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WOMEN IN MILITARY DIPLOMAS FROM MOESIA INFERIOR. A PRELIMINARY STUDY

Abstract: This article aims to explore the epigraphic records of women in military diplomas from Moesia Inferior, focusing on “visible” women (those mentioned by name and those whose names have not been preserved but are attested through terms like *uxor*, *filia*, *mater*, *soror*) and “invisible” women (indirectly attested through their children).

Keywords: *Women, military diploma, Thracian, Greek and Roman names.*

INTRODUCTION

This research examines the military diplomas from the province of Moesia Inferior, focusing on women as *uxores*, *filiae*, *matres*, *sorores*. Unlike other epigraphic sources, military diplomas provide significantly less information about women. This research is part of a broader project to develop an integrative perspective on key parameters concerning the female presence in this province. These parameters include demographic characteristics (such as the age of women, the age of family members, duration of the marriage, age at death, etc.); family connections (mixed marriages, names of fathers, husbands, children, and relatives); mixed onomastic formulas in bilingual contexts; educational, religious, socio-professional, and legal statuses; epithets; linguistic characteristics of names; reference to the *origo* of women or their family members; frequency of specific names across regions and ethnic groups; worshiped deities; and distinctions such as civil versus military and urban versus rural contexts, etc. Women are far less represented in epigraphic sources compared to male attestations.

The literature on women in the military context of this province has primarily focused on issues related to the nature of their relationships with soldiers, family context, onomastic, ethnicity, etc.¹

We have categorized the attestations of women mentioned in military diplomas from Moesia Inferior into the following groups, detailing essential parameters for each category, such as the woman’s name, mother’s and/or father’s name, husband’s name, children’s names, date, and source:

¹ DANA 2010; DANA 2013a, 217–240 (an excellent analysis based on about 40 military diplomas, granted to Thracian soldiers and sailors, emphasizing their familial members, with a significant bibliography on the subject); DANA 2013b; DANA 2014, LXXXVIII–XC (the onomastic specific to Thracian women, linguistic features attested for 300 women names); SLAVOVA 1995; 2006; PHANG 2001; TOMAS 2015, TOMAS 2017a; TOMAS 2017b; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/DUMITRACHE 2012; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/RĂILEANU 2014; MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2018; PÁZSINT 2019; PÁZSINT 2024; CURCĂ 2024.

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1. “Visible” women (women who are explicitly mentioned in the diplomas)

1.1. Women whose names are attested in the diplomas

1.2. Women mentioned in the diplomas but whose names are not more preserved (wives, daughters, mothers and sisters)

2. “Invisible” women (women who are not explicitly mentioned in the diplomas, but are indirectly attested through their children)

We have encountered common challenges, typically associated with epigraphical investigations, for example the place of discovery of the military diploma. Therefore, it is mandatory to mention the fact that in many cases, the place of discovery is unknown (because the diplomas come from the antiquities market), and therefore, the origin of the soldiers and their wives from Moesia Inferior is uncertain, but not impossible (the other likely province being Thrace). The order of women listed below was arranged first by those with a confirmed origin in Moesia Inferior, followed by those presumed to be from the same province. The information following the female names are: the name of father / husband and his military unit; names of other members of family; place of discovery; date; reference. The fragmentary nature of some diplomas makes it challenging to analyze the female names or the family context in which the female characters appears.

Epigraphic records

1. “Visible” women

1.1. Women whose names are attested in the diplomas

NOMINA THRACICA

Andra: Eptacentus (*pater*), Disaphus Dinicenti f., *ala Hispanorum Auriana, gregalis (maritus)*; Moesia Inferior?; 5.07.157; RGZM 38.

Benzis: Dolazenus Mucacenthi f., *gregalis, ala I Flavia Gaetulorum (pater)*; Deneusi Esiaetralis f. (*mater*); Moesia Inferior?, 14.08.99; Eck, Pangerl 2006, 99–100.

Deneusi: Esiaetralis (*pater*); Dolazenus Mucacenthi f., *gregalis, ala I Flavia Gaetulorum (maritus)*; Flavus, Nene, Benzis; Moesia Inferior?, 14.08.99; Eck, Pangerl 2006, 99–100.

Dourpina: Incertus (*pater*); Moesia Inferior?; 117–138; RMD IV, 255.

Dyde: Hebreus Bithi f. (*pater*), *coh. I Tyrionum sagittariorum, pedes*; Moesia Inferior?; 24.11.107; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 514–519.

Eptaper(is): Clagissa Clagissae (*pater*), *cohors II Mattiacorum, pedes*; Nicopolis ad Istrum, near Lesičeri; Sporus, Derzizenus, Eptacentus (*fratres*); 28.02.138; CIL XVI, 83.

Eptasucu[---]: Cass[---] f., *Bessus (pater)*; [---]rmeta Diteni (*mater*); Brinca[---] (*frater*); Moesia Inferior?; 118/129; Dana 2013a, 227, no. 64.

Mama: Pos[---] (*pater*); Tidis Thi[---] f. *ala Gallorum Flauiana, gregalis (maritus)*; Moesia Inferior?; 144/146; RMD V, 402.

Nene: Dolazenus Mucacenthi f., *gregalis, ala I Flavia Gaetulorum (pater)*; Deneusi Esiaetralis (*mater*); Moesia Inferior?; 14.08.99; Eck, Pangerl 2006, 99–100.

Scuris: Hebreus Bithi f. (*pater*), *coh. I Tyrionum sagittariorum, pedes*; Moesia Inferior?; 24.11.107; Eck, Pangerl 2009, 514–519.

Zatsis: Plico (*pater*); Bithus Aulucenthi f., *gregalis, ala I Flavia Gaetulorum (maritus)*; Sabina (*filia*); Moesia Inferior?; 14.08.99; Eck, Pangerl 2012, 295–301.

Zina: Clagissa Clagissae (*pater*), *cohors II Mattiacorum, pedes*; Nicopolis ad Istrum, near Lesičeri; Sporus, Derzizenus, Eptacentus (*fratres*), Eptaper(is) (*soror*); 28.02.138; CIL XVI, 83.

Zisipier: Zurosis (*pater*); Diurdanus Damanaei f., *cohors I Flavia Musulamiorum, pedes (maritus)*; Decebalus, Dosacchus, Comadicis, Dauappier, Daepier (*fili*); Moesia Inferior?; 31.07.131; AE 2005, 1274.

Zyascelis: Polydori (*pater*); Mucacentus Eptacentis f., *coh. I. c. R. p. f. centurio (maritus)*; Moesia Inferior?; 13.03.101; RGZM 9.

NOMINA ROMANA

Marcellina: Diurdanus, *Dacus, cohors VI Hispanorum, pedes (maritus)*; Moesia Inferior?; 126; Eck, Pangerl 2016, 227–230.

Quinta: Ti. Claudius [---] (*pater*); Torquatus, Dizala, Torcus (*fratres*); Moesia Inferior?; 113–114; RMD IV, 225.

Prisca: Dasmeni (*pater*); Siasis Decianaei f. *cohors III Brittonum, pedes (maritus)*; Moesia Inferior?; 20.01.151; RGZM 31.

Sabina: Bithus Aulucenthi f. (*pater*); Zatsis Pliconis (*mater*); Moesia Inferior?; 14.08.99; Eck, Pangerl 2012, 295–301.

Tertulla: Ti. Claudius [---] (*pater*); Torquatus, Dizala, Torcus (*fratres*); Quinta (*soror*); Moesia Inferior?; 113–114; RMD IV, 225.

Valentina: Aulsenus, *Bessus, decurio (maritus)*; Moesia Inferior?; 118; RMD V, 348.

NOMINA GRAECA

Attice: Vergilius (*pater*); Nicanor Menodori (*maritus*), *domus Ephes*; Cius, Iulius, Paulus (*fili*); 14.08.99; Ibida; Mihailescu-Birliba, Paraschiv 2023, 51–62.

1.2. Women mentioned in the diplomas but whose names are not more preserved (wives, daughters, mothers and sisters)

Uxor: [---]Dasiae f. incertus, *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum, gregalis (maritus)*; Moesia Inferior?; 99/110; RMD IV, 221.

Uxor: Incertus *coh. I Lusitanorum, eques (maritus)*; Moesia Inferior?; 25.02.146; Eck, Pangerl 2010, 35, appendix 1.

Uxor: Su[---]: Casu[---], *Bessus, gregalis, ala Siliana torquata ciuium Romanorum*; Moesia Inferior?; 119; AE 2003, 2041.

Uxor et mater: Dolatralis [---]ali f. *gregalis (maritus)*; *filius?*; Velika Cezava, Novae; 6.10.142; RMD II, 106.

Uxor et mater: [---]pori f., *Bessus (maritus)*; *fili incerti*; Moesia Inferior?; 105; Dana 2013a, 225, no 43.

Uxor et mater: [---]uria Du[---]: incertus (*maritus*); Bassus, *Incertus*, Bithus, Sabinus (*fili*); Moesia Inferior?; 120/140; Dana 2019, 232–233.

Uxor et mater: Din[---], (*filius*); P. Aelius [---], *Classis*

Misenensis, gregalis (maritus); Diep[---]? (*filius*); Moesia Inferior?; 160; Eck, Pangerl 2007, 227–229.

Parentes, fratres et sorores? Ulpius [---], *Bessus, ala I Ulpia contariorum, gregalis*; Moesia Inferior?; 121; Eck, Pangerl 2008b, 276–284.

Mater, fratres, soror? Ulpius [---]nae, *Dacus, ala I Ulpia contariorum*; Moesia Inferior?; 121; RMD V, 357.

Filia: [---]olis f., *Bessus, gregalis, (pater)*; Moesia Inferior?; 17.07.122; RMD V, 361.

Uxor, filius et filiae: Incertus, *Bessus*; Moesia Inferior?; 118–122; RMD V, 362.

Filius: Incertus, *Bessus (pater)*, Moesia Inferior?; 120/140; RGZM 71.

Uxor / Filia? Eptae f. *Classis Ravennas, gregalis?*; Moesia Inferior?; 128/144; RMD IV, 267.

Uxor et mater: [---]rmeta Diteni; Cass[---] f., *Bessus (maritus)*; Brinca[---] (*filius*); Eptasucu[---] (*filia*); Moesia Inferior?; 118/129; Dana 2013a, 227, no. 64.

Uxor et mater: Au[---]? Paulis f.; L. Valerius [---]esde f. Tau[---], *Classis Misenensis (maritus)*; Moesia Inferior?; 117–138; RMD V, 383.

2. “Invisible” women (women who are not explicitly mentioned in the diplomas, but are indirectly attested through their children)

Sola (filius): Soema Aluzeni, *Classis Ravennas, centurio*, Moesia Inferior?; 5.04.71; Eck, Pangerl 2023, 251–254.

Mucaseis (filius): Lucius Satur[---] f., *ala I Flavia Gaetulorum*; Moesia Inferior?; 97; RMD V, 337.

Macedo (filius): Tarsa Duzi f. *Classis Ravennas, tesserarius*; Mihai Bravu; 5.04.71; Chiriac, Mihailescu-Bîrliba, Matei 2004, 265–269; Petolescu, Popescu 2007, 147–149.

M. Aurelius Valerius (filius): M. Aurelius Victor qui et Drubius, *Classis Ravennas, gregalis, uicus Dizerpera*; 224; RMD V, 463.

Densatralis (filius): Aulusenis Densatralis, *coh. I Flavia Bessorum, pedes*, Moesia Inferior?; 8.05.100; Eck, Pangerl 2008a, 360–361.

Valens, Valerius, Sabinus (filii): Ciagitsa Sitae f. *ala II Pannoniorum, gregalis*; Moesia Inferior?; 16.05.101; Eck, Pangerl 2008a, 329–330.

Mucatralis (filius): M. Baebius Firmus, *Classis Misenensis, gregalis*; Moesia Inferior?; 25.12.119; AÉ 2005, 1738.

Teres, Dolazenis (filii): M. Antonius Celer, *Classis Misenensis, gregalis*, Moesia Inferior?; 25.12.119; RMD V, 353.

Citzosis, Durcieis, Incertus (filii): Incertus; Moesia Inferior?; 126; Eck, Pangerl 2006, 104.

Diurdanus, Dada (filii): Mattius Prisci f., *Dacus, pedes* (?); Moesia Inferior?; Trajan-Hadrien; Eck, Pangerl 2015, 208–209.

Thia (filius): Incertus; Moesia Inferior?; 138–161; RMD IV, 280.

Nattoporis, Duccidava (filii): Flavius Sterissae f., *Dacus*; Moesia Inferior?; oct./dec. 127; RMD V, 368.

PARTICULAR REMARKS

Interesting onomastic cases of mixed anthroponymy in the same family are attested in several families. For example,

Dolazenus Mucacanthi, married to Deneusi Esiaetralis named their children with Thracian (Nene² and Benzis³) and Roman names (Flavus). We also have a fragmentary name, [---]uria Du[---] f. wife of an *incertus*, but with the names of the children well preserved, Thracian and Roman, i.e. Bithus and Sabinus.⁴

Even in the case of fragmentary names of the parents (Cass[---] f., *Bessus*, [---]rmeta Diteni), we were able to identify a female Thracian name *Eftasuc[u]*.⁵

In the case of Zina,⁶ a Thracian woman, the name of the father, Clagissa Clagissae f. is very similar to another Thracian anthroponym, identified in another military diploma⁷.

An interesting case is represented by Andra, a peregrine, married with Disaphus Dinicenti f., who served as *gregalis in ala Hispanorum Auriana*. Thracian feminine onomastics generally exhibit the same characteristics as male names. In the *Onomasticon* of D. Dana, the name *Andra* is attested three times (twice for masculine names and once as a feminine name in this particularly military diploma). D. Dana rejects the idea that *Andra* could be a part of Greek compound names as, for example, Ἀλεξάνδρα.⁸

The reading of the name Dourpina, attested in a fragmentary military diploma was reinterpreted by D. Dana as *Djurpinae*, related to the typical Dacian radical – *Djur*.⁹

The Greek name, Attice, attested in a military diploma from Ibida has a Roman patronym, Vergilius. She is married to Nicanor Menodori, from Ephesus and named their children with Roman names.¹⁰

GENERAL REMARKS

The marriages between Thracians mentioned in the military diplomas were satisfactorily analyzed by Dan Dana.¹¹ The author not only investigates the status of the wives, but also of their children. He noticed that under Trajan and Hadrian, the children are mentioned alongside wives if the text attested citizenship, while under Antonius a radical change is visible, for the granting of Roman citizenship: only the children born before the recruitment of their fathers and those of officers became *cives Romani*.¹² D. Dana draws attention that in the majority of diplomas, more than a half of Thracian soldiers appears as not married at the moment of their discharge: this statistic can be deceptive. However, two thirds of Thracian soldiers from the sample of *auxilia* have a family life.¹³ On the other side, after 140, only a few women are attested in military diplomas as partners of soldiers.¹⁴ D. Dana remarks that the most frequent marriages of Thracian soldiers are with women of the same origin, but this is available for those who are doing the military duty

² ECK/PANGERL 2006, 99–100; DANA 2014, 261.

³ ECK/PANGERL 2006, 99–100; DANA 2014, 32.

⁴ DANA 2019, 232–233.

⁵ DANA 2013a, 227, no. 64; DANA 2014, 182.

⁶ CIL XVI, 83; DANA 2014, 399.

⁷ ECK/PANGERL 2008a, 329–330.

⁸ RGZM 38; DANA 2014, LXXXIX, 6.

⁹ RMD IV, 255; DANA 2010, 48–49.

¹⁰ MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA/PARASCHIV 2023, 51–62.

¹¹ DANA 2013a, 217–240.

¹² DANA 2013a, 228.

¹³ DANA 2013a, 222–223.

¹⁴ DANA 2013a, 224.

at a local or regional level.¹⁵ This can be explained on one hand that some of them already had a family life before their enlistment and, on the other hand, that they knew their wives especially from the neighboring regions and the language represented a very good way to communicate and getting closer. Our sample is of course different, but some general remarks can be drawn.

First of all, the Thracian names prevail, as wives or daughters: the sample confirms D. Dana's conclusion on the marriages between persons of same origin. Even in a case when the woman's name was not preserved, the ethnonym *Bessa* testifies the same thing.¹⁶ The Roman names are mostly in the case of daughters, which indicates a clear tendency of names 'Romanization': the Thracians used to give their children Roman names, in order to make the others not to remark their non-Roman origin.¹⁷ The Greek names are rare and the *nomina incerta* led more to a Thracian origin than another one. The presence of children after 140 indicate that the soldiers had a life of couple before, like D. Dana already noticed.¹⁸

Consequently, even if the wives are less visible in the texts than the children, the existence of the last ones proves that the soldiers had at least one female partner during their military service.

We can extend this type of analysis at other types of inscriptions and not only in the case of military personnel. The 'invisible women' are far more than one should expect. Besides, the analysis can be extended in respect of their juridical and social status. In the case of military diplomas, the situation is quite clear: as former *peregrinae*, they acquired the *civitas Romana*.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AÉ: *Année Épigraphique*, Paris.

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.

ECK/PANGERL 2023

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RGZM: B. Pferdehirt, Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, I-II, Mainz, 2004.

RMD: M. M. Roxan, Roman Military Diplomas, I-V, London, 1978-2006.

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¹⁵ DANA 2013a, 225.

¹⁶ AÉ 2003, 2041.

¹⁷ See MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2018.

¹⁸ DANA 2013a, 230-232.

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