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Modern perceptions, ancient representations

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The *annona militaris* in the *Tingitana*: Observations on the organization and provisioning of Roman troops

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Introduction

The *praefectura annonae* was the institution to which the Roman State commended the task of collecting and distributing food. Its function was twofold: on the one hand, the *annona* provided Rome, the capital, with a range of annony supplies, while, on the other hand, the *annona militaris*¹ provided the army, wherever it was stationed, with both provisions and equipment. From the time of its origins in the Augustan period², its structure was the same in all the provinces of the Empire, and so we can make generalizations about how it operated (Remesal 1980;

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¹ The *annona militaris* did not exist as an independent institution but was a branch of the *annona* that was in charge of provisioning the army. The hypothesis of the independent existence of an *annona militaris* is attributable to Van Berchem 1934 [1937], 143-147, who situates it in the times of Severus. Previously, Lesquier (1918, 349-350), who considered it a tax in kind assigned to the army, had proposed AD 185 as the date of its origin. This view was followed by Cérati (1975, 103-151), for whom it was also a question of a tax assigned to the army, even after Dioclecian. In Remesal's view, (1986, 81-89, 104 and *idem*, 2002, 82-83), the origin of the *annona* goes back to Augustan times. Kissel (1995, 123-124) situates it in AD 6-7. Mitthof (1996, 68-70, 79-81) gives AD 284 as the date. On the concept of *annona* in the *Historia Augusta*, which led several authors to erroneous conclusions (Chastagnol 1994, CLXV-CLXIX).

² We follow Remesal's hypothesis: Augustus created the *praefectura annonae* between AD 8 and 14 as a consequence, on the one hand, of the pressing necessity to control the Roman masses by means of the distribution of free food, a heritage of the late republican dictators of the first century BC, and, on the other hand, a result of the personal experience of having met the cost of obtaining supplies for his personal army during the Civil War. This author also holds that during the early Empire an independent *annona militaris* did not exist, since a single treasury, the *fiscus*, was in charge of collecting and paying the resources assigned to both Rome and the army.

1986; 1990; 1998a; 1998; 1998c Blázquez 1996; Blázquez *et alii* 1996; Höbenreich 1997; Berni 1998: 63-70).

Because of a lack of epigraphic information, there is only one reference to the presence of the *annona militaris* in the *Tingitana*. This reference is the *I.A.M.lat.*,307, which specifically mentions one of the actions in favour of the population of *Sala*, carried out by the prefect *Marcus Sulpicius Felix*. We hereby offer a general vision of military provisioning in the *Tingitana*.

The *annona militaris*. Some North African examples

1. Ways of obtaining provisions.

The organization of supplies for the Roman army took place at three different levels. First was self provisioning by means of the army's own resources (such as the *prata legionis*, *figlinae*, *fabricae*) or whatever was available in the immediate surroundings of the location where the unit was posted. Secondly, supplies were obtained from other parts of the province. Thirdly, there were supplies from elsewhere in the Empire (Remesal 1986, 91-94).

The most common methods used by the Roman state for the provisioning of *annona* supplies were taxation and direct purchasing by the *procurators* (Pavis d'Escurac 1976, 165-201; Le Bohec 1989, 536-537)³.

Taxation was the most common method because it was both easy and convenient for the State⁴. North African cereals and oil that the State collected in this way would have been transported by the taxpayer to the nearest civil

³ On the specific case of the *procurator* *Ti. Claudius Cornelianus*, cf. Christol (1990) who considers him to be responsible for paying the wages to the soldiers of the *legio III Augusta*; contra Le Bohec (1992; 2000, 222-223), in whose view he was in charge of delimiting the territories of the semi-nomads or of administrating the imperial farming estates and the *prata legionis*.

⁴ Cf. Erdkamp 1998, 84-111 on the Republic and Neesen 1980, 104-116 on the early Empire. Hopkins 2000, 256, from a primitivist view, holds that the State converted payments in kind into cash through their sale. Contra García Morcillo 2000-2001, who holds that the State made abundant payments and charges in kind but also that an *argentarius* could open accounts of this kind for private clients.

or military *horrea*⁵, probably in his own municipality or colony. Upon delivery of the product, the taxpayer was issued a receipt⁶. From this point on, the *annona* service paid for the transport of the products. They were then taken to other, more important *horrea* situated on the principle communication routes and near the *mansiones* of the *cursus publicus*⁷. Camps-Fabrer held the view that it was at this point where the veracity of the taxpayer's contribution to the treasury was checked according to the official weights and measures system (Camps-Fabrer 1953, 70). However, we think that it was in the local *horrea*, nearer to the taxpayer and before the issuance of a receipt, that this took place. The products were then transported, according to the needs of the *annona*, either to the military units stationed in the interior of the North African territory or to the nearest port to be dispatched to Rome or anywhere else in the Empire where the army might require them.

The State also possessed its own large farming estates for provisions, the *Africa Proconsularis* being particularly well known due to the discovery of six inscriptions in the Valley of Bagrada (Medjerda) (Camps-Fabrer 1953, 31-36; Kehoe 1988; Kolendo 1991, 47-74). These inscriptions provide abundant information about the organization of the imperial farming estates, since three of them shows regulations contained in the *lex Manciana* and in the *lex Hadriana de rudibus agris*, while the other three contain complaints by the tenant farmers⁸.

It was also possible to resort to the *indictio*: the compulsory requisition of products, utensils or animals in exchange

for a price determined by the State, generally lower than market prices (Mitchell 1976; 1982; Remesal 1986, 87, 96-9)⁹.

Once it took over the annonary product, the administrative structure of the *annona* was in charge of redistribution. In almost all cases, sea transport was used because of its low cost compared to transport by land. Private *navicularii* gradually received more and more benefits for carrying out this task (Di Salvo 1992; Erdkamp 1998, 112-121). *Septimius Severus* inverted the system so that the State distributed the *annona*'s merchandise (Remesal 1986, 95-108).

Camps-Fabrer appears to confuse the annonary transport of North African goods with 'external commerce,' which in her opinion is commerce that is not carried out wholly among territories of North Africa. She does not take into account, therefore, the free commerce undertaken by individuals without State intervention except in the collecting of the corresponding taxes (Camps-Fabrer 1953, 72).

Basing her arguments on Cagnat, Camps-Fabrer describes the stages by which North African oil was taken to Rome (Cagnat 1916; Camps-Fabrer 1953, 75-82). This same process could be generalized to other products and other destinations. As we have seen, the taxpayer went by his own means to pay the tax in kind in *horrea municipalis*; from there the product was transported to the *mansiones* and later to the *horrea* in the ports. Some of the amphorae that contained North African oil have been preserved in Monte Testaccio (Rome), and from these we can trace the route that they followed (Étienne 1949; Camps-Fabrer 1953, 74). However, this huge deposit was not formed as Cagnat and Camps-Fabrer believe from amphorae containing African and Baetican oil in similar proportions, but as the excavations in the Spanish Mission on the Monte Testaccio have demonstrated, the percentage of African amphorae deposited there is extremely low; in fact it can be calculated to be around 15-20% (Blázquez *et alii* 1994, 12, 133-146; Remesal 1995; Burrigato *et alii* 1995; Di Filippo *et alii* 1995; Blázquez, Remesal, 1999; 2001; Pons 2001a).

2. Methods of distribution

One interesting example of redistribution at the provincial level is provided by the military camp at *Golas* (= Bu Njem) in the *Tripolitania* (Rebuffat 1989; 1995b; 2000b)¹⁰. We should assess the information that it offers in order to understand the mechanisms by which the provisioning of

⁵ On military stores cf. Erdkamp's extract, 1998, 46-52, centred on the republican period.

⁶ *R.E. sv. 'horrea'* (= Thédénat 1899), 274-275 (par. IV, on the subject of provincial *horrea*). In the *Proconsularis*: in Carthage, those quoted by Amm. Marc., 28, 1, 17; in Gamart a doubtful *horreum publicum*; some *Utika horreorum Augustae* (C.I.L. 8, 13190); en *Horrea Caelia* (= Hergla). In *Numidia*: in *Rusicade* (C.I.L. 8, 19852); in *Cuicul* (= Djemila). In la *Mauretania Caesariensis*: in *Saldae* (= Bougie) and in Aïn Zada (C.I.L. 8, 8425). Cf. Camps-Fabrer 1953, 70. Those in *Cuicul* are in good condition. According to the inscriptions preserved in them, they were built at the colonia's expense and were run by the *annona*. The rooms with an added height of around 80 cms and a double floor paving are interpreted as having been used for the storage of grain, since the added height would facilitate the unloading of the grain and the double floor paving would have the function of protecting it from the damp. Those without these characteristics are interpreted as stores for wine or oil. A table of measures from the fourth century AD containing references to wine, wheat and barley, has been found here. According to Camps-Fabrer, this does not eliminate the possibility of their having contained oil at some other time (Allais 1933; Camps-Fabrer 1953, 71).

⁷ In *Mauretania Caesariensis*: in Henchir bit el mal (Southeast Thabudeos) and 1,5 km. North of Castrum du Confluent; Baradez 1949: 202-207; 215-299.

⁸ Inscription in Henchir-Mettich (AD 116-117), C.I.L. 8, 25902; in Aïn-el-Djemala (Hadrian times), C.I.L. 8, 25943 and Supplement of C.I.L. 8, 26416; in Aïn-Wassel (AD 198-209); Souk-el Khmis (182 AD), C.I.L. 8, 10570 and 14464; Aïn-Zaga (AD 181), C.I.L. 8, 14451 and Gasr-Mezuar (AD 181), C.I.L. 8, 14428. Imperial farming estates are also known to have existed in other places: *Tripolitania*, cf. Kolendo 1986, 152-153; *Africa Proconsularis*, the *salus Massipianus* (Henchir el-hamman, Túnez), *fundus Ver[---]*, *fundus [---]ilitani* (Henchir Sidi Salah, Túnez), *fundus lub<a>{(t)ianensis}* (Kairouan, Túnez); in *Numidia*, *fundus Thavagel[---]* (Henchir el-Aouinet), *Mauretania Caesariensis*, *defenicio Matidiae* (El-Mehiriss, Argelia), *salus Horreor(um) Pardalari* (Aïn Zada, Argelia), *kastellum Thib[---]* (Aïn Melloul, Argelia); cf. Kehoe 1988, 197-215.

⁹ There are numerous references to requisitions from Julio-Claudian times (Suet. Cal. 42; Suet. Nero 38. 2; Tac. Ann. 4. 6). It may have been under Domitianus that they were administratively organised (Plin. Pan. 29. 4-5), although the problems caused to the citizens did not disappear until Trajan decided to pay for the products at their market price (Plin. Pan. 29. 4-5). At the time of Severus these problems arose again and frequently, to the point that they damaged the interests of individuals. (Ulp. Dig. 7. 1. 27. 3; 19. 1. 13. 6; 26. 7. 32. 6; 33. 2. 28; 50. 4. 14. 2; 50. 5. 8. 3).

¹⁰ Cf. Rebuffat 1989; 1995b; 2000b. Cf. Also Enc. Ber. sv. 'Bu Njem' (also by Rebuffat), with bibliography on the deposit.

military camps from the same province could have worked in *Tingitana*.

The findings in its interior and surroundings can be dated with accuracy, since it was occupied *ex nihilo* in AD 201 and abandoned in the period AD 259-263. Inside it, twenty-eight stamps have been found on amphorae that contained oil: twenty different stamps of the amphorae called 'Tripolitana', four of the amphorae called 'African 2' and one of the amphorae called 'African 1' (doubtful) (Rebuffat 1997, 163, 172). We do not know the origin of this oil. It could proceed either from the tribute of three million litres of oil Lepcis offered from Caesar's times, in which case it would come from Lepcis; or it could be from the oil-producing farms that were relatively nearby, through any of the means mentioned above, that is to say, by taxation, direct purchase or the *indictio*. The ostraca n° 75 could correspond to a dispatch of 200 l. of oil, ordered by a procurator and probably from a coastal store, near Lepcis (Marichal 1992, 103-104 and 181-182; Kissel 1995, 155-156; Rebuffat 1997, 165). On the contrary, the ostraca n° 88¹¹ could indicate a consignment from a nearby oil-producing zone; in it the *decurio* was informed of the arrival of a consignment driven by *camellarius Macargus* and delivered in a native measure, the name of which has not been preserved, but whose equivalent is given in *urne*. From this we can deduce that it was a liquid. It was probably oil and the quantity would be around 210 l., which are equivalent to the contents of two *Tripolitan amphorae* and the load that a camel could normally carry (Rebuffat 1997, 164. On the centurions of Gholaiia, Rebuffat 1985c).

3. Ranks within the *annona*.

The *annona* administrative structure had the emperor at its apex. He delegated part of his functions to the *Praefectus annonae* in Rome, as chief administrator of the resources, and to the *Procuratores augusti* in the provinces, who were in charge of collecting the products¹², aided by the soldiers integrated in the governor's *officium*, and who actually collected them. This explains why during the Early Empire there was no military post directly related to annonary provisioning. It is difficult to define the real function of all the soldiers related to the provisioning of the army: *praefectus castrorum*, *primus pilus*, *signifer*, *optio*, *beneficiarius*, *tesserarius*, *curator*, *summus curator*, *frumentarius*, *actuarius*, *exceptor*, *ensor frumentarius*, *duplicarius*, *cibariator*, etc. Until their titles can be demonstrated to have a definite and specific link with the *annona*, this relationship can only be considered as hypothetical (Remesal 1986, 89, 91-94).

We know of two high offices related to the service of the *annona* in Africa. The first was anonymous, was *procurator ad olea comparanda per regionem Tripolitanam* and can be chronologically situated halfway through the third

century BC¹³. This procurator was considered to be at the rank of sexagenarian, thus establishing a parallel with a sexagenarian of Trajan's times, a *curator frumenti comparandi in annonam urbis*. His function, perhaps an unusual one, was to buy oil in this African region for the *annona* and was carried out in Rome (Remesal 1986, 107). He later occupied the posts of *subpraefectus annonae* and of *procurator monetae*, both of centenarian rank.

The second high office is *Sextus Iulius Possessor*, who was, in *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*' times, *adiutor Ulpii Saturninii praefecti annonae ad oleum Afrum et Hispanum recensendum item solamina transferenda item vecturas naviculariis exsolvendis* (C.I.L. 2, 1180; Remesal 1986, 100-101; Le Roux 1986; Remesal 1991). In Remesal's opinion he fulfilled his administrative functions from the same *praefectura annonae* in Rome and as an atypical mission related to the First Marcoman War¹⁴. He controlled the reception of African and Baetican oil, as well as the transport of other annonary products and paid the cost of the transport that the *navicularii* undertook for *annona*. The term *afrum* might refer to the zone situated directly opposite the *Baetica*, that is to say, the *Tingitana*, or it could also refer to the *Africa Proconsularis*. This latter thesis is closer to studies of Latin etymology¹⁵. In Camps-Fabrer's opinion, this adjective refers to the *Tingitana* and the function is situated in the *Baetica* (Camps-Fabrer 1953, 75).

The *Tingitana*.

The *annona* had the same *modus operandi* throughout the Empire, so that the reception of the annonary products, their transport, and the provisioning of the military units would work in similar ways. The *Tingitana*, as a province, which during the Early Empire had between 18 and 20 auxiliary units, was also integrated into this system (Rebuffat 1998). Let us examine the information that we have about this subject.

1. Literary sources.

These sources contribute a single reference: Cassius Dio 60. 24. 5, who points out that the governor of the *Baetica Umbonius Silo* was expelled from the Senate in AD 44, on the false accusation of not having transported enough cereal for the army from this province to *Mauretania*¹⁶. We do not know whether the falseness of the accusation lay in the fact that he had never been commended this mission or whether, as a matter of fact, he had been ordered to transport grain to the *Tingitana* and had carried out this order badly.

¹³ Remesal 1986, 107; Manacorda 1976-1977, 542-555. On the meaning of the word regio, cf. Manacorda 1976-1977, 549-554.

¹⁴ Remesal 1986, 101; 1991, 287. Contra Pavis d'Escurac 1976, 91, 128, 133, 190, 214, who holds that Possessor carried out his functions in the provinces.

¹⁵ Cf. Enc. Ber. sv. 'Afri'; Février, 1990: 141.

¹⁶ Cf. Carcopino 1943, 37, who commits several errors. In the first place, he situates the fact some years previously, during the war of conquest. In the second place, he thinks that the grain came from Britannia or was shipped by means of boats that were going to this province. In the third place, Carcopino does not refer to the fact that the accusation was only an excuse to expel Umbonius Silo from the Senate.

¹¹ '... camel]larius Macargus in s[... / [native measure] quattuor [quae] fiunt urne s[edecim]', Marichal 1992, 103-104 and 195-196, n° 88.

¹² Remesal 1986, 87-89. In Pavis d'Escurac's view (1976, 160-164) the annonary structure at the provincial level depended directly on the governor, not the procurator.

We think that he had actually been ordered to move the grain, since a war of conquest had been waged in the *Tingitana* and the presence of troops would be abundant. We believe that the grain was assigned to the *Tingitana* because at that time, after the war of conquest of the kingdom of Mauritania, which included the so-called *Aedemon* War that ended in AD 41¹⁷ and the *mauri* uprisings that ended in AD 42¹⁸, the *Tingitana* was quite certainly militarily occupied, although the clashes had temporarily ceased. The conflicts all arose in the western half of the province, the future *Tingitana*¹⁹, whereas in the eastern half, that is to say, the future *Caesariensis*, the situation remained calm (Coltelloni-Trannoy 1997, 61-64; Rebuffat 1998c, 287-291). Therefore, the conflicts were not related to the war of conquest, which was over by then. Rather, they may have been related to the regular supplies the *annona militaris* service would send to the army in the *Tingitana* from *Baetica*²⁰.

2. Epigraphic sources.

We have one valuable inscription, the *I.A.M.lat.*, 307, dated AD 144. It is the decree of the decurions of *Sala* with which they honour *Marcus Sulpicius Felix* for several reasons. The one that interests us refers to the occasion on which the inhabitants of *Sala*, at a time of difficulty owing to the attacks by indigenous nomads who were in the south of the city, offered the civilian population part of the supplies that were meant for the soldiers without causing the latter any loss²¹. We cannot be certain about the origin of these victuals, but they could have reached *Sulpicius Felix*'s hands through any of the previously mentioned manners. The only one that has been put forth is requisition, which Carcopino interprets among the ll. 18-19²². However, it is also possible that he obtained them from other parts of the province or even from another province by means of sea transport, as the situation of *Sala*, at 3 kms from the coast, on the banks of the Bu Regreb, would easily allow this. Rebuffat determines that they were probably not given away to the inhabitants, but sold at a high profit (Rebuffat 1974a, 505).

This reference is very interesting; firstly, since the reference refers to the discussion on the different interpretations attributed to the inscription, we see that the use and control of the resources of the *annona* prove that *Sulpicius Felix*

is a military officer, with military, not police, attributes, as has been suggested (Euzennat 1989, 164-165). Secondly, regarding the province, we believe that the reference demonstrates the presence in the *Tingitana* of the *annona militaris* structure of services.

In the *Tingitana* there is also epigraphic evidence of the subaltern military ranks who could have carried out some kind of function related to the services of the *annona*.

The *I.A.M.lat.*, 34²³, found in *Tingi*, alludes to a *signifer* of a *numerus Germanorum* of the *ala I hamiorum*²⁴. On the other hand, the *I.A.M.lat.*, 11²⁵, which is also from *Tingi*, mentions a *duplicarius*, a term that appears to be used as a *nomen* and thereby shows the deceased's filiations. However, it is extremely rare that the deceased's *cognomen Puer* (Besnier 1904, 430, note 1; Chatelain 1942, number 12; Marion 1948, 133) should be placed before the filiations and that the latter appear only with the *nomen*. In addition, it is the only occasion on which *duplicarius* has been proven to be a *nomen*²⁶. Neither is it known as a *cognomen*²⁷.

The information supplied by these inscriptions is unfortunately of little use unless they refer directly to the services of the *annona*. Nevertheless, the fact that both are from *Tingi*, the capital of the province and the place where most of the governor's officials' activities would have been conducted, is one more piece of evidence to be taken into account²⁸.

3. Archaeology

As for the data supplied by archaeology, one possible *horreum publicum* was found in *Banasa*. Thouvenot and Luquet defined it as such, although they failed to offer any arguments to justify this hypothesis²⁹.

A zone of *horrea* is known in the *castellum* of *Tamuda*. It is situated in the southwestern corner, in the highest and sunniest part of the camp. Here we find two kinds of *horrea*: on the one hand, we have those that were used for cereals, consisting of several rooms with thick walls and floors paved with *opus signium* to protect the grain from

¹⁷ D.C. 60. 8. 6; *I.A.M.lat.*, 448.

¹⁸ D.C. 60. 9. 1-5; *Plin. Nat.* 5. 14-15.

¹⁹ The *Tingitana* and the *Caesariensis* were created at the end of 42 or the beginning of AD 43 from the division of the province of Mauretania created in 40 AD due to the assassination of Ptolomaeus. Gascou 1974, 307-308; Thomasson 1982, 32; Di Vita 1992, 844-847; 1994.

²⁰ From the information of Cassius Dio's text, we can conclude that the provisions were meant for the army. Gozalbes (2002, 455) presumes that the provisions were also meant for the civilian population. He justifies his claim with D. C. 60.8.6, which is another famous passage related to the *Tingitana*, but which is not related to this subject.

²¹ '... seu annonae auaris difficultatibus ex copis armaturae suae plurima ad nostram / utilitatem, nihil at militum damnum commodando ...', (ll. 15-16). Carcopino 1943, 218; Jacques 1984, 671.

²² '... et agrorum praebuisse, tu pro tutela operantium frequens excubaret, ita in cetera omni elegantia uitae equabilem egisse / tu, promissu usu rerum omnium, occasione beneficiendi, non potestate, praecederet, atque can[d]em comitatem, praesenti ...', ll. 18-19 (Carcopino 1943, 218).

²³ *I.A.M.lat.*, 34 (= C.I.L. 8, 21814a): 'D(is) m(anibus) s(acrum). / ...vellico (o Vellico), mil(iti) n(umeri) Germ(anorum) / ... alam Hammior(um) / ... dem, item signifero / [alae eius]dem, sub sig(no) Martis / [uix(it) an]nis XXXV. / ... principa[l]is / ... [in c]omitatu agens fr[ater ?] / t(estamento) ?] f(ieri) i(ussit)'.

²⁴ Besnier 1904, n° 9; Chatelain 1942, n° 9; Carcopino 1943, 180-181; Marion 1948, 129. l. 2, Zuckerman 1994, 67-68, restores, accurately in our opinion, n(umerus) Germ(aniciana). Contra Rebuffat 1998, 205-209, who restores n(umerus) Germ(anicianorum).

²⁵ *I.A.M.lat.*, 11: 'D(is) m(anibus). / L(ucius) Anton(ius) / Puer / Duplicari f(ilius) / uix(it) an(is) VIII, / men(sibus) VIII, / die(us) XXIII. / S(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(euis)'.

²⁶ Cf. EDH (= Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg).

²⁷ Kajanto 1982, 299, 319-320 does not include *duplicarius* among the cognomina that come from military terminology; only one case of *Puer* as a cognomen is known, in Numidia.

²⁸ *Tingi* has only given 50 inscriptions and, therefore, we do not know the officium of the governor. For a well known case, cf. Bérard 2000.

²⁹ '...c'est l'extrémité de cet alignement de boutiques qui commence en face du Forum, adossé à ce curieux édifice sans issue qui semble bien avoir constitué, à un certain moment, les horrea publica, les magasins du ravitaillement officiel', Thouvenot and Luquet 1951b: 96.

the damp. On the other hand, we have the *horrea pensilia*, built on thick low walls and big blocks of silica stone, which allowed the store to be raised for the preservation of meat or salted fish (Villaverde 2001, 514).

Quite certainly, all the military camps of the *Tingitana* required similar installations, but for the present they have not yet been excavated (Rebuffat 1973-1975; 1987; Euzennat 1989, 107, 293, 309; Limane et Rebuffat 1995; Rebuffat 1998). The single other case that has been excavated, besides the one at *Tamuda*, is the camp at *Thamusida*, where a zone of *horrea* has recently been found. Publication of the findings is in preparation.

In our opinion, further proof of the arrival of *annona* merchandise at the military camps of *Tingi* lies in the presence of Dressel 20 oil-bearing amphorae, some of which have epigraphs. As a result of the prospections and borings, the following stamps have been found: in the camp at Zoco Al Arba del Garb (= Souk-el-Arba du Gharb) two stamps are known: AP(*anfora*)F (Dr. 20)³⁰, BELNES (Dr. 20)³¹, VRITILIB (Dr. 20)³², PCICELI (Dr. 20)³³, QVC[...] (Dr. 20)³⁴ en *Thamusida*, ...]ENTN[...] (unknown typology), VNLE (unknown typology)³⁵. CVP (unknown typology)³⁶, PCICELI (Dr. 20)³⁷, ...]L[...]COD (Afr. I)³⁸, FANFORTCOLHADR (Afr. II)³⁹; in Jedis, ARIST (Dr. 20)⁴⁰; in *Tocolosida*, QCR (Dr. 20)⁴¹; in Aïn Schkour, ...] MV (unknown typology)⁴². The low number of known specimens is insufficient to rule out the hypothesis, for, as we have seen, the camps of *Tingi* are very poorly known. In addition, we should bear in mind that the province was obviously an oil-producing one, which would allow the units to obtain supplies directly from the provincial territory, thus reducing the amount of oil that the *annona* would have to transport for them⁴³.

A new element can be added to the aforementioned. It has been suggested that buildings situated on high ground and that had good visibility should be interpreted as military watchtowers. They would have been buildings with a rectangular ground plan, of approximately 10 m. in length, that had stonework in their corners, rubblework, brick and tiles in their walls⁴⁴. This system of towers may have been created in AD II and may have disappeared with the reorganization of the province in AD III. However, recently it has been proposed that the majority of them be considered *horrea* for grains to facilitate the collection of this product as a tax. They were placed on high ground for improved preservation of the grains and were distributed throughout the provincial territory to cripple the territory by means of taxation⁴⁵.

Conclusions.

We believe that the given information demonstrates, albeit in an indirect way, that the *Tingitana* was integrated with the normal *annona militaris* structure and its troops benefited from the supplies that were paid for by the State. The inscription of *Sulpicius Felix* is the only one that refers directly to a person of military rank who freely uses resources from the *annona*, both in their receipt and their use. Regarding the collection of products, the military units could have obtained supplies by themselves in their immediate surroundings. With reference to State provisions from its own large estate farms, we have no information in the *Tingitana* that could safely indicate the presence of this kind of property. On the other hand, food supplies from other provinces may have reached them, as we believe to be the case of Dio on *Umbonius Silo* and also of the Dressel 20 found in the military camps and their surroundings.

³⁰ Callender 1965, n° 96; Ponsich 1979, 51-53; Will 1983, 413-414, n° 53, fig. 5.53; Remesal 1986: n° 196 e; Euzennat 1989, 120, n° 35, fig. 66, reads A(*anfora*)PA; Blanc Bijon et al. 1998, 271, n° 1350. In our opinion, the letter A, considered by Euzennat to be the first letter of the stamp, might also be an F. Cf. Pons 2000, 1275; 2001b, 933; 2000 [2002], n° 25.

³¹ C.I.L. 15, 2851?; Mayet 1978, n° I.3.9; Euzennat 1989, 121, n° 36, fig. 66; Pons 2000, 1275; 2001b, 933.

³² Thouvenot 1955-1956, 83; Mayet 1978, n° I.3.104; Euzennat 1989, 121, n° 37, fig. 66; Pons 2000, 1275 (cited); 2001b, 933.

³³ Thouvenot 1955-1956, 81; Mayet 1978, n° I.3.70; Euzennat 1989, 110, n° 8, fig. 66; Pons 2000, 1275 (cited); 2001b, 933.

³⁴ Thouvenot, 1955-1956, 81; Mayet 1978, n° I.3.106; Euzennat 1989, 111, n° 9, fig. 66; Pons 2000, 1275 (cited); 2001b, 933.

³⁵ Callu et al. 1965, 195, n° 417 a-b; Pons 2000, 1275; 2001b, 933. These two stamps are on the same piece.

³⁶ Callu et al., 1965, 194, n° 414; Pons 2000, 1275; 2001b, 933.

³⁷ Callu et al. 1965, 195, n° 1439; Euzennat 1989, 110-111, n° 8, fig. 66; Pons 2000, 1275; 2001b, 933.

³⁸ Callu et al. 1965, 194, n° 707; Mayet 1978, n° II.1.11; Pons 2000, 1275; 2001b, 933.

³⁹ C.I.L. 15, 3375 a; Callu et al. 1965, 194, n° 544; Mayet 1978, n° II.1.5; Pons 2000, 1275; 2001b, 933.

⁴⁰ Pons 2000, 1275; 2001b, 933; Lagóstena 2001, 393-394, n° 19a; Pons 2000 [2002], n° 10. Another unpublished stamp of the same origin, but unfortunately very deteriorated, is ...ET, Pons 2000 [2002]: n° 58.

⁴¹ Euzennat 1989, 302, n° 30-31; Pons 2000, 1275; 2001b, 933.

⁴² Euzennat 1989: 320, n° 31; Pons 2000, 1275-1276; 2001b, 933.

⁴³ Exactly the opposite happens in Britannia and Germania, where the presence of Dressel 20 in the camps of the limes is enormous (Remesal 1986; Funari 1996; Remesal 1998; Carreras and Funari, 1998). We have

already expounded this hypothesis in Pons 2000, 1275-1276; 2001b, 933. Contra Gozalbes 2001, 898, for whom '...en este caso no puede documentarse una relación concreta entre centros militares y lugares de mayor consumo. La procedencia de las ánforas con estampillas de origen bético no señala los castella de asentamiento de las guarniciones militares'.

⁴⁴ Rebuffat 1986, 233 (In the annex titled Comment identifier une tour de guet). On the criteria for the pottery dating (crocery and amphorae), cf. Limane and Rebuffat 1992, 471-472, nota 71; 1995, 303-306, 321-344.

⁴⁵ Villaverde 2001, 507, note 76 and 514, note 112-114. According to this author, the term is overused in Euzennat 1967; Ponsich 1964; 1970, 356-358; Limane and Rebuffat 1995, 321-336.

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