INSTITUTE OF ARCHEOLOGY
AND ART HISTORY OF ROMANIAN
ACADEMY CLUJ-NAPOCA

UNIVERSITATEA TEHNICĂ
DIN CLUJ-NAPOCA

JAHA
JOURNAL OF ANCIENT HISTORY
AND ARCHAEOLOGY

editura
MEGA

Journal
of Ancient History and Archaeology

No. 12–1 / 2025

CONTENTS

STUDIES

ANCIENT HISTORY

Vasileios SPANOS
ANCIENT PHTHIA & MODERN PHARSALUS: LIVES PARALLEL OR OPPOSITE?..... 3

Olivier HEKSTER
UNDERSTANDING THE PAST THROUGH THE PRESENT: THE CASE OF GAIUS SCRIBONIUS CURIO..... 16

Matt A. CASADO
ON THE LOCATION OF *URCI, MURGI* AND THE *BAETICA-TARRACONENSIS* FRONTIER IN ROMAN *HISPANIA*..... 22

Annamária-I. PÁZSINT
WORKING IN MOESIA INFERIOR. THE CASE OF SLAVES AND FREEDPERSONS..... 28

Lucrețiu MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, Ana ODOCHICIUC
THE MOBILITY VECTORS OF SOLDIERS RECRUITED FROM THE RURAL MILIEU IN MOESIA INFERIOR (OR THRACIA). II. THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM DOMITIANUS..... 41

Florian MATEI-POPESCU, Peter ROTHENHÖFER
A NEW MILITARY DIPLOMA FOR A VETERAN OF THE *EXERCITUS DACIAE POROLISSENSIS*..... 50

Péter KOVÁCS
PROCURATORES PANNONIAE, PANNONIAN PROCURATORS..... 54

ARCHAEOLOGY

Akın TEMÜR
SYNCRETISM OF ANCIENT GOD-KINGS AND ANIMAL GODS: THE SPHINX..... 66

Volkan ÖZTEKIN
SIDE'S EARLY IMPERIAL COLONNADED (?) STREET IN THE DIRECTION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS – SMALL "C" STREET STUDIES..... 78

Marisa TIVADAR
ROMAN RURAL LIFE IN ANCIENT DACIA. A BRIEF HISTORIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL OVERVIEW..... 91

Geanina A. BUTISEACĂ, Ovidiu ȚENTEA, Veronika BRYCHOVA, Iuliana VASILIEV
NEW INSIGHTS IN THE ROMAN COLONISATION OF DACIA: DID THE ROMAN CLIMATIC OPTIMUM INFLUENCED THE ROMAN EXPANSION IN EASTERN EUROPE?..... 102

Cristina-Georgeta ALEXANDRESCU, Albert BALTRES, Bogdan OLARIU
THE FIRST RECORDS ON LATE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE FORTIFICATIONS ON THE DUNAVĂȚ PROMONTORY, MURIGHIOL COMMUNE, TULCEA COUNTY (RO). CONSIDERATIONS ON LOCALIZATION AND USED LITHIC MATERIALS..... 119

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL

Cătălin PAVEL
THESEUS AND THE MINOTAUR BY THE BLACK SEA: A NEW *KLEINMEISTERSCHALE* FRAGMENT FROM HISTRIA..... 148

Suhal SAĞLAN
HELLENISTIC PERIOD WHEEL-MADE TERRACOTTA LAMPS FROM THE SINOP MUSEUM..... 162

Gabriel ANDREICA
POTTER OR ARTIST? CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF ROMAN POTTERY DECORATED WITH INCISIONS, IMPRESSIONS AND STAMPS FROM POTAISSA..... 178

Vitalie BÂRCĂ, Sever-Petru BOȚAN, Anca MATIȘ
NOTES ON A GLASS BEAKER WITH APPLIED DECORATION FROM THE SARMATIAN CEMETERY OF TIMIȘOARA – *HLADIK 1* (TIMIȘ COUNTY)..... 196

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MAPPING

Casandra BRAȘOVEANU, Andrei ASĂNDULESEI, Radu-ALEXANDRU BRUNCHI
RESTORING THE BARROW LANDSCAPE OF NE ROMANIA: INITIAL REFLECTIONS..... 211

Edmond NOGYI, Răzvan MATEESCU, Nica CIUBOTARU
CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE NUMBER OF TERRACES IN THE AREA OF *SARMIZEGETUSA REGIA*..... 223

ARCHAEOLOGICAL TOPOGRAPHY

Edmond NOGYI
THE ENSEMBLE OF FORTIFICATIONS FROM COSTEȘTI–BLIDARU: A VISIBILITY STUDY..... 232

Metodi MANOV, Vassil DAMYANOV
AN UNKNOWN TYPE OF BRONZE COIN OF THE RULER OF THRACE – KAVAROS..... 259

NUMISMATICS

Cristian GĂZDAC, Călin TIMOC
COINS IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT (VI). POJEJENA – AN AUXILIARY FORT WITH A DIFFERENT PATTERN OF COIN CIRCULATION THAN THE PROVINCE OF DACIA..... 265

REVIEWS

Fernando BLANCO-ROBLES
REVIEW: FERNANDO LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ, MARISA BUENO AND DAVID MARTÍNEZ CHICO (EDS.), *COINS, RICHES, AND LANDS. PAYING FOR MILITARY MANPOWER IN ANTIQUITY AND EARLY MEDIEVAL TIMES*, OXFORD & PHILADELPHIA, OXBOW BOOKS, 2025, 265 P. ISBN 978–1–78925–990–2 (HARDCOVER EDITION) // 978–1–78925–991–9 (DIGITAL EDITION)..... 293

ISSN 2360 266x
ISSN–L 2360 266x

Design & layout: Francisc Baja

editura MEGA

Editura Mega | www.edituramega.ro
e-mail: mega@edituramega.ro

THE MOBILITY VECTORS OF SOLDIERS RECRUITED FROM THE RURAL MILIEU IN MOESIA INFERIOR (OR THRACIA). II. THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM DOMITIANUS

Lucrețiu MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA
„Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași, Romania
blucretiu@yahoo.com

Ana ODOCHICIUC
„Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Iași, Romania
odochiciuc.ana@gmail.com

Abstract: We continue an approach started in this journal. The main goal is the same like in the article concerning the inscriptions from Claudius to Titus: 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. We will present the epigraphic file chronologically, including both *alae* and *cohortes* in the same year or period. In the final, we will draw some conclusions on the periods of recruitment, on the periods of massive enlistments, on the most used destinations and the connection of these elements with historical events.

Keywords: Moesia Inferior, Thracia, mobility vectors, Roman army, estimated distances.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper continues the analysis on the mobility of soldiers coming from the rural milieu of Moesia Inferior.[1] In the previous paper on the mobility vectors of these *milites*, the author stated the major problems he was confronted to: unknown find spots of the military diplomas, most of them being probably discovered on the actual territories of Bulgaria and Romania, the recipients being Thracians and Dacians.[2] The ethnonyms *Thrax*, *Thracus*, *Bessus* do not provide information on their province of origin, both provinces Moesia Inferior and Thracia representing possible variants which can be taken into account. That is why the title of our paper includes the province of Thracia. We decided, like in the first part of our analysis, to adopt the "maximal" way, including all persons probably or possibly having an origin in Lower Moesia.

We will examine now the inscriptions dating from the reign of Domitianus, which are totally military diplomas. The main goal is the same like in the article concerning the inscriptions from Claudius to Titus: the mapping of the routes followed by these soldiers and calculating the distances covered, in order to better understand the mobility as a phenomenon

[1] MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2024, 10–22. For the soldiers coming from the rural milieu of Lower Moesia, see MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/RĂILEANU 2014, 193–205; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2019a, 19–30; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2020, 239–249; 2021a,467–477; 2021b, 129–133; 2021c, 47–75. For the mobility, see MIHAILESCU- BÎRLIBA/HONCU 2024, 9–18.
[2] MIHAILESCU- BÎRLIBA 2024, 10.

in whole. The distances' calculation will be achieved using ORBIS application. 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. There are some advantages provided by the application: it takes into account de seasonal variations and a large scale of transport means and manners, the resulting routes represent the fastest itineraries from a province to another one, from a region to another one and the simulations try to express average results from a statistic point of view. The disadvantages consist in the lack of some period (the 1st and 2nd centuries are missing) and in the absence of many finding spots in the application. That is why we 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.

The Dacians south of Danube have formed an important recruitment source even after the Dacian war, as shown by D. Dana et F. Matei-Popescu.[3] They have identified several moments of enlistment for the Dacians in military diplomas, most of them originating from south Danube.[4] 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 we draw attention in this paper, there is no corresponding period at Dana and Matei-Popescu, because the Dacians are missing from the evidence of military diplomas. However, the local population of Moesia Inferior is present in this type of sources.

We will present the epigraphic file chronologically, including both *alae* and *cohortes* in the same year or period. In the final, we will draw some conclusions on the periods of recruitment, on the periods of massive enlistments, on the most used destinations and the connection of these elements with historical events.

2. THE EPIGRAPHIC FILE, THE POSSIBLE ROUTES AND THE COVERED DISTANCES

A *constitutio* dating from June 83, awarded by Domitian to the *auxiliae Pannoniae*, attests Turcus Dolani f., who served in the *ala Siliana*.[5] The name of the soldier and the patronym are in Thracian onomastics.[6] The diploma was found in Bulgaria, but the editors did not mention the exact finding spot.[7] That is why we believe that Moesia Inferior as origin province is probable. Turcus was enlisted around 57–58, under Nero.

Ditusenis, soldier of the *ala Thracum ueterana*, is freed May 13th 86 through a military diploma issued by Domitianus.[8] The finding spot is unknown. We can only suppose his origin from the rural milieu of Moesia Inferior. The diploma was granted to the *auxiliae* of Rhetia. The *ala Thracum ueterana* was stationed in Rhetia, from where it was dislocated to Pannonia Superior and then to Pannonia Inferior.[9] Ditusenis was enlisted around 60–61.

Seuthes Traibithi f., *eques* of the *cohors II Thracum*, receives the citizenship through a diploma granted May 13th 86, found at Turea in Dacia.[10] It is the same *constitutio* through which Ditusenis was also discharged. Seuthes is originating from a village called Coloteticus. The *constitutio* was issued for the troops of Judaea. The cohort was camped in Judaea[11] until the end of the 1st c. or the beginning of the 2nd c., when it was dislocated to Egypt.[12] Seuthes is certainly native from south Danube, for Dacia was not part of the Roman Empire in 86. His presence in Dacia is subsequent to this year, but we do not possess any further information. Anyway, he was enlisted in 61, probably at the beginning of Gn. Domitius Corbulo's campaign in East.

Another *constitutio* with unknown finding spot, dating from 8th of June 87, mentions Mocacenthus Mocapori f., former *decurio* of the *ala I Thracum Mauretana*, active in the army of Judaea.[13] There are other two copies of this text, for two *ignoti*, one of them serving in the same *ala*.[14] W. Eck and A. Pangerl believe that the militaries freed in Judaea and Syria in the lapse 86–90 were recruited the same year, 61, because in Judeaea the military service lasted usually 25 years, while in Syria 25 years and even more. They estimate that the date of the *honesta missio* was differently established by the administrations of Judaea and Syria, sooner in Judaea than in Syria.[15] However, there are differences of four or five years, because there are soldiers of Syria being discharged in 91. We think that it is possible that in Moesia Inferior the enlistments took place in different years and were connected firstly with the campaign of Corbulo in East against the Parthi, then with the Judaean war.

A diploma from 88 for the *auxiliae* of Syria was issued for Gorius Stibi f., *Dacus*, soldier of the *cohors Musulamiorum*.[16] The cohort belonged to the army of Syria, then of that of Lycia and Pamphilia.[17] The inscription was found on the territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum; that is why we think that Gorius came back in his village of origin. He was recruited around 62–63, probably within the campaign of Gn. Domitius Corbulo in East.[18]

Three copies of a *constitutio* granted in 88 for the *auxiliae Syriae* attest three soldiers of Thracian origin who served in the l'*ala praetoria singularium*: Gisusetes Heptasae f.,[19] Bithus Soi[--]ae f.[20] and an *ignotus* having the ethnonym of *Thrax*.[21] There are at least two *alae praetoriae*, but only one bears the surname of *singularium*.[22] It was created probably

[3] DANA/MATEI-POPESCU 2009, 238.
[4] DANA/MATEI-POPESCU 2009, 234–240.
[5] RMD IV, 210.
[6] DANA 2014, 156 (Dolanus), 375–376, 381 (Turcus, Torcus) .
[7] GERASIMOVA-TOMOVA 1994, 98–104.
[8] ECK/PANGERL 2007a, 239–251.
[9] RMD II, 86; IV, 223.
[10] CIL XVI 33.
[11] AE 2005, 1731; RMD V, 332; ECK/PANGERL 2012a, 53–64.
[12] RMD I, 9.
[13] ECK/PANGERL 2012a, 53–64.
[14] ECK/WEIß 2009, 201–206.
[15] ECK/PANGERL 2012a, 63–64.
[16] AE 1939, 126.
[17] CIL XVI 35; RMD III, 151; IV, 214 etc.
[18] WEIß 2006 257–261, 285.
[19] RMD V, 329.
[20] RMD V, 330.
[21] RMD V, 331.
[22] The other one is attested in Pannonia, under the name of *ala praetoria c. R.* (CIL XVI, 31) dislocated from Germania (CIL XIII 8310).

under Vespasianus. After being quartered in Syria from 88 to 91, it was dislocated in Moesia Superior.[23]

Mucaporus, son of Eptacentus, soldier in the *cohors I Aquitanorum ueterana*, is granted the citizenship in 90 through a *constitutio* issued by Domitianus to the troops of Germania Superior.[24] The cohort is attested in this province from 74.[25] The diploma was found next to Mogontiacum: consequently, Mucaporus stayed in the province where he performed his military duty at least a while after his *honesta missio*. His enlistment took place around 65. A copy of this diploma mentions the rider Thavis Cassiporis f., of Thracian origin, who served in the same unit.[26] The finding spot in his case is unknown, but one cannot exclude the possibility he was native in Moesia Inferior. Finally, another copy attests Tharsa, from the same cohort.[27] It seems that in 65 a lot of recruitments in this unit took place in the regions inhabited by Thracian population.

A military diploma found very likely in Romania or Bulgaria mentions Cardentes, son of Biticenthus, whose origin is the village Disdiu-.[28] The former soldier has served in *ala ueterana Gallica*, camped in Syria when the diploma was issued (12th of May 91). The name Cardentes is attested in the epigraphy of Moesia Inferior in a Thracian milieu. A text from Karaisen, in the rural milieu of Novae, evoked Zia, daughter of Carcenius, son of Cardentes.[29] Taking into account the supposed finding spot, Cardentes came back probably in his home village. It is not known if the village was situated in Moesia Inferior or in Thrace, but the first variant seems more likely to us. The same day, from the same unit, Bruzenus, son of Delsasis, of Thracian origin, receives his *honesta missio*.[30]

Another copy of the same *constitutio* was found in Gradište, north-west from Shumen in Bulgaria and was granted to Seuthes, soldier of *ala ueterana Gallica*.[31]

Another copy of these military diplomas was issued for the Syrian army by Domitianus in 91. Bruzenus Delsasi f., *Thracus*, received the *honesta misio* on May 12th 91, after having performed his military duty in the *ala ueterana Gallica*.[32] The first mention of this *ala* in Syria is dating from 54.[33] The unit is attested in this province and in Egypt.[34] The soldier was enlisted around 66, when the war of Judaea begun. From the same unit are simultaneously freed Cardentes Bithicenthi f., that we have already mentioned,[35] and Seuthes, also mentioned above.[36]

An *ignotus*, son of a certain Genimolus, of Thracian origin, is mentioned in a diploma granted in 91 by Domitianus to the *auxiliae* of Syria.[37] This diploma is a copy of the same *constitutio* issued for other soldiers, recruited very likely in 66 at the beginning of the Judaean war.[38] The cohort of our soldier was *III Thracum Syriaca*. The united has stationed in Syria.[39] The finding spot of the diploma is unknown, but we can suppose that the rural milieu of Moesia Inferior could have been his native country, taking into account his ethnic origin. Another copy of the *constitutio* evokes another *ignotus* of Thracian origin, son of Mocazenus, soldier in the *cohors I Thracum miliaria*.[40] The cohort was camped in Syria, then Syria-Palaestina and Arabia.[41] In Syria, it is attested since 88.[42] The finding spot of the inscription is unknown, so a possible origin of our soldier from Lower Moesia is not excluded. 66 represents a year when massive recruitments took place in the provinces inhabited by Thracian and Moesia Inferior is no exception.

Dorisa Dolentis f., soldier in the *ala I Thracum Herculana*, received the *honesta missio* in 94.[43] The *ala* was camped in Cappadocia.[44] The finding spot is unknown and it is very likely that Dorisa – a form of Durisses – has his origin in Moesia Inferior. He was recruited in 69. One cannot exclude that his enlistment might be connected to the final period of the Judaean war.

A diploma granted on the 12th of July 96 by Domitianus for the troops of Moesia Superior mentions Doles, son of Sublusius, soldier in the *cohors VI Thracum*.[45] The diploma was found in Moesia Superior: that means that Doles did not come back home after the *honesta missio*. The Thracian name and the ethnic character of the unit can suggest an origin from the rural milieu of Moesia Inferior, but we cannot exclude other provinces inhabited by Thracians. The son of Doles bears a Latin name, Valens, otherwise very popular among militaries. The cohort is attested in Germania,[46] then in Pannonia,[47] by an owner mark in Moesia Superior[48] and by this diploma, and thereafter in Dacia.[49] Doles was enlisted in 71, when the cohort was in Germania. If we follow the enlistments from 44–46, this seems to be a regular enlistment, but we cannot totally exclude the possibility that the effectives of the auxiliary troops were renewed after the discharge before the scheduled time of many soldiers, as a reward granted by Vespasianus for their help during the civil war.

[23] See SPAUL 1994, 187–188, ECK/PANGERL 2005, 56–58; ECK/PANGERL 2006, 219–221; WEIß 2006, 262–264 and especially MATEI-POPESCU/ȚENTEA 2018, 27–28.
[24] CIL XVI 36.
[25] CIL XVI 20. On the question of the existence of two *cohortes I Aquitanorum*, one in Germania, the other one in Britannia, see HOLDER 1980, 111; 2003, 136; SPAUL 2000, 143. The argument of Holder is more convincing, taking into account that the cohort camped in Germania bears the surname of *ueterana*, while the cohorted stationed in Britannia has no surname.
[26] RMD V, 333.
[27] ECK/PANGERL 2004, 259–262.
[28] ECK/PANGERL 2006, 215–218.
[29] ILB 349.
[30] ECK/PANGERL 2006, 205–214.
[31] RMD I, 5. See also TOMAS 2016, 171.
[32] ECK/PANGERL 2006, 206–214.
[33] CIL XVI 3.
[34] CIL XVI, 35, 184; RMD I, 5; III, 185; ECK 2011, 63–77. See also SPAUL 1994, 126–129.
[35] ECK/PANGERL 2006, 218 sqq.
[36] RMD I, 5. See also TOMAS 2016, 171.
[37] RMD IV, 214.
[38] RMD I, 5; ECK/PANGERL 2006, 206–214 218 sqq .
[39] CIL XVI 35; RGZM 6 etc.
[40] ECK/PANGERL 2006, 219–221.
[41] See SPAUL 2000, 353–354, 359–360, with bibliography.
[42] CIL XVI 35; RMD I, 4.
[43] RGZM 7.
[44] AE 2004, 1913; 2014, 1656.
[45] RMD I, 6.
[46] CIL XIII 7052.
[47] AE 2003, 1447; CIL XVI 30–31.
[48] AE 1994, 1510.
[49] CIL XVI 110, 163; RMD I, 64; III, 177 etc. See also MATEI-POPESCU 2006–2007, 33; MATEI-POPESCU/ȚENTEA 2018, 72–74.

3. DISCUSSION

The next table (**Table no. 1**) presents the synthesis of our analysis on the epigraphic file: the soldiers, the units, the years of enlistment and discharge.

Table no. 1.

Name	Unit	Rang	Source	Discharge year	Enlistment year
Ditusenis	*ala Thracum ueterana*	*gregalis*	ECK / PANGERL 2007a, 239–251	13.05.86	61
Seuthes Traibithi f.	*cohors II Thracum*	*eques*	CIL XVI 33	13.05.86	61
Mocacenthus Mocaporis f.	*ala I Thracum Mauretana*	*decurio*	ECK / PANGERL 2012b, 53–64	8.06.87	62
Gisusetes Heptasae f.	*ala praetoria singularium*	*gregalis*	RMD V, 329	7.11.88	63
Bithus Soi[---]ae f.	*ala praetorian singularium*	*gregalis*	RMD V, 330	7.11.88	63
Ignotus	*ala praetorian singularium*	*gregalis*	RMD V, 331	7.11.88	63
Gorius Stibi f.	*cohors I Musulamiorum*	*pedes*	AE 1939, 126	7.11.88	63
Mucaporus Eptacenti f.	*coh. I Aquitanorum*	*eques*	CIL XVI 36	27.10.90	65
[---] Tharsa	*coh. I Aquitanorum*	*eques*	ECK / PANGERL 2004, 259–262	27.10.90	65
Thavis Cassiporis f.	*coh. I Aquitanorum*	*eques*	RMD V, 333	27.10.90	65
Bruzenus Delsasi f.	*ala ueterana Gallica*	*gregalis*	ECK / PANGERL 2006a, 206–214	12.05.91	66
[---] Genimoli f.	*coh. III Thracum Syriaca*	*pedes*	RMD IV, 214	12.05.91	66
[---] Mocazeni f.	*coh. I Thracum miliaria*	*pedes*	ECK / PANGERL 2006a, 219–221	12.05.91	66
Cardentes Bithicenthi f.	*ala ueterana Gallica*	*gregalis*	ECK / PANGERL 2006a, 215–218	12.05.91	66
Seuthes	*ala ueterana Gallica*	*gregalis*	RMD I, 5	12.05.91	66
Dorisa Dolenti f.	*ala I Thracum Herculana*	*gregalis*	RGZM 7	94	69
Dolens Sublusi f.	*coh. VI Thracum*	*pedes*	RMD I, 6	12.07.96	71

According to the period of discharge under Domitianus, we identified the following recruitment periods:

1) **61–63**, justified by the campaign of Gn. Domitius Corbulo against the Parthi.[50] We remember Ditusenis, who served in *ala Thracum ueterana* since 61,[51] Seuthes Traibithi in the *cohors II Thracum* in Judaea starting in the same year,[52] and Mocacenthus Mocaporis f. was enlisted 62 in *ala I Thracum Mauretana* in order to increase the number of soldiers of the same province.[53] Four diplomas from 63 attest enlistments in the Lower Danube and Balkan area: Giusetes Heptasi f.,[54] Bithus Soi[---]ae f.[55]and an *ignotus*,[56] all of them in the *ala praetoria singularium*, and et Gorius Stibi f. in the *cohors I Musulamiorum*[57]. The *ala* camped in Syria, in connection with Corbulo's war in the East. F. Matei-Popescu estimates that massives recruitments took place between 62 and 66 because of this campaign.[58]. We are inclined to agree with him, beacuse even if we dispose only of diplomas as sources, the *ala Thracum* is composed in majoity by Thracians at that time. The *cohors I Musulamiorum* also stationed in Syria, very likely in connection with the same event.

2) **65**, represented by the recruitment of Mucaporus Eptacenti f.,[59] Thavius Cassiporis f.[60] and Tharsa,[61] all of them soldiers in the *cohors I Aquitanorum*, discharged the same day, October 27th 90. The unit stationed in Germania Superior. Their discharge took place shortly after the fights against the Chatti and Saturninus' revolt.

3) **66 and shortly after**, during the Judaean war. A *constitutio* from May 12th 91 mentions the discharge of five soldiers: Bruzenus Delsasi f.,[62] Cardentes Bithicenti f.[63] and Seuthes,[64] all from the *ala ueterana Gallica*, and two *ignoti*, one of the them son of Genimolus[65] and the other one son of Mucazenus,[66] from the *cohors III Thracum Syriaca* and *cohors I Thracum milliaria* respectively. The *ala ueterana Gallica* was camped since a long time in Syria; the beginning of the Judaean war has determined the acceleration of the recruitment process. The Lower Danube and Balkan provinces represented an important recruitment source. The diplomas of two soldiers, Cardentes and Seuthes, have been found in the rural milieu of Moesia Inferior, and it is possible that the other two diplomas, even if the finding spot is unknown, could have the rural area of this province as place of origin. It is also certain that the Lower Danube and Balkan provinces provides an important number of recruits for the war of Judaea. The enlistment of Dorisa Dolenti f. (69) for the troops of Cappadocia[67] could be connected with the same event.

4) **71–74/75**, when regular enlistments took place, following the recruitments from 44–46 (the creation of the province of Thrace and the new organization of Lower

[50] See especially VERVAET 1999a, 289–297; VERVAET 1999b, 574–599; VERVAET 2003, 436–464; more recently GREGORATTI 2017, 107–121.
[51] ECK/PANGERL 2007, 239–251.
[52] CIL XVI 33.
[53] ECK/PANGERL 2012b, 53–64.
[54] RMD V, 329.
[55] RMD V, 330.
[56] RMD V, 331.
[57] AE 1939, 126.
[58] MATEI-POPESCU 2016, 144.
[59] CIL XVI 36.
[60] RMD V, 333.
[61] ECK/PANGERL 2004, 259–262.
[62] ECK/PANGERL 2006, 206–214.
[63] ECK/PANGERL 2006, 215–218.
[64] RMD I, 5.
[65] RMD IV, 214.
[66] ECK/PANGERL 2006, 219–221.
[67] RGZM 7.

Moesia). Doles Sublusi f. from the *cohors VI Thracum* was recruited in 71.[68]

The following tables show the occurrences of the sources by recruitment, respectively discharge year (**Table no. 2**) and the occurrences by unit in which the soldiers served (**Table no. 3**).

Table no. 2.

Year of recruitment (discharge)	Occurrences
61 (86)	2
62 (87)	1
63 (88)	4
65 (90)	3
66 (91)	5
69 (94)	1
71 (96)	1

Table no. 3.

Unit name	Occurrences
ala Thracum ueterana	1
ala I Thracum Mauretana	1
ala praetoria singularium	3
ala ueterana Gallica	3
ala I Thracum Herculana	1
cohors II Thracum	1
cohors I Aquitanorum	3
cohors I Musulamiorum	1
cohors III Thracum Syriaca	1
cohors I Thracum miliaria	1
cohors VI Thracum	1

Regarding the chronology, it is worth noting that two major events in the East have influenced the enlistments in the rural area of Moesia Inferior: the Gn. Domitius Corbulo's expedition and the war of Judaea. 14 of the 17 soldiers mentioned in the diplomas were recruited in connection with these conflicts. Two exceptions can be noticed: the recruitments in the army of Germania in 65 and the regular enlistments from 65.

The occurrences of the units correspond to the events and in some cases, they confirm the important recruitments in this area (*ala praetoria singularium*, *ala ueterana Gallica* and *cohors I Aquitanorum ueterana* – 3 soldiers each). Eight units were camped in Syria or Judaea (*ala I Thracum Mauretana*, *ala I praetoria singularium*, *ala ueterana Gallica*, *cohors II Thracum*, *cohors I Musulamiorum*, *cohors III Thracum Syriaca*, *cohors I Thracum miliaria*) and one not very far from the operations theatre (*cohors VI Thracum*). The other units stationed in Danube or Rhine regions (Pannonia, Rhetia, Moesia Superior, Germania). The next table (**Table no. 4**) reflects the mobility directions of the soldiers.

Table no. 4.

Mobility direction (from Moesia Inferior and Thracia)	Occurrences
Pannonia	1
Rhetia	1
Germania-Pannonia-Moesia (Superior)	1
Judaea-Dacia	1
Judaea	1
Syria	10
Cappadocia	1
Germania	3

Fig. 1. shows the directions of mobility presented in **Table no 4**. When we applied the *Find Nearest province* analysis in ArcGIS on line, we obtained the ranks, the nearest province, and the straight-line distance of mobility (**Table no. 5**).

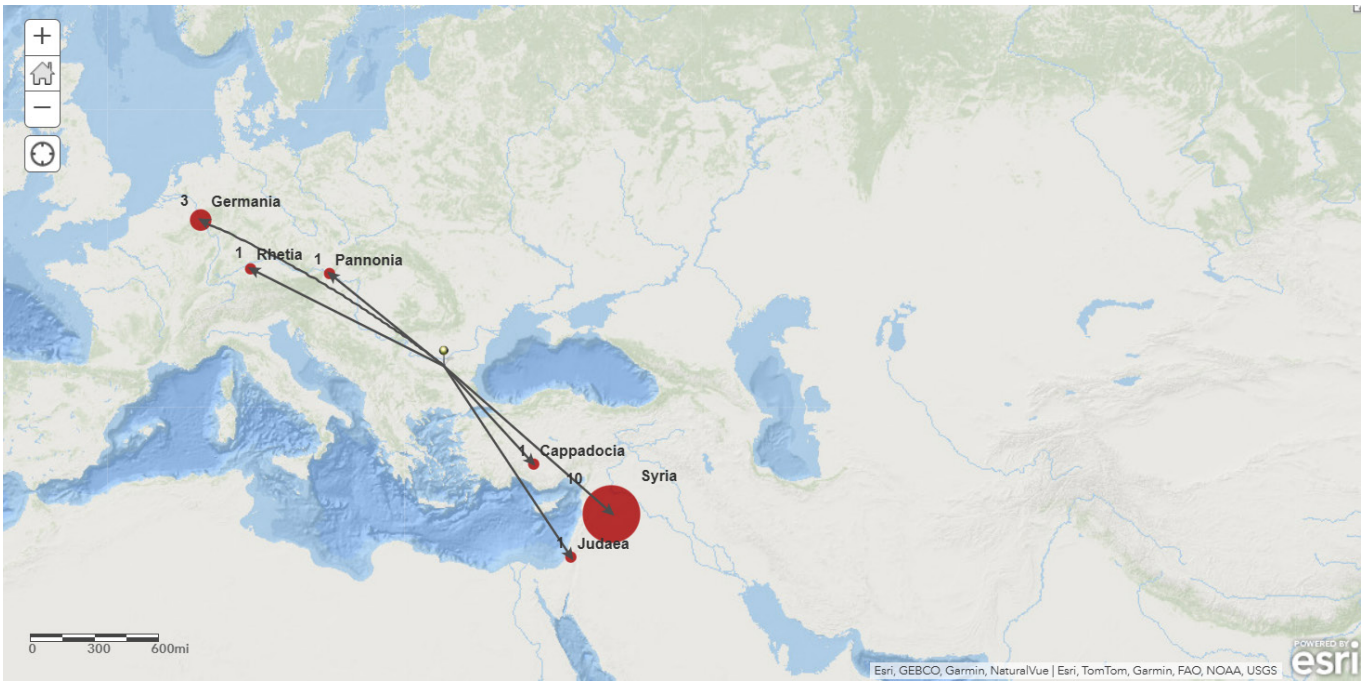

Fig. 1. The mobility directions.

[68] RMD I, 6.

Table no. 5. Find nearest province analysis in ArcGIS.

Near Province	Near Rank	Province	Straight Line Distance (Kilometers)
1	2	Pannonia	867,9347
2	3	Rhetia	1273,896
3	5	Judaea	1526,655
4	4	Syria	1460,19
5	1	Cappadocia	849,6373
6	6	Germania	1628,076

One can notice that in one case there is a two-ways-mobility and in another one a three-ways-mobility. In one case, the recipient of the diploma decided to move, at least for a while, after his discharge, in a neighboring region (Dacia, which was not a province that time),[69] and in the other case, the soldier moved with the unit and decided to stay in the province where he eventually served.[70]

The following table (**Table no 6**) displays the cases of the veterans who decided to come back home (I included here also the diplomas with "unknown finding spot", because the probability to be found in Moesia Inferior is high) and those who decided to stay in the provinces where they have performed their military duty.

Table no. 6.

Soldiers coming back home	Soldiers staying in the service province
Turcus Dolani	Mucacentus Eptapori f.
Ditusenis	Doles Sablusi
Mocacenthus Mocapori	
Gorius Stibi f., *Dacus*	
Giusetes Heptasae f.	
Bithis Soi[---]ae f.	

[69] CIL XVI 33.
[70] RMD I, 6.

Soldiers coming back home	Soldiers staying in the service province
Ignotus	
Thavis Cassiporis f.	
Tharsa	
Cardentes Bithicenti	
Seuthes	
Bruzenus Delsasi	
[---] Genimoli f.	
[---] Mocazeni f.	
Dorisa Dolentis	

The soldiers coming back home are clearly in majority in comparison with those who decided to stay in the service provinces (**Fig. 2**).

Fig. 2. The number of veterans who return home

Let us take a look to those who came back home. One of them has served in Pannonia, another in Rhetia and two in Germania. The other soldiers performed their duty in the eastern provinces (two in Judaea, one in Cappadocia and eight in Syria). Of course, choosing to return home or to stay is a personal option, but in the discussed cases, we think that the re-integration of veterans in their native provinces was the main reason. They were all of Thracian origin and, even if they spoke Latin in the army, staying in East meant to remain in a mainly hellenophone space, with different life habits and a different religion. Moreover, they were recruited in order to participate to conflicts and the war potential remained also at the time of their discharge. Provincial re-integration was certainly among the reasons for those who came back from Pannonia, Rhetia or Germania. Of course, receiving citizenship is connected with this decision: they think that their new status is more favorable in their home province than in the province where they served. Deduction hardly can be a possible explanation. Probably the most plausible explanation would be the ownership of land in homeland before

joining Roman army.[71] In Pannonia, the land of the *Azali* and the *Eravisci* was partly exempted from taxes. The *Eravisci* kept their civitas, as we can see from the many inscriptions found in Bölcske, until the second century AD. Both the *Azali* and *Eravisci* could have had the same status as the Batavi and and could have been exempted from taxation, because of the vast number of soldiers recruited there[72]. Was it the privilege of land or people? According to M. Mirković the answer can only be tentative. The change from PANNON to CORNAC could have a meaning if we suppose that in Pannonia, as in Dalmatia, there were privileged and less privileged communities. The *Cornacates*, as some other civitates in Pannonia might have been one of those privileged communities. [73] Could we assume the same privileges for these Thracian/ Moesian auxiliaries? Unfortunately, there is no evidence on privileges enjoyed by different tribes and land in Thracia and Moesia/ Moesia Inferior. We could suppose that here, as in Dalmatia, there were tribes that were immunes. We cannot exclude the existence of possible privileges granted by the state to former auxiliary soldiers in this period of time, only a few decades after the creation of Thrace and the division of Moesia, but this assumption remains a hypothesis until further conclusive evidence will found.

We notice that the distances covered in all cases are high, but that was not a problem anymore.[74]

The soldiers who decided to stay in the province where they served are only two (**Fig. 3**).

Fig. 3. The veterans who decided to stay in the province where they served

The reasons are also personal: after 25 years of duty, they prefer to remain in their duty place. One of the provinces is Moesia Superior (so, a neighbored province), the other Germania, a Latin-speaking province.

We can hardly say that the proportion of returning or staying reflected in the diplomas does also reflect the real situation. A comparison with other provinces is difficult to make, too. In the case of legion soldiers of Moesia Inferior, one can notice that many of them remained in the province where they served.[75]

None of them has the family attested in the diplomas, but that does not mean they haven't any. D. Dana draws attention that, even if in more than a half of the conserved diplomas the discharged soldiers appeared as bachelors the moment of receiving the *honesta missio*, the situation can be a totally different one.[76]

Finally, two more remarks. Firstly, it is worth noting that the units still have the ethnic component corresponding to their names (7 of 11 units bear the name *Thracum*). Around 60 and after, the Thracians continued to be an important element in the Thracian units. Secondly, the important number of diplomas (18 within 14 years) shows that in Moesia Inferior or in other provinces inhabited by Thracians the recruitments in the Roman army became regular and even massive if there are situations of war.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This work was supported by a grant of the Ministry of Education and Research, CNCS-UEFISCDI, project number PN-IV-P1-PCE–2023–1560, within PNCDI IV.

REFERENCES

CORPORA

AE. L'Année Épigraphique (Paris).

CIL. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (Berlin).

ILB. Inscriptions latinae in Bulgaria repertae (Sofia).

RGZM. Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in

[71] MIRKOVIĆ 2007, 332.

[72] MIRKOVIĆ 2007, 333.

[73] MIRKOVIĆ 2007, 334.

[74] For the period from Claudius to Titus, see MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2024, 20. See also MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/HONCU 2024, 9–10, 12–13.

[75] MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2016, 223–226, 229–230; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2018, 304–310, 319–323; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2019b, 136–145. See also PÁZSINT 2019, 5–6.

[76] DANA 2013, 222–223.

der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums (Mainz).
RMD. Roman Military Diplomas (London).

Works

DANA, 2013
Dana, D., *Conubium cum uxoribus*: mariages thraces dans les diplômes militaires, *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 24, 217–240.
DANA, 2014
Dana, D., *Onomasticon Thracicum. Répertoire des noms indigènes de Thrace, Macédoine orientale, Mésies, Dacie et Bithynie* (Athens: De Boccard).
DANA/MATEI-POPESCU 2009
Dana, D./Matei-Popescu, F., Soldats d'origine dace dans les diplômes militaires, *Chiron* 39, 209–256.
ECK 2011
Eck, W., Septimius Severus und die Soldaten. Das Problem der Soldatenehe und ein neues Auxiliardiplom. In: Onken, B./Rohde, D. (eds.), *In omni historia curiosus. Studien zur Geschichte von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit. Festschrift für Helmuth Schneider zum 65. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), 63–77.
ECK/PANGERL 2004
Eck, W/Pangerl, A. Neue Diplome für die Heere von Germania superior und Germania inferior, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 148, 259–268.
ECK/PANGERL 2005
Eck, W./Pangerl, A., Traians Heer in Partherkrieg. Zu einem neuen Diplom aus dem Jahr 115, *Chiron* 35, 49–67.
ECK/PANGERL 2006
Eck, W./Pangerl, A., Syria unter Domitian und Hadrian. Neue Diplome für die Auxiliartruppen der Provinz, *Chiron* 36, 205–247.
ECK/PANGERL 2007
Eck., W./Pangerl, A., Titus Flavius Norbanus, praefectus praetorio Domitians, als Statthalter Rätiens in einem neuen Militärdiplom, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 163, 239–251.
ECK/PANGERL 2012a
Eck, W./Pangerl, A., Ein Diplom für die Truppen Judäas aus dem Jahr 87 und die Frage nach der Gleichförmigkeit römischer Militäradministration, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 31, 53–64.
ECK/PANGERL 2012b
Eck, W./Pangerl, A., Ein weiteres Diplom au seiner Konstitution für die Truppen von Moesia Inferior vom 14. August 99 n. Chr., *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 180, 295–301.
ECK/WEISS 2009
Eck, W./Weiß, P., Eine Konstitution für die Truppen Judäas aus dem Jahr 87, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 170, 201–206.
GERASIMOVA-TOMOVA 1994
Gerasimova-Tomova, V., Fragment ot Voenna Diploma ot Severna Bălgarija, *Epochi* 2, 98–104 (in Bulgarian).
GREGORATTI 2017
Gregoratti, L., Corbulo *versus* Vologases: A Game of Chess for Armenia, *Electrum* 24, 107–121.
HOLDER 1980
Holder, P., *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army from Augustus to Trajan* (Oxford: BAR International Series 70).
MATEI-POPESCU 2006–2007
Matei-Popescu, F., The Auxiliary Units from Moesia Superior in Domitian's time and the Problem of CIL XVI 41, *Ephemeris Napocensis* 16–17, 31–48.
MATEI-POPESCU 2016
Matei-Popescu, F., The Roman Military Diploma Discovered at Atmageaua Tătărască – Sarsânlar (Zafirovo, Bulgaria), *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 22, 1, 137–148.
MATEI-POPESCU/ȚENTEA 2018
Matei-Popescu, F./Țentea, O., *Auxiliae Moesiae Superioris* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega).
MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, L. 2016
Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., Le témoignage épigraphique des villae en Mésie Inférieure: remarques sur les propriétaires et sur le personnel administratif, *Dacia Nouvelle Série* 60, 221–236.
MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2018
Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., *Rure vivere in Moesia inferiore. La population dans le milieu rural d'une province péripherique de l'Empire romain* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz).
MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2019a
Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., Soldats du milieu rural de la Mésie Inférieure recrutés dans l'armée romaine. In: Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L. (ed.), *Limes, Economy and Society in the Lower Danubian Provinces* (Leuven: Peeters), 19–30.
MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2019b
Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., Les vétérans dans les campagnes de Mésie Inférieure: les propriétaires ruraux, *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 45/1, 129–151.
MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2020
Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., Les inscriptions concernant les soldats originaires de la Mésie Inférieure dont l'origine rurale est certe: les ailes et les cohortes, *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 26/2, 239–249.
MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2021a
Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., Les militaires provenant du milieu rural de la Mésie Inférieure dont l'origine est certaine: les cas des cohortes prétoriennes, *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 27/2, 2021, 467–477.
MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2021b
Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., Soldats provenant du milieu rural de la province de Mésie Inférieure dans les légions romaines, *Analele Ştiinţifice ale Universităţii „Al. I. Cuza" Iaşi. Secţia Istorie* 67, 129–133.
MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2021c
Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., Soldats du milieu rural de la Mésie Inférieure recrutés dans l'armée romaine: les personnes dont l'origine villageoise est certe, *Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice a Academiei Române*, S. 5, 40, 47–75.
MIHAILESCU- BÎRLIBA 2024
Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L., The Mobility Vectors of Soldiers Recruited from the Rural Milieu of Moesia Inferior. I. The Inscriptions from Claudius to Titus, *Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology* 11/3, 10–22.
MIHAILESCU- BÎRLIBA/HONCU 2024
Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L./Honcu, A., The mobility of military recruits from rural Moesia Inferior: destinations, routes, estimated distances, *Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology* 11/1, 9–18.
MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/RĂILEANU 2014
Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L./Răileanu, V.-M., Les territoires ruraux comme source de recrutement pour la flotte. Le cas de Nicopolis ad Istrum (Mésie Inférieure) et une nouvelle hypothèse à propos de la politique de recrutement sous Septime Sévère, *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 40/2, 193–205.
MIRKOVIĆ, M. 2007
Mirković, M., Married and Settled: The Origo, Privileges and Settlement of Auxiliary Soldiers. In: Speidel, M. A./Lieb, H. (eds.), *Militärdiplome. Die Forschungsbeiträge der Berner Gespräche von 2004* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner), 327–343
PÁZSINT 2019
Pázsint, A.-I., Life after *Honesta Missio*: A Demographic ans

Social Perspective on the Veterans from Moesia Inferior. In: Mihailescu-Bîrliba, L./Spickermann, W. (eds.), Roman Army and Local Society in the Limes Provinces of the Roman Empire (Rahden: Marie Leidorf), 1–33.

SPAUL 1994
Spaul, J., *Ala*[2]. *The Auxiliary Cavalry Units of the Pre-Diocletianic Imperial Roman Army* (Andover: Nectoreca Press).

SPAUL 2000
Spaul, J., *Cohors*[2]. *The Evidence for and a Short History of the Auxiliary Infantry Units of the Imperial Roman Army* (Oxford: BAR International Series 841).

TOMAS 2016
Tomas, A., *Inter Moesos et Thraces. The Rural Hinterland of Novae in Lower Moesia (1st – 6th Centuries AD)* (Oxford: Archaeopress).

VERVAET 1999a
Vervaet, F. J., Tacitus, Domitius Corbulo and Traianus' *Bellum Parthicum*, *L'Antiquité Classique* 68, 289–297.

VERVAET 1999b
Vervaet, F. J., CIL IX 3426: A New Light on Corbulo's Career, with Special Reference to his Official Mandate in the East, from AD 55 to AD 63, *Latomus* 58, 574–599.

VERVAET 2003
Vervaet, F. J., Domitius Corbulo and the Rise oft he Flavian Dynasty, *Historia* 52, 436–464.

WEISS 2006
Weiß, P., Auxilien des syrischen Heeres von Domitian bis Antoninus Pius. Eine Zwischenbilanz nech den neuen Militärdiplome, *Chiron* 38, 249–298.