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Dear Professor Dear Readers

Professor Sarnowski's interests are focused primarily on the Roman army and the archaeology of the Roman borderlands, especially the defence systems near the lower Danube and the Roman army presence in southern Crimea. The idea behind this volume was to bring together texts on various topics of interest for the Jubilant, written by his friends and colleagues — all academics equally fascinated by such subject matter, as well as by his alumni and current students, as a means to celebrate and honour this birthday anniversary.

This scientific interest resulted in broad contacts among various scholars from Eastern and Western Europe. Our intention was to arrange this book in such a way that it would express this diversity, but also create a forum for a meeting between the East and the West in a literal sense: the bibliography, provided both in Cyrillic and transliterated, is a nod to the readers, who — we hope — will find this useful.

It was not possible to invite all those who would like to express their esteem and gratitude to Professor Sarnowski. We were overwhelmed by the amount of papers sent to us and this in itself shows how much we all owe to Him. While we apologize to those who were not invited, at the same time we would like share the hope that the next anniversary will be honoured with yet another such book.

We would like to thank all those who participated in preparing the book and the Jubilee. We would like to express our gratitude to the

Directors of the Institute of Archaeology, who supported the Editors and organized the Jubilee. We should also thank Konrad Uhma, who arranged Tabula Gratulatoria website, as well as those who helped to prepare the Jubilee celebration: Emil Jęczmienowski, Michał Pisz, Tomasz Dziurdzik, Anna Mech, and Piotr Zakrzewski. Special thanks from the main editor should go to Miłosaława Stępień and Tomasz Dziurdzik, who did a large part of the translations and editorial work, but also to Tomasz Derda, for his advice in typesetting and editorial consultancy, as well as Tomasz Płóciennik and Adam Łajtar who made valuable suggestions. A great part of the texts were also translated or proofed by Martin Lemke, Mariya Avramova, Lyudmila Kovalevskaja, and Tabea Meurer. A great effort was made by Piotr Berezowski who prepared the typesetting of the text and the graphic design. However, most of all, we would like to thank the Authors for their participation and patience.

This book also contains a very special text by the late Professor Jerzy Kolendo dedicated to Tadeusz Sarnowski (*Tadeusz Sarnowski. Quattuordecim lustra optime peracta*). It was dictated very shortly before his death, as a special contribution and expression of his admiration and respect for the Jubilant's academic achievements.

We hope that this volume will constitute a gift which will not receive negative reviews from You, Dear Jubilant, but rather will serve as an expression of our gratitude and affection.

The Editors

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Prosopographic Remarks on the Population of Troesmis (Lower Moesia)*

LUCREȚIU MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA

Two phases are distinguished within the evolution of Troesmis settlements, and they largely correspond to the stationing of the *legio V Macedonica* in the camp: the pre-municipal period (when, alongside the fortress, there were the *canabae* of the legion) and the municipal period (a few years after the dislocation of the legion in Dacia).¹ Regarding the *canabae*, the elite was composed mainly of veterans of the legion, who were as active as other members of the society. They came from Italy (recruited toward the beginning of the 2nd century) or from Asia Minor (recruited for Trajan's wars against the Parthians² or for Hadrian's Jewish war³). From Italy, some persons worth mentioning include Tuccius Aelianus⁴ and L. Cominius Valens,⁵ while from Asia Minor — T. Flavius Alexander (from Ancyra).⁶ However, L. Licinius Clemens, *magister canabensium et decurio Troesmensium*, originated from Nicopolis ad Istrum;⁷ his case is an exam-

ple of the local recruitments that had been conducted mainly since the reign of Hadrian. Beyond a doubt, the colonisation of the *canabae*, since the beginning of their existence, was accomplished by bringing in Thracians, as representatives of this population have been evidenced as Roman citizens toward the middle of the 2nd century.⁸ The population of Thracian origin was colonised from surrounding rural regions, or from the south of the Danube, as is the case at Istros,⁹ Capidava¹⁰ or Ulmetum.¹¹ Besides this group, veterans manifest themselves powerfully in terms of "epigraphic habits", without charges in the local elites. In this sense, it is worth noting Antistius Valens (whose *gens* comes from Ancyra),¹² T. Claudius Priscus¹³ and Tib. Claudius Ulpianus,¹⁴ from Syria, as well as families from Bithynia (such as that of T. Flavius Valens¹⁵ or of Valerius Firmus¹⁶). One must not forget the veterans and their descendants from Oescus, where the legion had stationed ear-

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1 See more recently MATEI-POPESCU 2010: 47–48.

2 MATEI-POPESCU 2010: 51.

3 See ECK, PANGERL 2005: 101–105; 2006a: 239–252; 2006b: 190; 2007: 283–290; WEISS 2006: 297–298; MATEI-POPESCU 2010: 52–53.

4 ISM V 154. See also BĂLTĂC 2011: 265–266.

5 ISMV 156.

6 ISM V 155. See also BĂLTĂC 2011: 266.

7 ISM V 158. See also BĂLTĂC 2011: 266–267.

8 The case of Iulius Dizzace and his son (ISM V 185).

9 ISM I 324–332. See also MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2012a: 91–98; MATEI-POPESCU 2013: 219–220.

10 ISM V 15, 21, 26–27, 31.

11 ISM V 62–63.

12 ISM V 174; on people originating from Ancyra, see also MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, PIFTOR 2005: 331–337; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, DUMITRACHE 2012: 42–45.

13 ISM V 178.

14 ISM V 179.

15 ISM V 160.

16 ISM V 196.

lier: A. Antonius Valens,¹⁷ C. Iulius Saturninus¹⁸ and a soldier whose name is unknown.¹⁹

Concerning the municipal period, the first elite generation comprises the veterans of the *legio V Macedonica*. Analysis of the prosopographic relations have led to the conclusion that the subsequent generations of municipal notables originated from Troesmis, but they actually came from ancient veteran families. The simple members of the civil society in Troesmis during the municipal period seem to have had family ties with ancient veteran families. Other members of the civil community of Troesmis have Greek names, which reveal either their origins from the Greek-speaking regions, or their status as freedmen or descendants of the freedmen who had accompanied the ancient soldiers during their service within the legion.

What are the family ties among these characters and what is the legal and/or social status of their family members? The wives of veterans are often their former slaves and they accompany them for longer periods, or even throughout their entire military careers. Hence, I mention Licinia Veneria, the wife of L. Licinius Clemens.²⁰ Their family has a more complicated genealogical tree, as the grandchildren belong to his daughter and they are mentioned with the *gentilicia* Iulii, Octavii and Licinii. It is clear that his daughter had married a Iulius and an Octavius. However, could

the Licinii have been the nephews of Licinius Clemens (as the term *nepos* in Latin signifies both “grandchild” and “nephew”) or his grandchildren, from the relationship between Licinia (his daughter) and a *peregrinus* or a slave, which is the reason behind his children taking their mother’s legal status? It is difficult to provide an answer to this question. Another freedwoman — this time not belonging to her husband — is Atilia Fortunata, the wife of Antistius Valens, originating from Ancyra.²¹ In contrast, her son married a freedwoman, Antistia Antonina.²² Another woman, Claudia, may have been a *liberta* because, though her husband’s name is unknown, her daughter’s name is also Claudia and she must have taken her father’s name.²³ Nonetheless, the text does raise a question, because there is another daughter in the text — Domitia — hence Claudia’s husband could have been a Domitius. I have discussed on other occasions the prosopographic ties of Scribonia Melitine, the wife of C. Iulius Saturninus, from Oescus.²⁴ A certain Scribonius Carus, from Ephesus, is mentioned as a veteran of the legion.²⁵ Scribonia Melitine may have been a relative of Scribonius or his freedwoman. Another freedwoman who married a soldier is Publicia Cyrilla, from Bithynia.²⁶ I assume that the soldier was recruited during Hadrian’s Jewish campaign, and that he was also from Bithynia. His wife followed him.²⁷ Other women related to the soldiers mentioned in the inscriptions of Troesmis are female citizens. In this sense, I note Iulia Florentina, the wife of the former soldier and *quinquennalis canabensium* T. Flavius Alexander, from Ancyra, recruited during Trajan’s campaigns against the Parthians,²⁸ Marcia Basilissa and her sister, who

¹⁷ ISM V 177.

¹⁸ ISM V 187, 188.

¹⁹ ISM V 203.

²⁰ ISM V 158: [I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) s(acrum) pro] / salute Imp(eratoris) T(iti) Ael(ii) Ha(driani) Antonini Au(g(usti) Pii et Aureli(i) Veri) Cae(s)aris] [s]ub Iul(io) Severo leg(ato) Au(g(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) dedicante Ael/<l>io Optato l[e]g(ato) Aug(usti) L(ucius) Licin(ius) / domo Ni[copoli?] Cleme(n)[s] / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V Ma[c(edonicae) q(uing)ennalis) c]anab(ensium) / et dec(urio) Troesm(ensium) c[u]m Licinia Veneria coniuge Lucia Lic/cinia fil(ia) et Iul(io) Clemente et Oc(tavio) Clementian(o) et Licinia Clementiana et O[c]t[avio] Clemente et Licinio Cle(mente) et / Oct(avio) Lic(inio) nep(otibus) d(e) s(uo) p(osuit) et ded(it) cur(iae) (denarios) CCL / ob honor(em) q(uin)q(uennalitat)is ex quorum incre[m]en[tis] omnibus [decurionibus sportulae dividerentur?] (the text is given in order to follow the commentary).

²¹ ISM V 174, 175.

²² ISM V 175.

²³ ISM V 182.

²⁴ ISM V 188; see also MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2011: 469–473.

²⁵ ILBulg 58.

²⁶ ISM V 192.

²⁷ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2008–2009: 17–24; 2012b: 125–132.

²⁸ ISM V 155.

married two former soldiers of the legion,²⁹ Didia Marcellina, the chosen one of a centurion from Carthage,³⁰ Tiberia Claudia, the wife of an *augur* of the *municipium*,³¹ Iulia No[- -], the wife of a certain Valens,³² and Decuria Procula, the wife of a veteran from Nicaea.³³ I will not insist on the status of the children, as they are all citizens. Interestingly, there are only a few insignificant cases when the sons have charges important or similar to those of their fathers. C. Egnatius Valens, son of a veteran and decurio of the *municipium*, seems to have had a higher rank within the legion.³⁴ However, there are brothers with a similar military or civil path. For instance, the descendants of a veteran from Ancyra — M. Antistius Rufus and M. Antistius Domitius — are part of the municipal elite.³⁵ Two brothers — both of them called Sentius Ponticus — served in the same legion.³⁶ Another family “affair” is represented by the charges within the municipal elite of C. Valerius Flaminianus, flamen, *quaestor* and *aedilis*, and of his son-in-law, C. Iulius Herculanus, *aedilis*.³⁷ For the rest, sources fail to mention anything on this matter. Why? Upon examining the texts, I have found only one son of an active soldier: Antonius Didianus, son of L. Antonius Felix, centurion of the *legio I Italica*, who controlled, after around AD 170, the territory of the Fifth Macedonian Legion.³⁸ The others are sons of veterans. Only two inscriptions are votive, while the rest are epitaphs: the commemorated fathers lived 60 years (two occurrences), while another lived for another 10 years after the completion of his service. Hence, the sons were adults

when their fathers died (including the son of the centurion, whose father passed away at 58), and they must have had one career or another. Anyway, the absence of sons who followed the career of their fathers in a rather rich epigraphic context is surprising. This does not mean such cases did not exist, but that it is very difficult to estimate them.

Besides the related people, it is worth mentioning the members of the Roman *familia* in a broader sense. This also includes freedmen. There is mention of a certain Aelius M[- -], freedman of Aelius Aurelianus, a military physician,³⁹ Antonia Tyrannis, freedwoman and heir of Antonius Valens, maybe also his spouse,⁴⁰ G. Iulius Theseus, *libertus* of a centurion of the twelfth Fulminata legion,⁴¹ L. Iuventius Marcellus, whose patron is unknown,⁴² Rascania Phoebe and T. Rascanius Eutyclus, freedmen and heirs of the physician T. Rascanius Fortunatus, from Faventia.⁴³ One could ascribe a slave origin — taking into account the onomastics — to Claudia Aglais and Claudia Hediste, mother and daughter.⁴⁴ The main argument for such an ascription is that the daughter may have taken her father’s name and, if it is the same as the mother’s name, this means that Claudia Aglais may have been a freedwoman. Except for the aforementioned cases, I have already mentioned the freedwomen of their patrons.

The belonging of the freedmen to the soldiers and veterans of Troesmis confirms my conclusions on the patrons of the freedmen within the Illyrian provinces. This social category is very well represented from a quantitative perspective. Of course, I have invoked the random character of the findings, but it is worth underlining that most of them have higher ranks within the

29 ISM V 160, 184.

30 ISM V 176.

31 ISM V 180.

32 ISM V 195.

33 ISM V 196.

34 ISM V 183.

35 ISM V 148.

36 ISM V 186.

37 ISM V 163.

38 ISM V 176.

39 ISM V 170. On Aelius Aurelianus, see APARASCHIVEI 2012b: 116, 123.

40 ISM V 177.

41 ISM V 189.

42 ISM V 191.

43 ISM V 193. On T. Rascanius Fortunatus, see APARASCHIVEI 2010: 144–145; 2012a: 69–71, 192; 2012b: 114, 122.

44 ISM V 181.

military hierarchy; the *milites* did not count many persons.⁴⁵ At Troesmis, the freedmen and freedwomen belong mostly to the veterans who became part of the local elite.

Finally, there are also the *heredes* designated by a will, who are usually not related to the deceased. Besides the freedmen, I should mention here comrades-in-arms, such as: T. Claudius Priscus, from Emesa, commemorated by the *conveterani*;⁴⁶ Tib. Claudius Ulpianus, from Laodicea, whose epitaph was probably set up by his military companions — the text only features the phrase *h[eres sive eredes]*;⁴⁷ and Iulius Ponticus, commemorated by his brother and by two former companions, mentioned as *coheredes*.⁴⁸

Where are the slaves? The presence of freedmen/freedwomen proves that at least high-rank militaries and veterans had *servi*. I have recently studied an inscription concerning Euticus, a *verna* of Terentius Iunior, a Roman knight, who was *tribunus militum* of the legion and who died at Troesmis, after having followed his master to Lower Moesia.⁴⁹ There is another character — Zoticus — who dedicates a text to Sol, but the said text (that no longer exists) was fragmentary, which is why the status of Zoticus — slave or *peregrinus* — cannot be stated.⁵⁰

In conclusion, to summarize the observations made above: Troesmis is a model concerning the inclusion of veterans within the local elite. I have discussed the issue of their social involve-

ment in other provinces and I have concluded that — despite their active role in the society of the province — their presence among the municipal notables is only scantily mentioned.⁵¹ I have attempted to explain this through the *ab initio* military colonisation of the territory. The civilians who lived in the *canabae* probably had a lower social status (peregrines, freedmen) or, if they were citizens, they certainly did not have the same living standards as the veterans. Thus, by benefiting from the economic standards and the authority of former soldiers, subsequently, the veterans made up the elite of the *canabae* and the municipal elite. Considering that the wealth was passed on from one generation to the next, it is not surprising that at least a part (eventually most of them, if one considers only the available sources) of the local elite also comprises veterans. According to the inscriptions, the social component of Troesmis comprises — besides the soldiers and the veterans — numerous freedmen and citizens, usually relatives of the soldiers and the veterans. The *peregrini* consisted especially of Thracians, colonized not only in civil milieus alongside military camps, but also in other important rural territories of Lower Moesia.⁵² Furthermore, this social component has a very similar pattern to that of the entire population (at least after the epigraphic habit), with military descendants.

Translated by Alina-Veronica Piftor

⁴⁵ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2006: 79–81, tab. IV 1.

⁴⁶ ISM V 178.

⁴⁷ ISM V 179.

⁴⁸ ISM V 186.

⁴⁹ The text will be published with an extended commentary in MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2015.

⁵⁰ ISM V 169.

⁵¹ See especially MROZEWICZ 1989: 65–80; ARDEVAN 1989: 81–90; KRÓLCZYK 1999: 165–170; 2009: 143–145.

⁵² MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2012a: 93–98; MATEI-POPESCU 2013: 222–226.

Remarques prosopographiques sur la population de Troesmis (Résumé)

L'auteur réalise une étude prosopographique des *familiae* (dans le sens romain, plus large, composées non seulement par les personnes apparentées, mais aussi par les esclaves et affranchis) dans les inscriptions de Troesmis (Mésie inférieure). L'analyse vise également le composant social de la population. Troesmis reste un modèle concernant la représentation des vétérans dans l'élite locale (en même mesure dans les structures civiles développées à côté du camp de la légion que dans les structures municipales plus

tard). Le composant social des personnes attestées dans les inscriptions, consiste en citoyens, affranchis (souvent apparentés aux vétérans) et en pèlerins provenant surtout du milieu thrace.

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Abbreviations

<i>Eos</i>	<i>Eos</i>
ILBulg	B. Gerov, <i>Inscriptiones latinae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , Sofia.
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