



<https://publications.dainst.org>

iDAI.publications

ELEKTRONISCHE PUBLIKATIONEN DES
DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS

Dies ist ein digitaler Sonderdruck des Beitrags / This is a digital offprint of the article

Askold Ivantchik – Valentina Krapivina A Roman Military Diploma Issued to a Sailor of the Classis Flavia Moesica

aus / from

Chiron

Ausgabe / Issue **37 • 2007**

Seite / Page **219–242**

<https://publications.dainst.org/journals/chiron/374/4982> • urn:nbn:de:0048-chiron-2007-37-p219-242-v4982.5

Verantwortliche Redaktion / Publishing editor

Redaktion Chiron | Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Amalienstr. 73 b, 80799 München

Weitere Informationen unter / For further information see <https://publications.dainst.org/journals/chiron>

ISSN der Online-Ausgabe / ISSN of the online edition **2510-5396**

Verlag / Publisher **Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin**

©2017 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0

Email: info@dainst.de / Web: dainst.org

Nutzungsbedingungen: Mit dem Herunterladen erkennen Sie die Nutzungsbedingungen (<https://publications.dainst.org/terms-of-use>) von iDAI.publications an. Die Nutzung der Inhalte ist ausschließlich privaten Nutzerinnen / Nutzern für den eigenen wissenschaftlichen und sonstigen privaten Gebrauch gestattet. Sämtliche Texte, Bilder und sonstige Inhalte in diesem Dokument unterliegen dem Schutz des Urheberrechts gemäß dem Urheberrechtsgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Die Inhalte können von Ihnen nur dann genutzt und vervielfältigt werden, wenn Ihnen dies im Einzelfall durch den Rechteinhaber oder die Schrankenregelungen des Urheberrechts gestattet ist. Jede Art der Nutzung zu gewerblichen Zwecken ist untersagt. Zu den Möglichkeiten einer Lizenzierung von Nutzungsrechten wenden Sie sich bitte direkt an die verantwortlichen Herausgeberinnen/Herausgeber der entsprechenden Publikationsorgane oder an die Online-Redaktion des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (info@dainst.de).

Terms of use: By downloading you accept the terms of use (<https://publications.dainst.org/terms-of-use>) of iDAI.publications. All materials including texts, articles, images and other content contained in this document are subject to the German copyright. The contents are for personal use only and may only be reproduced or made accessible to third parties if you have gained permission from the copyright owner. Any form of commercial use is expressly prohibited. When seeking the granting of licenses of use or permission to reproduce any kind of material please contact the responsible editors of the publications or contact the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (info@dainst.de).

ASKOLD IVANTCHIK – VALENTINA KRAPIVINA

A Roman Military Diploma Issued to a Sailor of the Classis Flavia Moesica¹

In August 2004 two joining fragments of a bronze plate (Field No. O-2004/R-25/3302) were found during excavations in the south part of the city-site of Olbia (Section R-25)² in the upper level of a room's floor laid out over virgin soil. The following year, when work was continuing in the same part of the site, another fragment was found, which joined the two previous ones (Field No. O-2005/R-25/3196). These finds were made in the north-east room of the north house on the lower terrace, on the slope leading down to the estuary (only the south-western part of the house has survived in its entirety). The house had been built on virgin soil up against the south-east defensive wall of Olbia's citadel in the second half of the 2nd century AD. It had subsequently been repaired and later destroyed by fire in the fourth decade of the 3rd century AD during the so-called first rout of Olbia by the Goths. It was restored and then destroyed again during the second rout by the Goths in 269–270. At the end of the 3rd century AD, the walls of this room were partly re-used to provide foundations for the erection of a public building. Stone robbing in the modern period has subsequently damaged the walls greatly.

Not far from this house in the remains of the collapsed defensive wall, two Latin inscriptions had been found previously. Adjacent to the wall a fragment of a marble

¹ This article was written within the framework of a Research Project of the Russian Foundation of Fundamental Research (RFFI) No. 05-06-80055. The description of the context of this find and the analysis of the archaeological data are the work of V. V. KRAPIVINA; the reading and the analysis of the diploma text that of A. I. IVANTCHIK. A. I. IVANTCHIK would like to thank MATTHÄUS HEIL for his assistance and his friendly welcome to the project of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences Prosopographia Imperii Romani in April 2005, thanks to which he was able to have access to part of the academic literature cited here. For the preliminary publication of the diploma, see IVANTCHIK – KRAPIVINA 2005. That publication was prepared before the third fragment of the diploma was found and was based only on the first two. The appearance of the third fragment, which confirmed some reconstructions of the text, necessitated changes in others as a result of which a number of important elements of the interpretation had to be amended. In addition, when the first article was being prepared for publication, a number of substantial distortions appeared in it and the authors did not receive the proofs. For these reasons the present publication needs to replace that mentioned above, which readers would do best to disregard.

² Excavations carried out by V. V. KRAPIVINA, A. V. BUJSKIKH and V. V. KRUTILOV.

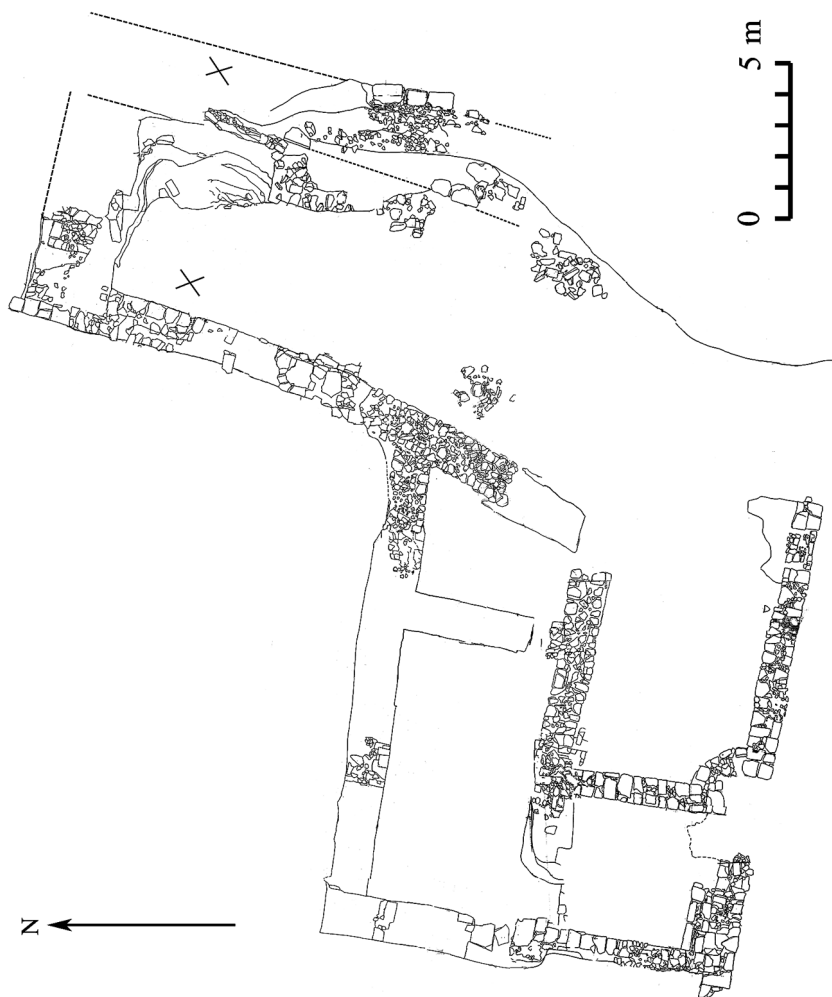


Fig. 1: Plan of the house adjacent to the south-east wall of Olbia's citadel. The findspot of the diploma fragments are marked with daggers.

tablet with a list of names from the second half of the 2nd century AD (not published) was found, as well as a fragment of a votive marble tile with a depiction of a «Thracian horseman» and mention of the *Cohors I Cilicum Deciana* (249–250).³ In the same place a fragment of the votive plate with a depiction of Mithras Tauroctonus was found.⁴ There can be no doubt that they were linked with the Roman garrison. The concentration of such finds in this sector, which is particularly noteworthy in view of the rarity of Latin inscriptions in Olbia (see below), adds weight to the suggestion that the location of the Roman garrison stationed in the town was nearby.

The height of the three fragments of the bronze plate is 6.5 cm, with a width of 5.9 cm and 0.1 cm thick (taken together). The size of the epigraphic field on the front is 6.3 × 5.4 cm; to the right and at the bottom it was bordered by a deep incised line. On the right side the inscription extends as far as the line. At the bottom the width of the margin between text and incised line is 0.3 cm; from the incised line to the lower edge 0.1 cm and to the right edge 0.5 cm. Apart from the right-hand and lower edges, the plate is broken along all its edges. Letters of a height between 2 and 3 cm have been worked with care and are easily legible on the front surface; the lines are even. On the reverse of the tablet the inscription has been worked perpendicularly to the direction of the inscription on the front. Accordingly, the lower and right-hand edges of the inscription have survived. On the reverse the epigraphic field is edged by an incised line only on the right. The lower margin is 0.6 cm wide and the right-hand margin measures 0.4 cm wide up to the line; beyond the line there is a further margin 0.1 cm wide. Letters 0.2–0.4 cm high have been worked in cursive script far less carefully than on the front.

It was immediately clear that what had been found was a Roman military diploma. This diploma is unique for the North Pontic region as it is only the second such find during all the years of excavations there. The previous find, a small fragment of a diploma delivered to a Praetorian,⁵ had been made in 1952 by G. D. BELOV during excavations at Chersonesus.

The new document is a fragment of the first tablet of a diploma; its side A is the outer face and side B the inner face of the tabella. The two sides have been executed in different hands and the text on side B has been written far more carelessly and contains more abbreviations; nevertheless it can be read quite easily.⁶ The execution of the various parts of the diploma in different hands was a common feature of such documents.⁷ Diplomas

³ ZUBAR – KRAPIVINA 1999, 76–83; 2000, 225–233.

⁴ KRAPIVINA 1994, 168–171.

⁵ KALASHNIK 1984, 165–168 (not in RMD).

⁶ On the progressive deterioration of the text on the inside of diplomas in the 2nd century, especially between 143 and 153, and on the improvement in quality after 153, as well as on the probable reasons of these processes, see ECK 2003, 65–68 = ECK 2004, 38–41.

⁷ Cf. a list of such incidents in RMD III, Appendix II, pp. 339–340.

were being manufactured on a mass scale⁸ and the majority of the standard text was being repeated, which is why various devices were employed to facilitate efficiency of this process; they employed different engravers to write various parts of the texts.⁹ Cf. Fig. 2 and 3.

The surviving text of the diploma published here appears as follows:

A (extr.)

- [---]
 [---]N̄IS PLVRI[.....]
 [---]Ş DIMISSIS HONEŞT[.]
 [---]N̄NOMIN SVBSCRIPTA
 [---]OMANAM QVI EORVM
 5 [---]T ET CONVB CVM VXORIB
 [---]SS CVM EST CVITAS IS DA
 [---]AŞ POSTEA DVXISS DVMTA
 [---] A D VI ID FEB *vac.*
 [---]O M METILIO REĜVĻO Ç[.]Ş
 10 [---]MOESIC *vac.* CŪ[---]
 [---]POTAMO[---]
 [---]ALE *vac.* FET[---]
 [---]T EX TABVL[---]
 [---]MAE IN MVR[---]
 15 [---]AD MINER[---]

B (intus)

- [---]
 [---]L̄ N̄VMID [---]
 [---]EI Ī CHALCD SAG ET
 [---]ERM ET Ī BRACAVC LVI
 [---]Ş INFER SVB VITRASIO
 5 [---]ASS XXVI PLVRIBVSVE
 [---]ISS QVOR NŌ[---]
 [---]I EOR NON [---]
 [---]ŞTVNC HAB[---]
 10 [---]AŞ POSTE[---]

⁸ According to the estimates made by W. Eck, several thousand were produced a year: Eck 2003, 65, 77 = Eck 2004, 37, 49.

⁹ See Eck 2003, 65–66 = Eck 2004, 37–38.

In A, ll. 8–9 the dating formula can be easily restored as follows: *A(nte) d(iem) VI id(us) feb(ruarias) [M(arco) Civica Barbar]o M(arco) Metilio Reḡuḡo c[o](n)ṡ(ulibus)*. The name of the second consul has survived almost in its entirety, which enables us to restore both the name of the first consul and to specify the year exactly: both the consuls mentioned were *ordinarii* in the year 157. The first is to be identified as M. Vetuslenus Civica Barbarus and the second as M. Metilius Aquillius Regulus Nepos Volusius Torquatus Fronto.¹⁰ Thus, the diploma reproduces a *constitutio* of February 8, 157. Thanks to the date it is easy to restore the standard list of titles for Antoninus Pius at the beginning of the diploma: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadriani f(ilius) divi Traiani Parthic(i) nep(os) divi Nervae pronep(os) T(itus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius pont(ifex) max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XX (vel XIX) imp(erator) II co(n)s(ul) IIII p(ater) p(atriciae)*.

At the beginning of B, l. 4 the end of the name of the province has survived, to which the constitution in question relates: *[Moe]ṡ(ia) infer(iore)*. It is closely in tune with what might have been expected: it is well known that the troops stationed in the cities of the North Pontic region were drawn from among the units based in the adjacent Roman province – Lower Moesia – and that they came under the military commanders of that province.

This *constitutio* of February 8, 157 for Lower Moesia is recorded for the first time, but a *constitutio* for another province – Lower Pannonia – dating from the same year and issued on the same day has already been recorded. Two such diplomas were found in 1969 during excavations at Dunakömlőd (Lussonium) in Hungary.¹¹ So we now have at our disposal new evidence demonstrating that on one and the same day *constitutiones* might be issued for more than one province.¹² For a year soon afterwards – 161 – evidence exists demonstrating that a *constitutio* was issued simultaneously for Upper Moesia and Upper Pannonia¹³ and moreover on the same day – February 8. This coincidence makes it possible to assume that during the reign of Antoninus Pius for at least a number of years *constitutiones* were issued simultaneously for troops from several Danubian provinces and that this event would take place on a specific day: February 8.

¹⁰ ALFÖLDY 1977, 169, *pace* PIR² (1936) C 602; VISY 1982, 64, cf. PIR² (1983), M 540. Cf. DEGRASSI 1952, 44.

¹¹ VISY 1982, 60–65; AE 1983, 784–785; RMD II, 102, 103.

¹² For most years in which diplomas were issued at an intensive rate two such decrees have been recorded by now. For some years there are even more – as many as five – but they were usually issued on different days. Several cases have been recorded when constitutions for two or even three provinces were issued on one and the same day: ROXAN 1997, 288–289; ECK 2003, 60 = ECK 2004, 32; RMD IV, 239–241.

¹³ PFERDEHIRT 2001, 261–266 = RMD V, 430; RMD I, 55. ECK 2003, 60, note 28 = ECK 2004, 32, note 29 indicates by mistake Lower Moesia and Upper Pannonia. Cf. RMD III, 176; IV, 279; V, 431.



Fig. 2: Diploma from Olbia, side A



Fig. 3: Diploma from Olbia, side B

The diplomas from Dunakömlőd make it clear that it is imperative to introduce into the list of Antoninus Pius' titles in our diploma *tr(ibunica) pot(estate) XIX* and not *XX*, although this period relates to the time between December 10, 155 and December 9, 156.¹⁴ This gap between the date for the *tribunicia potestas* and the date for the consuls in the diplomas is noted several times.¹⁵ This can be explained by the fact that the first date refers to the time when the emperor signed the decree and the second to the time when it was published in Rome or when its copy was prepared in the form of a diploma.¹⁶

The date of the diploma fits perfectly well with B, l. 4 on the inner face of the document, where the first part of the name of the legate has survived indicating who at the time was in command of the troops in Lower Moesia: *sub Vitrasio [Pollione leg(ato)]*. The fact that in precisely the year 157 Vitrasius Pollio had been the legate of Lower Moesia had already been reliably borne out by a bi-lingual inscription from Callatis. A precise date was stated in that inscription: it was being made in the 20th year of Antoninus Pius' tribunician power,¹⁷ i.e. the period between December 10, 156 and December 9, 157.¹⁸ Vitrasius Pollio (full name: T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio) is quite well known, with his activities as legate of Lower Moesia recorded in a whole range of inscriptions;¹⁹ he himself had been consul twice (*suffectus* in 150 or 151 and *ordinarius* in 176), had occupied a number of other posts, and he had been married to Annia Fundania Faustina cousin to the emperor Marcus Aurelius. The diploma from Olbia certifies reliably that Vitrasius Pollio was the legate of Lower Moesia not only in the year 157, as is indicated by the inscription from Callatis, but also a year earlier in 156. Indeed, despite the fact that the relevant imperial decree had been made public on February 8, 157, it must have been signed prior to December 10, 156 as argued above.

¹⁴ PIR² (1933), A 1513; KIENAST 2004, 134.

¹⁵ ECK 2002, 257–261; ECK 2003, 60 = ECK 2004, 45–50. Cf. RÉMY 2003, 269–272. Despite the author's incorrect statement, both the diplomas from Dunakömlőd have identical indications for their date – both are dated to the 19th year of Antoninus Pius' tribunician power.

¹⁶ ROXAN 1986, 266–267, note 4.

¹⁷ ISM III 60 = AE 1937, 247.

¹⁸ PIR² (1933), A 1513; KIENAST 2004, 134.

¹⁹ On Vitrasius Pollio complete with sources, see: STEIN 1940, 72–75; FITZ 1966, 47; SYME 1968, 336–337; ALFÖLDY 1977, 231; THOMASSON 1984, 20–21 (No. 20.87); 1990, 32; DORUȚIU-BOILĂ 1989, 333–334; KOLENDO 1992, 199–205; AVRAM, ISM III, 373–374. Apart from the above-mentioned inscription from Callatis, see: ISM I 74 (= AE 1961, 292 = BE 1961, p. 202, No. 425); 149; 150 (= AE 1919, 11 + SEG 2, 454) (Histria); ISM III 115 (= SEG 24, 1030 = AE 1963, 177) (Callatis); IGBulg I 15 (= IGRR I 663) (Dionysopolis); 59 (= CIL III 762 = ILS 5751 = IGRR *I 1440); 60; 61; 86 bis (Odessus); ALEXANDROV 1986, 36–37 (= AE 1985, 751) (Montana); CIL III 7420 (6125) (Almus); CIL III 14214, 1 (Tropaeum Traiani); KOLENDO 1992, 199–200 (Novae). Cf. CIL II 5679 = ILS 1113; CIL VI 1540, 31675 = ILS 1112 (*cursus honorum* of Vitrasius Pollio).

In recent years new diplomas have been published, which taken together with those already known, make it possible to form quite a detailed picture of the auxiliary units making up the army of Lower Moesia during the time of Antoninus Pius. The diploma from Olbia also belongs to this group and should be compared with them. To begin, one has to mention a diploma known since 1953, which relates to the troops of Lower Moesia and was discovered in the village of Brestovene in Bulgaria.²⁰ Unfortunately, its exact date has not survived, only the indication that Antoninus Pius had been consul four times. This evidence provides a *terminus post quem*: Antoninus Pius was consul for the fourth time in the year 145. In the diploma in question the name of a legate has survived in part: on the outer face we find the beginning of the name VI[---] and on the inner face we have the end, which the first editor read as [---]LIONE or [---]LLINO. When pointing out the possibility of the restoration Vi[trasio Pol]lione, however, VENEDIKOV rejects it on the basis that the name of the legate would never be used in that form separately from the cognomen *Proculus*.²¹ But in fact such instances have been recorded on a number of occasions.²² As a result of his assumption, VENEDIKOV suggested that the name of the unknown legate might be restored as follows: *sub Vi[---]llino leg(ato)*. Later E. DORUȚIU-BOILĂ also ruled out the possibility that the name in this diploma might be restored as Vitrasius Pollio on the grounds that there is a mention of the *Cohors I Sugambrorum veterana* and one of the diplomas from the year 157, when Vitrasius Pollio was legate for Lower Moesia, mentions a cohort of Sugambri among the troops stationed in Syria (CIL XVI, 106). For this reason she proposed that the first two letters of the legate's name should be read not as VI but VL and that the name should then be read as Ul[pio Messa]llino referring to the consul of 147, C. Prastina Messalinus, whose full name was held to be C. Ulpius Pacatus Prastina Messalinus.²³ M. ROXAN, however, has pointed out that there were two cohorts of Sugambri in Lower Moesia in the Flavian period: *Cohors I Sugambrorum tironum* and *Cohors I Sugambrorum veterana*,²⁴ and she suggested that the first of these had been relocated to Syria, while the second remained behind in Moesia, particularly since the

²⁰ VENEDIKOV 1953, 61–68; AE 1961, 128; RMD I, 50.

²¹ VENEDIKOV 1953, 67.

²² Cf. DORUȚIU-BOILĂ 1968, 398; 1989, 327 with examples from the sources, to which can now be added the inscription from Montana, in which the legate is mentioned only by his last two names: ALEXANDROV 1986, 36–37 = AE 1985, 751.

²³ DORUȚIU-BOILĂ 1968, 398–399. This reading was accepted by ALFÖLDY 1977, 231, note 135. Cf. THOMASSON 1984, 134 (No. 20.84).

²⁴ Two new diplomas from the Trajanic period make it clear that in the year 105 both cohorts were in Lower Moesia: PFERDEHIRT 2004, 30–34, Nos. 10, 11. These two diplomas and also the diploma CIL XVI, 50 were issued on one and the same day and reflect the existence of three different *constitutiones* for Lower Moesia, each of which related to only part of the army of this province. Finally in the diploma RMD IV, 222 dated to September 25, 111 and containing a *constitutio* for Lower Moesia (3 *alae* and 7 *cohortes*) the two cohorts of Sugambri are mentioned together: in second place, *Cohors I Sugambror(um) veterana* and in fourth place *I Claudia Sugambror(um) tironum*.

Syrian cohort was not designated as *veterana* (CIL XVI, 106; ILS 2724).²⁵ Confirmation of this proposal was provided recently: in a diploma containing a *constitutio* for Syria in the year 153, the name of the *Cohors I Claud(ia) Sugamb(or)um tiron(um)* was found.²⁶ The recently published epitaph for a soldier from *Cohors I Sugamborum veterana* found in Chersonesus also strengthens this proposal.²⁷ This epitaph dates for palaeographical reasons to the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century AD and then indicates that this cohort was in Lower Moesia after the year 157 as well. These details make the reading *Ul[pio Messa]lino* in the diploma from Brestovene impossible.²⁸ Furthermore the formulas used in the diploma, with the detailed list of military units on the reverse, indicate a date after 153.²⁹ Finally, the appellation of the legate as Ulpius Messalinus should have appeared unusual from the very beginning: in documents he is named C. Prastina Messalinus and only once – in the stamp CIL XV, 960 – is he referred to as C. Prastina Pacat(us). These data indicate that the restoration of the text suggested for the inscription possibly originating from Oescus – *Ulp(ius) [Pacatus] Prastin(a) Messalinus*³⁰ – appeared as an isolated exception. Subsequent research has shown that the legate in question appears not to have held the names Ulpius Pacatus at all, but to have been named C. Prastina Messalinus, and thus the legate Ulpius Messalinus turns out to be a phantom figure.³¹ It thus emerges that the reading initially suggested by M. ROXAN for the name of the legate in this diploma – *Vi[trasio] Pol[lione]*³² – is the only possibility. The find of the diploma in Olbia, in which the name Vitrasius Pollio can be reliably restored, provides additional confirmation for this reading. This, in turn, means that the diploma from Brestovene is of a date very close to that of the diploma from Olbia.

The restoration of the name of the legate Vitrasius Pollio makes it possible to date the diploma from Brestovene fairly reliably. The *terminus ante quem* can be gleaned from inscription ISM I, 317 = CIL III, 12513 from Histria executed in the 22nd year of Antoninus Pius' tribunician power, i.e. between December 10, 158 and December 9,

²⁵ RMD I, p. 73, *pace* SPAUL 2000, 245–246.

²⁶ WEISS 1999, 282, note 12; 2006, 264–280. Cf. RMD IV, p. 434, No. 222, note 6. SPAUL 2000, 245–246 does not know this diploma and incorrectly links diploma CIL XVI, 106 with the *Cohors veterana*.

²⁷ TUROVSKIJ – FILIPPENKO 1996, 140–143. Unknown to SPAUL 2000, 245–246.

²⁸ Objections to the consideration by M. ROXAN voiced in the article DORUȚIU-BOILĂ 1989, 329–330 are not convincing.

²⁹ RMD I, p. 69, No. 46, note 1; WEISS 2001, 264, note 23.

³⁰ SYME 1968, 336; DORUȚIU-BOILĂ 1968, 399.

³¹ FITZ 1990, 47–52, cf. AE 1991, 1369; THOMASSON 1996, 148–149; PIR² (1998) P 926; RMD IV, p. 384. The brick stamp would appear to contain an error and in the inscription assumed to have originated from Oescus, the letters *VLP* probably relate to the name *colonia Ulpia Oescus*.

³² Cf., however, ROXAN – ECK 1997, 196, note 15; 198, note 43; ROXAN 1997, 290, note 18; 299, in which the reading of the legate's name as *Ul[pio Messa]lino* is accepted and the diploma from Brestovene is dated to 152/154 with a question mark.

159. At that time the legate was T. Iulius Statilius Severus.³³ The terminus post quem can be derived from two inscriptions: a bilingual inscription from Histria (ISM I, 151) dated between December 10, 154 and December 9, 155 (18th year of Antoninus Pius' tribunician power) and an inscription from Montana (CIL III, 7449) dated with reference to the consuls to the year 155. Both inscriptions mention the legate T. Flavius Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo.³⁴ This makes it clear that Vitrasius Pollio became legate in 156, as is testified by the diploma from Olbia, and remained legate in 157, when he is mentioned in the inscription from Callatis. These data do not enable us to establish whether he was still legate in the year 158, or whether he had already been replaced by his successor, T. Iulius Statilius Severus, who is mentioned for the first time as legate in 159 (cf. below).

A fragment of another diploma of a very similar date was published in 2001.³⁵ The script on both the outer and inner sides very closely resembles the script of the diploma from Olbia. It is likely that one and the same engraver or engravers (if the front and the reverse sides were written by different engravers) were involved. Thanks to the surviving mention of the legate – T. Flavius Longinus – the diploma can be dated to c. 155.

In order to restore the text of the Olbian diploma further diplomas issued in the previous decade are also of importance. This applies, in particular, to a recently published diploma dating from the year 146 containing – unlike the other documents from the group under discussion – a complete list of military units consisting of 5 *alae* and 11 *cohortes*.³⁶ Finally, a *constitutio* from the previous year 145, dated April 7 is now known to us thanks to two fragments of the same diploma, one of which was published in the early 1990's and the second in 2001.³⁷ A comparison of these two diplomas makes it possible to obtain a complete list of the units that were mentioned in this *constitutio*. The lists of the units which have survived in the above-mentioned diplomas are presented in the form of a table below (the abbreviated names of the *alae* and the *cohortes* do not always exactly reproduce the abbreviations used in each specific diploma; in the case of the Olbian diploma only the names of units which have survived are provided in the table):

³³ THOMASSON 1984, 135 (No. 20.88).

³⁴ THOMASSON 1984, 134 (No. 20.86).

³⁵ WEISS 2001, 263–265, pl. II; RMD V, 414.

³⁶ WEISS 1999, 279–286; RMD IV, 270.

³⁷ Fragment A: TORBATOV 1991, 23–27 = TORBATOV 1994, 159–167; AE 1991, 1380 = AE 1994, 1528 = RMD III, 165; Fragment B: WEISS 2001, 261–263. Both fragments together: RMD V, 399/165.

7/04/145 RMD V, 399/165	146 RMD IV, 270	c. 155 RMD V, 414	156/158 RMD I, 50	8/02/157 Olbia
Alae: 5 1. I Gallor. et Pann. 2. I Gall. Atectorig. 3. I Vespas. Dardan. 4. I Fl Gaetul. 5. II Hisp. Arvac.	Alae: 5 1. I Gall. et Pann. 2. I Gall. Atectorig. 4. Vespas. Dardan. 5. Fl. Gaetul. 3. II Hisp. Arvac.	[---]	Alae: 5 1. [I Ga]ll. et Pann. 2. Gall. Ate[ctorig.] 4. I Vespas. Dardan. 5. [I Fl. Gaetul.] 3. II Hisp.] Arvac.	[---]
Cohortes: 11 1. I Bracar. c.R. 2. II Mattiac. 3. I Fl. Numid. 4. I Claud. Sugambr. vet. 5. I Calch. sag. 6. I Cilic. sag. 7. I Thr. Syr. 8. I. German. 9. II Bracaraugust. 10. I Lusit. Cyr. 11. II Fl. Britton	Cohortes: 11 1. I Bracar. c.R. 2. II Mattiacor. 3. I Flavia Numid. 4. I Claudia Sugambrum veter. 6. II Chalcidenor. sag. 7. I Cilicum sag. 8. I Thracum Syr. 9. I Germanor. 10. I Bracar. 5. I Lusitanor. 11. II Flavia Britton.	Cohortes: [11] 1. [I Bracar. c.R.] 2. [I Fl.] N[umid.] 4. [I. Claud. S]ugam. vet. 6. II Chalc. sag. 7. [I Cilic. sag.] 8. [I Thrac. Syr]iac. 9. I Germ[an.] 10. II Br[acaug.] 5. [I Lusit. Cyren.] 3. [II Fl. Britto]n. 11. [I Cisi]padens.	Cohortes: 11 1. I Brac. 2. I Fl. Numid. 4. [I Cl.] Sugambr. vet. 6. II [Ch]alc. sag. 7. I Cilic. sag. 8. I [Thrac.] Syr. 9. I Germ. c.R. 10. II Bracaug. 5. I Lusit. Cyr. 3. [II Fl. Britton.] 11. [I Cisi]padens.]	[---] [I Fl.] Numid. II Chalcd. sag. I Germ. II Bracauc. Lu(s)i [t Cyr.

Comparison of these lists reveals their close similarity. The lists of the *alae* match exactly; moreover, the same *alae* figure in the diploma from the year 127.³⁸ In all these cases a full list of the auxiliary units seems to be provided, which at the given time formed part of the army of Lower Moesia.³⁹ The order in which the *alae* are listed presents an almost perfect match as well.⁴⁰ In 146 the *ala II Hispanorum Arvacorum* shifts

³⁸ ROXAN 1997, 288; RMD IV, 241.

³⁹ WEISS 1999, 285–286.

⁴⁰ The listing of *alae* and *cohortes* in the military diplomas of the 2nd century is often arranged according to a geographical principle based on the places where they were stationed (VISY 1986 with bibliography). Yet, the question as to whether this principle was observed in connection with the troops in Lower Moesia and, therefore, whether the change in the numbers in the list reflects redeployment of the auxiliary units falls far outside the framework of this article.

from fifth position to third, but in other respects the order remains as before. The list for the year 146 is reproduced exactly in the diploma from Brestovene and this enables us to restore the same list for the Olbian diploma.

The lists of the cohorts are also very similar to each other but with a few more deviations. In the diplomas from the years 145 and 146 the composition of the cohort lists is identical, but the order in which they are listed changes slightly: the *Cohors I Lusitanorum* has shifted from tenth place to fifth. In addition, there is an error in the diploma of the year 145: in fifth place instead of *II Chalc. sag.* we find *I Calch. sag.*⁴¹ The diploma of the year 146 contains a mistake as well: the *Cohors Bracaraugustanorum* mentioned in tenth place should have been written with the number II rather than I. Previously it had been assumed on the basis of this diploma that there had been two cohorts in Lower Moesia with the name *I Bracarorum / Bracaraugustanorum* approximately from the period between 140 and 145; one of them was believed to have been dislocated in the previous period in Lower Moesia and the other in Lower Dacia.⁴² The restoration of the complete list of cohorts in a *constitutio* of 145 undermines that assumption, and it is also shown to have been erroneous by another diploma from Lower Dacia dating from July 146. This diploma testifies to the fact that the homonymous *Cohors I Bracaraugustanorum* continued at that time to be part of the army of Lower Dacia.⁴³ This would indicate that the *Cohors II Bracaraugustanorum* previously dislocated in Thrace, where it had been recorded in a diploma of the year 114,⁴⁴ had been re-deployed to Lower Moesia before the year 145.

In the diplomas issued in the year 155 and the diploma from Brestovene there are more significant changes to be observed in comparison with the diploma of the year 146. First and foremost, the *Cohors II Mattiacorum* disappears from the list. Diplomas dating from 155, 157, 161/162 and 166/168 testify that the cohort at that time was already stationed in Thrace;⁴⁵ its disappearance from the list should be explained by the fact that the unit had been moved from Lower Moesia to Thrace. Yet the number of cohorts in Lower Moesia remained the same as before: the *Cohors I Cisipadensium* replaced the *Cohors II Mattiacorum*. This *Cohors I Cisipadensium* had previously been

⁴¹ For arguments in favour of the fact that there is a mistake here see: WEISS 2001, 263. A similar mistake was made on the outside of a diploma from Mainz dating from the year 105 issued for Lower Moesia, where we find: *II Calchidenorum*, while on the inside the name has been written correctly – *II Chalcidenorum*: PFERDEHIRT 2004, 33–34, No. 11. Cf. SPAUL 2000, 429, in which these diplomas were not taken into consideration.

⁴² WEISS 1999, 283–285.

⁴³ WEISS 2001, 261–263; RMD IV 269. Cf. RMD IV, 270, p. 517, note 3; PFERDEHIRT 2004, 59, *pace* SPAUL 2000, 88–90, who suggests that there had only existed one cohort of Bracaraugustani and that all the known diplomas and inscriptions mentioning it related to that one cohort.

⁴⁴ RMD I, 14; PAUNOW – ROXAN 1997, 269–282; RMD IV, 227.

⁴⁵ ECK – MACDONALD – PANGERL 2004, 91–95; ROXAN – WEISS 1998, 382–417, Nos. 2–7; RMD V, 417, 435, 439–441. For the history of the cohort, see: WAGNER 1938, 165–166; BENEŠ 1978, 45–46; ROXAN – WEISS 1998, 387–389; SPAUL 2000, 243–244.

deployed in Thrace, where its presence has been attested by a diploma of the year 138.⁴⁶ Both these moves date from the period between the years 146 and 155, but it is not clear whether they took place simultaneously. As for the order in which the cohorts are listed in the diploma of 155, it is very similar to the order in which they are listed in the diploma of 146: only the *Cohors II Flavia Brittonum* has been shifted from eleventh place to third, while the *Cohors I Cisipadensium* appears in eleventh place. The list for the year 155 is reproduced exactly in the diploma from Brestovene.

The closest parallels for the list of cohorts provided in the Olbian diploma are to be found in the last two lists. Yet the fact that the mention of the Lusitanian Cohort is at the end of the list, after the mention of the *Cohors II Bracaraugustanorum*, makes it impossible to assume that what we have here is a simple reproduction of the 155 list, in which that cohort occupies fifth place. Calculation of the probable size of the *lacunae* makes it possible to restore the following list of cohorts in the opening lines of the inside text on the tablet:

[- - ET COH XI ¹ I BRAC ET ² I F]L NVMID [ET ³ II FL]	
[BRITTON ET ⁴ I CL SUGAMBR VET]EI ⁵ II CHALCD SAG ET	37 litt.
[⁶ I CILIC SAG ET ⁷ I THRAC SYR ET ⁸ I G]ERM ET ⁹ II BRACAVC ¹⁰ LVI	41 litt.
[CYR ET ¹¹ I CISIPAD ET SUNT IN MOE]S INFER SVB VITRASIO	41 litt.
[POLLIONE LEG XXV ITEM CL]ASS XXVI PLVRIBVSVE	37 litt.

The number of letters in a line is approximate, since the names of the cohorts could be abbreviated still further in some instances and some of the letters have been omitted through carelessness, as can be seen from the surviving end of Line 3, in which no less than three letters have been omitted.

Thus, the *Cohors I Lusitanorum* has moved from fifth place (years 146, 155 and 156/158) to tenth (as is also the case in the diploma of the year 145). All the other cohorts therefore shift one number nearer the beginning of the list but are otherwise in the same order as before, with the exception of the *Cohors I Cisipadensium*, which remains in eleventh place. The only difference from the lists of the years 155 and 156/158, therefore, concerns the place in which the *Cohors I Lusitanorum* is mentioned.

Despite the close similarity between the diplomas from Brestovene and Olbia there are other differences between them as well. In the first diploma the mention of the *Cohors I Germanorum* is accompanied by the epithet *C R* (*civium Romanorum*), while in the second this epithet is not present. There is no doubt as to the identity of the two cohorts in question: epithets used to specify the names of *cohortes* and *alae* – including *civium Romanorum* – were often omitted.⁴⁷ The differences between these two lists of

⁴⁶ ROXAN – WEISS 1998, 373–381, No. 1 + PFERDEHIRT 1998, 445–450; PFERDEHIRT 2004, 81–82, No. 28; RMD V, 385/260.

⁴⁷ LE ROUX 1986, 350–355, cf. PFERDEHIRT 2001, 266. The epithet *C R* in the name of the *Cohors I Germanorum* is also missing from the diplomas issued in 127, 145, 146 and 155: ROXAN 1997, 288 (RMD IV, 241); WEISS 1999, 280 (RMD IV, 270); WEISS 2001, 264–266 (RMD V, 414); in the last case, however, the restoration of this epithet is possible (the lacuna starts after

cohorts evidently reflect the fact that the two diplomas are reproducing two different *constitutiones* of Antoninus Pius relating to Lower Moesia. Other differences also point to this conclusion. In the Olbian diploma there is mention of seamen, but there is none in the diploma from Brestovene. Finally, the diploma from Olbia refers to veterans who had served for 25 years or more (26 in the case of the fleet), while in the diploma from Brestovene there is only mention of veterans who have served 25 years. It is a well-known fact that this difference was significant: it would appear that at the moment when the *constitutio* indicated in the diploma from Brestovene was issued, there were no soldiers in the army of Lower Moesia who had served more than 25 years, while in the year 157, when the *constitutio* found in the Olbian diploma was made public, there had been.⁴⁸ This could only mean one thing: in the year 156 the *constitutio* relating to the army of Lower Moesia (at any rate to the whole of that army) was not published, but in the year preceding that when the *constitutio* reproduced in the Brestovene diploma was issued it was published. Indeed, fragments of a diploma that had been issued to one of the soldiers from the army of Lower Moesia in the year 156 have recently been published. The *constitutio* that it echoed, however, only applied to the horsemen of three *alae* from this province (the names of two have survived: *ala I Gallorum Atecorigiana* and *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum*), who were sent to Mauretania Tingitana for military operations under the command of the procurator – Flavius Flavianus.⁴⁹ If the reading of the name of Vitrasius Pollio in the diploma from Brestovene is correct, this means that the only possibility for its date is 158 (cf. above). At the same time this conclusion also enables us to establish the exact dates for the time when Vitrasius Pollio held the post of legate for Lower Moesia – namely 156 to 158. This means that the diploma from Brestovene is the latest in the group of diplomas under discussion here and it confirms the suggestion that the appearance in it of the epithet *civium Romanorum* in the name of the *Cohors I Germanorum* is not accidental, but reflects the time when it was assigned to the cohort.⁵⁰ In that case the event should be dated to the year 157 or 158.

The diploma from Olbia belongs to a group of diplomas from Lower Moesia, which mention not only soldiers who have served in auxiliary *alae* or *cohortes*, but also those men in the Moesian fleet. It appears that in the 1st century separate *constitutiones* would have been issued for provincial fleets (CIL XVI, 24, 32 and 37 dating from the years 79, 86 and 92: the first two relate to the Egyptian fleet and the last to the *classis*

GERM). Thus, the diploma from Brestovene is the only one in which the epithet is used. It is possible that this difference is not accidental and that the diploma from Brestovene testifies to the point in time when this epithet was assigned to the cohort.

⁴⁸ Cf. VISY 1984, 223–238.

⁴⁹ CHIRIAC – MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA – MATEI 2006, 383–390.

⁵⁰ The granting of Roman citizenship to soldiers from an auxiliary unit *ante emerita stipendia*, as a result of which the whole unit was then assigned the epithet *civium Romanorum*, was usually a reward for those who had distinguished themselves in battle: KRAFT 1951, 100–105; MAXFIELD 1986, 37–41, cf. PFERDEHIRT 2002, 21–26.

Flavia Moesica). Yet, from at least as early as the year 98 (RMD IV, 216 for the army stationed in Lower Germany, the earliest recorded diploma of this type) it became the regular practice to include in one and the same *constitutio* the provincial fleet and auxiliary land units.⁵¹ In the above-mentioned diplomas – apart from that found in Brestovene – seamen are also mentioned. The usual formula does not include mention of the fleet's *praefectus*, probably because the duties of chief commander for both land units and the fleet were assumed by the legate. Thus, the main part of the diploma following on from the list of imperial titles should be restored as follows:

[*equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) qui militaver(unt) in al(is) V quae appel(lantur) I Gall(orum) et Pann(oniorum) et I Gall(orum) Atector(igiana) et II Hispan(orum) Arvac(orum) et I Vespasia(na) Dar(danorum) et I Fl(avia) Gaetul(orum) et coh(ortibus) XI I Brac(araugustanorum) et I Fl(avia) Numid(arum) [et II Fl(avia) Britton(um) et I Cl(audia) Sugambr(orum) vet(erana)] e(t) II Chalc(i)denorum sag(ittariorum)*⁵² *et [I Cilic(um) sag(ittariorum) et I Thrac(um) Syr(iaca) et I G]erm(anorum) et II Brac(ar)au(g)ustanorum) <et I> Lu(s)it(anorum) Cyr(enaica) et I Cisipad(ensium) et sunt in Moe]s(ia) infer(iore) sub Vitrasio [Pollione leg(ato) quinis et vicenis, item cl]ass(icis) senis et vicenis pluribusve [stipendis emeriti]s dimissis honest[a m]iss(ione), quor(um) nomin(a) subscripta [sunt civitatem R]omanam qui eorum non [habent dedi]t et conub(ium) cum uxorb(us) [qua]s tunc habuiss(ent) cum est c(i)vitas is da[ta aut cum is, qu]as postea du-xiss(ent) dumta[xat singuli singula.]*

In Lines 10–13 on the outside face of the diploma in accordance with the ordinary formulas used in these documents there is the name of the unit, to which the veteran belonged, the name of its commander and the name of the person to whom the diploma had been delivered. The only possible way to restore the name of the unit here is [*classis Flaviae*] *Moesicae*. At the end of the line after the second C, a small fragment of a V is preserved on the break, which makes it possible with complete confidence to restore here *cu[i praest]*⁵³ and the name of the commander in Line 11.

The status of the *praefectus* of the provincial fleet was similar to that of the commander of the auxiliary units; the commanders of both types of units usually be-

⁵¹ Although there were some exceptions, see: ECK – MACDONALD – PANGERL 2002, 428–434 (RMD V, 354): the *constitutio* of 119 issued for the Syrian fleet; RMD IV, 252: the *constitutio* from the era of Hadrian (131–135) for the Moesian fleet alone, cf. also a fragment of a diploma which had probably been issued to a veteran of a provincial fleet: WEISS 2001a, 267–269 (AE 2001, 2157; RMD V, 432). Cf. also RMD V, 357. Diploma CIL XVI, 168 – despite the opinion voiced by A. ARICESCU (1980, 31) – does not apply to a Moesian fleet. On the privileges granted to veterans of provincial fleets see: PFERDEHIRT 2002, 56–82.

⁵² On the interpretation of the abbreviations *sag.* and *sagitt.* as *sagittariorum* and not as *sagittaria*, see: LE ROUX 1986, 355.

⁵³ On the use precisely of this verbal form in diplomas (and rare examples of the correct rendering *praest*), see: ALFÖLDY 1986, 386–387.

longed to the equestrian class.⁵⁴ Only nine *praefecti* of the Moesian fleet are known to us by name during the period from the year 86 to the end of the 3rd century;⁵⁵ here it is impossible to restore the name of one of them.

The Olbian diploma belongs to the period of the transition from one formula for the naming of the commander of the unit to another. According to the observations of G. ALFÖLDY,⁵⁶ in the period between 124/129 and 156 *tria nomina* and the *origo* – usually the name of the town in the ablative – of the commander are always mentioned in the diplomas. The name of his father and tribe are not found except in one case. In one of the diplomas dating from 154 (CIL XVI, 104) mention of the commander's *origo* has been omitted, but it is present in other diplomas from that same year (RMD I, 47 + CIL XVI, 110; RMD I, 48) and also in a diploma of the year 156 – CIL XVI, 107. The transition to the new formula is dated by G. ALFÖLDY to the year 157. In two diplomas of February 8, 157 for Upper Pannonia (RMD II, 102 and 103) the *tria nomina* of the cohort commander are indicated but without the *origo* and from the second half of that year onwards only the *nomen* and *cognomen* of the commander are indicated. Starting out from these data we would have expected that in the Olbian diploma three (as in the diplomas for Upper Pannonia of the same date) or two names of the commander would have been mentioned. Diplomas published later on, however, oblige us to make some small corrections in ALFÖLDY's scheme. In the diploma RMD III, 170 dated September 28, 157 (for Raetia) the *origo* is given for the cohort commander: [---]us Severus Narb(onensis). At the same time in the diplomas RMD IV, 239 and 241 (from the year 127), 266 (from the year 142) and 274 (from the year 153) there is no indication of the commander's *origo*. Thus, the diploma from the year 154 was not such an exceptional case as ALFÖLDY had assumed and the commander's *origo* might sometimes be omitted despite what was then regular practice. In that case there is nothing to prevent us from regarding the diplomas RMD II, 102 and 103, which mention one and the same commander, as a similar exception within the framework of the old scheme. It is possible that the simplification of the formula took place in the second half of the year 157 and was consistent with the simultaneous rejection of any indication of the commander's *praenomen* and *origo*, while the diplomas dated February 8, 157 had been written according to the old formula.

Thus, the letters which have survived in Line 11 could belong either to the commander's *cognomen* or to his *origo*. The first suggestion would appear to be more likely: the reading at this point in the text seems to be the *cognomen Potamo*, from which there could have followed on indication of his *origo* which has not survived

⁵⁴ KIENAST 1966, 29, 40–47; REDDÉ 1986, 547–548. On the similarity in status of provincial fleets and auxiliary units cf. SANDER 1957, 358–365, although service in the fleet was considered less prestigious and more difficult than in units of land forces (REDDÉ 1986, 524–525) and also lasted longer.

⁵⁵ ARICESCU 1980, 32; REDDÉ 1986, 676–677; BOUNEGRU – ZAHARIADE 1996, 36–38.

⁵⁶ ALFÖLDY 1986, 391–395, 431–435.

(there is enough room at the end of the line to fit it in). If the diploma had been drawn up according to the new formula, then the end of the line would have been left empty. The *cognomen* *Potamo* is until now not known from any other member of the *ordo equester* or *ordo senatorius*,⁵⁷ but there is no reason to doubt why an *equus Romanus* from the east could not have been called by this *cognomen*.⁵⁸ Thus, the name of the *praefectus* of the Moesian fleet in the period around 157 was *Potamo*.

At the beginning of Line 12 there is a standard indication of a veteran's rank [*ex greg]ale* and then his name, of which the first letter has survived and another two are damaged: *Fet[---]*. The name of the veteran was added after the main text of the diploma had been finished and it had been written in larger and more widely spaced letters.

Finally the last three lines on the outside of the tablet are taken up with the standard formula: [*Descript(um) et recogni]t(um) ex tabu[l(a) aer(ea) quae fixa est Ro]mae in mur(o) [post templ(um) divi Aug(usti)] ad Miner[vam]*.

As a whole, the text of the diploma is to be restored as follows:

[*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadriani f(ilius) divi Traiani Parthici nep(os) divi Nervae pronep(os) T(itus) Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius pont(ifex) max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XIX imp(erator) II co(n)s(ul) IIII p(ater) p(atriciae) equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) qui militaver(unt) in al(is) V quae appel(lantur) I Gall(orum) et Pann(oniorum) et I Gall(orum) Atector(igiana) et II Hispan(orum) Arvac(orum) et I Vespasia(na) Dar(danorum) et I Fl(avia) Gaetul(orum) et coh(ortibus) XI I Brac(araugustanorum) et I Fl(avia) Numid(arum) [et II Fl(avia) Britton(um) et I Cl(audia) Sugambr(orum) vet(erana)] e<t> II Chalc(i)d(enorum) sag(ittariorum) et [I Cilic(um) sag(ittariorum) et I Thrac(um) Syr(iaca) et I G]erm(anorum) et II Brac(ar)au<g>(ustanorum) <et I> Lu(s)i[t(anorum) Cyr(enaica) et I Cispad(ensium) et sunt in Moe]s(ia) infer(iore) sub Vitrasio [Pollione leg(ato) quinis et vicenis, item cl]ass(icis) senis et vicen[is] pluribusve [stipendis emeriti]s dimissis hone[st]iss(ime), quor(um) nomin(a) subscripta [sunt civitatem R]omanam qui eorum non [haberent dedi]t et conub(ium) cum uxorib(us) [qua]s tunc habuiss(ent) cum est c(i)vitas is da[ta aut cum is, qu]as postea duxiss(ent) dumta[xat] singuli singulas.]
A(nte) d(iem) VI id(us) feb(ruarias) [M(arco) Civica Barbar]o M(arco) Metilio Regulo
c[on]s(ulibus)
[Classis Flaviae] Moesic(ae) cu[m]i praest[er]unt Potamo [--- ex greg]ale Fet[---]
[Descript(um) et recogni]t(um) ex tabu[l(a) aer(ea) quae fixa est Ro]mae in mur(o)
[post templ(um) divi Aug(usti)] ad Miner[vam]*

⁵⁷ See the electronic version of the Prosopographia Imperii Romani and the indices of the PME.

⁵⁸ For prominent people from the eastern half of the empire called *Potamo* see PIR² P 914–916, see further LGPN I 383, IIIb 358, IV 288.

The new military diploma is only the second recorded example of a diploma reproducing a mixed auxiliary and provincial fleet constitution, which had been issued to a fleet recipient.⁵⁹ As should have been expected, it did not differ in any substantial way from the diplomas issued to soldiers serving in the land auxiliary units, for which a joint *constitutio* with the provincial fleet had been published. We now have at our disposal *constitutiones* relating to the troops of Lower Moesia for the years 145 (April 7), 146, 155, 157 (February 8) and 158. It would appear that for the years 154 and 156 no *constitutio* applicable for all units in the province was issued, to judge from the remark included in the diplomas for the years 155 and 157 stating «25 (26) years or more». For all these years the lists of auxiliary units stationed in Lower Moesia can be restored in their entirety.

This diploma is of special importance for the history of the North Pontic region, particularly Olbia. Indeed, despite the fact that there is no doubt as to the presence of a Roman garrison in Olbia at various intervals during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, many questions connected with it remain controversial and unclear. This can be explained in large part by the meagre nature of the available sources. Although finds of Greek inscriptions dating from the second half of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd century AD in Olbia are fairly numerous, only 18 Latin examples have been recorded (11 of them on gravestones),⁶⁰ while in Chersonesus around 100 have been found. At the same time, it is precisely Latin inscriptions that are the primary source of evidence regarding the Roman military presence in the North Pontic region.

A large proportion of Latin inscriptions found in Olbia dates to the 3rd century. Previously the earliest direct evidence indicating that there had been a Roman garrison in Olbia had been the inscription IOSPE I², 322 mentioning the *vexillatio* that included soldiers from three legions stationed in Lower Moesia – the I Italian, V Macedonian and XI Claudian legions. The inscription was dated to the second half of the sixties or early seventies of the 2nd century AD, but should be dated before 167.⁶¹ The appear-

⁵⁹ The first example was the diploma RMD V, 401 of the year 146 (August 11) issued to a *gubernator*, steersman of the *classis Flavia Pannonica*. There are two other possible examples from the year 112, but only *tabella* II survived in both cases: RMD V, 344 and ECK – PANGERGL 2005, 247–254: a *gregalis* of an unknown provincial fleet and a *centurio* of the *classis Flavia Moesica*.

⁶⁰ IOSPE I², 167, 171, 234–238, 322–324; ZUBAR – KRAPIVINA 1999, 76–83; ZUBAR – KOZUB 2002, 102–109; 2002a, 199–210 (AE 2002, 1252); 2004, 23–33. One other gravestone found in 2004 (excavations led by Y. I. KOZUB) is being prepared for publication and one fragment remains unpublished.

⁶¹ ZUBAR – SON 1995, 181–187. It would be more correct, however, to date it to the period before the withdrawal of the *Legio V Macedonica* from Lower Moesia to Dacia, i.e. to a date before 167: ARICESCU 1980, 11. V. M. ZUBAR and N. A. SON suggest that this inscription dates from the transitional period, when the *Legio V Macedonica* had already been moved to Dacia, while some of its men still stayed in garrisons of the North Pontic region, although the command of those garrisons had already been transferred from its centurions to those of other legions. Such a possibility need not be ruled out, but there is no direct evidence to show that the withdrawal of the legion from Lower Moesia had been gradual, as this hypothesis would suggest. In addition,

ance of the Roman garrison at Olbia during the rule of Antoninus Pius was already assumed on the basis of information gleaned from *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Ant. Pius 9, 9).⁶² The author states that Antoninus Pius sent troops to Pontus in order to help the citizens of Olbia in the war against the Tauro-Scythians; the Romans defeated the Tauro-Scythians and forced them to give hostages to Olbia. Yet this statement was an isolated one not backed up elsewhere and doubts have been raised: it has been suggested that an error could have crept into this report and that, in actual fact, it must have applied to Chersonesus, not Olbia.⁶³ The new diploma seems to confirm the reliability of this report and also the fact that the task set for the troops of Antoninus Pius was not a one-off operation but led to the allocation of a garrison to Olbia.

As in the case of all other finds of diplomas there are two possibilities why a certain diploma was found at a certain place. Either the veteran had returned to his home or he had settled at or near the place where his unit had been stationed. In the case of our diploma, the possibility that an Olbian was recruited into the Roman fleet at a time when there was not a garrison stationed in the city cannot be ruled out, but still such a case could only be a rare exception. Indeed, Olbia was never part of a Roman province,

given the fact that the area of responsibility of the *Legio V Macedonica* had been transferred after 167 to the *Legio I Italica*, it would be natural for the centurions of this legion to replace centurions of the *Legio V Macedonica*. According to the Olbian inscription, however, the *vexillatio* had been under the command of a centurion of the *Legio XI Claudia*. Finally, if the process of the transfer of the area of responsibility from one legion to another is under consideration, then the appearance of this third legion is incomprehensible. In my view, the Olbian inscription IOSPE I², 322 may only testify to the fact that at some point in time the Olbian *vexillatio* included representatives of all three of the legions of Lower Moesia. That was the situation which had taken shape in Tyras as well: KARYSHKOVSKIJ – KLEJMAN 1985, 98–99, fig. 32. Mixed *vexillationes* consisting of soldiers of two legions have been recorded in Tropaeum Traiani and, probably, of three in Callatis: ARICESCU 1980, 52. Thus, there are no grounds for linking the existence of mixed *vexillationes* with a transitional period resulting from the transfer of garrisons from the zone of responsibility of one legion to that of another. It would be even more difficult to explain in such a context the presence in a *vexillatio* of soldiers from a third legion, which was not being transferred anywhere. In my view, there is nothing that prevents us from assuming that the garrison stationed by Antoninus Pius in Olbia had from the very beginning included soldiers from all three of the legions of Lower Moesia and also from auxiliary units. It is clear that when the *Legio V Macedonica* was withdrawn from Lower Moesia, its legionaries from North Pontic garrisons would have been withdrawn as well. In that case the withdrawal of the *Legio V Macedonica* from Lower Moesia in 167 would, on the contrary, have provided a *terminus ante quem* for the inscription IOSPE I², 322 and the inscription itself would date from the period between the sending of a garrison to Olbia by Antoninus Pius (probably c. 150 or a little earlier – see, below) and 167, i.e. it would be of a date similar to that of the diploma published in this article.

⁶² KRZYHICKIJ 1985, 177–178; KRAPIVINA 1993, 149. V. F. GAJDUKEVICH suggests that even before the attack of the Tauro-Scythians there had been a Roman garrison introduced as early as the reign of Trajan: GAJDUKEVICH 1955, 62. M. I. ROSTOVCEV believed that the Roman garrison had been stationed in Olbia in the reign of Hadrian: ROSTOVCEV 1915, 12–13. No concrete data have been cited, however, in support of either of these suggestions.

⁶³ ZUBAR 1993, 185–188; 1998, 89–90. Cf. BRAUND 1991, 29–30.

its population was not romanised and Roman cultural influence is hardly perceptible here even in the period of the presence of the Roman garrison. The small number of Latin inscriptions in Olbia is very significant; they are all connected with Roman soldiers and never with the citizens or the authorities of the city. It would therefore seem most likely that the veteran who received the Olbian diploma had served on a ship which had been part of the garrison sent to Olbia by Antoninus Pius in the middle of his reign, at any rate before the year 157. After he had retired in 157, he opted to stay in Olbia and settled near the place where he had previously served.

If this interpretation is correct, we have to assume that the Olbian garrison incorporated, in addition to soldiers from the three legions of Lower Moesia already mentioned in inscriptions, a certain number of ships from the Flavian Moesian fleet, which naturally came under the control of the commander of the *vexillatio* (according to the inscription IOSPE I², 322, these functions were performed by a centurion of the *Legio XI Claudia*). This situation was quite natural: the transport of troops and communication between the Roman *vexillationes* of the North Pontic region and Lower Moesia, where their commanders were based, was effected, of course, by sea and the responsibility for these movements lay precisely with the Moesian fleet. The presence of its sailors in other *vexillationes*, in Tyras for instance⁶⁴ and particularly in Chersonesus,⁶⁵ has long since been recorded in inscriptions. The Moesian fleet had probably existed from the moment the province of Moesia had been created and it had taken part in all military operations in the Danube area and along the coast of the Black Sea, in which the Roman army had been involved. After the division of Moesia into two provinces in 85/86, the fleet came under the command of legate of the Lower Moesia. Its main base was in Noviodunum, but the presence of its ships is recorded in inscriptions or tile stamps in many other places both on the Danube and also on the Black Sea coast.⁶⁶

We have other pieces of indirect evidence that the Roman garrison had been brought to Olbia during the reign of Antoninus Pius. In this period there was a marked increase in the number of Roman coins in Olbia found subsequently.⁶⁷ In the second half of the 2nd century AD virtually the whole of the territory of the city was built up with a new lay-out and in a number of cases buildings were levelled. At the southern end of the Upper City a citadel was erected which would probably have been used as a place in which to quarter the Roman garrison. Archaeological investigations have revealed intensive building activity, including the erection of defensive installations, within the Upper City at precisely that time⁶⁸ (the above-mentioned inscrip-

⁶⁴ KARYSHKOVSKIY 1987, 52–56.

⁶⁵ SOLOMONIK 1983, Nos. 6, 7, 9, 18, 26 (AE 1984, 806), 34; SPEIDEL 1988.

⁶⁶ On the history of the Moesian fleet, see: STARR 1960, 129–137; KIENAST 1966, 110–112; ARICESCU 1980, 30–32; BOUNEGRU – ZAHARIADE 1996.

⁶⁷ KARYSHKOVSKIY 1965, 57.

⁶⁸ KRAPIVINA 1993, 10–20.

tion IOSPE I², 322 would appear to relate specifically to that construction). The erection on the lower terrace of the building adjacent to the south-east wall of the citadel was part of that construction programme. Even bearing in mind that the diploma was found in the upper level of the floor (the floor was lying on virgin soil) its date still makes it possible to date both the building and the citadel wall, to which it was adjacent, and also the other buildings erected at the same time. The fact that the diploma was found in a building immediately adjacent to the wall of the citadel confirms the assumption made on the basis of other data to the effect that the Roman garrison was housed inside. It is probably not mere chance that the diploma was found precisely in this building; it can be assumed that its owner took up residence there when he retired. The choice of this building near the citadel would be perfectly in line with a veteran's wish to remain in regular contact with his former comrades-in-arms. It was in a similar way that *canabae* took shape, settlements of Roman citizens which did not have the urban status and which were connected with military camps and to a large extent were inhabited by veterans and members of their families. After some time, possibly when the veteran had already died, the diploma was damaged and lost, and fragments of it found their way into the floor of the building which continued being used.

*Ausonius: Institut de recherches
sur l'Antiquité et le Moyen-Age,
Maison de l'archéologie,
Université de Bordeaux 3,
F-33607, Pessac cedex,
France*

*Institute of Archaeology,
Ukrainian Academy of sciences
12, Geroev Stalingrada,
254655, Kiev,
Ukraine*

Bibliography

- ALEXANDROV, G., 1986, Antichni pametnici ot Montana (Ancient Monuments from Montana, in Bulgarian), *Arkheologija* (Sofia) 28,1, 36–45.
- ALFÖLDY, G., 1977, Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen.
- ALFÖLDY, G., 1986, Die Truppenkommandeure in den Militärdiplomen, in: W. ECK – H. WOLFF (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle*, 385–436.
- ARICESCU, A., 1980, The Army in Roman Dobrudja.
- BENEŠ, J., 1978, *Auxilia Romana in Moesia atque in Dacia*.
- BOUNEGRU, O. – ZAHARIADE, M., 1996, Les forces navales du Bas Danube et de la Mer Noire aux I^{er} – VI^e siècles. *Colloquia Pontica* 2.
- BRAUND, D., 1991, Dion Khrisostom, torgivlja Ol'vij ta ol'vijsko-«tavroskifs'ka» vijna (Dio Chrysostomus, the commerce of Olbia and the war between Olbia and «Tauro-Scythians», in Ukrainian), *Arkheologija* (Kiev) 3, 25–30.
- CHIRIAC, C. – MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, L. – MATEI, I., 2006, Un nouveau diplôme militaire de Mésie Inférieure, in: S. CONRAD – R. EINICKE – A. E. FURTWÄNGLER – H. LÖHR – A. SLAWISCH (eds.), *Pontos Euxeinos. Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Antiken*

- Schwarzmeer- und Balkanraumes. Schriften des Zentrums für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes 10, 383–390.
- DEGRASSI, A., 1952, I Fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano.
- DORUȚIU-BOILĂ, E., 1968, Über einige Statthalter von Moesia Inferior, *Dacia* 12, 395–408.
- DORUȚIU-BOILĂ, E., 1989, Legații Moesiei Iferioare între anii 137 și 160. II. Legații între anii 150 și 160, *SCIVA* 40, 325–338.
- ECK, W., 2002, Zum Zeitpunkt des Wechsels der *tribunicia potestas* des Philippus Arabs und anderer Kaiser, *ZPE* 140, 257–261.
- ECK, W., 2003, Der Kaiser als Herr des Heeres. Militärdiplome und die kaiserliche Reichsregierung, in: J. J. WILKER (ed.), *Documenting the Roman Army. Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan*, 55–87.
- ECK, W., 2004, Imperator kak glava vojska. Voennye diplomyy i imperatorskoe upravlenie (Russian translation of the article ECK 2003), *VDI* 3, 28–57.
- ECK, W. – MACDONALD, D. – PANGERL, A., 2002, Neue Diplome für das Heer der Provinz Syrien, *Chiron* 32, 427–448.
- ECK, W. – MACDONALD, D. – PANGERL, A., 2004, Neue Militärdiplome für Truppen in Britannia, Pannonia superior, Pannonia inferior sowie in Thracia, *Revue des études militaires anciennes* 1, 63–102.
- ECK, W. – WEISS, P., 2002, Hadrianische Konsuln. Neue Zeugnisse aus Militärdiplomen, *Chiron* 32, 449–489.
- FITZ, J., 1966, Die Laufbahn der Statthalter in der römischen Provinz Moesia inferior.
- FITZ, J., 1990, Prastinae Messalini, *Alba Regia* 24, 47–52.
- GAJDUKEVICH, V. F., 1955, Istorija antichnykh gorodov Severnogo Prichernomor'ja (History of the Greek Cities of the Northern Black Sea Region, in Russian), in: V. F. GAJDUKEVICH – M. I. MAKSIMOVA (eds.), *Antichnye goroda Severnogo Prichernomor'ja*, 23–147.
- IVANTCHIK, A. I. – KRAPIVINA, V. V., 2005, Rimskij voennyj diplom iz Ol'vii (A Roman Military Diploma from Olbia, in Russian), *Khersonesskij sbornik* 14, 197–210.
- KALASHNIK, YU. P., 1984, Oblomok rimskogo voennogo diploma iz Khersonesa (A Fragment of a Roman Military Diploma from Chersonesus, in Russian), *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* 24, 165–168.
- KARYSHKOVSKIY, P. O., 1965, Nakhodki monet Rimskoj imperii v Ol'vii (Finds of Coins of the Roman Empire in Olbia, in Russian), *Numizmatika i sfragistika* 2, 50–75.
- KARYSHKOVSKIY, P. O., 1987, Posvjatitel'naja nadpis' rimskikh vrachej iz Tiry (A Dedicatory Inscription of Roman Physicians from Tyras, in Russian), in: *Novye issledovanija po arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomor'ja*, 52–56.
- KARYSHKOVSKIY, P. O. – KLEJMAN, I. B., 1985, Drevnij gorod Tira (Ancient City of Tyras, in Russian).
- KIENAST, D., 1966, Untersuchungen zu den Kriegsflotten der römischen Kaiserzeit.
- KIENAST, D., 2004, Römische Kaisertabelle.
- KOLENDO, J., 1992, T. Vitrasius Pollio gouverneur de la Mésie inférieure et son activité dans cette province, in: W. HENSEL (ed.), *Studia aegaea et balcanica in honorem Lodovicae* Press, 199–205.
- KRAFT, K., 1951, Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau. *Dissertationes Bernenses* I 3.
- KRAPIVINA, V. V., 1993, Ol'vija. Material'naja kul'tura I–IV vv. n.e. (Olbia. The Material Culture of the AD 1st–4th Centuries, in Russian).
- KRAPIVINA, V. V., 1994, Rel'ef s Mitroj Tavroktonom iz Ol'vii (A Relief with the Mithras Taurroctonus from Olbia, in Russian), *Drevnee Prichernomor'e. Kratkie soobshchenija Odesskogo Arkheologičeskogo obshchestva*, 168–171.

- KRYZHICKIJ, S. D., 1985, Ol'bia. Istoriograficheskoe issledovanie arkhitekturno-stroitel'nykh kompleksov (Olbia. A Historiographical Study of the Architectural Complexes, in Russian).
- LE ROUX, P., 1986, Les diplômes militaires et l'évolution de l'armée romaine de Claude à Septime Sévère: auxilia, numeri et nations, in: W. ECK – H. WOLFF (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik*, 347–374.
- MAXFIELD, V. A., 1986, Systems of Reward in Relation to Military Diplomas, in: W. ECK – H. WOLFF (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik*, 26–43.
- PAUNOW, E. I. – ROXAN, M. M., 1997, The Earliest Extant Diploma of Thrace, A.D. 114, *ZPE* 119, 269–282.
- PFERDEHIRT, B., 1998, Fragment eines neuen Militärdiploms aus Thrakien vom Jahr 138 n. Chr., *AKB* 28, 445–450.
- PFERDEHIRT, B., 2001, Vier neue Militärdiplome im Besitz des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, *AKB* 31, 261–280.
- PFERDEHIRT, B., 2002, Die Rolle des Militärs für den sozialen Aufstieg in der römischen Kaiserzeit.
- PFERDEHIRT, B., 2004, Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer 37.
- REDDÉ, M., 1986, *Mare Nostrum. Les infrastructures, le dispositif et l'histoire de la marine militaire sous l'Empire Romain.*
- RÉMY, B., 2003, Remarques sur la date de renouvellement de la puissance tribunicienne d'Antonin le Pieux, *ZPE* 142, 269–272.
- ROSTOVCEV, M. I., 1915, Voennaja okkupacija Ol'vii rimljanami (A Military Occupation of Olbia by the Romans, in Russian), *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Arkheologicheskij komissii* 58, 1–16.
- ROXAN, M. M., 1986, Observations on the Reasons for Changes in Formula in Diplomas circa AD 140, in: W. ECK – H. WOLFF (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik*, 265–292.
- ROXAN, M. M., 1997, An Auxiliary/Fleet Diploma of Moesia Inferior: 127 August 20, *ZPE* 118, 287–299.
- ROXAN, M. M. – ECK, W., 1997, A Diploma of Moesia Inferior: 125 Jun. 1, *ZPE* 116, 193–203.
- ROXAN, M. M. – WEISS, P., 1998, Die Auxiliartruppen der Provinz Thracia. Neue Militärdiplome der Antoninenzeit, *Chiron* 28, 371–420.
- SANDER, E., 1957, Zur Rangordnung des römischen Heeres: Die Flotten, *Historia* 6, 347–367.
- SOLOMONIK, E. I., 1983, *Latinskie nadpisi Khersonesa Tavricheskogo (Latin Inscriptions of Chersonesus of Tauris, in Russian).*
- SPAUL, J., 2000, *Cohors². The Evidence for and a Short History of the Auxiliary Infantry Units of the Imperial Roman Army.*
- SPEIDEL, M., 1988, Kapitany i centuriony v Khersonese (Captains and Centurions in Chersonesus, in Russian), *VDI* 3, 119–122.
- STARR, G.G., 1960, *The Roman Imperial Navy. 31 B.C. – A.D. 324.* 2nd ed.
- STEIN, A., 1940, *Die Legaten von Moesien. Dissertationes Pannonicae I*, 11.
- SYME, R., 1968, Legates of Moesia, *Dacia* 12, 331–340.
- THOMASSON, B. E., 1984, *Laterculi praesidum I.*
- THOMASSON, B. E., 1996, *Fasti Africani.*
- TORBATOV, S., 1991, Rimska voenna diploma ot 145 g. ot Nigrinianis, Dolna Mizija (A Roman Military Diploma of 145 from Nigrinianis, Lower Moesia, in Bulgarian), *Arkheologija (Sofia)* 33, 1, 23–27.
- TORBATOV, S., 1994, A Newfound Roman Military Diploma from Nigrinianis (Lower Moesia), in: G. SUSINI (ed.), *Limes*, 159–167.
- TUROVSKIJ, E. JA. – FILIPPENKO, A. A., 1996, *Novoe nadgrobie rimskogo soldata s nekropolja*

- Khersonesa Tavricheskogo (A New Tombstone of a Roman Soldier from the Necropolis of Chersonesus of Tauris, in Russian), *Arkheologija* (Kiev) 2, 140–143.
- VENEDIKOV, I., 1953, Rimaska voenna diploma ot s. Brestovene, Kubratsko (A Roman Military Diploma from Brestovene, Region of Kubrat, in Bulgarian), *Izvestija na Arkheologicheskoto družestvo v gr. Stalin* [Varna] 9, 61–68.
- VISY, Zs., 1982, Neuere Militärdiplome aus Pannonien, A Szekszárdi Béni Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve 10–11, 1979–1980 (1982), 59–85.
- VISY, Zs., 1984, Die Entlassung der Auxiliarsoldaten aufgrund der Militärdiplome, *AAntHUNG* 36, 223–238.
- VISY, Zs., 1986, Die kryptotopographische Truppenaufzählung in den Auxiliardiplomen von Pannonien, in: W. ECK – H. WOLFF (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik*, 482–517.
- WAGNER, W., 1938, Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus.
- WEISS, P., 1999, Ein Diplom des Antoninus Pius für Moesia Inferior von Dez. 145/Dez. 146. Zum Truppenbestand der Provinz nach der Okkupation Dakiens, *ZPE* 124, 279–286.
- WEISS, P., 2001, Das Konsuln paar vom 7. April 145 n. Chr. Noch einmal zu den Auxilien von Moesia inferior und Thracia unter Antoninus Pius, *ZPE* 134, 261–265.
- WEISS, P., 2001a, Neue ausgewählte Diplomfragmente, *ZPE* 134, 267–272.
- ZUBAR, V. M., 1993, Po povodu dostovernosti odnogo pis'mennogo istochnika po istorii Ol'vii serediny II v. (SHA, Ant. Pius, 9, 9) (About the Authenticity of a Written Source on the History of Olbia in the Middle of the 2nd Century AD, in Russian), *Rossijskaja arkheologija* 2, 185–188.
- ZUBAR, V. M. – KOZUB, YU. I., 2002, Nova epitafija rims'kogo legionera z Ol'vij (A New Epitaph of a Roman Legionary from Olbia, in Ukrainian), *Arkheologija* (Kiev) 2, 102–109.
- ZUBAR, V. M. – KRAPIVINA, V. V., 1999, O rimskom garnizone Ol'vii v seredine III veka (About a Roman Garrison of Olbia in the Middle of the 3rd Century, in Russian), *Vita Antiqua* 2, 76–83.
- ZUBAR, V. M. – SON, N. A., 1995, K interpretacii odnoj latinskoj nadpisi iz Ol'vii (IOSPE I², 322) (On the Interpretation of a Latin Inscription from Olbia, in Russian), *VDI* 3, 181–187.