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TWO COMPLETE DIPLOMAS OF PANNONIA INFERIOR: 19 MAY 135 AND 7
AUG. 143

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TWO COMPLETE DIPLOMAS OF PANNONIA INFERIOR:
19 MAY 135 AND 7 AUG. 143

Two diplomas, both from unknown find-spots, have come to my attention. It is appropriate to publish them together because they give important insights into the auxiliary garrison of Pannonia inferior in the first half of the second century. They also provide prosopographic detail concerning known and new consuls and equestrians.

I. Tabellae I and II of a complete military diploma of 19 May 135 (Pls. IX–X)

Height of both tablets 15.6 cm, width 12 cm. There are two central binding holes in the first tablet and one hinge hole in its top right corner; matched by similar holes in the second tablet. Slight “lipping” around the holes indicates that they were punched from the outer face of tabella II and the inner face of tabella I. Marks where the device protecting the binding wires was attached to the second tablet are visible in the central area of the outer face of tabella II. There are engraved double framing lines on both outer faces of the tablets. The script on the outer face of tabella I is neat and well formed but the day date and consular names are slightly larger than the main formula and the word *co(n)s(ul)* was added above these names and runs into the margin formed by the framing lines. The appearance of the section concerning the date, unit, commander and recipient of the diploma suggests that these details were added after the main text of the formula had been inscribed, but that the same hand was used. The names of the witnesses on the outer face of tabella II are written in a larger format, as is usual in most diplomas. The outer faces are both well preserved with very few traces of corrosion. There large central areas of verdigris on the inner faces but these appear to be stable and the lettering is undamaged. The script on the inner faces is in a different hand and shows signs of haste and carelessness but is still legible. The text on the inner face of tabella I is strongly abbreviated and several of the shorter words are omitted.

tabella I extrinsecus:

IMP·CAESAR·DIVI·TRAIANI·PARTHICI·F·DIVI·NERVAE●
 NEPOS·TRAIANVS·HADRIANVS AVG·PONTIF·MA X
 TRIB POT XIX COS· III · P · P
 EQVITIB ET PEDIT QVI MILITAV·IN ALIS·V ET COH·XIII QVAE
 5 APPELL·I·THR·VET·ET·I·FL·AVG·BRIT·∞·ET·I·C·R·ET·I·AVG·ITVR
 (!) PR·C·R·ET·I·ALP·ET·I·HR·C·R·ET·I·ALP·ET·I·NORIC·ET·I·LVSIT (!)
 ET·I·MONT·ET·I·THR·C·R·ET·I·BRITT·∞·ET·II·AST·ET·CALL
 ET II AVG THR·ET·III·BATAV ∞·ET·III·ET VII LVSITAN·
 ET SVNT IN PANNON INFER·SVB NONIO MVCIANO·
 10 QVIN·ET VICEN·ITEM·CLASSIC·SENIS ET VICEN·
 PLVRIBVSVE STIPEND·EMERIT·DIMISS·HONEST
 MISS·QVOR·NOMIN SVBSCRIPTA SVNT·IPS·LIBER
 POSTERISQ·EORVM·CIVITAT·DEDIT·ET·CONVB·CVM
 ● ●
 VXORIB·QVAS TVNC HABVISS·CVM EST CIVIT·IIS
 15 DATA·AVT SIQVI·CAELIB·ESSENT·CVM IIS QVAS
 POSTEA DVXISS·DVMTAXAT·SINGVLI·SIN

GVLAS · A · D XIII· K IVN
 M · AEMILIO·PAPO·L·BVRBVLEIO LIGARIANO^{COS}
 ALAE · I · AVG · BRIT · ∞ · CVI PRAEST
 20 Q · PORCIVS · POTITVS CADVRC·
 EX GREGALE ·
 ATRESSO · RESSIMARI · F · ERAV
 DESCRIPT·ET RECOGN·EX TABVLA AENEA QVAE
 25 FIXA EST ROM·IN MVRO · POST · TEMPL · DIVI
 AVG · AD · MINERVAM
 tabella II extrinsecus
 M· SENTILI IASI
 T· FLAVI ROMVLI¹ (!)
 M· ATEI ● MOPSI
 T· FLAVI LAVRI
 30 Q· LOLLI FESTI
 TI·IVLI ● FELICIS
 L· EQVITI PHOERIONIS
 ●

1. ROMVLI was originally mistakenly inscribed as ROMOLI and V has been inserted over the second O.

tabella I intus:

IMP CAES DIVI TRAIANI PARTH F DIVI NERV
 NEP· TRAI·HADRIANVS AVG PONT MAX
 TRIB POT XIX COS III P· P
 5 EQV ET PED QVI MIL IN AL V ET COH XIII QV APP I
 THR VET ET I FL AVG BR● ∞ ET I C R ET I AVG ITV
 (!) PR C R ET I THR C R ET I ALP ET I NOR ET I LVS ET I
 MONT ET I THR C R ET I BR ∞ ET II AST ET CALLET II
 AVG THR ET III BAT ∞ET III LVS ET VII LVS ET SVN
 10 IN PAN INFER SVB NONIO MVCIANO QVIN
 ET VIC ITEM CL SEN ET VIC PL STIP EM DIM
 HON MISS QVOR NOM SVBSCR SVNT IPS LIB
 POST EOR CIV DED·CON● CVM VXOR QVAS T
 HAB CVM EST CIV IS DATA AVT SIQ CAEL ESS CVM
 IS QVAS POS DV/ DVMTAX SING SING (!)
 ●

tabella II intus:

15 ● XIII· K· IVN
 PADO LIGARIANO COS (!)
 ALAE I AVG· BRIT ∞· ● CVI PRAEST
 Q PORCIVS POTITVS CADVRC
 EX GREGALE
 20 ATRESSO RESSIMARI F · ERAV
 ●

Scribal errors:

1. ET has been omitted between (ala) I AVG ITVR(aerorum) and PR(aetoria) C R on both faces of tabella I.
2. The scribe has failed to cross the T of the second cohort in the list: (cohors) I <T>HR(acum) on the outer face.
3. PADO has been inscribed instead of PAPO in line 16 of the inner face of tabella I.

The date of the diploma

Hadrian's 19th year of tribunician power, which is indicated on the third line of both sides of tabella I, sets the date within 10 December 134 and 9. December 135, but the day of issue, fourteen days before the kalends of June confirms the year as 135. The consuls named are M. (Messius) Aemilius (Rusticus) Papus (Arrius Proculus Iulius Celsus)¹ and L. Burbuleius (Optatus) Ligarianus.² It has long been known that these two senators were consuls during the reign of Hadrian; the latest estimates suggested that either this was in 135³ or in 136.⁴ An inscription from Baetica published in 1983⁵ confirmed that the two men were suffect consuls at the same time. The inscription stated that the son of Aemilius Papus, M. Messius M. f. Galeria Rusticanus Aemilius Lepidus Iulius Celsus Balbinus Arrius Proculus, (who was also the son-in-law of Burbuleius Ligarianus) was *praefectus urbis feriarum Latinarum* while his father and father-in-law were consuls. The *feriae Latinarum* were usually held either in late spring or in early summer. This suggests that their joint office was held during that time of the year and the new diploma endorses this through its date of 19 May. It remains to be determined whether the two consuls (who were probably in office for three or four months) were one of three consular pairs for the year, and served from May to August or, more probably, one of four consular pairs. In the latter case they would have served only from April to June. The date of AD 135, supplied through the years of tribunician power, is certainly acceptable for the consuls. It has been noted above that the section in which the consular names are given seems to have been inscribed somewhat later. However, there is no reason to suppose that there was any large interval of time between the engraving of the main text and the names of the consuls, since the person who inscribed the main formula also supplied this section. Nor is there any reason to argue that the consuls possibly held office in the year following the recorded regnal date, which has been demonstrated in a few cases. All the evidence points to a definite date of issue of 19 May 135.⁶

Another consequence of the publication of the inscription of 1983⁷ is that the origo of the Messii may now be linked with Municipium Siarum rather than Salpensa as has hitherto been supposed. The consul of 135 is now seen as the son of M. (Messius Rusticus) Aemilius Papus, the man supposed by H.-G. Pflaum to have been a friend of Hadrian.⁸

The units⁹

The unit list contains five alae and thirteen cohorts together with *classici*, which, with a few exceptions, becomes the standard tally for diplomas of Pannonia inferior up to ca. 159. Already by 135 the alae which remained in the province over the greater part of that period present a familiar series (see

¹ PIR² M 526

² PIR² B 174.

³ Thus for example, W. Eck, *Chiron* 13, 1983, 217; *Der Neue Pauly*, 2, 1997, 954.

⁴ PIR² M 526.

⁵ J. González, A. Caballos Rufino, *ZPE* 52, 1983, 157–171 = *AE* 1983, 517, from the village Los Palacios y Villafranca (Seville).

⁶ I should like to thank Professor Werner Eck who generously helped to clarify the significance of the new evidence.

⁷ J. González, A. Caballos Rufino *op. cit.* (note 3 above) 159.

⁸ H.-G. Pflaum (*Klio* 46, 1965, 331–337) took up the question of the identity of Sosius Papus, mentioned in SHA. Hadrian, 4,2, and came to the conclusion that M. Aemilius Papus was meant. Pflaum published all the relevant inscriptions then known and constructed a stemma of the Messii. A new stemma has been provided by J. González, A. Caballos Rufino *op. cit.* (note 3 above) 171. This includes a further member of the extended family identified by W. Eck in a re-examination of a Greek inscription from Ephesus (697b): *ZPE* 37, 1980, 40–45.

⁹ In order to save repetition of similar references the diploma evidence has been set out in a Table: Diplomas of Pannonia inferior.

Diploma Table). For brief summaries of their histories¹⁰ and that of most of the cohorts see the diploma of 143, which follows.

Similarly, eleven of the thirteen cohorts are the same in 135 and 143. Only *cohortes VII Lusitanorum* and *I Brittonum milliaria* are no longer recorded eight years later. It is probable that the partially preserved diploma of 139¹¹, which listed only twelve cohorts, would have revealed the departure of one of these. Their places were filled by *cohortes I Campanorum voluntariorum* and *VII Breucorum* in 143 (but see below concerning the latter unit).

Cohors VII Lusitanorum. The presence of this cohort in a list of Pannonia inferior is surprising, but there can be no mistake about the clarity of the script on both faces of tabella I. The outer face bears: *et III et VII Lusitan.*, the inner face *et III Lus. et VII Lus.* A *cohort VII Lusitanorum* is also listed on both faces of a diploma of Raetia of 107,¹² but this has been generally counted as a scribal error, since there is ample evidence of the presence of the unit in Africa.¹³ Furthermore, a *cohort VI Lusitanorum* is counted in the lists of successive Raetian diplomas from 116 until 166.¹⁴ A similar type of error has been posited for the appearance of *cohort VI Lusitanorum* in the diploma of Pannonia inferior of 110 (CIL XVI 164), where the assumption is made that the third cohort was meant.¹⁵ No such error exists here since the third cohort is also named. Two possibilities exist. The first is that *cohort VII Lusitanorum* was transferred from Africa to Pannonia inferior for a period and that this is so far the sole evidence of the episode. This is possible but unlikely. The second is that *cohort VII Breucorum* was meant. This latter suggestion is based on the fact that *VII Breucorum* undoubtedly appears in the same position (thirteenth) in the diploma of 143 (see Diploma Table (2)). It should doubtless be restored in twelfth position in CIL XVI 175 of 139, as T. Nagy, the first editor of this diploma, proposed.¹⁶ In the present diploma it may be simply an error of omission. The mistake could be attributed to the fact that what should have been written on the outer face of tabella I was *III Lusitan et VII Breucor* but that the scribe omitted *Lusitan.* after the numeral *III* and then misplaced it after *VII*. The error appears on both faces and it is even possible that it had first appeared on the *tabula aenea* in Rome. Some support for its presence in this list is provided by the probability that *cohort VII Breucorum* was stationed at Lugio in the second century to help guard the important route crossing the Sarmatian plain between the Danube and Dacia¹⁷ It would not be unreasonable to expect the unit to have been present as early as 135. However, the solution offered is conjectural and no firm resolution of this problem is possible at present.

The identification of *cohort I Britt(onum) milliaria* is equally fraught with difficulties. A cohort of that title is listed at fifth place in a diploma of 85 in undivided Pannonia.¹⁸ Its next appearance occurs in a diploma of 103/5 in Moesia superior.¹⁹ Thereafter it has been assumed that this is the cohort that received battle honours and the reward of Roman citizenship at Darnithithi during Trajan's second

¹⁰ *Ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria* will be dealt with as the unit of the recipient in 135 and its history will not be repeated later.

¹¹ CIL XVI 175.

¹² CIL XVI 55.

¹³ E. g. CIL V 5267 = ILS 2721 (Comum); CIL VIII 17673 = 10733 (Khenchala); 17631 = 10721 (Ain Zui); 3147 and 3101 + ILS 2565 (Lambaesis)

¹⁴ Cf. H. Nesselhauf CIL XVI p. 52, note 3; and see the Table of Raetian diplomas produced by H. Wolff in *Ostbairische Grenzmarken, Passauer Jahrbuch für Kunst und Volkskunde* 35, 1993, 22–23.

¹⁵ CIL XVI p. 224, note 4.

¹⁶ *Acta Arch. Hung.* VII, 1957, 17–71

¹⁷ A. Radnóti, L. Barkóczy, *Acta Arch. Hung.* 1, 1951, 214. See the reconstruction offered by T. Nagy, (op. cit. note 15 above) especially 20 and 64; also Zs Visy: *Die kryptotopographische Truppenaufzählung in den Auxiliardiplomen von Pannonien; Heer und Integrationspolitik*, 510.

¹⁸ CIL XVI 31

¹⁹ CIL XVI 54

Dacian war, the grants being confirmed in the special diploma of 110 (CIL XVI 160). The cohort is also recorded in Dacian diplomas of 109 and 110 (RMD III 148 and CIL XVI 163) as *cohors I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata c. R.* Later the cohort was assigned to Dacia Porolissensis where it is shown as *I Ulp(ia) Britton(um) ∞* in a diploma of 133²⁰ and it appears in further diplomas of that province up to 164. In the present diploma the cohort appears without *Ulpia*, battle honours or *civium Romanorum* and the question must be asked whether this is the same cohort that appeared two years earlier in Dacia Porolissensis, and if so why was it transferred? Alternatively, does this record a brief appearance of the *cohors I Brittonum milliaria*, which is otherwise attested in Noricum in the second century?²¹ In the present diploma there is no distinguishing title, either *Flavia* or *Aelia* as in the Norican evidence, and the unit in Noricum is assumed to have been milliary mainly because it is recorded as being commanded by tribunes. In view of the uncertain nature of the evidence, which precludes precise identification at present, here too the solution remains open.²²

The inclusion of *classici* is a mark of diplomas of Pannonia inferior. The province provided sailors for the Danubian fleet. The wording of the formula is interesting. The *classici* served *senis et vicenis pluribusve*, the auxiliary soldiers *quinis et vicenis* but clearly the *pluribusve* signified that both classes of units served more than the exact term of years *quinque* or *sex et viginti*. This type of formula is found in other diplomas, especially in those including provincial fleets together with the *auxilia*.²³

The governor

It is reasonable to assume that Nonius Mucianus, praetorian governor of Pannonia inferior, filled the gap between L. Attius Macro (130/131 - 133?) and L. Aelius Caesar (136/7) in 133/134 - 135.²⁴ He is also a suitable candidate to be identified with the polyonymous consul: P. Delphius Peregrinus Alfius Alennius Maximus Curtius Valerianus Proculus M. Nonius Mucianus, who was suffectus with P. Cassius Secundus ca. 3 years later in the last nundinum of 138.²⁵

The unit of the recipient and its commander

The recipient had served as a cavalryman in *ala I (Flavia) Aug(usta) Brit(annica) milliaria (civium Romanorum bis torquata)*. Its title *Britannica/Britanniciana* can either mean that the *ala* was first raised in Britain or, according to some scholars, that it had fought successfully in Britain in the army of conquest of AD 43.²⁶ Perhaps originally quingenary, evidence from Vindobona and Brigetio shows that

²⁰ RMD I 35 as *I Ulp(ia) Britton(um) ∞*.

²¹ Cf. G. Alföldy, *Noricum*, 1974, 259, for *cohors I Flavia Brittonum milliaria* and *cohors I Aelia Brittonum milliaria* in Noricum. W. Wagner thought that these two units perhaps were one and the same: *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus*, 107–108, 109.

²² It is extremely unlikely that the scribe has mistakenly placed *ala I Brittonum (c. R.)* in the cohort list; the *ala* appears in diplomas of the province from 148 onwards. I regard this solution as a counsel of despair.

²³ E.g. the diploma of 142; RMD III 165 (145); CIL XVI 91 (145) as well as the new diploma of 143 q.v.

²⁴ Cf. W. Eck *Chiron* 13, 1983, 169–174, note 416 for Attius Macro, and 179 and note 447, for the joint governorship of Pannonia superior and inferior of Aelius Caesar.

²⁵ PIR² N 146; PIR² C 521. The pair are attested as suffecti on 15 October 138 in CIL VIII 270 = 11451 = 23246 and in AE 1934, 146 (Sabratha?), which records a dedication to *Divae Sabinae*, set up *idib. Dec.* when P. Cassius Secundus and Nonius Mucianus were consuls. For further suggestions concerning the family of Nonius Mucianus see L. Schumacher, *Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur Besetzung der vier hohen römischen Priesterkollegien im Zeitalter der Antonine und der Severer (93–235 n. Chr.)*, Mainz 1973, 76/77 no. 25.

²⁶ *Britanniciana* in CIL XVI 27 of 102 (Pannonia). See D. Kennedy, *Britannia VIII*, 1977, 249–255 for the full argument; D. B. Saddington, *Roman Frontier Studies XII*, 1979, BAR IS 71, 1980, 1071–1076. Tombstones from Vindobona suggest that it had been stationed on the Rhine, whence it had drawn recruits, in the period before 68 (CIL III 4575, 4576). Tacitus *Hist. III*, 41 indicates that for a time it was part of the army of Vitellius.

by the reign of Domitian it had the title *Fl(avia) D(omitiana)*, had been raised to milliary status and had been given a block grant of citizenship.²⁷ After the *damnatio* of Domitian, *Augusta* replaced *Domitiana* in the title.²⁸ It took part in Trajan's Dacian Wars where it was again decorated (*bis torquata*), and its commander also received *dona*.²⁹

It is recorded in Dacia in a diploma of 110, but also appears in a diploma of the same date in Pannonia inferior.³⁰ Thereafter it was clearly stationed in Pannonia inferior probably until well into the third century³¹ but its milliary status lent itself to participation in expeditions by the ala (or vexillations thereof).³² This diploma is the earliest to register the return of the ala from Trajan's Parthian campaign, although almost certainly it was in the province in the 120's since the recipient of CIL XVI 179, of 148, had been recruited 25 or more years earlier among the Eravisci. This diploma vindicates T. Nagy's restoration of the ala at the head of the list in the Albertfalva diploma (CIL XVI 175).³³

The commander Q. Porcius Potitus is not attested in PME but should surely be identified with the homonym whose name appears on a lead water pipe from Rome in the reign of Antoninus Pius.³⁴ As prefect of a milliary ala he may be assumed to be one of the favoured equestrians who served a fourth militia³⁵ and his promotion to the rank of procurator presumably should be placed early rather than late in the reign of Pius. It has been suggested that this inscription possibly reveals Potitus to have been procurator of the water supply in Rome.³⁶ However, *procuratores aquarum* are not so far attested on cursus inscriptions or *fistulae aquariae* from Rome before the reign of Septimius Severus,³⁷ so that his precise function as procurator remains uncertain. His origo reveals him to have come from Aquitania. The Cadurci were a Celtic people and Uxelodunum, Diolindum and Divona lay within their territory. One other equestrian from the Cadurci is noted in PME: Ti. Pompeius Pompei Iusti fil. Priscus, Cadurcus.³⁸ These two instances form interesting exceptions to the general observation that the three Gauls very rarely produced members of the Roman aristocracy after 69/70.³⁹

The recipient

Atressus, son of Ressimarus, was recruited from the territory of the Eravisci in Pannonia inferior some time before 110. He would probably have served in the ala in the Parthian expedition, unless he had been transferred to the unit from another ala to make up losses incurred during the campaign. His name is found mainly in Pannonia with a few examples from Noricum.⁴⁰ His father's name Ressimarus is

²⁷ CIL III 15197 = ILS 9140 – Vindobona; AE 1940, 5 – Brigetio.

²⁸ CIL III 4575, 4576.

²⁹ P. Cassius Secundus – AE 1980, 496 (Emona) = PME 97 ter.

³⁰ CIL XVI 163 and 164 – see the explanation offered by H. Nesselhauf in notes to these diplomas.

³¹ Diplomas of 114, 135, 139, 148, 157, 159, 153/161, 167 (see Diploma Table 2).

³² Cf. CIL XVI 61 of 114, and CIL III 6748, Amasia (Trajan's Parthian campaign); CIL XVI 99 of 150, CIL VIII 9764 (Portus) and AE 1955, 132, Tipasa (the Mauretanian war of Pius); AE 1908, 273; 1993, 1594–1595, Apamea (the Sassanian war of 252).

³³ Op. cit. note 16 above.

³⁴ PIR² P 863 referring to CIL XV 7316 – a lead water pipe of Rome: Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Hadriani Antonini Aug(usti) Pii, sub cur(a) Porci Potiti proc(uratoris) Ann(aeus) Sympo(rus) f(ecit).

³⁵ E. Birley, *Alae and cohorts milliariae*, in *Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata. Römische Forschungen in Niederösterreich*. Graz/Köln, 1966, 54–67 especially 57–60.

³⁶ Chr. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome. A study of Roman imperial administration*, Helsinki 1991, 223.

³⁷ For the argument concerning this see W. Eck in *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte, Studien zur Methodik und Erkenntnismöglichkeit der kaiserlichen Prosopographie*, Köln 1993, 387–389; now see also PIR² P 863.

³⁸ H. Devijver, *Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum*, Tome 2, p. 65.

³⁹ I owe most of this discussion to friendly advice from Professor Werner Eck.

⁴⁰ B. Lörincz, F. Redö, *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum Vol. 1*, Budapest 1994, 204.

also found in the same two provinces.⁴¹ The Eravisci were settled in the area south and west of Aquincum, with *civitas Eraviscorum* lying ca. 10 Roman miles south of Aquincum. If he retired to his home terrain the diploma may have been found in that area.

The witnesses

Five of the witnesses of the diploma are already well attested. M. Sentilius Iasus, hitherto known to have signed between 140 and 160, is now seen to have been a signator at least five years earlier. T. Flavius Romulus, T. Flavius Laurus, Q. Lollius Festus and T. Iulius Felix are all within their known time-spans as witnesses. M. Ateius Mopsus and L. Equitius Phoerion are so far unknown. At this stage the witness lists had not yet settled into the ordered pattern that they were to assume within a few years, but even after this there are occasions when an established witness name is omitted in favour of a temporary replacement, as perhaps happened here.

Imp(erator) Caesar, divi Traiani Parthici f., divi Nervae nepos, Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pontif(ex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) XIX, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriciae) equitib(us) et pedit(ibus) qui militav(erunt) in alis V et coh(ortibus) XIII, quae appell(antur) (1) I Thr(acum) vet(erana) et (2) I Fl(avia) Aug(usta) Brit(annica) (milliaria) et (3) I c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (4) I Aug(usta) Itur(aeorum) [et] (5) pr(aetoria) c(ivium) R(omanorum); et (1) I Alp(inorum) et (2) I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (3) I Alp(inorum) et (4) I Noric(orum) et (5) I Lusit(anorum) et (6) I Mont(anorum) et (7) I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (8) I Britt(onum) (milliaria) et (9) II Ast(urum) et Call(aeorum) et (10) II Aug(usta) Thr(acum) et (11) III Batav(orum) (milliaria) et (12) III et (14) VII Lusitan(orum) et sunt in Pannnon(ia) infer(iore, sub Nonio Muciano, quin(is) et vican(is) item classic(is) senis et vican(is) pluribusve stipend(iis) emerit(is) dimiss(is) honest(a) miss(ione), quor(um) nomin(a) subscripta sunt, ips(is) liber(is) posterisq(ue) eorum civitat(em) dedit et conub(ium) cum uxorib(us), quas tunc habuiss(ent), cum est civitas iis data, aut, siqui caelib(es) essent, cum iis quas postea duxiss(ent) dumtaxat singuli singulas.
a. d. XIII k. Iun. M. Aemilio Papo, L. Burbuleio Ligariano co(n)s(ulibus).
alae I Aug(ustae) Brit(annicae) (milliariae), cui praest Q. Porcius Potitus, ex gregale Atrasso Ressimari f., Erav(isco)
Descript(um) et recogn(itum) ex tabula aenea, quae fixa est Rom(ae) in muro post templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam

M. Sentili Iasi; T. Flavi Romuli; M. Atei Mopsi; T. Flavi Lauri, Q. Lolli Festi; Ti. Iuli Felicis; L. Equiti Phoerionis.

II. A diploma of Pannonia inferior 7 Aug. 143 (Pls. XI–XII)

The tablets are slightly smaller than those issued eight years earlier. Tabella I: height 14.5 cm; width 11.6 cm; thickness 1 mm.⁴² Letters on the outer face of tabella I are ca. 2.5 mm high, with some emphasised letters e. g. the I's of IMP and IIS are larger, as are the F's denoting filiation. The same hand is used throughout.. Faint double framing lines ca. 6 mm in from the edges of both outer faces, are ca.

⁴¹ A. Mócsy, R. Feldmann, E. Marton, M. Szilágyi, *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, III, 1. *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae cum indice inverso*, Budapest 1983, 242.

⁴² For a recent analysis of the changes in size of auxiliary diplomas from AD 133–179 see P. A. Holder in *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, Vol. 79 No. 1, 1997, 26–28.

3–4 mm apart. The surface is smooth, with a dark green patina on a brown background. Letter height on the inner faces is 4 mm. The same hand is used on both inner faces but is more careless on the second tablet. Similar letters are enlarged on the inner as on the outer face. The tablets were cemented together by corrosion when found. As a result the impress of several letters of the first 4-5 lines of the inner face of the first tablet was left in the bottom left hand corner of the second tablet (Plate XII). The inner faces are pink/brown in colour with verdigris on roughly a third of the surface. A pair of central binding holes and the single hinge hole in the top right corner of tabella I and bottom left corner of tabella II were punched through from the outer face of tabella I. Letters on the inner faces avoid these holes suggesting that these faces were inscribed after the holes had been made. When first seen the bottom right and left corners of tabella II were broken. When the fragments were placed correctly only a tiny piece of the right edge was lacking (see Plates XI/XII). Photographs shown in Sotheby's catalogue of Antiquities and Islamic Art (New York June 4, 1998) No. 152 show that these corners have now been repaired.

extrinsecus: tabella I

IMP CAESAR DIVI HADRIANI F DIVI TRAIANAE
 NI PARTH NEPOS DIVI NERVAE PEO NEPOS (!)
 T AELIVS HADRIANVS ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS
 PIVS PON MAX TRIB POT VI IMP II COS III P P
 5 EQVIT ET PEDIT QVI MILIT IN ALIS V ET COH XIII
 QVAE APPEL I FL AVGVSTVS BRITANNICVS ET I THR VETER
 ET I C R ET I PRAET C R ET I AVGVSTVS ITVR ET I ALPIN
 ET I THR C R ET I NORIC ET I LVSIT ET I MONT ET
 I CAMP ET I THR C R ET I ALPIN PEDIT ET II AST
 10 ET II AVGVSTVS THR ET III BATAV AVGVSTVS III LVSIT ET VII
 BREVCOR ET SVNT IN PANNON INFER SVB PON
 TIO LAELIANO QVINIS ET VICEN ITEM CLASSIC
 SENIS ET VICEN PLVRIBVE STIP EMER DIMIS
 HONEST MISS QVOR NOMIN SVBSCRIP SVNT
 ● ●
 15 CIVITAT ROMAN QVI EOR NON HABER ITEM
 FILIS CLASSIC DEDIT ET CONVB CVM VXORIB
 QVAS TVNC HABVISS CVM EST CIVIT IIS DATA
 AVT CVM IS QVAS POSTEA DVXISS DVM TAX
 SINGVLIS ·A ·D· VII ID AVGVSTVS
 20 Q IVNIO CALAMO M VALERIO IVNIANO COS
 COH I ALPINOR EQVIT CVI PRAEST
 M VERRIVS GEMINVS
 EX PEDITE
 ANCHARIO VERBACI F SECVNDO ERAVIS
 25 ET VICTORINAE NIGRI FIL VXORI VETVS ALIE
 DESCRIP ET RECOGN EX TABVLA AEREA QVAE
 FIXA EST ROM IN MVRO POST TEMPL DIVI
 AVGVSTVS AD MINERVAM

tabella II:

P ATTI SEVERI
 30 L PVLLI DAPHNI
 P ATTI ● FESTI
 M TETTI PROCVLI

M SENTILI IASI
 TI IVLI • FELICIS
 35 C IVLI SILVANI
 •

intus: tabella I

IMP CAES DIVI HADRIANI F DIVI TRAIANI PART
 NEPOS¹ T AEL HADRIANVS ANTONINVS AVG
 PIVS PON MAX TRIB POT VI IMP II COS III P P
 EQ ET PED QVI MILIT•IN ALIS V ET COH XIII
 5 ET SVNT IN PANN INFER SVB PONTIO
 LAELIANO XXV ITE CLASS XXVI PLVR STIP
 EMER DIMISS HON MISS QVOR NOMIN
 SVBSCRIP SVNT CIVIT ROMAN QVI EORV
 NON HAB ITE FILIS • CLASS DEDIT ET CONB (!)
 10 CVM VXOR Q T HAB CVM EST CIV IIS DAT
 AVT CVM IS QVAS POST DVXIS DVMTAX
 • SINGVL

tabella II:

•
 A D VII ID AVG
 CALAMO ET IUNIANO COS
 15 COH I ALPIN • EQ CVI PRAEST
 M VERRIVS GEMINVS
 EX PEDITE
 ANCHARIO VERBACI F SECVNDO ERAVIS
 ET VICTORINAE NIGRI FIL VX VEIVS ALIENS (!)

Scribal errors:

1. The reference to Nerva as pronepos has been mistakenly engraved as PEONEPOS on the outer face and omitted altogether from the inner face of tabella I.
2. The T of VETVS has not been capped in line 19 of tabella II intus.

The date of the diploma

TRIB. POT VI for Pius determines the year of issue, i.e. his sixth regnal year 142 (Dec. 10)/143 (Dec. 9) and the day date is given as AD VII ID AVG.: August 7.

The suffect consuls are hitherto unattested for 143. Q. Iunius Calamus is not recorded in *PIR* or any other collections of *Fasti*; M. Valerius Iunianus is known only as *frater Arvalis*, whom R. Syme dismissed as an obscure *arvalis* under Hadrian.⁴³ However, we now know that Marcus Cornelius Fronto and Lucius Laberius Priscus were suffect consuls in August/September 142 rather than 143, as was formerly supposed,⁴⁴ which means that Calamus and Iunianus fit neatly into the consular sequence for the latter year. The fact that the outer face is written in the same hand throughout makes it unlikely that this is a “delayed diploma” where the consular date is later than that indicated by the imperial titles.

This diploma is, at present, the earliest published diploma to show on both faces the changed formula, which omits the grant to existing children of veteran recipients. RMD I 39 of 13 Dec. 140 is

⁴³ R. Syme, *Some Arval Brethren*, Oxford 1980, 131.

⁴⁴ See W. Eck, M. M. Roxan in *Festschrift für Hans Lieb* 1995, 79–99.

the first example to show the altered formula but on the outer face only. The inner face gives the older version. This reflects the period of uncertainty that accompanies changes in formula or style in the layout of diplomas. It may now be seen that by 143 the “new” prescription had become the norm. The period of change may now be reduced to 140/143.⁴⁵

The units⁴⁶

Alae:

The number of units recorded is the same for Pannonia inferior in 135 and 143. However, there are slight differences in the actual placing of individual units which bear the same numeral and there are two apparent changes and some important new information.⁴⁷ A striking difference between these lists and those appearing later is that in both diplomas the cohorts are given in numerical order (as in the partially preserved diploma of 139).⁴⁸ In and after 148, in the same province,⁴⁹ the list is non-numerical. In the latter case the order of units has been suggested as being crypto-topographic, following the geographical position of fort sites in which the units were stationed.⁵⁰

Ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria (civium Romanorum bis torquata). For this ala see the unit of the recipient of the diploma of 135 above.

Ala I Thracum veterana (sagittaria). The history of this ala has been briefly set out in a recently published diploma of Pannonia superior of 112.⁵¹ It may have been stationed in an Eastern province during the Julio-Claudian period, but was in Upper Pannonia at least between 112 and 116, transferring to Pannonia inferior by ca. 118/119. Diplomas and other inscriptions reveal that it remained in the latter province at least up to 251.⁵²

Ala I civium Romanorum. This unit is listed in diplomas of Pannonia of 80, 84 and 85.⁵³ By AD 80 presumably there were non-citizen members who would be eligible for diplomas,⁵⁴ which argues for the existence of the unit early in the Neronian period, at latest. It is thus possible that the ala was raised during the Pannonian revolt of AD 6-9,⁵⁵ or in its aftermath, and remained in the Danubian area thereafter. It took part in Trajan’s Dacian wars and, for a time at least, was in the new province of Dacia.⁵⁶ It may have taken part in Trajan’s Parthian campaign⁵⁷ but by ca. 118/119 it may have been

⁴⁵ At least one other diploma of the auxilia is reported to belong to this period but so far remains unpublished.

⁴⁶ See footnote 9 above and the Table of Diplomas of Pannonia inferior. The units that are common to both diplomas will be dealt with under one heading. *Cohortes VII Lusitanorum and I Brittonum milliaria* were discussed separately under the first diploma.

⁴⁷ CIL XVI 175 of 139 is only partially preserved but lists 12 rather than 13 cohorts. This may mean that one cohort had left the province before a replacement had arrived. It could, however, mean that one cohort had no veterans eligible for the grants.

⁴⁸ CIL XVI 175.

⁴⁹ CIL XVI 179/180.

⁵⁰ For the latest view see Zs. Visy, *Die kryptotopographische Truppenaufzählung in den Auxiliardiplomen von Pannonien. Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle*, edd. W. Eck, H. Wolff, Köln – Wien 1986, 482–517.

⁵¹ *Electrum*, Vol. 1, Krakow 1997, 161–173 especially 166.

⁵² CIL III 10624. The evidence is listed in *Electrum* 1 (see note 51).

⁵³ CIL XVI 26, 30, and 31.

⁵⁴ Cf. CIL XVI 38, where only those members of *cohors VIII voluntariorum c. R.* “*qui peregrinae condicionis probati erant*” were entitled to the diploma grants.

⁵⁵ So W. Wagner, *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliärformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus*, Berlin 1938, p. 26 citing E. Stein.

⁵⁶ RMD III 148 (109, Oct. 14); CIL XVI 57 (110, Febr. 17).

⁵⁷ See A. Mócsy, J. Fitz, B. Lőrincz, *Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve*, Budapest 1990, 74.

transferred to the garrison of Pannonia inferior.⁵⁸ So far its first appearance in the diploma lists of the province occurs in 135, and subsequently it is attested intermittently in diplomas up to 159 (see Table of Diplomas). Other epigraphic evidence suggests that it remained in Pannonia inferior at least until the third century.⁵⁹

Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum was placed fourth among the five alae in 135 but last in 143. This unit probably came from the East to Arrabona in Pannonia, in the Julio-Claudian period, when Ituraeans are attested in its ranks.⁶⁰ In the latter part of the reign of Domitian it went to Intercisa, where it erected a fort.⁶¹ After participation in Trajan's Dacian wars it was included in the Dacian lists in 109 and 110,⁶² but some time before 135 it returned to Pannonia inferior, where it remained at least until 167. It sent at least a contingent to the Mauretanian war of Pius (see Table of Diplomas).

Ala (I) praetoria c. R. appears as fifth and last ala in 135 but fourth in both 139 and 143. The numeral I is omitted on both faces of the diploma of 135 so that it would seem that this numeral was not normally used but was added to the title between 135 and 139 (see Table).⁶³ Possibly originally in the Rhineland,⁶⁴ an *ala praetoria* is next found in Pannonia in 85 then Moesia superior between 94 and 103/105.⁶⁵ In 110 it is recorded in Pannonia inferior with the addition of *civium Romanorum*, which was presumably a reward for bravery in the second Dacian War. It is still listed in further diplomas of Pannonia inferior up to 157⁶⁶ and its continued existence in the late Antonine period is ratified through the cursus of one of its commanders: M. Rossius Vitulus.⁶⁷

Cohortes:

Cohors I Alpinorum equitata / *cohors I Alpinorum peditata*. Two cohorts of the same name appear as nos. 1 and 3 in 135 and 1 and 8 in 143. However, in the latter diploma the second cohort is distinguished as *peditata*. There is early evidence for the part-mounted cohort from Carnuntum and Sarpentele⁶⁸ and it may also be the unit that appears in a diploma of Illyricum in 61.⁶⁹ Both cohorts are present in diplomas of undivided Pannonia from 80-85,⁷⁰ but neither is present in 98⁷¹ and only one of the pair is recorded in a similar diploma of 102.⁷² It is possible that the *cohors equitata* took part in Trajan's Dacian war, when its prefect M. Vettius Latro was decorated.⁷³ However, a *cohors [I Al]pinorum*,

⁵⁸ CIL III 10257 (Teutoburgium) where two of its members are shown to have been M. Ulpii.

⁵⁹ CIL III 10256; AE 1912, 129; AE 1932, 34.

⁶⁰ CIL III 4371 (*domo Ityraeus*); III 4367 (Eastern names).

⁶¹ Intercisa 2; B. Lörincz, Zs. Visy, Roman Frontier Studies XII, 1979, BAR IS 71, 1980, 681-685.

⁶² RMD III 148 (109), CIL XVI 57; 163 (110).

⁶³ Since the title *praetoria* implies that a unit so named had served as a bodyguard of a governor it is difficult to make a positive equation between alae of this title appearing in different parts of the empire, see note 65 below.

⁶⁴ CIL XIII 8310 (Köln).

⁶⁵ CIL XVI 39; RMD I 6; CIL XVI 46 and 54.

⁶⁶ See Table. It is extremely unlikely that *ala praetoria singularium* of Syria (RMD I 3 and 4) should now be equated with the ala of Pannonia inferior. New, unpublished, diploma evidence suggests that the Syrian ala possibly remained in the East for most of its known existence.

⁶⁷ AE 1914, 248 = PME R 11.

⁶⁸ CIL III 11213 = ILS 2596 (Carnuntum); CIL III 3352 (Sarpentele).

⁶⁹ CIL XVI 4. See PIR²P 201 (pp. 72-73) for the correction to the date of this diploma from 60 to 61.

⁷⁰ See note 53 above..

⁷¹ CIL XVI 42.

⁷² CIL XVI 47.

⁷³ AE 1939, 81; 1951, 52; See PME V 76.

which has been partially restored in a diploma of Moesia superior of 103/105⁷⁴ is more likely to have been the cohort commanded by *Latro*. This perhaps could be the cohort which later appears in diplomas of Dacia superior of 144, and 179 and in inscriptions and numerous tile stamps.⁷⁵ The Pannonian *cohors I Alpinorum eq.* is listed in the lower province in 114, 135, 143, 148, 157 and 159 (see Diploma Table). The dates of the diplomas in Dacia superior and Pannonia inferior suggest that more than one *cohors equitata* was involved.⁷⁶ When to A. Radnóti and L. Barkóczy wrote⁷⁷ the evidence for *cohors I Alpinorum equitata* in Pannonia inferior ended with an altar set up by one of its prefects, P. Clodius Severus, referring to two Augusti.⁷⁸ The cohort, once thought to have been stationed at Dunapentele (*Intercisa*), is now known to have been first at *Vetus Salina* and then at *Matrica*.⁷⁹ It remained at *Matrica* from the Hadrianic period until the end of the Marcomannic War, when it was replaced by *cohors milliaria Maurorum*.⁸⁰ The sister unit garrisoned *Lussonium* from the Trajanic period until it was relieved by *cohors I Alpinorum equitata* after the Marcomannic War. AE 1990, 824 now places the part-mounted cohort at *Lussonium* under Gallienus.

The history of the infantry *cohors I Alpinorum* runs parallel with that of its homonym, as far as it is possible to make a distinction. It further appears in diplomas of 167 and 178/203 (on which the name of the other cohort is not preserved) so that it may be presumed to have stayed in Pannonia inferior probably into the Severan period.⁸¹

Cohors I Thracum c. R. p. f. is third in the list of Pannonia inferior in 110 and is almost certainly to be restored in a diploma of 114.⁸² Thereafter the title *pia fidelis* does not appear attached to this unit in any known Pannonian diploma. However, by 135⁸³ there are two *cohortes I Thracum c. R.* named in Pannonia inferior and this is repeated in 143 (Nos. 2 and 7 among the cohorts in both diplomas). By 148 one of these first Thracian cohorts had the additional title *Germ(anica)* but was not described as *c. R.* again until 167. Its homonym continued as *I Thrac(um) c. R.*, but became *I Aug(usta) Thrac(um) c. R.* in the same diploma of 167. (See Diploma Table). The problem remains to separate the previous histories of these two cohorts.⁸⁴ M. G. Jarrett, proposed that this is the *cohors I Thracum c. R.* which had been stationed first in *Germania* and then in *Germania superior*. He thought that it moved to Pannonia

⁷⁴ CIL XVI 54.

⁷⁵ CIL XVI 90; RMD II 123. C. C. Petolescu suggested that the unit in Moesia superior can be the cohort attested in Britain only in the diploma of 103 (CIL XVI 48). He thinks that it was sent from Britain to Moesia superior to participate in the Dacian wars, *Acta Musei Napocensis* 34,1/1977 82. Epigraphic evidence for this cohort in Dacia consists of CIL III 1183 (*Aplulum*) the tombstone of a veteran eques, CIL III 1343 = AE 1977, 705 (*Micia*) a Severan building inscription; numerous tile stamps at *Sărăteni* CIL III 8074,8, 1633.23, add IDR III/4 220 and RMD III/4 299.1, 4, 5, 6; and at *Călugăreni*, AE 1967, 408.

⁷⁶ There is a very short period of time between the appearance of the cohort in Pannonia inferior (7 August 143) and the homonym in Dacia superior (23 February 144), which adds substance to Petolescu's argument.

⁷⁷ The Distribution of Troops in Pannonia inferior, *Acta Arch. Hung.* 1, 1951, 191–226 especially 211.

⁷⁸ CIL III 3315. This stone was originally believed to have come from *Dunakömlöd* (*Lussonium*) but this has proved to be mistaken.

⁷⁹ See Zs. Visy, op. cit. note 50, pp. 507–510

⁸⁰ Zs. Visy, *Der pannonische Limes in Ungarn*, Budapest 1988, 93.

⁸¹ CIL XVI 123; 132. See also CIL III 10269 (*Mursa*).

⁸² CIL XVI 164; RMD III 153.

⁸³ See diploma I above and the Table.

⁸⁴ The suggestion was made by Wagner (op. cit. note 21, 189–190) that *cohors I Thracum (Germanica c. R.)* was first in *Germania superior* but was transferred to *Moesia superior* by 100, meanwhile earning *civium Romanorum* during the Danubian campaigns of Domitian. He placed it briefly in *Dacia* after its participation in Trajan's Dacian wars but reckoned that it was sent back to Upper Germany by 116. Following this he identified it with the *cohors I Thracum c. R.* which appears in diplomas of Pannonia superior between 133 and 154, and finally located it in Pannonia inferior by 167, where the title of *Germanica* first appeared. The evidence from the diplomas of Pannonia inferior that appeared after Wagner wrote makes this sequence untenable.

inferior some time between 116 and 148.⁸⁵ However, evidence subsequently published showed that it was still in Germania superior in 129/130 (*RMD* II 90). If Jarrett's proposal is at least partially correct, an appearance in a diploma of Pannonia inferior in 135 would be feasible and this would suggest that the *cohors I Thracum c. R. p. f.* in 110 and 114 should not be associated with the cohort bearing the additional title *Germanica*. Jarrett's account does not explain why the title *Germanica* first appears in a diploma of 148. The title *Germanica* is usually taken to refer to the fact that the cohort concerned had spent some considerable time as part of the army of Germania. In this case why was it omitted in 135 and 143? Similarly, if the title *Germanica* indicated that at some time the cohort had been involved in a German war, perhaps one of the campaigns undertaken by Domitian, it is surprising that it does not surface until 148. The title *c. R.* is omitted in 148 and in succeeding diplomas, only to reappear in 167. Mistakes are often made in diplomas, which may be put down to various causes such as: defective records in the officium of a provincial governor, errors made in Rome when the lists were copied and finally, carelessness by the scribes who engraved the individual diplomas.⁸⁶ Until more evidence is at hand the answer to this problem remains unclear.

Cohors I Thracum c. R. p. f. If this cohort may be equated with the *cohors I Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum)* recorded in second place in the diploma of Moesia superior of 100,⁸⁷ it probably took part in Domitian's Danubian wars and received the block grant of citizenship on that occasion. It is therefore eligible to have been part of Trajan's army fighting in the Dacian wars which was then seconded to the garrison of Pannonia inferior in the aftermath of those wars. The fact that it is not recorded with *p(ia) f(idelis)* in the Moesian diploma suggests, although it does not certainly prove, that the cohort had not participated in the crushing of the revolt by Saturninus in 88/89.⁸⁸ Instead, it looks as if Trajan had bestowed *p. f.* on the unit during or after the Dacian Wars as he appears to have done in the case of several other units.⁸⁹ From 135 - 167 its presence is recorded in diplomas, in the last with the addition of *Augusta*, but still lacking the distinguishing *p. f.*⁹⁰

*Cohors I Noricorum*⁹¹ was in Pannonia between 80 and 85 but may have been there in the Julio-Claudian period, perhaps in the northern sector of upper Pannonia, since L. Volcacius Primus, *praef. coh. I Noricor. in Pannonia* is next recorded as *praef. ripae Danuvi et civitatum duar(um) Boior(um) et Azalior(um)*.⁹² It is registered in Pannonia inferior in 110, but K. Strobel considered that it was held in reserve during the Dacian wars.⁹³ It remained in the province and is recorded in a diploma of 114. Later it is included in diplomas of 135, 139, 143, 148, 157, 159, and 167 (see Diploma Table). An inscription

⁸⁵ Thracian units in the Roman army, *IEJ*, 19, 1969 221–222.

⁸⁶ For example the replacement of *Astur(um)* by *Nervior(um)* in the recording of *cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum* in the two Regöly diplomas is possibly due to an error made somewhere during the transmission of the list between Rome and Pannonia (see Diploma Table).

⁸⁷ CIL XVI 46.

⁸⁸ A *cohors I Thracum* may perhaps be restorable in diplomas of Germania inferior in 80 (CIL XVI 158) and 98 (to be published by J. K. Haalebos) which could mean that it really had received *pia fidelis* in 89, but this is not supported by further evidence so far.

⁸⁹ E. g. *cohors I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata p. f. civium Romanorum* (CIL XVI 160 and 163); *I Vindelicorum c. R. p. f.* (CIL XVI 163). Both units were without *p. f.* in CIL XVI 46 of 100. *Coh(ors) II Aug(usta) Dac(orum) p. f. ∞ eq(uitata)* should have been raised after the conquest of Dacia so that its title should belong to a later period (CIL III 10255, Teutoburgium).

⁹⁰ Diplomas do not invariably carry honorary titles of units, sometimes they are omitted even within a few years of the grant.

⁹¹ Listed fourth in 135 and 139 but third in 143.

⁹² ILS 2737 (Firmum Picenum).

⁹³ CIL XVI 164; K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans*. (Antiquitas Reihe 1, Bd. 33) Bonn. 1984, 140

found near its fort site Öcsény, signifies its continued presence in Pannonia inferior into the third century.⁹⁴

*Cohors I Lusitanorum*⁹⁵ appears in a diploma of Illyricum of AD 61⁹⁶ and may have been among the units from Spain which were sent there as a result of the uprising of AD 6. It is then found in Pannonian diplomas of 84 and 85 (see footnote 53). In the latter diploma a recipient from this cohort, *Fronto Sceni f.*, gives his origin among the Pannonian Iasi, which underlines its longstanding presence in the region. Shortly before 96/97 it was commanded by a prefect, who went on to acquire decorations as a legionary tribune in Nerva's Suebic war.⁹⁷ In 98 it was once more named in a diploma of undivided Pannonia but by 110 was listed in Pannonia inferior.⁹⁸ Strobel suggested that it could have been part of the Pannonian contingent taking part in Trajan's Dacian Wars.⁹⁹ Thereafter it is found among the cohorts of every diploma with a fully preserved list between 114 and 167.

Cohors I Montanorum. There has been some difficulty in distinguishing between the *cohortes I Montanorum* that appear in records of Dalmatia, Noricum, Moesia superior and Pannonia. The cohort attested in Pannonia was originally in Dalmatia¹⁰⁰ It is listed in undivided Pannonia between 80 and 102 and one of its members who received a diploma in 84 had clearly been recruited from Dalmatia during the Claudio/Neronian period.¹⁰¹ In the diploma of 98¹⁰² the cohort had received a block grant of citizenship and a cohort with the same title appears in a diploma of Moesia superior of AD 100.¹⁰³ This has led to a suggestion that the same cohort moved from Pannonia to Moesia superior and back and even an attempt to propose that only one cohort was indicated in all the evidence for both provinces.¹⁰⁴ The presence of a *cohortes I Montanorum* in a diploma of 96 in Moesia superior indicates that this scenario is far from certain. The single unit was thought to have contributed a vexillation to fight in the Bar Kokhba War because a (*cohortes*) *I Mont(anorum)* is among the additional strength accredited to Syria Palaestina in 139 (*CIL XVI 87*). Fresh evidence in the form of two diplomas of Syria Palaestina of 136/137 and 160, both of which name a (*cohortes*) *I Montanorum*, makes the conflation of the two series of inscriptions highly improbable.¹⁰⁵ Even if the Eastern contingent had originated as a vexillation of a single *cohortes I Montanorum* (later brought up to strength to form a separate unit) the rump cohort appeared in diplomas of Pannonia inferior between 139 and 178/203.¹⁰⁶ Further diplomas name a homonym in Moesia superior in 160 and 161,¹⁰⁷ which would imply either that the remaining section moved rapidly between Pannonia inferior and Moesia superior within a short period or that it had been further sub-divided. Neither hypothesis seems very likely.

⁹⁴ Table. *CIL III 10278 + p. 2277 – coh. I Nor. Antoniniana eq(uitata)*.

⁹⁵ Fifth cohort in 135, fourth in 143

⁹⁶ *CIL XVI 4* (see note 69 above).

⁹⁷ *CIL V 7425 = ILS 2720 (Libarna)*.

⁹⁸ *CIL XVI 42, CIL XVI 164*.

⁹⁹ Op. cit. note 93, p. 138.

¹⁰⁰ *CIL III 15003 (Burnum); Diadora 5 (1970) p. 106 n. 8 (Burnum)*.

¹⁰¹ Another diploma recipient had been recruited from among the Bessi, four years earlier, which suggests that the unit had been in the general area of the Balkan provinces in the Julio-Claudian period.

¹⁰² *CIL XVI 42*.

¹⁰³ *CIL XVI 46*.

¹⁰⁴ J. Šašel, *Cohors I Montanorum*, in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III*, 1983, 782 – 786. See *Tabelle I* in Šašel's article for a list of all the inscriptions relevant to the argument.

¹⁰⁵ *RMD III 160 and 173*.

¹⁰⁶ See *Table 2*.

¹⁰⁷ *CIL XVI 111; RMD I 55*.

Cohors I Campana/I Campanorum (voluntariorum) c. R. G. L. Cheesman considered that *cohors(I) Campana*, which is found in Dalmatia¹⁰⁸ and then in Pannonia was “originally a regiment of Campanians, since a soldier gives Suessa as his birthplace (CIL III 14246¹): *Vettius Hospes mil[es] cohortis Camp. domo Suessa*. It was commanded by a prefect on at least one occasion in the first century.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand a cohort with a similar title was commanded by a tribune, in Pannonia inferior, ca. 106, like other cohorts of citizen volunteers.¹¹⁰ The possibility has been put forward by M. P. Speidel that the *cohors Campana* found in Dalmatia may have been an earlier levy than the *cohortes voluntariorum*, which are connected with the Pannonian uprising of AD 6. He suggests that until further evidence is found the early history of the cohort based in Pannonia remains uncertain.¹¹¹ The present diploma is the first sure indication of its presence in Pannonia inferior in a diploma (although it may have been listed in the partially read example of four years earlier it certainly does not appear in that for 135). The diploma of 143 does not carry the full title of the unit, but as may be seen from the Table, its status as a *cohors voluntariorum* is signalled in all later diplomas up to 159. It remained in the province into the third century according to an altar set up at Sirmium in 212.¹¹²

Cohors I Brittonum milliaria appears eighth in 135 but is not registered in Pannonia inferior after this. Its place was taken by *I Campanorum* (see notes under the diploma of 135).

Cohors II Asturum. This should be *cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum*, which is known to be part of the garrison of undivided Pannonia, and later in Pannonia inferior (Table).¹¹³ It was in Pannonia inferior almost continuously from 110 - 167.¹¹⁴ There is evidence for its presence in tiles at Ad Militare and Rittium.¹¹⁵

Cohors II Augusta Thracum (equitata). The early history of this cohort remains obscure. B. Lörincz considers that it was probably transferred to Pannonia inferior ca. 118/119¹¹⁶. Unfortunately, inscriptions on stone and diplomas are both lacking for the early part of Hadrian’s reign but it is now definitely sited in the province from at least 135 until 167 from the evidence of diplomas alone (see Diploma Table). It is last attested, still in Pannonia, in the first half of the third century under the command of T. Caesius Anthianus, when it is labelled as *equitata*.¹¹⁷

Cohors III Batavorum milliaria equitata. The records of this cohort are complicated by the probability that there were two series of Batavian cohorts: one quingenary and one milliary. Two letters found at Vindolanda in Britain indicate the possible presence there of a *cohors III Batavorum* ca. AD

¹⁰⁸ ILS 2600 = CIL III 8693 and CIL III 14246¹ (Salona): both milites originated in Campania; CIL III 14623³ (Narona). G. L. Cheesman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, 1914, 65–66.

¹⁰⁹ AE 1966, 124 (Verona). The sequence of posts in the career of L. Domitius M. f. Pob. Severus indicates that it should belong to the reign of Claudius. He was prefect of a *cohors Camp.*, then prefect of an ala, finally tribune in *leg. XX*, which lacks the titles *Valeria Victrix*.

¹¹⁰ CIL III 10248 + p. 2277 (Bononia) add CIL VI 3520 = ILS 2731 (Rome). Cf. PME F 68: *L. Flavio T. f., Quir. Seculari praef. coh. primae civae (sic) Roman. in Germ. Inferior, trib. coh. primae voluptariae (sic) Campanorum in Pannonia inferiore . . .*

¹¹¹ TAPA 106, 1976, 339–348 = *Roman Army Studies* 1, 1984, 91–100.

¹¹² CIL III 3237.

¹¹³ The cohort may have been among the Spanish units sent to Illyrium ca. AD 6. The appearance of a first cohort of the same title in a diploma of Illyricum (CIL XVI 4, AD 61) has given rise to the speculation that this is a mistaken reference to the second cohort. A *cohors Asturum et Callaecorum*, which later acquired the numeral I was in Mauretania Tingitana from AD 57 onwards and there is no evidence to suggest that there were two parallel series of *cohortes Asturum et Callaecorum*.

¹¹⁴ For a possible explanation of the oddity of the change to *II Nerviorum et Callaecorum* in the two Regöly diplomas of 148 see note 86 above.

¹¹⁵ CIL III 10647a,b (Batina = Ad Militare); J. Szilágyi, *Inscr. regularum Diss. Pann. II* 1, 92 Plate XXV 50–52,53 (Rittium).

¹¹⁶ *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis*, 1993, 95 no. 8.

¹¹⁷ ILS 9014 (Puteoli).

100, but the series to which it belonged has not been determined.¹¹⁸ The milliary third cohort was in Raetia in 107 and 116.¹¹⁹ H. Wolff argues that the cohort was transferred to Pannonia inferior early in the reign of Hadrian, basing this on the probability that it may have been responsible for the building of the earth and timber fort at Vetus Salina,¹²⁰ where there is evidence of its presence in inscriptions and tiles.¹²¹ In both the diploma of 135 and the present diploma of 143 it is listed as milliary, but it is not so designated in the later diplomas of Pannonia inferior (see Diploma Table). A clue lies in the fact that in the two Regöly diplomas it is described as: *III Batav. ∞ vex.*, i.e. between 143 and 148 part of the cohort had been detached and sent elsewhere. Support for this may come in the fact that several of its commanders are named as tribunes of the cohort¹²² but, on at least one occasion it was commanded by a prefect.¹²³ The whereabouts of the other section of the cohort and the date of its reintegration is unsure. On several occasions it is classified as *equitata*. It remained in Pannonia inferior at least into the second decade of the third century.¹²⁴

Cohors III Lusitanorum equitata was raised in Lusitania early in the principate, probably by Augustus, as is demonstrated by two very early stones from Aquileia.¹²⁵ During the Julio-Claudian period it was in Lower Germany.¹²⁶ At this time one of its *equites* erected a dedication to the gods of Coniumbriga in Lusitania; this is the sole evidence that the cohort was part-mounted. Scholars have suggested that ca. 102/103 the cohort accompanied *legio X Gemina* to Pannonia inferior, where it appears in diploma lists of the province from 110–167 (see Diploma Table).¹²⁷ In the diploma of 110 the cohort has the additional title *pia fidelis*, which it should have received with the rest of the army of Germania inferior after 89.¹²⁸ Evidence for its stay in Pannonia inferior is sparse but its fort has been placed at Ad Statuas on the basis of a fragmentary tombstone.¹²⁹

Cohors VII Breucorum civium Romanorum equitata. Originally raised from the Breuci, of Illyricum (south west Lower Pannonia) the seventh cohort of the series was stationed in Upper Germany in the Julio-Claudian period¹³⁰ but by AD 85 it was registered in Pannonia.¹³¹ It was probably transferred to Moesia shortly after this since it appears in diplomas of Moesia superior for 96 and 100. In both cases it carries the title *civium Romanorum*, almost certainly gained during Domitian's Dacian campaigns.¹³² A

¹¹⁸ A. K. Bowman, J. D. Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing tablets*, 1994, No. 263 (Tab. Vindol. I 23, ii.5); No. 311, Back, 2.

¹¹⁹ CIL XVI 55; RMD III 155.

¹²⁰ Zs. Visy, *op. cit.* note 80, 97–98.

¹²¹ Tiles (lacking the milliary sign): CIL III 3760; 10671 a and b; AE 1976, 556c. Inscriptions: CIL III 10330 and 10322 (Vetus Salina); III 3345 (Alba Regia).

¹²² CIL III 10329: Claudius Tyrannus – second century; AE 1935, 163: M. Simplicius Quietus: *trib. coh. III Bat. ∞ Antoniniana*. Both inscriptions were found at Vetus Salina.

¹²³ AE 1944, 97 = AE 1969/70 (Vetus Salina)

¹²⁴ CIL III 3345 AD 211; AE 1935, 163, Caracalla–Severus Alexander.

¹²⁵ ILS 2703: *Ti. Iulius Viator subprae[fectus] coh(ortis) III Lusitanorum*; AE 1895 36: [*centurio?* or *subprae[fecto]?*] *c(o)hor(tis) III Lusit(anorum) curat(or) pro praef(ecto) c(o)hor(tis) I Astur(um)*.

¹²⁶ BRGK 40 n. 244 and CIL XIII 8560; both from Novaesium. CIL XIII 8317 (Köln).

¹²⁷ E. Ritterling, *JRS* 17, 1927, 28–29; Wagner, *op. cit.* note 17, 164; G. Alföldy, *Die Hilfstruppen der Römischen Provinz Germania Inferior*, Ep. St. 6, 1968, 66.

¹²⁸ Note the heading of the diploma of Germania inferior in the recently published diploma of 127, W. Eck, E. Paunov, *Chiron* 27, 1977, 335–354.

¹²⁹ CIL III 3302 (Várdomb = Ad Statuas).

¹³⁰ CIL XIII 6213 – a Jupiter altar erected by its prefect at Worms; AE 1945, 78 (Weisenau, near Mainz) a tombstone of *Pradus Sarn. f. mil(es) ex coh. VII Breucorum*.

¹³¹ CIL XVI 31.

¹³² RMD I 6; CIL XVI 46.

tile stamp is thought to link it possibly with *legio VII Claudia* at Viminacium.¹³³ It probably participated in Trajan's Dacian wars. The new diploma of 143 is the first to record it securely in Pannonia inferior, although the first editor of the diploma of 139 restored it in twelfth (and last) position among the cohorts and it is likely that it was omitted through error from the list of 135.¹³⁴ It continued to appear in diplomas up to 167, with a final appearance in a fragment of 203 (Diploma Table). Inscriptions from Knodara in Cyprus and Berytus in Syria have been used to suggest that it may have moved east under Trajan, but the Berytus stone is an honorary inscription to M. Sentius Proculus patron of the colony and does not site the cohort (or its vexillation) in Syria.¹³⁵ Numerous tile stamps from sites in Pannonia inferior and superior continue to attest its presence in the region, the latest belongs to the reign of Gordian: COH. VII BR. GORD.¹³⁶

The unit list is omitted from the inner face of tabella I. This diploma is now the earliest known to show this feature, which persisted, with some exceptions, from August 143 until the end of 153 (with an outlier in 158),¹³⁷ on present evidence. This is probably part of the general carelessness shown over inner faces of diplomas from the reign of Trajan onward. In some cases during the reign of Pius this also led to the consular and day date being omitted from the inner faces of second tablets.¹³⁸ Here, as noted, Nerva is omitted from the claimed ancestry of Pius.

Members of the fleet of Pannonia inferior were also included in the grant and their children are specifically mentioned: *item filis classic(orum)*, which makes it the earliest known example of the ephemeral Alföldy-Mann Type IIIE².¹³⁹

The governor

The career of M. Pontius Laelianus Larcius Sabinus spanned three to four successive imperial reigns from early in the reign of Hadrian until the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.¹⁴⁰ Immediately prior to his post as governor of Pannonia inferior he had been *legatus legionis I Minerviae*.¹⁴¹ His predecessor as praetorian governor of Pannonia inferior was Claudius Maximus, who normally would be expected to have relinquished the post before 142, when he became suffect consul. Pontius Laelianus, in turn, was *consul suffectus* in August 144, with Q. Mustius Priscus,¹⁴² so that his span of office in Pannonia inferior probably covered the years 141-144. It is certain that he had left that post by September 145, since a fragmentary diploma of September/October 145 names his successor as

¹³³ ÖJ VIII 1905, Bbl. 9, no 28 = AE 1905, 162.

¹³⁴ T. Nagy, *Acta Arch. Hung.* 7, 1956, 30 ff, on the basis of two partial letters -JEV[- at the end of the list on the inner face. This was not accepted by H. Nesselhauf in *CIL XVI* 175 but is supported through its probable inclusion in the diploma of 135, see the notes on *cohors VII Lusitanorum* above.

¹³⁵ *CIL III* 215 = AE 1953, 171 (Knodara). AE 1926, 150 (Berytus).

¹³⁶ *CIL III* 3757, III 6472, III 10668. Sites include Mitrovic, Esjek, Batina, Szeksö, Paks, Duna-Pentele, Pest, Alt Ofen, Ó-Szőny. Those from Ó-Szőny-Brigetio are numerous and mostly third century in date.

¹³⁷ *CIL XVI* 108.

¹³⁸ E.g. *RMD I* 39 (140), 40 (129/154?), *CIL XVI* 96 (148), 97 (149), *RMD II* 102 (157). Add P. Weiß, *ZPE* 117, Nr. 12 (142/148), Nr. 13 (148/154). *RMD I* 41, should not be included in this list. The photograph published in *Inscriptions Antiques du Maroc* (Paris 1982) p. 409 No. 808, shows that the upper section of the inner face of tabella II is missing. Personal inspection has confirmed this.

¹³⁹ See *RMD IV*, Appendix III p. 341.

¹⁴⁰ *CIL VI* 1497 + 1549 = *ILS* 1094 + 1100. Cf. G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen*, *Antiquitas* 1, 27, 1977, 344, for the details in tabular form. The career has now been published in *PIR²* P 806, but lacks the confirmation of the date of the post in Pannonia inferior conferred by this diploma.

¹⁴¹ For his earlier career see A. R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain*, Oxford 1981, 273-4.

¹⁴² *CIL VI* 24162 (Rome).

Fuficius Cornutus.¹⁴³ He was consular legate of Pannonia superior possibly between 145 and 150 (he is attested in that post in July 146, October 148 and July 149 - *CIL XVI* 178, 96 and 97). By August 150 his place had been taken by Claudius Maximus (*CIL XVI* 99). He may have become consular governor of Syria soon after leaving Pannonia superior, where he next appears perhaps in 150-154¹⁴⁴. Nearly a decade later he was *comes* of Lucius Verus, in which capacity he was decorated: *donato donis militaribus bello Armeniaco et Parthico*. He is next recorded as *comes Augg.* by then surely well past his sixtieth year. He received further decorations in the joint reign of Marcus and Commodus. As a final honour, his statue was to be erected in civilian dress in the forum of the deified Trajan.¹⁴⁵

The unit of the recipient and its commander

The unit of the recipient is *cohors I Alpinorum equitata*. As noted above, the cohort was stationed at Vetus Salina in the Trajanic period but was later based at Matrica.

The commander of the cohort, Marcus Verrius Geminus, lacks an *origo*, which is unusual in the period 129-156.¹⁴⁶ This prefect has not been recorded in any other career inscription so far. His name suggests that he was Italian.

The recipient

The recipient Ancharius Secundus, son of Verbacius, came from the territory of the Eravisci in Pannonia inferior. His nomen is fairly widespread and, according to the lists of A. Mócsy et al, has been found in many western provinces and in Italy itself.¹⁴⁷ His father's name, Verbacius is recorded only once in Pannonia, as a cognomen.¹⁴⁸ Ancharius had been recruited twenty-five or more years earlier in the late Trajanic period, when the cohort was perhaps at Vetus Salina. His discharge should have occurred when he was stationed at Matrica. Both sites lie within the territory of the Eravisci. He names his wife: Victorina, daughter of Niger, who came from Vetus (Veius intus, where the T has not been capped) Aliens. The name of her home is incomplete on the outer face. This site does not appear in TIR L 34 and it is reasonably sure that this is a scribal error for Vetus Salina.¹⁴⁹ Some scribal confusion probably occurred on both faces, since neither VXORI (ext) nor VX (int.) is followed by EIVS.¹⁵⁰ Thus perhaps the VEIVS on the inner face may mean that the scribe conflated EIVS and VETVS in error. It is possible that the recipient met his wife when the cohort was at, or near Vetus Salina and the chances are that the diploma was found in the territory of the Eravisci, where the recipient had served and both he and his wife had strong ties. Victorina may have been the daughter of a military family her name certainly carries military overtones, although her father does not seem to have had Roman citizenship. He perhaps failed to complete his military service and therefore did not qualify for the grant.

¹⁴³ *CIL XVI* 91, cf. Supplementum p.215.

¹⁴⁴ So Aföldy, op. cit. note 90, 273 and 334. He is attested in Syria in December 153; cf. *AE* 1939, 179 = *IGLS* 2550. An unpublished fragmentary diploma of Syria of 153 unfortunately does not preserve his name as governor, but reveals that the auxilia commanded by Laelianus was far more numerous than has been assumed hitherto.

¹⁴⁵ His merit presumably advanced his family. His son was *consul ordinarius* in 163.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. G. Alföldy, *Die Truppenkommandeure in den Militärdiplomen. Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle*, edd. W. Eck, H. Wolff, Köln-Wien 1986, p. 385-436.

¹⁴⁷ A. Mócsy, R. Feldmann, E. Marton, M. Szilágyi, op. cit. note 41, 18.

¹⁴⁸ A. Mócsy, et al op cit. note 41, 306.

¹⁴⁹ *It. Ant.* 245, 4 – Vetus Salina; *Not. Dig. occ.* 33, 37 – Vetusalina; *Geogr. Rav.* 220.8 – Belsalino; *CIL III* 10305 – Vetussalinae.

¹⁵⁰ The omission of EIVS following VXORI, however abbreviated, is rare. A similar omission occurs in *RMD III* 161 of 138. Occasionally EIVS has dropped out following the names of children when a large number are named, e.g. *CIL XVI* 78 where there are six children; *CIL XVI* 83 where EIVS follows the name of the fifth (and last) child only.

The witnesses

The witness names differ from those of the previous year. Ti. Claudius Menander was then still at the head of the list and his retirement may now be placed between August 142¹⁵¹ and August 143. P. Attius Severus and L. Pullius Daphnus have moved up to first and second positions. P. Attius Festus remains in third place, although his disappearance from the lists may now be assigned to the period August 143 - October 145 (RMD I 44). M. Tettius Proculus is inserted in fourth place after P. Attius Festus thus ensuring that the remaining three witnesses stay in the places they had occupied in the previous year rather than moving up the list. This was only a temporary replacement, since so far Tettius Proculus is otherwise unknown. There are occasional insertions of this nature in diplomas after 138. Clearly substitutes were used when a witness was unavailable, as in the diploma of 135.

Text of the diploma:

Imp. Caesar, divi Hadriani f, divi Traiani Parth(ici) nepos, divi Nervae p<r>onepos, T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius, pon(tifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) pot(estate) VI, imp(erator) II, co(n)s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriciae)

equit(itibus) et pedit(ibus) qui milit(averunt) in alis V et coh(ortibus) XIII, quae appel(lantur) (1) I Fl(avia) Aug(usta) Brit(annica) (milliaria) et (2) I Thr(acum) veter(ana) et (3) I c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (4) I praet(oria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (5) I Aug(usta) Itur(aeorum); et (1) I Alpin(ororum) et (2) I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (3) I Noric(ororum) et (4) I Lusit(anorum) et (5) I Mont(anorum) et (6) I Camp(anorum) et (7) I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et (8) I Alpin(ororum) pedit(ata) et (9) II Astu(rum) et (10) II Aug(usta) Thr(acum) et (11) III Batav(ororum) (milliaria) et (12) III Lusit(anorum) et (13) VII Breucor(um) et sunt in Pannon(ia) infer(iore) sub Pontio Laeliano, quin(is) et vican(is) item classic(is) senis et vican(is) plurib(us)ve stip(endis) emer(itis) dimis(sis) honest(a) miss(ione)

quor(um) nomin(a) subscrip(ta) sunt, civitat(em) Roman(am) qui eor(um) non haber(ent), item filis classic(ororum) dedit et conub(ium) cum uxorb(us), quas tunc habuiss(ent), cum est civit(as) iis data, aut, cum is, quas postea duxiss(ent) dumtax(at) singulis.

a. d. VII id. Aug. Q. Iunio Calamo, M. Valerio Iuniano cos.

coh(ortis) I Alpinor(um) equit(atae) cui praest M. Verrius Geminus, ex pedite Anchario Verbaci f., Secundo, Eravis(co) et Victorinae Nigri fil(iae), uxori (eius) Vetus Aliens (?).

Descrip(tum) et recogn(itum) ex tabula aerea, quae fixa est Rom(ae) in muro post templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.

P. Atti Severi; L. Pulli Daphmi; P. Atti Festi; M. Tetti Proculi; M. Sentili Iasi; Ti. Iuli Felicis; C. Iuli Silvani.

University College London

Margaret M. Roxan

¹⁵¹ See W. Eck, M. M. Roxan, op. cit. note 44.

DIPLOMAS OF PANNONIA INFERIOR

Diploma:	CIL XVI 164: 110 Jul. 2 (Type II)	CIL XVI 61: 114 Sept. 1 (Type III)	Unpublished: 114 Sept 1 (Type III)	RMD III 152: 114 Sept. 1
Found:	Tokod. Tab. I & II	Carnuntum Tab. I & II	Unknown Tab. I (f)	Tárnok Ótházpuszta Tab. II(f)
	alae: 4	alae: 2	alae: 2	[alae: 2]
	1. I Flavia Aug. Britannica ∞ c. R.	2. Frontoniana	2. Fronto[-]	
	2. Frontoniana			
	3. Siliana c. R.			
	4. praetoria c. R.	1. I Flavia <G>aetulor.	1. I Fl. Gaetulor.	
	cohortes: 10	cohortes: 6	cohortes: 6	[cohortes: 6]
	1. I Lusitanorum	4. I Lusitanor.	4. I [----]	
	2. I Alpinor.	1. I Alpinor.	1. I Alp.	
	3. I Thracum c. R. p. f.			
	4. I Alpinor.	3. I Alpinor.	3. I Alpinor.	
	5. I Noricor.			
	6. I Montanor.	2. I Montanor.	2. I Mo[nt]anor.	
	7. II Alpinor.			
	8. II Asturum et Callaecor.			
	9. <III> Lusitanor. p. f.	6. III Lusitanor.	6. [----]	
	10. V Gallor	5. II Aug. Nervia Pacensis ∞ Britton.	5. II A[u]g. Ner[vi]a Pacensis ∞ Britton.	
	vexillationis equitum ex Syria	item ala I Flavia Aug. Britannic. ∞ c. R.	item ala I Flavia Aug Br<i>t. ∞ c. R.	
Governor:	T. Iulio Maximo Maniliano	missa in expeditionem	missa in expeditionem	
		P. Afranio Flaviano	P. Afran[io] Flaviano	[P. Afranio Flaviano]
Consuls:	C. Eruciano Silone	L. Lolliano Avito	L. Lol[liano Av]ito	L. Lolliano [Avi]to
	I. Catilio Severo	L. Messio Rustico	L. M[essio Ru]stico	L. Messio [Ru]stico
Unit of recipient:	alae Frontoniana	alae Frontoniana	alae Frontoniana	alae Fronton
Commander:	L. Calpurnius Honoratus	L. Calpurnius Honoratus praefuit	[L. Calpurnius] Honora[tus pra]efuit	L. [C]alpurnius Honoratus [pra]efuit
Recipient:	C. Petilio C. f. Vindici Batav.	ex gregale Nertomaro Irducissae f., Boio	[ex grega]le [-----]e f., Era[visc(o)]	[e]x gregale [-M]esioni Matici f.,
		et Custae Magni fil., uxori eius Aquin. et	[et -----] fil. uxori eius.	.Erav. [et ---]iae Touconis
		Victori f. eius et Propinquo f. eius et Bellae fil. eius.		fil. ux. ei. Erav.

Diplomas of Pannonia inferior (2)

Diploma:	RMD III 153: 114 Sept. 1	RMD I 34: 129 Apr. 30	135 Mai. 19	CIL XVI 175: 139	143. Aug.7
Found:	Unknown Tab. I (f)	"Turkey" Tab. II	Unknown. Tab. I & II (Type IIIE)	Albertfalva. Tab. I(f) (Type IIIE)	Unknown. Tab.I & II (Type IIIE)
alae:	2	(?)	5 2. I Fl. Aug. Brit. ∞	5 1. I [Fl. Br. ∞]	5 1. I Fl. Aug. Brit. ∞
	1. [His]panor. Cam[p]		5. pr. c. R. 1. I Thr. vet. 3. I c. R. 4. I Au. Itur	4. pr. c. R. 3. I c. R. 5. I Aug. [Itur.]	4. I praet. c. R. 2. I Thr. veter 3. I c. R. 5. I Aug. Itur.
cohortes:	6	(?)	13 5. I Lusit. 1. I Alp. 2. I Thr. c. R. 3. I Alp. 4. I Noric. 6. I Mont. 9. II Ast. et Call. 12. III Lus.	12 3. [I Al]p. ped. 4. I Nor. 5. I Mon. 9. [III]I Lus.	13 4. I Lusit. 1. I Alpin. 2. I Thr. c. R. 8. I Alpin. ped. 3. I Noric. 5. I Mont. 9. II Astur. 12. III Lusit.
	1. [I Thracum c.R.] p.f. 2. I No[ricor.] 5. [II] Alpinor.		10. II Aug. Thr. 11. III Batav. ∞ 13. VII Lusitan.(!)	8. II Aug. T[hr.]	10. II Aug. Thr. 11. III Batav. ∞ 6. I Camp. 7. I Thr. c. R.
	[item clas]sic[is]		7. I Thr. c. R. 8. I Britt. ∞ 13. {VII Breucor?}		13. VII Breucor.
Governor:	[P. Afranio Flaviano]	-----	Nonio Muciano	[Statilio Maximo]	Pontio Laeliano
Consuls:		P. Iuventio Celso II Q. Iulio Balbo	M. Aemilio Papo L. Burbuleio Ligariano	L. Minicio Natale L. Claudi[o Proculo]	Q. Iunio Calamo M. Valerio Iuniano
Unit of recipient:		alae I Thr. vet.	alae I Aug. Brit. ∞	alae I Thrac. veter[an(ae)]	coh. I Alpinor. equit.
Commander:		L. Ennius Marsus, Setin.	Q. Porcius Potitus, Cadurc.	T. Flavius Iualia[nus]	M. Verrius Geminus
Recipient:		ex gregale Cunio Aquil[---] f., Isaur.	ex gregale Atresso Ressimari f., Erav.	ex grega[le] Octavio Q. f., Vi[---] et Marricae Curin[- fil., uxor. eius]	ex pedite Anchario Versaci f., Secundo Eravis. et Victorinae Nigri.

A fragmentary tabella I from Viminacium of 141/144 will be published by S Dušanić.

Diplomas of Pannonia inferior (3)

Diploma: Found:	CIL XVI 91: Sept./Oct. 145 (Type IIIE) Hungary. Tab. I (f)	CIL XVI 179: 148 Oct. 9 (Type IIIE ²) Regöly. Tab. I & II	CIL XVI 180: 148 Oct. 9 (Type IIIE ²) Regöly. Tab. I & II	CIL XVI 99: 150 Aug. 1 Ó-Szőny. Tab. I & II
	alae: ?	alae: 5 1. I Flav. Britan. ∞	alae: 5 1. I Flav. Britan. ∞	alae: 3 1. I Flav[ia] Britann. ∞ c. R.
		4. I praet. c. R. 2. I Thr. vet. sag.	4. I praet. c. R. 2.[I Thr. vet. s]ag.	2. I Thrac. veter. sag.
		5. I Aug. Itur. 3. I Britton. c. R.	5. [I Aug.] Ituraeor. 3. I Britton. c. R.	3. I Aug. Itureor. sagit.
	cohortes: ?	cohortes: 13 9. I Lusit. 2. I Alpin. equit. 3. I Thr. Germ. 4. I Alpin. pedit. 5. I Noric. 11. I Montan. 7. II Nervior. et Callaec.	cohortes: 13 9. I Lusit. 2. I [Alpin.] equit. 3. I Thr. Germ. 4. I Alpin. [pedi]t. 5. I Noric. 11. I Montan. 7. II Nervior. et Ca<ll>aec.	
	[II Astur.] et Callaecor.	6. III Lusit. 10. II Aug. Thr. 1. III Batav. ∞ vex. 12. I Campan. vol. c. R. 13. I Thrac. c. R.	6. III Lusitan. 10. II Aug. Thr. 1. III Batav. ∞ vex. 12. I Campan. vol. c. R. 13. I Thrac. c. R.	
		8. VII Breucor. item classic. - item filis class.	8. VII Breucor. item classic. - item filis classic.	in expedition(e) Mauretaniae Caesarens(is)
Governor:	Fuficio Cornuto	Cominio Secundo	Cominio Secundo	Cominio Secundo dim. honest. miss. per Porcium Vetustinum proc.
Consuls:	L. Petronio Sabino [-, ----] Rufo	C. Fabio Agrippino M. Antonio Zenone	C. Fabio Agrippino M. Antonio Zenone	M. Cassio Apollinare M. Petronio Mamertino
Unit of recipient:	[coh. II Astur.] et Callaecor.	alae I Flav. Britan. ∞	alae I Flav. Britan. ∞	Recipient from Pannonia superior
Commander:	[-----]s Granius Favent.	M. Licinius Victor	M. Licinius Victor, Savar.	
Recipient:	[e]x equite [----- --]entis f., Iusto Ca[---]	ex gregale Reidomaro Siuppi f., Eravisc.	ex sesquiplicario Fusco Luci f., Azalo	

A fragment of tabella I of a diploma of 146 will be published by W. Eck.

Diplomas of Pannonia inferior (4)

Diploma:	RMD III 167: 152 Sept. Oct. (Type IIIE ²)	RMD II 102: 157 Febr. 8 (Type IIIE)	RMD II 103: 157 Febr. 8 (Type IIIE)	CIL XVI 112 :159? Dec. 27
Found:	Dunakömlöd. Tab. I(f)	Dunakömlöd, Tab I & II	Dunakömlöd. Tab I & II	Alsószentiván. Tab I(f) (Visy)
	alae: ?	alae: 5 4. I Fl. Aug. Britt. ∞	alae: 5 4. I Fl. Aug. Brit. ∞	alae 5 1. [I Fl. Britan. ∞ c. R.]
		1. I Thr. vet. sag. 2. I c. R. 3. I praetor. c. R. 5. I Aug. Itur.	1. I Thr. vet. sag. 2. I c. R. 3. I praetor. c. R. 5. I Aug. Itur.	2. I Thr. vet. sag. 4. [I. c. R.] 5. I Brit. c. R. 3. I Aug. [Itur. sag.]
	cohortes: ?	cohortes: 13 9. I Lusit. 1. I Alp. eq. 3. I Thr. Ger. 4. I Alp. ped. 5. I Noric. 11. I Mont. 7. II Ast. et Call.	cohortes: 13 9. I Lusit. 1. I Alp. eq. 3. I Thr. Germ. 4. I [Al]p. ped. 5. I Noric. 11. [I] Montan. 7. II Ast. et [Call.]	cohortes: 13 6. I Lusit. 10. I Alp. equit. 12. [I Th]r. Germ. 13. I Alp. ped. 1. [I Nor.] 7. I Mont. 3. II Ast. et Call.
	I Thr[acum Germanica]	6. III Lusit. 10. II Aug. Thr. 2. III Batav. 12. I Camp. vol. 13. I Thrac. c. R.	6. III Lusit. 10. II Aug. Th[r]. 2. III Batav. 12. I Camp. vol. 13. I Thrac. c. R.	2. [III Lusit.] 5. [II Aug. Thr.] 11. [III Batavor.] 8. I [Camp. vol. c. R.] 9. [I Thr. c.] R.
	[item classicis] item filis c[lassic.]	8. VII Breuc. item classic.	8. VII Breuc. i[te]m classic.	4. VII [Breuc.]
Governor:	-----	Iallio Basso leg.	Iallio Basso leg.	Gemin Iapellia[no! leg.]
Consuls:	C. Novio Pr[isco] [L. Iulio Romulo]	M. Civica Barbaro M. Metilio Regulo	M. Civica Barbaro M. Metilio Regulo	P. Pomponius Musa L. Cassio Iuvenale
Unit of recipient:	coh. I Thr. [Germ.]	coh. I Thr. Germ.	coh. I Thr. Germ.	coh. I Alpinor. equit.
Commander:	P. Cas[us] -----]	C. Turpilius Verecundus	C. Turpilius Verecundus	Titius Modestus
Recipient:	e[x -----]mo Na[us] f., ----]	ex pedite Mono Tessimari f., Erav. et Niciae Tricani fil. uxo. eiu. Canac.	ex pedite Culso Atedumi f., Eravisco et Vervedae Tessimari fil. ux. eiu. Era.	ex equite Ulpio Bitumari f., Biausconi, Eravisc.

Omitted are: A tiny fragment of 141/2-144, published by B. Lörincz, ZPE 111, 1996, 259-68, Tab. I (f), found Dunaszekcső/Lugio; Unpublished fragment: Tab. I(f) of 148, Oct. 9.

Diplomas of Pannonia inferior (5)

Diploma:	CIL XVI 113: 159? Dec. 27	CIL XVI 123: 167 Mai. 5	RMD III 181: 166/168	CIL XVI 131: 178/203
Found:	Adóny. Tab. I (f) (Zs. Visy)	Ó-Buda. Tab. I & II	Near Sirmium? Tab. I (f)	Hungary? Tab. I (f)
	alae: 5 1. [I Fl. Britan. ∞ c. R.]	alae: 3 2. I Britan. c. R.	ala: 1	alae: ?
	2. I Thr. v[et. sag.] 4. [I]. c. R. 5. I Britt. c. R.	1. I Thrac. veter.		
	3. [I Aug. Itur. sag.]	3. I Aug. Itur.		
	cohortes: 13 6. [I] Lusit. 10. [I Alp. equit.] 12. I Thr. <Germ.> eq.? 13. [I Alp. ped.] 1. I Nor. 7. [I Mont.] 3. II Ast. [et Call.]	cohortes: 10 7. I Lusit. 1. I Thr. Germ. c. R. 2. I Alpin. ped. 3. I Noricor. 9. I Montan. 5. II Astur. et Callaec.	cohortes: 2 1. [I M]on[t]a[norum]	cohortes: ? I Mont[anor(um)]
	2. [III] Lusit.	4. III Lusit.	2. III Lusitano[rum]	
	5. II Aug. [Thr.] 11. [III] Batavor.	8. II Aug. Thrac.		III Batavor(um)
	8. I [Cam]p. vol. c. R. 9. I Thr. [c. R.]	10. I Aug. Thrac. c. R.		
	4. [VII Breuc.]	6. VII Breucor.		
Governor:	Gemin Iapellia[no! leg.]	Claudio Pompeiano leg.	Cl[audio Pompeiano leg?]	
Consuls:	P. Pomponius Musa L. Cassio Iuvenale	Q. Caecilio Dentiliano M. Antonio Palante		[- -----]mo App(io) Claudio I[uliano]?
Unit of recipient:	coh. I Alpinor. equit.	alae I Thrac. veter. c. R.		[cohort. I Hem]esenor(um)
Commander:	Titius Modestus	Flavius Macer		[----]us Severus
Recipient:	ex equite Ulpio Bitumari f., Biausconi, Eravisc.	ex gregale Oxetio Naevionis f., Erav.		[ex p]edite [-----]I f., Sigillio, [-----]a -ex Syria

Diplomas of Pannonia inferior (6)

Diploma: RMD III 187: 203 Aug. 31

Found: Viminacium. Tab. I (f)

alae?

cohortes: ?

VII Breucor.

Governor:

Consuls: [C. Fulvio Plautiano I

[P. Septimio Geta II

Unit of recipient: coh. VII Breucor.

Commander: [----]nus

Recipient: ex pe[dite ----]ienna Cel[-- f.,? ----]opunii(?)

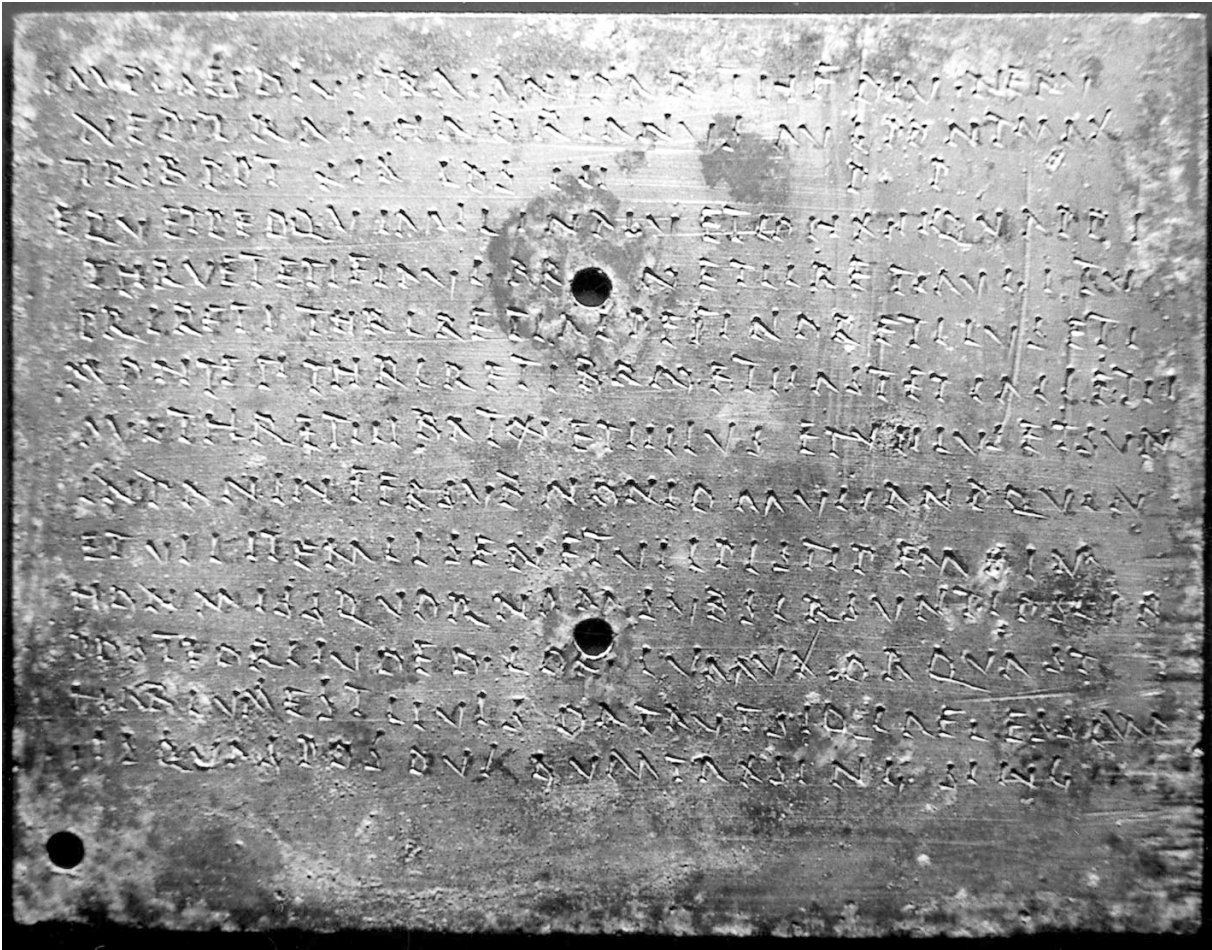


Military Diploma of 19 May 135, tabella I extr.



Military Diploma of 19 May 135, tabella II extr.

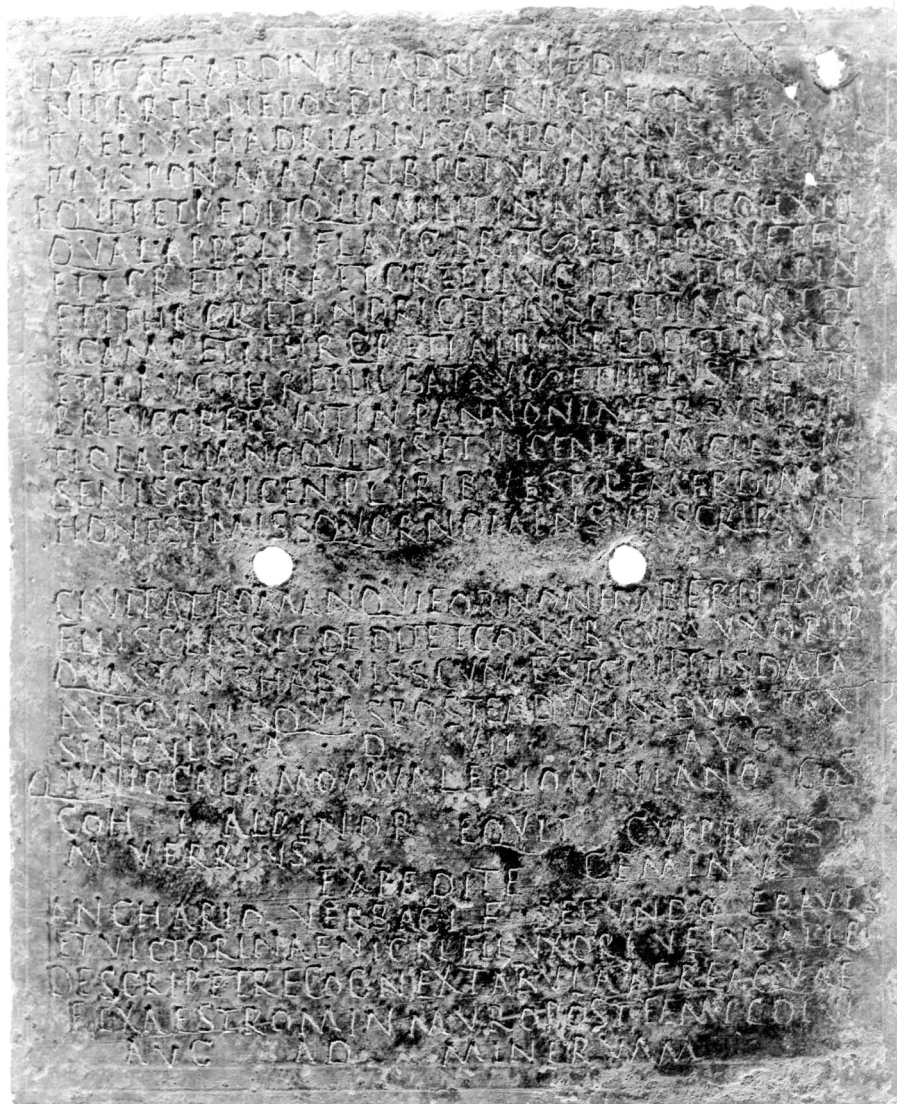
TAFEL X



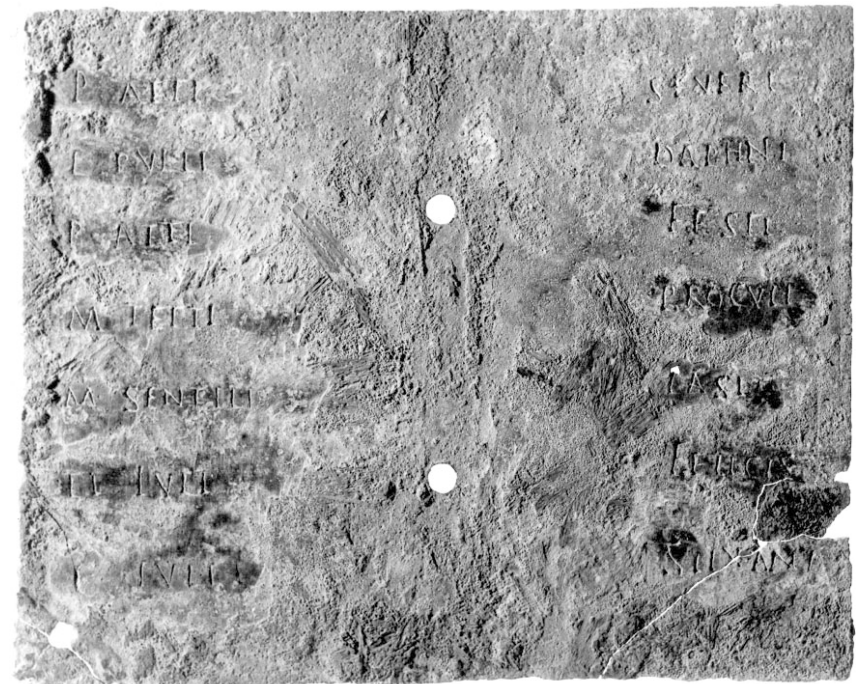
Military Diploma of 19 May 135, tabella I intus



Military Diploma of 19 May 135, tabella II intus
M. M. Roxan, pp. 249–273

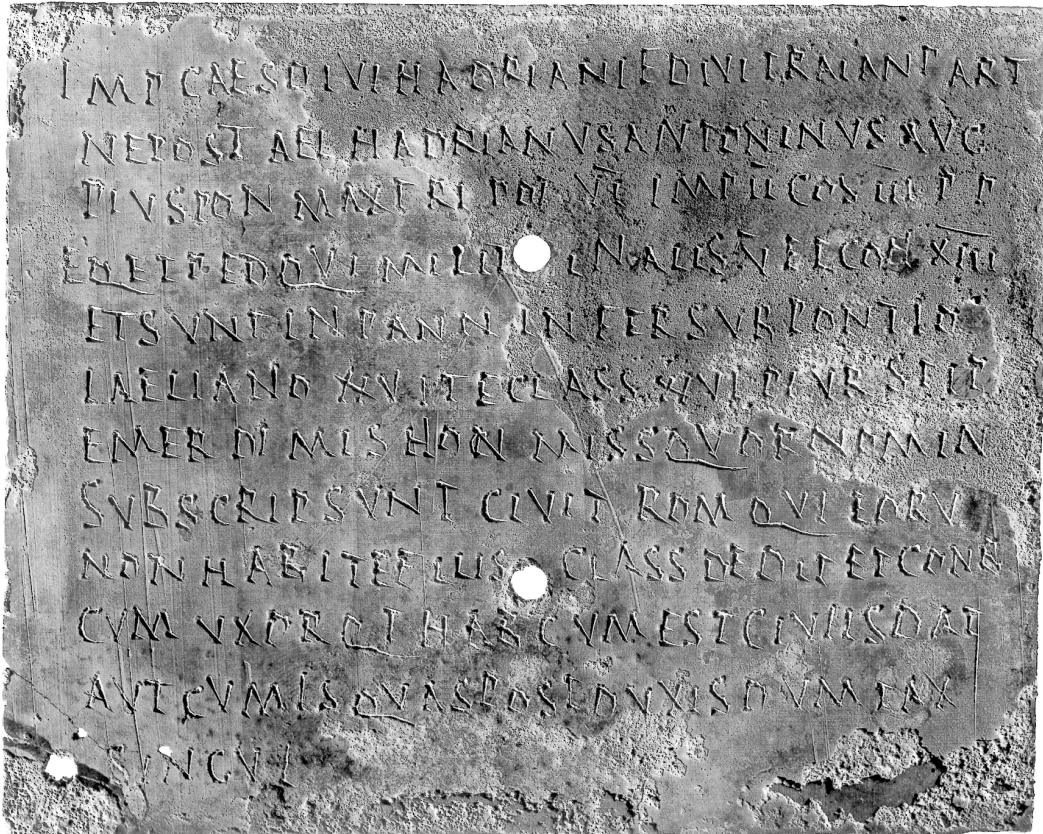


Military Diploma of 7 Aug. 143, tabella I extr. (scale 1 : 1)



Military Diploma of 7 Aug. 143, tabella II extr. (scale 0.75 : 1)

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Military Diploma of 7 Aug. 143, tabella I intus (scale 0.95 : 1)



Military Diploma of 7 Aug. 143, tabella II intus (scale 0.95 : 1)

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