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VETERAN SETTLEMENT AND COLONIA *ULPIA TRAIANA SARMIZEGETUSA*

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ABSTRACT: This paper concerns the settlement of veterans after their discharge and its evolution in the last century of the Republic and the first two centuries of the Empire, with special regard to *colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa*. As veteran settlement decreases gradually in the 1st century AD, at the beginning of the 2nd we have little such activity from the part of the emperors. Considering the analogies in Britannia and elsewhere, as well as the statistics for veterans in other provinces, the paper focuses on Sarmizegetusa and its beginnings. A first wave of colonists, of which a part are legionary veterans, is traceable at Sarmizegetusa, and together with recent topographical research, confirm the primacy of the city at this particular place, and not necessarily its development from a hypothetical fortress.

KEYWORDS: *missio*; veterans; Sarmizegetusa; *colonia*; discharge.

Beginning with 13 BC the veterans were financially compensated, and finally, by 6 AD *aerarium militare* came into being, together with *praemia militiae*¹. Thus, the compensation of soldiers at the time of their discharge was no longer a privilege, but a right. It seems that these decisions were taken by Augustus under the pressure of events, because the men were no longer available for long-term service without any proper compensation. The emperor normed a scale for gratuities, in which the praetorians received 5000 *denarii* after 16 years of service and the legionaries 3000 *denarii* after 20 years². However, this system was not fully instated, because by 14 AD, the soldiers retired are complaining about the bad state of the land that they received³. Thus, it is noticeable that land allotment was as in use as financial compensation, but not as popular as the latter⁴. Through this, the veterans were settled in colonies, but not in the old, republican manner⁵, together with their centurions and tribunes,

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1 *Res Gestae* 17.

2 Dio 55.23.

3 Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.17.

4 Watson 1969, 147.

5 Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.27.

to create a society based on already build relations, and the result was not the best, because most of the soldiers preferred to return to the provinces where they served, not being accustomed with social or family life⁶. By the time of Hadrian the situation alters, veteran colonies are no longer founded, probably due to the high price of land or imperial policy concerning settlement. At the same time, the local recruitment is the rule, which will generate a local settlement after the discharge. Somewhat surprisingly, no evidence for auxiliaries' *praemia militiae* is to be found, except for the marines in the time of Vespasian. It seems that the auxiliaries, as non-citizens, were not entitled to *praemia militiae* and the privileges received through their diplomas were regarded as enough compensation. In Augustus' reign the *cohortes civium Romanorum* enjoyed the same privileges as the legionaries at their discharge (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.8), but this also was altered eventually⁷.

Military service itself was looked upon as a civilizing agent, producing through discharge, almost 5000 new citizens yearly. Together with their families, we can say that the army was responsible for the increase in the citizen corps by 3 Million people. Thus, the value of citizenship decreased gradually, and the *constitutio Antoninana* was probably no shock⁸. The veterans enjoyed a special status especially in the military provinces, where they were more easily integrated into urban societies. Therefore, they naturally gravitate around the forts, the *vici* and *canabae* being the proper environment for their retirement⁹.

For most of the veteran colonies founded in the civil wars period, evidence of centuriation has been traced. In all the cases, the veterans were settled at the site exactly at the moment of foundation. The colonisation of veterans was conducted in several stages, going all the way into the first half of the 1st century AD. When the colonies were founded, they also received substantial *territoria*, and so the neighbouring settlements were expropriated for this, leaving their citizens uncompensated. Most of their monuments don't indicate a very prosperous social and economic status, except for those of the centurions and tribunes¹⁰.

Augustus founded Emona as a colony for the veterans of the Pannonian and Illyrian legions, but he also repopulated Naronna and more settlements of this kind in the Rhine area. But the veterans' reaction to this form of compensation has discouraged Tiberius in the founding of such colonies. Claudius again stimulated it, but mostly in the provinces, probably because he understood their primordial role here. Nero took a new initiative in the founding of Italian colonies. Finally, the civil war of 69 AD caused a new stage in the founding of veteran colonies, by Vespasian, but his two sons didn't follow¹¹.

The establishment of the permanent Principate army did no longer allow the deduction of veterans in the way that it was done after the civil wars of the later Republic. First because the legions are now garrisoned on frontiers, away from Italy, second because the share of Italians in the legion dropped dramatically, thus, the veterans lacking in a reason to settle there. Finally, also because now the number of veterans produced yearly by a legion didn't exceed 100–200, with no more entire units available for discharge at once. The emphasis is switched on the provinces, beginning with Claudius, in the way of the gathering of all the veterans of a provincial army in a new *colonia*, which will have its population increased eventually. The only 1st century emperors that have an Italian founding policy are Nero and Vespasian. They attempt, on one hand, to follow the examples of Caesar and Augustus, especially after 69 AD and on the other to revive the declining Italian economy. Plus, the Flavian emperors and the first two Antonines tried to increase the numbers of the free population in Italy. But by this time, most of the legionary and praetorian veterans

6 The foundation of colonies was the way in which the Romans wanted to impose their ideology in the newly conquered areas. Veteran settlement wanted to transform the professional soldiers into respectable citizens, to avoid their association in crime. In some cases, the places for these colonies were former fortresses, because the men were accustomed to the venue in 25 years. The new *coloniae* offered many advantages, not only a strategic position in young provinces, but, by the return of the veterans' sons in the army, they ensured a supplementary recruitment fund (Tacitus, *Ann.* 14.31). Webster 1998, 283–284.

7 Watson 1969, 148–149; Wesch-Klein 2007, 444–445.

8 Webster 1998, 285.

9 Watson 1969, 153.

10 Mann 1983, 57–60; Keppie 2000a, 249, 258–259. Such a situation is to be encountered in the colony of Forum Iulii, where we cannot determine the units of the veterans settled, but we can establish that veteran settlement in Narbonensis and Italia at the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Principate has not been a singular, but a repetitively process. Keppie 1995, 367–372.

11 Mann 1983, 57–60; Keppie 1984, 77–81.

received their compensations as sums of money. Some returned to Italy or their provincial home, but most of them remained close to the place where they spent most of their mature life¹².

The veteran colonies are vital to the recruitment of legions, because military tradition stimulates the interest for a career in this environment. Sadly, by the end of the 2nd century, the number of recruits from the Romanized areas dropped and colonies were no longer founded. Hadrian founded Mursa, in Pannonia Inferior and Aelia Capitolina, he also promoted Apollonia to the rank of *colonia*. After his reign the legions rarely changed their location, the single such event being the shift of *V Macedonica* from Troesmis to Potaissa. Although many veterans settled in Troesmis, no colony was ever founded there. Moreover, new conquests ceased to appear, thus, making very cheap the foundation of such cities. The economic conditions of the later 2nd century show that it was more profitable for the state to pay sums of money to the discharged soldiers than to offer them land. Local settlement of the soldiers provides a home for them also during service, but also children that are not citizens. By the end of the 3rd century, the land allotment was conditioned by the enlistment of the veterans' sons in the army, all culminating with the hereditary army of the 4th century¹³.

Veteran deductions are made only with legionaries, praetorians and *classarii*, in a well determined space, but the *deductio* doesn't tie them to their land. There is no evidence for auxiliaries' deduction, probably because, as new citizens, they lacked the civilizing mission of their colleagues, old citizens. However, auxiliary veterans choose to live in cities, but only where their privileges are granted. Such cases are encountered in Mauretania Caesariensis, where most of the veterans settled in cities that had fiscal privileges, as it is the case of *municipium Volubilitanorum*, which had its fiscal immunity granted by Claudius¹⁴.

Of the colonies founded at the beginning of the Principate, we notice that some of them were previously legionary fortresses, but were liberated after the moving of the legion, and occupied by civilians. This is the case mostly in Britannia, at Colchester, Lincoln or Gloucester. Other republican colonies, as Ostia or Minturnae have the shape of military camps, because during the conquest of Italy, the Romans developed cities in previous garrisons, if they were in a strategic position. The 'playing card' shape of some Augustan colonies, Aosta and Turin, is actually not a proof of their previous existence as legionary fortresses. The same is the situation of Emona, the traces of a hypothetical XV Apollinaris fortress lacking, in spite of its obvious strategic position. It has been assumed that Claudius founded *colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* on the site of the fortress of I Germanica and XX legions, after their move to Bonn and Neuss, but research has shown the opposite, the actual place of the fortress being still unknown. In Britain, Claudius founded at Camulodunum *colonia Victricensis*, exactly on the spot of the legionary fortress of XX Valeria victrix. In Dalmatia, in the former territory of a legion such a *colonia* was founded. Vespasian founded two colonies in Pannonia, Siscia and Sirmium, which probably were Augustan fortresses. The situations of III Augusta and Theveste or II Adiutrix and Lindum are similar. Nerva did the same with Gelvum, Traian with Poetovio, from where XIII Gemina left, and Oescus. The case of Sarmizegetusa seems unsure, probably as those of Savaria, Ratiaria, Scupi and Mursa. At Vetera the civil settlement is born in the *cannabae*, not in the temporarily abandoned fortress¹⁵.

The special interest for the places of former garrisons is obvious. The land in the former legionary territory remains in the property of the state and can be reused and allotted to veteran colonists. Their number is unsure, although during the Republic figures as 3000 are mentioned, in Palma, Cartagina or Aosta. However, in the Principate no such availability of veterans existed at one time, and probably the colonization was made in stages. Most of the times, all the veterans of the province are gathered in a new *colonia*, as the cases of Ptolemais, Syria or Gloucester have been traced. In Colchester it is obvious that the city was moved into the legionary fortress, probably not to ruin an area which lived well out of the soldiers' money. It is a misconception that these veterans lived in the city. They had land allotted in the city territory and were expected to live on it and produce; the emperor didn't need them as urban plebs. Some of them probably had employees, and they actually

12 Mann 1983, 60; Keppie 1984, 105–107.

13 Mann 1983, 63–65, 67.

14 Mirković 2007, 328, 338–339.

15 Keppie 2000, 302–305.

lived in the cities, but those were officers, centurions or tribunes that were also city magistrates. But the majority remained moderate farmers, as most of them are attested in their rural residencies, in the city territory. In the later Republic a veteran was allotted 12 ha, and probably this *ratio* was not decreased during the Principate in the provinces. The first step in the founding of such a *colonia* was the detachment of a surveyors' commission that would measure the land and divide it into *centuriae*. The tradition requires this to be the starting point, confirmed by research all over the Empire. In Britannia no centuriation traces have been discovered in any of the territories of the colonies founded on former fortresses¹⁶.

Therefore, the placement of colonies exactly on the site of the legionary fortress is not the common practice in all the Empire, outside of Britain the situation inclining towards their placement in the vicinity, over the *cannabae*, and the connection between the military and civil environment being simply assumed. Moreover, the situation in Britain is a counterargument, because serious problems occurred with the social integration of veterans in many such settlements¹⁷.

By the time of Trajan it was obvious that most of the veterans were not eager to become farmers. In Poetovio, founded around 100 AD, the veterans could choose between *missio agraria* and *missio nummaria*, the latter also intending to live in the new city and to have their own enterprises. The placement of these colonies is a strategic matter, also related to the legionary fortress in the province; Vespasian settled veterans in Ammaus, on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and Trajan settled them at Thamugadi, 20 km from Lambaesis¹⁸. After Hadrian such colonies were no longer founded, veterans being awarded money at their discharge, which they would invest freely. It was not interrupted the elevation of cities to the state of *colonia*, especially those in the vicinity of fortresses in the Danube area, Aquincum, Carnuntum, Apulum¹⁹.

The 3000 *denarii* received by a veteran on discharge, invested with a medium interest of 6% could allow him a decent yearly rent for the rest of his life. Adding to this the business and economies made in service, plus the inheritances, probably the veteran didn't have a bad financial situation. The veterans had the bases for a decent profession, if they desired to learn it, during their service. They could be various craftsmen, doctors or surveyors, but evidence is scarce for veterans with other professions than that of farmer. These other veteran professions usually mean some kind of a merchant – *vestiarius*, *negotiator gladiarius*, or ship builder – *nauepegus*, owner of oil presses, dye-works or tile and pottery workshops. It's not entirely clear if the veterans that were owners of *villae rusticae* or other enterprises were working alone or had any employees, but it probably depended on rank and material possibilities. They obviously had serious expenses, as are family upkeep or rent²⁰.

The veterans of Egypt seem to have lived in a modest prosperity. The farmers were not working themselves, because they had employees or tenants, or even slaves, mostly the *ex principales*. Sometimes they own small businesses or workshops, but these remain very poorly developed, very rare being the cases when veterans extend their properties in more than one settlement, or the major commercial transactions. If in their native villages the veterans were somewhat important, the access into cities was not as easy. It required a rather large fortune, Greek education and social status, sometimes obtainable through marriage. Even in cities, the veterans and their sons were considered the lowest rank of citizens and their path towards public offices was closed, the sole way of climbing the social pyramid remaining military service. The only city where the population has also a military origin is Antinoopolis, and here the veterans have a compensatory privileged status. As marginals, they seek association with their comrades, concentrating in real military families. The soldiers and veterans assume Roman cultural values, as Latin and the Roman law, but only on the official level. Thus, the veterans in Egypt are a class regarded with suspicion and only partially integrated, and their role in the Romanization is lacking²¹.

16 Keppie 2000, 306–308. This will prove to be important, if not decisive, for the case of Sarmizegetusa.

17 Keppie 2000, 309–311.

18 Also Sarmizegetusa is at half-way from Apulum to Berzobis.

19 Keppie 2000, 311–312.

20 Wesch-Klein 2007, 445–446.

21 Mitthof 2000, 389–393.

However, the veterans remain an important Romanization force, especially in border provinces. Even if they are not the majority of the population, they are different from the rest through privileges, fortune and citizenship. Soldiers and veterans cultivated relationships between themselves, sometimes sanctioning them through marriage. Accustomed to hard labour, most of them farmers or businessmen, they have no actual political role, in spite of the fact that, beginning with Hadrian, they are considered part of the *honestiores*, together with the upper classes. Thus, they were exempted from degrading punishments²². There are a lot of reasons for their apparent unconcern in political life: old age, lack of political training and abilities, loss of tax immunity. Only the former officers would engage in politics, because they have replacements at their business and enough money and political experience. Plus, in some very 'civil' cities it was not considered necessary for the veterans to participate in the *ordo decurionum*. On the other hand, the veteran colonies had more ex military decurions, but only in the first generation, eventually the civilians taking over²³. During the Principate only 5.8% of the veterans take part in public life, in the Rhine and Danube provinces, most of them legionary, half of them officers, especially in the time span Antoninus Pius–Severus Alexander. In the other provinces the situation is somewhat similar. In Egypt, as we have seen above, even in Africa, the veterans are forbidden or reserved in taking public offices, some of them preferring religious ones, as the *flamen*. They are also involved in religious life as benefactors and members of cult organisations. Therefore, the degree of social and political involvement of the veteran depended on his personal physical and material status and on his plans for the future²⁴.

If the ratio of veterans in public office doesn't exceed 6% even in the military provinces, it seems that their role in civil administration has been somewhat exaggerated. In Britain we know of only one case of a political active veteran, and in the African provinces the percentage increases to 10%. Although auxiliary veterans lack the fortune to hold such positions, their officers, centurions or decurions are seeking the possibility to be involved in municipal administration²⁵. Sometimes they do it because of the social pressure, especially in the case of the military families that have such traditions. Their participation in municipal life is different from one city to the other; they seem to be solicited in the councils of settlements in the proximity of the forts or in veteran colonies. In the case of a *colonia deducta* their place is obvious, but only at the first generation. Even in the case of the *primipilares* we can notice a drastic decrease in interest for municipal offices, from 55 in the first two centuries, to only nine in the third. Obviously, their role increases in the rural communities, where they have different positions and relations and they can take advantage²⁶.

In Mogontiacum we have 38 veterans attested, according to the other military cities on the Danube: Aquincum – 82, Carnuntum – 63, Apulum – 41. In all of Germania Inferior we know of only 75, 28 of them in Köln. The veterans come from the legions garrisoned in this province, especially XXII Primigenia. Some of them were *principales* or centurions, but the majority was soldiers, some *singulares*, and very few auxiliaries. Only two of them hold offices in Mogontiacum, as *curator civium Romanorum Mogontiaci* or *allectus in ordinem civium Romanorum Mogontiaci*, probably due to the non-urban status of the settlement, but the percentage is the same as in all the Rhine and Danube area, close to 6%. Their financial status must have been good, because one of them donates 1000 *denarii* to the *beneficarii* of the legate, and another erects a monument to Fortuna costing 8000 *sestertii*. It seems that in this place they have a special influence on the public life and can be considered agents of Romanization²⁷.

We know of at least 90 veterans living in Dacia in the urban or military becoming urban environment, which means 57.7 % of the total number of veterans attested. The other 66 were living in rural or military settlements that never became urban, 42.3 % of the total number. Although many of them are living in *vici militares*, remaining close to the place where they served for more than 25 years, there

22 *Digest* 49.18.1–3.

23 In the Rhine and Danube provinces only 1% of the decurions are descendants of veterans.

24 Wesch-Klein 2007, 447–449.

25 One of the best such examples is Dacia and Sarmizegetusa, by the time of the Severans.

26 Wesch-Klein 1998, 196–200.

27 Królczyk 2004, 95–97.

are some who will take their land allotment and become farmers, living in *villae rusticae*. Obviously, most of the veterans are land owners, but not all of them are farmers, only eight of them being attested at their farmhouses²⁸. The veterans of Dacia usually mention on their inscriptions if they have any special status, during the service or afterwards. Five of them were centurions and 16 decurions, and a lot more were NCO's: three *duplicarii*, one *optio*, two *signiferi*, two *custodes armorum*, eleven *beneficiarii* and two *stratores*. Their origin also varies widely, *ex toto orbe romano*: two are from Dalmatia, four from Pannonia, three from Noricum, three from the Galliae, three from Hispania, four from Britannia, one from Africa *proconsularis*, five from Thracia, one each from Pontus, Galatia and Pamphylia, seven from Syria and no less than twelve from Palmyra. Most of the veterans settled in Dacia come from the troops that are part of the provincial army. This confirms their preference for the land that they lived on most of their mature life, and where they served²⁹.

One of the most compact groups of veterans in Dacia is the one attested at Micia. This is a place of strategic importance for Dacia, garrisoning no less than three units: *ala I Hispanorum Campagonum*, *cohors II Flavia Commagenorum* and *numerus Maurorum Miciensium*. This group of veterans is associated to a group of citizens from Micia in erecting a series of five dedications to *Iupiter optimus maximus*³⁰. Such associations were not rare, the veterans helping each other in the cases of funerals, banquets or celebrations³¹. Elsewhere in Dacia, their access to municipal careers depends mostly on the intensity of the urban life³².

The situation of Sarmizegetusa is a very special one, important for the beginnings of the province of Dacia³³. This city's origins and especially the date of the foundation have been intensively argued. For the dating, if the founding inscription seemed to indicate a year close to 106 AD³⁴, the more recent reinterpretations of its text may alter this date, but cannot give us decisive solutions for the matter³⁵.

Shortly after the second Dacian war, *colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica* was founded, as the last *colonia deducta*, at a strategic position, half-way between the two legionary fortresses of Trajanic Dacia, IIII Flavia and XIII Gemina, and at a crossroad of two important commercial ways towards the Danube. Many of its colonists were veterans which had fought the Dacian wars, with origins in Italy or the Western provinces, as Hispania or Narbonensis³⁶. The economic and social evolution of the province has allowed a number of *pagi* in the territory of Sarmizegetusa to develop into cities: Apulum, Dierna, Tibiscum or Drobeta³⁷, or others to remain rural settlements, as it is the previously mentioned case of Micia.

The full name of the city was *Colonia Traiana Augusta Ulpia Dacica Sarmizegetusa* and it had since the beginning *ius italicum*. Therefore, according to Roman civil law, land could be privately owned, claimed or sold, *ius italicum* involving *immunitas*, thus, the main tax exemption, personal tax and land tax. Therefore, the land had to be divided to the settlers, based on a law. Sarmizegetusa had all the political institutions of Republican Rome, the magistrates, the senate (*ordo decurionum*) and the people. It was led by two *Ilviri iure dicundo*, *aediles* and *quaestores*. The city also held the *praetorium* of the financial procurator of the province: the consular governor had his *praetorium* in Apulum, but his tight connection to Sarmizegetusa is attested by numerous evidence of official high-patronage. Also Sarmizegetusa was the gathering place of the *concilium III Daciarum*, which marked the official celebration of the

28 For a study of the aristocracy and the land ownership in Dacia see Piso 2005b.

29 Dacia has a relatively large number of veterans attested, compared to the two *Germaniae*, where the number of veterans settled in the province drops to 37, 20 in Germania Superior and 17 in Germania Inferior: Roxan 2000, 313, 321. In Britain the situation is similar, all the veterans being only 44, 20 of them legionnaires, 12 known from diplomas and 12 from inscriptions: Birley 1983, 269–274.

30 IDR III/2, 80–84.

31 Russu 1980, 447–448.

32 Ardevan 1987, 120.

33 On the beginnings of the province of Dacia and of Sarmizegetusa, see Piso 2008a, especially 318–323.

34 Cf. Piso 2005, 439–440 and Piso 2006, 211–214.

35 Piso 2008, 161.

36 Piso 2003, 294.

37 Piso 2003, 294.

Imperial cult, and expressed the loyalty of the province towards Rome. All these merits have led to the occurrence of the title *metropolis* in the 3rd century³⁸.

Sarmizegetusa's territory is stretching up to the Mureş valley, including areas in the Western Carpathians and the Banat, until the Danube³⁹. In the light of more recent topographical research, the traces of centuriation have been detected especially outside of the city walls, a fact which again would imply the urban origin of the settlement⁴⁰.

Another argument for this urban origin is the group of veterans settled in Sarmizegetusa at its very beginning. From the twelve veterans attested in Sarmizegetusa, only one is unknown. Those that are part of the *ordo decurionum* come from Romanized families⁴¹.

No.	Name	Unit/Rank	Public office	Date	Source
1	P. Aelius Septimius Audeo	cent. numeri Palmyrenorum O?		3 rd century	CIL III 1471 = IDR III/2, 366
2	P. Aelius Theimes	cent. coh. I <i>Videlicorum</i>	<i>Ilvir</i>	2 nd century	CIL III 12587 = IDR III/2, 369
3	P. Aelius Papiria Theimes		<i>Ilvir</i>	2 nd century	CIL III 1472 = IDR III/2, 370
4	L. Dasumius Priscus	<i>XIII Gemina</i>		2 nd century	CIL III 1476 = IDR III/2, 405
5	Iulius Priscus			2 nd century	CIL III 1475 = IDR III/2, 401
6	C. Iulius Valerius	bf. cos. <i>XIII Gemina</i>	<i>decurio</i> <i>Ilvir</i>	222–235	AE 1933, 248 = IDR III/2, 113 = IDR III/5, 60
7	Q. Iulius Secundinus	<i>XIII Gemina</i>		2 nd century	AE 1971, 378 = IDR III/2, 420
8	Q. Manlius Verus	<i>signifer</i> <i>XV Apollinaris</i>	<i>decurio</i>	Trajan-Hadrian	CIL III 1478 = IDR III/2, 428
9	M. Ulpus Martialis		<i>decurio</i>	after AD 222	CIL III 7980 = IDR III/2, 391
10	L. Valerius Rufus	bf. cos. <i>XIII Gemina</i>	<i>decurio</i> <i>quaestor</i> <i>Ilvir</i>	after AD 222	CIL III 1485 = IDR III/2, 452
11	Firmus	<i>IIII Flavia felix</i>	<i>decurio</i>	Trajan-Hadrian	AE 2004, 1210 = IDR III/2, 111
12	<i>ignotus</i>	<i>ex...</i>			IDR III/2, 500

From all these veterans barely two can be dated at the beginnings of the city, as part of the first wave of colonists. The first, *Q. Manlius Verus*⁴², is the single veteran of *XV Apollinaris* known in Dacia, was part of *ordo decurionum* and he was a *signifer*. Firmus⁴³ is a veteran of *IIII Flavia felix*, for sure member of the first wave of colonists in Sarmizegetusa, and also part of the *ordo decurionum*. However, they are not the only ones in Dacia, as we can see traces of the first colonists in other places. One of them is Apulum, where more than one veteran of *XIII Gemina* and *I Adiutrix* is attested, their activity datable under Trajan or Hadrian. *L. Iulius Leuganus*⁴⁴, from Clunia, *Tarraconensis*, is a veteran of *XIII Gemina Martia victrix*, who probably remained in the new province after its conquest, and is attested in the vicinity of the legionary fortress at Apulum, to attend to the *aedes* of the citizens of the legio-

38 Piso 2005, 448–449.

39 Piso 1995, passim.

40 The results of this research have recently been published, see Marcu, Cupcea 2011.

41 Ardevan 1987, 118.

42 No. 8.

43 No. 11.

44 CIL III 1158 = IDR III/5, 366, Apulum.

ned here, established in the *cannabae*. Still in Apulum, *C. Sentius Flaccus*⁴⁵, from Antiquaria, Baetica, is attested as veteran of the same legion from Carnuntum, but also as decurion of Sarmizegetusa. Even if he is attested in Apulum, he must have been a citizen of Sarmizegetusa, for this honour to be granted to him. In the same first wave of colonists we can include the centurion *C. Censorius Serenus*⁴⁶, of the same Pannonian legion. This restrictive group is supplemented by two veterans of I Adiutrix, which dedicate monuments to *Dominus Aeternus*⁴⁷ and *Fortuna Augusta*⁴⁸, the latter being also a *magister* of the *cannabae* of the legion XIII Gemina.

We see, thus, that the military has played an important role in the population of the new province, Dacia, and in the foundation of Sarmizegetusa. As practically the last *colonia deducta*, Sarmizegetusa had no reason to be placed on the site of a former legionary fortress, but it was surely built by the legionaries established here after the conquest, especially those of IIII Flavia. By the time of Trajan it was no longer the case for such founding of veteran settlements, but Sarmizegetusa is an exception exactly because it was the first civilised outpost of urbanity in one of the last conquered Roman provinces. As we can deduce from the scarceness of evidence that attest veterans in the first wave of colonists, or that present veterans as active members in the municipal administration, Sarmizegetusa was not populated only by veterans, but surely the ones that accepted their settlement here needed consistent land allotments and a series of privileges granted to the new city, which would secure their own, obtained after a long military service.

It has been argued above that very few colonies established on the site of a former fortress actually occupied the fortress, and in none of those few British cases any trace of centuriation has occurred. The results of the most recent, state-of-the-art, topographical researches have revealed important traces of centuriation all around Sarmizegetusa, and they confirm the primacy of the urban settlement on this site. Plus, all the veterans and the other colonists that were settled here, obviously since the beginning of the province, would have mentioned a special or previous status of their settlement⁴⁹.

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