

Soldiers of Hispanic Origin on the Danubian Border: a Study Through Epigraphic Documentation

José ORTIZ CÓRDOBA¹

Abstract: *In this paper we study the inscriptions of soldiers of Hispanic origin who did their military service on the Danube frontier. Geographically, our study covers the provinces of Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia(e) and Dacia; chronologically, we will move between the 1st and the beginning of the 3rd century AD. The basis of this work is an epigraphic corpus of 19 inscriptions mentioning 27 military men. From these inscriptions, we will analyse the communities of origin of the Hispanic soldiers stationed in the Danubian limes, their period and units of service, their social and family relations and, in the case of the veterani, their return to civilian life.*

Rezumat: *În această lucrare studiem inscripțiile acelor soldați de origine hispanică care și-au desfășurat serviciul militar pe frontiera Dunării. Din punct de vedere geografic, studiul nostru acoperă provinciile Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia(e) și Dacia; cronologic, ne vom deplasa între secolul I și începutul secolului al III-lea d.Hr. La baza acestei lucrări stă un corpus epigrafic de 19 inscripții care include 27 de militari. Pornind de la aceste inscripții vom analiza comunitățile de origine ale soldaților hispanici staționați pe limesul danubian, perioada și unitățile de serviciu, relațiile lor sociale și familiale și, în cazul veteranelor, integrarea lor în viața civilă.*

Keywords: milites; veterani; Hispania; roman army; limes; Danube; epigraphy.

1. Introduction

The different testimonies collected in literary and epigraphic documentation trace the presence of Hispanic recruits in the Roman army as of the end of the Republican period². The most outstanding example is that of the *Turma Salluitana*, a group of equestrians from the Ebro valley who took part in the Social War and received Roman citizenship as a reward for their good services, as detailed in the bronze plaque found in Ascoli (*CIL* VI, 37045). During these years, several Hispanic soldiers also served as escorts for key figures in the final stage of the Republic. Particularly noteworthy are the cases of Caesar and Octavian. The former was usually accompanied, before his assassination, by a guard of Hispanic soldiers (Suet. *Caes.*, 86),

¹ Department of Ancient History, University of Granada, Spain. E-mail: joseortiz@ugr.es. ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3737-1115>. This work is the result of the research project *Ex castris ad forum: ejército y oligarquías locales en Hispania y el norte de África* (PPJIA2023-129), funded by the Plan Propio de Investigación de la University of Granada and forms part of the research of the Grupo HUM-215. *Arqueología e historia de la Hispania Meridional en época Romana y Visigoda*, University of Granada.

² Prior to this, literary sources also inform us of the participation of groups of mercenaries of Peninsular origin in several conflicts. In this regard, GARCÍA-GELABERT PÉREZ and BLÁZQUEZ MARTÍNEZ 1987-1988, 257- 270.

while the latter was protected by a detachment of *Calagurritani* during the war against Antony (Suet. *Aug.*, 49). Subsequently, the beginning of the Principality and the full integration of the Iberian Peninsula into the Roman Empire favoured an increase in the presence of Hispanic soldiers in the army. The study of epigraphic documentation confirms their presence on the Rhenish-Danubian *limes* and in other important border areas such as *Britannia* and North Africa. Also in the Iberian Peninsula itself, where numerous Hispanics served in the legions *III Macedonica*, *X Gemina* and *VI Victrix*, which formed the nucleus of the military garrison established by Rome after the Cantabrian Wars, and, of course, in the ranks of the *legio VII Gemina*, permanently garrisoned in *Hispania* from 74 AD³. The presence of soldiers of peninsular origin can also be detected in Italy, where the weight of the army was not as important as it was in the provincial territories, since only the fleets of Ravenna and Miseno and the various corps – *praetoriani*, *urbaniciani*, *vigiles* and *equites singulares Augusti* – that made up the urban militia of Rome were stationed there. Various Hispanics, who passed the strict requirements for membership of these units, also served in the latter⁴.

The movement of Spanish soldiers throughout the imperial geography was a direct consequence of the needs of the service and the directives issued by the central power, which were conditioned by the political situation at any given time. One of the sectors which received most attention was the northern frontier, whose contours were delimited by the Rhine and the Danube, the two great Central European rivers. The main aim of this work is to study the Hispanic military men who served along the Danube frontier. We understand as such the broad geographical sector comprising the provinces of *Raetia*, *Noricum*, *Pannonia*, *Moesia* and *Dacia* (Figure 1). Numerous Hispanic soldiers travelled there. Many of them died in active service and received the homage of their comrades-in-arms; others managed to complete their service and chose to settle voluntarily in these territories after having received the *honesta missio*.

³ The composition and recruitment system of the Roman legions was dealt with by G. FORNI (1953) in a work that can be considered a classic. Subsequently, the participation of Hispanics in the Roman army has been studied in numerous works, both general (ROLDÁN HERVÁS 1974; LE ROUX 1982) and specific (for example: PEREA YÉBENES 1994, 373-382; 2001, 213-219; RICCI 1992, 103-143; 2005, 267-276; MORALES RODRÍGUEZ 2014, 217-232; ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2017, 135-158; 2018, 83-116; 2019, 71-91; 2022, 85-129; HERNÁNDEZ GUERRA 2016, 137-153; 2017, 379-416; LÓPEZ CASADO 2018; 2021). Special mention should be made of the monographic study dedicated to the Hispanic *legio par excellence*, the *VII Gemina*, carried out by PALAO VICENTE 2006.

⁴ Several works have dealt, to a greater or lesser extent, with the presence of Hispanics both in the praetorian guard (ROLDÁN HERVÁS 1974, 263-265; RICCI 1992, 121-125; 2005, 267-276; PITILLAS SALAÑER 2004, 141-152; CEÑAL MARTÍNEZ 2009, 59-80; SANTOS YANGUAS 2014, 185-195) and in the urban cohorts of Rome (ROLDÁN HERVÁS 1974, 265; CEÑAL MARTÍNEZ 2009-2010, 131-138). A general study of all the Hispanics who served in the urban militia of Rome, including also the corps of *vigiles* and the *equites singulares Augusti*, in ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2022, 85-129.



Figure 1. Provinces of Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia and Dacia in the general context of the Roman Empire (own elaboration from Wikimedia Commons).

In order to select the epigraphic documentation, we have examined the *CIL* indexes corresponding to the territories mentioned, the different provincial *corpora* carried out subsequently and the information collected in periodicals such as *Année Épigraphique* (*AE*) and in computer databases such as *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby* (*EDCS*) or *Epigraphic Database Heidelberg* (*HD*). These data have been cross-checked and complemented with the information gathered in the different works that deal with the presence of Hispanic soldiers in the Roman army. From all these sources of information we have compiled the documentary basis of this contribution, an epigraphic *corpus* consisting of 19 inscriptions referring to 27 soldiers. The main criterion used to compile this documentation was the explicit mention of a Hispanic *origo*⁵. This term indicates the civic community or legal entity to which an individual is attached, and is the most reliable element we have to determine the existence of mobility⁶.

2. Documented units

The Hispanic soldiers included in this study served in fifteen different units, as detailed in Table 1. Eight of them are legions, while the rest are auxiliary corps, namely five *alae* and two *cohortes*.

⁵ On the *origo*, LASSÈRE 2005, 128-136; GRÜLL 2018, 139-150.

⁶ We have disregarded in this work other less reliable indicatives related, for example, to onomastics, where *cognomina* that have an ethnic-geographical character may appear, such as *Hispanus* or *Cantaber* (KAJANTO 1982, 198-199), or others traditionally associated with the Peninsula, such as *Reburus/Reburinus* (UNTERMANN 1965, 155, map 66; ALBERTOS FIRMAT 1966, 191-192). All of them could be indicative of a probable Hispanic origin, although without offering us total certainty.

Name of the unit	Number of testimonies
Legions	
<i>Legio X Gemina</i>	4
<i>Legio XIII Gemina</i>	3
<i>Legio XI Claudia</i>	1
<i>Legio I Adiutrix</i>	1
<i>Legio II Adiutrix</i>	1
<i>Legio III Macedonica</i>	1
<i>Legio III Flavia</i>	1
<i>Legio I Italica</i>	1* (served also in <i>Cohors V Asturum</i>)
Unknown unit	5
Auxiliary units	
<i>Ala Pannoniorum</i>	3
<i>Ala II Aravacorum</i>	2
<i>Ala II Asturum</i>	1
<i>Ala III Thracum</i>	1
<i>Ala ¿?</i>	1
<i>Cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum</i>	1
<i>Cohors V Asturum</i>	1* (served also in the <i>Legio I Italica</i>)

Table 1. Military units observed and number of soldiers who lived in each of them (own elaboration).

3. Hometowns of Hispanic soldiers

The documentation gathered in this work, excluding the uncertain cases (nos. 19, 27), shows that, at a provincial level, three of the Hispanics came from *Baetica*, another three from *Lusitania* and seventeen from *Hispania Citerior*. Two more cases must be added to these, where the origin is indicated by the formula *domo Hispanus*, which does not allow us to determine the place of origin (nos. 22, 23). At the level of specific cities, the soldiers came from sixteen different civic communities (Figure 2), most of them with privileged legal status, although in the sample collected there are also references to several *populi* (nos. 21, 26) and indications of provenance that refer to broad entities, such as the province of *Lusitania* (nos. 17, 18) or *Hispania* itself (nos. 22, 23).

a) Colonies

Pliny records the existence in *Hispania* of twenty-six colonies under Roman law, nine in *Baetica* (*nat.* III, 7), five in *Lusitania* (*nat.* IV, 117) and twelve in *Citerior* (*nat.* III, 18). Most of them were established between the battle of *Munda* (45 BC) and the first decades of the Augustan principality⁷. They were made up of members of the urban plebs of Rome and veterans of the army demobilised after the civil wars. We have a total of eleven soldiers from the Hispanic colonies. In the case of *Citerior*, four colonies contribute references to this work: *Tarraco*, the city of origin of *T. Aurelius Silvanus* (no. 2); *Salaria*, from where *C. Iulius Candidianus* (no. 5) and *C. Iulius Lupercus* (no. 24); *Caesar Augusta*, home community of *L. Aurelius Sequens* (no. 1), *L. Caesius Flaccus* (no. 4) and *C. Vitellius Seranus* (no. 14); and *Clunia*⁸, indicated as *origo* in the inscriptions of *C. Aurelius Vegetus* (no. 3), *L. Iulius Leuganus* (no. 6) and [---]*vius Reburrus* (no. 15). In contrast, much less information is provided by the Roman colonies of *Lusitania* and *Baetica*. It is reduced to only two inscriptions, that of *T. Iulius Vegetus*, a native of *Augusta Emerita* (no. 7), and that of *Tuccitanus L. Marcius Marcianus* (no. 9).

b) Municipalities

This second section comprises a total of eight examples. Four of them come from municipalities promoted in the time of Caesar or Augustus. Leaving aside the case of *L. Livius Rusticus*, a native of *Ulia Fidentia*, in *Baetica* (no. 8), all the inscriptions relating to these municipalities come from *Citerior*, where we know of *C. Valerius Proculus*, originally from *Calagurris* (no. 12); *C. Valerius Silvinus*, a native of *Valentia* (no. 13); and a legionary who came from *Castulo* (no. 16), whose name is unknown.

Three other cases have been documented in municipalities of the Flavian period, present in the whole Peninsula after the general concession of the *ius Latii* made by Vespasian (*Plin. nat.* III, 30)⁹. All the inscriptions relating to these municipalities refer to *Citerior*, the region of origin of *Bovegius*, a native of *Lancia* (no. 20); *L. Valerius Galenus* (no. 11), a native of *Lucus Augusti*; and of the *Bracaraugustanus* [-] *Iulius Pintamus* (no. 25)¹⁰.

One last case must added to these references, a case which represents some peculiarities.

⁷ In this respect, ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2021.

⁸ It is a colony later than those established by Caesar and Augustus, since its promotion would have taken place during the first century AD, although this fact has given rise to various considerations in historiography and has been questioned by some (on this subject, see CASTILLO 1988, 234 and note 7; FARIA 1999, 32). The colonial status of the city appears both in literary documentation, since Ptolemy (*Geog.* II, 6, 55) refers to it as *Sulpicia*, and in epigraphy, where the expression *colon(iae) Cluniensium* appears (*CIL* II, 2780). Its promotion has traditionally been linked to Galba (see HALEY 1992, 159-164, with bibliography in note 1), although some authors consider that it could date back to the time of Claudius or Nero (PEREA YÉBENES 2001, 219).

⁹ On the Flavian municipalisation in *Hispania*, ANDREU PINTADO 2004. For the specific case of the province of *Baetica*, MORALES RODRÍGUEZ 2003.

¹⁰ We have included in this group the cases from *Lucus Augusti* and *Bracara Augusta*, two of the conventual capitals of northwestern Spain, for which a municipal promotion in the Flavian period has traditionally been proposed (on this subject, WIEGELS 1985, 100 and 123; ANDREU PINTADO 2004, 143-144 and 147).

This is *Anticaria*, hometown of *C. Sentius Flaccus* (no. 10), whose date of transformation into a municipality has generated some debate. Several authors have defended its status as a Flavian municipality, which seems to be the most probable¹¹. However, the *Flaccus* inscription has traditionally been used to support a municipal promotion in the time of Galba, since this legionary was inscribed in the *Sulpicia* tribe, one of the so-called pseudo-tribes¹². According to this theory, his name would derive from one of the honorific appellations held by *Anticaria*, which refers to Galba's name and could reflect its transformation into a municipality during his reign¹³.

c) References to *populi*/regions

In this section we include two references. The first of these is that of *T. Claudius Pintamus*, who defines himself as *natione [Zoel]a* (no. 21), one of the peoples that Pliny (*nat.* III, 28) included among the *Augustani Astures* and who would have occupied the area between Trás-os-Montes (northeast of Portugal) and the Tierra de Aliste (Zamora)¹⁴. The second inscription is the military diploma of the auxiliary *Iustus* (no. 26), who is identified as *Ca(l)laicus*.

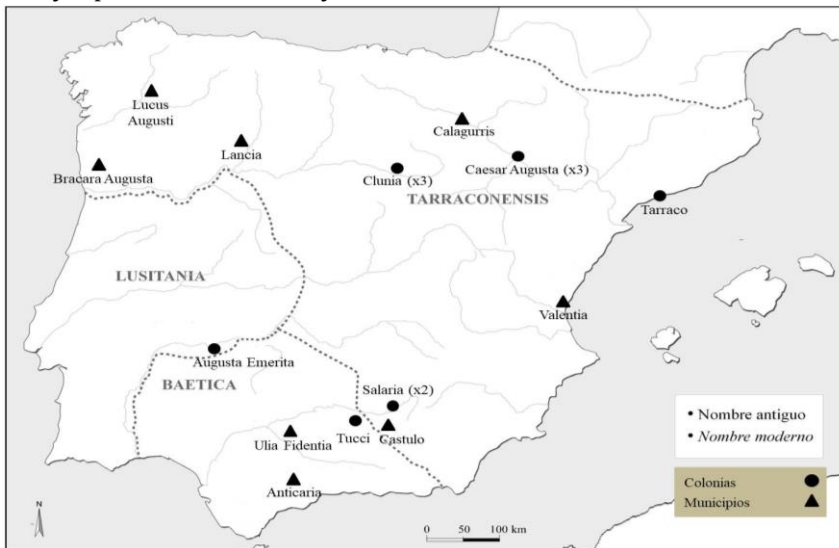


Figure 2. Communities of origin of the Hispanics studied (excluding doubtful or undetermined cases). The number of individuals documented in the cities with more than one case is shown in brackets (own elaboration).

¹¹ WIEGELS 1985, 13 and 14, note 3; ABASCAL PALAZÓN and ESPINOSA RUIZ 1989, 74-75, figure 9, no. 3 and 87, note 57; CORTIJO CEREZO 1993, 203; CASTILLO 1999, 274; BELTRÁN LLORIS 2000, 644. For J. ANDREU PINTADO (2004, 216, note 573) the Flavian municipalisation of *Anticaria* could be admitted, although he considers that this hypothesis cannot be completely certain.

¹² In this respect, FORNI 1985, 3-12.

¹³ GALSTERER 1971, 35-36 and 65, no. 2; LE ROUX 1982, 220; HERNÁNDEZ GUERRA 2017, 392. On this question and its problematic, see WIEGELS 1985, 13-14; DEL CASTILLO ÁLVAREZ 1997, 375-386.

¹⁴ TOVAR 1989, 112; TIR K-29, s.v. *Zoelae*.

d) Undetermined communities

Within this group we have six cases where the provenance cannot be determined with certainty. In four of them a generic formula is used which prevents us from specifying the community of origin, as we see in the inscription of *T. Claudius Valerius* (no. 22) and his brother *Flaccus* (no. 23), where the formula *domo Hispanus* appears, and in the panels of the Adamklissi Trophy, where two Lusitanian legionaries of unknown onomastics appear (nos. 17 and 18). The two remaining cases, on the other hand, do mention the *origo* of their protagonists, although the communities to which they refer have not yet been located. Both examples appear in the inscription *CIL* III, 4227. They are *Abilus* (no. 19) and *Pentius* (no. 27). The first is defined as *Lucocadiacus* and the second as *Aligantiensis*, terms that would refer to the communities of *Lucocadia* and *Aligantia*, of uncertain location, since their place names appear neither in the literary documentation nor in other inscriptions, to date. However, in this epigraph there is a third soldier called *Bovegius* who declares himself to be a native of *Lancia* (Villasabariego, León), one of the cities of the Asturs. Since all three men served in the same unit and appear together in the same inscription, we can assume that they come from the same area. Thus, the location of *Lancia* in Astur territory would allow us to propose a similar location for the other two communities¹⁵. This hypothesis would also be supported by the onomastics of these soldiers, as their names are characteristic of the Asturian area¹⁶.

4. Destination areas and service development

The inscriptions of the Hispanic military men studied in this work come from six different provinces (Figure 3); the territories that provide the most evidences are *Pannonia Superior*, with eleven, and *Moesia Inferior*, with six.

¹⁵ SCHULTEN 1962, 125 and 128. In the opinion of A. TOVAR (1989, 469), the onomastics of *Abilus* and *Pentius* would place both communities in the area of León, while N. SANTOS YANGUAS (2016, 14-15 and 38) places them in Asturian territory following the proposal of A. Schulten. For his part, J. M. SOLANA SAINZ (2017, 167 and 172) considers that *Lucocadia* could be one of the *oppida* of the *Luggones* of the *Astures Cismontani*, also suggesting that the toponym *Aligantia* could have survived in Arganza/San Vicente de Aslanza (province of León). His opinion is quite similar to that expressed earlier by P. LE ROUX (1982, 189, no. 69), who identified *Lucocadia* as an oppidum of the *Luggones* of the *Astures Transmontani*.

¹⁶ SANTOS YANGUAS 2016, 38; PERALTA LABRADOR 2018, 126 (this author relates them particularly to the Cantabrian Orgenomesque and Vadinian areas, neighbours of the Lancians).

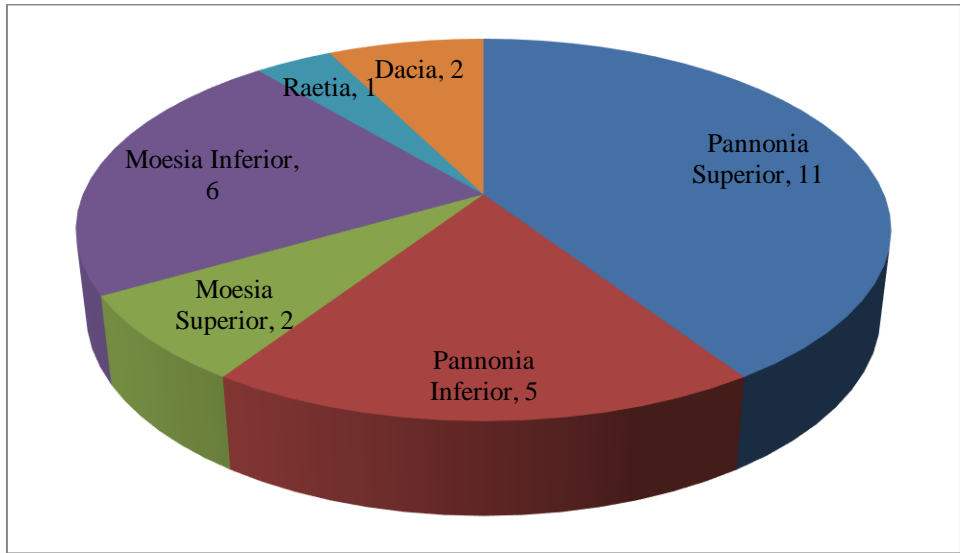


Figure 3. Geographical distribution of the military men studied (own elaboration).

4.1 Raetia

The inscription of [-] *Iulius Pintamus* (no. 25), a native of *Bracara Augusta* (Braga, Portugal), has been found at *Augusta Vindelicorum*. He was honoured between the second half of the 2nd century AD and the beginning of the 3rd century AD by his wife, *Clementia Popeia*, who made the funerary inscription for her *marito optimo* and herself while she was still alive. The epigraphic text refers to *Pintamus* as *veteranus ex decurione alae*. His *nomen* is extremely common and widespread in both *Hispania* and *Raetia*¹⁷, while his *cognomen* is of indigenous descent and refers to the Lusitanian-Galician area¹⁸. This could indicate that he was a Romanised indigenous man who served in one of the auxiliary *alae* of the Roman army, whose name we do not know.

After his retirement he was integrated into the municipal elite of *Augusta Vindelicorum* (Augsburg, Germany), the capital of *Raetia*. This is indicated by the expression *decurio municipii Aeli A(u)g(usti)*, which indicates the incorporation of [-] *Iulius Pintamus* into the *ordo decurionum* of the city, thus demonstrating the fulfilment of the economic and social requirements demanded by this notable position. In relation to the latter, it is important to point out that, despite serving in an auxiliary unit, the onomastics with *tria nomina*; the clearly Latin filiation – *C(ai) filius* –; and the membership of the *Quirina* tribe, typical of the

¹⁷ GALLEGO FRANCO 1998-1999, 195-209; 1998a, 77-78; ABASCAL PALAZÓN 1994, 151-163. For the Hispanic case, see also the records of this *nomen* in the ADOPIA database

¹⁸ UNTERMANN 1965, 147-148 and map 61; ALBERTOS FIRMAT 1966, 183, 283 and 295; VALLEJO RUIZ 2005, 371-375.

cives of *Bracara Augusta*, would indicate that [-] *Iulius Pintamus* was in possession of Roman citizenship when he joined the army. This consideration would also be supported by his position as *decurio*, an officer's post for which it was necessary to hold citizenship¹⁹.

The establishment of *Pintamus* in the municipality of *Augusta Vindelicorum* did not imply a change of tribe, as our protagonist maintained his affiliation to the *Quirina* instead of taking the *Sergia* tribe held by the *cives* of his new community²⁰. It is also important to note that the use of the tribe is very rare among the men of *Raetia*, *Pintamus* being one of the few examples documented in this province²¹. Perhaps we can relate this character to the *C. Iulius Pintamus* documented in an epitaph from *Bracara Augusta* where it is indicated that he was the patron saint of *C. Iulius Pudens*, who died between the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD (AE 1973, 297).

4.2 Pannonia

This region has the largest number of Hispanic soldiers, a total of fifteen, distributed as follows: eleven in *Pannonia Superior* and five in *Pannonia Inferior*.

4.2.1 Pannonia Superior

Most of the inscriptions from *Pannonia Superior* come from *Carnuntum*. The oldest documented evidence from this city refers to two legionaries from *Baetica* who served in the the *legio X Gemina* during the 1st century AD. They are *L. Livius Rusticus* (no. 8), a native of *Ulia Fidentia*, and *L. Marcus Marcianus* (no. 9), a native of *Augusta Gemella Tucci*. The former died at the age of 45 after 26 years of service, while the latter died ten years younger, at the age of 35, after serving for eleven years. Both were honoured by their heirs, whose names we do not know, and they bear the tribes of their respective communities of origin, *Galeria* in the case of *Ulia* and *Sergia* in the case of *Tucci*²². They also have the peculiarity of indicating their years of service with the formula *aera*, an expression used during the 1st century AD by some military units stationed in the western provinces of the Empire, most notably the *legio X Gemina*²³. Both were recruited during the stay of this legion in *Hispania* and they would later have moved to the Danubian frontier²⁴. Their epitaphs are dated between 63 and 68 AD, during which time this unit was stationed at the frontier camp of *Carnuntum*²⁵.

Two other inscriptions which present greater problems of reading and interpretation

¹⁹ This was noted by M. SPEIDEL (1980, 211-212) when commenting on the case of *M. Valerius Hispanus*, another *decurio* of Hispanic origin, in this case from *Leonica* (conv. *Caesaraugustanus*), who also served in an auxiliary unit. On this character, see ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2023, 195, no. 8 and 204-205.

²⁰ On the tribe of *Augusta Vindelicorum*, KUBISCHETK 1889 (repr. 1972), 222-223 and AE 2001, 1562.

²¹ GALLEGO FRANCO 1998-1999, 197; HERNÁNDEZ GUERRA 2017, 384, nº 6.

²² WIEGELS 1985, 59 and 63.

²³ In this regard, GÓMEZ-PANTOJA and CASTILLO SANZ 2014, 507-518.

²⁴ LE ROUX estimates that *L. Livius Rusticus* would have been recruited between 37-42 AD (1982, 180 and 324), while *L. Marcus Marcianus* would have been called up shortly after, in the period 52-57 AD (1982, 180, no. 29 and 324).

²⁵ On the stay of this legion in *Carnuntum*, RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2001, 298.

could be included in this same period, as they do not include the name of the legionary unit in which their protagonists served. Despite this, their discovery at *Carnuntum* has traditionally allowed them to be attributed to the camp of *legio X Gemina* and to be dated to the legion's stay in the city (63-68 AD)²⁶. The first of these is the funerary inscription of *T. Iulius Vegetus* (no. 7), of which only the upper part has survived. The lower part, which included the name of the unit, important data such as the age at death and the years of service of the deceased has disappeared. According to P. Le Roux, this legionary from *Emerita* would have been recruited between the reigns of Claudius and Nero, that is, during the stay of *legio X* in the Iberian Peninsula, and later moved with it to the border of the Danube, where he would have died²⁷. The same career could be attributed to *C. Valerius Silvinus*, a native of *Valentia* (no. 13), who died in *Carnuntum* at the age of 60²⁸. He has a very long military career, claiming to have served for 34 years, which would place his recruitment in the period 30-35 AD²⁹. He would have died, like his other companions of the *X Gemina*, during the legion's stay in *Pannonia*.

The epitaph of the *Calagurritanus C. Valerius Proculus* (no. 12), *eques legionis* in the *XI Claudia*, is dated to the beginning of the 2nd century AD. He was probably recruited at the end of the 1st century AD, although he had a very short period of service, as he died at the age of 30 after having been enrolled for only nine years³⁰. His unit was transferred from *Germania* to *Pannonia* around 100 AD, coinciding with the start of the Dacian Wars. This unit passed successively through the bases of *Brigetio*, *Carnuntum* and *Aquincum* in this province until, in 107 AD, once the conquest of Dacia had been completed, it established itself definitively in *Moesia Inferior*³¹. The death of *C. Valerius Proculus*, whose inscription could therefore be dated to the period 100-107 AD, would have taken place within this chronological framework.

The veteran *T. Aurelius Silvanus*, whose epitaph defines him as *natione Hispanus Tarraconensis* (no. 2), would also have served during the second century. This formula, chosen by *Silvanus* himself, since the inscription was made while he was still alive, clearly indicates his Hispanic origin (*natione Hispanus*), to which he then adds the precision of having been

²⁶ RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2001, 298.

²⁷ LE ROUX 1982, 179, no. 25 and 325.

²⁸ The Hispanic origin of this legionary was accepted by J. M. ROLDÁN HERVÁS (1974, 306-307, no. 559) and also, although with some reservations, by P. LE ROUX (1982, 176, nos. 15 and 256), since there is a city called *Valentia* in *Gallia Narbonensis*. The *Fabia* tribe in which *Silvinus* was inscribed does not make it possible to clarify whether it was one or the other, since the *cives* of Hispanic *Valentia* were censused in the *Galeria* (WIEGELS 1985, 142), while those of Gallic *Valentia* used the *¿Aniensis?* (KUBISCHETK 1889 (reed. 1972), 204). Nevertheless, *Silvinus'* membership of *legio X Gemina*, which remained on the Iberian Peninsula for much of the 1st century AD, would point to a probable Hispanic origin for this legionary.

²⁹ LE ROUX 1982, 176, no. 15 and 326.

³⁰ LE ROUX 1982, 221, no. 174 and 324.

³¹ RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2001, 313.

born in *Tarraconensis*, a toponym that could be either a generic reference to the province of origin or a specific indication of his community of origin, in this case the city of *Tarraco*³². In any case, *Silvanus* moved from his native *Hispania* to the border of the Danube, where he served as *magister navaliurum* in the ranks of the *legio XIII Gemina*, a responsibility that would allude to his service in the *navalia* of this unit. This term would most probably refer to a complex of military shipyards now documented for the first time at *Carnuntum*. These facilities would be linked to the fleets of ships that the Danube legions used to patrol the river, which may have had one of their headquarters in the river port of this city³³. This fact, together with the use of the formula *nation(e) Hispan(us)*, has led to the hypothesis that *Silvanus* was a sailor or an auxiliary transferred to *legio XIII*³⁴. He attained a prominent position in this unit, since the term *magister* would indicate his status as an officer of high rank, perhaps centurion, within these *navalia*.

After his discharge he settled in *Carnuntum*. This decision may have been influenced by the fact that his wife, *Aelia Iustina*, was probably of Pannonian origin³⁵. He formed his family in this city, as indicated in his funerary inscription which would have been located in a family tomb where the wife and three children of *T. Aurelius Silvanus*, all of whom died at an early age, were also buried. In fact, it is likely that this *veteranus*, given his advanced age of 81, was the last member of his family to die, an event that would have taken place in the second half of the 2nd century AD.

³² In this regard, WEBER 2010, 207 and ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2019a, 81 (both identify him as a native of *Tarraco*); ÓZCÁRIZ GIL 2021, 39 (not inclined to either option).

³³ REDDÉ 1986, 301-302. It is important to note that in *Carnuntum* there is only one other epigraph that contains references to the fleet or, at least, to some kind of vessel. This is the funerary stele dedicated by a *frumentarius* of *legio X Gemina* to his wife and son, on the head of which is depicted a ship, probably a cargo ship given its appearance, with the inscription *Felix Itala* (AE 1990, 797). Similarly, the position of *magister navaliurum* is rare in epigraphy. We know the expression *mag(ister) nava[liis(?)]* in an inscription from *Praeneste* in Italy (EDR072207) and the formula *optio naval(iorum)*, which could perhaps be assimilated, in two epigraphs from *Mogontiacum*, in *Germania Superior* (CIL XIII, 6712 and 6714), and probably in a rather fragmentary inscription from *Aleria in Corsica* (AE 1968, 284).

³⁴ MASTINO 2021, 480. In the world of citizens this formula is documented, above all, in inscriptions of freedmen or soldiers of pilgrim origin. On the use of the term *natio* as a way of indicating the *origo*, see LASSÈRE 2005, 132-134, and for the specific case of the expression *natione Hispanus*, see the work of ÓZCÁRIZ GIL 2021, 21-45.

³⁵ WEBER 2010, 207.

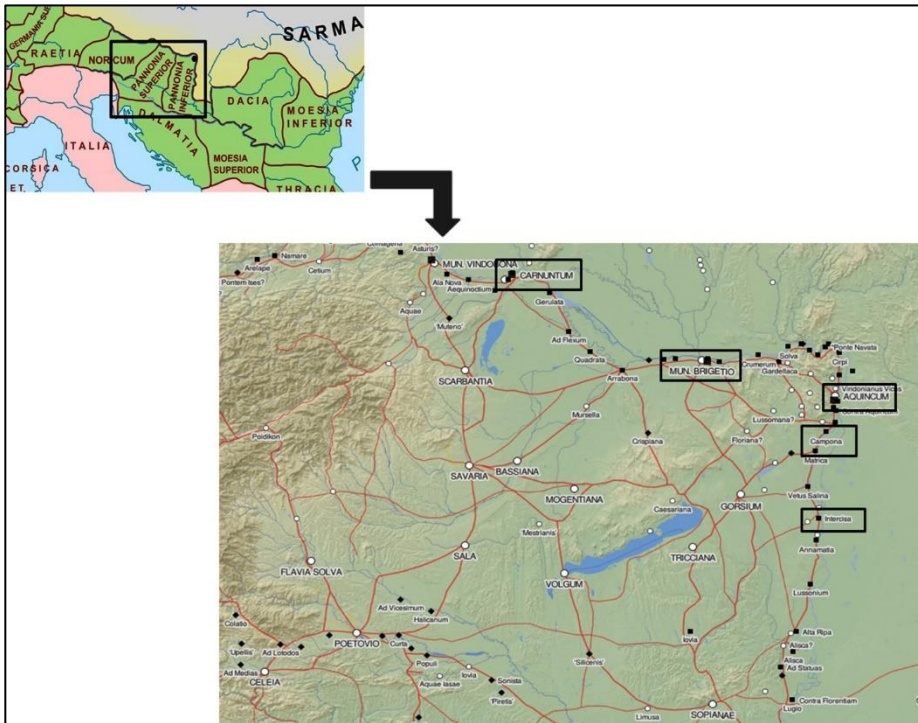


Figure 4. Distribution of the inscriptions documented in *Pannonia Superior e Inferior* (own elaboration from Wikimedia Commons and Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire).

We know of the presence of two Hispanics who share kinship, origin and military occupation Southeast of *Carnuntum*, in *Brigetio* (Szöny, Hungary). Both are documented in the same funerary inscription, which has been dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD. It is the epitaph that *C. Iulius Candidianus* (no. 5), in his capacity as heir, raised in memory of his *avunculus pientissimus C. Iulius Lupercus* (no. 24), who died at the age of 50. In addition to this relationship, the inscription also indicates the veteran status of *Lupercus*, who served as a *decurio* in the *ala III Thracum*, a unit probably created in the time of Augustus and stationed in Syria during the 1st century AD, later participating in the conquest of Dacia. After the conquest, he would have been stationed in *Pannonia*, where his presence is documented during the 2nd century AD and where he would have retired³⁶.

At the time of *Lupercus*' death his nephew *Candidianus* was acting as *beneficiarius legati* in the *legio I Adiutrix*. These soldiers, who formed part of the so-called *principales*, carried out work of various kinds in the service of the general staff or one of its officers, and were also employed in the offices of the provincial governors, where they played an important

³⁶ On this unit, CICHORIUS, *RE* IV 1 cols. 1266-1267; ZAHARIDE 2007, 1511-1512.

administrative role³⁷. The *legio I* was created irregularly during the civil war of 69, being sent to *Hispania* by Emperor Vitellius and then transferred by Vespasian to the Germanic frontier, being cantoned in *Mogontiacum* (*Germania Superior*). In the time of Domitian this legion was transferred to the Danubian *limes*, setting up camp at *Brigetio*, an important strategic point in *Pannonia Superior*, a province where it may have coincided with the *ala Thracum*³⁸.

As mentioned above, uncle and nephew share a common origin. This is indicated by the formula *domo Sala*, which has been developed as *domo Sala(ria)* and which would refer to the Hispanic colony located in Úbeda la Vieja (Jaén)³⁹. However, some authors consider that the *origo* is complete, linking these soldiers to the North African *Sala* (Salé, Morocco)⁴⁰. The epigraphic collection attributed to this city is not very extensive (79 inscriptions in *EDCS*) and, although in several inscriptions the *r(es) p(ublica) Salensium* (*AE* 1963, 65; *AE* 1992, 1944) and the appellative *Salenses* (*AE* 1992, 1944) are used to refer to its inhabitants, in none of them is the city mentioned only as *Sala*, so this would be the first case. On the other hand, the presence of the *gens Iulia*, to which both soldiers belong, is limited to a single testimony (*EDCS-08800282*). Nor does the epigraphy of this city record the formula *domo Sala* as an indication of the *origo*. In contrast, the use of the expression *domo + city of origin* is relatively frequent in the Hispanic colonies, where it is documented in the inscriptions of several emigrants⁴¹. It is true that the presence of the *gens Iulia* is equally limited in *Salaria*, whose epigraphic corpus is also scarce (19 inscriptions in *EDCS*). Nevertheless, we could perhaps link these soldiers to *M. Iulius Aemilianus*, who was *duumvir* in *Salaria* in the middle of the 2nd century AD and in whose inscription the name of the city appears abbreviated as *Salar(ia)*⁴². Furthermore, the fact that another Hispanic, in this case from *Tarraco* (*CIL* II²/14, 1171), has been documented serving in *ala III Thracum* in the Flavian period could support the peninsular origin of *C. Iulius Lupercus* and *C. Iulius Candidianus*. For all these reasons, we believe that the restitution of the *origo* as *domo Sala(ria)* and the linking of both soldiers with this colony in the south of *Hispania* would be more acceptable⁴³.

Finally, to the south of *Carnuntum*, in the locality of *Gyalokae*, situated between the ancient Roman centres of *Savaria* and *Scarbantia*, we know of the last documented inscription in this province, which mentions three auxiliaries of Hispanic origin: *Abilus* (no. 19), *Bovegius*

³⁷ In this respect, CARRERAS MONFORT 1997, 151-176; NELIS-CLÉMENT 2000, 61; PALAO VICENTE 2006, 147-158.

³⁸ On the trajectory of this legion, RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2001, 32-44.

³⁹ See the commentary by A. Canto in *HEp* 14, 2005, 192. The reading *domo Sala(ria)* appears in the entry for this inscription in the Claus-Slaby database (*EDCS-26600238*).

⁴⁰ LÖRINZC 2001, no. 197. This reading is the one that appears in the Epigraphic Database Heidelberg (*HD039474*).

⁴¹ This can be seen in the inscriptions of *Baebia Venusta*, from *Colonia Patricia* (*CIL* VI, 34664); *Q. Bruttius Crescens*, from *Tucci* (*CIL* XIII, 6856); *M. Vibius Maurinus*, from *Emerita* (ROLDÁN HERVÁS 1974, 453, no. 568); *Caenus*, from *Norba Caesarina* (LE ROUX 1982, 189-190, no. 69 bis); and *L. Afranius Eros*, from *Tarraco* (*CIL* XII, 4377).

⁴² GIMENO PASCUAL 2004-05, 181-184.

⁴³ Hypothesis put forward in several previous works, ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2017, 146-147; 2019b, 82.

(no. 20) and *Pentius* (no. 27). This piece contains the epitaph of the first of these, who served as *aneques* in the *ala Pannoniorum* during the first half of the 1st century AD⁴⁴. He died at the age of 43, after 23 years of service, and was honoured by his heirs, and probably also his comrades-in-arms, *Bovegius* and *Pentius*. His unit must have been created after 9 AD, the year in which the province of *Pannonia* was established⁴⁵. There are several records of this corps. The earliest comes from *Salona* in *Dalmatia* and also mentions a Hispanic auxiliary named *Cloutius* (*CIL* III, 2016). It is likely that this unit was temporarily stationed in *Dalmatia*. Later it would have moved to *Pannonia*, from where the remaining inscriptions mentioning it come from⁴⁶. One of the oldest is the epitaph of *Abilus*, who, together with his companions, was recruited at the beginning of the first century⁴⁷. All of them came from the northwest quadrant of the peninsula, although we can only locate with certainty the place of origin of *Bovegius*, the city of *Lancia*, belonging to the Asturian territory, since the communities of *Abilus* (*Lucocadia*) and *Pentius* (*Aligantia*) have not been located. It is probable, however, that they also belonged to the Astur area (see the comments in point 3, section D), since the onomastics of these auxiliaries (*Abilus*, *Bovegius* and *Pentius*) and their fathers (*Turancus*, *Veminus* and *Doviderus*) refer to the northwest of the Peninsula⁴⁸. Their incorporation into a unit created outside *Hispania* and stationed in a place so far from their homeland could be explained by the lack of local recruits and would imply that the *ala Pannoniorum* was open to foreign soldiers from its beginnings⁴⁹.

4.2.2 *Pannonia Inferior*

⁴⁴ PITILLAS SALAÑER (2006, 26 and 33, table 2, nos. 3, 5 and 10; 2008, 153, no. 1) dates this inscription generically to the first half of the first century AD, while P. HOLDER (1980, 156) places it specifically at the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, a chronology with which B. LÖRINCZ (2001, 203, no. 151) agrees. In contrast, N. SANTOS YANGUAS (2016, 14) takes it to the middle decades of this century, although, later (p. 38), he also places it in the Augustan-Tiberian period.

⁴⁵ HOLDER 1980, 112; MEYER 2012, 110. On the *ala Pannoniorum*, see CICHORIUS, *Ala*, in *RE*, I, 1, col. 1255; SPAUL 1995, 63-73; FERJANČIĆ 2015, 37-44

⁴⁶ On them, see the comments by CICHORIUS, *Ala*, in *RE*, I, 1, col. 1255.

⁴⁷ HOLDER 1980, 283, no. 622, places the recruitment of these Hispanics in the reign of *Augustus*, while LE ROUX 1982, 336 places it in the time of *Claudius*.

⁴⁸ LE ROUX 1982, 189, no. 69; MEYER 2012, 109; SANTOS YANGUAS 2016, 11 and 38; PERALTA LABRADOR 2018, 126. The presence of the name *Abilus*/*Apilus* and its variants is mainly concentrated in the area of the Duero valley and south of Astorga, and there are also some cases in the course of the Tagus (UNTERMAN 1965, 41, map 1; *OPEL* I, 16); *Bovecius*/*Bovegius* is frequent among the Cantabrians (*OPEL* I, 127); while *Pentius* and other names with the same root are documented mainly in the territory of the Cantabrians and, to a lesser extent, of the Vetons (UNTERMAN 1965, 147, map 61; *OPEL* III, 132). The same happens with the onomastics of the fathers of these auxiliaries, since *Turancus* is documented in *Nova Augusta* (Lara de los Infantes, Burgos) with the forms *Turainus* (*CIL* II, 2859) and *Turancicus* (*CIL* II, 2866), while *Doviderus*/*Doviterus* is attested in the Duero area and, in a much more intense form, in the Cantabrian area (UNTERMAN 1965, 106, map 38; *OPEL* II, 108), where the presence among the Vadinians of a *princeps Cantabrorum* called *Dovidero* stands out (MANGAS MANJARRÉS and MARTINO GARCÍA 1997, 321-339).

⁴⁹ MEYER 2012, 110-111.

In this province we have four inscriptions referring to five soldiers of Hispanic origin. Among the legionary units we find *L. Aurelius Sequens* (no. 1), whose epitaph, dated to the beginning of the 2nd century AD, comes from *Campona*. This camp was set up as an auxiliary troop settlement forming part of the defensive line along the Danube. It was located a short distance from the main barracks at *Aquincum* (Budapest), the headquarters of the *legio II Adiutrix*, the unit in which *Sequens* served⁵⁰. This *Caesaraugustanus* attained the status of *veteranus* and after receiving the *honesta missio* decided to settle in the same region where he served. The loss of the final part of his inscription prevents us from knowing other relevant data such as his age when he died or his years of service. Despite these limitations, *Sequens'* membership of the *legio II Adiutrix* provides us with a fairly clear clue as to his date of recruitment. Since this unit was settled in *Aquincum* after the conquest of Dacia, *Sequens'* funerary inscription cannot be earlier than 106 AD⁵¹. If we add to this his status as a *veteranus*, which would imply a period of service of at least 20 years, we can assume that this *Caesaraugustanus* would probably have been recruited during the Flavian dynasty⁵².

Also in the vicinity of *Aquincum* a military diploma was found which mentions *Iustus* (no. 26), of Galician origin, who served as *eques* in the *cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum*. This unit was recruited in the 1st century AD from among the Asturians and Galicians, and was sent shortly afterwards to *Pannonia*, where we know from a military diploma (*CIL XVI*, 26) that it was already established in 80 AD. There, this unit carried out all its service being attached to the province of *Pannonia Inferior* after its creation in 106 AD⁵³. Despite the fragmentary state of the inscription, the mention of the consuls allows us to date this diploma accurately to 145 AD, when *Iustus*⁵⁴ would have been discharged.

Not far from *Aquincum*, in the camp of *Intercissa* (near Dunaújváros, Hungary), *T. Claudius Pintamus*, *eques* of *ala II Asturum* (no. 21), served as *sesquiplicarius*. His *origo*, which is partially preserved, has been restored as *natione [Zoel]a*, one of the peoples belonging to the *Astures Augustani* (*Plin. nat.* III, 28). He died at the age of 53, probably at the end of the 1st century AD, during the early stages of the Flavian dynasty, which would allow us to place his recruitment in the time of Tiberius or Claudius⁵⁵. We cannot be more precise because the loss of the end of the text has prevented us from knowing the years of *Pintamus'* service. Despite this, both P. Holder and B. Lörincz considered that this auxiliary would have completed the statutory twenty-five years and received citizenship in the time of Claudius or Nero⁵⁶. This fact is

⁵⁰ On the history of this unit, RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2001, 73-84.

⁵¹ RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2001, 76.

⁵² ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2019a, 82; 2019b, 108-109.

⁵³ On this unit, CICHORIUS, *Cohors*, in *RE*, IV, 1, col. 248; ROLDÁN HERVÁS 1974, 94-96.

⁵⁴ SANTOS YANGUAS 1988, 240.

⁵⁵ HOLDER 1980, 266, no. 134; PITILLAS SALAÑER 2006, 27; MEYER 2012, 97.

⁵⁶ HOLDER 1980, 266, no. 134; LÖRINCZ 1992, 119. Along these lines, PITILLAS SALAÑER 2006, 27; SANTOS YANGUAS 2006, 90 and 2016, 22; MEYER 2012, 97; HERNÁNDEZ GUERRA, 2017, 385.

reflected in his onomastic structure with the adoption of the *praenomen* Tiberius and the *nomen* Claudius, which would have displaced his old indigenous name, *Pintamus*, which came to act as *cognomen*⁵⁷. Little is known about this soldier's last years. His inscription preserves no allusion to his family, companions or friends, which makes it impossible to determine whether *Pintamus* settled in *Pannonia* after his service or whether he continued his career after becoming a citizen. The fact that his epitaph does not identify him as a veteran may point to the latter, indicating that *Pintamus* was still active at the time of his death⁵⁸.

The fourth and last documented inscription in this province comes from *Teotoburgium* (Dalj, Croatia) and is the epitaph of *T. Claudius Valerius* (no. 22), *decurio* of the *ala II Aravacorum*, who died in the second half of the 1st century AD at the age of 50⁵⁹. He served for 30 years in this unit, which would place his recruitment between the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula⁶⁰. The inscription was erected by the heirs of the deceased in fulfilment of his testamentary mandate. This work was carried out by his daughter, *Claudia Hispanilla*, and his *frater*, *Flaccus* (no. 23), who also attained the rank of *decurio*, probably in the same unit, and from whom we can also infer his Hispanic origin⁶¹. These elements directly allude to the important social content of this inscription, which reflects the importance of family relationships in the life of the soldiers. In this case, these relationships are expressed in two ways: on the one hand, the joint service of *T. Claudius Valerius* and his brother *Flaccus* in the same unit; on the other hand, *Valerius'* formation of a family, perhaps after his retirement, since his epitaph records three decades of service. In this context, it is possible that he may have joined a freedwoman of his, *Claudia Ianuaria*⁶², who also appears in the inscription, with whom he had his daughter and heiress, *Claudia Hispanilla*, whose onomastic would allude to the Hispanic origin of the family⁶³.

4.3 Dacia

⁵⁷ Although the restitution of the *cognomen* of this soldier has been done as *Pintamus*, SANTOS YANGUAS (2006, 90 and 2016, 23-24) considers more correct the options *Pintaius* or *Pintovius*, terms that are more typical of the Asturian area, since *Pintamus* refers to the area of *Bracara Augusta*. Along the same lines, PITILLAS SALAÑER 2006, 29, considers *Pintovius* to be the most acceptable option.

⁵⁸ MEYER 2012, 97-98; SANTOS YANGUAS 2016, 24 and note 45; HERNÁNDEZ GUERRA, 2017, 385.

⁵⁹ On the chronology of the piece, HOLDER 1980, 279, no. 531 and, more recently, MIGOTTI 2016, 174, with bibliography.

⁶⁰ HOLDER 1980, 279, no. 531.

⁶¹ The term *frater* can sometimes have a generic and loose meaning, reflecting the existence of a relationship based on comradeship in arms or a shared geographical or tribal background. However, in the context of this funerary inscription, where *Flaccus* appears as heir together with the daughter of the deceased, the term *frater* acquires a closer and more affectionate connotation that allows us to assume the existence of a family bond with the honoree (Cf. MEYER 2012, 269-270).

⁶² GALLEGO FRANCO 1998b, 90.

⁶³ SPEIDEL 1985, 348. On *Hispanilla* as a derivative of the ethnic *Hispanus/a*, see KAJANTO 1982, 199 and on the presence of the *cognomen Hispanus* in the Danube area, GALLEGO FRANCO 1998b, 87-93.

In this province, we have two inscriptions from *Apulum* that refer to veterans of the *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix* (Figure 5). This unit is known for its involvement in the failed rebellion of *L. Antonius Saturninus*, governor of *Germania Superior* (89 AD), and for its subsequent intervention in the Dacian wars of Trajan (101-102 and 105-106 AD), at the end of which it was transferred to *Carnuntum*, where this *legio* was cantoned⁶⁴. Prior to this transfer, it is possible that its most senior members had been discharged, a circumstance that would explain the discovery in *Apulum*, now Alba Iulia (Romania), of the two inscriptions included in this section.

The first of these is that of the *Anticariensis C. Sentius Flaccus* (no. 10), who died in the middle of the 2nd century AD at the age of 75. He was honoured by his son, who was commissioned to erect a marble funerary inscription recording *Flaccus*' service in the *legio XIII Gemina*. It is possible that this Hispanic may have participated in both the rebellion of *Saturninus* and the conquest of Dacia, as his recruitment dates back to the Flavian period⁶⁵. After completing his years of service, as his *veteranus* status makes explicit, he was installed as a colonist in Dacia by Emperor Trajan, becoming one of the first *decuriones* of the recently founded *Colonia Ulpia Trajana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa*. This circumstance allows us to consider him as belonging to the first generation of Roman magistrates in Dacia, all of them recruited from among the veterans of the war of conquest⁶⁶. His return to civilian life would have been accompanied by the celebration of a marriage and the formation of a family, since it was his son and heir, *C. Sentius Flaccinus*, who was in charge of consecrating the funerary inscription. The inscription also highlights the fact that *C. Sentius Flaccus* belonged to the non-existent *Sulpicia* tribe, which forms what G. Forni called a pseudo-tribe⁶⁷, constructed in this case from one of the possible honorific appellatives held by *Anticaria*, which could reflect the municipal promotion of this community in the time of Galba⁶⁸. It is possible that *Flaccus* may have owned a *fundus* in the vicinity of *Apulum*, a circumstance that would explain why his inscription was found in this area and not in *Sarmizegetusa* itself⁶⁹.

The career of *C. Sentius Flaccus* has important similarities with that of the *Cluniensis L. Iulius Leuganus* (no. 6), another former member of the *legio XIII Gemina* who also died in *Apulum*. We know his life journey through the epigraphic text engraved at the beginning of the 2nd century AD on an altar consecrated to *Victoria Augusta*. It is possible that *Leuganus*, like *Flaccus*, was also involved in the conquest of Dacia, since his recruitment may have taken

⁶⁴ RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2001, 353-355.

⁶⁵ LE ROUX 1982, 220 and 324.

⁶⁶ LE ROUX 1982, 220; CIONGRADI 2007, 159. On Trajan's military colonisation of Dacia, BERMEJO MELÉNDEZ, ROBLES ESPARCIA and CAMPOS CARRASCO 2013, 104-108.

⁶⁷ FORNI 1985, 3-12

⁶⁸ LE ROUX 1982, 220; HERNÁNDEZ GUERRA 2017, 392. On this question, GALSTERER 1971, 35-36; WIEGELS 1985, 13-14; DEL CASTILLO ÁLVAREZ 1997, 375-386

⁶⁹ CIONGRADI 2004, 270.

place in the time of Nero⁷⁰ or at the beginning of the Flavian dynasty⁷¹. After his retirement he settled as a colonist in *Apulum*⁷², where he probably married, since his son, *C. Iulius Paternus*, is listed as a dedicator on this *ara*.

4.4 Moesia

In the territory of *Moesia* we have documented a total of eight references, two of them in *Moesia Superior* and the remaining six in *Moesia Inferior*.

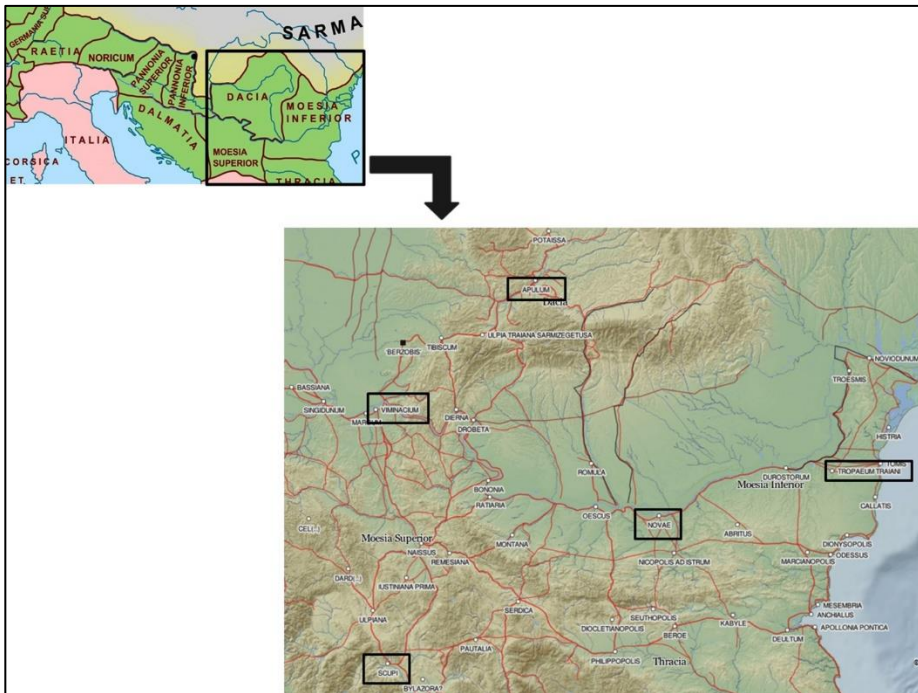


Figure 5. Distribution of inscriptions documented in *Dacia*, *Moesia Superior* and *Moesia Inferior* (own elaboration from Wikimedia Commons and Digital Atlas of the Roman Empire).

4.4.1 *Moesia Superior*

The oldest inscription in this province is that of *L. Valerius Galenus* (no. 11), a native of *Lucus Augusti*, who died at the age of 55 in the city of *Sopiste* at the end of the 1st century AD⁷³. He is identified as a *veteranus* of the *legio IIII Macedonica*, a unit in which he served for 28 years.

⁷⁰ PEREA YÉBENES 2001, 217.

⁷¹ LE ROUX 1982, 219, no. 167 and 325; HALEY 1992, 160, note 7.

⁷² LE ROUX 1982, 219, no. 167.

⁷³ As P. LE ROUX (1982, 188, no. 67) noted at the time and as later authors have argued (SANTOS YANGUAS 1988, 228; HERNÁNDEZ GUERRA 2017, 395), its link with Hispanic city of *Lucus* is possible because of its belonging to the tribe *Galeria*, since the inhabitants of the *Lucus* in *narbonensis* were censused in the tribe *Voltinia*. On the tribe of the *cives* of both cities, KUBISCHETK 1889 (reed. 1972), 197 and 209; WIEGELS 1985, 123.

His recruitment would have taken place in the time of Claudius, under whose rule the unit left *Hispania* to settle on the Germanic frontier⁷⁴. It was there that *L. Valerius Galenus* would have spent part of his service. Later, during the civil war of 69 AD, it is possible that this Hispanic legionary went to Italy with the bulk of his unit to support the imperial candidacy of Vitellius, governor of *Germania Inferior*, who was defeated at the battle of *Cremona* in October of the same year, 69 AD. After Vespasian came to power, the *III Macedonica* was disbanded and its members were either assigned to other units or discharged⁷⁵. This may have been the case of *L. Valerius Galenus*, who settled in the city of Scupi at the beginning of Vespasian's reign and died a few years later⁷⁶.

Somewhat later is the epitaph of *Caesaraugustanus L. Caesius Flaccus* (no. 4), who died in *Viminacium* during the 2nd century AD. The lower part of the inscription has been lost, which prevents us from determining his age at death, of which only the numeral *X[---]* is preserved. *Flaccus* served as a centurion in the *legio III Flavia Felix*, so his inscription must be dated after 86 AD, when this unit was cantoned in *Moesia Superior*⁷⁷. For P. Le Roux, the recruitment of this legionary should be around 100 AD, a date that would be in line with the 2nd century AD chronology proposed for his inscription⁷⁸. The disappearance of the last lines of the text has also prevented us from knowing the years of service. Nevertheless, we can assume that *Flaccus* died while in active service, since the term *veteranus* does not appear on his epitaph. Finally, it is worth noting the peculiar way in which the *origo* is indicated, since the expression *Caesara Aug.* in the third line has not been recorded so far in any of the inscriptions of *Caesaraugustan* emigrants⁷⁹. We can therefore assume that this is an error on the part of the craftsman who engraved the text or of the dedicator of the epigraph. In any case, the fact that *L. Caesius Flaccus* belongs to the tribe *Aniensis* allows us to link him without any doubt to this Hispanic colony⁸⁰.

4.4.2 *Moestia Inferior*

Five of the six references in this province come from *Tropaeum Traiani* (present-day Adamklissi, Romania), the city where Emperor Trajan erected the Trophy commemorating his victory over the Dacians in 109 AD. This huge monument acted as a kind of cenotaph commemorating the memory of the soldiers who died during the Dacian wars, since the names of some 3.000 legionaries and auxiliaries, *fortissimi viri qui pro republica morte occubuerunt*, were inscribed on the walls of an altar built next to it⁸¹. Among these names are

⁷⁴ LE ROUX 1982, 324. On the transfer of the legion to *Germania*, RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2001, 170.

⁷⁵ RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2001, 173.

⁷⁶ LE ROUX 1982, 188, n° 67; SANTOS YANGUAS 1988, 228; PITILLAS SALAÑER 2003, 125.

⁷⁷ RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2001, 158.

⁷⁸ ROLDÁN HERVÁS 1974, 318-319, n° 727; LE ROUX 1982, 299 and 327.

⁷⁹ On the mobility of the inhabitants of *Caesara Augusta*, ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2019b, 81-121.

⁸⁰ WIEGELS 1985, 101.

⁸¹ PEREA YÉBENES 1991, 176; LEFEBVRE 2011, 156. There is some debate about the reconstruction of the onomastics of

several Hispanic soldiers who would have taken part in this war. Unfortunately, the list of names is very deteriorated and we know practically nothing of a legionary from *Castulo* whose name is unknown (no. 16) and of two Lusitanian *milites* whose names remain equally unknown (nos. 17, 18). We have a little more information about two other soldiers from *Hispania Citerior*, of whom we preserve their origin and name. These are the *Cluniensis* [---]vius *Reburrus* (no. 15) and *C. Vitellius Seranus* (no. 14), whose *origo*, traditionally given as [*Ca*]es(are)a, would refer to the Hispanic colony of *Caesar Augusta*⁸². However, it should be noted that this restitution is strange among the inhabitants of the city, so that other towns, such as *Caesarea* or *Caesarea Maritima*, should not be ruled out as possible places of origin for *C. Vitellius Seranus*.

The sixth and last testimony documented in *Moesia Inferior* comes from *Novae* and forms the epitaph of the Clunian *C. Aurelius Vegetus* (no. 3), who died at the end of the 1st century AD⁸³. The piece comes from the camp of the *legio I Italica* and covers the military career of this soldier, which has already been studied in several previous papers⁸⁴. It highlights his service in two different units. The first mentioned in the text is the *cohors V Asturum*, an auxiliary corps, from which he was later transferred to the *legio I Italica*, with which he served in *Moesia* in the Flavian period. Consequently, the 23 years of service indicated in this inscription must be understood as the sum of those in both the *cohors V Asturum* and the *legio I Italica*⁸⁵.

It is difficult to determine the specific circumstances under which *C. Aurelius Vegetus* began his military service. It is possible that his incorporation into the *cohors V Asturum* was related to the additional recruitments carried out by Galba in *Hispania* to support his imperial candidacy (Suet., *Galba*, 10, 2)⁸⁶. In fact, Galba himself took up residence in *Clunia* before leaving for Italy. Perhaps all these events had a bearing on *Vegetus*' joining the ranks, although it could also be a simple coincidence, as J. Kolendo, the first editor of the inscription, has pointed out. In his opinion, it cannot be ruled out that *C. Aurelius Vegetus* had begun his military service before Galba took the imperial throne⁸⁷. In any case, he stresses, any attempt to reconstruct *Vegetus*' career is conditioned by the extremely complex situation experienced

the emperor who appears at the beginning of the inscription, who could be either Domitian (reading in HD017350) or Trajan (reading in EDCS-67400497, with the corresponding epigraphic bibliography), an option currently preferred by most authors and which, given the context of the monument, seems the most likely.

⁸² ROLDÁN HERVÁS 1974, 434, no. 432 and 340-341, no. 432; MAGALLÓN BOTAYA and NAVARRO CABALLERO 1991-1992, 417. Along the same lines, ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2019a, 83; 2019b, 109.

⁸³ Several Clunian soldiers served in the Roman army between the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and the beginning of the Flavian period, as reported by S. PEREA YÉBENES (2001, 213-219).

⁸⁴ KOLENDO 2001, 525-531; PEREA YÉBENES 2002, 93-99. Also, ORTIZ CÓRDOBA 2019a, 83.

⁸⁵ PEREA YÉBENES 2002, 98.

⁸⁶ On this subject, see the comments of LE ROUX 1982, 131-135. The best known is that of the *legio VII Galbiana*, the future *legio VII Gemina* (see the study by PALAO VICENTE 2006), although we also know from Tacitus (*Hist.* IV, 33) that several cohorts of Vasconi were recruited. To these units could be added a wing *Sulpicia c(ivium) R(omanorum)* which would take its name from the imperial gentilium (on this unit, see the comments of SAN VICENTE 2007, 103-110).

⁸⁷ KOLENDO 2001, 529.

by the empire during the “year of the four emperors”⁸⁸. What does seem clear is that *Vegetus*’ service in this auxiliary unit would have involved his transfer to the Rhine frontier, probably to the camp at *Bonna*, where the *cohors V Asturum* had its headquarters⁸⁹.

Another important issue concerns the transfer of *Vegetus* to the *legio I Italica*. The transfer from an auxiliary unit to a legion, where the soldiers possessed Roman citizenship, is a rare event that must take into account the extraordinary circumstances brought about by the civil war of 69 AD⁹⁰. The *cohors V Asturum* was probably destroyed during the revolt of *Iulius Civilis* (69-70 AD), since after that date we have no further evidence of its existence⁹¹. We can suppose that perhaps the surviving members were transferred to other units, as was the case with *C. Aurelius Vegetus*, who was sent to the *legio I Italica*. This unit was recruited by Emperor Nero in 67 AD and during the civil war it supported the imperial candidacy of Vitellius, finally being defeated at the battle of *Cremona* by *Vespasian*’s forces. After his victory, the new emperor moved this *legio* to *Moesia* in 70 AD, establishing its base in the camp of *Novae*⁹².

Vegetus’ career and his change of unit are also important in determining his personal legal status. If we accept that *Vegetus* joined the Roman army in 68 AD, when *Galba* was proclaimed emperor, his death at the age of 40, after 23 years of service, would place us around 91 AD. However, if we accept the hypothesis that he had begun his service before 68 AD, the date on his funerary inscription would also be earlier, making 91 AD a *terminus ante quem*⁹³. According to the above, *Vegetus*’ incorporation into the *cohors V Asturum* would probably be prior to the transformation of *Clunia* into a Roman colony, so that his subsequent transfer to the *legio I Italica* could find a “legal support” in the statutory change of his city, at which time, perhaps, his family would have received Roman citizenship⁹⁴.

5. Conclusions

The epigraphic catalogue that supports this contribution refers to 27 Hispanic military men from 16 different civic communities. Most of these cities have a privileged legal status, i.e. they are colonies or municipalities, although we also find references to several *populi* and

⁸⁸ KOLENDO 2001, 529.

⁸⁹ On the history of this unit, ROLDÁN HERVÁS 1974, 74-75. From this camp comes the inscription of another soldier of Hispanic origin who also served in this cohort during the 1st century AD, the *signifer Pintaius, Astur Transmontanus* (CIL XIII, 8098).

⁹⁰ KOLENDO 2001, 530; PEREA YÉBENES 2002, 98.

⁹¹ ROLDÁN HERVÁS 1974, 74; KOLENDO 2001, 530.

⁹² On the history of the *legio I Italica*, RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ 2001, 51-60.

⁹³ KOLENDO 2001, 530. Along the same lines, S. PEREA YÉBENES (2002, 98), who places the inscription between AD 70 and 91-92.

⁹⁴ PEREA YÉBENES 2002, 98-99. For J. KOLENDO (2001, 528), *Vegetus*’ membership of the *Galeria* tribe would testify to his obtaining Roman citizenship while he was still in *Hispania*, even going so far as to suggest that the mention of his father’s *praenomen* would indicate that he was a second-generation citizen. However, this interpretation would not make much sense, since the *cohors V Asturum* was an auxiliary unit where only the commanders had Roman citizenship, and *Vegetus* was only a mere *miles*.

indications of origin that allude to broad geographical entities, such as the province of *Lusitania* or *Hispania* itself. At the provincial level, the majority of the soldiers come from *Citerior* (16 cases), which stands out above *Lusitania* (4 cases) and *Baetica* (3 cases). Two uncertain cases must be added, for which the formula *domo Hispanus* prevents greater precision (nos. 19, 28).

The centres of destination of these soldiers are made up of the six provinces that made up the Danube border. Among them, the two Pannonian provinces stand out, where 16 of the 27 cases studied are concentrated, as detailed in Figure 3.

From a chronological point of view, the soldiers studied in this paper served in the Roman army mainly during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, with only one reference (no. 25) that could date back to the beginning of the third century (Figure 6).

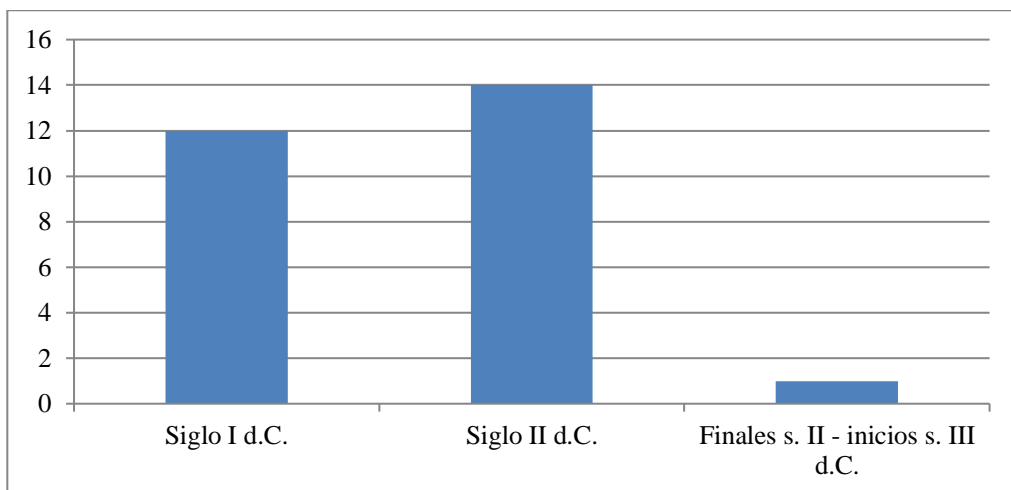


Figure 6. Chronological distribution of the military men studied (own elaboration).

The inscriptions collected in this work are mostly funerary and present a simple epigraphic typology. They include the name of the individual, the tribe if any, his city of origin, the rank and unit in which he served, the age at death and the years of service, which are usually counted in *stipendia* or *aera*. If any, the dedicators, heirs and relatives are also named. Only the inscriptions of *L. Iulius Leuganus* (no. 6), that is an altar dedicated to the *Victoria Augusta*; the military diploma of *Iustus* (no. 26); and the inscription *CIL III, 14214*, engraved on the Trophy celebrating the victory over the Dacians, in which five soldiers of Peninsular origin are mentioned (nos. 14-18), deviate from this pattern.

The Hispanic soldiers documented in this work served in eight legionary units and seven auxiliary corps, five *alae* and two *cohortes* (table 1). Among the latter we have several units initially recruited on Hispanic soil, such as *ala II Aravacorum*, *ala II Asturum*, *cohors II Asturum et Callaecorum* and *cohors V Asturum*. Likewise, two of the legions, the *III Macedonica* and the *X*

Gemina, had a close relationship with *Hispania*, as they formed part of the military garrison created by Augustus after the Cantabrian War. Many of its members took part in the foundation of some of the most important Hispanic colonies of this period, such as *Augusta Emerita*, *Caesar Augusta* and *Augusta Gemella Tucci*. In fact, several of the soldiers studied came from these cities: *L. Aurelius Sequens* (no. 1), *L. Caesius Flaccus* (no. 4) and *C. Vitellius Seranus* (no. 14) from *Caesar Augusta*; *T. Iulius Vegetus* from *Augusta Emerita* (no. 7) and *L. Marcius Marcianus* (no. 9) from *Tucci*. All the legionaries documented served as infantrymen, the only exception being the *Calagurritanus C. Valerius Proculus* (no. 12), who served as *eques legionis* in *legio XI* at the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

As far as the ranks recorded are concerned, there is no great diversity. Seven of the documented soldiers indicate their status as *veterani*, five among the legionaries (Nos. 1, 2, 6, 10 and 11) and two among the auxiliaries (Nos. 24 and 25), which means that they had completed their period of service and received the corresponding compensation in the form of land or a sum of money. The rest of the soldiers are presumed to have died while on active service. Of these, only eight attained a rank higher than that of simple *milites*. Among the legions we know of the centurion *L. Caesius Flaccus* (no. 4), who served in *III Flavia*, and the *beneficiarius C. Iulius Candidianus* (no. 5), who reached this position in *I Adiutrix*. However, the most outstanding case is that of *T. Aurelius Silvanus* (no. 2), who served as *magister navaliurum* in the *legio XIII Gemina*, probably acting as a naval instructor. His work would have been related to the fleets of ships that protected the banks of the river Danube, this being the only one of the documented testimonies that alludes to the navy. Among the auxiliary units there are four *decuriones*, *T. Claudius Valerius* (no. 22), *Flaccus* (no. 23), *C. Iulius Lupercus* (no. 24) and [-] *Iulius Pintamus* (no. 25), and a *sesquiplicarius*, a position equivalent to that of a non-commissioned officer, held by *T. Claudius Pintamus* (no. 21) in the *ala II Asturum*.

Special mention should be made of the case of *C. Aurelius Vegetus* (no. 3), who served in two different units, one of an auxiliary nature, the *cohors V Asturum*, and the other legionary, the *legio I Italica*. This is a rather peculiar fact that has been linked to the circumstances arising from the civil war of 69 AD.

The information gathered also alludes to the social and family relationships established by the Hispanic soldiers. From Augustan times, Roman legionaries were forbidden to marry during military service (D.C. *Hist. Rom.* LX, 24, 3), a situation that would have continued until Septimius Severus allowed soldiers to *live with their wives* (Hdn. *Hist. Imp. Rom.* III, 8, 4-5). For this reason, the most frequent references among soldiers who died in active service are to their comrades-in-arms, who were in charge of the funerary epitaphs. Sometimes these appear with their own names, as we see in the epitaph of *Abilus* (no. 19), who was honoured by his comrades and countrymen *Bovegius* (no. 20) and *Pentius* (no. 27), while in other cases we find terms such as *frater* or *amici* which, in the context of an active death, would allude to a relationship of comradeship, as can be seen in the epitaphs of *L. Marcius Marcianus* (no. 9) and

C. *Valerius Silvinus* (no. 13). We can also find simply the terms *heres* or *heredes* without indicating the name or the link between them and the deceased, as in the inscriptions of *L. Livius Rusticus* (no. 8), *L. Valerius Galenus* (no. 11) and *C. Valerius Proculus* (no. 12). It is likely, however, that the relationship between heir and deceased was very close, since only persons of great trust could be entrusted with the execution of a testamentary duty.

The aforementioned prohibition of marriage did not prevent soldiers from establishing sentimental ties or living with women during their period of service, as can be seen in the military epigraphy itself, where terms such as *uxor*, *coniux* or *maritus* are frequent⁹⁵. Within the sample collected, this could be the case of *T. Claudius Valerius* (no. 22), *sesquiplicarius* in the *ala II Asturum*, whose epitaph mentions his wife, who was also his freedwoman, his daughter and his brother, who served in the same unit. His inscription does not indicate veteran status, which suggests that he died in active service. However, the 30 years of service exhibited by *Valerius* also raises the possibility that this auxiliary was retired at the time of his death.

Mention of the family is more frequent among the *veterani*, who after their withdrawal recovered the *ius connubii*. Marital unions are clearly mentioned in the inscriptions of [-] *Iulius Pintamus* (no. 25) and *T. Aurelius Silvanus* (no. 2). The former settled in *Augusta Vindelicorum* with his wife *Popeia*, while the latter settled in *Carnuntum*, where he married *Aelia Iustina*, a woman probably of Pannonian origin, with whom he had three children.

In other cases the existence of marital unions must be inferred indirectly, since the epigraphic text does not mention the wife. This would be the case of the *veterani* of the *legio XIII Gemina* *L. Iulius Leuganus* (no. 6) and *C. Sentius Flaccus* (no. 10), who settled as colonists in Dacia after the conquest of this province. Both appear together with their sons, who act as dedicators of the inscriptions. This suggests that, after their retirement, both soldiers would have formed some kind of marital or family union in their new place of residence.

On other occasions the documented family relationship may be different, as can be seen in the inscription that the *beneficiarius* *C. Iulius Candidianus* (no. 5) erected in *Brigetio* to honour the memory of his *avunculus pientissimus* *C. Iulius Lupercus* (no. 24), a native of *Salaria*.

⁹⁵ These expressions, which derive directly from Roman law, would have no legal validity, since the unions to which they referred were considered unjust. In this respect, GALLEGO FRANCO and LÓPEZ CASADO, 2022, 9.

Legionary veterans						
	Coniux/Uxor	F rater	Fi lius/a	Liber tus/a	S ervus	Avun culus
<i>T. Aurelius Silvanus</i>	X		X			
<i>L. Iulius Leuganus</i>	(X)		X			
<i>C. Sentius Flaccus</i>	(X)		X			
Veterans of auxiliary units						
<i>T. Claudius Valerius</i>	X	X	X			
<i>C. Iulius Lupercus</i>						X
<i>[-] Iulius Pintamus</i>	X					

Table 2. Family relationships documented in the inscriptions studied. In brackets indicate possible relationships that are not expressly mentioned in the text (own elaboration).

Finally, it should be noted that some military personnel began a public career after their retirement, joining the ruling elites of their new communities. The performance of civic magistracies was a sign of prestige which, however, implied the loss of some of the privileges received at the time of discharge, so many veterans chose not to hold public office. In the sample we have collected, only two of the military soldiers included indicate their incorporation into local politics: *[-] Iulius Pintamus* (no. 25) and *C. Sentius Flaccus* (no. 10). The former was included among the *decuriones* of the *municipium* of *Augusta Vindelicorum*, capital of *Raetia*; the latter, who was installed as a colonist in *Dacia*, became one of the first *decuriones* of the *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa*, founded by Trajan after the conquest of this province.

6. Epigraphic corpus

a) Legionaries

1. *L. Aurelius Sequens* (*Caesar Augusta; Campona, Pannonia Inferior; early 2nd century AD; TITAO, 1009*).

L(ucius) Aureli(us) An(i)ensi{s} / Sequens / Caesaraug/ustae vet(eranus) / leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) do/nis do[nato] / [

2. *T. Aurelius Silvanus* (*Tarraco; Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior; second half of the 2nd century AD; CIL II²/14, E4*).

T(itus) Aur(elius) Silvanus vet(eranus) ex magistr(o) / navalior(um) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) nation(e) / Hispan(us) Tarraconensis / ann(or)um LXXXI vivus sibi et / Aeliae Iustinae coniug(i) / obsequentissimae et / Aurelis Maximinae an(norum) / VII Marco ann(or)um V et Floro / ann(or)um V fili(i)s pietissimis / [-]co as/[-

3. *C. Aurelius Vegetus* (*Clunia; Novae, Moesia Inferior; end of the 1st century AD; AE 1999, 1333*).

C(aius) Aurelius / [3] f(ilius) G[a]leria / Vegetus Clu(nia) / mil(es) leg(ionis) I I(talicae) F() R() / stip(endiorum) XXIII ann(or)um XL / milit(avit) in coh(orte) / V Ast(urum) ind(e) / translat(us) / in

leg(ionem) I It(alicam) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / ex t[estamento(?)].

4. *L. Caesius Flaccus (Caesar Augusta; Viminacium, Moesia Superior; 2nd century AD.; CIL III, 14511).*

L(ucius) Caesius L(uci) f(ilius) / Anie(nsi) Flaccus / Caesar(e)a Aug(usta) / [(centurio) leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) F(elicis) vix(it) / [a]nn(os) X[

5. *C. Iulius Candidianus (Salaria; Brigetio, Pannonia Superior; second half of the 2nd century AD; CIL III, 4321).*

D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Iul(io) C(ai) [fi]l(io) / Luperco domo / Sala(ria) vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) / alae III Thra(cum) vixit / an(nos) L C(aius) Iul(ius) Can/didianus b(eneficiarius) leg(ati) / leg(ionis) I Adi(utricis) [P(iae)] F(idelis) / nepos qui / et heres / avunculo / pientissimo / f(aciendum) c(uravit).

6. *L. Iulius Leuganus (Clunia; Alba Iulia/Apulum, Dacia; early 2nd century AD; CIL III, 1158).*

Victorae / Aug(ustae) / L(ucius) Iul(ius) L(uci) (!) Galer(ia) / Leuganus / Clunia vet(eranus) leg(ionis) / XIII G(eminae) M(artiae) V(ictricis) aedis / custos c(ivium) R(omanorum) leg(ionis) XIII [G(eminae)] / nomine suo et / C(ai) Iul(i) Paterni fili(i) / sui d(onum) d(edit).

7. *T. Iulius Vegetus (Emerita?; Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior; 63-68 AD; AE 1929, 187).*

T(itus) Iulius T(iti) (!) / Pa(piria) Vegetu/s Augu(sta) m(iles) / [

8. *L. Livius Rusticus (Ulia; Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior; 63-68 AD; EDCS-25600014).*

L(ucius) Livius L(uci) f(ilius) G(aleria) / Rusticus Ulia / mil(es) l(egionis) X G(eminae) [(centuria) Luc{c}/[r]eti an(norum) VL ae(rorum) / [X]XVI h(ic) s(itus) e(st) h(eres) / [ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uravit) s(it) t(ibi)] t(erra) l(evis).

9. *L. Marcus Marcianus (Tucci; Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior; 63-68 AD; AE 1929, 189).*

L(ucius) Marcus L(uci) (!) / Ser(gia) Marcian/us Tucc(is) mil(es) leg(ionis) X Ge(minae) / [(centuria) Iusti am(orum) XXXV aer(orum) / XI hic s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) / frater ex volun/tate sua f(aciendum) c(uravit).

10. *C. Sentius Flaccus (Anticaria; Alba Iulia/Apulum, Dacia; mid-second century AD; CIL III, 1196).*

D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Sentio C(ai) f(ilio) Sulp(icia) / Flacco Antiq(uaria) / vet(erano) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) M(artiae) V(ictricis) / dec(urioni) col(oniae) Dac(icae) Sarm(izegetusae) / vix(it) an(nos) LXXV / C(aius) Sentius Flacci[n]us filius et heres / [f(aciendum)] c(uravit).

11. *L. Valerius Galenus (Lucus Augusti; Sopiste, Moesia Superior; end of the 1st century AD; AE 1984, 760).*

L(ucius) Valeri(us) L(uci) f(ilius) Gal(eria) / Galenus Luc(o) / veteranus / leg(ionis) IIII Mac(edonicae) / vixit an(nos) / LV militavit / an(nos) XXVIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / (h)e(res) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

12. *C. Valerius Proculus (Calagurris; Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior; early 2nd century AD; CIL III, 11239).*

C(aius) Valeri/us C(ai) f(ilius) Gal(eria) / Proculus / Calagurri / eq(ues) leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) F(idelis) / [(centuria) Vindicis / an(norum) XXX stip(endiorum) IX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) t(estamento)

f(ieri) i(ussit) / h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

13. C. Valerius Silvinus (Valentia; Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior; 63-68 AD; CIL III, 4486).

C(aius) Valerius / C(ai) f(ilius) Fab(ia) Silv(inus) Val(entia) mil(es) leg(ionis) / [(centuria) Rutili] an(norum) LX / ae(rorum) XXXVIII / amic(i) ex t(estamento) / cur(antes) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / c(arus) s(uis) t(ibi) t(erra).

14. C. Vitellius Seranus (¿Caesar Augusta?; Adamklissi, Moesia Inferior; 109 AD; CIL III, 14214).

C(aius) Vitellius Sera[nus Ca]es(are)

15. [---]vius Reburus (Clunia; Adamklissi, Moesia Inferior; 109 AD; CIL III, 14214).

[---]vius Reburus Cluni(a)

16. ¿? (Castulo; Adamklissi, Moesia Inferior; 109 AD; CIL III, 14214).

[---]en() Cas(tulone)

17. ¿? (Lusitanus; Adamklissi, Moesia Inferior; 109 AD; CIL III, 14214).

[---]Lusit(anus)

18. ¿? (Lusitanus; Adamklissi, Moesia Inferior; 109 AD; CIL III, 14214).

[---]Lusit(anus)

a) Auxiliaries

19. Abilus (Lucocadiacus; Savaria, Pannonia Superior; first half of the 1st century AD; CIL III, 4227).

Abilus Tur/anci f(ilius) dom(o) / Lucocadiacus / eques ala(e) / Pannoniorum / ann(orum) XLIII / stip(endiorum) XXIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / ex tes(tamento) her(edes) / posuerunt / Bovegius Vem/ini f(ilius) Lancie(n)sis / Pentius Dovi/deri f(ilius) Aliga/ntie(n)sis.

20. Bovegius (Lancia; ¿Savaria?, Pannonia Superior; first half of the 1st century AD; CIL III, 4227).

Abilus Tur/anci f(ilius) dom(o) / Lucocadiacus / eques ala(e) / Pannoniorum / ann(orum) XLIII / stip(endiorum) XXIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / ex tes(tamento) her(edes) / posuerunt / Bovegius Vem/ini f(ilius) Lancie(n)sis / Pentius Dovi/deri f(ilius) Aliga/ntie(n)sis.

21. T. Claudius Pintamus (natione Zoela; Intercisa, Pannonia Inferior; late 1st century AD; AE 1992, 1458).

[Ti(berius)] Claudius / [3]onis f(ilius) Pint/[am]us(?) [(sesquiplicarius) natione / [Zoel]a eques alae / [Astur(um) I]I ann(orum) LIII stip(endiorum) / [

22. T. Claudius Valerius (Domo hispano; Teutoburgium, Pannonia Inferior; second half of the 1st century AD; CIL III, 3271).

Ti(berio) Cl(audio) Britti / filio / Valerio decurioni / alae II Aravacorum / domo Hispano annor(um) L / stipendiorum XXX et / Cl(audiae) Ianuariae coniugi eius / et Cl(audiae) Hispanillae filiae vivis / ex testamento Flacc(h)us dec(urio) / frater / et Hispanilla filia heredes / faciundum curaverunt.

23. Flaccus (Domo hispano; Teutoburgium, Pannonia Inferior; second half of the 1st century AD; CIL III, 3271).

Ti(berio) Cl(audio) Britti / filio / Valerio decurioni / alae II Aravacorum / domo Hispano annor(um)

L / stipendiorum XXX et / Cl(audiae) Ianuariae coniugi eius / et Cl(audiae) Hispanillae filiae vivis / ex testamento Flacc(h)us dec(urio) / frater / et Hispanilla filia heredes / faciendum curaverunt.

24. *C. Iulius Luperus (Salaria; Brigetio, Pannonia Superior; second half of the 2nd century AD; CIL III, 4321).*

D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Iul(io) C(ai) [f]l(io) / Luperco domo / Sala(ria) vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) / alae III Thra(cum) vixit / an(nos) L C(aius) Iul(ius) Can(didianus) b(eneficiarius) leg(ati) / leg(ionis) I Adi(utricis) [P(iae)] F(idelis) / nepos qui / et heres / avunculo / pientissimo / f(aciendum) c(uravit).

25. *[-] Iulius Pintamus (Bracara Augusta; Augusta Vindelicorum, Raetia; second half of the 2nd century AD or early 3rd century AD; AE 1972, 359).*

Iul(io) C(ai) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Pintam[o] / domo ex Hisp(ania) citerio[re] / Augusta Brac(ara) vet(erano) ex dec(urione) a[l(ae)] / decurioni munic(ipii) Aeli A(u)g(usti) / Clementia Popeia ux(o)r / marito optimo et sibi / viva fecit.

26. *Iustus (Calaicus; Aquincum, Pannonia Inferior; 145 AD; CIL XVI, 91).*

[equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in alis ... et cohortibus ... quae appellantur ... et II Asturum et Callaecorum et ... et sunt in] Pannonia/ [inferior(e) sub Fu]ficio Co[r]nuto quinis et vice/[nis item classicis] senis e[st] vicenis plu]ribusv[e] / [stip(endiis) emeri]tis d[imissis] ho]nesta mis/[sione] quorum no]min(a) s[ubscr]ipta su]nt civitat(em) / [Roman(am) qui eo]rum non haberent dedit et co/[nubium cum uxor] ib(us) quas tunc habuissent cum / [est] civitas iis da]ta aut si qui caelibes essent / [cum iis quas post]ea duxissent dumtaxat sin/[guli] singulas / [a]nte d(iem) ---] Oct(obres) L(ucio) Petronio Sabino / [C(aio) Vicrio] Rufo / co(n)s(ulibus) / [coh(ortis) II Astu(rum)] et Callaecor(um) cui pra(e)st / [---]s Granianus Favent(ia) / [e]x equite / [---]entis f(ilio) Iusto Ca[llaico] / [descript(um) et re]cognit(um) ex tabula aerea / [quae fixa est] Ro[m]ae in muro post tem / [plum] divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.

27. *Pentius (Aligantia; Savaria, Pannonia Superior; first half of the 1st century AD; CIL III, 4227).*

Abilus Tur/anci f(ilius) dom(o) / Lucocadiacus / eques ala(e) / Pannoniorum / ann(or)um XLIII / stip(endiorum) XXIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / ex tes(tamento) her(edes) / posuerunt / Bovegius Vem/ini f(ilius) Lancie(n)sis / Pentius Dovi/deri f(ilius) Aliga(nte)nis.

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