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«ТРОЯН» В ІМПЕРСЬКІЙ ОНОМАСТИЦІ

«TRAIANUS» IN IMPERIAL ONOMASTICS

The oral tradition attributes to the conqueror of Dacia an impressive series of urban activities, Traian being considered, in various areas of Moldova and Wallachia, the founder of the villages. Undoubtedly, all these "popular beliefs" must be corroborated with some legends related to medieval mythology, whether Eastern or Western¹, but their origin is much older, having its basis in even the contemporary imperial propaganda² of *Optimus Princeps*³. The practice was not new in the Roman world and had been used constantly since the reign of the principality's father⁴, perpetuating itself until the fall of the second Rome.

Beyond the real deeds of the Caesar (which, at least as regards Ulpus Traianus, are not to be neglected at all, marking or crowning the *Saeculum Traiani*⁵), imperial propaganda also has a religious foundation⁶. Around the emperor, who held the first rank in the traditional religion, *pontifex maximus*, a true myth was elaborated, through which: "the emperor was accepted in the popular mind"⁷. The image of the "divine" Trajan is associated with that of notable, almost legendary characters, whose attributes the emperor assumes. Like his models, Trajan tends through his actions to become

¹ A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medioevo*, vol. II, Torino, 1883, pp. 1-45 (*non vidi*).

² E. Cizek, *Eroi politici ai Antichității. Modele ideologice și literare*, București, 1976, p. 226, p. 247; Idem, *Epoca lui Traian. Împrejurări istorice și probleme ideologice*, București, 1980, pp. 352-353, p. 362 (= Idem, *L'Époque de Trajan. Circonstances politiques et problèmes idéologiques*, Paris, 1983).

³ R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps. Saggio sulla storia e sui tempi dell'imperatore Traiano*, vol. I-II, Messina, 1926-1927 și, mai recent, J. Benett, *Trajan Optimus Princeps*, London, 1997.

⁴ M. Vasilescu, *Atitudine romană și atitudine greacă în propaganda politică din timpul lui August*, in *Analele Științifice ale Universității „Al. I. Cuza”-Iași*, XXVII, 1981, pp. 53-68.

⁵ L. Homo, *Le siècle d'or de l'Empire Romain. Les Antonins (96-192 ap. J.C.)*, Paris, 1969.

⁶ E. Cizek, *Problèmes d'idéologie politique dans l'Empire Romain*, in *Revista de Istorie*, XXX, 8, 1977, pp. 1489-1501.

⁷ M. Hammond, *The Antonine Monarchy*, Roma, 1959, p. 218.

totius orbis domini. As Constantine later undertakes a *restitutio Daciae*, for which he is considered at least equal to his predecessor⁸, *Dacicus* follows in the footsteps of Alexander the Great, at least in the sense of posterity: „*usque ad Indiae fines post Alexandrum accessit*”⁹. Despite this association, the much-desired closeness to the status of *kosmokrator* is conferred on him not so much by his warlike actions as by his urban-civilizing ones¹⁰, *orbem terrarum aedificans*¹¹, a fact suggested by Flavius Eutropius¹² and confirmed by the earlier statements of Dio Chrysostom¹³, Aurelius Victor¹⁴ ori Cassius Dio¹⁵.

*Aqua Traiana*¹⁶, *Portus Traiani*¹⁷, *Via Traiana*¹⁸, *Anaglyphia Traiani*¹⁹, *Columna Traiani (centenaria)*²⁰, *Equus Traiani*²¹, are just a few of the names reminiscent of his urban actions, listing here only those in Italy. Of course, this "founding" activity continues, in equal measure, in the other provinces as well. For example, in Africa we have the Colony *Marciana Traiana*²², in Arabia, *Via nova Traiana*, between Bostra and Aila²³, in Egypt, *Traianus* was called a great canal that regularized the course of the Nile²⁴, and in Thrace, *Traianopolis* had been founded on the site of the former city Dorisc²⁵ etc.

Dacia, conquered after two wars that could be summarized as follows: *expeditio I – Traianus de Dacis triumphavit* and *expeditio II – Universa Dacia Devicta est*, remains, without a doubt, one of his most important works, even the first urban activities with urban character in the area being related to its name²⁶. Here is erected a

⁸ T. Zawadzki, *L'idée de la reconquête de la Dacie*, in *Dacoromania*, I, 1973, pp. 65-68.

⁹ Festus, *Breviarium*, 20. For the attraction of Alexander's image to Trajan, see also Cassius Dio, LXVIII, 29-30; *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Hadrianus*, IV, 9; Eutropius, *Breviarium*, VIII, 3, 2.

¹⁰ F. Cumont, *Trajan Kosmocrator?*, in *Revue des études anciennes*, nr. 42, 1940, pp. 408-411.

¹¹ M. Gramatopol, *Arta imperială a epocii lui Traian*, București, 1984.

¹² Flavius Eutropius, *Breviarium*, 8, 2.

¹³ Dio Chrysostomul, *Orationes*, 2, 34.

¹⁴ Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 12, 4. See the excellent critical, bilingual editions due to Gh. I. Șerban (Brăila, 2006) and N. Zugravu (Iași, 2006), also presented by us C. Croitoru, *Aurelii Victoris Historiae Abbreviatae. Note de lectură (IV)*, in *Danubius*, XXV, 2007, pp. 363-367.

¹⁵ Cassius Dio, 68, 13, 5.

¹⁶ *CIL*, VI, 904; 1260.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, XIV, 90. See also M. Horster, *Bauinschriften römischer Kaiser. Untersuchungen zur Inschriftenpraxis und Bautätigkeit in Städten des westlichen Imperium Romanum in der Zeit des Prinzipats*, Stuttgart, 2001, p. 272, nr. Ia 11,6.

¹⁸ *ILS*, 5866.

¹⁹ W. Seston, *Les „anaglyphia Traiani” du Forum Romain et la politique d'Hadrien en 118*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire. École française de Rome*, XLIV, 1972, pp. 154-183 (= *Idem, Scripta varia*, Roma, 1980, pp. 185-214).

²⁰ *CIL*, VI, 960 (= *ILS*, 294 = *L'Année Épigraphique*, 1991, 70). R. Vulpe, *Columna lui Traian. Monument al etnogenezei românilor*, București, 1988; P. Pensabene et alii, *Foro Traiano. Contributi per una ricostruzione storica e architettonica*, in *Archeologia Classica*, 41, 1989, p. 152.

²¹ P Zanker, *Das Traiansforum in Rom*, in *Arcäologischer Anzeiger*, nr. 4, 1970, pp. 499-544.

²² *CIL*, VIII, 17842 (= *ILS*, 6841). Vezi și Pietro Romanelli, *L'arco di Traiano a Timgad: una ipotesi*, in vol. *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerts à Paul Collart*, Lausanne, 1976, pp. 317-321.

²³ *ILS*, 5834.

²⁴ Ptolemeu, *Geografia*, 4, 5, 54.

²⁵ Leo Grammaticus, *Cronografia*, 67, in (H. Mihăescu), *Fontes Historiae Daco-Romanae*, II, București, 1970, p. 647; Constantin Porfirogenetul, *Despre provincii*, 47, 1, 48-57, in *Ibidem*, p. 671.

²⁶ See for example vol. *L'Eredită di Traiano. La tradizione istituzionale romano-imperiale nella storia dello spazio romano. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi* (a cura din Al. Castaldini), Bucurest, 2008.

commemorative monument - *Tropaeum Traiani*²⁷, the name of the capital of the new province being *Ulpia Traiana*²⁸, in fact the first urban foundation in the province of *Dacia*²⁹; *Castra Traiana*³⁰, a fortification already mentioned, is connected even with a possible presence of the emperor in the area³¹. It is also worth mentioning that, apparently, also from the province to which he linked his name – *Dacicus*, comes his last portrait, made during his life³².

But the most consistent is the name of the emperor preserved in the terminology of the imposing linear fortifications that run for hundreds of kilometers, almost invariably called "Trajan's Wave" or popularly "Trojan". Beyond other linguistic speculations (commonly used to define a wave - of earth, of snow - the term also entered in contemporary language; at the origin of the word would be either the memory of the actions of the conqueror of Dacia – "Ulpus Troianus", or the loan from Slavic chain, of the name of a winter deity of roads and snows – "Trojan"³³) "Trojan" is nothing but the popular form of the emperor's name, not so much as an expression of the perpetuation, in the collective memory, of the permanence of his municipal activities, but of the ancient waves of the earth³⁴. Eloquent in this case are the names of "Trajan's ditch", "Trajan's road" or "Trajan's wave", which the inhabitants of the rural area gave to the earth waves³⁵. The same popular tradition found its expression in the representation of the emperor Trajan on a plate of the Wallachian stove from the end of the 17th century³⁶.

The plastic image of the earth waves was associated by the popular tradition with the furrow resulting from the plowing, obviously keeping the proportions in favor of the superior powers of Trajan, seen as a legendary hero. Thus, it is significant to evoke his figure in the texts dedicated to agricultural rituals, as it actually appears in "Plușor" (= "Little Plow") – "carol of Roman origin"³⁷ -, under the form "Trajan" or "Trojan"³⁸,

²⁷ *CIL*, III, 14214 (= *ILS*, 9107); F. B. Florescu, *Monumentul de la Adamklissi*, Bucureşti, 1959 (= *Idem*, *Das Siegesdenkmal von Adamklissi*, Bucureşti-Bonn, 1965); M. Sâmpetru, *Tropaeum Traiani*. II. *Monumente romane*, Bucureşti, 1984; A. Rădulescu, *Tropaeum Traiani*. *Monumentul şi cetatea*, Bucureşti, 1988.

²⁸ *CIL*, III, 1443 (= *IDR*, III/2, 1 = *L'Année Épigraphique*, 1972, 465); H. Daicoviciu, D. Alicu, *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa*, Bucureşti, 1984; see more recently I. Glodariu, *Sarmizegetusa Regia durant le regne de Trajan*, in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, nr. 26-30 (I/1), 1989-1993, pp. 21-25; D. Alicu, *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*. *Amfiteatrul*, I, Cluj Napoca, 1997; C. Găzdac, S. Cociş, *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, I, Cluj-Napoca, 2004.

²⁹ R. Ardevan, *Viaţa municipală în Dacia romană*, Timişoara, 1998, pp. 42-45, pp. 74-81, pp. 135-139, pp. 188-189.

³⁰ D. Tudor, H. Nubar, P. Purcărescu, *Săpăturile arheologice de la Castra Traiana*, in *Materiale şi Cercetări Arheologice*, IX, 1970, pp. 245-250.

³¹ C. Patsch, *Der Kampf um den Donaauraum unter Domitian und Trajan*, Viena-Leipzig, 1937, p. 75.

³² M. Gramatopol, *Ultimul portret antum al lui Traian*, in *Idem*, *Artă şi arheologie dacică şi romană*, Bucureşti, 1982, pp. 166-173.

³³ See Alexandru V. Boldur, *Originea şi sensul cuvântului „troian” după surse străine şi româneşti*, in „Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis”, IX-XI, 1987-1989, pp. 109-123.

³⁴ See also Giulio Bertoni (ed.), *Archivum romanicum: nuova rivista di filologia romanza*, Firenze, 1941, p. 209, which concludes on this issue: „Ma «calea Troianului» o «calea lui Troian» (Traian dev'essere una sostituzione colta) significa anche per il popolo romeno di alcune province «la via latte»...”.

³⁵ Iorgu Iordan, *Toponimia românească*, Bucureşti, 1963, p. 311.

³⁶ Barbu Slătineanu, *Plăci de ceramică românească din sec. al XVII-lea*, in „Revista Istorică Română”, VIII, 1938, pp. 56-57.

³⁷ George Giuglea, *Valori latine în expresie românească*, in „Dacoromania” XI, 1948, p. 103.

³⁸ Anton Moisin, *Continuitatea şi romanizarea dacilor din epoca romană (sinteza noilor cercetări)*, Bucureşti, 1999, p. 104.

not as emperor, but as a wealthy peasant – ”bădica Traian”, ”raised” to capitalize his land possessions. The whole process is then recalled, from plowing and sowing to harvesting and threshing, to grinding wheat and baking bread. That it is about one and the same character, is proved by his relentless connection with Dacia (= Dochia or Dochiana), who in some carols appears as his wife³⁹.

Why ”Trajan” and / or ”Trojan”? The most recent *Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian language*⁴⁰ defines, in a first sense, the ”Trojan” as ”a large pile of snow brought by the wind and placed in the form of waves or dunes; snowdrift, and in the secondary one as a primitive reinforcement made by the ancient peoples, consisting of a long earth dam, with a defense ditch. We wonder if, by associating the waves of earth with those of snow generated by the blizzard, by the so-called ”snow Trojan”, the notion of ”Trojan” has undergone a process of translation⁴¹. This eventual perpetuation of the notion of ”Trojan” can thus be presented as a proof of the continuity of the post-Aurelian Daco-Roman population⁴².

Regarding the transformation of ”a” into ”o”, ie the transition from the form ”Traianus” to ”Troianus”, a very complex explanation should not be sought. Both variants have been used since antiquity. Various inscriptions immortalize the anthroponym in the form of Trojan⁴³. The place of their discovery (without the certainty that we know them all) covers practically the whole area of the Empire [Egypt (3), Galatia (1), Macedonia (1), Dalmatia (1), Pannonia (1), Noricum (4), Italy (6), Hispania (2), Germany (5) and Great Britain (3)], so it cannot be a ”mistake of the pencil” or a marginal, local form. Chronologically, this variant is attested since the reign of Trajan⁴⁴ and, as evidenced by the stamps discovered at Ostia, circulates in parallel with the official form⁴⁵. The known epigraphic attestations date back to the reign of Decius⁴⁶, but the form Troianus continues to be recorded even later by medieval documents, evidence of its persistence and use.

Therefore, in some inscriptions the cognomen of various characters, thus immortalized, appears in the form of Trojan. Among the first known inscriptions in this sense, we must mention the epigraph discovered in Brigetio (in our case no. 7), about which, its editor, Theodor Mommsen⁴⁷, although at that time unaware of the

³⁹ Ion Popinceanu, *Limba religioasă și limba superstițiilor la români*, in „*Bună Vestire*”, X, 1, 1971, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁰ *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române*, p. 1115.

⁴¹ Radu Vulpe, *Les Valla de la Valachie, de la Basse-Moldavie et du Boudjak*, in *Actes du IX^e Congrès International d'études sur les Frontières Romaines*, Mamaia, 6-13 septembre, 1972, București-Köln-Wien, 1974, p. 267, note 1.

⁴² Ion Donat, *Troianul*, in „*Luceafărul*”, XXI, nr. 11 (829), 18 martie 1978.

⁴³ M. P. Speidel, *The Captor of Decebalus. A new Inscription from Philippi*, in *Journal of Roman Studies*, LX, 1970, p. 146, nota 50 (= Idem, *Ranisstorum, ultimul punct de sprijin al lui Decebal*, in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, VII, 1970, pp. 111-115); R. Vulpe, *Gli Illiri dell'Italia Imperiale Romana*, in „*Ephemeris Dacoromana*”, III, 1925, p. 155, nota 3; Idem, *Les Valla de la Valachie, de la Basse-Moldavie et du Boudjak...*, p. 267, nota 1; Constantin C. Petolescu, *Varia Dacoromana*. III. *Troianus in epigrafa latină*, in *Thraco Dacica*, IV, nr. 1-2, 1983, pp. 143-145 [= Idem, *Troianus dans l'épigraphie latine. Onomastique romaine et évolution étymologique*, in vol. „*L'Afrique, la Gaule, la Religion à l'époque romaine. Mélanges à la mémoire de Marcel Le Glay*”, (Collection Latomus, vol. 226), Bruxelles, 1994, pp. 723-729].

⁴⁴ *CIL*, XV, 313.

⁴⁵ Margarete Steinby, *Lateres Signati Ostienses*, Roma, 1978, nr. 307.

⁴⁶ *CIL*, III, 5752; VII, 1163.

⁴⁷ In *CIL*, III, 11039.

existence of any analogy, intuited that in line 3 (*Troiani Pitoniato*) was, not so much in front of a possible lapicid mistake of writing, but especially of a variant from the provincial Latin. His explanation was later shared, without reservation, by Radu Vulpe⁴⁸, who concluded: "la forma *Troiano* per *Traiano* è molto diffusa nelle linque odierne sud-slaviche e nella lingua romena, vale a dire appunto in quei popoli che oggi abitano l'antico Illirico".

Well known in Romanian historiography for its importance, it is the funerary star from Grammeni⁴⁹ (in our case no. 5), published by M. P. Speidel in a study⁵⁰, whose limited version would also appear in Romania⁵¹. Row 12 of the inscription "speaks" clear "of *Divi Troiano*". On the occasion of its edition, the author mentions three other inscriptions (the epigraph from Brigetio is not known to him) in which the surname Troianus appears (in our case no. 12, 25 and 26), a form that he explains: "the spelling *Troiano* is a variant for *Traiano*, several examples from the Latin-speaking West are known"⁵².

All the five inscriptions known until that date are mentioned by Radu Vulpe in a study dedicated to the earth waves from Muntenia, southern Moldova and Bugeac⁵³ (in our case no. 5, 7, 12, 25, 26). In addition to these, the author cites another [*ILS*, 9118 (= *CIL*, III, 14433)], most likely according to the index, without checking the text of the inscription. On page 461 of the corpus of Latin inscriptions (indices) appears the variant "vexil(latio) leg. I Ital., [V] M(ac.) et VII ad Trop(aeum) [T]roi(ani)", although in the Latin text to which such a form refers, it does not appear⁵⁴. On the same occasion, Radu Vulpe expressed his conviction that: „le nom commun *troian* employé aussi bien en roumain que dans les langues slaves balkaniques [...], dérive certainement du nom propre *Traianus*, cognomen de l'empereur romain le plus célèbre [...]. La transformation du premier a de ce nome en o ne représente pas une influence slave sur le roumain, comme on le soutient souvent, mais une modification produite déjà dans le latin provincial"⁵⁵.

The discussions occasioned by the reinterpretation of the text of the funeral star from Grammeni⁵⁶ complete the repertoire of epigraphs that immortalize the surname Troianus, in addition to the inscription from Brigetio, with two other monuments (in our case no. 4 and 8), a situation that allows Nicolae Gostar to conclude: "TROIANO de la l. 12, pour *Traiano*, n'est pas spécifique uniquement pour les provinces balkano danubiennes, car on le retrouve d'une façon intermittente dans d'autres provinces aussi

⁴⁸ R. Vulpe, *Gli Illiri dell'Italia Imperiale Romana*, in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, III, 1925, p. 155, nota 3.

⁴⁹ *L'Année Epigraphique*, 1969-1970, 583.

⁵⁰ M. P. Speidel, *The Captor of Decebalus. A new Inscription from Philippi*, in *Journal of Roman Studies*, LX, 1970, pp. 142-153.

⁵¹ Idem, *Ranisstorum, ultimul punct de sprijin al lui Decebal*, in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, VII, 1970, pp. 511-515.

⁵² Idem, *The Captor of Decebalus...*, pp. 146.

⁵³ R. Vulpe, *Les Valla de la Valachie, de la Basse-Moldavie et du Boudjak...*, p. 267, note 1.

⁵⁴ The text of the epigraph preserved today in the collections of the National Museum of History of Romania was verified by C. C. Petolescu, vezi Petolescu, *Troianus dans l'épigraphie...*, p. 723, note 3.

⁵⁵ R. Vulpe, *Les Valla de la Valachie, de la Basse-Moldavie et du Boudjak...*, p. 267, note 1.

⁵⁶ N. Gostar, *Sur l'inscription de Ti. Claudius Maximus de Grammeni (Macedonie)*, in vol. *Epigraphica. Travaux dédiés au VII^e Congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine*, Constantza, 9-15 septembrie, 1977, p. 80.

et c'est toujours une déformation populaire si l'on tient compte du fait que *Trajanus* est un cognomen ibérique, étranger aux langues italiques"⁵⁷.

Later, Constantin C. Petolescu⁵⁸ dedicates himself to this subject, who adds to the seven already known inscriptions, other six epigraphic texts, identified in various specialized publications (in our case no. 1, 2, 6, 13, 18 and 20). Returning to the issue⁵⁹, the same historian raises the number of discoveries to 19, thus introducing six other inscriptions (in our case no. 3, 14, 15, 19, 23 and 24).

Finally, to these sources, particularly important for clarifying the issue that concerns us, we are able to add eight more definite inscriptions (no. 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 21, 22, 27), thus raising the number of discoveries at 27, and another six in which the *cognomen* can be completed only hypothetically (no. 28-33)⁶⁰.

As we have shown, the place of their discovery (without the certainty that we know them all) covers practically the whole area of the Empire [Egypt (3), Galatia (1), Macedonia (1), Dalmatia (1), Pannonia (1), Noricum (4), Italy (6), Hispania (2), Germany (5) and Brittany (3)], so it cannot be a lapicide mistake or a marginal, local form. Chronologically, this variant is attested since the reign of Trajan and, as evidenced by the stamps discovered at Ostia, circulates in parallel with the official form⁶¹. However, the surname *Trajan* does not seem to have been widely used in antiquity⁶².

In general, there are three situations to which the inscriptions refer:

1. the name of the conqueror of Dacia – *Marcus Ulpius Traianus* (53-117);
2. the name of the victor from Verona – *Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius* (190-251);
3. the name of a military unit – *Legio II Traiana*.

To these are added the names of the tribe of *Optimus Princeps* – *Papiria Troiana*, of some cities – *Ulpia Troiana Puetouio* (in *Upper Pannonia*) and *Augusta Troiana* (in *Thrace*), or of some soldiers – *M[arcus] Troianus* and *Cassius [T]roianus[s]*.

The vulgar Latin in which the form *Troianus* is circulated is probably the very idiom referred to in an edict from 813 of the Council of Tours, which emphasizes the need to translate sermons from Latin into *rusticam Romanam linguam*. And the observation that the same form appears mainly in the provincial or military environment, is somewhat subjective⁶³, as it is not excluded that this variant is still an official one⁶⁴, since in an epigram attributed to his successor – Emperor Hadrian, the

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁸ C. C. Petolescu, *Varia Daco-Romana. III. Troianus in epigrafia latină*, in *Thraco-Dacica*, IV, nr. 1-2, 1983, pp. 143-145.

⁵⁹ Idem, *Troianus dans l'épigraphie...*, pp. 723-729.

⁶⁰ See for example the attestation *L(ucius) Gellius L(ucii) f(ilius) Tro(mentia)*, *L(ucius) Sergi(us) L(ucii) f(ilius) Tro(mentia)* și *A(ulus) Fulvi(us) A(uli) f(ilius) Tro(mentia)*, in *CIL*, I², 709 (= *CIL*, VI, 37045 = *ILS*, 8888; in this case see also N. Criniti, *L'epigrafe di Asculum di Gn. Pompeo Strabone*, Milan, 1970, pp. 16-26; L. A. Valverde, *El nomen Pompeius en Hispania: algunos aspectos criticos*, in *Emerita*, 69, 2001, p. 242); *P(ublio) Trosio*, in *L'Année Épigraphique*, 1992, 716 (2); *C(aius) Precilius Tropus*, in *L'Année Épigraphique*, 2001, 419 (2); *Verna Troillus* in *L'Année Épigraphique*, 1969-1970, 62, etc.

⁶¹ M. Steinby, *Lateres Signati Ostienses*, Roma, 1978, nr. 307.

⁶² I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki, 1965, p. 157; Petolescu, *Troianus dans l'épigraphie...*, p. 726.

⁶³ Petolescu, *Troianus dans l'épigraphie...*, p. 725. See, however, the exception from no. 14, inscription put by a slave of the emperor.

⁶⁴ The hypothesis is all the more justified as, so far, the most numerous epigraphic discoveries in this sense come from Italy.

conqueror Dacia is credited with descending from Aeneas the Trojan (Ζηνὶ τὸδ' Αἰνεάδης Κασίω Τροϊανὸς ἀγαλμα...) ⁶⁵! The exception in this case is made by the attestations of some “modest” soldiers: *M [arcus] Troianus* and *Cassius [Troianus]* (in our case no. 16 and 21).

The 27 inscriptions, having attested the form Troianus, which are known to us so far, are the following:

1. (Egypt), Al Iskandariyah/Alexandria ⁶⁶: „*D(is) M(anibus). Aurelium Longinum, (mil)item leg(ionis) II Tro(iana)e For(tis) Ger(manicae) Seve(rianae) (in) coh(orte) VIII pr(incipis) pri(oris) st(ipendiis) VIII, an(n)orum XXXII, Aurel(ia) Isidora coniugi dulcissimo et bene merenti memoriam feci(t)*”.

2. (Egypt), Al Iskandariyah/Alexandria ⁶⁷: „*Dis M(anibus). Laberius Fortunatus, m(iles) leg(ionis) II Tro(iana)e coh(orte) IIII (centuria) (h)ast(ati) pri(oris), mil(itavit) an(nos) XXIII. Equinus Pompeianus, optio, secundus h(eres), be(ne) m(erenti) m(emoriam) f(ecit)*”.

3. (Egypt) Al Jizah ⁶⁸ (inscripție în versuri păstrată într-o copie datând aproximativ din anul 1350): „*[...] Troiane [...]*”.

4. (Galatia), Ancyra ⁶⁹: „*D(is) M(anibus). M. Aebutius M. f. Ulp(ia) Papir(ia) Troiana Victorinus Poetovio, stip(endiis) XIV, an(nis) LXIII m(ensibus) II, [(centurio)] leg(ionis) X G(eminae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae), [(centurio)] leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae), (centurio) leg(ionis) I Mine(rviae), [(centurio)]leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae), [(centurio) leg(ionis)] VII Cl(audiae), (centurio) leg(ionis) XV Ap(olinaris)*”.

5. (Macedonia), Grammeni ⁷⁰: „*Ti(berius) Claudius Maximus, vet(eranus) [s(e)] v(ivo) f(aciendum) c(uravit). Militavit eque(s) in leg(ione) VII C(laudia) p(ia) f(ideli), factus qu(a)estor equit(um), singularis legati legionis eiusdem, vexillarius equitum, item bello Dacico ob virtute(m) donis donatus ab imp(eratore) Domitiano. Factus dupli(carius) a divo Troiano in ala secu(n)d(a) Pannoniorum, a quo et fa(c)tus explorator in bello Dacico et ob virtute(m) bis donis donatus bello Dacico et Parthico, et ab eode(m) factus decurio in ala eade(m), quod cepisset Decebalu(m) et caput eius pertulisset ei Ranisstoru. Missus voluntarius honesta missione a Terent[io Scau]riano, consulare [exerci]tus provinciae nov[ae Mesopotamiae...]*”.

⁶⁵ *Anthologia Palatina*, VI, 332. More recently see D. Ebener (ed.), *Die Griechische Anthologie in drei Bänden*, Berlin, 1991; A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, München, 1993.

⁶⁶ *CIL*, III, 6594a. Vezi și I. Mednikarova, *The Accusative of the Name of the Deceased in Latin and Greek Epitaphs*, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 143, 2003, pp. 117-134.

⁶⁷ *CIL*, III, 6605 (= *CIL*, XI, 109, 3).

⁶⁸ *CIL*, III, 21 (= 6625 = *ILS*, 1046a). Also see E. Courtney, *Musa Lapidaria. A selection of Latin verse inscriptions*, in *American Classical Studies*, 36, 1995, p. 88, nr. 74.

⁶⁹ *CIL*, III, 6761 (= *CIL*, III, 260).

⁷⁰ *L'Anneé Epigraphique*, 1969-1970, 583 (= Á. Dobó, *Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque repertae ad res earundem provinciarum pertinentes*⁴, Budapesta, 1975, nr. 817). Also see N. B. Rankov, *Singulares Legati Legionis: A Problem in the Interpretation of the Ti. Claudius Maximus Inscription from Philippi*, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 80, 1990, pp. 165-175; M. P. Speidel, *The Captor of Decebalus ...*, pp. 142-153; C. S. Mackay, *Expressions to Indicate Goal of Motion in the Colloquial Latin of the Early Empire*, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 126, 1999, p. 232; M. B. Charles, *Trajan's guard at Adamklissi: Infantry or cavalry?*, in *Historia*, 53, 2004, p. 487.

6. (Dalmatia), Saloniae⁷¹: „D(is) M(anibus). T. Fl(avio) Pomponiano, (centurioni) leg(ionis) II Tr(o)ianae fort(is), (centurioni) leg(ionis) I[III] Fl(aviae), (centurioni) leg(ionis) XII Fulmin[ae]tae, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XVI Flaviae, (centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII Geminae M(artiae); (centuriones) leg(ionis) II Tro(ianae) fort(is) heredes”.

7. (Pannonia Superior), Komarom/Brigetio⁷²: „IRIVA... /MELAI... /TROIANI... /PITONIATO/EQVITI MIL LEG I ADI /ARTEIA EXVPERATA/ SOROR ADRIVIRVS”.

8. (Noricum), Klosterneuburg⁷³: „Imp [- - - Cae]s(ar) C. M[essius] Qui]ntus De[scius] T]roianu[s] p(ius) f(elix) Augu[s]t(us) ponti[f]f(ex) max(imus)], trib(unicia) po[t]t(estate) ...c]os. pr[o]co[s], vias e]t pont(es) co[n]laps]as rest[ituit] a] Vind. [m. p...]”.

9. (Noricum), Niederdorf/Villabassa⁷⁴: „[Imp(eratori)] Caes(ari) / [C(aio)] Messio / [Quin]to Tro[ian]o Dec[io] P(iao) F(elici) Invic[ito] Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) II] / [p(atri) p(atriciae) et Mess(i)s] / [Decio et Quinto] / [nobilissimis] / [Caess(aribus) Augg(ustis)] / [a 3 m(ilia) p(assuum) 3]”.

10. (Noricum), Sankt Margarethen im Lungau⁷⁵: „Imp(erator) / Caes(ar) C(aius) / Messiu[s] Q(uintus) [Tro]o[ianus](!) / Dec[io]c[aius] / P(ius) F(elix) Inv[ic]t(us) / Aug(ustus) [pon]t[if]f(ex) ma[x]imus] / trib(unicia) pot(estate) / co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriciae) / proco(n)s(ul)”.

11. (Noricum), Zollfeld/Virunum⁷⁶: „[...]R[3] / [3]s et Val(erius?) Re[3]c[3] e[t?] Var(ia) Re[s]p[ect]a d(onum) d(ederunt) // [3]T eis ne defuncto [1]N[1]MFE[//]nio / [3]s / [3]us / [3] Quartus / [3] Verinus / [3] Ingenuus / [3]inus / [3]inani / [3]s / [3]us / [3]i / [6] / [3] Pr[imitivi] / [3]n[u]s / [3]s / [3]s / [3]tus / [3]i / [3]s / [3]i / [3]i / [3]i / [3]s / [3]i // Aurelius Iulius / Valentinus Primitivi / Claudius Claudianus / Vitalius Aprilis / Iunilius Martius / Genialis Ingenuus / Pompeius Chryseros / Volusius Ursus / Gemellinus Balosi / Iulius Nicephor / Quartus Balosi / Serenianus Placidi / Ursus Sabini / Marius Thallus / Antonius Primus / Valerius Nigrinus / Valerius Respectus / Successus Baieni / Atillius Felix / Troianus Flavinus”.

12. (Italy), Tivoli/Tibur⁷⁷: „D(is) M(anibus) L. Comini L. f. Maximi domu Mantua, p(rimo) p(ilo)bis, procuratori M. Antonini Aug(usti), praef(ecto) leg(ionis) II Troianae fortis CC, trib(uno) c(o)hor(tium) VII praetoriae, XIII urbanae, III vigul(um), centurio(ni) c(o)hortis I pr(aetoriae), X urbanae, V vig(ulum), evocato Augustorum, beneficiar(ia) praef(ecti) praetori(o) vixit annis LXXXII, dieb(us) XVIII; Numitoria C. f. Moschis coniux bene merenti heres”.

⁷¹ CIL, III, 2029.

⁷² CIL, III, 11039 (= L. Barkóczy, A. Mócsy, B. Lörincz, *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*, Budapest, 1972-1991, 2, 518).

⁷³ CIL, III, 5752.

⁷⁴ CIL, XVII/4, 164 (= M. Hainzmann, P. Schubert, *Inscriptionum lapidarium Latinarum provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices*, Berolini, 1986, 1578).

⁷⁵ CIL, XVII/4, 187 (= E. Weber, *Supplementum epigraphicum zu CIL III für Salzburg, Steiermark, Oberösterreich und das norische Niederösterreich*, 1902-1964, 2).

⁷⁶ L'Année Épigraphique, 1997, 1219.

⁷⁷ CIL, XIV, 3626 (= ILS, 2742 = *Inscriptiones Italiae*, IV, 1², 157). Vezi și B. Dobson, *Die Primipilares. Entwicklung und Bedeutung, Laufbahnen und Persönlichkeiten eines römischen Offiziersranges*, Köln-Bonn, 1978, p. 265; E. Schallmayer, K. Eibl, J. Ott, G. Preuss, E. Wittkopf, *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I. Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches*, Stuttgart, 1990, p. 670, nr. 871.

13. (Italy), Ostia⁷⁸: „*IMP CAE TRO AVG / EX FIGLI MARC DOLI / C CAL FAVORIS*”.

14. (Italy) Roma⁷⁹: „*D(is) M(anibus) / Epaphrodito Imp(eratoris) / Caesaris Neruae / Troiani Aug(usti) Ger / ma(nici) Dacici ser(uo) / Yginiano arcar(io) a iuuenis / Vlpia Bassa / uiro carissi(mo) cum / quo uix(it) an(nos) XXIII; Sex(to) Atilio Besso / fecit ma...*”.

15. (Italy) Roma⁸⁰: „*M. Aur(elius) M. f(ilius) Aug(usta) Auitus Troian[a]*”.

16. (Italy), Roma⁸¹: „*M(arcus) Troianius / M(arci) f(ilius) Marcellus / Luc(o) Aug(usta) mil(es) / coh(ortis) X pr(aetoriae) |(centuria) / Scipionis / men(sor) lib(rarius) vix(it) / an(nos) XXV m(enses) VIII / mil(itavit) an(nos) V m(enses) VII / fac(iendum) c(uravit) / L(ucius) Magius / Adeianus et / C(aius) Iulius / Tiberinus / amici*”.

17. (Italy), Trebula Suffenas/Ciciliano⁸²: „*[... Tr]ebulae Suff[enatium] i[n] tabulario eorum des[criptum] ex calendario(?) / [consensu(?)] 3[mi] curatoris dati ab Imp(eratore) Nerva Troiano(!) in quo scriptu[m] est / [Saturnino(?)] 3[mi] Scipione(?)] c]o(n)s(ulibus) tabula novissima cera novissima arc(ae) n(ostrae) A(ulus) Furiu[s] A(uli) f(ilius) 3 solvit / [quam debuit C(aius) Caesi]us Bassus reliq(ua) HS LVIII m(ilia) n(ummum) item codice alio in quo scriptum [est tabula 3 cera no]vissima arc(ae) n(ostrae) M(arcus) Atilius Felix quam debuit A(ulus) Furius A(uli) [f(ilius) 3] / [HS 3 solvit Nero]ne Aug(usto) IIII Cosso Lentulo co(n)s(ulibus) ac(ce)p(t)i exp(ensi) tabula VIII cera [...]*”.

18. (Spain), San Model⁸³: „*[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) A]ug(usto) C(aio) Messio Q[ui]nto Troano Decio pio felici [...] C(...) et Q(uinto) [Herenni]o Etru[sc]o nobil[iss]i[m]o Caes(ari)... CXLV*”.

19. (Spain), Tarraco⁸⁴: „*[D(is)] M(anibus) / [M(arcus) Aur(elius) Pa]latina Iusto Ni / [comedia?] ex e(quite) R(omano) (centurioni) leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis), VI / [Ferrat(ae)?, X]XX Vlp(iae), II Troian(ae), III / [Scythic(ae)?], III Cyr(enaicae) II h(astato) pr(iori) ann(or)um XLII / [...]I, Aurel(i) Iusta uxor / [mari]to dulcissim(o) item / [Alexa]nder et Iulianus filii / [patri] p[ri]entissimo fecer(unt)*”.

20. (Germania Superior), Mainz/Mogontiacum⁸⁵: „*... leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) [ite]m leg(ionis) II Troian(a)e, T. Fl(avius) Aeternus et T. Fl(avius) Albinus et T. Fl(avius) Verecundus...*”.

21. (Germania Superior), Heilbronn/Böckingen⁸⁶: „*Pro salute commili[ti]t(onum) / Fortun[ae] / sacrum / Cassius / [T]roianu[s] / (centurio) Brit(tonum) Mur(ensium) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito)*”.

⁷⁸ CIL, XV, 313.

⁷⁹ CIL, VI, 8865.

⁸⁰ CIL, VI, 32624. Vezi și B. Kavanagh, *The elder Corbulo and the seating incident*, in *Historia*, 53, 2004, p. 381.

⁸¹ CIL, VI, 2754.

⁸² *L'Année Épigraphique*, 1999, 571b. Vezi și *Il Capitolo delle entrate nelle finanze municipali in Occidente ed Oriente. Actes de la X^e Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie du monde romain (Rome, 27-29 mai 1996)*, Roma 1999, p. 27.

⁸³ *L'Année Épigraphique*, 1979, 365.

⁸⁴ G. Alföldy, *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, Berlin, 1975, pp. 93-99, nr. 177, pl. CXII/2.

⁸⁵ CIL, XIII, 6883.

⁸⁶ CIL, XIII, 6471. Vezi și P. Southern, *The Numeri of the Roman Imperial Army*, in *Britannia*, 20, 1989, pp. 81-140.

22. (Germania Superior), Rheinsheim⁸⁷: „*Mer(curio) / Troianus / Aquensi/s fl(ius) / p(osuit)*”.

23. (Germania), Ladenburg/Lopodunum⁸⁸: „*Imp(eratore) Caes(are) / C. Messio / Quinto / Troiano / Decio / P(io) F(elice) / Inuicto / Aug(usto) p(ontifice) m(aximo) t(ribunicia) p(otestate) p(atre) p(atricie) / proco(n)s(ule), c(iuitas) S(ueborum) N(icretum)*”.

24. (Germania), Heidelberg⁸⁹: „*Imp(eratore) Caes(are) / Q. Messio / Quinto Troiano / Decio P(io) F(elice) / Inuicto Aug(usto) / p(ontifice) m(aximo) t(ribunicia) p(otestate) p(atre) p(atricie) proco(n)s(ule), / c(iuitas) S(ueborum) N(icretum) l(eugas) III*”.

25. (Britannia), Segontium-Caernarvon⁹⁰: „*Imp(eratori) Q(uinto) Tro(iano) Decio [C(a)e]sa[ri] p(io) f[el]el(ici)*”.

26. (Britannia), Rockbourne⁹¹: „*Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) G(aio) M(essio) Q(uinto) Tro[ian]o De[cio] Aug(usto) ...*”.

27. (Britannia), Stanwix (?)/Cumbria⁹²: „*Dis Manibu/s Marci Troiani / Augustini tit(ul)um fa/ciendum curavi/t Ael(ia) Ammillusima / coniu(n)x kariss(ima)*”.

Hypothetical:

28. (Noricum), Zeltschach⁹³: „*Ti(berius) Iulius Con/gonneti filius / Tro(?)*”.

29. (Italy), Tortona/Colonia Iulia Dertona⁹⁴: „*Clo() Tro(?)*”.

30. (Italy), Aquilea⁹⁵: „*Jundai[3] / [3 a]nnor(um) XI[3] / [3]hus Tro(?)*”.

31. „*AI[3] / CHI[3] / mat[ri](?) 3] / D() A[3] / A[3] / Tro(?)*”⁹⁶.

32. (Britannia), Chester⁹⁷: „*SEBDIVS L F TRO PVDENS AEQVO...*”.

33. (Britannia), Chester⁹⁸: „*L ANNIVS L F TRO MARCEL V...*”.

⁸⁷ H. Nesselhauf, *Neue Inschriften aus dem römischen Germanien und den angrenzenden Gebieten*, in Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission, 27, 1937, pp. 51-134.

⁸⁸ *CIL*, XVII/2, 633 (= XIII, 9101).

⁸⁹ *CIL*, XVII/2, 641 (= XIII, 9109).

⁹⁰ *CIL*, VII, 1163 (= *RIB*, I, 2263).

⁹¹ *L'Année Épigraphique*, 1966, 224. Vezi și R. P. Wright, *Roman Britain in 1956. II. Inscriptions*, in *Journal of Roman Studies*, LVI, 1966, p. 219, nr. 9.

⁹² *RIB*, 2029.

⁹³ *L'Année Épigraphique*, 1993, 1249.

⁹⁴ *CIL*, V, 8115, 32.

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, V, 1580.

⁹⁶ *CIL*, XIV, 3873 (= *Inscriptiones Italiae*, IV, 1, 494).

⁹⁷ *RIB*, I, 486.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, 487.