

A Second Constitution for the Auxiliary Troops in Judaea in 86 AD.¹

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A new military diploma was acquired for the Michael Steinhardt collection in New York. It is quite an exceptional piece since it indicates that in addition to the constitution issued for the army in Judaea in Rome on May 13, 86 AD — which is attested by two diplomas: one known since the nineteenth century,² the other published only in 2005³ — another constitution was issued at the very same day for a different group of auxiliary troops in Judaea. Both bronze *tabellae* of the new diploma are preserved, and both are practically intact. *Tabella* I is without any real damage; some parts are covered with a thick patina, but that does not render the reading difficult. *Tabella* I is framed with two carefully engraved lines. On the right side there are two holes for the rings that originally held the two *tabellae* together. *Tabella* II is slightly damaged on the right side; but no text is lost. On the outer side one can see where the protection cap for the seals was fixed. *Tabella* II, like *tabella* I, is framed with two lines, but they are less deeply engraved. On both *tabellae* the holes for the wire which originally bound them together are filled with the remainder of the wire.

Height: 19.8 cm; width: 15.4 cm; Letters: *extrinsecus* 4-5 mm, *intus* 6 cm. The findspot of the diploma is unknown. The *origo* of the soldier who received the diploma is Philadelphia in the Decapolis. Veterans often returned to their birthplace, but it was not unusual for them to settle in the province in which they had served, in this case in Judaea. Therefore nothing definite can be said about the findspot.

The text can be read as follows:

Tabella I extrinsecus:

IMP CAESAR DIVI VESPASIANI F DOMITIANVS ●
AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS · PONTIFEX MAXI
MVS TRIBVNIC POTESTAT V IMP XII CEN
SOR PERPETVVS · COS · XII · P · P
EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITANT IN ALA
VOCONTIORVM ET COHORTIBVS TRIBVS I DA
MASCENA ARMENIACA ET I MILLIARIA SA
GITTARIORVM ET III CALLAECORVM BRA
CARAVGVSTANORVM QVAE SVNT IN IVDAEA
SVB CN POMPEIO LONGINO QVI QVINA ET VI

¹ I would like to thank the Michael Steinhardt collection for the permission to publish the new text. My thanks go also to Frank Kovacs, who showed me the diploma and provided valuable information. I thank Paul Holder and Peter Weiß for their critical remarks. I would also like to thank the editors of SCI for their help with the English.

² *CIL* XVI 33.

³ W. Eck – A. Pangerl, 'Neue Militärdiplome für die Provinzen Syria und Iudaea/Syria Palaestina', *SCI* 24, 2005, 101-118.

CENA STIPENDIA MERVERANT QVORVM
 NOMINA SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBE
 RIS POSTERISQVE EORVM CIVITATEM DEDIT
 ET CONVBIVM CVM VXORIBVS QVAS TVNC HA

BVISSENT CVM EST CIVITAS IIS DATA AVT SIQVI
 CAELIBES ESSENT CVM IIS QVAS POSTEA DV
 XISSENT DVM TAXAT SINGVLI SINGVLAS

A D III IDVS MAIAS
 SEX OCTAVIO FRONTONE

COS

TI IVLIO CANDIDO MARIO CELSO
 COHORT I MILLIARIAE SAGITTARIORVM
 CVI PRAEST

L PEDVSIVS HERENNIANVS
 PEDITI

HONAENO ZABDI F PHILADELPH
 DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVLA
 AENEA QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE IN CAPI
 TOLIO POST TROPAEA GERMANICI IN TRIBV
 NALI QVAE SVNT AD AEDEM FIDEI P R

Tabella I extrinsecus

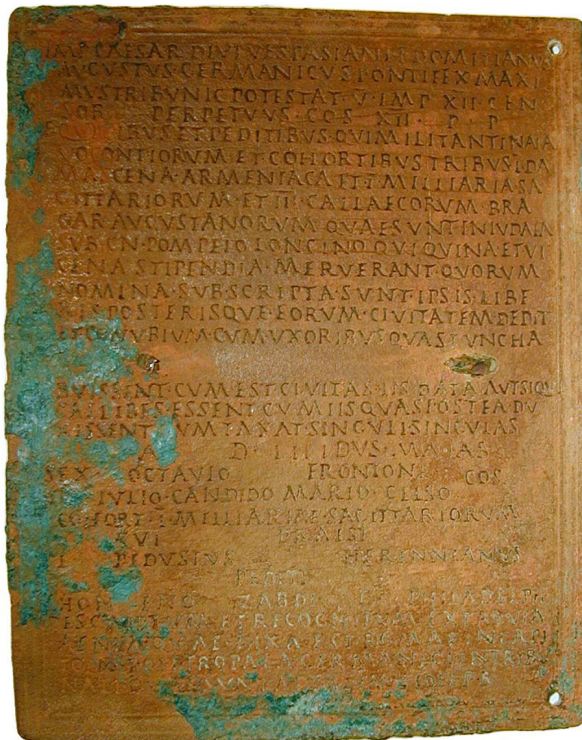


Tabella I intus:

IMP CAESAR · DIVI VESPASIANI F · DOMITIANVS
AVGVSTVS · GERMANICVS · PONTIFEX MAXI
MVS TRIBVNIC · POTE · STAT V IMP XII CENSOR

●
PERPETVVS · COS · XII P P
EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITANT IN ALA
VOCONTIORVM ET COHORTIBVS TRIBVS I
DAMASCENA ARMENIACA ET I MILLIA
RIA SAGITTARIORVM ET III C LLAECORVM (sic!)
BRACARAVGVSTANORVM QVAE SVNT IN
IVDAEA SVB CN POMPEIO LONGINO QVI QVI
NA ET VICENA STIPENDIA MERVERANT
QVORVM NOMIN ● A SVBSCRIPTA SVNT
IPSIS LIBERIS POSTERISQVE EORVM CIVI
● TATEM DEDIT ET CONVBIVM CVM VXOR ●

Tabella I intus



Tabella II intus:

● IBVS QVAS TVNC HABVISENT CVM EST CIVI [●]
 TAS IIS DATA AVT SIQVI CAELIBES ESSENT CVM
 IIS QVAS POSTEA DV ● XISSENT DVM TAXAT
 SINGVLI SINGVLAS vacat
 SEX · OCTAVIO FRONTONE
 COS
 TI IVLIO CANDIDO · MARIO · CELSO
 COHORT I MILLIARIAE SAGITTARIORVM
 CVI PRAEST
 L PEDVSIVS HERENNIANVS
 PEDITI
 HONAENO ZABDI F PHILADELPH
 DESCRIPTVM ET REC●OGNITVM EX TABVLA
 AENEA QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE IN CAPITO
 LIO

Tabella II intus

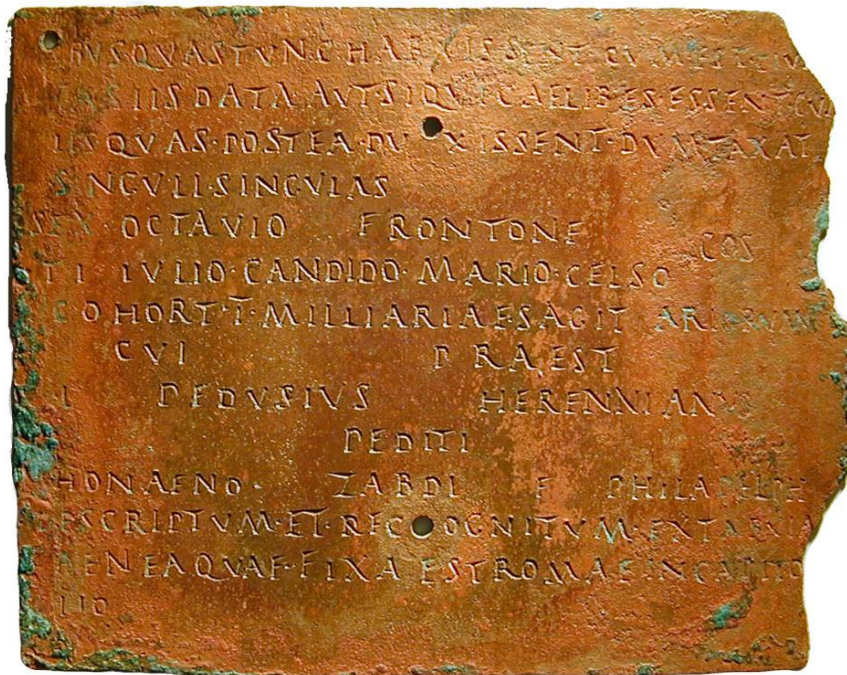


Tabella II extrinsecus:

Q MVCI	AVGVSTALIS
●	
C SERTORI	PROCVLI
M CALPVRNI	IVSTI
C IVLI	HELENI
M SEPTIMI	LONGINI
C IVLI	CLEMENTIS
●	
T PETRONI	FIRMI
●	[●]

Tabella II extrinsecus



The text is engraved very carefully with only some minor mistakes. In line 8 of the inner side of *tabella* I the letter A is missing in the word C LLAECORVM, but since there is an empty space, it is clear that when the text was first written with ink on the bronze tablet, the letter existed, but was then missed by the engraver. Further: on *tabella* II the letter I in the first word VXOR/IBVS was first missed and later written over the B. The date III IDVS MAIAS is also missing; the space needed for the words exists. It is not very likely that the engraver had totally forgotten the words; it is more probable that when the inner text was written, the exact date — day and month — was yet unknown,

only the approximate date by the name of the consuls. As Peter Weiß has shown recently, such missing parts are not so rare.⁴

The constitution was published in Rome on May 13, 86 AD. It was issued for one *ala* and three cohorts belonging to the army of the praetorian province of Judaea. The governor was Cn. Pompeius Longinus, known from four other diplomas: two issued between June 6 and 11, 87,⁵ another two on the May 13, 86,⁶ the same day as that of the new diploma. The two consuls are known from various other sources. The four auxiliary units mentioned in the diploma are:

ala Vocontiorum,
cohors I Damascena Armeniaca
cohors I milliaria sagittariorum
cohors III Callaecorum Bracaraugustanorum.

Whereas the *ala* was hitherto not attested as part of the army of Judaea, the three cohorts were known in the time of Domitian, as can be seen from the following table which enumerates all the units mentioned in the diplomas of his reign:

<i>CIL XVI 33: 13th May 86</i>	<i>ZPE 170, 2009, 201 ff.: June 87</i>	<i>RMD V 332: Jan./Sept. 90</i>
Alae	Alae	Alae
<i>(1) veterana Gaetulorum</i>	<i>(2) [vete]rana Gaetulorum</i>	<i>(2) veterana Gaetulorum</i>
<i>(2) I Thracum Mauretana</i>	<i>(1) [I Thr]acum Mauretana[a]</i>	<i>(1) I Thracum Mauretana</i>
Cohortes	Cohortes	Cohortes
<i>(1) I Augusta Lusitanorum</i>	<i>(1) I Augusta Lusita[no]rum</i>	<i>I Augusta Lusitanorum</i>
	<i>(2) I Damascena Armeniaca</i>	<i>(2) Damascena Armeniaca</i>
		<i>(3) I milliaria sagittariorum</i>
<i>(2) I Thracum</i>	<i>(3) I Thracum</i>	<i>(4) I Thracum</i>
<i>(3) II Thracum</i>	<i>(4) II Thracum</i>	<i>(5) II Thracum</i>
<i>(4) II Cantabrorum</i>	<i>(5) II [Cantab]rorum</i>	<i>(6) II Cantabrorum</i>
	<i>(6) III Callaecorum Bra[carau- gusta]norum</i>	<i>(7) III Callaecorum Bracarau- gustanorum</i>

⁴ P. Weiß, 'Von der Konstitution zum Diplom. Schlussfolgerungen aus der "zweiten" Hand, Leerstellen und divergierende Daten in den Urkunden', in: *Militär diplome. Die Forschungsbeiträge der Berner Gespräche von 2004*, ed. M. A. Speidel – H. Lieb, Stuttgart 2007, 187 ff.

⁵ W. Eck – P. Weiß, 'Eine Konstitution für die Truppen Iudaeas aus dem Jahr 87', *ZPE* 170, 2009, 201-206: two diplomas.

⁶ See no 2 and 3.

Cohors I Damascena Armeniaca: As already shown in 2003,⁷ the unit was stationed in Judaea/Syria Palaestina continuously from the Flavian era to the end of the second century.⁸ In *RMD* III 173 it has also the title *sag(ittaria)*.

Cohors I milliaria sagittariorum: This unit is mentioned with this title only in the new diploma and in that of 90 AD.⁹ It cannot be identified with the *cohors I milliaria* known as part of the Syrian army in 88 AD, as has been suggested several times,¹⁰ since it had been already attested two years earlier in Judaea. One must rule out the possibility that the unit moved to Syria after 86 and was back in Judaea by 90. What happened to the *cohors* must be left an open question. It has been suggested that ‘the element *milliaria* ... in the title of the cohort points to a Flavian date for its creation; milliary units, both *alae* and cohorts, are not attested epigraphically before.’¹¹ But since soldiers of the unit had served in 86 just for 25 years, and Josephus talks about milliary cohorts in the army of Syria during the war against the Jews,¹² this does not seem very probable. Therefore it is very likely that this *cohors* was one of the units that came from Syria to Judaea, and that it was by then already a thousand men strong. In any case, the diploma is one of the earliest attestations for the existence of such milliary units. It has been suggested that such a unit participated in the siege of Masada in 73 or 74.¹³ It may well be that it was the *cohors I milliaria sagittariorum* mentioned in the present diploma.¹⁴

Cohors III Callaecorum Bracaraugustanorum: The unit is now attested in Judaea in 86 and in the following years 87 and in 90, then again in 136/7 and in 139.¹⁵

Ala Vocontiorum: Until now we did not know, that the *ala Vocontiorum* was part of the army in Judaea. The unit is attested in Egypt in papyri from the reign of Nero. It is mentioned there in diplomas in *RMD* V 341 between 98 and 105, in *RMD* I 9 in March 19, 105, in *CIL* XVI 184 in 156 and in *RMD* III 184 in March 179.¹⁶ Therefore, it is likely that the *ala* was transferred to Judaea for the duration of the war, from 66-70 AD, that is only temporarily.¹⁷ The *ala* was sent back to Egypt some time between 86 and 98/105. Since it is not present in the diplomas for Judaea of 87 and 90, one could assume that it was transferred to Egypt not long after this diploma had been issued. This conclusion, however, may be premature. We can presume that the unit did not return to Egypt on its own, but was accompanied by two cohorts: the *cohors I Augusta*

⁷ H.M. Cotton – W. Eck – B. Isaac, ‘A Newly Discovered Governor of Judaea in a Military Diploma from 90 CE’, *Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology* 2, 2003, 17-31.

⁸ See Cotton - Eck - Isaac (n. 7 above) 25 = *RMD* V 332; *RMD* III 160 (a. 136/7), *CIL* XVI 87 (a. 139), *RMD* III 173 (160). *RMD* I 69 (a. 186).

⁹ See Cotton – Eck – Isaac (n. 7 above) 25.

¹⁰ See *RMD* V 332 and Eck – Weiß (n. 5 above) 204.

¹¹ Cotton – Eck – Isaac (n. 7 above) 25 with reference to E. Birley, ‘Alae and Cohortes Milliariae’, in: *Corolla Memoriae E. Swoboda dedicata*, Graz-Köln 1966, 54-67; cf. D.L. Kennedy, ‘Milliary Cohorts: The Evidence of BJ III.4.2 (67) and of Epigraphy’, *ZPE* 61, 1985, 181-85.

¹² Josephus, *bell.* 3.67

¹³ A. Richmond, ‘The Roman Siege-Works of Masada’, *JRS* 52, 1962, 142-55, at 152.

¹⁴ See Cotton – Eck – Isaac (n. 7 above) 25.

¹⁵ *RMD* III 160; *CIL* XVI 87.

¹⁶ See J. Spaul, *Ala*², Andover 1994, 238.

¹⁷ This suggestion of Paul Holder is very likely.

Lusitanorum and the *cohors II Thracum*, both attested in Judaea by *RMD* V 332 in 90 AD and in Egypt only in 105 (*RMD* I 9). With the *ala Vocontiorum*, the mounted part of the army in Judaea was bigger than previously estimated.

The diploma was issued to a soldier of the *cohors I milliaria sagittariorum*, which was under the command of the prefect Lucius Pedusius Herennianus. This equestrian prefect is otherwise unknown. He seems to have been the first prefect of this unit whose name is documented.¹⁸ The *nomen gentile* Pedusius is rare; the few inscriptions bearing this name are Italian;¹⁹ presumably, therefore, his *origo* was Italy, as was the origin of most of the auxiliary prefects in Flavian times.

The owner of the diploma was a certain Honaenus, son of Zabdi, citizen of Philadelphia, probably the city on the eastern site of the Jordan River. He had been recruited 25 years earlier, in 61, when this area of the Decapolis was part of the province of Syria. That makes it likely that the *cohors I milliaria sagittariorum* was then stationed in Syria, since recruits often came from the area where the unit was stationed.

The name of the owner of the diploma, Honaenus, is a Latinised form of the Nabatean name *Hnynw*, known from Nabatean inscriptions; in Greek the name is Ὀναίνος or Ὀνηίνος.²⁰ The father's name too, here in the form Zabdi, to be understood as a Latinised genitive form, is attested in the Nabatean area. 'Zabd is a hypocoristic of the theophoric name meaning "gift of ...". It occurs in Nabataean in the forms *zbd'*, *zbdw* and *zbdy*. It does not seem to occur as simply *zbd* in Nabataean, though it does appear infrequently in Palmyrene, where however *zbd'* is extremely common.'²¹ The name is quite current in Umma al-Jimal, 50km northeast of Amman.²²

The new diploma attests to a second constitution issued to some of the auxiliary units in Judaea, published on the same day as the constitution known from *CIL* XVI 33. In *CIL* XVI 33 two *alae* and four *cohortes* are included, in the new diploma we hear of only one *ala* and three *cohortes*. But why was only a part of all units included in one constitution? The splitting up of auxiliary units from one province among several constitutions is also known in Flavian times from other provinces: for Moesia we have two constitutions in 75 and three in 78 for the whole army, two constitutions only for *cohortes* in 75, and also two for the *cohortes* and one for the *alae* in 78.²³ In Syria the units were distributed

¹⁸ See *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium* vol. VI, ed. S. Demougin – M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, Leuven 2001, 113 f.

¹⁹ *CIL* III 11229; VI 2412; XI 3991. 4470. 6689, 183a-b. 6869; XII 4091.

²⁰ H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des Vorderen Orients*, Leipzig 1930, 89; S. Abbadi *Die Personennamen der Inschriften aus Hatra*, Hildesheim 1983, 20. 100; A. Negev, *Personal Names in the Nabataean Realm*, Jerusalem 1991, 79 f.

²¹ Michael Macdonald in a written communication to F. Kovacs. My thanks to Michael Macdonald for additional helpful comments.

²² S. Said – O. al-Ghul, 'New Nabatean inscriptions from Umm al-Jimal', in: *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 18, 2007, 251 ff.: the inscription on p. 254 no. 3 attests 'Māsik son of Zabūd'.

²³ See P. Weiß, 'Militär diplome für Moesia (Moesia, Moesia superior, Moesia inferior)', *Chiron* 38, 2008, 267-316; W. Eck – A. Pangerl, 'Moesia und seine Truppen. Neue Diplome für Moesia und Moesia superior', *Chiron* 38, 2008, 317 ff.; dies., 'Moesia und seine

differently in 88 and in 91: in each constitution both *alae* and *cohortes* were included, but only part of all the auxiliary units of the province.²⁴ It seems that this distribution into more than one constitution was implemented for internal reasons of the military administration. Splitting the units made it possible to issue smaller documents, which would not have been the case had all the soldiers and units been included in one constitution and consequently in each diploma. This explanation seems logical in the case of a province like Moesia with at least eighteen auxiliary units or Syria with at least twenty-one.²⁵ But in Judaea the auxiliary forces numbered only ten. Rationally, it seems illogical to issue two different constitutions for the *alae* and *cohortes*. Therefore, it is perhaps advisable to leave the question why two constitutions were issued in Judaea in 86 open.

The group of witnesses for this diploma is completely different from that of the group which is mentioned in *CIL XVI 33*, that is the other constitution for Judaea issued on the same day. In *CIL XVI 33* the witnesses are: *D(ecimi) Consi Alcimi*; *G(ai) Terenti Natalis*; *P(ubli) Sallieni Philumeni*; *Ti(beri) Claudi Erasti*; *G(ai) Hostili Martialis*; *P(ubli) Sili Hermetis*; *G(ai) Quinti Phileti*. In the new diploma seven other *testes* are mentioned:²⁶

Q(uintus) Mucius Augustalis: already attested between 79 and 90.

G(aius) Sertorius Proculus: hitherto unknown.

M(arcus) Calpurnius Iustus: already attested between 85? and 88.

G(aius) Iulius Helenus: already attested between 86 and 92.

M(arcus) Septimius Longinus: hitherto unknown.

G(aius) Iulius Clemens: already attested between 82 and 90

T(itus) Petronius Firmus: hitherto unknown.²⁷

The reading offered here for the new diploma is as follows:

Imp(erator) Caesar divi Vespasiani f(ilius) Domitianus Augustus Germanicus pontifex maximus tribunic(ia) potestat(e) V imp(erator) XII censor perpetuus co(n)s(ul) XII p(ater) p(atriciae)

equitibus et peditibus qui militant in ala Vocontiorum et cohortibus tribus (1) I Damascena Armeniaca et (2) I milliaria sagittariorum et (3) III Callaeorum quae sunt in Iudaea sub Gn(aeo) Pompeio Longino qui quina et vicena stipendia meruerant

quorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data aut si qui caelibes essent cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singulis singulas.

Truppen II. Neue Diplome für Moesia und Moesia inferior und Moesia superior', *Chiron* 39, 2009, 507-589.

²⁴ P. Weiß, 'Die Auxilien des syrischen Heeres von Domitian bis Antoninus Pius. Eine Zwischenbilanz nach den neuen Militärdiplomen', *Chiron* 36, 2006, 249-298; W. Eck - A. Pangerl, 'Syria unter Domitian und Hadrian: Neue Diplome für die Auxiliartruppen der Provinz', *Chiron* 36, 2006, 205-247

²⁵ See for example P. Weiß, 'Die Auxilien des syrischen Heeres von Domitian bis Antoninus Pius. Eine Zwischenbilanz nach den neuen Militärdiplomen', *Chiron* 36, 2006, 297.

²⁶ For the documents from which they are known, see *RMD V* p. 939 ff.

²⁷ In *CIL XVI 32 (a. d. XIII K. Mart.* of the same year) are found two of the witnesses also in this new diploma.

A(nte) d(iem) III idus Maias Sex(to) Octavio Frontone Ti(berio) Iulio Candido Mario Celso co(n)s(ulibus)

Cohort(is) I milliariae sagittariorum cui praest L(ucius) Pedusius Herennianus pediti Honaeo Zabdi f(ilio) Philadelph(ia).

Descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea quae fixa est Romae in Capitolio post tropaea Germanici in tribunali quae sunt ad aedem Fidei p(opuli) R(omani).

Q(uinti) Muci Augustalis; G(ai) Sertori Proculi; M(arci) Calpurni Iusti; G(ai) Iuli Heleni; M(arci) Septimi Longini; G(ai) Iuli Clementis; T(iti) Petroni Firmi.

It is perhaps not surprising that we have five diplomas for the troops in Judaea in the years 86 and 87.²⁸ According to the text of both constitutions, the soldiers received the *civitas Romana* after 25 years of service exactly (*qui quina et vicena stipendia meruerant*), not after 25 years or more (*qui quina et vicena aut plura stipendia meruerant*). This means that the soldiers were recruited in 61 and 62 AD. At least some of these troops were stationed in Syria before they were transferred to Judaea. We have many diplomas from Syria dating to the years 88 and 91, but in these diplomas the formula is *qui quina et vicena aut plura stipendia meruerant*.²⁹ Obviously, in Syria, soldiers served for more than 25 years. So it may well be that, as in Syria, many soldiers who served in the troops in Judaea in 86 and 87 were recruited under the command of Domitius Corbulo, during the reign of Nero, in connection with the Parthian war.³⁰ If indeed this is the case, it shows that the decision as to when to send to Rome the lists with the names of the soldiers who should receive the *civitas Romana*, depended entirely on the military administration of the various provinces.

Appendix: List with all the known diplomas for Judaea/Syria Palaestina.

Source	Time
<i>CIL XVI 33</i>	13. May 86
Eck – Pangerl, <i>SCI</i> 24, 2005, 106 ff.	13. May 86
the new diploma	13. May 86
Eck – Weiß, <i>ZPE</i> 170, 2009, 201 ff.	6./11. June 87
Eck – Weiß, <i>ZPE</i> 170, 2009, 205 ff.	6./11. June 87
<i>RMD V 332</i>	Jan./Sept. 90
<i>RMD III 160</i>	136/37
<i>CIL XVI 87</i>	22. Nov. 139

²⁸ See for the following argumentation P. Weiß in: Eck – Weiß (n. 5) 206.

²⁹ See the articles mentioned in n. 24.

³⁰ See P. Weiß's long discussion in: 'Die Auxilien des syrischen Heeres von Domitian bis Antoninus Pius. Eine Zwischenbilanz nach den neuen Militärdiplomen', *Chiron* 36, 2006, 259ff.

<i>RGZM I 29</i> = Eck, <i>ZPE</i> 155, 2006, 253 ff.	15. Jan. 142
<i>AE</i> 1997, 1768 = <i>RMD V 421</i> = Eck – Pangerl, <i>ZPE</i> 159, 2007, 286	157
Eck – Pangerl, <i>ZPE</i> 157, 2006, 185 ff.	6. Febr. 158
Eck – Pangerl, <i>ZPE</i> 159, 2007, 283 ff.	6. Febr. 158
<i>RGZM 40</i>	7. March 160
<i>RMD III 173</i>	7. March 160
Eck – Pangerl, <i>SCI</i> 24, 2005, 101 ff.	7. March 160
Unpublished	7. March 160
<i>RMD I 60</i>	154/161
<i>RMD I 69</i>	24./27. Nov. 186