

Roxan, Margaret. "Observations on the Reasons for Changes in Formula in Diplomas circa AD 140." In *Heer und Integrationspolitik: Die Römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle*, edited by Werner Eck and Hartmut Wolff, 265–92. Köln: Böhlau, 1986.

Observations on the Reasons for Changes in Formula in Diplomas circa AD 140

Von
Margaret M. Roxan

The observations made in this paper will not produce a solution to all the problems surrounding the change in formula of auxiliary diplomas of circa AD 140, they are an attempt to set out a viable hypothesis to be tested against present evidence and future discovery.

Two sorts of evidence will be used. The first is that of the ancient documents themselves. With this the basic premise is that they mean what they say. There may be ambiguities, due perhaps to carelessness in drafting in a few such documents, but the temptation to see behind simple sentences whole structures of hidden meanings must be resisted.

The second type of evidence lies in an analysis of the numbers, types, and distribution of the diplomas available to us, and it is with an example of the latter that we shall begin.

Professor Slobodan Dušanić stated an important fact when he remarked that there was a "comparatively high percentage of mounted men among the beneficiaries of diplomata"¹. The results of counting the numbers of recipients of various categories are summarised in Table I, and it is notable that the total of cavalrymen exceeds the number of infantrymen in the proportion of (approximately) 5:4 – and although this is not true for the first period noted there are still more cavalrymen than might be expected, for as we know there were more infantrymen serving in the auxilia than equites of all classes (that is in alae and cohortes equitatae). It is not easy to arrive at a figure for the number of units in the auxilia at any one time, but the figures given by Professor Eric Birley for the middle of the second century may be taken as a reasonable estimate². If all the cohorts that he suggests were in existence then were at full strength, and if all were part-mounted

¹ Arh. Vest. 33, 1982, 219 note 88.

² Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata, Graz-Köln 1966, 57; 61.

(which we may be sure they were not) then the proportion of foot-soldiers to cavalrymen of all types would be in the order of at least 8:5. In other words, if the sample of extant diplomas truly reflected the numbers of available infantry to cavalry recipients we should expect there to be something like twice as many of the former as of the latter. What is wrong with the existing sample? It is most unlikely that it is distorted to such an extent through the chances inherent in discovery and preservation. A complete analysis made of the exact circumstances of each find (as far as the records go) does not suggest anything that would account for such a marked cavalry bias. The most reasonable explanation for this phenomenon is that the bronze copies of constitutiones that we call diplomas were not automatically issued to every beneficiary of each constitutio but only to those who, for various reasons, desired a permanent record of their status and privileges and paid for them³. We know that equites received higher pay than pedites and it seems that not all of that higher pay was needed to cover extra expenses incurred in service. It is a fairly commonplace observation that there are more rather splendid cavalry than infantry tombstones, that is to say the eques had more surplus cash to spend on the record he left for posterity. It seems logical that in the greater numbers of cavalry diplomas we see another result of the ability of equites to save out of their higher stipendia; they could more easily afford to pay for a permanent record of the privileges to which long service entitled them⁴. This may have some bearing, although it is not a complete explanation, on the disparity between the numbers of diplomas found in provinces with standing armies. It may be that there were provinces where there was more encouragement (or necessity) for veterans to purchase the bronze copies of constitutiones; we may think of provinces like Raetia and Mauretania Tingitana in this respect.

³ It was pointed out in *Epigraphische Studien* 12, Bonn 1981, 269–273, that it is extremely unlikely that the majority of praetorian veterans would wish to marry peregrine women and that the distribution and frequency of praetorian diplomas supports the idea that only those who needed them got them. Expensive bronze copies of constitutiones would not be made without good reason. Praetorian diplomas were initiated several decades after those of the fleets and auxilia, on present evidence. It is likely that they imitated an existing procedure of making copies for those who made application.

⁴ It is even possible that 'delayed' diplomas noted by several scholars are really examples of late applications by the veterans concerned for the tangible proof of their grants. In this case the imperial titles would signify the date of the constitutio and the

If this is accepted it has relevance for the interpretation of epikrisis documents, which have long been the subject of speculative argument. Epikriseis, as we know, consisted of examinations held before the Prefect of Egypt, of the credentials of anyone who wished to move from one nome to another. The records are conveniently assembled in an Appendix in CIL XVI, with the exception of SB VI 9227–8, which was published after the Appendix was compiled. The evidence of these documents may be divided under two headings. There are preambles to registers with generalised statements about the categories of people under review, and there are specific extracts from the registers themselves concerning individuals. Sometimes the latter are all that are extant (CIL XVI, Appendix no. 2 and 8); sometimes they take the form of additions to the preambles. The evidence is summarized in Table II.

The table has been drawn up with the aim of emphasising two things: First, that those attending the examination of the Prefect of Egypt included categories other than fleet or auxiliary veterans but each one had to present credentials to a Roman official. These credentials almost certainly took the form of a written statement by someone in authority and, from the testimony of Appendices 2 and 8, witnesses to identity could also be required. Clearly the possession of a bronze tablet was not necessary for epikrisis, so that – in Egypt at least – a veteran need not feel that he had to purchase one even if entitled to do so, indeed Appendices 4 and 5 specifically mention veterans who did not have bronze tablets as well as men who had only received citizenship for themselves. The latter may, or may not, have had bronze tablets, this is not absolutely clear. It may be that they had received *missio causaria*, and in the past it has been suggested that men without bronze tablets could also have been in this category, but the present hypothesis accounts for that class with the utmost simplicity and explains why they are specifically mentioned in epikriseis⁵.

time-lag, indicated through the names of the consuls, would relate to the date when the copy of the constitutio was made for a particular veteran.

⁵ With regard to *causarii* there is only one diploma (CIL XVI 10) which mentions such recipients. This was a special diploma issued in the aftermath of civil war, but a dedication set up by veterans of the *equites singulares Augusti* in Rome in 135 (CIL VI 31143) lists men described as *missi honesta missione*, but appends the names of two more under the heading *item ex causa*. It seems possible that men honourably wounded in the Roman cause, and perhaps others nearing completion of their term of service who

The second point concerning epikrisis documents I owe to Professor John Mann who points out that "bureaucracies tend to deal with easy categories first. Thus at epikrisis, automatically men with diplomas, their rights and status precisely recorded in those documents, would be easiest to deal with and thus are listed first". This may have been an incentive for those who could afford them to buy diplomas. Of course, to the best of our knowledge, the epikrisis is peculiar to, and conditioned by, the very special situation in Egypt but it is precisely because of the strictness of control exercised there that the possibility of men getting by without diplomas is of significance.

Turning from the tables, the epikrisis documents offer further useful data through modifications observable in the texts from AD 140 onwards. Appendix 4, which is dated February–May 140 (written before the change in formula had been finalised) repeats almost word for word, in Greek, the formula of the pre-140 constitutio. Appendix 5, of 148, however takes note of the change. There are now some auxiliary (and incidentally some fleet) recipients who have received citizenship along with their children and descendants but others who have received it only for themselves, but both classes have the *ius conubii*. There is a further category – those who "have no bronze copies" (some of whom may have been those who could not afford, or did not choose, to purchase them, according to the present hypothesis).

More pertinently, the change seems to have had another effect, if the words mean what they say. In Appendix 6 of ca. AD 155 and SB VI 9227–8 of ca. AD 160, the bronze copy of the constitutio appears to have served as evidence of honourable discharge. No witnesses to identity are mentioned, but it may be that by this time, in contrast with the beginning of the century – compare Appendix 2 – there was some slackening of the demands of bureaucracy. A man who had a diploma may no longer have had any need to produce a certificate of honourable discharge. Over twenty years later (AD 188) Valerius Clemens, whose record mentions no diploma, produced a certificate of discharge, three warrantors, and had his distinguishing mark (a scar above the ankle of the right foot) attested by a tribune of legio II

had become unfit through age may have been given personal citizenship without the fuller grant applying to wives and children. A papyrus of much later date lists a number of men who must be *causarii*, including men who were *colicus*, *debilis*, and *senex* (Pap. Rainer Cent. 165).

Traiana fortis (Appendix 8). This last document has another significance which will be mentioned later.

One section of the wording of diplomas that has been the subject of some scrutiny is that which names wives and children. In a paper entitled "Some Roman elements in Roman Egypt" Professor F. Gilliam pointed out that the soldier "had a great deal of freedom as regards relations with women and responsibilities to children . . . the wives of soldiers, to give them this courtesy title, were particularly dependent upon the good will and sense of responsibility of their husbands". He discussed the high number of auxiliary diplomas which fail to name wives or children and tentatively suggested that "more soldiers were forming families in the first part of the second century, which should be kept in mind in considering the withdrawal of grants of citizenship to children ca. 140". But even so his conclusion for Egypt was that "one may suspect that the proportion of disappointed women and abandoned children was higher round military camps than ordinary villages"⁶.

Other aspects of this problem may be considered. Were there cogent reasons, other than a disinclination to shoulder burdens or cling to outworn ties, why, where there is evidence available, neither wives nor children were named in ca. 49 % (39:80) of our present sample of diplomas issued before AD 140? – (Tables IV A/B/C, V A). After 140 only 4 out of 39 (ca. 10 %) of veterans bothered to include wives, in those where the evidence is preserved, although it is true that there are far more fragmentary diplomas in the later period of issue⁷.

One factor that may have affected the naming of dependants may have been their survival rate. The figures produced from analyses of tombstones are not wholly reliable in producing life expectancy statistics but it is certain that the survival rate among women and children living in a vicus outside a fort would be lower than in most western societies today. If we may reckon that only about 50 % of soldiers reached veteran status⁸ (although not all of those who failed to com-

⁶ Illin. Class. Stud. 3, 1978, 115–131, especially 118–119.

⁷ These figures have been revised to take in new material since my article in: *Epigraphische Studien* 12, Bonn 1981, 265–286.

⁸ This figure is based upon material collected for my unpublished thesis on the auxilia raised in the Iberian peninsula, and by comparison with figures produced by Professor John Mann in his book *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate*, Univ. of London Inst. of Arch., Occasional Publication No. 7, London 1983.

plete their full term of service will have died) what may we suggest for wives, who were probably at greatest risk during their childbearing years? Or for children when even imperial families failed to raise many of their putative heirs through to adult life?

However, this would not account for a point made elsewhere⁹ that a higher proportion (now 62,7 %) of diploma recipients failed to avail themselves of the privileges connected with families in the pre-Hadrianic period than later (24,2 % between 117 and 140). In assessing these differences it should be noted that the evidence is very uneven. The sample is 51 for the earlier period, but only 29 for 117 to 140, one factor being that many of the diplomas of the later period are not preserved in the area where details of the recipient and his family are engraved. If, however, it is accepted that the difference between the two percentages is of significance this may have been a result of the greater mobility of auxiliary units in the time before the bounds of empire became relatively stable (as I have previously suggested). There would be less opportunity, under these circumstances, for lasting family ties to be formed. Further factors may have been involved.

From Egypt we have several documents which may be called acknowledgements of paternity rather than birth certificates¹⁰, since they are sworn statements made by serving soldiers that the children of a named mother were fathered by them. Together with the epikrisis documents they suggest that proof was required when a soldier wished to take advantage of any benefits the state might offer. It may have been due as much to ignorance or carelessness, concerning the need for acknowledgement of birth, rather than deliberate repudiation, which meant that a soldier coming to the end of his stipendia was not able to include his children in the grant recorded in diplomas. This may, in part, account for the increase in naming of families between 117 and 140, since when soldiers lived in more settled circumstances there would be more opportunity for veteran colleagues, perhaps the fathers of their 'wives', to inform young soldiers of legal necessities.

Apart from this there may have been circumstances where there was no need for a veteran to include his family. A soldier who had contracted a liaison with a Roman woman would have no need to

⁹ Epigraphische Studien 12, 1981, 276-278.

¹⁰ For example AE 1937, 12; BGU 1690.

name her on his diploma. Their marriage could be made legal, if they so desired, as soon as he acquired citizenship. If their association was of long standing sons of mature years may already have joined the auxilia and serving soldiers were excepted from the general laws governing patria potestas so that it is a moot point whether he would have been entitled, or would need, to name them (Gaius, Inst. 2, 106 & 111). If daughters had married the situation may also have presented legal difficulties.

What has been said cannot claim to have exhausted all the possibilities but merely illustrates some of the complexities concerning the naming of families on pre-140 diplomas.

From this it follows that there may have been a number of 'barrack room lawyers' – to use a modern colloquialism – who would inform the man about to be registered in a constitutio of his right to petition the governor (and through the governor the emperor himself) concerning problems over status¹¹. The man whose first common-law wife had died after producing a family, might wish to name another woman on the records sent to Rome but had registered his children. What should he do? Again Egypt provides us with evidence about such difficulties, for example the rulings of the Prefect of Egypt in Mitteis, Chrest. 372. The Gnomon of the Idios Logos also shows some of legal tangles resulting from soldiers' marriages¹².

The change of 140

In about November-December 140 the grant concerning the families of veterans of the auxilia was changed, from henceforward (with one slight variation¹³) it ran: *equitibus et peditibus . . . quorum nomina subscripta sunt, civitatem Romanam, qui eorum non haberent, dedit et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent, cum est civitas iis data, aut cum iis, quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singulis.*

¹¹ See for example Pliny, Ep. 10, 106 and 107.

¹² § 54. Ursus, Prefect of Egypt ca. 83/84, did not allow a veteran's daughter, who became a Roman citizen, to inherit from her mother, who was Egyptian. This ruling was, of course, complicated by the difference in status of those Egyptians who were not Alexandrians as *dediticii*, but illustrates the point nevertheless.

¹³ Present evidence places the substitution of *aut cum iis* for the clause *aut siqui caelibes essent* some time between 13 Dec. 140 (RMD 39) and 23 Febr. 144 (CIL XVI 90), but this may be regarded as a verbal change which carries no legal significance; cf. CIL XVI 91, of autumn 145, where the old clause temporarily reappears.

Various suggestions have been made regarding the reasons for the withdrawal of the privilege concerning existing children. K. Kraft thought it was due to a desire to discourage the spread of marriage with barbarian women and consequent citizenship for their, partly barbarised, children¹⁴. Mme. M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet has argued that the increase in the number of Roman citizens serving in the auxilia by this period had led to a realisation of the blatant inequality of a grant to peregrine soldiers of conubium with their 'wives', and citizenship for their existing children, while their citizen comrades were denied these grants¹⁵, but this argument fails to note that some citizens were receiving diplomas on the same terms as peregrini (Table III). The one known case of a definite exclusion of Roman citizens from the grant concerned those recruited to a *cohors voluntariorum* ca. 68/69, who in AD 94 may still have been entitled to financial benefits on retirement: Tacitus, *Annals* 1, 8¹⁶. Professor H. Wolff has suggested that the change was due to the increase in numbers of soldiers naming families (and larger families at that – see Tables IV A and IV C) that has already been noted for the two decades before AD 140. He maintained that this led to Pius' decision to curtail the grant so as to prevent an abuse of the system¹⁷. However, we may ask if Pius was wholly responsible for the change? Was it announced well in advance, or was it introduced abruptly? An abrupt change would doubtless cause some veterans hardship in so far as they had planned to make certain dispositions regarding their families.

In CIL XVI (p. 161) Professor H. Nesselhauf set out various arguments for attributing the change either to Trajan or to Hadrian. For several reasons Trajan seems an unlikely candidate. The trends noted would not have reached sizeable proportions during his reign and, 25 years before AD 140 he was engaged in his Parthian campaign. This would hardly be the time to announce an innovation which might unsettle a section of his army, or even affect the flow of voluntary recruits. It must be admitted that the end of the issue of diplomas to serving auxiliaries occurred in the reign of Trajan, but it must have been a considerable nuisance to a campaigning emperor to have serv-

¹⁴ Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau, Bern 1951, 117–121.

¹⁵ REL 55, 1977, 282–309.

¹⁶ CIL XVI 38.

¹⁷ Chiron 4, 1974, 492–496.

ing soldiers with rights of conubium. Not that this would mean any change in their life style, but soldiers would be more likely to resent movements which separated them from legally recognized wives and children. It is surprising that the situation had been allowed to go on for so long.

Hadrian, on the other hand, is known to have set certain military reforms in motion. There may be no direct connection but there is certainly a change in witnessing procedures for auxiliary and fleet diplomas, which is manifest in issues from AD 134 and fully established by 138¹⁸. A few indications suggest that at the same time further innovations were being considered. The evidence is slight and perhaps too much significance should not be attached to minor linguistic changes but some note should be taken of the wording of diplomas issued towards the end of his reign.

Both CIL XVI 83 and 84 (of February and June 138, respectively) show a change in tense in the formula. Instead of the familiar *conubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent, cum est civitas iis data aut, siqui caelibes essent, cum iis quas postea duxissent . . .* we have: *conubium cum uxoribus, quas NVNC HABENT, cum iis civitas DATVR aut, siqui caelibes SVNT, cum iis quas postea DVXERINT*. What is more the phrase concerning children *ipsis liberis posterisque eorum* is missing from the inner face of CIL XVI 83, and partially missing from the inner face of CIL XVI 84 (*posterisque eorum* is absent) – although the outer faces show the complete formula and the *constitutiones* themselves must have included the rights of children since offspring are named by both recipients. A fleet diploma, issued 13 February 139 (RMD 38) still uses the present tense for the section on conubium, but there is a reversion to the past tense in an auxiliary diploma of 22 November 139 (CIL XVI 87), where children's rights are again omitted from the inner face; the old formula appears too in a diploma of the Misene Fleet on 26 November 140. When the new formula is first used, on the outer face only, in RMD 39 of 13 December 140, there is a reversion to the past tense which remains the norm thereafter. From this it may seem that during his last few years Hadrian had contemplated an alteration of the grant recorded in diplomas which would reduce anomalies and the necessity for frequent rulings over status. The slight changes in formula that must be attributed to him, or at least to his

¹⁸ J. Morris, M. Roxan, *Arh. Vest.* 28, 1977, 299–333.

advisers, are reflected in diplomas issued in the year of his death and up to 7 months after that event and show the direction in which he was moving. Difficulties concerned with rulings on conubium and Roman citizenship were being tackled; the use of the present tense may have been designed first to eradicate petitions concerning the woman who might be named. The one with whom the time-expired soldier was living at the moment he received citizenship was to be named. This may well mean that children of a former liaison were automatically excluded. Second, the implication that citizenship was being given now, at the time of issue of the *constitutio*, may indicate that it had been noted that men with Roman names were regularly appearing as recipients (see Table III)¹⁹. This was far from the original concept of the grants which surely had been instituted to give citizenship to peregrini as a reward for long and faithful service to Rome and to bring them, with their families, into Roman society. Hadrian's failing health and preoccupation with the choice of a successor perhaps prevented him from giving the matter his full attention. The reinstatement of the old formula under Pius, within the first 17 months of his reign shows that if the problem had been noted it was not regarded as urgent. A new emperor would think hard before making a change that might cause resentment within a section of the army. But a decision, perhaps influenced by those of his advisers who had more knowledge of military affairs than this supposedly, unmilitary emperor, was reached probably between November 26 and December 13 of 140. On a fleet diploma of November 26 the word *civitatem* is not followed by *Romanam*, which at first was the sole change in the formula of fleet diplomas, but by December 13 Pius had taken the step of removing existing children from the grant (RMD 39). This was not a question of a mistaken omission on the part of the scribe (as with the inner faces of CIL XVI 83, 84 and 87) in fact the old formula is actually engraved *intus*, but a new wording, albeit not completely worked out since a further change was made – see note 13 above. What was Pius' intention in doing this? And what would be the effect on the veterans themselves?

¹⁹ We cannot, of course, be sure that possession of *tria nomina* is a certain indicator of Roman citizenship, particularly as Roman tribes are never given for recipients of auxiliary or fleet diplomas – indeed they rarely appear in inscriptions of auxiliary veterans who are clearly citizens, particularly after the end of the first century. Some of those named in Table III are certainly citizens, however.

With no adequate literary sources to guide us the answer to the first question can only be in the nature of a guess. As Professor Wolff suggests it may be that too many offspring were being registered as citizens; it may also be that there was a need to prevent fraudulent claims. The introduction in special diplomas for junior officers, and in later fleet diplomas of the verb *probare*, in the sections dealing with families, indicates that some deceptions had been practiced in the past. It may be too, that the intention was to cut down the number of legal petitions connected with diploma grants, particularly those connected with uncertainties over the registration of offspring. Whatever the reasons it seems strange that the fleets were exempted from the cut. It may have been because there were far fewer sailors so that those naming children in *constitutiones* would be correspondingly small. The two Regöly diplomas of 148 (CIL XVI 179 and 180 – though not the nearly contemporary diploma recorded as CIL XVI 91, which also included sailors) used a formula by which existing children of sailors still received citizenship. This implies that even veterans of provincial fleets were receiving better treatment than auxiliaries, if this is the complete picture.

Further clues may be found in the evidence concerning the effects of the change. In 1981 a graph was published showing the distribution of auxiliary diplomas in time (for convenience these were grouped in decades)²⁰. A new graph prepared from the latest data emphasises trends noted there (p. 284). In the period immediately following the change of 140 there is a drop in diploma numbers followed by a rise and then, in the decade 161–170, the greatest peak of securely dated diplomas (34). After this there is a precipitous fall to the lowest number recorded. If the decade 161–170 is broken down and the period from 165 onwards is considered there are only 8 securely dated diplomas known for men who may be assumed to have been recruited after 140²¹. What is the significance of these figures? Another line of inquiry is to ask why diplomas were purchased (if this is indeed the correct assumption) once children were no longer included in the grant?

From Tables V B/C it may be seen that (excluding special grants to junior officers) between AD 140 and ca. 167, out of 36 diploma recip-

²⁰ Epigraphische Studien 12, Bonn 1981, 274, Fig. 3.

²¹ This total includes men receiving diplomas in 165–170 who had served exactly 25 years; i. e. the formula does not add *pluribusve* to the section on the stipendia.

ients where the names are recorded, 25 had non-Roman names, 8 had names that are tentatively identified as Roman, and 3 are of an indeterminable status. Of these, only 2 peregrini and two of those of an indeterminable status named wives. From this small sample we may perhaps infer that the majority of diploma holders after AD 140 had no wish to ratify existing 'marriages' with women. A rather cynical (if practical) reason for this may be advanced. If men had formed alliances early on in service (as, given the nature of young men, we may think they would tend to do) their wives would be of approximately the same age as themselves and at the time of discharge probably past child-bearing age. There may have been existing families but the new dispensation meant that these would not benefit from the grant. If citizenship for his descendants was important to the veteran he would reserve his right of *conubium* for a new, and younger wife, with whom he could raise a citizen family. Of the four possible wives named two are certainly, and one probably, peregrine in status. We may suspect that veterans would be more likely to purchase diplomas if only peregrine wives were in prospect, for with citizen women the *ius conubii* would not be necessary. Complementary to this is the greater bias towards obtaining a diploma seen for peregrine veterans than for those with Roman names; excluding special grants 64 % of all recipients known after AD 140 are peregrine. One important use of the diploma for such veterans may have been to secure fairly prompt recognition of citizenship without recourse to more tiresome legal procedures (cf. the two *epikrisis* documents of ca. 155 and 160). Possession of a diploma would also be useful if the veteran anticipated moving away from the locality in which he served, or even out of the province, so that witnesses to identity would be hard to secure.

If diplomas were, for whatever reason, at least desirable up to the middle of the decade 161–170, why did they become rapidly not so desirable, or necessary? Is there any underlying connection linking the fall in numbers of extant diplomas with the date of the end of service of the last men recruited before the end of 140?

Some general considerations may be apposite.

Although the ban on marriage during military service was strictly imposed from the legal point of view, all the evidence we have from Augustus to Severus suggests that successive emperors attempted to ameliorate the hardships arising from this ban. Augustus himself had allowed soldiers to dispose of any material gains made during service

(*castrense peculium*) by will, thus by-passing *patria potestas* for the serving soldier. Claudius gave the rights of married men to soldiers according to Dio (75, 16, 2). The constitutiones on which diplomas were based were very liberal in the pre-140 period, but soldiers of all branches of the Imperial army were obviously concerned about the effects of the ban on marriage on their dependants if they died during service. Gaius, *Inst.* 2, 109–111 makes it clear that constitutiones were issued which not merely relaxed the strict formalities of making wills for soldiers (for example precision in the number of witnesses and other niceties) but also stressed the right of naming Latins and peregrini and unmarried and childless persons as their heirs. The date of these constitutiones is unclear, although Ulpian seems to imply that they came after Nerva (*Digest* 29, 1, 1 pr.). Certainly we have a copy of a letter from Hadrian to the Prefect of Egypt confirming that illegitimate children of soldiers could be named as their heirs through a clause which gave this right to kinsmen (BGU 140). Moreover, Pius is said to have given the *tiro* the privilege of making a will while he was still technically of civilian status (Ulpian, *Dig.* 29, 1, 9, 1: *ut est rescriptum a divo Pio in eo qui, cum esset paganus, fecit testamentum, mox militare coepit*). All this concern for a soldier's peace of mind concerning any family he might have during service is in stark contrast to the removal of existing children from the grant recorded in diplomas, so much so that it must be asked if the change of 140 may not have been accompanied by some other measure which would compensate for his loss of expectations.

On the other hand it could be argued that other factors may have outweighed consideration for the soldier's welfare. It may have been anticipated that the change would have a beneficial effect on recruitment since existing sons of veterans, who were now denied citizenship as a result of their father's service, might now enlist to restore their hopes of *romanitas*. But if this were the case, and there was no other factor involved, we should expect at least as many diplomas after 165/70 as before.

At the beginning of this paper it was indicated that the temptation to look for hidden meanings behind simple sentences should be resisted, but it may be justifiable to speculate about the reasons for some verbal changes.

The post 140 formula states: *civitatem Romanam, qui eorum non haberent, dedit* and this is usually taken to be recognition of the fact

that the composition of the *auxilia* had changed and that more and more citizens were entering its ranks. But it could also be a tacit admission of the fact that some recruits were being given citizenship on, or soon after, entry into the *auxilia*. By this time "legionaries and auxiliaries were being recruited from almost precisely the same sources – largely from Romanized provincials, especially those living in the frontier zones"²². Sons of legionaries, if acceptable on other points, were given citizenship on enrollment (witness the number of men born *castris* in legionary lists). Could it be that sons of auxiliary soldiers, or veterans, were treated in a similar fashion? By the middle of the second century auxiliary soldiers outnumbered legionaries, their importance in the control of frontiers as well as in battle had long been accepted. Citizenship given soon after enlistment, or after a term of probationary service might give an added impetus to voluntary recruitment when set against a wait of 25 years. It would go some way towards explaining the fall in the number of diplomas shown on the graph after the late 160's since, as we have seen, the evidence suggests that citizens were less likely to take up the option of possessing a diploma, and sons of military families may have formed a large section of the volunteers of this time. Daughters of veterans would be the greatest losers as a result of the change, if this were so, but probably many of these would expect to 'marry' soldiers, or, better still, veterans for whom the *ius conubii* was still obtainable.

Having constructed this purely hypothetical possibility it must be stated that there are objections to it.

The first concerns the nature of the evidence. If diplomas were not issued automatically, but were the results of applications which involved some financial outlay, then is the present sample biased? Does it truly represent the way in which auxiliary veterans as a whole reacted to the grants conferred by *constitutiones* with respect to the naming of wives (and before 140, naming children)? This is the dilemma of any epigraphic sample in many respects²³.

Second, although the work of Kraft does suggest that there were relatively few peregrine soldiers in the *auxilia*, at least in the provinces on the Rhine and Danube, towards the latter part of the second centu-

ry this is proveable only in a limited way. The testimony we have concerning the names of recruits in Eastern provinces after 140 tells a different story. In the East the degree of penetration of romanisation varied in some respects from that obtaining in the West. J. F. Gilliam pointed out that, from the evidence of the Dura rosters, among the population of that part of Syria from which recruits were enrolled before AD 212 "there was a much lower proportion of citizens than on the Rhine and Danube". Similarly, writing of P. Hamb. 39, of AD 179, he quotes Meyer's figures of "52 peregrines and 24 citizens among *gregales*, 8 peregrines and 9 citizens among the *immunes* and *principales*" of *ala veterana Gallica* stationed in Egypt²⁴. If sons of soldiers or veterans were given citizenship on enrollment, or at some time early in their service, we should have to suppose that there was a difference in treatment accorded to the *auxilia* of the East from that given to the West, unless it was postulated that there was far more resistance to the development of a separate military community in the East so that sons of auxiliary veterans were far less likely to follow their fathers into the army.

The 8 diplomas that may be presumed to have been issued to men recruited after 140 may give some help. Two were given out to the *auxilia* of Raetia and, of these, one of the recipients was peregrine (CIL XVI 121) the status of the other is unknown (RMD 68). Both diplomas lack *pluribusve* and the first belongs to 166 and the other to 167/8.

A further diploma was issued to an unknown veteran in Syria Palaestina in 186 (RMD 69) and another (some time after 178) to an ex-pedite of the army of Pannonia inferior, who came from Syria. His cognomen, Sigillius, may or may not be that of a citizen (CIL XVI 131).

A tiny fragment found in Thrace probably dates after 178 (from the names of the witnesses) and was issued to a man born *castris* (CIL XVI 188).

Two relate to Lycia et Pamphylia. One (RMD 67 of 167) was issued to an unknown veteran, another (CIL XVI 128 of 178) to a man with a Roman name, born *castris*.

Finally, the new diploma from Drobeta (RMD 123) went to a citizen veteran from Stobi.

²² B. Dobson and J. C. Mann, *Britannia* 4, 1973, 195.

²³ Tombstones, for example, give information only about that section of the population that could afford, or felt it necessary, to put them up.

²⁴ *Bull. Am. Soc. Papyrol.* 2, 2, 1965, 65–73.

In view of what has been written above it is interesting to note that where there is sufficient evidence there is a slight Eastern bias to this list. However, the two diplomas from Lycia et Pamphylia were both found in Moesia inferior, and the recipient of CIL XVI 128, Valerius Valeri f. Valens, gave his origo as *castris*, as did the unknown owner of CIL XVI 188. Valens certainly, and probably also the unknown veteran, are just the sort of men we should expect, if the speculation about sons of veterans of the auxilia is correct, to have been given citizenship on enrollment and, as citizens to have abstained from securing diplomas. An explanation is possible. The recipients of the diplomas of Lycia et Pamphylia had both served in cohorts I Flavia Numidarum, which had been stationed in Moesia inferior as late as ca. 157 (RMD 50), so that both had presumably been recruited there. On discharge it seems that they wished to return to their former homes, but before doing so it would have been wise to obtain documentary proof of service and citizenship as they were moving away from the province in which they had served where they could easily produce witnesses who could vouch for them. A similar sort of history may perhaps be attached to the recipient of CIL XVI 188. In contrast Valerius Clemens of the epikrisis document of 185 (endorsed in 188) was discharged in 177. He could easily obtain warrantors to his identity and so (apparently) refrained from getting a diploma, although his age (52 in 185) suggests that he should have completed 25 years service, and he had a letter of his commander certifying his *honesta missio*. This would be perhaps the norm for most citizen recipients if they were not immediately moving far away from where they had served. How the veteran from Stobi may be explained is completely unclear.

In sum, the evidence does not permit positive assertions to be made about the change of AD 140. Three main problems have been examined:

1. Was the issue of diplomas automatic to all those who qualified for the grants, or were they copied only for those who asked, and perhaps paid for them?
2. Why does the number of diplomas issued show such a marked drop after ca. 165?
3. Was some compensation made for the change in expectations of veterans after AD 140?

Some very tentative answers have been attempted to all three questions in the knowledge that the smallness of the sample means that

new discoveries may upset all discernable trends. However, any alternative hypotheses will need to take account of the problems raised here.

Table I *Categories of recipients*

	ALAE ¹	EQ. COH. ¹	TOTAL CAVALRY	PED. COH. ¹
c. 52-107	11	5	16	21
107-140	18 + App. 2	2	21	11
140 --	12	8 + D. 95	21	15
Totals	42	16	58	47

1. Junior officers included. — App. 2 = CIL XVI Appendix 2. D. 95 = S. Daris, Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto, Milan 1964, No. 95.

Table II *Ἐπίκρισις documents*

A) *General preamble*

Reference	Date	Veterans			Categories other than veterans	Credentials mentioned
		With bronze document	Without bronze document	Bronze document not mentioned		
App. 3	125/133			X	X	X
App. 4	140	X	X		X	X
App. 5	148	Implied	X			X
D. 95	154			X	X	X
App. 6	154/6-9			X	X	X
App. 7	182/3			X	X	X

B) *Specific veterans*

Reference	Date	Bronze document	Evidence of discharge	Witnesses furnished	
App. 2	103	X ¹	X	X	
App. 3	125/133	-	-	-	(F)
App. 4	140	-	-	-	(F)
App. 5	148	X	-	-	(F)
D. 95	154	X →			
App. 6	154/6-9	X →			
App. 7	182/3	X	?	?	(F)
App. 8	177 (185/8)	NONE	X	X	

(F) indicates that the evidence for a specific veteran is fragmentary.

→ indicates that the bronze document appears to have served as evidence of honourable discharge. — 1. Family attested through bronze tablet. — 2. Family mentioned. — 3. Birth certificate of son exhibited.

App. 2 = P. Hamb. I 31; App. 3 = P. Hamb. I 31a; App. 4 = BGU I 113 (= W. Chr. 458); App. 5 = BGU I 265 (= W. Chr. 459); App. 6 = BGU III 780; App. 7 = BGU III 847 (= W. Chr. 460); App. 8 = SB IV 7362 (= P. Mich. inv. 2930). All are conveniently collected in S. Daris: Nos. 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97.

Men with Roman names appearing as diploma recipients: (a) before c. 140

Diploma	Date	Province	Name and status	'Wife'	Children	Unit
(1) 28	82 ¹	Germania/Moesia	(f) L. Valerius L. f. Pudens, Ancyra	-	-	cohors I Aquitanorum
(2) 29	83	Aegyptus	(h) C. Iulius C. f. Saturninus, Chius	-	-	cohors I Hispanorum
(3) 39	94	Moesia superior	(c) L. Cassius Cassi f., Larisenus	-	-	cohors I Cisipadensium
(4) 42	98	Pannonia	(f) P. Insteius Agrippae f., Cyrrhus	-	-	cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum
(5) 44	99	Moesia inferior	(c) M. Antonius M. f. Rufus, Abretenne	-	+	cohors II Gallorum
(6) 47	102	Pannonia	(c) L. Singeius L. f. Rufianus, Lucensis	-	-	cohors I Montanorum
(7) XVI App. 2	<103	Aegyptus	(l) L. Cornelius Heraclidis f. Antas, Castris	+	+	ala Augusta
(8) RMD 9	105	Aegyptus	(f) M. Spedius M. f. Corbulo, Hippos	-	-	cohors II Ituraeorum
(9) 160(s)	106(110)	Dacia	(c) M. Ulpius Adcobrovati f. Novantico, Ratae	No provision in formula	-	cohors I Brittonum ∞ c. R. p. f. Ulpia torquata victrix
(10) 163	110	Dacia	(f) M. Ulpius Sacci f. Longinus, Belgus	-	+	cohors I Brittonum ∞
(11) 164	110	Pannonia	(i) C. Petillius C. f. Vindex, Batavus	-	-	ala Frontoniana
(12) RMD 86	113	Pannonia superior	(f) M. Ulpius Peronis f. Fronto, Batavus	+	+	cohors I Batavorum ∞ c. R. p. f.
(13) RMD 14	114	Thracia	(e) C. Iulius C. f. Valens, Trall.	-	+	cohors IIII Gallorum
(14) 62	117	Germania superior	(?) C. Cornelius [---]	-	+	cohors II Raetorum
(15) 166	118	Mauretania Tingitana	(d) [---]oni f. Flavus, Virovesca	-	+	ala [. .]na c. R.
(16) 67	120	Macedonia	(f) M. Antonius Timi f. Timi, Hierapolis	+	+	cohors I Flavia Bessorum
(17) 169/73	122	Mauretania Tingitana	(d) M. Antonius Antonif. Maximus, Syrus	+	+	ala Gallorum Tauriana c. R. t. v.
(18) RMD 20	118/122 [Dacia]		(?) [--- U]lpus Landion[---]	+	+	---
(19) RMD 32	125/128 [Raetia]		(?) Flavius Al[--- f. ---]	-	+	---
(20) 173	129/132	Mauretania Tingitana	(d) M. Publilius Publili f. Saturninus, Tingitanus	-	+	ala Tauriana c. R.
(21) 76	133	Pannonia superior	(d) Claudius Motti f. Novanus, Helvetius	-	+	ala I Ulpia contariorum ∞
(22) 78	134	Moesia inferior	(f) L. Sextilius Sextili f. Pudens, Stobi	-	+	cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum
(23) 84	138	Pannonia superior	(e) Sex. Iulius Primi f. Primus, Trevir	-	+	cohors I Thracum
(24) 174	128/138 [Noricum]		(?) Octavius Octa[--- f. ---]	?	?	cohors II Batavorum ∞
(25) 175	139	Pannonia inferior	(d) Octavius Q. f. Vi[---]	+	+	ala I Thracum veterana
(26) RMD 41	133/140 [Mauretania Tingitana]		(?) Cocceius Ca[---]	-	+	---

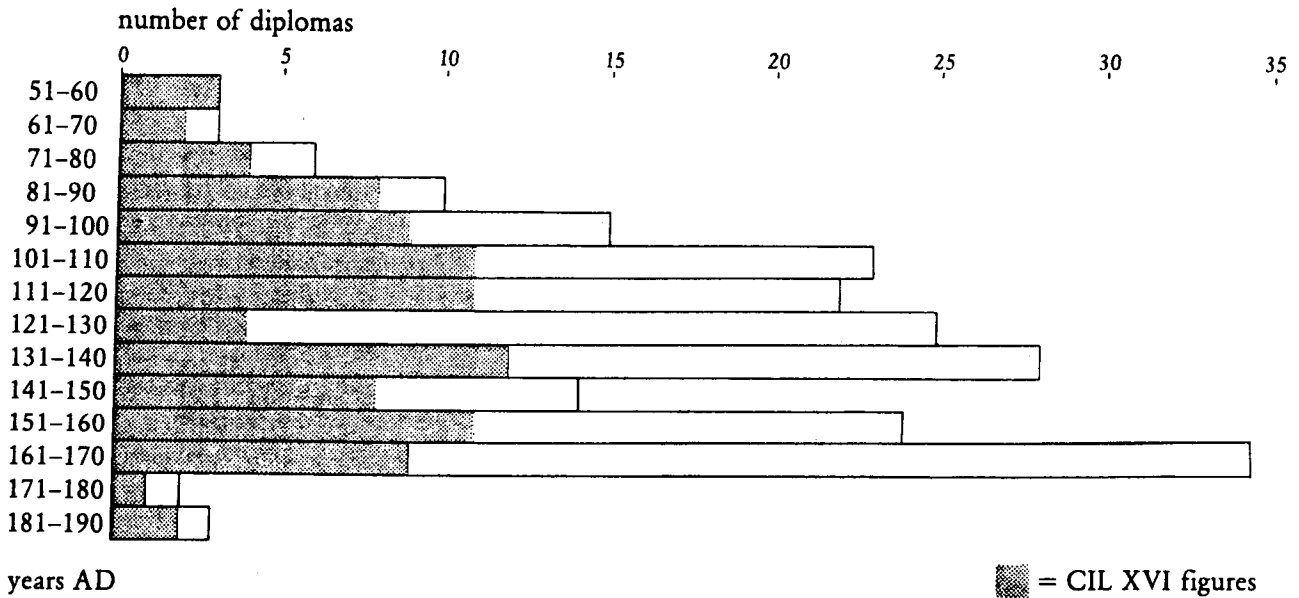
(b) after c. 140

(1) 91	145	Pannonia inferior	(e) [---]entis f. Iustus, Ca[strib?]	-	-	cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum
(2) RMD 45	141/147 [Britannia]		(?) [---]arcus Nab[--- f. ---]	?	-	---
(3) RMD 99	140/148 [Noricum]		(?) Octavius Rufo[ni f. ---]	-	-	---
(4) RMD 53 (s)	159	Mauretania Tingitana	(i) Ti. Claudius M. f. Id[---]	-	+	ala I Augusta Gallorum
(5) 112	159	[Pannonia inferior]	(e) Ulpius Spumari f. Biausco, Eraviscus	-	-	cohors I Alpinorum equitata
(6) 130	159	[Britannia]	(?) [---]rminus, Glevum	-	-	cohors I fida Vardullorum ∞
(7) RMD 108	126/161? [Noricum]		(f) Lucius Terti f. [---]	-	-	coh. ---
(8) RMD 64	164	Dacia Porolissensis	(d) Acilius Sabini f. Dubitatus, Castris	-	-	ala Siliiana c. R.
(9) 120	165	[Moesia superior?]	(f) Valerius Valerif. Valens, Ratiaria	-	-	cohors I Pannoniorum
(10) RMD 119	140/167 [Raetia?]		(?) ---Provin]cialis, Licatis	-	-	---
(11) 128	178	Lycia Pamphylia	(e) Valerius Valerif. Valens, Castris	-	-	cohors I Flavia Numidarum
(12) 131	post 178	Pannonia inferior	(f) [---]i f. Sigillius, [---]a ex Syria	-	-	cohors I Hemesenorum
(13) RMD 123	179	Dacia superior	(f) Ulpius Ulpi fil. Herculanus, Stobi	-	-	cohors IIII Campestris
(14) 132(s)	post 178	Pannonia inferior	(i or j)[---] f. Lucilianus, Porol.	+	+	---

¹ See now W. Eck, ZPE 37, 1980, 53-54.

(a) = gregalis; (b) = eques; (c) = pedes; (d) = ex gregale; (e) = ex equite; (f) = ex pedite; (g) = decurio; (h) = centurio; (i) = ex decurione; (j) = ex centurione; (k) = ex sesquuplicario; (l) = ex duplicario. - (s) indicates special formula.

Distribution of Auxilia and Auxilia/Classis Diplomas by decades, including special grants to Numeri.



Margaret M. Roxan

Table IV A

Recipients with children but no 'wife' named before c. 140

Diploma	Date	Province	Recipient and status	Sons	Daughters
RMD 6	96	Moesia superior	(c) Dolens Sublusi f., Bessus	Valens	-
44	99	Moesia inferior	*(c) M. Antonius M. f. Rufus, Abretten.	Marcus	-
57	110	Dacia	(d) Thaemus Horati f., Ituraeus	Nal.; Marcus; Antonius	-
163	110	Dacia	*(f) M. Ulpius Sacci f. Longinus, Belgus	Vitalis	-
RMD 14	114	Thracia	*(e) C. Iulius C. f. Valens, Trall.	Iulius	Valentina ⁺ ; Gaia ⁺
62	117	Germania superior	* ? Cn. Cornelius [---]		Pra[---]
166	118	Mauretania Tingitana	*(d) [---]loni f. Flavius, Virovesca	-	[---]lia ⁺
RMD 24	90/124	[Mauretania Tingitana]	? [---] Cappadocia		?
RMD 32	125/128	[Raetia]	* ? Flavius Al[---] f. [---]	Flaccus; Nic[---]	Syrill[a]
75	129	Dacia inferior	(d) Eupator Eumeni f., Sebastopolis	Eupator; Eupater; Eumenus ⁺ ; Thraso ⁺	Philopatra ⁺
RMD 89	110/129	[Dacia ---?]	? ---	---	[---] fil. eius [---] eius
173	129/132	Mauretania Tingitana	*(d) M. Publilius Publili f. Saturninus, Tingitanus	Saturninus; Priscianus	
76	133	Pannonia superior	*(d) Claudius Motti f. Novanus, Helvetius	Secundus	
78	134	Moesia inferior	*(f) L. Sextilius Sextili f. Pudens, Stobi	Lucius; Valerius; Petronius; Valens	Lucia ⁺ ; Annia ⁺
83	138	Moesia inferior	(f) Clagissa Clagissae f., Bessus	Spor.; Derzenus; Eptacentus	Zina ⁺ ; Eptaperi ¹⁺
84	138	Pannonia superior	*(e) Sextus Iulius Primi f. Primus, Trevir	Secundus	
RMD 41	133/140	[Mauretania Tingitana]	* ? Cocceius Ca[---]		Co[---]; Sa[---]
RMD 43	138/140	[Mauretania Tingitana]	? [---] Lucei[f?---]		?

Reasons for Changes circa AD 140

Recipients with 'wives' but no children before c. 140

Diploma	Date	Province	Recipient and status	'Wife'
RMD 8	105	[Britannia]	(a) [---]us Rammi f.	[A]mabilis Firmi [f. ---]
RMD 11	100/107	[Mauretania Tingitana]	? [---]i f. Tii[---]	[---] filiae Iaphna
RMD 21	123	Dacia Por./Pann. inf.	(d) Glavus Navati f., Sirm.	Iubena Bellagenti fil., Eravisca
129	114/134	---	? ---	---

Table IV C

Recipients with 'wives' and children before c. 140

Diploma	Date	Province	Recipient and status	'Wife'	Children
2	54	[Illyricum]	(b) Dasenti (dat.) Dasmeni f., Cornacas	Iora Prosoth filiae	Emeritus; Turuna ⁺ , Emerita ⁺
5	64	[Raetia? Noricum?]	(a) Cattaus Bardi f., Helvetius	Sabina Gammi filiae, Helvetia	Vindelicus; Materiona
38	94	Dalmatia	(c) Venetus Diti f., Daversus	Madena Plarentis filiae, Deramista	Gaius
RMD 80	98	[Pannonia]	? [---]	Wife and/or children inferred from <i>et</i>	
49	105	[Moesia superior]	(c) Lucco Treni f., Dobunnus	Tutela Breuci filiae, Azala	Similis; Lucca ⁺ , Pacata ⁺
52	106	[Noricum]	? Clemens A[--- f., ---]	Seccia Sabini [---]	Saturninus, ?
55	107	Raetia	(d) Mogetissa Comatulli f., Boius	Verecunda Casati filiae, Sequana	Matrulla ⁺
161	109	Mauretania Tingitana	(d) Bargati (dat.) Zaei f., Hamius	Iulia Iuli fil. Deisata, Sura	Zena, Saturninus
RMD 84	109	Mauretania [Tingitana]	(d) Sitali Cultra [--- f., ---]	Iunia Gaditani fil., M[---]	Martialis
RMD 86	113	Pannonia superior	*(f) M. Ulpius Peronis f. Fronto, Batavus	Mattua Silvani f., Batava	Vagatra ⁺ , Suria ⁺ , Sata ⁺
61	114	Pannonia inferior	(d) Nertomarus Irducissa f., Boius	Custa Magni fil., Aquincum	Victor, Propinquus; Bella ⁺
67	120	Macedonia	*(f) M. Antonius Timi f. Timi, Hierapolis	Doroturma Dotochae fil. Tricornii	Secundus; Marcellina ⁺
RMD 18	114/120	[Mauretania Tingitana]	(d) [---] Fusci f. [---]	[---]a Rufi fil. Rufina [---]	[---], Fuscina ⁺
169/73	122	Mauretania Tingitana	*(d) M. Antonius Antoni f. Maximus, Syrus	Valeria Messi fil. Messia, Transducta	Maximus; Maxima ⁺
RMD 20	118/122	[Dacia]	* ? [--- U]lpus Landion[---]	[---]achera Anm[---] Cr[---], [---], Surucca ⁺	[---]arus, Sur[---], Solorigis,
171	124	[Mauretania Tingitana]	(i) [---]ni (dat.) Daci f. [---]	[---]a Luci fil. Sat[---]Dacius	
RMD 26	123/125	[Dacia superior?]	? [---], [Ha]drumentum	[---], Pannonia	[---], [---]
105	122/134	[Raetia]	(d) [---] Juli f., Frisius	[---]ini fil. Batava	[---]ellina
175	139	Pannonia inferior	*(d) Octavius Q. f. Vi[--- ---]	Maricca Curin[--- f.]	Octavianus; Octav[---]

* Names marked thus appear in Table III. * denotes the use of fil. rather than f.

¹ EPRERI on the inner face. As this name appears at the end of a list, after a female name, and since it is also followed by fil. rather than f., it has been assigned to the list of daughters.

(a) = gregalis; (b) = eques; (c) = pedes; (d) = ex gregales; (e) = ex equite; (f) = ex pedite; (g) = decurio; (h) = centurio; (i) = ex decurione; (j) = ex centurione; (k) = ex sesquiplenario.

Recipients with neither wife nor child before c. 140¹

Diploma	Date	Province	Recipient and status	Unit
3	54	[Syria]	(b) Romesta Rescenti f., Spiurus	ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana
4	60	Illyricum	(b) Iantumarus Andedunis f., Varcianus	cohors II Hispanorum
RMD 79	65	Germania	(c) Liccaius Liccai f., Breucus	cohors VII Breucorum
20	74	Germania	(a) Veturius Teutomi f., Pannonius	ala Scubulorum
RMD 2	75	Moesia	(c) Hera Serapionis f., Antiochenus	cohors I Raetorum
22	78	Moesia	(c) Perasis Publi f., Aeg(aea) or Aeg(yssus)	cohors I Cilicum
23	78	Germania	(a) Tertius Marci f., Trevir	ala Moesica
158	80	Germania	(c) Durises Bithi f., Thracus	cohors IIII Thracum
26	80	Pannonia	(f) Soio Musecelli f., Bessus	cohors I Montanorum
28	82	Germania/Moesia	* (f) L. Valerius L. f. Pudens, Ancyra	cohors I Aquitanorum
29	83	Aegyptus	* (h) C. Iulius C. f. Saturninus, Chius	cohors I Hispanorum
30	84	Pannonia	(c) Dasius Dasenti f., Dalmata	cohors I Montanorum
31	85	Pannonia	(f) Fronto Sceni f., Iasus	cohors I Lusitanorum
33	86	Iudaea	(b) Seuthes Traibithi f., Cololeticus	cohors II Thracum
159	88	Mauretania Tingitana	(b) Domitius Domiti f., Philadelphia	cohors II milliaria sagittaria
RMD 3	88	Syria	(a) Dassius Dasentis f., Pannonius	ala Phrygum
36	90	Germania superior	(b) Mucapor Eptacentis f., Thracus	cohors I Aquitanorum
RMD 4	91	Syria	(a) Quelses Dolae f., Thracus	ala III Thracum
RMD 5	91	[Syria]	(a) Seuthes [---]is f., Scaenus (?)	ala veterana Gallica
39	94	Moesia superior	* (c) L. Cassius Cassi f., Larisenus	cohors I Cisipadensium
40	96	Sardinia	(b or c) Tunila [---] f., Caresius	cohors II gemina Ligurum et Cursorum
42	98	Pannonia	* (f) P. Insteius Agrippae f., Cyrrhus	cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum
45	99	Moesia inferior	(a) Meticus Solae f., Bessus	ala I Asturum
RMD 7	99	Moesia inferior	(c) Bonio Verani f., [---]	cohors II Hispanorum
46	100	Moesia superior	(c) Sapia Sarmosi f., Anazarbus	cohors I Antiochensium
47	102	Pannonia	* (c) L. Singeius L. f., Lucensis	cohors I Montanorum
48	103	Britannia	(g) Reburus Severi f., Hispanus	ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana
50	105	Moesia inferior	(c) Ambirenus Iuvenci f., Rauricus	cohors III Gallorum
RMD 9	105	Aegyptus	* (f) M. Spedius M. f. Corbulo, Hippos	cohors II Ituraeorum
56	107	Mauretania Caesariensis	(f) Lovessius Maximi f., Bracar	cohors IIII Sugamborum
162	109	Mauretania Tingitana	(e or f) [---] [---]cti f., Thracus	[cohors ---]um c. R.
164	110	Pannonia inferior	* (i) C. Petilius C. f. Vindex, Batavus	ala Frontoniana
69	122	Britannia	(k) Gemellus Breuci f., Pannonius	ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana
70	124	Britannia	(f) [---] Albani f., Şunucus	cohors I Sunucorum
RMD 34	129	[Pannonia inferior]	(d) Cunius Aqi [---] f., Isaurus	ala I Thracum veterana
RMD 35	133	Dacia Porolissensis	(f) Sepenestus Rivi f., Pannonius	cohors I Britannica milliaria
82	135	Britannia	(f) [---]suetus Luci f., Trever	cohors II Dalmatarum
103.	134/138	[Syria]	(i) [---]tus Sarabae [f.---]	cohors ---
87	139	Syria Palaestina	(f) Gaius Lucii f., Nicia	cohors II Ulpia Galatarum

Margaret M. Roxan

Reasons for Changes circa AD 140

¹ Omitting 'special' diplomas in which conubium does not form part of the grant. - * Names marked thus appear in Table II. (a) = gregalis; (b) = eques; (c) = pedes; (d) = ex gregale; (e) = ex equite; (f) = ex pedite; (g) = decurio; (h) = centurio; (i) = ex decurione; (j) = ex centurione; (k) = ex sesquiplicario.

Recipients with no 'wife' named from c. 140

Diploma	Date	Province	Recipient and status	Unit
39	140	Dacia inferior	(d) Bithus Solae f., Bessus	numerus equitum Illyricorum
90	144	Dacia superior	(e) Aulenus Her[--- f., ---]	cohors II Gallorum Pannonica
91	145	Pannonia inferior	* (e) [---]entis f. Iustus, Ca[stis?]	cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum
RMD 97	146	[Britannia]	(f?) [---]andius [---]	cohors I Tungrorum [milliaria?]
178	146	Pannonia superior	(d) Viator Romani f., Asalus	ala I Hispanorum Arvacorum
96	148	Pannonia superior	(f) Atta Nivionis f., Azalus	cohors I Ulpia Pannoniorum
179	148	Pannonia inferior	(d) Reidomarus Siuppi f., Eraviscus	ala I Flavia Britannica milliaria
180	148	Pannonia inferior	(k) Fuscus Luci f., Azalus	ala I Flavia Britannica milliaria
RMD 99	140/148	[Noricum?]	* ? Octavius Rufo[ni f. ---]	?
RMD 100	148	Asia	(f) Lualis Mamae f., Isaurus	cohors I Raetorum
97	149	Pannonia superior	(f) Dasmenus Festi f., Azalus	cohors V Callaecorum Lucensium
99	150	Pannonia superior/inferior	(d) Victor Licca[f., Azalus	ala I Hispanorum Arvacorum
RMD 47/110	154	Dacia Porolissensis	(f) Ivonercus Molaci f., Britto	cohors I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria
104	154	Pannonia superior	(f) Ursio Busturonis f., Azalus	cohors II Alpinorum
RMD 48	154	Mauretania Tingitana	? [---]everi f., Lusitanus	?
107	156 or 157	Dacia superior	(f) Barsim[us] Callistenis f., Caesaraea	cohors I Vindellicorum milliaria
108	158	Dacia superior	(d) Heptapor Isi f., Bessus	ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum
RMD 52	158	Germania inferior	(f) Ahucco Leub[--- f., ---]	cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum eq.
112	159	[Pannonia inferior]	* (e) Ulpius Spumari f. Biausco, Eraviscus	cohors I Alpinorum equitata
130	154 or 159	[Britannia]	* ? [---]minus, Glevum	cohors I fida Vardullorum milliaria
RMD 55	161	Moesia superior	(i) Volsingus Gai f., Dardanus	cohors V Hispanorum
RMD 108	126/161	[Noricum?]	* (f) Lucius Terti f. [---]	(cohors)
118	162	[Raetia]	? Asuodane (dat.) R[--- f., ---]	cohors I Flavia Canathenorum milliaria
185	164	Dacia Porolissensis	(f) Sextus Busturionis f., Pannonius	cohors I Batavorum milliaria
RMD 63	164	Dacia Porolissensis	(e) Mucatralis Bit[--- f., ---]	cohors I Brittonum milliaria
RMD 64	164	Dacia Porolissensis	* (d) Acilius Sabini f., Dubitatus, Castris	ala Siliana c. R.
120	165	[Moesia superior?]	* (f) Valerius Valeri f. Valens, Ratiaria	cohors I Pannoniorum
125	164/166	[Raetia]	(f) [---] Simni f., Con[dr]jusus	cohors III Brittonum
121	166	Raetia	(e) Secco Iuli[--- f., ---]	cohors II Aquitanorum
RMD 119	140/167	[Raetia?]	* ? [---] Provin]cialis, Licatis	?
RMD 120	160/167	[Germania inferior]	(d) [---] Amandi f., C[a]nnefas	ala I Noricorum c. R.
123	167	Pannonia inferior	(d) Oxetius Naevionis f., Eraviscus	ala I Thracum veterana
128	178	Lycia Pamphylia	* (e) Valerius Valeri f. Valens, Castris	cohors I Flavia Numidarum
RMD 123	179	Dacia superior	* (f) Ulpius Ulpi fil. Herculanus, Stobi	cohors III Campestris
131	post 178	Pannonia inferior	* (f) [---]i f. Sigillius, [---]a ex Syria	cohors I Hemesenorum

Margaret M. Roxan

Reasons for Changes circa AD 140

* Names marked thus appear in Table III. - (a) = gregalis; (b) = eques; (c) = pedes; (d) = ex gregale; (e) = ex equite; (f) = ex pedite; (g) = decurio; (h) = centurio; (i) = ex decurione; (j) = ex centurione; (k) = ex sesquuplicario. (s) indicates special formula.

Table V C

Recipients with 'wives' after c. 140

Diploma	Date	Province	Recipient and status	'Wife'	Unit
RMD 58/95	140/144	[Raetia]	? Ruto? [---]	MAT--- (child?)	coh. III Bracar- augustanorum
RMD 40	120/145	[Dacia Porolissensis]	(f) [---]imen[---]	Senecia Relectei [fil.-]	coh. II Aug. Nerv. Pac. Brittonum milliaria
RMD 102	157	Pannonia inferior	(f) Monnus Tessimari f., Eraviscus	Nicia Tricani fil., Canac.	coh. I Thracum Germanica
RMD 103	157	Pannonia inferior	(f) Culsus Atedumif., Eraviscus	Verveda Tessimari fil., Can[a]c. aut Eravisca.	coh. I Thracum Germanica

Table V D

Recipients with children but no 'wives' named after c. 140

Diploma	Date	Province	Recipient and status	Sons	Daughters	Unit
RMD 53 (s)	159	[Mauretania Tingitana]	*(i) Ti. Claudius M. f. Id[---]	Seneca	?	ala I Aug. Gallorum

Table V E

Recipients with 'wives' and children after c. 140

Diploma	Date	Province	Recipient and status	'Wife'	Children	Unit
132 (s)	post 178	Pannonia inferior	*(i or j) [---]f. Lucilianus, Porol.	[---] Secundina, Bass.	[---]; [---]anus; Lucida.	?

Cf. footn. p. 291.

HEER UND INTEGRATIONSPOLITIK

Die römischen Militärdiplome als
historische Quelle

herausgegeben
von

WERNER ECK und HARTMUT WOLFF



1986

BÖHLAU VERLAG KÖLN WIEN

DLL
UTAHAS KESTIN

Inhaltsverzeichnis

	Einleitung.....	1			
<i>B. Dobson</i>	The Roman Army: Wartime or Peacetime Army?.....	10	<i>G. Forni</i>	I diplomi militari dei classari delle flotte pretorie (inclusi quelli dei classari-legionari)	293 (mit Textabbildung S. 308 und Tafeln 1 u. 2 nach S. 304)
<i>V. A. Maxfield</i>	<u>Systems of Reward in Relation to Military Diplomas</u>	26	<i>H. Lieb</i>	Die constitutiones für die stadtrömischen Truppen	322
<i>H. Wolff</i>	Die Entwicklung der Veteranenprivilegien vom Beginn des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. bis auf Konstantin d. Gr.	44 (mit Falttafel am Schluß des Bandes)	<i>P. Le Roux</i>	Les diplômes militaires et l'évolution de l'armée romaine de Claude à Septime Sévère: auxilia, numeri et nationes	347
<i>O. Behrends</i>	<u>Die Rechtsregelungen der Militärdiplome und das die Soldaten des Prinzipats treffende Eheverbot</u>	116	<i>B. Lórinz</i>	Die Nennung und Funktion der Statt- halter in den Auxiliarkonstitutionen	375
<i>M. Mirković</i>	Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Verleihung des Conubium	167	<i>G. Alföldy</i>	Die Truppenkommandeure in den Militärdiplomen	385
<i>J. C. Mann</i>	A Note on Conubium	187	<i>A. Mócsy</i>	Die Namen der Diplomempfänger	437
<i>S. Dušanić</i>	<u>Pre-Severan Diplomata and the Problem of Special Grants</u>	190	<i>M. P. Speidel</i>	The Soldiers' Homes	467
<i>H.-J. Kellner</i>	Die Möglichkeit von Rückschlüssen aus der Fundstatistik.....	241	<i>Zs. Visy</i>	Die kryptotopographische Truppenaufzählung in den Auxiliardiplomen von Pannonien	482
<i>E. Birley</i>	<u>Before Diplomas and the Claudian Reform</u>	249	<i>W. Eck</i>	Prokonsuln und militärisches Kommando. Folgerungen aus Diplomen für prokonsulare Provinzen	518
<i>B. Isaac</i>	Military Diplomata and Extraordinary Levies for Campaigns	258	<i>Fr. Vittinghoff</i>	<u>Militärdiplome, römische Bürgerrechts- und Integrationspolitik der Hohen Kaiserzeit</u>	535
<i>M. M. Roxan</i>	<u>Observations on the Reasons for Changes in Formula in Diplomas circa AD 140</u>	265 (mit Textabbildung S. 284)	<i>W. Eck u. H. Wolff</i>	Ein Auxiliardiplom aus dem Jahre 203 n. Chr.	556 (mit Tafeln 3 und 4 nach S. 304)
				Indizes (zusammengestellt von M. Jehne).....	576