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MILITARIES FROM PANNONIA IN THE IMPERIAL FLEET AT MISENUM
AND RAVENNA (FIRST-THIRD CENTURIES AD). PROSOPOGRAPHICAL
ASPECTS*

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“In classibus omnes remiges et nautae milites sunt”.

Ulpian, *Digest.*, XXXVII, 13.1

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Abstract: *The Roman Imperial Navy from the first three centuries AD played a minor part from the military perspective, but from a social point of view, it helped in the incorporation of Barbarian populations in the Empire. The Pannonians represented a considerable percentage of the soldiers recruited in the fleet of Misenum and Ravenna during the Early Empire, among the Thracians, Dalmatians, Egyptians, or Syrians. In this case, our prosopographical analysis will underline the part taken by the Pannonians in the Roman Fleet, considerations about their ethnic or provincial origins, and some outlines of social, military, and demographical study.*

Rezumat: *Flota imperială romană din primele trei secole p.Chr. a jucat un rol minor pe plan militar dar, din punct de vedere social, a ajutat la integrarea populațiilor barbare în Imperiu. Pannonii au reprezentat, pe lângă thraci, dalmați, egipteni sau syrieni, un procentaj considerabil din soldații încorporați în flota de la Misenum și Ravenna în timpul Principatului. Astfel, analiza prosopografică va reliefa rolul avut de pannoni în flota romană, subliniind câteva considerații despre originea lor etnică sau provincială, dar și câteva aspecte sociale, militare și demografice.*

Due to its ability to adapt and having the legion at its core, as the only terrestrial force which dominated the Mediterranean Sea basin for more than half a millennium, the Roman army included other elements, equally important: the auxiliary units and the fleet. Out of these, the fleet

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had a significant role, although not crucial in the history of the Roman army, from Republic to Empire. Thus, even since the end of the fourth century BC, then during the first Punic war (264-241 BC)², Rome formed a military fleet that held the dyke against the Carthaginians – skilled sailors who succeeded in controlling the Mediterranean³. Rome also destroyed the pirate nests during the first century BC, under the command of Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus and it had a significant victory⁴ at Actium that helped to shape a new form of government – the Principate.

After Actium, Octavianus-Augustus formed three naval bases⁵: one from the nucleus of Marcus Antonius' forces which surrendered to Marcus Agrippa, anchored at Forum Iulii (Frejus, in the south of France⁶), but demobilized after a short time. The second, at Misenum, near Neapole, was used for the surveillance of the Tyrrhenian Sea. The last one, at Ravenna, in the northeast of Italy, on the shores of the Adriatic, also contributed to the surveillance of the Dalmatian shore⁷. Each fleet included approximately 10,000 militaries, the fleet at Misenum being more important and more epigraphically representative than the one of Ravenna, which had gradually lost its status in favour of the latter, starting with the third century AD⁸.

During the Early Empire, the Roman military fleet no longer encountered significant dangers (the Mediterranean Sea had been turned into a "Roman lake," – *Mare Nostrum*) and it did not represent any attraction for the Roman citizens, due to less access to higher ranks, much greater in number and more approachable in the legions or even in the

² Tit. Liv., XXII, 21.

³ LE GLAY, LE BOHEC, VOISIN 2007, 77.

⁴ Suet., *Div. Aug.*, XVII.

⁵ There were many more military harbors, more or less important: *Centumcellae* (today's Civitavecchia), Ostia (where some of the sailors from Misenum were quartered), Aquileia, next to the harbors from the islands of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily (CHAPOT 1967, 64-86; REDDÉ 1986, 197-227).

⁶ For the history, the settlement and the structure of the harbor at Forum Iulii, see REDDÉ 1986, 171-177.

⁷ Suet., *Div. Aug.*, XLIX; Tacit., *Ann.*, IV, 5; SOUTHERN 2006, 207.

⁸ ECK 2000, 258.

auxiliary units⁹. Nevertheless, the fleet contributed to the integration of the *peregrini* into the Roman world, namely the populations with experience and tradition in sailing (next to a big river or sea): Aegyptus, Syria, Thracia, Pannonia, Dalmatia¹⁰ (an edifying example is the creation of the first legion *Adiutrix* with the sailors of Misenum¹¹, many of them of Dalmatian origin¹²). This fact contributed to the Romanization of the recently conquered provinces and to the inclusion of those populations in *oikoumene*. Chester G. Starr, the author of a study on the military fleet during the Principate, underlines the percentage of the recruits from different areas of the Empire in the military marines, during the first two centuries AD. Thirty percent came from Pannonia, Thracia, Dalmatia, or Dacia, 24% from Asia Minor, Ionia, or Greece, 32% from Aegyptus and Syria, and 14% from Sardinia, Corsica, or Africa¹³. In this study we will try to discover the validity of Chester Starr's statistics in accordance with our own epigraphic sources.

Among the higher officers in the fleet of Misenum and Ravenna, a *praefectus* of equestrian rank held the highest position (he did not have a senatorial rank because the Roman military marine was not that important). This position allowed him to answer directly to the emperor. The next position was that of *subpraefectus*, still of equestrian rank, but with some military experience¹⁴.

The next higher ranks were: the *navarchus* (or *tribunus classis*¹⁵) – the leader of a squadron of ten ships; *trierarchus* – he was in command of a

⁹ MILLER 1981, 73. We mention that all the militaries from the Roman fleet were free men (citizens or *peregrini*), and only in extreme cases were the slaves recruited. For the entire discussion and for the views of Mommsen, Cichorius, Chester Starr, Wickert, Kienast or Panciera about the legal status of the sailors, see REDDÉ 1986, 472-486.

¹⁰ PURCELL 2000, 421-422.

¹¹ Tacit., *Hist.*, II, 43.

¹² SOUTHERN 2006, 98.

¹³ STARR 1941, 75.

¹⁴ Tacit., *Hist.*, II, 100; CHAPOT 1967, 109-121; D'AMATO 2009, 9. For a complete list of the *praefecti* and *subpraefecti* from the fleets of Misenum and Ravenna, see REDDÉ 1986, 673-679.

¹⁵ CHAPOT 1967, 131-134.

ship, usually a trireme¹⁶, and *centurio classiarius/classicus*¹⁷, the latter being lower than its homologous from the legion¹⁸. The lower ranks (or the NCOs) were the *principales* and the *immunes*: *optio*, *suboptio*, *armorum custos*, *signifer*, *gubernator* (helmsman), *pausarius*, *pitulus*, *velarius*, *proreta*, *nauphylax*¹⁹. In the last category of the fleet there were included the ordinary soldiers, all of them being free: *miles classis*, *nautae* (sailors) and *remiges* (rowers)²⁰. The military service in the fleet was established during emperor Claudius' time at 26 years old, at the end of this period the *peregrinus* received Roman citizenship and a military certificate to prove this status²¹.

In the following pages we will focus on the essence of this study, namely the prosopography of the soldiers of Pannonian origin from the fleet at Misenum and Ravenna. The description and the spreading of the Celtic-Illyric populations in the territory which was conventionally named *Pannonia* was the concern expressed by a few ancient sources, in a chronological order from Augustus²², Plinius²³, Tacitus²⁴ or Frontinus²⁵. This is the reason why we do not insist on the invasion and creation of Pannonia province since the end of Augustus' Principate and during Tiberius' time²⁶, but only on the prosopographic analysis of the soldiers of Pannonian ethnical origin or from the Roman province of Pannonia.

Since the end of the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD, Pannonia represented a rich source of recruits for the Roman

¹⁶ CHAPOT 1967, 127-131.

¹⁷ Tacit., *Ann.*, XIV, 8; Suet., *Nero*, XXIV.

¹⁸ D'AMATO 2009, 9.

¹⁹ CHAPOT 1967, 162-170; REDDÉ 1995, 151.

²⁰ Tacit., *Ann.*, XIV, 4; SADDINGTON 2007, 210-212.

²¹ SADDINGTON 2007, 212.

²² August., *RG*, I, 30.

²³ Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, III, 147-149. These populations represented a Celtic-Illyrian ethnical synthesis: Pannonians, Iasi, Colapiani, Breuci, Azals, Eravisci, Latov(b)ici, Varcians and so on.

²⁴ Tacit., *Germ.*, 1, 5, 28, 43.

²⁵ Front., *Strategemata*, Liber II.

²⁶ The most important works for the history of this province: MÓCSY 1974; LÁSZLÓ 1980, 85-124; DZINO 2010. As regards its military history: NEMETH 2007; LÖRINCZ 2010.

army, initially for the auxiliary units and later, starting with the second century AD, for the legions as well. Besides the Gaul, Thracian, and Germanic populations, the populations from Pannonia formed numerous auxiliary units that took their name (so far, the epigraphic sources underlined five *alae* and 19 *cohortes*). The contribution to the Roman fleet was also significant, besides the recruits mentioned above from Thracia, Aegyptus, Syria, or Dalmatia.

In our study, we will analyse each military in chronological order (and from each fleet: Misenum, Ravenna and unknown fleet) and depending on ranks: I. Higher military ranks; II. Lower military ranks; III. *Milites*; IV. Veterans. Where it is the case, we will also mention the family or the persons who commemorated each individual.

The outlines of the prosopographic investigation are the following:

1. Full name (eventually affiliation and tribe), the military post and the person's origin;
2. Place of discovery and the date of the epigraphic source;
3. Soldier's age;
4. Military service;
5. Age of recruitment (if it is mentioned in the inscription; otherwise, one may estimate if there is information on the age at death and on the period of fulfilled military service);
6. Period of recruitment (estimated by subtracting the period of service out of the exact or estimated period on the inscription);
7. Analysis of the individual's career (when required);
8. Analogies with other epigraphic sources: presence of the same person in several inscriptions, relation to other people who had the same *nomen gentile* in order to establish the family relationship, and presence of certain officers or soldiers in different provinces.
9. The family of that particular soldier or the persons commemorating him.

THE FLEET AT MISENUM

I. Higher military ranks

As regards the military ranks of *praefectus* or *subpraefectus*, we do not know any inscription mentioning a person of Pannonian ethnicity or from the Roman province of Pannonia who would have obtained one of these military ranks, usually a privilege of the Roman citizens of equestrian rank. Hence, from the fleet of Misenum we will underline the *cursus honorum* for two centurions.

1. *Liccaius Birso filio – centurio classis Misenensis*, from *Marsunnia*, Pannonia²⁷. This source is a military diploma discovered in Slavonski Camac, Pannonia Inferior, and dates from AD 71. This person was recruited in the fleet of Misenum, but didn't served the entire period in the roman army, the usual 26 years. We think that Liccaius was discharged before his time, and he might have been part of the militaries discharged by Vespasian before the end of their service, for their loyalty in the civil war of AD 68-69.

This soldier was recruited around 18-20 years, served for an unknown number of years (maybe nearly 20), so in AD 71 Liccaius might have had 40 years. We do not know the exact date of his recruitment, but we think it was around AD 50. The *cursus honorum* of this officer might have been the following: 1. *miles classis Misenensis* (unknown date); 2. *optio, suboptio, signifer* (presumptive); 3. *centurio classis Misenensis* (uncertain date, certified in AD 71); 4. discharged – *veteranus* (AD 71). The father of this military was a *peregrinus* from Pannonia. This is the only family member of Liccaius that we know of. However, because the military certificate was discovered in Pannonia Inferior, we believe that this officer, now a veteran with Roman citizenship, returned to his native land and, maybe, got involved in the local municipal activities.

2. *Lucius Valerius Dazantis filio Ispanus – centurio classis Misenensis*, from *Sirmium*, Pannonia Inferior²⁸. The funerary inscription was found at

²⁷ RMD IV, 204 = AE 1997, 1273 = AE 2001, 87.

²⁸ CIL X, 3375; SPAUL 2002, 24. The *nomen gentile Valerius* is widespread in the second century AD, the second place after *Aurelius*; the Pannonians from the fleet with this *nomen gentile* are *Lucius Valerius Ispanus* and *Caius Valerius Domitius* (MÓCSY 1968, 308-309).

Misenum and dates from the late first century, due to the presence of the Celtic name *Dazas*, but also to the mention of the soldier's native place, *Flavia Sirmium*, Pannonia. This town received the honours *colonia* during the Flavians in AD 69-96. Nevertheless, the epigraphic source may have belonged to the second century, perhaps the second half, considering the frequent use of the word *militavit* at that time. Also, Valerius Ispanus served in *Neptunus* trireme.

This officer was definitely a Roman citizen, a fact obvious considering the following observations: his position of *centurio classarius*; Lucius Valerius Hispanus had an urban background, as he came from *Sirmium*; the fact that he had served in the Roman army for 37 years (he was a veteran; even if he was a *peregrinus*, he served for the compulsory 26 years in order to receive the citizenship) as he died at the age of 55. We do not know the reason for his late discharge, after 37 years of service, but there are two hypotheses. The first is that he was involved in a major conflict at the end of the first century AD (Domitian's expeditions on the Danube) or at the beginning of the second century (Trajan's Dacian wars), thus he was given the higher rank of centurion in the fleet in Misenum. The second is that he remained in the fleet for the material benefits, without being discharged. The career path of this person might have been the following: 1. *miles classis Misenensis*; 2. *optio*, *suboptio*, *signifer* or other NCO post (presumptive); 3. *centurio classis Misenensis*.

As regards Valerius Ispanus' family, the funerary inscription mentions his father, *Dazas*, a typical Celtic-Illyrian name. *Dazas* may have been part of an auxiliary unit, or, most probably, he had only been a *peregrinus* from Pannonia and his son was the first who entered the ranks of the Roman army, even if it was the lower category of military navy. Also, this officer is commemorated by his wife, *Iunia Hygia*, her name being formed of the Latin *Iunia* and the Greek *Hygia*, the latter meaning "health," after the Goddess with the same name from the Greek pantheon.

II. Lower military ranks

1. *Lucius Licinius Capito* – *gubernator* (helmsman) *classis Misenensis*, and a Pannonian native – *nationae* (sic!) *Pannonius*²⁹. This source was discovered at Ostia Antica and dates from the second century AD because of the use of the term *militavit*. We notice that this man was a Roman citizen, fact suggested by the years of military service – 45, and by the use of *tria nomina* for his name. The funerary inscription mentions the age at death as well, more precisely 63, so Licinius Capito had been recruited when he was around 18. We do not know if he had been a *peregrinus* before the recruitment and he received the citizenship after the discharge, or if he was a Roman citizen from a certain town in Pannonia (not mentioned in the inscription) and he wanted to join the fleet at Misenum. We incline toward the second version³⁰, even if Licinius Capito didn't focused on more prestigious military units and with greater opportunities for promotion than the imperial fleet (legions, praetorian guard). Obviously, with no real evidence, we can only suggest the motivation of this soldier in choosing the fleet.

The presence of this soldier in Ostia Antica is normal, as part of the marines in the fleet at Misenum were stationed there. This occurred especially when they could not be sheltered in the same place or if there were no serious conflicts in the Tyrrhenian Sea. As regards the commemorators, Licinius Capito might or might not have had any relative alive; the inscription does not certify this fact.

2. *Titus Flavius Firmus* – *optio classis Misenensis*, of Pannonian origin – *natione Pannonius*³¹. This funerary inscription was found in Misenum and dates from the second century AD. This soldier had this military rank and served in the quadrireme *Fortuna* at Misenum. The epigraphic source reveals that he had served 26 years and that he died at 45, so Titus Flavius

²⁹ CIL XIV, 238; SPAUL 2002, 34. We mention here other militaries from the Roman fleet who were *gubernatores*: *Lucius Octavius Elaites* – *gubernator classis Germanicae* (CIL XIII, 8323); *Phallaeus Dioclis filius* – *gubernator classis Ravennatis* (CIL XI, 88); *Marcus Antonius Lupus* – *gubernator ex classe praetoria Misenense* (CIL X, 3429).

³⁰ Mócsy suggests that this person's name has a italic or gallo-germanic background, and he was the son of a colonist from these areas (MÓCSY 1968, 306).

³¹ CIL X, 3465; SPAUL 2002, 27.

Firmus had been recruited at 19. In this case, we cannot be sure of him being a citizen, although he had served for 26 years in the fleet of Misenum, because we do not know whether he had been already discharged or died before this moment, without receiving the Roman citizenship. Nevertheless, considering the Roman name of this soldier, we emitted two hypotheses. The first is that he was the son of a soldier who had received the citizenship during the Flavians (69-96), and Titus Flavius Firmus had automatically received the citizenship from his father and had quickly advanced in the military hierarchy. The second is that he had been recruited in the second half of the first century AD and that he had received the citizenship during the last years of Domitian' reign. However, knowing the name of the commemorator, *Aelius Valerianus*, we can assign the date of the inscription in the first half of the second century.

We tend to believe that Titus Flavius Firmus was recruited at the beginning of the second century and that he owed the citizenship to his father, even if he is not mentioned. The career path of this NCO was the following: 1. *miles classis Misenensis*; 2. *optio classis Misenensis*. The name of Titus Flavius Firmus appears in several epigraphic sources: a veteran of the second Adiutrix legion from AD 71-150³², an *evocatus Augusti* from the second century³³, or the *praefectus alae I Noricorum* during the time of Antoninus Pius (AD 138-161)³⁴. Nonetheless, considering the positions and the dates in these sources, we cannot establish any clear connection between this soldier and the abovementioned persons.

3. *Caius Valerius Domitius* – *optio classis praetoriae Misenensis*, of Pannonian origin – *natione Pannonius*, served in the *Pax* trireme³⁵. The funerary inscription was discovered in *Seleucia Pieriae* (today Samandagi), province of Syria, and dates from the second century AD. Taking into account the time and that he came from the province of Pannonia, from a

³² *CIL* III, 3321.

³³ *CIL* VI, 3214.

³⁴ *CIL* XIII, 8517.

³⁵ *AE* 1939, 216. Another *optio III Pacis* is *Marcus Iulius Nepotianus* – *natione Aegyptus* (*CIL* X, 3470).

town or village not mentioned in the funerary inscription, we think that we was a Roman citizen. The period of recruitment can only be assumed from the text of the epigraphic source, most probably in the second half of the second century AD. Caius Valerius Domitius had died at 45 and served for 21 years in the fleet at Misenum, which means he had joined the army at around 24 years old. This fact underlines that he was already a Roman citizen and his conscription was voluntary, probably for financial reasons. Still, it does not explain why he chose the fleet over the legion or the auxiliary units.

The inscription also mentions a commemorator, a *heres* whose name was not confirmed, probably a colleague, but we do not know whether he was from the fleet or from another unit. We underline this fact because the epigraphic source was discovered at *Seleucia Pieriae*, the province of Syria, far from the military base at Misenum. We can only speculate on Caius Valerius Domitius' presence so far from the fleet headquarters. He was either gone in a mission in the East together with the fleet, or he was sent on a special duty. Also, he may have been transferred to another unit (legion, auxiliary unit), but he passed away soon after, on the way or in that particular town. However, an act of sale from a papyrus dated in the 24th of March 166 and discovered at Seleucia Pieriae mentions some militaries from a vexillation of the fleet at Misenum: *actum Seleuciaae Pieriae in castris in hibernis vexillationis cl(assis) pr(aetoriae) Misematium*³⁶. Even though the shores of Syria were under the control of the fleet at Ravenna, the cemetery from Seleucia set for the sailors numbered 15 soldiers from Misenum, four from Ravenna and three from the Syrian fleet³⁷. Thus, Valerius Domitius might have come at Seleucia Pieriae with the vexillation of the fleet from Misenum, most likely during the Parthian War of Lucius Verus³⁸.

³⁶ CHAPOT 1967, 236-240. The epigraphic sources mention another vexillation from the fleet at Misenum in Seleucia Pieriae, maybe in the second century AD (*AE* 1896, 21 = *AE* 1897, 51 = *AE* 1922, 135) .

³⁷ FORNI 1968, 275.

³⁸ SEYRIG 1939, 451 sqq *apud* FORNI 1968, 275.

III. *Milites*

If, in the case of the higher and lower ranks mentioned above, we consider few representatives, the situation changes when we highlight the simple soldiers (*ex gregali, milites*), attested in a considerable number in the epigraphic sources. Thus, among the soldiers of Pannonian origin at Misenum, we outline six inscriptions and military certificates that prove this status. Obviously, the fact that there are only *milites* cannot bring out spectacular aspects in a prosopographic analysis, but they seldom bring new and interesting information on the demographic, social, or even military plan. Starting with the second century – once the Roman army had been regionalised, the settling of the local recruitment and the quiet atmosphere in the Empire –, the presence of the soldiers from Pannonia in the imperial fleet increased considerably.

1. *Lucius Terentius Sabinus – miles classis praetoriae Misenensis*, of Pannonian origin – *natione Pannonius*³⁹. This source was found at Misenum and dates from the second century AD. Terentius Sabinus is a soldier in the Misenum fleet, being part of *Salus* trireme. The legal status of the deceased is uncertain. Probably Terentius Sabinus was a *peregrinus* (the absence of the affiliation is relevant in this case) and the presence in the fleet at Misenum confirms this fact. However, given his name, he might be a citizen⁴⁰ – although the inscription should have mentioned the affiliation or, at least, the status of veteran – and the commemorator considered it was useless to mention such an insignificant detail: he either received the citizenship after discharge, or he came from a town of Pannonia, but without having a note on this detail.

We do not know the reasons for the absence of information regarding this person (age at death, period of military service, age at recruitment), although the inscription was rather well conserved: either the commemorator did not know the age of the deceased, or he did not believe it was important to mention it, the mere note on Terentius Sabinus on this epitaph being more than honourable for the remembrance of the

³⁹ *CIL* X, 3639; SPAUL 2002, 32.

⁴⁰ MÓCSY 1968, 306.

soldier. As regards the commemorator, he represents an element in the dating of the epigraphic source: *Aelius Romanus*, who was either recruited, or he received the citizenship during the reign of Hadrianus or Antoninus Pius.

2. *Tiberius Claudius Masculus – ex gregale classis praetoriae Misenensis, ex Pannonia*⁴¹. This soldier is attested in a military certificate from AD 145 and found in *Carnuntum* (today Bad Deutsch-Altenburg), Pannonia Superior. Claudius Masculus was from the people of Boii, stated by Plinius in *Naturalis Historia*; this tribe lived around the colony of *Savaria* in Pannonia Superior⁴². This person was recruited from Pannonia Superior as a *peregrinus* and received Roman citizenship when he was discharged during Antoninus Pius' reign.

If this person was recruited around 18-20 years and served for the compulsory 26 years, he was probably 45 years old when he was discharged. In this case, we assume he was born near AD 100 and he was recruited in AD 119, at the beginning of Hadrian's reign. We don't know if he had participated in a military campaign, maybe in the defensive of the shores of Thyrrenian Sea. The father of Claudius Masculus was named *Secundus*, maybe a Roman citizen or, more likely, a *peregrinus* who served in an auxiliary unit and who received Roman citizenship at discharge. We do not know the fate of Claudius Masculus after this epigraphic mention. However, because the military certificate was discovered in Pannonia Superior, we assume he returned to his native land, where he is not mentioned in any other epigraphic source.

3. *Caius Domitius Aper – miles classis praetoriae Misenensis*, from Pannonia – *Pannonius*⁴³. This inscription was found at *Eleusis*, Achaia, and it's dated in the second century AD. Domitius Aper was probably a *peregrinus*, coming from Pannonia, as there isn't any mention about his home town. Moreover, he had enrolled in the fleet of Misenum which,

⁴¹ AE 2008, 1111.

⁴² Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, III, 146.

⁴³ AE 1947, 84; SPAUL 2002, 39.

even if it required a longer period of service and lower pay than the auxiliary units, was safer and the ultimate benefit was the same: Roman citizenship for him and his descendants. However, his name indicates a Roman citizen, maybe the son of a person who served in a legion or an auxiliary unit and who settled in Pannonia.

Domitius Aper had died at 45, after 23 years of military service in the fleet at Misenum (we suppose he had served here the entire time; the inscription does not mention any other unit). Hence, he had been recruited a bit later than at the average age of 18-20, more precisely at the age of 22. Domitius Aper is commemorated by a (...) *eius Maximus*, possibly a colleague from the fleet, also his heir (*heres*), probably as he had no descendants or slaves. Also, the discovery of the inscription from *Eleusis*, in Achaia, raises a question as regards why this soldier was in the Greek region: was he there on a mission, on a leave and getting ready for an initiation in the Eleusinian mysteries, or finding the inscription in that territory was a mere accident? Considering that the epigraphic source does not offer any clarification for it, the reasons for his presence here are unknown.

4. *Caius Cogitatus Valens – manipularius classis (Misenensis)*, of Pannonian origin – *natione Pannonius*⁴⁴. The inscription was found at Misenum and dates from the second century AD. Probably this soldier was a Roman citizen from Pannonia, because of his name. The rank of *manipularius*⁴⁵ is another name for *miles* (a soldier who served in a *manipulus*) and it represented the old structure of a legion during the Republic. Cogitatus Valens is among the few persons included in our research who died at an early age, namely at 25 years old, having served only for two years in the fleet of Misenum, on the *Dacicus* quadreme. We

⁴⁴ CIL X, 3569; SPAUL 2002, 30.

⁴⁵ The epigraphic sources mention a great number of *manipularii*: *Caius Iulius Rhaesus – manipularius ex triremi Fide, natione Bessus* (AE 1949, 208); *Titus Aurelius Secundus – manipularius liburnae Iunonis, natione Aegyptus* (AE 1979, 167); *Caius Iulius Capitonius – manipularius de triere Vesta* (CIL X, 3585); *Caius Iulius Silvanus – manipularius ex liburna Iustitia, natione Bythinus* (CIL X, 3492).

do not know the reason for his sudden death, but we support an objective reason (illness, accident), as the inscription would have mentioned if he had died in battle⁴⁶. This *manipularius* is commemorated by *Natalis Victor* and *Valerius Velox*. Given their names, they were either freed slaves of Cogitatus Valens, or, more likely, his colleagues on the quadreme at Misenum.

5. *Marcus Marius Martialis – miles/liburnarius*⁴⁷ (*classis Misenensis*), from Pannonia – *natione Pannonius*⁴⁸. The inscription was found at Misenum and dates from the second century AD. This military served in *liburna Minerva*⁴⁹; a *liburnarius* was a typical term in the military Roman navy, equivalent to *miles*. His Roman name, followed by his ethnical or provincial origin, leads to more confusion on his legal status. The absence of the affiliation and tribe suggests he was a *peregrinus*, but the fact that he had served for 26 years in the fleet suggests he could have been a veteran with Roman citizenship. Marius Martialis had died at 50 and he had been recruited quite late, around the age of 24. Still, because he is not remembered as *veteranus*, we suppose either that the soldier had died before receiving the Roman citizenship, or that he had received it a short time beforehand, but this detail was ignored in the inscription.

Marius Martialis' family is not mentioned in the inscription, which indicates the following: either he did not have time to start a family, or he intended to return to his native land to start a family there. Although, he might not have great interest for it and he wanted to spend the rest of his life in Misenum, where this epigraphic source was discovered. Also, this soldier is commemorated by a *Veturius Quintianus, heres* (heir), probably a

⁴⁶ Other such examples of early deaths from the fleet at Misenum: *Marcus Amonius Bassus – natione Aegyptus*, died at 25 years old, served for six years on Pollux trireme, in the fleet at Misenum (CIL X, 3514); *Caius Aelius*, who lived only 26 years, but we do not know how long he had served in the fleet (CIL X, 3394) *Marcus Cassius Vitalis – miles classis Misenensis*, lived 25 years and 10 months, and so on.

⁴⁷ The term of *liburnarius* is present until the time of *Notitia Dignitatum* (Occ. XXXIV, 26-27; 40-41), but lost its meaning whom had during the High Empire (REDDÉ 1986, 110).

⁴⁸ CIL X, 3607.

⁴⁹ For details on *liburna*, see PANCIERA 1956, 130-156 *apud* REDDÉ 1986, 104-110.

former colleague from the fleet, maybe from the same *liburna*, which included Marius Martialis as well.

6. (...)eri(...) – *miles classis praetoriae Misenensis*, of Pannonian origin – *natione Pannonius*⁵⁰. The funerary inscription was discovered in Rome and dates from the second century AD, confirmed by the term *militavit*. Also, this *ignotus* served on *Perseus* trireme (the name of the ship might be *Perseus*, but the source is quite unclear about this). As we lack crucial information for the prosopographic analysis – unknown age at death, unknown duration of military service –, we can outline only a brief biography of this person. His legal status is vague and we do not know if he was a *peregrinus* or a Roman citizen, as *natione Pannonius* may refer to a provincial origin – namely Pannonia. However, this epigraphic source underlines the following aspects: he was an anonymous *peregrinus*, part of the fleet at Misenum; he had served around 20 years (supposing we have 40 or a bit older); he was in Rome (where the funerary inscription was found), probably in *Castra Misenatium*, where part of the soldiers in the fleet at Misenum were camped⁵¹. The deceased was commemorated by another *ignotus*, probably a colleague from the same fleet and, maybe, from the same ship.

IV. Veterans

We will not insist on the status of the veterans in the Roman army as the numerous studies regarding this social category are more than relevant. We only underline their role, at least during the first two centuries of the Principate, in the provincial administration, in towns and colonies, as well as the evergetic aspect and their contribution to the Romanization and integration of the *peregrini* into *oikoumene*. Hence, from the first century we think that Liccaius was a veteran, and from the second century – Tiberius Claudius Masculus, both soldiers confirmed in two military certificates from AD 71 and AD 145. In the second century, the following soldiers may have been veterans, taking into account the 26 (or

⁵⁰ *CIL* VI, 3146; SPAUL 2002, 21.

⁵¹ WEBSTER 1985, 158.

more) years of compulsory service: Lucius Valerius Ispanus (37 years of service, mentioned only as a centurion); Titus Flavius Firmus (26 years of service; he probably died before being discharged); Marcus Marius Martialis (26 years of service; he is not mentioned as *veteranus*). However, they could have served a longer period without being discharged.

1. *Caius Silius Fortis – veteranus (classis Misenensis)*, of Pannonian origin – *natione Pannonius*⁵². The inscription was found at Misenum and dates from the second century. This soldier received the Roman citizenship after discharge, probably from the fleet at Misenum. The funerary monument does not clearly underline this fact, but taking into account the discovery place and the term *natione Pannonius*, we suppose that Silius Fortis had served in *classis Misenensis*.

Silius Fortis had died at 55 and he was recruited at 18-20 years old. Thus, if he had served for 26 years, he lived 10 more years in Misenum. He is commemorated by two women, *Silia Macaria* and *Silia Onesime*, but we do not know whether they were his daughters, or his freed slaves, considering the unclear character of the term on the inscription – *patr(i)* or *patr(ono)*. Most probably they were freed slaves, given the term *libertae* and the names *Macaria* and *Onesime*, underlined in the epigraphic source.

2. *Lucius Licinius Capito – gubernator et (evocatus ?) classis Misenensis*⁵³. However, there are two hypotheses for this soldier based on his 45 years of military service. The first is that he had served during the whole period in the fleet at Misenum and that he had not been discharged at all; we know several cases of soldiers who had exceeded the compulsory service period, although only a few reached 45 years. The second is that he had been discharged, but called again in the fleet for various reasons (turbulences, his experience in the fleet, and so on). In this case, he had been a veteran, and he became an *evocatus* when he returned to the fleet. Taking into account the grammar mistakes in Latin within the

⁵² *CIL* X, 3628; SPAUL 2002, 31.

⁵³ *CIL* XIV, 238; SPAUL 2002, 34.

inscription (*nationae!*, *classae!* or *Miseneniesi!*), the 45 years of service may have constituted such a mistake, too.

THE FLEET AT RAVENNA

I. Higher military ranks

1. *Velagenus Covionis f. Eraviscus* – *centurio classis Ravennatis*, of Eraviscan origin⁵⁴. This epigraphic source is a military certificate dated from AD 71 and discovered in a *provincia incerta*. Analysing this person's name and affiliation, we notice that it is of Celtic origin (Eravisci, to be precise). The Eravisci were neighbours with the Azali in the north and the Hercuniates in the south⁵⁵. Velagenus was recruited as *peregrinus* in the fleet of Ravenna around AD 45 or maybe later. Thereby, this source mentions the next phrase: *ante emerita stipendia: quod se in expeditione belli fortiter industrieque gesserant ex auctorati sunt et deducti in Pannoniam...*⁵⁶. He is part of the same list of people discharged before his time, as a reward for their loyalty for Vespasian in the civil war of AD 68-69.

As regards the age of this centurion, the military certificate is quite vague: supposing that Velagenus had been recruited around the age of 18-20, at the time of the demobilization he was about 40 years old. Also, the career path of this officer is the following: 1. *miles classis Ravennatis* (around AD 50); 2. *optio, suboptio, signifer* or other NCO post (presumptive, unknown date); 3. *centurio classis Ravennatis* (uncertain time, but confirmed in AD 71); 4. discharged – *veteranus* (AD 71).

The family of the centurion analysed includes only his father, *Covio*, possibly a soldier of an auxiliary unit, due to whom Velagenus ascended to the rank of *centurio classiarius*. Nevertheless, this soldier's father may have been remembered only for the adjudication of Velagenus' origin, without having a rank in the Roman army. Thus, the centurion would have already had the Roman citizenship and even the right to enrol in a legion. Also, the military certificate mentions as witnesses a few

⁵⁴ RMD IV, 205 = AE 2002, 1771 = AE 2004, 89 = AE 2007, 93; CHIRIAC, MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA, MATEI 2004, 266.

⁵⁵ Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, III, 148.

⁵⁶ RMD IV, 205 = AE 2002, 1771 = AE 2004, 89 = AE 2007, 93.

representatives of Pannonian origin: *Titus Flavius Serenus – princeps Iasiorum, Licconis*, son of *Davus – princeps Breucorum, Caledonis*, son of *Sammonis – princeps Boiorum*, and so on. These witnesses were *peregrini* (the ones with one name), while others were awarded Roman citizenship by Vespasian – the case of Flavius Serenus. These people were the leaders of the tribes in Pannonia who went to Rome to acknowledge the new emperor Vespasian and to request Roman citizenship as reward for their loyalty in the civil war of AD 68-69⁵⁷. The presence of the name Velagenus in other epigraphic sources doesn't prove it is the same person, as this *nomen* was rather common amongst the Celtic populations⁵⁸.

II. Lower military ranks

1. *Caius Aelius Censorinus – optio classis praetoriae Ravennatis*, from Pannonia – *natione Pannonicus*⁵⁹. The inscription was found at Salona, Dalmatia, and it's dated in the second century AD. This soldier's origin is quite clear: he received the Roman citizenship or he was the son of a military who received the citizenship during the reigns of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. He might have joined the fleet for financial benefits and for milder rules, less possible in the legions or auxiliary units.

Caius Aelius Censorinus had lived for 41 years and served in the fleet for 21 years, hence he had been recruited around the age of 20. His *nomen gentile* being *Aelius*, we suppose that he had been recruited and that he received the citizenship during the time of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. As regards this soldier's family, the inscription is fragmentary in the end, so we cannot know if *Aelius Censorinus* is commemorated by a family member or by a *heres*, maybe a colleague from the fleet at Ravenna.

III. Milites

⁵⁷ For further discussion, see *AE* 2002, 1771 (p. 685-686).

⁵⁸ 1. *AE* 1967, 114; 2. *CIL* V, 6903; 3. *CIL* XII, 89; 4. *CIL* XII, 3964; there may have been the same person in the inscriptions *AE* 1913, 135 and *AE* 1974, 454, but they only have in common *cohors II Alpinorum (equitata)*, and not the fleet at Ravenna.

⁵⁹ *CIL* III, 14691; SPAUL 2002, 19.

The proofs regarding the Pannonian soldiers from the second century AD also include the members of the fleet at Ravenna. Augustus had built the harbour from Ravenna to defend the Adriatic Sea, but also as a precaution in front of the dangers from Dalmatia and Illyricum⁶⁰. At the same time, Rome could easily recruit people from the Illyrian area precisely due to their skills in sailing, an aspect neglected by the Romans, whose army was still based on the legion, a terrestrial unit.

1. *Marcus Sollius Gracilis – ex gregale classis praetoriae Ravennatis*, a Scordiscus from the province of Pannonia⁶¹. This soldier is attested in a military certificate discovered in a *provincia incerta* and dates from AD 139. The Scordiscii were a Celtic population who lived in the territory of Pannonia Inferior. This military had served for at least 26 years, he was recruited at 18-20 years and we was around 45 years at discharge. If this discharged happened in 139, that means he was recruited in AD 113, but we do not know if he participated in a military campaign during Trajan's reign (maybe in the war against Parthians). His father's name – *Zura*, was a Celtic name from the same tribe of Scordisci. We do not know any other epigraphic sources that can confirm the fate of this discharged sailor. We assume he left to his native land, but this hypothesis is not confirmed by other epigraphic sources.

2. *Lucius Superinius Severus – (miles classis Ravennatis)*, of Pannonian origin – *natione Pannonius*⁶². The funerary monument was found at Ravenna and dates from the second century AD. Even though his affiliation and the tribe are missing from the inscription, we imply his citizenship, maybe he was the son of a colonist of italic or gallic-germanic origin⁶³. Superinius Severus had served for 25 years in the fleet of Ravenna (we do not know whether he had served on the *Neptunus* trireme the entire time) and died at the age of 45, which means he had been

⁶⁰ WEBSTER 1985, 159.

⁶¹ ZPE 163, 217 = AE 2007, 1786.

⁶² CIL XI, 97.

⁶³ MÓCSY 1968, 306.

recruited at 20. This military had not completed his military service in the fleet (the compulsory 26 years) and his family is missing from this monument; however, the deceased is commemorated by his colleague, *Iulius Ursius*, a *heres* of Superinius Severus and, most likely, a colleague from the fleet at Ravenna.

3. *Caius Iulius Proculus – miles classis praetoriae Ravennatis*, of Pannonian origin – *natione Pannonius*⁶⁴. This epigraphic source was found at Ravenna and it is dated from the second century AD, confirmed by the use of the term *militavit*. Iulius Proculus was a Roman citizen, certified by the *nomen gentile Iulius*, probably the son of a veteran settled in Pannonia at the end of the first century AD⁶⁵.

This soldier had lived for 40 years and had served in the fleet of Ravenna for 18 years, which means he had been recruited at about 22. Also, this soldier is in the same situation as the one mentioned above, (...)*eri*(...), only that in this case, Iulius Proculus was in *castra Ravennatium*, and the name of the ship is not mentioned. We do not know the clear advantages of a soldier within the fleet in the Rome military camp, but we suppose that it was less dangerous and with more financial advantages. Also, Iulius Proculus is commemorated by *Caius Quintius Aprilis*, probably a colleague in the fleet at Ravenna, who was also in Rome, in *castra Ravennatium*.

4. *Licinius Victor – (miles classis Ravennatis)*, of Pannonian origin – *natione Pannonius*⁶⁶. The inscription was found at Ravenna and dates from the second century AD, maybe the end of this century, because of the use of *dua nomina*. Also, this sailor was a part of the *Minerva* trireme. This soldier was a Roman citizen, the son of a person who served in an auxiliary unit and settled in Pannonia after discharge. Licinius Victor had lived for 50 years and had served for 20 years, most probably the whole

⁶⁴ *CIL* VI, 3156 = *CIL* VI, 3157; SPAUL 2002, 22.

⁶⁵ MÓCSY 1968, 306.

⁶⁶ *CIL* XI, 72.

period in the fleet at Ravenna⁶⁷, which means he had been recruited at 30. This late recruitment underlines two hypothesis. The first is that he was enrolled exactly at this age, although the reasons are not known (a tense period on the military level, probably during the second half of the second century, a deliberate delay in recruitment, etc). The second is that he had been discharged, there is no mention of this aspect and the period of service in the inscription is wrong.

This soldier is commemorated by *Aulus Dasimius Severus*. As the epigraphic source is fragmented and it ends abruptly, we do not know the connection or any other relationship between Dasimius Severus and Licinius Victor. Nonetheless, we underline the following conclusions: they were colleagues in the fleet of Ravenna, Dasimius Severus being a *heres* as well, but this part of the inscription was not conserved. According to the *nomen gentile*, the commemorator had the same Pannonian origin, the name *Dasimius*, together with *Dasmenus*, *Dasius*, *Dases*, were clearly Pannonian.

5. *Marcus Aurelius Vitalis – miles classis praetoriae Antoniniana Ravennatis*, from the province of Pannonia – *natione Pannonia*⁶⁸. This funerary monument was found at Ravenna and dates from the first quarter of the third century AD. Also, this soldier was a part of the *Providentia* trireme. The fact that this character had *nomen gentile Aurelius* shows he had received the Roman citizenship, probably after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of AD 212. Also, the presence of the term *Antoniniana* among the names of the fleet at Ravenna leads to a precise date, between 212 and 217, during Caracalla's rule. Thus, the inscription only states that he had served 27 years in the fleet. If we assume that he had died at 45-50, he had been recruited at 20-22, namely in AD 185-190.

This case also includes a novelty, as the soldier mentions his origin as *natione Pannonia*, clearly illustrating a provincial and not ethnical origin.

⁶⁷ The epigraphic source was found in Ravenna, but Licinius Victor is not mentioned as part of that fleet, although we suppose he had served there and it seemed useless to mention an obvious thing in the inscription.

⁶⁸ *CIL* XI, 39; FITZ 1983, 41 (for the *Antoniniana* epithet); SPAUL 2002, 33.

There are two explanations for it: either *natione Pannonicus/Pannonius* means about the same thing as *natione Pannonia* (showing a provincial origin), or there is a lapidary mistake. However, the person who published the epigraphic source could have reconstituted it this way. Another issue, of commemorative nature, is that of Marcus Aurelius Vitalis' heiress (*heres eius*), *Valeria Faustina*, his *focaria* (cook). Nevertheless, *focaria* does not mean only servant in the kitchen or cook, but also a soldier's concubine. This is our case, as women were allowed to live in *castrum* with their partners from the beginning of the third century.

6. *Marcus Aurelius Valens – ex gregale classis praetoriae Severianae Ravennatis*, from *pagus Augustus, vicus S(...), Cibalae, ex Pannonia Inferiore*⁶⁹. This soldier is mentioned in a military certificate dated from the 18th of December AD 225, during Severus Alexander's reign. The military certificate mentions the name *Severiana* either for the loyalty shown to Severus Alexander, or, most probably, as honorary title received by the units of the Roman army⁷⁰. According to the *nomen gentile*, this military was already a Roman citizen since 212, after *Constitutio Antoniniana*. As regards Marcus Aurelius Valens' origin, the epigraphic source mentions the colony of *Cibalae*, Pannonia Inferior, *pagus Augustus, vicus S(...)*, so the soldier came from the rural area of Pannonia Inferior. It is also the first epigraphic source so far that underlines the name of Pannonia Inferior; the province had been divided at the beginning of the second century AD. Still, the text of the certificate showed that he, his future wife, and their descendants had received the Roman citizenship.

The military certificate does not mention the soldier's age, but we suppose he was approximately 45 years old as he had been recruited at about 18-20, around AD 199-200, during Septimius Severus' reign. This soldier's family includes only the father, *Capitolinus*, probably a *peregrinus* who had taken a Roman name. Unfortunately, after this period, the epigraphic sources are more and more rare. Otherwise, we would have

⁶⁹ RMD III, 194 = RMD IV, 312 = AE 1993, 1010 = AE 1999, 900; SPAUL 2002, 36.

⁷⁰ For the epithet *Severiana* and the names of the units who received it, see FITZ 1983, 90-140.

discovered that Marcus Aurelius Valens' descendants had had a career in the legion or in another roman unit.

IV. *Veterans*

Two certified veterans from the fleet at Ravenna are Velagenus, discharged in AD 71, and Marcus Sollius Gracilis, the *ex gregale* from the military diploma of AD 139.

1. *Quintus Aurelius Festianus – veteranus (classis Ravennatis)*, of Pannonian origin – *natione Pannonius*⁷¹. The inscription was discovered at Ravenna and dates from the first quarter of the third century, more precisely after AD 212. Still, we know only his status of *natione Pannonius*, which means he came from that province, as he was a Roman citizen, a fact proven by the *nomen gentile Aurelius*. There is no mention of the age at death; although, he must have served at least 26 years as he appears as veteran. Also, we assume he had been recruited, like Marcus Aurelius Vitalis, around AD 190, during the last years of Commodus' Principate. Another proof for the date of this inscription is the presence of Aurelius Festianus' wife, *Aurelia Clauce*, the freed slave and commemorator of this veteran.

2. *Marcus Aurelius Valens – ex gregale (et veteranus) classis praetoriae Severianae Ravennatis*⁷². He was previously mentioned in a military certificate from AD 225 with the status of soldier discharged from the fleet of Ravenna. We do not have any additional information after his discharge, except for the place where the military certificate was found – Porcuna, province of Hispania Baetica, where the soldier had retired.

UNKNOWN FLEET

III. *Milites*

⁷¹ CIL XI, 33 = CIL III, 237.

⁷² RMD III, 194 = RMD IV, 312 = AE 1993, 1010 = AE 1999, 900; SPAUL 2002, 36.

1. (...) *Lensi filio - miles classis ignotae*, of Pannonian origin - *Pannonius*⁷³. The name of the fleet in which he served was lost, but it had to be Misenum or Ravenna. This *ignotus* is known from a military certificate from AD 71 found in Grabarje (today's Croatia), province of Pannonia. This man was discharged in the same year as Velagenus. This soldier's father, *Lensi*, was definitely a *peregrinus*, most probably of Pannonia, which makes this man the first Roman citizen in the family, as he served in the fleet for 26 years. We do not know his age, still, should he have been recruited around the age of 18-20, he was around 40 years old at the time of his discharge.

We assume this age because *ignotus* was discharged before his time – *ante emerita stipendia*, like Liccaius and Velagenus. These three people were part of the units who supported Vespasian in the civil war of AD 68-69. The new emperor rewarded these soldiers by discharging them before the compulsory 26 years. Except the note regarding the soldier's father, the certificate does not mention any other family member, not even a witness to prove any relationship between them, as in the case of Velagenus. Nevertheless, due to the discovery of the certificate in Grabarje, the province of Pannonia, nowadays Croatia, we suppose that *ignotus* had come back to his native land to start a family, the new status of Roman citizen bringing him considerable advantage.

2. *Marcus Ulpus Martialis – ex gregale classis ignotae*, of Pannonian origin – *Pannonius*⁷⁴. This military is mentioned in a military diploma discovered in a *provincia incerta* and dated during Commodus' reign (AD 180-192). This soldier was recruited as *peregrinus* from the province of Pannonia and received Roman citizenship after his discharge. Because this constitution is fragmentary, we do not know the fleet, probably it was Misenum or Ravenna, certified by the use of the term *praetoria*.

We assume that this military was recruited around the age of 18-20, served the compulsory 26, so he was about 45 years old at discharge. If Ulpus Martialis was discharged in 180-192, then he had been recruited

⁷³ *CIL* XVI, 17 = *CIL* III, p. 851 (p. 1960); SPAUL 2002, 35.

⁷⁴ *ZPE* 163, 229 = *AE* 2007, 1790.

around AD 154-166. The father of this former sailor was named *Titiatius*, a *peregrinus* of Pannonian origin. We do not know the fate of Ulpus Martialis after his discharge, maybe he returned to his native land or remained at Misenum or Ravenna. The fact is that he is no longer mentioned in any other epigraphic source.

At the end of this study, we will underline some aspects regarding statistics, the names of the ships, the recruitment stages and the number of sailors of Pannonian origin from Misenum and Ravenna compared with other ethnical or provincial recruits.

We emphasized 23 epigraphic sources (military diplomas and funerary inscriptions) that submitted 23 militaries from Pannonia:

- Three higher officers: *Liccius* – *centurio classis Misenensis*; *Lucius Valerius Ispanus* – *centurio classis Misenensis*; *Velagenus* – *centurio classis Ravennatis*;

- Four NCOs: *Lucius Licinius Capito* – *gubernator classis Misenensis*; *Titus Flavius Firmus* – *optio classis Misenensis*; *Caius Valerius Domitius* – *optio classis Misenensis*; *Caius Aelius Censorinus* – *optio classis Ravennatis*.

- 14 *milites*. From Misenum: *Lucius Terentius Sabinus*, *Tiberius Claudius Masculus*, *Caius Domitius Aper*, *Caius Cogitatus Valens*, *Marcus Marius Martialis*, (...)eri(...). From Ravenna: *Marcus Sollius Gracilis*, *Lucius Superinius Severus*, *Caius Iulius Proculus*, *Licinius Victor*, *Marcus Aurelius Vitalis*, *Marcus Aurelius Valens*. From an unknown fleet: (...) *Lensi filius* and *Marcus Ulpus Martialis*.

- Two veterans: *Caius Silius Fortis* – *veteranus classis Misenensis* and *Quintus Aurelius Festianus* – *veteranus classis Ravennatis*⁷⁵.

Twelve of them were part of the fleet at Misenum, nine of that at Ravenna, and two on which there is no such information. Thus, more had served at Misenum than at Ravenna⁷⁶, but this differentiation is subjective,

⁷⁵ It is possibly the case of *Lucius Licinius Capito*, but we have included here only the veterans mentioned with this status in the epigraphic sources.

⁷⁶ Tacitus stated that Pannonians were more numerous in the fleet at Ravenna because it was closer to their home (Tacit. *Hist.*, III, 12), but the epigraphic sources countered this opinion.

considering the low number of persons and epigraphic sources compared to the real number of soldiers within the fleet for more than two centuries.

From the military point of view, the Pannonians did not have easy access to the higher military ranks in the imperial fleet at Misenum and Ravenna as the Roman citizens from the Italic Peninsula reached these posts. The fleet had a lower status, reason for which Roman citizens did not prefer it. There are only a few higher and lower officers of Pannonian origin, but quite enough *militēs*, as we have previously mentioned. They were usually interested in the Roman citizenship, thus easy to get, and less in the military glory or the higher ranks in the army.

As for the origin and legal status of these militaries, Mócsy tried to establish some aspects considering their *nomen gentile* outlined in inscriptions. The soldiers who had an imperial *nomen gentile* were Roman citizens of local origin, and maybe received the citizenship or were citizens at the second generation: Caius Iulius Proculus, Titus Flavius Firmius, Caius Aelius Censorinus, Marcus Aurelius Vitalis, Quintus Aurelius Festianus. The other ones had names that show a city origin or, maybe, some chose the names – there are many examples in the papyri⁷⁷ or in inscriptions⁷⁸. However, it is possible that these soldiers had received *ius Latinum* at recruitment (maybe after Hadrian's reign), fact confirmed by the presence of *tria nomina* in most cases⁷⁹. Also, we analysed the phrase present in almost all the epigraphic sources – *nat(...) Pann(...)*, reconstituted as *natione Pannonius*. Mócsy examined the term *natione Pannonius*, but did not emphasize the clear status of these sailors based on this phrase⁸⁰. However, that term could have actually referred to *natus Pannonia*, but we are not entirely sure. Nevertheless, without any clear reference in this regard or a significant analysis of the epigraphic sources, we can only make mere observations.

⁷⁷ MÓCSY 1968, 306-307.

⁷⁸ We know of a soldier who, before the recruitment, was named *Licca Bardi filius*. After the recruitment, he took a Roman name and adapted to the roman military system – *L. Iallius Valens* (CIL X, 2715).

⁷⁹ CHAPOT 1967, 177; FORNI 1968, 272-273.

⁸⁰ MÓCSY 1968, 310.

As regards the ships mentioned in this paper, we know six names of ships at Misenum (a *liburna* – *Minerva*⁸¹, three triremes⁸² – *Perseus*, *Salus* and *Pax*, as well as two quadriremes – *Dacicus* and *Fortuna*) and four at Ravenna⁸³ (all three triremes: *Neptunus*, *Minerva*, *Providentia*, and *Hercule*). The Romans had specific names for the ships in the military fleet: names of gods (*Apollo*, *Asclepius*, *Castor*, *Ceres*, *Iuno*, *Minerva*), allegories (*Clementia*, *Concordia*, *Constantia*, *Fides*, *Fortuna*, *Iustitia*, *Pax*, *Providentia*, *Salus*), patronymic which reminded of mythological characters (*Ariadna*, *Danae*, *Diomedes*, *Perseus*), names of animals (*Aquila*, *Capricornus*, *Draco*, *Grypus*, *Lupa*, *Taurus*), toponyms (*Danuovius*, *Euphrates*, *Nilus*, *Rhenus*, *Tiberis*), epithets of particular property of a ship (*Armata*, *Lucifer*, *Pinnata*, *Radians*, *Satyra*) or imperial *cognomina* (*Augustus*)⁸⁴.

The period of recruitment for the militaries in the fleet of Misenum and Ravenna does not hold specific patterns. Thus, there was a recruitment during some conflicts, but there's no evidence of such pattern of recruitment for the fleet: during Claudius' reign, Liccaius, Velagenus and (...) Lensi filius were recruited, but these soldiers fought during the civil war of AD 68-69 and they were discharged *ante emerita stipendia* at the beginning of Vespasian's reign. In the second century AD, there were random recruitment periods, perhaps the fleet did not participate in major conflicts during Trajan, Hadrian or Antoninus Pius' reigns.

However, during Marcus Aurelius' reign, there was an inscription discovered at *Diana Veteranorum*, Numidia. This source mentions the career of *Marcus Valerius Maximianus*, who led a vexillation of sailors from Misenum, Ravenna, Britannia and African and Moor riders: *praepositus vexillationum classium praetoriarum Misenatis, item Ravennati, item classis*

⁸¹ The epigraphic sources mention more names of *liburnae* at Misenum, among which we underline the following: *Aesculapius* (CIL X, 3651); *Aquila* (CIL X, 3361); *Diana* (AE 1975, 271); *Iustitia* (CIL X, 3492); *Libertas* (CIL X, 3590); *Virtus* (CIL X, 3397) and so on.

⁸² The triremes are outlined in a considerable number at Misenum, the inscriptions mention over 100 such ships (REDDÉ 1986, 666-667).

⁸³ The names of the ships in the fleet at Ravenna are less certified in the epigraphic sources (six *liburnae*, 52 triremes and 14 *cvadriremes* - REDDÉ 1986, 668-669).

⁸⁴ CHAPOT 1967, 98-101; REDDÉ 1986, 671-672.

*Britannicae, item equitum Afrorum et Maurorum electorum*⁸⁵. This vexillation was sent in AD 170-175 in the Danube provinces during the Marcommanic War. From the first three centuries we know other epigraphic sources which certify vexillation from the fleet, some of them even discovered outside the Roman Empire: *vexillationis classis praetoriae Misenatum – Seleucia Pieriae, Syria*⁸⁶; *vexillatio classis Ravennatis – Yalta*⁸⁷; *vexillatio classis Ravennatis – Aj-Tor, Moesia Inferior*⁸⁸; *vexillatio classis praetoriae Misensis* – the inscription was found in Rome and dates from AD 249-251⁸⁹. During the Severans, the recruitment is also random, and the sources are scarce and we can not establish a pattern at the beginning of the third century. Although there were defensive raids in the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic Seas, the members of these fleet formed vexillations when needed, especially when the legions or auxiliary units were few or they were in a campaign in another area of the Empire.

We have presented a small number of soldiers from Pannonia compared to the entire Roman fleet at Misenum and Ravenna, in parallel to the period studied (AD 45-225) and to the number of persons from this interval (10,000 soldiers and officers in each fleet). However, of the 10,000 soldiers in each fleet, only 30% came from Pannonia, Thrace, Dalmatia, and Dacia, and only a few Pannonians were part of the fleet (18 sailors, so approximately 7,5%⁹⁰). Chester Starr's statistics is the following:

a) *Misenum (1st-3rd centuries AD)*: Aegyptus – 54 militaries (from Alexandria alone – 21); Thracia (Bessi) – 41; Sardinia – 18; Greek origin – 18; Cilicia – 17; Dalmatia – 14; Syria – 13; Africa – 10; Italic Peninsula – 9;

⁸⁵ AE 1956, 124; FORNI 1968, 276.

⁸⁶ AE 1896, 21 = AE 1897, 51 = AE 1922, 135.

⁸⁷ AE 1903, 2. Regarding this inscription, a recent study has denied the following version: *vex(illatio) / c(lassis) Rav(ennatis) s(umptu) p(ublico)*. Hence, Sarnowski suggested a different approach, considering that this source reflected a vexillation lead by a centurion named *Ravonius Speratus: vex(illarii or -illatio) <sub or curam agente or curante> G. Rav(onio ?) Sp(erato ?)* (SARNOWSKI 2006, 256-259).

⁸⁸ CIL III, 14215.

⁸⁹ CIL VI, 41281.

⁹⁰ STARR 1941, 75. However, G. Susini suggested a quite different percentage: Dalmatia – 24%; Aegyptus/Africa – 16%; Syria – 13%; Asia Minor – 10%; **Pannonia – 10%**; Italy – 8%; Corsica and Sardinia – 6%; Thracia – 6%; Greece – 3% (SUSINI 1968, 291-307).

Pannonia – 9; Pontus – 7; Corsica – 4; Bithynia – 4; Phrygia – 3; Pamphylia – 2; Dacia – 1; Germania – 1; Raetia – 1; Asia – 1; Cappadocia – 1; Lycaonia – 1; Creta and Cyrenaica – 1; Lybia – 1.

b) *Ravenna (1st-3rd centuries AD)*: Dalmatia – 25 sailors; **Pannonia – 9**; Aegyptus – 8 (from Alexandria alone – 3); Thracia (Bessi) – 7; Syria – 6; Corsica – 6; Sardinia – 5; Greek origin – 5; Italic Peninsula – 4; Lybia – 3; Bithynia – 3; Germania – 2; Dacia – 1; Cilicia – 1; Creta and Cyrenaica – 1. The sources do not mention any soldier in the fleet at Ravenna from the provinces of Pontus, Phrygia, Asia, Cappadocia, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, Africa and Raetia⁹¹.

After the publishing of Chester Starr's study, a lot of epigraphic sources have been discovered; however, his statistics is, broadly, valid until today⁹². This fact is confirmed, at least in the case of the fleet at Misenum, by a recent study of Michel Reddé. Thus, this is the outline of the origins of the 234 militaries from the fleet at Misenum clearly mentioned in the inscriptions: Aegyptus – 23%; Asia Minor – 17%; Thracia – 16%; Sardinia – 11,5%; Syria – 5%; Dalmatia – 5%; Africa – 4,7%; **Pannonia – 4,7%**; Italy – 4%; Greece – 3,4%; Corsica – 1,7%; another origin – 1,7%⁹³.

In a study published before the one above, Reddé showed a more thorough statistics for the two fleet, but validates Starr's estimate. Thus, in the fleet at Misenum prevailed the sailors from Aegyptus (along with the ones from Alexandria) with 54 men. The ones from Pannonia were in the 8th place with 11 soldiers and officers. In the fleet at Ravenna the people

⁹¹ STARR 1941, 75.

⁹² In the case of the militaries of Pannonian origin, we mention a slight difference, but insignificant: 12 from the fleet at Misenum and nine from the one at Ravenna.

⁹³ REDDÉ 2000, 187-188. Regarding the fleet at Misenum, Chapot gives a similar outline: Asian provinces with 29,5%, Aegyptus, Alexandria and Africa with 28%, Thracia with 18,5%, Sardinia and Corsica with 10,5%, and Pannonia and Dalmatia with only 9% (Dalmatia – 5,5%; **Pannonia – 3,5%**). However, Chapot assumed that the militaries from Pannonia and Dalmatia were in greater number in the fleet at Ravenna (CHAPOT 1967, 186), but the epigraphic sources denied his hypothesis.

from Dalmatia prevailed, while the ones from Pannonia were in the 6th place with only five men⁹⁴.

In conclusion, we notice that the literary sources confirmed the importance of the soldiers coming from Dalmatia from the fleet at Ravenna. In the same manner, the epigraphic sources certified the great number of sailors from Aegyptus. Anyway, the evidence for Pannonia is rather disappointing: 18 people (C. Starr), 10% (G. Susini), 16 sailors (Reddé 1986) and 23 occurrences (in this study). Nonetheless, we think the prosopographical analysis for the soldiers above mentioned represented a pattern followed by most of the Pannonian militaries from the fleet at Misenum and Ravenna, from these points of view: military, ethnic or provincial origin, recruitment and social aspects.

TABLE 1: MILITARIES FROM PANNONIA IN THE IMPERIAL FLEET AT MISENUM

Name	Origo	Post	Date	Sources
<i>Liccius</i>	<i>Marsunnia,</i> <i>Pannonia</i>	<i>Centurio</i>	1st century AD (71)	<i>RMD IV,</i> <i>204 = AE</i> <i>1997, 1273 =</i> <i>AE 2001, 87</i>
<i>Lucius</i> <i>Valerius</i> <i>Ispanus</i>	<i>Sirmium,</i> <i>Pannonia</i> <i>Inferior</i>	<i>Centurio</i>	2nd century AD	<i>CIL X, 3375</i>
<i>Lucius</i> <i>Licinius</i> <i>Capito</i>	<i>Natione</i> <i>Pannonius</i>	<i>Gubernator</i>	2nd century AD	<i>CIL XIV,</i> <i>238</i>
<i>Titus Flavius</i> <i>Firmus</i> <i>Caius</i>	<i>Natione</i> <i>Pannonius</i> <i>Natione</i>	<i>Optio</i> <i>Optio</i>	2nd century AD 2nd century	<i>CIL X, 3465</i> <i>AE 1939,</i>

⁹⁴ At Misenum: Aegyptus – 54 sailors and officers; Asia – 40; Thracia – 38; Sardinia – 27; Dalmatia – 14; Syria – 13; Africa – 11; **Pannonia** – 11; Italy – 10; Greece – 8; Corsica – 4; other origin – 4 soldiers. At Ravenna: Dalmatia – 14 soldiers and officers; Aegyptus – 7; Syria – 7; Sardinia – 6; Italy – 5; **Pannonia** – 5; Asia – 3; Corsica – 3; Africa – 2; Thracia – 2; Grecia – 1; other origin – 1 sailor (REDDÉ 1986, 532).

<i>Valerius Domitius</i>	<i>Pannonius</i>		AD	216
<i>Lucius Terentius Sabinus</i>	<i>Natione Pannonius</i>	<i>Miles</i>	2nd century AD	<i>CIL X, 3639</i>
<i>Tiberius Claudius Masculus Caius Domitius Aper</i>	<i>Ex Pannonia</i>	<i>Miles (ex gregale)</i>	2nd century AD (145)	<i>AE 2008, 1111</i>
<i>Caius Domitius Aper</i>	<i>Pannonius</i>	<i>Miles</i>	2nd century AD	<i>AE 1947, 84</i>
<i>Caius Cogitatus Valens</i>	<i>Natione Pannonius</i>	<i>Manipularius</i>	2nd century AD	<i>CIL X, 3569</i>
<i>Marcus Marius Martialis (...)</i>	<i>Natione Pannonius</i>	<i>Liburnarius</i>	2nd century AD	<i>CIL X, 3607</i>
<i>(...)eri(...)</i>	<i>Natione Pannonius</i>	<i>Miles</i>	2nd century AD	<i>CIL VI, 3146</i>
<i>Caius Silius Fortis</i>	<i>Natione Pannonius</i>	<i>Veteranus</i>	2nd century AD	<i>CIL X, 3628</i>

TABLE 2: MILITARIES FROM PANNONIA IN THE IMPERIAL FLEET AT RAVENNA

Name	Origo	Post	Date	Sources
<i>Velagenus</i>	<i>Eraviscus</i>	<i>Centurio</i>	1st century AD (71)	<i>RMD IV, 205 = AE 2002, 1771 = AE 2004, 89 = AE 2007, 93</i>
<i>Caius Aelius Censorinus Marcus</i>	<i>Natione Pannonicus Scodriscus, ex</i>	<i>Optio</i>	2nd century AD	<i>CIL III, 14691</i> <i>ZPE 163,</i>

<i>Sollius</i>	<i>Pannonia</i>	<i>gregale)</i>	AD (139)	217 = AE
<i>Gracilis</i>				2007, 1786
<i>Lucius</i>	<i>Natione</i>	<i>Miles</i>	2nd century	<i>CIL</i> XI, 97
<i>Superinius</i>	<i>Pannonius</i>		AD	
<i>Severus</i>				
<i>Caius Iulius</i>	<i>Natione</i>	<i>Miles</i>	2nd century	<i>CIL</i> VI, 3156
<i>Proculus</i>	<i>Pannonius</i>		AD	= <i>CIL</i> VI, 3157
<i>Licinius</i>	<i>Natione</i>	<i>Miles</i>	2nd century	<i>CIL</i> XI, 72
<i>Victor</i>	<i>Pannonius</i>		AD	
<i>Marcus</i>	<i>Natione</i>	<i>Miles</i>	3rd century	<i>CIL</i> XI, 39
<i>Aurelius</i>	<i>Pannonia</i>		AD (212-	
<i>Vitalis</i>			217)	
<i>Marcus</i>	<i>Pagus</i>	<i>Miles (ex</i>	3rd century	<i>CIL</i> II/7,
<i>Aurelius</i>	<i>Augustus,</i>	<i>gregale)</i>	AD (225)	127a = <i>RMD</i>
<i>Valens</i>	<i>vicus S(...),</i>			III, 194 =
	<i>Cibalae,</i>			<i>RMD</i> IV,
	<i>Pannonia</i>			312 = AE
	<i>Inferior</i>			1993, 1010 =
				AE 1999, 900
<i>Quintus</i>	<i>Natione</i>	<i>Veteranus</i>	3rd century	<i>CIL</i> XI, 33 =
<i>Aurelius</i>	<i>Pannonius</i>		AD (after	<i>CIL</i> III, 237
<i>Festianus</i>			212)	

TABLE 3: MILITARIES FROM PANNONIA IN UNKNOWN FLEET

Name	Origo	Post	Date	Sources
(...) <i>Lensi</i> <i>filius</i>	<i>Pannonius</i>	<i>Ex gregale</i> <i>classis</i> <i>ignotae</i>	1st century AD (71)	<i>CIL</i> XVI, 17 = <i>CIL</i> III, p. 851 (p. 1960)
<i>Marcus</i> <i>Ulpus</i> <i>Martialis</i>	<i>Pannonius</i>	<i>Ex gregale</i> <i>classis</i> <i>ignotae</i>	2nd century AD (180- 192)	<i>ZPE</i> 163, 229 = AE 2007, 1790

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