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THE MOBILITY VECTORS OF SOLDIERS RECRUITED FROM THE RURAL MILIEU IN MOESIA INFERIOR. I. THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM CLAUDIUS TO TITUS

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Abstract: This paper represents a first part of a bigger project, which highlights the mobility vectors of the soldiers coming from the rural milieu of Moesia Inferior. The project has as main goal the mapping of the routes followed by these soldiers and calculating the distances covered, in order to better understand the mobility as a phenomenon in whole. I will discuss in this article the epigraphic sources (exclusively military diplomas) dating from Claudius to Titus which mention soldiers from *alae* and *cohortes* originating certainly or probably from the rural milieu of Moesia Inferior: The main objective I will follow is to map the routes of the soldiers (from home and eventually back) and to calculate the distances covered by them, using ORBIS application. In the final, I will draw some conclusions regarding soldiers' mobility in connection with the military policy of the Roman state.

Keywords: *Moesia Inferior, Roman army, mobility vectors, estimated distances, ORBIS application.*

INTRODUCTION

I already had tackled the problem of soldiers recruited from rural milieu of Moesia Inferior many times and I will not enter the details.¹ The most of epigraphic texts are military diplomas, even if the stone inscriptions (especially in the 2nd and 3rd centuries cannot be neglected. However, one could notice that the main limit of the research is connected to the unknown find spots of the military diplomas, most of them being probably discovered on the actual territories of Bulgaria and Romania. The recipients are Thracians and Dacians. If in the case of Dacians we can be almost certain they are coming from Lower Moesia, we cannot assume the same judgement for the Thracians. The ethnonyms *Thrax*, *Thracus*, *Bessus* do not provide further information on their home, both provinces Moesia Inferior and Thracia representing possible variants which can be taken into account. In any case, the list of Thracians and Dacians recruited in the Roman army is enormous comparing with other soldiers whose origin is recognizable. The Dacians south of Danube have formed an important recruitment source even after the Dacian

¹ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/RĂILEANU 2014, 193–205; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2019, 19–30; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2020, 239–249; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2021a, 467–477; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2021b, 129–133; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2021c, 47–75.

war, as shown by D. Dana et F. Matei-Popescu.² Even if in the majority of military diplomas, the find spot is not known, we may suppose the rural provenience of the soldiers, because most of local people are mentioned in such milieus.

This paper represents a first part of a bigger project, which highlights the mobility vectors of the soldiers coming from the rural milieu of Moesia Inferior. The project has as main goal the mapping of the routes followed by these soldiers and calculating the distances covered, in order to better understand the mobility as a phenomenon in whole. I choose to analyze chronologically these issues and not by units, because the sources present an unequal distribution and the historical dynamics of the mobility in connection with the state policy appears more coherent in this way, in my opinion. I will discuss in this article the epigraphic sources (exclusively military diplomas) dating from Claudius to Titus which mention soldiers from *alae* and *cohortes* originating certainly or probably from the rural milieu of Moesia Inferior: the reigns of Domitian and of the Antonines will constitute the object of future works. The main objective I will follow is to map the routes of the soldiers (from home and eventually back) and to calculate the distances covered by them, using ORBIS application. In the final, I will draw some conclusions regarding soldiers' mobility in connection with the military policy of the Roman state.

THE EPIGRAPHIC FILE, THE POSSIBLE ROUTES AND THE COVERED DISTANCES

D. Dana et F. Matei-Popescu have identified several moments of enlistment for the Dacians in military diplomas, most of them originating from south Danube.³ This periodization can be in some measure extrapolated to the population coming from the rural milieu of Lower Moesia, but different events can be added as reason of recruitment, alongside the regular enlistments.

For the period I draw attention in this paper, one can identify three periods of recruitment with the following possible reasons:

- 1) 27–29: after the Thracian uprising, when Romans decide to organize regular units of Thracians;
- 2) 44–46: creation of the province of Thrace and reorganization of Moesia;
- 3) 54–55: regular recruitments.

The home villages of the soldiers are rarely attested in the texts. However, a few subsisted.

The most recent document is originating from Stabiae, *Regio I*: it is a military diploma granted to Sparticus, son of Diuzenus, *Bessus*, soldier in the pretorian fleet of Misenum.⁴ The *origo* of Sparticus is not indicated. Even if it is more likely that his origin is from Thrace (where many recruitments were made after the revolt against Tiberius), an origin from Moesia cannot be excluded, taking into account that Ovid mentions the *Bessi* north of the Danube.⁵ Sparticus was enlisted 26. Tacitus reports that Poppaeus Sabinus repressed

a revolt in Thrace that time,⁶ information that was resumed by Suetonius.⁷ According to Tacitus, the Thracians have risen against the Romans because they did not want to fight in the Roman army.⁸ This revolt followed other local revolts of local population, like those in 19 (under Rhascuporis)⁹ and 21¹⁰. The enlistment of Thracians in imperial fleets was determined by the measures taken by Romans in order to calm the situation in the region. It is not excluded that Sparticus was enrolled in the middle of this type of events. The origin spot, Diupscurtus, is not known but it is certainly a village.

For calculating the covered distance, I used the data provided by the ORBIS application. The application allows the simulation of different mobilities in Antiquity, around 200 AD, between 632 towns along the terrestrial Roman road network, the main navigable rivers and the maritime routes in the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea and the coastal zone of the Atlantic Ocean. It takes into account de seasonal variations and a large scale of transport means and manners. The obtained routes represent the fastest itineraries from Moesia Inferior to the province where the soldiers have performed their service and, in some cases, their way back home, both on terrestrial, sea and coastal routes. These simulations are not meant to reflect the experience of a certain traveler, but they try to express average results from a statistic point of view. In my approach, of course, there are some inconvenients regarding the chronology (the datation of the texts from the 1st c. AD) and the absence of many finding spots in the application. That is why I have put on the map the closest town or city to the specific finding spot. Thus, the calculation is approximative, but the margin of error is not very high.

Coming back to Sparticus, The following maps (**Maps nos 1 and 2**) presents the route of Sparticus from Moesia to Misenum and then to Stabiae. The fastest journey from Moesia Inferior to Misenum in July takes 20.7 days, covering 1415 kilometers. The fastest journey from Misenum to Pompeii (the closest city from Stabiae) in July takes 0.5 days, covering 44 kilometers.

Another document was found in the rural milieu of Durostorum: it is the military diploma of Sarsânlar, in Bulgaria, 45 km south-east Silistra, dating from June 18th 54.¹¹ The recipient is Romaesta, son of Rescens, *equus* of the *ala Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana* quartered in Syria¹² (very likely in Scythopolis).¹³ The veteran is originary from Spiurus, a village situated east from the future city of Nicopolis ad Istrum.¹⁴ He has returned approximately in the same area where he probably acquired an estate. He was recruited under Tiberius. It is worth noting that four witnesses who authenticate the diploma are from Thracian descent (*Bessi*), but it is difficult to establish if their home was Moesia or

⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 4, 56–61.

⁷ Suet. *Tib.* 41.

⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 4, 46, 1–2.

⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 2, 64–67; Suet. *Tib.* 37.

¹⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 3, 38–39. See also MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/DUMITRACHE 2012, 10–11.

¹¹ CIL XVI 3; ISM IV, 1. See also MATEI-POPESCU 2016, 137–148.

¹² See more recently MATEI-POPESCU 2016, 144, with bibliography.

¹³ LAST/STEIN 1990, 225–227.

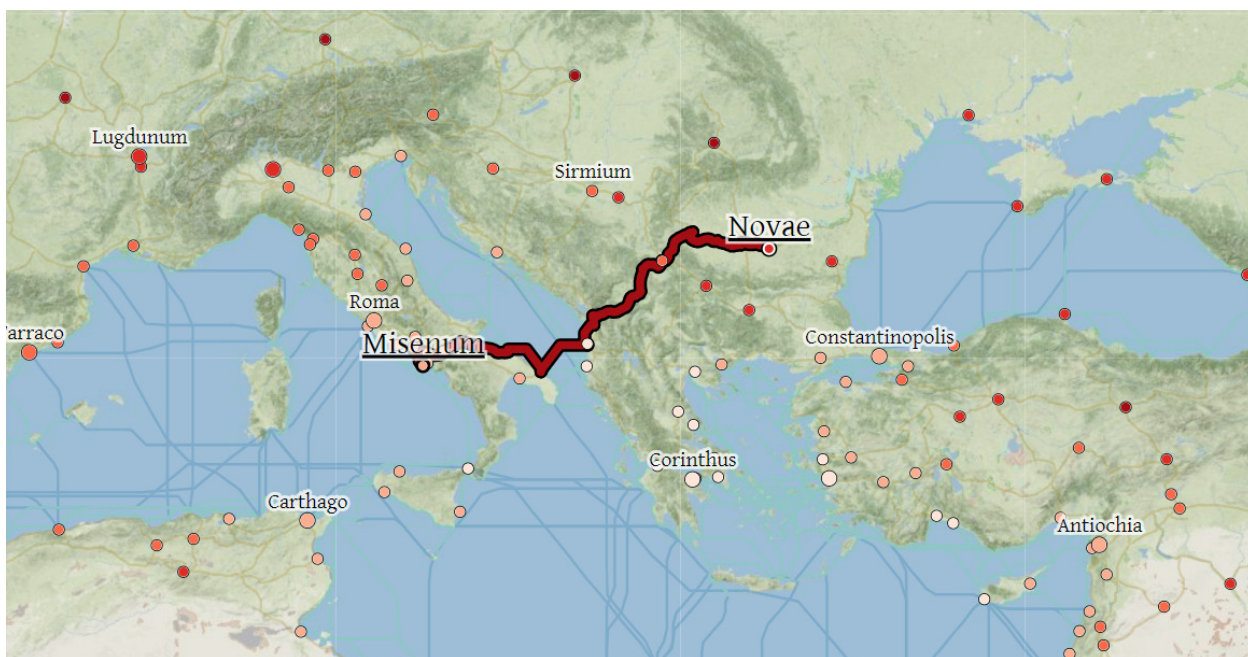
¹⁴ See ISM IV, 1, *sub numero*, with bibliography. On the attestation of Spiurus as *origo* of the soldier, see especially DANA 2013, 252; MATEI-POPESCU 2016, 142.

² DANA/MATEI-POPESCU 2009, 238.

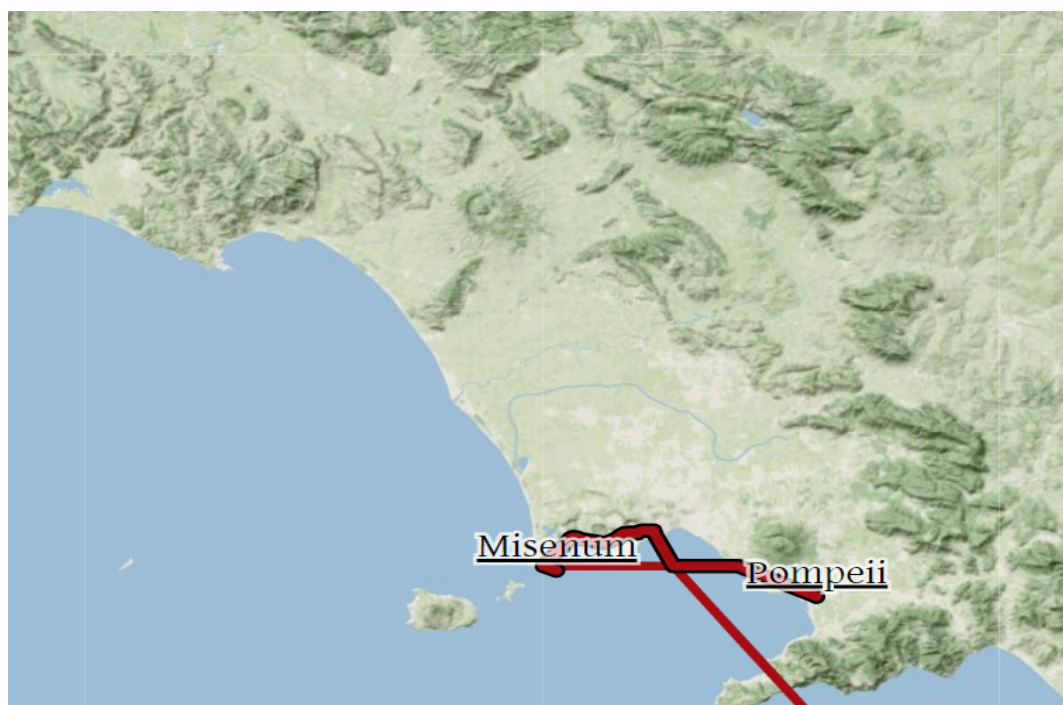
³ DANA/MATEI-POPESCU 2009, 234–240.

⁴ CIL XVI 1.

⁵ Ov. *Tr.* 4, 1, 67.



Map no 1 (© Ana Honcu).



Map no 2 (© Ana Honcu).

the Thrace. Their names were Sex. Magius Rufus (*nauarchus*), C. Cassius Longinus, L. Numerius Lupus (both of them *tribuni*) and L. Valerius Volsenus, veteran of the fleet. All the witnesses served in a certain pretorian fleet, probably the Misene fleet. A C. Cassius Longinus is witness for a *constitutio* issued in 70, as veteran.¹⁵ One cannot exclude the identity between him and the one mentioned in 54,¹⁶ but a certain cautiousness is necessary. Coming back to our soldier, he went from Moesia and Syria and came back after 25 years of service. It is difficult to find out if he performed other mobilites during his service.

¹⁵ RMD IV, 203.

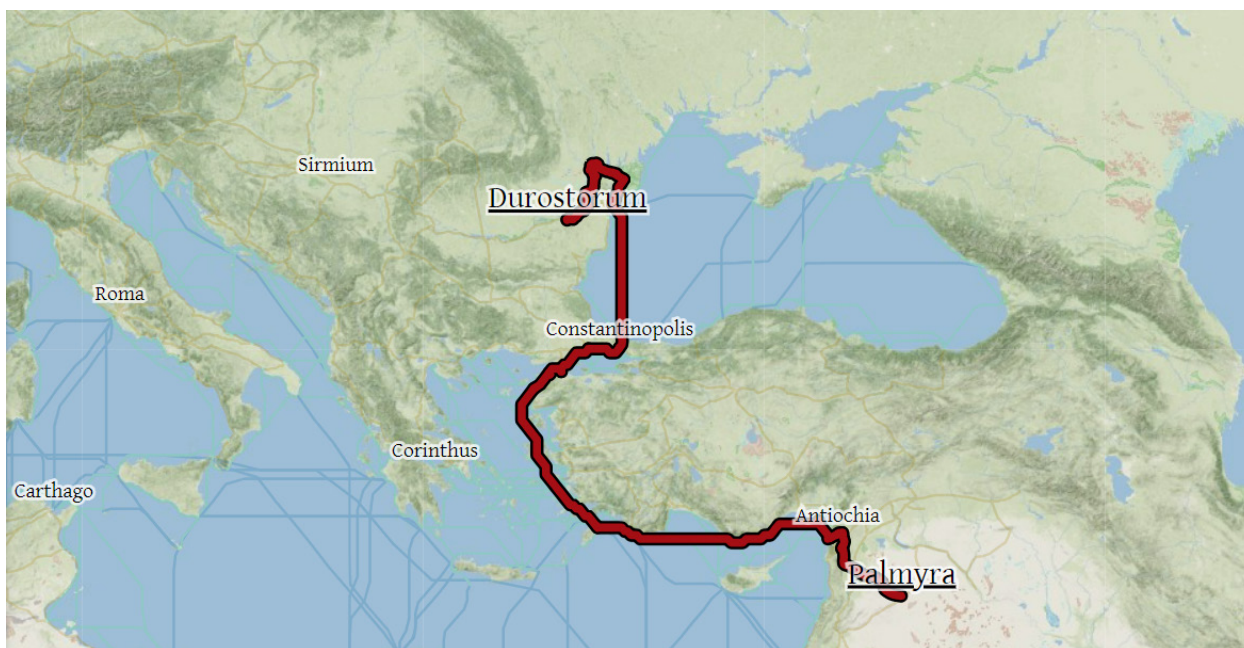
¹⁶ FREI-STOLBA 2001, 99.

The next map (**Map no 3**) presents the route of Romaesta from Moesia Inferior to Syria and back. The fastest journey from Moesia Inferior to Syria takes 20,6 days, covering 2811 km. I can assume that the same distance was traveled back to Durostorum.

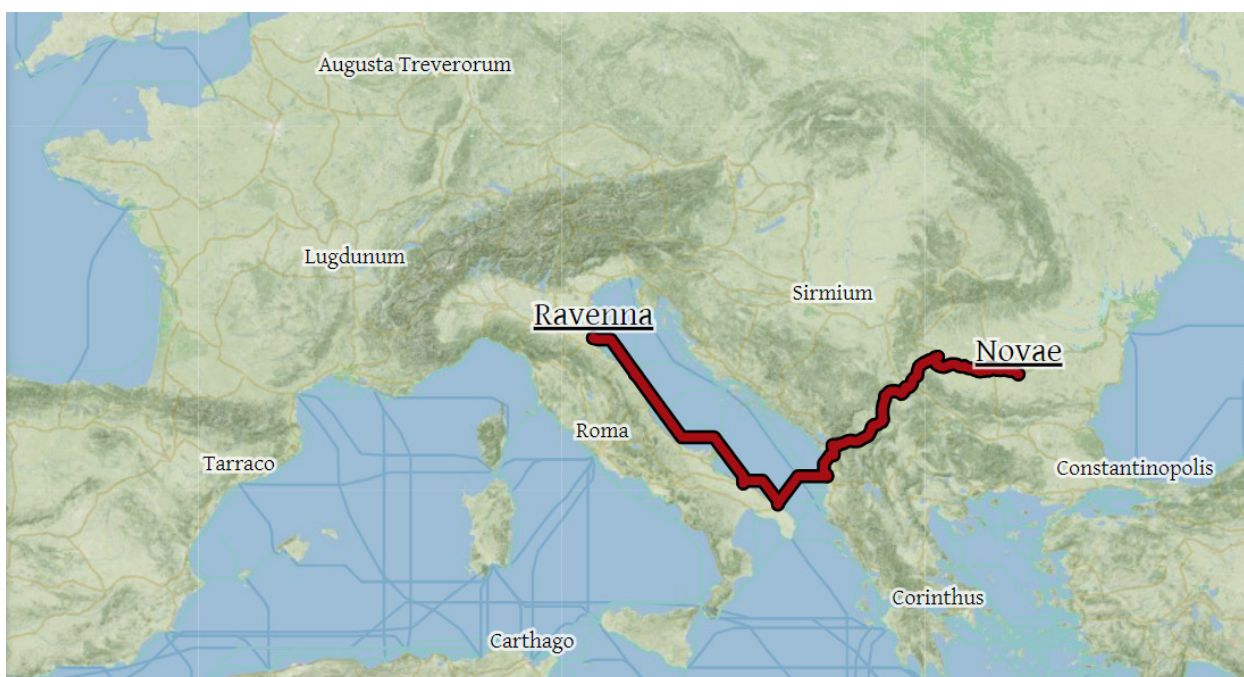
The military diploma found at Dalgodeltsi (Lom region, next to Montana) attests Tutius, son of Butus, *Dacus*.¹⁷ The text was dated February 9th 70 and was granted by Vespasian to the sailors of Misenum fleet. The soldier was discharged after 26 years of service, so he was enlisted 44 under Claudius, when the emperor started his campaign against the Thracians.

The route Dalgodeltsi-Misenum and back is very likely as

¹⁷ CIL XVI 13.



Map no 3 (© Ana Honcu).



Map no 4 (© Ana Honcu).

shown by the map no 1. The fastest journey from Moesia Inferior to Misenum in July takes 20.7 days, covering 1415 kilometers. I suppose that the veteran returned on the same route to Moesia Inferior.

Another text proves the discharge under Vespasian of a soldier before the 26 years of service, as a reward of the emperor for all the militaries who fought on his side in the civil war. The soldier's name was Dernalus Derdipili f., *Dacus*, sailor in the *classis Ravennas*, discharged February 26th 70.¹⁸ The finding spot is unknown. The ethnonym *Dacus* indicates in the 1st c. AD a south Danube origin, in Moesia.¹⁹

¹⁸ RMD IV, 203.

¹⁹ For the Dacians mentioned in the first century AD, see especially MATEI-

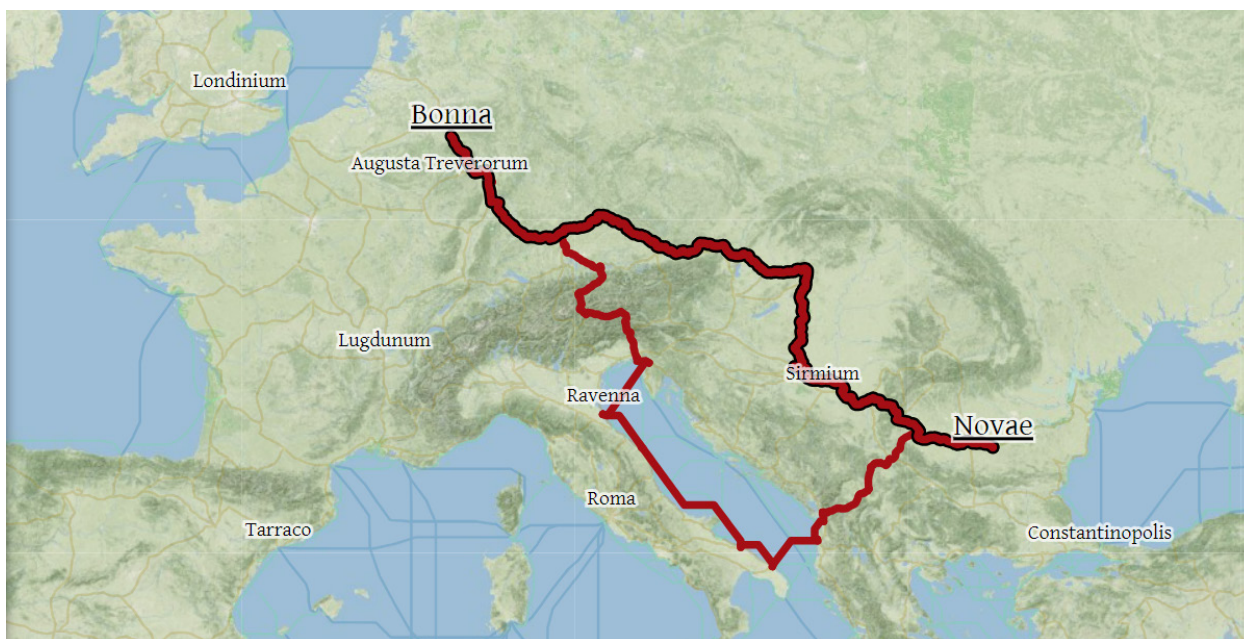
Map no 4 presents the journey of Dernalus from Moesia to Ravenna and back. The fastest journey from Novae to Ravenna in July takes 20 days, covering 1640 kilometers.

Zurazis Decebal f., *Dacus*, received the *honesta missio* March 7th 70.²⁰ He was active in the *legio II Adiutrix*, formed by former sailors: hence, he served in the fleet before being soldier in a legion. Zurazis was *causarius*, so he was discharged because of an illness or more probably of wounds (*qui bello inutiles factii*). The finding spot is unknown, but the ethnonym of *Dacus* suggests a south Danube origin, in Moesia.²¹

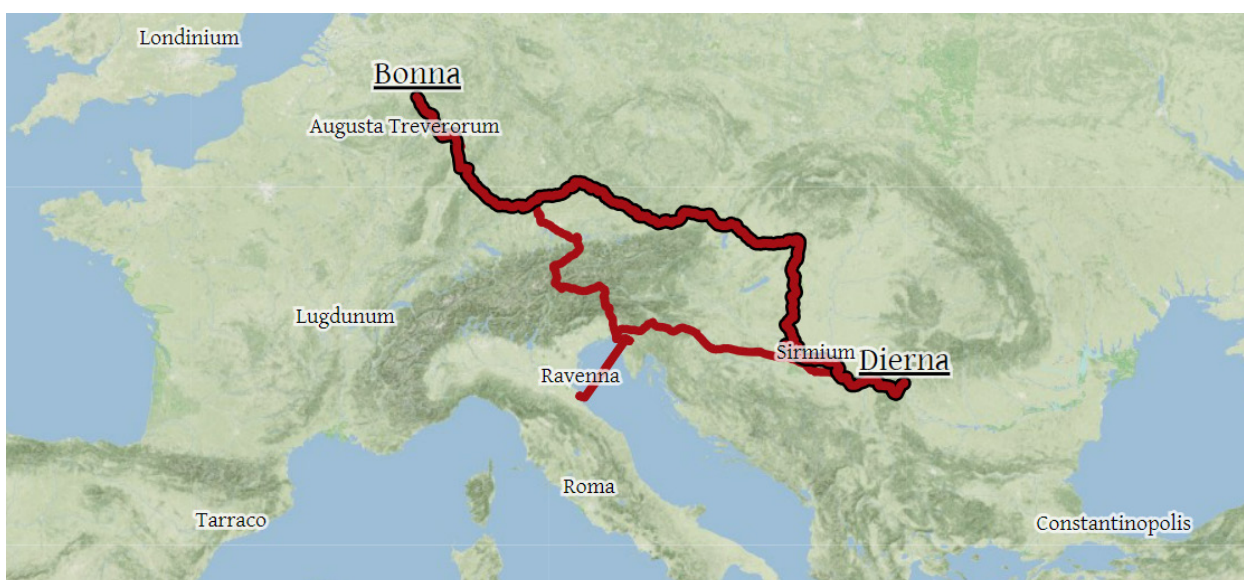
POPESCU 2017, 141–142.

²⁰ SHARANKOV 2006, 37–46.

²¹ For the Dacians mentioned in the first century AD, see especially MATEI-



Map no 5 (© Ana Honcu).



Map no 6 (© Ana Honcu).

The legion was formed in order to fight against the Batavians. The discharge before the legal term, caused by the wounds received during the war, suggests that he was for a short time in Germania Inferior and then he came back home. That is why I have chosen that his route was as shown in map no 5. From Novae to Ravenna in July takes 20 days, covering 1640 kilometers. The fastest journey from Ravenna to Germania Inferior takes 18.6 days, covering 1301 kilometers. From Germania Inferior to Moesia takes 24.8 days, covering 2345 kilometers.

The same day, an *ignotus* of Dacian origin is discharged from the same legion. The finding spot is Ratiaria, where the veteran has settled. I am not sure if Ratiaria is his home, because in many cases in this period the Dacians are originating south of Danube in the future Moesia Inferior. However, an origin from Ratiaria is not excluded. Like in the

POPESCU 2017, 141-142.

precedent situation, the soldier was *causarius* and he was discharged the same time with Zurazis

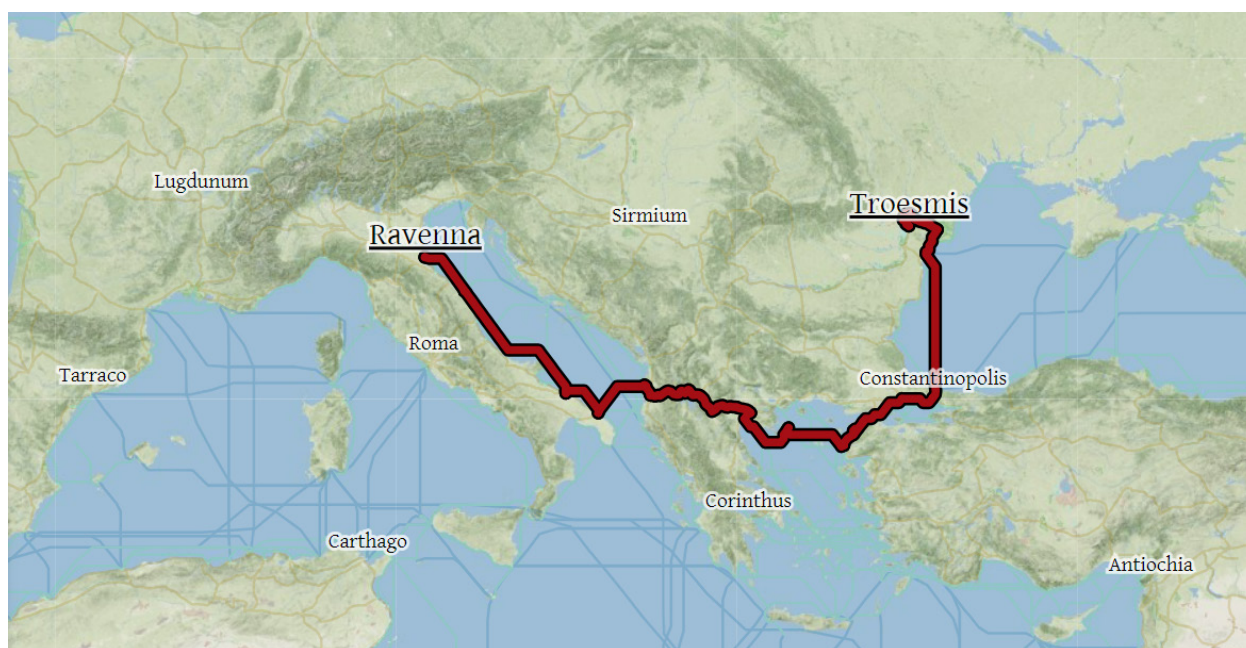
The following map (**Map no 6**) presents his route. If from Ravenna to Germania Inferior the covered distance is the same like in the case of Zurazis, from Germania Inferior to Ratiaria (I have chosen Dierna on the map) takes 21,5 days, covering 2048 km.

Another military diploma mentions a former *tesserarius* of the Ravenna fleet, a Thracian called Tarsa, son of Duzius, and his son Macedo; the veteran comes back home after he was discharged April 5th 71.²² Even if the diploma was found at Mihai Bravu, it is not certain that his home was there, but it was certainly in the proximity. The presence of Thracians in the rural areas of Moesia Inferior is a normal fact. One can remember the communities of *Bessi consistentes* and

²² CHIRIAC/MIHAILESCU-BIRLIBA/MATEI 2004, 265-269; PETOLESCU/POPESCU 2007, 147-149.

Lai consistentes in the rural milieu of Istros and Tomis.²³ C. C. Petolescu and A.-T. Popescu proposed the restitution *Besso* for the second fragment of the diploma.²⁴ It is plausible, but it remains a hypothesis. Tarsa settled in the zone very likely under Nero. Thracians in the pretorian fleets are already mentioned in military diplomas. For example, the aforementioned Sparticus, son of Diuzenus, who was discharged 54;²⁵ Tyraesus²⁶ and Dules, son of Datus,²⁷ who served in the *legio I Adiutrix*, discharged 68 and 70 respectively; the legion was formed by former sailors. Hezbenus, son of Dulazenus, serving in the Misenum fleet, was discharged February 9th 71.²⁸ Tyraesus and Dules came back in Thracia, Hezbenus is mentioned in Macedonia. Coming back to Tarsa, he returned in a Thracian community living very likely in the actual village Mihai Bravu. Like other Thracians, he has given a Latin name to his son. Another source attests the ancient name of Mihai Bravu. An inscription mentions a com-

followed by a single name, Aelius, Carinus; the second is not visible any more.³¹ Aelius Carinus was one of the *magistri* of this village. The rural settlement had two *magistri* and very likely two *quaestores*. The inscription is dating 2nd c., so after the diploma which mentions Tarsa. In any case, Tarsa was enlisted under Claudius or Nero. The exact moment of his enlistment is not known, because he was discharged before the legal term, as a prize granted by Vespasian to the fleet soldiers who fought on his side in the civil war. Many *constitutiones* attesting the discharge before the legal term were granted in this period by Vespasian. The first was given February 26th 70 for the sailors of Ravenna fleet.³² Other *constitutio* was granted February 9th 71: it was preserved in two copies, one for Hezbenus and his son Doles,³³ the second for Tutius, son of Butus³⁴. A new constitution was granted April 5th 71: the beneficiaries were Plator, son of Venetus,³⁵ Marcus, son of Damas,³⁶ Baslelus, son of Turbelus,³⁷ un



Map no 7 (© Ana Honcu).

munity of *ueterani et ciues Romani consistentes uico Bad[---]*.²⁹ So, the text not only provides the name (fragmentary however) of the rural settlement, but also the information about the existence of a *conuentus* of Roman citizens and veterans.³⁰ Other text, also fragmentary, is probably a votive inscription which preserves only the formula *cura agentibus*,

ignotus. son of Lensius,³⁸ other *ignotus*,³⁹ Velagenus, son of Covio⁴⁰ and our Tarsa. Hezbenus, Tutius, Marcus and Baslelus had served in the Misenum fleet, the others in the Ravenna fleet.

Tarsa had acquired the rank of *tesserarius*. Even if this rank is attested more frequently in the land army, it is also attested for the fleet.⁴¹ It can be linked with an adaptation

²³ For the *Bessi consistentes*, ISM I, 324, 326–328, 330, 332. For the *Lai consistentes* in the territory of Istros, see ISM I, 343–347, 349. See also MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2012, 94–95.

²⁴ PETOLESCU/POPESCU 2007, 149.

²⁵ CIL XVI 1. See also MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/DUMITRACHE 2012, 10–11.

²⁶ RMD III, 136. See also MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/DUMITRACHE 2012, 11–12.

²⁷ CIL XVI 10. See also MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/DUMITRACHE 2012, 13–14.

²⁸ CIL XVI 12. See also MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/DUMITRACHE 2012, 12. On the participation of the army of Moesia in the civil war of 68–69, see also PAUNOV/DONCHEVA 2013, 43–55.

²⁹ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/IBBA 2021, 19–20; see also MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2018, 84.

³⁰ Brief information at OPAIȚ/OPAȚ/BĂNICĂ 1992, 107; BĂRBULESCU

1998, 240; BĂRBULESCU 2001, 94, 179; AVRAM 2007, 97, 107 NR. 17; APARASCHIVEI 2010, 107.

³¹ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/IBBA 2021, 17–18; see also MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2018, 84.

³² RMD IV, 203. See also ROXAN 1996, 247–256.

³³ CIL XVI 12.

³⁴ CIL XVI 13.

³⁵ CIL XVI 14.

³⁶ CIL XVI 15.

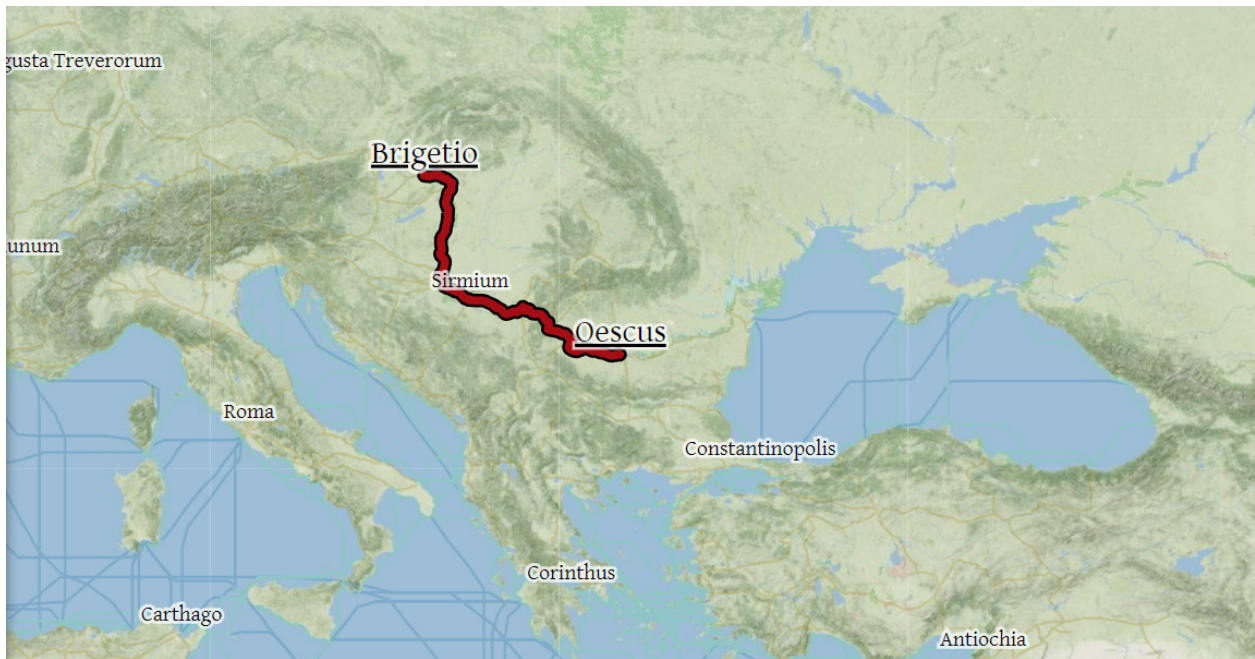
³⁷ CIL XVI 16.

³⁸ CIL XVI 17.

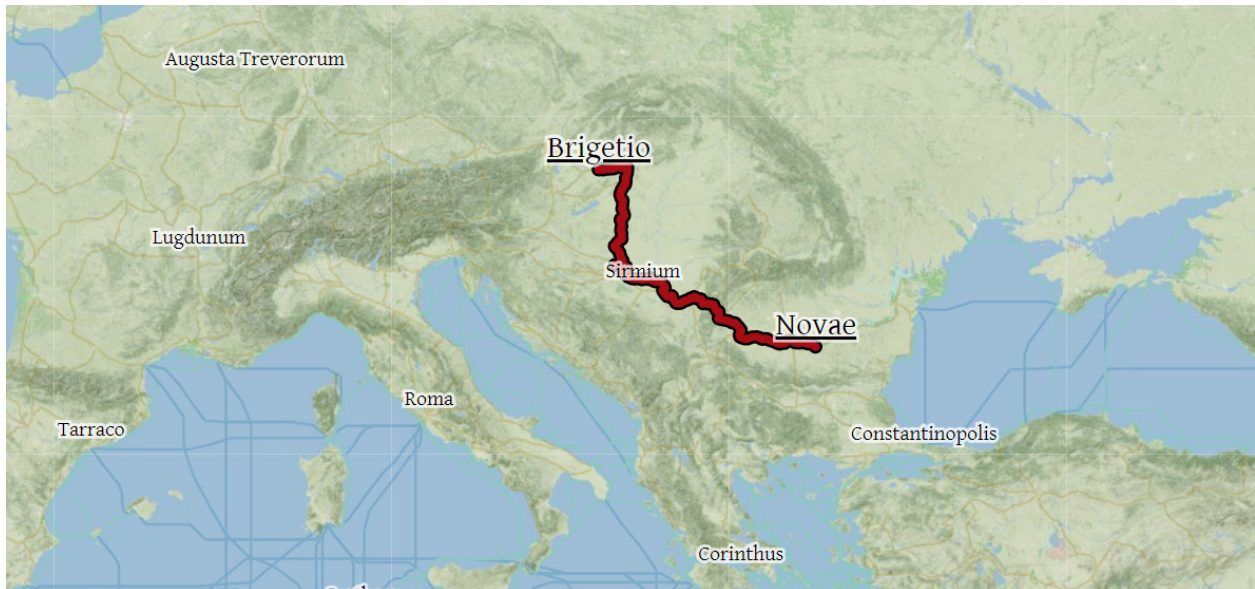
³⁹ ECK/PANGERL 2014, 327.

⁴⁰ RMD IV, 205. See also GRBIĆ 2015, 63, 97, 170 etc.

⁴¹ See the discussion at CHIRIAC/MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/MATEI 2004,



Map no 8 (© Ana Honcu).



Map no 9 (© Ana Honcu).

of the land ranks for the fleet starting with the reign of Vespasian.⁴²

The following map (**Map no 7**) presents the route of Tarsa. The fastest journey from Troesmis (next to Mihai Bravu) to Ravenna in July takes 23.6 days, covering 2695 kilometers.

Another text is provided by a military diploma granted to the *auxilia* from Pannonia (July 30th 71).⁴³ The recipient is Cerus, son of Denturasadus, soldier in the *ala I Brittonum*. The unit was quartered (except the brief period after the Dacian war), in Pannonia.⁴⁴ The possible camp of the unit can be Tolna (Alta Ripa?), according to two votive inscriptions

267–268.

⁴² SADDINGTON 2009, 132.

⁴³ RMD V, 324.

⁴⁴ SPAUL 1994, 72–73. See also RMD I, 21; II, 113; CIL XVI 112, 175, 179, 180 etc.

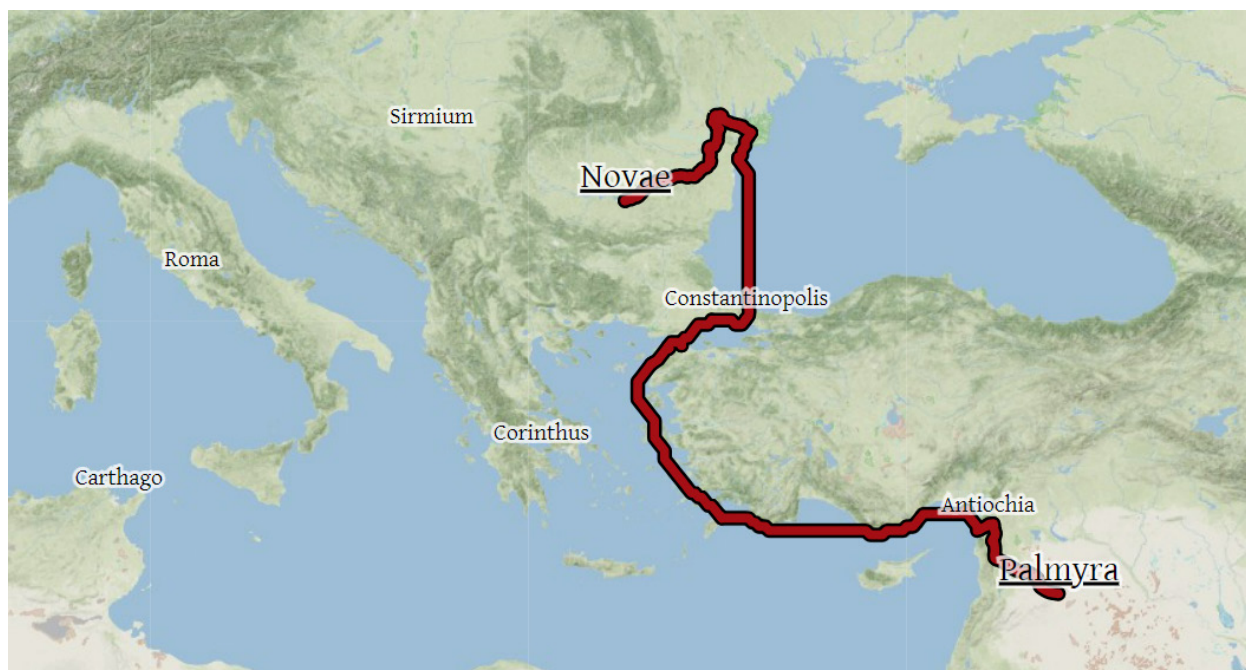
set by a veteran and a *decurio*.⁴⁵ The find spot of the *constitutio* is unknown, but after his Thracian names, the origin of the soldier from Moesia is not excluded. He was enlisted under Claudius in 46, when the unit was created *a priori*⁴⁶ while the province of Thrace was organized. But Moesia was reorganized at the same time and that is why an origin from Moesia is possible. An enlistment of Thracian population was achieved certainly after the rebellion against the Romans.⁴⁷

The following maps (**Maps nos 8 and 9**) trace the route of Cerus to Pannonia. The fastest journey from Moesia Inferior to Pannonia Inferior takes 16.6 days, covering 932 kilometers. The covered distance calculated for the return journey

⁴⁵ AE 1960, 15; CIL III 3305.

⁴⁶ SPAUL 1994, 72.

⁴⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 4, 56–61.



Map no 10 (© Ana Honcu).

may be the same, because it is very likely that the find spot is somewhere in Balkan area.

Cegise, pedestrian in the *cohors I Thracum*, received the *honesta missio* in 70–74.⁴⁸ A Thracian cohort is noticed in the future Germania Superior in 74⁴⁹ and the future Germania Inferior in 80.⁵⁰ Another cohort, *I Thracum Syriaca*, is mentioned in Moesia⁵¹. On the diploma mentioning Cegise does not provide information about the province in which the unit was quartered. There are many *cohortes I Thracum*,⁵² but I am inclined to see the *cohors I Thracum milliaria* stationed in Syria, because it seems to me that, from the chronological dispatch of all units bearing this name, this matches the best.⁵³ Another cohort bearing this name could be *cohors I Thracum Syriaca* stationed at Timacum Minus⁵⁴: it is mentioned during Vespasian's reign, but after 74; besides, the epithete of *Syriaca* should appear on the text published by Cockings and Eck if it was indeed this cohort. Another *cohortes I Thracum* stationed in Pannonia, Germania or Britannia In Germania⁵⁵ and Britannia⁵⁶ seem not fitting chronologically with the above-mentioned diploma. In Pannonia in a diploma dating 74,⁵⁷ the name of the witnesses are not the same like in the *constitutio* for Cegise, knowing that the witnesses were the same starting with Vespasian's reign. One can notice a similar situation in the case of a diploma dating 82 from Germania.⁵⁸ That is why placing the cohort of Cegise in Syria seems to me the most plausible solution. However, the preserved names of the

witnesses are not to be found in another diplomas. Cegise was enlisted probably around 46 and like in the previous case, he could originate from Moesia.

The next map (**Map no 10**) presents the itinerary of Cegise to Syria and back. The fastest journey from Moesia Inferior to Syria takes 22.1 days, covering 2984 kilometers and the same travel time for the return journey.

Gusula Doqui f. is another soldier of Thracian origin recruited in the Roman army. He is discharged from the *ala I Thracum Victrix* September 8th 79 through a *constitutio* granted to auxiliary troops in Noricum.⁵⁹ In the same time, another Thracian military, Cotus⁶⁰ was discharged. The text attesting Cotus was found in Abrittus, so that means that he came back home. The *ala* is also attested in Noricum in 95 by a military diploma.⁶¹ It was transferred around 126 in Pannonia Inferior.⁶² Its camp in Noricum was probably at Lentia (Linz), according to the diploma from 95 found next to this camp.⁶³

The following map (**Map no 11**) shows the possible route of Gusula and Cotus to Noricum and back. The finding spot in the case of Gusula being unknown, the covered distance is approximate (I have chosen a random spot in Moesia), but it indicates however a distance close to the real one. The fastest journey from Oescus to Virunum takes 17.7 days, covering 992 kilometers. Gusula would have traveled the same distance to his home province on his return.

A *constitutio* found at Kamensko, next to Abrittus, dating from January 80, attests Durises Bithi, soldier in the *cohors IIII Thracum*.⁶⁴ The name of the find spot was disputed, the EDH editors claiming it was a spot called Kamensko in

⁴⁸ ECK/COCKINGS 2021, 285–286.

⁴⁹ CIL XVI 20; RMD II, 79.

⁵⁰ CIL XVI 158.

⁵¹ CIL XVI 22; RMD IV, 208; RGZM 1; AE 2010, 1853.

⁵² JARRETT 1969, 215–224; MANN 1969, 211–214; ROXAN 1976, 59–76.

⁵³ SPEIDEL 1979, 170–172.

⁵⁴ CIL III 8261, 8262, 14575, 14579 etc.

⁵⁵ CIL XVI 62; RMD II, 90.

⁵⁶ CIL XVI 48; RMD V, 420.

⁵⁷ CIL XVI 20.

⁵⁸ CIL XVI 28.

⁵⁹ WEIß 2004, 239–246.

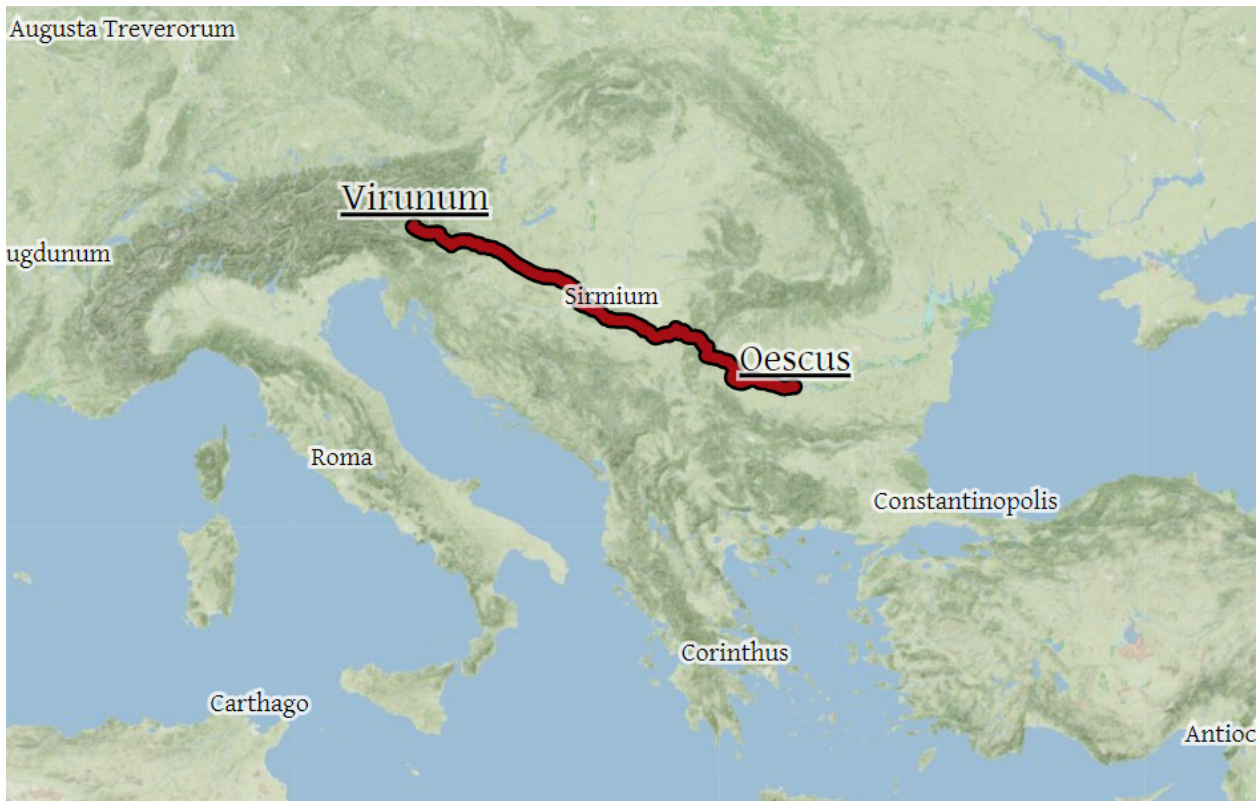
⁶⁰ RGZM 3.

⁶¹ AE 2009, 993.

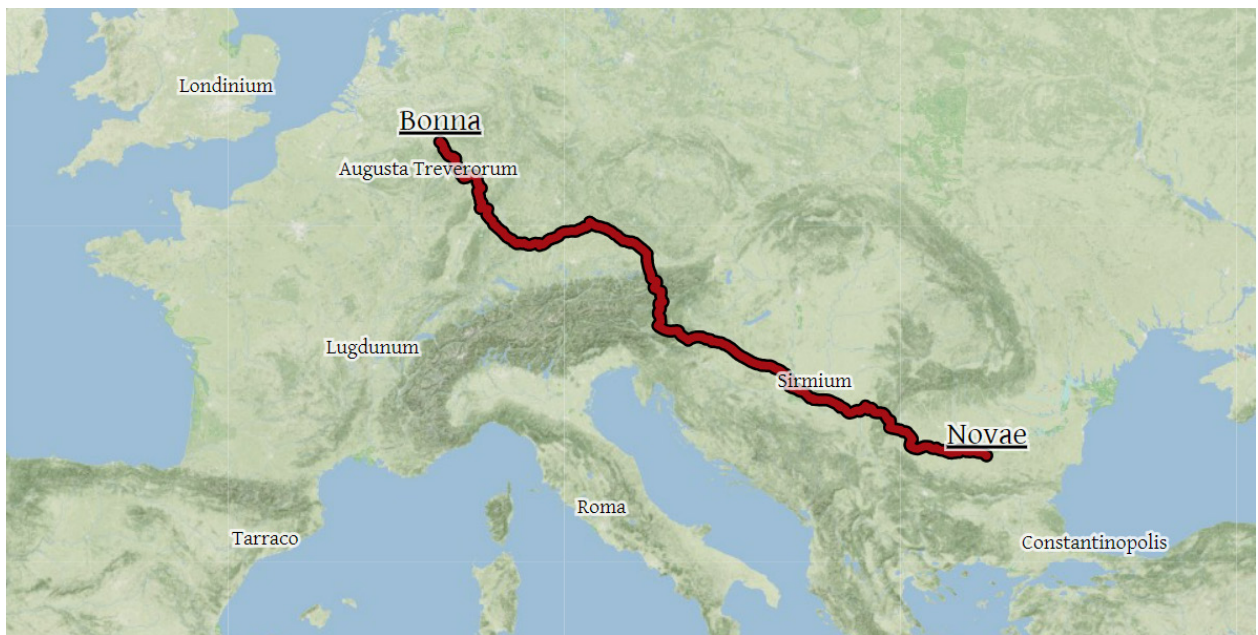
⁶² RMD IV, 236, 250; CIL XVI 76–77, 84, 96, 178 etc.

⁶³ AE 2009, 993.

⁶⁴ CIL XVI 158.



Map no 11 (© Ana Honcu).



Map no 12 (© Ana Honcu).

Burgas region, not in the Razgrad district.⁶⁵ However, the information of the finding spot in the CIL seems quite precise⁶⁶ to me and I think that it is more likely that the CIL editor has inexactly transcribed the modern name of the village than rather wrongly indicating the district. The diploma was granted to the troops of Germania, where the unit was quartered.⁶⁷ The discovery of the text in Moesia prove that

⁶⁵ <https://edh.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/geographie/G014328>.

⁶⁶ CIL XVI 158, *sub numero*.

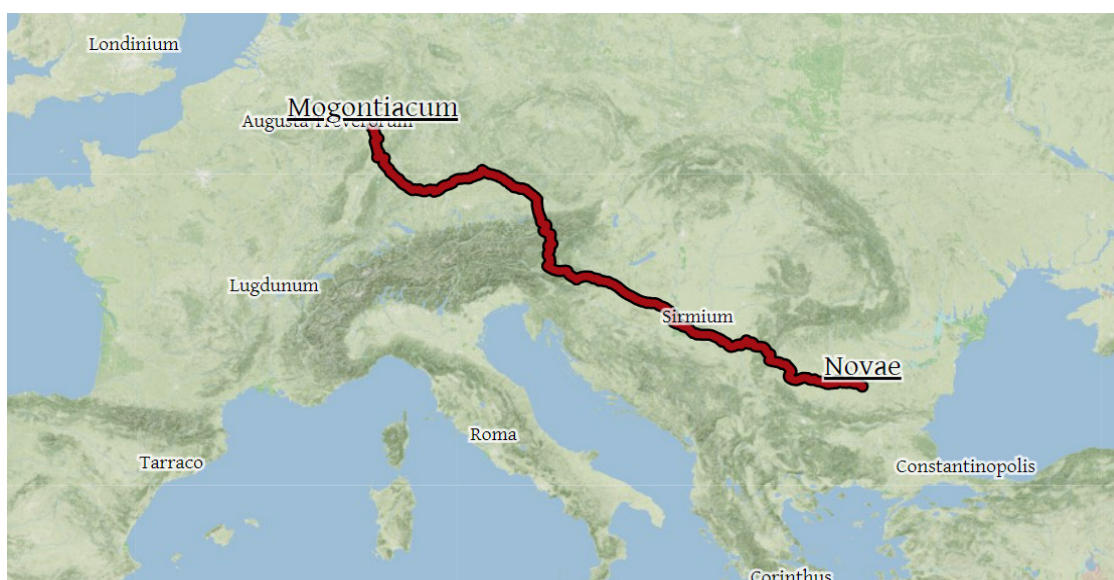
⁶⁷ The presence of the unit in Germania, then Germania Inferior, is attested by many military diplomas: RGZM 4, 9; RMD I, 52; IV, 216 etc.

the pedestrian came back home. He was recruited around 55, probably a regular recruitment after the generation enlisted in 27–29 was discharged.

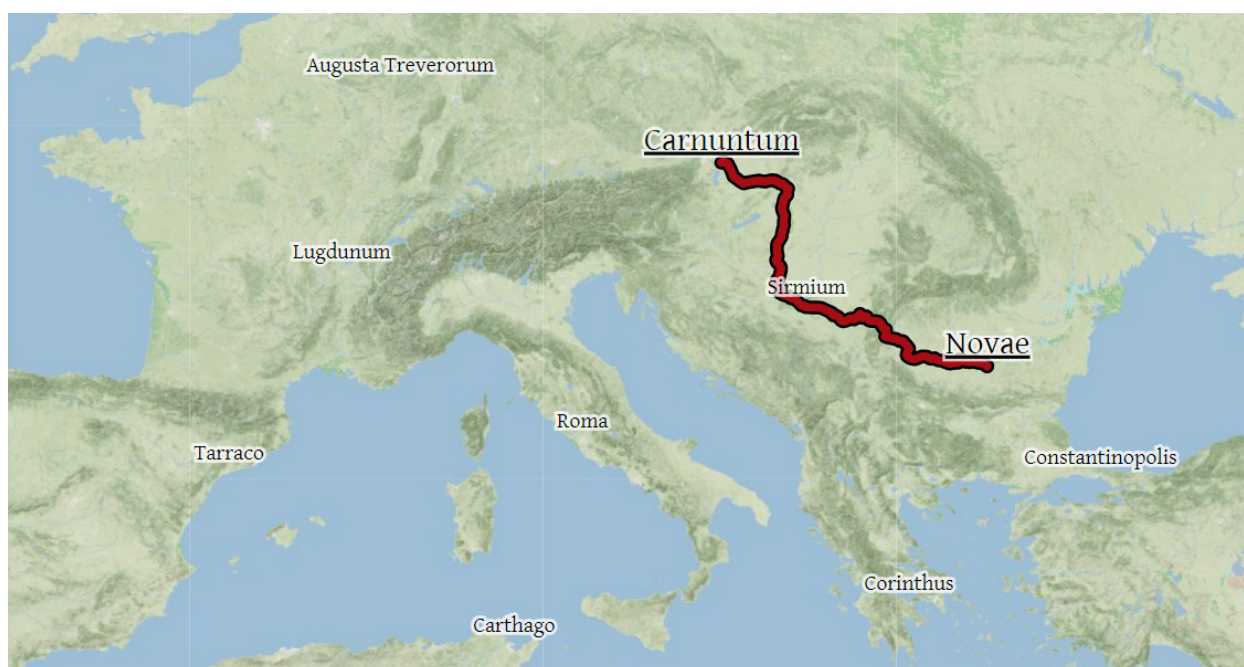
The **map no 12** shows the route of Durises to Germania and back and the distance covered by the *pedes*. The fastest journey from Moesia to the future Germania Inferior takes 35.3 days, covering 2067 kilometers (the same distance also for the return journey).

Diaseva Dipini f., horseman in the same cohort, was discharged in January 80.⁶⁸ This a copy of the previously pre-

⁶⁸ RGZM 4.



Map no 13 (© Ana Honcu).



Map no 14 (© Ana Honcu).

sented *constitutio* for the troops of Germania. The finding spot is unknown, but like Durises Bithi, he probably came home and his *origo* was in Moesia. Diaseva was enlisted in 54–55, on the occasion of the regular recruitments following those from 27–29.

The following map (**Map no 13**) presents the possible itinerary, as well as the distance covered by Diaseva. Like in the other cases with an unknown finding spot, I put a random place on the map, but the possible calculation error is not a big one. The fastest journey from Novae to Mogontiacum in July takes 34 days, covering 1912 kilometers.

The diploma issued by Titus June 13th 80 for the *auxilia* of Pannonia mentions Soionis Muscelli f., *Bessus, pedes* in the *cohors I Montanorum*.⁶⁹ The document was found close to Klosterneuburg, so he remains in the province after being

⁶⁹ CIL XVI 26.

discharged. The unit is attested in Pannonia through several diplomas,⁷⁰ as well later in Upper Moesia.⁷¹ Soionis was enlisted around 55, a regular recruitment.

The **map no 14** presents his possible itinerary from Moesia Inferior to Klosterneuburg. The covered distance is only one way, because he settled in Pannonia after his discharge. The fastest journey from Moesia Inferior to Carnuntum (the closest settlement on ORBIS application to Klosterneuburg) takes 20.4 days, covering 1130 kilometers.

CONCLUSIONS

There are 14 military diplomas issued in the period from Claudius to Titus, as shown in the following table.

⁷⁰ CIL XVI 30–31, 42–47.

⁷¹ AE 2005, 1710; RMD III, 148.

Table no 1

No	Soldier	Unit	Source
1	Sparticus Dizeni f.	Misenum fleet	CIL XVI 1
2	Tutius Buti f.	Misenum fleet	CIL XVI 13
3	Dernalus Derdipili f.	Ravenna fleet	RMD IV, 203
4	Zurazis	<i>legio II Adiutrix</i>	SHARANKOV 2006, 37–46
5	<i>Ignotus, Dacus</i>	<i>legio II Adiutrix</i>	RMD V, 323
6	Tarsa Duzi f.	Ravenna fleet	CHIRIAC/MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/MATEI 2004, 265–269; PETOLESCU/POPESCU 2007, 147–149
7	Romaesta Recenti f.	<i>ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana</i>	ISM IV, 1
8	Cerus Denturasadi f.	<i>ala I Brittonum</i>	RMD V, 324
9	Cegise	<i>cohors I Thracum</i>	RMD II, 79
10	Gusula Doqui f.	<i>ala I Thracum Victrix</i>	WEIß 2004, 239–246
11	Cotus	<i>ala I Thracum Victrix</i>	RGZM 3
12	Durises Bithi f.	<i>cohors IIII Thracum</i>	CIL XVI 158
13	Diaseva Dipini f.	<i>cohors IIII Thracum</i>	RGZM 4
14	Soionis Muscelli f.	<i>cohors I Montanorum</i>	CIL XVI 26

The militaries are coming from the fleets of Misenum and Ravenna (including here the *legio II Adiutrix*), four *alae* and four *cohortes*. Except two cases (*ala I Brittonum* and *cohors I Montanorum*), the origin of the soldiers corresponds to the ethnonym of the unit, proving that in the early period, the recruitments were from the origin regions of the unit. The *auxilia* were moved in other provinces, from Syria to Germania and Pannonia. In seven cases (Sparticus, Romaesta, Cotus, Tarsa, Durises Soionis and an *ignotus*), the find spot is known, in other cases the find spot remains unknown, but it is likely that the diplomas come from Lower Moesia (if not Thrace). So, in seven cases the soldiers come back home after their discharge and in one case the military decided to stay in the province where he performed his duty. Romaesta did not come exactly in his origin place, but however he settled not far from Durostorum. In the other cases, Cotus and Durisses come to Abrittus and its rural milieu, but it is not sure if there was their origin home. It is certain though that they settled in the origin province. In the case of the fleet soldiers, except Sparticus, who settled probably at Stabiae, the other came back home.

The covered distances are high, because the majority came back home. Even so, in the cases of a one-way route, the minimal distance is 932 kilometers (from Moesia Inferior to Pannonia Inferior) and the maximal one 2984 kilometers (from Moesia Inferior to Syria). I have excluded the mobility from Misenum to Stabiae (after Sparticus was discharged in 52). The reasons of the decision to return to their homeplaces were different. Even if the sources are silent in this respect, we can identify some of these reasons. The reintegration of veterans into the life of their home province was certainly one of the reasons for their return. It is difficult to know whether they returned exactly to their village or preferred to have a house in another settlement. Acquiring Roman citizenship is very important in these decisions: even if ex-soldiers are aware of the long distance, they feel that returning to their province of origin as a citizen is an advantage over staying in the regions where they did their service. The distance between Syria and Lower Moesia may be surprising, but in these cases, the provinces are fundamentally different from the original rural environment – Syria is not

even a Latin-speaking province. What's more, the conflicts in these regions that coincide with their period of service are another important factor in their decision to return.

The two cases soldiers who decided to stay in the province where they have performed their duty are Sparticus Diuzeni f. (in Stabiae)⁷² Soionis Muscelli f., who is attested at Klosterneuburg.⁷³ The reasons of their decisions are of course unknown, but one can suppose one of the following motives: 25 or 26 years of service were too long to come back, the marriage in the service province, a perspective of a good social integration in the provincial society etc.

Whatever were the reasons of the decision the soldiers made, I have to emphasize the considerable distances they travelled and meanwhile their mobility. This was a general feature of the Roman army, but at least for this period the cases I have analyzed prove that the veterans prefer to come back to their origin places rather to stay in the province where they have performed their military duty.

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⁷² CIL XVI 1.

⁷³ CIL XVI 26.

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