



THE THRACIANS IN THE ROMAN IMPERIAL ARMY

FROM THE FIRST TO THE THIRD CENTURIES A.D.

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MIHAIL ZAHARIADE

MEGA PUBLISHING HOUSE

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**NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ROMANIAN HISTORY
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY “VASILE PÂRVAN”**

THE CENTER FOR ROMAN MILITARY STUDIES

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To my wife, *Ileana-Ildiko*
To my daughters: *Anamaria* and *Elisabeta Ștefania*

*Dacos autem et Moesos, ac Thraces, in tantum bellicosos semper fuisse manifestum est, ut ipsum
Martem fabulae apud eos natum esse confirment*

(Clearly the Dacians, Moesians and Thracians have been always warlike, for fables tell us that Mars
himself was born among them)

(Vegetius, *Institutorum rei militaris*, I, 28)

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FOREWORD

This book is the first volume of the project entitled “*The Thracians in the Roman Imperial Army of the 1st -3rd Centuries*”. It is dedicated to the auxiliary regiments, *alae* and *cohortes* which, bore the ethnical distinction *Thracum* (‘of the Thracians’). It is also the result of a research which began in the late 1990’s.

The project is the consequence of a long debated issue in the modern historiography on the role and contribution of different ancient European nations included into the Roman Empire and, owing to the force of circumstances, into the Imperial Roman army. As the Roman army ceased to be exclusively Italic by the end of the Republic and significant territories were included into the Roman Empire, the contribution of other communities with human resources (Gauls, Spaniards, Lusitanians, Illyrians, Germans, Britons, Thracians, a wide range of Middle East populations, Greeks, and Dacians) comprised within its boundaries was of greatest importance for the success of their integration into the Mediterranean civilization.

Thracians were one of these populations and even one of the most renowned in Europe, with a noteworthy impact in the ancient world. From their earliest times to the Roman conquest, the eastern regions of the Balkan Peninsula bore the ethnical stamp of the Thracian tribes. “The most numerous in the world, except Indians”, reached a relatively high level of social, political, and cultural development. The Thracian civilization covered a wide geographical area and their history span over several millennia. Its cultural background was remarkably original, even if acculturation implied intense Hellenic and Roman influences. Modern research in philological and archaeological fields identified many of the essential traits that characterized the Thracian identity in relation with other great nations of the ancient world.

Apart from the distinctiveness of their culture, Thracians and other closely related tribes were renowned warriors in antiquity. Almost all the Greek and Roman sources which dealt with particular aspects of their history and social behavior have a word of admiration for their valiance and warlike qualities. Pomponius Mela vowed: “*This land (Thrace) takes more care for males...so as numerous as savage*”. Late sources seem to officialize the image. *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* affirms: “(Thrace)... *has a great number of males, strong in war, for which reason soldiers are frequently recruited there*”. “*Clearly the Dacians, Moesians, and Thracians have always been bellicose, for fables tell us that Mars himself was born among them*” said Vegetius, while in one of Justinian’s *Novellae* it is plainly stated that “*it is an undeniable fact that if one speaks about Thrace, it comes immediately in our mind the idea of manhood, great number of armies, wars, and battles; for they were born and have their origin in that country*”. With such a demographic and manly background the Thracian human resources became a sustainable reservoir for recruitment into the Roman army. A sizeable quantity of epigraphic evidence brilliantly confirms the ancient sources.

The present investigation is based mainly on the available literary and especially epigraphic sources. Archaeological results in such an enterprise would have increased the approach to some overwhelming dimensions.

Modern literature played a significant role in modeling this book. The results of the research of many scholars with considerable contributions on the subject beginning with 19th century until present day were of outstanding importance for my own conclusions. The inventory of basic contributions as to the Thracian regiments in the Roman army, either as a direct approach or included in a larger context is too long to be discussed here. The bibliographical list comprises the books, studies, and articles on which many of my conclusions are based, but also served as base for my own deductions and contributions.

The aim of this first volume was primarily to disentangle and establish among tens of opinions, suggestions, and assumptions the real number of regiments officially labeled in the Roman army as

Thracum. The result was impressive indeed: twelve cavalry and twenty six infantry regiments. As work progressed the need for a comprehensive insight into the recruitment, and setting of the regiments became apparently of utmost importance for understanding the contribution of the Thracian nation to the Roman army. This in turn seemed to demand a more introspective analysis of the history, movements, and participation of the Thracian regiments in war or peace activities. The considerable lot of ca. 55 individuals of Thracian origin from auxiliary regiments recorded in inscriptions and military diplomas and widely distributed into the Roman army was the basis for this particular inquiry.

A quantitative approach inevitably depends on the available information. This was one of the reasons why I avoided final statistics, figures, and conclusions regarding such a large scale process like the Diaspora of soldiers of Thracian origin in the *auxilia* of the Roman Empire. The figures, if they are given, are only preliminary and certainly rather insignificant in quantity, if one considers the real dimension of the process.

Particular attention has also been given to the evidence of soldiers of Thracian origin, the tribal or regional origin of every single individual that revealed links to the Thracian area. An important number of soldiers do not specifically mention their origin, but leave no doubt on their relationship to the Thracian background. Many individuals in the Thracian area or in the auxiliary regiments might have hidden their origin under unambiguous Roman names without any indication of their national affiliation or social-juridical status, a fact that makes almost impossible to point to their origin with certainty. However, regardless how much high the critical viewpoint we adopt, the evidence, reduced as it is but considered in its entirety, gives a certain clue as to the preferences and trends of the distribution of the Thracian effectives. They depended on the momentary requirements and especially on the policy of the Roman administration of permanently engaging the human resources of Thrace in order to boost the defense of other frontiers.

However, the modern literature on the Roman army is vast and is expanding almost on a daily basis. A good deal of it contains references to the regiments of Thracian origin. Keeping track and updating the information contained in this book with the most recent studies, articles, and notes spread in a large number of journals would have brought this research to no end. This is why I willingly assumed myself the risk of being bitterly criticized by the scholarly community for providing citations and notes from epigraphic and philological literature only until 2006. Future discoveries will undoubtedly add much to this picture and nuance assertions and assumptions.

Mihail Zahariade

Bucharest
September 30, 2008

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Many years ago, while a booklet about the role of the Dacians in the military history of the Ancient world was coming to light, the seed of a monograph on the presence of the Thracians in the Imperial Roman army had been already thrown by the co-author of the above mentioned contribution, Prof. Dr. Alexandru Vulpe. At that time, such an enterprise seemed elusive to me. Uncertainty and a good deal of reluctance faded away once steady encouragements and research revealed unexpected perspectives. After a long gestation of thoughts and hesitations, I have decided to initiate the present day project which owes much to my first mentor on Thracian studies, Acad. Prof. Dr. Alexandru Vulpe, the today Director of the Institute of Archaeology “Vasile Pârvan” in Bucharest.

I am fully indebted to all my Romanian and foreign colleagues who supported me with souls and minds in this long, exhausting but rewarding endeavor: Mircea Babeş, Slobodan Dušanić, Werner Eck, Al. Fol, Paul A. Holder, Valerie Maxfield, Constantin C. Petolescu, Dumitru Protase, Dennis B. Saddington, K. Strobel, Alexandru Suceveanu, M. Tacheva, P. Weiß, and Pierre Le Roux.

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PART I

DESCRIPTIVE

I

THE BACKGROUND: THRACE AND THE THRACIANS

1. The Thracians

In the 5th century B.C. Herodotus stated authoritatively: “*The Thracians are the most powerful people in the world, except, of course, the Indians; and if they had one head, or agreed among themselves, it is my belief that their match could not be found anywhere, and that they would by far surpass all other nations*”¹. This observation must certainly have been referring to those occupied areas that the Greeks and the historian implicitly believed to have been Thrace and the demographic potential in the Balkan Peninsula and adjacent areas.

The Greeks increased their awareness about Thrace (Θράκη, Θρηίκη) and Thracians in the 8th–6th centuries, when contacts became more frequent². From the Greek point of view, Thrace denoted mainly the lands between the Aegean Sea and the Danube (Hister), but the perception sometimes extended even beyond the River³.

As a distinct force, the Thracians fought on the side of Troy in the late 13th century⁴. The mid and late Bronze age, 15th–14th centuries, is generally considered by the modern research to be the beginning of the Thracians as a well-defined ethnic community with a common language and material culture, in spite of some minor regional or group differences⁵. There are more or less general notions of Thrace and Thracians depicted in ancient writings with a remarkable variety of information on the territorial extension, culture and ethnicity. In light of literary and epigraphic sources, the modern scholars can now perceive Thracians as a people with roughly common traits, covering a vast area from mid Danube to the northern Black Sea steppes and from the Northern Carpathians to the Aegean Sea⁶ (**Fig. 1**).

¹ Herod. *Hist.* 5, 3. Herodotus’ picture of the 5th century Thracian world is unique and seems to express at that time a common perception of many of the Greek authorities, especially Athens, whose growing influence in southern Thrace implied tight political and economic contacts with Thracian kings; see Thuc. *Hist.* 2, 29; 96–97; on the Herodotus’ passage see: Macan 1895, 154 n. 3; Fol 1989, 24–30.

² *Early Greek-Thracian relations*: Oberhammer 1936, 393; Boardman 1995, 273–323; Danov 1976¹, 40–55; 1976², 219–266 passim; Hoddinott 1981, 81–82; Markov 1983, 122–128; 1984, 111–116; 1989, 152–159; Porozhanov 1986, 196–207; Chichikova 1995, 129–132; Fol 1997, 71–76; Archibald 1998, 94–96 and 66–78, for an archaeological approach; Porozhanov 1998, 95–100; 1999, 27–32; de Boer 2004 [2007], 121–140.

³ Scyl. *Peripl.* 67 considers Thrace stretching from the Strymon River up to the Hister River; Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 7. 1; 12. 3. 2 pictures Thrace also confined between the Hister and the Thracian Mountains, or from Byzantium to Hister, along the Black Sea coast, while for Pliny. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 11 (18) 41 and Solinus, *Coll.* 10. 23 there is no doubt that Thrace encompassed the entire region between Hister to the north, Pontus Euxinus and Propontide to the east, and the Aegean Sea to the south. Ptol. *Geogr.* 3 11. 1 describes strictly the Roman province of Thrace, set in 46 A.D., much more reduced in surface than the geographical Thrace. Dacians and Getae were commonly considered Thracians in Greek historiography: Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3. 1; 2: Οἱ τοίνυν Ἕλληνες τοὺς Γέτας Θράκας ὑπελάμβανον that entails that if “the Getae lived on either side of the Hister River” (7. 3. 2), the north of it is inhabited also by a Thracian population. The Acornion decree (IGB I, 13), calls Burebista μεγίστου γεγονότος τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης βασιλέων while Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3. 11 ἀνὴρ Γέτης. Although not explicitly stated, the notion of Thrace north of the Danube might have circulated as an implicit concept; see also: Serv Grammat. Comm. at Eneid 3. 35; Ps. Scymn. 664–665; Dio Cass. 51. 22. 7; Dio Chrysost. 12. 16.

⁴ Leaf 1915, 1–11; Danov 1947–1948, 101–161; 1976¹, 40–41; 1976², 184–188; Bouzek 1985, 213–217; Hoddinott 1986, 125–133; Porozhanov 1995, 113–122; 1998, 15–38; Jordanov 2000, 101–108; Lazova 2006, 61–68.

⁵ Wiesner 1963, 45–53; Danov 1976², 176–184; Katincharov 1978, 270–289; Venedikov 1978, 164–165; Hoddinott 1981, 30–75; Oppermann 1988, 28–45; Chichikova 1995, 129–132; Archibald 1998, 26–78; Porozhanov 1998, 15–50; 55–100; Jordanov 2000, 132–134.

⁶ Danov 1971, 271–277; 1976², 113–118; Hoddinott 1981, 22–39; Jordanov 1997, 107–112; Porozhanov 1998, 55–75; 95–100; Jordanov 1998, 31–35 = 2000, 101–108.

Literary records and archaeological evidence vary considerably when they refer to the Thracian world in the various historical periods. Thrace and the Thracian world appear significantly different in LH III B and the Iliad⁷ from that which was reflected by Herodotus in the late 6th and especially 5th century⁸. Movements of large masses of Thracian population had taken place in the 9th–7th centuries B.C.⁹. The ancient authors could only have echoed the tradition of these dramatic events that reconfigured the eastern parts of the Balkan Peninsula and north-western regions of Asia Minor. A dynamic political evolution evidenced clear differences between the 5th–4th century¹⁰, late 3rd–2nd century B.C. and 1st B.C.–1st century A.D. Thrace¹¹.

The “classical Thrace” encompassed a significant number of tribes (ἔθνη). If the late 2nd and early 1st millennia B.C. witnessed substantial Thracian emigrations, the mass movements remained rather partial in the second half of the 1st millennium B.C. when the impact of the Greek colonization¹² coagulated the local communities in eastern and southern Thrace. The 5th–4th century Odrysian state (see below) seems to have had enough authority to curb chaotic movements and major internal conflicts. After the transient Celtic kingdom south of the Balkans¹³ with Tylis as town capital, the internal political division of Thrace in the mid and late Hellenistic period was dominated by powerful local dynasts¹⁴. With the exception of some Thracian invasions against Macedonia and frequent revolts, the ethnical picture of Thrace remained basically unchanged until the creation of the Roman province.

In terms of ethnicity, the region between the Haemus Mountain and the Aegean Sea is commonly considered as the core of Thrace, where the main and most powerful Thracian tribes lived and the territory where the major political developments of the Thracian world occurred. This is also the area where the political organization of the Thracians reached its momentum in the most prominent expression of the Odrysian state in the 5th–4th century B.C. and in its revived form in the 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D. The re-creation of the Odrysian state in the 1st century B.C. around the powerful Sapeian formation, which gradually developed into a client state of Rome, by dynasts like Cotys, Sadalas II, or Rhoemetalkes, continued to ensure, although in a precarious equilibrium, the political status-quo of the Thracian populaces¹⁵. This was the heart of the territories that were turned by the Romans into the province of Thrace in 46 A.D following complicated and not always decipherable political and military events¹⁶.

In a fragmentary state as it is and to a certain extent in an abbreviated form, the 7th book of Strabon’s *Geography*, remains the most reliable and complete ancient source on Thrace, its main tribes

⁷ Danov 1943–1944, 14–19; 1947–1948, 16–17; 1976², 113–164, 176–188; Fol 1979, 63–68; Toncheva 1980, 189–194; Hoddinott 1981, 76–87; Jordanov 1981, 96–109 = 1986, 47–55; Porozhanov 1986, 47–55; Lazova 1989, 60–74; 1990, 149–152; 1992, 277–283; Chichikova 1995, 129–132; Porozhanov 1995, 113–122; 1996, 236–246; 1998, 51–100; Petrova 1997, 95–106; Jordanov 1998, 31–35; 2000, 109–117; Porozhanov 2000, 377–389; 2005, 7–10.

⁸ Danov 1943–1944, 15–17; 1976², 267–379; Fol 2000, 46–49; Jordanov 2000, 139–140.

⁹ Fol 1971¹, 3–18; 1971², 56–72; Danov 1976², 113–164; 1980, 191–195; Jordanov 1997, 107–112; Porozhanov 1998, 101–148; Vassileva 1998, 13–17; 1999, 43–49; Fol, 2000, 24–25.

¹⁰ In general see: Foucart 1909, 83–120; Lenk 1937, 1900–1908; Danov 1960², 75–80; 1965, 3–17; 1974, 993–1014; Fol 1975, 123–140; Porozhanov 2001–2002, 133–137.

¹¹ Danov 1960¹, 75–80; Mihailov 1961, 33–44; Danov 1971, 271–277; Fol 1975, 93–121; 167–195; Danov 1979, 26–41; 59–145; Sullivan 1979, 189–211; Jordanov 1995, 301–310; 2000, 108–127.

¹² Danov 1965, 3–17; 1967, 131–139; Fol 1975, 123–140; 1997, 71–76.

¹³ See note 46. Also Delev 2003, 108–109; Nevertheless, the brief existence of the Tylis Celtic kingdom did not hamper the continuity of the local Thracian political life. An inscription (IGB 1² 307) attests to some agreements concluded between Messembria and a local Thracian leader, Sadalas, who was preceded by at least four forerunners, a good proof of independent actions taken by the local structures while the Celtic kingdom was in existence.

¹⁴ *Thrace in late Hellenistic period*: Danov 1952, 105–161; Jones 1971, 4–7; Fol 1975, 107–122; 167–195; Danov 1976², 423–430; 1979, 72–113; Velkov 1995, 300; Archibald 1998, 231–237; 304–315; Jordanov 2000, 187–217; Delev 2003, 107–120.

¹⁵ The Odrysian state as a client state of Rome see below, note 47 and also: Jones 1971, 8–10; Danov 1979, 131–145; Sullivan 1979, 186–211; Hoddinott 1981, 129–130.

¹⁶ Danov 1979, 145–150; Sullivan 1979, 211; Hoddinott 1981, 130.

and their political and demographic situation in the first two decades of the 1st century A.D.¹⁷. Strabon states that “Thrace consists of twenty-two tribes (ἔθνη) in total”¹⁸ although he does not provide a complete and coalesced list of them. He concentrated only on those tribes which noticeably drew attention through their warlike qualities or penchant for robbery that probably created serious difficulties for Rome’s advance towards the northern part of the Balkan Mountains. Names of Thracian tribes are recorded on different occasions by other Greek and Latin writers, although their mentioning is made occasionally, in close relation with some political events or mythological tradition.

Modern scholars¹⁹ produced comprehensive lists of Thracian tribes and their occupation areas from the Aegean Sea to the northern Carpathians and from the Middle Danube to the north Black Sea regions. Thus the far known populaces are²⁰:

Agriani, Aletoi, Apsinthioi, Arsietai, Artaci, Astai;
Bebryci, Benni, Berecynthae, Bessi, Bettegerri, Biessi, Bisaltai, Bistones, Bithyni, Bottiai, Briantai
(Priantai ?), Brisai, Brygoi (Bryges, Phryges);
Caeni, Carpi, (Carpodaci), Cebreni, Ceiageisoi, Celegerri, Ciconi, Coelaetae, Coralli, Corpilli,
Costoboci, Cottini, Crestoni, Crobyzi, Crusaei;
Daci, Dentheletai, Darsioi, Datyleptoi, Derrones, Digerri, Dioi, Diobessi, Disorai, Dolioni, Dolonci,
Drosoi, Drugeri;
Edoni, Entribai;
Galabrioi (?), Galaioi, Getae, Gondrai(?);
Hypsaltai;
Ladepsoi, Laioi/Lae, (Lai);
Maduateni, Maedi, Maedobithyni, Mariandyni, Melanditai, Mezeanoi(?), Morylli, Mygdones, Mysoi
(Moesi);
Nipsaioi;
Odomanti, Odrysa, Oitensioi, Olizones, Orresci;
Paitoi, Paioplai, Panaioi, Piastai, Piengitai, Piephigoi, Pieres, Phryges (Bryges) Pyrogeri;
Rondaioi;
Saboi, Saioi, Samaioi (?), Sapaioi, Satrai (Satrocentai), Selletes, Serdi, Sioletai(?), Sintoi, Siroipaiones,
Sithones, Spiuri;
Terizi, Thunatai, Thynoi, Tilataioi, Tinteno, Tralleis., Tranipsai, Trausi, Treres, Triballi;
Usdicesi;
Zbalenoi, Zeialeoi.

Some of these tribes played a significant role in the history of south Eastern Europe and north Western Asia Minor, while some are indistinctively recorded in the great mass of Thracians without any known manifest posture in the area.

Thracians in Thrace

In the following passages, emphasis will be placed only on those communities and territories that had a significant impact in the Roman period and particularly a patent contribution as a recruitment basin in the 1st–3rd centuries Roman Imperial army.

In a short list, Strabon enumerates western Thracian tribes, the *Coralli*, *Bessi*, *Dentheletae*, and *Maedi* that populated this part of the Haemus Mountain. He emphasized their livelihood as robbers and

¹⁷ On the 7th book of Strabon’s *Geography* see: Dubois, 1891, 153-330 passim; Walbank 2002, 7-18; Baladié 1989 I-VIII;

¹⁸ Strab. *Geogr.* 7 frg. 47/48

¹⁹ e.g. Tomaschek, Russu, Danov, Oppermann, Fol, Vlahov, etc.

²⁰ The list contains the known Thracian tribes and reproduces basically the ones offered by Lenk 1936, 405–407; Russu 1967, 22; Danov 1976², passim; Tomaschek 1980, 13–111; Fol, Spiridonov 1983.

thieves, especially the Bessi who seem to have been the most numerous and powerful of all in the Haemus area²¹.

The **Bessi** are recorded primarily by Herodotus, Pliny and Dio²². Their tribal lands covered roughly the Upper Hebrus (Maritsa) River and the western ramifications of the Haemus Mountains. To the south, the extension of the Bessian area seems to have reached the Rhodope Mountains, as stated clearly by Strabon²³. To the west, the Skombros and partially the *Donax* Mountain separated the actual Bessi from the *Dioi* (*Dii*), possibly a sub-tribe of them; to the north-west and south-west the Bessi neighbored the *Serdi* (*Serdoi*) and the *Maedi* respectively. To the north, the tribal territory reached the upper Oiskos (Isker) valley, while to the north-east it bordered the lands of the *Treri* and *Tilatai*. To the south-east, the territory of the Bessi was neighboring the powerful tribes of the *Coelaetae* and *Tralli* and reached through the western Rhodope Mountains the territory of the *Trausi* and *Sappaei*²⁴.

Initially a mountain people, the Bessi descended along the Maritsa valley and gradually occupied the plains between the Tundja and Maritsa Rivers, around the present day Pazardjik and Plovdiv, where the tribal centre of *Bessapara* reached momentum for a certain period in the 4th century B.C., before the foundation of Philippopolis (Plovdiv) by Philip II of Macedon. To the east, the Bessian area stretched 10–15 km west of Beroe town and 60–70 km east of Philippopolis. This territory, which included the Thracian plain, explains in great measure the extent of the 1st century A.D. *Bessike* strategy, which encompassed the larger part of the above mentioned territory in early Roman period (see below).

The *Dioi*, on the upper Nestus (Mesta) River, the *Diobessi* on the upper Hebrus, and the *Digerri*, on the left bank of the upper Nestus were closely related to the main branch of the Bessi²⁵. Thucydides gives the unique information that the *Dii* (Δίοι) were μαχαιροφόροι, the bearers of the short and bent swords, which was typical for the Thracians²⁶. If, during the Peloponesian wars the *Dioi* contributed voluntarily with a fighting force to Sitalkes' army, in 21 A.D. they joined the *Coelaetae* and *Odrysae* revolt against Rome (see below chapter II).

The **Dentheletae** inhabited the valley of the upper and partially middle course of the Strymon (Struma) River, before the big bent to the south-east, from Osogov Planina and Rugen upstream, until the Vitosha Mountain and Znepolie. They roughly covered the plain near the present day Kiustendil, Stanke Dimitrov (Dupnitsa), and the mountainous region to the west, bordering both the territory of the *Serdi*²⁷ and Macedonia. The region encompassed roughly the early Roman *Dentheletike* strategy. The *Denthelethae* were ones of the earliest allies of Rome (chapter II) and the drafts among them must have been carried out very early and not at all difficult, especially during Tiberius' reign. They do not appear

²¹ Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 5. 12.

²² Herod. *Hist.* 7, 111; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 11; Dio Cass. 47. 25; 51. 25; also recorded by: Polyb. *Hist.* 23. 8. 4; Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. cond.* 39. 53; Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3. 4; Suet. *Oct.* 3; Ptol. *Geogr.* 3. 11. 6; Solin. 10. 1; Amm. Marc. 27. 4. 11; Veg. 2. 11; 4. 24; Hieronym. *Ep.* 60.

²³ Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 5. 12: συνάπρουτες τῆ τε Ῥοδόπη (“[...] Their country borders on Mount Rhodope[...]”); Tatcheva 1997, 200–205.

²⁴ *The geographical location of Bessi*: Oberhümmer, 1899, 330; Katsarov 1924, 31–44; Sarafov 1969, 141–150; Maximov 1974, 397–408; Fol. 1975, 77–83; Dechev 1976, 57–59; Danov 1976², 131–134; Wiesner 1963, 19–21; Tomaschek 1980, 72–80; Tatcheva 1997, 200–205.

²⁵ *Dioi*: Oberhümmer 1937, 1897–1898; Danov 1976², 128–129; Dechev 1976, 140; Tomaschek 1980, 71–72; *Diobessi*: Danov 1976², 128; Dechev 1976, 140; Tomaschek 1980, 72; they are recorded in Thuc. 2. 96 as inhabiting the Rhodope Mountain and Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 11. 40 as a branch of Bessi ([...] “ad Mestum amnem ima Pangaei montis ambientem inter Haletos, Diobessos [...]”). *Digerri*: Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 11. 40: “[...] amnem Strymonem accolunt dextro latere Densetetae et Maedi ad Bisaltias usque supra dictas, laevo Digerri [...]”; Steph. Byz. s.v. 229. 19; Danov 1976¹, 129; Dechev 1976, 131.

²⁶ Thuc. 2. 96. 1.

²⁷ Oberhümmer 1901, 2101–2102; Lenk 1936, col. 406; Fol 1975, 60–69; Danov 1976², 124, 126; Dechev, 1976, 115–116; Fol 1976, 9–14; Tomaschek 1980, 62–63; also in Polyb. *Hist.* 2. 4; 6. 4; 33; 8. 4; Cic. *In Pis.* 34. 84; Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. cond.* 31. 53; 39. 53; 40. 22; 54. 20; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 3; 40; Ptol. *Geogr.* 3. 11. 6; the geographer mentions only the Δανθηλητικὴ στρατηγία; Solin. 10.6; Dio Cass. 51. 23. 25; Steph. Byz. s.v. 217. 21

in the A.D. 21 and 26 uprisings²⁸, for they seem to have finally accepted the Roman rule before that date²⁹. Whether or not they were a subdivision of the large mass of Bessi, as W. Tomaschek supposed³⁰, this is a matter of future debate. However, the Denthelethae, possibly including as subdivisions other smaller tribes, like the *Agriani* and *Laioi* (*Lae*), remained a populace with an important political and military role in western Thrace.

The **Serdi**. The tribal territory of the *Serdoi*, *Serdi* and very likely the *Serdike* strategy reached to the south and south east the northern slopes of the Skombros (Vitosa) Mountain, the Denthelethae lands to the south west and the Oiskos (Isker) River to the east³¹. The *Serdi* was the only tribe that occupied the upper course of the Oiskos River and the plain of the present day city of Sofia. Through some of their sub-tribes, they reached the southern slopes of the Haemus Mountains. Rome's conflicts with the *Serdi* are recorded by Cassius Dio³², but they seem to have been relatively easily integrated into the system of Roman alliances, already by the end of the 1st century B.C.

The **Maedi**. The territory inhabited by the powerful tribe of *Maedi*, which covered the *Medike* strategy was confined between Thrace and Macedonia, on both borders of the Upper Strymon (Struma) and Strumitsa Rivers, with a major density west of Struma and upper and middle course of the Blagalnitsa River, in all probability in the present day region of Blagoevgrad. They were the eastern neighbors of the Dardanians³³. Pliny noticed that '*Strymonem accolunt dextro latere Denseletae et Maedi*'³⁴. Apparently they occupied the region to the east of the *Dardani* and south of the *Triballi*, *Moesi* and *Denthelethae*. Their area was mountainous and included the *Orbelos* (Belasitsa) Mountain, western ramifications of the Rhodope and *Donax* (Rila) Mountains, and extended over the entire region between Upper Strymon and Rhodope. In Roman times, the capital of the *Maedike* strategy was Nicopolis ad Nestum (see below).

The **Coelaletae**. The *Coelaletae* affirmed themselves as one of the most active and energetic Thracian populates. Pliny shows that they were divided into Greater Coelaletae (*Coelaletae Maiores*) and Lesser Coelaletae (*Coelaletae Minores*)³⁵, the first occupying the upper course of the river Syrmos (Strema) and Tonzos (Tundja), while the latter lived on the Arda River course, north of the Sappaei³⁶. They rose in arms in A.D.21 together with the Odrysae and Dioi and besieged Philippopolis³⁷. The Coelaletae in Ptolemy would correspond to Pliny's Lesser Coelaletae living in Rhodope, on middle Nestus to the south and in the Philippopolis plain to the north. Both seem to have been branches of the Odrysae³⁸ and that explains why they revolted together³⁹.

²⁸ cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3. 38; 4. 46–51, although the revolt from 26 A.D. seems to have encompassed a larger number of tribes.

²⁹ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. cond.* 40. 22. 9: "[...] *socii errant* [...]".

³⁰ Tomaschek 1980, 16.

³¹ Oberhümmer 1923, 1669; Lenk 1936 col. 407; Danov 1976², 124–125; Dechev 1976, 430–432; Tomaschek 1980, 91; ancient literary sources: Athan. *Apol. In Avian.* 154. A Σερδῶν πόλις is recorded in a significant number of epigraphic sources.

³² Dio Cass. 51. 25. 4: Μαίδους μὲν καὶ Σερδῶν μάχαις τε κατακρατῶν (in 29 B.C. by Crassus; see below chapter II).

³³ Lenk 1936 col. 406; Gerov 1960, 7–9; Fol 1975, 69–71; Danov 1976², 127–128; Dechev 1976, 280–282; Tomaschek 1980, 61–62; ancient sources: Thuc. 2. 98; 4. 3. Polyb. *Hist* 10. 41. 4. *Athen.* 2. 45; 4. 184; Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 5. 7 who specifies τῶν δὲ Δαρδανιατῶν εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Γαλάβριοι παρ' οἷς... πόλις ἀρχαία, καὶ οἱ Θουνᾶται [οἱ] Μαίδους ἔθνεϊ πρὸς ἔω συνάπτουσιν, therefore the eastern neighbors of the Dardanian tribe of Thunatae; 7. 5. 12; frg. 36; Dio Cass. 51. 25. 4 relates to a military clash between the *Maedi* and *Serdi* on one side and the Crassus-led Roman army in 29 B.C.; Tit. Liv. 26. 25. 6; App. *Illyr.* 5 considers them of Dardanian origin; Alex. 9.1; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 3; 40; Steph. Byz. s.v. 459. 5; 706. 8.

³⁴ Plin. *Hist Nat.* 4. 3.

³⁵ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 41: "[...] *Coelaletae maiores Haemo, minores Rhodopae subditi* [...]".

³⁶ Oberhümmer 1922, 1049; Fol 1975, 83–85; Jones 1971, 13; Danov 1976², 136; Dechev 1976, 248–249; Tomaschek 1980, 85–86; Tacheva 2000, 120–132; 2004, 116–131; sources: Ptol. *Geogr.* 3. 11. 6.

³⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 38. 38.

³⁸ Wiesner 1963, 21; Tomaschek 1980, 85.

³⁹ Although the Thracian tribes which raised arms against the Roman administration in A. D 26 are not specified by Tac. *Ann.* 4. 46, *Coelaletae* seem to have been again implied in the rebellion of this year (ch II). An inscription from Mangriotitsa, near

The **Odrysaes**. By number, political importance, and military strength, the *Odrysaes* held a prevailing position among the other Thracian tribes. The Odrysian state, created by 5th century B.C. on the eastern Balkan Peninsula, was the most successful political and military structure the Thracian world ever had. As a conglomerate of tribes culturally interrelated through their material and spiritual components, the Odrysaes occupied initially the area around the Ergines (Erghene) River valley, the core of the Odrysian tribal territory (*Odrysidea*) from where they expanded on the Lower Hebrus (Maritsa) River course. The tribal capital, *Odrysia* or *Odrysa*, the old *Gonnoi* and later Hadrianopolis, was recorded by ancient writers such as Ὀδρυσία, Ὀδρύσα πόλις Ὀρυσῶν⁴⁰. Towards the north-west, the Odrysian territory was confined by the Strandja massive (ancient *Asticus Mons*); south of Strandja lies the present day Tekirdag (the ancient *Hieron Oros*), while towards the east, the contact of the Odrysaes with the Black Sea was cut off by the tribes of Nipsei, Tranipsi and Skirmiadae, recorded by Herodotus⁴¹. Later, they were included in the Odrysian state and became subdivisions of the Odrysian populace. In the process of an expansion, some other territories towards the south east were also occupied.

By early 5th century B.C. the Odrysian state coalesced on a vast territory encompassing both the southern and northern regions of the Haemus⁴². Athens must have had a hand in the creation of this powerful Thracian state as a future ally on its northern flank against pro-Spartan Macedonia⁴³. Crushed around 342–341 B.C. by its western rival, Macedonia⁴⁴, the Odrysian state survived, although in a gradual state of decay. The dynasts, like Seuthes III who joined the anti-Lysimachus coalition, succeeded in maintaining a certain degree of independence of a much reduced Odrysian kingdom after an agreement with the Hellenistic king⁴⁵.

Political disunion in Thrace depicts the period following Seuthes' achievements. Allegiances towards Greek cities and alliances concluded with some of them were vacillating, relying on the transitory and momentary interests. However, the core of the Odrysian state organization seems to have survived through the late 3rd–1st century B.C. although in some disorder and confusion deepened by the Celtic violent invasion⁴⁶. With a Sapeian dynasty always as a Rome's staunch ally, the Odrysian state survived the free Thracians' uprisings in the 1st century A.D., even at the expense of military interventions against its own co-nationals⁴⁷.

Selymbria (Kalinka 1926, 128 nr. 22) refers to the A.D. 26 events and mentions a war with *Coeleleetae*: [...] ὑπὲρ τῆς Ροιμητάλκου καὶ Πυθοδορίδος ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Κοιλαλητικὸν πόλεμον κινδυνῶν σωτηρίας [...].

⁴⁰ Steph. Byz. s.v. *The Odrysian territories*: Danov 1976², 138–139, 141–142; Tomaschek 1980, 81; Delev 1983, 220–227; Archibald 1998, 93–94; Fol 2000, 91–100.

⁴¹ Herod. *Hist.* 4. 93.

⁴² *The Odrysian state*: Thuc. 2. 29; 95–101; Höck 1891, 76–117; Solari 1912; Casson 1926, 12–13; 193–198, 201; Lenk 1936 col. 406; 1937, 1900–1903; Ruge 1937, 1903–1904; Danov 1960, 3–29; Wiesner 1963, 116–134; 1975, 93–140; 141–166; Danov 1976², 335–398; Vulpe 1976, 22–38; Fol, Marazov 1977, 131–143; Danov 1979, 30–31; Tomaschek 1980, 80–83; Hoddinott 1981, 101–102; 104–118; Oppermann 1984, 76–112; Archibald 1998, 93–125; 213–222; 231–237; 304–316; *the archaeological evidence*: 126–196; Topalov 1995; Jordanov 2000, 110–113; 2001, 463–474; 2005, 10–19. The first known king of the Odrysian kingdom was Teres; Tatcheva 1999, 155–158.

⁴³ Herod. *Hist.* 7. 137; Thuc. 2. 29; Casson 1926, 201–207; Fol 1975, 123–125; Danov 1976², 335–339; Hoddinott 1981, 104–105; Oppermann 1984, 81; Boschnakov 1995, 277–288; Archibald 1998, 94–102; 112–120; Tsiafakis 2000, 43–44.

⁴⁴ Wiesner 1963, 135–148; Danov 1976², 388–393; Vulpe 1976, 32–35; Danov 1979, 32–39; Hammond, Griffith 1979, 264–267; 281–285; 554–566; Jordanov 1995, 153–172; 1998, 11–98; Archibald 1998, 231–237.

⁴⁵ *Seuthes' revolt against Alexander and Lysimachus*: Quint. Curt. 10. 1. 45; Diod. 18. 14; 19. 73; *the Odrysian state in the Hellenistic epoch*: Höck 1891, 100–104; Solari 1912, 19–21; 40–41; Gerasimov 1955, 123–128; Mihailov 1961, 38; 1975, 115–122; 141–166; Oppermann 1984, 147; 1975; Kalojanov 1995, 269–372; Bozhkova 1997, 338–352; Archibald 1998, 308–310; Jordanov 1998, 161–240; Jordanov 2000, 120–121; *Seuthes III*: Höck 1891, 115–117; Vulpe 1976, 31–32; Danov 1979, 41–42; Jordanov 2000, 187–217; Rabadjiev 2000, 387–397.

⁴⁶ *Celtic invasion and kingdom*: Casson 1926, 207–208; Wiesner 1963, 145–148; Danov 1976², 47–58; Gerov 1968, 349–355; Hoddinott 1981, 126–127; Kaloyanov 1983, 73–86; Domaradski 1984; Cunliffe 1997, 172–175; Jordanov 2000; 123–124; Falileyev 2006, 27–32; *Thrace in Late Hellenistic epoch*: Fol 1975, 167–193; Danov 1976², 46–47; 59–106; Hoddinott 1981, 127–128; Oppermann 1984, 159–170; Fol 1986, 5–16.

⁴⁷ The second Odrysian state recreated by Rome as a client state: Wiesner 1963, 155–163; Oppermann 1984, 170–172; Sullivan 1979, 186–211; Danov 1979, 106–144.

Politically powerful tribes formed part of the Odrysian community. The **Asti** occupied the northern coasts of Propontis and gained political momentum in the 3rd–1st century B.C., as a consequence of the crushing of the Odrysian state by Philip II of Macedon. They were finally included again into the new 1st century B.C. Odrysian state. The **Caeni**, **Benni**, **Sai** and very probably **Corpilli**, living along the Propontis and Aegean Seas were likely to have also been closely related to the Odrysae lineage⁴⁸.

A considerable number of other Thracian tribes and sub-tribes were recorded in the geographical and historical sources. These communities such as the *Satrae*, *Derseiai*, *Melanditae*, *Tini*, *Skirmiadae*, *Trausi*, *Nipseioi*, *Tranipsae*, *Tilataiae* were not too large, and their political evolution drove them gradually towards amalgamation with other larger tribes, migration, or even extinction. Thus, their role in the Thracian world remained rather limited. Other tribes, although small in number, continued to remain somewhat important for the Roman authorities, as a recruitment basin.

The **Sai** lived on the Aegean coast, south of Corpilli. They had their political centre at *Sala*, on the Ciconian coast⁴⁹. The place is recorded at an early period by Herodotus⁵⁰ as having been an obstacle for Xerxes' army. Later it was mentioned by Titus Livius: "*vicus Maronitarum Sare (sc. Sale ?) appellanti*", where the Romans gained an important victory over the Thracian *Thrausi*⁵¹. In the 3rd century the place appears as *mutatio Salei*⁵². A soldier in *ala III Thracum Augusta* was apparently recruited in Sale, if *domo Sala* refers to the place on the territory on the Ciconian coast and the political centre of Sai (see below chapter V).

The **Caeni** lived south-west of Byzantion and were neighbours to the Asti⁵³. This community was included in the recruitment area for the Roman army. A soldier who indicates his origin through *Scaenus*, no doubt an individual from this tribe was discharged from *ala Veterana Gallica* in A.D. 91, a former mixed Gallo-Thracian unit (see below chapter V).

The **Tralli** lived south of the Rhodopi Mountains, on the left bank of the Lower Nestos⁵⁴. They seem to have been closely related to the Bessi and they provided soldiers of good quality. They offered recruitment ground for the Roman army by the end of the 1st century. A soldier from this tribe is recorded in *cohors IIII Gallorum* in 114 (see below chapter VI).

Thracians of Asia Minor

Western and north-western Asia Minor was considered an area where early Thracian migration and colonization took place. Strabo echoes the tradition which today is a scientific certainty. The geographer was familiar with the culture of many of the Thracian tribes of his time in Asia Minor: the *Phrygi*, *Brygi*, *Mysi*, *Mygdoni*, *Bebryci*, *Maedobithyni*, *Bythini*, *Thyni*, and *Mariandini* who immigrated to these regions in historical times⁵⁵.

The migration of important masses of Thracian communities in north-western Asia Minor might have taken place successively, around 1500–1200 B.C.⁵⁶. The relocation had as a primary consequence

⁴⁸ *Asti*: Theopomp. at Steph. Byz. s.v. **137**. 12; Fol 1975, 87-91; Danov 1976², 141, 147; Tomaschek 1980, 84–85. *Benni*: Fol 1975, 75–76; *Corpilli*: Fol 1975, 85–86.

⁴⁹ Lenk 1936, 407; Danov 1976², 122, 151–152; Tomaschek 1980, 43–44.

⁵⁰ Herod. *Hist.* **7**. 109.

⁵¹ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. cond.* **38**. 41. 8.

⁵² Itin. Hieros. 602. 9.

⁵³ Trog. Pomp. *Prol.* **36**; Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. cond.* **38**. 40; Strab. *Geogr.* **12**. 4. 2 mentions a king of *Caeni*, *Diegyllis*; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* **4**. 40; Lenk 1936, 406; Fol 1975, 86; Danov 1976², 141, 149; Tomaschek 1980, 84.

⁵⁴ Lenk 1936, 407; Danov 1976², 131, 132; Tomaschek 1980, 56–58. A tribe with the same name in Illyria (Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. cond.* **27**. 32. 4; **31**. 35. 1) and also a town in Phrygia, called *Tralles*; Gerasimova-Tomova 1989, 301–303 (chapter V).

⁵⁵ Strab. *Geogr.* **7**. 3.2 (*Bebryci*); **7**. 7. 8 (*Brygi/Phrygi*), **7**. 3. 2 (*Bithyni*), **7**. 3.2; **8**. 3. 7 (*Mariandini*), **7**. 3. 2 (*Maedobithyni*), **7**. 3. 2.; **7**. fr. 11; **36** (*Mygdoni*), **7**. 3. 2; **3**; **4**; **7**; **10**; **13**; **5**. 12; **12**. 8. 3; Hom. *Il.* **2**. 85; Herod. *Hist.* **9**. 32; FGH **3**, 763. 15 (*Mysi*), **7**. 3. 2 (*Thyni*).

⁵⁶ *Thracian migration in Asia Minor*: Strab. *Geogr.* **7**. 3. 2; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* **5**. 32; Magie 1950, 303-304; Georgiev, 1966, 172–174; Fol 1971¹, 56–72; 1971², 91–99; 1976, 9–14; Danov 1976², 113–165 and passim; Ghindin 1976, 26–35; Venedikov 1976,

a territorial division as well as the renaming of areas accordingly to their former tribal designation. The *Moesi* split in two. An important fraction, which is later known as *Mysi*, crossed the Straits in Asia Minor and renamed an entire region as *Mysia*, while the main part of the tribe remained in Europe (*Moesi*, *Moesia*). Their migration seems to have been quite early, for they are recorded in the *Iliad* as being already situated east of Aisepos (Ghionen-Čai)⁵⁷. The new Mysian territories covered the mountainous chain cut by the Rhyndakos (Adirnas Čai) River and Makestos (Süsürlü-Čai). Strabon proclaims that the Asian Mysia territory stretches between Bythynia and the mouth of the Aisopus River, and he emphasizes the ethnical composition of the region: “*Mysi* (Μυσοί) are the colonists of those Thracians who now call themselves Moesi”⁵⁸ (see below).

The Phrygians (*Phrygi*, Φρυγιοί) migrated to Asia Minor in successive waves two centuries after the massive Mysian movement⁵⁹. They were also called *Brygi* and their original homeland was established on the Thracian-Macedonian frontier area⁶⁰. They renamed the area where they settled, *Phrygia*, after pressing and dislocating some early Mysian communities in that region. The vigor and dynamics of this Thracian populace is fully reflected in the creation of a powerful state in the 8th century B.C., later destroyed by Cimmerians⁶¹.

The Bythinians (Βυθινοί) were the last main Thracian tribe that migrated towards Asia Minor from the mid course of the Strymon River around ca. 700 B.C. Subdivisions of the Bythinians were *Maedobythini* and *Thyni*⁶². The movement towards the south-east could have implied displacement of some Phrygian communities. In the historical epoch, the *Bythini* are known to have occupied the region between the Black Sea to the north and the gulf of Astakos to the south⁶³.

The expansion of the Thracians in Asia Minor became even more prominent in the next centuries, and the tradition of Thracian origin was still vivid in the last centuries B.C. era. The inhabitants of Apollonia (Uluborlü), in Pysidian Phrygia during Marcus Aurelius considered themselves as descendants of “Lycian Thracian colonists”, certainly from a group of Thracian colonists that settled in Lycia at an earlier date⁶⁴. A Thracian community near Arykanda, in Lycia is recorded in Pliny as

162–180; Papazoglu 1978, 392–402; Tomaschek 1980, 27–52; Hoddinott 1981, 58; Danov 1984, 59–73; Gocheva 1984, 85–95; 1988, 255–260; Porozhanov 1997, 236–246; Gocheva 1997, 401–406; Drews 1993, 61–65 rejects, on archaeological ground, the possibility of a migration from Balkan area to Asia Minor by late 1st millennium B.C.

⁵⁷ Hom. *Il.* 2. 858; 13. 5. On *Mysi* see also Apoll. Rhod. 1. 11. 65; Danov 1976², 115–116; Tomaschek 1980, 47–49.

⁵⁸ Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3. 2.

⁵⁹ *Phrygians as Thracians and their migration to Asia Minor where they change their name in Bryges*: Herod. *Hist.* 7. 73; Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3. 2; frg. 25; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 5. 32; Friedrich 1941, 884; Danov 1976², 116; Tomaschek 1980, 30–33; Vassileva 1994¹, 217–220; 1994², 221–227; 1994³, 63–67; 1995¹, 27–34; 1995², 16–22; 1996, 85–86; Petrova 1997, 95–106; Vassileva 1997², 347–352; 1998, 13–17; 1999, 43–49.

⁶⁰ Fol 1971¹, 3–18; 1971², 56–72; Danov 1976², 116; Tomaschek 1980, 30–32; Venedikov 1978, 162–164.

⁶¹ Muscarella 1989, 323–344; 1995, 91–101; Vassileva 1997¹, 9–20; Kealhofer 2005.

⁶² The migration of *Bithyni* from the mid Strymon River valley is related by Herod. *Hist.* 7. 75. The author stresses that before they moved to Asia they were called *Strymonians*. He also records a massive invasion of *Mysi* and *Teucrians* from Asia Minor, under whose pressure the Bithynians were forced to cross the Straits into Asia. Bithyni appear close relatives of *Maedobithyni* and *Thyni* in Strab. *Geogr.* 12. 3. 2. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 41 records *Thyni* in their old European location, next to the Haemus Mountain. For the Bythinian migration see: Fol 1972¹, 197–212; 1972², 146–150; Danov 1976², 117; Venedikov 1978, 167; Tomaschek 1980, 63–67; Oppermann 1984, 57.

⁶³ Danov 1976², 117; It seems that a significant part of Paeonians, a powerful Thracian populace and Agrinians were forcibly settled in Asia Minor by Persians, during the Achemenid administration in southern Thrace (Herod. 5. 12. 1; 15. 3; 17. 1). They both took part in the attack of the Celts on the town of Tlos, as recorded in an epigram rendered by Stephanus Byzantinus s.v. *Agrai*; see also Robert 1990, 531–548; Doni 2006, 16.

⁶⁴ IGR III 314: Ἀπολλωνιάται Λύκοι Θράκες κολωνοί (cf. IGR III 317, 318, 324). Both Magie 1950, 457, n. 20 and Jones 1971, 128 n. 10 suggest that the κολωνοί are veterans from Amyntas’ army settled in Apollonia by the Romans, sometime in the 2nd century A.D. The Thracian background of the territory results from inscriptions mentioning inhabitants whose names are in their great majority Thracian in origin; see Jones 1971 n. 10; Anderson 1898, 98–99 nr. 40. Moreover, the Thracians at Apollonia are represented by a donation, made likely in A.D. 57–58 for the repair of a monument in which there is a reference of a “banquet in the city for the Thracians who are entitled to it” (ἐν τῇ πόλει Θράκων ὧν ἄν εἴη δικαίως); the owner of the μνημεῖον is a Thracian, Kotys, possibly a landowner of some importance in the region; Ramsay 1922, 181–186 (especially 186); Doni 2006, 20–26, who extends the discussion with more examples of Thracian communities in Asia Minor.

*Thracum suboles Myliae*⁶⁵ and others existed at Neapolis and its environs where Thracian names are attested⁶⁶.

The literary and epigraphic records show early large scale presence of Thracians from micro-Asian communities as mercenaries in the Hellenistic armies of Asia Minor, Middle East, and Egypt⁶⁷. As some epigraphic evidence demonstrates, the Asian Thracian communities continued to be a basin for recruitment in the Roman imperial army (chapter V).

Thracians in northern Black Sea

A massive presence of Thracian communities in the northern Black Sea region has been long time ago noticed by many specialists. The considerable number of Thracian personal names and monuments among those of Greek and Scytho-Sarmatian origin is a significant evidence of a region commonly belonging to Hellenistic, Thracian and Iranian worlds⁶⁸.

As a native element in the region, the Thracian communities evolved from the local or migratory mid and late Bronze Age societies into a 10th–8th century linguistically and culturally well-defined group. Culturally, they are identifiable through apparent material and spiritual elements of late Bronze and early Hallstattian tradition⁶⁹. In the same melting pot of populations and cultures, the Scythians and other related or native tribes (*dandari*, *psesi*, *sindi*, *tauri*, *toreti*) became increasingly dominant in the area by 7th century B.C., both demographically and political, due to a large-scale migration in two waves from their eastern homeland⁷⁰.

The dynasties of Thracian origin on the Bosporan throne must have acted as an encouraging factor for new masses of Thracian elements emigrated from the Balkan Peninsula⁷¹. The major political developments in the northern Black Sea area, marked by the establishment by late 3rd century B.C. of a new Scythian capital in Crimea, at Neapolis, the involvement of the king of Pontus, Mithridates Eupator in the protection of the Bosporan kingdom⁷², and finally Rome's intervention left the background of the

⁶⁵ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 5. 95 with Magie's commentary: 1950, 1315 n. 20; Doni 2006, 17–20.

⁶⁶ Doni 2006, 23.

⁶⁷ Thracians as mercenaries in Asia Minor in Hellenistic period: Magie 1950, 148, 151, 194, 303, 323, 457; Sanchez Leon 1997, 392–398; *Egypt*: Fol 1977.

⁶⁸ *Thracians in northern Black Sea*: Rostovtzev, 1911, 1–91; 1922; Vasmer 1923 passim; Mateescu 1924, 223–238 and passim; Zgusta 1955, 278–293 and passim; Russu 1958, 303–336; Tohatsjev 1986, 186–188; Cojocaru 1997, 31–58; recently some Dacian names shortly discussed by Dana 2001–2003, 86–88.

⁶⁹ e. g. Hoddinott 1981, 92–95; Grebennikov 1996, 393–394; Lejpunskaja 1996, 400; Kashuba 1996, 394–397; Nazarov 1996, 401; Niculiță 1996, 46–71; Okhotnikov 1996, 403; Samoilova 1997, 324–333; Androuh 1997, 107–118; Kashuba 1997, 84–95; von Bülow 1997, 59–69; Levitski 1999. The Thracian element was present in the area quite early through Cimmerians especially their western branch. Presumably Thracians by origin they were an important political and military factor in the social mobility north of the Black Sea (Vanchugov 1997, 96–106). The Chernogorovsk (900–750 B.C.) and Novoherkassk (750–650 B.C.) cultures as Iron Age steppe cultures in southern Ukraine and Russia, were centered between the Prut and the Lower Don River. They bear obvious elements of Thracian origin and are certainly pre-Scythian in date. The Thracian elements in the material culture are so evident that they triggered in the modern literature even the associated term of “Thraco-Cimmerians”. The artifacts labeled as “Thraco-Cimmerian” belong all to a category of upper class, luxury objects, like weapons, horse tacks and jewelry, and they are recovered only from a small percentage of graves of the period. From this, it is assumed that the Thraco-Cimmerian migration did not consist of large populations, but rather of relatively small groups who installed themselves as ruling class over the indigenous Urnfield/Hallstatt population. In 1971 the *Vysokaja Mogila* kurgan in the Lower Dnieper River basin (graves nr. 2 and 5) yielded artefacts of late Chernogorovsk and early Novoherkassk periods. The Novoherkassk culture expands to a larger area between the Danube and the Volga and is associated with the Eastern European Thraco-Cimmerian artefacts; Diakonoff 1981, 103–140; Terenozhkin 1983; Vanchugov 1997, 96–106; Ivanchik 1996; 2001.

⁷⁰ Thraco-Scythian contacts in the same region: Choureshki 1995, 181–190; Androukh 1997, 117–119; von Bülow 1997, 59–69.

⁷¹ Werner 1955, 412–444; Gaidukievich 1971, 15–31; 32–50; *Davnja istoriia na Ukraini*, 1998, 240–283. Although Thracians as they were, the Spartokidan kings of Bosphorus made substantial efforts to pass as Greeks in the Greeks' eyes. In this respect, the letter of one of Pairisades II's sons, in which he recognizes the right of *asylum* to Asclepius' temple, remains notorious; see Herzog, Klaffenbach 1952 no. 3; Robert 1953, nr. 152; Seyrig 1963, 7–64; D. M. Pippidi's 1965, 322–324 commentary to this document.

⁷² Salmone-Gaggero 1978, 294–305.

Thracian communities practically untouched. The political evolution offered a new stimulus for a more intense economic and demographic links with southern Thrace. Even if further events unfolded rapidly through the arrival of mixed groups of Baltic, Germanic or Celtic origin, the Thracian element seems to have remained less affected in their basic material and spiritual culture, as shown by the 4th–1st B.C. century pottery and domestic artifacts from the north Pontic area with close analogies in the Danubian and south Thracian regions⁷³.

Most relevant for an overall picture of the north Pontic Thracian element is the considerable number of personal names contained in the inscriptions. Several recent contributions in anthroponomy investigated a representative amount of Thracian individuals by name involved in quite a large spectrum of social, economic and military activities⁷⁴. Inscriptions point to Thracian soldiers or at least to bearers of Thracian names in the Hellenistic and Roman armies in this region (see below chapter V).

Thracians in Macedonia and northern Greece

The extensive and comprehensive epigraphic study of D. C. Samsaris on the Thracians in Macedonia and northern Greece reveals a massive occurrence of this ethno-linguistic element⁷⁵. Thracian presence in the region goes far back in time, to mid or late 2nd millennium B.C.⁷⁶. In late Hellenistic and Roman times, they appear significantly represented in both rural and urban milieus.

Thracians in the rural milieu are particularly recorded as organized in a number of *κομαί*, of which fifteen names survived in inscriptions. Anthroponomy reveals that some of the rural communities had a pure Thracian population, or at least individuals bearing uncontaminated Thracian names. If one considers each *κόμη* roughly to only 150 and 900 inhabitants, the number raises to a total population of these districts to 2,250–13,500 individuals. Other *komai* in eastern Macedonia must have had a mixed population in which Thracians would have occupied an important position⁷⁷.

Urban centers of Macedonia like Philippi, Amphipolis, Sirra, Thessaloniki, Cassandrea, Larissa, and some towns on the Thassos Island disclose a considerable Thracian presence. Individuals hiding under Greek or Roman names must also be considered as a sizeable part of the Thracian population in Macedonia and northern Greece⁷⁸. Accurate figures for 1st–3rd centuries are difficult to provide, even if the epigraphic material is significant in number. D. C. Samsaris' estimation on the Thracian population in Macedonia and Greece provides the substantial number of around 80,000 individuals of Thracian origin⁷⁹.

The northern Thracian branch

The **Moesi**. Strabon considered the Moesians as Thracians⁸⁰. By mid 1st millennium B.C., part of the Moesians migrated to the north-eastern territories of Asia Minor, where an entire region was called Mysia (see above). In elaborating on the information on Moesians, Strabon makes a clear distinction between *Moesi* in the Balkan Peninsula and *Mysi* in Asia Minor, stating that “the Mysians originate from the Moesians and they are living among the Lydians, Phrygians and Trojans”⁸¹. Except for the record of this massive migration that resulted in a partition into European and Asian Moesians, the

⁷³ See note 69.

⁷⁴ See note 68. For the *anthropological* aspect see e.g. Nazarova 1996, 402.

⁷⁵ Samsaris 1982, 173–189; 1982¹, 259–294; 1982², 259–294; Samsaris 1984; Samsaris 1988, 159–168; 1988¹, 93–108; Samsaris 1989, 203–282; 1989¹; Samsaris 1993.

⁷⁶ Fol 1993, 433–440; Samsaris 1993, 54–60; Garašanin 1997, 93–118; Bouzek 1967, 30–91 passim; Duridanov 1984, 110–117; Porozhanov 1986, 137; Papaefimiu, Pilali 1997; Mitrevski 2003; 2005, 95–103; Delev 2005, 105–120.

⁷⁷ Samsaris 1993, 25–28, 81–84.

⁷⁸ Collart 1937; Kaphtantzis 1967¹, 36–51; 1967², 48–65 passim; Samsaris 1987, 353–437; 1993, 68; 75–77; 80–81.

⁷⁹ Samsaris 1993, 30.

⁸⁰ Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3. 2; Fol 1975, 25–35; Papazoglu 1978, 391–402.

⁸¹ Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3. 2.; see also Homer, *Il* 13. 109; *Mysians as Trojans' allies*: Porozhanov, 1995, 113–122; on the Strabon's passage see the Papazoglu's commentary 1978, 392–394.

Greek authors give no further tribal divisions for the first ones. However, as F. Papazoglu noticed, after Homer no other information was revealed on the Balkan Moesians until the Roman intervention at the Lower Danube in the 1st century B.C.⁸², when Scribonius Curio defeated them during a campaign against the Dardanians in 75–73 B.C. (see chapter II). It is reasonable to assume that the Moesians he defeated must have come from somewhere east of Morava, in the Djerdap area and Timok valley. The event seems to have been the first contact of Rome with the Balkan-Danubian Moesians⁸³. As it is generally inferred by the ancient authors and elaborated by modern scholars, the *Moesi* occupied the territories between the Haemus Mountains and the Danube⁸⁴, east of the Morava River, to the Black Sea. The *Triballi*, as their western neighbors in the 5th century B.C. must have occupied the region west of the Isker River, as recorded by Thucydides⁸⁵. East of that river, the author places the *Getae*. The *Triballi*, either or not a Thracian tribe, were therefore present at that time at the western border of the Odrysian kingdom, but they must have moved (5th century?) into the traditional Moesian territories along the Danube⁸⁶.

The fact that Thucydides does not mention the *Moesi* as a separate population, might raise the possibility that they could have been included in the *Getae* small political formations north of the Balkans, as part of the Odrysian state. There is no distinction whatsoever in the ancient sources between the territories occupied by the *Moesi* and the *Getae*⁸⁷, and it would be reasonable to consider that the territory between the Danube and the Balkans was a common Moesian-Getae area of occupation. It is difficult, if not unattainable, even from an archaeological point of view, to establish whether or not there was an ethnical and cultural amalgamation between the Moesians and Getae in the second half of the 1st millennium B.C., but the two terms tended to be perceived as synonyms. However, speaking of the Getae as a wild populace, Servius' commentary at Aeneid on Sallust's fragments of Histories vows that 'they were in fact Moesians' who had to face the Lucullus-led Roman army in 72–71 B.C.⁸⁸. A plausible explanation of this situation might be, as it was stated, that the Getae and Moesians represented the same ethno-cultural and particularly linguistic element and that a distinction between them based on these criteria is almost impossible. Appian's statement⁸⁹ clearly describes the territories occupied by *Moesi* in this area: "Licinius Lucullus who fought with Mithridates made war on the Moesians and got as far as the river where there are six Greek cities in the vicinity of the Moesians"(Ἑλληνίδες ἕξ πόλεις Μυσοῖς πάροιχοι). That encompasses a considerable stretch of territory along the Danube to the Black Sea that was inhabited by the *Moesi*.

Strabon's revival of the mentioning of the name *Moesi*, referring to the European branch of this population, was closely connected with Rome's advancement towards the north eastern areas of the

⁸² Papazoglu 1978, 399 and n. 23; cf. 407–408.

⁸³ Papazoglu 1978, 409.

⁸⁴ Dio Cass. 51. 27.2; Papazoglu 1978, 432–433 (commentary on the passage).

⁸⁵ Thuc. 2. 96; 100; Fluss 1932, 2347–2350; Papazoglu 1978, 402–408; for *Triballoi*, their geographical location in the 5th century and their relations with the Odrysian kingdom see Papazoglu 1978, 10–11; 58–59 (commentary on the Thucydides' text); on their ethnicity see 67–81.

⁸⁶ A comprehensive scholarly discussion on *Triballi*, their origin, and territory: Papazoglu 1978, 9–86.

⁸⁷ Dio Cass. 68. 6. 2 tries to explain some distinctions between *Daci*, *Getae*, and *Moesi*, but amplifies the confusion; however, 51. 22. 7 is much more clarifying and remarkable: "[...] Dacians (dwell) on both sides of the Ister; those of the latter, however, who live on this side of the river near the country of the Triballi are reckoned in with the district of Moesia and are called Moesians, except by those living in the immediate neighborhood, while those on the other side are called Dacians and are either a branch of the Getae or Thracians belonging to the Dacian race that once inhabited Rhodope[...]" Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3. 13 states that the Dacians often move on both borders of the Danube and they are mixed with Thracians and Mysians (see note 94). Dion Chrysostom. *Or.* 12. 16 equals *Moesi* and *Getae*, stating that he travelled "through the land of Getae or Mysians", while Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3. 2 and Philostr. v. Apoll. Tyan 7. 3. 1 speaks about Thracians, Moesi and Getae who are Thracians, but seems to make a distinction between Getae and Moesians; for an ample commentary see Papazoglu 1978, 434–435.

⁸⁸ Sallust. *Hist. Fragm.* 4. 18. Serv. at Aeneid 7. 604: "[...] *Getarum fera gens etiam apud maiores fuit; nam ipsi sunt Moesi*[...]"

⁸⁹ App. *Illyr.* 30. 85; cf. Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3. 10.

Balkan Peninsula. The revitalization of the name apparently coincided with political realities and possibly a certain evolution of the power of the Moesian element following the disintegration of the Getae small states after Crassus' expedition in Dobrudja⁹⁰.

It is difficult to say whether or not the Moesians were significantly involved in any transfer of population on the territory of the future Roman province of Moesia, towards west, during Aelius Catus' campaigns north to the Danube in early 1st century A.D. The ethnic indication *natione Nysius* (i.e. *Mysius*), *nat(us/ione) Mysius*, *natione Musiaticus*, *Moesus*, *natione Mesacus* appears in case of a sizable number of soldiers levied in the Roman army in the 2nd and especially 3rd century A.D., although reference is made mostly for situations coming from the western Moesian area. The *Getae* are completely missing from the picture. (see below and also chapter III)

Getae and Daci. According to Thucydides the *Getae* lived “beyond the Haemus” and were Thracians⁹¹. For other authors, this was an undeniable reality. Herodotus expressly states that “the Getae are the bravest and most rightful of all Thracians”⁹².

The authoritative Strabon shows clearly that “The Greeks considered the *Getae* as Thracians. They live on both sides of the Danube”⁹³. The Thracian origin of the *Getae* is even more plainly stated by Strabon in another passage describing Roman military operations on the Danube (see above chapter II), which led to the transfer of 50,000 Getae “a nation having the same language as the Thracians”⁹⁴.

A fair number of Greek and Latin authors identify a considerable concentration of Getae and Dacians north of the Danube as occupants of the territory⁹⁵. The character and the similarity of the archaeological discoveries north of the Balkans with those from the sites investigated in southern Moldavia and Wallachia show unambiguously the Thracian origin of the population⁹⁶. The archaeology and literary evidence provided an excellent basis for the extension of the concept of Thracian civilization further north, in Transylvania, Middle Danube region (Slovakia and eastern Pannonia), and the northern Carpathians area beginning with late 2nd and early 1st millennium B.C.

The Carpathian basin was traditionally considered the land of the Dacians by ancient authors. Strabon emphasizes their Thracian origin: “There has been another division of the *Getae*, which lasts from the times of yore, namely a part of them is called Dacians (Δακοῦς) and the others *Getae*. The *Getae* are those living towards the Pontus and eastern parts, while the Dacians are those on the opposite side, towards Germany and the source of the Danube”⁹⁷.

The Dacian culture and civilization enjoyed a considerable amount of scientific literature based on both ancient sources and archaeological research⁹⁸. The heyday of the political organization and the

⁹⁰ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 3 mentions in the 1st century *Moesicae gentes*, certainly based on some former sources, while in 3. 249 and 4. 41 enumerates a list of some of them from which only probably *Aedi*, *Scaugdae*, *Clariae*, *Celegeri*, and *Timachi* might be eventually considered. Ovid. *Ex Ponto* 4. 9. 77–78 speaks also about *Mysas gentes*. Fluss 1932, 2411–2412. Obviously, Pliny stated a situation long after the creation of the province of Moesia (Papazoglu 1978, 436) when a stricter and more unambiguous administrative and territorial differentiation was set by the Roman authorities. A considerable part of western Moesian tribes must have been included within those *civitates Moesiae et Treballiae* (CIL V 1883 = ILS 1349) instituted by Rome on the Danube River as an initial defensive structure.

⁹¹ Thuc. 2. 96. 1. *Getae* are also labelled ἵπποτοξόται, mounted archers, like many of the Thracians were.

⁹² Herod. *Hist.* 4. 93: ἀνδρηότατοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι; cf. 5. 3. *On the expression*: Balmuş 1951, 25–29; Vulpe, Zahariade 1987, 197–204; *an archaeological introspection*: Berciu 1960, 261–284; 1969, 9–17, 161–182.

⁹³ Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3. 2; 13: “[...] Dacians have the same language as Getae [...]”. “[...] They move on either side of the Hister due also to the fact that they mixed themselves with the Thracians and Moesians [...]”. cf. Georgiev 1960, 44–52, who vows that the Thracian and the Daco-Getian languages are two separate but closely related languages; a different opinion: Russu 1967, 37–170.

⁹⁴ Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3 10.

⁹⁵ Strab. *Geogr.* 2. 5. 30; 7. 3. 2; 8; 12–14; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 12; Dio Chrysost. 12. 16; Dio Cass. 51. 22. 7.

⁹⁶ The archaeological aspects: Fol 1975, 35–59; Vulpe, Petrescu-Dâmbovița, László 2001, 211–377.

⁹⁷ Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3. 12. Neighbors and territories to the west: Caes. *BG* 6. 25. 1; Strab. *Geogr.* 4. 6. 10.

⁹⁸ A general view on the state of the archaeological research: Vulpe, Babeş 2001, 399–522.

dynamic presence of the Dacians in Eastern Europe and on middle Danube occurred in mid 1st century B.C., when the Burebista-led kingdom expanded considerably way beyond the Carpathian arch, towards Bug River to the east, Balkan Mountains to the south, mid-Danube to the west, and northern Carpathians to the north⁹⁹. Burebista's kingdom, created in mid 1st century B.C. appeared in the eyes of his contemporaries as a remarkable political construction of the Thracian world. Retrospectively, Burebista's Dacian kingdom was, for a short time, the only viable European 'barbarian' state outside the borders of the Roman Empire and the only one to challenge its supremacy in the Balkan lands¹⁰⁰. He succeeded in partially uniting the Thracian nation, as thought by Herodotus four hundred years before. The historical literature and official documents of the time acknowledge the momentum reached by the Dacians under Burebista. Strabon states: "Burebista, a Getae man, setting himself in authority over the tribe, restored the people, who had been reduced to an evil plight through numerous wars and raised them to such a height through training, sobriety and obedience to his commands that within only a few years he had established a great empire and subordinated to the Getae most of the neighboring peoples"¹⁰¹. An official Greek inscription from Dionysopolis, mentioning Burebista's father, also as a Getae king with whom the city was in good relations, avows: "[...] Burebista, becoming a king, the first and the greatest king of Thrace and dominating the entire land beyond and behind the Danube River [...] (Βυρεβίστας πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος γεγονότος ἐπὶ Θράκες βασιλέων)¹⁰².

Burebista's legacy was solid enough to continue the existence of a powerful Dacian state, which, by mid 1st century A.D., under Decebalus' rule, was able to challenge again the Roman supremacy south of the Danube¹⁰³. With the conquest of the Dacian kingdom in 106, the Greek-Roman civilization included most of the Thracian world, a consumer and producer of material and spiritual progress.

The integration of the Dacians into the Roman Empire and the inborn warlike qualities of the Dacians implied massive recruitments among the population and the establishments of a significant number of *alae* and *cohortes* ethnically labeled *Dacorum*¹⁰⁴.

The subject of the Dacians in the Roman army is not discussed in this work. Their sizeable presence in the Roman imperial military structures was the subject of a number of studies and raises specific historical issues.

2. The Late Hellenistic and early Roman territorial organization

Thrace

The 1st century geographical repartition of the tribes was the basis for the administrative organization of the Roman province of Thrace set up in 46 A.D. and governed initially by a *procurator*. Strategies, like those in Cappadocia and Armenia Maior, were also the main form of territorial administration in early Roman Thrace. The Roman based-strategies system of administration seems likely to have inherited a pre-existing territorial arrangement, possibly in function since late Hellenistic period and maintained, with some small modifications, until Trajan's time¹⁰⁵ (Fig. 2).

⁹⁹ Crișan 1978, 138–149; Ștefan 2005, 375–386.

¹⁰⁰ Berciu, Pippidi 1965, 280–287; Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 27–31; Daicovicu 1972, 55–92; Vulpe 1976, 39–61; Crișan 1978, 113–137; Hoddinott 1981, 146–149; Vulpe, Zahariade 1987, 118–132; Ștefan 2005, 382–387.

¹⁰¹ Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3. 11. Archaeological and epigraphic evidence indicate the extension of Dacian communities towards the Middle Danube basin, a process which could be attributed to the Burebistan period; the Dacian presence in the region was a demographic and political reality in the 1st–3rd century; Bichir 1976, 305–307.

¹⁰² IGB I 13; Suceveanu 2000–2001, 319–336.

¹⁰³ Daicovicu 1972, 275–335; Vulpe, Zahariade 1987, 132–173; Petolescu 2001, 668–720; Ștefan 2005, 505–673.

¹⁰⁴ Russu 1980, 24–45; Petolescu 1980, 1043–1061; Spaul 1994, 101; 2000, 344–348; Petolescu 2002, 146–154.

¹⁰⁵ On the strategies in Thrace in general: Kalopotakes 1893; Mihailov 1967, 31–48; Gerov 1970, 123–132; Jones 1971, 10–15; Fol 1975, 60–92.

Pre-Roman strategies are epigraphically well documented in 42 B.C. and 11 B.C.–12 A.D.¹⁰⁶. Inscriptions from Abrittus¹⁰⁷ and Burgas¹⁰⁸, both dated after 19 A.D., during Roemetalkes II's reign, records repeatedly a group of strategies in eastern Thracian territory next to the Black Sea: *Anchialos*, *Selletike* and *Rysike* run by στρατηγούς, like Apollonios Eptakentos, as the representative of the Odrysian king in the territory¹⁰⁹. Apollonia was the capital of the strategy of *Astike* on the Black Sea coast, from the Propontide Sea on to the Gulf of Burgas¹¹⁰. An inscription from Svärlig records also *strategi* at the head of the strategy *Astike* by Perinthus (Ἀστική περὶ Πιέρινθου) and two other administrative units, Σελετικὴ ὀρεινὴ and a Δευθελητικὴ πεδισία, possibly as a result of a former splitting into new divisions¹¹¹.

The strategies system in Roman times could have undergone some small territorial modifications, but remained roughly within the late Hellenistic frame. In Julio-Claudian and Flavian times the province of Thrace, as *provincia inermis* was governed by procurators of equestrian rank, while the strategies were run by praetors = στρατηγούς, recruited locally, as in the past, from the old aristocratic Thracian families, highly devoted to the Roman government. The provincial territory was divided into urban πολιτείας = *civitates* and κώμας as rural administrative units¹¹².

Ptolemy states that Thrace was divided in 14 strategies¹¹³, while Pliny gives 50 strategies, of which he mentions only two¹¹⁴. The Svärlig inscription set by the Thracian στρατηγούς to honor the Roman procurator of newly established province of Thrace, datable in 55–57, shows that he administered no less than 33 strategies led by 22 *strategi*. The most reasonable explanation for this considerable increase and variation in number of strategies is that at a certain time the initial 14 districts in Ptolemy's Geography were gradually divided in subdivisions. The process is mirrored in the Svärlig inscription, where each strategy of *Selletike* and *Dentheletike* appears divided in smaller units, ὀρεινὴ and πεδισία¹¹⁵. An inscription from Čorlū mentions the *Astike* strategy, suggesting that it was split in two smaller units, certainly at a later date, one with Deultum as capital, under Vespasian, and the other with its old centre at Bizye¹¹⁶. Six or seven more strategies, located very likely in the south western province, which are missing in Ptolemy's list, are revealed in an inscription from Flavian times found in the ruins of ancient Nicopolis ad Nestum and brought to the village of Garmen: *Olinthia*, *Roimeletike*, *Dresapaike*, *Thoukisidantike*, *Zraike*, *Bioletike* and possibly *Athoutike*¹¹⁷.

It is also reasonable to accept that many of the fifty strategies given by Pliny, if they ever literally existed in such a great number, formed the *territoria* of the urban or semi-urban centers in early 2nd century, once the Trajanic rearrangements were enforced¹¹⁸. However, Ptolemy seems to have used an older list than Pliny, showing the situation shortly after 46 with an initial administrative division of

¹⁰⁶ IGB I 43 (*Odessus*; 45–44 B.C.): βασιλέως Θρακῶν Σαδαλου στρατηγός; IGB I 12 (*Dionysopolis*; 16–14 B.C.).

¹⁰⁷ IGB I 743 (*Abrittus*; 19 B.C.); Mihailov 1967, 35–36.

¹⁰⁸ Ogenova, Lazarov 1962, 197–215 = IGB I², 378 (A.D. 19) (Burgas): Ἀπόλλωνιος [Ἐπτακικέ]νου Βιζυῆμος [στρατηγός]; cf. Lazaridis 1953–1954, 235–244.

¹⁰⁹ Gerov 1970, 124; Tatcheva 2000, 35.

¹¹⁰ The Pliny's passage (4. 45) on *Astike* strategy: "*Astica regio habuit oppidum Antium, nunc est Apollonia*" shows evidently a pre-Roman organization on strategies; see also Gerov's commentary at the inscription; 1970 n. 2; Jones 1971, 10; for the *Dentheletike* and *Astike* strategies see: Kalopothakes 1898, 15, 24; Fol 1975, 60–69, 87–91; Jones 1971, 14; Dechev 1976, 32; Tatcheva 2000, 34, 38–41.

¹¹¹ IGR I 677 = AE 1937, 169 (Svärlig); Gerov 1970, 124.

¹¹² *Early Roman Thrace*: Jones 1971, 18–19; Gerov 1961, 107–116; 1970, 126–127.

¹¹³ Ptol. *Geogr.* 3. 11. 6.

¹¹⁴ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 40: [...] "*Thracia sequitur, inter validissimas Europae gentes, in strategias L divisa*" which in Jones' view (1971, 11) is a rhetorical exaggeration.

¹¹⁵ See n. 111; for *Selletike* strategy see Kalopothakes 1989, 17–18.

¹¹⁶ IGR I 801 (Čorlū); Gerov 1970, 125; Jones 1971, 14 n. 21.

¹¹⁷ IGB IV, 2338; the Ἀθουτική seems represented in an inscription from Batkoun, (IGB III 1116) where a strategus leads Ἀσουτική.

¹¹⁸ Jones 1971, 11–12, 15. There are also a number of free cities, not included in the strategies during the late Odrysian kingdom and early Roman province, such as: *Byzantium*, *Abdera*, *Aenus*.

Roman Thrace when the former Hellenistic strategies, forged upon traditional tribal territories, must have been the base for the new establishment.

The strategies that roughly overlapped the tribal territorial division reproduced the name of the existing Thracian tribes. One Thracian strategy encompassed territories from Moesia¹¹⁹. Pliny could have also reproduced an administrative situation of his own times, the Flavian epoch, when the initial fourteen districts were rapidly disintegrated into smaller strategies/*regiones*, once the Romans controlled territories both south and north of the Balkan Mountains. Although Vespasian founded only one new town, (*Flavia Deultum*, previously known as *Colonia Flavia Pacis*)¹²⁰, the likely redistribution of the territorial districts must have taken into account all the tribal centers, even though they had only a capital of rural or a semi urban character. The 33 strategies reproduced in the Svärilig inscription show that the process was developing fast. From this stand point one can agree upon a later division of the initial fourteen strategies firstly into thirty three strategies and then into fifty new strategies/regions by late 1st century that could have considerably modified the administrative image of Thrace.

Each strategy had in this early stage its own capital of more or less rural or semi-urban character, but this was not a general rule. The inscription of a soldier, originating from *pagus Sardi*, is maybe the best example in this respect, showing that at mid 1st century the centre of the *Serdike* strategy, *Serdica/Sardica* was a *pagus*, no more than a settlement of rural character¹²¹. The *Dentheletike* strategy¹²² had Pautalia (today Kiustendil) as capital¹²³, certainly a *pagus* by mid 1st century, possibly developed around a local mineral exploitation¹²⁴. *Vicus Scaptopara* was also a settlement of some importance in the strategy, although it remained as a rural place even in the 3rd century¹²⁵. A semi urban settlement seems to have been Germane (Bania)¹²⁶, in which case the Dentheletike strategy would have had initially at least two main centers.

The *Bessike* strategy was the largest in Thrace¹²⁷ and had *Bessapara* (today Besikara)¹²⁸ and *Philippopolis*, the ancient *Uscudama*¹²⁹ as main centers. North of Bessike, Ptolemy places the *Usdikese* strategy¹³⁰. It occupied the mid Balkans area, having Serdike to the west and Selletike to the east, with the Shipka pass, *vicus Acatapara*¹³¹, and very likely the future Nicopolis ad Istrum. The main tribal centre of the strategy in pre-Roman times was *Beroe*¹³². The *Selletike* strategy occupied the eastern Balkans, and reached the Black sea coast. The gulf of Anchialos pertained to this strategy¹³³. Nothing is clear about a Thracian tribe called *Sialetae* or *Selletae* to which Pliny¹³⁴ refers. Dio records

¹¹⁹ Ptol. *Geogr.* 3. 11. 6: Πρὸς μὲν ταῖς Μυσίαις καὶ περὶ τὸν Αἴμον τὸ ὄρος, ἀρχομένοις ἀπὸ δυσμῶν: Δευθελητική, Σαρδική, Θυσδικησική, Σελλετική; Kalopothakes 1893, 14; on the territories of the towns within strategies see Dimitrov 1932–934, 123–146; Tatcheva 2000, 32–46.

¹²⁰ Balabanov, Petrova 2002, 237–250 (*Deultum*).

¹²¹ The two mid 1st century inscriptions (RIB 201 and AE 1928, 165) record two soldiers as originating one from *pago Sardi* and another as *domo Serdus*. Regardless the Seure's opinion (1950, 174) on the Gaulish origin of the individual in RIB 201, which appears untenable, *pagus* is an explicit term for a rural settlement at that date; on *Serdike* strategy see Kalopothakes 1898, 15–16.

¹²² Kalopothakes 1893, 15; Gerov 1959–1960, 245–246; Jones 1971, 14; Fol 1975, 60–69; Dechev 1976, 115–116.

¹²³ Staikova-Alexandrova 1999, 122–126; *the epigraphic aspect of the settlement*: Dechev 1976, 360–361.

¹²⁴ Dechev 1976, 361; Ivanov 1983, 133–134; for Kalopothakes 1893, 15 n. 2 the place recorded in an inscription of a praetorian soldier of Thracian origin, *midne Potelense* (CIL VI 32567) would refer to Pautalia, through a possible corruption of the town's name; for Dechev 1976, 376 the place name is a particular one, deriving possibly from *vicus Potela*.

¹²⁵ Haloff 1994, 405–441.

¹²⁶ Dechev 1976, 102.

¹²⁷ Kalopothakes 1893, 15; Jones 1971, 14; Fol 1975, 77–83; Dechev 1976, 57–59; Tatcheva 1997, 205–206.

¹²⁸ Dechev 1976, 55.

¹²⁹ Dechev 1976, 349.

¹³⁰ Kalopothakes 1893, 16–17; Jones 1971, 14.

¹³¹ CIL VI 2807 = 32852 = ILS 4068.

¹³² Kalchev 1994, 131–138.

¹³³ Kalopothakes 1893, 17–18; Jones 1971, 13–14; Dechev 1976, 429; Tatcheva 2000, 36.

¹³⁴ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 41.

an invasion of the *Sialetai* in Macedonia¹³⁵. The *Sialetai* were a sub-tribe of the Bessi¹³⁶. Cabyle could have been long time before the political centre of *Sialetai*¹³⁷. The indicated origo *natione Saleta* of a soldier from *cohors IIII Thracum* in the 1st century¹³⁸ seems to refer to the very tribe and strategy of *Selleti /Sialletai-Selletike*.

Ptolemy further indicates the existence of some other strategies: πρὸς δὲ τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ Αἰγαίῳ πελάγει, μοιῶς στρατηγίαι: Μαιδική, Δροσική, Κοιληθική, Σαπαική, Κορπιλική, Καινική¹³⁹. As described above, powerful tribes such as the *Maedi*, *Serdi*, *Coelaletai*, *Dentheletae*, and *Bessi*, had their own strategies. Rather controversial is the position of the strategy of the *Drosike*. It sounds very close to the name of the Bessian sub-tribes, *Thrausi*, or more likely the *Droi/ Drosoi*, a populace that inhabited the area of the Trinum River and the Bisthonic Lake. However, the strategy is commonly placed on the middle Nestus (Mesta) River, on the southern Rhodopi, reaching the Ismarus Mountains and the Aegean Sea¹⁴⁰.

The *Sapaikae* strategy encompassed the territory of the tribe of *Sapaei*, a branch of the Thracian populace of *Corpilli*¹⁴¹. It seems that the *Sapaei*, who once occupied the area west of Nestus River, close to the Pangaeum Mountain and also the Thasos and Lemnos Islands, roughly the former territory of Ciconians, moved in later times northwards, between Transysus, to the east, Harpessus to the north and the Hebrus Rivers to the east¹⁴². The *Drosike* to the west and Coileletike to the north were the neighboring strategies of *Sapaikae*, which had apparently Porsulae as the main tribal centre¹⁴³. A soldier in *ala Scubulorum* from Germany indicates his origin as *civis Sappaus*, as certainly recruited in the *Sapaikae* strategy¹⁴⁴.

To the west and south-west, on the Lower Hebrus, lay the *Corpilike*¹⁴⁵, while east of Lower Hebrus the *Caenike* strategy was located¹⁴⁶. The *Caeni* are commonly considered a sub-tribe of the *Odryssae*. Pliny stated that *Odryssarum gens fundit Hebrum, accolentibus [...] Caenis*¹⁴⁷, attributing them the *Caela oppidum* before the foundation of *colonia Flaviopolis* on the very spot, as a factor that changed the earlier name of the tribal centre. The *Caeni* inhabited the lands south west of Byzantium and had *Asti* as neighbors to the north and north-east, considered to have been the easternmost Thracian tribe of the Balkan Peninsula¹⁴⁸. The *Caenike* strategy occupied the coast area of Propontis Sea until Chersonesus to the south west and neighbored Perinthus to the east. A horseman discharged from *ala veterana Gallica* in 91 indicates his origin through *Scaenus*¹⁴⁹, a transparent naming of its affiliation to the tribe of *Caeni*, among which he was recruited in 66.

The *Bennike* strategy was located on the middle Hebrus River and was likely part of the *Odryssae* greater tribe¹⁵⁰. The *Samaikae* strategy mentioned by Ptolemy is rather unclear as far as its location in Thrace¹⁵¹. It has been guesstimated that the name comes from *vicus* or *oppidum Sadama*, although that is still a matter of debate. However, the *Samaikae* is commonly placed north of the *Bennike* strategy. The

¹³⁵ Dio Cass 54. 34: οἱ Σιαλέται τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐκακούργουν.

¹³⁶ Dechev 1976, 440.

¹³⁷ *On Cabyle*: Fol 1982, 15–31; Velkov, 1982, 7–17; 1982¹; Fol 1994, 53–55; Delev 2003, 109–110.

¹³⁸ AE 1965, 258 = 1978(1980) 556.

¹³⁹ Ptol. *Geogr.* 3. 11. 6; in general: Tatcheva 2000, 32–46.

¹⁴⁰ Kalopothakes 1893, 19; Jones 1971, 13; .Fol 1975, 72–75; Dechev 1976, 159.

¹⁴¹ Kalopothakes 1893, 20; Jones 1971, 13; .Fol 1975, 76–77; Dechev 1976², 421–422.

¹⁴² Dechev 1976, 118, 131–132.

¹⁴³ Dechev 1976, 375; Tatcheva 2004², 116–131.

¹⁴⁴ CIL XIII 7580.

¹⁴⁵ Kalopothakes 1893, 21; Jones 1971, 13; Fol 1975, 85–86; Dechev 1976, 254; Danov 1976², 136.

¹⁴⁶ Kalopothakes 1893, 21; Jones 1971, 13; Fol 1975, 86; Dechev 1976, 254; Danov 1976², 149.

¹⁴⁷ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 47.

¹⁴⁸ Dechev 1976, 149.

¹⁴⁹ RMD 5.

¹⁵⁰ Kalopothakes 1893, 23; Jones 1971, 14–15; .Fol 1975, 75–76; Dechev 1976, 51.

¹⁵¹ Kalopothakes 1893, 23; Jones 1971, 14–15; .Fol 1975, 85; Dechev 1976, 416.

mountains which separated the Ergine valley from the Hebrus River to the west were the demarcation from *Samaike* and *Bennike*.

The previously tribal-based arrangement was significantly modified during Trajan's and Hadrian's reigns. The town territories became the new support for a new administrative system of the province that was now governed by a praetorian legate (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*), of senatorial rank. Thrace was an *inermis provincia*¹⁵². No less than ten new towns were founded during Trajan and Hadrian that noticeably altered the old territorial division by attributing territories to the new establishments, especially to those newly founded. *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, *Nicopolis ad Nestum*, *Traianopolis*, *Plotinopolis*, and *Hadrianopolis*. Others, *Augusta Traiana*, *Ulpia Serdica*, *Ulpia Pautalia*, *Ulpia Anchialos*, and *Ulpia Perinthus*, all former tribal capitals, were raised in rank and their territories now redistributed. The system of strategies seems to have been underway of being eliminated by early 2nd century although some remainders of the former territorial arrangement appear to have survived even in Trajanic times. An inscription from the Batkun sanctuary records τῆς ἐαυτῶν σω[τη]ρίας καὶ ὑγείας καὶ ὅλης τῆς [πα]τρίδος καὶ στρατεγίας [τὸν θε]ὸν ἀνέθηκαν Αὐτοκράτορι Νερούα Τ[ρ]αιανῶ Καίσαρι...]¹⁵³. There is no evidence of strategies system survival during Hadrian's reign or later¹⁵⁴.

In essence, the new Trajanic territorial organization of the province of Thrace was a practical one, responding to the new administrative realities. The significant progress of the urban life, reflected in the founding of a considerable number of new towns, the substantial changes both in surface and demographic situation of the former tribal centers entailed a drastic reshuffling of the old strategies-based system. In the first two decades of the 2nd century the growth of population in Thrace was quite obvious, as a result of massive colonization with legionary and auxiliary veterans and civilian population, especially after the Dacian Wars. *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, *Nicopolis ad Nestum*, and *Tropaeum Traiani* are the best examples of new towns founded through military colonization¹⁵⁵. A mixed military-civilian population inhabited new Trajanic foundations such as *Plotinopolis*, *Traianopolis*, *Hadrianopolis*, *Marcianopolis*, while *Augusta Traiana-Beroe*, *Serdica* and *Pautalia*, as pre-Roman centers, reached a certain degree of urban development. The significant administrative changes required a territorial reorganization and redistribution of lands under the new circumstances. The territories of some of the towns on the Black Sea coast were reorganized. *Anchialos* must have received new territories, while *Apollonia* and *Mesambria* seem to have remained within older frames¹⁵⁶.

The division of the provincial territory in *regiones* became the most suitable administrative system to deal with new realities of urban development. The *regiones* appear as a rough reproduction of the old strategies, with a territory and a town capital as administrative and political core. It is quite probable that many of the new town territories (*regiones*) overlapped significant parts of the former strategies or even coincided with them.

The new administrative system is largely reflected in epigraphic sources of the late 2nd and first half of the 3rd century. The Trajanic and Hadrianic administrative reform in Thrace endorsed a more judicious management and repartition of human and material resources as well as the recruiting process. *Regiones*, the town, and occasionally the very place (*vicus*) where the soldier was born, became a wide spread indicator of his origin, particularly in the legions and praetorian guards, and less, it is true, in the auxiliary regiments¹⁵⁷.

¹⁵² Stein 1920; Gerov 1979, 174; 1978, 475–485; Jones 1971, 18; Tatcheva 2000, 32–46.

¹⁵³ IGB III 1115; Gerov 1970, 128.

¹⁵⁴ The Trajanic and Hadrianic administrative reorganization of Thrace: Gerov 1970, 128–129; Jones 1971, 20–23; Gerov 1978, 478–480; Tatcheva 2000, 32–45.

¹⁵⁵ Vulpe 1976, 309; Ivanov 1983, 140–143; Ivanov, Ivanov 1994, 18–54; Poulter 1983, 90–94; 1992, 8–13 (*Nicopolis ad Istrum*);

¹⁵⁶ Gerov 1959–1960, 153–407; 1978, 489–484; Tatcheva 2004, 43–53; Jones 1971, 18–27.

¹⁵⁷ The inscriptions mention several *regiones* in Thrace: *Pautaliense* (CIL VI 32660 = 2772), *Bisentinae* (CIL VI 32975 = 3565), *Philippopolitanae*, (CIL VI 30685 = 16) *Serdicensis* (CIL VI 32567 = 2819; 2605; X 1754 = ILS 2043). Occasionally, the province of Thrace itself is confounded with a region: *regio Tracia*, (CIL VI 32546 = 2797).

The significant transformation appears in the position of the new towns within the territories of the strategies:

Dentheletike and *Maedike- Ulpia Pautalia*

Bessike- Ulpia Philippopolis

Sardike- Ulpia Serdica

Usdikesike- Augusta Traiana

Selletike- Flavia Deultum

Koilethike and Drosike- Nicopolis ad Nestum

Sapaike- Ulpia Topirus Korpilike Traianopolis

Kaenike- Ulpia Apris

Bennike- Plotinopolis

Samaike- Hadrianopolis

Astike- Ulpia Bizye

Moesia

Moesia was also divided in regions (*regiones*), but poses different problems. Early in the 1st century the Roman authorities established a first non-tribal based military district, *praefectura civitatium Moesiae et Treballiae*¹⁵⁸ that stretched west of the Isker River, while towards the east the territory under the rather euphemistical and general name of *Ripa Thraciae* was entrusted to be administered by the Odrysian kingdom¹⁵⁹. The ethnic picture of the territories between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains shows three dominant populaces: *Triballi*, *Moesi* and *Getae*, if not eventually two as a result of a cultural amalgamation of *Moesi* and *Getae*, as has been several times vowed, and their alternative identification under both names¹⁶⁰.

Moesia maintained its character of military district in the 1st century A.D. There is no evidence of a strategy-based system in Moesia at an early period¹⁶¹. Eastern Moesian territory was included within the Odrysian kingdom once this was reestablished by the Augustan administration. By late 1st century B.C. and early 1st century A.D. the northern regions of the eastern Moesia, present day Dobrudja, were densely settled with southern Thracian population, especially the *Bessi*, but also the *Lai* (*Laii*, *Lai*) and the *Coralli*¹⁶² (see below). It is likely that the absence of major tribal fragmentation due to the existence of only two main blocks of populaces, Daco-Moesian and Triballi, the *civitates* and their more or less large surrounding territories remained the base of the territorial organization in Moesia in early 1st century A.D.

There is little evidence of early large centers in Moesia. *Oescus*, certainly a rural settlement in early 1st century, counted for the chief town of the Triballi and possibly the earliest legionary base on the Danube, while *Cebrium* could have been an early Triballian oppidum at the same time¹⁶³. *Abrittus* and the region around it must have been of a certain demographic importance in the 1st century, yet, very likely, still a rural center for recruitment to be carried out. A soldier who labeled himself *Abrettenus* entered the *cohors II Gallorum* in 74. An early centre for recruitment was also *Spybiros* (see

¹⁵⁸ CIL V 1838 = ILS 1349.

¹⁵⁹ Berciu, Pippidi 1965, 299–301; Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 41; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 26; Rădulescu 2001, 663; The two structures, *praefectura civitatium Moesiae et Treballiae* and *Ripa Thraciae* functioned contemporaneously along the Danube; a *praefectura orae maritimae* on the western Black Sea shore completes the picture of the pre-provincial territorial and military Roman arrangements in early 1st century A.D.

¹⁶⁰ Papazoglu 1978, 9–86; 392–438.

¹⁶¹ The only strategy that could have covered territories north of the Balkan range is *Rhysike* (IGB I² 743; Gerov 1970, 126; Tatcheva 2000, 35) with *Abrittus* as the main center, reasonably for including the entire Burgas gulf area; Jones 1971, 11.

¹⁶² *Coralli* are recorded by Ovid. *Ex Ponto*. 4. 2. 37–38; 8. 83; Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 5. 12; App. *Mithr.* 69. 293; for *Lai* see below, note 177.

¹⁶³ Papazoglu 1978, 58–60, 65.

below chapter V), if the place mentioned by Procopius in the 6th century is the same as *Spirus* as the place of origin of the soldier in *ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana*. Epigraphic records on recruits from Moesia in the auxiliary regiments of Thracian origin occur only in the 1st century. In the 2nd and 3rd century, massive evidence comes from towns and rural settlements, but only referring to recruits in the legions and praetorian guards.

Ulpia Oescus is the only *colonia* ‘founded’ by Trajan in Moesia Inferior¹⁶⁴. *Tropaeum Traiani* had the status of a *municipium*¹⁶⁵, while *Marcianopolis* was a *civitas*¹⁶⁶. Later, during Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius, and Septimius Severus, *Novae*, *Durostorum*, *Troesmis*, and *Noviodunum* were promoted to the status of *municipium*¹⁶⁷, while *Ulpia Ratiaria* in Moesia Superior was founded by Trajan as a *colonia* from the very beginning¹⁶⁸. *Viminacium* and *Singidunum* became *municipia* under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, and both received the status of *coloniae* under Gordian III or earlier¹⁶⁹. *Horreum Margi* was another urban agglomeration raised to the status of *municipium* under Septimius Severus¹⁷⁰.

The *regiones* in Moesia are epigraphically attested as territories attributed to the new towns. A *regio Nicopolitana* dating to the period when Nicopolis ad Istrum had been already transferred to Lower Moesia, and a *regio Marcianopolitana* are attested in inscriptions in the 2nd and 3rd centuries¹⁷¹; a *regio Viminacii* and a *regio Ratiariae* are mentioned in Moesia Superior¹⁷², while on the Black sea coast a *regio Histriae* shows that the reshuffling of the new town territories was also applied to the old Greek Pontic cities¹⁷³. *Territoria* of the military installations appear also recorded in 2nd century inscriptions for *Capidava* and *Troesmis*¹⁷⁴. Both *territoria* and *regiones* were the territorial-based system of the recruitment in the 2nd and especially 3rd centuries.

One can debate whether or not the Roman administration maintained the system of *Ripa Thraciae* in the region east of the Isker valley after the creation of the province of Thrace (46), as has been lately advocated¹⁷⁵. The substantial evidence to quantify at true value the first half of the 1st century demographic changes in this region is still lacking. Reasons for the traditional continuance of the Getae-Moesian communities in this region in Roman times is offered by a considerable number of Daco-Moesian toponyms, epigraphically attested: *Capidava*, *Sucidava*, *Sacidava*, *vicus Arcidava*, *vicus Buteridava*, *vicus Rami[dava?]*. The place names listed by Procopius are even more numerous: *Bidigis*, *Zicideva*, *Spibyros*, *Zismudeva*, *Murideva*, *Bisdina*, *Rubusta*, *Scedeba*, *Zaldapa*, and *Padisara*¹⁷⁶. It shows a strong and long lasting tradition of the Getae-Moesian presence in the Danube River valley and the Black Sea shore.

¹⁶⁴ Galsterer-Kroll 1972, 76–77; Vulpe 1976, 289, 298–299; Poulter 1983, 74–78; Ivanov, Ivanov 1998, 42–53.

¹⁶⁵ Vulpe 1976, 292–293; 307, 309; Suceveanu 1977, 72–75; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1979, 47–63; Poulter 1983, 83–84; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 54.

¹⁶⁶ Gerov 1975, 49–72.

¹⁶⁷ Vulpe 1976, 293–294; Gerov 1977, 300; Poulter 1983, 84 (*Novae*); Pârvan 1924, 307–340; Vulpe 1976, 290; 308–309; Gerov 1977, 304; Poulter 1983, 78–83; Donevski 1991, 277–280; Ivanov 2006, 59–76; Doruțiu-Boilă 1978, 245–248 (*Durostorum*); Vulpe 1953, 571–574; Doruțiu-Boilă 1978, 245–248; Vulpe 1976, 290–292; Gerov 1977, 303; Suceveanu 1977, 62–65; Poulter 1983, 82–83; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 49–51 (*Troesmis*); Suceveanu 1977, 59–61; 1991, 48–49; Barnea 1991, 81–84 (*Noviodunum*). A *regio Dimensis* (CIL VI 32549) on the Danube suggests that lands were allotted also to important auxiliary *castra* with good perspectives on their way to urban evolution, as *Dimum* was at that time.

¹⁶⁸ Giorgetti 1983, 19–39.

¹⁶⁹ Mirković 1986, 21–27; 46–59; 2005, 10–22, *passim* (*Viminacium*); Mirković 1976, 31–41 (*Singidunum*).

¹⁷⁰ Petrović 1979, 57–61 (*Horreum Margi*).

¹⁷¹ CIL VI 2933 (*regio Nicopolitana*); CIL VI 32583 = 2808 (*regio Marcianopolitana*).

¹⁷² CIL III 195 (*regio Viminacensis*); CIL VI 2730 (*regio Ratiariensis*).

¹⁷³ ISM I 329, 373; V 124.

¹⁷⁴ ISM V 77 (*territorium Capidavense*); 135 (*territorium Troesmense*).

¹⁷⁵ Suceveanu 1971, 105–125; 1977, 20–22; Suceveanu, Barnea, 1991, 28–30; for the traditional date of annexation of Dobrudja to Lower Moesia in 46: Berciu, Pippidi 1965, 306–307; Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 48.

¹⁷⁶ Beshevliev 1970, *passim*.

To support logistically the Odrysian garrisons of *Ripa Thraciae*, a strong influx of colonists was needed. A number of groups from different Thracian tribes could have crossed the Balkans and settled in the Moesian plain, or in present day Dobrudja such as the *Lai* (*Laioi*, *Lae*), or *Coralli*. *Lai*, a populace from the Thracian branch of Denthelethae (or Paeones?) on mid courses of the Strymon and Axios Rivers are recorded in a series of inscriptions from an unidentified *vicus Secundini*, in the territory of Histria. They appear as *consistentes* together with Roman citizens in a *regio Si(tri?)*¹⁷⁷. In a juridical claim with the Roman authorities upon the forced labor of a road that passed through this place, a Λαϊκὸς Πύργος is recorded, suggesting an existing ‘tower of Lai’ obviously much older than its epigraphic mention¹⁷⁸.

Among all, the *Bessi* outnumbered by far the other foreign communities in present day Dobrudja¹⁷⁹. It is difficult to say whether it was a constant and widespread process of colonization in the 1st century or they were present only temporary, which seems highly unlikely. The Bessic immigration in Dobrudja in a significant number must have taken place between 11 B.C. and 8 A.D. The concentration of Bessi is remarkable in the region. Beroe was an important Odrysian military garrison on the Danube. It reproduces the name of another important Bessian place, Beroe, on the Tonzos River¹⁸⁰. Ovid mentions the presence of the Bessi alongside with the Getae who had already settled around Tomis between 8 and 17 A.D., where they appear as an established community¹⁸¹. Groups of Bessi settled on the Black Sea coast. A community (*consistentes*) existed together with the Roman citizens in the rural environment. They are recorded between 139 and 177 in a series of inscriptions in *vicus Quintionis* (Sinoe): *cives Romani et Bessi consistentes*¹⁸². Some magistrates of the *vicus* (village) bear names of mixed Roman-Thracian or clear Thracian origin, most probably Bessic: *Derzenus Aulupor*, *Bizienis*, *Durisses Bithi*, *Mucapor Ditugenti*, *Genicius Brini*, *Mucatralis Doli*, *Dotu Zinebti*, *Derzenus Biti*, and *Fronto Bursitsinis*. The Bessi and Roman citizens are *consistentes* together in *vicus Ulmetum* (Pantelimonu de Sus) between 140 and 172 in an inland region¹⁸³.

The first waves of Bessian settlers, given their warlike aptitudes, must plausibly have consisted of more men of arms than simple civilians, aimed at filling up the chain of the Odrysian garrisons on the Danube in early 1st century A.D.¹⁸⁴. Economic purpose had its rationale in the 2nd century, when the Bessi, also as skilled miners, could have been engaged in copper exploitation at the Altîn Tépé mines¹⁸⁵.

The demographic reasons for such an important translation of population must not be excluded. It is impossible to guesstimate the number of the Bessic element that settled in an organized form or as a consequence of free will immigration, but it is clear that the amount of settlers must have been numerous¹⁸⁶. The consequences of Crassus’ military activity remain unknown with regard to eventual deportations of the rebellious Getae in the last two decades of the 1st century B.C. (see chapter II). A

¹⁷⁷ ISM I 343, 345–347; 349: *Lai consistentes vico Secundini*. On *Lai* see Thuc. 2. 96 who speaks about Λαϊαίοι, on the upper Strymon; Danov 1976², 126; 157; Dechev 1976², 274; Vulpe 1976³, 277–288. *Lae* appear as *consistentes* also at *vicus Turris Muca*[...] (ISM V 141), presumably located very close to Tomis.

¹⁷⁸ ISM I 378.

¹⁷⁹ Zaharia, Suceveanu 1971, 567–578; Tatcheva 1997, 206–210.

¹⁸⁰ The Odrysian control on the Danube line would have required the deployment of Bessians in the garrisons and forts. *Beroe* (today Frecăței, Tulcea County) is the best example. Also the Thracian garrisons at *Aegyssus* and *Troesmis* attacked by the Dacians in A.D. 12 and 15 as recorded by Ovid (*Ex Ponto* 1. 8, 15–20; 4. 7. 25; 9. 79) must have had Bessian garrisons; Rădulescu 2001, 663.

¹⁸¹ Ovid. *Trist.* 3. 10. 5: [...] *cingunt* [...] *Bessique Getaeque* [...]; 4. 1. 67: [...] *vivere quam miserum est inter Bessosque Getasque* [...].

¹⁸² ISM I 324; 327; 328; 330; 331; 340; 341.

¹⁸³ ISM V 62, 63.

¹⁸⁴ Rostovtzev 1933, 287; Vulpe 1968, 39.

¹⁸⁵ The economic reasons of the presence of Bessi: Casson 1927, 97–98; Zaharia, Suceveanu, 572–577; cf. Maximov 1974, 397–408.

¹⁸⁶ Pârvan 1921, 196; 1923, 106–110.

certain scarcity of population, discarded from Ovid's verses¹⁸⁷, seems more factual from an archaeological viewpoint, although to vow a deserted land in Dobrudja at that time is beyond any reasonable and scientific judgement¹⁸⁸. Aelius Catus' transfer south of the Danube of 50.000 Getae from north of the river in ca. 6 A.D., was done with a mass which apparently was settled in lands where population had been previously thinned out, but not exterminated and completely removed¹⁸⁹. Whether or not place names, like *Sacidava*, *Sucidava*, or *Capidava*, on the Danube line, recorded in Ptolemy's Geography or other later sources were given by the freshly settled Getae or Dacian groups from beyond the Danube, remain a matter of debate for the future¹⁹⁰.

The southern half of Dobrudja seems to have been settled also with Thracian incomers, either or not related to the Bessi, as were *Ausdecenses*. The disputed mid 2nd century claims between the inhabitants of *civitas Ausdecensium* and the Dacians who had been forced through an imperial decree to move out from the territory of the Thracian tribe¹⁹¹ (see above) is a significant evidence for the existence of groups of Dacians, possibly descendants of those crossed over the Danube by Aelius Catus. As it seems, they tried to re-occupy a former territory presumably lost during the massive 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D. Thracian colonization in Dobrudja.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. *Trist.* 3. 10. 75–79; *Ovid's presence at Tomis*: Berciu, Pippidi 1965, 299; Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 37–40; Rădulescu 2001, 658–668 (with bibliography). An extremely pessimistic view on the presence of Getae at the Lower Danube and Black sea coast, contrary to Ovid's description at Syme 1978, passim.

¹⁸⁸ The thorny problem of the native Getae in the 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D. in Dobrudja has acquired lately new and decisive archaeological evidence: Irimia 1973, 7–71; Simion 1976, 143–164; Suceveanu 1977, 31–37; Irimia 1980, 66–118; 1983, 69–148; 1988, 33–44.

¹⁸⁹ Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 3. 10; *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 5. 30. 47; *on the passage*: Berciu, Pippidi 1965, 308; Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 41–44; Vulpe 1976, 132; Rădulescu 2001, 665–666.

¹⁹⁰ A model of colonization with groups from beyond the Danube is offered in late 19th century when the deserted lands following the migration of the Turkish population to Turkey, or scarcely inhabited regions in Dobrudja were renamed by settlers from central Romania brought in by the central government after the reunion of the region to the modern Romanian state in 1878.

¹⁹¹ CIL III 14447; Mateescu 1916, 38–42; Vulpe 1968, 164–165; Suceveanu, Barnea 1991, 83. See also the reasonable attempt of Mateescu (1923, 160–162) to assimilate the corrupted form *Ausdecensi*, unknown among the Thracian tribes, except this inscription, with *Usdicensi*, a Thracian tribe that occupied mid Balkans and its passes, around *vicus Acatapara* and later *Nicopolis ad Istrum*. A regio *Usdicensis* in Thrace is recorded in CIL VI 32580 = 2805.

Ptol. Geogr. 3, 6.11	Plin. Geogr. 4, 40	Svarlig IGR I, 677	Nicopolis ad Nestum IGB IV 2338	Burgas IGB I ² 378	Abrittus IGB II 743	Batkoun IGB III/2 1116	Dionysius Periegetta 398
Δανθηληθική	Denseletae	Δεντελητική πεδιασία					
Βεσσική	Bessi						
Σαρδική							
Οσδικησική							
Σελλετική		Σελητική όρεινη	Σελητική	Σελλετική	[...]κή		
Μαιδική	Maedos						Μαιδική
Δροσική							Δροσική
Κοιλητική							Κοιλητική
Σαπαϊκή	Sapaeos						Σαπαϊκή
Κορπιλική							Κορπιλική
Καινική	Caeni						Καινική
Βεννική							
Σαμαϊκή							
Αστική		Αστική περί Περινθου	Αθιουτική			Ασουτική	
			Ύροιμελετική				
			Δρεσαπαϊκή				
			Θουκισιδαντική				
			Ζραϊκή				
			Βιολετική				
			Ύολίνθια				
				Ανχιάλος	Ανχιάλος		
				Ρυσική	Ρυσική		

Tab. I

II

ROME AND THRACE: A POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY OF THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF THRACE

In full swing of its expansion in the Mediterranean basin, Rome set foot first with an army on the Illyrian shore of the Adriatic Sea in 229 B.C. By that time, no one could possibly have imagined what new, unpredictable, and immensely difficult political and military issues Rome will face in the new territories. Unquestionably, the Roman presence in the Balkan Peninsula was not the result of a preconceived strategy¹ and definitely there was no roadmap or long term perspectives towards a systematic involvement into a region where the political and military affairs dominated by Macedonia were yet gloomy and volatile. At that time, the Roman government had certainly well enough knowledge about the Macedonian kingdom and its potential due to its former diplomatic and military actions, but it was ill-informed about the political map of tens of Illyrian and Thracian populaces in the heart of the Balkan Peninsula and their domestic affairs. Military intervention on the Adriatic coast, provoked by the unacceptable and dangerous piratical activities was preceded by Rome's diplomatic action. The unfolding of the on-going events was no more than a continuous adaptation of Rome's attitude towards the political and military realities in the region.

The Roman expansion made slow progress in the Balkans from one stage to another. The fierce resistance it encountered from native populaces, the victorious or disastrous campaigns sometimes carried out as retaliation, or as pacification actions brought the Roman political factors in front of new realities in which the Thracians will be playing a key role.

The First Macedonian War (214 B.C.–205 B.C.) fought by Rome with its allies, the Aetolian League and Attalus I of Pergamum against Philip V of Macedon, had ended in a stalemate².

The constant accusations brought forward by Pergamum and Rhodes on Philip's anti-Roman attitude³, and the more or less realistic menace which Macedonian expansionist plans were representing for them, had coaxed Rome in entering the second Macedonian war⁴. Bitterly defeated in the battle at Cynoscephalae (now Khalkodhónion, hills) (197 B.C.) and forced to abide by the inauspicious provisions of a peace treaty, the Macedonian king changed the main stream of his external policy towards the Thracian world in an attempt to consolidate his shaken position and strengthen the northern flank of Macedonia.

In this after war political context, the first major Thraco-Roman military clash occurred in 188 B.C. In 189 B.C. the consul *Cn. Manlius Vulso* had concluded a peace treaty with Antiochus, regulating the affairs with Eumenes, the king of Pergamon, and setting individual treaties with local Gaulish kinglets⁵. He further remained as proconsul in Asia for B. C 188. In the summer of the same year he

¹ General although quite diverse views on early Roman presence in the Balkan Peninsula: Homo 1925, 340–342; Piganiol 1927, 164; 203–204; Carcopino 1961, 69-71; 77-79; 81-90; Holleaux 1969, 97-103; 125-126; Werner 1972, 534–535; 539–543; Badian 1984, 1–33; Gruen 1984, 359–389.

² 2. On the late 3rd-first half of the 2nd centuries political and military events, including the first Macedonian war see: Holleaux 1921, 139-145; 174-193; 213-275; see also Walbank's (1963, 1–13) survey of the Holleaux' work; Piganiol 1927, 193–194; Ferro 1960 (reviewed by A.H. McDonald 1963, 187–191); Holleaux 1954, 116–198; Walbank 1967¹, 66–96; Scullard 1980, 214–216; Gruen 1984, 359–399, *passim*; Errington 1989, 244–289; Derow 1989, 290–323.

³ *History and personality of Philip V*: Walbank 1967¹, *passim*; *Rhodes and Pergamum, enemy states of Macedonia*: Starr 1938, 63–68; Schmidt 1957, 129–172; Deininger 1971, 184–190, 205–208; Errington 1971, 192–194, 250–252; Gruen 1975, 58–81.

⁴ *The second Macedonian war*: de Sanctis 1923, 78-113; 248-254; Bickermann 1935, 59–81; Larsen, 1937, 15–31; Walbank, Donald 1937, 180–207; Petzold 1940, 31-43; Aymard 1946, 107–114; Meloni 1953, 47-50; 61-67; Baldson 1954, 30–42; Cassola 1960, 105–130; Walbank 1963, 1–13; Holleaux 1969, 306-334; Raditsa 1972, 564–576; Scullard 1980, 251–254 and n. 11–12; on the battle of Kynoskephalae see de Sanctis 1923, 78-113

⁵ On *Cn. Manlius Vulso*: Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 38. 12-27; 40-41. The Thracian episode of Vulso's march through southern Thrace is not related by or it was lost in Polyb. Book 22, which was a major source for the early 2nd century B.C. events;

crossed the Roman forces into Europe, in the Thracian Chersonesus. Heading to Lysimacheia (Gallipoli), the former Kardia, in southern Thrace and pushing north, the Roman general reached Cypsela (Ipsala), north of Aenos, on the Hebrus River. Why Manlius made such a detour and marched deep into the Thracian territories⁶ Livy, the main source for these events, does not explain. A demonstration of force against the Thracians seems most likely, although it might have been combined with the practical reason to avoid the large sized marshy delta of the Evros River. Cypsela, as an important Thracian political centre, seems to have been at that time under the authority of the Odrysian kings⁷, in good relations with Philip V of Macedon. Even if the city was not menaced, the presence of the Roman army, heavily loaded with booty, must have triggered the Thracian desire for plunder. However, the route to the north could not prevent a march through the narrow, steep, and thick forested terrain. After he set up a camp nearby Cypsela, Manlius Vulso must have set out towards the west, crossing the Ergene River and then he must have turned south, having the Megalo Livadi massive to the right. Livy mentions a mountainous pass, which is difficult to locate, along which Manlius marched. The Thracian forces summing up till about 10,000 warriors from the tribes of the *Asti*, their neighbours *Caenae*, *Maduateni*, and *Coralli*⁸ were spread out along the marching route of the Roman army. The Thracians launched an attack by surprise and although the battle remained undecided, they withdrew with important loot seized from the Roman forces⁹. Around Tempyra, in a similar mountainous pass, the Manlius-led army faced a second massive attack from *Thrausi*, a Thracian populace living to near the mouth of the Nestos River¹⁰. In a man-to-man fight, the Romans obtained a clear indisputable victory. Livy echoes even the rumor, which under the political circumstances of the period could have been a real fact, that Philip V of Macedonia, who had been recently defeated by the Romans at Kynoskephalae (197 B.C.), had a hand in these events and had stirred the Thracian tribes to attack the Roman army¹¹. Once Manlius broke out from the most dangerous area, he continued marching towards west, through southern Thrace, by the Greek cities of the Aegean coast, a region which although under Philip's authority, was much safer¹².

The last phase of the long and exhausting political and military conflict between Philip-led Macedonia and Rome that was inevitably making progress implied an anticipated involvement of a third party in the conflict: the Odrysian kingdom and other neighboring Thracian political formations. For sundry reasons, they intervened sometimes diplomatically but more often militarily, with a significant number of regular forces, on either side. The Thracian highlander mercenaries, well known for their fighting capacities and eager for money or looting were especially were called to arms by both sides¹³. Alliance with the Thracians was sought for by both Macedonia and Rome but, friendly or foe, Thracian political formations were always the first to endure retaliation. Combined diplomatic and military actions were carried out by Rome and Macedonia in order to configure the northern Thracian flank before the final confrontation.

Walbank 1967²; cf. Appian. *Illyr.* 39. 42; *Syr.* 43; Zonar. 9. 20; *Dict. Greek, Roman Biogr. and Myth.*, 1286; Salomone Gaggero 1980, 114.

⁶ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 38. 40. Manlius' advance into Thracian territory apparently contrasts with what Livy echoes about the frightful Thracian lands when marching through: (“[...] *Thraeciam per quam vulgo iter horrebant* [...]”). An army or convoys were always largely exposed to banditry and deadly attacks from the inhospitable Thracians.

⁷ *Cypsela*: Danov 1968, 15; Lief 1968, col. 408; Danov 1976², 281; Dechev 1976, 272.

⁸ See chapter I; also, Tomaschek 1980, 84 (*Caeni*); 84–85 (*Asti*); Danov 1976², 132 (*Maduetani*).

⁹ A detailed description of the battle: Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 38. 40–41; Montague 2000, s. v. *Kypsela*; Danov 1979, 84–85.

¹⁰ For geographical location see above chapter I; also see Tomaschek 1980, 71–72; Danov 1976², 131–132.

¹¹ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 38. 40: “[...] *opinio erat non sine Philippi Macedonum regis fraude id factum* [...]”. Flor. *Bell. Thrac.* 1. 39 states explicitly that a part of the Thracians were under the Macedonian authority: “[...] *Thracas* [...] *illi quondam tributarii Macedonum* [...]”. On the battle of Kynoskephalae see Hammond 1988, 60–82.

¹² Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 38. 40. ‘*Per medios Thraecas*’ refers to Aegean Thrace under the firm Macedonian control and therefore less dangerous for unexpected attacks from the Thracians (cf. 39. 33).

¹³ Flor. *Bell. Thrac.* 1. 39. 2–4 who also elaborates on the savagery (*saevities*) of the highlander Thracians; a refined commentary on the passage: Salomone Gaggero 1980, 108.

The truth is that we are still ill-informed on the true nature of the incipient political and military relations between Rome and other Thracian kinglets at that time. Alliances must have been concluded and abandoned given the dynamic situation in the area. However, Macedonian diplomacy, long time accustomed with the neighboring Thracians seems to have been much more active.

Philip pursued a dynamic strategy in order to ensure Thrace with its considerable human and material resources as his northern flank. He planned to extend his influence in the Balkans, militarily targeting Rome's friends or supporters¹⁴ and diplomatically strengthening the existing ties with Thracian dynasts. However, Rome had its interests in the region, too.

In 184 B.C. Philip started a war against a number of Thracian dynasts. He arrested *Amadocus* in the course of through a military action¹⁵, possibly an ally of Rome and extended military operations in the heart of Thrace against the Dentheletae and Bessians¹⁶, presumably Rome's allies or sympathizers at that time. He occupied Philippopolis (ancient Uscudama), and founded or rather re-founded a stronger Stobi (Gradska) on in the central Vardar River valley (between the Vardar and Crna Rivers) to put a stance to the Dardanian pressure¹⁷. Diplomatic action has also been taken on diplomatic ground. Moesians and Getae, who were living alongside the Danube valley were urged to pounce upon Italy¹⁸. One can only assume that *Cotys III*, the son of *Seuthes IV*, could have become a king with the substantial Macedonian support and possibly replaced the pro-Roman *Amadocus*, a case that seriously poisoned the relations with Rome.

Philip's military and presumably diplomatic actions in Thrace remained unfinished. His son and successor, Perseus, continued his father's policy in Thrace in a more aggressive way a fact that worsened the relations with Rome, kept at an acceptable level by his father and especially by his brother Demetrius.

The final phase of the conflict between Rome and the Macedonia ruled by Perseus found many of the Thracian dynasts embracing the Macedonian cause. Diplomatically, Perseus proved to be also very active and maintained a close eye on the Thracian affairs.

During *Cotys* the IIIrd reign the Odrysian kingdom played a key political factor in Thrace and remained a faithful ally to Macedonia. As a result of a military action, the Sapaean king *Abrupolis*, one of the Rome's staunchest allies was removed from the throne, taken prisoner, and finally killed¹⁹. Livy stresses on the fact that one of the Eumenes' gravest accusations against Perseus was that he removed the Thracian king from the throne²⁰. The Perseus' envoys replied that the Macedonian-Odrysian conflict

¹⁴ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 39. 35: "[...] *re ipsa ad terrorem regulis Thracum iniciendum profectus* [...]". Philip's action in Thracian lands: de Sanctis 1923, 255-256; Meloni 1953, 47-50; Danov 1979, 90-91; Jordanov 2000, 123; on the evolution of political, diplomatic and military events since 180's on wards see Delev 2003, 118-120.

¹⁵ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 39. 35: "[...] *percussis iis uno proelio et Amadoco duce capto in Macedoniam rediit* [...]".

¹⁶ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 39. 43.

¹⁷ See the remarkable Livy's expression (40. 57) as to the constant hostile attitude of the Dardanians towards Macedonia: '*Dardani, gens semper infestissima Macedoniae*'.

¹⁸ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 39. 35: "[...] *missis ad accolas Histri fluminis barbaros, ut in Italiam irrumperent, sollicitandos* [...]".

¹⁹ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 42. 40: "[...] *Abrupolim, socium atque amicum populi Romani, regno expulisti* [...]". Polyb. *Hist.* 22. 19a: "[...] τὴν Ἀβρουπόλιος ἐκπτώσιν ἐκ τῆς δυναστείας [...]"; App. *Mac.* 11; Diod. 29. frg. 36; Paus. 7. 10. 6 is the only author who shows that Abrupolis was a Sapeian king: "[...] ἐπὶ τε Σαπαίου καὶ αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα Ἀβρουπόλιν [...]". Livy states clearly that Abrupolis was an important ally (*socius atque amicus populi Romani*) of Rome and his removal from the throne must have considerably weighted in the panel of accusations, among others, against Perseus. The charges are listed in the Delphic Amphictiony (*Syll.* 643). App. *Maced.* 11. 2 and 6 shows that, in defense, Perseus' emissaries argued that Rome did not reacted instantly to this military action and still renewed the treaty with the Macedonian king; Meloni 1953, 61-67; Danov 1979, 91-92.

²⁰ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 42. 13: "[...] *Abrupolim, socium atque amicum uestrum (i. e. populi Romani), regno expulit* [...]"; 40. The response of Perseus (Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 40. 41) implies that Eumenes' envoys also accused him overtly of killing Abrupolis; see also App. *Maced.* 11. 6. The action taken against Abrupolis seems to have been justified and explained by Perseus himself to the Romans shortly after it (App. *Maced.* 11. 6). Scullard 1980, 272-273.

had old roots and Abrupolis, a dangerous enemy for Macedonia, still under the provisions of the treaty with Rome, was thus eliminated.

The removal of Abrupolis, an important pawn for Rome in the Thracian world and a continuous threat for Macedonia, gravely affected the Roman-Macedonian relations. The combined Perseus' military and diplomatic action in Thrace that led to the coming to power of an important ally, Cotys III, was followed by a Roman response. An army led by a local dynast, *Autlebis*, was set up. Corragus, a Pergamenian general, joined this force in order to pin down Coty's army²¹. Autlebis managed to take the region of Marene, but we are ignorant of the result of the Cotys' campaign in 170 B.C. against these forces, for Livy gives no record of it²².

Rome, on the other hand, managed to create a large alliance of some powerful and important Thracian tribes, some of them former enemies, like the Asti. Livy states that the Thracians, *Maedi*, *Odomanthes*, and *Asti* asked to be received as allies and friends of the Roman people, a request immediately accepted and duly rewarded by the Roman senate which offered each envoy 2000 asses²³. However, the term *Thraeces* as used by the author means that more Thracian tribes, other than those mentioned in the list must have joined this vast coalition. For strategic reasons, Rome must have highly valued the alliance with these noteworthy Thracian tribes. Livy is fully aware of the fact, as he states that the senate showed satisfaction for this act because "Thrace was situated behind Macedonia"²⁴.

Other actions, like avoidance of contact with of the Roman ambassadors to Macedonia, an armed visit to Delphi, some dynastic arrangements such as Perseus' marriage with Laodike, the Seleucid princess²⁵, and especially the marriage of his own sister with Prusias that provided a potential alliance with the Seleucid and Bithynian houses²⁶ gave Rome serious concern. Soon, the Third Macedonian War (171–168 B.C.) broke out between Rome and Perseus. Initially successful, Perseus was finally defeated at Pydna (168 B.C.) and the war ended with the king's surrender²⁷.

As usual, both rivals found in the Thracian tribes a ground for consistent support²⁸. At the eve of the final battle, Scipio Nasica, Scipio the African's son-in-law, called to arms, in addition to his already existing army, 120 horsemen and 200 Thracian and Cretan mercenaries to strengthen these forces²⁹. On the other hand, a Macedonian army led by Perseus had a sizable amount of Thracian mercenaries. Cotys, Perseus' chief ally in the war with Rome³⁰, provided easily 2000 men for the protection of the

²¹ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 42. 67. 4: "[...] *Autlesbim, regulum Thracum, <et> Corragum, Eumenis praefectum, in Cotyis fines impetum fecisse et regionem, Marenen quam uocant, cepisse [...]*". Danov 1979, 93.

²² Danov 1976², 39. *Autlesbis* or *Autlebim* (Tomaschek 1980, II, 3) is otherwise not known (possibly Bessian), but must have been of some importance for the Romans, who seem to have organized this military diversion; Danov 1979, 92.

²³ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 42. 19: "[...] *et Threcum legatis, Maedis Cepnatisque et Astis societatem amicitiamque petentibus et, quod petebant, datum est, et munera <binum> milium aeris [summae] in singulos missa [...]*".

²⁴ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 42. 19: "[...] *hos utique populos, quod ab tergo Macedoniae Thracia esset, adsumptos in societatem gaudebant [...]*".

²⁵ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 42. 12. Livy mentions also the treaty of alliance between Macedonia and Thebe as one of the gravest allegation brought up by Eumenes in the perspective of Roman-Macedonian relations.

²⁶ Macurdy 1932, 74; Bevan 1902, 124; Danov 1979, 93; Sullivan 1979, 189.

²⁷ *The third Macedonian war*: Kahrstedt 1911, 415–430; de Sanctis 1923, 277–218; Edson 1935, 191–202; Bickerman 1945, 137–148; 1953, 479–506; Meloni 1953, 131–210; Giovannini 1969, 853–861; Raditsa 1972, 576–589; Scullard 1980, 279–283; On the battle of Pydna: Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 12–23; de Sanctis 1923, 323–330; Meloni 1953, 378–396; Scullard 1980, 282–283, n. 6 with all the scientific controversies.

²⁸ Thrace seems indeed to have been an inexhaustible reservoir for recruitment of mercenary and regular military strength for Macedonia. Livy (42. 12) attributes to Eumenes the allegations against Perseus who could find a propitious enrolment ground in the neighboring Thrace, a fact that was more than obvious at that time: "[...] *iuuentutem, ut iam Macedonia deficiat, uelut ex perenni fonte unde hauriat, Thraciam subiectam esse [...]*".

²⁹ Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 15; Polyb. *Hist.* 29. 15.

³⁰ Tit. Liv. *Ab. Urb. Cond.* 42. 29: "[...] *Cotyis Thrax, Odrysarum rex, clam Macedonum partis erat [...]*". Tit. Liv. *Ab. Urb. Cond.* 43. 18 says explicitly that there was a peace concluded by Perseus with Cotys before the battle of Pydna: "[...] *cum a Thracia pacem Cotyis [...]*". Polyb. *Hist.* 27. 12 describes Cotys, in a vivid and vibrant picture, as an excellent and skilled military man, temperate, kind, and a rare deep spirited person; Danov 1979, 93–94; Martinez-Lacy 1993, 105–107; Jordanov 2000, 123.

town of Amphipolis³¹. Livy speaks also about a force of 800 Thracians in the king's army, guarding the passage over the Elpeus River before the final battle³². Plutarch relates the story of Scipio Nasica's encounter with a Thracian mercenary who "fell upon him aiming to have a fight with him"³³. He might have been part of the Thracian contingent included into the ten thousands foreign mercenaries vowed by the authors to have been part of the Perseus' army. The Odrysian royal cavalry led by Cotys played a distinct role in the battle.

A sizable Thracian force was the infantry detachment which is vividly portrayed by Plutarch when he describes the battle of Pydna: "[...] in the first battle line marched the Thracians, whose appearance, it is said, frightened around only by their look: some tall men, clad in black tunics, beneath the white and gleaming armor, having as arms white and shining shields and well caught greaves, wielding their long iron and heavy two-edged swords held upright on the right shoulder"³⁴ (Fig. 4a).

The decisive battle of Pydna was lost by the Macedonian king. However, it seems that the most affected corps was the infantry force, as Livy states: "All around, the enemy's pedestrians were slaughtered, and nobody was spared, not even those who threw their weapons; the only one to escape was the cavalry, which succeeded in withdrawing almost entirely in the thick of the battle". Thracian infantry must also have had heavy casualties. The particular behavior of the Thracian royal cavalry in the battle is not known (Fig. 4b). It appears that both corps withdrew from the battlefield together with Cotys, when the defeat became obvious³⁵.

The relations between Rome and the Odrysian king in the after war epoch entered a new phase. The Cotys's son, *Bithys*, was held initially hostage at Rome and then sent to Carseoli. Once Perseus had been eliminated, Cotys attempted a new diplomatic strategy. He sent emissaries with riches and hostages to Rome insisting that the support for the Macedonian king was given forcibly. The ransom ready to be paid for the hostages invoked by the Thracian envoys, which most likely included the king's son, appears as a way to make possible a reconciliation with Rome. The reply of the Roman senate, as reported according to Livy, aimed at accusing Cotys that willingly supported Perseus when no threat came from the Macedonian king and chose the alliance with Macedonia instead of that with Rome. However, the return of his son and the guarantee given that Rome did not forget the friendship with Cotys himself, his ancestors and with the Thracians in general, seemed a good sign that the Odrysian-Roman relations have been re-established and Cotys became a reliable ally³⁶.

The history of the Thraco-Roman relations during the next three decades, following the transformation of Macedonia into a Roman province in 148 B.C., enters into a certain gloominess until 114 B.C. when during the consulate of *L. Porcius Cato* the Thracians routed Thessaly, Dalmatia, and reached the Adriatic Sea³⁷. The Roman counteroffensive was conducted, in 113 B.C., by the same Cato,

³¹ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 44. 44.

³² Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 44. 40.

³³ Plut. *Aem Paul.* 16.

³⁴ Plut. *Aem Paul.* 18.

³⁵ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 44. 42: "[...] *princeps fugae rex ipse erat. iam a Pydna cum sacris alis equitum Pellam petebat; confestim eos Cotys sequebatur Odrysarumque equitatus [...]*". On the battle of Pydna see Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 17–24; Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 44. 35–42.

³⁶ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb. Cond.* 44. 42: "[...] *legati ab Cotye, rege Thracum, uenerunt pecuniam ad redimendum filium aliosque obsides adportantes. eis in senatum introductis et id ipsum argumenti praetendentibus orationi, non sua uoluntate Cotyn bello iuuisse Persea, quod obsides dare coactus esset, orantibusque, ut eos pretio, quantum ipsi statuissent patres, redimi paterentur, responsum ex auctoritate senatus est, populum Romanum meminisse amicitiae, quae cum Cotye maioribusque eius et gente Thracum fuisset. obsides datos crimen, non criminis defensionem esse, cum Thracum genti ne quietus quidem Perseus, nedum bello Romano occupatus timendus fuerit. ceterum, etsi Cotys Persei gratiam praetulisset amicitiae populi Romani, magis, quid se dignum esset, quam quid merito eius fieri posset, aestimaturum, filium atque obsides ei remissurum [...]*". The episode is described by Polyb. *Hist.* 30. 12.

³⁷ Florus, *Bell. Thrac.* 1. 39. 1: "[...] *Thracas rebellant[...]; nec in proximas modo provincias contenti incurrere, Thessaliam atque Dalmatiam, in Hadriaticum mare usque uenerunt [...]*". Danov 1979, 97.

since as the proconsul of Macedonia. The Roman army suffered an appalling disaster³⁸. Florus shortly renders a larger, temporary alliance of some Thracian tribes with Scordisci. Thracians seems to have had the leading role, as the author situates them at the head of the coalition³⁹. The defeat of the Roman army seems to have been total, for the author speaks about atrocities perpetrated over on the Roman prisoners who were submitted to mockery, tortures, and executions. Florus vows that the authors of these abominable deeds were the Thracians and Scordisci, but this would not imply immediately that Scordisci were Thracians⁴⁰. Livy says clearly that the Scordisci were of Gaulish origin⁴¹. The impact of this disaster on the Roman administration of Macedonia seems to have had long term consequences.

A list of the Arval Brothers records that *C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius*, consul in 113 B.C. received the triumph and was acclaimed *imperator* for a victory in Thrace in 111 or rather 110 B.C., during an expedition on which nowadays only short records exist⁴².

M. Livius Drusus, ex-consul in 112 B.C., and proconsul of Macedonia, initiated new large-scale military operations in Thrace and pushed back the Thracian-Scordiscan coalition to the highlands⁴³. The Festus' statement is significant from the political viewpoint of these events: "*Drusus ulterius egit et vetuit transire Danuvium*". The specification is utterly important although the action of pursuing the Thracians across the Danube looks strange. The chasing of the enemy across the Danube would mean that the Dacians must have been also included as part of the Thracian-Scordiscan coalition⁴⁴. The Drusus' combined military and diplomatic actions appear to have been done in two steps. First, he must have waged military operations or made political arrangements with Scordisci. In a the first stage he had to clear Dalmatia, Thessaly, and certainly some parts of Macedonia from hostile forces and drive back the Thracians and Scordiscans into their lands by force. Livy expressly points out that "Livius Drusus fought successfully in Thrace against the Scordiscans, a population which originates from the Gauls".

A planned retaliation action against the Scordiscans and Thracians, in 110 B.C. brought possibly the consul *M. Minucius Rufus* to Macedonia. He remained in the province as proconsul until 106, very likely with the mission of preventing the Scordisci from incessant attacking the province⁴⁵. The military operations waged by Minucius Rufus are recorded in two honorary inscriptions from Delphi and

³⁸ Florus, *Bell. Thrac.* 1. 39. 4 emphasizes that the Roman army was not only seriously defeated but also completely annihilated: "[...] non fusus modo ab his aut fugatus, sed-simile prodigio-omnino totus interceptus, quem duxerat Cato [...]". The disaster due to the Cato's ill-leadership is also stressed by Tit. Liv. *Per.* 63, for whom the Scordisci were the authors of the disaster: "[...] C. Porcius cos. in Thracia male aduersus Scordiscos pugnavit [...]". Eutr. *Brev.* 4. 24; Dio Cass. 26 frg. 88 speaks about "*the unhappy Cato's disaster*". Cato seems to have been killed on the battlefield (cf. Amm. Marc. 27. 4. 4); Miltner 1953, 105; Danov 1979, 98.

³⁹ Florus, *Bell. Thrac.* 1. 39. 2: "[...] Saevissimi omnium Thracum Scordisci simularum et montium situ cum ingenio consentiebant [...]"; on the Thraco-Scordiscan alliance and the savagery of Thracians in this episode: Papazoglu 1978, 296; Danov 1979, 98; Salomone Gaggero 1980, 108 analyses the Scordiscan atrocities in Florus' passage.

⁴⁰ The controversial ethnicity of the Scordiscans (Illyrians or Thracians): Papazoglu, 1978, 271–391.

⁴¹ Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb Cond.* 40. 57. 7; see also Posid. *Frg. Hist.* 2 B no. 87; Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 5. 2; 5. 6; 3. 2. The geographer shows that they lived mixed with Thracians and Illyrians; App. *Illyr.* 2. 3; 5; Steph. Byz. s.v. Σκορδισκοί.

⁴² 42. Vell. 2. 8. 2: "[...] Circa eadem tempora M. C. Metelli fratres uno die triumphaverunt [...]"; Eutr. *Brev.* 4. 25. 1: "[...] C. Caecilio Metello et Cn. Carbone consulibus duo Metelli fratres eodem die, alterum ex Sardinia, alterum ex Thracia, triumphum egerunt [...]"; Inscr. It. XIII 1, 84–85. XXXVI (a. 111): [C. Caeci]lius Q. f. Q. n. [Metellus Cap]rar(ius) a DCXLII [pro co(n)s(ule) ex Thraecia idi]b(us) quint (triumph); 13. 3. 73 (as *imperator*); Papazoglu 1978, 296; Danov 1979, 98–99; Salomone Gaggero 1980, 114.

⁴³ Inscr. It. XIII 1, 84–85. XXXVII (a. 110): "[M. Livius C(ai) f(ilius) M(arcia tribu) Aimilian(i) n(epos)] Drusus a DCXLIII [pro co(n)s(ule) de Scordist]eis Macedonibusq(ue) K. Mai"; Syll³ 205 1. 62–64; Tit. Liv. *Per.* 63; "[...] Livius Drusus cos. adversus Scordiscos, gentem a Gallis oriundam, in Thracia feliciter pugnavit. Fest. *Brev.* 9; Amm. Marc. 27. 4. 10: "[...] Drusus intra fines continuit proprios [...]"; Iord. *Rom.* 220: "[...] Nam Marcus Drusus intus eos in montibus eorum contrivit [...]"; Dio 26. frg. 88; Papazoglu 1978, 298; Danov 1979, 99; Salomone Gaggero 1980, 114.

⁴⁴ Drusus might have also set terms with the Dacians, the only force that could have possibly fled in front of the Roman army across the Danube (*vetuit transire Danuvium*), for it is hard to believe that Thracians crossed also the Danube towards north.

⁴⁵ On the mission of *Minucius Rufus* in Thrace and Illyria in 110 B.C. see: Papazoglu 1978, 297–304; Salomone Gaggero 1980, 110.

Europus, in Macedonia⁴⁶. Both inscriptions, having basically the same text, record military actions taken “against the Scordiscan Gauls and also against the Bessi and other Thracians” (τὸν πρὸς [Γαλάτας] Σκορδίστας [καὶ τὸν πρὸς Βέσσους [καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Θραϊκῆς πόλεμον]). It is commonly accepted from the interpretation of the slightly different wording of the two epigraphic monuments, that the military operations were carried out separately: first against the Scordisci and thereafter against the Bessi and other Thracians. In both cases Minucius obtained brilliant victories which brought him the celebration of the triumph in Rome in 106 B.C.⁴⁷, when the Delphi and Europus inscriptions were set. The victories of Minucius were inscribed in the *Fasti triumphales*, where the missing words could be restored with the names of the defeated populations *Scordisci et Thraecibus*, possibly in chronological order as the most common accepted view among the scholars⁴⁸. The literary evidence confirms only briefly the Minucius’ victories. In the light of the Delphi and Europus inscriptions, Livy appears to be the most accurate in showing that he “warred successfully against the Thracians”⁴⁹, while Eutropius mentions “Scordisci et Triballi”⁵⁰ instead of *Scordisci* and *Thraeces*. Frontinus mentions “*Scordisci et Daci*”⁵¹.

However, the Thracians continued to play a key role, while the Scordisci, Triballi and Dacians might have joined or remained in the alliance for the second time. This seems to be evident also from the mentioning of the Hebrus River by a distinct group of sources (Florus, Festus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Jordanes)⁵², which speak about the victory of Minucius on the frozen Hebrus. The comments about the events on this river appear undoubtedly in connection with the Thracians and not with the Scordisci, but there is not a clear indication as to the true nature of certain vagueness in pinpointing the Romans’ enemies. Florus states that “*Minucius toto vastavit Hebrus*”, and he lost an important number of his men when crossing the frozen river⁵³. The passage is placed within the context of the Thracian affairs, after Marcus Didius’ action in Thrace. The same Thracian context is presented by Festus, who speaks about “*Minucius in Hebri fluminis vastavit*”, therefore operations on the Hebrus River, placed after Didius repression in Thrace and before the Appius Claudius’ action in Rhodopi⁵⁴. Ammianus completes the information with “*Minucius prope amnem Hebrum a celsis Odrysarum montibus fluentem, superatos proelio stravit*”, and Jordanes with “*ob quorum inmanitatem Romani multa et gravia pertulerunt*”⁵⁵.

The clash on the river appears as a second phase of in Minucius’ campaign in 109 B.C., after he defeated the Scordisci further west. Danov considers the Bessi as allies of the Scordisci during this war⁵⁶. He might be right and that would explain the boldly advance of Minucius towards Hebrus, the core of the Bessian land. Even if the Roman casualties reached a high number, the victory over the Bessi was decisive. The Delphi and Europus inscriptions records Βέσσους [καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Θραϊκῆς πόλεμον], an indication for Danov to suggest the involvement in the conflict of the tribe of Maedi.

⁴⁶ *Syll.*³ no. 710 = Inscr. Lat. liberae rei publ. 1. 337; CIL III 14203²³ = AE 1897, 88; 1911, 14 (*Delphi*); Kongeas, 1932, 5–16 (*Europos*); Papazoglu 1978, 300 n. 80.

⁴⁷ Vell. Pat. 2. 8. 3. “[...] Circa eadem tempora M. C. Metelli fratres uno die triumphaverunt [...]”.

⁴⁸ Inscr. Ital. XIII 1, 561 [*M. Minucius Quinti filius n(e)pos Rufus pro] co(n)sule a DCXLVII [de Scordisteis et Thraecibus...] K. Sept.*; Papazoglu 1987, 300–301.

⁴⁹ Tit. Liv. *Epit.* 65.

⁵⁰ Eutrop. *Brev.* 4. 27. 3.

⁵¹ Frontin. *Strateg.* 2. 4. 3.

⁵² An extensive discussion on these events: Papazoglu 1987, 301–303.

⁵³ Florus, *Bell. Thrac.* 1. 39. 5.

⁵⁴ Fest. *Brev.* 9. 2; Vell. Pat. 2. 8. 3 who speaks also about the Minucius’ triumph in Rome.

⁵⁵ Amm. Marc. 27. 4. 10; Iord. *Rom* 220 “[...] *Minucius in Ebro amne eorum multos extinxit et vicit* [...]”.

⁵⁶ Danov 1979, 103–104; Sarafov 1969, 143.

Florus records the proconsul *Vulso* as carrying out military actions in the Rhodope Mountains, in 108 B.C.⁵⁷. His name is recorded between that of M. Minucius Rufus and C. Scribonius Curio, both fighting against the Thracians. Florus shows that Vulso “*Rhodopen Caucasumque penetravit*”. His actions possibly affected the *Coelaetae*, *Sapaei* and *Corpilli* who inhabited the Rhodope Mountains near Macedonia.

In his account, Festus inserted the name of a certain *Didius* whose military achievements against the Thracians occurred after the Cato’s disaster. The Didius’ identity is controversial in the modern literature⁵⁸. He was identified by some scholars⁵⁹ with a *praetor* who was sent to Thrace by Metellus Caprarius, in 113 B.C., after the Cato’s debacle, on the basis of a chronological sequence given in their accounts by Festus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Jordanes. They place Didius after Cato’s consulship (114 B.C.) and therefore before that of Livius Drusus in 112 B.C.⁶⁰. Others think to a later involvement of another member of the *Didia gens*⁶¹. Titus Didius appears as having granted a triumph in Thrace, as suggested by a missing part of the *Fasti Triumphales* dated between 104 and 98 B.C.⁶². A passage in Cicero’s *In Pisonem*⁶³ mentions, among others, a triumph granted to Titius Didius, consul in 98 B.C., at his return from Macedonia. He held the proconsulship of this province in 104. For 104 B.C., Julius Obsequens notes a victorious war of the Romans against the Thracians⁶⁴. The Obsequens’ evidence coincides with epigraphic and other literary sources.

A Greek variant of the inscription containing *Lex de Piratis* at Delphi and a copy of the same law, datable in 101/100 B.C., speaks about military operations against pirates and a Didius’ victory over them⁶⁵. The restoration of a sentence fits in the lost part of the inscription and records ἐ[θούς, ὅταν εἰς ἀρχὴν εἰσέλθῃ, εἰς Θράκιαν, ἧς Τίτος Δείδιος ἡγούμενο[ς] ἐκράτησεν, πορευθήτω⁶⁶, therefore that Titus Didius conquered Thrace during his governorship. Another important information from the inscription is that Didius managed to occupy the Caenic Chersonesus or Chersonesus and Caenica (Χερσόνησον Καυνεικὴν τε ἰα)⁶⁷. From the two passages appears clearly that the operations took place in south-eastern Thrace, which must have been annexed to Macedonia at that time. In that case the province of Macedonia should abnormally have reached the Black Sea to the east. Jordanes specifically states that “Marcus (sc. Titus) Didius conquered them (i.e. the Thracians) and turned their country into a province and imposed on it the Roman yoke”⁶⁸. To the south west of Thrace, Rome established a vast system of alliances with some powerful Thracian tribes: the Maedi and the Dardani are specifically mentioned⁶⁹. The Dentheletae, given their proximity to the Maedi and Dardani were now presumably caught into a long lasting system of dependence or alliance with Rome which was destined to ensure the

⁵⁷ Florus *Bell. Thrac.* 1. 39. 6; Salomone Gaggero 1978, 113–114.

⁵⁸ Festus *Brev.* 9; for his identity see Salomone Gaggero 1980, 111–113.

⁵⁹ Lenk, 1936, 439; Pareti 1953, 410. It seems that the personage is Marcus Didius and not the later Titus Didius, and therefore confusion occurred between the two individuals.

⁶⁰ Festus *Brev.* 9, Amm. Marc 27. 4, 10 and Jord. *Rom.* 219. On the value of the Festus’s work see Eadie 1969.

⁶¹ Zippel 1877, 157–158; Alföldy 1964, 113; Danov 1979, 112; Salomone Gaggero 1980, 111–112.

⁶² Inscr. It. XIII 1, 84–85 (a. 110). Florus *Bell. Thrac.* 1. 39. 5 states clearly that “[...] *Didius vagos et libera populatione diffusos intra suam reppulit Thraciam* [...]”. Hieronym. *Chron.* ad a. 100 p. 149 Helm records a Thracian defeat, but it seems that it is not referring to Didius action.

⁶³ Cic. In Pis. 25. 61: “[...] *T. Didius, innumerabiles alii levitate et cupiditate commoti triumpharunt*[...]” but the context is too vague to establish a date.

⁶⁴ Jul. Obs. c. 43: “[...] *Thraci a Romanis subacti sunt* [...]”. For an extensive commentary and identification see Papazoglu 1987, 305–308.

⁶⁵ SEG 3, 1929 no. 378; Salomone Gaggero 1980, 112.

⁶⁶ Collin 1930, 37 col. B II 27–29; F. Papazoglu 1978, 308.

⁶⁷ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 40; 47; Danov 1979, 105 and n. 298, but the date of 129 B.C. upheld by the scholar is too early for the Didius’ action.

⁶⁸ Jord. *Rom.* 219: “[...] *ad postremum a Marco (sic!) Didio et ipsi subacti, et loca eorum in provinciam redacta, iugum excepit Romanum* [...]”; Danov 1979, 104–105.

⁶⁹ Jul. Obs. 52: “[...] *Celtiberi, Medi, Dardani subacti* [...]”. The information is clear evidence that treaties between Rome and some Thracian tribes were individually concluded.

northern frontiers of the province of Macedonia. The faithfulness of the Maedi proved to be only a day dream.

Yet, in the 1st century B.C., some Thracian dynasts, especially those who were not far located from the province, remained a constant threat and the illusion of a peace was quickly evaporated not only by the constant Thracians' craving for plunder, but also as a result of an intense diplomatic and propagandistic effort made by Mithridates VI, king of Pontus⁷⁰. Almost every year, during the first two decades of the 1st century B.C., as suggested by Livy⁷¹, the Thracians, even those who had previously concluded treaties with the Rome, concentrated their devastating raids to Macedonia, a clear proof that Rome did not entirely succeeded in ensuring an overall system of alliances and annihilate the efficiency of the Mithridatic diplomacy.

In 97 B.C., during the governorship of C. *Sentius Saturninus*, the Maedi and Dardani, those recorded among the *subacti* to Rome, overran the frontiers of Macedonia while, as Cicero noticed, the Dentheletae remained faithful to the Republic⁷² and even helped the governor in defending the province. The term Cicero uses to describe the conflict, “defection” (*defectio*), shows that the Maedi and Dardani, those recorded in the text of Julius Obsequens broke the previous treaties with Rome. Livy speaks even of a Roman defeat in the first phases of the conflict⁷³. The gravity of the situation (*cruente vastavit, depopulatus*), is underlined by Julius Obsequens who stresses on the Maedi powerful attack on Macedonia⁷⁴. Orosius gives even the Maedi-led name of the king, Sothimus, rather unusual in the long list of the Thracian personal names⁷⁵. Finally, the combined Saturninus-led Roman and the allied Dentheletae forces succeeded to foil the attack and re-establish the safety in Macedonia⁷⁶.

By 87 B.C., Philippi, Amphipolis, and Abdera and possibly other towns on the Thracian coast controlled by dynasts like Ariarathes and later Taxiles were used by Mithridates VI Eupator as a base for his actions against Rome⁷⁷. A significant number of Thracian tribes joined Mithridates' cause against Rome. This important diplomatic aspect is depicted by Appian who states repeatedly the involvement of the Thracians on the Mithridates' side and that the king of Pontus succeeded in integrating a good part of Thracians in his system of alliances against Rome⁷⁸. The Bessi, Maedi, together with the Scordisci and Dardanians certainly rallied the Mithridates' military operations in the southern Balkan Peninsula and raided constantly the province of Macedonia between 86–84 B.C.⁷⁹.

⁷⁰ Dio Cass. 30–35 frg. 101. 2; Salomone-Gaggero 1978, 301–302; Danov 1979, 94–97; 111–113; For the Mithridates' foreign policy see in general: McGing 1986, 43–65; for west Pontic coast: Berciu, Pippidi 1965, 276–279; Danov 1979, 110–113; McGing 1986, 57–58; Poenaru-Bordea 1999, 155–164; Avram 2001, 609–610.

⁷¹ There is an obsessive sentence used by Livy in *Per.* 74; 76; 82: “[...] *praeterea incursiones Thracum in Macedoniam populationesque continent [...]*” to show the immense pressure on Macedonia put by the powerful Thracian dynasts never satisfied with the peace conditions. Dio 30–35 frg. 101. 2 expressly records a massive Thracian attack in Epirus at the instigation of Mithridates on which occasion the sanctuaries at Dodoné and that of Jupiter were plundered.

⁷² Cic. *In Pis.* 34. The Dentheletae are described as: “[...] *natione semper oboediens huic imperio [...]*”.

⁷³ Tit. Liv. *Per.* 70: “[...] *C. Sentius praetor adversus Thracas infeliciter vastatvit [...]*”. Cic. *In Pis.* 34 speaks also of an initial *nefarium bellum* of this general against the Thracians.

⁷⁴ Jul. Obs. 53: “[...] *Maedorum in Macedonia gens provinciam cruente vastavit [...]*”.

⁷⁵ Oros. *Hist. Adv. Pag.* 5. 18. 30. “[...] *Iisdem temporibus rex Sothimus cum magnum Thracum auxiliis Graeciam ingressus cunctos Macedoniae fines depopulatus est [...]*”. Although the source is very late in date, it is worth noting the manner in which the Thracian forces are named, *auxilia*, a Roman technical term; Dio Cass. 30–35 frg. 101.

⁷⁶ Cic. *In Pis.* 34: “[...] *Macedoniam C. Sentio praetore tutata est [...]*”.

⁷⁷ Reinach, 1895, 65–66; Geyer 1932, 2173; Papazoglu, 1978, 312; Salomone Gaggero 1978, 303; Danov 1979, 112–113.

⁷⁸ Appian. *Mithr.* 2. 13: “[...] τοῦ τε ἰδίου στρατοῦ καὶ συμμάχων Θρακῶν καὶ Σκυθῶν, ὅσα τε ἄλλα πλησίον ἔθνη [...] 3. 15. [...] ὅτι Μιθριδάτης βασιλεύει μὲν τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς, ἢ δισημυρίων ἐστὶ σταδίων τὸ μήκος, προσέκρηται δὲ πολλὰ περὶ χωρὰ, καὶ Κόλχους, ἔθνος ἀρειμανές, Ἑλλήνων τε τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πόντου κατοικισμένους, καὶ βαρβάρων τοὺς ὄντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦς. Φίλοις δ' ἐς πᾶν τὸ κελευόμενον ἐτοίμοις χρῆται Σκύθαις τε καὶ Ταύροις καὶ Βαστέρναις καὶ Θραξί καὶ Σαρμάταις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Τανάϊν τε καὶ Ἴστρον καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἔτι τὴν Μαιώτιδα [...]. 8. 57. [...] Καὶ τούτου τεκμήριον, ὅτι καὶ Θράκας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Σαυρομάτας [...]. 17. 119. [...] συνεμάχουν δὲ βασιλεῖς καὶ δυνάσται ὃ τε Ἀρμένιος καὶ Σκυθῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἐπὶ τε Μαιώτιδα λίμνην καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἐπὶ τὸν Θράκιον Βόσπορον περιπλέοντι [...]

⁷⁹ Papazoglu 1978, 312; Danov 1979, 113; Sarafov 1969, 145.

What was worse, in the meantime, the Dentheletae had broken away from their former alliance with Rome and joined the new coalition in plundering Macedonia.

The Roman response towards the Thracians was tough from the beginning. In 85 B.C., *L. Cornelius Sulla* undertook a retaliation campaign against the towns of Amphipolis and Abdera, as well as against the Thracian tribes who helped Mithridates. Before setting out for Asia, with Macedonia as a base, Sulla waged military operations with an exceptional vigor, especially against the warlike and hostile Thracian tribe of Maedi, the main enemy⁸⁰. As Plutarch plainly states, the territory of Maedica was literally devastated and depopulated by the Sulla-led Roman army⁸¹. A fragment of Granius Licinianus, expressly mentions together the Dardanians and Dentheletae, as being the enemies of Rome⁸². The expedition against the two tribes seems to have been a separate one, led by the legate Hortensius, possibly to rebuild new political partnership especially with the Dentheletae⁸³. The Dardanians must also have been caught again into a system of alliances with Rome. The peace terms negotiations for both refer to “*in fidem accepit*” and “*in deditionem recepit*”, which means that they were considered from then on as subjects of Rome⁸⁴. However, the combined operations of Sulla and Hortensius occurred in the summer of 85 B.C. The tribal territories of the Sinthi and Scordisci were also laid waste by the Sulla’s forces⁸⁵.

However, even after such a heavy blow inflicted by the Roman army on the warring Maedi, their power seems to have regained momentum when they, together with the Scordisci and Dardanians, plundered the Delphi altar. This devastating incursion was followed by a Roman retribution strike in 81 B.C. led by *L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenes*, particularly against the Scordisci, who were driven to the Danube and utterly defeated, while the Maedi and Dardani bought the peace with the gold looted from the Delphi altar⁸⁶. We might suppose some separate armistices concluded with each of these tribes⁸⁷.

Not all the Thracian tribes rallied behind Mithridates’ offensive against the Romans. Some Thracian kings must have joined the Roman side and looked for Roman alliance and protection, unlike other kinglets that preferred open fight against the threatening Roman presence in the neighboring Macedonia. A decree issued at Chaeronea honored Sadalas I, the king of Odrysae. In 87 B.C., he sent a Thracian military detachment to Sulla (στρατιώται) as allied expeditionary force led by Teres’son, *Amadokos*⁸⁸.

The Mithridates’ defeat at Chaeronea opened a new stage in the relations between Rome and the Thracian tribes. The Roman strategists seem to have realized the importance of the territories north of the Rhodope Mountains in securing Macedonia and quelling the Thracian invasions. If Sulla’s military actions were in general confined to south of the Rhodope and on mid and Lower Strymon, the later

⁸⁰ Eutrop. *Brev.* 5. 7. 1. The author states clearly that the operations were extended against *Dardani*, *Scordisci*, *Delmatae*, and *Maedi*, who were defeated, while Livy *Per.* 83 speaks only about Thracians in general: “[...] *Sylla compluribus proeliis Thracas cecidit*[...]” Appian. *Mithr.* 55 indicates expressly other tribes affected by the Roman army’s retaliation: “[...] Sulla marched against the *Eneti*, *Dardani*, and *Sinthi*, tribes on the border of Macedonia who were continually invading that country and devastated their territory [...]”.

⁸¹ Plut. *Syll.* 23. For Sulla’s operations in Thrace against Maedi see Danov 1979, 113.

⁸² Gran Licin. 30. p. 27, ed. Flemisch, *Lib. De vir. Illustr.* 75. 7 p. 32; Dentheletae must be seen instead of Delmatae in Eutropius (5. 7. 1) as Papazoglu 1978, 314 rightly pointed out.

⁸³ On the debatable issue of a separate campaign waged by Hortensius, see Salomone Gaggero 1978, 302 n. 42.

⁸⁴ Eutrop. *Brev.* 5. 7: “[...] *Interim eo tempore Sulla etiam Dardanos, Scordiscos, Dalmatas et Maedos partim vicit, alios in fidem accepit* [...]”. A concise picture of the Sulla’s operations against Thracians: Danov 1979, 114.

⁸⁵ The Mommsen’s emendation to Granius Licinianus’ text with *Scordisquoque* instead of *ceterosque* makes sense; Papazoglu 1978, 177–178, 314; App. *Mithr.* 55 gives *Sinthi* while Eutrop. *Brev.* 5. 7 speaks about *Scordisci*. It might be that both were engaged in operations.

⁸⁶ App. *Illyr.* 5. The analysis of the unfolding of these events: Papazoglu 1978 p.178–179, 314–332; Danov 1979, 113–114; the looting of the Delphi altar: Pomptow 1896, 364–381.

⁸⁷ Papazoglu 1978, 179, 314–315, 319–325.

⁸⁸ Holleaux 1919, 320–328 = 1938, 143–150; Danov 1979, 114.

Roman strategy focused on both sides of the Mountains, heading to the north, towards to the Hebrus valley.

The Sulla's arrangements were far from pacifying the Roman-Thracian relations. During the third Mithridatic war, a true Bessi-led coalition of Thracian tribes seems to have prepared a large scale attack on the province of Macedonia. Thus, the old conflict between Rome and the Maedi was reopened.

The Roman military effort to thwart a large scale invasion was materialized successfully in 78–76 B.C. through the offensive of the proconsul and governor of Macedonia, *Appius Claudius Pulcher* against the southern Thracian tribes⁸⁹. Although the information is concise, Festus is unambiguous in showing that the theatre of war was the Rhodope Mountains⁹⁰. Orosius adds that the operations were directed against various populaces who lived in the Rhodope Mountains as a response to the incessant devastating invasions in the province of Macedonia⁹¹. The military action is confirmed by Livy who states that: “The proconsul Appius Claudius defeated the Thracians in several battles”⁹². The area of the Rhodope Mountain mentioned by Festus, Orosius and Livy imply a large scale Roman offensive against several tribes. Given the authors' geographical indications, the Sapaiei, Coeloletae, Maedi and Bessi must have been implied in the conflict, although the texts allude only to general terms: *Thracas, varias gentes, hi, qui Rhodopam incolebant*.

The death of Pulcher in Macedonia brought as a new proconsul of the province *C. Scribonius Curio*, consul in 76 B.C. Based in Dyrrhachium, he marched along via Egnatia with five legions and carried out steady military actions against the Dardanians until 73 B.C. These operations are narrated in the Florus' *Bellum Dardanicum*⁹³. During the on going military action the Roman general extended the battleground area further north, against the Thracian tribe of Mysi (Moesi) on the Timacus River and camped on the Danube river. He was therefore the first Roman commander in chief (“*primus Romanorum ducum*”) who reached the great river⁹⁴.

In 72 B.C., military operations were carried out concomitantly by *L. Licinius Lucullus* against Mithridates VI Eupator and by *M. Terentius Varro Lucullus*, his brother, the proconsul of Macedonia against the Thracians. The Roman offensive in Thrace was focused on the warrior tribe of Bessi⁹⁵. However, given the vastness of the Thracian territory, the Lucullus' campaign appears to have been part of a pre-established plan that implied the using of a considerable amount of human and material resources intended to prevent the powerful Thracian tribes from entering into a tight alliance with Mithridates and secure Macedonia. The advance north of the Haemus Mountain, along the Hebrus River valley, implied first the operations against another powerful tribe, the Maedi. Once the Bessi were defeated, the march eastwards along the Hebrus River, to Uscudama, must have encountered the resistance of Coelaetae and Benni, while a march upstream Tonzus River (Tundja) would have considered the crossing through the Odrysae territory. The tearing out of the Greek Pontic cities from the already concluded political and military alliances with the king of Pontus seems to have been another important objective.

⁸⁹ Sall. *Hist.* 2. 37; 80; Tit. Liv. *Per.* 91; Flor. 1. 39. 6; Eutrop. *Brev.* 6. 2.1; Fest. *Brev.* 9; Amm. Marc. 27. 4.10; Oros. *Adv. Pag.* 5. 23. 17–19; Iord. *Rom.* 220; on Pulcher's campaigns in Thrace see Sarafov 1969, 145; Salomone Gaggero, 1978, 115; Danov 1979, 114–115.

⁹⁰ “[...] *Per Appium Claudium proconsulem hi, qui Rhodopam incolebant, victi sunt* [...]”.

⁹¹ Oros. *Adv. Pag.* 5. 23. 19: “[...] *varias gentes, quae Rhodopaeis montibus circumfusae sunt ac tum Macedoniam crudelissime populabantur* [...]”.

⁹² Tit. Liv. *Per.* 91: “[...] *Appius Claudius procos. Thracas pluribus proeliis vicit* [...]”.

⁹³ On Curio's military campaigns against Dardanians see Sallust. *Hist.* 2. 80; 3. 49–50; Tit. Liv. *Per.* 92; Flor. *Bell. Thrac.* 1. 39. 6; Fest. *Brev.* 7; Eutrop. *Brev.* 6. 2; Amm. Marc. 29. 5. 22; Oros. *Adv. Pag.* 5. 23. 20; a detailed analysis at Salomone Gaggero 1978, 303; Papzoglou 1978, 179–183; Danov 1979, 114–115.

⁹⁴ Fest. *Brev.* 7.

⁹⁵ Sallust. *Hist.* 3. 51; 4. 18; Tit. Liv. *Per.* 97; App. *Illyr.* 30; Eutrop. *Brev.* 6. 7. 1; 8. 1; 10; Fest. *Brev.* 9; Amm. Marc. 27. 4. 11; Euseb-Hieron, *Chron.* a. 71; Oros. *Hist. Adv. Pag.* 6. 3. 4; Iord. *Rom.* 220–221; Front. *Strat.* 3.10. 9; Papazoglou 1978, 410–413; Danov 1979, 115–116; Jordanov 2000, 124.

The Varro Lucullus led-Roman army crossed the Rhodope Mountain and penetrated on the Hebrus valley like his predecessor Minucius Rufus in 109 B.C.⁹⁶. The climax of this conflict was reached around Philippopolis (the Thracian Pulpudeva), at the bottom of the Haemus Mountain, where a huge and decisive battle (“*ingens proelium*”) took place. The Bessi were defeated, the Roman general marched eastwards and conquered important centers, such as Uscudama and Cabyle⁹⁷. Eutropius narrates in an abbreviated manner only the fights with the Bessi, the main Lucullus’ objective, and the capture of their important towns.

The Roman offensive was resumed in 71 B.C. The plan of Varro Lucullus for that year was a march against the Thracian populations located north of the Haemus Mountain, mainly the Moesians and Getae, and a straightforward attack on the Greek cities that were allied with Mithridates⁹⁸. Once the Haemus Mountains were crossed, as Appian states, Lucullus pounced upon the Moesians who were defeated and pursued towards the Danube. In a short passage Sallust mentions fights against the Getae, which very likely took place in the nowadays southern Dobrudja⁹⁹.

The next step was to bring the Greek cities in the Roman sphere of influence. The Lucullus’ action aimed at bringing all the Greek cities that previously served as bases for Mithridates within Roman sphere¹⁰⁰. He penetrated into the region north of the Balkans through the Shipka pass and headed east through Cabyle, towards Anchialos¹⁰¹. The virulence with which Lucullus attacked, sacked, and destroyed Apollonia, a faithful ally of the Pontic king¹⁰², suggests that only this city put a firm stand against the Roman army. Other cities: Messembria, Odessus, Dionysopolis, Bizone, Callatis, Parthenopolis, Tomis, and Histria surrendered without resistance and were occupied by the Roman forces. Forcibly, the west Pontic Greek cities became *civitates foederatae*, according to the treaty of alliance imposed by Lucullus in 71 B.C. They were submitted to the authority of the proconsul of Macedonia and had to garrison Roman forces¹⁰³. The event marked a first phase of a long, exhausting, and unpredictable Roman military effort north of the Haemus Mountain¹⁰⁴. The Thracian tribes,

⁹⁶ Papazoglu 1978, 411 n. 69 suggests that the records of the towns *Aenum* and *Maronea* implies the penetration of the Roman armies along the Maritsa valley.

⁹⁷ Eutrop. *Brev.* 6. 10. 1: “[...] *Alter autem Lucullus, qui Macedoniam administrabat, Bessis primus Romanorum intulit bellum atque eos ingenti proelio in Haemo monte superavit. Oppidum Uscudamam, quod Bessi habitabant, eodem die, quo adgressus est, vicit, Cabylum cepit [...]*”. *Cabyle* (Iambol): Fol 1994, 53–55; Tancheva-Vasileva 2000, 417–430.

⁹⁸ Apollonia had a Mithridatic garrison (IGB I² 392) sent by the king of Pontus in the eighties of the 1st century B.C. For the controversy on the beginning of the garrisons on the western shore of the Black Sea coast see: Salomone Gaggero 1976, 298 n. 24. On the other hand, Appian mentions crystal clear that Lucullus campaigned against Ἕλλημιδες ἐξ πόλεις Μυσοῦς πάροικοι a strong argument against the theory of clashes with Moesians in western Bulgaria, after the war with Bessi, a conjecture suggested by Patsch 1933, 36 and vaguely inferred by Papazoglu 1978, 410–413.

⁹⁹ Sallust. *Hist.* 4. 18 Serv. *Ad Aen* 7.604: “[...] *Getarum fera gens etiam apud maiores fuit; nam ipsi sunt Moesii quos Sallustius a Lucullo dicit esse superatos [...]*”. Based on this passage, in a rather bewildering judgment, Papazoglu 1978, 414 thinks that, in fact, Lucullus fought against Getae in the east, beyond the Haemus Mountains, and when the Romans came in contact with Moesians in western Bulgaria they called them Getae, a name which later created confusion among the ancient writers.

¹⁰⁰ See note 98; Fest. *Brev.* 9. 2–4; Zippel 1877, 166; Patsch 1932, 36–38; Berciu, Pippidi 1965, 276–280; Pippidi 1971, 35–36; Salomone Gaggero 1978, 299–300; Danov 1979, 115–116; Avram 2001, 610.

¹⁰¹ Danov 1979, 115.

¹⁰² Eutr. *Brev.* 6. 10: “[...] *Illic (Lucullus) Apolloniam evertit, Calatim, Parthenopolim, Tomos, Histrum, Burziaonem (i.e. Bizonem) cepit [...]*”; Gerov 1937, 87–94; Salomone Gaggero 1976, 296–297. The verb *evertit* used by Eutropius for Apollonia stands out compared to *cepit* (also Jord. *Rom.* 221) or *occupavit* (Fest. *Brev.* 9) for other west Pontic cities; it shows clearly the destruction of the city following a sturdy resistance of the Mithridatic garrison and presumably inhabitants, in order to set an example for other cities willing to collaborate in the future with the Pontic king.

¹⁰³ See the cases for Messembria (IGB I² 314) and Dionysopolis (IGB I² 13). Dio Cass. 38. 10. 3 refers to “the allies from Moesia” (σύμμαχοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ) and an inscription (IGB I² 314) records C. Cornelius a deputy left by Varro Lucullus in the region, likely at the command of the Roman forces.

¹⁰⁴ 104. Individual treaties between Rome and the Greek cities were concluded: Gerov 1950, 59–69; Blavatskaia 1952, 163–164; Berciu, Pippidi 1965, 276–280; Pippidi 1971, 136–138; Ștefan 1972, 621–631; Pippidi 1975, 177; Salomone Gaggero 1978, 299–300; 303; Danov 1979, 115; Mattingly 1983, 240–241; Avram 1996, 155–164; Avram, Bounegru 1997, 155–164, especially 155–157; 162–164; Avram 2001, 610; On the Rome-Callatis *foedus* and particularly its controversial date: Passerini 1935, 57–72; Berciu, Pippidi 1965, 277–278; Suceveanu 1969, 269–274; 1980, 469–499; Lica 1992–1994, 27–38; Avram

however, still with considerable human resources and noticeably hostile to any foreign presence within their territory where not yet included in any of the Roman strategic plans, at least in the near future.

In 67 B.C., *L. Manlius Torquatus*, consul in 65 B.C., and proconsul of Macedonia, was acclaimed *imperator* in the Senate for a success in Thrace¹⁰⁵. The operations of Torquatus, which seem to have had certain amplitude, appear as a pacification and consolidation of the previously subdued area by Lucullus in 72/71 B.C.

The results of the Lucullus' action in the territory between the Black Sea and the Danube, even if sealed with treaties of alliance imposed to the western Pontic Greek cities, had all signs of lack of durability, at least on short term. In 61 B.C., the governor of Macedonia, *C. Antonius Hybrida*, the ex-colleague of consulship with Cicero during the Catilina's plot, initiated a series of military operations against the Dardanians¹⁰⁶. Hoping for substantial profits, Hybrida presumably submitted to hard financial contributions the recent allied Greek cities on the western Black Sea coast¹⁰⁷. Under these circumstances, the Greek federate cities, whose economic situation had worsened in only ten years from Lucullus' expedition raised arms against the proconsul and, helped by the Bastarnae and Getae, utterly defeated Hybrida in 60 B.C., somewhere 'in the neighborhoods of Histria'¹⁰⁸. Roman standards fell in the hands of the Bastarnae and Getae. The ignominious defeat, added to the numerous reports on abuses and money extortions exerted by the governor, raised at the highest scale the Senate's ire at Rome entailing dangerous consequences for Hybrida, which he avoided only by a voluntarily exile in the island of Cephalaria.

In spite of this episode, the Roman offensive against the Thracian tribes remained determined and systematic and was carried out almost incessantly in order to release the pressure on Macedonia. In 59 B.C., the new proconsul of Macedonia, *C. Octavius, Octavianus*, the father of the future Octavianus Augustus, fought against the Bessi and other Thracians whom he defeated in a huge battle ('*Bessis ac Thracibus magno proelio fuisis*'). Brief information is provided by Suetonius and finds also its epigraphic confirmation¹⁰⁹. We are totally uninformed on the circumstances of this war, or the range of operations which again implied the participation of a part of the warlike Bessi and other Thracian tribes. The victory must have been important and of some resounding success, as long as *C. Octavius* received the title of *imperator*.

A direct diplomatic involvement of Rome within the internecine conflicts of the Thracian tribal groups occurred in 57 B.C. when *L. Calpurnius Piso Caesonianus* tried to create a discord between the Bessi and Odrysae¹¹⁰. From the Cicero's speech in 55 B.C. against the general¹¹¹ we find out that violating the right of hospitality, Piso had ordered the killing of the Bessian prince *Rabocentus* and all

1999; Avram, 2001, 607–609; *Lucullus' triumph*: Cic. *In Pis.* 19, 44; Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 6.1; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 13. 92; 34. 7. 36; 7. 39.

¹⁰⁵ Cic. *In Pis.* 19, 44.

¹⁰⁶ Dio Cass. 38. 10.1–2 speaks of an invasion in Dardania and neighboring regions; C. Patsch 1932, 39; Papazoglu 1978, 184; Danov 1979, 116–117.

¹⁰⁷ Dio Cass. 38. 10.1–2 says that 'as governor, he brought many disasters on the population of the province and on the tribes who were in alliance with Rome', a reference to the tough taxes both in Macedonia and on the newly controlled territories on the Black sea coast.

¹⁰⁸ Dio Cass. 38. 10. 3; 51. 26. 5; Tit. Liv. *Per.* 103: mentions only that "[...] *C. Antonius proconsul in Thracia parum prospere rem gessit* [...]"; the lack of success appears as a euphemism for a defeat in Thrace; cf. Jordanov 2000, 124. Hybrida seems to have spent the winter 61–60 B.C. at Dionysopolis (IGB I² 314 r. 16: [κατὰ τὴν Γαίου] Ἀντωνίου παραχειμασίαν), a city that lodged a Roman garrison and where he must have had the temporary headquarters; see also Berciu, Pippidi 1965, 281; Avram 2001, 611.

¹⁰⁹ Suet. *Aug.* 3.12; Patsch 1932, 40–41; Berciu, Pippidi 1965, 281; Sarafov 1969, 146; Danov 1979, 117; CIL VI 1311 = ILS 47, speaking about L. Octavius, records: *imperator appellatus ex provincia Macedonia*.

¹¹⁰ Sarafov 1969, 146; Papazoglu 1978, 185; Danov 1979, 117; on *Piso* see Münzer 1898, 188–189 no. 90. It is exactly the year when the lines of the Astae and Odrysian dynasties merged, creating a single Thracian royal house with the capital at Bizye, a town called by Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 11 *arx regum Thraciae*. For the complex Thracian dynastic affairs see Sullivan 1979, 189–191.

¹¹¹ Cic. *In Pis.* 34.

his fellow-delegates who had come to the court of the king Cotys IV to offer the Romans ‘*magna praesidia auxilia a Bessis peditum equitumque*’. From Cicero’s oration, which severely criticizes the general, is learned that Piso Caesonianus would have been bought with 300 talents by Cotys IV to commit this atrocity.

The Piso’s disreputable activity as a governor of Macedonia extended also over a long time and involved also the staunchest allies of Rome, the Dentheletae. In an oratory speech in the defence of Publius Sestius, Cicero shows that Piso “sold the peace to the Thracians and Dardanians at a heavy price and then, to enable them to find the money, he allowed them to ravage and plunder Macedonia”¹¹². In fact, Piso carried out military operations against the Dentheletae and, as Cicero shows, he treated them as the fiercest enemies, invaders, and looters in an unjustified manner that probably set this Rome’s most faithful ally among into its most redoubtable foes in the Thracian world. Piso’s action had as a consequence an attack on Macedonia by the powerful Dentheletae, as inferred by Cicero¹¹³. The violence of these attacks necessitated measures of fortification of the city of Thessalonike, taken by its citizens, with severe financial repercussions upon the welfare of the city.

By early 1st century B.C. a huge military and political force was growing north of the Danube, to which both the Greek cities, the Dobrudjan Getae and the Bastarnae could not withstand, at least not for a long time. The king *Burebista* initiated a steady process of creating a vast union of tribes north of the Danube, reuniting the majority of the Dacian and Getae communities in a single state that stretched from the Middle Danube to the Dniepr River and from the northern Carpathians to the Balkan Mountains to the south¹¹⁴. Strabo offered conclusive and cogent information on the growth of the Dacian state. An important epigraphic document issued at Dionysopolis, the decree in the honour of Acornion, the Burebista’s ambassador at Pompey, adds relevant aspects to the grand scale diplomacy, as well as to the significant political and military importance played by the great Getae king in the Balkan affairs with regard to the Roman world. He soon became “the first and the greatest of all kings of Thrace and ruler of the beyond and on our side lands of the river” (πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος γεγλονότος τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης βασιλέων καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τε πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τάδε κατεισχ[η]κότος)¹¹⁵.

The involvement of Burebista on Pompeius’ side during the Roman civil war with Caesar brought about the dispatch of a Getae military detachment of unknown strength that was supposed to join the huge Pompeian army¹¹⁶. The fast unfolding of the events, however, prevented the Getan troops ever to join the allied forces; they might have arrived too late, after the unexpected defeat of Pompeius at Pharsalus (48 B.C.).

Not only did the great Getae king help Pompey, but also *Cotys IV*, the Odrysian king who sent 500 men commanded by his son *Sadalam* for supporting the Roman general in the war against Caesar¹¹⁷. The cavalry of Cotys acted as an energetic force against Caesar’s troops in Thessaly (Fig. 4c). Dio’s

¹¹² Cic. Sest. 43. 94: “[...] alterum Thracibus ac Dardanis primum pacem maxima pecunia vendidisse, deinde, ut illi pecuniam conficere possent, vexandam iis Macedoniam et spoliandam tradidisse [...]”.

¹¹³ Cic. In Pis. 34: “[...] Densetis...nefarium bellum et crudele intulisti, eisque cum fidelissimis sociis uti posse, hostibus uti acerrimis maluisti. Ita perpetuos defensores Macedoniae vexatores ac praedatores effecisti; vectigalia nostra pertibarunt, urbes ceperunt, vastarunt agros, socios nostros in servitutum abduxerunt, familias abriperunt, pecus abegerunt, Thessalonicenses, cum oppido desperassent, munire arcem coegerunt [...]”.

¹¹⁴ See chapter I.

¹¹⁵ IGB I², 13; a commentary to this important document: Suceveanu 1998, 229–247; see chapter I; also, Vulpe 1976, 39–61; Crişan 1978, 113–137.

¹¹⁶ At least, that is what can be understood from the intense diplomatic activity of Acornion from Dionysopolis at Pompei’s headquarters. The inscription specifies that Acornion was sent by the king Burebista to Cnaeus Pompeius, the Roman *imperator*, where he carried out successful affairs for the king, and gained a positive attitude on behalf of the Romans towards him.

¹¹⁷ Caes. Bell. Civ. 3. 4. 6: “[...] ad eundem numerum Cotys ex Thracia dederat et Sadalam filium miserat [...]”; Lucan 5. 54–56: “[...] Tum Sadalam fortemque Cotyn fidumque per arma Deiotarum [...]”.

testimony shows that during one of the pitched battles, Cassius Longinus, a Caesar's partisan, suffered a defeat at the hands of Scipio, one of the Pompey's generals and the Thracian Sadalas¹¹⁸. A certain *Rhascypolis/Rhascupolis* presumably the Sapaean king *Rhascuporis* I added to Pompey's army a Thracian contingent of 200 men characterized by Caesar as very good warriors¹¹⁹. In spite of ill-treatment applied to their prince by Piso Caesarianus, the Bessi tried to maintain good relationships with the Romans and joined the general effort of reinforcing the Pompey's army. Together with the Dardani, they sent troops either as mercenaries or as a benevolent participation¹²⁰.

Nonetheless, after the civil war ended, the Astaeon-Odryesian king *Cotys* IV remained apparently in good relationship with the Romans¹²¹. He could have survived for a short time the civil war at Rome, for his son Sadalas was spared by Caesar who certainly intended to show a positive and conciliatory attitude towards some of the Pompey's former allies¹²².

The planned Roman expedition conceived by Caesar that would have incorporated the Dacian state and the big clash of arms between the two great forces of that time, the Roman Empire and Dacia, was thwarted by the sudden and almost simultaneous disappearance of the two protagonists, Caesar and Burebista, in 44 B.C.¹²³.

However, except for these interventions that betray circumstantial political arrangements, most of the Thracian tribes stayed away from the internecine conflicts in the fading Roman Republic. Occasional armed clashes occurred as a direct consequence of the civil war even after its conclusion.

When, after the battle of Pharsalus, the Pompeians ravaged Thrace, the Bessians and other Thracian tribes withdrew to the north¹²⁴.

For the year 42 B.C., Dio relates that Brutus feared that the safety and peace of Macedonia was in danger and, as a consequence, he 'took charge' (ἐπέλαχθεῖς) of the territory of *Sadalas* II's kingdom. The Odryesian king had died at that date leaving his kingdom as inheritance to Rome, which gave a certain legacy to Brutus' military action¹²⁵. As a safety measure he also invaded the tribal territory of the Bessi, although Dio's argument¹²⁶ was that Brutus wanted to punish them for the mischief they were doing and obtain the title of *imperator*. The 'mischief' (ὄν ἐκακούργου) might refer to the occasional inroads of the Bessi in the neighboring Macedonia before or during the civil wars. The outcome of this Roman anti-Bessic campaign remains unknown, but according to Livy it seems to have been unsuccessful¹²⁷.

The Thracian territory remained a focus point in the years after the Caesar's assassination. Appian's account mentions repeatedly Roman inroads in Thrace. In 42 B.C. the Roman generals *Decidius* and *Norbanus* were sent by Octavian and Antonius to Macedonia, used as a base for an expedition against 'the highlands of Thrace'¹²⁸. In a dynamic description of the military operations, Appian shows that after they passed by the town of Philippi, marching 1500 stadia (= 27km) they captured the mountain passes controlled at that time by *Rascypolis* and inhabited by the Corpili and Sapaiei. He is probably the same Sapaean kinglet who helped Pompey in the battle of Pharsalus and is

¹¹⁸ Dio Cass. 41. 51. 2; Caes. Bell. Civ. 3. 36; cf. Tit. Liv. Per. 134–135; Flor. Epit. 2. 26; Iord. Rom. 245; Patsch 1932, 69–82; Sarafov 1969, 147; Papazoglu 1978, 414–428; Danov 1979, 122–125; Sullivan 1979, 191.

¹¹⁹ Caes. Bell. Civ. 3. 4: "[...] ex Macedonia CC errant, quibus Rhascypolis praeerat, excellenti virtute [...]"; Lucan 5. 54–56: "[...] et gelidae Rhascupolyn orae conlaudant [...]".

¹²⁰ Caes. Bell. Civ. 3. 4: "[...] Dardanos, Bessos partim mercenarios, partim imperio gratia comparatos...adiecerat [...]".

¹²¹ 121. For the historical and dynastic evolution of the Odryesian kingdom in these years see: Sarafov 1969, 146 and particularly the in-depth analysis of Sullivan 1979, 190–192, 195.

¹²² Dio Cass. 41. 63. 1.

¹²³ Strab. Geogr. 7. 3. 5; App. Bell. Civ. 2. 110; Suet. Div. Iul. 44.1; Plut. Caes. 58; Vell. 2. 59. 4.

¹²⁴ Dio Cass. 48. 25. 1–2.

¹²⁵ App. Bell. Civ. 4. 10. 75.

¹²⁶ Dio Cass. 48. 25. 1–2.

¹²⁷ Tit. Liv. Per. 122.

¹²⁸ App. Bell. Civ. 4. 87; Dio 47. 48. 2; Sarafov 1969, 146; Danov 1979, 122; Sullivan 1979, 195; Jordanov 2000, 124.

identifiable with *Rhascuporis* I, the future staunch ally of Octavian Augustus. Appian mentions that there were two kings ruling in the Sapaean kingdom: *Rascypolis* and another called *Rascus*. Both were pro-Roman but their opinion differed as far as alliances. The 3,000 Rascypolis' horsemen are listed among the auxiliary troops of Brutus in the battle of Pharsalus¹²⁹. The author provides the important information that each of them had a considerable cavalry force of 3000 horsemen. While *Rascus* was inclined towards aiding Antonius, *Rascypolis* was on Brutus and Cassius' side. In 42, he showed them the way through the craggy mountains which were under the Sapaean control. Some operations of the civil war of 42 were partly waged in Thrace, where the Norbanus and Decidius-led Roman army defended the Corpili and Sapaei and tried to encircle the Brutus' and Cassius' forces. The role of the two Thracian kings in this conflict remained rather confined to providing troops for both parties and redirecting the Roman troops for better tactical positions.

A Rome's major Roman military action in the Thracian lands is recorded by literary and epigraphic sources only in 29 B.C. when *M. Licinius Crassus*, the consul of the previous year, campaigned north of the Balkan Mountains. The operations carried out against the Moesians¹³⁰ were occasioned by a massive combined Dacian-Bastarnian invasion in the Moesian lands. As Dio shows, in their advance towards south and west, Deldo, the king of the Bastarnae occupied the territories of Triballi, and shortly after those of the Dardanians in south west Thrace. From here, they crossed the Haemus Mountain and attacked the Dentheletae, led by the king *Sitas*, who was allied with Rome. Macedonia was seriously endangered. As a consequence, Crassus combated the Bastarnae in Mysia, and had several pitched battles with the Moesians, from whom he suffered a temporary defeat during a siege of a fortress. During the military operations that followed, Crassus received an unexpected support from a Getae king, *Rholes*, who helped the Roman general to finally and heavily defeat the Bastarnae. Later, *Rholes* became a reliable ally of Rome and received the title of Octavian's personal *socius et amicus*¹³¹. The military operations that Crassus carried out against the Moesians after the defeat of the Bastarnae, as Dio shows, implied long and full of risks actions. Almost the entire territory of Moesia seems now to have been brought under the Roman authority¹³².

In 28 B.C., the Bastarnae, to whom now joined the Dacians from north of the Danube, re-opened the conflict with the Rome's faithful ally, the Dentheletae and their king *Sitas*. He, as Dio says, was allegedly considered to have been the main cause for their previous severe defeat. The Bastarnian-Dacian forces were finally routed in a second series of military campaigns unleashed by Crassus. Dio states that after the complete victory over the Bastarnae, the Roman general turned against the powerful Thracian tribes of *Maedi* and *Serdi*¹³³ in western Thrace. However, the main reason for campaigning against these two tribes seems to have been more serious and worrisome for Crassus than just a craving revenge for their negative and non-cooperative attitude during his first Bastarnae-Dacian campaign, when they "bothered him on his way back from Moesia". Dio adds to this motivation, which seems to have been rather a pretext than a serious reason, the real grounds of Crassus' action: "by then the rumor went that the Thracians built fortifications and started war preparations". Some anti-Roman commotion of the *Odrysae* against Rome must be envisaged in these efforts, although nothing is clear from this viewpoint. The resistance of the *Maedi* and *Serdi* was finally crushed and their territories ravaged, while

¹²⁹ App. *Bell. Civ.* 4. 87–88; 102–104; 136.

¹³⁰ *Ancient sources*: Tit. Liv. *Per.* 134; 135; Hor. *Carm.* 2. 16. 5; 8. 17–24; Flor. *Epit.* 2. 26; Dio Cass. 61. 23. 2; 27. 3; Aur. Vict. *Epit. de Caes.* 1.7; *modern literature*: Zippel 1877, 238–242; Gardthausen 1904, I 3, 1052–1055; II 3, 661–664; Groag 1926, 272–285; Patsch 1932, 69–82; Berciu, Pippidi 1965, 290–293; Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 32–34; Pippidi 1975, 170–175; Suceveanu 1977, 17–18; Papazoglu 1978, 416–428; Salomone Gaggero 1978, 116–117; Avram 2001, 613; Pârvan 1982², 53–56; Jordanov 2000, 126.

¹³¹ Dio Cass. 51. 24: φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος. The title would entail that the Getae king was among the allies and friends of the Roman people (*socius et amicus populi Romani*).

¹³² Dio Cass. 51. 25. 1–2.

¹³³ Dio Cass. 51. 25. 3–5;

the Odrysae abandoned their plans. It is likely that a peace and alliance treaty with Odrysae was concluded. The Bessian Dionysius' sanctuary was transferred under the Odrysae jurisdiction, as a reward for their loyalty to Rome.

Occasioned by the anti-Thracian operations, Dio relates in detail the action taken against two Getae kings on the territory between the Danube and the Black Sea¹³⁴. Crassus had been called for assistance by Rholes, the Rome's ally, against the attacks of one of the Getae kings, Dapyx. That implied a considerable shifting of the Roman forces towards north-east. The operations against the Getae entailed both field battles and sieges of several strongholds, such as the one taken by treason by the Romans when the king was killed in action. The advance of the Roman forces towards north met the opposition of another Getae king, Zyraxes, whose capital, Genucla, on the border of the Danube, was stormed and conquered after serious intensive efforts¹³⁵.

Besides the fact that it was a conspicuous military achievement, the Crassus' campaigns in Dobrudja brought about an indisputable and consolidated Roman authority at the Lower Danube and the Black Sea over the Getae tribes and the Greek cities¹³⁶. Dio vows that the operations against the Moesian tribes continued to be carried out by other Roman generals¹³⁷. That means that the rear of the Crassus' main forces, who was heading south, was secured by a Roman military presence north of the Haemus Mountains.

The next target of Crassus were the rebellious Artaci, who controlled the important north-south communication road on either sides of the Haemus Mountains through the Shipka pass, as well as some other untamed Thracian tribes in the vicinity¹³⁸. Once the Serdi who were in control over the Trojan pass had been previously defeated and brought under the Roman authority, the Crassus' action against Artaci appears as part of a well-defined strategic plan of securing the main north-south axes of communication through the Balkan Mountains, especially after the considerable extension of Rome's sovereignty towards the Lower Danube and the Black Sea.

Troubles in Macedonia came in 19 B.C., when the former allies of Rome, the Dentheletae, together with the Scordisci raided the province¹³⁹. One year later, in 18 B.C., the governor of Macedonia, *M. Lollius*, resumed military operations in Thrace against the Bessi¹⁴⁰. In 11 B.C. headed by Vologaeses, the Dionysius' priest, the Bessi rebelled against Odrysae and made an attempt to regain the possession over the Dionysius' sanctuary that had been given by Crassus to the Odrysae in 29 B.C., as well as, probably, to recover some of the territories lost during Crassus' campaigns. Velleius speaks about "*atrox in Thracia bellum*". During the revolt, the Odrysian king *Rhescuporis* II, the Cotys V' son was killed, while his uncle, Rhoemetalces I, initially captured, took later refuge to Chersonesus¹⁴¹. The Bessi rose also to arms the Sialeetae, in western Thrace, who raided a part of the province of Macedonia¹⁴². With the troops at hand, the by then governor of Pamphylia, *L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi*,

¹³⁴ Dio Cass. 51. 26. 1–3;

¹³⁵ Berciu, Pippidi 1965, 292–293; Vulpe, Barnea 1968, 33–34; Suceveanu 1977, 17–18; Papazoglu 1978, 427–428; Avram 2001, 611.

¹³⁶ In 27 B.C. the Roman general received the triumph in Rome for the victories won *ex Traecia et Geteis* but not the title of *imperator*: Insc. It. 13. 1. XLI = CIL I², 478: *M. Licinius M(arci) f(ilius), M(arci) n(epos) Crassus pro DCCXXVI co(n)s(ule) ex Thraecia et Geteis IV Non. Iul.*

¹³⁷ Dio Cass. 51. 27. 1.

¹³⁸ Sarafov 1969, 147.

¹³⁹ Dio Cass. 54. 20. 3; Sarafov 1969, 147; Papazoglu 1978, 428; Danov 1979, 127–129; Sullivan, 1979, 198.

¹⁴⁰ Vell. 2. 98: "[...] *omnibus eius gentis nationibus in arma accensis* [...]"; the uprising could have taken, at least in the first stages, the aspect of a national insurgency; Dio 54. 20. 3; Tit. Liv. *Per.* 140; in general see Patsch 1932, 88–89; Sarafov 1969, 147–148; Danov 1979, 130.

¹⁴¹ IGB I² 12. It is interesting that the religious fanaticism prevailed in this war and the Bessian forces were so determined that routed relatively quickly even a well trained and disciplined Odrysian army, based on Roman tactics. Flor. *Epit.* 2. 27 speaks about Thracians but implies the Odrysian army: "[...] *Thracēs cum antea saepe, tum maxime Rhoemetalce rege desciverant. Ille barbaros et signis militaribus et disciplina armis etiam Romanis adsueverat* [...]".

¹⁴² Dio Cass. 54. 34. 6; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 4. 41.

started an offensive in Thrace, against the Bessian forces. Three years he waged long, systematic, and repeated military operations that led to a complete defeat and overall subjugation of the Bessi¹⁴³.

Whether the Odrysian king, *Cotys V*, who had married a princess of Sapaean royal line, died during the battles against Bessi or later is not clear from the Dio's text. On this occasion, the unification of the main Thracian dynasties into a single one became an accomplished fact¹⁴⁴. It is certain that at that date the uncle and the tutor of the *Cotys V*'s son was *Rhoemetalces*, the future *Rhoemetalces I*, who fought on the Roman side against the Bessi. It seems also likely that in the political circumstances of the years 19/18 B.C., M. Lollius arranged a certain subordination of the Bessi towards the Odrysae¹⁴⁵.

Rhoemetalces I' reliance on Rome became even more noticeable, a fact that is obvious from the coinage of the Odrysian king¹⁴⁶. In order to avoid future uprisings, the Romans proceeded to massively colonize a significant part of the Bessi on the territory in Dobrudja, where Ovid records them in Tristia, in the first years of A.D., as being an important demographic factor in this region¹⁴⁷.

The measures taken against the Bessi seem to have been extremely tough, for the historical sources are completely silent on the Thracian affairs for almost thirty years. The *Rhoemetalces*' position as Rome's firm ally strengthened considerably in the next years, in such a manner that he could consolidate the kingdom and relations with his neighbors. He could afford to send a significant military force to join the Roman army under the command of Caecina Severus, the governor of Moesia, engaged into military operations against the rebels in Dalmatia in 6 A.D.¹⁴⁸. The Thracian forces defeated the rebels' joined army at the Mount Alma. Later, probably in 7 A.D., in the first stages of the conflict, the Thracian army under the command of *Rhoemetalces I* and his brother *Rhescuporis* decimated the allied Dalmatian-Breucan forces in Macedonia. Velleius speaks of a considerable Thracian cavalry force as troops to join the five legions and other allies employed by Caecina Severus and Plautius Silvanus during these operations: *equitatu regio quippe magnam Thracum manum iunctus praedictis ducibus Rhoemetalces, Thraciae rex, in adiutorum eius belli secum trahebat*¹⁴⁹. Finally, the Thracian contingent involved in the battle (*cladem intulit*) shared the same destiny with the other allies and Roman troops. Both the Romans and Thracians were surrounded by huge Dalmatian-Breucan forces and were nearly to be completely annihilated. In the attack that followed, it is said that the Thracian cavalry was routed and the allied horsemen put to flight, and the panic spread even among the legionary camp (*fusa regionum equestris acies, fugatae alae, conversae cohortes sunt, apud signa quoque legionum trepidatum*).

However, with the strong support from Octavianus Augustus, *Rhoemetalces I* could enjoy a long and lavish reign, very likely with an authority extended over most if not entire all Thrace. The close relations with the Roman Imperial house entailed the inclusion of Thracian royal forces within the Imperial army¹⁵⁰.

Rhoemetalces I died by the end of the Augustus' reign, leaving a consolidated Odrysian state and a considerable Thracian royal army, trained and disciplined in the Roman way. He had divided the

¹⁴³ Piso received the triumphal *insignia* in Rome (Dio 54. 34). However, the sanctuary appears to have been recuperated by or given back to the Bessi, for, later the God Dionysios is shown as having been served by a Bessian priest; Danov 1979, 130; Jordanov 2000, 126.

¹⁴⁴ 144. On the Thracian dynastic arrangements of this period when three most important dynasties of the Thracian world, Asteaan, Sapaean and Odrysian merged, see the excellent Sullivan's analysis 1979, 192–198 and *lemmata*.

¹⁴⁵ Dio Cass. 54. 20. 3.

¹⁴⁶ He added the head of Augustus to his own and the legend ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ to his own name ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ; Danov 1979, 131–132; Sullivan 1979, 198.

¹⁴⁷ Ovid. *Trist.* 3. 10. 5; 4. 1. 67; see also chapter I, n. 179–181.

¹⁴⁸ Dio 55. 29. 3–5; 30. 3.

¹⁴⁹ Vell. 2. 112. 4; Dio 55. 30. 6; Danov 1979, 132.

¹⁵⁰ 150. Tac. *Ann.* 2. 64: “[...] *omnem eam nationem Rhoemetalces tenuerat* [...]”. Tac. *Ann.* 4. 5 shortly enumerates the forces of the Empire at the beginning of Tiberius' reign. The historian speaks about ‘*Thraciam Rhoemetalces ac liberi Cotys*’, a strong indication that Rome could have counted on the entirety of the royal Thracian forces. On the forces of the Thracian kingdom as part of the Roman auxilia see Saddington 1982, 88.

Thracian kingdom between *Rhescuporis* III, his brother, and *Cotys* VIII, his son. *Cotys* received the regions towards the Black Sea, considered as being more fertile and widely profitable nearby Greek cities, while *Rhescuporis* obtained the rough and wild lands, neighboring the hostile Thracian highlander tribes. Tacitus states that both kings had their own armies formed of infantry and cavalry regiments, labeled *auxilia*, in the case of *Cotys*, or *peditum et equitum* for *Rhescuporis*. Even though certainly invented in support of his actions, the menace of a conflict with Bastarnae and Scythians, invoked by *Rhescuporis*, who was charged to defend ‘*Ripa Thraciae*’, remained a real matter of concern at the Lower Danube¹⁵¹. The son of *Rhescuporis* III, *Rhoemetalces* II, and the son of *Cotys* VIII were minors when they succeeded their parents in Thrace, in 18 or 19 A.D., apparently on the basis of the former division of their territorial competences¹⁵². That, however, implied the appointment of a Roman tutor for these two minor kings. He was found in the person of Trebellenus Rufus, in fact a hidden governor of the Thracian kingdom¹⁵³. He is likely to have applied from the beginning in the interior of Thrace a tough grid of tax levies that certainly implied abuses. Tacitus and Florus show that both him and *Rhoemetalces* were made responsible for the revolt of the yet untamed and ‘not inured with the Roman government’ highlander Thracian tribes¹⁵⁴.

In 21 A.D., because of ‘the arbitrary actions endured by the population’ and because both the Thracian king and the Roman tutor ‘left unpunished the arbitrary actions’¹⁵⁵ the Thracians revolted. It is surprising that the *Odrysaes*, the staunchest of Rome’s ally appear among the insurgents. Tacitus shows that the *Coelaetae* and *Dii* raised also arms against the incipient Roman authority in Thrace¹⁵⁶. *Moesia*, under the Roman control at that time, was targeted by the rebels as a territory where they could have found military back up for their actions. *Rhoemetalces* was besieged by the insurgents at *Philippopolis*, but he successfully broke the siege with his own troops, just when a Roman legion was arriving¹⁵⁷. The lack of coordination, dissensions, and the random objectives of the insurgents made an easy task for the Roman forces sent by *P. Vellaeus*, the praetor of *Moesia*, and the *Rhoemetalces*’ Royal Thracian regiments to literally slaughter the enemy.

The 26 A.D. uprising was of a quite a different nature¹⁵⁸. The Thracians firmly opposed the Roman system of recruitment among the population fitted for military service (see chapter V). The previous existence of the Thracian auxiliary troops next to the Roman army was quite a common facet, if one considers the excellent relations of the Thracian kingship with Rome¹⁵⁹. The Thracian client state provided even more military assistance than expected. It is likely that the tutorship initiated during the early reign of *Tiberius* over the minor kings, which meant in fact a direct Roman government in Thrace, brought also a major change in the recruitment system. It had been applied from the beginning and probably with certain hardness.

¹⁵¹ Tac. *Ann.* 2. 64: “[...] *In ea divisione arva et urbes et vicina Graecis Cotyi, quod incultum, ferox, adnexum hostibus, Rhescuporidi cessit [...]*”; Pârvan 1924¹, 303–367; Danov 1979, 133–134; Sullivan 1979, 199–201. After the death of Augustus, *Rhescuporis* started plundering *Cotys*’ territories south of the *Haemus* Mountain: Tac. *Ann.* 2. 64: “[...] *Enimvero audita mutatione principis, immittere latronum globos, excindere castella, causas bello [...]*”. The devastation of the southern territories began in fact earlier, in the last years of Augustus’ reign: “[...] *mox Rhescuporis egredi fines, vertere in se Cotyi data et resistenti vim facere [...]*”. For the strained relations between *Rhescuporis* and *Cotys*, the assassination of the last and the banishment of his uncle, decided by *Tiberius*, see Tac. *Ann.* 2. 64–67; 3. 38; Strab. *Geogr.* 12. 3. 29; Vell. 2.129.1; Ivanov 1961, 93–98; Danov 1979, 133; Sullivan 1979, 200–201; Jordanov 2000, 127.

¹⁵² On the royal succession in Thrace in the first two decades of the 1st century A.D. see Tac. *Ann.* 2. 64–65; Danov 1979, 134–135; Sullivan 1979, 200–204; Jordanov 2000, 127.

¹⁵³ Tac. *Ann.* 2. 67: “[...] *Trebellenus Rufus praetura functus datur qui regnum interim tractaret [...]*”.

¹⁵⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 3. 38.

¹⁵⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 3. 38: “[...] *popularium iniurias inultas sinere [...]*”.

¹⁵⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 3. 38: “[...] *Coelaetae Odrusaeque et Dii, validae nationes, arma cepere [...]*”. The revolt is characterized by Tacitus as ‘*bellum atrox*’; Sarafov 1969, 148; Danov 1979, 141–142.

¹⁵⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 3. 39: “[...] *ipse robur peditum ad exsolvendum obsidium ducit [...]* *regisque opportune eruptione et adventu legionis [...]*”; Danov 1979, 141–142; Sullivan 1979, 206–207.

¹⁵⁸ The entire description of the revolt and the military operations Tac. *Ann.* 4. 46–51; see also Danov 1979, 143–144.

¹⁵⁹ Saddington 1982, 85–86; 88.

The major discontent and firm refusal of the mountainous tribes to supply the Roman army with youth means that several drafts were carried out in the meantime and other were planned (see chapter III). It seems likely that the Thracians asked for the continuation of the previous system of military assistance towards Rome, with auxiliaries led by their own commanders¹⁶⁰. The rumor went even that the recruits will be dispatched outside Thrace¹⁶¹, although the practice of sending contingents in different parts of the Empire was already a common practice (see chapter III). Rhoemetalces, together with a good part of Thracian tribes remained faithful to Rome¹⁶².

The revolt must have lasted quite a while. Tacitus describes only its final phase¹⁶³, which ended with a last significant military confrontation south of the Haemus Mountains. Popaeus Sabinus was entrusted with the suppression of the revolt. A legion from Moesia, under the command of Pomponius Labeo was dispatched to the theatre of war. Rhoemetalces joined the Roman forces at the concentration place with other Thracian regiments and his own army¹⁶⁴.

The hostilities were opened by the Rhoemetalces' army who advanced against the enemy in a forested area. After an initial success, the Roman forces moved closer to the main rebels' camp and left the allied Thracians to guard a deserted one. The rebels' plan of action, conceived by the three Thracian leaders, *Dinis*, *Tarsa*, and *Turesis*, proved to be a brilliant one. While a diversionist night attack on the Roman encampment was going to pin down and divert the attention of Sabinus' forces, the main strike was scheduled against the Rhoemetalces army, especially that his men were constantly involved in drink and disorders. Amidst that confusion, Thracian rebels unleashed a sudden attack against the royal forces, while the Roman encampment was kept under pressure. The result was a ferocious slaughter among Rhoemetalces' forces accused by the Thracians of treason and collaboration with the enemy.

The hostilities seem to have lasted a few months. The rebel forces (*ingens multitudo bellatorum*) were split in several forts on hillocks (*tumuli*) and occupied a large area. Their main stronghold (*castellum*) garrisoned most of the combatants. Finally, the entire area was besieged by Romans who encircled the region with *quattuor millia passuum* = 5920m siege works. The main effort seems to have been focused on the chief rebels' fort, where famine, thirst and plague decimated the defenders. *Dinis*, one of the Thracian chieftains surrendered to the Romans with his family and he was followed by a fair number of Thracians. *Tarsa* committed suicide, while *Turesis* desperately tried to storm the Roman camp during the night. Finally the remaining Thracian forces were driven back to their own camp where they surrendered. The neighboring strongholds soon capitulated. An early winter in the Haemus Mountain ended the operations that temporarily prevented the bringing into submission of the entirety of rebel forces.

The recurring events of 21 and 26 A.D., the stable faithful attitude and the large military assistance offered by Rhoemetalces II showed again Rome the need of an overall and mandatory authority in Thrace. As a consequence of this constant position, Rhoemetalces received from Tiberius the full royal title, as it appears both in Greek and Latin nomenclature on inscriptions at Hissarlık and Byzie: βασιλεύς Ῥοιμετάλκος, and *rex* at Philippi¹⁶⁵.

How long Rhoemetalces II reigned is not known, but he must have ended his rule in the later years of Tiberius or the early years of Caligula. The coinage of a Rhoemetalces that honors Caligula

¹⁶⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 4. 46: “[...] *causa motus, super hominum ingenium, quod pati delectus et validissimum quemque militiae nostrae dare aspernabantur, ne regibus quidem parere nisi ex libidine soliti, aut, si mitterent auxilium, suos ductores praeficere, nec nisi adversum accolas belligerare* [...]”.

¹⁶¹ Tac. *Ann.* 4. 46: “[...] *Ac tum rumor incesserat fore ut disiecti aliisque nationibus permixti diversa in terras traherentur* [...]”.

¹⁶² Tac. *Ann.* 4. 47: “[...] *rex Rhoemetalces cum auxiliis popularium, qui fidem non mutaverant* [...]”.

¹⁶³ Ivanov 1961, 95–98; Danov 1979, 143–144.

¹⁶⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 4. 47: “[...] *venere, addita praesenti copia* [...]”.

¹⁶⁵ Rhoemetalces II's royal title: ILS 849; IGB II 743 = AE 1957, 98; Ivanov 1955, 167–175 (Hissarlık); IGB II² 399 = ILS 695 (Bizye); AE 1933, 84 (Philippi); OGIS 378 = IGR I 777 = ILS 694; Sullivan 1979, 206.

would indicate that a new Thracian king, Rhoemetalces III, one of the Cotys VIII's sons was already in power at Caligula's ascension to the throne¹⁶⁶. The new king appears also in an inscription at Cyzicus: Ροιμετάλκα βασιλεῖ Κότυος υἱῶ¹⁶⁷.

The events during Rhoemetalces III's reign are little known, if at all. The king seems to have been assassinated. Whether or not this event had a close connection with a war between Thrace and the Bosporan kingdom, to which Tacitus alludes too¹⁶⁸, or some dynastic troubles is difficult to say. The war was waged likely shortly before A.D. 46 for Tacitus, referring to the year A.D. 53 speaks as it have happened recently. We are not informed about the outcome of this war, but it could have served as a good reason for Rome to finally declare Thrace as a Roman province, THRACIA, and put an end to about five century long dynastic history of Thrace¹⁶⁹.

¹⁶⁶ Dio Cass. 59. 12. 2 alludes to this Rhoemetalces, the III, the son of Cotys VIII as being in power in A.D. 38; see also the coins with the common legend of the Emperor ΓΑΙΩ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ and the young Thracian king ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΡΟΙΜΕΤΑΛΚΑΣ; Sullivan 1979, 209.

¹⁶⁷ Syll³. 798–799; IGR IV. 147; Danov 1979, 144–145; Sullivan 1979, 211.

¹⁶⁸ Tac. Ann. 12. 63. 3: “[...] *Thraecio Bosporanoque bello recens* [...]”.

¹⁶⁹ 169. Euseb-Hieronym. Chron. 180, 12 d: “[...] *Thracia huc usque regnata in provinciam redigitur* [...]”; 188, 5 c: “[...] *Thracia* [...] *quae liberae antea et sub regibus amicis errant, in provincias redactae* [...]”; Cassiod. Chron, in: Chron. Min II; A.U.C.659 = A. p. Chr.46: “[...] *Asiaticus et Cornelius. Thracia husque regnata in provinciam redigitur* [...]”; Ivanov, 1961, 97–98; Danov 1979, 145.

III

THE RECRUITMENT AND THE SETTING OF *ALAE* AND *COHORTES THRACUM*

1. The setting of *alae* and *cohortes Thracum*

In the VIIth book of his Geography, written in ca. A.D. 17–18, Strabo said: “Thrace as a whole consists of twenty two tribes. But although it has been devastated to an exceptional degree, it can send into field fifteen thousand cavalry and also twenty thousand infantry”¹. In fact, the author does not evaluate the entire human military resources of Thrace. He is actually hinting at the allied Odrysian state, the only coherent political structure capable to raise at once such an army. The real potential of the Thracian mountainous tribes remained always an unknown factor until the establishment of the province of Thrace. The ‘exhaustion’ the geographer mentions seems a direct consequence of the 1st century B.C. disarray in Thrace marked by internecine conflicts and defeats from the Varro Lucullus- and Crassus-led Roman armies (see chapter II). However, the figures show a still redoubtable military strength and an important reservoir for recruitments both at the king Rhoemetalkes’ disposal and also of that of the Roman Empire, which could make use of these forces. In a rough listing of the military potential of the Roman Empire in the early years of Tiberius’ reign, the Odrysae kingdom appears among those particularly attached to the Roman Empire².

The setting of the first regular auxiliary regiments (*alae* and *cohortes*) with recruits from Thrace and their inclusion into the Roman army was heralded by a relatively long period of good military relations between the Empire and the Odrysian kingdom (see chapter II). The Rhoemetalkes’ special faithful attitude and his willing and repeated military assistance offered to Rome implied also the structuring and training of the royal Thracian army in a Roman way. It must have roughly copied tactics, discipline, and size of the Roman units. Tacitus calls the infantry and cavalry troops under the command of the Odrysian king in different ways: *auxilia*, *Thracum auxilia*, *copia equitum et peditum*, or *auxilia popularium*³. The royal Thracian cavalry (*equitatu regio*)⁴ seems to have been a common force on the side of the Roman army. Velleius shows that this army corps, engaged by Rhoemetalkes, was of a significant size. The Roman general Caecina Severus successfully employed them during the Pannonian revolt in A.D. 6-9 (see chapter II)⁵. On another occasion, Tacitus alludes to Thracian army corps (*auxilia*) under Thracian commanders (*ductores*)⁶.

¹ Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 47/48: Ἐστὶ δ’ ἡ Θράκη σύμπασα ἐκ δυεῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔθνῶν συνεστῶσα· δύνασται δὲ στέλλειν, καί περ οὔσα περισσῶς ἐκπεποιημένη, μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἰππέας, πεζῶν δὲ καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας [...]. (The Loeb Classical Library, transl. H.L. Jones, London 1924).

² Tac. *Ann.* 4. 5 unambiguously cites in his statement the royal Thracian forces of both parts of the kingdom ruled at that time by Rhoemetalkes and Cotys as an important strength the Roman Empire could definitely count on at that date: “[...] *Et Thraciam Rhoemetalkes ac liberi Cotyis* [...]” (see chapter IV).

³ Tac. *Ann.* 2. 65: *auxilia Rhescuporis*; 4. 47: *rex Rhoemetalkes cum auxiliis popularium*; 4. 48: *Thracum auxilia de repentino incursu territa*.

⁴ Vell. 2.112. 4.

⁵ Vell. 2. 112. 5. The Rhoemetalkes-led Royal Thracian forces, including the famous cavalry seem to have been indeed considerable in number: “[...] *et equitatu regio (quippe magnam Thracum manum) [...]* *Rhoemetalkes Thraciae rex, in adiutorium eius belli secum trahebat* [...]”. Velleius 2. 113. 1 enumerates also *frequenti equite regio* within the huge force of 10 legions, 70 infantry and 14 cavalry regiments sent by Tiberius against the Pannonian rebels, a clear reference to participation of the Thracian royal forces on the Roman army’s side. Dio (55. 30. 3) speaks about a Thracian victory over the Breucan Bato in a skirmish on the mount Alma; finally, the rebels’ victory caused a hastily retreat, which sounds like a disorderly flee of the Thracian forces: *fugata regionum equestris acies*.

⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 4. 46: “[...] *si mitterent auxilia suos ductores praeficere* [...]”. A tradition in the Thracian world required that Thracian forces to be led by Thracian commanders, as in the case of Rhoemetalkes’ army.

Even during the Thracian uprising of 26, the Odrysian king Rhoemetaces II joined the Roman army with his Thracian forces, to which he added his personal royal guard: *addita praesenti copia*⁷.

The excellent political and military relations maintained by Rhoemetaces I and II with Octavianus Augustus and then Tiberius and the joined participation in some operations of the Roman and Thracian forces, paved the way for an early establishment of the first regular cavalry and infantry regiments in the royal army that was soon followed by their integration into the Roman army.

The earliest known regular Thracian auxiliary regiments, included into the Roman army were likely those of the group styled *Augusta Thracum*. There are two series, each of three cavalry and three infantry units, numbered I–II–III (no. 5, 11, 12, 14, 25 and 30).

Holder suggested that the regiments no. I–III, styled as *Augusta Thracum* were created from the Thracian contingents from the Herodes' army. That would match their early presence in the Eastern provinces⁸. Flavius Josephus mentions the band of Thracians' which paraded in the front of the royal cortege at Herodes' funerals⁹, but it is difficult to estimate their initial number in the Judean king's service or in the Eastern provinces in general at that time. The fact that the Thracians were cited on the first place after Herodes' guards suggests that they were in a significant number and formed a powerful and important bodyguard in the Judean kingdom to such an extent that they could have reached the critical mass for the establishment of several regiments in the Roman army after Herodes' death. Cheesman showed that the title *Augusta* was granted in different instances at all times '*honoris causa*', but admits an early date for some of the regiments¹⁰. An important observation was made by Saddington who demonstrated that the units bearing the title '*Augusta*' were raised mainly during the reign of the Emperor Octavianus Augustus, as other imperial titles granted to auxiliary units and legions designate their raising or massive reorganization during the emperor whose name they bore¹¹.

If so, the Thracian contingents must have been reshaped in a Roman regiments like form in a relatively short time from the well-trained troops of the Rhoemetaces royal cavalry and infantry units, and from the Herodes' Thracian guards. The regiments styled *Augusta Thracum* might have been established successively in a short period of time from the best Thracian troops and reached up to about 3,000 men. They were supplied in their initial stages with fresh contingents both from Thrace and some local recruits from the population where they garrisoned.

The MDs issued for the six regiments *Augusta Thracum* range from 88 to 167. The chronological regression at roughly each 25 years interval in the case of the series of these MDs shows that they were raised by late Augustus', or early Tiberius' reigns at the latest, i.e. sometime between 7/11 and 17/18.

Two lost inscriptions found in Gerasa¹² record two Thracian soldiers from *ala Augusta Thracum* (Appendix II 2 no.5) They were considered by Jones¹³ as being numbered either I (no.5) or III (no. 12), both stationed in Syria in the 1st century. The documents belong rather to no. 5, for another inscription found also in Gerasa records an *optio alae I Thracum Augustae*. There is a rude execution and lapicid's

⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 4. 47.

⁸ Holder 1980, 14. The presence of the Thracians in the Hellenistic-Judean armies goes far back in time, in the 2nd century B.C. Enough to mention here the passage in Vulg. II *Mac.* 12. 35: "[...] *Dositheus vero quidam de Bacenor's eques vir fortis, Gorgiam tenebat cum vellet illum capere vivum, eques quidam de Thracibus irruit in eum, humerumque eius amputavit, atque ita Gorgia effugit in Maresa [...]*" ('But a certain Dositheus, one of Bacenor's men, who was on horseback and was a strong man, caught hold of Gorgias, and grasping his cloak was dragging him off by main strength, wishing to take the accused man alive, when one of the Thracian horsemen bore down upon him and cut off his arm; so Gorgias escaped and reached Marisa').

⁹ Fl. Jos. *Ant. Jud.* 17. 8. 3. '*First of all went his guards, then the Thracians; and after them the Germans; and next the band of Galatians, everyone in their habiliments of war*' (trad. W. Whiston). Groups of Thracians and Germans are reported by Suetonius in Caligula's personal guards: Suet. *Calig.* 55,2: *Thracas quosdam Germanos corporis custodibus praeposuit*.

¹⁰ Cheesman 1914, 46–47 considers that '*Augusta*' could have been given by any Emperor as a common way to grant this title, although few, if any, regiments received it after Augustus.

¹¹ Saddington 1982, 172.

¹² Welles 1938, nos. 199, 201.

¹³ Jones 1928, 144–146, nos. 1 and 2.

errors on all three inscriptions revealing a bad knowledge of Latin and Greek. They were dated in the 1st century, probably in the first half, which suggest that the two soldiers must be seen as part of the first, second, or third generation of recruits levied sometimes in 13/15, 38/41, or in 63/66 at the latest.

In early 2nd century the regiment was dispatched on the Danube, took part in the Dacian wars and was later garrisoned in Raetia, where in 107 it discharged parts of the effectives with which it came from Syria (see chapter VIII). By early 2nd century the regiment incorporated Celto-Norican and German contingents raised in Raetia, as in the case of the horsemen *Troucleimarus* (Celtic) and *Chartius*, (Tunger), with which it was redeployed to Noricum by 140–144 at the latest (see below chapter V no. 5). Troucleimarus lived 45 years and served 26, a fact that, given the date of the setting of the inscription at early 2nd century¹⁴, sends his recruitment back shortly after the dispatch of the unit in Raetia.

The regiment no. 11 (*ala II Augusta Thracum*) is recorded in the first half of the 1st century in Spain. The inscription of a horseman from Capera (Lusitania), *Sulpicius Camalus*, was considered Flavian in date¹⁵, although he must have been recruited earlier, possible in the Claudian period, as part of early contingents existing before the dispatch of the regiment to northern Africa, previous to 41–42 (see chapters V no. 11 and VIII). An inscription from mid 1st century belongs to the horseman *Silvanus*, the son of Leurus, a Celto-Iberian recruited in Julio-Claudian period. *Vegetus*, Reburus' son is a Lusitanian in all appearances¹⁶. His comrade *Bocchus* could have been of local Moorish origin and recruited shortly after the regiment was dispatched in northern Africa. A horseman of the same regiment, [...] *Saeci* who originates from *Cauca*¹⁷ is later in date and must have been part of the Neronian contingents raised possibly in 57, or even earlier. To the same period a Gaulish soldier from the tribe of Bituriges, bearing *tria nomina*, *Tiberius Claudius Congonetiacus* was active in the regiment.

After the arrival of the regiment in Mauretania Caesariensis, recruitment was carried out within the local communities from where both Bocchus and maybe *Valerius Firmus* (the end of the 1st century) come from.

Le Roux is right in pointing out that there was 'un recruitment cosmopolite'¹⁸ in the regiment also by the end of the 1st century as inferred from the available names of the horsemen. Thracians continue, however, to supply the regiment in Africa, in the 2nd century, as a certain *Bi* [*thus*], mentioned on a fragmentary inscription shows (Appendix II 2 no. 11)

The regiment no. 12 was sent directly to Syria where it garrisoned during the 1st century A.D. After the setting, regular supply with Thracian or local effectives must have taken place at short intervals, if one calculates the regression years of the existing MDs. Whether or not the regiment participated in the Corbulo's operations in Armenia is not certainly known (see chapter VIII), but a *dilectus* was carried out in Bithynia at that time. The *vexillarius* (σημειοφόρος) from the regiment mentioned on the inscription at Prusias ad Hypium (Konularp), bearing a 1st century name, Σεμ[πρόν]ιος, indicates his origin as Προουσιεύς ἀπὸ Ὑπίου and seems to have been part of that levy.

The Membidj inscription dates from the 1st century, during its presence in Syria. An *ex equite*, *M. Cocceius Valens*, lived 75 years and seems to have been enrolled during Nerva's time that gives his birth year ca. 80 and the death year ca. 155.

As shown by the Suhozem MD (91) (Appendix II 2 no. 12), the Thracian soldier *Quelsa Dolae* was levied in ca. 66. The contingents of the 60s of the 1st century were intensely raised in Thrace between 63 and 66 as suggested by the regression years in the MDs granted for this regiment. Although

¹⁴ Alföldi 1974, 257–258.

¹⁵ Le Roux 1982, 87, 276; for the name see Firmat 1979, 38, no. 29.

¹⁶ Firmat 1979, 41, no. 34; Untermann 1975, 155–156.

¹⁷ *Cauca* as a place name was part of the Conventus Clunensis which excludes a Thracian origin of the soldier (Pflaum 1978, 65) and particularly his north Danubian birth place (Samsaris 1987, 427, no. 173).

¹⁸ Le Roux 1982, 87.

there is no clear evidence, once the unit was garrisoned in Pannonia in early 2nd century the recruits might have been drawn from the local Celto-Illyrian environment. The Thracian area however, continued to supply the regiment in the 2nd and 3rd century, as indicated by the origin of *C. Iulius Lupercus* from Sale, a place in southern Thrace (Appendix II 2 no. 12).

The evidence of MDs for the infantry regiments no. 14, 25, and 30, range from 86¹⁹ to 167. As the evidence of the inscriptions for these three regiments is too scanty to disentangle early stages of recruitment, MDs and the method of chronological regression remain the only documents to conjecture both the beginnings and the progress of the recruitment in the 1st century. The MDs send back as a date of creation of these three regiments between A.D. 7/11 and 18. The bridging dates of supply with fresh contingents in the three infantry regiments shows very slight, if any, significant variation in its regularity compared to that of their correspondent of cavalry units.

After the death of Augustus, the contribution of the Thracian kingdom with troops to the Roman army seems to have drastically changed. The intensification of a more rigorous recruitment in Thrace replaced the rather relaxed policy of the first two decades of the 1st century A.D. when the Rhoemetalces' royal army supplied in great measure the need for regiments from the warrior Thracians. The conscriptions (*dilectus*) must have been multiplied, and the general tendency of setting regiments on a regular and professional basis appears more and more obvious²⁰.

This picture is confirmed by Tacitus. Speaking about the causes of the A.D. 21 uprising of the Coelestae, Odrysae and Dii, the latter a branch of the Bessi, Tacitus hints at a growing Roman constraints in Thrace: 'As for Thrace [...] it was divided against itself, from not being used to our rule, and blamed Rhoemetalces no less than Trebellienus for allowing the wrongs of his countrymen to go unpunished [...]'²¹. It remains unclear to what specifically *popularium iniurias* Tacitus refers to. The expression 'not being used to our rule', could be seen as the toughening of the taxes and conscriptions, while 'blamed Rhoemetalces no less than Trebellienus for allowing the wrongs of his countrymen to go unpunished' would refer, among others, to the abuses of the Roman tax collectors and officers charged with the drafts (*dilectores*). Velleius acknowledges that conscription always caused a significant turmoil among the population²².

The tutorship of Trebellienus Rufus over the Cotys' children²³ will have meant a more rigorous enforcement of the Roman governorship that could have stir serious discontent among the Thracian tribes (*insolentia nostra discors*), while the Rhoemetalces' constant cooperation with the Roman authorities raised numerous resentments against him (see chapter II). After the revolt was put down, massive drafts must have taken place.

¹⁹ This probability is given for no. 14 if it can be identified in the Turea MD (86) with the cohort on the second place without any patronymic or ethnic indication.

²⁰ Many Thracians must have enrolled voluntarily which, for poor people, was a fair way to obtain some good resources (Tac. *Ann.* 4. 4). Voluntariness was the most widespread practice to supply the regiments with recruits (Plin. *Ep.* 10. 30; Disoth. *Sent. Hadr.* 2; Arr. Men. in *Dig.* 44. 16. 4. 10).

²¹ Tac. *Ann.* 3. 38. "[...] *nam Thraecia [...] insolentia nostri discors agebat neque minus Rhoemetalcen quam Trebellenum incusans popularium iniurias inultas sinere*. The progress of the revolt is narrated further on by Tacitus. However, it is surprising that the Odrysae raised arms against Rome, as long as the Odrysian state proved to be its staunch ally. "[...] *Coelaetae Odrusaeque et Dii, validae nationes, arma cepere, ducibus diversis et paribus inter se per ignobilitatem; quae causa fuit ne in bellum atrox coalescerent. pars turbant praesentia, alii montem Haemum transgrediuntur ut remotos populos concirent; plurimi ac maxime compositi regem urbemque Philippopolim, a Macedone Philippo sitam, circumsidunt [...]*". ("The Coelaetae, Odrysae and Dii, powerful tribes, took up arms, under different leaders, all on a level from their obscurity. This hindered them from combining in a formidable war. Some roused their immediate neighborhood; others crossed Mount Hæmus, to stir up remote tribes; most of them, and the best disciplined, besieged the king in the city of Philippopolis, founded by the Macedonian Philip"). (Translated by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb).

²² The conscriptions (*dilectus*) in the army occasioned many times abuses, corruption and uprisings (Tac. *Ann.* 14. 18): "[...] *Dilectum militarem pretio et ambitione corruptum [...]*"; *Hist.* 4. 14 "[...] *Rem suapte natura gravem avaritia onerabant [...]*"; Vell. 2. 130: "[...] *Quanta cum quiete hominum rem perpetui praecipuique timoris supplementum sine trepidatione dilectus providet [...]*".

²³ Sullivan 1979, 204–206.

If the causes of the A.D. 21 uprising remain rather unclear, as stated by Tacitus, the A.D. 26 large scale Thracian revolt is precisely styled as against the levies: “*Besides their natural ferocity, the rebellion had its origin in their scornful refusal to endure levies and to supply our armies with their bravest men. Even native princes they would obey only according to their caprice, and if they sent aid, they used to appoint their own leaders and fight only against their neighbors. A rumor had then spread itself among them that dispersed and mingled with other tribes, they were to be dragged away to distant countries. Before however they took up arms, they sent envoys with assurances of their friendship and loyalty, which, they said, would continue, if they were not tried by any fresh burden. But if they were doomed to slavery as a conquered people, they had swords and young warriors and a spirit bent on freedom or resigned to death. As they spoke, they pointed to fortresses amid rocks, whither they had conveyed their parents and their wives, and threatened us with a difficult, dangerous, and sanguinary war*”²⁴ (see also chapter II). The Tiberius’ unconcealed intentions to increase the drafts among the provincials, as stated by Tacitus²⁵, seem to have reached the most isolated, but most warriors mountainous Thracians, not included in the Rhoemetalces II’s Royal army, whereas their refusal and revolt against regular service in the Roman army.

We might suspect that after the A.D. 21 revolt, the Roman administration changed radically the recruitment system in Thrace, although the country was not yet a Roman province. The basis for conscription was extended to the entire territory of Thrace. Voluntary or mercenary service in the Roman army was a common practice among Thracians, and skirmishes with neighbors were also frequent feature of the political life of the tribes, but systematic and periodical levies appeared as something unusual for the local population. Rumors about these intentions spread rapidly. The communities inhabiting the mountainous regions that had not been previously included into the regular conscriptions were now planned to be submitted to systematic and large scale service, the spark that ignited the revolt. To the basic refusal towards this policy, the Thracians added the strong resentment to the amalgamation of their own forces with foreign ones (*disiecti aliisque nationibus permixti diversas in terras traherentur*). Their dispatch in the remote provinces, under Roman commanders and the submission to the same discipline, as long as Thracian *auxilia* that had previously participated alongside the Roman army maintained their own leaders seems to have been another point of serious discontent. Even the rumor of their amalgamation with foreign contingents, a measure which seems to have been previously planned by the Roman military administration, came as a lightning for the untamed Thracian mountainous communities which strongly disagreed.

²⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 4. 46: “[...] *decreta triumphi insignia Poppaeo Sabino contusis Thraecum gentibus, qui montium editis incultu atque eo ferocius agitabant. causa motus super hominum ingenium, quod pati dilectus et validissimum quemque militiae nostrae dare aspernabantur, ne regibus quidem parere nisi ex libidine soliti, aut si mitterent auxilia, suos ductores praeficere nec nisi adversum accolas belligerare. ac tum rumor incesserat fore ut disiecti aliisque nationibus permixti diversas in terras traherentur. sed antequam arma inciperent, misere legatos amicitiam obsequiumque memoraturos, et mansura haec si nullo novo onere temptarentur: sin ut victis servitium indiceretur, esse sibi ferrum et iuventutem et promptum libertati aut ad mortem animum. simul castella rupibus indita conlatosque illuc parentes et coniuges ostentabant bellumque impeditum arduum cruentum minitabantur [...]*”.

(“[...] triumphal distinctions were decreed to Poppaeus Sabinus for crushing some Thracian tribes, whose wild life in the highlands of a mountainous country made them unusually fierce. Besides their natural ferocity, the rebellion had its origin in their scornful refusal to endure levies and to supply our armies with their bravest men. Even native princes they would obey only according to their caprice, and if they sent aid, they used to appoint their own leaders and fight only against their neighbours. A rumour had then spread itself among them that, dispersed and mingled with other tribes, they were to be dragged away to distant countries. Before however they took up arms, they sent envoys with assurances of their friendship and loyalty, which, they said, would continue, if they were not tried by any fresh burden. But if they were doomed to slavery as a conquered people, they had swords and young warriors and a spirit bent on freedom or resigned to death. As they spoke, they pointed to fortresses amid rocks whither they had conveyed their parents and their wives, and threatened us with a difficult, dangerous and sanguinary war [...]”). (Translated by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodrick).

²⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 4. 4: “[...] *multitudine veteranorum et delectibus supplendos exercitus [...]*”.

During the revolt, a good part of the Thracian tribes that remained faithful to the Romans fought together with the Rhoemetalkes II's army²⁶ and side by side with the Popaeus Sabinus-led Roman forces against their own co-nationals.

The aftermath of the victory over the mountainous Thracian tribes was massive levies, the setting of new regular regiments (*alae* and *cohortes*), their dispatch on other fronts, and the supply of other auxiliary units with Thracian recruits. The combination of the Gaulish and Thracian effectives aimed to acquire more discipline for the latter, an easier training of the new recruits and very likely a more adequate control over them in these initial stages²⁷.

In 16 A.D., C. Antius conducted a census in Gallia²⁸ and is likely that on this occasion an *ala Gallorum*, surnamed *Antiana* must have been created. Saddington²⁹ suggested an amalgamation of this Gaulish regiment with an already existing *ala Thracum* after 26, very likely in 29. It is indeed possible that the Thracian contingents could have joined other three Gaulish units after the quelling of the revolt, in A.D. 26, when the Roman intentions, previously heralded, were applied. Fear of possible disturbances created by untamed young Thracians could have triggered such measure. P. Holder and J. Spaul think also that the Gaulish regiments were initially created and the Thracian contingents were later added³⁰.

There were four regiments labeled *Gallorum et Thracum* (no. 1–4). They were established in the years shortly after the great Thracian revolt in A.D. 26.

Three cavalry regiments (nos. 1, 3, 4) are recorded in the earliest known so far MD for auxiliaries from Sarsânlar (54), granted to the Thracian horseman *Romesta*, the son of Rescentus, from *ala Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana*. (Appendix II 2 no. 1). The diploma is the best evidence for the date of the initial setting of the three regiments sometimes between A.D. 26 and 29.

If no. 1, in its first stages, must have been initially called *ala Gallorum Antiana*³¹ and contained only Gaulish horsemen, through new addition of Thracian contingents it was renamed *Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana*³². The same process is applicable to all the four mixed Gaulish-Thracian *alae*. No. 4 appears already with the epithet *veterana* in the Sarsânlar MD (54), which could indicate an appellation taken over from an earlier existing regiment, called *Gallorum veterana*³³. It is also possible, as W. Wagner opines that the unit could have been formed of, or contained a sizeable no. of *evocati*, in order to be used very soon in military operations³⁴. The supply of nos. 1, 3 and 4 with fresh Thracian contingents seem to have continued in the 1st century on a regular basis, as shown by a cluster of Syrian

²⁶ Tac. Ann. 4, 47: [...] *rex Rhoemetalkes cum auxiliis popularium qui fidem non mutaverant, venere, addita praesenti copia* [...]. On the unfolding of the events during this revolt see Tac. Ann. 4. 46–51; see also chapter II.

²⁷ The amalgamation of fresh recruits with older contingents is explained by Tacitus, *Agr.* 28 that in order to teach discipline, soldiers from different units must be mixed: *milites [...] ad tradendam disciplinam immixti*. That was the case of *cohors Usiporum* (Kraft 1951, 29); other cases of mixed cavalry regiments: *I Gallorum et Bosporanorum*; *Gallorum et Pannoniorum*; *Parthorum et Araborum*. On the Gaulish-Thracian early mixed contingents see also Wagner 1938, 40–41; Kraft 1951, 28–29; Saddington 1982, 73, 139, 147, 152, 161.

²⁸ Tac. Ann. 2. 6: [...] *missus ad census Galliarum P. Vitelio et C. Antio* [...].

²⁹ Saddington 1982, 147.

³⁰ Holder 1980, 22. On the Gaulish-Thracian cavalry regiments: Spaul 1994, 27–28; 87–88; 96.

³¹ In the Apheca MD (139) the unit appears on the second place among *alae* as ANT(iana) GALL(orum); Saddington 1982, 93, 147, 161; Spaul 1994, 27–28; Russel 1995, 111–115.

³² Russell 1995, 113.

³³ Cheesmann 1914, 47–49 holds that the title *veterana* comes from the necessity of distinguishing between two units with the same name, number, and garrisoning the same province. I prefer to see an older unit of Gauls to which a Thracian contingent was added, and therefore recorded as *veterana Gallorum et Thraecum* in the Sarsânlar MD; Kraft 1951, 26–27; Saddington 1982, 64, 138; Holder 1980, 19. It is also noticeable that, in case of the Thracian contingents, this early diploma inherits and uses the archaic term THRAECVM, typical for Republican times to frequently designate the Thracians, instead of later THRACVM.

³⁴ Wagner 1938, 41. However, the epithet refers to the age of the unit not to a regiment of the veterans, in which case it would have been called *veteranorum*.

MDs recently published³⁵. The MDs of 91 show Thracian soldiers (*Seuthes, Bruzeno Delsasi, Cardenti Biticenthi*) recruited in 66 in *ala Gallorum et Thracum Veterana* but discharged from *ala veterana Gallica*. The *equites* discharged in 88 were recruited in 63. The contingents enrolled in 63 and 66 belonged to the yet undivided regiment. The *ala* was still in Syria in 88 and it already bore the name *veterana Gallica*. That means that the unit was fractioned before that date and received the new name when still in the same province. It left Syria for Egypt only after 12 May 91 (see chapter V no. 4)³⁶. The Thracian recruits continued to supply *ala veterana Gallica* in Egypt, as a list of soldiers on a receipt from 130 for the squadron of Donatius contains pure Thracian names³⁷.

A horseman, *Serpodius*, from *ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana* originates from Telmessus (Fethiye) and is recorded in a MD of 160 in which is mentioned also no. 3 (*ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium*)³⁸. He had been drafted therefore in ± 135, at a very close date of the contingents recruited in 136/7 as results from the Kalin Ören MD³⁹.

No. 2 (*ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana*) was stationed in the western provinces, Germany and Britain, but also campaigned in the East. The name *Classiana* derives from *Classius*, or rather *Classianus*, its first commander⁴⁰, although the idea of a longer service next to a certain fleet, perhaps *classis Britannica*, can not also be entirely dismissed⁴¹. In both cases it seems to have been sent directly to western provinces.

The Middlewich MD (105) records the horseman [...]us whose father, *Rammus*, has a Germanic origin⁴². The soldier, probably himself a Germanic, was drafted into the unit in the 80' when the regiment was garrisoned in Germania Superior⁴³. Another case of a Germanic recruit is the early 3rd century *Vic[torinus] Anhu[...]*, enrolled when the regiment was stationed for the third time in Germany⁴⁴. Recruitment in the province of Galatia occurred possibly during Hadrian's Jewish war, when *M. Marius Valens* joined the unit⁴⁵.

No. 3 (*ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium*) is recorded also in the Sarsânlar MD (54). The initial supply with Thracian recruits in early days of its existence appears obvious from the title, although later Thracian names are completely missing from the unit's prosopography. It was sent directly to Syria and remained in the Eastern provinces until the end of 4th century⁴⁶.

No. 6 (*ala I Thracum*) is recorded rather late in British MDs: Malpas (103), Stannington (124) as well as in the German MDs: f.s.u.127, Xanten (158). The chronological regression applied to the MDs issued for this unit suggests its establishment in mid 30s, or shortly earlier. The general opinion is that it was initially garrisoned in Germany before being part of the invasion force of Britain in 43⁴⁷. While in Germany the unit received recruits of Germanic origin such as *Sex. Valerius Genialis, civis Frisiavus*, who erected a tombstone at Cirencester, in Britain, previous to Boudicca revolt in 60, where the regiment remained for a time. He lived 41 years and served 20 what means that he was levied in the

³⁵ Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205–221, nos. 1–3.

³⁶ Spaul 1994, 128 suggests on good ground that by 130 *ala veterana Gallica* switched garrison with *ala Commagenorum*, which left Egypt for Noricum.

³⁷ P. Lond. 482; Speidel 1982, 169.

³⁸ RMD 173; Eck 1993, 451–459.

³⁹ It seems that there was a massive draft in 135/136 for strengthening the contingents engaged in the Jewish war; some regions of Asia Minor, among which Pisidia, where Termessos lies, have been involved in the process.

⁴⁰ Birley 1978, 266, no. 7.

⁴¹ The earliest record of the regiment in the sources is the Sydenham MD (105) (CIL XVI 51 = RIB 2401. 2) as *classiana c(iuium) R(omanorum)*. If a certain link with *classis Britannica* can be foreseen, then it must refer to a post Julio-Claudian period.

⁴² Cf. RIB 2063: *Ramio*, also Germanic; Kraft 1951, 148.

⁴³ On the regiment and composition see: Kraft 1951, 148; Alföldy 1968a, 17–19; Spaul 1994, 87–88.

⁴⁴ Alföldy's commentary 1968, 175, no. 29.

⁴⁵ Maxfield 1981, 266; Spaul 1994, 88.

⁴⁶ Russell 1995, 115–117.

⁴⁷ Stein 1932, 153; Kraft 1951, 160; Alföldy 1968, 36–37; Holder 1982, 111.

30s, or earlier. Together with contingents of Germanic origin, the regiment maintained its Thracian effectives which fought in Britain. A duplicarius *Longinus*, *Sdapezematygi* from *pagus Sardi* is known at Colchester in about the same period. The monument is commonly dated in late Claudian or early Neronian period (Appendix II 2 no. 6). The soldier lived 40 and served 15, in which case he is supposed to have been part of the initial contingent of Thracian recruits in the 30s with which the unit was dispatched on the Rhine, and then to Britain. He was possibly recruited in 33–35 that confirms the induced date of the Xanten MD. However, Thracian contingents continue to supply the regiment along the 2nd and first half of the 3rd century, as indicated by two Thracian horsemen *Valens Bititralis* and *Mucale* at Vechten, where its new headquarters was established after the return from Britain in the 20s of the 2nd century. The supply of the unit with Thracian contingents in the 2nd–3rd century is confirmed also by several graffiti bearing Thracian names (Appendix II 2 no. 6).

The regiment no. 7 is styled in the inscriptions as *Herculiana*. The epithet derives from a certain *Herculanus* or *Herculianus*, very likely his first prefect⁴⁸. It shows good signs of pre-Claudian date of setting. The chronological regression of a MD for Cappadocia (100) would indicate as the earliest date of setting a year around 25, or shortly after, in 31/32. At mid 2nd century, while garrisoned in Palmyra, Thracian personnel supplied the unit, as demonstrated by the horseman *Brizanus Tarsae*, which appears next to a prefect whose name was restored by Seyrig as *Au[lusans/centus etc.]*⁴⁹. The unit gathered contingents from the local environment where it was dispatched: Cappadocia, Palmyra, and Egypt (Appendix II 2 no. 6).

The epithet *Mauretana* or *Mauretunica* for no. 8, as it is known in the Greek inscriptions, sends also to an early date of setting. The regiment is likely to have been in Mauretania already during Caligula's reign where it took part in the quelling of the Aedemon's revolt in 41–42 (see chapter VIII). Presumably, it was raised in Thrace by mid or late 30s, possibly deliberately for this mission. Its early presence in this province could have conferred from the beginning the epithet *Mauretana*/*Mauretunica*⁵⁰. Another recorded occasion in which Thracian recruits were expressly levied in order to fill the gaps in the units of the same area, occurred in 200, when *Sex. Iulius Iulianus* led one thousand young Bessian recruits for Mauretania Tingitana⁵¹. Thracian contingents supplied the unit in the 1st century, as the Turea MD (86) demonstrates (Appendix II 2 no. 8). The Coeloletae soldier, *Seuthes Traibithi* discharged in 86 was recruited in 61, while the regiment was likely still in Mauretania, and later dispatched to Syria to boost the army strength for the Titus' Jewish war in 70/71 (see chapter VIII). The supply with fresh levies in Egypt where the regiment was later moved was done mainly from the local environment. There are no individuals of Thracian origin that appears in a long list of *decuriones alares* of the unit set in Alexandria in 199.

A dense chronological sequence is shown in case of the regiments no. 9 and 10. The entire epigraphic material of no. 9 belongs to the 2nd–3rd century. The regiment bears significantly the epithet *veterana* and seems to have proceeded from the fractioning of the regiment no. 4 before 88 (see chapter V, no. 9). The first known MDs for no. 9 dates from 112 and 113, which shows that an initial discharge and re-supply with contingents in the regiment took place in 87 and 88 respectively, in the same year and shortly after the splitting of no. 4, *ala Gallorum et Thracum Veterana*⁵². The first discharge from *ala veterana Gallica*, dispatched to Egypt as an independent unit and resultant of the splitting of the old no. 4 took place in 88 and shortly after that, in 91. However, almost simultaneous discharges would

⁴⁸ Birley 1978, 267, no. 12.

⁴⁹ Seyrig 1933, 162–163 App. 7 = AE 1933, 213.

⁵⁰ Jarrett 1969, 217; Spaul 1994, 159.

⁵¹ Speidel 1977, 167–173 = 1984, 341–347.

⁵² Both MDs for Pannonia Superior from 112 (RMD 223) and 113 (RMD 86) are of III D type (*quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis*), which might suggest the prolongation with some more months or even one or two years of service than usual. That would fit a date before 88, in 86 or 87, of the splitting of no. 4 and the creation of the two *veteranae* units (no. 9 and *ala veterana Gallica*).

result from the induced years in Obuda MD (167) (for *Thracum veterana sagittariorum*), which sends back to the year 92, one year later than 91. The new no. 9 could have remained in western Asia Minor until the eve of the conflict with the Dacian state, as suggested by a horseman of Isaurian origin, *Cunius*, who was recruited in 103/4 as part of a levy carried out in Asia Minor and destined to supply the unit with new effectives before the outburst of the second Dacian war. It might be also taken into account, as M. Roxan assumes, the fact that the regiment was stationed in Galatia and was transferred to the Danubian lands in a period between the two Dacian wars. This would imply that the ala came to the Danubian lands with Galatian and other Eastern fresh levies from micro-Asiatic province. *Ulpus Cives*, recorded at Mannesdorf in Trajanic period must be a soldier the ala came with from Asia Minor⁵³.

In the first half of the 2nd century, the recruitment included at a large scale the local stock of Celto-Pannonian Eraviscans (e.g. *Axeto*, curator alae, *Oxetius*), or Illyrians, (duplarius alae, *Vibius Saturninus*).

Thracian contingents were poured into the regiment at different dates in the 2nd and 3rd century as shown by veterans (*Aurelius Catus*, *Aurelius Lipor*) and active NCOs (*Mucatra*, duplicarius) (Appendix II 2 no. 9)⁵⁴.

No. 10 (*ala I Thracum Victrix*) has as the earliest record a constitution of 79 in which it is called for the first time *Victrix*⁵⁵. The discharge document has been given to a Thracian soldier, *Gusula Doqui f.* (Appendix II 2 no. 10). The horseman was levied in 54, although the unit must have existed before. The date of MDs for this unit and the comparison of the induced ± 25 years send back constantly to a period sometime between ca. mid-late 40s of the 1st century as a date of its establishment. *Victrix* is an epithet the regiment was granted for an exceptional behavior or a local victory obtained on a battlefield, possibly during the Nero's eastern campaigns. If so, in the 50' and early 60' the unit must have borne a simple ethnical name, the epithet being added after the events it was involved in.

After the arrival of the unit in Pannonia, the local Celtic elements where enlisted. A telling case is that of Ulpus Titus, *natione Boius*, recruited under Trajan and deceased at 35, after 16 years of service. This suggests that he entered the unit at 20 and was discharged possibly after 117. Except the owner of the 79 MD, there is no record of Thracian personnel in the regiment, although the supply with recruits from Thrace must have been also directed to this cavalry unit.

The group of the four infantry regiments styled *Thracum Syriaca*: no. 23 (*cohors I Thracum Syriaca, equitata*); 29 (*cohors II Thracum Syriaca*); 32 (*cohors III Thracum Syriaca equitata*); 35 (*cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca*) shows an early and long deployment in Syria, wherefrom the epithet *Syriaca*. They could have been raised either in the same time, or more likely at relatively consecutive but short intervals, possibly in order to be sent together to Syria. It could be even that the epithet *Syriaca* was given to all the four regiments at once to highlight their destination for garrisoning Syria.

However, the establishment of the four units seems very early. It will not be surprising to find out in the future that they even antedate the *Augusta Thracum* series of regiments. A reason for that would be the long and difficult Cantabrian wars waged between 29 and 18 B.C.⁵⁶. To stem their attacks and to carry out operations against mountainous peoples like Cantabrians and Asturians, the Roman army needed forces used to fight in mountainous areas. Thracians were excellent warriors to fulfill this desideratum, especially that the Odrysian kings were at that time in excellent good relations with Rome and a good part of its military forces or new recruits could have been used by the Romans for combat in

⁵³ Ubl 1974, 422; Lőrincz 2001, 211 no. 174. Lőrincz is right in stating that Ulpus Cives can not be a native from Noricum, as Ubl assumed, for the regiment came in the province by 106/107, after the Dacian wars.

⁵⁴ Thracians must have also hidden under Roman names in Pannonia, but it is difficult to recognize them among a sizable number of military-men recorded for this regiment.

⁵⁵ Weiss 2004, 239–246.

⁵⁶ Schulten 1934; Syme 1979, 825-830; Roda de Llanza, 2006, 53–64.

the mountains⁵⁷. To the early date of the existence of this series of regiments one can add the name of a certain *M. Titius*, recorded in an inscription (now in the Museum of Aleppo). He held the office of *lixa* in no. 32 (*cohors III Thracum Syriaca equitata*), and bears the same name as the Augustus' governor of Syria in ca. 10 B.C.⁵⁸. *M. Titius*, died aged 40 without accomplishing the full period of service, but he could have joined the regiment as part of the first contingents levied in the early second decade of the 1st century B.C. which could have presumably taken part in the Cantabrian wars. Their dispatch to Syria should have taken place shortly after the end of the operations. Other *Thracum Syriacae* regiments could have been sent directly to Syria after their creation. In the Eastern province they continued to be reinforced with the already existing Thracian mercenaries in Syria at that time and with new recruits from the Odrysian kingdom in late 1st B.C and early 1st century A.D. At least no. 32 appears to be one of the earliest known Thracian regiments in the Roman army.

From Syria, no. 23 (*cohors I Thracum Syriaca*) was dispatched to Moesia, at Timacum Minus (Ravna), a fort assigned, after the administrative Domitian's administrative reform in 86, to Moesia Superior. Here it left a very rich epigraphic material. Most, if not all of the monuments erected by soldiers and personnel of this cohort is dated between ca. 78 and 106, but not later. In 78, the regiment was already in Moesia where it is attested by the Ferdinand MD that entails as date of its arrival in the Danubian lands in ca. 69–70 as part of the Mucianus' Syrian army during the civil wars. A Thracian soldier's tombstone at Timacum, shows [...]inus Dini[tra]lis, (Appendix II 2 no. 23) who served 28 years in the same unit and lived 61 years. He was probably enlisted in one of the conscriptions perpetrated in mid Julio-Claudian epoch and joined directly the regiment in Syria. If so, and the unit arrived in Moesia in ca. 70, he must have been born in 19/20 and levied in ca. 40/42. He then served most of the time in Syria and returned to Balkan lands where he still served a few years and died in his homeland area⁵⁹.

The names of other soldiers of this regiment mentioned in the Upper Moesian inscriptions stress their first half of the 1st century service in Syria. A veteran, *C. Cassius Longinus* lived 100 years. He was recruited in Syria and received Roman citizenship there⁶⁰. He could have been discharged already in the same province and came with the unit and the entire family in Moesia Superior. In that case, Cassius Longinus must have been born by early 1st century A.D. at the latest, or in 20s of last decade B.C. at the earliest and enlisted very early in the 1st century A.D., or sometime in the first two decades of the same century. As the regiment was redeployed to Moesia Inferior in late Trajanic, or early Hadrianic period, the monument could have been erected before that date. A member of his family, maybe his freedman (?), has a Greek second name, Alexander, which is a proof that he could have been born in Syria, in a Greek speaking environment.

Q. Valerius Germanus is a veteran who served 32 years and began his service in Syria, where he received citizenship, likely before the regiment was redeployed to Moesia. His long term service means that he was enlisted into the cohort in late 40s or even earlier.

Another case is *Q. Sergius Paulus* who died at 70. His gentilice shows also that he came with the unit from Syria where he received citizenship⁶¹. As it appears from his age he must have been born in the 30s if not earlier. *M. Iulius Bellus* lived 60 years and joined the cohort by mid or late 30s or early 40s.

⁵⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 4, 46: “[...] Thraecum gentes, qui montium editis incultu atque eo ferocius agitabant [...]”; see also the episode of 69 when Thracians were used to chase the Helvetians out of the forested mountains (Tac. *Hist.* 1. 68).

⁵⁸ Speidel 1980, 146–148, n. 5 = 1992, 203–205 n. 5; 1981, 272 = 1992, 206.

⁵⁹ Mirković, 1968, 91, n. 50. If his Thracian origin can not be challenged, Mirković's view on the name of the soldier's father, *Tarsa*, seen as the town in Syria from where the soldier would have originated, is open to serious doubts. As most scholars pointed out, *Tarsa* was a Thracian name.

⁶⁰ IMS III/2 39 (Petrović's commentary).

⁶¹ See Petrović's commentary at IMS 3/2, 38.

Surprisingly, the regiment is not recorded in the 1st century Syrian diplomas, but it is regularly mentioned in those of Moesia, and later Moesia Superior and Inferior. The regression method applied for the early years of this regiment shows invariably a date of setting at least between A.D. 25 and 30, although early 1st century can be also strongly considered.

The epigraphic record of no. 29 (*cohors II Thracum Syriaca civium Romanorum*) is slim. The regiment is recorded in some Syrian MDs from 91 and 156/157. The last date coincides with the Brestovene MD (154/157), showing simultaneous supply with contingents of nos. 29 and 23.

The earliest record of no. 32 (*cohors III Thracum Syriaca sagittaria equitata*) occurs in MDs from 88 and 91 as at least the third generation of contingents after its possible creation in early Julio-Claudian period.

No. 35 (*cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca*) is recorded only in inscriptions. The Astorga inscription mentions a 25 years old Thracian soldier, Fuscus Dorilsis Eptacenti from Serdica (Appendix II 2 no. 35). If Fuscus was 16 when he was enlisted, then the mid 1st century date of the inscription⁶² sends back the existence of the regiment already in late 20s or early 30s at the latest.

In spite of the impressive number of MDs for no. 33 (*cohors III Thracum veterana*), the regiment reveals a rather difficult assessment of its date of organization. The cohort is mentioned only in Raetia, since 107 throughout the 2nd century, and almost nothing is known about its ethnical composition or effectives. It is styled *veterana*, which would imply an older unit. Kellner presumes its creation on the Rhine, in Claudian period⁶³. It might be that the unit could have been reorganized from an older regiment or with effectives from a destroyed or disbanded Thracian unit previously garrisoned in Germany. The epithet ‘the old one’ was granted to distinguish it among the Thracian regiments numbered III and to stress the existence of older contingents⁶⁴. A sister cohort, also numbered III and resulted from this operation was no. 31 (*cohors III Thracum civium Romanorum equitata*), dispatched to Raetia as well. No. 31 could have been that ‘*cohors Thracum*’ mentioned by Tacitus⁶⁵ as engaged in action in the mountains against the Helveti, in 69. Saddington suggests that the cohort was part of the Raetian or German army at that time⁶⁶. The evidence released by MDs send back to a date around 46, possibly sometime between 40 and 47/53, as to establishment of both regiments. The evidence of inscriptions of this unit is scanty, but initial entries of new effectives can be perceived in 57 and later, to certain intensity, in 60, 62, 64, and 66.

No. 27 (*cohors II Thracum*) is recorded in a significant number of MDs (vol. II *Military Diplomas*, no....). The Negoslavici MD (65)⁶⁷, is the first in which the regiment is mentioned. The unit was initially stationed in Germania Superior, presumably until Domitian’s reign when it was moved together with no. 18 in Britain for campaigning in Agricola’s army. The Negoslavici MD would suggest late 30s, early 40s as the possible date for the setting of the regiment. Levies in 55 results from the Kamensko MD (80) in which the regiment is also recorded. As the regiment remained in Britain after Agricola’s wars against the northern British tribes, the 2nd century recruitment was carried among the local British Celtic tribes. A Brigantian soldier (*natione Brigans*), *Nectovelius*, was levied very likely in the second half of the 2nd century⁶⁸. *Smertrius*, a soldier in the regiment is also of Celtic origin.

⁶² Le Roux 1982, 91–92.

⁶³ Kellner 1971, 214; cf. Wolf 2000, 155–170.

⁶⁴ Cheesman 1914, 47–49.

⁶⁵ Tac. Hist. 168: “[...] *ac statim imissa cohorte Thracum depulsi et consectantibus Germanis Raetisque per silvas atque in ipsis latebris trucidati* [...]”.

⁶⁶ Saddington 1982, 110.

⁶⁷ For a comprehensive presentation of the document see Dušanić 1978, 461–475.

⁶⁸ The *Brigantes* were a well-known tribe in northern Roman Britain who raised arms many times against the Roman administration (www. Roman-Britain.org The Celtic Tribes of Britain The Brigantes) Sheppard 1974, 147–148; 177; 195–197). There were two other tribes called *Brigantes*, one in the Raetian county of Vindelicia (Strab. *Geogr.* 4. 6. 8; 1. 3) and

No. 34 (*cohors IIII Thracum equitata*) is recorded in Lower Germany in four MDs from 80 (Kamensko) to 158 (Xanten). According to the Kamensko MD, a Thracian soldier, *Durises Bithi* was discharged in 80 which show levies in the cohorts in 55. A series of inscriptions Claudian or Neronian in date, found in Mainz and Wiesbaden (Appendix II 2 no. 34), attest the early presence of a significant number of Thracians in the cohort.

A sizable enrollment occurred among the tribe of Denteletae. The recruits seem to have been levied in the 20's during the massive forced recruitments following the 21 and 26 uprisings⁶⁹. Of the mass conscription only three names were preserved in the regiment. One of the Denteletians, [...] *sese, Lenulae*, lived 31 years and served 12 years in the regiment, which means that he joined the regiment in mid-late Tiberian, or early Claudian period. Another Denteletian, *Tutius Mani* served 10 years in the same unit and lived 35⁷⁰, while *Surus Cocae*, also Denteletian died presumably in active service. *Traidua Didae* was a Thracian from Saleta in the same regiment. The early date of the inscriptions⁷¹ suggests that they were the first contingent. If so, the setting of the cohort occurred in mid Tiberian epoch and its dispatch was made directly to the Rhine valley.

Important influx with fresh Thracian recruits occurred throughout the 1st, 2nd and first half of the 3rd century while the regiment was stationed in Lower Germany. Inscriptions and graffiti on pottery found in places where it garrisoned, Mogontiacum (Mainz) and Valkenburg, show a notable number of Thracian soldiers in the cohort at different dates (Appendix II.2, no. 34).

Cohortes *V*, *VI* and *VII* Thracum must have been raised at short intervals, if not concomitantly implying in that case 1,500 recruits. No. 36 for which there is no epigraphic indication thus far, must have perished or been disbanded. No. 37 (*cohors VI Thracum*) is recorded in no less than 14 MDs from 80 to 164 (Appendix II 2 no. 37). The earliest, from Kamensko (80), indicates recruitments in 55, although epigraphic data show a much earlier establishment of the unit. A Thracian soldier of the cohort in Mainz, *Petronius Disacentus Dentubrise*, died at 25, after five years of service before being dispatched to Britain in 43. That sends back the setting of the cohort to ca 20, possibly in 21 as results from the induced years of the Viminacium MD of 96, where the soldier of Thracian origin, *Dolens Sublusi*, was part of the third generation of contingents (71) originally levied very likely in 21. The same conclusion comes from two tombstones, Claudian in date: one belongs to the Thracian *Rufus* from Mainz; he lived 40 and served 22 years, before the leaving of the unit for Britain in 43; the second comes from Viroconium and was set for *Tib. Claudius Tirintius*. He bears the imperial gentile, possibly received for the valiant deeds performed during the campaign in Britain.

No. 38 (*cohors VII Thracum*) is later in date, but not too late. The regression years from the Ó Szöny (122), Wroxeter (135), and *Bulgaria* (178) MDs (Appendix II 2 no. 38) offer also the 20s of the 1st century, sometime between 22 and 28, as a time span for its establishment.

It is difficult to assess the date of the establishment of an entire series of regiments, numbered I. Although efforts have been made by the Roman authorities to distinguish among new added attributes of *cohortes I Thracum*, (*Civium Romanorum, equitata, milliaria, sagittariorum*), alone or in combination, the numeral I always deepens the difficulties. They add little to our knowledge about the date of their establishment.

No. 15 does not appear in the MD known thus far. In inscriptions, the unit is represented in the 2nd century by a soldier of Thracian origin, *Diza*, very likely a native from Panticapaeum. (Appendix II 2 no. 15). It is difficult to assume the date of its creation. The unit must have been raised locally in the

another in the small community of Celtiberians in north-western Spain, around its main centre at Brigantium (today Á Coruña). Nectovelius seems to be a British Brigantian.

⁶⁹ The series of inscriptions bearing Thracian name in the regiment are datable in the Tiberian-Claudian period; Kraft 1951, 190–191.

⁷⁰ The Denteletae were a Rome' staunch ally and did not take part in the two uprisings.

⁷¹ Kraft 1951, 190–191.

north Pontic area amidst the dense Thracian population inhabiting the Bosporean kingdom. First century must be generally inferred for the date of its formation.

No. 17 is another case of omission among the known constitutions. The regiment is recorded only in the Egyptian papyri and in a 2nd century inscription in Asia Minor. It seems a 1st century creation and joined the army of Egypt. Its stationing in this province is fully reflected in its composition. The list of soldiers recorded in the papyri shows contingents of both local Greek and North African elements who continued to supply the regiment during the 2nd and 3rd century, as well as others with typical Roman names. The regiment must have been raised presumably by mid 1st century.

No. 26 is called *Gemella* (*cohors II Gemella Thracum*) (Appendix II 2 no. 26). It does not appear in the North-African MDs, although its record in inscriptions is remarkable. Some possibilities could be considered as far as its name is concerned. The first is that the regiment is the result of the amalgamation of two former Thracian or related units, a widespread practice in the Roman army that gave the name *Gemella*, ‘twin’⁷². How old they were is difficult to say, but it might be inferred an early Tiberian or late Augustan date.

It is rather surprising that the unit is not recorded in the MDs. However, its establishment seems early enough, for two inscriptions from Bordj-el Ksar dates from Claudian’s or Nero’s reigns. In one of the inscriptions the soldier bears the name *Tiberius Claudius*, which he certainly received during Claudius’ reign. This would send back to the creation of the unit through amalgamation in mid-late Tiberius’, or early Claudius’ reign at the latest⁷³. A *praefectus* and a Thracian *eques* of the unit are certainly Flavian in date. The penetration of the Thracian elements in the regiment in the 1st century and the phases of recruitment can be tracked down in the inscriptions set by the soldiers of the unit. If *Tib. Claudius Pacatus* was a Thracian is difficult to assume, but it is certainly recruited in the Julio-Claudian period. The centurion *Bessus* is certainly a Bessian on duty at mid 1st century. There is also a *quaestor cohortis* of Claudian or Neronian date. A Thracian *eques*, *T. Flavius Bitus* is of Flavian epoch. It means that he joined the cohort by late 50s or early 60s. He died at 55 and served 27 years. A Thracian veteran, *C. Iulius Bitus* may have completed its service in the first half of the 1st century, as the name *C. Iulius* is strongly related to the Julio-Claudian epoch.

Two infantry regiments, nos. 21 (*cohors I Thracum milliaria*) and 22, (*cohors I Thracum sagittariorum*) received specific attributes of number and structure. The MDs for no 22 shows later dates for its setting. Except the series of MDs from 136/138 until 179, there is no other epigraphic evidence on this regiment⁷⁴. In general, it is difficult to assess the period in which it was established. However, it could be assigned to the late Claudian or early Flavian periods, but there is no evidence for that⁷⁵.

No. 21 is recorded in several MDs from 91 to 186 (Appendix II 2 no. 21). It is the only Thracian regiment labeled *milliaria*. The regiment was either the result of a mass recruitment in Thrace, at a

⁷² Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* 3. 4. 1 referring to legions explains the title *Gemella*, ‘twin’, the equivalent of *Gemina* as denoting that the legion in question has been formed by the amalgamation of two older units. The fact fits well also in case of the auxiliaries. Spaul 2000, 368 invokes three possibilities for our regiment: combination of two units, the name derived from *Gemellinus*, one of its commanders, in which case the correct name would have been ‘*Gemelliana*’, and the name taken from the camp *Gemellae*, its fort in which it presumably had garrisoned very early, but nothing is known of its presence here. The naming of a unit after the fort where it was stationed is not a common practice during the Principate. As the latter two possibilities are unlikely, another Thracian or other unit numbered II must have existed in Numidia and the likely amalgamation resulted in the new name. Another case is *cohors V Gemella* from Syria in 139 (CIL XVI 87) and 160 (RMD 173) suspected to have been formed from the combination of *cohors II Italica civium Romanorum* from the same province and an unattested *cohors III civium Romanorum* (Spaul 2000, 33); see also the case of *cohors II Gemina Ligurum et Corsorum* attested in 87/88 (CIL XVI 34), 96 (CIL XVI 40), Weiss 2006, 265–273, 277 also in Syria.

⁷³ Cf. Saddington 1982, 175 who assigns the establishment of the unit to the Flavian epoch.

⁷⁴ Petolescu 2002, 122–123 suggests the identification with a *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum* attested in the 110 MDs from Dacia and Pannonia, which seems unlikely.

⁷⁵ It might well have been recruited especially for the Domitian’s wars with Dacians given its late date of record, 136–138 (Petolescu, Corcheș 2002, 120–126). The date of the Micia MD would send back to 86/89 for its raising.

certain moment, a practice commonly applied and well known in the 1st and 2nd centuries among the Thracian communities⁷⁶, or, given its long and inextricable connection to Judea and Syria, the result of the reunion of some of the Thracian military strength that served in late Hellenistic kingdoms (see above). If so, its beginnings as an auxiliary regiment in the Roman army are very early, possibly in the first decade of the 1st century, or the period between 11 and 16. A Thracian soldier, *Pezus Sita*, is recorded in an inscription at Akkilisse. Another Thracian soldier with unknown name, the son of *Mocazenus* was discharged in 91 and therefore enrolled in 66. Both served in the regiment in the 1st century, and therefore were recruited by late Julio-Claudian epoch.

No. 13 (*cohors I Flavia Bessorum*) and 24 (*cohors II Flavia Bessorum*), are typical examples in understanding the intensity and the dimensions of the levies among Thracian tribes. Both are regiments recruited among the warrior tribe of Bessi, and therefore both bore the ethnical name *Bessorum*, the only Thracian regiments that bears a specific tribal name. They were numbered I and II to be easily distinguishable, although they seem to have been raised at once. Both were *quingenaria* type and show that the mass levy implied the gathering of 1,000 Bessian recruits, an action which was paralleled in 200 (see above). Apparently, the imperial gentilice, *Flavia*, shows that their creation occurred during the Flavian emperors. No. 13 is recorded for the first time in the Sisak MDs (100), while no. 24 appears in MDs between 92 and 146 (Appendix II 2 no. 13; 24). Theoretically 100 and 92 would be the first discharge from both, after they would have been raised in Flavian times. However, the recently found MD at Cataloi (Dobrudja, Romania), in eastern former Lower Moesia⁷⁷, records no. 24 and dates from 92. The date is rather surprising in relation with the imperial gentilice *Flavia*. The contingents discharged in 92 from the cohort are presumably the first generation after the establishment of the regiment, but even so, the date sends back to at least 67 as the year of its creation. The Cataloi MD is of type II D (*qui quina vicena stipendia aut plura meruerunt*), which means that some of the contingents were even older than 67. In that case one may accept a late Neronian date for the two regiments, raised in the lands of the Bessians in ca. 65/66 for the Corbulo's planned massive invasion in Parthia and simply named *cohors I* and *cohors II Bessorum*⁷⁸. It might be that both regiments became part of the Vespasian's expeditionary force and once brought to Europe they received the imperial gentilice *Flavia*.

2. The recruitment basins

Large scale levies occurred every year and several times a year. The true proportions of this ample process are only incompletely known due to insufficient data. The dates of the inscriptions are rarely accurate. From the huge amount of MDs granted to the discharged soldiers, only a small proportion was preserved. Yet, these imperial constitutions are the most precise documents in understanding the progress of the recruitment and good reference points in assessing the settings and stages of the supply with fresh contingents.

In 59, large scale conscription occurred in Gallia Narbonensis, Africa and Asia, in order to supply the Illyrian legions with new contingents⁷⁹. These provinces were a solid reservoir for recruits in the legions⁸⁰, although on that occasion effectives for auxiliary units must have also been provided. *Bocchus* and *Congonetiacus*, African and Gaulish soldiers in *ala II Augusta Thracum* (see above) joined the standards in these years. Tiberius had planned and certainly carried out massive drafts in the

⁷⁶ One thousand Bessi were raised in the 60's of the 1st century and another mass in 200 (CIL VIII 9381) (see below).

⁷⁷ Petolescu, Popescu, 2004, 269–273.

⁷⁸ Wheeler 1997, 383–397.

⁷⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 16. 13: “[...] eodem anno dilectus per Galliam Narbonensem, Africamque et Asiam habiti sunt suppleendis Illyricis legionibus [...]”. Tacitus is explicit and adds to the reasons of such massive levies: “[...] ex quibus aetate aut valetudine fessi sacramentum solvebatur [...]”.

⁸⁰ Mann 1983, passim.

provinces in 23⁸¹. Thrace, recently pacified after the 21 uprising could have been one of the envisaged provinces.

An inscription found in the town of Madytus⁸² in the Thracian Bosphorus, in south-east Thrace, specifically attests activities of systematic draft in Thrace in the second half of the 1st century: Ἀ[...].λοπου (?) [πατρὸς ἐπιτ]ρό[που Θράκης (?)] / πεμφθέντι ἐπὶ στρατολογίαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπαρχίαν, χειλιάρχῳ [...] Β[...]. ἐπ[ι]άρχῳ [εἰ]λησ β' Παινοίων ἡγη[σα]μένῳ δεκαπόλεως τῆς ἐν Σίρια, τετει[μη]/μένῳ δώροισ στρατιωτικοῖς πᾶσιν ἔν τη τῶ Δακικῶ πολέμῳ [...].

The inscription mentions therefore στρατολόγια ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων, which is the precise term for a large scale *dilectus* in Thrace for the Roman army. The ἐπίτροπος Θράκης recorded in inscription is the recruiting officer, probably of a high rank, who 'was sent' purposely and therefore charged with an Imperial mandate to carry out large scale levy in Thrace. The event could have occurred at the eve of an important military action, possibly Domitian's or Trajan's Dacian wars, for the inscription speaks about a 'Dacian war' in which the unknown dignitary seems to have been implied. Beside its significance as a document attesting recruitments in the province, the inscription stresses on the technical aspects of this process and shows the importance given by the Imperial administration to the procedure. The recruits supplied other auxiliary forces, or served as creating new regiments labeled *Thracum*.

Known mass conscriptions took place at some intervals. In the 60s of the 1st century 1000 young recruits were raised from the community of Bessians and resulted in the setting of two *quingenariae* cohorts (*cohortes I and II Bessorum*), which have been given the gentile *Flavia*. The operation was repeated in 200. An inscription found in Caesarea in Mauretania⁸³ records no less than 1,000 *iuniores Bessos* drafted in Thrace among the warrior tribe of *Bessi* and sent to Mauretania Tingitana, under the command of *Iulius Iulianus*, in order to boost the armed forces of the province. During this mission, Iulianus held also the office of *tribunus numeri Syrorum Malvensium*. Such mass levies possibly combined with volunteering must have happened with certain regularity in the 1st-3rd century Thrace.

Thrace

As a historical and geographical region that encompassed most of the eastern half of the Balkan Peninsula, Thrace comprised a significant number of tribes which, since 2nd century B.C., had come gradually into a close contact with Rome (see chapters I and II). The initial conscriptions among trustworthy tribes in pre-provincial times were later extended to almost entire Thracian territory in the 1st-3rd centuries A.D. in parallel with the encouragement of the volunteer based enrollment.

The process is at least partially mirrored in inscriptions and military diplomas, official and consistent documents in which the mention of their origin (*origo*) remains a key factor for the knowledge of the soldiers' tribal area or administrative units involved in the recruitment. Strabon and Tacitus offer also reliable evidence for Thrace as an important reservoir for levies.

The historical and juridical literature from Herodotus to Justinianic legislation makes no exception in assessing a good demographic situation in Thrace in Antiquity and especially the Thracians' particular warlike aptitudes⁸⁴. The Thracian area had become a significant reserve for mercenaries in the Hellenistic armies in the 4th-1st centuries B.C. and for massive, systematic, and permanent levies into the Roman Army as early as first decades of the 1st century. Thrace had always a good demographic situation in the 1st-3rd centuries and that is plainly mirrored in the ancient historical sources. Fol opines that in the Roman period the territories between the Danube and the Balkans were inhabited by some 800,000 to 1 million people and was four or five times more numerous south of the

⁸¹ See note 25.

⁸² IGRRP I 824.

⁸³ CIL VIII 9381 = ILS 2763; Speidel 1977, 167-173 = 1984, 341-347.

⁸⁴ Katsarov 1949 passim; FGHB, passim; Tacheva-Hitova 1971, 51-63; Bolshakov 2001.

mountain range. In spite of massive recruitments in the 1st–3rd centuries, Thrace seems to have always maintained an excellent demographic balance⁸⁵.

The percentage of the men fitted to be drafted for military service might have known a positive trend every 15–20 years, and became twice as much, if one estimates that in peace time the population doubles its number at every 60 years. Pomponius Mela is unambiguous when stated that Thrace was producing a surplus of male population with a penchant to fight, implying a high number of young people fitted to be drafted into the army⁸⁶.

In a famous passage we have several times referred to, Tacitus assumed that “[...] *Besides their natural ferocity [...], the Thracian tribes, whose wild life in the highlands of a mountainous country made them unusually fierce[...]*” and “[...] *they had swords and young warriors and a spirit bent on freedom or resigned to death [...]*”⁸⁷. The author brings up especially the warlike qualities of the tribes living in the mountainous regions of Thrace.

Tacitus plainly shows that the A. D. 26 uprising in Thrace “[...] *had its origin in their scornful refusal to endure levies and to supply our armies with their bravest men [...]*”⁸⁸.

The preference of the Roman authorities for recruits from the mountainous area of Thrace is markedly visible in references from the literary sources, inscriptions and MDs that disclose the territorial origin of the Thracian soldiers. The Thracian highlanders were also preferred as good warriors. The king Sitalkes in his march against Macedonia in 431 B.C. formed the core of his army from mountainous tribes, the most warriors in Thrace⁸⁹. In A.D. 21 the arms against Romans were raised by *Coilaletae*, *Dii* and *Odrysae*, mountainous peoples and the predilection to draft Thracian highlanders was maintained also in 26 and after that date. In the 4th century the Thracian highlanders were particularly praised by Ammianus Marcellinus for their strength, manhood and long life⁹⁰.

Of the amount of identified individuals, soldiers and NCO's of Thracian origin in inscriptions and MDs known thus far, only 56 bear clear and specific ethnical or tribal origin as a definite indication of the areas of provenance.

Apparently, there was a strictly territorial recruitment which is mirrored in epigraphic documents. The former division of Thrace based on the administrative territorial system of strategies was maintained even after the transformation of Thrace into a Roman province (46), and was replaced only in late 1st century, when regions (*regiones*), as a new type of territorial arrangement, overlaid the old districts⁹¹.

The coincidence between the recorded soldiers' homeland (*origo*) in inscriptions and MDs and the name of the strategies/regions would imply that the recruitment was perpetrated on a territorial basis. It is likely that each strategy/region released at fixed or required intervals certain lots of recruits which could vary in number to which individual/volunteer based enlistments were added.

The mapping of the *origines* of the soldiers in the auxiliary units as they derive from inscriptions and MDs known thus far yields a rough picture of the following Thracian communities and strategies/regions implied in the conscription or volunteer based enrollments:

Serdi in *Serdiké*: 4 soldiers

Iulius Martialis f., *Serdus* (cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca).

⁸⁵ On the demographic situation in Thrace: Fol 1967, 117–125; 1968, 377–381; 1970, 41–126.

⁸⁶ Pomp. Mela *De Chor.* 2. 2. 16: “[...] *Viros benignius alit, non ad speciem tamen, nam et illis asper atque indecens corporum habitus est, ceterum ad ferociam et numerum, ut multi immitesque sunt maxime ferax [...]*”. A direct statement on massive recruitments in Thrace, although in later period comes from a passage in *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 50: “[...] Thrace is rich in many and strong men in war, for which reason soldiers are frequently recruited from there”[...]” (...).

⁸⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 4. 46.

⁸⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 4. 46.

⁸⁹ Thuc. 2. 96. 2; 4; 98. 4.

⁹⁰ Amm. Marc. 27. 4. 14.

⁹¹ See above chapter I; also Gerov 1970, 123–132; Jones 1971, 10–15.

Longinus Sdapezematygi f., *pago Sardi* (ala I Thracum)
Fuscus Dorilsis Eptacenti f., *domo Serdus* (cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca)
Coccae Tyru f. *Sardica* (numerus equitum Illyricorum)

Commentary

Sardi is a variant for *Sardi(ca)*, as the political hub of the Thracian community of *Sardi/Serdi* and the future 2nd–6th century chief Roman city of Thrace, *colonia Ulpia Serdica*. *Serdus* might specify in a rather general manner the provenance from the populace of *Serdi* inhabiting the *Serdiké* strategy, although it could be also applied specifically to the centre of *Sardica/Serdica*, which became an important reservoir of recruitment for the Roman army⁹². Three of four soldiers bear Roman names: *Iulius Martialis*, *Longinus*, and *Fuscus*, acquired while on service, all in the 1st century, as a sign of a certain Latinization. *Iulius Martialis* as a centurion who takes care of setting the monument and the young deceased at 25 years, *Fuscus Dorilsis* were co-nationals in the same cohort, but it seems that they had been recruited at different times (*Martialis* earlier and *Fuscus* later) in the first half of the 1st century, as the inscription is datable at the mid of the same century.

The slight disparities in the name of *Serdica* come probably from the pronunciation of the place, but it is interesting to see that the place appears as *Sardica*, while the *origo* is rendered as *Serdus*. Seure⁹³ considers *Sdapezematygi* a Celtic name, possibly based on an inscription from Bordeaux⁹⁴, where an individual named *Serdus*, is *civis Parisius*. The assumption is off beam, as long as the name of the cavalry regiment in Britain contains the particles *Sda>* and *-zem*, typical for Thracian language⁹⁵.

Danthelethae in *Dantheletiké*: 7 soldiers

[...] *Densela* (ala VII Phrygum)

[...] *sese Lenulae* f., *Dansala* (cohors IIII Thracum equitata)

[...] *Pautalia* (1 soldier)

Aurelius Surus, *domo Bautalia* (ala I Ulpia Contariorum)

C. Tutius Mani f., *Dansala* (cohors IIII Thracum equitata)

Fuscus Biti f., *Dansala* (ala Tautorum victix Civium Romanorum)

Surus Coccae f., *natione Dansala* (coh IIII Thracum equitata)

T. Flavius Bassus Mucale f., *Dansala* (ala Noricorum)

Commentary

The *Dentheletians* were adamantly traditional Rome's allies. The individuals from the cohors IIII Thracum were part of a considerable contingent raised among this populace in late Tiberian or early Claudian times. They bear the specific ethnical term *Dansala* a strong evidence that they called themselves *Dantheletae>Danthaletae*⁹⁶. This seems the genuine name, although the ethnonim appears also as *Densela* in a fragmentary MD(158) for ala VII Phrygum⁹⁷, the same term used also by important authors *Dentheletae>Denselatae*⁹⁸.

⁹² Vulpe 1958, 91–102; Fol 1969, 91–99; Koledarov 1966, 31–52; on the tribe of *Serdi*, personal names and the place name see also Dechev 1976, 430–432. Inscriptions showing praetorian soldiers' origin from *Serdica*: CIL VI 2386 (= 32625), 2397 (= 32628), 2605; 2819 (= 32567), 3314; 32523; 32561; 32563; 32628; 32634.

⁹³ Seure 1950, 174.

⁹⁴ CIL XIII 626; cf. SERD as graffiti on amphoras (CIL XIII 468).

⁹⁵ Dechev 1976, 181, 428.

⁹⁶ Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 5. 12: Δανθηληται; Steph. Byz 217. 21: Δανθαληται.

⁹⁷ Eck, Pangerl 2006, 185–191.

⁹⁸ Polyb. *Hist.* 2. 4; 6. 4; Tit. Liv. *ab Urb. cond.* 31. 53; 40. 22; Dio Cassius 54. 20; Plinius 4. 40.

Surus Coccae in *ala Noricorum* in Lower Germany is also recorded as Dansala. The name was highly questioned as being Thracian in origin. Alföldy includes it among the Semitic personal names⁹⁹, while Holder and Kajanto stress on its Celtic origin¹⁰⁰ in spite all evidence of the ethnonim: *natione Dansala*¹⁰¹.

The Dentheletians are recorded indirectly through the important political centre in the Roman period, the town of Pautalia (*domo Bautalia*), a colony since Trajan's reign (*Ulpia Pautalia*). The inscription is rather late in date (ca. 252) and was set by a soldier whose Romano-Thracian name, *Aurelius Surus*, discloses his origin¹⁰². As the inscription comes from Syria it is interesting to note that the engraver must have been a Semitic speaking person who wrote *Bautalia*, instead of Pautalia as P is specifically pronounced B in the Semitic languages. At ca. 252, when the inscription was set, the old division of tribal-based system was obsolete, but the monument adds to the picture of the still existing small scale territorial affiliation, as an expression of the preservation of old tradition.

Pautalia is well known through the considerable number of soldiers recruited in the praetorian guards, especially in late 2nd and early 3rd century¹⁰³.

Three of six individuals bear Roman names: *T. Flavius Bassus*, *C. Tutius*, and *Fuscus*, a sign that the Romanization among this tribe and the opening towards adopting Roman personal names made some significant progress in the 1st–2nd centuries, as in the case of Sappaei. *T. Flavius* was acquired during the Flavian epoch, when the inscription was set¹⁰⁴. The three soldiers have been given their mixed names during their service in the Roman army.

Coelaetae in Coiletiké: 1 soldier.

Seuthes Traibithi, *Coiloleticus* (cohors II Thracum equitata)

Commentary

It is surprising that this important populace had only one representative known so far among the soldiers of Thracian origin, even if *Coelaetae*, a most bellicose tribe were Rome's fierce enemy during the pre-provincial times (see chapter II). The soldier entered the unit in 61, for the discharge was on time, in 86. His presence in Dacia, where his diploma was found, could have occurred only after 106, when waves of settlers from the Roman world moved to the new province¹⁰⁵.

Sappaei in Sapaiké: 1 soldier

T. Flavius Celsus, *civis Sappaus* (*ala Scubulorum*)

Commentary

The Sappaei were involved in conflicts with Macedonia and Rome at an early period (see chapter II)¹⁰⁶. The Sapaean dynasty was a staunch ally of Rome and the Romanization of the populace could have begun much earlier than in case of the mountainous Thracian warrior tribes. Therefore, even if the name is typical for a Roman citizen, acquired by the soldier drafted in early or mid Flavian period, it hides in fact the peregrine origin of the individual.

Cv

Bessi in Bessiké: 22 soldiers

⁹⁹ Alföldy 1969, 303.

¹⁰⁰ Holder 1961–1962, 1056; Kajanto 1965, 281.

¹⁰¹ See also the case of *Coca Tyru* in *numerus equitum Illyricorum* from Serdica (RMD 269).

¹⁰² Balty, van Regen 1993, 53; Dechev 1976, 471.

¹⁰³ CIL VI 32909, 32910, 32660 = 2772, 23628 = 2397, 32523, 32624, 32599, 32626, 2618, 2671.

¹⁰⁴ Kraft 1951, 135, no. 465 (between 70 and 80).

¹⁰⁵ A short commentary on the soldier: Russu commentary at IDR I 24; Tomaschek 1980², 86; Tatcheva 2004, 119.

¹⁰⁶ See also Diod. *Frg. Hist. Graec.* 2, 15; App. *Bell. Civ.* 4. 87.

[...] oli f., *Bessus* (?)
 [...]lus, Iresi f., *Bessus* (ala I Flavia Gaetulorum)
 Aurelius Teres, *natione Bessus* (ala Asturum)
 Bithus Seuthi f., *Bessus* (cohors Musulamiorum)
 Bithus Solae f., *Bessus* (numerus equitum Illyricorum)
 Caecilius Domatus, *Bessus natione* (unknown)
 Clagissa Clagissae f., *Bessus* (cohors II Mattiacorum)
 Dolanus Esbeni f., *Bessus* (cohors III Thracum equitata)
 Dolens Sublusi f., *Bessus* (cohors VI Thracum equitata)
 Heptapor Isi f., *Bessus* (ala I Gallorum. et Bosporanorum)
 Iulius Longinus Doles Biticenti f., *Bessus* (ala Taurorum victix C.R.)
 Iulius Teres *Bessus* (cohors I Flavia Bessorum)
 Longinus Biarta Bisae f., *Bessus* (ala Sulpicia)
 Meticus Solae f., *Bessus* (ala I Asturum)
 Mucatralis Bithi f., [*Bessus*?] (cohors I Britannica milliaria [equitata?])
 Mucatralis Sitae f., *natione Bessus* (cohors II Flavia Bessorum)
 Soio Muscelli f., *Bessus* (cohors I Montanorum)
 T. Iulius n[...]Re[...], [*B*] *essus*
 Ulpus Aulucentius, *Bessus* (ala I Ulpia contariorum)
 Ulpus Eptatralis f., *domo Bessus* (ala I Ulpia contariorum)
 Ulpus M[...] Valenti f., *Bessus* (ala I Ulpia contariorum)
 Valerius Volseni f., *Bessus* (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana)?
 Cohortes I and II *Flaviae Bessorum* (1000 men); *Mille iuniores Bessorum* (in Mauretania Tingitana)

Commentary

The most numerous group of Thracian soldiers with indicated origin comes from the county of Bessi. The Bessian recruiting area encompassed the central massifs of the Haemus and Rhodope Mountains, together with the Thracian plain between the two mountainous ranges (ch I). The *origo* is indicated either simply *Bessus* or in several variants: *domo Bessus*, *natus Bessus*, *natione Bessus*. Our epigraphic investigation identified 22 soldiers in *alae* and *cohortes Thracum* or auxilia of other units. The recruits proceeding from the tribe of Bessi hold a clear majority among other Thracian groups in the Roman auxilia, as their bellicose and reputed warrior qualities were well known in the Ancient world.

The high percentage of recruits of this area compared with other Thracian regions indicates repeated and massive drafts among this population. In late Claudian-early Flavian periods, 1,000 recruits formed two infantry regiments, *cohortes I* and *II Flaviae Bessorum* (see above). This massive conscription was exceptional but evidence show that it was repeated by the end of the 2nd century, and suspicion might arise that they were carried out on a regular basis at certain intervals, although they were not always expressly recorded in inscriptions. In 200 a new massive levy took place in the Bessian area, as recorded by the Caesarea inscription¹⁰⁷, mentioned above, when a considerable lot of 1,000 Bessi iuniores was sent abroad in Mauretania Tingitana for strengthening the regular units of the Tingitanian army. This piece of evidence suggests once again the exceptional demographic situation of the Bessic lands by early 3rd century capable to offer a large number of recruits without a special demographic effort as well as the propensity of the Roman authorities to intensely using recruits from

¹⁰⁷ See note 83.

the mountainous tribes of Bessi, well known through their physical sturdiness and bellicose predisposition¹⁰⁸.

Caeni from Caeniké (1 soldier).

Seuthes [...] is f., *Scaenus* (ala Veterana Gallica)

Commentary

The form of the *origo* is otherwise unknown, but it can be corrected in *Caenus*, given also his typical Thracian name. The individual was recruited in 66 and inhabited the plains of the northern shore of Propontis. The Caeni, closely related to the Odrysae, reached political momentum in the 3rd century B.C. and appear as an important populace in south east Thrace, as long as their territory was organized in the Kainiké strategy (see chapter I).

Sai from Sala (2 soldiers)

Traidua Didae f., *natione Saleta* (cohors IIII Thracum equitata)

C. Iulius Lupercus f., *domo Sala* (ala III Thracum Augusta)

Commentary

Sai inhabited the Ciconian coast of the Aegean and later crossed into Thassos Island. The remnants of the Sai population continued to live close to the sea shore in the Corpiliké county and possibly were melted into this powerful tribe. The indicated *origo* makes clear that they were recruited in the village of Sala (see chapter I, notes 51 and 52), an important point of the Roman post service on *via Egnatia*, later recorded in Itinerarium Hierosolytanum¹⁰⁹ as *mutatio Salei*. The place was also called in Roman epoch *vicus Maronitarum*, in the Corpiliké strategy, between the mouths of Hebrus and the Nestus River. The recruitment among the inhabitants of Sale might be considered in fact as a levy among the Corpilli tribe. Strabo shows that Corpilli together with Brenni and Bessi were devoted to robberies of the neighboring areas¹¹⁰. The warrior nature of the Corpilli on the south eastern coast of Thrace seems to have caused an early inclusion and maintenance of this region in the recruiting areas for the Roman army. One can eventually think to the lecture *natione (Dan)saleta*, in case of Traidua Didae, but it seems to me unlikely, since there are clear examples for the indication of Denthelatae as soldiers' origin.

Disdivu [...] (1 soldier)

Cardentus Biticenthi f., *Disdivu* [...] (ala veterana Gallica)

Commentary

Disdivu [...], rendered incompletely, is a rather confusing place name. There is no close example, or record in any of the ancient historical or geographical sources. It could be a *hapax* thus far in the Thracian language. The term contains however, the root *dis/diz>dizos*, *diza* = fort, stronghold, wall¹¹¹.

Nicopolis (1 soldier)

Suri Dialpuri (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria)

¹⁰⁸ Tacheva 1997, 199–207.

¹⁰⁹ Itin. Hieros. 602. 09.

¹¹⁰ Strab. Geogr. 7. 48.

¹¹¹ Russu, 1967, 104; Tomaschek 1980², s.v. *dizos*.

Commentary

Nicopolis must be very likely one of the Trajanic foundation, *ad Istrum* or *ad Nestum*. From both Thracian soldiers are known in the legions and praetorian guards.

*Dardania vico Zatidis*¹¹²

Aurelius Moca, *natus in Dardania vico Zatidis* (cohors Claudia Milliarensis).

Commentary

The inscription is 3rd century in date. Moca was undoubtedly a Thracian soldier from Dardania, bearing a typical name. The incidence of Thracian place and personal names in Dardania is quite remarkable¹¹³. Dardanians were Illyrians by ethnicity, but had a strong Thracian tinge as demonstrated by modern studies (see below)¹¹⁴.

Thracas (18 soldiers)

[...] *Thracus* (cohors ? *Thracum*)

[...] [Bi vel Seu]thi f., *Thrax* (ala VII *Phrygum*)

[...] Genimoli f., *Thrax*

[...] Mocazenis f., *Thrax* (cohors I *Thracum milliaria*)

[...] *Thrax* (?) (ala/cohors)

[...]cti f., *Thracus* ([...] um *Civium Romanorum*)

[T.] Suratralis Didilae f., *civis Thrax* (ala *Noricorum*)

Aurelius Dolens, *domo Thracia* (ala I *Ulpia Contariorum*)

Bithus[...]jiae f., *Thrax* (ala *Praetoria singularium*)

Bruzenus Delsasi f., *Thracus* (ala *veterana Gallica*)

Certus Denturasadi f., *Thrax* (ala I *Brittonum*)

Durises Bithi f., *Thrax* (cohors IIII *Thracum equitata*)

Gisusetus Heptasi f., *Thrax* (ala *Praetoria singularium*)

Gusulae Doqui f., *Thrax* (ala I *Thracum victrix*) (Weiss 2004, 239–246)

Mucapor Eptacentis f., *Tarax* (cohors I *Aquitanorum veterana*)

Quelsae Dolae f., *Thracus* (ala III *Thracum Augusta*)

Ruimus Tabusi f., *Thrax* (cohors I *Thracum*)

Thavus Casiporis f., *Thrax* (cohors I *Aquitanorum veterana*)

Commentary

A significant number of soldiers bear the national *origo*: *Thracus*, in several variants, *Taracus*, *natione Thracus*, or most common *Thrax*, with variants of *Tarax*, *civis Thrax*. The ethnical name refers to Thrace in general, without any tribal reference. The term *Thrax/Thracus* as *origo* is indicative particularly for Thrace in its geographical meaning, either referring to pre-Roman or provincial territories after 46. It might well bear, however, a larger concept according to which the holder belonged to the Thracian ethnos, defined as a nation with a country / province, wherever it happened to be outside the borders of Thrace. That would mean a connotation on the plan of the national awareness beyond the tribal or clannish separation and territorial division. It is also a first sign of a gradual loss of their tribal consciousness¹¹⁵. It would not be surprising if the ethnonim *Thrax/Thracus* referred to the

¹¹² CIL V 898.

¹¹³ Tomaschek 1980, 23–27; Mateescu 1923, 92–94.

¹¹⁴ See the entire debate and discussion at Papazoglu 1978, 210–262.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Spiridonov 1988, 5–11. With some rare exceptions when the origin *Bessus* is indicated, given the strong national feeling, the overwhelming majority of the soldiers of Thracian origin specify their provenance either through the generic term

large community of *Odrysaе* which encompassed multiple other tribes and their territories, the only great populace who succeeded in creating a viable state formation in the southern Thracian world and who were the most representative political factor along the history.

Examples of *origines* pinpointing the bulk of ancient populations are noticeable in other cases: *Hispanus*, *Lusitanus*, *Dalmatus*, *Pannonius*, *Syrus*, *Maurus*, as terms expressing a larger ethno-geographical area. It is surprising to a point that important and numerous populations of ancient Europe such as the Gauls and the Germans are not represented in inscriptions, at the individual scale with ethno-geographical terms of *Gallus* or *Germanus*, although there are a significant number of auxiliaries bearing the specific term *Gallorum* and *Germanorum*. The fact is due likely to the tribal division at a highest degree in pre-Roman times, as Caesar and Tacitus clearly states, and the lack of a leading state formation destined to coagulate interests and a national consciousness even at a modest scale around it.

There are eight specifically mentioned Thracian communities listed thus far among whom levies have been carried out: *Bessi*, *Caeni*, *Coeleletae*, *Dentelatae*, *Sai*, *Sappaei*, and *Serdi*. The toponym *Disdivu*[...] remains unknown as to its location in Thrace. The epigraphic evidence on the eight communities involved in 1st–3rd century recruitment in the Roman army, mirrors a manifest penchant of the Roman authorities towards levies carried preferentially among tribes in the inhospitable mountainous central and western Thrace. It is likely that this attitude was based on the belief, certainly supported by reality, that the highlanders displayed far better warlike qualities and strength than the lowlands inhabitants¹¹⁶. Tacitus states, that the revolt of 26 outburst and reached the highest intensity in the mountainous regions¹¹⁷.

Ammianus stresses that *Bessi*, who lived the mountainous central regions of Thrace, were among the best warriors¹¹⁸. *Sappaei* were a branch closely related to the great tribe of *Odrysaе*, inhabiting both mountainous and lowland areas. The *Odryasian* region in general was an excellent ground for recruitment since pre-provincial Thrace (see above), and particularly before and after the revolt of 21 in which *Odrysaе*, as faithful Rome's allies were surprisingly involved side by side with *Dioi* and *Coelaletae*, branches of the *Bessi*¹¹⁹.

The *Caeni* and *Sai* were lowland populations. *Caeni* occupied the plains of the Hellespontus shore. *Sai* lived in the plains of the Aegean coast, south of *Corpilli*, to the mouth of the *Maritsa* River. However, the scarcity of evidence for eastern Thracian recruits can not be taken assertively. Once the entire Thrace was turned into a province, many of the regiments in the *Odryasian* kingdom must have been immediately integrated into the Roman army, either as *Thracum auxilia* or spread among other auxiliary units in different provinces. The *Madytus* inscription recording a recruiting officer in the

of *Thrax/ Thracus/ domo Thracia/ Thracia* or pinpointing the place (town, village) where they had been born or levied. For a sizable amount of examples at Rome see Mateescu 1923, 251–288; Russu 1976, 35–44; 1978, 223–229; 1981, 247–251.

¹¹⁶ This fact is plainly stated by Tac. *Ann.* 4. 46: “[...] *Thracum gentibus, qui montium editis inculti atque eo ferocius agitabant* [...]” (“Thracian tribes, whose wild life in the highlands of a mountainous country made them unusually fierce”) (Trad. Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb) and certified by Amm. Marc. 27. 4. 14: “[...] *constat autem, ut vulgare rumores adsidui, omnes paene agrestes, qui per regiones praedictas montium circumcolunt altitudines, salubritate virium et praerogativa quadam vitae longius propagandae nos anteire*[...]” (“But it is certain, as the invariable accounts of all writers represent, that these tribes were nearly all agricultural, and, that living on the high mountains in these regions above mentioned, they are superior to us in health, vigor, and length of life”) (translated by J.C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library). Although Vegetius 1. 2 does not speak expressly about the virtues and role of a mountainous area in the levies, he strongly recommends recruitment in the northern temperate climate regions of the Roman Empire.

¹¹⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 3. 38; 4. 46.

¹¹⁸ Amm. Marc. 27. 4. 11: “[...] *durissima gente Bessorum* [...]”.

¹¹⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 3. 38. The process of the *Odrysaе* integration into the Roman army is not epigraphically reflected in the composition of the Thracian auxiliaries. However, the warlike qualities of the *Odrysaе* were described by Amm. Marc. 27. 4. 9: “[...] *E quibus praeter alios ut inmaniter efferati memorantur Odrysaе, ita humanum fundere sanguinem adsuati, ut cum hostium copia non daretur, ipsi inter epulas post cibi satietem et potus velut alienis corporibus imprimerent ferrum* [...]” (“Of these, among others, the most savage, it is believed to have been the *Odrysaе*, so accustomed to shed human blood that when they did not face the enemy, during the meals, after such gorging with food and drink, they stack the iron of their weapons in the bodies of their fellows as of some strangers”); see also Tomaschek 1980, 81–83.

Thracian Chersonesus might imply recruitments among Sai, Odrysae, Caeni and Asti all chiefly lowland populations.

In his recommendations on the recruitment, Vegetius¹²⁰ had no doubt that recruits from the countryside are better off than those from the urban milieu and advocates for the first variant. The author sees a clear disadvantage of having townsmen as soldiers because it takes time and efforts to teach and make good warriors out of them¹²¹. However, as demonstrated by the inscriptions and MDs, the urban environment seems to have played little role in the recruitment of the Thracians in the auxilia. The only patent evidence of an urban centre as *origo* in the Thracian auxiliary units is Pautalia in the 3rd century, where Aurelius Surus came from.

Except Philippopolis, and certainly the towns of Greek origin on the western Black Sea shore and northern Aegean Sea, the 1st century Thrace had only settlements of oppidan character in the interior and not yet large urban agglomerations, characteristic to the 2nd–3rd centuries. Inscriptions give few hints on pre-urban settlements as origin of the soldiers. The rural environment is highlighted by place names like pagus *Sardi*, showing the administrative state of Serdica, the future chief cities in Thrace, of no more than a *pagus* in the first half of the 1st century. *Sala* is another pre-urban Thracian center called *vicus* by Titus Livius¹²².

The urban recruitment particularly for legions, praetorian troops and equites singulares or the urban cohorts at Rome made considerable progress in the 2nd and 3rd century as mirrored in a significant amount of individuals with origin in many important towns (*municipia* and *coloniae*) in Thrace¹²³. Surprisingly, though, from the epigraphic material known thus far, except the case of Aurelius Surus from *Pautalia*, there is no clear evidence of a major urban recruitment for the auxiliaries of Thracian origin in the Roman army in the 2nd–3rd centuries. The rural milieu in Thrace continued to play a paramount role in the recruitment of soldiers in the auxilia and gained momentum in the 3rd century when the Roman army drew considerable contingents from this environment.

The presence of the Thracians in the regiments labeled *Thracum* is summarized as follows:

Regiments of Thracian origin

Alae

I Augusta Thracum: *Cotelses Eptacenti f.*; *Doritses Tarsi f.*; *Toutenes Eptacenti f.*; *Zimicentis Eziopen f.*

¹²⁰ Veg. *Inst. Rei milit.* 1. 3. The author pleads for the countrymen in the army because: “[...] *Sequitur, ut, utrum de agris an de urbibus utilior tiro sit, requiramus. De qua parte numquam credo potuisse dubitari aptiorem armis rusticam plebem, quae sub diuo + in labore nutritur, solis patiens, umbrae neglens, balnearum nescia, deliciarum ignara, simplicis animi, paruo contenta, duratis ad omnem laborum tolerantiam membris, cui gestare ferrum, fossam ducere, onus ferre consuetudo de rure est [...]*” (“they are nurtured under the open sky in a life of work, enduring the sun, careless of shade, unacquainted with bathhouses, ignorant of luxury, simple-souled, content with a little, with limbs toughened to endure every kind of toil, and for whom wielding iron, digging a fosse and carrying a burden is what they are used to from the country”) (trad. N. P. Milner). The general opinion on countrymen as better soldiers was widespread even during the Republican times. Cato, *De Agric.* praef. 4 states firmly that ‘from farmers both the bravest men and the strongest soldiers are born’.

¹²¹ Veg. *Inst. Rei milit.* 1. 3: “[...] *Interdum tamen necessitas exigit etiam urbanos ad arma conpelli, qui ubi nomen dedere militiae, primum laborare, decurrere, portare pondus et solem pulueremque ferre condiscant, parco uictu utantur et rustico, interdum sub diuo interdum sub papilionibus commerentur. Tunc demum ad usum erudiantur armorum, et, si longior expeditio emergit, in agrariis plurimum detinendi sunt proculque habendi a ciuitatis inlecebris, ut eo modo et corporibus eorum robur accedat et animis [...]*” (“In cases of necessity, however, they are sometimes obliged to make levies in the cities. And these men, as soon as enlisted, should be taught to work on entrenchments, to march in ranks, to carry heavy burdens, and to bear the sun and dust. Their meals should be coarse and moderate; they should be accustomed to lie sometimes in the open air and sometimes in tents. After this, they should be instructed in the use of their arms”). Tac. *Ann.* 4. 46 idealizes the life in the wilderness of the mountains that gives birth to strong, sturdy people and indirectly echoed the same ideas of better recruits from rural milieu (*montium editis incultu atque eo ferocius*) while Ammianus Marcellinus (27. 4. 14) elaborates on this theory (see note 116). 122. Tit. Liv. *Ab Urb cond* 38. 41. 8: “[...] *vicum Maronitarum, Salen appellant posuerunt castra [...]*”.

¹²² See note 112.

¹²³ Mateescu 1923, 80–246; 251–288; Fol 1969, 10–252.

II Augusta Thracum: *Bi[thus?]*; *Saecus Caucesis f.*
 III Augusta Thracum: *C. Iulius Lupercus f.*; *Quelsae Dolae f.*
 Gallorum et Thracum Antiana sagittariorum: *C. Sertorius Cesicevetrizis Besidelti f. Romaesta Rescenti f.*; *Valerius Volsenus f. (?)*
 I Thracum: *Iulius Martialis f.*; *Longinus Sdapezematygi f.*; *Bititralis*; *Mucale*; *Valens Bititrali f.*; [...]
 I Thracum Herculiana: *Brisanus Tarsae f.*; *Eptemalus Mucateralis f.*
 I Thracum veterana sagittariorum: *Aurelius Lipor*, *Aurelius Catus*, *Suri Dialpuri*
 I Thracum Victrix: *Gusulae Doqui f.*

Cohortes

I Flavia Bessorum (?) (Pedites?): *Iulius Teres*; *Bespre*; *Bespre*; *Bespre*; *Bespre*; *Bithis*; *Bitthis Tokou*; *Brame*; *Brame*; *Bizas Bithyos*; *Debes Zi[pa]o Tsemisia*; *Dizas Alkou*; *Dizas Alkou*; *Dizas Alkou*; *Dizas Alkou*; *Dizas*; *Doles Kl[...]psos*; *Dorzias*; *Dougelespn*; *Dules Biseze[neos]*; *Dules Biseze[neos]*; *Dules Biseze[neos]*; *Dules Biseze[neos]*; *Doules*; *Glabone*; *Ieriou*; *Iustus*; *Karzas*; *KONHIESGD*; *Kythes*; *Kynaithos*; *LELA*; *Nikon Zipirou*; *Paibis Sanbou*; *PRKOUMAUROU*; *Sapa*; *Smertos*; *Smertos*; *Smertos*; *Souaka Bos[...]*; *Tarsis Sanbou*; *Tarsis*; *Toukoudeba*; *Tsoukoleizi*; [...] *YANP*; [...] *UEANG*; *Zipas Dere*; *Zipas Sanvou*; *Zipas Sanvou*; *Zipas Sanvou*; *Zipas Sanvou*; *Zipas*; *Zipas*; *Zipas*; *Ziper Dethoubithos*; *Ziper Ditoupaibis*; *Ziper Ditoupaibis*; *Zyperos n (?)*.
 II Flavia Bessorum: *Mucatralis Sitae f. (P)*
 I Thracum equitata Civium Romanorum: *Ruimus Tabusi f. (P)*; *Tib. Claudius Tirintius (E)*; *Mucasi (E)*
 II Thracum equitata Civium Romanorum: *Seuthes Traibithi f. (E)*
 ? Thracum: [...] (P?).
 I Thracum milliaria: [...] *Mucazenis f. (P)*; *Pezus Sitae f. (E)*
 I Thracum Syriaca: [...] *inus Dinitralis Tarsae [...] es (E)*
 III Thracum Syriaca: [...] *Genimoli f. (P)*
 IIII Thracum Syriaca: *Fuscus Dorilsis Eptacenti f. (P)*
 IIII Thracum equitata: *Dolanus Esbeni f. (E)*; *Durises Bithi f. (P)*; [...] *sese Lenulae f. (P)*; *Surus Coccae f. (P)*; *Traidua Didae f. (E)*; *C. Tutius Mani f. (E)*; *Bisa (P)*; *Bitus Stac[...] f. (E)*; [...] *dor[...] (P)*; [...] *por (P)*; *Tar(a) (P)*; [...] *relius Bitus (P)*; [...]
 VI Thracum equitata: *Dolens Sublusi f. (P)*; *Petronius Disacentus Dentubris(a)e f. (E)*; *Rufus Sitae f. (E)*.
 II Gemella Thracum: *Bessus (P)*; *T. Flavius Bitus (E)*; *C. Iulius Bitus (P)*; *Iulius Bitus (P ?)*
 I Thracum (speira Qrākôn); *Diza uceðß Beíquo[ß] (P)*
 [T] recum: [...] *Mucasis f. (P)*
 Traexi: *Iulius Bitus*

Moesia

The two Moesian provinces display 27 soldiers of Thracian origin distributed in 14 auxiliary regiments and also a significant number of soldiers in the 2nd and especially 3rd century in different categories of troops (the Praetorian Guard, legions). As much as epigraphic evidence shows, there is no auxiliary regiment entirely established with recruits from Moesia that normally would have been called *Moesiacorum*. Only one ala bears the name *Moesica (ala Moesica felix torquata)*, but as the general opinion vows, the name comes rather from its long presence in garrison in Moesia and less likely from its creation of Moesian recruits¹²⁴. However, Moesia remained essentially a ground for levies, although they seem to have begun later than those in Thrace¹²⁵.

¹²⁴ Cihorius 1989, 1252; Stein 1932, 143–144; Kraft 1951, 155 no. 450–452; Alföldi 1968, 25.

¹²⁵ Saddington 1982, 161. Moesians were considered a bellicose population together with Dacians, Getae, and Thracians and their qualities are repeatedly mentioned in the historical sources: Strab. Geogr 7. 3. 3: “[...] ἀγχεμάχους δὲ τοὺς Μυσοὺς,

The mapping of the epigraphic discoveries shows significant concentrations of Thracian communities in the rural environment along the main river valleys in Lower Moesia: Oescus, Utus, Asamus, and Iatrus¹²⁶. Their presence must be also the result of a noteworthy organized or spontaneous movement of Thracian groups in early Roman period. In the 2nd and 3rd century, urban milieu yielded a considerable number of Thracian elements. The legionary *laterculi* indicate *Ratiaria*, *Oescus*, *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, *Marcianopolis*, and *Durostorum* as areas of dense Thracian population that could supply with recruits the elite Roman army in the 2nd–3rd century, while eastern centers, like *Tomis*, *Histria*, *Callatis*, *Abrittus*, *Troesmis*, and *Noviodunum* provide also some examples of consistent Thracian element¹²⁷. In the rural milieu, basically represented by *vici*, epigraphic data show considerable Thracian groups of southern origin around *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, *Marcianopolis*, and *Melta*¹²⁸.

The eastern Moesian auxiliary forts on the Danube line remained also an important resource as a recruiting basin for the Roman auxiliary forces due to the Thracian communities living by. At *Capidava*, *Ulmetum*, and the surroundings the inscriptions reveal the presence of a southern Thracian populace; a Thracian community of some extent lived at *Ibida* (Slava Rusă) in the 2nd century possibly descendants of the Bessian settlers in northern Dobruđa a century earlier¹²⁹. An old enough Thracian community existed at *Histria*, whose neighborhoods (*regio Histriae*) were administered by a council of *archontes*, in which local Thracians such as *Mucatra Seutonis* were also members¹³⁰. Although *cives Romani* are mentioned as a separate entity in *vicus Quintionis* (Sinoe) and *vicus Secundini* (?) the high number of Thracian names displayed in inscriptions show a clear demographic predominance of two southern Thracian communities in these villages, *Bessi* and *Lai*¹³¹. The presence of such strong Thracian communities of *Bessi*, *Lai* or *Coralli* in the Eastern parts of Lower Moesia encouraged enlistment in the auxiliary regiments, fleet or legions garrisoned along the Danube or on the Black Sea shore and were a ground for a reliable reserve of contingents.

The Moesian origin of the soldiers in auxiliary units in the Roman army is rarely rendered in inscriptions. In contrast, the praetorians, *equites singulares* and legionaries enlisted on the territory of Moesia are recorded through a large variety of generic terms, followed or not by the specification of the place names¹³². Moesia remained an important recruitment ground for these categories of troops. A sizable number of praetorians and legionaries were levied in the major urban centres of the province: *Viminacium*, *Horreum Margi*, *Bononia*, *Ratiaria*, *Oescus*, *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, *Marcianopolis*, *Durostorum*, *Troesmis*, and *Noviodunum*, and the number of indicated origins increases when they come from the rural environment: *regioe Nicopolitana vico Sapisara*, *vicus Amlaidina*, *Melta* with a *vicus Perepro* nearby, *vicus Ciniscus* next to *Ratiaria*¹³³.

ὅτι ἀπόρθητοι, καθὰ ἀγαθοὶ πολεμισταὶ [...]; Serv. Gram. *Comm.*, En. 7. 604: “[...] *Getarum fera gens apud maiores fuit: nam ipsi sunt Mysi* [...]”; Florus, *Ep.* 2. 26. 13: “[...] *Moesi quam feri, quam truces fuerint quam ipsorum barbari barbarorum horribile dictum est* [...]”; Veg. *Inst. rei milit.* 1. 28: “[...] *Dacos autem Moesos ac Thraces, in tantum bellicosos semper fuisse manifestum est, ut ipsum Martem fabulae apud eos natum esse confirmet* [...]”. On the Moesians see also Papazoglu 1978, 391–437.

¹²⁶ Gerov 1950, 41–49; ILB (the map).

¹²⁷ CIL III 14507; CIL VI 2397, 32624, 32640, 37184.

¹²⁸ Gerov 1950–1951, 44–46, 307–310.

¹²⁹ ISM V 15, 21, 24–27, 31 (*Capidava*); 62: *cives Romani et Bessi consistentes*; 69; 79 (*Ulmetum*); 228; 229; 232 (*Ibida*).

¹³⁰ ISM I 308.

¹³¹ ISM I 324–349, passim; Zah, Suceveanu 1971, 567–578; add also the new inscription in which *Aelius Mucatralis* appears to have settled in the surroundings of or even at *Histria* after the discharge from ala I Flavia Gaetulorum, garrisoned for a time at *Tomis*. He sets an altar to Antoninus Pius together with *Seuthes Mucatralis*, the local Thracian magister of the *vicus Quintionis* (Suceveanu 1998, 109); on the presence of the regiment at *Tomis* see e.g. Aricescu 1977, 51–52; Matei-Popescu 2004, 182–183.

¹³² *Moesia Inferior: natus ex provincia Maesia inferiore, natus inferiore, natione Mesacus, natus Moes. Imp, natus Moesus, natus in Moesia inferiore, natione Nysius, ex Mysia, natus Mysius, natione Musiaticus*, or simply *Moesia, Moesia Inferior*: *Moesia Superior: ex provincia Moesia Superiore, Moes. Provincie Hemesi Superioris, natus provincia Moesia Superiore*, or simply *e Mesis Sup.*

¹³³ See in general Mateescu, 1923, passim.

Rare examples of an all out indication of Moesian origin for the auxiliaries are *Aurelius Sumus* in *cohors II Hemesenorum equitata* garrisoned in Arabia, who labeled himself *civis Mensiacus*¹³⁴ and an *eq(ues) ex Moes(ia)* recorded in an inscription found at Bled Takourat (Tocolosida). The horseman seems to have been an auxiliary rather than a legionary soldier, in one of the numerous regiments in Mauretania Tingitana¹³⁵.

The earliest MD from Sarsânlar records a soldier in *ala I Gallorum et Thracum Antiana, Romesta Rescenti f.* who called himself *Spiurus*. There is no Thracian or Moesian tribe or a place name recorded as such in other sources. Gerov suggests that *Spiurus*, certainly rendered correctly in the constitution of 54, comes from *Spibyros* a corrupt name mentioned in Procopius' *De Aedificiis*, as a place in Moesia Secunda. Sarsânlar, today Zafirovo, where the veteran settled, lies at 18km south-east of *Transmarisca* (Tutrakan) and 38 km south-west from Silistra¹³⁶.

In 99, a veteran from *cohors II Gallorum, M. Antonius Rufus*, unveils his origin from Abrittus as *Abrettenus*¹³⁷. From a juridical viewpoint Abrittus must have been no more than a *pagus*, or *vicus* by the time he was levied into the army, in ca. 74¹³⁸.

A 2nd century inscription from *Cius* (Gârliciu) mentions *Valerius Herculanus*, a veteran in *ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum*, born in *vicus Rami*[...]¹³⁹. There has been much speculation on the place name and its location. In the older literature, *Vicus Rami*[...] was located north of the Danube, in the today eastern Walachia¹⁴⁰, based on a place name, *Ramidava*, mentioned by Ptolemy, at 51°50' and 46°30'¹⁴¹. R. Vulpe opines that the name of the village must have been *vicus Ramid* [*ii*] or *Ramid* [*iani*] and the place must be sought on the right bank of the Danube, near the point where the inscription was found, around *Cius*. The lecture *Ramid*[*ii/iani*] is conjectural for there is no visible trace of letter *d*, but the location in Dobrudja rather than on the left bank, in northern Wallachia is more likely¹⁴².

Communities of Thracians in Upper Moesia were also of some importance, although Illyrian element becomes denser west of the Margus River¹⁴³. They appear as a result of the migration and settlement of Thracian communities towards west and seem to date from the Imperial epoch. Individuals bearing Thracian names are recorded at *Singidunum*, *Viminacium*, and *Scupis* and further southwest to the today Bosnia¹⁴⁴. The Timacum river valley was a traditional Thracian inhabited territory as shown by a noteworthy amount of names and deities of clear Thracian origin. The Timacum Minus fort and civil settlement appears as a place where an important Thracian community gains momentum when the regiment no. 23 was dispatched from Syria to western Moesia in the second half of the 1st century¹⁴⁵. The regiment came to the Danubian province still maintaining its 1st century Thracian effectives, an indication that the supply with contingents in the Near eastern province did not cease within this span of time.

¹³⁴ CIL XIII 595.

¹³⁵ AE 1992, 1939.

¹³⁶ *Romesta Rescenti* was a *Spiurus* by birth, which is undeniable, probably from *Spibyros* in eastern Moesia (Procop. *De Aedif.*, 4. 11; Dechev 1976, 477), if such a name is correct, somewhere near the Danube; he was discharged at 18 June 54 (CIL XVI 3) and therefore was recruited in 29, and finally settled at the today Sarsânlar/ Zafirovo.

¹³⁷ CIL XVI 44.

¹³⁸ Ivanov 1980, 15–16.

¹³⁹ ISM V 117.

¹⁴⁰ Florescu 1951, 126–127. The Florescu's reading with *Rami*[...] instead of *Ramid*[...] is the correct one, for the letter *d* is not visible. Pârvan 1926, 253 places the *vicus* in south-west Moldavia, while Ștefan 1945–1947, 115 and Macrea 1941–1943, 234–261 located the place-name at the modern Draja de Sus, where a Roman fort functioned between 101 and 118; cf. Vulpe 1955, 150 = 1961, 376.

¹⁴¹ Ptol. *Geogr.* 3. 8. 4.

¹⁴² See commentary at Doruțiu-Boilă's ISM V 117.

¹⁴³ Russu 1944, 73–147.

¹⁴⁴ Mirković IMS II 58 (*Viminacium*); Mirkovic, Dusanic IMS I 40 (*Singidunum*); VI 32–33 (*Scupi*); see also Russu 1944, 73–147; 1950, 57 no. 4 (Eastern Bosnia, prope Drina); 1969, 36–37.

¹⁴⁵ Petrović IMS II/2, 31–33 (the Timoc valley).

North Pontic area

The completion of a new military organization and administrative structures in the northern Black Sea area were the most important changes that stood out in 1st–3rd century. The fact caused an accentuation of social mobility of both military and civilian elements, as clearly shown in centers like Tyras, Olbia, Chersonesus, Panticapaeum, and Tanais. As a client state of Rome, the Bosporan kingdom had a core of military forces organized in Roman manner and reinforced with auxiliary regiments from Bithynia¹⁴⁶. However, if *cohors I Thracum* was dispatched from Bithynia to Panticapaeum, as M. Speidel thinks, the regiment could have been supplied with Thracian effectives, attested at least by the centurion *Diza Bithi f.*, either in Bithynia or in the Bosporan kingdom, both regions with a noteworthy Thracian presence. The intensity of land occupation and the sizable number of population in the north Pontic area were incentive for the supply of the Roman regiments with manpower from the local stock in which elements of Thracian origin were largely involved. The strong Hellenic traditions in the region and Greek language in which were written many inscriptions made the military language and vocabulary rather elusive compared to the Latin technical terms¹⁴⁷. Many of the 1st–3rd century Greek general terms, like ἄρχων, ἵππεύς or στρατηγός all common to the north Pontic inscriptions might refer to offices in legionary or auxiliary troops, or to those in the armies of the Bosporan dynasts. In the wars with the dangerous Scythians living north of the kingdom, the Thracian military forces, represented at least by a cohort, played an important role, as showed by an inscription mentioning a Θρακικοῦ τάγματος¹⁴⁸. However, there are some specific technical terms that abode by the rules. At Panticapaeum the above mentioned Diza, Bithi f. from *cohors I Thracum*, is recorded as *centurio princeps* / κεντυρίω ὁ κατ[ὶ] πρίνκιψ) where the main office is not rendered as ἑκατόνταρχος usual Greek, but with a transliteration of the Latin term. The occurrence of the name of *Bithus* in the area makes likely that Diza was a native Thracian who fulfilled his military career in the Roman garrison dispatched to Panticapaeum¹⁴⁹. Suggestion can be also made in the case of an ἵππεύς from Olbia in the 1st century A.D., who might have been a horseman in an auxiliary regiment¹⁵⁰. Latin technical military terms although rare remain the most reliable. A local Thracian could have been *Pyrrus*, the son of *Bithus* who appears as *miles* in the garrison at Tyras, in one of the auxiliary regiments or in a legionary detachment stationed in the city¹⁵¹. *Bicanus* an *immunis* of the *cohors I Bracarum* at Chersonesus in Crimea could have been also a local Thracian¹⁵².

There are also cases of Thracians recorded in the legionary detachments dispatched in Olbia and Chersonesus. Many inscriptions mention Thracian individuals engaged in official activities, but the vagueness of the language makes the identification of their involvement in military activities and specifically in auxiliary regiments very difficult.

However, the noteworthy quantity of epigraphic evidence related to the presence of the Thracian element in the north-Pontic area (see chapter I) shows that it remained an important source of recruitment in the Roman army.

The two regiments formed initially of recruits from the Bosporan kingdom, *ala Bosporanorum = ala I Gallorum Bosporanorum, cohors I Bosporanorum*)¹⁵³, must have initially contained, in a certain

¹⁴⁶ Speidel 1992, 173–179; Bowersock, Jones 2006, 117–128.

¹⁴⁷ The Thracians in the service of the Hellenistic armies in the Bosporan kingdom is well documented, either as a result of a massive migration from Thrace (Zgusta 1955, 278–293; 1961, 160), or rather as part of the existing native population (Gaidukievich 1971, 68): e.g. IOSPE I² 223; Tohtashev, 1986, 179–180; Krykin 1993, 116; see also chapter I.

¹⁴⁸ Russu 1958, 303–336; Tohtashev, 1986, 178–188; Cojocaru 1997, 31–58. Bowersock, Jones, 2006, 117–128.

¹⁴⁹ KBN 666; Speidel 1992, 173–178; Cojocaru 1997, 45, nos. 9–13.

¹⁵⁰ IOSPE I² 222.

¹⁵¹ IOSPE I² 167.

¹⁵² IOSPE I² 553 = ILS 9160.

¹⁵³ On these regiments see recently Spaul 1994, 65 (*ala I Bosporanorum*); Petolescu 2002, 65–66; Spaul 2000, 343 (*cohors I Bosporanorum*).

proportion, or be later supplied with Thracian recruits, either from the Bosporan kingdom or from Thrace, as is the case of *Heptapor Isi f.*, who served in *ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum* from Cristesti, in Dacia Superior¹⁵⁴

Asia Minor

Asia Minor was an important and traditional basin for recruitment in Roman army¹⁵⁵. The western provinces of Asia Minor were inhabited by dense Thracian communities which could have remained a potential reservoir for recruitment in the Roman auxiliary regiments. Xenophon's description of the Asian Thracians or Bithynian Thracians and the episode of the confrontation with the Xenophon's Greek army is one of the most important information on the number and military potential of the Asian Thracians at late 5th–early 4th century¹⁵⁶. It is difficult to estimate if the Bithynian Thracian population maintained the same demographic strength and fame of good warriors in the Roman epoch, but the 2nd century Arrian's evidence on their valor seems to be more than conclusive¹⁵⁷.

The more or less considerable Thracian groups, civilians or military, appear at an early date, either as a result of the continuity of a traditional presence since Classical Greek and Hellenistic epochs, or as a consequence of the dispatched Thracian regiments in the area. A broad picture of the presence of the Thracian groups in Asia Minor in Imperial epoch shows that the provinces of Asia, Bithynia-Pontus, Lycia, and Mysia display by far the greatest number of Thracian communities¹⁵⁸. Cyzicus (Asia) and its rural territory, Chalcedon, Kios, Nicomedia, Niceea, and Prusias in Bithynia stand out through the significant amount of Thracian populace¹⁵⁹. At Parion, an inscription records an entire Thracian family involved in navigation, showing that the community must have been of some importance in this town¹⁶⁰. It has been noticed that outside Cyzicus and its territory the Thracian names are more sporadic¹⁶¹. Yet, Plutarch mentions a Thracian village in the Cyzicus' territory¹⁶². In Ionia and Lydia, towns like Smyrna and its territory, Ephesus, Sardes, and Philadelphia yielded onomastic evidence of groups of Thracian origin¹⁶³, while at Aphrodisias, in Caria, an inscription records explicitly an entire community of Bessians (ἔθνος Βησσῶν)¹⁶⁴.

Apparently, Bithynia was a ground for recruitment among the Thracian communities, although epigraphic evidence yields so far only one example. A vexillarius (σημειοφόρος), Σεμ[...]λος Ξυπ[...](?)[...]ωνος, in *ala III Augusta Thracum* originates from Prusias ad Hypium (Προυσιεύς) (present-day Üskübü-Konularp). The name is incomplete, but the name *Semelius* is to be restored, in which case his Thracian origin is most likely¹⁶⁵.

¹⁵⁴ CIL XVI 108 = IDR I 16.

¹⁵⁵ Speidel 1979, 730–746; Mann 1983, passim.

¹⁵⁶ Xen. *Anab.* 6. 3.

¹⁵⁷ Arrian. *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 19. “[...] ὅτι μαχιμώτατοι εἶεν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν [...]”.

¹⁵⁸ Samsaris 1990, 11–40; Lycia: Maggie 1950, 516–539; 540–658; 1370–1556 (notes and commentaries for an overall view on the provinces of Asia, Bithynia-Pontus and Mysia); *Asia*: Jones 1971, 28–94 (text); 381–402 (notes and commentaries); *Lycia*: Jones 1971, 95–110 (text); 402–406 (notes and commentaries); *Bithynia-Pontus*: Jones 1971, 147–173 (text); 418–429 (notes and commentaries); For the Thracian character of Bithynia and the massive presence of the Thracians in this province see Vitucci 1953; *Mysia*: Mitchell 1976, 119–127.

¹⁵⁹ Maggie 1950, passim; Jones 1971, passim; Mitchell 1976, 119–127; Samsaris 1990, 8–16; for the particular case of Cyzicus see Samsaris 1990, 9.

¹⁶⁰ Frisch 1983, 10–11.

¹⁶¹ Mitchell 1976, 122; cf. Samsaris 1990, 9.

¹⁶² Plut. *Luc.* 9, 12: “[...] *Lucullus, on finding him gone, pursued, but was well pleased not to over-take him with his own forces in disorder; and he sat down near what is called the village Thracia* (Θρακία κώμη), *an admirable position for commanding all the roads* [...]”.

¹⁶³ Mitchell 1976, 120–122; Samsaris 1990, 10–11.

¹⁶⁴ Reynolds 1981, 317–327 no. 18; Samsaris 1990, 11.

¹⁶⁵ IGRP III 57. The lecture *Sem [eli]us* is most reasonable restoration of the missing letters, as long as the name of a miles, *Q. Gargilius Q. (uinti) f. (ilia) Iul[ianus] qui et Semelius* appears at Ostia (Not. Scav. 1928, 169). *Semele* (Σεμέλη) was the Thracian-Phrygian Goddess of the Earth, and therefore the name looks of the same origin; Dechev 1976, 429.

Lycia held also a strong background of Thracian element. In A.D. 135, the Apollonia's inhabitants called themselves descendants of "Lycian Thracian colonists" (Ἀπολλωνιάται Λύκοι Θράκες κολωνοί) meaning the community of Thracians who had settled in this region¹⁶⁶. A Thracian populace lived in the mountainous region of Mylias, around Arycanda (*Thracum suboles Myliae quorum Arycanda oppidum*), as Pliny stated¹⁶⁷. Maggie, however, may be right in assuming that the Romans settled this Thracian community of veterans from Amyntas' army around Arycanda, in Republican times, a good reason to call themselves *suboles*. A community of Thracian veterans from the Roman army was also settled in Sagalassos as suggested by a dedication found in the town¹⁶⁸.

The origin of an *ex equite*, *C. Iulius Valens* discharged in 114 from *cohors IIII Gallorum* is specified as *Trall(is)*¹⁶⁹. The find spot of the MD is unknown. Tralli were a Thracian tribe on the lower course of the Nestus river (see above chapter I)¹⁷⁰. A town *Tralles* lied between Nysa and Magnesia-on-Meander in Caria. According to the tradition it was founded by colonists from Argos with a strong Thracian influx from the Thracian *Tralleis*¹⁷¹. The horseman seems rather a Thracian or a recruit of another origin from the Carian town of *Tralles* (Aydin) as, in case he specified his *origo* from Thrace, the tribal indication would have been *Trallus*. His ethnicity would be better restored in the MD as *Trall(es)*, showing his provenance from the Carian town. There is another soldier in *legio I Illyricorum* (late 3rd century) whose origin is recorded as *Tralles*, probably also from the Carian Tralles¹⁷².

The epigraphic evidence records at least two *alae Phrygum*, one recorded in a MDs with find spot unknown of 7 November 88 and another *VII Phrygum*, attested in the 2nd century MDs in Syria and also in relevant number of inscriptions¹⁷³. The 158 MD with f.s.u. is the constitution of a soldier of Denteletian origin (*Densala*), possibly a sign of a supply of the unit with Thracian recruits from Thrace¹⁷⁴. Although no solid explanation has been offered¹⁷⁵, serious doubts arose on the existence of six other *alae Phrygum*, which are entailed by the existence of the cavalry regiment numbered VII¹⁷⁶.

Levies in Phrygia, a province markedly known as inhabited by the Bryges of Thracian origin, could have happened in pre-Flavian period and even later, but there is no patent evidence of recruits specifically mentioned as originating from these territories. A MD for Syria Palestina (157/158) records a Thracian soldier in *ala VII Phrygum*, whose name remains unknown but his father's name, *Bithus* or

¹⁶⁶ IGRRP III 314 = MAMA IV 147; 317 = MAMA IV 150. Maggie 1950, 456–457 n. 20; see also chapter I.

¹⁶⁷ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 5, 95.

¹⁶⁸ Samsaris 1990, 16.

¹⁶⁹ RMD 14.

¹⁷⁰ On *Tralles* (Τραλλεῖς) see the discussion at Danov 1976, 518–520; Tomaschek 1980: 56–58; Gerasimova-Tomova 1989, 301–303. The soldier was a *Trallis* by origin, but that can be a little confusing. Authors speak about Illyrian *Tralleis* (Plut. *Agesil.* 16; Tit. Liv. *ab Urb. cond.* 37. 22. 1: [...] *Trallis Illyriorum* [...]; Steph. Byz. s.v. Τράλλεις) but *Tralleis* were also a Thracian tribe on the northern shore of Aegean (Diod. 17. 65. 1). A Greek inscription from Gorna Gradeshnitza (the ancient Neine) shows clearly that *Tralleis* were Thracians, while the Illyrian counterpart must be read rather Τρωχάλλεις, in the light of the Theopompos' passage from its lost *Elleniké* (Theop. Frg. 2 = FGr. II no. 115 frg. 377) referring to the conflict between the *Tralleis* and the Spartan king, Agesilaos (Gerasimova – Tomova 1989, 301–303).

¹⁷¹ Strab. *Geogr.* 14. 42. Maggie 1950, 129 considers the tradition as fiction, but both the name of the town in connection with *Tralles* on the Nestus River, and Trallian Thracian mercenaries who served in the Hellenistic armies of Seleucids and Pergamene kingdoms (Tit. Liv. *ab Urb. cond.* 37. 40; Appian, *Syr.* 32- Antiochus III at Magnesia; O.G.I.S. 266-Eumenes I; Tit. Liv. *ab Urb. cond.* 37. 39; 38. 21-Eumenes II) are facts that show a strong Thracian presence. The town bore also the names of Antiochia and Seleucia in the Seleucid epoch, but took back his old name in Roman Republican times and maintained it (Jones 1971, 44). On the town see: Magie 1950, 129–130, 991 n. 28–29; Jones 1971, 31–32; 44. There was also a town *Tralles* in Lydia (Jones 1971, 81–82).

¹⁷² ILS 8875; Mann 1983, 146.

¹⁷³ Kennedy 1997, 300–304.

¹⁷⁴ Eck, Pangerl 2006, 185–191.

¹⁷⁵ Saddington 1982, 161 who distinguishes an *ala Phrygum* in RMD 3 (07.11.88) in Syria from *ala VII Phrygum* recorded in CIL XVI 87 (22.11.139) in Syria Palestina and in a number of inscriptions; Roxan, in the commentaries at RMD 160 and 173 suggests two distinct *alae Phrygum*, while Kennedy 1997, 304 floats an un-numbered regiment which subsequently received a numeral VII.

¹⁷⁶ Cheesman 1914, 61 n. 7; Kennedy 1997, 304; Spaul 1994, 183–184 goes also with the idea of only one regiment.

Seuthes, is obviously Thracian. It would be a simple speculation without any support to suppose the Phrygian origin of the Thracian soldier¹⁷⁷.

Macedonia

As has been demonstrated by extensive epigraphic inquiries, a considerable size of the Thracian element appears in northern Greece and Macedonia both in urban and rural areas. The central and eastern Macedonia was noteworthy through its dense Thracian population, as attested by the Thracian personal names dating particularly from Imperial epoch in comparison with the Hellenistic epoch¹⁷⁸. Touratsoglu showed that in western Macedonia the Thracian onomastics is manifest only since 2nd century A.D.¹⁷⁹. The significant number of Thracian personal names disclosing communities of some importance on the Lower Struma valley belongs also to the Roman Imperial epoch when the penetration seems to have intensified¹⁸⁰.

The upper Axios river valley displays a good deal of Thracian onomastics in the same epoch. Samsaris provided a list of ca. 1,140 individuals on the territory of the today modern Greece certainly or supposedly pertaining to the Thracian community¹⁸¹. The list shows a considerable number of Thracians in Hellenistic and Roman armies, and it appears clearly that their presence was even more extensive. Thracian soldiers from these regions appear in the Imperial war fleets, legions, Praetorian Guard, and in auxiliary regiments.

Two Thracian auxiliary regiments disclose Thracian soldiers from Macedonia: *ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana* and *cohors I Flavia Bessorum*. In the first regiment a veteran, *C. Sertorius Cesicevetricis* is recorded. He returned from Syria, where the cavalry unit was garrisoned, to Macedonia, supposedly to his homeland, *Oinoussa* (Dervesiani), where he had been recruited¹⁸². A horseman, *Aurelius Nikolaos* is mentioned in an inscription at Thessalonica, in *cohors I Flavia Bessorum*, a unit which was part of the garrison of the province of Macedonia. His brother, who erects the tombstone, is *Aurelius Pythodoros*, a Thracian, that entails the Thracian origin for Nikolaos too, who adopted a Greek name. Both were recruited locally, if not in or around Thessalonica¹⁸³.

To the same unit in Macedonia belongs the ex-centurion of Thracian origin, *Iulius Teres*, a Bessian (*Bessus*). The inscription is 2nd century in date¹⁸⁴.

The 2nd or 3rd century Amphipolis graffiti offer a considerable number (57) of names of soldiers of obvious Thracian origin¹⁸⁵. They might have belonged to an auxiliary unit in transit, or garrisoned temporarily in the city, possibly to a *centuria* of *cohors I Flavia Bessorum* dispatched in the city for certain military or civil activities. It is not clear if the 57 soldiers with Thracian names were infantry or horsemen. The list was a lucky discovery and a significant addition to list of known Thracian names. The proximity of Thrace was a motivation and encouragement for a practical and intense use of Thracian communities in Macedonia as a recruitment basin.

¹⁷⁷ Weiss 1997, 256–259. The editor of the diploma rightly points out that: “Der Veteran des neuen Diploms, der in der palästinensischen *Ala VII Phrygum* gedient hatte, stammte sicher aus dem Raum Moesien / Thrakien”; the fathers’ name seems to be either *[Bi]thi* or *[Seu]thi*. The MD of 88 (RMD 3), with unknown find spot, mentions *Dassius Dasenti f.* as the receiver of the document. The individual’s name is typical for the Dardanian area (Papazoglu 1978, 229) although he marks his origin as *Pannonius*. On Phrygians, in general, see above chapter I; also Kretschmer 1896, 171–242.

¹⁷⁸ Mihailov 1986, 377–392.

¹⁷⁹ Touratsoglu, 1976, 128–138.

¹⁸⁰ Samsaris 1989, 203–282, especially 203–204; cf. Gerov 1970, 1–23 for the middle Struma valley.

¹⁸¹ Samsaris 1993.

¹⁸² Kaphtantzis, 1967, 288–289, no. 481.

¹⁸³ IG 10, 2¹, 384; Samsaris 1993, 347.

¹⁸⁴ Janakievski 1966, 259–261. The name of the unit *coh (ors) I [Fl(avia) Bess(orum)]* is conjecturally restored in inscription by Pflaum 1974, 453 = 1981, 118, but it seems the only likelihood, as long as there was only one cohort numbered I in Macedonia and that one was *cohors I Flavia Bessorum*.

¹⁸⁵ For the Amphipolis findings see: Bakalakis, 1940, 5–32; Kaphtantzis 1967, passim; Mihailov, 1975, 25–67; Samsaris 1993, 79, nos. 188–1097, passim.

Dacia

An overall quantitative approach offered by I.I. Russu's and D. Protase's epigraphic studies¹⁸⁶ yielded a total of 75–80 individuals together with their families of southern Thracian origin and their religion and art representations¹⁸⁷. Many of the soldiers came as recruits assigned to different units or had been moved from one regiment to another. Others must have joined the units as a successor of their fathers' tradition in arms. With close cultural and linguistic affinities with Thrace, Dacia appears as one of the most preferred regions for the Thracian veterans and their families to settle after 106. Taken individually, the number of the Thracian names is considerable compared to other epigraphically recorded nationalities in Dacia e.g. Germans, Gauls, Spanyards, Celto-Noricans, Celto-Pannonians¹⁸⁸.

The sizable number would be apparently explainable due to the neighboring of Thrace that allowed an easy and resourceful distribution of the effectives in a nearby region well known as a dynamic recruitment basin.

Two Thracian regiments, no. 24 and no. 22, were stationed permanently in the province, while no. 37 had a temporary garrison. Their supply with fresh contingents from Thrace might have happened regularly, although we are short of epigraphic evidence in this particular case.

The Thracian element, both military and civilian was well documented in Dacia. A significant number appears distributed among *auxilia Daciae* (see below) while strong southern and specific Thracian communities were identified in urban and rural milieu, as well as in military settlements (*canabae* and *vici militares*) near auxiliary forts. A sizable number of pockets of Thracian communities were documented on the territory of Dacia. There were strong Thracian groups formed of veterans and active soldiers' families in Porolissum (Moigrad), Samum (Cășei), Ilișua, Gherla, Optatiana (Sutor)¹⁸⁹.

The settlement of the Thracian military element in this key strategic northern sector of the province must have been encouraged, and the supply of the troops with Thracian contingents must have gone in parallel with the setting of strong communities able to provide manpower for the considerable concentration of strength in the area.

In western Dacia, Micia a known military center billeting Oriental troops dispaly the presence of a Thracian group, which although probably not too numerous still settled on the fertile Mureș valley¹⁹⁰. Intense gold exploitation where carried out in the Brad area, where the presence of some Thracians communities are very possible and even probable, although the epigraphic evidence is yet slim. In the necropolis of the Brad-Muncelu zone the ethnic component is overwhelmingly Dalmatian and south Pannonian but Bessian elements with a well-known skill in mining¹⁹¹ also appear. A Bessian Dules¹⁹² recorded in an inscription found in the necropolis leaves no doubt on the presence of this southern Thracian element. One can also add a certain Aurelia Banea, Aurelius Valerinus' wife whose name seems also of some Thracian tinge, although it is rather disputed¹⁹³.

In eastern Dacia, the Thracian communities must have been also of some importance. They are

¹⁸⁶ Russu 1944, 186–233; 1949, 282–296; 1967, 85–105; Protase 1968, 339–344; 1994, 35–42; 2001, 155.

¹⁸⁷ There are about 30 artistic monuments, certainly attributable to the southern Thracian art, consisting in reliefs featuring the theme of the Thracian knight. Some clues on the social mobility of the Thracian soldiers in Dacia are offered by MDs: IDR I 13 (140) (Palamarca); IDR I 14 (144) (Nova Zagora). Apparently, the Thracian soldiers recorded in these MDs returned to Thrace. There is evidence for two others who remained in the north Danubian provinces: IDR I 16(158) (Cristești) and IDR I 20 (158) (Cășei); a soldier from *cohors II Thracum*, mentioned in the Turea MD (86), returned to Thrace in 86, from where he apparently moved to Dacia shortly after 106 (CIL XVI 33 = IDR I 24). A soldier in *ala I Asturum* from Hoghiz returned to Thrace, at Serdica, sometimes in the first half of the 3rd century (BIAB 1939, 89).

¹⁸⁸ On the nationality of settlers in Dacia see Macrea 1969, 251–256; Protase, 1993, 259–268; 2001, 158–168.

¹⁸⁹ Porolissum (Moigrad): Russu 1959, 872, no. 1; Samum (Cășeu): IDR I 120; CIL III 829; 7635; AE 1957, 331; Gherla: CIL III 294; Russu 1967, 90, 91; Sutor: ACMIT 1930–1931, 86; Ilișua: CIL III 799; 809; Protase 1957, 320–321, no. 2.

¹⁹⁰ Micia: IDR III/3, 163; CIL III 7873.

¹⁹¹ Maximov 1974, 397–408.

¹⁹² IDR III/3, 438.

¹⁹³ IDR III/3, 437.

highlighted through discoveries at Cristești and Brâncovenеști¹⁹⁴.

Nine Thracian names are known thus far in the civil rural areas (Strei-Săcel, Turea, Petrești, Pintic, Rusănești, Suceag)¹⁹⁵, an environment that was no less suitable for recruitment.

Through names and religion, the Thracians appear highlighted as a distinct group concentrated in communities of some importance in urban environment at: *Apulum*, *Ulpia Traiana*, *Tibiscum*, *Drobeta*, *Potaissa*, *Napoca*¹⁹⁶.

Did these communities reached the critical mass of youth suitable for levies in the Roman provincial army? While the presence of many Thracians in the province, especially in the urban area, could be attributed to different lucrative activities (not particularly military), the communities from the *canabae* and *vici militares* of the auxiliary forts must have remained the main reservoir for recruitment, particularly because the “métier d’armes” was mainly inherited within the family and there was always a predilection for the veterans’ sons to take over from their fathers. Maybe that one of the best examples, although not particularly referring to a Thracian, is *Acilius Dubitatus*, Sabinus’ son, certainly a native born in or near the Gilău auxiliary fort (*natus castris*) who was, at a suitable age, enrolled in *ala Siliana* billeted in the same place. At the end of the service he settled in the same *vicus militaris* of the fort¹⁹⁷.

Western Balkans

Thracian communities of some importance were documented also in western part of the Balkan Peninsula. Dardania was an Illyrian land by tradition¹⁹⁸. Dardanians were considered Illyrians by Strabo and Appian¹⁹⁹ and so a number of modern scholars²⁰⁰, while others believe that at a later date the Dardanians were “Thracisized”²⁰¹.

Thracian names within the communities of the same ethnicity were epigraphically documented at *Scupi*, *Naissus*, in Kosovo (Mitrovica, Pristina), as well as in Metohia (Prizren, Peć), Kumanovo, Bela Palanka, Kragujevac, and *Remesiana*²⁰². Most of the place-names especially in eastern Dardania turn out to be Thracian. The Thracian element in majority presumably following an expansion westwards²⁰³ seems to have intermingled with the Illyrian one. The ethnic frontier between Thracians and Dardanians was traced on the Morava (Margus) River until the Danube to the north splitting in two the Dardanian lands, with the eastern part significantly “thracisized”²⁰⁴. Dardanians provided a cavalry: *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum* and two infantry regiments: *cohors I Aurelia Dardanorum equitata* and *cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum milliaria equitata*, two thousands men in total, plus regular levies for the Roman army²⁰⁵. The cavalry regiment was raised in Flavian epoch and assigned to Lower Moesia from

¹⁹⁴ Cristești: IDR I 16; Brâncovenеști: Protase, Zrinyi 1992, 99–100 no. 5 = AE 1992, 1473.

IDR III/3, 437.

¹⁹⁵ Strei-Săcel: CIL III 7893; Pintic: CIL III 835; Rusănești: CIL III 8040; Suceag: CIL III 852; Turea: IDR I 24.

¹⁹⁶ The number of Thracians in urban milieu is significant for which see: Piso 2001 passim (*Apulum*); Russu 1980 passim (*Ulpia Traiana Dacica Sarmizegetusa*); Russu 1977, passim (*Tibiscum*); Petolescu 1977, passim (*Drobeta*); CIL III 889; 918; 6255; 7614; 7688; 13768 (*Potaissa*); CIL III 867; 870 = ILS 4061; 874; 886 (*Napoca*).

¹⁹⁷ IDR I 18.

¹⁹⁸ On Dardanians see Papazoglu 1978, 131–270.

¹⁹⁹ Strab. *Geogr.* 7. 5. 1; 6; 12; App. *Illyr.* 3. 2; 5.

²⁰⁰ Papazoglu 1978, 210–225; Vulić 1933, 63–86.

²⁰¹ Mateescu, 1923, 92–94; Vulpe, 1925, 162; Russu 1969, 30, 36.

²⁰² IL Jug. 1412 (Pristina); 1438, 1440 (Prizren); 1451 (Peć); IMS IV 21, 37, 55 (Bardovci), 96 (Rutevac); 6, 38 (Zlokućani), 50 (Markova Sušica), 99 (Sindelić), 222 (Lopate), 182 (Sopište, north of Skopje), 163 (Dobri Dol), 133 (Vedno Konjare), 142 (Gorno Sobaje); 214 Dovezence; see also Russu 1941–1943 (1944), 73–147; Mirkovic 1977, 820–823, 831–835, 837–840.

²⁰³ Mateescu 1923, 92; Russu 1969, 36; another view at Papazoglu 1964, 49–75.

²⁰⁴ Russu 1969, 36 and the map; Pajakowski 2000, map I.

²⁰⁵ About these units see Dušanić 1976, 237–246; Beneš 1978, 30–31, nos. 79/42, 80/43; Spaul 1994, 102 (*ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum*); 2000, 349–351 (*cohors I Aurelia Dardanorum equitata*, *cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum milliaria equitata*); Russu 1969, 139–140.

the beginning, while the two infantry units were created during Marcus Aurelius to boost the Danubian forces during the Marcommanic wars.

The Dardanian toponomy shows a considerable number of Thracian or Thracian-Illyrian communities, capable to release recruits for different categories of regiments in the Roman army, auxilia inclusively. One of the best examples is the above mentioned *Flavius Bithus*, an *adiutor corniculariorum* from cohorts II Aurelia Dardanorum. The unit replaced *cohors I Thracum Syriaca* at Ravna (*Timacum Minus*) on the Timok River valley by early 2nd century²⁰⁶. A veteran, *Aurelius Tatius* lived 60 years and died at Ravna where he served in the Dardanian regiment²⁰⁷. The name Tatius is borne by individuals both in the Thracian and Dardanian environment under different variants (Tato, Tatta)²⁰⁸.

The other cohort, I Aurelia Dardanorum, discloses the name of a Thracian *cornicularius*, at least through its affiliation, *Sitae* f(ilio), *Sumi* (!?)²⁰⁹. The regiment must have been based in a place not far from the industrial scale exploitations of iron ore in Dardania²¹⁰. An epitaph from Konjuh mentions probably an *equus* of the same cohort, *Sabinus Antio*[...] possibly a Thracian as long as his son, *Euporus*, who set the dedication together with his sister, has a Thracian name²¹¹.

3. Provincial Thracian communities

The Thracian diaspora in the Roman Empire is a continuation of their remarkable social mobility during Hellenistic period. The expansion reached new frontiers once the Thracian regiments were deployed on a vast area from Euphrates to Atlantic Ocean and from northern Britain to the African deserts. The military mobility was doubled both in Hellenistic and Roman period by a significant circulation of civilians either they were members of soldiers' families, slaves or freedmen. This vast social phenomenon is, however, not singular and it is apparent in the case of many other ethnical groups, such as Orientals, Germans, Britons, Gauls, Illyrians, or Spaniards, showing a remarkable dynamics of the social fenceless mobility within the Roman Empire.

The epigraphic evidence is far from mirroring exactly the real scale of the presence of the Thracian element in the Roman provinces. It is a well known fact that any estimation on social ground particularly that related to the categories of population would need a far greater and significant amount of data and a vast documentation in order to bridge the gaps inevitably caused by the scarcity and fortuitous character of the sources available so far. The information in this respect must be therefore taken for now as "samples".

Epigraphic inquiries perpetrated so far on the Thracians in the Roman Empire encompassed the majority of the provinces and targeted both social categories, military and civilian population. This type of social investigation under the form of lists of personal names succeeded in gathering significant evidence on the social status and position of every single individual. Studies like those produced by G. Mateescu²¹², A. Fol²¹³, M. Le Glay²¹⁴, H.-G Pflaum²¹⁵ for the western provinces and V. Velkov²¹⁶, D.

²⁰⁶ Petrović, IMS III/2, 31, 37; AE 1963, 268; 1995, 1312. The Ravna auxiliary fort was part of the economic region known as *Metalli Dardanici* (Dušanić 1977, 52–94). The fiscal territory of Ravna included the south extremity of the great Imperial domain that covered almost the entire Timok valley, inhabited by a dense Dardanian population.

²⁰⁷ AE 1995, 1318.

²⁰⁸ Dechev 1976, 494–495; Russu 1969, 252–253.

²⁰⁹ Sašel 1986, no. 1435.

²¹⁰ Dušanić 1976, 241; 1977, 52–94.

²¹¹ Dušanić 1976, 246.

²¹² Mateescu 1923, 57–288; on the presence of the Thracians in Rome see also Russu 1976, 35–44; Russu 1981, 247–251.

²¹³ Fol 1969, 2–199.

²¹⁴ Le Glay, 1980, 39–50.

²¹⁵ Pflaum 1978, 53–68; Samsaris 1987, 403–430.

Samsaris²¹⁷, I.I. Russu²¹⁸, S.R. Tohtasjev and Cojocaru²¹⁹ for the eastern ones revealed the existence of noteworthy Thracian communities next and outside the Thracian area itself.

Depending on their size and provincial social environment they lived in, the Thracian communities could have developed into small scale societies in the provinces, with a religious, linguistic and anthroponomical distinctiveness, either they were included in the vast social process that is commonly called ‘Romanization’ in the European provinces or ‘Hellenization’ in the eastern ones. The epigraphic investigations on larger groups of Thracians in the Empire gave indicative results from this view point. The analyses made on representative samples of Thracian groups in Egypt and Western provinces, including Rome and Italy, showed how large these communities could have been in the 2nd and 3rd century and the impact of their presence on the social environment of those regions.

However, even though compared with other ethnic groups the investigations gave notable results as far as the number of Thracian individuals and small societies outside the Thracian area, we must keep the optimism at a reasonable scale and offer a balanced estimation as to the size, value and possible social basins for recruitment into the army of these provincial communities. This is an important aspect of the Thracian Diaspora and remains a field still waiting to be thoroughly studied and emphasized through detailed analysis of particular situations.

Pannonia

The Pannonian provinces yielded a number of 23 Thracian soldiers scattered among five auxiliary regiments (see below). The figure is proportionally high if one considers that these two Danubian provinces were an important basin for recruitment in the Roman army especially from the dense local Celtic and Illyrian population. The Thracian communities in Pannonia were initially formed around the few 1st century Thracian auxilia (*cohors III Thracum*, *VI Thracum*) (see chapter VI). In the 2nd century, as more regiments were brought into the Lower and Upper Pannonia and garrisoned on a regular basis, the number of veterans and civilians increased significantly²²⁰. Thracians in the Pannonian legions played their important role in the configuration of these communities²²¹. The development of the individual Thracian groups seems to gain momentum after Marcus Aurelius when the number of Thracian names increased significantly. The legionary centers from *Brigetio*, *Aquincum*, and *Carnuntum* yielded an important number of *Aurelii*, both military and civilians, bearing Thracian cognomina²²², while some of the auxiliary forts, like *Intercisa*, *Arrabona* (Győr), Bölcske, and *Gerulata* display a sizable number of Thracian individuals involved in military or civil activities. Intercissa, where *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana* was garrisoned in early 2nd century, two Thracian soldiers are known²²³ (see below). The figure is apparently low, but the local Thracian community was large enough as shown by a number of inscriptions, names, and reliefs with the Thracian hero²²⁴. Civilians reunited in families preserving Thracian names like *Aurelia Italla*, *Thraca*, the wife of a Thracian soldier in *cohors XI Urbana Severiana* and her son, or the Thracian deities, like Κενδρείσος certainly worshipped by a Thracian, *Tarsus*, of Bythinian origin, Βείθυλικος, adds to our knowledge on an important group of Thracians at Intercissa in or around this eastern Pannonian military center²²⁵.

²¹⁶ Velkov 1977, 7–117.

²¹⁷ Samsaris 1993, 9–371; Samsaris 1990, 5–28.

²¹⁸ Russu, 1958, 303–336; for Dacia see Russu 1967, 85–105; Protase 1994, 35–41.

²¹⁹ Tohtasjev 1986, 178–188; Cojocaru 1997, 31–58.

²²⁰ Barkóczy 1964, 257–356; Mocsy 1959, passim.

²²¹ A preliminary statistics at Barkóczy 1964, 267–296; see also Mocsy 1959, passim; Fehér 1997, passim.

²²² Barkóczy 1964, 275 (*Brigetio*); 277–279 (*Aquincum*); 267–270 (*Carnuntum*).

²²³ RIU 1220; 1248.

²²⁴ Erdély, Fülep, 1954, 331, no. 397, pl. 90. 2; Oppermann 2006, 267, pl. 45, fig. 520.

²²⁵ Barkóczy, 1954, nr. 357: *Italla Thraca*; nr 134; 396 – *Tarsus* (Κίριω Κενδρείσω Βείθυλικος Τάρσου εὐχῆν).

Three inscriptions from Arrabona (Gyor), in Pannonia Superior, suggest the existence of an early small Thracian community already during Trajan's time, as indicated by four Thracian *Ulpia* in *ala I Ulpia contariorum*, while during or after Marcus Aurelius there are *Aurelii* in the same regiment with Thracian family members bearing typical nomina and cognomina²²⁶ (see below).

There was an infusion of Thracian recruits in the 20th–40th of the 3rd century at Arrabona, as shown by some inscriptions at Apamea at mid 3rd century (see below). At Bölcske, where the *cohors I Thracum Germanica* was garrisoned, an entire family of Thracian origin settled²²⁷. *Gerulata* (Rusovce) was garrisoned by *ala I Cannanefatium* from the second decade of the 2nd century. There are at least four recorded Thracian soldiers in this unit²²⁸ (see below).

At Aquincum there is a high number of Thracian *Aurelii*, soldiers and civilians: *Aulupor*, *Bitus*, *Droles*, *Eptacentus*, *Mucianus* and his wife *Firmilla* and the son (?) *Firm* [*illus?*], as well as some other veterans²²⁹. At Brigetio there was also a Thracian family-head detected, *Aurelius Dialo*, although the family was a mixed one, the wife, *Aurelia Troucissa*, bearing a Celtic name²³⁰.

An interesting case is the group of *cives Cotini* from Cibalae, in Pannonia Inferior. They were recorded in May 27, 223 as soldiers in the praetorian guards in Rome (*cives ex Pannonia inferiore Cotinorum; ex Pannonia inferiore cives Cotini*)²³¹. The Cotini appear documented in Dio Cassius during the Marcommanic wars and were considered by the specialists either a Dacian, a Celtic, or a Dacianized Celtic population living in the present day Moravia²³². They must have been settled in Pannonia Inferior during Marcus Aurelius, likely after 173, among a mixed Thracian-Illyrian community where they shortly adopted Thracian and Illyrian names and Roman citizenship was granted. The Thracian influence at least upon a part of the Cotini community in Pannonia Inferior was so intense before they left the province as recruits in praetorian guards that they appear to have preserved their Thracian names. However, some of the soldiers' names sound more of south Thracian origin: *Dolens*, [*Muca/Aulu*] *centus*, *Dalutius*, *Deazius*, *Dolea*, *Potazis* rather than Dacian and it is preferable to consider the existence of strong Thracian communities in the middle of which they had been previously settled²³³.

Germany

The lists provided by Le Glay and Fol²³⁴ for the Rhine valley reveal a total of ca. 60 Thracian individuals, soldiers and civilians, engaged both in military (legions, auxiliary regiments, fleet), and civil activities. A number of 31 Thracian auxiliaries were documented in both German provinces. Explicit evidence on the existence of specific Thracian communities on the Rhine valley comes from

²²⁶ *Ulpus Eptatralis*, *domo Bessus* and *Ulpus Aulucentus* (RIU 261); *Aurelius Doriso* and *Aurelius Mussati* (RIU 260); Barkóczy 1964, 271.

²²⁷ *L. Septimius Tatulo* with his family: *Aurelia Verina*, *coniux*; *L. Aurelius qui et Septimius Constans*, *filius*; *Aurelius qui et Septimius Constantinus*, *filius*, *Septimius Victorinus*, *filius*; *Aurelius qui et Septimius* [...] *il* [...]. The father was a Thracian, but the sons bear pure Roman names (RIU 1018); Barkóczy 1964, 283.

²²⁸ *Flavius Surillo* (AE 1972, 444); *Bersolus*, *Aulusanus*, *Brincasis* (Hošek 1985, 39–40, no. 13; 73–74, no. 34; AE 1966, 292; 1972, 446); on *Gerulata* see Kraskovska 1974; Pichlerova 1981; Schmidtova, Jezna 2003, 60–62.

²²⁹ Barkóczy 1964, 277, 279.

²³⁰ CIL III 4146.

²³¹ CIL VI 32542 (= 2833), 32544, 32557.

²³² Dio 71, 12. 3. It seems that they had been initially allied to the Roman Empire, but ultimately they betrayed the previous agreements that included the harassment of the German and Iazygian forces north of Roman Pannonia, tortured and killed Tarrutenus Paternus, the Marcus Aurelius' private secretary for the Latin correspondence.

²³³ It is remarkable that all the individuals who called themselves *cives Cotini ex provincia Pannonia inferiore* in CIL VI 32542, dated June 8, 223, received without exception the imperial gentile *Aurelius* and the Roman citizenship, when they were enrolled in the praetorian cohorts during Septimius Severus' reign. Some soldiers preserved their Thracian names added to the given name (*praenomen*) and the gentile and indicate their origin from different Pannonian centers, mainly from *Mursa* and *Cibale*, where sizeable Thracian communities must have already existed. See also Illyrian names: *Lapotius*, *Paeotius*<*Paio*. *Dassianus* is a Dardanian name (Papazoglu 1978, 229–230).

²³⁴ Le Glay 1980, 39–50; Fol 1969, 243–247.

the archaeological and epigraphic data that throw light on these groups who maintained, to a certain point, some of their national characteristics, names, and religion²³⁵. Thracian communities must have existed in or around important urban centers, as shown by a significant number of inscriptions at *Mogontiacum*, *Aquae Mattiacorum*, and *Colonia Agrippinensis*, or in the military *vici* around the auxiliary forts where they had served²³⁶. Mid 1st–early 3rd century epigraphic evidence has been found in or around auxiliary forts at Aarentsburg, Wijk van Ourstede, Maurik, and Valkenburg (see chapters V and VI)²³⁷.

A substantial number of Thracians served in the German legions. They must have also created their own 2nd–3rd century communities around the legionary fortresses²³⁸.

Apparently, the body of soldiers styled *cives Batavi et Thraces adlecti ex provincia Germania inferiore* in the *equites singulares* corps, recorded in the well known inscription set in Rome to celebrate the returning of the emperor Elagabalus in 219²³⁹ (see below), had many Thracians who had been born in the communities in Lower Germany from families that had received Roman citizenship by late 1st century. The Thracian groups were gradually formed in the urban and rural environment near the forts and fortresses on the Rhine valley from both veterans and families of active soldiers²⁴⁰, as well as constant supply with fresh contingents from the Thracian area. They could have served as a local recruitment basin for both auxiliary and legionary regiments in the German provinces.

Syria Palaestina

Although the number of Thracian auxilia in Syria-Palestina and Arabia is considerable and traditional since Augustus' time²⁴¹, the epigraphic evidence of major veterans' communities living in the settlements around the auxiliary forts is discouraging few, if at all²⁴². A number of individual records of active soldiers from the legions coming exclusively from urban environment (*Beroea*, *Apamea*, *Palmyra*, *Arados*, *Jericho*, *Gerasa*, and *Bostra*) remain the only reference points for the theoretical existence of communities of Thracians and their families in the province. If they had some consistency, they certainly preferred to have settled rather in towns than in bare rural areas of military character.

As far as the Thracian auxiliaries are concerned, the MDs evince so far that neither the urban nor the rural environment was a preferred one for the development of Thracian veterans' communities. None of the Thracian soldiers from ala I Augusta Thracum recorded in the three Djerach inscriptions were veterans and all seem to have died during the service. The MDs issued for the Thracian veterans from Thracian regiments in the Syrian and Judean Roman army indicate without exception the trend, noticeable at least in the 1st century, to rather return home than to remain in the area²⁴³ (see chapter VII 8).

²³⁵ If monuments of the Thracian Hero are still lacking on the Rhine valley, some artistic motifs of clear Thracian origin were discovered in the Oberaden fort, where a decorative silver plaque with the theme of a sitting hound resembles the models found on similar pieces in Thrace (Schnurbein 1986, 409–420). Haynes' skepticism on the survival of the symbolic Thracian horseman on the Rhine valley might be in general correct (Haynes 1993, 152–153), although there is recent evidence of the survival of the worshipping of ancestral Thracian gods in the Upper Danubian region (Pochmarski 2003, 117–122).

²³⁶ Fol 1969, 243–247; Le Glay 1980, 45–50 who discusses and elaborated a very detailed statistics; see idem, 41–44 for the sporadic presence of the Thracians in Gauls. The presence of the Thracians has been detected also at: *Borbetomagus* (Worms), *Augusta Rauricorum* (Augst), *Castellum Mattiacorum* (Castel), *Bonna* (Bonn), *Novaesium* (Neuss), *Rigomagus* (Remagen), *Colonia Ulpia Traiana* (Xanten). For these communities see Mann 1983, 25–29; Lenz 2006, 61–91.

²³⁷ Fol 1969 no. 1000–1002, 1009; AE 1965, 258.

²³⁸ Fol 1969, 243–247, passim; Le Glay 1980, 45–50.

²³⁹ CIL VI 31162.

²⁴⁰ Lenz 2006, 61–91.

²⁴¹ Weiss 2006, 249–298.

²⁴² Samsaris 1990, 16–19.

²⁴³ A supposed Thracian veteran from an auxiliary regiment settled in an Eastern province comes from Jericho, where an inscription of a Thracian, *Bessos*, seems to have chosen to live in the town or in its surroundings (Samsaris 1990, 17).

North Africa

Apart from temporary presence of two cavalry regiments dispatched within the Pannonian expeditionary force to curtail the Moorish attacks (see chapter VIII), two Thracian regiments (nos. 11 and 26) were constantly stationed in Numidia and Mauretania Caesariensis in the 2nd and 3rd century. In addition, one thousand young Bessian recruits (*mille iuniores Bessi*) have been transferred in 200 to Mauretania Tingitana, under the command of Sex. Iulius Iulianus, in order to supply the Mauretanian auxiliary units.

Complete lists of Thracian soldiers and civilians of Thracian origin in *auxilia* and in *legio III Augusta* in the three African provinces have been provided by recent research²⁴⁴. Alongside with the group of officers, NCOs, and soldiers of unambiguous Thracian origin in *legio III Augusta* at *Lambaesis*, there is epigraphic evidence for a total number of eleven Thracian military men who served in the two regiments styled *Thracum*, with permanent north African garrison, and in other *auxilia* stationed in the region. There is also a sizable number of individuals who were not immediately involved in the military, but rather in administration and business. They add fragmentary but eloquent evidence to the role and presence of the Thracian communities in the North African provinces raising the number of Thracians in North Africa to 65 individuals in all.

At least three soldiers from e. g. *Mascula*, *Sila* and *Carthago* bearing imperial nomina and Thracian cognomina²⁴⁵, as well as the names of the some civilians from *Sicca Veneria*, *Carthago* and *Sufetula*²⁴⁶ appear to have been descendants from Thracian families established in these towns since Julio-Claudian or Flavian epochs. The three *Iulii Biti* and a *T. Flavius Bitus* in the 1st century disclose their Bessian origin and also progeny from Thracian citizens²⁴⁷. *Claudius Mucatra* shows even older Roman citizenship, during Julio-Claudian period. The enrollment of Thracians in *legio III Augusta*²⁴⁸ and the high number of 2nd–3rd century *Aelii* and *Aurelii* as citizens bearing Thracian cognomina or with indicated *origo* add new substantiation on the existence of a Thracian resourceful community in northern Africa²⁴⁹.

Egypt

Egypt yielded an impressive quantity of inscriptions and papyri on the presence of the Thracian groups and individuals, involved both in military and civilian activities, in Hellenistic (4th–1st century B.C.) and early Roman (1st–3rd century) period. The large amount of information made possible the study of the impact of the Thracian Diaspora in Egypt and to track down the progress of the penetration of Thracian element on the Nile valley²⁵⁰. Whatever the interpretation in different manners of the epigraphic sources would be, the Thracian onomastics in Egypt, in great majority Hellenistic in date, reveals the maintenance of a certain degree of consciousness of their origin and distinctiveness, sometimes under different names, in relation with other ethnic groups.

²⁴⁴ Fol 1969, 249–253; Benseddik 1977 passim; Pflaum 1978, 53–68; Samsaris 1987, 403–430; Le Bohec 1989, 65, 91–93, 162.

²⁴⁵ *T. Flavius Bitus*: CIL VIII 2251; Fol, 1969, 250, no. 1098; Pflaum 1978, 63; Samsaris 1987, 414, 425, no. 146 (*Mascula*); [...]*us Bessus*: ILaG. 2, 5885 = CIL VIII 5885; Pflaum 1978, 63; Fentress 1979, 96; Samsaris 1987, 414 (*Sila*); *C. Iulius Bitus*: CIL VIII 25364; Fol, 1969, 250, no. 1097; Pflaum 1978, 63; Samsaris 1987, 426, no. 155 (*Carthago*); cf. *M. Iulius Bitus*: CIL VIII 7421–7422 (*Cirta*).

²⁴⁶ *Cassius Bitus*: CIL VIII 20010; Fol, 1969, 251, no. 1132; Pflaum 1978, 66; Samsaris 1987, 424, no. 135 (*Sicca Veneria*); *Claudius Mucatra*: CIL VIII 12488; Fol, 1969, 250, no. 1096; Pflaum 1978, 66; Samsaris 1987, 424, no. 137 (*Carthago*); *Lucius Zaecethuris*: AE 1911 = ILafr. 145; Fol, 1969, 250, no. 1096; Pflaum 1978, 66; Samsaris 1987, 426, no. 160 (*Sufetula*).

²⁴⁷ Pflaum 1978, 63–65; Samsaris 1987, 425, no. 146; 426, nos. 154, 155.

²⁴⁸ Forni 1953, 220–221; Mann 1983, 12–21; Le Bohec 1989, passim.

²⁴⁹ Fol 1969, 249–253; *Iulius Bitus*, a veteran from Carthago, preceding from a *cohors I Traexi* chose northern Africa to settle (CIL VIII 7422). He came certainly from another province, for a Thracian cohort numbered I, is unknown in Africa. This is eloquent for the attraction the African provinces exerted over many veterans as their future home.

²⁵⁰ Velkov, Fol 1977, 72–96, 103–105, nos. 363–525. Important for the Thracian penetration in the Ptolemaic and other Near Eastern Hellenistic armies remain the Launey's work (1949–1950) on the Hellenistic armies.

Although farmers, other civilians, bureaucrats, and high ranking officials of Thracian origin are extensive in number, the records of the Thracians in the auxilia are surprisingly reduced. There were four regiments *Thracum* with permanent or long garrison in Egypt (nos. 7, 8, 18, 28) but another cavalry unit displays the names of some soldiers of Thracian origin. A list with Thracian soldiers written in 130 contains among others, the names of ten Thracian soldiers concentrated in a single cavalry unit, *ala Gallica veterana*²⁵¹. They and an individual from Pautalia²⁵² who is unquestionably proved to have settled in the province in the 2nd century, but questionably an auxiliary soldier, are the only names of certain Thracian origin recorded in the auxilia in Egypt. The group of Thracian soldiers from the same regiment was considered by Speidel as having been formed of the Thracian soldiers' sons²⁵³.

The view could be right, but this is the only substantial list of Thracian names in the Roman army in Egypt, which is at least strange considering the number of Thracian auxilia. It is likely that in Roman period, Egypt, with a significant Thracian community traditionally present from Hellenistic times, stood out firstly as a province with a significant number of people involved rather in civil than military activities.

Britain and Spain

The two provinces show a discouraging small number of Thracian groups. Britain displays four Thracian regiments, at Bowes (no. 17), Burrow Walls (no. 27), Brough under Stainmore (nos. 37 and 38), that garrisoned for a longer period. The inscriptions indicate in total about ten Thracian elements engaged mainly in military activities (legions and auxilia)²⁵⁴, but epigraphic evidence is too poor to conjecture the existence of any consistent Thracian community in Britain, especially that the Bulgaria f.s.u. MD of 178 of a veteran, returned to Thrace after the discharge, is eloquent for the reticence of the veterans from this ethnical group to settle in the remote island. Two horsemen, *Longinus* and *Rufus Sita* belong to the first half of the 1st century and they both died during the service. There is any known veteran of Thracian origin in the Thracian auxilia or of other origin known to have settled and died in Britain. A *miles*, *Aurelius Mucianus* is recorded at Catterick but it is questionable if he belonged to an auxiliary unit²⁵⁵. Moreover, the deity *Deo Sancto Vheteri*, to which he dedicated a small altar, sounds unusual for the Thracian religion.

The Fol's epigraphic inquiry shows that the Spanish provinces yielded a low number of epigraphic evidence on the Thracians in the auxilia²⁵⁶. There was only one permanent auxiliary regiment no. 35 (*cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca*) assigned for garrison in the Spanish provinces, although temporary no. 12 was also stationed in the peninsula in the first half of the 1st century. Thracians were documented in *ala Taurorum victrix* garrisoned in Spain²⁵⁷. The Thracian community in Spain appears therefore in strikingly small number. A significant Thracian community in the peninsula can not be sustained in the light of the available epigraphic evidence thus far, even if some plaques dedicated to the Thracian deity Sabazios have been found at Ampurias²⁵⁸. This is in a certain measure rather

²⁵¹ Velkov, Fol 1977, nos. 371, 372, 383, 384; Speidel 1982, 167–169; 1984, 333–335.

²⁵² Velkov, Fol 1977, 83, no. 441.

²⁵³ Speidel 1984, 334.

²⁵⁴ Fol 1969, 242–243.

²⁵⁵ RIB 727.

²⁵⁶ Fol 1968, 246–247; Garcia y Bellido 1961, 114–160; Roldan 1976, 125–145; 1974; see also Le Roux 1982 passim who renders all the records of the Thracians in the military in the Spanish provinces.

²⁵⁷ *Iulius Longinus Doles*, *Fuscus Dorilsis* and *Sulpicius Susulla* (CIL II 2984 = ILS 2516), while *Fuscus Dorilsis* was a soldier in *cohors IIII Thracum* (AE 1928, 165) (see below).

²⁵⁸ Bruhl 1932, 35–43.

* The bracketed letters E and P attached to the names stand for *E(ques)* and *P(edes)* an aspect which will be analyzed in a separate paragraph below.

surprising, for Spain has roughly the same geographical and climatic characteristics with Thrace and would have been a propitious country for Thracian civilians or veterans to settle.

4. The distribution of the Thracian recruits *per alas*, *cohortes* and *numeros*

The epigraphic inquiry encompassed a number of ca. 220 certainly identified military of Thracian origin distributed in the Thracian and non Thracian auxilia. They were largely scattered *per alas* and *per cohortes* in the auxiliary regiments to meet the requirements of the regular supply with new contingents according to their skills and handiness in fighting as pedestrians, horsemen or archers. The considerable number of Thracians in all the categories of auxiliary units demonstrates how intense the levies were, the good demographic situation of the Thracian lands and particularly the credit given by the Roman administration to the quality of the recruits enlisted in this area.

As we analyzed the situation of the Thracian auxiliaries in the regiments labeled *Thracum* and dealt with several times, the following approach will envisage only the Thracians in the auxiliary units of other origin. The entire lot appears distributed in the three categories of auxiliary forces as follows*:

Regiments of other origin

Alae

Afrorum: *Oluper Cargaepuri f.* [?].

I Asturum: *M. Aurelius Teres; Meticus Solae f.*

I Augusta civium Romanorum: *Sitalus Cultra f.*

I Flavia Britannica: *Aurelius Mucatralis; Aurelius Disas, Aurelius Pimetaica; Aurelius Passer; Mucatralis*

I Brittonum: *Certus Denturasadi f.*

I Cannanefatium: *Aulusanus; Bersolus; Brincasis; T. Flavius Surillo*

Claudia milliarensis: *Aurelius Moca*

I Ulpia Contariorum: *Aurelius Lupus et Aulupor; Aurelius Surus; Ulpus Aulucentius; Ulpus Eptatralis f.; Ulpus M[...] Valenti f.; Aurelius Bassus; Aurelius Bithus; Aurelius Doriso; Aurelius Dolens; Aurelius Teres; Marcius Cotus, Aelius Bithus*

Electorum: *Aurelius Cotes*

I Flavia Numidica: *Mucianus (?)*

I Flavia Gaetulorum: *[...]lus Iresi f.; Aelius Mucatralis; Lucius Satur[i] f.*

I Gallorum et Bosporanorum: *Heptapor Isi f.*

II Gallorum: *M. Antonius Rufus Marci f.*

II Hispanorum Aravacorum: *Aurelius Cotus*

Illyricorum: *Aurelius Valens (?)*

Indiana: *Flavius Bitucus*

Noricorum: *T. Flavius Bassus Mucale f.; T. Suratralis Didilae f.*

I Pannoniorum: *Quintus Mucatralis f.; Spinus Mucaceni f.*

II Pannoniorum: *Aurelius Tato; Bitus; Brisenus; Dines; Mucapa; Aurelius Pisu[sus]*

Petriana: *Eptacentus*

VII Phrygum: *[...]; [...] Bithi f.*

Praetoria Singularium: *Bithus [...] iae f.; Gisusetus Heptase f.*

Scubulorum: *T. Flavius Celsus*

Siliana: *[...] Biti f.*

Sulpicia: *Longinus Biarta Bisae f.; M. Aemilius Durises*

Tautorum victrix *alias* Tauriana (?): *Fuscus Biti f.*; *Iulius Longinus Doles Biticenti f.*; *Fuscus Bitius*; *Sulpicius Susulla*

I Tungrorum Frontoniana: *Aurelius Brisanus*; *Aurelius Mucatus*; *Aurelius Maximianus*; *Aelius Mu[...]*; *Bitugentus*; *Cusides Disalae f.*; [...]*s Mucapor*; *Mucapuis*; *Sola Mucatri f.*; [?].

I Vespasiana Dardanorum: *Aurelius Pistus*; *Aurelius Sudius*; *Aurelius Mestrius*; *Aurelius Mucianus*; *Aurelius Vitalis*; *Aurelius Diogenes*; *Iulius Faustus*; *Flavius Valens*; *Aelius Bonus*; *Flavius Bassus*; *Iulius Longinus*; *Aelius Severus*; *Aurelius Victor*; *Iulius Valentinus*

veterana Gallica: *Bruzenus Delsasi f.*; *Seuthes [...] is f.*; *Aululanus*; *Aululanus*; *Bitecus*; *Bitsius*; *Cocas*; *D[...]rspor*; *Dolens*; *[D]ules*; *Solas*; *Cardentus Biticenti f.*

Unidentified cavalry regiments

[?]: [?]

(?): *T. Iulius N[...] Re[...]*; *Tarsa*; *Tarsinus*

(?): *Aurelius Pirurus*

(?): *Flavius Bassus*

(?): *Aelius Diogenes*

(?): *Iulius Valens*

(?): *Iulius Bitaus*

(?): *Bithus*

Cohortes

I Aurelia Dardanorum: *Sita Sumi f.* (P); *Aurelius Tatius* (P)

II Aurelia Dardanorum milliaria equitata: *Flavius Bithus*. E

Aureliana Pimasensium: *Aurelius Surius* (P)

I Aquitanorum veterana equitata: *Rufus Valentinus Tabusi f.*; (P) *Mucapor Eptacentis f.* (E); *Thavus Casiporis f.* E

II Bracaraugustanorum equitata: *Marius Celsus* (?) (E)

I Bracarum: *Bicanus* (P)

I Britannica milliaria equitata: *Aurelius Tzinta* (E); *Blasa* (E)

II Britannica milliaria equitata: [...]*li Bithi* (E)

I Ulpia Brittonum milliaria equitata: *Mucatralis Bithi f.* (E)

III Campestris: *Aurelius Tara* (P).

I Cilicum milliaria equitata sagittaria: *Aurelius Ditusanus* (P)

Claudia milliariensis: *Aurelius Moca* (P)

I Concordensium: *Traianus Mucianus* (P)

II Gallorum: *M. Antonius Rufus Marci f.*(P)

II Gallorum Pannonica equitata: *Aulenus Her [...]* (E)

III Gallorum equitata: *C. Iulius Valens* (E)

II Hemessenorum equitata: *Aurelius Sumus* (P)

II Lucensium equitata: *Aurelius Tarsas* (P); *Flavius Mestrius* (P)

II Mattiacorum: *Clagissa Clagissae f.* (P)

I Montanorum: *Soio Muscelli f.* (P)

Musulamiorum equitata: *Bithus Seuthi f.* (P)

II Flavia Numidarum equitata (?): *M. Traidacus* (E)

II Varcianorum singularium: *Petitor Pirobori f.* (P)

I Vindelicorum milliaria equitata: *Brisanus Aulusani f.* (P)

(?): [...]*um civium Romanorum: [...]cti f.* (P *vel* E)

Numeri

C. P.: *Antonius Mercurius*. (E) *civium Romanorum*

Equitum Batavorum: *Aurelius Bithus* (E)

Equitum Illyricorum: *Bithus Solae f.* (E); *Coccae Tyru f.* (E)

Maurorum Optatiensium: *Aurelius Bassus* (P)

Palmyrenorum Porolissensium: *Mucianus* (P)

Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium: *Mucatra Brasi* (P); *Mucapor Mucatralis* (P)

Unidentified infantry regiments

(?): *Caecilius Domatus* (P ?)

(?): [...] *oli* (P ?)

(?): *Aurelius Mucapaibes* (P)

(?): *Ilius Bitaus* (E?)

The statistics displayed above, based on the available epigraphic evidence is certainly far from showing the real dimension of the distribution of Thracian soldiers in the Imperial auxilia. Rigorously speaking, the present picture includes information on the state of affairs at a given moment, when the individual was recorded in the document. However, one can not ignore the likelihood that some of the soldiers could have initially served in other units and later transferred to other regiments. From that viewpoint the information is incomplete and in a certain measure impinges on the true image of their previous or later careers. Two examples from this stand point are eloquent. An inscription in Rome, mentioned above, set to celebrate the returning (*ob reditum*) of the emperor Elagabalus on 29 September 219, records *cives Batavi sive (= et) Thraces* from Germania Inferior who had been transferred to the *equites singulares* corps in Rome²⁵⁹. Both Batavians and Thracians were *adlecti ex provincia Germania inferiore* which means that they had been selected from Batavian and Thracian cavalry regiments but also from other units stationed in Lower Germany. With this occasion, ala I Thracum must have released a certain number of *equites*.

Another case is the transfer of a body of 13 *equites* of Thracian origin with their squadron commander (*decurio*), 14 in all, from ala I (Vespasiana) Dardanorum stationed at Arrubium. They had been reassigned to the Imperial bodyguards (*equites singulares*) before 2 August 241, the date of the inscription set probably when they arrived at Rome, or shortly after²⁶⁰. It was a common procedure to supply this category of troops with the best and reliable horsemen from cavalry units²⁶¹.

The mapping of the distribution of the Thracians in provincial auxilia offers the following picture:

Dacia

Alae 18: I Tungrorum Frontoniana: 7; II Pannoniorum: 6; Gallorum et Bosporanorum: 1; Siliana: 1; Illyricorum: 1(?); Electorum: 1; I Asturum: 1

Cohortes 6: I Vindellicorum milliaria equitata: 1; I Britannica milliaria equitata: 3; cohors I Brittonum milliaria: 1; cohors II Gallorum Pannonica equitata: 1.

²⁵⁹ CIL VI 31162 = ILS 2188. The inscription is dedicated to *Hercules Magusanus*, a Romano-German deity largely worshipped in the military milieu on the Lower Rhine valley. The Thracian horsemen in this group were lesser in number, as shown from the second place on which they are mentioned, after the Batavians who were more numerous, and therefore had to accept the protective deity of the majority.

²⁶⁰ CIL VI 31164 = ILS 2189 = Mateescu 1923, 244. Compared to the inscription of the Batavian and Thracian soldiers where a mixed body of two different nationals were involved, the body in minority having had to accept the deity of the majority, all the 13 *conalares* of ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum were likely Thracian from the local milieu and therefore the dedication could have been done by individuals worshiping all *I(upiter) O(ptimus) M(aximus) Deus Sabadius*.

²⁶¹ CIL VI 3234, in which a sizable number of Dacians are *adlecti ex ala I Illyricorum* and transferred to the *equites singulares* corps in Rome; cf. also CIL VI 3238 *equites* from *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum*.

Numeri 6: Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium: 2; Palmyrenorum Porolissensium: 1; Maurorum Optatiensium: 1; Equitum Illyricorum: 2.

Commentary

Dacia exhibits thirty soldiers of Thracian origin, the most numerous group compared to other provinces²⁶². Two individuals, *Cusides Disalae f.* and *Bitugentus*, his heir, joined the unit while it was still garrisoned in Pannonia, in Trajanic period²⁶³, shortly before being dispatched to Dacia under Hadrian. All the other elements recorded in the province were enlisted into the regiments after 106, which is eloquent for the policy of the Roman administration of directing massive fresh contingents towards this district. The great majority of the recorded soldiers (22) belong to the cavalry regiments, either as simple horsemen (*equites gregales*) or as NCOs. Doubts are still hovering whether the two Palmyrenian *numeri* were cavalry, infantry, or mixed units (see below), but the ratio between the two categories of troops remains unchanged. As it appears, the distribution was made exclusively towards the regiments stationed in the northern half of the province and none to the units stationed in its southern part. A significant concentration of Thracian military (active soldiers, veterans) (20) is noticeable in Dacia Porolissensis at Căței, Ilișua, Porolissum, Gherla, Sutor, while a rather low presence (four military) occurs in eastern Dacia at Cristești, Brâncovenești, and Hoghiz, where the Norico-Pannonian element appears in significant number as results from archaeological research²⁶⁴.

In the south western parts of the province the concentration is again slight with only three military at Tibiscum. The ratio of the distribution between north, west, and east appears eloquent in relation with the importance of the Dacian limes sectors. The key vault of the defense of Dacia had the greatest concentration of Thracian soldiers in the province, while Tibiscum, where only three Thracian soldiers are known, relied more on its Palmyrenian and Norican garrisons.

A remarkable fact is the penetration of the Thracian soldiers in the regiments of Palmyrenian origin, a field essentially reserved for contingents of Orientals. They might have been enlisted as a result of a quick provisional and handy supply with a contingent of some size. Otherwise, a mass and steady penetration into this particular and rather ethnically exclusivist club of regiments is difficult to be conceived²⁶⁵.

Except the MDs that required an official socio-ethnic identification, the inscriptions in Dacia bear no patent indication of an *origo* of southern Thracian provenance of the soldiers in the auxilia, although the Thracian origin of the bearers is beyond any doubt by name and cultural features. The fact is barely explainable, although it shows the reality of strong Thracian communities that originally settled in the new province and perpetuated their personal names in a highly intimately cultural and linguistic environment without the feeling that the origin must be always displayed.

Moesia Inferior

Alae 12: I Asturum: 1; I Vespasiana Dardanorum: 13; II Hispanorum Aravacorum: 1; I Flavia Gaetulorum 2; unidentified 2.

Cohortes 9: II Gallorum: 1; II Mattiacorum: 1; II Lucensium: 2; II Aurelia Pimasensium *vel* Prima Sensium: 1; I Cilicum: 1; III Gallorum: 1; I (?)Claudia (Sygamborum veterana equitata?) milliariensis (milliaria?): 1; I Bracarum: 1.

Numeri: 1: Numerus C[...] P[...]: *numerus civium Romanorum* 1.

²⁶² An all out statistics for the Thracian element in Dacia: Russu 1967, 85–105; Protase 1968, 339–344; 1994, 35–42; for auxilia in Dacia see Petolescu 2002, 61–154.

²⁶³ RIU 1120.

²⁶⁴ Macrea 1969, 254; Protase 2002, 156.

²⁶⁵ The oriental regiments in Dacia: Christescu 1937, 180–200, passim; Russu 1969, 170–176; Tudor 1971, 659–661; Petolescu 2002, passim.

Commentary

The epigraphic evidence for Lower Moesia yielded twenty two soldiers of Thracian origin²⁶⁶. As in the case of Dacia, the preponderance belongs to the cavalry regiments (twelve individuals), plus eventually one horseman from the enigmatic numerus C[...] P[...], and eight in the infantry units. Five horsemen in ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum bear Romano-Thracian names, but in fact all the 14 individuals recorded in the inscription were Thracians, for the inscription was dedicated *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Sabadio Sacrum* a typical Thraco-Phrygian deity and assumed by all soldiers of the same nation transferred to the *equites singulares* corps in Rome (see above)²⁶⁷.

Ala I Asturum was part of the army of Lower Moesia in the 1st century. After 118 it belonged to the army of Lower Dacia, later Dacia Malvensis²⁶⁸. A soldier of Thracian origin who had served in Dacia Inferior returned south of the Danube, and settled in the region of Serdica around 200²⁶⁹. Cohors II Pimasensium Aureliana or Prima Sensium is recorded in an inscription from Ljublen and seems a second half of the 2nd century creation²⁷⁰. However, the regiment is rather unclear as to its provenance although its record in the text of the dedication to the Thracian Hero as *COH PIMASENS AVRE* is unambiguous²⁷¹. In case the regiment is *Pimasensium* that becomes even more puzzling. In case it is *Prima Sensium*, that would clarify a lot, as *Senses* are a Dacian tribe recorded in Ptolemy²⁷².

Cohors Claudia milliarenis poses a problem of identification. The Thracian soldier from *vicus Zatidis* in Dardania, *Aurelius Moca* served in the regiment at mid 3rd century²⁷³. He was part of a levy in that region and distributed or transferred to this apparently mysterious cohort. There were only two sister-infantry regiments known as Claudia in MDs and inscriptions, one is the Lower Moesian regiment cohors I Claudia Sygambrorum veterana equitata and another in Syria, cohors I Claudia Sygambrorum tironum equitata²⁷⁴. One of the two regiments were dispatched around Aquileia at mid 3rd century to boost the defense of the city, with which occasion it could have been turned into a *milliaria* cohort to increase its number and combat force.

The entries of contingents in the Lower Moesian auxiliary regiments appear directed especially towards eastern Lower Moesia, between the Danube and the Black sea, where the concentration of troops is quite remarkable. Recruits from Lower Moesia were sent locally to supply units stationed in the province, as the case of the Abrittus-born *M. Antonius Rufus*, shows²⁷⁵. The unit could have been very well stationed at Altinum (Oltina), in whose surroundings the veteran probably settled. The proximity of Abrittus from Altinum fort shows how sometimes recruits from the regiments' headquarters neighboring area were preferentially poured into the closest units. Another case is *Aelius Mucatralis* from ala I Flavia Gaetulorum, likely a native from the strong southern Thracian (Bessian)

²⁶⁶ The auxilia of Lower Moesia: Beneš 1978, 1–120; Aricescu 1977, 47–106; Matei-Popescu 2004, 173–242.

²⁶⁷ See n. 260. The Roman names are: *Iulius Faustus*, *Flavius Valens*, *Aelius Bonus*, *Aurelius Vitalis*, *Flavius Bassus*, *Iulius Longinus*, *Aelius Severus*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Iulius Valentinus*. It is worth noting that the Roman names were written on the top of the list while the Romano-Thracians at the back, with *Aurelius Diogenes*, a Romano-Greek name on the last position.

²⁶⁸ Petolescu 2002, 62–63; Matei-Popescu 2004, 175–177.

²⁶⁹ IDRE II 353.

²⁷⁰ Beneš 1978, 51 no. 125.

²⁷¹ On the regiment see also: Filov 1906, 77–78; Gerov 1950–1952, 58; Gerov 1950–1952, 58 was the first to suggest *coh(ors)P(r)i(ma) Sens(ium) Aur(eliana)*; CCET II 1 67–68, no. 567.

²⁷² Ptol. *Geogr.* 3, 8. 5.

²⁷³ CIL V 898. *Moca* is a typical Thracian name (Dechev 1976, 310), but it hardly occurs in the Illyrian onomastics (cf. Russu 1969, 226).

²⁷⁴ For the Danubian regiment see Beneš 1978, 51–52; Aricescu 1977, 63; Matei-Popescu 2004, 225–226; for the Syrian unit: Spaul 2000, 485; Weiss 2006, 277–278.

²⁷⁵ CIL XVI 44 (99). *Cohors II Gallorum* was garrisoned in the eastern part of Lower Moesia already by 92 (Petolescu, Popescu, 2003, 88) and later (CIL XVI 44, 50, 58).

community in Dobrudja²⁷⁶. The dedicatory inscription was found at Histria, while the regiment was stationed possibly at Tomis, some 50km south, around 152²⁷⁷.

The regiments in the province continued to be supplied with recruits from the Bessian lands as shown by the Bessian soldiers in ala I Asturum, cohorts II Mattiacorum, and ala I Flavia Gaetulorum.

A centurio of the cohorts I Bracarum, *Bicanus*, is recorded in the 2nd century at Chersonesus²⁷⁸. The unit was part of the Lower Moesians army²⁷⁹. It could have sent only a detachment, but it also could have been entirely stationed at Chersonesus, the core of the Roman occupation in the north Pontic area²⁸⁰. If the garrisoning was longer, in the first half of the 2nd century, one can not rule out the likelihood that Bicanus could have been enlisted locally, from the important stock of Thracian population.

Moesia Superior

Cohortes 5: III Campestris 1; I Aurelia Dardanorum: 3; II Aurelia Dardanorum 1

Commentary

The low number of soldiers of Thracian origin in Upper Moesia is explainable through the supply of the auxiliary regiments mainly with recruits from Illyro-Pannonian area. The two Dardanian cohorts created during Marcus Aurelius could have also contained originally a number of Thracian recruits from Dardania. This is suggested by the 2nd century inscription from Retimlje (Orahovac) which mentions a *Sita, Sumi f.* as cornicularius of the cohort deceased when he was 40, during his service²⁸¹. Another case is *Aurelius Tatius* from the same unit whose name is of Illyrian but also Thracian tinge²⁸². Cohors III Campestris might have received a slight Thracian influx during the period when it was dispatched south of the Danube, possibly at Prahovo (Aquae) between 110 and 160²⁸³.

Thrace

Cohortes 2: II Flavia Numidarum 1; II Bracaraugustanorum 1

Commentary

Cohors II Flavia Numidarum was stationed in Moesia inferior in late 1st and early 2nd century, possibly guarding the Shipka pass²⁸⁴. It was reassigned to Dacia Inferior, sometime in the third decade of the 2nd century where it is recorded for the first time in a MD of 129²⁸⁵. The regiment was moved to Thrace by mid 2nd century, for a soldier of Thracian origin, *Marcus Traidacus*, a horseman in the regiment set a bilingual (Greek and Latin) inscription to *Celsus Marius*, an ex-horseman in cohorts II Bracaraugustanorum equitata, which continued to be stationed in Thrace, during Marcus Aurelius²⁸⁶. Whether or not Celsus was a Thracian is hard to say exactly, for there is no specific mention, although

²⁷⁶ Suceveanu 1998, 109–114.

²⁷⁷ Aricescu 1977, 52; Beneš 1978, 3, no. 13; Matei-Popescu 2004, 179–183.

²⁷⁸ IOSPE I² 553 = ILS 9160.

²⁷⁹ Beneš 1978, 19–20, no. 54; Aricescu 1977, 57; Matei-Popescu 2004, 194–195.

²⁸⁰ The Roman army in the north Pontic area: Sarnowski 1989, 61–97.

²⁸¹ ILIug. 1435.

²⁸² Russu 1969, 252–253; Dechev 1976, 494.

²⁸³ Beneš 1978, 23, no. 64.

²⁸⁴ Beneš 1978, 47, no. 113; Petolescu 2002, 118, no. 52. Attested by a military diploma from 116, Eck, Pangerl 2006, 99–102, no. 3.

²⁸⁵ IDR II, 10; the unit continued to be recorded in Dacia Inferior in 130 (IDRE II 473), 140 (IDR I 13) and 146 (Petolescu 2002, 118, n. 10).

²⁸⁶ IGB III/2, 174bis = IDRE II 350 = AE 1965, 347; Oppermann 2006, 223. Cohors II Bracaraugustanorum is recorded in RMD 14 (114); Aricescu 1977, 57, no. 10; Beneš 1978, 19, no. 53; Matei-Popescu 2004, 195–196 no. 14. If it is not a nickname, Traidacus would betray rather a Dacian origin, as the name suggests.

the image of the Thracian horseman on the top of the monument strongly suggests this origin for both soldiers.

Pannonia Superior/Inferior

Alae 23: ala Tungrorum Frontoniana: 2; I Cannanefatium Civium Romanorum: 4; I Ulpia contariorum milliaria civium Romanorum: 12; I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum: 5

Cohortes 1: I Montanorum 1

Commentary

There are 23 Thracian horsemen in all mentioned in four *alae* in the two Pannonian provinces. The figure is rather high and it is an apparent indication that the army of the two Danubian districts was steadily supplied with sizable groups of Thracian recruits. The two horsemen from ala Tungrorum Frontoniana were recruited in the last quarter of the 1st century (see above). *Bitugentus* set the monument for his companion before the regiment was reassigned to Dacia in 118/119²⁸⁷. Ala I Cannanefatium was garrisoned in the 2nd–3rd century at *Gerulata* (Rušovce)²⁸⁸. The supply of the unit with Thracian contingents could have continued in the 2nd century and particularly at late 2nd and early 3rd century, when this process received a considerable input as a result of the Septimius Severus' policy to promote the contribution of the Lower Danubian lands, especially Thrace, to the Roman army. The place name *Gerulata* is obviously of Dacian origin and might reflect a traditional Daco-Thracian environment, whereas the preference of the Roman authorities to direct Thracian contingents towards the cavalry regiment stationed here. This could be exemplified by the case of *T. Flavius Surillo*, a Thracian, *stator praefecti alae*, who sets a votive altar in 212²⁸⁹ and the group of *decuriones*, *duplarii*, and *sesquiplicarii*, who also set a collective altar on which at least three of them (*Bersolus*, *Aulusanus*, and *Brincasis*) are of unquestionable Thracian origin²⁹⁰.

Ala I Ulpia contariorum garrisoned the Arrabona (Győr) fort from early 2nd through first half of the 3rd century²⁹¹. The unit received Thracian contingents since the beginning of its occupation of the fort, in early Trajanic period. Two Thracian horsemen (*Ulpus Eptatralis* and his heir *Aulucentus*) are already reported in late Trajanic period²⁹². The Thracian afflux continued in the first half of the 3rd century. A Thracian veteran from this regiment, Aurelius Teres, *heres* of a veteran from the same unit set an inscription for him and his freedwoman²⁹³, while another Thracian veteran, *ex statore praefecti*, *Aurelius Doriso*, coagulates around him his family of Thracian origin sometime in the first half of the 3rd century²⁹⁴.

The grounding of a massive offensive during Trebonianus Gallus aimed at striking in the very heart of the Sassanian state, an event which occurred only a few months later, under Valerian, in the autumn of A.D. 253. The episode reveals without a shadow of doubt how extensive the supply of Pannonian army with Thracians recruits was in the first half of the 3rd century. Groups of Thracian military-men from ala I Ulpia Contariorum and I Flavia Britannica appear at Apamea on Orontes, in Syria, around 252, one of the bases of the Roman army in the staging area of the anti-Persian war. The detachment from the Pannonian army at Apamea shows oldness and long years of service of the soldiers, justified through the need of long experienced forces against a powerful hostile²⁹⁵.

²⁸⁷ Lörincz 2001, 17–18, no. 7.

²⁸⁸ On the *Gerulata* fort see n. 227.

²⁸⁹ AE 1972, 444; Hošek 1985, 22–23, no. 4; Lörincz, 2001, 180. no. 75.

²⁹⁰ AE 1966, 292; 1972, 446; Hošek 1985, 39–40, no. 13; Lörincz 2001, 182, no. 79.

²⁹¹ Lörincz 2001, 18–19, no. 9.

²⁹² CIL III 4378 = RIU 261; Russu 1978, 202–205; Lörincz 2001, 186, no. 93.

²⁹³ CIL III 4370 = RIU 262; Lörincz 2001, 191, no. 108.

²⁹⁴ CIL III 4369 = RIU 260; Lörincz 2001, 191, no. 107.

²⁹⁵ Balty 1988, 102–103 brings fresh arguments for the date of these inscriptions and last stage preparations of war in 252 on the basis of the Syriac Chronicle of A.D. 724, otherwise known as the Liber Calipharum-which offers a firm date (Sel. 563 =

Aurelius Dolens from ala I Ulpia Contariorum was 50 when he died and had 26 years of service, which means that he could have been levied in ca. 226²⁹⁶. *Aurelius Surus*, another Thracian soldier served 20 and lived 45. If we take in consideration the year 252 as the date of the group of inscriptions set by the soldiers from the regiment at Apamea that gives 232 as year of his enlistment²⁹⁷. If so, this is a best indication that the Thracian levies continued to massively join the troop during the Severan dynasty. Another Thracian soldier, *Aurelius Bassus* was 29 when he died at Apamea at 21 April 252 after 8 years of service. *Aurelius Cotus*, a Thracian *decurio* in the ala, set the epitaph for Bassus²⁹⁸. The latter, together with a sizable number of other young recruits appear to have been levied in Thrace in 244 and sent to the cavalry regiment with which he was later dispatched to Apamea.

Five horseman of definite Thracian origin are recorded in ala I Flavia Britannica, at Apamea, in 251–252, in relation with the same event: *Aurelius Mucatralis*, *Aurelius Passer*, *Mucatralis*, *Aurelius Disas*, and *Aurelius Pimetaica*²⁹⁹. A substantial detachment of the regiment seems to have been garrisoned in Apamea at that time. Aurelius Mucatralis, a *tubicen*, lived 35 years and was killed in action in *espeditione hori[en]talem* after a service of ten year, an evidence that shows his recruitment in 242, when he was 25. Aurelius Passer, *cornicen*, could have been his best friend and heir and set the tombstone together with Mucatra. Aurelius Disas was a *cornicen* in the detachment who died at 32, after 11 years of service, and therefore was enlisted in 241³⁰⁰. Aurelius Pimetaica was his second heir and sets the tombstone.

The eleven Thracian soldiers from the two cavalry regiments based at Apamea represent only a facies of the coherent policy of a 3rd century intensified process of fully using the demographic potential of Thrace for the supply with substantial contingents of the Pannonian army and not only.

Germania Superior / Inferior

Alae 6: Scubulorum 1; ala Sulpicia 2; ala Noricorum 2; ala Afrorum 1
Cohortes 4: I Aquitanorum veterana 3; II Varcianorum 1.

Commentary

Five Thracian horsemen are recorded in the cavalry regiments in Lower Germany³⁰¹. One single case is known for Upper Germany in ala Scubulorum³⁰². With one exception, *T. Suratralis Didilae*, who was on duty by late 2nd or early 3rd century in ala Noricorum³⁰³, the date of the other services go all into the 1st century, when the entry of fresh levies reached momentum. The thus far known individuals were recruited roughly between 68 and 80. Clear evidence is missing for the 2nd century, but the supply of some units of non-Thracian origin on the Rhine valley must have continued, as suggested by the date of the above mentioned horseman *Suratralis* from Durnomagus (Deurne).

Thracian recruits for infantry regiments on the Rhine appear at an early period. *Mucatralis Eptacenti f.*³⁰⁴ was discharged on time from the cohorts I Aquitanorum veterana, in 90, which means he

A.D. 251/2) and confirms the important minting of Trebonianus Gallus at Antioch. See also Christol 1975, 803–827; Ball 2001, 114–115. Another option could be that the war waged by Gordian III against Persia which ended in 243 with a crushing defeat of the Persians in the battle of Resaena implied the previous build up of a large staging area and concentration of forces, with which occasion a considerable Pannonian strength could have been sent to the theatre of war.

²⁹⁶ Balty, van Regen 1993, 47, pl. 21; Lörincz 2001, 193, no. 115. Besides the typical Thracian name, *Dolens* indicates also his origin through *hopitus domo Thracia*. *Hopitus* is a rather puzzling word likely meaning *born in*.

²⁹⁷ Balty, van Regen 1993, 53 pl. 27; Lörincz 2001, 194, no. 119.

²⁹⁸ The date is unambiguous: *XI kal(endas) Maias Gallo et Volusiano cons<u>libus*.

²⁹⁹ Balty, van Regen 1993, 51, pl. 25; Lörincz 2001, 177, no. 65; cf. Balty 1988, 103.

³⁰⁰ Balty, van Regen 1993, 52, pl. 26; Lörincz 2001, 178, no. 66.

³⁰¹ For the Roman army in Lower Germany see Alföldy 1968, 3–80.

³⁰² The Roman army in Upper Germany a general view at: Baatz 1974, 9–355.

³⁰³ CIL XIII 8524; Alföldy 1968, 25–28, no. 10; 182, no. 52.

³⁰⁴ CIL XVI 36.

was recruited in 65. The soldier from cohorts II Varcianorum stationed in Lower Germany in Flavian times³⁰⁵, *Petitor*, *Pirobori*'s son, was soon transferred to the singulares guard in Rome. *Piroborus* seems rather Dacian³⁰⁶, even if the votive altar set by him dates from Flavian or Trajanic period.

Numidia; Mauretania Tingitana

Alae 4: I Pannoniorum 2; ala Flavia 1; ala Augusta 1.

Cohortes 1: (?)[...]um Civium Romanorum 1

Commentary

Horsemen are also in majority in the North African provinces in comparison with infantry men. Numidia displays cavalry men in ala I Pannoniorum and Flavia, the latter identifiable with ala I Flavia Numidica³⁰⁷. *Mucianus* from ala Flavia is a common name in both Roman and Thracian onomastics, but it appears more often in the Thracian environment³⁰⁸. Both horsemen in ala I Pannoniorum are recorded in the 2nd century at Aïn Kerma, where the regiment had a detachment³⁰⁹. Mauretania Tingitana has a well known tradition of being supplied with Thracian recruits (see above), although there was no Thracian regiment in the province³¹⁰. The soldier in ala I Augusta recorded in the Pernik MD (109), *Sitalus Cultra f.* was recruited in 84, although one could think to a larger enrollment for the African province with that occasion. A problem arises as to the unknown unit of Mauretania Tingitana [...] *um civium Romanorum* from which a certain [...] *cti f.*, *Thracus* was discharged also in 109. The unit could be any ala or a cohort from the wide range of regiments ending in *um* in the Mauretanian province.

Syria, Arabia

Alae 2: ala VII Phrygum; see also the discussion for Pannonia Superior/Inferior

Cohortes 2: Musulamiorum equitata: 1; II Hemessenorum equitata: 1

Commentary

Two soldiers of Thracian origin are recorded in ala VII Phrygum, both with unknown name. One labels himself *Densala* in 158, a remarkable proof that the old tradition of stressing the tribal affiliation was still vivid in the second half of the 2nd century Thrace³¹¹.

The evidence for cohorts Musulamiorum is a Bessian infantry-man (*pedes*), *Bithus Seuthi f.*, discharged in 88. He was levied in 63 when a significant recruitment took place in Thrace, in the Bessiké strategy inclusively. The small number of Thracians in the non-Thracian regiments of the province is rather surprising, for it is known the deliberate policy of the Roman administration to massively directing recruits towards this province in the 1st century, although Syria was not a preferred ground for the settlement of the veterans of Thracian origin. The inscription of *Aurelius Sumus*, of Moesian origin, *Mensiacus* comes from Bordeaux and dates from the end of the 2nd or early 3rd century³¹². As sizable parts of the Eastern Pescennius Niger's army, after his defeat, were included into

³⁰⁵ Alföldi 1968, 74–75, no. 32; 215, no. 161.

³⁰⁶ The root *Pir* both for names and place names appears usually in Dacian context: *Pirum* (Ptol. *Geogr.* 3, 8. 4), *Pirusus* (CIL III 1607), *Pirurus*>*Pirulas* (Dechev 1976, 370, 386). The series of Dacian soldiers in the 1st century Imperial fleets and auxiliaries shows an important reserve of Dacian population south of the Danube, both as natives and communities transferred very likely by Aelius Aelianus in early 1st century A.D.

³⁰⁷ I LAIlg. 2, 8467 = AE 1930, 133 (ala I Pannoniorum); AE 1942/1943, 77 (ala I Flavia Numidica); for the regiment in the army of Numidia see: Le Bohec 1989, 33–47; Spaul 1994, 107, no. 36.

³⁰⁸ On this particular *Mucianus* see: Pflaum 1978, 64; Samsaris 1989, 427, no. 166.

³⁰⁹ Pflaum 1978, 63; Samsaris 1989, 427, no. 168; on the regiment see: Spaul 1994, 167–172, no. 59.

³¹⁰ On the army of Mauretania Tingitana: Roxan 1973, 838–853.

³¹¹ Eck, Pangerl 2006, 185–191.

³¹² CIL XIII 595.

the Severus' expeditionary corps, a detachment of cohorts II Hemessenorum³¹³, could have received some contingents from the Danubian provinces-even if at a small scale- by the end of the 2nd century, when the last phase of the civil war ended with the complete defeat of his western rival in Gaul, Decimus Albinus.

Aegyptus

Alae 1: Veterana Gallica: 12

Commentary

The regiment is the result of the split of the older *ala Gallorum* and *Thracum Veterana*, an operation that took place before 91³¹⁴. Although the cavalry regiment can no longer be considered among the units of Thracian origin after that date, it is surprising to find out that out of the twelve cavalry men of the regiment, recorded in a list on the P. Lond 482, dated in 130, nine are certainly identified as Thracians³¹⁵. Their exact date of levy remains unknown, for they were still on duty when the list was drawn up, but the significant number of Thracians at only 40 years since the regiment had been moved to Egypt shows a traditional preference of the Roman authorities to habitually maintain the supply of this unit with contingents from his original homeland, even for a second generation of recruits. Two lists from Alexandria dated 179 and 199, respectively and reproducing soldiers' and *decuriones* names arranged by *turmae* does not contain a single Thracian name³¹⁶. This is more than eloquent for the drastic turn in the policy of the Roman administration of directing recruits from Balkan lands towards this regiment beginning with mid 2nd century.

Britannia

Alae 2: Indiana: 1; Petriana: 1

Commentary

There are two auxiliary soldiers, both horsemen of clear Thracian origin in non-Thracian regiments in Britain. *Flavius Bitucus* from *ala Indiana* took care of setting the tombstone, together with *Fulvius Natalis*, for *Dannicus* from the tribe of Rauraci, in Raetia. *Dannicus* was *eques* in the same regiment from the *Albanus'* squadron (*turma*), while it was stationed in Britain. The gentilice *Flavius* shows that the soldier has been given that name in the Flavian epoch.

A graffito within a footstand found at Corbridge, the headquarters of *ala Petriana* in the Flavian period shows an association of a Celtic and a Thracian name, *Vindalicius Eptacentus*: [...] *t Vindalici Eptacent[i]*. The first is Celtic, while the last is certainly Thracian. The authors of RIB suggest the reading *t(urma) Vindalici Eptacenti*, in which *Vindalicius* could have been a *decurion* and *Eptacentus* the owner of the object³¹⁷.

It is rather surprising that Britain shows the lowest number of Thracians in the provincial non-Thracian *auxilia* compared to other provinces. *Aurelius Mucianus* might be a second case for Britain³¹⁸, but a big question mark is still hovering on his identity.

Hispania

Alae 1: *Taurorum Victrix Civium Romanorum equitata*: 3.

³¹³ On the regiment originating from Emessa see: Spaul 2000, 415.

³¹⁴ See the discussion in chapter IV.

³¹⁵ ChLA III 203; Daris 1964, 38; Fink 1971, 80; Speidel 1982, 167–169.

³¹⁶ P. Hamb. 39; Meyer 1924, 158 (179); CIL III 14 (190).

³¹⁷ RIB 108 (*Flavius Bitucus*); 727 (*Vindalicius* and *Eptacentus*)

³¹⁸ On the regiments see Spaul 1994, 152–153 (*ala Indiana*); 180–182 (*ala Petriana*).

Commentary

The regiment is seriously doubted by Spaul, who prefers Tauriana instead of Taurorum³¹⁹. There are three Thracians recorded in this unit, the Bessian *Iulius Longinus Doles Biticenti f.*, *Sulpicius Susulla* and *Fuscus Bitius*, all part of a bigger group of Bessian recruits levied in Julio-Claudian period and sent specifically towards Spain to fill the gaps of this regiment. Longinus lived 40 years and served 22, and therefore died before the completion of the term. The tombstone was set in Flavian period, as the name Sulpicius would suggest.

Italy

Cohors 1: I Concordia: 1.

Commentary

The cohort is known in the inscription of *Traianus Mucianus* from Stara Zagora (Augusta Traiana Beroe), his birth place³²⁰. He was a prominent personage of the military and administrative hierarchy of the Roman Empire, as many other Thracians in the 3rd century. His career unfolded between Gallienus' and Aurelian's reigns. He began his career as simple miles in the *cohort* I Concordia. Spaul opines that this regiment could have been an ad hoc local *militia* added to the forces that defended the city of Colonia Concordia at mid 3rd century³²¹.

Unidentified *alae* and *cohortes*

The service-men recorded in some unidentified regiments can be considered on good ground as Thracians. Their typical names doubled or not by the deity they worshipped are key evidence for their attribution to the Thracian stock.

Commentary

The three individuals recorded on an inscription at Rome³²² were presumably Thracians. The horsemen *T. Iulius N[...] Re[...]* lived 25 and served 6, and therefore he was levied at 19. He seems to have been a Thracian. His comrades, *conalares*, *Tarsa* and *Tarsinus*, Thracians by their names, took care of setting the tombstone, as probably the closest co-nationals. *Aurelius Pirurus*, *miles alarix* shows a triple argument for his unquestionable Thracian origin: the typical name, *Pirurus*, the specific worshipped God, *Sanctus Pirmerulus*, and the image of the Thracian horsemen as particular and distinct deity of the Thracian world³²³. The presence of the Thracian elements in the cavalry regiments is also highlighted by two *decurions* whose dedications were made to the Thracian horsemen: *Iulius Valens* left a dedication at Glava Panega, the well known religious sanctuary of this wide spread and popular deity³²⁴, and Flavius Bassus a *veteranus ex decurione* who set a dedication in Greek at Todericen³²⁵. Also in Greek, Aelius Diogenes shows his loyalty to the God *Derzis*, probably in the very place where he had his family or a shrine lay³²⁶.

³¹⁹ Spaul 1994, 217–220. Le Roux 1982, 87–88 reads *Taurorum* on the basis of the today lost Calagurris inscription, CIL II 2984 = ILS 2516 = ILER 5595 which clearly mentions this name of the regiment.

³²⁰ On the career and personality of this famous Thracian military man see: IGR I 1496 = ILS 9479 AE 1908, 259 = IGB III/2 1570; Stein 1927, 145; Domaszewski 1967 (ed. Dobson), 185–192 and LVIII–LIX; Russu 1976, 36; Christol 1997, 393–408.

³²¹ Spaul 2000, 493.

³²² CIL VI 3601.

³²³ Katsarov 1927, no. 317, fig. 1 = idem, 1938, no. 602, fig. 300 = ILB 259; Oppermann 2006, 342, no. 606, pl. 52, 606.

³²⁴ Katsarov 1938, no. 359, fig. 193 = ILB 204 = Oppermann 2006, 350, no. 882, pl. 75, 882,

³²⁵ Katsarov 1938, no. 953, fig. 461 = IGB II 590 = Oppermann 2006, 351, no. 916, pl. 78, 916.

³²⁶ Katsarov 1938, no. 666, fig. 338 = CCET II/1 417; Oppermann 2006, 332, no. 331, pl. 29, 331.

A *miles* from an unidentified unit, very likely an auxiliary regiment, *Aurelius Mucapaibes* set a monument to the Thracian Hero (*Heroni*)³²⁷. His position as *miles* suggests a presence in an infantry rather than in a cavalry regiment.

An infantry unit must be seen also on an inscription, found at Sacidava (Muzait), set by *Claudia Cocceia* wife and *Aurelia Aelia* daughter of *Aurelius Ditusanus, strator tribuni*, who lived 48 and had been killed outside the province of Lower Moesia, likely north of the Danube (*in barbarico*). The only regiment of one thousand men in strength recorded at Sacidava was *cohors I Cilicum milliaria equitata*, which had an important detachment dispatched here by mid 2nd century³²⁸.

Other five individuals of Thracian origin served in unidentified regiments. At Caesarea, a *Bithus* could have theoretically belonged to *ala II Augusta Thracum* stationed in the city, but there is no clear proof on this affiliation³²⁹; *Aurelius Brincasus*, at Carnuntum, in Pannonia Superior, on a list of soldiers who dedicated the inscription *G(enio) C(ohortis) or C(astrorum)*³³⁰ of an unknown regiment; an incomplete name of a Bessian veteran on a MD, [...] *oli*, in a regiment in Lower Moesia³³¹.

Except *numerus equitum Batavorum*, likely identifiable with *numerus exploratorum Batavorum* garrisoned in Lower Germany³³² in which *Aurelius Bithus* served, the Thracian soldiers in *numeri* are recorded in the two neighboring Danubian provinces, Dacia and Lower Moesia, exclusively.

Numerus was an irregular unit in the Roman army and could have been either a cavalry or infantry regiment, depending on the fighting characteristics of the populations it was raised among³³³. The Thracians (*Bithus Solae f.*, *Aurelius Valens ?* and *Surus Coccae Tyru f.*) were certainly *equites* in *Numerus equitum Illyricorum*, and *numerus Illyricorum*, which later developed in *ala I Illyricorum*³³⁴.

Mauri were excellent horsemen who came in Dacia as a *Lusius Quietus*-led expeditionary corps³³⁵. In 158 they were known under the name of *Mauri Gentiles* in Dacia Superior, therefore undivided at that time. Later, they were split and distributed in different places of the province. But *Mauri* were both horsemen and infantry men as results from a MD granted to *Mauri equites et pedites qui sunt in Moesia superiore*³³⁶. There is no explicit indication whether *Numerus Maurorum* from *Optatiana* in Dacia, in which a Thracian soldier *Aurelius Bassus*, together with his family is recorded³³⁷ was a cavalry or infantry regiment. We might conveniently consider it a cavalry a unit.

Palmyreni were shown on the Trajan's column as on foot fighting archers. The epigraphic evidence on the character of the Palmyrenian units in Dacia brings no clarification. There are *equites* recorded in inscriptions but also *milites* and a *centurio*. That might be a clue on the dual character of these units³³⁸. The *Porolissum* regiment was split in an *ala* and *cohors* only in the 3rd century³³⁹. The

³²⁷ CCET 2, 2 no. 566.

³²⁸ Scorpan 1980, 210–211.

³²⁹ CIL VIII 25364. A *cohors I Traeci?* is mentioned with this occasion, but the regiment must be *cohors II Gemella Thracum*. Cf. Fol 1969, 58 no. 1097 and Pflaum 1978, 63 referring to the same inscription, but with different find spots.

³³⁰ CIL III 11111.

³³¹ Petolescu 2002, 154.

³³² The unit is recorded in Lower Germany on a building inscription (CIL XIII 8053) and also in Africa (CIL VIII 21668). See also Ep. Anat 1991, 33.

³³³ On the structure of the *numerus* see Southern 1989, 102–103.

³³⁴ RMD 39 = IDR I 13; Petolescu 2002, 132, no. 67; RMD 269. Petolescu 2002, 131–133, nos. 67, 68 rules out the possibility that there were two distinct regiments of Illyrians (*Illyricorum*), *numerus equitum* in Lower Dacia, at Hoghiz and another *numerus* recorded in a recently discovered MD (Petolescu, Corcheș 2002, 120–126) in Dacia Superior garrisoned at Brâncovenești. In the author's view the latter was the base for later reorganization in two stages: *ala I numeri Illyricorum* and *ala I Illyricorum*; see also Russu 1972, 75 no. 70; Beneš 1978, 58–59 no. 144.

³³⁵ Dio Cass. 68, 32. 4; Russu 1972, 75–76, nos. 71–77; Beneš 1978, 59, no. 145; Southern 1989, 92–94; Petolescu 2002, 134, nos. 69–74.

³³⁶ CIL XVI 114 = IDR I 29.

³³⁷ AE 1932, 81.

³³⁸ Southern 1989, 102–103.

³³⁹ Russu 1972, 73, 76, nos. 78–81; Beneš 1978, 60–62, nos. 153–155; Petolescu 2002, 138–143, nos. 75–77.

Tibiscum regiment had certainly a cavalry squad, for a *veteranus ex decurione*³⁴⁰ is recorded in an inscription, while on other occasions *militēs* that are usually considered foot-soldiers are recorded. *Mucatra Brasi* was an infantry-man as he identifies himself as *miles*, and so might have been *Mucapor Mucatralis* his *contubernalis* and heir³⁴¹.

It is difficult to establish the character of numerus C [...] P [...] mentioned in Moesia Inferior. *Antonius Mercurius*, who set a dedication to the Thracian Hero, was an *eques*³⁴², but it remains unclear whether the numerus was exclusively mounted or had a dual character.

From the numeri evidence, one can definitely count on a number of four *equites*, two *pedites*, and two NCOs (*signifer* and *optio*) with questionably membership.

5. The composition and tradition in the Thracian regiments

The number of individuals at disposal as evidenced from evaluation stimulates an attractive analysis as to the ratio horsemen-foot soldiers in the three existing categories of auxiliary regiments: *alae*, *cohortes*, and *numeri*.

The number of the known Thracian *equites* and *pedites* in the auxiliary regiments is summarized as follows:

Equites in alae, cohortes equitatae and numeri

Alae Thracum	Alae non-Thracum	Cohortes equitatae +Numeri
18	77	19
Total: 114		

Pedites in cohortes and numeri

Cohortes Thracum	Cohortes non-Thracum+Numeri
66	10
Total: 76	

Overall total of soldiers of Thracian origin in auxilia (*alae, cohortes, numeri*): **190** men.

There are 36 *alae*, 39 *cohortes*, and 6 *numeri* in the Roman army in which soldiers of Thracian origin are recorded. Some unidentifiable cavalry and infantry regiments bear evidence of having soldiers of Thracian origin. There are 114 *equites* and 76 *pedites* of Thracian origin known thus far.

The number of Thracian horsemen in the Roman army is quite remarkable. The ratio horseman vs. infantry men in auxilia is markedly in favor of the first category. The 12 *alae* labeled *Thracum* as well as the 114 horsemen recorded in different other regiments of non Thracian origin is a clear evidence of the reliability of the Thracians' qualities as excellent fighting horsemen in the eyes of the Roman authorities. It reflects and confirms the historical and archaeological sources.

From the remotest times Thracians were known as outstanding horsemen. The Thracian art representations from Early Iron Age to Hellenistic period had as one of its central theme the horse. The significant number of silver bridles and silver gilt in the hoard objects, silver beaker and jugs, golden objects, bear horse and horseman representation as the main theme³⁴³. The Thracian horseman (*Heros*)

³⁴⁰ IDR III/1, 158.

³⁴¹ IDR III/5, 559.

³⁴² AE 1911, 15.

³⁴³ Filow 1925; Berciu 1969, 9–17, 161–182; Venedikov, Gerasimov, 1975; Hoddinott 1981, 113–118; Alexandrescu 1983, 47–78; Paunov 1998, 76–82; Borisova, 2001, 177–184.

is the most representative religious symbol, the universal God, a Pantheos of the Thracian world, found in hundreds of monuments in Roman times, and it is closely related to the penchant of the Thracian philosophy towards horse and rider dualism³⁴⁴. It is surprising, however, that the horse and rider imagery are in most if not in all its aspects hunting scenes. Nevertheless this is not a fact to contradict the reputation of Thracians as excellent mounted warriors a reality which is plainly reflected in the ancient sources.

Homer praises the good Thracian charioteers and the good qualities of the king Rhesus' horses. The poet also speaks about "[...] the horse-breeders of Thrace, the Mysians, and fighters at close quarters [...]"³⁴⁵.

Thucydides relates, with a certain predilection for details, the composition of the Sitalkes' army raised against Macedonia. It shows explicitly that cavalry was a third part of his 150.000 men army raised in Thrace, therefore about 50,000 horsemen: "[...] the whole is said to have formed a grand total of a hundred and fifty thousand. Most of this was infantry, though there was about a third cavalry, furnished principally by the Odrysians themselves and next to them by the Getae"; [...] "he called on the Getae beyond Haemus, and the other populaces settled south of the Danube in the neighborhood of the Euxine, who border on the Scythians and are armed in the same manner, being all mounted archers (πάντες ἵπποτοξόται)[...]" Quite a few Thracian tribes living north of the Haemus Mountains must have adopted the same tactics. The Odrysae and Getae formed the biggest part of the cavalry force³⁴⁶. Sofocles in his tragedy about the Thracian king Tereus speaks about "the horses loving Thracians"³⁴⁷, while Strabon stresses on "the country of the Thracians, the horses' tamers and of Mysians the skillful close encounters warriors"³⁴⁸. The picture is confirmed by a passage from the Argonautical Orphics which mentions "Thrace, rich in horses"³⁴⁹. Thracian cavalry was a redoubtable one in the confrontation with Macedonians and Romans and the royal Thracian cavalry was always on the top positions within the armies of the Thracian kings. It is worthwhile reminding the important information provided by Strabon on the outstanding capacity of the Thracians (i.e. allied tribes, Odrysian kingdom inclusively) to provide 15,000 cavalry men³⁵⁰, which in terms of Roman military organization would mean 30 quingenary alae.

In Arrian's opinion, the territories of the Getae and Moesians were propitious for riding³⁵¹. The author gives also some details of the Thracian and Getae tactics of using the cavalry forces in an angle-like formation during the battle³⁵².

³⁴⁴ From the exceptionally rich literature on the Thracian Hero see recently Oppermann 2006, 358–374 (an almost complete bibliography).

³⁴⁵ Hom. *Il.* 10. 422–427 "[...] His horses are the finest and strongest that I have ever seen, they are whiter than snow and fleeter than any wind that blows. His chariot is bedighting with silver and gold, and he has brought his marvelous golden amour, of the rarest workmanship – too splendid for any mortal man to carry, and meet only for the gods [...]" "[...] speed us still further towards the horses and sleeping-ground of the Thracians"; "[...] Thracian soldiers, who were sleeping, tired out with their day's toil; their goodly armor was lying on the ground beside them all orderly in three rows, and each man had his yoke of horses beside him. Rhesus was sleeping in the middle, and hard by him his horses were made fast to the topmost rim of his chariot [...]" "[...] And Ulysses answered, "Nestor son of Neleus, honor to the Achaean name, heaven, if it so will, can give us even better horses than these, for the gods are far mightier than we are. These horses, however, about which you ask me, are freshly come from Thrace. Diomed killed their king with the twelve bravest of his companions [...]" 13. 1. "[...] the horse-breeders of Thrace, the Mysians, fighters at close quarters [...]" 14. 14. "[...] Venus now went back into the house of Jove, while Juno darted down from the summits of Olympus. She passed over Pieria and fair Emathia, and went on and on till she came to the snowy ranges of the Thracian horsemen [...]"

³⁴⁶ Thuc. 2, 96–98.

³⁴⁷ Sof. *Ter.* Frg. 523: φιλίπποις Ὀρηξί.

³⁴⁸ Strab. *Geogr.* 7, 3. 2.

³⁴⁹ Arg. *Orph.* 70–71.

³⁵⁰ Strab. *Geogr.* Frg. 7. 47. "[...] although it (Thrace) has been devastated to an exceptional degree, it can send into the field fifteen thousand cavalry and also twenty thousand infantry".

³⁵¹ Arr. *Cyneg.* 23, 2.

³⁵² Arr. *Tac.* 16, 6.

Ovid excels in describing the Getae also as excellent mounted archers³⁵³. This important potential of skilful mounted warriors must have been included by the Roman administration in some way to boost the force and efficiency of the Thracian regiments, once the territories between the Danube, the Haemus Mountains and the Black Sea went under its control. Nonetheless, there is no recorded regiment created expressly and exclusively of the Getae mounted archers³⁵⁴.

Out of 26 identified infantry regiments labeled *Thracum*, no less 14 are *quingenariae equitatae*. Whether or not they had attached cavalry squadrons from the very beginning is difficult to say; it might be that in the course of the 1st–3rd century enlistment many *equites* could have been of non-Thracian origin. However, if the regiments were *equitatae* from the beginning that means that every time a new one was set up in Thrace the 120 cavalry men for a *quingenaria equitata* type of unit were raised among the Thracian skilled horsemen.

The facts speak overwhelmingly in favor of the massive use of Thracian skill of horsemanship both in the cavalry and infantry auxilia. The 12 *alae* initially formed massively of Thracians at different intervals mean 6,000 cavalry men and it is likely that the recruiting effort was not excessive among the population³⁵⁵. The *alae Thracum* and those of other origin continued to be massively supplied with Thracian horsemen. They were directed not only to cavalry regiments but also towards mounted squadrons of the infantry regiments (*cohortes equitatae*), either of Thracian or of other origin.

The dimensions of the presence of Thracian cavalry men in Roman auxiliary forces must have been far more consistent. The figures provided by the epigraphic evidence are only orientative and they will certainly augment as the discoveries will multiply.

The Thracian infantry men recorded in inscriptions in the cohorts totals up 76 individuals. The Thracian infantry was a redoubtable force during different confrontation of the Thracian kings with Macedonia and Rome. Two third of the Sitalkes' army was infantry³⁵⁶. The highlanders were the best fighters. Thucydides relates that the Odrysian king called to arms the Dioi which stood out through their qualities of excellent on-foot warriors: “[...] many of the of the Thracian highlanders, who are independent and carry dirks (μαχαίραι); they are called *Dioi*, and most of them inhabit Mount Rhodope; of these some were attracted by pay, while others came as volunteers[...]” “[...]. The remainder of the army was a mixed multitude, chiefly formidable from its numbers [...]”.

The attack on Xenophon's army corps in Bithynia was made by the Thracians who “[...] most of them were peltasts” “[...] therefore on foot warriors³⁵⁷. In the battle of Pydna, the Thracian forces were considerably on-foot fighters³⁵⁸. During the 21 and 26 Thracian uprising against the Roman administration in Thrace, the mountainous tribes were mainly if not exclusively pedestrians. Tacitus speaks about *copia equitum et peditum* in the Thracian royal forces which fought side by side with the Roman army³⁵⁹. Strabon mentions in his evaluation of the Thracian army forces a number of 20,000 infantry men which can be anytime raised without great difficulty³⁶⁰. The figure would result in the astonishing high number of 40 *quingenariae* or 20 *milliariae* cohorts, which were never reached, although, in fact, the amount of regiments was very close to these figures. There are 26 identified extant Thracian *cohortes* in the Roman army. Except one (no. 21), all the infantry regiments were *quingenariae* that results in an impressive number of 11,820 infantry men, who acted together with the

³⁵³ Ovid. *Trist.* 3. 10, 54; 55; 4. 1, 77; 5. 7, 14; Schol. Ps. Acro 3, 6. 15.

³⁵⁴ The literary sources are confirmed by the character of the archaeological finds and representation as well as the contents of the burials. The Thracian rider stands out as a typical mounted hero in the Thracian world; Delev 1998, 129–135; Oppermann 2006, 270–311.

³⁵⁵ On the demographic potential in Thrace and Lower Moesia see: Pomp. Mela, *Chor.* 2, 2.16; Fol 1968–377–381; 1970.

³⁵⁶ See note 345.

³⁵⁷ Xen. *Anab.* 6, 2–4.

³⁵⁸ Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 18.

³⁵⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 4, 47.

³⁶⁰ Strab. *Geogr.* 7, 3. 2.

existing 1,680 horsemen in *cohortes equitatae*. As in the case of the *alae*, the figures are orientative and can not be taken as permanent in the 1st–3rd century given the dynamics of the Roman auxiliary forces that made some regiments to disappear, melt with others, or modify their basic structure. It is, however, a good and reliable evidence of the remarkable military potential of the on-foot Thracian fighters so masterly described by ancient authors.

Of the 76 foot-soldiers of Thracian origin known to us thus far, 50 seem to derive from a single place and monument, a building stone block from Amphipolis, where their names were inscribed as graffiti. D. C. Samsaris thinks that the list is the result of the temporary presence of a detachment from an auxiliary regiment which passed through the city with some mission while soldiers left their traces by graffitiing their names³⁶¹. In our opinion, they might supposedly be attributed to the cohort I Flavia Bessorum, stationed in Macedonia and permanently supplied with Thracian recruits although other regiment can be also easily supposed.

Three *alae*, no. 1: *ala An(tiana) Gallorum et Thracum sagittariorum*; no. 9: *ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum*; no. 12: *ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum*; and two infantry regiment, no. 22: *cohort I Thracum sagittariorum* and no. 32: *III Thracum Syriaca sagittariorum equitata* were units with mounted or on-foot archers, *sagittarii*. When they were initially established in Thrace, recruits with special skills and training to handle the bow while on ride were drafted into these units. No. 12 which was set during Augustus' reign shows no evidence that it received a contingent of Getae recruits, although its early date, in Augustan period when this populace living between the Danube, Haemus Mountains and the Black Sea was finally integrated into the Roman Empire might be an argument for some groups raised in this region³⁶². The infantry regiment (no. 22) was not *equitata*. That implied only on-foot archers. No. 9 appears as *sagittaria* given the epithet *veterana* and not *veteranorum* in the Lower Pannonian MDs. The Mactar inscription is the exception in which the regiment is labeled *veteranorum* and the restoration would be therefore *sagittariorum*, which is a grammatical rendering of the concordance between *veterani* and *sagittarii*. In the case of no. 1 and 12, the tactical characteristic must be read *sagittariorum*, rather than *sagittaria*, for it refers not to *ala*, but to Thracian archers, and therefore there is a concordance of two Genitives in plural: *Thracum sagittariorum* (the regiment of the Thracian archers).

Thracians were known bowmen as described in a short passage in Ovid's *Ibis* "[...] *pugnabunt arcu dum Thraces*[...]"³⁶³. The four Thracian *sagittariorum* units is a clear evidence in itself. The bow was a terrible weapon in the hands of the Getae who are often described as preferentially handling the bow and arrows as riders. Given this particular skill, there is no reason to reject the idea that Getae could have been enlisted on a regular basis in the *sagittariorum* regiments at least in the 1st–2nd century, although direct evidence is still missing. However, Arrian informs us that during the process of the cavalry training different fight sounds were used specific to each nation among which Getae horsemen are recorded³⁶⁴.

One important question mark still remains. It is difficult to estimate what percentage the archers occupied in the *sagittariorum* regiments. The question is whether the *alae* and *cohortes* were entirely mounted archers, or archers' squads were numerically consistent as additional tactical strength.

³⁶¹ Samsaris 1993, 78.

³⁶² Altheim, 1964, 664, 667, 669.

³⁶³ Ovid, *Ibis*. 137.

³⁶⁴ Arr. *Tac.* 44, 1.

IV

AUXILIA THRACUM: IDENTIFICATION, STRUCTURE, AND NUMBER

The identification of the regiments

The significant number of Thracian auxiliary regiments and particularly the great amount of epigraphic records, both inscriptions and military diplomas, produced in the past some confusion while dealing with the identification of every single unit and its own history. The more scholarly contributions were greater the more difficult the task became. Difficulties come not only from different opinions of modern scholars, but initially from the confusion of the Roman engravers themselves who confounded regiments in quite a few occasions, doubled the names, or omitted important attributes and appellatives, such as *pia fidelis*, or even *equitata*.

The work of a correct identification of each unit remains a difficult task and it might be convincing only confronted with unquestionable epigraphic evidence. Even so, the arguments regarding some of the regiments could sound elusive to many specialists as long as the documents are sometimes contradictory. However, surprises, except maybe the epigraphic confirmation of the existence of the supposed *cohors V Thracum* seem to be excluded in the future.

Alae

The assessment of the number of the cavalry regiments (Fig. 5) in modern works dealing partially or including all the Thracian regiments in the Roman Empire produced different results. Keil in his work dedicated to the Thracian auxiliary regiments identified only five or six *alae*. In his article in Real Encyclopädie on Roman *Auxilia*, Cihorius describes 8 Thracian cavalry regiments. Jarrett's contribution on the Thracian auxiliaries counted 10. Recently, Spaul gathered evidence for a number of 12 Thracian cavalry units. Usually, the four *alae* labeled *Gallorum et Thracum* (nos. 1–4) were counted more to the Gaulish auxiliary regiments, although they initially belonged to both ethnical groups. Originally mixed with Gaulish cavalry men, either adjoined to the already existing units or to recently recruited Gaulish youth, the Thracian effectives seem to have been among the oldest regiments raised in the Thracian area. The reason why the Gallo-Thracian regiments were not numbered is that they were distinguishable after their unique attributes and epithets. It is remarkable that they appear initially only in the MDs for Syria and Judea, except no. 3, which is recorded in 122 in Britain for the first time. The final setting of the group of four regiments was presumably the result of the *dilectus* carried out in Thrace shortly after the great Thracian revolt of 26 or even earlier, after the uprising of 21. The epithet *veterana* (no. 4) is likely to designate the oldest of all. *Antiana* (no. 1) is evidently a derivation from C. Antius who carried out census in Gaul in 13 followed by the setting of a Gaulish regiment reshuffled and renamed in a new one, *Gallorum et Thracum* after an additional load of Thracian recruits. In fact all the *Gallorum et Thracum* regiments are the result of a subsequent adjoining of Thracian recruits to older *alae Gallorum*. Saddington supposes the amalgamation of the Gaulish and Thracian effectives in order to ensure a better training of the last ones and for security.

The cavalry regiments labeled simply as *Thracum* were officially numbered from I to III. The epigraphic material reveals six *alae* I (nos. 5–11), one numbered II (no. 11), and one with the numeral III (no. 12). It is obvious that there were three *alae Augustae Thracum* numbered: I, II, III (nos. 5, 11, 12).

Some *alae* are identifiable based on their specific tactical (*sagittariorum*) (nos. 9, 12), regional (*Mauretana*) (no. 8) or behavioral (*victrix*) (no. 10) attributes. A regiment is identified after the name of

its commander, a certain *Herculianus (Herculiana)* (no. 7), who seems to have been its first praefectus in an early period. Jarrett does not list the regiment among the other Thracian *alae* and states that ‘the unit was frequently known as the *ala (I) Herculiana* and never as *ala I Thracum* without the distinguishing epithet *Herculiana*’. A series of inscriptions, however, label explicitly *ala Thracum Herculiana*. No. 9 is allegedly considered as having been also early in date, because of its appellative *veterana*, showing a considerable length of service. No. 6 does not bear any particular indication, but it is well distinguishable and appears as the only case among the other Thracian *alae*.

There is a notable disproportion between the Eastern and Western provinces of the Empire regarding the initial dispatch of Thracian cavalry troops. Seven *alae* are detectable as being initially sent to eastern provinces in the first half or by mid 1st century at the latest: nos. 1–5, 8, 12, while to the western provinces there is evidence for initial dispatch of nos. 6, 7 (?), 10, and 11. The Domitian’s and Trajan’s Dacian wars caused a significant movement of several Thracian cavalry regiments towards the Danubian provinces where they were temporarily or definitively garrisoned (nos. 5, 9, 10, 12), either as a result of their participation in the conflicts or following reorganization of the Danubian frontier under Trajan or Hadrian. There is no epigraphic record of a one thousand men (*milliaria*) Thracian cavalry regiment.

Of the 12 identified Thracian cavalry units, the majority continued their existence in the 2nd–3rd century. *Ala veterana Gallorum et Thracum* (no. 4), clearly a *quingenaria* unit, was apparently divided in two distinct units: *ala veterana Gallica*, sent to Egypt and *I Thracum veterana sagittariorum* (no. 9). The effectives of both regiments could have been adequately increased and a body of archers was added to the new no. 9.

At the end of the 4th century, *Notitia Dignitatum* records nos. 1, 3, and 5, which seem to have survived through the 3rd century crisis and in the 4th century. It is possible therefore that the rest of the units, which are not recorded in this document, disappeared in the meantime, either through extinction or amalgamation with other units.

Cohortes

The Thracian infantry regiments outnumbered by far the cavalry units of the same provenance (Fig. 6). A number of twenty three cohorts labeled *Thracum* have been distinctly documented and two *Bessorum*, traditionally the most warrior tribe in Thrace. The total of infantry regiments established of Thracian recruits and recorded in inscriptions and military diplomas in the 1st–3rd century raises to twenty five. There were eleven *cohortes* with number I assigned from the beginning (nos. 13–23), six distinguishable through the numeral II (nos. 24–29), four numbered III (nos. 30–33), two bearing the number IIII (nos. 34–35), one numbered VI (no. 37) and another with the figure VII (no. 38). A *cohors V Thracum* is not yet epigraphically identified (no. 36), a situation explainable due either to an early destruction of the regiment and its erasure from the official files or to a *missio ignominiosa*.

There are two infantry regiments which pose no identification problems for they bear distinct ethnical name (*Bessorum*) and were distinctly numbered, I and II (nos. 13 and 24). The high number of the cohorts mirrors the exceptional scale of the drafts or how popular for the Thracians joining the flags in the 1st and 2nd century was.

Three regiments numbered I–II–III (nos. 14, 25, 30) are styled *Augusta Thracum*. They seem to have been among the oldest ones raised in Thrace. The regiments distinguished as *Syriaca* (nos. 23, 29, 32, and 35) show also good evidence of quite early setting if we take into consideration the case of no. 32. The attribute *Syriaca* was applied to units with a long garrison in Syria and as a distinct surname to differentiate from other regiments with the same order number. The regiment to which the epithet *Germanica* was given (no. 20) shows also a long garrison in on the Rhine valley, in the German provinces.

The assignment of epithets with the name of the province where it was stationed for a longer period was another manner to distinguish among the large number of regiments that created sometimes confusion even in the military chancelleries.

In general, the considerable number of *cohortes* numbered I gave birth to a remarkable diversity of interpretations in the modern scholarly literature that ran often into significant controversies. The best candidates were usually the famous *cohors I Thracum Germanica civium Romanorum*, some *cohortes I Thracum* or even *cohortes Augustae Thracum*.

A text of a fragmentary inscription from Annency was conjecturally restored: *tribun[o] / [coh(ortis) prim]ae Thrac(um)*. Given the grade of the officer the unit must have been *milliaria*. A single Thracian infantry unit appears as *milliaria* in the MDs (no. 21). *Cohors milliaria* from Syria seems likely to be involved here.

There were ten *cohortes I Thracum*, that fell usually under some controversies: two *cohortes I Thracum equitatae civium Romanorum*, one in Germania inferior and then in Britain and another in Pannonia Inferior; *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum* in Pannonia Superior, quite different from its sister unit in Pannonia Inferior; *cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata civium Romanorum* dispatched, after a long garrison in Germania Superior, to Pannonia Inferior where, it later became *equitata*; *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata civium Romanorum* with multiple deployments to Judea, Syria-Palestina, Pannonia Inferior, and finally in Arabia; *cohors I Thracum Syriaca equitata* in Syria, Moesia/Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior; *cohors I Thracum sagittariorum* in Dacia; *cohors I Thracum milliaria* in western provinces, Cappadocia, Syria and Judea; *cohors I Thracum equitata(?)* in Egypt; a $\sigma\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$ $\Theta\rho\alpha\kappa\omega\nu$ (*cohors I Thracum*) in Cappadocia and the Bosporan kingdom.

In general, the cohorts numbered II do not pose identification problems. There were five *cohortes II Thracum* and one *Bessorum*. No. 26 bears the epithet *gemella*, which is unique among the Thracian regiments and seems to have had as a sister unit another *cohors II Thracum*. Its uniqueness raised no controversies on its history.

The cohorts numbered III (nos. 30–33) are not numerous in the total lot of the Thracian regiments are relatively easy identifiable.

The two *cohortes IIII* raised debates on whether there were one or two units, one in Spain and another in Germania Superior. The distinction is quite clear between the two, the one bearing *Syriaca* in the MDs showing a long stay in Syria before being moved for some time to Spain, while the German regiment is simply labeled as *Thracum*.

The same holds also in the case of *cohors VI Thracum*. The recent Knight's analysis concentrated on the number of these regiments. As to this cohort he suggested 'rather than assume movements backwards and forwards between Britain and the continent, an alternative solution is possible. Claudius could have raised duplicate *cohortes I* and *VI Thracum* from cadres supplied by their homophonous counterparts in Germany'. Knight's assumptions are possible, but there is little evidence thus far to accept two *cohortes VI Thracum*.

Epithets as a result of exceptional deeds on the battlefield or political events have been given to several Thracian units: *constantes* (no. 2), *pia fidelis* (nos. 11, 16, 27, 34), *bis torquata* (nos. 2, 31), *victrix* (no. 10), *invicta* (no. 2). Epithets were derived from the first prefects of the respective regiments who played an important role in their setting: *Antiana* from C. Antius (no. 1), *Classiana* from a certain Classius (no. 3), and *Herculiana* from an unknown Herculianus (no. 7).

There is evidence that most of the regiments styled *Thracum* were formed in the first half of the 1st century, while the two units *Bessorum* were set in the second half. No. 9 seems the only Thracian regiment which seems to have been established towards the last decade of the second half of the 1st century, likely as a result of the splitting of no. 4. There is no clear evidence of a 2nd or 3rd century

setting of any Thracian regiment, although some adjustments of effectives and reshaping must have taken place possible in the 2nd century.

Structure and number

Three *alae* (nos. 1, 9 and 12) and two *cohortes* (nos. 22, 32) appear as *sagittariae* or *sagittariorum*, therefore mounted archers in the first two cases and bow-bearer infantry regiments respectively.

Besides being good horsemen and pedestrian fighters Thracians stood out through this particular fighting tactics (see ch. I, III). Getae were also renowned archers as results from the Thucidydes' account. The only mounted archers Sitalkes called to arms in his huge army were the Getae who lived between Haemus and the Danube, towards the Black Sea (see above chapter I, III). Even if the five regiments could have been recruited entirely south of Haemus, in Thrace proper, levies among the Getae must have been also regularly carried out for massively filling up the gaps in the units with this specific tactics.

With the exception of no. 21 which was *milliaria*, all the Thracian infantry and cavalry units appear as *quingenariae* (500 men). The infantry group displays thirteen regiments identified as *equitatae*. Some must have been structured as such *ab initio*, others were reshaped later.

In their great majority the regiments were styled as *Thracum*, indicating the area of initial recruitment. Two regiments (nos. 13 and 24) were indicated through their ethnical origin, *Bessorum*. They were *quingenariae* in strength and formed shortly before the Flavian epoch. Another case of massive drafts of one thousand Bessian young recruits, epigraphically attested, occurred in 200 showing how the county of Bessi served continuously as a reservoir for fresh contingents in the Roman army. The draft of the 1000 Thracian *iuniores* (see chapter III) and their destination to Mauretania Tingitana, gives an idea of how recruits filled up the gaps in other provincial armies, but also suggests how they originally could have been organized in distinct *quingenariae* regiments, such as the two *cohortes* I and II *Flaviae Bessorum* in the 1st century.

It is difficult to estimate the exact number of the effectives that served in the regiments styled as *Thracum* along the 1st–3rd century. There were amalgamations of regiments that suffered losses in the wars and they were filled up with local recruits. Even in peacetime, the gradual but irreversible practice of local recruitment in the auxiliary regiments had an important impact on the Thracian units as regard to their composition, although Thracian recruits continue to supply Thracian units and those of other origin. The evaluation therefore would go towards guesstimating the total strength of the *alae* and *cohortes Thracum* rather than offering figures specifically on the Thracian groups or individuals. Even so, the number of the regiments must have varied and the figures should be seriously considered as referring to a certain moment within this time span. We considered as base of calculation the 12 Thracian cavalry and 26 infantry regiments that were epigraphically recorded in the Roman army in the 1st–3rd century. Their strength varied along the period and the calculations indicates only the maximum of forces.

As it is generally admitted, a *quingenaria* unit had 550 men, while a *milliaria* one summed up 1050 men.

Alae: The four *alae Gallorum et Thracum* were all *quingenariae* and they apparently contained half Gaulish, half Thracian effectives. As the Thracian effectives were amalgamated with those of the Gauls immediately after the A.D. 26 revolt, and the four regiments were set at once, a massive lot of 1000 Thracian horsemen must have been initially drafted.

The three *alae Augustae Thracum* are also early in date and were essentially formed of 1500 recruits raised in Thrace, even if the setting of these units could have happened successively, at short intervals. Another lot of 1500 recruits formed also the early regiments *I Thracum Herculiana*, *I*

Thracum Mauretanicum and *ala I Thracum*, to which another lot of ca. 500 horsemen of *ala I Thracum victrix* should be added, totalling up 2,000 men for the four regiments. *Ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria* appeared as result of splitting in two of *ala veterana Gallorum et Thracum*. To the 250 remaining horsemen after the division of the latter, another lot of 250 men seem to have been added to create a normal *quingenaria* unit.

Summing up, one can roughly count on 4,750–4,800 horsemen raised to form the eight known *alae Thracum* and the four *alae Gallorum et Thracum*.

Cohortes: Twenty five regiments in active existence have been identified. One can not count on no. 36. Of the entire bulk, only one is *milliaria* (no. 21), the remaining 24 are *quingenariae* in number. Thirteen *cohortes equitatae* are epigraphically attested (nos. 14, 19, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38). 120 horsemen were officially ascribed to a *cohors quingenaria equitata*. If so, one can count on about 1,560 horsemen in the Thracian *quingenariae equitatae* infantry units. If one also take into account that 80 horsemen were automatically ascribed to a *cohors quingenaria peditata*, as liaison, reconnaissance, and mail agents, while a *milliaria peditata*, which is the case of no. 21 had 120 such horsemen, then the remaining 12 *quingenariae peditatae* and one *milliaria peditata* Thracian infantry regiments totaled up 1,200 horsemen serving in the infantry units not tagged *equitatae*. Therefore, there were a total of about 2,560 cavalry men serving in the infantry units. To summarize, there was constantly about 9,160–9,200 cavalry men in both cavalry and infantry regiments labeled *Thracum* and *Bessorum*. It must be necessarily stressed on the fact that this figure represents the total cavalry strength in these units, either of Thracian or non-Thracian origin.

After subtracting the cavalry effectives existing in the *cohortes equitatae* and the cavalry squadrons in the *peditatae*, the estimations go roughly towards 11,690–12,000 infantry men concentrated in the regiments *Thracum* or *Bessorum*.

The strength of the *alae* and *cohortes* labeled *Thracum* or *Bessorum*, considered as existing along the 1st–3rd c. in the Roman army, either they were effectives of Thracian or of other origin totaled up, therefore, roughly to 20,000–21,000 men.

It is interesting to compare these figures with the recruitable potential in Thrace as indicated by Strabo in the first two decades of the 1st century. The author estimates the strength of the cavalry the Thracian kingdom could engage to 15,000 horsemen and 20,000 infantrymen. The 9,000 cavalry and 12,000 infantry men resulted from the estimation based on epigraphic ground represent in both cases about 60% of those offered by the geographer. In fact, far from being a decrease to half of the recruitable potential in Thrace, the figures given by the epigraphic evidence show that the Roman authorities were aware of the importance of permanently maintaining in reserve (about 40%) important human resources. Even so, the constant and sometimes massive drafts in the 1st century in the Thracian area resulted in an impressive number of regiments (38 *alae* and *cohortes*) and in a continuous supply of the existent units and other auxiliary regiments in the Empire. This would be a very clear indication that the demographic situation in Thrace allowed such interventions without unbalancing the country's human resources.

V

ALAE THRACUM

1. ALA GALLORUM ET THRACUM ANTIANA SAGITTARIORUM

The regiment is recorded in the 1st century MDs for Syria from Sarsânlar (54) and u.f.s. (88)¹. It is constantly recorded in Syrian MDs until 186². The full name appears in the 160 MD as ANTIAN(a) GALL(orum) THRAC(um) SAG (ittaria/ittariorum). Saddington suggested that the Thracian soldier, the recipient of the Sarsânlar MD, could have been recruited firstly in an already existing *ala Thracum*³. It would be preferable to consider the mixing up of a body of fresh Thracian recruits with an already existing *ala Gallorum* or a Gallic cavalry force raised by Germanicus before his Germanic campaigns between A. D.14–16, possibly named *Antiana* by that time. The name could have come from Germanicus' legate, C. Antius⁴ who, together with P. Vitellius, conducted a Gallic census in A.D. 16⁵. On the other hand, the Thracian recruits seem to have been sent to Gauls either shortly after the suppression of the A.D. 21 or rather A.D. 26 Thracian uprising. Therefore, the regiment as it is known in the epigraphical sources, must have taken final form in c. 29/30 at the latest⁶.

The regiment seems to have been transferred to Syria shortly after its establishment⁷. An evidence of an early garrison in Syria could be an inscription of a *praefectus* found at the today Hissar-edi, near the ancient Pisidian Antioch⁸ datable between A. D.18 and 38. The regiment appears as ALAE ANTI, read by Birley and Demougin *alae Anti(anae)*, obviously referring to the regiment in the title⁹. The epithet *sagittaria/sagittariorum* which appears only in the MD of 160, must have been borne by the unit from its very beginning considering the well known skills of the Thracians as mounted archers¹⁰ (see chapter III).

The regiment was either transferred to Judea before 120, accompanying legio X Fretensis, when this province had been raised to consular rank, or in 131/132 together with other troops for the

¹ CIL XVI 3 (54); RMD 3 (88).

² 2. RMD 3 (88); Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205–214 no. 1 (91); 215–219 no. 2 (91); Weiss 2006, 255–257 no. 3 (91); Aphek (CIL XVI 87) (139); Kalin Ören (RMD 160 = Russel 1995, 67–133) (135/138); u.f.s. (RMD, 60) (154/161); u.f.s. (Eck 1993, 451–9 = RMD 173) (160); Hebron (RMD 69) (186); see also: Lambrino 1930, 171; 1931, 259–260; Lifschitz 1976, 117–22; Roxan 1976, 62. Eck 1993, 454; Russell 1995, 80–81; 90–91; 111–115, n. 205 and the *Conspectus* which resolves the different opinions and conflicting interpretations.

³ Saddington 1982, 147.

⁴ PIR I 2 A 780.

⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 2. 6; Lambrino 1931, 257; Wagner 1938, 41; Birley 1978, 265 no. 2; Mellor 1978–1979, 182; Russell 1995, 113. In the particular cases of mixed Gaulish Thracian *alae* (Kraft, 1952, 28; Saddington 1982, 147; Russell 1995, 113) it is generally accepted that the Thracians were supposed either to acquire equestrian skills from the renowned Gauls or to strengthen their discipline. The last supposition might be right, if the authorities would have intended to quell in the first stages their troublesome nature, but the cavalry skills were certainly not learned by Thracians from the Gauls, for they were especially very good cavalry men as both ancient sources and the significant number of equites Thracians in inscriptions show.

⁶ Russell 1995, 113–114 assumes successive waves of Thracian recruits into the regiment over a longer period (cf. Mellor 1978–1979, 182) in such a way that the proportion was sufficient enough to justify the formal changing of the regiment's title. The *terminus post quem* for ending the practice of naming auxiliary units after their commanders during Tiberius' reign appears to have been A. D. 27; Speidel 1982, 165–167; Holder 1980, 22.

⁷ A short period of presence of the unit in Gallia (Saddington 1982, 147, 161; Birley 1978, 265 no. 2) is not sustained by any clear evidence. An early garrisoning in Moesia was repeatedly assumed by Lambrino (1931, 261, n. 37), Stein (1932, 122), Gerov (1959, 212–213), followed by Gerasimova (1970, 2). Beneš (1978, 160 no. 2) suggests even 'schon in den J 45–46 in Mosien und wurde mit anderen westlichen Auxilien hierher disloziert' on the basis of the Sarsânlar MD. However, the findspot does not mean that the unit was automatically stationed in this province.

⁸ AE 1926, 82 = 1982, 88; Devijver 1976, Incerti, no. 65.

⁹ Birley 1978, 260; Demougin 1981, 98, 104; 1982, 97–107; see also Speidel 1992, 298 n. 58; Russell 1995, 113 n. 207.

¹⁰ Cf. Russell 1995, 114, n. 217.

suppression of the Bar-Kochba revolt¹¹ (see chapter VIII). In the 2nd century the garrison of the ala was therefore located in the province of Syria-Palestina, probably at Scythopolis (Bet Shean) (Syria Palestina), as an inscription of a decurion, dated after about 150, suggests¹².

The unit survived in the 4th century. An *ala Antana dromedariorum*, mentioned in Palestine, at Admatha (Hammam)¹³ could be the same 2nd–3rd century unit¹⁴ with a massively reformed structure through the replacement of the horses stock with *dromedarii*¹⁵.

Literature: Lambrino 1930, 123; 1931, 251–266; Stein 1932, 122; Wagner 1938, 41; Kraft 1951, 148, nos. 290–291; Gerov 1959, 212–213; Appelbaum 1976, 68, no. 28; Lifschitz 1976, 117–22; Roxan 1976, 62; Beneš, 1978, 160, no. 2; Birley 1978, 265, no. 2; Demougin 1981, 97–107; Mellor 1978–1979, 182; Holder 1980, 22; Saddington 1982, 64, 73, 147, 149; Last-Stein 1990, 224–8; Dąbrowa 1991, 364–366; Eck 1993, 454–455; Spaul 1994, 27–28; Russell, 1995, 80–81, 111–115.

2. ALA GALLORUM ET THRACUM CLASSIANA INVICTA BIS TORQUATA CIVIUM ROMANORUM

The regiment is mentioned at a later date in Britain in the British MDs and in three other constitutions from the present day Bulgaria¹⁶. The Middlewich diploma was granted to a horseman of this unit. The simple name of *ala classiana civium Romanorum* from both British documents refers to the regiment in the title. The name *Classiana* derives from Classius, rarely attested who might have been the dilector of the initial Gaulish effectives¹⁷.

The contingent of the Thracian horsemen seems to have been added in or shortly after 29, and labeled as a new regiment in the series of *alae Gallorum et Thracum*¹⁸. It was sent directly to the East, very likely in Syria, where it stationed for some time¹⁹.

The unit was moved from East and integrated into the Claudius' expeditionary force in Britain²⁰ where it remained and continued to garrison during the Flavian period. Occasioned by the Agricola's campaigns in northern Britain, the regiment gained the juridical distinction *civium Romanorum*²¹. As Alföldy suggests, it is also possible that the recipient of the Middlewich diploma was part of the contingents brought from Germany to fill the gaps in the unit caused by the losses during the Agricola's

¹¹ Last, Stein, 1990, 224–228; Russell 1995, 114.

¹² Last, Stein, 1990, 224–228; Russell 1995, 115.

¹³ ND Or., 34,33.

¹⁴ Lambrino 1930, 131; 1931, 251; Roxan 1976, 62; Russell 1995, 115; cf. Lifschitz 1976 n. 8.

¹⁵ Roxan 1976 tab. II no. 10; Dąbrowa 1991, 364–366.

¹⁶ Sydenham (105) (CIL XVI 51 = RIB 2401, 2); Middlewich (RMD 8 = RIB 2401,3); Glava (RMD 239) (20.08.127); Rhodopi Mountains (RMD 293) (178), and f. s. u (RMD 294) (23. 03. 178) (f. s.u.); the latter is today part of the Freeman&Sear collection (Los Angeles).

¹⁷ CIL XII 3085; 4087; Birley 1978, 266 no. 7.

¹⁸ Kraft 1951, 148, no. 300; Alföldy 1968a, 17.

¹⁹ Maxfield 1981, 266 suggests the presence of the regiment in the East at an earlier date. Kraft 1951, 148: “scheint mir ein orientalischen Aufenthalt”. However, the decurion from Galata, Marius Celsus (CIL XIII 8306 = ILS 2534), on which Maxfield bases its assumption is later in date; for the second presence of the unit in the East (see below n. 29).

²⁰ Alföldy 1968a, 17; Kraft 1951, 148, nos. 300, 301 suggests that the route of the unit before reaching Britain passed through Lower Germany, but there is no solid argument even for a short stationing in the Rhine provinces; cf. Stein 1932, 127; Spaul 1994, 88.

²¹ Alföldy 1968a 17; Nash Williams 1969, 16. Holder (1980, 39 no. 4) thinks that the regiment was granted the distinction *civium Romanorum* in 105. Stein 1932, 127 and Spaul 1994, 88 suggest that the epithets *invicta* and *bis torquata* were gained as a consequence of engagement in quelling the Bouddica revolt or during the Agricola's operations. However, it is noticeable that all these titles do not appear in the 105 (CIL XVI 51) and 122 (CIL XVI 69) MDs, but later; cf. Spaul 1994, 88. It is remarkable on the other hand that the regiment is not recorded in the Malpas (103) (CIL XVI 48) MD.

campaigns in Britain²². In the C. Caesidius Dexter's *cursus honorum*, during the Hadrian's reign the regiment appears as *invicta bis torquata*²³, while in the Glava MD (127) as *torquata victrix* a title ascribed very likely with the occasion of the British wars of this emperor in 122–124²⁴. Its last mention in Britain occurs in the Ó Szöny MD (17.07. 122)²⁵.

The regiment was moved soon after 122 from Britain to Lower Germany, for it is recorded in the Glava MD²⁶, but does not appear in a MD (20. 08. 127) granted for *auxilia* of British army²⁷. The title of the unit appears in the Glava MD as *civium Romanorum torquata victrix*, which confirms the titlature given in the Dexter's inscription²⁸.

It is possible that the unit was again transferred from Lower Germany to the Eastern provinces by the end of Hadrian's reign in connection with the Jewish war of 132–135²⁹.

From Eastern front, the regiment returned to Lower Germany for military operations during the Marcus Aurelius or Commodus reigns³⁰. Its name, in an abbreviated form, was possibly included in the Xanten diploma of 158³¹. The regiment seems to have preserved recruits from the East as an inscription from Köln dated to the mid 2nd century records an *ex decurione* originating from Galata and recruited probably in the area during late Hadrian's reign³².

In 178 the unit is recorded again in Britain³³ while by early 3rd century was dispatched once more on the Rhine valley. During its third stationing in Germany, local recruits were also included. The Altkalkar inscription which dates the presence of the regiment in Lower Germany in the 3rd century³⁴ records *Victorinus Anhu*[...], a cognomen certainly of Germanic origin.

Literature: Cichorius 1893, 1237; Stein 1932, 127; Kraft 1951, 148, no. 300–301; Alföldy 1968, 17–19; Appelbaum 1976, 68 no.27; Birley 1978, 266; Saddington 1982, 149; Holder 1980, 39 no.4; Maxfield 1981, 266; Spaul 1994, 87–88; Eck, Paunov 1997, 344–345.

3. ALA GALLORUM ET THRACUM CONSTANTIUM

The setting of this regiment must have followed the same pattern as in the case of no. 1 and no. 2, namely the amalgamation of Thracians with Gauls in a period after A.D. 29. The unit is recorded in the MDs for Syria³⁵. The regiment had a stable garrison in Eastern provinces along its 1st–4th century existence. There is no specific evidence that the regiment ever left the eastern provinces.

²² Alföldy 1968a, 17, no. 6; cf. Roxan, RIB 2401, 2 n. 8.

²³ CIL XI 6033.

²⁴ Alföldy 1968a, 17–18; Roxan, RMD 293, n. 3.

²⁵ CIL XVI 69.

²⁶ RMD 239; Eck, Paunov 1997, 335–354.

²⁷ RMD 240.

²⁸ The reasons of this transfer remain unknown, for there was no danger on the Rhine frontier at that time. Roxan (RMD 240 n. 2) explains that through the need of removing some troops in an exceeding number in Britain after the 122–124 conflict, which could be a correct assessment of the situation. In the Glava MD, appears an *ala I Gallorum et Thracum* located on the first place in the list of the regiments. The unit is otherwise unknown and must be a handwriting confusion of the inscriber (Eck, Paunov 1997, 344).

²⁹ Maxfield 1981, 226. Birley 1932, 59 n. 1 equates the regiment in the title with *ala Gallorum et Thracum* in the Apheka MD of 139 (CIL XVI 87), which can be an excellent argument that the unit might have garrisoned for a while in former Judea after the quelling of the rebellion.

³⁰ Alföldy 1968a, 18.

³¹ Alföldy 1968a, 165, no. 5.

³² CIL XIII 8306 = ILS 2534. Alföldy 1968a 19 no.30 dates the Köln inscription in the 3rd century but the date seems earlier, to mid 2nd century.

³³ RMD 184, 293, 294.

³⁴ CIL XIII 8668; Alföldy 1968a 18–9 and no. 29.

³⁵ Sarsánlar (CIL XVI 3) (54); Paul Getty Museum (RMD 3) (88); Suhozem (RMD 4) (91); Aphek (CIL XVI 87) (139); f.s.u. (RMD 60) (154/161); f.s.u. (Eck 1993, 451–459 = RMD 173) (160); Hebron (RMD 69) (186). A commentary on the Syrian

Constantes as an epithet for both Gaulish and Thracian soldiers must have been given before 88, when it appears as such for the first time, as a result of the excellent behavior during the Jewish revolt of 70/71³⁶. The regiment was transferred together with no. 1 from Syria to Judea sometime between 132 and 135. It was maintained in southern Syria-Palestina together with no. 2 some years after the revolt was suppressed as the Apeh MD shows. The unit remained definitively on the territory of former Judea if the Hebron MD is a proof for its position³⁷. As *ala Constantium*, the unit appears commanded by Ti. Claudius Subatianus³⁸ and as *ala equit(um) Cons[...]* by an unknown prefect, originating from Ostia³⁹. The garrison place of the unit in early 4th century is somewhat controversial. Based on a passage on the Yotvata milestone, W. Eck suggests the presence of an *ala* at a certain place called *Costia* which the unit would have built⁴⁰. Roll assumes a building role for the unit, and construes on *alam cum osti<o> constituerunt*, which would mean the erection of a wing with the gate⁴¹. The unit seems to be the same as in the Syrian MDs. In our opinion there is a corrupt form on the inscription for *ala Co(n)st(ant)ia*. In that case, the regiment was indeed garrisoned at Yotvata (Arabia) in the Negev district, in 303.

The unit is recorded at Toloha (Qseir el Tlah, near Al Karak) in the 4th century, under the command of *dux Palaestinae*⁴².

Literature: Lambrino 1931, 251–266; Kraft 1951, 26–27; Botusharova 1958, 317–322; Saddington 1982, 152; Appelbaum 1976, 68 no. 28; Lifschitz 1976, 117–122; Mellor 1978–1979, 181; Holder 1980, 39 no. 4; Meskhel, Roll 1986¹, 106–112; Eck 1992, 395–400; 1993, 451–459; Spaul 1994, 96; Russell 1995, 116–117.

4. ALA VETERANA GALLORUM ET THRACUM

The regiment is recorded in the Sarsânlar MD(54) as *veterana Gallorum et Thraecum*⁴³. There is no proof that the unit was ever stationed in Moesia by that time, as Gerasimova and Beneš suggested⁴⁴, as none of the four Gaulish-Thracian *alae* were ever present in the Danubian province. The unit seems to have been sent directly to Syria⁴⁵. The designation as *veterana* as early as 54 is a clear indication of

MD at Russell 1995, 115–116. In the Apeh MD the abbreviations GALL ET THR refers to this regiment; see also Roxan's suggestion in RMD 69, n. 3 that on the 154/161 MD in the cavalry regiments list instead of ANTIANA must be read (CONST) ANT (I) ANA although there is an inconsistency, for the regiment is always recorded in MDs as CONSTANTIUM referring to the soldiers of the regiment, *Constantes*. Only in later epoch the name seems to have been modified in inscriptions as Constantiana. Kraft 1952, 28 no.5; 140 no. 300 wrongly identifies no. 3 with no. 2 (*ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana civium Romanorum*). For a unanimous identification with the *ala* in the title see also Lambrino 1931, 259–260; Roxan 1976, 62; 70 no. 2; Holder 1980, 39; Mellor 1978–1979, 181 no. 37. The epithet CONSTANTIUM is recorded in the 88 (RMD 3), 91 (RMD 4), 136/137 and 160 (Eck 1993, 454 no. 38) MDs while in the Hebron MD it appears as C [ONST] ANTIANA. In the same diploma there is an ambiguous reference to both *alae* no. 1 and no. 2 as: ANTIANA GALLOR ET THRAC ET ANTIANA. (the corrupted text is E. TANTIANA); Roxan's revision on RMD 69 to the Lifschitz's (1976, 117–122, n. 46) original reading is: ANTIANA [G] ALLOR ET III [CIV] R. ANTIANA and attributes the mistakes to a slip of engraver's eye conjecturing also the amalgamation between *ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium* and *ala Antiana Gallorum et Thracum*; cf. Lifschitz 1976, 18–19; Eck 1993, 454.

³⁶ Holder 1980, 39, no.1; Russell 1995, 116.

³⁷ Russell 1995, 116; Mellor 1978–1979, 181.

³⁸ AE 1911, 107 = Devijver 1974 C 187. The inscription was found at Djemila in Mauretania Caesariensis, but it does not imply the presence of the unit in this province.

³⁹ CIL XIV 5351 = Devijver 1974 A 131. Isaac 1990, 188–189 accepts the traditional lectures Constantiana.

⁴⁰ AE 1987, 961 = 1990, 1015; Eck 1992, 395–400.

⁴¹ Roll 1989, 239.

⁴² NDO. 34. 34; Kennedy, Reilly, 205–207, fig. 157–158, no. 67.

⁴³ CIL XVI 3.

⁴⁴ Gerasimova 1970, 27; Beneš 1978, 9–10, no. 19

⁴⁵ Saddington 1982, 251–252.

very early setting of the regiment. *Veterana* on the other hand could have come from older Gaulish contingents possibly prior to 29, when already it bore the title.

The regiment is not further recorded in the Paul Getty Museum (88) or in the Suhozem (91) MDs⁴⁶. The intus tabella II of the Gradishte MD(91) MD had been restored by Gerov as *veterana* [G]all[i]ca⁴⁷, a unit already recorded in the Muhovo and other three new MDs from 88 and 91 as a distinct regiment, *veterana Gallica* in the Syrian army where Thracian soldiers were discharged⁴⁸.

As the second ethnical name, *Thracum*, is no longer recorded in 88 and 91 that means that we deal with quite a distinct regiment: *ala veterana Gallica*, still with consistent Thracian contingents. Therefore, it is highly probable that the initial regiment, *ala Gallorum et Thracum veterana*, was split in two new cavalry formations: 1. *veterana Gallica*, an independent unit, initially maintained in the Syrian army and later dispatched to Egypt⁴⁹; 2. The second regiment that resulted from this operation seems to be *ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum* (infra, no. 9), which was sent to Pannonia, possibly in the future Superior part, where it is first mentioned in 113⁵⁰. Given the type II of the Regensburg MD, the splitting of the two units must have occurred shortly before 88, however before the issuing of the Mohovo MD, which record only *veterana Gallica*. Both regiments preserved the title *veterana*, which came from the initial mother unit. The soldier of Thracian origin in the Gradishte MD, recruited in ca. 66 seems to have been part of the Thracian contingents of the still undivided unit.

There is no other epigraphical or historical information on the history of this regiment in the 1st century A.D. except the evidence provided by the MDs.

Literature: Cichorius 1893, 1245; Velkov 1927, 74 no. 3; Wagner 1938, 42; Kraft 1951, 26–27; Gerov 1959, 210–216; Gerasimova 1970, 27; Roxan 1976, 62; Beneš 1978, 9–10 no. 19; Dąbrowa 1979, 234; Saddington 1982, 64, 138.

5. ALA I AUGUSTA THRACUM EQUITATA

The unit was part of an early group of *alae Thracum* established during Augustus⁵¹ (see chapter III). After its setting, the regiment was sent directly to Syria. Stein, Wagner, Kraft, and Jarrett⁵² identify this regiment with an *ala Thracum* recorded on a series of inscriptions found in Djerash (Gerasa)⁵³. The place seems to have served as headquarters for the regiment in the 1st century. The *ala* appears as part of the Syrian army in the Paul Getty Museum MD (01.11. 88) and in another with f.s.u., also of 88⁵⁴. From the three Syrian inscriptions only one records the order number allowing the clear identification of this unit: A[la] I THRACV[m]⁵⁵.

⁴⁶ RMD 3 (Paul Getty Museum); RMD 4 (Suhozem).

⁴⁷ RMD 5; Gerov 1959, 211–212; Roxan, RMD, 5, n. 4.

⁴⁸ CIL XVI 35 (Muhovo); Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205–214, no. 1; 215–219, no. 2.

⁴⁹ CIL XVI 184 (116). See also a papyrus of 130 which mentions *equites* of Thracian origin in the regiment as a tradition to supply it with recruits from its original lands: P. Lond. II 482²¹; CPL 114²¹; ChLA III, no. 203²²; Lesquier 1918, 26–28; 503–504; Daris 1964, 119–120 no. 38²²; Velkov 1977, 75 no. 383; Speidel 1982, 167 = 1988, 333–335.

⁵⁰ Dietz 1984, 161–268 = RMD 86.

⁵¹ Stein 1932, 154–155; Herrling 1940, 51; Spaul 1994, 229.

⁵² Stein 1932, 154; Wagner 1938, 72; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 651–653; Jarrett 1969, 217 no. 1.

⁵³ CIL III 14159, 1 = AE 1899, 27; 1900, 159 = IGRP 3, 1374 = CIL III 14139; Jones 1928, 145; AE 1930, 89, 90; SEG 7, 1934 no. 901; see Holder 1980, no. 831–833; Knight, 1991, 197; On the Gerasa inscriptions see also: Welles 1938, 446–447, 616 in: Kraeling C.H.(ed) 1938, no.199, 200, 201; Speidel 1988, 726. The inscriptions are earlier than Nero's time as they were dated by Knight (1991, 197), cf. Cichorius 1893, 1263 and Alföldy 1974², 257; Dietz 1984, 262, n. 623 suggests the likelihood of being recorded in the Sarsânlar MD (CIL XVI 3) (54).

⁵⁴ Mellor 1978–1979, 173, 182–183 = RMD 3; Eck 2003, 229–233.

⁵⁵ CIL III 14159, 1 = AE 1899, 27 = Kraeling 1938, no. 199.

The unit left the province by late 1st century. The year 106 is in Speidel's opinion a *terminus ante quem* for its departure⁵⁶, but it seems too late. Spaul suggested 96 for its departure from Syria together with *ala II Flavia milliaria*⁵⁷.

The new dispatch area was on the mid Danube. A *praefectus*, *Q. Attius Priscus*, fulfilled one of his *militia* in this regiment during the Trajan's reign as recorded in an inscription from Seravalle⁵⁸. The office came after a tribunate in *legio I Adiutrix* during the Suebian war, suggesting also an implication of the cavalry regiment in the Dacian wars (105–106). In 107, the unit is recorded in the Weissenburg MD (107) showing clearly a deployment in Raetia shortly after the Dacian wars⁵⁹. In 116, the regiment was still in Raetia, as the Künzig and Straubing (116) MDs show⁶⁰. An inscription of an active *eques* from Augsburg could be a clue of a certain activity of the unit in this place in the first decade of the 2nd century⁶¹. The unit could have been billeted at Kösching in early Trajanic epoch⁶².

The unit was moved to Noricum during Hadrian's reign⁶³, although early reign of Antoninus Pius at the latest have been also suggested⁶⁴. For the latter date, Alföldi invokes the Mautern MD⁶⁵, in which, before (*ala*) *Pan(noniorum) Tam[piana]*, one could restore either [*I Aug(usta) Thracu*]m or [*Commagenoru*]m. An unambiguous date for the arrival of the regiment in this province is the Traismauer altar⁶⁶. Dedicated to Antoninus Pius, it dates from 140–144 and attests the rebuilding in stone of the *Augustianis* (Traismauer) auxiliary fort where the unit garrisoned. A *praefectus* of the regiment is recorded in an inscription from Firmi, shortly after its arrival in Noricum⁶⁷.

Military personnel of different ranks belonging to the regiment set inscriptions at Hohenstein Zollfeld, Traismauer, Winden am See, Wallsee, Wels (Ovilava), and Seckau. The regiment appears epigraphically recorded for the last time in an inscription of 200 at Zollfeld⁶⁸.

The two Hohenstein altars date at mid 2nd century and belong to two active decurions of the regiment. The fact could mean the presence of a vexillation of the unit in this place. At Ovilava (Wels) between ca. 170 and 200 an *eques dimissus* of the unit was also *singi(laris)* (sic!) in the governor's staff whose offices had been recently moved to this place⁶⁹. In the 4th century, the regiment appears still garrisoned at *Augustianis* (Traismauer) under the command of *dux Raetiae*⁷⁰, showing that the fort and its territory had been transferred in the meantime to that province.

⁵⁶ Speidel 1988, 707–708.

⁵⁷ Spaul 1994, 229.

⁵⁸ CIL V 7425; Stein 1932, 155 dates the prefect's office in 97.

⁵⁹ CIL XVI 55. For the presence of the regiment in Raetia in the first two decades of the 2nd century see also Radnoti 1961, 111, 113; Kellner 1971, 212; Wolff 1995, 30 see. A fragmentary tile stamp: ALA (Kandler, Vettors 1989, 114) found at Wallsee belongs very likely to this regiment.

⁶⁰ RMD 155; 229 = Wolff, 1995, 21–33; the name of the regiment has been restored also in the Manching MD (117/121) (RMD 32); Wolff 2000, table with Raetian MDs.

⁶¹ CIL III 5819 = 12394 = Holder 1980 no. 884; Stein 1932, 155; Kraft 161 no. 654; Jorg-Kellner 1975, 701; Dietz 1984, 262–263 n. 631; 264. The name of the regiment in the Augsburg inscription appears as *ala I Augusta*, but it is unquestionably identifiable with the regiment in the title (Alföldi 1974, 161; Dietz 1984, 262, n. 631); doubts in this direction at Cichorius 1894, 1232–1233; Herrling 1940, 51.

⁶² Wolff 2000, 171.

⁶³ Cichorius 1894, 1263; Wagner 1938, 14; Alföldy 1974², 257; Dietz 1984, 262; Spaul 1994, 229; Knight 1991, 204.

⁶⁴ Stein 1932, 154; Wagner 1938 72; Jarrett 1969, 217 no. 1; Alföldy 1974², 257; cf. Dietz 1984, 262, 264.

⁶⁵ CIL XVI 174 (128/138). The date of the Mautern MD would be an argument in itself for an earlier date of the coming of the regiment in Noricum, if it is really the Thracian unit instead of the Commagenian one.

⁶⁶ CIL III 5655 = 11796; on the auxiliary fort see Genser 1986, 304–327, especially 305–306; Kandler, Vettors 1989, 142–148.

⁶⁷ CIL IX 5357 = ILS 1417; PIR I², 182, no. 342; Pflaum 1960, no. 144; Devijver 1976, 116–117, no. 153.

⁶⁸ CIL III 4806, 4839 (Hohenstein); CIL III 4839 (Zollfeld); CIL III 5655 = 11796, 11 = AE 1950, 416; AE 1974, 472 (Traismauer), CIL III 4812 (Winden am See); AE 1990, 785 (Wallsee); AE 1968, 412; Dietz 1984 262; cf. Alföldi 1974, 258 (Wels-Ovilava); CIL III 5340 (Seeckau); CIL III 4834 (Zollfeld). The Wels, Winden am See and Zollfeld inscriptions designate it only as *ala Augusta*, but under this name is to be foreseen the unit in the title (cf. Alföldy 1974², 258).

⁶⁹ AE 1968, 412; Alföldy 1974, 161, 258.

⁷⁰ NDOcc. XXXV 3 = 14.

Literature: Cichorius 1894, 1263; Stein 1932, 154–155; Wagner 1938, 72–73; Herrling 1940, 51; Kraft 1951, 161–162, nr. 650–658; Jarrett 1969, 217 nr. 1; Kellner 1971, 212; 214; Alföldy 1974, 257–258; Mellor 1978–1979, 182–183; Holder 1980, 159, 291; Dietz 1984, 262–265; Kandler, Veters 1986, 142–146; Genser 1986, 304–327; Speidel 1988, 707–708; Samsaris 1990, 18; Knight 1991, 197, 204; Spaul 1994, 228–229. Wolff 1995, 21–33; 2000, 156–171.

6. ALA I THRACUM

The unit seems to have been set at an early date; previously or during the Claudius' reign it is recorded in the army of Germania. Stein thinks it appears in a Xanten fragmentary inscription (before 43) under the name of *al(a) Tra(cum)*⁷¹.

The regiment was part of the expeditionary force in Britain in 43 where it continued to garrison⁷². Two records of the unit, previous to 70 come from Colchester, during Claudius' reign and Cirencester, from Nero's time⁷³. Recent excavations at Carleon (Isca Silurum) legionary fortress (*legio II Augusta*) yielded a *trulleus*, Flavian in date, with the regimental stamp ALA I TH and the name of the maker, Maturus. In authors opinion the fact indicates the strong possibility that *ala I Thracum* was accommodated within the turf and timber legionary fortress from its establishment, space being allotted for a quingenary cavalry unit⁷⁴. The unit continued to be garrisoned at Carleon in the second half of the 1st and, at least, in the first three decades of the 2nd century, as Malpas (c. 103) and Stannington (124) MDs show⁷⁵. Once local conditions allowed, the *ala* would surely have been moved by mid 120s to the northern frontier as its appearance on a diploma of A.D. 124 seems to indicate.

The unit was redeployed in Germania Inferior sometime between 124 and 135⁷⁶ for it does not appear in the Wroxeter MD (135)⁷⁷.

At mid 2nd century the regiment was still in Germania Inferior, as shown by an altar set by one of its praefects in Köln⁷⁸. This indication coincides with its likely record in the Xanten MD (158) of the same province⁷⁹. An inscription of a veteran *ex n(umero) alae I [Th]rachum* found at Bunnik-Vechten, datable at mid 2nd century, confirm the presence of the regiment in this province at that time⁸⁰.

⁷¹ Stein 1932, 153, n. 250; CIL XIII 8659 = Alföldy 1968, no. 67; cf. Kraft 1951, 160, no. 610; Bogaers 1974¹, 456, n. 83 and even Alföldy 1968, 36 consider the inscription as uncertain as referring to *ala I Thracum*, and therefore attesting to its presence in Germania Inferior.

⁷² Stein 1932, 153; Bogaers 1974¹, 456, n. 83; Holder 1982, 111. Bogaers suggests its dispatch to Britain “en 43 et au plus tard en 61”; cf. Jarrett 1969, 218, no. 7; Saddington 1982, 67, n. 58, 93; Holder 1980, 111; Jarrett 1994, 44, no. 15.

⁷³ RIB 201 (Colchester); RIB 109 (Cirencester). Holder 1982, no. 801, 802; Cichorius 1893, 1264 and Stein 1932, 153 suggestions that *ala I Thracum* from Britain is identical with *ala I Thracum veteranorum* from Pannonia Inferior or with *ala I Thracum victrix* from Pannonia Superior, are not only unlikely but entirely improbable; Jarrett 1994, 44 no. 15 dates the inscription very early. The early dating of the Colchester and Cirencester inscriptions is proved also by the end of the occupation at Cirencester at the end of the 70s of the 1st century, ‘before Colchester became a colonia in 49’.

⁷⁴ The object was deposited probably before ca. 85/90 in well I, where latterly it seems to have been used as a dipper at the well-head. On the excavations at Carleon *scannum tribunorum* see: Ziennkiewicz *et alii* 1993, 27–140; on the presence of *ala I Thracum* at Carleon and the significance of the *trulleus*, *ibidem* 80–85, 106. A commentary on the Carleon *trulleus*: Boon 1984, 403–407, pl. LV.

⁷⁵ CIL XVI 48 = RIB 2401, 1 (Malpas); CIL XVI 70 = RIB 2401, 6 (Stannington); Alföldy 1968, 36; Bogaers 1974, 456.

⁷⁶ Holder 1982, 111.

⁷⁷ CIL XVI 82. Alföldy 1968, 8–10 n. 188; Bogaers 1974¹, 456; cf. Kraft 1951, 160 no. 610: “Gegen Ende des 2 Jh. befindet sich die ala wieder in Germania Inferior”; Holder 1980, 111 supposes also the end of the Hadrian's reign; Wagner 1938, 69 discusses a fragmentary funerary altar mentioning Ulpus Saturninus *eq(ues) al(ae) [Thr]ac(um)* from Gilău (CIL III 849); he places the presence of a unit here “in den ersten Hälfte des 2 Jhs.”; Gudea 1977, 117 rebuts the lecture and also the existence here of the Thracian regiment in Dacia; Alföldy 1968, 36: “die fünfte *ala* war höchwahrscheinlich die I Thracum”.

⁷⁸ CIL XIII 12058 = Alföldy 1968, no. 65.

⁷⁹ AE 1968, 400 = Alföldy 1968, no. 5.

⁸⁰ CIL XIII 8818 = Alföldy 1968, 188 no. 68. Bogaers 1974¹, 456 n. 80 stresses that the monument was found at Utrecht, an indication that circulated in the epigraphic literature: Cichorius 1894, 1264; Stein 1932, 154; Kraft 1951, 160 no. 613; Spaul

Ala was involved in a transfer of contingents in 219 to the guards of *equites singulares* in Rome, an event attested by an altar dedicated to Hercules Magusanus set by *cives Batavi et Thracas adlecti ex provincia Germania inferiore*⁸¹ with the occasion of the return of the Emperor Elagabalus in the City capital. An inscription from Gallienus' time set at Ostia mentions a *praefectus* of the regiment who later became tribunus in the Legion XXX Ulpia at mid 3rd century⁸².

Beginning with mid 2nd and along the 3rd century the Vechten (Fectio) fort was the headquarters of the regiment. Here, the Thracian regiment replaced *cohors I Flavia Hispanorum*⁸³. Several graffiti which mention a number of *turmae* were found during the excavations⁸⁴.

Literature: Cichorius 1894, 1263–1264; Stein 1932, 153–154; Kraft 1951, 160 no. 610–613; Alföldy 1968, 36–37; Jarrett 1969, 218 no. 7; Bogaers 1974¹, 62–65; 1974², 456–460; Le Glay, 1980, 46, 48; Holder 1980, 111 no. 801–802; Spaul 1994, 221–222; Ziennkiewicz et alii 1993, 80–85; Jarrett 1994, 44 no. 15.

7. ALA I THRACUM HERCULIANA

Two 1st century inscriptions, Flavian in date, are the earliest records of the regiment. One inscription comes from Tarragona (Tarracona) and another from La Vaison la Romaine (Vasio)⁸⁵, both mentioning *praefecti* of the ala. The epithet is differently rendered in Latin: *Herculiana*, *Herculana*, *Herculania*, *Herclana* while in Greek it appears as: Ἡρακλειανῆς, Ἡρακλιανῆς, Ἡρακλειοτικῆς, Ἡρκουλάνης.

The general opinion is that the name comes from a *praefectus Herculianus/Herculanus*, likely to have been one of the first (if not the first) commanders of the regiment, or the one who recruited and initially established it⁸⁶.

The ala was part of the group of the Thracian regiments formed in the first half of the 1st century. In 100 the ala was certainly stationed in Cappadocia, as a MD from that year demonstrates⁸⁷. It was possibly garrisoned on the Euphrates, but it is not known since when or whether or not it had been initially sent to Syria and later redeployed to the micro-Asian province. *Ala Thracum Herculiana* is recorded in MDs in the same province in 153 (with f.s.u.), the Kazanlâk MD (156/157)⁸⁸ where the letters [...]erc leave little doubt on its identity; there is enough space in the missing part to supply with [*Thrac H*]erc. One of its *praefecti* in the mid 2nd century was the famous *Tib. Claudius Agrippa* mentioned on an inscription from Termessos in Pisidia⁸⁹. He fulfilled the prefecture of this unit as first *militia*.

1994, 221. Stein has noticed that the terms *numerus-ala*, creating a pleonasm indicates a later period of this monument, however subsequent to the end of the 2nd century.

⁸¹ CIL VI 31162 = ILS 2188; Kraft 1951, 160, no. 613; cf. Stein 1932, 154; Bogaers 1974¹, 459; Jarrett 1969, 218, no. 7.

⁸² CIL XIV 5340; Pflaum 1960, 935 no. 352.

⁸³ Bogaers 1974¹, 456–459; Alföldy 1968, 37 and no. 65 believes that the headquarters of the *ala* remains unknown, eventually suggesting as a garrison for the regiment one of the seven ala forts between Rindern (Havenatium) and Wörringen (Burungum). For the Vechten fort see Glasbergen 1972; Polak, Wynia, 1991, 125–156.

⁸⁴ CIL XIII 10017; 10028 (on a 'Bronzehelm'); Alföldy 1968, 192, no. 84.

⁸⁵ CIL II 4239 = RIT 301 (Tarragona), CIL XII 1357, 2; cf. Cavenailles 1970 no. 1859 (La Vaison la Romaine).

⁸⁶ Cichorius 1893, 1263; Birley 1978, 267 no. 12. The name, apparently of a later date, belongs to the 2nd century ('well into the 2nd century'). See a similar attribution of a surname to a one of its commanders, probably the one who recruited no. 1. Spaul 1994 cites *C. Iulius Heracles* who might have been its first commander, while *Herculan(i)us* is also recorded (Birley 1978, 267, no. 12). The patronymic of the ala is also recorded in Egypt on ostraka as εἰλης Ἡρκουλάνης (P. Alex. Giss. 8 = SB X 10624).

⁸⁷ Wiess 2006, 265–273; Eck, Pangerl 2004, 233–241.

⁸⁸ CIL XVI 106; Sanders 1947, 53; Daris 1956, 237–238.

⁸⁹ Schehl 1929, 102–106; AE 1929, 125; TAM 3, 1, 52; Devijver 1976, 238–239, no. 115.

A detachment of the regiment was part of the expeditionary force during L. Verus' Parthian campaign, in 162–165, as recorded on the Byllis inscription⁹⁰. The ala continued to garrison in Syria, at Palmyra (Tadmor)⁹¹, where it was replaced by *ala Vocontiorum* very likely shortly after 183. The presence of the Thracian unit in the Syrian town is attested by a series of inscriptions that records prefects and equites. In 167, *Aurelius Mareas* or *Marcius*, having received the citizenship from Lucius Verus, sets the statue in the Bel sanctuary to honor the Roman knight (*equus Romanus*) Iulius Iulianus, the prefect of the regiment⁹². The same Iulianus commanded the regiment during the Marcus Aurelius' reign. A fragmentary *ex voto*, dated by early 60s of the 2nd century records a Thracian soldier⁹³. The regiment's mission in Syria was also aiming to ensure the guard of the caravan routes.

The most clear and complete evidence of the constant presence of the unit at Palmyra in the third quarter of the 2nd century is a text from Bel temple which states: the 'ala which is stationed here' (ἐνθαδε εἴλης)⁹⁴. It was found together with a Palmyrenian bust with an inscription datable between 150 and 180⁹⁵.

A fragmentary inscription comes from Konularp (Prusias ad Hypium)⁹⁶. It is considered by Lörincz as a proof that the regiment or a sizable part could have been dispatched to Pannonia during the Marcommanic wars. It is likely that Πεωνία in the Konularp inscription is a reference to Pannonia (ἐπαρχον ἐν Πεονία τῆς α' Θρακῶν Ἡρακλειανῆς) although the transfer must have taken place very likely only shortly before 170, but after the end of the Verus' Parthian war in 166⁹⁷.

In early 80s, whether or not it returned from the Danubian front for a short period at Palmyra, the unit was redeployed to Egypt, at Coptos, near Thebe, where it switched garrison with *ala Vocontiorum*⁹⁸. This was still 'in Aegypt' on 2 March, 179⁹⁹. An inscription of 183 records the Thracian unit in Egypt¹⁰⁰. Therefore the change of garrison at Coptos must have taken place sometime between 179 and 183. In 185, the Thracian regiment was certainly in Coptos (ἐν Κόπτῳ εἴλης Ἡρακλειανῆς) where a duplarius was charged with the requisition of rye in the Tertion Epa village¹⁰¹. The regiment is also attested at Coptos between 188 and 202 on a series of receipts issued in the administrative offices of the town and also on ostraka¹⁰².

In the 3rd century, the regiment was still in Egypt. In 213–216 the *ala* continued to be stationed in Egypt as shown by a papyrus in which one of its praefecti is recorded¹⁰³. On P. Dura 66 dated in 216, the regiment bears the imperial epithet *Antoniniana*¹⁰⁴.

⁹⁰ CIL III 600 = 14 203³⁵.

⁹¹ Speidel 1984, 169; Daris 1988, 753.

⁹² Seyrig 1933, 159 = ILS 8869; AE 1933, 208. The temple of Bel in Palmyra was erected under Antoninus Pius at the latest, and therefore it is precisely dated; Seyrig 1933, 153.

⁹³ AE 1952, 240. The fragment has been dated on the basis of *Silvanus* and *Augurinus* consulships: *Silvano et Augurino c[on]s.*

⁹⁴ Seyrig 1933, 159, no. 1. The author dated the inscription after the building of the western portico of the Bel sanctuary erected under Antoninus Pius at the latest. Both Seyrig 1933, 154 and Speidel 1984, 169 suggest 183 as the date of the finishing of the monument.

⁹⁵ Seyrig 1933, 160, no. 3 = AE 1933, 209 now in the Louvre Museum.

⁹⁶ IGRRP III 1420 = ILS 8868. Devijver 1987, 30, no. 1792.

⁹⁷ Lörincz 1990, 76; 1992, 91; cf also Cagnat in IGRRP I, 497, n.1.

⁹⁸ IGRRP I 1184; Speidel 1972, 494–497; 1984, 167–169; Römer 1990, 144.

⁹⁹ Römer 1990, 137–153 = RMD 185.

¹⁰⁰ AE 1933, 241; Seyrig 1941, 241; Speidel 1972, 494–497 = 1984, 167–169; Daris 1988, 753; Römer 1990, 145; see in general Speidel 1972, 496–497; Römer 1990, 145. A receipt of 159 from Coptos (see n. 101) indicates not the Thracian ala, as Cichorius 1893, 1263 states, but *ala Vocontiorum* which was still there at that time.

¹⁰¹ P. Amh II 107–109; Daris 1964, 135, no. 54.

¹⁰² Daris 1964, 135, no. 54; Fink 1971, no. 89; 39, n. 5; Ostr. 961; 1013; 1012; P. Mich VII 441 = CPL, 231–232, no. 119.

¹⁰³ Thomas, Davies 1977, 53.

¹⁰⁴ P. Dura 66 = Fink 1971, 374–375, no. 89, frg. 39 in which the restoration [...*ala Thracum Hercu*][*a*][*nia*][*a*][*nt*][*o*][*niniana*] seems obvious.

Literature: Cichorius 1893, 1263; Lesquier 1918, 78–79; Schehl 1929, 102–106; Seyrig 1933, 152–168; Sanders 1947, 47–55; Daris 1956, 237–238; Gilliam 1986, 233–243 = SB 10530; Jarrett 1969, 216–217; Fink 1971 no. 89; 39 n. 5 and Appendix; Devijver 1975, 98–99 n. 118; Birley 1978, 267 no. 12; Speidel 1984, 169; Daris 1988, 753; Lörincz 1990, 76 = 1992, 91; Samsaris 1990, 17, 18; Römer 1990, 145; Spaul 1994, 142–143.

8. ALA I THRACUM MAURETANA

The unit is known as *Mauretana*¹⁰⁵ or as *Mauretania*¹⁰⁶. The name suggests an initial and longer stay in Mauretania Caesariensis. Jarrett presumed its arrival in the Mauretanian province as part of the expeditionary force in the wars waged during late Gaius' or early Claudius' reigns¹⁰⁷ (see chapter VIII).

The regiment is early in date¹⁰⁸. The title seems to have been granted and officially circulated previously to its dispatch to Judea¹⁰⁹. It is firstly recorded in the Turea MD for Judea, given to a Thracian horseman, where it appears as *Mauretana*¹¹⁰.

The regiment is recorded in the Karanis and Coptos MDs for Egypt¹¹¹. It might have arrived in the province by early 2nd century and remained in the garrison along the 2nd and 3rd century¹¹².

The earliest known document of the regiment in Egypt is a testament left by a soldier in Alexandria (Al Iskandarya) dated 27 March 142, where its garrison is precisely indicated as: '*Alex(andriae) ad Aegyptum) in castris Aug(ustis) Hibernis leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae) For(tis)*'. The papyrus records some military grades and equites of the unit¹¹³. A *pridianum* of the *cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum* of August 156 mentions a decurion, who was *reiectus* (sent back) from the Thracian cavalry regiment and moved *ad vircam* (to a centurional commission) in the cohort. The move was a result of a promotional measure taken in March 134 '*Vibio Varo cos*'¹¹⁴.

A papyrus for 173–174 from Karanis on a census in that year mentions an ἐπικρίσις of an eques in 154–155. The document is not a strong evidence for the presence of the unit in Karanis, but the regiment may have been in Fayum oasis by 154/155¹¹⁵.

P. Berol. inv. 21675 records an imminent dispatch of the regiment or only of a detachment in Mauritania, possibly to boost the strength engaged in the Antoninus Pius' Mauretanian war in 152 (see chapter VIII)¹¹⁶. In 199, fourteen of its decurions together with those of *ala veterana Gallica* set an

¹⁰⁵ BGU II 696 = Daris 1964, 49–51 no. 9; CIL III 14139.

¹⁰⁶ Romer 1990, 137–153 = RMD 185.

¹⁰⁷ Jarrett 1969, 217 no. 5. Mommsen 1884, 404 thinks the epithet *Mauretana* was received following some military actions in Mauretania; Cagnat 1892, 299.

¹⁰⁸ Cichorius 1894, 1264; Jarrett 1969, 217 no. 5; Priest 1983, 66. Mowat 1886, 245 followed by Priest 1983, 66 thinks this ala was created in Mauretania with auxiliaries recruited in Thrace. The tradition of sending Thracian recruits in the northern Africa is maintained even in the 3rd century (CIL VIII 9381 = ILS 2763) (see chapter III).

¹⁰⁹ Mowat 1886, 245; Appelbaum 1976, 68 no. 32. Cichorius 1894, 1264 presumes that the ala changed the garrison with *ala Sebastenorum* at Kherba des Ouled Hellal.

¹¹⁰ CIL XVI 33 = IDR I 24 (86); Mowat 1886, 245; Appelbaum 1976, 68, no. 32.

¹¹¹ CIL XVI 184 (Karanis) (156); Römer 1990, 137–153 = AE 1990, 1023 = RMD (Coptos) (179).

¹¹² Knight 1991, 206.

¹¹³ AE 1948, 168; CPL 221; Criniti 1973 no. 15^a, 196, 1021^a, 1284^a, 1490^a, 1516^a, 1581^a, 1778^a, 2101^a, 2074^a, 2170^a; Maxfield 2000, 430; Jarrett 1969, 217 no.5; Appelbaum 1976, 68 no. 32; Daris 1988, 754; Spaul 1994, 158.

¹¹⁴ Daris 1988, 754; BGU II 696 = CPL 118; Cavenaille 1958, 228–229 no. 18; Daris 1964, 50 no. 9; Fink 1971, 228–230 no. 64, 25–26. Lesquier 1918, 80, n. 2 with important correctives to the Mommsen's commentary (1892, 456). The text is: *reiectus ab alae I THRAC dec I II Mauretaniae ad vircam (i.e. virgam) cohortis*; Fink 1971, 229 l. 25–27 and 230 n. 25; Mommsen 1892, 456–457 reads ALA II, for ALA EI an untenable lecture promptly corrected by Cichorius 1894, 1264; Speidel 1965, 51; Fink 1971, 64 I, 25–26.

¹¹⁵ BGU I 26 = II 447; Maxfield 2000, 430; Priest 1983, 66. The ostrakon mentioned in a private collection, mentioned by Maxfield 2000, 430 n. 127 was not accessible to me.

¹¹⁶ Rea 1977, 223–227.

honorific altar dedicated to Septimius Severus in *Castra Caesaris*, near Alexandria¹¹⁷. From the same city comes an undated inscription belonging to a *veteranus ex decurione*¹¹⁸ and from Kalebsah (Talmis) a stone mentions a cavalryman who served in the same unit¹¹⁹. In 203–210, ala was still in Egypt, as a decurion's altar in Philae shows. The dispatch of a detachment of the cavalry unit in this place is probable¹²⁰.

The many places where the unit left traces show its dynamic activity, although it is hardly conceivable that it was entirely deployed in different regions within fifty years. Its base remained Alexandria from where it sent vexillations to Philadelphia, Arsinoe, Talmis, and Philae.

The regiment continued to garrison Egypt along the 3rd century. However, in the second half of the 3rd century the unit was dispatched in the fort at *Silè* (Tell Abou Seifa), to the east, where in 288 it carried out building activities¹²¹. The inscription seems to be the last epigraphic record known so far referring to the existence of this cavalry regiment.

Literature: Keil 1882, 11; Mowat 1886, 245; Cagnat 1892, 299; Mommsen 1892, 456–457; Cichorius 1893, 1264; Lesquier 1918, 79–80; Daris 1964, 50 no. 9; Jarrett 1969, 217 no. 5; Cavenaille 1970, 213–320; Crinitti 1973, 93–158; Fink 1971, 228–233 no. 64; Appelbaum 1976, 68 no. 32; Rea 1977, 223–227; Pflaum 1981, 290; Speidel 1981, 89–92 = 1992, 109–110; Priest 1983, 65–70; Mor 1986, 576; 579; Daris 1988, 754–755; Römer 1990, 144; Knight 1991, 206; Spaul 1994, 158–159; Maxfield 2000, 407–442; Valbelle, Carrez-Maratray 2000, 28.

9. ALA I THRACUM VETERANA SAGITTARIA

The epithet *veterana* / *veteranorum* is still a matter of debate in modern epigraphic literature. Even the ancient inscribers wrote different names. Frequently, MDs offer the abbreviation *vet* or *veter*. Based on the Mactar inscription¹²² which gives *veteranorum*, Keil, Mommsen, Cichorius, Stein, Nagy, and Jarrett, restored the abbreviated form as *veter(anorum)* referring therefore not to ala but to the Thracian soldiers¹²³. However, the first MD for Pannonia Superior known so far shows clearly *vet[era]na* and it is preferable to treat it that way¹²⁴.

As results from the situation showed in the case of no. 4, the regiment could have very well proceed from the splitting in two of the initial regiment *veterana Gallorum et Thracum* towards the end of the 1st century from which two distinct units appeared: one deployed in Egypt and known in inscriptions and papyri as *ala veterana Gallica* and the other the unit in the title (see no. 4).

The place where the regiment could have had its initial headquarters is unknown but it might have continued to garrison in one of the Eastern provinces before being sent to the Danubian frontier in

¹¹⁷ CIL III 14 = 6581; Cavenaille 1970 nos. 26, 32, 116, 126, 292, 307, 401, 606, 670, 1102, 1133, 1722. Cichorius took this inscription as an argument for a common garrison of both alae in *Castra Caesaris*, near Alexandria; Daris 1988, 754.

¹¹⁸ CIL III 14139.

¹¹⁹ CIG 5062 = IGRRP III 1349.

¹²⁰ CIL III 75 = ILS 4424; Maxfield 2000, 412. The inscription dates from the time of the Subatianus Aquila's office as *pr(aefectus) Aegypti*.

¹²¹ CIL III 13578; 28; Valbelle, Carrez-Maratray 2000, 28.

¹²² CIL VIII 619.

¹²³ Keil 1882, 16, 68; Mommsen, in the commentary of CIL III 436; Cichorius 1893, 1265; Stein 1932, 154, n. 251; Nagy 1956, 49 n.1; Jarrett 1969, 218 no. 6

¹²⁴ RMD 86 (113). Wagner 1938, 69; Kraft 1951, 160 no. 620; Radnóti, Barkóczy 1951, 204; Mócsy 1962, 620; Dietz 1984, 228–229; Strobel 1987, 264–265 prefer *veterana*; cf. Benseddik 1977, 49 prefers *veteranorum*. On another MD (03. 05.112) for Pannonia Superior (Spaul 1994, 223; Roxan 361, no. 6) the epithet is also *veterana*. Nagy 1956, 59 points out that *veteranorum* is not associated with ala as a unit, but with Thracum. Roxan RMD 59 n. 34, on the contrary, considers *veterana* as the correct epithet because *veteranorum* come from *veterani* and would have been an unusual denomination in the nomenclature of an active unit. On this matter see also Dietz 1984, 226–227; 229. Lörincz (1990, 224) considers that the regiment was set under Trajan while Spaul (1994, 224) under Domitian.

early 2nd century with fresh contingents already raised in the Eastern provinces. Dietz assumed that the Isaurian soldier discharged from the unit in 129 could have been part of a larger contingent destined to fill the gaps in the unit after the first Dacian war and was therefore recruited in ca. 103¹²⁵.

Once it was deployed on the Danube frontier, the regiment is considered as have being stationed in Pannonia Superior. The early Pannonian garrison is still controversial. A tile stamp AITHR found at Petronell, near Carnuntum had been initially considered as an evidence of the regiment's presence in this military centre by early 2nd century¹²⁶, but it seems that the stamped tile belongs to *ala I Thracum victrix* (no. 10)¹²⁷. Strobel considers the stamped tile from Carnuntum-Petronell as irrelevant and uncertain for the presence of the regiment in this fort in the first two decades of the 2nd century¹²⁸. Lörincz and Dietz bring up the evidence of the occupation of the fort in Trajanic epoch by *ala III Augusta Thracum* on the basis of an already known *Ulpus Prosostus*' tombstone and give as the first garrison for the regiment the *Ala Nova* (Schwechat) fort¹²⁹. The controversy is still hovering on this matter. However, the inscription evidence appears more convincing on the basis that Ulpus Prosostus died there still in active service, and therefore Schwechat in our opinion would remain for the time being to be considered as the first base of the regiment in Pannonia Superior. From the same period, from Mannersdorf, close to Schwechat, to the south-west, dates the stele of a veteran of the regiment, *Ulpus Cives*, who must have retreated next to the place where he had served for some time¹³⁰.

In 117/118, during the conflict with Sarmatians the unit was moved to *Intercisa* (Dunaujváros) in Pannonia Inferior, where it replaced *cohors I Alpinorum*¹³¹. The regiment is recorded in Pannonia Superior for the last time in the Écs MD of 116 and it does not appear in the f.s.u. MD of 1 July 126¹³². Within this interval the unit must have been deployed in Pannonia Inferior. The tombstone of *Axeto*, curator of the Thracian ala, who died while in service in the 20s or 30s of the 2nd century add new stylistic evidence for the date of this transfer¹³³.

The series of MDs for this province records the unit uninterruptedly until 185. As Nagy has demonstrated, *cohors I Alpinorum* returned to Intercissa by mid 2nd century a fact that entailed the redeployment of the *ala I Thracum* at *Campona* (Nagyttény) in the 40s of the 2nd century (at the latest), where it replaced *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, rebuilt the fort in stone and garrisoned it along the 3rd century¹³⁴. A significant number of epigraphic monuments attesting a rich building activity (see chapter

¹²⁵ RMD 34; Dietz 1984, 227; cf. Strobel 1984, 118; 1987, 265; Roxan 34 note 6. The view that this regiment is identical with no.6 (*ala I Thracum*) in the Malpas (RIB 2401.1) (103) and Stannington (RIB 2401.6) (124) MDs (Nagy 1956, 56) seems highly improbable and at all sustainable, for the British unit was moved to Lower German army before 127 (RMD 239).

¹²⁶ Stieglitz 1978, 10–11; Dietz 1984, 265; Dietz 1987, 261; Stieglitz 1986, pl. 12, no. 31. On the Carnuntum auxiliary fort see Stieglitz 1986; Kandler, Veters 1989, 202, 210.

¹²⁷ Lörincz 1992, 92; 2001, 24 no. 26.

¹²⁸ Strobel 1987, 264, n. 28 and 29; 266.

¹²⁹ Lörincz 2001, 24, no. 26; Dietz 1984, 228, 230, 265; AE 1937, 78 (the Ulpus Prosostus' tombstone). It is noticeable, however, that in 1987 (Lörincz, Visy 1987, 340) the first garrison of the ala was seen to have been at Carnuntum after the Trajan's Dacian wars, while the one of *ala III Augusta Thracum* was considered to be at Schwechat. The conjectural possibility of an early garrison of the *ala I Thracum veterana* at Schwechat invoked by that time had already been suggested (Nagy 1956, 46–47; 57–58); Visy 1987, 340; 1992, 92).

¹³⁰ Ubl 1974, 422, n. 31; Lörincz 2001, 24, n.119.

¹³¹ Szilágyi 1947, 9; Radnóti, Barkóczy 1951, 201; Nagy 1956, 57–58; Visy 1976, 2; Dietz 1984, 260–261, 265.

¹³² CIL XVI 64; RMD 236.

¹³³ AE 1906, 109 = RIU 1206; Radnóti, Barkóczy 1951, 91; Nagy 1956 50–51 n.14 and 19 pointed out that no matter the characteristics of the stylistic forms on the Axeto' funerary monument are, *ala I Thracum* can not be excluded among the Intercissa auxiliary units. Radnóti, Barkóczy 1951, 207 opined that the earliest monuments of the military personnel of the unit (among which Axeto) appears with a *calo* and two horses, that would indicate their provenance from the Aquincum workshops, in close connection with the ancient tradition inherited from the time when the personnel of *ala Frontoniana* was present there. cf. Cichorius 1894, 1265; Wagner 1938, 69; Jarrett 1969, 218 no. 6.

¹³⁴ Wagner 1938, 70–71; Radnóti, Barkóczy 1951, 216, 220; Nagy 1956, 50; 58 n. 82; Fitz 1962, 57–58; Lörincz 1990, 76; 1992, 92; 2001 24 no.26. For the replacement of the *ala Frontoniana* see also: Radnóti, Barkóczy 1951, 89–90; Barkóczy 1954, 241–242.

IX) originate from different places in or outside the fort¹³⁵. An altar from Aquincum was interpreted as an evidence of the presence of some military of the regiment in the capital-city of the province where they will have buried their relatives¹³⁶. Other monuments appear either as a result of the building activity at Budafök, Rácalmás, or family interests¹³⁷. It is rather difficult to explain the Puszta Geller tombstone of the decurion who died during the service¹³⁸.

Literature: Keil 1882, 16, 68; Cichorius 1893, 1265; Wagner 1938, 69–71; Kraft 1951, 160–161 no. 620–633; Radnóti, Barkóczi 1951, 89–90; 201–202; 216, 220; Nagy 1956, 16–71, especially 49–58; Barkóczi 1954, 241–242; Mocsy 1962, 620; Jarrett 1969, 218 no. 6; Fitz 1972, 42–43; Lörincz 1981, 129; Dietz 1984, 229–230; 260–266; Strobel 1984, 118; Visy 1986, 511; Lörincz, Visy 1987, 340; Strobel 1987, 264–266; Genser 1986, 65–66; 1988, 50–51; Lörincz 1990, 76; Samsaris 1990, 16, 18; Mócsy, Fitz, 1990, 76; Lörincz 1992, 92; Spaul 1994, 223–225; Lörincz 2001, 24 no. 26 and catalogue no. 173–193.

10. ALA I THRACUM VICTRIX

The history of this regiment, before it first appears in Noricum, remains completely unknown¹³⁹. Keil suggests the unit could have been redeployed to Pannonia from Germany, although there is no evidence in this respect¹⁴⁰. Wagner and Kraft followed by Barkóczi invoked the 1st century inscription from Mattersdorf (Scarbantia) recording an *equus* of Celtic origin to sustain the idea of an early presence in Pannonia, at Carnuntum¹⁴¹. It has been for a long time demonstrated that the monument mentions in fact *ala I H(ispanorum)* according to the Radnóti's final revision¹⁴². Strobel had considered the presence of the regiment in Noricum, at Traismauer, already in the 70s of the 1st century, during the Flavian and Trajanic periods, on the basis of the tombstone of the cavalry man Trocleimarus¹⁴³. The assumption was confirmed by a MD for Noricum of 08. 09. 79 granted to a soldier of Thracian origin¹⁴⁴.

A fragmentary inscription from Lentia (Linz) dated in the second half of the 1st century adds to the data on the early garrisoning of the regiment in the province. The fragment bears: [...] *Sabin(us)* [...] *I Thrac v[ictrix]*. The missing letters were restored either THRAC V[ictrix], or THRACV[m], a reading which might prove the presence of the ala at Linz at that time before being moved to Pannonia Superior¹⁴⁵. The restitution *I [Thrac]u[m (victrix)]* on the Wels MD (106)¹⁴⁶ is a compelling evidence of

¹³⁵ The bulk of epigraphic material from Nagytétény was collected initially by Nagy 1956, 49–50, n. 1–14. The gravestone of the cavalry man *Ulpius Valentinus*, found in the fort, does not name any specific unit, but it likely pertains to the Thracian regiment (CIL III 3401; Kraft 1951, 160 no. 623; Nagy 1956, 50 n. 12); see also Cichorius 1893, 1262; Wagner 1938, 69; Mocsy 1962, 620–621; Radnóti, Barkóczi 1951, 205; Lörincz 1992, 92; 2001, cat. no. 187–191. Fitz 1972, 42–43 considers that ala was billeted at Nagytétény from 117/118 until Marcus Aurelius or Commodus when the garrison was taken over by *cohors I Hemesenorum*.

¹³⁶ CIL III 3465 = 10342; Radnóti-Barkóczi 1951, 201; Szilágyi 1950, 460.

¹³⁷ CIL III 10624; Nagy 1956, 50 (Budafök); CIL III 10 632; Nagy 1942, 415 (Rácalmás) CIL III 15154 = RIU 1398) (Csákvár).

¹³⁸ CIL III 10369; Radnóti, Barkóczi 1951, 201; Nagy 1956, 51–52.

¹³⁹ Spaul 1994, 226 suggests the provenance of the unit from the division of a certain *ala Thracum* (?) in Pannonia during the Hadrian's reign, having as a result both the setting of our ala and *ala I Thracum veterana* (cf. no. 9).

¹⁴⁰ Keil 1885, 22.

¹⁴¹ CIL III 4244; Wagner 1938, 72; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 641; Barkóczi 1958, 417; cf. Cichorius 1893, 1265; Betz 1909, 320 no. 409 ascribes the inscription to *ala I Augusta Thracum*.

¹⁴² Szilágyi 1952, 192, n. 26; Dietz 1984, 260 n. 608; cf. Lörincz 2001, no. 123.

¹⁴³ AE 1950, 116; Strobel 1984, 118; 1987, 263; Dietz 1984, 264 assigns the Troucleimarus' tombstone to *ala I Augusta Thracum*.

¹⁴⁴ Weiss 2004, 239–254; Kraft 1951, 162, no. 655.

¹⁴⁵ Karnisch 1956, 193, 251–252, no. 240, pl. 19, 1; a tile stamp ATP = A(la) T(hracum) P(rima) (Karnisch 1970, 59) confirms the short presence of the regiment at Linz; Ruprechtsberger 1979, 15, n.31; Dietz 1984, 261, n. 617. For the dating of the

the unit's presence in Noricum by early 2nd century. Dietz presumes the stationing of the ala in Noricum, at *Lentia* (Linz)¹⁴⁷ even if for a short time, where it was replaced by *ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana* dispatched from Britain¹⁴⁸. However, the unit does not seem to be identical neither with *ala I Augusta Thracum* or *ala Augusta*¹⁴⁹.

Lörincz thinks that the ala came to Pannonia Superior from Noricum in about 118/119¹⁵⁰. Strobel on the other hand opined that ala took part in the Trajan's Parthian war (see chapter VIII) as an auxiliary troop of *legio XV Apollinaris* stationed at that time in Pannonia Superior. The epithet *Victrix* could have been awarded as a consequence of an exemplary behavior of the regiment in the Trajan's Parthian war¹⁵¹.

The regiment returned to Pannonia Superior in ca. 117–118. An early proof of the activity of the ala in Pannonia Superior is the first half of the 2nd century Poetovio (Ptuj) altar¹⁵². The date must, however, be much earlier, to the first two decades of the 2nd century, considering the DM associated with the ending formula *v. s. l. m.* Ala continued to be recorded in the MDs for Pannonia Superior until 163.

The entire regiment or a detachment was firstly and for quite a short time billeted in *Carnuntum* as suggested by a tile stamp AITHR = A(la) I THR(acum) [...] which is usually taken as evidence for its presence in the fort¹⁵³.

Later, possibly in the 20s of the 2nd century, the unit was moved again to Noricum and billeted at *Ala Nova* (Schwechat) (Noricum), where it replaced *ala I Thracum veterana* and remained there in the 2nd and 3rd century¹⁵⁴. In Rome, a late 2nd or early 3rd century the tombstone records an *eques singularis* who was *allectus ex ala I Thracum ex Pannonia superiore* in the Imperial body guards¹⁵⁵.

Spaul suggests either the inclusion of the rests of this regiment into *ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana* (no. 1) or its disappearance in the second half of the 2nd century, because of lack of recruits, or simply its elimination from the records of the Roman army after a heavy defeat in the Marcommanic wars. None of these possibilities can arguably be sustained and admitted, although the information on the regiment at that period or later is indeed lacking¹⁵⁶.

Literature: Keil 1882, 20; Cichorius 1893, 1265; Wagner 1938, 71–72; Bratanić 1951, 14–16; Radnóti-Barkóczy 1951, 118; Barkóczy 1958, 417; Fitz 1962, 42; Mócsy 1962, 620; Jarrett 1969, 217 no.4; Alföldy 1974², 258; Harl 1978, 107–109; Ruprechtsberger 1979, 15; Kandler 1980², 3ff; Strobel 1984, 118; Genser 1986, 112–113; 532–547. Dietz 1987, 260–266; Strobel 1987, 263–264; Kandler, Veters 1989, 210; Lörincz 1990, 76–77; Mócsy, Fitz, 1990, 76; Lörincz 1992, 93; Spaul 1994, 226–227; Weiss, 1999, 147–182; Lörincz 2001, 35 no. 27.

fragment in the 3rd century see Alföldy 1974², 251, 258; Dietz 1984, 261; Alföldy 1974², 258; Genser 1986, 113; Lörincz 2001, 25; see, however, Strobel 1987, 263, n. 263 considers the piece as insufficient evidence to admit the presence of the ala at Linz.

¹⁴⁶ CIL XVI 52; Dietz 1984, 261.

¹⁴⁷ On the fort see Genser 1986, 120.

¹⁴⁸ Ubl 1977–1978, 241–242.

¹⁴⁹ Genser 1986, 113.

¹⁵⁰ Lörincz 1992, 93; 2001, 25.

¹⁵¹ Strobel 1984, 118; 1987, 264, n. 28; Spaul 1994, 226.

¹⁵² Bratanić 1951, 15–16 = ILJug 1, 339; Dietz 1984, 265, n. 656.

¹⁵³ Stieglitz 1978, 10–11; Lörincz 1981, 129; Genser 1986, 646; Stieglitz 1986, pl. 12 no. 31; Lörincz 2001, 25 no. 27; cf. Strobel 1987, 264 n. 27, but still 'um 200' by Lörincz 2001 no. 194.

¹⁵⁴ Kandler, Veters 1989, 187–192; Genser 1986, 532–547; Dietz 1984, 266; Strobel 1987, 264.

¹⁵⁵ CIL VI 3308 = ILS 2210. Wagner 1938, 71; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 641 dates the inscription around 200; cf. Jarrett 1969, 217 no. 4.

¹⁵⁶ Spaul 1994, 226.

11. ALA II AUGUSTA THRACUM PIA FIDELIS

The patronymic *Augusta* suggests an early recruitment during Augustus' reign. Whether or not the ala was shortly garrisoned in the Eastern provinces in the first stage of its existence is not known. An early presence is quite possible as it was one of the many Thracian regiments sent either directly to the East, soon after they were raised in late Augustus' reign, or structured in Judea from the contingents serving in Herod's army¹⁵⁷.

A dispatch of the unit from the East to Hispania must have happened by mid Tiberius' reign in unknown circumstances.

Two inscriptions from Ricobayo (Zamora) (Hispania Citerior) and Villar de Placencia (Lusitania), both of Julio-Claudian period, record *ala II Thracum* and soldiers recruited in the two provinces. They show an early dispatch of the regiment in the Iberian Peninsula, more likely in Hispania Citerior¹⁵⁸. Roldan and Le Roux do not include this unit among *auxilia Hispaniae*¹⁵⁹. The Ricobayo inscription would be an evidence for a short presence of the unit in Hispania (or Lusitania ?) at an early date, maybe in late Tiberius or early Claudius reign¹⁶⁰.

The regiment could have been dispatched to Mauretania in early Claudius' reign to join the expeditionary force engaged in quelling the Moorish revolt in 42–44 (see chapter VIII).

After the organization of Mauretania in two separate provinces (40) the unit remained in the new province and was deployed at *Caesarea* (Cherchel), the city capital of Mauretania Caesariensis, where it was billeted uninterruptedly in the 2nd and 3rd centuries¹⁶¹. Its long garrisoning produced a significant number of inscriptions set by the military personnel from second half of the 1st through 2nd–3rd centuries¹⁶².

The regiment discharges contingents in Mauretania Caesariensis which the Cherchel MD (107)¹⁶³ refers to. First century inscriptions in Mauretania Caesariensis record recruits also from Thessaly and Illyricum, all considered by Le Roux as the result of a 'recruitment cosmopolite' in the regiment¹⁶⁴. The ala had a remarkable dynamic activity in the province reflected in the inscriptions set by its personnel both inside and outside Caesarea.

¹⁵⁷ Knight 1991, 192.

¹⁵⁸ HAE 904 = Leveau 1973, 169 no. 28 = Le Roux 1984, 227 no. 196 (Ricobayo, Zamora, in Hispania Citerior; CIL II 812 = ILER 6333 = Leveau 1973 no. 1 = Le Roux 1982, 226 no. 192 (Villar de Placencia, in Lusitania); Benseddik, 1982, 43; Spaul 1994, 233.

¹⁵⁹ Roldan 1974, 216; Le Roux 1982, 87: 'il ne nous parait pas possible de compter l'aile II des Thraces au nombre de troupes en garnison en Hispania'.

¹⁶⁰ Saddington 1982, 120. Benseddik 1982, 44. Keil 1882, 31 supposed that the regiment could have been stationed in Hispania Tarraconensis even before A.D. 40 and was deployed in Mauretania Caesariensis after that date. Le Roux thinks that the Villar de Placencia and Ricobayo inscriptions show recruitments in the Lusitanian and Spanish lands for the regiment stationed by that time in Mauretania Caesariensis. The inscriptions are pre-Flavian in date that means an early presence of the regiment eventually in Hispania Citerior, under Caius or more likely in early Claudius reign.

¹⁶¹ It is noticeable that the regiment came in Mauretania Caesariensis with recruits that had been levied in Hispania (CIL VIII 9390; Leveau 1973, no. 2 = Benseddik 1977 no. 64; leveau 1973, 158 no. 5 = Benseddik 1977 no. 58; le Roux 1982, 87) and Gauls (CIL VIII 21046 = Leveau 1973, 160 no. 9 = Benseddik 1977, 212 no.65). The record of *ala II Thracum* in several provinces in the 1st century induced the idea of two different alae II Thracum. Jarrett 1969, 218 no. 8 suggest two alae II Thracum, one in Mauretania Caesariensis and another one in Pannonia. Jarrett makes even the distinction between a regiment mentioned in Lusitania and another considered to have been in Pannonia, on the basis of an erroneous reading (Wagner 1938, 73; Kraft 1951, 162 no. 660) on one hand, and the one recorded in Mauretania Caesariensis on the other. However, *Iantumalius Blattonis* was *eques* in *ala I Augusta Ituraeorum* and not in *ala II Augusta Thracum* (RIU 1233) and the regiment was never in Pannonia. In fact, the records in Lusitania and Mauretania Caesariensis show the same regiment mentioned in two different provinces. An inscription from Leibnitz (CIL III 5332) discussed by Alföldy (1974, 258) refers in fact to *ala III Thracum*; cf. Kraft 1951, 162 no. 660–661.

¹⁶² Le Bohec 1999, 120.

¹⁶³ CIL XVI 56.

¹⁶⁴ CIL VIII 9390 = Leveau 1973, 157 no. 2; AE 1975, 945 = Leveau 1982, 158, no.5; Saddington 1982, 120; Spaul 1994, 223; cf. Garcia y Bellido 1961, 135; Roldan Hervas 1974, 216.

The regiment dispatched detachments for military purposes or administrative personnel in several places in the province: Zucchabar, *Rapidum*, Aïn bu Dîb, El Kemish, *Thanaramusa Castra* (Berrouaghia)¹⁶⁵. A transfer of personnel from the regiment into the staff of the procurator of the province is recorded sometime between 130 and 140¹⁶⁶.

At *Mactar*, an *eques* of the regiment who had been transferred by late 1st – early 2nd century in *numerus singulariorum*, i.e. the body of *equites singulares* of the governor of Africa Proconsularis, died in unknown circumstances while in active service¹⁶⁷.

At *Altava* (Hadjar Roum) two votive inscriptions, dated 208, record probably the same decurion in the cavalry regiment. He was in the same time *praepositus cohortis II Sardorum equitata* garrisoned at *Rapidum* in the 2nd century together with a detachment of *ala II Thracum* as an NCO belonging to a higher rank unit¹⁶⁸. Salama supposed the stationing of both units, but it is likely that only a larger detachment of the *ala II* was dispatched there¹⁶⁹.

Literature: Keil 1882, 31–32; Cagnat 1892, 298–299, 310; Cichorius 1894, 1265–1266; Seston 1928, 169–171; Wagner 1938, 73; Garcia y Bellido 1961, 135; Jarrett 1969, 218 no. 8; Le Roux 1982, 86–87; Saddington 1982, 74, 105, 120; Leveau 1973, 153–192; Roldan Hervas 1974, 216; Salama 1976, 586; Holder 1980, 242–243; Benseddik 1982, 43–47 no. 58–97; Speidel 1978, 124; Pflaum 1978¹, 65; Leveau 1984, 145; 497; Knight 1991, 192; Spaul 1994, 231–233; Le Bohec 1999.

12. ALA III AUGUSTA THRACUM SAGITTARIORUM CIVIUM ROMANORUM

The epithet *Augusta* would imply an initial setting of the regiment during Augustus' time¹⁷⁰. The unit was sent directly to Syria. Its first record is a *cursus honorum* from Tarraco (Tarragona), which belongs to *M. Valerius Propinquus Gratus Cerialis*. He fulfilled his career during late Titus' and early Domitian's reigns. His *quarta militia* occurred therefore in 85/86 as *praef(ectus) alae III Thracum in Syr[ia]*¹⁷¹.

The regiment is recorded in the Syrian MDs from 88 (two fragments with f.s.u.), Muhovo (88), f.s.u. (88), f.s.u. (91), and Suhozem (91) as being continuously stationed *in Syria* in the 1st century. The latter Syrian constitution was granted to a Thracian horseman in the unit¹⁷².

¹⁶⁵ CIL VIII 9615 (Zucchabar); CIL VIII 9203; AE 1929, 135; Benseddik 1982, 45; Leveau 1973, 164 (*Rapidum*, Sour Djouab, Ain bu Dib); CIL VIII 20827 (El Kemis); CIL VIII 9238; AE 1936, 31 (*Thanaramusa Castra*, Berrouaghia); CIL VIII 10949 = AE 1932, 31 (*Altava*, Hadjar Roum).

¹⁶⁶ AE 1958, 158; AE 1929, 135; Leveau 1973, no. 11.

¹⁶⁷ AE 1951, 41 = Speidel 1978, 124 no. 82.

¹⁶⁸ AE 1929, 135; Seston 1928, 168–169; 171 supposes a temporary plurality of offices, analogous to a similar situation at *Rapidum* (Sour Djouab), during the Alexander Severus' reign when *cohortis II Sardorum* was under the command of a decurion of *ala Parthorum*. Based on the Sour Djouab inscription (CIL VIII 9203), Cichorius (1894, 1266) thinks that our cavalry regiment was stationed here in the 2nd century.

¹⁶⁹ Salama 1976, 586. Although the size of the fort (430 x 330) would apparently fit the accommodation of the two units, the percentage of the inscriptions set by men from the cavalry regiment compared to the rest of the epigraphic material does not allow such a possibility. The inscriptions belonging to the cavalry unit mentioning officers or active cavalry men deceased during their service and *decuriones praepositi* originating from *ala II Thracum* show rather the presence here of an important detachment than of the whole unit. On the other hand the early presence of a detachment at Sour Ghoslan, ex Aumale (*Auzia*) is supposed on the basis of the P. Aelius Primianus' carrier (CIL VIII 9045 = Leveau 1973, 165–167 no. 19): *ex dec(urione) al(ae) Thrac(um)* (Pflaum 1960, 910–912).

¹⁷⁰ Wagner 1938, 73; Saddington 1982, 161; Spaul 1994, 235.

¹⁷¹ CIL II 4251 = ILS 2711 = RIT 311; Devijver 1977, 826 V 30; cf. Wagner 1938, 73–74; Devijver considers this *praefectura* as having been fulfilled concomitantly (*item*) with that in the *cohortis VIII Phrygum*, also in Syria. *Cerialis* was appointed *in equite* in about 70/81; Alföldi 1968, 192–193, no. 85.

¹⁷² CIL XVI 35 (Muhovo); Weiss 2006, 252–253, no. 1; 253–254, no. 2; Eck, Pangerl 2006, 252–254, nos. 1–2 (f.s.u.); Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219–221, no. 3) (f.s.u.); RMD 4 (Suhozem). There was a tendency in the old literature dealing with this regiment

A marble plaque from Membidj (Syria) mentioning a *veteranus* of the *ala* could refer also to the presence of this unit in this province in late 1st century¹⁷³. Presumably, the regiment could have sent a detachment included into *vexillatio equitum ex Syria* which fought in the Dacian wars, as recorded in the Tokod MD (110) for Pannonia Inferior¹⁷⁴ (see chapter VIII). A fragmentary inscription from Konularp (Bithynia) mentions a standard bearer (*signifer* / σημεαφόρος) of the *ala*, certainly before the dispatch to the Danubian front¹⁷⁵.

The possible and even probable longer presence of a significant vexillation of the regiment on the middle Danube (Pannonia Inferior), after the Dacian wars, could have entailed the dispatch of the entire regiment in Pannonia Superior, where it continued to be recorded in all MDs of the province between 126 and 163¹⁷⁶.

An inscription from Carnuntum mentions an *eques*, who died while in service. His tombstone may be strong evidence that the regiment was billeted at or in the area of *Carnuntum-Petronell* (Pannonia Superior) during the Trajan's reign¹⁷⁷. A prolongation of the presence of the unit at Carnuntum until 118/119 is possible and even probable. After that date, the regiment was moved to *Adiaum/Odiavum* (Dunaalmás)¹⁷⁸ where it rebuilt the fort in stone (see chapter IX) and garrisoned it uninterruptedly until the end of the 3rd century¹⁷⁹.

In mid 40s of the 2nd century, the regiment, or part of it, left temporarily Pannonia Superior for Mauretania Caesariensis where it was engaged in military operations against the Moors¹⁸⁰ (see chapter VIII).

During the Caracalla's reign, the *Brigetio* military center to whose territory the Adiaum fort belonged, was assigned to Pannonia Inferior and therefore the regiment was transferred to armed forces of this province¹⁸¹.

Two second half of the 2nd century tombstones found at Leibnitz (Solva), in Noricum, mentioning personnel from the Thracian *ala* can not be taken as evidence for military activity of the unit in the town¹⁸².

to see two separate units, an *ala III Thracum* and an *ala III Augusta Thracum*. Cichorius (1894, 1266) and Velkov 1927, 24, no. 2 suggest the existence of two *alae III Thracum*, one named *Augusta* and another simply *ala III Thracum*, as it appears in the Tarraco *cursus honorum*. The assumption can not be sustained, as long as the epigraphic evidence equates both designations into one, *ala III Augusta Thracum* (Keil 1882, 36; Jarret 1969, 218, no. 9).

¹⁷³ Jarry 1982, 99; AE 1982, 901; Samsaris 1990, 17.

¹⁷⁴ CIL XVI 164; Saxer 1968, 25 no. 43; Strobel 1984, 118. The vexillation was under the command of *T. Iulius Maximus Marinius*; Wagner 1938, 74.

¹⁷⁵ IGRRP 3, 57 = Ameling 1985, 168–169, no. 104.

¹⁷⁶ Lörincz 2001, 169–172, nos. 40 to 50.

¹⁷⁷ Betz 1937, 170–171 = AE 1937, 78; Wagner 1938, 74; Vísy, Lörincz 1987, 339; Lörincz 1990, 76; 1992, 93; 2001, 25–26 no. 28; cf Kraft 1951, 162 no. 672. Vísy, Lörincz 1987 339 are a little confusing in attributing *Ala Nova* (Schwechat) to this unit in Trajan's time, as long as the fort seems to have been occupied by *ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum* in that period (Lörincz 2001, 24, no. 26).

¹⁷⁸ Vísy, Lörincz 1987, 339; Lörincz 1992, 93; 2001, 25, no. 28.

¹⁷⁹ Cichorius 1893, 1266; Wagner 1938, 74; Mócsy 1962, 620; Radnóti 1959, 138–139; Biró 1976, 39; Lörincz 1977, 87; 1981, 252; Vísy, Lörincz 1987, 339; Lörincz 1992, 93; 2001, 260; Fitz 1962, 47, 75. The older opinion was that the regiment was garrisoned until Marcus Aurelius' reign at *Ad Statuas*. From here it could send detachments to Ács (Radnóti 1954, 59–62; Barkóczi 1958, 418; Fitz 1962, 44; Mócsy 1962, 620). The tile stamp found in the Ács fort and used as an argument to maintain the presence here of personnel of the cavalry regiment belongs in fact to a *cohors I Thacum* (Lörincz 1981, 16, 37). Fitz 1962, 44 opines a change of garrisons from *Ad Statuas* (Váspuszta), where the *ala* would have been in 166–167, at the time of the Langobardi raid in Pannonia, to *Azaum* during Severus Alexander's reign. The same reconsideration goes also in the case of the Győr tile stamp, considered by Wagner to have belonged to our unit (Lörincz 1977 10–15). Wagner 1939, 73 considers *Arrabona* as a garrison for the Thracian cavalry regiment until 149–150; cf. Fitz 1962, 43.

¹⁸⁰ CIL XVI 99.

¹⁸¹ Fitz 1962, 98–106.

¹⁸² CIL III 5332; 5340 = Betz 1935 no. 415; Wagner 1938, 74. The fragmentary inscription from Solva (CIL III 5332) mentions [*ala...*] *I Aug Thr* read as being either no. 5, or more probably [*ala II*] *I Aug. Thr.*

Occasioned by the intense activity of the re-building and up keeping of the roads and bridges between Adiaum/Odiavum and Brigetio (see chapter IX), the regiment received successively the surnames of *Gordiana*, *Philippiana*, *Deciana*, *Galliana-Volusiana*, *Claudiana*.

A series of 2nd century MDs show that the regiment was *sagittariorum* a tactical attribute which does not, however, appear in any of the 2nd–3rd century inscriptions. It is interesting on the other hand that the juridical distinction *civium Romanorum* is missing in the MDs, a sign which confirms that the title could have been received only in the 3rd century, possibly during or after the Severan period. The regiment appears with this high juridical distinction only during Decius' reign¹⁸³. The imperial epithet *Augusta*, although does not appear in all the inscriptions, might have been preserved until mid 3rd century or later¹⁸⁴.

It still remains to be clarified whether an inscription from *Arrabona* (Győr), restored as [*ala III*] *Aug Th[racum]* by the editors of CIL and RIU¹⁸⁵ refers or not to this unit or it hints at the infantry regiment no. 31.

From Csákbéreny, in the territory of *civitas Azaliorum*, a tombstone of an *eques* in the regiment labels the regiment as *n(umerus) III T(h)rac(um)*¹⁸⁶. Another Thracian cavalry regiment, *ala I Thracum* in Lower Germany is also called *numerus ala* (see no. 6) although in the Pannonian case the indication *ala* is missing.

Literature: Keil 1882, 36; Cichorius 1894, 1266–7; Velkov 1927, 74 no.2; Wagner 1938, 73–75; Kraft 1951, 162 no. 670–674; Szilágyi 1952, 200; Radnóti 1954, 59–62; 1959, 139–141; Barkóczi 1958, 418; Mócsy 1962, 620; Jarrett 1969, 218 no.9; Biró 1976, 39; Lőrincz 1981, 16, 37, 56, 63, 65; Strobel 1984, 118; Lőrincz, Visy 1987, 339; Lőrincz 1990, 76; 1992, 93; Samsaris 1990, 17, 18; Knight 1991, 199; Spaul 1994, 234–235; Kovács 1998, 287–290.

¹⁸³ *Gordiana* in 242: CIL III 11332 = Fitz 1983, no. 614; cf. CIL III 11327 = Fitz 1983, no. 613; *Philippiana* in 245: 247: CIL III 4626 = Fitz 1983, no. 691; CIL III 4627 = 11324 = Fitz 1983, no. 692; *Deciana*, in 249–251: CIL III 4625 = Fitz 1983, no. 717; *Galliana-Volusiana*, in 252: CIL III 4270 = ILS 523 = RIU 705 = Fitz 1983, no. 212; *Claudiana*, in 270: CIL III 11333^b = Fitz 1983, no. 777.

¹⁸⁴ CIL III 4270. It is remarkable that the inscriptions on the Pannonian limes record the *ala* with its patronymic *Augusta* only during the Volusianus' reign (CIL III 4270) and only in an official dedication; the cognomen seems not to have been used, but not abandoned, very likely from practical reasons related to the writing up of the text in the field of inscription.

¹⁸⁵ CIL III 4380; RIU 277.

¹⁸⁶ Kovacs, 1998, 287–290.

VI *COHORTES THRACUM*

1 (13) COHORS I FLAVIA BESSORUM

Together with its sister unit, numbered II, the cohort was raised among the Bessi during the Flavians aiming to boost the forces engaged in the war with Dacians in 87–88 (see chapter VIII). Initially, the regiment seems to have been dispatched to Moesia Superior, while the second cohort of Bessians was destined for the pars Inferior of the province¹. The cohort appears in the Sisak MD (100) for Moesia Superior².

During late Trajan's or early Hadrian's reign, the unit was dispatched in Macedonia where it is recorded in the Ritopek MD (120)³. An inscription of Thessaloniki⁴ mentions an ἵππεὺς σιγουλάριος that confirms presence of the regiment in Macedonia still in the 3rd century. The name of the regiment was also restored in an inscription of Heraclea Lyncestis: σπείρης α' [Φλ(αβίας) Β]έσ(σων).

An impressive number of graffiti found at Amphipolis, bearing both Thracian and Greek names of soldiers could have very likely belonged to a detachment of this regiment dispatched here with building purposes⁵.

The cohort does not seem to have been *equitata*, as Spaul holds⁶, for Aurelius Nikolaos appears more likely as an *eques* detached from the cohort in the body of *singulares* guard of the governor.

The precise place of garrison of the regiment in Macedonia remains thus far unknown⁷.

Literature: Cichorius 1900, 254; Wagner 1938, 96; Kraft 1951, 170, nr. 1170–1171; Radnóti 1959, 143, 144; Janakievski 1966, 259; Cheesman 1971, 159; Pflaum 1974, 453–454; Beneš 1978, 18 no. 49/12; Samsaris 1993 60, 79, 126, 346–348; Spaul 2000, 341.

2 (14) COHORS I AUGUSTA THRACUM CIVIUM ROMANORUM EQUITATA

The unit is apparently controversial as to the deployment and identification. The title *Augusta* indicates however its setting by late 1st century B.C. or early 1st century A.D. Mann⁸ and Speidel⁹ identified it with *cohors (I Thracum)* in the Turea MD (86) for Judea¹⁰ as I [*Thracum*], through the temporary suppression of the title *Augusta*. If the unit is (*cohors*) I (*Thracum*) from Judea in 86, then it seems to have been part of an early lot of the Thracian recruits sent to East.

The cohort is recorded in Syria as *Augusta* in the 88 MDs¹¹. It must have been moved from Judea to Syria before this year. By early 2nd century, probably shortly after 106, the cohort was dispatched to

¹ In a fragment published in 1997, P. Weiss (1997, 235–237) read *I Fla[via?...]rum* on the fragment of tabella I, encouraging enough for Spaul (2000, 341) to consider a first presence of the regiment in Moesia Inferior. The restoration of the name of the unit must result however in *I Fla[via Gaetulo]rum*, attested in another MD from Moesia Inferior (Mac Donald, Mihaylovich 2002, 225–228) of the same year, a fact demonstrated also by Eck, Pangerl (2005, 185–192).

² CIL XVI 46.

³ CIL XVI 67 = AE 1909, 105.

⁴ IG X 2, 384; Pflaum 1974, 119.

⁵ Samsaris 1993, 79 and passim.

⁶ Spaul 2000, 341.

⁷ Samsaris 1993, 60.

⁸ Mann 1969, 212. The unit was created in the series I–II–III *Augusta Thracum* regiments.

⁹ Speidel 1977, 710.

¹⁰ CIL XVI 33 = IDR I 24.

¹¹ RMD 3 = AE 1974, 655 = 1984, 953 = Mellor 1978–1979, 173–184; Weiss 1997, 229–233, no. 2 = AE 1997, 1761.

the new province of Arabia, as part of the army of that province. It was garrisoned in the Nabatean kingdom annexed to the Empire at that date¹². An inscription from Kurnub (Mampsis) records an *equus* from this cohort¹³. The regiment was presumably stationed in the town, which was attributed to the newly created province of Arabia. The soldiers were very likely billeted in the houses, for there is no fort that has been yet found in the surroundings¹⁴.

The cohort seems to have become *equitata* sometimes in early 2nd century, a title preserved even later¹⁵. On the other hand, the significant number of *equites* in the cohort and the existence of a *turma* in an Augsburg inscription is good evidence that the regiment was *equitata*¹⁶.

Beside Kurnub (Mampsis)¹⁷, inscriptions recording *cohors I Augusta Thracum* in Arabia were found at Imtan (Motha)¹⁸, Umm el-Qittayn, near Bostra¹⁹, and Qasr el Hallabat (212)²⁰. They all indicate it as *equitata* and show the locations of its detachments in the province.

The regiment may have presumably participated in the Lucius Verus' Parthian war, and temporarily garrisoned at Palmyra²¹. The inscription of *Tib. Claudius Phi* [...] as ἑπαρχὸς σπέριης πρώτης Ἀβγούστης Θρακῶν ἱππέων, datable by mid 2nd century²² and an altar of one of its tribunes at Baalbek²³ suggest that the cohort resided in the town by mid 2nd century.

At that date, the regiment was dispatched to the Danubian front to boost the forces involved in the Marcommanic wars²⁴. As a result of this redeployment, the cohort is recorded in the Obuda MD (167) for Pannonia Inferior²⁵ as *cohors I Augusta Thracum civium Romanorum*, with the juridical distinction received in the Danubian wars²⁶.

After the return to Arabia, the regiment seems to have been maintained in the same province throughout the 3rd century, although its garrison remains thus far unknown. It presumably took part in the early stages of the 194 civil war on the Niger's side. As many Eastern regiments were included in the Severus' army after the victory against his rival, the unit must have been part of the expeditionary force against Clodius Albinus in Gallia and thereafter in the British wars of the emperor (208–211), where it was involved in building activity in southern Britain (see chapter IX). That might elucidate, otherwise difficult to explain, the name of the cohort on a squared timber beam found in London, at the Roman quay²⁷.

In the 4th century, the cohort is recorded in NDOr as part of the Arabian army, as generally admitted, under the name of *cohors prima Thracum*²⁸ garrisoned at Asabaia. Roxan equates the regiment with *cohors I milliaria Thracum*, also an Arabian unit, holding that the troop labeled Augusta remained in Judea and was raised to milliary size, perhaps as a consequence of the Hadrian's Jewish

¹² Negev 1967, 46–55; Mann 1969, 211–214; Mellor, Harris 1975, 123–124; Speidel 1977, 710 = 1984, 253; Russel 1995, 94; Knight 1991, 205.

¹³ Negev 1967, 52 = AE 1967, 530 = 1969–1970, 632; Mann 1969, 211; Kennedy, Riley 1990, 228.

¹⁴ Kennedy, Riley 1990, 228 noticed that there is a markedly difference in the burial rite and ritual at Mampsis. While the civilians practiced inhumation in wooden coffins, the soldiers used the cremation rite on a pyre at the site and the ashes and bones remains interred under a pyramid of stones.

¹⁵ Speidel 1977, 710.

¹⁶ Herrling 1940, 51.

¹⁷ Negev 1967, 52–53, pl. 9 c.

¹⁸ CIL III 109, 110 = AE 1947, 171.

¹⁹ Dunand, 1926, 328; AE 1928, 154.

²⁰ Kennedy 1983, 39–40, no. 3.

²¹ Rey Coquais 1978, 68.

²² Seyrig 1941, 233–236 = AE 1947, 171 = Devijver 1976 C 165.

²³ IGLS 6, 2867.

²⁴ Cichorius 1901, 335; Speidel 1977, 710.

²⁵ CIL XVI 123.

²⁶ Speidel 1977, 710, n. 86. Seyrig 1941, 234, n. 2 seems to dissociate the Arabian regiment from the one recorded in the Obuda MD (CIL XVI 123) based on the simple fact that the former is not recorded as *civium Romanorum*.

²⁷ Hassal, Tomlin 1996, 449, no. 14.

²⁸ NDOr. 34, 36; Mann 1969, 213.

war²⁹. However, there are two distinct units in both epigraphic and papyrologic evidence. The information about the imperial epithet *Augusta* goes to early 3rd century. In that case, the equation with no. 22 is unlikely.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 335; Dunan 1926, 328; Negev 1967, 52; Jarrett 1969, 219 no. 10; Mann 1969, 211–214; Mellor 1978–1979, 182–183; Roxan, 1976: 65; Speidel 1977³, 710–711; 1982–1983, 233–240; Kennedy 1983, 39–40; Russel 1995, 94; Hassal, Tomlin 1996, 449 no. 14; Spaul 2000, 355–356.

3 (15) COHORS I THRACUM

A distinct *cohors Thracum* from the army of Cappadocia seems to have garrisoned at Panticapaeum, in the northern Black Sea regions. The same regiment (σπειρή Θρακῶν) appears at Ortagyüney (Cappadocia), on a tombstone of the prefect of the unit, Catonius Macer³⁰, as well as on a plaque at Panticapaeum that records ἀκεντουρίω ὁ καὶ πρίνκιψ σπειρας Θρακῶν³¹.

Cappadocia currently supplied with troops the Bosporean Kingdom³² and the two monuments bring fresh evidence in this respect. A tombstone found at Alupka, pertaining to a [se]q(utor) p[r(ae)positi] [v]ex(illationis) coh(ortis) I T[hr(acum)]³³, adds to the two previous monuments of the regiment. In Speidel's view, this *vexillatio* could have been stationed near or in the Alupka fort. There is no clear evidence whether the unit was formed from the local Thracian stock in the Bosporean kingdom, as Krykin suggests³⁴, or it appeared for the first time in the entourage of the Thracian princess of the Bosporean kingdom, Gepaiyris and subsequently developed into a royal guard³⁵. In Tohtasiev's view³⁶, Thracian stock in the Bosporean kingdom was not enough large to reach the mass for the setting of auxiliary regiments in the Roman army, but this is only a mere guess that comes in a serious contradiction with the very author's conclusions that show a significant amount of Thracian population recorded in epigraphic evidence found thus far³⁷.

Literature: Speidel, French 1985, 97–102; Speidel 1989, 515–517; Krykin, 1995, 285–293; Vinogradov 1997, 63–64.

4 (16) COHORS I THRACUM CIVIUM ROMANORUM PIA FIDELIS

The regiment seems to have been part of a later Thracian contingent drafted possibly in the second half of the 1st century. The first mention of the cohort occurs in the Sisak MD for Moesia Superior from 100³⁸, and possibly in 105³⁹ and again in 109⁴⁰ and 110⁴¹ for Dacia. It appears constantly in the MDs for Pannonia Inferior beginning with 110 until 167⁴².

²⁹ Roxan 1976, 65.

³⁰ AE 1951, 254.

³¹ IOSPE II 290 = IGRRP I 894 = CIRB 666.

³² Speidel, 1989, 515.

³³ Speidel 1989, 516.

³⁴ Krykin 1994, 285–293 = SEG 977.

³⁵ Vinogradov 1997, 63–64.

³⁶ Tohtasiev 1995, 479–490. An inscription found in Panticapaeum (Kerci), Ukraine, dated in 194 or 195 mentions a unit of Thracians (Θρακικοῦ τάγματος) which took part in “a military campaign against the Scyths across the Tauris” (Bowersock, Jones, 2006, 117–128). It would be reasonably to think to cohorts I Thracum already billeted at Panticapaeum.

³⁷ Tohtasiev 1986, 178–188.

³⁸ CIL XVI 46.

³⁹ CIL XVI 49.

The history of the unit before the 2nd century is almost unknown. Nagy⁴³ brought a first important contribution to the history of this cohort. The Hungarian epigraphist makes a clear distinction between its pair from Pannonia Superior (see no. 18).

Radnóti, Bárkóczy⁴⁴ suggested that the regiment came from Germania Superior to Moesia Superior, where it would have been recorded in the MD of 100 and 103⁴⁵ and then dispatched for a short time in Dacia. Its mention at the same date (02. 07. 110) in Dacia and Pannonia produced certain confusion among the epigraphists. It is very likely that the regiment took part in the Dacian wars⁴⁶ (see chapter VIII) where it acquired the distinction *civium Romanorum*, and *pia fidelis* titles that already appear in the Pannonian MD of 110⁴⁷. In Dacia it appears also as *I Thracum civium Romanorum*, but surprisingly without *pia fidelis*⁴⁸. The record of the regiment in Dacia and Pannonia is explainable through a simultaneous or successive discharge of contingents in both provinces. Another possibility is that the regiment was split in two, one part in Dacia and another in Pannonia Inferior and both discharged contingents at the same date. However, a short garrisoning in Dacia after the wars is possible and even probable⁴⁹.

In Lőrincz's opinion, the Pannonian garrison of the regiment was at *Annamatia* (Bárács Pusztá) in the first years of its presence in Pannonia Inferior, before 110⁵⁰. The 118/119 unrest produced by the Sarmatians and Suebians prompted the transfer of the cohort from the southern to northern frontier, apparently at *Ulcisia Castra* (Szénténdre), in Pannonia Superior, where tiles, COH(ors)P(rima)T(hracum) were found in the fort⁵¹. The regiment built some parts of the auxiliary fort (see chapter IX)⁵².

By early reign of Antoninus Pius, the cohort was established at *Burgenae* (Novi Banovci), in the limes sector between the Sava and Drava Rivers⁵³, where a significant amount of stamped bricks and tiles was found in the fort and surroundings⁵⁴.

The redeployment from *Ulcisia Castra* to *Burgenae* was accompanied by an intense production of stamped building material (stamped bricks and tiles) as well as by an intensification of discharge of

⁴⁰ RMD 148.

⁴¹ CIL XVI 163.

⁴² CIL XVI 164 = RMD 153. The regiment appears also with the distinction *p(ia) f(idelis)*, following the conflict with the Dacians in 101–106 to which it seems to have participated.

⁴³ Nagy 1973, 53–57.

⁴⁴ Radnóti, Bárkóczy 1951, 200; 215; 219; cf. 21–22; Knight 1991, 200.

⁴⁵ CIL XVI 46; AE 1912, 128.

⁴⁶ Lőrincz 1992, 94.

⁴⁷ Roxan 1999, 261.

⁴⁸ CIL XVI 163.

⁴⁹ Radnóti, Bárkóczy 1951, 200; 215; 219; Lőrincz 1992, 94; Knight 1991, 200.

⁵⁰ Lőrincz 2001, 42, no. 43. *Anamatia* could have been for a short period the headquarters of the regiment, eventually before 110 (Lőrincz 1992, 94, no. 5, n. 33; 2001, 42, no. 43), although *cohors I Thracum Germanica* is also a candidate for this early location (Lőrincz 2001, 43, no. 45). Spaul (2000, 362), on the other hand, fell in a complete confusion as to the early presence of the unit in Pannonia.

⁵¹ Nagy 1943, 388; Radnóti, Bárkóczy 1951, 219; Fitz 1962, 50–51; Lőrincz 2001 no. 453.

⁵² Nagy 1973, 53; Fitz 1962, 50; cf. Lőrincz 1992, 94. The pieces date during the first stone phase of the *Ulcissia* auxiliary fort, where the regiment carried out building activities (see ch. IX); bricks with the same type of stamp were found at the drainage system under the *via praetoria* and also in the *retentura* at Aquincum. As Nagy (1973, 53) noticed, the bricks with the stamp COHRT from the *hypocaustum* of the *quaestorium* in Szénténdre (*Ulcisia Castra*) have been found in a secondary position, being reused for construction in a later period, very likely during Caracalla's and Alexander Severus' reigns by *ala I Ituraeorum* (Lőrincz 1992, 94).

⁵³ Nagy 1973, 55.

⁵⁴ Szilágyi 1933, 93 nr. 62–68, 70–71; Dimitriević 1961, 94; Pinterović 1969, 76; Svetek 1989–1990, 52; Lőrincz 2001, nr. 455) The stamped tiles and bricks found at Novi Banovci with the stamps CHITCR, CHOPT, CHPTC, COHPTCR were interpreted by Radnóti, Bárkóczy 1951, 215 as belonging to *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum* and not to *cohors I Thracum Germanica civium Romanorum*, as stated by Szilágyi (1952, 93 nr. 62–68; 70–71). On the other hand, Fitz's opinion (1962, 71–72) that the *Burgenae* tiles and bricks stamps belong to *cohors I Augusta Thracum*, recorded in the Obuda MD (167) (CIL XVI 123), which garrisoned the 600 x 500m fort remains highly questionable (see nr. 15).

the contingents⁵⁵. The juridical distinction *civium Romanorum* seems to be maintained by the cohort to the end of the 2nd century⁵⁶. An inscription from Stara Pazova⁵⁷ records the unit during its presence at Burgenae, possibly through a detachment dispatched in this place⁵⁸.

Two cohorts with the same name and attributes: *cohors I Thracum Civium Romanorum* appear in the 135 and 143 MDs. Roxan states that one of them will acquire in the future the name *Germanica* and reappears as *civium Romanorum* only in 167⁵⁹, which makes sense, for otherwise confusion would have been created between the two even in these official documents.

In the second half or the end of the 3rd century the cohort was moved to Pannonia Superior, where *Notitia Dignitatum* records it as being stationed at *Caput Basantis*⁶⁰. This late information ends the known history of this unit.

Literature: Cichorius 1900, 337; Wagner 1938, 188; Nagy 1943, 13; Kraft 1951, 186–199; Radnóti, Barkóczi 1951, 200, 215, 219; Dimitriević 1961, 94; Fitz 1962, 71–72; Jarrett 1969, 219–221 no. 23, 24; Pinterović 1969, 76; Nagy 1973, 53–57; Roxan 1976 tab. I no. 25; Eadie 1977, 218; Soproni 1980, 46; Strobel 1984, 143; Lörincz 1992, 94; Lörincz 1996, 263; Roxan 1999, 260; Spaul 2000, 361–362; Lörincz 2001, 42 no. 43.

5 (17) COHORS I THRACUM EQUITATA CIVIUM ROMANORUM

The regiment was created after 26 and was directly assigned to the Rhine regions. Tombstones dating from the Claudius reign set for soldiers from *cohors I Thracum / Trhaecum/ Treccerum* were found on the territory of the future Germania Inferior, at Remagen, Bonn, and Köln⁶¹. Detachments of the regiment seem to have garrisoned at Remagen and Bonn either concomitantly or successively for a longer period⁶². The Remagen fort is earlier in date, being built in 16. At Bonn, the Thracian regiment replaced *ala Frontoniana*, dispatched to Asciburgium before mid 1st century.

In 43, the cohort was presumably included into the Claudius' expeditionary force for Britain, (see chapter VIII). A tombstone from Wroxeter, Julio-Claudian in date⁶³, could be the only record of the presence of the regiment in the island at that time. When returned from Britain, presumably before 50, the regiment was billeted in the auxiliary fort at Remagen⁶⁴ where it garrisoned for a longer period and was replaced by *cohors VIII Breucorum*, destroyed or disbanded during or after the events of 69–70⁶⁵.

The Negoslavac MD of 65 shows that the regiment was again in Germany at that time⁶⁶. The cohort is recorded in the German MDs, in the undivided province, in 65, 74, 78, 80, and 82⁶⁷.

⁵⁵ RMD 251 = Roxan 1999, 249–255 = AE 1999, 1352; cf. Lörincz 1996, 262–263; 143: RMD 266 = Roxan 1999, 255–267 = AE 1999, 1353; Dušanić 1999, 210; cf. Lörincz 1996, 262–263; 148: CIL XVI 179, 180; 157/158: RMD 102, 103; CIL XVI 112, 113.

⁵⁶ Radnóti, Barkóczi 1951, 200; Strobel 1984, 143. The distinction *C(ivium) R(omanorum)* reappears in the Budapest MD from 186 (CIL XVI 131), but the restitution, although conjectural, is very probable.

⁵⁷ CIL III 15138⁵.

⁵⁸ Eadie 1977, 218.

⁵⁹ Roxan 1999, 261.

⁶⁰ ND Occ. 32, 59.

⁶¹ CIL XIII 7803 (Remagen); CIL XIII 8099 (Bonn); CIL XIII 8313 (Köln).

⁶² Alföldi 1968, 70; Bogaers 1974², 447 dates the inscriptions in the Julio-Claudian epoch, although they have been assigned also to a later period. Lehner 1903, 65–66 dates CIL XIII 7803 during Vespasian's reign, while Klinkenberg 1902, 94 no. 27 and Kraft 1951, 186, no. 1853 (see CIL XIII 8318) opine for Flavian epoch; cf. Radnóti, Barkóczi 1951, 211.

⁶³ RIB 291; Bogaers 1974², 447; Holder 1982, 121; Knight 1991, 191.

⁶⁴ Stein 1932, 212; Alföldy 1968, 70; Bogaers 1974², 447; Le Glay 1980, 46, 48.) The Thracian regiment occupied the Remagen auxiliary fort before *cohors II Varcianorum*; Stein 1932, 213.

⁶⁵ Therese, Raepsaet-Charlier 1975, 11–319.

⁶⁶ Dušanić 1978, 461–475.

⁶⁷ Dušanić 1978, 461–475 (65); CIL XVI 20 (74); CIL XVI 23 (78); CIL 158 (80); CIL XVI 28 (82). Usually the unit is labeled in a simple form *cohors I Thracum* in the German MDs.

The stamp tiles PRIMACORT from Voorburg-Arentsburg (Forum Hadriani) and Wijk bij Duurstede (Levefanum), are datable between ca. 70–80⁶⁸ and were produced by the regiment between c. 66/70–c. 80. The find spots show that the regiment was moved downstream Rhine. The Wijk bij Duurstede auxiliary fort functioned between ca. 70 and 260/270, as indicated by the epigraphic finds of *legio X Gemina* and *Classis Germanica* and it presumably have served as garrison for the Thracian cohort between early 70s until shortly after 82, when it left for Britain possibly in order to take part in the Agricola's campaigns⁶⁹. The regiment is not recorded in the Elst MD (98)⁷⁰, but appears in Britain, in the Ó Szöny (122) and Stannington (124) MDs⁷¹. A cursus honorum from Tibur shows *Claudius Paulus* as *praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Thrac(um) in Brittann(ia)*, which is a clear evidence of its presence in the island⁷².

In the 2nd century, the regiment was temporarily garrisoned at Newcastle upon Tyne (*Pons Aelius*) where it worked at the building of the Hadrian's Wall. The cohort is recorded in a series of three MDs dated in March 178⁷³.

In the Severan period and along the 3rd century the regiment occupied the auxiliary fort from Bowes (*Lavatrae*)⁷⁴ where a significant number of inscriptions recording prefects, centurions or building activities of the unit have been found⁷⁵.

In an inscription dedicated to the three Severan Emperors at Bowes, the cohort is expressly recorded as *equitata* what suggests a significant modification of the structure of the regiment in Britain by the usual addition of a contingent of 120 horsemen⁷⁶.

The prefect of the cohort appears subordinated to that of *ala Vettonum*, of higher rank, who commanded the two regiments during the rebuilding of the bathhouse of the Bowes auxiliary fort⁷⁷. In an inscription of 208 from Birdoswald, where it must have sent a detachment, the regiment appears with the attribute *c(ivium) R(omanorum)*⁷⁸ possibly acquired on some important occasion⁷⁹.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 338; Birley 1932, 56; 1937, 238; Stein 1932, 212–213; Kraft 1951, 186, no. 1850–1853; Radnóti, Barkóczy 1951, 211–212; Birley 1967, 91–92; Alföldi 1968, 70–71; Jarrett 1969, 220 no. 19; Bogaers 1974², 445–448; Therese, Raepset-Charlier 1975, 84; Le Glay 1980, 46, 48 and passim; Holder 1980; Holder 1999, 243, 245; Spaul 2000, 357–358.

⁶⁸ Bogaers 1974², 445, 447.

⁶⁹ Stein 1932, 212; Alföldi 1968, 71; Bogaers 1974², 447–448. Radnóti, Barkóczy 1951, 212 err in identifying this unit with *cohors I Thracum Germanica* recorded in the Regöly MD of 148 (CIL XVI 179, 180). Strobel 1984, 143 states that the command of the prefect *C. Placidius Casdianus*, recorded in an inscription at Camuni (Italy) (CIL V 4957), was fulfilled in *cohors I Thracum equitata* (no. 18) from Pannonia Superior and therefore the unit can not be that of Britain. Birley (1985, 78, 80) opines for the identification of the first cohort of Thracians whose prefecture was held by M. Valerius Maximianus, and elaborates on his cursus honorum from Zana: 'it seems reasonable to assume that it was the cohort in Britain and that when Staius Priscus moved from Britain to take command in Cappadocia, he took Maximianus with him'. This is very likely, as long as his second *militia* at the command of the *cohors I Hamiorum Civium Romanorum* was held still in Britain.

⁷⁰ RMD 216.

⁷¹ CIL XVI 69 (Ó Szöny); CIL XVI 70 (Stannington).

⁷² CIL XIV 3625.

⁷³ RIB 1323; Birley 1932, 56; cf. Cichorius 1901, 338; RMD 184, 293, 294 to which add Weiss 2006, 251–254.

⁷⁴ Cichorius 1900, 338; Birley 1932, 55–59; 1937, 238; Bogaers 1974², 448.

⁷⁵ RIB 730; 733–734; 740–741.

⁷⁶ RIB 740. Cf. RIB 741 where an *Aem[ilianus]* is [*praef(ectus) eq(uitum) co]h(ortis)* in accordance with the restitution of the authors.

⁷⁷ RIB 730.

⁷⁸ RIB 1909. Wright's (1961, 192, no. 4) restitution is: *cohortis I T(h) racum*. Here, normally the prefect of the Thracian regiment, which was quingenaria, was subordinated to the tribune of the Dacian cohort, which was *milliaria*.

⁷⁹ Holder 1982, 121–122 creates two regiments in Britain based on this juridical distinction. As many examples show, the titles could have been granted for outstanding deeds or exceptional behavior in combat. In our opinion, there is no solid evidence to add another cohort I Thracum in Britain, and moreover to identify it with the one in Pannonia Superior.

6 (18) COHORS I THRACUM EQUITATA

The regiment was initially part of the army of Judean army as an inscription found in Aradus records [...] Σεκούνδου, ἑπαρχου σπηρίρης Θρακῶν, who is generally seen as designating Pliny the Elder as one of his prefects before A.D. 79 in this province⁸⁰. Speidel suggests that in the 1st century it garrisoned in Syene, in southern Egypt⁸¹ from where it could have sent a detachment in Talmis⁸² where an undated dedication (*proskynemna*) of a soldier from this regiment seems early in date⁸³. If the Talmis document is of 1st century, and it seems likely, then it must belong to the last two decades of the same century⁸⁴. However, A.D. 79 would be a *terminus post quem* for the dispatch of the unit from Judea to southern Egypt.

A precisely dated record of the regiment appears only on 25 April 127, with the occasion of the authentication (*testatio*) of the paternity of a son of an *eques* of the cohort, *M. Lucretius Clemens* from the squadron (*turma*) of *Silvanus*⁸⁵. The attribute of the cohort as *equitata*, is conferred by the the *turma* in which *Clemens* was serving and by offices and positions held by the authenticatory witnesses. Among those who signed one can find *equites* and a *decurio*⁸⁶. The procedure took place at Contrapollonospolis Maior, in Thebais, where the regiment must have taken position probably immediately after 105, together with *cohors I Augusta Lusitanorum equitata*⁸⁷. Therefore, we might expect that the Thracian cohort could have eventually come from Syene to Contrapollonospolis Maior as replacement for *cohors I Thaebeorum equitata*, which was dispatched to Judea by 105⁸⁸, while *cohors II Thracum equitata*, which came from Judea, took over the region of Syene instead. The main base of our cohort is clearly designated at that time as: ‘*castris hib(ernis) coh(ortis) I T(hracum) Contra apollonos poli magna Thebaidis*’.

A prefect of the regiment, *Iulius Vestinianus Asklepiades*, nicknamed (*qui et*) *Leonidas*, is recorded as *archidikastes* of the regiment⁸⁹ at Tebtynis. The document dates from 126/127 and this becomes rather puzzling from the regiment’s deployment perspective. If it was not an accidental presence of the commander in that place, that would imply the deployment of an important detachment here⁹⁰. A recent papyrus dealing with an ‘application concerning a loan of money’⁹¹ dated 1st July 127, confirms the prefecture of the same *Iulius Vestinianus* first of the *cohors III Bracarum* in Syria, about 120, and then of *cohors I Thracum*⁹². The regiment was replaced at Contrapollonospolis Maior by *cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum equitata*⁹³.

⁸⁰ Mommsen 1884, 644; Crum, Woodhead 1966, 330, 1 = IGRRP 3, 1015; Pflaum 1978⁵, 281-286.

⁸¹ Speidel 1988, 788, no. 9.

⁸² Maxfield 2000, 416.

⁸³ SB 4550, 1; Daris 1956, 238–239; 1977, 764.

⁸⁴ Knight 1991, 207.

⁸⁵ Weiss 1929, 260–273; Bell 1937, 30–36; CPL 159 = AE 1937, 112; Daris 1956, 238; 1964, 35; Mitthof 2000, 402–403.

⁸⁶ Cavenaille 1970, no. 184, 480, 1203, 1417, 1432, 1504, 1974.

⁸⁷ Daris 1988, 764; Speidel 1988, 788, no. 9; Maxfield 2000, 419.

⁸⁸ Daris 1988, 763.

⁸⁹ P.Mil. Vogl. I 25; V 11; Cavenaille 1970, no. 1290; Devijver 1975, 68–69, n. 70; 1976 I 138. See the same personage also in P. Primi 25 V 11 = SB Primi 3 V 11; Cavenailles 1970, no. 2195.

⁹⁰ The identity of a *cohors I Thracum* (no. 15), mentioned in Cappadocia at Ortagürney (AE 1951, 254) with the regiment in the title is unlikely. Jarrett (1969, 221, no. 22) does not exclude however this fact. If so, it is utterly questionable the *Catonius Macer*’s office as *praefectus* of the regiment both in Egypt (cf. Cavenaille 1970, no. 574) and in Galatia (AE 1951, 254) a fact that, related to AE 1964, 12 = RIU 211 from Scarbantia in which is recorded a *decurio* of Galatian origin, produced the Jarrett’s interpretation that the unit could have been successively moved from Egypt to Cappadocia and then to Pannonia Superior.

⁹¹ P. Egypt Mus. Inv. S.R. 3055.

⁹² Devijver 1994, 69–72; cf. 1976 I 138.

⁹³ Maxfield 2000, 419.

Literature: Lesquier 1918, 500 no. 39; Bell 1937, 30–36; Daris 1956, 238–239; Daris 1964, 35; Crum, Woodhead 1966, 330; Jarrett 1969, 221 no. 22; Cavenaille 1970, 213–320; Devijver 1975, 68–69 n. 70; Daris 1988, 764–765; Mor 1986, 576, 578; Speidel 1988, 788 no. 9; Knight 1991, 207; Mitthof 2000, 377–405.

7 (19) COHORS I THRACUM EQUITATA CIVIUM ROMANORUM

The cohort is for the first time recorded in the MD of 126 for Pannonia Superior⁹⁴ and continues to be mentioned until 163⁹⁵. In the MDs, the unit bears the same name as no. 17 from Pannonia Inferior, a fact that initially was rather confusing⁹⁶. In the inscriptions the regiment appears sometime as *equitata*, an attribute that distinguishes it from his sister-unit from Pannonia Inferior. The *equitata* tactical characteristics of the unit in the second half of the 2nd and in the 3rd century is confirmed by a *cursus honorum* of a *praefectus cohortis I Thracum equitatae*⁹⁷. Presumably the tombstone of a *veteranus ex optione* in *cohors I Thracum C(ivium) R(omanorum) equitata* from Dunakömlöd (*Lusonium*), in Pannonia Inferior, refers also to this unit⁹⁸ in a period when it bore both distinction and the tactical attributes. A tombstone of an *eques* of a *cohors I Thracum* found at Brigetio could refer to the unit in the title, possibly in a period when this important military center belonged to Pannonia Superior⁹⁹.

The early stages of the regiment are obscure. Lörincz presumes it came from Germania Superior (or Inferior) sometime between 113/126, but most likely in 118/119¹⁰⁰. Jarrett¹⁰¹ equates it with the one mentioned in the Sisak MD of 100 for Moesia Superior¹⁰² and in the Porolissum MD of 110¹⁰³ for Dacia. The identification refers however to no. 17 and not to this regiment. Mocsy does not distinguish it clearly¹⁰⁴. It must be certainly differentiated from *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum*¹⁰⁵ in Pannonia Inferior and, obviously, from *cohors I Thracum Germanica* also in Pannonia Superior.

An eloquent distinction, based on the typology and topographical repartition of the stamped tiles and bricks, was made by Nagy¹⁰⁶. He had noticed that the COHPT type of stamps from Aquincum and Ulcisia Castra, assigned to the regiment in Pannonia Inferior, differs from the CHO I THRAC and CIT types known in Germany and afterwards at Ács Váspuszta, where they are dated to the end of the 2nd and early 3rd century¹⁰⁷.

The cohort must have been eventually formed during the Flavian period. In that case, it could be identified with the one recorded in the Mainz MD¹⁰⁸ issued for an infantryman of Thracian origin. The

⁹⁴ RMD 236.

⁹⁵ RMD 62.

⁹⁶ cf. Spaul 2000, 361–363.

⁹⁷ CIL V 4957.

⁹⁸ CILIII 3319. The Lusonium inscription certainly refers to a veteran who settled in the area and not to a detachment sent in southern Pannonia Inferior.

⁹⁹ RIU 538 = CIL III 10970 = 4316. The Brigetio tombstone can be indeed taken as an indication of a presence of some troops from the cohort stationed here for a longer period, enough to have their own families. It is unlikely however that the complete unit would have garrisoned at Brigetio in the 3rd century, as Szilágyi (1952, 202) believes, as long as the inscription dates to the first half of the 3rd century (Lörincz 2001, 292, no. 461).

¹⁰⁰ Lörincz 1981, 37; 2001, 42, no. 44.

¹⁰¹ Jarrett 1969, 221, no. 23–24.

¹⁰² CIL XVI 46.

¹⁰³ IDR I 2, 3.

¹⁰⁴ Mocsy 1962, 624.

¹⁰⁵ cf. Lörincz 1992, 94, no. 5–6, but see 2001, 42, no. 44.

¹⁰⁶ Nagy 1973, 53–57.

¹⁰⁷ Nagy 1973, 55; Lörincz 1981, 37.

¹⁰⁸ CIL XVI 36; Radnóti-Barkóczy 1951, 200; Kraft 1951, 186–187; Nagy 1977, 55.

regiment was dispatched therefore from Germany to the Danubian front, possibly in ca. 92¹⁰⁹, and finally assigned to Pannonia Superior. The regiment garrisoned the Ács Vápuszta-Várdomb (*Ad Statuas*) fort apparently in the first half of the 2nd century¹¹⁰ towards mid 3rd century, where it replaced *cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum*.

In the 2nd century, the recruitment in the regiment massively included native elements, mainly in the county of *civitas Azaliorum*. A prefect of the regiment indicates even his origin as *Boviano* in the Tooth Vásony MD¹¹¹. Obviously, the recruits from this region continued to supply the effectives of the units.

An *ex decurione*, formerly a *duplarius* of the cohort, born in Ancyra of Galatia, set an altar in western parts of Pannonia Superior by late 2nd or early 3rd century¹¹². In 201 the prefect of the regiment, Aemilius Pacatianus, restored an altar possibly dedicated previously to the Imperial family¹¹³.

Literature: Keil 1882, 43; Cichorius 1901, 340; Radnóti-Barkóczy 1951, 219, 221; Kraft 1951, 190 no. 1870–1872; Szilágyi 1952, 202, no. 12; Radnóti 1969, 141; Fitz 1962, 44; Mocsy 1962, 624; Jarrett 1969, 221, no. 2–24; Nagy 1973, 53–57; Gabler 1977, 307–309; Lörincz 1978, 361–363; 1981, 37–38 pl. 10, 5; 11, 1–3; Strobel 1980, 143; Lörincz 1989, 633–635; 1990, 81; 1992, 94 no. 6; Spaul 2000, 361–363; Lörincz 2001, 42 no. 44.

8 (20) COHORS I THRACUM GERMANICA EQUITATA CIVIUM ROMANORUM

The regiment appears as one which produced most different opinions among the specialists. Its wide spread epigraphic remains roused several contradictory interpretations. Nevertheless, Jarrett¹¹⁴ has noticed that the regiment ‘seems likely to have had a less adventurous career than has previously been supposed’.

The cohort was very likely part of the massive group of Thracians drafted before or after 46 in Thrace and sent directly to Rhine. *Germanica* as the surname recorded later in the Pannonian MDs indicate without any doubt a longer stationing in the Rhine area¹¹⁵. In the 1st century MDs for the German army only one *cohors I Thracum* appears but it was garrisoned on Lower Rhine and then dispatched to Britain in the last two decades of the 1st century. There is good chance that there were two different Thracian regiments labeled I on the Rhine valley: one garrisoned in the Lower part of Germany, which left for Britain in the 80s of the first century (no. 17) and another which stationed in Germania Superior and seems to have remained on the Rhine until the 2nd century¹¹⁶.

Stein suggested the presence of a Thracian regiment at Offenburg, during the Vespasian’s reign, from where comes an inscription of one of its centurions¹¹⁷.

An inscription from Worms dated before 85, seems to be the clue in tracking down the early history of this regiment. L. Octavius Celer *praefectus cohortis VII Breucorum et cohortis I Thracum* was in command of both regiments in exceptional circumstances, possibly during the Danubian wars of

¹⁰⁹ Strobel 1984, 143. In the early stages of its presence in Pannonia Superior, the regiment seems not to have been *equitata*, a tactical characteristics that it obtained later.

¹¹⁰ Mocsy 1962, 624; Gabler 1967, 194–197 = RIU 641; 1969, 199–206 = RIU 640; 1977, 307–308; Lörincz 1981, 37; 1992, 94, no. 6; 2001, 42, no. 44.

¹¹¹ CIL XVI 84.

¹¹² RIU 211.

¹¹³ Gabler 1967, 194; 1969, 199; Lörincz 1978, 361.

¹¹⁴ Jarrett 1969, 221–222 no. 25.

¹¹⁵ Jarrett 1969, 221 no. 25; Roxan 1999, 261.

¹¹⁶ For the history of the cohort in Germany and attempts of identification see Cichorius 1900, 337; Stein 1932, 213; Rádnóti, Barkóczy 1951, 211–213; Jarrett 1969, 221 no. 25; Roxan 1999, 260–261.

¹¹⁷ CIL XIII 6286; Stein 1932, 213.

Domitian¹¹⁸. They could have arrived in Pannonia together by 85¹¹⁹. If *cohors VII Breucorum* remained in the province, the Thracian regiment returned to Germany. After the Chattian war of 89, the regiment very likely occupied the newly built auxiliary fort at Bendorf where stamped bricks and tiles with COHITHRAC were found¹²⁰.

The unit was presumably engaged in the Dacian wars¹²¹. There is no clear evidence for its participation in the Daco-Roman military conflict, unless one takes into account the distinction *civium Romanorum* which might be connected to the event¹²². In any case, the regiment returned to Germania Superior, where it is recorded in the Wiesbaden (116), Königen (129–130) and Manching (118–138) MDs¹²³ with the same juridical distinction: *civium Romanorum*. The cohort seems to have been dispatched to Pannonia Inferior sometime between 116–148, very likely shortly before 127 and 128.

In the 135 and 143 MDs for Pannonia Inferior¹²⁴ there are two regiments labeled *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum* recorded in each of the document. M. Roxan suggested that one of these units, that is the one that recently came from Germany, will be added the title *Germanica* to eliminate confusion among the engravers. This assumption confirms the Regöly and ‘Bulgaria’ MDs (148)¹²⁵ where the unit on the third place received the title *Germanica* that means that it was the one which came from Upper Germany and distinguished from the other regiment in the province. In a recently discovered MD from Kostolać, dated in 141/142–143/145¹²⁶ the name *cohors I Thracum Germanica* is only conjecturally restored, although even an earlier title is possible.

In Pannonia Inferior, the regiment seems to have been garrisoned in a first phase, ca. 131/132, at Annamatia (Baracspusztá)¹²⁷ where it continued to be recorded in the MDs until 186. It constantly garrisoned Annamatia until the end of the 3rd century. Two Eraviscan soldiers of the unit had been drafted in this region¹²⁸. They were discharged in 152 and 153 respectively. The date shows that they may have been recruited in 127 and 128 which is strong evidence that the regiment was dispatched to Pannonia Inferior before these dates¹²⁹. The regiment carried out an intense building activity at the fort (see chapter IX) and in the surroundings. Bricks with the stamp COHITG were found in the fort. While garrisoned at Annamatia, the regiment was recorded as discharging contingents as shown by the Adóny (151/160), Alsó Szént Ivány (151/160), Óbuda (167), Budapest (186)¹³⁰ MDs.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 3335–337; Stein 1932, 213–214; Wagner 1938, 189–190; Radnóti-Barkóczy 1951, 211–212; 216; 222; 224; Kraft 1951, 186 no. 1860–1863; Mocsy 1962, 624; Fitz 1962, 62; Jarrett 1969, 221 no. 25; Nagy 1973, 55; Visy 1982, 62–65; Strobel 1984, 143; Visy 1986, 510–514; Lörincz 1989, 633–635; 1990, 81; Visy 1991, 160–166; Lörincz 1992, 94 no. 7; Roxan 1999, 260–261; Kovacs 2001, 55–79; Lörincz 2001, 43 no. 45; Spaul 2000, 364–365.

¹¹⁸ CIL XIII 6213.

¹¹⁹ Bogaers 1969, 43; Dušanić 1978, 467; Lörincz 2001, 31 no. 11.

¹²⁰ CIL XIII 12461, 1–3; cf. Stein 1932, 115, no. XXVI.

¹²¹ Knight 1991, 200.

¹²² In the older literature (Christescu 1937, 190–191; Wagner 1938, 189–190) was largely accepted that this cohort was moved in Moesia Superior in all probability between 90–100, in close relation with the Trajan campaigns at the Lower Danube. After the Dacian wars, it would have been stationed for a while in Dacia were it should be mentioned in two MDs of 110 (IDR 12; 3) There is no clear evidence on the movements and the stationing of the unit in Moesia Superior, except maybe the supposed camp it occupied, otherwise unknown.

¹²³ CIL XVI 62 (Wiesbaden), RMD 90 (Köngen); AE 1956 (Manching)

¹²⁴ Roxan 1999, 249–273 = AE 1999, 1352, 1353.

¹²⁵ CIL XVI 179, 180; RMD 272.

¹²⁶ Dušanić 2001, 209–219.

¹²⁷ Radnóti, Barkóczy 1951, 212; Fitz 1962, 61; Lörincz 1978, 16; 1992, 95 no. 7; 2001, 43, 45; Kovacs 2001, 55–79.

¹²⁸ RMD 102, 103; Visy 1982, 65–66.

¹²⁹ Knight 1991, 204. The general view on the date of the arrival of the regiment from Upper Germany is 130/132 (Radnóti, Barkóczy 1951, 211, 222; Jarrett 1969, 221–222; Fitz 1982, 166; Lörincz 2001, 43 no. 45; cf. Knight 1991, 204) although the evidence of the MDs show an earlier date.

¹³⁰ CIL XVI, 113 (Adóny); CIL XVI 112 (Alsó Szént Ivány); CIL XVI 123 (Óbuda); CIL XVI 131 (Budapest).

9 (21) COHORS I THRACUM MILLIARIA

The regiment is known distinctly in the MDs for Syria in 88 (two fragments with f.s.u.), from Suhozem (91), another recently found with find spot unknown of 91 and then in the same type of documents from Kalin Ören (136–137), Aphek (139) and Hebron (186)¹³¹. The unit also appears in a MD for Syria-Palestina of 160 and in a fragmentary MD from Hebron, dated 186¹³². A tile with the stamp C X T is usually interpreted as pertaining to *c(ohors) (milliaria) T(hracum)*¹³³. Mann¹³⁴ identifies it in the Muhovo MD of 88¹³⁵ with a recorded *cohors I milliaria*, the only one thousand men from the province at that date¹³⁶.

The unit was raised under Augustus or Tiberius at the latest, either from new recruits from Thrace or from older Thracian contingents in the Herod's army (see chapter III). It initially garrisoned the province of Syria. A late 1st or early 2nd century tombstone found in the Tell el-Hajj (Eragiza) fort, on Euphrates, bears the inscription COH (ors) I / MILL (iaria) / THRAC (um)¹³⁷. The monument would indicate the presence of the regiment in this place of tactical importance before Trajan's reign¹³⁸.

With the occasion of the Jewish revolt of 117, the regiment in its full strength was dispatched to Judea, and was probably garrisoned at Hebron¹³⁹. From here, it sent a *centuria* in the En Geddi oasis, where a papyrus of 6 May, 124 found in the Cave of the Letters records it as being stationed in πραισίδιον (see chapter VIII)¹⁴⁰.

After the suppression of the Jewish revolt of 135–138 (see chapter VIII), the cohort remained in the new province of Syria Palestina¹⁴¹ where it is recorded in the Aphek MD of 139. The regiment continued to be garrisoned in Hebron, its base until 3rd century¹⁴².

A *tribunus* of the regiment is recorded in a restituted inscription at Köln: *c[oh(ortis milliari)ae I [Tr]hac(um)*¹⁴³. At Annecy, a fragment of *cursus honorum* allows the restitution *coh [I milliari)ae Thrac [um]*¹⁴⁴. The two monuments might be considered in direct relation with the movements of the

¹³¹ Weiss 2006, 252–253, no. 1; 253–254, no. 2; RMD 4 = AE 1961, 319 (Suhozem); Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219–221 no. 3; RMD 160 (Kalin Ören) CIL XVI 87 (Aphek); CIL XVI 139 = RMD 69 = Lifschitz 1976, 117–122 (Hebron).

¹³² Eck 1993, 451–459 = RMD 173 (160); Lifschitz 1976, 117–122 (186).

¹³³ Speidel 1979, 170–172 = RSA I, 311–313.

¹³⁴ Mann 1969, 211–212.

¹³⁵ CIL XVI 35; cf. Speidel 1979, 170, n. 4.

¹³⁶ Russel 1995, 118–119 n. 253; Roxan 1976, 65. The identification with a non-existent *cohors I Thracum milliaria Syriaca* (Appelbaum 1976, 66–67 no. 21) cannot be in any case maintained. Appelbaum 1976, 66 supposes that the *cohors I Thracum* is to be identified with *cohors I Augusta Thracum* that has been turned into *milliaria*, which is highly improbable. See also Roxan 1976, 65 who thinks that *cohors I Thracum* from the Arabian list of Notitia Dignitatum might have been turned into a milliary regiment under the name of *cohors I milliaria*, which is also unlikely (see no. 17). For the stamped tile see Avi Yonah 1944, 160–169 no. 6; cf. SEG XXIX 1979, nr. 1608. Spaul's (2000, 359) assignment of the unit to the Turea MD (86) (CIL XVI 33) for Judea is incorrect.

¹³⁷ Rey Coquais 1978, 69; Jarry 1985, 113, 16, pl. IV = AE 1987, 951; Dąbrowa 1986, 100; Russell 1995, 119.

¹³⁸ Stucky 1973, 83–86.

¹³⁹ Avi Yonah 1944, 160–169 no. 6; Speidel, 1979, 170–172; cf. SEG 29, 1979, no. 1608, 404.

¹⁴⁰ Polotzky 1962, 259; Speidel 1977, 741; Holder 1980, no. 226; Lewis, Yadin, Greenfield 1989, 41–46; Russell 1995, 99, 119; Cotton 1999, 228. For the meaning of *in praesidio* cf. the Hunt papyrus col. II l. 27 where it appears that a detachment of the *cohors I Hispanorum veterana* was garrisoned *Pirob[or]ridavae in praesidio* (Fink 1958, 104). As Speidel 1977, 711=1984, 253 and Russel 1995, 100, 120= 1984, 253 noticed, the transfer of the regiment from Syria to Judea could have been done when the *legio II Traiana* was brought to Egypt, by the end of the Trajan's reign. A military bathhouse was discovered (Mazar, Dothan, Dunayevski 1964, 128–130; 1967, 192f.) near the En Geddi auxiliary fort, where the regiment or a detachment was stationed.

¹⁴¹ Russel 1995, 120.

¹⁴² Speidel 1971, 171; Isaac 1983, 635–640; Russel 1995, 120. The dispatch of the Thracian cohort in Arabia in early 2nd century, in 106 (Appelbaum 67; Speidel 1977, 711; Roxan 1976, 65) makes no sense as far as the Syrian MDs record the unit in Syria Palestina in 139, 160 and 186.

¹⁴³ CIL XIII 12058 = Alföldy 1968, 37, no. 65.

¹⁴⁴ CIL XII 2535.

regiments to the Western provinces during the Severus' conflict with Albinus in 196–197 (see chapter VIII).

The reorganization of the Eastern borders made by Diocletian, or the beginnings of earlier threats from the Arabian nomads in the 3rd century produced the deployment of the unit in Arabia¹⁴⁵. The unit is recorded in Notitia Dignitatum as being garrisoned at Aditha¹⁴⁶.

From Teos (Sevrihissar) comes a late 1st century *cursus honorum* of one of its prefects, P. Claudius Pollio ἑπαρχίου σπείρης μειλιαρίας Θρακῶν¹⁴⁷. The office of ἑπαρχος is not a proper term for a milliary unit, and its mentioning could be taken as a mistake of the lapicid.

There is no clear evidence that the regiment was *equitata*. The horseman of Thracian origin mentioned on an inscription in Akhilisse as ἐστρατεύσαμην / ΦΥ εἰς χώρ(την) Τ(...) Α μιλ(ταρίαν)] could have been part of the cavalry detachment, usually and obligatorily attached to any infantry regiment¹⁴⁸.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 337; Polotsky 1962, 259–262; Yadin 1963, 7–14; Mazar, Dothan, Dunayevski 1966, 7; Jarrett 1969, 221 no. 21; Mann 1969, 211–213; Yadin 1971, 239; Appelbaum 1976, 66 no. 21; Lifschitz 1976, 117–122; Roxan 1976, 59–72; Speidel 1977³, 711; 1979, 170–172; Mellor, 1978–1979, 182–183; Isaac 1983, 635–640; Daňbrova 1986, 100; Mor 1986, 577; 582; Lewis, Yadin, Greenfield 1989, 41–46; Russel 1995, 118–120; Spaul 2000, 359–360.

10 (22) COHORS I THRACUM SAGITTARIORUM

The unit is one of the little known Thracian regiments. It is recorded in the MD for Dacia Superior from Micia (136–138), Nova Zagora (144), Jupa (157), Cristești (158) and Drobeta (179)¹⁴⁹.

There is no information on the regiment before mid 2nd century. It might have been created sometime at mid 1st or early 2nd century as a pair of other *sagittariorum* regiments. Jarrett differentiates it due to its attribute, making possible its identification with any other cohort whose movements remain unknown¹⁵⁰. Its place of garrison in Dacia Superior in the 2nd–3rd century was not yet identified.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 337; Christescu 1937, 191; Wagner 1938, 190–191; Altheim 1964, 66–67; Jarrett 1969, 220 n. 18; Macrea 1969, 207; Russu 1967, 88; 1972, 74 no. 60; Beneš 1978, 52 no. 129/92; Gudea 1984, 219–224; 1989, 170–174; Petolescu 1997, 119; Spaul 2000, 380; Petolescu 2002, 122–123.

11 (23) COHORS I THRACUM SYRIACA EQUITATA

The unit seems to have been part of the first lot recruited after 26 and dispatched directly to the Syrian army. The epithet *Syriaca* which appears in 1st century inscriptions would imply its presence in

¹⁴⁵ CIL XII 2535.

¹⁴⁶ NDO. 37, 31; Speidel 1977, 711; 1979, 172.

¹⁴⁷ IGRRP IV 1565 = CIG 2, 3132 = PIR II 2, 233 no. 965; Devijver 1976 C 169.

¹⁴⁸ AE 1926, 74. The restoration proposed by Buckler, Calder, Cox 1924, 74–75: χώρ(την) Τ(υριῶν ?) is less probable, a fact of which even the authors were aware of.

¹⁴⁹ Petolescu, Corcheș 2002, 120–126 (Micia); CIL XVI 90 = IDR I 14 (Nova Zagora); CIL XVI 107 = IDR I 15 (Jupa) CIL XVI 107 = IDR I 16 (Cristești); (RMD 123 = AE 1987, 843) (Drobeta). The unit does not appear in the Ranovac MD (109) (Garbsch 1991, 281–284). Garbsch considers 'ganz unmöglich' the possibility of the lecture [*I Thracum*] *Sa[gittar(iorum)]* on the Porolissum MD of 29.06.120.

¹⁵⁰ 'Sagittariorum' seems more likely, but is less probable to be the one recorded in the Tokod MD (110) (CIL XVI 164) as Petolescu (2002, 123) infers.

Syria at an early date and for a sizable span of time maybe, as Wagner¹⁵¹ suggested, since Claudius' reign or even earlier.

The regiment appears in the Montana MD of 78 for Moesia¹⁵². Its arrival in this province could very well be linked most probably to the events of 69/70, which consecrated the victory of the Vespasian's Eastern troops¹⁵³. The Montana MD confirms that the regiment was already in Moesia by that time. An inscription set in honor of *L. Vecilius Modestus* is in direct relation to the dispatch of this cohort from Syria to the Balkan provinces. After the tribunate in the *legio VI Ferrata*, Modestus took over the *praefectura* in *cohors I Thrac(um) Syr(iaca) in Moesia eq(uitata)*¹⁵⁴. The inscription would also suggest that when the unit was dispatched to the Danubian province it became *equitata*, as clearly results from the inscription¹⁵⁵. The identification suggested by Cichorius with a *cohors I Thracum* from the Turea MD for Judea cannot longer be maintained¹⁵⁶.

The unit remained in the Upper part of the province after 86 and was billeted in Moesia Superior, at Timacum Minus (Ravna)¹⁵⁷ where several epigraphic monuments belong to that cohort. Petrović noticed that together with the Thracian unit, *cohors I Montanorum* was also stationed in the fort, as indicated by the identical formulas of the tombstones belonging to the commanders of the two units¹⁵⁸. Illyrian elements were recruited into the regiment during its presence in Moesia Superior. The regiment continued to be garrisoned in Moesia Superior by 100¹⁵⁹. The identification with a *cohors* from Dacia Inferior whose stamps COH I [...] and COH THRA appear on a series of tiles found at Acidava (Enoșești) in Dacia Inferior¹⁶⁰. The Petolescu's suggestion that during and shortly after the Dacian wars the unit stationed in southern Dacia, at Acidava, and therefore it is identifiable with the enigmatic COH THRA could be a solution to the dilemma around these brick stamps.

After 106, the cohort seems to have been moved to Transmarisca (Tutrakan), in Moesia Inferior¹⁶¹ as shown by an altar of a *praefectus* of the regiment dated in this period¹⁶² and particularly by the 'Bulgaria' MD of 01.06.125¹⁶³, which firstly records the regiment in Moesia Inferior. The new dispatch might be connected to the Trajanic reorganization of the limes on the lower course of the Danube after 106.

The second record in Moesia Inferior occurs soon after the first date, on 20 August 127¹⁶⁴. The cohort reappears in the same province, in the Malak Preslavec (145), 145/146, and Brestovene (154/157) MDs¹⁶⁵. Transmarisca continued to be its garrison fort in the 2nd and most of the 3rd century.

¹⁵¹ Wagner 1938, 191.

¹⁵² CIL XVI 22; RMD 208.

¹⁵³ Roxan 1997, 293; Velkov 1923, 93–98; Wagner 1938, 191; Petrović 1975, 46; cf. Beneš 1978, 52 no. 130/93; Jarrett 1969, 219 no. 13. It could have been also included in the Mucianus' expeditionary corp in 69.

¹⁵⁴ CIL III 8261 = ILS 2733; IMS III/2, 2.

¹⁵⁵ Although neither Ferdinand (RMD 208) nor even the 'Bulgaria' (RMD 235) (125) MDs record it *equitata*.

¹⁵⁶ Cichorius 1901, 337; cf. Wagner 1938, 191; CIL XVI 33 = IDR I 24.

¹⁵⁷ Wagner 1938, 191; Beneš 1978, 53. Strobel 1984, 144 assumes that the regiment remained in Moesia Superior, at Timacum Minus until mid 2nd century, a view shared also by Knight (1991, 203) but that can not be hold in any case. The first record of the unit in Moesia Inferior in a MD is in 127 (AE 1991, 138) but the rebuilding of the Transmarisca auxiliary fort during the Dacian wars (Zmееv 1969, 45–46) as well as the date of the inscription are two solid arguments for the presence of the cohort in this fort immediately after the conflict with the Dacians was ended.

¹⁵⁸ Petrović 1975, 47.

¹⁵⁹ CIL XVI 46.

¹⁶⁰ Barnea-Ciucă 1989, 147–155 = AE 1989, 630; Petolescu 2002, 122.

¹⁶¹ Wagner 1938, 192; Beneš 1978, 53; Knight 1991, 203. On this fort see Zmееv 1969, 45–54. The date of the regiment's arrival in Moesia Inferior might also be placed immediately after the Trajan's Parthian war (Roxan 1997, 293; Eck, Roxan 1997, 197), in early Hadrian's reign (Devijver 1977, 596 N 8) in which the regiment might have been eventually engaged.

¹⁶² Christescu 1935–1936, 451–452 = AE 1939, 101; Devijver 1977, 596 N 8.

¹⁶³ RMD 235 = Eck, Roxan 1997, 193–203.

¹⁶⁴ RMD 241; Roxan 1997, 287–299.

¹⁶⁵ AE 1991, 138 (Malăk Preslavets); Weiss 1999, 279–286 = AE 1999, 1359 (145/146); (RMD 50 (Brestovene)).

The suggested return of the regiment in Moesia Superior, to its former base, later in the 2nd century bears no significant evidence¹⁶⁶.

From around 200, an inscription from Beirut¹⁶⁷ mentions a *praefectus* of the unit who was in the same time the commander of the *cohorts I Cilicum* and *VI Breucorum*. Wagner supposed that this command could have been in direct connection with a military action against the brigandage along the Lower Danube¹⁶⁸. Another prefect of the regiment seems to be recorded in an inscription from Ephesus¹⁶⁹.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 337; Filov 1906, 52–54; Christescu 1937, 191; Wagner 1938, 191–192; Kraft 1951, 190, no. 1890–1894; Jarrett 1969, 219, n. 13; Gerasimova 1970, 25; Petrović 1975, 43–56; Dušanić 1977, 238; Beneš 1978, 52–53 no. 130/93; Strobel 1984, 144; Roxan 1997, 293.

12 (24) COHORS II FLAVIA BESSORUM

The cohort seems to have been set shortly before the Flavian Emperors, but it received the epithet *Flavia* during this dynasty. The enrollment was massive among the Bessians in the Bessice strategy (see chapter III) as the unit is a pair of number *I Bessorum*. Both were the only Thracian cohorts having as a distinction an ethnical name. The regiment was initially deployed in Moesia Inferior, in the sector of the frontier west of Novae, probably in the military territory of the legion V Macedonica. From Oescus comes the tombstone of a soldier of the unit of Thracian origin¹⁷⁰. While garrisoned on the right bank of the Danube, the cohort was very likely recorded in the MD of 92 from Cataloi and 97, where its name can be easily deduced¹⁷¹.

The regiment was engaged in the Dacian wars of 101–106 (see chapter VIII). In 101–106, it was garrisoned north of the Danube at Buridava (Stolniceni), on the Olt valley, where its military workshops produced building material (bricks and tiles) with the stamp COHIIFLBES in many variants¹⁷². Detachments of the unit were dispatched also to Bârsești “La Plută”¹⁷³ and Rucăr¹⁷⁴. The Rucăr stamps are of the same type as those of Buridava and Bârsești¹⁷⁵. In 105, the unit was still part of the army of Moesia Inferior, as it appears in the 105 MD¹⁷⁶, but remained in the north extension of the province. After the 117/118 administrative reforms of Hadrian, when the north Danubian a part of the territories of Moesia Inferior were reorganized into a separate province, Dacia Inferior, the regiment remained in the area of the new district where it is recorded in the Grojdibodu (128), f.s.u.130, Palamarca (140), and 146 MDs.

Since 20s of the 2nd century the cohort was garrisoned at Cincșor¹⁷⁷ where the stamped building material of a different type (COHIIFLB), compared to that which circulated during the Dacian wars and

¹⁶⁶ Roxan 1997, 293.

¹⁶⁷ AE 1926, 150; Devijver 1977, 731 S 25

¹⁶⁸ Wagner 1938, 192.

¹⁶⁹ Devijver 1977, 690 P 127.

¹⁷⁰ LBG 64 = AE 1957, 299; Wagner 1938, 97; Russu 1967, 86; Beneš 1978, 18. The soldier of Bessian origin belongs rather to this unit than to cohorts *I Flavia Brittonum* as suggested by Beshevliev 1952, no. 91.

¹⁷¹ Petolescu 2004, 269–273; Eck, Roxan 1997, 233–238 no. 4 = AE 1997, 1774.

¹⁷² IDR II 571; Tudor 1978, 336.

¹⁷³ IDR II 607; Bogdan Cătănicu 1974, 282–284.

¹⁷⁴ The COHIIFLBES type of stamp circulated at Buridava and Bârsești between 101 and 106, while the type COHIIFLB is characteristic of the post war period at Cincșor. Given the identical types of stamped bricks and tiles from Buridava and Bârsești, with the one in Rucăr, it is very likely that the detachments were contemporaneous. The detachment from Rucăr could have come directly from the Olt River valley where the unit was stationed.

¹⁷⁵ CIL XVI 50.

¹⁷⁶ IDR I 10 (Grojdibodu); Weiss 1997, 243–256, nr. 8 = AE 1997, 1764 (130); IDR I 13 (Palamarca); RMD 269 (146).

¹⁷⁷ Wagner 1938, 97; Russu 1967, 87; Beneš 1972, no. 68; 1978, 18; Petolescu 1997, 91.

immediately thereafter was produced¹⁷⁸. A tombstone from the Cincșor fort records a soldier from this regiment who died during the command of L. Carvilius Rusticinus¹⁷⁹. After a new reorganization of the Dacian territories in 169/170, the regiment remained in Dacia Malvensis. In 170, a *praepositus* of the regiment was the famous L. Antonius Alfenus Arignotus as it is stated in a *cursus honorum* from Thyatira (Lydia)¹⁸⁰.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 254; von Premerstein 1910, 205; Robert 1934, 216–220; Christescu 1937, 183; Wagner 1938, 97; Pflaum 1960–1961, 576–579 no. 218 (= 309); Russu 1967, 86–88; Tudor 1968, 86–87; Russu 1972, 68 [22]; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1974, 282–284; Tudor 1978, 335–336; Beneš 1978, 18 no. 50/13; Vlădescu 1983, 37; Bogdan Cătănciu 1993, 49–66; Petolescu 1997, 91–92; Spaul 2000, 342; Petolescu 2002, 84–85.

13 (25) COHORS II AUGUSTA THRACUM EQUITATA

The 1st century history of the regiment is unknown. The epithet *Augusta* would indicate an initial recruitment in early 1st century. It is also likely an early deployment of the unit in the eastern provinces together with the other two *cohortes*, *I* and *III Augustae Thracum*, but there is no clear evidence. It is unclear when the unit arrived in Pannonia Inferior. The date is commonly considered around 117/118¹⁸¹. Its first record in the province occurred in a MDs of 135, Albertfalva (139), shortly after in 143, and 141/142–144¹⁸². The regiment appears in the later MDs of the same province in the 2nd century¹⁸³. A fragment of MD found at Viminacium (157/160)¹⁸⁴ recorded the unit on the *extrinsecus*. In a fragmentary MD dated 143/144, Dušanić restored [*III*] *Thracum* that certainly refers to our unit without the patronymic *Augusta*¹⁸⁵. It is obvious that the unit could have been brought into this province already under Hadrian, maybe in 118/119, although it is not known from where and in what circumstances¹⁸⁶.

By late 2nd and in early 3rd century, under the command of *T. Caesius Anthianus*, a cavalry squadron seems to have been attached to the unit which became *equitata*¹⁸⁷. In the 3rd century one of its prefects was *M. Petronius Honoratus*¹⁸⁸.

There are no other historical or epigraphic information on this regiment in Pannonia Inferior¹⁸⁹. The last document which records it is the Obuda MD (165)¹⁹⁰. Based on topographical analysis of the MDs, Vísy believes that the unit was stationed at *Ad Militare* (Batina) until the Marcomannic wars¹⁹¹.

¹⁷⁸ Beneš 1978, 18 opines for a dispatch of a detachment from Cincșor to Rucăr, but the type of stamp documented in the latter fort appears in a previous historical context (see n. 4). At Olteni, a stamp CIIIBES (E+S in ligature) is assigned by Petolescu 2002, 85 to this cohort, together with a bronze badge CANDIDVS (*centuria*) MAXIMI.

¹⁷⁹ Daicovicu 1936, 253 = AE 1971, 379 = IDR III/4, 179.

¹⁸⁰ CIG III 3497 = IGRRP IV 1213 = ILS 8853; Devijver 1976 A 132; Premerstein 1910, 205; Wagner 1938, 97 and Pflaum 1960–1961, 576–579 no. 218 *ter* suggest a dispatch of the unit in the Eastern provinces where *Alfenus Arignotus* would have held a command over it, but the *praepositura* was concomitantly or successively (Tudor 1978, 336) held with the *praefectura* in the *cohortes II Flavia Numidarum* from the neighboring fort at Feldioara. On this *cursus honorum* see also Robert 1934, 216–220; Petolescu 1987, 162–163. On the other hand one can take into consideration the Beneš 1978, 18 and Petolescu 1997, 91–92 claim that the stamp CIIIBES (E + S in ligature) would have a close relation with the cohort in the title.

¹⁸¹ Roxan 1991, 263; Lörincz 1993, 95, no. 8; 2001, 43, no. 46.

¹⁸² RMD 266; Roxan 1999, 255–258 = AE 1999, 1352; Lörincz 2001, 305 no. 508 (135); CIL XVI 175 (Albertfalva), RMD 266; Roxan 1999, 255–258 = AE 1999, 1352; Lörincz 2001, 305 no. 508 (143); RMD 268; Lörincz 1996, 261–265 = AE 1996, 1257; (141/142–144).

¹⁸³ Lörincz 1996, 263; 2001, 157–166, no. 13–33.

¹⁸⁴ Mirković 1999, 249–254 = AE 1999, 1316.

¹⁸⁵ Dušanić 1999, 210.

¹⁸⁶ Wagner 1938, 193; Nagy 1958, 68; Lörincz 1992, 95; 1996, 259–268; 2001, 43, no. 46.

¹⁸⁷ AE 1908, 206 = ILS 9014. Jarrett 1969, 219 no. 11 already labeled it *equitata* in the title; cf. Wagner 1938, 193.

¹⁸⁸ CIL VI 1625 a, b = 14, 4458 = AE 1913, 197; Devijver 1977 P 24.

¹⁸⁹ Nagy 1956, 68; Roxan 1999, 263.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 339; Wagner 1938, 192–193; Radnóti-Barkóczy 1951, 214, 216; Nagy 1956, 68; 1863; Mocsy 1962, 624; Fitz 1962, 66; Jarrett 1969, 219 no. 19; Fitz 1972, 60–61; Vísy 1986, 510–516; Lőrincz 1990, 76; 1992, 95 no. 8; 1996, 259–266; Roxan 1999, 263; Spaul 2000, 367; Lőrincz 2001, 43 no. 46.

14 (26) COHORS II GEMELLA THRACUM EQUITATA

The attribute *gemella* would indicate the initial existence of two *cohortes Thracum* with the same number created in the same time and possibly dispatched both in northern Africa, of which one survived and received the distinctive name¹⁹².

Several inscriptions among which those of Mascula (Khenchela)¹⁹³, Sila (Bordj el Kasar)¹⁹⁴, and Timgad¹⁹⁵ record the regiment in Numidia. Le Bohec suggested an early presence, in the Julio-Claudian epoch, of the entire regiment or of a detachment of it at Sila on the basis of a fragmentary inscription datable during Claudius' or Nero's reign in which the defunct, an *Ti. Claudius, an eques vexillarius*, remains a relevant factor in dating the monument in the first half of the 1st century¹⁹⁶.

The epitaph of the Thracian soldier mentioned at Mascula (Kenchela) dates from the Flavian epoch¹⁹⁷. The two inscriptions indicate an early existence of the regiment, eventually during Tiberius' or Claudius' reign and an immediate deployment to Numidia. On the other hand, the Mascula soldier was drafted into the regiment at the age of 28 and died at 54, after 27 years of service. According to Le Bohec¹⁹⁸, that would suggest the installation of the soldier at Kenchela after his discharge, where the cohort should have been billeted after its departure from Sila, in the Flavian period. Cagnat and recently Fentress¹⁹⁹ maintain also a stationing of the cohort at Mascula. From here, a possible dispatch of a vexillation at Aquae Flavianae (Hr el-Hammam), by late 1st century²⁰⁰ where a *praefectus* of the regiment is recorded, is most likely. At Carthage, a *veteranus* of the unit, also of Thracian origin, settled together with his family²⁰¹.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 338–339; Cagnat 1892, 205; Jarrett, 1969, 222, no. 27; Pflaum 1978¹, 63; Fentress 1979, 96; Holder, 1980, 160; Le Bohec 1989¹, 62, 65, 91–93; 109; 164; 1989², 348, 360, 363; 1999, 120; Spaul 2000, 368.

15 (27) COHORS II THRACUM VETERANA EQUITATA PIA FIDELIS

The cohort was part of an initial lot of Thracian units sent to Western provinces. It was directly assigned to Germania Superior. This is generally considered as occurring before A.D. 40²⁰². However, from the period before 70 dates a tombstone from Aquileia set for *Q. Etuvius Capreolus*, who was

¹⁹⁰ CIL XVI 33.

¹⁹¹ Vísy 1986, 510–516. See also Radnóti, Barkóczy 1951, 219; Nagy 1956, 68; Fitz 1962, 66; Lőrincz 2001, 43, no. 46.

¹⁹² For the discussion on the name *Gemella* see above chapter III.

¹⁹³ CIL VIII 2251 = ILS 2578.

¹⁹⁴ CIL VIII 5885 = ILS 5885.

¹⁹⁵ AE 1894, 87; cf. Cagnat 1892, 205.

¹⁹⁶ Le Bohec 1989¹, 91.

¹⁹⁷ Le Bohec 1989¹, 91; Holder 1980, 160.

¹⁹⁸ Le Bohec 1989¹, 113, n. 263, 363.

¹⁹⁹ Fentress 1975, 205.

²⁰⁰ AE 1894, 87.

²⁰¹ CIL VIII 14281 = 25364 = ILS Tun. 956.

²⁰² Alföldy 1968, 71

prefect of *cohors II Thracum in Germania*²⁰³. The same unit is recorded in the MD from Negoslavić (65)²⁰⁴ and on those referring to the territory of future Germania Superior²⁰⁵.

In the Negoslavić MD, a *cohors VII Breucorum* appears together with *cohors II Thracum*²⁰⁶. Both were included in the expeditionary force in the intended Parthian war during the Nero's reign (see chapter VIII). In 57–64, the unit was stationed in an unknown Eastern province. It returned directly to the Rhine lands before or even in 70, in the future Germania Inferior²⁰⁷.

During and shortly after the Batavian revolt the regiment garrisoned the *Mannaricium* (Maurik) fort²⁰⁸, sharing the camp with *cohors II Hispanorum peditata p. f.*²⁰⁹. Here a bronze bucket with the punched inscription: > (*centuria*) *Cris(pi)* or *Cris(pini) con(tubernium) Cusioni* and >(*centuria*) *Firmi contubarnio (sic!) Maximi coh(ortis) II T(hracum)* was found²¹⁰. Based on this piece and in connection with the initial building of the fort during the Batavian revolt, Bogaers dated the presence of the unit at Maurik between 70 and 83²¹¹. In any case, the regiment is recorded in 80 in the Kamensko MD (80)²¹² apparently belonging to Lower Germany regions. In 89 the cohort was still in Germania Inferior where it received from Domitian, together with other regiments, the title of *pia fidelis*²¹³.

It seems likely that the regiment was transferred from Germany in the early 90s of the 1st century²¹⁴ to Britain where it is recorded in the MDs from Malpas (103), Ó Szöny (122) and another with f.s.u (130/131)²¹⁵.

The cohort returned to middle Danube by mid 2nd century. A dedication of 164 to L. Aurelius Verus from Zeiselmauer (*Castra Canabiaca*) in Noricum set by the cohort which appears as *equitata*²¹⁶ and bears the title *pia fidelis* is generally considered as a clear proof of its garrisoning in this place at that time²¹⁷. However, the presence of the regiment or of a detachment on the middle Danube was only temporary.

Shortly after the end of the Marcomannic wars, the cohort returned to Britain where it is expressly indicated in inscriptions as *equitata*. During Antoninus Pius it occupied the Mumrills fort. In 178 the regiment is recorded in Britain, where a series of three MDs show²¹⁸. The three MDs evidence that once moved to Britain, after 178 or shortly before (?), the cohort acquired the attribute *veterana*. The cohort appears recorded in inscriptions, without any new, at *Gabrosentum* (Moresby) beginning

²⁰³ Jarrett 1969, 222 no. 28; Stein 1932, 215; Bogaers 1974¹, 449.

²⁰⁴ AE 1902, 41 = ILS 9090 = Alföldy 1968, 71, no. 155; Devijver 1976, 347 E 14. Alföldy 1968, 71, n. 27 thinks to an early Flavian epoch for the date of the monument, due to the formula *vixit ann(is)*; Dušanić 1978, 474 places the beginning of the Capreolus' praefecture not later than 57 'probably some years before that date', likely between 50–55; Saddington 1986, 776; Devijver 1976, 347 E 14 believes a Julio-Claudian date for the post in the cohort, before 82/90.

²⁰⁵ AE 1978, 658; RMD 79.

²⁰⁶ Alföldy 1968, 71; Dušanić 1978, 468 n. 64; If the rendering II THRACVM is clear in the Negoslavić MD, in the Kamensko constitution (CIL XVI 158) only the numeral II appears, the ethnical indication falling in the destroyed part. The restitution THRACVM is however certain.

²⁰⁷ cf. Saddington 1986, 770.

²⁰⁸ Knight 1991, 196.

²⁰⁹ Bogaers 1974¹, 425; Holder 1999, 245.

²¹⁰ Bogaers 1974², 448–449, n. 20. The piece was commented several times and presented in the context of the Thracian troops in Germany; see Bogaers 1974², 448–449, n. 20 with the bibliography.

²¹¹ Bogaers 1974¹, 449.

²¹² CIL XVI 158.

²¹³ Holder 1999, 244.

²¹⁴ Alföldy 1968, 71.

²¹⁵ Knight 1991, 198; CIL XVI 48 (Malpas) and CIL XVI 69 (Ó Szöny); Weiss 2006, 245–251 (f.s.u.). A possible participation in the Dacian wars suggested by Alföldy 1968, 71 does not seem to have been possible as far as the unit is recorded in the Malpas MD of 103. Weiss' restoration II Thrac(um) veter(ana) in a fragment of MD which fits RMD 184 (23.03. 178) with f.s.u. is highly probable.

²¹⁶ Ubl 1977–1978, 242 = AE 1977, 603; Holder 1999, 244.

²¹⁷ Ubl 1976, 11–12; Holder 1999, 244.

²¹⁸ RIB 2142 (Mumrills); RMD 184, 293, 294; see also a fragment of MD from the series issued on 23.03. 178 at Weiss 2006, 251–254.

with early 3rd century²¹⁹ where it replaced *cohors II Lingonum*. It is almost certain that the Thracian regiment built a stone phase of this auxiliary fort. At Moresby, the unit was possibly present in 208–211 with the occasion of the Severus' campaign in northern Britain. *Notia Dignitatum* records the regiment still at Gabrosentum in the 4th century²²⁰.

The cohort appears also in the 2nd century *cursus honorum* from Patavium of *L. Valerius Priscus*, who was *praef(ectus) cohortium duarum, tertiae Thracum et secundae equitatum*. *Cohors II Thracum equitata* in the inscription seems to be very likely our unit²²¹.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 338; Stein 1932, 215; Birley 1961, 223–224; Alföldy 1968, 71; Jarrett 1969, 222 no. 28; Bogaers 1974¹, 448–450; Therèse, Raepset-Charlier 1975, 84; Dušanić 1978, 468–475; Ubl 1977–1978, 242; Holder 1980, 122; Genser 1986, 389–390; Saddington 1986, 779–781; Knight 1991, 198; Holder 1999, 244; Spaul 2000, 371–372.

16 (28) COHORS II THRACUM EQUITATA CIVIUM ROMANORUM

The regiment was recruited in the Julio-Claudian epoch and was directly sent to Eastern provinces. An Egyptian papyrus names a certain Zosimos, the son of Narcissus, born in Halicarnassus²²². The evidence would suggest the supply of the unit with a group of recruits from Asia Minor in the first half of the 1st century, in unknown circumstances. In 86, the cohort appears in the army of Judea, as shown by the *Turea MD*²²³, granted to a soldier of Thracian origin. Shortly after 86 the regiment was moved to Syria, where it is recorded in the *Muhovo* (88), one with f.s.u., and *Suhozem* (91) MDs, as well as in a diploma of 91 with find spot unknown²²⁴. The regiment bears the juridical distinction *civium Romanorum*, a title obtained possibly after the participation in the suppression of the Jewish revolt in 70 (see chapter VIII).

Keil, Lesquier, and Velkov think that the regiment was identical with *cohors II Syriaca* (no. 29)²²⁵, recorded in the *Kazanlik MD* of 157²²⁶. Cichorius and Jarrett distinguish, however, between three units numbered II: *Thracum Syriaca* (no. 29), *Thracum equitata* (the regiment in the title) in Eastern provinces, and a *Thracum equitata* (no. 28) in Western provinces and it is reasonable to be treated that way²²⁷.

The regiment was dispatched from Syria to Egypt, very likely under Trajan²²⁸ where it appears in the *MD for Egypt* in 105 and in the *Coptos MD* from 179 without the distinction *civium Romanorum*²²⁹. The *Coptos MD* was granted to a veteran of Coptic origin who served in this unit.

²¹⁹ RIB 797, 803–804; Frere 1974, 167 comments on the fact that although inscriptions of *ala I Tungrorum* was also found there, there are not sufficient arguments for supporting the stationing of both units in the same fort whose dimensions could have accommodated only 500 men.

²²⁰ NDOcc. 40, 50. The record of the regiment in this document shows that the move could have been done during the Severan epoch (Birley 1961, 223; Roxan 1976, tab. I).

²²¹ CIL V 2841; Devijver 1977 V 27.

²²² Gauthier 1911, 283, no. 35 = Lesquier 1918, 500, no. 39 = SB I 4607.

²²³ CIL XVI 33 = IDR I 24.

²²⁴ CIL XVI 35 (*Muhovo*); Weiss 2006, 252–253, no. 1; RMD 4 (*Suhozem*); Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219–221, no. 3.

²²⁵ Keil 1882, 56; Lesquier 1918, 95; Velkov 1926–1927, 77 no. 9.

²²⁶ CIL XVI 106.

²²⁷ Cichorius 1901, 338–339; Jarrett 1969, 222 no. 26. Holder (1980, 33) places the granting of this title already in the first half or at mid 1st century at the latest.

²²⁸ Knight 1991, 207.

²²⁹ RMD 9 (*Egypt*); Römer 1990, 137–153 = AE 1990 1023; RMD 185 (*Coptos*). The soldier of Coptic origin discharged in 179 suggests a long presence of the regiment in southern Egypt. Lesquier 1918, 95 based on the proposed identification supposes the coming of the unit in Egypt in 157–167, which does not fit with the record of the regiment in this province shortly before 105.

The garrison of the cohort is unknown between its arrival in Egypt, shortly before 105, and 16.06.131, when it is known from a papyrus in Syene as having been billeted, but the garrison must have been taken over shortly after its arrival. The document records active military personnel²³⁰. The Thracian cohort and *cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum* replaced *Cohors I Thebaeorum* and *cohors I Hispanorum* at Syene²³¹. P. Wisc. records soldiers and a *decurion* of the Thracian regiment garrisoned in the fort²³². P. Col. as well as an inscription dated in 195/6, found in the debris of the Luxor camp, testifies that at that date the *cohors II Thracum* was already there, where it seems to have been moved before or in 143²³³. Active military personnel in the area are recorded by papyri of 143, as well as by an *ostrakon* from 167 record²³⁴. In 195/6, the regiment is mentioned at Luxor²³⁵.

A detachment was present at Talmis, in Nubia, where a papyrus records a soldier of the regiment²³⁶.

In the 4th century, the regiment appears garrisoned at Muson, in Augustamnica²³⁷.

Literature: Keil 1888, 56; Cichorius 1901, 338–339; Lesquier 1918, 95–96; 105; Velkov 1926–1927, 72; Gilliam 1968, 93–98 = 1986², 329–334; Jarrett 1969, 222 no. 16; Holder 1980, 33; Pflaum 1981, 285, 288–289; Saghir, Golvin, Reddé 1986, 121 no. 52; Mor 1986, 567, 577, 578; Daris 1988, 764–765; Speidel 1988, 788–789 no. 10; Römer 1990, 147; Knight 1991, 196, 198, 207; MacDonald 2000, 271–274; Maxfield 2000, 407–442; Spaul 2000, 369–370.

17 (29) COHORS II THRACUM SYRIACA

The existence of a cohort with this name and number, as presumed by Cichorius and Jarrett became obvious in the light of MDs for Syria from Suhozem (91), one with find spot unknown (91) and Kazanlāk (156/157)²³⁸. The history of the regiment is unknown. It could have been part of an initial group of Thracian recruits that have been sent at an early date to Syria, together with the cohortes I–III which will become in short time *Syriacae* as a distinction of their long presence in Syria. However, the regiment can not be identified with *cohors II Thracum* from Egypt, as Keil and Cichorius suggested²³⁹, for no. 28 (*cohors II Thracum equitata*) appears in the Egyptian MDs of 105 and 179, which roughly coincides with the presence of our regiment in Syria.

One of its *praefecti* is known from Praeneste²⁴⁰. The regiment garrisoned the Soukhne (As Sukhneh) fort, on the Euphrates, on the strategic road from Palmyra to Soura, where a base of a statue with a dedication to Jupiter was erected by *Sex. Rasius Proculus*, prefect of the cohort at Palmyra²⁴¹.

²³⁰ P. Wisc. I, 14, 3; 4; Cavenaille 1970 no. 2087; 44; Daris 1988, 764; Römer 1990, 147; Maxfield 2000, 421. For P. Wisc. see Gilliam 1968, 93–98 = 1986, 329 = 334 with an ample commentary. P. Wisc. relates on an agreement between a widow of a cavalry man from *cohors II Thracum* and two of its creditors, both *equites* in the same unit.

²³¹ Speidel 1988, 787, 788, no. 10; MacDonald 2000, 271–274; Maxfield 2000, 411.

²³² P. Wisc. I 14, 3, 4 (16.06.131).

²³³ P. Col. Inv. 325 = SB X 10530; Maxfield 2000, 411; 421. For P. Col. see Gilliam 1968, 317–327 = 1967, 233–243. On the Luxor fort see Saghir, Golvin, Reddé 1986.

²³⁴ P. Col. inv. 325; SB I 4593; Cavenaille 1970, no. 630; = Gilliam 1967, 241 v 2; 240, 2; 241 v 1; 2; 3 = Criniti 1979, 211, 1a; 212, 99 a; 213, 142 a; 218, 430 a; 222, 599 a = Gilliam 1986, 327; CIL III 12074 = Cavenaille 1970, no. 513; 1708; WO 927, 1; Daris 1988, 765; Maxfield 2000, 421.

²³⁵ Saghir, Golvin, Reddé 1986; Riad 1968, 281–295, no. 23.

²³⁶ SB 4607; Lesquier 1918, 95 Ap. I no. 31; 39; Cavenaille 1970 no. 742; 2249; Daris 1988, 765; Speidel 1988, 788; Maxfield 2000, 416. See also Lesquier 1918, 95; Daris 1977, 764; Speidel 1977, 788 no. 10; cf. Römer 1990, 147.

²³⁷ NDOr. 28, 45; Speidel 1977, 788.

²³⁸ AE 1961, 319 = RMD 4 (Suhozem); Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219–221, no. 3; CIL XVI 106 (Kazanlāk).

²³⁹ Keil 1888, 56; Cichorius 1901, 339.

²⁴⁰ CIL XIV 2957; Devijver 1976, 814 V 10.

²⁴¹ AE 1911, 124; Seyrig 1941, 71; Rey Coquais 1978, 69; Kennedy, Riley 1990, 143; Devijver 1976, 703 R 5.

The regiment was part of the expeditionary force of Lucius Verus in Mesopotamia during his Parthian campaign, as shown by the inscription from Byllis (Gradishte)²⁴².

Literature: Keil 1888, 56; Cichorius 1901 339; Jarrett 1969, 219, no. 14; Mor 1986, 577; Spaul 2000, 373.

18 (30) COHORS III AUGUSTA THRACUM EQUITATA

The patronymic *Augusta* places the cohort among the oldest regiments established from Thracian recruits. It falls in the series of the regiments labeled *I–III Augustae*. The place of its early garrison remains unknown. The cohort was in Syria in 88, as recorded in two fragments with f.s.u. from 88, in the Muhovo (88) MDs²⁴³. In 153 (f.s.u.) and 157, the regiment reappears in the MDs for the same province²⁴⁴.

Two of its *prefecti* are attested at Formiae, *L. Bruttius Celer*²⁴⁵, and Rome *L. C[...] Sab[inus]*²⁴⁶. A *praefectus*, *L. Aburnius Tuscianus*, recorded at Heraclea ad Salbacum (Caria)²⁴⁷ was successively ἑπαρχος σπέρης τρίτης Σεβάστης Θρακῶν ὑππίκης and ἑπαρχος σπέρης τρίτης Θρακῶν ὑππίκης (no. 35: *cohors III Thracum Syria equitata*)²⁴⁸.

The regiment seems very likely to have been dispatched from Syria to Arabia, at Umm el-Qittayn, (today in Jordan) as part of the army of the newly set Trajanic province shortly after 106. The rectangular fort, possibly of ‘card-like plan’ is the largest in the area, having 156 × 120m (= 1.87 ha)²⁴⁹. It fits the size and structure of the unit. The name of the unit appears on a *tabula ansata* of a large altar re-used in a building within the northeastern corner of the defense stone wall. Dunand and Mittmann attributed the inscription to *cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata*²⁵⁰. The re-learned stone by Kennedy and MacAdam shows that the numeral III is most likely recorded²⁵¹.

By mid 2nd century, the regiment is moved back to Syria where it appears in the 157 MD. By 227, it occupied the new fort at Suchere, near the confluence of Khabur River with the Euphrates, as results from a P. Dura from this year²⁵². The cohort might have been in garrison until late 3rd or early 4th century.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 340; Dunand 1926, 328; Velkov 1926–1927, 77 no. 11; Jarrett 1969, 219, no. 12; Mittmann 1970, 205 no. 50; Appelbaum 1976, 68, no. 2; Rey Coquais 1978, 68; Kennedy, MacAdam 1986, 234–236; Kennedy, Riley 1990, 143.

19 (31) COHORS III THRACUM EQUITATA CIVIUM ROMANORUM BIS TORQUATA

²⁴² CIL III 600.

²⁴³ Weiss 2006, 252–253, no. 1; 253–254, no. 2; CIL XVI 35 (Muhovo).

²⁴⁴ Weiss 2006, 265–270; CIL XVI 106. Appelbaum 1976, 68, no. 29 suggests its presence in Raetia in early 2nd century, in 107. He identifies it with *cohors III Thracum Civium Romanorum* from the MDs of this province, beginning with 107. The two regiments are however overtly different.

²⁴⁵ CIL X 6100 = 4095 = ILS 1327; Devijver 1976, 185 B 30.

²⁴⁶ CIL VI 31856 = AE 1888, 66 = ILS 3508; Devijver 1976, 189 C 2.

²⁴⁷ AE 1911, 161 = ILS 9471.

²⁴⁸ Premerstein 1910, 200–209; Devijver 1976, A 5; PIR I 2, 3, no. 20.

²⁴⁹ Kennedy, Riley 1990, 141–143.

²⁵⁰ Dunand 1926, 328 = AE 1928, 154; Mittmann 1970, 205, no. 50. Both photograph and drawing show the prolongation of the horizontal line above a figure. It is less probable that such a large space was left between the *haedera distinguens* and the last figure. Moreover, there are good signs of a I near the leaf, what would certainly lead towards a [II]I (Kennedy, MacAdam 1986, 235).

²⁵¹ Kennedy, MacAdam 1986, 234–236.

²⁵² P. Dura 26; Excavations Dura Europos, A. Perkins ed. 1959, 134–141, no. 26.

The regiment in the title appears to be the one recorded in the Klosterneuburg (80) and Carnuntum (84) MDs among the Pannonian troops²⁵³. It is to be clearly distinguished from the other Thracian cohort from Raetia (no. 33)²⁵⁴. The cohort seems to have been set in the Julio-Claudian epoch. A stamped tile²⁵⁵ with the unit name found at Oberstimm (Raetia) is considered by Kellner as a proof of its garrisoning in this auxiliary fort during its second period of existence, in 69–80²⁵⁶.

This important observation would imply a dispatch of the regiment from Raetia to Pannonia where it appears in the MDs by early 80s. While it was garrisoned in Pannonia, the regiment was mentioned in a fragmentary *titulus honorarium* from Birbir, pertaining to one of its prefects, *L. Aprius Liburnius Varvarinus*²⁵⁷.

Around 90, the regiment returned to Raetia. Here it built the first phase of the clay and turf Künzig auxiliary fort where it presumably stationed for a short period²⁵⁸. The fort was subsequently occupied by *cohors III Bracaraugustanorum* until 140/150. The cohort continued to stay in Raetia, although the garrison place is uncertain. Its earliest record in the province is the Weissenburg MD (107) and always in this type of documents for the Raetian army until 167/8²⁵⁹. The regiment, however, seems to have built the stone phase of the Gnotzheim auxiliary fort, where it resided until the arrival of *cohors V Bracaraugustanorum*. According to some tactical movements, the Bracaraugustanian cohort took over the Gnotzheim fort²⁶⁰, while after 140/150 the Thracian cohort was dispatched again in the Künzig auxiliary fort. Later, it could have been eventually replaced at Künzig by *ala I Flavia Raetorum*²⁶¹.

At Künzig, the cohort produced a significant quantity of stamped building material (bricks and tiles)²⁶². A stamped tile was also found at Burgstall bei Moos²⁶³, but the piece cannot be taken as evidence for the presence of a temporary vexillation.

The epithet *civium Romanorum* could eventually have been bequeathed for outstanding behavior in conflicts with Germans and Dacians (see chapter VIII)²⁶⁴. Jarrett²⁶⁵ adds to it also the appellative *bis torquata*, epigraphically attested on the foundation inscription at Gnotzheim in 144²⁶⁶. Holder suggests that the first *torques* and also the citizenship were attributed to the regiment during the Vespasian's reign, although the conflict with the Dacians during Trajan's reign is a more likely occasion²⁶⁷. A *terra sigillata* plate bears the graffito *Rufi vexillari*²⁶⁸ from where results that the unit was very likely *equitata*²⁶⁹.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 340; Stein 1932, 215; Wagner 1938, 193; Herrling 1940, 59; Nagy 1956, 30 n. 113; Mocsy 1962, 624; Suić 1968, 93–118; Jarrett 1969, 223 no. 30; Kellner 1971, 209, 214; Holder 1980, 37; Lörincz 1992, 95 no. 9; Stoll 1992, 316; 365–366; Wolff 1995, 29; Lörincz 2001, 43, no. 47.

²⁵³ CIL XVI 26 (Klosterneuburg); CIL XVI 30 (Carnuntum); Lörincz 2001, 43, no. 47.

²⁵⁴ Wagner 1938, 139.

²⁵⁵ Herrling 1940, 59.

²⁵⁶ Kellner 1971, 214.

²⁵⁷ Suić 1968, no. 825; Devijver 117–118 A 155.

²⁵⁸ Kellner 1971, 214. In the light of the Künzig and Straubing MDs of 116 Wolff 1995, 29 has rightly pointed out that the unit remained in Raetia and did not take part in the Trajan's Parthian war as previously presumed (Kellner's 1971, 214; cf. Wolff 1995, 29); see also Christlein 1976, 37–58.

²⁵⁹ CIL XVI 55; Wolff 2000, 155–170.

²⁶⁰ Kellner 1971, 215; Stoll 1992, 316.

²⁶¹ Herrling 1940, 59.

²⁶² AE 1930, 73; Stein 1932, 215.

²⁶³ Kellner 1971, 215.

²⁶⁴ The epithet appears invariably in the 2nd century Raetian MDs.

²⁶⁵ Jarrett 1969, 223, no. 30.

²⁶⁶ Wagner 1938, no. 37, 38; Holder 1980, 37.

²⁶⁷ Holder 1980, 37.

²⁶⁸ Stein 1932, 215.

²⁶⁹ Herrling 1940, 59.

20 (32) COHORS III THRACUM SYRIACA SAGITTARIA EQUITATA

The history of this cohort is almost unknown²⁷⁰. The inscriptions in Syria and Caria suggest its permanent stationing in Eastern provinces, most probably in Syria, where it must have been initially dispatched. The regiment is recorded as *sagittaria* in the Muhovo MDs of 88, as well as in a series of diplomas for Syria dated on 22 March 129 with find spot unknown²⁷¹.

A *cursus honorum* of [L. A]burn[*ius Tuscianus*] from Heraclea ad Salbacum, dated during Trajan's reign, mentions this military officer as tribune of the legion III Augusta in Numidia; in his second *militia* he was *praefectus* (ἑπαρχος), of the *cohors III Augusta Thracum equitata* (no. 30), also garrisoned in Syria; the third *militia* he accomplished that of ἑπαρχος σπείρης τρίτης Θρακῶν ἱππικῆς²⁷².

A centurion of the cohort, *Agrippa, Themis* [fil(ius)] from Palmyra, was moved by mid 2nd century, possibly during Marcus Aurelius' reign, to *cohors I Chalcidenorum*: [t]ranslatu[s] [i]n coh(ortem) I Chalcidenor(um), an operation mentioned in an inscription from El Kantara in Syria²⁷³.

An interesting reference appears in an inscription found in Aleppo (Halab), possible of Julio-Claudian epoch, published and commented by Speidel. It records a certain *M. Titius, lixa*²⁷⁴. *Lixa* is a camp follower. The term would render the position of M. Titius in the cohort. Recently, R. Ivanov offered new evidence on *lixa* of the *legio V Macedonica*²⁷⁵. Speidel noticed that the deceased bore the name of the governor of Syria in 10 B.C. what would open the possibility of a very early existence of the cohort²⁷⁶. The discovery of the tombstone set by the heirs of M. Titius in Aleppo may be an indication that the regiment was billeted in this city in early 1st century A.D. in Syria²⁷⁷.

During Septimius Severus' reign, the regiment or rather a detachment of it is recorded in Arabia at the auxiliary fort from Qasr el Hallabat, together with other three cohorts (*VI Hispanorum, I Thracum, V Afrorum*) for repair activities²⁷⁸.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 324; Littman, Magie, Stuart 1921, 22–23, no. 17; Jarrett 1969, 219 no. 15; Speidel 1980, 146–148 = 1992, 203–205; 1981, 272 = 1992, 206; Spaul 2000, 377.

21 (33) COHORS III THRACUM VETERANA

The regiment in the title is clearly distinguishable from no. 31. Both appear in the same MDs with specific denominations. Nothing is known of this regiment in the 1st century. It could be eventually identified with a *cohors Thraecum* recorded by Tacitus²⁷⁹ which fought against the Helvetians in the mountains in 69 (see chapter VIII). In and after 107, the regiment is recorded in MDs for Raetia from 107 to 169/172²⁸⁰.

²⁷⁰ Cichorius 1901, 340; Jarrett 1969, 214, no. 15.

²⁷¹ CIL XVI 35 (Muhovo); AE 1939, 26 (Nicopol); Eck, Pangerl 2006, 221–243, no. 4–9.

²⁷² AE 1911, 16 = ILS 9471; Devijver 1976, 47 A 5. On his career see also Premerstein 1910, 200–209; PIR I², 3, no. 20.

²⁷³ AE 1900, 197 = ILS 9173.

²⁷⁴ Speidel 1980, 146–148, n. 5 = 1992, 203–205, n. 5; 1981, 272 = 1992, 206.

²⁷⁵ Ivanov 1990, 131–135; on this discussion add Vishnia 2002, 265–272.

²⁷⁶ Speidel 1981, 272 = 1992, 206.

²⁷⁷ The epithet *Syriaca* clearly shows the long stationing of the regiment in Syria. On M. Titius see Taylor 1936, 161–173.

²⁷⁸ Littman, Magie, Stuart 1921, 22–23, no. 17. A papyrus of 127 (P. Primi 25 v 12) records an ἑπαρχος σπείρες γ' καὶ α' Θρακῶν and seems to refer to the province of Arabia as Speidel 1977³, 712 = 1992, 254 n. 92 thinks. That would imply a temporary presence of the regiment in the first half of the 2nd century in this province. This information could be correlated with the Qasr el Hallabat inscription that is considered as 'unreliable' by Speidel 1977³, 712.

²⁷⁹ Tac. *Hist.* 1, 68.

²⁸⁰ Knight 1991, 197; Kellner 1971, 214; Wolff 2000, 171–172.

The epithet *veterana*, was applied to this regiment in order to distinguish it from *III Thracum civium Romanorum* and presumably simply because it was earlier in date than its sister unit²⁸¹.

An inscription from Haunsheim records a *miles(?)* of *cohors [III]Thracum v[et(erana)]* who reverted to his family (*regrederetur ad se*) during the *militia* of *L. Noreius Fortunatus*²⁸². The inscription, suggested that in the first half of the 2nd century the regiment was garrisoned in the auxiliary fort at Oberdorf am Ipf. Under the Antoninus Pius' reign the cohort was moved to the auxiliary camp at Buch²⁸³.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 340; Cheesman 1914, 47–49; Stein 1932, 21–26; Wagner 1938, 193; Herrling 1940, 59; Jarrett 1969, 233 no. 29; Kellner 1971, 214; Holder 1980, 19; Lörincz 1992, 95 no. 9; 2001, 43 no. 47; Stoll 1992, 273–274; Spaul 2000, 376; Wolff 2000, 155–170.

22 (34) COHORS IIII THRACUM EQUITATA PIA FIDELIS

The regiment is one of the earliest Thracian units dispatched to the Rhineland and it is distinct from no. 35 from Spain²⁸⁴. Its presence on the Upper Rhine dates back in Julio-Claudian epoch²⁸⁵. From Wiesbaden and Mainz, where it was garrisoned, come a series of early tombstones of Thracian horsemen that served in the regiment²⁸⁶. A praefectus, *C. Egnatuleius Seneca*, completed his *militia* in this unit in Flavian epoch, as it is indicated by his *cursus honorum* from Tarragona²⁸⁷. A dedication from Tivoli belongs to a prefect of the unit, *C. Vibius Publilianus*²⁸⁸. Shortly after, he became *tribunus bis legionis IIII Macedonicae et legionis XXI Rapacis* from the same province²⁸⁹, which is a clue evidence that the regiment was stationed on the Rhine.

After 70, the cohort was dispatched to Valkenburg-Dorp Z.H. as results from a brick stamp CHOIIIITR and graffiti on pottery found in the fort²⁹⁰. The Kamensko MD (80)²⁹¹ records the unit in Germany as discharging a soldier of Thracian origin.

The regiment remained in Germania Inferior in the 2nd century when it is mentioned by the Xanten MD (158)²⁹² with the epithet *p(ia) f(idelis)* that had been granted in 89 to each troop in the province²⁹³. Alföldy and Bogaers think that the unit remained in the Valkenburg fort in the 2nd and also 3rd century (periods IV, V and VI of the fort)²⁹⁴.

²⁸¹ Cheesman, 1914, 47–49. The historical and epigraphic literature often identify *cohors III Thracum veterana* with *cohors III Thracum civium Romanorum*; cf. Wagner 1938, 193; Lörincz 1992, 95 no. 9; 2001, 43 no. 47; but see Jarrett 1969, 223 no. 29, 30.

²⁸² CIL III 5580 = 11899; Devijver 1977, N 13.

²⁸³ 293. Kellner 1971, 207, 214; Planck 1975, 444; Stoll 1992, 273–274.

²⁸⁴ Garcia y Bellido 1961, 144–145 wrongly identifies the two regiments IIII Thracum in a single one, while Jarrett 1969, 223 and Alföldy 1968, 71 makes the distinction between the two cohorts. Wagner 1938, 193–194 does not record it, apparently referring only to nr. 35 (*cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca*). Le Roux 1982, 86, 89–90 does not include it among the auxilia from Spain.

²⁸⁵ Stein 1932, 216; Alföldy 1968, 72.

²⁸⁶ CIL XIII 7049; 7050; 7785; 11870; AE 1965, 258.

²⁸⁷ CIL II 4212 = RIT 272; Devijver 1976, 344 E 6.

²⁸⁸ CIL XIV 3548 = ILS 2706; Devijver 1977, 869 V 104.

²⁸⁹ Stein 1932, 216; Alföldy 1968, 71 n. 409.

²⁹⁰ Bogaers 1974², 452–454. The relation between the regiment and the *legio IIII Macedonica* that left Hispania in 39 A.D. (Roldan Hervas 1974, 223) does not immediately imply the presence of the cohort in the Iberian Peninsula previous to that year.

²⁹¹ CIL XVI 158.

²⁹² RMD 52.

²⁹³ Holder 1999, 243; Alföldy 1968, 72.

²⁹⁴ Alföldy 1968, 72; Bogaers 1974², 454.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 341; Stein 1932, 216–217; Kraft 1951, 190–191 no. 1900–1905; Alföldy 1968, 71–72; Jarrett 1969, 223 no. 31–32; Bogaers 1974¹, 452–454; Viktor Decker, Selzer 1975, 537, 539; Le Glay 1980, 39–50 passim; Alföldy 1987, 128–150; Holder 1999, 243; Spaul 2000, 378.

23 (35) COHORS IIII THRACUM SYRIACA

There are few epigraphic documents referring to this regiment. Its identification is therefore controversial. The cohort appears in a 2nd century *cursus honorum* from Malaga (Baetica) of *L. Valerius Proculus* who was its *praefectus*²⁹⁵ and in one at Pola also mentioning another of its prefects²⁹⁶. A tombstone from Asturica Augusta (Astorga) records a *cohors Tracum*²⁹⁷. Le Roux noticed that the type of monument is specific to the military milieu from the region, especially to the production of the workshops of *legio X Gemina*²⁹⁸. The regiment must have been stationed for a period in the region²⁹⁹. It is very likely, therefore, that the identification of the unit at Astorga with the regiment from the title is correct³⁰⁰. However, it is different from no. 34³⁰¹.

Two 1st century careers from Tarraco, one pertaining to *C. Egnatuleius Seneca*³⁰² and another one to *L. Antonius Silo*³⁰³ show them prefects of a *cohors IIII Thracum equitata* and respectively of a *cohors IIII Thracum*. The information was differently interpreted. Alföldy, Bogaers, Roldan Hervas, and Devijver³⁰⁴ ascribe them both to no. 34, garrisoned in Lower Germany, while Garcia y Bellido considers the monuments in relation to the regiment in Spain³⁰⁵. If, in the first case, the cohort is clearly that on the Rhine (no. 34)³⁰⁶, in the second case the identification with the same unit in Germany is not certain. The fact that the regiment is recorded at Tarraco with the title *cohors IIII Thracum*, without another attribute, and Silo held very soon the office of *praefectus orae maritimae conventus Tarraconensis* would suggest a continuation of a service in Spain rather than a split one in Germany. Therefore it is preferable to distinguish the Silo's praefectura of the *cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca* in Spain rather than in Germany.

The epithet *Syriaca* shows an initial longer stationing of the regiment in Syria after its early recruitment in Thrace in the 20's or 30s of the 1st century. Two MDs dated to 12 May 91 record the unit still in Syria³⁰⁷, while a third document of the same date and year does not mention it³⁰⁸. In the series of Syrian MDs of 129 with find spot unknown³⁰⁹, the regiment is not recorded, a fact which indicates

²⁹⁵ CIL II 1970 = ILS 1341; Devijver 1977 V 29; Roldan Hervas 1974, 223.

²⁹⁶ CIL Suppl. Ital. I 10.

²⁹⁷ AE 1928, 165=ILER 6417. The early date of the cohort's garrison in Syria appears also from the career of Valerius Proculus, who accomplished his first militia as prefect of the regiment in Syria (Garcia y Bellido 1961, 145; Fol 1968², 249 no. 1083; Le Roux 1982, 89). The Astorga tombstone dates stylistically from mid 1st century, in the Claudius' epoch (Le Roux 1982, 90).

²⁹⁸ Le Roux 1982, 89.

²⁹⁹ Garcia y Bellido 1961, 145; Roldan Hervas 1974, 223; Jarrett 1969, 220 no. 16 but 223 no. 31 and 32 that wrongly places it in Lusitania; cf. Bogaers 1974², 454.

³⁰⁰ Garcia y Bellido, 1961, 145; Roldan Hervas 1974, 223.

³⁰¹ Alföldy 1968, 71; Jarrett 1969, 223.

³⁰² CIL II 4212 = RIT 272; Devijver 1976 E 6.

³⁰³ CIL II 4138 = ILS 2175 = RIT 162; Devijver 1976 A 145. The ascribing was made on the base of the wrong assimilation of the two regiments from Spain and Germany. The office of *praefectus orae maritimae conventus Tarraconensis* is on the other hand connected to *praefectura* of the *cohortes I, II* and *nova tironum* (Roldan Hervas 1974, 227). The latter had Silo as *praefectus* that makes likely the unfolding of his office in Spain.

³⁰⁴ Alföldy 1968, 72; Bogaers 1974², 454; Roldan Hervas 1974, 223; Devijver 1976 A 145.

³⁰⁵ Garcia y Bellido 1961, 144–145.

³⁰⁶ Alföldy 1968, 72; Bogaers 1974², 454 n. 64; Roldan Hervas 1974, 223.

³⁰⁷ Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205–219, no. 1–2.

³⁰⁸ Eck, Pangerl 2006, 221 no. 3. The missing record could have referred to the fact that discharges of effectives from this unit had stopped, or the unit was in a process of being transferred to other province.

³⁰⁹ Eck, Pangerl 2006, 221 no. 4–9.

clearly that the unit had left Syria. From that province the unit has very likely been transferred to Spain by the end of the 2nd century.

The epithet, which appears only in the 2nd century on the Malaga inscription, might have been applied to the regiment either later or it could be that was simply not mentioned in the Astorga inscription.

The cohort had likely a longer garrison in Spain that thought before and could have been part of *exercitus Hispanicus* in the 2nd century. There is no proof that the unit was *equitata* like no.34.

Literature: Wagner 1938, 193–194; Alföldy 1968, 72; Garcia y Bellido 1961, 144–145; Jarrett 1969, 220 no. 16; 223 no. 31, 32; Alföldy 1968, 72; Roldan Hervás 1974, 223; Bogaers 1974¹, 452–455; 461–462; Le Roux 1982, 86, 86–90; Spaul 2000, 379.

24 (36) [COHORS V THRACUM]

A cohort with the numeral V is not yet attested, but its existence is deduced from the numbering of other regiment from IV to VI. The fact that it is not recorded in inscriptions or MDs could have different explanations. It either perished early in one of the 1st century conflicts and no record of it was ever preserved, or it was dismissed through *missio ignominiosa*, for bad behavior in combat. Jarrett³¹⁰ suggests that even two *cohortes V Thracum*, can be ‘deduced from the fact that two sixth cohorts are almost certainly known.

Literature: Jarrett 1969, 223, no. 33.

25 (37) COHORS VI THRACUM EQUITATA

The cohort seems to have been part of an early Thracian contingent³¹¹. It was initially dispatched on the Rhine³¹². A tombstone of an *equus* of Thracian origin from Mainz, on the territory of the future Germania Superior³¹³ is datable by mid 1st century. The monument shows the regiment as *equitata*. *M. Staius Taurus* was prefect of the cohort in his second militia³¹⁴. He became *tribunus* in the *legio XXII Primigenia*, indicating a continuation of his career in Germany³¹⁵. Another early praefectus of the cohort was *M. Vettius Pius* recorded on a 1st century *cursus honorum* at Puteoli³¹⁶. The garrison place of the regiment in Julio-Claudian period in Germany is uncertain, although it could have been Mogontiacum³¹⁷.

The regiment was included in the Claudius’ expeditionary force for the invasion of Britain, as suggested by an early tombstone of an *equus* from Kingsholm³¹⁸. It was stationed for a certain period in Britain. In late Claudian or early Flavian period the cohort was moved back to Rhineland as suggested by the Kamensko MD (80)³¹⁹. The place of garrison in Britain remains uncertain for this period³²⁰.

³¹⁰ Jarrett 1969, 223, nos. 33, 34.

³¹¹ 321. Wagner 1938, 194; Jarrett 1969, 223 no. 36; Bogaers 1974², 455; see also Alföldy 1968, 72; Holder 1982, 122; Saddington 1982, 67 n. 58; 74; 93; 251–252.

³¹² Kraft 1951, 191; Alföldy 1968, 72; Bogaers 1974², 455.

³¹³ CIL XIII 7052.

³¹⁴ CIL XIII 6817; Devijver 1977, S 70.

³¹⁵ Saddington 1986, 780.

³¹⁶ CIL X 1, 1777 = 2865; Devijver 1977, V 77.

³¹⁷ Viktor Decker, Selzer, 1975, 537, 539; Le Glay 1980, 50–51.

³¹⁸ RIB 121; Holder 1982, 122; Knight 1991, 191.

³¹⁹ CIL XVI 158; Wagner 1938 194; Alföldy 1968, 72. Bogaers 1974², 455.

Bogaers showed that, the regiment did not receive the appellative *pia fidelis (Domitiana)*, bestowed in 89 on the troops on the territory of the future Germania Inferior³²¹.

The unit had already left the Rhenan regions by 84 to take position in Pannonia³²² where it is recorded in the Carnuntum (84) and Belegb (85) MDs³²³. The regiment is supposed to have stationed in the vicinity of Aquincum, possibly at Albertfalva. An altar of an active centurion of the cohort, names it *cohors VI Thracum veterana*, which is the only record of that kind known so far in the epigraphy of the unit and an indication of its early 1st century existence³²⁴.

During the Dacian wars of Domitian, possibly in 86–87³²⁵, the unit was dispatched to Moesia Superior where it is recorded in the Viminacium (96) and Sisak (100) MDs³²⁶. A *phalera* found at Diana (Karataš) makes possible the presence either of the whole regiment or only of its cavalry squadron in the fort, in close connection with the military operations against the Dacians (see chapter VIII). The regiment seems to have been later moved to Dacia where it appears in the Porolissum (110) MD³²⁷.

After the administrative reorganization of Dacia in 117/118, the cohort was assigned to Dacia Porolissensis, where it is recorded uninterruptedly in the MDs of that province between 123 and 164³²⁸. It is likely that the regiment remained in the province also during the Severan period. The garrison fort was Porolissum (Moigrad)³²⁹, but detachments are documented at Românași and Romita³³⁰ where the workshops of the unit produced a rich building material consisting of stamped bricks and tiles in several types and variants: COHVITH (type I–II); COHVITRACV (type III–IV, VI); COHVITRAC (type V)³³¹.

Bogaers presumed the dispatch of the regiment to Britain by the end of the 2nd century³³². The supposition might be correct, for the cohort seems to have been stationed at *Veterae* (Brough-under-Staimore), in Britannia Inferior, together with nr. 38, where it produced bricks with the stamp CVIT and also lead seals³³³.

Literature: Cichorius 1901, 341; Stein 1932, 217; Richmond 1936, 104–125; Christescu 1937, 191; Wagner 1938, 194–195; Kraft 1951, 191 no. 1910–1911; Mocsy 1962, 624; Alföldi 1968, 72; Jarrett 1969, 223 no. 35, 36; Russu 1972, 74 no. 61; Bogaers 1974², 454–455; Frere 1974, 11; Russu 1974, 220; Viktor Decker, Selzer, 1975, 537, 539; Beneš 1978, 53 nr. 131/94; Holder 1982, 122; Gudea 1984,

³²⁰ Holder 1982, 122. The fort garrison may have been at that time Viroconium (Cirencester) (Le Glay 1980, 50–51). Jarrett 1969, 67 distinguishes two units with the same number *VI Thracum* in Germany and Britain, but there are no reasons to accept two separate units at that time.

³²¹ 331. Bogaers 1974², 455; also Holder 1999, 245. Holder 1982, 122 supposes that the regiment returned to Germany in 69; Knight 1991, 191 tries to find an alternative solution, presuming duplicate regiments numbered VI from the already existing unit in Germany, and only the new cohort could have been transferred to Britain in 43, while its mother unit remained behind. Jarrett 1969, 223 no. 35 and 36 suggests the same *gemellae* cohorts. Knight sees the same double recruitment also for *cohors I Thracum*.

³²² Alföldy 1968, 72; Holder 1999, 245; Lörincz 2001, 43, no. 48.

³²³ CIL XVI 30 (Carnuntum) (85); CIL XVI 31 (Belegb). The regiment could not reach the Pannonian provinces by 92, as Lörincz 1992, 95; 2001, 43 no. 48 believes because it is already recorded in the Carnuntum and Belegb MDs. The cohort is not recorded in the Klosterneuburg MD (80), a sign that it had not arrived in Pannonia by that time.

³²⁴ Lörincz 2001, 44.

³²⁵ Lörincz 2001, 43.

³²⁶ RMD 6 (Viminacium); CIL XVI 46 (Sisak); Alföldi 1968, 72; Knight 1991, 199–200.

³²⁷ IDR I 3.

³²⁸ Weiss 2002, no. 5 (130–131); CIL XVI 110 = IDR I 17; RMD 47 (154) (Domașnea); RMD 177 (161) (Gilău ?); IDR I 18 = RMD 64 (164) (Gilău); IDR I 19 = CIL XVI 185 (164) (Palatovo); IDR I 20 = RMD 63 (164) (Cășei); RMD 116 (164) (Buciumi); Gudea 1989, 171; Petolescu 1977, 119; Knight 1991, 202.

³²⁹ Gudea 1989, 170–174.

³³⁰ Gudea 1989, 172–174; Petolescu 1977, 119.

³³¹ Gudea 1989, 172.

³³² Bogaers 1974², 455.

³³³ RIB 2, 1, 2411, no. 152–160; Richmond 1936, 118; 121.

212 no. 1; Strobel 1984, 144–145; Saddington 1986, 780; 1989, 170–174; Knight 1991, 191; Lörincz 1992, 95; Jarrett 1994, 67 no. 53; Petolescu 1997, 119; Holder 1999, 245; Spaul 2000, 380–381; Lörincz 2001, 43–44 no. 48; Petolescu 2002, 123–124 no. 29.

26 (38) COHORS VII THRACUM EQUITATA

The regiment is known in Britain in the Ó Szöny (122) MD³³⁴. It continues to be recorded in the same province in MDs, one with find spot unknown in 127, Wroxeter (135), ‘Bulgaria’ (178)³³⁵. The cohort seems to have been set much earlier³³⁶, very likely in the first half or by mid of the 1st century at the latest.

Until 43, the unit was garrisoned in Germany and afterwards it was included in the Claudius’ expeditionary force for Britain³³⁷.

By late 2nd century the cohort was still garrisoned in Britain, as recorded in the 178 MD granted to a soldier of Dacian origin. Since Septimius Severus’ reign it was assigned to Britannia inferior. Lead seals attest the regiment at Veterae (Brough under Stainmore), where it probably had its garrison. The fort was build under Antoninus Pius, maybe even by this unit, which remained in garrison in the 3rd century³³⁸. During the governorship of Virius Lupus (197)³³⁹, the regiment rebuilt the fort and continued to hold this position. The lead seals of the Thracian cohort³⁴⁰ as in the case of no. 37 show its engagement in the storage and transit of the leaden ore to the military area of the Hadrian’s wall³⁴¹.

Literature: Richmond 1936, 104–125; Jarrett 1969, 223, no. 37; Frere 1974, 197; Holder 1982, 122; Jarrett 1994, 67, no. 54; Knight 1991, 191; Spaul 2000, 382.

³³⁴ CIL XVI 69.

³³⁵ CIL XVI 82 (Wroxeter); RMD 184 (‘Bulgaria’); Nollé 1997, 274–275 (find spot unknown).

³³⁶ Holder 1982, 122.

³³⁷ Holder 1982, 122; Knight 1991, 191.

³³⁸ Richmond 1936, 104–121; Frere 1974, 323; Jarrett 1994, 67, no. 54.

³³⁹ Frere 1974, 197.

³⁴⁰ RIB II 1, 2411, no. 160–193; Richmond 1936, 118; 121.

³⁴¹ Frere 1974, 197.

VII

THE DYNAMICS OF THE THRACIAN REGIMENTS

The total number of the regiments styled *Thracum* and the soldiers of Thracian origin indicate an intense and long term utilization of the human resources of Thrace (see chapters I, III). The Roman policy towards the deployment of the Thracian *alae* and *cohortes* followed some visible trends which are to be seen in close relation with the general strategy of the Roman Empire that required strong forces on some of the unstable frontiers.

In the case of a quantitative approach of the subject, our knowledge about the allotment of the contingents recruited in Thrace, either new military units or groups of individuals who joined the auxiliary regiments on a volunteer enrollment or levy base are inevitably submitted to the chance of the epigraphic discoveries.

A passage in Tacitus, invoked above several times, offers a general picture on the practice of the Roman administration in dispatching new troops or contingents towards different regions: “Besides their natural ferocity, the rebellion had its origin in their scornful refusal to endure levies and to supply our armies with their bravest men. Even native princes they would obey only according to their caprice, and if they sent aid, they used to appoint their own leaders and fight only against their neighbors. A rumor had then spread among them that dispersed and mingled with other tribes, they were to be dragged away to distant countries”¹.

The distribution throughout Empire of the Thracian effectives as mirrored in inscriptions and MDs shows that even after two violent revolts of A.D. 21 and 26 the Roman administration did not modify its attitude towards the deployment of Thracian contingents. The expression used by Tacitus, specifically for the resistance to recruitments in A.D. 26: ‘*disiecti aliisque nationibus permixti diversas in terras traherentur*’ remains so as suggestive as true, indicating the main trends in the circulation of the newly created regiments. It is likely that a sizable part of the A.D. 26 vanquished rebels was amalgamated with Gallic contingents with the specific aim to quell their zest for rebellion and discipline them.

In the initial stages of their existence an important number of Thracian regiments were preferentially deployed to Near Eastern provinces, Syria and Judea. There were 16 regiments, of which 7 cavalry (nos. 1–5, 11, 12) and 9 infantry (nos. 14, 18, 21, 23, 28, 29, 30, 32, 35) that were dispatched to Syria/Judea shortly after their establishment. These units were active in the area in the first half of the 1st century, previous or after A.D. 26, but also after the creation of the province of Thrace (46). At least some of the series of six cavalry and infantry regiments styled *Augusta Thracum*, as Augustan creations, were established from Thracian contingents in the Herodes’ service. Those styled *Thracum Syriaca*, also early in date, show Syria as having been their first province of garrison².

Nos. 1–4 have a double name, *Gallorum et Thracum*³ and three (nos. 1, 2, 7) bear officially the names of their commanders or recruiting officers (*dilectores*) in the first years after their establishment. The double ethnical name is puzzling in a certain measure for it raised the suspicion that the Thracian contingents must have been sent first to Gauls, where they were mixed with older or fresh Gaulish

¹ Tac. Ann 4. 46: [...] *Thraecum gentibus, qui montium editis incultu atque eo ferocius agitabant. causa motus super hominum ingenium, quod pati dilectus et validissimum quemque militiae nostrae dare aspernabantur, ne regibus quidem parere nisi ex libidine soliti, aut si mitterent auxilia, suos ductores praeficere nec nisi adversum accolae belligerare. ac tum rumor incesserat fore ut disiecti aliisque nationibus permixti diversas in terras traherentur* [...].

² Speidel 1981, 272 = 1992, 206. It is quite likely that the three infantry regiments styled *Syriaca* could have been created concomitantly at an early date to expressly boost the armed forces in Syria and that might have entailed from the beginning the epithet.

³ No. 4 bore the double ethnic name until late 80s, when it was split in two and the name basically disappeared from the Roman army’s records (see chapter III; IV, no. 4).

contingents and were redistributed in the Eastern provinces. The C. Antius' name, several time invoked before, who conducted levies in Gauls in 16 A.D. stresses this first impression (see chapter V). In fact, there is no clear indication that these regiments were initially created in Gauls and then redeployed in the East.

No. 7 seems to have been initially sent after its creation in one of the western provinces, Gauls or Hispania before being redeployed in Cappadocia, on the Euphrates frontier. It seems to have boosted the forces on the Danubian front during the Marcommanic wars from where it returned to East and finally garrisoned in Egypt.

The remarkable concentration of Thracian troops in eastern provinces is explainable especially through the necessity to strengthen and add more manpower against the Parthian menace in the area in the first three decades of the 1st century A. D. Even if the Augustus' diplomatic arrangements have created a relatively long period of peace and even non-violent relations with the Parthian state⁴, this was elusive and the consolidation of the existing military forces on the Euphrates frontier remained a major priority, the more so as the laxity and weakness of the legions stationed in the area had to be compensate with the presence of ferocious warlike contingents⁵.

The logistic conditions for the initial deployment of such a significant number of Thracian regiments in Eastern provinces were also favorable. The Euphrates frontier was one of the earliest created defensive structure and the towns, where most of the Thracian units were stationed, had long traditions in lodging garrisons⁶. On the other hand, the seven Thracian *alae* in the Eastern provinces was an additional measure to cope with the well known Parthian warfare tactics which used important masses of cavalry in the battle.

As the political and military events unfolded on other frontiers, the initial deployment scheme was sensibly changed. In the 2nd–3rd centuries the multiple redeployments of the Thracian regiments led to a significant drop in number in Syria-Palestina and Arabia. Compared with the first three quarters of the 1st century, only four infantry and three cavalry regiments are epigraphically attested on the eastern frontiers.

Eight Thracian regiments were initially deployed on the Rhine valley, one cavalry (no. 6) and six infantry (nos. 17, 19?, 20, 27, 34, 37, 38). No. 2 joined the Rhine forces shortly before the conquest of Britain. Although it is only half in number compared to those in Eastern provinces, their presence is still significant in contrast with other European provinces. The Thracian contingents were dispatched on the Rhine frontier in the first three decades of the 1st century either as already established units (*Thracum*), or groups of recruits aiming at filling the gaps of other regiments in a period when the defensive structures were less consolidated or in a forthcoming state amidst a volatile military situation. Some tombstones of the Thracian soldiers date prior to A.D. 43, from the very beginning of the presence of the regiments in these lands⁷.

However, the Thracian troops in Germany served as an important reserve for grounding the expeditionary force destined to conquer Britain. Nos. 6, 37, 38 were included in the army that crossed the channel in A.D. 43, while no. 2 came directly from the East to participate in the conquest of Britain (nos. 2, 6, 37 and 38) continued to be garrisoned in Britain for a while after A.D. 43. Movements of Thracian regiments back and forth across the Channel continued in the 2nd and 3rd century (see chapters

⁴ Sherwin-White 1984; Ball 2002, 15 (with the bibliography).

⁵ For *auxilia* in the East, see: Saddington 1975, 176–201 passim; 1982 passim; Holder 1980 passim; Kennedy 1989, 235–246; Isaac 1993, passim; Butcher 2003 passim; Speidel 1997, 689–730; on the laxity of the Eastern legions see: Wheeler 1996, 229–276.

⁶ Kennedy 1990, passim; Ball 2002, 149–206; 306–317.

⁷ CIL XIII 8659 (Xanten); CIL XIII 7803 (Remagen); CIL XIII 8099 (Bonn); CIL XIII 8313 (Köln). For the deployments of Thracian units in the Rhineland see also: Schönberger 1985, 332–396; Saddington 1976, 779–786; Radnóti 1969, 138–151; Knight 1991, 189–208; Holder 1999, 237–250.

V and VI). A longer presence in the island (most of the 2nd and 3rd century) is perceptible in case of nos. **17, 27, 38**. Constant garrison on the Rhine valley is noticeable for nos. **2, 6, 34**.

An initial first half of the 1st century deployment of Thracian units took place in northern African provinces where epigraphic evidence shows two cavalry (nos. **8, 11**), and one infantry (no. **26**) regiments. Nos. **8** and **11** were dispatched to Mauretania. No. **8** seems to have been recruited specifically for this conflict and sent directly to the theatre of war to respond to the enemy's hit-and-run and harassment based tactics as well as to quell the Aedemon's revolt and military instability by late Caligula's and early Claudius' reigns (see chapter IX). No. **11** was brought from Eastern provinces to take part in the operations and later was assigned to the province of Mauretania Caesariensis. The dispatch of massive groups of Thracian recruits or contingents to northern African provinces to fill the gaps in the provincial armies continued in the following centuries and was an important option for the Roman military administration⁸.

There is no clear evidence of an early or mid 1st century deployment of Thracian regiments in Egypt. The setting of two new *alae* resulted from the late 1st century partition of a *Gallorum et Thracum* regiment grounds the presence of the first known Thracian recruits in the province, very likely by late 1st century, in the newly created *ala veterana Gallica* recorded in 130 in P. Lond 482⁹. However, the earliest recorded deployments of Thracian regiments in Egypt dates from the first half of the 2nd century, as a result of the military policy promoted by Trajan in Egypt, where four Thracian regiments (nos. **7, 8, 18, 28**) were permanently garrisoned¹⁰.

A fair number of Thracian regiments were raised or moved at a later period to the Danubian provinces (Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia and Dacia), given the various political and military developments in the area. Already in 69, a Thracian infantry cohort fought in Raetia against Helvetii and drove them out from their hide-outs in the mountains¹¹.

Noricum and Pannonia display the presence of nos. **10, 31, 33** and **37** only as early as 79, 80, 84 and 85¹². The picture suggests a first Neronian dispatch of these regiments on the Danube in 54/55 and 60, although, compared to other areas (Syria, Germany, Africa) it is rather late in date.

The Trajan's Dacian wars and the years shortly after occasioned, however, a major dynamic of troops' movement. There was an important influx of units styled *Thracum* in the four Danubian provinces in early 2nd century. Regiments are recorded in the Lower (no. **19**) and Upper Pannonia (nos. **9, 10, 12**)¹³, while the Raetian garrison shows permanent stationing of a Thracian unit only in 107 (no. **31**)¹⁴. In Dacia, where the initial distribution of regiments was carried out with units brought from other provinces, the number of Thracian regiment after several deployments and redeployments, predictable during the organization of a new province, was stabilized to two, temporary three cohorts (nos. **22, 24, 37**)¹⁵.

⁸ Cagnat 1892, 298–299; 338–339; Garcia y Bellido 1961, 135; Le Roux 1982, 86–87; Samsaris 1987, 403–430; Le Bohec 1989, 91–93.

⁹ Speidel 1982, 167–169 = 1984, 333–335. The Thracian soldiers mentioned in the papyrus in 130 appear as a tradition to supply with Thracian contingents, at least in its first phases of its independent existence, a unit originating from a Thracian regiment (see n. 3).

¹⁰ Lesquier 1918, 78–80; 95–96; Criniti 1979, 190–261 passim. No. 28 initially part of the Judean and then Syrian army was redeployed in Egypt by early 2nd century, during Trajan's reign.

¹¹ Tac. *Hist.* 1. 68: '*ac statim imissa cohorte Thraecum depulsi et consecretantibus Germanis Raetisque trucidati*'. The use of a Thracian cohort in the mountains speaks about the ability of mountainous Thracians to fight in this particular form of relief as in their own country. The regiment might be *cohors III Thracum veterana*, later recorded only in Raetia.

¹² CIL XVI 26 (80); CIL XVI 30 (84); CIL XVI 31 (85). Nothing is known of no. 31, except eventually the episode of 69 (see n. 11); the regiment could have had a tradition of being deployed on the Danube in the 1st c.

¹³ Lőrincz, Visy 1987, 337–346; Lőrincz 2001, 50, 53.

¹⁴ Kellner 1971, 209 and note 22.

¹⁵ No. 37 moved to Britain in the second half of the 2nd century.

No. 5 remained apparently in a permanent garrison in Noricum, after frequent movements along the Danube and troops swaps between Pannonia, Noricum, and Raetia in the first two decades of the 2nd century.

Dispatch of Thracian regiments in the two Moesian provinces is also recorded only at a later date. No. 24 is firstly recorded only in 92 in the Cataloi MD for Moesia Inferior¹⁶ while no. 13 is recorded for the first time in 100, in Moesia Superior¹⁷. In the Sisak MD (100) nos. 16, 23, and 37 are recorded. No. 16 seems a rather new creation, while no. 23 was in garrison in the province possibly since the establishment of the pars Superior of Moesia, in 86; no. 37 was moved from Pannonia to Upper Moesia for the Dacian wars, garrison in Dacia until ca. mid. 2nd century and then redeployed to Britain. It is interesting that none of the Thracian regiments recorded in the first ten years of the 2nd century in Moesia Superior maintained their garrison in this province in the decades that followed.

No. 15 in the northern Black Sea has also an uncertain status as far as its initial movements, and although it is strongly maintained that it was dispatched from the auxiliary forces of Bithynia it would be convenient to admit its establishment from local Thracian stock in the territories of Bosporan kingdom and it permanently garrisoning at Panticapaeum¹⁸.

Nr. crt.	Unit	Dispatch Initial province	Place garrison	▶	Province	Place garrison	▶	Province	Place garrison	▶	Detachments sent at:
1	Gall. Thr. Ant.	SYR	Hissarardî(?)	▶	JUD	Scythopolis	▶	PAL	Admatha		
2	Gall. Thr. Clas.	SYR.	?	▶	GER GER INF ▶..... GER INF ▶.....	?	▶	BRIT BRIT	? ? ? ?		
3	Gall. Thr. Cons	SYR	?	▶	JUD	?	▶	PAL	Yotvata Toloha		
4	Gall. Thr. vet.	SYR	?								
5	I Aug. Thr.	SYR	Djerash	▶	RAET	Kösching	▶	NOR	Augustianis	▶	Mampsis; Zollfeld; Hohenstein; Ovilava
6	I Thr.	GER	?	▶	BRIT	Isca Silurum	▶	GER INF	Fectio		
7	I Thr. Herc.	CAP.	?	▶	SYR PAN ▶	Palmyra ?	▶	AEG	Coptos		
8	I Thr. Maur.	MAUR CAES	?	▶	JUD	?	▶	AEG	Alexandria Al Qantariah	▶	Philadelphia; Arsinoe; Talmis;

¹⁶ Petolescu, Popescu 2003, 73–92.

¹⁷ CIL XVI 46.

¹⁸ See the discussion at Speidel 1992, 173–179. Speidel suggests the arrival of the Thracian unit and of another one (*cohors IV Cypria*) from Bithynia based on a passage of Tac. *Ann.* 12. 21 and its corroboration with inscriptions found at Kerci and Sinope. Another possibility would be that when Kotys was installed on the Bosporan throne, after Iulius Aquila chased the disloyal Mithridates from the kingdom, the cohort either might have come from Thrace with fresh levies, as guards of the young Thracian king, or it had been set from the Thracian stock, abundantly documented in the Bosporus, to boost the existing forces.

Nr. crt.	Unit	Dispatch Initial province	Place garrison	Province	Place garrison	Province	Place garrison	Detachments sent at:
								Philae. Silè
9	I Thr. vet.	NOR	Ala Nova	PAN INF	Intercissa	Campona	Budafök; Rácalmás
10	I Thr. victr	NOR	Lentia	PAN SUP	Carnuntum	NOR	Ala Nova	Poetovio
11	II Thr. Aug	JUD (?)	?	HISP CIT	Rico-bayo (?)	MAUR CAES	Caesarea	Zucchabar; Rapidum; Ain bu Dib; Thanaramusa
12	III Thr. Aug	SYR	?	PAN SUP	Carnuntum	Adiaum	
1 (13)	I Fl. Bes.	MOES SUP	?	MAC	?			
2 (14)	I Aug. Thr. c. R. eq.	JUD	?	SYR	?	AR SYR	Mampsis Palmyra	Motha, Umm el-Qittayn, Qasr el Hallabat.
3 (15)	I Thr.	Regnum Bosporani	Panticap-aeum					Alupka
4 (16)	I Thr. c. R. p. f.	MOES SUP	?	DAC	?	PAN INF	Annamatia Burgenae Caput Basantis	Ulcissia Castra
5 (17)	I Thr. eq. c. R.	GERM	Remagen; Bonna	BRIT	?	GERM INF BRIT	Levefanum Lavatrae	Voorburg-Arentsburg Newcastle upon Tyne
6 (18)	I Thr. eq.	AEG	Syene; Contrapolonopolis Maior					Talmis
7 (19)	I Thr. eq. c. R.	GERM SUP	?	PANN SUP	Ad Statuas			
8 (20)	I Thr. Ger. c. R.	GERM GERM	Offenburg Bendorf	PANN PANN INF	? Annamatia			
9 (21)	I Thr. mill.	SYR	Eragiza	JUD	Hebron	SYR PAL	Aditha	En Geddi Annecy Köln
10 (22)	I Thr. sag.	DAC	?					
11	I Thr. Syr.	SYR	?	MOES SUP	Timacum	MOES INF	Transmarisca	

Nr. crt.	Unit	Dispatch Initial province	Place garrison	▶	Province	Place garrison	▶	Province	Place garrison	▶	Detachments sent at:
(23)	eq.					Minus					
12 (24)	II Fl. Bess	MOES INF	Oescus? Buridava	▶	DAC INF/MAL	Cincșor					Rucăr Bârsești
13 (25)	II Aug. Thr. eq.	SYR?	?	▶	PANN INF	Ad Militare					
14 (26)	II Gem Thr. eq.	NUM	Macula								Bordj el Kasar Hr el-Hammam
15 (27)	II Thr. eq. p. f.	GERM SUP	?	▶	GERM INF	Mannaricum	▶	NOR BRIT	Castra Canabiaca Gabrosentum		Mumrills
16 (28)	II Thr. eq.	JUD	?	▶	SYR	?	▶	AEG	Syene Luqșor Muson		Talmis
17 (29)	II Thr. Syr.	SYR	Soukhné								
18 (30)	III Aug. Thr. eq.	SYR	?	▶	AR	Umm el-Qittayn	▶	SYR	Suchere		
19 (31)	III Thr. eq. c.R.	RAET	Oberstim m	▶	PANN	?	▶	RAET	Künzig Gnotzheim		
20 (32)	III Th. Syr. sag. eq.	SYR	Aleppo								Qasr el Hallabat
21 (33)	III Thr. vet.	RAET	Oberdorf am Ipf Buch								
22 (34)	III Thr. eq. p. f.	GERM	Aquae Mattiacor Mogontiacum	▶	GERM INF	Valkenburg –Dorp Z.H					
23 (35)	III Thr. Syr.	HISP TAR									
24 (36)	[V Thr]	-----	-----	-	-----	----	-	-----	-----	-	-----
25 (37)	VI Thr. eq.	GERM PANN BRIT	Mogontiacum Albertfalv ?.....	▶ ◀ ▶	BRIT MOES. SUP	? Diana	▶ ◀ ▶	GERM INF DAC POR	? Porolissum		Românași Romita

Nr. crt.	Unit	Dispatch Initial province	Place garrison	▶ ◀	Province	Place garrison	▶ ◀	Province	Place garrison	▶ ◀	Detachments sent at:
		 Veterae								
26 (38)	VII Thr. eq.	GERM	?	▶	BRIT	Veterae					

Fig. 9. The dynamics of the Thracian auxiliary regiments in the Roman Empire

VIII

AUXILIA THRACUM AT WAR

The history of the Roman Empire yields a remarkable variety and density of political and military events, both in the interior, when civil wars occurred and at frontiers and beyond, when campaigns of conquest of new lands or retaliation expeditions took place. As in the case of other regiments of the Roman Imperial army, the Thracian units were fully engaged in a great number of domestic and external military conflicts in the 1st–3rd centuries. The epigraphic evidence stresses mostly on the participation against foreign enemies although there are some clear indication of their presence in the civil wars within the Empire. However, the picture is far from being complete and the involvement of the Thracian regiments must have occurred on a larger scale. The information is derived from two categories: a direct one, yielded by the clear, straight evidence of inscriptions, MDs and a few examples of literary evidence, and indirect clues discerned from appellatives, epithets, or attributes of the units (Fig. 7).

In the analysis of the historical events in the Roman Empire, scholars tried also to identify the composition of the Roman forces that fought in the field on certain occasions, the movements and the concentration of troops, and to elaborate on the role of different regiments during action. The pictures offered reached a certain degree of veracity and are valuable sources for the history of each regiment, although the particular reconstructions are still conjectural.

Evidence of the involvement of the Thracian forces in the events within or outside of the Roman Empire, either as allies or as mercenaries goes down to late Republican times. As this period is beyond our coverage, we will focus on the events of the first three centuries A.D. only.

The Dalmatian revolt of A. D. 6¹ witnessed the first known sizable engagement of the Thracian forces as allied troops in the Roman army against the rebels who were ordered to supply Tiberius' army in preparation for an offensive against the Marobaudus' kingdom. Velleius mentions: "[...] the cavalry of the king (for Rhoemetalces, king of Thrace, in conjunction with the aforesaid generals was bringing with him a large body of Thracians as reinforcements for the war)"². The author enumerates also the *frequenti equite regio* among the huge force of 10 legions 70 infantry and 14 cavalry regiments³. The superiority in number of the rebels, who seem to have reached 200000 infantry and 9000 cavalry, caused a disastrous outcome of the operations for the Romano-Thracian forces. Pannic struck the forces led by Aulus Caecina and Plautius Silvanus, while the royal Thracian cavalry was routed and put to flight together with other Roman *alae*. The expected military capabilities of the Thracian kingdom appear considerable, both in number and quality as they were entrusted to carry out independent actions on foreign theatres of war. There is no doubt that at that date, Rhoemetalces' Thracian forces were trained and organized in a Roman manner.

The events in Mauretania during Caligula's and Claudius' reigns

The apparently good relations established by Rome with Juba's son, Ptolemy, turned rapidly into a general revolt in A. D. 40 after the assassination of the young Mauretanian king by Caligula. The insurrection broke out violently under the leadership of Ptolemy's freedman, Aedemon, when the

¹ Dio 55, 29, 4; Mocsy 1974, 43; 56–57; Fitz 1968, 22; Seager 1972, 26.

² Vell. 2, 112, 4–5 [...] *et equitatu regio (quippe magnam Thracum manum iunctus praedictis ducibus Rhoemetalces, Thraciae rex, in adiutorium eius belli secum trahebat)*. The Rhoemetalces-led Thracian royal cavalry is obviously implied in this passage, while *magnam Thracum manum* would suggest some considerable infantry forces brought by the Thracian king as reinforcements; cf. Saddington 1982, 80.

³ Vell. 2, 113, 1.

decision was made to incorporate Mauretania into the Empire. The campaign was conducted by M. Valerius Severus, *duovir* and first priest of the imperial cult⁴.

The regiment no. 8 bears, among the Thracian *alae*, the epithet *Mauretana/ Mauretunica*, which suggests not only an early presence in the region, possibly related to Severus' operations in Mauretania, but also an early garrisoning in one of the two provinces⁵, probably shortly after Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Tingitana were created as two separate provinces in 40⁶. The presence of this regiment in the Mauretanian lands seems to have covered the entire first century A.D.

The participation of *ala II Augusta Thracum* in this conflict can be considered conjectural. The regiment might have been brought in Hispania Citerior from the East by mid Claudian epoch, possibly on the occasion of some important events in the Iberian Peninsula when recruits from the peninsula entered the unit⁷. Its redeployment in northern Africa must have been connected to the Aedemon revolt in 42–44⁸.

The conquest of Britain

One of the major events of the 1st century was definitely the conquest of Britain during the reign of Claudius⁹. There is no direct reference of the participation of Thracian regiments in the conflict, but the evidence of some inscriptions cast new lights on this matter.

Camulodunum (Colchester). RIB 201.

Longinus Sdapese/matygi duplicarius / ala prima T[hr]acum pago / Sardi anno(rum) XL aeror(um) XV/ heredes exs testam(ento) f(aciendum) c(uravit) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).

Durocornovium (Cirencester). RIB 109.

Sextus Vale/rius Genialis/ eq(u)es alae Trhaec(um)/ civis Frisiaus tur(ma)/ Genialis an(norum) XXXX st(ipendiorum) XX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) e(..) f(...) c.

Viroconium (Wroxeter) RIB 291

Tib(erius) Claud(ius) Tiri/ntius eq(ues) coh(ortis) / Thracum an[n]orum LVII sti[p]/endior(um) XX / h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)]

Glevum (Gloucester). RIB 121. *Rufus Sita, eques c(o)ho(rtis) VI/ T(h)racum ann(orum) XL stip(endiorum) XXII/ heredes exs test(amento)/ f(aciendum) curave(runt)/ h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*

These four documents are considered the earliest written evidence of the presence of the Thracian regiments in Britain as part of the expeditionary force¹⁰. The monuments certainly date before 70. The regiments could have come first from the Rhine valley shortly before 43. The Wroxeter inscription, where a Tiberius Claudius and his long 20 years service is recorded, suggests that the cavalry regiment could have come in Britain with the expeditionary corps. It is likely that these troops were active in the 40s and early 50s, with a few members surviving in retirement up to the year 70. However, in the most specialists' opinions the monuments appear much earlier in date than 70¹¹. Longinus, *duplicarius*, seems to have died before A. D. 49 and his tombstone must have been damaged during the Boudican revolt, while the fort at Gloucester and the tombstone of Rufus Sita is very early in date, late 40s or early 50s¹².

⁴ Tac. *Ann* 4, 23.1; 26, 4; Cagnat 1892, 27–30; Barrett 1989, 116–119; Romanelli 1959, 258–262; Bickwell 1968, 496–504.

⁵ Cihorius 1894, 1264; Jarrett 1969, 217 no. 5. The regiment was transferred to Egypt in the 2nd century, but it continued to be used for Mauretanian events whenever needed; Rea 1977, 223–227.

⁶ Gasco 1981, 227–238; Levick 1990, 150; Fishwick 1971, 467–487.

⁷ Le Roux 1982, 86–87.

⁸ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 5, 1. 11; Dio 60, 8.6 Cagnat 1892, 27–30; Benseddik 1982, 147; Barrett 1989, 118–119; Rachet 1970, 128.

⁹ Scramuzza 1940, 200–214; Frere 1974, 78–114; Peddie 1987, 1–177; Levick 1990, 137–148; Frere, Fulford, 2001, 45–55.

¹⁰ Peddie 1987, 181–182.

¹¹ Frere 1974, 87 and n. 18; 96, 107.

¹² Frere 1974, 96 thinks that the Gloucester fort served as defence structure in the territory of Boduocus' kingdom against Caratacus' inroads; Webster 1970, 179–197.

Ala Gallorum et Thracum classiana was apparently part of the Claudius expeditionary force in Britain in 43. The title *civium Romanorum* with which the regiment appears in the Middlewich MD of 105 is an evidence of a significant participation of the unit in the events in Britain¹³. It might have received the high distinction of *invicta bis torquata civium Romanorum* following the participation in the Agricola's campaigns in northern Britain within the same context of consolidating and expanding the previous British conquest. Alföldy suggested even that the recipient of the Middlewich diploma was part of the contingents brought from Germany to fill the gaps in the unit caused by the losses during Agricola's campaigns in Britain¹⁴. Another possibility is that the regiment could have participated in the violent Bouddica's revolt, distinguished itself, and rewarded with such a high title.

Expeditionary force in Armenia under Corbulo's command (54–64)

On the occasion of the Armenian crisis, soon after 54, a new conflict with the Parthian state had arisen. The task of leading an expeditionary force in Eastern provinces was entrusted to Domitius Corbulo¹⁵. In these circumstances, many of the auxiliary regiments from Syria and Cappadocia seems to have been activated for a major military action against Parthia.

RMD 79 = AE 1978, 658 = AE 1989, 626 (65).

Nero Claudius divi Claudii filius Germani[ci] Caesaris n(e)pos Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti) pron(e)pos divi Aug(usti) abn(e)pos Caesar Aug(ustus) Germanicus pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XI imp(erator) VIII p(ater) p(atriciae) co(n)s(ul) IIII peditibus et equitibus qui militant in cohortibus tribus quae appellantur I et II Thracum et VII Breucorum et sunt in Germania sub P(ublio) Sulpicio Scribonio Proculo qui quina et vice/na stipendia aut plura meruerant quorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxori/bus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data aut siqui caelibes essent cum iis quas postea duxissent dum/taxat singuli singulas a(n)te d(iem) XV K(alendas) Iulias A(ulo) Licinio Nerva Siliano P(ublio) Pasidieno Firmo co(n)s(ulibus) pediti coh(ortis) VII Breucorum cui praeest C(aius) Numisius C(ai) filius Vel(ina) Max(imus) Liccaio Liccai filio Breuco descriptum et recognitum ex tabu/la aenia(!) quae fixa est Romae in Capitolio ante aerarium militare in basi Claudiorum Marcellor/um C(ai) Marci Emoniensis Sex(ti) Tei Nicerotis Aquileiensis C(ai) Caecinae Hermaes(!) Aquileiensis T(iti) Picati Carpi Aquileiensis L(uci) Hostili Blaesi Emoniensis M(arci) Treboni Hygini Aquileiensis L(uci) Anni Potentis Aquileiensis

The earliest MD issued for the army of Germany was published and commented on by Dušanić¹⁶. The Serbian scholar suggested that the document was given to the soldiers of the three *cohortes equitatae* which had participated in the expeditionary force organized by Nero for the planned Parthian campaign. Tacitus shows that besides the recruitments carried out in Asia Minor, Galatia, and Cappadocia, a legion from Germany was also added, together with the allied cavalry and infantry cohorts¹⁷. Dušanić's suggestion that all the three auxiliary regiments which received *civitas* and were discharged when the crisis subsided in 64/65 makes sense as there is an unusual recording of only three units in a MD, compared with the later MDs of 74, 82, and 90. Both Thracian units and the Breucan regiment are now clearly identified and their history reconstructed on the base of epigraphic evidence. The soldiers, as it is specified in the MD, were discharged in time after *quina et vicena stipendia*,

¹³ Alföldy 1968, 17.

¹⁴ Alföldy 1968, 17; cf. Roxan, RIB 2401, 2, n. 8.

¹⁵ Cizek 1982, 323–333; Henderson 1903, 153–177; Warmington 1969, 85–100; Hammond, 1934, 81–104; Wheeler, 1997, 383–397; Waldherr 2005, 147–154.

¹⁶ Dušanić 1971, 149–171; 1978, 461–475.

¹⁷ Tac. *Ann.* XIII 35. 4: *adiataque ex Germania legio cum equitibus alariis et peditatu cohortium* plus recruitment in order to bolster the eastern forces.

therefore they were *sub signis* when the units were dispatched to Armenia. An altar from Worms, dedicated to Jupiter, names L. Octavius Celer as *praefectus coh(ortis) VII Breucorum et I Thrac(um)*¹⁸ which is highly intriguing in light of the Negoslavici MD. It shows the association of two regiments which were *equitatae*, as the diploma clearly shows on discharge of *equites et pedites*. Celer might have even been the commander who led the regiments to the concentration area grounded by Corbulo in Armenia¹⁹. The inscription from Worms would suggest that the build up of auxiliary expeditionary force, among which were *cohors VII Breucorum* and *cohors I Thracum*, as part of the accompanying auxiliary units of *legio III Scythica* was in progress and the first association of regiments, had already been accomplished in ca. 56/57. To the pair of infantry units, a third *cohors II Thracum equitata* was added. This *cohors* acted as an *auxilium* of the legion IV Scythica during the 56/57–63 operations, as a later addition when, in Dusanic's view, the command of Q. Etuvius Capreolus over the latter had ceased in ca. 57²⁰. When the discharge took place on the German territory, the three units had again received separate commanders, as can be concluded from the specification that *cohors VII Breucorum* was under C. Numisius Maximus at that time²¹.

Events in Raetia during the civil war of 69

Tac. *Hist.* 1, 68: *ac statim immissa cohorte Thraecum depulsi et consecretantibus Germanis Raetisque per silvas atque in ipsis latebris trucidati. Multa hominum millia caesa, multa sub corona venundata* (“soon they were driven back by a cohort of Thracians which was sent against them and then the Germans and Raetians chased them through forests and slaughtered them even in their hide-outs”).

The episode occurred during the civil wars when Vitellius' general, Caecina Severus, ravaged the lands of hostile Helvetians. The Thracian cohort seems to have been stationed at that time in Raetia and could be identified with *cohors III Thracum veterana*, later recorded by MDs in the same province²². The mission of the cohort appears only to dislodge the Helvetian forces from the Vocetius Mountain²³.

The Jewish war of Titus (70 A.D.)

The quelling of the first major Jewish revolt against the Roman authority, turned soon into a war (*bellum Iudaicum*). This implied a significant effort of human and material resources from the Roman army²⁴. Theoretically, at least some Thracian regiments in Judea at that time must have been engaged in the conflict, although their role in the crush of the revolt is only inferred in the epigraphic evidence.

The earliest date of a document for Thracian units in Judea is the Turea MD of 86, sixteen years after the revolt was crushed. It records, among other auxiliaries *ala I Thracum Mauretana*, *cohors I*, and *cohors II Thracum*. As the cavalry regiment poses no problems of identification, the infantry regiments deserve attention. The *cohors I* would be easily identifiable either with *cohors I Thracum milliaria*, recorded in later documents in Syria, such as Suhozem MD of 91, Tiberiada (139) and Hebron (186)²⁵, or with *cohors I (Augusta) Thracum*²⁶. The second option seems more likely, as the regiment is later recorded in inscriptions in southern Judea that formed part of northern Trajanic Arabia, while the milliary cohort belonged to the Syrian army already in 88. *Cohors II Thracum* might be the *II Thracum civium Romanorum* from the Muhovo (88) and Suhozem(91) MDs, transferred in Egypt before 105²⁷.

¹⁸ CIL XIII 6213; Bogaers 1969, 43.

¹⁹ On the regiments see above, chapter V, no. 20 (*cohors I Thracum Germanica civium Romanorum*).

²⁰ On *cohors II Thracum equitata pia fidelis* see above, chapter V, no. 27.

²¹ On the *cohortes Breucorum* see Bogaers 1969, 27–50.

²² See above chapter VI, no. 33.

²³ Saddington 1982, 110–111.

²⁴ Fl. Jos. *Bell. Jud.* Books 3–4; Fortina 1955, 49–74; Abberbach 1966; Lifschitz 1977, 464–469; Jones 1984, 38–43; Telushkin 1991; Ball 2000, 56–58.

²⁵ See above chapter VI, no. 21.

²⁶ See above chapter VI, no. 14.

²⁷ See above chapter VI, no. 28.

Most, if not all the garrison places of the auxiliary regiments in Judea at that time remain unknown. Recently, *cohors I Thracum milliaria* was credited to have been garrisoned at Hebron, where a tile stamp was found²⁸. The Oasis of En-Ghedi, on the other hand, yielded evidence for the lodging of a detachment of the same cohort by 124²⁹. The evidence confirms that the milliary cohort was maintained in southern Judea from the 1st through the 2nd century and it exerted control through dispatched squads among the disobedient Jewish population in the area.

The main expeditionary forces of Titus that stormed Jerusalem were formed by four legions, while auxiliary regiments must have been also in significant number³⁰. The three Thracian regiments recorded in the Turea MD are the best candidates for participation in the Titus' army, in 70.

The involvement of *ala Gallorum et Thracum constantium*³¹ in the conflict results from the epithet of the regiment itself: *constantium*. This would very likely be granted to the unit for the bravery of the soldiers during the military operations and, if one takes the proper meaning of the term *constantes*, it could mean that it once made a firm stand during the many quick surprise attacks of the insurgent Jews against the Roman troops.

Cohors I Augusta Thracum received several confusing identifications. The inscriptions record it always in Negev, at Mamphis (Kurnub), Imtan, and Qasr-el Hallabat, all in the provincial territory of the 1st century Judea and the future northern Arabia³². It was part of the Judean army in the 1st century and its involvement in the first Jewish war seems very likely.

The Dacian invasion of 69

Timacum Minus (Ravna). CIL III 8261 = ILS 2733 = ISM 3/2, 23 (1st century)

L(ucius) Vecilius C(aii) f(ilius) Lemon(ia tribu) / Modestus, / equo pub(lico) de quinq(ue) / dec(uriis), seviri aed(ilis), duovir / iure dic(undo) colon(iae) His/pellatium, quaestor II, / augur, praef(ectus) fabr(um), trib(unus) mil(itum) / leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) in Syr(ia), praef(ectus) coh(ortis) / I Thrac(um) Syr(iacae) in Moesia eq(uitatae), / coh(ors) I Thrac(um) Syr(iaca) / praef(ecto) suo.

Petrović suggests a relation between the text of the inscription and a war waged by Vespasian in his early reign against the Dacians, which is described by Tacitus:

Tac. *Hist.* 3, 46. 2: [...] *The Dacians also were in motion, a people which never can be trusted, and which, now that our legions were withdrawn from Moesia, had nothing to fear. They quietly watched the opening of the campaign, but when they heard that Italy was in a blaze of war, and that the whole Empire was divided against itself, they stormed the winter quarters of the auxiliary infantry and cavalry, and occupied both banks of the Danube. They were then preparing to destroy the camp of the legions, but Mucianus sent the 6th legion against them, for he knew of the victory of Cremona, and he feared this double pressure of barbarian power with Dacians and Germans invading Italy from opposite sides. We were helped, as often before, by the good fortune of the Roman people, which brought to the spot Mucianus with the armies of the East, and by the decisive settlement which in the meantime was effected at Cremona. Fonteius Agrippa was removed from Asia (which province he had governed as proconsul for a year) to Moesia, and had some troops given him from the army of Vitellius. That this army should be dispersed through the provinces and closely occupied with foreign wars was sound policy and essential to peace*³³.

²⁸ Speidel 1979, 170–172; Kennedy 1983, 257; Isaac 1986, 637, no. 3.

²⁹ See above chapter V, no. 21 with bibliography; see also Russel 1995, 99.

³⁰ Keppie, 1986, 411–429.

³¹ Russell 1995, 116; Holder 1980, 39 no.1; see also above, chapter VI, no. 3.

³² See above chapter V, no. 14.

³³ [...] *mota et Dacorum gens numquam fida, tunc sine metu, abducto e Moesia exercitu. sed prima rerum quieti speculabantur: ubi flagrare Italiam bello, cuncta in vicem hostilia accepere, expugnatis cohortium alarumque hibernis utraque Danuvii ripa potiebantur. iamque castra legionum excindere parabant, ni Mucianus sextam legionem opposuisset, Cremonensis victoriae gnarus, ac ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret, si Dacus Germanusque diversi inrupissent. adfuit, ut*

In the light of Tacitus' passage, it becomes more plausible to construe from the text of the inscription as reflecting a military event at the Lower Danube. The Modestus' *cursus honorum* shows that he held the tribunate in *legio VI Ferrata in Syria*³⁴; it was stationed at Latakia, but it had been moved together with other troops into Moesia in support of Vespasian³⁵. Given the military circumstances in 69, the legion, which supported Vespasian against Vitellius' army, was at that moment already in Moesia as an available resource to encounter the Dacians' forces. *Cohors I Thracum Syriaca* and other auxiliaries could have accompanied *legio VI Ferrata* from Syria to the Danube front. It is possible that Modestus could have continued to hold the tribunate for a short time during the legion's journey to the Danube. The Thracian cohort is recorded *in Moesia* where Modestus had taken over the command of the auxiliary unit in the Danubian province and could have fought with the regiment against the Dacian invaders. Once transferred to Moesia, a cavalry squad was added to Thracian cohort which became *equitata*, as specifically mentioned in inscription (*in Moesia equitata*). It is commonly accepted that after this episode the cohort took position at Timacum Minus (Ravna), where it shared the fort with *cohors I Montanorum* (see chapter V no.23). Soon afterwards, the regiment is recorded in Moesia in the Ferdinand MD from 78³⁶.

Cohors VI Thracum could have also taken part in the events of 69 (see chapter V no. 37). The cohort is recorded in the Viminacium MD of 96 and it is included in the Alföldy-Mann Type II C showing contingents discharged after *quina et vicena plurave stipendia*. *Plurave* could very well refer to a possible prolongation of a certain campaign, but definitely not that of 69. The regiment is recorded in the Kamensko MD (80) in Germany suggesting a temporary dispatch on the Rhine possibly on the occasion of Domitian's war with Chatti in 83 (see below). Shortly after its redeployment on the Pannonian front, it was recorded by the Carnuntum and Belegb MDs (84 and 85).

Military operations for the annexation of Agri Decumates (72–74)

The events related to the occupation of *Agri Decumates* unfolded in early 70s and implied a considerable military force that entailed, among other troops, the use of legionary vexillations from Spain (*legio VII Gemina*) and Germania Superior (*legio I Adiutrix*)³⁷.

CIL XI 5210 = ILS 990: *Cn. Domitio Sex(to) f(ilio) Volt(inia tribu) / Afro Titio Marcello / Curvio Lucano / co(n)s(uli), proco(n)s(uli) provinciae Africae, / legato eiusdem provinciae Tul[li]/ fratris sui, septemviro, i[tem?] praetorio legato provinciae Afr[i]c[ae] / imp(eratoris) Caesar(aris) Aug(ust), praef(ecto) auxiliorum omnium / adversus Germanos, donato ab imp(eratore) Vespasiano Aug(usto) et T(ito) Caesar(e) Aug(usti) f(ilio) coronis / murali vallari aureis hastis puris III / vexillis III, adlecto inter patricos, praetori, / tr(ibun) pl(ebis), / quaest(ori), propraetore provinciae Afric[ae], / tr(ibun) mil(itum) leg(ionis) V Alaud(ae), IIIvir(o) viarum curandar(um), patrono/optimo. D(onum) d(ederunt).*

CIL XI 5271 = ILS 997: *Cn. Pinarius L(uci) f(ilius) Cor[nelius Clemens...], legat(us) pro pr(aetore) exercitus qu[i est in Germania superiore, curator aedium] sacrarum locorumque publ[icorum...] triumphalibus ornament [is.....ob res] in Germa[nia prospere gestas...]*

saepe alias, fortuna populi Romani, quae Mucianum virisque Orientis illuc tulit, et quod Cremonae interim transegimus. Fonteius Agrippa ex Asia (pro consule eam provinciam annuo imperio tenuerat) Moesiae praepositus est, additis copiis e Vitelliano exercitu, quem spargi per provincias et externo bello inligari pars consilii pacisque erat. (English translation by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodrigg).

³⁴ Devijver 1977, 843V59; 1987, 1763 V59.

³⁵ Farnum 2005, 20.

³⁶ CIL XVI 22; RMD 208.

³⁷ CIL XIII 11542.

CIL XVI 20. Sikator. 21 May 74.

Imp(erator) Caesar Vespasianus Augustus pontifex maximus, tribunic(ia) potestat(e) V, imp(erator) XIII, p(ater) p(atriciae), co(n)s(ul) V, designat(us) VI, censor, equitibus et peditibus qui militant in alis sex et cohortibus duodecim quae appella/ntur I Flavia Gemina et I Cannenefatium et II Flavia Gemina et Picentiana et Scubulorum et Claudia Nova et I Thracum et I Asturum et I Aquitanorum veterana et I Aquitanorum Biturigum et II Augusta Cyrenaica et III Gallorum et III et IIII Aquitanorum et IIII Vindelicorum et V Hispanorum et V Da/lmatarum et VII Raetorum et sunt in Germania sub Cn(aeo) Pinario Cornelio Clemen(te), qui quina et vicena stipendia aut plura meruerant quorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data aut siqui caelibes essent cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas, a(n)te d(iem) XII K(alendas) Iun(ias) Q(uinto) Petillio Ceriale Caesio Rufo II T(ito) Clodio Eprio Marcello II co(n)s(ulibus), alae Scubulorum cui prae(e)st Ti(berius) Claudius Sp(uri) f(ilius) Atticus cregali(!) Veturio Teutomio f(ilio) Pannon(io) descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea quae fixa est Romae in Capitolio

The importance of the military operations early in Vespasian's reign³⁸ was clearly indicated by the extraordinary mission of two senators, Cn. Domitius Lucanus and Cn. Pinarius Clemens. They were *praefecti auxiliorum omnium adversus Germanos* and the commanders of the entire Roman army in Upper Germany. They acted therefore as commanders of an expeditionary force formed of legionary and auxiliary regiments of the province obviously against Germans beyond the frontier of Germania Superior. The governor of Upper Germany, Gn. Pinarius Cornelius Clemens (72/73–74/75 ?) was also directly involved in campaigns at that time, as the inscription mentions that he received *triumphalia ornamenta [ob res] in Germa[nia prospere gestas]*. The Sikator MD records six alae and twelve cohorts, likely under the the command of the Domitii brothers. *Cohors I Thracum* mentioned among the alae is no. 17 or rather 20 in our gazetteer, both documented to have been stationed on the Rhine valley in the undivided provincial German territory in the first three quarters of the 1st century. The prolongation of their service expressed through *quina et vicena stipendia aut plura meruerunt* shows the maintenance of the auxiliary contingents under standards beyond the regular term and the continuation for one or two more years of the operations in Agri Decumates.

Agricola's campaigns in Britain (77–84)

Agricola waged six campaigns in northern Britain, which were fully illustrated in Tacitus' work on the life of Agricola³⁹. The author or other epigraphic evidence makes no specific reference to any auxiliary regiment involved in the operations, although several times he mentions this category of troops in general⁴⁰. Thracian regiments must have been part of the considerable force of auxiliary regiments employed by Agricola in Britain during his campaigns. One of the best examples is *ala Gallorum et Thracum classiana*, which was initially stationed in Germany and will thus have gained the juridical distinction *civium Romanorum*, during Agricola's campaigns in northern Britain⁴¹. The recipient of the Middlewich diploma may have been part of the contingents brought from Germany in ca. 78–80 to fill the gaps in the unit⁴².

³⁸ Dušanić 1986, 730–735.

³⁹ Tac. *Agr.* 18–39; modern literature: Frere 1974, 122–138; Hanson 1987, 46–68; 84–142.

⁴⁰ Tac. *Agr.* 13, 18, 24, 35.

⁴¹ While Holder 1980, 39 no. 4 thinks of 105 as the year for granting the citizenship and therefore the title *civium Romanorum*, Stein 1932, 127 and Spaul 1994, 88 suggest that the epithets *invicta*, and *bis torquata* were granted as a consequence of Nero's (the Boudicca revolt) or Agricola's campaign; cf. Alföldy 1968, 17. It is noticeable however that these titles do not appear in 105 (CIL XIII 51) and 122 (CIL XVI 69) MDs but later; cf. Spaul 1994, 88.

⁴² Roxan, RIB 2401, 2, n. 8.

There is no specific reference to the participation of *ala I Thracum* garrisoned at that time in Britain, but it is believed that *cohors I Thracum equitata civium Romanorum* was involved in Agricola's military operations. The unit was stationed in the Wijk bij Duurstede auxiliary fort from ca. 70 until shortly after 82, when it seems to have left for Britain, possibly in order to take part in the Agricola's campaigns⁴³. The regiment is not recorded in the Elst MD (98)⁴⁴, but appears in the Ó Szöny MD (122) for Britain⁴⁵, a vague indication of its continuing presence in the island since Flavian epoch.

The Dacian wars of 85–88

The wars waged by Domitian against the Dacian kingdom were notorious both at that time and in later historical perspective as a first major clash of the Roman Empire with a considerable political and military power, the most substantial and extensive Rome ever encountered in Europe⁴⁶. There is a remarkable paucity of epigraphic sources on the presence of Thracian regiments within the Domitianic Roman expeditionary force against Dacia and their presence must be considered only conjectural, as the evidence are indirect. K. Strobel's thorough analysis of the unfolding of events in the Domitian's Dacian wars also includes an attempt to identify the regiments suspected to have participated in the conflict. In case of the Thracian regiments estimations are the following:

Cohors VI Thracum (chapter V no. 37). The regiment was redeployed from Pannonia, where it is recorded in the Carnuntum (84)⁴⁷ and Belegb (85)⁴⁸ MDs, very likely into future parts of Moesia Superior as redeployed in order to be engaged in the operations of 87. It might have arrived shortly after or even during the reorganization of Moesia in 86. In 96 the regiment was still in Moesia Superior⁴⁹.

Cohors I Thracum Syriaca (chapter V no. 23) is also a good candidate for having participated in the war. The regiment was stationed in Moesia before the outbreak of hostilities, as recorded in the Ferdinand and more recently Berkovitsa (78)⁵⁰ MDs. The Sisak MD (100)⁵¹ illustrates perfectly the discharge and the renewal of the contingents enrolled in 78.

Cohortes I and II Flaviae Bessorum (chapter V nos. 13 and 24). The first record of *cohors II Flavia Bessorum* occurs in 91–92 in the Cataloi MD⁵², while *cohors I Flavia Bessorum* appears for the first time in 97, very likely in Moesia Inferior⁵³. Both Bessian regiments seem to have participated in the first major Dacian conflict and both were initially stationed in Lower Moesia for the offensive action north of the Danube. They appear later in the same province in the same deployment scheme, although the first cohort was later dispatched to Moesia Superior and finally to the province of Macedonia.

The Suebian war of 97

The third Pannonian war was waged by Nerva in 96 and early 97 in order to thwart the Suebian invasion of that province. The event is scarcely mentioned in the literary sources. A Roman victory was

⁴³ Stein 1932, 212; Alföldy 1968, 71; Bogaers 1974, 447–448.

⁴⁴ RMD 216.

⁴⁵ CIL XVI 69.

⁴⁶ Daicoviciu 1972, 278–285; Strobel 1989, 35–81; Jones 1992, 135–139; 141–143.

⁴⁷ CIL XVI 30.

⁴⁸ CIL XVI 31.

⁴⁹ RMD 6.

⁵⁰ CIL XVI 22 (Ferdinand); RMD 208 (Berkovitsa). There is also clear evidence of the presence of the regiment before the outbreak of the war. The inscription for its prefect (*praefecto suo*), C. Vecilius Modestus, shows the cohort '*in Moesia equitata*', that suggests that after it was moved in the Danubian province it became *equitata* through the adding of a cavalry squadron of 80 equites.

⁵¹ CIL XVI 46. Strobel 1989, 11 n. 59.

⁵² Petolescu, Popescu, 2003, 73–92.

⁵³ Weiss 1997, 234–235. The restoration of the f. s. u MD on *intus tabella* line 2 ET I FLAVIA [...] fits rather to *I Flavia Bessorum* than any other cohorts *I Flaviae* (*Commagenorum*, *Numidarum*). The first, however, appears in the same document with the ethnical name, while *Numidarum* is difficult to validate as yet.

obtained over the Germans in the autumn of 97 as recorded by Pliny⁵⁴. Some epigraphic evidence adds to the dearth of information concerning this conflict, and particularly on the presence of the Thracian regiments on the battlefield.

Viminacium RMD 6 = AE 1977, 722 (12 July 96).

Imp(erator) Caesar divi Vespasiani f(ilius) Domitianus / Augustus Germanicus pontifex maximus / tribunic(ia) potestat(e) XV imp(erator) XXII co(n)s(ul) XVII / censor perpetuus p(ater) p(atriciae) / equitibus et peditibus qui militavit in ala / praetoria et cohortibus decem I Lusitano/rum et I Cretum et I Montanorum et I Cili/cum et I Flavia Hispanorum milliaria / et II Flavia Commagenorum et III Rae/torum et V Hispanorum et VI Thracum / et VII Breucorum civium Romanorum / quae sunt in Moesia superiore sub Cn(aeo) Aemilio Cicatricula Pompeio Longino / qui quina et vicena plurave stipendia / meruerunt item dimissis honesta mis/sione emeritis stipendiis quorum / nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis pos/terisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubi/um cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data aut si caelibes es/sent cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas a(n)te d(iem) III Idus Iulias / T(ito) Prifernio Paeto Q(uinto) Fabio Postumino co(n)s(ulibus) / cohort(is) VI Thracum cui prae(e)st / Claudius Alpinus / pediti / Dolenti Sublusi f(ilio) Besso / et Valenti f(ilio) eius / descriptum et recognitum ex tabula / aenea quae fixa est Romae in muro / post templum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam // Q(uinti) Aemili Soterichi / C(ai) Iuli Vitalis / Q(uinti) Pompei Homeri / P(ubli) Atimi Amerimni / P(ubli) Corneli Alexandri / L(uci) Pulli Trophimi / Q(uinti) Carrinati Quadrati.

The Viminacium MD is released *quina et vicena plurave stipendia* giving a clear sign of the prolongation of the campaign towards mid 96. The overall military and political implications were largely discussed by S. Dušanić and M. R. Vasić⁵⁵. The number of regiments mentioned in the MD is surprisingly small and it may be a good indication that they must have composed the bulk of the Upper Moesian auxilia which took part in the war. Cohors VI Thracum was among them.

Evidence for the involvement of another Thracian regiment in the Suebian war appear in an inscription from Libarna.

Libarna (Serravalle). CIL V 7425 = ILS 2720 (late 1st century)

Q(uinto) Attio T(iti) f(ilio) / Maec(ia tribu) Prisco, / aed(ili), / vir(o) quinq(ennali), / flam(ino) Aug(usti) pontif(icis), praef(ecto) fabr(or)um, praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I / Hispanorum et coh(ortis) I / Montanorum et coh(ortis) I / Lusitanor(um), trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I / Adiutric(is), donis donato/ ab imp(eratore) Nerva Caesare Aug(usto) / Germ(anico) bello Suebic(o) coron(a) / aurea, hasta pura, vexill(o) / praef(ecto) ala(e) I Aug(ustae) Thracum / pleps urbana.

Priscus fulfilled one of his *militia* during the Trajan's reign in *ala I Augusta Thracum*, possibly moved at that time from Syria, where it had its headquarters, in order to reinforce the troops engaged in the Suebian war on the Danube. Q. Attius Priscus was decorated by the Emperor Nerva with a golden crown (*corona aurea*), an ironless spear (*hasta pura*), and a standard (*vexillum*) while he was *praefectus* of the Thracian regiment on the Danubian front⁵⁶.

The Dacian wars of 101–102 and 105–106

The Dacian wars unfolded in the early 2nd century (101–102 and 105–106). It was the greatest military and logistic effort ever made by the Roman Empire up to the point as considered by the Roman

⁵⁴ Plin. *Pan.* 8, 2; Garzetti, 1950, 55–57; Strobel 1989, 105–109; Jones 1992, 153–155.

⁵⁵ Dušanić, Vasić 1977, 296–304; Strobel 1989, 106.

⁵⁶ On Priscus see: PIR I², 273, no. 1361; Stein 1932, 154–155; Devijver 1975, 30–31, no. 11; 1976, 132 A186; 1987, 1450 A187.

strategists and theoreticians. This huge concentration of human and material resources required significant troop movements and finally massive engagement of all categories of forces in order to cope with the most dangerous and powerful state Rome had ever faced⁵⁷.

The Thracian auxiliary regiments must have played their role in the military operations and their participation can be tracked down in epigraphic evidence, although explicit reference to their presence in Dacian wars is more conjectural than specific. If the evidence is not accompanied by clear indication of the action they took in the conflict, as shown in other cases, the MDs' testimony makes way for more conjectural assessments. Inscriptions are more precise from this perspective, being usually more exact and accurate.

The expertise of modern scholars on this topic established a list of auxiliary regiments that took part in the action⁵⁸. Among them is mentioned: *ala I Thracum Victrix*; *ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum*; *ala III Augusta Thracum*; *cohors I Thracum Civium Romanorum*; *cohors I Thracum Syriaca*; *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum equitata*; *cohors I Thracum Germanica*; *cohors VI Thracum equitata*.

Ala I Thracum victrix. There is no specific record of this unit's participation in the Dacian wars. The regiment appears rather late in western Pannonia, at Carnuntum, and is recorded in the Upper Pannonian MDs until 116 (chapter VI, no. 10). The unit is, however, on the Strobel's list as a presumed participant with *vexillationes* as an auxiliary force around legio XV Apollinaris⁵⁹. It may have gained its appellative *victrix* from an exceptional behavior in the wars, eventually as part of a corps which obtained a decisive and important victory in one of the battles in Parthia⁶⁰.

Ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum. This *ala* might have been supplied with recruits from Galatia if the discharge of the Isaurian soldier *Cunius Aquil[...]* in 129 is taken as evidence for his enrollment in 104, when new contingents were brought in to fill the gaps of the depleted units after the first Dacian war⁶¹ (see chapter VI no. 9). Dietz and Roxan also support the idea of a full participation of the regiment in the second Dacian war⁶².

Ala I Augusta Thracum. The Priscus' office as a praefectus of this regiment followed a tribunate in *legio I Adiutrix* during the Suebian war⁶³. The unit (see chapter VI, no. 5) was brought from Syria on the Danubian front where it performed activities that could suggest an implication of the cavalry regiment at least in the first Dacian war (101–106)⁶⁴.

CIL XVI 164

Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nerv[ae f(ilius)] Nerva Traianus Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) Dacicus pontif(ex) maximus tribunic(ia) potestat(e) XIII [i]mp(erator) VI co(n)s(ul) V p(ater) p(atriciae) equitibus et peditibus qui militant in alis quattuor et cohortibus decem quae appellantur I Flavia Aug(usta) Britannica (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et Fron/toniana et Siliana c(ivium) R(omanorum) et praetoria c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Lusitanor(um) et I Alpinor(um) et I Thracum P(ia) F(idelis) et I Alpi/nor(um) et I Noricor(um) et I Montanor(um) et II Alpinor(um) et II Asturum et Callaecor(um) et VI Lusitanor(um) P(ia) F(idelis) / et V Gallor(um) et vexillationis equitum ex Syria et sunt in Pannonia inferiore sub T(ito) Iulio Maximo Manliano quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis emeritis item dimissis honesta missione quorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisque eorum

⁵⁷ Paribeni 1975, 191–329; Gostar 1979, 115–122; Strobel 1984; Tramonti, 1989; Bennett 1997, 85–103; Blázquez 2003, 81–108; 110–111; 112–113.

⁵⁸ Strobel 1984, *passim*.

⁵⁹ Strobel 1984, 118.

⁶⁰ Strobel 1984, 118; Spaul 1994, 226.

⁶¹ RMD 34.

⁶² Dietz 1984, 227; Strobel 1984, 118; 1987, 265; RMD 34 n. 6.

⁶³ CIL V 7425.

⁶⁴ Dietz 1984, 262.

civita[tem dedit et c]onubium cum uxoribus quas [tunc] habuiss]ent cum est civitas iis data aut [siqui [caelibes] essent cum iis quas postea du/xissent [d]umtaxat singuli singulas a(nte) d(iem) VI Non(as) Iul(ias) C(aio) Eruciano Silone L(ucio) Catilio Severo co(n)s(ulibus) alae Frontoniana cui prae(e)st L(ucius) Calpurnius Honoratus dimisso honesta missione ex decurione C(aio) Petillio C(ai) f(ilio) Vindici Batav(o) descriptum et re[cog]nitum ex tabula ae/nea quae fixa [est Ro]mae

Ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum. This regiment is on Strobel's list as one of the certain participants in the Dacian wars⁶⁵. The *vexillatio equitum ex Syria* recorded in the Tokod MD (110)⁶⁶ contained cavalry regiments or cavalry detachments from Syria on the same principle as later during the war of Lucius Verus (see below). Its participation in the Dacian wars seems beyond doubt, and, as Saxer noticed, it could have been employed also in the Jazygae uproar in 107⁶⁷. The Thracian cavalry regiments from Syria were supposedly included in this expeditionary force. The Suhozem MD (91)⁶⁸, the last Syrian document before the outbreak of the Dacian wars recorded two Thracian alae, *III Augusta Thracum* and *Gallorum et Thracum Constantium*. The regiment seems to have been transferred entirely to the Danubian front on the eve of the first Dacian war as part of this important Syrian vexillation and this fact is a clear indication that the regiment was largely involved in the Dacian wars. It continued to be recorded in the Upper Pannonian MDs beginning with 125 (see chapter IV no. 12)

The two *cohortes I* and *II Flaviae Bessorum*, were stationed in Moesia Superior and Inferior, respectively by the late 1st and early 2nd century. The first cohort of Bessians discharged effectives in 100, in Moesia Superior, as shown by the Sisak MD⁶⁹, before the first Dacian war so as to be resupplied with fresh contingents. Another MD with unknown findspot from 105 for Moesia inferior attests to the discharge of veterans from *cohort II Flavia Bessorum*⁷⁰. Both MDs were issued *quina et vicena plurave stipendia*. If in the case of the first cohort of Bessians the discharge in 100 seems to have been a prolongation of the service after a recent conflict in which it might have taken part, possibly the Suebian war, the second cohort of Bessians show a release of old contingents enrolled in 80 just before the beginning of the second Dacian war.

Cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum pia fidelis. Strobel's view is that this unit was brought from the Rhine area to the Danube for the Dacian wars⁷¹. Its participation in the conflict is not sustained by any clear epigraphic evidence. It has been conjectured that the regiment came from Germany, returned to the Rhine provinces shortly after 106, and was finally garrisoned in Pannonia Inferior with the epithet *Germanica* with which it appears in the Lower Pannonian MDs since 138 (see chapter V no. 16). However, it seems that the cohort was already in Moesia Superior in 100 when it was recorded in the Sisak MD⁷² with the epithet *civium Romanorum* a distinction which had been gained before the first Dacian war. *Pia fidelis*, which appear in the Tokod MD⁷³ would strongly indicate its brave behavior in the military operations north of the Danube.

Two regiments with the same name appear in the same year and day in two MDs in two different provinces: *cohort I Thracum civium Romanorum* in Tokod MD (2 July 110) for Pannonia Inferior, and *cohort I Thracum civium Romanorum* in two MDs with unknown find spot, but apparently found at Porolissum (17 February and 2 July 110)⁷⁴. The Pannonian regiment appears also in the MD of 1st

⁶⁵ Saxer 1968, 25, no. 43; Strobel 1984, 118.

⁶⁶ CIL XVI 164.

⁶⁷ Saxer 1967, 25–26.

⁶⁸ RMD 4.

⁶⁹ CIL XVI 46.

⁷⁰ CIL XVI 50.

⁷¹ Radnoti, Barkoczi 1951, 200 think also that the cohort was brought from Rhine land on the Danube particularly for the Dacian wars; Strobel 1984, 143; Gostar 1979, 120.

⁷² CIL XVI 46.

⁷³ CIL XVI 164. In the document, the regiment is labelled only *cohort I Thracum pia fidelis*, without the juridical distinction *civium Romanorum*.

⁷⁴ CIL XVI 57 = IDR I 2; CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3.

September 114 with u.f.s⁷⁵. The situation has been considered strange. Lörincz holds that we deal with two different regiments⁷⁶. It is true that the distinction *pia fidelis* which appears in the Tokod MD is missing in both Porolissum documents, but the unit must have been split in two, both parts discharging contingents in the same time. The regiment is likely the future *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum pia fidelis*, which appears with this tactical attribute in mid 2nd century Lower Pannonian MDs⁷⁷.

Cohors I Thracum Syriaca. Berytus. AE 1926, 150= AE 1992, 1689.

M(arco) Sentio Sex(ti) / f(ilio) Fab(ia) Proculo dec(urioni) Ilvir(o) / col(oniae) praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Thrac(um) / Syr(iacae) eq(uitatae) et vexillat(ionis) coh(ortis) I Cilic(um) et coh(ortis) VII Breucor(um) / trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XVI F(laviae) F(irmae) praef(ecto) / alae Gem(inae) col(onorum) quaest(ori) pro/vinc(iae) Asiae trib(uno) pl(ebis) praet(ori) / peregr(rino) leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) provin(ciae) Africae patrono / coloniae.

Wagner⁷⁸ considers Proculus' *cursus honorum*⁷⁸ an example of late 2nd century evidence for police or military action along the Danube against brigands. Devijver⁷⁹ and Strobel⁸⁰ have lately re-dated it to Trajan's time in relation with the Dacian wars. Proculus had the command over *cohors I Thracum Syriaca* and detachments from *cohors I Cilicum* and *cohors VII Breucorum*, as the two regiments yielded other clear evidence for their presence on the theatre of war for direct action in the conflict.

The cohort which had dropped its epithet *Syriaca* in the Ferdinand (78)⁸¹ and Debelec (82)⁸² MDs for undivided Moesia took it up again in order to be distinguished from the *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum*. Both participated very likely in the Dacian wars, a conclusion strongly suggested by the very fact that they were stationed in a coterminous province to the Dacian state.

In 96 *Cohors VI Thracum* was part of the Upper Moesian garrison⁸³. It had taken position there shortly before the outbreak of the Domitian's Dacian wars in which it participated. The unit was still in Upper Moesia in 100 as shown by the Sisak MD⁸⁴, and finally in 110 in Dacia⁸⁵ a good indication that it had taken part in both Dacian wars.

Cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum equitata. This unit was listed by Strobel among the Thracian auxiliary regiments in the Dacian wars⁸⁶. Its presence in the Dacian conflict remains possible, for it seems to have been dispatched on the Danubian front in early 90s (see chapter VI no. 19).

The Parthian war (114–117)

The war with Parthia was the second major political and military event during Trajan's time. In 114 the Trajan-led Roman army attacked Parthian territory and turned the campaign into an all out victorious march through Armenia and Parthia. The recent literature about this conflict revealed new details and elaborated on many aspects of the military operations in the East⁸⁷.

R. Paribeni was the first scholar who tried to outline the specific participation of different legions and auxiliary regiments in the campaign in Armenia and Mesopotamia⁸⁸. There is no direct indication of

⁷⁵ RMD 153.

⁷⁶ Lörincz 2001, 42 no. 43.

⁷⁷ Radnóti, Barkóczi 1951, 200, 215, 219; Lörincz 1992, 94; 2001, 42, no. 43; Knight 1991, 200.

⁷⁸ Wagner 1938, 192.

⁷⁹ Devijver 1977, 731 S 25; 1987, 1718 S25.

⁸⁰ Strobel 1984, 144.

⁸¹ CIL XVI 22.

⁸² CIL XVI 28.

⁸³ Dušanić, Vasić 1977, 291–304 = RMD 6; Strobel 1884, 145; also Gostar 1979, 120.

⁸⁴ CIL XVI 46.

⁸⁵ CIL XVI 163 = IDR I 3; Strobel 1984, 144–145.

⁸⁶ Strobel 1984, 143.

⁸⁷ Bennett 1997, 37–49; Cizek 1983, 89–123; Garzetti 1974; 78–94; Hammond 1959, 58–78; Lepper 1948, 96–105; Paribeni 1927, 278–303.

⁸⁸ CIL III 600. Paribeni's list (1927, 287–288) of auxiliary forces in the Parthian war was based on the Byllis inscription, considered by the Italian scholar as a list of troops engaged in Trajan's Parthian war in 114–116. The important contribution in

the presence of Thracian auxiliary regiments on the Eastern front in 114–116, although one must consider a massive presence of these units engaged in the conflict as there are sufficient, although indirect, hints of their participation in these events.

Ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum. The unit was confined within the territory of legio XV Apollinaris, which certainly participated in the Parthian war⁸⁹. The regiment is already recorded in Pannonia Superior in 113⁹⁰, from where it was possibly moved to the East shortly after 106. The discharges of effectives in late 113 (16 December) after *quinis et vicennis pluribusve stipendis emeritis* and the enrollment of new fresh contingents in early 114 for the planned Parthian campaign are illustrated in the Albertfalva MD of 139⁹¹.

Ala I Thracum victrix. This regiment was initially garrisoned in Noricum, although Dietz places it hypothetically in the Albertfalva MD for the province of Pannonia in 113⁹². The ala is actually recorded in Upper Pannonia only in 126 and the general idea is that it was re-dispatched to the province in or shortly after 118/119⁹³. Dietz's restoration of the missing parts of the Albertfalva MD seems reasonable, in which case the regiment must have accompanied the *legio XV Apollinaris* from Carnuntum in the Parthian war as an auxiliary unit, as is also believed by Strobel⁹⁴.

Roma. CIL VI 32933 = ILS 2723 = Saxer 1967, 26, no. 44.

L(ucio) Paconio L(ucii) f(ilio) Pal(atina)/ Proculo/ praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Fl(aviae) Hisp(anorum) eq(uitatae) trib(un) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis), / praef(ecto) vexillation(um) eq(uitum) Moe/siae Infer(ioris) et Daciae eunti / in expeditione Parthic(a), donis/ militar[ib(us)] donato[...]

Proculo's *cursus* is the only explicit evidence of an expeditionary cavalry corps created in Dacia and Lower Moesia in order to be sent to the Parthian front⁹⁵. The Lower Moesian MDs previous to the outbreak of the war shows no Thracian cavalry regiments in the Danubian province⁹⁶. The only regiment of Thracian origin at that date in Lower Moesia was *cohors II Flavia Bessorum* which was not *equitata*. On the other hand *cohors I Thracum Syriaca equitata* is attested in Upper Moesia in the first half of the 1st century; it changed garrison in late Trajanic or early Hadrianic period from Timacum to Transmarisca, in Lower Moesia (see chapter V no. 23). This could suggest that after its participation in the Parthian war of at least its cavalry contingent, after returning to Lower Moesia the regiment was redispached to a new location.

In Dacia, the MDs of 110 indicate the presence of *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum* and *cohors VI Thracum equitata*⁹⁷. If one takes into consideration the specification of the Rome inscription, then only the latter must have sent its cavalry contingent in the Parthian war.

Supposedly, many if not all the Thracian regiments garrisoned at that time in eastern provinces were entirely or partially integrated into the large Trajanic army between 114 and 117 and were involved in those military operations. The present day knowledge about the Syrian MDs shows a gap of

dating the Lollian's *cursus honorum* brought by Bormann 1900, 23–24 in early 20th century is now unanimously considered by modern scholars as evidence for the Parthian war of Lucius Verus (Saxer 1967, 34).

⁸⁹ Kandler 1977, 626–660.

⁹⁰ See chapter IV no. 9; Lőrincz 2001, 24 no. 26.

⁹¹ CIL XVI 175; Lőrincz 2001, 160 no. 21.

⁹² RMD 86; Dietz 1984, 161–268, especially 239–241; Lőrincz 2001, 168, 38.

⁹³ See chapter 6 no. 10; Lőrincz 2001, 25 no. 27.

⁹⁴ Strobel 1984, 118; Spaul 1994, 226. If the title *victrix* had been awarded as a consequence of valiant behaviour in the Parthian war, then it is little chance of being restored in the Albertfalva MD of 113 (Dietz 1984, 239; see chapter IV no. 10).

⁹⁵ Lepper 1948, 1107–110; the Daco-Moesian expeditionary force seems to have set a winter camp next to Ancyra, in 113, on its way to the Parthian front IGRRP 3, 173; Saxer 1967, 26.

⁹⁶ Weiss 1999, 289–290, no. 2 = AE 1999, 1361 (109); CIL XVI 58 (112/113 from Tropaeum Traiani).

⁹⁷ RMD 148 = AE 1990, 860, CIL XVI 57 = IDR 12; CIL XVI 163 = IDR 13 (*cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum*); CIL XVI 57 = IDR 1, 2 (*cohors VI Thracum equitata*).

almost 40 years between the late 1st century and early 30s of the 2nd century constitutions⁹⁸. From this view point, nothing specifically can be said about the composition of the auxiliary Syrian army in Trajan's force against Parthia. One can only suppose the participation of *ala Gallorum et Thracum constantium*, *ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana*, *ala III Augusta Thracum*, *cohors I Thracum milliaria*, the latter attested in Judea at En Geddi in 124, as well as *cohors II Thracum Syriaca*, and *cohors III Thracum Syriaca*.

The Sarmatian war (118–119)

A number of new Thracian regiments appear in both Pannonian provinces in early Hadrian's reign when the Emperor had to face a war with the Iazygae and free Dacians⁹⁹. An inscription mentions *expeditio Suebica et Sarmatica*¹⁰⁰ in which *legio XIII Gemina* had an important role. Although the literary evidence discusses the Iazygae and Roxolani as the only enemies, the involvement of the Dacians in the conflict seems to have been of some extent on the middle Danube. Pannonia Inferior was then threatened and reinforcements from other fronts had to be brought in. For the Thracian regiments, some indirect evidence shows their participation on the Pannonian front.

Ala I Thracum veterana was already stationed on middle Danube in Trajanic period, but had been moved for tactical reasons to Pannonia inferior, at Intercissa¹⁰¹, closer to the theatre of war (see chapter V no. 9). The redeployment in another threatened sector at a time of military crisis would suggest the boost of manpower in an area where *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana* could not cope alone with the situation on a larger front.

Ala I Thracum victrix. This unit or a detachment returned in 116 to Noricum after Trajan's Parthian war. From there, around 118–119, it was moved to Carnuntum, in Pannonia Superior, as shown by a tile stamp AITHR = A(la) I THR(acum)¹⁰². It joined *ala I Hispanorum Aravacorum* in a delicate sector of the limes, as *ala I Thracum veterana* has fought together with *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana* at Intercissa. *Cohors II Augusta Thracum* is commonly assumed to have arrived in Pannonia Inferior by 118/119 as a back up for the other Pannonian troops engaged in the clash with Sarmatians (see chapter VI, no. 11). It first appears in the province rather late, in the Albertfalva MD (139)¹⁰³, and fresh contingents were incorporated in 114 on the occasion of the Parthian war. The regiment arrived at the middle Danube and fought in the Suebo-Sarmatian conflict with the same effectives which took part in the Parthian war¹⁰⁴.

Cohors I Thracum equitata civium Romanorum might have arrived in Pannonia Superior by 118/119, as generally stated, to strengthen the provincial military potential (see chapter VI no. 19). It firstly appears in the Tóthvaszóny MD (138)¹⁰⁵ and might have been also engaged in some military operations against the Iazygae and free Dacians, early in Hadrian's reign.

Insurgency in Britain (ca. 118–119)

Pitinum Pisarense (Urbino). CIL XI 6033.

C. Caesidio C(aii) f(ilio) Cru. Dextro, eq(uiti) coh(ortis) VIII, praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Lingonum equitat(ae), trib(un) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I Italic(ae), praef(ecto) eq(uitum) alae classianae invictae bis

⁹⁸ For the years 90 and 91: RMD 332 = Cotton, Eck, Isaac, 2003, 17(90); RMD 4 (91); the earliest MD known so far for Syria Palestina after the Parthian war is RMD 160 of 136/137.

⁹⁹ On this conflict see: SHA, v. *Hadr.* 5. 21; 6. 6–8; 7. 3; Dio Cass. 68, 15. 2; Patsch 1937, 128–130; Nagy 1956, 57 n. 82; Dobó 1968, 46–48; Macrea 1969, 43–45; Russu, 1972, 47–56; Strobel 1985, 905–1012; Opreanu 1997, 249–252; 1998, 51–54.

¹⁰⁰ CIL III 6818.

¹⁰¹ Lörincz 2001, 24, no. 26; cf. 26, no. 29.

¹⁰² Stieglitz 1978, 10–11; Lörincz 2001, 25, no. 27.

¹⁰³ CIL XVI 175.

¹⁰⁴ Nagy 1956, 17–18. The limes sector where it took position remains still unknown.

¹⁰⁵ CIL XVI 84; Lörincz 1981, 37; 2001, 42, no. 44.

torquatae c(ivium) R(omanorum), pontifici Pit(ino) Pisaur(ensi), patrono munic(ipii), l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

Dexter's honorary inscription recalls *ala Gallorum et Thracum classiana* which was recorded in Britain between 105 and 127¹⁰⁶. It is commonly accepted that the unit was granted the titles *invicta bis torquata* during or shortly after the suppression of the British revolt, as a result of its bravery during the military operations carried out in the province¹⁰⁷. Alföldi¹⁰⁸ thinks that C. Caesidius Dexter's cursus honorum dates to Hadrian's reign and shows the command of the officer in this regiment already while the campaign was in progress. In the Glava MD, the unit appears as *torquata victrix*, which adds to the evidence of its participation and exceptional behavior in these events. The soldiers were rewarded twice with *torques*, while the entire unit was awarded the title of victorious.

The Bar Kochba revolt and the second Jewish war (132–135)

The Bar-Kochba-led Jewish revolt against the Roman authorities was the last major military event of Hadrian's reign and also a major conflict during the continuous two century Jewish resistance against Roman occupation¹⁰⁹. The Roman effort to quell this massive uprising was considerable and the lists of the troops that participated in the hostilities provided by modern scholars show only one facet of the considerable resources, both human and material, engaged in the hostilities.

Together with legionary forces, auxilia were deeply involved in action. Units from Syria and those still existing in Judea and Arabia are supposed to have had an important contribution to the final victory. One can suppose that a good part of the Thracian regiments garrisoned in Syria and northern Arabia were moved to the critical locations in the conflict.

Cohors I Thracum milliaria is one of the best known to have taken part in the military operations of the second Jewish war (see chapter VI no. 21) and its role must have been significant. The regiment was at En Gedi by 6 May 124¹¹⁰, the last datable document for this unit before the outbreak of the war. It is known that a part of the Bar-Kochba supporters took refuge and were besieged in two caves at Nahal Hever, a gully running into the Dead Sea, close to En Gedi, euphemistically called 'The Cave of Horrors' and the 'The Cave of Letters'¹¹¹. Two camps occupied by troopers from the Thracian cohort besieged the two caves. A detachment took position in the camp next to 'The Cave of Letters', right above the entrance of the cave¹¹². Although carrying out operations from the latter was almost impossible, the reason for building this camp immediately next to the cliff-edge was so it could signal the movements of the inhabitants in the Cave of Horror across the wadi, on which another camp had an excellent outlook and also receive information on the besieged population in the Cave of Letters, above which the first camp was located.

¹⁰⁶ The diplomas from Sydenham (CIL XVI 51 = RIB 2401, 2), Middlewich (RMD 8 = RIB 2401, 3) (105), and Glava (RMD 239) (127).

¹⁰⁷ The uprising of the Brigantes and other populations in southern Scotland is still poorly known. There is only one passage in SHA, v. *Hadr.* 5. 1: *Brittani teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant*, on which the entirety of our knowledge rests. Archaeology added some important information on this event; Frere 1974, 147–148.

¹⁰⁸ Alföldy 1968, 17–18.

¹⁰⁹ Gregorovius, 1898, 143–164; Weber 1907; Appelbaum 1976; Avi-Yonah, 1968 and 1977, 164–165; Yarden. 1971; Appelbaum 1984, 35ff; Goodman 1987; Schürer, E. 1990, 281–303; Richard, 1994; Smallwood 1976, 281–303; Eck 1999, 76; Ball 2001, 58; Faulkner 2004; *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters (Judean Desert studies)* 1963–2002.

¹¹⁰ Polotsky 1962, 258–262; The regiment was camped at En Gedi already in 124, at which time Greek papyrus speaks about a loan given by a centurion of the unit and house mortgaged for it, which was located across the street of the auxiliary fort (πραισιδίου) and possibly flanked by military tents (σκηναί) (Polotsky 1962, 258–262; Mazar, Dothan, Dunayevsky 1964, 128–130; Russell 1995, 99; see also chapter V, no. 21).

¹¹¹ Aharoni 1962, 186–199; Lifschitz 1962, 201–207; Yarden 1971, 46–49; Speidel 1977, 741; Holder 1980, no. 226; Lewis, Yarden, Greenfield 1989, 41–46; Russell 1995, 120; Cotton 1999, 228.

¹¹² Yarden 1963, 7–14. For the role of the unit in the Bar-Kochba led-revolt see also Appelbaum 1976, 66, no. 21 and Russell 1995, 120.

Cohors I Augusta Thracum was part of the army of Arabia and was in Negev at the time of the second Jewish revolt (chapter VI no. 14). An early 2nd century tombstone of one of its soldiers was found at Kurnub (Mampsis), where the unit might be suspected to have been garrisoned at that time and even later. Conceivably, the cohort was very close to the action and therefore was involved in the operations¹¹³.

The participation of *cohors III Augusta Thracum* in the Bar-Kochba revolt is considered only conjectural¹¹⁴. The fact that it appears in a Gnotzheim (Raetia) inscription of 144 with the title *bis torquata* suggests a possible participation in the Jewish revolt where the regiment could have displayed an excellent behavior.

Units from the Syrian army such as *ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana*, *ala Gallorum et Thracum constantium*, and *cohors III Thracum civium Romanorum equitata* could have participated in the conflict, although the evidence for their involvement is only induced.

Ala Gallorum et Thracum constantium was transferred from Syria to Judea together with no.1 (*ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana*) sometime between 132–135, in order to boost the forces concentrated in Judea¹¹⁵. Both discharged old contingents in 136–137¹¹⁶, after the complete pacification of the country and both are recorded in the Aphek MD (139)¹¹⁷ which strongly suggests significant involvement in the conflict. *Ala Antiana* was supplied with fresh contingents in 134–135, at the height of the fights, as the MD of 160 for Syria shows¹¹⁸.

Ala Gallorum et Thracum classiana was transferred from Britain to Germany after 127¹¹⁹. From the Rhine province, the regiment was sent to Judea, possibly by the early 30s, where the hostilities broke out in 132. A decurion of the regiment, M. Marius Valens originating from Galata is recorded in an inscription from Köln¹²⁰, and could have been recruited while the unit was stationed in Judea or more likely, during its way to the eastern front through Galatia. This suggestion has been made on good ground by Maxfield¹²¹. Birley¹²² equates this regiment with *ala Gallorum et Thracum* in the Aphek MD of 139. The suggestion makes sense and it could be an excellent argument for the unit that fought in the Bar-Kochba revolt and garrisoned for a while in former Judea after the suppression of the rebellion.

Cohors III Thracum civium Romanorum equitata is commonly known to have been stationed in Raetia, where it is mentioned by a large number of MDs (see chapter VI no. 31). In an inscription from Gnotzheim in 144¹²³, the regiment bears the distinction *bis torquata*, which is thought on good ground by Radnoti to have been given as a result of its recent participation in the second Jewish revolt, rather than a late inheritance from Trajan's Dacian or Parthian wars¹²⁴.

The Moorish revolt in northern Africa (144–149)

The hostilities with the Moors in northern Africa broke out with unexpected violence In mid 2nd century¹²⁵. The area affected by the Moorish insurgency stretched over both Mauretaniae, as proved by

¹¹³ Appelbaum 1976, 66 no. 21, but the author errs in attributing a transformation of this regiment into *cohors I Thracum milliaria*.

¹¹⁴ Appelbaum 1976, 68, no. 23.

¹¹⁵ Eck 1993, 454; Russell 1995, 116.

¹¹⁶ RMD 160. Indirect proof of the participation of the *ala Antiana* in the Jewish war seems to be the MD of 160, which discharges the soldier Serpodius, a native from Telmessos, in Lycia, who must have been recruited towards the end of the operations to fill the gaps caused by harsh fighting against the rebels.

¹¹⁷ CIL XVI 87; Roxan n. 4 at RMD 173; Appelbaum 1976, 68, no. 27; Eck 1993, 454; Russell 1995, 114.

¹¹⁸ For their participation in the quelling of the revolt see Russell 1995, 114; 116. Eck 1993, 451–459.

¹¹⁹ In the Glava MD (20 August 127) (RMD 239) the regiment appears still in Britain and therefore it was transferred to Rhine valley only after that date.

¹²⁰ CIL XIII 8306 = ILS 2534 (Köln).

¹²¹ Maxfield 2000, 409.

¹²² Birley 1932, 59 n.1; see also Russell 1995, 115–117.

¹²³ BRGK 1956–1957, 236, no. 81.

¹²⁴ Radnóti 1961, 114.

¹²⁵ For the conflict with the Moors between 144 and 149 see in general Cagnat 1892, 42–43; Hütl 1936, 301–314; Romanelli 1959, 351–360; Speidel 1976, 129–135.

epigraphic and archaeological evidence. The Moorish attacks began in late 141 and early 142, and intensified in 143 as reflected in the burying of the Tipassa coin hoard¹²⁶. The walls of Caesarea and Tipassa were reinforced at that time¹²⁷. The first military operations had already begun already by 144¹²⁸ and were waged by the troops available in the province. These troops had to cope with the situation until reinforcements from Europe arrived¹²⁹.

There is no direct epigraphic evidence of the involvement of *cohors II Gemella Thracum* (see chapter VI no. 26) although its engagement against the rebels must have happened at the very beginning of the hostilities. M. Petronius Honoratus' *cursus honorum* from Rome¹³⁰ records his third *militia* as being at the command of *ala II Augusta Thracum* which bore the title of *pia fidelis*. As the *cursus honorum* is dated shortly before 147–148, the regiment apparently received this title during the Moorish war. A *cursus honorum* of P. Aelius Marcianus shows that after being decurion in the *ala*, he was promoted praepositus of the Syrian war fleet, prefect of the Moesian fleet and then successively prefect of four units including the Thracian regiment. As Leveau showed, Marcianus must have carried out operations in command of these forces during the Moorish revolt from 144–152¹³¹.

The participation of both northern African Thracian regiments in the campaign against the Moors appears highly probable along the entire period of hostilities.

The Ó Szöny MD (150)¹³² reveals cavalry detachments, from *ala III Augusta Thracum* and *cohors I Thracum veterana sagittariorum* which certainly participated in the Moorish war.

Ó Szöny. CIL XVI 99 = AE 1894, 3 (150).

Imp(erator) Caesar divi [Ha]dr[iani] f(i)lius, divi Tra[ian(i)] Parthic(i) nep(os), divi Nervae [pro]nep(os) T(itus) A[elius] Ha[d]rianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius [pont(ificem)] max(imus) [trib(unicia)] pot(estate) XIII imp(erator) II co(n)s(ul) IV p(ater) [p(atriciae)] equitib(us) qui militaverunt in al[is] V quae] appell(antur) I Hispanor(um) Aravacor(um) [et III Aug(usta)] Thrac(um) sagit(taria) quae sunt [i]n Pann(onia) su[p]e[ri]o[r]e sub Claudio Maximo item I Fla[via] Britann(ica) (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Thrac(um) veter(ana) sag[it(taria)] et I Aug(usta) Itureor(um) sagit(taria) quae sunt in Pa[nn(onia)] inferior(e) sub Cominio Secundo quin[is] et vicenis plurib(us)ve stip(endiis) emer(itis) d[i]m[iss]is] h[er]editate miss(ione) per Porcium Vetustinum proc(uratorem) cum essent in expedition(e) Mauretan(iae) Caesarens(is) quor(um) nomin(a) subscript(a) sunt civit(atem) Roman(am) qui eor(um) non hab(erent) dedit et conub(ium) cum uxor(ibus) quas tunc habuiss(ent) cum est civit(as) i(i)s data aut cum i(i)s quas post(ea) dux(issent) dumtaxat singul(is) K(alendis) Aug(ustis) M(arco) Cassio Apollinare M(arco) Petronio Mamertino co(n)s(ulibus) alae I Hispan(orum) Aravacor(um) ex gregale Victori Liccai(!) filio) Azalo descript(um) et recognit(um) ex tabula ae/rea quae fixa est Romae in muro pos(it) templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam M(arci) Servili Getae L(uci) Pulli Chresimi M(arci) Sentili Iasi Ti(beri) Iul[i] Felicis C(ai) Iuli Silvani L(uci) [I]ulli Velocis [...]jili Prisci

A recent fragmentary MD¹³³ from an unknown findspot adds to the list, among others, *ala I Thracum victrix* from Pannonia Inferior, as having released a cavalry detachment that was sent together with the *equites* from the other two Thracian units in North Africa.

¹²⁶ Baradez 1954; Benseddik 1982, 149–155, especially 149–150.

¹²⁷ Baradez 1954, 96–99; Racht 1970, 197.

¹²⁸ Baradez 1954, 129.

¹²⁹ Racht 1970, 196–200.

¹³⁰ CIL VI 1625 a, b; 14 Suppl 4418; Vaglieri, 1912, 390; AE 1913, 197; Pflaum 1960, 283–286 no. 117; Leveau 1973, 161 no. 12; Devijver 1977, P 634, no. 24; 1987, 1678 P24; on the regiment see also Benseddik 1977, 212 no. 70.

¹³¹ CIL VIII 9358 = ILS 2738; Pflaum 1960–1961, 303–304, no. 125; Leveau 1973, 162–164, no. 13.

¹³² Le Glay 1954, 218 gives a draft of the units or vexillationes from the rest of the Empire which are attested as having been engaged in the conflict; see also Speidel 1976, 130–124.

RMD 273: *Imp(erator). Caesar, divi Hadriani f(i)lius., divi Traiani P[arth[ic(i)] nep(os), [d]ivi Ner[vae pronepos, T(itus) Aelius H]a[d]ri[anus] An[toni]nus Aug(ustus) [Pius, pont(ifex) max(imus)], tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) [... , imp(erator)II, co(n)s(ul) ..., p(ater) p(atriciae)], equi[ti]bus [qui militaverunt in alis VIII(?) quae appel]lantur I Ul(p(ia) contarior(um) (milliaria) et I Thrac(um) victr(ix) et I[Hispan(or)um] Arv(acor(um) et I Cannanef(atium) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et III Aug(usta) Thra]cum sagitt(aria) [quae sunt in Pannonia superior(e) sub] Claudio M(aximo(?) item I Fl(avia) Britann(ica) (milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Thrac(um) [sagit(taria) ve(ter(ana) et I Aug(usta) Ituraeor(um) sagit(taria) et I c(ivium) R(omanorum?)] quae s[unt in Pannonia inferior(e) sub ...]rin? [... quinis et vicenis...]*

Both MDs show the participation of three Thracian regiments from the Pannonian provinces in the Moorish war in Mauretania Caesariensis, *cum essent in expedition(e) Mauretan(iae) Caesariens(is)*. As M. Speidel pointed out, it is likely that these two regiments dispatched detachments rather than being moved in their full strength to join the expeditionary force. The MDs were issued in Pannonia where the soldiers of the three units seem to have returned in order to pick up the documents attesting to their discharge¹³⁴.

Leveau 1974, 103–110 (Fedjana).

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(axiom), Victoria/e Noreiae Sac(ro) / vexillatio /(sic!) al(ae)Aug(u)s(tae) / Se(ntius) Ex(oratus), Spectati/us Viator, decuriones / exercitus Norici / quibus praeest Iul(ius) / Primus 7(centurio) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

This mid 2nd century inscription mentions two decuriones, Sentius Exoratus and Spectatus Viator in a *vexillatio* from *ala Augusta*, which accompanied a bigger detachment from *legio XIV Gemina* garrisoned at that date at Carnuntum, in Pannonia Superior. Both units were under the command of a centurion from the same legion, Iulius Primus. They were sent to northern Africa to participate in the campaign against the Moors, as part of the contribution of the Noricum army (*exercitus Norici*). The inscription was therefore dedicated to Jupiter, to Victory and to Noreia, likely after a victorious operation on the battlefield. *Ala Augusta* is apparently *ala I Augusta Thracum*, the auxiliary regiment garrisoned at Traismauer, in Noricum¹³⁵ where it had been moved by the early 140s (chapter IV, no. 5). The Fedjana inscription is a good evidence of the method used by the Roman military administration to attach to legionary vexillations auxiliary detachments from regiments within their military competence during a period of crisis.

P. Berol. Inv 21675; Rea 1977, 223–227¹³⁶: καλῶς ποιή[σεις], / μήτερ, κομισαμέν[η] μου ταύτην / τὴν ἐπιστολὴν [...], πέμψις μοι / Γερμανόν, ἐπὶ λέγεται ὅτι ἡ χώρτη / ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν Μαυριτανί[α]ν ὑπάγει.. / μέχρι σήμερον ἡμέρας ἐξέρχεται / ἡ ἄλλη τῶν Μαύρων καὶ ἡ χώρτη / τῶ Ἀφρώρων. ἐξαναπληροῦται / ἐκείνη ἡ χώρτη ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν χώρτη[ς].. / ἀπὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν ἐξέρχονται. (“*Do me a favour, mother, and as soon as you get this letter send Germanus to me, because it is being said that our cohort is leaving for Mauretania. So far, the ala Maurorum is*

¹³³ RMD 273; Holder 2006, 261–264 discusses a small fragment from tabella I of the two provinces, Antoninus Pius MD of 24 September 150 (CIL XVI 99) and brings new evidence on the dispatch of Pannonian troops in Mauretania; see also Christol 1981, 133–141.

¹³⁴ Speidel 1976, 129–134; Christol 1981, 133–141; Holder thinks that *ala III Augusta Thracum sagittaria* is mentioned in the new fragment from RMD 273 for Pannonia Superior, a fact which is not surprising.

¹³⁵ Leveau 1973, 106–107 identifies and restores correctly the group ALAVGS with AL(A) AVG(V)S(TA), instead of *ala Siliana* as at first sight it would appear. Speidel 1976, 338 thinks that a part of the contribution of the Norican auxiliary army consisted of a cavalry detachment of *ala I Augusta Thracum* commanded by a centurion from *legio XIII Gemina* from Carnuntum, a base in Pannonia Superior at that time. The legion might have even had the military competence of auxiliaries of the Norican army.

¹³⁶ A papyrus in the Berlin collection, first published in *Collectanea Papyrologica: texts published in honor of H.C. Youtie*, ed. Ann E. Hanson, Part I no. 53, 325–329.

moving out and the cohorts ...Afrorum. That cohort is being brought up to strength from our cohort. (Men?) from (the intakes?) are moving out)¹³⁷.

This document is a letter in which a soldier from *ala Mauretana*, stationed in Egypt, asks his mother to send a certain Germanus to him as there is rumour that his unit is about to leave for Mauretania and that other regiments, like *ala Maurorum* and *cohors Afrorum* had already left. The letter makes clear that the unit was prepared to leave and the event must have certainly occurred within a matter of days or weeks. Although the document is not dated, such a hasty parting to Mauretania seems to have been occasioned by the necessity of a fast deployment of forces in that province. The papyrus is not dated but the Moorish war of Antoninus Pius is the most likely event to trigger such a hurried dispatch of forces from Egypt to Mauretania. As the editors and commentators have pointed out, *ala Maurorum* can be identified with *ala I Thracum Mauretana* from Egypt (see chapter V no. 8)¹³⁸ from where, as the document shows, an expeditionary force was on the move to the Mauretanian battle front.

Lucius Verus' Parthian war (162–165)¹³⁹

Byllis. CIL III 600 = 14203³⁵ = ILS 2724 = ILAlb XIV = Saxer 1967, 34, no. 64; Dobó 1975, 142, no. 755.

M. Valerius M(arci) f(ilius) Quir(ina) Lollianus, praefectus cohort(is) I Apamenorum sa[gittariorum] equit(atae), trib(unus) milit(um) leg(ionis) VII gem(inae) fel(icis), praef(ectus) eq(uitum) alae Fl(aviae) Agrip(pianae), / praepositus in Mesopotamia vexillationibus equitum electorum alarum, / praetoriae Augustae Syriacae, / Agrippianae, / Herculiae, / singularium, item cohortium I Lucensium, II Ulpiae equit(atae), / c(ivium) R(omanorum), I Fl(aviae) c(ivium) R(omanorum), II Thracum, III Ulpiae Paflagonum, II equitum, I / Ascalonitarum fel(icis), V Chalcidenorum, V Petreorum, III / Lucensium, I Ulpiae Petraeorum, II Ulpiae Paflagonum, I Ulpiae / sagittariorum, III Dacorum, I Sygamborum, / viam pub[licam] quae a col(onia) Byllid(i) per Astacias ducit angustam fragosam [pe]riculosam(ue) / ita munit ut vehiculis commeetur, item [pon]tes in Argya et rivis d(e) s(ua) [f]ecit / et inscr[ip]sit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

The Byllis inscription records no less than 19 auxiliary regiments, cavalry and infantry, all gathered together under the command of M. Valerius Lollianus in the Parthian war¹⁴⁰. Lollianus was under the supreme command of the legate of Syria Avidius Cassius to whom the Emperor Marcus Aurelius entrusted the anti-Parthian military operations. In 163–166, the Avidius Cassius-led Roman forces broke deep into the Parthian territory. The inscription shows how the mixed cavalry and infantry vexillation boosted the main Roman military strength comprising the Oriental legions. The wording *vexillationibus equitum electorum alarum* indicates a reunion of cavalry detachments gathered mainly, if not exclusively, from the *alae* garrisoned in Syria-Palestina. Most of the cohorts (*item cohortium*) involved in this large expeditionary force were also stationed in the same area and many were *equitatae*, a good reason to think that they sent mainly their cavalry sections in order to cope with the powerful Parthian mailed cavalry¹⁴¹.

Two Thracian regiments are recorded in the inscription: *ala I Thracum Herculiana* garrisoned at that time in Palmyra and *cohors II Thracum*. If the *ala Herculiana* is the one garrisoned in Egypt in the

¹³⁷ Translation made by J. Rea.

¹³⁸ No *ala Maurorum* has been yet recorded in MDs or inscriptions. The stamp AIM at Tibiscum (IDR III/1 258 associated with A(la) I M(aurorum) (AE 1971, 404b) in Dacia is rather a stamp from a private workshop (Petolescu 2002, 136).

¹³⁹ Dio Cass. 71, 2; Watson 1884, 139–150; Lambrechts, 1934, 173–208; Birley 1987; Garzetti 1974; Lambrechts 1979, 25–58; Stanton 1975, 478–579; Schall 1991, 272–284.

¹⁴⁰ On Lollianus: Pflaum, 1970, 364 no. 11; Devijver 1975, 99 no. 119; 1977, 816–817 V17; on the significance of this important auxiliary vexillation: Saxer 1967, 34 no. 64; Kennedy 1997, 69–81; Weiss 2006, 273–276.

¹⁴¹ The Kazanlık MD of 157 (CIL XVI 106) is a good example for comparing regiments recorded in this document with the Byllis inscription; Saxer 1967, 34.

40s and early 50s (see chapter IV no. 7), as seems to derive from the carrier of Claudius Agrippa¹⁴², then its redeployment in Syria before 157 could have been done in order to boost the Syrian forces once a conflict with Parthia was foreseen. As most if not all of the units belong to the Syrian army we might think of *cohors II Thracum Syriaca*, who held a position at Sukneh (see chapter VI no. 29) and patrolled along the Euphrates strategic road to Palmyra¹⁴³. Even if the regiment shows no signs of being *equitata*, Spaul's assertion that the unit did not send a vexillation to Lollianus' expeditionary force appears somewhat confusing, as long as its name is indicated clearly and distinctly in the inscription as there were some non-*equitatae* units on the list¹⁴⁴.

It is somewhat surprising that the Lollianus corps did not contain detachments from other Thracian regiments (*ala I Gallorum et Thracum Antiana*, *ala I Gallorum et Thracum constantium*, *ala III Augusta Thracum*, or *cohors I Thracum milliaria*), and other Syrian auxiliary units recorded in the Kazanlık MD in 157. They must have also taken part in the campaign, but possibly were integrated into other significant war vexillations

A Thracian regiment which garrisoned in northern Arabia was *cohors I Augusta Thracum* (see chapter VI no. 14). Hypothetically, it could have taken part in the expedition, although there is no clear evidence of having it fought in the Parthian campaign, either as a complete unit or through a detachment.

The Marcommanic wars (166–180)

The so called Marcommanic wars unfolded mainly, if not exclusively, at the northern frontiers of the Roman Empire. The conflict implied a considerable deployment of material and human resources and witnessed a significantly long military effort in which the provincial armies in the first line, Moesia Inferior and Superior, Dacia, Pannonia Inferior and Superior, and Noricum were mainly involved in the war and endured the hardest pressure of the attacks. Military operations were carried out both outside and inside the provinces¹⁴⁵.

Although most, if not all epigraphic documents are indirect, the Thracian regiments must have been fully involved in this large-scale conflict, together with other auxiliary units:

Ala I Thracum Herculiana, dispatched on the Danubian front in ca. 170 (see chapter V no. 7).

Ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum (Pannonia Inferior) (see chapter V no. 9)

Ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum (Pannonia Superior) (see chapter V no. 12)

Ala I Thracum victrix, (Pannonia Superior) (see chapter V no. 10)

Cohors I Thracum Civium Romanorum (Pannonia Superior) (see chapter VI no. 16)

Cohors I Thracum Germanica (Pannonia Inferior) (see chapter VI no. 20)

Cohors I Augusta Thracum (Arabia) (see chapter VI no. 14)

Cohors II Augusta Thracum (Pannonia Inferior) (see chapter VI no. 25)

Cohors VI Thracum (Dacia Prolissensis) (see chapter VI no. 37)

Cohors I Thracum sagittariorum (Dacia Superior) (see chapter VI no. 22)

CIL XVI 123. Obuda (Pannonia Inferior) 5 May 167

Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus Aug(ustus) Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XXI imp(erator) V co(n)s(ul) III et Imp(erator) Caes(ar) L(ucius) Aurelius Verus Aug(ustus) Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) VII imp(erator) V co(n)s(ul) III patres patriae divi Antonini f(ili) divi Hadriani nepotes divi Traiani

¹⁴² AE 1929, 125; TAM 3, 1, 52; Devijver 1976, 238–239, no.115.

¹⁴³ AE 1911, 124; Poidebard, 1934, 79; Seyrig 1941, 71; Rey Coquais 1978, 69; Kennedy, Riley 1990, 143.

¹⁴⁴ Spaul 2000, 373.

¹⁴⁵ Watson 1884, 151–237; Fitz 1962, 25–112; Kellner 1979, 226–260; Birley, 1987, 159–183; Schall 1991, 300–316; Zwicker 1941; Garzetti 1974, 480–505; Stanton 1975, 479–496.

Parthici pronepotes divi Nervae abnepotes equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) q(ui) m(ilitaverunt) in alis III q(uae) a(ppellantur) I Thr(acum) vet(erana) et I Britan(nica)(milliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Aug(usta) Itur(aeorum) et coh(ortibus) X I Thr(acum) Germ(anica) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Alpin(orum) ped(itata) et I Noric(orum) et III Lusit(anorum) et II Astur(um) et Callaec(orum) et VII Breuc(orum) et I Lusit(anorum) et II Aug(usta) Thr(acum) et I Montan(orum) et I Aug(usta) Thr(acum) et sunt in Pannon(ia) infer(iore) sub Claudio Pompeiano leg(ato) XXV pl(uribus)ve stipendi(is) emer(itis) dimis(sis) hon(esta) mission(e) quor(um) non haber(ent) deder(unt) et conub(ium) cum uxor(ibus) quas tunc habuis(sent) cum est civit(as) iis data aut cum iis quas postea duxiss(ent) dumtaxat singulis a(n)te d(iem) III N(onas) Mai(as) Dentiliano et Pallante co(n)s(ulibus) alae I Thr(acum) veter(anae) cui prae(e)st Flavius Macer ex gregale Oxetio Naevionis f(ilio) Erav(isco) descript(um) et recognit(um) ex tabul(a) aerea quae fixa est Romae in muro post templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.

Prusias ad Hypium (Konularp). IGRRP 3, 1420 = ILS 8868; Pflaum 1960–1961, 698, no. 261; Devijver 1986, 155–156, no. 12; Lörincz 2001, 210, no. 172

[...] [Ἐπίτροπον ἐπὶ λούδων ἐπαρχειῶν Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Ἀραβίας] / καὶ Συρίας Παλαιστίνης, [ἔπαρχον ἐν] / Πεωνία [εἰληθῆς α' Θρακῶν Ἡρακλειανῆς χει/λίαντων λεγ(εῶνος) ἰς' Φλαουβίας] Φίρμης, ἔπαρχον / σπειρήθῆς α' Γερμανῶν, χειλιάντων. / Π. Οὐλίπιος Παπιανὸς τὸν φίλον...

The Obuda MD (167) for Pannonia Inferior indicates discharge of contingents few years after the completion of the standard term of 25 years (*quinis et vicenis pluribusve*) from *ala I Thracum veterana* and the cohorts *I Thracum Germanica*, *II Augusta Thracum* and *cohors I Augusta Thracum*. It is certainly a short prolongation of the service of the effectives recruited in 142/144 and 145 as shown by the Dunaszekcső and u.f.s. MDs for Pannonia Inferior¹⁴⁶. The postponing was very likely caused by the sudden attack of Longobardi and Obi in 166 followed by operations to free the province from the Germanic bands. The Obuda MD is granted to an Eraviscan soldier from *ala I Thracum veterana* whose participation in the operations appears obvious¹⁴⁷.

The three Thracian regiments in Pannonia Superior recorded for the last time before the outburst of hostilities in Szöny MD (163) must have certainly been involved in the war due to their tactical position on the Danube line at Odiavum (*ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum*), Carnuntum(?) (*ala I Thracum victrix*), and Burgenae (*cohors I Thracum Civium Romanorum*)¹⁴⁸. Otherwise, direct epigraphic evidence for their participation in the Marcomannic wars is still missing and their presence in the conflict is considered implicit.

The toponym Πεωνία on the Konularp inscription seems likely to refer to Pannonia¹⁴⁹. In that case the probability of the participation of *ala I Thracum Herculiana* or of a large detachment of the unit in the Marcomannic wars becomes almost certain¹⁵⁰. The dispatch from Palmyra, where it was garrisoned at that time, was certainly temporary. Only in 183 the Thracian regiment was replaced at Palmyra with *ala Vocontiorum* and left Syria for Coptos, in Egypt (see chapter V no. 7).

The Konularp inscription is good evidence for reinforcements sent from the East on the Danubian front during the Marcomannic wars. Whether the auxiliary vexillation recorded in the Byllis (Gradishte) inscription was later used in Europe is difficult to say. It might have happened that shortly after Verus' campaign the entire or a segment of the cavalry vexillation was moved to the Balkan provinces and

¹⁴⁶ Lörincz 1996, 261–262, no. 2 (Dunaszekcső); CIL XVI 91 (f.s.u.).

¹⁴⁷ The Sirmium MD dated 166–168 (Eck, Lieb 1992, 227–230; RMD 181; Lörincz 2001, 166 no. 34) seems to refer to the same events as there is the same formula indicating the same delay in discharging effectives. If the Sirmium MD follows the pattern of the last two mentioned above, *ala I Thracum veterana* could be seen on the top of the list like in the Obuda MD.

¹⁴⁸ Kandler 2003, 58–60 (*Carnuntum*); Horvath 2003, 80–82 (*Odiavum*); Vasić 2003, 149–150.

¹⁴⁹ Grassl 1990, 539–544; cf. Zwickler 1941, 117; Mocsy 1962, 619; Lörincz 2001, 210.

¹⁵⁰ Lörincz 1992, 91; 2001, 24, no. 25.

maintained there for a few years in order to participate in the road constructions, as illustrated in the Lollianus cursus honorum, or in the operations against Costobocae in 170¹⁵¹.

The gravity of the situation on the Danube is shown by the deployment of some other regiments from Eastern provinces. *Cohors I Augusta Thracum*, stationed by mid 2nd century in Arabia, seems to have been dispatched entirely or at least in great part to Pannonia. Its headquarters in the Danubian province remains unknown (see chapter VI no. 14) it might have stayed at least two decades in the same area, with a good chance of having been recorded in the lost parts of the later Adony MD from 185¹⁵².

Given its advanced position in northern Dacia, *cohors VI Thracum* (see chapter VI no. 37) might be supposed to have participated in thwarting the Germanic-Sarmatian and Dacian invasions, in late 60s. The archaeological excavations carried out at Romita, the headquarters of the Thracian regiment¹⁵³, did not reveal clear traces of major mid 2nd century destruction caused by attacks, although important architectural alterations at the streets giving access to *porta praetoria* and *porta principalis sinistra* are signs of some events in which the unit must have been involved. One can only suppose that the regiment or a detachment of it was included in the expeditionary force under the command of M. Claudius Fronto who, during a second massive clash with German and Iazygae forces in 169 outside the provincial frontiers, valiantly fell on the battle ground: *post aliquot secunda proelia adversum Germanos et Iazyges ad postremum pro republica fortiter pugnans ceciderit*¹⁵⁴. Although there is no clear evidence, another Thracian regiment in Dacia, *cohors I Thracum sagittariorum* (see chapter VI no. 22) could have played a role in western or eastern Dacia Superior whose capital was gravely affected at that time¹⁵⁵.

The Parthian war of 197–199

Beroea (Alep). IGLS I 118.

[...] *leg(io/onis) VII [Cl(audiae)] he(res)(?) C(aius) (?) A[t]ul[lus]/ veter(anus) alae Thr[a]c(um) veter(anorum).*

The Beroe (Syria) inscription reveals the presence of a veteran of the *ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum* from Pannonia Inferior in early 3rd century, as dated by the editors. The same fragmentary stone was also considered evidence for the participation of the regiment in the Parthian war waged by Septimius Severus in 197–199¹⁵⁶. However, one can construe on the idea of a veteran of the unit discharged at the end of the conflict who eventually chose to remain at Beroea.

The war against Clodius Albinus in 196–197

Annecy. CIL XII 2535.

[...] / [...] *tribun[o]/ [coh(ortis) prim]ae Thrac(um)/[milliariae... adlect(o)]inter [p]raet(orios)*

Köln. CIL XII 12058.

D(is) M(anibus)/ Q(uinto) Didi(i) Lemon[ia (tribu)]/ Euhodian[i]/ [p]raef(ecti) eq(uitum) al(ae) I Thrac[um/ trib(uni)] c[oh(ortis)] I [Tr]hac[um milliariae, /...]

In the last decade of the 2nd century, the civil war between Septimius Severus, Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus was brought to a close with the final confrontation between Severus and

¹⁵¹ Hüttl 1938, 245 believes that *ala I Thracum Herculiana* participated in the battles against *Costobocae*; cf. Seyrig 1941, 241.

¹⁵² CIL XVI 132 = Lörincz 2001, 167 no. 36.

¹⁵³ Matei, Bajusz 1997, 15–113, especially 42–57.

¹⁵⁴ CIL III 1457; Macrea 1969, 71 ; Piso 1993, 82–93; 94–102 for the career of M. Claudius Fronto.

¹⁵⁵ CIL III 7969 = ILS 371; Macrea 1969, 70–71. *Cohors I Sagittariorum* is recorded in the Drobeta MD of 179 in Dacia Superior (RMD 123 = CEPR IV 124) which is granted *quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis*, meaning a discharge beyond the legal term caused by operations inside or outside the province during the Marcomannic wars.

¹⁵⁶ Birley 1988 129–146.

Albinus¹⁵⁷. Supported by an expeditionary force once faithful to Niger, Severus had a good deal of Eastern regiments and legions in his army during the campaign in Gaul against Albinus, even if many had been forced to join the army of the victorious Emperor¹⁵⁸. The two inscriptions record the participation of *cohors I Thracum milliaria* in military operations in Gaul. Both documents mention tribuni as commanders of the unit, which are excellent arguments for a positive restitution of [*milliaria*] in the lost parts of the stones. The regiment with a notorious presence in Syria-Palestina acted very likely in its full strength in Gaul as part of the Severus' army.

Sarmizegetusa. CIL III 1464 = ILS 1370 = Saxer 1967, 48, no. 85

Ulpio [Victori]/, proc(uratori) ad/ bona Plautiani, trib(uno)/ mil(itum) leg(ionis) II Part(hicae) [[Geticae]]/ praep(osito) vexill(ationibus) auxiliar(iorum)/ Pann(oniae) infer(ioris), praef(ecto) coh(ortis) VII Breucor(um)/---

The inscription attests the presence on the battlefield in Gaul of a vexillation formed of auxiliary units drawn from the Lower Pannonian army under the command of Ulpian Victor, as *praefectus cohortis VII Breucorum*. It is an unambiguous although implicit piece of evidence on the possible and even probable participation of some detachments from the Thracian regiments in the last Severus' civil war¹⁵⁹.

The Tyros episode

Tyre. AE 1995, 1569; Rey Coquais 1995, 313–314

P(ublium) Valer(ium) / Protogenia/num, praef(ectum) / coh(ortis) II Thra(cum)/et praeposit(um) / coh(ortis) III Thra(cum) / curatorem / coh(ortis) I sagitt(ariorum) / item praeposi/[tum]

Valerius Protogenianus seems to have held two *praepositurae* that of the *cohort III Thracum* and in the same time that of *cohort I Sagittariorum*. The position of *curator* shows that the *sagittarii* regiment was temporarily without a commander, who was going to be appointed in the near future. The Thracian cohort is easily identifiable with *cohors III Augusta Thracum* from Syria. However, the two *praepositurae* were held together with the prefecture of *cohors II Thracum*. All three offices clearly indicate that the three units participated together in an event, very likely of military nature.

Wars with Alamanni (212/213) and military unrest at the middle Danube during Caracalla

In 212/213 Caracalla began a campaign against the warlike confederation of Alamans and Chatti on the Upper Danube and Upper Rhine¹⁶⁰.

Intercissa (Dunaujváros) CIL III 3394 = RIU 1184

[D(is)] M(anibus) / [Aur(elio)] Constituto, / [mil(iti) l]eg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) p(iae) f(idelis), vix(it) / [an(nos) XX]III, stip(endiorum) III, fili[o, ce]cidit in bello / [Ger]manico et Septi(miae) / [Quin ?]tillae, matri vivae/[...] / et Aur(eliae) Constitutae, / [fil(iae) vi]vae et Aur(eliae) Prudentil/[lae], fil(iae) vivae et Aur(elio) Cu/[pi]tiano, fil(io) vivo Aur(elius)/ Catus, vet(eranus) ex ala/ [I Th]racum, pater/ f(aciendum) c(uravit).

As it appears from the Intercisa tombstone, some reinforcements from Lower Pannonia were brought to Upper Germany. *Legio II Adiutrix* released a detachment in which Aurelius Constitutus served and fell on the battlefield: *ce]cidit in bello / [Ger]manico*. Constitutus' father, Aurelius Catus, who commissioned the tombstone, was a veteran of the Thracian regiment. Wagner presumed on good ground that *ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum* garrisoned at that time in the Campona fort, within

¹⁵⁷ Birley 1988, 108–128.

¹⁵⁸ Saxer 1967, 45–46.

¹⁵⁹ Saxer 1967, 45.

¹⁶⁰ Fitz 1962, 99–106.

the military territory of the legion II Adiutrix from Aquincum, might have been part of the Pannonian expeditionary force in the Alamanic wars¹⁶¹.

On the occasion of this war or another event, the Thracian regiment received the imperial epithet *Antoniniana* as it appears in inscriptions at Campona and Aquincum. During Severus Alexander's reign the unit received also the distinction *Severiana Alexandriana* for some unknown military action or building activity.

The unrest and insurgency in Mauretania Caesariensis (227)

In 227, the appearance of the unrest in northern African provinces hit its greatest point.

Sour el Ghozlan (Auzia). CIL VIII 9045 = ILS 2766 = Leveau 1973, 165–167, no. 19 = Benseddik 1982, 214, no. 76 (16 February 255).

P(ublio) Ael(io), P(ubli) f(ilio), Q(uirina tribu), Primiano, / eq(uiti) r(omano), trib(uno) coh(ortis) IV Syn/g(am)b(rorum), a mil(itii)s primo p(ilo), trib(uno) / coh(ortis) IV Vig(illum), ex dec(urione) al(ae) / Thrac(um), pr(ae)p(osito) vex(illationis) eq(uitum) / Mauror(um), defenso(ri) prov(inciae) suae, dec(urioni) III / col(oniarum) Auz(iensis) et Rusg(uniensis) / et Equiz(etensis). P(ublius) Aeli / us Primus, dec(urio) col(oniae) / Auz(iensis), prius morte / praeventus quam ded(icaret) pat(ri) piisimo / Aelia Audif fil(ia), pat(ri), / d(e)d(icavit) (tertio decimo ante) Kal(endas) / Mar(tias), (anno) p(rovinciae) CCXVI.

This inscription was set on the occasion of Aelius Primianus' death, in 255, in the middle of another period of serious unrest in Mauretania¹⁶².

The turbulences during the Severus Alexander's reign were provoked by the mountainous tribes of Bavari and they continued to trigger important defensive measures taken by the local Roman authorities. Several castella were newly built and others were refortified¹⁶³. The situation seems to have become serious as an inscription from the vicinity of Auzia speaks of *disperatissimam turbam*. The procurator of the province, T. Licinius Hierocles, who dedicated an altar to the Genius of the province, thanks for the victory – *res prosperae gestae* – obtained against an unnamed enemy¹⁶⁴. The military operations were carried out by *vexillationes utriusque provinciae*, therefore from both Mauretaniae and *equites et pedites*, possibly brought from Europe¹⁶⁵.

P. Aelius Primianus was entrusted with the office of *praepositus vexillationis equitum Maurorum* when participating in the military operations while he held the office of *decurio* in the Thracian cavalry regiment. In his position of both commander of *ala II Augusta Thracum* and as temporary *praepositus* of the Moorish horseman stationed in the province, Primianus led these forces shortly after receiving the post of *defensor provinciae suae*, which is exceptional, was possibly held only in particular critical circumstances, and covered by high military authority.

Political unrest at the middle Danube during Severus Alexander (228)

The significant pressure on the native communities near the Roman borders caused by the Goths' advancement towards south triggered the beginning of considerable movements of population that heralded major crisis of the mid 3rd century. Beyond the Pannonian limes, the main enemies were the Quadi, Sarmatae and Dacians. A passage in *v. Alexandri* refers to an Illyrian campaign waged by Varius

¹⁶¹ Wagner 1938, 70.

¹⁶² Pflaum 1960–1961, 909–912; Leveau 1973, 167; Devijver 1976, 69–70 A53 (16 July 255).

¹⁶³ Benseddik, 1982, 157–159; Rachtel 1970, 223–228.

¹⁶⁴ d'Escurac-Doisy 1966, 1191–1204.

¹⁶⁵ AE 1966, 597; Benseddik 1982, 237 no. 190 = d'Escurac-Doisy 1966, 1191.

Macrinus a relative of the Emperor, possibly against an invasion of the Sarmatae in Pannonia Inferior¹⁶⁶.

Ács. RIU 646 = CIL III 11020

M(arco) Au[r]eli[o] M(arci) f(ilio) / Lu[ca ?]no vet(erano) ex dec(urione) [al(ae)] / III [Thr(acum)] S[e]v[er]iana[e] t[...].

The inscription suggests some military action in which *ala III Augusta Thracum* could have been engaged. The meritorious behavior of the unit on the battlefield must have prompted the granting of the title *Severiana*¹⁶⁷. The same title appears in the case of *ala I Thracum veterana* which must have been given after proving bravery in battle¹⁶⁸.

The Moorish war of 253–258

In 253, the mountainous nomad tribes re-opened hostilities on a large front engulfing Mauretania Caesariensis, Numidia and possibly Africa proconsularis¹⁶⁹. This time, the events turned out to be much more violent and dangerous than in 227 and consisted of deep and powerful Moorish incursions which resulted in the capture of significant number of prisoners¹⁷⁰.

Ain bou Dîb. CIL VIII 20827 = ILS 3000; Leveau 1973, 167, no. 20; Benseddik 1977, 214, no. 75 (4 September 254).

I(ovi) Op(timo) Max(imo) / Geniisque Diis / [I]mmortalibus / [vict]oriisq(ue) d(ominorum duorum) n(ostrorum) / invic[t]or(um), M(arcus) Aure(lius) Vitalis, / v(ir) e(gregius), p(raeses) p(rovinciae) Maur(etaniae) Caesarien(sis), / Ulp(ius) Castus, dec(urio) alae / Thracum, ob bar/baros cesos ac/fusos, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo), / (decimo ante) idus aug(ustas) a(nno) p(rovinciae) CC/et XV.

The Ain-bu-Dîb inscription is set in exceptional military circumstances. It is dedicated to the supreme deity of the Empire, Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, to the geniuses of the immortal gods and to the emperors (Valerianus and Gallienus) by the highest military and civil authority of Mauretania Caesariensis at that time, M. Aurelius Vitalis, *vir egregius* and *praeses Mauretaniae Caesariensis*. It confirms the complete victory obtained on the battlefield¹⁷¹. Ulpianus Castus, as a second dedicant, was in command (*decurio*) of the *ala II Augusta Thracum*, garrisoned in Caesarea. Whether or not the unit was part of an auxiliary vexillation from the province is not known but, as the inscription shows, it is certain that the regiment was intensely employed in large scale operations against the Moors. There was probably a direct assault of the cavalry regiment on the Moorish horde in one of the battles during the hostilities. Ulpianus Castus himself must have valiantly fought together with his regiment, helping inflict heavy losses and repelling the fleeing Moors, as the inscription states: *Ulpianus Castus decurio alae Thracum ob barbaros cesos ac fusos*: ('[while] Ulpianus Castus [was] decurion [of ala Thracum] the barbarians were slaughtered and chased away').

The victory of 254 (the year 215 of the Moorish era *a.p. CC et XV*) seems to have been only a local victory, but very important for the morale of the army and provincial population. However, the campaign continued under direct command of a special military envoy, M. Cornelius Octavianus who bore the title of *dux*¹⁷². The military effort was considerable and the conflict tended to spread throughout

¹⁶⁶ SHA v. *Alexandri* 58. 1: *Actae sunt res feliciter et in Mauretania Tingitana per Furium Celsum et in Illyrico per Varium Macrinum adfinem eius*; Fitz 1962, 108.

¹⁶⁷ See also Fitz 1983, 444.

¹⁶⁸ CIL III 3388: Fitz 1978, 357 = Fitz 1983, 111 no.443: *Aesculap(i)o e(t) Hygiae / Domitius / Magnus, / praef(ectus) a[l]l[a]e/(I) [Thr]a[c]um S[e]v[er]iana[e] [Al]e[xandrian]ae vet(eranae).*

¹⁶⁹ Cagnat 1892, 53–54; Rachet 1970, 238; Benseddik 1982, 160–162; Romanelli 1959, 474–475.

¹⁷⁰ In a letter addressed to the bishops of Numidia, Cyprian, Epist. LXII describes the deplorable situation of the Christian captives taken by the 'barbarians' and announces the sending of 100000 sesterces as a sum of money for their ransom.

¹⁷¹ Rachet 1970, 238–240; Benseddik 1982, 159–160.

¹⁷² AE 1954, 136; d'Escurac-Doisy 1953, 181–187.

western Caesariensis¹⁷³ and Numidia¹⁷⁴, as the title of Cornelius Octavianus shows: *dux per Africam, Numidiam Mauretaniumque*. Alongside the main core of the military strength consisting of detachments from the *legio III Augusta*, the auxiliary forces of the province, among which the Thracian cavalry regiments, were fully engaged in the battles, especially in the light of the recent victories of 254¹⁷⁵.

*

The epigraphical documents remain absolutely silent concerning the participation of the Thracian regiments in the dramatic military events of the second half of the 3rd century, or the Tetrarchic epoch. Large scale troop movements and reshufflings took place in this period, as well as in the 4th century. Some units seem to have survived in some provinces at least only with their names. It is likely that during these events their participation would have been significant, but this is only a supposition as long as there is no clear evidence in this direction.

¹⁷³ CIL VIII 21724.

¹⁷⁴ AE 1946, 39.

¹⁷⁵ Rachet 1970, 244–245; Benseddik 1982, 159–161; d’Escurac-Doisy 1953, 185.

IX

AUXILIA THRACUM AT WORK

The legions and auxiliary regiments were massively involved in building activities in different provinces of the Roman Empire, either as garrison stationed in the area, which appears to be the great majority of the cases, or as dispatched entirely or by detachments in order to carry out such tasks. Peace or war time, building activities were in fact a routine action performed by the Roman regiments (Fig. 8).

In order to keep the troops in an incessant working state in peace time, legions and auxiliary regiments were involved in an almost continual effort to build structures, in both military and civilian milieu. The construction of its own fort where the military unit was assigned to be garrisoned for a longer period was an requirement for the soldiers, while building or repairing roads, bridges, edifices in urban centres were a duty in the current activities.

Building their own camp or training camps was one of the strongest recommended methods by Vegetius¹ in order to keep the troop busy, trained and used to hard work. However, the building activity of the army must have been much more intense and carried out on a larger scale than told by the epigraphic evidence, otherwise in a significant number. In general, the army's involvement in the economic life of the Roman Empire was intensely studied by the specialists and is too well known to require an extensive commentary.

In what follows, we shall focus only on those categories of building activities recorded in inscriptions or other interventions ensued obviously from an archaeological context in which the Thracian regiments appear to have been an active element.

Roads and bridges

The roads construction, maintenance, and repair were one of the most remarkable activities of the Roman army in peace time². Roads were a paramount factor in the logistics of the Roman army, ensuring fast and direct links with vital points and easy movements of troops³. Soldiers were especially used in these actions that required time, precision, hands on expertise, and proficiency. Sometimes roads passed over rivers of significant size and bridges became critical points to be built, maintained, or repaired.

From this view point the epigraphic evidence for the involvement of Thracian auxilia is explicit, although scanty compared to their 1st–3rd centuries intense activity in this field.

Pannonia Inferior

Ala III Augusta Thracum which was billeted at Odiavum/Azaum (Almásfüzitő) left seven inscriptions on milestones witnessing the intense work done for roads and bridges repair and maintenance in the second half of the 3rd century in the province.

Brigetio (Ó Szöny)⁴. *Imp(erator) [C]aes(ar) / M(arcus). An[t(onia) G]ordianus p(ius).f(elix). / Aug(ustus) [p(ontifex)m(aximus) t]rib(unicia) potes(tate) / pro[co(n)s(ul)] p(ater) p(atriciae) vias cum / pon[t(ibus) vetusta]te conlabs(as) / res[tituit per alam II]I Th[rac(um) Gordianam---]*.

¹ Veg. *Inst. rei milit.* I 21.

² Tac. *Ann* 1, 20: [...] *manipuli*[...] *missi ob itinera et pontes et alios usus*; Carrie 1986, 449–488; 760–771; Kissel 2000, 127–160.

³ Von Hagen, Victor 1967.

⁴ CIL III 11327 = Fitz 1983, 158 no. 613.

Brigetio (Ó Szöny)⁵

Imp(erator) Cae[s(ar) / M(arcus). A]nt(ninus) [G]or[dianus / p(ius)f(elix)] Aug(ustus) p(ontifex)[m(aximus) trib(unicia) p(otestate) / p(ater).p(atriciae)] co(n)s(ul) pro[co(n)s(ul) via]s vetust[ate con / lap]s(as) cum [pontibus / rest]ituit per [alam III / Thrac(um)] Gordian[am] / a Br[ig(etione)] / m(illia) p(assuum) V.

Azaum/Odiavum (Almásfüzitő)⁶

Imp(erator) Cae(ar) M(arcus) An<t>(onius) Gordian[us p(ius)]/ <f>e[lix I]n[victus A]/ug(ustus), [p(ontifex) m(aximus), t] <r>[ib(unicia) pot(estate),/ co(n)s(ul), proco(n)s(ul), vias]/ vetustate con[l]aps[as cum/ pontibus restituit--].

Süttő⁷

Imp(erator) Cae(ar)/ [M(arcus)] Iul(ius) Philippus in/victus Aug(ustus) et M(arcus) Iul(ius)/ Philippus nobiliss(imus)/ Cae(ar) et Otacil(ia) Seve(ra), mater Augusti et ca[st]rorum/ vias et po[n]te]s vetus/ta(t)e con[lab]s(as) restitue(runt)/ per alam II[I] Thrac(um)/ Philippianam / ab Brig(etione) m(illia) p(assuum) XI.

Süttő⁸

Imp(erator) Cae(ar)/ Marc(us) Iul(ius) Philippus/ p(ius) f(elix) invictus Aug(ustus) pon/tifex maximus tribun(icia)/ potestate co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriciae) / proco(n)s(ul) et Marcia / Otacilia Severa/ sanctissima Aug(usta)/ coniux Aug(usti) n(ostris)/ vias et ponte(s) vet(u)state conlabs(as)/ per alam III Thrac(um)/ Philippianam/ restituerunt a B(r)ig(etione) m(illia) p(assuum) XI.

Brigetio (Ó Szöny)⁹

[---con]/labs[as---resti]/tuit per alam III Thrac(um) c(ivium) r(omanorum) D[ecia]/nam[---]/ a Brig(etione)/ m(illia) p(assuum) X.

Dunaalmás¹⁰

Imp(erator) Cae(ar)/ M(arcus) Aure(lius) <C>laudius p(ius) f(elix)/ Aug(ustus), p(ontifex) <m(aximus)>, trib(unicia)/ pot(estate),/ co(n)s(ul), proco(n)s(ul)/ vias ve[t]ustate con/labs(as) cum ponti/bus restituit per alam III Thrac(um) Cl[au]/dianam,/ a Brig(etione) m(illia) p(assuum) VI.

The expressions *viae et pontes vetustate conlabsae*, or *viae vetustate conlabsae cum pontibus* if not a routine term, show that these important logistic assets needed permanent maintenance and repair as the period encompasses almost thirty years of continuous interventions. The repair activities were carried out in the Brigetio area, at a distance between 7400 and 16,280m (V–XI *millia passuum*) from the main locality. Although the repair focused mainly on the Danube frontier road, as the find spots of the milestones show, the maintenance activities are to be foreseen also towards south, south-west and south-east, even if it is difficult to track down these directions of work from Odiavum or Brigetio¹¹.

The works carried out by *ala III Augusta Thracum* encompasses the territory of the fortress (e.g. Almásfüzitő felső v.m) and also places situated within the territory of the Odiavum/Azaum

⁵ CIL III 11332 = Fitz 1983, 158 no. 614.

⁶ CIL III 11333^a.

⁷ CIL III 4626 = Fitz 1983, 175 no. 691.

⁸ CIL III 4627 = 11334 = Fitz 1983, 175 no. 692.

⁹ CIL III 4625 = Fitz 1983, 181 no. 717.

¹⁰ CIL III 11333^b = Fitz 1983, 200 no. 778.

¹¹ For an overview of the Danubian roads see Visy 2003, 131–134; the limes road section around Almásfüzitő: Visy 2003, 40.

(Almásfüzitő-Föktörök) auxiliary fort¹². The inscriptions at Dunaalmás at five, and Süttő at some sixteen km east from its own headquarters indicate the competences and missions assigned to the regiment in certain sectors along the Danube frontier by mid 3rd century.

The road and the bridges repair works continued in the Brigetio territory during Gordianus and Philippus the Arab when the regiment takes the imperial appellatives *Gordiana* and *Philippiana*. The longest repair distance preserved in the inscriptions during Gordianus is *V millia passuum* (7,400km). Under Philippus the unit extends its area of activity towards east on the road to Crumerum. The Süttő inscription demonstrates how far the regiment's territory extended. During Philippus' reign the regiment repairs another *XI millia passuum* (16,280m), in the Süttő sector. The distance indicated on the milestone is almost the today distance between the place of the Almafuzito fort and the present-day Süttő. Under Decius, the unit receives the appellative *Deciana* and repairs another *X millia passuum* (14,800m) from Brigetio. During Claudius II's reign, the unit repaired *vias vetustate conlabsas cum pontibus* on six thousands paces (8,880 m) from Brigetio.

The mid 3rd century road repairs were also carried out by other Thracian regiments in Pannonia Inferior. A milestone found at the today Budafök is an excellent indication of a full scale engagement of the auxiliary regiments in such building activities in the very vicinity of a legionary fortress, such as Aquincum¹³.

Budaföki Street (Budapest)¹⁴

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari)/Caio Vibio Trebon[ia]no/Gallo p(io) f(elicit) Aug(usto), pont(ifici) maximo, / trib(unicia) potest(ate) et / Im[p(eratori) Caes(ari) Gaio Vibio / Afini[o Gallo Veldum]/niano V[olusiano p(io) f(elici)] / invicto [Aug(usto) trib(unicia) pot(estate)] / ala I T[hrac(um) Galliana / Volusiana, curante / Cosinio Felice, leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) p(ro) p(raetore) / ab Aq(uinco) m(illia) p(assuum)/VIII.

The milestone is dated in 251 and was officially set by the soldiers of *ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria*, garrisoned at Campona in the 3rd century. The regiment is likely to have sent a detachment to carry out road maintenance south of the Aquincum fortress¹⁵. The eight *millia passuum* (11,840m) repaired by the troopers from the regiment is the equivalent of the distance between Aquincum and the regiments' headquarter, Campona.

Further south, lay the Annamatia fort, the garrison for *cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata* stationed here between 131/132 and 260.

Annamatia (Baracs)¹⁶

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / C(aio) Iul(io) Vero Maximino / pio fel(ici) invicto Aug(usto), / pont(ifici) max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate) / III, imp(eratore) V, co(n)s(uli), proco(n)s(uli), / p(atri) p(atriciae) et C(aio) Iul(io) Vero Maximo / nobilissimo Caes(ari), / principi iuventutis, / Aug(usti) n(o)stri filio, Germani/cis Dacicis, Sarma/ticis maximis, coh(ors)/ I T(hracum) G(ermanica) / Maximiana / ab Aq(uinco) m(ilia) p(assuum) LV.

In 237, the unit carried out repair works on a section of 55 miles, which appears as a considerable distance south of Aquincum (Budapest). If it is not the lapicid's mistake, the distance of 81,345m which are the 55 Roman miles inscribed on the stone seems astonishingly to have covered the entire length of limes road between Aquincum and Annamatia. It sounds almost impossible for a single unit to fulfill

¹² The section Brigetio – Odiavum / Azaum: Számadó, Borby and Horváth in: Z. Visy (ed.) *The Roman Army in Pannonia*, Pecs 78–82.

¹³ Visy 2003, 61.

¹⁴ CIL III 10624 = AE 1953, 12.

¹⁵ Visy 2003, 64–66.

¹⁶ CIL III 10639 = Fitz 1983, 145 no. 545.

systematic repair at the limes road in a relatively short time. One might deal either with patchy repairs, or with a bigger concentration of troops under the command of the prefect of the Thracian regiment charged with that mission¹⁷.

Dalmatia

Gradishte (Byllis)¹⁸

At least part of the Syrian auxiliary vexillation engaged in the Verus' Persian war under the command of M. Valerius Lollianus (see chapter VIII), could have been dispatched in western Balkans for road construction starting from the very neighborhood of the Colonia Byllidis¹⁹. If the two Thracian units, *ala I Thracum Herculiana* and *cohors II Thracum Syriaca* were included is not exactly known. However, *ala Herculiana* is commonly considered to have taken part in the Marcomannic wars on the Danubian front while the second Thracian unit is not yet known on the Danube front. The prefect of the latter is recorded in an inscription at Praeneste, P. Valerius Protogenianus, and it could be related to the presence of the regiment in the second half of the 2nd century somewhere in Europe²⁰. The construction of a new road from Byllis to Astacia required a considerable manpower and skill given the complexity of the route and effort. The military detachments must have continued to work under the command of the same Lollianus. The situation is vividly described in the inscription: 'the public road that runs through steepy and dangerous places from the colony of Byllis through Astacia was built in such a way that the vehicles can circulate' ([...]viam pub[licam] quae a col(onia) Byllid(i) per Astacias ducit angustam fragosam [pe]riculosamq(ue) ita munit ut vehiculis commeetur). He also built from his own revenues bridges in the Argya county and probably regularized some river courses (*item [pon]tes in Argya et rivis d(e) s(ua) [fecit]*)[...].

Quarrying

The use of the soldiers as quarrymen in open quarries, although not as a mass employment, is well known during the Early Empire²¹.

Occasionally, troopers of the Thracian regiments were used in stone exploitation either as administrative personnel or directly in the quarries.

Aegypt

Mons Claudianus (Ouadi Umm Hussein) (203)²²

I(ovi) O(ptimo) C(apitolino) Hammoni Chnubidi / Iunoni Reginae quor(um) sub / tutela hic mons est quod / primitur sub imperio p(opuli) R(omani) / felicissimo saeculo d(ominorum) / n(ostrorum) Invict(orum) Imp(eratorum) Severi et / Antonini P(ri)ncipum Aug(ustorum) / et [[G[etae] nobili]ss[imi] Caesaris] et]]] / Iuliae Domnae Aug(ustae) m(atris) k(astrorum) / iuxta Philas novae / lapicaedinae adinven/tae tractaeque sunt para/staticae et columnae / grandes et multae sub / Subatiano Aquila[e] pr(aefecto) / Aeg(ypti) curam agente op(eris) d[o]minic(i) / Aurel(io) Heraclida{e} dec(urione) al(ae) Maur(etanorum).

Older marble and limestone quarries were well known at Mons Claudianus²³. They were opened under Claudius, whereas the name of the place. Trajan and his successors extended and intensified the

¹⁷ The limes road south of Aquincum: Visy 2003, 59–82, especially 67–69 and 73–74.

¹⁸ CIL III 600 = 14203³⁵ = ILAlb 14.

¹⁹ The transfer of some Roman forces from the East must have been performed in short time, after the operations against the Parthians were finished, due to the worsening of the situation on the Danubian front, as H.A. v. *Marc. Ant.* 12 shows: *dum Parthicum geritur, natus est Marcomanicum.*

²⁰ CIL XIV 2957; Devijver 1976, 814 V 10.

²¹ Dušanić 2000, 343–363; idem, 1977, 148–156; 1978, 237–246; Oliver, 1935; Dubois 1908.

²² CIL III 75 = 6630 = ILS 4424.

stone and marble hewing process run by a *praepositus operi marmorum montis Claudiani*, usually a legionary officer²⁴.

The quarries mentioned in the inscription had been recently discovered (*novae lapicaedinae adinventae*) by late 2nd or early 3rd century and the stone resources were promptly exploited. A detachment from the Thracian regiment under the command of Aurelius Heraclides helped in transporting the big sized blocks and great number of columns and pillars (*tractaeque sunt parastaticae et columnae grandes et multae*), which must have been used for building a temple in honor of Juppiter Optimus Maximus Ammon Chnubis, as it appears from the deity dedication at the beginning of the inscription²⁵. The same *decurio* is recorded in P. Mich., in 205 as operating a loan of money to a local priest in the context of the works carried out by another detachment of the unit at Alabastrine, in the famous quarries of semi-precious stone²⁶.

Noricum

The iron mining was an important direction of the economic life in Noricum. The extractions in Noricum, *Ferrariae Norici* were organized under the more general state-run company called *Patrimonium Regni Norici* and covered a large area including the today north Carinthia and Upper Styria. The *Ferrariae Norici* were granted and managed by a large body of lease holders, conductors, recorded in a significant number of inscriptions²⁷.

Feldkirchen (late 1st–early 2nd century)²⁸. The involvement of the *ala II Augusta Thracum* in the mining area of Noricum is recorded in an inscription on an altar set by a *decurio*, Quintus Fabius Modestus, who dedicates to Noreia Augusta a silver and golden phiala: (*phialam argent(eam) p(ondo) II (quadrantem), embl(emata) Noreiae aurea uncias duas) C(aius) M[...] Pereg[rinus dec(urio)?] al(a)e Aug(ustae) II T[hracum?]*)²⁹.

The Alföldy's construal on the basis of this fragment is that the regiment dispatched personnel to the mines administration in Carinthia, at Feldkirchen. Military personnel, such as the *decurio* of the cavalry regiment, seems to have been involved in these activities often ran *manu militari*. The date of the presence of the Thracian *ala* at Feldkirchen, if the reading is correct, must have happened very early in the 2nd century, for the unit is recorded again in 107 in Mauretania Caesariensis in the Cherchel MD of 107³⁰.

Auxiliary forts

The building, repair, and maintenance of their own fort were basic duties of any auxiliary regiments³¹. Either partially or entirely, the works were recorded for the posterity on building inscriptions set at the main gates, votive altars or stone blocks attesting the work carry out by the soldiers. The Thracian regiments made no exception from the rule. There is significant epigraphic evidence on the *auxilia Thracum* employed in building such defensive structures on almost all the frontiers of the Empire (Pl. XIV 1, 2).

²³ Carrie 1977, 373–393 (a general view of the economic role of the army in Roman Egypt); Bülow-Jacobsen, 1988, 159–165; 1996; Peacock, Maxfield, 1997; 2001, 143–170.

²⁴ CIL III 25.

²⁵ Bingen, Jensen 1987, 45–52; 1990, 65–81; 1992, 15–36; 1993, 9–66; Bülow-Jacobsen 1996; Maxfield 2000, 431.

²⁶ P. Mich. inv. 256.

²⁷ Alföldy 1974, 113–114.

²⁸ CIL III 4806.

²⁹ Carinthia 129, 1939, 209 = Carinthia 144, 1954, 151–152.

³⁰ CIL XVI 56.

³¹ Haynes 2000, 111–127.

Britannia

Lavatrae (Bowes Moor) (205–209)

*Impp(eratoribus) Caess(aribus) L(ucio) Septim(io) / Severo Pio Pertinaci / Arab(ico) Adiab(enico) Part(hico) maxi(mo) / et M(arco) Aur(elio) Anton(ino) Pio Augg(ustis) / [et P(ublio) Sept(imio) Getae nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari)] ius/su L(uci) Alfeni Senecionis leg(ati) / Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) coh(ors) I Thrac(um) eq(uitata)*³².

The Bowes auxiliary fort, built in Flavian period, lay in a key strategic position, the Stainmore pass, which controlled the hilly area of the Brigantian tribes³³. The building inscription mentioned above refers very likely to a recent change of garrison in the fort, when *cohors I Thracum* took over the place of the *cohors IV Breucorum*, which garrisoned here in 2nd century. The reconstruction of the fort took place in a context that aimed at strengthening the northern frontier in Britain as part of a more general military and political action to resolutely restore the Roman authority in the island before the Severus' campaign against the tribes in central Scotland³⁴. It is, however, difficult to know exactly whether the fort was built a fundamentis or only some important parts of it, for the stone from the Roman installation was massively used in the medieval castle erected in the middle of the auxiliary fort.

Lavatrae (Bowes)

[... ..]us Aemilianus praef(ectus) eq(uitum) coh(ortis) I Thracum ins[(tante)?...][...]llo praef[(ecto)...] fecit³⁵.

The first record is a building inscription turned into a mill stone. In the first case only the *praefectus equitum*, of the Thracian regiment is mentioned, while [...] *llo praefectus* refers to the commander of another regiment under whose orders the cavalry squad of the Thracian unit was. The unknown praefectus was deputed (*instante*) by a higher authority, very likely the governor of the province to fulfil a task which could have been a building activity in the Bowes fort.

Gabrosentum (Moresby)

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / coh(ors) II T(h)ra(cum) / eq(uitata) c(ui) p(raeest) Manili(us) Nepos praef(ectus)*³⁶.

Gabrosentum (Moresby)

*Coh(ors) II / T(h)raq(um!) fec(it)*³⁷.

The fort at Moresby on the Cumbrian coast was built by a vexillation of *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*, but not until late Hadrianic or early Antonine period³⁸. The Thracian cohort was stationed under Antoninus Pius at Mumrills (see chapter VI, no. 27) and was moved to Moresby in early 3rd century, where it replaced *cohors II Lingonum equitata*. The record of a *praefectus* of the unit on the first building stone as well as the mention of the entire unit on the second demonstrate a large scale participation of the regiment in the reconstruction of the 132 × 107m fort.

Pons Aelius (Newcastle upon Tyne)

COH(ortis) I TH/RACUM³⁹

³² RIB 740.

³³ On the Flavian phase of the Bowes auxiliary fort see: Frere 1974, 158.

³⁴ Steer, 1961, 91–111; Birley 1971, passim; 1973, 179–189; Breeze, Dobson 1987, 135.

³⁵ RIB 741.

³⁶ RIB 797.

³⁷ RIB 803.

³⁸ On the Moresby fort see: Collingwood, Bruce 2006 (14th ed.), 410–413.

³⁹ RIB 1323.

The Newcastle building record belongs to the regiment stationed at Bowes from the time of Severus. The inscription is a proof that the regiment carried out some construction works at the fort. It is hard to explain the existence of the building stone at Newcastle other than the presence of the unit in this place, as E. Birley on good ground suggested⁴⁰. Its presence here must have been for a short time in the 2nd century, before taking position at Bowes.

Syria

Aleppo

COH(ortis) I/ MILL(*iar*ia)/THRAC(*um*)⁴¹.

The block is a building stone, on which the name of the regiment shows that it participated in the rebuilding probably of walls or edifices in Aleppo.

Aegyptus

Sille (Tell Abou Seifa) (288)⁴²

[Io]vi Herculi Vi[ctoriae]/ [Im]perator Caesar Gaius Aureliu[s] Valerius Diocletianus / [piu]s felix invictus Aug(ustus), pont[(ifex) max(imus), Germ(anicus) max(imus)], / [tri]b(unicia) pot(estate) V, co(n)s(ul), p(ater) p(atriciae), proc[o(n)s(ul)] et / [Imp(erator)] Caesar Marcus Aurelius [Valerius Maximianus] / [pi]us f[elix in]victus Aug[ustus], pont[(ifex) max(imus)],/ Germanicus max(imus), / t[r]ib(unicia) po[testate]II, co(n)s(ul) II, p(ater) p(atriciae), proco(n)s(ul)/ invic[tissi]mi principes nn(ostri) t[otius restitutores] castr[a] alae I Thracum M/[auretaniae] providentia suae maiestat[is] extructa dedicaverunt].

The Sille fort (160 × 100 m = 1.6ha) was built by *ala I Thracum Mauretana* in early 288 or shortly before that date⁴³. The inscription is dated more precisely between August 29th and December 9th 288. The fort is part of the Tetrarchic initiative to strengthen the Egypt's defence and to restore its military installations. There was a large initiative in which Egyptian forts like Hierakon (Deir el-Gébrawi), Luq̄sor, Magdolum (Tell el-Herr), Dionysias, Pelusion were rebuilt and repaired. The Sille fort guarded the road of the Suez isthmus and the passage between the Heboua, to the north, and Ballah, to the south lakes⁴⁴.

Magdolum (Tell el Herr)

The investigations at the Magdolum fort (90 × 90 m = 0.8ha) yielded very detailed coin evidence on the early stage of occupation. The neighbourhood of Sile fort and the coins from Maximianus dated between 29th August 288 to 28th August 289 suggested that the fort could have been built in the same time or shortly after Sille, sometime between 289–296, by another *ala* or, more likely, by detachment (possibly 130 men) of *ala I Thracum Mauretana* already stationed nearby and which continued to garrison the place. As the authors of the research pointed out, this last solution seems more suitable according to the space available in the Mogdolum fort.

Noricum

Augustianis (Traismauer) (140–144)⁴⁵

Imp(eratori) Caesari / divi Hadriani / fil(io), divi Traiani / Parthici nepoti, / divi Nervae pronep(oti), T(ito) Aelio Hadriano/ Antonino Aug(usto) pio, pon(tifici) maximo, tribuniciae / potestatis, co(n)s(uli) III, p(atr) p(atriciae), / ala I Augusta Thracum/ optimo principi.

⁴⁰ Birley 1937, 238–239.

⁴¹ AE 1987, 951 = Jarry 1985, 113 pl. IV.

⁴² CIL III 13578.

⁴³ Valbelle, Carez–Maratray 2000, 26–27 fig. 14.

⁴⁴ Price 1976, 143–154; Valbelle, Carez–Maratray 2000, 26–27.

⁴⁵ CIL III 5655.

The first turf and timber phase of the Traismauer fort dates from late 1st century⁴⁶. The Wels tombstone, mentioning the Thracian unit, dated on stylistic ground in c. 100, would be a fair indication of the regiment's presence in Noricum in late 1st century⁴⁷, especially that it is recorded in the Weissenburg MD of 107⁴⁸ as belonging to the Raetian army shortly after the Dacian wars. It would seem therefore that the ala was the builder of the turf and timber Traismauer fort even before the Dacian wars started.

The Traismauer building inscription refers to the complete rebuilding of the fort in stone in 140–144, during the Antoninus Pius' reign⁴⁹. As the regiment was the only one documented at Traismauer in that period it is clear that all the identified stone structures must have been built by this unit.

The new buildings did not follow the turf and timber layout of the fort. The principia overlay the former barracks and include other hypocaustum installations, while the standards room are flanked by other chambers. The later aerarium seems to be the work of this regiment⁵⁰.

The late 3rd century fort was built also by this unit, as long as it is recorded in late 4th century by Notitia Dignitatum still in garrison at Augustianis⁵¹. The late stone phase of the fort has corner hoof-like towers while the eastern and western gates seem to have been blocked by double-like towers masonry⁵².

Dacia

A series of stamped bricks and tiles of different types pertaining to *cohors VI Thracum equitata* were found at Romita, Românași and Porolissum⁵³. The building material has been commonly taken as an evidence of the participation of the regiment in some building activities at these forts. The pieces show an active involvement of the unit in the building activities on the northern frontier of Dacia; first it participated in the erection of the turf and timber phase of the Românași auxiliary fort. The type of stamped bricks found at Porolissum suggests building works probably at *porta praetoria*, at a later date, in the 3rd century.

Arabia

Qasr el Hallābāt (212–214)⁵⁴

Pro salute domini imp(eratoris) / Aug(usti) n(o)stri, M(arci) Aureli Antonini Pii / Felicis, Arabici, Adiab(enici), Parthici, / Brittanici maximi, castellum nov(um) aedificaverunt mil(it)es c(o)h(ortium) VI Hisp(anorum), I Thrac(um), / V Afrorum Sev(er)ianae, III T(h)r(acum)(?) per Phurnium Iulianum leg(atum) / Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore).

The inscription has been evaluated as being of high importance for our knowledge on the Roman army in Arabia. However, it bears a significant importance also for the building activities carried out by the regiments in the province. Apparently, there are two Thracian regiments involved in the building of a 'new fort' (*novum castellum*). *Cohors I Thracum* appears certainly in the text and it is very likely *cohors I Augusta Thracum* from Imtan and Kurnub, as Mann and Speidel inferred (see chapter VI no.14). The regiment returned to Arabia after it participated in the Marcomannic wars on the Danube (see chapter VIII).

⁴⁶ On the Traismauer fort: Genser 1986, 304–398, especially 305–306; Kandler, Vettters 1989, 144.

⁴⁷ AE 1968, 412; Winkler 1969, 44 no. 4.

⁴⁸ CIL XVI 55.

⁴⁹ CIL III 5654.

⁵⁰ Genser 1986, 307–348; Kandler, Vettters 1989, 144–145.

⁵¹ NDOcc. 34.35.

⁵² Genser 1986, 350–375; Kandler, Vettters 1989, 145.

⁵³ Matei, Bajusz 1997, 71–73, pl. I–III; Tamba 1997, 15; Gudea 1984, 223; 1997, 104 fig. 15.

⁵⁴ Littman, Magie, Stuart, 1921, 4 no. 17; Kennedy 1982, 17–65; 2000, 29–31; on the fort see: Gregory, 1997, 289–297 fig. F7, 1–6.

The second regiment was read by the Princeton Expedition (Littman, Magie, Stuart) as III T(H)R<R>ACVM or less probable II IT(V)R(AEORVM)⁵⁵. Thracian regiments labelled III were certainly garrisoned in Syria at that time: no. 30 (*cohors III Augusta Thracum equitata*) and no. 32 (*cohors III Thracum Syriaca equitata*). The Princeton Expedition suggested the latter as being recorded in the inscription, which is plausible.

The ‘*castellum novum*’ means either the building of a new fort in the neighbourhood, or a reconstruction *a fundamentis* of the former installation. The recent Kennedy’s remarks on the concept of a new fort go towards the idea of a completely novel building⁵⁶. The scholar implies even that works at the large town at Umm el-Jemal (800 × 300/500m), 25 km to the north⁵⁷ are more likely, and therefore the Hallabat stone might be imported from elsewhere. These observations are substantiated by the evidence that a reunion of four units, totalling up c. 2000 men is unlikely to be concentrated on only c. 40 × 40m which the Hallabat fortlet measures. Moreover, there is a serious difficulty in matching the typical Tetrarchic plan of the Hallabat *quadriburgium* with the Severan period. Such a concentration of forces could have occurred only in case of a much larger structure. The technical term *castellum* could refer to an earlier type of auxiliary fort rather than to a Tetrarchic *quadriburgium*. The ca. 100 × 100m (= 1ha) fort in the eastern area of the town wall at Umm el-Jemal⁵⁸ seems the most appropriate term for a *castellum novum*.

Umm el- Qittayn

*Coh(ortis) [II]I/ Aug(ustae) Thr(acum)/ eq(uitatae) (2nd century ?)*⁵⁹

Motha (Imtân)

*Coh(ors) I Aug(usta) Thr(acum) eq(uitata) (2nd century ?)*⁶⁰

Motha (Imtân)

*Coh(ors) I Aug(usta) Thr(acum) eq(uitata) (2nd century ?)*⁶¹

The Umm el-Qittayn massive stone was considered by Kennedy as belonging to the Thracian regiment numbered *III Augusta Thracum* and stationed at Suchere, in Syria (see chapter VII no. 30). The block is significant large and can not be seen other than a building stone. It was still visible in the pier of an arch of an early Byzantine church, built within the fort. The unit’s presence in Arabia could have occurred during some military events in 106 and occasioned presumably building interventions. Umm el Qittayn fort is ca. 156 × 120 m (1.8 ha) and shows typical 2nd century lay-out⁶². It could have temporarily accommodated the entire part mounted regiment of quingenary type (about 380 infantry men + 120 horsemen).

The Imtân blocks are building stones of the same massiveness as the one at Umm el-Qittayn. The regiment was part of the army in Arabia in the 2nd century (see chapter VI no. 14). Motha was a town of some importance towards the desert⁶³ and therefore the cohort must have stationed either in the town or in the auxiliary fort. The two blocks are the only traces of the presence of this unit in the fort were it could either dispatch a detachment or was temporarily garrisoned for building reasons.

⁵⁵ Kennedy 2000, 30.

⁵⁶ Short commentary on the significance of the wording also at Kennedy 1982, 121–128; 2000, 30.

⁵⁷ Gregory 1997, 266–273; de Vries 1986, 227–229.

⁵⁸ Kennedy 1986, 234–236; Gregory 1997, 274–275.

⁵⁹ CIL III 109.

⁶⁰ CIL III 110.

⁶¹ CIL III 109 = AE 1947, 171

⁶² Kennedy, Riley 1990, 141–143.

⁶³ Gregory 1996, 203 fig. 22 (Arabia).

Palestina

Yotvata (303)⁶⁴

Perpetuae Paci / Diocletianus Augus(tus) et / [Maximianus Augus(tus)] Constantius et Maximianus / nobilissimi Caesares / alam Costia(m) constituerunt / per providential(m) Prisci pr(a)es(ides) [...].

Ala I Gallorum et Thracum constantium built a mud brick fort during the Tetrarchic period, when massive reinforcement of the Eastern frontier was initiated by Diocletian⁶⁵. The text of the inscription, although apparently clear, produced many interpretations. Meshell and Roll who published the results of the investigations at Yotvata read on the inscription: *alam c(um) osti<o> constituerunt*, translating ‘a wing with a gate’ that would have been built at Yotvata⁶⁶. Eck⁶⁷, based on a passage on the Yotvata milestone⁶⁸ suggests the presence of an *ala* at a certain place called Costia which the unit might have built. Other interpretations go towards *ala co(n)st<a>(ntiana)* which is commonly seen as a corrupt form for *ala I Gallorum et Thracum Constantium*⁶⁹ recorded in NDOr. as stationed at Toloha (Qseir el Tlah) under a *dux* *Palestinae*⁷⁰. It would be reasonable to accept the record of the regiment with the garrison in Palestine repairing a fort in the same province, under the supervision of the governor (*praeses*)⁷¹.

Mauretania Caesariensis

Altava (Hadjar Roum)(208)⁷²

G(enio) Nemesi / Iulius Germa/nus, dec(urio) al(ae) Thrac(um), / praepositus coh(ortis) / II Sardor(um). (Anno) pr(ovincia) CLXVIII.

Altava (Hadjar Roum)(ca. 208)⁷³

Deanae Nemore(nsi) T(itus) / Iulius Germanus, dec(urio) alae / Thrac(um), praep(ositus) coh(ortis) II Sardor(um).

The two altars set by the decurion Iulius Germanus who was in the same time *praepositus cohortis II Sardorum* indicate, like in the case of the Rapidum altar, that a reunion of forces took place at Altava where the 430 × 330m auxiliary fort was rebuilt in 201–209⁷⁴. Here, *ala II Augusta Thracum* sent a detachment under the command of Iulius Germanus from Caesarea, its headquarters, to coordinate and take part in the building activity of the fort.

Pannonia Superior

Carnuntum (Petronell)

The auxiliary fort at Carnuntum yielded four periods in its existence⁷⁵. A turf and timber phase was first built under Domitian by *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, replaced shortly after with *ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana*, which continued and finished the work. The second phase dates from late Trajan’s reign when a general reconstruction of the fort took place. This coincides with the arrival of

⁶⁴ AE 1986, 699 = Meshell, Roll 1986, 106–112; Eck 1992, 395–400.

⁶⁵ On the fort see Meshell 1989, 228–238.

⁶⁶ See note 64.

⁶⁷ Eck 1992, 395–400.

⁶⁸ AE 1987, 961 = 1990, 1015.

⁶⁹ Roxan in RMD 69 n. 3 suggests that on the 154/161 MD in the cavalry regiments’ list must be read (CONST)ANT(I)ANA.

⁷⁰ NDOr. 34, 34; Gregory 1997, 446.

⁷¹ Meshell, Roll 1987, 248–265; Gregory 1997, 452–454 fig. F 55, 1.

⁷² CIL VIII 10949 = 21721.

⁷³ Salama 1977, 583.

⁷⁴ On the Hadjar Roum (former Lamoricière) fort see: Courtot 1936, 401–429; on the inscriptions see J. Marcillet–Jaubert 1968 no.156

⁷⁵ On Carnuntum auxiliary fort: Kandler 1980, 83–92; Kandler, Veters 1989, 202–213; Kandler 2003, 58–60.

ala I Thracum victrix in Noricum, from where it could have been temporarily moved or dispatched a detachment to work at the fort. The auxiliary fort suffered an important reshuffling. The main axis was reoriented towards Danube. The turf and timber enclosure was replaced with a stone wall and ditch. Timber buildings inside the fort were replaced with new ones, and a stone bathhouse was erected. A tile stamp with *ala I Thracum victrix*⁷⁶ dates very likely from this period. The same Thracian unit continued to work at the fort in its third period, dated to mid and second half of the 3rd century, when stone *fabricae* and *horrea* were newly built in the central area. The new constructions raised the supposition that the fort was turned into a supply base by that time. The same *ala I Thracum Victrix* rebuilt completely the fort in the fourth period, around 200. Now, the principia and two other buildings on either side of the headquarters were built in stone, while the barracks were turned in half timbered houses.

Ad Statuas (Ács Vaspuszta)

The archaeological research at Ad Statuas castellum, situated on the very bank of the Danube indicated four periods in the existence of the military installation⁷⁷. After a first phase of turf and timber was built in Trajanic period by *cohors I Hispanorum*, probably together with *cohors IIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, *cohors I Thracum equitata civium Romanorum* took over the garrison. Lőrincz suggests the years 114/133 when the Thracian regiment could have been moved at the Ad Statuas⁷⁸. However, the regiment built the second phase of the turf and timber fort some 35m inland preventing the continuous erosion of the Danube. After 180, during its third period of existence, the fort was turned into a stone installation by the same Thracian regiment. The stone fort was 112 × 106m in size, had rounded corners with inward projecting towers and was surrounded by a 4–4.1m wide V-shaped ditch. The 25.5 × 25–27m principia with an interior court was also erected by that time.

Pannonia Inferior

Azaum (Odiavum) (Almásfüzitő)

The succession of the auxiliary units at Azaum brought *ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum* in 118/119. The unit continued to station in the same fort until the Constantinian period. The Thracian regiment is known from a series of milestones as one of the hard working unit in the 3rd century maintenance and repair of the roads in Pannonia Inferior (see above). However, the cavalry regiment rebuilt the Azaum (Odiavum) auxiliary fort in stone and double ditch during the reign of Antoninus Pius⁷⁹. The new size of the fort (166 × 203m, 3.37ha) corresponded to an *ala* fort type. During Caracalla's reign the fort was significantly repaired by the same cavalry regiment with projecting semi-circular gate towers that closed three of the four gates, leaving only *porta praetoria* facing the Danube as an available gateway.

Albertfalva

The archaeological excavations established four periods in the evolution of the fort, between 1st–4th centuries⁸⁰. Presumably *cohors VI Thracum* was temporarily garrisoned in the fort in late Domitianic epoch (83–92), when it is recorded in the Carnuntum (84)⁸¹ and Beleg (85)⁸² MDs. Its stationing coincided with the reconstruction of a new turf and timber fort, as the second period of its chronology indicates.

⁷⁶ Stiglitz 1986, 223 fig. 13, 9: A(lae) I THR(acum) (victricis).

⁷⁷ Gabler 2003, 70–72 in: Z. Visy (ed). *The Roman Army in Pannonia*, Pecs 72–74; Visy 2003, 25–28.

⁷⁸ Lőrincz 1992, 94, no. 6.

⁷⁹ On the Azaum fort see Horvath 2003 in: Z. Visy (ed). *The Roman Army in Pannonia*, Pecs 80–82; Visy 2003, 38–42.

⁸⁰ Visy 2003, 62–64; Szirmai 2003 in: Z. Visy (ed). *The Roman Army in Pannonia*, Pecs 106.

⁸¹ CIL XVI 30.

⁸² CIL XVI 31.

Campona (Nagytétény)

The initial turf and timber fort built in early 2nd century by *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana* was completely rebuilt in stone by *ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum civium Romanorum* after the Marcomannic wars which seem to have badly affected the installation. It is likely that the new layout of the fort had semicircular projecting angle-towers and new defensive ditches.⁸³

Intercisa (Dunaujváros)

The epigraphic evidence shows that *ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria* was garrisoned in the fort in ca. 133 until 176 (see chapter V no. 9). The period partially encompasses the Marcomannic wars, when some repairs and new constructions at the 176 × 200m stone fort seem to have been carried out. The contribution of the Thracian cavalry regiment is not accurately established but, presumably, it was the author of the first stone structures of the fort in Hadrianic or Antoninus Pius period⁸⁴.

Ulcisia castra (Szentendre)⁸⁵.

Bricks of *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum*⁸⁶ were found in the fort which might have accommodated at least part of the regiment sometime in the 2nd century⁸⁷. Tiles were also found in Aquincum where the regiment might have arrived after 214⁸⁸. One can suggest that the Thracian cohort carried out construction works in Pannonia sometimes between 170 and 235⁸⁹.

Headquarters

Germania Inferior

Valkenburg⁹⁰

[*Imp(eratori) Caesari*] / [*divi Nervae f(ilio)*] / [*Nervae Traiano*] / [*Aug(usto)*] *Ge[r(manico) Dacico]* / [*Parthi]co pon[t(ifici) max(imo)]* / *coh(ors) III Thrac(um) p(ia) f(idelis)]*.

The Valkenburg inscription lays on a basis of a statue, certainly dedicated to Emperor Trajan. According to literary evidence⁹¹, an imperial statue, which must have been monumental indeed, was commonly set in the standards room although the mapping of the discoveries of this type would indicate that they were in fact set in front of the *aedes*. However, the statue basis found at Valkenburg implies that the regiment was involved in the building of at least a good portion of the *principia*. As the fourth period of the 119.5 × 138m auxiliary fort spans between 71 to the third quarter of the 3rd century, it might be convenient to consider that many if not all interior buildings, among which the *principia*, as well as the fortification proper was the work of *cohors III Thracum equitata*.

Bathhouses

Britannia

Lavatrae (Bowes) (197–202)⁹²

D(e)ae Fortunae / *Virus Lupus* / *leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)* / *balineum vi / ignis exust(um) coh(orti) I Thracum resti/tuit curan(te) Val(erio) Fron(tone) praef(ecto) / eq(uitum) alae Vetto(num)*.

⁸³ Visy 2003, 64–66; Kocsis 2003 in: Z. Visy (ed). *The Roman Army in Pannonia*, Pecs 106–108.

⁸⁴ Visy 2003, in: Z. Visy (ed). *The Roman Army in Pannonia*, Pecs 116–118; 2003, 76

⁸⁵ Nagy 1973, 53–57; Visy 2003 in Z. Visy (ed). *The Roman Army in Pannonia*, Pecs 97–98; 2003, 56–59.

⁸⁶ Nagy 1943, 393.

⁸⁷ Fitz 1962, 790.

⁸⁸ See chapter VI no. 16 n. 53.

⁸⁹ Fitz 1962, 75–83.

⁹⁰ AE 1989, 559 = AE 1995, 45; Bogaers 1988, 52–79; Marcus Reuters 1995, 30 no. 27.

⁹¹ Tac. *Hist* 1, 36; Sueton, *Tib* 48.

⁹² RIB 730

The Lavatrae fort bathhouse had been previously destroyed by fire. That required an intervention of the *cohors I Thracum* stationed in the fort at that time or shortly after (see chapter VI no. 17). It is difficult to know whether the fort bathhouse was destroyed accidentally or as a consequence of a military event which presumably took place during the Maeatae or Caledonians' revolt in 195/196⁹³. However, the reconstruction of the building was probably carried out from the foundations. Lavatrae (Bowes) was identified only through surveys⁹⁴. However, the fort (ca. 56 × 56m) is too small for a full *cohors quingenaria equitata*, as the Thracian regiment seems to have been.

Mauretania Caesariensis

Rapidum (Hadjar Roum)

*Deo / patrio / salutari / Aemilius / Pompeianus / dec(urio) / alae Thrac(um) / praepositus / v(otum) p(osuit)*⁹⁵

At Rapidum⁹⁶, the inscription was found *in situ* in the structure of the *frigidarium* pavement of the north bathhouse. The archaeological research yielded evidence of completion of the repair of the bathhouse building by 184. The main regiment that worked at that building was *cohors II Sardorum* which restored the collapsed structures (*balineum vetustate conlapsum restituit*)⁹⁷. The inscription was wiped when the inscription was reused in the rebuilding of the latrines sometimes in the 3rd century⁹⁸. The mention regarding a *decurio* of the Thracian ala, might be a proof that one or several *turmae* of the cavalry regiment worked at the bathhouse during Commodus' reign. The later use of the inscription in the bathhouse floor shows that it might have been a second repair of the edifice at a later date. Pompeianus, as a *decurio* of the *ala II Augusta Thracum* was also a temporary *praepositus* of *cohors II Sardorum*, as an officer of a military unit of higher rank. At Rapidum, the cavalry regiment dispatched only a detachment, which formed with the entire existing infantry unit a 'building vexillation' for a particular objective⁹⁹.

Dacia

Bricks and tile stamps of V types (the first type in two variants) that have been found at Românași and Porolissum, and especially during the recent excavations in the bathhouse of the Romita fort date from the 2nd and 3rd century¹⁰⁰. However, the typology conceived by the authors of the excavations and the much clearer archaeological context resulted from the 1996 research in which they were found, indicate work (building?) done by the cohort at the fort bathhouse in early 2nd century, together with *cohors II Britannica*, and successive later interventions at this important exterior building¹⁰¹.

Horrea

Britannia

Banna (Birdoswald) (205–208)

Imp(eratoribus) Caes(aribus) L(ucio) / Sept(imio) / Severo Pio / Pert(inaci) et M(arco) Aur(elio) A[nt]o[n]ino Aug(ustis) [et P(ublio) Sep(timio) / Getae nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari)] hor/reum fecer(unt)

⁹³ Frere 1974, 185, 195.

⁹⁴ Welfare, Swan 1995, 57.

⁹⁵ Laporte 1989, 84–86, fig. 14.

⁹⁶ On the fort a preliminary report at Seston 1928, 150–183.

⁹⁷ AE 1929, 133.

⁹⁸ Seston 1928, 165–166; Pflaum 1960–1961, 516 no. 191.

⁹⁹ cf. AE 1957, 176 = Saxer 1968, 109 no. 332 at Rusucurru, in *Mauretania Caesariensis: horrea fru]mentaria [per vexilla]tiones mil[itu]m, fieri iussit[...]*.

¹⁰⁰ Matei, Bajusz 1997, 71–77.

¹⁰¹ Matei, Bajusz 76–77.

*coh(ortes) I Ael(ia) Dac(orum) et I T(h)racum C(ivium) R(omanorum) sub / Alfenio Senecione co(n)s(ulari) / per Aurel(ium) Iulianum tr(ibunum)*¹⁰².

Cohors I Aelia Dacorum was the occupant of the Birdoswald fort¹⁰³ since Hadrian's time when it started working at the Wall, probably around the auxiliary fort which it later occupied for almost three centuries. The inscription attests a joint building activity of the Dacian and a Thracian cohort during the government of Alfenius Senecio. Two *horrea* (granaries) to the south and north were investigated¹⁰⁴. Which of the two buildings was erected by the two regiments is rather difficult to say, as the use of the singular in the inscription, *horreum*, shows clearly that only one was built at that moment.

It is reasonable to think that the Dacian cohort was in its full strength when worked at *horreum*, while the Thracian regiment stationed at Bowes could have dispatched a significant detachment. As *cohors Aelia Dacorum* was a *milliaria* unit the command over the entire military force was entrusted to the commander of the Dacian regiment, who held the rank of *tribunus*.

Temples, altars, forums, statues, and bas-reliefs

Pannonia Inferior

Pannonhalma (201)¹⁰⁵

a)---] *Secun[dus / inus/pr(aefectus?) al(ae) III] Aug(ustae) Thra[cum / Galli]enae Vo[lusia(nae) / de s]uo extru[xit]*.

b) [*et ego*] *Lupian(us) XX (milibus) s(estertiis) reno[vavi / patre] amato red(ito) forum [divi / Caes]aris gratus inco[lumi/tate d]e c(entesimis) pecuniae att[rib(utae) / ---] vera si dixi me[iuva]*.

Azaum/Odiavum (Almásfüzitő) (252)¹⁰⁶

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) C(aio) / Vibio Treb[o]/niano Ga[llo] / P(io) F(elici) invicto / A[ug(usto), p]ont(ifici) m(aximo), trib(unicia) / potest(ate) II, co(n)s(uli) / p(atrici) p(atriciae), proco(n)s(uli) eqq(uites) / alae III Aug(ustae) Thracum Gallia/n(a)e Volusianae, / devoti numini m[ai/es]tatique eor(um).

Pannonia Superior

Ad Statuas (Ács) (202)

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(axiom)/pro salute/Imp(eratorum) Caess(arum) / L(ucii). Sep(timii) Severi pi(i) / Pert(inacis) Aug(usti) et M(arci) / Aur(elii) Antonini et / [P(ublili) Sep(timii) Getae Caes(aris)] / Seve(ri) Aug(usti) (filiorum) totiusq(ue) / domus di[vi]nae / [a]ram <v>e<t>ustate / [c]onlapsam / [Ae]m(ilius) Pacatianus / [praef]ect(us) c(ohortis) I Thr[a]c(um) / [a solo resti]tuit / [Nonio Muc]iano et / [Annio Fabian]o co(n)s(ulibus)*¹⁰⁷.

The Pannonhalma inscription attests the personal involvement of the prefect of the cavalry regiment in maintaining an important monument which is not mentioned in the inscription, but is strongly supposed, as the section *b* of the inscription shows, to have been *Forum divi Caesaris*. A certain Lupianus contributed with 20,000 sesterces to the renovation (*renovavi*) of the same area, an activity in which his father seems also to have been involved.

At Azaum/Odiavum the horsemen (*equites*) of same cavalry regiment, *ala III Augusta Thracum*, set a large inscription dedicated to Gallienus and Volusianus. Usually these dedications were set by military units when an important monument was completed as it is this case.

¹⁰² RIB 1909.

¹⁰³ Wilmott, 2001, 103–122.

¹⁰⁴ Wilmott, 1997, 109–110

¹⁰⁵ CIL III 4380 = RIU 277.

¹⁰⁶ CIL III 4273 = RIU 704.

¹⁰⁷ AE 1969–1970, 501 = 1972, 437 = 1978, 653 = RIU 640.

As indicated in the inscription, a temple (*ara*) existed at Ad Statuas, very likely dedicated to Juppiter Optimus Maximus. The fort was garrisoned by *cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum* in the first half of the 2nd century¹⁰⁸, and was replaced by the Thracian cohort after the Marcommanic wars. The work probably consisted in the complete restoration of a small temple, which had been in dereliction and therefore ruined (*conlapsum*) for a longer time (*vetustate*). As results from the text of the inscription, the prefect of the Thracian unit would have been the one who personally (*a solo*) supported the expenses for the restoration of the temple. In fact some soldiers from the regiment could have worked effectively to the reconstruction.

Syria

Palmyra (Tadmur)¹⁰⁹

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος / Γ. Ουείβιον Κέλερα, ἑπαρχον / τῆς ἔνθαδε εἰλης, τὸν πο/λείτην καὶ σύνεδρον / τειμῆς καὶ εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν.

Palmyra (Tadmur)¹¹⁰

Κλώδιον Κέλσον ἑ/παρχον εἰλης Ἡρακλιανῆς· Ζαβδιβωλος Ζα/[β]διβωλου τοῦ Ζαβδαα/[θ]ους τοῦ Ἀκκαβελο[υ].

Palmyra (Tadmur)¹¹¹

[...]ον Ἀ[...] / εἰλης Ἡρακλιανῆς / [.....] / τοῦ Αὔμα[ου.....] / τὸν φίλον [.....]

Palmyra (Tadmur) (164)

Ιουλιος Ιουλιανος ευσεβης και φιλοπατρις/ και τετειμεμενος υπο των θει[ο]τατων α[υ] / τοκρατορων τεταρτης [σ]τρατειας, επαρχ[ο]ς ειλης [...] Ηρακλειαν[ης] Αυρελ[ιο]ς Μαρεας τειμης / [εν]εκεν ετους μη[ν]ο[ς] Υπερβερετ[αι]ο[υ]¹¹²

There is a series of inscriptions that attest the activity or interventions of some of its officers or horsemen from *ala I Thracum Herculiana* at the Bel temple in Palmyra¹¹³. One of most spectacular is the inscription set on a console fixed on a column in the western portico of the Bel sanctuary, sometimes between Lucius Verus' and Septimius Severus' reigns. The inscription mentions C. Vibius Celer the prefect of the 'ala in garrison'. Celer was 'townsman and a councillor' of the Palmyra city council. 'The council and the people' set the inscription 'in his honour and for his good dispositions'. Celer seems to have received the Palmyrenian citizenship as an honorific title. It is difficult to foresee which were 'his good dispositions' to the city, or what and if he restored some parts of the Bel temple, but the inscription is later than the building of its western portico which was erected under Antoninus Pius at the latest¹¹⁴.

The second inscription attests a Syrian individual, Mareas, who erected the Bel sanctuary by late 167 and received citizenship from Lucius Verus. The inscription is written on the base of a statue of Iulius Iulianus. It could have happened that during his fourth *militia* (τετάρτης [σ]τρατείας) of his career, as a prefect of the *ala I Thracum Herculiana*, Iulianus, a Palmyrenian himself, as it comes out from his title of φιλόπατρις, must have had a hand in the Mareas' achievement (funding, advice, help or

¹⁰⁸ Lörincz 2001, 29 no. 6.

¹⁰⁹ Seyrig 1933, 159 App. 1.

¹¹⁰ Seyrig 1941, 240 no. 8.

¹¹¹ Seyrig 1941, 240 no. 9.

¹¹² Seyrig 1933, 159 App. 2 = IGRRP 3, 1037 = ILS 8869 = AE 1937, 208.

¹¹³ On the Bel Temple a general appraisal: Seyrig 1933, 715–742; Crema 1959, 395–396.

¹¹⁴ Ball 2000, 322–324.

encouragement). As a consequence of Julianus' contribution to the welfare of the city, a statue was erected in 164 in his honour.

Another inscription mentions Claudius Celsus, also a praefectus of the regiment. The inscription is written on a console of a wall of Bel temple, re-used at a later date. Like in the case of Julius Julianus, Celsus appears mentioned together with a Palmyrenian, Zabdibolos, who contributed to the building of a part of the temple. Celsus must have played the same role as Julianus in supporting and encouraging such buildings.

Palmyra (Tadmur)

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) H(eliopolitano) / Sex(tus) Rasius Proculus praef(ectus) / coh(ortis) II Thr(acum) v(otum) s(olvit) p(osuit)*¹¹⁵

Palmyra (Tadmur)

*Latonam et Apollinem (D?)ib Av[...] / praefec(tus), Brizanus Tarsae eq(ues) alae / fecerunt*¹¹⁶.

Palmyra (Tadmur)

*Vibio Apollinari eq(uiti) / alae Hercul(ianae), Aelius M(ontanus) heres eius*¹¹⁷.

The three Palmyrenian inscriptions refer to the erection of three monuments, two individual and a public statue dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, which must have been the most impressive through its monumentality. The statue is datable in the second half of the 2nd century and was erected in the Soukhné area of Palmyra, where the base of the monument was found. The prefect of the *cohors II Thracum Syriaca*, Sex(tus) Rosius Proculus¹¹⁸ could have erected the statue either from his own or from collective funds of the unit known since the 1st century in Syria, probably stationed for a time at Soukhné or somewhere on the high road to Soura (see chapter VI no. 29) together with *numerus Vocontiorum*, after the departure of *ala I Thracum Herculiana*.

A dedication was made also to Latona and Apollo by an unknown *praefectus*, together with a Thracian soldier, Brizanus Tarsae, from *ala I Thracum Herculiana*. The bas-relief is dated in the third quarter of the 2nd century. The association between a *praefectus* and a simple soldier is rather unusual. Seyrig suggested also a Thracian name for the officer *Au[luzenus/lutralis]*. The suggestion makes sense, and the common origin of the two individuals worshipping the same deities could explain the strange relation between an officer of equestrian rank and a simple horseman. Apollo was a wide spread deity in the Thracian world, worshipped under different epithets and often in a close association with the Thracian horseman, Heros, and Diana¹¹⁹. Apollo was especially venerated at Philippopolis, in Thrace¹²⁰. Latona, Apollo's mother, was also largely worshipped either alone or together with her son Apollo¹²¹.

The Vibius Apollinaris' bust is typical for the Palmyrenian art and is datable in 150–180. Apollinaris seems to have been a Palmyrenian as suggested by the style of the portraiture. Seyrig noticed that the name Apollinaris is a translation for the Palmyrenian Barnebo. He seems to have been contemporaneous with the prefect Vibius Celer from whom he borrowed his first name.

¹¹⁵ AE 1911, 124.

¹¹⁶ Seyrig 1933, 162–163 App. 7 = AE 1933, 213.

¹¹⁷ Seyrig 1933, 160–161 App. 3 = AE 1933, 209.

¹¹⁸ AE 1911, 124.

¹¹⁹ Yurukova 1974, 23–50; Gocheva 1976, 221–224; 1977, 207–224; Georgiev 1978, 35–38; Katsarov 1925, 127–169; Botusharova 1954, 203–216; Gocheva 1977, 207–223; Boteva 2007, 201–215.

¹²⁰ Majewski 1977, 189–206; Opperman 2006, 218–219 and in general 8–311, but also *passim*.

¹²¹ Ognenova-Marinova, Bozhilova, Alexandrov 1987, 14–19; Bozhilova 1987, 20–36; Ognenova-Marinova 1987, 37–53, no. 78.

Other activities

Ala I Augusta Thracum appears involved in building activities at the Londinium quay, as results of the discovery of a square wooden log that comes from this installation, bearing a fragmentary inscription: [...] IRA[.../...T]H interpreted as *T]hra[ecum Aug(usta)...]*. The presence of the regiment in the British island seems very early, as the date of the finding was established to A.D.63¹²².

A considerable number of lead seals with the stamps of cohorts VI (five pieces) and VII Thracum (seventy nine copies) of different types, were found mainly at Brough under Stainmore, bearing the marks of the two regiments. The types of the marks are different: the most common bears: CVIT/CVITR or CVIIT; others bear letters with a yet unknown significance: CVITR FLM; CVITR TMF; CVIT TVD. Pieces bearing CVIIT MV-AD were found at Risingham and High Rochester¹²³. They are usually considered seals of the units acting around Brough under Stainmore where *cohors VI Thracum* was later stationed. Some sealed merchandise or grain sacks could be considered as having been operated by the two regiments.

Bricks and tiles production

The production of the building material for their own use or for export was one of the main tasks of specialized workshops of each military unit, either legionary or auxiliary. There is a large variety of types and variants produced by the regiments in the 1st–3rd century, showing the evolution and intensity of the production of this particular kind of material as part of the economic activity of the army. The mapping of the stamped pieces within the borders of the Empire is, on the other hand, a good indication of the units' movements or export of this important class of building material. Below, there is a list with known bricks and tile stamps issued by some of the Thracian units. Many other regiments might have been produced stamped material, but more finds are to be expected in the future (Pl. XV 1, 2).

Ala I Thracum Victrix¹²⁴

AITHR = A(lae) I THR(acum) (victricis)

Cohors VI Thracum equitata¹²⁵

Type I COHOR VI TR(HA)C = Cohor(tis) VI TR(ha)C(um)

Type II–III COH VI TRACV = Coh(ortis) VI T(h)RACV(m)

Type IV COH VI TRAC = Coh(ortis) VI T(h)RAC(um)

Type V COH VI THRACV = Coh(ortis) VI THRACV(um)

Type VI COH VI TH = Coh(ortis) VI TH(racum)¹²⁶

Type II–III COH VI TRACV = Coh(ortis) VI T(h)RACV(m)

Type IV COH VI TRAC = Coh(ortis) VI T(h)RAC(um)

Type VI COH VI TH = Coh(ortis) VI TH(racum)

Type VII COVI T = Co(hortis) VI T(racum)¹²⁷

Cohors I Thracum Civium Romanorum¹²⁸

[COH I TH]RAC = [Coh(ortis) I Th]rac(um)

CIT = C(ohortis) I T(hracum)

¹²² AE 1996, 942 = Hassal, Tomlin 1996, 449 nos. 14, 15. The find might be also an evidence of the temporary presence of the Thracian ala in Britain in relation with the political and military unrest after the conquest of the island.

¹²³ RIB 2411, 147–241.

¹²⁴ Stiglitz 1986, 223 fig. 13, 9 (Petronell).

¹²⁵ Matei, Bajusz 1997, 71–73 pl. I–III (Romita).

¹²⁶ Tamba 1997, 15 (Românași).

¹²⁷ Gudea 1984, 223; 1997, 104 fig. 15. (Moigrad).

¹²⁸ Lörincz 1981, 37–38 pl. 10, 5; 11, 1–3 (Ács Vaspusztá).

CITHRAC-C(ohortis) I THRAC(um)

Cohors I Thracum Germanica¹²⁹

CHOITC = C(o)HO(ortis) I T(hracum) G(ermanica)

Cohors I Thracum equitata¹³⁰

COHITHRAC = Coh(ortis) I THRAC(um)

COHITHRA = Coh(ortis) I THRA(cum)

Cohors I Thracum equitata¹³¹

PRIMACORT = Prima CO(ho)R(tis) T(hracum)

Cohors II Flavia Bessorum¹³²

COHIIFLBES = Coh(ortis) II FL(avia) BES(sorum)

COHIIFLBES = COH(ortis) II FL(avia) B[es(sorum)]¹³³

COHIIFLB = COH(ors)II FL(avia) B(essorum)¹³⁴

COHIIFLB = COH(ortis) II FL(avia) B(essorum)

COHIIFLBES = COHIIFLBES = COH(ors) II FL(avia) B[es(sorum)]

CIIFLB = C(ohortis) II FL(avia)B(essorum)

Cohors III Thracum equitata¹³⁵

CHOIIIITR = C(o)HO(rtis) III T(h)R(acum)

Cohors I Thracum milliaria¹³⁶

CXT = C(ohortis) (milliaria) T(hracum)

Cohors I Thracum¹³⁷

COHPT = COH(ortis) P(rimae)T(hracum)

COHPT = COH(ortis) P(rimae)T(hracum)¹³⁸

CHOITC[R] = C(o)HO(rtis) T(hracum) C(ivium) [R(omanorum)]

CHOPTC[R] = COH(ortis) P(rimae)T(hracum) C(ivium) [R(omanorum)]

[CO]HPTCR = [CO]H(ortis) P(rimae)T(hracum) C(ivium) R(omanorum)

COHOPTCR = COHO(rtis) P(rimae)T(hracum) C(ivium) R(omanorum)

COHPTCR = COH(ortis) P(rimae)T(hracum) C(ivium) R(omanorum)

CHITCR = C(o)H(ortis) I T(hracum) C(ivium) R(omanorum)

COHITCR = COH(ortis) I T(hracum) C(ivium) R(omanorum)

CHOPTC[R] = C(o)HO(rtis) T(hracum) C(ivium) [R(omanorum)]¹³⁹

¹²⁹ Lörincz 1976, 16 no. 3; Gabler 1977, 304 figs. 4, 5 (Baracs).

¹³⁰ von Dirk Smitz 2004, 237 fig. 4. (Bendorf).

¹³¹ Bogaers 1974, 445 pl. 69, 1 (Voorburg–Arentsburg).

¹³² IDR II 561–562 (Stolniceni).

¹³³ IDR II 571 (Buridava).

¹³⁴ IDR II 607 (Rucăr).

¹³⁵ IDR III/4, 181 (Cinșor).

¹³⁶ Bogaers 1974, 452, pl. 71/2; Haalebos 1986, 58 fig. 22 (Valkenburg).

¹³⁷ Speidel 1979, 170–172 (Hebron).

¹³⁸ Nagy 1943, 388 fig. 34, 553 (Szentendre).

¹³⁹ Saranovici Svetek 1989-1990, 50–52 (Novi Banovci; Strbinti).

Cohors I Thracum Syriaca (?)¹⁴⁰
COH THRA = COH(ortis) (I) THRA(cum) (Syriaca)

¹⁴⁰ Barnea, Ciucă 1989, 147–155 (Enoșești).

CONCLUSIONS

The large scale and long lasting process of penetration of generations of Thracians in the auxiliary regiments was a component of the outstanding human and material resources Rome disposed and made use of in Thrace.

The appallingly difficult Rome's advance into the eastern regions of the Balkan Peninsula, with victories and defeats, required much diplomacy in political relations and constancy in military actions. The setting of the Thracian regiments began much earlier than the creation of the province itself, with contingents drawn from the forces of its staunch ally, the Odrysian state, but also from the milieu of untamed tribes from the mountainous regions. The Odrysaes provided a good deal of its own first hand cavalry and infantry units, trained in Roman fashion and also backed the Empire's important military operations in the area. These forces formed the core of the future first auxiliary regiments organized, equipped, and trained to fight as integral part of the Roman army. The mounting of the forced recruitment among free tribes accompanied by abuses and extortions inflamed discontent and revolts.

It is very likely that the Roman administration turned for the best the policy towards the disobedient mountainous tribes of Thrace in the years that followed their two major uprisings. Except maybe some of the unruly communities who were mixed with Gallic contingents for disciplinary reasons, population could have been encouraged to sign up for the auxiliary regiments in such a great number that a considerable number of this type of units were established and distributed to different sections of frontier even before Thrace as a province was created.

In all, the identified number of units formed in the 1st century is quite noteworthy, 38 auxiliary regiments, *alae* and *cohortes*, labeled *Thracum*. Individually taken, the number of ca. 255 persons epigraphically distinguishable who served in these units in the 1st–3rd centuries is also impressive, given the scarcity of the evidence in comparison with the time-span and dimensions of the social and demographic process that was the mobility of the provincial communities in the Roman army.

The presence of the Thracians in the auxiliary units is part of the general process planned intentionally by the Roman authorities to integrate large masses of provincials into this extensive category of forces. According to the ancient sources Thrace was an inexhaustible reservoir of good quality bellicose population at such a scale that in the first century A.D. Titus Livius vividly pictured the situation: [...] “*arma uel tribus tantis exercitibus in armamentaria congessisse. iuuentutem, ut iam Macedonia deficiat, uelut ex perenni fonte unde hauriat, Thraeciam subiectam esse*[...]”.

The 1st–3rd centuries epigraphic and papyrologic sources vividly substantiate the literary sources. Thrace constantly supplied with fresh contingents a large area of high strategic importance for the Roman Empire: Moesia, Dacia, and Pannonia and had a substantial contribution to the completion of those on the Rhine valley. In the 3rd century the process becomes even more noticeable and wide spread.

A comprehensive and detailed study and comparison of the contribution with contingents of each Roman province or area to the auxiliary forces of the Roman Empire is more than desirable. It would show the part specifically played by each particular province or groups of provinces, roughly covering the territorial extension of the nations integrated into the Roman Empire in providing auxiliary forces (*alae* and *cohortes*) to the Imperial army. Spaul's recent collection of information and lists of the Roman auxilia, although submitted to criticism, is an updated version of older more or less complete lists provided by Cichorius, Cheesmann, Wagner, Kraft, or Beneš. A quick view on the regiments of different origin listed by the author shows that the number of Thracian auxilia (38) is surpassed only by the Spanish (54), Gallic (42) and possibly Near Eastern provinces (41), territories considerably larger, conquered much earlier, with long traditions in providing auxiliaries for the Roman army.

Inscriptions and military diplomas indicate Thracians in the auxiliary regiments as overwhelmingly cavalry-men (*equites*). Beside the twelve alae, sixteen of the twenty six infantry regiments were *equitatae*, most of them from the very beginning of their setting. The considerable number of cavalry regiments, on the other hand, shows a common skill and specialization in riding in the Thracian world, as illustrated by many pieces of harness, equipment or imagery on vessels, an ability which was famous in antiquity and was much made use of by the Roman military administration.

The significant number of Thracian cavalry units and cavalry men could have been also part in the process of the creation by Gallienus of a large mobile cavalry force in the mid 3rd century, as part as the army reforms.

The Thracian infantry men (*pedites*) were no less redoubtable, as shown by historical sources. The great number of auxiliary infantry regiments of Thracian origin, 26, and the massive supply of other regiments with Thracian recruits poured into other various units, a long standing process reflected in inscriptions and military diplomas, add considerably to the general picture of the role and contribution of the Thracian lands to the auxilia of the Imperial Roman army.

From the tactical viewpoint the Thracian auxiliary regiments show also some specific features. Thracians were also known in antiquity as good archers, a fact substantiated by the hunting scenes represented in the figural art. There are three cavalry units of mounted archers, specifically labeled *sagittaria* or *sagittariorum*. Be that as it may, the action of the mounted archers considerably increased the force of the impact on the enemy. Two infantry regiments were also *sagittaria/sagittariorum* which shows employment of on-foot Thracian soldiers in manning this long distance weapon.

The Thracian regiments actively participated in the military events within and outside the frontiers. Their brave behavior in combat in various circumstances was duly rewarded with highest titles or recompense. The epithets which some will bear during their entire existence: *constantium*, *victrix*, *pia fidelis*, or distinctions such as *bis torquata* are a good evidence of their valor and trustworthiness in the defense of the Roman values and order in war time.

The 3rd century was decisive for the physical existence of many of the Thracian regiments. Either they have been poured into the new types of units during the Gallienic reforms or they disappeared during the long mid century political and military crisis, the fact is that only a few of them seem to have survived by the end of the period. Notitia Dignitatum records only five out of thirty eight 1st-2nd century listed units.

The creation of the first Thracian communities of veterans from the legions outside Thrace, documented in the civil settlements or in the *vici militares* next to the forts or fortresses could have been a whim for auxiliary soldiers to settle. Examples are not missing but they are few, in the light of the available evidence.

The collective mentalities manifested in the military milieu represent another facet of the presence of the Thracians in the auxilia. A considerable majority of the individuals maintain their original names without any alteration, while the mixed Romano-Thracian names are also abundant. This appears as an overt manifestation of a strong clan and tribe tradition in relation with the outer society. The veterans' mobility is another example of the group solidarity. The returning to their own lands of most of the auxiliary veterans after they had accomplished the service or their marked preference of choosing to settle in the closely related provinces to Thrace by language, culture and climate, such as Moesia and Dacia is another aspect of the social behavior of the Thracians in the Roman auxiliary regiments.

ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS

- AAASH - Acta Archeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
AAH - Acta Archaeologica Hungarica, Budapest
Acta Archaeologica, Leuven
Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debrecenensis, Debrecen
Aegyptus, Milano
AISC - Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice, Cluj
AlonJisrael – Alon mahlegat ha-‘atiqot sel medinat Jisra’el, Tel Aviv
AMN -Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca
AMP - Acta Musei Porolisensis, Zaláu
Ancient Society, Leuven
Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Amman
ANRW - Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin, New York
Antike Kunst, Basel
Antiquitas, Bonn
Antiquités Africaines, Paris
Apulum, Alba Iulia
Aquileia Nostra, Aquileia
Archaeologia Aeliana, Newcastle upon Tyne
Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin
Archivo Español de Arqueología, Madrid
Arheologia Sofia
Arheološki Vestnik, Ljubliana
Athenaeum, Pavia
BAA - Bulletin d’archéologie algérienne, Alger
Balcanica, Beograd
BÁMÉ - Á Szekszárdi Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve
BAR - British Archaeological Reports, Oxford
BASP - Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Urbana Ill.
Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, München
Berichten van der Rijksdienst voor Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, Gröningen
BCMI - Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice, București
BHR - Bulgarian Historical Review, Sofia
BIFAO - Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, Paris
BJ - Bonner Jahrbücher, Bonn
BRGK - Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn
und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande
Britannia, London
Budapest Régiségei
Bulletin du Correspondance Hellenique, Paris
Bulletin du Comité des Travaux Historiques, Paris
Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research, Philadelphia
Cambridge Ancient History, Cambridge
Chiron, München
CP - Classical Philology, Chicago
Dacia N.S. – Dacia. Nouvelle série, Bucharest

Djerdapske sveske, Belgrade
 DHA - Dialogue d'Histoire Ancienne, Paris
 DÖAW - Denkschriften der Österreichische Akademie in Wien
 Epigraphica, Firenze
 Epigraphische Studien, Düsseldorf
 Germania, Berlin
 Godishnik na Narodnia Arheologicheski Muzei v Plovdiv
 GSUIFF - Godishnik na Sofiiskata Universitet, Istoriko-Fologicheski Fakultet, Sofia
 Harvard Historical Studies, Boston
 Hermes, Zeitschrift für classische Philologie, Berlin
 Historia, Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Berlin
 Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz
 HSPH - Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Boston, Sofia
 IBAI - Izvestai Bălgarska arheologhicheski institut
 IBID - Izvestia na Bălgarska Istoricheskoto Druzhestvo, Sofia
 IID - Izvestia na istoricheskoto druzhestvo, Sofia
 Il Mar Nero, Roma, Paris
 IPr – Istoricheski Pregled, Sofia
 Israel Exploration Journal, Jerusalem
 Jb Linz – Historische Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz
 JEA - Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London
 JHS - Journal of Hellenic Studies, London
 JÖAI - Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, Wien
 JRS - Journal of Roman Studies, London
 Jubilaeus – Jubileen sbornik o pamet na akad. Dim Dechev, Sofia.
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 Makedoniká
 MCA - Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, București
 MEFRA - Mélanges d'École française de Rome, Antiquité, Rome
 Orpheus. Rivista di umanità classica e cristiana, Università di Catania
 Palestine Exploration Quarterly, London
 Papers of the British School at Rome, Rome
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 QuadCat - Quaderni catanesi di studi classici e medievali, Università di Catania
 RAD – Radovi Zavoda Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru, Zadar
 RBNS - Revue Belgique de nummismatique et sigillographie, Bruxelles
 RE - Real Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertums-Wissenschaft, A.F. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus, K. Ziegler, H. Gärtner (eds.), Stuttgart 1894
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 Vekove, Sofia
 Voenno Istorichesko Sbornik, Sofia
 Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta u Beogradu, Beograd
 ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn
 Živa Antika. Antiquité vivante, Beograd

Other abbreviations

f.s. = find spot
 f.s.u. = find spot unknown
 MD = military diploma
 no. = number
 n. = note
 P. = Papyrus

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PART II:

APPENDICES AND ILLUSTRATION

APPENDIX I

THE SERVICE IN THE THRACIAN REGIMENTS

Recruits from the Thracian area were documented into a large number of auxiliary regiments, both labeled *Thracum* and of other origin. The renowned warlike qualities and valiance of the Thracians generated the advancement of many of them into the Roman military hierarchy or rewards in payment and distinctions.

The lists yielded below are intended to be complete. They refer to the entire personnel known in the *alae* and *cohortes Thracum*, from *prefecti / tribuni* to the most humble, but no less important, state of *gregalis*. The individuals of Thracian origin were tagged with a particular sign (*) to indicate their origin. Omissions and slip-ups might have occurred in the course of the compilation of a sizable epigraphic material. I assume myself the responsibility of all blunders and inaccuracies which squeezed out into the lists. The references are not complete. They comprise only the basic information on each individual.

New finds could have come to light after 2006 and they are not included into the inventory.

1. PRAEFECTI and TRIBUNI

Alae Thracum

A[...] (ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium). Origin: Ostia (?). Date: CIL XIV 5351.

P. Aelius Marcianus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Origin: Caesarea. Date: 144-152. CIL VIII 9358 = ILS 2738; PIR I², 37 n. 217; Pflaum 1960-1961, 303-304 no.125; Leveau 1973, 162-164 no. 13; Devijver 1976, 65-66 A44; 1987, 1419 A44 ; Petolescu 1987, 157-161.

P. Aelius Primianus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Origin: Auzia. Date: 16. 02. 255; CIL VIII 9045=ILS 2766; Devijver 1976, A53; Benseddik 1982, 214 no. 71.

A. Aelius Sollemnianus (cohors I Flavia Bessorum). Origin? Date: 29.06. 120; Fs: Ritopek. CIL XVI 67.

T. Appalius Alfinus Secundus (ala I Augusta Thracum). Origin: Firmum. Date: First half of the 2nd century.

CIL IX 5357=ILS 1417; PIR I² 182 no. 942; Pflaum 1960, 341- 343 no. 144; Devijver 1976 116-117, 153A ; 1987, 1440 A153; Forni 1994, 696.

Q. Attius Priscus (ala I Augusta Thracum). Origin: Libarna. Date: Vespasian. CIL V 7425=ILS 2720; PIR I² 273 no. 1361 ; Stein 1932, 154-155 ; Devijver 1975, 30-31 no. 11; 1976, 132 A186 ; 1987, 1450 A187.

***Au [...]** (ala I Thracum Herculiana). Origin: Thracian? Date: Marcus Aurelius. Seyrig 1933, 162-163 no. 7 = AE 1933, 209.

T. Aurelius Aurelianus (ala II Augusta Thracum) Origin ? Date: 2nd century. Fs. Baradez 1949, 104; 107B; Devijver 1976, 145A215; 1987, 1456 A215.

M. Aurelius Hermogenes (ala I Thracum) Origin ? Date: Gallienus (253-260).

CIL XIV 5340; AE 1981, 155; Alföldy 1968 187 no. 66; Devijver 1976 A, 150-151 no. 230; 1987, 1459 A230; 1993, 2021 A230; Christol, 1981, 67-74; 1987(IV) A 1459 no. 230; Duthoy 1984-1986, 139 no.59.

C. Caesidius Dexter (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana). Origin: Pitinum Pisaurense. Date: ca. 122 ? CIL XI 6033; Devijver 1976 204-205 C39; 1987, 1481 C39; Duthoy 1984-1986, 140 no.81.

Ti. Claudius Agrippa (ala I Thracum Herculiana). Origin: Termessus (Pisidia). Date: Antoninus Pius, before 140/145.

AE 1929, 125; Schehl 1928, 95-106; Devijver 1976 C, 238-239 no. 115; 1987, 1494 C115.

Tib. Claudius Ago[...](?) or **Tib. Cla Go[...](?)** (ala I Thracum Herculiana). Origin: Prusias ad Hypium(?). Origin ? Date: 180-200.

IGR III 1420=ILS 8868=Mendel, BCH 25, 1901, 84, no. 125; Pflaum 1960, 698 no. 261; Ameling 1985, 131-132 no. 57; Devijver 1986, 155 no. 12; Devijver 1987 Incerti 1792 no. 30.

T. Claudius Apollinaris (ala I Thracum victrix). Origin ? Date: 08. 09. 79. Fsu.

Weiss 2004, 239-254.

Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus (ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium). Origin: Cuicul (Numidia).. Date: ca 199.

Ballu 1911, 117 no. 23; AE 1911, 107=ILS 9188; PIR II² 251; Barbieri 1952, 44 no. 173; Pflaum 1960, 649-651 no. 242; Jarrett 1972, 170-171 no. 44; Devijver 1976, 272-273 C 153.

Clemens (cohors III Thracum Syriaca). Date: 12 May 91. F. s. u. RMD 214

Clodius Celsus(ala I Thracum Herculiana) Origin ? Date: ante 170.

Seyrig 1941, 240 no. 8; Robert 1942, 359 no. 164; AE 1947, 173; Devijver 1976 C, 277 no. 195.

Q. Didius Euhodianus (ala I Thracum). Origin ? Date: mid 2nd century

CIL XIII 12508; Alföldi 1968, 187 no. 65; Devijver 1976, 321-322 D7.

Domitius Magnus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Origin? Date: Caracalla/Severus Alexander.

CIL III 3388; Devijver 1976 331 D26; 1987, 2091 Ign. 21; Fitz 1978, 357; 1983, 111 no. 443; Lörincz 2001, 214 no. 187.

L. Ennius Marsus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Origin: Setina?. Date: 129

RMD 34; Nagy 1956, 49; Devijver 1976, 346 E12; 1987, 1549 E 12; Lörincz 2001, 160 no. 21.

T. Flavius Iulianus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Origin? Date: 139.

CIL XVI 175; Nagy, 1956, 15-71=AE 1955, 17; Devijver 1976 369 F52; 1987, 1560 F52.

Lörincz 2001, 160 no. 21.

T. Flavius Magianus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum), Fitz 1978, 357; Devijver 1976 F, 56 no. 1562

Flavius Macer (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Origin ? Date: 167

CIL XVI 123; Devijver 1976, 371 F56; 1987, 1562 F56; Lorincz 2001, 166 no. 33.

L. Iulius Vehilius Gratus Iulianus (ala I Thracum Herculiana). Origin: Palmyra? Date: 165-166.

CIL VI 31856; CIG 3, 4488=ILS 8869=IGR 3, 1037=1536; Seyrig 1933, 159-160 no. 2=AE 1933, 208=SEG VII 145; PIR IV² 224 no. 364; Pflaum 1960, 456-464 no.180; Gordon 1964, 148-152 no. 245; Saxer 1967, 35-37 no. 67; Devijver 1975, 120 no. 8; 1976 I, 461-462 no. 70; 492-494 no. 136; 1987, 1620 I 136.

M. Macrinus Avitus Catonius Vindex (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum) Origin: Roma. Date: ca. 162-163.

CIL VI 1449=ILS 110; Pflaum 1960, 510-513 no. 188/1; Gordon 1964, 120-123 no. 233; Devijver 1977, 550-551 M4; Dobó 1975 no. 175; Devijver 1987, 1635-1636 M4; Lorincz 2001, 188 no. 100; Alföldy, Equites Romani, 16, no. 12, 13.

Marcus (ala I Thracum Herculiana). Date: 2nd century.

Thomas, Davies 1977, 53 III 48. (Coll. P. Brooklyn).

M. Milonius Verus Iunianus (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin: Italy. Date: 88.

CIL XVI 3; Devijver 1975, 122 no. 12; 1977 M, 574 no. 54.

[...] **mus** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana). Origin? Date: Hadrian.

AE 1981, 600.

Paeduceus Marcianus (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin ? Date: 160

RMD 173; Devijver 1987 P, 2197 no. P16 bis.

M. Petronius Honoratus, (ala II Augusta Thracum) Origin: Roma. Date: Antoninus Pius

CIL VI 1625 a, b; 14 Suppl 4418; Vaglieri, 1912, 390; AE 1913, 197; Pflaum 1960, 283-286 no. 117; Leveau 1973, 161 no. 12; Devijver 1977 P 634 no. 24; 1987, 1678 P24; Benseddik 1977, 212 no. 70.

Ti. Plautius Felix Ferruntianus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Origin: Mactar(?) Date:175.

CIL VIII 619=11780=ILS 2747; AE 1969/1970, 580; Pflaum 1960, 539-541 no. 198; Jarrett 1972, 202 no. 108; Dobó 1975, 535; Devijver 1977, 644-645 P41; 1987, 1681 P41; Lörincz 2001, 213 no. 182.

M. Porcius, (ala I Thracum Herculiana) Origin: Narbona. Date: Flavians.

CIL II 4239; 4240 ; RIT 301; Devijver 1975, 84-85 no. 96 ; 1987, 673-674 P 96.

Q. Postumius Lepidinus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Origin ? Date: 200-250. Fs. Nagytétény.

CIL III 3411; Devijver 1977, 679 P105; Fitz 1993, 1109 no. 744; Lörincz 2001, 215 no. 191.

P. Publius (Publicius?)[...] (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum)(?). Origin ? Date: 2nd century. Fs. Almasfuzito.

CIL III 13434; RIU 3, 701; Devijver 1987 P 1694 no. 109.

C. Sappius Flavius, (ala I Thracum Herculiana) Origin: *Civitas Vocontiorum*. Date: 70-92.

CIL XII 1357; Cavenaille 1970 no. 1859; Devijver 1975, 124 no. 18; 1977, 720 S8 ; 1987, 1714 I 8.

[...] **ja Secundus** (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum). Origin? Date: 198-211/222-235; Fs. Pannonhalma.

CIL III 11020=RIU 277=AE 1995, 1258; Barkóczi 1951, 55 no. 76; 1964, 55 no. 81; Fitz 1983, 112 no. 444; Nagy, 1995, 147-153; Lörincz 2001, 219 no. 199.

Sulpicius Pompeius (ala I Thracum victrix). Origin ? Date: 21. 06. 159. F.s.u.

Weiss, 1999, 147-182= AE 1999, 1351 a-c.

M. Terentius Quirinalis (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum). Origin ? Date: 91.

RMD 4=AE 1961, 319; Devijver 1977, 779 T 11; 1987, 1736 T11.

Valerius Frontinus (ala I Thracum Herculiana). Origin: Hermopolis. Date: 185.

P. Amh II 107; BGU III 807; Wilcken, 417; Daris 1964, no. 54; Devijver 1975, 98-99 no. 118; 1977, 814 V 11.

M. Valerius Propinquus Gratus Cerialis (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum). Origin: Edeta. Date: ca. 80.

CIL II 4251=ILS 2711=RIT 311; Alföldy 1968, 192 no. 85; Devijver 1977, 826-827 V 30; Devijver 1977, 1756 V 30.

C. Vibius Celer (I Thracum Herculiana). Origin: Palmyra. Date: ca 160-170

Seyrig 1933, 159 no. 1= AE 1933, 207.

Ignotus (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin ? Date: Tiberius (?)

AE 1926, 182=1982, 885; Demougin 1981, 97-109.

Ignotus (ala I Thracum). Origin? Date?

CIL XI 3100=AE 1979, 220; 1983, 325; Di Stefano Mangella 1979, 86-90 no. 26; 1981, 118 ad CIL XI 3100; Devijver 1987 N (IV) 1661-1662 no. 24 I.

Ignotus (ala I Thracum Herculiana). Origin ? Date: mid 2nd century (Marcus Aurelius?)

IGRRP III 1420=ILS 8868; Seyrig 1941, 359 no. 164; Ameling 1985, 131-132 no. 57; Devijver 1987, 1792 Ign.30; Devijver 1986, 155-156 no. 12.

Ignotus (ala I Gallorum et Thracum Constantium). Origin: Africa Proconsularis? Date: 2nd century. CIL XIV 5351a. Devijver 1977, 991 Inc.257; Pflaum, 1960-1961, 131; Jarret 1972, 158 no. 18.

Ignotus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Origin: ?. Date: first half of the 2nd century.

AE 1973, 654 ; Leveau 1973, 153; Devijver 1977, 956 Inc. 152 Benseddik 1982, 212 no. 68.

[...] **mus** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana). Origin?. Date: 121-125.

Laguerre 1975, 48-52 no. 43=AE 1981, 600 = Benoit 1964, 607; Devijver 1977, 934 Inc. 92; 1987, 1805-1806 Inc 92.

Cohortes Thracum

L. Aburnius Tuscianus (cohors III Augusta Thracum; cohors III Thracum Syriaca equitata). Origin: Heraclea ad Salbacum. Date: Trajan.

Premmerstein 1910, 200-209; AE 1911, 161; ILS 9471; Devijver 1976, 47-48 A5; 1987, 1409 A5.

A. Aelius Sollemnianus (cohors I Flavia Bessorum). Origin ? Date: 29.06. 120.

CIL XVI 67; Devijver 1976, 74 A63; 1987, 1412-1413 A63.

[...] **A]vitus Rufus** (cohors I Augusta Thracum). Origin? Date: 2nd century. Fs. Sabratha

IRT 96; Devijver 1976, 164 A266; 1987, 1464 A266.

T. Antonius Alfenus Arignotus (cohors II Flavia Bessorum). Origin: Thyatira. Date: Marcus Aurelius.

CIG II, 3484=IGRRP IV 1204; CIG II, 3497=IGRRP IV 1213=ILS 8853; Robert, Istros I 1934, 1-5; Devijver 1976, 106-108 A132; 1987, 1435 A132. Devijver 1986, 150; Piso 1993, 106-117.

L. Antonius Silo (cohors III Thracum Syriaca). Origin: Tarraco(?) Date: Flavians.

CIL II 4138=ILS 2715=RIT 162; Suolahti 1955, 344 no. 13; Devijver 1976, 113 A145 ; 1987, 1439 A145.

L. Aprius Liburnus Varvarinus (cohors III Thracum). Origin: Varvaria. Date late 1st-early 2nd century.

Suić, 1968, 93-118; Devijver 1976 117-118 A155.

[...] **Avitus Rufus** (cohors I Augusta Thracum). Origin: Sabratha. Date: 138-200.

IRT 96; Devijver 1976, 164-165 A266.

[...] **P(ubli) f. Bassus** (cohors I Thracum milliaria). Origin? Date: 12 May 91. F. s. u.

Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219-221 no. 3.

L. Bruttius Celer (cohors III Augusta Thracum). Origin: Formiae. Date 2nd century. Fs. Formiae.

CIL XI 6100; Devijver 1976, 185 B30; 1987, 1475 B30.

L. C[...] Sabinus (cohors III Augusta Thracum). Origin: Roma(?). Date 2nd century.

CIL VI 3508.

Caecilius Maior (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: [...]. Fs. Coptos.

AE 1990, 1023.

T. Caesius Anthianus (cohors II Augusta Thracum equitata). Origin: Puteoli. Date: after 218. Duthoy 1984-1986, 140 no. 81.

AE 1908, 206=ILS 9014; Pflaum 1960-1961, 827-828 no. 321; Devijver 1976 205 C41; 1987, 1482 C41.

L. Caesius Frontinus (cohors I Thracum equitata). Origin: domo Parma. Date: first half of the 3rd century. Fs. Bowes.

RIB 733= JRS 1947, 179=AE 1949, 96; CIL VII 274=RIB 734=JRS 1947, 179 no. 8; Devijver 1976, 206-207 C43; 1987, 1482 C43.

L. Calidius Bassus (cohors II Gemella Thracum). Origin: Vettona? Date: late 1st century.

ILAlg. 510; AE 1894, 87; Devijver 1976, 208 C49.

L. Carvilius Rusticinus (cohors II Flavia Bessorum). Origin? Date: 2nd century.

AE 1971, 379=IDR III/4, 179; Russu 1965, 208-210; Devijver 1976, 226 C85.

L. Cassius Severus (cohors IIII Thracum). Origin. Cyrene. Date: late 2nd –early 3rd century. Fs. Plovdiv.

Botusharova 1985, 13-23=SEG XXXV 829.

Catonius Macer (cohors I Thracum equitata). Origin? Date: [...]. Fs. Araç/Ortagürney.

AE 1951, 254; Cavenaille 1970, 238 no. 574; Devijver 1975, 43-44 no. 32; 1976, 102 C 233; 1987, C102.

Claudius Alpinus (cohors VI Thracum equitata). Date: 12.07. 96; Fs. Kostolac.

RMD 6; Dušanić, Vasić 1977, 291.

Claudius Celer (cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Origin Italy(?). Date: before 90.

CIL XIII 6213; Devijver 1977, 610-611 O5.

Claudius Marinus Pacatianus (cohors I Thracum Civium Romanorum). Origin? Date: 198-209. Fs. Ács.

AE 1969/1970, 501; 1972, 437; RIU 640; Fitz 1970, 157; Gabler 1969, 199-206; Devijver 1976, 258 C157; 1987, 1506 C157.

Claudius Montanus (cohors II Thracum equitata). Origin? Date: 13.05. 86.

CIL XVI 33= IDR I 24; Cavenaille 1970, 240 no. 628; Devijver 1975, 119 no. 2; 1976, 260 C161.

Tib. Claudius Paulus (cohors I Thracum equitata). Origin: Tibur(?). Date: 2nd century. Insc.. Ital. IV, 156=CIL XIV 3625; Devijver 1976, 261-262 C163; 1987, 1507 C163.

Ti. Claudius Phi[...](cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata). Origin: Palmyra Date: ca. 160.

AE 1947, 171; Seyrig 1941, 233-236; Devijver 1976, 262 C165; 1987, 1508 C156; Devijver 1986, 180.

P. Claudius Pollio (praefectus, sic!)(cohors I Thracum milliaria). Origin? Date: late 1st century. Fs. Teos.

CIG II 3132=IGR IV 1565; PIR II² 233, no. 965; Devijver 1976, 264 C169 ; 1987, 1508 C165. Devijver 1986, 151.

Q. Didius Euhodianus (tribunus) (cohors I Thracum milliaria): Origin? Date: mid 2nd century. Fs. Köln.

CIL XIII 12058; Alföldy 1968, 187 no. 65; Devijver 1976, 312 D7.

C. Egnatuleius Seneca (cohors IIII Thracum equitata). Origin: Tarraco. Date: Domitian. Fs. Taragona.

CIL II 4212=RIT 272; Alföldy 1968, 213-214 no. 156; 1973 no. 21; Devijver 1976, 344 E 6; 1987, 1548 E6.

Q. Euvius Capreolous (cohors II Thracum equitata).Origin: Aquileia. Date: before 70-83.

ILS 9090= AE 1902, 41; Alföldy 1968, 72 no. 155; Devijver 1977, 346-347 E14 ; 1987, 1549-1550 E14.

T. Flavius Geminus (cohors I Augusta Thracum). Date: second half of the 2nd century. Fs. Aime.

ILAlpes I 28; Debeauvais 1995, 70-72; Berard 1995, 343-358; CAG 73, 87.

T. Flavius Attalianus Quadratus (cohors II Thracum). Origin? Date: late 1st –early 2nd century. Fs. Sagalassos.

SEG XLIII 1993, 951=AE 1993, 1556; Devijver 1992, 107 no. 2; 109.

Gemellus (cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata). Origin: domo Palmyra Orientis. Date:[...] Fs. Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa

IDR III/2, 348; Devijver 1987, 629bis 1581.

[I] **ulius** (cohors II Thracum equitata). Origin? Date: [...]. Fs. Aquileia

CIL V 953.

C. Iulius Macedonius (tribunus sic!)(cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum equitata). Origin? Date: 1st century. Fs. Baalbek.

IGLS VI 2867.

L. Iulius Vehilius Gratus Iulianus (cohors III Augusta Thracum). Origin: Italy. Date: 157-160. Fs. Brixia

CIL VI 31856=ILS 1327; AE 1888, 66; CIG III 4488=ILS 8869=IGR 3, 1037=1536; Seyrig 1933, 159-160 no. 2=AE 1933, 208=SEG VII 145; PIR IV² 224 no. 364; Pflaum 1960-1961, 456-464 no.180; Gordon 1964, 148-152 no. 245; Saxer 1967, 35-37; no. 67; Devijver 1976, 492-494 I 136; 1987, 1620 I136.

Tib. Iulius Vestinianus Asclepiades qui et Leonides (cohors I Thracum equitata; cohors III Thracum Syriaca). Origin : Aegyptus(?) ; Date: 127.

P. Primi 25 v 11= SB Primi 3 v 11; P. Mil. Vogl I 25 v 11; Cavenaille 1970, 268 no. 1290, 306 no. 2195; Criniti 1973, 148, 128 no. 1290 ; Devijver 1975,68-69 no. 70 ; 1977, 495 I 138; 1987, 1620 I138 ; Devijver 1986, 194; Daris 1988, 764.

[...] **Iulius Secundus** [...] (cohors I Thracum equitata). Origin? Date: late 1st century. Fs.Aradus.

IGR III 1015; Crum, Woodhead, 1961, 330, 1; Cavenaille 1970, 293 no. 1893; Devijver 1977, 769 Q97.

Q. Lutatius Dexter Laelianus (cohors IIII Thracum equitata). Date: 02. 80.

CIL XVI 158=AE 1948, 56; Dechev 1946, 86-91; Alföldy 1968, 164 no. 2.

[...] **Illus** (cohors I Thracum). Origin(?). Date : 3rd century.

RIB 741=Eph. Ep. 7, 941 ; Devijver 1977, 940 Inc 107; 1987, 1808 Ign. 107.

Magonius Valens (tribunus) (cohors I Thracum milliaria). Origin? Date : 6. 05. 124. Fs. En Gedi.

AE 1926, 74; Lewis, Yardin, Greenfeld 1989, 41-46 inv. No. 9.

Manilius Nepos (cohors II Thracum equitata). Origin (Italy?). Date: 2nd -3rd centuries.

RIB 797; Devijver 1977, 558 M19.

C. Navius Quadratus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Origin? Date: early 2nd century. Fs. Tutrakan.

AE 1939, 101; Christescu 1938, 431-432; Devijver 1977, 596 N8 ; 1987, 1656 N8.

L. Noreius Fortunatus (cohors III Thracum veterana). Origin? Date: 2nd century. Fs. Haunsheim.

CIL III 5580=11899; Devijver 1976, N 598 no. 13.

L. Numisius Priscus (cohors I Thracum Civium Romanorum). Origin: Bovianum. Date: 16. 06.138. Fs. Tótvásony

CIL XVI 84; Bormann 1897, 161; Lörincz 2001, 170 no. 43; Devijver 1977, N 602-603 no. 22.

C. Numidius Verus (cohors ...Thracum). Origin: Italia (Falerii?). Date: Trajan.

CIL XI 3100; Manzella 1981, 118; Devijver 1977, 603 N24; 1987, 1662 N25.

L. Octavius Celer (cohors I Thracum equitata). Origin? Date: 65. Fs. Debelec.

Dušanić 1978, 461-475; Devijver 1987, 1665 O 5.

C. Placidius Casdianus (cohors I Thracum equitata). Origin: Camunni. Date: late 1st century.

CIL V 4957=ILS 6713; Devijver 1977P 643 no. 38.

[...] **Pollio** (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Origin? Date:[...]. Fs. Ephesus.

Devijver 1977, 690 P127; 1987, 1699 P127.

L. Porcius Crescens (cohors IIII Thracum equitata). Origin? Date: 20. 08. 127. Fs. Glava

AE 1997, 1314; RMD 239.

Sex. Rasius Proculus (cohors II Thracum equitata; cohors II Thracum Syriaca). Origin? Date: late 1st – early 2nd century.

AE 1911, 124; Devijver 1977, 703-704 R5.

M. Sentius Proculus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Origin: Berytus; Date: early 2nd century.

Seyrig 1926, 67-68; AE 1926, 150; Devijver 1977, 731 S25; 1987, 1718 S25.

C. Setidius Firmus (cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca). Origin:Italy. Date: early 2nd century.

Inscr. Ital. 10, 1, 67; Devijver 1977, 738 S45; 1987, 1721 S 45.

T. Statilius Taurus (cohors VI Thracum equitata). Origin: Roma(?). Date: 2nd century. CIL XIII 6817; Devijver 1976, 725-726 S70; 1987, 1725 S70.

C. Turpilius Verecundus (cohors I Thracum Germanica). Date: 8.02. 157. Fs. Dunakömlöd.

RMD 102; 103; AE 1983, 784, 785; Visy 1982, 60-62 no. 2 A; B. Lörincz 2001, 163 no. 27, 28.

T. Urbicius Primianus (cohors I Thracum equitata). Origin? Date: first half of the 3rd century. Fs. Bowes.

RIB733; AE1988, 850=AE1990, 672.

[...] **us Aem[ilian]us** (cohors I Thracum equitata). Origin? Date: first half of the 3rd century. Fs. Bowes. RIB 741.

C. Valerius Florinus (cohors II Thracum Syriaca). Origin: Malaca. Date: Hadrian.

CIL XIV 2957; Devijver 1977, 814 V10; 1987, 1752 V10.

L. Valerius Priscus (cohors II Thracum equitata; III Thracum veterana; III Thracum equitata civium Romanorum). Origin: Vienna. Date: 2nd century.

CIL V 2841; Devijver 1977, 823-824 V27.

L. Valerius Proculus (cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca). Origin: Malaca. Date: Antoninus Pius.

CIL II 1970=ILS 1341; Pflaum 1960-1961, 274-279 no. 113; Devijver 1976, 825-826 V 29; 1987, 1755-1756 V29.

P. Valerius Protogenianus (cohors II Thracum). Origin ? Date: 2nd century. Fs Tyr.

Rey Coquais 1994, 39-49.

M. Valerius Maximianus (cohors I Thracum). Origin: Poetovio. Date: c.160. Fs. Diana Veteranorum.

Pflaum 1955, 135-154; AE 1956, 124; Pflaum 1960, 476-494 no. 181 bis; Alfoldi 1974, 199-215=1987, 330; Dobó 1975 no. 156a; 536; Pflaum 1960-1961, 181 bis; 1978, 65-66 no.1; Devijver 1977, 820-822 V23; 1987, 1754 V23; Piso 1993, 224-235, no. 53; Fitz 1993, 618-619 no. 349; Šašel 1982, 567-568; 1992, 176-177.

[...] **Cl(audia) Liburno** (cohors III Thracum). Origin? Date: mid 2nd century. Fs: Bribir.

Suić 1968, 95-97; Šašel 1968 no. 825; Domic-Kunić 1988, 96 no. 42.

L. Vecilius Modestus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Origin? Date: Flavians.

Hirschfeld 1884, 84 no. 1=CIL III 8261= ILS 2733=ISM III/2, 23; Vulić, 1900, 139 no. 39; Devijver 1977, 843V59; 1987, 1763 V59.

M. Vettius Pius (cohors VI Thracum equitata). Origin: Puteoli. Date: 2nd century.

CIL X 1777; Devijver 1976, 853-854 V77.

C. Vibius Publilianus (cohors IIII Thracum equitata). Origin: Tibur(?). Date: 65-68.

Inscr. Ital IV, 1. 47=CIL XIV 3548=ILS 2706; Devijver 1976, 869 V104; 1987, 1773 V104.

Ignotus (cohors I Thracum milliaria). Date: ca. 197. Fs: Annecy.

CIL XIII 2535.

Ignotus. (cohors III Thracum veterana, cohors II Thracum equitata); praefectus II iterum cohortium duarum tertiae Thracum Raetiae et secundae equitatum. Origin? Date: late 2nd century.

CIL V 2841; Devijver 1976, V 823 no. 27.

Commentary

From the evidence available there is no indication of a *praefectus alae* or *cohortis* of Thracian origin. Even the generous Seyrig's interpretation that the beginning of the name of a praefectus in *Au[...]* could be restored in *Au[lusanus]* remains a simple assumption. There are 45 known *praefecti alae* and 64 *praefecti cohortium* who completed one of their militia in the Thracian cavalry regiments.

2. PRAEPOSITI

P. Aelius Primianus (ala II Augusta Thracum); praepositus vexillationis equitum Maurorum, defensor provinciae suae. Origin? Date: 16.02.255. Fs. Auzia.

CIL VIII 9045=ILS 2766=Benseddik 1977, no. 76.

Aemilius Pompeianus. (ala II Augusta Thracum); praepositus cohortis II Sardorum equitatae. Origin: Africa(?). Date: second half of the 2nd century; Fs: Sour Djamal.

AE 1929, 135; Seston 1928, 169; Leveau 1973, 164 no. 15. Benseddik 1977, 216 no. 83.

C. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus (cohors II Flavia Bessorum). Origin: Asia Minor. Date: Marcus Aurelius. Fs. Akkilisse.

CIG II 3497=IGR IV 1213=ILS 8853; TAM 5/2, 913 a-b; PIR I² 156 no. 821; Pflaum 1960, 576-579 no. 218 ter (=309); Robert 1934, 1-5; 1970, 124-127; Devijver 1976 A 106-108 no. 132; Petolescu 1987, 161-164; 1996, 253-258.

T. Iulius Germanus (ala II Augusta Thracum); praepositus cohortis II Sardorum equitatae. Origin? Date: 208; Fs: Hadjar er Roum, ex Lamorcière.

CIL VIII 10949=21721; AE 1932, 31; Courtot 1931, 370; Marcillet-Jaubert 1968, 20 no. 2; 21 no. 3 Leveau 1973, 164 no. 16; Benseddik 1977, 213 no. 72, 73.

M. Valerius Lollianus, praepositus in Mesopotamia vexillationibus electorum alarum [...]

Herculianae[...] item cohortium[...] II Thracum. Origin?. Date: second half of the 2nd century (ca. 166-170)

CIL III 600=14203³⁵=ILS 2724; ILAlb.14 ; Saxer 1967, 34 no. 64; Pflaum, 1970, 364 no. 11; Dobo 1975, 142 no. 755; Devijver 1975, 99 no. 119; 1977, 816-817 V17.

P. Valerius Protogenianus (praefectus cohors II Thracum); praepositus cohortis III Thracum. Origin ? Date: 2nd century. Fs Tyr.

Rey Coquais 1994, 39-49.

3. CENTURIONES

Cohortes Thracum

Aelius Secundus (?) (cohors I Thracum?). Date 4th century. Fs. Sewingshields, milecastle 35. RIB 2411, 146.

Agrippa (cohors III Thracum Syriaca). Date: 2nd century. Fs. El Kantara. AE 1900, 197.

Antonius (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 143. Fs. Thebe

P. Columbia inv. 325; Gilliam 1967, 241, v 1; Criniti 1979, 213 nr. 142^a.246 nr.1992^b

Augustalis (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: [126/127]. Fs. Talmis

SB 4593³; Lesquier 1918, 150 nr. 31; Cavenaille 1970, 245 nr.; 742.

A(ulus) B(...) **D(...)**(cohors VII Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Brough under Stainmore. RIB 2411, 237.

***Aurelius Bitus** (cohors III Thracum equitata).Date: 200-250. Fs. Valkenburg.

Brunsting 1940-1944, 202 nr. 47; Bogaers 1974², 453.

A Vep(...)(cohors VII Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Brough under Stainmore.

RIB 2411, 150-160.

***Bessus** (cohors II Gemella Thracum). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Sila.

ILAlg. 6877.

***Bisa** (cohors IIII Thracum equitata). Date: 200-250. Fs. Valkenburg. Brunsting 1940-1944, 202 nr. 33; Bogaers 1974², 453.

C[...](cohors VII Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Brough under Stainmore. RIB 2411, 14.

Caecilius (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 143. Fs. Thebe. CIL III 12074⁴; Lesquier 1918, 150; Cavenaille 1970, 286 nr. 1708.

Claudius (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 25.04.127. Fs. Contrapollonosopolis. CPL 159 v 7; Gilliam 1967, 240, v 2; Criniti 1979 222 nr. 599^b.

Claudius (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 143. Fs. Thebe. P. Columbia inv. 325; Gilliam 1967, 240, v 2; 241 v 3; Criniti 1979 212 nr. 99^a; 599^d; 236 nr. 1412^b.

Crispus ((cohors II Thracum equitata). Date 70-120. Fs. Maurik. Bogaers 1974², 448-449.

***Diza** (cohors I Thracum). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Kerchi. IOSPE II 290; Speidel 1992, 174-179.

L. Farsuleius (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 25.04.127. Fs. Contrapollonosopolis Magna. CPL 159 v^o 1; 2; 4; 5; Cavenaille 1970, 222 nr. 184; 234 nr. 480; 274 nr. 1417; Daris 1988, 764.

Firmus (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date 70-120. Fs. Maurik. Bogaers 1974², 448-449.

F(...)**L(...)****M(...)** (cohors VI Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Brough under Stainmore. RIB 2411, 152-160.

Ip(pius?) **D(...)**(cohors VII Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Brough under Stainmore. RIB 2411, 162-167.

[Iu]l(ius) (cohors VII Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Brough under Stainmore. RIB 2411, 168.

Iulius (cohors I Augusta Thracum). Date: early 1st century. Acta Apostolorum 27. 1.

M. Iulius Bellus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Date: late 1st century. Fs. Studena Bara. IMS VI 233.

C. Iulius Maximus (cohors VI Thracum). Date: 83-92. Fs. Böleske. Lörincz 2001, 44, 122.

Iulius Martialis (cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca). Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Astorga. AE 1928, 165; Le Roux, 1982, 89, 182 nr. 46.
(cohors I Flavia Bessorum). Origin: *Hierapolis*. Date: 29.06. 120; Fs: Ritopek. CIL XVI 67.

***Iulius Teres** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum). Date: late 2nd –early 3rd century. Fs. Heraclea Lyncestis. ILJug II 454 = AE 1974, 587.

Longus (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 25.04.127. Fs. Contrapollonosopolis. CPL 154 v 9; Gilliam 1975, 722; 766-774; Criniti 1979 239 nr. 1599^a. 236 nr. 1402^a.

Marc(ius) **D(...)**(cohors VII Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Brough under Stainmore. RIB 2411, 169-176.

M(arcus) **C(...)** **V(...)**(cohors VII Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Brough under Stainmore. RIB 2411, 177.

Mu(...) **Cad(arus?)** (cohors VII Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Brough under Stainmore. RIB 2411, 180; 187-192.

Octavius (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 126/127. Fs. Talmis. SB 4607, 1; 9; Lesquier 1918, 150 nr. 39; Cavenaille 1970, 225 nr. 268; 308 nr. 2249; Daris 1956, 238-239; 1988, 764.

Octasius (?) (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 143. Fs. Thebe
SB 4607, ¹; ⁹; Cavenaille 1970 nr.; 268; 2249; Criniti 1979, 251 nr. 2249.

Petr(onius) (cohors VII Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Brough under Stainmore.
RIB 2411, 202-112.

L. Sextilius Fuscus (cohors I Thracum). Date: late 1st –early 2nd century. Fs. Lazu.
ISM 2, 263.

Silla (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 25.04.127. Fs. Contrapollonosopolis
CPL 154 v 8; Gilliam 1975, 722; 766-774; Criniti 1979 238 nr. 1505^b.

T(...M(...F(...) (cohors VI Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Brough under Stainmore.
RIB 2411, 157.

L. Valerius Albinus (cohors I Thracum). Date: late 1st early 2nd century. Origo: domo[..
Fs. Offenburg.

T(...V(...D(...) (cohors VI Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Brough under Stainmore.
RIB 2411, 157.

[...](cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 25.04.127. Fs. Contrapollonosopolis
CPL 154 v 8; Gilliam 1975, 722; Criniti 1979 244 nr. 1992^a.

Centuriones deputati

***Aurelius Mucianus** (?). Date. 200-250. Fs. Thessaloniki.
Eph. Ep. 5, 207.

Other cohorts

***Aelius Tarsas** (cohors II Lucensium). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs. Izvor
Filov 1910, 227; AE 1911, 17; Kraft 1951, 179 nr. 1573; Velkov 1989, 8-9.

Commentary

Compared to the corps of decurions, the centurions of Thracian origin appear in a larger number. There are seven centurions bearing names of certain Thracian origin of whom six are recorded in Thracian auxiliary regiments.

Two Thracian centurions in *cohors III Thracum* in Lower Germany are recorded on graffiti on shards: *Aurelius Bitus*, and *Bisa*. The shards are dated in the first half of the 3rd century, suggesting that the promotion of soldiers with a long service in the same unit to higher grades became a common practice at that time. A 2nd century centurion named *Bessus*, in *cohors II Gemella Thracum* in Numidia, is a name of an individual rather than the term for his origin. Two regiments yielded names of Thracian centurions: *Iulius Teres* in *cohors I Flavia Bessorum* in Macedonia, a unit which already offered a long list of Thracian soldiers and *Diza* in *cohors I Thracum*, in Crimea. Both regions are well-known for their dense Thracian population, as reflected in inscriptions.

Aelius Tarsas appears as the only centurion of Thracian origin known thus far in a regiment of non Thracian origin. *Aurelius Mucianus*, recorded in Thessaloniki, was a *centurio deputatus* in the first half of the 3rd century. He seems to have replaced for a short time a centurion of a certain unit stationed temporarily in the city.

4. DECURIONES

Alae Thracum

- Aebutius.** (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 27.03.142; Fs. Alexandria.
AE 1948 168²⁴; Macqueron 1945, 123-170; von Bolla 1953, 273-278; CPL 221; Criniti 1973 no. 15^a.
- Aelianus Hadrianus.** (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199. Fs. Alexandria.
CIL III 14=6581 II²⁰; Cavenaille 1970 no. 26.
- Aelius Martianus** (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199. Fs. Alexandria.
CIL III 14=6581 II¹⁶; Cavenaille 1970 no. 32.
- P. Aelius Veranus** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: Hadrian. Fs: Hantos-Kishantospuszta.
Vágó 1970, 129 no. 462=AE 1971, 350; Lörincz 2001, 212 no.177.
- Aemilius Pompeianus.** (ala II Augusta Thracum); praepositus cohortis II Sardorum equitatae. Date: second half of the 2nd century; Fs: Sour Djamal.
AE 1929, 135; Seston 1928, 169; Leveau 1973, 164 no. 15. Benseddik 1977, 216 no. 83.
- P. Aelius Primianus.** (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 16.02.255; Fs: Sour el Ghozlan.
CIL VIII 9045=ILS 2766; Pflaum 1960, 165 no. 19; Leveau 1973, 165 no. 19; Benseddik 1977, 214 no. 76.
- P. Aelius Veranus** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs: Baracska.
CIL III 10369; Kraft 1951, 160 no. 622; Lorincz 2001, 212 no. 177.
- Annelus Quodratius** (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199. Fs. Alexandria.
CIL III 14=6581 II¹⁵; Cavenaille 1970 no. 116.
- Antesstius Numisianus** (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199. Fs. Alexandria.
CIL 3, 14=6581 II¹²; Cavenaille, 1970 no. 126^a
- Antonius.** (ala II Augusta Thracum).Date: second half of the 1st century. Fs: Cherchel.
AE 1973, 654; 1975, 945; Le Roux 1982, 227 no. 194; Benseddik 1977, 210 no. 58.
- Arrius Quodratius** (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199. Fs. Alexandria.
CIL III 14=6581 II¹⁴; Cavenaille 1970 no. 292.
- Asclepiodorus qui et C [...]**e (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199. Fs. Alexandria.
CIL III 14=6581 II¹¹; Cavenaille 1970 no. 307.
- Atticus** (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 1st century A.D; Fs. Cherchel.
CIL VIII 21026; Leveau 1973, 159 no. 8; Benseddik 1977, 210 no. 60; Saddington 1980, 48 no. 27.
- Aurelius Aelius** (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199. Fs. Alexandria.
CIL III 14=6581 II²¹; Cavenaille 1970 no. 351.
- M. Aurelius Attianus** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: 200-250. Fs. Székesfehérvár.
CIL III 3351; Kraft 1951, 160 no. 622; Barkóczy 1964, 349 no. 142/6; Lörincz 2001, 216 no. 192.
- Aurelius Avvo** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: 198-222. Fs: Budapest.
Szilágy 1950, 460, 470; Barkóczy 1964, 343 no. 105/16; Fitz 1983, 57 no. 190; Lörincz 2001, 214 no. 185.
- Aurelius Heraclides** (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199; Fs. Alexandria.
CIL III 14=6581 II¹⁸; F.s. Philae; CIL III 75¹⁷; Cavenaille 1970 no. 401.
- Aurelius Iulius** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: 200-250. Fs. Nagytétény.
CIL III 10378(=3395); Kraft 1952, 161 no. 631; Barkóczy 1964, 347 no. 106/4; Lörincz 2001, 215 no. 190.
- M. Aurelius Lucanus** (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittaria) Date: 200-250. Fs. Ács.
CIL III 11020=RIU 646; Barkóczy 1951, 55 no. 76; 1964, 55 no. 81; Fitz 1983, 112 no. 444; Lörincz 2001, 219 no. 200.

Aurelius Valerianus (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittaria). Date: 200-250. Fs. Almásfüzitő. RIU 707; Barkóczy 1951, 56-57 no. 114; 1964, 339 no. 91/7; Lörincz 2001, 219 no. 201.

Bellicius Statutus (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Hohenstein. CIL III 4839; Kraft 1951, 162 no. 636.

C. Caesius Marcellus. (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs. Cherchel. CIL VIII 9358; Leveau 1973, 163 no. 13.

Claudius Agrippas (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199. Fs. Alexandria. CIL III 6581 II¹⁹; Cavenaille 1970 no. 606.

Claudius Quintilosius (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 125-167. Fs. Cherchel. d'Escurac-Doisy 1957, 137-150; AE 1958, 156=1960, 245; Leveau 1973 no. 11; Benseddik 1977, 231 no. 71; Pflaum 1978, 155-161.

Cocceius Senecius (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs. Baracska. CIL III 10369; Kraft 1951, 160 no. 622; Mocsy 1959, 256 201/1; Lörincz 2001, 212 no. 178.

Cominius Ro[...] (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199; Fs. Alexandria. CIL III 14=6581 II²⁵; Cavenaille 1970 no. 670.

Cornelius Primus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 198-211; Date: Fs. Cherchel. CIL VIII 9370=1375a; Pflaum 1960, 703-705 no. 262; Thomasson 1960, 265-266; Leveau 1973, 165 no. 18; Benseddik 1977, 213 no. 74.

Q. Fabius Modestus, domo Roma. (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: Fs. Hohenstein. CIL III 4806.

***Flavius Bassus** (?). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Glava Panega. Katsarov 1938 no. 359.

C. Flavius [...]osus. (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 125-167. Fs. Cherchel. d'Escurac-Doisy 1957, 137-150=AE 1958, 158; Pflaum, 1960, 975 no. 146 bis; Thomasson 1960, 282; Leveau 1973, 161 no. 11; Benseddik 1977, 213 no. 71.

Flavius Ulpianus (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Date: mid 2nd century; Fs. Beth Shean. Last, Stein 1990: 224-228; AE 1990, 1013.

A. Flavius Vespasianus (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 134; Fs. Alexandria. Fink 1971, 229; Daris, 1964, 49-50 no. 9.

Gaius Vesperus. (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: first half of the 1st century. Fs. Gerasa. Jones 1928, 145 no. 2; AE 1930, 90; Syrig 1931, 368-369 no. 1; SEG 7, 1934 no. 901; Wells[...] no. 201.

Genialis (ala I Thracum). Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Cirencester. RIB 109; Saddington 1980, 48 no. 2.

Q. Granus Felix. (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 262; Fs: Cherchel. CIL VIII 9378=21035; Leveau 1973, 168 no. 21; Benseddik 1977, 214 no. 77.

P. Herrenius Masculus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 3rd century (?). Fs. Berrouaghia. CIL VIII 9238; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 24; Benseddik 1977, 215 no. 82.

C. Iulius Antoninus (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199; Fs. Alexandria. CIL III 14=6581II¹³=AE 1932, 31; Cavenaille 1970 no. 1102.

Iulius Bassus (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199; Fs. Alexandria. CIL III 14=6581 II²⁴; Cavenaille 1970 no. 1133.

T. Iulius Germanus (ala II Augusta Thracum); praepositus cohortis II Sardorum equitatae. Date: 208; Fs. Hadjar er Roum, ex Lamorciere. CIL VIII 10949=21721; AE 1932, 31; Courtot 1931, 370; Marcillet-Jaubert 1968, 20 no. 2; 21 no. 3. Leveau 1973, 164 no. 16; Benseddik 1977, 213 no. 72, 73.

C. Iulius Lupercus, domo Sala (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittaria). Date: before 180; Fs; Szőny.

CIL III 4321=RIU 560; Kraft 1951, 162 no. 674; Mocsy 1959, 246 164/19; Barkóczy 1964, 55 no. 81; Lörincz 2001, 218 no. 197.

Iulius Octavus (ala I Augusta Thracum. F.s). Date: Fs. Augsburg.
CIL III 5819.

Iulius Proculus. (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 1st century A.D; Fs. Capera
CIL II 812=ILER 6333; Leveau 1973, 156 no. 1; Saddington 1980, 49 no. 30; Le Roux 1982, 226 no. 192.

Marius (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 27.03.142; Fs. Alexandria.
AE 1948, 168^{40, 53}; Macqueron 1945, 123-170; von Bolla 1953, 273-278; CPL 221; Criniti 1973 no. 1490^a

M. Marius Valens, (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana) Origin: Galata. Date: mid 2nd century. Fs. Koln.
Klinkenberg 1902 104 no. 46; CIL XIII 8306.

***Mucatra** (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: 1st half of the 3rd century. Fs. Nagytétény.
CIL III 3394.

Peregrinus. (ala II Augusta Thracum) Date: possibly 2nd century. Fs. Fieldkirchen.
Carinthia 129, 1939, 209.

Plotius Marcus (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199; Fs. Alexandria.
CIL III 14=6581 II²³; Cavenaille 1970 no. 1722.

Pontianus (ala II Augusta Thracum ?). Date: 218-222. Fs: Rusucurru.
CIL VIII 9002; Benseddik 1977, 211 no. 64.

Proculus (ala I Thracum Mauretana) Date: 27.03.142. Fs. Alexandria.
AE 1948, 168^{43, 60}; Macqueron 1945, 123-170; von Bolla 1953, 273-278 ;CPL 221; Criniti 1973 no. 1778^a

[Pro]pinquus. (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Cherchel.
CIL VIII 9390; Leveau 1973, 157 no. 2; Le Roux 1982, 227 no. 195; Benseddik 1977, 211 no. 64.

M. Secundinus Vitalis (ala I Thracum victrix). Date: ca. 200. Fs. Ptuj.
ILJ 339; Bratanić 1951, 14-16; Barkóczy 1964, 331 no. 38/11 Lörincz 2001, 217 no. 194.

Sex. Sempronius Candidus (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 134. Fs. Alexandria.
BGU II 696; Mommsen 1892, 456-467; Daris, 1964, 50 no. 9; Fink 1971, 229.

Sentius Exhoratus (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs. Fedjana.
Leveau 1974, 108.

Servilius. (ala III Augusta Thracum). Date: Trajan. Fs: Petronell.
AE 1937, 78; Betz 1935, 320 no. 413; idem, 1937, 71 nr 27; Kraft 1951, 162 no. 672; Mocsy 1959, 239 no. 155/5; Vorbeck 1980 no. 284; Holder 1980, 292 no. 843; Lörincz 2001, 218 no. 196.

Spectatus Viator (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs. Fedjana.
Leveau 1974, 103-110.

Sulpicius. (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 1st century A.D. Fs. Cherchel.
CIL VIII 21030; Leveau 1973, 159 no. 6; Benseddik 1977, 211 no. 61.

Terentius. (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: second half of the 1st century. Fs. Djerach.
Wells 1938 no. 200; AE 1930, 89.

Tu[...].(ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: late 1st –early 2nd century. Fs: Cherchel.
CIL VIII 21046; Leveau 1973, 160 no. 9; Benseddik 1977, 212 no. 65.

Ulpus Castus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 4 August 254; Fs: Ain bu Dib.
CIL VIII 20827=ILS 3000; Leveau 1973, 167 no. 20; Benseddik 1977, 214 no. 75.

Ulpus Nativus (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: Fs. Wallsee.
AE 1990, 785.

Valerius (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 27.03.142; Fs. Alexandria.
AE 1948, 168^{3,41,57}; Macqueron 1945, 123-170; von Bolla 1953, 273-278; CPL 221; Criniti 1973 no. 196^a, 2101⁹.

Valerius Emeritus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs. Budapest.
CIL VIII 10432(=3465); Mocsy 1959 251 no. 185/47; Lörincz 2001, 212 no. 179.

Valerius Valens (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: 200-250. Fs. Nagytetyeny.
Lörincz 2001, 215 no. 189.

L. Vettius Valens (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: second half of the 2nd century. Fs. Alexandria.
CIL VIII 14139.

[...]vis

Vic[torinus?] Anhu[...] (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana). Date: 3rd century. Fs. Altkalkar.
CIL XIII 8668.

Vis[...] (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 199. Fs. Alexandria.
Cavenaille 1970 no. 1859.

Alae of other origin

***Aulusanus** (ala I Cannanefatium). Date 200-250. Fs. Gerulata.
AE 1966, 292; Hošek 1971, 308-316; 1985, 39-40 no. 13; 73-74 no. 34; Speidel 1987, 61-65=1992, 62-66; Lörincz 2001, 182, no. 79.

***Septimius Pisisus** (ala II Pannoniorum). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Gherla.
IDL 588

***Bersolus**, (ala I Cannanefatium). Date 200-250. Fs. Gerulata.
AE 1966, 292; Hošek 1971, 308-316; 1985, 39-40 no. 13; 73-74 no. 34; Speidel 1987, 61-65=1992, 62-66; Lörincz 2001, 182, no. 79.

***Brincasis** (ala I Cannanefatium). Date 200-250. Fs. Gerulata.
AE 1966, 292; Hošek 1971, 308-316; 1985, 39-40 no. 13; 73-74 no. 34; Speidel 1987, 61-65=1992, 62-66; Lörincz 2001, 182, no. 79.

***Iulius Valens** (?). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Glava Panega.
Katsarov 1938 no. 359.

***Septimius Pisisus** (ala II Pannoniorum). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Gherla.
IDL 588

***Vindalicius Eptacent[i]** (ala Petriana?). Date: [...]. Fs. Corbridge.
Eph. Ep. IX 1354; RIB 2510.617.

Cohortes Thracum

A[...] (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 143. Fs. Thebe.
P. Columbia inv. 325=Gilliam 1967, 241 v 2; Criniti 1979, 211 no. 1^a; 218 no. 430^a.

Cartilius (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 16.06.131. Fs. Syene.
P. Wisc.I 43. 3; Cavenaille 1970, 302 no. 2087; Bingen 1967, 417; Hagedorn 1967, 146-151; Lewis 1968, 35-36; Gilliam 1968, 93-98=1986, 329-334.

Claudius Posidonius, Κλαύδιος Ποσιδώνιος (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 2.07.167. Fs. Thebe.
Wilcken, Ostr. 927,1; Lesquier 1918, 150; Cavenaille 1970, 240 no. 630.

[...iu]s **Gaius** (cohors I Thracum equitata Civium Romanorum). Date: 150-250. Fs.
AE 1964, 12; RIU 211; Mocsy 1964, 223-224; Lörincz 2001, 292 no. 460.

Iulius (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 143. Fs. Thebe.

P. Columbia inv. 325=Gilliam 1967, 241 v 4; Criniti 1979, 230, 1078^a; 231 no. 1128^a.

Longinus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca equitata late 1st–early 2nd century. Fs. Ravna.

CIL III 14579=AE 1901, 17; ISM 3/2, 37; Sašel, ILJug 3, 1315; Premerstein, Vulić 1900, 141 no. 42; 1900, 32 nr 42.

Longinus (cohors VI Thracum equitata). Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Mainz.

CIL XIII 7052.

Rufus (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 25.04. 127. Fs. Contrapollonosopolis Magna.

CPL 159 v 3; Cavenaille 1970 no. 1504 ; Daris 1988, 764.

Silvanus (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 25.04.127. Fs: Contrapollonosopolis Magna.

CPL 159 v 2; Cavenaille 1970, 274 no. 1432 ; 297 no.1974 ; Daris 1964, 35 ; 1988, 764.

Ulpus Moderatus (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs: Sollfeld.

CIL III 4857=11541.

Ve[...] Iulius (cohors VI Thracum equitata). Date: late 1st century. Fs. Karataš.

Kondic 1994, 72-73.

Cohortes of other origin

Aelius Tato (cohors II Hispanorum). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Bologna.

IDL 627.

Commentary

Decuriones were NCOs charged with the command of a turma of 30 men. Decurions of Thracian origin are recorded only in a limited number. They appear only exceptionally in regiments of Thracian origin (e.g. Mucatra in *ala Thracum veterana sagittaria*). A certain concentration of decuriones of Thracian origin is observable on an altar dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, set by *dec(uriones)*, *dupl(icarii)*, *se[seq(ui)plicarii)* from *ala I Cannanefatium* at Gerulata. The list contains, among other names, a group of three Thracians NCOs: *Aulusanus*, *Bersolus* and *Brincasis*, but the list is rather confusing. The common dedication does not specify what position each individual held in the cavalry regiment, so it is almost impossible to assign to a certain person the grade of decurio. On a shard at Corbridge it is recorded: *T Vindalici Eptacenti*, read by the authors of RIB as *T(urma) V(indalici) (property of) Eptacentus*. Vindalicius is a Celtic name and it is followed by the Thracian name, *Eptacentus*. The reading is logical, although the possibility of a Celto-Thracian name, Vindalicius Eptacentus, can also be considered.

Two *decuriones*, *Flavius Bassus* and *Iulius Valens* dedicate altars to the Thracian Hero at Glava Panega. They do not mention the regiments in which they served. Even if they do not bear Thracian names, their presence in this holy place of the Thracian world and dedications to this most popular Thracian deity point to their Thracian origin.

5. PRINCIPALES

Alae Thracum

Armorum custodes

C. Iulius Agricola (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: Fs: Traismauer.

CIL III 5655

Signiferi

Aurelius Valens (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: 200-250. Fs.? (unpublished). Lörincz 2001, 127

[...] **s Gentianus** (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs. Zucchabar. CIL VIII 9615; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 26; Benseddik 1977, 216 no. 84.

L. Porcius Porcianus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. El Kemis, ex Affreville. AE 1936, 31 ; Leschi 1967, 399 ; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 25 ; Benseddik 1977, 215 no. 80.

Turbinius (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date : 27.03. 142 ; Fs : Alexandria AE 1948, 168^{42:58} ; Macqueron 1945, 123-170 ; von Bolla 1953, 273-278 ; Criniti 1973 no. 2074^a

Ulpus Crescens (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs. Zucchabar. CIL VIII 9615; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 26; Benseddik 1977, 216 no. 84.

Ulpus Marcianus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs. Zucchabar. CIL VIII 9615; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 26; Benseddik 1977, 216 no. 84.

Valerius Rufus (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date : 27.03. 142 ; Fs : Alexandria AE 1948, 168⁶¹ ; Macqueron 1945, 123-170 ; von Bolla 1953, 273-278 ; Criniti 1973 no. 2170^a.

Vexillarius

Σεμ[...]νος Ξυπτ[...]ωνος (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittaria). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Konularp. IGR III 57.

Adiutor a commentariis

M. Cassius Calpurnianus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date 2nd half of the 3rd century-3rd century. Fs. Cherchel.

AE 1933, 61; Leschi 1932, 23; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 23; Benseddik 1977, 215 no. 81.

Actarius

Aurelius Regulianus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: 200-250. Fs. Nagytétény CIL III 3392; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 632; Barkóczy 1964, 347 no. 106/6; Lörincz 2001, 215 no. 188.

Curatores

Axeto (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: Hadrian. Fs. Dunapentele.

AE 1906, 109=RIU 1206; Kraft 1951, 160 no. 621; Intercissa no. 6; Mocsy 1959, 257 no. 205/5 Lörincz 2001, 211 no. 175.

Lucius Mar[...] (I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: Trajan. Fs. Mannersdorf. Ubl 1974, 422; Lörincz 2001, 211 no. 174.

Sarcinator

[...]us (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: late 1st –early 2nd century.

CIL VIII 21046=Leveau 1973, 160; Benseddik 1977, 212 no. 65.

Singularis consularis

Flavius Tacitus (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: Fs: Winden am See CIL III 4812.

Beneficiarius praesidis

Iulius Valerius (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 2nd half of the 2nd century-3rd century. Fs. Cherchel. CIL VIII 9380; Leveau 1973, 168 no. 22; Benseddik 1977, 214 no. 78.

Stratores procuratoris

Claudius Quintilosius (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 125-167. Fs. Cherchel. d'Escurac-Doisy 1957, 137-150; AE 1958, 156=1960, 245; Leveau 1973 no. 11; Benseddik 1977, 231 no. 71; Pflaum 1978, 155-161.

Cornelius Primus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 198-211; Date: Fs: Cherchel. CIL VIII 9370=1375a; Pflaum 1960, 703-705 no. 262; Thomasson 1960, 265-266; Leveau 1973, 165 no. 18; Benseddik 1977, 213 no. 74.

C. Flavius [...]osus. (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 125-167. Fs. Cherchel. d'Escurac-Doisy 1957, 137-150=AE 1958, 158; Pflaum, 1960, 975 no. 146 bis; Thomasson 1960, 282; Leveau 1973, 161 no. 11; Benseddik 1977, 213 no. 71.

Strator praefecti

Antonius Silvanus (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 27.03. 142; Fs: Alexandria. AE 1948, 168^{22, 48}; Macqueron 1945, 123-137; Macqueron 1945, 123-170; von Bolla 1953, 273-278; Criniti 1973 no. 196^a.

b. Thracian NCOs in other alae

Signiferi

***Aelius Severus** (ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum). Date: 02. 08. 241. Fs. Rome. CIL VI 31164=ILS 2189.

***Aurelius Bassus** (Numerus Maurorum Optatiensium). Date: mid. 2nd century. Fs. Sutor. ACMIT 1930-1934, 86.

***Aurelius Bassus** (ala I Ulpia Contariorum). Date: ca. 252. Fs: Qal'at el Mudik. AE 1987, 955; Balty 1987, 229-230; 1988, 103; Lörincz 2001, 185 no. 91.

Imaginifer

***Brisenus** (ala II Pannoniorum). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Gherla. Russu 1967, 90.

Tubicen

***Aurelius Mucatralis** (ala I Britannica). Date: ca. 252. Fs: Qal'at el Mudik. Balty 1988, 103; Balty, van Rengen 1993, 51 pl. 25; Lörincz 2001, 177 no. 65.

Cornicines

***Aurelius Disas** (ala I Britannica). Date: ca. 252. Fs: Qal'at el Mudik. Balty, van Rengen 1993, 52 pl. 26; Lörincz 2001, 178 no. 66.

***Aurelius Pimetaica?** (ala I Britannica). Date: ca. 252. Fs: Qal'at el Mudik. Balty, van Rengen 1993, 52 pl. 26; Lörincz 2001, 178 no. 66.

***Aurelius Passer** (ala I Britannica). Date: ca. 252. Fs: Qal'at el Mudik. Balty 1988, 103; Balty, van Rengen 1993, 51 pl. 25; Lörincz 2001, 177 no. 65.

Turmarius?

***Aurelius Victor** (ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum). Date: 02. 08. 241. Fs. Rome. CIL VI 31164=ILS 2189.

Stator alae

***Aurelius Tato** (ala II Pannoniorum). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Gherla.
AE 1977, 704.

Statores praefecti

***Aurelius Doriso** (ala I Ulpia Contariorum). Date: ca. 160-230. Fs. Győr
CIL III 4369=RIU 260; Kraft 1951 146 no. 257; Barkóczi 1964, 338 no. 79/1; Lörincz 2001, 191 no. 107.

***C. Valerius Herculanus** (ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum). Origo: *vicus Rami*[...]. Date: late 2nd – early 3rd century; Fs. Gârliciu.

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***Flavius Surillo** (ala I Cannanefatium). Date: 212. Fs. Gerulata.

AE 1972, 444; Hošek 1972, 34; 1985, 22-24 no. 4; Lörincz 2001, 180 no. 75.

Tabularius

***Iulius Longinus** (ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum). Date: 02. 08. 241. Fs. Rome.

CIL VI 31164 = ILS 2189.

NCOs in cohortes Thracum

Armorum custos

C. Antonius Maximus (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 25.04.157. Fs: Contrapollonospolis Magna
CPL 159 v 1; Cavenaille 1970, 222 no. 184; Daris 1988, 764.

Signifer

Lucius Akylas (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 143. Fs. Thebe

P. Columbia inv. 325=Gilliam 1967, 241v 3; Criniti 1979, 236 no. 1412^b.

Vexillarii

T. Claudius Pacatus (cohors II Gemella Thracum). Date: 1st century. Fs. Sila.

ILAlg. 6875.

Rufus (cohors III Thracum). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Künzig

Stein 1932, 215.

***Tara** (cohors IIII Thracum equitata). Date: 200-250. Fs. Valkenburg

Bogaers 1974², 453.

Bucinator

Antonius (cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Date: 200-250. Fs. Baracs.

CIL III 3326=10302=RIU 157; Römer, Desjardins 1873, 151 no. 351; Intercissa I no. 377; Barkóczi 1964, 350 no. 144/51; Fitz 1972, 131 no. 25. Lörincz 2001, 293 no. 464.

Cornicularius

C. Iulius Marcellus (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 4.04.127. Fs: Contrapollonospolis Magna

CPL 154 v 6; Cavenaille 1970, 264 no. 1203; Daris 1988, 764.

Optiones

Iulius Iulianus (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 143. Fs. Thebe

P. Columbia inv. 325=Gilliam 1967, 240, 3; Criniti 1979, 234 no. 1279^a.

***L. Septimius Tatulo** (cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Date: ca. 200. Fs: Bölske. CIL III 3319=10299=RIU 1018; Kraft 1951, 189 no. 1863a; Barkoczi 1964, 350 no. 145/2; Lörincz 2001, 293 no. 465.

Librarius

Marcus (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 143. Fs. Thebe
P. Columbia inv. 325=Gilliam 1967, 240, 12; Criniti 1979, 237 no. 1477^a.

Quaestionarius

[...]us (cohors II Gemella Thracum). Origin: Bessus. Date: 2nd century. Fs. Sila. ILAlg. 5885; Pflaum 1978, 63.

Lixa

M. Titius (cohors III Thracum Syriaca). Date: 1st century. Fs. Aleppo
Speidel 1980, 146-148=1992, 203-205; 206.

Beneficiarius

C. Petronius Valens (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 2nd century. Fs: Thebe
CIL III 12074¹; Cavenaille 1970, 286 no. 1708.

Sequitor praepositi vexillationum

Furius Severus (cohors I Thracum). Date 2nd century. Fs. Alupka
Rostovtzeff 1911, 38; Speidel 1989, 515-517.

Thracian NCOs in other cohortes/numeri

Vexillarius

***Aurelius Tara** (cohors III Campestris). Date: Fs. Prahovo
Živa Antika 1966, 387-388

Optio

***Mucianus** (Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs. Moigrad.
AE 1960, 218; Russu 1967, 92.

Adiutor

***Flavius Bithus** (cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum). Date: late 1st century. Fs. Ravna.
ISM III/2 44=ILIug. II 571; AE 1964, 268; Dusanić, Petrović 1963, 377-380.

Singularis consularis

***Petitor Pirobori** (cohors II Varcianorum). Date: late 1st – early 2nd century. Köln
CIL XIII 7804; Alföldy 1968, 215 no. 160.

Strator tribuni

***Aurelius Ditusanus** (cohors I Cilicum milliaria equitata sagittaria ?). Date: 150-250. Fs. Muzait.
Scorpan 1980, 211.

Commentary

A number of 21 *principales* of a total of 53 known individuals in the regiments labelled *Thracum* are of Thracian origin. They cover a wide range of grades and posts in the units. From non-Thracian regiments, a significant number comes from ala I Britannica stationed in Apamea, ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum, from Arrubium, due to a list of soldiers and *principales* transferred to the body of *equites singulares*, ala I Ulpia Contariorum, through a substantial number of soldiers at Apamea, or ala I Cannanefatium at Gerulata where also a list of *principales* reveals soldiers of Thracian origin.

Epigraphic evidence reveals a multitude of grades and ranks both administrative and military those were accomplished by NCOs in the offices of the Thracian auxiliary regiments and individuals of Thracian origin in regiments of non Thracian origin. The administrative positions as mentioned in the inscriptions known so far and held by Thracians were as follows: one post of *strator tribuni*, four of *statores*, one of *adiutor*, one of *singularis consularis* and one of *tabularius*. The only *strator tribuni* of Thracian origin known thus far is *Aurelius Ditusanus*, from *cohors I Cilicum milliaria equitata sagittaria* stationed in different places in eastern Moesia Inferior. However, the dispatch of a *strator tribuni* to this place would point to significant effectives of the unit in the fort. It is rather difficult to establish the reason of the attendance of such an important NCO of the unit in the region. *Strator tribuni* could refer either to personnel of *tribunus cohortis* or *tribunus stabuli*. Usually, *stratores* (ἀναβολεῖς) were imperial equeries subject to the *tribunus stabuli*. Their proper duty was to saddle the horses; they also led them from the stable and assisted the emperor to mount. From the addition of *miles* to their title it appears that they were considered as part of the military establishment¹. *Cohors I Cilicum* was *milliaria* and also *equitata* that can be an indication of the Ditusanus' duties in the service of *tribunus cohortis*. He could have been also an officer sent to Moesia Inferior to select horses for the Emperor or for the general service of the state (*stratores a publicis rationibus*)². They were also jailors under the orders of commentarienses, or chief inspector of prisons³. Ulpian refers as: “[...] *nemo proconsulum stratores suos habere potest, sed vice eorum milites ministerio in provinciis funguntur* [...]”⁴, in which case we might expect a tough inspection of the imperial authorities at Sacidava. Three *statores praefecti* and a *stator alae* of Thracian origin are also recorded: *Aurelius Doriso* from *ala I Ulpia Contariorum*; *C. Valerius Herculanus* from *ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum* and *Flavius Surillo* in *ala I Cannanefatium*. *Aurelius Tato* is mentioned in *ala II Pannoniorum* and generally labelled as *stator alae*. *Statores* had a very marked administrative-military character, being attached to the cavalry regiments' *praefecti*, *legati legionis* or the provincial governors. They were all military police men and were at hand and executed all the commands of the *praefecti* of the respective regiments. They appear to have been chiefly employed in carrying letters and messages⁵. Alexander Severus forbade the use of *statores* in the provinces, and ordered that their duties should be discharged by soldiers⁶. The date of all the four *statores* is previous this measure had been taken. It is rather difficult, on the other hand, to distinguish between the administrative competence of a *stator tribuni* and *stator alae*. They might have had the same tasks, but if there is a difference, it consists of a higher position in the NCOs hierarchy of the latter.

An *adiutor*, *Flavius Bithus*, is known in *ala II Aurelia Dardanorum*, stationed at Timacum Minus (Ravna). The *adiutores* corps was part of the bureaus of the governor or of the commanders of legions or auxiliary regiments and they were those who transmitted the orders to the troop.

A *tabularius* is known in the person of *Iulius Longinus*, from *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum* at Arrubium, in Moesia Inferior. He was transferred on 02. 08. 241, together with other horsemen from the same unit to the *equites singulares* corps. The position was among the administrative staff. He was the preserver of the public and private documents. It belonged to the group of *scribae* and had as main task to keep, track down and maintain organized the documents written on a wooden or metal support, *tabula*. The fact that a *tabularius* from the regiment was selected to serve in the corps of *equites*

singulares, a body higher in grade, means that he must have received from the commander excellent recommendations as a good bureaucrat during his service at Arrubium. Although Thracian by origin, he was highly knowledgeable in Latin technical military vocabulary, had a certain specialization and a long service in this post. The fact that he was, means that he

A special place was held by the military *principales*. Some were charged with carrying the standards, and imperial images (*aquiliferi, imaginiferi, signiferi, vexillarii*), others performed military music or sounds related to the military life (*tubiceni, corniceni, bucinatores*). They acquired a real importance in the units, their military grades offering, in most of the cases, access to upper offices and positions. They were sometimes directly assigned to centurionate or in the prefect's staff.

Three *signiferi* of Thracian origin are known: *Aelius Severus*, in *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum*, *Aurelius Bassus*, in *Numerus Maurorum Optatiensium*, and *Aurelius Bassus*, in *ala I Ulpia contariorum*; an *imaginifer*, *Brisenus* in *ala II Pannoniorum*; two *vexillarii* of Thracian origin are known in auxiliary regiments. In this particular case, both are from cohorts and both bear the same name: *Tara* from *cohors IIII Thracum* from the first half of the 3rd century and *Aurelius Tara*, from *cohors III Campestris*, also from the 3rd century.

Aurelius Mucatralis was a *tubicen* in *ala I Britannica*. Three *cornicines* are mentioned in the same *ala*: *Aurelius Disas*, *Aurelius Pimetaica*, and *Aurelius Passer*. All the four records come from 252 that would indicate recruitment in Thrace for this unit sometime in the first decades of the 3rd century.

An important position in the NCOs corps of an auxiliary regiment was held by *optiones* who were either among the military or administrative *principales*, giving sometimes direct access to centurionate. *Optiones* could even replace the centurions in case of illness, or executed special tasks indicated by him. *Mucianus* held the grade of *optio* in *Numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium* in Dacia Porolissensis, at Porolissum, and another, *L. Septimius Tatulo* in *cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata* in Pannonia Inferior.

A *turmarius*, in *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum* was *Aurelius Victor*. The rank poses some problems. If, in 241 some changes in the structure of the cavalry regiments had not been yet made, then he would have been a low rank horseman among the 30 of a *turma*. But if some reforms had already been carried out at that time, *Aurelius Victor* could have held a rank of an NCO of some importance in the military hierarchy of a cavalry unit in which *turma* was reduced at only 12 horsemen and was led by a *turmarius*.

Other military tasks were carried out by the Thracian soldiers who received higher pay as a result of their value and merits.

A significant number of *duplarii* (8) and *sesquuplicarii* (4) of Thracian origin are known in different auxiliary regiments, including Thracian units. *Duplarii* were a category of *principales* who received a double sum of money and came in rank after *decuriones*, while *sesquuplicarii* were soldiers whose pay had also been raised, but only to one and a half payment. Due to this situation both categories were soldiers of higher rank.

Among the soldiers of Thracian origin who continued to serve or re-joined the army and who received a *salarium* (salary) instead of usual *stipendium* was *Aurelius Surus*, a *salariarius* in *ala I Ulpia contariorum*.

1. HA, v. *Ant.* 7; Amm. Marc. 30. 5.

2. Amm. Marc. 29, 3; CTh 8, .8, 4; Cod. 12, 25; HA, v. *M. Antonin.* 8; *Valerian.* 3.

3. Cod. Theod. 9, 3. 1.

4. Dig. 1, 16, 4.

5. Cic. *ad Fam.* 2, 17, 19; 10, 21; Dig. 4, 6, 10

6. Dig. 4, 6. 10; HA v. *Alex. Sev.* 52.

6. EQUITES

a. *Alae Thracum*

Duplarii/duplicarii

Aelius Victorinus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: ca. 150 Fs. Budapest.

CIL III 10609(=3677); Kraft 1951, 160 no. 624; Mocsy 1959, 264 no. 238/1; Lőrincz 2001, 212 no. 180.

Antonius Iustinus (ala I Thracum Herculiana). Date: Fs. Hermopolis

Daris 1964 no. 54.

Hierax Behecis (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 27.03. 142; Fs. Alexandria.

AE 1948, 168¹; Macqueron 1945, 123-170; von Bolla 1953, 273-278; CPL 221; Criniti 1973 no. 1021^a

***Longinus Sdapezematygi**, (ala I Thracum). Origin: pago Sardi. Date: mid 1st century. Fs.

Colchester.

RIB 201.

Maximus (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 27.03. 142; Fs. Alexandria.

AE 1948, 168⁶⁴; Macqueron 1945, 123-170; von Bolla 1953, 273-278; CPL 221; Criniti 1973 no. 1516^a

***Mucatra (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria)**. Origin [Thracian]. Date: 2nd century. Fs. Nagytétény
CIL III 3394; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 628; Barkóczy 1964, 374 no. 106/7; Fitz 1983, 57 no. 189. Lőrincz 2001, 214 no. 184.

Nemonius (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 27.03. 142; Fs. Alexandria.

AE 1948, 168^{39,52}; Macqueron 1945, 123-170; von Bolla 1953, 273-278; CPL 221; Criniti 1973 no. 1581^a

Vibius Saturnus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria). Date: 100-200. Fs. Csákvár.

CIL III 15154; Kraft 1951, 160 no. 625; Mocsy 1959, 256 no. 197/6; Lőrincz 2001, 213 no. 181.

Sesquuplicarius

M. Iulius Tiberinus (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: 27.03. 142; Fs. Alexandria.

AE 1948, 168^{40,55}; Macqueron 1945, 123-170; von Bolla 1953, 273-278; Criniti 1973 no. 1284^a.

b. *Other alae*

Duplarii/duplicarii

***Aelius Bonus** (ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 02. 08. 241. Fs. Rome.

CIL VI 31164=ILS 2189.

***Flavius Valens** (ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 02. 08. 241. Fs. Rome.

CIL VI 31164=ILS 2189.

***Aurelius Dolens** (ala I Ulpia contariorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: ca. 252. Fs. Qal'at el Mudik. Balty, van Rengen 1993, 47 pl. 21; Lőrincz 2001, 193 no. 115.

***Aurelius Vitalis** (ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 02. 08. 241. Fs. Rome.

CIL VI 31164=ILS 2189.

***Bersolus** (ala I Cannanefatium). Origin: [Thracian]. Date 200-250. Fs. Gerulata.

AE 1966, 292; Hošek 1971, 308-316; 1985, 39-40 no. 13; 73-74 no. 34; Speidel 1987, 61-65=1992, 62-66; Lőrincz 2001, 182 no. 79.

***Thuratrallis Didilae** (ala Noricorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 1st century; Fs. Dormagen.
CIL XIII 8524; CIRh. 285, 285a; Siebourg, 1901, 161; Kraft 1951, 155 no. 467; Alföldy 1968, 182 no. 52.

Sesquiplicarii

***Aurelius Valens** (ala I Numeri Illyricorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: first half of the 3rd century Fs. Brâncovenesti.

Protase, Zrinyi 1992, 96-98 no. 1 pl. 2; iidem, 1994, 36-38 no. 1 pl. 40.

***Aulusanus** (ala I Cannanefatium). Origin: [Thracian]. Date 200-250. Fs. Gerulata.

AE 1966, 292; Hošek 1971, 308-316; 1985, 39-40 no. 13; 73-74 no. 34; Speidel 1987, 61-65=1992, 62-66; Lörincz 2001, 182 no. 79.

***Brincasis** (ala I Cannanefatium). Origin: [Thracian]. Date 200-250. Fs. Gerulata.

AE 1966, 292; Hošek 1971, 308-316; 1985, 39-40 no. 13; 73-74 no. 34; Speidel 1987, 61-65=1992, 62-66; Lörincz 2001, 182 no. 79.

Salariarius

***Aurelius Surus** (ala I Ulpia Contariorum). Origin: domo Bautalia. Date: ca. 252. Fs. Qal'at el Mudik. Balty, van Rengen 1993, 53 pl. 27; Lörincz 2001, 194 no. 119.

Equites gregales

a. Alae Thracum

Aelius Provincialis (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum)(?). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs. Nagytetyeny.

CIL III 3401.

Antonius Silvanus (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date : 27.03.142. Fs. Alexandria.

AE 1948, 168^{22,24} Macqueron 1945, 123-170 ; von Bolla 1953, 273-278; CPL 221; Criniti 1973 no. 196^a.

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

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

Aurelius Potitus (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: 150-230. Fs: Hohenstein.

CIL III 4834.

***Bi[thus?]** (ala II Augusta Thracum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd century. Fs. Cherchel. Rev. Afr. 1903 no. 62.

Bocchus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: late 1st century A.D; Fs: Cherchel.

CIL VIII 21024; AE 1973, 654; 1975, 945; Leveau 1973, 158-159 no. 5; Le Roux 1982, 227 no. 194; Benseddik 1977, 210 no. 58.

***Brizanus Tarsae** (ala I Thracum Herculiana). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 140-180. Fs. Palmyra. AE 1933, 213; Seyrig 1933, 162-163 no. 7.

M. Cassius Calpurnius. (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: late 2nd –3rd century; Fs: Cherchel.

AE 1933, 61 ; Leschi 1967, 395 no. 3 ; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 23 ; Benseddik 1977, 215 no. 81.

Chartius Pagaduni (ala I Augusta Thracum). Origin: natione Tunger . Date: mid 2nd century. Fs. Traismauer.

AE 1968, 412.

Ti. Claudius Congonetiacus, (ala II Augusta Thracum). Origin: natione Biturix (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: mid 1st century A.D; Fs: Cherchel.

CIL VIII 21024; ILS 2514; Leveau 1973, 157 no. 3; Benseddik 1977, 210 no. 59.

Claudius Gemellus(ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: late 1st early 2nd century. Fs: Cherchel.

CIL VIII 21026; Leveau 1973, 159 no. 8; Benseddik 1977, 210 no. 60.

Claudius Lucillus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: late 2nd –early 3rd century. Fs. Kisigmond. Visy 1989, 25-28. AE 1989, 1292.

M. Cocceius Valens (ala III Augusta Thracum). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs: Membidj. AE 1982, 90.

***Cotelses Eptacenti** (ala I Augusta Thracum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Djerach. CIL III 14159¹; =IGR 3, 1374=AE 1899, 27=1900, 159; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 652 b.

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

RMD 34; Lörincz 2001, 160 no. 20.

Dese Desonis (ala I Thracum victrix c. R.). Origin: Nicopolis. Fs.

Weiss, 1999, 147-182= AE 1999, 1351 a-c.

Diogenes Alexandri (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: 1st century, Fs. Oboda.

Negev 1967, 52-53.

***Doritses Tarsi** (ala I Augusta Thracum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Djerach.

AE 1930, 89; Wells, no. 200; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 651.

***Eptemalus Mucateralis** (ala I Thracum Herculiana). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 140-180. Fs. Palmyra. AE 1933, 213; Seyrig 1933, 162-163 no. 7.

***Gusulæ Doqui** (ala I Thracum victrix). Origin: *Thrax*. Date: 27 09. 79. Fs. Weiss 2004. 239-254.

[...]**ius E**[...] (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Cherchel Rev. Afr. 1903, 123.

Iulius Exoratus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Cherchel.

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

Iulius [...]rinus**** (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date mid. 2nd century. Fs. Kalabsah.

IGR II 1349; CIG 5062.

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

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

C. Kanulanius Nepos (ala III Augusta Thracum). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs. Leibnitz. CIL III 5332.

Laurus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: late 1st – early 2nd century A.D. Fs: Cherchel.

CIL VIII 21030; Leveau 1973, 159 no. 6; Benseddik 1977, 211 no. 61.

[**Lica**]**ius** (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: late 1st –early 2nd century A.D; Fs: Cherchel

CIL VIII 21024; Waille 1903, 123; Leveau 1973, 158 no. 4; Benseddik 1977, 211 no. 62.

L. Licinius Licinianus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: second half of the 2nd century. Fs: Sour Djouab.

CIL VIII 9203; Leveau 1973, 164 no. 14; Benseddik 1977, 211 no. 61.

Longinus Sdapezematygi (ala I Thracum). Origo: pago Sardi. Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Colchester. RIB 201.

Sextus Magus (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin: Bessus. Date: 18 June 54. Fs. Sarsânlar. CIL XVI 3.

Marcellus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: late 3rd century. Fs. Csákberény.

Kovács 1998, 287-290; AE 1998, 1055; Lorincz 2001, 302 no. 499.

***Mucale** (ala I Thracum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Vechten. CIL XIII 10017.

Octavius Vi[...] (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 139. F.s.u. CIL XVI 175; AE 1955, 17; Nagy 1956, 15-71; Lörincz 2001, 160 no. 21.

[...] **jonis** (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Cherchel. CIL 8, 21059; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 27; Benseddik 1977, 216 no.85.

Oxetius Naevionis (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Origin: Eraviscus. Date: 5 05. 167. CIL XVI 123; Lörincz 2001, 166 no. 33.

[Pe]rtinax (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: Hadrian. Fs. Dunapentele. RIU 1252; Intercissa I no. 7; Fitz 1972, 39; Lörincz 2001, 211 no. 176.

***Quelse Dolae** (ala III Augusta Thracum). Origin: Thracus. Date: 12.05. 91. Fs. Suhozem. AE 1961, 319; RMD 4; Botusharova 1958, 315-322.

***Romesta Rescenti** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin: Spiurus. Date: 18 June 54. Fs. Sarsânlar. CIL XVI 3.

[...] **rse Ris[...]** (ala I Thracum victrix c. R.). Date: 21.06. 159. Origin: Nicopolis. F.s.u. Weiss, 1999, 147-182= AE 1999, 1351 a-c.

Sempronius Herminus (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: mid 2nd century. BGU II 447

Σεμ[πρόν]ιος Ἐρν[...].ωνος (ala III Augusta Thracum). Date: Ameling. Fs. Konularp IGRP III 57; Ameling 1985, 168-169 no. 104.

Serpodius Epaphrae (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin: Telmessus. Date: 7 March 160. Fsu. RMD 173.

Septimius Faustinus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 2nd century. Fs ? Lörincz 2001, 133 n. 665.

***Sertorius Cesicevetrizis**, (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 1st century. Fs. Dervesiani. Samsaris 1993 no. 908.

Silvanus Leuri (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: late 1st century A.D; Fs: Cherchel. CIL VIII 21024; AE 1973, 654; 1975, 945; Leveau 1973, 158-159 no. 5; Benseddik 1977, 210 no. 58; Le Roux 1982, 227 no. 194.

Successus (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: late 1st –early 2nd century. Fs. Augsburg. CIL III 5819; Kraft 1951, 161-162 no. 654.

M. Sulpicius Ca[malus] (ala II Augusta Thracum). Origin: Capera. Date: first half of the 1st century. Fs. Villar de Placencia. CIL II 812; AE 1989, 401; Leveau 1974, 156 no. 1.

***Suri Dialpuri** (ala I Thracum victrix.). Origin: Nicopolis. Date: 21. 06. 159. Weiss, 1999, 147-182= AE 1999, 1351 a-c.

***Toutenes Eptacenti** (ala I Augusta Thracum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Djerach. CIL III 14159¹ =IGR 3, 1374=AE 1899, 27=1900, 159; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 652 a.

Troucleimarus Deimari (ala I Augusta Thracum). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs. Traismauer. AE 1950, 116; Kraft 1951, 161-162 no. 654.

Ulpus Gentianus (?) (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs. Zucchabar. CIL 8, 9615.

Ulpus Marcianus(?) (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs. Zucchabar.

CIL VIII 9615.

Ulpus Prosostus (ala III Augusta Thracum). Date: Trajan. Fs. Bad Deutsch-Altenburg. AE 1937, 78; Betz 1935, 320 no. 413; 1937, 71 no. 27; Kraft 1951, 162 no. 672; Mocsy 1959, 239 no. 155/5; Vorbeck 1980 no. 284; Holder 1980, 292 no. 843; Lörincz 2001, 218 no. 196.

Ulpus Titius (ala I Thracum Victrix). Origin: natione Boius. Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Roma. CIL VI 3308; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 642.

Ulpus Valentinus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum)(?). Date: 1st half of the 2nd century. Fs. Nagytétény. CIL III 3401.

***Valens Bititralis** (ala I Thracum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Vechten. CIL XIII 8818; Kraft 1951 no. 613; Le Glay 1980, 46.

Valerius Firmus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: late 1st early 2nd century; Fs: Mactar. AE 1951, 41; Benseddik 1977, 211 no. 63.

Sex. Valerius Genialis (ala I Thracum). Origin: civis Frisiavus. Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Cirencester. RIB 201.

Valerius [...]mus (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Henchir Bejar. AE 1951, 41.

Valerius Tonans (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: early 2nd - 3rd century. Fs: Tenes . Cagnat 1898, CXXVII; Gsell 1900, 139; Benseddik 1977, 215 no. 82.

***L. Valerius Volsenus** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin: Bessus. Date: 18 June 54. Fs. Sarsânlar. CIL XVI 3.

Vegetus Reburri (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: late 1st century A.D; Fs: Cherchel. CIL VIII 21024; AE 1973, 654; 1975, 945; Leveau 1973, 158-159 no. 5; Le Roux 1982, 227 no. 194; Benseddik 1977, 210 no. 58.

Vibius Apollinaris (ala I Thracum Herculiana). Date: 140-180. Fs. Palmyra. AE 1933, 209; Seyrig 1933, 160-161 no. 3.

Victorinus Anhu[...] (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana). Date: 3rd century. Fs. Burginatum. CIL XIII 8668; Stein 1932, 127; Alföldy 1968, 175 no. 29.

***Zimicentis Eziopen** (ala I Augusta Thracum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Djerach. Jones 1928, 145 no. 2 = AE 1930, 90 = Seyrig 1931, 368-369 no. 1; SEG 7, 1934 no. 901; Wells, no. 201; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 653.

[...]us **Rammi** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana). Date: 4.05-13. 07. 105. Fs. Middlewich. RIB 2401. 3=RMD 8.

[...]us **Saeci** (ala II Augusta Thracum). Origo: Cauca. Date: late 1st –early 2nd century; Fs. Cherchel. CIL VIII 9390=Leveau 1973, 157; Benseddik 1977, 211 no. 64 ; Le Roux 1982, 227 no. 195.

[...] **Solimari** (ala II Augusta Thracum). [...] (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: late 1st early 2nd century. Fs: Cherchel.

CIL VIII 21046; Leveau 1973, 160; Benseddik 1977, 212 no. 65.

[...]onis (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: 2nd century. Fs: Cherchel.

CIL VIII 21059=Eph. Ep. 5, 1007.

[...] (ala I Thracum). Date: mid 3rd century. Fs. Xanten.

CIL XIII 8659.

[...]eq(uiti) a]lae sec(undae) Thracum. Date mid 1st century. Fs.

Epigraphica 6-7, 1955-1956 no. 904 ; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 28 ; Benseddik 1982, 227, no. 196.

[...] ? F.s. Cherchel. Date : late 1st –early 2nd century.

Benseddik 1982, 212 no. 66.

b. Other alae; numeri

***Aelius Muc[...]**(ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: second half of the 2nd century. Fs. Ilişua.

CIL III 799.

***Aelius Mucatralis** (ala I Flavia Gaetulorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: Hadrian-Antoninus Pius. Fs. Histria.

Suceveanu 1998, 109-117 no. 1.

***Aemilius Durises** (ala Sulpicia). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: Nero/Flavians. Fs. Köln.

CIL XIII 8311=ILS 2502; Le Glay 1980, 46.

***Antonius Mercurius** (numerus C...P...). Date: 3rd century. Fs. Glava Panega.

AE 1911, 15; Katsarov 1938, 112 no. 592.

***Aululanus** (ala Veterana Gallica). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 130. Fs.?

P. Lond. II 482²⁸; CPL 11428; ChLA III no. 20329; Lesquier 1918, 503-504; Daris 1964, 119-120 no. 38²⁹; Velkov 1977, 73 no. 371; Speidel 1982, 167= 1988, 333-335.

***Aululanus** (ala Veterana Gallica). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 130. Fs.?

P. Lond. II 482²⁸; CPL 114²⁸; ChLA III no. 203²⁹; Lesquier 1918, 503-504; Daris 1964, 119-120 no. 38²⁹; Velkov 1977, 72 no. 372; Speidel 1982, 167= 1988, 333-335.

***Aurelius Bithus** (ala I Ulpia Contariorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 3 01.240. F.s.u.

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

***Aurelius Bithus (numerus equitum Batavorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: early 3rd century.**

Epigr. Anat. 1991, 33.

***Aurelius Brisanus** (ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana ?). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: late 2nd century. Fs. Ilişua.

Protase 1957, 320-323 no. 2.

* **Aurelius Cotes** (ala Electorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date : 2nd century. Fs. Căşei.

AE 1957, 331; Russu 1967, 90.

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

AE 1940, 34.

***Aurelius Diogenes** (ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date:02. 08. 241. Fs. Rome.

CIL VI 31164.

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

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

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

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

***Aurelius Mesibius** (ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 02. 08. 241. Fs. Rome.

CIL VI 31164.

***Aurelius Mucianus** (ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 02. 08. 241. Fs. Rome.

CIL VI 31164.

***Aurelius Pirurus** (?-miles alarix). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: late 2nd century. Fs. Liljače

Katsarov 1938 no. 602

* **Aurelius Pistus** (ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum). Date: 02. 08. 241. Fs. Rome.

CIL VI 31164.

* **Aurelius Sudius** (ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 02. 08. 241. Fs. Rome.

CIL VI 31164.

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

BIAB 1939, 89; Russu 1967, 92.

***Aurelius Teres** (ala I Ulpia contariorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 200-250. Fs: Győr.

CIL III 4370; Kraft 1951 146 no. 258a; Barkóczy 1964, 338 no. 79/3; Lőrincz 2001, 191 no. 108.

***Bitecus** (ala veterana Gallica). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 130. Fs. ?

P. Lond. II 482²¹; CPL 114²¹; ChLA III no. 203²²; Lesquier 1918, 503-504; Daris 1964, 119-120 no. 38²²; Velkov 1977. 75 no. 383; Speidel 1982, 167= 1988, 333-335.

***Bitecus/Bitsius** (ala Veterana Gallica). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 130. Fs. ?

P. Lond. II 482²⁷; CPL 114²⁷; ChLA III no. 203²⁸; Lesquier 1918, 503-504; Daris 1964, 119-120 no. 38²⁸; Velkov 1977. 75 no. 384; Speidel 1982, 167-169= 1988, 333-335.

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

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

***Bithus[...]** iae (ala praetoria singularium). Origin: Thracus. Date: 88. F.s.u.

Weiss 1997, 229-231.

***Bitugentus** (ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: Trajan. Fs. Dunapentele.

RIU 1220.

***Brisenus** (ala II Pannoniorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd century. Fs. Gherla.

Rusu 1967, 90.

***Bruzenus Delsasi** (ala veterana Gallica). Origin: Thracus. Date: 21 May 91; F. s. u.

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

***Cardentus Biticenthi** (ala veterana Gallica). Origin: Disdivu[...]. Date: 12 May 91; F. s. u.

Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-219 no. 2.

***Cersus Denturasadi** (ala I Brittonum). Origin: Thracus. Date: 30 July 71; F.s.u.

Eck 2003, 220-228.

***Cocae Tyru** (numerus equitum Illyricorum). Origin: Sardica. Date: 19.07.146. F.s.u.

RMD 269

***Cocas** (ala veterana Gallica). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 130. Fs. ?

P. Lond. II 482²⁸; CPL 114²¹; ChLA III no. 203²²; Lesquier 1918, 503-504; Daris 1964, 119-120 no. 38²²; Velkov 1977. 75 no. 383; Speidel 1982, 167= 1988, 333-335.

***Cusides Disalae** (ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: Trajan. Fs. Dunapentele.

RIU 1220; Intercissa I no. 3; Kraft 1951, 163 no. 687; Mocsy 1959, 257 no. 205/4; Fitz 1961-1962, 34 no. 19; Fitz 1972, 39; Holder 1980, 293 no. 871; Lőrincz 2001, 223 no. 217.

***Dines** (ala II Pannoniorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd century. Fs. Gherla.

Ardevan 1993, 220-222.

***D[...]** or **D[...]**uspor (ala veterana Gallica). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 130. Fs. ?

P. Lond. II 482²⁸; CPL 114²¹; ChLA III no. 203²²; Lesquier 1918, 503-504; Daris 1964, 119-120 no. 38²²; Velkov 1977. 75 no. 383; Speidel 1982, 167= 1988, 333-335.

***Dolens** (ala veterana Gallica). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 130. Fs. ?

P. Lond. II 482²³; CPL 114²³; ChLA III no. 203²⁴; Lesquier 1918, 503-504; Daris 1964, 119-120 no. 38²⁴; Velkov 1977, 77-78 no. 399; Speidel 1982, 167= 1988, 333-335.

***[Dulles]** (ala veterana Gallica). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 130. Fs. ?

P. Lond. II 482³⁴; CPL 114²⁴; ChLA III no. 203²⁵; Lesquier 1918, 503-504; Daris 1964, 119-120 no. 38²⁵; Speidel 1982, 167= 1988, 333-335.

***T. Flavius Bassus Mucale** (ala Noricorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Origin: Dansala. Date: second half of the 1st century. Fs. Köln.

Klinkenberg 1902, 104 no. 45; CIL XIII 8308=ILS 2512; Kraft 1951, 155 no. 465; Alföldy 1968, 181 no. 47.

- ***Fuscus Bitius** (ala Gallorum Tauriana victrix). Origin: *Bessus* (?). Date: second half of the 1st century. Fs. Callagurris.
CIL II 2984=ILS 2516=le Roux 1982, 216 no. 157.
- ***Flavius Bitucus** (ala Indiana). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Cirencester.
RIB 108.
- ***T. Flavius Celsus** (ala Scubulorum). Origin: cives Sappaus. Date: late 1st century. Fs: Wiesbaden.
CIL 13, 7580.
- ***Gisusetes Heptasae** (ala praetoria singularium). Origin: Thracus. Date: 88. F.s.u.
Eck 2003, 229-233.
- ***Heptapor Isi** (ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum). Origin: Bessus. Date: 8.07. 158. Fs. Cristești.
IDR I 16=CIL XVI 108.
- ***Iulius Longinus Doles Biticenti** (ala Gallorum Tauriana victrix civium Romanorum). Origin: Bessus.
Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Calagurris.
CIL 2, 2984=ILS 2516 ; Le Roux 1982, 87 n. 34 ; 216 no. 157.
- ***Iulius Valentinus** (ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date :02. 08. 241. Fs. Rome.
CIL VI 31164.
- ***Longinus Biarta Bisae** (ala Sulpicia). Origin: Bessus. Date: Claudius/Nero. Fs. Köln
CIRh. 344; CIL 13, 8312 ; Le Glay 1980, 46.
- ***[...]lus Iresi** (ala I Flavia Gaetulorum). Origin: Bessus. Date: 1.06.125. Fs. Bulgaria.
RMD 235; AE 1997, 1772; Eck, Roxan 1997, 193-203.
- ***Meticus Solae** (ala I Asturum). Origin: Bessus. Date: 99. Fs. Plovdiv
CIL XVI 45.
- ***Mucapa** (ala II Pannoniorum?). Origin: [Thracian]. Date : late 2nd century. Fs. Gherla.
Russu 1967, 91.
- ***[...]s Mucaporis** (ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: second half of the 2nd
century. Fs. Ilișua.
CIL III 799.
- ***Mucapor Mucatralis** (Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd century;
Fs. Alba Iulia.
AE 1914, 102; IDR III/5, 559.
- ***Mucatra Brasi** (Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd century; Fs.
Alba Iulia.
AE 1914, 102; IDR III/5, 559.
- ***Mucapuis** (ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: second half of the 2nd century. Fs.
Ilișua.
CIL III 809.
- ***Mucasenius Censorini** (singularis consularis). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs.
Karlsburg.
CIL III 1195.
- ***Mucianus** (ala Flavia). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd Fs. Hr al-Hassan
AE 1942-1943, 377; Pflaum 1978, 64.
- ***Olouper Cargaepuri** (ala Afrorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: late 1st century. Fs. Köln.
CIL XIII 8304; Kraft 1951, 140 no. 111.; Alföldy 1968, 172 no. 18.
- ***Quintus Mucatralis** (ala I Pannoniorum). Origin: natione Thracus. Date: late 1st century. Fs. Ain
Kerma.
AE 1930, 133; IIAIlg. II 8467; Pflaum 1978, 63.
- ***Seuthes** (ala veterana Gallica). Origin: Scaenus. Date: 12 May 91. Fs. Gradishte.

Gerov 1959, 210; RMD 5.

***Sitalis Cultra** (ala Augusta civium Romanorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 109. Fs. Pernik RMD 84.

***Sola Mucatri** (ala I Tungrorum Frontonianan). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd century. Fs. Ilişua. CIL III 787.

***Solas** (ala veterana Gallica). Origin: [Thracian]. Date Date: 130. Fs. ?

P. Lond. II 482¹⁰ CPL 114¹⁰; ChLA III no. 203¹¹; Lesquier 1918, 503-504; Daris 1964, 119-120 no. 38²¹; Speidel 1982, 167= 1988, 333.

***Spinus Mucacenti**(?) (ala I Pannoniorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: late 1st century. Fs. Aîn Kerma. AE 1930, 133; ILAlg II 8467; Pflaum 1978, 63.

*[...] **Biti** (ala Siliana). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 21.07. 164. Fs. Buciumi. IDR I 21.

***Ulpus Aulucentius** (ala I Ulpia contariorum). Origin: Bessus(?). Date: late Trajan. Fs. Györ. CIL III 4378; RIU 261; Kraft 1951, 146 no.251; Mocsy 1959, 244 no. 158/10; Gabler 1968, 62 no. 12; Russu, 1978, 202-205; Holder 1980, 270 no. 251; Gabler 1994, 78 no. 89; Lörincz 2001, 186 no. 93.

***Ulpus Eptatralis** (ala I Ulpia contariorum). Origin: domo Bessus. Date: late Trajan. Fs. Györ. CIL III 4378; RIU 261; Kraft 1951, 146 no.251; Mocsy 1959, 244 no. 158/10; Gabler 1968, 62 no. 12; Russu, 1978, 202-205; Holder 1980, 270 no. 251; Gabler 1994, 78 no. 89; Lörincz 2001, 186 no. 93.

***Ulpus Valens** (ala I Ulpia contariorum). Origin: Bessus. Date 126. F.s.u. RMD 236.

*[...] **Biti** (ala VII Phrygum). Origo: Thrax. Date:157/158. F.s.u. AE 1997, 1768; Weiss, 1997, 256-259.

c. Cohortes Thracum

M. Antoninus (cohors I Thracum equitata). Origin ? Date : 25.04. 127. Fs. Contrapollonosopolis Magna CPL 159 v 3; Daris 1964, 35 (verso) ; Cavenaille 1970 no. 1504.

Aurelius M[...] (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 143. Fs. Thebe.

P. Columbia inv. 325=Gilliam 241 v 2; Criniti, 1979, 218 no. 430^a; Daris 1988, 764.

Aurelius Nikolaos (cohors I Flavia Bessorum). Date: 150-250 Fs. Thessaloniki IG X 2.1, 384.

Aurelius Vindex (cohors I Thracum Germanica). Origin: Andautonia; Date: 200-250. Fs. Ó Szöny. CIL III 10970=4316; RIU 538; Barkoczi 1951, 53 no. 33; Kraft 1951, 190 no. 1871; Barkóczi 1964, 339 no. 91/8; Lörincz 2001, 292 no. 461.

***Bitus Stac**[...](cohors III Thracum equitata).Origin: [Thracian]. Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Mainz. CIRh 1290=CIL XIII 7050; Kraft 1951, 190-191 no. 1901; Boppert, 1992, 128-130 no. 28.

***Tib. Claudius Tirintius** (cohors I Thracum equitata). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: Claudius/Nero. Fs. Wroxeter. RIB 291.

Diogenes (cohors I Augusta Thracum equitata). Date: late 1st –early 2nd century. Fs. Kurnub. Mann, 1969, 211-214.

***Dolanus Esbeni** (cohors III Thracum equitata). Origin: Bessus. Date: Nero/Flavian. Fs. Wiesbaden. CIRh. 1523; CIL XIII 7585; Le Glay 1980, 45 no. 14.

***T. Flavius Bitus** (cohors II Gemella Thracum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: late 1st early 2nd century. Fs. Mascula.

CIL VIII 2251; Pflaum 1978, 63; le Bohec 1989, 363.

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

CIL III 14579=AE 1901, 17; IMS 3/2, 37; Sašel, ILJug 3, 1315.

Iulius Apollonius (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 143. Fs. Thebe.

P. Columbia inv. 325=Gilliam 241 v 4; Criniti, 1979, 231 no. 1128^a; Daris 1988, 764.

Sextus Iulius Primus (cohors I Thracum Civium Romanorum). Origin: Trevirus. Date: 16. 06.138. Fs. Tótvásony.

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

M. Lucretius Clemens (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 25.04. 127. Fs. Contrapollonosopolis Magna. AE 1937, 111=Bell 1937, 30-36; CPL 159 v^o 1; Daris 1964, 35 (verso); Cavenaille 1970, 274 no. 1432.

Marrus Antonius (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 25.04. 127. Fs. Contrapollonosopolis Magna. CPL 159 v^o 3; Cavenaille 1970, 277 no. 1504.

Nicolaus (cohors I Flavia Bessorum). Date: first half of the 3rd century. Fs. Thessaloniki.

IG X 2/1, 384; Samsaris 1993, 347.

***Petronius Disacentus Dentubrisae** (cohors VI Thracum equitata). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: Nero/Flavian. Fs. Mainz.

CIL XIII 7052; Kraft 1951, 191 no. 1911; Boppert 1992, 138-139 no. 33.

***Pezus Sita** (cohors I Thracum milliaria). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: late 1st century. Fs. Akhilisse. AE 1926, 74.

***Rufus Sitae** (cohors VI Thracum equitata). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: Nero/Flavian. Fs. Mainz. CIL XIII 6817.

Q. Sergius Paulus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Date: late 1st century. Fs. Ravna.

CIL III 8262; IMS III/2, 38; Šašel, ILJug. 1306; Vulić, 1905, 19 no. 57=1905, 95 no. 54.

***Traidia Didae** (cohors IIII Thracum equitata). Origin: natione Saleta. Date: Claudius/Nero. Fs. Mainz.

AE 1965, 258=1978(1980) 556; Boppert 1992, 156 no. 50.

***C. Tutius Mani** (cohors IIII Thracum equitata). Origin: Dansala. Date: Nero/Flavi. Fs. Mainz.

CIRh 1290=CIL 13, 7050; Kraft 1951, 190-191 no. 1901; Boppert, 1992, 128-130 no. 28.

Valens, Οὐαλένης (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 16.06.131. Fs. Syene.

P. Wisconsin I 14, 3; CPL 159 v^o 1; Cavenaille 1970 no. 2087; Gilliam 1968, 93-98=1986, 329-334. Bingen 1967, 417; Hagedorn 1967, 146-151; Lewis 1968, 35-36; Gilliam 1968, 93-98=1986, 329-334.

*[...] **Mucasi** (cohors I Thracum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: Nero/Flavi. Fs. Remagen.

CIL XIII 8099; Le Glay 1980, 46.

*[...] **Mocazeni** (cohors I Thracum milliaria). Origin: Thrax. Date: 12 May 91.

Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219-221 no. 3.

d. Other cohortes

***Aulenus Her**[...] (cohors II Gallorum et Pannoniorum). Date: 23. 02. 144. Fs. Nova Zagora.

AE 1935, 111; Dechev 1935, 54-59; IDR I 14; Dobo 1975, 88 no. 471.

***Celsus Marius** (cohors II Bracaraugustanorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 150-250. Fs. Shipka. AE 1965, 347.

***C. Iulius Valens** (cohors IIII Gallorum). Origin: Trallis. Date: 114. F.s.u.

RMD 14

***Marcus Traidacus** (cohors II Numidarum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 150-250. Fs. Shipka.

AE 1965, 347.

***Mucapor Eptacentis** (cohors I Aquitanorum veterana). Origin: Thrax. Date: 27. 10. 90. Fs. Mainz.

CIL XVI 36.

***Mucatralis Bithi** (cohors I Brittonum milliaria). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 21 07. 164. Fs. Cășei.
IDR I 20=AE 1959, 37.

Sesquiplicarius

***Cocae Tyru** (numerus equitum Illyricorum). Origin: Sardica. Date: 19.07.146. F.s.u.
RMD 269.

Commentary

The epigraphic inquiry yielded the following results as to the equites in the Thracian regiments:

I	II	III	IV
Alae Thracum	Thracians in in alae non-Thracum	Cohortes Thracum	Thracians in cohortes non Thracum+numeri
Subjects: 80 Thracians: 18 Others: 62	Subjects: 76 Thracians: 67	Subjects: 24 Thracians: 12 Others: 12	Subjects: 7 Thracians: 7

There are 188 subjects in all submitted to analysis. The number of the known cavalry men of Thracian origin in *alae* and *cohortes* totals up 114 subjects, but only cases I and III can be taken into account for a percentage of Thracians in comparison with other ethnic elements.

It is possible that some of the 74 non-Thracian subjects in the statistics might have been in fact Thracians and therefore they hid under pure Roman names. There is a well known case of a soldier in the praetorian navy from Misene who bears a typical Roman name, *C. Iulius Victor*, certainly received during the service or on discharge, but he insists to make known his former Thracian name on the diploma, *Sola Dini*. Bearing a typical Roman name must be the case of many Thracian horsemen or infantry men. Nevertheless, without any specification they were considered in the largest category of the 'indeterminate Romans'.

The percentage of the participation of the *equites* of Thracian origin in Thracian regiments reaches 40.21% from the total of 92 subjects.

The successive setting of the twelve *alae Thracum* in the 1st century meant that each regiment was initially formed of ca. 480-500 horsemen recruited theoretically on the territory of Thrace and among the Thracians some of them more or less hellenized or romanized. That gives a total of 6000 horsemen raised in Thrace, roughly between 13/14-90.

The supply of the twelve cavalry and other some 12 Thracian infantry regiments with fresh contingents from Thrace was a constant process in the 1st -3rd centuries. The practice was highly intense in the 1st century when the proportion reaches its highest peak compared to the 2nd and 3rd century. Except no. 13, 15, 16, 22, 29, 33, and 35, which were *peditatae* and had only 80 cavalry men assigned, the other Thracian infantry regiments were *quingenariae equitatae*, with a detachment of 120 horsemen. No. 21 was *milliaria*, but it seems to have been only *peditata*, with only 120 horsemen, instead of 240 usually allotted to a *cohors milliaria equitata*.

There is a marked and somehow striking difference between the figures indicating the distribution of Thracians horsemen to *alae* and *cohortes Thracum* and those sent to other regiments. The ratio is 30:83. The fact might be explained through a much larger number of units to which fresh Thracian contingents had to be sent. That entailed a wider range of mentions in the epigraphic or papyrological sources, compared to the limited number of *alae* and *cohortes Thracum*.

While Thracians in the *alae Thracum* appear only in 18 of 80 cases (22.5%), the situation is different in case of the Thracian cohorts. Of 31 known subjects recorded in all in *cohortes Thracum*, 12 individuals are *equites* of Thracian origin in *cohortes Thracum* and 7 in other cohorts. Proportionally,

that represents a much higher percentage, 61. 29%. If it is not a fortuitous situation created by the available information, it might be that the Thracian recruits with horse riding aptitudes were directed more towards the mounted squadrons of the Thracian cohorts than towards the higher ranking *alae*.

The epigraphic material available so far yielded some information on the regions or tribal communities from where the Thracian horsemen originate in both cavalry and infantry regiments other than those labeled *Thracum*.

Bessi have the highest representation of *equites*. The general ethnical term *Thrax/ Thracus* might imply a larger area and an overall recruitment not only in Thrace, mainly in the plain areas of Central Balkans and south east, but also in the northern Balkan regions of Moesian plateaus. *Thrax* as an ethnic term could have included individuals from different Thracian tribes, including *Bessi*, although the nationalistic sentiments of this brave Thracian tribe could have hindered the adoption of a regional name. The *Dentheletae* horsemen are also eloquent for the Roman recruitment policy. The territory inhabited by the tribe of Dentheletae, was a large plain next to the today town of Kjustendil and Stanke Dimitrov (Dupnitsa), on the upper course of the Strymon (Struma) River. This plain induced, like in the case of the Bessi or any other plain occupant, centuries of good horse riding and skills for excellent mounted warriors.

Serdi had a common frontier with Dentheletae towards south west and were in a permanent contact with them in a flat region, where the upper basins of Strymon and upper Oiskos Rivers are closest to one another.

Other Thracian horsemen come also from communities living the plains of Thrace: a (*S*)*Caenus*, from the tribe of Caeni, living in the plains of the extreme south eastern Thrace, north of the Marmara Sea; *Sappaeus* from the tribe of Sappaei who occupied the plain of the Arda River, south of the tribe of Coeleletae; *Tralli*, in the lowlands of the lower course of the Nestus River; an individual from *Sala*, likely from the tribe of Sai, in the lowlands west of the Bistonis Lake along the Aegean coast, around the present day Maroneia; *Spiurus* possibly from Spiuri, a Moesian tribe occupying some territories south-west of Durostorum, in the tableland of the today's north-east Bulgaria.

The 83 cavalry men of Thracian origin documented in the non-Thracian cavalry and infantry regiments is significant evidence that this particular skill in horse riding was highly appreciated in the Roman army. Remarkably these aptitudes are recorded without exception by ancient writers, from Homer to Arrian.

Gauls and Batavians were also renowned horsemen as frequently revealed by ancient authors. The amalgamation of Thracian recruits with Gauls at an early stage was commonly considered by modern authors as a fast and sure way of disciplining and training them in horse riding and fighting. Strengthening the discipline could have been a reason, given the greater experience of the Gauls in the Roman army, but to make mounted warriors out of already skilled in riding and fighting Thracian horsemen certainly was not an aim.

Compared to the situation in *alae* and *cohortes Thracum*, where the distribution of Thracian recruits towards these regiments reaches the highest percentage in the 1st century, in case of non-Thracian regiments the supply with fresh cavalry contingents intensifies in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. However, the evaluation must be carefully considered, for there are some groups of documents which can offer a spurious picture on the dynamics of contingents' distribution. There are lists of Thracian horsemen related to a certain event or moment in the life of the unit which assembles a greater number of soldiers in a single record: e. g. P. Lond; P. Wisc; CIL 6, 31164; the Contrapollonospolis Magna and Thebe papyri from 25.04. 127, and from 143, a fact that adds considerably and unilaterally to any numerical evaluation.

Nonetheless, 2nd century is a period of intensification of recruitment in Thrace, as the impressive number of military diplomas granted to the veterans show. It culminates with the record of 1000

Bessian recruits (*mille iuniores Bessi*) sent to Mauretania Tingitana in 200 aiming to supply the effectives of the auxiliary regiments in that province.

7. PEDITES

Cohortes Thracum

Aemilius, Αιμίλιος (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 16.06.131. Fs. Syene.

P. Wisconsin I 14, 4; Cavenaille 1970, 216 no. 48.

Ammonius (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 143. Fs. Thebe.

P. Columbia, inv. 325; Gilliam 1967, 240, v 2; Criniti 1979, 212 no. 99^a.

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

CIL XVI 67.

Aratos Ἄρατος (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 126/127. Fs. Talmis.

SB 4607⁹; Cavenaille, 225 no. 268.

Aurelius qui et Septimius Constans (cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Date: ca. 200. Fs.

Bölske.

CIL 3, 3395=10378; RIU 1018; Kraft 1951, 189-190 no. 1863a; Barkóczi 1964, 350 no. 145/2; Lörincz 2001, 293 no. 465.

Aurelius Iulius (cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Date: ca. 200-250. Fs. Nagytetyeny.

CIL III 3319=10299; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 631; Barkóczi 1964, 347 no. 106/4; Lörincz 2001, 215 no. 190.

***Bespre** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993, no. 188.

***Bespre** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993. no. 189.

***Bespre** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 190.

***Bespre** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 191.

***Bithis** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no.209.

***Bitthis Tokou** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 .no. 227.

***Brame** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 234.

***Brame** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 235.

***Bizas Bithyos**(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 243.

Caius Barga (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 25.04.127. Fs. Contrapollonosopolis.

CPL 159 v^o 4; Cavenaille 1970, 234 no. 480.

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

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

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

Dunakömlöd.

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

- ***Debes Zi[pa]o Tsemisia** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian].
Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 285.
- ***Dizas Alkou** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 304
- ***Dizas Alkou** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 305.
- ***Dizas Alkou** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 306.
- ***Dizas Alkou** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no.307.
- ***Dizas** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 311
- ***Dolens Sublusi** (cohors VI Thracum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 12.07. 96.Fs. Kostolać.
RMD 6; Dušanić, Vasić, 1977, 291.
- ***Doles Kl[...]psos** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs.
Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 358.
- ***Dorzias** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 361
- ***Dougelespn** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 363.
- ***Doules** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 374.
- ***Dules Biseze[neos]** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs.
Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 367
- ***Dules Biseze[neos]** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs.
Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 368.
- ***Dules Biseze[neos]** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs.
Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 369.
- ***Dules Biseze[neos]** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs.
Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 370.
- ***Durises Bithi** (cohors III Thracum equitata). Origin: Thracus. Date: February 80. Fs. Kamensko.
CIL XVI 158; AE 1948, 56; Kraft 1951, 191 no. 1903.
- ***Fuscus Dorilsis Eptacenti** (cohors III Thracum Syriaca). Origin: *domo Serdus*. Date: mid 1st century.
Fs. Astorga.
AE 1928, 165; Le Roux, 1982, 89, 184 no. 46.
- Glabone** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 262.
- Glykon Atal[us?]**, Γλύκων Ἀταλ[...] (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: 126/127. Fs. Talmis.
SB 4550¹; Cavenaille 1970 no. 957.
- Ieriu** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs. Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 n. 539.

C. Iulius Baccus (cohors I Thracum). Origin: Lugdunum. Date: 80-100. Fs. Köln.
CIL XIII 8318.

***C. Iulius Bitus** (cohors II Gemella Thracum). Origin:[Thracian].Date: 1st century. Fs. Carthage.
CIL VIII 14281=25364; Pflaum 1978, 63.

***Iulius Teres** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs
?
AE 1974, 587.

Iustus (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 548.

***Karzas** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 560

KONHIEΣΓΔ (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993, no. 605.

***Kythes** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 629.

***Kynaithos** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 630.

ΑΕΛΑ (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 634.

T. Marsias (Tharseas?) Bammogaei (cohors I Thracum equitata).Date: 25.04.127. Fs.
Contrapllonosopolis.
CPL 154 v 8; Gilliam 1975, 766-774, 722; Criniti 1979, 238 no. 1505^b

Monus Tessimari (cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Origin: Eraviscus. Date: 8.02. 157. Fs.
Dunakömlöd.
RMD 102; AE 1983, 785; Visy 1982, 62-65; Lörincz 2001, 163 no. 28

[...] **nus Diodorus** [...] νος Διώδορος (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 126/127. Fs. Talmis.
SB 4593²; Cavenaille 1970, 245 no. 742.

*[...] **Mucasi** (cohors I Thracum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: Claudian. Fs. Bonn.
CIL XIII 8099; Kraft 1951, 186 no. 1852; Alföldy 1968, 212 no. 152.

Monus Tessimari (cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Origin: Eraviscus. Date: 8.02. 157. Fs.
Dunakömlöd.
RMD 102; AE 1983, 785; Visy 1982, 62-65; Lörincz 2001, 163 no. 28.

[...] **mus Na**[...] (cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Date: Sept/Oct. 152. Fs. Dunakömlöd.
RMD 167; Visy 1991, 160-165; Lörincz 2001, 163 no. 26.

Nectovelius (cohors II Thracum). Origin: natione Brigans; Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Mumrills.
CIL 7, 1091; RIB 2142.

***Nikon Zipirou** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 774.

Numerius Alexa (cohors I Thracum). Date: 25.04. 127. Fs. Contrapollonosopolis.
AE 1937, 111; Bell 1937, 30-36; CPL 159 v 9; Daris 1964, 35 (verso).

***Paibis Sanbou** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 808.

***Plutio Tithoes** (cohors II Thracum equitata). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 23.03.179. Fs. Coptos.
RMD 185; AE 1990, 1023; Römer 1990, 137-153.

ΠΠΚΟΥΜΑΥΡΟΥ (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.
Samsaris 1993 no. 845.

*[...] **por** (cohors III Thracum equitata). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 200-250. Fs. Valkenburg.

Bogaers 1974², 453.

***Ruimus Tabusi** (cohors I Thracum). Origin: Thrax. Date: Claudian. Fs. Remagen.

CIL XIII 7803; Kraft 1951, 186 no. 1851; Alföldi 1968, 212 no. 151; Le Glay 1980, 46

***Sapa** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993, no. 896.

***L. Septimius Tatulo** (cohors I Thracum equitata). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: ca. 200. Fs: Bölske.

CIL III 3319=10299=RIU 1018; Kraft 1951, 189 no. 1863a; Barkóczy 1964, 350

no. 145/2; Lörincz 2001, 293 no. 465.

Q. Sergius Paulus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Date: late 1st century. Fs. Ravna.

CIL III 8262; IMS III/2, 38; Sašel, ILJug. 1306.

***Sese Lenulae** (cohors IIII Thracum equitata). Origin: *Dansala*. Date: Claudius. Fs. Mainz.

CIL XIII 7049; Kraft 1951, 191 no. 1902.

***Smertos** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 937.

***Smertos** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 938.

***Smertos** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 939.

***Smertrus** (cohors II Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Moresby.

RIB 804.

***Souaka Bos**[...] (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 940.

Sulpicius (cohors II Thracum equitata). Date: 143. Fs. Thebe.

P. Columbia, inv. 325; Gilliam 1967, 241 v 2; Criniti 1979, 246 no. 1992^b.

***Surus Coccae** (cohors IIII Thracum equitata). Origin: natione Dansala. Date: Claudius. Fs. Mainz.

CIL XIII 7050; Kraft 1951, 191 no. 1904.

***Tarsis Sanbou** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 997.

***Tarsis** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 998.

***Toukoudeba** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 1052.

***Tsoukoleizi** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 1061.

[...]YANP (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 1096.

[...]YEANΓ (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 1097.

L. Valerius Albinus (cohors I Thracum equitata). Origin: domo [...]si[...]. Date: 150-200. Fs.

Offenburg.

CIL XIII 6286.

Q. Valerius Germanus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Date: late 1st century. Fs. Ravna.

AE 1910, 95; ISM 3/2, 40; Sašel, ILJug. 1309.

***Zipas** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 486.

***Zipas** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis.

Samsaris 1993 no. 487.

- ***Zipas** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis. Samsaris 1993 no. 488.
- ***Zipas Dere** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis. Samsaris 1993 no. 477.
- ***Zipas Sanvou** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis. Samsaris 1993 no. 481.
- ***Zipas Sanvou** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis. Samsaris 1993 no.482.
- ***Zipas Sanvou** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis. Samsaris 1993 no. 483.
- ***Zipas Sanvou** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis. Samsaris 1993 no. 484.
- ***Ziper Dethoubithos** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis. Samsaris 1993 no. 496.
- ***Ziper Ditoupaibis** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis. Samsaris 1993 no. 497.
- ***Ziper Ditoupaibis** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis. Samsaris 1993 no. 498.
- ***Zosimus Narkisus**, Ζώσιμος Ναρκίσου (cohors II Thracum equitata). Origin: Myndos. Date: 126/127. Fs. Talmis. SB 4607¹; Cavenaille 1970, 308 no. 2249.
- ***Zyperos... n?** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum) Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd -3rd century. Fs Amphipolis. Samsaris 1993 no. 505.
- [...] (cohors I Thracum?). Date: mid 1st century. Fs. Köln. CIL XIII 8319; Le Glay 1980, 46.
- *[...] (cohors ? Thracum). Origin: Thracus. Date: mid 1st century. Fs. [...] CIL XIII 7051.
- *[...] **Genimoli f.** (cohors III Thracum Syriaca). Origin: Thracus. Date: 12 May 91. F. s. u. RMD 214.
- *[...] **Mocazeni f.** (cohors I Thracum milliaria). Origin: Thracus. Date: 12 May 91. F. s. u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219-221 no. 3.

Other cohortes

- ***M. Antonius Rufus** (cohors II Gallorum). Origin: Abrittenus. Date: 99. Fs. Oltina. CIL XVI 44.
- ***Aurelius Moca** (cohors Claudia milliariensis). Origin: natus in Dardania vicus Zatidis. Date: 250-280. Fs. Aquileia. CIL V 898.
- ***Aurelius Surius** (cohors Aureliana Pimasensium). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 100-200. Fs. Liljace. AE 1908, 136; Katsarov no. 618.
- ***Bithus Seuthi** (cohors Musulamiorum). Origin: Bessus. Date: 07.11.88. Fs. Muhovo. CIL XVI 35.

***Brisanus Aulusani** (cohors I Vindellicorum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: mid 2nd century. Fs. Jupa. IDR III/1 163.

***Clagissa Clagissae** (cohors II Mattiacorum). Origin: Bessus. Date: 28.03. 138. Fs. Turnovo. AE 1900, 26; CIL XVI 83.

***Flavius Mestrius Iustus** (cohors II Lucensium). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 100-200. Fs. Malka Brestnica. CIL III 14424; ILBR 210; AE 1900, 13=1954, 36; Kazarov no. 372; Mihailov 1950, 293 no. 17; Gerov, 1976, 65 no. 6.

***Mucapor Eptacenti** (cohors I Aquitanorum veterana). Origin: Tarax. Date: 29.10. 90.Fs. Mainz. CIL XVI 36=13, 6821=ILS 1448.

***Mucatralis Site** (cohors II Brittonum). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 1st century. Fs. Gigen. ILB 64; AE 1957, 299; Beshevliev 1951, 91.

***Rufus Valentinus Tabusi** (cohors I Aquitanorum veterana). Origin: [Thracian]. Date: 2nd - 3rd century. Fs. Carales. CIL X 7596.

Commentary

There are 107 known subjects in Thracian and non-Thracian auxiliary regiments which were submitted to analysis. Of them, 76 are Thracians by origin, which means a percentage of 71.02%. From a quantitative perspective, the number of known *pedites* recorded in MDs and inscriptions is less numerous than *equites* (113), but this seems to be a fortuitous situation of the discoveries. Most of the names of the soldiers are known from the Amphipolis. graffiti found on a building slab where no less than 67 names are recorded, very likely soldiers in *cohors I Flavia Bessorum*, of which 51 are certainly of Thracian origin. Whether they were all *pedites* or a mixture of infantry and cavalry soldiers grouped in a detachment dispatched in the city is not precisely known. The cohorts was a *peditata* regiment in which case the soldiers can be rather assigned to the infantry than to cavalry stock.

Twelve individuals specify their origin: *Thracus*: 4; *Bessus*: 3; *Dansala (Dentheletae)*: 2; *domo Serdus*: 1; *Abrettenus*: 1; *natus Dardania vico Zatidis*: 1. An interesting case is Aurelius Moca, from Dardania, a Thracian by name. He specifically added the place where he originates from, *vicus Zatidis*. The inscription is 3rd century in date, which suggests that he followed a certain pattern of that period, noticeable in many inscriptions of the Thracian praetorians in Rome and other places where the zest for specificity, the nationality, province, town and rural settlement is sometimes remarkable.

Thracians *pedites* appear in the Thracian cohorts no. 13, 17, 18, 26, 34, 35, and 37. Apart of no. 13 (*cohors I Flavia Bessorum*), in Macedonia, a certain concentration of Thracian effectives is noticeable in *cohors IIII Thracum* on the Rhine valley where three soldiers were identified. The early date of the inscriptions suggests that they might have been the first or, at least, the second wave of recruits in the cohort.

8. VETERANI

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

epigraphic evidence, enough to generate a significant picture of their presence and role in the social mobility in the Roman Empire¹.

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

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

I. *Veterans in the cavalry regiments*

A. *Alae Thracum*

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

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

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

CIL III 5655.

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

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

C. Attulus (?) (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Aleppo. IGLS I 181.

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

AE 1910, 138; RIU 1183; Mahler 1909, 241; Kraft 1951, 161 no. 629; Intercissa I no. 24; Barkóczy 1964, 349 no. 144/11; Fitz 1972, 100 no. 12; Lörincz 2001, 213 no.183.

Aurelius Iulius (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 200-250. Fs. Nagytétény. Remained.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Remained.

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

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

Remained.

CIL III 4834.

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

Remained.

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

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

Remained.

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

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

Membidj.

Remained.

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

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

Fs. Turkey.

Remained.

RMD 34; Lörincz 2001, 160 no. 20.

***Gusulae Doqui** (ala I Thracum victrix). Origin: *Thrax*. Date: 27 09. 79. Fs.

Weiss 2004: 239-254.

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

Remained.

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

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

Cherchel.

Remained.

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

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

Remained.

CIL III 5655.

***C. Iulius Lupercus** (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum). Origin: *domo Sala*. Date: 180; Fs:

Szőny.

Remained.

CIL III 4321=RIU 560; Kraft 1951, 162 no. 674; Mocsy 1959, 246 164/19; Barkóczi 1964, 55 no. 81;

Lörincz 2001, 218 no. 197.

M. Marius Valens (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana). Origin: Galata. Date: mid 2nd century. Fs.

Köln.

Remained.

CIL XIII 8306.

Octavius Vi[...] (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 139. Fs.

Remained

CIL XVI 175; AE 1955, 17; Nagy 1956, 15-71; Lörincz 2001, 160 no. 21.

Oxetius Naevionis, Eraviscus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Origin: *Eraviscus*. Date: 5 05.

167. Fs: Óbuda.

Remained

CIL XVI 123; Lörincz 2001, 166 no. 33.

***Quelse Dolae** (ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum). Origin: *Thracus*. Date: 12 May 91. Fs. Suhozem.

Reversus

AE 1961, 319; RMD 4; Botusharova 1958, 317-321.

[..]**us Rammi** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana). Date: 4 May-13 July 105. Fs. Middlewich.

Remained

RMD 8=RIB 2401.3.

***Romesta Rescenti** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin: *Spiurus*. Date: 18 June 54. Fs. Sarsânlar.

Reversus

CIL XVI 3.

Serpodius Epaphrae (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Date: 7 March 160. Fs.

Reversus

RMD 173.

***C. Sertorius Cesivecetrizis** (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana). Origin: *Besideltus*. Date: 1st-2nd century. Fs. Dervesiani.

Reversus

Samsaris 1993, 235 no. 908.

***Seuthes** (ala Gallorum et Thracum veterana). Origin: *Scaenus*. Date: 12 May 91. Fs. Gradishte.

Reversus

Gerov 1959, 210; RMD 5.

Ulpus Cives (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: Trajan. Fs. Mannersdorf.

Remained

Ubl 1974, 422; Lörincz 2001, 211 no. 174.

Ulpus Crescens (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: first half of the 2nd century. Fs. Zucchabar.

Remained

CIL VIII 9615; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 26; Benseddik 1977, 216 no. 84.

***Valens Bititralis** (ala I Thracum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs. Vechten.

Remains

CIL XIII 8818; Fol 1969, 245 no. 1022; Speidel 1976, 347-348= 1984, 99; Le Glay 1980, 46.

Valerius Emeritus (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs. Budapest.

CIL III 10432 (=3465); Mocsy 1959 251 no. 185/47; Lörincz 2001, 212 no. 180.

Valerius Valens (ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum). Date: 200-250. Fs. Nagyteteny.

Remained

CIL XVI 3; Lörincz 2001, 215 no. 188.

***L. Valerius Volsenus** (ala Gallorum et Thraecum Antiana). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 18 June 54. Fs. Sarsânlar.

Reversus ?

CIL XVI 3.

L. Vettius Valens (ala I Thracum Mauretana). Date: second half of the 2nd century. Fs: Alexandria.

Remained

CIL III 14139.

B. Alae non-Thracum

***Aelius Mucatralis** (ala I Flavia Gaetulorum). Date: Hadrian-Antoninus Pius. Fs. Histria.

Remained.

Suceveanu 1998, 109-117 no. 1.

Aurelius Bassus (ala I Ulpia contariorum). Date: ca. 252. Fs: Qal'at el Mudik AE 1987, 955; Balty 1987, 229-230; 1988, 103; Lörincz 2001, 185 no. 91.

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

Remained

AE 1940, 34.

***Aurelius Bithus** (ala I Ulpia contariorum). Date: 3 01.240. Fsu.

Remained

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

***Aurelius Doriso** (I Ulpia contariorum). Date: ca. 160-230. Fs. Györ.

Remained

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

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

Remained

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

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

Reversus

BIAB 1939, 89.

***Aurelius Teres** (ala I Ulpia contariorum). Date: 200-250. Fs: Györ.

Remained

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

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

Reversus

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

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

Remained

IDR I 21.

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

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

Reversus (?)

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

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

Eck, Pangerl 2003, 220-228

Reversus (?).

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

Remained

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

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

Reversus

Katsarov 1938 no. 359.

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

Remained

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

- ***Gisusetes Heptasae** (ala praetoria singularium). Origin: *Thracus*. Date: 88. F.s.u.
Eck 2003, 229-233.
- ***Heptapor Isi** (ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 8.07. 158; Fs. Cristești.
Remained.
CIL XVI 108; IDR I 16.
- * **[...]lus Iresi** (ala I Flavia Gaetulorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 1.06.125. Fs. Bulgaria.
Remained
AE 1997, 1772; Eck, Roxan 1997, 193-203.
- ***Meticus Solae** (ala I Asturum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 14.08. 99. Fs. Plovdiv.
Reversus.
CIL XVI 45.
- ***Sitalis Cultra** (ala Augusta Gallorum civium Romanorum). Date: 14.10.109. Fs. Pernik .Reversus
RMD 84.
- ***Sola Mucatri** (ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana). Date: 2nd century. Fs: Ilișua.
Remained
CIL III 787.
- ***Suri Dialpuri** (ala I Thracum victrix.). Origin: Nicopolis. Date: 21. 06. 159.
Weiss, 1999, 147-182= AE 1999, 1351 a-c.
- ***Valerius Herculanus** (ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum). Origin: *vicus Rami*[...]. Date: 2nd century. Fs. Gârliciu.
Remained
ISM V 117.
[...] (?). Date: 80-84. Fs. Bulgaria.
Reversus
AE 1997, 1772; Eck, Roxan 1997, 228-229.

II. *Veterans in the Thracian infantry regiments (cohortes)*

A. *Cohortes Thracum*

- M. Antonius Timus** (cohors I Flavia Bessorum). Origin: *Hierapolis*. Date: 29.06. 120; Fs: Ritopek.
Reversus
CIL XVI 67.
- Aurelius Salmanes** (cohors III Augusta Thracum), Date: 26. 05. 227. Fs. Dura Europos.
Dura P. 101; Welles, 1937, 261-284; Rep. VII/VIII 433-438 no. II; Arangio Ruiz 1943, 439-443 no. 138; Taubenschlag 1949, 59 no. 12; Pringsheim 1950, 79-80; 104 n. 3; 221; Arangio Ruiz 1953, 243-244; The Excavations at DuraEuropos. Final report V, part I (Ann Perkins ed.), New Haven 1959, 134-141 no. 26 Lower Text 29.
- C. Cassius Longus** (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Date: mid 2nd century. Fs. Ravna.
Remained
CIL III 14575; ISM 3/2, 39; ILIug. 1299; Ladek, Pemerstein, Vulić, 1901, 142 no. 48=1903, 75 no. 44.
- Culsus Atedummi** (cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata). Origin: *Eraviscus*. Date: 8.02. 157. Fs. Dunakömlöd.
Remained
RMD 103; AE 1983, 745; Visy 1982, 60-62; Lörincz 2001, 163 no. 27.
- ***Dolens Sublusi** (cohors VI Thracum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 12.07.96.Fs. Kostolać.
Remained

RMD 6; Dusanić, Vasić, 1977, 291.

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

Reversus

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

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

Reversus

CIL III 14579=AE 1901, 17; ISM 3/2, 37; ILJug 3, 1315; Premerstein, Vulić 1900, 141 no. 42; 1900, 32 no. 42.

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

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

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

Dura P. 101; Welles, 1937, 261-284; Rep. VII/VIII 433-438 no. II; Arangio Ruiz 1943, 439-443 no.

138; Taubenschlag 1949, 59 no. 12; Pringsheim 1950, 79-80; 104 n. 3; 221; Arangio Ruiz 1953, 243-

244; The Excavations at Dura Europos. Final report V, part I (Ann Perkins ed.), New Haven 1959, 134-141 no. 26, Upper Text 1; Lower Text 6.

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

Remained

CIL VIII 14281=25364; Pflaum 1978, 63.

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

CIL XVI 84; Lörincz 2001, 170 no. 43.

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

Remained

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

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

Dunakömlöd.

Remained

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

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

Remained

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

L. Septimius Tatulo (cohors I Thracum equitata). Date: ca. 200. Fs. Bölske.

Remained

CIL III 3319=10299=RIU 1018; Kraft 1951, 189 no. 1863a; Barkóczy 1964, 350 no. 145/2; Lörincz 2001, 293 no. 465.

Septimius Ursulinus (cohors I Thracum equitata Civium Romanorum). Date: early 3rd century. Fs.

Acs-Vaspuszta.

Remained

AE 1967, 380=RIU 641; Gabler 1967, 194-196; Lörincz 2001, 291 no. 458.

***Septimius Pisisus** (ala II Pannoniorum). Date: 2nd century. Fs. Gherla.

IDL 588

Q. Sergius Paulus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Date: late 1st century. Fs. Ravna.

Remained

CIL III 8262; ISM III/2, 38; ILJug. 1306; Vulić, 1905, 19 no. 57=1905, 95 no. 54.

***Seuthes Traibithi** (cohors II Thracum). Origin: *Coiloleticus*. Date: 13. 05. 86. Fs. Turea.

Reversus

CIL XVI 33.

Sextus Iulius Primus (cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum). Origin: *Trevirus*. Date: 16. 06.138. Fs. Tótvásony.

Remained

CIL XVI 84; Bormann 1897, 161; Lörincz 2001, 170 no. 43.

Ulpus Crescens (ala II Augusta Thracum). Date: Fs. Zucchabar.

CIL VIII, 9615; Leveau 1973, 169 no. 26; Benseddik 1977, 216 no. 84.

Q. Valerius Germanus (cohors I Thracum Syriaca). Date: late 1st century. Fs. Ravna.

Remained

AE 1910, 95; ISM 3/2, 40; ILJug. 1309; Vulić, 1909, 183 no. 52=1909, 158 no. 95.

*[...] **Mocazeni f.** (cohors I Thracum milliaria). Origin: *Thrax* Date: 12 May 91. Fs.

Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219-221 no. 3.

B. Cohortes non-Thracum

***M. Antonius Rufus** (cohors II Gallorum). Origin: *Abrittenus*. Date: 99. Fs. Oltina.

Remained

CIL XVI 44.

***Aulenus Her**[...] (cohors II Gallorum Pannoniorum). Date: 23.02. 144. Fs. Nova Zagora.

Reversus

CIL XVI 90=IDR I 14.

***Aurelius Tara** (cohors III Campestris). Date: 200-250. Fs. Prahovo.

Remained

ILJug II 461; Živa Antika 1966, 387-388.

***Bithus Seuthi** (cohors Musulamiorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 07.11.88. Fs. Muhovo.

Reversus

CIL XVI 35.

***Clagissa Clagissae** (cohors II Mattiacorum). Origin: *Bessus*. Date: 28.03. 138. Fs. Tărnovo.

Reversus

CIL XVI 83.

***Cocae Tyru** (numerus equitum Illyricorum). Origin: *Sardica*. Date: 19.07.146. Fs.

Remained

RMD 269.

* [...] **cti** ([...]um Civium Romanorum). Origin: *Thrax*. Date: 109; Fs. Valentia Banasa.

Remained

CIL XVI 162.

***C. Iulius Valens** (cohors IIII Gallorum). Origin: *Trallis*. Date: 19.07. 114. Fs. Pisarevo.

Remained

RMD 14; Paunov, Roxan 1997, 269-279.

***Mucatralis Bithi** (cohors I Brittonum milliaria). Date: 21 07. 164. Fs. Cășei.

Remained

IDR I 20=AE 1959, 37.

***Mucapor Eptacentis** (cohors I Aquitanorum veterana). Origin: *Thrax*. Date: 29.10. 90. Fs. Mainz.

Remained.

CIL XVI 36.

The hazard of discoveries has certainly its role in shaping out the picture of this important social body, although it must be underlined that the relatively large incidence of mentions does not leave too

many doubts as far as the veterans' options after the discharge and even creates a coherent picture of the aspect.

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

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

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

Tab. I. **Military diplomas with find spot unknown granted to the veterans of Thracian origin**

Cerso Dentarasadi	Ala I Brittonum	Eck 2003, 220-228 (71)	Thrax
Gusulae Doqui	Ala I Thracum Victrix	Weiss, 2004, 239-246 (79).	Thrax
Gisusetes Heptasi	Ala praetoria Singulariorum	Eck 2003, 229-233 (88)	Thrax
Bithus[...] iae	Ala praetoria Singulariorum	Weiss 1997, 229-231 (88)	Thrax
Tharsa	Cohors I Aquitanorum vet.	Eck, Pangerl 2003, 60 (90)	
Thavus Cassiporis	Cohors I Aquitanorum vet.	Eck, Pangerl 2003, 60 (90)	Thrax
[...] Genimoli	Cohors III Thracum Syriaca	RMD 214 (91)	Thrax
Lucius Satur[...]	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	Donald, Mihailovich 2002, 225 (97)	
Cocae Tyru	Numerus Equitum Illyricorum	RMD 269 (114)	Sardica
Ulpus M[...]	Ala I Ulpia contariorum	RMD 236 (126)	Bessus
[..Bi]thus	Ala VII Phrygum	Weiss 1997, 256-259 (157-158)	
Aelius Bi]thus	Ala I Ulpia contariorum	Eck, Roxan1998, (240)	
[?][...]olus	?	ILD 17 (122)	Bessus
Bruzenus Delsasi	Ala veterana Gallica	Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205-214 no.1 (91)	Thrax
Cardentus Biticenthi	Ala veterana Gallica	Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-	Disdiv[...]

		219 no.2 (91)	
[...] Mocazeni	Cohors I Thracum milliaria	Eck, Pangerl 2006(1), 219-221 no.2 (91)	Thrax
[...]		Eck, Pangerl 2006(2), 185-191 (158)	Densela

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

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

*

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

Tab. II. Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Syria and Judea

Romesta Rescenti	ala I Gallorum et Thracum Antiana	CIL XVI 3 (54) Sarsânlar	Spiurus
L. Valerius Volsenus	ala I Gallorum et Thracum Antiana	CIL XVI 3 (54) (<i>missicius alae</i>) Sarsânlar	Bessus
Gisusetes Heptasi	ala praetoria singulariorum	Eck 2003, 229-233 (88) f.s.u.	Thrax
Bithus Seuthi	cohors Musulamiorum	CIL XVI 36 (88) Muhovo	Bessus
Bithus[...] iae	ala praetoria singulariorum	Weiss 1997, 229 -231 (88) F.s.u.	Thrax
Quelsa Dolae	ala III Augusta Thracum	RMD 4 (91) Suhozem	Thrax
[...] Genimoli	cohors III Thracum Syriaca	RMD 214 (91). f.s.u.	Thrax
[.Bi]thus	ala VII Phrygum	Weiss 1997, 256-259 (157-158). f.s.u.	
C. Sertorius Cesicevetricis	ala I Gallorum et Thracum Antiana	Samsaris 1993, 235 (1 st c.) Dervesiani	

Seuthes Traibithi	cohors II Thracum	CIL XVI 33 (86). Turea	Coiloleticus
Bruzenus Delsasi	Ala veterana Gallica	Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205-214 no.1 (91) f.s.u.	Thrax
Cardentus Biticenthi	Ala veterana Gallica	Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-219 no.2 (91)	Disdiv[...]
[...] Mocazeni	Cohors I Thracum milliaria	Eck, Pangerl 2006(1), 219-221 no.2 (91)	Thrax
[...]	Ala VII Phrygum	Eck, Pangerl 2006(2), 185-191 (158)	Densela

Commentary

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

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

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

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

Veterans' communities in the Eastern provinces originated from the Imperial foundations in early Principate⁷, but the statistics show most of the 1st and 2nd century origin of the recruits drawn from the local environment and none among Thracians. The only remarkable exception is *legio II Parthica* created by Septimius Severus and massively supplied with Thracian recruits documented in a considerable amount in the 3rd century in Syria⁸.

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

⁴ Samsaris 1990, 16-19.

⁵ Samsaris 1990, 17.

⁶ IGLS I 181.

⁷ Mann 1983, 41-44 and tab 26.

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

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

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

Tab. III. **Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Moesia**

?	?	Weiss 1997, 229 (80/84) Bulgaria	Thrax
Dolens Sublusi	Cohors VI Thracum	RMD 6 (96) Kostolac	Bessus
Lucius Satur[...]	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	Donald, Mihailovich 2002, 225 (97) f.s.u.	
Meticus Solae	Ala I Asturum	CIL XVI 45 (99) Plovdiv	Bessus
M. Antonius Rufus	Cohors II Gallorum	CIL XVI 44 (99) Oltina	Abrettenus
[...] us Iresi	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	Eck, Roxan 1997, 193- 203 (125) Bulgaria	Bessus
Clagissa Clagissae	Cohors II Mattiacorum	CIL 16, 83 (138) Târnovo	Bessus
Aelius Mucatralis	Ala I Flavia Gaetulorum	Suceveanu 1998, 109 (mid 2 nd c.) Histria	
Valerius Herculanus	Ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum	ISM V 117 (late 2 nd c.) Gârliciu	Vicus Rami[...]
Aurelius Cotus	Ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum	AE 1940, 34 (200-250) Ruse	
Aurelius Tara	Cohors III Campestris	ILJug. 461 (200-250) Prahovo	
Aurelius Teres	Ala I Asturum	BIAB 1939, 89 (200-250) Sofia	
[...]inus Dini[tra]lis Tarsa[...]es	Cohors I Thracum Syriaca	IMS III/2 no. 37 (late 1 st c.) Ravna	

Commentary

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

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

Tab. IV. Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Dacia

Cocae Tyru	Numerus Equitum Illyricorum	RMD 269 (114) f.s.u.	Sardica
Bithus Solae,	numerus Equitum Illyricorum	RMD 39 (140) Palamartsa	Bessus,
Aulenus Her[...]	cohors II Gallorum	CIL XVI 90 (144) Nova Zagora	
Heptapor Isi	Ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum	CIL XVI 108 (158)	Bessus
[? B]iti,	ala Siliana (Gilau)	IDR I 21 (164) Buciumi	
Mucatralis Bithi	cohors I Brittonum (Porolissum)	RMD 63 (164) Cășei	
Sola Mucatri	Ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana	CIL III, 787 (2 nd century)	
[?][...]olus	?	ILD 17 (122)	Bessus

⁹ For recruitment in auxiliary regiments in the Balkan provinces see Gerov 1950/1951-1951/1952, 17-121; for the legions: Forni 1953, 91-94; 97-99; Mann 1983, 36-39 and tab. 21 and 22.

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

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

Commentary

Dacian provinces display a number of eight Thracian veterans known thus far¹². Except one case,

they are all recorded in military diplomas. The individuals served in regiments garrisoned in northern and eastern areas of the province, particularly in north of Dacia Porolissensis and east of Dacia Superior. It is striking that none of the regiments billeted in the western and southern parts of Dacia yielded evidence for discharge of Thracian veterans. That might be an indication that Thracian recruits were predominantly sent to regiments in northern and eastern Dacia.

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

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

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

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

Commentary.

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

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

VI. Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from auxiliary regiments in Germania

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

Commentary

Four military diplomas attest to the discharge of Thracian veterans in Germany¹⁴. Three discharges were made in 90 from *cohors I Aquitatorum* in the army of Upper Germany. From the same provincial army a Thracian veteran served in *ala Scubulorum*, at Augusta Vangionum (Borbetomagus-Worms), while another was a soldier in *cohors III Thracum equitata* from the Lower German army discharged

¹³ Lőrincz 2001, 135-138.

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

at an early date. All the three military diplomas are of III D type showing the prolongation of service due to the events on the Rhine frontier, in 88-89. It is noteworthy that the discharge of the three soldiers from *cohors I Aquitanorum* (90) show that they were likely levied at the same date, possibly all at once, in 63 or 64, during the late Julio-Claudian epoch and dispatched directly to the regiment in Upper Germany. The veteran from *ala I Thracum* indicates a constant supply of the unit with recruits from the Thracian stock late in the 3rd century.

VII. Veterans of Thracian origin discharged from Mauretania Tingitana and Numidia

Sitalis Cultra	Ala I Augusta CR (Tocolosida)	RMD 84 (109) Pernik	Trallis
[...] cti	[Cohors I Ituraeor ?]um C. R.	CIL XVI 162 (109) Valentia Banasa	Thrax
C. Iulius Bitus	Cohors II Gemella Thracum (Sila)	CIL VIII 14218 (1 st c.) Tunis	

Commentary

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

Twenty four military diplomas, 1st -3rd century in date, with known find spot were quantifiable for the analysis of the social behaviour and mobility of the Thracian veterans. Fifteen military diplomas have been found on the territory of the province of Thrace and Lower Moesia, while four in Dacia and one in Upper Moesia. That makes a total of nineteen constitutions, which is a considerable 62. 5 % concentrated in the Thraco-Moesian and Dacian area.

*

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

¹⁵ Leveau 1973, 153-192.

¹⁶ Speidel, 1977, 167-173.

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

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

Commentary

A considerable number of Thracian veterans chose to settle in the immediate surroundings of their former garrison. The settlements must have been very likely *vici militares* of the auxiliary units. *Vici militares* were identified and partially investigated at Vechten, Worms, Győr and Ilişua forts¹⁷, although

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

the existence of such settlements are likely next to all auxiliary garrisons. Three Thracian regiments are involved in the process, particularly in the 3rd century. According to the evidence available thus far, Lower Moesia, Dacia, and Pannonia appear the preferred provinces for the Thracian veterans to settle.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁸ Lörincz 2001, 39 no. 35.

¹⁹ Barkóczy 1964, 271, 292.

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

²¹ CIL III 4369=RIU 260.

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

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

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

²⁵ Zahariade, Gudea 1997, 78.

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

²⁷ Mirković, 1986, in: ISM II 54-56.

²⁸ Ziennkiewicz et alii 1993, 80-85.

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

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

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

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

Commentary

²⁹ CIL XIII 6213.

³⁰ Bogaers 1974, 456-460.

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

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

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

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

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

Romesta Rescenti	Ala I Gall. et Thracum Antiana (Scythopolis)	CIL XVI 3 (54) Sarsânlar (Moesia Inferior)	Spiurus
Bithus Seuthi,	cohors Musulamiorum (Syria)	(CIL 16, 35) (88) Muhovo (Thracia)	Bessus
Quelsa Dolae	ala III Augusta Thracum (Syria)	RMD 4 (91) Suhozem (Thracia)	Thrax
Meticus Solae	Ala I Asturum (?)	CIL XVI 45 (99)	Bessus

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

³³ Petolescu 2002, 87-88.

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

³⁵ Le Bohec 1989, 91.

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

		Plovdiv	
Durises Bithi,	Cohors IIII Thracum (Mogontiacum)	CIL XVI 158 (80) Kamensko (Thracia)	Thrax
Sitalus Cultra	Ala I Augusta CR (Tocolosida)	RMD 84 (109) Pernik (Thracia)	
C. Sertorius Cesicevetricis	ala I Gallorum et Thracum Antiana (Scythopolis)	Samsaris 1993, 235 (1 st c.) Dervesiani (Macedonia)	

Commentary

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

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

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

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

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

D. Thracian veterans settled in other provinces than indicated through their origin

Seuthes	ala vet. Gallica (Egypt)	RMD 5 (91) Gradište (Moesia Inferior)	(S)Caenus
Seuthes Traibithi	cohors II Thracum (Iudeea)	CIL XVI 33 (86) Turea (Dacia)	Coiloleticus
[...] lus Iresi	ala I Flavia Getulorum (Tomis ?)	Eck, Roxan 1997, 193-203 (125) Bulgaria	Besssus
Clagissa Clagissae	cohors II Mattiacorum (Sexaginta Prista)	CIL XVI 83 (138) Târnovo (Thracia)	Besssus
Bithus Solae	numerus Equitum Illyricorum (<i>Hoghiz</i>)	RMD 39 (140) Palamartsa (Moesia Inferior)	Besssus,
Aulenus Her[...]	cohors II Gallorum (Dacia)	CIL XVI 90 (144) Nova Zagora (Thracia)	
Aurelius Teres	ala I Asturum (<i>Hoghiz</i>)	BIAB 1939, 89 (200-250) Sofia (Thracia)	

Commentary

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

* * *

The mapping of the mobility of the Thracian veterans shows some clear trends both in social and geographical preferences for their after service life. Three veterans chose to remain in the Rhine provinces: *Mucapor Eptacenti* at Mainz, *T. Flavius Celsus* at Wiesbaden and *Valens Bititralis* at Vechten. There is one certain case of abandon of the Rhinelands, *Durises Bithi*. The settlement shows however their particular aspects. Mucapor, settled at Mogontiacum, might have been stimulated by the Thracian community of co-nationals created particularly around the active soldiers or veterans documented in significant number in the legion XXII Primigenia³⁹. Other Thracian communities of

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

some size must have existed at Augusta Agrippinensis or Bonna where legions were supplied with Thracian recruits from the 1st through 3rd century⁴⁰.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁰ A recent contribution to the knowledge of the veteran settlement on the Rhine valley with a focus on *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensis*, Lenz 2006, 61-91.

⁴¹ Schoppa 1972, 228-237.

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

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

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

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

⁴² Tac. *Ann.* 4, 46.

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APPENDIX II 1

THRACIANS IN THE AUXILIARY REGIMENTS

A Gazetteer

A. *ALAE AND COHORTES THRACUM*

A. WITH RECORDED *ORIGO*

Alae

Gusulae Doqui f.	Thrax (ala I Thracum victrix) (Weiss 2004, 239-246)
C. Iulius Lupercus	domo Sala (ala III Thracum Augusta) (CIL III 4321)
Iulius Martialis	domo Serdus (ala I Thracum)(AE 1928, 165)
Longinus Sdapezematygi f.	pago Sardi (ala I Thracum) (RIB 201)
Quelsae Dolae f.	Thracus (ala III Thracum Augusta) (RMD 4)
Romaesta Rescenti f.	Spiurus (ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana)(CIL XVI 3)

Cohortes

Caecilius Domatus	Bessus natione (?) (RIB 532)
Dolanus Esbeni f.,	Bessus (cohors III Thracum eq) (CIL XIII 7585)
Dolens Sublusi f.	Bessus (cohors VI Thracum) (RMD 6)
Durises Bithi f.	Thracus (cohors III Thracum eq.)(CIL XVI 158)
Fuscus Dorilsis Eptacenti f.	domo Serdus (cohors III Thracum)(AE 1928, 165)
Mucatralis Sitae f.	natione Bessus (cohors II Flavia Bessorum) (LB 64)
Ruimus Tabusi f.	Thrax (cohors I Thracum eq. c. R) (CIL XIII 7803)
[...] sese Lenulae f.	Dansala (cohors III Thracum eq) (CIL XIII 7049)
Seuthes Traibithi f.	Coiloleticus (cohors II Thracum)(CIL XVI 33)
Surus Coccae f.	natione Dansala (cohors III Thracum eq) (CIL XIII 11870)
Traidua Didae f.	natione Saleta (cohors III Thracum eq) (AE 1965, 258)
C. Tutius Mani f.	Dansala (cohors III Thracum eq) (CIL XIII 7050)
[...]	Thracus (cohors ? Thracum) (CIL XIII 7051)
[...]	Thracus (cohors ? Thracum) (CIL XIII 7051)
[...] Genimoli f.	Thrax (cohors III Syriaca) (RMD 214)
[...] Mocazenis f.	Thrax (cohors I Thracum milliaria) (Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219-221)
[...] Genimoli f.	Thrax (cohors III Thracum Syriaca) (RMD 214)

B. WITHOUT RECORDED *ORIGO*.

Alae

Aurelius Lipor	(ala I Thracum veteranorum) (CIL III 3393)
Bi[thus?]	(ala II Augusta Thracum) (Rev. Afr. 1903 nr. 62)

Brisanus Tarsae f.	(ala I Thracum Herculiana) (AE 1933, 213)
Cotelses	(ala I Augusta Thracum) (CIL III 14159, 4)
Doritse Tarsi f.,	(ala I Augusta Thracum) (AE 1930, 89)
Eptemalus Mucateralis f	(ala I Thracum Herculiana) (AE 1952, 240)
Mucale	(ala I Thracum) (CIL XIII 10017)
Mucatra	(ala I Thracum veterana) (CIL 3, 3394)
C. Sertorius Cesicevetrizis,	(ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana) (Samsaris 1993, nr. 908).
Toutenes Eptacenti f.,	(ala I Augusta Thracum) ((CIL III 14159 ⁶)
Valens Bititrali f.	(ala I Thracum) (CIL XIII 8818)
Zimicentis Eziopen f.,	(ala I Augusta Thracum) (AE 1930, 90)
[...]	(ala I Thracum) (CIL XIII 8659)

Cohortes

Aurelius Bitus	(cohors IIII Thracum eq?) (Bogaers 1974: 453)
Bessus	(cohors II Gemella Thracum) (IL Alg. II 6877)
Bespre	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993, nr. 188)
Bespre	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993. nr. 189)
Bespre	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 190)
Bespre	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 191)
Bisa	(cohors IIII Thracum eq?) (Bogaers 1974: 453)
Bithis	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993)
Bitthis Tokou	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993nr. 227)
Bitus Stac[...] f.	(cohors IIII Thracum eq)(?) (CIL XIII 7050)
Brame	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 234)
Brame	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 235)
Bizas Bithyos	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 243)
Tib. Claudius Tirintus	(cohors VI Thracum) (RIB 121)
Debes Zi[pa]o Tsemisia	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 285)
Petronius Disacentus, Dentubris(a)e f.	(cohors VI Thracum) (CIL XIII 7052)
Δίζα υἱὸς Βεΐθου[ς]	(σπείρα Θρακῶν) (IOSPE II 290)
Dizas Alkou	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 304)
Dizas Alkou	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 305)
Dizas Alkou	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr 306)
Dizas Alkou	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr.307)
Dizas	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 311)
Doles Kl[...]psos	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 358)
Dorzias	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 361)
[...] dor[...]	(cohors IIII Thracum eq) (Bogaers 1974: 453)
Dougelespn	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993)
Dules Biseze[neos]	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 367)
Dules Biseze[neos]	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 368)
Dules Biseze[neos]	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 369)
Dules Biseze[neos]	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 370)
Doules	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 374)
T. Flavius Bitus	(cohors II Gemella Thracum)(CIL VIII 2251)
[...]inus Dinitralis, Tarsae f.,	(cohors I Thracum Syriaca) (IMS III/2, 37)

Glabone	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 262)
Ieriu	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 n. 539)
Iustus	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 548)
C. Iulius Bitus	(cohors II Gemella Thracum) (CIL VIII 14281)
Iulius Teres	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (AE 1974,587)
Karzas	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 560)
KONHIEΣΓΔ	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993, nr. 605)
Kythes	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 629)
Kynaithos	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 630)
ΑΕΛΑ	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 634)
[...] Mucasius	(cohors Thracum eq. c. R.)
Nikon Zipirou	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 774)
Paibis Sanbou	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 808)
Pezus Sitae f.	(cohors I Thracum milliaria) (AE 1926, 74)
[...]por	(cohors III Thracum equitata)Bogaers 1974, 453.
ΠΡΚΟΥΜΑΥΡΟΥ	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 845)
[...] por	(cohors III Thracum eq?) (Bogaers 1974: 453)
Rufus Sitae f.,	(cohors VI Thracum) (RIB 121)
Septimius Tatulus	(cohors I Thracum Germanica eq.) (CIL 3,3319)
Sapa	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993, nr. 896)
Smertos	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 937)
Smertos	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 938)
Smertos	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 939)
Souaka Bos[...]	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 940)
Tara	(cohors III Thracum eq?) (Bogaers 1974: 453)
Tarsis Sanbou	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 997)
Tarsis	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 998)
Toukoudeba	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 1052)
Tsoukoleizi	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 1061)
[...]ΥΑΝΤΙ	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr 1096)
[...]ΥΕΑΝΓ	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 1097)
Zipas Dere	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 477)
Zipas Sanvou	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 481)
Zipas Sanvou	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr.482)
Zipas Sanvou	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 483)
Zipas Sanvou	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 484)
Zipas	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 486)
Zipas	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 487)
Zipas	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 488)
Ziper Dethoubithos	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 496)
Ziper Ditoupaibis	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 497)
Ziper Ditoupaibis	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 498)
Zyperos n?	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (Samsaris 1993 nr. 505)
[...]	(cohors III Thracum eq) (CIL XIII 7052)

B. OTHER REGIMENTS

A. With recorded *origo*

Alae

[...]	Densela (ala VII Phrygum) (Eck, Pangerl 2006, 185-191)
M. Aurelius Teres,	natione Bessus (ala Asturum) (BIAB 1939: 89)
Aurelius Surus	domo Bautalia (Lorincz 2001, nr. 119)
Bithus[...]iae f	Thrax (ala Praetoria singularium)(AE 1997,1761)
Bruzenus Delsasi f.	Thrax (ala veterana Gallica) (Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205-214 no. 1)
Cardentus Biticenthi f.	Disdiv/u(.) (ala veterana Gallica) (Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-219, no. 1)
Cersus Denturasadi f	Thrax (ala I Brittonum) (Eck, Pangerl 2003, 220-228)
T. Flavius Bassus Mucale f.,	Dansala (ala Noricorum) (CIL XIII 8308)
T. Flavius Celsus,	cives Sappaus (ala Scubulorum) (CIL XIII 7580)
Fuscus Bitius	Dansala (?) (ala Tautorum victix C.R.?) (CIL II 2984)
Gisusetes Heptasae f	Thrax (ala praetoria singularium) (Eck 2003, 229-233)
Heptapor Isi f.,	Bessus (ala I Gallorum. et Bosporanorum) (IDR I 16)
Iulius Longinus Doles Biticenti f.	Bessus (ala Tautorum victix C.R.) (CIL II 2984)
Longinus Biarta Bisae f.,	Bessus (ala Sulpicia) (CIL XVI 8312)
[...]lus, Iresi f.	Bessus (ala I Flavia Gaetulorum) (AE 1997, 1772)
Meticus Solae f.,	Bessus (ala I Asturum) (CIL XVI 45)
[...]oli f.	Bessus(?) (Petolescu 2002, 154)
Quintus Mucatralis f.,	natione Thracus (ala I Pannoniorum) (AE 1930, 133)
Seuthes [...] is f.,	Scaenus (ala veterana Gallica) (RMD 5)
[T.] Suratralis Didilae f.,	civis Trax (ala Noricorum) (CIL XVI 8524)
Surus Cocae f.,	Dansala (ala Noricorum) (AE 1913, ...)
Ulpus Aulucentius,	Bessus (ala I Ulpia contariorum) (CIL XVI 4378)
Ulpus Eptatralis f.,	domo Bessus (ala I Ulpia contariorum) (RIU 261)
Ulpus M[...] us Valenti f.	Bessus (ala I Ulpia contariorum) (Lorincz 2001: 169)
[...] Bithi f.	Thrax (ala VII Phrygum)(Weiss 1997, 256-259)
[...]	Thrax (?) (ZPE 1997, 228-229)

Cohortes

M. Antonius Rufus Marci f.,	Abrettenus (cohors II Gallorum) (CIL XVI 44)
Aurelius Moca,	natus in Dardania vico Zatidis (cohors Claudia Milliarensis) (CIL V 898)
Aurelius Sumus	Mensiacus (cohors II Hemesenorum) CIL XIII 595)
Bithus Seuthi f.	Bessus (cohors Musulamiorum)(CIL XVI 35)
Clagissa Clagissae f.	Bessus (cohors II Mattiacorum)(CIL XVI 83)
[...]cti f.,	Thracus ([...] um) (CIL XVI 162)
C. Iulius Valens	Trallis (cohors III Gallorum) (RMD 14)
Mucapor Eptacentis f.	Tarax (cohors I Aquitanorum veterana)(CIL XVI 36)
Mucatralis Bithi f.	[Bessus?] (cohors I Brittonum milliaria) (RMD 63)
Soio Muscelli f.	Bessus (cohors I Montanorum)(CIL XVI 26)
Thavus Cassiporis	Thrax (cohors I Aquitanorum) (Eck, Pangerl 2003, 216-219)

B. Without recorded *origo*

Alae

Aelius Mucatralis	(ala I Flavia Gaetulorum) (Suceveanu 1998, 109-114)
Aelius Mu[capor]	(ala Tungrorum Frontoniana) (CIL III 799)
M. Aemilius Durises	(ala Sulpicia) (CIL XIII 8311)
Aululanus	(ala veterana Gallica) (P. Lond. 482 nr. 23)
Aululanus	(ala veterana Gallica) (P. Lond. 482 nr. 28)
Aulusanus	(ala I Cannanefatium) (Hosek 1985, 73-76)
Aurelius Bassus	(ala I Ulpia contariorum) (AE 1987, 955)
Aurelius Bithus	(ala I Ulpia contariorum) (Eck, Roxan 1998, 100ff)
Aurelius Brisanus	(ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana) (Protase 1957, 321-323)
Aurelius Catus	(ala I Thracum veterana) (RIU 1183)
Aurelius Cotes	(ala Electorum) (AE 1957, 33)
Aurelius Cotus	(ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum) (AE 1940, 34)
Aurelius Doriso	(ala I Ulpia contariorum) (CIL III 4369)
Aurelius Dolens	(ala I Ulpia contariorum) (Lorincz 2001, nr. 115)
Aurelius Lupus et Aulupor	(ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum) (CIL III 4369)
Aurelius Mestrius	(ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum) (CIL VI 31164)
Aurelius Mucatralis	(ala Britannica) (Balty 1988, 103)
Aurelius Pimetaica	(ala I Britannica) (Balty, van Regen) 1993, 52.
Aurelius Pistus	(ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum) (CIL VI 31164)
Aurelius Sudius	(ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum) (CIL VI 31164)
Aurelius Tatus	(ala II Pannoniorum) (AE 1977, 704)
Aurelius Teres	(ala I Ulpia contariorum) (CIL III 4370)
Aurelius Vitalis	(ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum) (CIL VI 31164)
Bersolus	(ala I Cannanefatium) (Hošek 1985, 73-76)
Bitecus	(ala veterana Gallica) (P. Lond. 482 nr. 22)
Bitsius	(ala veterana Gallica) (P. Lond. 482 nr. 27)
Bitugentus	(ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana) (RIU 1220)
Bitus	(ala II Pannoniorum ?) (CIL III 294)
Brincasis	(ala I Cannanefatium) (Hošek 1985, 73-76)
Brisanus	(ala II Pannoniorum) (Russu 1967: 90)
Cocas	(ala veterana Gallica) (P. Lond. 482 nr. 16)
Cusides Disalae f.	(ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana) (RIU 1220)
Dines	(ala II Pannoniorum) (Tibiscus 1993)
D[i] juspor	(ala veterana Gallica) (P. Lond. 482 nr. 31)
Dolens	(ala veterana Gallica) (P. Lond. 482 nr. 24)
[D]ules	(ala veterana Gallica) (P. Lond. 482 nr. 34)
Flavius Bitucus	(ala Indiana) (RIB 108)
T. Flavius Surillo	(ala I Cannanefatium) (Hošek 1985, 22-24)
Fuscus Bitius	(ala Tautorum victrix) (CIL II 2984)
Mucapa	(ala II Pannoniorum?) (Russu 1967, 91)
Mucapor	(ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana) (CIL III 799)
Mucianus	(ala Flavia Numidica) (AE 1942-1943, 77)
Oluper Cargaepuri f.	(ala Afrorum) (CIL XIII 8304)
Sitali Cultra f.	(ala I Augusta C. R.) (RMD 84)

Sola Mucatri f.	(ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana) (CIL III 787)
Solas	(ala veterana Gallica)(P. Lond. 482 nr. 10)
Spinus Mucacenti f.	(ala I Pannoniorum) (AE 1930, 133)
Sulpicius Susulla	(ala Tautorum victrix) (CIL II 2984)
Eptacentus	(ala Petriana) (Eph. Ep. IX nr. 1354)
[...] Biti f.	(ala Siliana) (IDR I 21)
[...]	(ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana) (CIL III 809)

Cohortes

Aelius Tarsas	(cohors II Lucensium) (AE 1911, 17)
Aulenus Her[...]	(cohors II Gallorum Pannonica) (IDR I 14)
Aurelius Brincasus	(?)(CIL 3, 11111)
Aurelius Ditusanus	(cohors I Cilicum) (Scorpan 1980: 211)
Aurelius Surius	(cohors Aureliana Pimasensium) (AE 1908, 136)
Aurelius Tara	(cohors III Campestris) (AE 1971, 424)
Aurelius Tatius	(cohors I Aurelia Dardanorum) (AE 1995, 1318)
Aurelius Tsinta	(cohors I Britannica milliaria equitata ?) (CIL III 7635)
Bicanus	(cohors I Bracarum) (ILS 9160)
Bithus	(cohors II Britannica milliaria equitata?) (CIL III 829)
Blasa	(cohors I Britannica milliaria eq.? (CIL III 7635)
Brisanus Aulusani f.	(cohors I Vindelicorum) (IDR III/1, 163)
Celsus Marius	(cohors II Bracaraugustanorum)(AE 1965, 347)
Euporus	(cohors I Aurelia Dardanorum) (Dušanić 1976, 246)
Flavius Bithus	(cohors II Aurelia Dardanorum)(Dušanić, Petrović 1967, 377, nr.7)
Flavius Mestrius	(cohors II Lucensium) (AE 1957, 299)
Iulius Teres	(cohors I Flavia Bessorum) (AE 1974, 587)
[...] lus Bithi f.	(cohors I Britannica) (CIL III 829)
[...]Mucasis	(coh [T]raecum (CIL XIII 8099)
Mucatralis Bithi f.,	(cohors I Brittonum milliaria) (IDR I 20)
Petitor Pirobori f.	(cohors II Varcianorum singularium) (CIL XIII 8188)
Rufus Valentinus, Tabusi f. (?)	(cohors I Aquitanorum) (CIL X 7596)
Tharsae [...]	(cohors I Aquitanorum) (Eck, Pangerl 2003, 259-262)
Traianus Mucianus	(cohors I Concordensium) (IGR 1496=ILS 9479)
M. Traidacus	(cohors II Numidarum) (AE 1965, 347)

Numeri

Antonius Mercurius	(numerus C. P.) (Katsarov 1938 no. 592)
Aurelius Bassus	(numerus Maurorum Optatiensium) (Russu 1930-1934, 86)
Aurelius Bithus	(numerus equitum Batavorum) (Epigr. Anat. 1991, 33)
Aurelius Passer	(numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium) ILD 704
Bithus Solae f.,	Bessus (numerus equitum Illyricorum) (RMD 39)
Mucapor Mucatralis	(numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium) (AE 1914, 102)
Mucatra Brasi	(numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium) (IDR 3/5, 559)
Mucianus	(numerus Palmyrenorum Porolissensium) (AE 1960, 218)

Thracians in unidentifiable units

[...] oli f.	Bessus (Petolescu 2002, 154)
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Aelius Diogenes	(Katsarov 1938 no. 666)
Aurelius Mucapaibes	(Oppermann 2006, 133 pl. 48 fig. 558)
Aurelius Pirurus	(miles alarix) (Katsarov 1938, nr. 602)
Bithus	(CIL III 829)
Caecilius Domatus	Bessus natione (RIB 532)
Flavius Bassus	(Katsarov 1938, no. 953)
Iulius Bitaus	(CIL VIII 6095)
Iulius Valens	(Katsarov 1938, no. 359)
T. Iulius n[...] Re[...]	(CIL VI 3601)
Tarsa	(CIL VI 3601)
Tarsinus	(CIL VI 3601)

APPENDIX II 2

THRACIANS IN THE ROMAN AUXILIARY REGIMENTS

Inscriptions and military diplomas

A. AUXILIA THRACUM

1. Ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana sagittariorum

Sarasânlar .CIL XVI 3. (18.06. 54)

[...] 2. *alae Gallorum et Thracum Antiana (e) cui praeest M. Milonius Verus Iunianus equiti Romestae Rescenti f. Spiuro.*

F.s.u. RMD 3 (07.11.88)

[...] 5 *Gallorum et Thracum Antiana.*

F. s. u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205-214 no. 1 (12. 05. 91)

[...] 4 *Gallorum et Thracum Antiana.*

F. s. u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-219 no. 2 (12. 05. 91)

[...] 4 [*Gallorum et Thracum Antia*]na.

Aphek. CIL XVI 87. (22.11.139)

[...] 2 *Ant(iana) Gall(orum).*

Kalin Ören. RMD 160 (c.136-137)

[...] 2 [*..An*]t(iana) Gal(lorum).

F. s. u. RMD 60 (149/161).

[...] 2 *Ant[iana Gall(orum) ...].*

F. s. u. RMD 173. (07.03. 160)
[...] 2 alae Antian (ae) Gall(orum) et T(h)rac(um) sag(ittariae/orum).

Eck, Pangerl 2006, 185-191 (139/142/160)
[...] 2(?) [*Antiana Gallorum et Thracum sag(ittariorum)*].

Hebron. RMD 69. (24/27. 11. 186).
[...] 1 *Antiana* [*Gallor(um) et Thrac(um)*].

Dervessiani. Kaphtantzis, 1967, 288-289 no. 481;
C(aius) Sertorius Ce/sivecetrizis/ Besidelti f(ilius), eques/ missicius alae/ Antianae h(ic) s(itus) e(st) (Pl. I 1).

2. Ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana invicta bis torquata Civium Romanorum.

Sydenham. RIB 2401. 2. (04.05. 105).
[...] 2. *Classiana c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Middlewich. RIB 2401.3. (04.05-13.07. 105).
[...] 2. *Classiana c(vium) R(omanorum)*
[...] a[la]e classianae c(ivium) R(omanorum), [cui praest...]nicius [...], gregali [...]o Rammi f., [... et A]mabili Firmi [fil(iae), uxori eius].

O Szöny. CIL XVI 69. (17. 07. 122).
[...] 7. *Gallorum et Thracum Classiana civiu(m) Romanor(um)*.

Glava. RMD 239=Eck, Paunov 1997, 335-354 (20.08. 127)
[...] 3 *Thrac (um) Classian(a) c(iuium) R(omanorum) torq (uata) uictrix*.

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 245-254 (10/31.12. 130 or 131).
[...] 1 *Gallor(um) et Thrac(um) Classian(a)*.
Xanten. RMD 52. (158).
[...] 1. [*Gallorum et Thracum Classiana c(ivium) R(omanorum)*].

‘Bulgaria’. RMD 184. (25.03.178).
[...] 1. *Gallor(um) et Thrac(um) Classian(a)*.

‘Bulgaria. RMD 293 (23.03.178)
[...] 1. *Gallor(um) et Thrac(um) Classian(a)*

F.s.u. RMD 294 (23.03.178)
[...] 1. *Gallor(um) et Thrac(um) Clas(s)ian(a)*.

3. Ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium

Sarasânlar. CIL XVI 3 (18.06. 54).

[...] 3. *Gallorum et Thraecum*.

F. s. u. RMD 3. (07.11.88)

[...] 2. *Gallorum et Thracum constantium*.

F. s. u. AE 1997 (07.11. 88)

[...] 1 *[Gallo]rum et Thracum constan[ti]um*.

Suhozem. RMD 3. (12.05.91)

[...] 3. *Gallorum et Thracum constantium*.

F. s. u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219-221 no. 3 (12. 05. 91)

[...] 3. [...*Gallorum et] Thracum [constantium]*.

Kalin Ören. RMD 160. (c.136-137).

[...] 1. *Gal(lorum) et Thr(acum) con(stantium)*.

Aphek. CIL XVI 87. (22.11.139).

[...] 1. *Gall(orum) et Thr(acum)*.

F. s. u. RMD 173. (07.03. 160)

[...] 1. *Gall(orum) et T(h)rac(um) constant(ium)*.

Hebron. RMD 69. (24/27. 11. 186)

[...] 2. [*Gallor(um) et Thrac(um)] c[onst]antiana*.

5. *Ala I Augusta Thracum sagittariorum*

F.s. u. RMD 3 (07.11. 88)

[...] 2. *I Augusta Thracum*.

F.s.u. Eck 2003, 229-233 (07.11.88)

[...] 2. *I Augusta Thracum*.

Weissenburg. CIL XVI 55 (30.06 107)

[...] 2. *I Augusta Thracum*.

Straubing. RMD 229 (16. 08. 116)

[...] 2. *I Aug(usta) Thrac(um) sag(ittaria/ittariorum)*.

Künzig. RMD 155 (21.02.- 08.09. 116)

[...] 2. [*I Augusta Thracum*].

Djerach. CIL III 4159¹ = IGR III 1374 =AE 1899, 27=1900 159=

Τουτένης Ἐπτακέντου υἱὸς Κοτελοῦς ἐπόησεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ

Val(erius) [Toutenes] Eptace[nti]s f(i)lius) / o[ptio] alae I Thracum/ Augustae C[otelses?]frater eius fecit.

Djerach. Jones 1928, 145, no. 2 = AE 1930 no. 90; SEG VII 1934 no. 901= Wells 1938 no. 201 pl. CXXXVII b.

[...] *Zimices f(i)lius) eque[s] alae]/ Thracum Aug(ustae) turm[a] Gai]/ Vesperī hic situs est heres [f(aciendum) ex]/ testamento (Pl. I 2).*

Ζιμικένθις, Ἐζιοπῆν υἱὸς ἱππεύς] / εἵλης Θρακῶν Σεβαστῆς, τύρμης / Γαίω Ἐσπερίω, ἐνθῆδε κεῖται. / Ἐπύησεν ὁ κληρονόμος / ἐγ διαθήκης.

Djerach. AE 1930, 89 = Wells 1938 no. 201 pl. CXXXVII a.

Dorites Tarsi f(i)lius)/ eq(u)es alae Thracum/ Aug(ustae) tur(ma) Terenti vixit/ an(nos) XXXII militavit/ a(mnos) XII, h(ic) s(itus) e(st) (Pl. I 3).

6. Ala I Thracum

Malpas. CIL XVI 48=RIB 2401. 1 (19.01. 103)

[...] 1. *I Thracum.*

Stannington. CIL XVI 70=RIB 2401.6 (15.09.124)

[...] 3. *[I Thr]ac (um).*

Glava. RIB 239 (20.08.127)

[...] 3. *I Thrac(um).*

Xanten. Alföldy 1968, 165 no.5. (158)

[...] 3(?) *[I Thracum].*

Colchester. RIB 201

Longinus Sdapese/matygi duplicarius/ ala prima T[hr]acum pago/ Sardi anno(rum) XL aeror(um) XV/ heredes exs testam(ento) f(aciendum). c(uravit) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) (Pl. II 4).

Vechten. CIL XIII 8818

D(is) M(anibus) Valenti/ Bititali (filio)/ vet(erano) ex n(umero) ala(e) I/ [Tr]achum h(ic) f(aciendum) c(uravit) (Pl. II 5).

Vechten. CIL XIII 10014.

Mucale.

7. Ala I Thracum Herculana

F. s. u. Weiss 2006, 265-273 (01.10.-09.12. 153).

[...] 5. *I Thr(acum) Hercul(ana).*

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2004, 233-241 (100)

[...] *ala [I Thrac(um) Herculana].*

Kazanlák. CIL XVI 106 (10.12./09.12. 156/157)
[...] 2. [*Thr(acum) H]erc(ulía)*].

Tadmor. Seyrig 1933, 162-163 App. 7 = AE 1933, 213.
Latonam et Apollinem (D ?) IB Au[...]/ praefec(tus), Brizanus Tarsae eq(ues) alae fecerunt (Pl. II 6).

8. Ala I Thracum Mauretana

Turea. CIL XVI 33=IDR I 24 (13.05. 86)
[...] 2. [*I Thracum Mauretana*]

Karanis. CIL XVI 184 (10.12./07.03. 156/161)
[...] 3. [*I Thracum Mauret]an(a)*].

Koptos. RMD 185. (23.03. 179)
[...] 2. [*I]Thrac(um) Mauretanic(a)*].

9. Ala I Thracum veterana sagittaria

F.s.u. RMD 223 (03.05. 112)
[...] 3 *Thracum veterana*.

F.s.u. AE 1997, 1782 (113)
[...] 3 *I Thr(acum) veterana*.

Regensburg. RMD 86 (16.12.113)
[...] 2 [*I Thrac(um)*] *vet[era]na*.

Ecs. CIL XVI 64 (116) (Pannonia Superior)
[...] 2. [*I Thrac(um) veterana*]

F.s.u. RMD 251 (19. 05. 135)
[...] 1 *I Thr(acum) vet(erana)*

Albertyfalva. CIL XVI 175 (139)
[...] 2 *I Thr(acum) vet(erana) sag(ittaria)*

F. s.u. RMD 266 (07. 08. 143)
[...] 2 *I Thr(acum) veter(ana)*

Regöly. CIL XVI 180(09.10.148)
[...] 2. I [*Thr(acum) vet(erana) s]ag(ittaria)*

‘Bulgaria’. RMD 272 (09.10. 148)
[...] 2. [*I] Thr(acum) vet(erana) s[ag(ittaria)]*

F.s.u. RMD 273 (150) (Pannonia Inferior)
[...] 7. *I Thrac(um) sagit(taria) ve[ter(ana)]*

F.s.u. AE 1999, 1267 (154 - 156)
[...] 2 *I Thr(acum) vet(erana)*

Dunakömlöd. RMD 103=AE 1983, 784 (08.02. 157)
[...] 1. *I Thr(acum) vet(erana) sag(ittaria)*

Dunakömlöd. RMD 103=AE 1983, 784 (08.02.157)
[...] 1. *I Thr(acum) vet(erana) sag(ittaria)*

Alsószentiván. CIL XVI 112=AE 1983 787a (27.12.157-158)
[...] 2. *I Thr(acum) vet(erana) sagit(taria)*

Adóny. CIL XVI 113=AE 1983, 787b (27. 12. 157-158)
[...] 2. *I Thr(acum) vet(erana) sag(ittaria)*

Tajo. RMD 110=AE 1983, 788 (154-161)
[...] 4. *[I Thr]ac(um) sagit(taria)*

Óbuda. CIL XVI 123 (05.05. 167)
[...] 1. *I Thrac(um) veter(ana)*

Adóny. CIL XVI 132 (11.08. after 185)
[...] [I] Thra[c(um) vet(erana)]

Nagy­tétény. CIL III 3394.
[...] / Mucatra /dupl(arius) al(ae) Thrac(um) / vet(eranae) Antoni/nianae pro / salute sua et / su<o>rum / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) (*Pl. III 8*).

Nagy­tétény. CIL III 3393.
Silvanabus Augg(ustorum duorum) / Aurelius Lipor vet(eranus) / alae [et Aur(elius) Vale(n)s / mil(es) le[g(ionis)] II Adi(utricis) p(iae) [f(idelis)] / Severianae et eius / et Aur(elia) S[ev]era filia (*Pl. III 9*).

10. **Ala I Thracum victrix**

F.s. u. Weiss 2004, 239-246 (08. 09.79)
[...] *ala I Thracum victrix*
alae I Thracum victricis cui praest Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Qui(rina tribu), Apollinaris, gregali Gusulae Doqui f. Thrac(i).

Wels. CIL XVI 52 (106)
[...] *I [Thrac(um) (victrix)*

Regensburg. RMD 86 (16.12.113)

[...] 1. [*I Thr(acum) victr(ix)*]

F.s.u.. RMD 236=AE 1995, 1823 (01.07.126)

[...] 2. *I Thr(acum) victr(ix)*

Győr. CIL XVI 76 (02.07.133)

[...] 2. *I Thr(acum) victr(ix)*

Szöny. CIL XVI 77 (02.07.133)

[...] 2. *I Thr(acum) victr(ix)*

RMD 250 (16.10.-13.11.134)

[...] 2. *I Thr(acum) vict(rix)*

Tóth Vázsony. CIL XVI 84 (16.06.138)

[...] 2. [*I T]hr(acum)vict(rix)*

Csapdi. CIL XVI 178 (19.07. 146)

[...] 2. *I Thr(acum) victr(ix)*

Aszár. CIL XVI 96 (09.10. 148)

[...] 2. *I Thr(acum) victr(ix)*

Szöny. CIL XVI 97 (05.07.149)

[...] 1. *I Thr(acum) victr(ix)*

F.s.u. RMD 273 (24.09. 151)

2. [*I Thr(acum) victr(ix)*]

Eskő. CIL XVI 104 (03.11.154)

[...] 2. *I Thr(acum) victr(ix)*

f.s.u. AE 1999, 1351 (21. 06.159)

[...] 2. *I Thrac(um) victr(ix) c(iuium) R(omanorum)*

F.s.u. RMD 279/176 (08.02.161)

[...] 4 [*I Thr](acum) vict[r(ix)]*

Szöny. RMD 62 (09.163)

[...] 1. *I Thrac(um)[uictr(ix)]*.

‘Hungary’. RMD 290 (ca. 160/164)

[...] 2. [*I Thr(acum) ui]ctr(ix)*.

11. Ala II Augusta Thracum

Cherchel. CIL XVI 56 (24.11.107)

[...] 3. *II Thracum Augusta p(ia) f(idelis)*.

Cherchel. Leveau 1977-1979 no. 255.

D/// [...] / Bi[thus] / Va[...].

12. Ala III Augusta Thracum sagittariorum civium Romanorum

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 252-253 no. 1.

[...] 2. [*III Augusta Thracum*].

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 253-254 no. 2.

[...] 2. [*III Augusta Thracum*].

Muhovo. CIL XVI 35 (07.11.88)

[...] 2. *III Augusta Thracum*

Nicopol. AE 1939, 26 (08.11.88)

[...] 2. [*III Aug(usta) Thr(acum)*]

Suhozem. RMD 4. (12.05.91).

[...] 1. *III Thracum Augusta, cui praest / M.Terentius M(arci) f(ilius) Pol(ia tribu) Quirinalis, / gregali / Quelse Dolae f(ilio) Thrac(i)*

F. s. u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219-221 no. 3 (12. 05. 91)

[...] 1. *III Thracum Augusta*

F. s. u. AE 1995, 1823 (01.07.126)

[...] 5 *III Aug(usta) Thra(cum) Sagittar(iorum)*

Győr. CIL XVI 76 (02.07.133)

[...] 5. [*III Aug(usta) Th]r(acum*

Szöny. CIL XVI 77 (02.07.133)

[...] 5 [*III]Aug(usta) Thrac(um)*

Albertfalva. AE 1960, 19 (09.139)

[...] 4 [*III Aug(usta) Thr(acum)*]

Csapdi. CIL XVI 178 (19.07. 146)

[...] 5 *III Aug(usta) Thr(acum) sag(ittariorum)*

Aszár. CIL XVI 96 (09.10. 148)

[...] 5 *III Aug(usta) Thr(acum) sag(ittariorum)*

Szöny. CIL XVI 97 (05.07.149)

[...] 4 *III Aug(usta) Thrac(um)*

Szöny. CIL XVI 99 (01.08.150)
[...] 2 [III Aug(usta)] Thrac(um) sagit(tariorum)

F.s.u. RMD 273 (24.09. 151); Holder 2006, 261-264.
2. [III Aug(usta) Thra]cum sagitt(aria).

Eskö. CIL XVI 104 (03.11.154)
[...] 5 III Aug(usta) Thra(cum) sag(ittariorum)

F. s. u. AE 1999, 1351 (21.06.159)
[...] 5 III Aug (usta) Thr (acum) sag(ittariorum)

Szöny. RMD 62 (09.163)
[...] 4 [III Aug(usta) Thr(acum)]

Ó Szöny. CIL III 4321=RIU 560
D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Iul(io) C(aii) [f]il(io) / Luperco domo / Sala vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) / alae
III Thra(cum) vixit / an(nis) L C(aius) Iul(ius) Can/didianus b(eneficiarius) leg(ati) / leg(ionis) I
Adi(utricis) [p(iae) f(idelis)/nepos qui et heres / avonculo / pientissimo / f(aciendum) c(uravit).

1 (13) Cohors I Flavia Bessorum

Sisak. CIL XVI 46. (07. 05. 100)
[...] 1 I Flavia Bessorum.
Ritopek. CIL XVI 67 (29 06. 120)
[...] coh I Flav(ia) Bessor(um)

Grno Srpri (Heraclea Lyncestis). ILJug 2, 454 = AE 1974,587.
Ἰούλιος Τήρες ἐξ ἑκατοιντάρχου] / σπείρες α' [Φλ. Β]έσσ(ων) ζῶν ἐαυτῷ ἠρόειον
κατεσκεύασεν καὶ Οὐ/λερία Ἀρτέμεινι τῇ εὐσεβεστά / [τῇ] γυν/ναικὶ καὶ Ἰουλίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ /
ἵππ[εῖ] Ῥωμαίων τῷ υἱῷ καὶ Ἰουλίῳ] / Ἀρτέμεινι τῇ θυγατρὶ
[Iul]ius Teres ex c(enturione) coh(ortis) I F[lav(iae)] / [Bes]sor(um) vivo sibi fecit et V[ale] / riae
Artemini co(n)iuci(!) carissim[ae] / et Iulio Iuliano equiti Romano / filio suo et Iuliae Artimini filiae

2 (14) Cohors I Augusta Thracum
Turea. CIL XVI 33=IDR I, 24 (86)
[...] 2 I (Augusta Thracum).

Paul Getty Museum. RMD 3 (07.11.88)
[...] 2 I Aug(usta) Thracum.

Weiss, 1997, 230-231=RMD 3 (07.11.88)
[...] 2 [I Augus]ta Thra[cum].

Óbuda. CIL XVI 123 (05. 06. 167)
[...] 10. I Aug(usta) Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum).

3 (15) Cohors I Thracum

Kerchi. IGRRP I 894=IOSPE II 290

Δίζα υἱὸς Βεῖθου[ς] / κεντυρίων ὁ κα[ι] πρίγκιψ σπείρας / Θρακῶν, καὶ γυ/νὴ Ἑλένη, χαίρειτ[ε].

4 (16) Cohors I Thracum equitata civium Romanorum

Tokod. CIL XVI 164 (02.07. 110)

[...] 3 *I Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

F.s.u. RMD 153. (01.09. 114)

[...] ? *I Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

F. s. u. RMD 251 (19.05. 135)

[...] 2. *I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

[...] 7. *I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Kostolać. Dušanić 2001, 209-219 (143 or 144)

[...] 12. *I Thr(acum) C(ivium) R(omanorum)*

F.s.u. RMD 266 (07.08. 143)

[...] 2. *I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

[...] 7. *I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

F. s. u. Eck, Weiss, 2001, 190-208 (11.08. 146).

[...] 3 *I Thrac(um)) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Regöly. CIL XVI 179 (09.10. 148)

[...] 13 *I Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Regöly. CIL XVI 180 (09.10. 148)

[...] 13 *I Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Petronell. Stieglitz 2001, 220-224 (153-155)

[...] 2 [*I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*]

F.s.u. Weiss 2004, 247-254 (27.09.154)

[...] 12 *I Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Dunakömlöd. RMD 102 (08.02. 157)

[...] 13 *I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Dunakömlöd. RMD 103 (08.02. 157)

[...] 13. *I Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Alsószentiván. CIL XVI 112 (27.12. 157/158)

[...] 9 [*I Thr(acum) c(ivium)*] *R(omanorum)*.

Adony. CIL XVI 113 (27.12. 157/159)
[...] 9 I Thr(acum) [c(ivium) R(omanorum)].

Mirković 1999, 252 no. 5 (157/160)
[...] I T [hrac(um) eq(uitata)].

5(17) Cohors I Thracum equitata
F.s.u. RMD 240 (20. 08. 127)
[...] 4 I Thr(acum)

Ravenglass. AE 1997, 1001. (27. 02. 158)
[...] 17 I Thrac (um)

Remagen. CIL XIII 7803.
Ruimus Tabusi f(ilius) / Thrax mil(es) ex coh(orte) / I Thracum anno(rum) XLVI / stip(endiorum) XXIII et Veranio / f(ilio) h(eres) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uravit)
Bonn. CIL XIII 8099.
[...] ex c[oh(orte)] / [... T]rhaecum(!) / ann(orum) XXX sti[p(endiorum)] / VIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Mucasius f(ilius) p(osuit).

7(19) Cohors I Thracum equitata civium Romanorum
Kostolać. RMD 148 (14. 10.109)
[...] 4 I Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum).

F.s.u. RMD 236. (01. 07. 126)
[...] 4 I Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum)
Győr CIL XVI 76 (02.07.133) (Pannonia Superior)
[...] 3 [I] Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)

Szőny CIL XVI 77 (02.07.133) (Pannonia Superior)
[...] 3 I [Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)]

F. s. u. RMD 250 (16.10-13.11. 134) (Pannonia Superior)
[...] 3 I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)]

Tótvászony. CIL XVI 84 (16.06.138) (Pannonia Superior)
[...] 2 I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)

Verteskethely. Alföldy, Lőrincz 2002, 211-218 (139-140)
[...] I Th] rac(um) [c(ivium) R(omanorum)]

Csapdy. CIL XVI 178 (19.07.146)
[...] 3 I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)

Ászár. CIL XVI 96 (09.10.148)
[...] 5 I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)

9. Szöny. *CIL XVI 97 (05.07.149)*
 [...] 3 I Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)
10. Öskü. *CIL XVI 104 (03.11.154)*
 [...] 2 I Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)
11. *F.s.u. Weiss 1999, 147-182=AE 1999, 1351 a-c (21.06. 159)*
 [...] 2 I Thrac(um) [C(ivium) R(omanorum)]
12. 'Hungary'. *RMD 290 (160/164)*
 [...] 2 I Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)
13. *Tarján RMD 279/176 (08.02. 161)*
 [...] 6 I Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)
14. Szöny *CIL XVI 77 (? . 09-09. 12.163)*
 [...] 5 I Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)
15. *F.s.u. RMD 295. (ca. 98/125? or 160/179?)*
 [...] ? I Thr[ac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)]

8(20) Cohors I Thracum Germanica equitata

- Albertfalva. *CIL XVI 175 (139)*.
 [...] 2 I Thr(acum) Ger(manica).
- Kostolać. Dušanić 2001, 209-219 (143 or 144)*
 [...] 3. I Thr(acum) Ger(manica).
- F. s. u. Eck, Weiss, 2001, 190-208 (11.08. 146).
 [...] 3 I Thr(acum) Germ(anica).
- Regöly. *CIL XVI 179 (09.10. 148)*
 [...] 3 I Thr(acum) Germ(anica).
- Regöly. *CIL XVI 180 (09.10. 148)*
 [...] 3 I Thr(acum) Germ(anica).
- Dunakömlöd. *RMD 167 (09-10. 152)*
 [...] I Thr(acum) Germ(anica).
- F.s.u. Weiss 2004, 247-254 (27.09.154)
 [...] 3 I Thrac(um) Germ(anica)
- F. s. u. AE 1999, 1267 (154-156)
 [...] 3 [I T]hra(cum) Ger(manica)

Dunakömlöd. RMD 102 (08.02. 157)

[...] 3 *I Thr(acum) Germ(anica)*.

Dunakömlöd. RMD 103 (08.02. 157)

[...] 13. *I Thrac(um) Germ(anica)*.

Alsószentiván. CIL XVI 112 (27.12. 157-158)

[...] 12 [*I Th*]r(acum)) *Germ(anica)*.

Adony. CIL XVI 113 (27.12. 157-159)

[...] 9 *I Thr(acum) eq(uitata)* [*Germ(anica)*].

Kostolać. Mirković 1999, 252 no. 5 (157/160).

[...] [*I Thr(acum) Germ(anica)*]

Óbuda. CIL XVI 123 (05.05.167)

[...] 1 *I Thr(acum) Germ(anica)*

Adony. CIL XVI 132 (post 11.08. 185)

[...] [*I*] *Thra[c(um) Germ(anica)]*.

Bölcske. CIL III 3319=10299=RIU 1018.

D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucius) Sep(timius) Tatulo, vet(eranus) ex optione coh(ortis) / I T(h)racu(m) Germ(anicae) et Aurel(ia) / Verina coniux, L. Aurel(ius) qui / et Sep(timius) Constans filius, mil(es) / coh(ortis) s(upra)s(cruptae), Aur(elius) qui et Septi(mius) / Constantinusfil(ius), mil(es) leg(ionis) I ad(iutricis), / Aur(elius) qui et Sep(timius) Victorinus f(i)l(ius), Aur(elius) qui / et Sep(timius) Verin[us f(i)l(ius)], Aur(elius) q(ui) et Se(ptimius) [f]il(ius) Merecussae / mat(er)i, vix(it) an(nos) LXX, vivi s(ibi) fec(erunt).

9(21) Cohors I Thracum milliaria

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 252-253 no. 1 (07.11.88)

[...] 2. *I [Thracum milliaria]*.

Suhozem. RMD 4. (12. 05. 91)

[...] 1. *I Thracum milliaria*.

F. s. u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219-221 no. 3 (12. 05. 91)

[...]1. *I Thracum milliaria*.

[*coh(ortis) I Thracu]m milliariae cui praest [...] P(ubli) f(ilius) Bassus pediti [...]Mocazenis f(ilio) Thrac(i).*

Kalin Ören. RMD 160 (09. 135-10.07.138)

[...] 1. *I Thr(acum) (milliaria)*.

Eck, Pangerl 2006, 185-191 (158)

[...] 2 [*I Thrac(um) (milliaria)*].

F.s.u. RMD 173 (07.03. 160)
[...] 2. *I Thrac(um) (milliaria)*.

Eck, Pangerl 2006, 185-191 (139/142/160)
[...] 2 (?) [*I Thracum (milliaria)*].

Ak Kilisse. Buckler, Calder, Cox, 1924, 74 no. 109, pl. XVIII 109 a-c; Ramsay 1941, 203-207; AE 1926, 74.

Κονδια[ν]ος Μα[ξί]μω υ[ί]ω / ἐστρατευσάμ[η]ν / ΦΥ. εἰς χώρ(την) Τ(ρακῶν) α' μιλ(ιαρίαν) Π/εζός Σίτα ἰππε[ύ]ς / σινγ(λ)άρις κα[τα]/βαίνω εἰς τή[ν] κάτω / Μυσία(ν) ΩΣΑΝΝ / σινγ(λ)άριος, εἶτα εἴ[λη]ς / Ἄττεκτόρων, εἶτα[α...] / ΡΙΟΥΣ, εἶτα λιβράριος, [εἶτα] / ἀκτάριος) κορικ(ουλάριος).

10(22) Cohors I Thracum sagittariorum

Micia. Petolescu, Corcheș 2002, 120-126 (136-138)

Nova Zagora. IDR I 14 (23.02.144)
[...] 6. *I T[hrac(um) sag(ittariorum)]*

Tibiscum (Caransebes). IDR I 15 (13.12.157)
[...] 7. *I Thrac(um) sag(ittariorum)*

Cristesti. IDR I 16 (08.07.158)
[...] 1. *I Thrac(um) sag(ittariorum)*

Drobeta. RMD 123=ILD 46 (01. 04. 179)
[...] 4. *I T(h)rac<i>um sagit(taria)*.

11(23) Cohors I Thracum Syriaca equitata

F.s.u. RMD 235 (01.06. 125)
[...] 1. *Thrac (um) Syriac (a)*

F. s. u. RMD 165 (145-146)
[...] 8. [*I Thra*]cum Syr (iaca.)

F. s. u. RMD 241 (20.08. 127)
[...] 4. *I Thra(cum) Syriac(a)*.

F. s. u. RMD 165 (01-12. 145)
[...] 9. *I Thr(cum) Sy[r(iaca)]*.

Varna. RMD 50. (157)
[...] 9. I [*Thrac(um) Syr(iaca)*]

Ravna. IMS 3/2, 37

[...] *inus Dinit/[ra]lis Tarsa[e...]* / [...] *es eq(uiti) coh(ortis) I / [Thrac(um)] Syr(iacae) tur(ma) Lon/gi vix(it) ann(is) LXI / mer(uit) stip(endia) XXVIII / ex testament(to) / eius heres fac(iendum) c(uravit) / s(...)* (Pl. XII 43).

12(24) Cohors II Flavia Bessorum

Cataloi. Petolescu, Teodor-Popescu, 2003, 73-92 (15. 06. 92).

[...] 10. *II Flavia Bessorum*.

F.s.u. Mac Donald, Mihaylovich 2002, 225-228 (01.01-17.09.97).

[...] 6 [*II Fl(avia) Bessorum*]

F. s. u. Weiss 1997, 233-238 no. 4 (97).

[...] *II Flavia Bessorum*

Philipopolis (Plovdiv). CIL XVI 45. (99).

[...] 4. *II Flavia Brittonum*

F. s. u. CIL XVI 50 (105)

[...] 4. II [*Flavia Bessorum*].

Grojdibod. CIL XVI 75= IDR I 10 (22.03.129).

[...] 4. *II Flav(ia) Bessorum*

F. s. u. Weiss 1997, 243-246 no. 8 (130).

[...] 7. *II Fl(auia) [B]ess(orum)*

Palamartsa. IDR I 13=RMD 39 (3. 12. 140).

[...] 8. *II Fl(avia) Bessorum*

F. s. u. RMD 269 (19.07. 146).

[...] 7 *II Fl(avia) Bessor(um)*.

Oescus (Gigen). ILB 64=AE 1950, 86; 1957, 299.

Dis Manibus / Mucatral(is) / Site filius), natio(ne)/ B(essus) m(iles) c(o)h(ortis) II F(laviae) B(essorum) (Pl. XI 40).

13(25) Cohors II Augusta Thracum equitata

F.s.u. RMD 251 (19.05. 135)

[...] 10 *II Aug(usta) Thr(acum)*

Albertfalva. CIL 175 (139)

[...] 3 *II Aug(usta) T[hr(acum)]*

Dunaszekcsö. AE 1996, 1257 (142-144).
[...] [II Aug(usta) T]hr(acum)

F. s.u. RMD 266 (07.08. 143)
[...] 10 II Aug (usta) Thr(acum)

Regöly. CIL XVI179 (09.10.148)
[...] 10. II Aug(usta) Thr(acum).

Dunakömlöd. RMD102. (08. 02. 157)
[...] 10. II Aug(usta) Thr(acum).

Dunakömlöd. RMD103. (08. 02. 157)
[...] 10. II Aug(usta) Thr(acum).

Alsószentiván. CIL16,112(27.12.157-158)
[...] 5. [II Aug(usta) Thr(acum)]

Adony. CIL XVI 113 (27.12.157-158)
[...] 6. II Aug(usta) [Thr(acum)]

Óbuda. CIL XVI 123. (05. 05. 167)
[...] 8. II Aug(usta) Thr(acum)

14(26) Cohors II Gemella Thracum

Sila (Bordj el-Ksar) ILAlg. 2, 6877; Le Bohec 1989, 113 n. 256.
[...]a in (centuria) Bes[si] / [...]s p qu(a)est(or) coho/[rtis] II Gemellae T(h)ra / [cum ...]no.

Mascula (Khenchela) CIL 8, 2251 = ILS 2578; Le Bohec 1989, 113 n. 263.
T(itus) Flavius / Bitus, eq(ues) / coh(ortis) II Gemel(lae) / T(h)rac(um), vix(it) an(n)i(s) LV, mil(itavit) an(nis) XXVII / Iulia Marcella, / [so]ror et Bitus, [fil(ius), f(e)cerunt].

Carthagina. CIL 8, 14281=25364=ILTun. 956; Le Bohec 1989, 113 n. 268.
Heluia Commoda, / pia, uixit annis / XXXV. Hic sit ast (scilicet: sita est). C(aius) Iulius Bitus, / uir heius (sic), vet / posuit tera / nus / c(o)horsti (sic!) / T(h)raec(um).

15(27) Cohors II Thracum veterana equitata pia fidelis

Negoslavici. RMD 78 (17. 06. 65)
[...] 2. II Thracum

Kamensko. CIL XVI 158 (02. 80)
[...] 5. II [Thracum]

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 245-254 (10/31.12. 130 or 131).
[...] 6. II Thrac(um)

'Bulgaria'. RMD 184 (23. 03. 178)

[...] 11. *II Thrac(um) veter(ana)*

F.s.u. RMD 293 (178)

[...] 11. *II Thrac(um) veter(ana)*

F.s.u. RMD 294. (23. 03.178)

[...] 11. *II Thrac(um) veter(ana)*

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 251-254 no. 2

[...] 11. [*II Thrac(um) veter(ana)*]

Maurik / Mannaricium? AE 1975, 637

7. (*Centuria) Bisae*

16(28) **Cohors II Thracum equitata civium Romanorum**

Turea. CIL XVI 33 = IDR I, 24 (13.05. 86).

[...] 3. *II Thracum*

coh(ortis) II Thracum cui prae(e)st Claudius Montanus, equiti Seuthe Traibithi f(ilio), Colotetic(o?)

F. s. u. Weiss 2006, 252-253 no. 1 (07. 11. 88)

[...] 9. [*II Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum)*]

F. s. u. Weiss 2006, 252-253 no. 2 (07. 11. 88)

[...] 9. [*II Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum)*]

Muhovo. CIL XVI 35. (07. 11. 88)

[...] 12. *II Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Suhozem. RMD 4. (12. 05. 91)

[...] 5. *II Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

F. s. u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219-221 no. 3 (12.05. 91)

[...] 5. [*II Thra]cum civium Roma[norum]*

17(29) **Cohors II Thracum Syriaca**

Suhozem. RMD 4. (12. 05. 91)

[...] 6. *II Thracum Syriaca*

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 219-221 no. 3 (12.05. 91)

[...] 5. [*II Thracum Syria]ca*

Kazanlăk. CIL XVI 106 (09.-10.12.156/157)

[...] 10. *II Thrac(um) Suric(a)*

18(30) Cohors III Augusta Thracum equitata

Weiss 2006, 252-253 no. 1 (07. 11. 88)

[...] 11. [*III Augusta Thracum*]

Weiss 2006, 253-254 no. 2 (07. 11. 88)

[...] 11. [*III Augusta Thracum*]

Muhovo. CIL XVI 35 (07. 11. 88)

[...] 11. *III Augusta Thracum*

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 265-270 (01.10-09.12.153)

[...] 17. *III Aug(usta) [Thr(acum)]*

Kazanlák. CIL XVI 106 (09.-10.12.156/157)

[...] 13. *III Augusta Thracum.*

19(31) Cohors III Thracum equitata civium Romanorum

Klosterneuburg. CIL XVI 26 (13.06.80)

[...] 11 *III Thracum*

Carnuntum CIL XVI 30 (03.09. 84)

[...] 9 *III Thracum equitata*

Weissenburg CIL XVI 55 (30.06.107)

[...] 6. *III Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Straubing. RMD 229 (16.08.116)

[...] 8 *III Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum).*

Künzig. RMD 155 (116)

[...] 9 *III Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Manching. RMD 32 (117/121)

[...] 8 [*III T]hrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Straubing. RMD 36 (119/120)

[...] 4 *III Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Künzig. Wolf 2000, 160 (129)

[...] 3. *III Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Käserfeld. RMD 243 (05-12. 129)

[...] 8(?) [*III Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*]

Käserfeld. RMD 278 (05-12. 129)

[...] 8(?) *III Thrac(um)*

Oberschneiding. RMD 94 (138-139)
[...] 7 [III] *Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Burghofe. AE 1998, 1004; (140)
[...] 7 [III] *Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*]

Pförring. RMD 164 (ca. 140)
[...] 4 [II] *I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Künzig. RMD 166 (post 140)
[...] 9 [III] *T]rac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Eining. CIL XVI 94.
[...] 9 *III Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Straubing. CIL XVI 183 (156/157)
[...] 9 *III Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Ma'rab. CIL XVI 117 (157)
[...] 8 *III Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Faimingen. RMD 275 (28.09.157)
[...] 8 [III] *Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*]

Regensburg. CIL XVI 121 (03/04. 166)
[...] 8. *III Thrac(um) [c(ivium) R(omanorum)]*

Eining. RMD 68 (167/168)
[...] 9 *III Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*

Künzig. AE 1999, 1191. (169-172)
[...] ? *III Thrac(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)*.

20(32) Cohors III Thracum Syriaca sagittaria equitata

Muhovo. CIL XVI 35. (07.11.88)
[...] 12. *III Thracum Syriaca*

F.s.u. RMD 214 (12. 05. 91)
[...] ? [III] *Thracum] Syriacis*
[*cohort(is) III Thr]acum Syriacae cui praest [...] Clemens, pediti [...] Genimoli f(ilio), Thrac(i).*

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205-214 no. 1 (12.05. 91)
[...] 2. *III Thracum Syriaca*

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-219 no. 4 (12.05. 91)
[...] 2. [*III Thracum Syriaca*]

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 221-230 no. 4 (22.03. 129)
[...] 9. *III Thrac(um) Syriaca sagitt(aria)*

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 230-233 no. 5 (22.03. 129)
[...] 9 *III [Thrac(um) Sy]riaca sa[gitt(aria)]*

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 233-235 no. 6 (22.03. 129)
[...] 9 *III [Thrac(um) S]yri[aca sagitt(aria)]*

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 236-237 no. 7 (22.03. 129)
[...] 9 *III [Thrac(um) Syria(ca) sag(ittaria)]*

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 237-239 no. 8 (22.03. 129)
[...] 9 [*III Thrac(um) Syriaca sagitt(aria)*]

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 240-241 no. 9 (22.03. 129)
[...] 9. [*III Thrac(um) Sy]riaca s]ag(ittaria)*

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 242-243 no. 10 (22.03. 129)
[...] 9. [*III Thrac(um) Syriaca sag(ittaria)*]

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 252-253 no. 1 (07.11. 88)
[...] 12. [*III Thrac(um) Syriaca*]

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 253-254 no. 2 (07.11. 88)
[...] 12. [*III Thrac(um) Syriaca*]

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 255-257 no. 3 (12.05. 91)
[...] 2. [*III Thrac(um) Syriaca*]

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 265-273 (01.10.-09.12. 153)
[...] 16. *III Thr(acum) Syriac(a)*

21 (33). **Cohors III Thracum veterana**

Weissenburg. CIL XVI 55. (30. 06. 107)
[..] 5. *III Thracum*

Straubing. RMD 229 (16.08.116)
[...] 7 *III Thrac(um) veter(ana)*

Künzig. RMD 155 (21.02.-08.09. 116)
[...] 7 [*III Thrac(um)*] *veteran(a)*

Manching. RMD 32 (125-128)
 [...] 9. *III Thrac(um) vet(erana)*

Künzig. RMD 243. (05-12 129)
 [...] 9. [*III Thrac(um)*] *veter(ana)*

Käserfeld. RMD 243 (05-12. 129)
 [...] (7) *III Thrac(um) veter(ana)*

Käserfeld. RMD 278 (05-12. 129)
 [...] 8 [*III Thrac(um) ve*] *ter(ana)*

Oberschneiding RMD 94 (138/140)
 [...] 6. *III Thr(acum) vet(erana)*

Pföding; RMD 261 (30.10. 139)
 [...] 4 [*III Thr(acum) ve*] *t(erana)*

Burghofe; AE 1999, 1004 (140)
 [...] 6 [*III Thrac(um) vet(erana)*]

Künzing. RMD 166. (140-147)
 [...] 8. *III Thrac(um) vet(erana)*

Eining. CIL XVI 94. (147)
 [...] 12. [*III Thr(acum)*] *vet(erana)*

Gnotzheim RMD 59. (149/161)
 [...] 7. [*III Thrac(um) vet(erana)*]

CIL XVI 187. Regensburg. (150/170)
 [...] ? *III Th[rac(um) vet(erana)]*

Owen. RMD 46. (153)
 [...] ? *III [Thr(acum) vet(erana)]*

Eining. RMD 51. (153-157)
 [...] 8 *III T[hrac(um) vet(erana)]*

Weissenburg. RMD 175. (154-161)
 [...] 7 [*III Thr[ac(um) vet(erana)]*]

Ma'rab. CIL XVI 117. (154-157)
 [...] 7 [*III Thrac(um) vet(erana)*]

Eining. RMD 170. (28 September 157)

[...] 7. *III Thrac(um) vet(erana)*

Faimingen. RMD 275 (28.09.157)

[...] 7 [*III Thrac(um) veter<an(a)>*]

Straubing. CIL XVI 183. (10.12. 156-09. 12.157)

[...] 7 *III Thr(acum) [vet(erana)...]*

Künzing. RMD 278. (18.12. 160)

[...] 7 *III Thrac(um) ve]t(erana)*

Roma. CIL XVI 118. (162)

[...] 7 *III Thrac(um) vet(erana)*

Eining. RMD 112/178. (07. 03. 161-09 163)

[...] 7 [*III Thrac(um) vet(erana)*]

Regensburg. CIL XVI 121 (03-04 166)

[...] 7 *III Th/r(acum) vet(erana)]*

Eining. RMD 68 (167-168)

[...] 7 *III Thr(acum) ve<e>]t(erana)]*

Künzig; *AE 1999, 1191 (169-172)*

[...] [*III Thrac(um) ve]t(erana)*]

22(34). **Cohors IIII Thracum equitata pia fidelis**

Kamensko. CIL XVI 158 (02. 80)

[...] 9 *IIII (Thracum).*

cohort(is) IIII Thracum cui prae(e)st Q(uintus) Lutatius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Pup(inia) Dexter Laelianus, pediti Durise Bithi f(ilio) Thrac(i).

Mainz. CIL XIII 7049.

[...]/*sese Lenulae f(ilius) D[a]nsala mil(es) ex coh(orte) [IIII?]/ Thracum ann(or)um XXXI / stip(endiorum) XII h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*

Mainz. CIL XIII 7050.

C(aius) Tutius Mani f(ilius) / Dans(ala) eq(ues) ex co[h(orte)] / IIII Trhac(um!)(sic) an(norum) XXXV / st(ipendiorum) X h(ic) s(itus) e(st) posu(it) / Bitus Stac(...) f(ilius) ex / testamento (Pl. IX 33).

Mainz. CIL XIII 11870=AE 1913, 239.

Surus Coc/ae f(ilius) nati (sic!) Dansala / mili (tavit?...)]

Wiesbaden. CIL XIII 7585.

Dolanus Esbe/ni f(ilius) Bessus eq(ues) ex / coh(orte) IIII / Thracum / anno(rum) XXXXVI / stipendi(or)um XXIIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

Mainz. AE 1965, 258; 1978, 556; Pfeffer, 1964, 65 no. 21; Schillinger-Häfele 1977, 489-490 no. 59.
M. Traidua Did[ae f(ilius)] / natione Salet[ae eq(ues)] / ex coh(orte) IV Thra[cum] / an(norum) [---] stip(endiorum) [--- h(ic)] / s(itus) e(st) [h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)]
(Pl. IX 34).

Valkenburg. van Giffen 202 no. 33; Bogaers 1974, 453 (Pl. X 37, 38).

[---] RELIBITVS

Valkenburg. van Giffen 203 no. 49

[---]POR

Valkenburg. van Giffen 202 no. 27

TAR[---]

Valkenburg. van Giffen 203 no. 47

[---].. OR[---]

Valkenburg. van Giffen 217 fig. 12

CARA(scil. TARA) VIIXILA

23(35) Cohors IIII Thracum Syriaca.

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 252-253 no. 1 (07.11. 88)

[...] 14. [IIII Syriaca]

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 253-254 no. 2 (07.11. 88)

[...] 14. [IIII Syri]aca

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205-214 no. 1 (12.05. 91)

[...] 3. IIII Thracum Syriaca

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-219 no. 2 (12.05. 91)

[...] 3. IIII Thracum Syriaca

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 255-253 no. 3 (07.11. 91)

[...] 3 [IIII Thrac(um) Syriaca]

Astorga. AE 1928, 165; ILER 6417.

Fuscus Dori/lsis Eptaece/nti f(ilius) miles exs /cohorte T(h)rac/um 7 Iul(ii) Martial(is) / dom(o) Serdus an[norum]] / XXV aer(eorum) VIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) (Pl XI 39).

25(37) Cohors VI Thracum equitata

Kamensko. CIL XVI 158 (02. 80)

[...] 10. VI Thracum

Petronell. CIL XVI 30 (03.09. 84)

[...] 12. VI Thracum.

Beleg. CIL XVI 31 (05.09. 85)

[...] 13. VI Thracum

Kostolać. RMD 6 (12.07. 96)

[...] 9. *VI Thracum*

cohort(is) VI Thracum cui prae(e)st Claudius Alpinus, pediti Dolenti Sublusi f(ilio), Besso et Valenti f(ilio) eius.

Sisak. CIL XVI 46 (07.05. 100)

[...] 20. *VI Thr(acum)*

Moigrad. CIL XVI 163=IDR I 3 (02.07.110)

[...] 17. *VI Thracum*

F.s.u. RMD 226(10.12. 112 – 09. 12 113)

[...]10. *VI Thracum*

Domaşnea. CIL XVI 110=IDR I 17=RMD 47 (27.09.159)

[...]13. *VI Thrac(um)*

Gilău. RMD 177 (26.10. 161)

[...] 12. *VI [Thrac(um)]*

Gilău. IDR I 18=RMD 64 (21.07.164)

[...] 12 *VI Thrac(um)*

Palatovo. IDR I 19=CIL XVI 185 (21.07. 164)

[...] 12. *VI Thra[cum]*.

Căşei. IDR I 20=RMD 63 (21.07. 164)

[...] 12. [*VI Thrac(um)*].

Buciumi. RMD 65/115 (21.07. 164)

[...] 12. [*VI Thrac(um)*]

Buciumi. RMD 116 (21.07. 164)

[...] 12. *VI Thrac[um]*.

Buciumi. RMD 128(ante 164)

[...] 12(?) *VI [Th]rac(um)*.

Buciumi. RMD 128 (164)

[...] 12(?) *VI Thrac(um)*.

Mainz. CIL XIII 7052

Petronius Disacentus / Dentubrise f(ilius) eq(ues) turma(e) / Longini ex c(o)ho(rte) VI Thra(cum) / ann(or)um XXV stip(endiorum) V h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / heres pos(u)it (Pl. X 35).

Gloucester. RIB 121=CIL 7, 67.

Rufus Sita eques c(o)ho(rtis) VI / Tracum (sic!) ann(or)um XL stip(endiorum) XXII / heredes exs test(amento) f(aciendum) curave(runt) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) (Pl. XI 41).

Corbridge. RIB 2501, 617.

[...] *T(ur)ma Vindalici / Eptacent[i...]*.

Wroxeter. RIB 291

Tib(erius) Claud(ius) Tiri/ntius eq(ues) coh(ortis) [VI?] Thracum an[n] / orum LVII sti[p] / endior(um) XX[...] / *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)* Pl. XI 42).

26(38) Cohors VII Thracum equitata

Ó Szöny. CIL XVI 69 (27. 07. 122)

[...] 37 *VII Thracum*.

‘Bulgaria’. RMD 240 (20. 08. 127)

[...] 27 *VII Thr(acum)*.

F.s.u. Weiss 2006, 245-254 (10/31.12. 130 or 131).

[...] 15 *VII Thracum*.

Wroxeter. CIL XVI 82=RIB 2401.8 (14. 04. 135)

[...] 31 *VII Thr(acum)*.

Ravenglass. AE 1997, 1001 (27. 02. 158)

[...] 14 *VII Thrac(um)*

‘Bulgaria’. RMD 184 (23. 03. 178)

[...] 15 *VII Thrac(um)*

F.s.u. RMD 293 (178)

[...] 15 *VII Thrac(um)*

F.s.u. RMD 294. (23. 03.178)

[...] 15 *VII Thrac(um)*

B. THRACIANS IN OTHER AUXILIA

Mutaflar (near the Kamchia River). Katsarov 1938 no. 666

Θεῶ ἐπηκόω Δέρζει, Αἴλιος Διογένης ἵππικὸς εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκα.

Istria. Suceveanu 1998, 109-114.

Pro sal(ute) [Imp(eratoris)] T(iti) A[e]/li (sic) Antonini [P]ii e[t] / Aureli (sic) Veri [C]a[e]s(aris) / posuerun[t T(itus)] Ae/lius Mucatralis vet(eranus) / al(ae) I Fl(aviae) Gaetul(or)um et [S]eut(hes) / Mucatr[al(is) ma]g(ister) de s(uo) / Glabrione et Ho/mullo co(n)s(ulibus) (Pl. VII 24).

Jambol. AE 1911, 17

Apollini / Tadeno Ae/lius Tar/sas 7(centurio) coh(ortis) / II Lucensi/um

Memo/riae causae / v (otum) l (ibens) s (olvit)

Köln. CIL XIII 8311

M(arcus) Aemilius Durises eq(ues) al(ae)/Sulp(iciae), tur(mae) Nepotis an(norum) XXXVI/ stip(endiorum) XVI heredes ex t(estamento) f(e)c(it).

Leškovets. Katsarov, 1938 no. 592

Eroni Sancto / Ant(onio) Mercurius eques n(umeri) C(...) P(...) / ex v(oto) p(osuit).

Oltina. CIL XVI 44 (99)

coh(ort)is II Gallorum cui prae(e)st Visulanius Crescens, pediti M(arco) Antonio M(arci) f(ilio) Rufo, Abretten(o) et Marco f(ilio) eius.

Nova Zagora. CIL XVI 90 = IDR I 14 (23. 02.144)

coh(ort)is II Gallor(um) Pa[nn(onicae) cui prae(e)st] M(arcus) Aemilius B sive R [...] ex equit[e] Auleno Her[...f(ilio)].

Kalat el-Mudik. AE 1987, 955.

Aur(elio) Basso, qu<o>n / dam sig(nifero) al(a)e I / Ulp(iae) <C>ontariorum, / stipendiorum / VIII, vixit annos / XXVIII. XI Kal(endas) M/aias Gallo et V/olusioano cons<u>/ libus. Titulus p(o) / situs a Marc(io) Cot/um(!), <d>ec(urione) al(a)e c(ivium) R(omanorum).

Zutor. ILD 757.

D(is) M(anibus) / Aelia Prisosta vi/x(it) ann(os) XXXIII. Au/r(el)ia Bassina/filia vix(it) ann(os) VII./ Aurel(ius) Denzi vix(it) / ann(os) LXXX. Aurel(ius) / Bassus sign(ifer) n(umeri) / M(...) O(...) coniugi et / filis b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).

Dilekkaya. Sayar 1991, 31-33=AE 1991, 1153

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurel(io) Bitho / eq(uiti) singul(ari) ex nu / mero Bataorum c(astris) / I vixit annis XXXVIII / militavit annis XVIII / Memoriam et(?) posueru[nt] / Iulius Valens b(ene)f(iciarius) et Aurel(ius) / Mucianus hered(es) [e] / ius.

Ilişua. ILD 799.

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelius/ Brisanus / vixit annis / L. Aur(elius) Mucatus / Maximianus / fili ed (sic!) heredes / p(atri) p(ientissimo) p(ossuerunt) (Pl. VII 25).

Căşei. ILD 783.

D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elius) Titus vix(it) / an(nis) LX Aur(elia) Gemel/lina vix(it) an(nis) XX Aur(elius) Cotes eq(ues) al(ae) Elec(torum) / m(aritae) p(ientissimae) et socio.

Ruse. AE 1911, 219=1940, 34.

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelio Coto/vet(erano) al(a)e II Arab(acorum) / vixit annis / XXXXVII Aur(elius) / Helpideforus / et Papias et Iu/lia Iuliana co/niux patro/[no b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt)].

Gherla. ILD 594.

[...] / eques al[ae II Pannon]/iorum v[ix(it) ann(os) ...] / Dines si[gnifer alae] / ac cu [rator...].

Kalat el-Mudik. AE 1993, 1595.

Aurelius Disas co/rnicen al(a)e I Flavi/(a)e Brittanicae(!) stip(endiorum) / XI vixit annis / XXXII Aurelius / Pimetaica(?) secu/ndus heres eius / titulum posuit / colleg(a)e suo (Pl. IV 14).

Muzait. Scorpan 1980, 211.

D(is) M(anibus) Aurel(ius) Ditus/anus stra/tor trib(uni) vix(it)/an(nis) XLVIII et Cl(audia)/Coc(ceia) coniux/memoria(m)/ posuit vivo/ sua qui di/[...]us est/in barbarico/ et Aure(lia) Ael(ia)/fil(ia) eius et her(es) (Pl. VIII 29).

Kalat el-Mudik. AE 1993, 1590.

[D(is)] M(anibus) / Aurel(ius) Dolens dupl(icarius) / al(a)e Contar(iorum) stip(endiorum) XXVI / ann(or)um L hopitus(!) domo / T(h)racia memoriam in/stituer(unt) Iul(ius) Avitianus / dupl(icarius) et Aurel(ius) Robus/tianus dupl(icarius) here/des (Pl. V 15).

Győr. CIL III 4369=RIU 260.

D(is) M(anibus)/Aur(elio) Dorisoni ve[t(erano)] ex sta[t(ore)]/praef(ecti) al(ae) Cont(ariorum) an(norum) XLIX et/Aur(elia) Mussati fil(io) an(norum) VII, Aur(elia)/ Noeren lib(erta) et coniux/et Aur(elii) Lupus et Aulupor/et Basilla fil(ii) titulum/patri et fratri fac(iendum)/curaverunt (Pl. V 16).

Győr. CIL III 4370=RIU 262.

Aur(elio) Marco / vet(erano) al(ae) I Ulp(iae) Cont(ariorum) / [...]ni et Aur(eliae) Vene / ri(a)e lib(ertae) Aur(elius) Te[r]/es vet(eranus) al(ae) [s(upra) s(criptae)] / [h]eres iuxta / t(estamentum) fecit).

Aquileia. CIL 05, 898 = InscrAqu. 2802= AE 1995, 570b.

[Au]re[lius] Moca militavit in / (cohorte) Claud(ia) miliarense an(nis)[VIII] / fac[us] b(ene)ff(iciarius) trib(uni) anni(s) I[II]/inde translatus in / l(egionem) Au(gustam?) factus signifer an(nis) / XII natus in Dardan(ia) / vico Zatidis dedit nom(en) militie annor(um) XXIII / vixit an(n)is LV A[u]r(eli)us Maxi[m]i/an[us] nepus avunculo / merenti.

Glava Panega. CCET II 2. Goceva, Oppermann 1984, 66-67 no. 566.

Heroni / Aurelius Mucapaibe / s miles ex votum (sic!) l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit).

Ilişua. CIL III 799

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [...]s(ii) Mucaporis / [eq(uitis) al(ae)] Front(oniana) / [vix(it) ann(os)] [...] III Ael(ius) Mu[capor] / eq(ues) al]ae eiusd(em)

Kalat el-Mudik. AE 1993, 1594

Aur(elius) Mucatralis tu/bice(n) al(a)e Brittanicae(!) / Dionis st(i)pendior(u)m dece(m) felicissima i/n espeditone(!) hori/[e]ntale[m](!) rebo(?) nat/ura(e) solvit annos / vicsit(!) trigi(n)ta / et cinqu(e)(!) Aur(elius) Pas/ser cornice(n) collega / memoria(m) possit(!) / Mucatrali colle/gi(!) posuit (Pl. IV 13).

Moigrad. AE 1960, 218

Sil(vano) Do[m(estico)] / Mucianu/s optio / v(otum) po(suit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Moigrad. ILD 704.

[*D(is) M(anibus)*] / [*Aur(elius) ?...]*us *vet(eranus) ex* / [*dec(urione) ? vix(it) an(nos)*] *LXXXV mil(itavit) / an(nos)? Aur(elius)*] *Passer sig(nifer) / [? N(umeri) P(almyrenorum) P(orolissensium) vix(it) a]n(nos) XXXIII Ael(ia) / [?Sura vix(it) a]n(nis) XVIII Aur(elius) / [...]*mil(es) *n(umeri) P(almyrenorum) P(orolissensium) vix(it) [an(nos)...Au]r(elia) Sabina et Au [rel(ius)...]us actarius / [N(umeri) P(almyrenorum) P(orolissensium)] B (?) [...]*.

Kovanlāk. Katsarov 1938, no. 602 fig. 300.

Sancto Pirmer[ulae] / Aurelius Pirurus / mil(es) alarix(Pl. VIII 28).

Beli Plast. CCET II 2. Gočeva, Oppermann 1984, 67-68 no. 567.

Aurelius Surlus miles co/h(ortis) Pimasens(ium) Aure(lianae) Er(oni) ex voto / posit.

Kalat el-Mudik. AE 1993, 1596

D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Surus / salariarius al(a)e Ulp(iae) con(tariorum) / fecit in salario / an(nos) XX vixit an(nos) / XLV natus d(omo) Ba/utalia Aur(elius) Cr/escintinus(!) et / Semp(ronius) Avitus / heredes b(ene) m(erenti) pos(uerunt) (Pl. IV 12).

Prahovo. Mirković 1966, 387-388 no. 7.

D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelio Ta/rae vet(erano) coh(ortis) / III Campestr(is) / vexillar(io) vix(it) an(norum) LX Ulpia / Marcia co/niugi b(ene) m(erenti) [p(osuit)].

Gherla. ILD 590.

Herculi/ Magusano / Aur(elius) Tato st/ator al(ae) II / Pann[oniorum] [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]

M. Aurelius Teres (BIAB 1939, 89) (Pl. VI 19)

Cășei. CIL III 7635.

[...]m / *Blasa eq(ues) st(ipendiorum) / [...]* *Aur(elius) Tsinta vix(it) / [an(nos)] XXXI Aur(elius) Aeli[...]*.

Sevastopol. Zubar 1994, 54 fig. 14.

M(arcus) Maecius / mil(es) c(o)ho(rtis) I Bra/(carum) mil(itavit) ann(is) X, c(enturia) Bicani h(ic)[...] (Pl. IX 32).

Cășei. CIL III 829. [...]f/ [...]ri / [...]fel[...] / [...] e Brit[...] / [...]renses / [...]li Bithi / [...]iunct.

Weiss 2006, 229-231 no.2.

alae praetoriae singularium, cui praest A. Furius Saturninus, gregali Bitho [- -]Iae filio), Thra[c(i).]

Muhovo. CIL XVI 35 (07. 11. 88)

cohort(is) Musulamiorum cui prae(e)st M(arcus) Caecilius September, pediti Bitho Seuthi filio), Besso.

Palamarca. RMD 39 = IDR I 13 (13.12.140)

ex numero equit(um) Illyricor(um) ex gregale Bitho Solae filio), Besso.

Buciumi. IDR I 21 (21.07.164)

[*alae Siliana*]e *c(ivium) R(omanorum) cui pr[ae]st* [*C(aius) Aurelius*] *Attilianus* [ex] *gregale*[.... *B]iti f(ilio)*.

Gherla. Russu 1964, 179.

D(is) M(anibus R(...)) / eq(ues) alae II Pannoniorum vix(it) an(nis) XXXVIII, Brisenus imag(inifer) h(eres) p(onendum) c(uravit).

Caransebeș (Tibiscum). IDR 3/1, 163.

D(is) M(anibus) Brisanus Au/lusani mil(es) co[h(ortis) I Vind(elicorum) vix(it) an(nis)....] Pl. XII 44).

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 205-214 no. 1 (12. 05. 91)

alae veteranae Gallicae cui praest M(arcus) Numisius M(arci) f(ilius) Gal(eria tribu) Senecio Antistianus, gregali Bruzeno Delsasi f(ilio) Thrac(i).

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2006, 215-219 no. 2 (12. 05. 91)

alae veteranae Gallicae cui praest M(arcus) Numisius M(arci) f(ilius) Gal(eria tribu) Senecio Antistianus, gregali Cardenti Biticenti [f(ilio)] Disdiv/u(-).

Shipka. IGBR 3/2=AE 1965, 347.

[*D(is) M(anibus)*] *Ce[lsus] Marius eques coh(ortis) II Bra[caug[us]stanorum (sic!) / IIII [tur(mae) Petroni XXIV stipendi]orum. Ex testam(ento) / [M(arcus)] Traid[aci] f(ilius) eques coh(ortis) II Numid(arum) tur(mae) Festi [...] R[...]. posuit.*

Κέλσος Μάρης ἵππεὺς χώρτης δευτέρας Βρακατῶν / Αὐγοῦστι τούρμης Πετρωνίου στοπενδίαν κδ' / [ἐ] τῶν νε' κατὰ διαθήκην Μάρκος Τραιδακοῦ ἵππεὺς / χώρτης δευτέρας Νομιδῶν τύρμης Φήστου ἀνέθηκεν.

F.s.u. Eck 2003, 220-228 (30 July 71)

alae I Brittonum cui praest M. Coelius M. f(ilius) Ser(gia tribu) Honoratus, gregali Cerso Denturasadi f(ilio) Thraci.

Târnovo. CIL XVI 83 (28. 02. 138)

coh(ortis) II Mattiacor(um) cui prae(e)st T(itus) Flavius Laco Side ex pedite Clagissae Clagissae f(ilio) Bess(o) et Spor f(ilio) et Derzizeno f(ilio) et Eptacent(o) et Zinae fil(io) et Eptaperi fil(io) eius.

Sidi Ali bou Jenoun. CIL XVI 162 (14. 10. 109)

[*alae ...*]um *c(ivium) R(omanorum) cui prae(e)st* [...] *Priscus* [ex equi]te(?) / [...]cti *f(ilio) Thrac(i)*.

Dunaújváros. Barkóczy 1954¹ no. 134.

Cusides Dis/alae f(ilius) eques/ala(e) Frontonian(a)e/ h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Bitugen/tus heres/ t(...) m(...) p(...) (Pl. VI 22).

Toderichene. Katsarov 1938 no. 953.

Φλάβις Βάσσου βετρανὸς δεκουρίων

Köln. CIL XIII 8308.

T(itus) Flavius Bassus Mucale / f(ilius) Dansala eq(ues) alae Nori/corum tur(ma) Fabi Pudentis/an(norum) XXXXVI, stip(endiorum) XXVI his faciendum curavit (Pl. VIII 27).

Ravna. Sašel 1978 no. 571 ; Dušanić, Petrović 1963, 377-380 no. 7.

Fl(avio) Bitho ad(iutori) / coh(ortis) II Aur(eliae) Dard(anorum) / marito et Aur(elio) / Hermogeni / dec(urioni) coh(ortis) s(upra) / s(criptae) fratri Aurelia / Crispina / posuit (Pl. II 7).

Cirencester. RIB 108

Dannicus, eques alae / Indianae, tur(ma) Albani / stip(endiorum) XVI cives Raurac/cus Fulvius Natalis et / F[lav]ius Bitucus ex testame(nto) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Pl. VII 26).

Wiesbaden. CIL XIII 8308

T(itus) Flavius Celsu[s] vet(eranus) ex ala Scubu[1] /orum cives Sappa/us l(ocus) h(eredem) s(epultus) e(st) h(ic) f(aciendum) [c(uravit)]

Malka Brestnica. CIL III 14424=AE 1954, 36=ILB 210

Hirone Santo Fl(avius) Mestrius Ius[tus mi(les)?]/coh(or)tis II Lucensium votu(m) posu[it...] (Pl. IX 31).

Rušovce. AE 1972, 444.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(axiom), / Iunoni R(eginae) / sacr(um), T(itus) Fl(avius) / Surillo, st(ator) / praef(ecti) al(ae) I / Cannanef(atium), v(otum) / s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito), / duob(us) Aspri(s) / [co(n)s(ulibus)] (Pl. VI 20).

F.s.u. Eck 2003, 229-233 (07. 11. 88)

alae praetoriae singularium cui praest A. Furius Saturninus, gregali Gisuseti Heptasae f(ilio), Thrac(i).

Cristești. CIL XVI 108 = IDR I 16 (08.07. 158)

alae I Gal(lorum) et Bospor(anorum) cui pr[ae]e(st) / Licinius Nigrinus / ex gregale / Heptapori Isi f(ilio) Bes[so]

Calahorra. CIL 2, 2984=ILS 2516=ILER 5595

Iulius Longinus Doles / Biticenti f(ilius) Bes / sus, eques ala(e) Tautor(um) vic(tricis) c(ivium) R(omanorum) e(?), / an(norum) XL, aer(orum) XXII, h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Sulpicius Susulla / et Fuscus Bitius, / h(eredes) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).

Roma. CIL 6, 3601.

T. Iulii N(...) Re(...) / vix(it) an(nis) XXV / m(enses?) an(nis) VI H / fra(ter) Tarsa et / (T)arsinus con(alares) b(ene) m(erenti) / f(ecerunt).

Glava Panega. Katsarov 1938 no. 359.

Iul(ius) Val(ens) dec(urio) posuit.

F.s.u. RMD 14 (114)

[...] *coh(ortis) III Gallor(um) cui praeest C(aius) Vindilicius C(ai) f(ilius) Pub(lilia) Fontanus ex equite / C(aio) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) Valente Trall[i] et Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) eius et Valentinae fil(iae) ei[us] et Gaiae fil(iae) eius[...]*.

Köln. CIL 13. 8312.

Longinus Biarta Bisae f(ilius) / Bessus eq(ues) alae Sulp(iciae) an(norum) XXXXVI.

‘Bulgaria’. RMD 235 (01.06. 125)

[alae I Flavi]ae Gaetulor(um) cui praest [M. Ulp]ius Attianus, Roma, ex gregale [...]lo Iresi? f. Besso, [et ...]iu Lucosis fil. uxori eius, Bessae, [et ...] f. eius et Gaio f. eius [et ... f. eiu]s et [..VN// (?) fil. eius [et ...]ru fil. eius.

Gherla. Russu 1967, 91.

...VDIS MUCAPA...S PRAEFIGM P PANN...RVARMA(?) (lost).

Mainz. CIL XVI 36 (27. 10. 90)

cohort(is) I Aquitanorum veteranae, cui prae(e)st M(arcus) Arrecinus Gemellus, equiti Mucapori Eptacentis f(ilio), Thrac(i).

Ilişua. CIL III 799.

[D(is) M(anibus)] [...] s Mucaporis / [eq(ues) al(ae)] Front(oniana) / [vix(it) an(nos)...] III Ael(ius) Mu[capor eq(ues) ...a]lae eiusd(em).

Plovdiv. CIL XVI 45 (99)

alae I Asturum cui prae(e)st Ti(berius) Iulius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Pup(inia) Agricola, gregali Metico Solae f(ilio), Besso.

Alba Iulia. AE 1914, 102; IDR 3/5, 559.

D(is) M(anibus) / Mucatra / Brasi miles / n(umeri) Palmyren(orum) / Tibiscensium / vixit annis XXXVIII / Mucapor Mucatral(is), heres contubern(alis) / carrissimo posuit (Pl. VIII 30).

Căşei. RMD 63 = IDR I 20 (21.07. 164)

cohort(is) I Brit(t)on(um) (milliariae) [cui praeest] / Laecanius Sc[...] / ex equit[e] / Mucatrali Bit[hi f(ilio)]

Moigrad. Russu 1959, 872 no. 1.

Sil(vano) Do[m(estic)] / Mucianu/s optio Pal(myrenorum?) / v(otum) po(suit) l(ibens) m(erito).

F.s.u. Weiss 2002 no. 2 (17.07. 122)

[...] oli f(ilio) Besso [et...] fil(iae) eius.

Köln. CIL XIII 8304.

Oluper Cergepuri / f(ilius) eq(ues) alae Afrorum / tur(ma) Praeci(i) Capitonis / ann(orum) XXXX, stip(endiorum) XX / h(ic) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Köln. CIL XIII 8188.

Herclinti / Sacrum / Petitor Piro/bori mil(es) / coh(ortis) II Var(cianorum) sing(ularis) co(n)s(ularis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Ain Kerma. ILaig II 3, 8467=AE 1930, 133.

Quintus Mucat/rali f(ilius) eq(ues) alae/Pannoniorum I/ tur(mae) Liccaionis, an/norum XXXV natione Thra/cus milita(vit) a(nnis) XVII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)/posit Spinus Mucac/enti f(ilius) eq(ues) alae eius/dem heres eius.

Carales. CIL X 7596.

Rufus Tabusi f(ilius) / Valentinus ann(or)um / XXX stipendiorum XI ex / c(o)ho(rtis) Aquit(anorum) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / faciendum qura / vit (sic !) Spedius frater / su(i)s.

Remagen. CIL XIII 7803

Ruimus Tabusi f(ilius) / Thrax mil(es) ex coh(orte) / I Thracum anno(rum) XLVI / stip(endiorum) XXIII et Veranio / f(ilio) h(eres) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

Gherla. ILD 588.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) Maximo) / Septi/mius Pisu/[sus] vete/[ranu]s ex / [dec(urione) v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit).

Grădishte. RMD 5 (12. 05. 91)

alae veterana[e Ga]ll[i]ca[e cu]i prae(e)st M(arcus) Numisius M(arci) [f(ilius)] Antistianus [grega]li Seuthi [...]is f(ilio), Scaen(o?).

Klosterneuburg. CIL XVI 26 (13. 06. 80).

coh(ort)is) I Montanorum cui prae(e)st Sex(tus) Nerianus Sex(ti) f(ilius) Clu(stumina) Clemens, ex peditibus Soioni Muscelli f(ilio) Besso.

Retimlje. Šašel 1978, 1435.

..] / et Sitae f. Sumi / cor(niculario) c(o)hor(tis) / pri(mae) Dar(danorum) v(i)xit an(nis) / XXXX b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit).

Pernik. RMD 84 (15. 10. 109)

alae I Augustae c(ivium) [R(omanorum) cui praeest] Q(uintus) Iulius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Qui[rina...] ex gregale Sitali Cultra[...] et Iuniae Gaditani fil(iae) M[...] et Martiali fil(io) eius]

Ilisua. CIL III 787.

Apol/in(i) sac(rum) / Sola / Mucatri / vet(eranus) al(a)e F/ron(tonianae) v(otum) s(olvit).

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2003, 216-219 (27. 10. 90)

coh(ort)is) I Aquitanorum veteranae, cui prae(e)st M(arcus) Arrecinus Gemellus, equiti Thavi Cassiporis f(ilio), Thrac(i).

Dormagen. CIL XIII 8524.

Deo Soli I(nvicto) Mithrae p(ro) s(alute) (sua) Thuratr[al]is Didil[ae f(ilius)] / dup[l(arius)] al(a)e Noricorum, c[ivi]s T(h)rax, v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

Stara Zagora. IGR I 1469=IGB III/2 1570=ILS 9479

Τραιανὸν Μουκιανὸν δοῦκ(α) / στρατευσάμενον ἐν χώρτῃ α' Κον/κορδ(ιημισίων) καὶ ἐν λεγι(ῶνι) β' Παρθ(ικῆ), ἰππέα χώρτ(ης) / ζ' πραιτωρ(ίας), ἠβοκᾶτ(ου), (ἐκατόνταρχου) προτ(ήκτορα) / λεγι(ῶνος) γι' Γεμ(ινης), (ἐκατόνταρχου) προτ(ήκτορα) βιγού(λων), /

(ἐκατόνταρχον) προ/τήκτ(ο)ρα οὐρβ(αικικιανόν) καὶ (ἐκατόνταρχον) προ(τήκτο)ρα χώρτ(ης) ε' πρα[ι]τωρ(ίας) / [καὶ] πρίνκιπα προ(τήκτο)ρα, πρειμοπ(ίλον) [καὶ] ἐκ τῶν / [...] διεξιερχομένων Β[...], στρατοπεδ[ά]ρχ(ην) λεγ(ιῶνος) δ' Φλαβ(ίας) σ[τ]ρατοπεδ[ά]ρχ(ην) / λεγ(ιῶνων) ζ' Κλαυδ(ίας) καὶ δ' Φλαβ(ίας) [...] / [...] τριβ(ούνον) λιβούρι[ων...], / καὶ στρατε[υ]ο[μ]ένων... / [πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων Μαύρων καὶ] Ὀσροηνῶν κα[ὶ] / ἐξπλωρατόρων / [...] δουκενάριον, ἔπαρχον / λεγ(ιῶνος)...καὶ] πράξαντα ἐν Μεσο[ποτα]μία, ἔπαρχον λεγ(ιῶνος) γ['] Γεμ(ίνης), στρατηγόν... / [...]τῶν πάλιν στρατευσαμέ/νων πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων Μαύρων καὶ Ὀσ[ο]ροηνῶν, στρατηγόν λεγ(ιῶνος) β' Τραιαν[ή]ς, στρ[α]τηγόν λεγ(ιῶνων) ... καὶ δ' Φλαβ(ίας) καὶ Β[ρι]τανῶν / καὶ π[ρ]άξαντα ἐν Θρακ[ῆ] / ... καὶ ἄρξα[ν]τα ...] αὐτοῦ πάλιν... / καὶ πάλιν λαβόντα [...] / εἰς τὴν ὑπερῆσαν [...ῆ] / πατρίς εὐτυ[χ]ῶς].

Győr. CIL III 4378=RIU 261.

Ulp[us] Eptatralis, / eq(ues) al(ae) I Contar(iorum), stip(endiorum) XV, an(norum) XXXX, / domo Bessus, / h(ic) s(itus) e(st). Ulp(ius) / Aulucentus, / heres [f]ac(iendum) cur(avit) (Pl. V 18).

F.s.u. RMD 236 (01. 07.126)

alae I Ulpiae contarior(um) (milliariae) cui praest, Q. Planius Sardus, ex gregale Ulpio M[...]i f(ilio) Valenti, Besso, et [...]f(ilio) eius.

Utrecht. CIL XIII 8818

D(is) M(anibus) Valenti / Bititrali / vet(erani) ex N(umero) ala I / [Tr]achum(!) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

F.s.u. Eck, Pangerl 2005,185-186 (09. 09. 97)

alae I Flaviae Ga[et]ulorum cui praest] Q. Planius C(ai) f(ilius)[...] gregal[i] Lucio Satur[i f?...] et Mucase [...]

Bonn. CIL XIII 8099

[...] ex c[oh]orte] / [T]rhaecum(!) / ann(orum) XXX sti[p]endiorum] / VIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Mucasius f(ilius) p(osuit)

Ilişua. CIL III 809.

[...] eq(ues) alae / [Fro]nt(onianae) (h)ic situs est vix(it) / annis XXXX Muc/apuis coniugi bene/merenti posuit.

F. s. u. Eck, Pangerl, 2006, 185-191 (158)

[alae VII] Phrygum cui [praest] [...] Capitoli[nus] [...] ex gregale [...] [...] Densalae [f...]

F. s. u. Weiss 1997, 228- 229 no.1

[alae/cohortis - - - - , c]ui praest [- ---B?]albus, [- - - - - f(ilio)], Thrac(i).

F. s. u. Weiss 1997, 232-233 no. 3, 256-259 no. 15

[alae VII P]hryg(um), cui praest [(L.) Versenus] Aper, Hespell(o), [ex]gregale [- - - - Bi]thi vel Seu]thi f(ilio), I[- - - -] .

F. s. u. Weiss 1997, 232-233 no. 3

[alae praetoriae singular]ium, cui pra[est] A. Furius] Saturninus, [gregal]i(?) [- - - - -]f(ilio), Thrac(i).

F.s.u. Weiss 2002 no. 2 (17.07.122)

[...] oli filio Besso [et...] fil(iae) eius

Mainz. CIL XIII 7051

[...] Thrac / [s]tip(endiorum) XIII / [he]res posuit.

Dunaújváros. CIL III 11111

G(enio) C(ohortis) sive C(astrorum) / I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Pro sal(ute) Aug(usti)

Ulp(ius) Repentinus (centurio sive curator fisci) Ant(onius) Dores p<

[I]ulius Ianuarius s(ingularis) c(onsularis) Aur(elius) Victor

Aur(elius) Cabdunus Max(imus) Marcellus

Aur(elius) Brincasus Aur(elius) Quirinus

Aur(elius) Secundianus/ Secundinus Mar(ius) Mecianus

Slu(...?) Domitus Cl(audius) Strenuus

Siv(...?) Dasius Can(...) Valerius

Fla(vius) Surianus (?) [...] Saturninus

Sep(timius) Florianus Aur(elius) Flavinus

Aur(elius) Super Pap[...?] [...]tu Sinnio

Ulp(ius) Renanus Fl(avius) Gemellinus

Aur(elius) Leonus Fl(avius) Flavinus

[Au]r(elius) Exoratus Aur(elius) Felicianus

Iul(ius) Messius Ulp(ius) Atorius

Ulp(ius) Iustinus Au[r(elius)] Qu[...]s

Sep(timius) Constans

Roma. CIL 6, 31164 (241) (Pl. VII 23)

I(ovi) O(ptimo)M(aximo)/ Deo Sabadio sacrum/Iulius Faustus dec(urio) n (...) eqq(uitum) sing(ulariorum) d(omini) n(ostri) ex votum/ posuit et conalarium/nomina inservit/ex ala prima Dardanorum prov(inciae) Moesiae Inf(erioris)

Fla(vius) Bassus decu(rio) dedicata

Fla(vius) Valens dupl(arius) III non(nae) Aug(ugustis)

Ael(ius) Bonus dupl(arius)Pompeiano Domino n(ostro) Gordiano Aug(usto)

Aurel(ius) Vitalis ducl(arius) (sic!) II Pompeiano co(n)s(ulibus)

Iulius Longinus, tab(ularius)

Ael(ius) Severus, sig(nifer)

Aur(elius) Victor, tur(marius)

Iulius Valentinus

Aurel(ius) Pistus

Aurel(ius) Sudius

Aurel(ius) Mestrius

Aurel(ius) Mucianus

Aurel(ius) Diogenes

Egypt. P. Lond. 482. Daris 1964, 38.

Alae Veterane Galliga turma/ Doneciani serenus procurator/ conductoribus fenaris salute / accepi fenum contu[m]alibus / meis mensis iunis et naulum / s[ustu]li per me et tibi fiunt / eccutes triginti. Catulino et Afro / co(n)s(ulibus) /

- r. 10. *Solas*
- r. 16. *Cocas*
- r. 22. *Bitecus*
- r. 23. *Aululanus*
- r. 25. *Dolens*
- r. 27. *Bitsius*
- r. 28. *Aululan[u]s*
- r. 31. *D[...uspor*
- r. 34. *[Du]les*

Rušovce. AE 1966, 292

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] / Doli[c(heno) pro] / sal(ute) Aug(usti) [et] / alae I Ca[n(naefatium)]. / Dec(uriones), dupl(icarii), se[seq(uipticarii) / alae eiusd(em) / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)] / [...] cuntus, / Iustus, Constans, Senilis, / Victorinus, Contarius, / Bersolus, Licinianus, / Veteranus, Titianus, / Aulusanus, Domitius, / Brincasis, Constans, / [...] cia [...] (Pl. VI 21).

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b. Thracian mounted warrior. Representation on a 4th century B. C. red figured vase from Apollonia (Sozopol), today in the collection of the Museum of History in Sozopol (Bulgaria). The individual bears two spears, the half-mooned shield (*pelta*) hanging in the back, the specific cloak (*zeira*) and a fox fur cap (*alopex*).

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2. Gerasa (Djerach). Bilingual inscription of *Zimicentus*, the son of *Eziopen*, horseman in the *C. Vesperus*-led squadron (*turma*) of *ala I Augusta Thracum*. (first half of the 1st century A. D.)

3. Gerasa (Djerach). Inscription of *Doritsets*, the son of *Tarsus*, from the *Terentius*-led squadron. He died at Gerasa, the garrison of *ala I Augusta Thracum*, after 12 years of service (first half of the 1st century A. D.).

Pl. II.

4. Camulodunum (Colchester). Tombstone of *Longinus*, son of *Sdapezematygus* from Serdica (*pago Sardi*), double payed (*duplicarius*) in *ala I Thracum* garrisoned at that time in Britain (mid 1st century).
5. Traiectum (Vechten). Tombstone of *Valens*, the son of *Bititralis*, from *ala I Thracum* rendered as *numerus ala* (3rd century).
6. Palmyra (Tadmor). Dedication to Latona and Apollo set by *Brizanus*, the son of *Tarsa*, horseman in *ala I Thracum Herculiana*. The piece is suspected to bear the first two letters of the name of a prefect of the regiment of Thracian origin: *Au[luzanus/porus/centus?]*(mid 2nd century).
7. Timacum Minus (Ravna). Tombstone of *Flavius Bithus*, *adiutor cohortis II Aureliae Dardanorum*. Although with a Roman-Greek name, his brother, *Aurelius Hermogenes*, *decurio* in the same cohort, was also a Thracian and took care of the building of the monument (2nd century).

Pl. III

8. Campona (Budapest, Nagytétény). Votive altar set by *Mucatra* for his and his family's health. He was a soldier with double salary (*duplarius*) in *ala Thracum veterana Antoniniana*. (3rd century)
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10. Brigetio (Ó Szöny). *C. Iulius Lupercus*, from Sala, in southern Thrace, was a *decurio* in *ala III Augusta Thracum* and has been inherited by his nephew, *C. Iulius Candidianus* a *beneficiarius* in the neighboring legion, *I Adiutrix* (ca. 180).
11. Intercisa (Dunaújváros). The veteran of the *cohors I Thracum veterana*, *Aurelius Catus*, the head (*pater*) of a numerous family set the tombstone for his son, *Aurelius Constitutus*, soldier in *legio II Adiutrix* who died in the war against the Germans (*bello Germanico*) at 24 years after 4 years of service (ca. 213).

Pl. IV

12. Apamea (Kalat el-Mudik). Tombstone of *Aurelius Surus* from Pautalia (*domo Bautalia*); he was 20 years an active soldier (*salararius*) in *ala I Ulpia Contariorum*, and died at the age of 45. His fortune was inherited by his comrades, *Aurelius Crescentinus* and *Sempronius Avitus* (ca. 252).
13. Apamea (Kalat el Mudik). Tombstone of *Aurelius Mucatralis*, from *ala I Ulpia Contariorum*. He was a *tubicen* (trumpeter) in the Dio-led squadron (*turma*) of the regiment. He died after 10 years of service in during the Gordian III expedition against Parthians (*in felicissima espeditionem orientalem*)(ca. 252).
14. Apamea (Kalat el Mudik). Tombstone of *Aurelius Disas*, a trumpeter (*cornicen*), who died at 32 after 11 years of service in *ala I Flavia Britannica*. His second heir, *Aurelius Pimetaica*, a Thracian, took care of setting the tombstone(ca. 252).

Pl. V

15. Apamea (Kalat el Mudik). The Thracian (*domo Tracia*) *Aurelius Dolens* served 26 years in *ala I Ulpia Contariorum* and died at the age of 50 as *duplicarius*, soldier with a doubled salary. His two heirs, the horsemen *Iulius Avitianus* and *Aurelius Robustianus*, who took care to set the tombstone for their comrade, must have been also Thracians (ca. 252).
16. Arrabona (Győr). Tombstone of *Aurelius Doriso* from *ala I Ulpia Contariorum*; he reached the rank of *stator praefecti alae* and died at 48 years. His entire family was Thracian, as the names of its members show (200-250).

17. Apamea (Kalat el Mudik). Tombstone of *Aurelius Bassus*; he was an ex-bearer of the Imperial images (*quondam signifero*) in *ala I Contariorum*. He died at 29 years after 8 years of service, and one of the decurions of the regiment, also a Thracian, *Marcus Cotus*, set the altar (252).
18. Arrabona (Győr). Tombstone of *Ulpus Eptatralis*, a Bessian (*domo Bessus*) from *ala I Ulpia Contariorum*; he died at 40, after 15 years of service. His heir, who set the altar, *Ulpus Aulucentius*, was also a Thracian (first half of the 2nd century).

Pl. VI

19. Intercissa (Dunaújváros). Tombstone of a Thracian cavalry man in *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, *Cusides Disalae*; his memory is mentioned by his Thracian heir, *Bitugentus* (Trajanic epoch).
20. Gerulata (Rušovce). Votive altar set by *T. Flavius Surillo* stator in *ala I Cannanefatium* garrisoned in the fort (212).
21. Gerulata (Rušovce). Votive altar which records soldiers with higher salaries (*duplicarii* and *sesquiplarii*) in *ala I Cannanefatium*, among whom horsemen of Thracian origin: *Bersolus*, *Aulusanus*, *Brincasis* (200-250).
22. Arrabona (Győr). *Aurelius Teres* was a veteran in *ala I Ulpia Contariorum* and heir of *Aurelius Marcus*, himself a veteran in the same regiment (200-250).

Pl. VII

23. Rome. List of horsemen from *ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum*, billeted at Arrubium (Macin), on the Danube, in eastern Moesia Inferior, in the 2nd -3rd century. The individuals possibly all of Thracian origin were selected to serve into the Imperial bodyguards (*equites singulares*) at Rome (241).

Pl. VIII

24. Histria (Istria). Votive altar set by *Aelius Mucatralis*, a veteran in *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*, and his co-national *Seuthes Mucatralis* in the honor of the Emperors M. Aurelius and Lucius Verus Caesar (first half of the 2nd century).
25. Ilişua. Tombstone of *Aurelius Brisanus*, very likely a cavalry man in *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana* who lived 50 years; he was inherited by his two sons, *Aurelius Mucatius* and *Aurelius Maximianus* (200-250).
26. Cirencester (*Corinium Dobunnorum*). Tombstone of the horseman *Dannicus*, from the tribe of Rauraci, in the Albanus-led squadron (*turma*) of *ala Indiana* from Britain. The Thracian *Flavius Bitucus* was a horseman in the same regiment and seems to have inherited a part of his goods (second half of the 1st century).

Pl. IX

27. Colonia Agrippinensis (Köln). Tombstone of *T. Flavius Bassus Mucale* from *ala Noricorum*, stationed for a longer period in or near Colonia Agrippinensis. The cavalry man was a Dentelethian, served 26 years in the Fabius Pudentius-led squadron and died at the age of 46 (1st century).
28. Kovanlāk. Dedication to the very popular and specific Thracian Hero known here as Sanctus Pirmurula set by *Aurelius Pirurus*, who labels himself “*milex alarix*” (first half of the 3rd century).
29. Sacidava (Muzait). Tombstone of *Aurelius Ditusanus*, tribunus of an unknown cohort, which is highly presumed to have been *cohors I Cilicum milliaria* billeted at Sacidava (3rd century)
30. Apulum (Alba Iulia). Tombstone of *Mucatra Brasi*, miles in *Numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium*, from Tibiscum who died at the age of 39, very likely at Apulum; his comrade (*contubernalis*) and heir, also a Thracian, *Mucapor Mucatralis* took care of setting the monument (2nd century).

Pl. X

31. Goljama Brestnica. Votive piece with the representation of the Thracian knight dedicated by *Flavius Mestrius*, infantry man (*miles*) in the *cohors II Lucensium* (early 2nd century).
32. Panticapaeum (Kerchi). Marble plaque with the name of the infantry man M. Maecius in the Thracian *Bicanus*-led squadron of *cohors I Bracarum* (2nd century).
33. Mogontiacum (Mainz). Tombstone of *C. Tutius Mani*, a Dentelethian, *equus* in *cohors IIII Thracum equitata* from Lower Germany; he died at 25 years after 10 years of service. The ratio between his age and years of service shows that he was enlisted at 15, an astonishingly early age of recruitment. His comrade-in-arms, Bitus Staci who sets the inscription was also a Thracian (mid 1st century).
34. Mogontiacum (Mainz). Tombstone of *M. Traidua Didae*, soldier in *cohors IIII Thracum equitata*; he originated from the *vicus Sale* of the Thracian tribe of Sai (mid 1st century).

Pl. XI

35. Vechten. Graffiti showing names of soldiers, possibly members of the *cohors IIII Thracum equitata*, where the regiment was billeted in the 3rd century. Among the significant number, *Aurelius Bitus* and the fragmentary [...] *dor* [...], and *Bisa* Thracian names are noticeable (3rd century).
36. Mogontiacum (Mainz). Tombstone of *Petronius Disacentus Dentubrisae*, cavalry man in *cohors VI Thracum equitata* billeted in Lower Germany. He died at 20 after 5 years of service, which appears to be a very early age of recruitment, at only 15, like in the case of *C. Tutius Mani* (mid 1st century).
37. Aquae Mattiacorum (Wiesbaden). Tombstone of the Bessian *Dolanus Esbeni*, cavalry man in *cohors IIII Thracum equitata*. He lived 46 years and died at the age of 24. Apparently his comrades set the altar (mid 1st century).
38. Vechten. *Tara, vexillarius*. Graffito inscribed on a vase recording the name of an NCO of the *cohors IIII Thracum equitata* (3rd century).

Pl. XII

39. Asturica (Astorga). Tombstone of *Fuscus Dorilsis Eptacenti*, from Serdica (*domo Serdus*) soldier (*miles*) in the Iulius Martialis-led centuria of *cohors IIII Thracum* from Spain possibly billeted at Astorga. He lived 25 and served 9 years. Dorilsis was recruited at 16 years which confirms the other cases of very early recruitment among Thracians (first half of the 1st century).
40. Oescus (Gigen). Tombstone of *Mucatralis Sita*, a soldier of Bessian origin (*natione Bessus*), very likely in the *cohors II Flavia Bessorum* second half of the 2nd century).
41. Glevum (Gloucester). Tombstone of *Rufus Sita* cavalry man in *cohors VI Thracum*, billeted in Britain in the 1st century, who lived 40 years and served 22. He was enrolled at 18. The tombstone was apparently set from his own funds by his comrades (mid 1st century).
42. Viroconium Cornoviorum (Wroxeter). Fragmentary tombstone of *Ti. Claudius Tirintus*, *equus* in *cohors VI Thracum equitata*. He lived 57 years and served 20 years (mid 1st century).

Pl. XIII

43. Tibiscum (Caransebeş). Tombstone of *Brisanus Aulusani*, soldier in *cohors I Vindellicorum milliaria* garrisoned at Tibiscum (2nd century).
44. Timacum Minus (Ravna). Tombstone of [...] *inus Dinitralis Tarsae*, *equus* in *cohors I Thracum Syriaca*, garrisoned at Timacum Minor. He lived 61 and served 28 years. He was recruited rather late, when he was 33. He had an heir (*heres*) who set the gravestone as the defunct wished (late 1st century).

Pl. XIV 1-2.

Building inscriptions of the Thracian auxiliary regiments.

Pl. XV 1-2

Stamped bricks and tiles produced by Thracian regiments.

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