

# Recruitment and family networks in Moesia Inferior

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**Abstract:** The goal of this paper is to bring under scrutiny the cases of connections between civilian families and the Roman army in Moesia Inferior, in order to map the recruitment pattern of the military. For this purpose, I shall first examine the family networks, which point to recruitment and sometimes social mobility over generations; and secondly, I shall also look at those families whose members do not seem to be all active (of the attested sample) in the army.

**Keywords:** Roman army, Moesia Inferior, recruitment, family networks.

**Rezumat:** Scopul acestui studiu este să aducă în atenție relația dintre familiile civile și armata romană din Moesia Inferior pentru a identifica modelele de recrutare ale militarilor. Vor fi examinate rețelele familiale care indică modul de recrutare și, uneori, mobilitatea socială de-a lungul generațiilor; în al doilea rând, vor fi discutate cazurile acelor familii ale căror membri nu par să fie cu toții implicați în armată.

**Cuvinte cheie:** armata romană, Moesia Inferior, recrutare, rețele familiale.

The Roman army in Moesia Inferior has been intensely discussed by specialists, from a multitude of perspectives<sup>1</sup>, the intention of this work being that of continuing the debate. In the following lines I shall narrow the discussion and I will focus on the identifiable relations between the

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<sup>1</sup> We mention here only some of the representative works: Aricescu 1977; Mrozewicz 1982; Królczyk 1994; Królczyk 1999; Królczyk 2003; Tacheva 2004; Królczyk 2005; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Piftor 2005-2006; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2006; Boyanov 2008; Królczyk 2009; Matei-Popescu 2010; Boyanov 2012; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2014; Ferjančić 2015; Duch 2017; Martemyanov 2017; Tomas 2017; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2019 etc.

family members<sup>2</sup> that are part of the Roman army, in order to provide an overview on the recruitment inside families in Moesia Inferior.

The epigraphic evidence concerning the active/retired members of the Roman army attested in Moesia Inferior is rich, and higher, numerically speaking, than the evidence from the nearby provinces of Dacia and Moesia Superior<sup>3</sup>. Given the figures, and the previously written papers<sup>4</sup>, here we will not cover all the instances, but we will bring forward representative examples. The local and external recruitment has been discussed by specialists, some of the military being recruited locally<sup>5</sup>, while some came from other provinces, various origin markers (be they geographic – *natione, domo, natus, ex provincia, vico* –, or onomastic) being used to indicate their provenance<sup>6</sup>. Exceptional is the mention of an *origo castrensis*<sup>7</sup>, and in Moesia Inferior, there is such evidence<sup>8</sup> at Troesmis<sup>9</sup>, in a votive inscription<sup>10</sup> dated after AD 170. The inscription is dedicated by Titus Valerius Marcianus, *castris*<sup>11</sup>, who was a veteran of the *legio V Macedonica*, former *beneficiarius consularis*, and it mentions also his wife Marcia Basilissa, *mater dendrophorum*, and his sister Valeria Longa.

As the recruitment of the army in Moesia Inferior has been previously addressed<sup>12</sup>, we will focus here only on the recruitment of family members. Not surprisingly, in most cases the members of the Roman army that are related are: brothers, fathers and sons, and sons/fathers-in-laws. These are either active or retired members of the Roman army<sup>13</sup>; however, as previously discussed<sup>14</sup>, some of the attested male family members are also civilians (most instances), and in some cases

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<sup>2</sup> For a discussion on the Roman military families in Moesia Inferior (with evidence from Oescus, Novae, Durostorum, Troesmis), see: Tomas 2017. For a more general discussion on the family links in Moesia Inferior see Pázsint 2019b.

<sup>3</sup> See Varga et al. 2018.

<sup>4</sup> Pázsint 2019a; Pázsint 2019b; Pázsint 2022.

<sup>5</sup> On the soldiers originating from the rural territory of Moesia Inferior see Mihailescu-Bîrlibă 2018, 329-337. On the rural territory as source of recruitment for the fleet Mihailescu-Bîrlibă, Răileanu 2014, 193-205.

<sup>6</sup> On the identification of foreigners see, for example: Mihailescu-Bîrlibă 2009, 153-160. On the mentioning of origin among Roman soldiers see: Speidel 2017, 35-189.

<sup>7</sup> Speidel 2017

<sup>8</sup> Sölek 2015, 112.

<sup>9</sup> On the population of Troesmis, see: Mihailescu-Bîrlibă 2008-2009; Mihailescu-Bîrlibă 2012; Mihailescu-Bîrlibă 2015; Mihailescu-Bîrlibă, Piftor 2017.

<sup>10</sup> CIL III 7505 = AE 1888, 11 = ILS 2311 = IDRE II 340 = ISM V 160; Matei-Popescu 2010, 73.

<sup>11</sup> Mihailescu-Bîrlibă, Dumitrache 2012, 31-34; Mihailescu-Bîrlibă 2018, 302.

<sup>12</sup> Ferjančić 2008; Mihailescu-Bîrlibă 2013; Mihailescu-Bîrlibă, Răileanu 2014; Mihailescu-Bîrlibă, Dumitrache 2015; Mihailescu-Bîrlibă 2016; Sölek 2015; Speidel 2017.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion and examples see, Pázsint 2019a, 12-14.

<sup>14</sup> Pázsint 2019a, 14-15.

they even held positions in the local administration, a fact which is telling with regards to social mobility over generations and to their local role, because of their pertaining to the Roman army<sup>15</sup>.

While these examples are not exhaustive<sup>16</sup>, they cover the relationship types between the members of the Roman army and their close networks, be they civilian or not. Often, the family members part of the Roman army are present in the same military unit, but sometimes they are attested also in different units.

## I. Recruitment of family members

The recruitment of family members is identifiable among members of the nuclear family, and the examples are either explicitly stated, or they can sometimes be indirectly assumed based on onomastic and the mentioning of origin markers. The type of inscription represents the filter through which the information on the family networks is passed. As expected, such information is especially revealed by funerary inscriptions, family members being usually the ones who place the tombstones for their loved ones, but not exclusively (sometimes going beyond the nuclear and extended networks), revealing the familial connections and histories. The votive inscriptions reflect personal choices and sometimes go beyond familial networks (*i.e.*: the case of associative membership), while the military diplomas offer a narrower view on the respective persons.

### 1. Brothers

While certainly not all the brothers have been identified, as the mentioning of such connection might not always be specified, and the onomastic criterion might sometimes be misleading, some examples do explicitly state the involvement of several brothers in the army. Such a case is that of two brothers, one of whom was active at a certain point of his career (2nd c. AD) in Moesia Inferior. Iulius Proculus was a *centurio legionis V Macedonicae et III Gallicae et XXII Primigeniae*, while his brother was C. Iulius Valerianus, a *centurio legionis III Augustae XVI Flaviae Felicis bis IIII Scythicae bis*. The latter set up a dedication to Iupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus<sup>17</sup> at Lambaesis in Numidia for him, his brother, his wife (Licinia Aquilina), his sister-in-law (Varia Aquilina) and his niece (Iulia Aquilina).

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<sup>15</sup> Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, V. Piftor 2005-2006; Tomas 2017, 245.

<sup>16</sup> Some examples of veterans have been discussed in Pázsint 2019a, 12-15 (only some of these being included in this paper).

<sup>17</sup> CIL VIII 2627; Matei-Popescu 2010, 62.

Another well-known example of the 2nd c. AD (AD 131-170) is that of Iulius Ponticus<sup>18</sup>, a native of Amastris and a *miles* of the *legio V Macedonica*, who died at 32 years while on duty (some inscriptions mention this aspect), after serving for 14 years. His funerary monument found at Troesmis was dedicated by his brothers (Iulius Ponticus, Sentius Ponticus, Sentius Ponticus), one of whom was also a *miles* in the same legion (Sentius Ponticus), while the other was a veteran (Sentius Ponticus) of an unspecified unit (most likely the same). The three brothers were also his heirs and, given the fact that two of them bear a different *nomen*, but all the four bear the same *cognomen*, it is not excluded for them to have been his brothers-in-arms, not his blood relatives.

In the same unit also served the *miles* L. Valerius Valens and his brother, L. Memmius Aquila, a veteran of the unit, who died at 52 years<sup>19</sup>. His tombstone was found at Transmarisca and it dates in the first half of the 2nd c. AD, and it was placed by L. Valerius Valens with another brother of his, Valerius Rusticus<sup>20</sup>. Out of the three brothers, Valerius Rusticus most probably did not join the army, given the fact that such information on his brothers was mentioned.

Later (AD 171-250), two more brothers seem to have been active in the army of Moesia Inferior, more precisely in the *legio I Italica*. Antonius Florianus, an *optio* of the legion<sup>21</sup>, commemorated at Capidava his brother Antonius Florus, who was *beneficiarius consularis* in an unmentioned unit (but most likely the same as his brother) and who died at 40 years, after fighting for 23 years.

In the first half of the third century, in the same legion were most likely active at least two other brothers, namely: M. Aurelius Mucianus, a *veteranus ex beneficiario legati legionis I Italicae* and Aurelius Dizze<sup>22</sup>, a veteran himself. We find of their existence through the funerary monument placed by M. Aurelius Mucianus for his daughter (Muciana) and his brother, in the rural<sup>23</sup> territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum, where they probably settled after their dismissal.

The evidence of brothers active in the *legio XI Claudia* is scantier. In the second half of the third century, at Tropaeum Traiani, a tombstone for several family members mentions four brothers, three of whom, however, fought in this unit. These were Castus (*centurio*), Marcus (*miles*), Celsus

<sup>18</sup> CIL III 7502 = ISM V 186; Conrad 2004, 186, no. 228; Matei-Popescu 2010, 68.

<sup>19</sup> AE 2004, 1265; Conrad 2004, 209, no. 307; Matei-Popescu 2010, 69.

<sup>20</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 72.

<sup>21</sup> CIL III 14214.19 = ISM V 41; Matei-Popescu 2010, 107.

<sup>22</sup> CIL III 12408 = ILBulg 430.

<sup>23</sup> On the settlement of veterans (from Moesia Inferior, or from other provinces) in the rural territory of Moesia Inferior, see: Mihailescu-Birliba 2018, 299-328.

(*miles*), Valens (not part of the military)<sup>24</sup>. They placed a tombstone for their parents: Atticus Cecitatis, who lived for LXX years and Sarbis Celsi, who lived for LX years.

Even though not all of the examples have been mentioned, as expected, they do show a significant involvement of brothers in the military, be they active in the same unit or not, be they active or veterans, which is frequent not only among those recruited locally, but also those recruited from other areas.

## 2. Fathers and sons

From this category, the most numerous are the inscriptions that record fathers and sons as part of the army, which is not surprising. Besides being an expected recruitment pattern, the evidence is once again filtered through the type of inscription that predominates, namely the funerary one (as children frequently placed the tombstones for their parents, or vice-versa when the former died at a young age, or without a family of their own). As expected, in some of the following examples we will be able to trace fathers who joined the army as part of the auxiliary units, and then sons joining the legions.

Among the earliest (1st-2nd c. AD) evidence comes an inscription from the territory of Montana, through which commemorated was a veteran of the *legio II Claudia*, C. Iulius Aemilianus, who lived for LX years, X months and IIII days<sup>25</sup>. The tombstone was placed by his sons, Aemilianus Vitalis (a *miles praetorianus*), Victor, Iulius, Aelius and his brother Dudis. Given the personal name of his brother, L. Mihailescu-Birliba does not exclude the possibility of the veteran to have been from the area where he was buried<sup>26</sup>. According to the inscription, it seems that only one of the other family members (Aemilianus Vitalis) was part of the army.

Two 2nd c. AD inscriptions, one from Tropaeum Traiani and one from Durostorum, most likely identify a father and son. The funerary monument from Tropaeum Traiani is dedicated to C. Iulius Valens, *centurio legionis V Macedonicae domo Amasia*<sup>27</sup>, who lived for L years and fought for XXX years. The monument was dedicated by his family: Valeria Frontina (his spouse), Iulia Hadriana, Iulius Iulianus and C. Iulius Valentinus (his children). The tombstone from Durostorum was placed for a certain Iulius Iulianus, a *veteranus ex equite legionis XI Claudia*<sup>28</sup>, who was

<sup>24</sup> ISM IV 67 = AE 2004, 1272; Conrad 2004, 199-200, no. 274; Matei-Popescu 2010, 148.

<sup>25</sup> CIL III 7421 = Montana II 121.

<sup>26</sup> Mihailescu-Birliba 2018, 303.

<sup>27</sup> CIL III 14214.10 = ISM IV 55; Conrad 2004, 197, no. 265; Matei-Popescu 2010, 62.

<sup>28</sup> AE 2004, 1268; Conrad 2004, 207, no. 301; Matei-Popescu 2010, 62.

likely the son of C. Iulius Valens. He lived for LX, his wife and heir, Valeria Crispina, placing the monument. He was probably either young when his father died, or he was in his early military years.

From the same period and from the same *V Macedonica* legion come two other examples of veterans who settled at Oescus. One of them is P. Scribonius Varus, from Ephesus, who fought for XXVI years and lived for LV years<sup>29</sup>. His tombstone was dedicated to him by his wife (Arellia Celerina) and his son Scribonius Celer, a *miles* of the same legion. The other veteran was C. Iulius Celer<sup>30</sup>, whose tombstone was placed by his wife (and possibly freedwoman) Iulia Tyche, and his son, C. Iulius Crescens, a *centurio*, but of the *legio I Italica*.

From the second half of the 2nd c. AD Histria comes another example. M. Vettius Felix was an *ex decurione alae*, while his son Ulpius Felix was a *strator consularis* of the *legio XI Claudia*<sup>31</sup>. The tombstone was placed by the son for his father (who died at the age of LX) and mother (Aurelia Faustina).

At Noviodunum, Iulius Valens, an *ex signifero legionis XI Claudiae*<sup>32</sup>, placed a funerary monument for four of his family members, probably his parents and grandparents<sup>33</sup>. P. Aelius Celsus was a veteran, or a descendant of a veteran<sup>34</sup>, as well as P. Alexander, who was probably not part of the army. D. Tudor<sup>35</sup> believes that Iulius Valens is the same with the one mentioned on the list of members of a *vexillatio* from AD 155 discovered at Montana<sup>36</sup>, being most probably locally recruited.

Other cases tell us also the age of enrolment of the sons. For example, a 2nd-3rd c. AD tombstone discovered near Abrittus was dedicated to Aurelius Mica, *centurio legionis XI Claudiae* and his son<sup>37</sup>. The inscription mentions the fact that the son had died at the age of XX, after fighting in the army for IIII years, being therefore recruited at the age of XVI, probably in the same unit as his father.

In the first half of the 3rd c. AD at Vălcițrăn, a tombstone was dedicated to a father and a son by their spouse/mother. Both men were

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<sup>29</sup> ILBulg 58 = AE 1912, 189 = AE 1920, 108; Conrad 2004, 242-243, no. 436; Matei-Popescu 2010, 68.

<sup>30</sup> CIL III 7428 = ILBulg 56; Conrad 2004, 249-250, no. 463; Matei-Popescu 2010, 103.

<sup>31</sup> ISM I 278; Matei-Popescu 2010, 156.

<sup>32</sup> AE 1956, 213 = ISM V 276; Conrad 2004, 184, no. 223; Matei-Popescu 2010, 162.

<sup>33</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 162.

<sup>34</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 162.

<sup>35</sup> Tudor 1953, 468-471 *apud* ISM V (1980), 288.

<sup>36</sup> CIL III 7449 = Montana II 1 = AE 2010, 1449.

<sup>37</sup> CIL III 12440; Matei-Popescu 2010, 147.

part of the army, as follows: Valerius Valens was a veteran *ex beneficiario* (and died at L years), while his son Valerius Valentinus was a *beneficiarius legati* of the *legio I Italica* (and died at XXXV years)<sup>38</sup>. As no mention is made, they most likely fought in the same legion.

Besides the explicit evidence, there is also indirect and sometimes incomplete proof of fathers being also involved in the military. For example, Ti. Claudios Zenodotos<sup>39</sup>, a *signifer centuriae Iunii Pacati legionis I Italicae*, who set up an altar in the first half of the 2nd c. AD to Invictus at Iatrus, was (based on his *nomen*) probably the relative of "a member of a former auxiliary troop, discharged under Claudius-Nero"<sup>40</sup>. Indirect evidence from the first half of the 2nd c. AD concerns also C. Veturius Verus<sup>41</sup>, a *miles* of the *legio V Macedonica*. His tombstone was located at Sacidava where, according to Fl. Matei-Popescu, his father might have settled as a veteran after his dismissal<sup>42</sup>. Just like the above mentioned Iulius Ponticus, he died while on duty, at the young age of XIX years, VIII months, and XXIII days, during his first year in service. Another indirect example, this time from the second half of the 2nd c. AD, is that of a certain [---] Severus. He was a veteran of the *legio I Italica*<sup>43</sup> who originated from Oescus, and who placed a funerary monument for him and his wife (Marcia Marcella) at Novae. In this case as well, the proof is indirect, but according to Fl. Matei-Popescu, he was most probably "the son of another veteran that Trajan settled there"<sup>44</sup>. Still from the second half of the 2nd c. AD, P. Aelius Gerrius an *ex duplicario veteranus*<sup>45</sup> is attested on his funerary monument discovered near Novae, and, considering his former appurtenance to a legion, as well as his *nomen*, he was probably "the descendant of a former member of an auxiliary troop, who received citizenship under Hadrian"<sup>46</sup>. The inscription is fragmentary, therefore we have no information on who placed the tombstone for him, nor any direct information on his family members. Another indirect case might be that of Ulpius Eptezenus, a *duplicarius*<sup>47</sup>, who, in the 2nd-3rd c. AD, made a dedication to Silvanus and Silvester in the territory of Montana. As his *cognomen* is of Thracian origin, he was "probably the descendant of a

<sup>38</sup> ILBulg 236; Conrad 2004, 252, no. 473; Matei-Popescu 2010, 121; Tomas 2016, 187.

<sup>39</sup> AE 1985, 762 = AE 1993, 1365; Matei-Popescu 2010, 111.

<sup>40</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 111.

<sup>41</sup> AE 1977, 748 = ISM IV 175; Conrad 2004, 202, no. 283.

<sup>42</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 69.

<sup>43</sup> AE 1932, 51 = ILBulg 306 = IGLN 89; Conrad 2004, 235-236, no. 408; Matei-Popescu 2010, 121.

<sup>44</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 121.

<sup>45</sup> ILBulg 351; Conrad 2004, 221, no. 353; Matei-Popescu 2010, 118; Tomas 2016, 171.

<sup>46</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 118.

<sup>47</sup> Montana II 91 = AE 1932, 29 = AE 1955, 67 = AE 2007, 13; Matei-Popescu 2010, 112.

Thracian origin soldier, who had served in auxiliary troops and received citizenship from Trajan<sup>48</sup>.

In addition to these examples attested in Moesia Inferior, outside the province there is also evidence of persons who fought for a while here, mostly as part of the *legio V Macedonica*. Such an example is that of A. Laberius Camerinus<sup>49</sup> who, together with his son, Laberius Camerinus, a *centurio legionis*, dedicated in the first half of the 2nd c. AD an honorific inscription to Q. Roscius Coelius Pompeius Falco at Hierapolis Castabala. According to Hicks, A. Laberius Camerinus "had served under Falco in the tenth legion when Falco was legate of Judea. Camerinus had probably settled in Syria or Cilicia"<sup>50</sup>. If Camerinus had settled in Cilicia, this might explain the location of the inscription. While the first part, comprising the *cursus honorum* of the honoree is written in Latin, the second part, mentioning the honorands, is written in Greek. Another hypothesis that might explain the location of this inscription set up to honour Falco is given by A.R. Birley, who suggests that Falco himself might have originate from Hierapolis Castabala<sup>51</sup>. Similar is an example of an inscription dated between AD 132-135 and found at Scythopolis, mentioning P. Aelius Capito, *natione Macedo*<sup>52</sup>, a *miles* of the *legio XI Claudia*, who lived for XXXIV years and fought for X years. According to Fl. Matei-Popescu, he was most likely a "descendant of a member of the auxiliary troops, discharged by Hadrian and retired somewhere in the territory of the province of Macedonia"<sup>53</sup>. The tombstone was elevated by Dolanus, his heir. Another deductive example attested through an inscription outside the province is that of M. Valerius Flavianus, *domo Cirta*<sup>54</sup>, a *primus pilus* of the *legio I Italica ex equite Romano* who makes a dedication to Mars Victor at Novae. Based on the Thracian *cognomen*<sup>55</sup> of his father, it was justifiably assumed that he was the son of a veteran who settled in Cirta. Moreover, his father has been potentially identified by the specialists as the son of Spinus son of Mucacensus, *eques* of the *ala I Pannoniorum*<sup>56</sup>. The latter was the heir of Quintus son of Mucatralis *natione Thracus*, also an *eques* of the *ala I Pannoniorum* who lived for XXXV years. Similarly, an inscription found outside the province (end of the 3rd-

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<sup>48</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 112.

<sup>49</sup> CIL III 12117 = ILS 1036 = IGR III.902 = AE 1891, 31 = AE 2014, 1365; Matei-Popescu 2010, 62.

<sup>50</sup> Hicks 1890, 254.

<sup>51</sup> Birley 1977, 361.

<sup>52</sup> AE 1939, 158 = AE 2016, 1777; Matei-Popescu 2010, 154.

<sup>53</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 158.

<sup>54</sup> ILNovae 18 = IGLNovae 33 = AE 1988, 984 = AE 2018, 23; Matei-Popescu 2010, 100; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2013, 531.

<sup>55</sup> Detschew 1957, 314; Dana 2014, 229.

<sup>56</sup> AE 1930, 133.



beginning of the 4th c. AD), more precisely at Aquileia, attests a former *optio* and *centurio* of the *legio XI Claudia* who was *natus in Mensia inferiore castello Abritanorum* and who lived for XLV years and fought for XV years<sup>57</sup>. According to Fl. Matei-Popescu, Valerius Longinianus "was most likely the son of a soldier since at Abrittus are recorded epigraphically veterans, together with other *cives Romani consistentes*"<sup>58</sup>.

### 3. In-laws

Some isolated cases also indicate more extended familial connections inside the army, respectively through the mentioning of in-laws, who did not necessarily come from the same unit. Yet again, these are only some examples, those that are specifically stated in the inscriptions, but certainly their actual number was higher.

First, we mention two members of the *legio V Macedonica* who previously fought in Moesia Inferior, and who seem to have been related<sup>59</sup>. More precisely, Iulius Candidus was a *centurio*, and was the son-in-law of Cn. Iulius Rufus (*centurio legionis II Adiutricis, centurio legionis V Macedonicae, centurio legionis XIII Geminae, centurio legionis XI Claudiae Piaae Fidelis, centurio legionis VI Ferrata*, as well as *primus pilus legionis I Italicae*), for whom a statue base was set up at Berytus, to honour the career of his father-in-law. The *primus pilus* seems to have been granted the *dona militaria and albata decursio*. Another inscription<sup>60</sup>, this time that of his tombstone, records his death in the province of Syria, at the age of LXXXIV, stating only his position of *primus pilus*.

Even though the following example is not completely certain, it has been included as it is an example of "integration of a «Roman» of high standing into the Greek elites"<sup>61</sup>. In the 2nd/3rd c. AD Tomis, there is a veteran named [---]νός Κυήτος<sup>62</sup> who was an ἀγορανόμος. His wife, [Ιουλιὰ] Σωσοσία Ἀφρικανή, was a priestess of Cybele, as well as a benefactress, while his father-in-law was a certain Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀφρικανός. In the two inscriptions from Tomis there is no information on the appurtenance of the latter to the army, but it is not excluded for him to have been part of it. A certain C. Iulius Africanus<sup>63</sup> is attested in a votive Latin inscription (dedicated to Diana Regina and Apollo) from 2nd c. AD

<sup>57</sup> CIL V 942 = ILS 2670 = AE 2014, 484; Matei-Popescu 2010, 151.

<sup>58</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 151.

<sup>59</sup> AE 1998, 1435 = AE 2004, 1578 = AE 2018, 1387; Matei-Popescu 2010, 62.

<sup>60</sup> CIL III 13606 = CIL III 14162 = IGLS VI 2955; Matei-Popescu 2010, 99.

<sup>61</sup> Ruscu 2014, 475.

<sup>62</sup> ISM II 71; ISM II 72.

<sup>63</sup> Montana II 47 = AE 1985, 751 = AE 2003, 156; Matei-Popescu 2010, 149.

Montana, as *centurio* of the *legio XI Claudia*<sup>64</sup>, therefore it is not excluded for him to have been the father of Σωσσία Ἀφρικανή from Tomis.

Still sometime in the 2nd-3rd c. AD, but this time at Dimum (Belene), Aurelius Aelianus, a *custos armorum* of the *legio XVI Flavia Firma*, died at the age of XXX, after XI years of service<sup>65</sup>. His tombstone was placed by his father-in-law, Iulius Mar[---], a *miles* probably of the same unit, the succinct funerary inscription not mentioning anything else on them.

From the same timeframe comes another complex example, that of the family of Ulpus Balimber, *princeps legionis I Italicae*<sup>66</sup>. His wife was Cocceia Hortensia, daughter of Cocceius Hortensius, *centurio legionis XI Claudiae*. The couple had at least two sons, Ulpus Hortensius and Ulpus Balimber, who died at XX and XVIII years old, and on whose funerary monument (placed by Cocceia Hortensia) the family is recorded. Given their young age, as well as the lack of an explicit mentioning, the sons do not seem to have been active in the army.

Later, at the end of the 3rd- beginning of the 4th c., a tombstone from Carsium attests another example of a son and a father-in-law. Valerius Castus, a *centurio ordinarius legionis I Ioviae Scythicae*, and Valerius Valerianus, a *centenarius*<sup>67</sup>, placed the tombstone for his daughters/nieces (Casta, who lived for I year and V days; and Regina, who lived for VII years, V months and XVIII days). No mention is made of the other close family members; therefore, it is not excluded for them to have been already dead. The unit of the *centenarius* is not mentioned, but it was probably the same as the one of his son-in-law.

## II. Civilian family members

The available evidence points to more cases of civilian family members, than family members active in the Roman army. Given the number of examples, we will bring into focus only some of them. The attested male civilian family members of soldiers, or veterans are, as expected due to the type of evidence, mostly brothers, or sons.

### 1. Brothers

Some examples point out not only to geographical mobility, but also to different occupational paths of family members. In this sense, we have the well-known example of two brothers from Nicomedia: M.

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<sup>64</sup> Pázsint 2022, *in print*.

<sup>65</sup> AE 1957, 283.

<sup>66</sup> ISM II 260 = AE 1988, 1003 = ISM VI. 2 260; Matei-Popescu 2010, 106.

<sup>67</sup> AE 1989, 641 = AE 1990, 866.

Octavius Domitius, veteran of the *legio V Macedonica*<sup>68</sup>, and M. Octavius Aper, a *medicus*. The inscription does not mention it, but it is not excluded for him to have been a military *medicus*. The two brothers seem, therefore, to have moved from Nicomedia to the area of Pliska for professional reasons. They are mentioned, together with their mother (Lisame Polla), on a common tombstone, M. Octavius Aper dying presumably at XLIX, while their mother – at LXV<sup>69</sup>.

The evidence from the 2nd-3rd c. AD is rich and comes from many of the units present in Moesia Inferior. The funerary inscriptions are the ones that usually inform us on the status of the family members, but there are also some votive inscriptions. For example, while Valerius Paetus was a *miles legionis I Italicae*<sup>70</sup>, his brother Valerius Charito does not seem to have been part of the military. They both made a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus near Storgosia sometimes between the 2nd-3rd c. AD. From the same legion comes another example, that of C. Albius Severus, a *miles*<sup>71</sup>. His tombstone (and that of his mother, Maria Quarta, and brother, P. Albius Secundus) is attested at Augusta Bagiennorum. His brother placed the monument during his lifetime and, as no mention is made, he was most likely a civilian.

It is also possible for one of the brothers to be a civilian, but of local importance, while the other – a member of the army. This is the case of C. Iulius Primus, a *decurio*, whose brother, C. Iulius Primus, was a *beneficiarius procuratoris*. The inscription mentioning them is on the funerary monument of their father<sup>72</sup>, that they erected at Arrubium sometimes between AD 133-170<sup>73</sup>.

Some funerary inscriptions are fragmentary and mention several family members, some of which are civilian. This is the case of Lupus, veteran of the *ala II Aravacorum*<sup>74</sup>, who elevated, together with one of his civilian brothers, a tombstone for their mother, sister, and their father<sup>75</sup>. Similar is a 2nd c. AD example from the territory of Histria. Titinius Severinus, *sescuplicarius alae II Aravacorum* and Titinius Iamuaris, his brother, placed a tombstone for their father, whose name and age are missing due to the fragmentary state of the inscription<sup>76</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> AE 1935, 70 = AE 1938, 7 = AE 2010, 1449; Conrad 2004, 211-212; no. 316; Matei-Popescu 2010, 72.

<sup>69</sup> Pázsint 2019a, 7.

<sup>70</sup> ILBulg 226; Matei-Popescu 2010, 116.

<sup>71</sup> CIL V 7667; Matei-Popescu 2010, 113.

<sup>72</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 190.

<sup>73</sup> CIL III 6218 = ISM V 253; Matei-Popescu 2010, 190.

<sup>74</sup> CIL III 14214.29 = ISM II 225 = ISM VI.2 225.

<sup>75</sup> Matei-Popescu 2010, 190.

<sup>76</sup> ISM I 273.

Despite local recruitments, there are only some Greek inscriptions, such as a funerary one from the area of Oescus<sup>77</sup>. Αὐρήλιος Οὐαλεριανός, son of Δαέζερις and husband of Ῥοδόπη, was a στρατιώτης in the *Cohors I Bracarorum*, and his tombstone was placed by his brother, Αὐρήλιος Μάξιμος. According to the inscription, he died violently in the war. Another funerary inscription in Greek, discovered at Tomis, was dedicated in the 2nd-3rd c. AD to a certain Οὐίβιος Σευήρος who was a "Pontic speculator" and who died at the age of XXVI<sup>78</sup>. The tombstone was dedicated by his brothers Ἀλέξανδρος and Ἴπαρχος, who were most likely civilians, as no mention is made of their status and as the onomastic tends to indicate.

Another example comes from 3rd c. AD Emporium Piretensium<sup>79</sup>. Here, several members of a family commemorate another one. Vipsanius Clemens was a *miles legionis VII*, son of Lucius and Visentia Modesta, and, together with his mother and brothers (Vipsanius Valens, Vipsanius Martialis, Vipsanius Modestus and Vipsanius Fronto), he commemorates his sister, Vipsania Maxima. As the monument was not dedicated to him, and as he was the sole member of the family to mention it, he was probably the only one to be part of the Roman army. Considering the fact that his father is not mentioned among the dedicators, he was very likely already dead by the time of his daughter's death.

## 2. Fathers and sons

In other instances, the sons were civilians. Some can be identified as such either through an early death, or through their local involvement, or indirectly. At an early age died T. Flavius Acceptus, the son of T. Flavius Carantinus, a *centurio* of the *legio I Italica*<sup>80</sup>; he lived for only I year, II months and XIII days, his tombstone being elevated at Novae by his father and mother (Catonia Ingenua). Similarly, given the age of death (VI years), L. Cornelius Mampsalachanus was the civilian son of L. Cornelius Fronto, a *veteranus ex signifero* of the *legio I Italica*, and of Vibia Marcia<sup>81</sup>.

Additionally, some family members of the active military, or veterans, became involved in the local administration, a clear sign of upward mobility for the family. This is the case of the family of an *ignotus*, veteran of

<sup>77</sup> IGBulg V 5180 = SEG 24, 952 = AE 1969/1970, 572.

<sup>78</sup> ISM II 327 = SEG 18, 301.

<sup>79</sup> CIL III 12416 = ILBulg 398.

<sup>80</sup> AE 1999, 1335 = AE 2002, 1245 = AE 2006, 1203 = Conrad 2004, 232, no. 393; Matei-Popescu 2010, 103.

<sup>81</sup> CIL III 756 = ILBulg 302 = IGLNovae 80 = AE 2006, 1203 = AE 2010, 1410; Conrad 2004, 229-230, no. 384; Matei-Popescu 2010, 119; Mihailescu-Birliba 2013, 532.

the *legio V Macedonica*<sup>82</sup>, who was the father of C. Arrius Quintianus, a *bis duumviralis et augur municipii Troesmensium*. The tombstone of C. Arrius Quintianus and his wife, Claudia Servata, mentions that he was *veterani filius*; the tombstone was elevated by his son Arrius Quintianus, and his freedman, Arrius Ianuarius. As such, we see first that the son could obtain an important local position and that the status of veteran held by his father was appreciated, reason for which it was acknowledged even on his funerary monument. Still at Troesmis, Aelius Antoninus Firmus was a *duumvir municipii Tropaensium*, while one of his sons (Aelius Antonius Sabinus) was also *duumvir* there, and the other was a *signifer* of the *legio XI Claudia* (Aelius Antoninus Aeternalis)<sup>83</sup>. Such an example comes also from Durostorum, where Aelius Victor was a *beneficiarius consularis legionis I Italicae*<sup>84</sup>, and the bilingual funerary inscription was dedicated to him by his brother Aelius Severianus who was *decurio municipi* at Durostorum. The tombstone of Aelius Victor is attested at Histria, which shows the local mobility of the militaries inside the province<sup>85</sup>.

Indirect proof for civilian family members is given by the lack of explicit mentioning. These examples are numerous: at Ad Putea, Aurelius Silvanus, a veteran of the *legio XI Claudia*<sup>86</sup> placed a funerary monument for himself and for several of his family members, including his wife (Valeria Marcia), his wife's son (Aurelius Sabinus – who lived XXX years), their daughter (Aurelia – who lived XV years) and nephew (Silvanus – who lived III years). Similarly, Valerius Marcus, a *miles legionis XI Claudiae*<sup>87</sup> buried at Durostorum, had five children, two of whom were male, but no other further information on them is provided. The same applies to Valerius Rufus, the son of C. Valerius Rufus (*veteranus legionis I Italicae*) and of Iulia Verecunda, who seems to have been a civilian, as no information on his military career is mentioned<sup>88</sup>. Indirect evidence could also apply in the case of Aulus Antonius Valens from Oescus, who died at XL years. His tombstone was dedicated at Troesmis in the 2nd c. AD by his freedwoman and heir, Antonia Tyrannis<sup>89</sup>. While he is attested as a civilian, according to L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, the deceased might have been "the son of a military in the 5<sup>th</sup> legion, who accompanied his father to Troesmis. Consequently, his father is military"<sup>90</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> CIL III 7560 = ISM II 244 = ISM VI.2 244; Matei-Popescu 2010, 73.

<sup>83</sup> CIL III 14214.06 = ISM IV 61; Matei-Popescu 2010, 155.

<sup>84</sup> ISM I 302 = AE 1984, 799; Matei-Popescu 2010, 109.

<sup>85</sup> Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2016, 75.

<sup>86</sup> ILBulg 216; Conrad 2004, no. 466; Matei-Popescu 2010, 161.

<sup>87</sup> CIL III 7477 = IDRE II 332 = ISM IV 116; Matei-Popescu 2010, 160.

<sup>88</sup> CIL III 12354 = ILBulg 130; Conrad 2004, 241, no. 430; Matei-Popescu 2010, 121.

<sup>89</sup> CIL III 6201 = ISM V 177.

<sup>90</sup> Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2016, 71.

### 3. Grandsons

This category of family members is underrepresented by the sources, but this is certainly due to the type of evidence and to the mentioning of only some of the family members in the inscription. One example is that of L. Licinius Clemens, a veteran from Nicopolis ad Istrum<sup>91</sup>, who, after his *honesta missio*, was a *quinquennalis canabensium et decurio Troemensium*. Besides him, mentioned are his wife (Licinia Veneria), his daughter (Lucia Licinia), as well as his grandsons who do not seem to be active in the army: Iulius Clemens, Octavius Clementianus, Licinia Clementina, Octavius Clemens, Licinius Clemens and Octavius Licinius. As the *nomina* of these brothers differ (Iulius, Licinius/Licinia, Octavius), it is probably due to them having different fathers<sup>92</sup>. Regarding the family of the veteran L. Licinius Clemens, L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba<sup>93</sup> believes that it might be related to the family of Octavius Domitius from Nicomedia<sup>94</sup>, who was also a veteran in the same legion.

Except for these cases, there are several inscriptions that record family members who may or may not have been civilians. This is especially the case when the family members of a military personnel are mentioned only through the relation type (brother, son of), therefore without mentioning other information, not even the name. Such examples are numerous, we will include only some: the tombstone of G. Ersidius, a *centurio legionis I Italicae*<sup>95</sup>, was placed by his family (wife, son, and daughter), but as their names are not mentioned, it is not sure whether his son was a civilian, or whether he himself might have joined the Roman army. Civilian was most likely also the son (Martialis), but not the brother (Aurelius Disdosi – *miles* of an unmentioned unit<sup>96</sup>) of Aurelius Martialis<sup>97</sup> (*miles legionis I Italicae*, who died at Salona). The series of examples can continue with a *beneficiarius consularis* of the *legio XI Claudia*, C. Iulius Rogatus<sup>98</sup>, whose homonymous son was probably not part of the military, as (contrary to his father) this is not mentioned on the votive monument they dedicate to Iupiter Optimus Maximus at Municipium Salvium in Dalmatia. Similarly, at Montana, Ulpius Longinianus placed a tombstone

<sup>91</sup> ISM V 158 = AE 1960, 337; Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Piftor 2005-2006, 212; Matei-Popescu 2010, 71; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2016, 73.

<sup>92</sup> Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2016, 73.

<sup>93</sup> Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2016, 73.

<sup>94</sup> AE 1935, 70 = AE 1938, 7 = AE 2010, 1449; Conrad 2004, 211-212, no. 316.

<sup>95</sup> ILBulg 170; Matei-Popescu 2010, 115.

<sup>96</sup> AE 1927, 47.

<sup>97</sup> CIL III 2008; Matei-Popescu 2010, 114.

<sup>98</sup> CIL III 9862 = CIL III 13231; Matei-Popescu 2010, 153.

for his son (unnamed) and his brother, Ulpius Dometianus, a *miles* of the *legio III Flavia*, who fought for VII years and lived for XXVII years<sup>99</sup>.

As expected, besides these examples which render familial connections inside or related to the military, there is also evidence of soldiers or veterans who are attested without family members, be they on funerary inscriptions dedicated by/for them, or on votive inscriptions (the military diplomas were not considered). These examples mention brothers-in-arms, freedmen, *amici*, or heirs (the same comrades or freedmen). Some types of relations cannot be precisely identified, but we might be dealing with comrades from the same military unit, or from other units. For example, Valerius Pudens *miles* of the *legio I Italica* was the heir of Decimus from Savaria, who was a *centurio* not in the *legio I Italica*, but in the *legio V Macedonica*<sup>100</sup>. On the other way around, L. Attius Maximus<sup>101</sup> was a *centurio* of the *legio V Macedonica* and heir of Donatus, who lived for XXXII years and served for XIV years and was a *miles* of the *legio I Italica*. From different units were also L. Sextilius Fuscus<sup>102</sup>, a *centurio* of the *cohors I Augusta Thracum* and heir of Lucius Domitius and of C. Numerius Valens, the latter being a *miles* of the *legio XI Claudia*. The former, namely Lucius Domitius, does not seem to have been part of the military. According to I. Stoian, L. Sextilius Fuscus was probably only on a mission, or was attested as a veteran at Tomis, where the tombstone was found<sup>103</sup>. Another example comes from 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Oescus, where a *signifer* of the *legio V Macedonica*, Q. Philippicus, was commemorated by an unspecified number of *heredes*<sup>104</sup>. The *signifer* died at the age of XXXX and was active for XX years, originating from Edessa. The inscription informs us that a certain Antonius, an *architectus*, and a certain Titus, a *coriarius*, were named as arbiters, respectively they ensured the fulfilment of the will<sup>105</sup>. Additionally, in rare instances, some veterans are attested as members of associations<sup>106</sup>.

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<sup>99</sup> AE 1985, 745 = Montana II 109; Conrad 2004, 258, no. 497.

<sup>100</sup> CIL III 6187 = CIL III 6193 = ISM V 201 = AE 1983, 879; Matei-Popescu 2010, 61.

<sup>101</sup> CIL III 6232 = ILBulg 311 = IGLN 87 = AE 1966, 354 = AE 1969/1970, 565 = AE 2006, 1203; Conrad 2004, 234-235, no. 403; Matei-Popescu 2010, 113.

<sup>102</sup> ISM II 263 = AE 1988, 1004 = ISM VI.2 263; Matei-Popescu 2010, 160, 234-235.

<sup>103</sup> Stoian 1987, 261 (ISM II).

<sup>104</sup> CIL III 14492 = ILBulg 49 = IDR II 203 = AE 1901, 47 = AE 1949, 198 = AE 1977, 742; Conrad 2004, 248, no. 458; Matei-Popescu 2010, 37-38.

<sup>105</sup> Tomas 2017, 240.

<sup>106</sup> Pázsint 2019a, 16.

## Conclusions

While the examples did not intend to be exhaustive, and were focused mostly on the direct evidence, they attest, on the one hand, the recruitment process among the family members (brothers, fathers and sons), and on the other hand (in the case of some civilian members of the family), they attest the involvement in the local administration, this being especially the case of the sons of veterans. Nevertheless, the type of relations is reflected by the type of inscription, therefore showing only who is more prone to be recorded from the family, and which member was active or not in the army.

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