

VETERANS OF THRACIAN ORIGIN IN THE AUXILIA OF ROMAN IMPERIAL ARMY AND THEIR SOCIAL MOBILITY

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Key words: ala, cohors, regiment, veteran, province, military diploma, inscription, mobility, Roman society, Roman army, origin, recruitment, Thrace, Lower Moesia, Dacia, area, service.

Abstract. Besides the veterans from other categories of military units in the Roman army, those in the auxiliary regiments represent one of the most important social groups in the Roman Empire. The veterans of Thracian origin, documented in a significant number in the military diplomas and inscriptions are the object of an analysis dealing with their social mobility and collective mentalities. The epigraphic documents indicate the explicit preference of a considerable number of Thracian veterans to return to their homelands if they served in the army in remote provinces or to settle, after the discharge, particularly in Thrace proper, Moesia and Dacia, provinces with population highly related linguistically and culturally.

Cuvinte cheie: ala, cohors, regiment, veteran, provincie, diploma militara, inscriptie, mobilitate, societate romana, armata romana, origine, recrutare, Thracia, Moesia Inferior, Dacia, regiune, serviciu militar.

Rezumat. Alături de veteranii din celelalte categorii de unități militare din armata romană, cei din trupele auxiliare reprezintă una din cele mai importante categorii sociale ale societății din Imperiul Roman. Veteranii de origine tracă din trupele auxiliare documentați, în număr semnificativ, în diplome militare și inscripții, fac obiectul unei analize din punct de vedere al mobilității lor sociale și al mentalităților colective. Se constată, în mod repetat, preferința unui număr considerabil de veterani traci de a reveni în ținuturile natale în cazul în care au efectuat serviciul militar în provincii mai îndepărtate sau de a se așeza, în perioada de după eliberare, în Moesia și Dacia, provincii cu populație îndeaproape înrudită lingvistic și cultural cu Tracia.

Through its status, the veterans' corps proved to have been an elite segment with a particular impact on the 1st-3rd century Roman society. The social profile of the community of these *dimissi honesta missione* owed much to their origin, mobility, and changes in their cultural pattern following service in the army. Ethnic groups were integrated in large number into the Roman Imperial army and their existence as active soldiers, NCO's or veterans after their discharge produced considerable number of epigraphic evidence, enough to generate a significant picture of their presence and role in the social mobility in the Roman Empire¹.

With 12 cavalry and 26 infantry auxiliary regiments, Thracians provide one of the best examples of the massiveness of an initial recruitment among national groups in the Roman Empire. The substantial presence in the Roman army and particularly their social behaviour as veterans after their discharge towards the preservation of their affection and links with their home-land seems one of the most remarkable, if not specific features of this conservative populace. This intimate attitude, together with their social mobility and maintenance of their personal names, explains much in what degree the large scale and greatly debated phenomenon of Romanization acted as an effective vector of the cultural transformation of the Thracians.

The list below contains the known veterans (Thracian and of other origin) in the regiments labelled *Thracum*, as well as Thracian veterans in the regiments of non-Thracian origin identified in the epigraphic sources (military diplomas and inscriptions)².

¹ On the veterans in the auxiliary regiments of the Roman army see in general: Mommsen 1884, 1-437; Kraft 1951; Forni 1953; Mann 1953, 496-500; Forni 1974, 339-391; Brunt 1974, 90-115; Mann 1983.

² The sign * marks the Thracian origin of the veteran.

I. VETERANS IN THE CAVALRY REGIMENTS OF THRACIAN ORIGIN

A. ALAE THIRACUM

P. Aelius Primianus. (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 16.02.255; Fs: Sour el Ghozlan.

Remained

CIL VIII, 9045=ILS 2766; Pflaum 1960, 165 no. 19; Leveau 1973, 165 no. 19; Benseddik 1977, 214 no. 76.

Aelius Quartius (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs: Traismauer.

Remained

CIL III, 5655.

P. Aelius Veranus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: Hadrian. Fs: Hantos-Kishantospusza.

Remained

Vágó 1970, 129 no. 462=AE 1971, 350; Lörincz 2001, 212 no.177.

C. Attulus (?) (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs: Aleppo.

IGLS 1, 181.

***Aurelius Catus** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 213. Fs: Dunapentele.

Remained

AE 1910, 138; RIU 1183; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 629; Intercissa I no. 24; Barkoczi 1964, 349 no. 144/11; Fitz 1972, 100 no. 12; Lörincz 2001, 213 no.183.

Aurelius Iulius (ala I T

hracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 200-250. Fs: Nagytétény.

Remained

CIL III, 10378 (=3395); Kraft 1952, 161 no. 631; Barkóczi 1964, 347 no. 106/4; Lörincz 2001, 215 no. 190.

***Aurelius Lipor** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 222-235. Fs: Dunapentele.

Remained

CIL III, 3393; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 633; Barkóczi 1964, 347 no. 106/5; Fitz 1983, 111 no. 435; Lörincz 2001, 214 no.186.

M. Aurelius Lucanus (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum) Date: 198-211/222-235; Fs: Acs.

Remained.

CIL III, 11020=RIU 64; Barkóczi 1951, 55 no. 76; 1964, 55 no. 81; Fitz 1983, 112 no. 444; Lörincz 2001, 219 no. 200.

Aurelius Potitus (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: Fs: Hohenstein.

Remained

CIL III, 4834.

Aurelius Valerianus (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum). Date: 200-250. Fs: Almásfüzitő.

Remained

RIU 707; Barkóczi 1951, 56-57 no. 114; 1964, 339 no. 91/7; Lörincz 2001, 219 no. 201.

C. Caesius Marcellus. (ala II Augusta Thracum).Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs: Cherchel.

Remained

CIL 8, 9358; Leveau 1973, 163 no. 13.

M. Cocceius Valens (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs: Membidj.

Remained

Jary 1982, 99 no. 5; AE 1982, 901

Cunius Aqvi, (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Origin: *Isaurus*. Date: 30. 04. 129. Fs: Turkey.

Remained

RMD 34; Lörincz 2001,160 no. 20.

Q. Granus Felix. (ala II Augusta Thracum).Date: 262; Fs: Cherchel.

Remained

CIL VIII, 9378=21035; Leveau 1973, 168 no. 21; Benseddik 1977, 214 no. 77.

Gusulae Doqui (ala I Thracum victrix). Origin: Thrax. Date: 27.09.79. Fs.

Weiss 2004, 239-254.

Iulius Valerius (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: second half of the 2nd century-3rd century. Fs: Cherchel.

Remained

CIL VIII, 9380; Leveau 1973, 168 no. 22; Benseddik 1977, 214 no. 78.

C. Iulius Agricola (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs: Traismauer.

Remained

CIL III, 5655.

- ***C. Iulius Lupercus** (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum). Origin: *domo Sala*. Date: 180; Fs: Szöny.
Remains
CIL III, 4321=RIU 560; Kraft 1951, 162 no. 674; Mocsy 1959, 246 164/19; Barkóczy 1964, 55 no. 81; Lörincz 2001, 218 no. 197.
- M. Marius Valens**, (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana). Origin: *Galata*. Date: mid 2nd century. Fs: Köln.
Remained
CIL XIII, 8306.
- Octavius Vi[...]** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 139. Fs.
Remained
CIL 16, 175; AE 1955, 17; Nagy 1956, 15-71; Lörincz 2001, 160 no. 21.
- Oxetius Naevionis**, Eraviscus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Origin: *Eraviscus*. Date: 5 05. 167. Fs: Óbuda.
Remained
CIL XVI, 123; Lörincz 2001, 166 no. 33.
- ***Quelse Dolae** (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum). Origin: *Thracus*. Date: 12 May 91. Fs: Suhozem.
Reversus
AE 1961, 319; RMD 4; Botusharova 1958, 317-321.
[.]**us Rammi** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana). Date: 4 May-13 July 105. Fs: Middlewich.
Remained
RMD 8=RIB 2401.3.
- ***Romesta Rescenti** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin: *Spiurus*. Date: 18 June 54. Fs: Sarsânlar.
Reversus
CIL 16, 3.
- Serpo dius Epaphrae** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Date: 7 March 160. Fs: Reversus
RMD 173.
- ***C. Sertorius Cesivecetrizis** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin: *Besideltus*. Date: 1st-2nd century. Fs: Dervesiani.
Reversus
Samsaris 1993, 235 no. 908.
- ***Seuthes** (ala Gallorum et Thracum veterana). Origin: *Scaenus*. Date: 12 May 91. Fs: Gradishte.
Reversus
Gerov 1959, 210; RMD 5.
- Ulpus Cives** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: Trajan. Fs: Mannersdorf.
Remained
Ubl 1974, 422; Lörincz 2001, 211 no. 174.
- Ulpus Crescens** (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs: Zucchabar.
Remained
CIL VIII, 9615; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 26; Benseddik 1977, 216 no. 84.
- ***Valens Bititralis** (ala I Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs: Vechten.
Remains
CIL XIII, 8818; Fol 1969, 245 no. 1022; Speidel 1976, 347-348= 1984, 99; Le Glay 1980, 46.
- Valerius Emeritus** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs: Budapest.
CIL 3, 10432 (=3465); Mocsy 1959 251 no. 185/47; Lörincz 2001, 212 no. 180.
- Valerius Valens** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 200-250. Fs: Nagytetyeny.
Remained
Lörincz 2001, 215 no. 188.
CIL XVI, 3.
- ***L. Valerius Volsenus** (alae Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 18 June 54. Fs: Sarsânlar.
Reversus ?
CIL XVI, 3.
- L. Vettius Valens** (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: second half of the 2nd century. Fs: Alexandria.
Remained
CIL III, 14139.

B. ALAE NON-THRACUM

- ***Aelius Mucatralis** (ala I Flavia Gaetulorum). Date: Hadrian-Antoninus Pius. Fs: Histria.
Remained.
Suceveanu 1998, 109-117 no. 1.

Aurelius Bassus (ala I Ulpia Contariorum). Date: ca. 252. Fs: Qal'at el Mudik. AE 1987, 955; Balty 1988, 103; Lörincz 2001, 185 no. 91.

***Aurelius Cotus** (ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum). Date: 200-250. Fs: Ruse.

Remained

AE 1940, 34.

***Aurelius Bithus** (ala I Ulpia Contariorum). Date: 3 01.240. Fs.

Remained

Eck, Roxan 1998, 100-106; Lörincz 2001, 303 no. 501.

***Aurelius Dolens** (I Ulpia Contariorum). Origin: *domo Thracia*. Date: ca. 200-250. Fs: Győr.

Remained

Balty, van Rengen, 1993, 47 pl. 21; Lörincz 2001, 193 no. 115.

***Aurelius Doriso** (I Ulpia Contariorum). Date: ca. 160-230. Fs: Győr.

Remained

CIL III, 4369=RIU 260; Kraft 1951 146 no. 257; Barkóczi 1964, 338 no. 79/1; Lörincz 2001, 191 no. 107.

***Aurelius Teres** (ala I Asturum). Date: 200-250. Fs: Sofia.

Reversus

IDRE II 353

***Aurelius Teres** (ala I Ulpia Contariorum). Date: 200-250. Fs: Győr.

Remained

CIL 3, 4370=RIU 262; Kraft 1951 146 no. 258a; Barkóczi 1964, 338 no. 79/3; Lörincz 2001, 191 no. 108.

***Bithus Solae** (numerus equitum Illyricorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 13.12 140. Fs: Palamarca.

Reversus

RMD 39; IDR I, 13; AE 1962, 264; Gerov 1959, 196-210.

*[...] **Biti** (ala Siliana). Date: 21. 07. 164. Fs: Buciumi.

Remained

IDR I, 21.

***Bruzenus Delsasi** (ala veterana Gallica). Origin: *Thrax*. Date: 12. 05. 91. Fs.

Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205-214 no. 1.

Reversus (?)

***Cardentus Biticenthi** (ala Veterana Gallica). Origin: *Disdivu*[...]. Date: 12 05. 91. Fs. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-219 no 2.

***Cersus Dentarsadi** (ala I Brittonum); Date 71; Fs.

Eck, Pangerl 2003, 220-228

Reversus (?)

M. Cocceius Dassius (ala Noricorum). Date: after 70; Fs: Koln.

Remained

CIL XIII, 8243=ILS 9270; Kraft 1951, 155, no. 466; Alföldi 1968, 180 no. 46.

***Flavius Bassus** (?). Date: late 1st century. Fs: Glava Panega.

Reversus

Katsarov 1938 no. 359.

***T. Flavius Celsus** (ala Scubulorum). Origin: *cives Sappaus*. Date: late 1st century. Fs: Wiesbaden.

Remained

CIL 13, 7580; Le Glay 1980, 45 no. 15.

Gisusetes Heptasea (ala Praetoria Singularium). Origin: *Thracus*. Date: 88. Fs.

Eck 2003, 229-233

***Heptapor Isi** (ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 8.07. 158; Fs:

Cristești.

Remained.

CIL XVI, 108; IDR I, 16.

* [...] **Ius Iresi** (ala I Flavia Gaetulorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 1.06.125. Fs: Bulgaria.

Remained

AE 1997, 1772; Eck, Roxan 1997, 193-203.

***Meticus Solae** (ala I Asturum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 14.08. 99. Fs: Plovdiv.

Reversus.

CIL XVI, 45.

***Sitalis Cultra** (ala Augusta Gallorum Civium Romanorum). Date: 14.10.109. Fs: Pernik Reversus.

RMD 84.

***Sola Mucatri** (ala I Tungrorum Frontonianan). Date: 2nd century. Fs: Ilişua.

Remained
CIL III, 787.

***Valerius Herculanus** (ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum). Origin: *vicus Rami*[...]. Date: 2nd century. Fs: Gârliciu.

Remained
ISM 5, 117.

[...] (?). Date: 80-84. Fs: Bulgaria.

Reversus

AE 1997, 1772; Eck, Roxan 1997, 228-229.

II. VETERANS IN THE THRACIAN INFANTRY REGIMENTS (COHORTES)

A. COHORTES THRACUM

M. Antonius Timus (cohors I Flavia Bessorum). Origin: *Hierapolis*. Date: 29.06. 120; Fs: Ritopek.

Reversus

CIL XVI, 67.

Aurelius Salmanes (cohors III Augusta Thracum), Date: 26. 05. 227. Fs: Dura Europos.

Dura P. 101; Welles, 1937, 261-284; Rep. VII/VIII 433-438 no. II; The Excavations at Dura Europos. Final report V, part I (Ann Perkins ed.), New Haven 1959, 134-141 no. 26 Lower Text 29.

C. Cassius Longus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs: Ravna.

Remained

CIL III, 14575; IMS 3/2, 39; ILIug. 1299

Culsus Atedumni (cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Origin: *Eraviscus*. Date: 8.02. 157. Fs: Dunakömlöd.

Remained

RMD 103; AE 1983, 745; Visy 1982, 60-62; Lörincz 2001, 163 no. 27.

***Dolens Sublusi** (cohors VI Thracum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 12.07.96. Fs: Kostolać.

Remained

RMD 6; Dusanić, Vasić, 1977, 291.

***Durises Bithi** (cohors IIII Thracum eq.) Origin: *Thrax*. Date: Jan/Febr. 80. Fs: Kamensko.

Reversus

CIL 16, 158=AE 1948, 56; Kraft 1951, 191 no. 1903; Alföldi 1968, 164 no. 2.

*[...]**jinus Dinit[ra]llis Tarsae** (cohors I Thracum Syriaca equitata). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: late 1st – early 2nd century.

Fs: Ravna.

Reversus

CIL III, 14579=AE 1901, 17; ISM 3/2, 37; ILIug 3, 1315.

[...]**iu]s Gaius** (cohors I Thracum equitata Civium Romanorum). Date: 150-250. Fs.

AE 1964, 12; RIU 211; Mocsy 1964, 223-224; Lörincz 2001, 292 no. 460.

Iulius Demetrius (cohors III Augusta Thracum), Date: 26. 05. 227. Fs: Dura Europos.

Dura P. 101; Welles, 1937, 261-284; Rep. VII/VIII 433-438 no. II; 221; The Excavations at Dura Europos. Final report V, part I (Ann Perkins ed.), New Haven 1959, 134-141 no. 26, Upper Text 1; Lower Text 6.

***C. Iulius Bitus** (cohors II Gemella Thracum). Date: 1st century. Fs: Carthage.

Remained

CIL VIII, 14281=25364; Pflaum 1978, 63.

Sex. Iulius Primus (cohors I Thracum equitata Civium Romanorum). Date: 16. 06. 138. Fs: Tótvásony.

CIL XVI, 84; Lörincz 2001, 170 no. 43.

[...]**mus Na [...]**(cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Date: Sept/Oct. 152. Fs: Dunakömlöd.

Remained

RMD 167; Visy 1991, 160-165; Lörincz 2001, 163 no. 26.

Monus Tessimari (cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Origin: *Eraviscus*. Date: 8.02. 157. Fs: Dunakömlöd.

Remained

RMD 102; AE 1983, 785; Visy 1982, 62-65; Lörincz 2001, 163 no. 28.

Plutius Tithoeti (cohors II Thracum). Origin: *Coptus*. Date: 23.03. 179. Fs: Egypt.

Remained

RMD 185; AE 1990, 1023; Römer 1990, 137-153.

- L. Septimius Tatulo** (cohors I Thracum cquitata). Date: ca. 200. Fs: Bölskc.
Remained
CIL III, 3319=10299=RIU 1018; Kraft 1951, 189 no. 1863a; Barkóczy 1964, 350
no. 145/2; Lörincz 2001, 293 no. 465.
- Septimius Ursulinus** (cohors I Thracum equitata Civium Romanorum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs: Acs-Vaspuszta.
Remained
AE 1967, 380=RIU 641; Gabler 1967, 194-196; Lörincz 2001, 291 no. 458.
- Q. Sergius Paulus** (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Date: late 1st century. Fs: Ravna.
Remained
CIL III, 8262; ISM 3/2, 38; ILJug. 1306.
- *Seuthes Traibithi** (cohors II Thracum). Origin: *Coiloleticus*. Date: 13. 05. 86. Fs: Turea.
Reversus
CIL XVI, 33.
- Sextus Iulius Primus** (cohors I Thracum Civium Romanorum). Origin: *Trevirus*. Date: 16. 06.138. Fs: Tótvásony.
Remained
CIL XVI, 84; Lörincz 2001, 170 no. 43.
- Ulpus Crescens** (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: Fs: Zucchabar.
CILVIII, 9615; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 26; Benseddik 1977, 216 no. 84.
- Q. Valerius Germanus** (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Date: late 1st century. Fs: Ravna.
Remained
AE 1910, 95; ISM 3/2, 40; ILJug. 1309;
*[...] **Mocazeni f.** (cohors I Thracum milliaria). Origin: *Thracus*. Date: 12 May 91. Fs.
Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219-221 no. 3.

B. COHORTES NON-THRACUM

- *M. Antonius Rufus** (cohors II Gallorum). Origin: *Abrittenus*. Date: 99. Fs: Oltina.
Remained
CIL XVI, 44.
- *Aulenus Her[...]** (cohors II Gallorum Pannoniorum). Date: 23.02. 144. Fs: Nova Zagora.
Reversus
CIL XVI, 90=IDR 1, 14.
- *Aurelius Tara** (cohors III Campestris). Date: 200-250. Fs: Prahovo.
Remained
ILJug II 461; Janakievski 1966, 387-388.
- *Bithus Seuthi** (cohors Musulamiorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 07.11.88. Fs: Muhovo.
Reversus
CIL XVI, 35.
- *Clagissa Clagissae** (cohors II Mattiacorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 28.03. 138. Fs: Tärnovo.
Reversus
CIL XVI, 83.
- *Cocae Tyru** (numerus equitum Illyricorum). Origin: *Sardica*. Date: 19.07.146. Fs.
Remained
RMD 269.
- * [...]cti** ([...]um Civium Romanorum). Origin: *Thracus*. Date: 109; Fs: Valentia Banasa.
Remained
CIL XVI, 162.
- *C. Iulius Valens** (cohors IIII Gallorum). Origin: *Trallis*. Date: 19.07. 114. Fs: Pisarevo.
Remained
RMD 14.
- *Mucatralis Bithi** (cohors I Brittonum milliaria). Date: 21 07. 164. Fs: Cășei.
Remained
IDR 1, 20=AE 1959, 37.
- *Mucapor Eptacentis** (cohors I Aquitanorum veterana). Origin: *Tarax*. Date: 29.10. 90.Fs: Mainz.
Remained.
CIL XVI, 36.

The chance of discoveries has certainly its role in shaping out the picture of this important social body. It must be underlined that relatively large incidence of mentions does not leave too many doubts as far as the veterans' options after the discharge.

Fifty seven of the total of eighty four individuals known in MD and inscriptions as veterans coming from the Thraco-Moesian area are obviously Thracian in origin. The two essential criteria to identify their unquestionable Thracian provenance in the auxiliary regiments labelled *Thracum* or in those of other origin were their names and sometimes their religious beliefs.

The impact of the social mobility of the veterans on the shaping up of the local communities in different provinces appears of major importance. This type of social behaviour had a significant impact on their maintenance as group mentality.

Of the total of thirty nine 1st-3rd century MDs which record veterans of Thracian origin, only twenty three bear the indication of a certain find spot while sixteen are labelled as 'find spot unknown (f.s.u.)'. Although the f. s. u. cases disclose also highly important information as to the date of recruitment, names, origin, social status, families, and regiments, from the social mobility perspective their significance remains rather reduced as value. Usually, these documents of dual character, private and official – a copy being always displayed at Rome – were carried and remained with the discharged veteran in the province he chose to settle, the movement of the document logically following the individual's.

Table 1

Military diplomas with find spot unknown granted to the veterans of Thracian origin

Cerso Dentarasadi	Ala I Brittonum	Eck 2003, 220-228 (71)	Thrax
Gusulae Doqui	Ala I Thracum Victrix	Weiss, 2004, 239-246 (79)	Thrax
Gisusetes Heptasi	Ala Praetoria Singulariorum	Eck 2003, 229-233 (88)	Thrax
Bithus[...] iae	Ala Praetoria Singulariorum	Weiss 1997, 229-231 (88)	Thrax
Tharsa	Cohors I Aquitanorum Vet.	Eck, Pangerl 2003, 259-262 (90)	
Thavus Cassiporis	Cohors I Aquitanorum Vet.	Eck, Pangerl 2003, 216-219 (90)	Thrax
[...] Genimoli	Cohors III Thracum Syriaca	RMD 214 (91)	Thrax
Lucius Satur[...]	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	Mihailovich, Donald, 2002, 225 (97)	
Cocae Tyru	Numerus Equitum Illyricorum	RMD 269 (114)	Sardica
Ulpus M[...]	Ala I Ulpia Contariorum	RMD 236 (126)	Bessus
[..Bi]thus	Ala VII Phrygum	Weiss 1997, 256-259 (157-158)	
[Aelius Bi]thus	Ala I Ulpia Contariorum	Eck, Roxan 1998, 95-112 (240)	
[?][...]olus	?	ILD 17 (122)	Bessus
Bruzenus Delsasi	Ala Veterana Gallica	Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205-214 no.1 (91)	Thrax
Cardentus Biticenthi	Ala Veterana Gallica	Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-219 no.2 (91)	Disdiv[...]
[...] Mocazeni	Cohors I Thracum milliaria	Eck, Pangerl 2006(1), 219-221 no.2 (91)	Thrax
[...]		Eck, Pangerl 2006(2), 185-191 (158)	Densela

The options of the veterans after they finished their service were either to remain in the province they had previously served or to go back to their country of origin.

Certainly, the choice for a place to live for the rest of their life was free and the availabilities of the administration of land granting, until Hadrian's reign, given the ever growing shortage of organized distributed land or liquidities after that date, must have played an important role in the decisions and motivation of each veteran of the Roman army. In the particular case of the veterans of Thracian origin the case discloses another significant aspect as to whether the affective connections of the veterans with their homes were influenced by the attractive land or cash granting, or the economic realities caused an increasing mobility, while the "patriotism" faded away in front of the pragmatism and material necessities.

The following tables show the over-all picture for each province in which veterans of Thracian origin are recorded. Commentaries will pin down the trends of the social mobility and consequences for the establishment of provincial communities of veterans and their families, as well as the attitudes of the individuals towards the two alternatives, the economic resorts, or the attachment for their homeland.

Table II

Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Syria and Judca

Gisusetes Heptasi	ala Praetoria Singulariorum	Eck 2003, 229-233; f.s.u (88)	Thrax
Bithus Seuthi	cohors Musulamiorum	CIL 16, 36; Muhovo (88)	Bessus
Bithus[...] iae	ala Praetoria Singulariorum	Weiss 1997, 229-231; f.s.u. (88)	Thrax
Quclsa Dolae	ala III Augusta Thracum	RMD 4; Suhozem (91)	Thrax
[...] Genimoli	cohors III Thracum Syriaca	RMD 214; f.s.u. (91)	Thrax
[.Bi]thus	ala VII Phrygum	Weiss 1997, 256-259; f.s.u. (157-158)	
C.Sertorius Cesicevetricis	ala I Gallorum et Thracum Antiana	Samsaris 1993, 235; Dervcsiani (1 st c.)	
Seuthes Traibithi	cohors II Thracum	CIL 16, 33; Turea (86)	Coiloleticus
Bruzenus Delsasi	Ala Veterana Gallica	Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205-214 no.1; f.s.u. (91)	Thrax
Cardentus Biticenthi	Ala Veterana Gallica	Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-219 no.2; f.s.u. (91)	Disdiv[...]
[...] Mocazeni	Cohors I Thracum milliaria	Eck, Pangerl 2006(1), 219-221 no.2; f.s.u. (91)	Thrax
[...]	VII Phrygum	Eck,Pangerl 2006(2), 185-191f.s.u. (158)	Densela

Commentary. Syria and Judea displays the greatest number of auxiliary regiments of Thracian origin in the 1st century, a traditional presence since Augustus' time.

Nevertheless, the military diplomas yield clear evidence that the Thracian veterans from auxiliary regiments constantly and in great number abandoned these provinces in the 1st century. It is quite surprising that none of the 1st century military diplomas granted to Thracian veterans in auxilia have been either found or reveal a firm find spot in Syria/Syria Palestina or Judea. A significant number was discovered outside these provinces, while many have find spot unknown. The situation did not change in the 2nd century when out of the known military diplomas granted to the Thracian soldiers in the auxiliary regiments none are reported to have been certainly found in these lands. It is true that the circumstances are fortuitous and new finds in the future could create a breach in the present day view on the find spot of the Syrian military diplomas.

The evidence of these imperial constitutions for Syria, Judea (until 138), and Arabia (after 106) indicate so far a trend noticeable at least in the 1st century. The greatest majority of the Thracian veterans preferred to rather return to their homelands than to remain in the area. None of the Thracian soldiers recorded in *ala I Augusta Thracum* in three inscriptions at Djerach were veterans and all seem to have died during the service³.

One might witness a certain unenthusiastic attitude of the Thracian veterans from *auxilia* as to the opportunity of settling in these regions. The aridity of the soil and the reduced opportunities of lucrative activities in agriculture, the excessive hot climate for individuals used to a temperate climate, the non-adaptation to another type of urban life of the members of rural conservative communities from which they came, might be evidence for an unenthusiastic stance as to live in the social and economic environment of the Eastern provinces after their discharge. The epigraphic evidence of major veterans' communities living in the settlements around the auxiliary forts is discouraging few, if at all, and comes only from late 2nd – early 3rd century⁴. A Thracian individual, *Bessos*, thought to be a veteran from an auxiliary regiment, settled in or around Jericho⁵. C. Attulus, from *ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum* recorded at Aleppo in an uncertain context has no blatant sign of having been a veteran, but rather an active soldier engaged with his unit in one of the conflicts with Parthians⁶.

Veterans' communities in the Eastern provinces originated from the Imperial foundations in early Principate⁷, but the statistics show most of the 1st and 2nd century origin of the recruits drawn from the local

³ *Cotelses Eptacenti f.* and *Toutenes Eptacenti f.*; CIL III, 14159¹; =IGR III, 1374=AE 1899, 27=1900, 159; *Doritsets Tarsi f.*; AE 1930, 89.

⁴ Samsaris 1990 p. 16-19.

⁵ Samsaris 1990 p. 17.

⁶ 6. IGLS I, 181

⁷ Mann 1983, 41-44 and tab 26.

environment and none among Thracians. The only remarkable exception is *legio II Parthica* created by Septimius Severus and massively supplied with Thracian recruits documented in a considerable amount in the 3rd century in Syria⁸.

The epigraphic evidence for the Eastern provinces shows clearly that neither urban nor rural were preferred environments for the development of any sizable Thracian veteran communities or settlements.

Obviously, one must not eliminate *a priori* the existence of some individuals or even Thracian groups in Syria, Judea, or Arabia, only on the ground that they are not recorded in inscriptions. If so, they certainly preferred to have settled rather in towns than in bare rural areas of military character.

Table III

Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Moesia

?	?	Weiss 1997, 228-229; Bulgaria (79/87)	Thrax
Dolens Sublusi	Cohors VI Thracum	RMD 6; Kostolac (96)	Bessus
Lucius Satur[...]	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	Mihailovich, Donald, 2002, 225-228; f.s.u. 97)	
Meticus Solae	Ala I Asturum	CIL 16, 45; Plovdiv (99)	Bessus
M. Antonius Rufus	Cohors II Gallorum	CIL 16, 44; Oltina (99)	Abrettenus
[...] us Iresi	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	Eck, Roxan 1997, 193-203; Bulgaria (125)	Bessus
Clagissa Clagissae	Cohors II Mattiacorum	CIL 16, 83; Târnovo (138)	Bessus
Aelius Mucatralis	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	Suceveanu 1998, 109; Histria (mid 2 nd c.)	
Valerius Herculanus	Ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum	ISM V 117; Gârliciu (late 2 nd c.)	Vicus Rami[...]
Aurelius Cotus	Ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum	AE 1940, 34; Ruse (200-250)	
Aurelius Tara	Cohors III Campestris	ILlug. 461; Prahovo (200-250)	
Aurelius Teres	Ala I Asturum	IDRE II 353; Sofia(200-250)	
[...]inus Dini[tra]llis Tarsa[...]	Cohors I Thracum Syriaca	IMS III/2 no. 37; Ravna (late 1 st c.)	

Commentary. Auxiliary regiments from Lower Moesia contained massively recruits from the Thraco-Moesian area. Thrace and Moesia were the main source for the supply of Danubian auxiliary forces and even legions⁹. The bulk of evidence of the known discharged individuals comes more from the eastern area of Lower Moesia, where the concentration of regiments is obvious particularly after the conquest of Dacia (106)¹⁰. Although epigraphic data are still scarce, recent finds show indirectly constant supply with fresh contingents by the end of the 1st century (MDs from 97-99), at the eve of the military conflict with the Dacian kingdom. *Ala I Asturum*, *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*, and *cohors II Gallorum* appear to have been garrisoned in Lower Moesia while *cohors VI Thracum* and *I Thracum Syriaca* had been dispatched in Upper part of the province in the last quarter of the 1st century¹¹. All late 1st century military diplomas are of type II D (*quina et vicena plurave stipendia meruerant*), which indicates the slight prolongation beyond the normal years of service, likely caused either by the war with Sarmatians in 92 on middle Danube (the constitution of 96), or a certain state of threat on the Lower Danube (the constitutions of 96, 97). Tarsa, who served 28 years, way beyond the limits of service, could have been part of the old experienced contingents kept few more years under standards at the middle Danube.

The 2nd century military diplomas of 125 and 138 are of type III D (*quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis*), but shows also a longer service under the regimental standards.

⁸ On the composition of the *legio II Parthica* see Forni 1953, 97-99; 219; Mann 1983, 144-151 tab. 25, 25a and 26.

⁹ For recruitment in auxiliary regiments in the Balkan provinces see Gerov 1950-1952, 17-121; for the legions: Forni 1953, 91-94; 97-99; Mann 1983, 36-39 and tab. 21 and 22.

¹⁰ Aricescu 1977, 78-105; Beneš 1978, 68-73 and tab III.

¹¹ Beneš 1978, 52-53; Petrović 1995, in: ISM 3/2, 44; Matei Popescu 2001-2002, 227-229.

Table IV

Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Dacia

Cocae Tyru	NumerusEquitum Illyricorum	RMD 269; f.s.u. (114)	Sardica
Bithus Solac,	NumerusEquitum Illyricorum	RMD39; Palamartsa (140)	Bessus
Aulenus Hcr[...]]	cohors II Gallorum	CIL 16, 90; Nova Zagora (144)	
Hcptapor Isi	Ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum	CIL 16, 108; Cristești (158)	Bessus
[? B]iti	ala Siliana	IDR I 21; Buciumi (164)	
Mucatralis Bithi	cohors I Brittonum Illyricorum	RMD 63; Căței (164)	
Sola Mucatri	Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana	CIL III 787 (2 nd century)	
[?][...]olus	?	ILD 17; f.s.u. (122)	Bessus

Commentary. Dacian provinces display a number of eight Thracian veterans known thus far¹². Except one case, they are all recorded in military diplomas. The individuals served in regiments garrisoned in northern and eastern areas of the province, particularly in northern Dacia Porolissensis and east of Dacia Superior. It is striking that none of the regiments billeted in the western and southern parts of Dacia yielded evidence for discharge of Thracian veterans. That might be an indication that Thracian recruits were predominantly sent to regiments in northern and eastern Dacia.

The military diplomas of 140 and 158 are of type III E (*quinque et viginti stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione*). They show discharge on time while 144 and both 164 constitutions are of type III D (*quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione*) indicating later discharges. Therefore, possible earlier recruitment and longer service can be foreseen for III D type group.

Table V

Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Pannonia and Noricum

Cerso Dentarasadi	Ala I Brittonum	Eck 2003, 220-228; f.s.u. (71)	Thrax
Gusulae Doqui	Ala I Thracum Victrix	Weiss, 2004, 239-246; f.s.u. (79)	Thrax
Soius Muscelli	Cohors I Montanorum	CIL 16, 26; Klosterneuburg (80)	Bessus
Ulpian M[...]]	Ala I Ulpia Contariorum	RMD 236; f.s.u. (126)	Bessus
C. Iulius Lupercus	Ala III Augusta Thracum sagitt.	RIU 560; Szöny (180)	domo Sala
Aurelius Catus	Ala I Thracum Veterana sagitt.	RIU 1183; Dunapentele (213)	
Aurelius Lipor	Ala I Thracum Veterana sagitt.	CIL III 3393; Dunapentele (222-235)	
Aurelius Teres Aurelius Marcus (?)	Ala I Ulpia Contariorum Ala I Ulpia Contariorum	CIL 3, 4370; Győr (200-250)	
Aurelius Doriso	Ala I Ulpia Contariorum	RIU 260; Győr ? (160-230)	
Aelius Bi]thus Aurelius Dolens(?)	Ala I Ulpia Contariorum Ala I Ulpia Contariorum	Eck, Roxan 1998; f.s.u. (240) Balty, van Rengen 1993, 47 pl. 21 9; El Muddik (ca. 252)	

Commentary. Pannonia displays an early discharge of Thracian veterans in 71 and Noricum in 79, a proof that the supply of the Norico-Pannonian regiments with recruits from Thrace began very early in the 1st century. The earliest Norico-Pannonian military diplomas are of type I (71) (*quina et vicena stipendia aut plura meruerant*) and II A (80) (*quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis*) showing possible prolongation of service, but also earlier recruitments. The soldier in *ala I Ulpia Contariorum* shows all signs of having been levied in 46, when Thrace was turned into a province but there is considerable chance that the individual was enrolled even a few years earlier in the light of the type of the 71 military diploma. The soldier from *ala I Thracum victrix* levied in 54 or shortly earlier suggests that the regiment was created either by mid 50s, in which case the individual was among the first generation of recruits, or, which is more likely, the cavalry unit was raised before the creation of Thrace as a province, when the distribution of recruits from the

¹² See also Branga 1986, 99, 116, 138.

Thracian area was a constant trend in the policy of Roman military administration, as clearly shown by the Thracian soldier in *cohors I Montanorum*.

Fortuitous or not, the epigraphic evidence patently shows that many of the Pannonian regiments (the units of Thracian origin inclusively) were constantly supplied with Thracian contingents in the 2nd and especially in the 3rd century, a fact illustrated also by a considerable number of active soldiers who were not included in the table. *Ala I Ulpia Contariorum* is the best example of the intensity of the dispatch of Thracian recruits towards the Pannonian army, particularly in the 3rd century¹³.

Table VI

Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Germania

Durises Bithi	Cohors IIII Thracum	CIL 16, 158; Kamensko (80)	Thrax
Tharsa	Cohors I Aquitanorum Vet.	Eck, Pangerl 2003, 60 (90) f.s.u.	
Mucapor Eptacenti	Cohors I Aquitanorum Vet.	CIL 16, 36; Mainz (90)	Thrax
Thavus Cassiporis	Cohors I Aquitanorum Vet.	Eck, Pangerl 2003, 60; f.s.u. (90)	Thrax
T. Flavius Celsus	Ala Scubulorum	CIL 13, 7580; Worms (late 1 th century)	Civis Sappaus
Valens Bititralis	Ala I Thracum	CIL 13, 8818; Vechten (first half of the 3 rd century)	

Commentary. Four military diplomas attest the discharge of Thracian veterans in Germany¹⁴. Three discharges were made in 90 from *cohors I Aquitanorum* in the army of Upper Germany. From the same provincial army a Thracian veteran served in *ala Scubulorum* at Augusta Vangionum (Borbetomagus-Worms), while another was a soldier in *cohors IIII Thracum equitata* from the Lower German army discharged at an early date. All the three military diplomas are of III D type showing the prolongation of service due to the events on the Rhine frontier in 88-89. The discharge of the three soldiers from *cohors I Aquitanorum* (90) show that they were likely levied at the same date, possibly all at once, in 63 or 64, during the late Julio-Claudian epoch and dispatched directly to the regiment in Upper Germany. The veteran from *ala I Thracum* indicates a constant supply of the unit with recruits from the Thracian stock late in the 3rd century.

Table VII

Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Mauretania Tingitana and Numidia

Sitalis Cultra	Ala I Augusta CR (Tocolosida)	RMD 84; Pemik (109)	Trallis
[...] cti	[Cohors I Ituraeor ?]um C.R. (Valentia Banasa)	CIL 16, 162; Sidi Ali bou Jenoun (109)	Thrax
C. Iulius Bitus	Cohors II Gemella Thracum (Sila)	CIL 8, 14218; Tunis (1 st c.)	

Commentary. Surprisingly, only Mauretania Tingitana and Numidia yielded evidence of Thracian veterans, although Mauretania Caesariensis hold an important cavalry regiment of Thracian origin at Caesarea (*ala II Augusta Thracum*), in the very capital city of the province¹⁵. Both military diplomas were issued in the same year and are of type III D that shows recruitment in ca. 83/84, when a certain number of young recruits was sent to the same province. The supply of the Tingitanian army with Thracian recruits seems to have been a common trait of the distribution of new contingents raised in Thrace in the 2nd century. In 200, the well known personage, Sextus Iulius Possessor, conducted 1000 Thracian recruits to the same province in order to supply the old contingents with fresh ones¹⁶.

Twenty four military diplomas, 1st-3rd century in date, with known find spot were quantifiable for the analysis of the social behaviour and mobility of the Thracian veterans. Fifteen military diplomas have been found on the territory of the province of Thrace and Lower Moesia, while four in Dacia and one in Upper

¹³ Lörincz 2001, 135-138.

¹⁴ Fol 1969, 243-247 no. 1007; 1016; 1022; Alföldy 1968, 164 no. 2;

¹⁵ Leveau 1973, 153-192.

¹⁶ Speidel, 1977, 167-173.

Moësia. That makes a total of nineteen constitutions, which is a considerable 62.5% concentrated in the Thraco-Moesian and Dacian areas.



Tables A, B, and C, based on the known find spots of military diplomas and inscriptions, show in a concise form the social mobility of the veterans of Thracian origin shortly after their discharge. It is certainly a general estimation which takes into account mainly the circulation of the military diplomas with their owners and presumed places of their settlement and less, if at all, hypothetical cases when individuals accidentally lost the documents in a certain place on their way to another location. We are conscious of this kind of trap and the approach must take into considerations “accidents” that might have happened everywhere where free and intense human circulation occurred.

Table A

Veterans who apparently remained in the very places (*vici militares/canabae*) of their former garrison

Soius Muscelli	Cohors I Montanorum (<i>Klosterneuburg</i>)	CIL XVI 26; Klosterneuburg (80)	Bessus
Dolens Sublusi	Cohors VI Thracum (Viminacium)	RMD 6; Kostolac (96)	Bessus
[...] cti	[Cohors I Ituraeor ?]um C.R. (Valentia Banasa)	CIL XVI 162; Sidi ali bou Jenoun (109)	Thrax
Heptapor Isi	Ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum (<i>Cristești</i>)	CIL 16, 108; Cristești (158)	Bessus
Aurelius Doriso	ala I Ulpia Contariorum, (Arrabona)	RIU 260; Győr (160-230)	
T. Flavius Celsus	ala Scubulorum (Borbetomagus)	CIL XIII 7580; Worms (late 1st c.)	civis Sappaus
Aurelius Catus	ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum (Campona)	RIU 1183; Dunapentele (213)	
Aurelius Lipor	ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum (Campona)	CIL III 3393; Dunapentele (222-235)	
Valens Bititralis	ala I Thracum (Fectio)	CIL XIII 8818; Vechten (3 rd c.)	
Sola Mucatri	ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana (<i>Ilișua</i>)	CIL III 787; Ilișua (2 nd c.)	
Aurelius Tara	cohors III Campestris (Egeta)	(ILJug. 461; Prahovo (200-250)	
M. Antonius Rufus	Cohors II Gallorum (Altinum?)	CIL XVI 44; Oltina (99)	Abrettenus
Aurelius Teres	ala I Ulpia Contariorum (Arrabona)	RIU 262 Győr (200-250)	

Commentary. A considerable number of Thracian veterans decided to live in the immediate surroundings of their former garrison. The settlements must have been very likely *vici militares* of the auxiliary units. *Vici militares* were identified and partially investigated at Vechten, Worms, Győr and Ilișua forts¹⁷, although the existence of such settlements lied next to all the auxiliary garrisons. According to the evidence available thus far, Lower Moësia, Dacia, and Pannonia appear the preferred provinces for the Thracian veterans to settle.

Pannonia displays a surprisingly early case, at Klosterneuburg, on the territory of the future Pannonia Superior, where *cohors I Montanorum* was billeted shortly after its arrival from Dalmatia and before the dispatch to Aquincum, by the end of the 1st century¹⁸. The establishment of Thracian veterans at Arrabona (Győr) and Campona (Dunapentele) becomes explicable in the late 2nd and 3rd century when Thracian communities were already in existence at that time¹⁹. *Ala I Ulpia Contariorum* reveals a considerable number of Thracian active soldiers²⁰. The Thracian veterans' families with names of clear Thracian origin, such as the one of *Aurelius Doriso* (*Aurelius Mussatus*, son, *Aurelius Lupus et Aulupor*, son, *Basilisa*, daughter, *Aurelia Noeren*, freedwoman and wife)²¹ appears

¹⁷ Polak, Wynia 1991, 132-133, 134, 142-143 (*Fectio*-Vechten); Visy 2003, 21; Szönyi 2003, 68-69, in: Z. Visy (ed), *The Roman Army in Pannonia*, Pecs (Győr); Caiu, Protase, Marinescu 1997, 43-44; 56-57 (Ilișua).

¹⁸ Lörincz 2001, 39 no. 35.

¹⁹ Barkóczi 1964, 271, 292.

²⁰ Lörincz 2001, 18 no. 9; 186-194 no. 92-120.

²¹ CIL III 4369=RIU 260.

only as sequences from a much larger Thracian community at Atrabona, around the cavalry regiment, systematically supplied with new Thracian contingents in the 3rd century.

At Campona (Dunapentele), where *ala I Thracum veterana* was billeted²², the veterans who remained in the military *vicus* around the fort, like *Aurelius Lipor* or *Aurelius Catus*, created their own families²³. Although formally Roman by names, the family members were in fact Thracian, or Thracian-Celtic, or Thracian-Illyrian at the most (e.g. *Aurelius Catus*, father, together with his son *Aurelius Cupititanus*, *Aurelia Prudentilla* and *Aurelia Constituta*), if *Catus*' wife, *Septimia Quintilla*, was a local Pannonian woman.

One suspects, on the other hand, solid family members connections between those living at Campona and Intercissa, where *legio II Adiutrix* was garrisoned. The *Catus*' son, *Aurelius Constitutus*, soldier in the legion, was killed in action, in *Bello Germanico*, in ca. 213, at the age of 24 after four years of service. Another case is *Aurelius Valens*, *miles legionis II Adiutricis*, who was probably *Aurelius Lipor*'s son, and *Aurelia Severa* his sister.

The Ilișua and Cristești finds indicate the establishment of Thracian veterans in the military *vici*. Ilișua, in Dacia Porolissensis, is known through some active individuals of Thracian origin in the area²⁴. At Cristești, in eastern Dacia Superior, the Thracian veteran settled in the middle of a social environment dominated by Norico-Pannonian elements.

Lower Moesia yielded only one case of establishment in the military *vicus*, at Altinum (Oltina), by late 1st century. The auxiliary fort is known only through aerial photography, but the ancient sources indicate the place of high tactical importance²⁵. In Upper Moesia there are two known cases of Thracian veterans established in the *vici*. The topographical studies show three forts concentrated within a rather reduced area at Egeta (Prahovo), but the lack of archaeological investigation does not offer clues for the 2nd and 3rd century fort or military or civil *vicus*²⁶. Viminacium (Kostolac) was the garrison of *legio VII Claudia*. The size of the legionary fortress 385.60 × 442.70m was large enough for the accommodation of more military strength than a single legion²⁷. The auxiliary regiment could have been billeted in the same legionary fortress as in the case of *legio II Augusta* and *ala I Thracum* at Caerleon²⁸. If the cavalry regiment was not billeted in a nearby auxiliary fort, which is possible, then the veteran could have chosen to settle in the sizable *vicus* next to the legionary fortress.

The Rhineland yielded evidence for two cases of establishment of Thracian veterans in the auxiliary *vici*: *Augusta Vangionum/Borbetomagus* (Worms) in Upper and *Fectio* (Vechten) in Lower Germany. Worms was the garrison for several auxiliary regiments or detachments. *Cohors I Thracum Germanica* might have had a detachment or garrisoned for a short time at Worms, where its prefect, L. Octavius Celer, is recorded in an inscription before 85²⁹. The sizable number of auxiliary units that were garrisoned in the 1st–3rd century at Worms must have developed a military *vicus* of some importance. *Ala I Thracum* was garrisoned at Vechten³⁰. Two other cohorts were stationed in the fort in an early period. The significant number of artefacts and traces of the presence of legionary detachments from Lower Germany found in the Vechten military *vicus* would suggest the building up of a sizable civil settlement in which *Valens Bititralis* have settled.

Mauretania Tingitana shows only one case of this type of establishment. The unit of the Thracian veteran must be the Ituraean First cohort (*cohors I Ituraeorum*) the only one which was garrisoned at Banasa, in a patent urban milieu³¹.

²² Lörincz 2001, 24-25 no. 26; 211-216 no. 173-193.

²³ CIL III 3393 (*Aurelius Lipor*); RIU 1183 (*Aurelius Catus*).

²⁴ Russu 1967, 90-91; Protase 1994, 36-37.

²⁵ Zahariade, Gudea 1997, 78.

²⁶ Petrović 1984, 163-166; 1986, 369-370.

²⁷ Mirković, 1986, in ISM II 54-56.

²⁸ Ziennkiewicz et alii 1993, 80-85.

²⁹ CIL XIII 6213.

³⁰ Bogaers 1974, 456-460.

³¹ Roxan 1973, tab. I; Spaul 2000, 442-443.

Table B

Veterans who remained in the same province or in relatively close areas from their former garrison

Mucapor Eptacnti	cohors I Aquitanorum vct (<i>Friedberg</i>)	CIL 16, 36 (90) Mainz	Thrax
[? B]iti,	ala Siliana (<i>Gilău</i>)	IDR I 21 (164) Buciumi	
Mucatralis Bithi	cohors I Brittonum (Porolissum)	RMD 63 (164) Cășei	
C. Iulius Lupercus	ala III Augusta Thracum(Adiaum)	RIU 560 (180) Ó Szöny	domo Sala
C. Iulius Bithus	cohors II Gemella Thracum (Sila)	CIL 8, 14218 (sec. 1) Tunis	
Aelius Mucatralis	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum (Tomis ?)	Suceveanu 1998, 109 (mid 2 nd c.) Histria	
Valerius Herculanus	ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum (Carsium)	ISM V 117 (late 2 nd c.) Gârliciu	vicus Rami [...]
Aelius Cotus	ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum (Carsium)	AE 1940, 34 (200-250) Ruse	
C. Iulius Valens	Cohors IIII Gallorum (Thracia)	RMD 14 (114) Pissarevo Thracia	Trallis

Commentary. Of the nine known cases of Thracian veterans who chose to settle in the province in which they had previously served, (three in Lower Moesia, two in Dacia, and one each in Thrace, Pannonia, Lower Germany and Numidia), Thrace, Lower Moesia, and Dacia provides over half (66.66%) of the cases. *Cohors IIII Gallorum* was stationed in Lower Moesia and then transferred to Thrace probably by Trajan³². The Thracian soldier from Trallis discharged in 114 in Thrace commenced his service in Lower Moesia. Its garrison in Thrace remains unknown, as no fort has been identified as yet around Pissarevo. The veteran chose Thrace, his homeland to settle after the discharge.

In Dacia, the veterans settled in northern parts of Dacia Porolissensis, although none of the regiments were garrisoned in the places where the military diplomas were found. *Ala Siliana* garrisoned the Gilău auxiliary fort, while *cohors I Brittonum* was particularly documented at Porolissum (Moigrad)³³. The find spots of the military diplomas show that the veterans chose neighbourhoods of the main garrison possibly and very probably because land was available in these areas by mid 2nd century, and not nearby forts where they had served. In Lower Moesia the phenomenon must have been the same, beginning with mid 2nd century. The military diplomas were found in the same province, but sometimes way far from the military bases. The distance between Carsium (Hârșova) and Cius (Gârliciu) auxiliary forts is not so long, so that the Thracian veteran *Valerius Herculanus* has been granted land some 20 km northwards from the main base of *ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum*, while for *Aelius Cotus*, the distance became considerable and he had to move entirely to Sexaginta Prista (Ruse), upstream Danube, where the opportunity occurred. At mid 2nd century *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum* was billeted somewhere in eastern Lower Moesia, possibly at Tomis³⁴. One of its veterans settled at Histria, in a densely inhabited Thracian environment, and even if *Mucatralis* did not return exactly in or very close to the area he had been levied, the social milieu was certainly very familiar to him.

In Lower Germany, a Thracian veteran prefers the more cosmopolite life of Mogontiacum where a strong Thracian community existed, instead of the military *vicus* from Friedberg. The same preference is clearly manifest in Numidia where the city or the immediate surroundings of Carthago looked more attractive for the veteran from *cohors II Gemella Thracum* than the *vicus* from Sila, the garrison of the infantry unit at least in Julio-Claudian period³⁵. In Pannonia Superior the phenomenon seems the same. The Thracian veteran settled at or nearby Brigetio, in the large *vicus* next to the legionary fortress, under whose competence the Azaum auxiliary fort, the garrison of the *ala III Augusta Thracum*, lay during the 2nd and 3rd century³⁶.

³² Beneš 1978, 34; Matei Popescu 2001-2002, 207-208.

³³ Petolescu 2002, 87-88.

³⁴ Aricescu 1977, 51-52; Beneš 1978, 8 no. 13; Matei-Popescu 2001-2002, 179-183.

³⁵ Le Bohec 1989, 91.

³⁶ Lörincz 2001, 25-26 no. 28; 218-221 no. 196-208.

Table C

Veterans returned to their original communities (tribes) (*reversi ad lares suos*)

Romesta Rescenti	Ala I Gall. ct Thracum Antiana (Scythopolis)	CIL 16, 3; Sarsânlar (Moesia Inferior) (54)	Spiurus
Bithus Scuthi	cohors Musulamiorum (Syria)	CIL 16, 35; Muhovo (Thracia) (88)	Bessus
Quelsa Dolae	ala III Augusta Thracum (Syria)	RMD 4; Suhozem (Thracia) (91)	Thrax
Meticus Solae	Ala I Asturum (?)	CIL 16, 45; Plovdiv (Thracia) (99)	Bessus
Durises Bithi	Cohors IIII Thracum (Mogontiacum)	CIL 16, 158; Kamensko (Thracia) (80)	Thrax
Sitalus Cultra	Ala I Augusta CR (Tocolosida)	RMD 84; Pernik (Thracia) (109)	
C. Sertorius Cesicevetricis	ala I Gallorum et Thracum Antiana (Scythopolis)	Samsaris 1993, 235; Dervesiani (Macedonia) (1 st c.)	

Commentary. There is a group of four Thracian veterans whose indicated origin and the find spots of their discharge document shows with a high degree of probability that they returned to their very communities where they had been previously levied.

Spiurus, as a tribe or place is basically unknown, but it was presumed to have referred to the place in Moesia Secunda recorded by Procopius as Spibyros, which is to be placed some tens of kilometres south-west of Durostorum (Siliistra)³⁷. The present day places of Muhovo, Suhozem and Plovdiv (Philippopolis) describe a triangle in which the warrior and powerful tribe of Bessi lived. It is difficult if not unattainable to uphold the idea of a homecoming to their very places where they had been levied, but the return in the middle of their old communities seems very likely.

Two cases might raise some question marks. *Durises Bithi* preferred to return from Mogontiacum in Lower Germany to his homeland. The find spot of his discharge document, Kamensko, is not at all an indication that he settled in another place than his original one, but also one cannot be maintained as evidence of his origin from this village. The geographical position of the present day village of Kamensko indicates his origin either as a Coelelethae or a Bessus. *Sitalus Cultra* served at Tocolosida, in *ala I Augusta civium Romanorum* in Mauretania Tigitana³⁸. He could have been a Dentelethae, if he did return to his original community, at the present day Pernik, which falls into the Dentelethike strategy. *C. Sertorius Cesicevetricis* is a Thracian from Macedonia. His father's name was *Besideltus*, which resembles in a high degree with Bisaltia, the name of a known town in eastern Macedonia. *Besideltus*, therefore, as a personal name, derived very likely from the place name where the individual had been born as a Thracian, a tradition transmitted in the name of his son, *Cesicevetricis*.

Table D

Thracian veterans settled in other provinces than indicated through their origin

Seuthes	ala vet. Gallica (Egypt)	RMD 5; Gradište (Moesia Inferior) (91)	(S)Caenus
Seuthes Traibithi	cohors II Thracum (Iudeea)	CIL 16, 33; Turea (Dacia) (86)	Coiloleticus
[...] lus Iresi	ala I Flavia Getulorum (Tomis ?)	Eck, Roxan 1997, 193-203; Bulgaria (125)	Bessus
Clagissa Clagissae	cohors II Mattiacorum (Sexaginta Prista)	CIL 16, 83; Târnovo (Thracia) (138)	Bessus
Bithus Solae	numerus Equitum Illyricorum (Hoghiz)	RMD 39; Palamartsa (Moesia Inferior) (140)	Bessus,
Aulenus Her[...]	cohors II Gallorum (Dacia)	CIL 16, 90; Nova Zagora (Thracia) (144)	
Aurelius Teres	ala I Asturum (Hoghiz)	ILER II 353; Sofia (Thracia)(200-250)	

Commentary. It is particularly noticeable that this category of veterans chose to settle in different provinces but in its great majority this option envisaged almost exclusively the three related provinces:

³⁷ Procop. *De Aedif.*, 4. 11; Dechev 1976, 477.

³⁸ Roxan 1973, tab I; Spaul 1994, 52-54.

Thrace, Lower Moesia, and Dacia. The exception refers to Scuthes, in *ala veterana Gallica* who remained in Egypt. It is on the other hand clear that veterans who served in regiments in one of the three provinces preferred to remain in the area. Some, liked better do move south of Danube after serving in Dacia, others remained in the same province but settled at great distance from their previous garrison, while in one case the veteran *Seuthes Traibithi*, from cohorts II Thracum in Syria, settled initially south of the Danube and then went northwards in the new province of Dacia in search of new opportunities.



The mapping of the mobility of the Thracian veterans shows some clear trends both in social and geographical preferences for their after service life. Three veterans chose to remain in the Rhine provinces: *Mucapor Eptacenti* at Mainz, *T. Flavius Celsus* at Wiesbaden and *Valens Bititralis* at Vechten. There is one certain case of abandon of the Rhinelands, *Durises Bithi*. Mucapor, who settled at Mogontiacum, might have been stimulated by the Thracian community created particularly around the active soldiers or veterans documented in significant number in the legion XXII Primigenia³⁹. Other Thracian communities of some size must have existed at Augusta Agrippinensis or Bonna where legions were supplied with Thracian recruits from the 1st through the 3rd century⁴⁰.

Dolanus appears at Aquae Mattiacorum (Wiesbaden), a station with thermal and curative waters⁴¹. It is possible that disease and need of treatment determined him to remain in this place. Valens in the 3rd century settled in the *vicus militaris* of the fort where the long garrisoning of *cohors IIII Thracum* could have created a Thracian community of some size.

The Pannonian provinces display four MDs and five datable inscriptions but only six documents are quantifiable for the social mobility of the Thracian veterans in this province. The only MD attesting a Thracian veteran, *Soio Muscelli* who settled in Pannonia in the 1st century is that from Klosterneuburg dated in 80, most of the recent finds bearing the obsessing f.s.u.

The inscriptions tell more. There are five Aurelii: *Lupercus*, *Doriso*, *Catus*, *Lipor* and *Teres* who remained in the Pannonian provinces in the 2nd and first half of the 3rd century. If in the 1st century the interest of the Thracian veterans for the Pannonian province is low (only one case) the region was chosen as a second home to the end of the 2nd or early 3rd century, when the number of the Thracian regiments became increasing. Towards the mid 2nd century the Thracian communities in Pannonia began to take shape. They were either formed of active Thracian soldiers with their Thracian or non-Thracian families and veterans, as shown by the epigraphic inquiries at Intercissa, Brigetio, Aquincum, and Arrabona. Although the Celtic and Illyrian linguistic and cultural background was predominant in the region, the fast development of urban life (Intercissa, Brigetio, Arrabona, Aquincum), the fertility of the soil and climate in the Pannonian provinces offered, in general, convenient living conditions for the Thracian veterans.

There are two cases of Thracian veterans who remained in the north African provinces: *C. Julius Bitus* at Carthage and an unknown [...] *ctus* at Valentia Banasa., two urban centres of cosmopolite life.

It is by far obvious that most of the veterans chose the Balkan area as an option for their after service life. Some chose urban milieu: *Dolens Sublusi* at Viminacium, *Meticus Solae* at Philippopolis, *Aelius Mucatralis* at Histria, *Aurelius Teres* at Serdica(?), *Aulenus Her[...]* at Traiana Augusta Beroe. A relevant number preferred the military milieu, in the *vici militares* next to the forts where they had previously served: Altinum, Cristești, Buciumi, Ilișua, Cășei, Cius, Sexaginta Prista, Prahovo. Others opted for rural milieu as is the case of a significant number of known Thracian veterans at: Sarsânlar, Kamensko, Turea, Muhovo, and Suhozem.

From a geographical viewpoint one witness that the lands along the Danube valley and the fertile hilly and plain regions of Lower Moesia were mainly preferred by the discharged ones, although an implication of the Thracian veterans in the area of maximum fertility in Thrace, on the Maritza (Hebrus) valley, is also noticeable.

³⁹ Viktor-Decker, Selzer 1976, 532-539; for the Thracian community formed mainly of legionaries and auxiliaries together with their families see Fol 1969, 243-247.

⁴⁰ Schoppa 1972, 228-237.

⁴¹ CIL XIII 7585.

If to all these, one adds the massive returns in the Thracian-Moesian and Dacian areas of the Thracian veterans from the legions, praetorian troops, Imperial fleets and the Rome's Imperial bodyguards (*equites singulares*), we have an impressive picture of the dynamics of the social mobility of the masses of Thracians engaged in the huge and active social corps in the Roman Empire that was the Roman army.

How can we explain, therefore, the overwhelming number of the options of veterans from the auxiliary regiments to return to or to remain in their recruitment areas, Thrace, Lower Moesia and Dacia, compared to the small number of cases of individuals documented for the western and almost none in the Eastern provinces?

An explanation for the 1st century incidence of such cases, in fact the most numerous, would be the opportunities of the system of land granting to the veterans in the relatively new provinces (Lower Moesia and Thrace) where land was still available. However, one question remains: why the veterans of Thracian origin preferred to take possession of these lands in Thrace or Moesia, in any event in an area relatively unitary from the cultural linguistic view point, and not in the western provinces (Germania, Pannonia or Africa) where they had previously served and where the more tempting opportunities and prosperity in a much better delineated urban milieu in the 1st century and a more rigorously outlined division of soil in the rural environment were at hand.

The answer to this question, at least a partial one, is given by Tacitus in a famous passage of the book IV of the Annals when he describes the atmosphere amongst an important part of the Thracian communities at the eve of the outbreak of the anti-roman revolt in 26⁴²: “[...] *Thracian tribes, whose wild life in the highlands of a mountainous country made them unusually fierce. Besides their natural ferocity, the rebellion had its origin in their scornful refusal to endure levies and to supply our armies with their bravest men. Even native princes they would obey only according to their caprice, and if they sent aid, they used to appoint their own leaders and fight only against their neighbours. A rumour had then spread itself among them that dispersed and mingled with other tribes, they were to be dragged away to distant countries. Before however they took up arms, they sent envoys with assurances of their friendship and loyalty, which, they said, would continue, if they were not tried by any fresh burden. But if they were doomed to slavery as a conquered people, they had swords and young warriors and a spirit bent on freedom or resigned to death. As they spoke, they pointed to fortresses amid rocks whither they had conveyed their parents and their wives, and threatened us with a difficult, dangerous and sanguinary war [...]*”. From this passage, the picture of a conservative people of its customs and traditions is perceptible. Also, certain nationalism, a traditional mentality deeply rooted and typical to close or relatively close communities seem to have been maintained along the 1st century. It is noticeable the persistence of a strong clan and tribal organization that required the maintaining of a coalesced community at home and implied the return of the recruit, now a veteran, to the community as a sacred promise beyond any other material opportunity.

Most cases of recruitment in the 1st century occurred between 29 and 80 when the Romanization of Thrace and Moesia among the mountainous Thracian tribes living in a manifest isolation was at its beginning. The impact of the Roman civilization on these communities would have led to revolts such those in 21 or 26, but also to a reticence towards the exterior world a fact that explains significantly the firm option of the return of the veterans to their homelands.

In the 2nd–3rd century, as stronger Thracian communities in provinces like Germany or Pannonia appear as a reality, the Romanization makes also visible progress among Thracian lands in urban, ideological, and social fields. As the social mobility intensifies, the ratio between the remained-returned veterans changes apparently in the favor of the first category, but this is only a first sight impression. However, the military diplomas and inscriptions show Moesia and Dacia, culturally and linguistically akin areas, among the favorite provinces of the great majority of those who decided to remain in the regions where they had previously served in the auxiliary regiments. One witnesses a continuation of the trend powerfully manifested in the 1st century that is the perpetuation of an affective connection with the native lands and maintenance of a tradition which, beside the economic advantages, belongs rather to the field of collective mentalities.

⁴² Tac. Ann. 4. 46.

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