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Colonisation and Romanization
in Moesia Inferior. Premises of
a Contrastive Approach

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FEMALE FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE LEGIO I ITALICA SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS. A CASE STUDY

AGNIESZKA TOMAS¹

Among almost 300 epigraphic monuments from *Novae*,² thirty-five mention women, but only nine of them³ refer to female family members of the soldiers and veterans of the First Italic legion (Tab. I, Chart 1). The majority of the texts were carved on gravestones, which were either erected to commemorate them or founded by them for their relatives. The aim of this paper is to attempt to answer questions concerning the status and character of family relationships maintained by soldiers, officers and veterans of the *legio I Italica*. Therefore, to the group of monuments from *Novae* I have added evidence from other sites that yielded inscriptions mentioning the legionaries and their female family members. Thus, the list of female family members comprises also women's names that appear on inscribed stones from other sites in Lower Moesia, Dalmatia and Tauric *Chersonesus*, where soldiers of this unit were stationed.⁴ To this I have added attestations of female

¹ University of Warsaw; agnieszka.tomas@uw.edu.pl. The present text is focused more on social than prosopographic problems, trying to detect some phenomena concerning women in a military milieu. I realize that such an attitude raises many methodological questions. However, I am deeply convinced that not only women, but other civilian relatives of soldiers serving in the First Italic Legion deserve more attention in some broader study. I would like to express my thanks Prof. T. Sarnowski for his invaluable advice and helpful suggestions, and Dr. D. Dzierzbicka for improving the English text.

² The majority of the epigraphic finds was published by the late J. Kolendo, L. Mrozewicz and V. Božilova (ILN and IGLN). Recent studies, including editions of inscriptions, have been published i.a. in the journal 'Archeologia' (Warsaw).

³ Other inscriptions from *Novae* mentioning women do not refer to the military status of their families, or this status is unknown due to the poor state of preservation of the text: IGLN 11, 48, 75, 91-96, 98, 100-104 (without 101bis), 106, 107, 112, 179-182; AE 1999, 1336-1338; AE 2004, 1251. For obvious reasons, I have not included into my list *Flavia Longina*, a daughter of a veteran of the *ala I Asturum* (IGLN 78), as well as *Tannonia Valentina* and *Antonia Aprulla* from an Etruscan family, the members of which were listed in IGLN 93. According to G. Forni the inscription is related if not to a soldier of the *legio VIII Augusta*, than at least to the inhabitants of its *canabae*. This interpretation, however, is based only on the fact that the gravestone was discovered together with another one, erected in memory of a *cornicen* of this legion; see FORNI, 1992, 88 and cf. IGLN, ad 81. I also do not include two uncertain inscriptions, probably referring to the *legio II Italica* soldiers (AE 1982, 814 = AE 2001, 1685g, *Matrica, Pann. inf.*; AE 1990, 301, *Firmum Picenum, Italia*).

⁴ Women related to the soldiers and veterans of the *legio I Italica* appear in *Montana* (Lower Moesia) and in *Chersonesus*, a Greek town, dependent, but never incorporated into the empire. The soldiers were stationed there as part of a *vexillatio* together with legionaries from the *legio XI Claudia* and other units (VELKOV 1987; ZUBAR' 2000; SARNOWSKI 2000). At the beginning of the 3rd

family members of the high-rank officers (legates and tribunes) who mention the First Italic legion in their careers, as well as of veterans (Tab. II).

Family Relations

Only 10 out of 42 women known from *Novae* were certainly related to legionaries or officers, including 5 who were the kin of veterans (Chart 1). This number is astonishingly low for a place where troops were stationed for so long. Several reasons may explain this low figure. Firstly, probably until AD 197 active soldiers (*militēs*), apart from officers and perhaps centurions, were not legally allowed to enter into a legitimate marriage (*iustum matrimonium*), although they could form unofficial unions with partners (*concupinatus*, *contubernium*). In consequence, at least to the Trajan's rule, their informal wives and children had no claims to their property unless they were named heirs in the wills.⁵ In reality, the soldier had no legal obligation to support his illegitimate children, but if he wished, there was no formal obstacles to do so, but *patria potestas* must have been granted individually.⁶ Secondly, if a usually much younger⁷ widowed wife (*coniux*), or especially a partner (*concupina*), of a soldier was re-married to a civilian, her tombstone would not contain information about her former ties with the military. Thirdly, a soldier's adult daughter who married a civilian passed under the husband's tutelage and it was him, or possibly her heirs, who would have been mentioned on the funerary monument, but not her father. In turn, veterans' wives and daughters who were their legal heirs appear on tombstones much more often. To all these reasons one should add the state of preservation of some inscriptions, which have been damaged in the places where the information concerning family would have been found.⁸

The group of the discussed persons augmented with women known from texts discovered outside *Novae* refers to 68 female dependants (Tabs. II and III), out of whom 41 were wives or partners, 14 daughters, 7 mothers, 1 granddaughter, 1 daughter-in-law,

century, the soldiers (*militēs* and *beneficiarii consulares*) from the First Italic legion were also sent to *Salona (Dalmatia)*, where 10 monuments mentioning at least 12 active soldiers of this unit have been discovered to date; cf. WILKES 1969, 119. Active soldiers of the discussed legion also appear in other parts of the empire, e.g., in *Britannia* (AE 1971, 226 = 1983, 642) and *Achaea* (ILS 9473), but these inscriptions do not mention women.

⁵ PHANG 2001, 310-311. After the Hadrian's rescript Junian Latins and peregrine illegitimate children – at least in *Aegyptus* – could claim for an inheritance as blood relatives. BGU 140; PHANG 2001, 218 and footnote 86, but still, the position of their unofficial partners was worse, since they were unable to reclaim their dowries; see VANDORPE, WAEBENS 2010, 423-425.

⁶ Essential publications concerning military relationships: GARNSEY 1970, 45-53; CAMPBELL 1978, 153-166; SALLER, SHAW 1984; PHANG 2001; SCHEIDEL 2007 with literature. Studies on the presence of women in garrisons have been discussed in TOMAS 2011, 139-140 with cited literature. For the marriages of centurions and principales see below, footnote 11.

⁷ PHANG 2002, 873-878.

⁸ E.g., AE 1999, 1337, *Novae: Titini]o patri [---] / [---] Titianae [---] / [--- Ti]tini(a)e [---] or D(is) M(anibus) / Tetteiae C. f. Maximiae / Lae[---]*, published by WUJEWSKI 2013 (according to L. Wujewski, 2: MAXIMIL).

and five unknown or uncertain relations (Chart 3), wherein some of the women combined the roles of mothers, daughters or wives of the militaries, who sometimes belonged to different units (Nos. 6, 15, 21, 37, 47). In a mixed military-civilian society of *Novae* alone, the proportion of wives, mothers, daughters and other relatives is comparable (Chart 2). As in other parts of the empire, military wives more often commemorated their husbands (15, among them five veterans' wives), than husbands their wives (7 cases, among them three veterans), while this proportion is reversed in civilian relationships, which may be explained by the late marriage of soldiers, estimated for their mid- and late 30s.⁹

Marital relationships based on *ius conubium* were permitted to veterans and to active soldiers who were granted this privilege, i.e. officers.¹⁰ Whether centurions were allowed to enter into legitimate relationships is a disputed issue.¹¹ Certainly ordinary *milites*, presumably from the time of Augustus, did not have this right.¹² Still, in epitaphs their chosen one is called a spouse or a wife (*coniux, uxor*) even if she was of low social status.¹³ Among the active soldiers of the *legio I Italica* who refer to their partners with such terms are several junior officers (*principales*): *optio* (No. 33), *cornicen* (No. 7), and ones in charge of extraordinary tasks, namely *beneficiarii* (Nos. 12, 19, 20, 39, 48). The wives of *beneficiarii consularis* outposted from the First Italic legion, *Aurelia Rufina* and *Iulia* (Nos. 12, 19) were active in the religious life of *Montana* in Lower Moesia,¹⁴ where they set up altars dedicated to *Diana*. Other women related to *beneficiarii consularis* appear in *Tomis* (No. 39) and in *Salona* (No. 18). An epitaph dedicated by an active soldier, a trumpeter (*cornicen*), commemorates his partner, a freedwoman, whom he calls a *coniux* (No. 7, Fig. 1).¹⁵ A peregrine partner of an *optio* (No. 33) is styled *coniux* as well.

⁹ PHANG 2001, 164-176; PHANG 2002, 874-875, esp. fig. 2; SCHEIDEL 2007, 420-421.

¹⁰ PHANG 2001, 129.

¹¹ PHANG 2001, 130-131; cf. HOFFMANN 1995, 110-111; HASSAL 1999, 35; REUTER 2008, 92; cf. JUNG 1982, 345, who puts forward the radical opinion that all soldiers, including officers, were under the ban.

¹² PHANG 2001, 129-131; FRIEDL 1996, 229.

¹³ One example is an inscription from Kragujevac (*Moesia sup.*, AD 131-200); CIL III 6322: *Aur(elius) Lucianus mil(es) [l(egionis)] IIII Fla(viae) vix(it) / an(n)is XXXV Cemeia(?) mater et / Ael(ia) [---]ca co(n)u(x) caris(s)ima et fratres / [p]o[s(uerunt)] bene merenti / D(is) M(anibus).*

¹⁴ BOŽILOVA 1987, 24, No. 5.

¹⁵ Regardless of whether the woman was a legal wife or not, the damaged end of the text developed by S. Conrad as a dedication to *contubernali suae* seems to be less convincing than the reading *coniugi bene merenti suae*; see CONRAD 2004, 228, no. 380: *contube[rn(al)i] / suae [---]* and cf. IGLN = AE 1999, 1334: *coniu(gi) be[---] / suae +[---] / ++[---]*. The term *contubernalis* referring to the soldiers' partners is rare and is usually applied to women of low social status (e.g., CIL II 7, 288, 1st c.: *M(arcus) Septicius C(ai) f(ilius) Pap(iria) / aquilifer sibi et Sabi[n]ae / contubernali suae et M(arco) Septicio / M(arci) lib(erto) Martiali filio naturali an(norum) X / et mens(i)um VII / h(ic) s(iti) s(unt) s(it) v(obis) t(erra) l(evis) / post eorum obitum / hoc mon=<u=I>mentum herede[m] / non sequetur.* The name of the deceased *Valeria Elphis* from *Novae* indicates her free status at the moment of her death.

It is commonly believed that *Cassius Dio*'s ambiguous report concerning the privileges of married men granted to soldiers by Claudius refers to the inheritance law, namely the establishing of heirs, including children born in illegitimate relationships. This privilege is described clearly in a later text known as the *Institutiones* by *Gaius*, a Roman jurist living in the time of Hadrian.¹⁶ The implementation of this law is difficult to trace in inscriptions.¹⁷ If the name of a child even suggests that she or he was born in an illegitimate relationship, we still do not know whether that child was an established successor. For example, a certain *Petronia* was a recognized heir (*heres*) of her military father, but since we do not know his name, it is difficult to state when he had made his will (No. 25). She could have been a daughter of a *centurio* (who probably had a legitimate family) or of a soldier of unspecified rank who established her as an heir during his service.¹⁸ There is no doubt that the children of another centurion from *Troesmis* (Nos. 11 and cf. 16) were legally recognized.

Family ties seem to have become stronger in the time of the late Principate. In the first half of the 3rd century a certain *beneficiarius* of Thracian origin erected a funeral monument for his brother or a close friend¹⁹ (a veteran) and a daughter (No. 34). Similar case concerns a military family buried by brother of a soldier who died in accident together with his family (No. 40). Worthy of particular attention is an inscription where a father describes his daughter as *innocentissima puella* and *dulcissima* (No. 17, the end of the 2nd – 3rd century), but the girl bears a different name than her father. Quite unusual is a tombstone erected for *Fl. Augustalis*, a centurion, by his wife, who with extraordinary precision records the length of their marriage (8 years, 3 months, 6 days and 4 hours), as well as his life, service and the life of their son, who lived 47 days longer than his father (No. 62).

Four epitaphs mention mothers of soldiers. The earliest one was dedicated by a civilian to his mother and military brother, *C. Albius Sever* (No. 50), presumably a soldier from the first enrolment.²⁰ The next one in chronological order was erected by military parents, a veteran from the *legio V Macedonica* and his wife for their son, a *centurio* serving in the *I Italica* (No. 21, beginning of the 2nd century). An epitaph dedicated by a son (*tribunus angusticlavius*) to his mother (No. 10) and a monument founded by a woman for her husband and her son, both soldiers (No. 37), are both dated to the first half of the 3rd century. These gravestones illustrate changes occurring in the military milieu on the borders of the Roman empire: A soldier from one of the earliest, Italic enrolments did

¹⁶ Cass. Dio LX 24.3 (AD 44: *The men serving in the army, since they could not legally have wives, were granted the privileges of married men*); *Gaius, Inst.* 2.110 (*Moreover, they [i.e. soldiers – A.T.] may make aliens and Latini (Juniani) their heirs or legatees, whereas under other wills an alien is disqualified from taking a succession or legacy by the civil law, and Latini by the lex Junia*). Translation by H.B. Foster and E. Cary; cf. CAMPBELL 1978, 158; PHANG 2001, 318-319.

¹⁷ It is, however, attested in papyri; see PHANG 2001, 219-221.

¹⁸ According to T. Sarnowski (SARNOWSKI 1993a, 217, No. 75) he was a *centurio*; according to EDH – a soldier of unspecified rank.

¹⁹ Tac. *Ann.* I 62; KEPARTOVA 1986; LENDON 2006, 271.

²⁰ MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 78.

not have his own household and was buried by his brother – a civilian; at the beginning of the 2nd century, a daughter of a veteran was married to a legionary; and in the first half of the 3rd century, generations of members of local military families served in the army, forming a group of local elite officers.²¹

Other female family members are relatives described as ‘nepotes’. One of them is a niece (*neptis*) who had probably been adopted and who inherited after her uncle (Nos. 11, 47).²² Of particular interest is a funerary tablet unearthed in the neighbourhood of *Nicopolis ad Istrum* (No. 38). The fragmentarily preserved relief represents a woman riding in a cart on her journey to the afterlife (Fig. 2). The inscription describes her as a *brutes*, most probably a bride, a chosen one of a soldier.²³ Her name – *Amica*, or possibly her designation (*amica*), may indicate the low social status of the would-be wife.²⁴

Names and Origins of the Women

The majority of the recorded females related to the *legio I Italica* bear Roman-sounding names (*nomen* or *duo nomina*).²⁵ As for the ethnic distribution of names recorded in *Novae* for both civilian and military women, Roman-sounding names constitute the majority (22), almost half of the names are Greek (13), while the others – Celtic, Etruscan, and possibly Illyrian²⁶ – are four in total (Chart 4). However, among the military women these proportions show a strong bias in favour of Roman names (Chart 5). In the epigraphic evidence

²¹ MANN 1963; IGLN, p. 173, ad no. 168. The tradition of ‘inhering’ the military profession of the father is seldom in Lower Moesia; see MROZEWICZ 1982, 86; MROZEWICZ 1989, 65-80. This phenomenon was observed in *Dalmatia*; WILKES 1969, 131-134.

²² AE 1981, 158, *Ostia, Italia*: [...] *Vibia Laenilla* / *neptis et heres* / *av<u=O>nculo piissimo*.

²³ ILB 367, tab. 68: *M. Aur. Maximus mil(es) l(egionis) I I[t(alicae)---] / [---] mem(ori)am bruti Amica* [vel *amica(e)* – A.T.] *posuit et [---] / [---]t rogat et petet pro salu[te sua?]*. Most probably a bride (in the meaning of *consponsata*), who had died of some illness, which is why *Aurelius* pleaded for health. It is less likely that the word *brutis* refers here to a daughter-in-law (*nurus*); see OLD, p. 243 and HARROD 1909, 83 (*nurus*); cf. MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 114. The term *brutes*, *brutis* is indeed of German origin, although it is quite popular in later Latin, mainly in the Lower Danubian provinces, and it also appears in Italy; ERNOUT, MEILLET 2001, 76 and InscrAqu I 1208.

²⁴ The term *amica* could refer to someone inferior in status to a *concubina*; Dig. 50.16.144: *quam nunc vero nomine amicam, paulo honestiore concubinam appellari*; see MCGINN 1991, 344-355 et footnote 89 and the analysis of the inscription from Rome conducted by RAWSON 1974, 299. As was accurately defined by S. TREGGIARI, ‘Concubinae are always *amicae*, but *amicae* are not always *concubinae*’. See TREGGIARI 1981, 60.

²⁵ Women were not bearing patronymic *cognomina*, but only suffix to distinguish them (e.g. *Minor, Quarta*). From about 100 B.C. native Romans began to give their children diacritic *cognomina* at birth, while the enfranchised peregrines and freedmen received the *praenomina* and *nomina* of their *patrones*, but retaining their ethnic names as *cognomina*. This phenomenon certainly improved women’s social recognition; see SALWAY 1994, 126, 128.

²⁶ Celtic: (here, No. 3); Etruscan: IGLN 93, *Tannonia Valetina, Antonia Aprulla*, civilian family; possibly Illyrian: (herein, No. 6).

concerning the First Italic legion, Thracian names of women appear only in three cases.²⁷ First one is *Muciana*,²⁸ daughter of a veteran (No. 34), second – *Bessa*,²⁹ wife of a *miles* (No. 29), and third – *Πυροϋζα*, wife and possibly freedwoman (No. 48). Greek names among civilian women from *Novae* are worthy of note given the total lack of Thracian and Dacian female names.

The facts presented above may suggest that the legionaries and veterans married most of all women who were born in Romanized families, for example daughters or sisters of their military comrades or veterans³⁰ – and that they did not prefer peregrine or freed women.³¹ Of course a name may be a weak and misleading indication of ethnic or social status of both women and men.³² Sometimes only the names of children provide such a hint, as in the case of a boy from *Novae* whose name – *Mampsalachanus* (No. 8, Fig. 3) may be of African or Eastern origin, while his parents bear ordinary Latin names.³³ In another example only the Thracian name of a brother indicates the origins of a soldier (No. 40). The problem of such investigations is that the discussed group of inscriptions comes from a period when Roman *homines novi* living in the provinces could have possessed Roman-sounding names,³⁴ and moreover, came from mixed families. One such misleading case is a certain *Antonia Optata* from *Novae*, whose name was relatively common in the western part of the empire,³⁵ but her customary name, *Maura*, may indicate either a dark complexion or African roots.³⁶ Some wives of soldiers could have come from Lower Moesia (Nos. 29, 48), and other could have been met somewhere during their long

²⁷ Wives of the all veterans settled in Lower Moesia usually bear Balkan and Near-Eastern names; see MROZEWICZ 1982, 85.

²⁸ The Thracian name *Mucianus* / *Μουκιανος* became a very popular *cognomen* after AD 212, especially among the Pretorian guard (see FOL 1968, 193-274, e.g., nos. 189, 313, 334, 403, 433; BEŠEV-LIEV 1965, 32-33). Although the name is similar to the Latin *Mucius*, in this case the family is certainly of local origin because the uncle of *Mucius* bore the name *Dizzo* (*Dizo*, *Dizza*, *Diso*, *Δίζας*), a Latinized version of Thracian *Διζαλας*: see BEŠEV-LIEV 1965, 34-35 et *Nomenclator*, 104-105, 194.

²⁹ *Bessa*, *Bessus* is a common Thracian name or an ethnic name of a Thracian tribesman; BEŠEV-LIEV 1965, 35; GEORGIEV 1983, 1201-1202.

³⁰ JAMES 2001, 187-209.

³¹ According to B. Campbell, soldiers generally entered into relationships with peregrines, but this statement rather applies to auxiliaries and sailors; see CAMPBELL 1978, 153-166.

³² SALWAY 1994, esp. 131, 133-136. B. Salway and W. Scheidel believe that in some cases it results from the usurpation of Roman citizenship; see SALWAY 1994, 129-130; SCHEIDEL 2007, 424.

³³ MROZEWICZ 1982, 86.

³⁴ WEIB 2000, 279-285; SALWAY 1994, 128-129.

³⁵ The name *Optatus* appears mainly in *Hispania*, southern *Gallia* and *Italia*, *Nomenclator*, 209.

³⁶ IGLN, p. 127, ad no. 92. The presumed presence of a Mauritanian woman in *Novae* is very tempting in view of the assumptions concerning the participation of the First Italic legion in the revolt of the *Mauri* during the reign of *Antoninus Pius*. However, this fact is very doubtful, since it is based on two finds of stamped building materials: one of them is now lost (CIL VIII 10474.13 et p. 911, *Numidia, Constantine / Cirta*) and the other, of doubtful provenance, is kept in the Museum in St. Germain. On the stamps and their interpretation, see RITTERLING 1925, col. 1407-1417; CAGNAT 1912, 119.

careers, as in the case of a centurio serving in the *legio I Italica* and *XX Valeria Victrix* (Nos. 59, 66).³⁷ Nevertheless, the naming system and sounding may reflect the degree of Romanization.

Age of Women

Eighteen gravestones give the age of the girls and women. The number of epitaphs for girls is surprisingly low (4), but it is noteworthy that these are children who survived the first, critical year of their lives. The most numerous are women in the reproductive age group (15-30 years), which may result from the fact that at this age they were at risk of death during childbirth.³⁸ Young women, who were likely to still have both of their parents and a husband, theoretically had a greater chance of being commemorated.³⁹ However, all of the cases discussed here are not young women buried by their parents, but deceased wives.

Social Status and Wealth

A significant number of civilians from *Novae* are freedmen,⁴⁰ so the relatively large number of women with slave origins is not surprising (Chart 6). In the epigraphic record from this site former female slaves usually appear in relationships with civilians, not soldiers. The commemorated or commemorating women that were in relationships with legionaries and veterans seem to have been mainly of free status (Chart 7).⁴¹ *Valeria Elphis* (No. 7)⁴² and *Iulia* (No. 4, fig. 4) were certainly freedwomen. However, also the women who had the same names as their husbands' *nomina gentilia* may have been of servile origin (Nos. 26, 31, 48, 60), although one should not exclude other reasons for this, such as coincidence, marriage to a distant family member, or acquisition of citizenship in the same time and place.⁴³

Children born during military service were deemed illegitimate regardless of whether their fathers were Roman citizens, so they inherited names and status after their mothers.⁴⁴

³⁷ On the connections between both units see MROZEWICZ 1986.

³⁸ BURN 1953, fasc. 4, 10-13.

³⁹ Critical text: HOPKINS 1966, 245-264.

⁴⁰ KOLENDO 1993, 131-140.

⁴¹ This also concerns all the women from Lower Moesia and Lower Pannonia; see PIFTOR 2008, 144. Similar result but different interpretation: SCHEIDEL 2007, 422-423. This problem, in my opinion, requires further comparative studies, among others with reference to the proportion of military families in the border provinces.

⁴² Cf. the name *Ἐλπὶς* (IGBulg, 141 = ZLATUŠKA 1967, no. 27).

⁴³ This concerns esp. No. 23 (*P. Pompeius P. f. Aemilia Magnus, Stobis and Pompeia Marcia*). *Sextus Pompeius* was a proconsul of Macedonia in AD 9 and a landowner who significantly contributed to the Romanization of the province's inhabitants; cf. GEROV 1949, ad no. 28. Possibly also the *Iulii* known from *Montana* (No. 25), since the husband's name (*Mucazenus*) is Thracian.

⁴⁴ *Dig.* 38.8; cf. PHANG 2001, 319, esp. footnote 80.

Although no inscription from *Novae* mentions a child of a soldier or veteran who carried a different name than the father,⁴⁵ such cases are known from other sites where soldiers or veterans of the *legio I Italica* left their traces. An active soldier (*miles*) serving in *Chersonesus* named *Aurelius* had a daughter who bore the name *Valeria* (No. 30). A certain veteran, *C. Crispinus Firmus*, erected a gravestone in *Oescus* for his wife *Aurelia Severa* and his *nepotes* – *Aurelius* and *Primilla* (No. 13 and 35), the latter described as *sua*. It is possible that the mentioned *Aurelius* was *Aurelia Severa*'s son or a child born during *Crispinus*' military service, while *Primilla* was the veteran's recognized daughter. Quite unclear situation concerns a family of a certain *Quirilla* and *Aurelius Ianuarius* who had a son, *Aelius Vitalis* (No. 65).

On a tombstone erected by an *optio* for his wife the woman carries a Greek name (*Irena*), while the children bear Roman names after their father (No. 33). In this case the wife, designated as *coniux*, was a peregrine. A relationship between a Roman citizen and a peregrine or a freedwoman (usually Iunian Latin) could not be recognized as a legitimate marriage and, therefore, their children inherited the status of their mother unless the couple received special permission.⁴⁶ *Philotera*, mother of a centurion from the *legio I Italica* (No. 64), is likely to have had a citizen husband and such permission, since her son was enrolled in the legion so early (Flavian period) – otherwise the inscription ought to be dated to a later period.

Information on female family members of high-rank officers is different in character. We know much more about these officers, but their stay in *Novae* was relatively short and constituted merely a stage in their careers. In the 1st and 2nd centuries, officers' families could even have stayed behind in their homes. The situation changed in the 3rd century, when people of local origins were promoted to superior positions, building careers *ex caliga*. Nine women were related to high-rank officers serving in the *legio I Italica*: eight were the mothers, wives or daughters of five tribunes (Nos. 10, 18, 20, 41, 42, 49, 53, 56), one – of a *praefectus Augusti* (No. 1), and eight – of six legates (Nos. 26, 42, 48, 52-54, 67, 68). Military tribunate, especially in the legions stationed in European provinces, was the beginning of a career for many important commanders and influential politicians, not

⁴⁵ *Flavia Longina*, a daughter of a veteran from *Novae*, also had a different name than her father (*Tiberius Bassus Decimus*), but this monument refers to the horseman of the *ala Asturum* (see IGLN, 78, dated to the turn of the 1st and 2nd c.). In this case, the father could have established a daughter of some *Flavia* as his heir.

⁴⁶ *Gaius 1.57: unde et ueteranis quibusdam concedi solet principalibus constitutionibus conubium cum Latinis peregrinisue, quas primas post missionem uxores duxerint. Ulp. Tit. 5.3: conubium habent ciues Romani cum ciuibus Romanis: cum Latinis autem et peregrinis ita, si concessum sit.* Children born in a relationship of a couple possessing *ius conubii* inherited the status of the father, but a child of a Roman woman and a peregrine man, even one who possessed *ius conubii*, was still a peregrine. See CHERRY 1990, 246-247. The privilege of *ius conubii* was granted to a former auxiliary or sailor, as attested in the texts of military diplomas earlier than AD 140. It was suggested that the change in AD 140 evened out the position of legionaries and auxiliaries; see PHANG 2001, 333.

necessarily born in old aristocratic families.⁴⁷ Thanks to a large funeral monument, we know the whole *familia* of a certain *L. Antonius L.f. Numida*, who served in the First Italic legion as *praefectus fabrum* and *tribunus militum angusticlavius* during the Flavian period.⁴⁸ Interestingly, the names of both him and his wife (*Peregrina*) suggest recent citizenship (No. 56 and cf. 41). During his tribunate in *Novae*, *Numida* could have been a bachelor or about to marry, as he was little more than 20 years old, while men of his class married between the ages of 25 and 30.⁴⁹ Another famous monument, erected by *Pompeia Marullina* (No. 53) in her hometown of *Nemausus* in Gaul, was dedicated to *Decimus Terentius Scaurianus*, most likely the governor of *Dacia* who had started his *cursus honorum* as a *tribunus militum laticlavius* in the legion stationed in *Novae*.⁵⁰ *Pompeia* is known from another honorific inscription erected in *Sarmizegetusa*,⁵¹ and their children are attested in other sources. With his father's support, their son *D. Terentius Gentianus*, born around AD 89, reached consulship at a young age (AD 116),⁵² which likely provoked the emperor's wrath and cost him his life, but the family remained influential until the 3rd century.⁵³ His loving sister, probably named *Terentia* (No. 57), left an inscription on the pyramid of Cheops.⁵⁴ The beautiful poem is evidence of her education, knowledge of Ovid and Horace, and undeniable talent.⁵⁵ According to some scholars, *Terentia* may have married a man of senatorial rank, *Lollianus Avitus*, who was a governor of *Asia* between AD 128-129,

⁴⁷ Each legion had six tribunes, one from the *ordo senatorius* (*tribunus militum legionis laticlavius*), and the others being *equites* (*tribuni militum legionis angusticlavi*). A tribunate was a stage in a career, e.g., Hadrian held it in *Pannonia*, *Moesia inferior* and *Germania superior*. On the careers of tribunes, see SARNOWSKI 1993B, 65-66; ŻYROMSKI 1995, 27-28.

⁴⁸ SARNOWSKI 1993b, 68, no. 2 (*L. Antonius Numida*); MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 93. *Praefectus fabrum* was an officer in charge of the *fabri*, i.e. well-trained engineers and artisans serving in a legion; see KORNEMANN 1910, col. 1920-1924; DOBSON 1965, 61-84.

⁴⁹ Military tribunate lasted 3 to 5 years. The next position in the *cursus honorum* was *quaestor*, usually acceded around the age of 25; see SARNOWSKI 1993b, 65, 75-76 and cf. ŻYROMSKI 1995, 30, 50.

⁵⁰ A legate of *Dacia* between AD 109-110 (?); see PISO 2013, 13-15 (Nachträge zum Bd. I); cf. ECK 1983, 151-156; GROAG 1934, col. 669-671 (No. 68).

⁵¹ CIL III 1443 = IDR III/2, 1.

⁵² The office of consul was usually reached at the age of 42-43; see ŻYROMSKI 1995, 37.

⁵³ ŻYROMSKI 2001, 50; GROAG 1934, col. 671. *D. Terentius Gentianus* was regarded as a potential successor to Hadrian; see COURTNEY 1995, 295-297.

⁵⁴ CIL III 21 = 6625 = ILS 1046a = CLE I 270, Ghizeh, *Aegyptus*: *Vidi pyramidas sine te dulcissime frater / et tibi quod potui lacrimas hic maesta profudi / et nostri memorem luctus hanc sculpo quere(l)lam / sit nomen Decemi Gentiani pyramide alta / pontificis comitisque tuis Traiane triumphis / lustra(que) sex intra censoris consulis exst[er]*. (I've seen the pyramids, sweetest brother, / and here sorrow drained my tears – too small a gift. / I carve this lament, a memory of the grief we share. / So may there remain on this high pyramid the name / Decimus Gentianus, priest and comrade, o Trajan / at your triumphs, a censor and a consul before he was thirty (transl. by J.T. QUINN 2000). On *Terentia* see GROAG 1934, col. 716-717 (no. 97). The inscription carved in the facing of the pyramid was recorded by the German visitor Wilhelm von Boldensele in 1335/36; now it is lost. See COURTNEY 1995, 295-297, no. 74; HEMELRIJK 1999, 164-165.

⁵⁵ HEMELRIJK 1999, 171-172.

so as a woman married to a senatorial governor she was not permitted to visit Egypt unless she accompanied the empress herself.⁵⁶ We know much less about the family of *C. Apontius Memmius Celer*, a tribune whose wife and daughter founded a gravestone in *Cibalae* in *Pannonia* (No. 42, 49).⁵⁷ In *Novae*, in the middle of the 3rd century, a tribune of the discussed legion, *Aurelius [---]us* together with his father dedicated an epitaph to the deceased mother (No. 10). His parents presumably originated from a local family of inferior status.⁵⁸

Rufria Ovinia Corneliana commemorated her father (No. 52), a *consul designatus* and legate of Lower Moesia, *L. Ovinius Rusticus Cornelianus*.⁵⁹ Another inscription from *Minturnae* in Italy informs about his wife, *Rufria Secundilla*, the mother of *Ovinia* (No. 54).⁶⁰ *Sextia T.f. Torquata*, the wife of *Appius Cl. Martialis [A?]nius [S]ilvinus*,⁶¹ a *legatus legionis*, was a prominent woman from a senatorial family (No. 28). Her name indicates family relations with a certain *Sextius Torquatus*, a founder of baths in Rome.⁶² The couple financed an altar dedicated to *Diana* and *Apollo* in *Montana*. Another woman, *Salvia Luciola*, with her husband, *C. Valerius Optatianus*, a legate of the *legio I Italica* (possibly) between AD 208 and 210, dedicated an altar to the Capitoline Triad in *Aquincum* (No. 55). At that time, *Optatianus* held the position of governor of *Pannonia*.⁶³ But the most prominent are two women related to the imperial family of *Septimius Severus*: *Fulvia Pia*, mother of the emperor and *Septimia Octavilla*, his sister (Tab. III), who are included because the emperor's brother *P. Septimius Geta* was a commander of the First Italic legion.⁶⁴ In fact, both these women most probably never visited *Novae* or even Lower Moesia,⁶⁵ but we don't know anything about *Geta*'s own family.

⁵⁶ PIR² H 39; RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 1987, 594 ff., no. 753; BIRLEY 2013, 246. It is possible, however, that these are totally different people bearing the same names, born in these families later; see HEMELRIJK 1999, 164, footnote 110 and PIR² H 40.

⁵⁷ PME A 151; T. SARNOWSKI (1993b, 69, no. 19) dates the tribunate of *Apontius Memmius Celer* to possibly the 3rd c., but F. MATEI-POPESCU (2010, 93-94) gives a date at the turn of the 1st and 2nd c.

⁵⁸ SARNOWSKI 1993b, 68, no. 20 et 72-73 (*Aurelius [---]us*); HATLAS 2003, 265; MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 93-94.

⁵⁹ PIR² O, 190. On problems with his *cursus honorum* and dating, see LEUNISSEN 1991, 218; on genealogy see CHAUSSON 1996, 366 (*Cornelius* instead of *Cornelianus*).

⁶⁰ PIR² O, 192; RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 1987, 540, no. 673.

⁶¹ HATLAS 2003, 268, no. 1. Perhaps this is *Anius Claudius Martialis*, governor of Thrace in 161-163, MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 88 with literature.

⁶² So-called *balneum Torquati* on the *Caelius* near the Lateran basilica. His name is known from the *fistula-stamps* (CIL XV, 7536b; cf. PIR VII 2.2, 689), dated to the beg. of the 3rd c. See BRUUN 1999, 86.

⁶³ *C. Valerius [---]nus, legatus Aug. pro praetore et consul designatus* mentioned in the inscription may be identical to *C. Valerius Optatianus* known from IGLN, 47 found in *Novae*; see MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 92.

⁶⁴ PIR¹ S, 326; SHA VIII 10; IRT 541, *Leptis Magna*; AE 2004, 1242, *Oescus*; BOTEVA 1996, 239-240 with further references.

⁶⁵ *Fulvia Pia*: BIRLEY 1999, 221, no. 28; *Septimia Octavilla*: BIRLEY 1999, 213-214, no. 8; RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 1987, no. 697.

The size and quality of the funerary monument indicated the given family's high material (but not necessarily social) status. One of the tombs (No. 5, Fig. 5), located on a plot measuring 80×80 *pedes* (over 560 m. sq.),⁶⁶ was erected by a veteran only for himself and his wife. Two marble altars and representations of Diana (*ara cum sigillum*) founded by a *bf cos* and his wife (No. 12) in *Montana* also must have been expensive.⁶⁷

The woman's position in the text may reflect her social status and wealth. According to the order of names in Roman epitaphs presented by M. Boudreau Flory, women are usually recorded after men unless the woman's social position is higher.⁶⁸ Among the inscriptions analysed here, females are mentioned first in four cases (Nos. 2, 41, 46, 50), but the reasons for this vary. One is dedicated to a deceased girl, so her position is obvious (Nos. 46), in another case, a mother founded a gravestone for herself and her sons (No. 50). A case which seems to correspond to Flory's examples is the stela of *Aurelia Quieta* (No. 2) and her husband, *Flavius Decebalus*, a veteran, erected by their heirs named *Aurelii* together with a certain *Sammonia Antonia*: the order of names in the inscription seems to reflect the family relations among the deceased and the heirs. The funeral monument of the above-mentioned *L. Antonius Numida* refers in several places to his daughter *Antonia Sergilla*, an influential woman whose name was carved in bigger letters than the names of the other members of the family (No. 41).

Conclusions

The majority of the women appearing on the monuments together with the soldiers and veterans of the *legio I Italica* are wives, much less commonly daughters or sisters, which is essentially consistent the general trend in the empire.⁶⁹ Such proportions presumably reflect the model of the Roman family, in which young women married relatively early.⁷⁰ Thus, girls passed from the father's to their new husband's tutelage, rarely remaining under the *tutela* of their brother.⁷¹ In the eastern provinces this tendency is particularly evident because girls were given in marriage earlier than in the West.⁷² The low number of commemorated daughters, on the other hand, results from the general underestimation of the mortality of children (especially girls).⁷³ Funerary monuments erected by or for the soldiers of the First Italic legion do not represent nuclear families,⁷⁴ but rather reflect the

⁶⁶ IGLN, ad no. 89.

⁶⁷ Veterans belonged to a relatively wealthy social group, both in general as well as what concerns *Novae*; see KRÓLCZYK 2003, 277; KRÓLCZYK 2009, 126-127.

⁶⁸ BOUDREAU-FLORY 1984, 216.

⁶⁹ SHAW 1984, 472, 475.

⁷⁰ HOPKINS 1965, 309-327.

⁷¹ The so-called *tutela mulierum* (*Gaius, Inst.* 1.145, 1.190). Gravestones donated by brothers or sisters constitute 6-8% of all funeral dedications; see SALLER, SHAW 1984, 136.

⁷² SHAW 1987, 30-46.

⁷³ KAJAVA 1993, 173-174; cf. a different point of view in SALLER, SHAW 1984, 127f.

⁷⁴ Cf. SHAW 1984, 472.

legal status of soldiers and their families and the issue of inheritance, as well as the age of marriage and fatherhood. The change that occurred in AD 197 is clearly visible in the statistics (Charts 8, 9). Nuclear families may be in evidence in the cases of families that followed their *pater familias* to the outposts.

The interpretation of the terms *coniux* and *uxor* used to designate relationships with active soldiers⁷⁵ is not easy. Taken in the strict sense, they would mean that both spouses possessed *ius conubii* at the time of marriage. Following such an interpretation, one can come to the conclusion that after some time in service active soldiers acquired the privilege to enter in a legal marriage (*matrimonium iustum*).⁷⁶ The perspective of receiving *ius conubii* after the completion of military service (or after a certain number of years) must have raised an ambition to find a proper partner. To reach this goal, veterans had to look for wives among freeborn Roman citizens,⁷⁷ who were certainly attractive parties in the military milieu. However, there still remains the question of the soldiers' female partners whose names indicate servile origins or peregrine status, but who are called *coniux* or *uxor*, and whose children's names sound as if they were legitimate. We cannot exclude cases in which *ius conubii* with a peregrine was granted as a kind of reward.

The majority of monuments mentioning women related to the soldiers and veterans of the *legio I Italica* were erected in the 2nd and 3rd century (Chart 11). This tendency is recorded also in other parts of the empire, and is explained by local recruitment, which promoted family ties.⁷⁸ However, like other legionaries, soldiers serving in the First Italic legion were often dispatched to distant outposts. They either took their wives with them (as the name of *Valeria Bessa* buried in the Crimea suggests, see No. 29), or they established new relationships in their place of duty (possibly No. 31). In the 2nd century, the total number of women in the *canabae*, including those in civilian relationships, increased (Chart 10). Their families were certainly the seeds of the local Roman military community,⁷⁹ even beyond the empire, as in the case of Tauric *Chersonesus*.⁸⁰ The analysis of names seems to indicate deliberate choices (or efforts) of soldiers and veterans, who were in majority of Balkan and Near-Eastern origin but looked for citizen wives (most probably from military families)⁸¹ and thus ensured the social status of Roman citizens for their

⁷⁵ E.g. AE 1991, 1572 (*aquilifer et coniux*).

⁷⁶ PHANG 2001, 130-131, speculates that centurions may have been allowed to marry after 25 years of service.

⁷⁷ Ulp. Tit. 5.4: *conubium habent ciues Romani cum ciuibus Romanis; cum Latinis et peregrinis ita, si concessum sit*.

⁷⁸ SCHEIDEL 2007, 421; SALLER, SHAW 1984, 143-144.

⁷⁹ MANN 1963; WILKES 1969, 128.

⁸⁰ Apart from the discussed epitaph of a soldier from the *legio I Italica* (No. 32), we know a funeral inscription of a *centurio* serving in the *legio XI Claudia* erected by his freedwoman and partner; AE 1967, 435 = AE 1999, 1348 = AE 2000, 1279; SARNOWSKI, SABELJA 2000, 198-205.

⁸¹ This is rarely certified in Lower Moesia (MROZEWICZ 1982, 86), but the same conclusions apply to *Africa* (CHERRY 1998, 99-131), *Britannia* (HAYES 1999), and *Dalmatia* (WILKES

descendants. It seems that the legionaries did not shun other ethnic and social groups,⁸² but were rather pragmatic in choosing the Roman way of life and improved social standing after the end of their service. Such efforts would have been rewarded with higher status in the local society⁸³ and prestige for their children, not necessarily taking municipal offices which were financial bargain.⁸⁴ While the civilian part of the society living in the *canabae* was Greek-speaking, or rather multicultural, the military part was Roman in culture – not by constraint, but above all of choice.⁸⁵

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1969, 135 regards it as a way of isolating themselves from the civilian population of the province), as well as other provinces (SCHEIDEL 2007, 423).

⁸² SCHEIDEL 2007, 423-424.

⁸³ Discharged soldiers with their families composed *ca.* 50% of the population in the frontier zone of *Moesia inferior* and 1/3 of the inhabitants of *Novae*; see MROZEWICZ 1982, 83; KRÓLCZYK 2003, 279.

⁸⁴ The percentage of politically active veterans in the Rhine and Danubian provinces was low (average 6%), with only 1% of military children among the municipal aristocracy; see MROZEWICZ 1989, 69-70; ARDEVAN 1989, 90. However, the percentage of veterans in municipal aristocracy in *Pannonia superior*, *Moesia inferior* and *Dacia* was relatively high, reaching 8-12%; see KRÓLCZYK 2009, 145-146, 149. Their activity in military towns may have been instrumental, especially in the pre-municipal phase of the *canabae*. This may be illustrated by the case of the elites of *Troesmis*; see MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2012, 152, Tab. 1.

⁸⁵ The same are conclusions concerning veterans, paradoxically originating from the eastern part of the empire, see MROZEWICZ 1982, 88; KRÓLCZYK 2009, 179.

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TABLE I. FEMALE FAMILY MEMBERS OF ITALICA SOLDIERS MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NOVAE

LP	NAME	POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE NAME*	FAMILY STATUS** [AGE]	ADDITIONAL INFORMATION	REFERENCE	MONUMENT	DATING***
1	Aurelia [---] Quieta S[---]	Roman?	wife (coniux)	wife of Aurelius Saturninus, praefectus Augusti leg.	IGLN 40	altar for Dea Placida erected by praefectus and his wife	271-350 (Kolendo)
2	Aurelia Quieta	Roman	wife	Aurelia Quieta and her husband, Fl. Decebalus (veteran) endowed by her son, Aur. Ianuarius, also a veteran and their family; cf. No. 6	IGLN 82	stela dedicated to Aurelia Quieta and her husband by her family	222-235 (Kolendo, EDH)
3	Catonia Ingenua	Roman	wife	wife of T. Fl. Carantinus, centurio, mother of a young boy described as eques	AE 1999, 1335 = 2006, 1203	stela erected by parents for their son	201-250 (Kolendo, AE) 151-200 (EDH)
4	Iulia	Roman	wife (?) and veteran's freedwoman	possibly freedwoman of C. Iulius Magnus, her husband (veteran) known from identical monument (IGL Nov 83)	IGLN 99 = AE 2006, 1203	stela for Iulia	131-150 (Kolendo) 131-170 (EDH)
5	Marcia Marcella	Roman	wife (coniux)	a monumental tomb for Severus (veteran) and his wife	IGLN 89	gravestone of a couple who informs about the size of the plot (80x80 <i>pedes</i>)	151-200 (Kolendo, EDH)
6	Sammonia Antonia	Celtic	wife / daughter-in-law	Sammonia with her husband, Aur. Ianuarius (veteran) endowed Aurelia Quieta and her husband; cf. No. 2	IGLN 82	stela dedicated to Aurelia Quieta and her husband by her family	222-235 (Kolendo, EDH)

7	Valeria Elphis	Roman / Greek	wife (coniux) [30]	freedwoman of Lucius, wife of C. Annius Fuscus, cornicen, most probably leg. I Ital.	AE 1999, 1334 = 2002, +1245	stela for Valeria Elphis erected by her husband	1 st c. (AE, Kolendo) 151-200 (EDH)
8	Vibia Marcia	Roman	wife	wife of L. Cornelius Fronto, ex imaginifero; mother of a son, named Mampsalochanus; African or Eastern family	IGLN 80 = AE 2006, 1203	stela for Vibia Marcia	180-250 (Kolendo) 171-230 (EDH)
9	Suriana	Celtic? Illyrian?	wife(?)	only mentioned on the monument as a former partner and mother of veteran's sons	IGLN 104bis = AE 1993, 1366	stela erected by Suriana for the veteran	201-250 (Mrozewicz, EDH)
10	Ignota	unknown	mother (mater)	mother of Aurelius [---]us, tribunus militum angusticlavius	IGLN 168	funerary column founded by Ignota	201-250 (Kolendo, EDH)

TABLE II. WOMEN RELATED TO I ITALICA SOLDIERS AND VETERANS MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM OTHER SITES

LP	NAME	ORIGIN OF THE NAME	FAMILY STATUS [AGE]	ADDITIONAL INFORMATION	REFERENCE	MONUMENT	DATING
LOWER MOESIA AND THE BLACK SEA SHORE							
11	Antonia Marcellina	Roman	daughter (filia)	daughter of L. Antonius Felix, centurio with African roots (Carthage); cf. No. 16	CIL III 6185, <i>Troesmis</i>	funerary altar erected for the centurion by his wife and their children	171-200 (EDH)
12	Aurelia Rufina	Roman	most probably wife	wife of P. Aelius Clemens, bf cos	AE 1987, 872 and 873, <i>Montana</i>	two altars and statues for Diana erected by Rufina	101-200 (EDH)
13	Aurelia Severa	Roman	wife (coniux)	wife of a veteran, C. Crispinus C. f. Firmus from <i>Aspendus</i> ; cf. No. 34	ILB 59 = CIL III 14491, Corabia (moved from <i>Oescus</i> ?)	stela for Severa and grand-children	100-150 (Gerov) 131-200 (EDH)

14	Cl(audia) Marcellima	Roman	wife	wife of a veteran from leg. I Ital.	ILB 346 = CIL III 14422, Morava	funerary column for her husband and herself	131-170 (EDH) 193-235 (Gerov)
15	Cocceia Hortensia	Roman	daughter / wife (uxor)	daughter of Cocceius Hortensius, centurio leg. XI Claudia and wife of Ulpius Balamber, princeps leg. I Ital.	AE 1988, 1003 = IScM II 260, <i>Tomis</i>	funerary altar erected by Cocceia for her sons	101-230 (EDH)
16	Didia Marcellima	Roman	wife (coniux)	wife of L. Antonius Felix, centurio with African roots (Carthage); cf. No. 11	CIL III 6185, <i>Troesmis</i>	funerary altar erected for the centurio by his wife and their children	171-200 (EDH)
17	Fania Maxima	Roman	daughter (puella) [2.8 or 2.9]	daughter of Aelius Martinus, bf cos	CIL III 2023 = 8578, Vranjic near <i>Salona, Dalmatia</i>	stela erected by Aelius Martinus for his daughter	171-300 (EDH) the end of the 2 nd (Popescu)
18	Flavia Vivina	Roman	daughter (filia)	the legion is not mentioned, but bf (tribuni) semestris possibly from leg. I Ital.; cf. No. 20	ILB 312, Veliko Turnovo	tabula founded by bf semestris for himself and his family	101-250 (EDH)
19	Iulia	Roman	wife (coniux)	wife of Iulius Muczenus, bf cos, agens territorio Montantensium	AE 1987, 881, <i>Montana</i>	altar for Diana and Apollo erected by her husband <i>pro salute</i> of his wife	101-300 (EDH) late 2 nd / early 3 rd (Popescu)
20	Iulia Longina	Roman	wife (coniux)	the legion is not mentioned, but bf (tribuni) semestris possibly from leg. I Ital.; cf. No. 18	ILB 312, Veliko Turnovo	tabula founded by bf semestris for himself and his family	101-250 (EDH)
21	Iulia Tyche	Roman / Greek	wife / mother	wife of C. Iulius Celer, veteran of the leg. V Mac., mother of C. Iulius Crescens, centurio of the leg I Ital.	ILB 56 = CIL III 7428, <i>Oescus</i>	stela erected by centurio for his parents	101-130 (EDH)

22	Julia Valentiniana	Roman	daughter (filia)	daughter of C. Iulius Valens, optio; cf. No. 32	ILB 234 = CIL III 13731, Osenets near Razgrad	stela erected by Iulius for himself and his family	71-150 (EDH)
23	Julia Verecunda	Roman	wife (coniux)	wife of C. Valerius Rufus (veteran)	ILB 130 = CIL III 12354, <i>Utus</i> for Rufus	stela erected by Verecunda and her son for Rufus	151-200 (EDH)
24	Ovinnia Pretiosa	Roman	<i>unspecified</i> (wife?)	probably wife of Cornelius Magnus, librarius legionis	ILB 354, Strahilovo	stela erected by Ovinnia Pretiosa for two Cornelii (her husband and son?)	222-235 (Gerov, EDH)
25	Petronia	Roman	daughter (filia)	daughter of a veteran or / and a centurio	CIL III 6192 = IScM V 202, <i>Troesmis</i>	funerary monument erected by Petronia for her father	151-200 (EDH) Trajan- Hadrian (Sarnowski)
26	Pompeia Marcia	Roman	wife (coniux)	wife of Pompeius Magnus from <i>Stobi</i> (veteran); either his freedwoman or they received citizenship at the same time	ILB 431, Nedan	stela erected by Pompeia Marcia for her husband	101-130 (EDH) beg. of the 2 nd c. (Gerov, Mrozewicz)
27	Sentia Matrona	Roman	mother?	possibly mother of Aur. Mucianus, miles for whom the monument was raised (<i>ex</i> <i>testamento Sen. Matronae</i>)	ILB 338, <i>Dimun</i>	stela erected for a miles, possibly <i>ex</i> <i>testamento</i> of his mother	212-250 (EDH)
28	Sextia T. f. Torquata	Roman	wife (coniux)	wife of Appius Claudius Martialis [A?]nius [Silvinus, legatus legionis	Montana, II, p. 24-25, no. 48, <i>Montana</i>	altar for Diana and Apollo erected by Tor- quata and her husband	161-163 (Popescu)
29	Valeria Bessa	Roman / Thracian	daughter (filia)	daughter of Aurelius Victor, miles; cf. No. 30	CIL III 13751a = LNC20, <i>Chersonesus</i> <i>Taurica</i>	stela erected for Aurelius by his family	151-230 (Packard Database)

30	Val(eria) Marcia	Roman	wife (uxor)	wife of Aurelius Victor, miles; cf. No. 29	CIL III 13751a = LNCh20, <i>Chersonesus Taurica</i>	stela erected for Aurelius by his family	151-230 (Packard Database)
31	Valeria Nene	Roman / Greek?	mother	wife of Valerius Ponticus, mother of Valerius Valens, miles	AE 1991, 1385 = 2003, +1550, <i>Halmyris</i>	stela erected by the son for his parents	171-230 (EDH)
32	Vol(umnia) Marcia[na]	Roman	wife (coniux) [45?]	wife of C. Valerius Severus, miles	ILB 249, <i>Dortones</i>	stela erected by Volumnia Marciana for her husband	151-250 (EDH)
33	Irena	Greek	wife (coniux) [25?]	wife of C. Iulius Valens, optio, probably peregrine; cf. No. 22	ILB 234 = CIL III 13731, Osenets near Razgrad	stela erected by Iulius for himself and his family	71-150 (EDH)
34	Muciana	Roman	daughter (filia)	daughter of M. Aur. Mucianus, veteranus, ex beneficiario legati legionis; Thracian family	ILB 430, Nedian	stela for Muciana and her uncle	201-250 (EDH)
35	Primilla	Roman	granddaughter (?) (nepos)	related to C. Crispinus Firmus, veteran from <i>Aspendus</i> and his wife, Severa; cf. No. 13	ILB 59 = CIL III 14491, Corabia (moved from <i>Oescus</i> ?)	stela for Severa endowed by her grandchildren	100-150 (Gerov) 131-200 (EDH)
36	[---]na	<i>unknown</i>	wife (coniux)	wife of C. Ers[---], centurio	ILB 170, Chomakovtsi	stela erected by wife for her husband	131-170 (EDH)
37	Ignota	<i>unknown</i>	wife (coniux) / mother (mater)	wife of Valerius Valens, ex beneficiario and mother of soldiers	ILB 236, Vulchitrun	stela erected by Ignota	201-250 (EDH)
38	Ignota	<i>unknown</i>	bride (brutis), amica (?)	fiancée (?) of M. Aur. Maximus, miles	ILB 367, <i>Nicopolis ad Istrum</i>	relief plate for Ignota	171-300 (EDH) after 212 (Popescu)

OTHER PROVINCES AND ITALY							
39	Ignota	unknown	wife	wife of a bf cos	CIL III 14214.30 = IScM II 221, <i>Tomis</i>	plate mentioning <i>maritus</i>	151-230 (EDH)
40	Aelia	Roman	wife (coniux) [25?]	wife of Aur. Martialis (miles) and mother of their son; all died 'uno fato'	CIL III 2008, <i>Salona, Dalmatia</i>	stela erected by Disdozi to his brother and his family	201-230 (EDH)
41	Antonia L.f. Sergilla	Roman	daughter	daughter of L. Antonius Numida, tribunus and prefectus fabrum leg I Ital.; cf. No. 56	CIL II 3841-3850 = CIL II.2 14, 337-346, <i>Saguntum, Hisp. cit.</i>	funerary monument of the <i>familia</i>	Flavian (Sarnowski) 71-130 (EDH)
42	Aponia Gallitia	Roman?	daughter	daughter of G. Aponius Memmius Celer, tribunus militum angusticlavus	CIL III 3268, <i>Cibalae, Pann. inf.</i>	stela erected for tribunus by his wife and sister	3 rd c. (Sarnowski) 2 nd -3 rd c. (Popescu)
43	Aurelia	Roman	wife	partner of Aur. Flavius, miles and mother of their child; cf. No. 44	CIL III 12898, <i>Salona, Dalmatia</i>	stela erected by parents for their daughter	151-300 (EDH)
44	Aurelia	Roman	daughter	daughter of Aur. Flavius, miles; cf. No. 43	CIL III 12898, <i>Salona, Dalmatia</i>	stela erected by parents for their daughter	151-300 (EDH)
45	Αὐρ(ηλία)	Roman	mother	mother of C. Proclus, optio and a veteran's wife	IGBulg V 5891, <i>Neine, Macedonia</i>	monument erected for the veteran by his family	before 238 (Packard Database)
46	[Aur]elia? Nui[---]	Roman? / ?	wife	wife of a trecentarius leg. I Ital.	CIL XI 245, <i>Ravenna, Italia</i>	stela erected for Aurelia by her husband	201-300 (Sarnowski)
47	Claudia Marcia Capitolina	Roman	wife (coniux) / mother	centurion's wife and mother of a centurio	CIL VIII 217 = 11301 = AE 1991, +1633, <i>Cilicium, Africa proc.</i>	stela erected by the centurion for himself and his family	151-200 (Popescu)

48	Ἐρεννίῃ Πορροῦζα	Roman / Thracian	wife (ζῶσῃ)	wife of M. Heremnius Rufus, veteran, bf, possibly freedwoman; cf. No. 63	IGBulg IV 2270, <i>Parthikopolis,</i> <i>Macedonia</i>	monument erected for the veteran by his family; sepulchral epigram	120/121 (Packard Database)
49	Iulia Pia	Roman	wife (coniux)	wife of G. Aponius Memmius Celer, tribunus militum angusticlavus leg. I Ital.	CIL III 3268, <i>Cibalae, Pann.</i> <i>inf.</i>	stela erected for tribunus by his wife and sister	2 nd / 3 rd c. (Popescu) 3 rd c.? (Sarnowski)
50	Maria C.f. Quarta	Roman	mother	mother of C. Albius Severus, miles from the first enrolment	CIL V 7667 = InscrIt IX.1, 47, <i>Aug. Bagien-</i> <i>norum, Italia</i>	stela erected <i>ex</i> <i>testamento</i> of Maria Quarta for herself and her son	end of the 1 st c.
51	Mu[---]a Secu[ndina]	? / Roman	wife	wife of L. Papius Marcellinus, veteran from the first enrolment	CIL V 481, <i>Piranum, Italia</i>	stela erected bythe veteran for himself and his <i>familia</i>	end of the 1 st c.
52	Rufria Ovinia Corneliana	Roman	daughter	daughter of L. Ovinius Rusticus Cornelianus, legatus leg. I Ital.; cf. No. 54	CIL II 4126, <i>Tarraco, Hisp.</i> <i>cit.</i>	monument erected by Rufria for her father	ca. 170-250 (Leunissen)
53	Pompeia Marull[na]	Roman	wife	wife of Decimus Terentius Scaurianus, tribunus militum leg I Ital.(?); legatus pro praetore during the first Dacian war, consul, father of D. Terentius Gentianus; see no. 53	CIL XII 3169 = AE 1982, 678, <i>Nemausus,</i> <i>Gallia Narb.</i>	honorific cippus erected by Pompeia Marullina to her husband	101-102 (EDH)
54	Rufria L.f. Secundilla	Roman	wife	wife of L. Ovinius Rusticus Cornelianus, legatus leg. I Ital.; cf. No. 52	AE 1935, 21, <i>Mniurnae,</i> <i>Italia</i>	honorific monument founded by Rufria for her husband	ca. 170-250 (Leunissen)
55	Salvia Luciola	Roman	wife	wife of C. Valerius Opta- tianus, legatus leg. I Ital.	AE 1962, 119, <i>Aquincum,</i> <i>Pann. inf.</i>	altar for Jupiter, Juno and Minerva erected by Optatianus	185-188 (EDH)

56	Sergia M.f. Peregina	Roman	wife	wife of L. Antonius Numida, tribunus and prefectus fabrum leg. I Ital.; cf. No. 41	CIL II 3841-3850 = CIL II.2 14, 337-346, <i>Saguntum, Hisp. cit.</i>	funerary monument of the <i>familia</i>	71-130 (EDH)
57	Terentia	Roman	daughter	daughter of Decimus Terentius Scaurianus, sister of D. Terentius Gentianus; see No. 52	CIL III 21 = 6625, Gizeh, <i>Aegyptus</i>	epigram inscribed by Terentia for her brother	ca. 130 or after 138? (Hemelrijk)
58	Οὐαλέρια	Roman	wife	wife of a soldier (signifer), mother of a child	BCH 17 (1893) 266.52, <i>Temenothyrae, Phrygia</i>	monument erected by parents for their son who lived 55 months (4.5 years)	1 st c. AD
59	Valeria Ingenua	Roman	wife (coniux)	wife of P. Aelius Romanus, centurion, mother of a son and daughter; cf. No. 66	CIL VIII 2786 (p. 954, 1739) = ILS 2659, <i>Lambaesis, Africa proc.</i>	stela erected for Romanus by his family	151-200 (Mrozewicz), 170-190 (Popescu)
60	Vibia Efl[---]	Roman / ?	daughter or wife	free daughter or freed wife of L. Vibius Valens, centurio	InscrAqu II 2740, <i>Aquileia, Italia</i>	stela erected for himself and Vibia	101-? (Popescu)
61	Vibia Laenilla	Roman	nephew or granddaughter (neptis)	nephew adopted by M. Aur. Claudianus, centurio	AE 1981, 158, <i>Ostia, Italia</i>	stela erected by Vibia for the centurio	2 nd -3 rd c. (Popescu)
62	Castorina	Roman	wife (coniux)	wife of Fl. Augustalis, centurio, with whom she lived 8 years; monument gives detailed period of service, life and marriage	CIL V 914 = InscrAqu II 2739, <i>Aquileia, Italia</i>	stela erected by Castorina for her husband	Tetrarchic (UJEL), 250-300 (Popescu)
63	Παυλαῖνα	Roman?	daughter (child, υἰός)	daughter of M. Herennius Rufus (veteran and bf) and Herennia Pyrouxa; sepulchral epigram; cf. No. 48	IGBulg IV 2270, <i>Parthikopolis, Macedonia</i>	monument erected for the veteran by his family	120/121 (Packard Database)

64	Philotera	Greek	mother	mother of a centurio; probably peregrine	IL Jug III 1253, <i>Stobi</i> , <i>Macedonia</i>	funerary monument erected for the centurio by his parents	71-200 (EDH)
65	Quirilla	Roman	wife	wife of Aur. Ianuarius, most probably from I Italia, their son bears the name Aelius Vitalis	CIL III 8719, <i>Salona</i> , <i>Dalmatia</i>	stela erected by parents for their son	151-300 (EDH)
66	Romana	Roman	daughter (filia)	daughter of P. Aelius Romanus (centurio) and Valeria Ingenua; cf. No. 59	CIL VIII 2786 (p. 954, 1739) = ILS 2659, <i>Lambaesis</i> , <i>Africa proc.</i>	stela erected for the centurio by his family	151-200 (Mrozewicz), 170-190 (Popescu)

*POSSIBLE ORIGIN – the name not necessarily points to the origin of the person; in case of ethnically mixed names an indication of Roman and / or non-Roman sounding of the name is marked with a slash (e.g. Valeria Bessa – Roman / Thracian).

**FAMILY STATUS – only in relation to a military man; wife / mother, means that a certain woman was a wife and mother of a military, at the same time. In the brackets is given the Roman term describing a woman's relation to a military, if it is known from the inscription.

***DATING – is given after the internet databases: Epigraphik Datenbank Heidelberg (EDH) which in some cases follows the dating of CONRAD 2004), Packard Database which refers to G. Mihailov, IGBulg, and Ubi Erat Lupa (UEL), as well as corpora: AE, IGBulg (Gerov), IGLNov (Kolendo) and separate publications (by Sarnowski, Popescu, Mrozewicz).

TABLE III. WOMEN RELATED TO IMPERIAL FAMILY

L.P.	NAME	FAMILY RELATIONS	CURRICULUM VITAE	SOURCES
67	Fulvia Pia	Mother of P. Septimius Geta (legatus leg. I Ital AD 185, consul AD 203) and Septimius Severus (emperor)	Born ca. 125 in the patrician family, married to P. Septimius Geta, a nobleman from Lepcis Magna. They had three children, P. Septimius Geta, Septimius Severus, and Septimia Octavilla. Died after AD 198.	<i>SHA</i> , Sev. I 2; IRT, 415, 416, <i>Leptis Magna</i>
68	Septimia Octavilla	Sister of P. Septimius Geta (legatus leg. I Ital AD 185, consul AD 203) and Septimius Severus (emperor)	Born ca. 140, probably wife of a senator (L. Flavius Aper?). According to <i>SHA</i> during her visit in Rome the emperor was embarrassed with her poor Latin and sent her home.	<i>SHA</i> , Sev. XV 7; IRT, 417, <i>Leptis Magna</i>

The charts in brown colour refer to the evidence from Novae only, blue ones - to all the inscriptions mentioning women related to soldiers and veterans of the legio I Italica

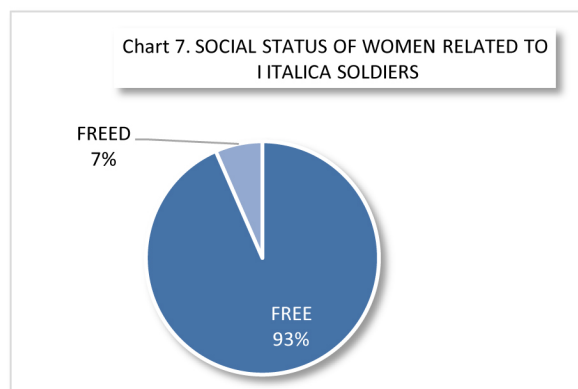
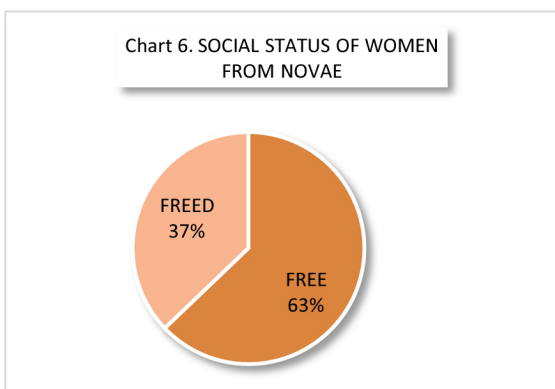
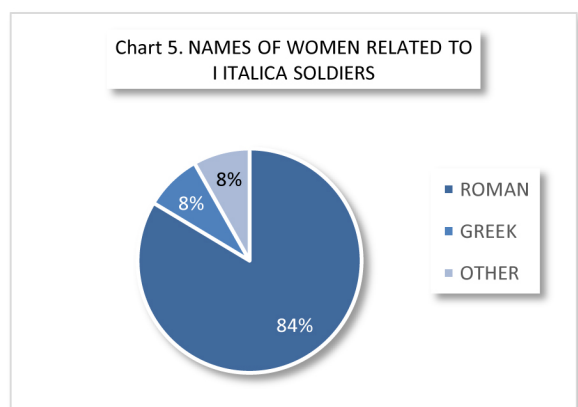
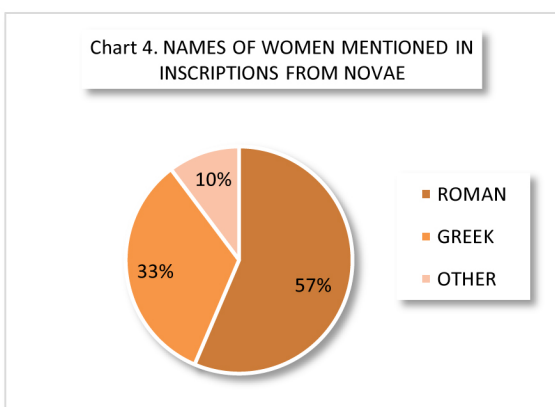
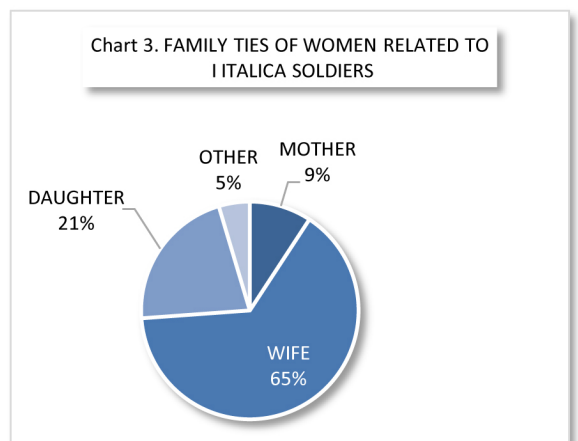
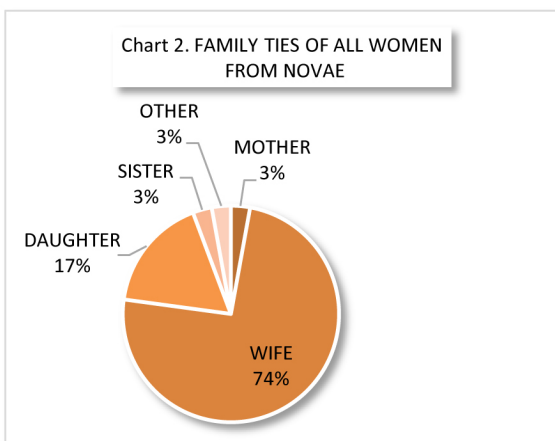
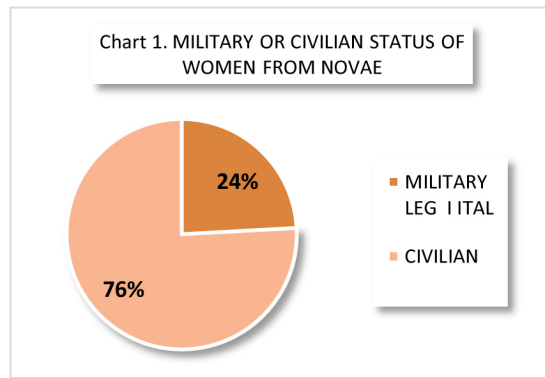


Chart 8. FAMILY TIES OF SOLDIERS SERVING IN LEGIO I ITALICA (before AD 200)

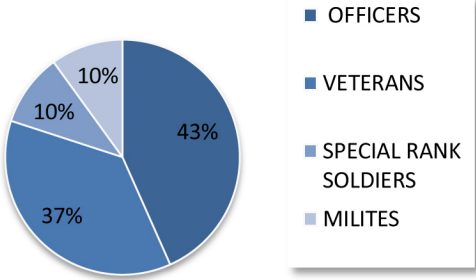


Chart 9. FAMILY TIES OF SOLDIERS SERVING IN LEGIO I ITALICA (after AD 200)

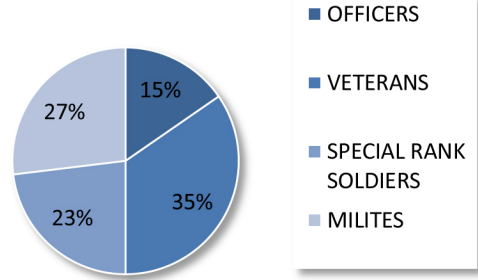


Chart 10. DATING OF INSCRIPTIONS FROM NOVAE MENTIONING WOMEN

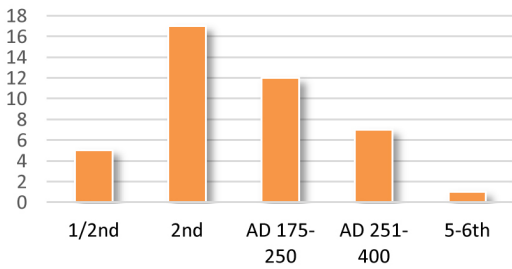


Chart 11. DATING OF INSCRIPTIONS MENTIONING WOMEN RELATED TO I ITALICA SOLDIERS

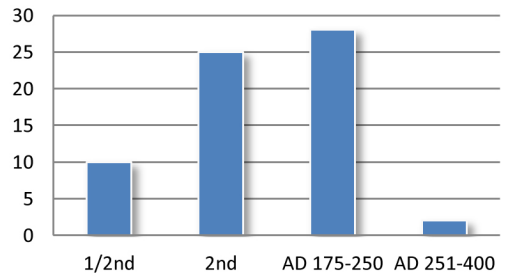




Fig. 1. A funerary stela from Novae dedicated by a *cornicen* to his wife (No. 7). Phot. A. Tomas, courtesy of Antiquity of Southeastern Europe Research Centre, University of Warsaw



Fig. 2. A funerary plaque from Nicopolis ad Istrum dedicated to *amica* (No. 38).
After B. Gerov (ILB).



Fig. 3. A funerary stela from Novae for *Iulius Cornelius Mampsalachanus* (No. 8).
 Phot. A. Tomas, courtesy of Antiquity of Southeastern Europe Research Centre, University
 of Warsaw



Fig. 4. Fragment of a funerary stela from Novae erected for *Julia*, a veteran's wife and freedwoman (No. 4). Phot. A. Tomas, courtesy of Antiquity of Southeastern Europe Research Centre, University of Warsaw



Fig. 5. Fragment of a funerary stela from Novae informing about the size of the plot (No. 5). Phot. A. Tomas, courtesy of Antiquity of Southeastern Europe Research Centre, University of Warsaw