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## A Roman Military Diploma from Rough Cilicia

The bronze fragment that forms the subject of this article<sup>1</sup> was delivered to the Museum of Anamur in March 1991 by a resident of Kalın Ören<sup>2</sup>. This village, situated about three kilometres northwest of modern Anamur in southern Turkey, lies on rising ground above the left bank of the Sultan Suyu at the point where its valley widens into the Plain of Anamur<sup>3</sup>. Although the Museum was unable to obtain precise information about the findspot, enquiries at the time confirmed that it had been unearthed in the vicinity of the village. As the Turkish name, meaning 'Dense Ruins', suggests, there is much evidence of ancient occupation in and around the village of Kalın Ören, clearly indicating the presence there of an ancient settlement of some size. First reported a century ago by Rudolf Heberdey and Adolf Wilhelm, the site to date has yielded a total of only three published inscriptions<sup>4</sup>. To these may now be

<sup>1</sup> Brief reports of this diploma have been presented to the Archaeological Institute of America at its annual meeting in New Orleans, December 1992 (for abstract, see *Am. Journal Arch.* 97, 1993, 348) and to the 15th International Symposium of Excavations, Surveys and Archaeometry, May 24–28, 1993 in Ankara. I wish to record my gratitude to Bay Engin Özgen, the General Director of the Anıtlar ve Müzeler Gn. Müdürlüğü, for permission to publish this document, to Bay Vehbi Uysal, Research Associate of the Anamur Museum, for bringing it to my attention, and to Bay Ramazan Peker, Director of the Museum, for his kind assistance during my study of it. I also wish to thank Dr. Margaret Roxan for reading an earlier draft of my text which has resulted in many corrections and improvements. I also appreciate the kindness of Professor Werner Eck in making available to me in advance of publication his text and commentary of the recently published diploma of Syria-Palestine. I am also grateful to Professors Anthony Barrett, Glen W. Bowersock, Edward Dabrowa, Christian Habicht, Benjamin Isaac and Christopher P. Jones for helpful advice on a variety of topics. I also acknowledge my appreciation to the University of British Columbia for a year of study leave during 1991–92, and to the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, Edinburgh University and the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton for providing the ideal milieu for preparing this article. I also owe thanks to Mrs. Diana Colquhoun for preparing the drawings in figs. 1 and 4.

<sup>2</sup> A Museum inventory number has yet to be assigned.

<sup>3</sup> It appears as Kalinviran in the 1953 edition of the 1:200000 map of Turkey (Gazipaşa Sheet) at 32.40 36.00.

<sup>4</sup> R. HEBERDEY/A. WILHELM, *Reisen in Kilikien*. Österr. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschr. 44 (1896) 157 f. nos. 264; 265; G. E. BEAN/T. B. MITFORD, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963*. Österr. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschr. 85 (1965) 43 f. no. 47 and note 68 for a revised text of HEBERDEY/





1 Text of *tabella* I, outside face (cf. fig. 2).

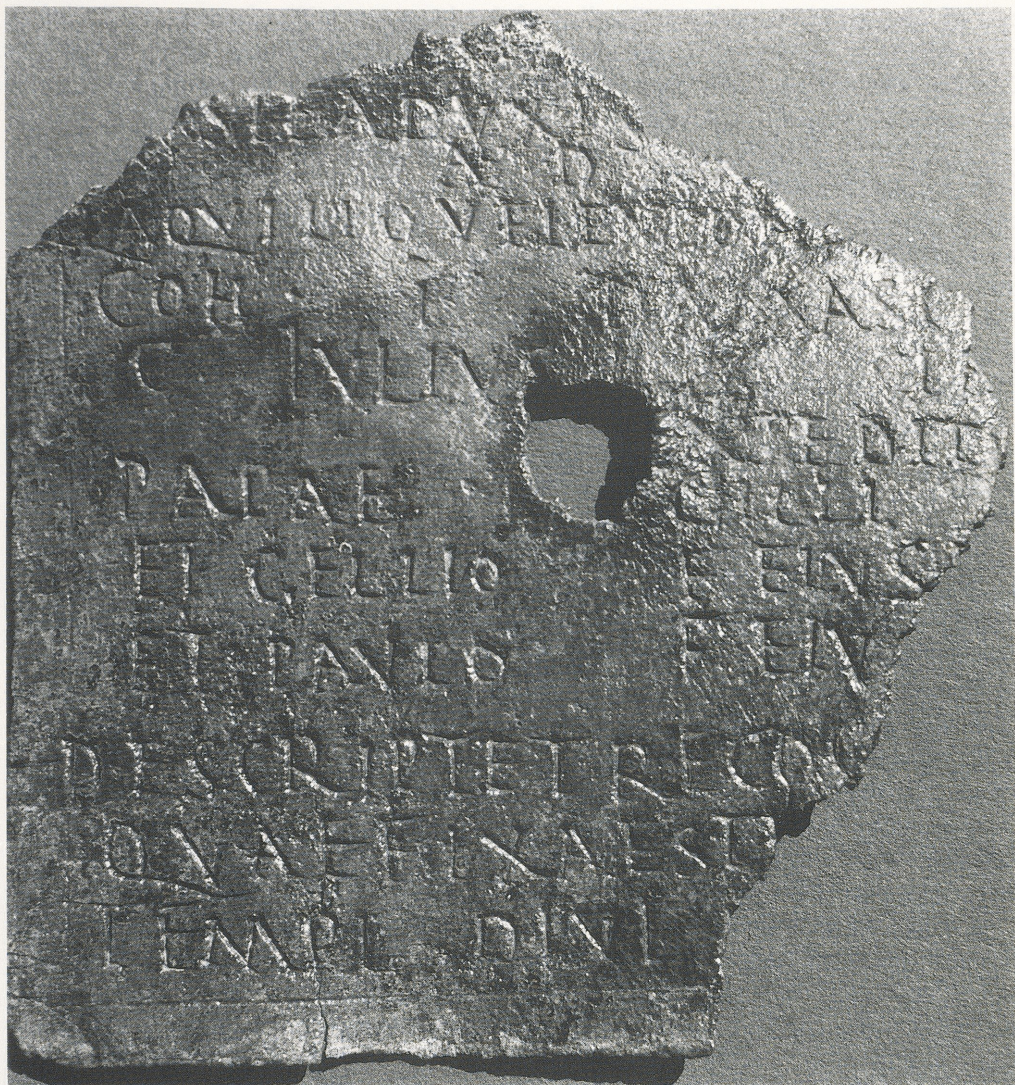
added the epitaph of a veteran soldier and a badly mutilated inscribed base, as well as this fragmentary diploma<sup>5</sup>. Unfortunately none of these texts identifies the site, but Bean and Mitford's suggestion that it was the Titiopolis mentioned in several lists of Isaurian cities from late antiquity seems to have won general acceptance<sup>6</sup>.

WILHELM's no. 265. HEBERDEY/WILHELM no. 264 was still intact at the time of Bean and Mitford's visit in 1963, but on a recent visit to the site in 1988 I found the base seriously damaged, with only the left edge of the text remaining.

<sup>5</sup> For the veteran's funerary inscription, see *infra* p. 109. The text of the base will appear in a forthcoming article on ancient remains at Kalin Ören.

<sup>6</sup> G. E. BEAN/T. B. MITFORD, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1964 and 1968*. Österr. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist.





2 Anamur Museum, *tabella* I of Roman military diploma, outside face.

### 1. *Description of the Fragment (figs. 1–4)*

Despite considerable corrosion resulting in serious pitting, especially on the interior face, the text on both sides remains legible enough to identify the fragment without difficulty as belonging to a leaf of an auxiliary diploma. It contains in fact the lower left hand portion of the exterior text and the upper right hand portion of the interior



text of what would have been *Tabella I* of the document<sup>7</sup>. The fragment has a maximum height of 7 cm, a maximum breadth of 6.7 cm and a thickness of approximately 0.05 cm. The external face preserves varying portions of the last twelve lines of the text as well as traces of the bottom of two or three letters of the preceding line. Since the full document cannot have exceeded a total of 28 lines, including a blank space for the holes to secure the attachment wires that held the two leaves together, we may conclude that almost half of the original height of the *tabella* survives. On this basis we may estimate an original height of 15.1 cm. It is also possible, though with less precision, to estimate the original breadth of the *tabella* from the fact that portions of seven lines survive of what was probably a thirteen line text on the inside face. This would indicate that the fragment at its broadest point near the centre covers over half of the original breadth. If we assume for the missing portion of the *tabella* a blank space at the bottom comparable to that of the margin at the top of the surviving fragment, we may therefore estimate an original breadth of approximately 12.4 cm. These estimates of the original size correspond quite closely to the dimensions of diplomas from around the same date that have at least one preserved *tabella*<sup>8</sup>.

An irregularly shaped hole has been pierced through the metal near the centre of the fragment causing some scoring and considerable damage in its vicinity. Its purpose is unclear, for in its present condition it is far too large to have served as one of the holes for attaching the wire that bound the two leaves of the diploma together. Moreover, the position of the hole in relation to the *tabella* as a whole rules out the possibility that it ever served this purpose, even if it were originally much smaller. Located in what would have been approximately the 22nd line of the original exterior text, at about its three-quarter point, the hole in the Kalin Ören fragment is without parallel for an attachment hole<sup>9</sup>. It is probable, given the abused condition of the fragment generally, that the hole was gouged while the *tabella* was being broken up for scrap metal.

As is normal in *diplomata militaria*, the lettering on the external face of the *tabella*, being intended for public inspection, is more regularly executed than that of the interior. The text is framed by margins averaging 0.42 cm along the bottom and 0.45 cm at the side, defined in each case by a lightly incised line running parallel to the outside edge. In line 11 the left hand portion of the D of *DESCRIPT* appears within the margin. This setting apart of the opening letter of the third last line was consciously intended to highlight the opening of the *subscriptio* of the document and is normal

<sup>7</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, where discussion concerns the *tabella* as a whole, descriptions and citations to the text will refer to the outer face of *Tabella I*.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. CIL XVI 75 (March 22, 129): H. 15.7 cm, W. 12.2 cm, Th. 0.05–0.1 cm; RMD I 35 (July 2, 133): H. 14.7 cm, W. 11.7 cm, Th. 1.4 cm; CIL XVI 80 (Oct. 16, 134): H. est. 15.1–15.3 cm, W. 12.4 cm, Th. 0.05 cm; CIL XVI 82 (April 14, 135): H. 15.4 cm, W. ca. 12.4 cm; CIL XVI 83 (Feb. 28, 138): H. ca. 14 cm, W. 12 cm, Th. 0.1 cm; J. RUSSELL, A Roman Military Diploma from Eastern Pamphylia. *Am. Journal Arch.* 95, 1991, 470 (March 1 – July 10, 138): H. ca. 14 cm, W. ca. 11 cm, Th. 0.1 cm; CIL XVI 87 (Nov. 22, 139): H. 13 cm, W. 11.8 cm, Th. 0.05–0.1 cm; RMD I 39 (Dec. 140): H. 14.3 cm, W. 11.5 cm, Th. 0.1 cm.

<sup>9</sup> The normal practice was to reserve a blank space equivalent to a line of text around the midpoint of the exterior face of *Tabella I* to accommodate a pair of attachment holes, and even in the rare cases where no blank space exists for this purpose (e.g. CIL XVI 87), the lettering of the text has been carefully arranged to avoid the holes in question, H. NESSELHAUF in: CIL XVI pp. 149 f., fig. ad loc.



*Tabella I – Extrinsecus (figs. 1; 2)*

<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>✓</sup>  
 [p]ŌSTEA DVXIS[*sent dumtaxat singuli singulas*]  
 A(nte) D(iem) [  
 L. AQVILIO VEIENTONE [... .. co(n)s(ulibus)]  
 5 COH(ortis) I DAMASC[*enorum cui praeest*]  
 C. IVLIVS CLE[mens . . . . . ]  
 EX PEDITE  
 PAPAE CILLI [*f. . . . .*]  
 ET GELLIO F(ilio) EIVS [*et . . . . .*]  
 10 ET PAVLO F(ilio) EIVS [*et . . . . .*]  
 DESCRIPT(um) ET RECOG[nit(um) ex tabula aenea]  
 QVAE FIXA EST R[*omae in muro post*]  
 TEMPL(um) DIVI [*Aug(usti) ad Minervam*]

practice in contemporary diplomas<sup>10</sup>. A less marked, but no less conscious, projection of the opening letter of line 4, containing the names of the consuls in office, may be noted. Though relatively rare, parallels exist for this feature in other diplomas of the period<sup>11</sup>. Where convention dictates, short lines, as in A D, used to signify the date in line 3, and the phrase EX PEDITE in line 7, are centred, or arranged with appropriately wide spacing to occupy the entire line, as in the names of the unit commander and recipient in lines 6 and 8 respectively.

The care taken in spacing and centring the rest of the text raises the question whether the eccentric positioning of the recipient's sons named in lines 9 and 10 might be explained by a further pair of names in the missing right-hand portion of the text. There was certainly room to accommodate additional sons in the space available provided their names were short. This is certainly the likeliest explanation, since the normal practice in cases where an entire line was reserved for a single individual was to centre the name, usually by distributing the letters symmetrically to occupy the space available<sup>12</sup>.

Letter forms are consistent, though there is considerable variation in letter size even in the surviving portion of the text. The lettering of the unit commander's name in line 6, for example, is appreciably larger than the consul's name in line 4, and the lettering of the *subscriptio* (ll. 11–13) is considerably larger and more spacious than that of the *constitutio*, if line 2 is typical. The lettering is consistent within individual lines, except for line 13 where the opening letters TE project appreciably above the upper

<sup>10</sup> E.g. CIL XVI 75; 83; 84; 87; 173; 175; RMD I 38; 39.

<sup>11</sup> Other cases are CIL XVI 82 (April 14, 135); 87 (Nov. 22, 139); 175 (139); 178 (July 19, 146); RMD I 35 (July 2, 133); II 104 (Dec. 10, 156).

<sup>12</sup> Instances of two or even three sons or daughters appearing in a single line are abundant (e.g. CIL XVI 57; 75; 78; 83; 109; 169; RMD I 14; II 86). The allocation to a single line of each individual child in a multiple list with the name centred is equally common (e.g. CIL XVI 49; 61; 67; 173; RMD I 19; 32). I can find only one case where a single name is eccentrically placed at the left end of the line leaving the right half vacant (CIL XVI 79).



edge of the line. The letters themselves are carefully incised in well formed capitals, in some cases embellished with slight serifs. There is considerable variety in the shape of individual letters, but the only features worth noting are the oblique tail sometimes evident in L and especially long in the *praenomen* of the consul named in line 4, the open lower end of the curve of P, and Q with elongated tail.

With the exception of line 1 where the break and pitting have rendered the visible remains of the letters illegible, the surviving text is completely legible<sup>13</sup>. The restoration of the complete text presents no uncertainties except for the precise date on which the diploma was issued in line 3, the identity of the second consul named in line 4, the completion of the commanding officer's *cognomen* and his place of origin in line 6, and the name of the recipient's native town or tribe in line 8, all details contained in the missing right hand portion of the text.

*Tabella I – Intus (figs. 3; 4)*

[*Imp(erator) Caesar Divi Traiani P*]ARTHICI F(*ilius*) DIVI

[*Nervae nepos, Traianus H*]ADRIANVS AVG(*ustus*)

[*pont(ifex) max(imus), trib(unicia) potest(ate) XX aut XXI*] IMP(erator)

II CO(n)S(ul) III P(ater) P(atriciae)\*

[*equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) q(ui) mil(itaverunt) in al*]IS III ET [C]OH(ortibus) XII

Q(uae)

5 [app(ellantur) Gal(lorum) et Thr(acum) Con(stantium) et An]T(iana) GAL(lorum)

ET THR(acum) ET VII

[Phr(ygum) et I Thr(acum) ∞ et I Seb(astena)] ∞ ET I MONT(anorum)

ET [I]

[Dam(ascenorum) et I Fl(avia) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I et II Q]AL(atarum)

ET III E[t IIII]

[Br(acaraugustanorum) et IIII et VI Pet(raeorum) et V Gem(ella) c(ivium)

R(omanorum) et sunt in]

[Syria Palaest(ina) sub . . . . .

\* or [*pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XVIII aut XXII*] IMP(erator)  
II CO(n)S(ul) III P(ater) P(atriciae)

In conformity with normal practice, the text of the inside face, being sealed from view, was less carefully executed. There is no attempt to frame the text by an incised margin. On the other hand, a considerable blank space at the top and right side of the *tabella* suggests some attempt to centre the text. Lettering is generally more awkward in form, with less regularity in alignment and spacing than on the outside face. Never-

<sup>13</sup> The gouging of the hole between lines 6 and 8 may explain a vertical score on the surface of the metal at the lower left corner of the hole. When first noted in the original photographs of 1991 this feature was thought to be part of a letter, which raised the possibility that a further one or two letters might have existed in the lacuna preceding the name of the recipient's father in line 8. Subsequent autopsy of the area has confirmed the mark to be a scratch which is both shallower and narrower than the adjacent letters.





3 Anamur Museum, *tabella* I of Roman military diploma, inside face.

theless letters with rounded profiles tend to retain their curves and show less evidence of the clumsy angular forms found in the interior text of other contemporary diplomas<sup>14</sup>. The ends of letters such as H, I, P, R and T display serifs in the form of slight tails; A on occasion appears to lack a cross bar and has a shorter right leg; and E has cross-bars sloping obliquely down. As in the text of the outside face, P has an open curve and M has splayed outer legs.

Despite the heavy pitting of the surface resulting from corrosion, and the damage caused by the irregular hole, the letters of the interior face are almost entirely legible, even when they are only partially preserved at breaks. The only incomplete letters are as follows. In line 4, while the C of ETCOH is the only letter entirely obliterated by the hole, the left edge of T and the right edge of O remain visible at the break. In line 5 the horizontal bar of the letter T is visible at the break on the left edge of the frag-

<sup>14</sup> E.g. RUSSELL (note 8) fig. 3 (March-July, 138).



ment, while the upper parts of two uprights at the right edge justify the restoration of the numeral VII at the end of the line. Less certain are what appear to be two portions of letters at the heavily corroded left edge of the fragment in lines 6 and 7. The rounded incision visible at line 6 could represent the upper right curve of B, P, R, S, or the milliary symbol  $\infty$ , while the oblique stroke at the edge of line 7 may form the right leg of A.

The restoration of the imperial titulature is straightforward, except for the all-important numeration of the tribunician power to be discussed below. Also, enough of the list of units serving in the province of residence of the recipient survives to identify several of the units named. This is sufficient to restore only line 4 with certainty. Nevertheless, the remaining three lines, while not subject to certain restoration, lend themselves to fairly confident conjecture.

## 2. *The Date of Issue*

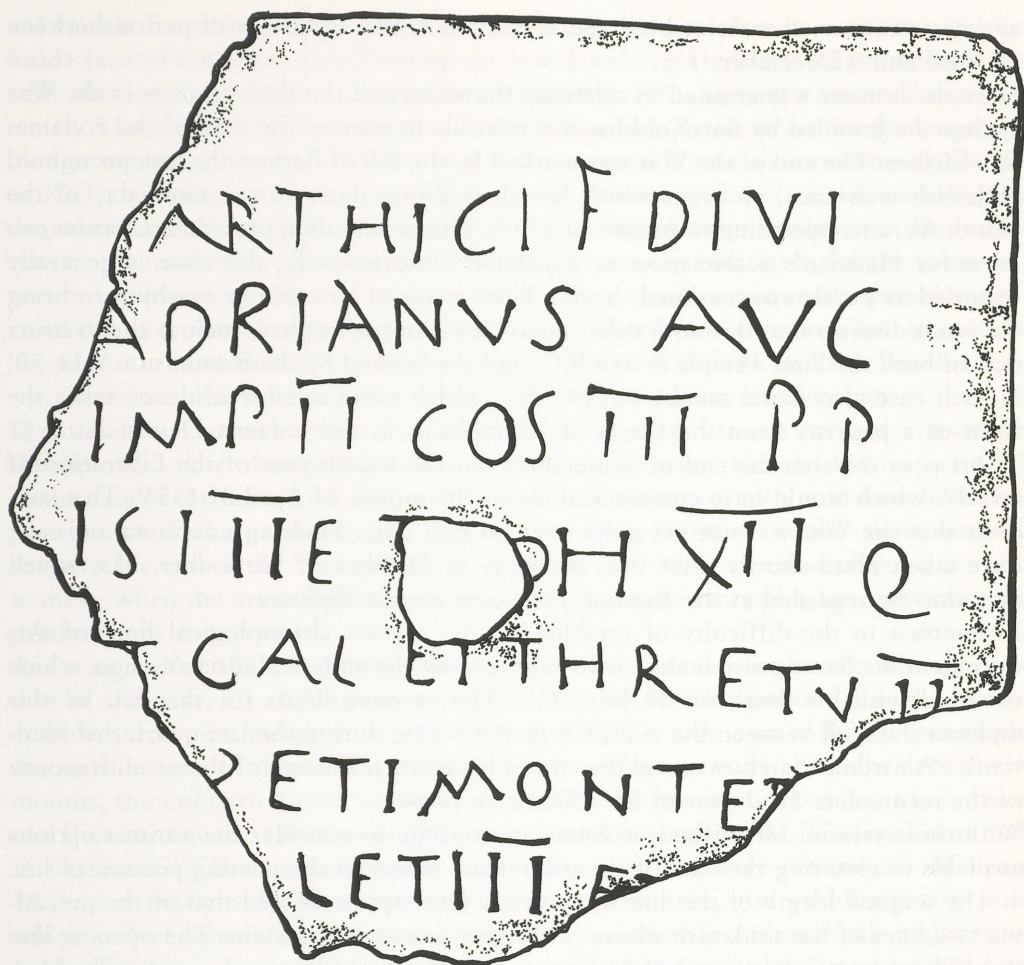
Information concerning the date appears in lines 3–4 of the outer text, but the details that survive are of no help. The actual day of issue itself was recorded in line 3, but all that remains are the letters AD of the initial abbreviation for *ante diem* of the date and a possible trace of a third letter in the form of an oblique line at the broken edge of the fragment. The same information of course would also have appeared on the inside face of the missing *tabella II*. The succeeding line of the outside face contained the names of the two consuls during whose term of office the document was issued, but only one name survives in the fragment, L. Aquilius Veiento who appears here for the first time. His consulship is therefore of no immediate aid in establishing when this diploma was issued<sup>15</sup>.

For the dating of the document, therefore, we must rely entirely on the remains of the imperial titulature preserved in the opening three lines of the inside text. This names Hadrian as the author of the *constitutio*, but without the numeration of his tribunician power, which is missing in the left half of line 3, the precise year of the reign cannot be determined. The surviving portion of the line, however, does preserve the record of Hadrian's second imperial acclamation, thus providing a *terminus post quem* for the diploma. Epigraphic evidence provides secure if rather broad limits for dating the acclamation, which was in fact the only imperial acclamation that Hadrian won through the victory of his army in the field<sup>16</sup>. It was normal practice from the middle of the first century to record in imperial titulatures only those acclamations earned as a consequence of military action, even though the Emperor clearly had assumed the status of military *imperator* automatically from the moment of his accession. This explains the absence of this element in an emperor's title until such time as he received the first military triumph of his reign. Only then was the title appropriate to the occa-

<sup>15</sup> For discussion of his identity and relationships see *infra* p. 101.

<sup>16</sup> The evidence is conveniently summarized by SMALLWOOD, Jews under Roman Rule 456 n. 111; and by C. SELTMAN, Greek Sculpture and Some Festival Coins. *Hesperia* 17, 1948, 85; also SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People* 1, 553 n. 174. These largely supercede L. PERRET's treatment of the subject (*La titulature impériale d'Hadrien* [1929] 50–56).





4 Text of *tabella* I, inside face (cf. fig. 3).

sion added to the titulature in the form IMP II<sup>17</sup>. In Hadrian's case the latest datable document without mention of an imperial acclamation is an auxiliary diploma issued on April 14, 135<sup>18</sup>. All subsequent diplomas issued during his reign record the iteration as *imperator* in the titulature in the form IMP II, the earliest being that dated 28 February, 138<sup>19</sup>. That Hadrian's acclamation occurred some years before that, however, is certain from the fact that at least two inscriptions exist in which the second imperial acclamation appears alongside the 19th year of Hadrian's tribunician power, which concluded on 9 December of 135<sup>20</sup>. Hadrian's second acclamation

<sup>17</sup> TH. MOMMSEN, *Röm. Staatsrecht* II 2<sup>3</sup> (1888) 781 f.

<sup>18</sup> CIL XVI 82; likewise all the dated diplomas of 134, CIL XVI 78–80.

<sup>19</sup> CIL XVI 83; also CIL XVI 84 and RUSSELL (note 8) 469–488.

<sup>20</sup> IG XII Suppl. 239 (from Syrus) δημ. ἐξ. ιθ' αὐτοκρ. τὸ [β']; CIL II 478 [*trib. pot.*] XVIII [imp. i]teru[m. . .]. Less certain is CIL VI 974 where the reading [*trib. pot.* XVI] III appears necessary alongside



as *imperator* may, therefore, be dated sometime in the eight-month period between 14 April and 9 December, 135.

Since the honour was granted to celebrate the victory of the Roman army in the War against the Jews led by Bar-Kokhba, it is possible to narrow the date of the acclamation further. The end of the War was marked by the fall of Bethar, the last stronghold of Jewish resistance, an event which Jewish tradition dates to the ninth day of the month Ab, corresponding to August of 135<sup>21</sup>. This would then provide a *terminus post quem* for Hadrian's acclamation as *imperator*. Unfortunately, this date is generally regarded as purely conventional, having been assigned by rabbinic teaching to bring the latest disaster into line with other major Jewish catastrophes, such as the destruction of both the First Temple in 586 B.C. and the Second by the Romans in A. D. 70, in each case also dated on the 9th of Ab<sup>22</sup>. Much more reliable evidence takes the form of a papyrus from the Caves of Murabba'at in the Judean Desert dated 21 Tishri (i. e. towards the end of September) "in the fourth year of the Liberation of Israel", which would have commenced about the month of April of 135<sup>23</sup>. This suggests that the War was not yet quite over on that date. Hadrian's acclamation must have taken place shortly after this, probably in October or November, 135, which may thus be regarded as the *terminus post quem* for the diploma.

In contrast to the difficulty of establishing the earliest chronological limit of this document, its latest possible date is firmly fixed by the end of Hadrian's reign, which occurred with his death on 10 July, 138. The extreme limits for the date of this diploma thus fall between the end of September 135, during the last quarter of Hadrian's 19th tribunician power and the end of his reign at the end of the seventh month of the incomplete 22nd year of his tribunician power.

With these termini established, it seems appropriate to consider the various options available in restoring the date of the tribunician power in the missing portion of line 3. The original length of this line must surely have approximated that of the preceding two lines of the titulature whose restoration is virtually certain. The opening line would have contained a total of 33 letters, with the initial letter set apart in the margin, while the length of the second would have totalled 31, though this may be increased to 32 to account for the wide space that separates HJADRIANVS and AVG, which is sufficient to accommodate an additional letter. An average line length of approximately 32 letters may thus be assumed for the titulature of the interior text. The surviving portion of line 3 contains 13 letters, which would require an additional 19 letters to reach the average length of the two preceding lines. Assuming the stand-

IMP II. The earliest occurrence of IMP II in the 20th year of Hadrian's tribunician power can be dated between 14–29 December, 135 (CIL XIV 4235).

<sup>21</sup> m. Ta'an 4,6; BT Ta'an 29a; HIER. in Zach. 8,8–19 (Corpus Christianorum. Ser. Lat. 76A, p. 820). For the year (18th year of Hadrian = AD 134–135), EUS. hist. eccl. 4,6,3.

<sup>22</sup> Ios. bel. Iud. 6,250 (Lous = Ab); HIER. in Jer. 52,12–13 (AD 70); m. Ta'an 4,6; BT Ta'an 29a; Midr. Lament. R.i.2,20.

<sup>23</sup> P. BENOIT/J. T. MILIK/R. DE VAUX, Discoveries in the Judean Desert 2. Les grottes de Murabba'at (1961) 144–149 no. 30. Since MILIK (*ibid.* 125 and *addendum*, p. 205) dates the beginning of the War to 131, 21 Tishri in the "fourth year of the Liberation of Israel" would fall in 134. This chronology has won little support, 132–133 being generally accepted as the first year of the War, with its outbreak in the spring of 132, see SCHÜRER, History of the Jewish People 1, 542 f. n. 126; 552 n. 172.



ard format for the concluding portion of the imperial titulature as it appears on the inside face of diplomas issued during the last decade of Hadrian's reign, we may restore the opening 14 letters thus, PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT., leaving a space of approximately 5 letters for the serial number of the tribunician power to render the length of the line equivalent to that of lines 1 and 2. This would favour a restoration of XVIII or XXII, with 6 and 4 letters respectively in the remaining space (i. e. 135 or 138). On the other hand, the formula TRIB. POT., the usual abbreviation employed in the titulature on the inside face of diplomas of this period, was not invariable, for the abbreviation on a diploma of 134 appears as TRIB. POTES., which consequently should not be ruled out as a possible restoration in this case<sup>24</sup>. This would therefore favour a number with not more than 2 or 3 letters, such as XX or XXI (136 or 137). For this reason, therefore, the restoration of the text at this point must remain open.

In spite of this, however, there are circumstantial grounds for narrowing the limits for the diploma's date of issue still further, to exclude the years 135 and 138 respectively. In the case of the first, it is highly unlikely that the Roman army would have been in a position to discharge auxiliaries stationed in Syria-Palestine in the short interval between the end of the War and the close of the year 135 – a period of three months at most, when the army would have been fully engaged in mopping up resistance and pacifying the countryside.

As for excluding 138, the principal reason lies in the consular list for the relevant portion of the year, viz. 1 January to 10 July. The list for this period, though already crowded, does not include L. Aquilius Veiento and his unknown colleague named on the outside face of the *tabella*. Yet the names of four consuls are known for these months, the *ordinarii* Kanus Iunius Niger and C. Pomponius Camerinus, whose term of office continued at least until 28 February, and two *suffecti*, M. Vindius Verus and P. Pactumeius Clemens, presumably their successors, who were certainly in office on 16 June of that year<sup>25</sup>. There is a slight chance, to be sure, given the frequency with which *suffect* consuls were elected during this period, that a second pair might have held office for a short time during the 3½ months that separate the latest known date when the *ordinarii* were still in office (28 February) and the earliest date known (16 June) for the *suffecti* whose names are attested. It is much more probable, however, that L. Aquilius Veiento and his colleague held office during one or other of the two preceding years, for the consular fasti for these years in their present state are defective, there being only one pair of consuls attested for each<sup>26</sup>.

A second, if less compelling, reason for preferring an earlier date than 138 may be found in the fact that a general *constitutio* affecting veterans recently discharged from the auxiliary forces of Syria-Palestine, which, as will be shown, was the province where the recipient of the Kalın Ören diploma had served, was issued on 22 November 139<sup>27</sup>. The frequency with which imperial constitutions in the form of diplomas

<sup>24</sup> CIL XVI 79 (Sept. 134); also RMD I 35 (July 133).

<sup>25</sup> CIL XVI 83 (Feb. 28, 138) for the *ordinarii*; CIL XVI 84 (June 16, 138) and RUSSELL (note 8) 474 f. (March 1 – July 10, 138) for the *suffecti* Vindius Verus and Pactumeius Clemens; also A. DEGRASSI, *I fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano* (1952) 39.

<sup>26</sup> DEGRASSI *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> CIL XVI 87.



were issued to auxiliary veterans of individual provinces at this period is unknown, but there is some indication from other times and provinces to suggest that in times of peace they did not take place at intervals of much less than two years. This increases the likelihood that the preceding *constitutio* for Syria-Palestine was dated no later than the end of 137<sup>28</sup>.

### 3. *Formulae*

There is little in the surviving text of this fragment to permit a conclusive classification by formula. Nevertheless, its date of issue in the last three years of Hadrian's reign makes it virtually certain that it belongs to Type III D of Alföldy and Mann's classification of diplomas. Diplomas of this type cover most of Trajan's reign and all of Hadrian's, the earliest issued being dated in 105<sup>29</sup>. During the last months of Hadrian's reign a number of modifications in the format of the *constitutio* and in other parts of the text start to appear in diplomas of this classification, perhaps a presage of the major revision of the formulae adopted permanently early in the reign of Antoninus Pius<sup>30</sup>. Whether or not this diploma exhibited any of these variations in formula it is impossible to say for sure. The only part of the preserved text of this fragment that was subject to any modification in wording, however, appears in its standard form. This is the last line of the *constitutio* as it survives in the outside text (l.2), where DVXISSENT appears as pluperfect subjunctive in preference to the variant DVXERINT adopted in some of the latest examples of this classification issued in 138 and 139 respectively<sup>31</sup>. On the assumption that the text of this diploma was consistent in following the standard format of Type III D, I have also restored *aenea* in the phrase "*ex tabula aenea*" (l.11) rather than the variant *aerea* that first appears in the latest diplomas of Hadrian's reign and becomes standard in all subsequent diplomas<sup>32</sup>. The slight evidence of formulae available in this fragment thus suggests a date before the experimentation in wording evident in the diplomas at the very end of Hadrian's reign had commenced. This tends further to reinforce a date sometime before 138 for its year of issue. Abbreviations are also of some help in confirming the date. The abbreviations *descript(um)* and *templ(um)*, for example, which make their first appearance on the outer face of diplomas ca. 134, are both in evidence here, thus tending to confirm a date somewhat later than that<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> For discussion of this point, see *infra* p. 88 n. 69.

<sup>29</sup> J. C. MANN, The Development of Auxiliary and Fleet Diplomas. In: *Epigr. Stud.* 9 (1972) 233–241, esp. 236; this classification is based on G. ALFÖLDY, Zur Beurteilung der Militärdiplome der Auxiliarsoldaten. *Historia* 17, 1968, 215–227.

<sup>30</sup> The most important element in the revised formula after ca. 140 (= Alföldy-Mann Type E) was the exclusion of the recipient's children as beneficiaries of the privileges named in the *constitutio*. This was reflected in the omission of the phrase *liberis posterisque eorum*. For detailed discussion of the change of policy, M. M. ROXAN, Observations on the Reasons for Changes in Formula in Diplomas circa A.D. 140. In: Heer und Integrationspolitik 265–292.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. CIL XVI 83 (Feb. 138); 84 (June, 138); RUSSELL (note 8) 476 f. (March–July, 138); RMD I 38 (Feb. 139); for discussion RUSSELL *ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> E.g. CIL XVI 83 (Feb. 138); 84 (June, 138); RUSSELL *ibid.* (March–July, 138).

<sup>33</sup> ROXAN in: RMD I p. 25 n. at \*103.



#### 4. *The Province of Service*

The identity of the province in which the recipient of this diploma and the unit to which he belonged were serving at the time of his discharge would have been named on both faces of *tabella* I, but the information is missing in the surviving portion. Nevertheless, it is possible to deduce the province of service as Syria-Palestine from the details that remain in lines 4–7 of the inside face concerning the composition of auxiliary units in the provincial garrison.

The restoration of the missing left hand portion of line 4 poses no difficulty, since there is little variation in the abbreviations employed for the opening formula of the *constitutio* on the inside face of diplomas of this period. This fact, together with the need to restore approximately 18 letters preceding the 14 surviving letters at the right end of the line to produce a line-length approximating the average of 32 estimated for the text as a whole, permits the restoration of the line in one of the following variations with reasonable confidence,

[EQVIT ET PEDIT Q MIL IN AL]IS III ET [C]OH XII Q

or

[EQ ET PED QVI MIL IN AL]IS III ET [C]OH XII Q<sup>34</sup>.

It is fortunate, however, that the surviving portion of the line preserves the variable part of the text containing the important information that the total auxiliary garrison stationed in the province of service consisted of 3 cavalry *alae* and 12 infantry cohorts.

The succeeding four lines of text would have contained a complete itemized list of the individual units summarized in line 4, the *alae* first, followed by the cohorts, each named in very abbreviated form. The fragment of text that survives from this part of the diploma, however, preserves only a small portion of lines 5 through 7, and nothing of line 8. Indeed the names of only two units in the list can be readily identified, an *ala* GAL(*lorum*) ET THR(*acum*) in line 5 and the *cohors* I MONT(*anorum*) in line 6. To this pair should be added the cohort in which the recipient of the diploma himself had served, the Prima Damascenorum, which, though missing on the surviving portion of the inside face, is known from line 5 of the outside text. Limited though it is, the information that these units all belonged to the same provincial garrison is sufficient to identify the province in question with certainty. Another auxiliary diploma dated early in the reign of Antoninus Pius supplies the clue. Found at Aphek on the Golan Heights above Lake Tiberias and now in the Louvre, this diploma was issued on 22 November, 139 to a soldier of the Cohors II Ulpia Galatarum, serving at the time in Syria-Palestine<sup>35</sup>. Since both *tabellae* of this diploma are preserved virtually intact, all the information pertinent to the provincial garrison is available. Not only is the composition of the provincial garrison recorded on the Aphek diploma, three *alae* and twelve cohorts, identical to that of the Kalin Ören fragment, but also the list of

<sup>34</sup> Another variant from this period is also worth noting, viz. EQU ET PED QUI MIL (CIL XVI 80, Oct. 134).

<sup>35</sup> CIL XVI 87; originally published by H. DE VILLEFOSSE, *Comptes Rendus Séances Acad. Inscript.* 1897, 333–343; 679–684.



individual units includes an *ala* GALL(orum) ET THR(acum) and the cohorts I DAM(ascenorum) and I MONT(anorum) whose presence has been noted with certainty in the Kalin Ören text. The coincidence of such precise details appearing on diplomas not more than four years apart in their date of issue provides overwhelming support for the conclusion that both documents were issued to soldiers serving in the same province. Moreover this conclusion can be corroborated by examining the letters as yet unassigned at the extremities of lines 5 and 7 of the fragment. This produces the certain identification of three additional units and confident restoration of several more.

First, the *alae*. In the more complete version in which their names are presented on the exterior face of the Aphek diploma of 139, the three cavalry units stationed in Syria-Palestine are listed as 1) GALL(orum) ET THR(acum), 2) ANT(iana) GALL(orum), 3) VII PHRY(gum)<sup>36</sup>. It is tempting therefore to equate the *ala* GAL(lorum) ET THR(acum) of line 5 of the Kalin Ören fragment with the double ethnic unit listed in first place on the diploma of 139. It has long been recognized, however, that the first two *alae* named in the later document are represented even in the exterior text in somewhat truncated form. Both units in fact shared the same double ethnic identity, the *ala* in second place with the name ANT(iana) GALL(orum) being in fact, like the first, a composite regiment of Gauls and Thracians. It appears with its title fully spelled out thus, GALLORUM ET THRACUM ANTIANA, in diplomas of 54 and 88 respectively, at which time it formed part of the provincial garrison of Syria<sup>37</sup>. In four later diplomas the same unit is listed with units serving in Syria-Palestine, first in the abbreviated form ANT(iana) GALL(orum) of the Aphek diploma of 139, next in two diplomas from the end of Antoninus' reign, one a fragmentary text dated ca. 154–161, where only the letters ANT survive, the second a new diploma of unknown provenance dated March 7, 160, where the regiment's title appears in fullest detail as ANTIAN(a) GALL(orum) ET THRAC(um) SAG(ittaria); and finally in a diploma found at Hebron issued in November 186 where the unit is again clearly identified, ANT(iana) GALL(orum) ET THR(acum)<sup>38</sup>. The *ala* GAL(lorum) ET THR(acum) of the Kalin Ören fragment appears towards the right end of line 5, leaving a considerable lacuna at the left end of the line that must have contained the name of another *ala* also bearing a complex title. This would have been the first of the three cavalry units listed. With so short an interval of time separating the issue of the Kalin Ören and Aphek diplomas, it is reasonable to suppose that the composition of the provincial auxiliary garrison in each case and the order in which individual units were listed were closely similar, if not identical. For this reason, I identify the second *ala* of the Kalin Ören fragment as ANJȚ(iana) GAL(lorum) ET THR(acum), the horizontal bar at the left edge of the line thus belonging to the T of ANT(iana).

<sup>36</sup> In the much abbreviated interior text the *alae* are listed thus: GAL(lorum) ET ANT(iana) ET VII PHR(ygum).

<sup>37</sup> CIL XVI 3 (of 54); RMD I 3 (of 88). The relationship between the *Gallorum et Thracum Antiana* of the earliest diploma and the *Antiana Gallorum* of the Aphek diploma of 139 was first noted by S. LAMBRINO, *Observations sur un nouveau diplôme militaire de l'empereur Claude*. Rev. Philol. 3. Ser. 5, 1931, 259–260 and accepted by H. NESSELHAUF, CIL XVI 3 (n. 3 *ad loc.*); see also R. MELLOR, *A New Roman Diploma*. Getty Mus. Journal 6/7, 1978/79, 182 and ROXAN, *Pre-Severan Auxilia* 62. See also *infra* pp. 111 ff.

<sup>38</sup> RMD I 60 (of 154–161); 69 (of 186); and W. ECK, *Ein Militärdiplom für die Auxiliareinheiten von Syria Palaestina aus dem Jahr 160 n. Chr.* Kölner Jahrb. Vor- u. Frühgesch. 26, 1993, 451–459 (of 160).



At the close of line 5, immediately following THR(*acum*) appear five further letters, first the conjunction ET, followed by V and the upper part of two uprights constituting the numeral VII. This clearly forms the serial number of the third unit in the list of *alae* named. Units with a seriation as high as seven are very rare and their existence sometimes regarded as suspect<sup>39</sup>. Yet there can be no doubt about the identity of this unit, for the third *ala* listed in both the Aphek diploma of 139 and the recently discovered diploma of 160 is the Ala VII PHRY(*gum*), which must surely be the same unit whose serial number VII survives at the end of line 5 of the Kalın Ören fragment. We may therefore confidently restore at the opening of line 5 either PHR or PHRY, for *Phrygum*, which is how this unit is abbreviated in the inside and outside texts respectively of the Aphek diploma.

With two *alae* of the provincial garrison accounted for with virtual certainty, it follows that the missing portion at the left end of line 5 must have included the name of the first cavalry regiment listed. Again assuming that no appreciable change had occurred in the composition of the auxiliary garrison of Syria-Palestine in the relatively short period since the settlement of the region after the suppression of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt in 135 and the publication of the Aphek diploma about four years later, we may justifiably insert the name of the Antiana's sister regiment of Gauls and Thracians in first position in the abbreviated form GAL(*lorum*) ET THR(*acum*) in which it appears in the Aphek diploma. This would then occupy the lacuna between the initial APP(*ellantur*) presumed at the left end of line 5 and the ET ANJT GAL ET THR identifying the second unit. This restoration produces a line of only 29 characters, which falls somewhat short of the average line-length of 32 postulated for the inside text. This deficiency is neatly resolved, however, if, as is virtually certain, this regiment too, like its sister *ala*, the Antiana, was identified by a distinguishing epithet. There is general agreement in fact that this Ala Gallorum et Thracum was also identical to one of the *alae* of this name listed in the Syrian diplomas of 54 and 88 and the single unit of this identity named in the diploma of 91<sup>40</sup>. One of these is already accounted for, the Antiana, which appears in second place in the fragment. The other may be equated with the last named unit, the GALLORVM ET THRAECVM, in what survives of the Syrian list of 54<sup>41</sup>. This unit must subsequently have acquired the epithet *constantium*, which is how it is named in the Syrian garrison listed in the diplomas of 88 and 91<sup>42</sup>. That the second Ala Gallorum et Thracum of the provincial auxiliary garrison of Syria-Palestine was in fact the one distinguished by the epithet *constantium* is now confirmed by its appearance in the auxiliary list of the new diploma of 160 where it is named GALLOR(*um*) ET THRAC(*um*) CONSTANT(*ium*)<sup>43</sup>. The addition of this epithet in the appropriately abbreviated form CON to the ethnic names GAL ET THR in the Kalın Ören diploma therefore seems appropriate, thus producing a line of

<sup>39</sup> CHEESMAN, *Auxilia* 61 n. 7; KENNEDY, *Auxilia and Numeri* 56 f.

<sup>40</sup> See note 37 and RMD I 4 (for diploma of 91).

<sup>41</sup> For the relationship, MELLOR (note 37) 181; ROXAN, *Pre-Severan Auxilia*, Table 4.

<sup>42</sup> The date and circumstances by which this unit acquired its epithet are unknown, but HOLDER, *Studies in the Auxilia* 39 attributes the honour to Vespasian, perhaps in recognition of steadfastness in the first Jewish War.



<sup>43</sup> ECK (note 38) 452; 454.






32 letters, equal to the estimated average. The *alae* listed in the Kalin Ören diploma may therefore be restored thus:

1.5 [APP(*ellantur*) GAL(*lorum*) ET THR(*acum*) CON(*stantium*) ET AN]T(*iana*)  
GAL(*lorum*) ET THR(*acum*) ET VII

1.6 [PHRY(*gum*).

Of the cohorts listed as serving in the provincial garrison in the Kalin Ören fragment, only the Prima Montanorum, which appears in line 6, is immediately recognizable. In the remaining space available at the right end of the same line we may confidently restore the beginning of the next unit in the list thus ET I]. The only remaining feature still to be accounted for in the surviving portion of the line is the curving incision visible above the line at the left edge of the fragment before the letters ET I MONT. As noted previously, if this is indeed part of a letter, it can only represent the upper right corner of B, P, R, S, or the symbol  or (X) employed to denote a milliary unit. There can be no doubt that a letter in this position would be the final letter of the unit named immediately before the Prima Montanorum. In the Aphek diploma we find three cohorts listed ahead of this regiment, appearing thus on the inside face, ET I THR(*acum*) ET I SEB(*astena*) ET I DAM(*ascenorum*). The lacuna in line 6 separating PHRY(*gum*) at the beginning of the line from ET I MONT(*anorum*) at the right could certainly accommodate quite comfortably the 18 letters required to restore the three units in the form in which they appear in the Aphek diploma, thereby producing an appropriate line-length of 32. The final letter of this grouping, the M of DAM(*ascenorum*), however, does not fit the fragmentary letter at the edge of the break. Some rearrangement of the Aphek list is therefore required. The transposition of I DAM with either I THR or I SEB would certainly place R or B in the correct position to fit the fragmentary letter. Since they are the only milliary cohorts in the provincial garrison, however, it is desirable to leave them at the beginning of the list, as they appear in the Aphek diploma, this being the appropriate position for milliary cohorts in diplomas of this period. The difficulty may be easily resolved by simply switching I DAM(*ascenorum*) from its position in the Aphek list ahead of I MONT(*anorum*) to the place immediately following, and to add the milliary symbol after the first two cohorts to designate their superior status. This accommodates the fragmentary curve to one of the appropriate alternatives, in this case the right hand edge of the  following SEB. The entire line may thus be restored:

[PHRY(*gum*) ET I THR(*acum*)  ET I SEB(*astena*)]  ET I MONT(*anorum*)  
ET [I].

With only 28 letters this produces a somewhat shorter line than the average estimated line-length of 32. The milliary symbol in the typical form suggested here , however, normally occupies the width of two letters, which, with two occurrences, would raise the length closer to the average<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> See, for example, the inside face of CIL XVI 82 (April, 134), D. ATKINSON, *Class. Rev.* 42, 1928, 11. I owe this suggestion to Dr. Margaret Roxan.



In line 7 the right end of the text poses no problem. By referring to the complete auxiliary list of the Aphek diploma it is possible with reasonable confidence to restore a further four units from the surviving letters of the line, . . .]AL ET III E[T. In the Aphek list the numeral III appears only once, where it is linked with the numeral IIII to identify the third and fourth cohorts respectively of the Bracaraugustani. These must surely be the units indicated by the numerals occupying the right end of the line, with the tribal name in the form BR(*acaraugustanorum*) occupying the opening of the succeeding line. The two units preceding the cohortes Bracaraugustanorum in the Kaln Ören list may also be identified from the letter L preceded by the incised stroke sloping downwards to the right at the left margin of the fragment. These letters must represent the concluding AL of GAL, which is how the ethnic Galatae are abbreviated on the interior face of the Aphek diploma. We may thus restore this portion of the line ET I ET II G]AL(*atarum*). The position of the two cohorts of Galatae immediately preceding the third and fourth cohorts of the Bracaraugustani is consistent with their place in the order of cohorts listed not only in the Aphek diploma, but also in the new Köln diploma of 160<sup>45</sup>.

This restoration accounts for 21 letters out of an estimated average line-length of 32, leaving approximately 11 remaining letters to be restored at the opening of the line. With the proposed switch of the cohortes I Damascenorum and I Montanorum from their places in third and fourth positions respectively in the cohort list of the Aphek diploma, line 7 of the fragment will open with the abbreviation DAM(*ascenorum*), carrying over from its serial number in last position of the preceding line where it follows I MONT(*anorum*) ET. The remaining gap may be assigned to the fifth cohort of the list, I FL(*avia*) c(*ivium*) R(*omanorum*) as in the Aphek diploma. The entire line of 31 letters would thus read as follows:

[DAM(*ascenorum*) ET I FL(*avia*) c(*ivium*) R(*omanorum*) ET I ET II G]AL(*atarum*)  
ET III E[T IIII].

The restoration of line 8 follows from the preceding, with BR(*acaraugustanorum*) in initial position, followed as in the Aphek diploma by the remaining three units, IIII ET VI PET(*raeorum*) ET V GEM(*ella*) c(*ivium*) R(*omanorum*)<sup>46</sup>. The rest of the line, perhaps accounting for 8 letters, would have introduced the formula containing the name of the province of service, which would have continued into the succeeding line as follows:

[BR(*acaraugustanorum*) ET IIII ET VI PET(*raeorum*) ET V GEM(*ella*) c(*ivium*)  
R(*omanorum*) ET SVNT IN]

[SYRIA PALAEST(*ina*) . . . .

<sup>45</sup> It should be noted, however, that the names of the units listed in the Köln diploma appear in much fuller form even on the inside face.

<sup>46</sup> The appearance of *Cohors V Gemella c. R.* in last position in the Aphek diploma conforms to the normal practice of listing units in numerical order. This contrasts with the later diplomas of Syria-Palestine dated 160 and 186 respectively in which this unit heads the list of cohorts. ECK (note 38) 452; 455; B. LIFSCHITZ, Un fragment d'un diplôme militaire de Hébron. *Latomus* 35, 1976, 117–122 = RMD I 69, esp. n. 4.



### 5. *The Recipient's Unit: Cohors Prima Damascenorum*<sup>47</sup>

The unit in which the recipient of the diploma served is identified in line 5 of the exterior text as COH(ors) I DAMASC[enorum]. Like many other regiments of Syrian and Nabataean origin this cohort was manned by archers, as we now know from the Köln diploma of 160 in which its title includes the epithet SAG(ittaria)<sup>48</sup>. Also in common with other units raised in the east it took its name from the city rather than the tribe from which the original recruits were drawn, in this case Damascus and its territory<sup>49</sup>.

It was not the only unit recruited from that territory, however, for the existence of at least one other infantry cohort of Damascenes is attested. This was the Cohors Prima Flavia Damascenorum, a milliary regiment, also composed of archers<sup>50</sup>. The imperial epithet Flavia which distinguishes it from the Damascene cohort to which the recipient of the Kalin Ören diploma belonged, suggests that it was raised by one of the Flavian emperors sometime during the 70's or 80's, or perhaps even earlier under Vespasian before he became emperor, if the title was earned for distinguished service in the field<sup>51</sup>. The earliest record of the Flavia's existence appears in a diploma of 90 in which it is listed as part of the auxiliary garrison of Germania Superior where it seems to have served throughout its entire existence<sup>52</sup>. Whatever the date of the Flavia's establishment, there can be little question that its sister regiment, the Prima Damascenorum Sagittaria, from the absence of any imperial epithet, was the earlier unit to be raised. This event presumably may be dated sometime in the Julio-Claudian period.

The earliest mention of the Cohors I Damascenorum appears to date from the reign of Trajan and is found in an inscription from the Cisalpine town of Bergamum honouring an equestrian called C. Cornelius Minicianus<sup>53</sup>. The earliest office listed in his *cursus honorum*, representing his *prima militia*, was his command, as *praefectus*, of the Cohors Prima Damascenorum. There is substantial agreement that the individual

<sup>47</sup> For the history of this unit, RE IV 1 (1900) 280 s.v. cohors (C. CICHORIUS); J. LESQUIER, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (1918) 87 f.; and especially KENNEDY, *Auxilia and Numeri* 187–189; 381.

<sup>48</sup> ECK (note 38). On the importance of Syrian auxiliary archer regiments, D. KENNEDY, *The Military Contribution of Syria to the Roman Imperial Army*. In: D. H. FRENCH/C. S. LIGHTFOOT (eds.), *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire* 1. BAR Internat. Ser. 553,1 (1989) 241 and CHEESMAN, *Auxilia* 82–84.

<sup>49</sup> Other examples from the same region are the cohorts Antiochensium, Apamenorum, Ascalonitum, Canathenorum, Chalcidenorum, Cyrrhestarum, Hamiorum, Hemesenorum, Petraeorum, Sebastenorum, Tyriorum; CHEESMAN, *Auxilia* 58 f.; 181 f.; MELLOR (note 37) 181; KENNEDY (note 48) 240.

<sup>50</sup> Its full title was Cohors Flavia I Damascenorum milliaria equitata sagittariorum. For its history, CICHORIUS (note 47) 279 f.; STEIN, *Kaiserliche Beamte und Truppenkörper* 188; P. MERLAT, *A propos d'une inscription dolichénienne*. Rev. Arch. 2, 1946, 75–80; KRAFT, *Rekrutierung* 174 f.; H. SCHÖNBERGER, *Die I Damaskenerkohorte aus Friedberg in zwei Hedderheimer Inschriften*. Germania 51, 1973, 146–151; KENNEDY, *Auxilia and Numeri* 189–191.

<sup>51</sup> On the significance of the title Flavia in regimental titlature, HOLDER, *Studies in the Auxilia* 16–18.

<sup>52</sup> CIL XVI 36. The discharge of veterans of this unit in 90 suggests that it was already in existence by 64/65 at the latest. KENNEDY, *Auxilia and Numeri* 189 suggests that it may have been formed by Corbulo ca. 62–63. After service with Vespasian in Syria it was transferred to Germania Superior. This move has been variously dated to the early 70's (KENNEDY *op. cit.* 190) and between 82–90 (SCHÖNBERGER [note 50] 146).

<sup>53</sup> CIL V 5126 = ILS 2722; PIR II<sup>2</sup> p. 345 no. 1406; also DEVIJVER, *PME*, C 240.



named here was a friend of Pliny the Younger to whom he addressed three of his letters (3,9; 4,11; 8,12), and that he is also the subject of a letter of recommendation from Pliny dated ca. 106–107, addressed to Q. Pompeius Falco, requesting his appointment as a *tribunus* (7,22)<sup>54</sup>. Sherwin-White has argued that the outcome of Pliny's request for a *tribunatus* fell short of expectation since his protégé received only the command of a quingenary cohort (*praefectura*)<sup>55</sup>. This would have been the command of the Cohors Prima Damascenorum named in the Bergamum inscription. He conjectures that this office would have been at Pompeius Falco's disposal if, as seems likely, he was governor of Judaea at the time, and if the cohort formed part of his provincial *auxilia*<sup>56</sup>. This interpretation of events, however, is unduly complicated and stretches the limited evidence too far. It is surely simpler to take Pliny's words at face value and regard his recommendation for a tribunate as the appropriate appointment for the stage that Cornelius Minicianus had reached in his career<sup>57</sup>. Having completed his *militia prima* as *praefectus* of the Prima Damascenorum, he was in fact now eligible for promotion to the *militia secunda*. In the event, as we learn from the inscription, this took the form of a *tribunatus militum* in the Legio III Augusta, probably by then stationed at Lambaesis in Numidia. Whether this appointment was secured through Pompeius Falco in response to Pliny's epistolary request or through some other connection, however, we cannot tell<sup>58</sup>. On this interpretation of the evidence there is certainly nothing to justify associating either Cornelius Minicianus or

<sup>54</sup> Pliny's description of Cornelius Minicianus as *ornamentum regionis meae* is certainly appropriate for an equestrian holding public offices in both Bergamum and Mediolanum. The identification, however, is not universally accepted, see E. BIRLEY, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* (1953) 141 n. 17, who distinguishes two individuals of this name, one, Pliny's friend holding his tribunate in Judaea in the Legio X Fretensis, and the second, the individual named in the Bergamum inscription, holding his tribunate in the Legio III Augusta. See also M. MOR, *The Roman Army in Eretz-Israel in the Years AD 70–132*. In: P. FREEMAN/D. KENNEDY (eds.), *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*. BAR Internat. Ser. 297 (1986) 585; KENNEDY, *Auxilia and Numeri* 187 f.

<sup>55</sup> A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE, *The Letters of Pliny. A Historical and Social Commentary* (1966) 429; C. P. JONES, review of SHERWIN-WHITE. *Phoenix* 22, 1968, 117 f. A. R. BIRLEY (*The Origin and Career of Q. Pompeius Falco*. *Arh. Vestnik* 28, 1977, 366 n. 29; ID., *The People of Roman Britain* [1979] 363) explicitly recognizes the irregularity of what Pliny was requesting, viz. the omission of the *prima militia* and immediate appointment of Minicianus to the *secunda militia* in the form of a legionary tribunate.

<sup>56</sup> The precise date of Falco's praetorian governorship of Judaea is unknown. It must have fallen sometime between his command of the Legio V Macedonica during the first Dacian War and his governorship of Moesia ca. 116–117. It is associated by some with the need for an experienced hand to control Judaea around the time of the annexation of the neighboring Kingdom of Arabia, ca. 105–107, A. R. BIRLEY (note 55) 1977, 362 f.; W. ECK, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*. *Vestigia* 13 (1970) 164. Others prefer to place Falco's governorship of Judaea later in Trajan's reign when a reliable general would be necessary to ensure peace in the province during the Jewish troubles elsewhere, so SMALLWOOD, *Jews under Roman Rule* 355; R. SYME, *Imperator Caesar: A Study in Nomenclature*. *Historia* 7, 1958, 186 n. 4 = *Roman Papers* 1 (1979) 376 n. 1; SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People* 1, 516 f.

<sup>57</sup> The sequence in which the *tres militiae* of an equestrian career were held was already firmly established by the time of Trajan, E. BIRLEY, *Alae and Cohortes Milliariae*. In: *Corolla memoriae E. Swoboda dicata* (1966); ID. (note 54) 133–153.

<sup>58</sup> R. SYME, *Pliny's Less Successful Friends*. *Historia* 9, 1960, 364 proposed an ingenious resolution by suggesting that Pliny's request may indeed have proved effective in securing from Pompeius Falco a legionary tribunate for Minicianus in Judaea, but perhaps the prospect of an active career in a region liable to unrest proved less attractive than the offer of a more tranquil tribunate in Numidia from the governor of that province.



the Cohors Prima Damascenorum with Judaea at the time of his command as suggested by Sherwin-White.

There is, on the other hand, some indication that during the earlier part of Hadrian's reign the regiment may have been stationed in Egypt. This is implied by the contents of three papyrus texts referring to two retired *praefecti* of the Cohors Prima Damascenorum. The earliest reference appears in a papyrus of Oxyrhynchos, a letter addressed by a resident of Alexandria to Marcus Claudius Serenus, ex-prefect (γενόμενος ἑπαρχος) of the Prima Damascenorum requesting that his son be listed amongst the ephebes to be inducted in the following year, which is specified as the eighteenth year of Hadrian's tribunician power<sup>59</sup>. The letter, written sometime during the previous year must therefore be dated to the period December 10, 132 to December 9, 133. It is evident from the context of the document that Claudius Serenus enjoyed a position of considerable authority in the civilian life of the community, holding a number of distinguished offices. The fact that his rank as former prefect of the Prima Damascenorum is included amongst these various offices and distinctions suggests that this office too commanded respect in the community, a fact readily explained if his command was recently concluded and if it had been held in the province itself.

This impression is strengthened by the two other papyrus documents. The first, dated at Memphis on 28 Phamenoth (24 March) of the nineteenth year of Hadrian's reign, i. e. 135, is a copy of a memorandum of a second retired prefect of the Cohors Prima Damascenorum, Claudius Philoxenos<sup>60</sup>. The second, dated three months later, takes the form of a letter addressed by the same individual to the governor of the Arsinoeite Nome on 26 Payni (20 June) of the same year<sup>61</sup>. Like Claudius Serenus, this person too enjoyed considerable prestige as priest of the great Serapis (νεωκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος), as one of those admitted to the Museum (τῶν ἐν τῷ Μουσεῖῳ σιτουμένων ἀτελῶν), and chief judge (ἀρχιδικαστής), all distinctions associated with the governing class at Alexandria. Here too the prestige that this ex-prefect continued to enjoy in retirement is best accounted for if he had been already playing a significant role in the province during the exercise of his military command, rather than if he had just settled down in Alexandria at the end of a career spent in some other province<sup>62</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> Pap. Oxy. III 477 = L. MITTEIS/U. WILCKEN, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde* I 2 (1910) 169 f. no. 144; H. DEVIJVER, *De Aegypto et exercitu Romano*. Stud. Hellenistica 22 (1975) 53 f. no. 45.

<sup>60</sup> BGU I 136 = MITTEIS/WILCKEN (note 59) II 2 (1912) 95 f. no. 86; DEVIJVER (note 59) 50 f. no. 42.

<sup>61</sup> BGU I 73; MITTEIS (note 60) 227 f. no. 207.

<sup>62</sup> Devijver attributes the high distinctions enjoyed by both M. Claudius Serenus and Claudius Philoxenos at Alexandria to their status as native sons of the city. He also suggests that the Cohors I Damascenorum was stationed in Judaea during the period of their respective commands. The available evidence, however, points to Egypt as the province where they fulfilled their military service. Of the six other known auxiliary commandants from Egypt listed by Devijver, who after their retirement from military service held civilian offices comparable to those of the two ex-prefects of the Cohors I Damascenorum, and whose province of service is certain, five had certainly held their commands in Egypt. There is only one certain case listed by Devijver in which an Egyptian equestrian held his single auxiliary command outside the province before returning to Egypt, viz. Aelianus, *praefectus* of the Cohors II Commagenorum equitata stationed in Dacia Superior, H. DEVIJVER, *The Roman Army in Egypt*. In: ANRW II 1 (1974) 483 f.; ID., *Equestrian Officers from the East*. In: FREEMAN/KENNEDY (note 54) 193–196.



With the last years of Hadrian's reign conjecture concerning the location of the Cohors Prima Damascenorum comes to an end. By the time that the recipient of the Kaln Ören diploma was discharged, the regiment was stationed in Syria-Palestine as part of the auxiliary garrison of that province. How long it had been serving there before that we cannot say, but it is reasonable to suppose that it had participated in the campaigns waged from 132 to 135 to suppress the Bar-Kokhba Revolt. If in fact it had been stationed in Egypt in the years immediately before the crisis, its transfer to Judaea, in common with that of other regiments from adjoining provinces, would have been an obvious measure to strengthen the hard-pressed forces already in residence who had borne the brunt of the initial stages of the war<sup>63</sup>. The continued presence of the Cohors Prima Damascenorum as well as the others named in the Kaln Ören fragment in succeeding years is confirmed by their inclusion amongst the auxiliary contingents listed in the provincial garrison recorded in both the Aphek diploma of 139 and the recently discovered diploma of 160<sup>64</sup>. Nearly half a century later the provincial garrison of Syria-Palestine had diminished from 15 regiments to 9, but the Cohors Prima Damascenorum still appears as part of that complement in the Hebron diploma issued in November, 186<sup>65</sup>.

Although there is no subsequent record of a cohort of that name, there is reason to believe that it continued to serve in that part of the Empire until the fourth century and beyond. The occurrence of an otherwise unknown Ala Prima Damascena amongst the list of units serving under the Dux Foenicis in the Notitia Dignitatum is generally explained by the practice, initiated perhaps under the Severans, of upgrading infantry units to the status of mounted *alae* while retaining the same ethnic identity<sup>66</sup>. One might reasonably speculate that this change in its composition and nomenclature occurred at the time when the regiment underwent the relatively modest transfer from Palestine to the adjacent province of Phoenicia. At the time of the Notitia Dignitatum the Ala Prima Damascena was stationed at Mons Iovis, which has been identified with the extinct volcano Jebel Seys situated on the line of a Roman road running through the Syrian desert about 105 km. south-east of Damascus<sup>67</sup>. No evidence of Roman occupation at this site, however, has yet come to light to confirm this identification<sup>68</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> M. Mor's claim that the Cohors I Damascenorum was still stationed in Egypt as late as 135 is highly unlikely and seems to be based on the mistaken assumption that the commandant named in the latest papyri, dated respectively March and June 135 (see *supra* nn. 60–61), was still in active service, whereas he had clearly retired from his position (γενόμενος ἐπαρχος), MOR (note 54) 580.

<sup>64</sup> CIL XVI 87; ECK (note 38) 452 f.

<sup>65</sup> RMD I 69.

<sup>66</sup> NOT. DIGN. or. 32,33. On the transformation of cohorts of the earlier Empire into *alae* in Late Antiquity, E. RITTERLING, Military Forces in the Senatorial Provinces. *Journal Roman Stud.* 17, 1927, 31 n. 3; ROXAN, Pre-Severan Auxilia 61; 64 f. Table 2 no. 6 (for Ala Prima Damascena); KENNEDY, Auxilia and Numeri 57 f. 191 f.

<sup>67</sup> The suggestion originated with R. DUSSAUD, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (1927) 271 and was endorsed by A. POIDEBARD, *Le trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie* (1934) pls. 54–57; 93; also D. KENNEDY/D. REILLY, *Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air* (1990) 79 f. fig. 26; KENNEDY, *Auxilia and Numeri* 192. An alternative location for Mons Iovis at the fort of Abu Sindah was proposed by A. MUSIL, *Palmyrena* (1928) 43–45; 252.

<sup>68</sup> The visible remains on the slopes appear to be Islamic of the early eighth century, J. SAUVAGET, *Les ruines Omeyyades du Djebel Seis*. *Syria* 20, 1939, 239–256, esp. 252–256.



## 6. *The Auxiliary Forces of Judaea in the Second Century*

Fragmentary though it is, the Kalin Ören diploma provides significant information on the auxiliary army of Judaea both around the time of the Bar-Kokhba War and for some considerable time thereafter. The evidence is of course clearest for the period immediately following the War. Here the relationship between the Kalin Ören fragment and the fully preserved Aphek diploma of 22 November, 139 is of particular relevance. With the discovery of the new fragment we now have two auxiliary diplomas of the newly constituted province of Syria-Palestine issued within approximately two and four years respectively of the conclusion of the War. The frequency with which imperial constitutions occurred granting benefits to newly discharged veterans from the auxiliary garrisons of individual provinces is uncertain, but the limited evidence available from diplomas of known date and province suggests a trend during times of peace for them to occur at roughly two year intervals<sup>69</sup>. In the case of the auxiliary units stationed in Judaea after the War to form the provincial garrison of Syria-Palestine, we may suppose the need for considerable time to establish peace and secure the defences of the reconstituted province. This process could well have delayed the release of veterans awaiting discharge from the auxilia by many months. Thus it is tempting to identify the Kalin Ören fragment with the first general *constitutio* issued to veterans from the auxilia of Syria-Palestine<sup>70</sup>. On the assumption that an interval of approximately two years between general grants of privileges to discharged veterans was the norm in most provinces, the Aphek diploma of 139 could well belong to the succeeding *constitutio*.

In assessing the relationship between these diplomas the identical composition of the auxiliary garrison recorded, three *alae* and twelve cohorts in each case, is especially significant. So also is the coincidence, so far as the fragmentary condition of the Kalin Ören *tabella* permits, of identity in the individual regiments named in each text and the apparently close similarity in sequence of their listing. One outstanding ques-

<sup>69</sup> On the basis of surviving diplomas, *constitutiones* at approximately two year intervals may be surmised from the following sequences: *Germany*: 74 (CIL XVI 20); 78 (CIL XVI 23); 80 (CIL XVI 158); 82 (CIL XVI 28). – *Moesia Superior*: 93 (CIL XVI 39); 96 (RMD I 6); probably 99 (RMD I 7); 100 (CIL XVI 46); and also 159–60 (CIL XVI 111); 161 (RMD I 55); March 161 – Aug. 163 (RMD II 114); 165 (CIL XVI 120). – *Britain*: 122 (CIL XVI 69); 124 (CIL XVI 70). – *Mauretania Tingitana*: 122 (CIL XVI 170); 124 (CIL XVI 171); and also 154 (RMD I 48); 156–57 (CIL XVI 181; 182); 159 (RMD I 53; 54); 161 (RMD II 107); 165 (CIL XVI 186).

<sup>70</sup> It should be noted that the date of proclamation of a *constitutio* issued to the auxiliary veterans of a given province probably followed some time after the actual discharge of most of those covered under its provisions. In times of peace it is likely that veterans were discharged at irregular intervals as they became eligible through years of service and as their units acquired recruits to replace them. The publication of an auxiliary *constitutio* indeed implies *ipso facto* the accumulation of a considerable backlog of discharged veterans eligible to receive the relevant privileges. Hence we may suppose a delay of as long as a year or even more between the actual retirement of a soldier from his unit and the promulgation of the imperial *constitutio* confirming his new status with its privileges; and a further delay in the delivery of an individual diploma to those individuals who requested one. For detailed discussion, see Z. VISY, Die Entlassung der Auxiliarsoldaten aufgrund der Militärdiplome. Acta Arch. Acad. Scien. Hungaricae 36, 1984, 230–237. (For summary see, ID., Regelmäßigkeiten in der Entlassung der Auxiliarsoldaten aufgrund der Militärdiplome. In: Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III. 13. Internat. Limeskongress, Aalen 1983 [1986] 792 f.) I am grateful to Margaret Roxan for bringing Visy's longer article and the detailed distinctions he draws there to my attention.



tion, however, is whether the units contained in these documents constituted the full auxiliary strength of Syria-Palestine at the time of their issue. Unfortunately there remains much uncertainty about the degree of completeness with which auxiliary diplomas record the units of the province of issue. In some cases the list is certainly incomplete. The clearest instance of this occurs when two diplomas were issued in the same province on the same date, but contain two completely different lists of units, with no overlap whatsoever<sup>71</sup>. It is generally assumed that these lists are complementary, each perhaps deriving from a separate imperial *constitutio* and reporting the *auxilia* associated with separate legionary commands. The two together, however, represented the full complement of units in the province discharging veterans in that particular year. There are also rare instances where a unit known from other sources to have been stationed in a particular province does not appear in a diploma issued from the same province on a date when its presence there is certain. The fact that no soldier from that unit was eligible for release at the time of issue may account for the omission<sup>72</sup>. For Syria-Palestine during the period 136–139, the existence of two diplomas separated in date by at least two years recording a provincial garrison identical in total composition and probably also in its constituent units strongly suggests that the full auxiliary army is represented in each list; for it is highly unlikely that there existed any unit that did not contain veterans eligible for the privileges of honorable discharge on at least one of the dates recorded.

With three cavalry *alae* and twelve infantry cohorts, two of them milliary, the total auxiliary forces would have numbered a maximum of 8,500 men. This figure is close enough to the complement of approximately 10,000 men serving in the two permanent legions then resident in Syria-Palestine to respect the principle mentioned by Tacitus of equality in strength between the two categories of troops that formed the garrison of a given province<sup>73</sup>. In the immediate aftermath of the Bar-Kokhba War,

<sup>71</sup> Three examples of this phenomenon are known: 1) from Syria dated 7 November 88 (CIL XVI 35; RMD I 3); 2) from Moesia Inferior dated 14 August 99 (CIL XVI 44–45); 3) from Mauretania Tingitana dated 14 October 109 (CIL XVI 161–162). One further pair from Syria is also possible for 12 May 91, though the fragmentary condition of one diploma precludes certainty (RMD I 4; 5). For further discussion, HOLDER, *Studies in the Auxilia* 167 f.; M. ROXAN, *Roman Military Diplomata and Topography*. In: *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III* (note 70) 771–773.

<sup>72</sup> Without the precise information provided by a diploma, it is usually impossible to establish with certainty whether a unit normally included in the auxiliary garrison of a specific province, but omitted from the list of *auxilia* of one particular diploma, was actually present in the province at the time of issue. Nevertheless, where several diplomas survive from the same province covering a limited period of time, it is likely that a unit omitted in one list, but regularly appearing in the others, was actually present throughout the entire period covered by the series. In Pannonia Superior, for example, from a series of four diplomas covering the years 146 through 154, the Ala I contariarum milliaria is named in the auxiliary lists of diplomas issued in 146, 148 and 154 (CIL XVI 178; 96; 104), but does not appear in that of 149 (CIL XVI 97). Similarly the Cohors IV voluntariorum c.R., present in the same province in 146, 148 and 149 (CIL XVI 178; 96; 97) was missing in that of 154 (CIL XVI 104), but present again in 163 (RMD I 62). Also, in Pannonia Inferior, of the list of *alae* named in a series of eight diplomas issued between 139 and 167, both the Ala I Flavia Britannica mill. c.R. and the Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sag. are named in all except the one issued sometime between 161 and 163, Z. VISY, *Neuere Militärdiplome aus Pannonien*. In: A Szekzárdú Béni Balogh Ádám Múz. *Évokönyve* 1979/80 (1982), 59–132, esp. 77 f. (tables 2–3); also generally on this subject, ID. (note 70) esp. 235–237. It is, of course, conceivable that these omissions represent nothing more than the temporary transfer of the units concerned from their normal province of residence to participate in a campaign elsewhere in the Empire.

<sup>73</sup> TAC. ann. 4,5,6. The legions permanently stationed in Judaea at this time were VI Ferrata and X Freten-



therefore, an army of about 18,500 in Syria-Palestine may be assumed with reasonable confidence.

That the Romans continued to maintain an army of the same strength consisting of the same 15 units until the very end of the reign of Antoninus Pius at the earliest is confirmed by the appearance of two new diplomas dating from this period.

One is the diploma of unknown provenance mentioned previously, and published by W. Eck<sup>74</sup>. With only a small portion of its *tabella* I missing, the entire text can be restored with certainty by conflating the versions incised on both the outside and inside faces. Dated March 7, 160, this diploma lists an auxiliary garrison for Syria-Palestine composed of the same three *alae* and twelve cohorts as those serving in the province at the beginning of Pius's reign. Even the sequence in which the individual units are listed is identical to the auxiliary list recorded in the Aphek diploma of November 139, with one notable exception. The Cohors V Gemella c. R., which in the earlier text appears in last position, where it logically belongs if strict numerical sequence is observed, for some unaccountable reason has been brought forward to head the list of cohorts in the diploma of 160<sup>75</sup>.

The second recent find is a mere fragment. Its exact provenance is also uncertain, though it is known to have come from Syria-Palestine<sup>76</sup>. The date of issue appears to fall sometime between 154 and 161<sup>77</sup>. Only a tiny portion of the provincial list of *auxilia* from the exterior face survives, consisting at most of seven letters from the left edge of the first eight lines of the *constitutio*. The names of only four units are identifiable, the Ala ANT(iana Gallorum et Thracum) in line 3 and the cohorts I SEB(*astena*) *milliaria* and I FLAV(*ia* c. R.) in lines 5 and 6, and one of the cohortes Petraeorum, probably VI, in line 8<sup>78</sup>. The appearance of these units, considered along with their

sis with their principal bases at Caparcotna and Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem) respectively. For discussion of the relative size of legionary and auxiliary forces in Judaea, B. ISAAC, *The Limits of Empire* (1990) 106.

<sup>74</sup> ECK (note 38).

<sup>75</sup> In the Aphek diploma the units are listed in ascending order from I through IV. Where pairs of cohorts are listed, such as I and II Galatarum, III and IV Bracaraugustanorum and IV and VI Petraeorum, their sequence is determined by the first unit of the pair. Thus the cohort numbered V appears appropriately in last position, ECK (note 38) 455 and *supra* p. 83 n. 46, and *infra* p. 132.

<sup>76</sup> RMD I 60; C. N. REEVES, A New Diploma for Syria-Palestina. *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 33, 1979, 117–123. The surviving portion of the text reads:

EQ

QVA

ETANT

ETCOH

5 ETISEB ∞

ETIFLAY

ETII

PET

For information on the diploma's provenance, ROXAN, RMD II p. 133 n. 81.

<sup>77</sup> ROXAN *ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> The identity of the unit at the opening of line 7 is uncertain, but its place towards the end of the list would suit either the Cohors III or IIII Bracaraugustanorum, both named on the Aphek diploma. REEVES (note 76) 121 proposes IIII Bracaraugustanorum on the grounds that its sister cohort had left the province by the time that this diploma was issued. It is clear, however, from the inclusion of both units in the Köln diploma of 160 that this was not yet the case.



distribution in the text in relation to the lacunae, suggests a list similar in size, composition and sequence to both the Aphek diploma and the Köln diploma of 160. The amount of space devoted to the auxiliary list in this fragment, however, indicates that the names of individual regiments appeared in much less abbreviated form than in the Aphek diploma. Covering over six lines of text, this list is much more akin to the estimated six and a half lines required to accommodate the list of auxiliary units in the relatively modest abbreviations employed on the exterior face of the Köln diploma<sup>79</sup>.

In addition to the four diplomas discussed above, there has also appeared in recent years a fifth diploma from the second century issued to an auxiliary veteran serving in Syria-Palestine. Found at Hebron and dated 24–27 November 186, it records a provincial garrison markedly smaller than that of its predecessors, consisting of only nine units, divided into two *alae* and seven cohorts<sup>80</sup>. Yet, despite the careless execution of its text, all of the units named are recognizable from the lists of regiments in the previous diplomas. Sometime between 161 at the earliest and 186, therefore, the auxiliary garrison of Syria-Palestine underwent considerable reduction, perhaps by as much as two fifths, if the Hebron diploma represents the full complement of units serving in the province at the time. Of the cavalry regiments present earlier in the century the two *alae* Gallorum et Thracum, Antiana and constantium, were still stationed in the province, but the Ala VII Phrygum had been transferred, perhaps to Syria<sup>81</sup>. As for the cohorts, five of those named on previous lists had presumably departed from the province, the I Montanorum, III Bracaraugustanorum, the IIII and VI Petraeorum and the I Flavia c. R.<sup>82</sup>. If this list represents the full strength of the provincial *auxilia*, they would have numbered around 5,500 men, a considerable reduction from the 8,500 present when the garrison consisted of 15 units. One can only speculate when this reduction might have occurred, but a likely context is the large build-up of troops required for Lucius Verus's Parthian campaign in 162, which would certainly have required the diversion of large bodies of men from the provinces of the region. The participation of one of Syria-Palestine's two legions, the VI Ferrata, in this Parthian expedition is certainly attested, as is at least one of the cohorts previously stationed in

<sup>79</sup> By contrast, the comparable section of the outside text of the Aphek diploma (CIL XVI 87) takes up less than four lines. A reconstruction of the fragment employing less drastic forms of abbreviation as in the Köln diploma produces a satisfactory restoration. Thus the opening lines of the list might have appeared thus:

QVA[E APPELL(*antur*) GALLOR(*um*) ET THRAC(*um*) CONSTANT(*ium*)]  
ET ANT(*iana*) [GALLOR(*um*) ET THRAC(*um*) SAG(*ittaria*) ET VII PHRYG(*um*)]  
ET COH[ORTIBUS] . . .

<sup>80</sup> RMD I 69 and Lifshitz (note 46) 117–122.

<sup>81</sup> CIL XVI 103, a diploma dated 134–154 and now attributed with virtual certainty to Syria, M. M. ROXAN, Epigraphic Notes. In: Epigr. Stud. 9 (1972) 246 f. The identification of the Ala Phrygum in this diploma, however, is uncertain, ROXAN, RMD I p. 33 n. 5, and MELLOR (note 37) 181, preferring to restore I PHR(*ygum*) instead of NESSELHAUF's VII I PHR(*ygum*) (CIL XVI 103, p. 94 n. 1).

<sup>82</sup> The first infantry unit named on the exterior face was a Cohors c.R., but its identity was uncertain because of the obscurity of the text at this point. Lifshitz's restoration of the text to read COH V [GE]MELLA C R (Lifshitz [note 46] 118; 120) was originally suspect on the ground that it violated the sequence of ranking by ascending numerical order observed elsewhere in the list. His reading, however, has now been fully vindicated by the appearance of this unit at the head of the cohort list of the recently discovered Köln diploma; ROXAN, RMD I pp. 90 f. n. 4; ECK (note 38) 454 f.



the province, the I Flavia c. R.<sup>83</sup>. The dislocation caused by the Parthian War must have resulted in considerable reassignment of units to new billets once peace was restored. That the garrison of Syria-Palestine was reduced to only a fraction of its original pre-war size may well reflect the tranquil condition that the province had finally achieved in the last quarter of the second century<sup>84</sup>.

The appearance of the Kalin Ören diploma also provides an opportunity to review the current state of knowledge concerning the *auxilia* serving in Judaea both during the Bar-Kokhba Revolt and the years leading up to it. Major archaeological discoveries in recent decades and an increased attention to references to the Revolt contained in the Talmudic literature have shed significant light on the social and psychological background to the conflict on the Jewish side<sup>85</sup>. For the actual course of the War and the Roman conduct of it, however, the very sparse accounts in Latin and Greek writers, all dating from long after the event, remain the major source<sup>86</sup>. Unfortunately these have nothing to say about the size or composition of the Roman army involved. Recent epigraphic and numismatic research, on the other hand, has made it possible to make some progress in identifying the legionary forces present in Judaea and their activities during the War<sup>87</sup>.

The same cannot be said for our knowledge of the auxiliary units participating in the War which for nearly a century has rested almost exclusively on the auxiliary units listed in the Aphek diploma, first published in 1897<sup>88</sup>. This relies on the very reasonable assumption that the 15 units stationed in Syria-Palestine on the date when the diploma was issued in November 139, little over four years from the close of hostilities, would have been selected for garrison duty in the newly reconstituted province from the presumably much larger force of auxiliaries actually present during the War itself. This assumption is now strongly reinforced by the discovery of the Kalin Ören fragment, with a provincial list of *auxilia* almost certainly identical to that recorded in the Aphek diploma, but dating even closer to the end of the war.

What other units in addition to those named in the Aphek diploma might have participated in the suppression of the Revolt and what the total complement might have

<sup>83</sup> For the VI Ferrata, RE XII 2 (1924) 1592 f. s.v. legio (E. RITTERLING); for Coh. I Flavia c.R., CIL III 600 = ILS 2724; DEVIJVER, PME, V 17.

<sup>84</sup> This is well documented for Galilee by M. GOODMAN, *State and Society in Roman Galilee A.D. 132–212* (1983).

<sup>85</sup> The documents found in the Judaeian desert at Wadi Murabba'at and Nahal Hever respectively, the latter even including letters from Bar-Kokhba himself, are of outstanding significance, BENOIT *et al.* (note 23) and N. LEWIS (ed.), *The Documents from the Bar-Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*. Greek Papyri (1989). There is currently much controversy, for the most part published in Hebrew, concerning the historical authenticity of Talmudic sources; for a convenient summary, B. ISAAC/A. OPPENHEIMER, *The Revolt of Bar Kokhba. Ideology and Modern Scholarship*. *Journal Jewish Stud.* 36, 1985, 36–39.

<sup>86</sup> The only connected account of the War appears in summary form in Xiphilinus's epitome of DIO's Roman History (69,12,1–14,3). References to the War by contemporary writers such as Appian, Pausanias and Fronto are limited to isolated comments, M. STERN, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* 2 (1980) nos. 332; 342; 343; 353; 440; 511. Later Christian writers, especially EUSEBIUS (hist. eccl. 4,6 and the Latin version of his chronicle), Jerome and Epiphanius, supply details not otherwise attested.

<sup>87</sup> Epigraphic and archaeological evidence is summarized by ISAAC/OPPENHEIMER (note 85) 39–44; also ISAAC (note 73) 427–435. For numismatic evidence, L. MILDENBERG, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*. *Typos* 6 (1984).

<sup>88</sup> CIL XVI 87; DE VILLEFOSSE (note 35).



been are questions that have provoked considerable speculation. In the most ambitious attempt to reconstruct the full roster of auxiliary units that may have served in Hadrian's Jewish War, Applebaum has proposed a total of 33 regiments, divided into 25 infantry cohorts and 8 cavalry *alae*<sup>89</sup>. Yet even this total, numbering around 16,000 men, probably fell far short, perhaps by as much as fifty per cent, of the number of auxiliary units actually engaged when the War was at its height<sup>90</sup>. Unfortunately Applebaum's list, incomplete though it is, does not bear close scrutiny. Of the 33 units he proposes, we may accept with reasonable certainty only the 15 units listed in the two post-war diplomas from Kalin Ören and Aphek respectively.

Of the remaining 17 listed by Applebaum, several may be rejected since there is no evidence supporting their association with Judaea. These include the following:

- i) Cohors IV Callaecorum (4)<sup>91</sup>
- ii) IV Gallorum (10)
- iii) VII Gallorum (11)
- iv) I Lucensium equitata (14).

The first unit named and one or other of the two Gallic units appear in a fragmentary diploma once variously assigned to either Syria or Syria-Palestine and issued sometime between 134 and 154<sup>92</sup>. Its attribution to Syria, however, is now generally accepted<sup>93</sup>. The Cohors I Lucensium equitata, wrongly attributed by Applebaum to the same fragment, first appears in Syria in a diploma of 88 and seems to have remained there during the second century<sup>94</sup>.

- v) Ala I Thracum Mauretana (32)
- vi) Cohors I Thracum equitata (22).

Both units were certainly stationed in Judaea in 86, their names being listed amongst the *auxilia* in a diploma of Judaea dated 13 May of that year<sup>95</sup>. There is evidence, however, that both had subsequently left the province. The Ala Thracum Mauretana is recorded in Egypt by 134, a fact which presumes its departure from Judaea well before the outbreak of the Jewish War, since it is unthinkable that any regiment stationed in Judaea at the outbreak of the War would have been moved out during the

<sup>89</sup> APPLEBAUM, Prolegomena 65–68, and more briefly, *id.*, Judaea in Hellenistic and Roman Times (1989) 121 f.

<sup>90</sup> APPLEBAUM, Prolegomena 45 f.

<sup>91</sup> The figures in parenthesis indicate the order in which the unit is listed in Applebaum's list.

<sup>92</sup> CIL XVI 103. The Cohors IV Callaecorum named in this diploma is perhaps the IV Callaecorum Lucensium originally raised in the conventus of Lucus Augusti within the territory of the Callaeci (modern Galicia). It is listed in a Syrian diploma of 88 (CIL XVI 35) and probably also appears in a Syrian diploma of 156–157 (CIL XVI 106). The other possibility from the same tribal region, the Cohors IV Callaecorum Bracaraugustanorum, originating in the conventus of Bracara Augusta, is already accounted for as one of the units of the auxiliary garrison of Syria-Palestine named in the various diplomas discussed above covering the period 135 through 186 (ROXAN [note 81] 246 f.). As for the Cohortes IIII and VII Gallorum included by Applebaum in his list of auxiliary units probably stationed in Judaea at the time of Hadrian's Jewish War, only one can be considered, since the numerals IIII and VII are alternative restorations of a defective text in which only the letters GAL survive. Indeed in a later article (APPLEBAUM [note 89] 121 n. 42) he suggests II or III as possibilities.

<sup>93</sup> ROXAN *ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> CIL XVI 35 (7 Nov. 88). For a brief summary of this unit's history, ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Hispania y el Ejército Romano* 151.

<sup>95</sup> CIL XVI 33.



course of hostilities<sup>96</sup>. The Cohors I Thracum of the same diploma is generally identified as the Cohors I Augusta Thracum listed with Syrian *auxilia* in 88 and subsequently transferred to the new province of Arabia, probably at the time of its formation in 106, where it was still serving nearly a century later<sup>97</sup>. There is no evidence for any subsequent sojourn in Judaea after 86.

vii) Cohors V Augusta c. R. Sebastena (18).

Applebaum assigns this unit to Judaea on the evidence of a fragmentary inscription from Samaria, but with only the serial number V and the abbreviation c. R. of the unit's identity surviving, and no trace of either the epithet Augusta or Sebastena, the identification is quite unconvincing and has in fact won no support whatsoever<sup>98</sup>.

viii) Ala I Picentiana (31).

This is presumably the Ala Gallorum Picentiana, stationed in Germania Superior in the first century, and listed with the *auxilia* of Britain by 122 (CIL XVI 69). Applebaum mistakenly associates it with the Alae Flavia Gemina and I Scubulorum as part of a possible contingent dispatched from Germania Superior to Judaea to provide cavalry support during the Bar-Kokhba War<sup>99</sup>. There is not the slightest evidence, however, to support the transfer of this unit out of Britain for this or any other purpose around this time.

For most of the remaining units that Applebaum associates with Hadrian's Jewish War the evidence that he cites to support his view is invariably circumstantial. They include the following:

i) Cohors I Breucorum c. R. Valeria Victrix (1)

ii) III Thracum c. R. equitata (23).

Both regiments are recorded in building inscriptions from the time of Antoninus Pius on auxiliary forts of Raetia. In each case the unit's name is accompanied by the honorific title *bis torquata*, datable in the case of the III Thracum to 144<sup>100</sup>. Since there is no evidence that either regiment possessed these titles before the time of Antoninus Pius, and since there is no evidence for either unit having participated in Trajan's major wars against the Dacians and Parthians, Radnóti concluded that both honours had been recently earned. Hadrian's Jewish War, therefore, provides the only remaining recent context for distinguished service. Both regiments might well have been associated with the Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum, also normally stationed in Raetia, in a detachment composed of entire units or vexillations of units assigned to the Judaeian War from the Raetian garrison<sup>101</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> BGU II 696, 11.22–25; H. G. PFLAUM, Un nouveau diplôme militaire d'un soldat de l'armée d'Égypte. Syria 44, 1967, 358.

<sup>97</sup> RMD I 3 (7 Nov. 88); J. C. MANN, A Note on an Inscription from Kurnub. Israel Explor. Journal 19, 1969, 211–214; M. P. SPEIDEL, The Roman Army in Arabia. In: ANRW II 8 (1977) 710 f. (= Roman Army Studies 1 [1984] 252 f.); MOR (note 54) 578.

<sup>98</sup> M. AVI-YONAH, Newly Discovered Latin and Greek Inscriptions. Quart. Dep. Ant. Palestine 12, 1946, 94 f. (= Année Épigr. 1948, 150; 151); M. P. SPEIDEL, The Roman Army in Judaea under the Procurators. Ancient Soc. 13/14, 1982/83, 234. A much more plausible candidate for the defective text is the Cohors V Gemella c. R., the last named of the cohorts listed in the Aphek diploma.

<sup>99</sup> For the plausible presence of these units in Judaea, see *infra* p. 95 n. 108.

<sup>100</sup> For the *cohors I Breucorum bis torquata ob v(irtutem) appella(ta)*, CIL III 11931 = 5918a; 11932; and for *III Thracum c. R. bis torqua(ta)*, A. RADNÓTI, Neue rätische Militärdiplome aus Straubing und Einig. Germania 19, 1961, 114 f.

<sup>101</sup> ROXAN, RMD II p. 156 n. 2; RADNÓTI (note 100) 114.



iii) Cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria c. R. Pia Fidelis (24).

The presence of this unit in Judaea during the War rests on a diploma of 156 or 157 when the regiment appears to have been stationed in Dacia Superior. The unmistakable Semitic character of the recipient's name, Barsimso, and his city of origin, abbreviated in the diploma as CAES, believed to be Caesarea Maritima in Judaea, suggest that at the time of his enlistment ca. 132 the regiment was already stationed in Judaea and bringing itself up to strength for the impending War through local recruitment<sup>102</sup>.

iv) Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum (26)<sup>103</sup>

v) Cohors IV Lingonum equitata (13)<sup>104</sup>.

Under Hadrian both units had been commanded by *praefecti* who had also held legionary tribunates at another stage in their careers. In the course of their legionary service both officers were commissioned to lead vexillations to participate in Hadrian's Jewish expeditionary force<sup>105</sup>. Applebaum suggests that troops from their respective auxiliary regiments may have been included in the vexillations<sup>106</sup>. The context in each case, however, clearly implies that the troops under their command were legionary.

vi) Ala I Flavia Gemina (25)

vii) I Scubulorum (30).

The presence of both units in Germania Superior up to 129–130 is documented from an auxiliary diploma of that year<sup>107</sup>. Their absence from the auxiliary list of Germania Superior in a diploma of 134, however, raises the possibility that both units were no longer stationed there, having perhaps been transferred to Judaea sometime before to reinforce the Roman cavalry<sup>108</sup>.

viii) Cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum veterana equitata (19).

The case for including this regiment amongst those engaged in the suppression of the Jewish Revolt rests on the conflation of information relating to two separate units of the same name<sup>109</sup>. There is indeed evidence that a cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum

<sup>102</sup> CIL XVI 107; CICHORIUS (note 47) 350; WAGNER, Dislokation 197 f.; ROXAN, RMD II p. 195 n. 5; for the name Barsimso and the movements of his regiment (Moesia in 100 and Dacia by 144), B. ISAAC, Military Diplomas and Extraordinary Levies for Campaigns. In: Heer und Integrationspolitik 264.

<sup>103</sup> In his note Applebaum has clearly confused two separate Alae Gaetulorum. One, the Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum, was normally stationed on the Danube, first in Moesia Inferior (CIL XVI 45) and by 114 in Pannonia Inferior (CIL XVI 61) where it was still in residence in 151–160 (CIL XVI 112; 113). The other *ala* of this ethnic origin, Ala veterana Gaetulorum is clearly the unit that Applebaum intended. It seems to have served normally in the east, in Judaea under Vespasian (CIL V 7007 = ILS 2544), remaining there probably through the first century (CIL XVI 33); thereafter in Arabia (SEG 24 [1964] 1064), SPEIDEL (note 97) 705 f. (= Roman Army Studies 1, 247 f.).

<sup>104</sup> This unit seems to have been permanently based in Britain. Its presence there is attested by diplomas of 103 (CIL XVI 48) and 146 (CIL XVI 93).

<sup>105</sup> S. Attius Senecio fulfilled this duty while serving as tribune of the Legio X Gemina. His command of the Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum followed this service (CIL VI 3505; DEVIJVER, PME, A 188). M. Statius Priscus Licinius Italicus commanded the Cohors IV Lingonum as his *prima militia*. This was followed by a tribunate in the Legio III Gallica, during which he commanded a vexillation "in expeditione Iudaica" (CIL VI 1523 = ILS 1092; DEVIJVER, PME, S 78).

<sup>106</sup> APPLEBAUM, Prolegomena 67 (Ala Flavia Gaetulorum); 48 f.; 66 (Cohors IV Lingonum).

<sup>107</sup> RMD II 90.

<sup>108</sup> CIL XVI 80; RADNÓTI (note 100) 115 n. 118.

<sup>109</sup> The possibility that there were two distinct cohortes I Sugambrorum originates with WAGNER, Disloka-



veterana was transferred from its previous garrison in Moesia Inferior sometime between April 134 and the end of Hadrian's reign<sup>110</sup>. An inscription from Ishekli, ancient Eumeneia, in Phrygia records its presence there shortly after the move<sup>111</sup>. This, together with the mistaken identification of this unit with its sister regiment stationed in Syria, doubtless accounts for the belief that it was en route to the east at the time, presumably to strengthen the Roman forces then engaged in the Judaean War. That the unit's move to Asia may have been part of a general redeployment of forces in the region necessitated by the War is highly likely, to be sure, but there is no evidence that the regiment ever reached a destination further east than Asia<sup>112</sup>. Its role in that province was probably to serve as the provincial regiment, perhaps in place of another auxiliary unit dispatched elsewhere at short notice<sup>113</sup>. In any case the Veterana's sojourn in Asia was relatively short, for by the later years of Antoninus Pius's reign it was already back in Moesia Inferior<sup>114</sup>.

A more likely candidate for service in Judaea indeed might be the Veterana's sister regiment, Cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum tironum, which also probably first saw service in Moesia. Its subsequent transfer to Syria may have occurred at the time of Trajan's Parthian campaign<sup>115</sup>. Its whereabouts during the Judaean War is unknown, but its continued presence in the east later in the century is well attested<sup>116</sup>.

ix) Ala I Ulpia singularium.

Although not included by Applebaum in his list, this unit may be added to those for which there is circumstantial evidence for involvement in Hadrian's Jewish War. The regiment is known to have been stationed at Palmyra ca. 150 and it appears in the list of *auxilia* for Syria recorded in a diploma of 156/57 found near Kazanlyk in Thrace<sup>117</sup>. Isaac has suggested that the recipient of the diploma, whose name unfortunately is lost, was recruited into this regiment in Thrace ca. 132 at a time when it was engaged in the War against Bar-Kokhba and would be in need of reinforcements.

tion 186. The discovery of a diploma dated ca. 157 listing a Cohors [I] Sugambr(orum) vet(erana) as part of the garrison of Moesia Inferior (RMD I 50) at virtually the same time as a diploma listing a cohors I Cl[au]d(ia) Sugambr(orum) in Syria (CIL XVI 106) provided conclusive evidence for the separate existence of two units of this name (see ROXAN, RMD I p. 73 n. 2).

<sup>110</sup> Its presence in Moesia Inferior on April 2, 134 is recorded in a diploma of that date (CIL XVI 78).

<sup>111</sup> The text records a dedication by M. Iulius Pisonianus, the *praefectus* responsible for bringing the regiment safely from Moesia to its new billet in Asia, D. ATKINSON in: W. H. BUCKLER/W. M. CALDER/C. W. M. COX, *Asia Minor* 1924, 3. Monuments from Central Phrygia. *Journal Roman Stud.* 16, 1926, 74–78 (= *Année Épigr.* 1927, 95).

<sup>112</sup> For the connection of these events, see WAGNER, *Dislokation* 185 f. The reference cited by APPLEBAUM (note 89) 123 n. 45 to support this unit's presence in Judaea is erroneous.

<sup>113</sup> RITTERLING (note 66) 28–32; M. P. SPEIDEL, *The Roman Army in Asia Minor. Recent Epigraphical Discoveries and Researches*. In: S. MITCHELL (ed.), *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*. BAR Internat. Ser. 156 (1983) 13; 27 n. 24 (= *Roman Army Studies* 1, 279; 293 n. 24) suggests that it was replacing the Cohors I Raetorum as garrison regiment of the province, the latter being engaged in action with Arrian in Cappadocia.

<sup>114</sup> RMD I 50.

<sup>115</sup> For the identification of the regiment stationed in Syria in the second century with the Cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum tironum of the Moesian diploma of February 78 (CIL XVI 22), see ROXAN, RMD I p. 73 n. 2.

<sup>116</sup> For example, it appears in a Syrian diploma of 156/157 (CIL XVI 106) and contributed a contingent to M. Valerius Lollianus's vexillation for Lucius Verus's Parthian campaign of 162–165 (CIL III 600 = ILS 2724).

<sup>117</sup> *Année Épigr.* 1933, 210; 211; CIL XVI 106.



Having continued to serve with his regiment when it moved to Palmyra after the War, he may have returned to his Thracian home after his discharge<sup>118</sup>.

With 8 of the units that Applebaum lists as actually or probably engaged in the Bar-Kokhba War eliminated either because of lack of evidence or because the evidence points to their presence elsewhere, and a further 8 categorized as doubtful at best, the evidence being purely circumstantial, we are left with three whose presence in Judaea earlier in the century is attested without any indication of their departure elsewhere during this period.

i) Cohors II Cantabrorum (5).

This was one of four cohorts listed with the *auxilia* of Judaea in the diploma of 86 (CIL XVI 33). Unlike the other auxiliary units serving in the province at that time, however, which were eventually transferred elsewhere, there is no record of this cohort's ever having left Judaea during the period up to the outbreak of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt<sup>119</sup>.

ii) Cohors I Hispanorum<sup>120</sup>

iii) I Thebaeorum (20).

Both units belonged to the auxiliary army of Egypt until 105 when they were moved to Judaea (*extranslatæ in Iudæam*), apparently in exchange for two cohorts of that province's garrison, I Augusta Lusitanorum and II Thracum, which assumed their role in Egypt<sup>121</sup>. It is believed that the transfer was part of a large-scale reallocation of stations throughout the region in preparation for the annexation of Arabia in the following year and that the transfer of these units of Judaea was a temporary measure, their final destination being in fact Arabia<sup>122</sup>. There is some evidence to support this view in the case of the Cohors I Thebaeorum, but none for the I Hispanorum<sup>123</sup>. It is just as reasonable to suppose *ex silentio* that the latter at least continued to serve in Judaea, perhaps right up to the beginning of the War. The absence of both units from the Kalin Ören and Aphek diplomas, however, makes it virtually certain that neither regiment formed part of the garrison of the reconstructed province of Syria-Palestine in the post-war period.

Thus apart from the 15 units known to be part of the provincial garrison from their presence in the auxiliary lists of the post-war diplomas, and *ipso facto* presumed to have been already present in the province during at least part of the Jewish War of 132–135, we may tentatively add only the Cohortes II Cantabrorum and I Hispanorum whose longstanding presence in Judaea makes it likely that they were still resident there at the outbreak of war. In addition we may perhaps also include one or two of the units categorized above as doubtful, but whose participation in the War rests on circumstantial evidence. This would yield a total auxiliary force hardly

<sup>118</sup> ISAAC (note 102) 264.

<sup>119</sup> ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Hispania y el Ejército Romano* 147 f.

<sup>120</sup> This unit is missing from Applebaum's list, presumably inadvertently.

<sup>121</sup> RMD I 9; PFLAUM (note 96) 339–362 = *Année Épigr.* 1968, 513.

<sup>122</sup> PFLAUM (note 96) 355–357; SPEIDEL (note 97) 709 f. (= *Roman Army Studies* 1, 251 f.).

<sup>123</sup> SPEIDEL *ibid.* The evidence for the Cohors I Thebaeorum's presence in Arabia consists of a papyrus dated 114 in which a veteran of that unit refers to service under one Severus, believed to be Claudius Severus, governor of Arabia at the time, P. Catt. II col. 3,11–12 = MITTEIS/WILCKEN (note 59) no. 372 col. 3,11–12.



exceeding 20. The only other auxiliary force known to have participated in the Jewish War was a mixed contingent of auxiliary troops drawn from unspecified cohorts of Pannonia Superior mentioned in an inscription from Samaria<sup>124</sup>. The combined sum of these units, amounting to around 12,000 men in total, must have represented a mere fraction of the entire auxiliary force engaged in suppressing the Revolt<sup>125</sup>.

The previous discussion leads to the further question of what degree of continuity there was between the provincial auxilia of Judaea in the years before the Bar-Kokhba War and those stationed in the renamed province of Syria-Palestine in the immediate post-war period. Evidence for the auxiliary army of Judaea during the years between the First and Second Revolts is in fact extremely scarce, the only reliable list being that recorded in the diploma of 86 containing the names of 2 *alae* and 4 cohorts<sup>126</sup>. Two of the cohorts were of course transferred to Egypt in exchange for the two cohorts *extranatae in Iudaeam* whose names were added to the provincial *auxilia* of Egypt in the diploma of 105<sup>127</sup>. The period between the latest of these two documents and the outbreak of the War in 132, however, witnessed two major events in the region that certainly caused severe dislocation in the disposition of the military forces of the eastern provinces, the annexation of Arabia of 106 and Trajan's Parthian War from 113–117. This is reflected in the fact that at least 5, and possibly 6, of the 8 units named in the two diplomas of 86 and 105 had been transferred to other provinces probably well before war broke out in Judaea<sup>128</sup>. This leaves only the two units noted previously which, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, may have continued serving in Judaea without interruption right up to the time of the Revolt, viz. the Cohortes II Cantabrorum and I Hispanorum<sup>129</sup>.

It is conceivable that the annexation of Arabia diminished the military importance of Judaea to such an extent that a consequent reduction in the size of its auxiliary garrison could be implemented during the latter years of Trajan's reign, especially when the demands of the Parthian Expedition would have required the services of many units normally stationed in the provincial garrisons of the east<sup>130</sup>. Such a reduction in

<sup>124</sup> Année Épigr. 1938, 13; H. VAN DE WEERD, Notes d'épigraphie latine. Ant. Class. 7, 1938, 81–85.

<sup>125</sup> Another possible source of auxiliaries for the War may have been the local gentile population of Judaea itself. This might have been the occasion for the raising of one or more cohortes Palaestinatorum. The existence of a Cohors XII of this identity in the third century is known from a papyrus recording its presence at Dura Europos (P. Dura 30,3–4) and of a Cohors IV stationed in Palestine ca. 400 (NOT. DIGN. or. 34,46). For the troubling question of the high serial number of the Cohors XII Palaestinatorum, D. L. KENNEDY, Cohors XX Palmyrenorum. An Alternative Explanation of the Numeral. Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 53, 1983, 214–218; ISAAC (note 73) 106.

<sup>126</sup> CIL XVI 33.

<sup>127</sup> RMD I 9. As noted above (p. 97), the units transferred to Egypt were the Cohortes I Augusta Lusitanorum and II Thracum; their replacements were the Cohortes I Hispanorum and I Thebaeorum, PFLAUM (note 96) 356.

<sup>128</sup> Of the units listed in CIL XVI 33 (May, 86) the Ala veterana Gaetulorum was transferred to Arabia, the Ala Thracum Mauretana and the Cohortes I Augusta Lusitanorum and II Thracum to Egypt, the Cohors I Thracum (= Augusta) to Syria and subsequently to Arabia. Of the two listed in RMD I 9 (Sept. 105), the Cohors I Thebaeorum was probably moved to Arabia. See *supra* p. 97.

<sup>129</sup> See *supra* p. 97.

<sup>130</sup> For a partial list of the auxiliary forces employed, see KENNEDY's reconstruction of the Syrian auxilia of ca. 110, all or most of which may be presumed to have participated in Trajan's Parthian Campaign (Auxilia and Numeri 334–336, including table).



the *auxilia* of Judaea, however, is unlikely to have survived the threat to the province posed by the revolt of the Jews in Mesopotamia, Cyrene and Cyprus at the end of Trajan's reign. Opinions vary on the extent to which the Jewish population of Judaea participated in the Diaspora unrest of the time, to be sure, but prudence on the part of the Romans must have required some strengthening of the provincial garrison in anticipation of trouble<sup>131</sup>. This is clearly reflected in the doubling of the legionary forces stationed in the province through the arrival, probably from Syria, of the Legio II Traiana around 117, possibly to construct and garrison the new fortress of Caparcotna in Galilee<sup>132</sup>. The same unease must surely account also for the extensive programme of road-building, especially in Galilee, also datable to the early years of Hadrian's reign<sup>133</sup>. That this increase in military activity in Judaea during the first decade of Hadrian's reign included also some enlargement of the auxiliary forces of the province is thus more than likely. Yet the evidence for this is very limited. Of the 15 units known to have formed part of the provincial garrison in the years immediately following the Bar-Kokhba War, only one is known for certain to have been serving in the pre-war years. This was the Cohors I Thracum milliaria whose presence in the year 124 at En-Gedi, an oasis settlement on the western shore of the Dead Sea, is documented in one of the papyri from the Cave of the Letters<sup>134</sup>. Its presence at En-Gedi is also suggested by the discovery there of a bathhouse of military type that must have served the garrison stationed there<sup>135</sup>. Evidence for its construction early in Hadrian's reign points to the arrival of the regiment, probably from its previous station on the Euphrates, around this time<sup>136</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> Recent opinion about events in Judaea during the period 115–117 ranges from full-scale war (H. BIETENHARD, *Die Freiheitskriege der Juden unter den Kaisern Trajan und Hadrian und der messianische Tempelbau*. *Judaica* 4, 1948, 69–73; M. AVI-YONAH, *When did Judaea become a Consular Province?* *Israel Explor. Journal* 23, 1973, 213; M. PUCCI, *La rivolta ebraica al tempo di Traiano* [1981] 104–119) to "upheavals . . . that had to be repressed . . . but can hardly have come to real war" (SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People* 1, 533 f.; SMALLWOOD, *Jews under Roman Rule* 421–427; APPLEBAUM, *Prolegomena* 18; ISAAC/OPPENHEIMER [note 85] 50–51, esp. nn. 70–72). See also C. BRUUN, *The Spurious 'Expeditio Iudaeae' under Trajan*. *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 93, 1992, 99–106 for a sceptical review of some of the evidence in favour of a Jewish rebellion in the time of Trajan. MOR (note 54) esp. 579 f. discounts any hostilities in Judaea around 116–117, arguing for reinforcement of the provincial auxiliary garrison of Judaea only on the outbreak of hostilities in 132.

<sup>132</sup> The evidence for the arrival of this legion ca. 117 is recent, see B. ISAAC/I. ROLL, *Legio II Traiana in Judaea*. *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 33, 1979, 149–156; 47, 1982, 131 f. (response to criticism by J. R. REA, *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 38, 1980, 220 f.) also B. ISAAC/I. ROLL, *Judaea in the Early Years of Hadrian's Reign*. *Latomus* 38, 1979, 54–66. The doubling of the legionary garrison probably coincided in fact with the raising of Judaea's status to a consular province, an event marked by the appointment of the consular Lusius Quietus, L. F. J. KEEPIE, *The Legionary Garrison of Judaea under Hadrian*. *Latomus* 33, 1973, 859–864; W. ECK, *Zum konsularen Status von Iudaea im frühen 2. Jh.* *Bull. Am. Soc. Papyr.* 20, 1983, 55–67. For general review of the subject, ISAAC/OPPENHEIMER (note 85) 50 f., esp. nn. 73–75.

<sup>133</sup> ISAAC/ROLL, *Latomus* 38, 1979, 54–66.

<sup>134</sup> LEWIS (note 85) P. 11 pp. 41–46.

<sup>135</sup> B. MAZAR/T. DOTHAN/I. DUNAYEVSKY, *En-Gedi. The Third Season of Excavation*. *Israel Explor. Journal* 14, 1964, 128–130; En-Gedi. *The Fourth and Fifth Seasons of Excavations*. *Israel Explor. Journal* 17, 1967, 142 f. The recent discovery at Capernaum of a small bathhouse very similar in design to those found at early Antonine sites in Scotland points to the presence of another auxiliary detachment, as yet unidentified, policing the road from Tiberias to the Jordan crossing.

<sup>136</sup> R. STUCKY, *Tell el-Hajja* 1972. *Ann. Arch. Arabes Syriennes* 25, 1975, 167 f.; E. DABROWA, *The Frontier in Syria in the First Century A.D.* In: FREEMAN/KENNEDY (note 54) 100; 102 n. 10.



Of the fourteen other units listed in the Aphek diploma as serving in the province after the War several are known to have been already serving in other eastern provinces at some period in the half century preceding the War. These include both the Ala Antiana Gallorum et Thracum and the Ala Gallorum et Thracum constantium, the Cohortes I Sebastena, I Flavia c. R. and IIII Bracaraugustanorum, all part of the auxiliary army of Syria under Domitian, and the Cohors I Damascenorum, probably stationed in Egypt until shortly before the outbreak of war<sup>137</sup>. It is also certain that those regiments originally raised by Trajan in preparation for the major military initiatives of his reign in the east and bearing his family name, the Cohortes I and II Ulpiae Galatarum and the Cohortes IIII and VI Ulpiae Petraeorum were also assigned to garrison the eastern provinces at the close of the Parthian campaign<sup>138</sup>. Their proximity to Judaea readily explains the participation of all of these units in the Jewish War itself, but it is also possible that at least some of them had already moved to Judaea along with the Cohors I Thracum milliaria, to strengthen the provincial garrison after the Jewish unrest of 117.

The two most probable candidates from the post-war roster of *auxilia* to have fulfilled this role are the Ala VII Phrygum and the Cohors IIII Bracaraugustanorum. In the case of the first there exists the *cursus* of an equestrian officer whose command of the VII Phrygum followed his tribunate in the Legio X Fretensis, permanently based in Judaea<sup>139</sup>. Since promotions involving transfers between units stationed in the same region or even province were not infrequent in the military advancement of equestrians, it is quite possible that the Ala VII Phrygum was already serving in Judaea in the early years of Hadrian's reign when the newly promoted *praefectus* is thought to have assumed his command. Another equestrian *cursus*, also datable to the reign of Hadrian, supplies the information that the cohors IIII Bracaraugustanorum was stationed in Judaea when the individual named in the inscription was holding his command<sup>140</sup>. This text of course could refer to any year before the renaming of Judaea as Syria-Palaestina, probably in 135, and does not preclude a date during the course of the War itself. It is just as likely, however, that the officer concerned held his command at some interval before the outbreak of hostilities.

On the basis of the evidence, therefore, we may identify only the Cohors I Thracum milliaria as certainly belonging to the auxiliary army of Judaea in the years preceding the Bar-Kokhba War. Besides this we have only four other possible units that may be assigned to Judaea in this period; the Ala VII Phrygum and the Cohors IIII Bracaraugustanorum of those listed in the post-war diplomas of Syria-Palestine for whose presence in Judaea before the outbreak of war there exists circumstantial evidence; and the Cohortes I Hispanorum and II Cantabrorum listed in pre-war diplomas whose participation in the Judaeian auxiliary garrison before the War is presumed *ex silentio*, but which had ceased to be part of that garrison after the War.

<sup>137</sup> For the Syrian units, CIL XVI 35 and RMD I 3 (7 Nov. 88) and RMD I 4 (12 May, 91); for the Cohors I Damascenorum, *supra* p. 86.

<sup>138</sup> SPEIDEL (note 97) 719 f.; KENNEDY, *Auxilia and Numeri* 334.

<sup>139</sup> CIL VI 1838 = ILS 2727; DEVIJVER, *PME*, A 182.

<sup>140</sup> Inscript. Lat. Algérie 2,1, 671 = CIL VIII 7079 = ILS 5549.



## 7. *Prosopography of the Diploma*

The only names missing that one would expect to find in a diploma of this period are those of the provincial governor of Syria-Palestine, which would have appeared in the body of the *constitutio* preceding the surviving text, the second consul, and the recipient's second son and perhaps his fourth son or a daughter in the missing right hand portions of lines 4, 9 and 10 respectively. The considerable variation in the size of lettering and spacing employed in these names might suggest that they were added at a later date to a text already prepared<sup>141</sup>. For example, the smaller lettering of the first consul's name, with the awkward projection of the initial L of his praenomen into the left margin of line 4 might reflect the need to compress two lengthy names into a space inadequate for the purpose. Conversely, the inordinately wide spacing apparent in the name of the unit and its commander, as well as the larger letter-size employed for the latter in lines 5 and 6, might suggest the need to anticipate units and officers with complex titles and longer names than those of the Cohors Prima Damascenorum and the *praefectus* in command at the time of issue. Similar considerations could also account for the wide spacing employed in line 8 for the name of the recipient and his filiation.

### a) The Consul: L. Aquilius Veiento (line 4)

Of the two consuls in office at the time when this diploma was issued, the name of only one appears on the fragment. Although all the elements of his name survive, nothing is known about him as an individual, this being his first recorded appearance. Both his *nomen gentilicium* and *cognomen*, however, are to be found as the final component in the name of the polyonymous C. Bruttius Praesens, *consul ordinarius* in both 153 and 180<sup>142</sup>. This fact implies that there was some form of family relationship between the two men, either through marriage or adoption. As we have seen, the L. Aquilius Veiento named in this diploma probably served as *consul suffectus* in 136 or 137<sup>143</sup>.

The *cognomen* Veiento is probably a variant of the ethnic Veiens, denoting an inhabitant of the Etruscan city of Veii located north of Rome. The form of the word itself may even be Etruscan in origin<sup>144</sup>. The name is well attested during the republican period, Kajanto noting 13 occurrences in CIL, for the most part from Rome and northern Italy<sup>145</sup>. Apart from the individual named here, the only other person with the *cognomen* Veiento to achieve senatorial rank under the Empire appears to be Fabricius Veiento who held the consulship as *suffectus* on three occasions, the latest being around 85<sup>146</sup>. It is possible that the consul named in this diploma was descended from Fabricius Veiento, perhaps on his mother's side<sup>147</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> I owe this suggestion to Dr. Margaret Roxan.

<sup>142</sup> DEGRASSI (note 25) 43; 180; CIL X 408 = ILS 1117; PIR I<sup>2</sup> B 165; RE III (1897) 913 f. s. v. C. Bruttius Praesens (HENZE).

<sup>143</sup> See *supra* p. 77.

<sup>144</sup> I. KAJANTO, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965) 119; 189 f. On the Etruscan association of various gentile names containing the same element *Vei*, e.g. Veienius, Veienus, Veionius, W. SCHULTZE, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* <sup>2</sup>(1966) 251; 377.

<sup>145</sup> KAJANTO (note 144) 190.

<sup>146</sup> RE VI (1909) 1938–1942 s. v. Fabricius Veiento (GROAG); PIR III<sup>2</sup> F 91.

<sup>147</sup> I owe this suggestion to Prof. Werner Eck.



## b) The Commanding Officer: C. Iulius Cle[mens] (line 6)

The name of the *praefectus* of the cohort in which the recipient served is defective, with only the initial three letters of his *cognomen* surviving, CLE. Yet this suffices to restore with confidence his *cognomen* as CLE[MENS], one of the commonest of the group of *cognomina* originally emphasizing gentleness of character and popular amongst slaves and freedmen. Over 500 instances from the Imperial period recording free men with this *cognomen* occur in CIL<sup>148</sup>. The combination of Clemens with the *gentilicium* Julius is not uncommon, but without the name of his city of origin to distinguish him or his family, information that would have appeared in the right half of the line, further speculation about his identity is futile<sup>149</sup>.

## c) The Recipient: Papas Cilli [f(ilius)] . . . (line 8)

The name of the recipient together with his filiation occupies the left end of the line, while his city of origin or tribe would have appeared in the missing right portion of the *tabella*<sup>150</sup>. Though occurring in various other parts of the eastern Roman Empire, the name Papas is distinctively Anatolian. Examples of it and its variants, Papos and Papes, have been recorded in virtually every region of Asia Minor, including Rough Cilicia<sup>151</sup>. The father's name CILLIS or CILLOS is also readily identifiable as Anatolian<sup>152</sup>. In this case distribution is largely restricted to southern Asia Minor, and especially Rough Cilicia. The earliest occurrence of the name, in the form KLŠ, appears in a Phoenician inscription from the mountain site of Cebel Ires generally identified with the classical city of Laertes<sup>153</sup>. The same site has also produced one other instance of the name in the form Killis from the imperial period<sup>154</sup>. Two further examples of the name have also been noted at the city of Kestros, situated near the coast about 50 kilometres northwest of Anamur<sup>155</sup>. The name is also associated with cities in the mountainous interior of the same region such as Coropissus, Germanicopolis and Adrassos, all cities of the so-called Isaurian Dekapolis in the tribal territory

<sup>148</sup> KAJANTO (note 144) 66; 68 f.; 263.

<sup>149</sup> Another C. Iulius Clemens, for example, is listed as a witness in auxiliary diplomas dated 80–92 (CIL XVI 28; 30; 36). No other equestrian military officer of this name, however, appears in DEVIJVER, PME.

<sup>150</sup> Although the normal practice in the Greek-speaking eastern provinces was to identify veterans by their city, exceptions sometimes occur in the case of individuals from less urbanized regions such as Ituraea (CIL XVI 57), Cappadocia (RMD I 24), and Isauria (RMD I 34).

<sup>151</sup> L. ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (1964) 406–409; L. ROBERT, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie mineure gréco-romaine* 1. *Bibl. de l'Inst. Français d'Arch. d'Istanbul* 3 (1963) 513; C. BRIXHE, *Le dialecte grec de Pamphylie*. *Bibl. de l'Inst. Français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul* 26 (1976) no. 34 p. 217. Examples of the name and its variants in Rough Cilicia are concentrated in the Upper Valley of the south branch of the Calycadnus and southern Isauria, see BEAN/MITTFORD (note 6) nos. 110; 132–133; 137; 140; 143; 220; 244–245; 258; 260.

<sup>152</sup> No examples of Killis are listed in Zgusta, but variants (e.g. Kilos, Killes, Killas) are recorded (ZGUSTA [note 151] 230 f.). The name is discussed by BRIXHE (note 151) 157 pp. 280 f. and ROBERT (note 151) 400 n. 4.

<sup>153</sup> P. MOSCA/J. RUSSELL, *A Phoenician Inscription from Cebel Ires Dağı in Cilicia*. *Epigr. Anatolica* 9, 1987, 1–27.

<sup>154</sup> G. E. BEAN/T. B. MITTFORD, *Sites Old and New in Rough Cilicia*. *Anatolian Stud.* 12, 1962, 202 no. 21.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.* 214 nos. 40; 41.



of Cietis<sup>156</sup>. Even where the name Killis appears in other parts of the eastern Empire, the individuals are sometimes identified as originating from cities in southern Asia Minor, such as Aspendos in Pamphylia or the region of Lallasis, another of the tribal subdivisions of Rough Cilicia<sup>157</sup>.

d) The Recipient's Sons: Gellius and Paulus (lines 9 and 10)

In the two lines following the recipient's name and origin came the names of two sons in the surviving portion of the diploma, with the strong likelihood that the name of a third son appeared in the missing right half of line 9 and that of a fourth son or daughter in the corresponding position of line 10<sup>158</sup>. The absence of a wife in this diploma may be noted, though the phenomenon is by no means unusual<sup>159</sup>. The omission of the mother of his children in the list of beneficiaries of the *constitutio* must surely mean that she was already dead at the time of his discharge.

In marked contrast to the native Anatolian character of the names of the recipient and his father, the names of his two sons are unequivocally Roman, Gellius being a standard *gentilicium*, while Paulus was normally employed as a *cognomen*<sup>160</sup>. It is unlikely, however, that the father paid any heed to traditional Roman usage in naming his children. While it is just possible that Paulus may have acquired his name from his tiny stature or his junior standing in the family, it is more probable that both names reflect the Roman aspirations of their father<sup>161</sup>. One might speculate that he named his sons after officers under whom he had served and who had earned his respect.

## 8. Identity of the diploma's provenance at Kalın Ören (fig. 5)

The existence of an ancient settlement at Kalın Ören is evident in the substantial remains still standing both in the village itself and on the summit of the steep hill that rises to a height of ca. 200 m above the village to the north<sup>162</sup>. This gives the impression of an upper and a lower town. In the lower settlement most of the standing structures, including a Christian basilica and the remains of a defensive curtain with tow-

<sup>156</sup> BEAN/MITFORD (note 6) no. 226 pp. 202 f. (from Damlaçalı near Ermenek); no. 241b p. 213 (from Kör-istan, Gökdere) for mention of natives of Coropissos and Germanicopolis; HEBERDEY/WILHELM (note 4) no. 212 p. 127 (for native of Adrassos).

<sup>157</sup> For Εὐμηλος Κυλλέους Ἀσπένδιος from Amathous on Cyprus, SEG 29 (1979) 1539. For Ἀρτεμίδωρος Κυλλέους Λαλασσέως from Syene in Upper Egypt, SEG 28 (1978) 1489.

<sup>158</sup> See *supra* p. 71; 101. The normal practice in listing veterans' children in diplomas was to name sons first with the abbreviation F(*ilius*), followed by daughters with the abbreviation FIL(*ia*). In this text only the presumed child in the right half of line 10 could be female.

<sup>159</sup> For a table with the relevant statistics, M. M. ROXAN, Women on the Frontiers. In: V. A. MAXFIELD/M. J. DOBSON (eds.), Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proc. of the 15th Int. Congress of Roman Frontier Stud. (1991) Table 3 p. 466.

<sup>160</sup> For Gellius, SCHULTZE (note 144) 424, and for its rare use as a *praenomen*, 519 n. 2; for Paulus, KAJANTO (note 144) 243 f. 294.

<sup>161</sup> For Paul(l)us as a *praenomen*, KAJANTO (note 144) 41; SCHULTZE (note 144) 503 n. 3.

<sup>162</sup> HEBERDEY/WILHELM (note 4) 157 f.; BEAN/MITFORD (note 4) 43 f.; HILD/HELLENKEMPER (note 6) 447 f. s. v. Titiopolis, pls. 391–396.



ers at irregular intervals, are datable to Late Antiquity<sup>163</sup>. The most striking building, however, is a set of baths containing at least four chambers. Its style of construction involving much use of brick and concrete is markedly similar to the large public bath complexes of Anemurium dating to the later second and first half of the third century. In the upper city early Christian remains in the form of two substantial basilicas with other structures bounded by an enclosure wall dominate the crest of the hill<sup>164</sup>. There is ample evidence of buildings of earlier date, especially on the lower ridge to the east that links the isolated hill above the village to the main mountain mass. Here lies a fairly extensive cemetery with sarcophagi, some adorned with relief decoration, resting on *chamosoria*, and several built tomb chambers in rubble masonry<sup>165</sup>. Exceptional amongst these is a fine heroon-type building in ashlar masonry, its side walls still standing to full height in places, but its collapsed columnar facade and entablature strewn in confusion down the slope. At a somewhat lower level to the north stands a well preserved bath-building of modest size with three parallel chambers supplied by water from a nearby springhouse, perhaps of Hellenistic construction<sup>166</sup>. Surface pottery found scattered around the cemetery and in the vicinity of the upper baths, much of it exposed as the result of illicit excavation, confirms activity in this part of the site ranging over the first three centuries after Christ<sup>167</sup>.

As mentioned previously, the identity of this site remains uncertain, but the fact that two inscriptions discovered by Heberdey and Wilhelm in 1891 both containing the formula ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος has prompted the belief that the settlement enjoyed full civic status<sup>168</sup>. For this reason Bean and Mitford sought to identify the site amongst those cities of Rough Cilicia recorded in ancient sources, but whose location remains to be established. Their choice was Titiopolis, which invariably appears as the neighbour of Anemurium in the secular and ecclesiastical *notitiae* of Late Antiquity containing the names of the cities of coastal Isauria<sup>169</sup>. The close proximity of Kalın Ören to Anemurium, a mere seven kilometres distant, seemed to satisfy the requirements of this identification.

Like most of the small cities of this remote region, little is known of the history of Titiopolis, though it was probably named in honor of Marcus Titius, a leading supporter of Mark Antony in the years before Actium<sup>170</sup>. Its foundation would therefore

<sup>163</sup> H. HELLENKEMPER, Legionen im Bandenkrieg. Isaurien im 4. Jh. In: Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III (note 70) 631 figs. 11–13; HILD/HELLENKEMPER (note 6) pls. 391–392.

<sup>164</sup> HILD/HELLENKEMPER (note 6) pls. 393–395.

<sup>165</sup> For an illustration of the most elaborate of the decorated scenes, HEBERDEY/WILHELM (note 4) 158.

<sup>166</sup> HILD/HELLENKEMPER (note 6) pl. 396.

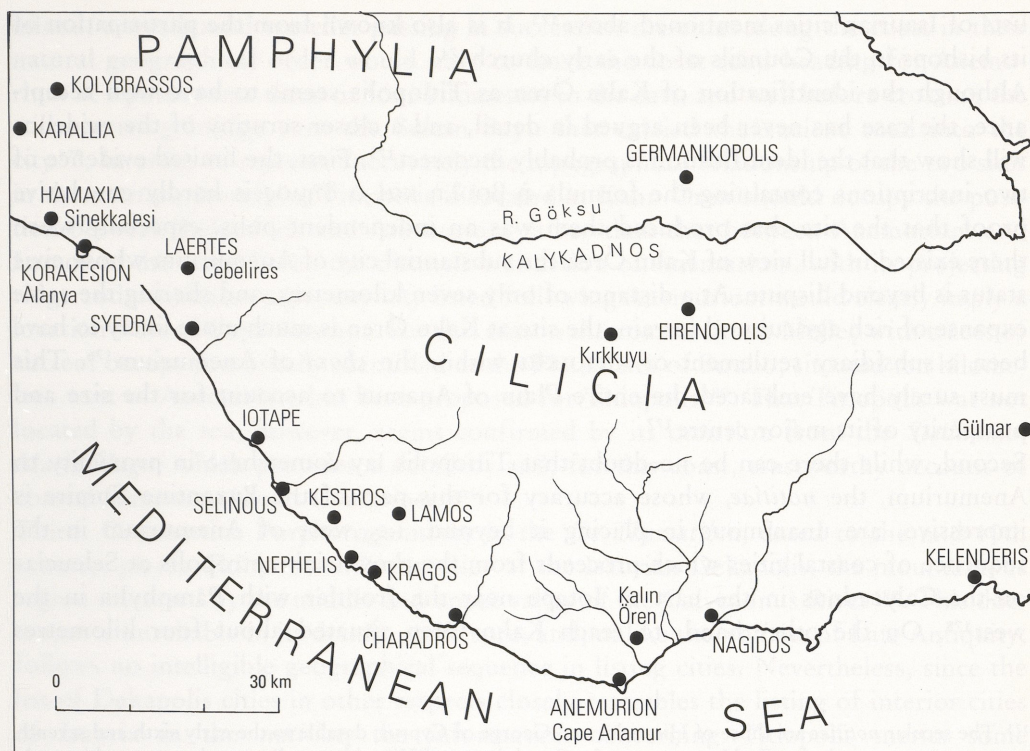
<sup>167</sup> Sherds were collected during a visit to the site in 1978 under the supervision of Bay Mehmet Bilici, then assistant at the Adana Museum and serving as government representative at the Anemurium excavation. They are now deposited in the Anamur Museum. I am indebted to Dr. Caroline Williams for information on the dating of this material.

<sup>168</sup> For the inscriptions, HEBERDEY/WILHELM (note 4) nos. 264; 265 pp. 157 f.; BEAN/MITFORD (note 4) no. 47 pp. 43 f.

<sup>169</sup> In their original discussion of the site BEAN/MITFORD *ibid.* suggested Musbanda, another city of the Isaurian hinterland, as a possible identity for the site. This suggestion, which appears without question-mark in J. G. C. ANDERSON, Classical Map of Asia Minor (rev. ed. W. M. Calder/G. E. Bean) (1958), was decisively rejected by L. ROBERT, Documents de l'Asie mineure méridionale (1966) 72–74. For Kalın Ören as Titiopolis, BEAN/MITFORD (note 6) 189.

<sup>170</sup> For the history of Titiopolis, RE VI A (1937) 1553–1554 s.v. Titiopolis (W. RUGE); Titiopolis would





5 Roman Cilicia and findspot of military diploma.

date to the 30's B.C., during the short period when most of Tracheia was under Cleopatra's control, having been presented to her by Antony<sup>171</sup>. The city seems to have flourished under the Empire, at least to the extent of minting its own coinage for well over a century from the time of Domitian to Caracalla<sup>172</sup>. Its continued significance in Late Antiquity is reflected by its regular appearance in the secular and ecclesiastical

have been one of two cities honored in this way, the other being Domitiopolis named after L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, another of Antony's adherents, a suggestion originally proposed by R. Syme, see A. H. M. JONES, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1971) 206, esp. 439 n. 30; T. B. MITFORD, *Roman Rough Cilicia*. In: ANRW II 7,2 (1980) 1241; R. SYME, *Isauria in Pliny*. *Anatolian Stud.* 36, 1986, 161.

<sup>171</sup> STRAB. 14,5,3 (C 669). D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century A.D.* (1960) 49 dates this donation to early in 36 B.C.

<sup>172</sup> E. LEVANTE, *The Coinage of Titiopolis in Cilicia*. *Num. Chronicle* 142, 1982, 134–137 pls. 38–39; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Switzerland 1. Levante-Cilicia nos. 523–529; Levante-Cilicia Suppl. 1, nos. 123–127; *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, France 2. Cabinet des Médailles, Cilicia nos. 721–725; R. ZIEGLER, *Münzen Kilikiens aus kleineren deutschen Sammlungen*. *Vestigia* 42 (1989) nos. 236–238. In his discussion of the coinage of this city Levante corrects the misconception that places Titiopolis in the tribal territory of Cietis on the basis of a coin inscription (e.g. JONES [note 170] 195; MITFORD [note 170] 1245). The coin in question, of Caracalla and Geta, is badly worn and the letters that G. F. Hill read as KI or KH (for Kietis, BMC Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia p. lxi) are quite unclear (LEVANTE 134–136 pl. 39 no. 11).



lists of Isaurian cities mentioned above<sup>173</sup>. It is also known from the participation of its bishops in the Councils of the early church<sup>174</sup>.

Although the identification of Kalin Ören as Titiopolis seems to have won acceptance, the case has never been argued in detail, and a closer scrutiny of the evidence will show that the identification is probably incorrect<sup>175</sup>. First, the limited evidence of two inscriptions containing the formula *ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος* is hardly conclusive proof that the site that produced them was an independent polis, especially when there existed in full view of Kalin Ören the substantial city of Anemurium whose civic status is beyond dispute. At a distance of only seven kilometres, and sharing the same expanse of rich agricultural terrain, the site at Kalin Ören is much more likely to have been a subsidiary settlement or *κατοικία* within the *chora* of Anemurium<sup>176</sup>. This must surely have embraced the entire Plain of Anamur to account for the size and prosperity of its major centre<sup>177</sup>.

Second, while there can be no doubt that Titiopolis lay somewhere in proximity to Anemurium, the *notitiae*, whose accuracy for this part of the Byzantine Empire is impressive, are unanimous in placing it beyond, i.e. west of Anemurium in the sequence of coastal cities which proceeds from the provincial metropolis at Seleucia-on-the-Calycadnus in the east to Iotape near the frontier with Pamphylia in the west<sup>178</sup>. On the other hand, to reach Kalin Ören situated about four kilometres

<sup>173</sup> The secular *notitiae* are those of Hierocles and George of Cyprus, datable to the early sixth and seventh centuries respectively, E. HONIGMANN, *Le Synèkdèmos d'Hiéròklès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre. Forma Imperii Byzantini* 1 (1939); HIEROCLES sect. 709, 1 pp. 38–41; GEORGE OF CYPRUS 1,832 ff. p. 62. For the lists of bishoprics, ranging in date from the seventh century onwards, J. DARROUZÈS, *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (1981) esp. *notitiae* 3 (522), 7 (515), 10 (735), 13 (497); also E. HONIGMANN, *Studien zur Notitia Antiochena*. *Byzantinische Zeitschr.* 25, 1925, 74 f. 81.

<sup>174</sup> Artemios at the Council of Constantinople in 381 (Mansi III 569); Mampretos (Mansi VI 575) or Mampreos (Mansi VII 402), both corrupt variants of Pamprepios, at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 (F. NAU/J. RUFUS, *Plerophoriae*. *Patrologia Orientalis* 8 [1912] 43; 47), and his successor after 468, Peter (*ibid.* 47; 52); E. HONIGMANN, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orient.*, *Subsidia* 2 (1951) 92; *id.*, *The Original Lists of the Members of the Council of Nicaea, the Robber Synod and the Council of Chalcedon*. *Byzantion* 16, 1942/43, 58; 67 f. n. 128.

<sup>175</sup> For acceptance, HILD/HELLENKEMPER (note 6) 447; K. HOPWOOD, *The Links between the Coastal Cities of Western Rough Cilicia and the Interior during the Roman Period*. In: *De Anatolia antiqua* 1. *Bibl. de l'Inst. Français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul* 32 (1991) 306.

<sup>176</sup> BEAN/MITFORD (note 4) 43 suggest that the settlement at Kalin Ören acquired full civic status only in the early third century. On the other hand, the same scholars describe two other sites with substantial settlements from the same region that have produced inscriptions referring to "Council and People" and are as distant, if not further, from the nearest polis as Kalin Ören from Anemurium. In neither case, however, do they propose full civic status for the communities in question. For the settlement at Taşahır, eight kilometres from Casae in western Pamphylia, the community's dependent status is implied by the addition of the city's name (*τῆς Κασατῶν πόλεως*) to the formula (BEAN/MITFORD [note 6] 43–45). Even without an identifying polis there seems little doubt that the settlement at Direvli in western Rough Cilicia was a dependency of the city of Lamos located nine kilometres away at Adanda Kalesi, to which the dedication naming the People found at Direvli must refer (BEAN/MITFORD [note 6] no. 192 p. 176).

<sup>177</sup> The prosperity of the plain in antiquity is reflected in the number of village sites whose remains are still recognizable despite the rapid increase in population and intensive agricultural development in recent decades.

<sup>178</sup> The secular lists and *Notitia I* of the bishoprics observe the following sequence; Seleukeia, Kelenderis, Anemourion, Titiopolis, Lamos, Antiocheia, Juliosebaste, Kestroi, Selinos, Iotape. The later ecclesiasti-



inland, a westbound traveller passing in succession the cities along the coast in their natural geographical order would have to leave the coast road heading for Anemurium at a point some three or four kilometres to the east, and well before crossing the still surviving bridge over the Sultan Suyu that carried the ancient road into the city<sup>179</sup>. In order to represent accurately the topographical relationship of the two sites in the *notitiae*, therefore, Titiopolis if located at Kalın Ören should occupy the position between Kelenderis and Anemurium rather than that between Anemurium and Lamos to the west. Given the distinctive situation of Anemurium, with its projecting ridge and prominent cape, any city listed following Anemurium would clearly imply a location west of Cape Anamur. For this reason the coastal site at Melleç with traces of ancient occupation usually identified as the Platanistes of Strabo, situated ten kilometres west of Anemurium has been proposed for Titiopolis<sup>180</sup>. That Titiopolis was not located by the sea, however, seems confirmed by its omission from the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* which provides a detailed, and, for this coast, trustworthy account of coastal features relevant to mariners<sup>181</sup>.

Third, Constantine Porphyrogenetos in the *De Thematibus*, dated to the mid 10th century, places Titiopolis with the cities of the Isaurian Dekapolis, the mountainous region traversed by the middle and upper valley of the Calycadnus River<sup>182</sup>. This document is unreliable in its details, to be sure, and, unlike the *notitiae* of Late Antiquity, follows no intelligible geographical sequence in listing cities. Nevertheless, since the list of Dekapolis cities in other respects closely resembles the listing of interior cities of Isauria in the *notitiae*, the information concerning Titiopolis merits some respect<sup>183</sup>. In any case, the absence of Titiopolis from the *Stadiasmus*, the lack of any suitable ancient sites on the coast within appropriate proximity to Anemurium and the appearance of Titiopolis as an inland site in the *De Thematibus* suggest a location at least some distance from the sea. To accommodate the position of Titiopolis in the *notitiae*, moreover, Titiopolis should also lie near, though not necessarily on, the coast, but unequivocally west of Cape Anamur<sup>184</sup>. All of these considerations seem to

cal *notitiae* nos. 3; 7; 10 and 13 omit Kestroi and Iotape and place Heliousebaste (= Juliosebaste) after Selinos. Of these cities only the sites of Titiopolis and Juliosebaste remain uncertain.

<sup>179</sup> The bridge survives half-buried in the fields about 100 m east of the modern course of the stream and approximately one kilometre from its present mouth.

<sup>180</sup> STRAB. 14,5,3 (C 669); HONIGMANN, *Synekdemos* (note 173) 39 at sect. 709; on Platanistes (or Platanus), HEBERDEY/WILHELM (note 4) 155; HILD/HELLENKEMPER (note 6) 381.

<sup>181</sup> C. MÜLLER (ed.), *Geographi Graeci Minores* 1 (1855) Sect. 198–199 p. 486. The fact that Pamprepios, the Bishop of Titiopolis, returned from the Council of Chalcedon by ship does not prove that the city was situated on the coast, since sea-travel was manifestly the most convenient way of reaching all cities of Isauria from Constantinople regardless of their proximity to the sea, NAU/RUFUS (note 174) 45; HONIGMANN, *Byzantion* 16, 1942/43, 68 n. 129.

<sup>182</sup> A. PERTUSI (ed.), *Costantino Porfirogenito: De Thematibus. Studi e testi* 160 (1952) 77,11.17–18. Titiopolis occupies the position between Germanicopolis and Domitiopolis.

<sup>183</sup> In favor of an inland site for Titiopolis, in conformity with *De Thematibus*, RUGE (note 170) 1553 f. W. TOMASCHKE, *Zur historischen Geographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*. Sitzber. Österr. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl. 124,8 (1891) 59 identifies Titiopolis with the modern settlement of Dindebol in the upper Calycadnus Valley, which is usually thought to be the site of Domitiopolis; also F. HILD, *Die westkilikische Küste von Korakesion bis Anemurion in byzantinischer Zeit*. In: *Byzantios. Festschr.* H. Hunger (1984) 145.

<sup>184</sup> Not all cities listed in the coastal section of the *notitiae* are necessarily located by the sea; Kestroi and Lamos are both inland, at a distance of approximately 2 and 10 kilometres respectively as the crow flies.



eliminate Kalin Ören as a suitable site for Titiopolis. A location for this city should rather be sought in the hinterland north and west of Anemurium, perhaps on the line of the ancient road indicated on the Peutinger Table linking Anemurium with the Calycadnus Valley and continuing to Isaura<sup>185</sup>. That this road followed a route well to the west of Cape Anamur is certain from the traces of its course, including milestones visible at Kırkkuyu, running from southwest to northeast across the desolate plateau between the sea and the Calycadnus<sup>186</sup>.

### 9. *An Auxiliary Foot-Soldier's Career*

Whatever may be the ancient identity of the settlement at Kalin Ören, the discovery somewhere within its vicinity of a Roman military diploma issued to a veteran stationed in Syria-Palestine at the time of his discharge raises interesting questions. The normal practice for veterans on retiring from their units was to settle in the province where they had most recently served, often close to the fort that housed their regiment. From recent studies in which findspots are related to the personal information about the recipient contained in the diplomas concerned, this was evidently the preferred choice of venue in retirement for around 75% of veterans<sup>187</sup>. A minority, however, preferred to leave their province of service, often undertaking a long journey to return to their homeland, or, less frequently, that of their wives, or a province where they had served at an earlier stage in their career<sup>188</sup>. The unmistakable Anatolian character of his own name and the Isaurian parallels for his father's name clearly indicate that Papas was one of those returning to the region of his birth<sup>189</sup>. In doing so he

<sup>185</sup> K. MILLER, *Itineraria Romana. Röm. Reisewege an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana dargestellt* (1916) Segment X 2. The road might well have passed the site of Kalin Ören, as proposed by BEAN/MITFORD (note 6) 189, but this cannot be identified with the figure of XV miles indicated in the Peutinger Table, since Kalin Ören is hardly four miles distant from Anemurium. On the other hand, the figure obviously cannot represent the entire mileage between Anemurium and Isaura, which in reality was probably about 165 miles. The XV miles must surely represent an intermediate station, the name of which has disappeared from the text. No site large enough to qualify as a polis, however, has come to light in the as yet largely unexplored rugged country north and west of the Plain of Anamur.

<sup>186</sup> It is clearly heading for ancient Irenopolis (Irnebol) before crossing the south branch of the Calycadnus probably at the narrow gorge now crossed by the present Görmel bridge of Ottoman date. In addition to the milestones of Hadrian and Septimius Severus recorded by BEAN/MITFORD (note 6) nos. 210–211 pp. 189–191 is a third of Marcus Aurelius, as yet unpublished dated 168–169, most of which is now in the Anamur Museum. Its base, however, remains *in situ* recording a distance of fourteen miles.

<sup>187</sup> M.-TH. RAEPSAET-CHARLIER, *Le lieu d'installation des vétérans auxiliaires romains d'après les diplômes militaires*. *Ant. Class.* 47, 1978, 557–565; H.-J. KELLNER, *Die Möglichkeit von Rückschlüssen aus der Fundstatistik*. In: *Heer und Integrationspolitik* 241–248; M. M. ROXAN, *Findspots of Military Diplomas of the Roman Army*. In: *The Future of Roman Army Studies*. *Bull. Inst. Arch.* (London) 26, 1990, 127–181.

<sup>188</sup> ROXAN (note 187) analyses individual diplomas in a series of tables based on categories of findspots and identifies 39 cases (out of 189 where the evidence sufficed to determine the facts) in which the recipient on discharge had left his province of service to undertake a long journey to another province (Table VII p. 179).

<sup>189</sup> The missing right hand portion of the text of his diploma would have presumably recorded the precise name of his birthplace, perhaps even identifying Kalin Ören itself or defining its relationship to Anemurium. For examples of Isaurian auxiliaries with the names of small communities associated with the neighboring polis, ROXAN, *RMD II* 133 ("Vicus Vindemis near Claudiopolis in Cilicia") and *RMD II* 131 ("an Isaurian from vicus Callosus").



was following a well-established tendency for soldiers recruited in Asia Minor to retain close ties with their native communities during their years of service which they renewed on retirement by returning home<sup>190</sup>.

Speidel attributes this phenomenon in Asia Minor to the social prestige amongst his fellow countrymen that the soldier enjoyed as a consequence of his military career and the advantage to be gained from this in old age by spending his retirement in his home town<sup>191</sup>. The evidence for the status and rewards to be reaped from their military careers is best documented in the case of legionaries, but that auxiliaries from the same region shared a similar inclination to return home at the end of their service, and for the same reason, may be assumed, though the evidence is less explicit<sup>192</sup>. Nevertheless, the highlands and valleys of Rough Cilicia and southern Lycaonia, traditionally a natural source of mercenaries throughout history, have produced a considerable number of inscriptions recording the presence of veterans in remote communities<sup>193</sup>. Certainly not all were natives of the villages or towns where they resided in retirement, but the distinctive onomastics of this part of Asia Minor make it easy to identify a considerable proportion who were clearly natives of the region. The site of Kalin Ören itself has produced a typical example in a recently discovered gravestone built into the wall of a house in the modern village which occupies the site of the lower of the two ancient settlements<sup>194</sup>. The text commemorates a veteran soldier named  $\chi$  Λούκιος Οὐά[ who had died at the age of 100. Typical of many such texts recording veterans in this part of the Empire, the inscription supplies no details about the individual's unit or service. From the modest scale of their grave memorials, however, it is probably safe to assume that the individuals named in such texts had served in the ranks with the *auxilia*. His ethnic identity offers scope for conjecture. While his *gentilicium* Lucius, and presumably also his defective *praenomen* are unremarkable, his *cognomen*, if restored as Οὐά[ς], would be unequivocally Isaurian<sup>195</sup>.

The presence of two texts concerning retired soldiers with names of local origin out of a total corpus of six inscriptions from a settlement as undistinguished as Kalin Ören is surely a striking coincidence, suggesting that Lucius Ouas [?] and Papas were by no means the only veterans residing in the neighborhood. Moreover, the fact that

<sup>190</sup> This contrasts markedly with the practice in the western provinces where legionaries from those provinces tended to settle down after discharge in the provinces where they had served, G. FORNI, *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano* (1953) 41–50; also ID., *Estrazione etnica e sociale dei soldati delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano*. In: ANRW II 1 (1974) 359–362.

<sup>191</sup> M. P. SPEIDEL, *Legionaries from Asia Minor*. In: ANRW II 7,2 (1980) 743 f. (= Roman Army Studies 1, 60 f.).

<sup>192</sup> For examples of ex-legionaries from this part of the Empire holding office and receiving honors from their fellow citizens, J. RUSSELL, *Cilicia–Nutrix Virorum*. Cilicians Abroad in Peace and War During Hellenistic and Roman Times. In: *De Anatolia Antiqua* 1 (note 175) 289.

<sup>193</sup> For legionary veterans in Cilicia, RUSSELL (note 192) 288 f. Table 1; 293 f., based on SPEIDEL (note 191) 734 f. For soldiers in general, including veterans, in Isauria, but excluding the coastal portion of Tracheia, G. LAMINGER-PASCHER, *Röm. Soldaten in Isaurien*. In: E. WEBER/G. DOBESCH (eds.), *Röm. Geschichte, Altertumskunde und Epigraphik*. Festschr. A. Betz (1985) 381–389.

<sup>194</sup> The inscription was discovered during a visit to the site in 1978 and will be published in detail in a forthcoming article.

<sup>195</sup> Οὐάς, which appears also in variant forms such as Οα, Ουα, Οας, is found exclusively in southern Asia Minor, especially in Pisidia, Lycaonia, and, above all, in Isauria, ZGUSTA (note 151) Sect. 1129,2–4 p. 387. A plausible alternative restoration is Ουά[λης] (Valens), a common soldier's name.



Kalın Ören is not the only site in this part of Asia Minor to produce multiple evidence of soldiers in active service or veterans of local origin associated with the community reinforces the impression of a high rate of enlistment in the Roman military amongst the population of these parts<sup>196</sup>.

The prospect of the status he might enjoy in a community that doubtless included other former soldiers like himself may have provided reason enough for Papas to prefer the Isaurian village of his youth for his retirement years rather than the province where he had spent the last years of his service, with its constant reminders of the grim campaign in which his unit had so recently fought. Yet there was perhaps in Papas's domestic circumstances a further reason that might have led him to undertake the long journey back to his Isaurian home. With no wife included in the list of beneficiaries named in his diploma, but at least three, and probably four children, it is almost certain that Papas was a widower at the time of his discharge<sup>197</sup>. If, as seems likely, some of his children were still quite young, he may well have felt it necessary to seek the assistance of female relatives in his native village in bringing up his family.

If the circumstances surrounding Papas's retirement seem reasonably clear, there is less certainty about his enlistment. His recruitment should be dated at least 25 years before his discharge around 136–137, so that he must have joined the Cohors Prima Damascenorum by 112 at the latest. The whereabouts of this regiment at that time is unknown. It can sometimes be demonstrated, however, that the unit in which the recipient of a diploma had served was stationed in his home province around the time of his enlistment<sup>198</sup>. If this were true in this instance, it would place the Prima Damascenorum in Asia Minor about a decade before its first appearance in Egypt in the 120s<sup>199</sup>.

Alternatively, Papas may have enlisted along with other young men from the region as part of a general levy of new recruits from Rough Cilicia and other provinces with a strong military tradition in order to reinforce units currently under strength in Egypt where good fighting material was less readily available. An excellent illustration of this practice from around the same date may be noted in the 126 *tirones Asiani* recruited from Asia and adjoining provinces ca. 117 and dispatched as a group to Egypt to strengthen the Cohors I Lusitanorum, which is thought to have suffered heavy losses in suppressing the recent Jewish uprising in that province<sup>200</sup>.

<sup>196</sup> For example, Laertes in eastern Pamphylia has produced three military men. Two were natives, one a sailor still in active service (RMD I 38), the other a legionary *signifer* honored by the community. The third was a Syrian auxiliary who spent his retirement there, his wife probably being a native of the place, RUSSELL (note 8) 486 f. Another city that clearly produced auxiliaries in some numbers is the coastal city of Selinus in western Rough Cilicia from which three are known, all sailors appropriately enough (RMD I 44; CIL III 225; N. HANEL, Ein neues Diplom für einen Angehörigen der misenischen Flotte. Bonner Jahrb. 185, 1985, 89–95). On this subject generally, RUSSELL (note 192) 289–292 and Table 2 pp. 296 f.

<sup>197</sup> See *supra* p. 103.

<sup>198</sup> An example of this phenomenon from the region is the recipient of the diploma found at the site of Cebel Ires Dağı (Laertes), a native of Kyrrhos in Syria, who enlisted in the Cohors I Musulamiorum stationed at the time in that province, RUSSELL (note 8) 482 f.; M. P. SPEIDEL, The Soldiers' Homes. In: Heer und Integrationspolitik 467–481.

<sup>199</sup> See *supra* p. 86.

<sup>200</sup> Papiri Greci e Latini. Pubblicazioni della Soc. Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e lat. in Egitto 9



Although the two or three year period between 110 and 113 constituted a relative lull in a time of intense military activity in the eastern Empire, Papas probably did not have to serve long before experiencing vigorous action with his regiment. Trajan's Parthian War may have seen him participating actively in the expeditionary army or at least as part of the limited force left to garrison the frontier provinces of the eastern Empire<sup>201</sup>. After a long period of routine garrison duty somewhere in Egypt during the 120s, Papas will have passed the final years of his career involved in the suppression of the Jewish Revolt of 132–135, by far the most violent action of Hadrian's reign, and in the pacification of the reconstituted province that followed. In contrast to this, retirement in the fertile Plain of Anamur must have seemed idyllic.

## Appendix

### *A History of Auxiliary Regiments Mentioned in Second Century Diplomas of Syria-Palestine*

Until 1976 the only source of information concerning the auxiliary army of Syria-Palestine was the diploma discovered nearly a century ago at Aphek on the Golan Heights, near the Dekapolis city of Hippos above the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee<sup>202</sup>. The appearance in recent years of as many as four new auxiliary diplomas covering a span of fifty years from the reconstitution of the province of Judaea as Syria Palaestina towards the end of Hadrian's Jewish War around 135 provides an appropriate opportunity to review the composition of the province's auxiliary garrison during the second century. A conspectus of all five diplomas in tabular form supplies the basic information at a glance<sup>203</sup>. This is followed by a detailed account of the history of each individual unit from its inception until its latest known whereabouts.

#### *Ala Antiana Gallorum et Thracum Sagittaria*

The first dated evidence for the existence of mixed units of Gauls and Thracians appears in an incomplete diploma of 54 issued to a cavalryman serving in the *Ala Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana*<sup>204</sup>. The diploma records a total complement of five *alae*, but the list of individual units is defective. Although it is uncertain whether the surviving portion of the list contains the names of three or four units, there is no question about the presence of at least two regiments of Gauls and Thracians, one of them being the Antiana<sup>205</sup>. It is

(1929) no. 1063; J. F. GILLIAM, *An Egyptian Cohort in A.D. 117*. In: *Bonner Historia Augusta-Coll.* 1964–65 (1966) 91–97 (= *Roman Army Papers. Mavors* 2 [1986] 309–315).

<sup>201</sup> For the course of this war, F. A. LEPPER, *Trajan's Parthian Campaign* (1948).

<sup>202</sup> CIL XVI 87. The original publication was by DE VILLEFOSSE (note 35); also Rev. *Biblique* 1897, 599 ff.

<sup>203</sup> This table has been adapted from that of the four diplomas of Syria-Palestine presented by ECK (note 38) 454 in his publication of the Köln diploma to include the Kalın Ören diploma. Units are listed in the least abbreviated version in which they appear in each diploma, usually from the exterior face if extant.

<sup>204</sup> CIL XVI 3; only one *tabella* survives; for full discussion, LAMBRINO (note 37) 251–266.

<sup>205</sup> There are conflicting interpretations of the list as it survives. The text reads:

QUAE · APPELLANTUR · VETERANA · GALLORUM ·  
ET · THRAECUM ET · GALL[O]RUM · ET · THRAECUM  
[A]NTIANA · ET · GALLORUM · ET · THRAECUM

Until recently all commentators (including NESSELHAUF in: CIL XVI 3) accepted Lambrino's interpretation of the list as consisting of three *alae*, all of mixed Gallo-Thracian composition, 1) *Veterana Gallorum et Thraecum*, 2) *Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana*, and 3) a third *ala Gallorum et Thraecum* of



*Conspectus of Auxiliary Diplomas of Syria-Palestine*

Date	135/138	Nov. 22, 139	154/161	March 7, 160	November 24-27, 186
Findspot	Kalın Ören	Aphek	Uncertain, Syria-Palestine	Unknown	Hebron
Alae	[ An]t. Gal. et Thr. VII [Phr. ]	Gall. et Thr. Ant. Gall. VII Phry.	[ Ant. [Gall. et Thrac.] [	Gallor. et Thrac. constant. Antian. Gallor. et Trac. sag. VII Phrygum	Antiana Gallor. et Thrac. Antiana
Cohortes	[ [I Seb.?] ∞ I Mont. I Damasc. [ [ [II G]al. III [Brac.] III [Brac.] [ [ [	I Thr. ∞ I Seb. ∞ I Dam. I Mont. I Fl. c.R. I Ulpia Galatar. II Ulpia Galatar. III Brac. III Brac. III Petr. VI Petr. V Gem. c.R.	[ [ I Seb. ∞ [ [ I Flav. [c.R.] [ [ II [I - - - - ? [ [ [VI] Pet[r.]	V Gemell. I Thrac. ∞ I Sebasten. ∞ I Damascenor. sag. I Montanor. I Flavia c.R. I Ulpia Galatar. II Ulpia Galatar. III Gallaec. Bracaraug. IV Gallaec. Bracaraug. IV Ulpia Petreor. VI Ulpia Petreor.	V [Ge]mella c.R. I Thracu. ∞ I Sebaste. ∞ I Damascen[o]r. I Ulp. Galatarum II Ulp. Galatarum III Bracar.



generally believed that these mixed ethnic units were initially composed of Gauls alone and belonged to a larger force of Gallic cavalry, probably raised by Germanicus at the time of his campaigns in Germany from 14 to 16. The Ala Antiana, like a number of other Gallic cavalry regiments, took its name from the individual who raised it, C. Antius<sup>206</sup>. In his role as *legatus* of Germanicus he conducted along with P. Vitellius a census of the Gallic provinces in 16, the event which may have prompted the formation of the regiment<sup>207</sup>.

In a few cases certain Gallic *alae* subsequently received an infusion of Thracian horse-men, resulting in the units concerned having their names changed to reflect their new ethnic composition. The Gallo-Thracian *alae* listed in the diploma of 54 belong to this group<sup>208</sup>. The precise date when these units acquired this new character is uncertain, but the fusion was certainly in progress by the time that the recipient of the diploma, an *eques* named Romaesta, had enlisted, since his name and that of his father, Rescentus, are indisputably Thracian<sup>209</sup>. The recruitment of young Thracians for service in the Roman cavalry *auxilia* was probably intended primarily to enable new recruits from the Danube region to acquire the equestrian skills for which the Gauls were renowned<sup>210</sup>. The Thracian uprising of 26 would also have convinced the Romans of the wisdom of their policy of recruiting potentially rebellious young men from the region into the *auxilia* for service in other provinces, thereby holding them as hostages to ensure the good behaviour of their fellow-countrymen<sup>211</sup>. If this policy had been implemented promptly, the reconstitution of the Ala Antiana Gallorum as a mixed regiment could well have occurred by 30 at the latest. If this were the case, and assuming that Romaesta, the Thracian cavalryman, had enlisted with the initial draft of Thracians he would have been nearing the end of his service when he received his diploma in 54<sup>212</sup>. On the other hand, the induction

unknown identity. Since the continuation of the list appeared on the lost Tabella II, it is uncertain whether the third unit named was distinguished with a title. ROXAN, Pre-Severan Auxilia 62; 70 n. 23 and Table 4, noting the lack of any other reference to a mixed Gallo-Thracian *ala* entitled Veterana has convincingly proposed regrouping the first unit into two separate units, 1) Ala Veterana Gallorum, whose subsequent career is well documented first in Syria and later in Egypt, and 2) an Ala Thracum, either the Herculiana or, more probably, the Ala I Augusta Thracum. See also SADDINGTON, Development 255 f. (addendum ad p. 64).

<sup>206</sup> The practice of naming *alae* after their commanders probably dates back to Caesar (CHEESMAN, Auxilia 24 f.). Under Tiberius and Claudius, however, the practice seems to have been limited to the individual who first formed the unit. LAMBRINO (note 37) 257 f. lists 7 examples, to which may be added the Alae Atectorigiana, Capitoniana, Picentiana (HOLDER, Studies in the Auxilia 21; 27 n. 40; SADDINGTON, Development 147). See also E. BIRLEY, Alae Named after their Commanders. Ancient Soc. 9, 1978, 257–273. The *terminus post quem* for ending the practice of naming auxiliary units after their commander at the time is 27 (SPEIDEL, Aegyptus 62, 1982, 165–167). On C. Antius, PIR I<sup>2</sup> A 780.

<sup>207</sup> TAC. ann. 2,6. There is possibly an early reference to the Ala Antiana in an inscription from Antiochia-in-Pisidia datable between 18 and 38 referring to a praefectus ALAE ANTI. It is normally read as *alae Anti(ochensium)*, but E. Birley reads *Anti(anae)*, DEVIJVER, PME, Incerti no. 65 = Année Épigr. 1926, 82; see also SPEIDEL (note 113) 32 n. 58 (= Roman Army Studies 1, 298 n. 58).

<sup>208</sup> At least one other mixed Gallo-Thracian *ala* is known, the Ala Classiana c.R., first attested as a mixed ethnic unit in a diploma of 122 (CIL XVI 69). The Thracians were not the only peoples selected to form mixed units with certain Alae Gallorum. Of later date are the Ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum and two Alae Gallorum et Pannoniorum. In each case these regiments were mergers of two pre-existing *alae*, KRAFT, Rekrutierung 26–35; HOLDER, Studies in the Auxilia 22.

<sup>209</sup> LAMBRINO (note 37) 264–266.

<sup>210</sup> KRAFT, Rekrutierung 28 stresses this point citing other cases where more Romanized troops were linked with recently formed units from newly conquered peoples to strengthen discipline.

<sup>211</sup> On the Thracian rebellion, TAC. ann. 4,46. It was in part provoked by the Roman intention to dispatch the Thracian *auxilia* to stations far from their native land (*“ut disiecti aliisque nationibus permixti diversas in terras traherentur”*). The rebellion itself would have stiffened Roman resolve to apply this policy to the Thracians. SADDINGTON, Development 85 f.; KRAFT, Rekrutierung 39 f.

<sup>212</sup> For the drafting of Thracians into a newly constituted Ala Antiana ca. 30, H. ROWELL, rev. of Kraft, Rekrutierung. Journal Roman Stud. 43, 1953, 176; HOLDER, Studies in the Auxilia 22. Unfortunately,



of Thracians may have taken place more gradually over a longer period so that the renaming of the unit may only have occurred when the proportion of Thracian recruits was sufficiently numerous to justify the formal act of changing the regiment's title<sup>213</sup>.

When the Antiana first appears in written records in 54 it is brigaded with at least one sister regiment of Gauls and Thracians in the same province<sup>214</sup>. Unfortunately the name of the province is missing in the lost *tabella* of the document, but it was initially thought that at the time of issue in 54 the units were stationed on the lower Danube in Moesia<sup>215</sup>. The subsequent discovery of a diploma with the names of both the Antiana and another Ala Gallorum et Thracum, entitled constantium, listed among the units stationed in Syria on the date of issue in 88, however, together with the separate appearance of the Ala Veterana Gallorum, also named in the diploma of 54, included in the provincial garrison listed on another Syrian diploma issued on the same date as the first, points to Syria as the likeliest province of service for all three units thirty four years earlier<sup>216</sup>. It is even conceivable that the Gallo-Thracian *alae* had been assigned as a group to Syria from the time of their original formation as mixed ethnic units. A long sojourn in Syria with local enlistment of new recruits with skill as bowmen, a specialty of the region, might certainly account for the transformation of the Ala Antiana into a regiment of mounted archers with the title *sagittaria*<sup>217</sup>.

There is a gap of about half a century between the Ala Antiana's presence in Syria in 88 and its next appearance in Syria-Palestine. This is recorded in the Aphek diploma of 139 where the presence of two Gallo-Thracian *alae* is presumed in the list of auxiliary units, the first named without title as GALL(orum) ET THR(acum), and the second the Ala Antiana in abbreviated form ANT(iana) GALL(orum)<sup>218</sup>. The Kaln Ören fragment, in which the unit is represented in less abbreviated form as ANJT(iana) GAL(lorum) ET THR(acum), confirms the identification of the *ala* named in the Aphek diploma and establishes its presence in Syria-Palestine during the last years of Hadrian's reign, having probably arrived there sometime during the Bar-Kokhba Rebellion. It is tempting to associate the enlistment of Serpodius, the recipient of the Köln diploma of 160, with these events. A native of Telmessos (modern Fethiye) in Lycia, he must have joined the regiment towards the end of 134 or beginning of 135, perhaps in conjunction with a general levy of recruits from other eastern provinces to reinforce units weakened by heavy casualties suffered in the bitter fighting of the Jewish War<sup>219</sup>.

however, since auxiliary diplomas under the Julio-Claudians were issued to soldiers still in service rather than at the time of discharge (Alföldy-Mann Type I), the date of issue provides no clue to the date of his enlistment, as is the case with diplomas issued to veterans at the end of 25 or more years of service.

<sup>213</sup> Others believe that the mixed unit was created by merging two pre-existing separate *alae*, one of Gauls and one of Thracians. Romaesta would originally have enlisted in the latter, but by the time of his discharge he was a member of a mixed *ala*, the creation of which may have been a relatively recent occurrence. LAMBRINO (note 37) 256 f.; STEIN, Kaiserliche Beamte und Truppenkörper 122; WAGNER, Dislokation 40–42; MELLOR (note 37) 182.

<sup>214</sup> If the traditional interpretation is accepted there would also have been a third Gallo-Thracian *ala*, Veterana Gallorum et Thracum (CIL XVI 3); see *supra* n. 205.

<sup>215</sup> In favour of Moesia, LAMBRINO (note 37) 261 f.; STEIN, Kaiserliche Beamte und Truppenkörper 122; J. BENEŠ, Die röm. Auxiliaformationen im unteren Donauraum. Sborník Prací Fil. Fak. Brno 19, 1970, 160 n. 2.

<sup>216</sup> RMD I 3 (... Gallorum et Thracum constantium et ... Gallorum et Thracum Antiana); CIL XVI 35 (Veterana Gallica). It should be noted that the Veterana Gallica is generally identified with the first unit listed in the diploma of 54, regardless of which alternative interpretation of the composition of the list is accepted, e.g. NESSELHAUF in: CIL XVI 3 n. 2; ROXAN, Pre-Severan Auxilia 62 Table IV. In favour of an unspecified eastern province, NESSELHAUF *ibid.*; for Syria, KRAFT, Rekrutierung 28 n. 5; ROXAN *ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> The only occurrence of the title appears much later, to be sure, in the Köln diploma of 160, but the omission of supplementary titles is perfectly normal in the naming of units listed in auxiliary diplomas.

<sup>218</sup> CIL XVI 87. The inside text is even more abbreviated, the two units being represented simply as GAL(lorum) ET ANT(iana).

<sup>219</sup> ECK (note 38) 459; on levies from Asia Minor, *supra* p. 110 n. 200.



That the Ala Antiana continued to serve as part of the auxiliary garrison of Syria-Palestine through the succeeding half century is confirmed first by its appearance in the auxiliary lists preserved on the fragmentary diploma of 154–161 and on the Köln diploma of 160, and subsequently in the Hebron diploma of 186<sup>220</sup>. This is the latest datable record of the unit's presence in Palestine, but an undated inscription mentioning the Ala Antiana on a column from Scythopolis suggests that it may have been stationed there for some period thereafter<sup>221</sup>.

The movements of this ala beyond the second century are unknown, but it is now generally accepted that the Ala Ant(i)ana Dromedariorum stationed at Admatha in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as part of the command of the Dux Palaestinae is the same unit, its function and composition having undergone a drastic change at some point in the intervening period<sup>222</sup>.

### *Ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium*

Though evidence for its movements is scarcer, the close relationship that the Ala Gallorum et Thracum constantium had with its sister regiment makes it possible to reconstruct its history with some degree of certainty. Like the Antiana, this unit probably began as an exclusively Gallic regiment into which Thracians were eventually drafted to improve their equestrian expertise. The earliest mention of an Ala Gallorum et Thracum with the epithet *constantium*, however, only appears in 88 amongst the auxiliary units stationed in Syria listed in a diploma of that year<sup>223</sup>; but it is generally accepted that this unit, as yet untitled, is to be identified with the Ala Gallorum et Thraecum which occupies the last place in the surviving portion of the auxiliary list of the diploma of 54<sup>224</sup>. This is a reasonable supposition, based on the fact that the Ala Antiana for certain, and probably also the first unit listed in the diploma of 54, however interpreted, are each named in one or other of the twin Syrian diplomas of 7 November, 88<sup>225</sup>. This coincidence also provides the grounds for assigning the diploma of 54 to Syria<sup>226</sup>. If this identification is correct, then presumably the Ala Gallorum et Thraecum may well have acquired the addition of *constantium* to its title at

<sup>220</sup> For the diplomas of 154–161 and 186, RMD I 60 and 69, ANTIANA GALLOR(um) ET THRAC(um); for that of 160, which records the unit's name in fullest detail, ANTIAN(a) GALLOR(um) ET TRAC(um) SAG(ittaria), see ECK (note 38).

<sup>221</sup> ISAAC (note 73) 434; R. LAST/A. STEIN, Ala Antiana in Scythopolis. A New Inscription from Beth Shean. *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 81, 1990, 224–228. (A date after ca. 150 is proposed based on the *terminus post quem* for the appearance of the name Ulpianus.)

<sup>222</sup> NOT. DIGN. or. 34,33; LAMBRINO (note 37) 260 f.; STEIN, Kaiserliche Beamte und Truppenkörper 122 n. 14a; ROXAN, Pre-Severan Auxilia 62 Table IV. On *dromedarii*, E. DABROWA, Dromedarii in the Roman Army – a Note. In: MAXFIELD/DOBSON (note 159) 364–366. On the dubious location of Admatha at Humeima, now identified as Avara, J. EADIE, Humayma 1983. The Regional Survey. *Annu. Dep. Ant. Jordan* 28, 1984, 211 n. 2. The late Roman/early Byzantine fort at al-Hammam near Ma'an has also been suggested, A. J. JAUSSEN/R. SAVIGNAC, Mission archéologique en Arabie 1 (1909) 41 ff.

<sup>223</sup> RMD I 3.

<sup>224</sup> CIL XVI 3. Since the list of *alae* would have continued uninterrupted on to the missing *tabella* II, it is impossible to establish whether this unit was identified at this stage by an identifying epithet. LAMBRINO (note 37) 135 regards the list as complete in its surviving form. KRAFT, Rekrutierung 28 n. 5; 140 n. 300 identifies the unit as the Ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana c.R., but this has won no acceptance. For its identification as the constantium, ROXAN, Pre-Severan Auxilia 62; 70 n. 23 and Table IV; DABROWA, Dialogues Hist. Ancienne 5, 1979, 234; HOLDER, Studies in the Auxilia 39; MELLOR (note 37) 181.

<sup>225</sup> It is clear that the two diplomas of 88 (RMD I 3; CIL XVI 35) are complementary, listing between them the entire auxiliary army of Syria. The first entry listed in the diploma of 54, VETERANA GALLORUM ET THRAECUM, is variously interpreted as a single mixed ethnic unit or as two separate *alae*, 1) Veterana Gallorum and 2) Thraecum. In each case the unit is considered to be identical to the Veterana Gallica named in third position in CIL XVI 35 (see discussion *supra* n. 205).

<sup>226</sup> See *supra* p. 114 n. 216.



some later time, but before 88 when it appears in this form for the first time in the Syrian diploma of that year. If it had indeed been stationed in Syria as early as 54, the title may perhaps have been awarded by Vespasian for valiant service in the Jewish War, for which its proximity to the scene of action would provide an obvious reason for its involvement<sup>227</sup>.

Apart from the diploma of 88 there is one further mention of this unit's presence in Syria towards the end of the first century. This appears in a diploma of 91, where it is named in full with its epithet *CONSTANTIUM* unabbreviated<sup>228</sup>. Though its distinguishing epithet is missing, the untitled *Ala GALL(orum) ET THR(acum)* named at the opening of the auxiliary list of the Aphek diploma of 139 must be none other than the *Ala Gallorum et Thracum constantium* of the Syrian diplomas of 88 and 91<sup>229</sup>. First, the appearance together of two *alae* Gallorum et Thracum in the list of *alae* in the Syrian diploma of 88 points to the pairing of the same two units of identical ethnic composition in the Syro-Palestinian diploma of 139. Second, the omission of the title from the first *ala* listed in the Aphek diploma is not inconsistent with the abbreviated form in which other units are rendered in this diploma. The *Ala Antiana* itself, for example, appears merely as *ANT(iana) GALL(orum)*, with only one of its ethnic components included<sup>230</sup>. The appearance of the new Köln diploma of 160, with an auxiliary garrison identical to that listed in the Aphek diploma has removed all doubt about the ambiguous *ala* Gallorum et Thracum of the latter. It is now recorded with its distinguishing epithet *CONSTANT(ium)*<sup>231</sup>. Though evidence is lacking, it is reasonable to date the transfer of both *alae* Gallorum et Thracum from Syria to Judaea sometime between 132 and 135 as part of the build-up of Roman forces to counter the Bar-Kokhba Revolt.

The continuing presence of the *Ala Gallorum et Thracum constantium* as part of the by now somewhat reduced garrison of Palestine is indicated by its occurrence in the diploma from Hebron of 186. Despite the corrupt condition of the text, its appearance in this document may be confidently restored as the second of the two *alae* stationed in Syria-Palestine as part of the provincial garrison. The reference here is highly ambiguous, to be sure, the names of the two *alae* being represented thus: *ANTIANA GALLOR(um) ET THRAC(um) ET ANTIANA*<sup>232</sup>. There is no doubt about the identity of the first *ala* named, the *Antiana*, but clearly something has gone seriously amiss in transcribing the name of the second. Roxan attributes the mistake to a slip of the engraver's eye, resulting in the omission of a second *GALLOR(um) ET THRAC(um)* and the repetition of *Antiana* from the previous line in place of the second unit's title. For this she proposes the restoration *CONSTANTIANA*, the title by which the unit was known in later times<sup>233</sup>. The fact that further corruption occurs later in the same line of the diploma in naming the first of the cohorts suggests that the problem may derive from the confused state of the original text that actually confronted the engraver<sup>234</sup>.

The unit probably continued to serve in Palestine for the rest of its history, for an inscription from Yotvata in Israel dated to 303 refers to an *ala* identified by the abbreviation *COSTIA* which has been convincingly read as *CO(N)ST(ANT)IA*<sup>235</sup>. Over a century later the same unit appears in the *Notitia Dignitatum* under the command of the *Dux Palaestinae* immediately following the *Ala Ant(i)ana* with which it had been linked

<sup>227</sup> For this suggestion, HOLDER, *Studies in the Auxilia* 39.

<sup>228</sup> RMD I 4.

<sup>229</sup> CIL XVI 87.

<sup>230</sup> The abbreviations are even more pronounced on the inside face, *supra* n. 218.

<sup>231</sup> ECK (note 38) 454.

<sup>232</sup> RMD I 69. This is Roxan's revision of Lifshitz's original reading of the relevant portion of the exterior face: *ANTIANA [G]ALLOR(um) ET III [civ(um)] R(omanorum) ANTIANA* (LIFSHITZ [note 46] 117–122).

<sup>233</sup> RMD I 69 n. 3. On occasion the unit was identified by its honorific title alone, especially in the *cursus honorum* of its officers, e.g. ILS 9488 = DEVIJVER, PME, C 187 (from the time of Commodus) *praefectus alae constantium*; Incerti 257, *praef. alae equit(um) const(antium)*.

<sup>234</sup> ROXAN, RMD I 69 n. 4.

<sup>235</sup> Année Épigr. 1987, 961.



probably throughout its entire history<sup>236</sup>. At that time it was based at Toloha, which has been identified with a well-preserved fort at Et-Telah near Al-Kerak on the eastern side of the Wadi Araba in Jordan<sup>237</sup>.

### *Ala VII Phrygum*

Once suspect because of its high serial number, the authenticity of the *Ala VII Phrygum* is no longer in doubt, its existence having been confirmed by a number of texts<sup>238</sup>. The high serial number, however, remains a problem, since the only other references to *alae* Phrygum contain no serial numbers. Some scholars resolve the problem by denying the existence of any other *alae* of this ethnic origin and consequently attribute all references, numbered and unnumbered alike, to the *Ala VII Phrygum*<sup>239</sup>; others prefer to distinguish between one or more *alae* Phrygum and the *Ala VII Phrygum*<sup>240</sup>. In any case the complete silence concerning any *alae* Phrygum numbered between II and VI remains a mystery<sup>241</sup>. In the following review of the evidence I restrict discussion to cases where the serial VII appears or may reasonably be restored in the text.

There is some speculation about the origin of the *alae* Phrygum in the Roman auxiliary army. One possibility is that they were recruited from among the Phrygians, usually referred to by the Romans as Bryges, who had settled in the region of Thrace<sup>242</sup>. It is preferable, however, to associate the origin of Phrygian cavalry units with the defence of their native land at the time of the Homonadensian War under Augustus; or else to suppose that they, like some other eastern *alae*, had originally served as part of a royal army, in this case that of Amyntas of Galatia<sup>243</sup>. That the Phrygian *alae* were eventually destined to serve in the defence of the eastern provinces is clear from what we know of the two regiments for which evidence survives. The earliest record of any *ala* Phrygum appears in the auxiliary lists of Syria for the year 88 in a diploma issued to a cavalryman of an unnumbered regiment of that identity<sup>244</sup>.

The Kalın Ören diploma of 136 or 137 provides the earliest certain record of the VII Phrygum's province of service, although its presence in the east before this date may be presumed from two inscriptions com-

<sup>236</sup> NOT. DIGN. or. 34,34.

<sup>237</sup> KENNEDY/REILLY (note 67) 205–207 figs. 157–158.

<sup>238</sup> RE I (1894) 1257 s.v. *ala* (C. CICHORIUS); CHEESMAN, *Auxilia* 67 n. 7; A. MERLIN, *Ala VII Phrygum*. *Rev. Arch. Sér. 6*, 17/18, 1941, 37–39. In addition to the texts mentioned by Cheesman and in the following discussion, two references to *praefecti* of the *Ala VII Phrygum* may be mentioned, 1) C. Iulius Serenus (Trajanic), DEVIJVER, *PME*, I 123 and 2) Incerti 86 (1–2 cent.), A. BAZAMA/J. M. REYNOLDS, *Some New Inscriptions from the Cemeteries of Ancient Ptolemais*. *Libya Ant.* 15/16, 1978/79, 259 = SEG 37 (1987) 1713.

<sup>239</sup> E.g. DEVIJVER, *PME*, C 116; C 143; C 168; H 3; N 6 (= ID. [note 59] no. 86); V 30; C. HABICHT, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions. Alt. von Pergamon VIII 3* (1969) no. 30 line 9, p. 69 n. 1; A. AYMARD, *Inscriptions de Lugdunum Convenarum*. *Rev. Études Anciennes* 43, 1941, 217–229.

<sup>240</sup> ROXAN, *RMD I 3*, p. 33 n. 5; SADDINGTON, *Development* 161; SPEIDEL (note 113) 31 n. 56 (= *Roman Army Studies* 1, 297 n. 56); MELLOR (note 37) 181, esp. n. 67 for a useful distribution of inscriptions between the *Ala (I?) Phrygum* and *Ala VII Phrygum*.

<sup>241</sup> MERLIN (note 238) 37–39 suggests that *alae* Phrygum without serial numbers should refer to some of the missing *alae*.

<sup>242</sup> SADDINGTON, *Development* 161.

<sup>243</sup> SADDINGTON, *Development* 241 n. 149; R. K. SHERK, *The Inermes Provinciae of Asia Minor*. *Am. Journal Philol.* 76, 1955, 407 f.

<sup>244</sup> *RMD I 3*. The recipient's name Dassius and that of his father, Dasses, are recognizably Pannonian, which suggests that the unit was stationed on the Danube at the time of his enlistment in the early 60's (MELLOR [note 37] 179; 181). There is no evidence, however, to support J. Szilágyi's claim that an *ala* Phrygum was active on the eastern frontier in the early first century. J. SZILÁGYI, *Les variations des centres de prépondérance militaire dans les provinces frontalières de l'Empire romain*. *Acta Ant.* 2, 1953/54, 122 f.; 151; DABROWA (note 224) 247 n. 44.



memorating equestrians who had commanded that unit in the course of their careers. In both cases the individuals concerned had been promoted to their senior command after serving as legionary tribunes in legions stationed at the time in the east. One, C. Julius Demosthenes, had served with Legio VI Ferrata quite early in Trajan's reign while it was still stationed in Syria<sup>245</sup>; the other, A. Atinius Paternus, had served with Legio X Fretensis, normally garrisoned in Judaea, but at the time of his tribunate engaged in Trajan's expedition against the Parthians, in the course of which he won distinction<sup>246</sup>. In conformity with normal Roman practice, it is likely that promotion for both officers involved commands in the same region where they had passed the junior levels of their *militiae*.

The Kaln Ören diploma was followed within three years at most by the Aphek diploma of 139 which records the continuing presence of the Ala VII Phrygum amongst the *auxilia* of Syria-Palestine<sup>247</sup>. Its continued presence in the same province during the two succeeding decades is now confirmed by its appearance in the Köln diploma of March, 160<sup>248</sup>. How long it remained there after that date is uncertain, but the fact that it does not appear in the list of units stationed in Syria-Palestine in the Hebron diploma of 186 suggests that it may have moved to another province sometime in the interval<sup>249</sup>. Of its subsequent history nothing is known.

### *Cohors I Thracum Milliaria*

The large number of Thracian units bearing a common serial number but without distinguishing title has created much confusion that as yet defies a definitive solution<sup>250</sup>. Cohors I Thracum is the most perplexing of all, with the possibility that there may have been as many as eleven separate units with this title<sup>251</sup>. The problem of distinguishing these regiments arises from the failure of the Romans when referring to them in documents to provide identifying titles, or their inconsistency in applying them even where they did exist. Fortunately the Cohors I Thracum milliaria, which I have restored as the first of the cohorts listed in the Kaln Ören diploma on the basis of its position in the Aphek diploma, presents less difficulty than most of the other cohortes Thracum<sup>252</sup>. Its superior standing as a *cohors milliaria* ensured that this feature of its title was frequently included in documents.

The first dated appearance of the Cohors I Thracum milliaria is in a military diploma of 91 where it is listed as part of the military garrison of Syria<sup>253</sup>. It would have formed part of the Roman defence of the

<sup>245</sup> DEVIJVER, PME, I 55 = Inscript. Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes 3, 487; 500 lines 55–60 (earlier than 114).

<sup>246</sup> DEVIJVER, PME, A 182 = CIL VI 1838 = ILS 2727.

<sup>247</sup> CIL XVI 87.

<sup>248</sup> ECK (note 38) 455.

<sup>249</sup> RMD I 69; LIFSHITZ (note 46) 117–122. Tenuous evidence for a move to Syria was once argued from a fragmentary auxiliary diploma of that province datable no later than 154. Nesselhauf reads the relevant part of the text as VIJI PHR(ygum), but the numeral must surely be that of another ala Phrygum. Both ROXAN, RMD I p. 33 n. 5 and MELLOR (note 37) 181 n. 68 prefer to read I PHR(ygum), identifying the unit with the one normally named without a serial number.

<sup>250</sup> For the most thorough attempt to sort out the Thracian *auxilia*, M. G. JARRETT, Thracian Units in the Roman Army. Israel Explor. Journal 19, 1969, 215–224.

<sup>251</sup> JARRETT (note 250) 215.

<sup>252</sup> In reconstructing this unit's history, I follow closely JARRETT (note 250) 221; MANN (note 97) 211–214; MELLOR (note 37) 182 f.; DABROWA (note 224) 237 f.; M. P. SPEIDEL, A Tile Stamp of I Thracum Milliaria from Hebron/Palestine. Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 35, 1979, 170–172 (= Roman Army Studies 1, 311–313); also D. L. KENNEDY, Millitary Cohorts. The Evidence of Josephus, BJ III 4.2 (67) and of Epigraphy. Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 50, 1983, 257, esp. n. 26.

<sup>253</sup> RMD I 4. The omission of this cohort's name from either of the complementary diplomas issued simultaneously less than three years previously on 7 November, 88 has provoked discussion. Since the twin



Euphrates at the time, for its presence is recorded in an inscription at a recently excavated Roman frontier fort at Tell el-Hajj, which has been tentatively identified with Eragiza, a station marked on the Peutinger Table<sup>254</sup>. It is thought to have moved there sometime in the late 80's, taking the place of the Cohors II Pia Fidelis which had probably established the original fort on the site<sup>255</sup>.

The next mention of the regiment occurs in a papyrus text from the Cave of the Letters dated 6 May, 124. By this time the Cohors I Thracum milliaria, or at least part of it, was installed at the oasis site of En-Gedi on the west shore of the Dead Sea<sup>256</sup>. The text in question records the receipt by a local resident of a loan of money from a centurion of the Prima Thracum milliaria, for which he had declared as security a piece of property adjacent on three sides to the military encampment, soldiers' billets (σκηναί) on the east and west, and the headquarter's building (πρασιδίον) on the north<sup>257</sup>. It is thought that this encampment was merely a temporary outpost manned by a small detachment from the cohort's principal garrison at Hebron, an opinion supported by the description of the identical property in a text from the same archive dated four years later in which there is no mention of the military features named previously<sup>258</sup>. This is contradicted, however, by the discovery at En-Gedi of a substantial bath-building of the distinctive elongated plan frequently associated with military forts of the second century in other parts of the Roman world<sup>259</sup>. Both the size and quality of its construction indicate the permanent presence of a sizeable body of men<sup>260</sup>. There is

diplomas (CIL XVI 35 and RMD I 3) are believed between them to record the full provincial garrison of Syria on that date, some have identified the I Thracum milliaria of the diploma of 91 with the I milliaria of one of the diplomas of 88 (CIL XVI 35). MANN (note 97) 211 f.; SPEIDEL (note 252) 170 n. 4; *contra*, DABROWA (note 224) 237 f. 250 nn. 138 f.

<sup>254</sup> STUCKY (note 136) 167 f. pl. 11a, COH I MILL THRAC.; P. BRIDEL/R. A. STUCKY in: J. C. MARGUERON (ed.), *Le moyen Euphrate*. Actes du Coll. de Strasbourg 1977 (1980) 349–353; J. JARRY, *Nouveaux documents grecs et latins de Syrie du Nord et de Palmyrène*. Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 60, 1985, 113 f. no. 16; DABROWA (note 224) 237; 244; ISAAC (note 73) 37 n. 120; also E. DABROWA, *The Frontier in Syria in the First Century A.D.* In: FREEMAN/KENNEDY (note 54) 100; 102 n. 10.

<sup>255</sup> DABROWA (note 224) 237 f. For stamped tiles of Cohors II P(ia) F(idelis), STUCKY (note 136) 168 pl. 11b–c.

<sup>256</sup> H. J. POLOTSKY, *The Greek Papyri from the Cave of the Letters*. Israel Explor. Journal 12, 1962, 258–262; MANN (note 97) 212–214; SMALLWOOD, *Jews under Roman Rule* 422; ISAAC (note 73) 174; LEWIS (note 85) P 11 pp. 41–46.

<sup>257</sup> The term σκηναί has many meanings, to be sure, but given the proximity of a *praesidium*, a word of unmistakable military connotation, the military significance of the word here seems most likely; LEWIS (note 85) 45 n. on lines 5 and 18.

<sup>258</sup> For the text dated April 128 describing the property without reference to military features, LEWIS (note 85) P 19 and 20 pp. 83–87. In support of the En-Gedi encampment as a temporary outpost, SPEIDEL (note 252) 171; ISAAC (note 73) 174; ID., *The Babatha Archive. A Review Article*. Israel Explor. Journal 42, 1992, 62 f. In favour of En-Gedi as the major base of the unit at this time, MANN (note 97) 212 f.; LIFSHITZ (note 46) 120 f. The main role of a military force at En-Gedi may have been to protect the valuable balsam plantations at En-Gedi as well as the estates at En-Boqeq at the southwest corner of the Dead Sea from nomadic raiders, M. GICHON, *The Roman Defence of Southern Palestine*. In: MAXFIELD/DOBSON (note 159) 323.

<sup>259</sup> MAZAR *et al.* (note 135) 1964, 128–130; 1967, 142 f. A comparable military bath-house of roughly similar date but smaller in scale has come to light recently at Capernaum in Galilee. Its close resemblance to similar structures of Antonine date at Bothwellhaugh, Bearsden and at other sites on the Antonine limes of Scotland suggests close proximity to a military station. A detailed excavation report of this building will appear in V. TZAFERIS (ed.), *Excavations at Capernaum 2*. 1983–1988, currently in preparation.

<sup>260</sup> The evacuation of the property during the four year period between the two papyrus texts may be explained by the move from *ad hoc* temporary accommodation for the troops in the middle of the civilian community in favour of a permanent establishment somewhere in the same vicinity, not yet completed in 124 but already in use by 128. As for size, the presence of the centurion Magonius Valens alone implies a minimum force of close to 100, but there is no indication that he was the sole officer of this rank in attendance. A strength of several hundred is more likely given the size of the baths. It is also worth observing that En-Gedi with its copious water-supply could easily supply a considerable population.



strong evidence that the bath-building was constructed early in Hadrian's reign, so that it may confidently be associated with the presence of the Cohors I Thracum milliaria mentioned in the text of 124<sup>261</sup>. Whether the establishment of this camp at En-Gedi coincides with the first arrival of the regiment in Judaea cannot be proved, but there were compelling reasons for strengthening the auxiliary garrison of Judaea at the beginning of Hadrian's reign to ensure against the spread of the Jewish rebellion that had ravaged other regions of the eastern Empire from 115 to 117<sup>262</sup>. The introduction of one or more auxiliary regiments would have been a logical complement to the doubling of the legionary garrison of Judaea around the same date<sup>263</sup>.

Given its presence in Judaea in the 120's, it is virtually certain that the Cohors I Thracum milliaria participated in the campaign to suppress the Bar-Kokhba Revolt from the outset. The activity of the regiment in mopping up resistance in the final stages of the Revolt has been plausibly suggested to account for the presence of two temporary camps located above Nahal Hever, a deep gully running into the Dead Sea close to En-Gedi where the unit had its base. Each with accommodation to house one century, the camps were clearly directed against the rebels taking refuge in the "Cave of the Letters" and "Cave of Horrors" situated in the cliff face immediately below<sup>264</sup>.

The Cohors I Thracum milliaria continued to serve in Palestine during the half century following the end of the Revolt, for its name appears amongst the cohorts listed in the Aphek diploma of 139, the Köln diploma of 160 and the Hebron diploma of 186<sup>265</sup>. During this period it was certainly based at Hebron, the findspot of a tile with the cohort's identity stamped on it. Just as persuasive is the fact that the diploma of 186, the recipient of which was a member of this unit, was discovered at or near Hebron. He had clearly followed the common pattern of spending his retirement close to the base where he had lived during active service<sup>266</sup>. Nothing is known of the cohort's activities in the third and fourth centuries, but a regiment of the same name is recorded at Aditha under the command of the Dux Arabiae in the *Notitia Dignitatum*<sup>267</sup>.

<sup>261</sup> The evidence takes the form of 6 bronze coins found in a hollow of a door frame, the latest a coin of Ascalon dated A.D. 117–118. This supplies a *terminus post quem* for the building of the bath, MAZAR/DUNAYEVSKY (note 135) 1964, 129.

<sup>262</sup> For Jewish trouble at the end of Trajan's reign and possible movement of auxiliaries to cope with it, SMALLWOOD, *Jews under Roman Rule* 423; SPEIDEL (note 252) 171. DABROWA (note 224) 237 suggests a period of service for this unit in Arabia between its departure from Syria and arrival in Judaea. See also *supra* p. 99.

<sup>263</sup> The legionary garrison in Judaea, hitherto consisting of a single legion, the X Fretensis, was enlarged by 120 at the latest by the arrival of the II Traiana; B. ISAAC/I. ROLL, *Latomus* 38, 1979, 54–66; *Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr.* 33, 1979, 149–156; 47, 1982, 131 f.; see *supra* p. 99, and n. 132.

<sup>264</sup> Y. YADIN, *Bar-Kokhba* (1971) 46–49; KENNEDY/REILLY (note 67) 104 f. figs. 51–52.

<sup>265</sup> CIL XVI 87; ECK (note 38); RMD I 69. The Cohors I Thracum milliaria appears at the head of the list of cohorts in the Aphek diploma, but for some unaccountable reason it is relegated to second place in the two later diplomas, its place being taken by the Cohors V Gemella c. R.

<sup>266</sup> Stamped tile, SPEIDEL (note 252); findspot at Hebron, LIFSHITZ (note 46) 117; restoration of the recipient's unit in the diploma of 186, ROXAN, RMD I 69 p. 69 n. 10; B. ISAAC, *The Roman Army in Jerusalem and its Vicinity*. In: *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III* (note 70) 637; 639 n. 55.

<sup>267</sup> NOT. DIGN. or. 37,31. JARRETT (note 250) 221; MANN (note 97) 212 f.; SPEIDEL (note 252) 171 f. ROXAN, *Pre-Severan Auxilia* 65 Table 2 offers an alternative but less convincing reconstruction of this unit's history, identifying it with a Cohors I Thracum, presumably a quingenary unit, named in a diploma of 86 as part of the auxiliary garrison of Judaea (CIL XVI 33). This will have been subsequently raised to milliary size, which is how it is recorded in the Palestinian diplomas of 139, 160 and 186. It will then have remained in Palestine for the rest of its history, having been converted to a cavalry *ala* at some stage, with the title *Ala prima miliaria*, which is how it appears in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM (or. 34,36) under the Dux Palaestinae. She suggests that the Cohors prima miliaria Thracum of the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM (or. 37,31), on the other hand, is the descendant of the Syrian milliary cohort named in the diplomas of 88 and 91 respectively. Subsequently transferred to Arabia, perhaps at the



*Cohors I Sebastena (Sebastenorum) Milliaria*<sup>268</sup>

The first mention of a specific *cohors I Sebastenorum* occurs no earlier than 88, when it appears in a military diploma of Syria, but the earlier history of units sharing this general ethnic identity has received much attention<sup>269</sup>. It is generally supposed that the Sebastene *auxilia* of the Roman army had their beginnings in a force of 3,000 Sebasteni that constituted the most warlike part of Herod the Great's army<sup>270</sup>. Recruited from the inhabitants of Samaria, they acquired their name from the metropolis of that region, to which Herod had given the title *Sebaste* in 10 B.C. in honour of Augustus<sup>271</sup>. Having proved their loyalty to Rome during the unrest at the time of Herod's death, they were retained as royal troops in the army of his successor Archelaus, and on the dissolution of the ethnarchy in A.D. 6 were readily incorporated into the Roman army<sup>272</sup>. Except for a brief period from 41 to 44 when they reverted to royal service under Agrippa I, their strength doubtless maintained by continuing recruitment from their native land, they appear to have continued in service in the province of Judaea up to the eve of the Jewish War in 67<sup>273</sup>. Normally stationed during this time at the administrative capital of Caesarea, the Sebasteni, whose ranks included recruits from Caesarea, are generally believed to have provided virtually the entire auxiliary garrison for the province, a force still 3,000 in number, divided into one cavalry *ala* and five infantry cohorts, all presumably of quingenary strength<sup>274</sup>. There are weaknesses in this reconstruction of the original Roman auxiliary army in Judaea, however<sup>275</sup>. There is actual evidence for only two Sebastene units in the Roman army, the *Ala Sebastena* and the *Cohors Prima*, and nothing to substantiate the existence of *cohortes* II–V<sup>276</sup>. This suggests that the Sebastene component of the provincial garrison was limited to the

time of that province's creation ca. 106, this regiment remained there permanently thereafter. See also SPEIDEL (note 97) 711.

<sup>268</sup> The unit is variously referred to in the documents as *Sebastenorum* or *Sebastena*, as is its sister regiment the *Ala Sebastenorum* (*Sebastena*). For *Sebastena* CIL XVI 35; RMD I 4 (*cohors*); CIL VIII 9359; RMD I 3 (*Ala Sebastena*); CIL III 2916 (*cohors*); CIL VIII 17900 = ILS 1436 (*ala*). In his discussion of the cohort, CICHORIUS (note 47) 331 f. distinguishes two separate units, one quingenary and one milliary, an opinion now outdated; more recent accounts are MELLOR (note 37) 181 f.; DABROWA (note 224) 238 f.; MOR (note 54) 577 f.

<sup>269</sup> In addition to MELLOR and DABROWA (previous note), T. R. S. BROUGHTON in: F. J. F. JACKSON/K. LAKE, *The Beginnings of Christianity* 1. *The Acts of the Apostles* 5 (1933) 433; SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People* 1, 363–365; SMALLWOOD, *Jews under Roman Rule* 146 f.; SADDINGTON, *Development* 50; A. MOMIGLIANO, *Ricerche sull'organizzazione della Giudea sotto il dominio romano* (1934, repr. 1967) 69–71.

<sup>270</sup> IOS. bel. Iud. 2,3,4 (52); ant. Iud. 19,9,2 (365); KENNEDY (note 252) 255–257.

<sup>271</sup> In contrast to normal practice in the west where units were named after tribes or regions, units recruited in the more urbanized east were named after cities, e.g. *Apamenorum*, *Antiochensium*, *Ascalanitorum*, *Damascenorum*, *Hemesenorum*, *Tyriorum* etc.; CHEESMAN, *Auxilia* 58 f.; MELLOR (note 37) 181.

<sup>272</sup> For their pro-Roman stance in 4 B.C., IOS. bel. Iud. 2,4,2 (58); 2,4,3 (63); 2,5,2 (74); SADDINGTON, *Development* 81; 221 n. 34.

<sup>273</sup> On Agrippa's death in 44 Claudius had initially decided to transfer these Sebastene forces to Pontus, but revoked this intention in response to a petition (IOS. ant. Iud. 19,9,2 [365–366]). The Sebastene forces were subsequently engaged in action against Jewish dissidents under the procurator Ventidius Cumanus in 49 (IOS. bel. Iud. 2,12,5 [236]; ant. Iud. 20,6,1 [122]). Their presence in Judaea is inferred from the reference to one *ala* and five cohorts mentioned by Josephus as joining Titus's army from Caesarea, IOS. bel. Iud. 3,4,2 (66).

<sup>274</sup> For their presence at Caesarea, IOS. bel. Iud. 2,12,5 (236); ant. Iud. 20,8,7 (176); 20,6,1 (122). For reference to the composition of the Sebastene forces, IOS. ant. Iud. 19,9,2 (365); 20,6,1 (122) (*ala* and *πενήν τεσσαρα τάγματα*); bel. Iud. 2,12,5 (236) (*ala* only); 3,4,2 (66) *πέντε* (sc. *σπείραι*) *καὶ ἰππέων ἑλὴ μία*.

<sup>275</sup> Fully discussed by SPEIDEL (note 98) 233–240.

<sup>276</sup> The restoration of a fragmentary inscription from Samaria-Sebaste recording a *Cohors V Sebastenorum* has won no acceptance, AVI YONAH (note 98) 94–96 nos. 11–12 (= *Année Épigr.* 1948, 150–151).



two known units, while the remainder, of indeterminate number, were brought in from outside the province. Of these, one at least, a Cohors Italica civium Romanorum, is known for certain<sup>277</sup>.

After the Jewish War Vespasian transferred all the native troops who had served in Judaea up to that date to other provinces<sup>278</sup>. This action would certainly have included the two known Sebastene regiments, the Ala and Cohors Prima, which were probably moved directly to Syria where both were certainly stationed on 7 November, 88. To this date belongs the complementary pair of military diplomas believed to contain between them a complete list of the auxiliary regiments of Syria. In one list appears the Ala Sebastena, in the other the Cohors Prima Sebastena<sup>279</sup>. Another diploma issued on May 12, 91 confirms that the latter unit was still stationed in Syria on that date<sup>280</sup>.

The next certain occurrence of the Cohors I Sebastena is in the list of auxiliary units of Syria-Palestine named in the Aphek diploma of 139<sup>281</sup>. Here it occupies second place amongst the cohorts of the auxiliary garrison, its name followed on the outside text by the milliary symbol (x), this being the first record of the regiment having this status. If the restoration of line 6 of the interior text of the Kalin Ören fragment proposed above is correct, however, the *terminus post quem* for its presence in Palestine and for its milliary status may be dated two or three years earlier<sup>282</sup>. Although there is no evidence for its movements between 91, the latest certain date for its presence in Syria, and its arrival in Syria-Palestine sometime before 136 or 137, it seems reasonable to associate its transfer, along with other units previously stationed in Syria, with the build-up of Roman forces in the early 130's necessary to deal with the Bar-Kokhba Revolt. Perhaps its increase in size from quingenary to milliary strength may be attributed to this time also<sup>283</sup>.

That the regiment continued to serve in Syria-Palestine during the rest of the second century is attested from its appearance in the fragmentary diploma of 154–161, the Köln diploma of 160, and the Hebron diploma of 186<sup>284</sup>. Its subsequent history is unknown, but Roxan suggests that the Cohors I Sebastena milliaria, in common with a number of other infantry cohorts of the early Empire, had by Late Antiquity been transformed into a cavalry *ala* and that it appears thus as the Ala I Milliaria Sebastena listed under the command of the Dux Palaestinae in the *Notitia Dignitatum*<sup>285</sup>.

<sup>277</sup> NT Acts 10,1 (ἐκ σπείρας τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς). For its identity as Cohors II Italica, BROUGHTON (note 269) 441–443; SMALLWOOD, *Jews under Roman Rule* 147 n. 13; SPEIDEL (note 98) 233–237. KENNEDY (note 252) 258 identifies it with two distinct cohorts, the I and II Italica. Another auxiliary unit mentioned in NT Acts 27,1 is the σπείρα Σεβαστή, in the past frequently mistaken for another form of Sebastena (SADDINGTON, *Development* 51), but now correctly recognized as a Cohors Augusta. It is generally regarded as one of the Sebastene cohorts honored for distinguished service at some stage with the title Augusta (SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People* 364; MOMIGLIANO [note 269] 71; SMALLWOOD, *Jews under Roman Rule* 146 n. 2; MOR [note 54] 578). For a more plausible explanation, SPEIDEL (note 98) 237–240.

<sup>278</sup> IOS. ant. Iud. 19,9,2 (366); SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People* 367.

<sup>279</sup> RMD I 3 (*ala*); CIL XVI 35 (*cohors*).

<sup>280</sup> RMD I 4.

<sup>281</sup> CIL XVI 87.

<sup>282</sup> The omission of the milliary symbol (x) on the inside text of the Aphek diploma need not affect the restoration of this detail in line 6 of the Kalin Ören fragment, since the later diploma generally displays a greater degree of abbreviation on the inside face than the earlier one.

<sup>283</sup> As suggested by DABROWA (note 224) 239. KENNEDY (note 252) 256 f.; 262 f., on the other hand, implies that it may already have been of milliary size in 88 and 91, despite the omission of this fact from the diplomas of those years.

<sup>284</sup> RMD I 60; REEVES (note 76) 117–123 (for the text of diploma of 154–161); ECK (note 38) 451–459 (for diploma of 160); RMD I 69; LIFSHITZ (note 46) 117–122 (for diploma of 186).

<sup>285</sup> NOT. DIGN. or 34,32; ROXAN, *Pre-Severan Auxilia* 65 Table II no. 9. For conversion of cohorts to *alae* in the late Empire, RITTERLING (note 66) 31 n. 3. The alternative to Roxan's suggestion is to regard the Ala I milliaria Sebastena of the Not. Dign. as identical to the Ala Sebastena named in the Syrian diploma of 88, it having been subsequently transferred back to the east after an indeterminate sojourn in Mauretania Caesariensis and likewise raised to milliary status (MELLOR [note 37] 182 n. 77).



*Cohors I Montanorum*

The identity of the Cohors I Montanorum named in the Kalin Ören diploma presents a serious problem. This arises from the Roman practice of numbering units *de novo* from *cohors prima* in a new seriation on each occasion that a levy was raised in a particular region<sup>286</sup>. The confusion of having two or more *cohortes primae* with the same territorial identity could, of course, be mitigated by applying some specific term in the fashion of a *cognomen* to distinguish the units concerned. These might be a) purely descriptive, e.g. *milliaria*, *equitata*, *veterana*, *sagittaria*, or b) honorific, commemorating the individual or emperor who had formed the unit or under whom it had performed valiant services, e.g. *Antiana*, *Claudia*, *Flavia*, *Ulpia*, or c) indicative of the award of special distinctions, Roman citizenship in particular, a status identified by the abbreviation *c.R.* (*civium Romanorum*)<sup>287</sup>. Unfortunately the use of these supplementary titles was often careless and inconsistent, their inclusion in the condensed style of abbreviation employed in military diplomas being treated as optional, even in cases where two cohorts shared a common nomenclature. In other instances there may never have existed any distinguishing titles at all, it being assumed that the physical separation of units stationed in different provinces of the Empire would suffice to keep their identities distinct in people's minds<sup>288</sup>.

The Prima Cohors Montanorum illustrates the problem of homonymy in an extreme form, with a wide range of opinion and no consensus<sup>289</sup>. The starting point of the discussion, however, is invariably an auxiliary diploma of 85 in which two units of this name head the list of cohorts stationed in Pannonia thus, *ET I ET I MONTANORVM*, with no distinguishing epithet attached to either<sup>290</sup>. The appearance of a Cohors I Montanorum *c.R.* stationed in Pannonia in a diploma of 98 and subsequently in Moesia Superior in a diploma of 100, however, strongly suggests that one of the two units named in the diploma of 85 should be equated with the unit enjoying the status of Roman citizenship listed in these later diplomas, having possibly acquired this privilege at some time during the interval<sup>291</sup>. Unfortunately, the honor seems to have been of ephemeral significance, since the distinguishing title *c.R.* never recurs in any of the considerable number of diplomas naming a Cohors I Montanorum issued subsequently<sup>292</sup>.

Despite the degree of conjecture involved in distinguishing their identity, there is considerable agreement about the earlier history of the two units named in the Pannonian diploma of 85<sup>293</sup>. The original Cohors

<sup>286</sup> For general discussion of the problem, CHEESMAN, *Auxilia* 59 f.; SADDINGTON, *Development* 175 f. The problem is illustrated in its most acute form in the case of the Thracian regiments, JARRETT (note 250).

<sup>287</sup> Several examples of these forms of nomenclature are present in the units included in the Kalin Ören and Apehok diplomata, e.g. Cohors I Sebastenorum *milliaria*, Ala Gallorum et Thracum *Antiana*, Cohortes I et II *Ulpiae Galatarum*, I *Flavia c.R.*, V *Gemella c.R.*

<sup>288</sup> This must be the case with the three separate Cohortes III *Bracaraugustanorum* discussed below, pp. 128 ff.

<sup>289</sup> For example, CICHORIUS distinguishes four separate units of this name (note 47, 316–317), CHEESMAN three (*Auxilia* 175), and E. RITTERLING two (*Die Alpes Maritimae als Rekrutierungsbezirk für Truppenteile des röm. Heeres*. *Klio* 21, 1927, 82–91).

<sup>290</sup> CIL XVI 31. The fact that this diploma also contains two undifferentiated cohortes I *Alpinorum* seriously reduces the possibility suggested by Šašel that the listing of two cohortes I Montanorum is the result of dittography by a careless copyist. More plausible is his suggestion that one of the two units listed refers to a vexillation detached from the main cohort which would have remained garrisoned in another province, J. ŠAŠEL, Cohors I Montanorum. In: *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms III* (note 70) 782–786. In addition to Šašel, the most recent detailed treatment of the Prima Montanorum, significant comment may be found in CICHORIUS and RITTERLING (previous note), and also NESSELHAUF in: CIL XVI 31 n. 2; WAGNER, *Dislokation* 168–171 and KRAFT, *Rekrutierung* 181 nos. 1650–1665.

<sup>291</sup> CIL XVI 31, esp. n. 1 where Nesselhauf suggests that the privilege was won for action in Domitian's Dacian war.

<sup>292</sup> There is strong evidence to suggest that the title *c.R.* in the titlature of non-citizen auxiliary units was retained for a limited period only, and may have lapsed with the retirement of those soldiers serving in the regiment at the time when the honour was acquired, ŠAŠEL (note 290) 783 f.

<sup>293</sup> See especially RITTERLING (note 289) and KRAFT, *Rekrutierung*, but for critical comment on established opinions and alternative possibilities ŠAŠEL (note 290) 784 f.



Montanorum, taking its name from the mountain tribes that inhabited the Ligurian Alps between Albingaunum (Albenga) and Albintimilium (Ventimiglia), may well date from shortly after the incorporation of their territories into Roman rule ca. 14 B.C.<sup>294</sup> By the reign of Tiberius, the regiment was certainly stationed at Virunum in Noricum<sup>295</sup>. How long it remained in that province is uncertain, but by the 80's at the latest it was certainly established in Pannonia where we find it listed alongside its homonym in the diploma of 85.

The sister regiment of the same name likewise was an early formation, its existence being generally identified in a Cohors Montanorum recorded in early imperial inscriptions from Burnum in Dalmatia, which was probably its original province of service<sup>296</sup>. There is evidence for a sojourn under Claudius and Nero in Moesia before its eventual transfer to Pannonia by 80 at the latest<sup>297</sup>. By 85, as we have seen, both regiments were stationed in the same province.

Documentation concerning the cohortes I Montanorum during the succeeding generation is substantial, a regiment of this name appearing in as many as nine military diplomas issued between the years 96 and 110. Nevertheless, the evidence presents a confusing picture, perhaps in part reflecting the considerable dislocation of regiments in the Danube region occasioned by the German and Sarmatian Wars from 92 to 97 and the subsequent troop movements in connection with Trajan's Dacian campaigns<sup>298</sup>. The firmest evidence for distinguishing the whereabouts of the cohortes Montanorum during this period appears in two diplomas of 98 and 100 respectively, the only instances where the Cohors I Montanorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) is identified with its full title, perhaps only recently acquired<sup>299</sup>. From these documents we learn that in 98 it was still stationed in Pannonia, where it had presumably been serving since at least 85 if not before, but by 100 had moved to Moesia Superior. Meanwhile the other Cohors I Montanorum was already established in the same province by 96 at the latest, appearing in a diploma of that date<sup>300</sup>. Shortly afterwards, however, possibly as early as 98, we find it back in Pannonia<sup>301</sup>. This time the transfer seems to have been permanent, for, with the exception of a limited expedition ca. 109–110 when this regiment, or at least a

<sup>294</sup> PLIN. nat. 3,1,35; RITTERLING (note 289) 86 f.

<sup>295</sup> The evidence takes the form of a group of 5 gravestones, their texts conveniently collated by KRAFT, *Rekrutierung* 181 nos. 1661–1665 (= CIL III 4844; 4846; 4847; 4849; 11554). Although there is evidence that members of the regiment were already Roman citizens during the reign of Tiberius, it is improbable that the cohort as a whole had received this status at such an early date as RITTERLING (note 289) 89 suggests.

<sup>296</sup> KRAFT, *Rekrutierung* 181 no. 1651 = CIL III 15003; Diadora 5, 1970, 106 n. 8; HOLDER, *Studies in the Auxilia* 319 nos. 1881; 1882; SADDINGTON, *Development* 145 f.

<sup>297</sup> This assumes that the cohortes I Montanorum named in the Pannonian diplomas of 80 and 84 (CIL XVI 26; 30) refers to this unit and not the other. For its presence in Dalmatia and Moesia, RITTERLING (note 289) 90 f.; KRAFT, *Rekrutierung* 181.

<sup>298</sup> S. DUŠANIĆ/M. R. VASIĆ, *An Upper Moesian Diploma of A.D. 96*. *Chiron* 7, 1977, 299 f.

<sup>299</sup> CIL XVI 42; 46. There is some preference to identify the original Cohors Montanorum once stationed in Noricum as the unit entitled c.R. (RITTERLING [note 289] 89 f.; KRAFT, *Rekrutierung* 181 no. 1660; WAGNER, *Dislokation* 168 f.), but since the granting of the privilege probably postdates the diploma of 85 naming both units without *cognomen*, it is impossible to identify which of the two is the unit so honored. Indeed it is even conceivable that both units earned the citizenship grant (HOLDER, *Studies in the Auxilia* 34). For the Flavian period as the *terminus post quem* for the title c.R. and its significance, KRAFT, *Rekrutierung* 100 f.; HOLDER, *Studies in the Auxilia* 30–34; SADDINGTON, *Development* 175; ŠASEL (note 290) 783 f.

<sup>300</sup> RMD I 6 (Moesia).

<sup>301</sup> RMD II 81 (Pannonia). Although fragmentary, there is strong reason to identify it as complementary to the intact diploma of February 28, 98, in which the I Montanorum c.R. is named (CIL XVI 42). The fragmentary diploma will thus have listed those units not included in the first, see ROXAN ad loc., esp. p. 141 nn. 3 and 5. There is further evidence for the presence of one or other of these units in Moesia Superior in 98 in a building inscription of Trajan from Novae naming a COH(ors) I MONT(anorum), M. MIRCOVIĆ, *Cohors I Montanorum u Gornjoj Meziji*. *Arh. Vestnik* 26, 1975, 220–225.



detachment of it, was engaged in Dacia<sup>302</sup>, a succession of diplomas ranging over more than seventy years and dated at regular intervals, 102, 110, 114, 138, 148, 157, 167, confirms its continuing presence in Pannonia Inferior<sup>303</sup>.

The evidence for the other regiment, probably the one entitled c.R. last recorded as stationed in Moesia Superior in 100, is much less clearcut. It seems to have remained there for a few more years at least, for a Cohors I Montanorum is named, albeit without any distinguishing title, as part of the auxiliary garrison of that province in a diploma dated 103–106<sup>304</sup>. A regiment of this name does not appear in diplomas of that province again for half a century, however, the next occurrences being dated 159–160 and 161 respectively<sup>305</sup>.

It should be noted, however, that no diplomas of Moesia Superior datable to the period between 103–106 and 159–160 survive, so that the apparent lacuna in this unit's presence in that province may well represent merely the accident of discovery<sup>306</sup>. Nevertheless, this long gap in our knowledge of the unit's association with Moesia Superior has provided a convenient circumstance for some scholars to account for the appearance of the cohort of the same name in Syria-Palestine in the Aphek diploma of 139, and now also in the Kalin Ören diploma of 136–137<sup>307</sup>. Its departure from Moesia Superior for an extended period might have commenced with its involvement first in Trajan's Parthian campaign, perhaps followed by service in Asia Minor, for which there is some evidence, and its eventual transfer to Judaea to participate in the Jewish War of 132–135<sup>308</sup>. After service in Syria-Palestine as part of the large auxiliary garrison required to pacify the country in the immediate post-war period, it would eventually have returned to Moesia Superior, an event that had certainly occurred by 159/160, when we find a cohors I Montanorum once again established in that province<sup>309</sup>. With the appearance of the Köln diploma, however, which records a Cohors I Montanorum still serving with the auxiliary garrison of Syria-Palestine on 7 March, 160, this reconstruction of

<sup>302</sup> J. GARBSCH, Das älteste Militärdiplom für die Provinz Dakien. Bayer. Vorgeschl. 54, 1989, 137–151 (14 October, 109); CIL XVI 163 (2 July 110). This unit, along with three others, is named in a diploma of the same date for troops awaiting discharge in Pannonia Inferior (CIL XVI 164). This may be explained by the return of units or vexillations of units engaged in the Second Dacian War to their permanent bases in Pannonia. Those troops who had already completed their service in Dacia are included in the diploma issued under the governor of that province; others from the same units would receive their discharge only after their arrival in Pannonia; see NESSELHAUF in: CIL XVI 164 n. 2 (p. 224).

<sup>303</sup> CIL XVI 47 (102); 154 (110); 61 (114); 175 (139); 179 and 180 (148); RMD II 102 and 103 (157); CIL XVI 123 (167). A unit of this name is also listed in the fragment of a diploma of Pannonia Inferior issued between 139 and 190 (CIL XVI 131).

<sup>304</sup> CIL XVI 54 (esp. n. 3).

<sup>305</sup> CIL XVI 111 (159–160); RMD I 55 (161).

<sup>306</sup> The epigraphic record generally is very scarce for the auxiliary army of Moesia Superior during the second century. In this regard it should be noted that the *tabella* of a diploma dated 14 October, 109 and originally attributed to Moesia Superior (M. MIRCOVIĆ, Neues Militärdiplom aus der Umgebung von Viminacium. Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 70, 1987, 190–192) has, with the appearance of the matching second *tabella*, been found to belong to Dacia (GARBSCH [note 302]). I am grateful to Dr. Margaret Roxan for bringing this fact to my attention and referring me to Garbsch's article.

<sup>307</sup> In neither diploma does the title c. R. accompany this unit, though it follows the names of other cohorts listed in the Aphek diploma of 139 (CIL XVI 87), viz. FL(avia) c. R. and V GEM(ella) c. R. This inconsistency is hardly serious, however, considering that the title was applied to this unit for a very limited period at the end of the first century, probably around the time when the title was awarded. Indeed the honour had probably lapsed by this date, *supra* n. 292; see also RITTERLING (note 289) 90 n. 1.

<sup>308</sup> For the possible involvement of this unit in the Parthian campaign, RITTERLING (note 289) 90. The presence of a Cohors I Montanorum in Phrygia sometime in the first half of the second century has been suggested by a very fragmentary inscription from Akkise Sugla-Göl, G. LAMINGER-PASCHER, Zu zwei kleinasiatischen Militärinschriften. Wiener Stud. 86, 1973, 260 f. = Année Épigr. 1973, 538.

<sup>309</sup> CIL XVI 111.



events, which postulates only two cohortes I Montanorum, is hardly tenable<sup>310</sup>. It is almost certain, therefore, that the unit named in the Köln diploma is different from the one garrisoned in Moesia Superior during the same year<sup>311</sup>. If this is indeed the case, there were by the second quarter of the second century at the latest three separate Cohortes I Montanorum, two known from the first century that eventually became a permanent part of the *auxilia* of Pannonia and Moesia Superior respectively, and a third, perhaps first raised early in the second century for service in various stations in the east, of which its sojourn in Syria-Palestine is the only one firmly documented<sup>312</sup>.

The date when the Palestinian Cohors I Montanorum left the province and its movements thereafter are alike unknown, though its absence from the auxiliary garrison listed in the Hebron diploma of 186 indicates its departure from Syria-Palestine sometime before that date<sup>313</sup>.

### *Cohors I Damascenorum Sagittaria*

For detailed history of this cohort, to which the recipient of the Kalın Ören diploma belonged, see previous discussion (*supra* pp. 84 ff.).

### *Cohors I Flavia C.R.*

From its title this unit clearly owed its origin to one of the Flavian emperors, though the date of its formation and the circumstances, presumably distinguished service in action, that prompted the grant of citizenship to its members before their discharge are alike unknown<sup>314</sup>. It was probably from the outset a *cohort equitata* and may also at some stage in its history have been of milliary strength<sup>315</sup>. The earliest record of its existence is in a diploma of 88 where it appears as part of the auxiliary garrison of Syria, which suggests that it was originally raised for service in the east<sup>316</sup>. It was subsequently transferred to Palestine, perhaps during the Bar-Kokhba Rebellion of 132–135, being listed in the Aphek diploma of 139<sup>317</sup>. It was still serving in Syria-Palestine later in the reign of Antoninus Pius, for it appears in both the fragmentary diploma

<sup>310</sup> This is essentially the view of RITTERLING (note 289) 86–91. For the Köln diploma, ECK (note 38) 452–454.

<sup>311</sup> Since the diploma of Moesia Superior can be dated any time within the 23rd year of Antoninus Pius's tribunician power (i.e. between 10 December 159 and 9 December 160), it is just conceivable that the Cohors I Montanorum included in the auxiliary list for Syria-Palestine in the diploma of 7 March, 160 could have been transferred and established as part of the auxiliary garrison of Moesia Superior within the 9 month interval between the Palestinian diploma and the latest admissible date for the issue of the diploma of Moesia Superior.

<sup>312</sup> This is the solution eventually favoured by CICHORIUS (note 47) 316 f. and CHEESMAN, *Auxilia* 175. Cichorius's suggestion of a fourth unit stationed for a time in Dacia has long been discredited, RITTERLING (note 289) 90.

<sup>313</sup> RMD I 69 (Hebron diploma). In fact nothing is known of any of the Cohortes I Montanorum after the reign of M. Aurelius, though it may be in this later period that one of them acquired the title P(ia) F(idelis) recorded in the *cursus* of its commander, CIL IX 5439.

<sup>314</sup> CICHORIUS (note 47) 285. Vespasian appears to have founded the majority of auxiliary units with the title Flavia, HOLDER, *Studies in the Auxilia* 16.

<sup>315</sup> Année Épigr. 1925, 44 = DEVIJVER, PME, C 143; HABICHT (note 239) 30 = DEVIJVER, PME, C 168. The officer named in the first *cursus* was *praefectus*, but the one in the second is described as *χεῖλαρχος*, the term that normally denotes the *tribunus* of a milliary cohort. There is enough inconsistency in usage, however, to be wary of this evidence.

<sup>316</sup> CIL XVI 35; for its role in Syria, DABROWA (note 224) 236. For its probable eastern origin, HOLDER, *Studies in the Auxilia* 16; 66.

<sup>317</sup> CIL XVI 87.



of that province dated 154–161 and the Köln diploma of 160<sup>318</sup>. Its absence from the auxiliary units of that province listed in the diploma of 186, however, suggests that it had been transferred elsewhere, possibly to Syria, by that date<sup>319</sup>. This move may well have occurred as early as 161, for a detachment of cavalry from this cohort was included in the force that Valerius Lollianus commanded in a Mesopotamian campaign believed to be the Parthian Expedition of Lucius Verus<sup>320</sup>. In late antiquity it was once again stationed in Palestine, being listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as stationed at Moleatha under the command of the Dux Palaestinae<sup>321</sup>.

### *Cohortes I and II Ulpiae Galatarum*

The earliest certain record of the existence of these cohorts occurs in the roster of auxiliary units of Syria-Palestine named in the Aphek military diploma of 139<sup>322</sup>. Here they are listed as simply I and II GALA(tarum), but in the subscript containing details about the recipient, who actually belonged to the Second Cohort, the unit is given its full title thus, COH(ortis) II VLPIAE GALATAR(um). The titles of both units are given in full in both the Köln diploma of 160 and the Hebron diploma of 186, while inscriptions honoring commanders of the First Cohort name the unit in its full form Coh(ors) I Ulpia Galatarum<sup>323</sup>. As the imperial title indicates, both units, along with a possible third sister cohort, were originally recruited from the inhabitants of central Asia Minor sometime during Trajan's reign<sup>324</sup>. A likely context for this activity would be the vigorous efforts necessary to strengthen the Roman army in the east in preparation for the Parthian expedition of 114–117<sup>325</sup>.

The date when the two cohorts of Galatians arrived to take up garrison duty in Judaea is unknown, but their known presence there in 139 and probably two or three years before that on the evidence of the Kalin Ören fragment, makes it virtually certain that they had participated in the campaign to suppress the Bar-Kokhba Revolt of 132–135. Their appearance in the Hebron diploma confirms that both units were still stationed in Syria-Palestine half a century later. The subsequent movements of the First Cohort are uncertain, although there is evidence that the regiment, or a detachment from it, was on duty with its commander at Aquileia in 238<sup>326</sup>. The Cohors II Ulpia Galatarum, on the other hand, appears to have remained in

<sup>318</sup> RMD I 60 (154–161); ECK (note 38) (160).

<sup>319</sup> RMD I 69. Roxan's suggestion (p. 91 n. 4) that the obscure letters preceding c. R. heading the list of cohorts in the outside face of the *tabella* might have been intended for I FL(avia) c(ivium) R(omanorum) rather than V GEMELLA c(ivium) R(omanorum) as proposed by LIFSHITZ (note 46) 118–120 may now be discarded in light of the auxiliary list recorded in the newly discovered Köln diploma of 160 which has the latter regiment heading the cohorts, ECK (note 38) 455.

<sup>320</sup> CIL III 600 = ILS 2724 = DEVIJVER, PME, V 17. Although it is generally accepted that Valerius Lollianus's command was part of Lucius Verus's army that engaged the Parthians in 162–165, KENNEDY, Auxilia and Numeri 328–340 has attempted to date Lollianus's command to the reign of Hadrian, perhaps as a precautionary measure to counter a threat from the Parthians ca. 123.

<sup>321</sup> NOT. DIGN. or. 34,45.

<sup>322</sup> CIL XVI 87; also CICHORIUS (note 47) 287.

<sup>323</sup> ECK (note 38) 452 (160); RMD I 69 (186); for Cohors I, Année Épigr. 1934, 230 = DEVIJVER, PME, F 36; Inscript. Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes 4, 882 = DEVIJVER, PME, U 18.

<sup>324</sup> The only record of a Cohors III Galatarum appears in NOT. DIGN. or. 28,35 where it is included in the command of the Comes Limitis Aegypti.

<sup>325</sup> Evidence for recruitment in Asia Minor appears in the Aphek diploma whose recipient's home city, Nicaea in Bithynia, is named. The date of his enrollment in 114 or a little earlier might well have coincided with the cohort's formation. An Anatolian origin for commanders of the cohortes Galatarum may be noted, one from Themisonium in Phrygia (DEVIJVER, PME, U 18) and possibly one from Heraclea ad Salbacum in Caria dated 129–130 (*ibid.* S 61 and B. HOLTHEIDE, T. Stati[lius Titii] Filius Polli[a Frontonia]nus, Präfect der Cohors I Galatarum. Zeitschr. Papyr. u. Epigr. 38, 1980, 125 f.).

<sup>326</sup> DEVIJVER, PME, F 36.



Palestine for the rest of its history, for it is named in the *Notitia Dignitatum* under the command of the Dux Palaestinae as stationed at Arieldela<sup>327</sup>.

### *Cohors III Callaecorum Bracaraugustanorum*

The cohortes Callaecorum Bracaraugustanorum, two of which were stationed in Syria-Palestine in the years after the Bar-Kokhba Revolt, originated from the large confederation of Celtic peoples known as the Callaeci who inhabited northwest Spain. A warlike population that put up strong resistance in the early days of Rome's conquest of the Iberian peninsula, they supplied excellent fighting men under the Empire for a number of infantry auxiliary units<sup>328</sup>. These were variously known as Callaeci from the larger tribal group, or as Lucenses and Bracaraugustani from Lucus Augusti (modern Lugo) and Bracara Augusta (modern Braga in Portugal) respectively, the two administrative cantons or conventus into which the territory was divided when it became part of the province of Hispania Tarraconensis<sup>329</sup>.

Some units of the Bracaraugustani may already have been in existence as early as the time of Tiberius or Caligula, since a *tribunus militum* of the Legio II Augusta who had won military honours in Britain, possibly during the invasion of 43, had previously commanded the Cohors V Bracarum Augustanorum in Germany in his *militia prima*<sup>330</sup>. Evidence for the existence of a Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum in the first century, however, has yet to appear.

The second century, on the other hand, has produced an abundance of inscriptions recording the presence of a unit of this name in three widely separate provinces of the Roman Empire, thus posing the same kind of problems of identification previously encountered in discussing the Cohors I Montanorum<sup>331</sup>. This fact had already led Cichorius nearly a century ago to postulate at least two, and possibly three, homonymous units with this title<sup>332</sup>. Subsequent discoveries, especially military diplomas, tend to reinforce Cichorius's position. One of the Cohortes III Bracaraugustanorum was certainly stationed in Britain, its presence there recorded on military diplomas of 103, 122, 124 and 146 respectively<sup>333</sup>, and on stamped tiles from Mancu-

<sup>327</sup> NOT. DIGN. or. 34,44.

<sup>328</sup> Cohorts of this name are abbreviated in inscriptions variously as BRA, BRAC, BRACAR, BRACAUG and BRACARAUG. This variety has prompted some to postulate the existence of two distinct groups of cohorts, the first Brac(arum) or Brac(arorum) recruited from the tribal Bracares who inhabited the territory, the second Brac(ar)aug(ustanorum) or Brac(arum) Aug(ustanorum) drawn from Bracara Augusta, the capital of the Conventus (J. BENEŠ, Bracares [Bracari] im röm. Heer an der unteren Donau. *Listy Filol.* 93, 1970, 239–245). A convincing case for rejecting this theory is presented by ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Hispania y el Ejército Romano* 107 f.; also *id.*, Las cohortes de bracaraugustanos en el ejército imperial romano. *Bracara Augusta* 33, 1979, 367 f. (a more thorough discussion than the previous).

<sup>329</sup> In addition to the cohortes Lucensium and Bracaraugustanorum, the Callaeci also served with their Asturian neighbours in mixed cohortes Asturum et Callaecorum, two of which are attested. Apart from these the tribal name Callaeci was regularly included in the title of units originating from Lucus Augusti which were designated cohortes Callaecorum Lucensium. The only instance of this practice applying to units from Bracara Augusta occurs in the Köln diploma of 160 where the cohorts in question are listed as III et IV Callaec(orum) Bracaraug(ustanorum), ECK (note 38) 452; 455. For this reason, in diplomas and other texts where cohortes Callaecorum appear with no conventus indicated, it is generally assumed that they are Lucenses (ROXAN [note 81] 246 f.).

<sup>330</sup> CIL VI 3539 = ILS 2730 = DEVIJVER, PME, S 81. Cf. S. FRERE, *Britannia* (1967) 61 n. 1; SADDINGTON, *Development* 215 n. 58; 251 (Table). Also of Julio-Claudian origin may be one of the Cohortes I Bracaraugustanorum, DEVIJVER, PME, C 133 (mid 1st cent.); ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Hispania y el Ejército Romano* 107.

<sup>331</sup> See *supra* pp. 123 ff.

<sup>332</sup> CICHORIUS (note 47) 256 f.; also CHEESMAN, *Auxilia* 184.

<sup>333</sup> CIL XVI 48; 69; 70; 93.



nium (Manchester) and Melandra, both sites of auxiliary forts<sup>334</sup>. The existence of a second Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum in Raetia is equally well established during the same period from its appearance in provincial auxiliary lists in a considerable number of diplomas from that province covering a period from 107 to 166<sup>335</sup>. For some of this period it was stationed at the fort of Theilenhofen which has produced various traces of this cohort's presence<sup>336</sup>. Its presence in Raetia is also attested in the *cursus honorum* of one of its commanders<sup>337</sup>.

The mention of a Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum in the list of auxiliary units of Syria-Palestine named in the Aphek diploma of 139 had already prompted Cichorius to suggest the possibility of yet another cohort of this name, stationed this time in the east<sup>338</sup>. His preferred explanation of this fact, however, was to conjecture the transfer of one or other of the western cohorts of this name from its station in Britain or Raetia to bolster the Roman army fighting the Jewish Rebellion of 132–135. After a limited period of service engaged in the post-war pacification of the newly constituted province of Syria-Palestine, this unit would eventually have returned to its original base in the west. This explanation has long remained in favour<sup>339</sup>. The appearance of new evidence, however, has virtually eliminated the possibility of a limited tour of duty in Syria-Palestine by the Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum normally stationed in Raetia. First there is now from the region of Pesaro in Italy an inscription, unfortunately undated, naming a *praefectus* of a Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum serving in Syria-Palestine, an office which must surely be dated later than the renaming of the province of Judaea in this form around 135<sup>340</sup>. Second, the discovery of new diplomas from Raetia mentioning the III Bracaraugustanorum as part of that province's garrison, especially two falling within the years 138–144, excludes the possibility that the unit normally stationed in Raetia was the cohort of that name listed in the Syro-Palestinian diplomas of 135–138 (Kalin Ören) and of 139 (Aphek)<sup>341</sup>. This would leave only the Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum normally based in Britain as a candidate available for service in the east sometime between the years 124 and 146, the only extended period for which there is no record of its presence in Britain. The new Köln diploma, however, now rules out this likelihood, since it records a Cohors III Callaec(or)um Bracaraug(ustanorum), presumably the same unit as that named in the Aphek diploma of 139, as still resident in Syria-Palestine in 160<sup>342</sup>.

<sup>334</sup> CIL VII 1230; Ephemeris Epigr. 9, 1277 (Manchester); Britannia 5, 1974, 464 n. 14 (Melandra). For the British Cohors III Bracaraugustanorum generally, P. A. HOLDER, *The Roman Army in Britain* (1982) 114; ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Hispania y el Ejército Romano* 140; ID. (note 328) 383–385.

<sup>335</sup> CIL XVI 55; 94; 117; 118; 121; 125; 183; RMD I 51; RMD II 94; 95; 104 (= RMD I 51); 112. For discussion of this cohort, STEIN, *Kaiserliche Beamte und Truppenkörper* 171 f.; ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Hispania y el Ejército romano* 80 f., and for further bibliography 81 n. 7; also ID. (note 328) 379–383.

<sup>336</sup> CIL III 13546 (stamped tile); ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Hispania y el Ejército Romano* 391 no. 188 (bronze disc).

<sup>337</sup> Q. Papius Q. f. Pap(iria) Maxi[mus] praef(ectus) III Bracar(um) August[an(or)um].

<sup>338</sup> See *supra* n. 332.

<sup>339</sup> E.g. STEIN, *Kaiserliche Beamte und Truppenkörper* 172; ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Hispania y el Ejército Romano* 80; 146 f. (argues in favour of the unit stationed in Raetia as the III Bracaraugustanorum engaged for a short period in Judaea); however, for a revised opinion in favour of a third unit of the same name but separate identity see ID. (note 328) 385 f.

<sup>340</sup> Praef(ectus) Coh(ortis) III Bracarum [in Syria Pal]aes[tina], Année Épigr. 1983, 380. The III Bracaraugustanorum mentioned in Année Épigr. 1979, 631 as part of the Syro-Palestinian *auxilia* listed in the diploma of 154–161 misrepresents the *editio princeps* which reads II[II], REEVES (note 76) 120 = RMD I 60.

<sup>341</sup> The new diplomas are RMD II 94 and 95 (= I 58) respectively.

<sup>342</sup> In his discussion of this diploma ECK (note 38) 455 offers a plausible explanation for the Palestinian unit's origin as a vexillation of one or other of the cohortes III Bracaraugustanorum stationed in Britain or Raetia (he prefers the latter) dispatched to the east to participate in the Jewish War. Once there it might have formed the basis for a new cohort intended for the post-war auxiliary garrison of the province but retaining the identity of its original source.



The history of the various cohortes III Bracaraugustanorum after the reign of Marcus Aurelius is obscure in both east and west. Unlike its sister regiment, the Cohors IV, there is no mention of a Cohors III in the list of units in Syria-Palestine named in the Hebron diploma of 186, so that we may presume its departure for another province sometime in the interval between 160, the latest date when its presence in Syria-Palestine is known, and 186<sup>343</sup>. The only later reference to a cohort Bracaraugustanorum of this numeration appears in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, which lists a Cohors III Valeria Bracarum stationed at Drasdea in Thrace under the Dux Moesiae Secundae, but which of the earlier Cohortes III Bracaraugustanorum, if any, is to be identified with this late unit, is quite uncertain<sup>344</sup>.

#### *Cohors IV Callaecorum Bracaraugustanorum*

Usually known from the tribal identity of the Callaeci in its title, this cohort is recorded only once in its full form as IV Gallaec(orum) Bracaraug(ustanorum)<sup>345</sup>. Its history poses none of the problems presented by its sister regiment the Cohors III, since it appears to have passed its entire existence in the east<sup>346</sup>. Earliest mention of it occurs in the list of Syrian *auxilia* on a diploma of November 7, 88<sup>347</sup>. While in that province it may have performed garrison duty on the Euphrates frontier at the fort of Tille which has produced stamped tiles ending in . . .]AC AVG, perhaps an abbreviation for BR]AC(arum) AVG(ustanorum)<sup>348</sup>. Its presence in the neighboring province of Syria-Palestine by the end of Hadrian's reign is attested by the Aphek diploma<sup>349</sup>. The date of this move is unknown, but the evidence of the *cursus* of a *praefectus* of this unit which refers to it at the time of his command as stationed in Judaea suggests that the transfer had occurred before the reorganization and renaming of that province as Syria-Palaestina ca. 135<sup>350</sup>. This may merely mean that the unit was one of the many brought in to strengthen the Roman forces in Judaea at the beginning of the Jewish War in 132, but the possibility that the cohort had arrived there at an earlier date, possibly during or after the troubles at the end of Trajan's reign to form part of the pre-war garrison of the province should not be overlooked<sup>351</sup>. Whatever the truth may be, the Cohors IV Bracaraugustanorum, once established in Judaea, appears to have become a permanent part of the province's garrison, for it is included amongst the auxiliary units named in both the Köln diploma of 160 and the Hebron diploma of 186<sup>352</sup>. Its history after that date is unknown.

<sup>343</sup> RMD I 69.

<sup>344</sup> NOT. DIGN. or 40,49; on the possible identity of this unit with one of the cohortes III Bracaraugustanorum of the early Empire, ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Hispania y el Ejército Romano* 147; ID. (note 328) 386 (argues for a new formation of late Antiquity).

<sup>345</sup> In the Köln diploma of 160, ECK (note 38) 452; 455.

<sup>346</sup> For previous discussion, CICHORIUS (note 47) 257, and DABROWA (note 224) 236. ROLDÁN HERVÁS, *Hispania y el Ejército Romano* 147 (listed mistakenly and in the indices as Cohors III).

<sup>347</sup> CIL XVI 35.

<sup>348</sup> SPEIDEL (note 113) 17 (= *Roman Army Studies* 1, 283). The tile stamps were identified as those of Ala or Cohors Thracum Augusta by the discoverers (J. G. CROW/D. H. FRENCH, *New Research on the Euphrates Frontier in Turkey*. In: W. S. HANSON/L. J. KEEPIE [eds.], *Roman Frontier Studies* 1979, 3. BAR Internat. Ser. 71,3 [1980] 905).

<sup>349</sup> CIL XVI 87.

<sup>350</sup> CIL VIII 7079 = ILS 5549 = DEVIJVER, *PME*, A 197.

<sup>351</sup> SMALLWOOD, *Jews under Roman Rule* 448 n. 79; MOR (note 54) 580.

<sup>352</sup> ECK (note 38) 454 (Table); RMD I 69. Its presence is also restored in the fragmentary Palestinian diploma of 154–161, but only the numeral II actually survives in the text (RMD I 60).



*Cohortes IIII and VI Ulpiae Petraeorum*

The formation of these units and of their sister regiments, Cohortes I–III and V probably occurred at an early stage in the creation of the Roman province of Arabia after the annexation of the Kingdom of the Nabataeans in 106<sup>353</sup>. Possible factors that prompted the raising of the Petraean cohorts have been summarized by Speidel as the need “1) to remove a possibly rebellious native standing army from the new province, 2) to remove a good many young men able to fight and possibly rebellious, 3) to gain replacements for the units withdrawn from other provinces for the occupation of Arabia”<sup>354</sup>. From the example of other independent kingdoms of the east on the eve of Roman annexation, such as Judaea and Commagene, it is virtually certain that there was already in existence a Nabataean royal army<sup>355</sup>. Certainly in 66, early in the Jewish War, the Nabataean ruler of the day was able to furnish a force of 1,000 cavalry and 5,000 infantry, archers for the most part, for the Roman cause<sup>356</sup>. An army of comparable size, if it existed in 106, would more than suffice to provide an effective nucleus for the 6 new auxiliary cohorts of the young province whose total complement of 3 milliary and 3 quingenary units would have amounted to about 4,500 men<sup>357</sup>. In common with other units formed in the east, they took their identity from the capital of their region, Petra, rather than from their nation, and shared the same *Kaiserbeiname* Ulpia in honour of their founder<sup>358</sup>. The composition of four of the Cohortes Petraeorum, viz. I–III and V, as mixed units is known from inscriptions; so it seems reasonable to suppose that the remaining two were likewise *equitatae*<sup>359</sup>. As such all six regiments shortly after their formation may well have been required to supply mounted detachments, if not their full complement, for Trajan’s Parthian expedition, a campaign that covered terrain markedly similar to the land of their origin<sup>360</sup>. It is also conceivable that the men of the Petraean cohorts were archers, at least at the outset, although the precise designation *sagittaria* is recorded only in the case of the Third Cohort<sup>361</sup>.

Eventually the cohortes Petraeorum were stationed in the neighboring provinces of Syria, Judaea, and Cappadocia, amongst people who in some cases will have been longstanding enemies<sup>362</sup>. Information on the Cohortes Petraeorum IIII and VI whose presence is conjectured on the Kalın Ören fragment is limited. Both were presumably quingenary units and as such appear second to last in the list of auxiliary units for Syria-Palestine in the Aphék diploma of 139<sup>363</sup>. Both units were still stationed there over twenty years later

<sup>353</sup> CICHORIUS (note 47) 324 f.

<sup>354</sup> SPEIDEL (note 97) 719 f. (= Roman Army Studies 1, 261 f.).

<sup>355</sup> For a detailed account, J. M. C. BOWSER, *The Nabataean Army*. In: FRENCH/LIGHTFOOT (note 48) 19–30.

<sup>356</sup> Ios. bel. Iud. 3,68.

<sup>357</sup> For milliary status of Cohortes I–III, cf. HOLDER, *Studies in the Auxilia* 12 n. 5.

<sup>358</sup> The title Ulpia is attested for Cohors I (ILS 9471 = DEVIJVER, PME, A 5; CIL XVI 106; CIL III 600 = ILS 2724); Cohors II (CIL XI 5669 = ILS 2728 = DEVIJVER, PME, C 72); Cohors III (ILS 9471 = DEVIJVER, PME, A 4; ILS 9013 = DEVIJVER, PME, C 101); Cohors V (CIL XIV 162 = DEVIJVER, PME, C 118; CIL XVI 106); Cohors VI (Année Épigr. 1924, 132). Both IV and VI are named Ulpia together as a pair in the Köln diploma (ECK [note 38] 452). For inconsistency in applying *Kaiserbeinamen*, cf. the Valerius Lollianus inscription where Cohors I appears with the title Ulpia Petraeorum, while V is named without it (CIL III 600 = ILS 2724).

<sup>359</sup> For I and V, cf. CIL III 600 = ILS 2724; II (CIL IX 5669 = ILS 2728); III (ILS 9013 = Année Épigr. 1908, 200; Année Épigr. 1911, 161 and 1931, 36).

<sup>360</sup> In remarkably similar circumstances Cohortes I and V Petraeorum, along with numerous other units, provided detachments of cavalry for Valerius Lollianus’s command in Mesopotamia, probably during Lucius Verus’s Parthian campaign of 162–165 (CIL III 600 = ILS 2724).

<sup>361</sup> ARR. ektaxis 18.

<sup>362</sup> Syria, Cohortes I and V (CIL XVI 106); Cappadocia, Cohors III (ARR. ektaxis 18 and NOT. DIGN. or. 38,27; CIL IX 6010; ILS 9013 = Année Épigr. 1908, 200; Année Épigr. 1931, 36); Palestine, Cohortes IV and VI (CIL XVI 87).

<sup>363</sup> CIL XVI 87, where they are listed without the *Kaiserbeiname* Ulpia, but this is not unusual in contemporary lists. See note concerning II Ulpia Galatarum *supra* p. 127.



when the diploma of 160 was issued<sup>364</sup>. The discovery of an inscription mentioning the Coh(ors) VI Ulpi(a) Petr(aeorum) at Emmaus-Nicopolis, an important cross-road on the route leading from Jerusalem to the coast, may indicate the presence of its base in the vicinity<sup>365</sup>. The absence of both units from the auxiliary list of the Palestinian diploma of 186, however, might indicate that they had been transferred by that date. Their whereabouts at that time and any subsequent movements are unknown<sup>366</sup>.

### *Cohors V Gemella C.R.*

The early history of this unit is obscure, the date of its formation and the occasion when its members acquired Roman citizenship being alike unknown<sup>367</sup>. It was apparently a quingenary cohort when it formed part of the auxiliary garrison of Syria-Palestine in 139, for it appears in the Aphek diploma of that year at the end of the list and without the milliary symbol employed in that text to signify the milliary units<sup>368</sup>. There is some indication, however, that it may at one time have been a milliary unit for a limited period at least. The only known commander of this unit whose name survives is recorded in an inscription from Ephesus as *tribunus*, the title normally reserved for the command of milliary cohorts<sup>369</sup>. In his previous command, his *militia prima*, this individual had been awarded military honours for distinguished service in Trajan's Parthian Expedition. It is conceivable therefore that he assumed his *militia secunda* during the same campaign, and that his new unit, the Cohors V Gemella c.R. had been enlarged to milliary size for that specific expedition. The war over, its gradual reduction in size in the intervening decades would have returned it to its original quingenary size by the time it appears in the Aphek diploma. The circumstances and date of this regiment's transfer to Judaea are unknown, but it is likely that it was brought in along with many other auxiliary units from other parts of the region to participate in the War against Bar-Kokhba. Its continuing presence in the same province for a half century after the War is confirmed by its inclusion in the lists of *auxilia* in both the Köln diploma of 160 and the Hebron diploma of 186<sup>370</sup>. In both texts the Cohors V Gemella c.R. heads the list of cohorts, in sharp contrast to the last place it occupies in the Aphek diploma of 139. The reason for this drastic transposition, however, remains a mystery<sup>371</sup>. There is no record of the cohort's movements after 186.

<sup>364</sup> ECK (note 38) 452. There are also traces of letters in the Syro-Palestinian diploma of 154–161 indicating the presence of at least one Petraean cohort in that list also (RMD I 60).

<sup>365</sup> L.-H. VINCENT/F.-M. ABEL, Emmaus, sa basilique et son histoire (1932) 427 no. 4 = Année Épigr. 1924, 132; also *ibid.* no. 6 for another fragment referring to a cohort otherwise unidentified (= CIL III 13588).

<sup>366</sup> The latest known reference to either of these units records a prefect of the VI Petraeorum in an inscription from Ephesus datable to the time of Caracalla or later (Année Épigr. 1972, 592 = DEVIJVER, PME, Incerti 24).

<sup>367</sup> CICHORIUS (note 47) 292; on the significance of Gemina or Gemella in the nomenclature of military units, generally supposed to commemorate the amalgamation of two older units, E. R. BIRLEY, A Note on the Title Gemina. *Journal Roman Stud.* 18, 1928, 57.

<sup>368</sup> CIL XVI 87.

<sup>369</sup> J. KEIL, *Forschungen in Ephesos* IV 1 (1932) 89 f. = Année Épigr. 1935, 167 = DEVIJVER (note 59) no. 2 = *id.*, PME, A 81.

<sup>370</sup> ECK (note 38) 451–459 (for 160); RMD I 69 and LIFSHITZ (note 46) 117–122 (for 186).

<sup>371</sup> In all other particulars the sequence of cohorts in the Aphek and Köln diplomas is identical. The illegible condition of the opening portion of the cohort list in the Hebron diploma presents difficulties, but Lifshitz's identification of the first unit as the V Gemella c.R. has been convincingly vindicated by the appearance of the Köln diploma. For discussion of the problem, ROXAN, RMD I pp. 90 f. n. 4. The listing of the V Gemella c.R. in first position of the provincial *auxilia* in the diplomas of 160 and 186 conflicts with the usual practice in diplomas of listing units in numerical sequence which is observed in other respects in both documents. Thus in the Aphek diploma the Cohors V Gemella c.R. is properly placed after units numbered I through IV (the VI Petraeorum being paired as a single group with its sis-



*Abbreviations*

APPLEBAUM, Prolegomena	S. APPLEBAUM, <i>Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt</i> (A.D. 132–135). BAR Suppl. Ser. 7 (1976).
CHEESMAN, Auxilia	G. L. CHEESMAN, <i>The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army</i> (1914).
DEVIJVER, PME	H. DEVIJVER, <i>Prosopographia Militarium Equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum</i> , 3 vols. (1976–1980).
Heer und Integrationspolitik	W. ECK/H. WOLFF (eds.), <i>Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die röm. Militärdiplome als historische Quelle</i> . Passauer Hist. Forsch. 2 (1986).
HOLDER, Studies in the Auxilia	P. A. HOLDER, <i>Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army</i> . BAR Internat. Ser. 70 (1980).
KENNEDY, Auxilia and Numeri	D. L. KENNEDY, <i>The Auxilia and Numeri Raised in the Roman Province of Syria</i> (unpubl. D.Phil. diss., Oxford 1981).
KRAFT, Rekrutierung	K. KRAFT, <i>Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau</i> . Diss. Bernensiae I 3 (1951).
RMD I	M. M. ROXAN, <i>Roman Military Diplomas 1954–1977</i> . Inst. of Arch. London, Occasional Publ. 2 (1978).
RMD II	M. M. ROXAN, <i>Roman Military Diplomas 1978–1984</i> . Inst. of Arch. London, Occasional Publ. 9 (1985).
ROXAN, Pre-Severan Auxilia	M. M. ROXAN, <i>Pre-Severan Auxilia Named in the Notitia Dignitatum</i> . In: R. GOODBURN/P. BARTHOLOMEW (eds.), <i>Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum</i> . BAR Suppl. Ser. 15 (1976).
ROLDÁN HERVÁS, Hispania y el Ejército Romano	J. M. ROLDÁN HERVÁS, <i>Hispania y el Ejército Romano</i> . Acta Salmanticensia 76 (1974).
SADDINGTON, Development	D. B. SADDINGTON, <i>The Development of the Roman Auxiliary Forces from Caesar to Vespasian</i> (49 B.C.–A.D. 79) (1982).
SCHÜRER, History of the Jewish People	E. SCHÜRER, <i>The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ</i> , 3 vols. (Revised edition 1973).
SMALLWOOD, Jews under Roman Rule	E. M. SMALLWOOD, <i>The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian</i> . Stud. in Judaism in Late Antiquity 20 (1976).
STEIN, Kaiserliche Beamte und Truppenkörper	E. STEIN, <i>Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im röm. Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat</i> . Beitr. zur Verwaltungsgesch. Germaniens 1 (1932).
WAGNER, Dislokation	W. WAGNER, <i>Die Dislokation der röm. Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus</i> (1938).

*Picture credit*

1;4 D. Colquhoun

2;3 J. Russell

ter cohort the IV). Exceptions were permitted in the case of milliary units which might take precedence in the list over quingenary units even if their numerical designation was higher. This explanation cannot account for the V Gemella c. R's premier place in the two later diplomas, however, both of which indicate the two milliary cohorts, I Thracum milliaria and I Sebastena milliaria, in second and third places respectively, with the appropriate symbol (X), which is missing in the case of the V Gemella. For discussion, ECK (note 38) 455.