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FROM FATHER TO SON: MULTI-GENERATIONAL SERVICE IN *LEGIO II ADIUTRIX*

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Abstract: This study investigates the patterns of multi-generational military service and the accumulation of social capital within the II Adiutrix legion, primarily based on 38 inscriptions found in Pannonia. The research identifies the father-son relationship as the most common kinship structure, though several families maintained military traditions across three generations. A significant portion of these multi-generational lineages consists of families of Eastern origin, specifically from Hemesa, Syria, for whom migration to the Danubian frontier and enlistment constituted a well-established career path.

The analysis explores how military service provided substantial socio-economic advantages, including *honesta missio*, economic security, and social prestige. These benefits often served as a foundation for descendants to transition into civilian spheres, attaining positions in municipal administration. Despite the high risks of the profession – with epigraphic evidence recording soldiers falling in Parthian, Germanic, and Dacian campaigns – the persistent intergenerational transmission of the military career suggests that the long-term social and economic rewards outweighed the inherent dangers.

Keywords: *Legio II Adiutrix*, Aquincum, Pannonia, social capital, multi-generational service, Roman epigraphy, municipal administration

I. Introduction

Sometime around AD 200, a man named Sabinus decided to seek his fortune and leave his native city, Emesa in Syria (cat. 30). He may have heard accounts suggesting that it was worthwhile to travel westward, for in Pannonia skilled soldiers were in constant demand and were well paid. If he was wealthy enough to embark by sea, he could have reached his destination – despite the c. 4,300 km distance – in approximately seventy-two days.¹ If he travelled exclusively by land, the journey covered roughly 3,000 km and must have taken around one hundred and eight days.² In any case, Sabinus arrived safely in the vicinity of the Danube, where he enlisted, and upon completing his service he received an

¹ Unless he was enlisted locally into the *cohors I Hemesenorum*, which was established in Syria around 175 and, in 176, sent to Pannonia, see Lőrincz 2001, 35.

honesta missio, acquiring veteran status. In light of Septimius Severus' marriage legislation it is conceivable that he had already done so while still in active service, but at some point Sabinus founded a family.³

His son, M. Aurelius Monimus, likewise entered the army via *Legio II Adiutrix*. He later married a woman named Alexandria, and the couple had two children: a son, Alexander, and a daughter, Athenou. The latter lived only twenty years, whereas the former also joined the army and advanced to the position of *librarius* in the governor's office.⁴ Thus, in this family even the third generation pursued a military career. We do not know whether Sabinus – despite his Latin name – possessed Roman citizenship, nor in which units he or his grandson Alexander served (the latter perhaps in the II Adiutrix legion). It also remains unclear whether Sabinus settled in Aquincum upon his arrival in the province, or whether, like several other soldiers from Emesa, he chose Intercisa.⁵ What is certain, however, is that Alexander, by virtue of his literacy and education, proved suitable for service within the provincial governor's administration, thereby creating for himself the prospect of future advancement.⁶

Monimus' (and perhaps Alexander's) unit, the *Legio II Adiutrix* defended Aquincum from AD 89 until the first third of the fifth century. During this period the legion took part in every major war and continuously faced threats emerging from across the Danube.⁷ A heavily deployed legion offered ample opportunity to demonstrate military prowess.⁸ In the present paper, I seek to determine how the social capital accumulated and embodied by the soldiers of *Legio II Adiutrix* may be reckoned on the inscriptions, and in what ways the sol-

2 Using the Stanford University Libraries model, I calculated the cheapest option for travel by sea and land during the spring season, using the Emesa – Aquincum route. See <https://orbis.stanford.edu/>

3 For Septimius Severus' marriage legislation and the marital practices of soldiers, see in detail Campbell 1978 and Eck 2011.

4 See Domaszewski – Dobson 1967, 37.

5 Barkóczi 1964, 285–289.; Lőrincz 2001, 35.

6 Rankov 1999; see also Haensch 2000. For examples from Dacia, see Cupcea 2012.

7 According to Fridericus Gündel, *Legio II Adiutrix* was transferred to Germania in AD 83, where it took part in Domitian's war against the Chatti. He believed that the legion fought subsequently in the Dacian wars and reached Pannonia before AD 89, probably in 88; it was, however, only transferred to Aquincum between 107 and 130, cf. Gündel 1895, 35–46. Emil Ritterling, by contrast, argued that in AD 107 the legion must certainly have already been stationed at Aquincum, although he could not determine the exact date of the transfer; see Ritterling 1925, 1445. Barnabás Lőrincz dated the establishment of the legionary base even earlier, to the period immediately after the Dacian War, that is, to AD 89, see Lőrincz 2000, 162.

8 A few examples: M. Aurelius Claudianus served as centurion in ten different units, beginning his career in *Legio II Adiutrix*: AE 1981, 158. Q. Marcius Turbo rose as far as a provincial governorship: Fitz 1993, 339–341, Nr. 245. M. Herennius Valens served in five legions, twice in *Legio I Adiutrix*: Fitz 1993, 331–332, Nr. 236. L. Artorius Castus began as a centurion and was eventually appointed *procurator* of Liburnia: Tomlin 2018, 155–158.

diers' relatives (in most cases, their sons) were able to utilise this capital. The analysis focuses on members of the professional corps. One central question is how frequently the inscriptions attest multi-generational military service; another is how the soldiers' social prestige benefitted those relatives who held municipal offices in civilian spheres.

II. The Sources

A total of 130 inscriptions of *Legio II Adiutrix* are known in which at least one family member appears alongside the soldier.⁹ Approximately one third of these inscriptions are examined in the present study: in all, 38 stone monuments mention at least two soldiers who were (or could be) related by kinship (see Appendix). Across the 38 inscriptions a total of 88 individuals can be identified (with one or two exceptions where the name is too fragmentary or entirely missing, see cat. 10, 16). Of these, 71 persons served exclusively, or at least in part, in *Legio II Adiutrix*. The inscriptions cluster around the turn of the second and third centuries AD, or the first half of the third century. With two exceptions their findspots lie within Pannonia: one inscription was discovered in Berytus (cat. 3), another in Thessalonica (cat. 9). The majority of the Pannonian inscriptions (10 + 5) were found in or around Aquincum (Aquincum: cat. 2, 4,

9 CIL III 3320.; AE 1981, 158.; AE 1979, 472.; AE 1972, 382.; AE 1972, 438.; AE 1973, 432.; AE 1971, 339.; AE 1971, 341.; AE 1971, 347.; AE 1969/70, 482.; AE 1976, 553.; AE 1965, 48.; AE 1964, 9.; AE 1962, 114.; CIL III 3642.; AE 1957, 22.; AE 1965, 46.; AE 1965, 119.; AE 1965, 223.; CIL III 3628, 3630, 10572.; AE 1947, 29.; CIL III 13382.; AE 1947, 134.; AE 1933, 31.; AE 1936, 163.; AE 1990, 813.; AE 1923, 14.; AE 1934, 203.; AE 1910, 38.; AE 1910, 144.; CIL III 3627, 10569.; RIU 1307.; CIL III 10365.; CIL III 3680.; CIL III 3376 add. o. 1687.; RIU 1371.; RIU 1464.; CIL III 3349 add. o. 1685.; CIL III 3334, 10316.; CIL III 10315.; RIU 1195.; CIL III 10320.; AE 1976, 554.; CIL III 3308, 10289.; CIL III 3314.; CIL III 3321.; CIL III 3301.; RIU 764.; CIL III, 14354, 1.; RIU 913.; CIL III 5430.; CIL III 5417.; RIU 343.; CIL III 4311.; CIL III 6186.; AE 2003, 1593.; AE 1998, 1435.; TitAq 505.; AE 1993, 1783.; AE 1992, 1459.; AE 2005, 1256.; AE 2005, 1257.; CIL III 13360.; CIL III 3241 add. p. 1040.; CIL III 3283 add. o. 1676.; AE 2010, 1259.; TitAq 523.; TitAq 499.; TitAq 501.; CIL III 14347, 3.; CIL III 10500.; CIL III 10501.; TitAq 530.; TitAq 536.; CIL III 3538, 10385.; CIL III 3534.; CIL III 15159.; CIL III 15160.; CIL III 10505.; CIL III 3533, 13367.; CIL III 3540 add. o. 2183.; CIL III 3541.; CIL III 10507.; CIL III 14349.; TitAq 590.; CIL III 10510.; CIL III 10511.; TitAq 633.; CIL III 3553.; TitAq 643.; TitAq 645.; CIL III 3611.; CIL III 3552, 10512.; CIL III 3558.; CIL III 3559.; CIL III 3560.; CIL III. 3561.; CIL III 10515.; CIL III 3566; 10516.; TitAq 716.; CIL III 15165.; CIL III 14350.; TitAq 723.; CIL III 3567.; TitAq 732.; CIL III. 3571.; CIL III 3572.; CIL III 10524.; CIL III 3556.; TitAq 752. CIL III 3563, 10386.; CIL III 4057.; TitAq 792.; CIL III 3570, 10525.; CIL III 3527.; CIL III 3543 és p. 1691.; CIL III 3393.; CIL III 3398.; CIL III 3399 add. p. 1690.; CIL III 3395, 10378.; CIL III 10317.; AE 2012, 1103.; AE 2009, 1094.; CIL III 3678 add. o. 1715.; CIL III 10224.; CIL III 4472.; CIL III 10270.; CIL III 15161.; CIL III 3544.; CIL III 13373, 2328, 21.; TitAq 1371.; *Excessively fragmentary inscriptions*: CIL III 3532.; TitAq 751.

5, 10, 11, 15, 31, 34, 37, 38; vicinity: cat. 6, 7, 17, 24, 32), while another substantial group originates from Intercisa (cat. 8, 19, 22, 26, 28, 30, 33, 35).¹⁰

III. The Military Families of *Legio II Adiutrix*

III. 1. Origin of the Soldiers

Based on the *origo* data and onomastic analysis, the soldiers' origins appear to have been highly diverse. At the same time, due to the large number of imperial gentilicia (a total of 56 soldiers of *Legio II Adiutrix* bore them) and the widespread use of popular cognomina, it is often impossible to determine a soldier's origin with certainty.¹¹

According to general demographic and recruitment trends, during the second and third centuries the units stationed in the Danubian provinces drew the bulk of their recruits locally, i. e. from within the Danubian region itself.¹² Accordingly, in the second century – and especially in the third – the soldiers of *Legio II Adiutrix* were predominantly provincials or indigenous inhabitants, with Thracians likewise represented to some extent.¹³ Similar patterns can be observed among the officers, above all the centurions. By the third century, however, the geographic origins of the centurions appear increasingly diverse, even as individuals of Eastern provenance must be reckoned with in every period.¹⁴

Even in light of the uncertain data, it seems significant that a substantial group of soldiers in the legion were of Eastern origin,¹⁵ while a similarly large proportion of indigenous recruits can also be identified.

III. 2. Kinship Relations in the Inscriptions

On the inscriptions of *Legio II Adiutrix*, the most frequently attested form of military kinship is the father – son relationship: this appears in twenty cases (cat. 2, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38; uncertain: cat. 8, 36). In addition, on those inscriptions where only two soldiers are mentioned, three clear cases of brotherhood can be identified. M. Iulius Da-

¹⁰ Visy 2016, 14.

¹¹ All questionable origins are marked separately with question marks, in addition to a separate category for completely “unknown”.

¹² See Forni 1953, 215–237. Similarly Mann 1983, 63–68. Drawing partly on Forni, see also Le Bohec 1993, 90–93; Southern 2006, 131–133.

¹³ Forni 1953, 217–218. For the period from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius, see Mócsy 1959, 81–82; from Marcus Aurelius to Diocletian, see Barkóczi 1964, 285–289.

¹⁴ Domaszewski – Dobson 1967, 83–90. Similarly Le Bohec 1993, 82–83.

¹⁵ Barkóczi 1964, 289.

tus and C. Iulius Att(- -) were probably ordinary soldiers of *Legio II Adiutrix* (cat. 1). M. Aurelius Frontinianus and M. Aurelius Fronto jointly dedicated two altars (cat. 20–21), and both likewise served as common soldiers. Finally, Dasius RaT(?)[- -] served as *eques*, while his brother P. Aelius Dasius was already a discharged veteran according to the fragmentary inscription (cat. 5).

There is, however, at least one inscription where the term *frater* does not denote a biological brother (cat. 4). Bence Fehér, following Eduard Vorbeck, argues that – similarly to other examples – in the first century AD comrades often referred to one another as “brother” to express collegial intimacy.¹⁶ This interpretation is supported by the fact that, judging from the filiation, *Pacatus*, son of *Mucar*, and *Bato*, son of *Neritanus*, had different fathers. Their mother could theoretically have been the same, but the sequence of terms is telling: *Bato* first describes the deceased *Pacatus*, who died at age thirty-five, as an exceptionally obedient comrade-in-arms (*commilito obsequentissimus*), and only in the next line does the formula *fratri* appear. The tone of the commemoration is also somewhat detached and matter-of-fact: the inscription was erected in accordance with the deceased’s last will, and the text even specifies the cost of the monument (800 HS).

In nine further cases, the relationship between the persons mentioned on the inscriptions cannot be determined with certainty (cat. 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 18, 31). In one such instance (cat. 3), the text names Cn. Iulius Rufus, a centurion who enjoyed a distinguished career, eventually being promoted to *primus pilus* and receiving prestigious decorations. According to Idris Omar, Rufus had already entered the army as a member of the equestrian order, and therefore began his service directly as a centurion.¹⁷ More relevant in this context, however, is the fact that the dedicator, Iulius Candidus, refers to Rufus both as *patruus* and as *socer*. This would imply that Rufus was simultaneously his paternal uncle and his father-in-law – meaning that Candidus married his own cousin.

Another inscription features two soldiers with very similar names (cat. 6). The deceased, P. Aelius Lucus, originated from Thessalonica. His inscription was erected by a fellow soldier, P. Aelius Lycus, who according to the text dedicated it *amico*. Zsolt Mráv suggests that both were probably of Thracian origin, and that their friendship may have been reinforced by their similar names and common background.¹⁸

In several additional cases it is difficult to decide what kind of kinship (if any) existed between soldiers who bear identical names. On the inscription of Aurelius Barba and Aurelius Probianus (cat. 8), the former appears as *veteranus*, while the latter is described as *miles*. Since no other expression suggests a

¹⁶ Vorbeck 1980, 150, 198, 203.

¹⁷ Speidel 2007, 267–270; Omar 2017, 451–453, Nr. 134.

¹⁸ TitAq 509.

different kind of relationship, the most plausible interpretation is that they were relatives – indeed, Barba may have been Probianus’ father. It is also conceivable, however, that Barba, as an elder brother, had already completed his service and become a veteran while Probianus was still serving as an active soldier.

III. 3. The Question of Inheritance

The problematic kinship structures attested in the inscriptions naturally raise the question of how soldiers without a family of their own disposed of their property – particularly in light of the legal exceptions granted to soldiers. The *testamentum militis* constituted a special juridical privilege, enabling soldiers to make valid wills even in ways that deviated from civilian legal norms.¹⁹

Among the inscriptions of military families of *Legio II Adiutrix*, there are four cases in which information regarding inheritance is explicitly preserved. (1) In the first instance (cat. 1), M. Iulius Datus died at the age of thirty after seven years of service. His estate was inherited by his brother, C. Iulius Att(- - -). (2) The second example is the monument of the aforementioned P. Aelius Lucus and P. Aelius Lycus (cat. 6). Lacking a family of his own, Lucus left his property to Lycus. (3) The third inscription preserves the names of members of two families between whom no blood relationship can be identified, although some form of marital connection is conceivable (cat. 7). In any case, alongside the blood relatives, a fellow soldier also inherited from the deceased veteran. The former had previously served as *tubicen*, the latter as *signifer*. (4) The final case concerns the tombstone of Septimius Dasius, who died at the age of thirty-six after fourteen years of service. Although the dating of the inscription (early third century) indicates that he could already have contracted a lawful marriage during service, the fact that his heirs were his mother, Aelia Sura, and his brother-in-arms, Aurelius Severus, suggests that he did not in fact establish a family.

Taken as a whole, the information relating to inheritance among the soldiers of *Legio II Adiutrix* reveals no exceptional patterns. In accordance with normal military practice, a comrade could inherit in two situations: 1) when the deceased had no descendants; 2) when the heir was still a minor (*fideicommissum*).²⁰ For the latter scenario, however, no evidence is preserved within the examined group.

¹⁹ Willems 2022, 10–14; see also Ruggiero 2024, 243–246.

²⁰ Ruggiero 2024, 246.

III. 4. Marriage with the Female Relatives of Comrades

Once soldiers had lawful offspring, the issue of inheritance was settled. This, however, first required them to marry. Septimius Severus, by law, merely formalised a practice that had already existed in reality: he permitted soldiers to contract legally valid marriages during their term of service and to beget legitimate children.²¹ Prior to this, a soldier could marry only after receiving his *honesta missio*, that is, as a discharged veteran – and thus typically not before his late thirties. Since soldiers were required to spend the majority of their time in or around the legionary base, opportunities for meeting potential partners outside the *canabae* or *vicus* were limited.²² It is therefore natural to ask how frequently soldiers chose their wives from among the female relatives of their comrades.

Within the epigraphic evidence of *Legio II Adiutrix*, there are five inscriptions that support the notion of such “*canabae* endogamy.” Claudius Pertinax served as *strator consularis* in the legion (cat. 27). His inscription presents a large military family. His father-in-law, Aurelius Iulius, had served as *decurio* of *ala I Thracum*. Two of his brothers-in-law rose to prestigious posts in Rome: Caesianus became a veteran of *cohors X praetoria*, while Caesius, having prolonged his service, served as *evocatus exercitator equitum* in the praetorian cavalry. A third brother-in-law died after three years of service as a common soldier of *Legio II Adiutrix*. Claudius Pertinax married one of Iulius’ daughters (her name is too fragmentary), who was still alive when the stone was erected.

The inscription of Iulius Martialis (cat. 36) is fragmentary, yet nonetheless preserves considerable information. Martialis, a soldier of *Legio II Adiutrix* (his rank is unknown), dedicated the inscription primarily to his wife, who had died relatively young. If Sándor Soproni’s restoration is correct, the text even reveals that Martialis and his beloved Cocceia Quarta had been married for three years and four months.²³ Besides her, the inscription also commemorates Martialis’ father-in-law, who served as *beneficiarius consularis*, his mother-in-law Grata, and possibly Martialis’ own brother, Hon[oratus?].

The third inscription was erected by Iulia Valeria and Valentina for their father, C. Iulius Valerius, a veteran, who had served as *immunis*; for their mother, Aelia Ingenua; for Valerius’ grandson of the same name, who served as *speculator*; and for Flav(ius?) Antiochianus, *beneficiarius consularis* (cat. 38.). The marital connection is demonstrated by the interpretative term *genero* accompanying the latter’s name.

21 For Septimius Severus’ marriage legislation and soldiers’ marriage practices, see Campbell 1978; Scheidel 2007, 417–419; Eck 2011.

22 See Friedl 1996, 252–254; Phang 2001, 224.

23 RIU 764.

The fourth inscription's dedicator is unknown. Viewed from the perspective of the soldier who married into the family, the monument commemorates Caesernius Marcellus, the father; Caesernius Marcellinus, the brother-in-law; Caesernia Marcellina, the wife; Severinus, the child born to the couple; and finally Domitius Domitianus, the deceased husband and soldier. Both Domitianus and Marcellinus served as common soldiers in *Legio II Adiutrix*.

The fifth inscription was erected by Caesernia Firmilla, the mother, for herself alive, for her husband Marcius Lucidianus, and for her two sons, Lucidus and Firmianus, the latter of whom died as a soldier at age 27. Also mentioned is Ulpus SI(?) A(?) Lucius, a *candidatus* of *Legio II Adiutrix*. His marriage into the family is suggested by the fact that, in the final line, the grandchildren Proclina and Iulianus are listed with different *gentilicia* (Ulpia and Marcius). From this it follows that Ulpus SI(?) A(?) Lucius married Firmilla's unnamed daughter, and their daughter was the Proclina mentioned on the stone; Marcius Iulianus, meanwhile, was likely the son of either Lucidus or Firmianus.

One further inscription (cat. 32) is uncertain. Here we meet the Aurelius and Septimius families. The link between the two is Septimia Quieta, who had previously been married to the head of the Aurelius household. After being widowed, she married Septimius Ianuarius. Quieta had sons from both marriages, and these served in *Legio II Adiutrix*. Although unproven, it is conceivable that both husbands had themselves been soldiers, thereby predetermining the careers of their sons.

Overall, these examples suggest that the option of choosing wives from among the female relatives of fellow soldiers not only simplified the process of partner selection but may also have facilitated the continuation of military traditions within families in which both paternal and maternal lines were connected to military service. Unfortunately, no data survive that would allow us to determine how the endogamous marriage patterns of the soldiers of *Legio II Adiutrix* correspond numerically to broader, empire-wide trends.

III. 5. Mortality – The Risks of the Profession

III. 5. 1. Years of Service and Age at Death

The phenomenon of multi-generational military service implies that the military career must have held considerable appeal. At the same time, a soldier – whatever the period – was necessarily confronted with the constant possibility of death. It is therefore reasonable to ask how dangerous service in *Legio II Adiutrix* appears on the basis of the epigraphic evidence.²⁴

²⁴ Walter Scheidel estimated that the life expectancy of soldiers serving in the Danubian provinces during peacetime may have roughly equalled that of the civilian population (given con-

Before presenting the numerical data, it must be stressed that the material under examination is not representative. The survival of information on stone is entirely accidental: in some cases only the fact of death is recorded, without age or circumstances; in others, soldiers who fell during a campaign may have remained unburied in the absence of relatives able to erect a cenotaph. Accordingly, the following data permit no far-reaching conclusions; they merely reflect what is preserved in the selected inscriptions of *Legio II Adiutrix*.

Of the 71 soldiers whose inscriptions are analysed, the length of service is known in 16 cases (three of which are fragmentary).²⁵ The age at death is recorded in 24 cases (in two inscriptions even down to the number of days: cat. 9 and 14). Finally, in eleven instances both pieces of information are preserved. On this basis, the average term of service was 10.5 years, while the average age at death was 36 years.

The absence of service years on many inscriptions is not necessarily meaningful: veterans were *ipso facto* understood to have completed the twenty years required for *honesta missio*, and thus there was no need to spell this out. Only twenty veterans appear in the catalogue; consequently, fifty-one men either did not survive their military service, or their monuments were erected during their lifetimes. In the latter case, some may have attained veteran status at a later date.

III. 5. 2. Death in Battle

Both the averages above and the low proportion of veterans suggest that a military career entailed serious hazards. A qualitative examination of the explicit references to violent death does nothing to contradict this. A total of four inscriptions state unequivocally that the soldier(s) fell in battle.

Aelius Flavianus and Aelius Iustianus (cat. 18) were both killed in a Parthian war:²⁶ the former after nine years of service at age thirty, the latter after six years of service at age twenty-six. As Barnabás Lőrincz dates the inscription to shortly after AD 202, it almost certainly refers to the Parthian campaign of Septimius Severus rather than to the earlier war under Lucius Verus.

temporary health conditions). Starting from the number of discharged soldiers, he concluded that imperial legions lost roughly one and a half times as many men over a 25-year period as mortality models would predict. This discrepancy, he argues, may be explained by cases of *missio ignominiosa*, medical discharges (*missio causaria*), desertion, and transfers to elite units. Taking all this into account, soldiers' expected mortality did not differ substantially from that of civilians: Scheidel 2007, 425–427; see also Southern 2006, 162–166.

²⁵ In these cases, the following method was used: from the inscription of Dasius RaT(?)[- -] (cat. 5) we learn that he served X[- -] years. As the restoration indicates loss of Roman numerals, I calculated using the average between the minimum and maximum possible values.

²⁶ [...] *qui de/ciderunt in exped(itione) / [Pa]rt(h)[i]ca [...]*

Aurelius Constitutus (cat. 19) died at age twenty-three after four years of service in a Germanic war.²⁷ If Lőrincz's dating around AD 213 is correct, the conflict in question was likely Caracalla's campaign against the Alemanni.²⁸

Aurelius Ausianus, a *strator consularis* of the legion, died or disappeared in a Dacian war at age forty (after perhaps twenty-two years of service: cat. 28).²⁹ The broad dating of the inscription makes the specific war uncertain, though Zsolt Visy identifies it with the campaign against the Carpi in AD 247–248.³⁰

The most detailed account appears on cat. 35. P. Aelius Proculus, the son of a Syrian centurion of *Cohors I Hemesenorum*, likewise pursued a military career. After being promoted to centurion in the same cohort, he was transferred to *Legio II Adiutrix*, where he served as *exercitator equitum*. He later moved to Rome and served as centurion in a *cohors urbana* and subsequently in *Cohors VII Praetoria*. As a member of the latter unit he participated in Philippus Arabs' war against the Carpi.³¹ During an assault on the Carpi camp, he went missing in action, or – more likely – was killed at age twenty-six.

According to Scheidel, an average of two major wars fell to the lot of every soldier in the imperial period, and if the probability of violent death had been as high as ten percent, a 300,000-strong army should have produced some 2,400 battlefield casualties – an estimate he considers excessive. He further emphasises that casualties were unevenly distributed both across units and across wartime and peacetime periods.³²

Within the inscriptions of *Legio II Adiutrix*, there are four additional cases that explicitly imply violent death,³³ and three more in which the formula *defunctus est* occurs, though this need not refer exclusively to death in battle.³⁴

27 [Aur(elio)] Constituto / [mil(iti) l]eg(ionis) II adi(utricis) p(iae) f(idelis) vix(it) / [ann(os) XX]III stip(endiorum) IIII fili[fo]ce]cidit in bello / [Ger]manico

28 See TitAq 2112.

29 [Aure]l(l)io Ausiano str[atore] / leg(ati) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) [vixit] / ann(os) XL stip(endiorum) XX[II(?)] qui / est desiderat[us bello] / Dac(i)co. Although the formula *in bello desideratus est* was previously generally interpreted as referring to disappearance in war, according to Novotnik it is more likely that it was applied to soldiers who fell in battle; cf. Novotnik 2021, 182–184.

30 See TitAq 2114.

31 The inscription refers to it as *bello Dacico*.

32 Scheidel 2007, 428.

33 Canius Otiorix died in Parthia either during Lucius Verus' or Septimius Severus' Parthian campaign: CIL III 3628 + CIL III 3630 = CIL III 10572 = RIU 994 = TitAq 1668. *Iulius Tatulonium* died or disappeared during one of Severus' expeditions: CIL III 3553 = TitAq 641. A certain [- - - Satur?]n(?)in(us) died or disappeared after 16 years of service during a Dacian expedition: CIL III 3336 = TitAq 1948. M(arcus) Dom(itius) Super died in a German war at the age of 32 years and 6 months: TitAq 2173.

34 A fragmentary inscription mentions *Heraclides*, who may have died at Aquincum: TitAq 633. T. Plotius Pamphilus died at Alexandria; his monument dates c. AD 117: TitAq 682. Based on the dating he may have perished during the Kitos War. *Legio II Adiutrix* was only returned to

Unfortunately, as the full mortality data of the legion for any given chronological cross-section are not available, the present material is insufficient to test Scheidel's conclusions. In total, six – at most eight – inscriptions refer to violent death, and the legion's epigraphic material contains approximately 409 funerary inscriptions,³⁵ meaning that roughly two in a hundred soldiers commemorated on stone died violently. This figure appears low in comparison to Scheidel's model.

We do, however, possess the demographic studies conducted by János Szilágyi for Pannonia.³⁶ Though his results also require cautious interpretation, they reveal a striking pattern: in Aquincum, male mortality peaks between ages 28 and 32.³⁷ At Carnuntum, the other legionary base, the curve likewise culminates in this four-year span, though the proportion is higher (Aquincum: 15% of all inscriptions; Carnuntum: 18%). Comparable data of Rome show that 20% of soldiers died between ages 28 and 32, but that curve is more evenly distributed.

Szilágyi also examined occupations with elevated risk levels.³⁸ When comparing data of Rome and Pannonia, he lists the following figures: the inscriptions of Rome record 774 male ages at death, while Pannonian inscriptions 422. In certain age brackets associated with military service – 18, 25, 31, 39, 40, 42, 43, and 45 – the Pannonian figures exceed the ones from Rome. In other age bands the Pannonian data amount to only one-quarter or one-third of the levels of Rome. It would be premature to conclude from this that life in Aquincum was not particularly dangerous, for the fewer inscriptions survive, the less uniform the age distribution can be.

Restricting the sample solely to Aquincum reduces the available evidence even further: from the first to the fourth century, only 108 male ages at death are known.³⁹ The Aquincum material – although in many age categories no inscriptions survive at all – shows disproportionately high representation in the ages 18, 19, 23, 26, 32, 37, 38, and 39, compared to Pannonia as a whole.

Therefore, beyond quantitative patterns, a qualitative reading of the evidence supports the assertion that during periods of war the soldiers of *Legio II Adiutrix* were in fact exposed to considerable danger. The cases of Aelius Flavianus, Aelius Iustianus, and P. Aelius Proculus strongly reinforce this view. Finally, Scheidel's observation that in the Danubian provinces widows erected their husbands' tombstones in roughly 33% of cases in the second century, ris-

Aquincum in AD 118: Lőrincz 2000, 164. Lastly, a certain Valen[t-] died at the age of 30: AE 1934, 203.

³⁵ See EDH, Ubi Erat Lupa, Trismegistos, EDCS, EDR, RIB etc. („LEG + II AD”; „leg + secundae ad” search strings).

³⁶ Szilágyi 1959, 31–80.

³⁷ Szilágyi 1959, 57.

³⁸ Szilágyi 1959, 53.

³⁹ Szilágyi 1959, 35.

ing to c. 50% in the third century, may further underscore the heavy toll taken on soldiers' lives.⁴⁰

III. 6. Multi-Generational Military Families

Although numerous studies confirm the dangers inherent in the military profession – especially in the period accessible through our sources – the inscriptions of *Legio II Adiutrix* nonetheless show that in several families the tradition of military service was transmitted across two or even three generations,⁴¹ even if such a choice was not entirely voluntary.⁴²

III. 6. 1. Two-Generation Military Families

In fifteen cases, we can clearly identify two generations of soldiers, with an additional three uncertain examples. The inscription of C. Iulius Cai(?) filius Ommeniaeus and his wife Flavia Gemella was erected by their freedman, Iulius Ampliatus, and by a soldier named Iulius Maximus (cat. 2). The relationship between Maximus and Ommeniaeus is not specified. They were likely related, though the dating of the inscription is too imprecise to determine this. Since the stone can only be dated broadly to the second or third century, the individuals may have lived either before or after Septimius Severus' marriage reforms. Prior to these, Maximus could only have been Ommeniaeus' brother, for as an illegitimate child born during military service he would not have held Roman citizenship and therefore would have been barred from entering a legion. Moreover, while Ommeniaeus served in *Legio I Adiutrix* at Brigetio (modern Ószöny, near Komarno), Maximus belonged to *Legio II Adiutrix* in Aquincum (modern Budapest, District III). The most plausible explanation is that Maximus was a collateral relative, which may also explain why he sought his fortune in another city and another unit. It is likewise difficult to understand why a filial relationship would not have been explicitly stated had that been the case.

A similar problem arises in the inscription of Aurelius Barba and Aurelius Probianus (cat. 8).⁴³ The inscription of Iulius Martialis (cat. 36), already discussed in the context of marriage alliances,⁴⁴ does not in the strict sense present

40 Scheidel 2007, 420–421.

41 According to László Barkóczi, this was particularly characteristic of special units in Pannonia ("Syrian archers, Thracian cavalrymen etc."): Barkóczi 1964, 289.

42 The authorities encouraged this by granting frontier land only on the condition that the sons would also enlist, see Mann 1983, 67–68. Such land was often confiscated for veterans in case no vacant land was available, cf. Takács 2018, 95–107.

43 See Chapter III. 4. Marriage with the Female Relatives of Comrades.

44 See Chapter III. 2. Kinship Relations in the Inscriptions.

a two-generation military family. However, Martialis' brother Hon(oratus?) was also a soldier, and his father-in-law served as *beneficiarius consularis*.

III. 6. 2. Three-Generation Military Families

Two inscriptions preserve the memory of families in which military service was transmitted through three generations. In three further cases, although only two generations are linked by direct descent, additional family members – either by marriage or collaterally – also served in the army.⁴⁵

M. Aurelius Deisan(?) of Hemesa erected his monument during his lifetime as a veteran, identifying himself as a former *stator tribunii* of *Cohors I Hemesenorum* (cat. 22). The stone also commemorates his two living sons, Monimus and Regilianus, respectively *strator* and *librarius legati* in *Legio II Adiutrix*; his grandson Abigeneus, who died at age seventeen; and his still-living grandson Priscianus, likewise a soldier of the same legion.

Another inscription honours a different M. Aurelius Monimus from *Legio II Adiutrix* (cat. 30).⁴⁶ It is tempting to regard this family as that of Deisan(?)'s son, since the two inscriptions are separated by roughly two decades and both refer to origins in Hemesa. However, this Monimus identifies his father as Sabinus, already discussed in the introduction as a veteran of an unknown unit. Monimus himself became a veteran after serving in *Legio II Adiutrix*, and his son Alexander served – when the inscription was erected – as *librarius officialis praesidis* (probably) in the same unit.

Another M. Aurelius Alexander appears in the catalogue (cat. 26). If we accept Zsolt Visy's dating (AD 225–250),⁴⁷ the seventy-year-old veteran cannot be identical with the *librarius* mentioned on the previous stone, who was still active in the 230s–240s. Moreover, Alexander was a common name.⁴⁸ The interesting feature of this inscription is that the veteran's son Valerianus, al-

⁴⁵ One inscription raises several interpretative issues (cat. 33). M. Aurelius Malchianus appears only with his son as soldier, but B. Vágó associated this with another inscription mentioning a M. Aurelius Malchianus (F. Fülepi: Intercisa I. 280, Nr. 17). This man was *strator consularis* of *Legio II Adiutrix*, and Fülepi read the name *Mocur* as his father's, identifying him as a soldier of *Cohors Miliaria Hemesenorum*. The wife of Malchianus' son (*Marcellus*) bore the same name – *Valeria Pulchra* – as Mocur's, which Vágó saw as further evidence that the two Malchiani were identical or part of the same family. In either case, at least three military generations would be involved. B. Lőrincz, however, read *sum]/mo cur(atori)* instead (Lőrincz 2001 257, Nr. 334), a view also adopted by Visy (TitAq 2121). In that case the inscription names not the father but the office of Malchianus, and no three-generation reconstruction is possible. Although Lőrincz proposed a three-generation family tree, the elder Malchianus was not a soldier.

⁴⁶ See Chapter I. Introduction.

⁴⁷ TitAq 2104.

⁴⁸ OPEL 1 74. 'ALEXANDER'

though a Roman citizen, died at age twenty-five as a soldier of *Cohors Miliaria Hemesenorum*. According to Visy, his early death prevented his transfer to *Legio II Adiutrix*. The monument was erected not by a third generation but by a collateral relative, M. Aurelius Aurelianus, a *strator consularis* of the legion.⁴⁹

Aurelius Iulius, *decurio* of *Ala I Thracum*, is commemorated on another inscription (cat. 27). The monument – fragmentary regarding the wife’s name – was set up for him, for his daughter Maximiana, who died at age twenty-seven, and for his soldier sons by Claudius Pertinax, a *strator consularis*, who likely served in *Legio II Adiutrix* and presumably married into the family. Of the sons, Caesianus served in *Cohors X Praetoria* and is mentioned as a veteran; Caesius extended his service and acted as *evocatus exercitator equitum* in the praetorian cavalry; and Crescentinus died after three years of service in *Legio II Adiutrix*.

C. Iulius Valerius became a veteran of *Legio II Adiutrix* after being promoted to *immunis* during his service (cat. 38). According to his inscription he lived forty years. The monument was erected for him, his grandson of the same name who served as *speculator*, and Flav(ius?) Antiochianus, a *beneficiarius consularis* identified as his *gener*. Although their units are not specified, these two soldiers most probably also belonged to *Legio II Adiutrix*.

Among these five families, three show clear Eastern – and specifically Syrian, Hemesene – origins. Even though the precise ethnic background of these families cannot be determined with certainty, one may safely infer that for men from Hemesa, migration to Pannonia followed by enlistment in the Roman army constituted a familiar and well-established career path. But what advantages made such a long journey – of several thousand Roman miles – worthwhile?

III. 6. 3. Advantages of Military Service

The inscriptions of *Legio II Adiutrix* not only shed light on the structure of multi-generational families and provide information about service years, ages at death, career trajectories, and circumstances of death, but also preserve valuable evidence on the socio-economic benefits associated with a military career.

The inscription of Aurelius Respectus (cat. 32) reveals not only the interconnections between two large families but also important details about military privilege. The text explicitly states that the soldier received an *honesta missio*, that is, an honourable discharge upon completion of his service.⁵⁰ While this was true of all veterans, the fact that Respectus emphasised this in his inscrip-

⁴⁹ I. e. the inscription was dedicated *cognatis*.

⁵⁰ Comparable examples: a discharge diploma for soldiers of *Legio II Adiutrix* dated 8 June or 10 July AD 156: TitAq 377. From other units: ILS 2313, 2463 and 2472. See Wolff 1986, 48–55; also Southern 2006, 164; and Speidel 2009, 317–346.

tion suggests that honourable discharge functioned as a significant form of social capital. This is hardly surprising, since the land grant (or its monetary equivalent) accompanying discharge ensured substantial economic security.⁵¹

High distinction in the army also conferred considerable prestige. Cn. Iulius Rufus achieved the most brilliant career available to the professional centurionate (cat. 3). After serving in *Legio II Adiutrix*, he held successive centurionates in *Legio V Macedonica*, *XIII Gemina*, *XI Claudia pia fidelis*, and *VI Ferrata*. He was then promoted to *primus pilus* of *Legio I Italica*. He earned *torques*, *armillae*, *phalerae*, and the *corona vallaris* for his achievements in Germanic and Sarmatian campaigns, probably under Domitian, whose name is significantly absent – likely erased – from the inscription. He received the same decorations again from Trajan for his merits in the Dacian War and was awarded the *albata decursio*. His exceptional career constituted such social capital that a relative, Candidus, a centurion of *Legio V Macedonica*, arranged the erection of his monument.⁵²

Another example is somewhat exceptional, as only one soldier appears on the inscription (cat. 9). P. Aelius Romanus was a centurion of *Legio II Adiutrix*. According to Silvio Panciera, his family's pro-Roman loyalty won the favour of the governor, resulting in the grant of citizenship. Romanus may have entered the army as a consequence of this benefaction; although he accumulated considerable wealth, he did not become *primus pilus*. His son Marcus, who died very young at age sixteen years and fourteen days, already belonged to the equestrian order. Romanus likely requested – perhaps as compensation – that his son be admitted to the order, and the petition was granted. As an equestrian Marcus would have been required to perform the *tres militiae*, which justifies the inclusion of this inscription in the present study.

We also know of a case where service in *Legio II Adiutrix* provided a platform for promotion to the centurionate (cat. 11). M. Aurelius Clemens entered the army through this legion and was later transferred to *Legio VI Ferrata*, where he served as centurion. Given the legion's repeated involvement in major wars and its position along one of the most dangerous frontiers of the empire, *Legio II Adiutrix* likely offered ample opportunity to display military virtue.⁵³

Beyond this, soldiers enjoyed exemption from certain taxes and *munera*, and several forms of punishment did not apply to them.⁵⁴ They could also hope to

51 It is likely that in the third century this benefit was issued increasingly in monetary form (*missio nummaria*): Mann 1983, 65. Barkóczy places the shift from *missio agraria* to *missio nummaria* already under Hadrian. He emphasises that the sum was insufficient for lifetime subsistence but significant enough to launch a business: Barkóczy 1964, 290.

52 Panciera 2003, 231–242. See also Matei-Popescu 2010, 99.

53 Gündel 1895, Ritterling 1925, Lőrincz 2000.

54 Campbell 1994, 193–210.; see also Wolff 1986, 45–115.

receive an *honesta missio* even in cases of discharge for health reasons.⁵⁵ Furthermore, whether illicitly before Severus or legally thereafter, soldiers who founded families were free to choose whether to settle in the countryside, the city, or the vicinity of the *canabae*.⁵⁶ They could also choose their post-service occupation. While agricultural labour was the conventional path,⁵⁷ not all possessed the aptitude for it;⁵⁸ although not attested in the inscriptions of *Legio II Adiutrix*, other veterans elsewhere are known to have become merchants or craftsmen.⁵⁹

III. 6. 4. Military Families of Eastern Origin

A significant proportion of the military-family inscriptions of *Legio II Adiutrix* derive from families of Eastern origin – a noteworthy fact, given that in the second and third centuries the legion was predominantly staffed by soldiers of Pannonian, Illyrian, and Thracian background.⁶⁰ Despite this, among the thirty-eight inscriptions examined, ten indicate Eastern origin.⁶¹ Eight families explicitly provide Hemesene Syrian origins, either through *origo* statements or through unit affiliation (cat. 3, 14, 22, 26, 28, 30, 33, 35). In two further cases Syrian origin is likely (cat. 8, 19).

One inscription dates from Trajan's Parthian campaign or shortly thereafter (cat. 3); the others belong to the late second or third century. Across these ten inscriptions, twenty-four soldiers can be identified, including four who served in *Cohors I Hemesenorum*, and three who list Hemesa as their *origo*.

Of the five three-generation families described above, three display clear Eastern – presumably Syrian – origins. Moreover, both Cn. Iulius Rufus, whose career was discussed earlier,⁶² and P. Aelius Proculus, whose death in the war against the Carpi was mentioned above,⁶³ likewise hailed from Syrian territory.

⁵⁵ Southern 2006, 164.

⁵⁶ According to András Mócsy, the settlement of soldiers along the Danube – in Aquincum and Mursa – began during the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian: Mócsy 1959, 89–92.

⁵⁷ Campbell 1994, 224, Nr. 365. (=P. Fayum 91=SP 17.)

⁵⁸ Some veterans even boasted of their drunkenness: Campbell 1994, Nr. 363 (=CIL III 6825 = ILS 2238).

⁵⁹ Campbell 1994, Nr. 364 (=CIL XIII 1906 = ILS 7531). See also Southern 2006, 166.

⁶⁰ Forni 1953, 217–218. See also Mann 1983, 63–68.

⁶¹ Cat. 19: Zsolt Visy considered it possible that Aurelius [Pa?]catus was of Syrian origin: TitAq 2112.

⁶² See Chapter III. 6. 3. Advantages of Military Service.

⁶³ See Chapter III. 5. 2. Death in Battle.

IV. Relatives of Soldiers as Municipal Office-Holders

The inscriptions of *Legio II Adiutrix* have demonstrated through numerous examples that the intergenerational transmission of the military profession conferred a range of social advantages that could justify accepting the risks inherent in military service: stable livelihood, distinguished public reputation, and opportunities for social advancement. In some cases, however, the inscriptions also reveal that the relatives of soldiers – particularly their descendants – appear as civil office-holders. This may sometimes be linked to the fact that certain veterans themselves became members of civic bodies.⁶⁴

In total, six inscriptions attest a soldier of *Legio II Adiutrix* alongside a descendant who held a municipal office (although one inscription is heavily fragmentary).⁶⁵ These monuments date to the late second or third century, with five originating from Aquincum and one from the vicinity of Flavia Solva. In three cases a father-son relationship is certain; in two cases it is probable; in the sixth, the office-holder is a freedwoman.

ID	Name	Office	Name of the Soldier Relative	Rank	Veteran status
39.	C. Firminius Castrius	aedilis Solvae	C. Firminius Primus (father?)	veteranus	yes
40.	Claudia Irene	collegium Cereris	Ti. Claudius Dasius (patronus)	veteranus	yes
41.	M. Aurelius [- -]	Augustalis	Aurelius Papia (father?)	veteranus	yes
42.	M. Ulpius M. f. V[- -]	+nilis Poetovione	M. Ulpius [- -]terus (father)	duplarius	no
43.	M. Ulpius Victorinus	quaestor coloniae Aquincensis	M. Ulpius Victor (father)	veteranus	yes
44.	P. Aelius Provincialis	sevir coloniae Aquincensis	P. Aelius Provincialis (father)	veteranus	yes

⁶⁴ After discharge, Q. Annaeus Balbus served as *duumvir* of Thuburnica in North Africa: Campbell 1994, 226, Nr. 369 (=CIL 8. 14697 = ILS 2249). See also Southern 2006, 166. L. Antistius Campanus, after a dangerous military career, received decorations from the community, which may suggest involvement in the city council: Campbell 1994, 225, Nr. 366 (CIL 10. 3903 = EJ 329); see also Southern 2006, 166.

⁶⁵ Furthermore, administrative terminology could not have been clear to everyone even at that time, see Illés 2016, 53–61.

C. Firminius Castricius (cat. 39.) bore a “speaking name” (*nomen loquens*), indicating that he was born in the *canabae* (i. e. *castris*) as the son of a soldier. Primus, although not explicitly named as father, was almost certainly his parent. Castricius identifies himself on the inscription as *aedilis* of Flavia Solva.

Claudia Irene (cat. 40.), whose Greek-sounding name might already suggest freed status, is explicitly designated *liberta* in the inscription. She erected the monument in the name of the collegium of Ceres for her deceased *patronus*. It thus appears that she seized the one socially upward path generally available to freedwomen: entry into a priestly collegium. Adrien C. Linden-High has argued that the early manumission of slaves could serve the economic interests of soldiers: a freedman or freedwoman could learn a trade, hold a priesthood, and thereby prove either financially advantageous or capable of enhancing the soldier’s social capital by integrating him into the religious and cultural life of the town. At the same time, Linden-High notes that many manumissions occurred at the death of the patron (*testamentary manumission*).⁶⁶ In Irene’s case this is unlikely, for she dedicated the inscription – evidently without delay – already in the name of the collegium of Ceres.

M. Aurelius [- -] served as Augustalis of Aquincum after the settlement had been elevated to colonial rank (cat. 41.). His freedmen and heirs, Augendus and Amandus, arranged for the erection of the monument, which honoured another Augustalis, Decimus Dionisius, as well as a veteran named Aurelius Papias. Although no explicit familial link is stated between the veteran and the Augustalis, the shared tomb and shared *gentilicium* make a kinship connection highly probable. Papias may have been the Augustalis’ father, whose son chose not to pursue a military career but a safer civil one; other kinds of familial relationships are possible.

Another, highly fragmentary inscription (cat. 42.) mentions an official from Poetovio, M. Ulpus M. f. V[- -] (“+nilis Poetovione”), whose father M. Ulpus [- -]terus had served as duplarius in *Legio II Adiutrix*.

M. Ulpus Victorinus served as quaestor of the colony of Aquincum (cat. 43.). His father, M. Ulpus Victor, was a veteran of *Legio II Adiutrix*.

Finally, P. Aelius Provincialis held office as sevir of the colony of Aquincum (cat. 44.). His father, also named P. Aelius Provincialis, had likewise been honourably discharged from *Legio II Adiutrix*.

A survey of these careers highlights one striking fact: in five out of the six cases, a veteran appears on the inscription as the relative of the municipal office-holder. In three cases the office-holder was certainly the soldier’s son; in two the relationship is plausible; and in one instance the period of military service clearly preceded the civic career, though not in a direct father – son line. Thus it appears that the elevated socio-economic status of veterans enabled

⁶⁶ Linden-High 2020, 102–112.

their descendants – making use of the social capital accumulated by their fathers or forebears – to attain positions in the municipal administration.

V. Conclusion

This study analyses 38 inscriptions relating to *Legio II Adiutrix* in order to explore patterns of multi-generational military service and the forms of social capital attached to them. The inscriptions attest father-son pairs as the most common kinship configuration, but also reveal several three-generation military lineages, frequently involving families of Eastern – especially Hemesene Syrian – origin. Marriage within the military community, often with the female relatives of comrades, appears to have strengthened internal networks and facilitated the transmission of military careers.

The evidence further highlights the advantages associated with military service: honourable discharge, economic security, and opportunities for advancement, as well as the prestige attached to distinguished careers such as that of the centurion Cn. Iulius Rufus. Mortality data, though limited, indicate significant risks, with several soldiers dying in battle during major campaigns. Even so, the persistence of multi-generational service suggests that these benefits outweighed the dangers for many families. Finally, some inscriptions show that veterans' social standing enabled their descendants to enter municipal office, demonstrating how military service could serve as a pathway to civic prominence in Pannonian society.

VI. Appendix

VI. 1. Catalogue of the Inscriptions of Military Families

1. Stele

Epitaph. Find spot: Petronell-Carnuntum, ancient Carnuntum. Lost.

CIL III 4472. – Vorbeck, E.: *Militärinschriften aus Carnuntum*. Vienna, 1980, 17, Nr. 8. – Lupa1859 – HD073879 (last updated: 11.05.2017.: Osnabrügge)

*M(arcus) Iul(ius) Datus / mil(es) leg(ionis) II ad(iutricis) st(ipendiorum) / VII an(norum)
XXX C(aio) Iul(io) / Att(- - -) fra(tri) pien(tissimo) / leg(ionis) eiusdem / here(s)(?) /
f(aciendum) cur(avit)*

The name *Datus* is very rare in Europe (cf. OPEL 2, 94; Barkóczi 1964, 310). As a cognomen it appears rather African (cf. Mócsy 1959, 171; CIL III 3680 = RIU 1342 = TitAq 1746). The soldier on the inscription also bears *Datus* and is a native of Sufetula (Africa).

Date: 1st – 2nd century AD (Although Eduard Vorbeck dated the inscription to the 2nd century, the absence of the DM invocation, the deceased's name appearing in the nominative case, and the use of the *stipendiorum ... annorum* formula suggest it may have been erected in the 1st century.)

2. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 110 cm, W: 93,5 cm, D: 19–20 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum, Kiscell. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: R.D.170.

Rómer, F.: *Arch. Köz.*, 6, 1866, 99, Nr. 797. (Drawing) – CIL III 3552. – Rómer, F. – Desjardins, E.: *Inscriptiones*, 93, Nr. 170. – EE II 373, Nr. 658. – CIL III 10512. – TitAq 667¹. (Photo) – Lupa3021 – HD068636 (last updated: 24.02.2016.: Feraudi)

*C(aio) Iul[io C(ai)? f(ilio)?] Ommen/tiaeo mil(iti) leg(ionis) / I ad(iutricis) stip(endio-
rum) XXII / et Fla(viae) Gemell(a)e / coniugi eius Iul(ius) / Ampliatu lib(ertus) pa(tronis
bene me/rentibus et Iul(ius) / Maximus mil(es) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis)*

Fehér considers the cognomen highly uncertain; only the stem OMMEN is secure. His *civitas Romana* derives from some *Iulius* (cf. Salomies 1987, 155, 186–187; *C. Iulii*; OPEL 2, 201). Despite their relatively frequent occurrence in Pannonia, bearers are immigrants or their descendants (cf. Solin – Salomies 1988, 98; Barkóczi 1964, 298; Alföldy 1969, 31–36). Fehér suggests the cognomen may be a derivative of the “barbarian” (perhaps Venetic) *Ommontus* (cf. OPEL 3, 112).

Ampliatu is taken by Fehér to be Italic.

Date: 2nd – 3rd century (Bence Fehér suggests rather the 2nd century, based on the names and the form of the letters. Due to the absence of the D. M. formula, it is also possible that it was erected before Marcus Aurelius.)

3. Statue base

Limestone. Honorific inscription. H: 148 cm, W: 68 cm. D: 50 cm. Find spot: Beyrouth (Libanon), ancient Berytus (Syria), Wegand street, between Al-Omar mosque and the *insula*.

Ghadban, Ch.: *Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises* 2, 1997, 206–235. – AE 1998, 1435. – Richier, O.: *Centuriones ad Rhenum*. Paris, 2004, 289–291, Nr. 231. – *Cronica epigrafica a României* 19/20, 878. – AE 2004, 1578. – Speidel, M.-A.: ZPE 162, 2007, 267–270. – Omar, I.: *Les légions romaines de la province de Syrie sous le Haut-Empire d'après les inscriptions latines et grecques*. Paris, 2017, 451–453, Nr. 134. – HD049184 (last updated: 15.04.2010. Platz)

*Cn(aeo) Iulio L(uci) f(ilio) / [Fa]b(ia) Rufo |(centurioni) leg(ionis) II adiut(ricis) |(centu-
rioni) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) / [|(centurioni) l]eg(ionis) XIII gem(inae) |(centurioni)
leg(ionis) XI Cl(audia) p(iae) f(idelis) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VI / [Fer]r(ata) p(rimo)
p(ilo) leg(ionis) I Italic(ae) donis donato / [ab I]mp(eratore) bello Germanico et Sarma-
[t]ico torquibus armillis phaleris / [c]orona vallari item donato ab Imp(eratore) /
[Ca]esare Traiano Aug(usto) Dacico Parthico / [bel]lo Parthi(co) torquibus armillis
phal[er]is corona vallari et albata dec[u]r/sione / [- I]ulius Candidus |(centurio) leg(io-
nis) V M[ac(edonicae)] pio patruo [et soc]ero*

Natives of Berytus (cf. Omar 2017, 451–452). *Colonia Iulia Felix Berytus* was an Augustan colony (cf. Vittinghoff: *Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus*, Wiesbaden, 1952, 150), founded by the *deductio* of veterans of legions *V Macedonica* and *VIII Augusta* (cf. Kornemann, RE IV 552, no. 115). For the history of the *V Macedonica* legion see Matei-Popescu 2010, 35–76.

Date: 113 – 117 AD (by Idris Omar)

4. Stele (?)

Stone. Epitaph. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum. Perished.

Katancsich, M. P.: *Geographia* I. 406, Nr. 248. – CIL III 3558. – TitAq 678. (Drawing) – Lupa2738 – HD068649 (last updated: 01.03.2016.: Feraudi)

*D(is) M(anibus) / Pacato Mucaris / mil(iti) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) / stup(endiorum)(!) X
vixit annis / XXXV / Bato Neritani co/m(m)ilitoni obse/quentissimo et fra(tri ex testamen/
to fieri curavit / ex HS n(ummum) DCCC*

Fehér argues they were more likely recruited (and perhaps originated) in Moesia than in Pannonia. He denies blood relationship; in the 1st c. the term *frater* on inscriptions often denotes a comrade-in-arms (see Vorbeck 1980, 150, 198, 203).

Date: ca. 89 – 103 AD (Bence Fehér suggests that these soldiers could have been enlisted around AD 86 in Moesia, and that Pacatus died before *Legio II Adiutrix* left its camp in AD 102/103. The name *Pacatus* is well-attested in Pannonia, and by the early 2nd century, it was already borne by the local population.)

5. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 60 cm, W: 84 cm, D: 15 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum, Meggyfa street 19–21., Hercules villa. Present location: Aquincum Museum. Inv. n.: 85.9.12

Wellner, I.: *Bud. Rég.* 20, 1963, 542. – TitAq 505. (Photo) – AE 2010, 1278. – Lupa13078 – HD049201 (last updated: 05.05.2017.: Feraudi)

*-----] / Dasius RaT(?)[- - -] / eq(ues) leg(ionis) II a[d(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis)] / an(no-
rum) XLIII stip(endiorum) X[- - -] / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / P(ublius) Ael(ius) Dasimiu[s
vet(eranus)?] / leg(ionis) eiusd(em) fra[tri] / pientis(simo) feci[t]*

According to Németh, these names are frequent in the Danubian provinces (Illyricum, Dalmatia, Moesia Superior, southern Pannonia, the Sirmium region; especially among the Azali). *Dasius* may have served c. 20–25 years.

Date: ca. 130 – 150 (by Margit Németh)

6. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 36,5 cm, W: 84 cm, D: 18 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum, Táborhegy. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: 8.1876.2.

Rómer, F.: *Arch. Ért.* 9, 1875, 291. – CIL III 10500. – EE IV 128, Nr. 434. – Hampel, J.: *Arch. Ért.* 27, 1907, 319. – Schober, A.: *Grabsteine* 77, Nr. 166. – Nigdelis, P. M.: *Epigraphika Thessalonikeia. Symboli stin politiki kai koinoniki historia tis archaias Thessalonikis*. Thessaloniki, 2006, 452, Nr. 31. – *Inscriptiones Graecae* X. 2, 1, 1023. – TitAq 509. (Photo). – Nagy, M.: *Guide*, 52, Nr. 43. – Lupa2975 – HD068401 (last updated: 05.09.2016.: Feraudi)

D(is) M(anibus) // P(ublius) Ael(ius) Cl(audia) Lucus / Thessa(lonica) vet(eranus) leg(io-nis) / II ad(iutricis) et P(ublius) Ael(ius) / Lycus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) / eiusd(em) <h>eres/ amico / bene merenti / fecit

According to Mráv, Thracian origin is proposed; the individuals were only friends.
Date: ca. 157 – 170 AD (by Zsolt Mráv)

7. Sarcophagus

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 73 cm, W: 212 cm, D: 111 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum, Hegyvidék, Istenehyi road/Székács street. Present location: Aquincum Museum. Inv. n.: 64.10.54.

TitAq 732. (Photo) – AE 2010, 1313. – Lupa5094 – HD068702 (last updated: 14.01.2015.: Feraudi)

D(is) M(anibus) // L(ucius) Valerius L(ucii) fil(ius) Natalis ve(teranus) ex sig(nifero) / leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) vix(it) an(nos) XLVII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) L(ucius) Val(erius) Cris/pinus fra(ter) et P(ublius) Decimius Consta(n)s / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) s(upra)s(cryptae) ex tub(icine) heredes et / Iul(ia) quae et Decimia Constantis(?) coniu(n)x / et Iulia Max-ima socrus / pientissimo posuerunt / libertiq(ue) man(umissi) Val(eria) Prim(a) et Val(erius) Primitiu(s)

Common among Italic patrician families (cf. Schulze 1933 passim; OPEL 4, 143, see also Solin – Salomies 1988, 197, furthermore Alföldy 1969, 131 (bearers in Dalmatia include Italics – especially early Empire – natives near Liburnia, soldiers in Western and Danubian provinces, and Easterns at Salona in the later Empire). Similarly Mócsy 1959, 160: the name is most frequent in the Danubian provinces; also well attested in Gaul and northern Italy, often with *Titus* and *Publius* as *praenomina*; cf. Barkóczi 1964, 303. Cognomen *Natalis* is Latin and connected with birth circumstances (cf. Kajanto 1982, 290; Solin – Salomies 1988, 367), yet most frequent in Celtic areas (cf. OPEL 3, 96, see also Barkóczi 1964, 319, and Alföldy 1969, 250. Probably a Romanised Celt, likely from northern Italy.

Németh: *Decimius* as *gentilicium* may indicate Italic or eastern origin.

Date: Around mid-2nd century AD (by Margit Németh)

8. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 174 cm, W: 70 cm, D: 20 cm. Find spot: Dunaújváros, ancient Intercisa. Present location: Intercisa Museum. Inv. n.: 75.65.1.

Vágó, B. E.: *Alba Regia* 11, 1970, 121–123, Nr. 447; 56. (Photo). – AE 1971, 339. – RIU 1179. (Photo and Drawing). – Mander, J.: *Portraits* 311–312, Nr. 725. – TitAq 2108. (Photo) – Lupa3528 – HD011566 (last updated: 07.11.2016.: Feraudi)

*D(is) M(anibus) // memoriae Aur(eli) Barbae / vet(erani) leg(ionis) II ad(iutricis) et Au-
reli(i)s / Probiano mil(iti) l(i)eg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) / Gaudentio et Firmini/ano qui
vix(it) ann(os) VIII / Aurelia Heraclia li/berta ex testame/n[t]o f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

According to Vágó, despite its Latin sound, *Barba* conceals an eastern, perhaps Syrian, root.
Date: First half of 3rd century, after 212 AD (by Zsolt Visy)

9. Statue base? Altar?

Marble. Epitaph. H: 134 cm, W: 60 cm, D: 22 cm. Find spot: Thessaloníki (Greece), ancient Thessalonica (Macedonia). Present location: Paris, Musée de la Rotonde. Inv. n.: BE 160 AΓ 2802a.

Panciera, S. In: *Epigraphica. Atti delle Giornate di Studio di Roma e di Atene in memoria di Margherita Guarducci (1902–1999)*. Róma, 2003, 231–242. (Photo) – AE 2003, 1593. – AE 2012, 74. – AE 2017, 1284. – IG X. 2.1. (Suppl.) 1402. – HD045157 (last updated: 21.05.2012.: Cowey)

*D(is) M(anibus) // P(ublio) Aelio Ma/rco equiti / Romano qui / {vi}vixit an/nis XVI diebus
/ XIII P(ublius) Aelius / Romanus c(enturio) leg(ionis) / II adiutricis / filio posuit*

Date: 150 – 235 AD (by Silvio Panciera)

10. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 51 cm, W: 38 cm, D: 20 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum, Várkerület. Present location: Aquincum Museum. Inv. n.: 63.10.55.

Kuzsinszky, B.: *Bud. Rég.* 8, 1904, 171–172, Nr. 8. (Rajz) – Szilágyi, J.: *Bud. Rég.* 22, 1971, 310–311, 325, Nr. 13. (Photo) – Németh, M.: *Vezető*, 60, Nr. 164. – TitAq 752. (Photo) – Lupa4982 – HD068721 (last updated: 2016. márc. 8.: Feraudi)

*- - -] + leg(ionis) II [ad(iutricis)] / [sti]p(endiorum) XXIII / an(norum) [- - -] / [- - -]m
XLIII +++ [- - -] / [- - -]niae A[- - -] / [- - -]coni]ugi eiu[s - - -] / [- - -]rn Avit[us? - - -] /
[- - -]m]il(es) leg(ionis) s(upra) [s(criptae) - - -] / [- - -]f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

Date: The end of 2nd century AD (by Margit Németh)

11. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 285 cm, W: 89 cm, D: 28 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: RD 125.

Rómer, F. – Desjardins, E.: *Monuments*, 63–64, Nr. 125. – Rómer, F. – Desjardins, E.: *Inscriptions*, Nr. 125. – EE II 384, Nr. 704. – CIL III 10507. – Hampel, J.: *Arch. Ért.* 27, 1907, Nr. 320. – Schober, A.: *Grabsteine* 114, Nr. 254. – Németh, M. ms. RIU 7 – TitAq 571. (Photo) – Mander, J.: *Portraits*, 300, Nr. 670. – Lupa2713 – HD068521 (last updated: 08.12.2016.: Feraudi)

D(is) M(anibus) // M(arcus) Aur(elius) Titus qui vix(it) / an(nos) LXX et coniug(i) eius / Aur(eliae) Mate[re]n(a)e qu(a)e vix(it) / an(nos) L item filiorum / eorum M(arco) Aur(elio) / Titiano qui milit(avit) / in coh(orte) I Ast<u>r(um) qui vix(it) / an(nos) XXX item Aur(elio) Sur(a)e qui / vix(it) an(nos) XX item Aur(elio) Valenti / qui vix(it) an(nos) XII pos(uit) tit(u)l(um) / parent(ibus) suis M(arcus) Aur(elius) Clem(ens) |(centurio) leg(ionis) VI Ferrat[ae] / qui est prob(at)us in leg(ione) II a[d(iutrice)] / a Cornel(io) Plotiano leg(ato)

Clemens served as *centurio* in *Legio VI Ferrata*, after being enlisted in *Legio II Adiutrix*. Mráv – Németh – Tóth: transfer from the Aquincum unit likely during Septimius Severus' Parthian campaign. His brother Titianus (d. at 30) served in *cohors I Asturum*.

Date: The turn of the 2nd and 3rd century AD (By Zsolt Mráv, Margit Németh and Endre Tóth. Cornelius Felix Plotianus served as the legionary legate of XI Claudia legion around AD 160 cf. Matei-Popescu 2010, 141–142. Between AD 183 and 185, he held the position of provincial legate of Pannonia Inferior, see Fitz 1993, 533–536.)

12. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 114 cm, W: 75 cm, D: 15,5 cm. Find spot: Alsóhetény, near ancient Civitas Iovia. Present location: Hungarian National Museum (Local Museum, Dombóvár).

Mráv, Zs. In: Tóth, E. (Szerk.): *Studia Valeriana. Az alsóhetényi és ságvári késő római erődök kutatásának eredményei*. Dombóvár, 2009, 252–254, Nr. 5, 4. kép. (Photo and Drawing) – AE 2009, 1094. – HD073513 (last updated: 07.07.2016.: Feraudi)

D(is) M(anibus) / C(a)eser[ni]us Marcel[us] / vixit an(nos) L C(a)eserniu[s] / Marcellinus m(iles) leg(ionis) II / adiutricis vixit an(nos) XXV / C(a)esernia Marcellina / vi[xit] an(nos) XXV Domitius Do[mitianus] m(iles) leg(ionis) II adiutri[cis] vixi[t] an(nos) XXIII Domitius / S[e]verinus v[i]xit an(nos) VIII / [- - -] co[n]iux posu[it] / [- - -] ET[- - -]

According to Mráv, descendants of freedmen of the *Caesernii*. *Domitius Domitianus* likely married into the family (wife *Marcellina*); their son *Severinus* appears on the stone. The *Domitii* in the province may also be Easterns.

Date: Late 2nd or early 3rd century AD (by Zsolt Mráv)

13. Stele

Stone. Epitaph. Find spot: Nagytétény, ancient Campona. Perished or Lost.

Wesprémi, L.: *Magyarország és Erdély orvosainak rövid életrajza. Második száz. Második rész* (Ford.: Kövári, A.). Budapest, 1868, 205–206. – Katancsich, M. P.: *Schedae servatae Budae apud Franciscanos (hodie Budapestini, in Bibliotheca Universitaria), in quibus praeter exemplaria quaedam inscriptionum chartulis solutis inscripta reperiuntur itinerum enarrationes praeter eas per Valeriam mediterraneam autumno a. 1796*. – Katancsich, M. P.: *Geographia* I. 423. – CIL III 3398. – Barkóczy, L.: *ActaArchHung* 16, 1964, 347, Nr. 106/3. – Lőrincz 2001, 277, Nr. 403. – TitAq 1010¹. – Mander, J.: *Portraits*, 308, Nr. 707. – Lupa2789 – HD071726 (last updated: 17.08.2016.: Feraudi)

[D(is) M(anibus)](?) Iul(io) Probo vet(erano) leg(ionis) / II adi(utricis) qui vix(it) ann(os) LIII / patri et C(aio) Iul(io) Honorato / mil(iti) coh(ortis) |(milliariae) N(umi-darum) stip(endiorum) III fr(atri) / qui vixit ann(os) XXII et / Aeliae Decoratae matri / vi-vae C(aius) Iul(ius) Probianus / can(didatus) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) [-?] quam et / ceteri fratres patri et frat(ri) / matri viv(a)e fac(iendum) curaveru(n)t

The Iulian branch of the family may be African; note *Honoratus* served in cohorts *milliaria Numi-darum*.

Date: Late 2nd century or first half of the 3rd century AD (by Bence Fehér)

14. Stele

Red marble. Epitaph. H: 66 cm, W: 76 cm, D: 6 cm. Find spot: Várdomb, Szőlőhegy, ancient Ad Statuas. Present location: Szekszárd, Mór Wosinsky County Museum. Inv. n.: 933.18.

CIL III 3301. – Wosinsky, M.: *Tolna vármegye története az őskortól a honfoglalásig*. Budapest, 1896., 708, 164. – RIU 1031. (Photo and Drawing). – Lupa3506 – HD037620 (last updated: 25.01.2017.: Feraudi)

D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elio) Proculino mil(iti) / q(ui) vixit annos XXXV / dies L Aur(elius) Proculus / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) II ad(iutricis) natione / Surus domo Heme/sa cum Cl(au-dia) Candida / parentes filio ka/rissimo posu(erunt) cum Aeli(a) Iustina coniu(ge)

Date: Late 2nd or 3rd century AD (by nomen gentile and the soldier's origin)

15. Sarcophagus

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 82 cm, W: 221 cm, D: 108 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: 132.1868.1.

Seidl, G.: *Archiv für Kunde österreichische Geschichts-Quellen* 9 (1853), 156. – Römer, F.: *Arch. Közl.* 3, 1863, 155–156, Nr. VIII. – CIL III 3538. – Römer, F. – Desjardins, E.: *Monu-ments*, 82, Nr. 141. – Römer, F. – Desjardins, E.: *Inscriptiones*, 74, Nr. 141. – EE II 373, Nr. 654. – CIL III 10385. – Barkóczi, L.: *ActaArchHung* 16, 1964, 344, Nr. 105/125. – Németh, M.: ms. RIU 7 – TitAq 539. (Photo) – Lupa3004 – HD068478 (last updated: 10.02.2016.: Feraudi)

Memoriae q(uondam) M(arci) Aureli / Melliti librari(i) leg(ati) leg(ionis) / II adi(utricis) vix(it) ann(os) XVIII stip(endiorum) / IIII M(arcus) Aur(elius) Martialis vet(eranus) / ex signif(ero) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) filio dulciss(imo) f(aciendum) c(uravit)

According to Mráv, the cognomen is common in Africa but distinctly rare in Europe.

Date: ca. 193 – 235 AD (by Zsolt Mráv)

16. Table

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 74 cm, W: 87 cm, D: 23 cm. Find spot: Szentendre, ancient Ulcisia Cas-tra, military camp. Present location: Szentendre, Ferenczy Museum. Inv. n.: 65.9.1.

Nagy, T.: *Arch. Ért.* 3, 1942, 283–285; 38/ 2 (Photo), 10. (Rajz) – AE 1947, 29. – RIU 885. (Photo and Drawing). – Maróti É.: *Die römischen Steindenkmäler von Szentendre – Ulcisia Cas-tra*. Szentendre, 2003, 28, Nr. 22. (Photo) – TitAq 1590. (Photo) – Lupa3152 – HD019346 (last updated: 10.05.2017.: Feraudi)

[D(is)] M(anibus) / [- - -] P[ro]culo sig(nifera) leg(ionis) II ad[i]utricis p(iae) f(idelis)] / [- - -] et Iul(iae) Optat(a)e eius vivae [- - -] / [- - -] s(vet)eranus leg(ionis) s(upra) s(crip-tae) pater et Ael(ia) M[- - -] / [- - -] par]ent(es) fil(io) karissimo et Ael(io?) Procul[- - -] / [- - -] vivi sibi et Proculo s(upra) s(cripto) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)

Origins are uncertain.

Date: Early 3rd century AD (by Géza Alföldy and Péter Kovács)

17. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 75 cm, W: 59 cm, D: 16 cm. Find spot: Pilisszántó, near ancient Aquin-cum. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: 32.1930.1.

Nagy, L.: *Magyar Múzeum* 1946, 4–7, 1. (Photo) – AE 1947, 134. – AE 1949, 85. – RIU 946. (Photo and Drawing). – TitAq 1671. (Photo) – Lupa3135 – HD019580 (last updated: 05.04.2017.: Feraudi)

D(is) M(anibus) / Sep(timio) Dasio qu(o)ndam militi leg(ionis) / II ad(iutricis) st(i)p(en-diorum) XIII vixit / an(n)os XXXVI Aelia / Sura mater eius / et Aur(elius) Severus / im-munis leg(ionis) / eius(dem) (h)eredes / titulum bene m(erenti) / faciendum cur(a)v(erun)t

According to Kovács, Dasius, Sura and Severus carry indigenous names, which may indicate their origin.

Date: Early 3rd century AD (by Péter Kovács)

18. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 59 cm, W: 97 cm, D: 22 cm. Find spot: Székesfehérvár, Cathedral, near ancient Gorsium. Present location: Gorsium Archaeological Park and Open Air Museum. Inv. n.: 11250.

Joachim, J. – Dormuth, Á.: *Székesfehérvári Szemle* 7, 1937, 9/10. – Alföldi, A.: *Arch. Ért.* 52, 1939, 101–103, Nr. 94. (Photo and Drawing). – AE 1941, 10. – Fitz, J.: *Alba Regia* 8/9, 1967/68, 211–212, Nr. 51. – RIU 1502. (Photo and Drawing). – Mráv, Zs.: *Fol. Arch.* 53, 2007, 119–128, 4–5. (Photo and Drawing) – AE 2007, 1169. – TitAq 1872. (Photo) – Lupa4028 – HD021126 (last updated: 04.05.2017.: Feraudi)

D(is) M(anibus) / Ael(io) Flaviano / quond(am) mil(iti) leg(ionis) II / ad(iutricis) stip(en-diorum) VIII vix(it) / ann(os) XXX Ael(io) Iusti/ano mil(iti) leg(ionis) ei(us)/dem(!) stip(endiorum) VI vix(it)(!) / ann(os) XXVI qui de/ciderunt in expedit(ione) / [Pa]rt(h)[i]ca Cornel(- - -) / [-----]

On *Flavianus*, cf. Barkóczi 1964, 312, citing Mócsy 1959, 174: the cognomen is characteristic of southern Gaul. *Iustianus* occurs chiefly in Pannonia after Marcus Aurelius; elsewhere uncommon (cf. Barkóczi 1964, 315). Likely long-acclulturated provincials, perhaps with Celtic ancestry.

Date: Shortly after 202 AD (by Barnabás Lőrincz)

19. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 226 cm, W: 76 cm, D: 21 cm. Find spot: Dunaújváros, ancient Intercisa, The Vineyard of Hauser Ferenc. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: 50.1909.2.

Mahler, E.: *Arch. Ért.* 29, 1909, 240–241, Nr. 6. – AE 1910, 138. – Schober, A.: *Grabsteine* 114, Nr. 251. – Nagy, T.: *Arch. Ért.* 81, 1954, 104, 4. note – Erdélyi, G. – Fülep, F.: *Intercisa* I., 282, Nr. 24, 36/6. – RIU 1183. (Photo and Drawing). – Lőrincz 2001, 213, Nr. 183. – TitAq 2112. (Photo) – Lupa3532 – HD029859 (last updated: 23.11.2016.: Feraudi)

[D(is)] M(anibus) / [Aur(elio)] Constituto / [mil(iti)] leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) p(iae) f(idelis) vix(it) / [ann(os) XX] III stip(endiorum) IIII fili[o] ce]cidit in bello / [Ger]manico et Septi(miae) / [- - -]tillae matri vivae / [- - -] et Aur(eliae) Constitutae / [fil(iae) vi]vae et Aur(eliae) Pudential[ae] fil(iae) vivae et Aur(elio) Cu[pi]o fil(io) vivo et Aur(elio) Cu[pi]tiano fil(io) vivo Aur(elius) / [Pa?]catus vet(eranus) ex ala / [I Th]racum pater / f(aciendum) c(uravit)

According to Nagy, *Catus* (preferred reading over Mahler's [—]Catus) is not rare in Pannonia and even commoner among Celts. *Constitutus* occurs mainly in Celtic regions but not in large numbers (cf. OPEL 2, 71). Zsolt Visy prefers Mahler's legend and, based on this, considers it possible that he may have been of Syrian origin.

Date: ca. 213 AD (by Barnabás Lőrincz and Zsolt Visy)

20. Altar

Limestone. Votive inscription. H: 85 cm, W: 30 cm, D: 23 cm. Find spot: Budaörs, ancient Vicus Teutonis, Szőlőhegy. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: RT-RO RD 44.

Miller de Brassó, J. F.: *Acta*, 225, Nr. 11. – Köppen, J.: *Wiener Jahrbücher* 24, 1823, 6. – CIL III 3383. – CIMRM 237, Nr. 1792. – Römer, F. – Desjardins, E.: *Inscriptiones*, 18, Nr. 44. – Desjardins *Monuments*, 16, Nr. 44. – Clauss, M.: *Cultores Mithrae. Die Anhängerschaft des Mithras-Kultes*. Stuttgart, 1992, 179. – RIU 1332. (Photo and Drawing). – Alföldy, G.: ZPE 140, 2002, 275. – AE 2002, 1175. – Nagy, M.: *Guide*, 178, Nr. 197. – TitAq 1729. (Photo) – Lupa7042 – HD031789 (last updated: 02.02.2017.: Feraudi)

D(eo) Inv(icto) M(ithrae) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Fr(ontinian)us M(arcus) Aur(elius) / Fronto mil(ites) / leg(ionis) II ad(iutricis) pro s(alute) / sua et suorum / temp(lum) constitut(erunt)

The cognomina are too commonplace in military contexts to allow an ethnic or geographic determination; evidence insufficient.

Date: 213 AD (by Zsolt Mráv)

21. Altar

Limestone. Votive inscription. H: 64 cm, W: 30 cm, D: 29 cm. Find spot: Budaörs, ancient Vicus Teutonis, Szőlőhegy. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: RT-RO RD45.

Miller de Brassó, J. F.: *Acta*, 225–226, Nr. 12. – Köppen, J.: *Wiener Jahrbücher* 24, 1823, 7. – CIL III 3384. – CIMRM 237, Nr. 1793. – Rómer, F. – Desjardins, E.: *Inscriptiones*, 18, Nr. 45. – RIU 1334. (Photo and Drawing). – Alföldy, G.: ZPE 140, 2002, 275. – AE 2002, 1175. – Nagy, M.: *Guide*, 178–179, Nr. 198. (Photo) – TitAq 1730. (Photo) – Lupa7043 – HD031795 (last updated: 02.02.2017.: Feraudi)

*Sol(i) Soc(io) / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Fron(tinianus) / et M(arcus) Aur(elius) Fr[o]nto
mil(ites) leg(ionis) / II ad(iutricis) fratres / templ(um) const(ituerunt) / Antonino / IIII
co(n)s(ule)*

The cognomina are too commonplace in military contexts to allow an ethnic or geographic determination; evidence insufficient.

Date: 213 AD (by Zsolt Mráv)

22. Sarcophagus

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 82 cm, W: 229 cm, D: 114 cm. Find spot: Dunaújváros, ancient Intercisa. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: 66.1906.15.

CIL III 3334. – CIL III 10316. – Hampel, J.: *Arch. Ért.* 1907, 336, Nr. 52. (Photo) – Erdélyi, G. – Fülep, F.: *Intercisa* I., 298, Nr. 130. 51/1. (Photo) – RIU 1184. (Photo and Drawing). – Lőrincz 2001 251, Nr. 311. – Ubl, H.: *Waffen und Uniform des römischen Heeres der Prinzipatsepoche nach den Grabreliefs Noricums und Pannoniens*. Vienna, 2013, XXVI–XXVII. XLIII u. 414, Nr. 18 & 78; Taf. 8, 29. – Visy, Zs.: *Intercisa feliratai*, Nr. 146. – TitAq 2113. (Photo) – Lupa3534 – HD037320 (last updated: 01.02.2017.: Feraudi)

*M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Deisan(?) domo / Hemesa ve<t>(eranus) <e>x s<ta>tor(i) trib(uni)
coh(ortis) I \ (miliariae) H<e>m(esenorum) / vivus sibi <e><t> viv<en>/tibus Aureli(i)s /
Monimo strat(ori) / et Regi<l>iano lir(ario) / l<e>g(ati) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis)
fili(is) / posuit / et Aur(elio) Abigeneo q(ui) v(ixit) ann(os) XVII m(enses) X <d>(ies)(?)
XVII / et Aur(elio) Prisciano m<il>(iti) leg(ionis) II ad(iutricis) nepotibu[s]*

The family is of Syrian origin with Eastern cognomina, see more TitAq 2113.

Date: 210 – 220 AD (by Barnabás Lőrincz) vs. 200 – 210 AD (by Zsolt Visy)

23. Table

Stone. Votive inscription. Find spot: Nagytétény, ancient Campona. Perished.

CIL III 3393. – Barkóczi, L.: *ActaArchHung* 16, 1964, 347, Nr. 106/5. – Lőrincz 2001 214, Nr. 186. – TitAq 1006. (Drawing) – Lupa10306 – HD071720 (last updated: 23.11.2016.: Feraudi)

*Silvanus Augg(ustas) / Aur(elius) Lipor vet(eranus) / alae et Aur(elius) Vale(n)s / mil(es)
leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) p(iae) <f>(idelis) / Severianae <fil>(ius) eius / et Aur(elia)
S[ev]era filia*

Regarded as Thracian by both Barkóczi and Szabó; served with *ala I Thracum* at Campona.
Date: 222 – 235 AD (by Ádám Szabó)

24. Sarcophagus

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 124 cm, W: 254 cm, D: 131 cm. Find spot: Vác, perhaps from ancient Aquincum. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: R.D.130.
Schönvisner, I.: *Commentarius geographicus*, 257, IX. – Miller de Brassó, J. F.: *Acta*, 234–235, Nr. 22. – Sestini, D.: *Viaggio curioso-scientifico-antiquario per la Valachia, Transilvania e Ungheria fino a Vienna*. Firenze, 1815, 268. – Katancsich, M. P.: *Geographia* I. 414. – ILS Ampl. Coll. Nr. 6792. – CIL III 3543. – Desjardins, E.: *Monuments épigraphiques du Musée National Hongrois dessinés et expliqués par E. Desjardins publiés par le soin de Dom Flóris Römer*, Budapest 1873, 82–83, Nr. 142. – Römer, F. – Desjardins, E.: *Inscriptiones*, 73, Nr. 142. (Drawing) – CIL III 1691. – ILS 2391. – CBFIR 342, Nr. 443. (Photo) – TitAq 990. (Photo) – Lupa3006 – HD071704 (last updated: 08.12.2016.: Feraudi)

L(ucio) Cassio Pudenti quond(am) / mil(iti) leg(ionis) II ad(iutricis) adiutori offici(i) / corniculariorum co(n)s(ularis) / stip(endiorum) XIII qui vixit ann(os) XXXII / L(ucius) Cassius Regulianus vet(eranus) / leg(ionis) II ad(iutricis) ex b(ene)ff(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) pater infe(lis)s(imus) filio piissimo f(aciendum) c(uravit)

Mráv after Barkóczi: The soldiers are considered Italic.
Date: 213 – 300 AD (by Zsolt Mráv)

25. Sarcophagus

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 102 cm, W: 210 cm, D: 26 cm. Find spot: Ószőny, ancient Brigetio. Present location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Inv. n.: III.105.
CIL III 4311. – Hampel, J.: *Arch. Ért.* 27, 1907, 51. (Photo) – Barkóczi, L.: *Brigetio*. Budapest, 1951, 41, 56, Nr. 98, XXI/2. – Alföldy, G.: *Arch. Ért.* 86, 1959, 70–72. – RIU 514. (Photo and Drawing). – CBFIR 267–268, Nr. 325. (Photo) – Noll, R.: *Die griechischen und lateinischen Inschriften der Wiener Antikensammlung*. Vienna, 1986, Nr. 385. – Pochmarski, E.: *Bud. Rég.*, 34, 2001, 208, Nr. 27. – Lupa3426 – HD039407 (last updated: 10.09.2015.: Gräf)

D(is) M(anibus) / et memoriae L(uci) Antisti / Belliciani / vet(erani) leg(ionis) I adiut(ricis) et Iuliae Proculae eius / Luci(i) Antisti(i) Bellicus / mil(es) leg(ionis) II adiut(ricis) b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) / et Bellicianus mil(es) leg(ionis) / s(upra) s(criptae) exactus off(icii) pr(a)esi/dis parentibus karissim(is) f(aciendum) cc(uraverunt)

The *nomen* *Antistius* is Italic (cf. Schulze 1933, 123–124; Solin – Salomies 1988, 17; Salomies 1987, 186). Barkóczi 1964, 300 and Alföldy 1969, 59 allow a Norican origin. The variant *Antestius* occurs, but *Antistius* is far commoner. *Bellicus* and derivatives are typical military cognomina (cf. Kajanto 1982, 258; Solin – Salomies 1988, 301); they likewise suggest a Norican background (cf. OPEL 1, 283, 285). Barkóczi 1964, 307: a Celtic cognomen, worn by Noricans in Pannonia; Alföldy 1969, 164: *Bellica* occurs in Celtic provinces.
Date: 214 – 300 AD (by Géza Alföldy)

26. Table

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 58 cm, W: 226 cm, D: 14 cm. Find spot: Dunaújváros, ancient Intercisa, The Vineyard of Hauser Ferenc. Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: 73.1909.12.

Mahler, E.: *Arch. Ért.* 29, 1909, 330–331, Nr. 4. – AE 1910, 144. – Erdélyi, G. – Fülep, F.: *Intercisa* I., 296, Nr. 117, 50/4. – RIU 1176. (Rajz) – Lőrincz 2001, 263, Nr. 354. – TitAq 2104. (Photo) – Lupa3525 – HD029871 (last updated: 05.12.2016.: Feraudi)

M(arco) Aur(elio) Alexandro vet(erano) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) q(ui) v(ixit) ann(os) LXX et / Aureliae Rufinae eius q(uae) v(ixit) ann(os) LXI et M(arco) Aur(elio) / Valeriano mil(iti) coh(ortis) \ (miliariae) Hem(esenorum) q(ui) v(ixit) ann(os) XXV fil(io) et / Aureliae Valeri<a?>nae q(uae) v(ixit) ann(os) XVIII fil(iae) eorum / M(arcus) Aur(elius) Aurelianus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) ex strat(ore) co(n)s(ularis) / co<g>natis dignissimis

The 70-year-old veteran bore the Greek cognomen *Alexander*, widely attested across Europe, especially along the *limes*, often via Africans or Easterns (cf. OPEL 1, 74; Barkóczi 1964, 304). His children bore the masculine/feminine forms of *Valerianus*, a *gentilicium*-derived name (cf. Kajanto 1982, 157; Solin – Salomies 1988, 417); after Italy, Narbonensis and Hispania, it is particularly frequent in Pannonia and occurs among Italics, Africans, and Easterns (cf. OPEL 4, 141; Barkóczi 1964, 326–327). *Aurelianus* is likewise *gentilicium*-derived (cf. Kajanto 1982, 141; Solin – Salomies 1988, 298), not typical of any one province but more common in Italy and the western provinces (cf. OPEL 1, 237; Barkóczi 1964, 306; Alföldy 1969, 160). Given the family *gentilicium*, certain cognomina (e.g. *Alexander*), and service in *cohors I Hemesenorum* at Intercisa, an Eastern origin is likely.

Date: 225 – 250 AD (by Zsolt Visy)

27. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 152 cm, W: 97,5 cm, D: 28 cm. Find spot: Nagytétény, ancient Campona. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: 257.1873.6.

CIL III 3395. – Römer, F. – Desjardins, E.: *Inscriptiones*, 157, Nr. 372. – EE II 368, Nr. 618. – CIL III 10378. – Lőrincz 2001 215, Nr. 190. – TitAq 1019. (Photo) – Lupa2784 – HD071842 (last updated: 10.05.2017.: Feraudi)

Aur(elio) Iul(io) ex dec(urione) alae] / I T(h)rac(um) [vix(it)] an(nos) [- - - et] / Aureli[a]e I+[- - -]e / viv(a)e coniugi eius [e]t / Aureliae M[aximi]anae / vix(it) ann(os) XXVII et Aur(elio) / Caesia[no] vet(erano) coh(ortis) / X pr(a)e[t(oriae) vix(it)] a[n]n(os) [- - -] / et Aur(elio) [Cae]sio e[v]okato / exse[r]citato[r]i(!) eqq(uitum) / praet(orianorum) vix(it) ann(os) X[- - -] / fili(i)s eorum et Aur(elio) / Crescentin[o] mi]ll(iti) leg(ionis) / II Adi(utricis) stip(endiorum) III vix(it) ann(os) / XXI Cl(audius) Per-tinax / strator co(n)s(ularis) paren/tibus bene mer(entibus) / f(aciundum) c(uravit)

Date: First half of the 3rd century AD (after Barnabás Lőrincz by Bence Fehér – Ádám Szabó)

28. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 127 cm, W: 76 cm, D: 30 cm. Find spot: Dunaújváros, ancient Intercisa. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: 96.1906.

Rómer, F.: *Arch. Köz.* 10, 1876, 41. – CIL III 10317. – Mahler, E.: *Arch. Ért.* 27, 1907, 141–142. – Erdélyi, G. – Fülep, F. In: *Intercisa I.*, 283, Nr. 29, 45/6. – Nagy, T.: *Arch. Ért.* 82/2. 1955, 242. – Fitz, J.: *Alba Regia* 14, 1975, 357, Nr. 4. – AE 1976, 554. – RIU 1185. (Photo and Drawing). – IDRE 287. – TitAq 2114. (Photo) – Lupa3535 – HD072501 (last updated: 06.10.2016.: Feraudi)

D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elio) Gaiano vete[r(ano) leg(ionis)] / I Ad(iutricis) vix(it) ann(os) LXX e[st] Aurel(iae)] / Valentinae vix(it) [ann(os) - -] / Aur(eliae) Gaianae et [Aure]/l(io) Ausiano str[atore] / leg(ati) leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) [vixit] / ann(os) XL stip(endiorum) XX[II](?) qui] / est desiderat[us bello] / Dac(i)co Aure[lia - -] / marito dul[cissimo]

Cognomen Latin (cf. Kajanto 1982, 172; Solin – Salomies 1988, 336), very common in the Danubian provinces (OPEL 2, 158), especially in eastern Pannonia (Barkóczi 1964, 313), and frequent among Christians (Alföldy 1969, 208). The same name occurs in the female form for a family member, probably his daughter. *Valentina*'s role in the family is uncertain; for the name cf. Kajanto 1982, 247. The name is common in the Danubian provinces; in Pannonia typically borne by Easterns or natives (OPEL 4, 140; Barkóczi 1964, 326; Solin – Salomies 1988, 417; Alföldy 1969, 320). *Ausianus*, who fell in a Dacian campaign, appears to be a *hapax legomenon* (cf. OPEL 1, 251; Barkóczi 1964, 306; Holder 1896, 298). Despite their cognomina are most frequent in Pannonia, Visy believes that they were of Eastern origin. According to him, the second generation of the Hemesan people may have moved to Brigetio. Ausianus may have died in the war against the Carpi in 247/248.

Date: First half of the 3rd century AD (by Zsolt Visy)

29. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 104 cm, W: 57 cm, D: 18 cm. Find spot: Pécs, ancient Sopianae, built into the wall of the cathedral library. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: RD 380.

CIL III 3308. – CIL III 10289. – RIU 983. (Photo and Drawing). – Sz. Burger, A.: *Die Skulpturen des Stadtgebietes von Sopianae und des Gebietes zwischen der Drau und der Limesstrecke Lussonium – Altinum, CSIR Ungarn* 7. Budapest, 1991, 35, Nr. 26/2. (Photo) – Gábor, O. – Kárpáti, G. – Lengvári, I. – Pozsárkó, Cs.: In: Šašel Kos, M. – Scherrer, P. (Szerk.): *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia. Die Autonomen Städte in Noricum und Pannonien. Pannonia* 2. Ljubljana, 2004., 275, Nr. 19. – Mander, J.: *Portraits*, 316–317, Nr. 748. – Brunet, L. M. A.: *Grandparents in the Roman Empire. The Evidence of the Roman West. Manchester*, 2022, Nr. 461. – Lupa644 – HD037500 (last updated: 24.03.2017.: Feraudi)

C(a)esern(ia) Firmill[a] / v(iva) f(ecit) sibi et Mar(cio) Lucid[i]/ano coni(ugi) an(norum) XLIII et / Marc(io) Lucido fil(io) an(norum) / XL et Marc(io) Firminia[n(o)] / mil(iti) an(norum) XXVII et Ulp(io) SI(?) A(?) / Lucio candi(dato) leg(ionis) II ad[i(utricis)] / et Ulp(iae) Proclin(a)e niri(!) et / Luci(a)e et Mar(cio) Iuliano an(norum) VI[--] // nepotibus

The mother, who set up the monument during her lifetime, bore an Italic *gentilicium* (cf. Schulze 1933, 136; Solin – Salomies 1988, 40), most frequent in Pannonia (OPEL 2, 19; Mócsy 1959, 152). Her cognomen is Latin (cf. Kajanto 1982, 258; Solin – Salomies 1988, 332) and very rare; occurrences are concentrated in northern Italy and, besides, Hispania (OPEL 2, 141; Barkóczi 1964, 312). *Lucidianus* and his sons bore the *nomen Marcius*, Italic (cf. Schulze 1933, 188, 466; Solin – Salomies 1988, 412), frequent in Italy and Hispania and especially in Celtic regions (OPEL 3, 56; Mócsy 1959, 56); Alföldy 1969, 97: widespread, though with differing chronologies. The elder son's cognomen derives from the father's Latin cognomen: the multiply derived *Lucidianus* was reduced to *Lucidius* (cf. Kajanto 1982, 288; Solin – Salomies 1988, 353). Both are uncommon but characteristic of regions near northern Italy (cf. OPEL 3, 34; Barkóczi 1964, 316; Mócsy 1959, 179; Alföldy 1969, 232). The younger son's Latin cognomen relates to the mother's; it is very rare, yet typical of Dalmatia and Pannonia, especially Aquincum and its territory (cf. Kajanto 1982, 258; Solin – Salomies 1988, 332; OPEL 2, 142; Barkóczi 1964, 312). The *candidatus legionis*' connection to the family is unclear. He bore the *gentilicium Ulpus*, hence citizenship of Trajanic date. Possibly an illegitimate son of Firmilla's daughter-in-law *Ulpia Proclina*, thus Firmilla's grandson; this is suggested by the *Lucius* cognomen fitting the family's naming pattern and by his age (late twenties) as *candidatus legionis* at the time of the monument's erection, younger than Firmilla's deceased sons (aged 40 and 26). The younger son died on service; as a serving soldier he certainly lacked *ius conubii*. *Lucia* was probably likewise an *Ulpia*, daughter of Proclina, sister of *Lucius* and another living grandchild of Firmilla. The third grandchild, *Marcus Iulianus*, who died in childhood, was likely the son of Firmilla's elder son. For *Lucius/Lucia* cf. Kajanto 1982, 172; Solin – Salomies 1988, 354; most frequent in Pannonia, especially near legionary bases (OPEL 3, 36); very common along the Carnuntum–Brigetio–Aquincum axis (Barkóczi 1964, 316; Alföldy 1969, 233), and generally frequent in Celtic areas; in Dalmatia popular among urban populations. Here the Latin form may reflect the Illyrian root *Luc-*.² *Proclina* (also *Proculina*) is Latin (cf. Kajanto 1982, 177; Solin – Salomies 1988, 385), most frequent in Pannonia and common among Syrians (OPEL 4, 166; Barkóczi 1964, 321). *Marcus Iulianus*' name is likewise Latin; *Iulianus*, given the family's onomastic practice, was almost certainly derived from the mother not named on the stone; a derivative of the *nomen Iulius* (cf. Kajanto 1982, 148; Solin – Salomies 1988, 346), very frequent after Marcus Aurelius in Pannonia and elsewhere (OPEL 2, 199; Mócsy 1959, 177; Alföldy 1969, 223–224, esp. common in Celtic provinces). The families *Marcus* and *Caesernia* were probably Italic.

Date: First half of the 3rd century AD (by Jason Mander)

30. Table

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 138 cm, W: 91 cm, D: 19,6 cm. Find spot: Dunaújváros, ancient Intercisa, Dunaújváros, grave 98. Present location: Székesfehérvár, King St. Stephen Museum. Inv. n.: 50.68.1

RIU 1195. (Photo and Drawing). – Lőrincz 2001 252, Nr. 317. – Visy, Zs.: *Intercisa feliratai*, Nr. 157. – TitAq 2128. (Photo) – Lupa3544 – HD037325 (last updated: 28.11.2016.: Feraudi)

M(arco) Aur(elio) Monimo vet(erano) leg(ionis) II ad(iutricis) / Sabini q(uondam) vet(erani) domo Hemesa / filio patri q(ui) v(ixit) ann(os) LV et Aureliae / Alexandriae matri q(uae) v(ixit) ann(os) / XXXV et Aureliae Atheni / sorori q(uae) v(ixit) ann(os) XX
M(arcus) Aur(elius) / Alexander mil(es) leg(ionis) / libr(arius) off(icialis) praes(idis)

His father, *Sabinus*, came from Emesa; the family were Eastern settlers in Intercisa, probably Emesene Syrians.

Date: 230 – 240 AD (by Barnabás Lőrincz)

31. Altar

Limestone. Votive inscription. H: 69 cm, W: 33 cm, D: 27 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum. Present location: Aquincum Museum. Inv. n.: 64.10.136.

Miller de Brassó, J. F.: *Acta*, 270, Nr. 52. – CIL III 3457. – Rómer, F. – Desjardins, E.: *Inscriptiones*, 9, Nr. 24. – EE II 370, Nr. 638. – Kuzsinszky, B.: *Bud. Rég.* 6, 1899, 138–139, Nr. 122. – Barbieri, G.: *L'albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino* (193–285). Roma, 1952, 212, Nr. 1048. – RIU 7, 124. – TitAq 170. (Photo) – Lupa6629 – HD067959 (last updated: 22.12.2015.: Feraudi)

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Genio [(centuriae)] // Sept(imius) Cogi(tatus) c(ustos) a(rmorum) / et Sept(imius) Car(us) milit(es) leg(ionis) / II ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis) Sev(erianae) / v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito) / Pompeian(o) // et P(a)eligniano / co(n)s(ulibus)

Cogitatus seems confined to the western and Danubian provinces (Barkóczi 1964, 309), especially Pannonia and Noricum (OPEL 2, 68). *Carus* is common in the western provinces and popular in Celtic regions (Barkóczi 1964, 308; OPEL 2, 39). On balance, descendants of Romanised Celts are possible, though evidence is scant.

Date: 231 AD (by the consuls)

32. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 215 cm, W: 130 cm, D: 17 cm. Find spot: Pilisvörösvár, near ancient Aquincum. Today, it is built into the outer wall of the Szindbád restaurant's kitchen in Balatonszemes, Árnys avenue 1.

Katancsich, M. P.: *Geographia*, 422. – CIL III 3627. – CIL III 10569. – Dinnyés, I. et al.: *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 7. Pest megye régészeti topográfiája. A budai és szentendrei járás XIII/1.* Budapest, 1986, 21. – RIU 1305. (Photo and Drawing). – Alföldy, G.: ZPE 140, 2002, 266–267, Nr. 5. – AE 2002, 1190. – Fehér, B.: *Nyelvtörténet*, Nr. 142, II, 2,3,6. – TitAq 1682. (Photo) – Lupa3139 – HD031726 (last updated: 10.05.2017.: Feraudi)

D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Respectus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) II ad(iutricis) / p(iae) f(idelis) missus honesta missione / et Aur(eliae) Ianuariae coniugi / eius et Aureliis Respectiano / et Supero filiis et Aur(eliae) Superae / filiae [ei]us vivi sibi posuerunt / et Sept(imio) Ia[nua]rio quond(am) patri / et Sept(imiae) Quin[t]ae(?) [quo]nd(am) matri et / Sep[t(imio)] Martino q(uondam) qui [mili]tavit / in leg(ione) II s(upra) s(crupta) p(ia) f(ideli) an<n>u(m) I et [Sep]t(imio) / Dubitato q(uondam) qui militavi[t] / in leg(ione) II s(upra) s(crupta) p(ia) f(ideli) annos III [et Sept(imio)] / Quintiano [- -] / [-----]?

Either indigenous or North-African origins are conceivable; the former is more likely (so Fehér; Barkóczi 1964 *passim*).

Date: First half or middle of the 3rd century AD (by Bence Fehér)

33. Table

Limestone (?). Epitaph. H: 61 cm, W: 120 cm, D: 17 cm. Find spot: Dunaújváros, ancient Intercisa. Present location: Intercisa Museum. Inv. n.: MNM 22.1905.22 – IM 67.2.345.2.

Vágó, B. E.: *Alba Regia* 11, 1970, 120–121, Nr. 121; 55/1. (Photo). – AE 1971, 341. – Erdélyi, G. – Fülep, F.: *Intercisa* I., 296–297, Nr. 121, 48/5. (Photo). – RIU 1190. (Photo and Drawing). – TitAq 2122. (Photo) – Lupa3539 – HD011572 (last updated: 12.10.2016.: Feraudi)

M(arcus) Aur(elius) Malc(h)ian[us vet(eranus)] leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) et / Valeriae Vere{n}cundae [co]niugi q(uae) v(ixit) ann(os) / XXXV et M(arco) Aur(elio) Marcellino [m]il(it) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(c)riptae filio / q(ui) v(ixit) ann(os) XVIII et Valeria[e Pul]c[<hr>(a)e coniugi / et Valeriae Optatae filiae eor[um] - -]anta f(ecit)

The inscription commemorates three generations of a family of Eastern origin; Vágó also mentions the father of *Malc(h)ianus*. The *strator* (a veteran on the earlier inscription) was the first to serve as a citizen in a legion; his son *Marcellinus* likewise pursued a military career. The naming pattern shows assimilation; *Marcellinus* or *Optata* indicates advancing Romanisation.

Date: Late 2nd century or early 3rd century AD (by Zsolt Visy)

34. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 230 cm, W: 78 cm, D: 23 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: R.D.160.

CIL III 3678. – Römer, F. – Desjardins, E.: *Monuments*, Nr. 160. – CIL III p. 1715. – Sz. Burger, A.: *Régészeti Füzetek* II/5, 1959, Nr. 23. – Garbsch, J.: *Die norisch-pannonische Frauentracht im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert*. München, 1965, 149, Nr. 106/10. – Mander, J.: *Portraits*, 302, Nr. 679. – Lupa2992 – HD073565 (last updated: 24.08.2016.: Feraudi)

D(is) M(anibus) // Aur(elio) Maximo / vet(erano) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) patri / et Ael(iae) Prim(a)e matri / et Ael(iae) Resill(a)e avi(a)e / Aur(elia) Ingenua filia / parentibus karissi/mis titulum de suo / faciendum curavit / Aur(elius) Val(ens?) mil(es) leg(io-nis) II adi(utricis) / socris benignissimis

Erected by *Aurelia Ingenua* for her parents *Aurelius Maximus* and *Aelia Prima*, and her grandmother *Aelia Resilla*; also by *Aurelius Val(ens?) soceris*, i.e. for his wife's parents – thus *Aurelia Ingenua* was wife of *Aurelius Val(ens?)*. Both her paternal line and her husband's family bore the imperial gentilicium *Aurelius* (cf. Solin – Salomies 1988, 28; OPEL 1, 238; Barkóczi 1964, 299–300; Alföldy 1969, 46–53). *Ingenua*'s maternal line received citizenship under Hadrian (cf. OPEL 1, 33; Solin – Salomies 1988, 7; Mócsy 1959, 150; Barkóczi 1964, 299; Alföldy 1969, 43–46). The veteran father's cognomen is exceedingly popular everywhere and unhelpful for origin (cf. OPEL 3, 70; Solin – Salomies 1988, 361; Kajanto 1982, 275; Mócsy 1959, 181; Alföldy 1969, 242–243): the most common cognomen in the Empire. *Prima* is a Latin ordinal used as a personal name (cf. Kajanto 1982, 295; Solin – Salomies 1988, 149), very frequent; distributional figures do not assist (OPEL 3, 161), though especially popular among Italics near northern Italy (Mócsy 1959, 185). *Resilla* is perhaps derived from the Italic *nomen Resius* (cf. Schulze 1933, 217, 220; Solin – Salomies 1988, 155); rare (OPEL 4, 26; Barkóczi 1964, 322); more probably Celtic (Meid 2005, 203; root *ret-* 'to run'). *Ingenua* ('free-born') was favoured among the indigeneous population of Pannonia (cf. Kajanto 1982, 314; Solin – Salomies 1988, 345), particularly in

the Danubian provinces and Italy (OPEL 2, 194; Barkóczi 1964, 314). The husband *Aurelius Val(ens?)* served in *Legio II Adiutrix*; the cognomen is damaged and cannot be securely restored. If *Valens* is correct, it is a typical Latin, descriptive military cognomen (cf. Kajanto 1982, 18, 46, 66, 247), most frequent in the Danubian provinces but widespread elsewhere (OPEL 4, 139; Mócsy 1959, 194). *Aelia Resilla*'s cognomen appears Celtic; together with the *gentilicium Aelia* an indigenous origin for that branch is plausible.

Date: Middle third of the 3rd century AD (by Jason Mander)

35. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 223 cm, W: 66 cm, D: 30 cm. Find spot: Dunaújváros, ancient Intercisa. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: 62.83.1.

Soproni, S.: *Fol. Arch.* 15, 1963, 43–54. – Soproni, S.: *Klio* 46, 1965, 367–372. – Fitz, J.: *Latomus* 24, 1965, 565–575, 44. (Rajz) – AE 1965, 223. – Fitz, J.: *Les Syriens à Intercisa*. Brüssel, 1972, 236–246. – AE 1971, 326. – IDRE 286. – RIU 1155. (Photo and Drawing). – Lőrincz 2001 254, Nr. 321. – TitAq 2097. (Photo) – Lupa3515 – HD018244 (last updated: 29.11.2016.: Fer-audi)

P(ublio) Ael(io) Proculino [e(gregiae) m(emoriae) v(iro) -- |(centurioni)] / primo in coh(orte) |(miliaria) [Hemes(enorum) trans]/lato in leg(ionem) II ad[iut(ricem) p(iam) f(idelem) exer]/cit(atori) eq(uitum) leg(ionis) s(upra) [s(criptae) |(centurioni) coh(ortis) --- urb(anae) |(centurioni)] / coh(ortis) VII praet(oriae) p(iae) v(indicis) [Phil(ippianae) bello] / Dacico deside[rato ad ca]/stell(um) Carporum [milit(avit) ann(os)] / XXVI P(ublius) Ael(ius) Procu[lus |(centurio) coh(ortis) ei]/usdem et Aure[lia - - -]/a parentes fil[io suo ca]/rissimo et sib[i vivis] / et infelic[issimo] / filio posue[runt]

Date: 245 – 247 AD (by Jenő Fitz and Zsolt Visy)

36. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 182 cm, W: 78 cm, D: 22 cm. Find spot: Tokod, ancient Gardellaca. RIU 764. (Photo and Drawing). – CBFIR 274–276, Nr. 335. (Photo) – Lupa3287 – HD038300 (last updated: 10.09.2015.: Gräf)

D(is) [M(anibus)] // Cocceiae Quar[tae] / vix(it) ann(os) XXX in [matrim(onio)?] / ann(os) III m(enses) II[I]I coni[ugi piae] / rarissim[ae] et Coc[ceio] / Moderato b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)[s(ularis) vix(it)] / ann(os) XLIII stip(endiorum) X[- - -] / Gratae vix(it) ann(os) [- - - pa]/rentib(us) eius et Hon[orato?] / mil(iti) leg(ionis) XIII g(emi-nae) stip(endiorum) X fr[atru? suo?] / Iul(ius) Martial[is - - -] / leg(ionis) II ad(iutricis) pro mem(oria) [fec(it)]

Iulius Martialis erected the tomb for his wife *Cocceia Quarta*, her parents *Cocceius Moderatus* and *Grata*, and a legionary whose name can be restored as *Honoratus*, either his own or his wife's brother. The *beneficiarius* father-in-law and his daughter's *gentilicium* derive from *Nerva*; the imperial *nomen* is generally rare due to his short reign (cf. Solin – Salomies 1988, 58), yet in Pannonia it is considerably more frequent (OPEL 2, 67), perhaps also influenced by the Celtic *cocc-* root (cf. Meid 2005, 226), borne among the Boii and Eravisci (Mócsy 1959, 149; Alföldy

1969, 41–42). Note also that Nerva concluded Domitian's Marcomannic-Quadic war, after which veteran discharges likely increased. *Moderatus* is a rare Latin, character-type cognomen (cf. Kajanto 1982, 263; Solin – Salomies 1988, 364), sparsely attested in most provinces (OPEL 3, 84); Mócsy 1959, 182 and Alföldy 1969, 248 mark a preference in Italy and the Celtic/germanic provinces. *Quarta* (Latin ordinal; cf. Kajanto 1982, 293; Solin – Salomies 1988, 388) is chiefly spread in northern Italy and neighbouring regions (OPEL 4, 16), mostly borne by *Iulii* (Barkóczi 1964, 322; Alföldy 1969, 213). *Grata* is Latin (cf. Kajanto 1982, 282; Solin – Salomies 1988, 340), popular in the Celtic provinces (OPEL 2, 171; Alföldy 1969, 278); in Pannonia *Gratus/-a* are generally natives (Barkóczi 1964, 313). The name of the legionary is probably *Honoratus*, but the stone is damaged. The dedicator *Iulius Martialis* bore an imperial *nomen* (cf. Solin – Salomies 1988, 98; OPEL 2, 201; Barkóczi 1964, 298; Alföldy 1969, 31–36). *Martialis* is theophoric (cf. Kajanto 1982, 212; Solin – Salomies 1988, 359), common in northern Italy and the western/Celtic provinces (OPEL 3, 60; Barkóczi 1964, 317; Mócsy 1959, 180; Alföldy 1969, 239). The *beneficiarius* likely belonged to the Eraviscan elite and obtained citizenship under Nerva; *Iulius Martialis'* imperial *nomen* and the theophoric cognomen may likewise point to Celtic background.

Date: Middle of the 3rd century AD (by Friderike Harl – József Beszédes)

37. Sarcophagus (?)

Epitaph. H: 87 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum, Legionary camp. Present location: Balassagyarmat, Palóc Museum. Not included in inventory.

Haliczky, A.: *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* 8/3 (1824) 4, Nr. I. – CIL III 3529. – Wagner, I.: *Nógrádi Lapok és Honti Híradó* 20/25 (1892. június 19.), 2. – Reiter, L. In: *Balassagyarmati Honismereti Híradó* 1998/1–2. – TitAq 508. (Photo) – Lupa3002 – HD068400 (last updated: 17.03.2016.: Feraudi)

*D(is) M(anibus) // memoriae P(ublil) Aeli(i) Martialis q(uon)d(am) / vet(erani) ex c(us-
tode) a(rmorum) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) patris et / Flaviae Agathes(!) matris Aelius /
Aelianus praefectus leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) / protector Aug(usti) parentibus / caris-
simis regressus ad / Lares patrios f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

According to Fehér, the origin of the family is uncertain.

Date: 261 – 267 AD (by Bence Fehér)

38. Table

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 67 cm, W: 203 cm, D: 25 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum, Vörösvári road 44. Present location: Aquincum Museum. Inv. n.: 70.10.10.

TitAq 645. (Photo) – AE 2010, 1303. – Ertel, Ch. – Németh, M.: *Grabbauten aus Aquincum*, 67, Nr. 55, 14/1. – Lupa13113 – HD068616 (last updated: 24.10.2016.: Feraudi)

*D(is) M(anibus) // C(aio) Iul(io) Valerio vet(erano) ex im(muni) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis)
vixit / ann(os) XXXX Aelia Ingenua uxor / et Iuliae Valeria et Valentina filiae cura/
n[tibus] Iul(io) Valer(io) [s]pecul(atore) nepote et Flav(io)(?) Antioc(h)iano b(ene)ff(icia-
rio) co(n)s(ularis) ge(nero) // f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)*

According to Németh, the cognomen is rather Pannonian, a typical one from Aquincum, in its distribution. Origin cannot be decided.

Date: Middle or end of the 3rd century AD (by Margit Németh)

VI. 2. Catalogue of the Inscriptions of Municipal offices

39. Table

Marble. Epitaph. H: 67 cm, W: 205 cm. Find spot: Hausmannstätten (Ausztria), near ancient Flavia Solva (Noricum). Present location: Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum. Inv. n.: 162.

CIL III 5430. – Weber, E.: *Die römischen Inschriften der Steiermark*. Graz, 1969, 118–119, Nr. 61. (Photo) – ILLPRON 1165. – Wedenig, R.: *Epigraphische Quellen zur städtischen Administration in Noricum*. Klagenfurt, 1997, 215–216, Nr. 16. – Mirsch, I.: In: *Schild von Steier* 18. (2005), 95–96. 100–103, Nr. 3–4. – Holzner, M. – Weber, E.: *Tyche* 23, 2008, Nr. 46. – Lupa1211 – HD038624 (last updated: 27.12.2013.: Feraudi)

*C(aius) Firminius Primus / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) et Covnerta / [A?]dabi
ff(ilia) con(iux) optima / C(aius)(?) Firminius Castricius aed(ilis) / Sol(vae) v(ivus) f(ecit)
sibi et Seiae Urbici fil(iae) / Litugenae uxori opt(imae) an(norum) XX[-]*

The veteran's *nomen gentile* is Italic (cf. Schulze 1933, 167; Solin – Salomies 1988, 79), though rare (OPEL 2, 142). *Firminus* – from which it directly derives – is next most frequent in Pannonia (25) after Italy (45), and with a dozen attestations from Noricum (OPEL loc. cit.). *Primus* is a Latin ordinal cognomen (cf. Kajanto 1982, 295; Solin – Salomies 1988, 149), very common; its distribution does not assist (OPEL 3, 161), though especially popular among Italics near northern Italy (Mócsy 1959, 185). The wife *Covnerta*, daughter of [A?]dabus, bears a romanised but likely Celtic name, most frequent in Noricum (OPEL 81); *Conerta* occurs on a fragmentary stone from Neviodunum; *Cobnertos* and *Comerta* are known in Pannonia. These derive from *kom-* + *nerto-* 'strength' (Meid 2005, 169–170). *Covnerta* has a single-name formula and was not a Roman citizen. *Castricius* may be Primus' son (the relation is not stated; the inference rests on Primus being a legionary veteran and *Castricius* bearing a Latin cognomen derived from *castra*: in this exact form only here in Pannonia, cf. OPEL 2, 42; for other derivatives see Solin – Salomies 1988, 310–311). *Castricius* bears the *tria nomina*, hence a citizen. *Covnerta* – with a single, "barbarian" name – was likely not a citizen but perhaps a member of a *civitas Latina*; this is supported by the name of *Castricius*' wife, *Seia Litugena*, *uxor* of the municipal magistrate *Castricius*. *Seia* is an Italic *gentilicium* (Schulze 1933, 93; Solin – Salomies 1988, 166; OPEL 4, 62). *Litugena* is a romanised but non-Latin name with Celtic *lith-* 'festival' (Meid 2005, 124–125), characteristic of Celtic provinces (OPEL 3, 29; also in the feminine). Her father was *Urbicus* – a Latin cognomen, but he did not bear *tria nomina* (otherwise a *praenomen* would appear in Litugena's patronymic); distribution: Kajanto 1982, 311; Solin – Salomies 1988, 416; especially in Celtic areas (OPEL 4, 185). The family appears Italic in the male line. The *Firminii* likely arrived as citizens and married provincial, probably indigenous Celtic women lacking citizenship at the time. If *Castricius* was Primus' son (not brother), he chose a civilian career rather than a military one.

Date: 2nd century AD (by Friderike Harl – József Beszédés)

40. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 191 cm, W: 121 cm, D: 18 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum. Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: 78.1882.?

Hampel, J.: *Arch. Ért.* 14, 1880, 162. – Diner, J.: *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 7 (1883), 92, Nr. 19. – CIL III 10511. – Hampel, J.: *A Nemzeti Múzeum legrégibb pannoniai sírtáblái*. Budapest, 1906, 25, Nr. 9. – TitAq 596. (Photo) – Lupa3018 – HD068571 (last updated: 28.03.2017.: Feraudi)

D(is) M(anibus) / Ti(berius) Claudius Dasius vet(eranus) le[g(ionis) II] / ad(iutricis) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) vixit an(nos) [- -] / Cl(audia) Irene liber[t]a no/mine colleg(ii) Cereris / patrono pientissimo / et sibi f(aciendum) c(uravit)

According to Mráv, *Dasius* is frequent in Pannonia and Dalmatia, but also known in Italy where it is borne by slaves, freedmen, and Illyrian fleet soldiers. His freedwoman *Irene* bears a Greek name, chiefly known from Italy.

Date: 2nd, perhaps early 3rd century AD (Although Zsolt Mráv proposed a broader date range, the name and the use of the H. S. E. formula make a 2nd-century date more likely.)

41. Sarcophagus

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 79 cm, W: 147 cm, D: 13–22 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum. Present location: Aquincum Museum. Inv. n.: 63.10.37.

Bél, M.: *Notitia Hungariae novae historico-geographica* III. Budapest, 1737, 183, 14. – CIL III 3533. – Fröhlich, R.: *Bud. Rég.* 4, 1892, 139–140, Nr. 49. – Kuzsinszky, B.: *Bud. Rég.* 5, 1897, 160–161, Nr. 99. – CIL III 13367. – Szabó, E.: *A pannoniai városok igazgatása. Urbanizáció, önkormányzat és városi elit a Kr. u. 1–3. században a feliratok tükrében*. Debrecen, 2003, 214–218, Nr. 306. – TitAq 559. (Photo) – Lupa4983 – HD068504 (last updated: 10.02.2016.: Feraudi)

Memoriae q(uondam) M(arci) Aureli [- -] / Aug(ustalis) col(oniae) Aq(uinci) vix(it) ann(os) XLI MM(arci) / Aureli(i) Augendus et Amandus / liberti et heredes ex voluntate / testamenti curantibus Decim(io) / Dionisio Aug(ustale) col(oniae) s(upra) s(criptae) et / Aur(elio) Papia vet(erano) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)

The *Augustalis*' name is lost; the deceased freedmen carry typical slave names. *Papia* is attested only at Aquincum. Indigenous ancestry is possible for all.

Date: Early 3rd century AD (by Margit Németh)

42. Stele

Limestone. Epitaph. In four pieces. 1.: H: 105 cm, W: 53 cm, D: 25 cm. 2.: H: 34 cm, W: 41, D: 21 cm. 3.: H: 58 cm, W: 47 cm, D: 22 cm. 4.: H: 42 cm, W: 24 cm, D: 21 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum. Present location: Aquincum Museum. Inv. n.: 2009.14.9.

TitAq 716. (Photo) – AE 2010, 1311. – Lupa10562 – HD068677 (last updated: 15.01.2015.: Feraudi)

[D(is)] M(anibus) / M(arco) Ulp(io) - -]tero dupl(ar(io) leg(ionis) [II] ad(iutricis) ann(or)um L do(mo) / Aq(uinco?) + [- - -] M(arco) Ulp(io) Vibiano / av[unculo?] eius M(arcus) Ulp(ius) / M(arci) fil(ius) V[- - -] + nilis Poe/tevi(one) (!) V[- - -] / con[iugi - - -] / VO[- - -] / [- - - - -] / [- - -] + + [- - -] / [- - -] ENTI H[- - -] / [- - -] curav[- - -]

Too fragmentary to decide their origin.

Date: Early 3rd century AD (by Bence Fehér – Margit Németh – Ádám Szabó)

43. Table

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 60 cm, W: 195 cm, D: 24 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum, San Marco street/Reménység street. Present location: Aquincum Museum. Inv. n.: 64.10.65.

Parragi, Gy.: *Bud. Rég.* 21, 1964, 235, Nr. 17. 35. (Photo). – AE 1965, 119. – Forni, G.: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II/1, 1974, 362, 73. note – Németh, M.: *Vezető*, 38, Nr. 84. – Fehér, B.: *Nyelvtörténet*, 544, Nr. 287. – Szabó, E.: *A pannoniai városok igazgatása. Urbanizáció, önkormányzat és városi elit a Kr. u. 1–3. században a feliratok tükrében*. Debrecen, 2003, 194–195, Nr. 277. – Ertel, Ch. – Németh, M.: *Grabbauten aus Aquincum*, 66, Nr. 51, Taf. 13/4. – TitAq 720. (Photo) – Lupa2903 – HD017548 (last updated: 24.10.2016.: Feraudi)

D(is) M(anibus) M(arco) Ulpio Victori quonda(m) / vet(erano) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) qui vix(it) ann(os) LV et M(arco) Ulp(io) Victo(rino) qu(a)estori col(oniae) Aq(uincensis) et Ulp(iae) Victorin(a)e / quond(am) fili(i)s eius M(arcus) Aur(elius) Marcellinus nepos / et heres eius perfaciendu(m) (!) curavit

Given their typical military names and lack of further data, ethnic-geographic origin cannot be determined.

Date: First third of the 3rd century AD (by Margit Németh)

44. Sarcophagus

Limestone. Epitaph. H: 70 cm, W: 218 cm, D: 79 cm. Find spot: Budapest, ancient Aquincum (?). Present location: Hungarian National Museum. Inv. n.: R.D.157.

Schönvisner, I.: *Commentarius geographicus*, 198. – Miller de Brassó, J. F.: *Acta*, 136, Nr. 24. – Sestini, D.: *Viaggio*, 147. – Katancsich, M. P.: *Geographia* I. 423, Nr. 224. – CIL III 3527. – Römer, F. – Desjardins, E.: *Inscriptiones*, 88–89, Nr. 157. (Drawing) – TitAq 985. (Photo) – Lupa2994 – HD071696 (last updated: 10.06.2015.: Feraudi)

P(ublio) Ael(io) Iusto ann(or)um III Aeliae Verinae / annor(um) VII P(ublius) Ael(ius) Provincialis vet(eranus) / leg(ionis) II Adi(utricis) avos(!) et P(ublius) Ael(ius) Provinci/ alis sev(ir) col(oniae) Aq(uincensis) et Aelia Concor(dia) parentes filis dulcissim(is) fe[c]erunt

The family's citizenship derives from Hadrian (cf. Salomies 1987, 155 [P. *Aeli*], 186–187; OPEL 1, 33; Solin – Salomies 1988, 7; Mócsy 1959, 150; Barkóczi 1964, 299; Alföldy 1969, 43–46). The deceased boy *Iustus* bears a Latin cognomen (cf. Kajanto 1982, 252; Solin – Salomies 1988, 347; OPEL 2, 210); Barkóczi 1964, 315: usually borne by natives; Alföldy 1969, 225: ubiquitous, especially in Italy. The girl *Verina* is likewise Latin, a name of personal quality (cf.

Kajanto 1982, 254; Solin – Salomies 1988, 420), frequent after Marcus Aurelius in the western, especially Celtic and Germanic, regions (OPEL 4, 158; Barkóczi 1964, 327; Alföldy 1969, 324). The grandfather, a veteran of *Legio II Adiutrix*, bore *Provincialis*, a Latin cognomen pointing to provincial origin (cf. Kajanto 1982, 198; Solin – Salomies 1988, 386), most frequent in Pannonia – specifically around Aquincum – though sporadically elsewhere (OPEL 3, 169; Mócsy 1959, 186); the son bore the same. *Concordia*, wife of the younger *Provincialis*, is far commoner in the feminine than in the masculine (cf. Kajanto 1982, 255; Solin – Salomies 1988, 317); her name occurs much more often in Dalmatia and Pannonia than elsewhere (OPEL 2, 71); Barkóczi 1964, 309: typically borne by natives. On onomastic grounds – especially the frequency of *Provincialis* near Aquincum – provincial (possibly Eraviscan) origin is likely.
Date: 3rd century AD (by Margit Németh – Endre Tóth)

VII. List of Abbreviations

- Acta = Miller de Brassó, J. F.: *Acta litteraria Musei Nationalis Hungarici*. Budapest, 1818.
ActaArchHung = *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 1951-
AE = *L'Année épigraphique*, 1888-
Alba Regia = *Alba Regia. A Szent István Király Múzeum Évkönyve – Szent István Király Múzeum közleményei*, 1960-
Arch. Ért. = *Archaeológiai Értesítő*, 1868-
Arch. Közl. = *Archaeológiai Közlemények*, 1859-
Bud. Rég. = *Budapest Régiségei*, 1989-
CBFIR = Schallmayer, E. et al.: *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I*. Stuttgart, 1990.
CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Vol. I–XVII*. Berlin, 1863–2015.
CIMRM = *Corpus Inscriptionum Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae I–II*. Hague, 1956–1960.
Commentarius geographicus = Schönvisner, I.: *Commentarius geographicus in Romanorum iter per Pannoniae...* Buda, 1780–1781.
EE = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*. 1872–1903.
Fol. Arch. = *Folia Archaeologica*. 1939-
Geographia = Katancsich, M.P.: *Schedae servatae Budae apud Franciscanos (hodie Budapestini, in Bibliotheca Universitaria), in quibus praeter exemplaria quaedam inscriptionum chartulis solutis inscripta reperiuntur itinerum enarrationes praeter eas per Valeriam mediterraneam autumnu a. 1796*
IDRE = PETOLESCU, C.: *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae extra fines Daciae 2*, Bukarest, 2000.
ILS = Dessau, H.: *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae I–III*. Berlin, 1892–1916.
Inscriptiones = Rómer, F. – Desjardins, E.: *A Hungarian National Museum római feliratos emlékei*. Budapest, 1873.
Intercisa = Barkóczi L. et Al. (Szerk.): *Intercisa I. (Dunapentele – Sztálinváros). Geschichte der Stadt in der Römerzeit*. Budapest, 1954.
OPEL = Lőrincz, B.: *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum I–IV*, Budapest – Vienna, 1999–2005.
Portraits = Mander, J.: *Portraits of Children on Roman Funerary Monuments*. Cambridge, 2013.
RIU = *Die Römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, Budapest, 1972-
TitAq = *Tituli Aquincenses*, Budapest, 2009-
ZPE = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 1967-

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