ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS
1985 - 1993

by
MARGARET M. ROXAN
(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. Lorincz (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. Lorincz 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. Gneo Attilo Agricola, and eight units are named altogether, the same total as Lorincz suggests. However, the size of the complete diploma is unknown so that this must remain an attractive proposition rather than a certainty.

4. Lorincz restores sex here, see note 3 above.

5. If Lorincz’s arguments are accepted, also with long titles like I Flavia Britannica milliaria c. R. or I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittarius 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 AEOVRM, 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 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 Lorincz of the name of the first cohort preserved as [I Batajorum [milliaria] p. f.].

7. B. Lorincz suggests (cohors) [II Asturum et Callaeorum].

8. The third cohort in the list was perhaps II [Alpinorum]. Lorincz 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 Callaeorum Lucensium] in the remaining lacuna.

9. Probably V [Gallorum]. B. Lorincz read the first letter on the outer face as a V and thought that the scribe had written GALLORVM (I), 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 Lorincz, cohors V Breuorum 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 Alfeldy-Mann Type II.

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

Text Anu. Ep. 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. Tornlin 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 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 hand.

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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 singulae* (later just *singuli*); 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 *qua 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 *quini et vicina 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 Flemalle, 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.

![Inscriptio: Tabella II](image)

Inscriptio: Tabella II

**IMP CAESAR DIVI NERVAE F. NERVA TRAIANVS AUGUSTVS**

Germanicus Dacieus, pontifex maximus, tribunicia potestate (e) X.XI, imperator (e) XII. consul ad (i) VI, praefectus p[ia]triae

*Quibus et pedibus* etc.

**Nota nomina subscripta sunt, quas libera posterior eorum civitatem dedit et consibus cum sociis, quas tunc habuisset, cum est civitas iis data at, siqui [*aelius* essent, cum iis, quas *pros* deo duxissent dumtaxat singulis singulis]*


*C[aeli] [......] j. [.....] J*.

extrinsicus: Tabella II

![Extrinsicus: Tabella II](image)

Extrinsicus: Tabella II

The date of the diploma is through the fragmentary names of the consul 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. Attilius Metilius Bradua were named. They were *consules ordinarii* for 108 and were succeeded probably on May 1 by the future emperor Hadrian and M. Trebonius Priscus. Bradua was later governor of Roman Britain (A. R. Bailey (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 Caesarius 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 Illii who appear in the lists in this period (Index 1, Witnesses period 2).

Drawings *RIB* II, 1, p.10.
ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

147 TRAIANVS (?) TALAIC..(?)

C. a. 99 - 108?

Published P. Weiß Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 80 (1990) 137-142. Findspot uncertain; originally suggested as Campus 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.

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


Q. Pom[pei Homeri]; P. Cau[li[......]; 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. lusti[nae ... fil. uxor] 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. Caesius Vitalis and C. Vettienus Modestus, although there are other possibilities in the period, for example P. Caesius 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 TRAILANVS M. HERENNIO POLYMITAE

Published J. Garbsch Bayerische Vorgeschichtsbüter, 54 (1989) 137-151.

Found Ranovac, c. 30 km south of Viminacium, Yugoslavia, in February 1986, allegedly with three others. Now in the collection of Axel Guttmann, 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.

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

ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

109 Oct. 14

IMP CAESAR DIVI NERVAE F NERVA TRAIANVS AVG GERMANICVS PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVNIC POTESTAT XIII IMP VI COS VII PP EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITAVERVNT IN ALIS TRIBVS ET COHORTIBVS DECEM ET SEX QVAE APPELLANTVR ICR ET FLAVIA COMMA GENOR SAGITTARIAE ETII PANONIOR VETERA NA ET I BRITONVM VLPIA TORVATA CRC ET I BRITANNICA CRET ETIVRAEOR ETI THRA CVMCRETIAVGITVRAEORETIVINDELICOR CRPFETI PANNONIOR VETERANAE TITONANOR ETI GALLOR PANNONICA ETI HISPANOR ETI BRITANNOR CRET ETI CYPIRIA CRE TIVGAL LORYM ETVIII RE TORVM ET SVNT IN DACIA SVB D TERENTIO SCAVRIANO QVINIS ETVCEINIS PLVRIBVS VE STIPENDIIS EMERITIS DIMISSIS HONE STA MISSIONE A IVLIO SABINO QVORVM

NOMINA SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERIS SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBER

IVLIO PROCVLO COS 25 C ABVRNIO VALENTE COH I MONTANOR CVI PRAEST CORNELIVS FELICIOR EX PEDITE M HERENNIO M F POLYMITAE BERENS ETIANVARIO ET MARCELLO FIEVS ET LVCAEAE FILIEVS EXSCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVLA AENEAVQVAE FIXA ER ROMAES

265
ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

Imp. Caesar, divi Nervae f. Nerva Traianus Aug(ustus)

1. Tabellia 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 1987 Lines Congress (See Maxfield & Dobson edd. (1991) 281-284

2. (ala I) Flavia Conmanyenorum sagitaria intus. There is no record of either a first or second ala with the epithet Flavia. The only known ala I Conmanyenorum (not registered as sagitaria) 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 (cohors) Flavia Commagena (miliaria) sag. in a new reading of a diploma of Mauretania Tingitana of 154 (milliaria sag.) (CIL XVI 87.13), 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.)

3. The presence of cohors I Brittonum miliaria 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 diacritics on lines 89 onwards.

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 Julius Sabinus was either the successor of Pompeius Longinus (Dio 68: 12: 1-5; cf.; Strobel (1984) 75) or predecessor of Scæarius, 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 Julius Sabinus with the unknown subject of an aequipollentia 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 Felicer as commander of coh. I Montanorum, Sabinus should still have been governor of Dacia in 107. The formula dimissae honestae missione ... has been noted hitherto only in CIL XVI 43 of 98; (but see RMD 140 note 4 and Further Notes on the Chronology 6741). The space between Íuli and e ext., and between Pannoniorum and veterana int., indicates that the tablet was already damaged before the engraving took place.

7. The last letters of Íuli and Ýis are missing int.

8. C. Iulius Proculeus PIR II IV, 3, 1497; C. Aburius Valerius PIR 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 Ostiensii (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 particular significance.

9. Strobel (1984) p. 140 believes that cohor 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 (1367), 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), 170/180 (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 Felicer is otherwise unrecorded. M. Mirkovic lists known commanders of cohor 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 Saturnus who was governor of Moesia superior (103/105), cf. CIL XVI 54, which also names cohor I Montanorum. The cognomen Polymita seems not to be 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 mothers 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 110 and 163), although not in the same order. The witness M. Julius Clemens replaces M. Iulius Eutychus, who signed at seventh place in both lists of 110.

Photographs BVbl. 53, Taf. 10-11.
Ann. ep. 1987 no 854, tabella II.
Ann. ep. 1990 no. 860, complete diploma.

149 IMP INCERTVS INCERTO

ca. 82-112


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 Pförting by a veteran, or his descendant, from another province.

K.-H. Dietz suggested that the cognomen of the fourth witness (the first name that is partially preserved) is either [Capitolis] or [Frontonis]. [Capitolis] is known from a diploma of AD 86, Ti. Iulius Fronto from AD 88 (CIL XVI 32). 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 formula on the 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 these 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.

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 [Capitolis] or [Frontonis]. [Capitolis] 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 Bastaerena - AD 98 (CIL XVI 42) as also L. Pulius Epaphroditus, although A. Ampius Epaphroditus may be in question since he signed in 100 and 109 (CIL XVI 46, RMD 1 Appendix). The name Julius 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. ep. 1988 no. 901.
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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] Traianus<e<5> [Aug(ustus)]
(e) German(icus) Dac(is), pontif(ex) mai(stre) (i)tr(i)bus(m) (i)tr(ib) (i)vici
(p)rost(ate) ...... (i)mp(erator) ...... (c)os(V) (p)atriae)
[auxil(i)ti aut (mi)liari(um) aut milit(averunt)] in ...........
quorum nomina subscripsit etc. ................

Lavo [........ f. ........]5

Descriptus et recognitum ex tabula aeneae quae fixa est Romae in muro post templum divi Augusti ad Minervam)

1. In the published photograph (and through personal inspection) there appears to be a curved stroke after the V of TRAIANVS, 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(atrie) 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 /IV/ 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 [max]/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 Alfoldy-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. Alfoldy (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).

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

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

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(a) tabella I inner face

(b) tabella I outer face
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 1994! Height 2.65 cm; width 2.1 cm; thickness 0.6 mm. The find will be deposited in Museum Kam, Nijmegen.

1. 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.

2. 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 Friisianorum is found in the diploma of 105, and cohorts III or IIII 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.

3. If this was issued before ca. 110 it is likely to be Alfeldy-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.

4. If 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 AVGJVTa. Four more probably, five alae could have been named.

5. 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 [Augusta (line 1 ext.)] there would be space for, at most, 10 cohorts down to, and including, III Lingonum (see notes 8, 9, 10). Even if every cohort, attested as part of the British garrison, with a numeral equal to or higher than III 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 [Augusta] 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 [appellantur]r (note 6) there is room for 10-11 letters between cohors[i]bus and [quaet]. 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 been eligible to receive the grants at the time of issue.

6. The probable R appearing on the edge of the third line intus should clearly belong to appellantur 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.

7. Drs. Hulst observes that this may be the first listing of ala Augusta (ob viam appelatu) 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 ethnoc title that distinguished this from the other alae Augustae was omitted altogether, or even stranger if it preceded rather than followed the nomotitic Augusta. It is true that ala Classiana
ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

c. R. appears in the Sydenham and Middlewich diplomas without the qualifying Gallorum et Thracorum (CIL XVI 51 and RMD 8) but, this was the only ala Clasiana 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 (e.g. cohors I Brequorum 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 (-VSTA- in line 1; -NVM - line 4; -JLINE - 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 Lingorum is the only cohort based in Britain that has the ending -NVM 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 cohorte I Frisiavonunt, I Menapiorum, III and IIII Lingorum, demonstrate that this is a diploma of Britain. R. S. Hulst points out that Delwijnen lies near the presumed borde between the territories of the Frisavones and the Batavii. It may be suggested that the recipient returned to his home like the owners of four other diplomas of auxiliaries who served in Britain: CIL XVI 43 (Thermae), and 69 (O-Szény), RMD 168 (Turana) and 184 (Bulgaria). Unfortunately, the tribe of the recipient cannot be inferred from the diploma Cohors I Frisiavonunt 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 Frisavones or the Batavii 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 Frisavones or the Batavii, but I 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 whose complete would have measured approximately 15 cm by 13 cm. Photographs Pl. 2a & b.

Published B. Lörincz, S. Petényi Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 101 (1994) 197-200. Found in 1992 in Támok Otházpuszt (Komitat Pest, Kr. Budai) 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 problems connected with this ala will be discussed further elsewhere.

101. The determination of the consuls is by S. Petenyi and the restoration of the owners of four other diplomas of auxiliaries who have been awarded at this date; cf. Austen & Breeze (1979) on ala Augusta.

11. Only one unit with the numeral III or IIII.

12. IIII Lingorum is the only cohort based in Britain that has the ending -NVM and a numeral higher than III and this unit may be restored here, as R. S. Hulst suggests.

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*Calculations, based on the number of preserved letters and the proposed restorations of lines, suggest that the diploma whose complete would have measured approximately 15 cm by 13 cm. Photographs Pl. 2a & b.

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*Calculations, based on the number of preserved letters and the proposed restorations of lines, suggest that the diploma whose complete would have measured approximately 15 cm by 13 cm. Photographs Pl. 2a & b.

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*Calculations, based on the number of preserved letters and the proposed restorations of lines, suggest that the diploma whose complete would have measured approximately 15 cm by 13 cm. Photographs Pl. 2a & b.
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 consul, 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.

4. PIR² V 2, M 521.
5. The history of this ala has been traced by Ldrincz (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 prefect 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 praefit. See now Devijver (1976–77) Tomus I C 55; Alflödy (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 Gutmann, Berlin. 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.

\[\text{Intus: tabella I} \]

\[\text{Extrinsecus: tabella I} \]

\[\text{Gerr[nicus]} \]
\[\text{Dac[ius]} \]
\[\text{pon[itus]} \]
\[\text{tribunic[iu]a} \]
\[\text{postestas} \]
\[\text{XVI} 2 \]
\[\text{[imperator]} \]
\[\text{VII} \]
\[\text{[co(n)sul] VI} \]
\[\text{p(ater)} \]
\[\text{Ger[manicus]} \]
\[\text{Dac[ius]} \]
\[\text{pf etestat} \]
\[\text{XVII} 1 \]
\[\text{[praefect] \]

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. Hübenthal the main evidence for this ala came from Dacia. It appears in CIL XVI 90 of February 144 in Dacia superior, and

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(a) tabella I outer face
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in inscriptions at Veczel through to the mid 3rd C. (Ann. ep. 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 Alpinorum (unpublished), 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. (cohors) 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 Nicorotum. However, both of the cohorts 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 Nicorotum 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. Alfeldy 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.


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 pluribuvae 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 should be restored here. The remainder of the formula has been reconstructed on the basis of the best option.

Photographs PI. 3a & b.

154 TRAIANVS INCERTO

a. 114 (Sept. 1/Dec. 17)

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.

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

[Imp. Caesar, divi Nerva f., Nerva Traianus Optimum Aug(ustus)
Germanicus Dacic(us), pontif(ex) max(imus), tribunic(ia)
potestas(e) XVIII, imperator(um) VII, co(n)sul(s) VI, p(ater) p(atriae)
equ(itus) et pedit(ibus) qui militaverunt in etc.' ....

quorum nomina etc. .................................................................

........................................................................cum iia qua postea]
dast[sent] dum taxat singuli singulas]
k (?)[... J L. Lolli[nus Avitus], L. Mes[sius Rusticus] cos.
coh(ortis) II [?][......]]

Ti Iul[i] Urbani: P. Cau[lius Vitalis]?

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 intrus demonstrates that this is a diploma of the auxilia.

2. L. (Hodius Rufus) Lollianus Avitus, consul with L. Messius Rusticus in the last numidum of 114; cf. PIR² IV 2, H 39.

3. PIR² 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 those two witnesses may be restored with more 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. Caius 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. ep. 1988 no. 932

272
(a) tabella I outer face
(b) tabella I inner face
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 far. Found in Bulgaria. height 14.5 cm, width 11.3 cm; thickness and weight of each tablet not yet known. The letters on the outside 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.

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

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**Extrinsecus: tabella II**

Not available

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**Intus: tabella I**

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**Extrinsecus: tabella II**

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**Imp. Caesa(r), divi Antonini f., divi Veri Parthici max(i)mus**

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**Imp. Caesar L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus Augustus Anton(i)nus**
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 do both skillful and extraordinarily knowledgeable about diplomas in general, and the triumvirate 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 123 (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 levant constitutiones in the early part of the year in this year, although only CIL XVI 128 and this diploma were dated through the consulae 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 the list of the relevant decade; (cf. H. Nesselhauf Birley (1952-53) 19 and note 10 above. The framing lines on the outer faces of all four examples are 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 listings, as in some Danubian diplomas.

9. Cohors I August(a) Nerviorum (Germanorum milliaria) 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(a) (Germanorum milliaria) shown first in the cohort list of that diploma. There is, however, a cohaors Nerviorum, which is apparently quingenrary, 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 cohaors I Aelia Hispanorum on a diploma of Britain. In third century inscriptions from Netherby it is attested as milliary. The space between Hispanorum and fida does not seem large enough to accommodate an titul(m) but the lack of a military sign need not be significant. I fida Vardullorum, which is also known to be milliary, is similarly shown without any indication of strength. The milliary 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 also saw the tablets, suggested vet(era) 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 (επιτεθήκε) Ulpia Marcellus against the tribes, who
crossed the wall that separated them from the Roman legions and cut down a "σπαρτηγωρον". 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. Ulpius 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, equaling, if not exceeding, that of Agricolus. 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 (1998) 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 σπαρτηγωρον see A. R. Birley (1981) 135-136). Even if σπαρτηγωρον 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 Tineus Longus, who made a dedication under two Augusti, when Ulpius Marcellus was consulary governor (RIB 1329, Benwell). The joint emperors must be Marcus and Commodus. Tineus Longus was praefectus equitum when adopted 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 resigning of the governorship of Ulpius 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 1454 record the building of an aqueduct and an unknown project for ala II Asturum at Chesters under Ulpius 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 Samitian 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 present at Ribchester (RIB 13865) where some of the Samitians 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. 182/23 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. XI, 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. Ulpius Marcianus is not otherwise recorded in Britain and Deivijer (1976-) had not previously listed this equestrian (see now Tomus 5, 2435 (12 A)). Presumably the command of cohors VII Thracum was his first militia. Perhaps he obtained this post through the patronage of Ulpius 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 the 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 might call himself Dacus. The name Thiodus is unattested although Möcsey et al (1983) 287-8 has a number of names with the root theod-. I originally saw the patronym as Dolar bu now prefer Professor Eck's reading of Rolae. This name is no listed by Möcsey 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 Tungorum (RIB 2100) in Dio (1980) 82 and known movements of the unit of the recipient of CIL XVI 69) or through their recruitment from a 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; but could have been among a group of transfers brought in to strengthen units or replace losses. Men from the Danubian are (Thracians in particular) were increasingly enrolled in ever 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 FID. 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, a present, unparalleled. There is evidence which shows that 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 results sometimes either in a different hand being used or in sligh skewing or cramming 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 Lox Suppl. 248 on the use of quae for quae (cf. RMD 185 note 2). 19. Marcia, Lupercus and Pius appear as witnesses of auxiliary and fleet diplomas from 178 at least up to AD 212 (See Index o Witness names, Period 3 and Appendix VI). Photographs Pl. 4 a and b.
PLATE 5(i): 191

(a) tabella I inner face
(b) tabella I outer face
191 SEVERVS ET ANTONINVS ET GETA L. DOMITIO FIRMOM

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

IMP CAES DIVI M ANTONINI PI GERM SARM F DIVI-COM MODI FRATER DIVI ANTONINI PI N TRAIANI PARTHICI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE AD NEP L SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS PIVS PI///NAX AVG ///B ADIA/ 5 PARTHIC MAX PONT MAX TR POT XVIII IMP XII COS III P P IMP CAES DIVI M ANTONINI PI GERM SARM F (!) DIVI COMModi FRATER DIVI ANTONINI PI N TRAIANI PARTHICI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS LSEPTIMIVS SEVERVS PIVS PERTINAX AVG ARAB ADIAB PARTHIC MAXIM F DIVI M ANTONI NI PI GERM SARM NER IA DIVI ANTONINI PI N TRAIANI PARTHICI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS M DIVI HADRIANI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS PSEPTIMIVSGETA PIVS FELIX AVG TRIB-POT II COS III PROC ET IMP CAES IMP L SEPTIMI SEVERI PI PERTINACIS AVG

ARAB-ADIAB PARTHIC MAXIMI F ET IMP M- AVERELLI 15 ANTONINI PI N AVG FRATER DIVI M ANTONINI PI GERM SARM DIVI ANTONINI PI N TRAIANI PARTHICI ET DIVI HADRIANI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS PSEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS FELIX AVG TRIB POT II COS II PROCET NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVERVT IN COHOR TIBYS PRAETORIS DECEM I II III V V-VII VIII VIII IX PIIS VINCIBVS QVI PIE ET FORTITE MILIT (1) IMP. CAESAR DIVI M ANTONINI PI N GERM SARM F MAXIMUS PIVS GETA L SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS PIVS PI///NAX AVG ///B ADIA/ 5 PARTHIC MAX PONT MAX TR POT XVIII IMP XII COS III P P IMP. CAESAR DIVI M ANTONINI PI N GERM SARM F MAXIMUS PIVS GETA L SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS PIVS PI///NAX AVG ///B ADIA/ 5 PARTHIC MAX PONT MAX TR POT XVIII IMP XII COS III P P IMP. CAESAR L SEPTIMI SEVERI PI PERTINACIS AVG ARAB-ADIAB PARTHIC MAXIMI F ET IMP M- AVERELLI 15 ANTONINI PI N AVG FRATER DIVI M ANTONINI PI GERM SARM DIVI ANTONINI PI N TRAIANI PARTHICI ET DIVI HADRIANI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS PSEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS FELIX AVG TRIB POT II COS II PROCET NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVERVT IN COHOR TIBYS PRAETORIS DECEM I II III V V-VII VIII VIII IX PIIS VINCIBVS QVI PIE ET FORTITE MILIT (1) IMP. CAESAR DIVI M ANTONINI PI N GERM SARM F MAXIMUS PIVS GETA L SEPTIMI SEVERI PI PERTINACIS AVG ARAB-ADIAB PARTHIC MAXIMI F ET IMP M- AVERELLI 15 ANTONINI PI N AVG FRATER DIVI M ANTONINI PI GERM SARM DIVI ANTONINI PI N TRAIANI PARTHICI ET DIVI HADRIANI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS PSEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS FELIX AVG TRIB POT II COS II PROCET NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVERVT IN COHOR TIBYS PRAETORIS DECEM I II III V V-VII VIII VIII IX PIIS VINCIBVS QVI PIE ET FORTITE MILIT (1) IMP. CAESAR DIVI M ANTONINI PI N GERM SARM F MAXIMUS PIVS GETA L SEPTIMI SEVERI PI PERTINACIS AVG ARAB-ADIAB PARTHIC MAXIMI F ET IMP M- AVERELLI 15 ANTONINI PI N AVG FRATER DIVI M ANTONINI PI GERM SARM DIVI ANTONINI PI N TRAIANI PARTHICI ET DIVI HADRIANI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS PSEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS FELIX AVG TRIB POT II COS II PROCET NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVERVT IN COHOR TIBYS PRAETORIS DECEM I II III V V-VII VIII VIII IX PIIS VINCIBVS QVI PIE ET FORTITE MILIT (1) IMP. CAESAR DIVI M ANTONINI PI N GERM SARM F MAXIMUS PIVS GETA L SEPTIMI SEVERI PI PERTINACIS AVG ARAB-ADIAB PARTHIC MAXIMI F ET IMP M- AVERELLI 15 ANTONINI PI N AVG FRATER DIVI M ANTONINI PI GERM SARM DIVI ANTONINI PI N TRAIANI PARTHICI ET DIVI HADRIANI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS PSEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS FELIX AVG TRIB POT II COS II PROCET NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVERVT IN COHOR TIBYS PRAETORIS DECEM I II III V V-VII VIII VIII IX PIIS VINCIBVS QVI PIE ET FORTITE MILIT (1) IMP. CAESAR DIVI M ANTONINI PI N GERM SARM F MAXIMUS PIVS GETA L SEPTIMI SEVERI PI PERTINACIS AVG ARAB-ADIAB PARTHIC MAXIMI F ET IMP M- AVERELLI 15 ANTONINI PI N AVG FRATER DIVI M ANTONINI PI GERM SARM DIVI ANTONINI PI N TRAIANI PARTHICI ET DIVI HADRIANI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS PSEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS FELIX AVG TRIB POT II COS II PROCET NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVERVT IN COHOR TIBYS PRAETORIS DECEM I II III V V-VII VIII VIII IX PIIS VINCIBVS QVI PIE ET FORTITE MILIT (1) IMP. CAESAR DIVI M ANTONINI PI N GERM SARM F MAXIMUS PIVS GETA L SEPTIMI SEVERI PI PERTINACIS AVG ARAB-ADIAB PARTHIC MAXIMI F ET IMP M- AVERELLI 15 ANTONINI PI N AVG FRATER DIVI M ANTONINI PI GERM SARM DIVI ANTONINI PI N TRAIANI PARTHICI ET DIVI HADRIANI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS PSEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS FELIX AVG TRIB POT II COS II PROCET NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVERVT IN COHOR TIBYS PRAETORIS DECEM I II III V V-VII VIII VIII IX PIIS VINCIBVS QVI PIE ET FORTITE MILIT (1) IMP. CAESAR DIVI M ANTONINI PI N GERM SARM F MAXIMUS PIVS GETA L SEPTIMI SEVERI PI PERTINACIS AVG ARAB-ADIAB PARTHIC MAXIMI F ET IMP M- AVERELLI 15 ANTONINI PI N AVG FRATER DIVI M ANTONINI PI GERM SARM DIVI ANTONINI PI N TRAIANI PARTHICI ET DIVI HADRIANI ABNEP DIVI NERVAE ADNEPOS PSEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS FELIX AVG TRIB POT II COS II PROCET NOMINA MILITVM QVI MILITAVERVT IN COHOR TIBYS PRAETORIS DECEM I II III V V-VII VIII VIII IX PIIS VINCIBVS QVI PIE ET FORTITE MILIT (1)

Lines 1, and 29-31 are in larger script.

Imp. Caes(ar), divi M. Antonini Pii Germ(ani) Sarmatici f, divi Commodi frater, divi Antonini Pii nep(os), divi Hadriani pronep(os), divi Traiani Parthic(i) abnep(os), divi Nerva(e adnep(os),

L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus (Arabicus) Adiabenticus Parthicus maximus, pontifex maximus, tribunicia potestas) XVIII, imperator) XII, co(n)sul(us) III, praet(or) p(atriae), proco(n)su(e) et

L. Domitio F. Firmo Caes. Ma za ca descriptuv et recogntivex tabvla aerea qvae fixa est romae in mvro pos templ(divi avg ad minervam

Imp. Caes(ar), divi M. Antonini Pii Germ(ani) Sarmatici f, divi Commodi frater, divi Antonini Pii nep(os), divi Hadriani pronep(os), divi Traiani Parthic(i) abnep(os), divi Nerva(e adnep(os),

L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus (Arabicus) Adiabenticus Parthicus maximus, pontifex maximus, tribunicia potestas) XVIII, imperator) XII, co(n)sul(us) III, praet(or) p(atriae), proco(n)su(e) et

322
5. Geta is named directly as Augustus for the first time on
4. Imperio is
2 For a discussion of the uncertainties concerning the number of
descriptu(m) et recognitu(m) ex tabula aerea,
pieis vindicibus,
1.
a d. a. VII idus januari
Romani natos.
iunxerint, proinde liberos tollant ac si ex duobus [civibus6
uxoribus, ut, etiamsi peregrini iuris feminas in matrimonio suo
cohortibus praetoris decem
Imp. Caes(ar) lmp.
Antonini
Romaet0in muro pos(t) templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.
L. Domitio L.
co(n)s(ul) II, proco(n)s(ul) nomina militum, qui militaverunt
Septimius Geta Pius Felix Aug(ustus), trib(unicia) p(otestate) IP,
abnep(os), divi Traiani Parthici et divi Nervae adnepos. P.
Sarm(atici)
Arab(ici) Adiab(enici) Parthici maximi
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
clxxxii-clxxxiv; and cf. Ute Schillinger-Hafele (1986) 70, note
This evidence agrees with that of the coins (Mattingly (1950)
named) and entered his second regnal
was elevated after July 209 (cf.
mattingly on 10 Dec. 209. This evidence agrees with that of the coins (Mattingly (1950)
cxix-xlxxv; and cf. Ute Schillinger-Hafele (1986) 70, note
3) and contrasts with the suggestion of G. Di Vita-Evvard 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). Mattingly, (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
campaign 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
unanswerable unless we decide that their titles in lines 14 aad 15 . Presumably this reflects a n
emphasis on his new status.
their titles in lines 14 aad 15 . Presumably this reflects a n
emphasis on his new status.
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 titl e
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
Caesaphon, it may be suggested that IMP XII in this diploma
represents some new event
RMD
Anionini ext. (see note 6).
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
Caesaphon, it may be suggested that IMP XII in this diploma
represents some new event
Barbara in the diploma as approximately 233.
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 titl e
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
Caesaphon, it may be suggested that IMP XII in this diploma
represents some new event
Barbara in the diploma as approximately 233.
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number of his imperial acclamations according to diploma
evidence. The emperors had not yet taken the titl e
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
Caesaphon, it may be suggested that IMP XII in this diploma
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Barbara in the diploma as approximately 233.
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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 titl e
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
Caesaphon, it may be suggested that IMP XII in this diploma
represents some new event
Barbara in the diploma as approximately 233.
PLATE 6: 193
Photographs Stuart Laidlaw

(a) tabella I inner face

(b) tabella I outer face
Key to sites:

**AUSTRIA**

174. Bad Deutsch-Altenburg
180. Carnuntum

**BRITAIN**

145. Caistor St. Edmund
146. York?

**BULGARIA**

136. Mineralni bani
140. Pet mogili
158. Site uncertain
165. Malak Preslavetz
172. Site uncertain
184. Site uncertain
193? Site uncertain
195w? Site uncertain

**EGYPT**

185. Coptos?

**GERMANY**

138. Trier
149/164 Pförting
155/166 Königshofen am Neckar
156. Münsterlingen
159. Bad Wimpfen
162. Aalen
170/172/122 Eining
175. Weißenburg
183. Walheim am Neckar

**HUNGARY**

152. Tárkány

**ITALY**

142. Voghenza
163. Pogognaga
182. Milan

**MOROCCO**

157; 186 Volubilis

**NETHERLANDS**

151. Delwijnen

**ROMANIA**

137. Turda
179. Târgoviște
187. Târgu Mureș

**SPAIN**

137. Utrera
168. Tarcento
176. Gibalbin
194. Cerro Franco
201. Bastica - unknown site

**TURKEY**

160. Kainu Ören
161. Cebel Ires

**USSR - UKRAINE**

200. Chersonesus

**YUGOSLAVIA**

143. Ranovac?
144. Viminacium or Margum
148. Ranovac
181. "Near Sirian"
187. Kostolac
197. Pontes

PROVENANCE

UNKNOWN/UNCERTAIN

139: 141; 147; 150; 153; 154;
169; 171; 173; 189; 190; 191;
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
ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

195a SEVERVS ALEXANDER VALENTI

c. a. 222-231/2 or 2267 (Ian. 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.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{intus: tabella I} \\
\text{extrinsecus: tabella I}
\end{array}
\]

The letters p. v. on the outer face confirm a date in the third century (see note 2 above).

Only the cognomen Valens, is preserved of the name of the recipient. It is possible that, like many praetorians 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 Ulpia 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 L, F, T or P.

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 Trajanopolis or Marcianopolis 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. AURELIO VALENTI

a. 226 laq 7

After the entry above (f195a) 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.

4. Marcianopolis was founded by Trajan and named for his
3. The conjectured restoration of the full name of the recipient
Heraclides
Ulpi
Descript(um) et recognit(um) ex tabula aerea, que fixa est Romaes
M. AJurelio M. f Vlp(ia) Valenti, Marcianopoli
coh(ors) II pr(aetoria) Severiana p(ia) v(index)

a. d. VII
nomina militum qui miltaver(unt) in cohort(ibus) pr(aetoris)

vindicibus, qui pie
Severianis decem I.I. III. V. VI VII. VIII. IX. X piis
nepos, M. Aurellius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Aug(ustus),

5

in muro pos templum divi <Aug(usti)>6 ad Minervam.

[Imp. Caes(ar), divi Antonini Magni Pii fil., divi Severi Pii
nepos. M. Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Aug(ustus),
pontif(fex) maximus, trib(uniciae) pot(estatus) V, co(n)s(ul) II,
p(ater) p(atris)ae]
nomina militum qui miltaver(unt) in cohort(ibus) pr(aetoris)
Severiana decem I. II. III. V. VI VII. VIII. IX. X piis
vindicibus, qui pie et forter militia functi sunt etc. ........]
...a. d. VII idus Ianuarii, [Imp. Sev]ero Alexandro II, Marcellio II[

[c.]

[cr(ohors) II pr(aetoria) Severiana p(a) vin(de)x].

[M. A]ureli M. f Vlp(ia) Valenti, [Marcianopolis].
Descriptum ex tabula aerea, que fixa est Romaes
...in muro pos templum divi <Aug(usti)>6 ad Minervam.

C. Valeri Muciani; P. Ael Saturnini; T. Flavi
Hericlides.

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 Batani or
Patensi 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 [J 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 Nicopoli and 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 Philippiopolis,
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 Mucapor,
the first witness of the latter diploma is clearly Thracian like
the recipient, who came from from Philippiopolis.

Photographs Pl. 8 a and b.
ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

196 SEVERVS ALEXANDER INCERTO

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

Published E. Zerbinati, *Epigraphica* 50 (1988) 235-43. Found in alluvial deposits with other material of the Roman period not far from the river Po, at Chiunesano, Gaiba (Rovigo), Italy (TIR L32 XII). A brief notice concerning this diploma appeared in R. Perreto, E. Zerbinati, *Il territorio polesano, "Il Veneto nell'età romana"*, II, Verona (1987) p. 287 with photograph. Present location Museo Civico delle Civiltà in Polesio (Rovigo). Fragment of the top right hand corner of tabella II with two parallel framing lines preserved on the top and right edges; 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.

\[\text{DESCRIPT ET R} \]
\[\text{FIXA EST RO} \]
\[\text{DIVI AVG} \]

\[\text{INTUS: tabella II} \]

\[\text{EXTRINSICUS: tabella II} \]

\[\text{IMP(erator) Caes(ar), divi Antonini Magni Pii fil(ius), [divi Severi Pii] nep(os), [M. Aurelius Severus] Alexander Pius Felix Aug(ustus), [pont(ifex) maximus, tr(ibunica) pot(estate) V, co(n)s(ul) II, p(ater) p(atriae)]2,} \]
\[\text{[quis qui militaverunt iu classi praetoria (Severniana)](ia)?} \]
\[\text{[coniunctum ex tabula aeria qua] fixa est Romae in muro pos templum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam}.} \]

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 *Descrip(um) et recognit(um)* 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 (*RMD* 192, note 3). However, the later discovery of *RMD* 15 casts some doubt on this.

3. E. Zerbinati restores *[quia] (indice)*. It is still unclear what 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 strange, and points out that the diploma was found in the hinterland of Ravenna and it is reasonable to suppose that the 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 Misena fleet, was found at Cremona in the Po valley, and the tombstone of his wife of a trierarch of the same fleet was found at Voghenza (Suppl. II. 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* V, 2, M. 576. Six years before this promotion to one of the two highest rank 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
PLATE 9 (ii): 198

(c) tabella II inner face

(d) tabella II outer face
(a) tabella I outer face
Roman Military Diplomas

198 Maximinus et Maximus M. Aurelio 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 Guttmann, Berlin.¹

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.

Ex equite dominor(um) nostrorum Augustorunt 7M . Aurelio Suri

A . d. VII idus Ian. L. Mario Perpetuo 5 et L. Mummio Corneliano
dquorum nomina subscripta sunt, civitatem Romana(m), qui eorum
dtabellae extrinsecus: tabella I

Pendis emerit dimissis

equitis quibus inter singulares militaverunt castris novis

Maximinianis, quibus praet est Aelius Valens trib(unicus)², quinis
et vicenis pluribus et stipendis emeritis dimissis honesta missione, quorum
non haberent dedervunt et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tum
habuissent, cum est civitas iis data, aut cum iis, quas postea
dtabellae intus: tabella II

davisse sed duxissent dunttaxat singulis .

habuissent, cum est civitas its data, aut cum Us,

non haberent dederunt et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tun c

Maximinianis, quibus prae est Aelius Valens trib(unicus)

patriae, proc(onsul) et
germ(anicus) Dac(icus) Sar(maticus)

imp(atriae), proc(onsul) et

Germ(anicus) Dac(icus) Sar(maticus)

max(imus), nobilissimus Caesar
equester, qui inter singularibus miletauerunt castris novis

Maximinianis, quibus praet est Aelius Valens trib(unicus), quinis
et vicenis pluribus et stipendis emeritis dimissis honesta missione, quorum
non haberent dedervunt et conubium cum uxorisibus, quas tum
habuissent, cum est civitas iis data, aut cum iis, quas postea
dvixissent duxissent singulis.

d. VII idas Ian. L. Mario Perpetuo et L. Mummio Corneliano

civiliter quaestor et urbanae juris, quibus praet est Aelius

Valens trib(unicus), quinis et vicenis pluribus et stipendis emeritis dimissis
honesta missione, quorum non haberent dederunt et conubium cum uxorisibus,
quas tum habuissent, cum est civitas iis data, aut cum iis, quas postea
davisse sed duxissent singulis.

1. I owe especial thanks to Herr Guttmann 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. 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.

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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. PIR² 1 A. 275, but see now Devijver (1976-7) Tomus 1, p. 76, and Tomus 4, p. 1423 - A68, citing Pfau (Car. No. 332) for the opinion that Valens became praefectus provinciae Sardiniae in 248, but is probably not to be identified with P. Val. praes(es) provinciae Sardi[niae]. Cf. Dobson (1978) no. 207.

5. PIR² V 2, M. 312.

6. PIR² V 2, M. 703.

7. Plural Auguri 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 (= Berenice) 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. AERIA 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 CLaudius as a praenomen.

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

Lines 1-10 extreminsecus 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(ibuniciu) pot(es) tate III, co(n)s(ul), p(atre), p(atriae), M. Iulius Philippus nobilissimus Caes(ar), nomina militum qui militauerunt in cohortibus praetorii Philippannis decem I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, VIII, X, pisius vindicius, qui pie et fortiter militia functi sunt, ius tribuerunt et perigrini iuris feminas in matrimonio suo (various)

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., praetor., toll. acx., etc. where the present example shows pontif., praetorius, tollatam, 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.

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

ROMAN MILITARY DIPLOMAS

200 IMP. INCERTVS INCERTO

C. a 206 - 250? [Ian. 77]

Published Yu. Kalashnik Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermidtsa (Papers of the National Hermitage Museum) 24 (Leningrad 1984) 165-168. A small fragment of a praetorian diploma found Chersonesus, 1952. Height 2.3 cm; width 2.6 cm. Height of letters on the outer face 5 mm; on the inner face 2.5-4 mm. Now in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. X.1952.281.

I must thank Dr. Edward Dąbrowa for drawing this diploma to my attention and providing a summary of the publication. The description of the praetorians as [piis vii]indicia[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 ten letters between praetorius 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 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: Iosephus Bell. Ind. II, 16, 4; ILS 2747 (ca. 173); CIL III 13750 (185/186) and tile stamps CIL III 14215. A member of legio XI Claudia buried his mother at Olbia in Southern Russia, he may have originated there (Ann. ep. 1909 no. 167); cf. Mann (1983) 136. In addition part (or all) of cohors I Barcaugustanorum 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 Gosudarstvennogo Ermidtsa, 24, 166. (=RMD II p. 231 No. 10)

Archäologische Bibliographie 1986, no. 5224