"Becoming Roman" on the Northern *limes**

Rada Varga

Becoming Roman, Greg Woolf's inspired syntagma,[1] reflects in various ways the history of the Roman provinces. In Woolf's work, the subject was the Romanization of the Gauls and the story of the first generations after the Roman conquest. In the current paper, we will not refer to an ethnic group, but to a juridical category: the *peregrini*, those inhabitants of the Empire that did not behold Roman citizenship.

Defining the Latin term *peregrinus* can constitute in itself the subject of an autonomous research; what needs to be said here is that a peregrine was that person who did not have Roman citizenship. They did not form a social class, as it has sometimes, neglectfully, been stated, but a juridical one. Even if the peregrines have been assimilated to the lower strata of the *populus Romanus*, this assumption is not fully correct. The usurpation of citizens' rights, attested during Principate's history, comes as proof of their inferiority and of their need (practical rather than symbolical, I would assume) to gain the juridical status of citizens.[2] At the same time, extreme poverty is not by far a feature of non-citizens, being heavily attested for members of the citizens' body as well.[3]

A Roman *peregrinus* isn't a *dediticius* either, a person deprived of any form of citizenship or the right to ever obtain one; one can very well be a citizen of his/her own town or community. I must mention that no form of local citizenship has yet been attested in *Dacia*. Another reality which cannot be supported by hard evidence for Dacia is the *ius Latii*, as we know it from other western provinces. As this is not the focus of the present paper, I will not deal with all the questions raised by the existence/non-existence of the Latin right in *Dacia*, nor will I enter its vast bibliography.[4] What needs to be said is that the nomenclature of towns' population does not seem to sustain the hypothesis of the legal Latin (not Roman) status of the known Dacian towns.

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Another matter, connected to the one discussed above, is that of the peregrine communities. The exact delimitation of the territories of the Dacian cities is yet disputed. So, it is hard for us, in these circumstances and without concluding epigraphic data, to state that certain *vici* or *pagi* have Roman or peregrine juridical status. The Gallic or south-Danubian *civitates* do not overlap any administrative realities of *Dacia*, as the province doesn't have the necessary pre-Roman elite structures and forms of organization.[5] In conclusion, some of *Dacia*'s rural communities might have had peregrine status, but this is not, unfortunately, clearly attested and is certainly not necessarily based on or related to a pre-existing local organization or ethnical (tribal) communions.[6] The only certainly attested peregrine community is *Alburnus Maior* (Roşia Montană), a mining village, created through the massive colonization of Ilyrian miners.

The first issue the researcher is confronted with in dealing with the *peregrini* is their identification. The only possible identification, with the smallest chances of error, is—of course—offered by epigraphy and more exactly by onomastics. But the epigraphic sources do not offer certainty either: we cannot exclude the possibility of frauds, just as we cannot completely exclude the possible confusion between peregrine and slave. The latter point of doubt does not have to be over evaluated, as it has been demonstrated[7] that in most cases the second name in genitive is a patronymic—with or without the notation *f(ilius)*—and represents the mark of free birth and peregrine condition. Thus, peregrine names can be considered all those names that are not denominated as something else by the content of the inscription, by undeniable specificities of the name or by a relevant *terminus post quem*.

What do the Dacian inscriptions tell us about the peregrines of the province? The inscriptions themselves are rather numerous; they offer us the possibility to know details, personal data of the characters that make the whole picture of the Dacian lower classes look more colorful. But maybe most importantly, they give us the statistical possibility of analyzing the provincial social life. It is a fact that the statistics resulted from the study of inscriptions from a certain area and/or period reflects a series of epigraphical realities, rather than demographical ones. As for what we could call the "marginal epigraphy" (as it actually was, inside the Roman society), it offers details without whom the Roman times couldn't be understood, but the general and statistical value of these pieces of information must be prudently regarded and used analytically only with maximum caution.[8]

The methodological matters put aside, in the following paragraphs I will get to the presentation and analysis of the *peregrini* of *Dacia*, such as the epigraphy reveals them. So far, I have found documented in the Danubian province about 400 peregrines. The resulted figure represents 15% from the total of names attested by *Dacia*'s epigraphy (see **Chart I**).

Interesting to notice—though, of course, not at all surprising—is the situation of the slaves. Their absolute under-representation in *Dacia* is mirrored by the situation existing in other Latin provinces: in *Gallia Narbonensis*, for example, they are

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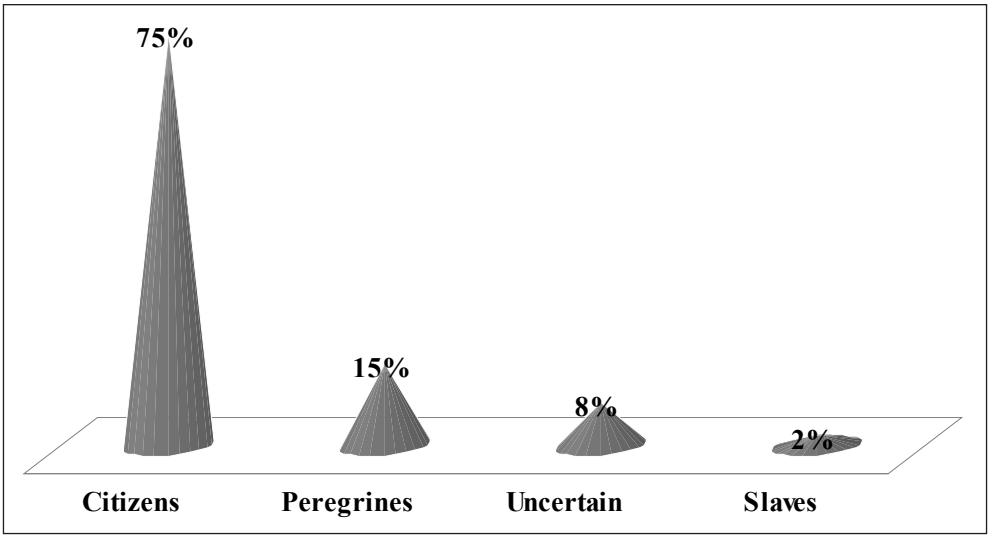
attested by the same percentage of inscriptions (a little less than 2%) as in *Dacia*.[9] The value of these percentages basically lies not in themselves, but in our possibility to give them the right connotations and interpretations. No researcher would believe that the *peregrini* constituted a mere 15% of *Dacia*'s population, just as the slaves of no province were 2% of the population. The data that we have are a result of the epigraphical representation, valid for the whole Roman world, as well as of the historical hazard—valid for all historical sources.

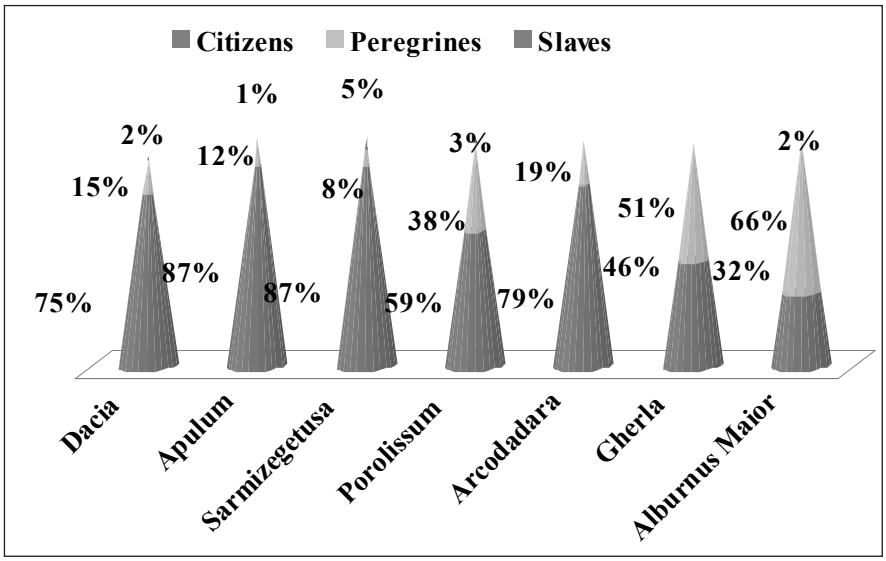
Chart I. The peregrines in the Roman Dacian epigraphy



There is no doubt that the epigraphic manifestations are a distinct feature of the Roman culture. As a cultural characteristic, it would manifest itself more conspicuously in the most Romanized environments. Thus, in *Dacia* we can note that the peregrines are distributed in a percentage of 92% in urban and military environments and only 8% in a rural environment. Seeing this huge disproportion, what first comes into mind is the predilection that the archaeological investigation has for urban and military centers. Another detail is connected to the preservation and state of recording of the epigraphical material, from the XIXth century until recently. But, beside all these very practical and truthful considerations, we must imagine that the discrepancy in inscriptions' erection was also real in Roman times. Especially when we talk exclusively about a lower—not necessarily low—class of the society, we must keep in mind that its capacity to adapt to a different culture is diminished, just as the reasons to do so are. So, the adaptation is much more likely to take place in an urban (or urban-influenced) medium, or in the highly Romanized military society, rather than in a rural environment. As well, the motives to

adopt the Roman culture and "fashions" were more numerous and pressing in the urban centers than in *pagi* and other rural settlements of the province. Talking about the differences of expression—and in generating historical sources—existing in accordance to the distinctions between different milieus, I have considered the case studies presented on **Chart II**.

Chart II. Comparative graphic of the peregrines' epigraphical presence



The military peregrines are a distinct and specific category that deserves a few lines. The military environment is not formed only by soldiers, but by their close families and all the others that gravitate around the army as well. Regarding the parity citizens: peregrines on the inscriptions of the peregrine soldiers from *Dacia*, we note that only two (probable) citizens are mentioned,[10] both appearing to be heirs of the deceased soldiers. The military peregrines occupy an important place in the Dacian social framework, as a result of the highly militarized character of the province. For peregrines in general, they represent an engine, the sub-category that finally accedes to citizen status. Out of the total number of peregrines that we have attested in the province, the military structures bring us a figure of 25%. This represents a quite high rate of over-representation and proves once more the strong epigraphic manifestation that characterizes the soldiers of the Roman Empire. What must be said about this environment is the fact that the soldiers hold the majority, the number of children almost equals them (all extracted from diplomas) and that the number of wives, brothers and heirs is rather small (all three categories represent no more than 9% from the total of military peregrines, whereas

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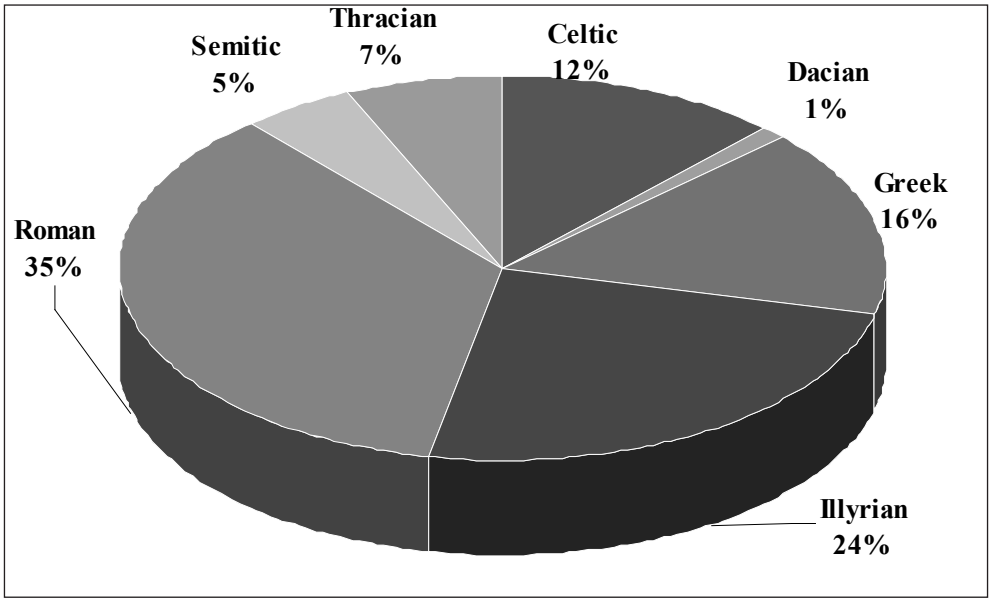
the children are 29%). Interesting to see is that *Dacia* is not really registered among the other Danubian provinces in what the auxiliary soldiers' families is concerned.[11] Compared to the other provinces, while in the 2nd century most of the epitaphs were elevated by the auxiliary soldiers' wives and children, in Dacia we find a slight preponderance of the comrades and heirs (designated only as such), with the parity between heirs-erected monuments and monuments erected by/for wife or children of about 7:8. This would suggest a more reclusive, maybe reserved environment in the Dacian *auxilia*, but we must not jump to any conclusions of this sort without taking into consideration the *diplomata* as well. Thus, most of our militaries mention children, though the wives remain rarely mentioned in this type of source as well. We can safely assume that the small number of inscriptions, associated to the young age of the soldiers that died during service, is misleading us towards the conclusion of a generalized lack of families for the auxiliaries of *Dacia*—which, most probably, was not the social reality of the Roman age.

But who were the *peregrini* of *Dacia*? If onomastics identifies them as this particular juridical class, what else do the names tell us about them? In other words, how connected is the name to the real ethnical origin and provenience area of the bearer?[12] Not too much, would be the first answer that comes into mind. Still, the names help us discover details much more interesting than the mere ethnicity of a person: they talk about one's family and cultural background, about desire of integration or about unawareness. Thus, in **Chart III** one can see the ethnical[13] structure of the names of all the *peregrini* of Dacia.

Basically, the names themselves and the proportions come as no surprise. The majority of Italic[14] names reveal the general features of the Dacian peregrine: of (vague) western background, adaptable to the Roman culture and not highly sophisticated. The Greek[15] names, in my opinion, play the same demonstrative role as the Italic ones: they come to support the existence of an eclectic provincial environment, rather than that of a Greek linguistic and cultural background of the bearer.[16] Just as the Italic names, they often are a mark of the low social status and of a mixed and somehow void cultural luggage.[17] The Illyrian[18] names mostly come from the miners' community of *Alburnus Maior*. As well, part of them has military provenience. But the most prominent category of names in the military environment is the Celtic[19] one. Here, the names are more of an origin indicative than in the civilian environment, as the ethnic roots of the names are usually in accordance to the troop's area of provenience. The Thracian[20] names come equally from the military and civilian milieus. As one can notice on the chart below, they are not very common among the Dacian *peregrini*, but are neither rare. I must make a specification regarding the Dacian[21] names: the only peregrine name that is historically connected to pre-Roman Dacia and the Dacian kingdom is the already famous Decebalus Luci.[22] Though the authors of the first publication considered this character to be of genuine Dacian background, its origins are still disputable, just as his juridical status.[23] The other categories of names are represented by small figures. Except the Semitic[24]

and partially the very few German[25] names, that are mostly military-connected, the others are completely incidental and offer no more information than the inscription in itself does.

Chart III. Onomastic analysis of the *peregrini* of Dacia



So far, I have undergone a statistic and quantitative analysis of the peregrines of Dacia. Treating them as a group—unitary through their juridical condition in the Roman society, as eclectic and colorful as it can be, otherwise—these are the main, basic results that can be obtained. What I will subsequently try to do is get inside and beyond the group's boundaries and see what the *peregrini* have to reveal, on a more intimate level. First of all, rather surprising, the parity of funerary[26] and votive inscription that record peregrines is about 1:1. Then, about a quarter of the names are known to us from military diplomas and wax tablets, proof of the great "incapacity" of the grand stone epigraphy to serve as satisfying source for these lower classes.

One of the interesting phenomena that have drawn my attention is the presence of what I have called "mixed names." This term is referring to the names that present different etymologies for the name itself and the patronymic. These ethnically mixed names offer enormously valuable information about the mental and physical world that these characters lived in. One of the most interesting cases from this category is *Demetrios* son of *Arzakes*.[27] The name originated from a Greek language inscription of *Alburnus Maior*, dedicated to *Deus Narenos*.[28] About the one that erected the altar, we are entitled to believe that he has a genuine Greek-Oriental origin. Interesting

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and remarking about him is the Persian-Iranian nature of the father's name, the Greek language of the dedication in the middle of a Western, Latin-language society and the rarity of the adored god. Another case is that of *Atpatinius Rufi*,[29] attested by a votive inscription from *Apulum*. The inscription honors *Iupiter Optimus Bussumarus*,[30] a Celtic god, of assumed Gallatin provenience. I have not found the name of the character attested anywhere else in the Empire in this form,[31] but the particle "*at*" seems to be of Celtic origin[32] and—connected to the name of the god—it can give us a clue about the possible provenience of this name from a Celtic area. Most probably, we are dealing with a mixed family or with a one Celtic in essence, but that was opened to the Latin influences as well.

The name of *Atpatinius* brings into full attention another question: that of the few peregrine names that are attested in Dacia alone and for whom I have not found analogies in other places of the Empire. Not to be mistaken, the names have one attestation alone in Dacia as well. Such names are *Sameccus*,[33] that seems to have a Celtic sonority,[34] but only appears in one inscription from *Alburnus Maior*, or *Andrada* and *Bituvans*,[35] that could be Celtic or Illyrian names,[36] but who's only mentioning is on a funerary inscription from *Potaissa* (Turda). This group of names is a limited one and its power to prove some original features of the Dacian onomastics does not have to be exaggerated. Most probably, these are only accidents of epigraphical attestation, but their presence among the *peregrini* of *Dacia* is nonetheless intriguing and worth mentioning.

To integrate the *peregrini* of *Dacia* in the larger scheme of the imperial realities is difficult. The scarcity of quantitative studies for different socio-juridical layers of the provincial societies[37] restrains the possibility of conclusive analogies. As well, the chronological coordinates of the province *Dacia* make it particular. Nonetheless, some comparisons are revealing. A certain feature of most of the provinces, especially of those geographically close to *Dacia*, is the fact that many of the peregrines bear native pre-conquest names.[38] Another remarkable thing is the frequency of the peregrine names in the Norican *municipia*[39]—the base of G. Alföldy's demonstration regarding the *ius Latii* in this province—reality totally unattested in the urban environment of *Dacia*. A different situation appears in pre-Hadrian *Gallia Narbonensis*: here, the scarcity of the peregrines epigraphically attested in the urban environment is striking[40] - even more so than in *Dacia* - and the great mass of the *peregrini* comes from settlements adjacent to the big cities of the province. Thus, *Dacia* seems to be particular as a case study, through its lack of peregrine native names and through this class's moderate epigraphical presence in the cities of the province.

THIS HAS been the general image of the *peregrini* attested in Roman *Dacia*. The main and most important conclusion that can be drawn is that they do not form a unitary group. The only feature that unites them all is their juridical, legal status. To us, they appear to be integrated in the structures of the Roman civilization: they are a great part of the Roman army, they form active communities

in the Roman economy and they integrate themselves, through their epigraphic manifestation and through their choices of names in the civilian society around them. How did the Roman civilization truly seem to them and how did they perceive it? We could say that it would depend, from case to case and it would be true, the sources do not allow us this kind of knowledge. Sometimes, the deeply ethnical rooted names and the local gods mark features of conservativeness, but they stand aside Latin names—even in the same family—and Roman gods—often adored by the very same worshipper. The *peregrini*, mingled amongst different classes of citizens or not, are one spot added to the extremely colorful painting of the provincial society. As for their integration in the Roman society and culture, all we can say is that the ones we know, by name, are those who adopt the epigraphical and votive culture of the Roman world and of the higher classes of society, so the ones that, from some points of view, stand right on the peak of adaptation and integration. ❑

Notes

1. Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1998.
2. For this deduction, see François Jacques, John Scheid, *Rome et l'intégration de l'Émpire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1990), 213, as well as a few detailed primary sources: Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Pro Archia Poeta* (N. H. Watts, ed.) (London: Harvard University Press, 1965), the *Tabula Clesiana* (CIL V 5050) and Suetonius, "Divus Claudius," 25, 7, in *De vita Caesarum libri* (Maximilian Ihm, ed.) (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner Verlaggessellschaft), 1958.
3. Margaret Atkins, Robin Osborne, eds., *Poverty in the Roman world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
4. A few papers that must be mentioned are: Theodor Mommsen, "Edict des Kaisers Claudius über das römische Bürgerrecht der Anauner vom Jahre 46 n. Chr.," *Hermes*, 4 (1870): 99–131, for the beginnings of the historiography of this matter; Geza Alföldy, "Notes sur la relation entre le droit de cité et la nomenclature dans l'Empire Romain," *Latomus*, 25 (1966): 35–57; Michael Humbert, "Le droit latin imperial: cités latines ou citoyenneté latine?" *Ktèma*, 6 (1981): 207–226; André Chastagnol, "A propos du droit latin provincial," *Iura*, 38, 1987, in A. Chastagnol, *La Gaule Romaine et le droit latin* (Lyon: Ed. De Boccard, 1995), 89–112 and for Roman Dacia, the synthetic studies of Radu Ardevan, "Latin right or Roman citizenship? The case of the Roman-Dacian towns," in Julián González, ed., *Ciudades privilegiadas en el Occidente Romano* (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Sevilla, 1999), 295–303 and "Zur Frage der Gemeinden latinischen Rechts in Dacia," in Wolgang Ernst, Eva Jakab, eds., *Usus Romani Antiqui. Antikes Recht in lebenspraktischer Anwendung* (Berlin–Heidelberg–New York: Springer Verlag), 2005, 1–11. The most recent work that deals with this matter in the Romanian historiography is Romeo Cîrjan, *Statute citadine privilegiate în provinciile dunărene ale Imperiului roman (sec. I-III)* (Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Mega, 2010); the author considers that *ius Latii* is "plausible" for *Dacia* (129, 139).

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5. Dan Ruscu, *Provincia Dacia în istoriografia antică* (Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Nereamia Napocae, 2003), 58.
6. A speculation of this sort was made by Constantin Daicoviciu in *Istoria României*, I (Bucharest: Ed. Academiei R. R., 1960), 266, based on the inscription CIL III 8060, which mentions the *vicus Anartorum*. His demonstration has been renewed since, its latest reaffirmation being that of Ioana Bogdan-Cătăniciu from 2005—"Á propos de civitates en Dacie," in Miroslava Mirković, ed., *Römische Städte und Festungen an der Donau* (Beograd: Fil. Fak. 2005), 138.
7. Ioan Piso, "Die soziale und ethnische Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung in Sarmizegetusa und in Apulum," in Werner Eck, ed., *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte. Studien zur Methodik und Erkenntnismöglichkeit der kasierzeitlichen Prosopographie. Kolloquium Köln, 24–26 November 1991* (Köln-Wien-Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1993), 320.
8. For more details and examples on the "marginal epigraphy" and the statistical value of the epigraphical information, see the following: the provincial monographs of Jean-Marie Lassère, *Ubique Populus. Peuplement et mouvements de population dans l'Afrique romain de la chute de Chartage à la fin de la dynastie des Sévères (146 a.C.–235 p.C.)* (Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977) and G. Woolf (*op. cit.*), the study of methodology in using epigraphy as a sourse for population history of Elizabeth A. Meyer, "Explaining the epigraphic habit in the Roman Empire: The evidence of epitaphs," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 80 (1990): 74–96), as well as the more general, but nonetheless interesting book of Andrew Chamberlain, *Demography in archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
9. G. Woolf, 99.
10. Grigore Florescu, C. C. Petolescu, *IDR* II (Bucharest: Ed. Academiei R. S. R., 1977), no. 45 and I. I. Russu, *IDR* III/3 (Bucharest: Ed. Academiei R. S. R., 1984), no. 172.
11. A study of Margaret M. Roxan—"Women on the frontiers," in V. A. Maxfield, M. J. Dobson, eds., *Roman Frontier Studies. Proceedings of the XV^th International Congress on Roman Frontier Studies* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1989), 462–467—for the whole Empire, gives us a general overview of the auxiliary soldiers' family relationships, as they are reflected by funerary epigraphy. Thus, in the 2^nd century A.D., 16,8% of the funerary monuments of auxiliary soldiers are raised by their wives or children. Another study (Sarah Phang, *The marriage of Roman soldiers (13 B.C.-A.D. 235). Law and family in the imperial army* (Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill Publishing House 2001), 153), that reflects the realities of the Danubian provinces alone, shows us different percentages from the previous ones: in the II^nd century A.D., 39% of the soldiers from the Danubian auxiliary troops were commemorated by their wives.
12. For the general analysis and epigraphical identification of the names, I have used *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum* (OPEL), I – Barnabás Lörincz, Francisc Redö, Budapest, Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 1994; II – B. Lörincz, Forschungsgesselschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie, Wien, 1999; III—B. Lörincz, Forschungsgesselschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie, Wien, 2000; IV – B. Lörincz, Forschungsgesselschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie, Wien, 2002.
13. I have chosen the term "ethnical" rather than "etymological" because some names have a clear Latin etymology, but they appear with such frequency in certain areas of the Empire, that we can consider them to be ethically rooted in those particular regions.

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14. For the Italic names, the papers I have used are: Iro Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1965); Oli Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen. Studien zur römischen Namengebung* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1987).
15. For the identification and study of the Greek names, I have chiefly used Heikki Solin's works, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der griechischen Personennamen in Rom," I, in *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, 48, Helsinki, 1971 and *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom* (Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter & Co. Verlag, 2003), as well as the on-line page of the project Lexicon of Greek personal names (http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/index.html, consulted on April 20, 2010). For a better understanding of the juxtaposition of the Greek and Latin names, see also Athanassios D. Rizakis, "Anthroponymie et societé. Les noms Romains dans les provinces Hellénophones de l'Empire," in A. D. Rizakis, ed., *Roman onomastics in the Greek East. Social and political aspects*, (ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ, 21, Athens, 1996), *ff*11–29.
16. These statements do not have to make us believe that, among the peregrini that have Greek names, there are not any of Greek (Oriental) background: one of these exceptions I consider to be Μύρων, a worshiper from Bucium-Şasa (Alba county), that dedicates his altar, written in Greek, to Δει Κιμιστενος (IDR III/3, no. 432).
17. Though the realities of Rome do not coincide with the provincial ones and demonstrations can often be deluding, in this case Solin's assumption that the Greek names in the Latin speaking part of the Empire are usually the sign of a low social position, is correct (H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen*, XXV).
18. For the study of the Illyrian names, I have mainly used Radoslav Katičić, "Namengebung im römischen Dalmatien," *Die Sprache*, 10, 1 (1964): 23–33; G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (Heidelberg: Winter Verlag, 1969) and for the Dacia the older study of I. I. Russu, *Illirii* (Bucureşti: Ed. Academiei R. S. R., 1969) and the newer one by I. Piso, "Gli Illiri ad Alburnus Maior," in Gianpaolo Urso, ed., *Dall'Adriatico al Danubio. L'Illirico nell'età greca e romana* (Pisa: ETS, 2004), 271–307.
19. For the Celtic names, see the classical work of Alfred Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, 3 vol. (Leipzig: Teubner Verlag, 1896–1907).
20. My analysis of the Thracian names is based on Dimitar Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (Wien: Verlag der Österreiches Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1957) and the more recent work of Mihail Zahariade, *The Thracians in the Roman imperial army* (Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Mega, 2009), which gives a repertory of the military Thracian names (320–325).
21. For the Dacian names, the most – and only self-evident ones – edifying and graphic studies are those of Dan Dana, especially his almost monographic "Les Daces dans les ostraca du désert oriental de l'Egypte: Morphologie des noms daces," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 143 (2003): 166–186.
22. First published by I. Piso and Adriana Rusu, in "Nymphaeum-ul de la Germisara," *Revista Monumentelor Istorice*, 59, 1 (1990): 9–17, 13–14.
23. The name being that of the Dacian king, I believe a supplementary note is required. The name of *Decebal* appears in at least 5 epigraphic documents from outside *Dacia* (OPEL, II, 94) in this form and at least 2 times in slightly modified linguistic forms (D. Dana, *op. cit.*, 175); it is not always connected to the *auxilia* of Dacians. I suppose that the name might have been somehow "fashionable" during some periods. Even more, talking about inhabitants of *Dacia*, the name might have been appealing in no connection to a local pre-Roman origin. In the end, we might as well be dealing with a slave, property of *Lucius*.

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24. For the Syro-Palmyrean—Semitic—names, see J. K. Stark, *Personal names in Palmyrene inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) and for more technical analogies and identification possibilities of the names, Ladislav Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague: Verlag der Tschechoslowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1964).
25. The bibliography on the Germanic name is scare, just as the names themselves are (a large part of the Germanic characters are marked as such by indicatives as *Batavus* or have preponderance in the German area of the Empire). For the Germanics of Dacia, the main work is Adrian Husar, *Celţi şi germani în Dacia romană* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1999), 71-104 (in tables 5-7 are listed all the names of Celtic and Germanic origins from Dacia, with all the necessary details of the inscriptions mentioned).
26. For an interesting overview on the funerary formulas of Dacia, see R. Pop-Chendea, "The formulas of funerary inscriptions in Roman Dacia," *Transylvanian Review. Thinking the future through the past*, XX, 2:1 (2011): 133–140.
27. *IDR* III/3, no. 399.
28. S. Nemeti, *Sincretismul religios în Dacia romană* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2005), 250—about the Gallatian origins of the god and his mentions in the epigraphy of *Dacia*.
29. *IDR* V, no. 113.
30. On the attestations of Bussumarus in *Dacia* and the god's history, see S. Nemeti, 249.
31. See OPEL, I, 190–203.
32. OPEL I, 190.
33. IDR III/3, no. 408.
34. OPEL IV, 46.
35. CIL III, 917.
36. OPEL I, 111.
37. And the existing ones tend to concentrate on very specific matters, such as longevity or sex-ratio, when discussing the *peregrini* (see J.-M. Lassère, 474–475, 543).
38. András Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London–Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul Publishing House, 1974), 58; G. Alföldy, *Noricum* (London–Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul Publishing House, 1974), 128.
39. G. Alföldy, *Noricum,* 86.
40. A. Chastagnol, "L'onomastique de type pérégrin dans les cites de la Gaule Narbonnaise," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité*, 102 (1990): 61.

Abstract

"Becoming Roman" on the Northern limes

This paper is an overview of the peregrines attested in Roman Dacia. Methodologically, the research aims at drawing the lines for the peregrines' correct identification, as well as for the just evaluation of the statistical results. The epigraphic sources are highly lacunose at some points and can be deceiving, unless treated with proper attention. Otherwise, they offer individual details that lead to a colorful image, important for the understanding of the Dacian social life and realities.

Keywords

Roman Dacia, *peregrini*, citizenship, epigraphy, quantitative analysis.

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