Two Dacian soldiers in Numidia during the reign of Septmius Severus

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Abstract. Most of the inscriptions that mention soldiers with Dacian origin that served in the garrisons of the North African provinces were recruited in the first half of the 2nd century. Two of them, however, are attested in inscriptions that, despite the difficulties to restore and date the texts, most probably were set sometime at during the reign of Septimius Severus. Originating from Sarmizegetusa and Napoca, the two soldiers were contemporaries with an intense military and political activity in both Numidia and Africa Proconsularis. In this paper we try to show the historical circumstances of their military careers and, more precisely, to present the actions that the Roman army operated during those years. We would be able to better understand, in this way, what was the political and military environment in North Africa when these two soldiers were active and in what kind of events they witnessed or participated in.

Rezumat. Două inscripții descoperite pe teritoriul provinciei romane Numidia conțin numele militarilor Casius Aelius Iulianus, respectiv Fuscius Victorinus, ambii originari de pe teritoriul Daciei. Ambele texte epigrafice pot fi datate, în ciuda dificultăților, în timpul domniei lui Septimius Severus, ceea ce face ca cei doi să reprezinte excepții în rândul soldaților cu astfel de origini, întrucât cea mai mare parte a lor sunt active în prima jumătate a secolului al II-lea. Demersul acestui articol este concentrat pe încercarea de a determina care au fost circumstanțele în care acești soldați și-au desfășurat cariera militară și care ar fi putut fi evenimentele la care au luat parte pe parcursul anilor petrecuți ca soldați în garnizoana Numidiei romane.

Keywords: Numidia, Roman army, Dacia, Septimius Severus, territorial expansion.

Caius Aelius Iulianus.

An inscription written on a stone that was discovered on the jamb of the entrance door to a temple of Asclepios mentions numerous members of the Legio III Augusta, listed in descending order according to the status they had in the unit: cornicularii, commentarienses, speculatores, beneficiarii consulares, questionarii, sexmentris and a haruspex². The one who supervised the construction was a centurion named Caius Memmius Victor. Most of the soldiers are beneficiariii consulares, and among them we can see the name of Caius Aelius Iulianus, originating from Sarmiz(egetusa). The overwhelming majority of the soldiers mentioned here either come from African cities (Cirta, Hadrumetum, Cartagina), either are

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² CIL VIII 2586.

born *in castris*, both aspects indicating a relatively late period. Only two other legionaries are recruited from other provinces than Africa, one from Tharsus (in Cilicia), and the other from Siscia (in Pannonia Superior). The popularity of Asclepios is very well documented not only in North Africa as a geographical space, but in Lambaesis as a particular case also³. His responsabilities as a *beneficiarius consularis*, were especially of administrative and juridical and very rarely they were a matter of military tasks.

The soldier recruited from Sarmizegetusa was part of officium consularis and he was, therefore, a member of a closed group surrounding the governor of the province. His stay in the headquarters of the proconsul was not mandatory. Each legion present in a province provided, perhaps, around 60 soldiers for this function. The ones that were selected to occupy it were usually experienced militaries, so we can accept that Caius Aelius Iulianus was probably in the last years of his military career at the time when the inscription was settled⁴. As to the duration of such a function, the data for this aspect varies from province to province and we could not draw any general rules in this regard. Nevertheless, there are no sources that would indicate a term that would end before sooner than six months of service⁵.

The text could be made rather easy thank to the fact the three of the soldiers listed in the text are mentioned in other epigraphical texts. One of them is Lucius Considius Paulus whose name appears on an inscription discovered in Lambaesis and that can be dated during the mandate of Marcus Valerius Senecio⁶, whom we know for sure was in office in the times of Caracalla⁷. The name of Caius Calventius Ianuarius is known as well from a text in wich he is mentioned as *centurio legionis III Augustae Alexandrianae*⁸. Caius Iulius Verus, in his turn, was the one who took care of the epitaph of his brother, dated by the editors of *Corpus Inscriptiorum Latinarum* between the years 193 and 235, but they probably made some associations with the aforementioned texts⁹. More than this, a certain Caius Memmius Victor dies at the age of 50 and is buried at Theveste by his son¹⁰. Except for an extremely surprising coincidence of names, we could use these information to more clearly understand the military career of Caius Aelius Iulianus.

According to these epigraphical sources, we can deduce that the soldier originating from Sarmizegetusa was not recruited earlier than 186 (25 before the beginning of Caracalla's reign) and no later than 235 (the end of the reign of Severus Alexander). More than this, the mostly local origin of the soldiers confirms the dating towards the end of the 2^{nd} century AD.

³ BENSEDDIK 2005, 275-276.

⁴ For an extensive study on the beneficiarii see RANKOV 1986.

⁵ DISE JR 1997, 288-292.

⁶ CIL VIII 2750.

⁷ CIL VIII 2494, CIL VIII 2619.

⁸ CIL VIII 2747.

⁹ CIL VIII 2911.

¹⁰ ILA I 3324.

If we take into consideration the progressive slowing down of recruitments from far away provinces we should prefer a rather early date for the enrolment of Caius Aelius Iulianus. More than this, his *nomen* suggests, even if not mandatory, that he was born during or not very late after the reign of Hadrian. J. C. Mann and Constantin Petolescu place this event between 195 and 205¹¹. Árpád Dobó, too, dates the inscription of Lambaesis during the reigns of Elagabalus or Severus Alexander¹².

Even if is not mandatory that Iulianus, Lucius Considius Paulus and Caius Calventius Ianuarius were recruited in the same exact year, the fact that all three of them possessed some ranks in the army (the two of them appear in the epigraphical text as *cornicularii*) proves that there wasn't a considerable difference of ages spent in the army between the three of them. Therefore we can admit that Caius Aelius Iulianus was definitely a member of Legio III Augusta in the interval 217-222. His recruitment most probably did not happen before 196. To choose a more safe estimation, it is better to admit that he became a soldier no sooner than the last years of the 2nd century AD and that his career spawn no later than the middle of the reign of Severus Alexander.

Even if we do not know exactly when and under what circumstances was Caiul Aelius Iulianus recruited or what are the chronological limits of his career, we could safely assume that he was in North Africa at the time of the territorial expansion initiated by Septimius Severus and his governors in southern Numidia and Tripolitania. Therefore, this soldier was most probably a member of at least one *vexillatio* that operated in other regions than the one surrounding Lambaesis.

There is a possibility that he took part in the campaign initiated against the Garamantes at the beginning of the 3rd century in the Fezzan or in those in Syrte and Western Tripolitania în the context of the growing threat of Desert populations that we know about from Tertullian¹³. We do know, however, that legionaries were responsible of keeping under control the Christian communities from Africa during Septimius Severus' reign, as well as at the beginning of the reign of Caracalla¹⁴. There was a very prosperous municipal activity in the time of Quintus Anicius Faustus governorship, between 197 and 201¹⁵. There were a few forts built in the Fezzan too in the same period of time¹⁶. This sort of activity slowed down after Severus died and there are not many marks of it when Heliogabalus or Severus Alexander were in power. Caius Aelius Iulianus was, however, one of the few soldiers from

¹¹ MANN 1983, 69; PETOLESCU 2000 II, 471.

¹² DOBÓ 1975, 126.

¹³ Tertullian, Apologeticus, II, 8.

¹⁴Tertullian, De Fuga in Persecutione, XIII. LOPUSZANSKI 1951, 5-46.

¹⁵ LE BOHEC 1989I, 398-401.

¹⁶ Ghadames, Gheriat el-Gharbia and Bu Njem.

Dacia who was activ in North Africa after the end of the 2^{nd} century. He was part of a family who was already Latin speaking and who bore Latin names.

Fuscius Victorinus, A Dacian Soldier at the limits of the Sahara?

A fragment of an epigraphical text discovered at Messad, Algeria, consists in a list of soldiers whose military unit is not mentioned¹⁷. Later, Eugene Albertini and Paul Massiera completed the inscription with another unedited fragment found in the museum of Algiers and originally published by Sebastian Gsell¹⁸, but without specific references to the text of the inscription. The complete text was published nine years later by Gilbert Charles Picard in an extensive study on Castellum Dimmidi, the fort that corresponds today with Messad¹⁹.

The text of the inscription is extremely confusing, being written in a rather chaotic way, while the letters are not very easily readable either, but it was, however, successfully edited, despite its incoherent and disorderly format. Therefore, the 11 rows written on a first column and another 4 at the beginning of the other mention, according to Eugene Albertini and Paul Massiera (followed by other specialists too), the names of pedestrian soldiers from Legio III Augusta.20. At the right side of the second column there are another four soldiers whose names are placed right beside the word eques, most probably because this indicates their status in the same legion. More or less at the middle of the inscription it can be read the formula ITEM EQQ AL FL, completed by George Picard as item eqq(uites) al(ae) Fl(aviae)²¹. Under this there are another six names, four of them with the origo of the soldiers. Two of the are recruited in cas(tris), another comes from Thuburbo (in Africa), while the fourth, named Fuscius Victorinus, is a native from N(a)p(oca). Contrary to other historiographical perspectives, Constantin Petolescu states that these six soldiers are not auxiliaries, but members of the Legio III Augusta too.²² We must notice, however, that there isn't just one legion attested at Castellum Dimmidi, but two. At some point, a detachment of Legio III Gallica, from Syria, is present in the same fort.²³. This vexillatio came in Numidia right from the founding of the fort, in 198, and probably stayed there until it was dissolved by Elagabalus in 218. Numerous former members of this legion are present in epigraphical texts from Lambaesis, some of them mentioning their transfer from one legion to another²⁴. We to

¹⁷ CIL VIII 18023.

¹⁸ ALBERTINI, MASSIERA 1939, no. 3 and no. 17, 240;

¹⁹ CHARLES-PICARD 1948, 202.

²⁰ ALBERTINI, MASSIERA 1939, 240.

²¹ CHARLES-PICARD 1948, 202.

²² PETOLESCU 2000, II, 497.

²³ CIL VIII 8796, a votive inscription dated in in 198. See ALBERTINI 1938, 345-349.

²⁴ They were certainly transferred to Legio III Augusta after the Syrian legion was dissolved: AE 1898, 13, CIL VIII 2952, CIL VIII 2800.

believe, however, that the epigraphical text was rightly edited and we must consider Fuscius Victorinus an auxiliary soldier, member of ala Flavia.

About the unit in wich he was a member we know that it appears in some inscriptions as ala Flavia Numidica in Africa²⁵. The ala is very well attested in epigraphical sources because numerous soldiers left various inscriptions²⁶ all over North Africa. It was created under the Flavian dynasty, but at the end of the 1st century it was already transferred to Africa²⁷. Even if we do not know the headquarters of it in that period, it most certainly occupied the fort of Zraia at the beginning of the 3rd century²⁸, most probably to replace the unit that was there up until that moment²⁹. During Severus Alexander's reign, there are some vexillationes bearing the epiteth Severiana attested at fauces Vazubi³⁰, Ain Rich³¹ and El Gahra³². In 248, a vexillatio is present in Tripolitania, at Bu Njem, and the uniti is named as Philippiana³³. The fact that the unit is not mentioned as Severiana at Castellum Dimmidi could indicate that the inscription was settled before the beginning of Severus Alexander's reign, so before the year 222³⁴.

Even if Constantin Petolescu mentions this inscription between the ones found in Mauretania Caesariensis³⁵, Castellum Dimmidi represents an outpost created by Septimiuus Severus in the context of the expansion in Southern Numidia. The fort was, in fact, under the authority of the legate of Legio III Augusta³⁶. It was created, without a doubt, in 198, during a very active mandate of Quintus Anicius Faustus, by a detachment formed of soldiers from the garrison of the province, as well as from Legio III Gallica and ala I Pannoniorum³⁷. The contribution of the Syrian legion was justified by the experience of its militaries in a desert environment³⁸. From the same perspective we can understand the presence, between 226 and 235, of the soldiers from of *numerus Palmyrenorum*³⁹. The fact that there are two cavalry troops must pe connected, too, with the characteristics of this defensive military system, because it was a strong need of troops with a high mobility and a capacity to cover long distances. This fort was the placed at extreme west point of the Severan defense system, at approximately

²⁵ CIL VI 3654.

²⁶ LE BOHEC 1989II, 29-33.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 28.

²⁸ CIL VIII 4508.

²⁹ LE BOHEC 1989II, 28.

³⁰ AE 1942-1943, 77.

³¹ CIL VIII 8793.

³² CARCOPINO 1925, 129.

³³ AE 1985, 849.

³⁴ ALBERTINI, MASSIERA,. 240.

³⁵ PETOLESCU 2001, II, 496-497, no. 467.

³⁶ CHARLES-PICARD, 45-82. BÉNABOU, 171-172.

³⁷ CIL VIII 8796, CIL VIII 8797.

³⁸ BÉNABOU, 1976, p. 172.

³⁹ ALBERTINI, MASSIERA, 234-235, no. 9.; CIL VIII 8795.

350 km distance from Lambaesis and was designed to defend de region of Oued Djedi valley and Ouled Nail hills⁴⁰. Even more, it was placed at the intersection of two important commercial routes that came from the south, one of them making the connection with Hodna, and the other with Moudjara and Djelfa⁴¹. Castellum Dimmidi was abandoned in 238⁴², when Rome gives up the territories occupied grace to the offensive actions made by Septimius Severus and partially his successors, event that was doubled with the dissolving of Legio III Augusta.

It is very difficult to find out the exact chronological limits of Fuscius Victorinus' military career. The only connection we can assume is with the case of Caius Aelius Iulianus from Legio III Augusta⁴³. The two cases would suggest, therefore, a possible *dilectus* in Dacia at the time when the new dynasty came in power. The inscription found at Castellum Dimmidi could have been written, probably, in the second half of Victorinus career, perhaps not long before his retirement from the Roman army.

Another important aspect is the fact that this soldier bore a roman name, meaning that he could have been already a roman citizen at the time of his recruitment. On the other hand, there is a strong possibility that the inscription comes from the years that followed *Constitutio Antoniniana*, something that might have had an impact on his onomastic⁴⁴, but we see that the soldier does not bear the *gentilicium* of Caracalla, like many new citizens from that period do, especially in the Eastern side of the empire⁴⁵.

The organization of two different recruitments in the Dacian provinces in a relatively narrow period of time is not very probable⁴⁶. Therefore, at the end of the 2nd century the Roman authorities probably made a new *dilectus* in the Dacian provinces and both Caius Aelius Iulianus and Fuscius Victorinus were enrolled in a group that had to be transferred to Numidia. The fact that the former was not a member of Legio III Augusta, but of an auxiliary unit, might suggest that he wasn't a citizen at the time of his enrollment and that he took his Latin name after the promulgation of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

Historical context and military activity.

It must be assumed that Fuscius Victorinus and Caius Aelius Iulianus were witnesses to the same events that happened in this side of the Empire at the end of the 2^{nd} century and the beginning of the 3^{rd} . Therefore, we must put their military careers under the same circumstances.

⁴¹ BÉNABOU 1976, 171-172.

 $^{^{40}}$ LE BOHEC ,435.

⁴² CHARLES-PICARD, 120.

⁴³ CIL VIII 2586.

⁴⁴ Myles Lavan, *The Spread of Roman Citizenship*, in "Past and Present", nr. 230, p. 33.

⁴⁵ Athanase Rizakis, *La diffusion des processus d'adaptation onomastique : les Aurelii dans les provinces orientale de l'Empire*, in "Les noms de personnes dans l'Empire romain", Monique Dondin-Payre (coord.), Bordeaux, 2011, pp. 253-262.

⁴⁶ Dana, Matei-Popescu, Soldats d'origine dace dans les diplômes militaires, in "Chiron", 39, 2009, pp. 234-243.

The new emperor adopts an offensive policy through expedition beyond the limits that were set by his predecessors and through the creation of a number of new military settlements at the limit of the desert, where the presence of the Roman army is attested for the first time. Although these actions had a purely offensive character, we find out from Tertullian that the Maures and the Gaetulii were not representing a threat anymore because they were stopped from overcrossing the limits imposed by Rome⁴⁷. This could refer to a situation that was previous to that of the times when Tertullian was writing his work, but most probably it can be tied with what the Historia Augusta mentions on the stability that Severus brought to Leptis Magna, his birthplace⁴⁸ and both of them may talk, in fact, about the actions of the army in the region at the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd. This expansionism was directed to three main areas: southern Numidia (beyond the fossatum), Western and Eastern Tripolitania. Marcel Bénabou justified these actions, especially those from Numidia, by a pressing need of economic growth caused by the decision of the Roman authorities (provincial or central) to take into possession new fertile lands in order to amplify the production of African wheat, because it suffered a depreciation as an effect of the apparition and development of important cultures of olives and vine⁴⁹. Maurice Euzennat, on the other hand, sees the origins of these actions less as a personal ambition of Septimius Severus and more through the influence of Caius Fluvius Plautianus, the prefect of the Praetorian Guard, himself an African native. This is why the assassination of the later in 204 or 205 coincided with the end of roman offensives beyond the administrative limits of the provinces⁵⁰.

At the same time when Castellum Dimmidi was built, the soldiers of Numidia's garrison were responsible of building more similar forts in the same area. Dimmidi represents, however, the most advanced settlement controlled by the Roman army in the Sahara. The entire defensive line stretched for approximately 1500 km, consisting in many military settlements of small dimensions and situated rather far from each other⁵¹. This aspect allows us to assume that this line was not meant to represent a real obstacle for a certain Saharan population, but only a tool to increase the control of the Roman army in these areas⁵². In any case, we could not think of any real threat to Rome's authority in the region, but only to minor problems caused by incursions and razzias made by natives⁵³. It is possible that some of

⁴⁷ Tertullian, Adversus Judaeos, VII, 8. Marcel Bénabou, on the other hand, considers that there was another important rebellion of the native populations in those years and gives these military actions a more serious aura:. 170-171, 176-177.

⁴⁸ LASSÈRE 2014, 175.

⁴⁹ LASSÈRE 2014, 173.

⁵⁰ EUZENNAT 1990, 579.

⁵¹ LE BOHEC 1989, 430-437.

⁵² DANIELS 1990, 253-254.

⁵³ LASSÈRE 2014, 176-177.

the military settlements were subject to an imperial inspection during the visit of Septimius Severus in Africa⁵⁴. The simultaneous expansion of Roman territory towards the south in both Numidia and Mauretania Caesariensis caused a certain confusion of the two, because the south-western limit of the former was the same as the south-eastern border of the later, but without any real demarcation⁵⁵.

From the same perspective we can understand the actions that took place in the East, South and South-West of Africa Proconsularis. If up until this moment the imperial policy was limited to maintaining the prosperity of Africa Vetus in its original geographical and administrative limits, Septimius Severus adopts a more active approach in Tripolitania⁵⁶, where Legio III Augusta is attested numerous times in these years⁵⁷. Despite the fact that the literary sources tell us about external threats coming from native populations, it is still uncertain if the defensive system elaborated in this period had or had not a purely preventive role⁵⁸. The actions of the army were concentrated especially on creating new routes and stationes and consolidation of military presence in certain regions that until then escaped their control.

A very important military action was led by Quintus Anicius Faustus for the pacification of the Garamantes⁵⁹, organized in a kingdom to the south of Roman Tripolitania, ini most of the modern day Fezzan. The infiltration of the roman army in this Saharan region could be observed thank to the discovery of the ruins of the forts from Bu Ndjem, Gheria el Garbia and Ghadames⁶⁰. There is a small possibility that Septimius Severus himself took part in this campaign, even if only in a passive way⁶¹. Despite the fact that written sources do not help us better understand those events that took place at the beginning of the 3rd century, the extensive archaeological research that was carried in the Fezzan and especially at the ancient site of Garama (named Jarma today), the ancient capital of the Garamantes⁶², resulted in important discoveries of footprints of the Roman presence consisting in a material culture that confirms, if not the effective occupation of the city by the army, at least a certain control

⁵⁴ BIRLEY 1999, 147; LE BOHEC 1999, 437-450.

⁵⁵ LASSÈRE 2014, p. 177.

⁵⁶ In Western Tripolitania there was already a military settlement built by Commodus at Tisavar: CIL VIII 11048.

 $^{^{57}}$ A few examples : AE 1967, 539 ; AE 1960, 264 ; CIL VIII 10992 ; AE 1950, 126 .

⁵⁸ GOODCHILD, WARD-PERKINS consider that the threat was real and the campaign led at the beginning of the century was meant to stop an ongoing rebellion: 1949, 81-95

⁵⁹ Aurelius Victor probably thinks of them when he mentions the bellicose peoples that posed a threat to the safety of the Romans from Lepcis Magna: *De Caesaribus*, XX, 9., *HA*, *Vita Septimii Severi*, XVIII, 3.

⁶⁰ GOODCHILD 1954, 56-68.

⁶¹ BIRLEY 1999, 153, through a parallel with his participation, as an emperor, in the campaings from Britannia and in the East. The same opinion is expressed by de MATTINGLY 1995, 93.

⁶² DANIELS 1970; DANIELS 1989, 45–61; MATTINGLY, 2003, 2007, 2010. Garama was desscribed by Pliny the Elder (*HN* V, 36) and Ptolemy (*Geographia*, 4. 6. 12).

or a very strong commercial relations⁶³. Despite the fact that the presence of the Roman army in the interior of the Garamantian state could not be doubted, there are very few possibilities that their capital was actually occupied, even for a limited time ⁶⁴. In any case, the Garamantes do not disappear from history during the 3rd century, their existence being confirm up to the Arab invasion of North Africa⁶⁵.

All these events created a new politic and military situation in Numidia and Africa Proconsularis which led to a very strong fragmentation of the army and the spreading of its soldiers, especially those from Legio III Augusta, in numerous *vexillationes* that are attested epigraphically in various *castrum* and *castella* existent on all the territory of the two provinces⁶⁶. In the same period we can observe an intense activity in Lambaesis too, where the troops built two deposits for the achives⁶⁷ and a thermal complex⁶⁸ and repaired a temple of Silvanus⁶⁹. Lepcis Magna, the birth city of the emperar, is fastly developing in this times, and the dedications for the imperial family are extremely numerous⁷⁰.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Caius Aelius Iulianus and Fuscius Victorinus, two Dacian soldiers recruited at the end of the 2nd century and then sent to Numidia, had a very active military career that consisted in drawing new frontiers, occupying new ground, and building new edifices. The two could have been part of any of these actions, but is impossible to say if they participated in all or even none of them.

The territorial expansion initiated by Septimius Severus and his governors was a partial or at least temporary success and it was, of course, the work of the Roman army. Fuscius Victorinus is a relevant example of a Dacian soldier who was active in an advanced outpost at the limits of the Sahara. More than this, their cases suggest and might represent a proof of a *dilectus* that was organized at the end of the 2^{nd} century in Dacia.

⁶³ On the Trans-Saharan trade see MATTINGLY 2017, 1-52. For a different view, even if previous to the research made by Mattingly, see SWANSON 1975, 582-600. BÉNABOU sees in the occupation of these forts mainly the consolidation of the control of the commercial routes that connected the profound Africa to Lepcis Magna: BÉNABOU 1976, 169-170.

⁶⁴ MATTINGLY 2001, 53. ROMANELLI does not take into consideration the posibility of a serious campaing and justifies these actions by a need to stop an endemic violence that was characteristic to Tripolitania during the Roman times: 1959, 398.

⁶⁵ El Bekri 1913, 32-35.

⁶⁶ LE BOHEC 1989, 394.

⁶⁷ Tabularium legionis, respectivly Tabularium principis: CIL VIII 2555.

⁶⁸ CIL VIII 2671. HA, Vita Severi, 18, 3.

⁶⁹ CIL VIII 2671; HILALI, L'impact de la legio III Augusta dans les provinces romaine d'Afrique. L'aspect religieux, p. 484. Yann LE BOHEC consideres that this is a new temple: 1989. Most probably it is just a consolidation of the one that was built in 161-162 and was dedicated not only to Silvanus Pegasianus, but to Asclepios, Salus and Jupiter Valens too: BENSEDDIK, 1995, 16-23.

⁷⁰ MATTINGLY 1995, 198-201. CORDOVANA 2012, 56-75.

Both Caius Aelius Iulianus and Fuscius Victorinus might have participated in multiple operations beyond the limits of Numidia. More than this, the Roman army was present in the Tripolitanian desert too during an expedition in the territory of the Garamantes. Unlike other Dacian soldiers from Numidia, they were active in a time when the Roman authorities sought territorial expansion of the province which materialized in important military expeditions.

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