

THRACIANS IN ROMAN DACIA. MILITARY AND CIVILIAN ELEMENTS

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The purpose of this paper is to improve the research of ethnical groups in Roman Dacia. This kind of attempt is difficult because of the problems regarding the material's insufficiency, its damaged condition, its separate research, with no quest for analogies in the other zones of the Empire, and, because of the limited drawing up of pieces' repertoires, often incomplete. Name origin rather than person origin leads to an unclear interpretation of the multiple sources, especially epigraphic ones. This paper's only purpose is that of revealing the Thracian ethnical group only from the point of view of names, the problems regarding religion and funerary rite not being under discussion. The study of provincial names must be linked to realities regarding the entire Roman world. The Roman expansion provides space for movement of Roman names, a fact enhanced by the universal policy of Rome, which, during the Principate opens the gates and grants citizenship to a large number of provincials. This is the main difference between the Eternal City and the Greek *polis* which practiced a cautious policy towards the newcomers. The first signs of acculturation can be observed on the epigraphic sources, in the cases where the father, who often has a barbarian name, chooses for his children Roman names. The provincials borrow the Roman system of names, made of three elements: *praenomen*, *nomen gentile* and *cognomen*; plus, in some cases, *supernomina*, *agnomina* and *signa*. *Tria nomina* is but a way of hiding the real origin of the most inhabitants of the Empire, but most of the time, they can be discovered and framed to a certain ethnic group through their *cognomen*. The case of Dacia, where the colonial amount is higher than in other areas, these ethnic person names are varying widely.

In the following, I will present both Thracian anthroponyms with ethnical character or with a Roman form, along with useful information about place and type of discovery and epigraphic sources also.

Anthroponim	Type of discovery	Place of discovery	Epigraphic sources
Aulenus ¹	military diploma (February 23, 144)	Nova Zagora / Bulgaria	CIL XVI 90 = IDR I 14
Auluc[ent]us ²	funerary monument	Potaissa	CIL III 918
Aulusanus ³	funerary monument	Mícia	CIL III 12568 = IDR III/3 163
	funerary monument	Tibiscum	IDRIII/1 163, PETOLESCU 2002, 128
Aulu[---] ⁴	votive altar	Gilău	ILD 600
Bessa	votive altar	Sarmizegetusa	CIL III 1438 = IDR III/2 314
Bessio	Tilestamp	Banatska Palanka	IDR III/1 9
Bessius ⁵	Tegula	Apulum	IDR III/6 318
Bithus (Bitus) ⁶	military diploma (December 13, 140)	Palamarcia / Bulgaria	IDR I 13 = RMD I 39, PETOLESCU 2002,132
	military diploma (July 21, 164)	Buciumi	IDR I 21 = RMD I 66, PETOLESCU 2002, 77
	Brick	Gherla	CIL III 294
	funerary monument	Ad Mediam/ Băile Herculane	IDR III/1 72
	construction block	Apulum	IDR III/5 451
	military diploma (July 21, 164)	Cășeiu	IDR I 20 = RMD I 63
	Inscription	Cășeiu	CIL III 829
	Laterculus	Lambaesis/Numidia	CIL VIII 18085 = IDRE II 447
	military diploma (April 14, 123)	Urfa/ Turcia	PFERDEHIRT 2004 22 = ILD 2005 20
Brasus ⁷	funerary monument	Apulum	IDR III/5 559
Brisanus	funerary monument	Tibiscum	IDR III/1 163, PETOLESCU 2002, 128
	funerary monument	Ilișua	PETOLESCU 2002, 80
Brisenus ⁸	funerary monument	Gherla	PETOLESCU 2002, 76
Coca ⁹	military diploma(July 19, 146)	Unknown	RMD IV 269, PETOLESCU 2001, 69-76
Dines ¹⁰	construction block	Apulum	IDR III/5 451
	funerary monument	Gherla	PETOLESCU 2002 p. 76
	funerary monument	Pintic / Gherla	CIL III 835, PETOLESCU 2002, 76
Ditugentus ¹¹	funerary monument	Pintic	CIL III 835, PETOLESCU 2002, 76
Dizala ¹²	military diploma (December 17, 113/May 2–3, 114)	Unknown	RMD IV 225

¹ RUSSU 1967, 89; DETSCHEW 1976, 34; DANA 2004, 436.

² KERÉNYI 1941, 1759; RUSSU 1967, 89; DETSCHEW 1976, 37; NEMETI/NEMETI 2003, 394; DANA 2004, 436.

³ RUSSU 1967, 89; DETSCHEW 1976, 35–37; NEMETI/NEMETI 2003, 398; DANA 2004, 436.

⁴ KERÉNYI 1941, 1759; RUSSU 1967, 89; DETSCHEW 1976, 37; NEMETI/NEMETI 2003, 394; DANA 2004, 36.

⁵ KERÉNYI 1941, 1960; RUSSU 1967, 89; DETSCHEW 1976, 57; DANA 2004, 436.

⁶ KERÉNYI 1941, 2508; RUSSU 1967, 89–90; DETSCHEW 1976, 66–68; DANA 2004, 437.

⁷ KERÉNYI 1941, 1762; RUSSU 1967, 90; DETSCHEW 1976, 84; DANA 2004, 437.

⁸ RUSSU 1967, 90; DETSCHEW 1976, 88; NEMETI/NEMETI 2003, 398; DANA 2004, 438.

⁹ DETSCHEW 1976, 251; DANA 2004, 438.

¹⁰ KERÉNYI 1941, 1764; DETSCHEW 1976, 137–138; DANA 2004, 439.

¹¹ KERÉNYI 1941, 1764B; RUSSU 1967, 90; DETSCHEW 1976, 143–144; DANA 2004, 439.

¹² DETSCHEW 1976, 133; DANA 2004, 439.

Anthroponim	Type of discovery	Place of discovery	Epigraphic sources
Dizo ¹³	mithraic marble plate	Pojejena	IDR III/1 12
		Napoca	CIL III 870
Dolens ¹⁴	mithraic plate	Potaissa	CIL III 6255
Dules	funerary monument	Muncelu-Brad	IDR III/3 438
Dula ¹⁵	funerary monument	Potaissa	ARCHAEOLOGIAI ÉRTESITŐ, 35, 1915, 45
Eptacentus ¹⁶	Laterculus	Lambesis / Numidia	CIL III 18085 = IDRE II 447
Esbenus ¹⁷	funerary monument	Rusănești	CIL III 8040 = IDR II 323
Heptapor ¹⁸	military diploma (July 18, 158)	Cristești	CIL XVI 108 = IDR I 16
Isus ¹⁹	military diploma (July 8, 158)	Cristești	CIL XVI 108 = IDR I 16
Mestrius ²⁰	marble plate	Apulum	IDR III/5 450
	limestone statue base	Apulum,	IDR III/5 289
Mu[c...] ²¹	funerary monument	Ilișua	CIL III 799, PETOLESCU 2002, 80
Muc[...] ²²	limestone bench	Sarmizegetusa	CIL III 1526 = IDR III/2 31.
Muca ²³	votive altar	Potaissa	BĂRBULESCU 1987, 78, BĂRBULESCU 2004, 375
Mucapor ²⁴	funerary monument	Apulum	IDR III/5 559
	funerary monument	Ilișua	CIL III 799, PETOLESCU 2002, 80
Mucapius ²⁵	funerary monument	Ilișua	CIL III 809, PETOLESCU 2002, 80
Mucasenus ²⁶	funerary monument	Apulum	CIL III 1195 = IDR III/5 558
Mucatius ²⁷	funerary monument	Ilișua	AE, 1960, p. 218
Mucatralis ²⁸	funerary monument	Apulum	IDR III/5 559, PETOLESCU 2002, 141
	funerary monument	Apulum	IDR III/5 559, PETOLESCU 2002, 141
	bronze object	Napoca	PAKI 1998, 202
	military diploma (July 21, 164)	Cășeu	IDR I 20 = RMD I 63
	votive altar	Ilișua	CIL III 787
[---]oils ²⁹	military diploma (July 17, 122)	Unknown	RMD V 361

¹³ RUSSU 1967, 90; DETSCHEW 1976, 135; DANA 2004, 439.

¹⁴ KERÉNYI 1941, 1765; RUSSU 1967, 90; DETSCHEW 1976, 146–147; DANA 2004, 439.

¹⁵ RUSSU 1967, 91; DETSCHEW 1976, 152–153; DANA 2004, 439.

¹⁶ DETSCHEW 1976, 167–168; DANA 2004, 439.

¹⁷ KERÉNYI 1941, 1772; RUSSU 1967, 91; DETSCHEW 1976, 165; NEMETI/NEMETI 2003, 398; DANA 2004, 440.

¹⁸ KERÉNYI 1941, 1772; RUSSU 1967, 91; DETSCHEW 1976, 168; DANA 2004, 440.

¹⁹ KERÉNYI 1941, 1773; RUSSU 1967, 91; DETSCHEW 1976, 216; DANA 2004, 440.

²⁰ KERÉNYI 1941, 2262; DANA 2004, 440.

²¹ KERÉNYI 1941, 1776; RUSSU 1967, 91; DANA 2004, 440.

²² KERÉNYI 1941, 1776; RUSSU 1967, 91; DANA 2004, 440.

²³ DANA 2004, 441.

²⁴ KERÉNYI 1941, 1778; RUSSU 1967, 91; DETSCHEW 1976, 314–316; DANA 2004, 441.

²⁵ KERÉNYI 1941, 1775; RUSSU 1967, 91; DETSCHEW 1976, 316; NEMETI/NEMETI 2003, 400; DANA 2004, 441.

²⁶ RUSSU 1967, 91; DETSCHEW 1976, 313; NEMETI/NEMETI 2003, 394; DANA 2004, 441.

²⁷ RUSSU 1967, 91; DETSCHEW 1976, 317; DANA 2004, 441.

²⁸ KERÉNYI 1941, 1781; RUSSU 1967, 91; DETSCHEW 1976, 317–319; NEMETH 1993, 201; DANA 2004, 441.

²⁹ DETSCHEW 1976, 325.

Anthroponim	Type of discovery	Place of discovery	Epigraphic sources
Seuthes ³⁰	military diploma (May 13, 86)	Tiurea / jud. Cluj	CIL XVI 33 = IDR I 24
Sola ³¹	military diploma (December 13, 140)	Palamarcia / Bulgaria	IDR I 13 = RMD I 39
	funerary monument	Apulum	CIL III 1195 = IDR III/5 558
	votive altar	Ilişua	CIL III 787, PETOLESCU 2002, 80
Tarsa ³²	Laterculus	Lambesis / Numidia	CIL VIII 18085 = IDRE II 447
Teres ³³	funerary monument	Serdica / Thracia	IDRE II 353, PETOLESCU 2002, 63
Torcus ³⁴	military diploma (December 17, 113/May 2–3, 114)	Unknown	RMD IV 225
Traibithus ³⁵	military diploma (May 13, 86)	Tiurea / jud. Cluj	CIL XVI 33 = IDR I 24
Tyru ³⁶	military diploma (July 19, 146)	Unknown	RMD IV 269, PETOLESCU 2001, 69–76
Tzolutus ³⁷	marble votive plate	Apulum	CIL III 7789 = IDR III/4 74 = IDR III/5 245
Tzod [---] ³⁸	funerary monument	Brad	IDR III/3 436
[---]por ³⁹	funerary monument	Suceag	CIL III 852

After this brief introduction to the subject, the research will be enhanced by presenting places from Dacia where ethnic Thracians appear.

Dacia

The military diploma⁴⁰ of December 17, 113/May 2–3, 114 refers to auxiliary units from Dacia. The owner of the diploma is *Ti. Claudius* [...]. There is no clue to his origin, and the identity of the unit in which he served has been lost. The names of the five children are of both Roman and Thracian origin *Torquatus, Dizala, Torcus, Tertulla, Quinta*. The names of two sons are Thracian (*Torcus, Dizala*) which suggests that either the owner of the diploma, or his wife, originated in Thrace.

Dacia Porolissensis

POTAISSA (Turda)

Funerary monument⁴¹ built for Thracian *Auluc[ent]us* by *Aurelius Bassinus* and *Aurelius Dasius*. The reconstruction of the name is due to I. I. Russu (*AVR. AVLVCMVVS*) and those who raise the monument are Illyrian⁴² – *Dasius* and Semite⁴³ – *Bassinus*.

³⁰ KERÉNYI 1941, 1792; RUSSU 1967, 92; DETSCHEW 1976, 434–437; DANA 2004 P. 443.

³¹ KERÉNYI 1941, 1792A; RUSSU 1967, 92; DETSCHEW 1976, 465–466; DANA 2004, 433.

³² KERÉNYI 1941, 2515; RUSSU 1967, 92; DETSCHEW 1976, 492–494; DANA 2004, 433.

³³ DETSCHEW 1976, 500–502; DANA 2004, 443.

³⁴ DETSCHEW 1976, 513; DANA 2004, 444.

³⁵ KERÉNYI 1941, 1794; RUSSU 1967, 92; DETSCHEW 1976, 517; DANA 2004, 444.

³⁶ DANA 2004, 444.

³⁷ KERÉNYI 1941, 1798; RUSSU 1967, 93; DETSCHEW 1976, 498; DANA 2004, 444.

³⁸ DANA 2004, 444.

³⁹ KERÉNYI 1941, 1777; RUSSU 1967, 92; DETSCHEW 1976, 316; NEMETI/NEMETI 2003, 398; DANA 2004, 444.

⁴⁰ RMD IV 225.

⁴¹ CIL III 918.

⁴² DANA 2004, 436.

⁴³ SANIE 1973, 156.

Another discovery is a Mithraic plate⁴⁴ where *Aurelius Dolens* is mentioned, a legionary of *VMacedonica*.

Another funerary monument⁴⁵ coming from Potaissa is built for *Valeria Dula* by *Volus(ius) Titianus*.

The last of the discoveries, coming from legionary fortress's *principia*, is a votive altar⁴⁶ belonging to another legionary, the Thracian *Aurelius Muca*.

Chronologically, the three discoveries can be placed at the end of the 2nd century and beginning of the 3rd because of the name *Aurelius*. In Potaissa the discoveries certify the presence of three soldiers (*Aurelius Aulucentus*, *Aurelius Dolens*, *Aurelius Muca*) and one civilian *Valeria*, *Dula*'s daughter.

NAPOCA (Cluj)

*Laterculus*⁴⁷ mentioning a group of soldiers from Napoca. Among these are *P. Aelius Bitus Napoca miles*, *P. Aelius Bitus Napoca aquilifer*, [– E] *ptacentus Napoca victimarius*, *P. Aelius Mucatra Napoca miles*, *T. Flavius Tarsa Napoca miles*. They are part of a vexillation of *III Augusta* during the reign of Hadrian and receive *honesta missio* around AD 144. Scholars A. Dabó and G. Alföldy consider that the above mentioned recruits are of Thracian origin, an opinion which contradicts the Romanian historiography, where M. Macrea, C. Daicoviciu, I. I. Russu, C. C. Petolescu, Adela Paki argue the native (Dacian) origin of these soldiers⁴⁸. C. Daicoviciu says that all these *Publi Aelii* are the successors of some Dacians from Napoca and they all served in *III Augusta* for loyalty, in the promoting of the *vicus* into a *municipium*⁴⁹. Contrary to this assumption, among these nineteen soldiers mentioned in the *laterculus* we find a so-called *T. Flavius Tarsa*, the *gentilicum* *Flavius* being impossible to assign to a Dacian⁵⁰. More than that, the text reveals other *Publi Aelii*, native from Napoca, who have names specific to remote areas of the Empire.

The most eloquent case is *P. Aelius Donatus Napoca tubicen*. *Donatus* is the latin translation of *Mattanba'al* or the form *Muttun* (the Hebrew equivalent of *Nathan*, *Nathanael*) which etymologically means “*God has given*”⁵¹. These anthroponims (in this case *Donatus*) represent the latin translation of some theophoric names. *Donatus* is very often used in Punic Africa.

If in the case discussed above we can talk about a colonist with African origin, in the same way names like *Bitus*, *Eptacentus*, *Mucatra* or *Tarsa* indicate the Thracian origin of these soldiers who bear names specific to their countries, *Bitus*⁵² or *Mucatra* being very often used by soldiers of this origin in all the Empire.

⁴⁴ CIL III 6255.

⁴⁵ ILD 513.

⁴⁶ BĂRBULESCU 2004, 375

⁴⁷ CIL VIII 18085 (=IDRE II 447), Lambaesis, Numidia.

⁴⁸ The whole discussion is resumed in: IDRE II 447, DANA 2004, 437.

⁴⁹ IDRE II 447.

⁵⁰ DANA 2004, 437 – the author sustains that these soldiers are of Thracian origin and they were temporary staying in Napoca, from where they left to Numidia.

⁵¹ LASSERE 1988, 95.

⁵² *Bitus* (or *Bithus*) is best represented in the discoveries from Dacia, one of them being the owner of AE 1962, 264 (= IDR I, 13, RMD 39, PETOLESCU 2002, 132), Palamarcia, Bulgaria, from the 13th of December 140: *Bithus* son of *Sola*, who is from the tribe of *bessi*.

Also in Napoca a bronze object⁵³ was discovered in a brooch workshop with the following inscription: MVCATRI⁵⁴. Adela Paki argues that the workshop lasts from the first decades of the Roman city and the material is typical for the Pannonian area. Both the author and D. Dana, who resumes the whole discussion, say that *Mucatra* is a colonist who came from Pannonia to Napoca, under the rule of Emperor Hadrian, when the city was a *municipium*⁵⁵.

Also from this place in Dacia the *Dizo* name is certified among *nomina Asianorum*⁵⁶. It can be assigned to an ethnic Thracian due to the well known analogies, *Aurelius Diso n(atione) Thrax* and *T. Aurelius Dizo Trim(ontio)*⁵⁷.

As in Potaissa, in this case the discoveries belong mostly to soldiers and/or veterans (*P. Aelius Bitus Napoca miles*, *P. Aelius Bitus Napoca aquilifer*, [– E]ptacentus *Napoca victimarius*, *P. Aelius Mucatra Napoca miles*, *T. Flavius Tarsa Napoca miles*), the other two discoveries indicate two civilians (one of them is possibly a hand craftsman who worked in a workshop where brooches were produced – *Mucatra*).

Gherla

Inscription on a brick⁵⁸ - *Bitus*, a form identical to that from Napoca.

The second discovery is a funerary monument⁵⁹ raised by *Brisenus imaginifer* for an *equus* from *ala II Pannoniorum*. In the discoveries from Dacia the form *Brisenus* or *Brisanus* appear, belonging to popular Latin, instead of the etymological form *Brizenus*, a frequent name of the southern Thracians⁶⁰.

A second funerary monument⁶¹, discovered at Gherla, is raised by *Dines si[gnifer alae] ac cu[rator]* for another *equus* from *ala II Pannoniorum*.

The last discovery is from Pintic, near Gherla, and it is also a funerary monument⁶² raised for *Aelius Dines* by his son and heir *Aurelius Ditugentus*.

All the discoveries mentioned above are a direct link to the cavalry unit garrisoned at Gherla. In the case of the epitaph from Pintic, it can be observed that the difference between generations is also given by the name, the father is an *Aelius* and the son is an *Aurelius*.

SAMVM (Cășeiu)

The discoveries from this area of Dacia are fewer than those presented by now.

The first discovery regarding this people is a military diploma⁶³ of July 21, 164 in which it can be distinguished the name of the owner – *Mucatralis*, a former horseman and the patronim – *Bithus*. According to the completion these men belonged to the Thracian tribe of *bessi*, as the most of the Thracian soldiers' owners of diplomas.

⁵³ PAKI 1998, 202.

⁵⁴ PAKI 1998, 202

⁵⁵ DANA 2004, 441 – correlates this discovery to that from Lambaesis, where soldiers native from Napoca have Thracian *cognomina*

⁵⁶ CIL III 870.

⁵⁷ DANA 2004, 439.

⁵⁸ CIL III 294.

⁵⁹ PETOLESCU 2002, 76.

⁶⁰ IDR III/1 192.

⁶¹ PETOLESCU 2002, 76.

⁶² CIL III 835; PETOLESCU 2002, 76.

⁶³ IDR I, 20 (= RMD I 63).

The second discovery is an inscription⁶⁴ whose text mentions *Bithi*. On this fragment the patronim *Bithus* can be read, belonging to a soldier of *cohors I Britannica milliaria c.R. equitata*. Both discoveries certify the presence of Thracians as soldiers garrisoned at Cășeiu.

Gilău

On an altar⁶⁵ dedicated to Silvanus Domesticus appears the name *Aulu-*. The altar was discovered in the Roman fort and it was re-used as a building material for *porta principalis dextra*. The dedicant has a Thracian name, the most appropriate form being *Aulusanus* (a name which can be met in Tibiscum and Micia).

Tiurea

The military diploma⁶⁶ of May 13, 86 mentions a former horseman who served in *cohors II Thracum* in Judaea. Both the name of the diploma's owner – *Seuthes*, and the patronim – *Traibithus* are Thracian. The text also mentions that they are part of the Thracian tribe of *Cololecti* (south of the *Haemus* Mts.). The document is brought in Dacia probably by an heir of the veteran who stays in the North Danubian province and who probably has a Thracian origin also.

Suceag

Funerary monument⁶⁷ mentioning the name of *Au[r---]por*, *Aurelis Gemellinus* and *Aurelia Re[---]*. The first part can be completed with a series of Thracian names: *Mucapor*, *Aulapor*, *Dizapor*, *Eptapor* and the name of late *Rescuturme* which probably has the Latin form of *Restituta* or *Recepta*. Due to the presence of the name *Aurelius*, at all three deceased, the monument can be dated between the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd.

Buciumi

Military diploma⁶⁸ revealing only the patronim of the owner, *Bithus*. He is a former horseman of *ala Siliana* in Gilău.

Ilișua

At Ilișua, the garrison of *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*, a series of soldiers who serve as *equites* in this unit appear. The first discovery is a funerary monument⁶⁹ belonging to *Aurelius Brisanius*, raised by *Aurelius Mucatus* and *Aurelius Maximianus*. The last two mentioned are the sons and the heirs of the first, all three of them being *equites* in the *ala* mentioned so far.

The epitaph⁷⁰ of the Thracian *Mucapor* is also from Ilișua. It was built by *Aelius Mu[c---]*. Both of them are *equites* in *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana*.

On a votive altar⁷¹ we can read the name *Sola Mucatri eques* from the unit in Ilișua beside the dedication to Apollo.

⁶⁴ CIL III 829.

⁶⁵ ILD 600.

⁶⁶ CIL XVI 33 (= IDR I 24).

⁶⁷ CIL III 852.

⁶⁸ IDR I 21 (= RMD I 66).

⁶⁹ PETOLESCU 2002, 80.

⁷⁰ CIL III 799.

⁷¹ CIL III 787.

In another epitaph⁷² from Ilișua, the name of an *equus'* wife (*Mucapius*) can be read, who erected the monument for him. All the discoveries from this area are related to the army, the feminine *Mucapius* being the only name which certifies a civilian. The rest of them are all soldiers.

Dacia Superior

APVLVM (Alba-Iulia)

On a construction block⁷³, reused, a list of legionaries from *XIIIth Gemina* is engraved. Among these soldiers from the VIIth cohort are mentioned the following: *Sabinus Bithus* and *Aelius Dines*. The discovery is chronologically dated between the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd because of the great number of soldiers from this list who have the name of *Aurelius*⁷⁴.

Funerary monument⁷⁵, also found in Apulum, raised for *Mucatra Brasi*, former soldier in *numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium*. It was raised by *Mucapor Mucatralis*, the direct heir and colleague. All the above names are Thracian and the dating of the monument is between 159 (the date when the unit of Palmyreni was formed) and 212 (*constitutio Antoniana*), because all the Thracian soldiers stationed at Porolissum have specific names to their country, of peregrine nature⁷⁶.

The names of a series of veterans from the legion garrisoned here are engraved on a fragmentally marble plate⁷⁷. Among these is *Aelius Mestrius*. I. Piso chooses the Italian origin of the name *Mestrius*⁷⁸, but the name is often met in the area of Dardania, Macedonia and Thracia⁷⁹. The dating of the discovery is established in the reign of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, due to the presence of a large number of *Aelii* and the total absence of the *Aurelii*.

The same veteran also appears in an inscription from Apulum, on a limestone statue base, a monument devoted to Mithra⁸⁰.

On a funerary monument⁸¹, in the same city, we find *Mucasenus Censorini* and *Rescuturme Sola* who raises and takes care of the monument. On the same monument it is also mentioned that *Mucasenus* was part of the governor's guard (*eques ex singulari consularis*). It was the most important rank held by a Thracian in Dacia, because there is no known magistrate who has a Thracian name. The monument is dated between 168 (because of the title COS held by the governor of Dacia) and 212 (*constitutio Antoniana*) because the names are of peregrine nature⁸².

⁷² CIL III 809.

⁷³ IDR III/5 451.

⁷⁴ IDR III/5 451.

⁷⁵ IDR III/5 559.

⁷⁶ IDR III/5 559.

⁷⁷ IDR III/5 450.

⁷⁸ IDR III/5 450.

⁷⁹ DANA 2004, 440.

⁸⁰ IDR III/5 289.

⁸¹ IDR III/5 558.

⁸² IDR III/5 558.

Tilestamp⁸³ – *Bess*. Probably is the name *Bess(ius)* as it appears in the explanation from IDR III/6.

The last discovery from Apulum is a marble votive plate (Dyonisiac plate)⁸⁴. It can be distinguished on the monument the dedication of *Aurelius Tzo otus* (*lambda* appears in the name but it is also possible the form *Tzoaotus* as it appears in the explanation from IDR III/5). The earliest dating is from the time of Caracalla, because the *nomen Aurelius* is not followed by a *praenomen*⁸⁵.

The discoveries from Apulum mention two veterans (*Aelius Mestrius* and *Mucasenus Censorinus*), four soldiers (*Mucatra Brasus*, *Mucapor Mucatralis*, *Sabinus Bithus* and *Aelius Dines*) and two civilians who can be attributed to the same ethnic group (*Rescuturme Sola* and *Aurelius Tzo otus*).

ULPIA TRAIANA SARMIZEGETUSA (Sarmizegetusa)

The first discovery is a votive altar⁸⁶ devoted to the goddess Nemesis Regina by *Cornelius Cornelianus* and his wife *Iulia Bessa*. The name *Bessa* (*Bessus*) is a Thracian name and it is practically a name from the Thracian tribe of *Bessi*. More than that, *Bessus* appears as being the synonym of *Thrax* in some military diplomas, and a soldier born at Scupi in the 3rd century considered himself a *Bessus*, a name which becomes the ethnic name of all people from the Empire who speak the Thracian language⁸⁷.

The second discovery is a limestone stone bench⁸⁸, fragmentally kept, in which it can be seen the following: AVL MVC. In IDR III/2 it is suggested the form: *Aur(li---) Muc(iani----*) and it is sustained the dating from 3rd century because of the name *Aurelius*⁸⁹. The complete form of the name could be another one: *Muc(apor)*, *Muc(atralis)* etc, all of them being Thracian names. There are the only two discoveries which have a connection with this ethnic group, both cases *Iulia Bessa* and *Aurelius Muc[----]* making reference to some civilian elements.

MICIA (Vețel)

A funerary *stella*⁹⁰ mentions the Thracian *Aulusanus* who built a monument dedicated to a soldier whose heir he was. It cannot be said which was the unit where the deceased soldier had served, but it certainly was one of the units garrisoned at Micia.

Muncelu-Brad

The funerary gritstone *stella*⁹¹ has an inscriptions with the name of the husband *Aurelius*, the *cognomen* being lost because of the bad condition of the piece, and the name of the wife *Aurelia Tzod[---]*, which it can be read partially. The wife's *cognomen* is very similar to that from the discovery in Apulum where *Aurelius Tzo otus* is mentioned. The name doesn't have the form of the names mentioned by I. I. Russu in IDR III/3 (*Tzinta*, *Tzinto*, *Tzita* or

⁸³ IDR III/6 318.

⁸⁴ IDR III/5 245.

⁸⁵ IDR III/5 245.

⁸⁶ CIL III 1438 (= IDR III/2 314).

⁸⁷ MOCSY 1976, 65.

⁸⁸ IDR III/2 31.

⁸⁹ IDR III/2 31.

⁹⁰ CIL III 12568 (=IDR III/3 163).

⁹¹ IDR III/3 436.

Zetzi) and assumed from D.Detschew⁹². The both deceased were roman citizens, a fact demonstrated by the *nomen gentile-Aurelius/Aurelia*. These facts show that the monument dates from the 3rd century.

A funerary gritstone *stella*⁹³, mentions *Dules* the son of *Maximus*. From the rest of the inscription it can be seen the wife's *cognomen*, *Nice* and a part of the son's name – *tralis*. The Thracian name *Dules* appears beside a Roman patronim- *Maximus*. These two facts indicate that the late is a peregrine and the father is a Thracian although the origin is hidden under a Roman name. For the wife there are proposed two options in the IDR III/3: the *cognomen Nice* followed by *gentilicia* like *Antonia* or *Claudia* which indicate a Roman citizen or the combination with *Annia*⁹⁴. The son's name can be the complete form of *Mucatralis*, a very frequent name at the Thracians. In the present case we have a family of Thracians, who are probably civilians (there is no occupation mentioned on the epitaph) and they are familiar with Roman lifestyle – Thracian *cognomen Dules* beside the Roman patronime *Maximus*. Both discoveries must be put in connection with the necropolis of Roman miners near Muncel.

Cristești

The military diploma⁹⁵ of July 8, 158 refers to auxiliary units from Upper Dacia. The owner of the diploma is a *ex equite* in *ala I Gallorum et Bosporanorum*. Both veteran's name – *Heptapor* and the patronime *Isus* are Thracian names. The owner reminds he is from the Thracian tribe of the *Bessi*.

AD MEDIAM (Băile Herculane)

The funerary limestone *stella*⁹⁶ mentions *Septimius Bitus* and *Septimia Valentina*, who both lived for fifty-four years. Two brothers are taking care of the monument (probably children of those two) named *Septimius Bassus* and *Aurelius Valens*. *Septimius Bitus* has a Roman *gentilicium*, taken from *Septimius Severus* and a Thracian *cognomen*. His wife bears a Roman name and the children have different *gentilicia*. Due to the presence of the names *Septimius* and *Aurelius* the monument can be dated between the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd. In this case the discovery certifies the presence of civilian elements.

Pojejena

Mithraic marble plate⁹⁷ in which it can be seen written: *Dizo Posidon[i?]*. Only the name *Dizo*, but not the *gentilicium* can be identified (in the case it existed one). The Greek *Posidon* is a patronim in this case.

TIBISCVM (Jupa)

Funerary limestone *stella*⁹⁸, dedicated to *Brisenus Aulusani*, *miles* in *cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria equitata*.

⁹² IDR III/3 436.

⁹³ IDR III/3 438.

⁹⁴ IDR III/1 439.

⁹⁵ CIL XVI 108 (= IDR I 16).

⁹⁶ IDR III/1 72.

⁹⁷ IDR III/1 12.

⁹⁸ IDR III/1 163.

Dacia Inferior

Rusănești

Funerary limestone *stella*⁹⁹, of two pieces, mentions *Aelius Valens qui et Esbenus*. The late's monument is raised by his wife, *Aelia Sira* and by his freedman, *Fortunatus*. In IDR II the monument is dated at the end of the 2nd century because of the *gentilicium* and the old age of the deceased (eighty years)¹⁰⁰. His name has a *signum* (*qui et Esbenus*) which shows its Thracian origin. This *signum* represents the deceased's attempt to show his successors that he belonged to a certain ethnic group from the Empire.

The military diploma¹⁰¹ of July 17, AD 122 refers to auxiliary units from Dacia Inferior. According to the completion the owner – [...]oli f., his name has not survived, is an *ex gregale*, and belongs to the Thracian tribe of *Bessi*.

Discoveries not belonging to the province of Dacia

Nova Zagora (Bulgaria)

The military diploma¹⁰² of February 23, AD 144 mentions a former horseman who served in *cohors II Gallorum Pannonica* in Upper Dacia. The name of the diploma's owner *Aulenus* (here with a Roman form) is Thracian.

SERDICA (Thracia)

Funerary monument¹⁰³ dedicated to veteran *Aurelius Teres* who served in *ala I Asturum*. It was a unit belonging to the army of Lower Dacia. The soldier returns to Thracia after 28 years of serving in the Roman army. From the facts mentioned above it can be seen that not all veterans settled down in the areas where they had served as soldiers. Some of them preferred to return to their native place.

Palamarcia (Bulgaria)

Military diploma¹⁰⁴ of December 13, AD 140 belonging to *Bithus*, Thracian, as same as the patronime, *Sola*. The holder is a former horseman from *numerus equitum Illyricorum* (the military unit has its garrison on the Upper Olt), who mentions that he is from the Thracian tribe of *Bessi* as his father before him.

Banatska Palanka (Bela Crkva)

Tilestamp¹⁰⁵: [*leg(io)*] VII Cl(*audia*)s(*ub*)c(*ura*) Eufemi p(*refecti*)f(*ecit*) Bessio. The piece is from the 3rd or the 4th century and the brick maker's (*figulus*) anthroponime is a Thracian one.

Urfa (Turkey)

The military diploma¹⁰⁶ mentions an *ex equite Zacca Pallaei f.* from *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum*. The wife of the Syrian Zacca has Roman *gentilicium* and *cognomen* – *Iulia*

⁹⁹ CIL III 8040 (= IDR II 323).

¹⁰⁰ IDR II 323.

¹⁰¹ RMD V 361.

¹⁰² CIL XVI 90 (= IDR I 14).

¹⁰³ IDRE II 353.

¹⁰⁴ IDR I 13 (= RMD I 39).

¹⁰⁵ IDR III/1 9.

¹⁰⁶ PFERDEHIRT 2004 22 (= ILD 20).

Florentina, but the diploma's text reminds that she is part of the Thracian tribe of *Bessi* as same as her father, *Bithus*. The names of the six children are of both Semite and Roman origin *Arsama*, *Abisalma*, *Zabaeus*, *Sabinus*, *Sabina* and *Achilleus*. The last name could indicate rather a fashion than a name of Greek-Oriental origin. In this case we deal with a mixed family with Thracian and Syrian members that assimilated the Roman lifestyle. The diploma's holder and some of the children have names specific to the Syrian environment and the wife with the rest of the children have Roman names, but the wife mentions that she has a Thracian origin as her father had. Despite their names these Roman civilians try to preserve at least some tradition of their country.

Conclusions

From all the facts presented above it can be observed that the different anthroponims have elements specific to Thracian names: *aulu-*, *ditu-*, *epta-*, *resku-*, *zanos-*, *-por*, *-tralis*, *-turme*. All these elements appear on the epigraphic material beside typical simple names like *Bithus* (*Bitus*), *Dines*, *Seuthes*, *Sola*, *Teres*.¹⁰⁷ Most of the persons presented above and who bear Thracian names were identified in Dacia Poroissensis and Superior. The south area of the province has only one discovery regarding names, that from Rusănești. Some of these people are veterans: two from Cășei (*Mucatralis Bithus ex equite*, the second discovery mentions only the name that indicates a Thracian, *Bithus ex equite*), one from Tiurea (*Seuthes Traibithus ex equite*), one from Buciumi (the *patronime Bithus ex equite*), two from Apulum (*Aelius Mestrius miles*, *Mucasenus Censorini ex equite*), one from Cristești (*Heptapor Isi ex equite*), one from Serdica (*Aurelius Teres ex equite*), one from Palamarcia (*Bithus Sola ex equite*), one from Dacia Inferior (...-olis f). Out of the ten veterans, only one is a *miles* and he practically served in a legion, the rest of them being former auxiliar horsemen. Beside those mentioned as veterans by the epigraphs there is a series of soldiers: four at Napoca (*P. Aelius Bitus Napoca miles*, *P. Aelius Bitus Napoca aquilifer*, [- E] *ptacentus Napoca victimarius*, *P. Aelius Mucatra Napoca miles*, *T. Flavius Tarsa Napoca miles*), three at Potaișa (*Aurelius Aulucentus miles*, *Aurelius Dolens miles*, *Aurelius Muca miles*), two at Gherla (*Brisenus imaginifer alae*, *Dines signifer alae*), one at Gilău (*Aulu---* probably a former soldier), six at Ilișua (*Aurelius Brisanus eques*, his sons *Aurelius Mucatus* and *Aurelius Maximianus* both *equites*, *Mucapor eques*, *Aelius Mu[---] eques*, *Sola Mucatralis eques*), four at Apulum (*Sabinus Bithus miles*, *Aelius Dines miles*, *Mucatra Brasi miles ex numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium*, *Mucapor Mucatralis miles ex numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium*), one at Tibiscum (*Brisenus Aulusani miles in cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria equitata*). From all the twenty-one mentioned soldiers most are *equites* who serve in different *alae*, cohorts and special units with horsemen, excepting those who serve in the two legions from Dacia and Napoca. The civilians are not as frequently mentioned as soldiers are, because a lot of information comes from soldiers' diplomas and the epitaphs of the dead are written also by the soldiers most of the times and they appear to be the direct heirs.

The occupation is mentioned only in the case of the soldiers, the only exceptions from the civil medium being: a possible craftsman – *Mucatra* from Napoca and a *figulus* from

¹⁰⁷ Dacian name elements are different (e.g. *deci-*, *diurp-*, *thia-*, *-cissa*, *-pier*), as the names themselves (e.g. *Damanaeus*, *Decibalus*, *Diurdanus*) – DANA/MATEI-POPESCU (forthcoming), 2.

Banatska Palanca. In the case of other discoveries we can talk about a practice of writing on tiles and not about some craftsman. Beside these we can also add the epitaphs from Brad which probably belongs to some miners. Except some isolated points (the discoveries from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Rusănești, Pojejena and Băile Herculane) the rest of the elements must be connected to the army and to the different points from Dacia which are developing around military areas. The information in the epigraphic material shows that most of them are soldiers, especially *equites* in auxiliary formations from Dacia (*ala Siliana, ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana, ala II Gallorum et Pannoniorum, numerus Equitum Illyricorum, numerus Palmyrenorum Tibiscensium, cohors I Vindelicorum milliaria equitata*) or even in legions. They are certified at Apulum and at Potaissa.

The funerary monuments assigned to this population don't have portrayal or iconographic distinctive elements, the dead not being represented in bust or as part of the funerary banquet. In the case of dead people's representations on the funerary monuments it can be reminded the necropolis from Brad where the busts of the dead are specific for Illyrians' figurate representation. The inscriptions in Latin are raised by peregrines of Illyrian and Thracian origin: *Aurelius Valerius, Marcus Antonius, Aurelia Banea, Dules Maximi, Aurelia Tzod [...]*¹⁰⁸. It is possible to have here a mixture of colonized population (Thracians and Illyrians) or some colonists proceeded from the area between Thracia and Illyricum¹⁰⁹. It is the only point from Dacia where we can assume that there is a colonization of this part of population beside Illyrians, the rest of discoveries certifying soldiers in most of the cases. Even if more of the mentioned Thracians are *equites* and serve in different *alae*, in Dacia we have just the first type of funerals *stella* met in Rhenania. They are classified into two categories, depending on the way in which the horseman and his equipment are represented. The first type presents the horseman attacking and killing his fallen enemy (it is met in the discoveries from Britannia to Palaestina and also in Numidia). In the north Danubian province this type is met only in Upper Dacia, on *aediculae*' walls in Cristești and Șeica Mică and on a *stella* discovered at Târnăveni-Botoca¹¹⁰. The second type, very well represented in the zone of Germany, presents the dead recumbently dressed in a *toga* in the superior register, and in the inferior register it presents his servant carrying the horse to the stable¹¹¹.

Therefore we believe that the ethnic Thracians come in Dacia through the army (being recruited in different auxiliary units) and not through civilian colonization under Trajan and Hadrian as it is in the case of Illyrians. These facts can be sustained by the great number of *Aurelii* and *Aureliae* from the present paper, names which are probably from the 3rd century.

From all the three auxiliary units which had their garrison on the territory of Dacia (*cohors II Flavia Bessorum* – Dacia Inferior, *cohors I Thracum sagittariorum* – Dacia Superior, *cohors VI Thracum equitata* – Dacia Porolissensis),¹¹² there is no known soldier of Thracian origin who served in these troops. But the ethnic component of these units had been certainly changing through time beginning with their formation and ending with the time when they

¹⁰⁸ NEMETI/NEMETI 2003, 419.

¹⁰⁹ MOCSY 1974, 65.

¹¹⁰ For the typology of this kind of monuments, see also: NEMETI 2003, 294–320.

¹¹¹ FEUGÈRE 1997, 174.

¹¹² PETOLESCU 2002, 38

stationed in province. There are no known dedicators who have a Thracian *cognomen* not even in the case of gods like Thracian Horseman or Jupiter Zbelsurdos attributed to the space populated by Thracians (Thracia and Moesia inferior). Some of the dedicators may have their true identity hidden under Roman or Greek names¹¹³. In the case of the monuments where the Thracian Horseman picks up some attributes from Apollo (the Horseman holds a lyre in his hand), as those from Apulum (a stone tin)¹¹⁴, Gilău (stone altorelief in shape of *aedicula*)¹¹⁵ and the two *ex-voto* from Potaissa and Bolduț¹¹⁶, we can say that they belong to Thracians (who formed restraint groups of worshipers in Dacia, as well as in other parts of the Empire¹¹⁷). The analogies are found in south Danubian space where the number of these pieces is high¹¹⁸.

The total of persons certified through their names is met on the all territory of the province, especially in those areas connected to the army and to the stationed units like *alae* or *cohortes equitatae*. The places where they are mostly attested are: Apulum, Ilișua, Gherla, Potaissa and less in Dacia Inferior.

The literary sources show that the practicing of levy of native troops was more and more common in the 1st century BC. Caesar's commentaries mention that he managed to gather 4000 people during the war in Gallia. They were from Gallia and they formed the Cavalry. A similar situation is certified during the Civil war which troubled the end of the Republican regime, when Brutus managed to gather 4000 horses from Lusitania, Thracia, Illyricum, while Cassius gathered 2000 people for the Cavalry from Spain and Gallia plus to 4000 archers from Arabia, Medeia and Parthia¹¹⁹. The native troops received the title of *auxilia* which literally means auxiliary, and their status was officially approved with the reforms initiated by Augustus¹²⁰. The levy for the auxiliary units was made in most of the cases from the area in which these were stationed, but the cavalry units (*alae*) were an exception. These units had a special treatment at least for the 1st century AD. To strengthen this sector of the army there were formed mixed units of Gauls and Pannonians or of Gauls and Thracians¹²¹. The presence of Thracians in the military sector, especially in Cavalry, is felt in the beginning of the 2nd century, when Thracia becomes one of the most important sources for the Roman draughts. With the beginning of the 2nd century these excellent horsemen gradually replace the Gauls from the cavalry, who used to be the main recruits in the *alae* till the replacing¹²².

The emperor and the governors of the province had a personal guard formed from two parts: the Cavalry and the Infantry. It was meant to protect the emperor and, until the reign of Septimius Severus, the members of this guard were recruited mostly from Italy, but

¹¹³ HAMPARTŪMIAN 1979, 23.

¹¹⁴ HAMPARTŪMIAN 1979, 91, RUSSU 1967, 98.

¹¹⁵ HAMPARTŪMIAN 1979, 94, RUSSU 1967, 101.

¹¹⁶ NEMETI 2000, 328.

¹¹⁷ TURCAN 1998, 283.

¹¹⁸ KAZAROW 1938, fig. 227, 251, 337, 344; GOCEVA/OPPERMANN 1978.

¹¹⁹ DIXON, SOUTHERN 1992, 22.

¹²⁰ CHEESMAN 1914, 17, for the evolution of the Thracian military elements before the Roman conquest, see also: WEBBER 2001.

¹²¹ DOBSON/MANN 1973, 194.

¹²² For further information about the draughts of the *Bessi* Thracians, see also: TACHEVA 1997, 199–206.

afterwards, most of the recruits don't come from Italy anymore but from Thracia¹²³. The statistics show that the number of soldiers recruited after 193 from Thracia and Dacia is bringing up, 16 names before year 193 (13%) and 29 names after this date (35%)¹²⁴. This situation is directly connected to the politics applied by Septimius Severus who favors those coming from the provinces which sustained him in the war against his rivals: Pescenius Niger and Clodius Albinus. Thanks to this policy, a lot of people argue that they come from Dacia, Pannonia and the Moesia, specifying the word *origo* in different dedications (ex: *natione Dacus*). All these soldiers, either they come from the guards in Rome, Britannia, Germany or from the distant Syria, they keep the names specific to their countries. Some examples in this meaning are the following: *Longinus Biarta Bisae f. Bessus* who serves in *cohors VI Thracum* in Britannia (1st century)¹²⁵, *T. Flavius Bassus Mucalae f. Dansala*, a horseman in *ala Noricorum* from Germany (1st century)¹²⁶, *Bithus Sola f. Bessus ex equite* in *numerus equitum Illyricorum* from Dacia (the second half of the 2nd century)¹²⁷, *Aurelius Mucatralis tubicen* in *ala Britannica* (AD 252)¹²⁸. All these soldiers are Thracians, a fact easy to tell due to the specific names or to the mentions regarding the tribes from which they were recruited.

The last researches pointed out a series of Dacian names, which are new in this field. In the followings I will select some of the most eloquent examples. The military diploma (of July 31, 131) mentions one cohort (*cohors I Flavia Musulamiorum* garrisoned in Mauretania Caesariensis) and it is offered to an *ex pedite Dirdanus*, son of *Damanaeus*. The names of the wife and children are also interesting: the wife, *Zispier Zurosi filia*, the children, *Decibalus*, *Dossachus*, *Comadices* (three sons) and *Davappier*, *Daepplier* (two daughters)¹²⁹. Another example is that of the Dacian *M. Ulpus Canuleius*, son of *Damusis, Dacus*¹³⁰. The origin of the soldier is hidden under a Roman name, but the patronim and the mentioning that he is a Dacian shows his real identity. In the diploma's text it is also mentioned the unit where the soldier serves, *cohors I Ulpia Dacorum*, garrisoned in Syria. These examples were presented to show the morphological differences between Thracian and Dacian names.

Most of the ethnic Thracians from Dacia have simple typical names (the *Bithus* name being the most frequent), while the others can be identified by *cognomina* specific to the country. The most eloquent case is that from Ilişua, where the Thracian *Aurelius Brisbane* is inherited by his sons *Aurelius Mucatus* and *Aurelius Maximus*, who are also soldiers. The names of the children indicate a very clear sign of acculturation. Just one of them has a Thracian *cognomen*, the other *Aurelius Maximus* is identified as a Thracian thanks to the information offered by the epitaph. In an isolated context he could be attributed to any ethnic group. As some hide their real origin under Roman names, others wish to do the contrary. This fact is sustained by the presence of some *signa* – *Aelius Valens qui et Esbenus* from

¹²³ DIXON/SOUTHERN 1992, 30.

¹²⁴ DABÓ 1975 NR. 626–633, 638, 880, SPEIDEL 1994, 83.

¹²⁵ CIL III 8312.

¹²⁶ DIXON/SOUTHERN 1992, 39.

¹²⁷ IDRI 13, RMD I 39.

¹²⁸ BALTY/VAN RENGEL 1993, 51, In Apamea (Syria), out of the 28 funerary monuments presented above, 8 can be considered as belonging to Thracian soldiers, all of them being dated in the 3rd century.

¹²⁹ DANA/MATEI-POPESCU (forthcoming), 5.

¹³⁰ DANA/MATEI-POPESCU (forthcoming), 5, for Dacian names, see also: DANA 2003, 166–186.

Rusănești or by the return to names specific to the country, as it is the case from Brad, *Dules Maximi*. We can observe that the whole naming context underlines some realities which are met in the entire Empire: initially the parents avoid to grant barbarian names to their children, preferring the names borrowed from the emperors, but later on they return to names specific to their country.

Despite all these, the ethnic Thracians belong to the population which keeps these barbarian *cognomina*, a fact which makes them easy to identify in the areas where they arrive. We do not know how many of the mentioned soldiers in the text remain in Dacia, but we can see that some discoveries show the contrary (the case of *Aurelius Teres* certified at Serdica). If all these people wished to return home after finishing the military service is less possible they would give up their specific names. Despite all these, they still borrow a lot from the Roman world, the raising of a funerary monument being one of the examples. We can add that the names presented in this paper are specific to the space populated by Thracians and they certify the presence of these in Dacia¹³¹. Most of them remind they belong to the Thracian tribe of *Bessi*, which clearly distinguish them from the population of the north Danubian province. They must not be confused with the native Dacians, this being an attempt to compensate the gap left by these on the epigraphic material.

Till further researching of this subject, sustained by discoveries of a sufficient number of archeological pieces, we can state that the ethnic Thracians come in Dacia and in other areas of the empire rather through the army than through civilian colonization. This custom is probably transmitted from father to son, serving in Rome's army being a source of money. Rome also offered the recognition of the marriage and of Roman citizenship at the end of the military service. This military service represented the main distinction among the inhabitants of the empire until the edict of Caracalla.

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