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54. THE OLDEST MILITARY DIPLOMA FOR THE PROVINCE OF DACIA

Jochen G. Garbsch

The second tablet for the oldest military diploma issued for the province of Dacia on October 14, 109 was published by Professor M. Mirković in 1987 (Mirković 1987). When she took a photograph of this tablet early in 1986 at Ranovac, some 30 km south of Viminacium, she was told there were two (or three ?) more tablets from the same spot but was not allowed to study them. In the meantime the first tablet of the above-mentioned diploma, along with the second one, found its way onto the art market. Due to the generosity of the present owner it can be presented here.

The dimensions are identical to those given by Professor Mirković, i.e. 16.2 by 12.2 cm. Furthermore, the identical recipient of both the exterior and the interior inscriptions, the similar patina, traces of fire, resulting damage on one corner and certain identical deformations which must have originated when both *tabellae* were still strung together, make it absolutely certain that both plates belong together.

This diploma is published fully elsewhere (Garbsch 1989). This paper intends only to provide drawings of the diploma (Figs 54.1 and 54.2), to give a conflation of *tabellae* I and II and to discuss some of the obvious historical implications connected with the new inscription. The details and the critical annotation will be found in the complete publication cited above.

Imp(erator) Caesar, divi Nervae f(ilius), Nerva Traianus Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) Dacicus pontif(ex) max(imus) tribunic(ia) potestat(e) XIII, imp(erator) VI, co(n)s(ul) V, p(ater) p(atriciae) equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in alis tribus et cohortibus decem et sex quae appellantur

- (1) I c(ivium) R(omanorum) et
- (2) II Flavia Commagenor(um) Sagittaria et
- (3) II Pannonior(um) veterana et
- (1) I Brittonum ω Ulpia torquata c(ivium) R(omanorum) et
- (2) I Britannica ω c(ivium) R(omanorum) et
- (3) I Ituraeorum et
- (4) I Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et
- (5) I Aug(usta) Ituraeor(um) et
- (6) I Vindelicor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis) et
- (7) I Pannonior(um) veterana et
- (8) I Montanor(um) et
- (9) II Gallor(um) Pannonica et
- (10) II Hispanor(um) et
- (11) II Britannor(um) ω c(ivium) R(omanorum) p(ia) f(idelis) et
- (12) II Gallorum Macedonica et
- (13) III Campestris c(ivium) R(omanorum) et
- (14) IIII Cypria c(ivium) R(omanorum) et
- (15) V Gallor(um) et
- (16) VIII Raetorum

et sunt in Dacia sub D. Terentio Scauriano quinīs et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione a Iulio Sabino,

quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent,

cum est civitas iis data, aut, si qui caelibes essent, cum iis, quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.

pr(idie) idus Oct(obres) C. Iulio Proculo, C. Aburnio Valente co(n)s(ulibus).

coh(ortis) I Montanor(um), cui praest Cornelius Felicior, ex peditē M. Herennio M. f(ilio) Polymitae, Berens(i), et Ianuario et Marcello f(iliis) eius et Lucanae fil(iae) eius.

Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea, quae fixa est Romae in muro post templum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.

There are only minor differences in spelling and abbreviation between the exterior and interior texts. The seven witnesses are well known between AD 79 and 129; they appear in identical order on *CIL XVI 161* from the same day. The year is given by the consuls C. Iulius Proculus and C. Aburnius Valens.

The first surprise comes from *tabella I* line 16 '*et sunt in Dacia sub D. Terentio Scauriano*', thus moving the diploma from Moesia Superior, where it was found (and to which it was presumed, by Professor Mirković, to belong) over to Dacia. Scaurianus is well known. From the special grant of AD 106/110 (*CIL XVI 160*) he has almost unanimously been supposed to have been commander-in-chief since summer 105 and governor from at least August 11, 106 until 110 or even 112.

And then there is another surprise in line 19, the final line of *tabella I*: '*dimissis honesta missione a Iulio Sabino*'. This information can be explained in several ways. Either it points to an extraordinary situation when a subordinate had the task of beginning the dismissals, as for example the '*missio per tribunos*' recorded by Tacitus (*Annals* 1.37, AD 14. I owe this suggestion to Dr M. Roxan). Or the new diploma adds to the minority of (up to now) seven diplomas giving the names of two or three governors. Out of these, *CIL XVI 43*, *RMD 14* and *CIL XVI 69* also cite two governors for the same province. This is explained by a change of governors between *missio* and the grant of citizenship.

Hence arises the problem of finding time for Iulius Sabinus to fit in as military commander-in-chief after Pompeius Longinus and before Terentius Scaurianus. It can be done only between the summers of AD 105 and 106 - unless in *CIL XVI 160* the reference to Scaurianus is to be associated with the date of the issue, i.e. July 2, 110 (?), instead of its hitherto accepted association with the date of the actual grant by the emperor on August 11, 106. This would allow for the change between Sabinus and Scaurianus to take place any time between August 106 and October 109, as defined by the new diploma.

The commander of the unit and the recipient of the diploma and his family have been dealt with by Professor Mirković. I would only like to make the point that the recipient's *origo* may well have been in Thracia but, if so, he most likely originated from Beroe - Augusta Traiana (Stara Zagora), not mentioned by Mirković. One could also think of Beroea in Macedonia or even the Macedonian colony of Beroea in Syria (Aleppo).

The list of troops given in the new diploma shows that demobilization

I M P C A E S A R D I V I N E R V A E F N E R V A T R A I A N V S
 A V C G E R M A D A C I C V S P O N T I F M A X T R I B V N I C P O
 T E S T A T X I I I I M P V I C O S V P P
 E Q V I T I B V S E T P E D I T I B V S Q V I M I L I T A V E R V N T I N
 A L I S T R I B V S E T C O H O R O T I B V S D E C E M E T S E X
 Q V A E A P P E L L A N T V R I C R E T I F L A V I A C O M M A
 G E N O R S A G I T T A R I A E T I I P A N N O N I O R V E T E R A
 N A E T I B R I T T O N V M O V I P I A T O R Q V A T A C R
 E T I B R I T A N N I C A M C R E T I T Y R A E O R E T I T H R A
 C V M C R E T I A V G I T Y R A E O R E T I V I N D E L I C O R
 C R P F E T I P A N N O N I O R V E T E R A N A E T I M O N
 T A N O R E T I I G A L I O R P A N N O N I C A E T I I H I S P A
 N O R E T I I B R I T A N N O R O C R P F E T I I G A L I O
 R V M M A C E D O N I C A E T I I C A M P E S T R I S C R E T
 I I I C Y P R I A C R E T I I G A L I O R V M E T V I I R A E
 T O R V M E T S V N T I N D A C I A S V B D I F F E R E N T I O
 S C A V R I A N O Q V O N I S E T V I C E N I S P I V R I B V S
 O V E S T I P E N D I I S E M E R I T I S D I M I S S I S I H O N E S
 O T A M I S S I O N E A I V L I O S A B I N O Q V O R V M O

O N O M I N A S V B S C R I P T A S V N T I P S I S I I B E
 O R I S T O S T E R S Q V E F O R V A M C I V I T A T E M D E D I T
 E T C O N V B I N A C V A M V X O R I B V S Q V A S T V N C H A
 B V I S S E N T C V M E S T C I V I T A S I I S D A T A N V T S I Q V
 C A E L I B E S E S S E N T C V M O U S Q V A S P O S T E A D V
 X I S S E N T O V A T A X A T S I N C V L I S I N C V L I A S
 P R I D V S O C T
 C I V L I A P R O C V L O C O S
 C A R V E N I O V A L E N T E
 C O H I M O N T A N O R C V I P R A E S T
 C O R N E L I V S F E L I C I O R
 E X P E D I T E
 A A H E R E N N I O M F O P O L Y M T H A E B E R E N S
 E T I A N V A R I O O F T M A R C E L L O F E I N
 E T L V C A N A E F I L I I S
 D E S C R I P T V M E T R E C O G N I T V M E X T A B V L
 A E N E A Q V A F F I X A E S T R O M A E

Fig. 54.1. Military diploma dated 14.10. 109; intus (actual size).

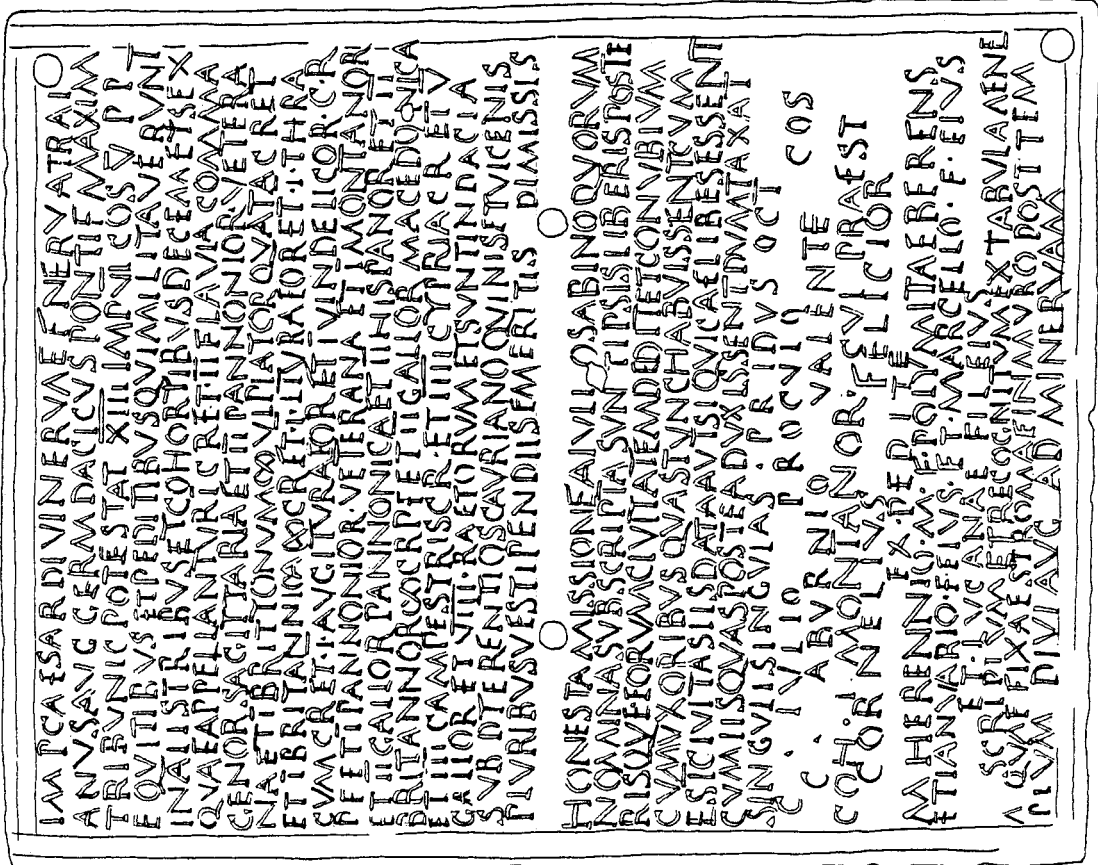
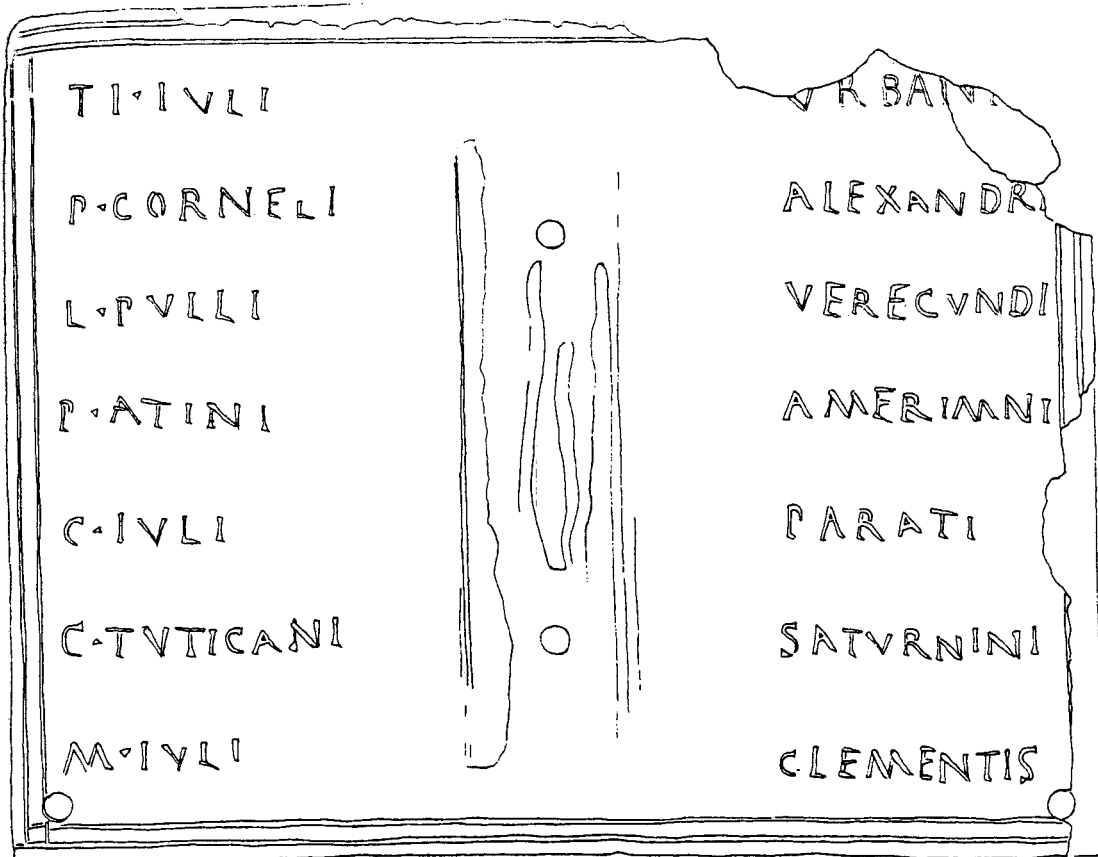


Fig. 54.1. Military diploma dated 14.10.109; extrinsecus (actual size).

Fig. 54.2. Military diploma dated 14.10.109; intrinsecus (actual size).

began at least four months earlier than hitherto had been supposed from *CIL XVI 57* of February 2, 110. But apparently these were partial dismissals only. Thus even with the new diploma we are far from knowing all about the Dacian occupation army after the second campaign. Looking at the troop lists as given by the new diploma, diplomas *CIL XVI 57* and 163 and the parallel Lower Pannonian diploma *CIL XVI 164*, they can be arranged into groups depending on the combination of diplomas listing any unit (Table 1).

Table 1. Auxilliary units in Dacia as listed by military diplomas AD 109-110

	Dacia			Pann Inf
	109	110	110	110
	10	2	7	7
	14	17	2	2
(4) coh. I Thracum c.R. p.f.	o	o	o	o
(2) coh. I Britannica ω c.R.	o	o	o	
(12) coh. II Gallorum Macedonica	o	o	o	
(16) coh. VIII Raetorum c.R.	o	o	o	
(1) ala I c.R.	o	o		
(3) coh. I Ituraeorum	o	o		
(5) coh. I Aug. Ituraeorum (sag.)	o	o		
(13) coh. III Campestris c.R.	o	o		
(14) coh. IIII Cypria c.R.	o	o		
(8) coh. I Montanorum	o		o	o
(15) coh. V Gallorum	o		o	o
(2) ala II Flavia Commagenorum sag.	o			
coh. II Flavia Commagenorum sag. (eq.)			o	
(3) ala II Pannoniorum veterana	o		o	
(1) coh. I Brittonum ω Ulpia torquata c.R.	o		o	
(6) coh. I Vindelicorum (ω) c.R. p.f.	o		o	
(7) coh. I Pannoniorum veterana (p.f.)	o		o	
(9) coh. II Gallorum Pannonica	o		o	
(10) coh. II Hispanorum	o		o	
(11) coh. II Britannorum ω c.R. p.f.	o		o	
ala I Aug. Ituraeorum		o	o	
coh. I Flavia (Ulpia) Hispanorum ω (c.R.)		o	o	
coh. I Hispanorum p.f.		o	o	
pedites Britannici		o	o	
ala I (Flavia Aug.) Britannica (ω) c.R.			o	o
ala I Claudia			o	
coh. I Cretum sag.			o	
coh. V Lingonum			o	
coh. VI Thracum			o	

There are 6 *alae* and 22 *cohortes* in all, and one irregular unit. There are 19 units in the oldest diploma, 13 in the following and 22 in the latest one. Most units appear on at least two diplomas: only *ala II Flavia Commagenorum sagittaria* of our diploma (perhaps mixed up with the homonymous cohort mentioned in *CIL XVI 163*) and four cohorts from the latter diploma are not listed on any other diploma.

We will not go into details of the list as all the units - except the aforementioned *ala* - have been dealt with recently by K. Strobel (1984). Suffice it to say that by the eve of the first Dacian war, i.e. AD 100, most of them were stationed in Moesia Superior (except, for example, *ala I Flavia Aug. Britannica* ω c.R. and *coh. III Campestris* in Pannonia).

Historians have claimed tremendous forces for Trajan's Dacian campaigns. Even in Strobel's survey some 25 to 29 *alae* and 68 to 78 *cohortes* remain as directly involved in fighting and supposedly remaining in Dacia until 109/110. We will not go into the tricky details of their eventual disposition in Dacia, as evidence for the early years of occupation is still in my opinion, rather scanty, nor will we deal with the later fates of these units.

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