

Roxan, Margaret. *Roman Military Diplomas 1985–1993*. London: Institute of Archaeology, 1994.

ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS 1985 - 1993

by
MARGARET M. ROXAN

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Title: Roman military diplomas, 1985-1993 /

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MANTONIO ME ESUMNO V
DESCRIPTVM RECOGNITVM EXTABULAMEN
QVAE ELXAESE • ROMAE



(a) tabella I inner face



(b) tabella I outer face

ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

1. The fragment was found in the museum at Pozarevac and probably came there as part of a collection which is known to have been centred upon Viminacium and Margum.
2. The restoration adopted owes a great deal to an analysis by B. Lörincz (1991) together with personal communications. He excluded a date between 25 March 101 and November 102 because of the onset of the first Dacian war. Since he wrote, the discovery of a diploma of Moesia superior of April - June 101 (RMD 143) shows that diplomas were issued to Danubian provinces during this period so that this restriction need not apply. It is even possible that it was issued at or about the same time as the latter diploma (cf. the observation of Visy (1984)232-3 concerning the sequence of arrival of lists of neighbouring provinces). As the list of units, as reconstructed is not identical with that in CIL XVI 47, although there seems to be an overlap, 102 may appear to be ruled out. However, it is not impossible that in this period of the aftermath of war, contrary to usual practice, more than one diploma could have been issued to the same provincial army within the same year; cf. the diplomas of Dacia: RMD 148 of October 109, and CIL XVI 57 and 163 of February and July 110 respectively. Thus neither 101 nor 102 may be rejected entirely.
3. On the outer face of this diploma the governor's name stands roughly in the middle of its line, otherwise either the imperial titles or the formula following the governor's name would be shown on the inner face. Lörincz therefore proposed the restoration of *duabus* for the number of *alae* listed, since the placing of the name of the governor, at least three lines above the central line of the binding holes on the outer face, suggests that the list of units was short. In CIL XVI 47, with the same governor and province, there are five lines of formula below the name Q. Gilius Atilio Agricola, and eight units are named altogether, the same total as Lörincz suggests. However, the size of the complete diploma is unknown so that this must remain an attractive proposition rather than a certainty.
4. Lörincz restores *sex* here, see note 3 above.
5. If Lörincz's arguments are accepted, *alae* with long titles like *I Flavia Britannica milliaria c. R. or I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum* must be excluded as there would be insufficient space for the name of a second *ala*.
6. The original editors suggested that line 1 *intus* should be read as *AEORVM*, and restored the first part of the cohort list similarly to that of CIL XVI 47: *I Augusta Ituraeorum [et I Alpinorum et I Montanorum]m et II [Alpinorum]*. The opening of the first line is difficult to interpret because a corner of the fragment has broken off and has been repaired. Although, at first, I suggested to Professor Mirkovic that the first letter could be an *N*, on further inspection it seems more likely that it is *V*. This lends support to the restoration by Lörincz of the name of the first cohort preserved as *[I Bata]vorum [(milliaria) p. f.]*.
7. B. Lörincz suggests (*cohors*) *II Asturum et Callaecorum]m*.
8. The third cohort in the list was perhaps *II [Alpinorum]*. Lörincz then rules out cohorts with the numeral *III*, either because they were not in Pannonia at this time or on grounds of space. He proposes to restore *[et V Callaecorum Lucensium]* in the remaining lacuna.
9. Probably *V [Galloru]m*. B. Lörincz read the first letter on the outer face as a *V* and thought that the scribe had written *[GALLOR]V* (!), but this corner has been repaired and the supposed right hand stroke of the "V" lies on the fracture. The line visible in the photograph is probably due to reflection on the fixing material in the break. It is, in any case, rather too close to the *E* of *ET* to be part of a letter. On the other hand the last sloping stroke of an *M* is just visible in the photograph in the original publication (Taf. XII b). The next cohort undoubtedly has a numeral that is *V* or higher. According to Lörincz, *cohors V Breucorum c. R.* was not in Pannonia at the time of issue of the diploma. Among the known cohorts of Pannonia, this leaves only *V[III Raetorum]* to fill the vacancy.
10. See W. Eck (1982) 334-38 on this governor.
11. The formula here identifies this as Alföldy-Mann Type II.

Photographs Tafel XII a & b, ZPE 64, 1986.

Text *Ann. ép.* 1987, no. 853, giving the reading of the first editors.

145 IMP. INCERTVS INCERTO

ca. 91 - 105 Mai.

Published M. W. C. Hassall, R. S. O. Tomlin *Britannia* XXIII, (1992) No. 37, 320-21. Two tiny joining fragments of tabella I from the right hand edge of the outer face, found in Britain, in a field immediately outside and south of the south gate of Caistor St. Edmund (*Venta Icenorum*) Norfolk, SMR Site No. 9836. It was found through the use of a metal detector by Mr. S. Dunthorne, in 1989, and will probably remain in his care. Publication of the site is forthcoming. Height 2.4 cm, width 2.1 cm. thickness ca. 1 mm. Weight 2.32 g.

intus: tabella I



[*Imp. Caesar, etc.equitibus et peditibus qui militant in*
.....et sunt] in *Br[itannia sub] c. 28?.....*] *qui qui[na et*
*vicena plurave*³ *etc.....*
*singuli singulas. a.d. III idus?] Mai.*⁴

1. This fragment shows part of the formula of an auxiliary diploma and is likely to be Alföldy-Mann I or II, i.e. issued either to serving soldiers or to a mixture of serving soldiers and veterans.
2. The fragmentary letters remaining in line 1 are in the correct position to be those denoting the province in which the unknown recipient served. The certain letters *IN B* are followed by the foot of an upright stroke, which could certainly be the first part of an *R*. This together with the find-

extrinsecus: tabella I



spot of the fragment strongly supports an attribution to Britannia.

3. The tail of a letter *Q* runs from the left side of the fragment on the second line of the inner face towards the letters *VI*. These letters are followed by *QV* and the possible top of a letter *I* (the upright of the *I* almost certainly lies in the fracture line of the fragment). The only part of a normal auxiliary diploma formula which corresponds to this sequence, in the line following the naming of the province and its governor, is that denoting length of service: *qui quina et vicena plurave etc.* This particular variation of the formula is most frequently found in the first century; the alternative *quinis et vicenis pluribusve* is less common, and lacks *qui* preceding *quinis*. The fragment, in any case, was probably issued before 129,

since we may be sure that the original edge of the first tablet lies immediately below the second line of the inner face. After the issue of RMD 34, of 30 April 129, it is relatively rare for the main formula of the diploma not to be completed on the inner face of the first tablet, down to *singuli singulas* (later just *singulis*); cf. RMD 181 note 10. Another clue to the date of the fragment is given by the reconstructed formula, since the last known instance of the use of *qui quina et vicena plurave* occurs in May 105 (CIL XVI 50 and 51) but RMD 9 of 24 September 105 already shows the change to *quinis et vicenis pluribusve*, which becomes one of the standard usages for the second century on present evidence.

4. Only three certain issues of diplomas to the auxilia of Britannia before the end of 105, the period suggested for this diploma, are known so far: CIL XVI 43 (AD 98, found Flémalle, Belgium), CIL XVI 48 (103 Jan. 19, found Malpas in Cheshire), CIL XVI 51 and RMD 8 (both 105, 4 May - 13 July, the former from Sydenham, Kent, the latter from Middlewich, Cheshire). See RIB Vol. II, Fasc.i, 2401.2 and 3 concerning day dates). The only letters visible on the outer face lie near the right hand edge of the tablet just before the engraved framing lines. These letters denote the month of issue (May) which would normally appear in this position. In first century examples the name of this month is often given in full, e.g. as MAIAS in RMD 2 (75), CIL XVI 23 (78), 33 (86) and RMD 4 (91), but in CIL XVI 46 of 100 and CIL XVI 50 of 105 it is abbreviated to MAI. There are thus strong indications that the date of the Caistor fragment may lie

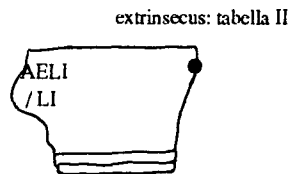
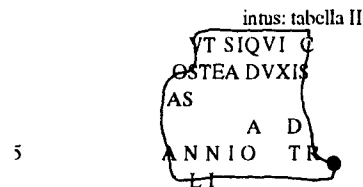
between the latter part of the first century (after 91) and 105 (excluding 103, since the Malpas diploma belongs to January of that year and two issues of diplomas to the same provincial army in the same calendar year are not usual - but see the reservation expressed in RMD 144 note 2). The two fragmentary diplomas of Britain datable to 105, where the month of issue is very probably May, almost certainly carry identical lists. It is true that there is a difference of about one and a half lines of standard formula at the end of the first tablets of the Middlewich and Sydenham diplomas, but the recipient of the Middlewich diploma was serving in an ala listed in the Sydenham diploma. The difference is probably to be explained by the spacing of the letters by different scribes. The Sydenham example has fewer letters per line in the area in question than the Middlewich diploma. A reconstruction of the formula of the Caistor fragment suggests that it differs by more than two lines from the Sydenham diploma and ca. four lines from that of Middlewich. This suggests that if it was issued at the same time as the other two it may have carried a longer list of units. A possible explanation, if this is indeed a diploma of May 105, is that this is a parallel issue to the diplomas previously recorded with a different list of units (like CIL XVI 44 and 45, of Moesia inferior - AD 99) since it is clear that no British diploma of the Trajanic period carries a complete tally of the auxilia of Britain. This observation may only be confirmed or refuted by further finds.

Photographs Pl. 1 a & b.

146 TRAIANVS INCERTO

a. 108 (Jan.-Mai.)

ed M. M. Roxan *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, Vol. II, Fasc. i, (1990) 10-11, no. 2401.4. Fragment of tabella II, obtained from a dealer who claimed that it had been found in York, although the exact circumstances of the find are unclear. Height 4.1 cm, breadth 4.0 cm. Present location the British Museum, Accession No. P 1988. 6 -1. 1.



Imp Caesar, divi Nervae f., Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, pontifex maximus, tribunus(ia) potestat(e) XII, imp(erator) VI, co(n)s(ul) V, p(ater) p(atriciae)¹ quitibus et peditibus².....etc.
uorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent, cum est civitas iis data a Iulio, siqui c(ael)ibes essent, cum iis, quas v)ostea duxis[ent dumtaxat singuli singul]as
d. [...]. Ap.] Annio Trebonio Gallo, M. Atilio Metilio bradua co(n)s(ulibus)³

C[?]aeli [...]; [...]. Ili [...]⁴

The date of the diploma is given through the fragmentary names of the consuls and Trajan's titles have been restored accordingly.

The findspot, if correct, suggests that this may be a diploma relating to the auxilia of Britain, but this remains uncertain. If the fragment had been imported into Britain in antiquity, or at a

later date, it could either refer to a grant made to the auxilia of another province or to one of the fleets, since the formula of fleet and auxiliary diplomas was identical down to ca. A.D. 140 in the section preserved.

3. In spite of the fragmentary nature of the evidence there is little doubt that Appius Annius Trebonius Gallus and M. Atilius Metilius Bradua are named. They were *consules ordinarii* for 108 and were succeeded probably on May 1 by the future emperor Hadrian and M. Trebatius Priscus. Bradua was later governor of Roman Britain (A. R. Birley (1981) 92-4).
4. The letters on the outer face clearly belong to the nomina of the sixth and seventh witnesses. There are at least 12 nomina with the ending -*aelius* (Solin and Salomies, 1988, 237) of these Caelius is the most common, although no witness of that name has yet been attested. Aelius is probably unlikely at this date. The other witness may be one of several Iulii who appear in the lists in this period (Index 1, Witnesses period 2).

Drawings RIB II, 1, p.10.

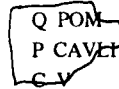
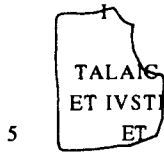
147 TRAIANVS (?) TALAIC..(?)

c. a. 99 - 108?

Published P. Weiß *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 80 (1990) 137-142. Findspot uncertain; originally suggested as Carnuntum but most probably really Yugoslavia (letter P. Weiß 22.1.1992). Now in private possession. Fragment of the left edge of the bottom portion of tabella II: height 3.4 cm, width 3.6 cm, thickness c. 1-1.5 mm. Height of letters: intus 5 mm, extrinsecus 4 mm.

intus: tabella II

extrinsecus: tabella II



The witness list appears to be engraved by a different hand.

[*Imp. Caesar, divi Nervae f., Nerva Traianus Augustus etc.*¹
*equitibus et peditibus*²
coh(ortis) aut alae *cui praest*] I aut T aut P³
 [status of recipient] *Talaic[...f.,]*⁴ *et Iusti[... eius]*⁵ *et [.....*
*f. eius]*⁶
 [*Descriptum et recognitum etc*]

*Q. Pom[pei Homerij]; P. Cauli [.....]; C. V[ettieni]*⁷.

1. The fragment has been tentatively assigned to the Trajanic period on the evidence of the partial witness names. See note 7 below.
2. This is more likely to relate to the auxilia rather than a fleet. If this was a fleet diploma line 1 intus would contain the name of a consul but there is a space before the single letter engraved there and consular names are usually carried back to the beginning of the line. This suggests that the line gave the name of the commander of an auxiliary unit, which is frequently indented see note 4).
3. P. Weiß suggests that this stroke is either the base of a T or an I (in a letter 22.1.1992). In the suggested period of issue of the diploma the praenomina of equestrian commanders were nearly always given (an exception may be found in *RMD* 6 of AD 96). In the present example this is supported by the apparent lack of any indication of a second letter (Weiß considers that if this was the first letter of a nomen the second letter could have been V). If, however, this stroke represents a praenomen it is likely to be the base of a T (Titus) or a P (Publius).

4. There is a blank line between the presumed name of the commander and that of the recipient. This would have carried the status of the latter. After careful examination P. Weiß suggests that the fragmentary name of the recipient should be read as TALAIC[- and cites Holder (1904), Mócsy et al (1983) and Albertos Firmat (1966) for evidence of the stem TALA- being commonly found in Spain. From this he deduces that there is a possibility that the recipient could have been a Spaniard recruited c. AD 80 and perhaps serving in a Spanish unit. The province in which he served is unknown, although either of the possible find-spots suggest Pannonia.
5. This is either the name of the wife of the recipient, e.g. *Iusti[nae fil. uxori] eius*, or the name of a child
6. Certainly the name of a child of the recipient would have followed ET, either the sole one or the third if two children, rather than a wife, are named on line 4 intus.
7. P. Weiß considers that the witness list contains the names of witnesses 2-4 rather than 1-3 as originally suggested in *ZPE* (letter cited above). He produces reasoned arguments, for dating the fragment to the period 99 - 108 based on the restoration of the witness names probably as Q. Pompeius Homerus, P. Caulius Vitalis and C. Vettienus Modestus, although there are other possibilities in the period, for example P. Caulius Restitutus or Gemellus. It should be noted that both Homerus and Vitalis acted as witnesses under Domitian, although Modestus first appears under Trajan. A pre-Trajanic date therefore cannot be ruled out entirely. (See Witness index period 2 for dates).

Photographs *ZPE* 80 (1990) Taf. IV a) & b).

Ann. ép. 1990, no. 798.

148 TRAIANVS M. HERENNIO POLYMITAE

a. 109 Oct. 14

Published J. Garbsch *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter*, 54 (1989) 137-151¹. Found Ranovac, c. 30 km south of Viminacium, Yugoslavia, in February 1986, allegedly with three others. Now in the collection of Axel Guttman, Berlin. Complete diploma but with slight losses on the upper and right edges of tabella II, as seen from the outer face. Tabella I : height 15.85 cm; width 12.25 cm; tabella II : height 16.15 cm, width 12.35 cm; thickness of both tablets c. 1 mm. Weight of tabella II 73.07 g.

intus: tabella I

IMP CAESAR DIVI NERVAE F NERVA TRAIANVS
AVG GERM DACICVS PONTIF MAX TRIBVNIC PO
TESTAT XIII IMP VI COS V P P
EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITAVERVNT IN
5 ALIS TRIBVS ET COHOR TIBVS DECEM ET SEX
QVAE APPELLANTVR IC RET FLAVIA COMMA
GENOR SAGITTARIA ET II PANNONIOR VETERA
NA ET I BRITTONVM ∞ VLPIA TORQVATA C R
ET I BRITANNICA ∞ C RET I TVRAEOR ET I THRA
10 CVM C RET I AVG ITVRAEOR ET I VINDELICOR
CRPF ET I PANNONIOR VETERANA ET I MON
TANOR ET II GALLOR PANNONICA ET II HISP
NOR ET II BRITANNOR ∞ CR PF ET II GALLO
RVM MACEDONICA ET III CAMPESTRIS C RET
15 III CYPRIA C RET V GAL LORVM ET VIII RAE
TORVM ET SVNT IN DACIA SVB D TERENCE
SCAVRIANO QVINIS ET VICENIS PLVRIBVS
VE STIPENDIIS EMERITIS DIMISSIS HONES
TA MISSIONE A IVLIO SABINO QVORVM

tabella II

NOMINA SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBE
RIS POSTERISQVE EORVM CIVITATEM DEDIT
ET CONVBIVM CVM VXORIBVS QVAS TVNC HA
BVISSENT CVM EST CIVITAS IIS DATA AVT SIQV
CAELIBES ESSENT CVM IIS QVAS POSTEA DV
25 XISSENT DVMTAXAT SINGVLI SINGVLAS
PR IDVS OCT
C IVLIO PROCVLO COS
C ABVRNIO VALENTE
COH I MONTANOR CVI PRAEST
30 CORNELIVS FELICIOR
EX PEDITE
M HERENNIO M F POLYMITAE BERENS
ETIANVARIO ET MARCELLO FEIV
ET LVCANAE FIL EIVS
35 DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVL
AENEA QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE

extrinsecus: tabella I

IMP CAESAR DIVI NERVAE F NERVA TRAI
ANVS AVG GERM DACICVS PONTIF MAX IM
TRIBVNIC POTESTAT XIII IMP VI COS V P P
EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITAVERVNT
IN ALIS TRIBVS ET COHORTIBVS DECEM ET SEX
5 QVAE APPELLANTVR IC RET II FLAVIA COMMA
GENOR SAGITTARIA ET II PANNONIOR VETERA
NA ET I BRITTONVM ∞ VLPIA TORQVATA C RET
ET I BRITANNICA ∞ C RET I TVRAEOR ET I THRA
10 CVM C RET I AVG ITVRAEOR ET I VINDELICOR C R
PF ET I PANNONIOR VETERANA ET I MONTANOR
ET II GALLOR PANNONICA ET II HISPANOR ET II
BRITANNOR ∞ CR PF ET II GALLOR MACEDONICA
ET III CAMPESTRIS C RET III CYPRIA C RET V
15 GALLOR ET VIII RAETORVM ET SVNT IN DACIA
SVB D TERENCE SCVRIANO QVINIS ET VICENIS
PLVRIBVSVE STIPENDIIS EMERITIS DIMISSIS

HONESTA MISSIONE A IVLIO SABINO QVORVM
NOMINA SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTE
RISQVE EORVM CIVITATEM DEDIT ET CONVBIVM
20 CVM VXORIBVS QVAS TVNC HABVISSENT CVM
EST CIVITAS IIS DATA AVT SIQV CAELIBES ESSENT
CVM IIS QVAS POSTEA DVXISSENT DVMTAXAT
SINGVLI SINGVLAS PR IDVS OCT
C IVLIO PROCVLO COS
25 C ABVRNIO VALENTE
COH I MONTANOR CVI PRAEST
CORNELIVS FELICIOR
EX PEDITE
M HERENNIO M F POLYMITAE BERENS
30 ETIANVARIO FEIVS ET MARCELLO F EIVS
ET LVCANAE FIL EIVS
//SCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVLA AENE
A QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE IN MVRO POST TEM
PLVM DIVI AVG AD MINERVAM
35

tabella II

TI IVLI	VRBANI
P CORNELI	ALEXANDRI
L PVLLI	VERECVNDI
P ATINI	AMERIMNI
C IVLI	PARATI
C TVTICANI	SATVRNINI
M IVLI	CLEMENTIS

¹The date, consular names, unit commander and details of the recipient and his family (ll. 24-33) are slightly cramped and seem to have been added later on the outer face, although in the same hand. Lines 26-34 on the inner face are noticeably differentiated.

ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

*Imp. Caesar, divi Nervae f., Nerva Traianus Aug(ustus)
Germ(anicus) Dacicus, pontifex maxim(us), tribunici(a)
potestat(e) XIII, imp(erator) VI, co(n)stul V, p(ater) p(atriciae)
equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in alis tribus et cohortibus
decem et sex, quae appellantur (1) I c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (2)
II Flavia Commagenor(um) sagittaria² et (3) II Pannonior(um)
veterana et (1) I Brittonum (milliaria) Ulpia torquata c(ivium)
R(omanorum)³ et <et> ⁴(2) I Britannica (milliaria) c(ivium)
R(omanorum) et (3) I Ituraeor(um) et (4) I Thracum c(ivium)
R(omanorum) et (5) I Aug(usta) Ituraeor(um) et (6) I
Vindelicor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis) et (7) I
Pannonior(um) veterana et (8) I Montanor(um) et (9) II
Gallor(um) Pannonica et (10) II Hispanor(um) et (11) II
Britannor(um) (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis) et
(12) II Gallorum Macedonica et (13) III campestris c(ivium)
R(omanorum) et (14) III Cypria c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (15) V
Gallorum et (16) VIII Raetorum⁵ et sunt in Dacia sub D. Terentio
Scauriano, quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis emeritis
dimissis honesta missione a Iulio Sabino⁶,
quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum
civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent,
cum est civitas iis data, aut, siquid⁷ caelibes essent cum iis, quas
postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.
pr. idus Oct. C. Iulio Proculo, C. Aburnio Valente cos.⁸
coh(ortis) I Montanor(um)⁹, cui praest Cornelius Felicior¹⁰, ex
pedite M. Herennio M. f. Polymita, Berens(i)¹¹, et Ianuario f.,
eius¹², et Marcello f. eius⁷, et Lucanae fil. eius¹³.
Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula⁷ aenea, quae fixa est Romae
in muro post templum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.*

Ti. Iuli Urban[i]; P. Corneli Alexandr[i]; L. Pulli Verecundi; P.
Atini Amerimmi; C. Iuli Parati; C. Tuticani Saturnini; M. Iuli
Clementis¹⁴.

1. Tabella II of this diploma was shown in January 1987, to Professor M. Mirkovic, who published it in *ZPE* 70 (1987) 189-194. Because of the findspot and unit of the recipient she attributed it to Moesia superior. Together with the first tablet the diploma went into a private collection via the art market. The present owner, Herr Guttmann, allowed Dr. Garbsch to publish the complete text. A brief commentary was also delivered to the 1989 Limes Congress (See Maxfield & Dobson edd. (1991) 281-284).
2. (ala) I Flavia Commagenor(um) sagittaria intus. There is no record of either a first or second ala with the epithet Flavia. The only known ala I Commagenorum (not registered as sagittaria) was in Egypt in the first century. It was transferred to Noricum by the early second century, where it remained (*CIL* XVI 52; *RMD* 93). J. Garbsch suggests that the ala could have been confused with the homonymous cohort, which appears 14th in the cohort list of the Dacian diploma of 110 (*CIL* XVI 163); in which case we lack the name of the second ala in this diploma. However, Vespasian had 1000 cavalry and 2000 foot archers in Judaea in 69, contributed by Antiochus IV of Commagene (Josephus *B.J.* iii. 66). There is also the possible mention of a (co)h(ors) Fl(avia) Comm. (milliaria) sag. in a new reading of a diploma of Mauretania Tingitana of 154 (*RMD* 48, Notes on the Chronology 49*+48). There may have been more Commagenian units in the auxilia than are attested at present. Mounted archers would have been an appropriate component of Trajan's army in his Parthian expedition, either to be lost there or perhaps remaining in an Eastern province.
3. The presence of *cohors I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata* c. R. on this diploma before the issue of *CIL* XVI 160 in 110 draws attention to the singularity of the issue of this "special" diploma. See Further Notes on the Chronology 15*160).
4. ET is repeated through dittography on lines 8/9 extrinsecus.

5. J. Garbsch constructed a table showing that of the 19 units recorded in this diploma 9 appear in one of the Dacian diplomas of 110 (February 2, - *CIL* XVI 57) and 13 are listed in the other (July 2, - *CIL* XVI 163), while there is an overlap of 3 units with the similarly dated diploma of Pannonia inferior (*CIL* XVI 164); cf. H. Nesselhauf *CIL* XVI, p. 223 and 224.
6. J. Garbsch suggests that Iulius Sabinus was either the successor of Pompeius Longinus (Dio 68. 12, 1-5; cf. Strobel (1984) 75) and predecessor of Scaurianus, and thus the first governor of Dacia, or perhaps an officer of lower rank eg. an equestrian commander, who had been given the task of initiating the discharge of participants in the Dacian wars (Tacitus *Annals* I, 37; and P. Oxy. 1204 of AD 299). C. Petolescu (1990a) 91-2; (1990b) 267-8) identifies Iulius Sabinus with the unknown subject of an acephalous inscription from Rome (*CIL* VI 1444 = *ILS* 1022), and points out that the scale of the decorations of this person were "deux fois plus grand que celui d'un ancien consul ..." He believes that, since the command of an auxiliary unit lasted approximately three years and the present tense (*cui praest*) is used for Cornelius Felicior as commander of *coh. I Montanorum*, Sabinus should still have been governor of Dacia in 107. The formula *dimissis honesta missione a* has been noted hitherto only in *CIL* XVI 43 of 98; (but see *RMD* 140 note 4 and Further Notes on the Chronology 6*41). The space between *Iuli* and *o* ext., and between *Pannonior* and *veterana* int., indicates that the tablet was already damaged before the engraving took place.
7. The last letters of *siqu[i]*, *ei[u]s* and *tabul[a]* are missing int.
8. C. Iulius Proculus *PIR*² IV, 3, I 497; C. Aburnius Valens *PIR*² II p. IX no.21b. These two consuls, as in *CIL* XVI 161 issued to the auxilia of Mauretania Tingitana on the same day, are given in the reverse order from that used on 1 September 109 in *Fasti Ostienses*² (Vidman (1982) 47). This type of reversal has been noted in other diplomas (cf. *RMD* 6, note 5 and 100, note 6). It does not appear to have any special significance.
9. Strobel (1984) p. 140 believes that *cohors I Montanorum* was first in Noricum, in Pannonia by AD 85 (*CIL* XVI 31) and transferred to Moesia at the time of Domitian's Dacian War. There is now clear evidence for the existence of at least two, *cohortes I Montanorum* (see *RMD* 160 (136/7), *CIL* XVI 87 (139) and *RMD* 173 (160) of Syria Palaestina, *CIL* XVI 111 (159/160) and *RMD* 55 (161) of Moesia superior and *CIL* XVI 175 (139), 179/180 (148), *RMD* 102/103 (157) and *CIL* XVI 123 (167) of Pannonia inferior). One of these acquired *civium Romanorum* (*CIL* XVI 42 of AD 98, Pannonia; and *CIL* XVI 46 of AD 100, Moesia superior), but there is no further record of this distinction. It does not appear here but see note 10. (The *cohortes Montanorum* will be discussed fully elsewhere).
10. It is unusual for the name of an equestrian commander to lack a praenomen in a diploma of this period, but there are other examples (cf. *RMD* 86, note 10). Cornelius Felicior is otherwise unrecorded. M. Mirkovic lists known commanders of *cohors I Montanorum* (*ZPE*, 70 p. 192, note 17).
11. The form of the name of the recipient points to the possibility of Roman citizenship, as remarked both by M. Mirkovic and J. Garbsch. It may be that M. Herennius Polymita, who was recruited at latest in AD 84, obtained citizenship in the unit which qualified for *civium Romanorum* perhaps during Domitian's Dacian war (see note 9 above). Alternatively, M. Mirkovic suggests that, in spite of the difference in praenomina, he may have obtained citizenship through the patronage of L. Herennius Saturninus who was governor of Moesia superior (103/105), cf. *CIL* XVI 54, which also names *cohors I Montanorum*. The cognomen Polymita/as is not hitherto recorded in this form. His home could be Beroe, or Beros - both in Thrace, as she believes, or Beroia in Macedonia, or even Beroea in Syria, as J. Garbsch remarks.

In any case the veteran appears not to have settled near his original home.

F. EIVS omitted *intus*.

Two sons and a daughter, with romanised names are added but no wife. Perhaps the mother of the children was dead.

14. The names of these witnesses are well attested in this period. The first six appear in Dacian diplomas of AD 110 (CIL XVI

160 and 163), although not in the same order.

The witness *M. Iulius Clemens* replaces *M. Iunius Eutychus*, who signed at seventh place in both lists of 110.

Photographs *BVbl.* 54, Taf. 10 -11.

Ann. ép. 1987 no 854, tabella II.

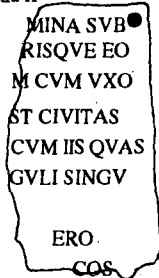
Ann. ép. 1990 no. 860, complete diploma.

149 IMP INCERTVS INCERTO

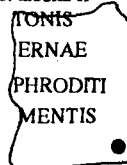
ca. 82-112

Published K.-H. Dietz *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 53 (1988) 137-139. Found, December 1986, in the vicus of the fort at Pforring, Ldkr. Eichstätt, Upper Bavaria. Present location Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München, Inv. Nr. 1988, 3066. Fragment of tabella II which had partially fused in antiquity. Maximum height 7 cm, width 4.2 cm, thickness 1.5-2 mm.

intus: tabella II



extrinsecus: tabella II



5

[*Imp.*]

equitibus et peditibus qui¹

et in *sub*²

sis honesta missione, quorum no]mina sub[scripta sunt,
liberis poste]risque eo]rum civitatem dedit et conubiu]m
cum uxo]ribus quas tunc habuissent cum e]st civitas [iis data,
aut, si qui caelibes essent.] cum iis quas [postea duxissent
dumtaxat sin]guli singu]las. a.d. ?

.....]ERO

.....]cos³

.....]tonis; [L. Valeri Bast]ernae; L. Pulli? Epa]phroditi; [L. Iuli Cle]mentis.⁴

The find-spot in the vicus of a fort suggests that this is an auxiliary rather than a fleet diploma, although at the presumed date both types of diploma carried almost identical formulae.

Perhaps a diploma of Raetia, but possibly brought to Pforring by a veteran, or his descendant, from another province.

K.-H. Dietz pointed out that the date of issue of the diploma should lie before 138, since the names of the consuls are given on separate lines on the inner face. This is not conclusive, see for example *CIL* XVI 113 and 124, but there are other pointers to an early date. Probably it should be placed before 129, as most (but not all) diplomas after that date end the main formula on inner face of the first tablet, leaving only the date and individual details of the recipient and his unit for tabella II (see *RMD* 181 note 10). Further, the lack of abbreviations on the preserved section of the inner face suggest a date before 114, since after this abbreviations became common, cf. *CIL*

XVI 61. K.-H. Dietz examined the names of several consular candidates - either V]erus or Sev]erus of the period suggested by the witness names, but concluded that it is not yet possible to fix a firm date through such fragmentary indications (*BVbl.* 53, 138-139). He therefore proposed a date within the outer limits suggested by the witnesses and some of the possible consular names, i.e. 82-112.

4. The diploma clearly belongs to the period before witnesses signed in a fixed order, which again supports a date before 134/138; cf. Morris & Roxan (1977). K.-H. Dietz suggested that the cognomen of the fourth witness (the first name that is partially preserved) is either [Capi]tonis or [Fron]tonis. [Chari]tonis would probably spread out further to the right, and the only known example of this name, *RMD* 19 of 121, appears appreciably later than the date range of the other witnesses. [N]umerius Capito is known from a diploma of AD 86, Ti. Iulius Fronto from AD 88 (*CIL* XVI 32 and 159, respectively). As far as may be ascertained, the other witnesses belong similarly to the late first or early second centuries: L. Valerius Basterna - AD 98 (*CIL* XVI 42) as also L. Pullius Epaphrodotus, although A. Ampius Epaphrodotus may be in question since he signed in 100 and 109 (*CIL* XVI 46, *RMD* I Appendix). The name Iulius Clemens appears with two separate praenomina, M. and C. The former signed between 105 and 109 (*CIL* XVI 50, 161, *RMD* 8, 9 and 148); the latter appears from 82 to 90 (*CIL* XVI 28, 30, 36). See Witness index, period 2.

Photographs *BVbl.* 53, Taf. 14,1.

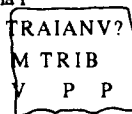
Ann. ép. 1988 no. 901.

150 TRAIANVS LAVO

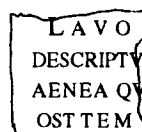
c.a. 103-112

Published W. Eck *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 91 (1992) 233-235. Seen in possession of a dealer in antiquities in Köln, later in London; present whereabouts unknown. Bottom left-hand corner of tabella I. Height 3.2 cm, width 3.4 cm, thickness 0.5-0.7 mm, weight 8 g.

intus: tabella I



extrinsecus: tabella I



[Imp. Caesar, divi Nervae f., Nerva] Traianu<s>¹ [Aug(ustus)
German(icus) Dacic(us), pontif(ex) maxi]m(us), trib(unicia)
[potest(ate), imp(erator), cos]V,² p(ater) p(atriae)
[auxiliarii aut classici³ qui militant aut militaverunt⁴ in
quorum nomina subscripta sunt etc.]

Lavo [..... f.,]⁵

Descriptu[m et recognitum ex tabula] aenea qu[ae] fixa est Romae
in muro p[ost] tem[plum] divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam]

1. In the published photograph (and through personal inspection) there appears to be a curved stroke after the V of TRAIANV, which is certainly not a true S, but nevertheless seems to be more than a chance mark. The inner face is rather carelessly engraved and this may be an attempt to fit in the final letter of the emperor's name.
2. W. Eck points out that the numeral V can only be part of the iteration number of Trajan's consulship. It cannot be part of the number of imperial acclamations since, when this preceded p(ater) p(atriae) in the early Trajanic period, the consular number came at the end of the line after p. p. He further argues that the numeral is most unlikely to be IIIV as the numeral four is always indicated by IIII in this period. These observations limit the time of issue of the diploma to the period 103/112, but the general appearance of the fragment, particularly the less careful script and the abbreviations [maxi]m. and trib. (although not in themselves conclusive), suggest that it may belong to the later rather than the earlier part of this period.
3. W. Eck remarks that it is uncertain whether this fragment was part of an auxiliary or a fleet diploma; see further note 5 below.

4. This may be an Alföldy-Mann Type III diploma as it falls within the period when Type II was being phased out.
5. Lavo is undoubtedly the name (or part of the name) of the recipient of the diploma. Although the spacing is fairly wide, the gap between the O of Lavo and the broken edge is perceptibly greater than that between the letters constituting the name. Lavo is known as a Dalmatian feminine name (Mócsy et al (1983) 160), but wives and children of veterans, when included, are always preceded by ET and there is a blank space above the name on the right, indicating that there were no letters immediately above it. This suggests that the rank of the recipient *ex-pedite/equite/gregale* lay on the preceding line. W. Eck notes that the masculine form Lavus is also found in Dalmatia (Mócsy et al (1983) 161; G. Alföldy (1969) 228 and 337) and Lavo would be appropriate as the dative. This is the sole clue to the possible findspot of the fragment. Like so many other recent unprovenanced diplomas it may have come from Yugoslavia, since the majority of diplomas are found either in the province of service and/or the home of the recipient. As W. Eck suggests, it could therefore have been part of an issue to the auxilia of one of the Danubian provinces, perhaps Dalmatia, Pannonia or Moesia superior. However, it is worth noting that Starr, (1960) 74-76, found that 43% of sailors of the Ravenna fleet were drawn from Dalmatia in the period 71-211. This could also be a diploma of a praetorian fleet.
6. It seems unlikely that the word POST is divided between lines 3 and 4 although this is a carelessly written inner face. The letter P may be hidden due to corrosion at the beginning of line 4; part of the A of aenea on the line above is faint for this reason.

Photographs ZPE, 91, Taf. 7, c) & d).



Fig. 3(a): Drawing of 150 tab. I int.

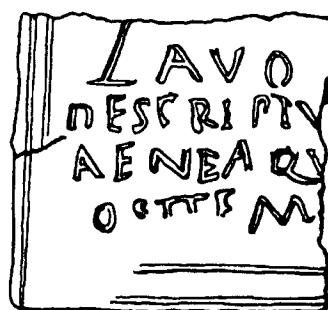


Fig. 3 (b): Drawing of 150 tab. I ext.



(a) tabella I inner face



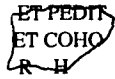
(b) tabella I outer face

151 IMP INCERTVS INCERTO

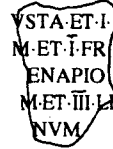
ante a.114

Fragment of tabella I found in October 1993, on arable ground near the village of Delwijnen, comm. Kerkwijk, in the province of Gelderland, The Netherlands, together with finds dating to 1st - 3rd centuries. There is evidence of a native settlement here. A short notice concerning the fragment will be published in *Archeologische Kroniek van Gelderland* 1993, forthcoming December 1994¹ Height 2.65 cm; width 2.1 cm; thickness 0.6 mm.* The find will be deposited in Museum Kam, Nijmegen.

intus: tabella I



extrinsecus: tabella I



5

[Imp. Caesar, divi Nervae f., Nerva Traianus Augustus⁷².....etc. equitibus] et peditibus qui militant aut militaverunt⁷³ in alis⁴] et coho[rtibus]⁵ quae appellantur (1) H[ispanorum Vettonum c(ivium) R(omanorum)]⁶ et et Augusta⁷ et I [ca. 26.....]m⁸ et I Fr[isiavonum] et ca. 13.....⁹ et I M[enapio]rum ca. 20.....]m¹⁰ et III Li[ngonum] et ca. 8-10¹¹ et III Lingo]num¹² [et¹³ et sunt in Britannia sub.....etc.¹⁴

- News of this fragment was sent to me by Drs. R. S. Hulst, provincial archaeologist of Gelderland, to whom I am most grateful. It arrived as I was closing the entries for this volume, but because the units named show this to be a diploma of Britain (see also note 14), and since Drs. Hulst has asked me to publish it, I have included it as the last diploma brought to my attention in 1993. The transcript and interpretation are based upon the notes and reading supplied by Drs. Hulst, supplemented by excellent photographs and drawings.
- Drs. Hulst suggests, probably correctly, that the fragment is Trajanic in date, partly because of the disposition of the lines on the inner face. It certainly predates AD 114, when marked abbreviations begin to appear on both faces of diplomas (see note 8). Nevertheless, the preserved names of units demonstrate that it is not another example of one of the known Trajanic issues of Britain. These issues of 98, 103 and 105 (*CIL* XVI 43, 48 and 51) were suggested as reflecting legionary command areas by E. Birley (1952-3). He produced arguments for placing the auxilia listed in 98 and 105 in the area of the 20th legion at Chester and that of 103 in the area of the 2nd legion at Caerleon. He further showed that the lists of the two commands were almost certainly mutually exclusive. However, the list of the new fragment appears to overlap these commands since *cohors I Frisiavonum* is found in the diploma of 105, and *cohors III* or *III Lingonum* and *ala Hispanorum Vettonum* in that of 103. One possibility is that the new diploma belongs to the period 106-114, when some re-location of units had taken place. There is perhaps another explanation, see notes 4 and 5.
- If this was issued before ca. 110 it is likely to be Alföldy-Mann Type I or II, as are all the other known Trajanic diplomas of Britain, after this it should have been issued to veterans only.
- Like all extant diplomas of Britain, with the exception of *CIL* XVI 69, this example contained only a partial list of the provincial auxilia. A calculation based upon the space required for *equitibus* to the left of the fragment on the inner face, shows that there would be room for 7 lines of lettering above the first line of the outer face. In a diploma with few if any abbreviations Trajan's titles normally occupy only 3 lines, just over two lines more would be taken up by the formula *equitibus* *appellantur*, this would leave approximately 2 lines for the names of *alae* before the first line preserved of the outer face, which contains the letters AVG]VSTA. Four more probably, five *alae* could have been named.
- The cohort list appears to have been ordered numerically as in all extant diplomas of Britain save one (*RMD* 184). If this list began immediately after [Aug]usta (line 1 ext.) there would be space for, at most, 10 cohorts down to, and including, [III Lingo]num (see notes 8, 9, 10). Even if every cohort, attested as part of the British garrison, with a numeral equal to or higher than IIII was listed following this there would be a total of fewer than twenty cohorts. However, it is unlikely that all this category were included and there is no certainty that [Aug]usta is the last of the *alae*. Assuming a length of ca. 36-37 letters for lines 1-3 on the inner face (which agrees with the space available if no abbreviations were used) and that the partial letter at the beginning of line 3 is the final letter of [appellantu]r (note 6) there is room for 10-11 letters between *coho[rtibus]* and [quae]. The obvious possibilities here are *decem et una* or *decem et sex*. With five *alae* and eleven, or perhaps sixteen cohorts this may be a diploma covering two commands as E. Birley suggested for *CIL* XVI 70 of 124 (6 *alae* and 21 cohorts). This would account for the selection of units from both areas defined by Birley. The fact that the estimated length of the new list is shorter than might be expected may be because not every unit in both command areas had men eligible to receive the grants at the time of issue.
- The probable R appearing on the edge of the third line intus should clearly belong to *appellantu]r* since a letter count shows that there would be no room to conclude the formula and insert the name of an *ala* with C.] R. in the space available after *COHO]-* on line 2. The following H should belong to the name of an *ala* without a distinguishing numeral. Drs. Hulst suggests that perhaps *ala Hispanorum Vettonum c. R.* may be registered here.
- Drs. Hulst observes that this may be the first listing of *ala Augusta* (*ob virtutem appellata*) in a diploma of Britannia. There are three *alae* listed in diplomas which bear the title *Augusta* in their names. Two of these were also listed as *civium Romanorum* (*Augusta Vocontiorum* and (*Augusta*) *Gallorum Petriana*), which is clearly not the case here - this is not necessarily conclusive, *c.R.* is not always recorded in diplomas, although at the period in question it is more likely to appear than not. However, there is also *ala Augusta Gallorum Proculiana* and one possibility is that the single title *Augusta*, which appears in a number of inscriptions in Britain, was habitually applied to the Gallic *ala* and was transferred from common usage into an official document. On the other hand some elements of its complete title appear in all five diplomas in which it is wholly or partially recorded and, although the full names of units are not invariably given in diplomas, it would be strange on an outer face of this date (without the pressure on space as in *CIL* XVI 69) if the ethnic title that distinguished this from the other *alae Augustae* was omitted altogether, or even stranger if it preceded rather than followed the honorific *Augusta*. It is true that *ala Classiana*

ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

c. R. appears in the Sydenham and Middlewich diplomas without the qualifying *Gallorum et Thracum* (CIL XVI 51 and RMD 8) but, this was the only *ala Classiana* in Britain and there should have been no risk of confusion over which *ala* was meant. So far *ob virtutem appellata* has not been recorded on any diploma, even when it is known to have been awarded (eg. *cohors I Breucorum c.R. of Raetia*) so that its omission here need occasion no surprise (there is no certainty that it had been awarded at this date; cf. Austen & Breeze (1979) on *ala Augusta*). The problems connected with this *ala* will be discussed further elsewhere.

8. The endings of unit names seen on the outer face (-JVSTA - line 1; -JM - line 2; -JM line 4; -JNVM - line 5) indicate that no abbreviation of their titles was used, which agrees with normal practice prior to AD 114 (CIL XVI 61). Considering the rather lengthy titles of many units of Britain with the numeral I, it is unlikely that more than two units were listed here.
9. Probably one unit filled this space (see note 8).
10. Probably two units perhaps with numerals II or III (see note 8).
11. Only one unit with the numeral III or IIII.
12. *IIII Lingonum* is the only cohort based in Britain that has the ending -JNVM and a numeral higher than III and this unit may be restored here, as R. S. Hulst suggests.
13. See note 5 concerning the possibility of additional units.
14. The names of the units certainly preserved: *ala Augusta* and

cohortes I Frisiavonum, I Menapiorum, III and IIII Lingonum, demonstrate that this is a diploma of Britain. R. S. Hulst points out that Delwijn lies near the presumed border between the territories of the Frisiavones and the Batavi. It may be suggested that the recipient returned to his home like the owners of four other diplomas of auxiliaries who have served in Britannia: CIL XVI 43 (Flémalle), and 69 (Ó-Szöny), RMD 168 (*Turiaso*) and 184 (Bulgaria). Unfortunately, the tribe of the recipient cannot be inferred from the diploma. *Cohors I Frisiavonum* was certainly named but there may have been Batavian cohorts in the missing sections of the list (I, or perhaps even III or VIII - although the latter two would hardly fall within the command areas of the 2nd or 20th legions, being attested at *Vindolanda* in the Trajanic period). It is not impossible that a man from the Frisiavones or the Batavi served in a unit of another ethnic title, cf. CIL XV 164. It thus cannot be determined if the find-spot of the diploma lay in the territory of the Frisiavones or the Batavi.

owe this observation to R. S. Hulst.

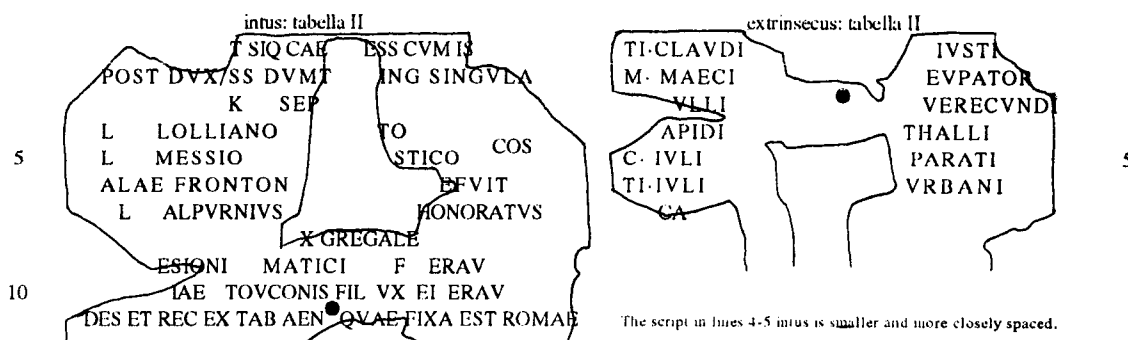
*Calculations, based on the number of preserved letters and the proposed restorations of lines, suggest that the diploma when complete would have measured approximately 15 cm by 13 cm. I must thank Mark Hassall and John Mann for discussing this diploma with me.

Photographs Pl. 2a & b.

152 TRAIANVS [-JESIONI

114 Sept 1

Published B. Lörincz, S. Petényi *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 101 (1994) 197-200. Found in 1992 in Tárnok Otházpuszt (Komitat Pest, Kr. Buda) Hungary, where a Roman settlement is known. Now in private ownership. Fragments of tabella II: height 12.1 cm width 15.2 cm, thickness 1 mm; weight 85 gm.



The script in lines 4-5 intus is smaller and more closely spaced.

[Imp. Caesar], divi Nervae f., Nerva Trai(amus) Opt(imus) Aug(ustus) Ger(manicus) Dac(icus), pont(ificex) max(imus), tri(bunicia) pot(estate) XVIII, imp(erator) VII, co(n)s(ul) VI, p(ater) p(atriciae) equit(ibus) et ped(itibus) qui militaverunt in al(is) duab(us) et coh(ortibus) sex, quae appellantur (1) I Fl(avia) Gaet(ulorum) et (2) Front(oniana); et (1) I Alp(inorum) et (2) I Mont(anorum) et (3) I Alp(inorum) et (4) I Lus(itanorum) et (5) II Aug(usta) Nerv(ia) Pac(ensis) (milliaria) Brit(tonum) et (6) III Lus(itanorum), et sunt in Pan(nonia) infer(iore) sub P. Afr(anio) Flaviano, item ala I Fl(avia) Aug(usta) Brit(annica) (milliaria) civ(ium) R(omanorum) miss(a) in expedit(ionem), quin(is) et vic(enis) plur(ibusve) stipend(is) emer(itis) dim(issis) hon(esta) missione,¹ quor(um) nom(ina) subsc(ripta) sunt, ipsis liber(is) poster(isque) eor(um) civi(tatem) ded(it) et con(ubium) cum ux(oribus), quas tunc hab(uissent) cum est civ(itas) is data, auct, siq(ui)

cae(libes) e]ss(ent), cum is [quas] post(ea) dux[i]ss(ent) dum[ax(at) s]ing(uli) singula[s].² k. Sep[ti]. L. Lolliano [Avi]to³. L. Messio [Ru]stico⁴ cos. alae Fronton(ianae)⁵ [cui] praefuit L. [C]alpurnius Honoratus,⁶ [e]x gregale [M]jesioni Matici f., Erav(isco)⁷. [et ...] iae Touconis fil(iae) ux(ori) eius, Erav(iscae)⁸. Des(cryptum) et rec(ognitum) ex tab(ula) aen(ea) quae fixa est Romae.

Ti. Claudi Iusti, M. Maeci Eupator[is], [L. P]ulli Verecundi, [Q.] Apidi Thalli, C. Iuli Parati, Ti. Iuli Urbani, [P.] Ca[uli] Vitalis.⁹

1. I must thank both Dr. Lörincz and Dr. Petényi for sending me their manuscript prior to publication and allowing me to include it in this volume. The description of the diploma and the determination of the consuls is by S. Petényi and the restoration

and commentary by B. Lörincz. The titles of Trajan, the province and governor have been restored through a comparison with *CIL* XVI 61, since the names of the unit and its commander are identical with those of that diploma. As B. Lörincz comments, this diploma should also have listed two *alae* and six cohorts. The units restored are based entirely upon his transcript, which itself is reconstructed from the inner face of *CIL* XVI 61. There are three other diplomas of this issue two of which were found at Carnuntum (*CIL* XVI 61 and *RMD* 87), the third (*RMD* 153) is of unknown provenance. There is a degree of uncertainty about a fourth fragment, which was issued under the same consuls, but where the name of the recipient and his unit is not preserved. This may have been found either at Carnuntum or in Yugoslavia (*RMD* 154).

CIL XVI 61 is usually cited as the first diploma to show marked abbreviations in the formula and unit titles, particularly on the inner face. This diploma confirms the change at the time of its issue, with similar but not identical abbreviations in the preserved section. Close inspection of the photographs reveals that the two examples were not written by the same hand.

3. L. (Hedius Rufus) Lollianus Avitus: *PIR*² IV 2, H 39.
4. *PIR*² V 2, M 521.
5. The history of this *ala* has been traced by Lörincz (1990). He suggests that the *ala* lay first at Aquincum and then at Carnuntum. This diploma confirms the evidence of *CIL* XVI 61

that at the end of the 80's the unit lay at Campona, which lies in Eraviscan territory (see further note 7 below).

6. Lörincz points out that L. Calpurnius Honoratus, formerly praefect of *ala Frontoniana*, is also recorded as its commander in July 110 (*CIL* XVI 164). Cf. the comment by Nesselhauf *CIL* XVI Suppl. p. 224, note 6 concerning the use of *praefuit*. See now Devijver (1976→) *Tomus* I C 55; Alföldy (1986) 422, suggesting a possible African origin.
7. Lörincz suggests that the name of the recipient should be restored as Mesio, since that name is attested in Pannonia (*RIU* 899). He further argues that the *ala* had been transferred to Intercisa by 105, where it still lay at the time of issue of the diploma, and that on discharge Mesio had returned to his native area, where he had been recruited. (See Roxan (1989) for the significance of find-spots of auxiliary diplomas; M. P. Speidel (1986) on soldiers' homes).
8. The wife (whose father's name is not otherwise attested in Pannonia) was also Eraviscan, suggesting that either the "marriage" had been contracted before or during the early period of Mesio's service, or perhaps supporting the idea that ethnic links were more important than close proximity in forming such ties.
9. The witness list is identical with that of *CIL* XVI 61. Photographs *ZPE* 101, Taf. XXa and b.

153 TRAIANVS INCERTO

a. 114 (Sept. 1)

Fragment of a diploma in the collection of Axel Guttman, Berlin¹. Triangular top left hand corner of tabella I. Maximum height: 7.5 cm; maximum width: 5 cm; thickness ca. 1 mm. Two incised parallel framing lines run along the left and upper edges of the outer face.

intus: tabella I
IMP CAES DIVI NERVA
GER DAC PONT
VII
EQ

extrinsecus: tabella I
IMP CAESAR DIV
IMVS AVG-GER
TESTAT XVIII
EQVITIBVS ET P
BVS ET COHOR
PANOR-CAM
P-F ET I-NO
ALPINOR
FERIORE
NIS PL
SICI
NE Q
LI

5

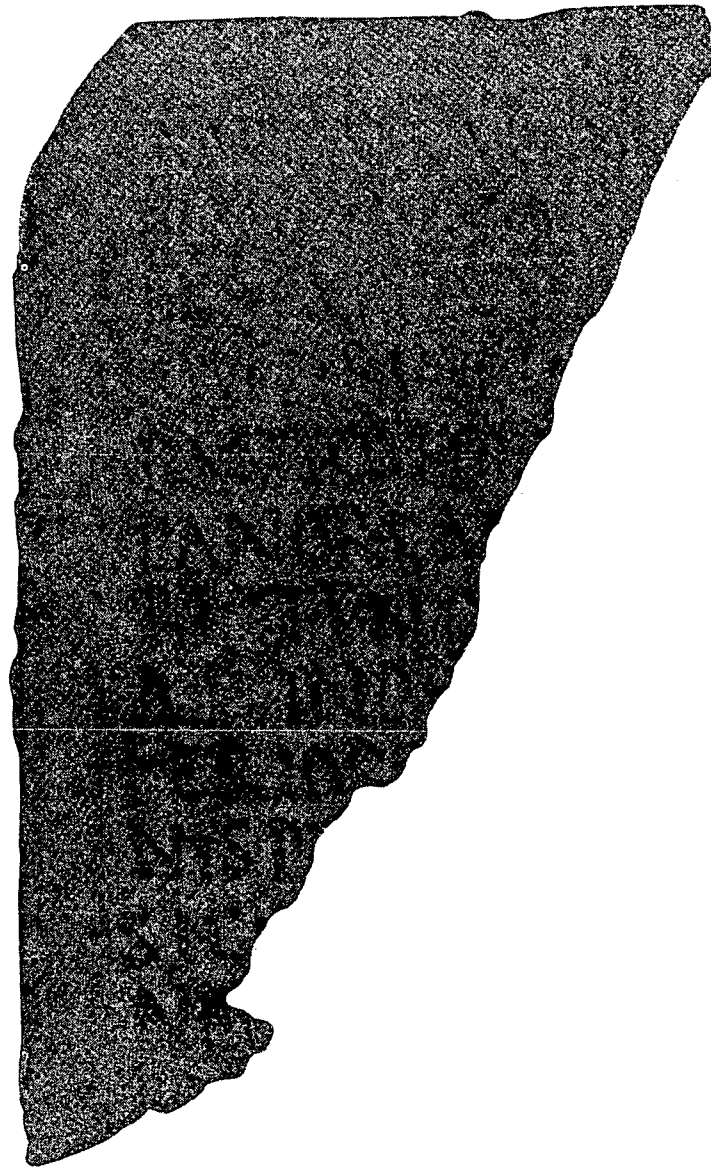
10

*Imp. Caesar, divi Nerva[e f. Nerva Traianus Opt]imus² Aug[ustus]
Ger[m]anicus]] Dac[icus], pont[ifex] [max[imus] tribunic[ia]
po]testat[e] XVIII³, [imp[erator]] VII, [co[n]sul] VI, p[ater]
p[atriae]]
equitibus et p[editibus qui militaverunt in alis dua]bus⁴ et
cohor[tibus sex⁵ quae appellantur (1) I His]panor[um]
Cam[pagon]um⁶ et (2) ca. 13.....⁷ et (1) I Thrac[um] c[ivium]
R[omanorum]] p[ro]p[ri]a f[idelis]⁸ et (2) I No[r]ricor[um]⁹ et (3) ca. 9 ...
.....et (4) ca. 9et (5) II Alpinor[um]¹⁰ [et (6) ca. 11..... et
sunt in Pannonia in]feriore¹¹ [sub P. Afranio Flaviano¹², quinis
et vice]nis pl[uribus]ve stipendis emeritis, item clas[sic]is¹³ senis
et vicenis¹⁴ dimissis honesta missio]ne¹⁵,
q[uorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis] li[beris] posterisque etc.*

1. I should like to thank Herr Guttman for his generosity in allowing me access to his collection, for permission to publish

this fragment and another complete diploma and for letting me examine several other previously published diplomas.

2. Trajan was voted the title Optimus by the senate in July or August 114 which, taken together with his 18th assumption of tribunician power, suggests that this diploma was issued at the same time as *CIL* XVI 61, *RMD* 87, 152 and perhaps 154. All except the last may be definitely assigned to Pannonia inferior, but see note 7 below.
3. This is certainly XVIII. The capping line of the numeral ends above the third upright stroke and there is no trace of a fourth.
4. If (cohors) I Thracum c. R. p. f. has been restored correctly as first in the cohort list there is room for the names of only two *alae* (see note 7 below).
5. Probably six cohorts may be inferred from the spacing of the lines, which have an average length of ca. 38 letters.
6. Hitherto the main evidence for this *ala* came from Dacia. It appears in *CIL* XVI 90 of February 144 in Dacia superior, and



(a) tabella I outer face

ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

in inscriptions at Veczel through to the mid 3rd C. (*Ann. ép.* 1983, no. 847; cf. *ILS* 2208). This is the first evidence for an earlier posting in Pannonia inferior. Its existence in the Flavian period now seems certain. Lack of the title *Flavia* indicates that it may have been raised even earlier, but it has not so far appeared in any provincial list.

7. The unit list differs from that of *CIL* XVI 61, especially in the inclusion of *classici*, which argues for two parallel issues of the same date; cf. *CIL* XVI 44 and 45 of Moesia inferior. The second ala could be *I Aug(usta) Ituraeor(um)*, which is found in later diplomas of Pannonia inferior but not in *CIL* XVI 61.
8. There is slight corrosion here but the restoration of *p. f.* is sure. (*cohortes*) *I Thracum c. R. p. f.* appears third in the cohort list of *CIL* XVI 164 of July 110 (Pannonia inferior), before *I Alpinorum* and *I Noricorum*. However, both of the *cohortes* *I Alpinorum* are present in *CIL* XVI 61 and neither is *p. f.* The only other certain possessor of *pia fidelis* in the list of Pannonia inferior of this date is *<III> Lusitanorum* (*CIL* XVI 164), which is also present in *CIL* XVI 61 and should not in any case head this (apparently) numerically ordered list.
9. *Cohors I Noricorum* is in the list of Pannonia inferior of 110 (*CIL* XVI 164) and in later diplomas of this province (*CIL* XVI 175, 179, 180; *RMD* 102, 103).
10. *Cohors II Alpinorum* is 7th in the cohort list of *CIL* XVI 164, of 110. It is not seen in early diplomas of Pannonia superior (AD 112 - unpublished, or 113 - *RMD* 86) but is in the lists of that province by 125 (unpublished) and appears there in later

diplomas. Presumably it was transferred to Pannonia superior between 114 and 125. It is restored here because the presence of both first cohorts of the series in *CIL* XVI 61 makes them unlikely candidates (see notes 7 and 8 above). Its position in the list also implies a numeral higher than I. *Cohors III Alpinorum* was almost certainly in Dalmatia in this period (G. Alföldy (1962) = 1987, 246).

11. The fragmentary unit names indicate Pannonia inferior rather than Germania inferior or Moesia inferior, although all three are now attested with provincial fleets in diplomas.
12. Cf. *CIL* XVI 61. For the career of this governor see Syme (1965) 347 ff. = 1971, 230-33; cf. Eck (1982) 351 note 285.
13. *Classici* are attested in diplomas of Pannonia inferior from 139 (*CIL* XVI 175) and the letters preserved suggest that they should be restored here. No doubt the Pannonian fleet had been employed during the Dacian wars.
14. The tentative restoration of the formula suggests that the term of service for sailors of the provincial fleet was included (cf. Appendix III). It has been given without *pluribusve* as this would produce too great a line length. There is a parallel for this omission in an earlier Trajanic (unpublished) diploma of Germania inferior; (cf. *CIL* XVI 26). The use of *sex et viginti* would be surprising at this date.
15. Unless some extra formula is involved the word *[missio]ne* should be restored here. The remainder of the formula has been reconstructed on the basis of the best option.

Photographs Pl. 3a & b.

154 TRAIANVS INCERTO

a. 114 (Sept. 1/Dec. 1?)

Published P. Weiß *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 74 (1988) 153-158. Findspot uncertain; originally thought to have been found in Carnuntum, but now believed possibly to have come from Yugoslavia with other antiquities (letter P. Weiß 22.1.1992). At present in private hands. Bottom left hand corner of tabella II with the fastening hole partly preserved. Height 4.0 cm, width 2.8 cm, thickness 1-1.1 mm. Height of letters: intus 2-4 mm, extrinsecus 4-6 mm.



intus: tabella II



extrinsecus: tabella II

The names of the consuls are engraved in a smaller, cramped hand.

[Imp. Caesar, divi Nervae f., Nerva Traianus Optimus Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) Dac(icus), pontifex] max(imus), tribunic(ia) potestat(e) XVIII, imp(erator) VII, co(n)s(u)l VI, p(ater) p(atriciae) equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) qui militaverunt in etc.¹..... quorum nomina etc.cum iis quas postea] duxi[ss(ent) dum taxat singuli singulas]. k(?)..... L. Lolliano Avito]² L. Mes[sio Rustico]³ cos.] coh(ortis) II (?)⁴ [.....]

Ti Iul[i Urbani]; P. Cau[li Vitalis]⁵

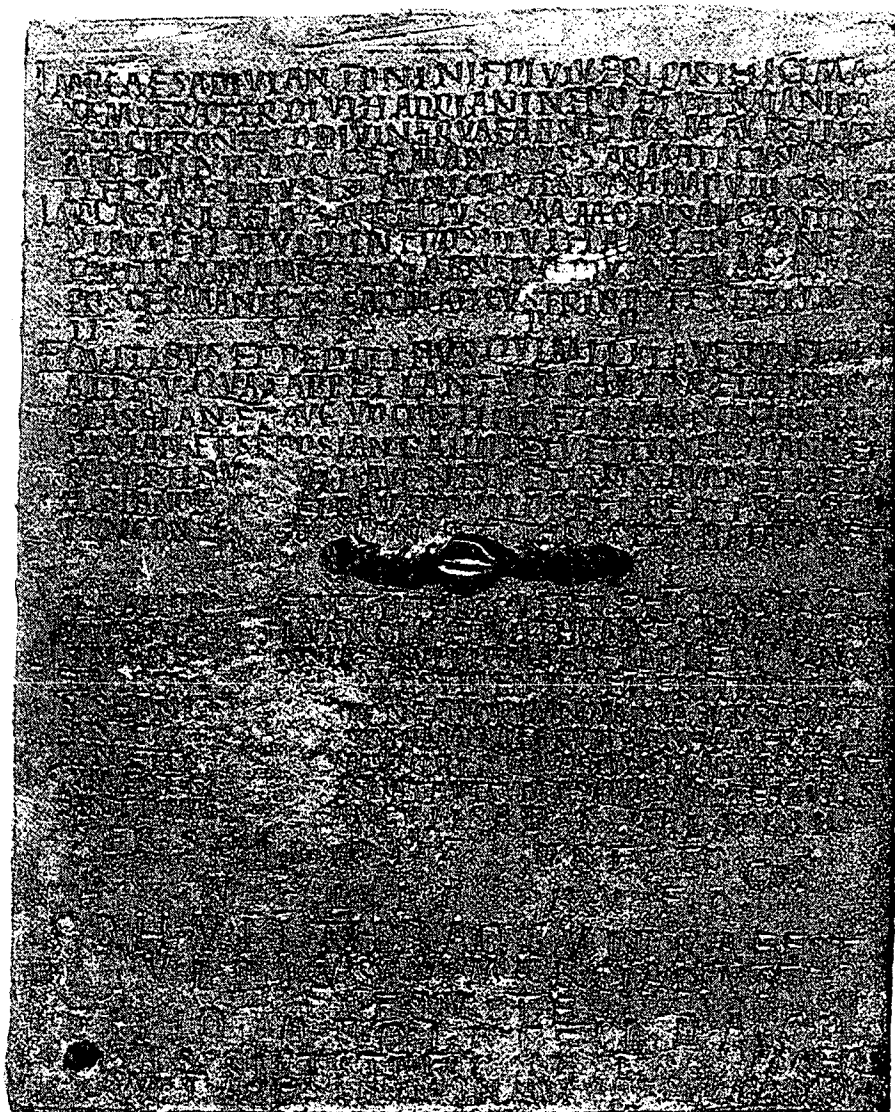
1. Trajan's titles have been restored as in *CIL* XVI 61, where the same two consuls are named. The fragmentary naming of a cohort in line 5 intus demonstrates that this is a diploma of the auxilia.
2. L. (Hedius Rufus) Lollianus Avitus, consul with L. Messius Rusticus in the last nundinum of 114; cf. *PIR*² IV 2, H 39.
3. *PIR*² V 2, M 521.
4. There is certainly a capping stroke above two possible hasta

perhaps denoting the numeral II but it could be III or higher.

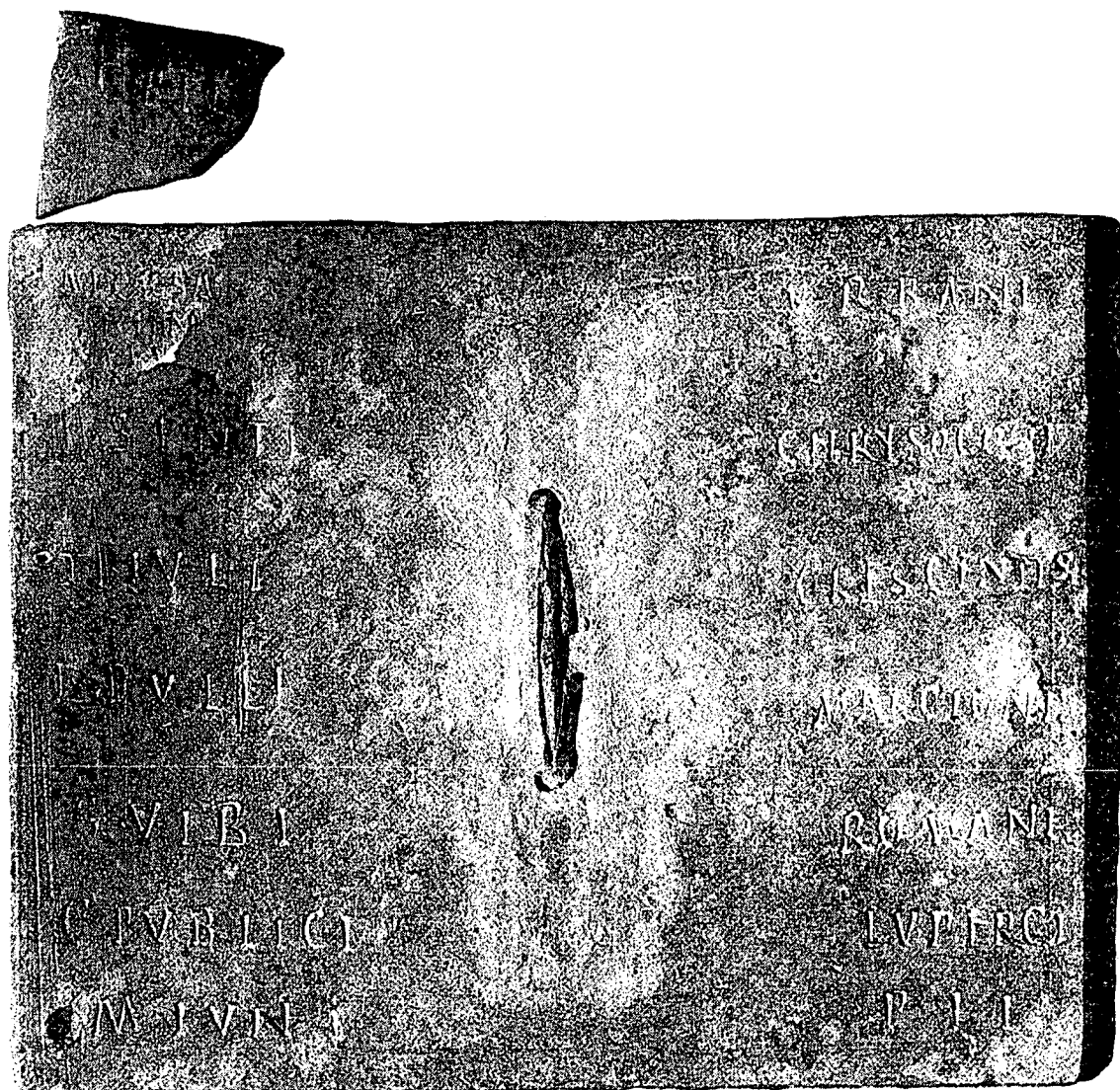
5. The names of these two witnesses may be restored with near certainty. They appear in the same order in three other diplomas of 114: in the first and second places in *RMD* 14, in the sixth and seventh places in *CIL* XVI 61 and *RMD* 152. Here once more they are in the last two positions. There are two further candidates, who appear in association with each other in three Trajanic diplomas of 105: Ti. Iulius Euphemus and P. Cauius Restitutus. However, they do not appear as a linked pair and are therefore less likely to be represented here. The close similarities between this fragment and *CIL* XVI 61 and *RMD* 152, and its probable find-spot make it tempting to assign it to Pannonia inferior and date its issue to September 1 but, in the absence of any part of the unit list, this can only be speculation. It could be a diploma of another Danubian province issued on the first day of one of the succeeding months (cf. Zs. Visy (1984, 232-3, and note 60).

Photographs ZPE 80 (1990) Taf. IV, c) & d).

Ann. ép. 1988 no. 932



(a) tabella I outer face



(b) tabella I inner face

184 M. ANTONINVS ET COMMODVS THIDO

a. 178 Mart 23

Complete diploma with binding wires in the collection of Axel Guttman, Berlin. Herr Guttman has kindly allowed this diploma to be published and I must thank him for his generosity. Because of the binding wires, only the outer faces and a very limited corner of the inner face of tabella I have been examined so far¹. Found in Bulgaria. Height 14.5 cm; width 11.3 cm; thickness and weight of each tablet not yet known. The letters on the outer face of tabella I are uniformly ca. 3 mm high apart from lines 27-32 which are 4 - 5 mm high. The initial letters of lines 1, 6 and 11 are also slightly larger. A patch of surface damage in the middle portion of the left side of tabella I. has wholly or partially obscured some letters.

There are several random scratch marks beneath the lettering of the upper third of tabella I.

intus: tabella I	extrinsecus: tabella I
IMP CAESA DIVI HAD NERV AR	IMP CAESA DIVI ANTONINI F DIVI VERI PARTHICI MA (!) XAMI FRATER DIVI HADRIANI NEPO DIVI TRAIAN PA (!) THICI PRONEPO DIVI NERVAE ABNEPOS·M·AVRELIVS ANTONINVS AVG GERMANICVS SARMATICVS PON TIFEX MAXIMVS TR BVNIC POTEST XXXII IMP VIII COS III P 5 IMP CAESAR L·AELIVS AVRELIVS COMMODVSAVG ANTON (!) NI AVG FIL DIVI PII NEPOS DIVI HADRIAN PRONEP DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI ABNEPO DIVI NERVAE/DRI (!) POS GERMANICVS SARMATICVS TRIB POTEST·III IMP II · COS · P · P · 10 EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITAVERVNT IN ALIS·V·QVAE APPELLANTVR GALLOR ET THRAC· CLASSIAN·ET AVG VOCONTIOR ET I·PANNONIOR SA BINIAN·ET SEBOSIAN GALLOR ET VETTON HISPANO·ET COHORTIBVS·XVI·I·AVG NERV ET I·FRISIAVON·ET I·AELIA 15 HISPANOR FIDA VARDVLLOR ET I·CELTIBER ET III LINGON E HISPANOR ET I·THRAC ET I·BATAVOR ET II GALLOR·ETER·ET II·THRAC·VETER ET II·LINGON ET (!) III GALLI I VANGLO ET·VII·THRAC ET I·MORINO ET SVNT IN BR NNIA SVB VLPPIO MARCELLO LEG QVINIS 20 ET VICEN SVE STIPENDIS EMERITIS DIMIS SIS HONES SIONE QVORVM NOMINA SVBSRIPT SVNT CIVIT OMANAM QVI EORVM NON HABERET D(!) (!) RVN ET CO VM VXORIB QVAS TVNC HABVISSENT CVM EST C S DAT AVT CVM IS QVAS POSTEA DVXIS 25 SENT DVM SINGVLIS · A D · X · KAL·APRILL (!) SER · S · CIPIONE · ORFITO · D · V E L I O R V F O · COS COH · VII · THRAC · CVI PRAEEST V L P I V S M A R C I A N V S 30 EX EQVITE THIDO ROLAE FIL DACO ● DESCRIPT ET RECOGNIT EX TABVA AERE (!) QVE FIXA EST ROM IN MV POS T DIV AVG AD
intus: tabella II	extrinsecus: tabella II
Not available	C·BELL L·SENTI TI·IVLI L·PVLLI S·VIBI C·PVBLICI ● M·IVNI V R B A N I CHRYSO GONI CRESCENTIS MARCIONIS ROMANI LVPERCI 40 P I I

Lines 27 - 32 are in larger script and more carelessly engraved.

*Imp. Caesa(r), divi Antonini f., divi Veri Parthici max<i>mi²
frater, divi Hadriani nepo(s), divi Traiani Pa[r]thici²
pronepo(s), divi Nervae abnepos, M. Aurelius Antoninus
Augustus Germanicus Sarmaticus, pontifex maximus,
tr[i]bunic(ia)² potest(ate) XXXII³, imp(erator) VIII⁴, co(n)s(ul)
III, p(ater) <p(atriae) et>⁵
Imp. Caesar L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus Aug(ustus) Anton[i]ni²*

*Aug(usti) fil., divi Pii nepos, divi Hadrian(i) pronep(os) divi
Traiani Parthici abnepo(s) divi Nervae <adne>pos⁶,
Germanicus Sarmaticus, trib(unicia) potest(ate) III, imp(erator)
II, co(n)s(ul), p(ater) p(atriae)
equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in alis V, quae appellantur
(1) Gallor(um) et Thrac(um) Classian(a) et (2) Aug(usta)
Vocontior(um) et (3) I Pannonior(um) Sabinian(a) et*

(4) *Sebosian(a) Gallor(um) et (5) Vetton(um) Hispano(rum)*⁷ et cohortibus XVI⁸ (1) *I Aug(usta) Nerv(iorum)*⁹ et (2) *I avon(um) et (3) I Aelia Hispanor(um)*¹⁰ [et (4) *I fida ullor(um) et (5) I Celtiber(orum) et (6) III Lingon(um)*² et (7) *I Hispanor(um)*¹¹ et (8) *I Thrac(um) et (9) I Batavor(um) et (10) II Gallorum [v]eter(ana)*¹² et (11) *II Thrac(um) veter(ana)*¹³ et (12) *II Lingon(um) et (13) III Gall(or(um) e]t (14) I Vang<i>on(um)*² et (15) *VII Thrac(um) et (16) I Morino(rum)*¹⁴ et sunt in Br[ita]nnia sub Ulpio Marcello leg(ato)¹⁵, quinis et vicens[is pluribu]sve stipendis emeritis dimissis hon[or]is[ta] mis[sione],
 uorum nomina subscript(a) sunt, civit[atem] R[omanam], qui eorum non habere[n]t² d[ede]runt² et co[n]ubium c[um] uxori(b)us quas tunc habuissent, cum est ci[ui]t[as] is dat(a), aut cum is quas postea duxissent dum[taxat] singulis.
 1. d. X kal. April<i>. Ser. Scipione Orfito, D. Velio Rufo cos. coh(ortis) VII Thrac(um) cui prae est Ulp[ius] Marcianus¹⁶, ex equite Thiodo Rolae fil. Daco¹⁷
 descript(um) et recogni(um) ex tabu[l]a aere(a) que fixa est [om]n[is] in mu[n]ro post templum div(i) Aug(usti) ad¹⁸

Belli Urbani; L. Senti Chrysogoni; Ti. Iuli Crescentis; L. Pulli Marcionis; S. Vibi Romani; C. Publici Luperi; M. Iuni Pii.¹⁹

As the binding wires are still in place it was not possible to check the reading on the inner face. In spite of this the diploma has been accepted as genuine mainly because a forger would have had to be both skillful and extraordinarily knowledgeable about diplomas in general, and the history of Roman Britain in particular, in order to produce the document. It also shows a marked similarity to three other auxiliary diplomas, which were issued within the years 178 and 179: *CIL* XVI 128 (23 Mart. 178, Lycia Pamphylia); *RMD* 185 (23 Mart. 179, Egypt); *RMD* 123 (1 April 179, Dacia superior). The dates of issue suggest that there may have been a policy of publishing the relevant *constitutiones* in the early part of the year in this period, although only *CIL* XVI 128 and this diploma were dated through the *consules ordinarii* (cf. Eck (1991) 19). Another common factor is the general appearance of the lettering, which is not very elegant, although perfectly legible. The closest similarity is between *CIL* XVI 128 and the British diploma, where the names of the consuls are closely matched in script and position, and the witness names on the outer faces of the second tablets must have been engraved by the same hand. This is not surprising since these two diplomas were issued on the same day (see Appendix V). The next comparison concerns the size of this group of diplomas. *CIL* XVI 128 is 13.1 by 11.5 cm; *RMD* 123 is 14.3 by 11.5 cm; the Egyptian example 14.5 by 11.2 cm; and the present diploma 14.5 by 11.3 cm. This agrees with a general reduction in size during the late Antonine period, although complete examples are relatively short within the relevant decade; (cf. H. Nesselhauf *CIL* XVI p. 151). The framing lines on the outer faces of all four examples are sketchy or altogether absent.

There are a number of errors on the outer face. The first *I* of *maximi* (l. 2) resembles an *A*; the *R* of *Parthici* (ll. 2-3), the first *I* of *tribunic* (l. 5) and of *Antonini* (ll. 6-7) have been omitted; the *L* of *Lingon(um)* (l. 17) resembles an *I*; the *I* of *Vangio(num)* (l. 19) is written as *L*; the *N* of *haberent* has been omitted (l. 23); the letters *EDE* have been omitted from *dederunt* (l. 23-24).

This provides confirmation for H. Nesselhauf's observation that *tribunic. potest. XXXIII* for Marcus' regnal years was inscribed in error in *CIL* XVI 128: (p. 115 note 1).

This should be *imp. VIII* in spite of the evidence of *imp VIII* on the inner face of *CIL* XVI 128 (see Appendix IV).

The second *P* of *p(ater) p(atriciae)* is omitted for Marcus although it is present for Commodus and *et* between the titles

of the two emperors is absent, both due to lack of space (see Appendix IV concerning the acclamations of Commodus).

6. It seems that the scribe had intended to write *[HA]DR[IA]NI* but realised his mistake and erased the final upright of *H* possibly to produce the *E* of *NERVAE*. <*ADNE*>*POS* is completed on the next line.
7. All five of these *alae* appear in *CIL* XVI 69 of 122. They are shown with identical titles to those listed there apart from the omission of *c. R.* for the first two and the reversal of *Gallor(um) Sebosiana*. Only the third *ala* may perhaps be restored in a diploma later than AD 122 (*CIL* XVI 93 of 145/6) but, apart from *ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana*, all have produced evidence of a later presence in Britain in inscriptions. This diploma shows that G. Alföldy, (1968) p.18, was correct in assigning the transfer of *ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana* to Lower Germany after AD 158 but it now appears to have remained in Britain at least until the latter part of the reign of Marcus. Its transfer may have occurred in the early third century when Caracalla was campaigning in Germany.
8. The *S* of *cohortibus* and the *X* of *XVI* may be seen beneath surface damage. The total number of units (21) cannot be a tally of the *auxilia* of Britain. This is a partial list like those of *CIL* XVI 43, 48, 51, 70, 82, 93 and *RMD* 151 and 168. One unusual feature is that the list of cohorts is not numerically ordered as in other British examples. Our knowledge of the garrisons of the forts of Britain in this period is not sufficiently detailed to make it possible to see a topographical arrangement in the listing, as in some Danubian diplomas.
9. *Cohors I Aug(usta) Nerv(iorum)* is one of the two cohorts in this diploma that are not in the list of *CIL* XVI 69, unless it is an abbreviated title for *I Nerv(ia) (Germanorum milliaria)* shown first in the cohort list of that diploma. There is, however, a *cohortis I Nerviorum*, which is apparently quingenary, in the British diploma of 105 (*CIL* XVI 51); otherwise attested in *RIB* 418 (Caer Gai). This unit could have acquired the title *Augusta*, but there is no further evidence for its continued stay in Britain. (I must thank J. C. Mann for this suggestion). A more detailed survey of the units named in this diploma will be published elsewhere.
10. This is the first appearance of *cohortis I Aelia Hispanorum* on a diploma of Britain. In third century inscriptions from Netherby it is attested as *milliaria*. The space between *Hispanor.* and *fida* does not seem large enough to accommodate *[et I]* but the lack of a *milliaria* sign need not be significant. *I fida Vardullorum*, which is also known to be *milliaria*, is similarly shown without any indication of strength. The *milliaria* sign was also omitted for the latter in *CIL* XVI 93 of 145/6 though not in *CIL* XVI 130 of 159(?).
11. There is now confirmation in a diploma of the long-held belief that there were two *cohortes I Hispanorum* in Britain: see E. Birley (1952-53) 19 and note 10 above.
12. There is slight damage after *II Gallor.* I had supplied *c(ivium) R(omanorum)* here but Professor Werner Eck, who has also seen the tablets, suggested *[vet]er(ana)* and further examination of the photographs confirms his reading. I am grateful to him for help in this matter (see also note 17). The unit is first attested in Britain in 122 (*CIL* XVI 69) and may have acquired its title before arriving in the province; however it has not appeared in other British inscriptions of the cohort.
3. *Cohors II Thracum (equitata)* was in Britain by 103 (*CIL* XVI 48) but this is the first use of the title *veterana*. No other second Thracian unit has been attested in Britain and the title may have been adopted elsewhere (see note 12 above). A scribal error in both cases seems unlikely.
4. *Cohors I Morinorum* is otherwise attested in Britain in (*CIL* XVI 48 and 69) and in *Not. Dig. Oc.* XL, 52. at Ravenglass.
5. In the epitome of Dio (LXXIII 8, 2) Commodus is said to have sent (επεμψε) Ulp[ius] Marcellus against the tribes, who

ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

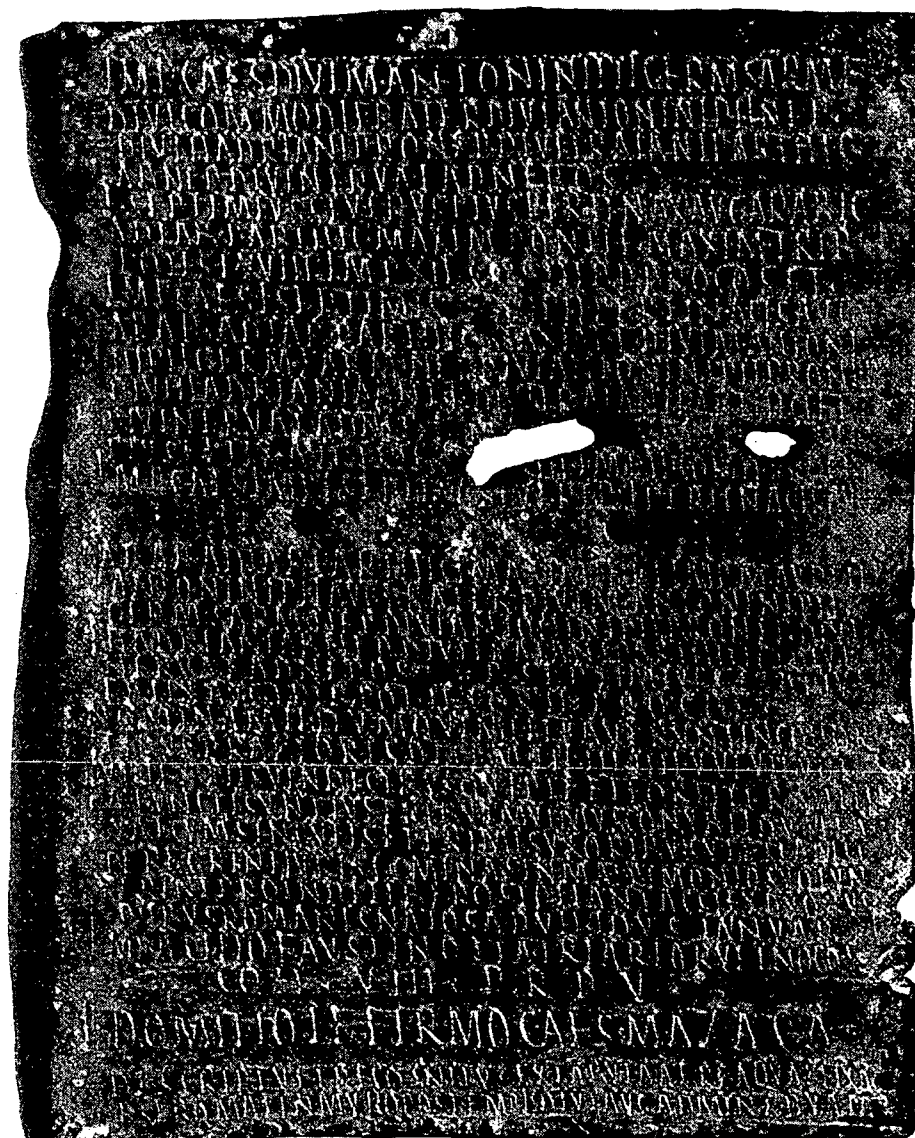
crossed the wall that separated them from the Roman legions and cut down a "στρατηγόν". Commodus claimed victory and took the title *Britannicus* in 184 and this has led to the view that Marcellus was governor of Britain solely in his reign. Ulpian Marcellus almost certainly came to Britain before 178. If he had just arrived in spring 178 soldiers of the auxilia should have received *honesta missio* under the preceding governor, who would also have been named (cf. *CIL* XVI 43 and 69). Since this is not so it must be assumed that he had been in the province at least since 177. There are several ways of reconciling Dio with this new evidence. The first is that Marcellus had an exceptionally long period as governor, equalling, if not exceeding, that of Agricola. Dio would then be implying that Commodus ordered the resident governor to act swiftly against the northern threat. This would have been in keeping with what is known of the relationship of emperor and governor. It may also have been politic for Dio to underline that the initiative came from the emperor (cf. J. C. Mann (1988) especially 135 concerning the date of Marcellus' arrival). Alternatively, Marcellus may have been governor of Britain from 177 until some time before the death of Marcus and then have been replaced by an *ignotus*. Possibly this *ignotus* was the general whom Dio describes as being cut down, which would make the situation very grave and warrant the action of Commodus in sending Marcellus back to Britain ca. 182/3, although it is otherwise unknown for a governor to serve a second term in this way. (For a discussion of this possible *ignotus* and Dio's use of στρατηγός and ἔπεμψε see A. R. Birley (1981) 135-136). Even if στρατηγός is interpreted as legionary legate such a loss would be alarming enough for Commodus to replace the *ignotus* with a good soldier who was already familiar with the province. A problem that is now solved is that of Tineius Longus, who made a dedication under two Augusti, when Ulpian Marcellus was consular governor (*RIB* 1329, Benwell). The joint emperors must be Marcus and Commodus. Tineius Longus was *praefectus equitum* when adlected to the senatorial order. He does not name his unit but it may well have been *ala I Hispanorum Asturum*, which is known as the third century garrison of Benwell (*RIB* 1337 and 1334). A further implication of the redating of the governorship of Ulpian Marcellus is that both Chesters (certainly) and Benwell (probably) had the known third century cavalry garrisons already installed in the latter part of the second century (*RIB* 1463 and 1464 record the building of an aqueduct and an unknown project for *ala II Asturum* at Chesters under Ulpian Marcellus). The first of the Chesters inscriptions was set up under a single Augustus and here again there are several possibilities. One is that Marcellus arrived in Britain in spring 176 before Commodus had been elevated as co-emperor. In this case a possible reason for the arrival of these *alae* at stations on Hadrian's Wall was the rearrangements made necessary as a consequence of the arrival of the Sarmatian cavalry in Britain in 175. The provision of extra water for a new unit at the fort in 176 fits in well with the probable timing of such a move. *Ala II Asturum* may have been previously at Ribchester (*RIB* 586) where some of the Sarmatian cavalry is thought to have been placed. The second option is that Marcellus was governor 177 - ca. 180, replaced by an *ignotus* at the beginning of the sole reign of Commodus, sent back ca. 182/3 and strengthened Chesters with cavalry after the defeat of the "barbarians". In either case it would make good sense if Virius Lupus, Britain's first governor under Septimius Severus, returned units to their former stations (albeit some only temporarily) when Severus reclaimed Britain in 197. The two Asturian *alae* (neither of which are named on this diploma) remained at Benwell and Chesters to be recorded in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Oc. XL, 35 and 38). (Dr. David Breeze discussed these possibilities with me and helped to elucidate the various options. He is not responsible for any mistaken ideas).

16. Ulpian Marcellus is not otherwise recorded in Britain and Devijver (1976→) had not previously listed this equestrian (see now Tomus 5, 2435 (12 *bis*). Presumably the command of *cohors VII Thracum* was his first militia. Perhaps he obtained this post through the patronage of Ulpian Marcellus (I owe this suggestion to Professor A. R. Birley).
17. This is the fifth diploma relating to the auxilia of Britain found outside the province (cf. *CIL* XVI 43; 69; *RMD* 151 and 168). Thiodus was Dacian, which should mean that he came from one of the Dacian provinces. However, if the diploma was found in Bulgaria there is no bar to the suggestion that the veteran returned home after his discharge. Dio (LI 22, 6-7) tells us that Dacians lived on both sides of the Danube and that those living south of the river "are called Moesians except by their neighbours". He continues that they are either a branch of the Getae or Thracians belonging to the Dacian race that once inhabited Rhodope; cf. the recipient of *CIL* XVI 13 (Nesselhauf note 2). Even at this date perhaps a man from Moesia inferior might call himself Dacus. The name Thiodus is unattested although Mócsy et al (1983) 287-8 has a number of names with the root Theod-. I originally saw the patronym as *Dolae* but now prefer Professor Eck's reading of *Rolae*. This name is not listed by Mócsy but *Roles* is recorded as king of the Getae by Dio (LI, 24, 7). Thiodus was recruited from a Danubian province (Dacia or Moesia inferior) in the early 150's to serve in *cohors VII Thracum* in Britain, this may seem surprising. The principle of local recruitment was well established in the second century (cf. the recipient of *CIL* XVI 130) and although non Britons are found in the auxilia of Britain they are often explicable through the former history of the unit concerned (eg. the Raetians serving in *cohors II Tungrorum* (*RIB* 2100) E Birley (1980) 82) and known movements of the unit of the recipient of *CIL* XVI 69) or through their recruitment from neighbouring Gaul or Germany: cf *CIL* XVI 43 and *RMD* 151. A possible reason for this recipient to have been in a unit stationed in Britain is the postulated disturbances of 154/5; he could have been among a group of transfers brought in to strengthen units or replace losses. Men from the Danubian area (Thracians in particular) were increasingly enrolled in every branch of the Roman army from the second half of the second century onwards.
18. The carelessness shown in the last section of the standard formula is rare on an outer face. Line 33 is reasonably clear but the letters on the last line are cramped and the scribe clearly has difficulty in forming them so close to the bottom edge of the tablet. The bottom line is strongly abbreviated between QVI FLXA EST and AVG AD, with *muro* reduced to MV, *post templum* shown as POS T, and MINERVAM (which would have to be placed on a further line) omitted completely. There is nothing to suggest that the bottom of tabella I had been broken or shaved off. The omission of MINERVAM is, at present, unparalleled. There is evidence which shows that in many diplomas the formulaic part of the document, including the *descriptum et recognitum* section, was engraved first leaving a blank space for the later insertion of the date, the consular names and details of the recipient. This resulted sometimes either in a different hand being used or in slight skewing or cramping of the inserted section. (see Appendix II) This is not the case here. After the standard formula the specific details concerning date, unit and identity of the recipient were written in a larger clumsy script and the *descriptum et recognitum* formula appears to have been tagged on in a smaller version of the same hand with no apparent forethought for spatial difficulties. See Nesselhauf *CIL* XVI p. 212 and Suppl. 248 on the use of *que* for *quae* (cf. *RMD* 185 note 2).
19. Marcio, Lupercus and Pius appear as witnesses of auxiliary and fleet diplomas from 178 at least up to AD 212 (See Index of Witness names, Period 3 and Appendix VI).

Photographs Pl. 4 a and b.



(a) tabella I inner face



(b) tabella I outer face

ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

191 SEVERVS ET ANTONINVS ET GETA L. DOMITIO FIRMO

a. 210 Jan. 7

Tabella I of a diploma drawn to my attention by Dr. Jochen Garbsch, to whom I am indebted for the first transcript of this diploma. Find-spot unknown. Now part of the Alice Corinne McDaniel Collection in the Department of Classics at Harvard University. Height 14.8 cm; width 11.4 cm; thickness 0.5 mm. The outer face is well preserved and legible, although there are crease lines suggesting that an attempt had been made to fold it in antiquity. There are two small areas along the second crease from the top edge where corrosion has produced holes. The inner face is very heavily corroded and only the raised metal nodules created by the engraving tool in the scooping out of individual letters remain over a large part of the surface. Probably this face was subjected to fire in antiquity. As a result it is legible only in certain areas. Possibly more could be read with radiography but the outer face supplies an almost complete text. Letters in line 1 on the outer face are ca. 4.5 mm high, thereafter the script gradually decreases in size from 4 mm to ca. 3 mm in the last line of the standard formula. Lines 29-30 contain larger letters (4-4.5 mm) and line 31, with the name of the recipient, has letters of 5-5.5 mm. I must thank Jasper Gaunt for supplying improvements to the final reading.

intus: tabella I

extrinsecus: tabella I

<p>IMP CAES DIVI M ANTONINI PII GERM SARM F DIVI COM MODI FRATER DIVI ANTONINI PII NEP DIVI HADRIANI PRONEP DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE AD NEP L SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS PIVS P////NAX AVG ///B ADIA/ 5 PARTHIC MAX PONT MAX TR● POT XVIII IMP XII COS III P P</p> <p>10</p> <p>15</p> <p>GRINI IV●NAS IN M NIO SVO IVNX PROINDE LIBERO</p> <p>20</p>	<p>IMP CAES DIVI M ANIONINI PII GERM SARM F (!) DIVI COMMODI FRATER DIVI ANTONINI PII NEP. DIVI HADRIANI PRONEP DIVI TRAIANI PARTHIC. ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS. L SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS PIVS PERTINAX AVG ARABIC. 5 ADIA B PARTHIC MAXIM PONTIF MAXIM TRIB. POTEST XVIII IMP XII COS III P P PROCOS ET IMP CAES L SEPTIMI S//ERI PII PERTINACIS AVG ARAB ADIA B PARTHIC MAXIM F DIVI M ANTONI NI PII GERM SARM NEP DIVI ANTONINI PII PRONEP 10 DIVI HADRIANI ABNEP DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI ET DIVI NERVAE ADNEP. M VS ANT NVS PIVS FELIX AVG TRIB P XIII IMP II COS III PROC ET IMP CAES IMP L SEPTIMI SEVERI PII PERTINACIS AVG ● ● ARAB ADIA B PARTHICI MAXIMI F ET IMP M AVRELLI 15 ANTONINI PII AVG FRATER DIVI M ANTONINI PII GERM SARM NEP DIVI ANTONINI PII PRONEP DIVI HADRIANI ABNEP DIVI TRAIANI PARTHICI ET DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS. P SEPTIMIUS GETA PIVS FELIX AVG TRIB POT II COS II PROCOS. 20 NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVERVNT IN COHOR TIBVS PRAETORIS DECEM I II III IIII V VI VII VIII VIII X PII S VINDICIBVS QVI PIE ET FORTITER MILITI (!) A FVNCTI SVNT IVS TRIBVIMVIMVS CONVBI DVMTA XAT CVM SINGVLIS ET PRIMIS VXORIBVS VT ETIAMSI 25 PEREGRINI IVRIS FEMINAS IN MATRIMONIO SVO IVN XERINT PROINDE LIBEROS TOLLANT AC SI EX DVOBVS (!) IVIBVS ROMANIS NATOS A D VII IDVS INNVAR (!) M ACILIO FAVSTINO ET A TRIARIO RVFINO COS COH VIII PR P V 30 L DOMITIO L F FIRMO CAES MAZACA DESCRIPTV ET RECOGNITV EX TABVLA AEREA QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE IN MVRO POS TEMPL DIVI AVG AD MINERVAM</p>
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Lines 1, and 29-31 are in larger script.

*Imp. Caesar(ar), divi M. Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) f.,
divi Commodi frater, divi Antonini Pii nep(os), divi Hadriani
pronep(os), divi Traiani Parthici(i) abnep(os), divi Nervae
adnepos,
L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug(ustus) Arabic(us)
Adiab(enicus) Parthic(us) maxim(us), pontif(ex) maxim(us),
trib(unicia) potest(ate) XVIII, imp(erator) XII², co(n)s(ul) III,
p(ater) p(atriciae), proco(n)s(ul) et*

*Imp. Caesar(ar), L. Septimi S[ev]eri Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti)
Arab(ici) Adiab(enici) Parthici(i) maxim(i) f., divi M. Antonini
Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) nep(os), divi Antonini Pii
pronep(os), divi Hadriani abnep(os), divi Traiani Parthici et divi
Nervae adnep(os), M. [Aurell]ius Ant[oni]nus Pius Felix
Aug(ustus), trib(unicia) p[ot](estate) XIII, imp(erator) II³,
co(n)s(ul) III, proc(onsul) et*

Imp. Caes(ar) Imp.⁴ L. Septimi Severi Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) Arab(ici) Adiab(enici) Parthici maximi f., et Imp.⁴ M. Aurelli Antonini Pii Aug(usti) frater, divi M. Antonini Pii Germ(anici) Sarm(atici) nep(os), divi Antonini Pii pronep(os), divi Hadriani abnep(os), divi Traiani Parthici et divi Nervae adnepos. P. Septimius Geta Pius Felix Aug(ustus), trib(unicia) p(otestate) II⁵, co(n)s(ul) II, proco(n)s(ul) nomina militum, qui militaverunt in cohortibus praetoris decem I. II. III. IIII. V. VI. VII. VIII. VIII. X piis vindicibus, qui pie et fortiter militia functi sunt, ius tribuim(us) conubii dumtaxat cum singulis et primis uxoribus, ut, etiamsi peregrini iuris feminas in matrimonio suo iunxerint, proinde liberos tollant ac si ex duobus [c]ivibus Romanis natos.

a. d. VII idus Ianuar.⁶ M'. Acilio Faustino⁷ et A. Triario Rufino⁸ cos.

coh(ors) VIII pr(aetoria) p(ia) v(index).

L. Domitio L. f. Firmo, Caes(are) Mazaca.⁹

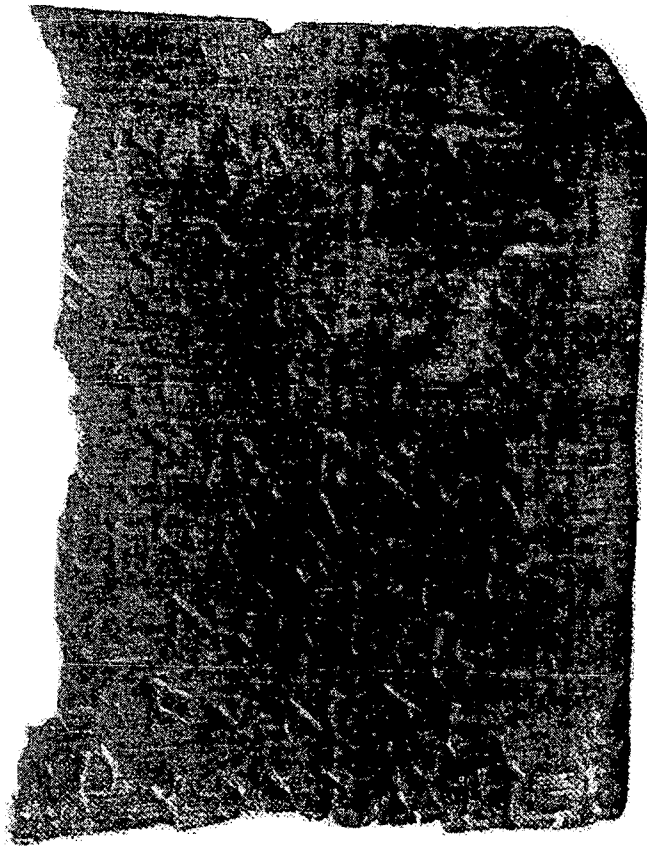
Descriptu(m) et recognitu(m) ex tabula aerea, quae fixa est Romae¹⁰ in muro pos(it) templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.

1. Anionini ext. (see note 6).
2. For a discussion of the uncertainties concerning the number of acclamations as *imperator* received by Septimius Severus see RMD 73 note 1, RMD 189 note 2. If Severus had not added to the number of officially recorded acclamations since that at Ctesiphon, it may be suggested that IMP XII in this diploma represents some new event although there can be no certainty about this since IMP XII has been found in a number of inscriptions; but see note 3 below and Appendix IV.
3. In spite of the campaigns which are suggested as having taken place in Britain during 209 Caracalla had not added to the number of his imperial acclamations according to diploma evidence. The emperors had not yet taken the title Britannicus. This agrees with the coinage, where all three are shown with BRIT. on coins of the second issue of 210 (cf. Mattingley (1950) pp. clxxvi-clxxx and 360-365). Caracalla claimed only one acclamation after the death of Severus but had added BRIT. MAX. to his titles (RMD 74 of 212). His first indication of a third acclamation in a diploma appears in RMD 131 of 214, when he also claimed GERM. MAX. (These titles appeared in the Acts of the Arval Brethren in 213 - ILS 451)
4. *Imp.* is missing from the title of Septimius Severus in the filiation of Caracalla, but in Geta's case his relationship to an imperial father and brother is emphasised by its inclusion in their titles in lines 14 and 15. Presumably this reflects an emphasis on his new status.
5. Geta is named directly as Augustus for the first time on a diploma. His title includes *trib. pot II*, which suggests that he was elevated after July 209 (cf. RMD 73 where he is not named) and entered his second regnal year on 10 Dec. 209. This evidence agrees with that of the coins (Mattingley (1950) clxxxii-clxxxiv; and cf. Ute Schillinger-Häfele (1986) 70, note 3) and contrasts with the suggestion of G. Di Vita-Evrard that Geta became emperor a year later than this (cited in A. R. Birley (1988) p. 218 no. 22). I am indebted to A. R. Birley for drawing my attention to this. A consequence of this new evidence of Geta's elevation is a reinforcement of the possibility that Severus only acknowledged eleven acclamations officially as some scholars have maintained (RMD 73 note 2). Mattingley, (1950) cxxx, pointed out that Caracalla's "proclamation as Augustus is represented by IMP as a praenomen" and "is close in time to the IMP XI of his father and probably corresponds exactly to it". It could be that Severus took the opportunity of an acclamation for campaigns in Britain in 209 to proclaim Geta as Augustus in a similar way to that of his brother eleven years earlier. This raises the question of why Caracalla did not increase the number of his acclamations at the same time. Two possible explanations may be suggested: a) Severus had decided to mark out this occasion specifically to honour Geta and so ensure his joint succession with Caracalla (perhaps it was a mark of Severus' disapproval of the conduct of his elder son, as recorded by Dio (76,14), that he did not share in this honour); b) the records concerning Caracalla in diplomas and other inscriptions are as faulty as those of Severus and in reality 209 marks his receipt of a second acclamation. The latter is probably more correct. The problems inherent in the record of acclamations of Severus and his sons are perhaps incapable of a completely satisfactory solution, but see Appendix IV for further analysis. Much of the epigraphic evidence is set out in A. A. Boyce (1949).
6. There are four scribal errors on the outer face: the T of Antoninus (line 1 ext) lacks the capping cross-stroke; VIM is repeated through dittography in *tribuimus* (l. 24); the C of *civibus* has been omitted (l. 28); and an extra stroke makes the first A of *Ianuar.* resemble an N (l. 28). This is now the first extant diploma to show January 7 as the date of issue of praetorian diplomas, which became the norm thereafter; see RMD 188, note 9 and H. Lieb (1986) 329.
7. *PIR*² I, A 57.
8. *PIR*¹ III, T 253. See J. C. Mann (1977) 15, with (1989) 4, and A. R. Birley, (1981) 173-176 suggesting that this *consul ordinarius* is unlikely to have been governor of Britannia superior in the first quarter of the third century (cf. I. A. Richmond, *JRS* 51 (1961) 191-2).
9. The recipient originated in Caesarea Cappadociae, given here its older name of Mazaca. L. Domitius Firmus may have been discharged while accompanying the emperors in Britain, under the command of Aemilius Papinianus, but it is equally possible that he ended his service in Rome being left with part of the guard under the other praetorian prefect, Q. Maecius Laetus (I owe this suggestion to A. R. Birley). Although the find-spot is unknown it is probable that he returned to Cappadocia, going home like other third century praetorian veterans (cf. Roxan, 1981, 272-3).
10. The practice of replacing *quae* with *que* and *Romae* with *Rome* is more prevalent on inner rather than outer faces in the late second and early third centuries. This diploma shows neither form on the outer face, although *post* has lost the terminal T.

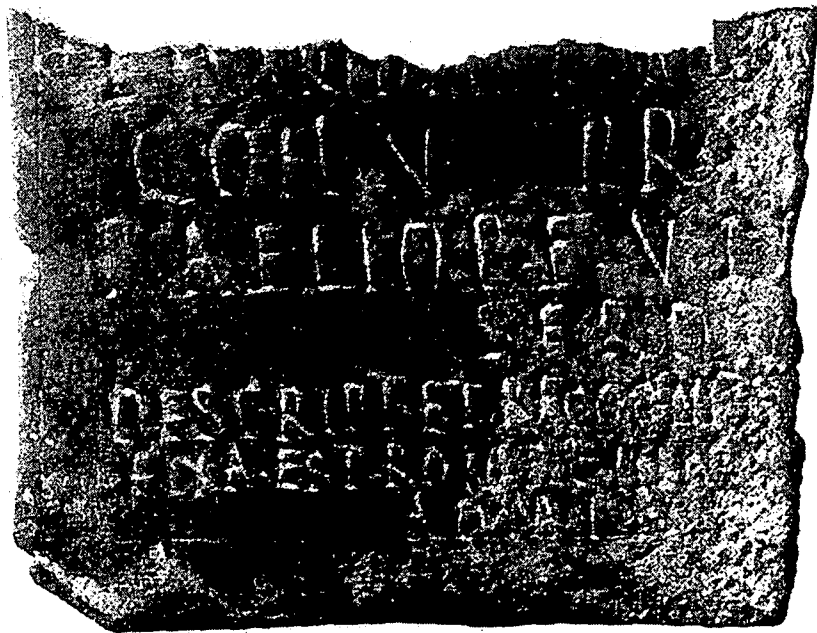
Photographs 5a and b.

PLATE 6: 193

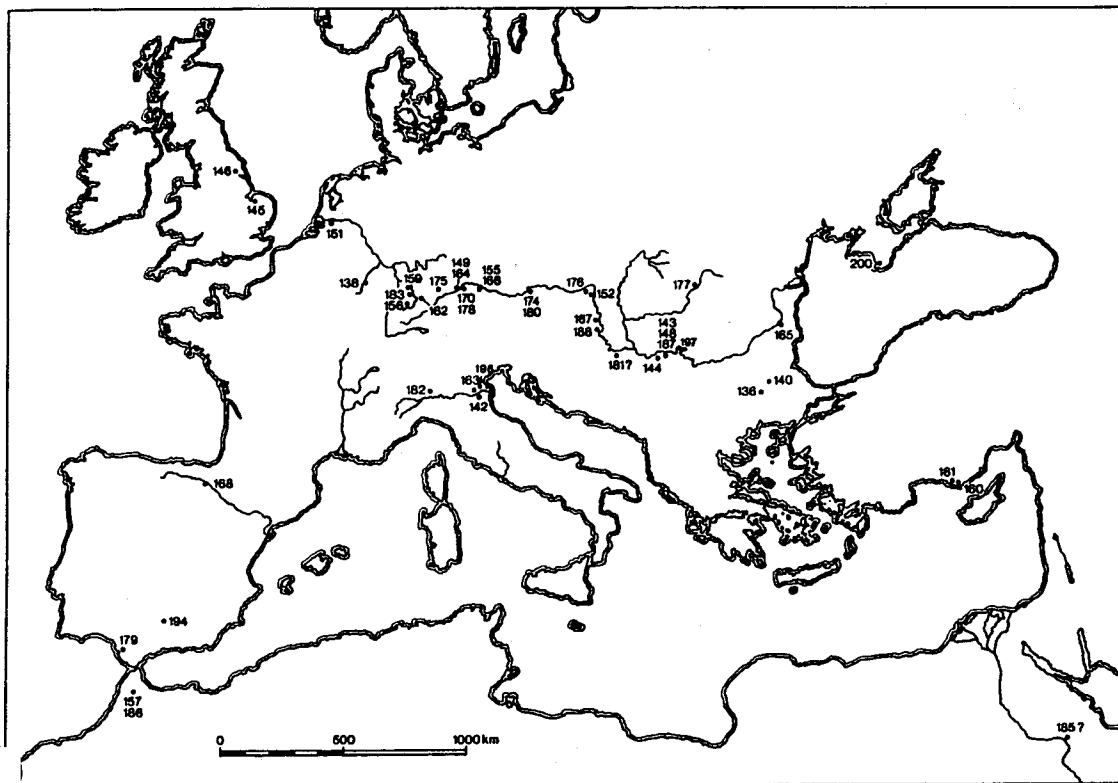
Photographs Stuart Laidlaw



(a) tabella I inner face



(b) tabella I outer face



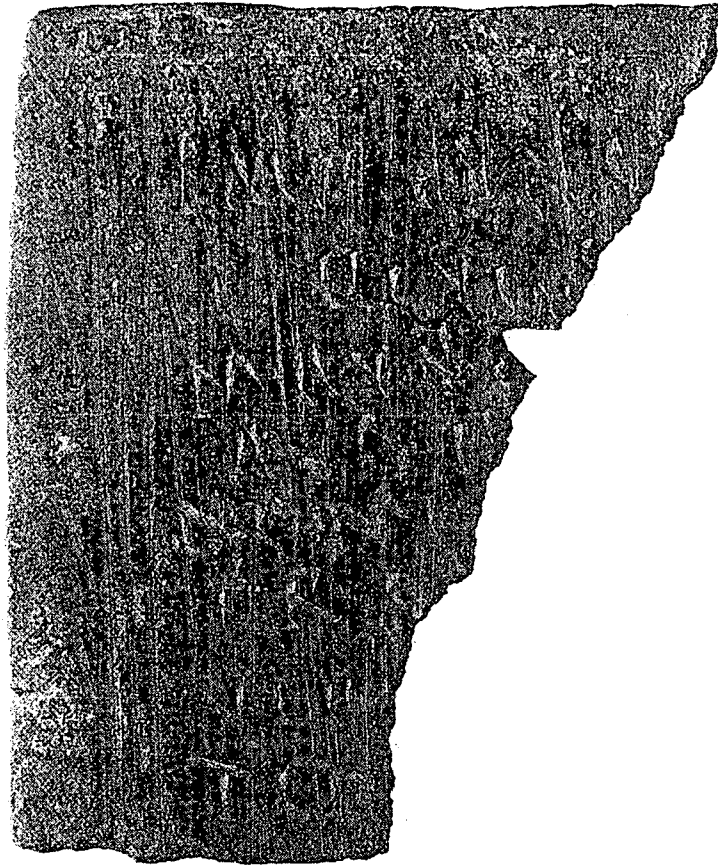
Key to sites:

AUSTRIA		GERMANY		196.	Chiunsano	TURKEY		
174.	Bad Deutsch-Altenburg	138.	Trier	MOROCCO		160.	Kalin Ören	
180.	Carnuntum	149;164	Pförring	157; 186	Volubilis	161.	Cebel İres	
BRITAIN		155;166	Künzing	NETHERLANDS		USSR - UKRAINE		
145.	Caistor St. Edmund	156.	Rottenberg am Neckar	151.		Delwijnen	200.	Chersonesus
146.	York?	159.	Bad Wimpfen	ROMANIA		YUGOSLAVIA		
BULGARIA		162.	Aalen	177.	Gilau	143.	Ranovac?	
136.	Mineralni bani	170; 178/122	Eining	SPAIN		144.	Viminacium or Margum	
140.	Pet mogili	175.	Weissenburg	137.	Utrera	148.	Ranovac	
158.	Site uncertain	183.	Walheim am Neckar	168.	Turiaso	181.	"Near Sirmium"	
165.	Malak Preslavetz	HUNGARY		179.	Gibalbin	187.	Kostolac	
172.	Site uncertain	152.	Tárnok	194.	Cerro Franco	197.	Pontes	
184.	Site uncertain	167.	Dunakömlöd	201.	Baetica - unknown site	PROVENANCE UNKNOWN/UNCERTAIN		
193?	Site uncertain	176.	Tarján					
195a/b?	Site uncertain	188.	Ács-Jegespuszta					
EGYPT		ITALY						
185.	Coptos?	142.	Voghenza	139; 141;147; 150; 153; 154;				
		163.	Pegognaga	169; 171; 173; 189; 190; 191;				
		182.	Milan	192; 198; 199				

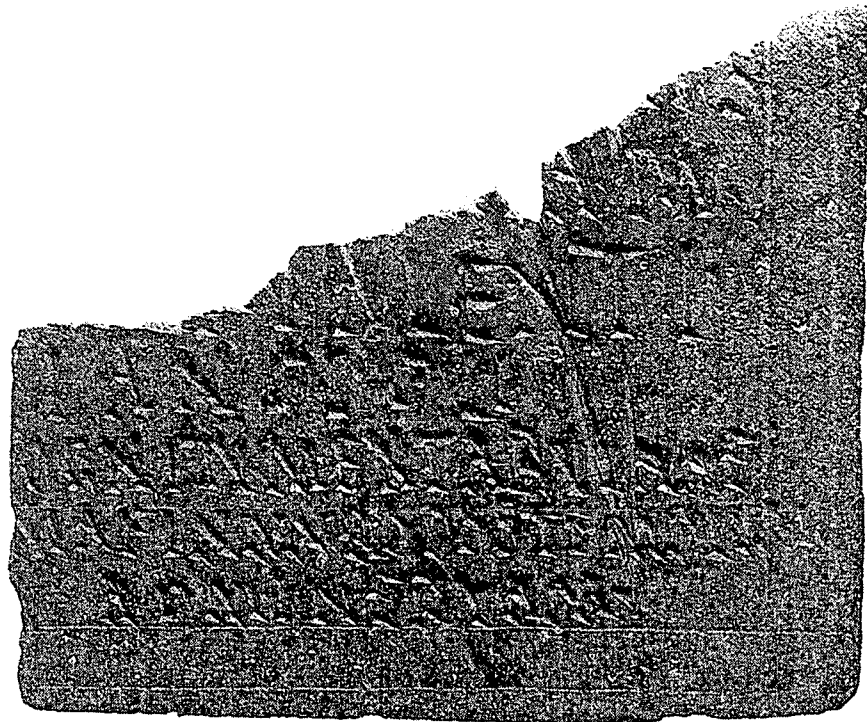
Fig. 10: Map showing find-spots of diplomas listed in *RMD* III.

PLATE 7: 195a

Photographs Stuart Laidlaw



(a) tabella I inner face



(b) tabella I outer face

195a SEVERVS ALEXANDER VALENTI

c. a. 222-231/2 or 226? [lan. 7]

Fragment of tabella I of a diploma seen by John Casey, who very kindly obtained permission for it to be published from Simon Bendall, (to whom I am also grateful). Bottom right hand corner of tabella I (as seen from the outer face). Maximum height 4.2 cm; maximum width 5.5 cm; thickness 0.5 mm. Weight 19.30 gm. Find-spot Bulgaria. Present whereabouts unknown. The outer face is well prepared and the script clear. Height of letters of the closing formula on the outer face ca. 3.5 mm; those of the details of the recipient (lines 2-4) vary from 4.5-6.5 mm. There are two framing lines on the right and bottom edges 5 mm apart. These are on a flattened surface and ruled into the bronze in the style common in the third century. The inner face shows parallel striations running through the script from top to bottom, left through careless preparation of the inner face. This is another characteristic feature of diplomas of this period. The letters on this face are ca. 3 mm high and are irregular but legible.



The letters of lines 1-4 extrinsecus are larger than those of the closing formula.

*Imp. Caes(ar), [divi Antonini Magni Pii filii], divi S[everi Pii nepos], M. Aur[ellius Severus Alexander Pius Felix] Aug(ustus), p[ro]nt[is] max[imus], trib[unus] pot[estatis] V?, co[n]s[ul] II?, p[ater] p[atris] p[atris]*¹

nomi[n]a militum qui militaver[unt] in cohort[ibus] pr[aetoris] S[everianis]² decem I. II. III. IV. V. VI VII. VIII [VIII. X] p[ro]vinciis, qui pie et for[titer] milita[ver]unt etc.

[a. d. VII id. Ian.] cos.

[coh[ors] ... pr[aetoria] Severian]a p[ro]p[ri]a v[ic]index³. [M. Aurelio] M. f? Ulp[ia]?) Valent[is], [.....] Ianopolis⁵

[Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aerea, que fixa est Ro[m]ae in muro pos[itu]m [divi Aug(usti)] ad Minervam

1. A letter count of the missing sections of the first four lines intus reveals marked variations. This may be paralleled in other diplomas of the reign of Severus Alexander, eg. *CIL* XVI 144 and 145. It is also possible that the titles of the emperor were abbreviated as in *RMD* 133. The years of tribunician power and the number of imperial consulships have been provisionally restored to correspond with *RMD* 195b.
2. There can be no doubt that the emperor concerned is Severus Alexander. The imperial nomenclature was brief enough to fit into 4 lines on the inner face, which indicates a sole emperor. *P[ro]p[ri]a v[ic]index* appears in praetorian diplomas during the reign of Septimius Severus as early as 206 but no imperial titulature from that period up to the reign of Alexander would fit into so brief a space and Severus is not known to have used the epithet *S[everianus]* which is clearly indicated in line 6 intus. Severus Alexander changed the epithet attached to praetorian

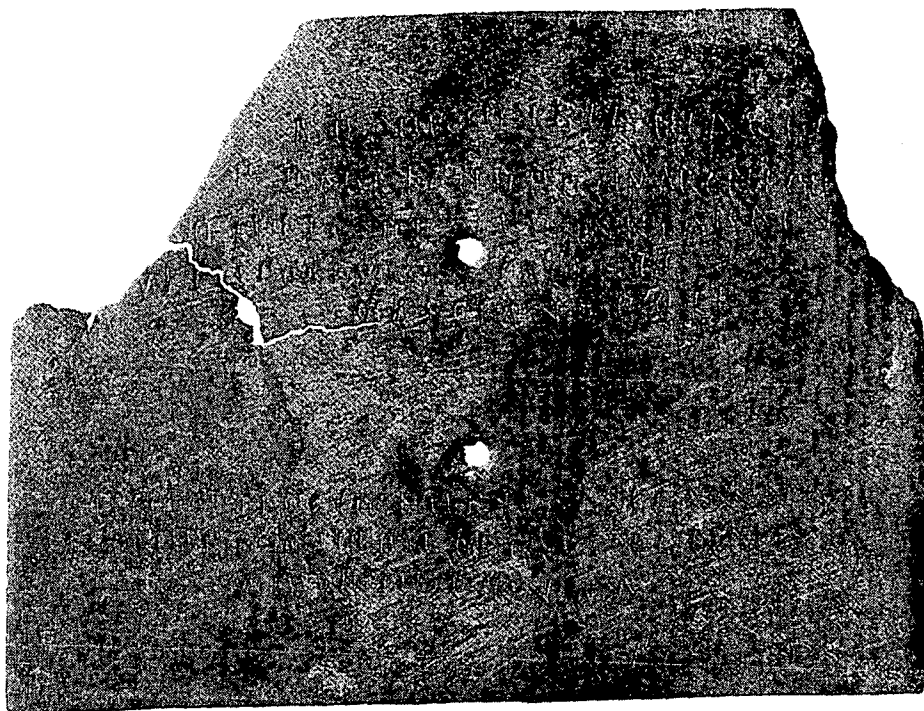
cohorts and the *equites singulares Augusti* to *Alexandrianis*, at least on diplomas, between 7 lan. 230 and 7 lan. 233 (*CIL* XVI 144 and 145), and for this reason 231/2 has been adopted as the upper limit for the date of issue (cf. J. Fitz (1983) 126). However, see *RMD* 195b for a probable date of 226.

3. The letters *p. v.* on the outer face confirm a date in the third century (see note 2 above).
4. Only the cognomen Valens, is preserved of the name of the recipient. It is possible that, like many praetoriani of this period, his praenomen nomen and filiation reflect the effects of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, but this is speculative as the question marks indicate. The restoration of *Ulp[ia]* is based on two marks before Valenti in line 3 ext. The first is a horizontal stroke at the level of the foot of the line, appearing just below the break. This could be the foot of an L. It preceded a letter of which again only the foot remains but this appears to have a single upright stroke and could therefore be an I, F, T, or P.
5. There are a number of cities with the ending -IANOPOLIS, but some are ruled out on grounds of date. In view of the third century Danubian bias of praetorian recruitment, particularly the apparent reliance upon Thrace for all types of military personnel, it is tempting to complete the origo of the recipient as *[Tra]ianopolis* or *[Marc]ianopolis* to accord with the tentative suggestion of Ulpia as a pseudo-tribus. Praetoriani are recorded from both of these Thracian cities (Passerini (1939) 177). The find-spot is not known with any accuracy, but the fact that it comes from Bulgaria argues that the recipient may well have returned home to Thrace.

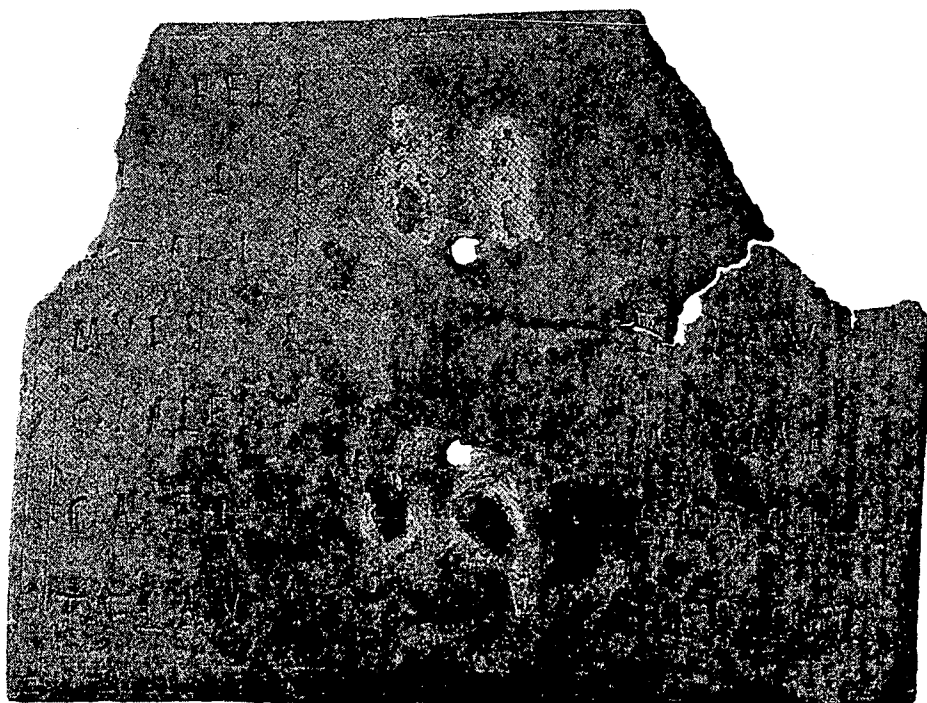
See the next entry †195b.
Photographs Pl. 7a and b.

PLATE 8: 195b

Photographs Stuart Laidlaw



(a) tabella II inner face



(b) tabella II outer face

195b SEVERVS ALEXANDER M. AVRELIO VALENTI

a. 226 Ian 7

After the entry above (†195a) had been completed I was shown another (almost complete) tablet, which is fairly certainly tabella II of that diploma. Both pieces are said to have come from Bulgaria and the fact that they appeared in the antiquities market at the same time leads to the supposition that they were originally part of the same diploma (see note 1 below). Tabella II: height 10.8 cm; width 14.3 cm; thickness ca. 1 mm; weight 116.09 g. Height of letters ext: 4-5 mm; int. 3 mm. Framing lines, on a flattened surface similar to those of 195a, are visible on the preserved original edges of the outer face. Present whereabouts unknown but last seen coupled with 195a.

intus: tabella II
A D·VII·IDVS IANVARII
ERO ALEXANDRO II MARCELLO II
OH·II· PR SEVERIANA PV
VRELIO M F VLP· VALENTI
MARCIANOPOLI·
5
DESCRIPT ET RECOGNIT EX TABVLA AEREA QVE
FIXA EST ROME IN MVRO POS TEMPLVM DIVI
AD MINERVAM

extrinsecus: tabella II
AVRELI· MA
IVLI· IVLIA
M·TVLLI· VALEN
M·VLP I· BATAVI·
C·VALERI· MVCIANI·
C·AELI· SATVRNINI·
T·FLAVI· HERACLIDES·
5

[Imp. Caes(ar), divi Antonini Magni Pii fil., divi Severi Pii nepos, M. Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Aug(ustus), pont(ifex) max(imus), tri(bunicia) pot(estate) V, co(n)s(ul) II, p(ater) p(atriciae)¹ nomina militum qui militaver(unt) in cohort(ibus) pr(aetoria) Severianis decem I. II. III. IIII. V. VI VII. VIII VIII. X piis vindicibus, qui pie et fortiter militia functi sunt etc.] a. d. VII idus Ianuarii, [Imp. Sev]ero Alexandro II, Marcello II [cos.] [c]oh(ors) II pr(aetoria) Severiana p(ia) v(index)². [M. A]urelio M. f Vlp(ia) Valenti³, Marcianopoli⁴. Descript(um) et recognit(um) ex tabula aerea, que fixa est Romae⁵ in muro pos templum divi <Aug(usti)>⁶ ad Minervam.

■[A?] Aureli Ma[rco?]; [.] Iuli Iulia[ni?]; M. Tulli Valen[tis]; M. Ulpi Batavi⁷; C. Valeri Muciani; P. Aeli Saturnini; T. Flavi Heraclides⁸.

1. The titles of Severus Alexander have been restored as in *CIL* XVI 143, of the same issue. In the reading given here it is assumed that the two fragmentary tablets labelled *RMD* 195a and b are part of the same diploma. It is perhaps possible that two men with the cognomen Valens were recruited from Marcianopolis at the same time, but the coincidence of both fragments surfacing in 1993 and both reputedly coming from Bulgaria suggests that they had been found together but had been separated for unknown reasons. The script on the inner faces of the two tablets differs markedly but the difference need be no bar to this suggestion since this is observable in other diplomas where there is certainty about identity. The same is true for the outer faces. *CIL* XVI 143, a praetorian diploma of the same issue, shows the same distinct differences. (See Appendix II). When witness lists are preserved they may sometimes be seen to be inscribed in a different hand from that of the main text, as in the present example. Nevertheless, for want of positive proof the two pieces have been entered separately.
2. The recipient of *CIL* XVI 143, who also had a Danubian origin (Nicopolis), had served in the 10th praetorian cohort, Valens had been in the 2nd.
3. The conjectured restoration of the full name of the recipient and the pseudo-tribus Ulpia in *RMD* 195a, are confirmed in the new tablet if it is truly part of the same diploma.
4. Marcianopolis was founded by Trajan and named for his

sister. The pseudo-tribus Ulpia is otherwise attested there; cf. Forni (1985). The reputed find-spot of the diploma suggests that the recipient had returned home on discharge.

5. Rome intus tab. II.
6. Aug(usti) omitted tab. II intus.
7. The cognomen of the fourth witness has been changed. Beneath the second A of BATAVI there is an E, followed by a lightly engraved N and a T beneath the V. Perhaps Batenti or Patenti had been begun before the correct cognomen was finally incised.
8. The names of witnesses to *CIL* XVI 143 are completely different from those in this list, although the diplomas were part of the same issue. This emphasises the diversity of the system employed for witnessing the authenticity of diplomas of the City cohorts, from that of the fleets and the auxilia; cf. Morris & Roxan (1977). However, one possible pointer towards verification of John Morris' suggestion that the witnesses for diplomas of City troops may have been comrades of the recipients comes through these two diplomas. The first witness on tabella II of *RMD* 195b is [.] Aureli Ma[...]; the recipient of *CIL* XVI 143 is M. Aurelio Marco. The fifth witness of *CIL* XVI 143 bears the same name as the recipient of *RMD* 195b - M. Aurelius Valens. To be sure, neither name is very uncommon but the fact that both were Thracians, one from Nicopolis the other from Marcianopolis, suggests another link. The find-spots of many third century praetorian diplomas in Bulgaria point to the deep and lasting ties Thracians had with their homeland and thus probably also with their comrades. It is already clear from *CIL* VI 2799 (AD 227) that Thracians (in this case men from Philippopolis coming from different praetorian cohorts) jointly revered the gods of their homeland in conjunction with other more Roman deities while still in Rome. Only the chance of having two diplomas of the same issue, both with tabella II reasonably intact, has allowed this theory to be tested. In parenthesis it may be remarked that the fact that M. Aurelius Mucianus from Pautalia, the recipient of *RMD* 76, is not among the witnesses of *CIL* XVI 189 of the same issue, is not necessarily disproof of this tentative proposition. At any one time there would probably be a large pool of potential witnesses, many of them Thracian, in this period. It is noticeable that M. Aurelius Mucapor, the first witness of the latter diploma is clearly Thracian like the recipient, who came from from Philippopolis.

Photographs Pl. 8 a and b.

a. 226 (Jan.1-Dec. 9)

Published E. Zerbini *Epigraphica* 50 (1988) 235-43. Found in alluvial deposits with other material of the Roman period not far from the river Po, at Chiunsano, Gaiba (Rovigo), Italy (*TIR* L32 XIIIf). A brief notice concerning this diploma appeared in R. Peretto, E. Zerbini, *Il territorio polesano, "Il Veneto nell'età romana"* II, Verona (1987) p. 287 with photograph. Present location Museo Civico delle Civiltà in Polesine (Rovigo). Fragment of the top right hand corner of tabella II with two parallel framing lines preserved on the top and right edges¹; height 6 cm; width 7.7 cm; thickness 1.2 mm; weight 49.5 g. Height of letters 4-5 mm in line 1 ext. 3-4 mm in the following lines.

DESCRIPT ET R
FIXA EST RO
DIVI AVG

intus: tabella II

extrinsecus: tabella II

ONINI MAGNI PII FIL
I NE P
ALEXANDER PIVS FELIX AVG
IB POT · V · COS · II · P P ·
N CLASSE PRAETORIA SE
E QVE EST SVB MEVIO HO
TONIS ET VICENIS STIPEN
S HONESTA MISSIONE
CRIPTA SVNT IPSIS FILIS

5

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar), divi Ant]onini Magni Pii fil(ius), [divi Severi Pii] nep(os), [M. Aurelius Severus] Alexander Pius Felix Aug(ustus), [pont]ifex max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) V, co(n)s(ul) II, p(ater) p(atriciae)², [iis qui militaverunt i]n classe praetoria Se[veriana p]ia v(indice)³]e⁴, que est sub Mevio Ho[noratiano praefecto]⁵, oc]tonis et vicenis stipen[dis emeritis dimiss]is honesta missione, [quorum nomina subs]cripta sunt, ipsi filis[que eorum, quos susceperint ex mulieribus etc.]

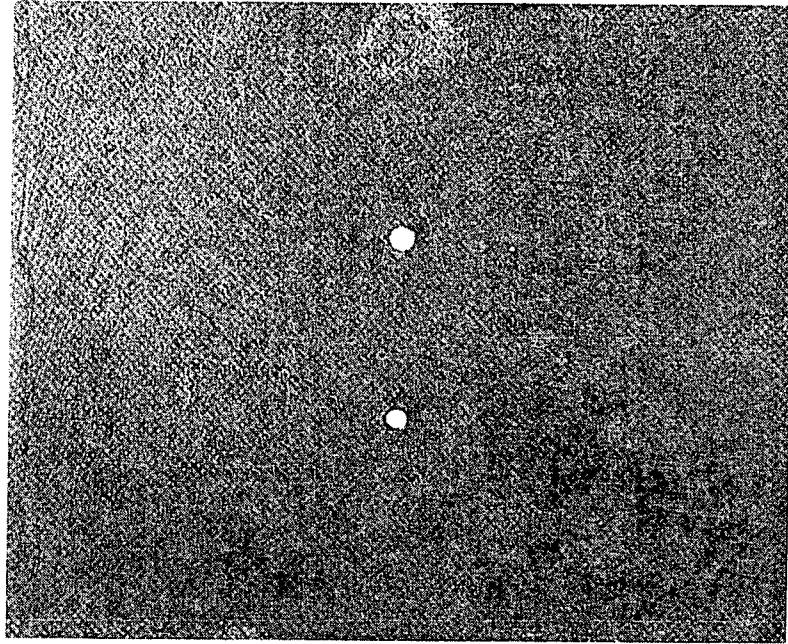
Descript(um) et r[ecognit]um ex tabula aerea que] fixa est Ro[mae in muro pos templum] divi Aug(usti) [ad Minervam].

1. Like RMD 187 and 192 this diploma reverses the usual assignment of the complete main formula to the outer face of tabella I. Here tabella II ext. carries this text and the complete inner face would have held the date, consular names and details of the recipient, as well as the *Descriptum et recognitum*..... formula, which here is partially preserved. Cf. RMD 108, note 1. The inner face is heavily abraded with roughly parallel scratch marks, a feature of a number of carelessly prepared inner faces of diplomas of the third century (cf. *CIL* XVI Suppl. Tab. XIX).
2. The titles of Severus Alexander, especially *trib. pot. V*, together with *cos. II* (the latter ran from 1 Jan. 226), confirm that the date of issue lay in 226. K. Wachtel cautiously

observed that there may have been a fixed day date for issue of fleet diplomas between 214 and 229, which would perhaps suggest that this too would belong to 27 November 226 (see RMD 192, note 3). However, the later discovery of RMD 15 casts some doubt on this.

3. E. Zerbini restores *p(ia) v(indice)*. It is still unclear whether this title was given to the Italian fleets (see RMD 192 note 4).
4. The presence of an E at the end of the name of the fleet is rare in the restoration [*Misenensis*]e (for parallels see *CIL* XV 12, 16 152) but [*Ravennat*]e is probably more likely. Zerbini points out that the diploma was found in the hinterland of Ravenna and it is reasonable to suppose that the veteran recipient retired to an area not far from the port where the fleet had its base. However, he sounds a note of caution since *CIL* XVI 74, issued to a veteran of the Misenian fleet was found at Cremona in the Po valley, and the tombstone of wife of a trierarch of the same fleet was found at Voghenza (*Suppl. It.* 496).
5. This diploma provides evidence for an earlier stage in the career of Mevius Honoratianus, who was prefect of Egypt between January 232 and July 237 - *PIR*² V, 2, M. 576. Six years before this promotion to one of the two highest ranking equestrian posts he commanded one of the two Italian fleets.

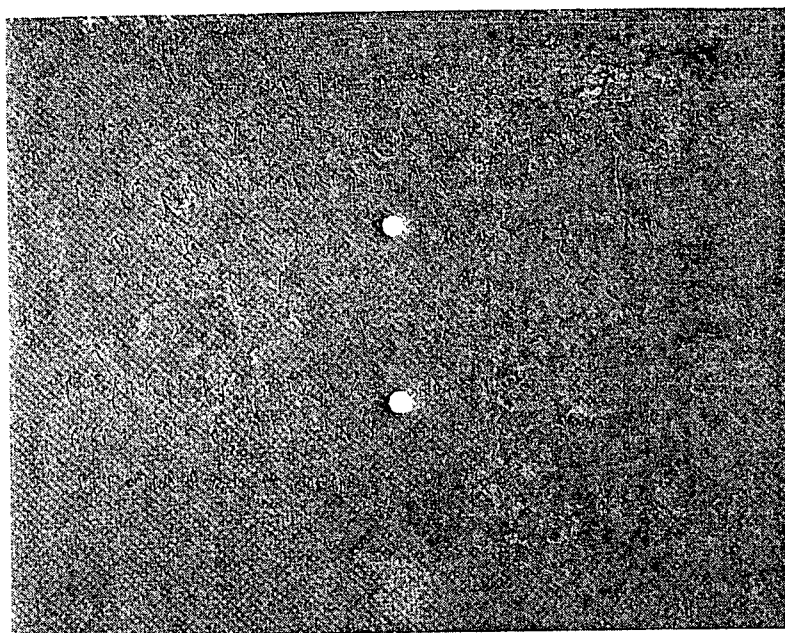
Photographs *Epigraphica* 50 (1988) pp. 238-239, Fig. 1 & 2. *Ann. ép.* 1988, no. 598.



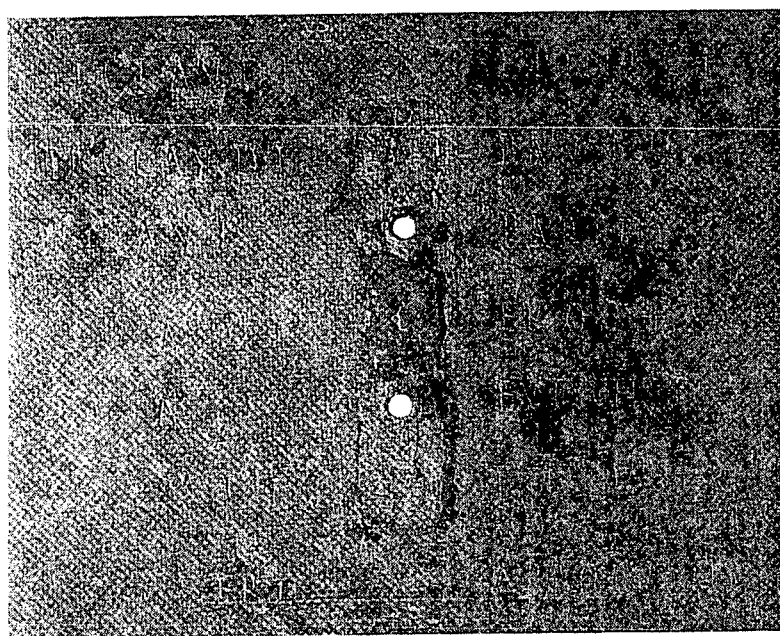
(a) tabella I inner face



(b) tabella I outer face



(c) tabella II inner face



(d) tabella II outer face

(a) tabella I outer face

ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

198 MAXIMINVS ET MAXIMVS M. AVRELIO VALENTI

a. 237 Ian. 7

Complete diploma: Tabellae I and II, with part of binding wire preserved. Height 18.2 cm; width 14.4 cm; thickness 1-1.5 mm. In the collection of Axel Guttman, Berlin.¹ Height of letters tabella I ext: lines 1, 17-20 7 mm; other lines ca. 4 mm, but the same hand is used throughout this face; tabella II ext: ca. 8 mm. Tabella I int. shows parallel striations from careless preparation of the bronze. There are patches of corrosion products which partially obscure the script. Tabella II int. is less obscured and more legible. The binding holes were punched before the inner script was engraved, the area round these holes is avoided on both inner faces. There are double framing lines on all edges of the outer faces.

intus: tabella I ²		extrinsecus: tabella I	
IMP CAES C IVLIVS VERVS MA		IMP·CAES·C·IVLIVS·VERVS·MAXIMINVS·	
PIVS FEL AVG GE/M M PO		PIVS·FELIX·AVG·GERM·DACIC·SARM·MAX·	
MAX TR POT III		PONTIF·MAX·TRIB·POT·III·COS·PP·PROC ET	
C IVLIVS VER MAX		C·IVLIVS·VERVS·MAXIMVS·GERM·DACIC·SARM·	
5 SARM MAX NOB		MAX·NOBILISSIMVS·CAESAR·	5
EQVIT QVI INTER SINGVL MILITA		EQVITIBVS QVI INTER SINGVLARES MILITAVERN	
VER CASTRIS M INIANIS		CASTRIS NOVIS·MAXIMINIANIS·QVIBVS PRAE	
(!) QVIBVS PRAEST A NT		EST·AELIVS VALENS TRIB·QVINIS ET VICENIS	
TRIB QVIN ET VIC PL B VE STI		PLVRIBVSVE STIPENDIS EMERITIS DIMISSIS	
10 PENDIS EMERIT DIMIS HON		HONESTA MISSIONE QVORVM NOMINA SVBS	10
SS QVOR NOMIN SVBSCRIPT		CRIPTA SVNT CIVITATEM ROMANA QVI EORVM (!)	
SVNT C R QVI EOR NON BERENT			
ET CONVBIVM CVM VX Q		NON HABERENT DEDERVNT ET CONVBIVM CVM VXO	
AS TVNC HABVISS CVM EST CIV		RIBVS QVAS TVNC HABVISSSENT CVM EST CIVITAS	
15 IIS DATA AVT CVM IIS QVAS		IIS DATA AVT CVM IIS QVAS POSTEA DVXISSENT	
POSTEA DVXISSENT D AT		DVMTAXAT SINGVLIS·A·D·VII·IDVS IAN	15
SINGVLIS		L·MARIO PERPETVO·ET L·MUMMIO CORNELIANO COS	
tabella II		tabula II	
A D VII ID IAN		EX EQVITE·DOMINOR·N·N·AVGG	
PERPETVO ET CORNELIANO COS		M·AVRELIO·SVRI·FIL·	
20 EX EQVITE D·D·N·N·AVGG·		VALENTI AVG·TRAIANA·	
M·AVR·SVRI·FIL·VALENTI·		EX THRACIA	20
(!) AVG·TRAIANA EX TRACIA		DESCRIPT ET RECOGNIT EX TABVLA AERE QVE FIXA EST	
DESCRIPT ET RECOGNIT EX TABVLA AERIA (!)		ROMAE IN MVRO POS TEMPL DIVI AVG AD MINERVAM	
QVE FIXA EST ROME IN MVRO POS TEMPL			
25 DIVI AVG AD MINERVAM·		TI·CLAVDI EPINICI	
		TI·CLAVDI PAVLLI	
		TI·CLAVDI PARTHENI	25
		TI·CLAVDI EROTIS	
		TI·CLAVDI EVTYCHETIS	
		TI·CLAVDI FORTISSIMI	
		CL·LABERI APRONIANI	

On the outer face the first line of imperial titles and lines 17-20 are in larger script.

Imp. Caes(ar) C. Iulius Verus Maximinus Pius Felix Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) Dacic(us) Sarm(aticus) max(imus), pontifex max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) III, co(n)s(ul), p(ater) p(atriciae), proc(onsul) et C. Iulius Verus Maximus Germ(anicus) Dacic(us) Sarm(aticus) max(imus), nobilissimus Caesar equitibus³, qui inter singulares militaverunt castris novis Maximinianis, quibus prae est Aelius Valens trib(unus)⁴, quinque et vicenis pluribusve stipendis emeritis dimissis honesta missione, quorum nomina subscripta sunt, civitatem Romana(m), qui eorum non haberent dederunt et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent, cum est civitas iis data, aut cum iis, quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singulis.
a. d. VII idus Ian. L. Mario Perpetuo⁵ et L. Mummio Corneliano⁶ co(n)s(ulibus).
ex equite dominor(um) n(ostorum) Aug(ustorum)⁷ M. Aurelio Suro fil. Valenti⁸, Aug(usta) Traiana ex Thracia⁹.

Descript(um) et recognit(um) ex tabula aerea¹⁰, que fixa est Romae in muro pos templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.

Ti. Claudii Epinici; Ti. Claudii Paulli; Ti. Claudii Partheni; Ti. Claudii Erotis; Ti. Claudii Eutychetis; Ti. Claudii Fortissimi; Cl. Laberi Aproniani¹¹.

1. I owe especial thanks to Herr Guttman for his kindness in allowing me to study and publish this diploma.
2. The careless script on the inner face, which is characteristic of many third century diplomas, together with surface corrosion products, makes it extremely difficult to produce an accurate transcript. The scribe also tended to use the left two-thirds rather than the whole plate in some lines of the inner face of tabella I. The reading of this face is therefore not completely certain in some areas.

3. This diploma is part of the same issue as *CIL* XVI 146. Tabella I of *CIL* XVI 146 shows the same rough preparation of the inner face with parallel scratches that have not been polished to a smooth surface. Nevertheless a comparison with the photographs published in *ÖJ* 14 (1911) 130-131 shows that these two diplomas were not engraved by the same scribe. The inner script of *CIL* XVI 146 is not so careless as that of the present example and is presented in regular lines. The new diploma does not show the mistaken addition of "*et ped*" as in line 4 intus of *CIL* XVI 146 (see Lieb (1986) 343, note 175 on the possible significance of this mistake for the issue of diplomas of the auxilia in the third century).
4. *PIR*² I A. 275; but see now Devijver (1976→) *Tomus* 1, p. 76, and *Tomus* 4, p. 1423 - A68, citing Pflaum (*Car.* No. 332) for the opinion that Valens became *procurator Augustorum praefectus provinciae Sardiniae* in 248, but is probably not to be identified with *P. Val. praes(es) prov(inciae) Sardi(niae)*. Cf. Dobson (1978) no. 207.
5. *PIR*² V 2, M. 312.
6. *PIR*² V 2, M. 703.
7. Plural Augusti are indicated rather than Augustus and Caesar; cf. *CIL* XVI 146, note 7.
8. M. Aurelius Valens has not been attested hitherto among the *equites singulares Augusti*, but his father "seems to have been mentioned in *CIL* VI 3195" (= M. P. Speidel (1993) 598) personal communication from M. P. Speidel observing that "only 8 of 66 Aurelii after 193 have a praenomen" "in the third century many horsemen's sons joined the guard". This is the sixth diploma of the *equites singulares Augusti* to be recorded and is the second complete (or nearly complete) example extant (*RMD* 158 of 133 (two tablets with small areas missing); *CIL* XVI 144 and 146 of 230 and 237 (each one tablet only); *RMD* 134 and *RMD* 197 of 223/235 and 230 respectively (fragments). Of these: the first was found in Bulgaria, two were found in Moesia superior (*CIL* XVI 146 and *RMD* 197), one in Pannonia superior (*RMD* 134), and two of the find-spots are unknown (*CIL* XVI 144 and the present diploma). All name *castris nova* with the possible exceptions of *RMD* 197 (note 2) and *RMD* 134 (*RMD* II p. 210 note 2.). All the third century examples belong to the period within 25 years of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.
9. Augusta Traiana (=Beiroe) lay on the southern slopes of the Haemus mountains and, although the find-spot is unknown, it is possible that the recipient of the diploma returned to Thrace on discharge (cf. Roxan (1981) 271- 273 concerning the parallel of 3rd C. praetorian recipients who returned to Danubian provinces).
10. *AERE* extrinsecus; *AERIA* intus. The V's in *divi* and *Aug.* (line 25 intus) are turned through 90 degrees and resemble barred chevrons.
11. Five of these witnesses were named in the same order (with one intervening name) in an unpublished fleet diploma of AD 221; the first witness appeared 5th in the list of a fleet diploma as far back as 206 (*RMD* 189). Members of the *equites singulares Augusti* were originally selected from auxiliary units and their tombstones often refer to their original units and sometimes the province where those units were stationed, eg. *ILS* 2209; 2210; 2211. This diploma confirms the evidence of the second century diploma of the same *numerus* (*RMD* 158) which shows that the witnesses to diplomas of the *equites singulares Augusti* came from the same source as those to auxiliary and fleet diplomas. (See Appendix VI "Late witnesses of auxiliary and fleet diplomas"). The order of witnesses shown in this diploma also demonstrates that the system inaugurated in the latter part of the reign of Hadrian, which established an order of seniority for signatories, who moved up the list as the first witness retired, was still in being in the second quarter of the third century. See Morris and Roxan (1977) 299-333. It may be observed that the last witness used the nomen *Cl(audius)* as a praenomen.

Photographs Pl. 9a, b, c and d.

a. 246 Ian. 7

Tabella I with a roughly triangular section missing on the lower left hand side, which appears to have been cut away with some force, probably by a plough. Seen in London¹. Height 13.7 cm; width 9.95 - 10.1 cm; thickness variable: 1 - 2 mm; weight 186 g. The surface of the outer face is very dark with small patches of corrosion insufficiently serious to damage the lettering, which is clear and well inscribed in the style of the period. Letters on this face average 3.5 mm high, but are slightly larger on lines 1, 16 and 17 (ca. 4 mm); and largest on lines 18-20 (varying between 4.5 and 6 mm). No framing lines are visible but there is a guide-line on the left which lies between the I and M of IMP and runs through the N of NOMINA. All other letters keep to the right of this line, although two just verge on it (lines 3 and 8). The initial letters on lines 1 and 4 are larger than the rest of the lines, at 5.5 and 4.5 mm respectively. The inner face has a roughly prepared surface scored with parallel lines, which is a characteristic feature of diplomas issued in the late second and third centuries. This face is completely illegible; the "letters" consist of a series of roughly parallel strokes on the surface which slope from top left to bottom right, arranged in 11 lines. These closely resemble marks produced on the inner face of *CIL XVI 151*, which was issued on the same day and is now held in the British Museum. There is also a fairly heavy accretion of verdigris and corrosion products on this face. The two binding holes were pierced through from the outer face and have produced raised rims on the inner face

intus: tabella I

11 lines of rough marks \\\ replacing script.

5

10

15

20

extrinsecus: tabella I

IMP CAES·M·IVLIVS·PHILIPPVS·PIVS FEL·

AVG PONTIF·MAX·TR·POT·III·COS·P·P·

M·IVLIVS PHILIPPVS·NOBILISS CAES

NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVER·IN

COHORTIBVS PRAETORIS·PHILIPPIA

NIS·DECEM·I·II·III·III·V·VI·VII·VIII·VIII

X·PIIS VINDICIBVS QVI PIE ET·FORTI

TER·MILITIA FVNCTI·SVNT·IVS TRI

BVIMVS CONVBII·DVMTAXAT·CVM

SINGVLIS ET·PRIMIS VXORIBVS·

VT ETIAM SI PEREGRINI·IVRIS·

FEMINAS·IN MATRIMONIO·SVO·

NXERINT·PROINDE·LIBEROS·TOL

NT·AC SI·EX DVOBVS CIVIBVS·

MANIS·NATOS·A D·VII·IDVS·IAN

RVTTIO·PRAESENTE·ET·

LLIO·ALBINO COS·

H·I·PR·PHILIPPIAN·P·V·

M·AFRANIO M·F·QVINTIAN

AEL·MVRS

DESCRIP·ET·RECOGNIT·EX TABVL·AER·

QVE FIXA EST·ROMAE IN MVRO POSTEM

PLVM·DIVI·AVG·AD MINERVA·

Lines 16-20 extrinsecus are in larger script, which is slightly irregular and may be in a different hand.

Imp. Caes(ar) M. Iulius Philippus Pius Felix Aug(ustus), pontif(ex) max(imus), tr(ibunicia) pot(es)tate III, co(n)s(ul), p(ater) p(atriciae).

M. Iulius Philippus nobiliss(imus) Caes(ar) nomina militum qui militaver(unt) in cohortibus praetoris Philippianis decem I. II. III. IIII. V. VI. VII. VIII. VIII. X. piis vindicibus, qui pie et fortiter militia functi sunt, ius tribuimus conubii dumtaxat cum singulis et primis uxoribus, ut, etiamsi peregrini iuris feminas in matrimonio suo [iu]nxerint, proinde liberos toll[an]t ac si ex duobus civibus [Ro]manis natos.

a. d. VII idus Ian. [C. B]rutio Praesente et [C. A]llio Albino cos.² [co]h(ors) I pr(aetoria) Philippian(a) p(ia) v(index).

M. Afranio, M. f., Quintian(o), Ael(ia) Murs(a)³ Descript(um) et recogni(um) ex tabul(a) aer(ea), que fixa est Romae in muro post(t) templum divi Aug(usti) ad Minerva(m)

1. I must thank James Ede for allowing me to study this diploma and publish it. This is part of the same issue as *CIL XVI 151* and the similarity of treatment of the inner faces has been

noted, but there are differences in spelling and the use of abbreviations between the two outer faces suggesting that they were not engraved by the same hand. *CIL XVI 151* has *pont.*, *prae*toris, *tol.* *acxi*, and *fix*, where the present example shows *pontif.*, *prae*toris, *tol[an]t*; *ac si*, and *fixa* (see also note 2). The irregularity of the script in lines 16-20 ext. also suggests that these details may have been added after the engraving of the standard formula. This is not apparent in *CIL XVI 151*.

This diploma was seen in Köln by Professor Werner Eck, whom I must thank for a transcript which confirms the reading.

2. In *CIL XVI 151* the cognomen of the first consul shows the tendency to replace AE by E. Here the spelling *Praesente* is given. See *PIR*² 1, B 167. It is now possible to confirm the name of his colleague. The *C. All(?)* of *CIL XVI 151* is supplemented by *-llio Albino*, as had been inferred *CIL III LXXXIX* note 2; cf. H. Nesselhauf *CIL XVI* p.136 and note 1. Werner Eck has suggested to me that Albinus could perhaps be a descendant of C. Allius Fuscus or C. Allius

Fuscianus, both suffect consuls in the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, but that at least one generation must have intervened; cf. W. Eck (1985) 187; G. Alföldy (1977) 361

3. The recipient served in *coh. I praetoria* and bore a Roman name in contrast to the recipient of *CIL XVI 151* who served in *coh. V praetoria*, and had an Illyrian name as praenomen. Both veterans gave Aelia Mursa as *origo*, and had been

recruited in Pannonia inferior during the last years of Alexander Severus; cf. *RMD* 188 note 12 concerning praetorians recruited from Pannonia. The find-spot of this diploma is unknown but if the recipient had returned home, like many other third century praetoriani, it may have come from northern Slovenia.

4. It is rare for the final M to be omitted from *Minervam* especially when, as here, there is space for completion. Photograph Pl. 10.

200 IMP. INCERTVS INCERTO

c. a 206 - 250? [lan. 7?]

Published Yu. Kalashnik *Trudy Gosudarstviennogo Ermitáza* (Papers of the National Hermitage Museum) 24 (Leningrad 1984) 165-168. A small fragment of tabella I of a praetorian diploma found Chersonesus, 1952. Height 2.3 cm; width 2.6 cm. Height of letters on the outer face 4 mm; on the inner face 2.5-4 mm. Now in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. X.1952.281.

intus: tabella I

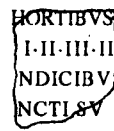


5

[Imp. Caes(ar)
pont(ifex) ma]x(imus), tri[b(unicia) pot(estate)....
nomina m]ilit(um) qu[i militaver(unt) in co]hortibus [praetoris
ca. 9-10 ?..... decem] I. II. III. II[II. V. VI. VII. VIII. VIII. X piis
vi]ndicibu[s]¹, qu[i pie et fortiter militia fu]ncti su[nt, ius]
tri[bui aut tri[buimus conubii].etc.

I must thank Dr. Edward Dąbrowa for drawing this diploma to my attention and providing a summary of the publication. The description of the praetoriani as [piis vi]ndicibu[s] indicates an issue after ca. AD 206, which is the date of the first extant example of this usage. This date has therefore been accepted provisionally as the earliest time of issue, although the title was almost certainly granted during Severus' Eastern campaigns. A letter count shows that there could be room for perhaps 9-10 letters between *praetoris* and *decem* on the outer face, which suggests that an imperial epithet may have been inserted there. It is not possible to match this with certainty on the inner face, since the degree of abbreviation used intus can vary considerably in the third century (eg. compare *CIL XVI* 139, 140 and 142). Therefore it cannot be asserted positively that the fragment comes from a diploma issued after 212, when Caracalla began to attach the epithet *Antoniniana* to the praetorian fleets, and presumably also to the praetorian cohorts. Nevertheless, the relative legibility of the inner face

extrinsecus: tabella I



suggests that the diploma belonged to the first rather than the second half of the third century and should be placed between the outside limits of ca. 206-250, with a strong probability that it was issued after 212. The spacing of the text shows that ten praetorian cohorts were cited.

Probably the main interest of this tiny fragment is its find-spot in Chersonesus. Yu. Kalashnik points out that there was a Roman garrison in Chersonesus over a long period and close connections with the Balkan provinces. Saxer (1967) 91-92 cites evidence for vexillations of legions from Moesia inferior in Chersonesus Taurica from the Flavian period onwards: Josephus *Bell. Iud.* II, 16, 4; *ILS* 2747 (ca. 173); *CIL III* 13750 (185/186); and tile stamps *CIL III* 142154-5. A member of *legio XI Claudia* buried his mother at Olbia in Southern Russia, he may have originated there (*Ann. ép.* 1909 no. 167); cf. Mann (1983) 136. In addition part (or all) of *cohors I Barcaraugustanorum* was probably detached from Moesia inferior for service in Chersonesus in the second century (*ILS* 9160). The recipient may have been recruited from a military family in the Crimea into a legion of Moesia inferior and thence to a praetorian cohort. It is possible that the find-spot indicates that he returned home to this area on retirement.

Photographs and drawings *Trudy Gosudarstviennogo Ermitáza*, 24, 166. (= *RMD* II p. 231 No. 10)

Archäologische Bibliographie 1986, no. 5224

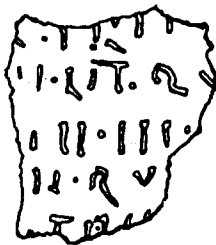


Fig. 10(a): Drawing of 200 tab. I int.

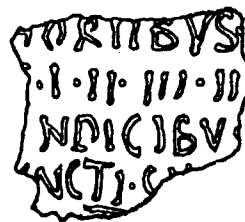


Fig. 10(b): Drawing of 200 tab. I ext.