

Rada Varga

The
Peregrini
of Roman Dacia
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FOREWORD

This book represents the ultimate result of my doctoral research regarding the peregrines attested in Roman Dacia. The subject has never been treated monographically before, even though some of its aspects have been discussed in historiography. The in-depth study of this juridical class provides objective data regarding the way Roman law was applied at a provincial level, the population structures of the given province and its epigraphic representativeness. This work presents the matter exhaustively – as much as possible – while offering researchers a working tool in the form of its adjacent catalogue. It can also serve as a starting point for future studies regarding epigraphic habits of the lower classes in the Danubian provinces.

Proper recognition should go to those who offered me their support. It is not possible to mention everyone who, at some point, sacrificed their time to give me suggestion, advice or encouragement. Even if not nominally, I thank them this way and I assure them all of my sincere gratitude.

To Professor Ioan Piso, my PhD coordinator, I thank for his guidance and support during the elaboration of the thesis. I extend my kindest thoughts to Professor Radu Ardevan for his help and his patience, without which the writing process would have been much more difficult. To Professors Lucrețiu Mihăilescu-Bîrliba and Constantin Petolescu I thank for the valuable suggestions offered in the evaluation reviews.

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I. HISTORIOGRAPHIC AND METHODOLOGICAL COORDINATES

I. 1. HISTORIOGRAPHIC LANDMARKS

The research of the peregrines attested in the province of Dacia is based on the investigation of a multitude of aspects and on the analysis of varied sources. Under these circumstances, the historiography of the subjects dealt with is not balanced, some having been widely debated over the years, while others were merely touched. We must mention from the very beginning that there are no prior monographs dedicated exclusively to the juridical class we write about; while an impressive number of works is dedicated to slaves and freedmen, the peregrines cannot be connected with a branch of historical literature.

We will subsequently present some historiographical coordinates; our exposition is not meant to be exhaustive, as quoting the whole bibliography in a preliminary chapter does not seem useful at this point. Most titles gain relevance in the given context of each chapter. As well, we will not refer to the international historiography for now, even if it has a significant share in the final bibliography; our choice is motivated by the fact that these titles would bring only indirect analogies and also by the wish to avoid repetitions as much as possible. Furthermore, the chapters dedicated to the peregrine status, respectively to the quantitative studies, refer more to the realities of the Empire than to those of Dacia. A beforehand presentation of their vast bibliography would not only remove it from the context, but it would also render a false image on the use of sources, as the relevance of each paper for the present demarche becomes evident through the ways of its employment, not from mere reference.

A category of “external” sources that must however be presented, if briefly, is that of the ancient literature. The most widely used ancient writings are the law compendia.¹ We have considered it useful to quote integrally the fragments referring to peregrines. Other useful information was extracted from historical writings,² but also from different literary sources.³ Some of the ancient sources are quoted only once, with brief information, but that does not mean their importance in the economy of the paper is minimal. The epigraphic sources are equally relevant, if not more, and the hard foundation of a consistent part of the paper.

In Romanian historiography, the studies making references to the peregrines from Dacia are either general, or centered on small groups and/or particular cases.⁴ In some rare situations, the peregrines were individualized in monographic studies⁵ regarding certain cities. The purpose of these researches was obviously not to analyze the status or situation of peregrines, as they mostly focus on other subjects.

¹ Gaius, *Dig.*; *Inst.*, Ulp.

² Tit.Liv.; Tac. *Ann.*; Suet.; D.C.; Hdn.; Amm.Marc.

³ Cic. *Arch.*; Cic. *Att.*; Cic. *Bal.*; Cic. *Caec.*; Cic. *Off.*; NH; Plin. *Pan.*; Sen. *Apol.*; Gell.; Aristid. *Or.*; Augustin.

⁴ For example, see Russu 1969a (inventories the Illyrian names registered in Dacia at that time), Piso 1993a (discusses some issues about peregrines, with reference to the *collegia* from *Sarmizegetusa* and *Apulum*), Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2004b (presents a wide series of demographic realities), Ardevan 2006 (refers to the citizens of Dacia descending from families that had allegedly obtained citizenship through *ius Latii*), Dana 2007 (deals with characters attested in a military diploma), Jucan 2009 (tries to inventory the females known from epigraphic sources), etc.

⁵ Such as Bărbulescu 1994 or Paki 1998.

Another type of historiographical approach, with some aspects connected peregrines, is the one studying certain groups or communities. The best documented is the peregrine community from Alburnus Maior⁶ and respectively the Illyrian group settled here. A monograph⁷ is dedicated to the Celts and Germans from Dacia, but the peregrines, though identified as such, are unfortunately not being treated separately. Another well developed area of historiography is the one researching the juridical status of certain communities, without an intrinsic social analysis. We refer here to studies, more or less ample, that debate the Latin right⁸ or the *civitas*-type settlements⁹ from Dacia (not necessarily making a case towards their existence); these papers refer directly to the issue of the peregrines and are of major importance in understanding the position they held in the Danubian province. The possibility that the administrative forms mentioned here existed is directly connected to the status of the indigenous population after the conquest.¹⁰ Such details have yet to be clarified, although they are vital to our understanding of the social life of the province. A category with a very rich historiography is that of the military personnel.¹¹ Even if most studies do not refer (or do so tangentially) to the problem of the peregrine status of auxiliary soldiers, they are of great informational importance and without them the research of military peregrines would be impossible.

Demographic studies or those that are only partially dedicated to quantitative analyses¹² can also be considered group analyses – albeit of a different nature. Even if slightly detailing realities pertaining to the peregrine group, they are methodologically and informationally useful, as they offer the possibility of including the results of the current research in a wider statistical picture.

Of vital importance in researching the peregrines is onomastics. Besides, this is one of the subjects with the richest historiography, any study that implies some epigraphically attested characters having an onomastic aspect. For our research, the most important in the literature regarding Dacia are the studies that try to make prosopographic reconstitutions and use onomastic data in a broader context.¹³ Obviously this statement does not imply that classical studies regarding names, with the main purpose of analyzing and classifying them, have no usefulness or informational value.¹⁴

I. 2. METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

The first two chapters are mostly theoretical and refer to states of affairs and situations recorded in the whole Empire. We chose to place the theoretical part in the beginning of this book for two main reasons. First, we considered that the juridical situation of the peregrines and all the nuances it involves will become more obvious and easier to understand if they will be presented as a whole. Also, when information is not fragmented, it leads to the initial perception of a general reality, useful for understanding the situations registered in Dacia. The part dedicated to quantitative analysis and population studies is important in the overall economy of the paper because it brings forth a major research direction in dealing with the juridically inferior social classes of the Roman Empire. Understanding the background and possibilities of quantitative investigations is essential in order to highlight the undoubted scientific benefits, but also the methodological and analytical “traps” the researcher can easily fall prey to.

⁶ The historiography of Roșia Montană deals with a lot of aspects, ranging from archaeology (Damian 2003; Simion *et alii* 2004; Damian 2008) and epigraphy (Beu-Dachin 2003; Ardevan 2004; Piso 2004; Ciongradi *et alii* 2008; Ciongradi 2009) to detailed analysis regarding *collegia* and *kastella* (Ardevan, Crăciun 2003; Ciobanu 2010; Nemeti 2010a) and to certain aspects related to religious life (Wollmann 1986, Moga, Sintimbreanu 1996).

⁷ Husar 1999.

⁸ Suceveanu 1990; Ardevan 1999; Cîrjan 2010a; Cîrjan 2010b.

⁹ Bogdan-Cătănicu 1991; Ardevan 1998a; Ruscu 2003; Bogdan-Cătănicu 2005.

¹⁰ Cîrjan 2006; Ruscu 2004.

¹¹ We will mention here only few works, directly employed in the current research: Gudea 1977; Russu 1980; Nemeti 1993; Popescu 2004; Protase *et alii* 2008.

¹² Piso 1993a; Bărbulescu 1994; Paki 1996; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2004a; Ștefănescu, Balaci 2007.

¹³ Nemeti 2010b; Paki 1996; Piso 1993a; Piso 2004.

¹⁴ Russu 1944; Russu 1970; Paki 1988a; Paki 1988b; Paki 1990; Ruscu 1998; Varga 2008.

The main part of the book, dedicated to the peregrines attested in the province of Dacia, was divided in a few chapters. Within them, we chose to present separately, as individual case studies, the military peregrines and respectively, the problem of peregrine settlements and of *Alburnus Maior*. This structuring basically reflects that of the chapter dedicated to the juridical status of peregrines. Even if thematically divided, the presentation had to benefit from a few general statistics; we believe it necessary to clarify a few things regarding the values presented through graphs and statistical analyses. The figures are generally rendered as percentages. If it can be argued that absolute values are relative, proportions are however more stable and cannot be modified by the eventual changes of certain data regarding a small number of names. We must also mention that, during the description of all the aspects regarding this group, a certain degree of repetitiveness was unavoidable. Some names were mentioned more than once, in different contexts, because the intrinsic logic of the paper required it.

The chief criterion for organizing the catalogue is the geographical one, from north to south: *Dacia Porolossensis*, *Dacia Superior* and *Dacia Inferior*. In each of the three provinces the names of the settlements are listed alphabetically according to the ancient name or the modern one. We chose not to double the toponymy in the catalogue, opting for the Roman name when known and for the modern one when it was the only available choice. Inside the same settlement, the names are grouped according to combined criteria: alphabetically and after the inscription they were attested upon. As for the ethnicity of the names, we believe the only specification required is related to the preference for the term of "Roman" names instead of "Italic" names. The option, to be discussed in that part of the paper dedicated to onomastics as well, seemed only natural because it gives the possibility of a more precise framing and refers mostly to the area of origin and intense usage of the name instead of etymology. Thus, for example, we did not consider being Roman, although it is certainly Latin, a name that is transcribed, translated or built according to the criterion of linguistic assonance.¹⁵ The headings were chosen in such a way as to offer as much information as possible on the contents of the inscription, in a thoroughly structured manner. In the column "observations" we included adjacent details that did not fit other fields, such as age, some particularities of the epigraph or doubts about the lecture of the character's name or interpretation of juridical status.

After some hesitations, the repertoire of inscriptions was included in the final version of the book, considering its potential as a useful working tool. Even if the catalogue contains all pertinent data, it lacks the text of the inscription. Due to the fact that many of the quoted inscriptions do not feature in the major corpora, and those that do are dissipated, we considered the reproduction of the epigraphic texts to be an act of honesty. The bibliography was not given in full for each and every inscription because such a measure would have mostly become a goal in itself; we considered being more useful to quote the compendiums, the fundamental tools that can be easily found, that often record the bibliography missing from the repertoire and that are the main criterion for searching the inscription in the on-line databases. Last but not least, we would like to offer some explanations on the employed terminology. The words used to term the peregrines as a whole unit vary greatly: group, class, stratum, etc. They were used as synonyms, even if we acknowledge some differences in nuances. Thus the peregrines are a group – if we choose to consider them from the levelling point of view of citizen status (or its lack thereof, from the perspective of the citizenship of the Empire). Certainly, going further with the definition, they are a juridical class, whereas to strictly define the term of socio-juridical stratum, outside a given context, is very relative. Without ignoring the sensitive differences in meaning, we used these terms to refer to peregrines – or a part of them – in different circumstances.

The study of the peregrines from Roman Dacia will represent a new piece in the puzzle that is the general image of social life and juridical realities of this province. Understanding them, their great diversity as well as the characteristics that seem to unite them, constitutes a very important step towards understanding the great mass made up of the inhabitants of Dacia, their status, their manifestations and their self-representation.

¹⁵ Dondin-Payre 2005, 157–158.

II. THE PEREGRINE STATUS

II. 1. AIM AND STRUCTURE

The purpose of the present chapter is to present the general juridical situation of the peregrines in the Roman Empire. The temporal frame is represented by the period in between the beginning of the Principate (without ignoring relevant Republican precedents) and the passing of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (212 A.D.), also taking into consideration some later states of affairs. Being mostly a theoretical chapter, we did not feel the need to precisely refer to a geographical area. Cases from all over the Empire were used as examples supporting the theoretical statements. Of course, we always tried to connect with the realities of Dacia, where the sources allowed us to do so or to synthesize what information we already had on the subject related to the Danubian province. The most canonical way – and the clearest methodologically – that one can employ in dealing with this subject is the one that uses written Roman sources as starting point. Roman literature, both the juridical one and the one that offers tangential information about the rule of law, must constitute the base for further arguments.

The identification of the peregrine, in the context of epigraphic sources, can only be done using onomastic criteria. These, however, do not offer certainties: the possibility of “onomastic frauds” must not be completely ruled out; we can neither ignore the possible onomastic confusion of the peregrine with the slave and in some cases even with the citizen. These serious uncertainties must not however be considered absolute without good reason. Epigraphy is generally lacunose when it refers to lower social–juridical classes; epigraphic statistics rarely reflect the state of affairs of the epoch and the real percentages of the population. These ideas will be amply debated and discussed in the following chapters.

Although often compared or even confused with the lower ranking Roman citizen, the peregrine was, in fact, always on a lower social standing (he never was and never could be part of *populus Romanus*). It is the scandals and abuses certified for all time periods,¹⁶ despite the existence of central and municipal censuses,¹⁷ related to the usurpation of citizenship, that prove this inferiority; they underline the necessity and the desire to accede to the juridical status of citizen. Archias, defended by Cicero, is but one example,¹⁸ notorious because of its lawyer. Another example is the one presented in *Tabula Clesiana*,¹⁹ where Claudius offers citizenship to the populations of the *Anauni*, *Tulliassenses* and *Sinduni*, which used to take it upon themselves before, without legal right. Probably in the same context Claudius seems to forbid, under heavy punishments, peregrines from assuming *gentilicia*.²⁰

Historically speaking, the Roman policy of granting citizenship, as well as that of conferring a higher juridical status to a community, was flexible, molding on the local realities specific to each newly conquered province and varying in time. The Roman Empire’s policies for awarding citizenship were as diverse as – and of course connected to – the definitions that can be given to the process

¹⁶ Jacques, Scheid 1990, 213.

¹⁷ Lo Cascio 2001, 60.

¹⁸ Cic. *Arch.*

¹⁹ CIL V 5050; first published by Mommsen 1870.

²⁰ Suet. *Claudius* XXV 7.

of Romanization²¹ and the ways in which this process and its goals can be understood. Citizenship did not automatically cover the notion of residency,²² and the new Roman citizen also remained a citizen of his/her community (a fact that sometimes led to financial and fiscal imbalances for the cities). Thus, the research of the theory of Roman law, but also its implications at provincial level, allows the placement of Dacian realities in a comprehensive picture. When discussing the various provinces, we emphasized the place of the peregrines in Roman civil society, their integration but also the way in which they perceived this society, with its juridical norms, its official religion and its clearly and apparently rigidly drawn structures.

In the beginning, we will refer to some of the written sources that offer clues regarding the situation of non-citizens in the Empire; we will compare the written sources and see if the statements are in agreement. The discrepancies can represent general oscillations due to specific situations or evolutions in time, but they can also prove to be internal errors of those sources or failures in their understanding. The changes brought about by *Constitutio Antoniniana* are revealing for the period prior to the decree, involving not only the individual life of the peregrine or of the peregrine community, but the whole society and the entire Roman legal and social structure. The military environment and the peregrines orbiting around it must be carefully scrutinized; we do not refer here preponderantly to the peregrines enlisted in the auxiliary troops, who had to obey military jurisdiction, but to their families that form an eclectic, complex society, characterized by excellence by cultural interference.

Starting from what the sources can tell us we will try to shape the image of the peregrine as it is built by the Roman juridical literature, by the accumulation of literary sources, as well as by the shading archaeological and epigraphic realities.

II. 2. ROMAN CITIZENSHIP

Up until the *Constitutio Antoniniana* there were, judicially speaking, two major classes of free men: citizens and peregrines. They can eventually be divided in three, thus forcibly separating the Latins. The status of the Latins, probably the most problematic but also the most complex issue brought into discussion in this part of the paper, will be presented and debated in a separate section. The citizens – the judicially privileged class of the Roman Empire, can be defined as those who fully enjoyed the four fundamental rights: *ius commercii*, *ius conubii*, *ius suffragii* and *ius honorum*.²³ The rules for granting citizenship were quite strict and bureaucratically complex. The main law enlarging the boundaries of Roman citizenship and changing the perspective over the matter was *Lex Iulia de civitate Latinis danda*, passed in 90 B.C.²⁴ The law offered full Roman citizenship to all inhabitants of the Italic communities that had remained faithful to Rome during the war with the allies. Afterwards, during the Principate, citizenship was awarded by the emperor, as an exception; at the same time, however, it was the emperor as well who formulated and validated the general rules for granting citizenship. Here we have a contradiction, typical for the Romans: the same person had a double status, that of maker of rules but also source of exceptions.²⁵ Anyway, it seems that, up until *Constitutio Antoniniana*, Rome was not very generous or at least not very open on the subject of its citizenship and granting it to strangers was considered acceptable only on criteria of personal worth. When Nero issued *diplomata civitatis Romanae* for some dancers from Pyrrhica,²⁶ the public opinion was shocked at the frivolity of the emperor's gesture. It must not be understood that during the Principate Roman citizenship would have been very difficult to obtain. The emperor obviously granted it in the provinces through its intermediaries, thus making the process easier from many points of view. As well, the Empire was never afraid to assimilate the

²¹ Alföldy 2005, 26.

²² See *Lex Plautia Papiria* (Weiss 1924c, 2402).

²³ Thomas 1976, 387–388.

²⁴ Cic. *Bal.* VIII 21 presents this law and describes its effects; see also Sherwin-White 1973a, 150–153.

²⁵ Millar 1983, 77.

²⁶ Suet. *Nero* XII 1.

provincials, as real mechanisms for granting citizenship to large bodies of men existed (auxiliary soldiers, Latin municipal elites).

In its original form and meaning, Roman citizenship was incompatible by *ius civile* with the citizenship of any other state.²⁷ This theoretical vision was not valid in reality, as new citizens still remained citizens of their city. Also theoretically, as practice does not conform to the law, citizenship rights could not be truncated. The case of freedmen is a first exception, their birth into servitude denying them *ius honorum*, irrevocably associated with *ingenuitas*.²⁸ There also were particular cases when a peregrine could receive *civitas sine suffragio*,²⁹ associated to keeping of local citizenship and living outside Rome;³⁰ in time, as the body of citizens grew and expanded throughout the whole Empire, the original meaning was lost.

For a slave to become, by *manumissio*, a Roman citizen with almost full rights, he had to appear before a council,³¹ who would ratify his release. Otherwise he remained, by law, a slave. Even so, he did not have full citizenship; his former slave status meant he lacked the proper *dignitas*, leading inevitably to the absence of *ius honorum*. On the other hand the patronage of the former master, even if theoretically symbolic, was still binding. A very interesting hypothesis draws together these freedmen (at least those from the republican and early imperial period) and the peregrines that newly acquired citizenship.³² The possibility that the term *libertini* referred not restrictively and exclusively to freed slaves, as it is usually assumed, but to all who directly became voters cannot be denied. The double meaning of the term *libertinus* is also based on certain ancient sources.³³ This interesting detail, even if it can generate controversies, must be a warning signal regarding the sometimes too rigid historiographic interpretation of Latin terms.³⁴ The general clauses and rules of Roman citizenship were generally applied to local citizenships as well: the inhabitant of a city that had not been born there could become a local citizen by *manumissio*, *adlectio* or *adoptio*. If none of these actions was taken, he remained an *incola* in that city, without political rights and limited property rights, varying from case to case. As for adoption, it directly concerned the peregrines. The adoption of a person *alieni iuris* is referred from the juridical point of view as *adoptio*³⁵ (there was also *adrogatio*, meaning the adoption of a Roman citizen, in theory adult, as well as adoption by testament); it meant adoption and thus the grant of citizenship and the passing *in potestate* of an adult who previously lacked Roman citizenship.

The *socii*, a juridical category that disappeared after the war with the allies,³⁶ precede the Latin right inhabitants of the imperial period and include Rome's allies from the Italian Peninsula. They were, in fact, *foederati* – allies of Rome that had a lower status. Their rights depended only on what their local citizenship provided and on privileges recognized by Rome regarding relations with Roman citizens.³⁷

Peregrinus referred to any free individual who lacked Roman citizenship.³⁸ He had however the citizenship of his city, of his community or even that of the tribe he originated from; those who were stateless, lacking any citizenship, were the *dediticii*.³⁹ Initially, the peregrine did not benefit from any rights according to the Roman law,⁴⁰ the citizens alone having juridical personality.⁴¹ First

²⁷ Cic. *Caec.* CI; Cic. *Bal.* XXIIIX.

²⁸ See *Lex Visellia* (Leonhard, Weiss 1924b, 2418; Thomas 1976, 407).

²⁹ Mouritsen 2007.

³⁰ Sherwin-White 1973a, 291.

³¹ In Rome the council was formed of 5 senators and 5 *equites*, and in the provinces of 15 Roman citizens. (Ulp. I 13a: *In consilio autem adhibentur Romae quinque senatores et quinque equites Romani, in prouinciis uiginti ciues Romani.*)

³² Cels Saint-Hilaire 2001, 478–479.

³³ Tit. Liv. XLIII 3, 1–4: [...] *Senatus decrevit [...] Latinam eam coloniam esse, libertinorumque appellari.*

³⁴ See also the discussion in Dixon 2005, 13, referring to the fundamental ambiguity of some terms.

³⁵ Lindsay 2005, 203.

³⁶ Humbert 1989, 372–373.

³⁷ Sherwin-White 1972, 34.

³⁸ Thomas 1976, 407.

³⁹ Thomas 1976, 408.

⁴⁰ Mousourakis 2007, 22.

⁴¹ Girard 1929, 115.

of all, peregrines lacked political rights, but also a lot of the property and family rights, protected through *ius civile* and derived directly from the two social and economic fundamental rights. That is why, mostly in early Rome, but not only, the peregrine often became client of a citizen; thus he could be protected by *ius applicationis*; in case he stayed only temporary in the city, protection was also temporary – by *hospitium privatum*.⁴² Thus, one can observe that peregrines only benefited from the legal protection included in *ius gentium*. There was the possibility that some peregrines could benefit from *ius commercii*, and have property rights in Italy, similar to the Latins.⁴³ Anyhow, peregrine property remains more factual rather than supported *de iure*⁴⁴ – but for sure regulated by edicts of praetors and governors⁴⁵ – and it also existed in the Italian Peninsula. Of course the situation presented here is the one post 89 B.C., before this date the property of allies who lacked Roman citizenship being recognized as such.

In order not to create confusions, we must state clearly that being a peregrine was a juridical and not a social status. Economically and socially speaking they are different, stratified and not necessarily at the base of the pyramid. We must be aware that it is possible for a large part of these peregrines to be better positioned economically than some Roman citizens from the communities they lived in, lacking only a series of practical privileges, but also the psychological advantage of being a citizen. In reference to G. Alföldy's pyramid (even if it might seem a bit forced, the reference is not useless, leading to a clearer visual image), where the juridical categories are placed on vertical and social stratification on the horizontal,⁴⁶ peregrines must be situated in the category of *ingenui* (the only possibility, the other two being *liberti* and *servi*) and on the vertical they can be found in the whole range of lower classes. This “area” is very large, including major economic differences.

Rome's interaction with the peregrines in her own provinces is shown to be of major importance for the state when, in 242 B.C., the office of praetor for peregrines appeared.⁴⁷ This *praetor peregrinus* had to judge cases involving peregrines, whether they were involved in trials with Roman citizens, or in between them.⁴⁸ The creation of this office implies the existence of a foreign “bourgeoisie”, of a layer of peregrines that had to be protected and attracted towards collaboration according to mutually accepted norms.⁴⁹ Until then, but *de iure* further on, the peregrine (initially *hostis*⁵⁰) is a friend of the Roman people and is protected by a *foedus*. A *quaestio perpetua* meant to settle problems involving non-citizens appeared only in 149 B.C., through *Lex Calpurnia*.⁵¹ What we do not know about these praetors is whether – and in what measure – they were supposed to guide themselves only by Roman norms or their judgment also meant researching the local habits and juridical rules.⁵² We can assume that at least in the difficult, initial phases of first time interaction with some foreign cultures, they had to find equilibrium between *aequitas naturalis* and Roman *aequitas civilis*⁵³ in administering the law. An excerpt from Cicero is interesting although not explanatory enough: it refers to the *peregrini iudices*, to whom the Greeks from Cilicia had appealed enthusiastically.⁵⁴

The peregrine praetors published each year an edict containing their norms for administering the law, much like the urban praetor did. As for tribunals judging the complaints of peregrines, the law was administered especially based upon *formulae*; they were more than documents settling a dispute but also legal instruments providing precedents, deciding rules of law and canons⁵⁵ (they

⁴² Girard 1929, 115.

⁴³ Grosso 1999, 204.

⁴⁴ For properties belonging to non-citizens, see besides the wax tablets from Dacia, Tomlin 2003 (a wax tablet attesting the buying of a slave girl and her entering the property of an imperial slave through *mancipatio*).

⁴⁵ Hanga 1971, 179.

⁴⁶ Alföldy 1988, 146.

⁴⁷ Humbert 1989, 315.

⁴⁸ Wesenberg 1954, 1587.

⁴⁹ Williamson 2008, 270.

⁵⁰ Kübler 1937, 639.

⁵¹ Ferguson 1921, 95.

⁵² Sherman 1921, 355.

⁵³ Bretone 1998, 225.

⁵⁴ Cic. *Att.* VI 1, 15; for extensive comments regarding *peregrini iudices*, see Larsen 1948.

⁵⁵ Wenger 1909, 2859–2876.

replaced the older and more formal *legis actiones*, based on The Law of the 12 Tables).⁵⁶ It is worth mentioning that during the Empire the system stayed the same, in theory, but the emperor, guided more or less by his legal advisers, can write *responsa*, that served as guides to the judges. Also *cognitio extraordinaria* appears as a form of imperial control over the legal process, meaning that the case was debated in front of an imperial employee.⁵⁷ It must be added that only citizens will always have the right to a last appeal to the emperor in case of an unfavorable ruling.

As we have stated before, the peregrine was clearly inferior to the Roman citizen, no matter what the details of his social and economic condition were. But, at the beginning of the Principate, Augustus institutionalized their lower status through *Lex Aelia Sentia*.⁵⁸ In time they were given more rights. It is believed that Claudius allowed enlisted soldiers to be lawfully wedded,⁵⁹ meaning their wives and children became citizens if they were peregrines (if the mother was a Roman citizen the child, declared illegitimate, could inherit her citizenship). This however was not a permanent legal regulation (it became such from Septimius Severus),⁶⁰ but rather a *donatio* of the emperor, ephemeral and with no long-term effects. The regulation is not surprising, Claudius freely giving citizen rights and apparently even issuing a legal disposition that stated all new citizens would automatically carry the imperial name.⁶¹ This is more of a right rather than a mandatory norm, as the members of communities who received citizenship through *Tabula Clesiana* were allowed to keep the citizen names they had previously – illegally – assumed, even under the given circumstances. Claudius' edict is very interesting because it shows the way the imperial administration, very flexible in this case, solves a problem related to communities and for the somewhat novel way that *civitas Romana* was used for integration in the Empire.⁶² Claudius' policy in these matters seems to have been more permissive than what a great part of the public opinion would have wanted – Seneca claims, exaggerating of course from well-known personal reasons, that he had left only a handful of peregrines in the Empire.⁶³

Peregrines lacked the right to be legal heirs or testamentary trustees constantly during the Principate,⁶⁴ even if their position progressively improved up until the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. The problem of testamentary rights seems to have been pretty difficult to tackle, as in some cases the new citizens had to take their children *in potestate*, according to Roman norms, in order for them to become legitimate heirs, using an individual legal procedure.⁶⁵ To this end Hadrian took an important decision, granting the children of soldiers, in spite of their legal status of peregrines, the right to paternal succession.⁶⁶ Even though it seems that the situation concerning marriage and testamentary succession of peregrines evolved for the better, we must not forget that it was connected, mostly, to the rights given to soldiers. They were a particular group in the peregrine body, with privileges stemming directly from the power they could use and that – of course – is not characteristic or even accessible to civilians. Independent of these evolutions and beyond them, peregrines will never have legal rights comparable to those of citizens and as for political ones, respectively that of becoming magistrates of the Roman state (*ius honorum*) and of voting (*ius suffragii*), they will not even be brought up for discussion.

⁵⁶ RS 40; Pharr 1961, 8.

⁵⁷ Hanga 1971, 97.

⁵⁸ Thomas 1976, 400.

⁵⁹ D.C. LX 24, 3.

⁶⁰ Hdn. III 8, 4–5.

⁶¹ D.C. LX 17, 7.

⁶² Frézouls 1981, 251.

⁶³ Sen. *Apol.* III 3.

⁶⁴ Gaius II 110: *Praeterea permissum est iis et peregrinis et Latinos instituere heredes uel iis legare, cum alioquin peregrini quidem ratione ciuili prohibeantur capere hereditatem legataque, Latini uero per legem Iuniam* (the exception that the text mentions refers to the testaments made by soldiers).

⁶⁵ Gaius I 93: *Si peregrinus sibi liberisque suis civitatem Romanam petierit, non aliter filii in potestate eius fiet, quam si imperator eos in potestatem redegerit; quod ita demum is facit, si causa cognita aestimauerit hoc filiis expedire. Diligentius autem exactiusque causam cognoscit de inpuberibus absentibusque.*

⁶⁶ Campbell 1978, 165.

One final mention regarding the definition of citizenship as well as peregrine status must have a value of temporal circumscription. Three inscriptions⁶⁷ discovered at the beginning of the 20th century in Silchester provide an interesting perspective regarding the usage of the term *peregrinus*. These epigraphs mention a *collegium peregrinorum* and are dated after 212. By using analogies,⁶⁸ we can conclude that, at the local level, the term peregrine can refer to the citizenship of a *civitas*, of a city, not exclusively that of the Empire. To give another example, the inhabitants of Thugga were *cives Thuggenses*, but their status in the Roman legal system was that of peregrines.⁶⁹ This clue supports the theory that the granting of universal citizenship did not strongly affect local citizenship. On the other hand the term *peregrinus* could be used with the meaning of “stranger”, a person coming from some other place, especially when considering the period in question. All this data must increase our circumspection for epigraphic dating and also tone the way in which we look upon and analyze all Roman social and legal facts, as well as our evaluations of the importance of local citizenship in the imperial age.

Finally we will discuss the other side of accession to citizenship: losing it. For different reasons the citizen can be forbidden water and fire, thus becoming peregrine or even *dediticius*.⁷⁰ This of course leads to the loss of all previously held rights. The measure was an exceptional one and the crime leading to it – very serious, as citizenship, no matter the economic situation of the person, offered superior status. In extreme situations freedom was also lost alongside citizenship. During the Republic, exile was not always a true form of punishment (or, at least, according to Cicero:⁷¹ he claims that exile was often used as a way of escaping punishment, being self-imposed; the person who would have lost citizenship in Rome as a punishment and thus would have been marked by *ignominia*, could lose it, formally, through his own will if he accepted to leave in exile. Most probably, this option was not accessible or available to everyone). Thus exile does not seem to be a loss of citizenship *de iure*, but rather the voluntary assumption of a certain status.⁷² Also it seems that citizen rights were lost by becoming a prisoner – through what appears as *ius postliminii* – but they were obtained back when returning in the Empire⁷³ and as soon as identity was proven. An exception as to regaining citizen rights at the end of captivity happened in the case of the Varus’ soldiers ransomed by their families, who were forbidden to return in Italy.⁷⁴ This however is a case when politics takes precedence over law.⁷⁵ The measure taken by Tiberius (most likely) had the role of a statement in the context of his internal and familial settling of accounts;⁷⁶ it was neither a legislative modification nor does it change the way civil law was applied.

Roman citizenship was a package of privileges. Also, it appears as the most abstract form of citizenship in the Empire, being the least dependent on the status of a community. According to the meaning mostly given in modern historiography, the peregrine was the one who did not benefit from Roman citizenship. As a rule, we must not believe that he hoped to gain it. Most likely many of the peregrines in the Empire did not even think about this issue. Thus, the peregrines were the legal, not social, class living as an integrated part of the imperial structures, benefitting from part of their protection, but remaining at the edge of the elaborate frame work that was the Roman imperial society.

⁶⁷ RIB 69; RIB 70; RIB 71.

⁶⁸ Frere, Fulford 2002, 171–172.

⁶⁹ Maurin 2002, 77.

⁷⁰ Ulpianus refers to this when speaking about paternal authority: Ulp. X 3: *Si patri uel filio aqua et igni interdictum sit, patria potestas tollitur, quia peregrinus fit is, cui aqua et igni interdictum est [...]*.

⁷¹ Cic. *Caec.* C.

⁷² Martín 2004, 250.

⁷³ Gaius I 129: *Quodsi ab hostibus captus fuerit parens, quamuis seruus hostium fiat, tamen pendet ius liberorum propter ius postliminii, quo hi qui ab hostibus capti sunt, si reuersi fuerint, omnia pristina iura recipiunt; itaque reuersus habebit liberos in potestate. si uero illic mortuus sit, erunt quidem liberi sui iuris [...]*

⁷⁴ D.C. LXVI 22, 4 – LXVI 23, 1.

⁷⁵ Lica 1998, 60.

⁷⁶ Tac. *Ann.* IV 52, 1.

Cives Romani Latinive cives?⁷⁷

One of the most difficult problems of Roman jurisdiction is posed by Latin law. Its strict legal definition and its implication, as well as the manifestations and practical effects when applied remain, for the contemporary researcher, open, hard to understand discussion topics.

The immediate purpose of the current subchapter is to describe a series of Roman legal facts; it does not aim at clarifying or even discussing – impossible, in fact – all things connected to the status of Latins. Of course, it shall be followed by the author's opinion, an opinion that is set within the confines of one of the current directions of interpretation of Latin law and having, in fact, the value of a hypothesis.

The Latins appear during the Republic as an intermediary category between the *cives* and the *socii*. The origins of Latin law can be observed in *foedus Cassianum*, in 493 B.C., that referred to the preferential legal status (even if not that of Roman citizenship) of the inhabitants of the cities of the Latin league.⁷⁸ As the Empire extended, the Latin law passes beyond the Peninsula. Latin law, as we can see it in the imperial period, has roots that can be identified in *Lex Actilia*,⁷⁹ whose creator was Caius Gracchus.⁸⁰ He proposed that the Latin inhabitants of the old confederation become full Romans and the *socii* become "Latins". Thus, the Latin category was imagined as what it will become later on, a group in between peregrines and citizens. In fact this form of legal status disappears from the Italian Peninsula after 89 B.C. Now *Lex Plautia Papiria*⁸¹ states that, when in Rome, the inhabitants of the Italian Peninsula must declare their presence in front of the praetor in 60 days.⁸² Even so, those from the old Latium, the cities of the League and some of Rome's initial colonies will keep the preferential status of *Latini prisci*, enjoying besides *ius commercii*, owned by all the Latins, also *ius conubii* and *ius migrandi*.⁸³ The right to settle in Rome made it easier, at least in theory, to obtain citizen status.⁸⁴ This right that allowed recipients to move to Rome is likely to have evolved from the provision that citizenship can be obtained per *magistratum*, meaning in fact total freedom of movement inside the Empire⁸⁵. It is also remarkable that the Latins from the period of the Republic benefit from a series of legal rights, such as that of making a Roman testament,⁸⁶ placing them closer to Roman citizens with full rights rather than peregrines. The fact that in the whole Empire magistrates of Latin law cities and their families (parents, wife and children as deduced from *Lex Irnitana*⁸⁷ and *Lex Salpensana*)⁸⁸ receive full Roman citizenship (*Latium minus*), and in some cases this benefit is awarded to the whole council of decurions (*Latium maius*)⁸⁹ is of major importance. Seen through this legal interpretation a Latin city from the imperial period appears indeed as a peregrine community that has taken a step towards being romanized.⁹⁰

Once the historic evolution of Latin law has been sketched we can continue to identify the real influence it had on the community and at the individual level. Our knowledge is and remains incomplete on this extraordinary issue. The fragmentary state of the sources, the fact that they cannot be chronologically and geographically combined, as well as the frequent implicitness of their content make them vague and often insufficient – sometimes even frustrating – to the modern researcher.

⁷⁷ The current subchapter was published as a stand alone paper, in 2011 (see Varga 2011).

⁷⁸ Cîrjan 2010a, 103.

⁷⁹ Weiss 1924a, 2319; Thomas 1976, 407.

⁸⁰ Sherwin-White 1973a, 116.

⁸¹ CAH IX, 126.

⁸² Weiss 1924b, 2402.

⁸³ Grosso 1965, 239.

⁸⁴ Tit.Liv. XLI 8, 9.

⁸⁵ Sherwin-White 1973a, 112.

⁸⁶ See Meyer 1990, 80, who claims that the right to make a fully legal testament is seen as a desirable mark of citizenship and is thus mentioned 4 times: once by Cicero, twice by Plinius Secundus and once by Cassius Dio.

⁸⁷ Giménez-Candela 1983; Lamberti 1993, 267–373.

⁸⁸ CIL II, 1963; FIRA I 23; Chastagnol 1987, 106.

⁸⁹ Gaius I 96: [...] *maius est Latium, cum et hi qui decuriones leguntur et ei qui honorem aliquem aut magistratum gerunt civitatem Romanam consecuntur*. It has been proven that this rather "generous" form of latin law was introduced under Hadrian (Hirschfeld 1880; a more recent analysis Langhammer 1973, 16–17).

⁹⁰ Chastagnol 1995, 116.

Latin authors write for a society that is aware of its norms and regulations; even when the source is detailed it often tends to omit explaining notions and terms that today can be interpreted ambiguously, thus leading to controversies. The most delicate and hard to solve problem involving Latin law resides in its very nature: are we dealing with a type of citizenship of the Roman state or with a package of privileges? And – when taking into account that this is a world where law is instituted by *tabulae* and every edict or imperial rescript⁹¹ has supreme power⁹² – to what degree does a series of privileges transform the citizen who is in fact a peregrine in a real privileged person of the Empire?

Mommsen already stated⁹³ that separating this type of citizenship from a city is absurd, being similar to supposing the existence of a virtual *civis Thrax* unconnected to a territory – that is a senseless notion in the Roman law. The idea of a “Latin citizenship” separated from the city is not in accordance with Roman juridical thinking. Rome awards *ius Latii* to a *populus*, a *natio* or a *civitas* but not to an individual of free origin and status.⁹⁴ It is not proven by documents the supposition that a peregrine could become *cives Latinus* instead of *cives Romanus*.⁹⁵ He could consider himself half-Roman, even more than his republican predecessor, but he did not have a certain citizenship. What sources do indicate is the fact that the non-citizen could become Roman citizen through Latin law and local naturalization. Thus *ius Latii* is more a package of privileges, offering superior rights to the individual and that, in case of a municipality, provided, in the time of the Empire, similarity with Rome and the possibility to reach *ius Quiritum*.⁹⁶

Anyway, *Lex Malacitana*,⁹⁷ as well as the analysis of the laws *Aelia Sentia*⁹⁸ (4 B.C.; it stated that a slave released at any age under 30 does not benefit from *ius Quiritum*, but from *ius Latii*, as well as the fact that those who had had dishonorable jobs were to be considered *dediticii* peregrines;⁹⁹ the later have no chance of becoming citizens, also they cannot settle in Rome, nor a 100 miles radius around it) and *Iunia Norbana* (19 A.D., it is an addition to the previous mentioned law) seem to suggest the existence of an abstract citizenship of Latin status¹⁰⁰. It must be added that, according to all probabilities, the slave released by any of the above mentioned laws becomes a Junian Latin and benefits from *libertas*, not *civitas* in the true meaning of the word.¹⁰¹ *Lex Municipii Malacitani*, dated in between 81–83 A.D., refers to *cives Romani Latinive*,¹⁰² apparently acknowledging that these Latin citizens are a category comparable to that of Roman citizens.¹⁰³ Since it is most likely that it was unusual for *ius Latium* to be granted to a person, *ius Italicum* is not associated in terms of terminology with individual rights, but is believed to be granted only to cities and, implicitly, to their citizens; the term *civitas* is used with reference to individual grants of citizenship. Still we have at least one case, at Didyma,¹⁰⁴ where a local important character is granted *ius Italicum*. We must keep in mind the place where the inscription was discovered and also that it is written in Greek, a fact that may lead to a less than standard usage of the term. Even so, the existence of such a case should make us more careful in interpreting sources and generalizing conclusions.

A citizen with full rights in his community, the Latin benefits from a slightly privileged situation in the Empire as well.¹⁰⁵ Besides the distinct possibility of both him and his family obtaining

⁹¹ Honoré 2003, 34–42.

⁹² Mourgues 1987, 85.

⁹³ Staatsrecht III 611.

⁹⁴ Humbert 1981, 218.

⁹⁵ Braunert 1966 is probably the most important modern paper that supports this theory.

⁹⁶ See Cîrjan 2010a, 111–113 for the most recent demonstration in the Romanian specialized literature with regard to Latin law as a package of privileges, a statute and not a form of true citizenship.

⁹⁷ CIL II 1964; FIRA I 24.

⁹⁸ Thomas 1976, 400.

⁹⁹ Leonhard 1924, 2321–2322.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas 1976, 406.

¹⁰¹ Weaver 2005, 103.

¹⁰² *Lex Malacitana* LIII 48.

¹⁰³ Spitzl 1984, 4.

¹⁰⁴ AE 1976, 649.

¹⁰⁵ *Latini iuris* were considered a different category also by F. Vittinghoff because of these extra rights (Vittinghoff 1942, 20–22).

civitas Romana per honorem there are clues that seem to indicate that he might also have rights pertaining to *ius civile*.¹⁰⁶ Thus *ius conubii* and *ius commercii* appear to be rights that at least some Latin citizens benefitted from, as it can be deduced from the fragments of laws that were presented. They are believable, as remains of the republican beginnings of Latin law and, also, these benefits that are extraordinary for non-citizens explain and justify why Latins are set apart in peregrine communities.

Some excerpts from *Lex Irnitana* are important because of references to rights – as well as their limits – that the inhabitants of the Empire had. Discovered in 1981, near Seville, this is the municipal law of a Flavian *municipium*, called, probably, Irni.¹⁰⁷ Of importance are the passages referring to *civis Latinus*, a type of Latin citizenship, recognized as such and with its own separate statute.¹⁰⁸ Thus, it seems this Latin citizenship had a strong and separate position in Latin law cities. For example we find out that the Latin patron has the same rights over his freedmen even after they have become Roman citizens, following some offices held by their sons.¹⁰⁹ What we cannot definitely state is the real position of this “citizenship”, the proportion between the local enactments and their own interpretation of Roman law on the one hand and the imposition of norms and terms from the central level on the other. After all, any *Lex municipii* is a legal and juridical attempt to harmonize local laws to the Roman law and thus make the fusion between center and periphery possible.¹¹⁰

Although *Lex Irnitana* is of enormous value and is very clear on the matter of both Latin legal status and on the explanations it brings in general¹¹¹ to some problems of Roman civil law, it is not our belief that it can be used as the sole basis for building an idea about the independent Latin citizenship. The reason is the uniqueness of the document; it is almost impossible to decide the degree to which, at the level of the entire Empire, it was confused with either true Roman citizenship (as it seems to be the case for the inhabitants of Irni), or with peregrine status. What we might presume is that at some point and place and under certain conditions the Latin citizen is individualized as a citizen of the Empire, with almost all the rights and benefits. A question that borders on the problems discussed before is in what measure the privileges of Latins transmuted from one Latin community to another. Political rights were, most likely, local but we do not know the measure in which the other benefits were universal. It was presumed however that neighboring Latin law cities (or those in the same province) had common privileges and that their inhabitants were allowed some mobility.¹¹²

Also with strict regards to the problem of peregrines and their legal position, discussing the difference between *civitates peregrinae* and Latin law cities in theory and referring to the whole Empire is not very eloquent. The citizens of Latin law municipalities were peregrines, even if they did not have a series of legal benefits, only the magistrates receive Roman citizenship. We must always remember the multitude of particular aspects and the practical difficulties that the application of Roman law, combined with any kind of *ius gentium*, must have met with at the provincial level. Apart from the jurists' theorizations, *ius Latium* appears as a congeries of privileges that, in certain communities, created a favorable situation both for Rome and for the local elites. That is why we do not consider that Latin law must be regarded only as a step towards Romanization, but also as a viable solution in itself.

Cities and localities from Dacia that are believed, according to the specialized literature, to follow the Latin law, increasingly prove not to have been in that situation;¹¹³ five cities from Dacia definitely benefit from *ius Italicum*. There is a series of particularities that are found in Latin law cities that are hard to identify in the settlements from Dacia.¹¹⁴ Firstly it is the existence and conservation of pre-

¹⁰⁶ Cîrjan 2010a, 103.

¹⁰⁷ Giménez-Candela 1983, 126.

¹⁰⁸ For comments on *Lex Irnitana* see also in Jacques 1990a, 45.

¹⁰⁹ González 1986, 199.

¹¹⁰ Lamberti 1993, 256; García Fernández 1998, 221.

¹¹¹ Johnson 1987, 77.

¹¹² Vittinghoff 1942, 102; Sherwin-White 1973a, 113.

¹¹³ For an explanatory discussion of the subject, see Ardevan 1999.

¹¹⁴ Ardevan 1999, 296.

Roman political and administrative structures, often discovered archaeologically, and the massive number of peregrine onomastic in cities.¹¹⁵ The existence of Latin law during the evolution of some urban habitations from Moesia Inferior, where the natives seem to have contributed much more actively to a reorganization of the settlements according to Roman bases, is much better argued.¹¹⁶

In the field of onomastic, the names of those who became citizens due to Latin law seems to oscillate, especially for those from the first generation, in between that of the Roman citizen (thus bearers of *gentilicium*) and that of the peregrine (who bears the patronym) or it can be mixed, such as *Alpis Lunnicus Tritif*.¹¹⁷ This variation seems to be temporal, the peregrine form being adopted in areas that were Romanized in the 1st century and the one assimilated to that of the citizen in the provinces of late 1st and 2nd centuries; after Hadrian having a *gentilicium* generalized among all citizens.¹¹⁸ In Dacia we can fairly assume that the characters that were naturalized through Latin law appear under citizen names.

In this sense, specialists tried to identify persons naturalized through Latin law in several provinces, by use of onomastic. It was believed that their *gentilicium* is derived from the old local personal name, that it is not imperial (as it should be in case of a change in the status of the whole community and the mass naturalization of its inhabitants) and that it is not Roman (in case of Roman names it could come from that of a local magistrate, of a patron that mediated and facilitated the naturalization).¹¹⁹ For 1st century Noricum,¹²⁰ it has been proven that 6 of the existing municipalities were following Latin law, because the *nomina* of the citizens are derived from *cognomina* presumed to be those of the fathers or grandfathers. In this initial phase of assimilation and Romanization, G. Alföldy stipulated that the persons taking such names, with a Roman structure, but composed and derived from their traditional family names, are only inhabitants of Latin law communities, not real Roman citizens. Their naturalization took place later, usually at the beginning of the 2nd century, but their onomastic will follow local traditions, a sign of their Latin origin. A. Chastagnol's studies are fundamental for Gallia. The French scholar more trenchantly believed that the Latins have peregrine names because the community benefitted from the privileges of Latin law and not themselves personally.¹²¹ Also, he claims that the practical equivalent of the *ius Latii* is found in the facts of a *foedus*.¹²² The studies of M. Le Glay cannot be neglected; he states that the *gentilicia* made up from local names are the hallmark of Latin law.¹²³ He considers these names to be the mark of the "Latin oligarchy" and believes their existence to be a contribution that onomastic brings to history. The genealogy of some characters is often visible in Gallia and Hispania not only for the elites of the municipalities but even for middle-class families, even if only for the short term of two, three generations. It was believed that family ramifications are those that can reveal naturalization through Latin law inside a family. As we have seen G. Alföldy uses this onomastic criterion with confidence. For the Gallic provinces there are many examples of *gentilicia* apparently made up on the spot, from local names, and they can genealogically reveal ingenious methods of deriving and composing names inside a province. In this case however researchers of this subject did not consider all the time that the connection between these onomastic details and the legal reality of Latin law, that some urban settlements enjoyed, would be viable.¹²⁴ As we already stated the second name can also derive from that of a patron and not necessarily from a family name. If one goes beyond the speculations connected to *ius Latii*, one sees that the name of the patron offers a relevant clue about the status of the newly naturalized character in the local community.¹²⁵ The more

¹¹⁵ Ardevan 1998b, 108–109.

¹¹⁶ Aparaschivei 2010a, 236; Aparaschivei 2010b.

¹¹⁷ CIL III 13989.

¹¹⁸ Alföldy 1966, 52; later on the author modified his stand on these strict onomastic patterns.

¹¹⁹ For the many mediatory functions of a patron see Harmand 1957, 396–405.

¹²⁰ Alföldy 1974, 84.

¹²¹ Chastagnol 1987, 89–93.

¹²² Chastagnol 1995, 118.

¹²³ Le Glay 1977, 273.

¹²⁴ Chastagnol 1993.

¹²⁵ Brucia, Daugherty 2007, 5.

prominent the patron the more chances for his client to ascend socially.¹²⁶ These relevant ethnic names – and not Roman – can also indicate the local network for gaining citizenship, through middle-men connected to the pre-Roman realities of the community. At this point of the research it seems unfeasible to separate Latin communities on onomastic criteria. There are proofs in the Hispanic region for the free choosing of the name in cases of naturalization *per honorem*,¹²⁷ also, data available through epigraphy is so scarce that every example can be considered a particular case.

A pretty good case for this, even though from outside the European space, is offered by Thugga, in North Africa, where many *cives novi* have for their second names a form derived from a local name.¹²⁸ Obviously here we are dealing with an onomastic habit and not with some form of Latin law.

Onomastic studies have also been conducted for Dacia in order to identify persons who were naturalized through Latin law. Thus, R. Ardevan identified a limited number of citizens whom he supposed came from families naturalized through *ius Latii*,¹²⁹ considered by the author of the above mentioned study to be Roman citizens descending from persons naturalized through Latin law.

The attempt to circumscribe Latin law to the municipal rights or to the private rights of every inhabitant is based on the attempt to explain this organizational peculiarity to the modern reader, who is used to the legal norms and the administration of modern states. The definition and the exemplification given by A. N. Sherwin-White¹³⁰ about this relation are interesting: he says the perfect formula for explaining the status of the Latin person belongs to Strabo¹³¹, who, though writing at the time of Augustus anticipates and perceives realities we know from the Flavian period. Thus the Greek writer claims that Latin law cities enjoyed the opportunity for their elites to be naturalized *per honorem* and the noninvolvement of Roman proconsuls in their internal affairs. The naturalization clause being clear and attested in all documents referring to Latin law, we can only add that the other provision presents the Latin community as a beneficiary of a certain internal independence – thus of a guarantee of trust from Rome.

In the end some conclusions should be drawn. The most relevant detail now is, probably, the fact that we cannot clearly state the relation between a peregrine and an inhabitant of a Latin city. The Latin seems to be a peregrine that enjoys extra rights, as well as the real prospect of a possible naturalization. As long as he is an inhabitant of a Latin city and not newly naturalized he does not have the right to have *gentilicium*. How far in time and space was this rule obeyed is, of course, quasi-unknown. What we do know is a series of onomastic abuses, mentioned further above, that took place in peregrine communities. The semi-official assumption of *tria nomina* in a Latin city may have been treated with indulgence – or at least indifference.

In this moment the Latin citizenship *per se* does not seem plausible. What must be taken into account is the fact that epigraphic sources bring evidence in favor of a privileged status of inhabitants of Latin cities. At this point *ius Latii* appears to be more than a step on the way towards Romanization, a viable form of organization in itself.

II. 3. ROMAN LITERARY SOURCES

II. 3. A. Jurists of the Principate

For reasons of methodological clarity, we decided not to make a general presentation on the history of Roman law, because such an endeavor would not bring any relevant information regarding our research. Thus, from the writings of the Principate, we will only present two (Gaius and Ulpianus), whose content is essential in order to understand the subject and give us a rather clear image on what the jurists of the time wrote regarding the status of citizens and peregrines.

¹²⁶ This patron is not only a personal protector, but also a *patronus municipii* (as it is mentioned even in *Lex Irnitana* LXVIII).

¹²⁷ Cirjan 2010a, 125.

¹²⁸ Maurin 2002, 84.

¹²⁹ Ardevan 2006.

¹³⁰ Sherwin-White 1973a, 379.

¹³¹ Strabo IV 187.

Chronologically, we should start with the works of Salvius Iulianus, that have certain relevance on the subject at hand but, unfortunately, remain unknown save for very incomplete citations. While he was serving as *quaestor*, Hadrian asked him to unify in a code the *edicta perpetua* (edicts issued by praetors that had value of law). Actually the sources tell us about an earlier codex of the edicts of the urban praetors.¹³² Still, we must assume that the edicts of the peregrine praetor and those of the provincial governors, at least in their essential parts, were also unified and written down in this context. The writing of Iulianus' code forced later jurists to relate to it, but this did not mean suspension of their ability to pass their own edicts or to give civil law verdicts that they considered satisfactory. The major importance of the writings of this jurist is not so much tied to the content, as to the endeavor in itself.

Gaius

If most Roman jurists are more or less unknown biographically, we can still claim to know parts of their political activity – and, implicitly, a relevant and revealing part of their lives. This, however, is not the case with Gaius. The jurist, whose writings have an enormous importance for the understanding of the evolution of law in the Roman Empire, is a character apparently politically absent from any of the circles of power in Rome. In historiography, he was attributed almost every possible social and legal status, from peregrine or at least provincial jurist,¹³³ up to *servus Caesaris*¹³⁴ or patrician, with the full name Caius Cassius Longinus.¹³⁵ His work indicates that it was written in between 130–180; thus we know the period when the jurist was of mature age. This complete invisibility of the character, apart from his writings, made some historians imply that Gaius had lived in the province, or had left Rome for the province at an early stage of his life; these circumstances would explain the scarcity of data we have about the jurist's life. Besides *Institutiones*, Gaius's other works include a treaty referring to the edicts issued by magistrates, comments of the Law of the 12 Tables and *Lex Pappia Popaea*, as well as many other short writings. *Institutiones* are of the greatest historical importance, being an irreplaceable instrument in the study of Roman law.¹³⁶ In Theodosius's *Lex Citationum*, Gaius is next to Papinianus, Ulpianus, Modestinus and Paulus as one of the authorities after whose opinions legal officers must guide themselves when passing sentences in decisive cases.

As for the history of Gaius's *Institutiones*, it is very interesting and pretty adventurous. From Theodosian and Justinianian references, the existence of this work and parts of its content were known, but the work itself was thought lost. It was only in 1816 that B. G. Niebuhr discovered in a library in Verona a series of writings belonging to Saint Hieronymus, overlapping a previous document. This palimpsest proved to be the lost work of Gaius; until now the document has been almost completely (where restoration was possible) deciphered and read, *Institutiones* becoming one of the best known ancient legal writings. In the second half of the 20th century, other excerpts from Gaius were discovered on two fragmentary sets of papyri,¹³⁷ completing his work.

Structurally, *Institutiones* is divided in 4 parts: the first refers to persons and their legal status, the second to objects and connected regulation, the third to successions and other legal obligations and the fourth to actions and their various legal forms. This structure is found in all major Roman or Roman influenced law writings. Of course, the first part is most interesting and most relevant for matters concerning the peregrines, but we can also find useful references to their legal situations in the other sections. We must not however imagine that Gaius's work is didactic, or that, besides the division it makes according to legal problems, it was meant to be strictly structured. In fact the work is a collection of court precedents and he only primarily systematized them.

¹³² Huvelin 1927, 87.

¹³³ Mommsen 1905.

¹³⁴ Kokourek 1933.

¹³⁵ Longinescu 1896.

¹³⁶ For a short but useful presentation of Gaius's place in the history of law, see Diódsi 1976.

¹³⁷ Reynolds 1983.

Gaius sees the Latins through their rights and their way of obtaining Roman citizenship. A Latin, having *ius migrandi* and – thus – the right to move to Rome, can become a citizen fairly easy; this happened if he had served 6 years as a vigil in Rome or after 3 consecutive years of military service,¹³⁸ if he had built a ship of 10 000 *modii frumenti* that for 6 years brings cereals in Rome¹³⁹ – this through a Claudian decree – or if he had built a house in Rome and invested in that urban work half his fortune, that must be nearly 200 000 sesterii¹⁴⁰ and also if he was a baker and produced 100 measures of *frumenta* per day.¹⁴¹ As it can be concluded from the examples, ascension to Roman citizenship for a Latin living in Rome or a provincial metropolis is possible. This could be achieved through economic prosperity or participation in the political life, other facilitations being unnecessary.

As for children who had both parents declared as such, no matter if the mother was a Roman citizen, inhabitant of a Latin city or a peregrine, they will inherit the citizenship of the father, even if he had a lower legal status.¹⁴² Predictably, in such situations, some children belonging to citizen mothers, and who had fathers of a lower legal status, would be declared illegitimate, so that they could inherit the superior legal status. This disposition comes from the *ius gentium* and was preceded by laws such as *Lex Minicia*¹⁴³ that established the inheritance of the lower legal status. The norms would become more permissive over time and Gaius noted that because of a decree passed undoubtedly by Hadrian the child of a citizen woman with a Latin was also a Roman citizen.¹⁴⁴ Hadrian also gave another regulation, somehow outside the Roman system of thought and that would not last in time, stating that the child of a peregrine and a Latin inherits the legal status of the mother, no matter if it is the superior or the inferior one.¹⁴⁵ Later edicts and *formulae* found other ways through which the child could inherit the legal status that offered him the most benefits. Of course, the precedents gave rise to tangible ways to elude legal rigors, but even such in the fixed borders of legality. Apparently absurd, the couple (in which the woman had Roman citizenship and the man did not) once married and with children, could declare that the man did not know or had mistakenly forgotten to declare that he is not a citizen;¹⁴⁶ if the mistake was justifiable and in good faith then he and the children could take the mother's citizenship.¹⁴⁷ This type of situation can be only artificially built and represented a way to simplify legal complications. It is also

¹³⁸ I 32b: [...] *id est fiunt ciues Romani, si Romae inter uigiles sex annis militauerint. postea dicitur factum esse senatusconsultum, quo data est illis ciuitas Romana, si triennium militiae expleuerint.*

¹³⁹ I, 32c: *Item edicto Claudii Latini ius Quiritium consecuntur, si nauem marinam aedificauerint, quae non minus quam decem milia modiorum frumenti capiat, eaque nauis uel quae in eius locum substituta sit sex annis frumentum Roman portauerit.*

¹⁴⁰ I 33: *Praeterea a Nerone constitutum est ut si Latinus qui patrimonium sestertium cc milium plurisue habeat in urbe Roma domum aedificauerit, in quam non minus quam partem dimidiam patrimonii sui inpenderit, ius Quiritium consequatur.*

¹⁴¹ I 34: *Denique Traianus constituit ut si Latinus in urbe triennio pistrinum exercuerit, in quo in dies singulos non minus quam centenos modios frumenti pinseret, ad ius Quiritium perueniat.*

¹⁴² I 56: [...] *si ciues Romanas uxores duxerint, uel etiam Latinas peregrinasue cum quibus conubium habeant; cum enim conubium id efficiat, ut liberi patris condicionem sequantur, euenit ut non solum ciues Romani fiant, sed etiam in potestate patris sint.*

¹⁴³ Weiss 1924b, 2399.

¹⁴⁴ I 80: *Eadem ratione ex contrario ex Latino et ciue Romana, siue ex lege Aelia Sentia siue aliter contractum fuerit matrimonium, ciuis Romanus nascitur. fuerunt tamen qui putauerunt ex lege Aelia Sentia contracto matrimonio Latinum nasci, quia uidetur eo casu per legem Aeliam Sentiam et Iuniam conubium inter eos dari, et semper conubium efficit, ut qui nascitur patris condicioni accedat; aliter uero contracto matrimonio eum qui nascitur iure gentium matris condicionem sequi et ob id esse ciuem Romanum. sed hoc iure utimur ex senatusconsulto, quo auctore diuo Hadriano significatur, ut quoquo modo ex Latino et ciue Romana natus ciuis Romanus nascatur.*

¹⁴⁵ I 81: *His conuenienter etiam illud senatusconsultum diuo Hadriano auctore significauit, ut qui ex Latino et peregrina, item contra qui ex peregrino et Latina nascitur, is matris condicionem sequatur.*

¹⁴⁶ Sometimes this ignorance was not faked, the legal status not being verified even by the person in cause (Gardner 1997, 50–51).

¹⁴⁷ I 68: *Item si ciuis Romana per errorem nupta sit peregrino tamquam ciui Romano, permittitur ei causam erroris probare, et ita filius quoque eius et maritus ad ciuitatem Romanam perueniunt, et aequae simul incipit filius in potestate patris esse. idem iuris est, si peregrino tamquam Latino ex lege Aelia Sentia nupta sit; nam et de hoc specialiter senatusconsulto cauetur. idem iuris est aliquatenus, si ei qui dediticiorum numero est tamquam ciui Romano aut Latino e lege Aelia Sentia nupta sit; nisi quod scilicet qui dediticiorum numero est, in sua condicione permanet, et ideo filius, quamuis fiat ciuis Romanus, in protestatem patris non redigitur.*

proof of the willingness to enlarge, in the limits of acceptability and within familial borderlines, the body of citizens.¹⁴⁸ The fact that the almost certain lack of honesty in such a statement is considered legally acceptable is obvious without further comments. The woman receives automatically through marriage the superior citizen status of the husband as long as she was not *dediticia*. As can be seen, the situation always became more complicated if one of the spouses was a *dediticius*. This category could not, in theory, under any circumstances obtain citizenship.¹⁴⁹ In practice, if it was the female that was in this situation, the two could declare, similar to the previous case, that they were not aware of her legal status, and then she and the couple's children could receive the citizenship – or at least the superior status – of the husband. If the father of the children was *dediticius*, the couple had to similarly prove that they were unaware of his status. Under these circumstances, it was only the children that received the mother's citizenship, the husband preserving his previous status. Tangentially we note that the children who had a slave for a father were also slaves; if the mother was a citizen and declared that she did not know that her partner was a slave, the child inherited her legal situation.¹⁵⁰

Next we find in Gaius references to citizenship with a special interest in freedmen, not peregrines. Anyway they are worth partial enumeration, for a clearer overview. The freedman of a Latin could receive *ius Quiritum* through imperial concession, without the status of his master being modified.¹⁵¹ His great gain under these circumstances was full citizenship and the *ingenuitas* of his children. It was again Hadrian who decided through a *senatus consultum* that the freedman who became a citizen by imperial decree was a citizen with almost full rights, like those released and naturalized through *Lex Aelia Sentia*, no matter the condition of his master.¹⁵²

The differences between a citizen and a peregrine are obvious in the case of “literal contracts” – *transcriptiones* – that essentially represent the acceptance of the obligation to pay a debt, with three parts being involved. Gaius tells this type of contract worked differently for peregrines and for citizens; they used a different convention that is not very detailed upon.¹⁵³ We can understand the truth of this clause because in ancient law a contract necessarily was a bilateral act that could only involve two equal¹⁵⁴ and integrant parts of the Roman state.

We find a last reference to the peregrines and their rights or obligations in the fourth book, when it is specified that in cases of theft a stranger must be treated like a Roman.¹⁵⁵ It refers to the possibility of mimicking the possession of citizenship in front of the court of law, if the case can be better analyzed by not taking into account the legal status of the two and if this legal status has no

¹⁴⁸ In *ius civile*, some forms of *fictiones iuris* were accepted as such (Bianchi 1997, 259–266).

¹⁴⁹ I 26: *Pessima itaque libertas eorum est qui dediticiorum numero sunt; nec ulla lege aut senatusconsulto aut constitutione principali aditus illis ad ciuitatem Romanam datur.*

¹⁵⁰ I 86: *Sed illa pars eiusdem legis salua est, ut ex libera et seruo alieno, quem sciebat seruum esse, serui nascantur. itaque apud quos talis lex non est, qui nascitur iure gentium matris condicionem sequitur et ob id liber est.*

¹⁵¹ III 72: *Aliquando tamen ciuis Romanus libertus tamquam Latinus moritur, uelut si Latinus saluo iure patroni ab imperatore ius Quiritium consecutus fuerit. nam, ut diuus Traianus constituit, si Latinus inuito uel ignorante patrono ius Quiritium ab imperatore consecutus sit, [quibus casibus] dum uiuit iste libertus, ceteris ciuibus Romanis libertis similis est et iustos liberos procreat, moritur autem Latini iure, nec ei liberi eius heredes esse possunt; et in hoc tantum habet testamenti factionem, ut patronum heredem instituat eique, si heres esse noluerit, alium substituere possit.*

¹⁵² III 73: *Et quia hac constitutione uidebatur effectum, ut ne umquam isti homines tamquam ciues Romani morerentur, quamuis eo iure postea usi essent, quo uel ex lege Aelia Sentia uel ex senatusconsulto ciues Romani essent, diuus Hadrianus iniquitate rei motus auctor fuit senatusconsulti faciendi, ut qui ignorante uel recusante patrono ab imperatore ius Quiritium consecuti essent, si eo iure postea usi essent, quo ex lege Aelia Sentia uel ex senatusconsulto, si Latini mansissent, ciuitatem Romanam consequerentur, proinde ipsi haberentur ac si lege Aelia Sentia uel senatusconsulto ad ciuitatem Romanam peruenissent.*

¹⁵³ III 134: *Praeterea litterarum obligatio fieri uidetur chirographis et syngraphis, id est si quis debere se aut daturum se scribat; ita scilicet si eo nomine stipulatio non fiat. quod genus obligationis proprium peregrinorum est.*

¹⁵⁴ Arangio-Ruiz 1937, 211–213.

¹⁵⁵ IV 37: *Item ciuitas Romana peregrino fingitur, si eo nomine agat aut cum eo agatur, quo nomine nostris legibus actio constituta est, si modo iustum sit eam actionem etiam ad peregrinum extendi: ueluti si furti agat peregrinus aut cum eo agatur. nam si cum peregrino agatur, formula ita concipitur iudex esto. Si paret (L. Titio Ope) consilione Dionis Hermaei filii furtum factum esse paterae auae, quam ob rem eum, si ciuis Romanus esset, pro fure damnum decidere oporteret et reliqua. Item si peregrinus furti agat, ciuitas ei Romana fingitur. similiter si ex lege Aquilia peregrinus damni iniuriae agat aut cum eo agatur, ficta ciuitate Romana iudicium datur.*

direct influence in the litigation matter. This *fictio* is possible for both persons and communities, as *Tabula Contrebiensis* seems to suggest.¹⁵⁶

Gaius is our best law source, contemporary with the period of our focus. His work is essential due to the exhaustive manner in which it deals with certain legal problems as well as – and perhaps more importantly in the present case – due to the fact that he is a contemporary source, presenting without bias a series of legal, operational truths and not an interpretation or a subsequent presentation.

Ulpianus

Ulpianus, a contemporary of Septimius Severus, was a jurist whose work offers precious information on the legal status of non-citizens. Biographically,¹⁵⁷ we know that Ulpianus was in his youth part of the circle of Papinianus, a jurist close to Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna. Unlike his patron, executed under Caracalla as a follower of Geta, Ulpianus remained close to the new prince, occupying the position of *magister libellorum*. Under Severus Alexander he became *praefectus praetoris*. His main work is *Ad Edictum*, where he analyzes previous legal sources – lost to us, for their vast majority – that represent a fifth of the *Digestae*. The direct source we have used for the writings of Ulpianus is *Ulpiani Liber Singularis Regularum*, a collection of fragments presumably written by this jurist of the Severan dynasty, collected from the various available sources.¹⁵⁸

Although Ulpianus wrote after 212, he made no edifying references to Caracalla's edict. He sometimes obviously referred to transitory realities and used terminology that is not necessarily in accord with the one we would imagine as being correct. Even after "universal" naturalization, the legal categories that previously existed seem to still be partially operational.

Ulpianus starts the presentation on the subject of citizens' rights by defining the categories of free men: according to his structure they could be Roman citizens, Latins and *dediticii*.¹⁵⁹ We can easily presume that in this passage the term *dediticius* includes the peregrine category. It is probably correct to assume a relation of inclusion between the peregrines of Ulpianus and those that contemporary historiography nominates differently, all being peregrines of a lower status. A large part of the information regarding citizenship refers to Latins. The fact is not amazing: they received Roman citizenship easier and more frequently than peregrines. A good example in this case is the citizenship received *liberis* – for children. Thus if two Latins get married with the intended purpose of having children, after the baby is one year old they can appear before the praetor or provincial governor and the whole family has the right to receive Roman citizenship.¹⁶⁰ Of course a marriage like the one above is not *conubium*, with all the rights offered under Roman law since the two are not citizens. It is explicitly stated that only two citizens can have a legal marriage and a citizen can have *conubium* with a Latin or peregrine woman only under special "license".¹⁶¹ This apparently useless "license" was actually important for the rights of the children: from a *conubium* can result only *cives Romani*. Otherwise, at this point, the children inherited the legal status of the mother,¹⁶² even if it is inferior to that of the father.

Although it seems to be rigid or at least complicated, upon a second look Roman law was actually adaptable, permissive and realistic. Thus, if a Roman citizen, be it man or woman, declares that he/she married without knowing that the partner is not a citizen and this is proven, the children

¹⁵⁶ Richardson 1983, 39.

¹⁵⁷ Crifò 1976; Honoré 1982, 6–46.

¹⁵⁸ Krueger 1878.

¹⁵⁹ I 5: *Libertorum genera sunt tria, ciues Romani, Latini Iuniani, dediticiorum numero.*

¹⁶⁰ III 3: *Liberis ius Quiritium consequitur Latinus, qui minor triginta annorum manumissionis tempore fuit. Nam lege Iunia cautum est, ut si ciuem Romanam uel Latinam uxorem duxerit, testatione interposita, quod liberorum quaerendorum causa uxorem duxerit, postea filio filiae nato natae et anniculo facto possit apud praetorem uel praesidem prouinciae causam probare et fieri ciuis Romanus tam ipse quam filius filiae eius et uxor, scilicet si et ipsa Latina sit.*

¹⁶¹ V 4: *Conubium habent ciues Romani cum ciuibus Romanis: cum Latinis autem et peregrinis ita, si concessum sit.*

¹⁶² V 9: *Ex ciue Romano et Latina Latinus nascitur et ex libero et ancilla seruus, quoniam, cum his casibus conubia non sint, partus sequitur matrem.*

and the non-citizen spouse will receive citizenship.¹⁶³ This regulation also mentioned by Gaius is obviously aimed at eluding some legal norms not corresponding with reality and proved the general willingness of the Roman state to adapt.

It is also interesting to study the subject of testaments, as Ulpianus describes it. The jurist claims that a Latin – unlike a peregrine – can be a buyer, witness or the one holding the scales in the process of *mancipatio*, but he cannot make a will,¹⁶⁴ at least not formally. Implicitly – but also explicitly because of the information provided by Ulpianus – the Latin cannot be a witness in the process of validating testaments.¹⁶⁵ Obviously the same situation applies to peregrines. Similar rules seem to be applied in commerce: *mancipatio* can only happen between citizens, Latins and those peregrines that were explicitly granted *ius commercii*.¹⁶⁶ These norms seem to have existed only in theory, cases of *mancipatio* between peregrines and even between slaves are clearly recorded to have taken place in the provinces.¹⁶⁷

As one can observe, the data referring to peregrines as well as any information regarding their status are in small quantity, but they prove mostly sufficient in order to understand the condition of the non-citizen – respectively of the peregrine – at the time when Ulpianus was writing.

The two sources presented before, the second belonging to the end of the period that we are interested in, do not offer us contradictory information. This fact proves a clear separation of legal conditions during the Principate and an assumption that is generally valid regarding the rights that non-citizens had or were likely to obtain. It cannot be said that they lack legal defense, but the Roman legal system constantly remained somewhat elitist since it was built mostly for citizens and not for all the inhabitants of the Empire.¹⁶⁸

II. 3. B. Late Roman and Byzantine sources

Late codices – general presentation

Most of the Roman law, of the constitutional theory and of civilian juridical norms are known to us from late sources, dating from post-Principate periods. In fact, what we know about most of the works of the jurists from the Principate comes from late compilations and not the original source. We must mention from the beginning that in these *corpora* the term *peregrinus* still appears, but it is used in relation to local citizenships of cities, to the barbarians that served in the Roman army or to those who lost their citizen rights.¹⁶⁹ Or at least this is the rational interpretation that the modern day historian and jurist can give for most cases since, as it was already underlined, Roman texts do not explain their terms. Thus the codices and *corpora* of laws following the Principate are only partially and relatively relevant for the problem of peregrines. Written long after *Constitutio Antoniniana* was passed, the original information they offer (not those copied from works of the jurists from the Principate) can be only indirectly useful. More explicitly we know that their fundamental information and principles are taken, even if modified, from previous sources and we thus can, with a minimum margin of error, extend the references about lower ranking citizens from the 4th–6th centuries to “classic” peregrines belonging to the period before (theoretically) universal citizenship was granted in 212.

¹⁶³ VII 4: *quorum causa probata est, per errorem contracto matrimonio inter disparis condicionis personas: nam seu ciuis Romanus fati nam aut peregrinara uel eam quae dediticiorum numero est quasi ciuem Romanam per ignorantiam uxorem duxerit, sive ciuis Romana per errorem peregrino uel eo qui dediticiorum numero est quasi ciui Romano aut etiam quasi Latino ex lege Aelia Sentia nupta fuerit, causa probata ciuitas Romana datur tamo liberis quam parentibus praeter eos qui dediticiorum numero sunt, et ex eo fiunt in potestate parentum liberi.*

¹⁶⁴ XX 8: *Latinus Iunianus et familiae emptor et testis et libripens fieri potest, quoniam cum eo testamenti factio est.*

¹⁶⁵ XX 9: *Tabulas testamenti testator tenens ita dicit: Haec ut in his tabulis cerisve scripta sunt, ita do, ita lego, ita que vos Quirites testi perhibetote... quae nuncupatio et testatio uocatur.*

¹⁶⁶ XIX 3: *Mancipatio locum habet inter ciues Romanos et Latinos colonarios Latinosque Iunianos eosque peregrinos, quibus commercium datum est.*

¹⁶⁷ For the first category we will mention only the cases clearly attested in Dacia (No. 61; No. 66; No. 80), and for the second one we will again refer to Tomlin 2003.

¹⁶⁸ Bauman 2004, 142.

¹⁶⁹ Demougeot 1981, 381.

In the centuries before the *Institutiones* of Justinian were passed, we can count as complex legal sources the Gregorian Codex, issued in 294 and the Hermogeian one that was produced 20 or 30 years later. They were followed by *Codex Theodosianum*, issued in 438 by Theodosius II in the East and Valentinian III in the West.¹⁷⁰

These texts however do not provide information that could help improve our knowledge on peregrines. The foreigners of these times had a different status and they were only mentioned tangentially – and even then nothing justifies for them to be assimilated to the peregrines of the Principate.

Corpus Iuris Civilis

The texts written during Justinian's reign are the most complete, relevant and best suited for analysis among the late sources.

Gaius and Ulpianus wrote in the 2nd and 3rd centuries respectively, thus at a time when the Roman legal system was still largely and officially based on the *formulae*. By the time of Justinian, the system had already frozen and the references to the *formulae* of the praetors were no longer valid, but they did not disappear, instead being mentioned as references to authority. Also it is interesting to note in the case of Byzantine law that, although it operated with very different facts, in the end it still used the basic notions of the Roman classical law. The structure of Justinian's *Institutiones* is copied after the work of Gaius; as well, many passages are virtually identical, or at least largely copied from the legal texts of the Principate.

Iustiniani Institutiones (*Inst.*) is the easiest to use of all the texts from the time of Justinian. The corpus was practically written in parallel albeit slightly after the *Digestae* (*Dig.*). *Digestae* are a collection of legal texts from the 2nd and 3rd centuries that reiterate the opinions of well-known jurists. When *Digestae* is almost completed, their author, Trebonianus, alongside two other law professors, Theophilus and Dorotheus, wrote *Institutiones*, that generally has the same structure as the *Digestae* but was designed as a handbook for those who wanted to study law. Although used as a handbook, the collection gained value as a legal code, alongside *Digestae*, in December 533, both being included in *Corpus Iuris*.¹⁷¹

In *Institutiones*, as well as in Gaius and Ulpianus, the data we find regarding non-citizens and – in general – about the lower legal classes mostly concern freedmen. The text mentions that up until Justinian freed slaves could become Latin law citizens, in accordance with *Lex Iunia Norbana*, or *peregrini dediticii*, in accordance with Augustus's *Lex Aelia Sentia*. As it can be seen, this interpretation of the laws is not very clear, it is simplified and the words have their meaning changed without further explanation. These multiple and varied conditions, each implying specific legal particularities, are considered obsolete and – we are told – Justinian passed laws that made Roman citizenship uniform, no longer endorsing the categories of Latin citizens and *dediticii*.¹⁷² Still we know that the existence of strangers, of those not integrated *de iure* in the Empire, is acknowledged as such, even though they live inside the borders of the Empire. Thus, the adoption of strangers seems to be harder to accomplish now, while during the Principate the adoption of a peregrine was possible, even if it involved a legal trick.¹⁷³

In these conditions, the lack of citizenship, much simplified as a notion, is equivalent to lack of freedom or exile. Thus by sentence or out of his own free will, a citizen could lose his citizenship, all rights granted by it, as well as his freedom (*capitis deminutio maxima*).¹⁷⁴ *Capitis deminutio minor* or *media* meant that the given person was forbidden fire and water and became the object of some kind

¹⁷⁰ Huvelin 1927, 113.

¹⁷¹ For the historical value of the sources from Justinian's time, but also for a good description of the doubts cast on them and questions they raise, Johnston 1999, 14–24.

¹⁷² I, V 3: *Sed dediticiorum quidem pessima condicio iam ex multis temporibus in desuetudinem abiit, Latinorum vero nomen non frequentabatur: ideoque nostra pietas, omnia augere et in meliorem statum reducere desiderans, in duabus constitutionibus hoc emendavit [...].*

¹⁷³ Girard 1914, 192; the trick was to put the peregrine *de iure* in the power of a Roman citizen who could then give it for adoption like it was his own child.

¹⁷⁴ I, XVI 1: *Maxima est capitis deminutio, cum aliquis simul et civitatem et libertatem amittit.*

of social exclusion, or exile,¹⁷⁵ while *capitis deminutio minima* means a change of the legal status from *sui iuris* to *alieni iuris*.¹⁷⁶ We are also told that when a slave was freed it was not *capitis deminutio*, since previously he did not have a legal capacity. An interesting, though not crucial, addition is the fragment from *Digestae* regarding Dacia (50, 15, 1, 8–10); here 5 Dacian cities are mentioned as having *ius Italicum*. The importance of this citation of Ulpianus in *Digestae* is basically null, but it is part of Justinian's propaganda¹⁷⁷ and of the self-image that the emperor had constructed. This fragment offers, beyond the information regarding Dacia during the life of Ulpianus (this was hotly debated in Romanian historiography; of course Ulpianus does not refer only to Dacia, but gives all the names of communities with *ius Italicum* from the Empire), a necessary angle from where we must observe late Roman legal codices, respectively that of recuperative propaganda, of the wish to recreate verbally (and in writing) the golden era of the Roman Empire.

These data, though few in number, are the only ones we have from the Justinianian text regarding the lower judicial classes. The lack of information must be considered normal since the main purpose of this corpus was not only that of putting together a series of essential legal norms and laws, but also to adapt them to the realities of the Eastern Roman Empire from the middle of the 6th century. In this period, Roman citizenship was in itself a formality, even a little obsolete; under these circumstances all the fine differences of legal status of the previous periods, of the periods of provincial integrations and adaptation to the new conditions that their existence involved, seemed just as useless – or at least simply formal. That is why the legal norms referring to these facts and problems are oversimplified and applied almost exclusively to cases that still have social relevance.

II. 3. C. The general image of peregrines in legal literature

The legal literature of the Principate (no matter the sources and their dating) offers us a more or less detailed image of the legal situation of peregrines. Just like in epigraphy, they are not very present in literary sources either. The main legal problems relate to citizens and it is mostly for them that the texts were written. This direction was often followed by modern researchers that discussed specific problems of law referring exclusively to the great body of citizens and not taking into account the way that peregrines relate or not to those problems.¹⁷⁸

In the legal literature analyzed above, peregrines and non-citizens appear mentioned for the most part in situations where the possibilities of gaining citizen status are presented. Also, they are discussed in special legal cases when the citizen status or the lack of it is relevant (such as penal trials that concerned theft and false claims about citizenship) or when citizens' rights are enumerated – exclusively and explicitly citizens' rights.

Most data pertaining to the non-citizens come however from the fragments referring to marriage and the status of children. Of course the aspect was of major importance in a world where issues of legitimacy, inheritance both material and legal and hereditarily transmitted individual rights, were vague, fitted in various and not necessarily unitary norms, probably obscure to the vast majority of the population of the Empire, but nonetheless of increased common interest.

In the legal writings of the Principate, non-citizens are mentioned when their relations with the Roman state or the Roman citizens are presented. Also the sources tell us about them when they have to describe the interdictory part of a problem, when they say what is illegal to do or for whom it is illegal to do something or to be in certain position. Without being marginalized – the term is too “strong” and its modern-day meaning does not correspond to many facets of the Roman world – the peregrine is an inhabitant of secondary status and importance of the Empire. From analyzing Roman law sources we can decipher his image, a little different, but not too distant, from

¹⁷⁵ I, XVI 2: *Minor sive media est capitis deminutio, cum civitas quidem amittitur, libertas vero retinetur. Quod accidit ei cui aqua et igni interdictum fuerit, vel ei qui in insulam deportatus est.*

¹⁷⁶ I, XVI 3: *Minima capitis deminutio est, cum et civitas et libertas retinetur, sed status hominis commutatur. Quod, accidit in his qui, cum sui iuris fuerunt, coeperunt alieno iuri subiecti esse, vel contra.*

¹⁷⁷ Gostar 1969, 136.

¹⁷⁸ In order to exemplify we will note only a few of the titles: Triandafil 1914; Arangio-Ruiz 1958; Grosso 1965; Grosso 1970; Volterra 1983; Guarino 1988; Cerami, di Porto, Petrucci 2004, etc.

our contemporary thinking clichés. Although his position is well defined and is certainly protected by the laws of the Roman state, although he can obtain citizen status and – with or without citizenship – he can integrate perfectly in the Roman provincial society, the peregrine remains in the backstage of the world he lives in.

All we have to discuss is to what extent did the written norms applied and the degree in which the “letter of law” was permissive in its practical forms. As we have already seen, the law in itself offered enough possibilities to find optimal solutions for those involved. There were various ways for eluding the exaggerated strictness of certain norms and the Roman state is sufficiently open to social and legal integration of some individuals in case they were backed up by certain groups (especially families).

In a society that, despite its multitude of laws, edicts and written norms, seems always very well anchored in the archaic roots of its legal system, the principles of a *gentlemen’s agreement* will always be very important and will eventually represent the foundation of any legal procedure. First of all these principles assume equality between the two parts. If this simple and basic condition, just as viable even after the evolution and sophistication of Roman systems, is not met, neither can the legal lines of action follow the same norms. Thus peregrines were during their whole existence in the Roman Empire excluded from certain formal acts, from the practical benefits they would have involved and from the psychological comfort brought about by a wider array of rights and competences.

II. 4. THE PEREGRINE IN ROMAN SOCIETY

II. 4. A. *Peregrine communities*

The analysis of a peregrine community must include two major parts. The first one refers to the status of the settlement, thus establishing the rapport with the imperial administration, while the second connects the inhabitants – peregrines, in our case – to the settlement they live in.

Of key importance, though fairly unknown, is what the individual felt about belonging to Rome’s civilization and how he defined his place inside the Empire’s structures. The situation of Greek rhetors, who were Roman citizens in most of the cases, but would always address the Romans with *you*,¹⁷⁹ albeit not prone to comparison with any Dacian model, is nonetheless self-evident. The attempt at political assimilation through cultural assimilation and at unification of the local elites into a common “Roman elite” had always been more questionable in the Greek-speaking provinces. The 3rd century marked a change however: one generation after *Constitutio Antoniniana*, Herodian spoke about *our Empire*. In the west the situation was much easier to handle (on a cultural level, that precedes the military and political assimilation, but also follows them in a track that is normal and favorable to the Empire): the *civitates*, Roman communities in essence, seem to be one of the symbols of the Roman policy inclined towards encouraging, attracting and assimilating the local barbarian elites.

It is in this context some references about the ideas of identity and “nationality” in the Roman Empire become interesting. Roman history seems to follow backwards the path of the history of pre-modern and modern European colonial empires: Rome brings about the disappearance of small national groups and substitutes them with a vast state superpower that seems to please and fascinate for a long time the groups involved. These groups were judged by Romans rather from a cultural than a racial point of view, making assimilation quite easy for those who wanted it. Inherited from the Greeks as a sociologic theme of thought, Romans fancied a *climatic view* over populations,¹⁸⁰ with a North more prone to violence and barbarism, a Mediterranean center and an Oriental south, defined by mysticism and lust. This of course was a general pattern. To share the same *gens*, *natio* and *lingua* were powerful ties in the Roman Empire, but, as Cicero already noted, to be connected by *civitas* – or even the wish for a *civitas* – constituted a stronger

¹⁷⁹ Jacques, Scheid 1990, 215.

¹⁸⁰ Walbank 1972, 157.

bond among people.¹⁸¹ Inside this stream of thought, Aelius Aristides considered all the inhabitants of the Empire to be *Romani*, no matter where they came from and no matter their legal status.¹⁸²

This mutation in the perception of “national” identity that took place at the beginning of the Principate is very relevant. We find clues in the *Aeneid* about it: while the other nations/tribes claim to have a common ancestor and form ethnic groups, the Romans perceive their origins and – what is more important – automatically accept their identity in a way that is closer to modern nationalism than to any tribal reality.¹⁸³ From the philosophical point of view, Roman identity allowed for ethnic diversity. This way of thinking – or at least doctrine, since it is difficult to accept that all the Romans shared the learned doctrine of Virgil – is the sign of an evolving society and state that was very much aware of the need for social synthesis and for a fast and useful integration of the “strangers” living within its borders.

While we seek for a rapport between the individual and the collectivity, we must not forget the creation of smaller communities inside a larger one (settlement), which are the *collegia*, that brought together the peregrines in some form or another, especially (or with greater relevance) in the Roman urban centers (where they were “strangers”). Also we must not ignore the fact that the Roman state authorities treated them as separate entities from the body of citizens, a famous and eloquent example being Augustus’s stand regarding the druidic cults. The ruler allowed the existence and development of these cults but forbade any citizen to take part in them.¹⁸⁴ Religious freedom implicitly means exclusion. But in time, the adhesion to pre-Roman traditions grew smaller and *pax Augusta*, the imperial cult, *Latium maius* and *ius Italicum* contributed to the deep “conversion” of the provincial population¹⁸⁵ and to their transformation into true inhabitants of the Empire, even if legally they only had peregrine status.

Roman settlements

Before referring to peregrine communities in particular, we will briefly present the main types of Roman communities, emphasizing on the Western provinces. Although it might seem a common place, one must not neglect that the legal status of each community was of real importance due to the diversity the Roman Empire presented from this point of view and because it has never been organized as a present-day federation.¹⁸⁶

Beginning with the classical Roman forms of organization and – as far as it is possible – going upward, we have for starters *pagi* and *vici*. They were rural settlements, on the territory of a *municipium* or a *colonia* and it was from them that cities sometimes evolved. *Vici*, unlike cities, did not possess an *ordo decurionum*, but they had a quasi-municipal *ordo*, when the Romanization process was advanced;¹⁸⁷ in other cases, they could be under the direct and partly honorific, but not only, administration of a *princeps*.¹⁸⁸ Sometimes *vici* can also be centers for *civitates*. Terminologically speaking, the equivalents of *vici* are the *komai*, rural forms of organization, depending on an *emporium* (we do not find these terms in Dacia or the Western part of the Empire, but they are used in the Greek speaking regions, starting with Moesia Inferior and Thrace). *Pagi* are larger administrative units, sometimes made up of several *vici*, that have some rights to self-government.¹⁸⁹ *Praefecturae* were non-municipal administrative forms that also had an *ordo decurionum*. A *praefectura* had a city senate (*ordo decurionum*) and could be defined as *quaedam res publica* – a kind of republic,¹⁹⁰ a definition that involves a certain degree of autonomy, but without suggesting

¹⁸¹ Cic. *Off.* I 53.

¹⁸² Aristid. *Or.* LXIII.

¹⁸³ Syed 2008, 219.

¹⁸⁴ Suet. *Claudius* XXV.

¹⁸⁵ Lassère 1977, 458.

¹⁸⁶ Vittinghoff 1980, in Vittinghoff 1994, 271.

¹⁸⁷ Langhammer 1973, 4.

¹⁸⁸ Poulter 1980, 733.

¹⁸⁹ Abbott, Johnson 1968, 14.

¹⁹⁰ Langhammer 1973, 3.

complete administrative independence.¹⁹¹ In *Lex Rubria (Lex de Gallia Cisalpina)*¹⁹² *conciliabula*, *fora* and *castella (territorumve)*¹⁹³ are types of settlements as well; during the Republic, they seem to have been some sort of commercial barrows with attributes of self-governance, but they disappear almost completely during the Principate. In fact many of them evolved into *municipia* and *coloniae*. In the post-republican period we have *fora* attested, explicitly or implicitly, in *Brigetio*¹⁹⁴ (an inscription¹⁹⁵ mentions *forenses* – the inhabitants of a *forum* type settlement, close to the Roman camp of *legio I Adiutrix*) and possibly in an unpublished inscription from *Potaissa*, where the syntagma *forensium* appears at the end of a very badly deteriorated inscription. *Conciliabula* and *territoria*¹⁹⁶ were similar in organization to *fora*,¹⁹⁷ enjoying a certain degree of self-administration.

The *canabae* were settlements specific to the provincial environment, especially to those on the Danubian and Rhine *limes*,¹⁹⁸ being mostly inhabited by veterans and by the families of enlisted soldiers. They evolved especially in these regions that had not benefitted from advanced forms of urban habitation previous to the Roman conquest, thus playing an important role in the complex social and economic provincial integration.¹⁹⁹ In the Greek part of the Empire, the high level of urbanization replaced these intermediate forms of organization.²⁰⁰ This type of settlement appears as “suburbs” of legionary camps (around the auxiliary camps we usually have *vici militares*). The Roman citizens living here are sometimes attested as being organized in a corporation, in board-like associations, such as *consistentes ad canabae legionis*. Despite the long held historiographical belief, they were not under military authority and were not “military territory”.²⁰¹ F. Vittinghoff, while detailing the affiliation or non-affiliation of the *canabae* to the territory under military administration argued that, in fact, the commanding officer of a legion did not have the needed specialized bureaucratic and official apparatus to directly administer such civilian settlements. Thus their organization was quasi-municipal; they had *magistri* or at least *curatores* and some form of *ordo*. I. Piso developed a theory, valid and proven by archaeological evidences, which nuances what was stated above.²⁰² He proves that *intra leugam* military jurisdiction was applied, this being the protection area of the Roman camp and it was especially because of this that a second settlement evolved outside this area. Here civil laws applied and the normal right of ownership over the land functioned.

The notion of *conventus*, not being mentioned in *Lex Rubria*, is harder to explain. This type of settlement, Italic and republican, could be founded both on *ager publicus* and on peregrine soil. It seemed to have had a mixed legal status, or mostly peregrine, for a *curator civium Romanorum* is often mentioned – proof that the Roman citizens were not the characteristic and predominant body of inhabitants. Later during the Empire, *conventus civium Romanorum* represented an organized group of Roman citizens in a non-Roman settlement. It must be added that after *Constitutio Antoniniana* this form of organization disappeared.²⁰³ E. Kornemann defined the *conventus* as a *collegium* of cities, but the evidence is not irrefutable.²⁰⁴

The next group of settlements consists of those with urban status. In theory, during the Principate, the *municipium*²⁰⁵ was the inferior and more permissive type of urban settlement. It was more “permissive” because, like Hadrian remarked, a *municipium* was allowed to keep some of the administrative norms previous to the Romanization and the integration *de iure* in the Empire. Aulus

¹⁹¹ Abbott, Johnson 1968, 10.

¹⁹² CIL I 205; Weiss 1924c, 2412; Pharr 1961, 102. For a monograph on *Lex Rubria*, see Bruna 1972.

¹⁹³ Weis 1912, 56–64.

¹⁹⁴ Piso 2010.

¹⁹⁵ AE 1977, 624.

¹⁹⁶ *Territoria* are associated with *castella: castellum territoriumve* (Langhammer 1973, 5).

¹⁹⁷ Bruna 1972, 259.

¹⁹⁸ Le Roux 1998, 389.

¹⁹⁹ Groenman van Waateringe 1980, 1038.

²⁰⁰ Vittinghoff 1971, in Vittinghoff 1994, 140.

²⁰¹ Vittinghoff 1974, in Vittinghoff 1994, 136.

²⁰² Piso 1991.

²⁰³ Langhammer 1973, 7.

²⁰⁴ Kornemann 1901, 1173.

²⁰⁵ Kornemann 1935, 570–639.

Gellius described the status of the first towns belonging to Latins as an incomplete *ius Italicum* and considered this to be evidence of the inhabitants' desire to identify themselves with the Roman citizen.²⁰⁶ This citizenship *sine suffragio* appears in Roman historiography without any clear explanation²⁰⁷ and seems to anticipate the Latin right offered to the allies from the Italian Peninsula, but without overlapping it completely.²⁰⁸ Under the Latin law cities (*municipia* or *coloniae*), the magistrates were elected by the Roman and Latin inhabitants of the city, as it is explicitly stated in *Lex Irnitana*. However, it seems that a Roman citizen cannot become *decurio* or *conscriptus* in a Latin law settlement²⁰⁹ without permanently living there.

A *municipium*, as defined by administrative autonomy – *suis moribus legibusque uti* – could also evolve from peregrine settlements; it had to adopt Roman civil and religious law. The evolution of a peregrine settlement into a town is proven by onomastics, all the new citizens (or most of them, if we exclude the possible special cases) receiving, of course, the *nomen* and *praenomen* of the “founding” emperor.

M. Millett proposes for Britannia an interesting scheme for alternative evolution in the case of provincial cities.²¹⁰ He suggests two models of urban development: one involves an area with “primitive economy”, where a *vicus* evolved due to the presence of a nearby military unit. Even after the relocation of the troop, the *vicus* continued to evolve and received urban status according to Roman administrative rules. Another pattern involves the existence of a developed rural settlement, up to *oppidum* level, that is economically stimulated by the presence of the military factor and naturally became an urban settlement. Both models are created from the perspective of changing economic realities and in both cases we are dealing with the direct consequences of the impact of Roman military presence in the conquered provinces.

Coloniae,²¹¹ the most prestigious form of organization in the Roman Empire, were either *civium Romanorum* or *Latinorum* (this second type appeared after 383 B.C., following the war with the Latins, disappeared from Italy in 89 B.C. and reappeared in the Empire at the time of Augustus).²¹² In theory, they did not continue a previous habitation but were new cities, founded following the Roman ritual and the law of the Empire.²¹³ In 100 B.C., *Lex Appuleia* stipulated the creation of military colonies for Rome's veterans by *deductio*.²¹⁴ Here lived both Roman colonists and peregrine *incolae* up until 212.

It is worth mentioning here that all governors, legates and presidial procurators of the provinces had capital jurisdiction over peregrines, no matter the type or status of the settlement they lived in. In the provinces with a large number of peregrines, the personnel under the direction of the governors was greatly reduced and they were also directly responsible with the collection and administration of taxes.²¹⁵ As previously shown, we must not imagine that the *incolae peregrini* were necessarily a completely disadvantaged category; as supplementary proof, we have an honorary inscription²¹⁶ from Komini, in Dalmatia, where the peregrine residents of the locality enjoyed protection and a series of benefits, being a very active element in the city's public life.

A large number of peregrines lived in urban centers, both Roman and Romanized in form and essence. When it comes to individual rights, Roman citizens had full rights in the whole Empire, Latin citizens enjoyed their rights in Latin and peregrine cities and the peregrines had citizen and civilian rights only in their own city. It is these rights that created an epigraphically identifiable

²⁰⁶ Gell. XVI 13: *Primos autem municipes sine suffragii iure Caerites esse factos accepimus concessumque illis, ut civitatis Romanae honorem quidem caperent, sed negotiis tamen atque oneribus vacarent pro sacris bello Gallico receptis custoditisque. Hinc “tabulae Caerites” appellatae versa vice, in quas censores referri iuebant, quos notae causa suffragiis privabant.*

²⁰⁷ Sherwin-White 1972, 28.

²⁰⁸ Pfeilschifter 2007, 27.

²⁰⁹ González 1986, 188.

²¹⁰ Millett 1990, 75.

²¹¹ Kornemann 1900, 578–587.

²¹² Abbott, Johnson 1968, 4.

²¹³ Jacques 1990a, 33.

²¹⁴ Thomas 1976, 336.

²¹⁵ Brunt 1983, 72.

²¹⁶ See Le Roux 2005, for a second reading and a comment on this monument.

feeling of belonging: often, in the western part of the Empire (for the particular case of Dacia there are fewer examples), they mentioned the place of origin, where they had citizenship. If, for example, one was mentioned only as *Britto* (CIL XVI 110), he might be *dediticius*.²¹⁷ The indication of the place of origin might also be an argument in favor for possession of local citizens' rights²¹⁸ that the peregrine (in relation to the Roman citizenship) wanted to declare. Of course these conclusions are relative as for their general truth value and every case must be analyzed separately in accordance with its specifics, with respect and understanding for the variety of the Roman world.

Types of peregrine communities

When the status of communities from a newly-conquered province was regulated by a *Lex provinciae*,²¹⁹ they were no longer inhabited by *dediticii*, but by peregrines: in this situation, autonomy was not only vaguely tolerated, it was recognized *de iure*.²²⁰ In formal and legal terms, such a settlement was initially called *res publica*, afterwards, in the Latin part of the Empire, the term *civitas*²²¹ became customary, while retaining its meaning, that of semi-autonomous community. Initially a *civitas* must have referred to a form of organization superior to the rules of a tribal society.²²²

The first administrative category that we must refer to is that of *civitates peregrinae*. They enjoyed a "tolerated autonomy";²²³ in theory, the forms that preceded them were the *oppidum* and the *polis*. Of course, they could be established based on the existence of local communities that were from all points of view less evolved and complex than the ones mentioned above (such seem to be the cases in Dalmatia and Noricum). In the Rhine, as well as the Danubian and Hispanic areas, such *civitates* quickly evolved into municipalities.²²⁴ Towards the end of the 2nd century the term had had its old meaning replaced with that of community of citizens, while it also started to be used for Latin and Roman law cities.

Without excessively emphasizing our lack of knowledge regarding peregrine settlements from Dacia, we note that all the known municipal laws (*Tabula Heracleensis-Lex Iulia Municipalis*,²²⁵ *Lex Ursonensis*,²²⁶ *Lex Salpensana*,²²⁷ *Lex Irnitana*,²²⁸ *Lex Malacitana*,²²⁹ etc.) are, on one hand, previous to the creation of the province (the first two being from time of the Republic while the last three date from the Severan age) and refer – on the other hand – to settlements under Roman or Latin law.

The case of Dacia must be looked upon comparatively, especially regarding the organization and status of peregrine communities. For example, the Gallic and south-Danubian communities (from Moesia Superior) cannot be superimposed to any Dacian reality; they serve a legal and social model that is almost nonexistent in the north-Danubian province. The lack of a local pre-Roman elite²³⁰ is defining in this equation just as the nonexistence of *civitates* that could have been administered by a second-rank elite prove that the indigenous forms of organization from Dacia were strongly affected by the Roman conquest.²³¹ In Gallia, the *civitates* worked very well with the local situation and mentality. Also, starting from a strong pre-existent and clearly defined human and material base, only the elites of these settlements received citizenship with full rights.²³² At least

²¹⁷ Mann 1986, 189.

²¹⁸ Vittinghoff 1976, in Vittinghoff 1994, 84.

²¹⁹ The very existence of these laws for the establishment of provinces has been questioned (Ferrary 1998, 15 sqq.).

²²⁰ Jones 1936, 229.

²²¹ Millar 1983, 80.

²²² Jacques 1990a, 31.

²²³ Langhammer 1973, 22.

²²⁴ Vittinghoff 1977, in Vittinghoff 1994, 195.

²²⁵ CIL I 206; RS 24.

²²⁶ CIL II 5439; FIRA I 21; RS 25.

²²⁷ CIL II, 1963; FIRA I 23.

²²⁸ Lamberti 1993, 267–373.

²²⁹ CIL II 1964; FIRA I 24.

²³⁰ Piso 2008, 316–317; Ruscu 2004, 82.

²³¹ Ruscu 2003, 58.

²³² Jacques, Scheid 1990, 239.

from the point of view of following a certain *forma mentis*, if not materially, the *civitates* were the descendants of well-defined tribes. These forms of organization led to a transformation of the tribal aristocracy, that was military and land oriented, to the urban, bourgeois aristocracy of the Roman Empire. The fact that, sometimes, even in the late inscriptions from the Gallic provinces, we find the same settlement attested as both *civitas* and *colonia* is a clear proof.²³³

Anyone dealing with the problem of peregrine communities must try to adjust his/her vision so that it also encompasses the point of view of the individual. Without generalizing situations that are by their very nature singular, it is worth considering practical, individual differences between living in a peregrine community or in a Roman or Latin law one. Certainly, living in a Roman law city and having a personal lower legal status did not create the best of circumstances. It is hard to say how and if the peregrine's life was directly influenced by living in a Roman rural settlement; it was probably here, where economic status must have taken precedence over the legal one, that the legal status truly mattered only at the level of the local elite and those trying to "infiltrate" its structures. The "alienation" (the term is not used with the full strength of its meaning, but chosen because of the clarity it has received in contemporary language) of peregrines in the Roman sophisticated urban environments is proven by the *collegia* they are members of. Also we note that in environments that are mostly peregrine, guilds are much more "classical", being built on professional bases and thus with a practical functionality and purpose (such as those from *Alburnus*; we note here the possibility that in this mining settlement the term *castellum* might also be the name for some kind of corporation,²³⁴ ethnic and/or religious, although the hypothesis that it was a form of territorial organization imported from Dalmatia is more likely).

II. 4. B. The military environment

Legal status

The juridical position of the soldiers from the auxiliary troops was composed of two intertwined aspects: they were peregrines, but this "civilian" status was overlapped by the military one. The fact that they were soldiers brought enhanced benefits, but at the same time it partially isolated them from civilian society and put them on a different level.²³⁵

Thus, the soldiers did not have a normal peregrine status, as the military status was more important, but the legal base that eventually led to their enlistment in the auxiliary troops cannot be ignored. Even as auxiliaries they had extraordinary testamentary rights, being able to name almost anyone as inheritor and questioning their testaments was rather taboo. *Testamentum militare* was the oldest and most important exception to Roman testamentary rules,²³⁶ placing those enlisted in the army in a special social group. In *Iustiniani Institutiones*,²³⁷ it was clearly stated that the wish of a soldier, no matter how it was expressed, had testamentary value. *Dig.* 29 puts together all excerpts that were considered to be relevant from the jurists of the Principate and that referred to the testamentary privileges of soldiers; mainly, they focus on the right to make legal testaments in illegal conditions, rendered so by their status as active members of the army and – eventually – by their peregrine condition. Soldiers also had the extraordinary right to make several testaments, under any form or formula, simultaneously valid with the only condition that they did not contradict each other. As well, soldiers had the exceptional right to appoint as testamentary inheritors and trustees peregrines which, according to the Roman law, could not have been thus appointed under different circumstances. The explicit passage from Ulpianus²³⁸ that says soldiers could prepare their

²³³ Jacques, Scheid 1990, 235.

²³⁴ Ardevan 1998b, 293.

²³⁵ For the evolution of soldiers' rights Jung 1982 is a must; unfortunately the author does not pay special attention to the status of the peregrines serving in the army.

²³⁶ Girard 1914, 865.

²³⁷ *Inst.* II 11: [...] *enim modo voluntas eius suprema sive scripta inveniatur sive sine scriptura, valet testamentum ex voluntate eius.*

²³⁸ *Ulp.* XX 10: *Filius familiae testamentum facere non potest, quoniam nihil suum habet, ut testari de eo possit. sed diuus Augustus constituit, ut filius familiae miles de eo peculio quod in castris adquisiuit testamentum facere possit.*

testaments even if *stricto sensu* they are still *in potestate* is also interesting. Of course the passage refers only to citizens, because a peregrine could not have a person (nor could he be himself) *in potestate*.²³⁹

Objectively speaking, it was only normal for soldiers to have certain extra testamentary warranties and privileges, given the exceptional nature of their position, their very long-term commitment, the high degree of risk of their job and last but not least the need to provide them with the greatest possible feeling of safety and psychological comfort.

Another important aspect regards the right to own private property. In theory, the soldier was not entitled to property in the provinces just like – also in theory – the provincial civil servants. It was a measure designed to diminish corruption, in the case of the latter category and of the high-ranking military commanders and to maintain and strengthen discipline, in the case of common soldiers. In truth the relatives and inheritors of the soldier had – of course – the right to own private property anywhere and thus the *de facto* property of soldiers was also recognized.²⁴⁰

The most relevant and most spectacular evolutions in the status of Roman soldiers were probably those of their marital rights. This aspect was of major importance during the Principate because it involved the rights of children. The marriage of soldiers from the auxiliary troops, even after it was legally ratified, remained *concubinatus* sealed through *ius gentium*. Only at the end of the military period and upon receiving Roman citizenship did this *matrimonium iuris peregrini* become *iustum matrimonium*,²⁴¹ with all its legal implications. In epitaphs, we find often the terms *coniux* and *uxor*, respectively *maritus* even if a legal marriage had not taken place.²⁴² In Dacia, the term *coniux* is frequently encountered on epitaphs erected by spouses (No. 162; No. 3; No. 6; No. 39), even if the man was serving in the army and thus a legal wedding had not taken place. *Maritus* is attested only once (No. 154) in the above described conditions. In the funerary inscriptions of auxiliary peregrines from Dacia we do not find any other terms that might refer to relationships of concubinage. In fact, this practice of posthumously legitimizing the relationship between the two partners is often encountered in the Empire.²⁴³

It is in the same context of marital rights that, as mentioned above, Dio Cassius noted that Claudius offered soldiers the rights reserved to married people, although they were not allowed to contract legal marriage.²⁴⁴ The decision is not commented upon in other sources and seems not to have had any long-term effects. The naturalization policies promoted by Claudius were not very popular or desirable in that period: even if Seneca's attitude was malicious and affected by personal feelings, the philosopher cannot have been the only one who considered that awarding citizenship on a wide (or wider) scale was inopportune for the Empire and ridiculous for the status and image of the emperor.²⁴⁵

It is certain however that the following emperors tried to improve the situation of the soldiers' children, most of them of legal peregrine status. Although the best known steps taken in this direction are Hadrian's, who in an *interpretatio humanior*,²⁴⁶ conferred upon the children the right to paternal succession no matter their legal status, there is another mention regarding a previous disposition given by Trajan,²⁴⁷ allowing fathers to inherit their sons even if they had not been *in potestate*. This too is probably aimed at soldiers, as the military diplomas do not mention anything about the power they actually had over naturalized children.²⁴⁸

²³⁹ Ulp. X 3: [...] *autem peregrinus ciuem Romanum neque cuius Romanus peregrinum in potestate habere potest.*

²⁴⁰ Wesch-Klein 1998, 68.

²⁴¹ Stănescu 2003a, 136.

²⁴² Phang 2001, 199.

²⁴³ Sinobad 2005, 182.

²⁴⁴ D.C. LX 24, 3.

²⁴⁵ In Sen. *Apol.* III 3, Chloto, filled by the author's sarcasm, states: [...] *pusillum temporis adicere illi volebam, dum hos pauculos qui supersunt civitate donaret: constituerat enim omnes Graecos, Gallos, Hispanos, Britannos togatos videre. Sed, quoniam placet aliquos peregrinos in semen relinqui et tu ita iubes fieri, fiat.*

²⁴⁶ Behrends 1986, 165.

²⁴⁷ Plin. *Pan.* XXXIX 1.

²⁴⁸ Gardner 2005, 209.

Serving as a soldier in the *auxilia* eventually meant receiving Roman citizenship. This brought about the possibility to fully use the four fundamental rights of the Roman citizen, offering the veteran a completely different status from the one he had when enlisting. Citizenship was also granted to his family, in other words his wife (to a single wife to be more precise) and the children he fathered with her as well as – of course – to the children born afterwards. It was normal that for the children this change in status came along with great opportunities and opened access to the higher structures of Roman society.

We assume that many soldiers, after finishing their military service, remained with their families close to the area of the camp where they had served or at least in the same province.²⁴⁹ This option rendered the diploma or any other document proving citizen status virtually useless, the reference to the unit being sufficient.²⁵⁰ At the same time, their status here did not imply anything special, these communities connected to the camps being inhabited, probably, by a great number of veterans – thus citizens. However those who decided to return to their place of origin would benefit from a superior status as compared to that from the moment of enlistment. Moving past the unavoidable cliché of “military glory”, they were often citizens in a peregrine community, the fact placing them in an acceptable social position. If they returned as citizens in a Roman law community, they would surpass their initial status even more than in the previously imagined case. Also we must keep in mind that on top of all the aspects presented here the economic one is added, the financial situation of the veteran being most likely and most often much better than it had been at the moment of enlistment. The diploma is evidence for a higher status in peregrine communities (its value naturally decreases as more and more veteran settlements are created and with military service becoming hereditary)²⁵¹ and for equality in rights of the veteran with the citizens, especially in Roman law communities. Veterans also had a series of obligations that came along with citizenship: for example, except for the cases when, based on individual criteria, they were granted an extra *immunitas*, they were subjected to the entire Roman taxation system. Of course, the personal stake was to equal legal status by social status but, unfortunately for Dacia, the details of the vertical mobility of former auxiliaries are little known to us. Even better placed at the end of their military stage – both as *dignitas* and from an economic point of view – were those who, exceptionally, had served in legions, receiving citizenship since enlistment,²⁵² but we will not discuss their cases now.

The soldier and the Roman society

In order to precisely place the auxiliary soldier in the Roman society and in his living environment, we would need access to sources that no longer exist. But going beyond methodological impediments and not aiming for a complete picture, we can rapport to the social milieu the soldier originated from, to some of his epigraphic habits, to the manner and degree to which his family expressed epigraphically and to the mode the Roman state authority related to them.

In spite of all the privileges and legal exemptions mentioned above, the non-Italic soldiers of the auxiliary troops were essentially individualized as peregrines and strangers in Rome until late in the 4th century. Of course the notion “peregrine” must sometimes be understood in a wider context, referring by comparison to the population of Rome, especially to those outside Italy and sometimes it is not used in its strictest, legal meaning.²⁵³ The presence of those *Castra peregrinorum, quae sunt in Monte Caelio*²⁵⁴ is relevant for this. These were “Roman camps” (orderly arranged barracks of course, not Roman camps like those from the provinces) of “peregrines” – “strangers”²⁵⁵ – tempo-

²⁴⁹ Russu 1980, 446 calculated that approximately 12% of the military diplomas referring to soldiers from the army of Dacia were found outside the province. The percentage is higher now, but the high number of diplomas coming from the black market of antiquities, with a fake place of discovery, makes it ambiguous.

²⁵⁰ Mann 2002, 183.

²⁵¹ Mann 2002, 184.

²⁵² Vittinghoff 1980, in Vittinghoff 1994, 279.

²⁵³ Noy 2000, 1.

²⁵⁴ Amm. Marc. XVI 12, 66.

²⁵⁵ Baillie Reynolds 1923, 169.

rarily detached from provincial armies, with special duties in the capital. The site was identified archaeologically under the San Stefano Rotondo church.²⁵⁶ The simple existence of this hosting place would mean nothing but the name, that clearly associates provincial soldiers to civilian non-citizens, thus automatically defining them as foreigners, stands relevant.

As for the recruitment of auxiliary soldiers, it must be seen as being made from varied environments. *Castris*, that is the *canabae* next to the Roman camps, could only provide a small number of them,²⁵⁷ being statistically impossible for a large segment to be recruited here. The environment around the *canabae* and *vici* close to the units was heterogeneous and diverse, although dominated by the military element and the presence of the army. Besides veterans, *cives Romani* are attested in such contexts, probably, mostly coming from military families, as well as peregrines that settled here for economic or family related reasons. The presence of a *Genius Canabensium* in some dedications²⁵⁸ gives personality to these settlements and places them under a similar protection to the one invoked by the army.

For the analysis of the military environment, of auxiliary troops to be exact, it is useful to keep in mind these soldiers' desire for integration. Their epigraphic manifestations are abundant, proving this tendency and the availability to become carriers of the Roman culture and an accepted part of it. For a random example, in northern Britannia, in the strongly militarized area, approximately a quarter of the inscriptions are military (a particular case is Colchester where out of 13 funerary inscriptions 4 are military). Obviously this does not illustrate the real situation of the population,²⁵⁹ but rather proves the suitability of a certain way of manifestation and the possibilities of a certain class – the military one – to adapt and imitate.

The matter of military diplomas, though essential, will only be shortly analyzed, due to practical considerations. The exact moment of the diplomas emergence cannot be established; what is known for certain is that none of the diplomas discovered until now dates before the reign of Claudius and that we have very few diplomas dating before 68. Of course, we deal in bronze diplomas and the insufficiency or even lack of material evidence must not be considered, in this case, as absolute proof for the inexistence of the practice itself. Diplomas could also be – and probably were – issued on perishable materials. Equally, it is possible that individual diplomas were issued only upon request²⁶⁰ and not all the veterans might have felt the need to own such a document (remaining in the community next to the Roman camp might have transformed the individual diploma in a “luxury item”, useless in fact). It is assumed that an already existing practice (starting from Augustus most likely or even from the late Republic²⁶¹) was standardized by Claudius²⁶² and afterwards widely spread during the 2nd–3rd centuries. Due to the circumstances of historical hazard we have, at present, around 800 military diplomas.²⁶³ The number is almost insignificant when compared to the estimated number of issued diplomas, somewhere in between 150.000 and 300.000.²⁶⁴

The issue regarding the recipients of these diplomas, whether they were granted to all auxiliaries or not, it still under discussion. S. Dušanić notes²⁶⁵ that provinces led by procurators seem to present the archaeologist with fewer diplomas, making him state that the *auxilia* that suffered more and whose soldiers had endured a more dangerous military service were favored. The number of diplomas is proportionate to the number of auxiliary troops in the province and seems to be also connected to the historical events they were involved in. The main purpose of the military diploma being the awarding of citizenship, it normally lost relevance after 212. Worth mentioning as well is F. Vittinghoff's interesting theory: he considered that citizens' rights were granted not only to

²⁵⁶ Baillie Reynolds, Ashby 1923, 152.

²⁵⁷ Vittinghoff 1971, in Vittinghoff 1994, 159.

²⁵⁸ CIL III 1008.

²⁵⁹ Mann 1985, 204.

²⁶⁰ Mann 2002, 183.

²⁶¹ Link 1989, 14.

²⁶² Dušanić 1986, 193.

²⁶³ In 2002, Eck inventoried approximately 750 pieces (Eck 2002, 94).

²⁶⁴ Eck 2002, 95.

²⁶⁵ Dušanić 1986, 200.

the children but also to the parents and other first-degree relatives of the soldier.²⁶⁶ The theory is, of course, still open for discussion. W. Eck also makes an interesting observation, noting that in the 168–177 decade, bronze diplomas seem not to have been issued,²⁶⁷ the metal being replaced with other perishable materials. His observation, although explainable only through hypothetical deductions, is confirmed by the epigraphy from Dacia.

The change of 140 is vital for the status of the peregrines “attached” to the military environment. What was really the change, what were its immediate repercussions and what causes determined it are still open questions, whether we opt for the theory stating that naturalization of the family was automatic, directly connected to that of the new veteran or for the one that considers imperial policy made naturalization more restrictive, maybe in the hope to eliminate/reduce the frauds involving citizenship.²⁶⁸ Still, keeping in mind the historical evolution of the enlargement process of the body of citizens, it is hard to believe that at the middle of the 2nd century this drastic limitation of the rights of auxiliary soldiers’ families is attempted.

As for the fate of the *diplomata* after 197 (the year when Septimius Severus granted soldiers the right to marry),²⁶⁹ they were simply still issued. Because of the emperor’s decision soldiers – we include here those from the *auxilia* – had *ius conubii cum peregrinis*. This is not equivalent however to *ius uxoris ducendi*.²⁷⁰ Thus, the diploma still offered the auxiliary soldier *ius conubii* in full, meaning the right to pass on the citizenship he gained to his wife and children and to contract a marriage under Roman customs. The right to marry “strangers” that the auxiliary soldier – in fact himself a “stranger” on the path of Romanization – had is also part of what we might call, using a contemporary syntagma, *Integrationspolitik*, a state policy that makes the needed ethnic fusion possible.²⁷¹

The forming of families in the military environment was influenced by the way soldiers were recruited in certain areas. Thus, in Pannonia and Africa most soldiers already had families at the end of their military term, while in Britannia and the Rhine area – for example – where external recruitment and troop transfers were quite usual, the attested number of soldiers with families is much smaller, the commemoration being conducted especially by comrades in arms.²⁷²

The Roman state will continue to issue diplomas after the year 212, awarding soldiers citizenship or *conubium* with wives who were “outsiders”. Thus we can accept the existence of populations, low in numbers (*gentiles*, if we are to make an analogy with the Late Empire),²⁷³ or individuals who, although living on Roman soil, were not Romanized and did not automatically receive, upon arrival within the borders of the Empire, Roman citizenship,²⁷⁴ even if the “migration” had taken place after 212.

The other regulations we know to involve soldiers (connected, for example, to their property right or the above mentioned jurisdiction that the *pater familias* had over them) mostly refer to legionary soldiers, thus those with an upper legal status, that were Roman citizens previous to enlistment, or follow Septimius Severus’s decision to grant them the right to marriage.

The peregrines from the military environment are important, at a level of source analysis, because of the nuanced and generous information they and their families provide, and also at the practical level of evolution of the peregrines’ status, because they often present themselves as an engine of this legal category, as the first sub-category that received different rights. They definitely were a major factor of legal integration in the Roman society. The recruitment of citizens in legions and of peregrines in *auxilia* was meant to underline the legal and social differences in the Empire,²⁷⁵ but at the same time they transformed the Roman army into a real ladder for social mobility.

²⁶⁶ Vittinghoff 1986, 536.

²⁶⁷ Eck 2002, 96.

²⁶⁸ Phang 2001, 79.

²⁶⁹ Hdn. III 8, 5.

²⁷⁰ Campbell 1978, 164.

²⁷¹ Phang 2001, 83.

²⁷² Saller, Shaw 1984, 154.

²⁷³ Demougeot 1981, 382.

²⁷⁴ Lemosse 1981, 558.

²⁷⁵ Pollard 2006, 223.

II. 5. *CONSTITUTIO ANTONINIANA*²⁷⁶

Constitutio Antoniniana, an edict passed during Caracalla's first year of reign, is one of the most important Roman documents and certainly one of the most discussed upon in historiography.

Caracalla's reasons for passing this edict were interpreted as based on financial constraints: by raising the number of citizens the number of tax payers rises as well. Also it is believed that the legions were now recruited from a larger mass of people, though this argument is not entirely convincing. Even though this was not generally treated as a real or valid reason, one also has to note that the edict mentions religious motifs, implying an increase in the number of the worshippers of the traditional Roman gods. It was said that this was the emperor's way to thank the gods for helping him escape the conspiracies of his brother Geta.

Unfortunately however, contemporary sources are not as generous on the subject as 20th century historiography: Ulpian refers explicitly to the *Constitutio*, saying that due to the passing of this decree all free people in the Empire became Roman citizens²⁷⁷ (which seems to be a general conclusion), Cassius Dio²⁷⁸ and St. Augustine²⁷⁹ allude to the decree (the latter noting the humanitarian character of the decree). Echoes of Caracalla's decision can be observed also in *Codex Iustiniani*.

These mentions would be however insufficient for a full study of the details. *Constitutio Antoniniana* was recorded in historiography as document and first hand instrument after the Giessen papyrus was published by Paul Meyer.²⁸⁰ The document edited by Meyer, badly deteriorated in its initial stage but with the content largely deductible, is considered to be a translation of Caracalla's edict. Essential though was the fact that through this normative act Roman citizenship is in theory expanded limitlessly, to each and every free inhabitant in the Empire.²⁸¹

In reference to the authenticity of the text and its identification with *Constitutio Antoniniana* multiple analyses were conducted, ranging from contents to linguistic ones. W. Williams²⁸² gave us a full picture of the arguments that support Meyer's interpretation. He claims that the papyrus holds the translation of at least 3 of Caracalla's decisions among them the one granting "universal citizenship" and mentioned by Ulpian, Cassius Dio and all of the above mentioned sources. Williams identifies the personal style and the method of elaboration as being those of Caracalla. The second part of the papyrus refers to the legal status of people recalled from exile, being somewhat in agreement with what we knew before about the *Constitutio*. Also we have a written letter ordering the expulsion of Jews from Alexandria, a decision whose usefulness in the 3rd century can be debated upon but must be connected with the prior conflicts between the emperor and the inhabitants of the Egyptian capital.

Still citizenship will not be absolutely universal even after the passing of this decree. Meyer came to this conclusion ever since he first read the papyrus. He believed that those who had been excluded from having citizenship rights were *dediticii*. The ambiguity of the interpretation derives from the used term itself (*dedetikion*), a term without precedent in the Hellenic language, in reference to a non-Hellenic institution. The editor translated it with the Latin term *dediticius*, his translation being justifiable linguistically (in this case it is actually a transliteration), but, obviously, not without ambiguity.²⁸³ The standard definition of *dediticii*, given by Gaius,²⁸⁴ is that of inhabitants of a community that opposed Rome arms in hand and who, once conquered, surrendered unconditionally. This capitulation became a long-lasting juridical situation, the members of that community becoming *dediticii*, having no rights (they had *nulla civitas*) and remaining in this situation

²⁷⁶ Part of this subchapter was published in Varga 2012a.

²⁷⁷ Ulp. *Dig.* XV 17.

²⁷⁸ D.C. LXXVII 9, 5.

²⁷⁹ Augustin V 17.

²⁸⁰ Meyer 1910; for a detailed presentation of the text of the papyrus, see Wolff 1976.

²⁸¹ [...] *in Orbe Romano qui sunt ex constitutione imperatoris Antonini cives Romani effect sunt.*

²⁸² Williams 1979.

²⁸³ Jones 1936, 224.

²⁸⁴ Gaius I 14–17.

until a future review of their status. Gaius also defines them as the lowest juridical free individuals in the Empire and not being able to directly obtain Roman citizenship. But we must mention that this relation of total subordination to Rome, involving the condition of *dediticius*, was not permanent, being only a temporary step towards peregrine status.

The controversies related to Meyer's interpretation have never ceased to appear though. They reached their height in Bickermann's²⁸⁵ papers, revolutionary when it came to interpreting the Giessen papyrus but with few followers. Bickermann doesn't consider this papyrus to be Caracalla's initial decree but a supplementary one, passed after a long time, that actually gave Roman citizenship to the barbarian immigrants, on condition they were not *dediticii*, and not the peregrines in the Empire. He also distinguishes three classes of *dediticii*, but this also leads to a great generalization. Bickermann says *dediticii* are, first of all, freed people who were subject to the provisions of *Lex Aelia Sentia*, then there are the barbarians who freely surrendered themselves and – according to Bickermann's interpretation – last but not least, after *Gainaische Begriff* all provincials were *dediticii*. Contrary to Meyer he also says that *tributum capitis* is not a mark of the *dediticii*. In conclusion Bickermann's theories offered a new interpretation on the Giessen papyrus but they were too radical and insufficiently grounded in many aspects. In essence the Giessen papyrus is still considered by most specialists to be a contemporary translation of the original text of the *Constitutio*.

One of the first advocates of Bickermann's theory is H. I. Bell.²⁸⁶ He also considers the Giessen papyrus to be a late imitation and not the original *Constitutio*, but he analyzes the problem of *dediticii* using the situation in Egypt and the poll tax raised there. Resuming his theory, his conclusions are that this individual Egyptian tax (*poll tax*), inherited by the Roman provincial administration from the Ptolemaic dynasty, cannot be regarded as proof towards the existence of a class of pariahs. These autonomous Egyptians, who cannot receive Roman citizenship unless they first become citizens of Alexandria, still receive citizenship because of *Constitutio Antoniniana*;²⁸⁷ the tax will only disappear in the 3rd century, because of fiscal inefficiency. This is proof that the tax was just a sign of a fiscal status and not an indication of social stigma.

No matter what theory regarding the status of *dediticius* we rally ourselves to, it is clear that this concept is hard to relate to specific circumstances. Almost all the inscriptions referring to *dediticii* talk about characters who had gained their freedom because of *Lex Aelia Sentia*; freedmen,²⁸⁸ who had certain truncated rights, and former enemies of Rome, only by extension, fell under the incidence of this law. Thus it is hard to conclude if their situation and their lack of benefits are specific to all *dediticii* or only to those who had been freed. Their inability to inherit in accordance to the legal and customary conditions of the Roman law is typical of all peregrines. The persisting problem regarding the interpretation of the text of Caracalla's edict derives from this exception not being mentioned in the writings of jurists and historians that write about it.

The discovery of *Tabula Banasitana*²⁸⁹ sheds another light on the status of peregrines after Caracalla's decree; it seems that the *dediticii* were not excluded from gaining citizenship but from keeping some local rights tied to the status of the community.²⁹⁰ The document, a bronze tablet found at Banassa (Mauretania) resumes in 53 lines 3 official documents referring to a Berber family²⁹¹ who obtained Roman citizenship. The first document is the copy of a letter from M. Aurelius and L. Verus addressed in 167 to Coiedius Maximus, the procurator of Mauritania Tingitana, as answer to a request from Iulianus, a Berber from the Zegrenses tribe. He requested Roman citizenship for himself, his wife and their 4 children. The imperial letter replied that only the *gentiles* from Mauretania gained citizenship and only for outstanding services; not many local *familiae* benefited from this favor displayed towards Iulianus. The second document is another letter, addressed in 177 to the procurator V. Maximus Iulianus in which M. Aurelius and Commodus award the wife

²⁸⁵ Bickermann 1926.

²⁸⁶ Bell 1947.

²⁸⁷ Bell 1947, 18.

²⁸⁸ Benario 1954, 195.

²⁸⁹ Seston, Euzennat 1961; Sherwin-White 1973b, 86–87.

²⁹⁰ Sherwin-White 1973b, 97.

²⁹¹ Jacques, Scheid 1990, 210.

and children of Aurelius Iulianus (presumably the son of the first Iulianus) Roman citizenship. It is remarkable that he asks for citizenship for his wife as well, aware of the fact that had he not done so the children of this mixed marriage could receive citizenship only through some special ratification at a later date. The third text, dated 6th of July 177, is a *commentarius de civitate Romana donatorum*. It seems that the Iulians mentioned in the Banasitana Tabula were not included in any Roman tribe, receiving, along with the citizenship jurisdictional privileges: the right to live as Roman citizens in their previous tribe (*dedimus civitatem romanam salvo iure gentis*, as mentioned in the first document). This document is very revealing by proving that not only *civitates* but also *gentes* were considered to be legal political entities by the Roman state.

The most important fact proven by this *tabula* is the possibility of establishing an equivalence between the Latin and Greek versions of the *Constitutio*. Thus the expression *δίδωμι [...] πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων μένοντος [...] πολιτευμάτων* might be translated by *civitatem Romanam salvo iure gentis dare* and indicates a Roman citizenship that, besides explicit cases, does not infringe upon local citizenship²⁹² – thus local autonomies. It seems that the obtaining of citizenship due to the *Constitutio* did not affect the status quo of communities that, most likely, remained unchanged. This hypothesis is supported by the indirect evidence presented here but also by the silence of the sources regarding a change in the legal status of cities. Starting mainly from the nuances brought by *Tabula Banasitana* regarding Caracalla's edict, A. Suceveanu also formulated an interesting and well-grounded hypothesis: he suggested that the *dediticii* could be inhabitants of communities that still followed the *ius gentium* as a way of life alongside *libertini ex lege Aelia Sentia* and barbarians *in numero dediticiorum*.²⁹³

Dediticius will be used until the late period as a usual term. Its exact meaning is still questionable but it is mostly tied to immigrants. An interesting hypothesis is suggested by the votive inscription from Walldürn²⁹⁴ that proves the existence of some *dediticii Alexandriani* in an auxiliary troop. Their presence there seems to be the result of some form of punishment: the members of the respective group were deprived of their citizen rights (*interdictio aquae et igni*) and were reduced to the status of *dediticii*.²⁹⁵ Probably once their military term was over their punishment would have been lifted and they would have regained their full legal status as Roman citizens. Thus, in the period post-*Constitutio Antoniniana* the *dediticii* can end up in this situation as the result of a punishment.

C. Sasse said that the term *dediticius* did not seem to change its meaning from republican times to the Antonine and respectively Severan dynasties: it referred to a member of a population defeated in an armed conflict who surrendered unconditionally.²⁹⁶ The result of frontier wars in the Severian epoch must have been a lot of *populi dediticii* who overlapped socially and juridically over the *peregrini dediticii* existing since the republican age.²⁹⁷ It is reasonable to believe that after *Constitutio Antoniniana* *dediticius* becomes in general synonymous to the old *peregrinus* and refers to those who are strangers to the Empire and its society.²⁹⁸

The manner in which the *Constitutio* was perceived by its contemporaries is very debatable and it probably varied a lot, in relation to the general level of education and to how each province was included in the politics of that era. Such an analysis for Dacia is, unfortunately, impossible. Even if, for example, in Alexandria or the other already Romanized areas in Africa²⁹⁹ the implications of the decree, both positive and negative, were probably, generally understood, in the other regions the situation was completely different. The papyri from Dura Europos offer us an example. Here, after Caracalla's edict was passed some soldiers added Aurelius to their name even if they already had a *gentilicium* (we have cases where Aurelius Iulius form together the *nomen*³⁰⁰). We can imagine such a state of affairs for Dacia. Even if the lack of sources prevents us from coming to clear conclusions

²⁹² For a broad discussion regarding the *dediticii* in *Constitutio Antoniniana*, see Sasse 1958.

²⁹³ Suceveanu 1990, 256.

²⁹⁴ CIL XVI 6592.

²⁹⁵ Lemosse 1981, 356.

²⁹⁶ Sasse 1958, 117.

²⁹⁷ Sherwin-White 1973a, 385.

²⁹⁸ Whittaker 2004, 206.

²⁹⁹ Lassère 1977, 661.

³⁰⁰ Gilliam 1965, 88.

we can assume that, especially in the rural areas where most of the soldiers from *Dura Europos* hail from, the meaning of the new imperial edict was not fully understood. Thus, at the level of the Empire, the *cognomen* becomes for the next period the individual name. This evolution is due to the fact that the *tria nomina* system did not have sense or relevance anymore for a large part of the citizens of the Empire. In the next centuries, as Christian names spread, we can see a social bipartition in the choosing of the names. Thus the lower classes use more and more a single name while the aristocracy tends to prefer composed, very long name with social and personal significations³⁰¹ but that had too little in common to typical Roman names.

The impact of Caracalla's edict on the contemporary society and its immediate effects are hard to determine. Of course for us it seems like an act of major importance and profound resonance. In its contemporary society however it might have been received differently. Probably the decree was received with interest by those who, upon receiving their citizenship, experienced a change in life and social status. The others most likely were not very interested or impressed by the new imperial decision.

To conclude we must say that although the *Constitutio Antoniniana* brought major changes in the life of Roman *peregrini* – this whole category ceases to exist *de iure* – it did not lead to the immediate dissipation of solidarities stated and formed previously. Thus we can easily imagine that, if before 212 certain ties between the oppressed or, on the contrary, between the privileged, strengthened by their appurtenance to the same juridical category, existed inside colleges or communities, they were still there even after the juridical category no longer existed. They continued to exist because the juridical class in which one belonged was certainly too vague at that time in most provinces to form a real and solid base. It had been, probably, always doubled by other types of convictions or common interests, by other things that created solidarity that survived unaffected by the formal changes brought about by the year 212.

II. 6. LEGAL NORMS AND LOCAL REALITIES

The final conclusions of this chapter cannot be more comprehensive or different from the considerations made above, while addressing the different aspects at hand.

Legal sources together with the other information and clues regarding peregrines provide a rather clear image of their place in society. From the legal point of view, their status seems well regulated. They are an integrant part of Roman society, having a well established place in its gears and mechanisms. Legal literature considers peregrines as a distinctive class, interesting especially through the rights it did not have and a negative delimitation from the Roman body of citizens. This in mind, we must not forget that their rights were real and legally settled just like their possibilities to reach upper levels. In some environments and in some situations, the fact that an individual did not have Roman citizenship was relevant and sometimes of major importance. But in many other communities the citizen status was of no real importance, the social and economic position of the individual taking precedence. The literature of the period presents peregrines as a legal class – under no circumstances social – that achieves individuality only faced with the favored category of Roman citizens.

Peregrines often stand out – and often are identified by modern historiography, a fact that is less correct from the methodological point of view – because of their conservatism inside the group and by maintaining local elements of material and/or spiritual culture. This is not a form of rejecting the Roman society they lived in, but a specific means of integration that implied a certain degree of otherness. We can also notice factually the adoption of Latin language and of epigraphic habits that define and mark the Roman world. Epigraphic sources still remain misleading when it comes to the study of peregrine population, even after the above mentioned practices and language were adopted.³⁰² It was only normal that on such an enormous territory, with very different local sub

³⁰¹ Salway 1994, 141.

³⁰² Lassère 1977, 498.

structural cultures, integration happened gradually, on different levels (social, legal, cultural, etc.) and probably, in many cases, never took place completely.

As any other category, the peregrines have an engine part, a sub-category first to obtain a series of superior rights. These are the soldiers, the peregrines enrolled in the *auxilia*. Also, numerically, they are the most consistent part of the group from the point of view of acceding to Roman citizenship – of legal integration. The decisive changes brought about by the year 212 did not greatly affect the social life of the Roman Empire and in many cases not even the daily life of peregrines. Roman citizenship, once generalized, became obsolete in real life. When Caracalla brought the citizenship barrier close to zero, he officially ended an era based on legal differentiations.³⁰³ Through the nature of the measure adopted, the emperor opened up the gates of the world where the distinction between *humiliores* and *honestiores* was the most important social decanter: differentiations in society would now be quantified almost exclusively from the point of view of economic differentiations.³⁰⁴

As already largely shown, peregrines often enjoyed various forms of local citizenship. This however was inferior to Roman citizenship, considered rather a kindred or tribal identification. What the attitude of the individual towards these local pre-Roman realities was and whether he considered them as compatible to the citizenship of the Roman state is difficult to establish and depended on the particularities of each case. In some situations, local citizenship could be just as well regulated, complicated and significant – at a personal level but also at the level of imperial administration – as the Roman one. As we have seen above, Roman citizenship seems to be the only form of citizenship, the only package of rights, which was not directly connected to a city, not even if that city is Rome, but to the greater belonging to the Empire.

Peregrines were part of the mosaic that was the Roman Empire. They appear unitary when we analyze the Roman state from its legal perspective. Otherwise, socially, economically, culturally and in all aspects of civilization, they divide in separate and often very different groups. Legally, peregrines must be perceived as that category united by the lack of citizen rights. However, without ignoring this unity, they must be perceived at the same time in all the diversity that the sources reveal them.

³⁰³ Bauman 2003, 99.

³⁰⁴ Osborne 2009, 10.

III. POPULATION STUDIES AND EPIGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIVENESS

III. 1. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The present chapter focuses on the issues of epigraphic representativeness and the true value of epigraphic sources. Some of the questions subsequently addressed are difficult to settle and remain ambiguous due to their very nature. From our point of view, the aim is not the demographical reconstruction of the situation of the *peregrini* from Roman Dacia; such an attempt is almost futile and too scholastic in nature, since the results can only be speculative, indirectly deduced and ultimately subjective. Quantitative analyses certainly have their value and one cannot deny their appeal. Nevertheless, in the context of the present theme of research, we believe it is of utmost importance to establish the degree to which epigraphic monuments are representative and can be treated as both quantitative and qualitative sources.

In essence, epigraphic sources can be (and are) regarded from two main perspectives:³⁰⁵ the first appeals to the cultural method, finding significance in the quality of inscriptions and the cultic and social data they carry and which create their context, while the second relates to quantitative analysis and aims at extracting raw data on the population of the Roman era. Both methods are obviously insufficient, each having its own drawbacks and engulfing certain lacunas resulted from the conscious acknowledgement of methodological gaps. Ideally, the two manners of research should be combined as much as possible, thus extracting the maximum quantity of qualitatively varied information.

Numerous attempts of using sociological methods in the study of antique populations have been made and they were often successful. The allure of researching on the fringe of interdisciplinarity is great, especially when focused on individuals who were not part of the upper social groups, i.e. the (rather) well researched imperial or provincial elites. The sources, raw and not very rich in information, lead the researcher towards investigative methods less typical for classical studies. Such methods can offer statistical results that are valuable to the overall understanding of the Roman world. But despite the often interesting results and convincing scientific patterns, one must be cautious when tempted to absolutize numbers. Researchers must always be aware of the nature of sources, the intrinsic value of inscriptions that goes beyond statistics, and the hazardous nature of archaeological discoveries that brought those particular sources to their attention.

Even so, some epigraphic information can be veridically combined, while other can be grouped credibly. Beyond the often debatable results, such a scientific enterprise involves going deeper into known data and a careful analysis of each inscription's details. The results are worthy of attention both through themselves and through the wider implications they can have. One of the main questions, that numbers seem to answer in some cases, is to what degree there can be a real and palpable epigraphy of the population at large, a pre-Christian epigraphy extended to the level of the entire population of the Roman Empire, encompassing all social and economical strata. The proofs for accepting and embracing epigraphic practices on a large scale are convincing, but so can be their quantitative insufficiency. For this reason, we believe that each case (referring to a province, a social

³⁰⁵ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2004b, 1–2.

or juridical group, or even a category of epigraphic monuments) must be analyzed unbiased. At the same time, the results of quantitative analyses – that, without discrimination, involve those of qualitative analysis – must be accepted as they are: questionable and not having the value of absolute truths.

Further in this chapter we will discuss and develop the issues announced above. We will thus try to present, using examples as varied as possible, the advantages and disadvantages of quantitative analyses. In this context, we will present and use results of studies on the population of the Roman Empire; the general interest of such studies for the current research is self-obvious. At the same time, we will try to establish, using various particular cases, what epigraphic representiveness can mean for the study of the Roman Empire and what are the limits to which one can trust statistical initiatives in this field.

III. 2. POPULATION STUDIES FOR THE ROMAN EMPIRE...

... or “on the value of numbers”, since the purpose of the next few pages is to present a series of both quantitative and analytical studies performed on various epigraphic samples from the Empire. This sub-chapter is significant in the overall economy of the paper, even if some data seems to relate only indirectly to the research topic. All those studying a category such as the peregrines, for the mere identification of which epigraphy is essential, but also seem to be so scarce, compared to the overall situation of the population in the Roman Empire, felt, as previously mentioned, the need to use sociological methods in order to obtain larger quantities of data. From this perspective, the present discussion is meant to offer examples and analyze the way in which quantitative data can and must be employed for a deeper study of peregrines in Dacia.

We will not present here the historiography of this issue at the level of the entire Empire, due to the impressive quantity of existing bibliography.³⁰⁶ We will nevertheless attempt to refer to the major problems in ancient population studies and the manner in which they have been solved or developed in a number of cases and also try to connect them to the historiography and realities of Dacia, when possible.

Population studies have generally focused on areas, ethnic groups from a certain region, or social categories. In most cases, researchers have attempted to establish a connection between epigraphic and demographic realities. Other times, they only aimed at comparing the value of various categories of epigraphs, creating a general picture of epigraphic representiveness, as it appears in certain areas and/or for certain groups. The latter have concentrated on the non-selective character of preserved inscriptions – that supposedly determined their representiveness.³⁰⁷ Even if the principles are questionable, both types of investigations can bring significant scientific contributions and both can reveal extremely interesting data on the society of the Roman Empire.³⁰⁸

In the Romanian historiography, such studies were often structured according to ethnical groups identified as such onomastically and were often purely descriptive.³⁰⁹ When researchers did focus on social and juridical categories and not on ethnical groups, peregrines were often left out and a certain accent was placed – especially in the older literature – on attested slaves and freedmen.³¹⁰ Wider studies of the population in certain areas (in our case, cities) are those of A. Paki for Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa³¹¹ and M. Bărbulescu for Potaissa.³¹² Besides ethnically classifying names, these authors also delimited citizens from peregrines and civilians from soldiers. One must also mention I. Piso’s prosopographic research, referring to the population of Apulum

³⁰⁶ For an encompassing general picture see Scheidel 2001a.

³⁰⁷ Stănescu 2003b, 343.

³⁰⁸ For a short history of research directions in Roman demography see Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2004a, 86–88 and Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2004b, 1–6.

³⁰⁹ OR, 132–146; Davidescu 1980, 142–146.

³¹⁰ OR, 147–150; Davidescu 1980, 146–147; Antonescu 2000.

³¹¹ Paki 1988a and Paki 1990.

³¹² Bărbulescu 1994, 49–63.

and Sarmizegetusa.³¹³ L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba's studies³¹⁴ are remarkable as well, detailing, among other things, a number of interesting quantitative aspects on the society of the Danubian provinces.

Several parameters are usually taken into consideration for the demographical definition of a given population:³¹⁵ the dimensions of that population, its structure according to gender and age, its dynamics, fertility, mortality, and the migration phenomena. Unfortunately, but not very surprisingly, most often the quantum of these data is not available for Roman antiquity, especially regarding restricted areas (such as a single province).

Population size

Any demographic study, no matter how "lenient" it is, must include an attempt to estimate the number of inhabitants – in a city, a province, or the entire Roman Empire.

Estimations of ancient populations have raised strong debates over the years and the results are very unbalanced. For example, when J. Beloch³¹⁶ suggested that the population of Hispania was somewhere between 5 and 6 million inhabitants, the data raised vivid controversy, since the historians of his time generally favored the idea of a much more numerous population.³¹⁷ But Beloch's result is, most probably, close to reality, considering the fact that under Phillip the IInd Spain numbered 7 to 8 million inhabitants.³¹⁸

In this context, one must pause and think whether it is of any use to employ modern demographic tables. Almost all researchers dealing with the population of the Roman Empire have used such an analogy and, at first glance, they seem to provide a credible term of comparison. Despite the apparent compatibility, we find the use of 20th century demographic tables,³¹⁹ even in connection to "Third World" societies, inappropriate, or at least oversimplifying. Even if the demographic state of such regions did not change much from the 19th century, it seems naive to believe that it remained stable after the contact with the modern world and its technology. Western society, with its positive and negative contributions, changed all aspects of life for these communities. A valid comparison, methodologically more appropriate, is that with the pre-industrial society, as in the above mentioned case of Spain. But even so, the scientific risks accepted in extrapolating the data are significant, mainly due to pathology, but also to variables one has difficulties in estimating, since they might not be viable on a large scale and on a smaller scale they might imply overlooking the notion of different "normality"³²⁰ for very different eras. For Dacia, it seems viable to compare it with pre-industrial Transylvania; even if the territories of the two entities do not fully overlap, there are certain compensating details that make them sufficiently similar. Naturally, areas of similar size are not demographically similar, but even so the comparison can help us form an idea on the dimension of the population of Roman Dacia. Thus, in 1830 Transylvania had about 1,500,000 inhabitants.³²¹

There are various estimations of the population living in pre-Roman Dacia, ranging between 100,000 inhabitants (N. Iorga)³²² and the enormous figure of 2,500,000, suggested by E. Panaitescu.³²³ The size of Decebal's army, a frequent historiographic *topos*, was realistically estimated at about 40,000 soldiers,³²⁴ but other types of estimates which we will not detail here go as far as suggesting that the Dacian king commanded an army 820,000 strong.³²⁵ We quoted this data for a better

³¹³ Piso 1993.

³¹⁴ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2004b and Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2009a.

³¹⁵ Chamberlain 2006, 2.

³¹⁶ Beloch 1886, 448.

³¹⁷ García Merino 1974, 12.

³¹⁸ For other numbers and estimations of the population in medieval and early modern Hispania, with possible analogies for the Roman era, varying between 4 and 10 million people, see Carreras-Monfort 1996, 60.

³¹⁹ Hopkins 1966 used tables provided by the U. N.

³²⁰ Scheidel 2001b, 24–25.

³²¹ *Consignatio*, 8.

³²² Iorga 1905, I, 35.

³²³ Panaitescu 1934, 14.

³²⁴ Oltean 2007, 54.

³²⁵ Pele 1998.

understanding of the relativity involved in demographic calculations and the possibility that the same sources lead, interestedly or not, to very different results. For the province of Dacia, historians dealing with the period often refrained from making absolute estimations.³²⁶ The numbers we could identify in the existing bibliography seem to be underestimations of demographic realities, creating the impression that Dacia was one of the scarcely populated provinces of the Empire. General estimations vary between 500,000³²⁷ and 1,000,000³²⁸ inhabitants, thus indicating densities³²⁹ of between 5 and 10 inhabitants per square kilometer.

Very rigorous population estimations have been made for Britannia. Combining rich archaeological results with demographic tables available for the Middle Ages (and, methodologically appropriate, not involving epigraphy in this statistic calculation), M. Millet reached very interesting conclusions.³³⁰ The author estimated that about 3,665,000 inhabitants lived at a certain point in time in Roman Britannia. Out of these, the author believes that 3,330,000 (representing 93.5%) lived in rural areas. The latter statement is very significant for analyses of epigraphic representativeness and must be taken into consideration when one tries to discuss the real proportion of peregrines in the province of Dacia. The population of Hispania was calculated following the same methodological outline; the province was much larger, more urbanized, and eventually more populated than Britannia. Thus, C. Carreras Monfort³³¹ believes that the urban population of Hispania was of 1,002,238 people, representing 24.23% of all inhabitants of the province; this data show a significant discrepancy against previous estimations, but they are not without scientific basis. The estimation takes into consideration a total population of 4,135,102 inhabitants.

As for the population of certain cities, the inhabitants of Rome were naturally the main point of interest; the population of Rome has been credibly estimated at between 800,000 and 1,000,000 inhabitants.³³² For Pompeii, R. Étienne estimated a population of 12,000 – 15,000 inhabitants, starting mainly from calculating the city's density according to its size.³³³ In the case of Dacia, numbers presented by historians turned acceptable only during the last two decades.³³⁴ Thus, the population of Sarmizegetusa was presumed to have been of about 35,000 inhabitants (among which 12,000 living inside its walls),³³⁵ while that of the two cities in Apulum of 35,000, excluding soldiers in the legion and the inhabitants of the *territorium*.³³⁶ Potaissa is believed to have had around 14,000 inhabitants³³⁷ or between 20,000 and 25,000³³⁸ (with an inhabited area of at least 100 ha. and including soldiers); these are rather high values if one takes into consideration the fact that 8,112 lived in Turda in 1830³³⁹ and the city only reached the above mentioned population during the 1910–1920 decade.³⁴⁰ But it is not surprising to find that the city was more populated during the Roman era than during the modern period, due to the presence of the legion that made local society and economy more dynamic.

A method frequently used to calculate a city's population is based on the evaluation of the local amphitheater's capacity and relating it to the total number of people inhabiting the area.³⁴¹ This method, though of some validity, offers no more than clues on the absolute size of local populations.

³²⁶ Mihăilescu-Bărliba 2004b, 21.

³²⁷ Gudea 1995, 90.

³²⁸ Bărbulescu 1998, 74.

³²⁹ Beloch 1886 suggests that the density of 5 inhabitants/sq. km. was normal for the period of the Principate.

³³⁰ Millet 1990, 185.

³³¹ Carreras Monfort 1996, 68.

³³² Mihăilescu-Bărliba 2004b, 7.

³³³ Étienne 1970, 379.

³³⁴ At the end of the 19th century, Barițiu believed that Sarmizegetusa must have had about 100,000 inhabitants (Barițiu 1883, 228).

³³⁵ Piso 1993, 318.

³³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³³⁷ Bărbulescu 1994, 58.

³³⁸ Bărbulescu 1998, 74.

³³⁹ Consignatio, 95.

³⁴⁰ Varga 2001 (e-format).

³⁴¹ For an ample study on the subject, see Forni 1968.

We will mention here G. Forni's interesting and credible calculations for some of the cities in Dacia. He estimated the capacity of the amphitheater in Ulpia Traiana at 5,200–5,350³⁴² spectators and the number of free people inhabiting the colonia at the time it was founded at 13,000³⁴³ (multiplying by 2.5 the capacity of the amphitheater). It becomes apparent that the estimate population is sufficiently close to that referring to people living inside the precinct above mentioned. The amphitheatre in Micia was estimated to have housed 1,000–1,500 spectators,³⁴⁴ while the pre-municipal military amphitheater in Porolissum was believed to have received 4,000 people at once,³⁴⁵ but more recent calculation suggests a higher capacity, of more than 6,000 people.³⁴⁶ The population of these last two settlements has not been estimated by Forni, but for the latter we encountered the credible figure of 25,000 inhabitants³⁴⁷ (including the military).³⁴⁸

As observed, it is rather difficult to calculate the size of ancient populations. But such results, even if approximate, are of great importance, ultimately serving as a starting point for other types of quantitative studies, but also as fundament for analyses regarding epigraphic representativeness.

Life expectancy

One of the main concerns of researchers trying to recreate the demographic image of the Roman world was to establish life expectancy in the Empire at large and in each province in particular.

The first obvious methodological impediment – noted as such since the 19th century – is the fact that in inscriptions the age of the deceased is often rounded off. As well, a major disadvantage refers to inexact data on infantile mortality, resulted from the absence (or very limited number) of such epitaphs. This minus can nevertheless be turned to usefulness: by eliminating the young ages from calculations, one can reach a value of life expectancy which is closer to reality. For most provinces, the degree to which urban and rural mortality can be compared is insufficient and not satisfying, and one cannot rigorously estimate life expectancy according to the various social and economical levels. Another major methodological problem, often ignored by researchers, relates to the wide time span of preserved inscriptions. Calculating life expectancy for the 170 years of Roman Dacia is scientifically debatable, even presuming that the demographic regime was maintained throughout the period (and in this case such a presumption might be correct). Similar calculations for Gallia or Hispania would lead to unacceptable over-simplifications. The analyses would be corrected by including in the research not only epigraphs but also necropolises³⁴⁹ and corroborating the two types of sources. Unfortunately, conclusive results based on anthropological data are far from possible for the largest part of the Roman Empire due to insufficient primary analyses.

On the issue of age rounding in epitaphs, W. Levison³⁵⁰ noted that, at the level of various provinces, death ages that can be divided by 5 are between 35% and 80%, while those that can be divided by 10 – between 26% and 58%. Researchers who estimate life expectancy on the basis of epigraphic monuments sometimes tend to ignore this. Beyond the excessive generalization involved in calculating the average life span and life expectancy on the basis of epigraphic sources alone and the methodological error *per se*, ignoring the possibility of rounded death ages can lead to erroneous results that unfortunately give the appearance of great precision. For the Danubian provinces, this fact was noted for Moesia Inferior during the 1st–3rd centuries A.D. (where 58% of death ages cannot

³⁴² The latter estimation belongs to Bajusz 2011, 35.

³⁴³ Forni 1975 *apud* Forni 1994, 663–664.

³⁴⁴ The former: Forni 1975 *apud* Forni 1994, 664, the latter: Bajusz 2011, 37.

³⁴⁵ Forni 1975 *apud* Forni 1994, 665.

³⁴⁶ Bajusz 2011, 87–89.

³⁴⁷ Bărbulescu 1998, 73.

³⁴⁸ Early 19th century Zalău had slightly over 4,000 inhabitants (Consignatio, 102).

³⁴⁹ Anthropological sources, apparently safer, have some drawbacks that render the results relative. Thus, one can never be sure that a certain necropolis was the only one used by a community; in case it was not, researchers do not know the reasons for which people chose to bury their deceased in one place or the other; there is also no data available on migrational contribution to local populations and data on variations over time is often prolix (for a theoretical approach of the issue, see Scheidel 2001b, 11 sqq.).

³⁵⁰ Levison 1898, 66–67. This information was later on adopted and adapted by Mócsy 1966.

be divided by 5)³⁵¹ and for Scythia Minor during the 3rd–4th centuries A.D. (where death ages can be divided by 5 in 30% of the cases).³⁵² The habit of rounding death ages was also noted in Dacia, in the case of Potaissa,³⁵³ where an average life expectancy of 27.73 years was calculated. Without making reference to age rounding, A. Paki calculated an average life expectancy of about 33 years for Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, including infantile mortality, and of almost 46 years excluding children under 15.³⁵⁴

In the pertaining catalogue of this book, a small group of individuals have the age mentioned, representing just 13% of the total (not of those attested on funerary monuments). Among them, 43% died at ages that can be divided by 10 and 24% at ages that can be divided by 5. These percentages are high and even if one operates with small numbers in absolute terms, they support the theory of age rounding.

As for the value of percentages when the employed samples are numerically reduced, one must keep in mind that about 500 inscriptions mentioning the age of the deceased have been recorded in Dacia.³⁵⁵ The number is almost insignificant; researchers could reach conclusive data on life duration, life expectancy, mortality, etc. by correlating this epigraphic data with information on necropolises – i.e. on inhumation tombs. Unfortunately, anthropologic studies are still in their early stages in the province under discussion and available data is scarce. Even so, the little data obtained from the analysis of inhumation tombs is valuable,³⁵⁶ showing certain drawbacks of epigraphy and the imbalances noted at the level of epigraphic expression, not on those of population. The issue of an apparent imbalance between the mortality of different demographic groups will be discussed in detail in the following subchapter that focuses on demographic representativeness *per se*.

In order to avoid ignoring the literature of the matter, that at least presents some of the aspects of the Roman era, we will give certain examples of such estimations of life average and life expectancy. During the 1950s, R. Étienne³⁵⁷ suggested the following parameters of mortality: 36.2 years for Spain and 45.2 years for Northern Africa (one must add, as a local specificity, that death ages are more often recorded here than in Europe, leading to the impression that life average was higher than in Europe),³⁵⁸ with a life average about 3 years higher for the male population in both provinces. For the same Africa Proconsularis, during the 1970s, Lassère recorded 379 epitaphs erected for people who died after having reached the age of 100 and 697 epitaphs for children under the age of 9. Excluding these cases, the working sample is still of 12,835 epitaphs,³⁵⁹ a case more optimistic than one could ever imagine for any of the Danubian provinces. Thus, Lassère calculated that life expectancy was of 48 years and 9 months. The above mentioned data refers to average life expectancy and not to life expectancy at birth – the latter being rather low; in the case of Dacia, for example, life expectancy at birth was estimated around 30.³⁶⁰ Studies confirm what could be logically deduced: life expectancy increased as people grew older and death percentages decreased in direct proportion with age increasing.³⁶¹

F. Jacques wrote an interesting and scientifically appealing study on age structures inside the senatorial elite. In his research he reached the demographically acceptable conclusion that 36% of the *clarissimi* that lived throughout adolescence died before reaching the age of 40 when, in theory, they might have become consuls.³⁶² W. Scheidel performed a similar study focusing on the impe-

³⁵¹ Piftor 2009, 33.

³⁵² Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2009b, 119–120.

³⁵³ Bărbulescu 1994, 59.

³⁵⁴ Paki 1990, 159.

³⁵⁵ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2004b, 9. One must also mention in this context several methodologically correct studies that lead to irrelevant results due to the scarcity of their sources. It is the case of the demographic analysis in Ștefănescu, Balaci 2007, 632, based on several dozens of inscriptions from rural *Dacia*.

³⁵⁶ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2004b, 52.

³⁵⁷ Étienne 1959, 418.

³⁵⁸ Hopkins 1966, 263.

³⁵⁹ Lassère 1977, 520.

³⁶⁰ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2004b, 126.

³⁶¹ Garcia Merino 1974, 33.

³⁶² Jacques 1990b, 418.

rial elite.³⁶³ He looked at marital fertility and life expectancy among emperors from Augustus to Heraclius (641), reaching convincing results that one must mention. Thus, the average life expectancy of emperors was of 25.3 years; the value is debatable and somehow irrelevant due to significant age differences at accession to the throne and the varying historical conditions during this time period. As for Augustus, the first *princeps* seems exceptional from a demographical perspective as well: when he married Livia, Octavian was 25 and she was 20; in similar conditions, just one couple in 60 could hope for both partners to be still alive 50 years later. When Octavian died, 5 out of 6 inhabitants of the Empire had been born after he became *princeps*.

These examples on the most important members of the Empire's elite are meant to prove that, up to a certain degree, the data give positive results when compared to the model. Elite strata produced complete sources and the necessary information for such analyses is almost entirely available. The fact that they confirm some of the results obtained on the basis of the incomplete sources on inferior strata (showing positive results when compared to the average values) invests research with greater credibility.

Credibility is the main issue raised by studies on ancient populations. In our case, one questions the credibility of epigraphic sources as sample and the validity of using them in demographic estimations. As previously seen, the results of such calculations are often credible and conclusive in the understanding of some of that era's realities. But independent of the value of figures and of whether one accepts or denies them, all analyses must take into consideration the cultural charge of epigraphy and the particular significance, beyond statistics, of each monument.

III. 3. EPIGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIVENESS

The issue of epigraphic representativeness raises a number of primary methodological issues. Thus, the random character of archeological discoveries and implicitly of the epigraphic finds must be included in the equation, even if it is often very difficult. Each researcher must decide to what degree he/she will consider the analyzed samples as being representative. Such doubts must not be exaggerated to the point of denying all results, since this would be just as harsh as assuming validity without judgment. The pressing question refers to how much and especially what does the small number of preserved epigraphs represent from the total of epigraphic sources produced by lower social and juridical classes. How deep was epigraphic under-representativity in the Roman era and how much of its appearance is due to hazard and the numerous later destructions? Both direct and deductive data seem to indicate the fact that under-representativity was real in all provinces and that the social pyramid was truly reversed from this regard. If one accepts an absolute disproportion between demographic reality and the values suggested by inscriptions, what is in fact epigraphic representativity? Who represented him/herself epigraphically, atypically if not eccentrically, in the middle of society's unprivileged strata and, more importantly, why?

A significant aspect, difficult to study at the level of the whole Empire, relates to the identification of provinces in which the epigraphic habit³⁶⁴ took root and of the reasons for this cultural phenomenon's development. Thus, inscriptions are so numerous in Africa that sometimes researchers are tempted to support an almost complete Romanization of the province, ignoring the Libyan sub-stratum that manifested rather strongly during the entire Roman rule period. On the other hand, provinces that were deeply Romanized and perfectly integrated in the Empire under most aspects, such as Aquitania, Gallia Belgica, or even Gallia Lugdunensis, do not impress through their epigraphic expressions.³⁶⁵ At the same time, epigraphic production fluctuated over time in Germania,³⁶⁶ decreasing during the 2nd century A.D. as compared to the 1st century A.D. Such fluctuations depend on changes in commemorative habits that make people understand in different ways

³⁶³ Scheidel 1999, 254–281.

³⁶⁴ Ramsey MacMullen (1982) introduced this term to academic literature.

³⁶⁵ Bodel 2001, 8.

³⁶⁶ Hope 1997, 249.

the role of monuments at local level. In this context, one must be prudent in quantifying data and the results must be regarded with due caution. Besides, at the level of the entire Empire, epigraphic production decreased during the 3rd century after the *boom* of the 2nd century.³⁶⁷ Naturally, political and military considerations, with profound economic and social effects, hold primary importance. Even more so, inscriptions created in such uncertain times, especially if they were not official monuments, must be analyzed with due attention.

The adoption of Latin language and the degree of literacy in the provinces are essential background information for the proliferation of epigraphic habits. Unfortunately, the detailed interaction between Latin and local languages remains unknown, but the fact that the adoption of Latin is usually accompanied by the adaptation of a certain “Roman” cultural background is relevant and can nuance the substratum of each province. This “Roman” background was in its turn transformed according to pre-existing conditions. In the West, Latin does not seem to have replaced any local language in the written culture. Actually, the phenomenon did not take place in the East either, but here Greek remained the dominant language. For the present analysis one is interested in the adoption of Latin not as official language, but on a personal level. A few examples of Latin taken over as one’s personal language, of great interest to modern scientists, come from Roman Gallia. Sources such as the Coligny calendar and the tablets from L’Hospitalet-du-Larzac and Chamalières use Latin as the language of religious practice. It is interesting to note not only the rapid adoption of Latin (the tables are dated during the early period of the province), but also the adoption of a Roman *forma mentis*, since the simple idea of writing down religious formulae seems very far a practice from Druid norm.³⁶⁸ Of course, religion was experienced differently on various social levels, especially during the early decades after the conquest. In the above mentioned cases, which are most probably visible manifestations of the new citizen elite of Caesar’s provinces, one seems to find proof for a phenomenon more profound than the simple and frequent adoption of material forms of manifestation,³⁶⁹ i.e. the honest taking over – it would be naive to believe in a replacement – of a Roman system of beliefs.

Beyond the isolated cases, valuable but with minimal power of leading to viable generalizations and statistics, one must especially pause on the relation between epigraphic representativeness and the relevance of quantitative data. To this end, J. Herman’s work is especially interesting, dealing with the use of Latin in the Galli.³⁷⁰ Starting from some demographic approximations, he introduced the hypothesis that the people epigraphically attested in Gallia during the entire Roman domination represent 0.02% of all the inhabitants of the three Roman provinces.³⁷¹ At the same time, Herman supposed that the percent of the population actually expressing itself through epigraphy did not exceed 0.5%. Following the same argumentative line but insisting less on statistics, G. Alföldy noted that 4,400 funerary inscriptions have been preserved from Dalmatia during the 1st–3rd centuries A.D., compared to an estimated population of the province of 600,000 – 700,000 inhabitants during a single generation³⁷² (one could presume that a sum of ten successive generations lived in the province during the Principate).³⁷³

As for the representativeness of epigraphs in Dacia, the issue of epigraphic density is relevant to a certain degree. One needs to mention G. Woolf’s older figures,³⁷⁴ even if they seem no longer valid since data resulted for some provinces, such the Gallias, is lower than what the present-day number of edited inscriptions seems to indicate. According to him, most European and North-African provinces have between 1–19 inscriptions/1,000 sq.km. Other provinces, such as the Pannonias and Noricum have a density of 20–29 inscriptions/1,000 sq.km. In the light of such analyses, though Dacia does not feature on Woolf’s map, at the present state of research it shows an

³⁶⁷ Meyer 1990, 74.

³⁶⁸ Woolf 1994, 96.

³⁶⁹ Webster 1997, 334.

³⁷⁰ Herman 1983.

³⁷¹ Herman 1983, 1047.

³⁷² Alföldy 1965, 19 sqq; Wilkes 1977, 752.

³⁷³ Wilkes 1977, 753.

³⁷⁴ Woolf 1998, 82.

epigraphic density³⁷⁵ of about 50–55 inscriptions/1,000 sq.km. This places Dacia among the provinces with 30–100 inscriptions/1,000 sq.km. such as Numidia, Gallia Cisalpina, several regions in Italy (present-day Puglia and Campania) and Dalmatia. Its epigraphic density alone makes Dacia one of the well-represented provinces from an epigraphic perspective. Of course, the calculation *per se* is generalizing. Inscriptions do not show a uniform geographic distribution and social, juridical and professional categories are not represented in organically correct proportion. Though such details are obvious, it is not useless to mention them again. The desire for results, quantifications, and classifications can lead to erroneous or at least rash and insufficiently nuanced conclusions.

In our opinion, all these details point to the direction research must follow. The value of demographic data is debatable unless correlated with the entire context in which inscriptions were created. Combining the intrinsic analysis with percental results can lead to valuable details and information. Percentages are relevant if considered comparatively, just as a theory confirmed by several samples can be considered valid. On the one hand, the correct classification of inscriptions indicates which are the regions, classes, and categories, etc. that adopt and truly promote the epigraphic habit. On the other hand, exceptions and/or anomalies must prompt us to try and find the most plausible explanations in the physical and psychological context of the Roman world.

Some examples of epigraphic behavior can add consistency to the entire discussion. Soldiers express themselves epigraphically much more intensely than other social-professional categories. As we intend to show in a subsequent chapter, military peregrines in Dacia represent a significant percentage of all attested peregrines. One deductive but not necessarily unfounded theory refers to tomb stones of soldiers in Britannia,³⁷⁶ as one knows, they are extremely well represented from an epigraphic perspective. Part of the conquering force in a hostile region, they felt the need to preserve and visibly state their identity. Funerary monuments with Latin epitaphs and maybe significant visual representations as well became signs of individuality and superiority for the entire military group and, even if not right after the creation of the province, a model for the autochthonous civilians of the island.

Another example, randomly chosen but of interest and significance, is that of the North-African cities of Theveste and Mactar. Out of 207 funerary inscriptions repertoried there in 2002, 194 were placed by citizens,³⁷⁷ a fact that certainly does not reflect the *de facto* juridical situation. In Thugga, a city that did not even benefit from *ius Italicum*, about 80% of inscriptions belong to Roman citizens,³⁷⁸ a fact that clearly indicates the weight of representativeness. The same is true for all provinces. The relative correctness of available data also refers to age and gender groups of those for whom funerary monuments were mostly erected: young women, commemorated by their husbands, or children whose memory was celebrated by parents and even grandparents.³⁷⁹ Commemorative patterns play a crucial role in the quality and quantity of information transmitted down to us: when children commemorate their parents the age of death is often omitted,³⁸⁰ thus significant quantities of funerary monuments only offer partial data. To an equal degree, calculating the gender structure of the population of the Empire on the basis of epigraphic proof is irrelevant. If female mortality appears insignificant and this fact is generally accepted as a direct consequence of commemorative practices, one must also correlate female mortality between the ages of 15 and 29 (the fertile period when pregnancy and birth-giving mortality occurs) with epigraphic means of expression.³⁸¹ One

³⁷⁵ We have made this calculation for Dacia since Woolf restricted his study to Western Europe and Africa. We approximated the surface of Dacia to ca. 100,000 sq. km., corresponding to the approximate extension of historical Transylvania, Banat, and Oltenia. Ș. Pascu's older estimation (Pascu 1985, 817) of 200,000 sq.km. is obviously exaggerated; N. Gudea's estimation of 85,000 – 95,000 sq.km. (Gudea 1977) seems closer to the actual surface under discussion. We also approximated the number of inscriptions in the province (ca. 5,000 – 5,500). Taking into account all variables and performing a series of alternative calculations we reached similar results.

³⁷⁶ Hope 1976, 255.

³⁷⁷ Meyer 2002, 83.

³⁷⁸ Maurin 2002, 78.

³⁷⁹ Chamberlain 2006, 48.

³⁸⁰ Hopkins 1966, 246.

³⁸¹ Hopkins 1966, 261.

cannot ignore the slightly higher ratio of female mortality during this age interval compared to male mortality, neither the higher probability that a woman who died at this age, wife or daughter of still young parents and possibly mother of pre-adolescent children, was mourned more than if she had died at other age intervals, and was commemorated appropriately. Independent of province and local habits, this demographic category (i.e. young females, even late adolescents according to present-day standards, but who were married) benefits from a disproportionately large number of funerary monuments.³⁸² Later on, as years passed, the number of husbands that survived their wives decreased; one must also take into consideration the fact that husbands were often much older than their wives. The commemoration of wives is a more frequent practice than that of husbands,³⁸³ the fact seems natural and appears to have remained almost unchanged over time.³⁸⁴

Another such example, directly correlated with the epigraphic representation of lower strata, is that of Gallia Narbonensis where 15 inscriptions placed by slaves have been identified, compared to 763 placed by freedmen.³⁸⁵ The example is illustrative for the social and juridical groups for which epigraphic (self)representation was relevant and desirable.

The nature of epigraphic representativeness in Dacia

The study of epigraphic representativeness in Dacia becomes extremely interesting in the context of this province's anomalies. Independent of the type of analysis and method of quantification, Dacia stands out through a number of peculiarities, among them probably the most pressing and obvious being the absence of indigenous names in epigraphy. L. Balla noted that Dacia is, from the perspective of epigraphic manifestations, like a province of colonists where the local population was superficially Romanized.³⁸⁶

Epigraphy was and still is regarded as one of the most relevant and individualizing manifestations of the classical Mediterranean civilization, i.e. of the Greek and Roman world. The presence of a stone epigraphic monument inside the borders of the Roman Empire is always interpreted as sign of people's adoption of the Empire's culture and – if such a thing applies – of Romanization. Epigraphy is not always associated with Latin but finds its proper forms in the “erudite” languages of that era, i.e. Latin and Greek. Even if one accepts these almost axiomatic assertions as valid, the issue of the actual limits of epigraphic expression in the Roman world must be raised and that of epigraphs as historical sources with general value and generalizing power.

The leverage of the different juridical classes in the Danubian province is shown on the graph below. The above mentioned particularity, regarding the ethnic extraction of names, is relevant in the present context. In other European provinces³⁸⁷ most peregrine names have pre-Roman local roots, while such an issue cannot even be brought into discussion in the case of Dacia. The hypothesis of Dacian onomastics disappearing in the province lacks plausibility. Even if one were to accept a wide-scale adoption of Latin onomastics during the second generation after the conquest, it would still not be a sufficient explanation for the almost complete absence of Dacian names. One cannot deny the existence of characteristic Dacian names at the level of the Empire.³⁸⁸ Independent of the explanations one can find for this phenomenon, it seems that the native population resisted acculturation to a certain degree; in absolute terms, one cannot deny even a hostility probably felt after the end of the wars, an end that was probably more severe than necessary.³⁸⁹ The almost complete

³⁸² See Sinobad 2005, 179 for a case study focusing on Salona.

³⁸³ Hopkins 1966, 262 gives a proportion of 63 husbands: 100 wives, corresponding to his sample of 7,000 inscriptions.

³⁸⁴ Henry 1959 made a study of “epigraphic representativeness” on tomb stones dated 1833–1834 in a French community. While civil records reveal an increased infantile mortality (40%) and equilibrated mortality rates for adults of both genders, tomb stones suggest results following the same pattern as those of the Roman age. Among 19th century Christians, small children are rarely commemorated through durable monuments, while the percentage of female deaths at the age of 15–34 is 50% higher according to funerary monuments than according to civil records.

³⁸⁵ Woolf 1998, 99.

³⁸⁶ Balla 1987.

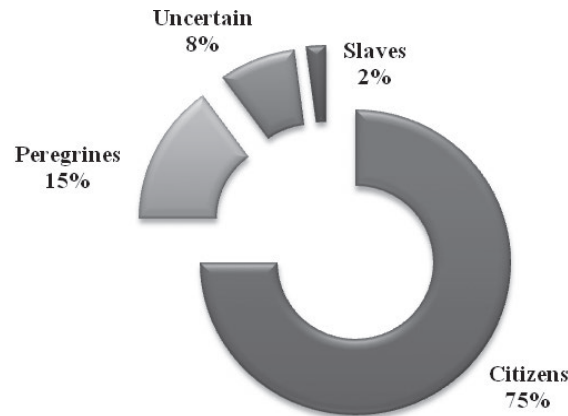
³⁸⁷ See as examples Noricum (Alföldy 1974, 86) and Gallia Narbonensis (Chastagnol 1990, 61).

³⁸⁸ The most relevant study in this direction is Dana 2003.

³⁸⁹ Oltean 2007, 223.

absence of names that one can label as “Dacian”³⁹⁰ suggests, probably more than anything, the almost exclusively elitist character of epigraphy in the Dacian province in its entirety.³⁹¹

Graph I. Epigraphic proportions of juridical categories in Dacia



Another epigraphic sample worthy of analysis is, while still remaining in the sphere of juridical categories, that of slaves from the Danubian province under discussion. In the epigraphy of Dacia they represent an insignificant 2%. Among them, the vast majority are powerful imperial slaves, occupying state positions that are clear elements of Romanization in any province and for whom Latin culture was essentially personal and not adopted.³⁹² Imperial slaves are the absolute elite in the servile juridical category and the other inscriptions placed by and for people of such status can be in no way generalized; they are determined by the peculiarities of a minority among the slaves.

Finally, we will make some remarks on female epigraphy in Dacia. In case that no extra epigraphic details are available, it is often difficult to establish, on onomastic basis alone, the social and even juridical status of women. Based on data available for Dacia,³⁹³ we deduced that female names in inscriptions erected by or for women represent about 10% from the onomastics of this province. Among them, in those cases where the social status of these women could be established, the vast majority (about 70% if the calculations are correct) were members of the aristocracy. Very few of these monuments were votive ones; the funerary ones were rather acts of family piety than epigraphic expressions of women. These mortuary inscriptions lose their demonstrative value since one can place them in another category of social and religious manifestations, being, in the end, the actual materialization of feelings and not forms of female self-representation.

We approached the study of representativeness believing in the existence of marginal epigraphy, both in Dacia and the Latin-speaking Empire. The objective interpretation of the results, from both a quantitative and an analytical perspective, made us conclude that despite the fact that epigraphic expression was wide-spread and reached all social levels, one distinct category begins to take shape; its members adhered to Roman culture to a higher degree than the representatives of the other categories. The “wide” spread of the epigraphic habit seems very relative when one confronts the term and the syntagm with percental data. Even if epigraphic expression was adopted from purely social reasons or it fit in a pre-existent spiritual background, epigraphic stone monuments seem to remain the means of representation and assertion for a minority; one knows that this

³⁹⁰ We are not forgetting Decebalus Luci from Germisara (No. 189). Even if the authors who first published this inscription (Piso, Rusu 1990, 13–14) believed he was a peregrine and his name betrayed his Dacian origin, we think that both his servile status (though it is improbable that an object of such intimate character would have held an inscription of his master) and the name unconnected to a real ethnic background are possibilities one must take into consideration.

³⁹¹ On the disappearance of the Dacian elite and implicitly of its expressions after the creation of the province, see Piso 2008, 316–317; Ruscu 2004, 82.

³⁹² Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2004a, 108.

³⁹³ We used Jucan 2009. Unfortunately, the author’s structuring sometimes renders data ambiguous and makes their interpretation difficult and risky.

minority perceived itself as elite in its own context and at its social and economical level. Finally, we consider that those members of the “lower classes” who express themselves epigraphically actually formed the provincial “middle class”. This is the interpretative key that we have employed in further analyzing the epigraphy of the Dacian peregrines.

III. 4. FINAL OBSERVATIONS

On the basis of the conclusions formulated throughout this chapter, one can state that inscriptions reveal mostly social practices and cultural traits, and only then do they offer demographic data. The questions researchers must address in the case of each inscription and in relation to the entire group relate to the meaning of the gesture of having stone monuments built, to the value and the identity of the persons actively or passively involved in such practices.

The importance of demographic studies for Roman antiquity is undebatable. Nevertheless, in this chapter we wanted to underline the fact that for the present research the demographic reality of Roman Dacia must not become an obsession but should have a background role. Against such a background one can sketch a correct, ample, and sufficiently accurate image of peregrines living in this border province of the Empire.

In our opinion, the value of an inscription increases when one tries to discover in it the inner and/or outer reasons for epigraphic expression and to use the biographical details offered in each individual case.³⁹⁴ Not denying the relevance and significance of statistic research, that we will fully use in the following pages, we support the exploitation and fruitful use of the available sources – often too few – on as many layers as possible. Epigraphy cannot be used as unique source for demographic recreations, but in correlation with archaeology it can lead to researchers establishing relative and comparative values, such as the numeric development of the population in a certain area (increasing or decreasing).

It seems that when people erected inscriptions in Dacia, their most important motivation was the desire for individuality and the epigraphic habit does not seem to be a privilege of the masses. Even if it is sometimes hard for us to identify the essential traits of the slightly superior status of the persons placing inscriptions,³⁹⁵ the already presented data makes us believe they most often enjoyed such a status.

The present chapter aimed at tracing a methodological line for the study of peregrines in Dacia. We wanted to underline the need for quantitative analyses in the research of the various aspects related to them, and especially the need to define, in this case, epigraphic representativeness. The research indicated that epigraphic expressions were timid in Dacia and that peregrines adopting this outer form of Roman culture were, from various perspectives, remarkable among the mass of non-citizens in that province.

³⁹⁴ We decided to give here the example of an eccentric epitaph through both the quantity and nature of provided information. It is the funerary monument of the freedwoman Allia Potestas from Perugia, erected by her patron (CIL VI 37965, Bodel 2001, 40). The details it offers are surprising both through the physical description of the deceased woman's beauty and her way of life: the former master stated that Allia had *candida luminibus pulchris aurata capillis / et nitor in facie permansit eburneus illae / qualem mortalem nullam habuisse ferunt / pectore et in niveo brevis illi forma papillae / quid crura Atalantes status illi comicus ipse*, but also that *haec duo dum vixit iuvenes ita rexit amantes / exemplo ut fierent similes Pyladisque et Orestae / una domus capiebat eos unusque et spiritus illis / post hanc nunc idem diversi sibi quisq(ue) senescunt*. We do not claim that the details offered by many other inscriptions are as “spicy” as these, but we would like to underline the value of this epitaph as an exceptional case, against the usually dry information they offer (dedicator, his/her relation with the deceased, onomastics, etc.)

³⁹⁵ We will now give an illustrating example, from several perspectives different from the realities discussed throughout this work: in 256, a knight from Thignica dedicated a temple to Neptune for the health of Gallienus (AE 2006, 17629; for a commentary on this inscription see also Le Roux 2010, 116–117). It is interesting that the person, who obviously did not come from an insignificant family of that city, insisted on mentioning his tribe – Papiria. The detail is relevant and is probably due to the fact that the only attested tribes in Thignica are Arnensis and Quirina. Thus, stating his belonging to the same tribe as Trajan, atypical for his community, the knight states his individuality yet again, besides his major act of euergetism.

IV. OVERVIEW OF THE PEREGRINES FROM DACIA

IV. 1. FOREWORD

The present chapter aims towards a detailed and comprehensive presentation of the peregrines attested in Dacia. Their identification was made on onomastic criteria and the following analyses are meant to lead to a better understanding of this category and of its specific manifestations in this province.

The epigraphic sources have been critically regarded, because of their sometimes incomplete or unclear nature. Some of the names, although relatively uncertain, have been included in the catalogue as part of the peregrine onomastics; they will be discussed in a separate section where we will present all the atypical cases. Others, that were highly uncertain, were not introduced in the final version. Also, we consider that the vast majority of names coming from *instrumenta* are too dubious to be introduced in the category of peregrine onomastics. Two questions mainly come up in their case: firstly, many times we cannot conclude whether the name belongs to an inhabitant of Dacia or not (on one hand the case of Proculus and on the other that of Fortis are exceptional) and secondly we do not have the certainty that a *tria nomina* would have been stamped in complete form, instead of the *cognomen*, which of course was shorter and better suited as individualizing mark.

After superficially inspecting the catalogue one can notice from the start several particularities. First of all, there is a small percentage of inscriptions originating from the rural environment. Secondly, a great number of peregrines are, one way or another, connected to the army. And last but not least, a huge quantity of information comes from Alburnus Maior. All these statements will be reiterated and proven at the right moment, presenting the calculus and the resulting percentages. It is in this introductory stage that we want to explain the methodological reasons that led to the present structure of the upcoming analyses. Thus, the present chapter is an overview of all the peregrines from Dacia and of what they bring into the social, religious, economic, etc. life of the province. The following chapters will serve as case studies regarding the peregrines from the military environment and those from Alburnus Maior. Without removing them in any way from the general picture, these categories need special attention as well as a certain delimitation from the great mass.

The matter of the peregrines must be treated openly and at the same time with realistic hopes as to the results. We will no longer insist on the value and the possibilities of the statistic results and of quantitative calculus, mentioning only that these methods have been used with lucidity and we have interpreted the results as nuanced as possible so that the multitude of information obtained from – the few to say the truth – sources to be as wide as possible. In equal measure we have constantly tried, as much as possible, to make comparisons with the global image of the province, as well as in between the different categories of peregrines. Some ideas stated in this paper will be speculative, or of informative character, not allowing for valid and well-grounded general conclusions. Even so, those certain observations will not be ignored because the value of the individual case must not be overlooked.

IV. 2. QUANTITATIVE APPROACHES

The peregrine characters mentioned in inscriptions sum up about 15% of all the names recorded in the onomastics of Dacia. Inside the group, the peregrines that can be associated explicitly with the military environment represent 25%. The names attested at Alburnus Maior represent 28% of the total. Of course these latter values are huge and that is why it is correct to detail them in separate chapters.

One of the steps we have undertaken during the research was to establish the proportions of rural and urban peregrines. It seems obvious that most of the peregrines lived in the rural environment of Dacia, just as it seems obvious that those who expressed themselves epigraphically lived mostly in cities or in a military environment that was much more Romanized. By rural environment, we understand in this context all the settlements that exist outside the proper urban centers, even though some of them are part of the *territoria* of cities. First it is necessary to decide upon the sources that we consider valid: should we consider all the mentioned peregrines, no matter how they are attested or should we refer only to intentional epigraphic manifestations? Secondly, the vast majority of peregrines connected to the army lived in rural environments, but is it correct not to differentiate? And finally, where do we place the unusual situation of Alburnus Maior? When trying to answer these questions at first, we chose to refer only to voluntary epigraphic acts, excluding legal documents (respectively military diplomas and wax tablets). No matter how they are associated to the military element, the epigraphic manifestations from rural settlements connected to Roman camps will be catalogued as an integrated part of the rural environment of Dacia. As for the situation of the excavations from Roșia Montană this is in fact part of the general historical hazard that dictates each and every archaeological find. Thus, the settlement will simply be considered as part of the epigraphic landscape of Dacia, without any special reference to it. The resulting percentages are somewhat surprising: 55% of the peregrines from Dacia manifest themselves in the rural environment. The ratio is somewhat unexpected because we could have believed in a higher discrepancy, a greater representation of the peregrines that lived in cities. It seems that the rural peregrines also adopted, on a sufficiently large scale (in comparison of course, not absolutely) the epigraphic habit – or it might signal certain particularities of the archaeological research of this province.

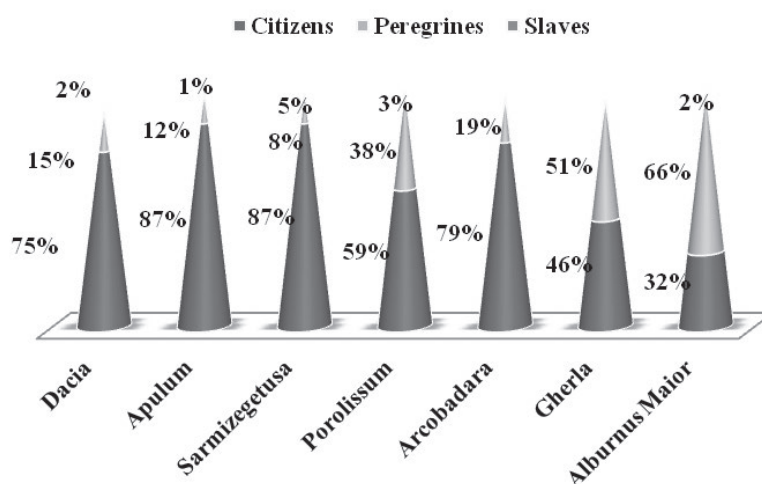
The data presented above must be combined with the ones resulting from several case studies, made on a number of settlements, in order to be properly processed. To this goal we shall present the relations between peregrines and citizens from two of the main cities from Dacia, Apulum and Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa – also referring to the situation registered at Porolissum – and from three rural settlements, very different in the Roman period and as well as in the regard of modern research in them. We refer to Gherla, Arcobadara³⁹⁶ and Alburnus Maior. Besides, these settlements have been chosen because their epigraphic repertoire is at least of average quantity, considering irrelevant to undertake such a research on sites where, up to now, only a few inscriptions have been discovered. These estimates allow us to offer a small scale image of how peregrines expressed themselves in different environments and in relation to the epigraphic habit of citizens (and, where is the case, of slaves). Thus, in Apulum, a well-documented site, we have 12% peregrines, 87% characters that have citizen status and 1% slaves. In Sarmizegetusa, where unfortunately the epigraphic documentation is less impressive, there are only 8% peregrines attested, again 87% citizens and 5% slaves. For Porolissum the prosopography made by Adela Paki,³⁹⁷ although quite old, is still valid; in the meantime a series of inscriptions has been found, but their number is not overwhelming and their content does not seem to change the global image about the inhabitants of the settlement. Even if the author does not distinguish between citizens and peregrines, the former seem to amount to approximately 40%, a percentage that is most likely due to the auxiliary military present here – and which is absent from the other two centers presented above. We must notice however that the ratio

³⁹⁶ Though we consider the reading of the name as Arcobara, proposed by Dana, Nemeti 2012, plausible and convincing, we will nonetheless employ the name of Arcobadara, as it is the one consecrated by today's version of Claudius Ptolemy's writing.

³⁹⁷ Paki 1988b.

4:1 indicated by the same researcher³⁹⁸ for the onomastic situation of citizens:peregrines for the urban centers in general seems to be unrealistic. In fact this rapport might, in some cases, superpose a demographic reality, but it is quite far from the epigraphic one. Of course, the consistency between the percentages of citizens attested epigraphically, especially in the first two centers, is a mere coincidence, the important fact being the connection that can be established between them and not the exact figures.

Graph II. The epigraphic presence of peregrines



Continuing our endeavor, for Arcobadara we reached the final percentage of 19% peregrines.³⁹⁹ It can be observed that the peregrine presence is higher than in the two large urban centers – a normal detail taking into account that in the countryside there was no powerful economic elite comparable to the one from the cities and, at the same time, the financial possibilities of the soldiers from the *ala* were greater than those of the vast majority of urban peregrines. At Gherla, the situation is rather amazing: 51% of the characters attested have peregrine status and almost 3% of the rest are uncertain as far as legal status is concerned, due to the very poor state of conservation of the monuments. It must be said that a great deal of the peregrines quantized here are on the list of names CIL III 294* (No. 12), that was considered a fake by A. Domaszewski, but whose authenticity was later proven by J. Ornstein⁴⁰⁰. The servile class lacks from both of the above presented two cases. At Alburnus Maior almost 70% of those attested on epigraphic stone monuments are peregrines; the values, both for the peregrines and for the citizens, are smaller by a few percentages in the case of wax tablets – percentage that in general is “reallocated” to the mentioned slaves. Thus the concordance of the sources as well as their abundance suggests the possibility that this share could in fact correspond, at least partially, to the demographic one.

This comparative study is interesting because it tells us about local manifestations, about particular cases, but it also offers an overview of the epigraphic environment of Dacia. In the urban milieus, peregrines are shy to use epigraphic methods for self-representation, probably due to their insignificant social status in the settlement. In the rural environment however, they manifest themselves more vigorously, whether or not associated with the military factor. The preeminence of the peregrine element at Gherla is unexpected, but it is mostly based on one hand on a singular discovery and on the other on the relative general scarcity. If the mentioned artifact would be removed from calculations (it is our belief that such an act would be unjustifiable; the piece does not appear to be fake and it is complex enough to make us consider that, where such was the case, the *nomina* would have also been written down), the percentage of peregrines from Gherla would be a “normal”

³⁹⁸ Paki 1996, 285.

³⁹⁹ The value is less than 1%, smaller than the one estimated by Nemeti 2010b, 399.

⁴⁰⁰ For details on the subject, see Russu 1964, 480–481.

24%. This artifact however brings extra information regarding the settlement from Gherla, and the fact that these few characters have written their names on a brick placed at the foundation of the *balnea* is not completely void of relevance. Although we do not know its meanings, the gesture had an almost magical significance, connected to the power of the written word and the importance of preserving one's name.

Moving past the particular case, we notice that the epigraphic expression of the peregrines is not at all negligible. At Alburnus Maior the situation is particularly good because the real balance between citizens and peregrines in a rural peregrine settlement during the Roman epoch might be revealed here. We must not ignore epigraphic representativeness from the cities, where around 10% of the inscriptions is an absolute large value.

If in the rural environments we have already discusses which peregrine "groups" mainly erect inscriptions, in the case of peregrines attested in cities no unity whatsoever can be observed. Some of them are soldiers or come from families of soldiers, but they constitute a minority. Funerary and votive inscriptions are registered in almost equal proportions; in the case of the former the dedicants are in diverse and varied relations with the deceased and for the latter, a diversity of worshiped gods can be noted. Other supplementary information are not numerous, relevant for the present context or in any way unitary. Thus, at the present stage of research we cannot speak about a group or category of urban peregrines, these being more likely a multitude of particular cases.

An attempt of smaller relevance, but not lacking it completely, is that of determining the share of feminine onomastics from the peregrine category. Women's names pose a series of extra problems compared to male onomastics. In principle, without details offered by the epigraph or associations with different members of the family, it is hard to distinguish between a peregrine woman and a citizen one; in many cases, questions over the legal status of women attested epigraphically linger. That is why several names susceptible to belong to peregrine women have been finally eliminated from the current synthesis and others have been kept only under great reserve and with extra explanations. Approximately 12% of the peregrines thus integrated in the database are women. We will not present now the details of those inscriptions since they will be approached in the discussion referring to the nature and form of peregrine onomastics.

A last quantitative study that we have undertaken refers to the age attested on the monuments of peregrines. From the beginning it must be said that this exercise has a fragile base, because only 12% of the total number of peregrines and respectively 16% of those attested due to their own will have the age of death mentioned on the funerary monuments. The life expectancy is of 39.56 years; the calculation of life expectancy is useless in the given conditions and the step is completely irrelevant on such a small sample. As we have seen in the previous chapter the resulting value is quite high, placing itself above the life expectancy of most provinces of the Empire and a few years higher than the life expectancy at birth as calculated for Dacia.⁴⁰¹ The result brings forth the necessity of more detailed analysis of funerary monuments where the age of the deceased has been inscribed. From the start we notice that the monuments dedicated to the memory of soldiers are few – about 10% – and that they are raised by different characters (brother and sister,⁴⁰² inheritors,⁴⁰³ wife⁴⁰⁴). These people died young, between 26 and 39 years of age. A different category that usually heightens the number of funerary monuments is that of young women, commemorated by their husbands; among the peregrines from Dacia however there are very few such monuments. In fact, the age is mentioned on very few of the feminine inscriptions and often it indicates mature women (over 40 years old), commemorated by their husbands or by the husband and children.

The overview on infantile death and of old ages recorded is interesting as well. We have no records for those less than 10 years of age, so we can state infantile mortality is not represented for our group. We have a death at 11 years registered (the son is commemorated by his father)⁴⁰⁵ and

⁴⁰¹ Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2004a, 126.

⁴⁰² No. 43.

⁴⁰³ No. 147; No. 161.

⁴⁰⁴ No. 154; No. 162.

⁴⁰⁵ No. 152.

another one at 12 years (a girl, but we do not know any other details).⁴⁰⁶ In this last case, after the years follows the enumeration of months and probably of days, though it cannot be properly read. The remaining monuments of this type are, as it can be observed, extraordinarily few, but maybe the real number of epigraphs dedicated to the memory of pre-adolescent children was not very high⁴⁰⁷ in itself for the category we have in mind. Still we can be certainly convinced that building them was first of all based on sentimental reasons, the social pressure for honoring a child from a lowly family being almost always nonexistent.⁴⁰⁸

We also have a few cases where old ages are mentioned, but these too do no amount to a great number. Two such ages, more exactly of 80 years, are mentioned for Aia Nandonis and Andrada Bituvanits from Potaissa (No. 42), others appear on an inscription from Sighișoara, in the cases of Talanus Dugionis (No. 218) and of Candida Maximi (70 and 90 respectively years of age), parents for whom the son or sons built a funerary monument. Ingenuus Gai (No. 142), 75 years old, is mentioned on an individual funerary monument from Apulum. The eldest recorded among the peregrines from Dacia is 91 years old and it was catalogued from the funerary monument of Suadalus Titurs from Dîrlos (No. 187). In this last case we notice that the exact, maybe real, age was noted as compared to all the other cases where the possibility that the age was rounded out is quite strong.

The previous data have value only as examples and they constitute the presentation of some exceptional cases. Truly relevant is the fact that the mentioning of the exact age on funerary monuments is rare among the peregrines from Dacia and probably the detail might seem most often irrelevant. Also the high age average, lack of infantile mortality and the small number of adolescents commemorated suggest a choice for honoring the adults. The reasons might be both economic and social, but they can also be personal. The habit of epigraphic commemoration can be, for many of the peregrines from Dacia, the outmost external form of manifestation, for social display and affirmation. Then it is only natural that the epigraphic pieces be prevalently associated most likely with adult persons, that had a certain rank in the community, from whom the descendants could benefit. Thus, funerary monuments are not very rich with information and the quantitative data they offer come from the sphere of particular cases and details interesting in themselves, rather than that of information with revelatory value and real possibilities for generalization.

All these quantitative preliminary observations define the place of the peregrines in the provincial society of Dacia. In settlements next to Roman camps, as well as in Alburnus Maior, building a monument was an act of power, showing social position; in the urban centers the relevance of the gesture was smaller and the appreciation received as a direct result – on a much smaller scale. We must not imagine that rural centers of Dacia were full with epigraphic monuments; we must only keep in mind that the small rural elite can be in (infinitely) greater measure of peregrine status, as compared to the urban one.

IV. 3. TYPES OF SOURCES

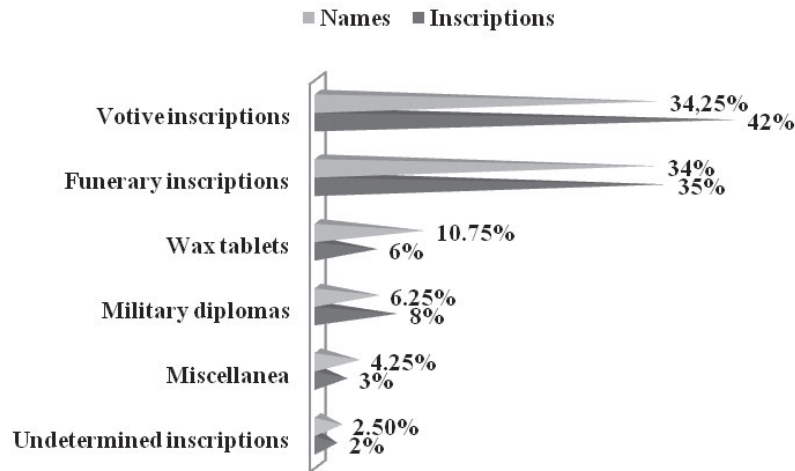
Graph III presents the statistic of inscriptions, respectively of names, obtained from each source type. It can be observed that there are no significant discrepancies nor are there unexpected situations. The names found on *instrumenta*, or other atypical artifacts, like inscriptions whose character is hard to precisely determine, have been included in the category “indefinite inscriptions”, representing a small quantity. The equal share of names obtained from the two main types of sources, respectively funerary and votive inscriptions, is remarkable. The number of votive inscriptions is slightly larger in the case of peregrines – a situation that concords with the one already mentioned for the whole epigraphy of the province. As far as wax tablets and military diplomas are concerned, they represent 14% from the total number of epigraphs considered, with 27% of the names. Obviously this last figure is not at all negligible in the general picture.

⁴⁰⁶ No. 176.

⁴⁰⁷ Dixon 1988, 104.

⁴⁰⁸ King 1998, 150.

Graph III. The quantitative allocation of source types



The names coming from atypical sources or other doubtful epigraphic materials will be addressed specially, including the details involved by the nature of the source, in the part dedicated to onomastics because they raise individual problems whose analysis is best done in that context.

Next, we will focus on the two main types of inscriptions, funerary and votive, that best outline our image on the peregrines of Dacia.

Forms of commemoration

The most important data revealed by funerary inscriptions is family or friendship relations and the manner in which they are epigraphically expressed. B. D. Shaw considered that epigraphs must be interpreted in a highly positivist manner and must be considered a cultural act; he claimed, being right up to a point, that raising a stone monument does not correspond to any natural, biological necessity thus making the act to be of a cultural nature and not a direct reaction in front of death.⁴⁰⁹ His theory is valid up to the moment when one starts analyzing demographic groups that hold the dominant percentage; then it becomes obvious that the monument in itself is, sometimes, part of the mourning process and of final acceptance of death, being more of an extension of natural necessities. Most probably, there were numerous burials epigraphically unmarked, either from religious reasons, lack of social importance or for lack of financial means. The theory that there existed an epigraphy in wood at the scale of the Empire⁴¹⁰ is also to be considered, though it is very difficult to prove. Without excluding it and even considering it deductively as a probability, the proofs of its existence still elude us.

59% of our sample of monuments mention the dedicants, while the imperial average referring to civilians varies, from one province to another, between 51% and 99% (in Noricum).⁴¹¹ The percentage could have been higher, if all the monuments had been preserved entirely. It is interesting to mention the collective character of some dedications, which leads us to believe that the monument in itself was raised after the last of the recorded deaths and at a certain period from the death of the other owner(s).

It is somewhat normal – logically, not necessarily because of epigraphic manifestation patterns – that most monuments (approximately 15% of the total) were dedicated by children to the memory of parents. Monuments raised by husbands for their wives represent an almost equal share, close to the usual funerary epigraphic practices from the Empire. Then, in almost equal shares (about 8,5% of the total funerary inscriptions), stand the monuments dedicated by inheritors, by wife for husband,

⁴⁰⁹ Shaw 1987, 34.

⁴¹⁰ Keppie 1991, 105.

⁴¹¹ Meyer 1990, 75.

by parents for children, and by others (brothers, uncles, freedmen). Obviously there are cases of duality: it is the case for Iustus, the brother and at the same time the inheritor of Cittius Ioivai (No. 4). In the same manner, Finitus (No. 183) from Cristești declares himself son and inheritor of the deceased – a reality valid, most likely, for all children that put up epitaphs for their parents, but that is not explicitly expressed in inscriptions. There are some cases where, because of the poor state of conservation of the monument and/or the inexplicit character of the inscription, the status of the dedicants and thus the relation with the deceased are unclear: we do not know for sure, for example, if Eustina Afri (No. 33) was the wife or daughter of the one who dedicates the monument or whether the monument of Maxima Luri is raised by her parents or by her children (No. 107).

In the category of peculiar epitaphs, we register that of Dasas Capitonis (No. 228), a character with an Illyrian name attested at Dâlma, who declares *ipse posuit*. It is the only funerary monument of a peregrine from Dacia stating that the deceased built the monument himself, during his lifetime. Other cases stand out because they emphasize local citizenships: thus Asclepius qui Asclepiades (No. 135) from Ampelum and Alexandrinus (No. 136) also from Ampelum are both *cives Bithynus* and Cotu Successi (No. 271) from Șeica Mică is *cives Norica*. For the last case, the name of the deceased's husband is Claudius Latinus, indicating a possible citizenship and perhaps the Latin status of the city he originated from. Interesting as well, though for other reasons, is Andes Titi (No. 74) from Alburnus Maior, who erected the monument for his wife and son, which seem to have citizen status; most likely it refers to a union that is informal in front of the Roman laws, facilitating the children to obtain the superior status of the mother.

As for the literary “achievements” of epitaphs – they are practically nonexistent. The only inscription that has a poetic nature is that of Chrysocomas (No. 210) from Sarmizegetusa, in which the reader is told that the Getic land engulfs the deceased. Otherwise the inscriptions are pretty simple, the details of family life, quite often encountered in Roman funerary epigraphy,⁴¹² lacking in these cases.

To conclude, the funerary repertoire of the Dacian *peregrini*, although not very rich in information and very formal, sheds some light over certain aspects regarding the relations established between these characters, the way in which they are understood and expressed as well as on some details regarding assumption of identity, or manifesting the desire for individualization.

Worshipping the divinity

Votive inscriptions play a different analytic role as compared to the funerary ones. If the funerary inscription refers first of all to relations between humans, the votive one refers mostly to the relation between human and divinity – although the inter-human connections they sometimes reveal must not be overlooked. What counts most in the analysis however is the choice of deities and the possible reasons for the dedication act.

In almost 7% of the registered inscriptions the name of the divinity is unreadable and cannot be deduced. In a few cases it can be presumed: on the monument raised by Priscus at Sarmizegetusa (No. 215), the representation suggests that the goddess is likely Fortuna and the inscriptions of Philotimus (No. 214) and respectively Iunia Abascanti (No. 211), from the same settlement, that do not include the names of the divinities, have been discovered in the *mithraeum* and, respectively, in the temple of Nemesis.

Among the divinities honored by the peregrines from Dacia, the first place is occupied, not surprisingly if we take into account the patterns of representation and of epigraphic representativeness, by the supreme god of the Roman pantheon. Jupiter appears, with various epithets, in 16% (or 19% if we take into account the inscriptions in Greek where he appears as Zeus as well) of the votive inscriptions from this group. Among these inscriptions there is one from Ampelum (No. 134) that requires supplementary explanations. The names of the dedicants, *sacerdotes* of Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus and of Deus Commagenorum are two of peregrine nature and one of a citizen (Aurelius Marinus). The peregrine names are interesting because one of them is Semitic – Adde

⁴¹² Treggiari 1991, 243–248.

Barsemei – and one is a mixed Roman-Greek name, respectively Oceanus Socratis (or a purely Greek name, that had been Latinized). In fact the onomastic groups are varied in the case of dedications for Jupiter, with a certain predilection for the Roman and Illyrian ones, each representing approximately 30%.

Following the number of dedications, next in line is Silvanus with almost 15% of all votive inscriptions. His dedicants are not remarkable or different; what is worth mentioning is the presence of a great number of epithets, proof of a high degree of assimilation and syncretism. Among the epithets, besides the more common ones like Domesticus and Silvester (with a clear preference for the former), Sanctus appears (the inscription⁴¹³ was erected by a character with a Greek name), the imperial epithet of Augustus but also the less usual form of syncretism with Silvanus Deus Aeternus. This last inscription (No. 200) was raised by a *decurio alae* from Micia, named Quintilianus. A final example is an inscription from Germisara (No. 188), where a father and son dedicate *pro salute filio*, Silvanus, Silvanae, Campestris. The dedicants have Roman names, as only about 40% of the dedicants to Silvanus have. Of course the value represents the majority, even if relative.

About 6% of the inscriptions are dedicated to Diana, thus placing the goddess on the third position. A few votive inscriptions have certain interesting particularities. The only dedication for Aesculapius and Hygeia, where the name of the god is used in its Latin form, is made by Restituta (No. 167) at Apulum. The epigraph is simple but it is decorated with a votive relief, with a representation of two open palms. It is questionable whether the representation signifies an anatomic *ex voto*⁴¹⁴ or whether, more likely, the attitude of the worshipper. Another monument (No. 5) built in honor of the healing gods has Kointos as dedicant, whose name is a Greek transliteration of the Latin name Quintus. It is remarkable that the name of the god appears as Asklepios, proving the real, although atypical, Greek culture of the dedicant. On a ceramic plinth from Romula (No. 240), there is a votive dedication in honor of Atargatis. The scarcity of the goddess's attestations, the eastern name of the dedicant (Ragysbel, written in Hebrew on the original piece), but also the artistic quality of the object in question lead us to believe that we are not dealing with an epigraphic manifestation with social ends, but with an entirely religious act. An interesting dedication is also the one made for Jupiter Optimus Maximus Cimistenus by Primus and Primianus (No. 166) from Apulum, where the local Bithynian⁴¹⁵ god is associated with Jupiter. The votive column from Decea (No. 186) is worth mentioning because of its very nature: it consists of a dedication made by a certain Surus for Invictus Mithras.

The wording of the inscriptions is worthy of special attention, especially the motivations given for their building. Obviously most of the inscriptions are built *pro salute* for the dedicant, for members of his family (Marciana and Quintilianus⁴¹⁶ dedicate for the health of their sons, as well as Fronto),⁴¹⁷ or *pro se et suis* (No. 214). Other motivations include the command of the god – *ex iusso* (No. 215) or *ex viso* (No. 164) – or the need to bring thanks – *periculo liberavit* (No. 208). A case that offers adjacent information is recorded at Alburnus Maior, where we are told *aram Veneri v. s.* (No. 84), suggesting that the vow happened in a certified cult place and that it probably involved not only raising the monument but also some offering or sacrifice.

The gods worshipped by the peregrine group coincide with the gods worshipped in general in Dacia. Also, the percentages in which some gods are attested are congruent with those generally registered in the province. Except for the few special cases mentioned separately, the gods have their usual epithets, and their names are spelled relatively correct (as far as the province is concerned). We cannot notice a general, valid connection between the honored gods and the onomastic characteristics of the dedicant. As a final mention, the language of inscriptions is typical and the motivations are in no way exceptional.

⁴¹³ No. 174.

⁴¹⁴ For details see Rousselle 1992, 90. The possibility of an *ex-voto* was supported by Crişan 1971, 345.

⁴¹⁵ Nemeti 2005, 246.

⁴¹⁶ No. 242.

⁴¹⁷ No. 188.

IV. 4. ONOMASTICS

IV. 4. A. General data

The informational and scientific value of onomastic studies is recognized unanimously, but its employments are very diverse. A lot of theorizing was done, in different periods and places and under the influence of just as different ideologies, on the philosophy and theory of names, about how these systems are developed, about their lexical connotations and the special status of certain name categories.

Onomastics provides the first clues about the characters that epigraphy reveals. Using onomastic studies, we can ascertain a series of information connected to the background of those persons, their legal and even social and professional status, their place of origin and that of their families. All of these considered, however, onomastics is also a field of study that demands a very high degree of prudence. A name that cannot be correlated with anything else does not indicate ethnicity but suggests a cultural baggage and, perhaps, a local provenience. If the ethnicity is correlated with local provenience, then there are a series of cases where the mentioning of a *domo* or *origo* can be presented as an important information attached to the name; the indication of the place of origin or even of the ethnicity (by use of a *ethnicon*) sometimes confirm the information suggested by the name. Unfortunately, even if the relevance and demonstrative power of these *supernomina* is great, they are few, as we will see and are characteristic for certain categories. For now, to distinguish between ethnic provenience and local provenience, for any of the peregrine categories from Dacia (with the exception of a few cases that allow for speculations and not definite conclusions) seems impossible – or more exactly it would lead to improbable and relative results. It would be wrong and naive to imagine that traditional names, chosen instead of Latin ones, suggest even the vaguest resistance to Romanization. More likely ethnic names represent a “loyalty” manifested culturally for some form of cultural inheritance.⁴¹⁸ Once we eliminate Latin names from the mathematics of ethnic attribution referring to any kind of category of inhabitants from Dacia, we are left with a relatively small percentage⁴¹⁹ and a truncated reality. It is important not to forget that a name appears next to the other details that each particular inscription offers in turn and it can often be credibly correlated with them. Also a name often indicates a legal status, so the study of onomastics becomes mandatory for the present analysis – just as it greatly contributes to the “sketching” of life and society in the provinces of the Roman Empire.

Going beyond the absolute data they might or might not offer, names reveal a series of much more profound and important information. Although he refers to totally different realities (England at the start of the Modern Age), S. Smith-Bannister rightly noted that the name can allow the framing of a person based on sex, origin, family and social status and – for some societies where there is the habit of changing the names of the children depending on their life period – even age.⁴²⁰ Although different languages and cultures impose different criteria for classification, a great part of the details that onomastics was assumed to offer can in fact be deduced from the names attested in the Roman Empire. In other words, onomastic realities become extremely relevant only when integrated in the ample picture and when they are not separated from the realities that created them. For a category such as the peregrines, with little and flat information, the cultural details suggested by onomastics are extremely important and make the analysis of this aspect very inciting.

The beginning of this chapter must be marked by a few methodological observations. First of all, we have used the term “ethnic” instead of the seemingly more correct “etymologic”; the choice was not random and we consider the first term to be better suited for the current analysis. Thus, the classification of names was done not only based on their etymology but also according to the area where they were mostly distributed, referring especially to certain Latin names that are mostly

⁴¹⁸ Lassère 1977, 455.

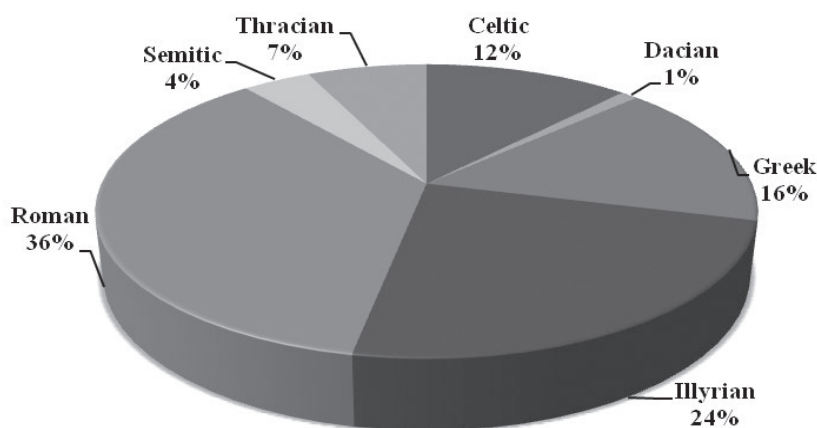
⁴¹⁹ For an example, see Nemeth 1993, 200: out of the soldiers and veterans from Dacia Porolissensis, only 37% of the names are considered ethnically relevant.

⁴²⁰ Smith-Bannister 1997, 15 *apud* Morpurgo Davies 2001, 20.

spread outside the Italian Peninsula, in areas with a pre-defined ethnic and cultural background. In the following pages we will amply discuss these names; here it must only be mentioned that we have avoided labeling any group as “Latin names”, preferring the term of “Roman names” for those that can be associated with the center of the Empire.

Although we intend to exemplify according to the catalogue all the onomastic categories, this process of particularization is not necessarily the most relevant step of the study. The exemplification will not be exhaustive and we will not quote all the names, because each of them has all the useful onomastic details (ethnic classification, as well as the patronymic) registered in the catalogue. Much more important and useful are the percentages that, in principle, tend to stay the same even if small modifications in numbers intervene. Also, in order to clarify the statistic, we will consider the name of the “owner” of the inscription, not the patronymic. We will however mention the majority of cases where the name and the patronymic do not correspond ethnically or other interesting situations. The few names that we find difficult and/or improbable to attribute ethnically, as well as those where only the filiation⁴²¹ remained, will be discussed at the right time. We considered that about 96% of the total peregrine names that have been catalogued as such are ethnically determinable. Their picture is outlined in the graph below.

Graph IV. Ethnic origin of the peregrine names (general)

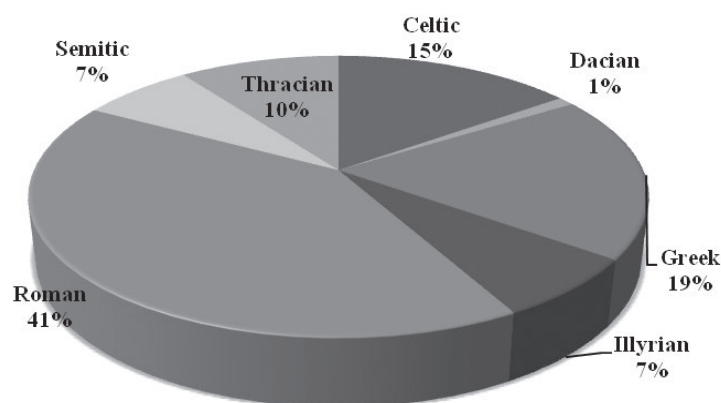


The graph of the general onomastic situation is self explanatory, although not self-sufficient. A few more or less visible phenomena must be explained. First, three names are missing from this scheme, although they can be determined. They are: Amonius/Hammonius (No. 73), Egyptian name attested at Alburnus Maior, Farcanes Gai (No. 150), Pontic-Bythinian name discovered on a dedication from Apulum, and Arsama (No. 252) that appears on a military diploma discovered at Urfa (Turkey). Besides this Amonius, we do not have any other names identifiable as African, not even Latin *cognomina* popular in North Africa such as Mustacius or Mustacus.⁴²² Because they are the only ones in their groups, the names mentioned above would have each had a share of 0,25%, almost impossible to represent graphically. Their presence must still be noted, just as it is necessary to offer some information about the inscriptions where these names occur. In the first two cases the inscriptions are votive ones, dedicated to Iupiter Optimus Maximus and respectively Mars. As it can be observed these are gods from the Roman official pantheon, without any other visible association or form of syncretism. This is obviously not an amazing fact, but it does speak about the social and cultural environment of Roman Dacia. Thus, these two dedicants with very relevant names as far as ethnicity goes, decide to raise monuments for Roman gods, whether they do it mainly for social or personal reasons. The third case is different and will be amply discussed at the right moment, the diploma offering information worthy of attention.

⁴²¹ For the reasons why we have preferred the term “filiation” instead of “patronym” throughout the paper, see Merkelbach 1991.

⁴²² Kajanto 1965, 18.

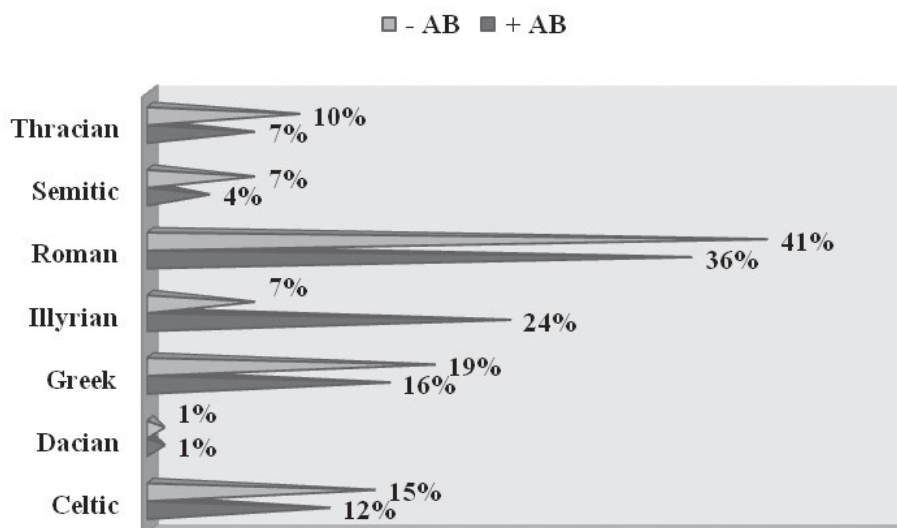
Graph V. Ethnic origin of peregrine names (excluding Alburnus Maior)



After clarifying the things in the above pages one must proceed to analyzing the graphs. It is easy to notice the predominance of Roman names. Next are the Illyrian names, for which we feel obliged to offer some explanation: about 80% of them come from Alburnus Maior. Although we do not consider their exclusion to be completely correct, we will also present such an image, with an informative title (Graph V). As already stated, the hazard of discovery and of intensely researching a mostly Illyrian settlement greatly influences any picture of the peregrines from Dacia. Exclusion of the information discovered here cannot be done indiscriminately and – especially – must not be considered as an absolute necessity but as a subjective act. Still, taking this step seems necessary for the present case, when only Alburnus Maior modifies the onomastic picture of the peregrines from the province in an unprecedented manner. The other onomastic groups from Alburnus do not influence the percentages, resembling the proportions registered for the whole province, but we will also exclude them for equity.

For added clarity a comparative graph stands below, where the symbols that have lighter shades represent the statistic situation resulting after the exclusion of the settlement from Roşia Montană: – AB.

Graph VI. Comparative onomastic overview (the names from Alburnus Maior excluded and respectively included) ⁴²³



⁴²³ Because of the final processing and the reinterpretation of some of the data from the catalogue, the percentages presented here as final results are not identical to the results of previous studies (Varga 2008 and Varga 2010a). Even so, the hierarchy of onomastic groups does not differ from the one previously published and the general conclusions remain similar.

Because we are dealing with a special case, all these illustrations are necessary. The above graphs outline the enormous share that Alburnus Maior has both under the positive and the negative aspect. “Positive” means the enormous quantity of information that Roşia Montană offers and the enormous and infinitely various possibilities for internal analysis of the settlement. The other aspect, exaggeratedly called “negative” hints at the difficulty of objectively integrating the whole quantity of information from Alburnus in the limits of the general realities of the province.

IV. 4. B. Discussions regarding peregrine onomastics in Dacia

Female onomastics

One of the most difficult parts of the epigraphic research of peregrines is identifying the feminine names that can be defined as peregrines. Feminine onomastics is more flexible and more difficult to circumscribe, thus being also more ambiguous than its masculine counterpart. Its evolution in time can be synthesized, but the rules are not so strict as for male onomastics – in fact, these rules often present numerous exceptions. What must be remembered is that at the end of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd, when Dacia became a province, the names of female citizens generally consisted of a *nomen* and a *cognomen*.⁴²⁴ The name could be associated with the paternal origin as well as with the maternal one.⁴²⁵ Although this was not a general rule, as sometimes, by marriage, women received an adjacent name (or replaced a name),⁴²⁶ connected with the genealogy of the husband’s family. As well, the names of boys, especially in families that were not part of the elite, could derive from maternal names. In general, for the period we are dealing with, the practice of using a single name followed by filiation (or even the name of the husband) in genitive had been dropped for citizen women. Still we have no certainty that this practice was obsolete in the lower social classes. In equal measure the great mass of the population sometimes used, especially in the Eastern provinces, *tria nomina*⁴²⁷ type names that had no legal background, but were simply imitations.

All difficulties given, most often we have relied on the details that were associated with the name, considering that, given the context, an absolute faith in the onomastic criterion can be misplaced in this context.

We will not discuss further all female names that can pose problems regarding the peregrine status. Because they are fewer than the male ones, they stand out in the attached catalogue. Such a case will be subsequently presented not for exemplification, but rather for the demonstrative process. Thus we have the funerary inscription set up by Serena Licconis (No. 9) for her husband and sons, at Arcobadara. The name of the woman has peregrine structure and was considered as such according to the bibliography.⁴²⁸ What stands out immediately though is that the husband and the two boys have citizen names: Aelius Maximinus, Aelius Maximus and (Aelius) Ursinus. At the same time, the woman uses the term *coniux* (accepting the already discussed relativity in using the term with strict correctness). The details, combined with the structure of the woman’s name,⁴²⁹ support the hypothesis of her peregrine status. In such cases – this is but one example from a multitude of ambiguous situations that refer to women of possible peregrine status – the inscription in itself and all the data regarding the place of discovery, the social environment that existed there, etc. cannot offer certitude. In the end, researchers have to decide whether to place the name and implicitly the character in a legal category or the other.

There are some inscriptions where all the names are somewhat ambiguous. Such is the case of an inscription from Gherla (No. 16) that attests Lucilla Musa, Felix (possibly her husband) and

⁴²⁴ A very ample study demonstrating that Roman women, especially those from the aristocracy, sometimes had names with the structure *praenomen – nomen gentile*, replaced in the imperial period by the system *nomen – cognomen* (the latter takes over the identifying role of the *praenomen*) is Kajava 1994.

⁴²⁵ Kajanto 1977, 150; Salway 1994, 131.

⁴²⁶ Kajanto 1977, 157.

⁴²⁷ Kajava 1994, 231–232.

⁴²⁸ Nemeti 2010b, 399.

⁴²⁹ OPEL III 26.

Florentinus and Suriacus, the ones who dedicated the monument (or two of the dedicants, because the next part is illegible). We are dealing here with a votive inscription, today lost, that was much deteriorated when it was read and very difficult to interpret. Even the status of the characters is questionable, servile status not to be completely excluded. As far as the name of the woman is concerned, we could in fact have two distinct names, Lucilla and Musa. The details regarding the relations between the characters lack completely; they can be familial, collegial or they could be slaves of the same patron.

Another decision we had to take was whether to consider some singular names as peregrine: names such as Marciana (No. 242) were interpreted as referring to characters of peregrine legal status, because we assumed that the second name of the woman would have been written or some allusion to the family made, had she been a citizen. In order to exemplify, we have chosen the case of Marciana from Sucidava because she dedicates to Dea Placida for the health of her sons. The unofficial character of the goddess as well as the deeply emotional prayer of the woman might indicate a personal gesture that did not need the full name. Still we must keep in mind that this is a public monument, not some private gesture of faith. In this context, marked by ambivalence, we consider more probable that such characters are of peregrine status.

Another situation where citizenship can be supposed is that of Plaetoria Maxima (No. 101). Her name is known to us from a funerary monument in Alburnus Maior. The age of death is unknown, but we know that the monument was set up by her uncle, Lavius Verzonis. Even if *dua nomina* hints at citizenship, the peregrine name of the uncle – most likely the tutor of the woman and the closest relative alive, since he dedicates the epitaph – as well as the commonality of the second name that could, in fact, play the role of a nickname have persuaded us to place the character in the peregrine category.

There are some female names that raise problems when it comes to form and reconstitution or that present unusual onomastic aspects. Thus we must mention the case of Quieta (No. 28) from Napoca where the name is reconstituted based only on QV and a possible A. The reconstitution is plausible because of the space provided on stone and because from the onomastic point of view, a Roman name seems only natural, given that the name of her daughter was Victorina.

This quick glance over feminine onomastics was done with the purpose of presenting and arguing the reasons that stood behind the decision to include or exclude certain names. Rather than to act as justification, these lines were written in order to bring up a series of problems and to draw the attention of the reader to the subjectivity involved in defining the legal status of some persons.

Special cases

Next we will present a series of characters whose names require special attention. The names presented in this subchapter were not selected based on representativeness, but on the existence of difficulties in interpretation or because they imply a series of variables and ambiguities. The cases already presented, with the necessary details and the problems they pose, will not be discussed again.

Respecting the criteria for ordering the catalogue, we should start with some inscriptions from Ilişua (*Arcobadara*). The name of Rocius Saturio (No. 8) poses problems when it comes to classification. The name Rocius is not very frequent in the European inscriptions, with slight preponderance in the Celtic provinces (although it was also identified in Italy and Rome).⁴³⁰ Outside Europe it was recorded in higher numbers in Numidia,⁴³¹ but it is more likely that our character is west-European rather than African. The form Roecius, found on an inscription from Dalmatia⁴³² is remarkable because it might indicate a special pronunciation. Saturio is uncertainly reconstituted and its true form might be slightly different; although we cannot exclude its possible use as a *cognomen*,⁴³³ it could also represent a filiation or an adapted genitive form (grammatically incorrect).

⁴³⁰ OPEL IV 30.

⁴³¹ Pflaum 1978, 178.

⁴³² *Ibidem*.

⁴³³ Nemeti 2010b, 421.

Κοιντος (No. 5) is interesting and worth mentioning, even if it is not problematic when it comes to classification. Although obviously of Greek culture – the inscription is written in Greek, dedicated to Asklepios (not Aesculapius) and Hygeia – the character has in fact a Latin name, a transliteration in Greek of Quintus.⁴³⁴ It would be of great interest if we could determine more details, if it is related to a choice of the parents or a personal transcription of the name, if we are dealing with a deliberate adaptation of the Latin name or whether in the group that the dedicant originated from there was a preference for this Greek form, as a name in itself.

The case of Ζαμαννισθεσ (No. 10) poses doubts as to the very nature of its primary meaning. In other words, although it was considered a personal name by the first authors that published the inscription, likewise later⁴³⁵ it is in fact entirely possible to be a locative, an indication of *origo*.

Daphnus (No. 13) features on a poorly preserved inscription from Gherla⁴³⁶, that allows for different readings and, implicitly, different interpretations. *Daphno* indicates the male version of the Greek mythological name that, as a general rule, is more popular in its feminine version. The dative form suggests the Latinization of the name. Due to the same poor conservation state, the legal status of the character cannot be established for sure. The choice for the name poses the problem of a possible, even probable, servile status.

Tamarcius, present on an inscription found in the camp of the *ala II Pannoniorum* (No. 12), has a name that resembles at first glance the Illyrian Tamacus.⁴³⁷ Also, it could be derived from the Greek Ταμάρκις. According to the hypothesis put forward by I. I. Russu,⁴³⁸ the name could also have Thracian origins, from Tiamarcus, the later attested Zimarchos and Zemarchos deriving from it. Lately, the name has been interpreted as an abbreviated form of T(itus) A(elius) (or A(urelius)) Marcianus,⁴³⁹ thus making the character a citizen – but the question is still open.

From Gilău (*Samum*) comes the case of Acilius Sabini f. Dubitatus, *castris* (No. 20). He is the only soldier from Dacia about whom we are explicitly told that was born *castris* – in the *canabae* adjacent to the camp. Acilius Dubitatus might be the name of a Roman citizen, where the imperial *nomen* was replaced with the name – most likely – of a patron/protector or it might derive from the name of a family member (maternal grandfather, etc.). If we are indeed dealing with a Roman citizen, we can assume that he belongs to the first, second at the most, generation after receiving citizenship: he still denominates himself by use of the personal name and the filiation in their genitive forms. This is not a singular case; similar situations are recorded throughout the Empire.⁴⁴⁰ The individual uses an eclectic pattern for names that combines the “classical” Indo-European tradition with the legal necessity imposed by the Roman nomenclature. At the same time, his citizenship can be questioned, as the official character of the document would require for the *praenomen* to be registered as well.

Two names, Mucatra (No. 27) and Mucapor (No. 26), were read on artifacts belonging to minor epigraphy, discovered in Napoca. The first one was discovered in the *fibulae* workshop from under the present day Monumentul Memorandiștilor (Eroilor Street) and the second one is the name of a *lucernarius*, discovered during the excavations in V. Deleu Street.⁴⁴¹ The type of artifacts does not allow us to consider them as peregrines with all certainty, but the obvious Thracian etymology of the names and the high probability for a – at most – recently obtained citizenship lead us to believe that, if such a change in status was involved it would have been expressed at least by the replacement of the *cognomen* with an acronym that would have symbolized the newly acquired *tria nomina*. We have such a case recorded on the ceramic pedestal found at Romula, where the Semitic name Ragysbel⁴⁴² had been inscribed.

⁴³⁴ Pape, Benseler I 685–686; Nemeti 2010b, 408.

⁴³⁵ Nemeti 2010b, 411.

⁴³⁶ Mommsen, in whose time the inscription was in a better state, described the relief above the inscription as depicting an *adulescens, non barbatus*, thus a young man.

⁴³⁷ OPEL IV 107.

⁴³⁸ Russu 1970, 412.

⁴³⁹ Falileyev, Matei-Popescu 2009, 504.

⁴⁴⁰ Alföldy 1966, 54.

⁴⁴¹ Paki 1998, 201.

⁴⁴² See the discussion on page 66.

The inscription containing the names Eufemus and Erastus (No. 32) is very interesting and problematic because of its contents. The names of the two men are attested on a funerary monument dedicated by the latter to the memory of the former. Eufemus, who lived 35 years, is mentioned as *vikarius Peregrini*; Erastus identifies him as *conservus*, leading to the conclusion that the two might have been slaves (theory supported by their names as well – names frequent in the public and private servile hierarchy).⁴⁴³ We do not consider this interpretation to be correct because *conservus* can also mean colleague, the one who works alongside somebody else (in a public function, in a religious formation, etc.). Regardless of their status as free men or slaves, it is however certain that the two served as vicars (replacements in a certain function or simple employees) for this Peregrinus. It seems obvious to us that in his case we are dealing with a character of peregrine status, based on onomastic criteria and the lack of an explicit *tria nomina*.

Another inscription that raises the same kind of problems – ambiguities leading to difficulties in establishing the legal status of the mentioned characters – is CIL III 917 (No. 42). It is a funerary monument set up for the memory of four women and a 12 year old boy, all five names presenting a peregrine structure. The intriguing detail lies however in the status of the dedicant: Herculanus *libertus*, who sets up the inscription for *patronae bene merenti*. Without this last explanation it could have been possible to believe that the freedman is not connected to the ones the inscription is dedicated to. Even so, the characters were classified as peregrines.⁴⁴⁴ In theory there is the possibility that at least one of the mentioned women could be of citizen status. The elements that exclude the possibility of dealing with a family of citizens are in fact the name of the boy – Bedarus – and, to a lesser degree, that of the freedman, the latter being entitled to write his citizen name in its complete form. Slavery is not an element absent from the peregrine group, as already discussed. Peregrines do not explicitly enjoy the right to have their own real estates (although obviously, *de facto* the situation was different) but they benefit from some rights connected with mobile property. Thus they were not legally forbidden from owning slaves although the resulting situations were at the limit of “canonical” legality, as we know it. Anyway cases such as the one presented here and to the ones brought forth by the wax tablets from Alburnus Maior prove that in fact peregrines could have ownership over slaves and – most likely – this was regulated through special laws and edicts. We can also add that two of the commemorated women are over 80 years of age (probably rounded up but in this context the detail is not important), suggesting they came in Dacia at an adult age, from an Illyrian or Celtic province, if onomastic information is to be considered.

The cases of very rare or even unique names (*hapax legomena*) are worth mentioning if only from the point of view of knowledge rather than that of Roman realities. A few examples would be Bebeia (No. 30), Blasa (No. 53), Pacutianus (No. 59), Bocenus (No. 188), Prinada (No. 220), etc. Others necessitate more ample discussions. Such is the case of Andrada (No. 42) that is mentioned on an inscription from Potaissa and that has no analogies in Europe. Also very interesting is the case of Meatinus (?) Birsi and Atasa (No. 43), names that also appear in Potaissa, on a today lost artifact and which are considered to be of Punic etymology.⁴⁴⁵ The names are not mentioned, however, in this form in the onomastic of the North-African provinces. A form that is close to Birsi in pronunciation is Bira,⁴⁴⁶ but the vague similarity is irrelevant. From the same stele comes the name of Aurelius Sataras, who is a citizen. Some names found on a few diplomas that were only recently published can be included in the same category. So is Thiamponius Dexaei f. Besso (No. 266), for whose personal name there are no similar examples, while the name of the father seems to have a Celtic⁴⁴⁷ root but is not attested in this form.⁴⁴⁸ Amaiona Aeconis (No. 267) is hard to place in an onomastic category: the personal name also has a Celtic⁴⁴⁹ etymological origin and the ethnonym

⁴⁴³ Paki 1998, 73–74.

⁴⁴⁴ Paki 1998, 287–289, 291.

⁴⁴⁵ Russu 1967, 179–180.

⁴⁴⁶ Pflaum 1983, 76.

⁴⁴⁷ Holder 1896–1907 I 1276–1277.

⁴⁴⁸ OPEL II 98–99.

⁴⁴⁹ Holder 1896–1907 I 111.

Eravisca suggests, along with the filiation – for which we could not find analogies – that it might be connected to the Celtic-speaking part of the Empire.

Cassia Peregrina (No. 87) from Alburnus Maior is an interesting case, that does not allow for many comments and who might be a citizen. Even if it is only the name that might indicate naturalization – and maintaining the epithet *peregrinus* as part of the name – the peregrine status of the woman is suggested by the peregrine name of her husband who sets up her funerary monument. The denomination *peregrina* is interesting and there are only two such examples in Dacia: one is Peregrinus from Porolissum (No. 32) and the second is Peregrinus from Apulum (no. 163). Still the noun appears as a personal name in the Empire, although not frequently. There are a few interesting cases when Peregrinus is clearly used as a *cognomen* in the names of citizens: L. Caelius Peregrinus⁴⁵⁰ from Cartagena, Aulus Iunius Peregrinus⁴⁵¹ from Baedro (Baetica), or Caius Iulius Peregrinus⁴⁵² from Stockstadt am Main (Germania Superior), who is *beneficiarius consularis*. There are similar typological cases where the legal status of the character is included in the name as an *agnomen*: such is the case of Teufia Valeria quae et Ingenua,⁴⁵³ from Scupi. There are no such cases however among the peregrines from Dacia.

Eros Zotici (No. 191) is a character whose legal status is more than debatable. The individual is *sigillarius* and he sets up a votive inscription, but, both his profession and his personal name recommend him as a slave. The name Eros is among the most common for slaves from Rome, ranking third, after Felix (that has a clear lead) and Hermes.⁴⁵⁴ Anyway, the possibility that this Eros from Inlăceni is a peregrine cannot be excluded, especially if we take into account that the possible filiation belongs to Greek onomastic.

A special situation is represented by Procula Batava (No. 224),⁴⁵⁵ attested on a funerary inscription from Tibiscum. Her case is similar from some points of view to that of Aurelius Batavus⁴⁵⁶ and Carantius Germanus.⁴⁵⁷ We can also include in this category the much simpler Germanus (No. 96). The ethnonym *Batava*, *-us* does not fulfill the role of *cognomen* as was often considered in the specialized literature⁴⁵⁸ and analogies for such ethnonyms are found in Dacia for other populations. Such is the Semitic name Zacca Pallaei f. Syrus (No. 252), *ex equite cohortis II Flaviae Commagenorum*, where we have a Semitic *cognomen*⁴⁵⁹ and the father's name of the same origin,⁴⁶⁰ and the *ethnicon* only supports and confirms the ethnic origin of the name. Another interpretation would be the one stating that we have a patronym that is implied or even present in the broken part of the inscriptions, the situation becoming similar to that of Cotu Successi f(ilia) *cives Norica* (No. 217).

We can also include Bessus in the category of possible, but uncertain nouns that fulfill the role of *ethnicon*⁴⁶¹, used as a personal name but also as a supplementary explanation of the filiation. The reference to the Thracian tribe is direct and its interpretation would come naturally. We must keep in mind that, while mostly in the 3rd century, but certainly also at the end of the 2nd century, Bessus had lost part of its initial meaning and referred to an inhabitant of Empire that spoke the Thracian language.⁴⁶²

A special category consists of several names that are very hard to etymologically define or to have their area of favorite usage established. We refer to Surus⁴⁶³ and to all the forms that

⁴⁵⁰ CIL VIII 24519.

⁴⁵¹ CIL II 2368.

⁴⁵² CIL XIII 6635.

⁴⁵³ AE 1984, 771.

⁴⁵⁴ Webster 2010, 51.

⁴⁵⁵ For discussions, see Varga, Săsărman 2012.

⁴⁵⁶ IDR III/5, 451.

⁴⁵⁷ IDR III/2, 427.

⁴⁵⁸ See the comment from IDR III/1, 168; Ardevan 2006, 124–125 considers Proculeia to be a better restoration of the name.

⁴⁵⁹ Wuthnow 1930, 49.

⁴⁶⁰ Wuthnow 1930, 93.

⁴⁶¹ No. 184; No. 57; No. 248; No. 252; No. 260; No. 253.

⁴⁶² Mócsy 1974, 65.

⁴⁶³ Téglás 1915, 48; No. 186.

derive from it (Suriacus,⁴⁶⁴ Surucca,⁴⁶⁵ Surio,⁴⁶⁶ Surilla,⁴⁶⁷ Surinius).⁴⁶⁸ Names with this root are found all over Europe, making it impossible to connect them to a certain area or background.⁴⁶⁹ In theory, the names can be Illyrian,⁴⁷⁰ Thracian⁴⁷¹ or Celtic⁴⁷² in equal measure, the bibliography supporting all three major European possibilities. Also this name can indicate an origin from outside Europe, respectively Syrian, being a transcription of the ethnonym *Syrus* that becomes a personal name in the European space. We should not forget that in many cases involving persons of low status, the line separating the ethnic adjective from the ethnic or tribal personal name was not firm.⁴⁷³ We must not exclude the double explanation according to which the common noun that referred to Syrians might become in some cases a personal name and be accepted as such because of its superposing a family of usual European names from the Roman and most likely pre-Roman period. Anyhow such names cannot be placed in a specific category without a great chance of error that sometimes can be assumed because of the adjacent clues that some inscriptions provide.

The names labeled as “Celtic” form a group of their own. They often have Italian etymology, but the areas where they are mostly used are the Celtic provinces; the existence of this group was one of the main factors that convinced us when we chose the term of “Roman” names instead of “Italic” or “Latin” names. Some of them in fact do not appear at all in the Italian Peninsula, underlining their classification as Celtic names undoubtedly correct. This somewhat eclectic onomastic of the large areas of Celtic background resembles, from certain points of view, the situation involving the name of Surus and its derivatives, presented above, but also the Greek transliteration of Quintus. For this case we can assume however that we are dealing with a linguistic adaptation, grafted on cultural modifications. Thus some Celtic names will be translated or transposed in Latin by those trying, from the first generation after conquest, to adapt to the new realities. This translation from the mother tongue to a foreign one⁴⁷⁴ has two major explanations: one involves a translation of the name during the second generation or even later, when Latin was no longer perceived as a foreign language, and the other takes into account the subtle and possible multiple motivations from switching from one language to another (from opportunism up to the need to be fashionable). A few of the examples encountered among the peregrines from Dacia are worth mentioning. The most popular onomastic category of this type is that of ordinal numerals derived from personal names. Thus, if names such as Primus⁴⁷⁵ (although Holder does not include this primary form of the name)⁴⁷⁶ and its derivatives – Primianus⁴⁷⁷ or Prima⁴⁷⁸ – or Quintus⁴⁷⁹ and derivatives such Quinta,⁴⁸⁰ Quintinianus,⁴⁸¹ Quintilianus,⁴⁸² can be considered Romano-Celtic, because of a certain usage they have in the Italian Peninsula, some seem only vaguely connected to the Italian space. In this last category we can include names such as Censorinus,⁴⁸³ Torcus or

⁴⁶⁴ No. 16.

⁴⁶⁵ No. 52.

⁴⁶⁶ No. 127.

⁴⁶⁷ No. 220.

⁴⁶⁸ No. 220.

⁴⁶⁹ OPEL IV 101–102.

⁴⁷⁰ Russu 1969a, 250.

⁴⁷¹ Detschew 1976, 470–472.

⁴⁷² Holder 1896–1907 II 1678 (defined Surus ca *auch celtisch*).

⁴⁷³ Fraser 2001, 152.

⁴⁷⁴ Of course the phenomenon is not specific only to the Celtic provinces, but can also be encountered in the Orient and in Africa (Lassère 1998, 98).

⁴⁷⁵ OPEL III 160–162; No. 7; No. 166; No. 257.

⁴⁷⁶ Holder 1896–1907 II 1043.

⁴⁷⁷ No. 201.

⁴⁷⁸ No. 226.

⁴⁷⁹ OPEL IV 19–20; No. 177; No. 201.

⁴⁸⁰ No. 177; No. 262.

⁴⁸¹ No. 200.

⁴⁸² No. 242.

⁴⁸³ No. 196; OPEL II 49–50.

Torquatus,⁴⁸⁴ Aprilius,⁴⁸⁵ Lucanus/Lucana,⁴⁸⁶ etc. Another group of Celtic names, not because of etymology but because of the frequency with which they are used, are those deriving from common nouns or adjectives/verbs. Thus we have animal names (Ursina,⁴⁸⁷ Ursulus,⁴⁸⁸ Lupula),⁴⁸⁹ derivatives from certain virtues (Vitalis,⁴⁹⁰ Potens,⁴⁹¹ Ferox).⁴⁹² These are the so-called *wish-names*, names encountered almost exclusively in the lower social layers, popular among soldiers, slaves and gladiators but that appear in some of the cases – accidentally or not – to be mostly used in the provinces with a Celtic background. Thus, some have been considered Celtic, others Roman, according to their areas of preponderance. One notices, the almost anecdotic usage of the diminutive forms for the feminine names.

The importance of these atypical or uncertain cases is enormous because only by knowing, understanding and, later on, properly classifying them can we obtain relevant data from the analysis of peregrine onomastic from Dacia. The expressed doubts are useful because due to them we know how flexible epigraphic expression could be. The “difficult” names, not necessarily unusual but bordering it, reveal vital cultural details and lead to the implicit thorough study of any other adjacent research regarding the peregrines from this Danubian province.

Supernomina

*Supernomina*⁴⁹³ are a special onomastic group in the landscape of Latin nomenclature and epigraphy. First, they are very rare: without considering them anomalies, *supernomina* appear in a small percentage of the names revealed by the very rich epigraphy of the Roman Empire. Secondly, most of them can be connected to social and legal categories that are not part of the elites, only increasing the informational value that they offer us.

By definition, a *supernomen* is an extra name adopted by a person. It is not the same with the multiple *cognomen* (although the terminological confusion is often present in modern bibliography), because it is not given at birth but it is taken or acquired during lifetime. Also we have no proof whatsoever that *supernomina* might be passed on to the descendants. Rather, when a name becomes hereditary we can already speak about its transformation into a *cognomen*. *Supernomina* are divided in two main categories: *agnomina* and *signa*. In Roman onomastics, the *agnomen* was an extra *cognomen* that a person acquired during his lifetime.⁴⁹⁴ *Agnomina* seem to enter Roman nomenclature initially from the Greek world and are characteristic for the lower classes of society, very rarely being found in the nomenclature of the senatorial or equestrian elites.⁴⁹⁵ *Agnomina* appear in epigraphy in the 1st century according to the present data, and their usage is generalized during the 2nd century.⁴⁹⁶ *Signa*, the other class of supplementary names, are more difficult to define, the point still being debated upon. In theory, they were introduced by the word *signum*, but this is not always the case. More suggestive is the fact that on the late funerary or honorific inscriptions the *signum* often appears at the beginning of the text, in vocative.⁴⁹⁷ *Signa* could also represent the distinctive sign of a communion: between brothers, the members of a college,⁴⁹⁸ etc. Going beyond

⁴⁸⁴ No. 262 (both names); OPEL IV 127.

⁴⁸⁵ No. 255; OPEL I 152–153.

⁴⁸⁶ No. 158; No. 249 (feminine form). This name is widely used in the Hispanic provinces (OPEL III 33; Untermann 1965, 125–126).

⁴⁸⁷ No. 176; OPEL IV 186.

⁴⁸⁸ No. 159; OPEL IV 187–188.

⁴⁸⁹ No. 159; OPEL III 38–39.

⁴⁹⁰ No. 41; OPEL IV 176–177.

⁴⁹¹ No. 257; OPEL III 156.

⁴⁹² No. 267; OPEL II 139.

⁴⁹³ For a monograph on the subject, see Kajanto 1966. Still, when consulting this book one must keep in mind the time it was written and, implicitly, the epigraphic and statistic data that the author could use at that point.

⁴⁹⁴ Kajanto 1966, 6.

⁴⁹⁵ Kajanto 1966, 15.

⁴⁹⁶ Gros Lambert 2003, 199.

⁴⁹⁷ Lassère 2007, 111.

⁴⁹⁸ Kajanto 1966, 45–48.

these distinctive traits of the two categories of *supernomina*, what makes *signa* part of a different category is their late epigraphic presence and the fact that they often appear as a trait of the upper classes, resembling the *cognomina ex virtute*. In Dacia we have not identified any *signum*. Finally it must be said that when the additional information is introduced with *natio, origo, domus*, etc., they can no longer be considered *supernomina*, because no coherent and unitary onomastic structures are built.

The fact that among peregrines *supernomina* have more different subtypes than in the case of citizens, and some types are found only in this category, stands out. By analyzing the nomenclature of the non-citizens we can notice some patterns and onomastic structures that are interesting and worthy of discussion. We must also state that double names are not so frequent among the peregrines from Dacia when compared to other provinces,⁴⁹⁹ making them valuable as individual cases while at the same time diminishing their statistic potential. The *agnomina* attested in Dacia can be divided in three major categories: ethnic markers, locality markers and nicknames.

Ethnic *agnomina* can be placed in the category of *phylonyme*,⁵⁰⁰ according to a modern not Roman classification, referring to the origins and the relatives of the character. According to the same classification *agnomina* referring to a province can also be included in the category of *choronyme*. Still we believe that for the present cases the reference is tribal and not zonal. We have such onomastic forms attested for a series of characters belonging to the military environment of Dacia: Mucatralis Bithi f. Bessus (No. 57), Heptapor Isi f. Bessus (No. 184), Bitus Solae f. Bessus (No. 248), Adiutor Psi f. Bessus (No. 253), Sepenestus Rivi f. Pannon. (Cornon.?) (No. 250), Prosostus Ianuarius f. Pannonius (No. 58), Sextus Busturionis f. Pannonius (No. 250), Ivonercus Molaci f. Brittonus (No. 244), Bolliconus Icci f. Icco Britto (No. 255), Thaemus Horati f. Ituraeus (No. 251), Zacca Pallaei f. Syrus (No. 252), Demuncius Avesso f. Eraviscus (No. 257), Gallionus Suadali f. Boius (No. 259), Marsua Calvi f. Azalus (No. 264), Thiamponius Dexaei f. Besso (No. 266), Tullionus Vegeti f. Tungrus (No. 267) and Ammaiona Aeconis f. Eravisca (No. 267). In general there is no connection between the declared ethnic feature of the troop and the ethnicity of the soldiers; only a few examples can be given in support of this: Ivonercus Molaci is part of *Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum mililaria*, Thaemus Horati from *Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum*, Zacca Pallae from *Cohors II Flavia Comnagenorum* and Demuncius Avesso from *Cohors VIII Raetorum*. With but a few exceptions,⁵⁰¹ it must be said that the personal names are generally in agreement with the self-declared ethnicity, leading us to believe that it involves assuming and displaying an identity that is real in most cases. In equal measure we must notice that most names are connected with the name of a tribe that also refers to a provincial unity, supporting the ethnic background of the name. There are also cases when they have a neutral character; such is the situation of some Latin names, their usage in a certain area with a certain background not being always entirely known to us. An example for this is the name Sextus that, although it has Latin etymology, could be placed between the ordinal numeral-names defined as Celtic names in accordance with their area of usage. In our case however the name has a special status: Sextus and Sexta, with the variants Sestus and the feminine Sesta, are frequent names in the nomenclature of Dalmatian Illyrians.⁵⁰² This could be a clue that in the present cases the reference is made to Celtic-Illyrian families from Pannonia. This example and the details of its analysis have, first of all, informative and demonstrative value for this type of onomastic analysis, lacking major importance in shaping the greater picture.

The presence of military *agnomina* on official documents, respectively military diplomas, seems to be very important. At the scale of the whole Empire, in inscriptions, the ethnic marker is often introduced by *natione*, thus losing its role as *agnomen*. The detail suggests the official acceptance of this type of nomenclature. Besides offering a sentiment of pride and the wish to maintain the national (tribal) individuality in a foreign environment, adding the ethnic-tribal indicative allows for the name of the character to follow the *tria nomina* structure. Obviously we are dealing with a

⁴⁹⁹ Dondin-Payre 2005, 161.

⁵⁰⁰ Anreiter 2001, 184.

⁵⁰¹ Such is that of Marsua Calvi, whose name is difficult, if not impossible, to relate with the stated ethnicity.

⁵⁰² Wilkes 1977, 756.

primary appearance, the name being composed after completely different rules than those of the Roman citizens, but, even so, the sound effect must have been similar. A *gentilicium* is not a *gentilicium* in itself, but due to the position it takes in the onomastic structure that integrates it. Also it is vital to notice that, in such cases, this is not an attempt at fraud but a manifestation of a certain level of cultural assimilation and impregnation. We find it exaggerated – or at least unsound for a generally valid statement – to claim that this is a form of manifestation of the desire for integration. Rather it is a search for “normality” in an environment filled with Roman culture and habits, where one appeals to maintaining and even outlining his pre-Roman identity.

Names built according to the same pattern are found also outside the military environment, even if in lesser quantity. Among the peregrine they are Dasius Verzonis Pirusta⁵⁰³ ex Kaviereti⁵⁰⁴ – at *Alburnus Maior* it is not rare to find origin indicated by *ethnicon* – and Iulia Florentina Bithi f. Bessa,⁵⁰⁵ wife of Zacca Pallei. In the latter case, that has been amply discussed in historiography,⁵⁰⁶ we notice not just the multi-ethnic characteristic of this family, also reflected in the names of the children (two have Roman names, two Semitic names, a Greek and an Iranian name) but also the clear affirmation of the identity of the members even when they are part of well Romanized families, as it is the wife’s case.

We are quite right in believing that these ethnic *agnomina* were, at least in some cases, used as personal names. It is possible that the person was sometimes referred to with the respective *ethnicon*, when absent but not always, especially if the *ethnicon* referred to a group rarely found in that province or only in some circles and communities. A clear example of such a practice, unconnected to Dacia, even if not with the epigraphy of the province, comes from Egypt where, in two private letters, there is a reference in two different contexts, of personal nature, to “Dacian”.⁵⁰⁷ It is obvious that, in both cases, the correspondents know who the mentioned character is and that the personal name of the Dacian is irrelevant given that ethnicity identified and individualized him enough.

The second mentioned group refers to names that are followed by place determinants. In fact, in this case we are dealing with an organic indication of *origo*, in official nomenclature. According to the classification we have quoted from, these names are considered *oikonyme*, indicating a place of birth or of origin. Here too we have a preponderance of the military environment, probably connected to the existence of onomastic habits specific for the army: Glavus Navati f. Sirmio (No. 17), Barsimsus Callistenis f. Caesarea (No. 221), Eupator Eumeni f. Sebastopol (No. 233), Coca Tyru f. Sardica (No. 256). It is remarkable that the personal names and partially the patronyms are in agreement with the declared origin. Although less numerous in the civilian environment, the indications of origin included in the name are very interesting. Thus we have Zamannistes (No. 10) from Arcobadara, where, as we have already stated, because of the advanced deterioration of the inscription it is difficult to ascertain whether we have a real zonal indicator and whether the personal name of the character is derived from the toponym. Worth mentioning is the case of Ἡδύλος θασιος (No. 31), attested on a funerary inscription from *Porolissum*; the name, the geographic reference and the language the inscription is written in lead us to believe we are dealing with a recent immigrant, for whom expressing his local identity and the Greek culture is very important. On the other hand however we can imagine that he too, while setting up this inscription, was aware that there was a group of locals that could read it. An indication of place, though not a toponym, is made in the case of Acilius Sabini f. Dubitatus *castris* (No. 20). While being aware that we force the classification criteria, this last name is a *nomonym*,⁵⁰⁸ because it indicates the administrative circumscription that the bearer originated from.

⁵⁰³ The reference to the tribe of the *Pirusti* seems to be both ethnical as well as zonal, meaning a Dalmatian community; the sources are unclear on the matter after the creation of the province Dalmatia (Anreiter 2001, 110). A hypothesis worth considering was the division of the tribe in the 1st century and even a possible restoration of its unity after its movement to *Alburnus Maior* (Wilkes 1977, 763).

⁵⁰⁴ No. 66.

⁵⁰⁵ No. 252.

⁵⁰⁶ Dana 2007.

⁵⁰⁷ Dana 2003, 183.

⁵⁰⁸ Anreiter 2001, 184.

The last category of *agnomina* that will be discussed are those with the role of nicknames. In these cases the adjacent name is introduced by a word like *qui et, sive, idem (eadem)*. The meanings involved in having a given name with no intrinsic semantic meaning are interesting. In the case of epigraphy from Dacia nicknames never appear on military diplomas – the most important official epigraphic documents we have at our disposal. A nickname appears on one of the wax tablets from Alburnus Maior (in the case of Titus Beusantis qui et Bradua,⁵⁰⁹ who is a witness in a contract for renting laborers), suggesting a somewhat official degree for this type of *agnomen*, even though locally. From Alburnus Maior we have several other examples, respectively the names of the dedicants of two votive monuments – Panes Epicadi qui et Suttius (No. 111) and Verso Dasantis qui Veidavius (No. 131) – as well as those of Epicadus Plarentis qui et Mico (No. 66) and of Planius Baezi qui et Magister (No. 106), known from a funerary monument. The first three names need no extra comments, being completely Illyrian in etymology and the origin of the nickname as well as to why it was formalized remain obscure. The third case is interesting; the nickname could be a reference to a job, a function or just a trait of character. A similar case, from the same settlement, is that of Dasius Sta... qui et Durius (No. 91). The latter sets up a votive inscription for Terra Mater. The importance of the nickname was real in Roman nomenclature: the frequent presence of these *agnomina* on curse tablets⁵¹⁰ at the scale of the whole Empire is remarkable, meaning that the individualization of a person was not complete without mentioning the extra name.

A very interesting case is that of Asclepius qui Asclepiades, *civis Bithynus* (No. 135). What can be immediately noticed is the existence of two variants of the same name, both being the name of the god of medicine and both written in Greek. Probably the second variant was used locally, becoming thus an integral part of the name of the god. One detail is relevant for the first name: although it resembles a traditional Greek name, it must be said that Asklepios does not seem to have been used before the imperial period.⁵¹¹ This suggests a somewhat common character for this name.

By analyzing the epigraphy from Dacia, a tendency for the integration of *agnomina* in the official nomenclature is noticeable. It is vital to remark that this is not an attempt at fraud but it reflects a certain level of cultural assimilation and impregnation. The degree up to which the resulting form, apparently imitating the structure of a *tria nomina*, is searched for by the involved characters or is adopted as normal by the imperial bureaucracy is hard to establish. In the end the supplementary names mark out the desire to affirm individual uniqueness and to point out certain pre-Roman origins, as well as the inevitability of integration in the Roman system and the need to find social “normality”.

IV. 4. C. Onomastic groups and categories

Roman names

Roman names⁵¹² are undoubtedly the most numerous. Their predominance marks a series of general traits: the peregrines mostly came from a vaguely Latin environment, were willing to integrate and not very sophisticated culturally.

In this onomastic group, we have two types of names: purely Roman and mixed. In the first case, both the personal name and the name of the father are Roman, such as Atrius Maximi (No. 76) or Valens Domiti (No. 243). There are situations when the only name present on stone is the personal one, the filiation being omitted. The category of mixed names is very well represented, a Roman personal name being associated with a father's name belonging to a different onomastic group. This type of name can be exemplified by Antonius Nicanori (No. 236) from Romula, who has a Roman name but whose father had an obviously Greek one or by the well-known Decebalus Luci (No. 189). The inscription attesting Atpatinius Rufi (No. 143) also contains remarkable elements.

⁵⁰⁹ No. 68 and No. 69.

⁵¹⁰ Lassère 2007, 108–109.

⁵¹¹ Parker 2001, 57.

⁵¹² For the Roman names we have used mostly Kajanto 1965 and Salomies 1987.

It is a votive epigraph from Apulum, set up in honor of Iupiter Optimus Bussumarus,⁵¹³ a Celtic god with supposedly Galatian origins. We could not find this exact form of the name in the Empire,⁵¹⁴ but the particle “at” seems to belong to a Celtic⁵¹⁵ etymology; this information, along with the presence of the god in the inscription, offers a clue as to the place of origin of the dedicant. We might state that the respective person and his family come directly from a Celtic province – or even from the Galatian area; the only uncertainty is the name of the father, of Roman nature. Most likely we are dealing with a group or family with Celtic origins, pretty well anchored in the realities of the world it originated from, but at the same time opened towards Latin influences.

Another interesting example of mixed name is that of Alexander Gai (No. 72) from Alburnus Maior. In his case however it is not his name that is so interesting but in that the funerary monument was set up by his son, who has the same name as his grandfather – Caius (with the transformation – correction in fact – of “G” in “C”). In fact Caius, a very common name, appears quite frequently spelled poorly in the epigraphy from Dacia, a case worth mentioning being Caius from Gherla (No. 12). In inscriptions where “C” is replaced with “G” however it is not because of the phonetic transcription of the name, but of spelling errors.

A case of unusual spelling is Maessianus (No. 25). For this form we have found no other analogy in the Latin inscriptions from the Empire, as the name appears as Messianus,⁵¹⁶ but even the examples for the “correct” spelling are not numerous. Another situation where we might consider a spelling mistake upon first glance is that of Maximus Veranis (No. 64). The commonality of the name pointing rather towards a spelling error than an interpretation *sui generis*, we cannot ignore the second option, the name being discovered on a wax tablet – an official document.

In conclusion, Roman names were employed by lower social classes, including the peregrines, as the easiest solution. The ethnic names seem to be used by those more culturally aware, but this is not a strict rule. After a generation or two, Roman names come up as quite natural, even in families that are more conservative. Even though we must not consider them a marker of Latinity, they can be considered as a sign of integration in the society of a Latin speaking province as well as a distinctive sign of acquiring, according to possibilities, Roman culture.

Greek names

Greek names,⁵¹⁷ ranking second as percentage, serve almost the same demonstrative purpose as the Roman names: they support the existence of an eclectic provincial environment rather than that of a real Greek linguistics and cultural luggage. Most often they can be considered as the visible sign of a lower social status and of a mixed background.⁵¹⁸ In equal measure they are proof that some part of the Empire’s elites’ cultural traits was, for the time and place we refer to, now a trait of – at least – the great bodies of people that manifested themselves in epigraphy.

Of course some special situations offer information about more than just the social and cultural traits we have described above, respectively that we are dealing with real Greek language persons. The details of some inscriptions suggest real connections with the East and with a Greek background. For example, some persons who have Greek names, like Μύρων (No. 108), indicate through their onomastic a Greek cultural identity. This statement is supported by the rather low frequency of the name in the Latin part of the Empire,⁵¹⁹ as well as by the fact that in most cases where it is attested it is associated with elements suggesting Eastern origins.

⁵¹³ For the presence of Bussumarus in Dacia and the history of this god, see Nemeti 2005, 249.

⁵¹⁴ See OPEL I 190–203.

⁵¹⁵ OPEL I 190.

⁵¹⁶ OPEL III 78.

⁵¹⁷ In order to identify and study the Greek names we have used Pape, Benseler 1911–1914, Solin 1971, LGPN, Solin 2003, but also the on line page of the project Lexicon of Greek personal names (<http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/index.html>, accessed on 17. 08. 2011). For a better understanding of the juxtaposing of Greek and Latin names also see Rizakis 1996.

⁵¹⁸ Although the realities from Rome do not coincide with those from the provinces and the similarities can be misleading, in this case Solin’s statement that Greek names found in the Latin speaking part of the Empire are the mark of a lower social standing is correct (Solin 2003, XXV).

⁵¹⁹ OPEL III, 93.

As for the language, inscriptions containing Greek names are written in most cases in Latin. The inscriptions that are written in Greek are those of Ηδυλος θασιος (No. 31), Δημητριος Αρζακει (No. 93), who dedicates for Δεθς Ναρενος, Μύρων (No. 108), Ερμες Γοργιου (No. 153) from Apulum, who dedicates for Sol Invictus, Χρυσοκομας (No. 210) from Sarmizegetusa, with a poetic funerary text and Ζαμαννιστες (No. 10), where the real onomastic value of the appellative is questionable. As it can be seen, very few of those bearing Greek names (approximately 10%) set up monuments in Greek. The reasons are obvious: first of all, in most cases the character is in no way connected to the language and the culture his/her name represents. We can assume some of those who had names with Greek etymology did not know the language, either because they did not learn it as children, being useless in the Western environment, either because they had been given their names based on other factors rather than the place of origin. Another cause for the small number of inscriptions in Greek is the culture of the readers. The society to whom the inscriptions were addressed to spoke Latin, thus Greek was acceptable only when someone wanted to state and even point out his/her personal identity. An inscription in Greek seems to be a visible sign of showing oneself as “different”.

Interesting examples of mixed names offer Alexander, in fact the most common Greek name in Dacia,⁵²⁰ which two out of the three times is followed by Roman filiations – Carus (No. 71) and Gaius (No. 72) – and twice is a stand-alone name (No. 206; No. 208). One of these cases refers to that Alexander from Sarmizegetusa for whom his brother dedicates as thanks to the goddess Nemesis. There is the possibility that the two might be slaves but the hypothesis is supported by no relevant clues. Only once the name appears alongside another Greek traditional name: Alexander Antipatri (No. 70). It is difficult to establish the degree in which, for the period we are interested in, was the name Alexander directly connected to that of the Macedonian king – and thus to the Greek space – or if its use was already “irrational”, when the connotations and/or descriptive and commemorative meanings of the name were ignored.⁵²¹ We believe that for the present case the second hypothesis is more plausible and that Alexander, going beyond its obvious Greek origins, was during the Empire a popular name in the Greek-Roman environment, without serving the role of identification with the historical character that started the “fashion” for the name’s use on large scale. The filiation of the above mentioned name, as well a royal name, of historical inspiration is especially interesting: Δημητριος Αρζακει, where Arzakes is an Iranian name. Also the name of Temaius Dassi (No. 265), with the personal Greek name – Latinized – followed by an Illyrian patronymic, is unusual.

Without denying that in some cases there truly were Oriental origins involved, we must state again that the choice for most of the names seems to have been determined by the tendencies and influences felt in the eclectic Roman provincial environment. This onomastic group appears in the picture firstly as a cultural, historical element and only secondly and partially as an etymologic and linguistic one.⁵²² These names refer to status, not ethnicity or place of origin; Greek names can be considered markers of low social position for the peregrines of Dacia, but we must be highly cautious and always correlate clues.

Illyrian names

The only ethnic group of peregrines from Dacia that can be completely defined as such are the Illyrians. As we have already seen, most of the Illyrian names⁵²³ are those of miners in Alburnus Maior. Because a special chapter will be dedicated mostly to this community, an intrinsic analysis will not be developed here. The purpose of the present subchapter is to present the Illyrian names from the onomastic point of view, as they appear all over Dacia and especially outside Alburnus.

Graphs V and VI, where we excluded the community from Alburnus, show how remarkable in terms of quantity this group is. Of course, Illyrian names do not necessarily imply an ethnic origin,

⁵²⁰ Ruscu 1998, 185.

⁵²¹ Morpurgo Davies 2001, 21.

⁵²² Solin 2003, XXV.

⁵²³ For the general study of Illyrian names, we have mostly used Katičić 1964 and Alföldy 1969, and for those from Dacia, Russu 1969a and Piso 2004.

but for sure they represent a better clue for this than the Greek or – especially – the Roman ones. On the other hand, even if we assume a real Illyrian origin for most cases, it cannot be narrowed down to a precise area because it is quite hard and very rare to distinguish in between the names from Illyria, Dalmatia or Pannonia.⁵²⁴ The names that offer some supplementary details are Epicadus (No. 64) and Verzo (No. 66; No. 65; No. 101; No. 116; No. 58 ; No. 133), names that we know for sure originate in south-western Dalmatia,⁵²⁵ while most other Illyrian names are spread all over Illyricum.

An interesting onomastic phenomenon is the different spelling, even if in official documents (wax tablets), of what is believed to be the same name: Andueia (No. 64; No. 61) and Anduenna (No. 63). We assume the same person was involved not only because the onomastic forms resemble, but also because the name of the father is the same: Bato. As far as mixed names are concerned, they are few in quantity and in most cases include Roman filiations. Two atypical cases combine Illyrian names with Greek patronymics: Mavida Epicadi (No. 179), attested on a funerary inscription from Brădeni and Sutta Epicadi (No. 245), also attested on a funerary inscription from Zegaia. Coincidentally or not, the similitude of the fathers' names is noticeable. There is the probability that this Greek name was adopted by some Illyrian groups inside or outside Dacia.

The popularity of Illyrian names is normal, because of the province's vicinity with their areas of origin. Due to the same reasons, it is not completely wrong to consider them up to a point a marker of geographical and even ethnical origin, even outside the relatively closed society of Alburnus Maior. The presence of a significant number of characters from the Illyrian province in Dacia is only natural.

Celtic names

A category that is both very interesting and revealing is that of Celtic names.⁵²⁶ They are very numerous in the military environment, where the name appears to be a marker of origin to a higher degree than in the civilian one. In the case of Celtic names, a quite obvious relation between the ethnic character of the name and the troop is noticeable.

We must again mention the ambiguity surrounding part of these names, residing in their Latin etymology. In spite of the fascination that Celtic names, especially those from pre-Roman Gallia, have produced, their study is still in its incipient phases and the sources are very hard to identify and detect.⁵²⁷ The onomastic that is indeed known for all the social levels is that from the Celtic provinces of the Empire, impregnated with Latin elements, although it remains true to its particular features. Such a case, besides those amply debated above, but less frequent in Dacia, is Seneca, used on a large scale in the Celtic regions. The name can be, in equal measure – and probably it differs from one case to another – a derivative from *senex* or a corruption and possibly Latinization of the Celtic form *Senaca*.⁵²⁸ Names like *Suadullus Titur* (?) (No. 187), although ambiguous, can be certainly considered to be of Celtic origins. Thus, for the present case, the second name appears to be a corrupt form and the fact that it appears in the epigraphs from Dacia is not recorded in OPEL;⁵²⁹ the first name however is attested constantly in provinces with a Celtic background. The name *Restituta* (No. 167) must be mentioned; it is quite frequently used in this form, but also in the masculine version, in Celtic areas⁵³⁰ and it is also often encountered in the Italic ones. Because of its area of preponderance, we have considered it to be Celtic but one alternative explanation must be offered: it can come from the translation of a pre-Roman Punic name, meaning “Baal did”.⁵³¹ Obviously in the case of Dacia the Celtic origin whereby the name would be a modified translation

⁵²⁴ Paki 1998, 19.

⁵²⁵ Katičić 1964, 28, also quoted in Piso 2004, 290.

⁵²⁶ Holder 1896–1907 is still fundamental for the Celtic names, despite its generalizations.

⁵²⁷ Evans 1972, 176.

⁵²⁸ Kajanto 1965, 16.

⁵²⁹ Onomasticon IV, 96.

⁵³⁰ OPEL IV 27.

⁵³¹ Dondin-Payre 2005, 158.

of the verb “to run” is plausible, but other onomastic possibilities cannot be ignored, given that we have no adjacent anthroponomical details about the family members of the dedicant.

The majority of those with Celtic names do not mention a filiation and when they do, in most cases, the patronymic has the same origin. Besides the cases discussed above, in fact pretty numerous, the Celtic names attested for the peregrines from Dacia present no other anomalies or situations that might need individual analysis.

Thus we can conclude that a large part of the peregrines from Dacia, due especially to the share and role they play in the military environment, originates in Celtic environments and, no matter whether the first generation or later immigrant waves are concerned, brings with it the inheritance of a specific cultural background that manifests itself quite visibly in the Danubian province.

Thracian names

Thracian names⁵³² are found both in the military and civilian environments, but a certain preponderance for the former can be noticed. As noticeable from the graphs above (Graph IV and Graph V), they are not very usual among the peregrines of Dacia, though they are not rare either.

A great number of particular, hard to interpret cases can be included in the category of Thracian names. They refer to a specific background but at the same time provide few details. The situation presents some similarities to that of Illyrian names: a Thracian – even though considering that it is not only the name that is Thracian but the character is in fact ethnically definable as such – can originate south of Danube but also in, for example, Pannonia.⁵³³ Also Thracian names, or at least some of them, could have been used in pre-Roman Dacia, thus greatly complicating the understanding of the group. Even if no adjacent onomastic clues exist, names such Mucatra (No. 27), Mucapor (No. 26; No. 162) or Rescuturme (No. 162) have an obvious Thracian etymology⁵³⁴ and their correct classification is valuable in itself.

It is worth mentioning that half of the Thracian names are followed by filiations, but only one appears on a military diploma (that is Dules Maximi (No. 178), whose onomastic classification is not decisive anyway because the name is very rare). We can assume that the mentioning of the name of the father was used mostly in official contexts among those who carried Thracian names. As far as mixed names are concerned, they are rare and the only certain category of discordant patronymics is the Roman one.

A special case is that of Coca Tyru(...) f. Sardica (No. 256), where, although it is pretty difficult to establish based on onomastic, we are dealing with a probable Celtic name,⁵³⁵ that could originate from the Illyrian area,⁵³⁶ associated with an Illyrian patronymic.⁵³⁷ What is important in this case is the explicit indication of the Thracian area of the Empire he originates from, even though the names are ambiguous. The character is a soldier serving in *Numerus Equitum Illyricorum*. In this case a certain classification in the group of Thracian names based on onomastics would be wrong.

Thracian onomastics plays an important role in the general picture, both because of the ethnic connections with pre-Roman Dacia, but also because of the position it occupies in the present context. In the case of peregrines it is a rather important group, relevant for the military environment but not as often encountered in the civilian environment as one might have expected. We can deduce from the data that the lower social status representatives of the Thracian groups, most likely demographically large, often chose not to express themselves in epigraphy, doing so only under special conditions or because they needed to.

⁵³² The analysis of Thracian names is based on Detschew 1957, but also on the more recent Zahariade 2009, that offers a catalogue of Thracian names encountered in the army (320–325).

⁵³³ Paki 1998, 19.

⁵³⁴ Detschew 1957, 319–320 și 392.

⁵³⁵ Holder 1896–1907 I 1056 și OPEL II 67, especially for the areas where derivative names were spread.

⁵³⁶ OPEL II 67.

⁵³⁷ OPEL IV 136.

Semitic names

Semitic names⁵³⁸ are also quite numerous. What is recorded as Semitic names are, in general, names that in theory have Palmyrean origins and belong to the Arabian etymology – such as it seems to be the case for half of the names from Palmyra.⁵³⁹ These names must not be considered however the only regional markers because one cannot ignore the traditional tendency of some Syrian persons to choose Greek names for their children in order to avoid an apparent stigmatization phenomenon.⁵⁴⁰

From a linguistic point of view, they appear in general on inscriptions written in Latin. Two situations are atypical: that of the above mentioned Ragysbel and that of Abedallath (No. 140). In the latter case the inscription is bilingual: the name of Sol Invictus and the formula *votum* appear in Latin and the rest of the dedicatory formula, as well as the name of the dedicant, is written in Greek. The name is a classic Syrian one.⁵⁴¹ The dedication for Sol Invictus raises a problem in establishing the chronology, because there is a probability that the inscription was set up after the end of the period we are interested in and the dedicant might be a citizen. The name of Salmas Rami (No. 39) poses a series of problems as well, when it comes to onomastic classification. The personal name seems to be of Syrian origin,⁵⁴² while the filiation seems at first glance to have Celtic origins because of the root *ram*.⁵⁴³ Obviously, the association is pretty amazing and it would be wrong to remove the possibility of an Eastern origin, whose etymology eludes us for now, for the name of the father.

Without bringing up unexpected aspects, the Semitic names from the peregrine environment are revelatory and most importantly have the ability, by the few special situations they present, to suggest a wide series of data and realities that cannot be ascertained epigraphically.

Dacian names

This category of names⁵⁴⁴ has a special status in the onomastics of province Dacia, out of obvious reasons. The interest it raises is increased exponentially by the almost complete absence of Dacian names from the area of the former kingdom. This detail, that has many meanings in itself and that opens the way for a large series of interpretations, often contradictory, brings into light the problem of the status and of the cultural level of the Dacian population from the province. The lack of Romanization previous to the conquest of the Dacians, as compared to the Thracians south of the Danube, eventually leads to the lack of information we have for the time of the province.⁵⁴⁵

Thus for Dacia we have four names D. Dana identifies as Dacian⁵⁴⁶ and three belong to persons of possible peregrine status. The most spectacular one and the best known is Decebalus Luci (No. 189). Because this is the name of the last Dacian king, it might require some supplementary explanations. The name Decebalus appears in this linguistic form⁵⁴⁷ at least five times in epigraphic documents coming from outside Dacia and at least twice in slightly modified forms.⁵⁴⁸ The name is not always associated with *auxilia* made up of Dacians. Without the literary information we have at our disposal, without the certainty that this was one of the royal names of pre-Roman Dacia we might give it a Thracian origin, more so because three attestations come from Moesia Inferior. We believe it is not completely wrong in saying that the name was “fashionable” at a certain time. Even

⁵³⁸ For the Syrian-Palmyrean names, see Stark 1971, and for analogies and identifications of a more technical character, Zgusta 1964.

⁵³⁹ Stark 1971, XX.

⁵⁴⁰ Butcher 2003, 284.

⁵⁴¹ Stark 1971, 102.

⁵⁴² Wuthnow 1930, 103.

⁵⁴³ Holder 1896–1907 II 1072–1073. A possible Semitic etymology is supported by P.Brem. 5, 4.

⁵⁴⁴ For the Dacian names, the most relevant and insightful studies are those signed by D. Dana, especially the one referring to the Dacians from Egypt, that is almost a monograph in itself (Dana 2003).

⁵⁴⁵ Hoddinott 1981, 164.

⁵⁴⁶ Dana 2003, 167, ns. 17.

⁵⁴⁷ OPEL II 94.

⁵⁴⁸ Dana 2003, 175.

more so in Dacia, the name must have been seductive after the war became a mere memory, whether it was for Decebalus, slave of Lucius or for the son of a Romanized family.

Another possible Dacian name comes from a military diploma. It is Diurpa Dotu (...) f.,⁵⁴⁹ wife of Dida Cuttius, from *Cohors II Augusta Nerviana milliaria Pacensis*. Diurpa is not found spelled like this as a Dacian name but in the Greek form of Diourpa and neither is it found as a female name.⁵⁵⁰ The Dacian root seems however pretty obvious, especially that the particle *dotu* appears in possible Dacian names.⁵⁵¹ As for the name of the husband, Dida, it can be Dacian as well as Thracian: it is used by the Dacian soldiers from Egypt,⁵⁵² thus it had some cultural connections to the Dacian world or at least with some environments, maybe military, but it is frequently encountered south of the Danube as well. A name recently identified as Dacian is that of that of (...)Blasa, reconstructed by D. Dana and R. Zăgreanu as Dablasa or Zuroblasas.⁵⁵³

An adequate parallel can be drawn between the situation of Dacian names from Dacia – their extreme scarcity – and the onomastic situation of Macedonia up until the 1990s,⁵⁵⁴ where native names were impossible to identify. In time, non-Greek names from Macedonia have increased in number (though they still do not get to considerable figures) and are relatively easily identified as local. Thus, lack of evidence does not always mean that something is missing and it must not be excluded that in the next years a greater number of Dacian names might appear, allowing us to draw more consistent conclusions about the status of the native population from the province.

To conclude – the extremely limited number means this is very subjective and circumstantial – we can say that half of the names we have at our disposal are found on pieces of minor epigraphy and are not willing displays, as the stone epigraphy. No matter how hard we want to build obvious relations and to visualize the image and the epigraphic behavior of peregrines connected in some way to the Dacian culture, these seem, for the moment, impossible beyond the level of speculations.

IV. 5. INNER VARIETY OF THE GROUP

Synthesizing the final conclusions of this chapter is very difficult, just as it is problematic to obtain a somewhat unitary overview of the peregrines from Dacia. Such an attempt poses difficulties because in search of generally valid truths, one can standardize the data at his disposal in a way that is not in accordance with reality. The pages written above refer first of all to the intrinsic plurality of a category.

As it was shown in the part dedicated to onomastics, cases that are “special”, “unusual”, that do not fit the classical patterns or the desires of the modern researcher are very numerous. It is difficult and mostly incorrect and useless to search for common traits, beyond those that stand out naturally, when we refer to a group that is by excellence multifarious, including both soldiers from auxiliary troops, the miners from Alburnus, the many peregrines from the rural environment about whom we have very little information, the urban peregrines that are however poorly documented, etc. These persons of low status were capable of having their own slaves, of having small “functionaries” in their employ and in equal measure of finding the reasons and motivation for setting up epigraphic monuments. The homogeneity of information and the generalization of some conclusions are not only methodologically wrong, but also fundamentally unjust because of this multitude of individual cases and obvious particularities.

Even if some generalizations can be made, we believe they are related more to the epigraphic behavior of the lower classes – of the *humiliores* even though the term, used *a priori*, is not best suited in this context. Epigraphic manifestations of the peregrines from Dacia certainly take into account a much wider circle than the strict one represented by their legal condition.

⁵⁴⁹ No. 258.

⁵⁵⁰ Dana 2003, 177.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁵² Dana 2003, 176.

⁵⁵³ Dana, Zăgreanu 2013, 152.

⁵⁵⁴ Hatzopoulos 2001, 102.

Some traits and details must be highlighted and given proper attention, no matter if they are specific or general. One can notice in the major epigraphy the military element, but also the influence of the auxiliary troops on the environment they inhabit; in these areas next to the camps there is a peregrine epigraphy worthy of observation. On the other hand the epigraphic manifestations of peregrines in urban environments are more timid compared to those of the citizens and respectively to those from the rural environment. Only a small “elite” finds the way – but most importantly the desire – to express and expose itself. As to the monuments themselves, one notices the simplicity of funerary pieces, their typicalness and the lack of excessive details. Even so they are major sources because they shed light on family relations and on the familial micro-environments that the peregrines from Dacia lived in. Votive inscriptions allow very few specific analyses and the peregrines thus manifesting their devotion are typical for the dedicants of the province. Sometimes the inscriptions offer interesting details but these are exceptions and indicate particular cases. Based on the votive dedications of the peregrines from Dacia it can be stated that those who express their devotion using a stone epigraphic monument are an integral part of the Roman culture, no matter what onomastic category they belong to and their religious imaginary is, in the highest degree, the Roman one. Obviously the possibility that a parallel spirituality exists even in the case of these peregrines that set up votive monuments is high but what is relevant – and ultimately visible – for our study is the form of devotion each decides to present epigraphically.

The names of peregrines are predictable, although unexpected situations are noticed. The preponderance of Roman names is normal, just like the great number of Greek names, both indicating the low social status rather than an area of provenience. Interesting and worthy of being marked out are the ethnic *agnomina* or those that indicate *origo*, that draw attention to some conservation of individuality inside the Empire and the eclectic province; so too are the Greek inscriptions representing the marks of eastern culture and of a wish to maintain in one way or another the connection to the place of origin. Greek and Roman names identified on Latin inscriptions are vague indicators but the rest of the onomastic categories are most often connected with certain groups and environments and can serve as more precise and narrow cultural indicators. The discussion regarding Dacian names is just as open to debate as the questions regarding the real role and place the Dacians had in the weaving of the provincial society of Dacia.

The role and place of peregrines from Dacia reveal themselves to be varied and complex in relation to the society they inhabited. Their ability to integrate, the desire for individualization, the anchoring in the Roman realities as well as the ostentatious way in which they showed their pre-Roman culture using typical Roman means all contribute to the overall picture of peregrines. The fact that all conclusions are based on the study of small samples is even more edifying, supporting the cultural, social and behavioral diversity from Dacia, a diversity best exemplified and suggested by the peregrine group.

V. MILITARY PEREGRINES

V. 1. THE STATUS OF AUXILIARY SOLDIERS

The present chapter represents an incursion into the peregrine environment of the auxiliary troops from Dacia. The analysis of the details, the resulting statistics and the particular cases are meant to provide an overview, as clear and complete as possible, on this category. The theoretical and legal problems connected to the military status have been discussed in a previous chapter, so in the next pages we will present directly the epigraphic realities from Dacia.

The army represents a point of major interest for the analysis of peregrines because the *auxilia* is the only social and professional body that directly produces citizens. The case of veterans is best represented numerically when it comes to naturalization of noncitizens in the Empire and is the only one that can be predicted with certainty, even if it means facing the risks of a 25-30 years⁵⁵⁵ military service.

In the complex structures of the Empire, the auxiliary army had the implicit role of assimilating a series of strangers and of integrating them in the Roman society and the body of citizens.⁵⁵⁶ We can thus imagine that the military peregrines are the ones found precisely at the interference of two cultural layers. They are the human transition elements, discovered as they become fully Romanized. To speak about “integration” is somewhat incorrect because these characters are inhabitants of the Empire and, when considering the social, economic and legal levels they are situated on, they are integrated. What they obtain after fulfilling the military service (their own or that of a close relative) is legal integration and the benefits that come with being part of the upper social class of citizens.

The status of auxiliaries, as compared to that of the legionaries or the civil society, can be seen and debated from various perspectives. Obviously we must not overstress the idea of separation that the Roman military system implied between the auxiliary and the legionary soldier, between the “foreigner” and the Roman citizen. With the passing of time, the second limit certainly faded away. Still, the position of auxiliaries must have been a special one. What was the place of these soldiers, that were very numerous especially in highly militarized provinces, but that belonged to the “second echelon” of the Roman army, who did not have citizenship and who served mostly in troops that at least in theory had an ethnic character?

The wage of the auxiliary soldier, as compared to that of those enlisted in legions has been amply debated in historiography – because of the scientific interest it poses but also because of its half-anecdotic character. These financial details can be interesting and revealing in order to quantify the status of soldiers serving in *auxilia*. Based on literary and epigraphic sources,⁵⁵⁷ historians have tried to establish the ratio between the pay of the legionary and that of the auxiliary. Thus, M. A. Speidel – whose opinion has rallied other researchers interested in this problem – interprets the documents and obtains a 5:6⁵⁵⁸ proportion (the auxiliary received five sixths of the annual pay of a legionary). A study that reached similar results but where the income of the soldier is calculated

⁵⁵⁵ Wesch-Klein 1998, 183.

⁵⁵⁶ Whittaker 2004, 15.

⁵⁵⁷ Alston 1994, 114–115.

⁵⁵⁸ Speidel 1992; Saddington 2005, 68.

differently, based on the type of the troop (legion or auxiliary troop, cavalry troop or pedestrian one, etc.) is the one published by G. Wesch-Klein.⁵⁵⁹ According to her calculations, the parity between the wage of a *miles* from a cohort and that of a legionary is still 5:6, but the one between that of the *equus* from an *ala*, equal to that of a legionary mounted soldier, and of the infantryman from the legion is 7:6. It is the belief of this researcher that the proportions remained unchanged during the Principate even though the sums were increased. D. J. Breeze and B. Dobson on the other hand claim that the rapport was 1:3.⁵⁶⁰ However, their assumption seems highly unlikely because it means a very low income, corresponding to a very low social status, even if we are not dealing with a rich province. Another historiographical interpretation is that of R. Alston,⁵⁶¹ who claims we do not possess the elements to prove a stable rapport between the two types of income and that pay differed mostly between infantryman and cavalryman and varied based on province and the historical and regional context. The theory is very seductive, because it suggests a hierarchy of the Roman army (for the army in general, not for the inner structures of the troops) that is not so rigid and a much better placement of the auxiliary soldier. If these last hypotheses correspond to the realities of the Roman world, then the place occupied by the auxiliary soldier in the Roman state and the provincial society he was part of must be considered in much nuanced terms and – under any circumstances – must not be undervalued.

V. 2. THE PEREGRINE ENVIRONMENT OF *AUXILIA DACIAE*

The present analysis will start by making some observations about the employed method. We wish to emphasize that in the ranks of “military” peregrines are included not only those enlisted in the auxiliary troops, but also the whole human “angrenage” that an army like the Roman one maintained around it. The research is based on the epigraphic material at our disposal and tries to establish the proportion of “military” peregrines in the province of Dacia but also to present a series of details connected to the internal structuring of this group.⁵⁶²

The soldiers whose names do not clearly indicate citizen status were considered to be peregrines, just as the members of their families that are mentioned on diplomas and in inscriptions. *Instrumenta* – again – raise a problem of interpretation whose solution can only be limited and subjective; a single name⁵⁶³ found on this type of sources was included. Otherwise it is highly unlikely for someone to have written the *tria nomina* on an *instrumentum*. The genitive form found mostly on metallic equipment pieces often represents the name of the centurion and not of the father. As well, badly deteriorated artifacts (broken, flattened) are much too uncertain sources.

Along with the municipal elites, the soldiers and veterans are those who determine, in the western provinces, the massive increase in number of inscriptions,⁵⁶⁴ meaning that their share in epigraphy is much greater than the real, demographic one. This particularity of the phenomenon of Romanization supports again the demonstration according to which the Roman civilization was adhered to from the inside, its attractiveness being, at least for the “classical” period, moderate outside the Empire.

V. 2. A. Military diplomas and stone monuments

The peregrines that can be connected to the military environment (their names, in fact) come on one hand from military diplomas and on the other from inscriptions. The two sources differ as structure and type of information. The most valuable data extracted from the military diplomas are the exact dating, the troop where the soldier was enlisted and sometimes the names of his family members (the children, mostly). The other type of sources, the inscriptions on stone, brings to our

⁵⁵⁹ Wesch-Klein 1998, 50.

⁵⁶⁰ Breeze, Dobson 1976, 174.

⁵⁶¹ Alston 1994, 123.

⁵⁶² Most of this chapter has been previously published: see Varga 2010b.

⁵⁶³ Candidus (Maximi), from inscription No. 235.

⁵⁶⁴ Woolf 1998, 101.

attention personalized, individualizing information, such as the gods these soldiers worshipped, who their inheritors were and who set up their funerary monuments, for whom they raised funerary monuments, how long they lived, etc. In other words details connected to the private life of some characters that no other source reveals. This makes them valuable individually, though their quantity is too small to allow analytical quantifications.

The first impression resulting from *diplomata* is that a lot more children are mentioned as compared to wives (the proportion is approximately 8:1). Of course this detail can be explained in various ways and the truth probably resides in the specifics of each particular case. It must be noticed too that this rapport is modified in inscriptions, reaching 1:2. Connected to the same aspect one must not forget that part of the diplomas we have, though not many (approximately a quarter) are dated post 140, when the family of the soldier is no longer mentioned.

Another aspect worth noting refers to the percentage of soldiers mentioned as fathers. Thus we know that in the diplomata of the Danubian provinces 34% of the soldiers have children who are mentioned.⁵⁶⁵ About half of the auxiliary soldiers from Dacia are mentioned as fathers on military diplomas – a number that greatly surpasses the mentioned average (we included those who seem to have had citizenship previously). As for the number of children, the average for the diplomas from Dacia is 1.7 children/soldier.

Funerary dedications

The next few lines refer to the funerary monuments of the military peregrines from Dacia. Their numbers are low (about 17% of the names come from funerary inscriptions) reducing the possibilities of statistical analysis.⁵⁶⁶ Even so the data we have at our disposal are valuable and their interpretations leads to some interesting results.

The information obtained from tombstones is standardized. Still, military epitaphs generally emphasize the stratifications and differences in status that clearly existed in the Roman army. Thus, by simply mentioning the unit and the name of the deceased, a line of separation is drawn between the legionary and the auxiliary soldier, between the Roman citizen and the peregrine.⁵⁶⁷

For the whole of the Empire the most plastic element connected to how the families of auxiliary soldiers are reflected by epigraphy is its very evolution. M. M. Roxan paints a vivid picture of the temporal transmutations of funerary monuments and of the dedicants' identity.⁵⁶⁸ Thus, while in the 1st century 56% of the funerary stelai for soldiers were set up by comrades and/or inheritors (here we include brothers as well, as they are most often denominated not only as relatives, but also as *heredes*), the ones set up by the family (wife and children) represented only 5.2% and the ones set up by the soldiers for their wives and children did not overpass 1.7%; for the other chronological extreme (the 3rd century), the situation changes dramatically: 20.8% of the monuments were set up by wives or children, soldiers dedicated for family members 24.2% of the epitaphs while the comrades/inheritors, the military pseudo-family, set up only 16.5% of the total. This radical change in proportions is connected to the increased permissiveness related to the family life of the soldier and to the regionalization and provincialization of the auxiliary troops.

For the 2nd century, the percentages of the above mentioned statistic are as follows: 16.8% of the funerary monuments for auxiliary soldiers were set up by their family, 36.5% – by comrades/inheritors and the soldiers set up for their families (wife and children) 4.4%. The degree to which epitaphs offer demographic data must not be overvalued: the changing in percentages must be connected to the changing of the Roman army and of the people that formed it, but we cannot omit the high importance played by changes in ways of expression, representation and self-representation. Even if we use maximum care in our interpretations, these changes in percentages, progressive and quite

⁵⁶⁵ Phang 2001, 178.

⁵⁶⁶ The possibility that the great majority of soldiers were commemorated through stone epitaphs is very high and what we have now seems to be only a small percentage of these monuments (Hope 2007, 114).

⁵⁶⁷ Hope 1998, 68.

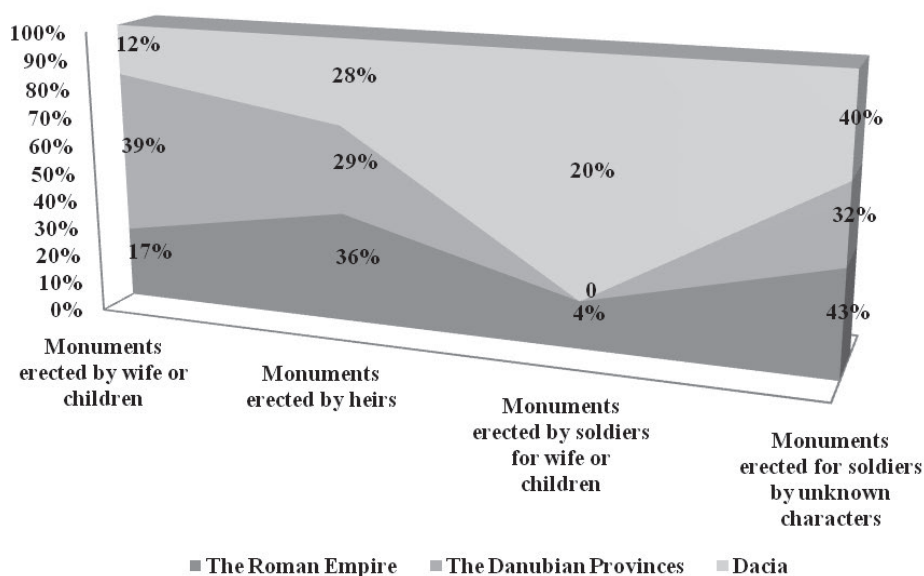
⁵⁶⁸ Roxan 1989, 462–467.

large, must not be ignored when it comes to their role as sources of evolution/modification of the family life of the auxiliary soldier.

Another study conducted by S. E. Phang on the *auxilia* from the Danubian provinces⁵⁶⁹ offers different statistical data compared to those obtained at the level of the whole Empire. Thus the percentage of soldiers commemorated by their wives increases in the 2nd century as compared to the 1st, from 16% to 39%, while that of epitaphs set up by the comrades decreases in the same period from 53% to 29%. One of the explanations for this increased commemoration of the family can be connected to the relative stability of the troops from the Danube region and to massive local recruitment.

The situation from Africa is interesting, even though the comparison with Dacia does not seem truly relevant. Thus, for the whole period (2nd century B.C. – 3rd century A.D.), J.-M. Lassère noted familial information for veterans in about 82% of the cases.⁵⁷⁰ He is pessimistic in his analysis, considering the insufficient percentage and the incomplete state of information as major drawbacks. Even though the epigraphy of veterans does not follow the same coordinates as that of the soldiers, and though the time period considered for Africa Proconsularis in the mentioned study is enormous when compared to the one we study for Dacia the information proves that a solid epigraphic culture got consolidated in time.

Graph VII. Comparative graph for dedicants of funerary monuments (2nd century)⁵⁷¹



For Dacia we have a series of proportions that do not seem to overlap the ones existent in the Empire as a whole (Graph VII): thus, 28% of the auxiliary soldiers are commemorated by inheritors (a high percentage, however, comparable to the general one obtained for the Danubian provinces), only 12% by the wife and/or children (in this case the percentage for Dacia is the smallest of the three) and 20% set up funerary monuments for the children and wife. For the other funerary inscriptions we do not know who the dedicant is.⁵⁷² The last but one mentioned category – that of monuments set up by soldiers for wives and children – is overrepresented in Dacia when compared to the rest of the Empire and, probably, to the Danubian provinces as a whole. In Dacia there are no cases of citizen women associated with peregrine soldiers but there is a reversed situ-

⁵⁶⁹ Phang 2001, 153.

⁵⁷⁰ Lassère 1977, 475.

⁵⁷¹ The 0% value given for monuments raised by soldiers for their wives and children in the Danubian provinces is not real being the result of the study's author (Phang 2001, 153) not giving the percentage for this situation.

⁵⁷² For military epitaphs in the Empire we have a recorded percentage of approximately 83.9% known dedicants (Meyer 1990, 75).

ation when a husband who is a soldier and has citizen status, sets up a funerary monument for his peregrine wife.⁵⁷³

A potentially revealing detail of funerary inscriptions is the mentioning of the age of death. In the case of our group, the age is mentioned in a very small number of cases, making them pretty irrelevant. We have only 6 soldiers and their funerary inscriptions have all been found at Apulum. Thus:

- Dasas Scenobarbi, *eques* in *Ala I Batavorum* dead at 31 years of age⁵⁷⁴ and commemorated by an inheritor (No. 147);
- Meatinus Birsi, soldier in *Cohors I Batavorum*, dead at 30 years of age and commemorated by his brother and sister, the former being also a citizen (No. 43);
- Mucasenus Censorini, *eques* in *Singulares Consularis*, dead at 20 years of age,⁵⁷⁵ and it is the wife who sets up the monument (No. 162);
- Mucatra Brasi, soldier in *Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibicensium*, dead at 39 years of age and whose monument is set up by an inheritor (No. 161);
- Zenon Tarasi, soldier in *Numerus Germanicianorum*, dead at 33 years of age and commemorated by his wife (No. 154);
- Roemetalces⁵⁷⁶ (?), *eques* in the *Ala II Pannoniorum*, dead at 38 years and commemorated by Brisenus, *imaginifer* of the same *ala* and his heir (No. 268).

Not at all surprising is the fact that – and we refer here strictly to realities from the time of the Principate – the “ranking” soldiers’ families appear much more frequently as compared to simple soldiers’.⁵⁷⁷ This reality is normal and easy to understand. For the group discussed here the statement is hard to prove or refute because in almost half of the cases when soldiers are mentioned in inscription, we do not know their military rank. The remaining cases, although few in number, (29, including all types of inscriptions, not just the funerary ones) present a 3:1 rapport in favor of those who have ranks as compared to the simple soldiers.

In order to complete the image of the realities reflected by funerary inscriptions, it would be necessary and methodologically correct to analyze the citizens mentioned there. However, in inscriptions that are one way or another connected to auxiliary troops no citizens are mentioned. We have a few inscriptions (3 to be more exact) where (possible) citizens appear. Three of them inherit most likely the deceased soldiers,⁵⁷⁸ and one is the brother – possibly also inheritor.⁵⁷⁹ Also some of the soldiers mentioned in the diplomas seem to have been citizens before enrolment,⁵⁸⁰ but for obvious reasons they were not included in the present study.

The wording of the inscriptions is simple and standard. The most frequent dedicatory formula is *bene merenti*,⁵⁸¹ in some cases followed by other explanations. These are (*coniugi*) *pientissimae*⁵⁸² or *marito pientissimo*,⁵⁸³ but we also encounter the formula *heres contubernali carissimo posuit*,⁵⁸⁴ indicating a different type of relation between the dedicants and the deceased.

The forms of commemoration revealed by the funerary inscriptions of the military peregrines from Dacia are mostly stereotypical. The language of the inscriptions is simple and often reduced

⁵⁷³ No. 33.

⁵⁷⁴ The interval 31–40 years of age is the one vastly recorded on the monuments of soldiers (Hope 2007, 117, with statistical studies concerning Mogontiacum, Carnuntum and Britannia).

⁵⁷⁵ The very young age of this soldier is rarely encountered in the statistics (Hope 2007, 117: less than 5% of the catalogued soldiers are under 21 years of age).

⁵⁷⁶ We thank Professor Ioan Piso for the interpretation of the inscription (Piso 2014). The stone is quite deteriorated, but the hypothesis of the Thracian royal name is surely appealing.

⁵⁷⁷ Phang 2001, 159; Nemeth 1993, 201 identifies only two officers in the army of Dacia Porolissensis; this subrepresentation is still valid for the mentioned province.

⁵⁷⁸ No. 230 – Linda Severus could be an inheritor; No. 196 – it is possible that Valeria Cara Flavia (?) is a citizen (we do not know details about the relations between the characters); No. 147 – Bersius Ingenuus.

⁵⁷⁹ No. 43 – Aurelius Sataras (?).

⁵⁸⁰ CIL XVI 160 = IDR I 1 (M. Ulpius Adcobrovati f. Novantico), No. 41 (M. Ulpius Sacci f. Longinus Belgus), No. 249 (M. Herennius Polymita Berensius).

⁵⁸¹ No. 2; No. 6; No. 230; No. 223; No. 225; No. 9.

⁵⁸² No. 3; No. 162; No. 8.

⁵⁸³ No. 154.

⁵⁸⁴ No. 161.

to a minimum. The commemoration is done, as we have seen, mostly by comrades in arms who also inherit the deceased. In light of only these inscriptions the auxiliary environment of the army from Dacia and implicitly that of the military peregrines appears pretty somber, with family ties supplanted up to a point by those of camaraderie.

Votive inscriptions

The first thing we are tempted to do when analyzing the religion of auxiliary troops is to start from the premise that a certain cultural local background survives in the culture of these troops and that it is manifested in religion. In some cases this presumption proves valid, religious manifestations being connected to the ethnic character of the troop.⁵⁸⁵ For other cases there is no connection, as we will see. Few of the peregrines attested epigraphically as part of the military environment of Dacia set up votive monuments. Only 10 such inscriptions have been identified, representing 8.3% of the total number of persons analyzed on this study. Because of their number, some explanations are useful and might help for a better understanding:

- for Silvanus Domesticus, by Mucianus, *optio* probably in *Numerus Palmyrenorum* from Porolissum (No. 35);
- for Nemesis Sacra, by Nepos, *centurio* in the above mentioned troop (No. 36);
- for Victoria Victrix, by Vaterinus Cassiani (the reading of the patronymic is not certain), *equus* in *Numerus Surorum* from Arutela; the inscription was discovered at Kajtasovo (No. 192);
- for Silvanus Domesticus, by Catulus, *immunis* from Micia (No. 195);
- for Iupiter Optimus Maximus, by Crispus, soldier from *Cohors II Commagenorum*, also from Micia (No. 197);
- for Minerva Augusta and Genius cohortis, by Ianuarius, *actarius* in *Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum* from Micia (No. 198);
- for Silvanus Deus Aeternus, by Quintianus, *decurio alae* in *Ala I Hispanorum Campagonum* from Micia (No. 200);
- for Liber Pater, by Rufus, *praefectus* in one of the troops from Micia (No. 202);
- for Pluton, by the same (probably) Rufus, *praefectus* in one of the troops from Micia (No. 203);
- for Placida Regina, from a unit (*Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* or *Numerus Surorum Sagittariorum*) from Romula, represented by a *princeps* (Proculus) and an *optio* (Gaius) (No. 237).

Starting from the onomastics of the characters and ending with the gods themselves, one easily notices that these votive inscriptions cannot bring new information and do not allow us to make any kind of statistic. The possible ethnicity is not directly connected to the invoked god, in general, in military votive inscriptions.⁵⁸⁶ In the present case, because the inscriptions are few, the role of hazard is considerable and the validity of generalizations minimal.

Anyway, on first sight, it can be observed that the few peregrine dedicants from the military environment worship the official gods (Iupiter Optimus Maximus), military gods (Victoria and even Nemesis) or gods that are popular in the whole province and whose cults are obviously encouraged (Silvanus).⁵⁸⁷ Due to hazard or not, we have no inscriptions set up by the peregrines from the army of Dacia where they worship any kind of *dii patrii* and the traits of a possible official cult specific for a certain troop were not found at all in Dacia.⁵⁸⁸ *Genius cohortis* is the most abstract divinity found in these inscriptions and the only one with an exclusive military character, even though not individualized. We notice the lack of oriental gods, otherwise quite present in the military dedication from Dacia.⁵⁸⁹ As for the gods that are honored it is hard to state something else beyond general observations about them and about the context the respective inscriptions were being set up. Thus, we can state that Nemesis is very rarely mentioned with the epithet *sacra* in military inscriptions

⁵⁸⁵ Haynes 1993, 157.

⁵⁸⁶ Ștefănescu 2005, 508.

⁵⁸⁷ Popescu 2004, 336.

⁵⁸⁸ Popescu 2004, 345.

⁵⁸⁹ Ștefănescu 2005, 510 offers for the whole army of Dacia Superior a percentage of almost 20% (12 dedications) inscriptions set up for Oriental gods.

and that she is a goddess of “military hope”,⁵⁹⁰ that Victoria Victrix can be considered, because of the epithet, as an unofficial and personal form of worship,⁵⁹¹ or that Dea Placida is identified with Isis by the unit of *Commageni*.

By analyzing the used formulas we notice their standard character: *v(oto) p(osuit)/s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)/l(ibetes) p(osuerunt)* – in the case of collective dedications. In some situations the dedicatory formula is completely missing. The dedications are second person, other forms of devotion or individualizing afferent reliefs lacking.

Under these circumstances, it can be said that the votive inscriptions of the military peregrines from Dacia do not constitute solid manifestation of a widely spread habit, that they were set up by characters with common names, vague in terms of area of origin and that they are addressed to some of the official gods, popular in the province and/or with military character.

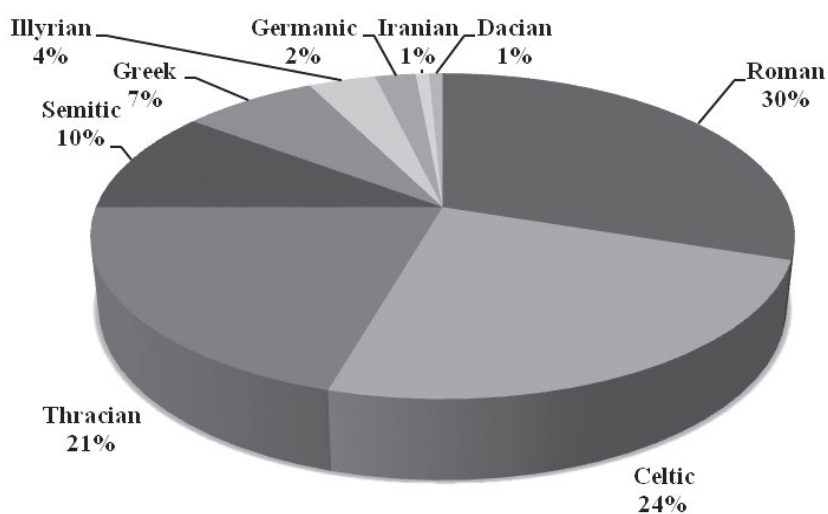
The subchapter dedicated to the sources was meant to offer an image as complete as possible but also synthetic of peregrines that, one way or another, can be connected to *auxilia Daciae*. The resulting image is that of a group whose epigraphic manifestations are not abundant but are consistent and are individualized in the provincial society and on the large category of peregrines from Dacia.

V. 2. B. Onomastic reconstruction

At present, we have a total of 75 peregrine names found in military diplomas and another 60 in inscriptions. This number is in no way impressive, but neither is it insignificant. Even if aiming for absolute results remains risky, the sum of peregrine names connected to the military environment is high enough to allow for a series of analyses to be undertaken and some conclusions to be drawn.

The detailed presentation of onomastic realities is both relevant and inciting. Even so we must always keep in mind that the etymology and the linguistic structure of names from the military environment offer less information about the peregrine onomastic from Dacia and more about the origin of soldiers that served in *auxilia Daciae*. One cannot ignore that the presence of a soldier is organically connected to the presence of a troop. In this context the integration of military peregrines in the great mass of peregrines from Dacia must be done carefully and with caution as to the resulting conclusions.

Graph VIII. Ethnic origin of the names attested in connection to the auxiliary troops of Dacia



⁵⁹⁰ Popescu 2004, 100 sqq.

⁵⁹¹ Popescu 2004, 56.

Some preliminary explanations connected to the relation of individual onomastic with the troop are required. The first explanation is that the two are generally in agreement: we will find Celtic names in a Gaul troop,⁵⁹² Semitic in a Palmyrean troop,⁵⁹³ Illyrian in a Illyrian troop,⁵⁹⁴ etc. This majority is completed however by exceptions. Thus, for example, we find Thracian names in Illyrian,⁵⁹⁵ Gaul⁵⁹⁶ and Briton⁵⁹⁷ troops or a self-declared member of the tribe of the *Azali* in an *Iturei* troop.⁵⁹⁸ The exceptions should not surprise us because the ethnic character of the group is based most times on their initial specific, on their fighting style and only partially on their subsequent ethnic component.

The major group is that of Roman names, a situation consonant with the one existing at the level of the province. Their preponderance over Celtic names, with a small margin, presents a certain dose of relativity. Some names that will be exemplified further on are part of the major group of names with Latin etymology that are preponderant in the Celtic areas of the Empire; they have been classified as such. Others however are equivocal, they have Latin etymology, their presence is even all over Roman Western Europe, even though they are susceptible of having a greater presence in areas with Celtic background. As a consequence, we have placed them in the category of Roman names, in order to avoid greater errors of interpretation. We find Roman names everywhere, in Gaul cohorts,⁵⁹⁹ in Commagene cohorts,⁶⁰⁰ in an *ala* of Panonians,⁶⁰¹ etc. The abundance of Roman names in the *auxilia* from Dacia supports the theory that the Roman social imaginary has a more fragile component based on strict territorial origin and a much stronger one of self-representation.⁶⁰² We must notice that in spite of its preeminence, the share held by Italic names in the military environment is lower than the one for the overall province. We also notice that some of the children of those who have ethnically relevant names often have Roman names,⁶⁰³ probably an alternative more at hand for. They can be both the expression of a family environment we do not know completely (the origin of the mother, the places of origin of some of the grandparents, etc.) as well as of a break in the cultural and physical connections with the area the father originated from. A special case is the diploma of Tullionus Vegeti Tungrus (No. 267). Although he declares his German origins, he has a Roman name (like his father, in fact) and his sons carry what might be considered military names: Ferox, Vernus and Victor. In this case the choice of the names seems a little surprising, given that his wife is Eravisca, with both ethnic name and patronymic.

Celtic names are usually in agreement with the declared ethnicity of the troop, atypical cases being few in number.⁶⁰⁴ Especially when considering this onomastic group, but not only, we must take notice of the last place the troop was stationed in, this often being more relevant than the ethnic-regional marker that the name of the unit provides. The names of soldiers are sometimes evidence of regional recruitment⁶⁰⁵ (with the coherence of the group that the cultural environment of a region provides, rather than the similitude of proper ethnic origin) but also of the diversity of the Roman army. When we speak about diversity we refer especially to the great cultural open-

⁵⁹² No. 255 (Bolliconus Icci f., in *Ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana*).

⁵⁹³ No. 54; No. 34 (Hadrianus Baricius Male f. and Hadrianus Hamasaesus Amapatha, in *Palmyreni Sagittari ex Syria-Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensis Sagittariorum*).

⁵⁹⁴ No. 175 (Tutor Silvani, in *Numerus Illyricorum*).

⁵⁹⁵ No. 248 (Bitus Sola f. Besso, in *Numerus Equitum Illyricorum*), No. 268 (Brisenus and possibly Roemetalces in *Ala II Pannoniorum*).

⁵⁹⁶ No. 184 (Heptapor f. Besso, in *Ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum*).

⁵⁹⁷ No. 57 (Mucatralli Bithi f. Bessus, in *Cohors I Brittanica milliaria*).

⁵⁹⁸ No. 264 (Marsua Calvi f. Azalus, in *Ala I Augusta Itureorum*).

⁵⁹⁹ No. 247 (Aulenus Her... f.).

⁶⁰⁰ No. 237 (Gaius and Rufus).

⁶⁰¹ No. 12 (Gemellus, Terentius, Titus Deci sive Desi, etc.).

⁶⁰² Whittaker 2004, 4.

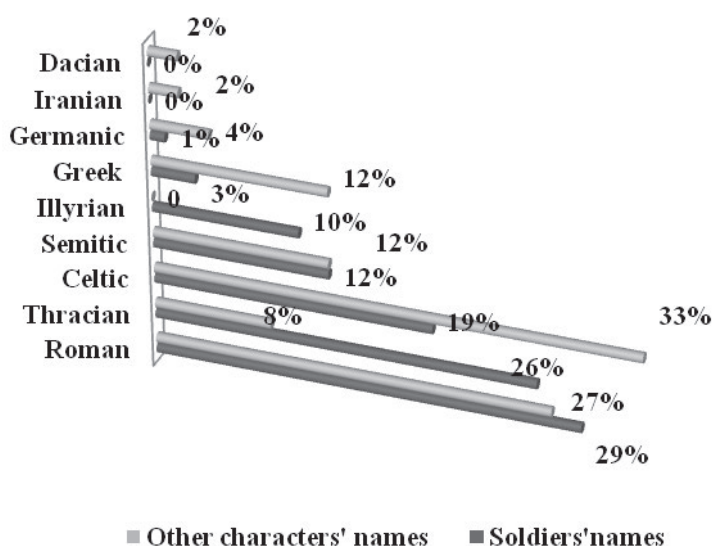
⁶⁰³ For example, No. 251.

⁶⁰⁴ Gallionus Suadali f. Boius is enlisted in *Cohors I Cretum sagittariorum*, a troop with an unexpected specific when compared to the name and ethnicity of the soldier (No. 259).

⁶⁰⁵ For a study on this subject, see Forni 1974, 386–390.

ness⁶⁰⁶ of the Roman world – more so for the military world, mobile by excellence – but also to the possibility that some very high family variables existed for each particular case, variables that unfortunately we know in only some rare exceptions. A case worth mentioning here, although the methodological value of the example is higher than the informative one, is that of the patronymic Mahechus (No. 264). The name seems to have Greek sonority and the radical *-mah(e)* is encountered in some Greek names;⁶⁰⁷ Mahes however is a Celtic name⁶⁰⁸ and in the familial context of the present diploma (one of the children of the daughter has a Celtic name and her husband is an Azal) the first impression is that most likely that our character has a Celtic name. Still, the name of the daughter's husband is Marsua Calvi f. Azalus. The Pannonian⁶⁰⁹ must not be considered absolute when defining his identity, his personal name being Greek. Under these circumstances the possibility that the patronymic of the wife is also Greek cannot be excluded. All these details prove just how complex the family environment of the characters we find attested could be, but also how difficult it is to completely uncover it.

Graph IX. Comparative percentages of the names of soldiers and the names of the other characters from the military environment



The disproportion between the names of soldiers and the names of other characters from the military environment is remarkable (as seen on Graph IX). In other words, most of the names that can be placed in the Celtic category are those belonging to the children of the soldiers, often mentioned on the diplomas of fathers of this “ethnicity”. This detail is not particularly eloquent as it might be the result of hazard, but it is interesting for the manner in which it shapes the family environment of the auxiliary soldiers from *Dacia*.

Thracian names are also well represented among the auxiliary soldiers from Dacia. Their presence seems natural; they can be connected to the ethnic and cultural background dating from before the province as well as with its geographical positioning. Thracian names, unlike the Celtic ones but similar to the Roman ones, appear mostly in inscriptions. Also, in their case there is a great disproportion between the names of soldiers and those of other persons, but this time it is in favor of the formerly mentioned category. As we have already mentioned Thracian soldiers appear in various troops, none of them having an explicit Thracian specific. The two names of naturalized children

⁶⁰⁶ We use the term “cultural” in this paragraph in its widest meaning, referring to society, religion, education, family environment, etc.

⁶⁰⁷ Pape, *Benseler* II 874; *LGPN* I 300.

⁶⁰⁸ Holder 1896–1907 II 387.

⁶⁰⁹ Anreiter 2001, 34–35.

(No. 260; No. 261), both of them boys, are unfortunately fragmentary; their Thracian origin is the most probable without having absolute certainty as they cannot be associated with the names of the fathers or of other members of the family. In the category of Thracian names we are faced with the rare case when two husbands mentioned epigraphically have two ethnic similar names: Mucasenus Censorini and Rescuturme Soiae (No. 162). Further on, we shall again mention the interesting case of the military diploma where the name of the naturalized wife seems to be of Dacian origin: Diurpa Dotu(...) f. (No. 258).

The next group is the Semitic (Syrian-Palmyrean) one. Here we can verify at a small scale the statement regarding the eclectic family environment of peregrines connected to *auxilia Daciae*: in only one diploma we have attested the family of a Syrian soldier and the wife and some of his children carry Italic names (No. 252). One of the children has the Iranian name Arsama,⁶¹⁰ which might be considered an influence received by the family from the cultural background of the father, while the other is called Achilleus, having a Greek name in a Latinized form. It can be noticed that the so-called conservatism of Asian groups is not necessarily confirmed (this conclusion of course is not connected only to this particular case but to all the peregrines from Dacia and beyond).⁶¹¹ It is obvious from Graph IX that the percentage of Syrian-Palmyrean names is constant for soldiers and their families (although the relevance of this detail is relative because of the small number of names; the latter statement is also valid for the next onomastic groups). In the end it is worth mentioning that those who have Semitic names are the only ones from the certain onomastic groups that are attested only in troops with a clear and concordant regional specific.

Greek names appear in a high percentage in the civilian environment (noticeable on Graph IV), their usefulness as an object of study becoming in these conditions very low, just like that of Roman names. For the military environment however Greek names are found in much smaller percentages. Remarkably, they are only found on diplomas. Standing out in this group is the name of Marsua (No. 264), a corrupt form of Marsyas, found both in Rome⁶¹² and in the provinces,⁶¹³ but not in the military environment. In the category of Greek names we encounter a rare case when the “ethnicity” of the name of the father coincides with that of all the naturalized children (No. 233). Thus, Eupator Eumeni, naturalizes 5 children (four boys and a girl) that all have Greek names. We do not know the name of the mother but we can assume she has Eastern origins. It is worth mentioning that the troop where this *gregalis* was enlisted is a *vexillatio Equitum Illyricorum* – another proof for the diversity of the auxiliary military environment and of the diversity of the characters that form it. Anyway this is one of the few cases where we can speak about an Eastern background, of Greek culture, among the peregrines from Dacia.

The next group is that of Illyrian names. In the civilian environment their great number is due mostly to the historical circumstances that favored the discoveries from Alburnus Maior. In the military environment we can notice the low representativeness with a percentage of only 6%. The ratio between military diplomas and inscriptions is almost 1 and the bearers are exclusively soldiers. Thus we have no wives or children naturalized by diplomas and in the case of funerary inscriptions either we do not know who sets up the monuments of these soldiers (No. 194; No. 175), or they were built by inheritors (No. 230; No. 147), and not by family members. The troops where we encounter characters with Illyrian names are as different as possible, from the unusual *Numerus Maurorum Miciensium*,⁶¹⁴ up to the “banal” – given the context – *Numerus Illyricorum*.⁶¹⁵

The next – and last – onomastic groups are the Germanic one, the Iranian one and the Dacian one. They are poorly represented in the statistics – practically insignificantly: 2%, respectively 1%. The Germanic names are problematic when it comes to categorizing them based on ethnicity and onomastic, and they can be confounded with the Celtic ones. The details pertaining to them have

⁶¹⁰ Dana 2007, 70.

⁶¹¹ For examples outside Dacia, see Dana 2007, 74.

⁶¹² Solin 2003, 440.

⁶¹³ Eck, Pangerl 2011a, 224; Lozano Velilla 1998, 129.

⁶¹⁴ No. 194 (...is Dassi – even though it refers only to the filiation, it reveals a certain family background).

⁶¹⁵ No. 175 (Tutor Silvani, who has a mixed name).

already been properly discussed in the previous chapter, just like the consistent doubts surrounding their placement in the Germanic names category.⁶¹⁶ The only Iranian name is Arsama (No. 252) previously mentioned with all the necessary details. The name with a possible Dacian etymology has already been mentioned above: Diurpa Dotu(...) f. (No. 258).

What can be observed when comparing the general image of the peregrine onomastic from Dacia with the smaller one from the military environment is the much higher percentage of Celtic and Thracian names in the latter. They are quite often encountered outside the military environment but not in comparable numbers. Unlike the Roman and Greek names they can be often connected to a local or regional cultural background and to a more certain area of origin of the carrier. Roman names occupy first place in both cases. The Greek ones appear as a rarity among the soldiers and their families while their share in the general level of peregrines from Dacia is considerable. The other name groups are found in too small percentages, either in the civilian or military environment, to allow for a relevant comparison.

The persons discussed above have in most cases simple names. Still, because of their connection with the military troops, we have a higher percentage of names that can be considered ethnic and/or cultural markers than in the civilian environment. This detail provides for a clearer and more complete image on the connections between the auxiliary troops and the enlisted soldiers, on family relations in the military environment in a province such as Dacia, on the specific conservatism or openness, but it also completes the general picture of the peregrines from the province. *Supernomina*,⁶¹⁷ that, as we have remarked in the previous chapter, are carried by a great number of soldiers, are proof that in the military environment and especially in the one of auxiliary troops, outlining a non-Roman origin was an integral part of the soldiers' identity and at the same time this type of individualization did not lead to a diminished status.⁶¹⁸

V. 3. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MILITARY PEREGRINES

The research conducted above presents the complete image of the peregrines identified epigraphically in the military environment of Dacia. At the beginning of the Principate auxiliary soldiers were perceived as "wild",⁶¹⁹ more difficult to integrate in the Roman civilization, but in the 2nd century and at the beginning of the 3rd this image was considerably changed. Because of massive provincial recruitment, they became one of the most Romanized categories of inhabitants from the Empire. It can be said that auxiliary soldiers chose the army as a pathway towards integration in the body of citizens and for the transformation of their families in Roman families, even though this was not the main reason for choosing a military career. To become a soldier in an auxiliary troop was in fact quite easy, the conditions for enlistment being free birth, moral integrity and a series of physical aptitudes.

When analyzing the peregrines from the military environment of Dacia, the first thing we must keep in mind is the unevenness of epigraphic information and the hazard involved in it becoming accessible.⁶²⁰ These coordinates and the uncertainty they impose increase the risks of a generalizing quantitative analysis. Still when we interpret prudently the epigraphic source some statistical analysis do not lack relevance or justification.

At a first glance we can say that the military peregrines from Dacia are pretty well represented epigraphically, although a greater number of inscriptions and characters would not have been surprising for a militarized province. Information is provided in almost equal shares by military diplomas and inscriptions. It seems the manifestations in stone – in funerary but especially votive contexts – are the trait of a small military elite from the auxiliary soldiers, rather than of the

⁶¹⁶ See p. 116.

⁶¹⁷ We have decided not to discuss the problem of military *supernomina*, because they have been already amply presented and exemplified.

⁶¹⁸ Noy 2010, 14.

⁶¹⁹ Saddington 2005, 63.

⁶²⁰ For a wider discussion on this subject see Paki 2006, 505–506.

common soldiers. Their onomastic is mostly simple and predictable: Italic names predominate and the names that truly are relevant regarding ethnicity are connected most of the times to the specific of the troop or to its recruitment areas. Commemoration is austere and summary, mostly done by the inheritors – this is explained both by the young age of the deceased during their military service and by the recruitment areas of the troops the soldiers served in. The family environment, mostly represented by children who gain citizenship through diplomas and less by wives or children mentioned in the inscriptions of the father, allows us to observe a permissive and culturally open society.

Thus, the military peregrines from Dacia appear as a considerable part in the mass of peregrines from the province, particularized through a series of traits related to their own association with the army, but integrated in the group due to their general legal status. Because of their sheer proportion but also because of the quality of adjacent information they are vital for the general understanding of the group they are part of.

VI. PEREGRINE COMMUNITIES

VI. 1. IDENTIFYING PEREGRINE SETTLEMENTS

The problem of communities is essential for the understanding of peregrines and for placing them correctly within the local and imperial administrative structures. Unfortunately, Dacia does not offer much information from this point of view. Peregrine communities here do not take the epigraphic visible form of *civitates*, are limited to rural settlements, producing few sources and in most cases we have no convincing evidence about their status.

A series of major differences occurs in the organization of provincial Dacia when compared to the organization of the pre-Roman territory. The disappearance of fortresses organically connected to the Dacian warrior aristocracy that dominated the kingdom of Decebalus is immediately followed by Roman type urbanism and an increase in the density of habitations.⁶²¹ This is directly connected to the massive military presence, but also to the colonization phenomenon (initially partially organized, but later mostly spontaneous) of a new province.

Discussing peregrine communities requires first of all their identification. This process however is not always easy or even possible. The legal status of most rural settlements of Dacia is still under debate. The *territoria* of cities cannot be perfectly traced due to the lack of convincing sources; thus any rural settlement can be under the jurisdiction of a Roman law city, having the same legal status. As an example we can mention here the case of Ampelum, which most likely started out as a *vicus* and – apparently – did not automatically benefit from Roman law. We know however that, at least for a limited period of time, it was included in the territory of Sarmizegetusa. This status offered its inhabitants full Roman citizenship.⁶²²

The absence of pre-Roman elites from the social and administrative life of the province automatically raises questions about the status of the whole native population after the conquest of the Dacian kingdom. The absence of Dacian names, already discussed in the previous chapters, is unusual, being in opposition to the general realities of the Empire. It makes the discussion about the legal status of the conquered population even more pressing and – at the same time – means it is lacking definitive answers. The first hypothesis, easy to imagine, is the one that states the conquered Dacians became *dediticii*, lacking any legal rights in the Roman state.⁶²³ Another historiographical hypothesis worthy of consideration assumes, based on Roman legal procedures, that the viability of a *deditio* is doubtful for the Dacian kingdom.⁶²⁴ Thus once Decebalus was physically eliminated, it is questionable whether the Romans accepted some of the representatives of Dacian nobility as bearers of statehood; only in these circumstances could the *deditio* ceremony take place, involving the presence of two sovereign states, legally represented as such. The sources are silent about these details and if *deditio* did not take place formally then the conquered Dacians became *peregrini nullius civitatis*, meaning some kind of *incolae* lacking rights.⁶²⁵ Even though seductive and apparently well-reasoned, both theories are speculations as there are no written sources to

⁶²¹ Oltean 2007, 210.

⁶²² Ardevan 1998b, 52.

⁶²³ The theory has been explicitly presented by Piso 1995, 70.

⁶²⁴ Cîrjan 2006, 263.

⁶²⁵ Cîrjan 2006, 265.

strongly support them. Finally, there is a very strong possibility that the Dacians simply gained the status associated to their settlements after the conquest, most of them becoming peregrines.

The existence of *civitas*-like settlements in Dacia has long been debated upon. The legal status of autonomous peregrine settlements is presented by Plinius Maior⁶²⁶ who, quite enlighteningly, assimilates the terminology to that used for eastern cities and says that in Baetica there were over one hundred twenty peregrine communities, three allied (*foederatae*) and three free, in Lusitania a single allied (*foederata*) city and in Lusitania thirty-six communities, all paying tribute (*stipendiariae*). In terms of Roman law, allied cities seem to benefit from Latin law and the free ones – colonies and municipalities (*municipii*) from *ius Italicum*.⁶²⁷ Another historiographical theory offers however a different possibility, respectively the existence of a superior status for allied cities, because a *foedus* was irrevocable while the status of *civitas sine foedere libera et imuna* was based on a Roman decision.⁶²⁸ Sometimes, in Western Europe, *civitates peregrinae* received *ius Latii* with the purpose of accelerating the integration process.⁶²⁹ However we do not find these realities in Dacia and the desire to identify *civitates* similar to those from western Europe is unfruitful because, of the lack of sources, but also probably because the reality in itself did not exist.

What might be similar from the terminological aspect in the incipient organization of Dacia with the Western *civitates*, but still in a low proportion, are the *pagi*; unlike *vici*, usually depending on an administrative center, *pagi* can have autonomy⁶³⁰ (this does not mean that all benefit from this privilege), eventually administratively bringing together several *vici*. Another form of organization attested in Dacia is the *territorium*⁶³¹ (*territorium Sucidavense*,⁶³² *territorium Arcobadarensis*),⁶³³ this seems to fit the definition known to us from *Lex Rubria*, being a rural settlement, not very large and that administrates itself. What we do know from existing inscriptions indicates that these settlements had *magistri* who were citizens, so it is hard to classify them as proper peregrine settlements. The evidence up to this point however does not indicate an “inheritance” of pre-Roman organization⁶³⁴ nor does it favor paying increased attention to peregrine settlements from Dacia when it comes to the administration of the province.

A possible relevant detail is the fact that *civitas* can also mean *populus* or *gens*,⁶³⁵ legal individualities defined well enough inside the Roman state as *Tabula Banasitana*⁶³⁶ proves. The much debated term that Ptolemaeus uses is more likely to have this meaning when applied to Dacia.⁶³⁷ Basically, he mentions a division of the territory at the beginning of Hadrian’s reign, when we can imagine that the rural area of the province was molded on certain lines of the previous organization. This hypothesis was put forward in 1960 by C. Daicoviciu,⁶³⁸ who considered that the tribes could be administrative divisions of the extra-urban space of Roman Dacia. An example and demonstration is *vicus Anartorum*.⁶³⁹ It has the name of the one of the tribes localized by Ptolemaeus in the north-western part of the territory and the *vicus* appears to have been situated in the north-west of the province, in the area of the Criș Rivers. The settlement was debatably identified with Resculum and placed next to the *castellum* from Bologna.⁶⁴⁰ No matter what the topographical placement of this point was, what matters is the existence of the above mentioned inscription and the information it offers. Even though the truth value of the territorial overlying can be questioned, we find the

⁶²⁶ NH III 3–4.

⁶²⁷ Chastagnol 1990, 51.

⁶²⁸ Abbott, Johnson 1968, 41.

⁶²⁹ Cîrjan 2010b, 122.

⁶³⁰ Ardevan 1998b, 91.

⁶³¹ For this topic see Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2010.

⁶³² IDR II 190.

⁶³³ ILD 800; Nemeti, Bărbulescu 2010, 448 and pl. VII.

⁶³⁴ Ardevan 1998b, 55.

⁶³⁵ Abbott, Johnson 1968, 15.

⁶³⁶ Seston, Euzennat 1961

⁶³⁷ Bogdan-Cătănicu 1991, 62.

⁶³⁸ Daicoviciu 1960, 266.

⁶³⁹ CIL III 8060; AE 2004, 1050.

⁶⁴⁰ Bogdan-Cătănicu 1991, 64.

name of the *vicus* and the clear connection of the Roman settlement with a preexisting tribe interesting and relevant, even though hard to place in the greater image of territorial and administrative organization of the province.

The discontinuous character of certain information must be kept in mind when one tries to identify the legal status of settlements. Thus it is wrong to consider that a settlement has peregrine status beyond the time period when the fact is attested for. Temporal generalizations can lead to interpretational errors. For example, at Romula there was a *castellum* was superposed by a *vicus*, that later became a *municipium Aelii*.⁶⁴¹ We can claim, with a small margin of error, that only the *vicus* had peregrine status – and its existence is in fact very short-lived. Also it is possible that Potaissa too, a major center at the end of the 2nd century, was initially a peregrine settlement, most probably *vicus Patavissensium* receiving urban status (it was possibly a *colonia*) only from Septimius Severus⁶⁴² onwards.

A final problem regarding identification is that, not rarely, communities that seemed to stand out because of certain traditionalism in the material culture were catalogued as peregrine. A case worth mentioning is one of the settlements from the Mediaș area (the point Gura Câmpului, in between Mediaș and Târnava), where the authors of an archaeological report in the beginning of the 90s⁶⁴³ noticed the material characteristics of the “native Dacians”, but also the orderly structure of the settlement, following the model of a Roman *vicus*. Neither of these two pieces of information can prove that the settlement had one type of legal status or another; their juxtaposing proves however once again the polyvalence of living conditions in the provincial environment of the Roman Empire and the frailness of deductive interpretations that are meant to have absolute value. Another example of this type is that of the Norico-Panonians from Cașolț and Calbor, buried in tumuli that have characteristic *busta*, with typical tripods of the *Dreifussschale* type.⁶⁴⁴ Also interesting is that in every tomb located here there was a coin, Roman of course, proof of a Romanization process, at least in its initial phases. Burial rituals are among the most persistent spiritual and cultural manifestations that exist in any given historical age and their perpetuation, no matter of the environment where the individual moves (even more so when he lives inside a group that has similar traits) does not prove anything about his legal status. Without denying the possibility of associating certain types of artifacts with the building of a distinct identity, we must underline the fact that this alterity did not play the most important part in the life of that individual.⁶⁴⁵ Citizenship or its lack must certainly not be necessarily connected to some type of identity construct. The multiple and varied possibilities in which it could be obtained serve to create a fluid picture of Roman realities. To conclude, no element of the material culture, of religious nature or of common use can be used as a source when analyzing the legal status of a community.

The map of the peregrine settlements from Dacia cannot yet be drawn. The status of some communities might be peregrine, but we have no certainties for this. Except for the community from Alburnus Maior the placing of rural settlements among those of clear peregrine status is uncertain. What can be proven however is the rural character of peregrine settlements and the lack of *civitas*-like organizational forms in the Danubian province.

VI. 2. ALBURNUS MAIOR

Of all the rural communities of Roman Dacia the only one that is sure to have had peregrine status is the one from Alburnus Maior.⁶⁴⁶ Most likely, we are dealing with a *vicus* and its Illyrian inhabitants can be described as an economical diaspora polarized in this area because of the profit coming from mining exploitations.

⁶⁴¹ Ardevan 1998b, 13.

⁶⁴² Ardevan 1998b, 57.

⁶⁴³ Winkler, Blăjan 1993, 467.

⁶⁴⁴ Husar 2003, 354.

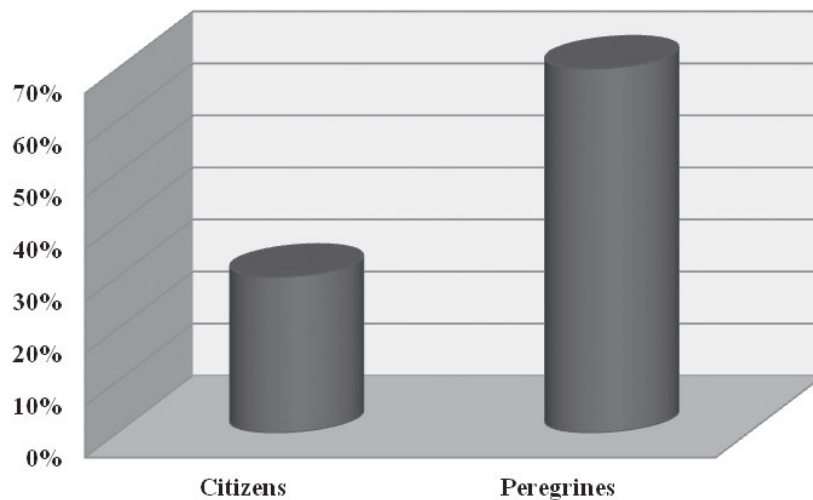
⁶⁴⁵ Swift 2010, 268.

⁶⁴⁶ For an overview on the subject see the monographs: Damian 2003, Simion *et alii* 2004, Damian 2008, Ciongradi 2009.

We must be aware from the start of the complexity of this settlement that, in fact, sums up a series of different communities, as well as groups and characters of different ethnicities, legal status and economic situation. Although the case of Alburnus is not typical, it is somehow vital to research, because here we encounter an element missing in other rural communities, of possible peregrine status: epigraphic material in abundance.

Next we propose as case study an analysis of the characters attested epigraphically in this community. The study in itself is an exemplification for the epigraphic representativeness of a peregrine settlement, but leads not only to the understanding of a well attested peregrine community but also to that of a large number of the peregrines attested in Dacia.

Graph X. Epigraphic rapport peregrines – citizens at Alburnus Maior.



Keeping in mind the structure of the previous chapters, the first point in our study are the quantitative approaches and the analysis of their results. The great number of inscriptions heightens the valability of the samples, with a much smaller margin of error as compared to other situations. Thus the comparative share of peregrines and citizens is of great relevance. Also the percentage in which names come from different types of sources (wax tablets or inscriptions, funerary or votive monuments) is important in order to understand the ways of manifestation and the internal structures of the community. In the case of onomastics, the quantitative study will be combined with the analytic one.

Of the total number of names, only 61% come from inscriptions, the rest being known from wax tablets. Of course we have a majority, but in no way is it overwhelming. As far as stone inscriptions are concerned, in spite of the recent research and publication of some necropolises and funerary ensembles,⁶⁴⁷ as well as the existence of several funerary epigraphic monuments discovered and published in the past,⁶⁴⁸ 70% of the inscriptions from Alburnus Maior are votive. Funerary inscriptions, although not very revealing as a whole because of their low numbers, still offer some interesting data: 66% of the dead honored with a monument have at least one Italic name (the personal name or the patronymic in the case of peregrine) and 33% are citizens. This percentage of citizens is observed in both the case of stone monuments and wax tablets. The data suggest a high representativeness of the citizen body and its normal manifestation as a local elite.

Wax tablets

The first type of documents we shall discuss are the wax tablets. The legal information they offer are very important for the peregrines of Dacia and for a better understanding of the real legal

⁶⁴⁷ Simion *et alii* 2004 and Damian 2008.

⁶⁴⁸ IDR III/3 and ILD, as compendia where most of the inscriptions can be found.

conditions in which they lived. The postures in which we find the peregrines attested in these documents are various and prove their complete legal abilities: they appear as witnesses,⁶⁴⁹ debtors,⁶⁵⁰ buyers,⁶⁵¹ sellers,⁶⁵² creditors⁶⁵³ or guarantors.⁶⁵⁴

A series of particular cases stands out and demands special discussions. Thus, we find attested the *collegium* of Iovis Cernenus (No. 75), where Ardemidorus Apolloni and Iulius Iuli are *magistri*, and Valerius Niconis and Offas Menofili are *qaestores*. The organization, disbanded through the document, apparently had as its primary purpose offering help for funerals.⁶⁵⁵ The absence of Illyrian names among the magistrates stands out, although they appear among those of the witnesses (September Platoris, Aelius Plator). Very interesting are the situations where *mancipatio* is explicitly mentioned.⁶⁵⁶ As mentioned in one of the previous chapters, this is not a singular case in the Empire though in theory a peregrine could not even appear as witness in a trial concerning *mancipatio*.⁶⁵⁷ Besides those mentioned above as having some administrative functions in the local organization (even though they are at the level of a *collegium*) we find a character that fulfills the role of *princeps* – Maximus Venetis (No. 66) – in an administrative structure that we do not know in this case but that most likely was of the *kastellum* type, regularly attested at Alburnus Maior.⁶⁵⁸ Similar situations in Dacia are encountered and we will mention here only those from Ampelum⁶⁵⁹ and Tihău.⁶⁶⁰ In the case of the first inscriptions, from Ampelum, the attestation can be interpreted differently and the commemorated character can be either a local *princeps* of the Dalmatians,⁶⁶¹ or a *princeps municipii* of the city *Splonum*,⁶⁶² where he originated from. In the second case the title of *princeps* is not followed by any relevant detail. The situation of Massurus Messi (No. 66), who is mentioned as *decurio* is interesting. If the settlement indeed possessed an *ordo decurionum*, it is pretty unusual to have a single decurion attested⁶⁶³ and any other inscription set up by the members of the order to have never been discovered.

A category of wax tablets worth insisting upon is the one concerned with sales of slaves. Firstly, we notice again that peregrines have the legal capacity to take part in a *mancipatio*. Thus, in the first case (No. 66), Dasius Verzonis sells a six years old girl to Maximus Batonis. The price of 205 *denarii* is remarkable; it is a very small sum compared to the general prices paid for slaves in the Empire,⁶⁶⁴ but realistic assuming the financial possibilities of the area's inhabitants. A possible explanation is the young age of the girl that increased the chances of a premature death. Another recorded case (No. 80) of slave trade is the one where Bellicus Alexandri sells to Dasius Breucus a boy *natio Graeca* whose age is not mentioned but whose price is 600 *denarii*. The last case (No. 70) involves a peregrine person but to a lesser degree; it refers to the sale of a woman, *natione Creticam* – again age is not mentioned – whose price is 420 *denarii*. The seller and the buyer both have citizen status, the latter being also a *miles* in legion XIII Gemina. Alexander Antipatri intermediates this transaction, being also a guarantor. As to the few peregrines involved in these transactions it can be noticed that two of them – Dasius Verzonis and Dasius Breucus – have Illyrian names while Maximus Batonis and Bellicus Alexandri have mixed names (the name of Illyrian origin, either the personal one or the

⁶⁴⁹ No. 75; No. 64; No. 66; No. 61; No. 68; No. 60.

⁶⁵⁰ No. 64; No. 63; No. 71; No. 104.

⁶⁵¹ No. 66; No. 80; No. 61.

⁶⁵² No. 66.

⁶⁵³ No. 103.

⁶⁵⁴ No. 70.

⁶⁵⁵ Similar to the *collegium Funeratici Lanuvini*, whose *Lex collegii* is known to us completely (FIRA III 35).

⁶⁵⁶ No. 66; No. 80; No. 61 (in this last case it involves a real estate).

⁶⁵⁷ Ulpianus XX 8.

⁶⁵⁸ Piso 2004, 300.

⁶⁵⁹ CIL III 1322 = AE 1968, 443 = IDR III/3, 345.

⁶⁶⁰ No. 59.

⁶⁶¹ Ardevan 1998a, 145.

⁶⁶² Le Roux 2005, 264.

⁶⁶³ Piso 2004, 300.

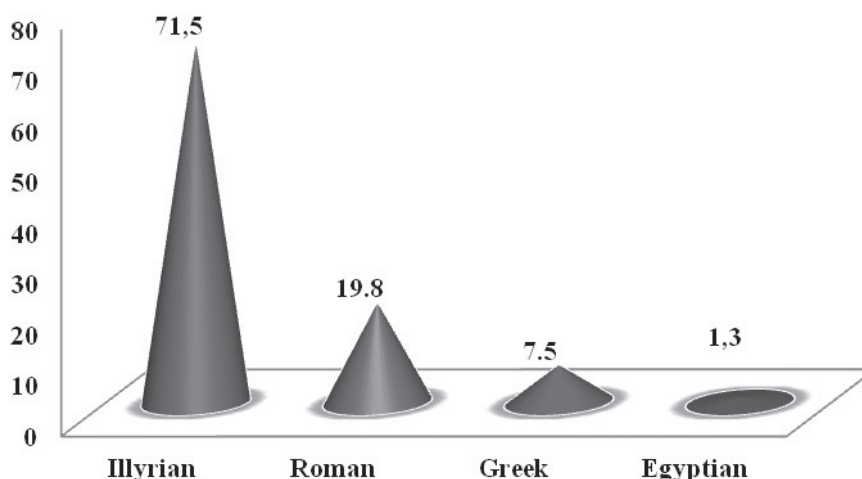
⁶⁶⁴ Tomlin 2003, 48 offers examples for prices of slaves from Italy, Egypt and Londinium where the average sum seems to be around 600 *denarii*. On the other hand the examples he had from Syria and Pamphilia indicate prices between 200–400 *denarii*.

patronymic, is followed by a name with Latin origins respectively by a Greek name) and Alexander Antipatri has a full Greek name.

Votive dedications

Because of their considerable number (over sixty inscriptions), the second group of sources is that of votive inscriptions. Of all the peregrines attested at Alburnus, 46 come from this type of monuments; the number represents approximately 70%. The graphs below reflect the onomastic structure of dedicants, as well as the percentage in which certain gods are worshipped.

Graph XI. Onomastic of dedicants.



Of course from the point of view of ethnicity we cannot expect any major surprises at Alburnus Maior: the Illyrians predominate and statistics confirm the first impression given by a quick glance over the inscriptions. Also in the case of a Latin *nomen* and *praenomen* and of a Greek or Illyrian *cognomen* we considered the “ethnicity” of the name to be identical to that of the latter. “Mixed” names such as Δημητριος Αρζακει (No. 93) were introduced in the most likely category – in this case that of Greek-Oriental names, in spite of the Iranian origins of the patronymic. We could not ignore the group of Egyptian names; although containing only one element – respectively Ammonius (Hammonius) (No. 73) – it appears as being separate and there are no reasons to consider the use of this name as random. Regarding the name, Ammonius entered Europe through Greek-Alexandrine influences. A rather similar case at Alburnus is that of Aurelia Sambu (IDR III/3, 416), where Sambu is a Jewish Egyptized name, used almost exclusively in Alexandria.⁶⁶⁵

The worshipped gods are very numerous (31 gods plus the variations of divine epithets), proof of a rather rich cultic and spiritual environment, as well as of a customized understanding of the significance of the *ex-voto*. The total number of inscriptions with a votive character, where the name of a god is surely mentioned, is 83. The number is not large in absolute terms, but for a community that, although very active economically, remains culturally poor and – at the same time – for Dacia, it is large enough and deserves careful analysis.

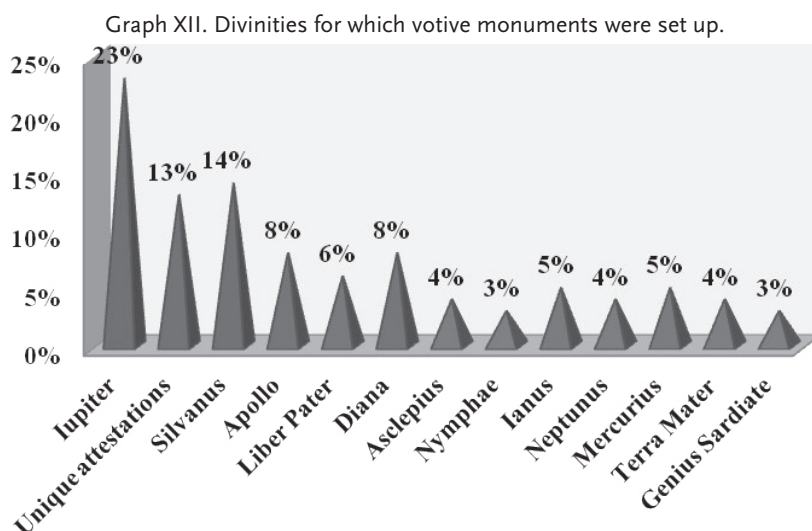
We notice from the start that, with the relative exception of Iupiter, no god has a very high percentage. Also it can be noticed that the differences in percentages are not very large either, not going over 6–7%. Another detail worth emphasizing is the one connected to singular inscriptions that sum up 13% of the total, a high percentage for Alburnus Maior.

The supreme god of the Roman pantheon is by far the most often mentioned in the votive inscriptions from Alburnus. In fact he is the god to whom the Illyrians from *Dacia* generally dedicated for.⁶⁶⁶ Even in this community that had real particularities, the Roman religion had an obvious

⁶⁶⁵ See Łajtar 1991.

⁶⁶⁶ Nemeti 2005, 85.

official character. It is a lot to state that choosing Jupiter represents an attempt at integration in the Roman spiritual system, but it can be considered an attempt at social integration and maybe ascension. On a strictly religious level Jupiter receives at Alburnus varied epithets, being assimilated to gods that have a personal meaning for the dedicant. Sometimes the worshipped god seems to be very different from the Jupiter of Rome but he keeps his character of supreme god, thus making it similar. Also the form of manifestation in itself – the votive altar – is proof of integration in the Latin culture and, indirectly, of religious syncretism.



There are two inscriptions where Jupiter is assimilated to local Oriental gods but their character cannot be superimposed or considered equivalent, one being peripheral, with a peregrine dedicant (the one dedicated to Δει Σιττακομικω – interpreted as Jupiter Sittakomikos, the protector god of an Asian settlement – by Διων Δοιανου);⁶⁶⁷ the other however, even though it is also simple, is dedicated by a *collegium* that unfortunately is not mentioned.⁶⁶⁸ Going beyond the personal approach and the more intimate understanding of the god, that seem to permeate from some inscriptions, the social function of any dedication for Jupiter, no matter its form, takes precedence. The most customized inscriptions from this category are the two dedicated to Zeus Nareus (Δεως Ναρενος), both written in Greek. They too are dedicated by an association that, like the one previously discussed, does not mention its name,⁶⁶⁹ and the other one by a peregrine whose name has obvious Greek-Oriental roots – respectively Δημήτριος Αρζακει, also mentioned above. The grouping of inscriptions is remarkable,⁶⁷⁰ all of them written in Greek, dedicated for Nareus, Sarnendenos and Sittakomikos, Galatian gods, apparently worshipped by a relative compact group, most probably connected to a *collegium*.⁶⁷¹

Going back to those who dedicate for Jupiter as a supreme god and regardless the resulting syncretisms, among the dedicants not mentioned previously there are five citizens (one of them, Caius Calpurnius Priscianus, sets up two inscriptions),⁶⁷² while the number of Illyrian peregrines is seven. This balance seems unusual when compared to the general case from Alburnus – the disproportion between citizens and Illyrian peregrines being much greater – and will be again encountered, and to a higher degree even, in the case of Silvanus.

The second most encountered god at Alburnus Maior is the above mentioned Silvanus, a predictable turn of events because he is one of the main gods from Dacia⁶⁷³ but also one of the gods

⁶⁶⁷ No. 94.

⁶⁶⁸ AE 1944, 22 = IDR III/3, 400.

⁶⁶⁹ AE 1944, 25 = IDR III/3, 398.

⁶⁷⁰ All of these inscriptions come from Carpen Hill.

⁶⁷¹ Nemeti 2005, 250–251.

⁶⁷² AE 1990, 828 = ILD 360 and AE 1990, 840 = ILD 373.

⁶⁷³ Bărbulescu 2003, 158.

that the lower social classes are more drawn to.⁶⁷⁴ Silvanus is worshipped with some predilection as Silvester but also as Domesticus. The god also appears as an august divinity, included in the official pantheon. Without going deeper into this discussion that borders on the subject we must mention that in period of the 2nd century Principate, Silvanus seems to have had more and more the characteristics and potential of an official god. Also we point out that the epithet Augustus does not always provide an official character but because of the details of the epigraph are missing this cannot be ignored.⁶⁷⁵ Still, at Alburnus Maior Silvanus is not worshipped with predilection as an official god but appears as bordering on the intersection between personal devotion (we include here the devotion that the group forms/implies) and the social manifestation: Silvanus is a Latin god, but a basic, simple one, whose cult is naturally present among the mining group from Alburnus Maior. When analyzing his worshippers we notice a single possible Illyrian name (No. 125) from the two names of individual dedicants that survived; otherwise we have peregrine names without Illyrian etymology. We have another group dedicant (*Kastellani Ansi*),⁶⁷⁶ an illegible name⁶⁷⁷ and an inscription where the name of the worshipper had not been mentioned.⁶⁷⁸

Apollo and Diana are next in line in terms of epigraphic frequency, both with an equal number of attestations. Apollo is received in the Illyrian community as an official god of the Principate, also mentioned in his stance as Augustus (No. 112) but he does not lose his character as god of health. It would be interesting to know the name and some of the details connected to the dedicant of the only inscription explicitly set up *pro salute* and dedicated, most likely, to Apollo⁶⁷⁹ (the epigraph is fragmentary). Five of the monuments dedicated to this god have been set up by persons with peregrine names, four of which are undoubtedly Illyrian (Plator Panentis,⁶⁸⁰ Panes Nosetis,⁶⁸¹ Verso Dasantis and Veidavius).⁶⁸² Macrianus Surio⁶⁸³ understands the god in a more personal way, offering Apollo the epithet Pirunenus.⁶⁸⁴ Looking at the whole picture we see that Apollo is “adopted” at Alburnus, mostly by the Illyrian colonists and his rather high popularity seems to be connected to his stance as direct protector, solar god or water divinity, healing god, rather than an official god.

Diana is twice mentioned with a slightly modified spelling of her name, respectively Deana⁶⁸⁵. These two inscriptions have been set up by an individual dedicant who has the Illyrian name Dassius⁶⁸⁶ and – respectively – by *Kastellum Ansis*.⁶⁸⁷ The only inscription where the name of the goddess is written in the “classic” way without any epithets is the inscription set up by Celsenius Adiutor,⁶⁸⁸ *magister* of a college whose details we do not know. The name of the dedicant is ambiguous both as a marker of ethnicity and of legal status. The inscriptions set up for Diana Venatrix⁶⁸⁹ following a fulfilled promise (*votum solvit libens merito*), is also interesting; the dedicant unfortunately is unknown and the inscription, like all the rest from *Alburnus*, is simple and does not offer other information as to why it was set up.

Liber Pater, who is associated once with Libera, has dedicants from more diverse social layers: three peregrines (one with the neutral ethnic marker Atrius Maximi,⁶⁹⁰ along with Beucus

⁶⁷⁴ Lipka 2009, 178.

⁶⁷⁵ For a detailed discussion on the epithet Augustus and for part of the bibliography on the subject see Gradel 2002, 104–105.

⁶⁷⁶ AE 1990, 848 = ILD 382.

⁶⁷⁷ IDR III/3, 407.

⁶⁷⁸ Ţentea, Voişian (under press).

⁶⁷⁹ ILD 385.

⁶⁸⁰ No. 122.

⁶⁸¹ No. 112.

⁶⁸² Both of them in No. 131.

⁶⁸³ No. 105.

⁶⁸⁴ See the discussion about the interpretation of this epithet: Piso 2004, 298 considers it indicates the solar character of the god while Nemeti 2005, 98 puts it connection with the aquatic element.

⁶⁸⁵ No. 92; AE 1990, 836 = ILD 369.

⁶⁸⁶ No. 92.

⁶⁸⁷ AE 1990, 836 = ILD 369.

⁶⁸⁸ CIL III 7822 = IDR III/3, 385.

⁶⁸⁹ ILD 375.

⁶⁹⁰ No. 76.

Dasantis⁶⁹¹ and Suttis Panentis,⁶⁹² all having Illyrian names), a citizen (M(...) A(...) S(...),⁶⁹³ whose *nomen* and *praenomen* might be Marcus Aurelius) and an association⁶⁹⁴ with the name unmentioned. Like Silvanus and Apollo, Liber Pater is a god who has an official character but who can be naturally integrated, as a god of nature, in the normal pantheon of the community from Alburnus.

Ianus and Mercurius are mentioned four times in the epigraphs. In three of the four inscriptions Ianus is mentioned with the epithet Geminus; in Dacia the only place where this epithet is given to the god is Alburnus.⁶⁹⁵ The dedicants do not seem to have a common profile. The inscription where the god is mentioned without this epithet (No. 90) was set up by two Illyrian peregrines. The others were set up by the citizen Aelius Baebius and the Illyrian peregrine Beusas Platoris (No. 86), by the well-documented *Kastellum Ansis*⁶⁹⁶ and by an individual dedicant, with peregrine status (No. 102). Anyway encountering Ianus at Alburnus Maior seems only natural given that he is one of the gods worshipped with predilection in Dalmatia,⁶⁹⁷ passionately taken from the Italic pantheon.

Nasidius Primus⁶⁹⁸ dedicates for Mercurius; we can claim with a small margin of error – still there nonetheless – that the character has Roman citizenship but it is impossible to determine his ethnic and social origin. The other two inscriptions set up for Mercurius do not give any epithets to the names of the god and in only one of these cases do we know the dedicant, Verzo Platoris (No. 133), Illyrian and peregrine.

Neptune is the god who probably protects the galleries from floods⁶⁹⁹ and appears in only 3 epigraphs. Two of the inscriptions are set up by peregrines with names of Illyrian origin.⁷⁰⁰ The third inscription, dedicated to Neptunus Augustus, is set up by the same Nassidius Primus (*sic*).⁷⁰¹ Just like the epigraph for Mercurius he mentions *VSLM* to justify his gesture. Also like in the case of Mercurius he confers the god the epithet Augustus, based on social or various personal reasons (from a divine nomenclature assimilated by the dedicant in this form up to aesthetic preferences or classifying patterns of the stone carver). As to the god whose name is spelled Naoni⁷⁰² (genitive form) and for whom we have no analogies so far we opted to consider him a different god rather than assimilate him with Nepon or Iupiter.⁷⁰³

Terra Mater and Asclepius are also mentioned in three inscriptions. It must be pointed out that here the reference is not to the Matres with German origin, who is anyway difficult to precisely identify in the epigraphy and iconography of Dacia,⁷⁰⁴ but rather to an earthen divinity, a form of the personification of Tellus, much larger. This conclusion can be drawn based on the lack of identifying details and although it might sound like a simplification, it seems to be founded; it seems only natural that the miners from Alburnus Maior worship some comprehensive earthen divinity, possibly a protector of the rural territory.⁷⁰⁵ All three monuments were set up by peregrines, probably Illyrians – Surio or Siurio⁷⁰⁶ is not a certain Illyrian name, being encountered in all European provinces, from Italy to Dalmatia, Noricum and Pannonia up to Moesia Inferior.⁷⁰⁷

⁶⁹¹ No. 83.

⁶⁹² No. 128.

⁶⁹³ CIL III 7826 = IDR III/3, 397.

⁶⁹⁴ AE 1990, 833 = ILD 365.

⁶⁹⁵ Nemeti 2005, 93.

⁶⁹⁶ AE 1990, 842 = ILD 376.

⁶⁹⁷ Wolmann 1986, 278.

⁶⁹⁸ AE 1990, 829 = ILD, 361.

⁶⁹⁹ Bărbulescu 2003, 226–227.

⁷⁰⁰ No. 127 and AE 2005, 1507 = ILD 393.

⁷⁰¹ AE 1990, 830 = ILD 362.

⁷⁰² AE 1990, 839 = ILD 372.

⁷⁰³ These speculations belong to the first editor of the inscription: Wolmann 1986, 273–274. The identification of Naoni with Neptune also appears in Nemeti 2005, 88.

⁷⁰⁴ Nemeti 1999, 152.

⁷⁰⁵ Bărbulescu, Căținaș 1992, 120.

⁷⁰⁶ AE 2003, 1509 = ILD 397.

⁷⁰⁷ OPEL IV 101.

It must be pointed out that in all the inscriptions from Alburnus Maior the god of medicine is Asclepios instead of Aesculapius. Although this Greek form is also encountered in other provinces (Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia), we must keep in mind what the name suggest: we have the names of the dedicants for only two inscriptions⁷⁰⁸ and these are two citizens, associated in the first epigraph and having the imperial names Marcus Ulpius and Aelius and an Illyrian peregrine, probably, with the mixed name Fronto Plarentis (No. 95). Thus we must not exclude a Greek acceptance of the god or an increased familiarity with Greek (above the average for Alburnus Maior) of the two citizens. The small number of inscriptions does not allow us to draw any general conclusion as to the local perception upon the god.

The nymphs Genius Sardiatarum/Sardiate appear in two inscriptions. Here, just like anywhere else in *Dacia* the nymphs are not mentioned in their character as goddesses of maternity or fertility; the inscriptions do not offer any clues for this; their association with Neptunus and the aquatic element might be valid given the context of the mostly Illyrian mining settlement. The worshippers are, predictably, men – respectively Implaius Sumeletis (No. 95), Illyrian peregrine and Ael(ius) Mes(...) Sar(?diata),⁷⁰⁹ citizen, who either attests his belonging to the Illyrian population Sardiatae or to the association of Sardiateses, as it is mentioned in Alburnus Maior.⁷¹⁰

The simple inscription for Genius Sardiatae (No. 118) is set up by Plaius Dasantis, Illyrian peregrine. The other inscription for the *genius collegii Sardiatisium*⁷¹¹ is ordered by Aelius Quintus Dion (?). Although the reading of the *cognomen* is uncertain he was certainly a citizen, probably holding an office, even though it is not mentioned, in this *collegium*. The other epigraph dedicated to the *genius* of a college (No. 126), this time both ethnic and administrative (*Collegium Kastellum Baridustarum*), was set up by a peregrine, Seneca Bisonis, with an Italic name (still there is a chance for Celtic affiliation)⁷¹² and a definite Illyrian patronymic. These two dedicants, whose epigraphs though included in the typology for votive epigraphs are almost honorific – they honor and do their duty towards the ethnic-administrative unit they belong to – can be considered the expression of the very modest local elite.⁷¹³

The other 14 divinities mentioned each in only one inscription at Alburnus represent, separately, an insignificant percentage. Taken as a whole however they rank second to the epigraphs dedicated for Jupiter, this clearly offering importance and relevance for the local religious life. The gods that are thus mentioned are varied in nature and origin: from Iunona,⁷¹⁴ Minerva⁷¹⁵ and Venera (No. 84), goddesses that are included among the *dii consentes* and in the Roman “classic” and official pantheon, and up to the so-named Dii Artani (No. 78), Naon⁷¹⁶ or Maelantonius (No. 88), who have no precedents or analogies and, no matter whether we accept or not their association with “more general” gods, we can presume are Dalmatian local/tribal gods.⁷¹⁷ An explicitly local god is also Aptus Delmatarum (No. 96).⁷¹⁸ The base for these inscriptions is in general what one might have expected, respectively stone altars but there are exceptions such as the *ex-voto* in the form of a clay medallion offered to Serapis by a dedicant who does not write his name.⁷¹⁹ The dedicants are representative for the whole batch: most are peregrines and have Illyrian names. We also have the dedications of a *kastellum* (the ever present *kastellum Ansi* dedicates to Minerva) and of a citizen whom, in a lesser or higher degree, we can consider as part of an elite category. This is the altar offered to Aera Cura by Ael. Scen. Bala (...) fil.,⁷²⁰ a Romanized Illyrian, probably of the first genera-

⁷⁰⁸ CIL III 7820 = IDR III/3, 382.

⁷⁰⁹ AE 2003, 1508 = ILD 407.

⁷¹⁰ Piso 2004, 206.

⁷¹¹ AE 2003, 1491 = ILD 401.

⁷¹² Kajanto 1965, 16.

⁷¹³ Ciobanu 1999, 205.

⁷¹⁴ AE 1990, 842 = ILD 367.

⁷¹⁵ AE 1990, 835 = ILD 368.

⁷¹⁶ AE 1990, 839 = ILD 372; we have kept the genitive form from the inscription because of the doubts connected to the nominative form of the god's name.

⁷¹⁷ Piso 2004, 202.

⁷¹⁸ See also Piso 2004, 202, for the explanations concerning his double character as aquatic and local god.

⁷¹⁹ CIL III 6814 = IDR III/3, 401.

⁷²⁰ AE 1990, 841 = ILD 374.

tion – as the filiation suggests. Finally, there are inscriptions where the worshipper does not write his name out of his own will, suggesting closer and more personal relation with the god. Such is the case, besides the above mentioned medallion for Serapis, of the dedication to Sol Augustus.⁷²¹ The epigraph naming Naon might also be included here; this might be the only votive inscription from *Alburnus* set up by a woman – Iulia Beuc(...).

The very large presence of the Roman-Italic gods should not surprise us. Besides the gradual Romanization following living in the Empire, besides the natural desire for social integration not only in the small group, with similar ethnicity but also in the larger group of Roman society we must mention the fact that Dalmatia is one of the provinces quickest to adopt on a wide scale a large number of Italic gods.⁷²² On the other hand the presence of hard to identify gods or of those who, like Siderus,⁷²³ suggest a connection with other gods,⁷²⁴ made by the dedicant, is just as interesting. They are clear markers of a customized religion, of the existence of a layer – not a minor one – for whom authentic religiousness and not the social role of votive inscriptions takes precedence.

As for the wording of votive inscriptions goes, it coincides with the one specific to the whole province. When they do contain specific formulae monuments are set up *pro salute* and *votum solvit*.

The inscriptions from this settlement present a culturally modest society, where epigraphs are, in general, simple both in language and artistically. Comparing the picture of dedicants with that of worshipped gods we notice that in spite of the great diversity of the divine, epigraphs with at least a semi-official character are in majority; they can be a manifestation of the local elite. We can assume that in the mining community from *Alburnus Maior* the social integration role and that of political and cultural manifestation of *ex-voto* is speculated with predilection by the local elite and by the administrative and professional groups, in their role as institutions. The rest of the dedications, summing up 15%, remain in the sphere of private and personal devotion.

Funerary monuments

The last type of epigraphic sources we shall discuss is that of funerary monuments. The presentation of these epigraphic monuments is much shorter as compared to that of the previous category. Even though not in dissonance with the epigraphic situation from Dacia, the low number of epitaphs is still unusual⁷²⁵ for the scale of the Empire and compared to the nature of the research from *Alburnus Maior*. Only 20 names are found on these monuments – far fewer than those obtained from votive inscriptions, as one can observe. Because we have a low number of inscriptions it is difficult and mostly irrelevant to make a statistic concerning the relations between the deceased and the dedicant. It can be said that the tombstones cover most categories of dedicants: wife,⁷²⁶ husband,⁷²⁷ children,⁷²⁸ father⁷²⁹ or both parents,⁷³⁰ the uncles⁷³¹ and (presumably) the inheritors.⁷³² As far as onomastic is concerned it is mostly Illyrian, with a few exception that either are not important or have already been mentioned.

Even though funerary inscriptions contain lesser details than the votive ones we will next present a series of situations. Thus there are some cases where the age of the deceased is mentioned:

- Alexander Gai, dead at 40 years of age and for whom his son, Caius, sets up the funerary monument (No. 72);

⁷²¹ AE 1990, 850 = ILD 384.

⁷²² Russu 1969a, 134.

⁷²³ AE 1990, 849 = ILD 383.

⁷²⁴ Nemeti 2005, 99 proposes the overlapping Sideri-Castores.

⁷²⁵ Bodel 2001, 30.

⁷²⁶ No. 106.

⁷²⁷ No. 87; No. 116.

⁷²⁸ No. 72.

⁷²⁹ No. 74.

⁷³⁰ No. 107.

⁷³¹ No. 101; No. 110.

⁷³² No. 82.

- Dasas Liccai Delmata, dead at 40 years of age, member (inhabitant) of *kastellum Starvae*; the inheritors set up the funerary monument (No. 82);
- Cassia Peregrina, dead at 27 years of age, for whom her husband sets up the funerary monument and who might be a citizen (No. 87);
- Maxima Luri, dead at 25 years of age, whose memory is honored by the parents (No. 107);
- Planus Baezi qui et Magister, dead at 50 years of age and whose monument is set up by his wife (No. 106);
- Panes Bizonis Delmata, dead at 25 years of age and who also was an inhabitant of *kastellum Starvae*; his uncle sets up the funerary monument (No. 110);
- Platino Verzonis, dead at 25 years of age and who is associated with *kastellum Anso*; the husband sets up the funerary monument (No. 116).

Like the state of facts noticed for the military group, in Alburnus Maior the inscriptions that bear this type of information are also few in number and what they offer serves first of all to nuance the image and not to offer reality facts or statistical data. It can be noticed that for most of the deceased the recorded death age is young. Although the detail corresponds to epigraphic patterns, the sample is too small in order to reach some valid conclusions.

Another aspect observed in some of the funerary inscriptions from this settlement is the association of some peregrines with citizens. Thus Andes Titi (No. 74) along with his wife set up the funerary monument for their son; the man however is the only one in the family whose name has a peregrine structure. The case of Cassia Peregrina (No. 87) has already been discussed; we only wish to add that her husband has a clear peregrine name – Bisius Scenobarbi. A similar case is that of Dasa Suttinis (No. 89); his wife – Avilia Pietas – seems to be a Roman citizen. Another possible case including Roman citizenship is the above mentioned one of Plaetoria Maxima (No. 101); the uncle who sets up her monument, Lavius Verzonis, is a peregrine with Illyrian onomastic.

A matter that must also be treated in the context of stone written epigraphy is the one concerning the *kastella* and *collegia* that are mentioned in inscriptions involving peregrines. The presentation of these structures was integrated in the subchapter dedicated to inscriptions because of the need to place it at the end of the general presentation of epigraphic sources from Alburnus. For starters it must be said that in the Dalmatian world *kastella* were rural settlements; at Alburnus they must have been small administrative divisions of the settlement.⁷³³ Thus, Dasas Loni, who sets up an epigraphic monument for Iupiter Optimus Maximus, is a member of *Collegium Sardiensium*. *Sardeates* are mentioned in other inscriptions; in Alburnus existed a rather exceptional community of the members of this Dalmatian tribe. An inscription dedicated to Diana (No. 109) mentions *Kastellum Maniatium*, while the well-known dedication for Maelantonius (No. 88) is set up *pro salutae* (sic) *Maniatium*. Although attested in low numbers, the tribe Maniates must have represented one of the significant communities because they are organized administratively and territorially in a *kastellum*. *Kastellum Ansi* is one of the best epigraphically represented communities;⁷³⁴ in the case of peregrines it is mentioned on the funerary monument of Platino Verzonis (No. 116). A final *kastellum* mentioned in the epitaphs of peregrines is *kastellum Starva* (No. 110; No. 82). It is attested on only two monuments, both discovered in the necropolis;⁷³⁵ although a possible family relationship between the groups of persons is not excluded, it cannot be proven. Another community that might have a *kastellum* at Alburnus Maior is that of the *Artani*. Though not mentioned explicitly, the hypothesis⁷³⁶ that this *gens* existed is connected to the attestation of *Dii Artani*, a possible tribal divinity. Votive epigraphs mention some colleges that are not named and about which we can state nothing given these conditions.⁷³⁷

The funerary inscriptions from Alburnus bring some interesting nuancing elements in the picture of this community. Firstly we refer to the complexity and great diversity of the relations

⁷³³ Ardevan 2004, 596; Piso 2004, 300; Ciongradi *et alii* 2008, 256.

⁷³⁴ AE 1990, 835, 836, 842, 848.

⁷³⁵ Ciongradi *et alii* 2008, 249.

⁷³⁶ Nemeti 2010a, 99–100.

⁷³⁷ CIL III 6814 = IDR III/3, 401; No. 114.

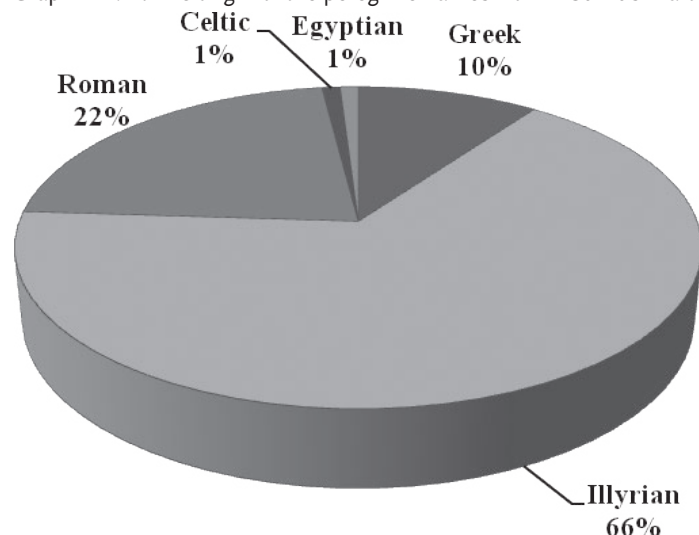
that existed between the deceased and those that honor their memory posthumously. Secondly, the realities of families containing both citizen and peregrine members are brought forward. Last but not least the names found on epitaphs complete the onomastic picture of the settlement. As for the formulae of funerary inscriptions they bring no adjacent information concerning the deceased or those who dedicated the monuments. The usual formulae are also present– *b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit) / p(osuerunt), f(aciendum) c(uravit)* – and so too are the normal epithets, such as *piissima*.

Onomastic considerations

The last major subject that needs to be tackled when discussing the peregrine community from Alburnus Maior refers to onomastic. For the votive inscriptions we have presented a statistic including the names of all the dedicants, peregrines and citizens in equal measure. Next, we offer a statistic on the ethnic classification of the names of peregrines, no matter their source of origin.

As it can easily be observed on Graph XII, Illyrian names predominate. Still, to make the proportions absolute, the percentage of Illyrian names is not overwhelming, a fact due to the pattern of cultural manifestations, as stated above. It is worth noting that only a third of these names come from wax tablets. Inside the group of Illyrian names some zonal boundaries can be established, depending on the area of origin. Thus some names originate from central *Dalmatia*, meaning that they could be connected with the *Sardeates*⁷³⁸ tribe. From the peregrine names such is the case of Daeici, father of one Beucus (a name often encountered at Alburnus), who sets up an altar for Venera (No. 84). Also from central Dalmatia comes Dasas/Dazas,⁷³⁹ with the variant Da(s)sius,⁷⁴⁰ associated at Alburnus with *kastellum Ansiennses*. An interesting particularity worthy of attention is the almost complete absences of mixed names. This feature is not specific only to the community of Alburnus Maior; it can be noticed among those who lived in the province and had Illyrian names. Even though mixed names are not completely absent, their number is very small and the connection is generally done with a Roman patronymic (No. 61; No. 74). Even in these conditions diversity is present and at Alburnum we find even Celtic patronymics (No. 61; No. 119) and possibly Thracian ones (No. 66), in association with Illyrian personal names.

Graph XIII. Ethnic origin of the peregrine names from Alburnus Maior



Obviously the category of Roman names is also well represented. It must be noted that among the attested citizens, the overwhelming majority carry Roman names, *cognomina* suggesting a different ethnic background being almost absent.⁷⁴¹ Unlike what was noticed in the case of Illyrian

⁷³⁸ Ardevan, Crăciun 2003, 228–231.

⁷³⁹ No. 60; No. 62; No. 65; No. 66; No. 82; No. 88; No. 90; No. 91; No. 92; No. 147; No. 228

⁷⁴⁰ Ciobanu 2010, 62–63.

⁷⁴¹ Ciongradi 2009, 129–134, for a catalogue of the names found on stone inscriptions.

names, Roman names are not preponderantly associated with Roman patronymics but the names of the fathers are in equal measure Greek and Roman. The cases that are remarkable in this group are those of Cassia Peregrina (No. 87) and Titus Beusantis qui et Bradua (No. 68 and No. 69), previously mentioned and discussed.

Greek names are moderately represented. Generally they have not extraordinary characteristics and the few mixed ones present Roman patronymics. The exceptions are Δημητριος Αρζακει (No. 93) and Déivn Doianou (No. 94), that stand out both due to their patronymics (Iranian, respectively Greek) and to the language of the inscriptions dedicated to Deow Narenow and Δεος Sittakvmikenos.

The last onomastic groups, the Celtic respectively the Egyptian one, are each represented by only one name.⁷⁴² Thus, Ammonius dedicates a monument to Iupiter Optimus Maximus (No. 73) and Sameccus dedicates one to Silvanus Domesticus (No. 125). Adjacent details, familial or of other sorts, lack in both inscriptions.

A last detail regards the identity of certain characters attested by more than one source. Most come from wax tablets and the enumeration of all the encountered situations is not relevant because the cases stand out in the catalogue. We will only mention Dasa Loni who is attested on a wax tablet (No. 60) as well as on a votive inscription (No. 62). The wax tablet, very badly preserved, suggests that the character had an *agnomen* that is not mentioned in his dedication for Iupiter. This detail could confirm the theory that *supernomina* are mainly used in official documents in the epigraphy from Dacia. Beucus, attested in two inscriptions (No. 81 and No. 82) was considered the same person but the name is common in Alburnus⁷⁴³ and the first of the two epigraphs records only the personal name without patronymic. One last situation we will mention is that of Andueia Batonis, known from three wax tablets (No. 61, No. 63, No. 64) – on the second one the personal name is spelled Anduenna. The possibility that we are dealing with the same person is only increased by the fact that both in the second as well as in the third tablet Anduenna/Andueia appears as debtor. The identity in names, if we accept that we are dealing with the same person, suggest a rather small community, or, rather more likely a small group of persons involved in economic activities.

VI. 3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

As it has been pointed out in this chapter peregrine communities from Dacia constitute at this point a subject difficult to tackle and that is practically impossible to treat exhaustively. First of all the lack of epigraphic sources means the inclusion of many settlements in the peregrine category is based on speculations. Secondly, in those cases where a peregrine status is supposed, that community did not produce epigraphic sources that were preserved and subsequently was not the subject of extended archaeological research; such historical circumstances are unfavorable to comprehensive analysis and keep in absolute anonymity the large mass of peregrines from Dacia.

The peregrine community that can be researched in detail is the one from Alburnus Maior. Its relevance remains however as an example and a particular case because the unique characteristics of this community and respectively settlement are exceptional and do not allow for a generalization at the level of the whole province. The most exceptional characteristic is the colonization of Illyrians and the specific sources are, of course, the wax tablets. The information we have from Alburnus are valuable for the intrinsic understanding of a particular community.

What the wax tablets highlight, of paramount importance, is the complete legal capabilities of peregrines as well as their integration in the ensemble of Roman law norms. Even though a series of legal details contradict some theoretical legal provisions it is obvious that they were accepted in practice and – most likely – settled by decrees and edicts that were not preserved. Stone epigraphy depicts a society that adopted the Roman epigraphic habits as well as a large number of

⁷⁴² Lupus Carentis (No. 104) could also be included in the category of Celtic names, but because the area where the personal name is mostly used is not clearly delimited and the patronymic is Roman, we preferred to place it among the Roman names.

⁷⁴³ No. 83, No. 84, No. 85.

Roman gods. The epigraphic representativeness of peregrines is quite ample and – less encountered at the general level of the province – they often appear associated with citizens on stone monuments. These associations are based on family criteria or religious common ground and/or inside a *collegium*. The attested administrative structures show a high degree of complexity. The settlement seems to have been divided in *kastella*, where the inhabitants were grouped based on tribal origin. We do not know the degree up to which these *kastella* benefitted from some form of administrative autonomy or whether they had a legal status more similar to that of associations. Also, it remains unknown to us whether the settlement possessed an *ordo decurionum*, like an inscription already mentioned seems to suggest (No. 66); the possibility still appears uncertain given that the quoted source is unique and that no other monuments set up by the members of the order were discovered.

Local onomastic, visibly dominated by the Illyrian one, is still more varied than it might seem at a first glance. Thus, the great number, but also the diversity of mixed names stands out. Greek names appear somewhat unusually to play a very important role in the general economy; also it is worth noting the presence of a considerable number – especially if we take into account the character of the settlement – of inscriptions written in Greek.

It is difficult to sum up in several phrases the general relevance of the information obtained by analyzing the community from Alburnus Maior. It is obvious that the data complete the image of peregrines from Dacia and enrich it with an ample series of details, be they of exclusively local relevance. Most often they confirm some suppositions previously made or phenomena that had only been speculated. In other cases they tend to nuance already known facts. The integration of this peregrine community in the provincial ensemble is difficult but revelatory at the same time. More than anything Alburnus Maior offers a sample of how other peregrine communities from Dacia might have looked like. The presence of Illyrians shaped the community here in a unique way, just like the economic prosperity triggered an appetite for epigraphic manifestation. Even in these conditions however we must imagine that, on a smaller or larger scale, with the proper variations, other peregrine communities also had an internal life characterized by variety and a number of inhabitants seeking affirmation and individualization – that might not be necessarily insignificant.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

Understanding the peregrines in all the complexity of their status necessitated a long and multi-folded research. The inner diversity of the group, reflected by the written Roman sources and Dacia's epigraphy alike, was already underlined. Concluding, two aspects seem to be fundamental: who were the attested *peregrini* and which was their place within the provincial society.

Our research on Dacia was based on 398 epigraphically attested characters, whom we believe to be of peregrine juridical status. Related to general figures, the number roughly represents 10% from the total of names registered in this province.⁷⁴⁴ The percentage is comparable to the one from Moesia Superior, where about 400 peregrines are attested, representing as well around 10% from the total of names.⁷⁴⁵ The onomastics is mostly Roman, which is completely normal for Dacia's epigraphy, as the Roman names predominate in all social, juridical and occupational strata, with the strictly circumscribed exceptions of some military circles and Alburnus Maior. The striking peculiarity is, as already noted, the almost absolute absence of Dacian names; although the Dacians are archaeologically identifiable during the Roman rule of Dacia, they do not seem to be part of the Roman epigraphical culture. Another detail that might not be within the borders of our expectations, but that was revealed through this research, is connected to the places where the peregrines manifest themselves: though their presence is noticed in the large urban centres of Dacia, they are more vigorously visible in rural environments. This is proof of the social importance of the stone monument and of its role as a marker of status in the community. The matter leads us to another very important issue: who were the peregrines that are attested epigraphically? One should give nuances to the discussion in this point, as military diplomas and wax tablets certainly are different type of sources compared to stone monuments. Whereas the former attest people randomly "selected" by the hazard of history and discoveries, the latter attest persons that wanted to "show off", to state their place in society and maybe conserve their memory (though we strongly believe the first component was far more important than the second one). An analysis of the funerary monuments in which absolutely no professional, social or status mentioning exists for neither deceased nor commemorator revealed interesting data connected to the *peregrini*: only 17% from the total of these inscriptions belong to non-citizens, showing that they usually needed to say something more about themselves and their families when erecting a monument.⁷⁴⁶

At a first sight, the researcher of Roman social history would be tempted to include the peregrines among the lower strata, due to their juridical inferiority. But the ones that erected stone monuments, as well as the soldiers and their families known from diplomas and up to a certain point as well as a part of the Alburnus Maior characters, were not part of the lower strata of society. They are more likely part of the provincial middle classes, relatively well placed from a social point of view (especially in small, rural communities) and rich enough to afford the luxury of a monument. Without lingering too much on the definition of the middle classes from the Roman provincial environment, we will only say that we basically consider part of the "middle class" those members

⁷⁴⁴ According to Săsărman 2013, there are more or less 3,500 personal names attested in Dacia.

⁷⁴⁵ Information from Stoev 2014, with warm thanks to the author for sharing these data with us before the printing of his book.

⁷⁴⁶ Varga 2012b, 207.

of non-elite groups who express themselves epigraphically.⁷⁴⁷ Including the peregrines into this category seems natural as well as crucial in defining their social and even cultural place within the provincial society.

One does not know, in the detriment of this study, what was the impact of the changes of 212 on Dacia. It is obvious that they marked the end of an era for this Danubian province as well, but we do not know what the direct reaction of the peregrine group was, or of its representatives. It is possible that in Dacia, as well, the good juridical integration of peregrines played its significant role and the legitimizing of a new citizen status came as a formality.

In the social and juridical mosaic the Roman Empire was, peregrines were defined and united by their condition of non-citizens of Rome. It is hard to say how these foreigners understood the wide citizenship of the Empire, but it is obvious that besides the multiple local citizenships, strictly related to a city and a territory, Roman citizenship appeared as the most abstract. In the same time, it was granted with relatively large permissiveness, as long as a series of juridical norms were accepted and respected – even if they were no more than *fictiones iuris*.

Indispensable for the deeper understanding of the Roman Empire, peregrines are, from certain points of view, the most heterogeneous group of Roman society. Officially defined rather by the rights they do not enjoy, peregrines find various means of integration and make use of multiple means of expression that indicate their enormous cultural plurality. Our research on the peregrines of Dacia brought forth a very diverse, interesting and sometimes unexpected juridical category, that is fairly present in the epigraphy of the province. Beside its monographic character, the book opens the way for the more elaborate and complex research of the middle classes from this area of the Roman Empire.

⁷⁴⁷ We are avoiding on purpose the term of *plebs media*, as even if it is used by a considerable number of researchers, is completely scholastic and need in our opinion ample defining before being employed.

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|-----|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------|--|--|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------|
| 1. | ...Mucaporis | | Thracian | <i>Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana</i> | <i>eques</i> ; heir erects the monument | | funerary | | <i>Arcobadara</i> | No. 1 |
| 2. | Aponius (-inus) | Celtic | | <i>Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana</i> | <i>eques</i> ; the son and daughter erect the monument | | funerary | | <i>Arcobadara</i> | No. 2 |
| 3. | Lelius | Celtic/ Germanic | | <i>Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana</i> | son | | funerary | | <i>Arcobadara</i> | No. 2 |
| 4. | L. Aponia | Celtic/ Germanic | | <i>Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana</i> | daughter | | funerary | | <i>Arcobadara</i> | No. 2 |
| 5. | Bonosa | Roman | | | wife; the husband erects the monument | | funerary | 42 yrs. | <i>Arcobadara</i> | No. 3 |
| 6. | Cittius Iovai | Celtic/ Germa-nic | Celtic/ Germa-nic | <i>Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana</i> | <i>eques</i> ; the brother erects the monument | | funerary | | <i>Arcobadara</i> | No. 4 |
| 7. | Iustus | Roman | | <i>Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana</i> | brother and heir | | funerary | | <i>Arcobadara</i> | No. 4 |
| 8. | Κοιντος | Roman | | | | Asklepios and Hygeia | votive | | <i>Arcobadara</i> | No. 5 |
| 9. | Mucapuis | | | <i>Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana</i> | <i>eques</i> ; erects the monument for his wife | | funerary | | <i>Arcobadara</i> | No. 6 |
| 10. | Primus | Celtic | | | heir; erects the monument | | funerary | | <i>Arcobadara</i> | No. 7 |
| 11. | Rocius Saturio | Celtic | | <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium</i> | <i>miles</i> ; erects the monument for a woman | | funerary | relation with the deceased is unclear | <i>Arcobadara</i> | No. 8 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|-----|------------------------|----------|-----------------|---------------------------|---|---------|---------------------|--|--------------------|--------|
| 12. | Serena Licconis | Roman | Celtic/Illyrian | | wife and mother; erects the monument for husband and two sons | | funerary | the 2 sons and husband were <i>c. R.</i> | <i>Arcobadara</i> | No. 9 |
| 13. | Ζαμαννίσθες | Greek | | | | | votive | on a votive relief | <i>Arcobadara</i> | No. 10 |
| 14. | ...udis Mucapa | | Thracian | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | soldier | | funerary | | Gherla | No. 11 |
| 15. | (Degi) Bitus | Thracian | | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | soldier | | list | tile written upon before burning | Gherla | No. 12 |
| 16. | Brisenus | Thracian | | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | soldier | | list | tile written upon before burning | Gherla | No. 12 |
| 17. | Caius | Roman | | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | soldier | | list | tile written upon before burning | Gherla | No. 12 |
| 18. | Cinnus/Cinnamus (?) | Roman | | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | soldier | | list | tile written upon before burning | Gherla | No. 12 |
| 19. | Fegel(...)/ Fesel(...) | Roman | | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | soldier | | list | tile written upon before burning | Gherla | No. 12 |
| 20. | Gemellus | Roman | | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | soldier | | list | tile written upon before burning | Gherla | No. 12 |
| 21. | Lossa | Celtic | | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | soldier | | list | tile written upon before burning | Gherla | No. 12 |
| 22. | Tamarci (anus?) | Thracian | | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | soldier | | list | tile written upon before burning | Gherla | No. 12 |
| 23. | Terentius | Roman | | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | soldier | | list | tile written upon before burning | Gherla | No. 12 |
| 24. | Titus Deci/Desi | Roman | Roman | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | soldier | | list | tile written upon before burning | Gherla | No. 12 |
| 25. | Daphnus | Greek | | | | | funerary | possibly slave | Gherla | No. 13 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|-----|-------------------------------------|----------|-----------|---|--|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|---------|
| 26. | Decimus ...nis f. | Roman | | | | | funerary | | Gherla | No. 14 |
| 27. | Dines | Thracian | | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | <i>eques, signifer ac curator</i> | | funerary | | Gherla | No. 15 |
| 28. | Felix | Roman | | | husband (?) | | votive | | Gherla | No. 16 |
| 29. | Florentinus | Roman | | | | | votive | | Gherla | No. 16 |
| 30. | Lucilia Musa | Roman | | | wife (?) | | votive | | Gherla | No. 16 |
| 31. | Suriacus | Celtic | | | | | votive | | Gherla | No. 16 |
| 32. | Glavus Navati f. Sirmio | Illyrian | Roman | <i>Ala I Brittonum civium Romanorum</i> | <i>gregalis</i> | | military diploma | | Gherla | No. 17 |
| 33. | Iubena Belagenti | Celtic | Celtic | <i>Ala I Brittonum civium Romanorum</i> | wife | | military diploma | | Gherla | No. 17 |
| 34. | Roemetalces | Thracian | | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | <i>eques</i> | | funerary | uncertain reading | Gherla | No. 268 |
| 35. | Brisenus | Thracian | | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | <i>imaginifer</i> ; heir erects the monument | | funerary | | Gherla | No. 268 |
| 36. | Scenobarbus Dasi | Illyrian | Illyrian | <i>Ala II Pannoniorum</i> | soldier | | funerary | | Gherla | No. 18 |
| 37. | Sepenestus Rivi f. Pannon. Cornon. | Illyrian | Illyrian | <i>Cohors I Britannica milliaria</i> | <i>pedes</i> | | military diploma | | Gherla | No. 19 |
| 38. | Acilius Sabini f. Dubitatus castris | Roman | Roman | <i>Ala Siliana civium Romanorum</i> | <i>gregalis</i> | | military diploma | possibly <i>c. R.</i> | Gilău | No. 20 |
| 39. | Fortunatus Theupropi | Roman | Greek | | | Silvanus Silvester | votive | | Măcicașu | No. 21 |
| 40. | Bato ...nis | Illyrian | | | | | funerary | | Mănăstireni | No. 22 |
| 41. | Daphnis | Greek | | | | | funerary | | Mocod | No. 23 |
| 42. | Iustinus | Roman | | | | IOM Dolichenum | votive | | <i>Napoca</i> | No. 24 |
| 43. | Maessianus | Roman | | | | Mercurius | votive | | <i>Napoca</i> | No. 25 |
| 44. | Mucapor | Thracian | | | | | <i>instrumentum</i> | <i>lucemarius</i> | <i>Napoca</i> | No. 26 |
| 45. | Mucatra | Thracian | | | | | funerary | | <i>Napoca</i> | No. 27 |
| 46. | Quieta | Roman | | | mother | | funerary | | <i>Napoca</i> | No. 28 |
| 47. | Victorina | Roman | | | daughter; her mother erects the monument | | funerary | 16 yrs. | <i>Napoca</i> | No. 28 |
| 48. | Gaius | Roman | | <i>Cohors I Hispanorum milliaria</i> | | IOM Dolichenus | votive | subsequently discovered at Myszkow | Orheiul Bistriței | No. 29 |
| 49. | Bebeia Tychenis | Roman | Greek | | | | funerary | | <i>Porolissum</i> | No. 30 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|-----|------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--|--|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|--|--------|
| 50. | Ἡδύλος θάσιος | Greek | Greek | | | | funerary | θάσιος probably is a locative form | Porolissum | No. 31 |
| 51. | Erastus | Greek | | | <i>conservus</i> | | funerary | | Porolissum | No. 32 |
| 52. | Eufemus | Greek | | | <i>vikarius</i> ; Erastus <i>conservus</i> erects the monument | | funerary | 25 yrs. | Porolissum | No. 32 |
| 53. | Peregrinus | Roman | | | patron | | funerary | | Porolissum | No. 32 |
| 54. | Eustina Afri | Roman | Roman | | wife or daughter; husband or father erects the monument | | funerary | | Porolissum | No. 33 |
| 55. | Hamasaeus Alapatha | Semitic | Semitic | <i>Palmyreni sagittari ex Syria</i> | soldier | | military diploma | | Porolissum (tablet I), Jibou (tablet II) | No. 34 |
| 56. | Mucianus | Thracian | | <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum</i> | <i>optio</i> | Silvanus Domesticus | votive | | Porolissum | No. 35 |
| 57. | Nepos | Roman | | <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum</i> | <i>centurio</i> | Nemesis Sacra | votive | | Porolissum | No. 36 |
| 58. | Ostilia | Roman | | | relation between the two unknown; he dedicates to her memory | | funerary | | Porolissum | No. 37 |
| 59. | Ostilius | Roman | | | | | funerary | | Porolissum | No. 37 |
| 60. | Sabidas (Zabdas) Hutri | Semitic | Semitic | | | IJPP Maximus | votive | | Porolissum | No. 38 |
| 61. | Salmas Rami | Semitic | Celtic/Semitic (?) | <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum</i> | soldier; erects the monument for wife and son | | funerary | | Porolissum | No. 39 |
| 62. | Tavius | Roman | | | | Silvanus Domesticus | votive | | Porolissum | No. 40 |
| 63. | Vitalis | Roman | | <i>Cohors I Brittonum miliaria Ulpia torquata civium Romanorum</i> | son | | military diploma | father c. R. | Porolissum | No. 41 |
| 64. | Aia Nandonis | Illyrian/Celtic | Illyrian | | a freedman erects the monument | | funerary | 80 yrs. | Potaissa | No. 42 |
| 65. | Andrada Bituvantis | Celtic (?) | Thracian | | | | funerary | 40 yrs. | Potaissa | No. 42 |
| 66. | Bedarus | Illyrian/Celtic | | | | | funerary | 12 yrs. | Potaissa | No. 42 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|-----|------------------|---------------------|-----------|--------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|---------------------|--|--------------------|---------|
| 67. | Bricena | Illyrian/ Celtic | | | | | funerary | | <i>Potaissa</i> | No. 42 |
| 68. | Iusta | Roman | | | | | funerary | 30 yrs. | <i>Potaissa</i> | No. 42 |
| 69. | Atasa | Celtic | | <i>Cohors I Batavorum</i> | sister | | funerary | brother possibly <i>c. R.</i> | <i>Potaissa</i> | No. 43 |
| 70. | Meatinus Birsi | Celtic | Celtic | <i>Cohors I Batavorum</i> | soldier; brother and sister erect the monument | | funerary | 30 yrs.; brother possibly <i>c. R.</i> | <i>Potaissa</i> | No. 43 |
| 71. | Crescens | Roman | | | | Diana Invicta | votive | | <i>Potaissa</i> | No. 44 |
| 72. | Crescens Maximi | Roman | Roman | | husband; wife erects the monument | | funerary | 35 yrs.; wife and possibly son <i>c. R.</i> | <i>Potaissa</i> | No. 269 |
| 73. | Hermadio | Greek | | | | Silvanus Domesticus | votive | | <i>Potaissa</i> | No. 45 |
| 74. | Hermias | Greek | | | | Mars Amicus et Consentientus | votive | | <i>Potaissa</i> | No. 46 |
| 75. | Iulianus | Roman | | | | Silvanus Domesticus | votive | | <i>Potaissa</i> | No. 47 |
| 76. | Maxima | Roman | | | wife; husband erects the monument | | funerary | | <i>Potaissa</i> | No. 48 |
| 77. | Panianus | Illyrian | | | | | funerary | | <i>Potaissa</i> | No. 49 |
| 78. | Silvanus | Roman | | | | | funerary | | <i>Potaissa</i> | No. 49 |
| 79. | Surus ...omari | Celtic (?) | | | | | funerary | | <i>Potaissa</i> | No. 50 |
| 80. | Bato...nis | Illyrian | | | | | funerary | partially unreadable | <i>Resculum</i> | No. 51 |
| 81. | Solorigius | Celtic | | | son | | military diploma | father is <i>c. R.</i> ; 5 children are mentioned, 2 names being unreadable | Românași | No. 52 |
| 82. | Sur... | Celtic (?) | | | son | | military diploma | | Românași | No. 52 |
| 83. | Surucca | Celtic | | | daughter | | military diploma | | Românași | No. 52 |
| 84. | (Da)/(Zuro)blasa | Dacian | | | <i>eques</i> | | funerary | | <i>Samum</i> | No. 53 |
| 85. | Baricius Male f. | Semitic | Semitic | <i>Palmyreni sagittarii ex Syria</i> | soldier | | military diploma | | <i>Samum</i> | No. 54 |
| 86. | F(?)uscianus | Roman | | | <i>eques</i> | | funerary | | <i>Samum</i> | No. 55 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|--|----------|----------------|--|---------------------------|--|--|------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 87. | Maximi Oi... Maximus (?) | Roman | | | | Aepona Regina et <i>Genius turmae</i> | votive | | <i>Samum</i> | No. 56 |
| 88. | Mucatralis Bithi f. Bessus | Thracian | Thracian | <i>Cohors I Brittonum miliaria</i> | soldier | | military di- ploma | | <i>Samum</i> | No. 57 |
| 89. | Prosofius Ianuarius f. Pannonius | Thracian | Roman | <i>Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum miliaria</i> | <i>pedes</i> | | military di- ploma | | <i>Samum</i> | No. 58 |
| 90. | Maximus | Roman | | | | | honorary | possibly <i>c. R.</i> | Tihău | No. 59 |
| 91. | Pacutianus | Roman | | | | | honorary | possibly <i>c. R.</i> | Tihău | No. 59 |
| 92. | ... Aepicadi | | Illyrian | | witness | | wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 60 |
| 93. | Bato Annaei / Bato Annaei | Illyrian | Roman/Illyrian | | possible seller / witness | | wax tablet / wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 60 / No. 61 |
| 94. | Dasas Loni qui et... / Dasas Loni | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | - / IOM | wax tablet / votive | - / collegi Sardiatensium | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 60 / No. 62 |
| 95. | Saturninus Scenobarbi | Roman | Illyrian | | | | wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 60 |
| 96. | Andueia Batonis / Andueia Batonis / Andueia Batonis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | buyer / debtor (?) | | wax tablet / wax tablet / wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 61 / No. 63 / No. 64 |
| 97. | Ingenus Callisti | Roman | Greek | | neighbour | | wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 61 |
| 98. | Plator Acceptianus | Illyrian | Roman | | neighbour | | wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 61 |
| 99. | Plator Carpi | Illyrian | Roman/Illyrian | | witness | | wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 61 |
| 100. | Epicadus Batonis (?) | Illyrian | Illyrian | | debtor | | wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 64 |
| 101. | Maximus Veranis | Roman | Roman | | witness | | wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 64 |
| 102. | Servilius Cassi | Roman | Roman | | witness | | wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 64 |
| 103. | ... Beusantis | | Illyrian | | | | wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 65 |
| 104. | Verzo Beusantis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | | wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 65 |
| 105. | Dasius Verzonis / Dasius Verzonis Pirusta ex Kaviereti | Illyrian | Illyrian | | - / seller | | wax tablet / wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 65 / No. 66 |
| 106. | Anneses Andunocnetis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | witness | | wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 66 |
| 107. | Epicadus Plarentis qui et Mico | Illyrian | Illyrian | | witness | | wax tablet | | <i>Alburnus Maior</i> | No. 66 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|---|----------------|--------------------|----------------|---|-------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| 108. | Liccai Epicadi Marcinesi | Illyrian | Illyrian | | witness | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 66 |
| 109. | Masur(i)us Messi | Illyrian/Roman | Thracian (?)/Roman | | witness, <i>decurio</i> | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 66 |
| 110. | Maximus Batonis | Roman | Illyrian | | buyer | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 66 |
| 111. | Maximus Venetis | Roman | Illyrian | | witness, <i>princeps</i> | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 66 |
| 112. | Planus Verzonis Sclaietis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | witness | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 66 |
| 113. | Adiator Macari | Roman | Greek | | writes the document | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 67 |
| 114. | Socratio Socratis / Socratio Socratonis | Greek | Greek | | lends manpower (his own) / witness | | wax tablet / wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 67 / No. 68 |
| 115. | Memmius Asclepi | Greek | Greek | | lends manpower (his own) | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 68 |
| 116. | Titus Beusantis qui et Bradua / Titus Beusantis qui et Bradua | Roman | Illyrian | | witness / rents manpower | | wax tablet / wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 68 / No. 69 |
| 117. | Alexander Antipatri | Greek | Greek | | guarantor | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 70 |
| 118. | Alexander Cari | Greek | Roman | | debtor | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 71 |
| 119. | Alexander Gai | Greek | Roman | | father; son erects the monument | | funerary | 40 yrs. | Alburnus Maior | No. 72 |
| 120. | Caius | Roman | | | son | | funerary | | Alburnus Maior | No. 72 |
| 121. | Amonius (Hammonius?) | Egyptian | | | | IOM | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 73 |
| 122. | Andes Titi | Illyrian | Roman | | father; erects the monument for son | | funerary | son and wife c. R. | Alburnus Maior | No. 74 |
| 123. | Artemidorus Apolloni | Greek | Greek | | signatory, <i>magister collegi Iovi Cerneni</i> | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 75 |
| 124. | Iulius Iuli | Roman | Roman | | <i>magister collegi Iovi Cerneni</i> | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 75 |
| 125. | Offas Menofili | Greek | Greek | | signatory, <i>quaestor collegi Iovi Cerneni</i> | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 75 |
| 126. | September Platoris | Roman | Illyrian | | witness | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 75 |
| 127. | Valerius Niconis | Roman | Greek | | signatory, <i>quaestor collegi Iovi Cerneni</i> | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 75 |
| 128. | Atrius Maximi | Roman | Roman | | | Liber Pater | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 76 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|-----------------------------|----------|-----------|----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---|--------------------|-----------------|
| 129. | Bato Liani | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | | wax tablet | incomplete names; association on contract (?) | Alburnus Maior | No. 77 |
| 130. | Bradua Beusantis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 77 |
| 131. | Plares | Illyrian | | | | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 77 |
| 132. | Bato Secundi | Illyrian | Roman | | | Dibus Artanis | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 78 |
| 133. | Batonianus | Illyrian | | | | Terra Mater | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 79 |
| 134. | Bellicus Alexandri | Roman | Greek | | seller | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 80 |
| 135. | Dasius Breucus | Illyrian | Illyrian | | buyer | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 80 |
| 136. | Beucus / Beucus | Illyrian | | | - / heir | | funerary | <i>kastellum Starvae</i> | Alburnus Maior | No. 81 / No. 82 |
| 137. | Dasas Liccai Delmata | Illyrian | Illyrian | | heirs erects the monument | | funerary | 35 yrs.; <i>kastellum Starvae</i> | Alburnus Maior | No. 82 |
| 138. | Sarius | Illyrian | | | heir | | funerary | <i>kastellum Starvae</i> | Alburnus Maior | No. 82 |
| 139. | Beucus Dasantis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Liber et Libera | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 83 |
| 140. | Beucus Daeici | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Venera | votive | <i>aram Veneri vs</i> | Alburnus Maior | No. 84 |
| 141. | Beucus Sut (tinis?) | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Mercurius | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 85 |
| 142. | Beusas Platoris | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Ianus Geminus | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 86 |
| 143. | Bisius Scenobarbi | Illyrian | Illyrian | | husband | | funerary | | Alburnus Maior | No. 87 |
| 144. | Cassia Peregrina | Roman | Roman | | wife; husband erects the monument | | funerary | 27 yrs.; possibly <i>c. R.</i> | Alburnus Maior | No. 87 |
| 145. | Dasas | Illyrian | | | | Maelantoni- nius | votive | <i>pro salute Maniatium</i> | Alburnus Maior | No. 88 |
| 146. | Dazurius | Illyrian | | | | Maelantoni- nius | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 88 |
| 147. | Dasa Suttinis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | husband; erects the monument | | funerary | wife possibly <i>c. R.</i> | Alburnus Maior | No. 89 |
| 148. | Dasas Verzonis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Ianus | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 90 |
| 149. | Nevato Implai | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Ianus | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 90 |
| 150. | Dasius Sta... qui et Durius | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Terra Mater | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 91 |
| 151. | Dassius | Illyrian | | | | Deana | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 92 |
| 152. | Δημήτριος Ἀρχαίκε | Greek | Iranian | | | Δεος Νάρενος | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 93 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------------|---------|
| 153. | Διων Δοιανω | Greek | Greek | | | Δεος Σιττακιωμικενος | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 94 |
| 154. | Fronto Plarentis | Roman | Illyrian | | | Asclepius Augustus | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 95 |
| 155. | Germanus | Roman | | | | Aptus Delmatarum | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 96 |
| 156. | Purtus | Illyrian | | | | Aptus Delmatarum | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 96 |
| 157. | Helius | Greek | | | | Silvanus Domesticus | votive | possibly slave | Alburnus Maior | No. 97 |
| 158. | Hermes Myrini | Greek | Greek | | | Silvanus Augustus | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 98 |
| 159. | Implaius Sumeletis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Nimphis sacrum | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 99 |
| 160. | Implaius Lisantis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | IOM | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 100 |
| 161. | Lavius Verzonis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | uncle | | funerary | | Alburnus Maior | No. 101 |
| 162. | Plaetoria Maxima | Illyrian/ Roman | | | niece; uncle erects the monument | | funerary | possibly c. R. | Alburnus Maior | No. 101 |
| 163. | Lonius Tiznius Celsi | Illyrian | Roman | | | Ianus Geminus | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 102 |
| 164. | Lossa | Illyrian | | | creditor | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 103 |
| 165. | Lupus Carentis | Roman | Roman | | debtor | | wax tablet | | Alburnus Maior | No. 104 |
| 166. | Macrianus Surionis | Roman | Illyrian | | | Apollo Pirunenus | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 105 |
| 167. | Maxima | Roman | | | wife | | funerary | | Alburnus Maior | No. 106 |
| 168. | Planus Baezi qui et Magister | Illyrian | Illyrian | | husband | | funerary | 50 yrs. | Alburnus Maior | No. 106 |
| 169. | Maxima Luri | Roman | Illyrian | | probably daughter | | funerary | 25 yrs. | Alburnus Maior | No. 107 |
| 170. | Rufus | Roman | | | father; erects the monument | | funerary | | Alburnus Maior | No. 107 |
| 171. | Tertia | Roman | | | mother; erects the monument | | funerary | | Alburnus Maior | No. 107 |
| 172. | Μυρων | Greek | | | Δεος Κιμιστενος | | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 108 |
| 173. | Nevato(?) Ladi(?) | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Diana et omni- bus dis | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 109 |
| 174. | Panes Bizonis Delmata | Illyrian | Illyrian | | nephew; uncle erects the monument | | funerary | | Alburnus Maior | No. 110 |
| 175. | Plator Scenobarbi | Illyrian | Illyrian | | uncle | | funerary | | Alburnus Maior | No. 110 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|---------------------------------|----------|-----------|----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------|
| 176. | Panes Epicadi qui et Suttius | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Diana Augusta | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 111 |
| 177. | Panes Nosetis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Apollo Augustus | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 112 |
| 178. | Panes Stagilis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | IOM | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 113 |
| 179. | Plabaotius (Pla... Baotius (?)) | Illyrian | | | | Silvanus | votive | et collegium | Alburnus Maior | No. 114 |
| 180. | Varro Sceni | Roman | Illyrian | | | Silvanus | votive | promiserat collegio (?) | Alburnus Maior | No. 115 |
| 181. | Platino Verzonis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | wife, husband erects the monument | | funerary | 54 yrs.; kastellum Anso | Alburnus Maior | No. 116 |
| 182. | Rufus Platoris | Roman | Illyrian | | husband | | funerary | | Alburnus Maior | No. 116 |
| 183. | Platius | Illyrian | | | | IOM | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 117 |
| 184. | Platius Dasantis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Genius Sardiatisium | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 118 |
| 185. | Platius Turi | Illyrian | Celtic | | | Iovis Depulsor | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 119 |
| 186. | Plator Implai | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Apollo | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 120 |
| 187. | Plator Implei | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Mercurius | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 121 |
| 188. | Plator Panentis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Apollo | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 122 |
| 189. | Plator Sar... | Illyrian | | | | Fortuna Augusta | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 123 |
| 190. | Rufinus Stennatis | Roman | Illyrian | | | Silvanus | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 124 |
| 191. | Sameccus ..ovi | Celtic | | | | Silvanus Domesticus | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 125 |
| 192. | Seneca Bisonis | Roman | Illyrian | | | Genio collegi Kastellum Baridustarum | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 126 |
| 193. | Surio Sumeletis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Neptunus | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 127 |
| 194. | Suttis Panentis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Liber Pater | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 128 |
| 195. | Tritius Gar... | Illyrian | | | | IOM | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 129 |
| 196. | Varro Titi | Roman | Roman | | | Silvanus Silvester | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 130 |
| 197. | Verso Dasantis qui Veidavius | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Apollo | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 131 |
| 198. | Verzo Pantonis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | IOM | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 132 |
| 199. | Verzo Platoris | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | Mercurius | votive | | Alburnus Maior | No. 133 |
| 200. | Adde Barsemei | Semitic | Semitic | | sacerdos | IOM Dolichenus, Deus Commagenorum | votive | | Ampelum | No. 134 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|---------------------------|-------------------|-----------|--|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|---------|
| 201. | Oceanus Socratis | Roman | Greek | | sacerdos | IOM Dolichenus, Deus Commagenorum | votive | | Ampelum | No. 134 |
| 202. | Affia | Greek (Bythinian) | | | wife | | funerary | | Ampelum | No. 135 |
| 203. | Asclepius qui Asclepiades | Greek | | | husband; wife erects the monument | | funerary | 30 yrs.; civis bi-thynus | Ampelum | No. 135 |
| 204. | Alexandrinus | Greek | | | husband and father; sons and wife erect the monument | | funerary | 65 yrs.; civis bi-thynus | Ampelum | No. 136 |
| 205. | Onesimus | Greek | | | | Silvanus Domesticus | votive | | Ampelum | No. 137 |
| 206. | Martinus | Roman | | | | Diana | votive | | Amoita | No. 138 |
| 207. | ... Diofantis | | Greek | | | | funerary | | Apulum | No. 139 |
| 208. | Αβεδάλαθ | Semitic | | | | Sol Invictus | votive | | Apulum | No. 140 |
| 209. | Antiochus | Greek | | | | Deo Comageno | votive | sacerdos loci | Apulum | No. 141 |
| 210. | Apollodorus | Greek | | | son | | funerary | | Apulum | No. 142 |
| 211. | Gaius | Roman | | | son | | funerary | | Apulum | No. 142 |
| 212. | Ingenius Gai | Roman | Roman | | father; sons erects the monument | | funerary | 75 yrs. | Apulum | No. 142 |
| 213. | Atpatinius Rufi | Celtic | Roman | | | IO Bussumarius | votive | | Apulum | No. 143 |
| 214. | Chrestion | Greek | | | | Invictus Mithras | votive | | Apulum | No. 144 |
| 215. | Chrestus Zoili | Greek | Greek | | father; erects the monument for son <i>ex voto testamento</i> (?) | | votive (?) | | Apulum | No. 145 |
| 216. | Demosthene | Greek | | | son | | votive (?) | | Apulum | No. 145 |
| 217. | Crescens Platoris | Roman | Illyrian | | heir (<i>signifer</i> in the legion) erects the monument | | funerary | 35 yrs. | Apulum | No. 146 |
| 218. | Dasas Scenobarbi | Illyrian | Illyrian | <i>Ala I Batavorum; Numerus singularem</i> | <i>eques</i> ; heir erects the monument | | funerary | 31 yrs. | Apulum | No. 147 |
| 219. | Dioscorus Marci | Greek | Roman | | | Invictus Mithras | votive | | Apulum | No. 148 |
| 220. | Euhemerus | Greek | | | | Deus Invictus Mithras | votive | | Apulum | No. 149 |
| 221. | Farnacanes Gai | Ponto-bithynian | Roman | | | Mars | votive | | Apulum | No. 150 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|---------------------|-----------|-------------------|---|---|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------|
| 222. | Gorgias Posidonius | Greek (?) | Greek | | | Hercules | votive | | Apulum | No. 151 |
| 223. | Herculianus | Roman | | | son; father erects the monument | | funerary | 11 yrs. | Apulum | No. 152 |
| 224. | Lais | Greek | | | father | | funerary | | Apulum | No. 152 |
| 225. | Ἐπιφῆς Ἰοργίου | Greek | Greek (?) | | | Ἴηλιος ἀνεικεῖκτος | votive | | Apulum | No. 153 |
| 226. | Iulia | Roman | | <i>Numerus Germanicianorum</i> | wife; erects the monument | | funerary | | Apulum | No. 154 |
| 227. | Zenon Tarasi | Greek | micro-asiatic (?) | <i>Numerus Germanicianorum</i> | <i>miles</i> | | funerary | 33 yrs. | Apulum | No. 154 |
| 228. | Iulius | Roman | | | | Silvanus | votive | | Apulum | No. 155 |
| 229. | Iuvenalis | Roman | | | | | funerary | | Apulum | No. 156 |
| 230. | Iuvenalis | Roman | | | | | funerary | 30 yrs.; from Forum Claudii | Apulum | No. 157 |
| 231. | Lucanus | Roman | | | | Mithras | votive | | Apulum | No. 158 |
| 232. | Lupula | Roman | | | sister; erects the monument for brother | | funerary | | Apulum | No. 159 |
| 233. | Ursulus | Roman | | | | | funerary | 24 yrs. | Apulum | No. 159 |
| 234. | Martinus | Roman | | | | Diana | votive | | Apulum | No. 160 |
| 235. | Mucapor Mucatralis | Thracian | Thracian | <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum</i> | heir; erects the monument | | funerary | | Apulum | No. 161 |
| 236. | Mucatra Brasi | Thracian | Thracian | <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibicensium</i> | <i>miles</i> | | funerary | 39 yrs. | Apulum | No. 161 |
| 237. | Mucasenus Censorini | Thracian | Roman | <i>Singulares consularis</i> | <i>eques</i> ; wife erects the monument | | funerary | 20 yrs. | Apulum | No. 162 |
| 238. | Rescuturme Soiae | Thracian | Thracian (?) | <i>Eques singularis consularis</i> | wife | | funerary | | Apulum | No. 162 |
| 239. | Peregrinus | Roman | | | | | funerary | | Apulum | No. 163 |
| 240. | Phillipus | Greek | | | | Silvanus | votive | <i>ex viso</i> | Apulum | No. 164 |
| 241. | Potinus | Greek | | | | Invictus Mithras | votive | | Apulum | No. 165 |
| 242. | Primianus | Roman | | | | IOM Cimistenus | votive | | Apulum | No. 166 |
| 243. | Primus | Roman | | | | IOM Cimistenus | votive | | Apulum | No. 166 |
| 244. | Restituta | Celtic | | | | Aesculapius and Hygeia | votive | | Apulum | No. 167 |
| 245. | Ροῦφος Ἀντιπάρτου | Roman | Greek | | | Ζεὸς Σαρδεδένος | votive | | Apulum | No. 168 |
| 246. | Rufus Diomedis | Roman | Greek | | | | funerary | 55 (54?) yrs. | Apulum | No. 169 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|-----------------------|----------|------------|--|--|------------------|---------------------|---|--------------------|---------|
| 247. | Saturninus | Roman | | | | | funerary | | Apulum | No. 170 |
| 248. | Seccia Cupiti | Celtic | Celtic | | wife and mother; husband and children erect the monument | | funerary | 60 yrs. | Apulum | No. 171 |
| 249. | Sentius Alexandri | Roman | Greek | | | Deus Bussumaris | votive | | Apulum | No. 172 |
| 250. | Sisiata Vaussi | Celtic | Celtic (?) | | wife; husband erects the monument | | funerary | 35 yrs.; from Claudia Savaria; husband probably c. R. | Apulum | No. 173 |
| 251. | Solon | Greek | | | | Silvanus Sanctus | votive | | Apulum | No. 174 |
| 252. | Tutor Silvani | Roman | Roman | <i>Ala Bosporanorum; Numerus Ilyrianicorum</i> | <i>eques</i> | | funerary | 43 yrs. | Apulum | No. 175 |
| 253. | Ursina Velleci | Roman | Celtic | | | | funerary | 12 yrs., count of days followed | Apulum | No. 176 |
| 254. | Quinta Quinti | Roman | Roman | | | | funerary | 40 yrs. | Băgaciu | No. 177 |
| 255. | Quintus Quinti | Roman | Roman | | | | funerary | 30 yrs. | Băgaciu | No. 177 |
| 256. | Dules Maximi | Thracian | Roman | | husband; wife erects the monument | | funerary | 47 yrs. (?) | Brad | No. 178 |
| 257. | Mavida Epicadi | Illyrian | Greek | | wife | | funerary | 45 yrs. | Brădeni | No. 179 |
| 258. | Tzetzzi | Thracian | | <i>Ala Inlyricorum</i> | wife; erects the monument | | funerary | he is a citizen and a <i>sisquipliciarius</i> | Brâncovenești | No. 180 |
| 259. | Diogenes | Greek | | | <i>lapidarius</i> | | column | | Călan | No. 181 |
| 260. | Clemens Tyrani | Roman | Greek | | father (?); erects the monument | | funerary | | Cristești | No. 182 |
| 261. | Finitus | Roman | | | son and heir (?); erects the monument I | | funerary | | Cristești | No. 183 |
| 262. | Heptapor Isi f. Besso | Thracian | Greek (?) | <i>Ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum</i> | <i>gregalis</i> | | military diploma | | Cristești | No. 184 |
| 263. | Hermeros? | Greek | | | <i>lapidarius</i> | | architrave | | Cristești | No. 185 |
| 264. | Surus | | | | | Invictus Mithras | votive | | Decea | No. 186 |
| 265. | Suadullus Titurs | Celtic | Celtic | | son; erects the monument | | funerary | 91 yrs. | Dirlos | No. 187 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|--------------------|--------|-----------|--------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 266. | Bocenus | Celtic | | | son | Silvanus, Silvanae, Carpestres | votive | | Germisara | No. 188 |
| 267. | Fronto | Roman | | | father; erects the monument <i>pro salute filio</i> | Silvanus, Silvanae, Carpestres | votive | | Germisara | No. 188 |
| 268. | Decebalus Luci | Dacian | Roman | | | Nymfes | votive | | Germisara | No. 189 |
| 269. | Secundinus | Roman | | | | Liber Pater, Libera Mater | votive | | Germisara | No. 190 |
| 270. | Eros Zotici | Greek | Greek | | <i>sigillarius</i> | IOM | votive | possibly slave | Inlăceni | No. 191 |
| 271. | Vaterinus Cassiani | Roman | Roman | <i>Numerus Surorum</i> (?) | <i>eques</i> | Victoria (sic!) | votive | | Kajtasovo | No. 192 |
| 272. | Demetrius Antoni | Greek | Roman | | | Deus Saromandus | votive | | Micăsasa | No. 193 |
| 273. | ...is Dassi | | Illyrian | <i>Numerus Maurorum Miciensium</i> | soldier | | funerary | | Micia | No. 194 |
| 274. | Catullus | Roman | | | <i>immunis</i> | Silvanus Domesticus | votive | | Micia | No. 195 |
| 275. | Censorinus | Celtic | | <i>Ala I Hispanorum Campagonum</i> | <i>imaginifer</i> | | funerary | | Micia | No. 196 |
| 276. | Crispus | Roman | | <i>Cohors II Commagenorum</i> | soldier | IOM | votive | | Micia | No. 197 |
| 277. | Ianuarus | Roman | | <i>Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i> | <i>actarius</i> | Minerva Augusta, Genius cohortis | votive | | Micia | No. 198 |
| 278. | Potentinus (?) | Roman | | | <i>nummularius</i> | Diana sancta | votive | | Micia | No. 199 |
| 279. | Quintianus | Celtic | | | <i>decurio alea</i> | Silvanus Deus Aeternus | votive | | Micia | No. 200 |
| 280. | Quintus | Roman | | <i>Ala Campagonum</i> | <i>imaginifer</i> | | funerary | | Micia | No. 201 |
| 281. | Rufus/Rufus/Rufus | Roman | | | <i>praefectus / praefectus / praefectus</i> | Liber Pater / Pluton / Silvanus | votive / votive / votive | | Micia | No. 202 / No. 203 / No. 204 |
| 282. | Fronto Paulini | Roman | Roman | | | | metal disk | | Odorheiul Secutesc | No. 205 |
| 283. | Alexander | Greek | | | | | votive | copied by Römer | Orşova | No. 206 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|-----------------------------------|------------|-----------|--|--|-------------|---------------------|--|----------------------|---------|
| 284. | Victorinus | Roman | | | | | votive | | Ozd | No. 207 |
| 285. | Alexander | Greek | | | brother | Dea Nemesis | votive | <i>periculo liberavit</i> | <i>Sarmizegetusa</i> | No. 208 |
| 286. | Hilarus | Roman | | | brother; erects the monument son | Dea Nemesis | votive | <i>periculo liberavit</i> | <i>Sarmizegetusa</i> | No. 208 |
| 287. | Antoninus | Roman | | | | | votive | | <i>Sarmizegetusa</i> | No. 209 |
| 288. | Euhemer | Greek | | | father; erects the monument for son, <i>pro salute</i> | | votive | | <i>Sarmizegetusa</i> | No. 209 |
| 289. | Χρυσόκοιμαν | Greek | | | | | funerary | | <i>Sarmizegetusa</i> | No. 210 |
| 290. | Iunia Abascanti | Roman | Greek | | wife | Nemesis | votive | <i>ex visu</i> | <i>Sarmizegetusa</i> | No. 211 |
| 291. | Maro | Roman | | | | | votive | | <i>Sarmizegetusa</i> | No. 212 |
| 292. | Mucianus | Roman | Roman | | | | votive | | <i>Sarmizegetusa</i> | No. 213 |
| 293. | Philotimus | Greek | | | | | votive | discovered in the <i>mithraeum</i> ; <i>pro se et suis</i> | <i>Sarmizegetusa</i> | No. 214 |
| 294. | Priscus | Roman | | | | | votive | <i>ex iusso</i> | <i>Sarmizegetusa</i> | No. 215 |
| 295. | Varius (?) | Roman | | | | Dea Nemesis | votive | | <i>Sarmizegetusa</i> | No. 216 |
| 296. | Cotu Successi | Celtic | | | wife; citizen husband erects the monument | | funerary | 55 yrs.; <i>cives norica</i> | Șeica Mică | No. 217 |
| 297. | Candia Maximi | Roman | Roman | | mother; son or sons erects the monument | | funerary | 90 yrs.; possibly <i>c. R.</i> | Sighișoara | No. 218 |
| 298. | Talanus Dugionis | Celtic (?) | Celtic | | father; son or sons erects the monument | | funerary | 70 yrs. | Sighișoara | No. 218 |
| 299. | Dantica Cusioni | Celtic | Celtic | | | | funerary | 20 yrs. | Sighișoara | No. 219 |
| 300. | Prinada | Illyrian | | | son | | funerary | | Sighișoara | No. 220 |
| 301. | Sabina Dasmeni | Roman | Illyrian | | wife and mother; husband and sons erect the monument | | funerary | 50 yrs. | Sighișoara | No. 220 |
| 302. | Sanilis | Illyrian | | | son | | funerary | | Sighișoara | No. 220 |
| 303. | Senecio | Illyrian | | | husband | | funerary | | Sighișoara | No. 220 |
| 304. | Surilla | Celtic | | | son | | funerary | | Sighișoara | No. 220 |
| 305. | Surinius | Celtic | | | son | | funerary | | Sighișoara | No. 220 |
| 306. | Barsimsus Callistenis f. Caesarea | Semitic | Greek | <i>Cohors I Vindellicorum miliaria</i> | <i>pedes</i> | | military diploma | | <i>Tibiscum</i> | No. 221 |
| 307. | Brisanus Aulusani | Thracian | Thracian | <i>Cohors I Vindellicorum</i> | <i>miles</i> | | funerary | | <i>Tibiscum</i> | No. 222 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------------------------|---|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------|
| 308. | Ierheus | Semitic | | <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum</i> | brother | | funerary | | <i>Tibiscum</i> | No. 223 |
| 309. | Malchus | Semitic | | <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum</i> | brother | | funerary | | <i>Tibiscum</i> | No. 223 |
| 310. | Neses Ierhei | Semitic | Semitic | <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum</i> | soldier; brothers erect the monument | | funerary | 25 yrs. | <i>Tibiscum</i> | No. 223 |
| 311. | Procula Batava | Roman | | | | | funerary | 26 yrs. | <i>Tibiscum</i> | No. 224 |
| 312. | Themhes | Semitic | | <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum</i> | brother; erects the monument | | funerary | | <i>Tibiscum</i> | No. 225 |
| 313. | Prima Macri | Celtic | Roman | | | | funerary | 50 yrs. | Tîrnava | No. 226 |
| 314. | Castor | Greek | | | | | votive | possibly slave | Cioroiu Nou | No. 227 |
| 315. | Dasas Capitonis | Illyrian | Illyrian | | | | funerary | 55 yrs.; <i>ipse posuit</i> | Dálma | No. 228 |
| 316. | Diogenes Moschi | Greek | Greek | | husband | | funerary | | <i>Drobeta</i> | No. 229 |
| 317. | Liccaius Vinentis | Illyrian | Illyrian | <i>Cohors III Campestris</i> | <i>miles</i> ; heir erects the monument | | funerary | | <i>Drobeta</i> | No. 230 |
| 318. | Sabina Labrionis | Roman | Illyrian | | | | funerary | 50 yrs. | <i>Drobeta</i> | No. 231 |
| 319. | Senecio Suri | Illyrian | | | | | funerary | 20 yrs. | <i>Drobeta</i> | No. 231 |
| 320. | Dioscurus Ianuari | Greek | Roman | | | Diana Regina | votive | | Galicea Mare | No. 232 |
| 321. | Eupator Eumeni f. Sebastopol | Greek | Greek | <i>vexillatio Equitum Illyricorum</i> | <i>gregalis</i> | | military diploma | | Grojdibod | No. 233 |
| 322. | Eumenes | Greek | | <i>vexillatio Equitum Illyricorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | Grojdibod | No. 233 |
| 323. | Eupater | Greek | | <i>vexillatio Equitum Illyricorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | Grojdibod | No. 233 |
| 324. | Eupator | Greek | | <i>vexillatio Equitum Illyricorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | Grojdibod | No. 233 |
| 325. | Philopatra | Greek | | <i>vexillatio Equitum Illyricorum</i> | daughter | | military diploma | | Grojdibod | No. 233 |
| 326. | Thrason | Greek | | <i>vexillatio Equitum Illyricorum</i> | daughter | | military diploma | | Grojdibod | No. 233 |
| 327. | Gorgius | Greek (?) | | | <i>miles hastarius</i> | | <i>instrumentum</i> | | Jidava | No. 234 |
| 328. | Candidus (Maximi) | Roman | Roman | | soldier | | <i>instrumentum</i> | | Olteni | No. 235 |
| 329. | Antonius Nicanori | Roman | Greek | | | | funerary | | <i>Romula</i> | No. 236 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|----------------------------------|------------|-----------|---|--|---------------------------|-----------------------|--|--|---------|
| 330. | Gaius | Roman | | | <i>optio</i> | Placida Regina | votive | | <i>Romula</i> | No. 237 |
| 331. | Proculus | Roman | | | <i>princeps</i> | Placida Regina | votive | | <i>Romula</i> | No. 237 |
| 332. | Ioncutus | Celtic (?) | | | | IOM | votive | | <i>Romula</i> | No. 238 |
| 333. | Longina | Roman | | | | IOM | votive | | <i>Romula</i> | No. 238 |
| 334. | Phoebus | Greek | | | | Deus Sol Invictus | votive | possibly slave; <i>pro salute sua</i> | <i>Romula</i> | No. 239 |
| 335. | Ragysbel | semit | | | | Atargatis | votive | on a ceramic plynth; in Hebrew | <i>Romula</i> | No. 240 |
| 336. | Iulianus | Roman | | | | Deus Sol Invictus | votive | <i>pro salute eorum</i> | <i>Sucidava</i> | No. 241 |
| 337. | Marinus | Roman | | | | Deus Sol Invictus | votive | <i>pro salute eorum</i> | <i>Sucidava</i> | No. 241 |
| 338. | Quintilianus | Roman | | | father; dedicates for health of sons | Dea Placida | votive | | <i>Sucidava</i> | No. 242 |
| 339. | Marciana | Roman | | | mother; dedicates for health of sons | Dea Placida | votive | | <i>Sucidava</i> | No. 242 |
| 340. | Valens Domiti | Roman | Roman | | | Apollo, Hercule, Diana | votive | | <i>Sucidava</i> | No. 243 |
| 341. | Ivonercus Molaci f. Brittonus | Celtic | Celtic | <i>Cohors I Ulpia Brittonum millaria</i> | <i>pedes</i> | | military di- ploma | | Teregova (tablet I), Mehadia (ta- blet II) | No. 244 |
| 342. | Sutta Epicadi | Illyrian | Greek (?) | | mother; parents of a girl killed by <i>latrones</i> erect the monument | | funerary | | Zegaia | No. 245 |
| 343. | Ulcudius Baedari | Illyrian | Illyrian | | father; parents of a girl killed by <i>latrones</i> erect the monument | | funerary | 50 yrs. | Zegaia | No. 245 |
| 344. | Perhev Athenatan | Semitic | Semitic | <i>Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibicensium</i> | soldier | | military di- ploma | | river Timiș | No. 246 |
| 345. | Aulenus Her... f. | Roman | | <i>Cohors II Gallorum Pannoniorum</i> | <i>eques</i> | | military di- ploma | | Nova Zagora | No. 247 |
| 346. | Bitus Solae f. Besso | Thracian | Thracian | <i>Numerus Equitum Illyriacorum</i> | <i>gregalis</i> | | military di- ploma | | Palamarca | No. 248 |
| 347. | Ianuarius | Roman | | <i>Cohors I Montanorum</i> | son | | military di- ploma | father is <i>c. R.</i> | Ranovac | No. 249 |
| 348. | Lucana | Celtic | | <i>Cohors I Montanorum</i> | daughter | | military di- ploma | father is <i>c. R.</i> | Ranovac | No. 249 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|-----------------------------------|---------|-----------|---|----------------------|---------|---------------------|---|--------------------|---------|
| 349. | Marcus | Roman | | <i>Cohors I Montanorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | Ranovac | No. 249 |
| 350. | Sextus Busturionis f. Pannonio | Roman | Celtic | <i>Cohors I Bataavorum miliaria</i> | <i>pedes</i> | | military diploma | | Palatovo | No. 250 |
| 351. | Thaemus Horati f. Ituraeo | Semitic | Roman | <i>Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> | <i>gregalis</i> | | military diploma | | Hungary | No. 251 |
| 352. | Antonius | Roman | | <i>Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | Hungary | No. 251 |
| 353. | Marcus | Roman | | <i>Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | Hungary | No. 251 |
| 354. | Nal | Semitic | | <i>Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | Hungary | No. 251 |
| 355. | Zacca Pallaei f. Syrus | Semitic | Semitic | <i>Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i> | <i>eques</i> | | military diploma | | Urfa | No. 252 |
| 356. | Iulia Florentina Bithi f. Bessa | Roman | Thracian | <i>Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i> | wife | | military diploma | possibly <i>c. R.</i> | Urfa | No. 252 |
| 357. | Abisalma | Semitic | | <i>Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | Urfa | No. 252 |
| 358. | Achilleus | Greek | | <i>Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | Urfa | No. 252 |
| 359. | Arsama | Iranian | | <i>Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | Urfa | No. 252 |
| 360. | Sabina | Roman | | <i>Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i> | daughter | | military diploma | | Urfa | No. 252 |
| 361. | Sabinus | Roman | | <i>Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | Urfa | No. 252 |
| 362. | Zabeus | Semitic | | <i>Cohors II Flavia Commagenorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | Urfa | No. 252 |
| 363. | Adiutor Psi f. Bessus | Roman | Thracian | <i>Ala Hispanorum</i> | <i>gregalis</i> | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 253 |
| 364. | Asclepiades | Greek | | <i>Cohors I Brittonum Augusta Nerviana Pacensis</i> | <i>pedes</i> | | military diploma | mentions a son and daughter with unreadable names | unknown | No. 254 |
| 365. | Bolliconus Icci f. loco Brittonus | Celtic | Celtic | <i>Ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana</i> | <i>gregalis</i> | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 255 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|------------------------------|--------------|--------------|---|-------------------------|---------|---------------------|--------------|--------------------|---------|
| 366. | Aprilius | Celtic | | <i>Ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana</i> | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 255 |
| 367. | Apronia | Roman/Celtic | | <i>Ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana</i> | daughter | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 255 |
| 368. | Iulius | Roman | | <i>Ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana</i> | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 255 |
| 369. | Victoria | Roman | | <i>Ala I Claudia Gallorum Capitoniana</i> | daughter | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 255 |
| 370. | Coca Tyru f. Sardica | Celtic | Illyrian | <i>Numerus equitum Ilyrianicorum</i> | <i>sesquipliciarius</i> | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 256 |
| 371. | Demuncius Avesso f. Eravisco | Celtic | Celtic | <i>Cohors VIII Raetorum</i> | <i>pedes</i> | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 257 |
| 372. | Comatus | Roman | | <i>Cohors VIII Raetorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 257 |
| 373. | Potens | Roman | | <i>Cohors VIII Raetorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 257 |
| 374. | Primus | Celtic | | <i>Cohors VIII Raetorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 257 |
| 375. | Su... | | | <i>Cohors VIII Raetorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 257 |
| 376. | Dida Cuttius L(...) f. | Thracian | Thracian | <i>Cohors II Augusta Nerviana milliana Pacensis</i> | <i>pedes</i> | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 258 |
| 377. | Diarpa Dotu (...) f. | Dacian | Thracian (?) | <i>Cohors II Augusta Nerviana milliana Pacensis</i> | wife | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 258 |
| 378. | Dimidusus | Thracian | | <i>Cohors II Augusta Nerviana milliana Pacensis</i> | daughter (?) | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 258 |
| 379. | Iulius | Roman | | <i>Cohors II Augusta Nerviana milliana Pacensis</i> | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 258 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|------------------------------|----------|-----------|--|----------------------|---------|---------------------|--|--------------------|---------|
| 380. | Gallionus Suadali f. Boius | Celtic | Celtic | <i>Cohors I Cretum sagittariorum</i> | <i>pedes</i> | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 259 |
| 381. | ...oli filio Besso | | Thracian | <i>Cohors II Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum milliaria</i> | <i>gregalis</i> | | military diploma | mentions a daughter with unreadable name | unknown | No. 260 |
| 382. | Tara (?) | Thracian | | | son | | military diploma | mentions a daughter with unreadable name | unknown | No. 261 |
| 383. | Dizala | Thracian | | | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 262 |
| 384. | Quinta | Celtic | | | daughter | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 262 |
| 385. | Tertulia | Roman | | | daughter | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 262 |
| 386. | Torcus | Celtic | | | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 262 |
| 387. | Torquatus | Celtic | | | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 262 |
| 388. | Herennianus | Roman | | | | | votive | <i>ex visu</i> | unknown | No. 263 |
| 389. | Marsua Calvi f. Azalus | Greek | Roman | <i>Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> | <i>gregalis</i> | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 264 |
| 390. | Antonia Mahechi | Roman | Celtic | <i>Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> | wife | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 264 |
| 391. | Ingenuus | Roman | | <i>Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 264 |
| 392. | Munnus | Celtic | | <i>Ala I Augusta Ituraeorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 264 |
| 393. | Temaius Dassi | Greek | Illyrian | | | | funerary | 20 yrs. | unknown | No. 265 |
| 394. | Thiamponius Dexaei f. Besso | Thracian | Celtic | <i>Ala I Asturum</i> | <i>gregalis</i> | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 266 |
| 395. | Tullionus Vegeti f. Tungrus | Roman | Roman | <i>Cohors I Hispanorum</i> | <i>pedes</i> | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 267 |
| 396. | Ammaiona Aeconis f. Eravisca | Celtic | Celtic | <i>Cohors I Hispanorum</i> | wife | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 267 |

| No. | Character | Name | Filiation | Military troop | Status and relations | Deities | Type of inscription | Observations | Place of discovery | No. SE |
|------|-----------|-------|-----------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------|---------------------|--------------|--------------------|---------|
| 397. | Ferox | Roman | | <i>Cohors I Hispanorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 267 |
| 398. | Vernus | Roman | | <i>Cohors I Hispanorum</i> | son | | military diploma | | unknown | No. 267 |

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SUPPLEMENTUM EPIGRAPHICUM

- No. 1.** CIL III 799.
[---]s *Mucaporis* / [eq(ues)? alae] *Front(oniae)* / [---] III *Ael(ius) Mu/[--- eq(ues)? al]ae eiusd(em) / [---]*.
- No. 2.** CIL III 801.
D(is) M(anibus) / Apon[ius? ---] / eques alae [Front(oniae)] / vix(it) an(nos) L Aponia [---] / et L(a) elius patri [---] / posuerunt / b(ene) m(erenti).
- No. 3.** CIL III 805.
D(is) M(anibus) / [---] Bonosa / [vix(it) ann(os)] XLII Val(erius) Vale/[rianus] vet(eranus) ex de(curione) al(ae) Fro(ntoniana) / [coniu]gi pientissimae / [b(ene)] m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uravit).
- No. 4.** CIL III 807.
D(is) M(anibus) / Cittius Ioivai(?) / eq(ues) al(ae) Fro(ntoniana) s(tipendiorum) XVI / vix(it) [an]n(os) XXXVI / Iustus e(ques) a(lae) e(iusdem) / her(es) et brotherr / f(aciendum) c(uravit).
- No. 5.** CIL III ad 786.
Ἀσκληπι(ῶ) / καὶ Ὑγεία / Κοιντος / [---].
- No. 6.** CIL III 809.
[---] / eq(ues) alae [Fro]/nt(oniae) (h)ic situs est vix(it) annis XXXX *Muc/apuis coniugi bene / merenti posuit*.
- No. 7.** CIL III 806.
D(is) M(anibus) / Cocceius Iulius / eq(ues) a(lae) Front(oniae) stip(endiorum) VII / vix(it) an(nos) XXVII / Primus / h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).
- No. 8.** Ardevan, Wollmann 2007, 245, no. 4, pl. 9–10.
[---] / [---] (*hedera*) *Ro[cius?] / [Satu?]rio m(iles) [num(eri)] / [Palm(yrenorum)] Poro[liss(ensium)] / [p(ientissimae)] p(osuit)*.
- No. 9.** ILD 798.
D(is) M(anibus) / Ael(ius) Maximi/nus vix(it) ann(os) / VL et Aeli Maxi/mus vix(it) ann(os) VII / Ursinus vix(it) / ann(os) IIII Serena / Licconis co(n)i(ugi) / et fili(i)s b(ene) m(erentibus) p(osuit).
- No. 10.** Ardevan, Wollmann 2006, 259–267.
Ζαμαννίσθεος / εὐχίν θεοῖς / χ[θονί]οις [---].
- No. 11.** Protase *et alii* 2008, 50, nr. 44.
[---] *udis Mucapa [---]s praefigm p c Panno [---]rvarma*.
- No. 12.** CIL III 294*; Protase *et alii* 2008, 51, no. 49.
Terentius Fegel / Titus Deci Bitus / Los Caius Gemel / Tamar Cinnus / ABCDEFGHIKLM / NOPQRSTUVWXYZ.
- No. 13.** CIL III 833; AE 2006, 1132; Protase *et alii* 2008, 46, no. 14.
D(is) M(anibus) / Daphno / [---].
- No. 14.** Protase *et alii* 2008, 49, no. 35.
D(is) [M(anibus)] / Decim[us ---] / nis f(ilius) vix(it) [anni]/s XIII [---] / b(ene) [m(erenti) p(osuit)].
- No. 15.** AE 1993, 1329; ILD 594; Protase *et alii* 2008, 49, no. 31.
[---] *eques al[ae] II Pannon[iorum] v[ix(it) ann(os) ---] / Dines si[gnifer] alae / ac cu[rator] [---]*.
- No. 16.** CIL III 12541; Protase *et alii* 2008, 45, no. 11.
[---] *p]ro salute / [L]ucilia[e] Mus/[a]e Felicis n (ostris uxoris) / [---] Florentinus / et Suriacus*.
- No. 17.** RMD 21; IDR I 7.
... / *Alae Bri(t)on(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) cui praefuit / M(arcus) Minicius Marcellinus / ex gregale / Glavo Navati f(ilio) Sirm(io) / et Iubena Bellagenti fil(iae) uxori eius Eravis(cae) / ...*

- No. 18.** Protase *et alii* 2008, 48, no. 28.
D(is) M(anibus) / Scenobar / bus Das(i) f(ilius) vix(it) / [---].
- No. 19.** RMD 35; IDR I 11.
... / Coh(ortis) I Britannicae (miliariae) cui praest / Ti(berius) Claudius Fortis Capua / ex pedite / Sepenesto Rivi f(ilio) Cornon / ...
- No. 20.** RMD 64; AE 1957, 199; IDR I 18.
... / Alae Silianae c(ivium) R(omanorum) cui praest / Aurelius Atilianus / ex gregale / Acilio Sabini f(ilio) Dubitato castr(is) / ...
- No. 21.** AE 1933, 20; ILD 577.
Silvano Si/lvestri po/suit For/tunatus / Theupropi / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 22.** CIL III 7649.
[D(is) M(anibus)] (?) / Bato [---]/nis I(?) [---] / CLIV[---] / [---] est(?) [---] / [---] CE [---].
- No. 23.** CIL III 833; AE 2006, 1132.
D(is) M(anibus) / Daphno / [---].
- No. 24.** CIL III 7660.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Dolic(h)en[o] / U[lpii?] Pate[rnus] / et Iustin(us) / [---].
- No. 25.** CIL III 861; AE 1960, 232; ILD 484.
Mercu/rio vo/tum sol/vit Ma/essia/nus.
- No. 26.** Paki 1998, 201, no. 135.
Mucapor.
- No. 27.** Paki 1998, 201, no. 136.
Mucatra.
- No. 28.** CIL III 7667; AE 1987, 842; ILD 563.
[D(is)] M(anibus) / V[i]ctorina / vix(it) [a]nnis XVI / posuit Qu[iet?]a / mat[e]r b(ene) m(erenti) p(onendum) cu / ravit.
- No. 29.** AE 1905, 0016; AE 1998, 1113; ILD 805.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Dolic(h)eno / Gaius optio / c(o)h(ortis) I Hisp(anorum) |(miliariae) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 30.** AE 1971, 391; ILD 714.
[---] / Bebeia Ty(c)h[e] (?) / VIS vix(it) an(nos) [---] / (A)el(ius) (?) Maenema/chus |(centurio) con(iugi) b(ene) [m(erenti)] / pos(uit).
- No. 31.** ILD 705.
Xa[ίpe] / Ηδύλ[ος] / θάσ[ιος].
- No. 32.** AE 1944, 49; ILD 699.
D(is) M(anibus) / Eufemus vik(arius) / Peregrini vix(it) / ann(os) XXXV / Erastus con/servo posuit.
- No. 33.** AE 1974, 0549; ILD 706.
D(is) M(anibus) / Eustin(a)e / Afri vixit / XXX A(urelius?) Iust/i(nus) |(centurio?) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).
- No. 34.** CIL XVI 68; IDR I 6.
[---] / Palmyrenis Sagittariis ex] Sy/ria, qui sunt in Dacia Supe/riore sub Iulio Severo [---] / Hamasaeus Alapatha Palmyr(eno) / ...
- No. 35.** AE 1960, 219; ILD 690.
Sil(vano) Do[m(esticum)] / Mucianu/s optio Pal(myrenorum) / v(otum) po(suit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 36.** ILD 692.
Neme/si sac(rum) / Nepos / ce(nturio) (?) n(umeri) Pal(myrenorum).
- No. 37.** AE 1979, 500; ILD 713.
D(is) [M(anibus)] / Ostilia [---] / vix(it) a[n(nos) ---] / Ostil[ius?] [---] / ta V(?) [---] / [---].
- No. 38.** AE 1988, 976; AE 1999, 1278; ILD 682.
Iup(ite) M(aximus) / abidas / Hutri / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 39.** CIL III 837.
[---] / an(nos) X[---] / [---] / f(ilio?) vix(it) an(nos) V[---] / *Salmas* Rami / ex n(umero) P(almyrenorum) co(n)iu[gi] / et filio b(ene) m(erentibus).
- No. 40.** CIL III 6248.
Silva/no Do/mest/ico Ta/vius f(ecit) c(uravit).
- No. 41.** CIL XVI 163; IDR I 3.
... Coh(ortis) I Britton(um) miliariae) Ulpiae torquat(ae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) cui pra(e)est / M(arcus) Aemilius Bassus / ex pedite / M(arco) Ulpio Sacci f(ilio) Longino Belgio / et Vitali f(ilio) eius / ...

- No. 42.** CIL III 917.
D(is) M(anibus) / Aia Nandonis vixit / annis LXXX *Andrada* / Bituvantis vix(it) an(n)is / LXXX Bricena vixit an(n)is / XL Iusta vix(it) an(n)is XXX / Bedarus vixit XII pos(t) obi/tum ei Herculanus liber/tus patron(a)e bene mer(enti).
- No. 43.** CIL III 13766 + 13767.
Meantino Birsi mil(itavit) co/h(orte) I Ba(tavorum) v(ixit) an(nos) XXX M(arcus) Aur(elius) Sat(t?) ara(s?) brotherr [---] / Atasa(?) soror / [---] fratri.
- No. 44.** CIL III 7670.
Dia/nae / Invict(ae) / fecit et po(suit) / Cresce(ns).
- No. 45.** CIL III 7691; AE 1960, 234; ILD 492.
[S]il(vano) Dom(estico) / [H]ermad / [i]o(n?) vot(um) / [l]ib(ens) / pos(uit).
- No. 46.** CIL III, 897; ILS 3191.
Marti amico / et consentienti / sacrum / Hermias dedicav[it] / idemq(ue) vovit.
- No. 47.** AE 1956, 268; ILD 491.
Silvano / Domes/[ti]co Iu/lianus / v(otum) s(olvit).
- No. 48.** CIL III 921.
[---] / vix(it) an(nos) XXXX / Maxima c/oniu(b) m(erenti).
- No. 49.** Téglás 1902, 82.
DM / [Si]lvanus vix(it) ann(os) [---] / Panianus [---] / ei.
- No. 50.** Téglás 1902, 48.
Surus [---] omari (filius).
- No. 51.** CIL III 7649.
[D(is) M(anibus)] (?) / Bato [---]/nis I(?) [---] / CLIV [---] / [---] est (?) [---] / [---] CE [---].
- No. 52.** RMD 20; IDR I 4.
[---] / [M(arco) Ulpio Landon]is f(ilio) [---] / [---] Acheræ an ma [---] / [---] Aro f(ilio) eius et Sur [---] / [---] Soloringi f(ilio) eius et Cr [---] f(ilio) eius / [---] Surucæ fil(iae) eius / ...
- No. 53.** CIL III 7635.
[D(is)] M(anibus) / [---] Blasa eq(ues) st(ipendiorum) / [---] Aur(eli-) Tsinta vix(it) / [---] XXXI Aur(eli-) Aeli [---] (?) [---].
- No. 54.** RMD 17; IDR I 5.
... / Bari[c]i Male f(ilio) Palmyr(a) / ...
- No. 55.** CIL III 6245.
[---] M / [F]usciani eq [---] / [---] III M [---].
- No. 56.** ILD 779.
Aep[onae]/ Reg[inae] et / Genio t[urmae] / Maximi OI(?) / Maximus [---].
- No. 57.** RMD 63; IDR I 20.
... Cohort(is) I Brit(t)on(um) miliariae [cui praest] / Laecanius Sc[---] / ex equit[e] / Mucatrali Bit [hi f(ilio)Besso?] / ...
- No. 58.** RMD 404; ILD 38.
... Coh(ortis) I Ulp(iae) Britton(um) ∞ cui praest / T(itus) Iulius Arrianus Roma / ex pedite / Prososto [I] a[nu]ari f(ilio)Pannon(io) / ...
- No. 59.** CIL III 838.
Tib(erius) Ann[i]us / Marcellus / et [A]u[r]el(ius) / Man[ne]us [et] / Mestrinius / Firminus et / Aur(elii) [Vic]tor et / Pacutianus [et] / Maximus d(ederunt) / Aurelius Man/neus prin/ceps pos(uit).
- No. 60.** CIL III 20; IDR I 51.
[---] Aepica[di] / [agn]ovit / Tere(n)t [---] / agnovi[t] / Terenti Liga [---] / agnovit / [---] / Dasantis Loni qui et [---] / Saturnini Scenobarbi / Sexti Im [---] ali / Batonis Annaei ipsius / [---].
- No. 61.** CIL III TC VIII; IDR I 39.
Andueia Batonis emit manci[pioque accepit] / domus partem dimidiam interantibus partem [dex]/tram, que est Alb(urno) maiori vico Pirustar[un inter] ad[fin]es Platorem Accep]/tianum et Ingenum Callisti trecentis de Venturi[o Valente] / Eam domus parte dimidiam, q(ua) d(e) a(gitur), cum su[is] saepibus sae/pimentos finibus aditibus claustris fienestris ita uti / clao fixsa et optima maximaque est h(abere) r(ecte) l(iceat) / [E]t si quis eam domum partemve quam quis [e]x [ea] / evicerit, q(uo) m(inus) Andueia Batonis e(ive) a(d) q(uem) e(a) r(es) p(ertinebit) h(abere) p(ossidere) / u(su)que c(apere) r(ecte) l(iceat), qu[o]d ita licitum n[on] erit, t(antam) / p(ecuniam) r(ecte) d(ari) f(ide) r(ogavit) Andueia Batonis, fide promisit / Veturius Valens. Proque ea do[mu] patem] / [dim]idiam pretium CCC Vetur[ius V]alens // An[du]ei[a Ba]tonis accepiss[e] et ab[ere] se dixit / Convenitq(ue) int[er] eos, [uti] Veturius Va[lens] pro ea / domo

tribute usque as recensum dep[e]n[dat] / Act(um) Alb(urno) maiori pri(die) nonas Maias / Qui[n]tillo et Prisco co(n)s(ulibus) // ... L. Vasidius V[i]ctor sig(navit) / T(iti) Fl(avi) Felicis / M(arci) Lucani Melioris / Platoris Carpi / T(iti) Aureli Prisci / Batonis Annaei / Veturi Valentis venditoris // ...

No. 62. AE 2003, 1488; ILD 398.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(ivas) L(o)ni col(legi) S(ardiate) nsium) / d(onum) d(edit).

No. 63. CIL III TC III; IDR I 33.

x centum quadraginta sortis et eorum / usuras ex ea die sing(ulas) centesimas, quandiu / abstinerit, id utrumque probos recte dari / f(ide) r(ogavit) Anduenna Batonis, d(ari) f(ide) sua promisit / Iulius Alexander: quos eae redder debe/bit, qua die petierit, cum usuries s(upra) s(criptis) / Id utrumque sorte et usuras probos rec/te dari fide rogavit Anduenna s(upra) s(cripta) / dari fide sua promisit Iulius / Alexander. / Actum Deusar(a)e XII kal(endas) Iulias / Rustico II et Aquilino co(n)s(ulibus) // ... Iul(ius) Max [---] / Luci [---] / ureli S[---] / [---] Veri[---] / Va [---] si [---] / I [---] Nicomi [---] / x centum [qua/draginta] / Iul. Alexandri / [---] //...

No. 64. CIL III TC II; IDR I 32.

[---] [Epi]cadus [---] rtor [---] quo [---] ha [---] Cerd(?)onis donec amn [---] Actum Alburno maiori XV [kal.] [---] // [Quinti]llo et Prisco co(n)s(ulibus) / XV kal(endas) / [Andu]eia Batonis f(?)ide / [---] / c(?) edit [---] / [---] ti / prest [o sit?] [---] m / Apu(l) Cerialem / augebi [---] / [---] pici [Felicis?] / Maxsimi Veranis / Servilius C(a?)ssi / Epicadi [---] / debitoris / Iuli Macedonis fideiussoris.

No. 65. CIL III TC XVII; IDR I 48.

[Po]ntiano [et] Rufino co(n)s(ulibus) VIII Idus Februarias Valerius Firmus / s[cripsit] rogatus ab] Verzonis Beusantis quod di [---] s nu [---] / [---] Beusantis iure [---] agro gra [---] quod [---] / [---] suos feren [---] retio Dasius Verzonis [---] in [---] os c [---] / [---] r [---] i [---] id [---] n [---] / ex viro gra [---] ide [---] x viginti [---] q [---] / gro gra [---] Beusantis [---] f [---] / fere [---] [Al]burno maiori [---].

No. 66. CIL III TC VI; IDR I 36.

Maximus Batonis puellam nomine / Passiam, sive ea quo alio nomine est, an (*circiter p(lus) m(inus) empta sportellaria*)/norum sex emit mancipioque accepit / de Dasio Verzonis Pirusta ex Kaviereti[o] / x ducentis quinque. / Iam puellam sanam esse a furtis noxique / salutam, fugitivam erronrm non esse / praestari. Quot si qui seam puellam / partemve quam ex eo quis evicerit, / quominus Maximus Batonis quo/ve ea res pertinebit habere possi/dereque recte liceat, tum quanti / ea puella empta est, tam pecuniam / et alterum tantum dari fide rogavit / Maximus Batonis, fide promisit Dasius / Verzonis Pirusta ex Kaviereti. / Proque ea puella, quae s(upra) s(cripta) este, x ducen/tos quinque accepisse et habere / se dixit Dasisu Verzonis a Maximi Batonis. / Actum Karto XVI k(alendas) Apriles / Tito Aelio Caesare Antonino Pio II et Bruttio / Praesente II co(n)s(ulibus). // ... Maximi Veneti principis / Masuri Messi dec(urionis) / Anneses Andunocnetis / Plani Verzonis Sclaietis / Liccai Epicadi Marciniesi / Epicadi Plarentis qui et Mico / Dasi Verzonis ipsius Venditoris.

No. 67. CIL III TC IX; IDR I 40.

Laelia[no] et [Pa]store co(n)s(ulibus) X. k[a]l[endas] Novembr(es) Adiutor Macari scripsi rogatus / [co]ram ipso pra[e]senti L(ucio) Ulpio Valerio, quia s[e] litteras scire negavit, it q[ui]os di/xit se loca[sse] et locavit Socrati S[oc]ratis [op]eras sua ex [ha]c [d]ie in i[dus] / sequentes anno uno x [sept?]aginta. Mer[c]edes suis tem[poribus] solv[entur] / Quas operas sanas valentes [ede]re debet [---] / inpedierit [---] [d]ebe[bit] [---] dis/[c]edere vel cessare [---] / cessatis [---] / [aut?] [---] / A [ct. A]l[b.] ma[iori].

No. 68. CIL III TC X; IDR I 41.

[Macri]no et Celso co(n)s(ulibus) XIII kal(endas) Iunias Flavius Secundinus scripsi rogatus a Mem[orio] Asclepi, quia se lit[er]as scire negavit, it quod dixit se loca[sse] et locavit / operas s[ua]s opere aurario Aurelio Adiutori ex ha[c] die [in] idus Novembres / proximas [x se]ptaginta liberisque x [HS Mer]c[ede]m per [t]empora accipe[re] / debet. Qu[as] operas sanas v[al]entes [ed]e[re] debet conductori [s(upra) s(cripto)] / Quod si invito condu[ct]ore decedere aut c[es]sare volue[rit] dare / debet in dies singulas [HS] V num(mos) (a)ere actus[s(is)] c[on]duc[t]or[i]. [Si] laborem / fluor inpedierit, pro rata c[on]putare de[be]bit c[on]duc[t]or si t[em]po[re] peracto mercedem sol[v]endi moram fecerit, ead[em] p[oen]a / tenebitur exceptis cessatis tribus. / Actum Immenoso maiori. / Titus Beusantis qui et Bradua / Socratio Socratiotis / [M]emmius Asclepi.

No. 69. CIL III TC XI; IDR I 42.

[---] / [Mar?]cus scripsi per [---] m Restitutum agnom(ine) / Senioris quia se litter[a]s scire negavit fatetu[r] / se locasse et [l]oca[v]it oper[as] s[ua]s opere auri oius / [---] quidquid opus fuerit ex hac die in id[us] / Novemb(res) proximas venturas Titus Beusantis qui et Bradua x centum quinque. / Ex qua mer/cede a[d]huc in cesso accepit x viginti quin/qu[e]. Reliqua(m) mercedem per tempora / acci[pe]

re debebit. Quas operas sanas valen/tes edere debebit conductori s(upra) s(cripto). Quod si / in[vit]o conductore a re cessa[b]it in dies / [---] .

No. 70. CIL III TC XXV; IDR I 38.

Cl(audius) Iulianus mil(es) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae centuria) Cl(audi) Mari emit mancipio/que accepit mulierem nomine Theudotem, sive ea / quo alio nomine est, n(atione) Creticam, apochatam pro uncis / duabus, x quadriginta viginti de de Cl(audio) Philetus / f(ide) r(ogato) Alexandro Antipatri. / Eam mulierem sonam traditam esse emptori s(upra) s(cripto): et si / qui seam mulierem, q(ua) d(e) a(gitur), partemve quam quis ex ea / quid evicerit, q(uo)m(inus) emptorem s(upra) s(criptum) eumve at quem / ea res pertinebit, uti frui habere possidereque recte / liceat, tunc, quantum id erit, quot ita ex ea quit / evictum ablatunve fuerit, sive quot ita licitum / non erit, tantam pecuniam probam recte dari f(ide) r(ogavit) / Cl(audius) Iulianus mil(es) s(upra) s(criptus), d(ari) f(ide) p(romisit) Cl(audius) Philetus. / Id fide sua esse iussit Alexander Antipatri. / Inque ea mulierem, quae s(upra) s(cripta) est, pretium eius x CCCCXX / accepisse et habere se dixit Cl(audius) Philetus a Claudio / Iuliano mil(ite) s(upra) s(cripto) / Act(um) canab(is) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) IIII nonas Octobres Bradua / et Varo co(n)s(ulibus) // ... Val(eri) Valentis g. xiii g. / Cn. Vari Aae / Ael(i) Dionysi vet(erani) leg(ionis) / Paulini [---] / Iul(i) Victorini / ΑΛΕΧΑΝΔΡΕΙ / ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΙ / ΣΕΚΟΔΟ ΑΥΚ/ΤΟΡ ΣΕΓΝΑΙ / Cl(audi) Phileti venditoris ibsius// ...

No. 71. CIL III TC V; IDR I 35.

x LX q(ua) d(ie) p(etierit), p(robos) r(ecte) d(ari) f(ide) rogavit Iul(ius) Alexander, dari f(ide) p(romisit) / Alexander Cari, et se eos x LX, qui s(upra) s(cripsi) s(unt), mutuos / numeratos accepisse et debere se dixit. / Et eorum usuras ex hac die in dies XXXI / dari Iul(io) Alexandro e(ive) a(d)q(ue)m e(a) r(es) p(ertinebit) f(ide) r(ogavit) Iul(ius) Alexander / dari f(ide) p(romisit) Alexander Caricci // Id fide sua esse iussit Titius Primitius d(ie) s(upra) s(cripta) s(ortem) / cum u(suris) r(ecte) p(robe) s(olvit) / Act(um) Alb(urno) maiori XIII k(alendas) Novembr(es) / Rustic(o) II et Aquilino co(n)s(ulibus) // ... / L(uci) Vasidi Vi[c]toris / [---]ctati[---]as / Batonis Pr[---]vi Tovetis / Titius Primitius / Alexander Caricci i[p] / sius debitori[s].

No. 72. AE 1978, 679; IDR III/3, 412.

D(is) M(anibus) / Alexand(er) Gai vix(it) / an(n)os XXXX / p(osuit) Gaius filius.

No. 73. IDR III/3, 394.

[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) / [-----] / [-----] / A(?)OS Am/onius M(---) / et fil(ii?) sui(?).

No. 74. CIL III 1272; IDR III/3, 424.

D(is) M(anibus) / Gai(o) Val(erio) / Viatori / an(norum) XVI / And(es) Titi / et Val(eria) Teren(tia) / fil(io) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt).

No. 75. CIL III TC I; IDR I 31.

Descriptum et cognitum factum ex libello, qui propositus / erat Alb(urno) maiori ad statione Resculi, in quo scriptum erat / id quod i(nfra) s(criptum) est. / Artemidorus Apolloni magister college Iovis Cerneni et / Valerius Niconis et Offas Menofili questores college eius/dem posito hoc libello publice testantur: / ex collegio s(upra) s(cripto), ubi errant ho[m]i(nes) LIIII, ex eis non plus / remasisse ad Alb(urno) quam quot h(omines) XVII: Iulium Iuli quoque / commagistrum suum ex die magisteri sui non accessisse / ad Alburnum neq(ue) in collegio: seque eis qui pre/sentes fuerunt rationem reddedisse et si quit / eorum abuerat reddedisset sive funeribus: // et cautionem suam, in qua eis caverat, recepisset: / modoque autem neque funeraticis sufficerent / neque loculum aberet neque quisquam tam magno / tempore diebus, quibus legi continetur, convenire / voluerint aut conferre funeraticia sive munera: / seque i[d]circo per hunc libellum publice testantur, / ut, si quis defunctus fuerit, ne putet se colle/gium abere au tab eis aliquem petition/nem funeris abiturum. / Propositus Alb(urno) Maiori V idus Febr(uarias) imp(eratore) L(ucio) Aur(elio) Vero III et Quadrato co(n)s(ulibus). / Act(um) Alb(urno) maiori // ... L(uci) Vasidi Victoris / C(ai) Secundini Legitimi / Stertini Rustici / Aeli Platoris Geldonis / [---] / Ulpi Felicis / Septembris Platoris // ...

No. 76. CIL III 1261; IDR III/3, 396.

Lib(ero) Patr(i) / sacrum / Atrius Ma/ximi v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) / s(olvit).

No. 77. CIL III TC XIV; IDR I 45; ILD 62.

Actum cor [---] m [---] / qu [---] est in m [---] [int]ulerunt / partes [---] [Bra]dua Beusantis [spon]dit [---] anum [---] erit / ab Ael(io) Fortunato et socis [---] quae [---] / debeb[it] [---] Plarentis [---] nem [---] p[unc]iam / [---] semiunciam / [---] [B]ato Liani(?) p. unciam qu [---] [p. u]nciam / Aurel(i-) Sil [---] Flavius [---] / [Qu]as [---] / [---] [de]bebunt pr [---] / [---].

No. 78. AE 2003, 1503; ILD 411.

Dib(us) Artanis / Bato Sec/undi / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

- No. 79.** AE 1990, 844; ILD 378.
Terrae / Matri / Batoni/anus pos(uit) / v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 80.** CIL III TC VII; IDR I 37.
Dasius Breucus emit mancipioque accepit / puerum Apalastrum, sive is quo alio nomine / est, n(atione) Grecum, apocatum pro uncis duabus / x DC de Bellioco Alexandri, f(ide) r(ogato) M(arco) Vibio Longo esse / Eum puerum sanum traditum furtis noxae / solutum, erronem fugitium caducum non esse / pres-tari; et si quis ex eo eviderit, q(uo) m(inus) / uti frui habere possidereq(ue) recte liceat: / tunc quantum id erit quod ita ex eo evictum fuerit // duplam / t(antam) p(ecuniam) p(robam) r(ecte) d(ari) f(ide) r(ogavit) Dasius Breucus, d(ari) f(ide) p(romisit) / Bellicus Alexandri. Id[em] fide sua esse / iussit Vibius Longus. / Proque eo puero, q(ui) s(upra) s(criptus) est, pretium, / eius x DC accepisse et habere se dixit / Bellicus Alexandria Dasio Breuco. / Act(um) kanab(is) leg(ionis) XIII g(emine) XVII kal(endas) Iunias / Rufino et Quadrato co(n)s(ulibus). // ... / Appi Proculi vet(erani) / leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / Antoni Celeris / Iul(i) Viatoris / Ulp(i) Severi/ni / L(uci) Firmi Primiti/vi / M(arci) Vibi Longi / fideiussor(is) / Bellici Alex[a]n-dri venditor(is) //
- No. 81.** ILD 366.
Beucu[s].
- No. 82.** Ciongradi *et alii* 2008, Kat.1.
D(is) M(anibus) / Dasas Liccai / D(elmata) k(astello) Starvae / vixit an(nis) XXXV / pos(uerunt) Beucus / Sarius et Da[---] / [---]i heredes b(ene) m(erenti).
- No. 83.** AE 2003, 1497; ILD 408.
Lib(ero) et Libe(rae) / ex vot(o) / Beucus / Dasant(is).
- No. 84.** AE 2003, 1483; ILD 392.
Beucus Dae/ici ara(m) Ve/neri / vo(tum) s(olvit).
- No. 85.** AE 2003, 1494; ILD 404.
Merc(urio) sac(rum) / [---]AT / Beuc(us?) Sut(tinis?) / v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit).
- No. 86.** CIL III 7824; AE 1944, 18; IDR III/3, 389.
Iano Gem(ino) / Ael(ius) Baeb(ius) et / Beus(as) Plato(ris?) / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito).
- No. 87.** CIL III 1266; AE 2004, 1182; IDR III/3, 418.
D(is) M(anibus) / Cassiae Pere/grinae Integ[r]a[e] / vix(it) an(nos) XXVII f(ecit) Bi/sius Scenob(arbi?) Sard(ias) / coniug(i) b(ene) m(erenti).
- No. 88.** AE 1990, 831; ILD 363.
Maelanto/nio Dasas / e(t?) Dazurius / pro salutae(!) / Maniatium / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes).
- No. 89.** CIL III 1262; IDR III/3, 417.
[D(is) M(anibus)] / Avilliae Pietatis / domo Aeq(uo) / vix(it) annis / XXXX Dasa / Suttinis / coniug(i) piiss(imae) / f(aciendum) c(uravit).
- No. 90.** AE 2003, 1504; ILD 388.
Ianus / Dasas V(erzo)(nis) et Nevato / Implai(i).
- No. 91.** AE 2003, 1498; ILD 409.
Terrae / Matri / ex voto / Dasius Sta(---) / q(ui et)(?) Durius.
- No. 92.** AE 1965, 42; IDR III/3, 386.
Dassius / Deanae / et conli [---].
- No. 93.** AE 1944, 23; IDR III/3, 399.
Δημήτριος Ἀρζ/ακει Δε/ἰ Ναρεν/ῶ εὐχή/υ.
- No. 94.** AE 1944, 23; IDR III/3, 409.
Δείον Δο/ιανου ε/ὐκή/υ Δε/ἰ Σιττακυ/μικῶ.
- No. 95.** Beu-Dachin 2003, I.
Asclepio / Aug(usto) sacr(um) / Fronto / Plarentis / d(onum) d(edit) coll(egio).
- No. 96.** AE 2003, 1501; ILD 412.
Apto Del/m(atarum) sacrum / Purtus / et German/us / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes).
- No. 97.** Ṭentea, Voișian (under press).
Silvano / Domesti(co) / Helius / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 98.** IDR III/3, 405.
Silvano / Aug(usto) sacr(um) / Hermes / Myrini / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 99.** AE 1990, 846; ILD 380.
Nimp(h)is / sacru(m) / Implaiu/s Sumel(etis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens).
- No. 100.** CIL III 7823; IDR III/3, 392; ILD 357.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) Max(imo) / Implaius / Linsanti / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

- No. 101.** CIL III 1269; AE 2006, 1108; IDR III/3, 421.
D(is) M(anibus) / Plaetoria / Maxima / vixit an(nos) III / Lavius Ver/zon(is) neptiae b(ene) / m(erenti) p(osuit).
- No. 102.** AE 2003, 1505; ILD 399.
Iano Ge/m(ino) Lonius Tiz/ius Celsi / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 103.** CIL III TC XIII; IDR I 44.
Inter Cassium Frontinum et Iulium / Alexandrum societas dani[st]ariae ex / X kal(endas) ianuaris q(uae) p(roximae) f(uerunt) Pudente e[st] Polione co(n)s(ulibus) in / prid[i]e idus Apriles proximas venturas ita conve[n]it ut quidq[ui]d in ea societati ab re / natum fuerit lucrum damnumve acciderit, / aequis portionibus s[uscip]ere debebunt. / In qua societate intuli[t Iuli]us Alexander nume/ratos sive in fructo x [qu]ingentos et Secundus / Cassi Palumbi servus a[ctor] intuluit [---] ducentos / pr [---] tin [---] / sexaginta septem [---] s [---] c [---] um [---] s // [---] ssum Alburno [---] d[ebe]bit. / In qua societ[ate] si quis d[olo] ma]llo fraudem fec[isse] de]prehensus fue[rit], in a[sse] uno x unum [---] / [denarium] unum x XX [---] alio inferred deb[ebi]t / et tempore perac[t]o de[duc]to aere alieno sive / summam s(upra) s(criptam) s[ibi] recipere sive] si quod superfuerit, / divider d[eb]ebunt]. Id d(ari) f(ieri) p(raestari)que stipulates est / Cassius Frontin[us, sponon]dit Iul(ius) Alexander. / De qua re dua paria [ta]bularum signatae sunt / [Item] debenture Lossae x L, quos a socis s(upra) s(criptis) accipere debebit. / [actum Deusa]re V kal(endas) April(es) Vero III et Quadrato co(n)s(ulibus). // ... [---].
- No. 104.** CIL III TC XII; IDR I 43.
Vero III et Quadrato co(n)s(ulibus) IIII kal(endas) Iunias / x quinquaginta L commendatos Lupus Ca/ rentis dixit se accepisse et accepit a Iulio / [Al]exandro, quos si redder deb[et] / sine ulla controversia. / Actum Albur[no] maiori [---].
- No. 105.** AE 2003, 1502; ILD 400.
Apollini / Piruneno / sac(rum) Mac/rianus Surio(nis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 106.** CIL III 1270; IDR III/3, 423.
D(is) M(anibus) / Planio B/aezi qui / et Magis/tro vix(it) a(nnos) / L Maxima / c(oniugi) b(ene) m(erenti).
- No. 107.** CIL III 1268; IDR III/3, 420.
D(is) M(anibus) / Maximae / Luri vixit / ann(os) XXV / Rufus et / Tertia fil(iae?) / piissim(ae) / [-----].
- No. 108.** AE 1944, 20; SEG XXV 825; IDR III/3, 432.
Μύρον / Δεῖ Κιμ/ιστενῶ / εὐκήν.
- No. 109.** Beu-Dachin 2003, II.
Dianae / sac(rum) / et omni/bus dis / p(ro salute?) k(astellanorum) Man(iatium) / Nev(ato?) Lad(i?).
- No. 110.** AE 2007, 1201; Ciongradi *et alii* 2008, Kat.2.
D(is) M(anibus) / Panenti / Bizonis f(ilio) / Del(matae) k(astello) Starva(e) vix(it) / an(nos) XXV Plator / Scenobarb(i) nepoti b(ene) / m(erenti) p(osuit).
- No. 111.** AE 1944, 21; IDR III/3, 387.
Dianae / Aug(ustae) / Panes E/picadi / qui et Sutti/us / d(ono) d(edit).
- No. 112.** AE 1960, 236; IDR III/3, 384.
Apollini / Aug(usto) sac(rum) / Panes N/[o]setis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 113.** AE 2003, 1499; ILD 410.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / ex voto / Panes Sta/gilis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 114.** AE 2003, 1511; IDR III/3, 402; ILD 358.
Silvan(o) / Pla(---) Bao/tius et / col(l)egi(um) / d(onum) d(ederunt).
- No. 115.** AE 1960, 235; IDR III/3, 403.
Silvano / aram p(osuit) Va/rro Scen(i?) / cot(!) prom(iserat?) / collegi(o?) Aeli(us) Be[---].
- No. 116.** CIL III 1271; IDR III/3, 422.
D(is) M(anibus) Platino/nis Verzo/nis k(astello?) Anso / vix(it) ann(os) / LIIII Rufus / Platoris / con(iugi) k(arissimae) p(ro) p(ietate) f(aciendum) c(uravit).
- No. 117.** AE 2003, 1481; ILD 389.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / sac(rum) / Platius.
- No. 118.** AE 2003, 1487; ILD 396.
Platius / Dasantis / Genio / Sardiate(nsium) / d(o?)n(um?).
- No. 119.** AE 2003, 1482; ILD 391.
Platius / Turi / Iovi / Depulso/rio / v(otum) s(olvit).
- No. 120.** AE 2003, 1486; ILD 395.
Apollini / sacr(um) / Plator / Implai / d(onum) d(edit).

- No. 121.** AE 2003, 1479; AE 2006, 1102.
Mercu(rio) / Plator / Implei(!) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).
- No. 122.** CIL III 7821; IDR III/3, 383.
Apollini Pla/tor Panen/tis ex [v]oto / castellanis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 123.** AE 2003, 1492; ILD 402.
Fortun(ae) / Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / Plator Sar(---) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens).
- No. 124.** CIL III 12564; IDR III/3, 404.
Silv/[v]an(o) / Rufi(nus?) / Sten(natis?) / d(onum) d(edit).
- No. 125.** CIL III 7828; IDR III/3, 408.
Sameccus / [---]OVI / [Sil(vano)] D[ome]sti/[---].
- No. 126.** AE 1944, 24; IDR III/3, 388.
Genio co/llegi(i) k(astello) Ba/ridust[a(rum)] / Seneca Bi/sonis d(ono) d(edit).
- No. 127.** AE 1990, 845; ILD 379.
Neptuni / sacrum / Surio S/umelet(is) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens).
- No. 128.** AE 2003, 1506; ILD 390.
Lib(ero) Patri / Suttis Pa/nentis f(ilius) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 129.** AE 1990, 843; ILD 377.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Tritio Gar(---) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 130.** IDR III/3, 405a.
Silvano / Silvestri / s(a)c(rum) / Varro Titi / p(o)s(uit).
- No. 131.** AE 2003, 1495; ILD 405.
Apollini sac(rum) / Verso Das/antis qui / *Veidavius* / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 132.** CIL III 7825; IDR III/3, 393.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / sac(rum) / Ve(r?)z(o?) Pant(onis?) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 133.** AE 2003, 1485; ILD 394.
Mercur(eo) sac(rum) / Verzo P/latoris / posuit / d(onum) d(edit).
- No. 134.** CIL III, 7835=1301b; ILS 4299; IDR III/3, 299.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) et / deo Com/mageno(rum) / Aurel(ius) / Marinus / et Adde / Barseme/i et Ocea/nus So/cratis sa/cerdotes / v(otum) l(ibentes) p(osuerunt).
- No. 135.** CIL III 1324; IDR III/3, 342.
I(nferis)(?) D(is) M(anibus) / Asclepius (qui) / et Asclep(iades?) / cives Bithi/num(!) vix(it) an(nos) XXX / Affia coniunx / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).
- No. 136.** IDR III/3, 341.
D(is) M(anibus) / Al[e]xandrian(us) / civ[i]s Bithynus / v[i]x(it) ann(os) LXV / Tatius Lucius vix(it) an(nos) XXX / Antoninus Iulius / Lucilianus fratres / patri et fratri et / Lucia mater / b(ene) m(erentibus) p(osuerunt).
- No. 137.** AE 1971, 382; IDR III/3, 326.
Silvano / Domes/tico On[e]/simus p[o]/sui.
- No. 138.** AE 1965, 31; IDR III/4, 45.
Dian(a)e / ara(m) po/sivit(!) / Marti/nus vo/tu(m).
- No. 139.** CIL III, 7813; IDR III/5, 523.
[D(is)] M(anibus) / [---]is Diofan/[is? ---] / [---].
- No. 140.** CIL III 1107.
Soli Invic/to votum / Ἡλίω ἀνικήτω / εὐχὴν ἀνέθη/κεν / Αβεδαλλαθ.
- No. 141.** CIL III 7791; IDR III/5, 223.
[-----] / [Deo?] Co[m]mag(eno?) / [s]ac(rum) per An/tiochu(m) sa/cerdos(!) / loci.
- No. 142.** CIL III, 1237; IDR III/5, 538.
Ingen(u)s / Gai v[i]xi[t] an(nis) / LXXV Gaius [et] / Apol(l)odo[rus] / po(suerunt) p(atri) car(issimo).
- No. 143.** CIL III, 1033; IDR III/5, 113.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) / Bussu/maro / Atpati/nus Rufi / v(otum) l(ibens) [s(olvit)] m(erito).
- No. 144.** CIL III, 1112; IDR III/5, 272.
Invicto / Mythir/ae Chr(estion) / v(otum) s(olvit).
- No. 145.** AE 1991, 1340; IDR III/5, 386.
C(h)restus Z[o]/ili / ex voto / pro filio De/mosthene / te(stamento?) l(ibens) m(erito) s(olvit).
- No. 146.** CIL III 1192; IDR III/5, 521.
Crescenti / Platoris / fi[l]i(o) v(ixit) an(nis) / XXXV / Vibius Ru/fi[n]us si[g]nifer] / leg(ionis) XIII g(eminae) / h(eres?) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

- No. 147.** CIL III 7800; IDR III/5, 522.
Dasa(n)ti [S]ceno/barbi eq(uiti) alae / Ba[t]avorum / ex n(umero) sing(ularium) st[ip(endiorum)] / V[a]n(norum) XXXI Bers(ius) / [I]ngenu(u)s de[c(urio)] / ex n(umero) eodem (h)er/res(!) posuit.
- No. 148.** CIL III 1113; IDR III/5, 273.
Invicto / Mythrae / Dioscorus Marci / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 149.** CIL III 1120; IDR III/5, 274.
Deo invicto Mithr(a)e / Euhemerus ex voto / posuit.
- No. 150.** AE 1998, 1078; AE 1999, 1294; IDR III/5, 707; ILD 459.
Farna/can(e)s(?) Ga[i] / Mart[i] / d(ono) d(edit) [d(edicavitque)].
- No. 151.** IDR III/5, 90.
Herculent[i] / Gorgias Po/sidonius e[x] / visu p(osuit).
- No. 152.** CIL III 1240; IDR III/5, 535.
[D(is)] M(anibus) / [Her?]clianus / [--]CI HI vix[i]t / [an]n(is) XI Lais(?) / [f(ilio)? be]ne m(erenti) p(osuit) / [h(ic) s(itus) e(st)].
- No. 153.** CIL III 7781; CIG 6813b; IDR III/5, 355.
Ἡλίω ἀνεικήτω Ἐρμῆς Γοργίου ἀνέθηκε.
- No. 154.** AE 1972, 487, 2; AE 1910, 152; IDR III/5, 615.
D(is) M(anibus) / Zenon / Tarasi / miles n(umeri) / Germ(anicianorum) vix(it) an(nos) / XXXIII Iulia / marito pien/tissimo.
- No. 155.** AE 1944, 35; IDR III/5, 324.
Iulius / quod / vover(at) / Silvan(o).
- No. 156.** IDR III/5, 548.
[D(is)] M(anibus) / [---] Iuve[na]/[lis] vixit [an]/[no]s XX[---] / [---].
- No. 157.** AE 1980, 744; IDR III/5, 549
[D(is)] M(anibus) / [---] Iu[venalis] / [---]ICIV / [---]R C(?) For(o) Cl(audii) / [vixit ann(is)] XXX / [---].
- No. 158.** CIL III 7779; IDR III/5, 268.
Devo(?) M(ithrae?) / vota / ret(t)uli / Lucanus.
- No. 159.** CIL III, 1253; IDR III/5, 614.
D(is) M(anibus) / Ursulus / vixit annis / XXIII Lupu/la fratri b(ene) / m(erenti) pos(uit).
- No. 160.** AE 1911, 38; AE 1965, 31; IDR III/4, 45; IDR III/5, 53.
Dian(a)e / ara(m) po/sivit / Marti/nus vo/tu(m).
- No. 161.** AE 1914, 102; IDR III/5, 559.
D(is) M(anibus) / Mucatra / Brasi miles / n(umeri) Palmyren(or)um / Tibiscensium / vixit annis XXXVIII / Mucapor Mucatral(is) / heres contubern(ali) / carissimo posuit.
- No. 162.** CIL III 1195; IDR III/5, 558.
D(is) M(anibus) / Mucasenu/s Ce(n)sorini / aequ(e) ex sin/gul(ari) co(n)s(ularis) vi/xit annis XX / Rescuturme / Soi(a)e co(n)iux / pientissima / posuit / b(ene) m(erenti).
- No. 163.** IDR III/5, 562.
D(is) [M(anibus)] / Peregr[inus ---]/entis [---] / [---].
- No. 164.** CIL III 1144; IDR III/5, 326.
Silvano / sacrum / Philippus / ex viso / pos(uit).
- No. 165.** AE 1960, 376; IDR III/5, 276.
Invicto / Myt(h)ra Po/tinus ex / voto posu(it).
- No. 166.** AE 1964, 185; IDR III/5, 209.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Cimisteno / Primus et / Primianus / ex v[ot]o pos(uerunt).
- No. 167.** CIL III 12558; IDR III/5, 17.
(A)escula/peo / et (H)y/gi(a)e / Resti/tuta / [---].
- No. 168.** CIL III 7762; IDR III/5, 229.
Ζεῦ Σαρ/δεδεν/ω Ρούφος / Αντιπά/τρον εὐ/κίην ἀνέθ(ικεν).
- No. 169.** AE 1983, 818; IDR III/5, 567.
D(is) M(anibus) / Rufus D/iomedis / v(ixit) an(nos) L(?)V / [---].
- No. 170.** IDR III/5, 569.
D(is) [M(anibus)] / [Sa]turni[n]u[s] / [--- vi]x(it) / a(nnos) X[---]? / h(ic)? s(itus)? e(st)?.
- No. 171.** CIL III 1243; IDR III/5, 571.
D(is) M(anibus) / Seccia Cupi/ti f(ilia) vix(it) an(nos) / LX fili(i) et / con(iux) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt) / hi(c) s(ita) e(st).

- No. 172.** CIL III 7748; AE 1977, 654; IDR III/5, 39.
D[eo] B]ussu/mar[i]o/Senti/us ale/xand/ri / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 173.** CIL III 1221; IDR III/5, 580.
[---] [Si?]siat[a?] Va/ussi fil(ia) Clau/dia Savaria / vixit annis / XXXV Iestin[i]us / Super coniugi / bene merenti / h(ic) [s(ita) e(st)].
- No. 174.** AE 1993, 1339; IDR III/5, 346.
Sil(vano) sanc[to] / [---] Solon / ex vo(to) f(ecit) dedic[avitque] / [---] Kal(endas) [--] / Pis(one) [et Iul(iano)?] co(n)ss(ulibus).
- No. 175.** CIL III 1197; IDR III/5, 585.
D(is) M(anibus) / Tutor Silvan[i] / eq[ue]s alae Bos[p(oranorum)] / ex n(umero) Illyrian(icorum) sti[p(endiorum)] / XXIII vix(it) ann(os) / XLIII h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)].
- No. 176.** CIL III 1247; IDR III/5, 597.
D(is) M(anibus) / Velleci(i) fil(ia) / Ursina v(ix)it annos XII d(ies) / [---].
- No. 177.** IDR III/4, 127.
D(is) M(anibus) / Quinta Quinti / vix(it) an(nos) XL / Quintus Quinti / vix(it) an(nos) XXX / posuerunt [---].
- No. 178.** AE 1995, 1297; IDR III/3, 438; ILD 330.
D(is) M(anibus) / Dules Maximi vix(it) / annis XLVII IVAL / AXIS annis [---] / ANIA Nice coniu[---] / [---]lio [---] / [---] p(osuit)(?).
- No. 179.** CIL III 7724; IDR III/4, 185.
D(is) M(anibus) / Mavida E/picadi fil(ia) / vixit annis / XXXXV mar(itus) / conpari pos(uit) h(ic) s(ita) e(st).
- No. 180.** AE 1992, 1472; AE 1994, 1488; ILD 440.
Aurel(ius) Vale(n)s sisq(uipticarius) alae / Inlyri(corum) (!) vix(it) anni(s) XLV / Tzetzi coniux con/iugi bene me(renti) p(osuit).
- No. 181.** CIL III 7895; IDR III/3, 6.
Diogenes / [I]apidarius.
- No. 182.** IDR III/4, 137.
[---] VII f(ilia) v(ixit) an(nos) XX / pos(uit) Clemens / Tyrani (filius) f(aciendum) c(uravit) / b(ene) m(erenti).
- No. 183.** IDR III/4, 140.
D(is) [M(anibus)] / Finitus [---] / vi(xit) an(nos) [---] / f(ilius) (h)er(es) p(osuit) [---] / et Supi[nus ---] / fil(ius) an[n(or)um ---].
- No. 184.** CIL III p. 1989, LXVII = CIL XVI 108; IDR I 16.
... / Alae I Gallor(um) et Bospor(anorum) cui praest / Licinius Nigrinus / ex gregale / Heptapori Isi f(ilio) Besso... .
- No. 185.** AE 1967, 401; IDR III/4, 133.
[Hermeros lap]idarius f(ecit).
- No. 186.** CIL III 12548; IDR III/4, 71.
Invicto / M(ithrae) Surus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens).
- No. 187.** CIL III 961; IDR III/4, 98.
[D(is)] M(anibus) // [S]uadullus Titurs / [vix(it)] an(nos) LXXXXI f(ecit) fi(lius) p(atri) b(ene) m(erenti).
- No. 188.** AE 1967, 405; IDR III/3, 220.
Silvanis et / Silvano Cam/pest(ribus) pro / sal(ute) Boceni(?) Fr/onto pater [p(osuit)].
- No. 189.** AE 1992, 1483; ILD 325.
Nymf/is Dece/balus Lu/ci posuit.
- No. 190.** CIL III 12572; IDR III/3, 238.
Libero Patri / et Lib(erae) Matri / Secundin(us) / v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 191.** AE 1967, 418; AE 1975, 720; IDR III/4, 279.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Eros / Zotici / sig(illarius?) v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit).
- No. 192.** AE 1980, 732; IDR III/1, 2; ILD 174.
Victu(riae) / Vatern(ius) / Cas(s)ian(us) / eq(ues) t(urmae) E[---] / N(umeri) S(urorum).
- No. 193.** CIL III 964; IDR III/4, 92.
Deo Sar/omando / Demetri/us Antoni / votum libe/ns posuit.
- No. 194.** CIL III 7872; IDR III/3, 176.
[D(is)] M(anibus) / [---]is Dassi / [---] n(umeri) Maur(or)um M(iciensium) / [---] vixit / [---] h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

- No. 195.** CIL III 1362; IDR III/3, 123.
Sil(vano) Dom(estico) / Catul(lus imm(unis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens).
- No. 196.** CIL III 7870; AE 2004, 1208; IDR III/3, 172.
D(is) I(nferis) M(anibus) / Ce(n)sorinus / im(a)g(inifer) [al(ae) Cam]pag(onum?) stip(endiorum) / XX v[ix(it) ---]II evt / et(?) Valeria Cara / filia [--] et Augus(---) / eius [---].
- No. 197.** CIL III 1347; CIL III 7850; AE 2004, 1208; IDR III/3, 88.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Crisp(us) / Luci |(centurio) / coh(ortis) II Co[m(magenorum)] / v(otum) s(olvit).
- No. 198.** AE 1971, 399; IDR III/3, 111.
Minervae / Aug(ustae) et Gen(i)o coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) / Com(m)agen(orum) / Ianuarius / actar(ius) / v(otum) l(ibens) m(erito) [s(olvit)?].
- No. 199.** CIL III 1418; AE 1999, 1293; AE 2004, 1209; IDR III/2, 198a; IDR III/3, 65; ILD 245.
Dianae / sanctae / Potent(inus?) / numm(ularius?) / v(otum) s(olvit).
- No. 200.** AE 1903, 68; IDR III/3, 133.
Silva/no deo / aeterno / Quinti/anus d(ec(urio) alae / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 201.** IDR III/3, 183.
D(is) M(anibus) / Quintus imag(inifer) a[lae? Cam?]/[pag?]on[um? ---] / [---].
- No. 202.** IDR III/3, 104.
L[i]bero / Patri / [R]ufus / [pr?]a[e?]f(ectus?) / [v(otum) s(olvit)] m(erito).
- No. 203.** AE 1980, 778; IDR III/3, 116.
[P]luton(i) / Rufus / praef(ectus) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 204.** AE 1944, 75; IDR III/3, 118.
Silvan(o) / Rufus / praef(ectus) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 205.** CIL III 8079; IDR III/4, 261.
Fronto Paulini f(ecit).
- No. 206.** CIL III 6277; IDR III/1, 39.
[---] Alexander et filius [---].
- No. 207.** AE 1988, 964; IDR III/4, 131.
Ex voto po(suit) Victo[rinus].
- No. 208.** CIL III 13778; AE 1972, 464; IDR III/2, 315.
Hilarus pro Al[exan]/[d]ro fratre deae Nem[esi] / [que]m periculo liberavit.
- No. 209.** AE 1976, 572; IDR III/2, 347.
Euhemer(us) pro salute Antonini / fili sui.
- No. 210.** SEG XXV 823; IDR III/2, 400.
Ἐνθάδ[ε] / Κρυσσοκό[μαν] / Γετικῆ Χθ[ῶν] / ἀμφικαλύπτει[τ].
- No. 211.** AE 2006 1174.
Nemesi / Iunia Abasca(anti) / coniuncx(!) e[x] / visu / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 212.** IDR III/2, 287.
Maro pro salut[e sua p(osuit)?].
- No. 213.** CIL III 13782; IDR III/2, 316.
[---] Mucian[us ---] / [--- e]x voto pos[uit].
- No. 214.** CIL III 7944; IDR III/2, 288.
[---] / Philotimus / pro se et suis / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 215.** IDR III/2, 212.
Priscus ex iusso / posuit l(ibens) m(erito).
- No. 216.** IDR III/2, 323.
[Deae? Ne]mesi Var[ius? ---] / [---? ex v]oto pos(uit) VA[---].
- No. 217.** CIL III 966; AE 2004, 1181; IDR III/4, 91.
D(is) M(anibus) / Cotu Successi f(ilia) / cives Norica vix(it) / an(nos) LV Cl(audius) Latinus / posuit coniugi ben/e merenti h(ic) s(ita) e(st).
- No. 218.** AE 1988, 965; IDR III/4, 196.
Candia Maximi / vixit an(n)os LXXXX / (A)el(i)us(?) Talanus Du/gionis vix(it) an(nos) LXX / t(itulum) p(osuit) fil(ius?) p(atri) et m(atri) / b(ene) m(erentibus).
- No. 219.** AE 1988, 966; IDR III/4, 197.
Dantica / Cusiona(?) / vix(it) an(nos) XX / tit(ulum) p(osuit) m(ater) f(iliae) b(ene) m(erenti).
- No. 220.** AE 1988, 967; IDR III/4, 198.
D(is) M(anibus) / Sabina / Dasmeni vix(it) / an(nos) L posuit / Senecio co(n)iugi / b(ene) m(erenti) et fili(i) / Prinada et / Suril(l)a et Surini(us) / et Sanilis posue/runt tit(u)lu(m) matri / b(ene) m(erenti).

- No. 221.** CIL XVI 107; IDR I 15.
... / Coh(ortis) I Vindelicor(um miliariae) cui prae(e)st / L(ucius) Versinius Aper Hispell(o) / expedite / Barsimso Callistenis f(ilio) Caes(aria) /
- No. 222.** IDR III/1, 163; ILD 217.
D(is) M(anibus) / Brisanus Au/lusani miles co/[h(ortis) ---].
- No. 223.** IDR III/1, 167.
[D(is)] M(anibus) / N[e]ses Ierhei / [e(x)] n(umero) Pal(myrenorum) vixit / [a]n(nos) XXV Ma/[l]chus et Ier/[heu]s f(ratri) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt).
- No. 224.** AE 1977, 699; AE 2006, 1108; IDR III/1, 168.
D(is) M(anibus) / Procu[la] / Batava [vix(it)] / an(nos) XXVI A[---] / [---].
- No. 225.** IDR III/1, 170; ILD 218.
[---] ex n(umero) Palmyren[orum] v[ix(it)] ann(is) --- / [---] ex eis mili(tavit) anni[s ---] / [--- T]hemhes frat[ri ---] / [--- bene meren]ti pos(uit).
- No. 226.** CIL III 7725 = 962; IDR III/4, 94.
D(is) M(anibus) / Prima Macri / fi(lia) an(norum) L Secu/[nd---] / [---].
- No. 227.** AE 1963, 136; IDR II 143.
Castor ex voto / p(osuit).
- No. 228.** CIL III 13792; CIL III 14485; IDR II 137.
D(is) M(anibus) / Dasas / Capito(nis) / v(ixit) an(nos) LV[--?] / ipse(?) p[os(uit)] / h(ic) e(st) s(itus).
- No. 229.** CIL III 1586; IDR II 51.
D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)] / Anto[nia] / Callis[te] / vixi[t] / ann(os) LX / Dioge[n(es)] / Mosc[hi] / coniug[i] / b(ene) m(erenti) [p(osuit)].
- No. 230.** CIL III 14216, 8; AE 1897, 83; IDR II 45; ILD 62.
D(is) M(anibus) / Liccaius / Vinentis / mil(es) coh(ortis) III / camp(estris) b(ene)f(iciarius) trib(uni) / mil(itavit) annis XIX / vix(it) annis XL / Linda Se/verus / h(eredes?) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt?).
- No. 231.** CIL III, 14216, 14; IDR II, 60.
[---] / [S]abina Labrio/nis v(ixit) a(nnos) L Sen/ecio Suri v(ixit) a(nnos) XX.
- No. 232.** AE 1963, 1; IDR II 158.
Dian(a)e Re/gina[e] / Dioscor(us) / Ianuari / et [[[---]]] / [[[---]]]I(?) con/tuber/nail[s] [e]x / votum / pos(uerunt).
- No. 233.** CIL XVI 75; IDR I 10.
... / Vexillatio Equitum Illyricor(um) / ex gregale / Eupatori Eumeni f(ilio) Sebastopol / et Eteupatori f(ilio) eius et Eupateri f(ilio) eius / et Eumeno f(ilio) eius et Thrasoni f(ilio) eius / et Philopatreae f(iliae) eius /
- No. 234.** CIL III 12532; AE 1959, 336; IDR II 611; ILD 162.
Gorgius / milis (h)ast/ari(us) / Cinedus / Candidus / INI(?)STR.
- No. 235.** AE 1988, 975; IDR III/4, 319.
Candidus Maximi.
- No. 236.** CIL III 8035; CIL III 1594; IDR II 349.
D(is) M(anibus) / Antonius / Nicanoris / [---].
- No. 237.** CIL III 1590a; CIL III 8029; IDR II 338.
Placidae / Reginae / eq(uites) v(oto) l(ibentes) p(osuerunt) / per Proculo(!) / princ(ipe) et / [G]aio opt(ione).
- No. 238.** CIL III 1589; CIL III 8025; AE 1944, 62; IDR II 330.
I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / ex desi/g(natione) Ioncut(us) / [e]t Lonquina.
- No. 239.** AE 1977, 707; AE 1959, 318; IDR II 342.
[Deo Soli] Invicto / [pro salute su]a Phoebus eius / [numini] posuit.
- No. 240.** IDR II 346.
Transcriere cu caractere latine: NTNL ' TR ' TH[' L?]HY [' ?] / RGYSBL.
- No. 241.** AE 1979, 508; AE 1966, 322; IDR II 202.
[Hercu]li Inv(icto) pro s(alute) / (Ma?)rinus et Iuli(anus?) p(osuerunt).
- No. 242.** AE 1959, 321; IDR II 198.
Deae placid[ae] / pro salute / Marcianae e[t] / Quintilian[i] / fil[iorum] / [---].
- No. 243.** AE 1974, 558; AE 1977, 716; IDR II 193.
[Apolli]ni et Herculi et Dianae Re[ginae ---?] / [--- Va]lens Domiti ex votu[m ---].
- No. 244.** CIL III p.886 XLIV; CIL XVI 110; RMD 47; IDR I 17.
... / Coh(ortis) I Ulpia(e) Britton(um miliariae) cui praest / L(ucius) Nonius Bassus Picen(o) / ex pedite / Ivonercio Molaci f(ilio) Britt(oni) /

- No. 245.** CIL III 8021; CIL III 1585; AE 1960, 339, 3; IDR II 134.
[---] / I(?)A(?)C(?)[---] / interfecta a latro(nibus) / et vindicata / Ulcudius Baedari / et Sutta Epicadi / p(arentes) p(ientissimae) fil(iae) tit(ulum) p(osuerunt) / D(is) I(nferis) M(anibus) Ulcudius / B(ae)dari v(i)xi(t) an(nos) L.
- No. 246.** RMD 27; IDR I 8.
... / Palmyrenis Sagittariis qui / sunt in Dacia Superiore sub / Iulio Severo civitatem dediit / ... / Perhev Athenatan f(ilio) / ...
- No. 247.** CIL XVI 90; IDR I 14.
... / Coh(ortis) II Gallor(um) Pa[nnonicae] qui prae(est) / M(arcus) Aemilius B[---] / exequit[e] / Auleno Her[---] / ...
- No. 248.** RMD 39; IDR I 13.
... / ex Numero equit(um) Illyricor(um) / ex gregale / Bitho Solae f(ilio) Besso / ...
- No. 249.** AE 1990, 860; RMD 148; ILD 10.
... / Coh(ortis) I Montanor(um) cui praest / Cornelius Felicior / ex pedite / M(arco) Herennio M(arci) f(ilio) Polymitae Berens(i) / et Ianuario et Marcello f(iliis) eiu[s] / et Lucana fil(iae) eius / ...
- No. 250.** IDR I 19.
... / Cohort(is) I Batavor(um) miliariae] cui praest / Galeo Bellicus / ex pedite / Sexto Busturionis f(ilio) Pann(onio) / ...
- No. 251.** CIL III p. 868 XXV; CIL XVI 57; IDR I 2.
... / Alae I Aug(ustae) Ituraeor(um) cui praest / C(aius) Vettius Priscus / ex gregale / Thaemo Horati f(ilio) Ituraeo / et Nal f(ilio) eius et Antonius f(ilio) eius / ...
- No. 252.** Pferderdehirt 2004, no. 22; ILD 20.
... / Coh(ors) II Flavia Commagenor(um) cui praest / Ulpius Victor / ex equite / Zaccae Pallaei f(ilio) Syro / et Iuliae Bithi f(iliae) Florentinae uxor(i) eius Bess(ae) / et Arsamae f(ilio) eius et Abisalmae f(ilio) eius / et Sabino f(ilio) eius et Zabaeo f(ilio) eius / et Achilleo f(ilio) eius et Sabinae fil(iae) eius / ...
- No. 253.** Eck, Pangerl 2008, no. 4.
... / Alae Hispanorum qui praest / G(aius) Fidus Q(uinti) f(ilius) Gal(eria tribu) Loreianus / ex gregale / Adiutori Psi f(ilio) [Be]sso / ...
- No. 254.** AE 2001, 2152; ILD 15.
... / [Coh(ortis) I Br]itt(onum) Aug(ustae) Nerv(ianae) [Pac(ensis)] / [cui praest ---] f(ilio) Ulp[ia] Flo[---] / ex pedite / [---] Asclepiadis [f(ilio) ---] / [et ---] sio f(ilio) [eius] / [et ---] riae fil(iae) e[ius] / ...
- No. 255.** Pferderdehirt 2004, no. 20; ILD 18.
... / Alae I Claud(iae) Gallor(um) Capiton(ianae) cui praest / C(aius) Paconius C(ai) f(ilius) Arn(nensi tribu) Felix Carthagin(ensis) / ex gregale / Bolliconi Icci f(ilio) Icco Britt(ono) / et Aprili f(ilio) eius et Iulio f(ilio) eius / et Aproniae fil(iae) eius et Victoriae fil(iae) eius / ...
- No. 256.** RMD 269; ILD 35.
... / ex Numer(o) e(quitum) Illyrianic(orum) / ex sesquipliar(io) / Cocae Tyru f(ilio) S(ardica) / ...
- No. 257.** AE 2001, 2150; RMD 351; ILD 14.
[Co]h(ortis) VIII Raetorum cui praest / L(ucius) Avianus [--]ratu[s] / ex ped[ite] / Demuncio Avesso [---] f(ilio) Er]avisc(o) / et Primo f(ilio) eius et Su[---]f(ilio) e[ius] / et Potenti f(ilio) eiu[s] et --- f(ilio) eius / et Comatum [f(ilio) eius] / ...
- No. 258.** ILD 32.
... / Coh(ortis) II Aug(ustae) Nerv[ianae] ∞ Pacensis cui preafuit / L(ucius) Volusius [---] / ex pe[dite] / Didae Cuttio L[---] f(ilio) / et Diurpae Dotu[---] fil(iae) uxori eius / et Iulio f(ilio) [eius] / et Dimidusi fil(iae) [eius] / ...
- No. 259.** RMD 226; Pferderdehirt 2004, no. 16; ILD 12.
... / Coh(ortis) I Cretum saggitar(iorum) cu[i] praest / L(ucius) Vibius C(ai) f(ilius) Quir(ina) M[---] / ex peditibus / [Ga]llioni Suadali f(ilio) Bo[io] / ...
- No. 260.** AE 2002, 1742; RMD 361; ILD 17.
... / [---] cui praest / [---] f(ilio) P]al(atina tribu) Felix Roma / [ex greg]ale / [---]oli f(ilio) Besso / [et ---] fil(iae) eius / ...
- No. 261.** AE 2002, 1744; RMD 389; ILD 28.
... / [---] / ex pedi[te] / [---] Lucii f(ilio) [---] / [---] e]t Tarae f(ilio) et [---] / [---]e fil(iae) eius e[et ---] / ...
- No. 262.** RMD 225; ILD 13.
... / [---] cui praest / Cl[?] [---] / [---] Ti(berio) Claudio [---] / et Torquato [f(ilio) eius] / et Dizalae f(ilio) ei[us] / et Torco f(ilio) eius / et Tertulae fil(iae) eius / et Quintae fil(iae) eius / ...

No. 263. AE 1950, 69; IDR II, 643.

[---] / [---] N(?)e Herennia/[nu]s ex vis(u) p(osuit).

No. 264. Eck, Pangerl 2011a, no. 1.

... / [a]lae I Aug(ustae) Ituraeor(um) cui pr[ae]st / C(aius) Vettius Priscus / ex gregale / Marsuae Calvi filio) Azal(o) / et Antoniae Mahechi fil(iae) ux(ori) e(ius) Cap/r [---] / et Ingenuo f(ilius) eius et Munno f(ilius) ei[us] /

No. 265. IDR III/1, 169.

D(is) M(anibus) / Temai / Dassi f(ilio) / an(norum) XX / [---].

No. 266. Eck, Pangerl 2011a, no. 2.

... / [a]lae I Asturum cui praest / Plavius Nonianus / ex gregale / [T]hiamponi Dexaei Besso /

No. 267. Eck, Pangerl 2011b.

... / [co]h(ortis) I Hispanor(um) cui praest / M(arcus) Domitius Iustinus / ex equite / Tullioni Vegeti f(ilius) Tungr(o) / et Ammaionae Aeconis fil(iae) uxor(i) eius Erav(iscae) / et feroci f(ilio) eius et Viatori f(ilio) eius et Verno f(ilio) eius /

No. 268. Protase *et alii* 2008, 51, no. 49⁷⁴⁸.

[D(is) M(anibus)] / Roem[etalces⁷⁴⁹?...?] / eq(es) alae II [P]annon[i]oru / m vixit a(nnis) XXXVIII Bris / enus imag(inifer) heres po / nendum curavit.

No. 269. Cătinaş 2011.

D(is) M(anibus) / Crescens Maximi / vixit an(nis) XXXV Iuli/us filius eius vixit / an(nis) IIII Iulia Sa/[t] urnina fecit co/[ni]ugi carissimo.

⁷⁴⁸ We have added these last two inscriptions later to the catalogue, thus their numbering is out-of-order.

⁷⁴⁹ The reading belongs to Professor I. Piso and is yet unpublished.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------|--|
| ACD | Acta classica Universitatis Debreceniensis, Debrecen. |
| ActaMN | Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca. |
| ActaMP | Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău. |
| AE | L'Année Épigraphique, Paris. |
| AIIA Cluj | Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca. |
| AIIA Iași | Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Iași. |
| AISC | Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj-Napoca. |
| AJPh | American Journal of Philology, Baltimore. |
| ANRW | Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt, Tübingen. |
| Apulum | Apulum, Alba Iulia. |
| Arch.Ért. | Archaeologiai értesítő: a magyar régészeti és művészettörténeti társulat tudományos folyóirata, Budapest. |
| AUCDC | Analele Universității Creștine „Dimitrie Cantemir”, Seria Istorie – Serie nouă, București. |
| BAR (IS) | British Archaeological Reports (International Series), Oxford. |
| BE | Bulletin Épigraphique, Paris. |
| Britannia | A Journal of Romano – British and Kindred Studies. Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, London. |
| CAH | J. A. Crook, A. Lintott, E. Rawson (ed.), The Cambridge ancient history, vol. IX, Cambridge, 1994. |
| CCA | Cronica cercetărilor arheologice, București. |
| Chiron | Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, München. |
| CIG | Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, Berlin. |
| CIL | Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin. |
| CRAI | Comptes rendus. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris. |
| Dacia (N.S.) | <i>Dacia</i> – Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie; seria nouă (N.S.): Dacia – Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București. |
| EphNap | Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca. |
| FIRA | S. Riccobono <i>et alii</i> (ed.), Fontes iuris Romani antejustiniani, Firenze, 1940–1943. |
| Historia | Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Stuttgart. |
| IDR | Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae, București – Paris. |
| IGB II | G. Mihailov, Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae, II, Inscriptiones inter Danubium et Haemum repertae, Serdica, 1968. |
| ILD | C. C. Petolescu, Inscricții latine din Dacia, București, 2005. |
| JRA | Journal of Roman Archaeology, Ann Arbor. |
| JRS | Journal of Roman Studies, Cambridge. |
| Ktêma | Ktêma: civilisations de l'Orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques, Strasbourg. |
| Latomus | Latomus, Bruxelles. |
| LGPN | A lexicon of Greek personal names, vol. I-V.A, Oxford, 1987–2010. |
| MEFRA | Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité. Rome, Paris. |

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| Nomenclator | A. Mócsy, R. Feldmann, E. Marton, M. Szilágy, <i>Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae cum indice inverso</i> , Dissertationes Pannonicae, III, 1, Budapest, 1983. |
| OPEL | B. Lőrincz, F. Redö, <i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> , vol. I, Budapest, 1994; B. Lőrincz, idem, vol. II-IV, Wien, 1999–2002. |
| OR | D. Tudor, <i>Oltenia romană</i> , București, 1978. |
| RB | <i>Revista Bistriței, Bistrița</i> . |
| RE | A. Pauly, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung</i> , herausgegeben von G. Wissowa, Stuttgart. |
| RIB | <i>Roman inscriptions of Britain</i> , Oxford. |
| RMD | M. Roxan, P. Holder, <i>Roman military diplomas, I-V</i> , London, 1978–2006. |
| RMI | <i>Revista Monumentelor Istorice</i> , București. |
| RS | M. H. Crawford, <i>Roman Statutes</i> , London, 1996. |
| SCIV(A) | <i>Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie)</i> , București. |
| SEG | <i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden. |
| ZPE | <i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> , Bonn. |

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