

# PERSONAL NAMES AT HALMYRIS

MIHAIL ZAHARIADE

**Keywords:** name, *gentilice*, cognomen, men, women, marriage, army, administration, province, father, mother, son, daughter, inscription, evidence.

**Abstract:** The study analyses a list of 60 personal native, Greek and Roman names known thus far from epigraphic and literary evidence found or referring to Halmyris. Beside the examination of every single PN, this onomastic approach discusses aspects from the daily social life: families, social mobility, age and death, religion of the subjects, involvement in economic, juridical, administrative and military life of this key strategical fortress at the Lower Danube.

**Cuvinte cheie:** nume, *gentilicium*, cognomen, bărbați, femei, căsătorie, administrație, provincie, tată, mamă, fiu, fiică, inscripție, dovadă.

**Rezumat:** Studiul analizează o listă de 60 de nume autohtone grecești și romane cunoscute până în prezent în sursele epigrafice și literare care se referă la Halmyris. Pe lângă analiza fiecărui nume în parte, această abordare onomastică discută aspecte din zona vieții sociale: familii, mobilitatea socială, vârstă și moarte, religia subiecților, implicarea în viața economică, juridică, administrativă și militară din arealul acestei așezări de o importanță strategică majoră la Dunărea de Jos.

The thirty years systematic excavations in the Halmyris fort occasioned the unveiling of a huge amount of evidence in a broad field envisaging its history, social and economic development, and environmental evolution. If artefacts offered material evidence and answers for many key aspects while historical sources a general frame of the settlement's long existence, epigraphic discoveries unveiled the living facet of this society with its daily events, characters involved in local official or private activities, their misfortunes and good opportunities, social mobility, group or individual attitudes, religious believes.

The gazetteer is conceived to collate and discuss the names of the thus far known individuals who resided permanently or temporarily in the ancient Halmyris area (fortress and civil settlement). It includes 49 PN recorded on funerary and votive inscriptions, and on building material (bricks, pottery shards) as well (no. 1-9; 10-13; 16-20; 24-31; 34-55; 57-58) found between 1981 and 2010. All these names were summarily discussed in the volume II of the Halmyris Monograph, General Editor Mihail Zahariade, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Halmyris*, eds. Mihail Zahariade, Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu, BAR International Series 2261, Oxford 2011 (further on GLIH).

I considered necessary to incorporate in the list eight names (no. 10, 14-15, 21, 22, 32-33, 56) recorded in a hagiographic source, *Vita Sanctorum*

*Epicteti presbyteri et Astionis monachi*, which all have a particular significance for the Halmyris society in late 3<sup>rd</sup>-early 4<sup>th</sup> century. Also, an individual (no. 23) is recorded by a church author as being present at Halmyris in a literary source in a critical moment in the history of the fort.

## 1. AELIA BENDSI

*Bendsi*: var. (local) fem. PN for the theophoric fem. *Bendis*<sup>1</sup>; derivation from the name of the deity worshipped in Thrace, Athens, Bithynia and identified with Artemis (Diana) or Hekate. PN in Thracian environment or amidst a milieu of Thracian tinge of Asia Minor<sup>2</sup>. *Bendi-Bendis* is rather frequent; a mistake of the lapicid is possible, but less probable. **B.** from Halmyris could be a *hapax*. The pronunciation must have been presumably *Bentsi*>

<sup>1</sup> Zgusta 1955, 279-280, no. 557; Dechev 1976, 50-51.

<sup>2</sup> Var. e.g. *Bendi Paibis (filiae)* (Philippi, Macedonia); *Sises Mucasenius et Bendina marita* (CIL III, 6137; ILB, no. 176; OPEL I, 117: Breshte, Bulgaria); Φλ(α)ία Βένδης (Kazarov 1938, 257: Doganovo, Bulgaria); Βένδης Ζείπαδος (Picard 1921, 171 no. 33); Βένδης (Picard 1921, 173, no. 46: Thasos; Βένζει θυγάτηρ Μουκαπόρειος (IOSPE II, 223; Zgusta 1955, 279-280, no. 557: Panticapaeum). As Gr. PN few records (LGPN I, III A; IV s.v. Βενδής; Βενδής var. Βενδοῦς); for the name in general: Tomaszek 1980<sup>2</sup>, II 2, 12; Cojocaru 1997, 44, no. 8; Dana 2006, 131; Vlahov 1976, 38, 100; *Bendis*, daughter of a marine, C. Iulius Bithus, from Philippopolis (discharged in 160), RMD 105; *Aurelia Bendia*, *coniuncx* with *Valeria Valerix filia heredes of Valerius Bitieus discens ouns* (i.e. *uncinarius*) in legio II Partica at Qal'at el Mudik (215-217, or 231-233) (unpublished; information W. Van Regen).

*Benji*, nearer to Βένζεις, with ζ pronounced dz in the Thracian-Getae local linguistic environment<sup>3</sup>.

Originally a peregrine woman; she could have acquired the gentile name during Hadrian's or Antoninus Pius' reigns. **B.** was the wife of *Titus Flavius Secundus* (no. 28)<sup>4</sup> and seems to have married him after she acquired the gentilice that explains its preservation after marriage. *Secundus* held Roman citizenship and *Aelia*, if she has not held it before marriage, then she could have obtained it after.

## 2. AELIA MARCIA

*Marcia* common combination of Latin PNs<sup>5</sup>; known at Halmyris (no. 35). **M.** apparently acquired the gentilice during Hadrian or Antoninus Pius possibly following marriage with *Aelius Sola* (no. 5) who was presumably in the military and was granted citizenship upon discharge. She died earlier than her husband who set the epitaph<sup>6</sup>.

## 3. AELIUS[----]

Some relationship is to be envisaged with a certain *Papirius* (no. 41); the fragmentary state of the inscription makes impossible any further discussion<sup>7</sup>. A possible origin from *Raf[aria]* is to be envisaged.

## 4. AELIUS SABINUS

The gentilice and cognomen are frequently associated; *Sabinus*, old Italic (Etruscan) PN; highly frequent in mid Italy and Celtic speaking provinces; certain extension in Lower Moesia<sup>8</sup>.

**S.** was *Aelius Valens*' son (no. 6); the break in the stone makes unclear whether it was *Sabinus* who lived probably eight years (VII[?]) or there was another individual who lived that long given the existence of an e[*t*--] after **S.** name<sup>9</sup>.

## 5. AELIUS SOLA

**S.** was *Marcia*'s husband (no. 2). The PN is recorded for the first time at Halmyris.

*Sola* (rad. *sel* -), typical Thracian PN widespread particularly in Bessian lands and Thracian speaking provinces (Dacia, Moesia Inferior)<sup>10</sup>; frequent in military environment, both in auxiliary units and imperial navy<sup>11</sup>.

**S.** at Halmyris must have been a soldier in the navy squadron or in the legionary detachment<sup>12</sup>.

## 6. AELIUS VALENS

*Valens* as cognomen is exceptionally common and remarkably used in the Balkan provinces<sup>13</sup>. There are two *Aelii Valentes* on the inscription. The epitaph is set by an *Aelius Valens* for another *Aelius Valens* who died aged 45. The unsolved problem as yet is the relation between the two *Aelii Valentes*. It may be that *Aelius Valens*, the dedicant, held a posture of either father (?) (of *Aelius Valens*) or comrade-in-arms; strong hint that the latter was a veteran in the army. **V.** could have been granted citizenship upon levy (legion) or discharge (navy)<sup>14</sup>.

## 7. AELIUS VALENS

See infra no. 6.

## 8. AELIUS SATURNINUS

Common combination of gentilice and cognomen; *Saturninus* is old Italic<sup>15</sup>, found everywhere in the European and African provinces<sup>16</sup>; *Saturninus* contains the suffix, *-inus*, applied to later masculine PNs containing father's gentilice<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Katsarov 1938, 31-34; Tomaschek 1980<sup>2</sup>, 43; Dechev 1976, 465-466; Minkova 2000, 256; OPEL IV, 2002, 86.

<sup>11</sup> *Meticus Solae, Bessus* (ala I Asturum) (CIL XVI 45: Plovdiv) (99); *Bithus Solae, Bessus* in *numerus Equitum Illyricorum* (Dacia Inferior) (RMD, 39 = IDR I 13: Palamarca) (13.02. 140); *Sola Mucatri*, veteran in *ala Tungrorum Frontoniana* CIL III 787: Ilişua); *Solas*, on a receipt for the squadron of *Donatus* in *ala veterana Gallica* from Egypt (130) (P. Lond. II 482<sup>10</sup>; CPL 114<sup>10</sup>); soldier in the praetorian navy from Misene, *C. Iulius Victor qui et Sola Dini*; the soldier insisted on making known his former Thracian name on the official document (diploma) (CIL X 3593); *Septimius Sola* in legio II Parthica (Qal'at el Mudik) (212-217) (unpublished; information W. Van Rengen).

<sup>12</sup> GLIH nr. 24 with the bibliography.

<sup>13</sup> Solin, Salomies 1988, 18, 46, 66, 247; OPEL IV, 2002, 141-142; Balkan provinces and Middle Danube: ILB passim; Minkova 2000, 270; IMS passim; IDR passim; ISM passim; RIU passim.

<sup>14</sup> GLIH no. 20 with the bibliography.

<sup>15</sup> Schulze 1991, 467.

<sup>16</sup> Dean 1916, 48-49; OPEL IV, 2002, 51-53; Solin, Salomies 1988, 18bis, 20, 30bis, 54, 55, 58, 76, 113, 213; ILB, passim; IMS, passim; IDR passim; Minkova 2000, 265, for the Moesian provinces and Dacia.

<sup>17</sup> Kajanto 1982, 33.

<sup>3</sup> Russu 1967, 150.

<sup>4</sup> GLIH no. 22 with the bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> OPEL III, 57; fem. derivation from theophoric *Marcus*>*Marcia*, *Martius*>*Martia*; Schulze 1991, 188, 466; OPEL III, 2000, 60-62.

<sup>6</sup> GLIH no. 24 with the bibliography.

<sup>7</sup> GLIH no. 29 with the bibliography.

<sup>8</sup> Schulze 1991, 222-223; Dean 1916, 54-55; Alföldy 1969, 116; Minkova 2000, 82; Solin, Salomies 1988, 417; OPEL IV, 40-41.

<sup>9</sup> GLIH no. 20 with the bibliography.

**S.** served in the local garrison, likely in the legionary detachment (V Macedonica or, later, I Italica). He died after five years of service (*militavit annis V*) in unknown circumstances. Roman citizenship could have been granted upon enrolment<sup>18</sup>.

## 9. AELIUS TITIANUS

*Titianus*, follows the rule of the late onomastic construction with the addition of the suffix *-ianus*, i.e. suggesting originally 'belonging to' applied commonly to a gentile<sup>19</sup>; a certain spread in Lower Moesia and elsewhere<sup>20</sup>. J. Kajanto counted 142 cases in the Empire. **T.** was *Flavia Titia's* son (no. 25); he acquired the Imperial gentile apparently during Hadrian or Antoninus Pius<sup>21</sup>.

## 10. ALEXANDER

*Astion's* father; **A.** was *primarius* of a city, apparently on the north or north east coast of Asia Minor, as shown by the context of the account shows. The term refers to a high position in the city administration. Codex Theodosianus records the terms *primas*, *primus*, like in *primatum urbium vicorum castellarumque*<sup>22</sup>. In a town, *primus* would stand for chief of municipal council or municipal decurions. A *primarius* is attested in the 4<sup>th</sup> century in Civitas Canusium, a post held by *Iulius Pacatus Senecio*<sup>23</sup>. It is not sure whether the term circulated already in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, a period to which the story refers to, or the editor made use of a 4<sup>th</sup> century wording to express some earlier realities. **A.** was apparently very rich: *nimum ditissimus* (I 5).

**A.** officially put his property under law protection (*universam substantiam suam sub actoribus et procuratoribus reliquerunt*) (III 26) before leaving the city in search of his son.

The editor conferred **A.** an insignificant role at Halmyris compared to that of his wife who appears more active and involved. **A.** does not understand too much from the reading of the Gospel (IV 37, 40) and asks help from *Vigilantius* to explain the passages more explicitly.

Alexandros, Gr. Ἀλέξανδρος common PN; borrowed in Lat. as *Alexander*, widely spread in the Roman Empire<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> GLIH no. 30 with the bibliography.

<sup>19</sup> Kajanto 1982, 32-35. *Titianus* from old *Titia* gens; Schulze 1991, 425.

<sup>20</sup> ILB 232, 438, II 24; Minkova 2000, 89; OPEL IV, 2002, 123-124; Solin, Salomies 1988, 187, 412.

<sup>21</sup> GLIH no. 21 with the bibliography.

<sup>22</sup> CTh. VII 18.13.

<sup>23</sup> AE 1987, 280.

<sup>24</sup> LPGN I-VA s. v. Ἀλέξανδρος; OPEL I, 41.

## 11. AMAIOS

Ἀμαῖος, Gr. PN<sup>25</sup>. At Halmyris, he was the owner of a 'tribaion' (a particular type of recipient), a local craftsman or merchant and vendor of the vase to a certain Σίμη (no. 46) datable in late 3<sup>rd</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC<sup>26</sup>.

## 12. APAKΛ(A?)

Ἀράκλ(α?) perhaps local var. for Ἡρακλᾶς (Histria); Ἡρακλει [---] (Callatis); Potaissa: Ἡράκλα<sup>27</sup>. Ἀράκλῆς contr. Ἡράκλῆς (Att.), Ἡράκλες (Acc.) suggests a Doric form of the PN<sup>28</sup>.

## 13. ARTEMIDORA

*Artemidora* (Ἀρτεμιδώρα) fem. PN; (m. Artemidoros, Ἀρτεμίδωρος); Gr. theophoric fem. PN<sup>29</sup>; common in European and Near Eastern provinces. **A.'s** husband was *Nepotianus* (no. 40); frequently as main name followed by patronymic<sup>30</sup>.

## 14. ASTION

Name: *Astion nomine* (I 5); *juvenem, Astion nomen habentem* (IV 33). The name, Ἀστίων, is rare<sup>31</sup>. Most likely, Thessalian in origin; not known in any of the provinces of Asia Minor.

<sup>25</sup> LGPN I s. v. Ἀμαῖς; III A: Ἀμμαῖος.

<sup>26</sup> GLIH no. 106 with the bibliography.

<sup>27</sup> ISM I, 201, B 18 (Histria); ISM III, 35, A 37 (Callatis); ILD 529 (Potaissa).

<sup>28</sup> Pape, Bensele 1911, 462; Ἡρακλᾶς; LPGN I-Va s. v. counted 73 names; Hornblower, Matthews 2000, 58; GLIH no. 38 with the bibliography.

<sup>29</sup> Pape, Bensele 1911, 147; LPGN I-VA, s. v.; Hornblower, Matthews 2000, 58, 59, 66, 136; OPEL I, 2005, 77; P 277.

<sup>30</sup> Beshevliev 1970, 19-20; GLIH no. 28 with the bibliography.

<sup>31</sup> Ἀστίων: Kalindoia (Mygdonia, Macedonia): (Hatzopoulos, 84-85 no. 62, 35; Ἀστί[ων] or Ἀστί[ας]; (311 BC); Limoghardi (Narthakion) (Thessalia-Achaia Ftiotis); IG, IX<sup>2</sup>, 91 col. III l. 70 (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC); LPGN I 57; LPGN III 76; Ἀστίων SEG XXXVI 626. 35; Ἀστιούνητος(=ῆος) as a Thessalian genitive of the otherwise unattested name; Ἀστιουεύς; Derweni: SEG, 37, 1987, 549; cf. Mihailov 1989, 56; inscription on a krateros (ca. 300 BC); Ἀστίνος (Euboeia) IG, XII, 246, B. 113 (4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC); *Athens* FD III 25, 34 (106/105 BC); *Halimous* IG II<sup>2</sup> 5533, 9; 5541, 2; IG II, 5579, 6; SEG 22, 172 (4<sup>th</sup> c. BC); Ἀστίονομος; Athens: IG, II<sup>2</sup>, 1696, 22 (352/351 BC); Ἀστίον: frequent in Thessaly (Pelagiotis) at: *Atrax*: SEG, 44, 554; ZPE 14, 1974, 21-22, no. 1, 11 (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC); *Kranon*: IG, IX<sup>2</sup>, 459, 9; SEG 23, 437, 13 (3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC); *Larissa*: SEG, 30, 567 (4<sup>th</sup> c. BC); *Pherai*: SEG, 25, 664 I, 59; 29, 552 (ca. 300 BC); variant: Ἀστιούνητος; *Larissa*: SEG, 41, 568 (200-190 BC); LPGN III 76; Other variants: Ἀστίης; Euboeia, Styra: IG XII (9), 56-59 (5<sup>th</sup> c. BC) and the variant Ἀστίες Ἀστίνος; Euboeia-Erethria-Aphareus: IG XI (9), 246 B 113 (4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC); *Tenos*: IG XII Suppl. 138, no. 312; Ἀστων; *Eretria*: IG XII 245 (Ἀστων Ἐμπέδωνος, a list on a marble stele in the temple of Apollo); *Histiata*: IG XII 1208; *Rhodos*: Ἀστος; Hesperia 32, 1963, 319 (310-240 BC); Ἀστίονομος; Athens: IG 2<sup>2</sup> 1696, 22 (352-351 BC); Athens Oion: IG II<sup>2</sup> 1553, 19; 3831 (4<sup>th</sup> c. BC); IG II<sup>2</sup> 3832; IG IX (1)<sup>2</sup>;

Appearance: *adolescens nimium decorus vultu, et pulcher aspectu* (I 5); [...] *Astion monachus statura et ipse procerus existebat; sed et nimium pulcher ac delicatus* (III 20). The anthropological expertise of the skeleton 2 established a 170-176 cm tall, Dinaric-Armenoid type, strong constitution male<sup>32</sup>.

Origo: *originem vel genus meum [...] ignoro quod scio tantum modo breviter et in transcurso tibi indicabo; pater meus primarius urbis huius et nimium ditissimus; mater vero illustrium genere et lulium senatoris extit filia* (I 5).

**A.** lived apparently in the same province and city with *Epictetus* (no. 21), as long as he visited *Epictetus* at his house (*cella*, I 1; *mansio* I 9) and states that '*pater meus primarius urbis huius*' (I 5). In III 25 the editor of the account was about to tell the city of origin of **A.** and *Epictetus* but hides it under *in partibus Orientis [...] in civitatem unde erat oriundus*. **A.**'s parents take easily a ship from the port of their city (*navim protinus conscendunt*; III 26) in order to sail to Scythia and in search for their son.

**A.**'s 'ignorance' of his own origin in front of *Epictetus* is induced by the late 4<sup>th</sup> century editor; he introduces an apparent overall ban of information in the story on the origin of the two individuals (III 19); the silence on this issue must have been breached by **A.** interrogated by *Vigilantius* (III 22) or other inquirers on which occasion significant evidence and answers was obtained and written down in the official record of the trial. **A.** was too young (17) at the date when he met *Epictetus* to know in detail all the aspects of his origin. **A.** relates roughly what he conjecturally knew: *tantum modo breviter et in transcurso* (I 5).

Parents: *Alexander: pater ... primarius urbis huius et nimium ditissimus* (I 5); IV 47 (father); *Marcellina: mater vero illustrium genere et lulium senatoris extit filia* (I 5); *meus Astion* (IV 36) (mother); *Astion filius vester* (IV 37); *Astion vester* (IV 41); *Astion noster* (IV 43).

Family caressing: *filius dulcissimus meus et unicus meus pignus Astion charissimus; inter tuos cives ut columba pulcherrima incedebas; radius solis inter omnes; splendidissima luna inter populare vulgus coruscabat* (father) (I 10); *dulcissimus*

*filius Astion; corona capitis mei; fructus ventris mei; arbor; margarita; gemma pretiosa; lampa; regalis statua* (mother) (I 11); *unicus Astion* (IV 34); *dulcissimus filius Astion* (IV 35).

The density of the epithets addressed by parents to *Astion* is remarkable. The terms were introduced by the Christian editor who fabricated the superlative wording intended to create expressivity and strike the imagination, to touch the hearts and impress the sorrow of an irremediable loss. *Dulcissimus*<*dulcis*, here as: *dear, treasured, cherished*; appears three times in the passage; *Carissimus*<*carus*, here as *dear, beloved*, is rendered *charissimus* with C=ch simulating a Greek tinge pronunciation, whereas the hand of the copyist in a Greek speaking environment is visible. The editor applied a colorful vocabulary from different domains: animal kingdom (*columba*); astronomy (*sol, luna*); precious stones (*margarita, gemma*); administration (*rex*); house holding (*lampa*); human (*venter*).

Religious orientation: Traditionally, Greek-Roman religion (*gentilis*); converted to Christianity by *Epictetus: procidit ad Senis genua, et rogare eum coepit, ut illi se potius offerret, cui ipse ab ineunte aetate deserviret, qui et tantae potentiae et magnitudinis solus haberetur* (I 8); *Jube me hodie fieri catechumenum; Sacramentum baptismatis tribue. Cumque omnia, quae Christianae pertinent religioni* (I 9).

At Halmyris he had serious doubts on something which the editor avoids to reveal: *turpis [...] cogitatio [...] mentem eius subito invasit; sordida cogitation [...] in mentem ascendit* (I 17), and which **A.** cannot get rid of *Epictetus*' reproachful tone on **A.**'s thoughts (*tristitia, mortiferam tristitiam*) becomes worrisome when the Christian faith is at stake. *Epictetus* had strong fear of a possible **A.**'s defection from the faith expressly vouched by the editor (III 30): *non possim esse incredulus de bonitate Dei, eo quod potest te et sine mea praesentia in omnibus conservare, sicut et usque in hodiernam diem custodivit immaculatum*: that could explain why, in front of the judges, *Epictetus* insisted his pupil to be first executed (III 31) and be certain **A.** would not defect and abjured Christian faith and thus save his life.

Stance as transmitter of Christian faith: *collata est eis plurima gratia adversus omnes infirmitates: contra daemones maxima illis potestas tributa est* (I 15). **A.** accompanies his miraculous healings by proselytism actions stimulating people to embrace Christianity as their new religion (I 15-17).

Athens Phyle: IG II<sup>2</sup> 1028, II 124 (106-101 BC); LPGN I 92; *Astio: Rome: CIL VI 7.1 nr. 4159: M. Livius/Divae Aug(usti) L(ibertus)/Astio; 10648(3): D(is) M(anibus) L(iberto) Astio et Flaviae Deuterae Claudia; 12559: D(is) M(anibus) L(ibertus) Astio Clementi vix(it) a(nnis) VIII m(enses) VII; in Roman period as names born by freedmen.*

<sup>32</sup> Mirițoiu, Soficaru 2001-2003, 177-178.

Attitude and involvement in local society: *Astion plurima miracula in nomine Domini operabatur* (I 15); *approprians juxta illum, et orans pro eo sufficienter, salutare signum in fronte ejus fecit* (I 15); *assumens hominem, cum universis, qui aderant, eadem hora catechumenos effecit, et post paucos dies Sacramentum eis baptismi tradidit* (I 17); *apprehensa ejus manu dextra, elevavit eum: et protinus consolidatæ sunt bases ejus et plantæ, et exilivit et ambulavit* (I 16-17).

Unlike *Epictetus*, who apparently lived a recessed life, **A.** makes repeated egresses for house holding needs, among which bringing water from the Danube is most distinct; on these occasions he might have contacted people from the local community (I 15; 17).

Christian feature: *sacerdos Domini* (I 17). *Astion monachus* (III 21, 23; IV 49). The attributes given in the text belong to a later tradition and are inserted by the late 4<sup>th</sup> century editor. **A.** appears labelled as monk (*monachus*) only later in the account. The term priest (*sacerdos*) applied to **A.** seems euphemistic, for it is applicable to a person who is certified by a higher church authority, which was absent at Halmyris during the trial and execution (290).

Later Christian Church assessment: *sanctus Astion* (I 10; IV 34; 41; 42; 44; 45; 46); *beatissimus Astion* (I 15; II 17; III 20; 25; 31; 46); *beatus Astion* (II 18; III 19; 30; 33).

Aproximate birth date: 255.

Arrival at Halmyris: 273: *in Almiridensium civitatem devenerunt* (I 9).

Activity at Halmyris: 273-290: *decem et septem annos* (III 30).

Date of death: 8 July 290: *Pertulerunt autem martyrium Sancti atque athletæ Christi, Epictetus presbyter et Astion monachus in Almiridensium civitate, octava die mensis Julii, temporibus Diocletiani tyranni, sub duce Latroniano* (IV 49).

Age at death: 35; *quasi triginta quinque annos aetatis agens* (III 20). The age is confirmed by the anthropological expertise<sup>33</sup>.

## 15. BONOSUS

Name: *Bonosus* (IV 47).

Province and town of origin/activity: *Scythia*; most likely *Salsovia*: *in aliam civitatem, quæ in proximo habetur, remeavit* (IV 47). There is no town (*civitas*) in the proximity (*proximo*) of Halmy-

ris, except *Salsovia*. The text makes no specific remark on the affiliation of **B.** to *Salsovia*, or its name, but the priest appears suddenly inserted in the story, which suggests that he could have come promptly from the nearest town.

Position in the church hierarchy: *presbyter* (IV 47).

Religious orientation: *Christian*.

Stance as transmitter of Christian faith: *presbyter* (IV 47); presumably had an important role in baptizing *Astion's* parents, although there is no specific record of it<sup>34</sup>.

Later Christian Church assessment: *sanctus presbyterus Bonosus* (IV 47).

Attitude, activity, and involvement in local societies: [...] *Vigilantius una cum sancto presbytero Bonoso, ad eum (i.e. Evangelicus) perduxerunt, exponentesque illi per ordinem cuncta, quæ acta fuissent* [...] (IV 47). The presence of **B.** and *Vigilantius*, quaestionarius, before *Evangelicus* to whom they gave a detailed report of the events shows that he either attended the trial of *Epictetus* and *Astion*, and therefore could have released valuable information upon the unfolding of the event, or the procedure requested a church official, considering that **V.** was not a church person. *Astion's* parents accompanied the two officials before *Evangelicus*, bishop, and most likely it was **B.** who asked for their consecration as *fideli Christi*. There is no evidence that **B.** was hiding from the authorities in Halmyris. It seems to have been involved in the preparations for the office of commemoration of *Epictetus* and *Astion* after 40 days, on the occasion of the arrival of *Evangelicus*.

Christian feature: *sanctus* (IV 47).

Aproximate date of activity: the years 80<sup>s</sup>-90<sup>s</sup> of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Arrival at Halmyris: in a period shortly after the execution of *Epictetus* and *Astion*. The wording [...] *cum quadragesima dormitionis eorum dies illuxisset* [...] (IV 47) shows his presence within 40 days from the execution act, but apparently before the arrival of the bishop *Evangelicus* at Halmyris.

Appearance: unknown.

**B.** PN, Celt; sizable number in the western and Danubian provinces; extremely rare in Moesia Inferior<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Popescu 1991, 202, n. 7.

<sup>35</sup> Holder I 488); var. Lat. *Boninus* (Schulze 1991, 32), *Bonius*, *Bononius*, (Schulze 1991, 32) *Bononianus*; OPEL I, 2005, 126, 141; in Lower Moesia: *Bonosus* (ILB 438.33; Butovo-Nedan); *Scythia*: *Bon[osus]*, soldier in a 4<sup>th</sup> century list at *Salsovia* IGLR

<sup>33</sup> Mirițoiu, Soficaru 2001-2003, 177-178.

## 16. CAPITO

One can assume *tria nomina* on the stone; only the cognomen is preserved. **C.** is exceptionally spread among the gentilicia and frequently as cognomen in an old Italic environment in Republican times; considerable extension in the provinces<sup>36</sup>.

## 17. CLAUDIA BERSILLE

*Bersille* is apparently a *hapax* among Thracian fem. PN<sup>37</sup>; the root *ber* is widespread in multiple combinations, especially place names; thr.-phryg. *sil* (-sil), *siltas* 'warm, pleasant'; see Σίλτα (Gr. neutr. pl) (place on the Propontis coast of Thrace; Strab. *Geogr.* VII frg. 55); see thr. ζιλᾶ 'wine'; *sille*, here as suffix apparently applicable to the root *ber* resulted in fem. PN. *Sile* is a fem. PN in itself: [...] *senecta mea Crescentilla socra tua et Sile coniux tua Bitilla curavit filias* [...] (Koinaré).

**B.** was a native woman of some condition<sup>38</sup>; citizenship was apparently acquired before she married *M. Ulpus Marcellinus* (no. 50) for she kept her gentile.

## 18. CLAUDIUS CLEMENS

*Clemens* is common as Lat. PN<sup>39</sup>. **C.** held apparently Roman citizenship upon the dedication and both father and son (no. 20 could have dealt with the Halmyris garrison).

## 19. CLAUDIUS MARTINUS

*Martinus* is a common Lat. PN; originally a gentilice turned into a derivation of a theophoric cognomen (*Mars-Martius / Martialis / Martinus*; fem. *Martia, Martina*) The additional suffix *-inus* is common in children's names formed after the cognomen of the parents; few times recorded in Lower Moesia<sup>40</sup>. **M.** is second time recorded at Halmyris;

no. 272; Kajanto 1982, 275 (meaning); Minkova 2000, 128.

<sup>36</sup> Schulze 1991, 315; Kajanto 1982, 118-120; OPEL II, 1999, 33; Solin, Salomies 1988, 308). GLIH no. 32 with the bibliography.

<sup>37</sup> *Berilo*, m. recorded in an album of *sodalicii* of Bacchus from Nedan (Moesia Inferior) (ILB 438 II/13); thr I.-e *-behr-* 'to carry', 'to bear', 'to cut', 'to split', 'to cleave' or 'to carry' (Danov 1976, 53; Russu 1967, 132).

<sup>38</sup> Kretschmer 1910, 397-398; 1913, 351-352; Dechev 1976, 51-55; 443; Vlahov 1976, 64; ILB 153 (Koinare) cf. *Bersolus Licinianus* in Pannonia; OPEL I, 2005, 118; I<sup>2</sup>, 289; AE 1972, 447; GLIH no. 19 with the bibliography.

<sup>39</sup> OPEL II, 63; III, 60-62; Solin, Salomies 1988, 315, 316; GLIH no. 27 with the bibliography.

<sup>40</sup> Schulze 1991, 486-487; OPEL III, 61; Solin, Salomies 1988, 359, 56; Kajanto 1982, 36, 55 counted 213 cases of bearers of the PN; used more frequently in the Celtic speaking provinces (OPEL III, 2000, 61) as dedicatory names; Kajanto 1982, 113-114; for Lower Moesia see: Minkova 2000, 205-206; ILB nr. 370, 438.50. An *Ulpus Martinus* is mentioned in 244-246

see *Flavius Martinus* (no. 26). **M.** was *Claudius Clemens'* son and died aged 20. He must have been involved in some way in the local military. The inscription is second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century at the earliest as the writing suggests.

## 20. DIOCLETIANUS

**D.** is mentioned only incidentally and indirectly in a Greek hand written text on a brick. He appears as the father of a certain *Valeria* (no. 51). **D.** from Halmyris reproduces the Emperor's name, but as common PN is surprisingly rare in the provincial environment<sup>41</sup>. **D.** is a toponymic surname derived from Doclea, commonly called Dioclea, town in Dalmatia. There is little chance that our **D.** had a Dalmatian origin and the name given after his birth place.

## 21. EPICTETUS

Name: *nomine Epictetus* (I 1; III 16).

Town and province of origin: officially unknown; [...] *dicamus quia Christiani sumus, et hoc nomen nobis, hoc genus, hoc patria; et nihil aliud sumus, quam very Dei cultores* [...] (III 19).

Position in the church hierarchy: *presbyter in partibus Orientis; ephod sacerdotale*; (I 1); *presbyter* (IV 24; 47).

Religious orientation: *in servitio Domini; exercebatur in omnibus iustificationibus Jesu Christi* (I 1).

Stance as transmitter of Christian faith: *magister Epictetus* (III 19, IV 31).

Attitude and involvement in local societies: *religiosam vitam agens, et castus; multa signa ac prodigia [...] in omnibus operatur* (I 1; 2); *sanc-tum Epictetum plura signa et prodigia in regione Scytharum, quam ea, quae in Orientis partibus fecerat, operari* (II 12); healer of ill/invalid persons: *plurima gratia adversus omnes infirmitates* (I 15) and on spot proselytizing the Christian faith in the local community (I 2-4); *Astion's* conversion to Christian faith (I 5-9); mass conversion: *plus quam mille animæ in illa die crediderunt* (I 14); *Vigilantius, quaestionarius* (II 22).

Christian feature: *sanctus Epictetus* (I 2; 4; II 8; 9; 10; III 12; 13; 15; 19; 31; IV 24); *beatissimus pater* (IV 30); *beatissimus Epictetus* (IV 24).

Later Christian Church assessment: *sanctus Epictetus* (I 2; 3; 5; 9; II 2; 15; 17; III 19; 20; 23; 30; 31; IV 42); *beatissimus* (II 14).

among the dedicators of an altar set for Philip the Arab at Cius (Gârliciu) ISM V 124; GLIH no. 27 with the bibliography.

<sup>41</sup> OPEL II, 1999, 101; GLIH no. 36 with the bibliography.

Aproximate birth date: 230.

Aproximate date of activity: ca. 250-290.

Arrival at Halmyris: 273: *in Almiridensium civitatem devenerunt* (I 9).

Activity at Halmyris: 273-290: *decem et septem annos* (III 30).

Appearance: *statura procerus, barba prolixa, et splendore canitiei decoratus* (III 20).

Date of death: 8 July 290: *Pertulerunt autem martyrium Sancti atque athletae Christi, Epictetus presbyter et Astion monachus in Almiridensium civitate, octava die mensis Julii, temporibus Diocletiani tyranni, sub duce Latroniano* (IV 47).

Age at death: ca. 60: *annorum fere sexaginta* (II 13).

**E.** is one of the two Christian martyrs executed at Halmyris. His origin is unknown. He lived *in partibus Orientis* (I 1). The term is purely technical at the time when the text was finally drawn up, presumably towards late 4<sup>th</sup> century. In 395, the official division of the Roman Empire in two partes had been accomplished and Notitia Dignitatum could emblematically record *omnium, tam ciuilium et militarium, in partibus Orientis*. The wording *in partibus Orientis* is repeated in III 25. The term is vague for the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> century: *temporibus Diocletiani* (I 1) to which the text refers. The city left by **E.** is not known although is twice recorded: *hac urbe; ab urbe* (I 9). *Urbs* means an important city. The context would suggest a city with a port wide opened to the sea: *ab urbe egrediuntur et descendentes navim [...]* (I 9). The messenger who saw and recognized *Astion* while on trial was a person who sailed back to his city. That implied the existence of a port to the sea. The story alludes to an embarkment on a ship which was seemingly available next to the city: *egressi [...], navim protinus condescenderunt, et navigare coeperunt* (III 26).

Apparently, the province of Scythia, *Scytharum fines* (I 9) was at an enough short distance and destination for an individual who intended to reach it by sea. Bithynia, with its traditional relation with eastern Lower Moesia and later Scythia (present day Dobrudja) (see below) is the nearest and best candidate to conjecture the province where **E.** must have lived before he came to Scythia; city (*urbs*) of origin: possibly Nicomedia.

**E.** was accused in front of the duke's retinue by some (ei) of the Halmyris community, of being: *maleficus et magus; multos per sua veneficia averterent iam a sacrificiis deorum* (III 19); prob-

ably accused also of exorcism and sorcery: *contra daemones maxima illis potestas tributa est* (I 15); arrested and kept in custody until the trial: *ferro vincus, perduxit in custodiam carceris* (III 19); goads *Astion* to refute, before court, the customary questions: *nomina, provincia, genus, oriundus* and declare Christian affiliation (III 19); submitted to tortures and seclusion (III 20-24; 27); condemned to death by decapitation with sword: *capita eorum gladi amputari* (III 27); asks the executioner to execute first *Astion*: *ante se prius beatum percuterent Astionem* (III 30); executed shortly after by decapitation of *Astion* (III 31); buried in secret at sunset by the *questionarius* (inquirer) *Vigilantius* (no. 58).

*Epictetus* Ἐπίκτητος. Greek PN; m. considerably large geographical, temporal, and onomastic extension<sup>42</sup>; recorded alone, with affiliation or in combination with another PN in the Greek world. *Epictetus* (Lat.) widely spread in the European and Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire although much less numerous in records.

In Scythia Minor the name occurs apparently twice at Tomis: Ἰουλιανὸς Ἐπίκτητου and Ἰουλιανὸς Ἐπίκτητου [νέωτερος] in a 3<sup>rd</sup> century catalogue of a collegium; νέωτερος suggests a young *Epictetus*, the father of another Iulianus<sup>43</sup>.

## 22. EVANGELICUS

Name: *Euangelicus* (IV 47).

Town and province of origin: unknown.

Position in the church hierarchy: *cuius provinciae* (i.e. Scythia) *tunc pontifex et praepositus sanctorum Dei ecclesiarum, beatissimus Evangelicus habebatur* (III 26); *Christi pontifex* (IV 47).

Religious orientation: Christian.

Stance as transmitter of Christian faith: He apparently occupied the seat of bishop of Tomis.

Attitude and involvement in local societies: *cum quadragesima dormitionis eorum dies illuxisset, et Christi pontifex Euangelicus in urbem Almiridensium devenisset* (IV 47). His arrival, likely announced before, could have happened on the special occasion of the fasting commemorating the death of the two martyrs after 40 days.

Christian feature: *pontifex* (IV 47).

<sup>42</sup> LGPN I-V C s. v. Ἐπίκτητος; MAMA I-IV s. v. Ἐπίκτητος; for the European provinces: OPEL II, 119 s. v. *Epictetus*, var. *Epictet*.

<sup>43</sup> ISM II 31 Π<sub>24</sub>; see also Ἐπίκτητω [τέκνω πρεσβυτέρω...] in present day Atlanty (χωρίον Ἀραλλείων) (MAMA I 292) near Laodicea Combustica (eastern Phrygia). For the name in general see: PLRE I 278 (provincial governors, 4<sup>th</sup> century).

Aproximate birth date: unknown.

Aproximate date of activity: around 290<sup>44</sup>.

Arrival at Halmyris: 290: *in urbem Almiridensium devenisset* (IV 47).

Activity at Halmyris: 290.

Appearance: unknown.

Date of death: unknown.

Age at death: unknown.

**E.** Gr PN. var: Εὐάγγελιος, more frequently Εὐάγγελιος; Lat. var: *Euangelis*, *Euangelius*, *Euangelus*, *Euangelianus*; significant extension in western provinces; rare in the Danubian provinces<sup>45</sup>.

### 23. EUNOMIUS

**E.** appears exiled at Halmyris by 384/385 due to the information provided by Philostorgius; on that occasion the fortress was taken by surprise by the barbarians which crossed the frozen Danube. At the time of his exile at Halmyris, ordered by the Emperor Theodosius I, he was the leader of the radical wing of Arianism<sup>46</sup>.

### 24. FLAVIA PRIMITIVA

**P.** was the wife of *Flavius Valerius* (no. 30). The given name, *Primitiva*, normally used as a cognomen is turned into a nomen while the gentilice fem. Flavia became praenomen; it unveils the peregrine origin of the woman, holding Roman citizenship after marrying *Flavius Valerius*<sup>47</sup>.

### 25. FLAVIA TITIA

*Flavia Titia*, died aged 60. *Titia* fem. from *Titius*; old Roman origin. She bears the gentilice *Flavia*<*Flavius* meaning a generic adjectival name as 'belonging to the house of Flavii'. But here is a double gentilicia, as fem from *Flavius* and *Titius* of which the first is a praenomen turned into nomen, while the latter would apparently go here as a *cognomen* but in fact acts on a position of *nomen*. Double gentilicium without cognomina is a peculiarity of women in comparison with men. It might be

that the second gentilicium was inherited from her mother<sup>48</sup>, whose name remains unknown.

The wording of the text of the inscription denotes bad knowledge of the Latin syntax, either of the dedicator or of the lapicid. The text must have had run correctly as: *D(is) M(anibus), Fl(aviae) Titiae matri, vixit an(nis) LX, Ael(ius) Titianus, filiu(s), bene merenti posuit*<sup>49</sup>.

### 26. FLAVIUS MARTINUS

**M.** was *Memmia's* (no. 37) husband, as it appears from the Halmyris impressive cippus set upon his wife's burial. The cognomen rendering an initial theophoric name is here turned into a name. **M.** is second time mentioned in Halmyris (no. 19)<sup>50</sup>.

### 27. FLAVIUS SECUNDUS

An epitaph set in the memory of the young *Memmia Marcia* (no. 37) records *Flavius Secundus* as D EIVS. The text contains no less than three demonstrative pronouns: (*pater*) *eius*, (*maritus*) *eius* and *d(octor?) eius*. The only reasonable position of **S.** in such situation would have been that of *d(octor?)* if the deceased was assisted till the end of her days by someone qualified; the wealthy family could afford it. If so, **S.** seems to have been very much involved in a interrelationship with the richly family of *Memmii* from Halmyris<sup>51</sup>.

### 28. T. FLAVIUS SECUNDUS

*T. Flavius Secundus* was *Aelia Bendsi's* husband (no. 1). He died aged fifty. His *tria nomina* indicates Roman citizenship. *Titii Flavii* are quite common and frequently borne from the Flavian epoch onwards, when a considerable number of individuals received Roman citizenship. *Flavii Secundi* are regular occurrence in the Roman Empire, particularly in the Danubian and African provinces<sup>52</sup>. *Tria nomina* also suggest that **S.** could have been a veteran of the legionary detachment billeted at Halmyris. It is little chance that no. 27 is one and the same individual with no. 28 who holds *tria nomina* which is nor recorded on *Memmia's* epitaph.

<sup>44</sup> Popescu 1991, 214.

<sup>45</sup> LGPN I-IIB s. v; OPEL II, 1999, 124; PLRE I 286; *Evangelius* at Ratiaria (2<sup>nd</sup> century); Minkova 2000, 162.

<sup>46</sup> Philost. *Hist. Eccl.* X 6; Julicher 1907, 1131-1132; V. C. de Clercq in: N. Cath. Enc<sup>2</sup> 5, 2003, 448-449 s. v. *Eunomius of Constantinople* (with the bibliography); Destephen 3, 2008, 295-342 s. v. *Eunomios* 1 (with the bibliography).

<sup>47</sup> GLIH no. 23 with the bibliography.

<sup>48</sup> Schulze 1991, 425; OPEL IV, 123-124; Solin, Salomies 1988, 187, 412; Minkova 2000, 89; see the aspect largely approached by Kajanto 1977, 155-157.

<sup>49</sup> GLIH no. 21 with the bibliography.

<sup>50</sup> GLIH no. 25 with the bibliography.

<sup>51</sup> GLIH no. 25 with the bibliography.

<sup>52</sup> Alföldy 1969, 38-40; Minkova 2000, 51; OPEL II, 1999, 145-146; IV 60-61; Solin, Salomies 1988, 80, 399; GLIH no. 22 with the bibliography.

## 29. FLAVIUS VALERIUS

*Flavius Valerius* was the mayor of *vicus classicorum* situated in the nearness of the Halmyris fort. Both are associated gentilices turned in *praenomen* and *nomen* respectively<sup>53</sup>.

## 30. FLAVIUS VALERIUS

Another *Flavius Valerius* appears as the husband of *Flavia Primitiva* (no. 24). As the votive altar of the mayor is dated 209, while the *Primitiva's* husband lived 70 years the assimilation of the two *Flavii Valerii* (no. 29 and 30) is highly unlikely.

## 31. HERACLIUS

*Heraclius* (Ἡρακλῆς) is a Greek PN<sup>54</sup>. **H.** is also recorded at Halmyris under a slightly corrupted form: (*H*)*Aracl(a)* (no. 12). **H.** is the infant who died aged 3 in the *Nepotianus* family.

## 32. HERMES

**H.** was father of a certain *Secundus* (no. 44) recommended by *Valerius Valerinus Constans*, to enter the army (no. 56). **H.** is a theophoric Greek PN, widely spread in the provincial environment and normally occurring in a Greek speaking region<sup>55</sup>.

## 33. IULIANA

**I.** was *Nepotianus's* (no. 40) and *Artemidora's* (no. 13) daughter, still a baby when she died, aged 3. She was of the same age with her deceased brother *Heraclius* (no. 31). As PN, **I.** circulates broadly in a later period although *Iulianus* /*Iuliana* as a cognomen derived from the gentilicium *Iulius* /*Iulia* are detectable back to at least in early mid 1<sup>st</sup> century AD<sup>56</sup>.

## 34. LATRONIANUS

Name, personality and ancestry: *Latronianus* (III 20; 21; 23; IV 32).

The PN is known, but rare. It seems Etruscan and old Italic in origin used commonly as a cognomen<sup>57</sup>.

Position in the late Roman official hierarchy: *dux* (II 18; III 19; 20; 21; 23; IV 32; 41; 49). The official titlature was *dux provinciae* which actuality is mentioned in the text in an ongoing account of the events as *dux provinciae istius* (IV 41). According to the editor, **L.** was the *dux* of the province of Scythia at the time of the Halmyris episode of the execution of the two Christian martyrs, *Epictetus* and *Astion* (IV 49): *dux Scythiae*.

The name appears among significant families in the army and administration of the Roman Empire in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century:

*Haterius Latronianus: tribunus militum (laticlavius)* in the legion *II Adiutrix* at Aquincum, the son of *Tib. Haterius Saturninus, legatus Augusti pro praetore (Pannoniae Inferioris)* (161-164). The earliest references are two votive altars from Aquincum:

1. [D]s Militaribus / [S]alutaribus / [Ha]terius Saturni[inu]s leg(atu)s Augg(ustorum) / [pr(o)] pr(aetore) cum / [La]troniano / [f]il(io) trib(uno) mil(itum)<sup>58</sup>;

2. I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et di(i)s de / abusqu(e) / Ti(tus) Haterius Satur(ninus) leg(atu)s Augg(ustorum) / pr(o) pr(aetore) sod(alis) Aug(ustalis) cum / Latroniano fil(io) trib(uno) / mil(itum)<sup>59</sup>;

A third dedication to *Deus Invictus pro salute familiae* set by *Haterius Saturninus* which mentions his father, *Arpocras*, envisages implicitly his son, *Latronianus*<sup>60</sup>.

*Deo Invicto / pro salute famili(a)e / Ti(beri) Hateri Saturnini / leg(ati) Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) / Arprocas pater / posuit.*

*Flavius Iulius Gemellus Latronianus:*

An inscription from Xanthos<sup>61</sup> set around 242/243 records *Ti. Pollienus Armenius Peregrinus* who governed the province of Lycia-Pamphylia. *Fl. Latronianus* (Φλ. Λατρονιανος), ύπατικός ποντίφεξ, and έπαρχος Ρώμης shortly before 243 is *Flavius Iulius Latronianus*, consul *suffectus* under Severus Alexander<sup>62</sup> and the maternal grandfather of *Polliena Honorata*, the daughter of *Ti. Pollienus Armenius Peregrinus*, consul *ordinarius* in 244 and the paternal granddaughter of *Ti. Pollienus Auspex*, consul *suffectus* between 212/222.

<sup>53</sup> OPEL II, 1999, 145-146; IV, 144-146; Solin, Salomies 1988, 80; 197; cf. Kajanto 1977, 155; GLIH no. 25 with the bibliography.

<sup>54</sup> Pape, Benseler 1911, 147; LPGN I, II, IIA. s. v; Hornblower, Matthews 2000, 58, 59, 66, 136; OPEL II, 1999, 177; GLIH no. 28 with the bibliography.

<sup>55</sup> GLIH no. 28 with the bibliography.

<sup>56</sup> Kajanto 1982, 31-390; GLIH no. 28 with the bibliography.

<sup>57</sup> Solin, Salomies 1988, 349; OPEL II, 1999, 20; Schulze 1991, 178.

<sup>58</sup> CIL III 3473; Dobó 1968, 63 no. 43<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> AE 1962, 118; Dobó 1968, 63 no. 43<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> CIL III 3479.

<sup>61</sup> IGRR III 618=ILS 8841; Alföldy 1969<sup>2</sup>, 53-54 (Xanthos, Lydia).

<sup>62</sup> Groag, PIR<sup>2</sup> III, 156-157, no. 297.

A *Flavius Latronianus* was *pontifex* in Nemausus: *C(aio) F[avio] / Latr[oniano] / pont[ifici...]* / *e[...]* / *et [...]*<sup>63</sup> and presumably is to be equated with *Fl. Latronianus* from the Xanthos inscription.

The I. 85 of the new fragments from *Acta ludorum saeculorum* yields the name *Flavius Iulius Latro* who was among the singers of aristocratic origin in the secular games (*Iudi saeculorum*), in 204. The individual is identified by C. Hülsen with the later *Flavius Iulius Latronianus* from the Xanthos inscription<sup>64</sup>.

*L. Gemellus Latronianus* is recorded among *clarissimi pueri* in an early 3<sup>rd</sup> century decree of *concilium provinciae Mauretaniae Caesariensis*<sup>65</sup>. He could have been a young blood relative from the same aristocratic family of *Flavius Latronianus*.

An ascendancy line from *Haterius Latronianus* of 161-164 to the mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century *Flavius Iulius Latronianus*, although both of senatorial origin, could be theoretically possible, although practically hardly demonstrable, as long as we do not know who the father of the latter was. Theoretically *Haterius Latronianus* could have been the father of *Flavius Iulius* who was a teenager during his performance in 204 as a singer in *Iudi saeculorum* and must have been born in the late 80' or early 90' of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. A correlation between *Fl. Latronianus*, the priest at Nemausus (Nimes) and the consular *Fl. Latronianus*, priest and *praefectus Urbi* in 243 is on the other hand possible and even probable, as the identification of the same individual in the three instances cited above is likely: singer in *Iudi saeculorum* (204) – priest in Nemausus – *praefectus Urbi* in 243.

The place of *L. Gemellus Latronianus* in this construction is again hard to disentangle, as long as he was a *clarissimus puer* in early 3<sup>rd</sup> century and therefore a contemporary to the young *Latronianus* in 204. Could have he been from another stem and therefore were there two branches of the *Latroniani* family? The future discoveries will settle the matter.

*L'* *gentilicium* is not recorded in *vita Epicteti et Astioni*. As an official of the Roman administration, *L.* is not recorded in any of the *vitae martyrium* among the names of the executive officers involved in trials against Christians. If, by mid 3<sup>rd</sup>

century, *Fl. Iulius Latronianus* was in his 50' s, the duke *Latronianus* could have been his son, in his forties in 290, when he visited Halmyris as *dux*.

According to the Tetrarchic program of restoration of the Empire' frontier defense, *L.* visited the recently created province of Scythia, an important strategic segment at the Lower Danube. Halmyris was planned to be inspected. The ducal official visit seems likely to have been announced before. The word *subito* (unexpectedly) applied to his visit is a later insertion of the editor who tried to create suspense, edginess and tension in the story.

The *L.'* arrival began with a three days inspection: *per triduum opera publica et imperialia ministeria quae ibidem erant pervidisse* (III 19). The scrutiny envisaged the material aspect (*opera publica*), the ongoing works of reconstruction of the fortress and other local structures (like the port installation) and the condition and state of the administrative and military organization (*imperialia ministeria quae ibidem errant*) as well.

As noticeable from the text, the denunciations against *Epictetus* and *Astion* were made during his three days inspection. The trial followed in the fourth and fifth days from the duke's arrival. Whether or not the visit was planned to last more than three days is difficult to estimate, but the trial could have required a prolongation with at least two days.

The involvement of *L.* in a trial in the civil field was normally duty of a *praeses*, in his quality of civilian governor. This latter stance may be reasonable evidence that *L.* could have been *dux et praeses*, which would entail at this early date a concentration of the military and civil authority in one hand.

A fifth day (III 22: *post quintam demum diem*) seems to have marked the true end of the trial. It followed a seclusion of the martyrs in the dungeon for thirty days (III 27: *expleto numerum triginta dierum*) could have happened and the order has been given by *L.* personally (III 24: *imperat [...] in custodiam carceris denuo perducerent; iussit ut per XXX dies nullus ad eos introiret*). Taking for granted the passage of the thirty days more of the duke's presence at Halmyris, this could have happened only if a serious military or administrative situation in the area required his presence and certainly not for a simple trial and in expectation of a verdict. It is clear from the passage relating the madness and extreme folly of *L.* that it has nothing to do with the aftermath of the execution of the two Christians. The editor makes any association and introduces no wording which could have been

<sup>63</sup> CIL XII 3220.

<sup>64</sup> Hülsen 1932, 385, 387, 394; AE 1932, 70.

<sup>65</sup> AE 1902, 15= ILS 6871); ]/li Albini patroni pr[ovin]/ciae Mauretaniae Caesariensis Fl(avi) Val(eri) Festi et L(uci) F[3]/melli Latroniani c(larissimi) p(ueri) / decreto concilii(i) prov[inciae] / Mauretaniae Caesar[iensis] /h(onore) r(ecepto) i(mpensam) r(edimit).

related to this issue. We might assume, as a possibility, a serious delay or hindrance in implementing the program of the general rebuilding in view of a possible higher level (imperial?) inspection.

The passage on the collective molestation and chastising of duke and finally his death (IV 32: *violenter spiritum exhalavit*) in a small room of the praetorium is a pathetic, mendacious, and false story. Such an exceptional event would have meant rebellion against the Roman state and punished severely by the central authority. There is no evidence in later sources and there is no substantiation in the archaeological data of such incident at Halmyris.

On the contrary, L. seems to have continued his brilliant career. A. *Domitius Latronianus* is recorded in two inscriptions from Panhormus (Palermo), Sicily, and in literary sources as well, in early years of Constantine<sup>66</sup>.

L. receives a letter from Constantine I (January 314): καὶ σοὶ γράψαι ἐνομίσαμεν ἵνα λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Λατρονιανοῦ τοῦ κοινῆς τοῦ Σικελίας δημόσιον ὄχημα<sup>67</sup> [...] *we have thought proper to write to thee also that thou shouldst secure from the most illustrious Latronianus, corrector of Sicily, a public vehicle [...]*. The same *Domitius* is mentioned five years later fulfilling the function of proconsul of Africa<sup>68</sup>.

A later and apparently the last descendant of one of the branches of the Latroniani family was the famous poet in Spain, *Latronianus*. Jerome, in his work *On Illustrious Men (De Viris Illustribus)* dedicated him a special entry which describes him as “a man of great learning and worthy to be compared with the ancients as a composer in verse”. At that time, Jerome knew that the works of the poet Latronianus were still in existence. He was

<sup>66</sup> Panhormus (Palermo), Sicily: CIL X 7284=ILS 677 (winter of 313/314): [Res]titutori libertatis [et] fundatori public[caese]curitatis d(omino) n(ostro) L[icin]iano Licin[io] pio felici invicto Aug[usto], Domitius Latronianus, v[ir] clarissimus, corr(ector) p[ro]vinciae Siciliae d[evotus] n(umini) maiestatiq[ue] eius (Tissot 1885, 211-212; A. Pallu de Lessert 1969, 32). Panhormus (Palermo, Sicily): IG XIV 296: [τ]ῆς πρὸς πάντα ἀνθρώπων[ος]/[ε]ὐνοίας πειραθέντες/[κα]ὶ τῆς ἀνυπερβ[λ]ήτου χρη[σ]τό-/[τητος] μετασχόντες/[Δ]ομίτιου Λατρονιανοῦ/τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπανο[ρ]ρωτοῦ/[ῆ] βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος/ἐν[ο]ίας —]Ω[— —]/[— — — χ] ἀρι[v].

<sup>67</sup> Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* X 5, 21-24.

<sup>68</sup> Carthago: CIL VIII 1016=12465 (a. 319): *D(omino) n(ostro) Constantino Fl(avio) maximo, pio, felici, invicto, Augusto, Domitius Latronianus, v(ir) c(larissimus), proco(n)sul p(rovinciae) A(fricae) et Vettius Piso Severus, v(ir) c(larissimus), cur(ator) reip(ublicae) Kart(aginensium) numini eius semper dicatissimi* (Tissot, 1885, 211-212; Seck 1925, 980; Pallu de Lessert, 1969, 33).

associated with the sect of Priscilianism and executed, along with Priscilian and several others, at Trier in 385. As such, he is considered among the first to be executed as heretics in the history of Christianity<sup>69</sup>.

### 35. MARCELLINA

M. was A.'s mother: *mater vero de illustrium genere et Iuliani senatoris extitit filia* (I 5). The editor pictures M.'s role at Halmyris apparently more energetic than her husband's. She appears to have mourned more the disappearance of her son (I 9) and is very active in inquiring about the circumstances of his disappearance (IV 34); she has some obscure points in front of the *Vigilantius's* offensive proselytism (IV 35-36). *Marcellina*, fem. from *Marcellinus*; common Latin PN widely spread in the Roman provinces<sup>70</sup>.

### 36. MARCIUS [---]

M. was the mayor of *vicus classicorum* in 200 AD. The name, as a theophoric based var. *Marcus-Marcia* is relatively frequent and has a long tradition in the Roman onomastics.

### 37. MEMMIA MARCIA

M. seems to have been of high social status, as showed by the impressive gravestone set by father (no. 38), whose name she inherited, husband (no. 26) and d(ocor?) (no. 27). She died aged 19, apparently of a merciless disease, as long as a doctor presumably looked after her until she passed away.

*Marcia*, as PN, is second time recorded at Halmyris (no. 2). *Memmia Marcia* is an association of two gentilices: *Memmia* and gens *Marcia*; the latter is turned into a *cognomen*. Both gentilices are widespread and well represented everywhere in the provinces with an emphasis on North African districts<sup>71</sup>.

### 38. MEMMIUS MARCUS

M. was *Memmia Marcia's* father and one of the three persons who buried and set a grave stele for her. The theophoric name, *Marcus*, is second time recorded at Halmyris (no. 37); here it was

<sup>69</sup> Hillar 1997, 59; Halton 1999, 157.

<sup>70</sup> OPEL III, 2000, 53; OPEL III, 2000, 56; Schulze 1991, 188, 456; GLIH no. 9 with the bibliography.

<sup>71</sup> Groag-Fluss 1932, 602-637; 637-638; Schulze 1991, 424; Solin, Salomies 1988, 424; OPEL III, 2000, 75; Minkova 2000, 65; GLIH no. 25 with the bibliography.

turned into a cognomen; well enough represented in Lower Moesia<sup>72</sup>.

### 39. MARCUS PAPIRIO

**P.** was a mayor of *vicus classicorum*. The PN could be derived apparently from the frequent middle and north Italic name, *Papirius*, a Latinized form originating from the Etruscan<sup>73</sup>.

### 40. NEPOTIANUS

The PN is a later construction in date; recorded at Junuschilar, in Thrace, where a *circitor* bore this name; more frequent in western provinces<sup>74</sup>. The way the cippus is conceived, seems to indicate that **N.** have died at the same moment with his children.

### 41. PAPIRIUS[---]

*Papirius* is most likely restoration in I.2. If so, we have apparently the genuine PN of old Italic origin<sup>75</sup>; frequent especially in mid and north Italy from minor gens in Rome, *Papiria*; it has a certain circulation in Italy; it occurs occasionally in Lower Moesia<sup>76</sup>.

### 42. PUBLIUS POMPEIUS

*Pompeius* was the mayor of the *vicus classicorum* in 171 AD; frequent Roman PN<sup>77</sup>; only two cases known in the 2nd century Lower Moesia<sup>78</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> Schulze 1991, 424, 464; OPEL III, 2000, 57; GLIH no. 25 with the bibliography.

<sup>73</sup> Schulze 1991, 331 n. 5; OPEL III, 2000, 123; Solin, Salomies 1988, 137: *Papasa*>*Paperis* (CIL XI 2440); *Papisius* (CIL III 2876); *Papirius* (CIL XI 2171); *Paperius* (CIL IX 1024), from where the slightly corrupted *Paparius*, or as a hybrid form between the Greek Παπᾶιος, Παπίριον, Παπίριος (Pape-Benseler 1911, 1129; LPGN III A 150) and the Latin *Papirius* (cf. Plut. *Cam.* 22); GLIH no. 6 with the bibliography.

<sup>74</sup> Kajanto 1982, 31-32; OPEL III, 2000, 98; Solin, Salomies 1988, 363; CIL III 12444 (*circitor*); Minkova 2000, 219; Alföldy 1969, 251; GLIH no. 28 with the bibliography.

<sup>75</sup> Schulze 1991, 86, 131.

<sup>76</sup> Mócsy 1970, 214; OPEL III, 2000, 123; Solin, Salomies 1988, 137. A *Papirius Mes[ius (?)]* is recorded on the Troesmis legionary *laterculum* of 134 (ISM V 137 VII 3); *Papi(rius) Valens, tubicen* in Almus (Lom) in second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (CIL III 14409; AE 1902, 130; Gerov, 1954, no. 16; Minkova 2000, 75; *Papirius Celer*, at Tomis (ISM II 129); GLIH nr. 28, 29 with the bibliography.

<sup>77</sup> OPEL III, 2000, 150-151; Solin, Salomies 1988, 146.

<sup>78</sup> ILB 84, 431, 433; Minkova 2000, 77. In Tomis (ISM II 129), a *T. Ailius Pompeius* was born in Tio (=Tiana, Cappadocia?); *L. Pompeius Celer* (ISM III/1 nr. 86) is recorded in Dacia. GLIH no. 8 with the bibliography.

### 43. QUINTUS

**Q.** is normally a praenomen and would imply the existence of the tria nomina and consequently Roman citizenship<sup>79</sup>.

### 44. SECUNDUS

**S.** was *Hermes's* son (no. 32); he was recommended by *Valerius Valerinus Constans* (no. 56) to enter the local detachment from the legion I Iovia billeted at Noviodunum in late 3<sup>rd</sup> century: λεγιώνη(ς) [πρεϊ]μα(ς) Ἰωβ(ία)ς<sup>80</sup>.

### 45. SEXTUS

**S.** together with **Q.** (no. 43) were apparently the sons of Capito (no. 17) to whom they set the gravestone. As Capito is a cognomen and Sextus and Quintus praenomina both applicable usually to tria nomina, the citizenship for all three would be the most likely option<sup>81</sup>.

### 46. ΣΙΜΗ

Σίμη, Gr. fem. PN<sup>82</sup>. Σίμη could have been a local Greek woman who acquired the vase (*tribaion*) from *Amaios* (no. 11) at Halmyris. The inscription seems to have been written when the transaction was made.

### 47. SISSO

*Sisso/Siso*, m. PN is rare; apparently Thracian in origin; cf. *Zizo*, Ζειζας, *Sises*, *Sissa*<sup>83</sup>. It might be close to *Sisius/Sisio* with a derivation *Sisidius*, both attested in Italy. A *Sise* at Oescus (Gigen), and an *Aelius Sissa* at Securisca (Cherkovitsa)<sup>84</sup>.

### 48. SOSSIUS SOSSI

**S.** is the one of Halmyris mayor's name. *Sossius* (m.)/*Sossia* (fem.) is rare as Latin gentile<sup>85</sup>. The PN is known in Dacia Superior at Micia: *Lucius Sossius Claudius Sossius*; a *Sosius Longinus*, veteran discharged from legio V Macedonica is known at Troesmis. On the Halmyris inscription,

<sup>79</sup> GLIH no. 32 with the bibliography.

<sup>80</sup> GLIH no. 28 with the bibliography.

<sup>81</sup> GLIH no. 32 with the bibliography.

<sup>82</sup> Pape, Benseler 1911, 1392; A Σίμη Απατουρίου apparently born in Histria (Ιστιανή) in Athens (LPGN IV (3); Avram 2013, 177 nr. 2115) (1<sup>st</sup> BC-1<sup>st</sup> AD century); a total of 17 such PN are known thus far in the Greek world (LPGN I-IV s. v.); GLIH no. 106 with the bibliography.

<sup>83</sup> cf. OPEL IV, 2002, 85; Gerov 1952-1953, 44; Dechev 1976, 178; 449-450; Minkova 2000, 225.

<sup>84</sup> CIL VI 26606a; Schulze 1991, 94 (Italy); ILB nr. 68 (Oescus); ILB nr. 133 (Securisca); GLIH no. 31 with the bibliography.

<sup>85</sup> Schulze 1991, 425; OPEL IV 89; Solin, Salomies 1988, 174.

*Sossius* is common for both father and son; used probably in this case as a *nomen* recording the filiation but not a *praenomen*<sup>86</sup>.

#### 49. TITUS COLLUMELA

*Titus* and *Collumela* (sic!) (*Titus Collumela*); note *Collumela* instead of *Columella*, which recalls the famous Roman writer, *Lucius Iunius Moderatus Columella*. In this remote provincial background, the Halmyris *cognomen*, *Collumela* (sic!), was turned into a *nomen*. *Collumela* (sic!) unveil his initial peregrine origin<sup>87</sup>.

#### 50. MARCUS ULPIUS MARCELLINUS

**M.** displays one of the rare cases of *tria nomina* at Halmyris, which labels him a Roman citizen. The imperial gentilice, *Marcus Ulpius*, indicates normally Roman citizenship during Trajan's reign. A *Marcus Ulpius* is unique thus far at Halmyris, which consequently entails an early date of the inscription, during or shortly after Trajan's reign. He might have been either in active service in the legionary detachment of V Macedonica from Troesmis billeted after 106 in the Halmyris fort or a civilian official in the administrative service, although there is no clear indication for any of these positions. It seems unlikely that he had been discharged when the inscription was set, otherwise he would have had indicated the common formula *militavit*.

**M.** as cognomen comes obviously from *Marcellus* having added the suffix *-inus* formed from the father's *gentilicium*<sup>88</sup>; the practice seems common already by early 2<sup>nd</sup> century which, in the long run, increased the incidence of extended forms. *Marcellus* becomes *Marcellinus* as a more common personal name in a later epoch<sup>89</sup>.

#### 51. VALERIA

**V.** was the daughter of *Diocletianus*, as recorded on a hand written brick (see nr. 20); she presumably owned or worked in a bone workshop (οστοπ[οι]όν). She is the mysterious personage urged by *Valerius Valerinus Constans* from the legion I Iovia to give (something) to that who pierces. The wording is vague, the reading ambiguous, and so the meaning is rather confusing<sup>90</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> IDR III/3, 105; 107 (Micia); ISM V 137 II 18 (Troesmis); GLIH no. 7 with the bibliography.

<sup>87</sup> GLIH no. 6 with the bibliography.

<sup>88</sup> Kajanto 1982, 36-37.

<sup>89</sup> Dean 1916, 36-38; Kajanto 1982, 31-39; 167-169; OPEL III 2000, 53; Solin, Salomies 1988, 357; GLIH no. 19 with the bibliography.

<sup>90</sup> GLIH no. 36 with the bibliography.

#### 52. VALERIA NENE

**N.** from Halmyris was *Valerius Ponticus'* wife (no. 54) and the mother of *Valerius Valens* (no. 53). *Nene* possibly var. from *Nava*, *Navaς* fem. PN; Phrygian or Bithynian in origin; apparently used as nickname, Ἀρηλία Σαβίνα ἢ καὶ Νηνης (Nicolopolis ad Istrum)<sup>91</sup>; as var. (*Nene*) is rare in the Roman Empire<sup>92</sup>.

#### 53. CAIUS VALERIUS LONGINUS

*Caius Valerius Longinus* was *veteranus*, when he set the gravestone in the memory of an unknown person who died at 32. He had held previously the post of *b(eneficiarius)* most likely of the *legatus legionis V Macedonicae*. Two *Valerii Longini* appear twice in the Troesmis *laterculum* of 134<sup>93</sup>. He could have been either one of those individuals or quite a different one. Normally, if one of the *Valerii Longini* at Troesmis is our **L.** the *laterculum* should have contained the indication *ex beneficiario* as in some cases. It is preferable thus to consider **L.** at Halmyris as a third *Valerius Longinus* in the legion. **L.** settled as a veteran and Roman citizen in the *canabae* of the Halmyris fort. **L.** has intense circulation and usually employed as a *cognomen*, although it is used sometimes as a *nomen gentile*<sup>94</sup>.

#### 54. VALERIUS PONTICUS

**P.**, was *Nene's* wife and *Valerius Valens'* father; Gr. PN<sup>95</sup> taken over on a large scale basis in the Roman onomastics and circulated as a *cognomen*; the incidence of PN is remarkable everywhere, although not in great number<sup>96</sup>. There is no sign

<sup>91</sup> IGB II 687.

<sup>92</sup> OPEL III, 2000, 97; *Nana* originating from Pontic Heraclea (Thrace) (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD) (Avram 2013, 127 nr. 1438) in Athens; var. of the name seems rather spread in the Thracian town: *Nais*, *Nanous*; Avram 2013, 127, nr. 1437, 1439; inscriptions at Sacidava (Gostar 1964, 89-90) and Chomakovtsi (IGLR, 188; ILB 163); var. *Náva/ Návva* (Phrygia, Lycia, Pisidia, Cilicia, Isauria); Sundwall 1913, 165-166; *Nana*, *Nanea*, *Návας* (fem. Phrygia, Cilicia) *Nήνας* are somewhat frequent. *Nina*, *Ninna*, *Ninnita*, *Nonna* martyrs in Thessalonica, Byzantium, Noviodunum, and Nicomedia; Dechev 1976, 231-232. A composite m. *Νεvíσος* at Resovo (Macedonia); Dechev 1976, 238; *Fl(avia) Nona* at Tomis (first third of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century); IMS II, nr. 160; GLIH no. 26 with the bibliography.

<sup>93</sup> ISM V 136, col II l. 22; VI 18.

<sup>94</sup> OPEL III, 2000, 31; Solin, Salomies 1988, 353; Minkova 2000, 63; GLIH no. 18 with the bibliography.

<sup>95</sup> Pape, Benseler 1911, 123-124; LGPN I 381; II 376; III 372; Avram 2013, 16, no. 161; 150, no. 1880; 224, no. 2570; 316, no. 3258.

<sup>96</sup> OPEL III, 2000, 152-153. Except our case, there are two *Pontici*, *Flavius* and *Iulius* recorded in the Troesmis legionary *laterculum* of 134 (ISM V, 137 VI 15; IX 3). An entire *Ponticus* family from Amastris (Bithynia) was in the military at Troesmis (ISM V 186); GLIH no. 26 with the bibliography.

yielded in the text of the inscription that **P.** and his wife would have died, in which case Valens, set the dedication on a certain a occasion which difficult to disentangle (arrival or leaving the garrison ?).

### 55. VALERIUS VALENS

**V.** was the son of *Ponticus* (no. 54) and *Nene* (no. 52). The combination of the two PNs knows dozens of example and is spread everywhere and utterly common<sup>97</sup>.

**V.** was soldier (miles) in the legion I Italica of which a sizable part was dispatched at Troesmis, most likely in the detachment garrisoned at Halmyris after 167.

### 56. VALERIUS VALERINUS CONSTANS

**C.** was brother(-in- arms) (φράτερ) with someone unknown to whom he recommends *Secundus* (the son of) *Hermes* [...]. **C.** must have held an important position in the local garrison to make his word trustful in the eyes of the commander<sup>98</sup>.

### 57. VICTOR

**V.** was the youngest child of the *Nepotianus*' family. He died aged 2<sup>99</sup>.

### 58. VIGILANTIUS

Name: *Vigilantius* (Lat.); Βιγελάντιος (Gr.): *unus*[...] *nomine Vigilantius* (III 22); typical late Roman PN<sup>100</sup>; Even in late period the name is rare, although not uncommon; apparently inexistent in early epoch<sup>101</sup>.

Birth date: unknown.

Appearance: unknown.

Age when mentioned: unknown.

Town and province of origin: possibly of local origin.

<sup>97</sup> GLIH no. 26 with the bibliography.

<sup>98</sup> GLIH no. 36 with the bibliography.

<sup>99</sup> GLIH no. 28 with the bibliography.

<sup>100</sup> Kajanto 1997, 103-111 in: Stefano Manzella ed. 1997.

<sup>101</sup> The name *Vigilantius* was restored in *Vig(i)lantius* by Solin, Salomies (1988, 116, 359, 422). *Comes domesticorum (equitum?)* (Zos. V 36, 3) (408) and *magister equitum* (409) in the West (Zos. V 47, 2-3; 48, 1) Enßlin, 1958, 2131 nr. 1; PLRE II, 1999, 1165) (early 4<sup>th</sup> century). Metropolitan bishop in Larissa, Thessaly) (446), participant in the Ephesus Synod (449) and Chalcedon Council (Enßlin RE 1958, 2132 nr. 2) (second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century). Priest in Barcelona, born in Aquitania secunda (Hieron c. Vig 1) in Bethlehem in 396 (Hieron, c. Vig. 11) (Enßlin 1958, 2132 nr. 3); 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century barber (*tosor*) recorded on a mosaic at Aquileia, donor of a modest sum of money for the making of the pavement of the martyrrium of S. Cantianus (PCBE 2, 2296).

Official position at Halmyris: *quaestionarius* (III 22). He could have been among the officials who arrested *Epictetus* and *Astion* at *Latronianus*' order: (Latronianus) *continuo imperat aliquos ex quaestionariis ut post solis occasum pergerent ad habitaculum Sanctorum et comprehensos eos, ferro vinctos, perducerent in custodiam carceris.*

There were several *questionarii* at that time at Halmyris. They were high ranking *principales* in the Roman army, attached beside any high military authority: military commanders, governors, military units, (legions, auxiliary) and other officials; they fulfilled duties in criminal justice and criminal courts (military) during the trials<sup>102</sup>. Attributions of *quaestionarii* or a *quaestionibus* were to interrogate the subjects submitted to trial. Here, the taking into custody was done apparently by *quaestionarii*.

Activity at Halmyris before and after the execution of *Epictetus* and *Astion*:

**V.** appears as one of the interrogators (*unus ... ex quaestionariis*) who addressed *quaestiones* to *Epictetus* and *Astion*; it is not clear in what position he fulfilled his function. There are some rather confusing instances in which **V.** appears. In one passage (IV 32) which deals with the post execution period, **V.** is accompanied by his entire household: *veniens Vigilantius cum omni domo sua*; the presence of his family is again recorded in III 22: *et cum omni domo sua*. **V.** seems to have had a home at Halmyris: *infra domum...decantare* (III 22); *Domus*, in the context described, means family and servants. If he was part of the duke's staff and came at Halmyris in official duty, his 'domus' would not have existed. The repeated *cum omni domo sua* bears the key. **V.** could have been indeed one of the *questionarii* of which Latronianus could have made use of any time, not in the staff the duke came with, but a *principalis* in the sizable legionary detachment billeted at that time in Halmyris.

**V.** seems to have been one of the interrogators of *Epictetus* and *Astion*. The editor alludes to a presence of **V.** in the prison where the two Christians were imprisoned: *perveniens ad beatissimos Martyres in custodia carceris* (III 22). This is a valuable and the only evidence that direct questions were addressed in the lock-up room and the process was carried out by **V.** as the main interrogator. He could have found out important details which made possible the drawing up of the final report presented to the duke. *Astion* seems to have been the weak link and he possibly revealed facts without which we would not have had information

<sup>102</sup> Marquardt 1891, 294, n. 7.

on their origin, activity previous to the arrival at Halmyris and facts occurred during their presence in the area.

**V.** appears as the central character in managing the situation post execution of *Epictetus* and *Astion*. The text editor states **V.**'s self conversion to Christianity (III 22) and that he overtly defied the duke by asserting his new faith. Later he would have received in jail the benediction and the sign of cross from the martyrs. After the execution of the two individuals, he buried their decapitated bodies, received *Astion*'s parents and converts them to Christianity, relates a detailed account on the events to *Evangelicus*, the bishop of the province, and finally leaves; *Astion*'s parents bring him and *Bonosus*, to their own city of (IV 32-49).

**V.**'s defiant attitude towards the duke is a late, false account inserted by the editor to justify the further picture drew for him in taking care of the burial of *Epictetus* and *Astion* and becoming a fiery propagator of Christianity. Had **V.** had that insolent position: *voce publica proclamare [...] ego Christianus sum, o tyranne Latroniane[...]* he would have been easily charged of insubordination and executed like many other people in the military experienced. There is on the other hand a piece of conflicting information in the false account introduced by the editor which relates that the bodies of the two individuals were picked up furtively (*occulte*) at sunset, although with big pump: *cum omni domo sua et cum aliis Christianis* (IV 32) and buried. The way in which the burial was made contains bogus elements. In such cases the common interments were fast, usually prudently and far from the eyes of authorities, whereas *Epictetus* and *Astion* were buried: *cum hymnis et psalmis, et cum magna devotione* (IV 32).

In general, one might think that the Chapter IV was entirely fabricated by the editor containing many fictitious, and few historical elements, in which **V.** was turned into a firsthand Christian character destined to manage *Epictetus*' and *Astion*'s post mortem situation. **V.**'s name appears 26 times in the text.

## 59. VITALIS

**V.** was the oldest of the four brothers deceased at a very early age in the *Nepotianus*' family. He died aged 5<sup>103</sup>.

## 60. VIVENTIA

**V.**, the only living daughter of *Artemidora* and *Nepotianus*; commonly a PN of later date but apparently extremely rare as a fem. PN<sup>104</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> GLIH no. 28 with the bibliography.

<sup>104</sup> Kajanto 1997, 107; OPEL IV, 2002, 178; ILIug nr. 2369;

## Commentary

The literary and epigraphic analysis of the Halmyris PN yielded evidence for 60 individuals. They were permanent or temporary adult or young residents of the local society, recorded during their lifetime or upon decease in a large variety of social instances, official position in the local administration, or military all indicative for the dynamics of the current evolution in the region.

### I. Origo and social mobility

The onomastic picture at Halmyris mirrors the three main linguistic<sup>105</sup> components in the area otherwise perceptible both at smaller scale, in the territory between the Danube and the Black Sea and, in a larger degree, in the all eastern Balkan provinces. The bulk of the Halmyris PN yields cases of Greek, Thracian, Thraco-Bithynian/Phrygian, and Roman names.

Place names indicated as possible *origo* for the individuals which temporarily or permanently inhabited Halmyris occurs in three cases: the *Alexander-Marcellina-Astion* family (no. 10, 35, 14) and *Epictetus* (no. 21) as well. Their *origo* is specifically indicated *ex partibus Orientis*, although even so, the term is vague.

No. 3, *Ael(ius)* has presumably an indicated *origo*: *Rat[jaria?]*. The Danubian colony of Upper Moesia was a solid recruitment pool mainly for the legion VII Claudia from Viminacium<sup>106</sup>. The quarter of the preserved stone with inscription used as base for a column in the edifice 1 in the fort offers no other clue on this issue<sup>107</sup>.

A Greek community of some extent must have existed at Halmyris once the Greek cities on the Black sea shore began trading with the native communities<sup>108</sup>. The transaction between Ἀμαίος

GLIH no. 28 with the bibliography.

<sup>105</sup> In fact, when approaching such a debatable and sensitive subject the question must be addressed rather to the linguistic than ethnic factor. The intense and remarkable social mobility in the Roman Empire acted basically as a dissolvent of old isolated communities bringing up new social processes at an individual and community scale. The interaction among individuals and smaller or greater communities led to the creation of new mixed bilingual families, new religious orientation and, at larger extent, emigration, immigration, or official implant of significant communities in other territories. Through their number and material and cultural level they produced important restructuring in the mentality and cultural behaviour of the native society.

<sup>106</sup> cf. IMS II nr. 52.

<sup>107</sup> Halmyris I, 2003, 65-78.

<sup>108</sup> The Greek presence at Halmyris is highlighted by the discovery of some fragments of roofing tiles (unpublished) pottery and glass finds, although not in great number. A 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC Greco-Oriental fragment of a Mid Style II bowl (Suceveanu,

and Σίμη (see no. 11, 46)<sup>109</sup> are first examples of the existence of local Greek communities. If Ἀμαίος could be eventually considered a merchant, although there is no solid evidence for that, Σίμη seems certainly a Greek woman from the local group that managed the possible and even probable emporium which could have been implanted at the mouth of the Peuce arm of the Danube in the 6<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

The Greek onomastic tradition seems to have been preserved through existence of a local free Greek speaking community. *Artemidora* (no. 13), who was without a doubt a native woman in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, give her son, *Heraclius* (no. 31), a typical Greek name. The 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD Halmyris remains partially a Greek speaking area, in parallel with the Latin. The corrupted PN, Ἀράκλ(α?) of a certain individual (no. 12) dates conceivable from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. By the end of the same century or in early 4<sup>th</sup>, the local onomastics contains the Greek PN *Hermes* (no. 32) the father of a certain *Secundus*. The bishop *Eunomius* (no. 23) was banished at Halmyris by the Emperor Theodosius I. Eunomius was basically a Greek speaking person, for he was born in Dakora (Cappadocia) and active in eastern parts of the Roman Empire. Halmyris must have been a good linguistic environment for him.

*Epictetus* (no. 21) together with *Astion* and his family (r.10, 14, 35), were Greek speaking persons in the Halmyris Greek speaking milieu.

A Roman Greek name was *Valerius Ponticus* (no. 54). He married a local woman who bears a Thracian Bithynian/Phrygian name (see below). His mixed name suggests a local or regional origin.

The dissemination of the Roman-Thraco Bythinian names on the territory between the Danube

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Angelescu 1988, 146), as well as a 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. BC blue glass Attic amphoriscos (Simion 1995, 265) are among discoveries of Classical Greek artifacts. The Hellenistic coinage is represented by two Callatian (320-300 and 300-260 BC) and eight Olbian pieces possibly part of a coin hoard of ca. 23-24 coins (C. Preda 1980, 35-36 no. 1-8; Poenaru-Bordea, 2003 in: Suceveanu, Zahariade, Topoleanu, Poenaru-Bordea 2003, 127-170). The pottery originates from Chios, Thassos, Rhodos, North Black Sea, Heraclea, and Attica. There is also a significant amount of Hellenistic pottery shards in a Getic context (5<sup>th</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC) found underneath the early Roman levels (Opaït 1991, 133-136) which advocates for the existence of a native settlement on the very place of the future Roman fort. Two considerably large plain Getic necropolises (Bujor 1955, 571-580; 1956, 243-252; 1957, 247-254; 1958, 125-141; 1951, 373-378; 1952, 325-330; 1961, 297-300), and a third tumular Getic necropolis on the territory of the Dunavătu de Sus village (Simion 1995, 265-302) is indicative for the density of native occupation in the area.

<sup>109</sup> Suceveanu, Angelescu 1988, 146-150, no. 2, fig. 2; Suceveanu, Zahariade, Topoleanu, Poenaru-Bordea 2003, 124-125, no. 20.

and the Black Sea is noticeable. Halmyris PN list displays only two clear cases, *Aelia Bendsi* (no. 1) and *Valeria Nene* (no. 52). The two women were apparently native by birth, although more recent immigration from a Bithynian/Phrygian local milieu to north-east Lower Moesia cannot be totally refuted. The Bithynian presence at the Lower Danube was apparently constant and it is strongly highlighted at Troesmis<sup>110</sup>, Noviodunum<sup>111</sup>, and Tomis<sup>112</sup>.

Three other Roman Thracian names indicate their local origin or at least social mobility: *Aelius Sola* (no. 5); *Claudia Bersille* (no. 17); *Sisso Sissoni* (no. 47).

*Sola* is mainly a PN of rather Bessian origin. The significantly numerous community of Bessi colonized or freely immigrated in northern modern Dobrudja way back in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, might be a hint for the native origin of *Aelius Sola*<sup>113</sup>.

Roman PN occupies most of the onomastic spectrum. They are, in general names of old Roman and Italic of origin or more recent creations as a result of onomastic evolution. The names having the suffixes *-inus* (no. 7, 8, 19, 26, 50, 53) and *-anus* (no. 20, 34, 40) suggests a later date in circulation, although the process of adding these suffixes to some traditional names dates back even from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. There is no clear evidence of entrants bearing Roman names in the Halmyris society.

It is difficult to estimate the rate of the social mobility at Halmyris in case of persons who bear exclusively Roman names. The individuals involved or supposed to carry out military activities might not have originated from Halmyris. But some, who settled after service in the canabae, in case of legionaries, or those, discharged from the navy and settled in the *vicus classicorum* as Roman citizens (*Cives Romani*) had their families marrying local women and children who traditionally followed their fathers' profession. The descendants can be considered natives and the more so as their children.

## II. Names and Roman Imperial gentilicia

Some important Roman Imperial gentilicia mark a considerable number of individual names in the

<sup>110</sup> ISM V 184, 186, 192, 196.

<sup>111</sup> ISM V, 281.

<sup>112</sup> ISM II 57, 129, 235, 259, 368, 462. See also Barnea 1972, 251-266.

<sup>113</sup> Zah, Suceveanu 1971, 567-578.

Halmyris society. There are six imperial gentilices with their feminine derivations:

*Claudius* (no. 18, 19); *Claudia* (no.17); *Flavius* (no. 26-30); *Flavia* (no. 24, 25); *Ulpus* (50); *Aelius* (3-9); *Aelia* (1, 2); *Valerius* (51-54); *Valeria* (49-50).

To begin with, it is striking that there are no *Aurelii* among the Imperial gentilicia recorded thus far at Halmyris. The fact could be a chronological benchmark and a point of significance for the social situation of the Halmyris residents. Except the army, the Roman citizenship was rarely granted en masse or even individually in the civil environment before the reign of Caracalla. Since early 3<sup>rd</sup> century on, the gentile *Aurelius* becomes common and of remarkable density; it could be considered the typical PN of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Halmyris displays gentilicia typical for the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries, but also 3<sup>rd</sup> century (*Valerius/Valeria*). A community of *Cives Romani* seems to have been strong enough at Halmyris as long as it is mentioned in official documents (votive altars) set by magistri in a *vicus classicorum* pertaining to a naval base affiliated to the *Classis Flavia Moesica*; the fort was also garrisoned by a legionary detachment which conceivably had its own *canabae*, separate from *vicus classicorum*. The epigraphic evidence frames the *Cives Romani* from the *vicus* between early 2<sup>nd</sup> century and 209 at the latest. Within this time span are datable most of the PNs with their gentilices *Claudius*, *Flavius*, *Ulpus*, *Aelius* and *Valerius*. The Roman citizenship was legally granted to soldiers of the local navy squadron (*classici*) upon their discharge. Unluckily, in lack of specific reference, we are ill-informed on the PNs of all these marines who became citizens. From *vicus classicorum* we know only the gentilicia of some *magistri*: *Flavius* (no. 29), Titus (no. 49) *Marcus* (no. 36), *Publius Pompeius* (no.42), *Sossius* (48). *Titus* is a nomen gentile formed of a praenomen; *Publius Pompeius* is an association of two gentilicia; *Marcus* is both plebeian and patrician gentile in origin. *Sossius* is an ancient gentile among those of Latin (non-Italic) origin.

Perceptibly, the gentilicia could be grouped in a chronological order, although this might prove elusive for they continued to be held by individuals in later periods. The earliest Imperial *gens* circulated among the Halmyris inhabitants is *Claudia* (no. 17-19). The rather late date of the inscription which records the *Claudii* shows the survival of the gentile, either acquired or inherited, in the area.

The gentile *Flavius* (no. 26-28) survived by inheritance in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century Halmyris. Both *Claudii* and *Flavii* are gentilices coming from a period

when the Lower Danube frontier began to be systematically organized and controlled.

*Ulpus* (no. 48) and *Aelius* (no. 3-9) are largely circulated, particularly since 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Although with only one record, *Ulpus* would be representative for an early 2<sup>nd</sup> century presence of a solid occupation, both civilian and military, in a period when the first stone fort and civil settlement took final shape due to the building works of a common legionary vexillation from I Italica and XI Claudia<sup>114</sup>. The local population of Thracian tinge continued to be integrated as the case of *Claudia Bersille* (no. 17) and *Aelius Sola* (no. 5) proves.

The group of *Valerii* (51-56) suggests in most cases a later period. Except *Valerius Longinus* in first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the most representative cases are the *Valerii* family (no. 52, 54, 55) datable in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century or in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, and *Valerius Valerinus* from late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 4<sup>th</sup> century (no. 56) as well.

*Tria nomina*, which ascertain Roman citizenship, is detectable in case of *T. Flavius Secundus* (no. 28), *M. Ulpus Marcellinus* (no. 50), and *C. Valerius Longinus* (no. 53). They fulfilled their career mostly in the first half or mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century when *tria nomina* was still applicable to the individuals with citizenship.

Early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, although the practice was developing roughly since late 2<sup>nd</sup> century, witnessed large scale multiplication of *dua nomina*, with the general abandonment of the praenomen whose role is commonly taken over by the gentile while the former cognomen became nomen. The individuals bearing only two names represent 48.33% of the entire lot under scrutiny.

For one thing, some women (no. 1, 17, 52) bear non-Roman names which they preserved even after marriage and attached to gentilicia which became *nomen*: *Aelia Bendsi*, *Claudia Bersille*, *Valeria Nene*. It is untenable the idea that they could have been originally *slaves* or *libertae*. They acquired the gentilicia either as inheritance from their fathers, which is most probable, or simply upon marriage<sup>115</sup>. The Thraco-Bithynian / Phrygian names acted as cognomina in a period when praenomen is usually dropped off and the gentile was used as nomen. Only the case of *Flavia Primitiva* (no. 24), considering her cognomen, would show some signs of an initial humble condition (*liberta*),

<sup>114</sup> Zahariade 1986, 173-176.

<sup>115</sup> Kajanto 1977, 155-156. The second *gentilicium*, as in case of no. 2 (*Aelia Marcia*), no. 25 (*Flavia Titia*), no. 37 (*Memmia Marcia*) was inherited apparently from their mother.

although a rush conclusion on that matter is highly risky.

No. 49 (*Valeria*) shows a typical case of practice of omission of cognomen as, at the late period when *Valeria* is mentioned, the filiation had long time disappeared in most of the cases.

One case is interesting. No. 25 (*Flavia Titia*) bears basically a double gentilicium in a form which uses the gentilicium as name and the other as cognomen. As noticed, the incidence in case of women is many times greater in comparison with men. In J. Kajanto's classification this case is sent to the category of double gentilicia without cognomen, which in our case, means a gentilicium turned to be used as a cognomen<sup>116</sup>.

### III. Families

The epigraphic evidence displays complex and simple type of families as to the number of members.

#### Complex families

##### 1. The *Nepotiani*

The most numerous family group recorded at Halmyris is *Nepotianus'* (no. 13, 31, 33, 40, 57, 59, 60). The gravestone found at Dunavatu de Jos, although brought from Halmyris<sup>117</sup>, records eight individuals (one not named) in a family resulted from the marriage of *Nepotianus* and *Artemidora*. The origin of *Nepotianus*, a *principalis* in the local garrison is more difficult to assess, although if one considers the widespread principle of local recruitment in the army at the later date when the epitaph was set we can consider him also locally born.

At least four infants are mentioned between two and five years as having been dead in unknown circumstances, violently or as a result of a spread out epidemic. Two other apparently older, a son specified only as *filius* and a daughter, *Viventia*, are recorded as setting the tombstone together with their mother, *Artemidora*. The family head, *Nepotianus*, died 36 likely together and in the same time with all infants. *Artemidora* must have been a local woman. This mixed Greek-Latin family is reflected in the names of the born children of whom one bore a Greek name, *Heraclius*.

##### 2. The *Ulpia Marcelli* (no. 17, 50)

*M. Ulpia Marcellinus'* family must have had more than three members. He married a local

woman, *Claudia Bersille* (no. 17) but the indication *natis* at the end of the text suggests a certain number of children.

##### 3. The *Memmii* (no. 26, 37, 38)

The *Memmii* family at Halmyris was composed of three recorded members: *Memmia Marcia*, the daughter, *Memmius Marcus*, the father of *Marcia*, and *Flavius Martinus*, the husband of *Marcia*.

The *Memmii* family at Halmyris (father and daughter) could have been one of the distant branches of the old and numerous Italic *gens* of *Memmii*. The family had settled at Halmyris presumably by mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century with a high social status and good material situation, reflected in outstanding *stèle* for his daughter<sup>118</sup>. The chance that the father could have been a veteran of the legion V Macedonica billeted at Troesmis cannot be so easily discarded, as two other *Memmii*, *Valens* and *Capito* are recorded on the Troesmis legionary latrarium of 134<sup>119</sup>. At Halmyris, the daughter married *Flavius Martinus*, (no. 26), but apparently the new family had no children.

##### 4. The *Valerii* (no. 50, 52, 53)

A three members family of late 2<sup>nd</sup> or first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century was that of *Valerii*: *Valerius Ponticus* (no. 54) the husband of *Valeria Nene* (no. 52); *Valerius Valens* (no. 55), the son of the two above mentioned. *Valens* was *miles* in the legion I Italica which, since 167, had dispatched a significant draft to Troesmis a legionary fortress abandoned by the V Macedonica which moved up to Potaissa in Dacia. Had *Valerius Ponticus*, the father, any connection with the army, *Valens* would have inherited the military traditions in the family and served in the local garrison after 167. If one considers the remarkable incidence of the Bithynian names at Troesmis one might speculate on the fact that *Nene* must have belonged to the stock of the Bithynian colonists settled in the area. Upon discharge, *Ponticus* chose to settle in the Halmyris canabae. Regardless whether *Valens* was born at Troesmis or at Halmyris, he traditionally followed the father's *métier d'armes* joining the flags in the legion I Italica, possibly even in the local Halmyris garrison.

##### 5. The *Aelii Valentes* (no. 4, 6, 7)

The text on the stone is too fragmentary to allow a coherent and complete assessment on this family. It is clear that *Aelius Valens* set the gravestone for another *Aelius Valens*. *Aelius Sabinus* was ap-

<sup>116</sup> Kajanto 1977, 155-157.

<sup>117</sup> Doruțiu-Boilă 1964, 132 nr. 7; IGLR no. 168 with the bibliography.

<sup>118</sup> GLIH 98 no. 25.

<sup>119</sup> ISM V nr. 137 II 5 (*Memius Valens*); 25 (*Memmius Capito*).

parently the son of the deceased if not the letter E preserved on the stone and restorable E[T...] implies another family member (son?). *Aelius Valens* who set the dedication must have been an old aged veteran either the father or comrade-in-arms; he lived and buried the 45 years old *Aelius Valens*.

### Simple families

Commonly, two members family can be considered a simple social cell. There are five instances of simple families at Halmyris.

6. *Aelia Bendsi and T.Flavius Secundus* (no. 1, 27).

The marriage between a local woman and a Roman citizen finds other examples at Halmyris (no. 50- 52; 17- 48).

7. *Aelius Titianus and Flavia Titia* (no. 9, 25).

The instance offers a mother and son type of relationship, where the mother has a different gentile from that of the son.

8. *Flavius Valerius and Flavia Primitiva* (no. 23, 24).

Both spouses have the same gentile, a strong hint that the marriage occurred between two members of around same age who acquired or rather inherited the gentile in the same period.

9. *Claudius Clemens and Claudius Martinus* (no.18, 19).

The inscription states specifically the father and son type of relation. Both are *Claudii*. The son seems to have inherited the gentile from the father.

10. *Hermes and Secundus* (no. 31, 42).

The instance in which father and son are recorded is late 3<sup>rd</sup>-early 4<sup>th</sup> century.

### IV. Fields of activity

#### Military

Clear evidence of military career is yielded in case of: *Aelius Valens, veteranus* (no. 6); *Aelius Saturninus, miles*(?)(no. 8); *Latronianus, dux provinciae Scythiae* (no. 34); *Nepotianus, principalis* (no. 40); *C. Valerius Longinus, miles, beneficiarius legati legionis* (V Macedonica) (no. 53); *Valerius Valens, miles legionis I Italicae* (no. 55); *Valerius Valerinus Constans, λεγιώνης πρεΐμας Ἰωβίας* (no. 56); *Vigilantius, quaestionarius* (no. 58).

Except no. 34, 53, and 56, of whom we have specific reference on the units and their position held in the military hierarchy, in case of no. 6, 8,

40, and 58, although military and social position are unambiguously rendered: *veteranus* (no. 6), *principalis* (no. 40), *quaestionarius* (no.58), their affiliation to a certain unit in garrison at Halmyris remains conjecturally.

Involvement in the local military is suggested in case of: *Aelius Sola* (no. 5); *M. Ulpius Marcellinus* (no. 50) *Claudius Clemens* (no.18); *Claudius Martinus* (no. 19); *T. Flavius Secundus* (no. 28); *Memmius Marcus* (no. 38), and *Valerius Ponticus* ( no. 52).

#### Local Administration and economy

The Halmyris civil administration is represented by mayors (*magistri*) in *vicus classicorum* from early 2<sup>nd</sup> century to 209: *Flavius Valerius* (no. 29); *Marcus* [...] (no. 36); *Marcus Papario* (no.39); *Publius Pompeius* (no.42); *Sossius Sossi* (no. 48); *Titus Collumela* (no. 49).

Indication of early (late 3<sup>rd</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC) local trade is offered by the association of the two Greek names (no. 11, 46), Ἀμαίος, the vendor and Σίμη, the buyer of a pot called tribaion. *Valeria* (no. 51), the daughter of *Diocletianus*, was apparently involved in animal bone processing in late 3<sup>rd</sup>-early 4<sup>th</sup> century which could imply the functioning of a specialized workshop at Halmyris.

### V. Religion

The votive altars set by the *magistri* of *vicus classicorum* were devoted, as customarily, to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*, the supreme Roman deity. *Dies Manes* are invoked in most cases when the individual was buried and an aedicula- gravestone was set by the relatives. *Memoria* is invoked in two cases in association with *Dies Manes* (no. 1, 28, 40).

The intense religious (Christian) activity prompted by the execution of the two Christian martyrs involved the following individuals: *Alexander, Astion's father* (no. 10); *Astion, monachus* (no. 14); *Bonosus, presbyter* (no.15); *Epictetus, presbyter* (no. 21); *Evangelicus, pontifex* (no.22); *Marcellina, Astion's mother* (no. 35); *Vigilantius* (no. 58).

No. 23, *Eunomius* (bishop) was banished to Halmyris for some years. He seems to have escaped the disaster from the winter of 384/385 when Halmyris was destroyed by an invasion, as long as he died later at his estate in Dakora (Cappadocia).

### VI. Age and decease

The significant number of individuals (60) who displayed their names a number of 11 has indi-

cated on the epitaphs set by the relatives the age reached upon their death.

A number of individuals died prematurely of natural causes or violently. Illness could be invoked in case of the five infants of *Nepotianus* (no. 31, 33, 57, 59) and maybe the father himself could have fallen dead of the same disease. The layout of the *aedicula* set by his wife, *Artemidora* have two registers, one in which two other children (an unnamed son, her daughter, *Viventia*) and herself are mentioned while the name of the deceased (*Nepotianus*, her husband, and four infants) are completely separated into another field below<sup>120</sup>.

It must have been an event which took five lives at once, and a severe illness must be envisaged. *Nepotianus* died aged 37 together with the infants (*Victor* at 2, *Iuliana* at 3, *Heraclius* at 3, and *Vitalis* at 5), shortly before, after or in the same time while still in service as *principalis*.

The same natural cause, a severe illness, can be more likely invoked in case of *Memmia Marcia* who deceased aged 19; the gravity of the disease is foreseen in the presence of a *d(octor)*, *Flavius Secundus*, who have watched over her to the very end and was mentioned in the text of the inscription. *Aelius Valens* died aged 45 of unknown causes. *Claudius Martinus*, if he was involved in the military died at an early date (20) and we can only speculate either of illness or violently. Two individuals, *Flavius Valerius* and *Flavia Titia* died at 70 and 60, respectively, certainly of oldness or other complications of that age. *Aelius Saturninus* died after five years of service (*militavit annis V*). As in case of *Claudius Martinus*, *Saturninus* death could have occurred while in action. Someone from the family of *C. Valerius Longinus* died aged 32, as indicated on the epitaph set most likely by the veteran.

There is specific reference of violent death through decapitation of *Epitetus* and *Astion* in 290.

<sup>120</sup> GLIH no. 28 fig. 71 and commentary at page 94-95.

## ABBREVIATIONS and BIBLIOGRAPHY

AE	<i>Année Épigraphique</i> , Paris.
N. Cath. Enc <sup>2</sup>	<i>New Catholic Encyclopedia</i> , Washington, vol. 5.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin.
CTh.	<i>Codex Theodosianus. The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmodian Constitutions</i> , a translation with commentary, Glossary, and bibliography by Clyde Pharr, Princeton University Press, 1952.
CPL	R. Cavenaille, <i>Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum</i> , Wiesbaden, 1958.
IDR	<i>Inscripțiile antice din Dacia și Scythia Minor. Inscripțiile Daciei Romane. Vol. I-IV</i> , București, 1977-2001.
IGB	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , vol. I-IV, Serdicae, 1956-1966.
IGLR	Em. Popescu, <i>Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite pe teritoriul României</i> , București, 1976.
IGRR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> I, III-IV, Paris, 1906-1927.
ILB	B. Gerov, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae</i> , Serdicae, 1989.
ILJug.	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubliana, 1978.
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , vol. I-III, Berlin, 1892-1916.
IMS	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> vol. I-IV, VI, Beograd, 1982-1995.

IOSPE	<i>Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae</i> , vol. I-II, IV, Sankt Petersburg, 1885-1901.
ISM	<i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latineae</i> , vol. I-III, V, București, Paris, 1983-1999.
LPGN	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , vol. I-V, Oxford, 1987-2010.
MAMA	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> , Manchester, 1928 sqq.
PIR <sup>2</sup>	E. Groag, A. Stein, L. Petersen, K. Wachtel <i>et alii</i> , <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani (Saec. I. II. III)</i> , I-VII Berlin, 1933 sqq.
OPEL	<i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> , Ediderunt, B. Lőrincz et F. Redő, vol. I-IV Budapest & Wien, 1999-2005.
PLRE I	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , A. H. M. Jones, J. Martindale, J. Morris eds., vol. I AD, Cambridge, 1971, 260-395.
PLRE II	<i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , J. Martindale ed., vol. II AD, Cambridge, 1980, 395-527.
RE	<i>Real Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Pauly Wissowa Kroll), Stuttgart.
RMD,	<i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> , vol. I-V, London, 1978-2005.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Paris.

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Alföldy 1969	G. Alföldy, <i>Die Personenamen in den römischer Provinz Dalmatia</i> , Heidelberg, 1969.
Avram 2013	A. Avram, <i>Prosopographia Ponti Euxini Externa</i> , Leuven, Paris, 2013.
Barnea 1972	I. Barnea, <i>Relațiile provinciei Scythia Minor cu Asia Mică, Siria și Egiptul</i> , Pontica 5, 1972, 251-265.
Beshevliev 1970	V. Beshevliev, <i>Untersuchungen über die Personennamen bei den Thrakern</i> , Amsterdam, 1970.
Bujor 1955	Ex. Bujor, <i>Săpăturile de salvare de la Murighiol (r. Tulcea, reg. Constanța)</i> , SCIV 6, 3-4, 1955, 571-580.
Bujor 1956	Ex. Bujor, <i>Contribuție la cunoașterea populației geto-dace din nord-estul Dobrogei</i> , SCIV 7, 3-4, 1956, 243-252.
Bujor 1957	Ex. Bujor, <i>Săpăturile de salvare de la Murighiol (reg. Constanța r. Tulcea)</i> , Materiale 3, 1957, 247-254.
Bujor 1958	Ex. Bujor, <i>O geto-dakiiskoi culture v Murighiole</i> , Dacia N. S. 2, 1958, 125-141.
Bujor 1959	Ex. Bujor, <i>Șantierul arheologic Murighiol (r. Tulcea, reg. Constanța)</i> , Materiale 5, 1959, 373-378.
Bujor 1959 <sup>2</sup>	Ex. Bujor, <i>Șantierul arheologic Murighiol (r. Tulcea, reg. Constanța)</i> , Materiale 6, 1959, 325-330.

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