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Βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου 48 – 116 35 Ἀθήνα – τηλ. 210 72 73 673

Ἐκτύπωση: Ἐκδόσεις Ἡλιαία, Μ. Κύρκος
Ἐψηλάντου 25, 106 75 Ἀθήνα
τηλ. 210 72 18 421 – fax 210 72 18 223, e-mail: iliea@otenet.gr

Ἐπιμέλεια ἐξωφύλλου: Εἰρήνη Καλογρίδου

THRAKIKΑ ZETEMATA
II

ASPECTS OF THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF THRACE

Edited by

Maria - Gabriella G. Parissaki

ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ
ΤΜΗΜΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ (ΚΕΡΑ)
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INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
DEPARTMENT FOR GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITY (KERA)
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION

ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ

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DIFFUSION DE BOCCARD – 11, RUE DE MEDICIS, 75006 PARIS

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ATHENS 2013

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ROMAN CITIZENS OF THRACE: AN OVERVIEW

*Francesco Camia**

The present study aims at providing a synthetic overview of the male population of Thrace that possessed Roman citizenship, highlighting the numerical consistence, the geographical and chronological distribution, the “ethnic” composition as well as the socio-economic condition of the *cives Romani* attested in the province of *Thracia*¹.

* Institute of Historical Research, Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity (KERA) of the National Hellenic Research Foundation. Email: fcamia@eie.gr.

1. I would like to thank Maria-Gabriella Parissaki for her precious suggestions and M. Metcalfe for kindly revising the English text. The following abbreviations are used:

Gaggero, “Citoyens romains” = G. Gaggero, “Citoyens romains dans la Thrace indépendante”, *Pulpudeva* 2 (1976) [Sofia 1978] 251-263.

Gerov, “Römische Bürgerrechtsverleihung” = B. Gerov, “Römische Bürgerrechtsverleihung und Kolonisation in Thrakien vor Trajan”, *StudClas* 3 (1961) 107-116 [= *Beiträge zur Geschichte der römischen Provinzen Moesien und Thrakien. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, vol. I (Amsterdam 1980) 83-92].

Ivanov and von Bülow, *Thracia* = R. Ivanov and Gerda von Bülow, *Thracia. Eine römische Provinz auf der Balkanhalbinsel* (Mainz 2008).

Loukopoulou, “*Colonia Claudia Apretensis*” = Louisa Polychronidou-Loukopoulou, “*Colonia Claudia Apretensis*: μία Ρωμαϊκή άποικία στη νοτιοανατολική Θράκη”, in *Μνήμη Δ. Λαζαρίδη. Πόλις και χώρα στην αρχαία Μακεδονία και Θράκη* (Thessaloniki 1990) 701-715.

Loukopoulou, “Ρωμαϊκή παρουσία” = Louisa Polychronidou-Loukopoulou, “Η ρωμαϊκή παρουσία στη νοτιοανατολική Θράκη”, in *IInd International Symposium of Thracian Studies, Komotini 20-27 September 1992*, vol. I (Komotini 1997) 181-192.

Rizakis, “Anthroponymie” = A. D. Rizakis, “Anthroponymie et société. Les noms romains dans les provinces hellénophones de l’empire”, in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens 7-9 September 1993*, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 21 (Athens 1996) 11-29.

Samsaris, “Πολιτογραφική πολιτική” = D. K. Samsaris, “Η πολιτογραφική πολιτική των ρωμαίων αυτοκρατόρων και η διάδοση της ρωμαϊκής πολιτείας στη ρωμαϊκή Θράκη”, in D. K. Samsaris, *Έρευνες στην ιστορία, την τοπογραφία και τις λατρείες των ρωμαϊκών επαρχιών Μακεδονίας και Θράκης* (Thessaloniki 1984) 131-302.

Sharankov, “Language and Society” = N. Sharankov, “Language and Society in Roman Thrace”, in I. P. Haynes (ed.), *Early Roman Thrace. New Evidence from Bulgaria*, *JRA Suppl.* 82 (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2011) 135-155.

Velkov, *Roman Cities* = V. Velkov, *Roman Cities in Bulgaria. Collected studies* (Amsterdam 1980).

I. Introduction

As is well known, the basic criterion for the identification of a Roman *civis* is the *nomen gentile*, accompanied by a *praenomen* and/or a *cognomen*, these combinations resulting in an onomastic formula composed of two or three elements (the *duo* or *tria nomina*). On the contrary, the presence of one single name of Roman type, even a *gentilicium*, is not a proof of the possession of the *civitas*, as Roman *praenomina*, *nomina* and *cognomina* were sometimes used as simple personal names (*nomina simplicia* or *nuda*) by non citizens (*peregrini*). For that reason, persons bearing only one name of Roman type (either *praenomen* or *nomen* or *cognomen*) are not included in the present study, which is an investigation on the Roman *cives* of Thrace, not an analysis of the onomastics of Roman Thrace². Furthermore, Roman magistrates (*e.g.* consuls) who happen to be cited in inscriptions from Thrace but do not have any connection with this region have not been taken into consideration, nor have been, as a rule, imperial functionaries —among whom Thracian provincial governors— with the exception of the imperial freedmen such as the *tabularius provinciae Thraciae* T. Aelius Euphrosynus³. Soldiers have been included as well. I am well aware that some of the military personnel attested in the inscriptions of Thrace (a *provincia inermis*) neither performed their duties in Thrace nor were of Thracian origin; nonetheless, given the impossibility to state in every case if a given soldier

2. During the Late Hellenistic period in the Hellenophone regions Romans were sometimes indicated with the simple *praenomen* followed by a patronymic and the ethnic *Rhomaïos*; for Thrace see *e.g.*, at Maroneia, Μάαρκος Ποπλίου Ῥωμαῖος (*IThrAeg* E178; 2nd c. BC). Cf. G. Daux, “La formule onomastique dans le domaine grec sous l’empire romain”, *AJPh* 100 (1979) 19; Rizakis, “Anthroponymie” 16 (and n. 15). For other (much later) exceptions to the *tria* (or *duo*) *nomina* formulas see the *Aug(usti) lib(ertus)* Martialis from the territory of the Roman colony of Deultum (*AnnÉpigra* 1965, 1-2; AD 184-185) and the *centurio ordinatus* Μουκι(ανός) from the territory of Augusta Traiana (*IGBulg* III.2, 1712; 2nd-3rd c. AD). For a prosopography and onomasticon of Aegean Thrace (including the Roman period) see Maria-Gabriella Parissaki, *Prosopography and Onomasticon of Aegean Thrace*, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 49 (Athens 2007); on the impact of the Roman onomastics in the Thracian region see most recently D. Dana, “L’impact de l’onomastique latine sur les onomastiques indigènes dans l’espace thrace”, in Monique Dondin-Payre (ed.), *Les noms de personnes dans l’Empire romain. Transformations, adaptation, évolution*, Scripta Antiqua 36 (Bordeaux 2011) 37-87.

3. Lilija Botušarova, “Trois documents sur la ville de Philippople de l’époque romaine”, *Arheologija* 10/2 (1968) 43-47, no 1, in Bulgarian with French summary (see Milena Minkova, *The Personal Names of the Latin Inscriptions in Bulgaria*. Studien zur klassischen Philologie 118 [Frankfurt am Main 2000] 20) (Philippopolis; 2nd c. AD). On the governors of Thrace see B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum* I (Göteborg 1984) 161 ff; cf. also Dilyana Boteva, “Die Statthalter der römischen Provinz Thracia unter Septimius Severus und Caracalla (Probleme der Datierung)”, in *Stephanos nomismatikos. Edith Schönert-Geiss zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin 1998) 131-138; Marietta Horster, “Statthalter von Thracien unter Kommodus”, *ZPE* 147 (2004) 247-258; N. Sharankov, “Unknown Governors of Provincia Thracia, Late I-Early II Century AD”, *ZPE* 151 (2005) 235-242.

simply found himself passing through Thrace (and left an epigraphic sign of this passage) or if he had some sort of connection (of any kind) with this region, I have decided to take into consideration all the epigraphic references from Thrace concerning this particular category of *cives*, to which a specific section is dedicated⁴.

The chronological range of the present investigation is comprised between the 2nd c. BC and the 3rd c. AD⁵. Although Thrace became a Roman province in AD 45-46, this region had experienced Roman influence already since the beginnings of the 2nd c. BC as a consequence of the increasing Roman involvement in the eastern Mediterranean. Indeed, while inland Thrace will remain for a long time at the margins of the main political and economic interests of the Roman state, Aegean Thrace came *de facto* to be put under Roman control following the creation of the province of Macedonia (148-146 BC). It was however only two centuries later that the emperor Claudius finally decided to transform Thrace into a province in order to put an end to the continuous clashes between the Thracian kings and tribes⁶. Roman citizens are attested epigraphically already before the foundation of the province. The few references dating from the last two centuries of the Republic and the beginnings of the Principate basically account for the presence in Thrace of Roman “immigrants” from the Italian peninsula (mostly *negotiatores* installed in Aegean Thrace and the Thracian Chersonesos) and for the earliest stages of the bestowal of the *civitas* to natives, mainly members of the Thracian royal family branches and of the local

4. See *infra*, paragraph VI.

5. The choice of the end of the 3rd c. AD as lower chronological limit is justified by the fact that by the 4th c. the single name (*nomen simplex*) had become generalised all over the Empire. *Nota bene*: I have taken into consideration all epigraphic references that are generically dated to the imperial age.

6. The last Thracian king, Rhoimetalkes III, son of Kotys III —who had grown up and been educated in Rome together with the future emperor Caligula— was assassinated in AD 45. Thrace was governed by equestrian procurators until the reign of Trajan, when they were replaced by imperial legates (*legati Augusti pro praetore*) of praetorian rank (see Thomasson, *Laterculi* [op. cit. n. 2] 161 ff). Cf. A. Betz, *RE* VI A, 1 (1936) s.v. “Thrake”, coll. 439-455; Chr. M. Danov, “Die Thraker auf dem Ostbalkan von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zur Gründung Konstantinopels”, *ANRW* II 7.1 (1979) 106-150; Louisa D. Loukopoulou, “*Provinciae Macedoniae finis Orientalis*: the establishment of the eastern frontier”, in M. B. Hatzopoulos and Louisa D. Loukopoulou, *Two studies in ancient Macedonian topography*, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 3 (Athens 1987) 61-100; Anna Avramea, “Η Θράκη κατά τη ρωμαϊκή αρχαιότητα”, in Θράκη (Athens 1994) 135-137; Loukopoulou, “Ρωμαϊκή παρουσία”; Anja Slawisch, *Die Grabsteine der römischen Provinz Thracia. Aufnahme, Verarbeitung und Weitergabe überregionaler Ausdrucksmittel am Beispiel der Grabsteine einer Binnenprovinz zwischen Ost und West*, Schriften des Zentrums für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes 9 (Langenweißbach 2007) 35-39; Ivanov and von Bülow, *Thracia* 14-15, 19-20.

aristocracy. In any case, as will appear clear below, most Roman *cives* attested in Greek and Latin inscriptions from Thrace date to the second and third centuries of our era. I have excluded from my analysis all the *cives* bearing the *gentilicium* “Aurelius”, the reason for this being that given the impossibility of assigning the *Aurelii* to a grant of the *civitas* by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus or following the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (AD 212) the inclusion of this category of *cives*—which better deserves a separate analysis⁷— would have biased the available evidence⁸.

As for the geographical area of the present analysis, it roughly corresponds to that of Roman *Thracia*, namely the territories comprised between mount Haemus—which by the end of the 2nd c. AD defined the borders between the provinces of *Thracia* and *Moesia Inferior*— to the North, the Black Sea to the East, the Propontis and the Aegean Sea to the South, and the fluctuating Thracio-Macedonian borders to the West⁹. I have also included the Thracian Chersonesos (the Gallipoli Peninsula in modern Turkey), which notwithstanding the particular administrative status of (at least) a great part of it—it included imperial estates administered by a special procurator— was part of the province of Thrace¹⁰, while I have excluded both the city of Byzantium, which until the

7. See now A. D. Rizakis, “La diffusion des processus d’adaptation onomastique: les *Aurelii* dans les provinces orientales de l’Empire”, in Monique Dondin-Payre (ed.), *Les noms de personnes dans l’Empire romain. Transformations, adaptation, évolution*, Scripta Antiqua 36 (Bordeaux 2011) 253-262.

8. This is not in contradiction to the choice of including in my sample inscriptions down to the end of the 3rd c. AD. In order to trace a chronological distribution of the *civitas* based on the imperial *gentilicia*, any individual bearing the *nomen* of an emperor is relevant regardless of his chronology. A *civis* bearing the *gentilicium* “Aelius”, for example, could well be the descendant of someone who had obtained Roman citizenship from Hadrian a century earlier.

9. B. Gerov, “Die Grenzen der römischen Provinz Thracia bis zur Gründung des Aurelianischen Dakien”, ANRW II 7.1 (1979) 212-240 [= *Beiträge zur Geschichte der römischen Provinzen Moesien und Thrakien. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, vol. III (Amsterdam 1998) 437-467]; Slavisch, *Grabsteine* [op. cit. n. 6] 39-41; Ivanov and von Bülow, *Thracia* 15-18. For the diffusion of Roman citizenship in the territories north of mount Haemus see B. Gerov, “La Romanisation entre le Danube et les Balkans d’Auguste à Hadrien”, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der römischen Provinzen Moesien und Thrakien. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, vol. II (Amsterdam 1997) 121-209, in Bulgarian with French summary.

10. *IK (Sestos)* 45 (= *CIL* III 726) (Lysimacheia; reign of Trajan), ll. 8-9: *proc(urator) Aug(usti) reg(ionis) Chers(onesi)*; cf. also *IK (Sestos)* 28 and *IK (Ephesos)* 3048. Following the bequest of his kingdom by Attalus III to the Romans in 133 BC, the royal possessions in the Thracian Chersonesos (see *Cic. Leg. agr.* 2.50: *Attalicos agros in Cherroneso...*) became *agri publici*; they then came in some way into Agrippa’s possession; the latter bequeathed them to Augustus (*Cass. Dio* 54.29) so that they finally became an imperial possession. Cf. A. Betz, *RE* VIA 1 (1936) 455-456; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford 1971²) 16; Gerov, “Grenzen” [op. cit. n. 9] 231-232; Loukopoulou, “*Provinciae Macedoniae finis Orientalis*” [op. cit. n. 6] 73 ff; Loukopoulou, “*Colonia Claudia Apretensis*” 706-707 (and n. 37); Loukopoulou, “*Ῥωμαϊκὴ παρουσία*” 185; Ivanov and von Bülow, *Thracia* 16.

age of Septimius Severus belonged to the province of Bithynia-Pontus¹¹, and the islands of Samothrace and Thasos, as the latter, though attached to the province of Thrace, constitute as well as Byzantium particular cases that are better analysed separately¹².

The evidence for the present study is (mostly) epigraphical. It consists of (published) Greek and Latin inscriptions from the following cities and *territoria* of the province of Thrace: Abdera, Ainos, Anchialos, Apri, Augusta Traiana, Deultum, Hadrianopolis, Maroneia, Mesambria (Pontica), Nicopolis ad Nestum, Pautalia, Perinthos, Philippopolis, Plotinopolis, Serdica, Topeiros, Traianopolis, the *territorium Biziense* and the Thracian Chersonesos (see Table 1). The 341 inscriptions (41 in Latin and 8 bilingual) that mention persons possessing Roman citizenship are distributed as follows: 220 in inland Thrace; 72 in the region of the Propontis (Thracian Chersonesos, Apri, Perinthos and *territorium Biziense*); 36 in Aegean Thrace; 13 in the western Pontus (Mesambria, Anchialos, Deultum)¹³. The biggest concentrations of inscriptions are from Philippopolis (101), Perinthos (47), Augusta Traiana (45) and Pautalia (39). The dating of these texts is problematic, as most are votive (144) and funerary (110) inscriptions¹⁴ that do not give any chronological detail except for palaeography (with all its known “pitfalls”, especially as regards the imperial period). A significant geographical difference is here to be noted. While the recent epigraphic *corpora* of Perinthos and Aegean Thrace¹⁵ offer (more or less) precise chronologies—in many cases based on palaeography—for almost all of the texts, Mihailov’s *corpus* of Greek inscriptions from Bulgaria (*IGBulg*) indicates a date only in presence of a secure internal chronological hint (*e.g.* reference to an emperor). As a partial correction to this bias, one can resort to the dates provided by the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. IV (2005), which however records only a part of the Roman *cives* who constitute the object of the present study. As a consequence, the great majority of the inscriptions generically dated to the imperial period—that amount to one

11. See Plin. *Ep.* 10.43; Gerov, “Grenzen” [*op. cit.* n. 9] 230-231; Edith Schönert Geiss, *Die Münzprägung from Byzantion, II: Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1972) 1 ff; Ivanov and von Bülow, *Thracia* 16. Herodianus (3.1.5) attests that in the 3rd c. AD Byzantium belonged to the province of Thrace.

12. Thasos and Samothrace had the status of *civitates liberae*, as attested by Plinius (*NH* 4.73); according to Ptolemaeus (3.11.14), the island of Imbros belonged to the province of Thrace as well.

13. The present inquiry is based on the following epigraphic *corpora*: *IGBulg* I and III-V, *IThrAeg*, *I.Perinthos*, *IK (Sestos)* and *CIL* III, supplemented for the most recent years by *SEG*, *BullÉpigr* and *AnnÉpigr*. Parissaki, *Prosopography* [*op. cit.* n. 2] collects all the Roman *nomina* occurring in the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Aegean Thrace (see the list at pp. 316-317), while Minkova, *Personal Names* [*op. cit.* n. 3] those of the Latin inscriptions of Bulgaria (see at pp. 17-102).

14. For the other categories of texts represented in the epigraphic sample see Table 1.

15. *I.Perinthos* (1998); *IThrAeg* (2005).

hundred, that is almost one third of the total— belong to Bulgarian Thrace. In any case, since a general reconsideration of the chronology of the inscriptions from Bulgarian Thrace on palaeographic grounds not only would be a hardly attainable task but is also out of the scope of the present paper, I have opted for contenting myself with the information at my disposal to date. Even with these limitations, a point worth highlighting is that more than half of the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Thrace mentioning one or more Roman *cives* date to the second and third centuries. Let us now see what historical considerations one can draw from this datum with regard to the diffusion of Roman citizenship in this region, if analysed in combination with the information provided by the imperial *gentilicia*.

II. Roman citizens of Thrace: a quantitative and chronological assessment

Based on the criteria exposed above, I have identified in the epigraphic evidence a total of 401 Roman *cives*, i.e. persons who independent of their “ethnic” origin were certainly provided with Roman citizenship and resided —at least for a certain period— in Thrace¹⁶ (see Table 2). There are then 40 more individuals who may have possessed the *civitas* —and at least some of them most likely did— but whose citizen status cannot be stated for certain¹⁷ (see Table 2a). Even though I will occasionally refer to some of these people in the notes, for the sake of clarity and coherence I have decided not to include them in my analysis, adopting as sample for the figures and percentages below only the group of 401 individuals who certainly possessed the *civitas*.

Among the cities of Thrace, Philippopolis —which was the seat of the Thracian *koinon* in addition to hosting the provincial archives— is that with the largest number of Roman *cives* (108) corresponding to 26.9% of the total, followed by Perinthos (79 = 19.7%) —seat of the provincial governor— and, at some distance, Augusta Traiana (54 = 13.4%). Apart from these three big cities, which alone account for more than half (241 = 60%) of the total of the *cives* attested in

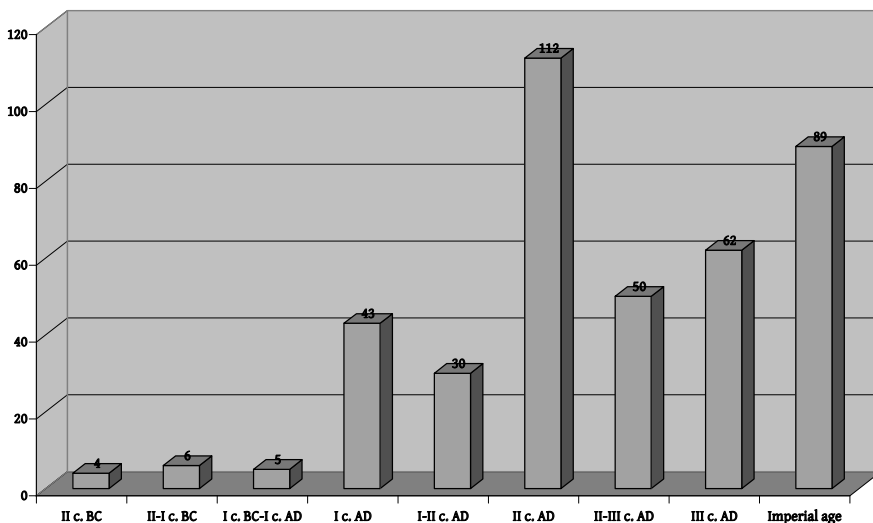
16. As noted above, soldiers and officers constitute a case apart, as some of them served outside Thrace (a *provincia inermis*) and happened to visit Thrace occasionally in the making of their duties; see also *infra*, paragraph VI.

17. Basically those bearing a *gentilicium* followed by another name only partially preserved on the stone (that might be a patronymic) or by a *lacuna*, whose condition of *cives* is not indicated by other elements — e.g. Αἴλιος Λεοντίσκ[ος/ου?] (IGBulg III.1, 1186; territory of Philippopolis) or Αἰμίλιος [- - -] (IGBulg, III.1, 999; territory of Philippopolis). A different case is that of individuals such as Ἀντώνις Ἰλαρο[ς] (IGBulg III.2, 1868; *territorium Biziense*), whose status of *civis* is confirmed by the fact that he was a *libertus* of a Roman *civis*.

the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Thrace, the remaining individuals possessing Roman citizenship are distributed among seventeen cities and two territories (Thracian Chersonesos and *territorium Bizyense*) with figures that range from the 31 *cives* of Pautalia (7.7%) to the only one certain *civis* attested at Mesambria (see Table 3). The majority of *cives* are attested in inland Thrace, while Aegean Thrace, the cities of the western coast of Pontus and the Thracian Chersonesos account together for about seventy cases¹⁸.

A detailed chronological distribution of the individuals possessing Roman citizenship is made hard by the impossibility of giving an exact chronology for every inscription, as already noted. In any case, leaving aside the 89 persons generically dated to the imperial period and bearing in mind the uncertainties regarding the chronology of some of the other individuals it is still possible to highlight some interesting points (see Fig. 1 and Table 3).

Fig. 1. Chronological distribution of the Roman *cives* of Thrace



The first consideration worth making is that more than half (224 = 55.8%) of the Roman citizens attested in Thrace date to the second and third centuries. If we leave aside the 30 *cives* dated generically to the first or second centuries, we are left with 58 individuals possessing the *civitas* for whom a date before the 2nd c. AD

18. Not including either the city of Perinthos —which as the capital of the province is a case apart— nor the 23 *strategoï* of Thrace mentioned in the catalogue of Topeiros (*IThrAeg* E84; see *infra*, n. 21) who are to be referred to the whole of the province.

can be suggested. Fifteen among them are dated to the last two centuries of the Republic or the beginnings of the Principate: all of them —with the possible exception of one for whom we have no further information¹⁹— were “immigrants” from Italy, active (at least six, most likely the others as well) as *negotiatores* in Aegean Thrace and the Thracian Chersonesos, and probably organized in communities of *Rhomaioi (sym)pragmateuomenoi*, as was certainly the case in Sestos²⁰. As for the remaining 43 *cives* dated to the 1st c. AD, 23 are among the *strategoi* of Thrace who appear in the famous catalogue of Topeiros (ca. AD 46-60)²¹. As holders of the highest local political and military office (*strategia*) —below the governor’s office— they must have belonged to the most prominent aristocratic families of Thrace, also enjoying connections with the various branches of the last royal Thracian dynasty, whose members had been the first to obtain the *civitas*²². The fact that among the 33 *strategoi* recorded in this catalogue there are also 10 *peregrini*, significantly put at the bottom of the list²³, shows that in Thrace at the middle of the 1st c. AD Roman citizenship was still a privilege for few. Yet only a generation later the son of one of these *strategoi peregrini*, the *strategos* Φλάβιος Διζάλας Ἐζβένεος τοῦ Ἀματόκου, had obtained the Roman *civitas*²⁴. This situation is in line with a general trend observable in other provinces of the Empire as well and reflects the pace of diffusion of the *civitas* among the *peregrini*, a phenomenon that began to assume new dimensions from the reign of Claudius onwards²⁵. In

19. Μᾶρκος Μάριος Φρόντων from Ainos (cf. A. Martínez Fernández, “Inscripciones de Eno, Tracia”, *Fortunatae* 11 [1999] 63, no 5; 1st c. BC?); judging by his name, he could well be of Italian origin, what would also fit the chronology proposed by Martínez Fernández.

20. *IK (Sestos)* 2 (1st c. BC-1st c. AD); see *infra*, n. 59. Cf. Loukopoulou, “Ρωμαϊκή παρουσία”, esp. 182-183 and 185-186.

21. *IThrAeg* E84 (l. 4-28); cf. Maria-Gabriella Parissaki, “Étude sur l’organisation administrative de la Thrace à l’époque romaine: l’histoire des stratégies”, *REG* 122 (2009) 330-331 (and n. 31).

22. Cf. Gaggero, “Citoyens romains”, esp. 254-257; Samsaris, “Πολιτογραφική πολιτική” 142-149; see also Gerov, “Römische Bürgerrechtsverleihung” 107.

23. *IThrAeg* E84, ll. 29-38.

24. *IGBulg* IV 2338 (Nicomedia ad Nestum; Flavian reign); his father, Ἐσβενις Ἀματόκου, appears in the catalogue of Topeiros (*IThrAeg* E84, l. 35); cf. Gerov, “Römische Bürgerrechtsverleihung” 109. If he did not become a *civis* thanks to an imperial grant, Flavius Dizalas could have obtained the *civitas* from the governor of Moesia Inferior T. Flavius Sabinus, who was honoured at Topeiros most likely by the same *strategoi* who honoured the *procurator* of Thrace M. Vettius Marcellus, and on the same occasion (*IThrAeg* E85); cf. Thomasson, *Laterculi* [*op. cit.* n. 3] 124, no 18. On the *strategiai* in the Roman period see most recently Parissaki, “Stratégies” [*op. cit.* n. 21].

25. Cf. e.g. the case of Roman Athens analysed by S. G. Byrne, *Roman citizens of Athens* (Leuven-Dudley, MA 2003); see in particular p. XII. Notwithstanding some literary exaggeration such as that of a famous passage from Seneca’s *Apocolocyntosis* where Claudius is represented as dreaming of an Empire in which the different regional *ethne* all wear the Roman *toga* (Sen. *Apocol.* 3; see also Dio Cass. 60.17.5-6), this emperor’s significant contribution to the spread of Roman citizenship in the

Thrace this is confirmed by the analysis of the imperial *gentilicia*. As is known, imperial *nomina* are a fundamental source of information for the spread of the *civitas* in a given region, as they can offer an (albeit partial) idea of which emperors were, so to say, more generous in the grant of Roman citizenship to natives. Among the 401 *cives* I have identified through the epigraphic evidence, 38 bear the *gentilicium* “Iulius”, 59 the *gentilicium* “Claudius”, 70 the *gentilicium* “Flavius”, 29 the *gentilicium* “Ulpus”, 40 the *gentilicium* “Aelius”²⁶ (see Table 6a). If we consider the number of hypothetical grants of *civitas* per years of reign of each *princeps* (or imperial dynasty)²⁷ we obtain the following figures, that from a certain point of view are more telling than the absolute numbers: *ca.* 0.5 for the *Iulii* (Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula); *ca.* 2.2 for the *Claudii* (Claudius and Nero); *ca.* 2.6 for the *Flavii* (Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian); *ca.* 1.5 for the *Ulpri* (Trajan); *ca.* 0.9 for the *Aelii* (Hadrian and Antoninus Pius). As one can easily see, a remarkable increase in the diffusion of the *civitas* is observable starting from the middle of the 1st c. AD (see Fig. 2).

Except for some members of the last royal dynasty of Thrace, namely Rhoimetalkes I and his brother Rheskuporis, who could have obtained the *civitas* already before the death of Augustus²⁸, most *Iulii* of Thrace must have obtained it from Caligula, who gave a significant contribution to the diffusion of the Roman citizenship among the local aristocracy²⁹. This was certainly the

provinces deserves to be stressed; cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford 1973²) 237-250 and also J. Hatzfeld, *Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Grec* (Paris 1919) 9-10; Gaggero, “Citoyens romains” 263. In general, on the diffusion of the Roman citizenship during the early Principate see F. Vittinghoff, *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus* (Wiesbaden 1951) 96 ff; A. N. Sherwin-White [*op. cit.* in this note] 221 ff.

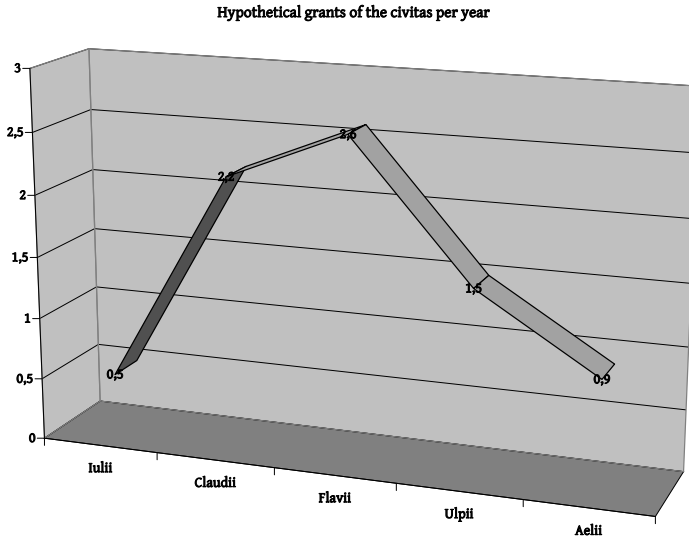
26. To these one has to add five individuals who bear the *nomen* “Septimius”. Note that the latter will not be taken into consideration in the figures below on the diffusion of the *civitas* due to the choice of not including the *Aurelii* in the present study (see *supra*).

27. It goes without saying that not all of the *cives* with a given imperial *gentilicium* were granted Roman citizenship directly by the emperor (or one of the emperors) bearing that particular *nomen*, as some of them may have been descendants of individuals who had obtained, even a long time before, the *civitas* through an imperial grant. Moreover, it is to be noted that a person bearing an imperial *gentilicium* could have obtained the *civitas* not directly from the emperor, but indirectly through a Roman magistrate (*e.g.* a provincial governor) who bore that *nomen*. In any case, if we make an exception for the latter cases as well as for cases of relatives belonging to the same family, each individual bearing an imperial *gentilicium* corresponds, at least in theory, to an (original) imperial grant of the *civitas*, regardless of his chronology.

28. Cf. Gaggero, “Citoyens romains” 257.

29. Gaggero “Citoyens romains” 259-260.

case for the last king of Thrace C. Iulius Rhoimetalkes (III), who enjoyed personal links with this emperor³⁰.



As for the *Claudii*, those who owed the *civitas* to Claudius were likely more than those who got it through Nero. Generally speaking, Claudius' theories about the extension of Roman citizenship and his significant contribution to its spread among the provincials are known³¹. Let us add here that it was under Claudius that Thrace became a Roman province. This emperor also founded the Roman colony of Apri (*Colonia Claudia Aprensis*), likely a military foundation situated in a strategic position on the eastern sector of the *via Egnatia*³². Being the first community of Roman status in the whole of Thrace —the two other, later, Roman communities are the Flavian colony of Deultum and the Hadrianic *municipium* of Koila³³— it provided the Roman *negotiatores* already installed in southern Thrace with an important point of reference.

30. Cf. Margarita Tačeva, "Der thrakische Adel und die Verwaltung der Provinz Thracia", *Thracia* 17 (2007) 33 and also *supra*, n. 6.

31. See *supra*, n. 25.

32. Loukopoulou, "Colonia Claudia Aprensis".

33. Koila —which was located between Sestos and Madytos and was perhaps, at least starting from the age of Hadrian, the seat of the *procurator* of Thracian Chersonesos— may be identical with the *colonia Flaviopolis* mentioned by Pliny the Elder (*NH* 4.47) according to whom it was situated *ubi antea Caela* (cdd. *Cela*, *Coela* or *Coela*) *oppidum vocabatur*. It would have reassumed its original name once it was transformed in *municipium* (*Aelium Municipium Coela*) by Hadrian; cf. Loukopoulou,

The increase in the grant of the *civitas* observable during the 1st c. AD seems to reach a peak in the Flavian period: 70 *cives* bearing the *gentilicium* Flavius—as far as I know the greatest number of *cives* with an imperial *nomen* attested in the inscriptions of Thrace—which divided for 27 years of reign give a figure of ca. 2.6 hypothetical grants per year. Under the Flavians, in the context of the reorganization of the Danubian *limes* conceived by Vespasian many veterans from both the legions and the auxiliary units—among whom also Thracians—were installed along the main routes and in strategic points of the region as well as in some civic centres such as Philippopolis and Beroe (later Augusta Traiana) in order to ensure the safety of Thrace, a *provincia inermis* that, at least in the Flavian period, was provided with just one garrison of 2.000 soldiers³⁴. Moreover, Vespasian founded the Roman colony of Deultum (*Colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium*), where veterans of the *legio VIII Augusta* were installed³⁵. The systematic levies of soldiers by the Flavian emperors also contributed to the diffusion of Roman citizenship in Thrace³⁶.

“*Colonia Claudia Aprensis*” 707. On the possible existence of another community of Roman status (a colony) in the area of Lysimacheia/Aphrodisias, at the mouth of the Chersonesos’ Isthmus—maybe to be identified with the *colonia Flaviopolis* mentioned by Pliny—see *infra*, n. 35.

34. Gerov, “Römische Bürgerrechtsverleihung” 111-114, 116; B. Gerov, *Landownership in Roman Thracia and Moesia, 1st to 3rd Century* (Amsterdam 1988) 43-68, 180-182; I. Boyanov, *The Roman Veterans in Lower Moesia and Thrace (1st-3rd century AD)* (Sofia 2008) in Bulgarian with English summary, *non vidi*; Sharankov, “Language and Society” 149-150. Cf. the Latin dedication of an *Augusteum* in AD 233 by the *veterani consistentes Augusta Traiana* (*AnnÉpigr* 1933, 90) and another dedication of veterans in Philippopolis (*AnnÉpigr* 1939, 115; AD 211-217).

35. *ILS* 6105 (Rome; AD 82); Plin. *NH* 4.45. Cf. Gerov, “Römische Bürgerrechtsverleihung” 112-113; M. Sartre, “Les colonies romaines dans le monde grec. Essai de synthèse”, *Electrum* 5 (2001) 116 (and n. 50); Sharankov, “Language and Society” 148, n. 79. Based on some Latin inscriptions found in the area between the Isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesos, the western coast of the Propontis and the city of Apri and referring to institutions of Roman type (see Loukopoulou, “*Colonia Claudia Aprensis*” 708, n. 52-53 for the references), it has been suggested that a community of Roman status was founded in that area under the Flavians. The identification, however, of this alleged Roman city with one of the known sites of that region (Lysimacheia/Aphrodisias; Kallipolis?) as well as its possible relation with the *colonia Flaviopolis* mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 4.47) remain most uncertain to the point that the very existence of this Roman community is to be considered dubious; for a summary of the various positions cf. Loukopoulou, “*Colonia Claudia Aprensis*” 708-713 (esp. 709-710), who prefers to refer the above mentioned epigraphical *testimonia* to the colony of Apri rather than to suppose the existence of another civic centre of Roman status; see also Sartre [*op. cit.* in this note] 116, n. 51 (with reference to the *colonia Flaviopolis*): “la situation est si compliquée que son existence même est douteuse”. For Flavians’ policy in Thrace see now Parissaki, “Stratégies” [*op. cit.* n. 21] 346-350.

36. Gerov, “Römische Bürgerrechtsverleihung” 111. Thrace was famous in antiquity as a source of recruits (Strabo 7, frag. 47; J. Rougé, *Expositio totius mundi and gentium. Édition, traduction, commentaire* [Paris 1966] 50). At least 31 regular auxiliary units carry the title *Thracum*; cf. I. P.

Judging from the figures, after the Flavian period there seems to have been a decrease in the grant of the *civitas*: ca. 1.5 grants per year for Trajan, that descend to ca. 0.9 during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus, to be considered together as the imperial *nomen* “Aelius” can derive from both these emperors. As regards Hadrian, however, given that he carried on Trajan’s effort for the urbanization of Thrace through the foundation or re-foundation of civic communities³⁷, it is reasonable to imagine that those who were granted the *civitas* by the Philhellene emperor were more numerous than the five persons bearing the *gentilicium* Hadrianus and (some of) the ten *cives* combining the *praenomen* “Publius” to the *nomen* “Aelius”. In fact, if we assumed as working hypothesis that two thirds of the 40 *cives* bearing the *gentilicium* “Aelius” owed — they themselves or some of their ancestors— the *civitas* to Hadrian, adding to them the five *cives* bearing the *nomen* Hadrianus we would obtain a total of about 30 individuals that divided for 21 years of reign give ca. 1.4 grants per year, virtually the same figure we have for Trajan and a more likely one for an emperor like Hadrian.

The exclusion of the *Aurelii* from the present investigation does not permit us to proceed further in this hypothetical assessment of the diffusion of Roman citizenship in Thrace³⁸. To sum up, we can distinguish four main stages:

- In the last two centuries of the Republic and in the first half of the 1st c. AD the *cives* attested in Thrace were basically either “immigrants” from Italy active as *negotiatores/pragmateutai* in the Greek cities of southern Thrace or members of the royal Thracian family and selected representatives of the local aristocracies who were granted Roman citizenship. The catalogue of Topeiros (ca. AD 46-60), who records 10 *peregrini* among the 33 Thracian *strategoï*, shows that in the middle of the 1st c. AD the diffusion of the *civitas*

Haynes, “Early Roman Thrace”, in I. P. Haynes (ed.), *Early Roman Thrace. New Evidence from Bulgaria*, JRA Suppl. 82 [Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2011] 8 and n. 6 with relative bibliography.

37. Trajan’s initiative in support of Thrace’s urban network is also testified by a change in the name of some cities: Beroe became Augusta Traiana, while Anchialos, Bizye, Pautalia, Philippopolis, Serdica and Topeiros assumed the imperial epithet *Ulpia*. Moreover, one of Philippopolis’ tribes assumed the name *Hadrianis*. Cf. Jones, *Cities* [op. cit. n. 10] 18-23; Danov, “Die Thraker” [op. cit. n. 6] 174-176; Avramea, “Η Θράκη” [op. cit. n. 6] 138-139; Smaragda Arvanitidou, “Οι ελληνικές πόλεις στη Θράκη κατά τη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο”, in *Θράκη* (Athens 1994) 147-149; see also Haynes, *Early Roman Thrace* [op. cit. n. 36] 9.

38. As a consequence the *Septimii*, as already noted, are also excluded from the figures above; in any case, their number (just five individuals) would give an insignificant rate of grants per year (ca. 0.3).

was still in a preliminary phase even among the highest and most influential members of Thracian society.

- Starting from the middle of the first century the diffusion of Roman citizenship among the local population took on new dimensions. The emperors who contributed most to this new trend were Claudius and Vespasian, who were also the founders of the only two known Roman colonies in the whole of Thrace, Apri and Deultum. It is in this phase that one registers the highest percentage of hypothetical grants of *civitas* per year.
- In the 2nd c. AD the spread of the *civitas* seems to undergo a decrease that probably reflects a sort of stabilization. In absolute numbers, however, as new *cives* were added to those who already possessed Roman citizenship, the total number of individuals provided with the *civitas* continued to grow slowly but regularly, as shown by the fact that more than one fourth (112 = 27.9%) of the Roman *cives* attested in the inscriptions of Thrace date to the second century.
- This situation will finally lead to the bestowal of Roman citizenship on all the free inhabitants of the Empire by the emperor Caracalla in AD 212 (*Constitutio Antoniniana*).

If we look then at single cities (see Table 6a), it is worth noting that Philippopolis and Perinthos, with 65 and 48 imperial *gentilicia* respectively, alone account for almost half (113 = 46.8%) of the total number of *cives* bearing an imperial *nomen* attested in the epigraphic texts from Thrace (241³⁹). In the rest of the province there are no other consistent concentrations of imperial *gentilicia* except for the 17 *Flavii* attested at Augusta Traiana and the 15 *Ti. Claudii* attested in the catalogue of the *strategoï* of Thrace from Topeiros⁴⁰, who however, as already noted, are not to be connected with the latter city but with the province as a whole.

As for the three communities of Roman status—the two colonies of Apri and Deultum and the Hadrianic *municipium* of Koila—it is worth noting the scarcity of epigraphic attestations of Roman *cives*: four individuals at Koila (three of them bearing imperial *gentilicia*) among whom, however, two are dated before the transformation into a *municipium*⁴¹; four at Apri, among whom two relatives

39. Including the five *Septimii*; these two cities are also those with the largest number of Roman *cives* attested epigraphically (see *supra*, p. 170-171).

40. *IThrAeg* E84 (ca. AD 46-60).

41. *Ti. Claudius Faustus Regin(us)* (*IK [Sestos]* 29; AD 55); *Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Μαζαῖος* (*IK [Sestos]* 34; 1st c. AD); the other two are *Αἴλιος Ἀπολλωνίδης* (*IK [Sestos]* 30; 2nd-3rd c. AD) and *Κάτιος Τιβέρις* (*IK [Sestos]* 31; imperial age).

(father and son) and no one bearing an imperial *nomen*⁴²; only one, bearing an imperial *gentilicium*, at Deultum (attested in a funerary inscription of uncertain chronology which in theory could also precede the foundation of the colony)⁴³. The paucity of epigraphic *testimonia* from these cities, partly deriving from practical circumstances concerning archaeological research and the publication of its results⁴⁴, makes difficult to estimate which role these communities of Roman status could have played in imperial Thrace, namely how much they may have functioned as vehicles for the diffusion of the *civitas* and, more generally, the “Romanization” of this region.

Finally, it is worth noting that only in a few lucky circumstances is the identification of the so-called new *cives* possible. It is quite rare for inscriptions to specify the details concerning how and when a *peregrinus* and his family first acquired the *civitas*, and as far as I know no such cases are attested for Thrace. Yet it is still possible in a few cases to identify new *cives*. A good example is offered by the already mentioned catalogue of the Thracian *strategoï* from Topeiros, dated to the middle of the first century AD⁴⁵: the 15 *Ti. Claudii* who appear in this text must have obtained the Roman citizenship from the emperor Claudius. In the same catalogue there appear also six *C. Iulii*, who had most likely obtained the *civitas* from Caligula, as they must have belonged to the circle of the last king of Thrace Rhoimetalkes III who enjoyed personal links with this emperor. In other cases the combination of *praenomen* + *nomen* both pointing to a specific emperor may lead to the identification of a new *civis*, but while for Πό(πλιος) Ἀδριάνιος Μυστικός, attested in a votive dedication from Pautalia, a direct bestowal of the *civitas* by Hadrian seems very likely⁴⁶, it would be naïve to conclude that all of the individuals bearing *praenomen* and *nomen* of a given emperor had obtained the Roman citizenship from that emperor. In these cases the chronology of the epigraphic reference, to be obtained through independent

42. M. Scurricius C. f. Vol(tinia) Rufinus and his son C. Scurri[ci]us Rufus (*AnnÉpigr* 1974, 582; imperial age); L. Septimiu[s] Arn(ensi) Val[ens?] (*AnnÉpigr* 1898, 65; reign of Claudius); [Ca]ssius Rufi[nus] (*AnnÉpigr* 1974, 581; post AD 95; veteran).

43. Γ(άιος) Ἰούλιος Ἀντώνιος (*IGBulg* III.2, 1849; 1st c. AD?). See also *AnnÉpigr* 1965, 1-2 (AD 184-185), two *termini* from the territory of Deultum set up by the *Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Martialis*; cf. Velkov, *Roman Cities* 41-48.

44. Sharankov, “Language and Society” 148, n. 79: “There are numerous Latin and Greek inscriptions from Deultum (mostly unpublished)”; and at n. 84: “Only two of these inscriptions have been published”. Cf. *CIL* III 12329 (boundary stone found near Burgas): *F(ines) c(oloniae) D(eulti)*; see also Velkov, *Roman Cities* 48 (and n. 23).

45. *IThrAeg* E84.

46. *IGBulg* IV 2060; it is however to be noted that in theory *Mystikos* could be the descendant of someone who had obtained the *civitas* from Hadrian.

elements, is an unavoidable *conditio sine qua non* in trying to draw reasonable suggestions. The same holds true for those individuals bearing a *gentilicium* which is borne by one of the provincial governors of Thrace (or a nearby province)⁴⁷.

III. What's in a name? The onomastic formula of the Roman cives of Thrace

The first element that permits the identification of an individual provided with the Roman citizenship is his name or rather his onomastic formula with its various components. The presence of the *nomen gentile* accompanied by at least another name (*praenomen* and/or *cognomen*) is usually a secure hint of the possession of the *civitas*. In some cases this conclusion is reinforced by the presence of other elements typical of the Roman onomastic formula (filiation; *tribus*; *origo* and/or *domus*)⁴⁸.

Except for four cases where the *gentilicium* is lacking⁴⁹ and a few more doubtful cases, the Roman citizens attested in the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Thrace bear three or two names (see Table 4). The number of those with the *tria nomina* (194 = 48.3%) is the same of those with the *duo nomina* (194 = 48.3%). Among the latter, only 11 individuals present the combination *praenomen* + *nomen*, all the others 183 bearing a *gentilicium* followed by a *cognomen*—to which a second *cognomen* can sometimes be added— and, rarely, an *agnomen*. This means in other words that the two most recurrent components of the onomastic formula of the *cives* of Thrace are the *nomen gentile* and the *cognomen*, occurring together 377 times out of a total of 401 individuals that possessed the *civitas* (94%), while the *praenomen* occurs in 205 cases (51.1%). As for the 11 *cives* with

47. Cf. e.g. the case of Βεντίδιος Εὐτυχιανός, *bouleutes* of Perinthos; Samsaris, “Πολιτογραφική πολιτική” 192, states that he had obtained the *civitas* from the procurator of Thrace in AD 88 Q. Vettidius Bassus (cf. Thomasson, *Laterculi* [op. cit. n. 3] 162, no 5); yet, if we accept the chronology given by Sayar in the *corpus* of the inscriptions from Perinthos (*I.Perinthos* 174; 3rd c. AD)—and the reference to an Aurelius Chrestus speaks in favour of this chronology— no direct link can be established between the two individuals. For a possible case of grant of the *civitas* by a provincial governor (of Moesia Inferior) see *supra*, n. 24.

48. It should be noted that the *peregrini* sometimes used to usurp the *tria nomina* to the point that the emperor Claudius had to intervene to prohibit this practice (Suet. *Claud.* 25.3: *peregrinae condicionis homines vetuit usurpare Romana nomina, dumtaxat gentilicia*); cf. Rizakis, “Anthroponymie” 24, n. 53.

49. *I.ThrAeg* E178 (Maroneia; 2nd c. BC): Μάρκος Ποπλίου *Rhomaiois*; *AnnÉpigir* 1965, 1-2 (territory of Deultum; AD 184-185): Martialis, *Aug(usti) lib(ertus)*; *IGBulg* III.2, 1712 (territory of Augusta Traiana; 2nd-3rd c. AD): Μουκι(ανός), *ordinatus centurio*; *I.Perinthos* 79 (Perinthos; AD 215-218/9); Equester Paulus, soldier of the *legio III Italica Antoniniana*.

the combination *praenomen* + *nomen*, it is to be noted that four of them were *negotiatores* of Italian origin installed at Abdera (3) and Maroneia (1) in a phase when the *cognomen* had still to become a regular feature of the Roman onomastic formula⁵⁰. Filiation and *tribus* are indicated rarely, respectively 18 (4.5%) and 19 (4.7%) times; of these 37 individuals, 19 are attested in Latin inscriptions. In Thrace, as noted by G. Daux, the filiation was sometimes indicated by the addition of a Greek patronymic after the *duo* or *tria nomina*, with the result that we have a combination of the Latin and Greek onomastic formulas, the latter being juxtaposed to the former⁵¹. The presence of this mixed form as well as the scarcity of occurrences of the proper Roman filiation formula and the *tribus* reflect the slowness and uncertainties in the absorption of the Roman onomastic system by Thracian society, an adaptation which was made still more difficult due to the very limited diffusion of the Latin language, the only relevant exception being represented by Perinthos, the seat of the governor of the province, where the Latin inscriptions mentioning Roman citizens are almost one third of the total (see Table 1). On the other hand, it is worth noting that more than half of the *cives* attested in the inscriptions of Thrace (212 = 52.8%) bear the *tria* or *duo nomina* with all these elements being of Latin origin. This does not mean, of course, that all of them came from Italy or were of Italian descent. Some Latin names became widespread all over the Empire so that they could be assumed by an individual of Thracian or Greek origin, who will thus have a *cognomen* of Latin type in his new onomastic formula⁵². It is sufficient to cite the case of two brothers from Philippopolis, Γάιος Κλ(αύδιος) and Κλ(αύδιος) Κοδρᾶτος. They bear purely Latin names, but their Thracian origin is

50. Abdera: Γάιος Ἀπούστιος Μάρκου υἱός and his son Πόπλιος Ἀπούστιος Γαῖου υἱός (*IThrAeg* E9; first half of the 2nd c. BC); Μᾶρκος Οὐάλλιος Μάρκου υἱός (*IThrAeg* E8; first half of the 2nd c. BC). Maroneia: Γάιος Κυντίλιος (*IThrAeg* E296; 1st c. BC-1st c. AD).

51. Cf. e.g. Μ(ἄρκος) Ἀσσύριος Κλαυδιανός Καρδένθου Μενεμάχου (*IGBulg* III.1, 1420; territory of Philippopolis; 2nd c. AD?). Cf. G. Daux, "L'onomastique romaine d'expression grecque", in *L'onomastique latine, Paris 13-15 octobre 1975* (Paris 1977) 408; Rizakis, "Anthroponymie" 20-21. Particularly in Thrace, but in other areas of the Empire as well, this practice was bound to grow after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*; see Rizakis, "La diffusion" [*op. cit.* n. 7], esp. 259-260.

52. Cf. e.g. the Latin *cognomen* of the Epidaurian notable Γν. Κορνίλιος Ποῦλχος, who during the reign of Hadrian undertook a complete *cursus* in the Roman colony of Corinth, see *Roman Peloponnese I. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context* (A. D. Rizakis, Sophia Zoumbaki with the collaboration of Maria Kantirea eds.), ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 31 (Athens 2001) ARG 117, COR 228. As noted by Rizakis, "Anthroponymie" 24-25, a woman bearing the name Iulia C. f. Maxima could be either a Roman or a "Romanized" native or an Oriental "immigrant". One has also to take into consideration the *liberti* of those Romans who had moved to Greece.

revealed by their father's name, Κλ(αύδιος) Αύλούκενθος⁵³. And this brings us to the theme of the origin of the *cives* attested in the inscriptions of Thrace.

IV. "Immigrants" and "Romanized" natives: the origo of the Roman *cives* of Thrace

Most Roman *cives* attested in the inscriptions of Thrace must have been natives, basically Thracians or Greeks from the old Greek colonies on the shores of the Black and Aegean Sea, who had obtained —directly or indirectly, i.e. through their ancestors— Roman citizenship, assuming thus a Roman-type onomastic formula (with the *tria* or *duo nomina*). In addition to them one has also to account for a number of "immigrants" who had moved to Thrace and for their descendants who will have been gradually integrated in their new geographical and social environment. The *origo* of these "immigrants", however, is made explicit —for example through an ethnic— only in a very limited number of cases (17 = 4.2%) (see Table 2). Other elements such as the onomastics, the language and chronology of the inscription, the reference to local cults, the family relations, and so on, should therefore be taken into consideration in the effort to define an individual's *origo*.

a. Rhomaioi and "Italians". Inscriptions show the presence in Thrace of Romans from Italy or of Italian descent. Although, as far as I know, the ethnic *Rhomaioi* is used only with reference to the *negotiatores* of the 2nd c. BC Γάιος Ἀπούστιος Μάρκου υἱός, his son Πόπλιος Ἀπούστιος Γαίου υἱός, and Μᾶρκος Οὐάλλιος Μάρκου υἱός from Abdera⁵⁴, as well as Μάαρκος Ποπλίου from Maroneia⁵⁵, other individuals of certain or probable Italian origin can be detected in the epigraphic evidence. For Aegean Thrace we can also mention Λούκιος Ἀποίδιος Κρίσπος,

53. *IGBulg V* 5467. The Thracian origin of Αύλούκενθος is further confirmed by the motif of the "Thracian Horseman" (see *infra*, n. 116) in the marble funerary plaque dedicated to him by his two sons.

54. Two *Apostii*: *IThrAeg* E9-10; cf. A. D. Rizakis, "L'émigration romaine en Macédoine et la communauté marchande de Thessalonique: perspectives économiques et sociales", in Ch. Müller and Cl. Hasenohr (eds.), *Les Italiens dans le monde Grec (II^e siècle av. J.-C. - I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.)*. *Circulation, Activités, Intégration*, *BCH Suppl.* 41 (Athènes 2002) 114; see also *infra*, n. 86. A branch of the *Apostii* settled at Thessaloniki (cf. A. D. Rizakis, "Η κοινότητα τῶν "συμπραγματευόμενων Ρωμαίων" τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης καί ἡ ρωμαϊκή διείσδυση στη Μακεδονία", *Ancient Macedonia* 4 [1986] 520, and Argyro Tataki, *The Roman Presence in Macedonia. Evidence from Personal Names*, *ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ* 46 [Athens 2006] 101, no 54); to this branch may have belonged Μ(ᾶρκος) Ἀπούστιος Ἀγρίππας attested in a funerary inscription of the 1st-2nd c. AD from Perinthos (*L.Perinthos* 121; see *infra*, n. 86). M. Vallius: *IThrAeg* E8.

55. *IThrAeg* E178.

Γάιος Ἀρρόντιος Πρόκλος, Γάιος Βεΐβιος Μάκερ, Μᾶρκος Βολόμνιος Μάκερ and Μᾶρκος Βολόμνιος Οὐάλης, who appear in the catalogue of the *therapeutai* of Isis and Sarapis from Maroneia (2nd-1st c. BC)⁵⁶; Γάιος Κυντίλιος and his son Π. Κυντίλιος Γαΐου Κυντιλίου υἱός Μάξιμος from Maroneia (1st c. BC-1st c. AD)⁵⁷; L. Manneius L. f. Pollio from Abdera (1st c. BC-1st c. AD)⁵⁸. All of them were likely *negotiatores*. Italian *negotiatores* are attested also at Sestos, in the Thracian Chersonesos: Τίτος Φορφανός Τίτου (*scil.* ἀπελεύθερος) Νικίας and his brother [Τί]τος Φορφανός Τίτου (*scil.* ἀπελεύθερος) Πύθης most likely belonged to the community of the *Rhomaioi pragmateuomenoi* of Sestos, by whom Nicias was honoured; one of their descendants might be Τίτος Πορφανός attested in a funerary stele of the 2nd c. AD, set up by his spouse Τατία ἡ καὶ Μαξίμα⁵⁹. To a city of Roman status in the Thracian Chersonesos or nearby —whose identity cannot be stated with certainty— must have belonged Pa[ul]us Antoniu[s] Bosp[or]us and Aeliu[s] Apollinius, mentioned as *duoviri quinquennales* in a honorary inscription found near the modern town of Bolayir (identified with ancient Lysimacheia) at the mouth of the Isthmus⁶⁰, as well as Lu(cius) Calea Lu(cii) f. Arn(ensi), attested in another honorary inscription from Kallipolis⁶¹. The fact that these individuals likely belonged to a Roman community, however, by no means can be assumed as a proof of their Italian origin, as they could well be locals, or even “immigrants” from another area of the Empire, that possessed Roman citizenship: this seems to be the case at least for Antonius Bosporus, who judging from his *cognomen* should be identified as an indigenus who possessed the *civitas*. To remain in the Thracian Chersonesos, the *cognomen* of Γ(άιος) Ἰούλιος Ἴταλός, attested in a funerary inscription from Alopekonesos⁶², might be a hint of some relationship of this individual with the Italian peninsula if not

56. *IThrAeg* E212, ll. 11, 17, 45, 52, 135.

57. *IThrAeg* E296.

58. *IThrAeg* E72. Cf. Parissaki, *Prosopography* [op. cit. n. 2] 282-285.

59. Nicias and Pythes: *IK (Sestos)* 2 (1st c. BC-1st c. AD); T. Furfanus: *IK (Sestos)* 3. Cf. Hatzfeld, *Trafiqants* [op. cit. n. 25] 114; Loukopoulou, “*Colonia Claudia Aprensis*” (esp. 707 with n. 44-45) and Loukopoulou, “Ρωμαϊκή παρουσία” 182-183, 185-186.

60. *CIL* III 14406 f (see following note); for the identification of the toponym Plagiari —referred to in *CIL*— with Turkish Bolayir cf. *IK (Sestos)* p. 91 (and map at p. 123).

61. *IK (Sestos)* 69; E. Kalinka (*ÖJh* 1 [1898] 35) thought that the stone had been transferred from Apri to the site of the ancient Kallipolis. With regard to this, it must be noted that this text as well as that from Lysimacheia referred to in the preceding note belong to a series of Latin texts found in the area roughly comprised between the Isthmus and the western coast of the Propontis that have been connected to an alleged Roman community situated in that area (*colonia Flaviopolis?*); they could however be referred to the colony of Apri, as suggested by Loukopoulou, “*Colonia Claudia Aprensis*” 708 ff; on this matter see *supra*, n. 35.

62. *IK (Sestos)* 10 (1st-2nd c. AD).

point at all to an Italian origin. The latter is certain in the cases of the *equus Romanus* Helvi[di]us Pris[c]us, a native of Lavinium, who is attested in a funerary inscription of the 1st-2nd c. AD from Serdica⁶³, and of the praetorian C. Volcius C. f. Offentina Redemptus, native of Volsinii, attested in a funerary inscription from Philippopolis⁶⁴.

Among the above mentioned individuals L. Apidius Crispus, C. Arruntius Proclus, C. Vibius Macer, the two Apustii and the two Voluminii from Maroneia, L. Manneius Pollio and M. Vallius from Abdera, and the three Furfani from Sestos bear one of those *gentilicia* which, due to their rarity and occurrence in the milieu of the eastern *negotiatores*, are usually thought to point to an Italian origin⁶⁵. One may have chances to find more individuals with Italian roots among the *cives* of Thrace who bear one of these or similar *gentilicia*, such as Alfius, Aprilius, Aufidius, Calpurnius, Caesonius, Co(s)sinius, Maelius, Sallustius, Seius, Sil(l)ius (see Table 6). However, while the Italian origin of the above mentioned persons is supported by other elements (the ethnic *Rhomaioi*, the characterization as *negotiatores*, the early chronology of the relative epigraphic references, the use of the Latin language, the indication of the filiation and *tribus*) in all the other cases we can only make hypotheses on the possible, yet by no means certain, Italian descent of the bearers of these particular *gentilicia*. In fact, as has been underlined, although some *nomina* were more widespread in specific areas, many *gentilicia* were present more or less widely in more than one area. Furthermore, even in the case of *nomina* which point to Italy we will never be able to know if the individual bearing that *nomen gentile* was an “immigrant” or the descendant (or freedman) of someone who came from that area or a local notable who had obtained the *civitas* thanks to an eminent Roman from whom he had also received that *gentilicium*⁶⁶.

63. CIL III 7416; cf. PIR² H 59. One of his ancestors could have obtained the *civitas* from C. Helvidius Priscus, *praetor* in the 70s of the 1st c. AD and *quaestor* of the province of Achaia.

64. Sharankov, “Language and Society” 150, n. 91.

65. O. Salomies, “Contacts between Italy, Macedonia and Asia Minor during the Principate”, in A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Roman Onomastics, Athens 7-9 September 1993*, MEAETHMATA 21 (Athens 1996) 116: “quite rare or even unparalleled *nomina* ... must point to an origin in Italy”. On the relative frequency of Roman *nomina* see O. Salomies, “Three notes on Roman *nomina*”, *Arctos* 32 (1998) 209-218.

66. Cf. Rizakis, “Anthroponymie” 24: “... il serait naïf de croire qu’un gentilice rare pourrait nous aider ... à définir l’origine précise du porteur”; G. L. Gregori, *Brescia romana. Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale. II. Analisi dei documenti* (Roma 1999) 50: “... molti gentilizi hanno in realtà confronti, a volte sporadici, a volte numerosi, in più di un’area (e sono perciò difficilmente classificabili) ... anche nel caso di ricorrenze limitate ad ambiti territoriali ristretti, mai potremo

b. “Orientals”. “Orientals” —i.e. individuals coming from one of the eastern provinces of the Empire— possessing Roman citizenship are attested in the inscriptions of Thrace. The following are certain examples: Οὔλιος Ἰερώνυμος from Nicomedia, imperial *archiereus*, who in AD 163/4 dedicated together with his wife, *archiereia* as well, a thermal building to the Nymphs and the city of Augusta Traiana for the eternal existence of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus⁶⁷; Πό(πλιος) Αἴλιος Ἀρποκρατίων, who was honoured at Perinthos by the local Alexandrine community (Ἀλεξανδρεῖς οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν Περίνθῳ) to which he belonged⁶⁸; [Αἴ]λιος Ἐπ[αφρό]δειτος, attested in a funerary inscription from Philippopolis, maybe a freedman, citizen of Sardis and Thyateira⁶⁹; the turner (τορνευτής) Λ(ούκιος) Κρεισπεῖνος Ἐπάγαθος, a citizen of Philippopolis native of Cappadocia⁷⁰; the historian Τ(ίτος) Κλαύδιος Ἀνδρόνεικος from Laodicea, attested in a funerary inscription from Kallipolis in the Thracian Chersonesos⁷¹; the farmer (σειτευτής) Κάσσιος Ἀχιλλεύς from Nicaea, mentioned in a funerary monument erected for him by his wife Αὐρ(ηλία) Καλλιόπη at Topeiros in the 3rd c. AD⁷²; and the veteran of the *cohors V praetoria* C. Iulius Gratus, originally of Berytus, who died and was buried at Philippopolis probably in the first half of the 1st c. AD⁷³. There are then other individuals whose *cognomen* might point to an Oriental origin, such as the *hiereus* Κλαύ(διος) Ἄτταλος, attested in a votive inscription of the 2nd c. AD from the territory of Pautalia⁷⁴; Λάρκιος Ἀσιατικός, who in Perinthos in the years AD 128-136 had a temple of Hadrian and Sabina erected and paid for at his own expense⁷⁵; the soldier C. Poblicius Xanthus, attested in a funerary inscription of the 3rd c. AD from Perinthos⁷⁶; Οὔλιος Βειθυνικός, attested in a votive inscription from

stabilire se chi porta quel gentilizio sia effettivamente un immigrato o non piuttosto il discendente (chissà di quale generazione) di qualcuno che proveniva da quelle regioni ...”.

67. *IGBulg V 5599* (territory of Augusta Traiana). A community of Nicomedians is attested at Philippopolis (*IGBulg V 5464*).

68. *I.Perinthos 27-28* (2nd c. AD).

69. *IGBulg III.1, 1013*.

70. *SEG 52, 708* (Philippopolis; second half of the 2nd c. AD): funerary inscription.

71. *IK (Sestos) 17*.

72. *IThrAeg E89*. For a community of Nicaeans attested at Philippopolis, see *supra*, n. 67.

73. *AnnÉpigr 2001, 1750* (*domo Beryto*).

74. *IGBulg IV 2214* (the inscription comes from Dolistovo, probably an *emporium* of Pautalia): dedication to the *theios oikos* (=domus divina, i.e. the imperial house) and the *theoi Olympioi* set up by a group of civic priests of Pautalia, both *cives* and *peregrini*. According to Samsaris, “Πολιτογραφική πολιτική” 168, the *cognomen* Attalus would indicate that the individual was a native of the former reign of Pergamus.

75. *I.Perinthos 37*.

76. *I.Perinthos 83*.

Philippopolis⁷⁷. It is however to be noted that in these cases, unlike with the presence of the ethnic, we cannot state for certain if these individuals were “immigrants” from the East or if they were born of a mixed union between a Thracian and an Oriental woman. Such a situation, for example, might be suggested tentatively for Μ(ἄρκος) Ἀσσύριος Κλαυδιανός Καρδένθου Μενεμάχου, attested in a funerary inscription from the territory of Philippopolis⁷⁸: the name “Assyrius”, used as a *gentilicium* in the onomastic formula, points to the East, yet Claudianus’ father bears a Thracian name and was most likely of Thracian origin. Finally, an Oriental connection may be suggested for the *hieromnemon* of Perinthos Πομπώνιος Ἰουστινιανός, as he was a member of the Dionysiac association of the *Asiani* of the Thracian city⁷⁹, and perhaps for Πό(πλιος) Ἄντιος Ῥηγεῖνος, as at Pautalia he was *hiereus* of an Oriental god (Mithras)⁸⁰.

More in general, apart from the above mentioned *cives* whose eastern origin is made explicit by the epigraphic reference or can be likely suggested, it is worth noting that the afflux of “Orientals” to Thrace, favoured by geographical proximity and already attested for the Hellenistic period, grew in intensity during the imperial period and is reflected in the diffusion in the region of Oriental cults as well as through commercial and economic relations⁸¹. It is those elements that lead to conclude that the “Orientals” must have been the most numerous group among foreign *cives* in Roman Thrace.

77. *IGBulg* V 5440.

78. *IGBulg* III.1, 1420 (2nd c. AD?).

79. He is mentioned as *hieromnemon* in a dedication (*I.Perinthos* 56; AD 196-198) set up for the health, the victory and the eternal existence of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, as well as of the imperial house, the Roman Senate and people, and the *boule* and *demos* of Perinthos.

80. *IGBulg* IV 2068 (2nd-3rd c. AD?). According to Samsaris, “Πολιτογραφική πολιτική” 277, the presence of Mithras would indicate that at Pautalia there was a community of Oriental “immigrants”. If this is the case, in addition to Reginus and the above mentioned Claudius Attalus, also [Αἰ]λίος Ἀντιοχ[ος/ου?] (*IGBulg* IV 2059; 2nd-3rd c. AD) and Αἰ(λίος) Ἀντιοχ[ος/ου?] (*SEG* 54, 648; ca. AD 120-155) may have belonged to this community; in both cases, however, as the final part of the second name is not preserved we cannot say if we have to do with *cives* or *peregrini*. On the cult of Mithras in Thrace (and Lower Moesia) see Vărbinka Najdenova, “Mithraism in Lower Moesia and Thrace”, in *ANRW* II 18.2 (1989) 1397-1422.

81. Cf. Samsaris, “Πολιτογραφική πολιτική” 293; Arvanitidou, “Ελληνικές πόλεις” [*op. cit.* n. 37] 148; Sharankov, “Language and Society” 143; see also Vasilka Gerassimova-Tomova, “Wirtschaftliche und religiöse Beziehungen Thrakiens zum Osten”, *Klio* 62 (1980) 91-97; B. Gerov, “L’aspect ethnique et linguistique dans la région entre le Danube et les Balkans à l’époque romaine (I^{er} - III^e s.)”, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der römischen Provinzen Moesia und Thracien. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, vol. I (Amsterdam 1980) 28-30. See also in the present volume the contribution of A. Avram on the occurrence in some funerary inscriptions of Thrace (and Moesia Inferior) of specific terms which hint to the presence of eastern (mainly Bithynian) immigrants.

c. Other foreigners. In addition to Roman citizens of Italian and Oriental origin, a few more *cives* from other Roman provinces are epigraphically attested in the cities of Thrace. Some of them served in the Roman army, for example the centurion M. Iulius Avitus, native of *Colonia Apollinaris Reiorum* in the *Gallia Narbonensis*, who died and was buried at Perinthos while he was probably serving in the *legio XVI Flavia Firma* (evidently this unit or one of its *vexillationes* were stationed, at least for a period, in the capital city of Thrace)⁸²; Lupionius Suebus, *duplicarius* of the *legio XXII Primigenia*, who died at Perinthos as well and whose Germanic origin is revealed by the ethnic *Suebus* used as a *cognomen*⁸³; Victorius Sabinus, native of Velocassium (= Ratomagus) in the *Gallia Lugdunensis*, *frumentarius Augusti* in the *legio I Minerva*, who was sent to Perinthos to serve in the governor's *officium* as liaison officer⁸⁴. It goes without saying that other legionaries or veterans attested in the inscriptions of Thrace whose *origo* is not made explicit through their ethnic or name may well have been native of other areas of the Empire⁸⁵. As for non militaries, we can mention Μ(ἄρκος) Ἀπούστιος Ἀγρίππας, a *pragmatikos* attested in a funerary inscription of the 1st-2nd c. AD from Perinthos, who might belong to the well known family of the *Apustii* from Thessaloniki⁸⁶. An interesting case is that of Κλαύδιος Φρόντων, who set up a dedication to Zeus *Dolichenos* in the vicinity of Augusta Traiana. He was *bouleutes* in the city of Aquincum, in Pannonia, but it seems that his business interests — he is referred to as *πραγματευτής*, here likely to be intended as the equivalent of the Latin *negotiator* or *actor*— had led him to Thrace⁸⁷.

82. *I.Perinthos* 73 (ca. AD 89): funerary inscription set up by Avitus' sisters.

83. *I.Perinthos* 77 (2nd-3rd c. AD): funerary inscription set up by the individual's *heredes*, likely his comrades. In that period many Suebi served in the Roman army.

84. *I.Perinthos* 80 (2nd c. AD): funerary inscription.

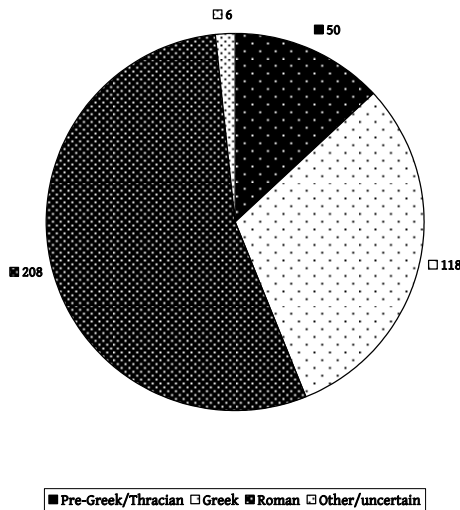
85. For soldiers and officers see *infra*, paragraph VI.

86. *I.Perinthos* 121. The *pragmatikos* was probably a sort of attorney (see L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII [1960] 415 ff.). On the *Apustii* see Rizakis, "Η κοινότητα" [*op. cit.* n. 54] 520 and Tataki, *Roman Presence* [*op. cit.* n. 54] 101, no 54. The *gentilicium* *Apustius* points to an Italian origin; cf. the *Rhomaioi* Γάιος Ἀπούστιος Μάρκου υἱός and his son Πόπλιος Ἀπούστιος Γάϊου υἱός, attested as *negotiatores* at Abdera in the 2nd c. BC (*I.ThrAeg* E9; see *supra*, n. 54).

87. *IGBulg* V 5587; cf. Monika Hörig and F. Schwertheim, *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni* (CCID) (Leiden 1987) 53-54; Vărbinka Najdenova, "The Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in Lower Moesia and Thrace", in *ANRW* II 18.2 (1989) 1369-1370 and 1394, no 23; according to Mihailov (*IGBulg* V, p. 259) the term *pragmateutes* would indicate a lesser municipal official of Aquincum, maybe an *advocatus Aquinci*. The presence of Zeus *Dolichenos* might be a hint of the Oriental origin of this individual; on this cult in Thrace (and Lower Moesia) see Najdenova, "The Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus" [*op. cit.* in this note] 1362-1396.

d. *Origo and onomastics.* Among the *cives* attested in the inscriptions of Thrace we can easily identify the 50 individuals (12.5%) who bear a Thracian (or pre-Greek) *cognomen* as indigenous who had acquired Roman citizenship directly or through their family, retaining their personal name as a *cognomen* in their new onomastic formula. If we look at the *cognomen* —usually the “old” name of the new Roman citizen— of the other *cives* of Thrace we see that 208 individuals (51.8%) bear a Roman *cognomen*, 118 (29.4%) a Greek one, and 6 (1.5%) a *cognomen* of other or uncertain origin. As for the remaining individuals (19 = 4.8%), some of them do not bear a *cognomen*, while the *cognomen* of the others is not entirely preserved (see Fig. 3 and Table 7).

Fig. 3. Cognomina of the Roman *cives* of Thrace



Now, while a Thracian *cognomen* points directly to a Thracian origin, for Greek and Latin *cognomina* the situation is more complex. Individuals bearing a Greek *cognomen* can be Greeks from the Greek cities of Thrace or “immigrants” from a Hellenophone area (mainly “Orientals” from the eastern provinces) or also “Hellenized” Thracians who had assumed a Greek name⁸⁸. In other words, the *cives* of Thrace with a Greek *cognomen* could be either natives (of Greek or Thracian origin) or Hellenophone “immigrants”, mainly from the Greek East. As

88. Romans as well could adopt a Greek *cognomen*; cf. Rizakis, “Anthroponymie” 25 (and n. 57). I use the terms “Hellenized” and “Romanized” in a generic sense, without implying that the acquisition of a Greek or Roman name invariably reflects a corresponding “acculturation”.

for Roman *cognomina*, I have already pointed out that the latter are not proof of a Roman origin. In fact, individuals bearing a *cognomen* of Latin type could be either “Romanized” Thracians (or Greeks or “Orientals”) or originate from any area of the Empire.

As a matter of fact, any quantitative estimation of the different “ethnic” groups of *cives* in Thrace—as well as in other areas of the Empire—cannot but be highly hypothetical. And this, along with the uncertainties already noted with regard to the chronology of the epigraphic evidence, makes it very difficult if not impossible to state with any precision the chronological trends of the diffusion of the *civitas* among these “ethnic” groups. Let us consider two facts. Virtually all of the inscriptions from Thrace mentioning individuals provided with the *civitas* and dated to the last two centuries of the Republic or the beginnings of the Principate concern “immigrants” from Italy active as *negotiatores* in Thrace. Furthermore, more than half of the other 43 *cives* dated by the end of the first century AD are of Thracian origin, the quasi-totality of this group being represented by the 23 *strategoï* of Thrace mentioned in the catalogue of Topeiros⁸⁹. In the early stages of the diffusion of the *civitas*, therefore, the latter was virtually limited to some Italian “immigrants” and to a very circumscribed sample of Thracians of high standing, basically a few selected members of the local aristocracy (in addition to the last Thracian kings)⁹⁰. There will have followed a more widespread diffusion of the *civitas* among the Thracian population, in line with the picture provided by the analysis of the imperial *gentilicia* that indicate a remarkable increase in the diffusion of the Roman citizenship from the middle of the first century onwards. It is thus reasonable to imagine that many more Thracians than the fifty individuals who bear a Thracian *cognomen* are to be found among the *cives* attested in the inscriptions of Thrace with either a Greek or a Roman *cognomen*, whose adoption by native Thracians was a sign of their acquired “Hellenization” and increasing “Romanization”.

89. *IThrAeg* E84 (ca. AD 46–60): even though only 14 among these *strategoï* bear a Thracian *cognomen*, in all probability all of them were Thracians, as the Romans were usually inclined to assign the highest local military charges to members of the local aristocracy. The Thracians Φλάβιος Διζάλας Ἐζβένεος τοῦ Ἀματόκου (*IGBulg* IV 2338; Nicopolis ad Nestum; Flavian period) — whose father is attested in the catalogue of Topeiros among the *strategoï* who did not possess the *civitas* (*IThrAeg* E84, l. 35)— and Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Ζηνᾶ<ς>, imperial freedman commander of the *classis Perinthis*, who at Perinthos set up a dedication to Zeus *Zbelsourdos* and Domitian along with his four sons who bear all a Roman *cognomen* (*I.Perinthos* 44; AD 88–90), can also be dated to the end of the 1st c. AD.

90. See *supra*, p. 172–174.

V. Social standing and economic conditions of the Roman cives of Thrace

As far as I know, only three persons belonging to the senatorial order —and either of Thracian origin or citizens of one of the cities of the province of Thrace— are attested in the epigraphic evidence from this province. One of them is [Γ.] Ἰούλ(ιος) Τήρης, who is designated as λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός on a statue base found in a military camp in the territory of Augusta Traiana and dedicated by his friend, the *eques* L. Sempronius Tertyllus⁹¹. Teres' *cognomen* shows his Thracian origin: he must have been the son of the *thrakarches* C. Iulius Teres attested at Philippi as *pater senatorum*⁹². The two other senators were Π. Αἴλ(ιος) Σεουηριανὸς Μάξιμος, *leg. Aug. pr. pr. Arabiae* (AD 193/4) and *cos. suff.* (AD 194/5), and his homonymous son, attested together in a honorary inscription for the latter set up at Perinthos, from which they must have hailed⁹³. There are then nine *equites*. Of these, one, Τί(τος) Φλ(άβιος) Οὐάριος Λοῦππος, is styled as ὁ κρ(άτιστος) δου[κηνάριος] in a votive dedication from the territory of Philippopolis⁹⁴; it would seem that he held a *procuratela*, but according to H.-G. Pflaum in this case the title *ducenarius* has a purely honorific value⁹⁵. Luppus also assumed the offices of *thrakarches* and *neokoros*. Another five individuals held at least one of the three *militiae equestres*: Claudius Lupus, *praefectus cohortis II Lucensium*, who likely in the reign of Hadrian set up a dedication to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* in the military camp of Kabyle, in the territory of Augusta Traiana⁹⁶; the *archiereus* Τ(ίτος) Φλάουιος Μικκάλου υ(ιὸς) [Κυ]ρεῖνα Μίκκαλος from Perinthos⁹⁷; Πό(πλιος) Οὐίρ[διος] Ἰουλιανός and his two sons Πό(πλιος) Οὐίρ[διος] Ἰουλιανός νέος and Πό(πλιος) Οὐίρδιος Βάσσος from Philippopolis. The latter and his father held all of the three equestrian military posts, as

91. H. Müller, "Makedonische Marginalien", *Chiron* 31 (2001) 450-455 (*AnnÉpigr* 1999, 1390). Teres' consulship can be dated towards the end of the 2nd c. AD.

92. *I.Philippi* 240 (ll. 10-12). Teres (and his brothers) were the first Thracians to enter the Senate; cf. Müller, "Makedonische Marginalien" [*op. cit.* n. 91] 455 and n. 185.

93. *I.Perinthos* 22 (3rd c. AD). For the *cos. suff.* (under Caracalla) C. Sallius Aristaenetus from Byzantium —a city, as already noted, that until the end of the 2nd c. AD belonged to the province of Bithynia— cf. J. Šašel, "Senatori ed appartenenti all'ordine senatorio provenienti dalle province romane di Dacia, Tracia, Mesia, Dalmazia e Pannonia", in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio. Atti del Colloquio internazionale AIEGL, Roma 14-20 maggio 1981*, vol. II (Roma 1982) 568-569.

94. *IGBulg* III.1, 1183 = 5485 (ca. AD 215-235?).

95. H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le haut-empire romain*, vol. II (Paris 1960) 951, n. 15 (no 7).

96. V. Velkov, "Inscriptions de Cabyle", in *Cabyle*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1991) 13, no 4 (*AnnÉpigr* 1999, 1370).

97. *I.Perinthos* 72 (1st c. AD).

indicated by the formula ἀπὸ στρατείας (Lat. *a militiis*)⁹⁸. As for the remaining three known Roman “knights”, only their title attests their membership in the equestrian order⁹⁹.

Apart from these few individuals belonging to the Roman upper orders, in Thrace there is a group of Roman citizens who belonged to the upper social stratum. This is revealed first of all by the high political and priestly offices that they held. The *strategoí*¹⁰⁰, *thrakarchai*¹⁰¹, *archontes* (and *protoi archontes*)¹⁰², *duoviri*

98. *IGBulg* III.1, 1454; *SEG* 55, 758-759 and 767 (first half of the 2nd c. AD). On the important Thracian family (from Philippopolis) of the *Viridii* cf. N. Sharankov, “Statue-bases with Honorific Inscriptions from Philippopolis”, *Archeologia Bulgarica* 9/2 (2005) 66 ff.

99. *I.Perinthos* 108 (Perinthos; 1st-2nd c. AD; bilingual): Ulpius Valerianus, *eq(ues) R(omanus)*; *CIL* III 7416 (Serdica; ca. AD 70-130): Helvidius Priscus, *eques Romanus*; *AnnÉpigra* 1999, 1390 (territory of Augusta Traiana): Λ(εύκιος) Σεμ(πρώνιος) Τέρτυλλος, ἰππικός.

100. In addition to the 23 *strategoí* mentioned in the catalogue of Topeiros (*IThrAeg* E84; ca. AD 46-60) one has to mention Φλάβιος Διζάλας Ἐζβένεος τοῦ Ἀματόκου, *strategos* of eight strategies (*IGBulg* IV 2338; Nicopolis ad Nestum; Flavian period —his father appears in the catalogue of the *strategoí* from Topeiros [*IThrAeg* E84, l. 35]) and <Τι>βέριος Ἰούλιος <Τ>οῦλ<λ>ος (*I.Perinthos* 294; 1st c. AD). See also *I.Perinthos* 6 (AD 76 or 79), l. 6: Ti(berius) Claudius Theopompus; the latter is usually identified both with the homonymous individual who appears in the catalogue of the *strategoí* from Topeiros (*IThrAeg* E84, l. 9) and with that mentioned in an inscription found at Svrlijig (Svärilig or Sorlyik) in Moesia Superior (*IGRR* I 677); *contra* Тацева, “Thrakische Adel” [*op. cit.* n. 30] 40-41 (with a stemma of this family) argues that the Theopompus of *I.Perinthos* 6 (l. 6) —identical with the individual of *IGRR* I 677— was rather the son of the homonymous *strategos* of the catalogue from Topeiros; cf. also Parissaki, “Stratégies” [*op. cit.* n. 21] 331-332.

101. Εὐστόχιος Κέλερ (*IGBulg* III.1, 1537; Philippopolis; 2nd c. AD); Λ(ούκιος) Φούλβιος Ἀστικός (*IGBulg* IV 1910 and 1928; Serdica; AD 187); [Β]αίβιος Ἀπολινάριος (*IGBulg* III.1, 882; Philippopolis; ca. AD 195); Τ(ίτος) Φλ(άβιος) Οὐάριος Λοῦππος (*IGBulg* III.1, 1183 = V 5485; territory of Philippopolis; ca. AD 215-235?, also *neokoros* and member of the equestrian order); Πό(πλιος) Οὐίρδιος Βάσσος (*IGBulg* III.1, 1454 and *SEG* 55, 767; territory of Philippopolis; ca. AD 215-235; also *neokoros* and member of the equestrian order); Π(όπλιος) Ἄντιος Τήρης [N. Sharankov, “The Thracian κοινόν: New Epigraphic Evidence”, in *Thrace in the Graeco-Roman World. Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Thracology, Komotini-Alexandroupolis 18-21 October 2005* [Athens 2007] 525-526, no 8 (= ? *AnnÉpigra* 2006, 1254); Philippopolis; AD 222-235, cf. also *IGBulg* IV 2053 (Pautalia)]; Τ(ίτος) Φλ(αούιος) Πρεϊσκιανός (*IGBulg* V 5408 and *SEG* 55, 760; Philippopolis; AD 222-235, also *protos archon* and *archiereus*); [Αἴ?]λ(ιος) Κότυς (*IGBulg* IV 1972; Serdica; 3rd c. AD ?). On the other known *thrakarchai* see Sharankov [*op. cit.* in this note] 532 (list of the 18 *thrakarchai*, 13 of them certainly Roman citizens, perhaps also the other five, attested in the period ca. AD 160-315); cf. also Barbara Burrell, *Neokoroi: Greek cities and Roman emperors* (Leiden 2004) 236-242.

102. At Anchialos Φλ(άβιος) Κλαυδιανός (*IGBulg* I² 369; AD 213-217). At Augusta Traiana Φλ(αούιος) Οὐαλεριανός (*IGBulg* V 5569; AD 177-180); Τίτ(ος) Φλ(άβιος) [Α]πολλόδωρος (*IGBulg* III.2, 1555; AD 210-212); Σεπτίμ(ιος) Μαρκιανός (*IGBulg* III.2, 1567; AD 260-268, eponymos archon substitute for the emperor Gallienus). At Pautalia Ἰούλιος Ἰουλιανός (*IGBulg* IV 2072; 2nd-3rd c. AD); Λ(ούκιος) Δομέτιος Ἀβάσκαντος (*IGBulg* V 5776; 3rd c. AD); see also *SEG* 54, 648 (ca. AD 120-155): Αἴ(λιος) Ἀντιοχο[ς/ου?]. At Philippopolis Εὐστόχιος Κέλερ Ἀσκληπιάδου (*IGBulg* III.1, 1449; territory of Philippopolis; 2nd c. AD); Τ(ίτος) Φλ(άβιος) Φιλόδ[ημος?] (*AnnÉpigra* 2007, 1253; AD 218-

*quinquennales*¹⁰³ as well as *archiereis*¹⁰⁴ and leaders of priestly associations¹⁰⁵ attested in the cities of the province of Thrace were certainly provided with both conspicuous means and high social standing, an impression confirmed by the liberalities for which they were sometimes responsible. The same holds true for the members of the civic councils (*decuriones/bouleutai*) —an organism which starting from the Late Hellenistic period, under the influence and encouragement of the Roman supremacy, tends (also in the East and even in the peregrine communities) to conform with the Roman Senate so as to become a permanent body composed by former magistrates provided with lifelong membership— as well as of other civic assemblies such as the *gerousia*¹⁰⁶. In other

222); Τ(ίτος) Φλ(αούιος) Πρεισκιανός (*IGBulg V 5408* and *SEG 55, 760*; AD 222-235, also *thrakarches* and *archiereus*). At *Serdica* Ίούλ(ιος) Φιλόπαππος (*IGBulg IV 1992*; AD 222-235); see also *IGBulg IV 1908* (l. 4: πολιτευόμενον, which Mihailov interprets as a reference to the office of *protos archon* of the honoree, Φλ(άβιος) Πομπείος [Μ]οντανός). At *Thracian Chersonesos* (Kallipolis) Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Σεβέρος and Τ(ίτος) Φλάβιος Διογενιανός (*IK [Sestos] 11*; 2nd c. AD).

103. At *Apri* M. Scurricius C. f. Vol(tinia) Rufinus (*AnnÉpigr 1974, 582*; in the Roman colony of *Apri* Rufinus also held the offices of *quaestor*, *aedilis* and *pontifex*). See also *CIL III 14406 f* (2nd c. AD?; cf. *supra*, n. 60-61 for the provenience of this text): Pa[ul]us Antoniu[s] Bosp[o]rus and Aeliu[s] Apollinius, *duoviri quinquennales*.

104. At *Augusta Traiana* Ούλλπιος Ίερώνυμος (*IGBulg V 5599*; territory of *Augusta Traiana*; AD 163-169); Τίτος Φλαούιος Σκέλου υἱὸς Κυρεῖνα Δινις, *archiereus* of the provincial *koinon* (*IGBulg V 5592*; 2nd c. AD); Ὀλ(πιος) Πόπλιος Εὐκράτους (*IGBulg III.2, 1575*; 3rd c. AD). At *Perinthos* Τ(ίτος) Φλαούιος Μικκάλου υ(ιὸς) [Κυ]ρεῖνα Μίκκαλος (*I.Perinthos 72*; 1st c. AD, member of the equestrian order); see also *I.Perinthos 129* (2nd c. AD): Λούκιος Ἀγίδιος Ῥοῦ[φος] could be identical with (or the son of) the homonymous *archiereus* attested in an inscription from *Claros* (J.-L. Ferrary, *Les mémoires de délégations du sanctuaire oraculaire de Claros, d'après les copies, estampages et carnets conservés dans le Fonds Louis et Jeanne Robert* [forthcoming] no 11 (ll. 3-4), with commentary —I am grateful to J.-L. Ferrary for showing me his manuscript before its publication). At *Philippopolis* Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Πολέμαρχος (*IGBulg III.1, 880*; reign of *Trajan*); Τ(ίτος) Φλ(αούιος) Πρεισκιανός, *archiereus* and *archiereus δι' ὄπλων* (*IGBulg V 5408* and *SEG 55, 760*; AD 222-235, also *thrakarches* and *protos archon*); Πό(πλιος) Ἀδριάν(ιος) Σαλλούστι[ος], *archiereus δι' ὄπλων* (*IGBulg V 5407*); on the *archiereis δι' ὄπλων* cf. E. Bouley, *Jeux romains dans les provinces balkano-danubiennes du IIIe siècle avant J.-C. à la fin du IIIe siècle après J.-C.* (Paris 2001) 207-209.

105. At *Abdera* Γ(άιος) Κάσσιος Σέξτος, ἀρχιβουκόλος of a *Dionysiac* association (*IThrAeg E18*; 3rd c. AD). At *Pautalia* Φλάβιος Ἐρμογένης, high-priest of a religious association (*IGBulg IV 2072*; 2nd-3rd c. AD). At *Perinthos* Σπέλλιος Εὐήθι(ος), ἀρχιβουκόλος of a *Dionysiac* association (*I.Perinthos 57*).

106. Councillors are attested at *Augusta Traiana*: Ἄττιος Τερτιανός (*IGBulg III.2, 1766*; territory of *Augusta Traiana*); Κλαύδιος Φρόντων, who set up a dedication to *Zeus Dolichenos* at *Augusta Traiana* (*IGBulg V 5587*), was *bouleutes* at *Aquincum* (*Pannonia*). At *Perinthos* Βεντίδιος Εὐτυχιανός (*I.Perinthos 174*; 3rd c. AD). See also *IGBulg I² 376* (*Anchialos*): Κλ(αύδιος) Ἀτειλ[ιανος/ου? - -]; *IGBulg IV 2239* (territory of *Pautalia*): Κ(λαύδιος) Αὐ[φι]διος/ου? - -, βουλευτῆς κο[λ]ωνει[ας] Δεβέλτου (=Deultum); *AnnÉpigr 1974, 581* (*Apri*; post AD 95): [Ca]ssius Rufi[nus], a veteran of the *legio II Adiutrix*, probably became *decurio* of the Roman colony of *Apri*. For *gerousiastai* see: Ἐρήνιος Ἡρακλιανός and [- -]ος Πομπείος Σατορνεῖνος, both from *Philippopolis* (*IGBulg III.1, 992, 995*); cf. also the *gerousiarches* of

cases an individual's high standing can be revealed by a particular title¹⁰⁷, an act of euergetism (towards the whole of the civic community or only a part of it)¹⁰⁸ or the bestowal of honours¹⁰⁹.

Although the possession of the Roman citizenship was *per se* a sign of a privileged social standing, as time went on, mainly thanks to the “liberal” citizen policies of some emperors, the *civitas* came to be granted also to members of the lower social strata, thus undergoing so to say a kind of “democratization” that made it much more widespread all over the Empire and culminated in the decision of Caracalla in AD 212 to grant it to all the free inhabitants of the Empire (*Constitutio Antoniniana*). One has then to consider that among the individuals possessing Roman citizenship there were also men of servile origin:

Serdica Κλαύδ(ιος) Λονγεῖνος (*IGBulg IV 1906*; 3rd c. AD); on the *gerousia* in the cities of Thrace see Vasilka Gerasimova-Tomova, “Die Administration der Städte in Thracien während des 1.-3. Jahrhunderts u. Z. (im Gebiet des heutigen Bulgarien)”, in *Actes du IX^e congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, vol. I (Sofia 1987) 241 ff. On the transformation of the local councils in the Late Hellenistic period see A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford 1940) 170-172; J.-L. Ferrary, “Les Romains de la République et les démocraties grecques”, *Opus* 6-8 (1987-1989) 210-211; F. Quass, *Die Honoratiorenschicht in den Städten des griechischen Ostens* (Stuttgart 1993) 382-394; H.-L. Fernoux, *Notables et élites des cités de Bithynie aux époques hellénistique et romaine (III^e siècle av. J.-C. - III^e siècle ap. J.-C.). Essai d'histoire sociale* (Lyon 2004) 142-145; P. Hamon, “Le Conseil et la participation des citoyens: les mutations de la basse époque hellénistique”, in P. Fröhlich and Ch. Müller (eds.), *Citoyenneté et participation à la basse époque hellénistique* (Geneva 2005) 121-144.

107. Λ(ούκιος) Φλαούιος Βαλώνιος Πολλίων is called πρώτος τῆς πόλεως in a honorary inscription from Kallipolis, in the Thracian Chersonesos, set up by the *demos* in reward for his numerous benefactions (*IK [Sestos] 14*); Τίτος Φλάουιος Πάρμις from Ainos is called ἄριστος καὶ πρώτος τῶν πολιτῶν and is said to have performed his duties of citizen λαμπρότατα καὶ φιλοτειμότητα, an expression which in all probability implies that he had spent his own money for some charge or liturgy (Martínez Fernández, “Inscripciones de Eno” [*op. cit.* n. 19] 65, no 8; ca. AD 100).

108. *IThrAeg E68* (Abdera; 3rd c. AD): Μ(ἄρκος) Οὔλιπος Αὐτόλυκος offered his *polis* three days of *munera gladiatoria*; *I.Perinthos 37* (Perinthos; AD 128-136): Λάρκιος Ἀσιατικός paid for a temple dedicated to Hadrian and Sabina; *I.Perinthos 68* (1st-2nd c. AD): Κύντιος Ἐρμογένης bequeathed a *denarium* each to the members of an association of *philoneaniskoi*; *IK (Sestos) 29* (Koila; AD 55): Ti. Claudius Faustus Regin(us) and his wife Claudia Nais Fausti offered a *balneum* to the *populus* and the *familia Caesaris* and also paid for the aqueduct which supplied it; *IGBulg V 5434* (Philippopolis): Τιβε(ρίος) Κλαύδιος Κλαυδία[νός] Κυντιλλιανός(ς) and his son Τιβε(ρίος) Κ<λ>(αύδιος) Οὐάριος Κυντιλλιανός dedicated at their own expenses an altar to the imperial house, the Senate and the Roman people, the *boule* and *demos* of Philippopolis, as well as Demeter and Kore; *IGBulg V 5777* (Pautalia): Γ(άιος) Ἰούλιος Μάρκος dedicated an altar to the *phyle* Rhodopeis at his own expense; *IGBulg III.2, 1714* (territory of Augusta Traiana; 2nd c. AD): Τ(ίτος) Φλ(άβιος) Κυρεῖνα Βειθύκενθος Ἐσβένειος dedicated together with his wife a spring to the Nymphs and Aphrodite.

109. Πό(πλιος) Αἴλιος Ἀρποκρατίων ὁ καὶ Πρόκλος was honoured by the *boule* and *demos* of Perinthos for realizing —likely at his own expense— a sanctuary of Tyche (Τυχαῖον) and a *teichos* (*I.Perinthos 27-28*; 2nd c. AD); [- - Κο]ρνήλιος Ἡρακλείδης was granted *epitaphioi teimai* probably for some services rendered to the *polis* of Maroneia (*IThrAeg E181*; 1st-2nd c. AD).

the enfranchisement (*manumissio*) was one of the means by which a *peregrinus* could become a *civis Romanus*. Ten *liberti*/ἀπελεύθεροι are explicitly attested in the epigraphic sample, four of whom were imperial freedmen; among the latter it is worth mentioning Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Ζηνᾶ<ς>, who was commander of the *classis Perinthis*, and T. Aelius Euphrosynus, who was *tabularius provinciae Thraciae*¹¹⁰. The difficulty in recognizing the freedman status in Greek inscriptions of the imperial period is well known, as this status is only rarely made explicit through the term ἀπελεύθερος. A servile origin can sometimes be revealed by a particular *cognomen*. Apart from the above mentioned freedmen, among the *cives Romani* of Thrace there are about ten individuals who bear as *cognomen* a “servile” name¹¹¹. The latter cannot be considered as a certain proof of a freedman status though. Let us consider the case of the *bouleutes* of Perinthos Βεντίδιος Εὐτυχιανός mentioned in a funerary inscription of the 3rd c. AD¹¹²: he bears one of these “servile” *cognomina*, but if he really were a freedman, he could hardly have become a member of the *boule*. He might instead be the son of a freedman¹¹³. In fact, freedmen, notwithstanding the stigma of their servile origin that due to the *lex Visellia* (AD 24) barred them from aspiring to political offices and even membership in the local senates, could succeed in acquiring wealth, thus advancing in the social scale and paving the way for their descendants, who were in all respects *ingenui*.

Independent of their juridical status, most Roman *cives* attested in the inscriptions of Thrace who did not belong to the elite will have been part of the

110. Zenas: *I.Perinthis* 44 (Perinthos; AD 88-90); Euphrosynus: Botušarova, “Trois documents” [*op. cit.* n. 3] 43-47, no 1 (see Minkova, *Personal Names* [*op. cit.* n. 3] 20) (Philippopolis; 2nd c. AD). The other imperial freedmen are Αἴλιος Ἐπιδηφόρος, attested in a funerary inscription of AD 138 from Maroneia (*IThrAeg* E313) which might point to the existence in this area of some imperial property, and the *Aug(usti) lib(ertus)* Martialis, attested by two *termini* of AD 184-185 from the territory of the colony of Deultum (*AnnÉpigra* 1965, 1-2; see Velkov, *Roman Cities* 41-48). Other freedmen are attested in the following areas: in the territory of Anchialos: L. Titovius L. lib(ertus) Diadumenus (*CIL* III 7408); in the territory of Philippopolis: Γ(άιος) Μαίλιος Ἀγαθόπουλος (*IGBulg* V 5472; 2nd c. AD); in the *territorium Bizyense*: Ἀντώνιος Ἰλαρο[ς] (*IGBulg* III.2, 1868; 2nd-3rd c. AD); in the Thracian Chersonesos (Sestos): Τίτος Φορφανός Τίτου (*scil. ἀπελεύθερος*) Νικίας and his brother [Τί]τος Φορφανός Τίτου (*scil. ἀπελεύθερος*) Πύθης (*IK [Sestos]* 2; 1st c. BC-1st c. AD); in the territory of Traianopolis: Δ(έκμος) Σείος Φοῖβος (*IThrAeg* E449; 1st-2nd c. AD).

111. Cf *e.g.* Ἰουβέντιος Ἐρμῆς (*I.Perinthis* 112; Perinthos; 1st-2nd c. AD); [Αἴ]λιος Ἐπ[αφρό]δειτος (*IGBulg* III.1, 1013; Philippopolis); Πομπώνιος Θεόδουλος Λόπου (*IGBulg* IV 1941; Serdica; 3rd c. AD); [Τι(βέριος)?] Κλαύδ(ιος) Φιλόμο[σ]ος (*IThrAeg* E431; territory of Zone; 2nd c. AD).

112. *I.Perinthis* 174.

113. Samsaris, “Πολιτογραφική πολιτική” 192, dates the inscription much earlier and thinks that Eutyuchianus had received the *civitas* from the provincial governor of the Flavian age Q. Vettidius Bassus.

“middle” stratum of society. To this (in a way) elusive group must have belonged the farmer (σειτευτής) from Nicaea Κάσσιος Ἀχιλλεύς, attested in a funerary inscription from Topeiros set up by his wife Αὐρ(ηλία) Καλλιόπη in the 3rd c. AD¹¹⁴, and the turner (τορνευτής) Λ(ούκιος) Κρεισπεῖνος Ἐπάγαθος, of Oriental origin as well, who was active at Philippopolis in the second half of the 2nd c. AD¹¹⁵. The latter’s activity as well as the conspicuous number of marble votive plaques with the motif of the “Thracian Horseman” point to a craft production that will have mainly served the needs of a local “middle” clientele provided with discrete economic means and must have employed members of this very social stratum. Indeed, both archaeological finds and inscriptions attest to a large diffusion in the cities of Thrace since the 2nd c. onwards of craft activities (pottery, toreutics, weaving, carpentry, stone cutting) which were favoured by the abundance of raw materials such as clay, marble, stone, and precious metals. In addition to local products there were also imports from outside, mainly, but not only, from the East (e.g. glass objects from Egypt, Syria and Cyprus, bronze vessels from Egypt and Syria). The influx of this geographical area in this particular realm is reflected in the presence of Oriental artisans such as the above mentioned L. Crispinus¹¹⁶.

As in most areas of the Empire, however, also in Thrace agriculture was the basic economic activity. The rural “vocation” of the Thracian countryside is shown by the quite large number of *villae rusticae* that have been unearthed mainly in the territory of modern Bulgaria, such as those of Chatalka (territory of Augusta Traiana) and Armira (territory of Hadrianopolis)¹¹⁷. To the material

114. *IThrAeg* E89.

115. *SEG* 52, 708.

116. Velkov, *Roman Cities* 131-136; V. Velkov, “Développement socio-économique de la Thrace et des Thraces (Ier – VIe s.)”, *Pulpuđeva* 3 (1978) [Sofia 1980] 20-21; Konstantina Mentzou-Meimari, “Ἐπιγραφικὲς μαρτυρίες γιὰ τὴ Θράκη”, *Επιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν* 30 (1992-1995) 473-493; Ivanov and von Bülow, *Thracia* 52-55 (with bibliographical indications at p. 111-112); see also V. Velkov, *Cities in Thrace and Dacia in Late Antiquity* (Amsterdam 1977) 135 ff; Danov, “Die Thraker” [*op. cit.* n. 6] 150 ff; Gerov, “L’aspect ethnique” [*op. cit.* n. 81] 29. In particular for bronze vessels see now Rossitsa Nenova-Merdjanova, “Production and Consumption of Bronzework in Roman Thrace”, in I. P. Haynes (ed.), *Early Roman Thrace. New Evidence from Bulgaria*, *JRA Suppl.* 82 (Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2011) 115-134. On the “Thracian Horseman” see most recently Dilyana Boteva, “The “Thracian Horseman” Reconsidered”, in I. P. Haynes [*op. cit.* in this note] 85-105; cf. also Berthe Rantz, “Le cavalier thrace. Thème iconographique”, *Pulpuđeva* 4 (1980) [Sofia 1983] 200-219, and the contributions in the collective volume edited by Dilyana Boteva, *Image and Cult in Ancient Thrace. Some Aspects of the Formation of the Thracian Imagery Language* (Sofia 2006).

117. For Chatalka, see D. Nikolov, *The Roman Villa at Chatalka, Bulgaria* (Oxford 1976); for Armira, R. F. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity: An Archaeological Introduction* (London 1975) 217-220.

evidence of these villas one can add some inscriptions that attest to the presence of medium-large estates, as must have been those of Κλ(αύδιος) Λουκιανός and Ευστόχιος Κέλερ in the territory of Philippopolis¹¹⁸, of Φλ(άβιος) Δίνις Λονγείνου in the territory of Augusta Traiana¹¹⁹, and of Οὔλπιος Ἀππιανός in the *territorium Bizyense*¹²⁰, judging from the reference to bailiffs (gr. πραγματευταί, οἰκονόμοι/ lat. *actores, vilici*) who were charged with the administration of their masters' properties.

VI. A special category of *cives*: soldiers and officers

About one seventh of the *cives Romani* attested in the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Thrace are referred to as serving (or having served) in the army (see Table 2). If we leave aside a few references to praetorians and soldiers of the imperial fleet as well as a few more attestations of undefined nature¹²¹, most soldiers belonged to legionary or auxiliary units, including also some senior officers of equestrian rank¹²². It is to be noted that only some of these soldiers performed their duties in the province of *Thracia*. The latter was a *provincia inermis* with no legions stationed in its territory and with only a contingent of 2.000 auxiliary troops, at least at the time of Vespasian and Titus¹²³. To these auxiliary units belonged for example Cl(audius) Lupus, *praefectus* of the *cohors II Lucensium*, who in the first half of the 2nd c. AD set up a dedication to Jupiter in

On Roman villas in Bulgaria see also the contribution of Adela Băltăc in this volume. Cf. Nikolov [*op. cit.* in this note] 67-71 (and 166-167, fig. 115); Velkov, *Cities in Thrace* [*op. cit.* n. 116] 198-199; Velkov, "Développement" [*op. cit.* n. 116] 21: "Au sein de l'ensemble formé par l'Empire Romain, la Thrace et la Mésie inférieure apparaissent surtout comme des régions agricoles".

118. *IGBulg* III.1, 1168 (imperial age) and 1537 (2nd c. AD).

119. *IGBulg* V 5577 (3rd c. AD).

120. *IGBulg* III.2, 1863.

121. Praetorians and *equites singulares*: *IGBulg* III.2, 1701 (territory of Augusta Traiana); *IGBulg* IV 2023 (territory of Serdica); *IGBulg* III.1, 1075 (=5474) and *AnnÉpig* 2001, 1750-1751 (Philippopolis). As noted by Haynes, *Early Roman Thrace* [*op. cit.* n. 36] 8, "by the 3rd c. Thracians formed a significant proportion of the *equites singulares* and the Praetorian Cohorts in Rome". Fleet: *I.Perinthos* 44: *classis Perinthis* (see *infra*, n. 129); *I.Perinthos* 82 and *AnnÉpig* 2002, 1269 (Philippopolis): *classis Misenensis* (this imperial fleet had a base at Cyzicus). Generic references: *IGBulg* III.2, 1710bis (territory of Augusta Traiana); *IGBulg* III.2, 1809 (territory of Hadrianopolis).

122. Those serving in the auxiliary units were usually *peregrini* who acquired the *civitas* after receiving the *honesta missio* and the military diploma, but after Nero the number of Roman citizens in the auxiliary units —with the exception of the so-called *numeri*, who remained *peregrini*— grew regularly; cf. F. Jacques and J. Scheid, *Rome et l'intégration de l'Empire* (44 av. J.C. – 260 ap. J.C.), I. *Les structures de l'Empire romain* (Paris 1990) 143.

123. Joseph *BJ* 2.368; see *supra*, p. 166-167 and n. 34.

the military camp of Kabyle (territory of Augusta Traiana) that he himself had founded¹²⁴, as well as the *centurio* of the same *cohors* Aelius Tarsas who, at Kabyle again, made a dedication to Apollo *Tadenus*¹²⁵. The *cohors II Lucensium* was stationed in Kabyle until the end of the 2nd c. AD, when it was transferred at the site of *Germania* (today's Sapareva Banya) in western Thrace¹²⁶. Similarly, the 17 *decuriones* (cavalry auxiliary units' junior officers) mentioned in a catalogue of the 2nd c. AD from Perinthos¹²⁷ must have been stationed in Thrace, even though we cannot say where, while the three *cornicularii* and the *frumentarius Augusti* attached to the governor's *officium* must have performed their duties in the capital city of the province¹²⁸, which was also the seat of an imperial fleet, the *classis Perinthis*¹²⁹.

On the contrary, among those soldiers who are attested in inscriptions of Thrace but did not perform their duties in this province, one has to put first of all the legionaries (with some exceptions, such as the above mentioned four men attached to the governor's *officium*) and the praetorians¹³⁰. These soldiers will have been either Thracians who after finishing their military service abroad went back to their homeland or persons—of whatever origin—who happened to visit Thrace during their service and left an epigraphic sign of their passage. To the latter group are to be assigned for example M. Iulius Avitus, a *centurio* from *Colonia Apollinaris Reiorum (Gallia Narbonensis)* who after serving in several legions died in Perinthos, and the *equus singularis* M. Ulpius Staius, who died in

124. Velkov, "Inscriptions de Cabyle" [*op. cit.* n. 96] 13, no 4 (*AnnÉpigr* 1999, 1370), ll. 3-4: *locum consecravit qui et castr(a) posuit*; cf. L. Getov, "Cohors I Athoitorum in Kabyle (Epigraphic Record)", *Thracia* 15 (2003) 121-123.

125. V. Velkov, "Zum Militärwesen der römischen Provinz Thrakien. Das Militärlager Cabyle", *Chiron* 8 (1978) 437.

126. Getov, "Cohors I Athoitorum" [*op. cit.* n. 124] 121, states that the *cohors II Lucensium* was probably immediately replaced at the camp of Kabyle by the *cohors I Athoitorum*. Cf. Sharankov, "Language and Society" 150, n. 93.

127. *I.Perinthos* 67.

128. *Cornicularii*: *I.Perinthos* 19 (AD 161): honorary inscription for the governor of Thrace L. Pullaienus Gargilius Antiquus (cf. Thomasson, *Laterculi* [*op. cit.* n. 3] 165, no 28). *Frumentarius Augusti*: *I.Perinthos* 80 (2nd-3rd c. AD; funerary inscription). Cf. also *AnnÉpigr* 2007, 1257 (Philippopolis; AD 198): honorary inscription for Septimius Severus set up by the *stratura praesidis Thraciae*, i.e. the personal guard of the provincial governor (cf. Sharankov, "Language and Society" 147-148, and n. 76).

129. *I.Perinthos* 44 (AD 88-90): dedication to Zeus *Zbelsourdos* by the imperial freedman Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Ζηναῖ<ς>, τριήραρχος κλάσσης Περινθίας.

130. Yet auxiliary soldiers can also belong to this category; cf. e.g. *I.Perinthos* 81 (3rd c. AD), a funerary inscription attesting to the passage through Thrace during an expedition in the East of two soldiers belonging to the *numeri Melenuensium* and *Divitiensium*, auxiliary units stationed in the province of *Germania Superior*.

Philippopolis in AD 131 while serving during Hadrian's visit to the city¹³¹. As for Thracian soldiers who performed their military service outside Thrace before going back home, I will mention only two legionaries attested by two votive dedications from the territory of Serdica, the *beneficiarius* Φλ(αούιος) Κότυς and the *cornicularius* Τ(ίτος) Φλ(άβιος) Τάρσας¹³².

VII. Conclusions

The Roman *cives* I have identified in the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Thrace are about four hundred. Even taking into account those —to be found mostly among the military— who were not of Thracian origin and will have likely visited Thrace only occasionally, it is reasonable to suppose that most of them were residents (at least temporary) of that province. The great majority of the people who possessed Roman citizenship were installed in inland Thrace, in particular in three centres: Philippopolis, the seat of the Thracian *koinon*; Perinthos, the capital city of the province and seat of the governor, and Beroe, renamed Augusta Traiana after the emperor Trajan. As for the ethnic composition of this population, native Thracians must have been the most numerous, followed by both native Greeks from the colonies of the Black Sea and Aegean Thrace and Greek-speaking “immigrants” from the Hellenophone regions of the empire, mainly the eastern provinces. Even though their origin is made explicit in only a limited number of epigraphic references through an ethnic or a particular name, the so-called “Orientals” were probably the most numerous group among the non-indigenous *cives* attested in the inscriptions of Thrace. In addition to the Easterns, apart from a few isolated references to individuals coming from the western part of the Empire, another group of “immigrants” attested in the epigraphic evidence was that of the *Rhomaioi*/“Italians”, most of them *negotiatores* active in the Aegean Thrace and the Chersonesos during the Late Republic and the beginnings of the Principate.

A more detailed quantitative repartition of the *cives* of Thrace by their *origo* is made impossible due to the absence of safe elements for each individual. In most cases the only information at our disposal is an individual's name. Yet

131. Avitus: *I.Perinthos* 73 (ca. AD 89; funerary inscription set up by his sisters); cf. also *I.Perinthos* 77 (2nd-3rd c. AD); funerary inscription for Lupionius Suebus, a soldier of Germanic origin who belonged to the *legio XXII primigenia*. Staius: *AnnÉpigr* 2001, 1751 (cf. Sharankov, “Language and Society” 150 and n. 92).

132. Kotys: *IGBulg* V 5741 (3rd c. AD; dedication to Asclepius). Tarsas: *IGBulg* IV 2022 (2nd-3rd c. AD; dedication to Dionysos). The Thracian origin of both is revealed by their *cognomen*. On military in Thrace see most recently Sharankov, “Language and Society” 150-151.

onomastics, though useful, cannot be decisive as a proof of one's origin. If a Thracian *cognomen* points to a Thracian origin, Greek and Roman *cognomina* — which are by far the most represented in the epigraphic evidence from Thrace, counting for about three quarters of the total— were also borne by “Hellenized” and “Romanized” Thracians. “Romanization” is also revealed by the onomastic formula of the *cives* attested in the inscriptions of Thrace: almost one out of two bears the *tria nomina*, while, more important, more than half of them have an onomastic formula with the *tria* or *duo nomina* being all of Latin origin. If on the one hand, however, this reveals a certain degree of “Romanization”, on the other hand the paucity of occurrences of both the (proper) Roman filiation formula and the *tribus* as well as the presence in some cases of a mixed formula with the Greek patronymic juxtaposed to the *duo* or *tria nomina* show some difficulty in the adaptation to the Roman onomastic system and, more generally, a resistance to the complete assimilation of Roman models. As regards this, it is noteworthy that half of the *cives* bearing the Roman filiation formula and/or the *tribus* are attested in Latin inscriptions. In Thrace the latter represent a very small “island” in the “ocean” of Greek inscriptions, the ratio being 1 to 20 (considering only inscriptions mentioning Roman citizens, the Latin texts are a little more than 10% of the total). Greek was the official language of the province, while Latin was basically limited to provincial functionaries, soldiers and veterans installed in the Roman colonies and few other centres.

In any case, the epigraphic evidence indicates a significant increase of *cives Romani* in Thrace during the first two centuries of the Empire: although in absolute numbers the four hundred people attested in a province like Thrace may seem a negligible quantity (surpassed, for example, by the only *Claudii* of Athens¹³³), the diffusion of the Roman citizenship will have brought with it some degree of “Romanization”. After a preliminary phase, roughly corresponding to the last two centuries of the Republic and the beginnings of the Principate, when in addition to the Italian “immigrants” active as *negotiatores* in south-eastern Thrace the few who possessed Roman citizenship were the last Thracian kings and some selected members of the local aristocracy (such as the *strategoï* of the catalogue of Topeiros), the reigns of Claudius and Vespasian saw a remarkable increase in the grant of the *civitas* to natives. This second phase coincides also with the foundation of the only two known Roman colonies of the province (Apri and Deultum) and with the installation of veterans, among whom also Thracians, in these Roman communities as well as in other areas. Judging from the imperial *gentilicia* the second century seems to be characterized by a “slowdown” in the

133. Cf. Byrne, *Roman citizens* [op. cit. n. 25] 106-198.

diffusion of the *civitas*, whose penetration among the population of Thrace, however, must have gone on slowly but regularly as new *cives* were added to those who already possessed the *civitas*, thus affecting even the lower social strata. Indeed, except for a very few individuals belonging to the Roman upper orders—only three members (of whom two relatives, father and son) of the *ordo senatorius* and a few knights are attested in the epigraphic evidence— and a more conspicuous group of notables representatives of the local elites, most *cives* of Thrace likely belonged to the so-called “sub-elite classes”. The presence of a “middle class” of people who possessed Roman citizenship reflects the latter’s increasing propagation, a process of “democratization” that prepared the decision of the emperor Caracalla to extend the *civitas* to all the free inhabitants of the Empire in AD 212 (*Constitutio Antoniniana*).

As is well known, by that time the possession of the Roman citizenship had lost much of its importance and the legal distinction between *cives* and *peregrini* had long been supplanted by a socio-economic one (*honestiores/ humiliores*), which also however had juridical implications. One could ask how much did the possession of *civitas* weigh in the civic societies of Thrace in the period before Caracalla’s grant, for example for the assumption of a political office. As noted above, ten of the *strategoï* who appear in the catalogue of Topeiros of the middle of the first century AD were *peregrini*, thus showing that at this epoch the Roman citizenship was not a *conditio sine qua non* for the assumption of this high military charge. The role of *strategos* may have disappeared by the reign of Hadrian, but if one looks at the office of *protos archon*, which was in use during the whole of the second century (and further), it is interesting to note that, as far as I know, except for a single early reference to a possible *protos archon* of peregrine condition¹³⁴ all of the other *protôi archontes* attested in the inscriptions of Thrace—neither of whom can be dated before the 2nd c. AD— possessed the Roman citizenship. Do we have to argue that the accession to the presidency of the magistrate *collegia* of Thracian cities was open only to those who had acquired the status of Roman *cives*? More simply, this will indicate that while at the time when the catalogue of Topeiros was issued the process of diffusion of the *civitas* had not yet gone to completion even in the highest layers of Thracian society, by the 2nd c. AD in Thrace—as in other areas of the Empire— virtually all of the members of the civic aristocracies had become *cives Romani*.

134. *IGBulg* 1² 315 (Mesambria; late? 1st c. AD), ll. 14-15: τοὺς [ἄρχων]τας τοὺς περὶ Διόδωρον Διοσκοουρίδα.

TABLE 1. GREEK AND LATIN INSCRIPTIONS OF THRACE IN WHICH ROMAN CIVES ARE MENTIONED¹

City/Territory ²	No of inscr.	Chronology	Typology ³	Latin	Bilingual	References
Abdera	7	II c. BC: 2 I c. BC-I c. AD: 1 III c. AD: 3 Imperial age: 1	H: 3 F: 3 B: 1	1		<i>IThrAeg</i> E8; E9; E18; E25; E68; E71; E72
Ainos	2	I c. BC: 1 II c. AD: 1	B: 1 ?: 1			Martínez Fernández 1999, 65, nos 5 and 8
Anchialos	8	I-II c. AD: 1 II-III c. AD: 1 III c. AD: 3 Imperial age: 3	V: 4 H: 1 F: 2 ?: 1	1		<i>IGBulg</i> I 369; 370; 376; 381; 385; 1845; 5648; <i>CIL</i> III 7408
Apri (Colonia Claudia Apretensis)	3	I c. AD: 1 I-II c. AD: 1 Imperial age: 1	H: 1 F: 2	3		<i>AnnÉpigr</i> 1898, 65; <i>AnnÉpigr</i> 1974, 581 and 582
Augusta Traiana	45	II c. AD: 13 II-III c. AD: 5 III c. AD: 7 Imperial age: 20	V: 24 H: 6 F: 7 B: 3 C: 1 ?: 4	5	2	<i>IGBulg</i> 1555; 1567; 1573; 1575; 1577; 1593; 1594; 1601; 1603; 1628; 1650; 1658; 1683bis; 1690 (= 5601); 1696; 1701; 1710bis; 1712; 1713; 1714; 1741bis; 1762; 1766; 1774; 1777 (= 5635); 5569; 5570; 5577; 5578; 5579; 5587; 5592; 5596; 5599; 5612; 5619; <i>SEG</i> 51, 2001, 917; <i>AnnÉpigr</i> 1999, 1370, 1380, 1382, 1390; <i>AnnÉpigr</i> 2002, 1263; <i>Chiron</i> 8 (1978), 437 (*3 texts)

1. Including inscriptions attesting to individuals who may have possessed the *civitas* but whose citizen status cannot be stated for certain, basically those bearing a *gentilicium* followed by another name only partially preserved on the stone (that might be a patronymic) or by a *lacuna*, whose condition of *cives* is not indicated by other elements (see Table 2a).

2. In this and the following Tables the name of each city accounts also for minor centres located in its territory.

3. A: agonistic inscriptions; B: building inscriptions; C: catalogues; D: military diplomas; F: funerary inscriptions; H: honorary inscriptions; H/T: *horoi/termini*; V: votive inscriptions; ?: other or undefined nature.

Deultum (Colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium)	3	I c. AD: 1 II c. AD: 2	F: 1 H/T: 2	2		<i>IGBulg</i> 1849; <i>AnnÉpigr</i> 1965, 1-2
Hadrianopolis	4	II c. AD: 2 Imperial age: 2	V: 4			<i>IGBulg</i> 1796; 1797; 1809; 1831
Maroneia	16	II c. BC: 1 II-I c. BC: 1 I c. BC-I c. AD: 2 I c. AD: 2 I-II c. AD: 2 II c. AD: 5 II-III c. AD: 1 III c. AD: 2	V: 1 H: 2 F: 9 C: 1 ?: 3			<i>ThracAeg</i> E178; E181; E190; E212; E296; E298; E307; E310; E311; E312; E313; E315; E337; E339; E368; E370
Mesambria (Pontica)	2	Imperial age: 2	V: 1 F: 1			<i>IGBulg</i> 352; 5124
Nicopolis ad Nestum	3	I c. AD: 1 II c. AD: 1 Imperial age: 1	V: 2 C: 1			<i>IGBulg</i> 2336; 2338; 2340
Pautalia	39	II c. AD: 4 II-III c. AD: 21 III c. AD: 4 Imperial age: 10	V: 30 H: 3 F: 4 B: 1 C: 1			<i>IGBulg</i> 2053; 2059; 2060; 2065; 2068; 2072; 2077; 2084; 2104; 2109; 2113; 2115bis; 2127; 2142; 2150; 2161; 2169; 2214; 2217- 2218; 2228; 2229; 2239; 5773; 5776; 5777; 5786; 5791; 5799; 5801; 5806-5809; 5810-5811; 5813; 5856; SEG 54, 2004, 648
Perinthos	47	I c. AD: 7 I-II c. AD: 18 II c. AD: 11 II-III c. AD: 2 III c. AD: 6 Imperial age: 3	V: 6 H: 6 F: 31 C: 3 ?: 1	14	2	<i>LPerinthos</i> 6; 19; 22; 26; 27; 28; 37; 44; 48; 49; 56; 57; 64; 67; 68; 72; 73; 74; 75; 76; 77; 79; 80; 81; 82; 83; 89; 90; 91; 95; 96; 106; 108; 110; 112; 121; 124; 128; 129; 133; 136; 137; 138; 174; 207; 294; 298
Philippopolis	101	I c. AD: 1 II c. AD: 29 II-III c. AD: 16	V: 50 H: 17 F: 28	9	3	<i>IGBulg</i> 880; 882; 884; 885; 892; 893; 902; 903; 912; 913; 917; 929; 931; 947; 973; 979; 989; 990; 992; 995; 999; 1006; 1013; 1019; 1075 (= 5474); 1077; 1117; 1122; 1127; 1132; 1167; 1168;

		III c. AD: 17 Imperial age: 38	A: 1 H/T: 3 D: 1 ?: 1			1174; 1183 (= 5485); 1184; 1186; 1193; 1195; 1205; 1302; 1324; 1329; 1356; 1357; 1371; 1388; 1401; 1410; 1411; 1420; 1421; 1422; 1434; 1445; 1449; 1454; 1460; 1468; 1471; 1474; 1479; 1512; 1517; 1528; 1537; 1543; 1873; 1888; 5397; 5407; 5408; 5433; 5434; 5440; 5462; 5463; 5466; 5467; 5472; 5533-5534; <i>CIL</i> XVI 139; <i>SEG</i> 52, 2002, 708; <i>SEG</i> 55, 2005, 758-759, 760, 767; <i>AnnÉpigr</i> 2001, 1750, 1751; 2002, 1269; 2006, 1246, 1254; 2007, 1253, 1257, 1258; <i>BE</i> 2010, 421 (5, 8); <i>BullÉpigr</i> 2010, 422; <i>Arheologija</i> 10.2 (1968), 43-47, no 1; Sharankov 2011, 150, n. 91; E. Kalinka, <i>Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien</i> , Wien 1906, 322, n° 409
Plotinopolis	3	II c. AD: 1 II-III c. AD: 1 Imperial age: 1	V: 1 F: 2		1	<i>IThrAeg</i> E460; E467; E473
Serdica	28	I-II c. AD: 1 II c. AD: 7 II-III c. AD: 4 III c. AD: 9 Imperial age: 7	V: 16 H: 4 F: 2 B: 3 A: 1 ?: 2		1	<i>IGBulg</i> 1903; 1904; 1906; 1908; 1909; 1910; 1912; 1926; 1928; 1933; 1937; 1939; 1941; 1972; 1992; 2003; 2019; 2022; 2023; 2030; 2045; 2047; 2048; 5718; 5738; 5739; 5741; <i>CIL</i> III 7416
Territorium Bizyense	4	I-II c. AD: 1 II-III c. AD: 2 Imperial age: 1	V: 2 F: 2			<i>IGBulg</i> 1851; 1863; 1868; 5653
Thracian Chersonesos	18	I c. BC-I c. AD: 1 I c. AD: 2 I-II c. AD: 2 II c. AD: 3 II-III c. AD: 1 Imperial age: 9	V: 2 H: 4 F: 11 B: 1		4	<i>I.Sestos</i> 2; 3; 9; 10; 11; 14; 17; 29; 30; 31; 32; 34; 55; 61; 64; 67; 69; <i>CIL</i> III 14406 f
Topetros	5	I c. AD: 1 II c. AD: 1 III c. AD: 2 Imperial age: 1	F: 3 C: 1 ?: 1			<i>IThrAeg</i> E84; E89; E93; E99; E100
Traianopolis	3	I-II c. AD: 1 II c. AD: 1 II-III c. AD: 1	V: 1 F: 2		1	<i>IThrAeg</i> E431; E432; E449

<p>Totals</p>	<p>341</p>	<p>II c. BC: 3 II-I c. BC: 1 I c. BC: 1 I c. BC-I c. AD: 4 I c. AD: 16 I-II c. AD: 27 II c. AD: 81 II-III c. AD: 55 III c. AD: 53 Imperial age: 100</p>	<p>V: 144 H: 47 F: 110 B: 10 A: 2 C: 8 H/T: 5 D: 1 ?: 14</p>	<p>41</p>	<p>8</p>	
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TABLE 2. ROMAN CIVES ATTESTED IN THE GREEK AND LATIN INSCRIPTIONS OF THRACE

City/ Territory	Cives ¹	Nomina gentilia	Chronological distribution	Foreigners ²	Social status	Political, religious and other functions	Soldiers (and officers)
Abdera	8	Antonius; Apustius (2); Caesonius; Cassius; Manneius; Ulpus; Vallius	II c. BC: 3 I c. BC-I c. AD: 1 III c. AD: 3 Imperial age: 1	3 Rhomaioi	4 negotiatores	1 archiboukolos of a dionysiac association; 1 hierous δι' ἄπ[λω]ν	
Ainos	2	Flavius; Marius	I c. BC: 1 II c. AD: 1				
Anchialos	7 (*1 soldier)	Atilius; Flavius (3); Iulius (2); Titovius	I-II c. AD: 1 III c. AD: 4 Imperial age: 2		1 freedman	1 protos archon	1 legionary soldier
Apri	4	Cassius; Scurricius (2); Septimius	I c. AD: 1 I-II c. AD: 1 Imperial age: 2		1 decurion	1 duovir; 1 aedilis; 1 quaestor; 1 pontifex; 1 augur; 1 imperial priest (sacerdos)	
Augusta Traiana	54 (*1 without gentilicium – *8 soldiers)	Aelius (2); Ambivius; Antonius; Atrius; Avilius; Claudius (3); Cornelius; Egnatius; Flavius (17); Hadrianus; Iulius; Licin(n)us;	II c. AD: 23 II-III c. AD: 5 III c. AD: 10 Imperial age: 16	1 from Nicomedia; 1 from Aquincum (Parmonia)	1 senator; 2 equites; 2 decurions; 1 primateutes; 1 sophist and rhetor	1 praefectus cohortis; 1 praetorian; 2 centurions; 1 actarius; 2 auxiliary soldiers; 1 soldier (= stratiotes)	

1. Individuals who possessed Roman citizenship.

2. From outside Thrace.

Deultum	2 (*1 without gentilicium)		[Lu]cius/[Mu]cius; Lucretius (3); Marius; Rufus; Sempronius; Septimius; Ulpus (9); Valerius (5)	I c. AD: 1 II c. AD: 1			1 imperial freedman		archon (substitute for the emperor Gallienus); 3 <i>archiereis</i> (one of the provincial <i>koiron</i>); 3 priests				
Hadrianopolis	4 (*1 soldier)		Titulus	II c. AD: 2					1 <i>phylarchos</i>				1 soldier (= <i>stratiotes</i>)
Maroneia	17 (*1 without gentilicium)		Aelius; Flavius (2); Ulpus Aelius; Apidius; Arruntius; Bruttius; Caesius; Cornelius; Flavius (2); Quintilius (2); Silius; Ulpus; Valerius; Vivius; Volumnius (2) Pompeius	II c. BC: 1 II-I c. BC: 5 I c. BC-I c. AD: 2 I c. AD: 1 I-II c. AD: 1 II c. AD: 5 II-III c. AD: 1 III c. AD: 1 Imperial age: 1	1 <i>Rhomasios</i>		1 imperial freedman; 7 <i>negotiatores</i> (?)		1 priest of Zeus, Rome, Dionysos and Maron				
Mesambria (Pontica)	1			Imperial age: 1									
Nicopolis ad Nestum	3		Antonius (2); Flavius	I c. AD: 1 II c. AD: 1 Imperial age: 1					1 <i>strategos</i> (of eight <i>strategies</i>)				
Pautalia	31 (*1 soldier)		Aelius (3); Antius (2); Aufidius (1); Calpurnius (2); Claudius; Domitius (2); Flavius (9); Hadrianus; Iulius (4); Petronius; Sallustius; Ulpus (4) Aelius (14); Aemilius; Agidius; Ambivius;	II c. AD: 4 II-III c. AD: 17 III c. AD: 4 Imperial age: 6				1 <i>thrakarches</i> ; 1 <i>protos archon</i> ; 1 <i>archon</i> ; 1 <i>agoranomos</i> ; 1 <i>gymnasiarchos</i> ; 1 <i>archiereus</i> (chief of a religious association); 7 priests				1 legionary <i>signifer</i>	
Perinthos	79 (*1 without gentilicium)			I c. AD: 13 I-II c. AD: 21	1 from Alexandria;		2 senators; 2 <i>equites</i> ;		1 consul; 1 <i>leg. Aug. pr. pr.</i>				1 <i>tribunus militum</i> and <i>praefectus alae</i> ;

	gentilicium – *31 soldiers and officials	<p>Annaeus; Apirilus (2); Apustus; Caius; Claudius (12); Cosinius; Flavius (8); Iulius (11); Iuventius; Larcus; Licin(n)ius; Lunius; Lupionius; Lusius; Mettius; Naemonius; Poblicius; Pompeius (2); Pomponius; Quintius; Septimius; Servilius; Spellius; Terentius; Terilus; Ulpius (2); Valerius; Vatinius; Ventidius; Victorius</p>	<p>II c. AD: 31 II–III c. AD: 2 III c. AD: 7 Imperial age: 5</p>	<p>1 from Colonia Apollinaris Reiorum (Gallia Nar-borensis); 1 from Velocassium- Ratomagus (Gallia Lugdunensis); 1 from Germany (*Suebus)</p>	<p>1 decurion; 1 imperial freedman</p>	<p>Arabiae; 2/3 strategoi; 1 agoranomos; 1 archiereus and agonothetes; 1 archiereus (?); 1 hierommemon (= high-priest of Perinthos?); 1 archiboukolos of a dionysiac association; 1 pragmatikos (= attorney); 1 archisynagogos (= chief of Perinthos' barbers' association</p>	<p>1 centurion; 1 frumentarius Augusti (governor's officium); 3 cornicularii (governor's officium); 3 legionaries; 17 decuriones (cavalry auxiliary troops); 2 auxiliary soldiers; 1 commander of the classis Perinthis (τριήραρχος κλάσης Περινθίας); 1 soldier of the classis praetoria Misensis; 1 soldier</p>
Philippopolis	108 (*14 soldiers and officials)	<p>Aelius (11); Aemilius; Alcius; Alfius; Annus; Antonius (2); Assyrus; Aufidius; Baeubius; Blandius/ us; Caelius; Cascellius; Cassius; Claudius (15); Crispinus; Eustocius (2); Flavius (19); Granius; Hadrianus (3); Herennius; Iulius (8); Maelius (2); Mestrius; Minutius; Mucianus; Mucius; Petronius;</p>	<p>I c. AD: 1 II c. AD: 34 II–III c. AD: 16 III c. AD: 20 Imperial age: 37</p>	<p>1 from Sardis (also citizen of Thyateira); 1 from Berytus; 1 from Cappadocia (also citizen of Philippopolis); 1 from Volsinii</p>	<p>4 equites; 2 gerusiastai; 1 rhetor; 2 athletes (1 hieronikes); 1 turner (τορνευτήρ); 1 imperial freedman; 1 freedman</p>	<p>4 thrakarchai; 3 phylarchoi; 3 protoi archontes; 1 ekdikos (of the gerousia); 2 neokoroi; 1 archiereus; 2 archiereis δι' ἄλλων; 1 tabularius provinciae Thraciae (imperial freedman); 1 krites and orothetes; 1 terminator;</p>	<p>2 a militis; 1 tribunus militum; 4 praetorians; 2 centurions; 3 beneficiarii; 1 optio; 1 legionary soldier</p>

TABLE 2A. OTHER POSSIBLE¹ ROMAN CIVES ATTESTED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THRACE

City/Territory	Number of individuals	Nomina gentilia	Chronological distribution	Social status	Political, religious and other functions
Ainos	1	Caelius	I c. BC		
Anchialos	2	Claudius; Licimnius	II-III c. AD: 1 Imperial age: 1	1 decurion	
Augusta Traiana	7	Cornelius; Flavius (4); Iulius (2)	II-III c. AD: 1 III c. AD: 1 Imperial age: 5		1 <i>protos archon</i>
Maroneia	4	Caecil[us?]; Servilius	I c. BC-I c. AD: 1 I c. AD: 1 I-II c. AD: 1 III c. AD: 1		
Mesambria (Pontica)	1	Aelius (?)	Imperial age: 1		
Pautalia	8	Aelius (3); Aufidius; Caerellius; Iulius (0/1); Ulpus (2/3)	II c. AD: 2 II-III c. AD: 2 Imperial age: 4	1 decurion (of Deultum)	1 <i>archon</i> ; 1 <i>hiericus</i> (?)
Perinthos	1	Aelius	I-II c. AD: 1		
Philippopolis	6	Aelius; Aemilius; Antonius; Pomponius; Ulpus; Valerius	II c. AD: 1 III c. AD: 1 Imperial age: 4		
Plotinopolis	2	Iulius	II c. AD: 1 Imperial age: 1		
Serdica	5	Aelius (2); Pomponius; Ulpus (2)	II-III c. AD: 1 III c. AD: 1 Imperial age: 3		

1. Individuals who may have possessed the *civitas* (and at least some of them most likely did it) but whose citizen status cannot be stated for certain, basically those bearing a *gentilicium* followed by another name only partially preserved on the stone (that might be a patronymic) or by a *lacuna*, whose condition of *cives* is not indicated by other elements — e.g. Αἰλιος Λεοντιος[ος/ου ?] (IGBulg 1186; territory of Philippopolis) or Αιμιλιος [- - -] (IGBulg 999; territory of Philippopolis).

Thracian Chersonesos Topeiros	1	Aelius	Imperial age: 1		
	2	Antonius (2)	II c. AD: 1 III c. AD: 1		
TOTALS	40		I c. BC I c. BC-I c. AD: 1 I c. AD: 1 I-II c. AD: 2 II c. AD: 5 II-III c. AD: 5 III c. AD: 5 Imperial age: 20	2 decurions	1 <i>protos archon</i> ; 1 <i>archon</i> ; 1 <i>hierereus</i> (?)

TABLE 3. GEOGRAPHICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE ROMAN CIVES OF THRACE

Chronology City/Territory	II c. BC	II-I c. BC	I c. BC-I c. AD	I c. AD	I-II c. AD	II c. AD	II-III c. AD	III c. AD	Imperial age	Totals
Abdera	3		1					3	1	8
Ainos		1				1				2
Anchialos					1			4	2	7
Apri				1	1				2	4
Augusta Traiana						23	5	10	16	54
Deultum				1		1				2
Hadrianopolis						2			2	4
Maroneia	1	5	2	1	1	5	1	1		17
Mesambria (Pontica)									1	1
Nicopolis ad Nestum				1		1			1	3
Pautalia						4	17	4	6	31
Perinthos				13	21	31	2	7	5	79
Philippopolis				1		34	16	20	37	108
Plotinopolis							2			2
Serdica					1	4	2	12	4	23
<i>Territorium Bizyense</i>					1		3		1	5
Thracian										
Chersonesos			2	2	2	5	1		10	22
Topeiros				23				1	1	25
Traianopolis					2	1	1			4
Totals	4	6	5	43	30	112	50	62	89	401

TABLE 4. ONOMASTIC FORMULA OF THE ROMAN CIVES OF THRACE

City/Territory	Tria nomina	Nomen + cognomen	Praenomen + nomen	Without nomen	Filiation formula	Tribus	All names of Latin origin
Abdera	4	1	3		4		6
Ainos	2						1
Anchialos	4	3					2
Apri	3	1			2	2	4
Augusta Traiana	21	31	1	1	1	2	29
Deultum	1			1			2
Hadrianopolis	1	2	1				3
Maroneia	9	5	1	1	2		11
Mesambria (Pontica)	1						1
Nicopolis ad Nestum	1	2					1
Pautalia	13	16					12
Perinthos	33	45		1	4	8	56
Philippopolis	53	50	1		3	5	53
Plotinopolis		2					
Serdica	7	14	2				12
Territorium Bizyense	1	4					3
Thracian Chersonesos	14	5	2		2	2	12
Topeiros	23	1					2
Traianopolis	3	1					2
Totals	194	183	11	4	18	19	212

TABLE 5. PRAENOMINA BORNE BY THE ROMAN CIVES OF THRACE

Praenomen City/territory	Aulus	Caius	Decimus	Lucius	Marcus	Paullus	Publius	Quintus	Sextus	Tiberius	Titus
Abera		2		2	2		1				
Ainos					1						1
Anchialos				1	2						1
Apri		1		1	1						
Augusta Traiana		4		6	5		2				5
Deulum		1									
Hadrianopolis											1
Maroneia	1	4		1	3		1				1
Mesambria (Pontica)					1						
Nicopolis ad Nestum								1			
Pautalia		2		3	3		4				3
Perinthos		4		2	8	1	5			10	5
Philippopolis	1	13		5	9		9			7	13
Plotinopolis											
Serdica		1		1	1		2	1	1		1
<i>Territorium Bizyense</i>										1	
Thracian Chersonesos		3		3	2	1		1		4	5
Topeiros		8			1					15	
Traianopolis			2								
Totals	2	43	2	25	39	2	24	3	1	37	36

TABLE 6. GENTILICIA (BOTH IMPERIAL AND NON IMPERIAL) BORNE BY THE ROMAN CIVICES OF THRACE

City/territory <i>Nomen gentis</i>	Abdera	Ainos	Anchialos	Apri	Augusta Triana	Deultum	Hadrinapolis	Maroneia	Mesambria (Pontica)	Nicopolis ad Nestum	Pautalia	Perinthos	Philippopolis	Plotinopolis	Serdica	<i>Territorium Bizyense</i>	Thracian Chersonesos	Topetros	Tranopolis	Totals
Aelius				2			1	1			3	14	11		6		2			40
Aemilius												1	1							2
Agidius												1								1
Alcius													1							1
Alfus													1							1
Ambivivus					1							1								2
Annaeus												1								1
Annius											2									1
Antius																				2
Antonius	1				1					2			2			2	1			9
Apidius								1												1
Aprilius												2								2
Apustius	2											1								3
Aquinus																1				1
Arrius															1					1
Arruntius								1												1
Assyrius													1							1
Atilius																				1
Attius					1															1
Aufidius											1		1							2
Avilius					1															1
Baebius													1							1
Blandius/us													1							1
Bruttius								1												1
Caelius													1							1
Caestius								1												1
Caesonius	1																			1
Caius												1								1
Calea																	1			1

TABLE 6a. IMPERIAL GENTILICIA BORNE BY THE ROMAN CIVES OF THRACE

Imperial gentilitia City/Territory	Iulius	Claudius	Flavius	Ulpius	Aelius	Septimius
Abdera				1		
Ainos			1			
Anchialos	2		3			
Augusta Traiana	1	3	17	9	2	1
Deultum	1					
Hadrianopolis			2	1	1	
Maroneia			2	1	1	
Nicopolis ad Nestum			1			
Pautalia	4	1	9	4	3	
Perinthos	11	12	8	2	14	1
Philippopolis	8	15	19	9	11	3
Plotinopolis		2				
Serdica	2	1	6	1	6	
<i>Territorium Bizyense</i>		2		1		
Thracian Chersonesos	3	7	2		2	
Topeiros ¹	6	15				
Traianopolis		1				
Totals	38	59	70	29	40	5

Notes

- Gentilitia used as single names (*nomina simplicia* or *nuda*) have not been taken into consideration.

1. The 15 Ti. Claudii and the 6 C. Iulii attested at Topeiros all appear in the catalogue of the 33 *strategoi* of Thrace (*ThracAeg* E84; ca. AD 46-60) and must hail from various places of Thrace.

TABLE 7. COGNOMINA BORNE BY THE ROMAN CIVES OF THRACE

<i>Cognomen</i> City/Territory	Pre-Greek/Thracian	Greek	Roman	Other/ uncertain
Abdera		2	3	
Ainos	1		1	
Anchialos		4	2	1
Apri			4	
Augusta Traiana	12	13	30	
Deultum			2	
Hadrianopolis		1	3	
Maroneia		6	9	
Mesambria (Pontica)			1	
Nicopolis ad Nestum	1	1	1	
Pautalia	6	10	12	
Perinthos	1	20	57	1
Philippopolis	12	31	56	3
Plotinopolis		2		
Serdica	3	8	10	
<i>Territorium Bizyense</i>		2	3	
Thracian Chersonesos		8	10	1
Topeiros	14	8	2	
Traianopolis		2	2	
Totals	50	118	208	6

Notes

- The above figures refer to the number of single Roman *cives* who bear the relative *cognomina*: the same *cognomen*, if borne by two individuals, accounts for two occurrences.