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A DIPLOMA OF MOESIA INFERIOR: 125 IUN. 1

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Six partially joining fragments of *tabella I* of a Hadrianic diploma came on to the art market and were purchased by Martin Schøyen. They are now in the Collection of Martin Schøyen, Oslo/London: The Schøyen Collection MS 2086¹. The find-spot is unknown, but internal evidence indicates that they were almost certainly found in Bulgaria. The fragments are fragile and thin and the bronze is covered in a green coat of verdigris, which is patchy with reddish accretions partially covering some letters. The measurements of the complete tablet are: height ca. 16 cm; width 12.6 cm; thickness variable – ca. 1 mm maximum. A hinge hole is preserved in the top right hand corner of the outer face and the right “binding” hole is present in the larger of the lower fragments. The latter is avoided by the letters on the inner face which may indicate that it was punched through before the tablet was engraved. The weight of the combined fragments is 105 g. The height of letters on the outer face is variable but most are ca. 3 mm. On the inner face the letters are ca. 4 mm high. There are no framing lines on the outer face but part of a line runs 4 mm from the right edge and appears to have served as a margin.

Tabella I: extrinsecus (Pl. IX)

	IMP CAESAR DIVI TRAIANI-PARTHICI F DIVI NER ●
	VAE NEPOS TRAIANVS HADRIANVS·AVG·PONTIF
	MAXIM TRIB POTEST VIII COS III PRO COS
	EQVITIB·ET PEDITIB·QVI MILITAVER IN ALIS DVAB
5	ET COH V QVAE APPELLANTVR I GALLOR ET PANNON
	ET I FLAV GAETVLOR ET I THRAC SYRIAC ET I LEPIDIAN
	C R ET I BRACAROR C R ET II MATTIACOR ET II FLAVIA
	BRITTON QVAE SVNT IN MOESIA INFERIORE SVB
	BRVTTIO PRAESENTE QVINIS ET VICENIS PLVRIB
10	STIPENDIS EMERITIS DIMISSIS HONESTA MIS
	QVORVM NOMINA SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS
	RIS POSTERISQ EORVM CIVITATEM DEDIT ET C
	BIVM CVM VXORIB SENT C
	CAELIB ESSENT
	●
15	POSTEA DVXISSENT DVMTAXAT
	VLAS K IVNIS
	GRO P LVCIO COSCONIANO COS
	AE GAETVLOR CVI PRAEST
	ATTIANVS ROMA
20	EX GREGALE
	LOIRESI F BESSO
	IV LVCOSIS FIL VXORI EIVS BESSAE
	F EIVS ET GAIO F EIVS
	F EIVS FIL EIVS
25	RV FIL EIVS
	M ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVLA AENEA
	EST ROMAE IN MVRO POST TEMPLVM
	AD MINERVAM

¹ Martin Schøyen has kindly permitted publication of this diploma, as well as others in his collection, and his promotion of scholarship is very much appreciated.

Tabella I: intus (Pl. X)

	IMP CAESAR DIVI
	NEPOS TRAIAN HA
	TRIB POTEST VIII
	EQ ET PED QVI MIL IN
5	APP I GALL ET PAN
	ET I THRAC SYRIAC LEPID//N T I RAC C R
	ET II MATTIAC ET AV BRITTON QVAE SVNT
	IN MOESIA INFE SVB BRVTTIO PRAE
	SENTE QVIN ET V NIS PLVRIB STIPENDIS
10	EMERITIS DIM HONESTA MISSIONE
	QVOR NOMINA BSCRIPT SVNT IPSIS
	LIBERIS POS/E IS • Q EOR CIVIT EM
	DEDIT ET CONV CVM VXOR B QVAS VNC
	HABVISSEN VM EST CIV TAS IIS DATA
	●

The inner face is engraved in a different hand which is more careless than that used on the outer face, which is neat and well spaced. There are slight traces of guide lines on the latter face, most numerals are capped and A's crossed. Although the same hand is used throughout the outer face, lines 16–25 are marginally different in alignment, which suggests that they may have been inserted into a space left in a previously engraved main formula.²

Conflation of the two sides:

Imp. Caesar, divi Traiani Parthici f., divi Nervae nepos, Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus, pontif(ex) maxim(us), trib(unicia) potest(ate) VIII, co(n)s(ul) III, proco(n)s(ul) equitib(us) et peditib(us) qui militaver(unt) in alis duab(us) et coh(ortibus) V, quae appellantur (I) I Gallor(um) et Pannon(iorum) et (2) I Flav(ia) Gaetulor(um); et (1) I Thrac(um) Syriac(a) et (2) I Lepidian(a) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (3) I Bracar(augustan)or(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (4) II Mattiacor(um) et (5) II Flavia Britton(um), quae sunt in Moesia inferiore sub Brutio Praesente, quinis et vicenis plurib(usve) stipendis emeritis dimissis honesta missione, quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisq(ue) eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxorib(us), quas [t]unc habuissent, cum est civ[i]tas iis data, [aut, siqui] caelib(es) essent, [cum iis, quas] postea duxissent dumtaxat [singuli sing]ulas.

k. Iunis [- ----- Ni]gro, P. Lucio Cosconiano cos.

[alae I Flavi]ae Gaetulor(um) cui praest [- -----] Attianus, Roma, ex gregale [-----]lo Iresi? f. Besso, [et ---- -] jiu Lucosis fil. uxori eius, Bessae, [et ----] f. eius et Gaio f. eius [et ----] f. eius [et ----] fil. eius [et ----] Jru fil. eius

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

The diploma falls within a period of change from the use of cardinal numbers to Roman numerals to denote the number of alae and cohorts. Numerals appear on the inner face of CIL XVI 169 (73) of November 122 and in the reading made by Gough in 1806 of the lost outer face of CIL XVI 70 of 124, they are certainly present on the inner face, which is now in the possession of the British Museum.

² See RMD III pp. 339–340 for further examples of this possibility.

However, RMD 21 of 123 shows at least one example of a cardinal number on the inner face and here in 125 there is a mixture of cardinals and numerals on the outer face. In 126 numerals only were used.³ The observation has been made that when there is a change in usage or formula there is sometimes a delay before it is implemented in all diplomas. This diploma demonstrates an intermediate stage in the process of adjustment to a change.

The Date

The date of issue is recorded through Hadrian's titles. In particular, his ninth year of tribunician power ran from 10th December 124 until 9th December 125. The day date is given on line 16 (ext.) as the kalends of June.

The Units

The diploma grants were given to two alae and five cohorts of the auxilia of Moesia inferior under its legate Bruttius Praesens.

a) Alae:

Ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum (catafractata). There is a degree of uncertainty over the origin of this unit. Hitherto the earliest dated record in a diploma was in CIL XVI 78 of 134 Apr. 2. The career of Marcus Maenius Agrippa has given rise to speculation about the timing of his command (as tribune) of *cohors I Hispanorum* in Britain. It has been argued that he served in this capacity at Maryport ca. 122–126⁴ This has relevance for his subsequent post as prefect of *ala I Gallorum et Pannoniorum catafractata*.⁵ If Jarrett's argument is correct this was probably held in Moesia inferior in the late 120's or very early 130's. Whatever interpretation is given to the career of Agrippa it is now certain that he could not have been the first, or even a very early, commander of the ala,⁶ since in this diploma some of its members had served long enough to qualify for the grant by AD 125. This would normally suggest that the ala had been raised, at latest, by Trajan at the beginning of his reign.⁷ However, it may have been created later, either round a cadre of experienced cavalrymen or formed by the amalgamation of two pre-existing units, as its title may suggest. One possible origin for the unit lies in *ala I Pannoniorum* of Moesia inferior. Earlier this ala, which then lacked a numeral, seems to have been in Dalmatia⁸ and then Pannonia,⁹ arriving in Moesia inferior perhaps late in the Flavian period to be recorded in a diploma of 99 Aug. 14,¹⁰ but now also attested in Dacia in a fragmentary diploma of 112/113.¹¹ The issue of this

³ W. Eck – M. M. Roxan, Two New Military Diplomas, Römische Inschriften – Neufunde, Neulesungen und Neuinterpretationen. Festschrift für Hans Lieb; zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Kollegen, Basel 1995, 55–79.

⁴ M. G. Jarrett† in: Non-Legionary Troops in Roman Britain, Part I, The Units, Britannia 25, 1994, 46–48.

⁵ ILS 2735 (Camerinum) gives a reasonably complete career inscription of Agrippa, who rose to become procurator of the province of Britannia, probably in the latter part of the reign of Hadrian, and fathered a son who became a senator.

⁶ As suggested by J. E. H. Spaul, Ala 2, Andover 1994, 82–84.

⁷ The present diploma uses the formula *quinis et vicenis pluribusve*, so that men serving in the units named could have been recruited at least as early as AD 98.

⁸ Simply as *ala Pannoniorum* with no distinguishing numeral, cf. CIL III 2016 = 8577 = ILS 2530.

⁹ Still without a numeral, cf. CIL III 4227, 4228 (Gyaloka); then 4372, 4376 and 4377 (Arrabona). P. Le Roux suggests that the *duplicarius* and his comrades named in CIL III 2016 and the *eques* of III 4227 were all Spanish, but this need not mean that the ala was ever in Spain: L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces ibériques, Paris 1982, 190 no. 71; 189 no. 69.

¹⁰ CIL XVI 44, second of three alae, see also CIL III 14453 (Constanza, Tomis), of a veteran decurion, who had received *dona* from Vespasian.

¹¹ Unpublished. This will appear in RMD IV.

diploma may have been delayed like another unpublished diploma of Dacia, which carries the same regnal year for Trajan but names the consuls of 114. This latest evidence shows that *ala I Pannonicorum* was not transferred permanently to Africa before the Dacian Wars as J. E. H. Spaul suggested.¹² It now seems that the older idea of two *alae I Pannonicorum* should be reinstated. If so, some explanation for its later absence from the lists of Moesia inferior may be attempted. A possible, admittedly speculative, scenario would be that *ala I Pannonicorum*, recorded as having discharged some of its older troopers in 112/113 on the eve of Trajan's Parthian expedition, accompanied the emperor to the East and suffered some losses during the campaign. This could have provided the incentive to stiffen its ranks with Gallic cavalrymen, perhaps from another depleted unit, and account for the creation of *ala I Gallorum et Pannonicorum*. Neither the present diploma nor any other extant diploma adds the epithet *catafractata*¹³ but diplomas do not always give complete titles of units. Heavily armoured troops, who could withstand fire from archers, would suit an Eastern campaign very well. The return of the ala to the command of Moesia inferior, where at least a section of the parent unit had been stationed some 19–20 years earlier, would then be explicable as part of Hadrian's reorganisation at a time when he had serious concerns about the stability of the new province of Dacia.¹⁴ These suggestions are an attempt to fit the new evidence into a coherent framework but in any case it seems probable that Cichorius was correct in his suggestion of an amalgamated unit. The ala remained in Moesia inferior to be recorded in a diploma of ca. 152/154¹⁵ and probably two others of the reign of Pius.¹⁶

Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum was part of the garrison of Moesia inferior in 99,¹⁷ where it perhaps played some role during Trajan's Dacian wars,¹⁸ returned to the province and was registered there in a diploma issued between 110 and 113¹⁹ but was in Pannonia inferior by 114.²⁰ Some time within the next eleven years it had once more returned to Moesia inferior where it apparently remained.²¹ It was suggested by W. Wagner that the ala was in Pannonia inferior in the period 151/160 on the basis of two diplomas and, presumably for this reason, the third militia of Publius Aelius Ammonius²² as prefect of the ala was assigned to that province both by H.-G. Pflaum and H. Devijver.²³ However, A. Stein had already suggested that Ammonius had commanded the ala in Moesia inferior²⁴ and a possible attribution of the

¹² Spaul (note 6). 170. CIL VIII 6309 = ILS 2513 (Ain Fua), which is surely Julio Claudian (together with other inscriptions) supports the presence of a second *ala I Pannonicorum* in Numidia at a pre-Flavian date.

¹³ This title appears only in the cursus of Maenius Agrippa (see note 5). Probably *catafractaria* should be inferred.

¹⁴ Hadrian had severe problems in the Danubian provinces at the beginning of his reign. For the latest discussion of the measures taken: the abandonment of territory, the creation of three new Dacian provinces and the extraordinary appointment of Q. Marcius Turbo in command of Dacia superior and Pannonia inferior with two legions, see I. Piso, *Fasti Provinciae Daciae I*, Bonn 1993, 30–41, especially 30–34.

¹⁵ RMD I 50 (See further notes on the chronology, in: RMD IV – forthcoming – for a revised date of 152/154 for this diploma).

¹⁶ RMD III 165 of 145 see notes 1 and 2 p. 286; RMD II 111 of 161, see note 2 p. 183. The ala *Gallorum et Pannonicorum* recorded in *Dacia Porolissensis* in 154 (CIL XVI 110 + RMD 47/101) appears as *ala II Gallorum et Pannonicorum* in diplomas of 164 e.g. CIL XVI 185; RMD 64 etc.

¹⁷ CIL XVI 45.

¹⁸ Cf. K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans*, Bonn 1984, 111.

¹⁹ CIL XVI 58. Perhaps early in the suggested date span to allow for its transfer to Pannonia inferior by September 114.

²⁰ CIL XVI 61. On neither face of this diploma is the reading entirely clear but the tombstone of a prefect, L. Flavius Secularis, confirms that it was in Pannonia inferior at this time (CIL VI 3250 = ILS 2731).

²¹ See RMD III 165 note 3 for the suggestion that this ala may have been listed in this diploma of 145.

²² IGR I 623 = ILS 8851 (Tomi).

²³ W. Wagner, *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonen, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus*, Göttingen 1938, 35 referring to CIL XVI 112 and 113, see especially CIL XVI p. 102 note 1; H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Paris 1960, 854–5 car. 329; H. Devijver, *Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, Leuven 1976–1993, 55, A 21.

²⁴ PIR² A 135; A. Stein, *Legaten von Moesien*, Budapest 1940, 115.

ala to Pannonia inferior in 159 has been disproved through a re-evaluation by Zsolt Visy of CIL XVI 112 and 113.²⁵ The next part of Ammonius' career involved a command over vexillations of various units in the same province followed by two posts clearly held in Moesia inferior: *praefectus classis Flaviae Moesicae Gordianae* and *procurator Augusti*. He has also been identified as the recipient of a rescript from Gordian in 240, so that his post in charge of the ala is probably to be placed in the period 235–238.²⁶

b) Cohorts

Cohors I Thracum Syriaca equitata. The title of this unit implies that it was at one time in the East but if so it returned to be attested in undivided Moesia in the Flavian period.²⁷ A diploma of 100 places it in Moesia superior²⁸ where it lay at Timacum Minus (Ravna).²⁹ It probably took part in Trajan's Dacian Wars. K. Strobel also believes that the unit accompanied Trajan to the East; cf. the career of M. Sentius Proculus who was *praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Thrac(um) Syr(iacae) eq(uitatae), et vexillat(ionum) coh(ortis) I Cilic(um) et coh(ortis) VII Breucor(um)*.³⁰ All three units were attributed to Moesia superior in 100 which would make such a grouping feasible.³¹ This diploma shows that, if it went East with Trajan, on its return it was stationed in Moesia inferior, perhaps at Transmarisca (Tutrakan) where it set up an altar under its prefect C. Navius Quadratus.³² Further diplomas demonstrate that it remained in the province at least up to the reign of Antoninus Pius.³³

Cohors I Lepidiana civium Romanorum was in Pannonia in 80,³⁴ but had been transferred to Moesia inferior by 99 where it remained at least until ca. 110/113.³⁵ Strobel suggests that it took part in Trajan's Dacian Wars, and later went East in his Parthian War and remained there.³⁶ This diploma demonstrates that, if this cohort did participate in the Parthian campaign, it returned to Moesia, at least for a time. Apart from CIL XVI 78 of 134 (which has a very short list suggesting that it does not cover the whole of the provincial command) later diplomas of Moesia inferior are fragmentary and thus have incomplete lists so that it is not yet possible to state with certainty when it left for the East once more, where it appears under Septimius Severus with the additional title *bis torq(uata)*,³⁷ and later in Pontus (*Not. Dig. Or.* XXXVIII 35).

*Cohors I Bracar(augustan)or(um)*³⁸ is attested in Dalmatia in the first half of the first century but was in the list of Moesia inferior by 99.³⁹ It also appeared in the fragmentary diploma of ca. 110/113⁴⁰

²⁵ Cf. RMD II pp 132–133, notes 74 and 75.

²⁶ Cod. Iust. 6, 45, 2. New evidence, in the form of a discharge document issued to a former eques in the ala in AD 215, confirms the continuity of its presence in Moesia inferior (this will be published shortly). Also see the recipient, where this ala is distinguished from *ala Gaetulorum veterana*.

²⁷ CIL XVI 22 of 78 Febr. 7.

²⁸ CIL XVI 46.

²⁹ ILJug. 1315 = CIL III 14579; ILJug. 1299 = CIL III 14575; CIL III 8262

³⁰ Strobel (note 18) 144; AE 1926, 150 (Berytus).

³¹ CIL XVI 46.

³² AE 1939, 101; Devijver (note 23) suggested that this altar was Trajanic: PME Tome 2, 596 N 8; but if the cohort went to the East it was probably settled at Transmarisca early in the reign of Hadrian.

³³ RMD III 165 and I 50

³⁴ CIL XVI 26 lacking *c. R.* It may have been earlier in the East cf. AE 1967, 525 (Bir el Malik, Syria Commagena).

³⁵ CIL XVI 45 (in which it carried the title *civium Romanorum*, possibly awarded under Domitian); CIL XVI 58.

³⁶ Strobel (note 18) 136–137. Strobel cites W. Wagner (op. cit. note 23, 159, for the history of the unit).

³⁷ AE 1908, 22 (Cherif on the Euphrates) AD 199.

³⁸ See RMD III pp. 286–7 for a discussion of the various forms of the ethnic title of the unit found in diplomas and inscriptions.

³⁹ Dalmatia: CIL III 1773 = ILS 3245; Patsch, Narona 74f. nr. 6 and 75 f. nr. 7, all Humac. Moesia inferior CIL XVI 44.

⁴⁰ CIL XVI 58 and possibly in the fragmentary RMD II 85 of 112.

and its presence in the new diploma and in a further diploma of 134⁴¹ confirms that it remained in the province. It remains uncertain whether this cohort should be equated with a homonym found in diplomas of Dacia inferior of 140.⁴² If so its stay there will have been very short. A further diploma from the reign of Antoninus Pius⁴³ and a Greek inscription from Gorna Bešovica⁴⁴ suggest that it was in Moesia inferior from the mid-second until the third century. This diploma provides the earliest evidence for a grant of *civium Romanorum* to the cohort, which is also shown in RMD III 165 of 145. It seems likely that participation in either the Dacian Wars or the Parthian War would provide an opportunity for the unit to distinguish itself in battle.

Cohors II Mattiacorum (milliaria equitata) is so far known only from Moesia inferior. It is in diploma lists in 99, 134 and in 138,⁴⁵ and in the latter the recipient, a Bessus, had served in this cohort. It may possibly also be restored in RMD 85 of 112, but this is far from certain. In 144 it erected a dedication to Antoninus Pius at Sextaginta Prista (Ruse) under the governor of Moesia inferior, Ti. Claudius Saturninus;⁴⁶ in the following year it is named in a fragmentary diploma of the province, almost certainly under the same legate.⁴⁷ It appears in a later diploma of the reign of Antoninus Pius⁴⁸ and remained in the province, since it is found in a dedication to Septimius Severus at Troianhissar, under a tribune in 198.⁴⁹ The implication that the cohort was by then of milliary status is borne out by a dedication at Carnuntum *pro salute* Elagabalus in 219, by a former tribune, Faustinianus, in which the cohort is given as both milliary and part-mounted.⁵⁰

Cohors II Flavia Brittonum equitata was in the province in 99 but it is not recorded with certainty in the other diplomas of Moesia inferior with the probable exception of the diploma of 145.⁵¹ It is known to be part-mounted from the cursus of Marcus Maenius Agrippa.⁵² However, its presence in the province is ratified by two fragmentary inscriptions⁵³ and it is found rebuilding baths at Sexaginta Prista in 230, when it bears the title *[Alexa]n[d]riana*.⁵⁴

The Legate of Moesia Inferior

C. Bruttius Praesens is named as the governor under whom the army of Moesia inferior served in 125. His full name was C. Bruttius Praesens Fulvius Rusticus. His governorship of Moesia inferior was already known, although only through two inscriptions from North Africa in which his complete career appears. So far it has not been absolutely clear which place his *legatio* over Moesia inferior occupied in

⁴¹ CIL XVI 78.

⁴² RMD I 39. The unit is known in Dacia inferior only from this diploma and tile stamps: CIL III 8074,9 (Bretcu) COH. I BRAC. It is not listed in CIL XVI 75 as suggested by G. Bako; cf. AE 1980, 730.

⁴³ RMD I 50. The date suggested in RMD has been a matter of controversy. This will be re-examined when evidence from several unpublished diplomas enters the public domain.

⁴⁴ AE 1969/70, 572. This tombstone was set up to an Aurelius Valerianus, who had been killed in battle. The stone was erected by his brother (or comrade in the cohort), an Aurelius Maximus Daezerus(?). The presence of two Aurelii suggests that this stone should be assigned to a late 2nd or even a 3rd century date. The accompanying relief shows two horses. Presumably by this time the cohort was *equitata*.

⁴⁵ CIL XVI 44; 78; 83.

⁴⁶ AE 1916, 65.

⁴⁷ RMD III 165.

⁴⁸ RMD I 50.

⁴⁹ CIL III 14428 = ILS 8915.

⁵⁰ Carnuntum Jahrbuch 1960 (1962) 29–35; ibid. 1963/64 (1965) 48–54; cf. AE 1968, 422.

⁵¹ CIL XVI 45; RMD III 165.

⁵² See note 5 above.

⁵³ CIL III 7478 = 6152 (Durostorum); III 7594 (site unknown).

⁵⁴ CIL III 7473.

his *cursus*, because in both inscriptions the proconsulship of Africa, as well as the priestly office of a *XVvir sac. fac.*, followed after the citation of his name next to the consulship. After this came: *cura[tori aedium sacrarum operum locoru]mque publicorum, leg. pro pr. [Imp. Caes. Traiani Hadri]ani Aug. provinciae Cappadociae, item leg. pro pr. [Imp.] Caesaris Traiani Hadriani Aug. provinciae Moesiae i[nferior]is*; then the praetorian career succeeded in descending order.⁵⁵ R. Syme was the first to interpret the sequence of posts which Praesens received: first as *cura* of the *aedes sacra* and the *opera publica* in Rome, next going to Cappadocia and finally to Moesia inferior. Since Praesens was serving as legate of Cilicia at the time of Trajan's death the consulship should have followed at earliest in 118 (or perhaps 119), after that the *cura* in Rome and the governorship in Cappadocia ca. 121–124.⁵⁶ Thus his provincial command in Moesia would have followed from about 124–128. A. Kolb has recently challenged this sequence and placed the *cura* in Rome after the post in Moesia.⁵⁷ This contradicts the whole structure of the inscription. After the consulship, proconsulship and priestly office the further consular career is cited in ascending order, with the *cura* as the first post after the consulship. Kolb accepts that this part of the *cursus* is arranged in ascending order for Cappadocia and Moesia inferior, but she excludes the *cura* from this sequence. However she produces no logical reason for this. Thus the interpretation of this career should remain as elaborated by Syme.

The predecessor of Praesens in Moesia inferior was probably C. Ummidius Quadratus Sertorius Severus, who was perhaps later proconsul of Africa.⁵⁸ Nevertheless it may not be ruled out that yet another governor served between Quadratus and Praesens. The successor of Praesens was probably Sex. Julius Severus suffectus in 127.⁵⁹

The Consuls

Both consuls named in the diploma are so far unknown in that capacity. Nevertheless, they may presumably be identified with two senators who are only known through an ancient hand-written copy of a text: CIL VI 1472 : *locus adsignatus ab Nigro et Cosconiano cur(atoribus) operum publicorum*. In fact recently, because of their identification solely through cognomina, they have been cautiously assigned to the 3rd C.⁶⁰ However, the curator Cosconianus should undoubtedly be identified with P. Lucius Cosconianus suffectus of 125,⁶¹ at least through the cognomen Cosconianus,⁶² which is otherwise unknown within the senatorial ranks. Both curators thus belong to the period shortly after 125. Perhaps they are the predecessors of the curators Ti. Iulius Julianus and M. Ma[-----].⁶³

⁵⁵ AE 1950, 66 = 1952, 94 = B. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium III* 183 No. 58 (Mactaris); IRT 545 (Lepcis Magna). In both cases it should concern the award of a *quadriga*.

⁵⁶ R. Syme, Praesens the friend of Hadrian, *Studia in honorem Iiro Kajanto, Arctos Suppl.* 2, 1985, 237 ff. = Roman Papers V, Oxford 1988, 563 ff; ibid. Legates of Moesia, *Dacia* 12, 1968, 331 ff. = Danubian Papers, Bucharest 1971, 218 No. 5. See also W. Eck, *Chiron* 13, 1983, 155 note 358, where the consulship was placed earlier in 119. The latest on Bruttius Praesens is E. Dąbrowa, *Wer waren sie denn? Einige Bemerkungen am Rande einer Inschrift aus Palmyra*, in: *Prosopographica*, ed. L. Mrozewicz – K. Ilski, Poznań, 1993, 53 ff.

⁵⁷ A. Kolb, *Die kaiserliche Bauverwaltung in der Stadt Rom. Geschichte und Aufbau der cura operum publicorum unter dem Prinzipat*, Stuttgart 1993, 183 ff.

⁵⁸ W. Eck, *Chiron* 13, 1983, 154 ff; R. Syme, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 83, 1979, 287–310 = Roman Papers III, Oxford, 1984, 1158–1178, especially 1163.

⁵⁹ R. Syme (note 56) 573; Eck, *Chiron* 13, 1983, 165 ff.

⁶⁰ Kolb (note 57) 266.

⁶¹ Very possibly this Cosconianus may be connected with the fragmentary name of a consul preserved in CIL XVI 176 = IAMar. II 806 = RMD II p. 131: *[---]nianus*; he was in office on 18 July, and indeed was placed between ca. 123 and 129 for prosopographic reasons (see Roxan, RMD II p. 131), and like Cosconianus he appears in second place. These factors make an identification possible, admittedly without proof. CIL XVI 176 = IAMar. II 806 would then belong to 125.

⁶² See PIR² II p. 276.

⁶³ AE 1973, 36; CIL VI 31718; Kolb (note 57) 180 f.

It is not absolutely certain that the curator named Niger in CIL VI 1472 is identical with the suffect consul of this diploma, since a further diploma, which is datable between ca. 114 and 140 similarly names a Niger as suffect consul, but together with a Celer.⁶⁴ Admittedly, it cannot be ruled out that two senators, who held the *fasces* jointly, also functioned jointly as *curatores*; nevertheless, generally speaking, this need not be so.⁶⁵ The *curator* Niger therefore could have been suffect consul in another year.

The question of identification is particularly difficult in view of the existence of two consuls with the cognomen Niger under Hadrian. It is clear that one Niger was consul together with P. Lucius Cosconianus on 1 June 125, the second was similarly associated with a Celer in September or October of an unknown year between 114 and 140. Several senators with the cognomen Niger are attested in the late Trajanic and early Hadrianic period. Kan[ius Iunius Niger], legate of Germania superior in 116,⁶⁶ is too early; an identification with the consul of 125 is out of the question; probably this is also true with regard to the *curator operum publicorum*. The same goes for the *consul ordinarius* of 117 – Q. Aquilius Niger.⁶⁷ Kanius Iunius Niger, *ordinarius* in 138 is clearly too late.⁶⁸ The sole Niger, who could belong to the middle of the 120's with some degree of probability, is Mummius Niger Valerius Vegetus, known through a building inscription found near Viterbo⁶⁹ whose praenomen may probably be read as Lucius. R. Syme placed him in this period mainly on the basis of genealogical considerations, as well as the naming of diverse (senatorial) estates in the document from near Viterbo, and has linked him with various senatorial families from Baetica.⁷⁰ He could therefore definitely be identical with the *cos. suff.* Niger of 125. Certainly, it is also possible that this Niger was consul together with a Celer, according to the unpublished diploma. If this latter identity is assumed the consulship of Mummius Niger is most unlikely to have belonged to 124 since another consular pair is known for September of that year.

P. Lucius Cosconianus is undoubtedly to be recognised as the *curator operum publicorum* Cosconianus. Up to now no senator is known with these names in full. The gentilicium Lucius is surprising since it is not differentiated from the praenomen. In the Neronian period there is a C. Luccius Telesinus as consul, and this gentilicium is met with in the names of further senators.⁷¹ However, it is not necessary to challenge the name of the consul of 125, since a P. Lucius Cosconianus is attested at Carmo in Baetica, where he is erecting a tombstone for his mother.⁷² In fact there is no indication that he is identical with the consul and normally a reference to his rank would probably be expected. Nevertheless, in tombstones time and again social class is dispensed with. Thus Minicius Opimianus, who held a suffect consulship in 123, erected a tombstone for his father in Tusculum, and identified himself only by his name.⁷³ Thus identification may not be ruled out. At very least the man who erected the tomb in Carmo should have been a kinsman of the consul. Hence it may be accepted that in all probability P. Lucius

⁶⁴ We must thank Peter Weiß, who will publish the diploma, for this friendly reference.

⁶⁵ An example for instance is Caelius Secundus and Lucillianus Maximus in CIL VI 857; for this see W. Eck, Köln Jb. 26, 1993, 451 ff = RMD III 173. Caelius Secundus was consul together with C. Iulius Commodus Orfitianus not with Lucillianus Maximus. See W. Eck (above) 453 ff; K. Dietz, Das Archäol. Jahr in Bayern 1995, 114 f., for the latest on the consulship.

⁶⁶ W. Eck, Die Statthalter der germanischen Provinzen vom 1.–3. Jh., Epigraphische Studien 14, Bonn 1985, 51.

⁶⁷ A. Degrassi, I Fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano, Rome 1952, 34.

⁶⁸ A Degrassi, Fasti consolari 39.

⁶⁹ CIL XI 3003 = ILS 5771.

⁷⁰ R. Syme, Antistius Rusticus, a Consular from Corduba, Historia 32, 1983, 359 ff. especially 372 f. = Roman Papers IV 278 ff., further A. Caballos Rufino, Los senadores hispanorromanos y la romanización de Hispania, Ecija 1990, I 229 ff.

⁷¹ PIR² N 366; PIR² Bd. V p. 97.

⁷² EE IX 220; see also the references to Lucius as a gentilicium by A. Mócsy and others, Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae, Budapest 1983, 168.

⁷³ AE 1906, 80.

Cosconianus came from Baetica. With him the number of senators from Baetica who were promoted into the leading group of consuls under Hadrian increased once more. A few years ago, for example, the consulship of M. Messius Rusticus Aemilius Papus . . . became known.⁷⁴ Perhaps the consular colleague of Cosconianus may also be added to this group of senators whose *origo* lay in Baetica, if Niger in fact is allowed to be identified with Mummius Niger Valerius Vegetus. If so an origin for him in southern Spain is also highly probable.⁷⁵

Up to now only the *ordinarii* were known for 125: M. Lollius Paulinus D. Valerius Asiaticus Paulinus II and L. Epidius Titius Aquilinus. It is theoretically possible that Niger and Cosconianus were their successors, but it is not very probable. It is much more likely that first of all Valerius Asiaticus was replaced with a *suffectus*, who remained in office with Aquilinus for some time, and after this a further pair of *suffecti* followed before Niger and Cosconianus took up the *fasces*. How long they remained in office altogether can only be revealed by a new document, perhaps a new diploma. This probability is not altogether negligible in view of the present influx of new diplomas.

The Commander of Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum

The prefect of *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*, is [.....] Attianus from Rome. The cognomen lies at a break in the diploma so that the upper parts of the second, third and fourth letters are partly obscured. Mark Hassall kindly examined the fragments and suggested that a cognomen formed from a nomen would be the likeliest interpretation. Recent enlargements of a series of colour photographs, taken in sunlight and from different angles made it clear that the name should be read as Attianus. The cross strokes of the two T's are just visible under the break and a scar in the metal crosses the fourth letter (an I) which led to difficulties initially. No equestrian prefect with this cognomen has been so far recorded in a suitable period by H. Devijver.⁷⁶ Attianus came from Rome and the command of a quingenary ala should have been the third of his *militiae*.

The Recipient

Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum was originally raised from a people of North Africa who mainly lived in the pre-desert area. Roman terminology concerning their geographical spread is rather vague but clearly some of their number were good horsemen. Two alae of this name are recorded. One is found in Iudaea in 86 with the title *veterana Gaetulorum*,⁷⁷ which may indicate that both this unit and *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* had served in the same province at one time. This may mean that the soubriquet Flavia does not indicate that the latter was raised under the Flavians but was given the title later as a mark of honour, since there would otherwise be no need to distinguish two units by dubbing one as *veterana*.⁷⁸ The ala in which the recipient served may long have shed its African origins in the East, but there is no way of telling when it arrived in Moesia. The cavalryman should have been enlisted at the latest in AD 100 and his recruitment may have been connected with the discharges occurring at the time of issue of the diploma of 99. Since it is stated that he was Bessus he was clearly a local recruit. Although his name is partially lost, part of the name of his father is preserved. The letters are capable of several interpretations. LOIRESI could be all, or part, of a Thracian name, but there is a slight gap between LO and

⁷⁴ AE 1983, 517; Caballos Rufino (note 70) I 220 ff.

⁷⁵ See above note 70.

⁷⁶ Devijver (note 23) Tome I A 214 records *Aurel[i]us At[tianus?]* as [*praef. c]oh. II [Gall(orum)]*] at Old Penrith (RIB 916) but the nomen coupled with a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus places the inscription in the Severan period.

⁷⁷ CIL XVI 33.

⁷⁸ This ala remained in the East. It is attested later in Arabia, where the title *veterana* is no longer used but the unit is distinguished from its counterpart in Moesia inferior by the description “the one in Arabia” (εὖλης Γαιτουλῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίᾳ: SEG 24, 1964, 1064, Tomis).

IRESI and it is more likely that the name of the recipient ended in -]LO (in the dative) and so represented a name ending in -]LVS, perhaps a Romanised version of a Thracian/Moesian name. The name of his father could then be IRESI (genitive). Whether partial or whole it is probably a Latin derivation from a Thracian or Moesian name originally written in Greek.

The wife of the recipient is also from the Bessi. Her name apparently ended in -]IV. This suggests a Thracian name formed like *ιχθυι* (dative) which drops the I in Latin transcriptions.⁷⁹ Her father's name "Lucosis" (genitive), is very clear and may also have been Latinised from a Thracian/Greek stem.⁸⁰

The recipient names three sons and two daughters, but this area of the diploma is so fragmentary that only the name of one son, *Gaius*, is preserved. One daughter has a name that ends -]RV.

This diploma is thus one of a number that appear to show a trend of naming more than one child in diplomas during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. Some scholars have believed that this in itself was a contributory factor to the decision to change the formula of auxiliary diplomas so that existing children did not receive the citizenship. It was felt that the Roman state did not find it desirable that large numbers of semi-barbarised children should be admitted to Roman citizenship⁸¹. Auxiliary diplomas in which enough text is preserved to show the number of children named in the Trajanic/Hadrianic period have been analysed to discover if such a theory may be substantiated. Those giving more than one child are listed in Table I. Altogether at present there are 22 diplomas where offspring named number between 2 and 6. However, in the same period there are 16 further diplomas which fail to give children and 6 which name only one. With such small samples it is unwise to place too much importance on the evidence, nevertheless it suggests that perhaps only half of auxiliary diploma recipients named two or more children. On this basis it does not seem that such an excessive number of offspring were being advanced to claim the privileges that this would provide an impetus for the change in itself. The cause for the change of formula ca. AD 140 seems to be related to offences against *disciplina militaris*⁸² rather than the quantity of children named.⁸³

TABLE I⁸⁴

Diploma	Date	Province	Sons	Daughters	Total
CIL XVI 49	105	Moesia superior	1	2	3
CIL XVI 52	106	Noricum	1 +		2?
CIL XVI 161	109	M. Tingitana	2		2
RMD 148	109	Dacia	2	1	3
CIL XVI 57	110	Dacia	3		3
RMD 86	113	Pannonia superior	-	3	3
Unpub.	112/113	Dacia	3	2	5
RMD 14	114	Thracia	1	2	3

⁷⁹ This observation was made by Dr. Walter Cockle.

⁸⁰ D. Detschew, Die thrakischen Sprachreste, Vienna 1957, 277 lists Λοκοζός and Λυκοζός as placenames which could give rise to ethnic names.

⁸¹ The problem has been extensively discussed in the past; see e.g. H. Wolff, Zu den Bürgerrechtsverleihungen an Kinder von Auxiliaren und Legionären, Chiron 4, 1974, 479–510 (especially 490–96); for a full bibliography of these discussions see three new fragmentary diplomas published by W. Eck – S. Dušanić – H. Stiglitz, in: ZPE 1997, in which the special regulation enshrined in the formula granting citizenship to children of certain categories of soldiers after the change of ca. 140 is finally clarified.

⁸² This is the solution of Eck – Dušanić – Stiglitz (note 81).

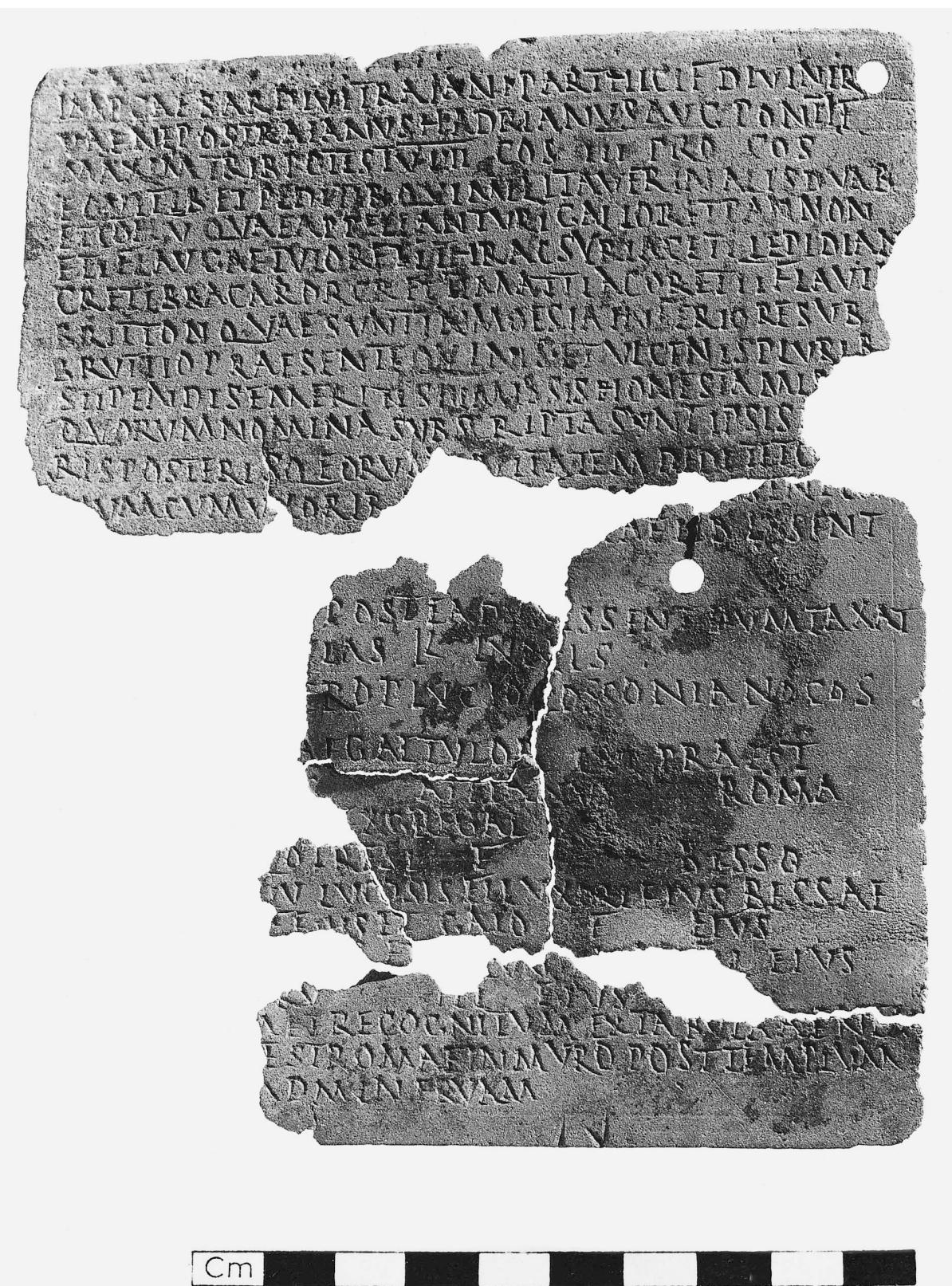
⁸³ The phenomenon which has been noted on a previous occasion is very marked in the Table: 42 sons were named but only 22 daughters; cf. M. Roxan, Women on the Frontiers, Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Exeter 1990, 465–466.

⁸⁴ The table includes only those auxiliary diplomas naming more than one child in the Trajanic/Hadrianic period

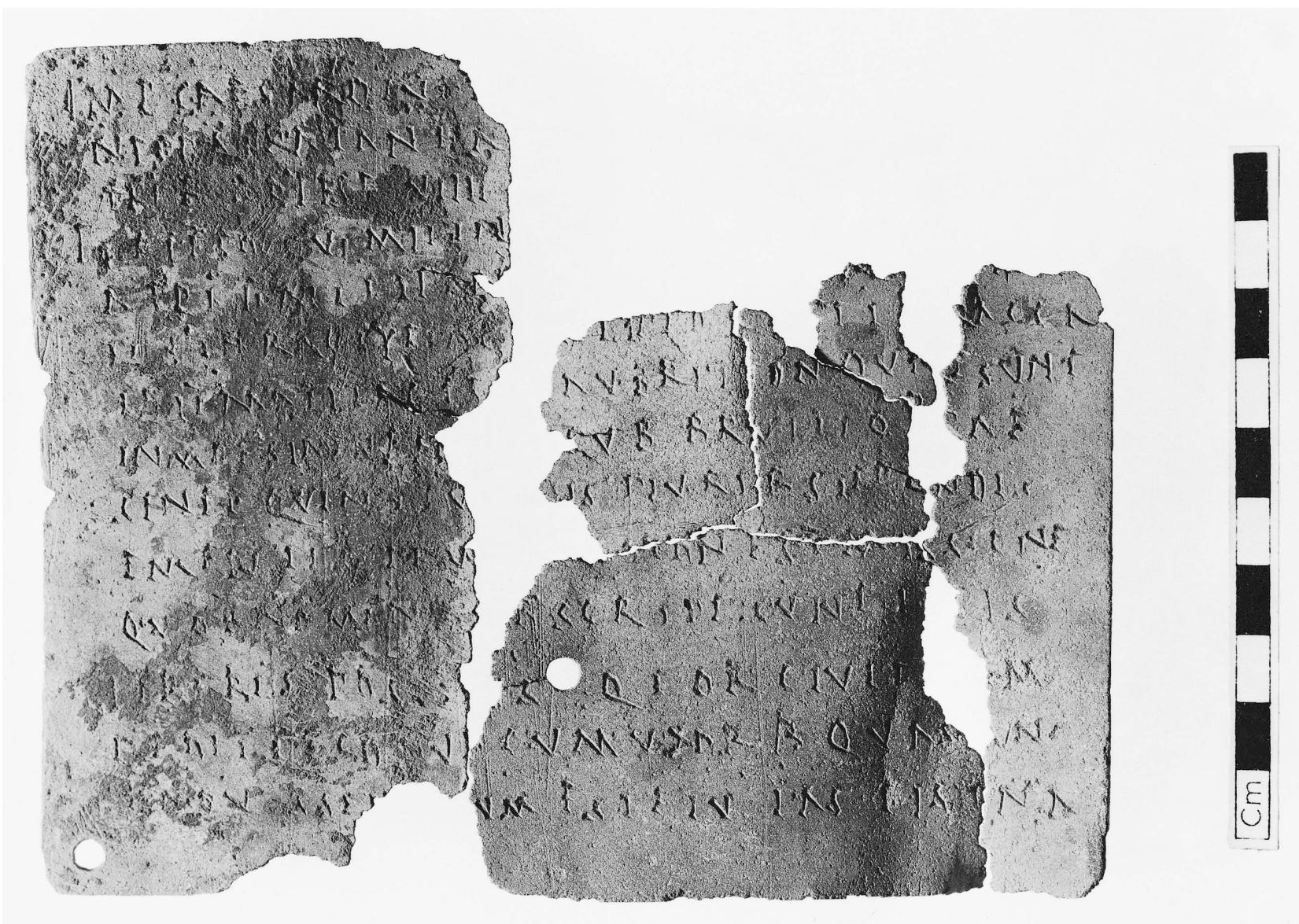
CIL XVI 61	114	Pannonia inferior	2	2
CIL XVI 67	120	Macedonia	1	2
RMD 19	121	Uncertain	4 children	4
CIL XVI 169/73	122	M. Tingitana	1	2
RMD 20	118/122	Dacia	4	5
Present diploma	125	Moesia inferior	3	4
RMD 32	118/128	Raetia	2	3
CIL XVI 75	129	Dacia inferior	2	5
CIL XVI 73	129/130	M. Tingitana	2	2
CIL XVI 78	134	Moesia inferior	4	6
RMD 160	136/137	Syria Palaestina	2 + +	4?
CIL XVI 83	138	Moesia inferior	3	5
RMD 161	138	Lycia et Pamphylia	2	2
CIL XVI 175	139	Pannonia inferior	1 +	2

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A Diploma of Moesia Inferior (extrinsecus)



A Diploma of Moesia Inferior (intus)