
7.	LE BOHEC 1989a, p. 215, no. 21; <i>AE</i> 1989, 881a	Numidia, Lambaesis	1	101–300	military list
8.	LE BOHEC 1989a, p. 221, no. 23; <i>AE</i> 1989, 883a	Numidia, Lambaesis	1	101–300	military list?
9.	LE BOHEC 1989a, p. 221, no. 23; <i>AE</i> 1989, 883b	Numidia, Lambaesis	4	101–300	military list
10.	LE BOHEC 1989a, p. 222, no. 24; <i>AE</i> 1989, 884	Numidia, Lambaesis	3	101–300	military list
11.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 18084; <i>AE</i> 1985, 985; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 75, 304	Numidia, Lambaesis	4	117–138	military list
12.	<i>IDRE</i> II 448; LE BOHEC 1989a, p. 207, no. 15; <i>AE</i> 1989, 875; <i>AE</i> 1992, 1873	Numidia, Lambaesis	1 or 2	117–138	military list
13.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 18085; <i>IDRE</i> II 447; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 75, 217; <i>AE</i> 1995, 1779; <i>AE</i> 2006, 76	Numidia, Lambaesis	21	117–161	military list

14.	LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 75, 304	Numidia, Lambaesis	1	117–211	military list
15.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 18087; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 76, 304	Numidia, Lambaesis	2	138–180	military list
16.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 3151; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 96–97, 277	Numidia, Lambaesis	1	ca. 150	epitaph
17.	<i>AE</i> 1987, 1063; LE BOHEC 1989a, p. 216, no. 22; <i>AE</i> 1989, 882; <i>AE</i> 1991, 1690; <i>AE</i> 1992, 1867a	Numidia, Lambaesis	4	150–175	military list
18.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 3101; <i>ILS</i> 2565	Numidia, Lambaesis	1	150–200	epitaph
19.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 2566; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 75, 304	Numidia, Lambaesis	3	150–211	military list
20.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 3247; LE BOHEC 1989b, p. 278	Numidia, Lambaesis	1	150–250	epitaph
21.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 18067; <i>ILS</i> 2303; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 76, 386	Numidia, Lambaesis	10	166	list of centurions and veterans of <i>legio III Augusta</i>
22.	<i>AE</i> 1917/18, 29; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 76, 314; <i>AE</i> 1992, 1872	Numidia, Lambaesis	3	193–211	military list
23.	LE BOHEC 1989a, pp. 223– 224, nos. 25–26; <i>AE</i> 1989, 885; <i>AE</i> 1989, 886; <i>AE</i> 1992, 1874	Numidia, Lambaesis	7	193–211	military list
24.	LE BOHEC 1989a, p. 225, no. 27; <i>AE</i> 1989, 887	Numidia, Lambaesis	2	193–211	military list
25.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 2565a–b; <i>CIL</i> VIII 18053; <i>AE</i> 1979, 674; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 75, 77, 304	Numidia, Lambaesis	7	193–217	military list
26.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 2569a; <i>CIL</i> VIII 2568; <i>CIL</i> VIII 18055; <i>CIL</i> VIII 18056; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 77, 314; <i>AE</i> 2005, 65; <i>AE</i> 2007, 1745	Numidia, Lambaesis	65	193–217	military list
27.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 2567; <i>CIL</i> VIII 18054; <i>AE</i> 1895, 204; <i>AE</i> 1979, 673; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 77, 314; <i>AE</i> 2010, 1828	Numidia Lambaesis	23	193–217	military list

28.	LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 77, 314	Numidia, Lambaesis	8	193–217	military list
29.	<i>AE</i> 1899, 91; <i>AE</i> 1899, 195; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 76, 314; <i>AE</i> 2011, 421	Numidia, Lambaesis	6	193–235	military list
30.	<i>AE</i> 1899, 92; <i>AE</i> 1899, 195; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 76, 314	Numidia, Lambaesis	1	193–235	military list
31.	<i>AE</i> 1917/18, 57; LE BOHEC 1989b, p. 77; <i>AE</i> 1992, 1871; <i>AE</i> 2010, 1828	Numidia, Lambaesis	1	193–235	military list
32.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 18068; <i>AE</i> 1890, 107; <i>AE</i> 1891, 149; <i>AE</i> 1992, 1875	Numidia, Lambaesis	25	198	list of veterans of <i>legio III Augusta</i>
33.	<i>AE</i> 1967, 580; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 78, 314	Numidia, Lambaesis	2	199	list of veterans of <i>legio III Augusta</i>
34.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 2618; <i>CIL</i> VIII 18096; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 79, 403	Numidia, Lambaesis	5	211–212	list of veterans of <i>legio III Augusta</i>
35.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 18086; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 78, 314	Numidia, Lambaesis	15	212–222	military list
36.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 2586; <i>ILS</i> 2381; <i>IDRE</i> II 446; <i>AE</i> 1917/18, 57; LE BOHEC 1989b, pp. 79, 552; <i>AE</i> 2010, 1828	Numidia, Lambaesis	5	218–235	list of soldiers of <i>legio III Augusta</i>
37.	<i>AE</i> 1987, 1068; <i>AE</i> 1989, 893; <i>AE</i> 1992, 1867b; <i>AE</i> 2003, 1890	Numidia, Thamugadi	3	117–211	military list
38.	D'ESCURAC-DOISY 1956, p. 118, no. 28	Numidia, Thamugadi	1	193–238	epitaph
39.	<i>CastDim</i> 32	Numidia, Castellum Dimmidi	3	201–300	military list
40.	<i>CastDim</i> 37	Numidia, Castellum Dimmidi	1	201–300	military list
41.	<i>CastDim</i> 41	Numidia, Castellum Dimmidi	1	201–300	military list?

42.	<i>CIL</i> VIII 8800; <i>CIL</i> VIII 18023; <i>IDRE</i> II 467; <i>CastDim</i> 30; <i>AE</i> 1940, 154; <i>AE</i> 1948, 220	Numidia, Castellum Dimmidi	1	212–222	military list
43.	<i>AE</i> 1929, 183; <i>AE</i> 1940, 152; <i>CastDim</i> 22; <i>AE</i> 1948, 218	Numidia, Castellum Dimmidi	1	222–235	votive inscription
44.	<i>AE</i> 1906, 124; <i>AE</i> 1940, 145; <i>AE</i> 1940, 153; <i>CastDim</i> 1; <i>AE</i> 1948, 208	Numidia, Castellum Dimmidi	5	225	votive inscription
45.	<i>CastDim</i> 20	Numidia, Castellum Dimmidi	2	226	list of soldiers of a <i>vexillatio legionis III Augustae</i> ?
46.	<i>AE</i> 1940, 153; <i>CastDim</i> 4; <i>AE</i> 1948, 210; <i>AE</i> 1949, 13	Numidia, Castellum Dimmidi	3	236–238	votive inscription
47.	<i>RMD</i> III 157; <i>AE</i> 1985, 991; <i>AE</i> 1990, 1042; <i>AE</i> 1991, 1752; <i>AE</i> 1996, 1804	Mauretania Tingitana, Volubilis	1	119	military diploma
48.	<i>CIL</i> VI 32627	Italia, Rome	1	193–300	list of praetorians
49.	<i>CIL</i> VI 32623	Italia, Rome	4	201–300	list of praetorians
50.	<i>CIL</i> VI 32523; <i>CIL</i> VI 37184; <i>IDRE</i> I 34; <i>AE</i> 1909, 210; <i>AE</i> 1911, 1	Italia, Rome	1	204	list of praetorians
51.	<i>CIL</i> VI 32640(1); <i>IDRE</i> I 43	Italia, Rome	1	209–210	list of praetorians
52.	<i>CIL</i> III 11218; <i>ILS</i> 2359	Pannonia Superior, Carnuntum	1	100–114	epitaph
53.	<i>AE</i> 2006, 1013; <i>AE</i> 2010, 1167	Dalmatia, Salona	1	117–150	epitaph
54.	<i>AE</i> 1957, 199; <i>IDR</i> I 18; <i>RMD</i> I 64	Dacia Superior, Gilău	1	21 July 164	military diploma
55.	<i>CIL</i> III 14507; <i>AE</i> 1901, 12; <i>AE</i> 1901, 13; <i>AE</i> 1901, 126; <i>IDRE</i> II 308; <i>AE</i> 1969/70, 500c; <i>IMS</i> II 53; <i>AE</i> 2004, 1223; <i>AE</i> 2007, 121	Moesia Superior, Viminacium	8 or 9	195	list of veterans of <i>legio VII Claudia</i>

56.	<i>CIL</i> III 7505; <i>AE</i> 1888, 11; <i>ILS</i> 2311; <i>IDRE</i> II 340; <i>IScM</i> V 160	Moesia Inferior, Troesmis	1	after 170	votive inscription
57.	<i>CIL</i> XVI 128; <i>AE</i> 2007, 1484	Moesia Inferior, Bozveliysko	1	178	military diploma
58.	<i>AE</i> 2005, 1721	Thracia?	1	180–192?	military diploma

Table 2. Papyrological sources

	<i>Siglum</i>	Provenance	Attestations	Date (AD)	Type of document
1.	<i>P. Gen. Lat.</i> 1 R, part III	unknown	2 or 3	90	list of legionaries
2.	<i>P. Berol.</i> 6866 and <i>P. Aberd.</i> 133	Egypt, Arsinoites	9	May 192	pay account of auxiliaries
3.	<i>P. Mich.</i> III 162 R	unknown	6	193–197	list of principales of an auxiliary corps?

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### Abbreviations

- AE* *L’Année épigraphique*, Paris.
- CastDim* G. C. PICARD, *Castellum Dimmidi*, Paris 1948.
- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, ed. TH. MOMMSEN *et alii*, Berlin 1863–.

<i>IDR I</i>	<i>Inscripțiile Daciei Romane = Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae, I: Introducere istorică și epigrafică. Diplomele militare. Tăblițele cerate</i> , ed. I. I. RUSSU, Bucharest 1975.
<i>IDRE</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptiones extra fines Daciae repertae</i> , ed. C. C. PETOLESCU, Bucharest 1996.
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , I–III, ed. H. DESSAU, Berlin 1892–1916.
<i>IMS II</i>	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure, II: Viminacium et Margum</i> , ed. M. MIRKOVIĆ, Belgrade 1986.
<i>IScM</i>	<i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor</i> , I–V, Bucharest 1983–2000.
<i>RMD</i>	M. M. ROXAN, <i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> , I–III, London 1954–1977.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden – Amsterdam.

## Streszczenie

### *Origo castris* a lokalna polityka rekrutacyjna armii rzymskiej

Artykuł omawia nierozstrzygniętą dotychczas kwestię rozmieszczenia znalezisk inskrypcji i papirusów zawierających poświadczenia fikcyjnej *origo castris*, przypisywanej nieślubnym synom żołnierzy rzymskich. Materiał źródłowy został zebrany i zaprezentowany w postaci dwóch tabel zawartych w załączonym do tekstu aneksie. Analiza tekstów zawierających w głównej mierze listy żołnierzy i weteranów zwolnionych w danym roku ze służby wojskowej pokazała, że rozmieszczenie znalezisk inskrypcji i papirusów poświadczających żołnierzy, którym przypisano fikcyjną *origo castris*, ma związek z upowszechnieniem się w pierwszych trzech wiekach istnienia cesarstwa modelu rekrutacji o charakterze lokalnym.

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