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Societal Roles of Military Veterans in Moesia Inferior during the Principate: A Reappraisal

Edward Gale

1. Introduction

a. The Aim of this Article

The advent of the *Annales* school-influenced “New Military History” in the 1970s drastically altered the discipline of military history. Under the new trend of the “Military and Society” approach to military history, the strategies and tactics of generals or reconstruction of the course of military campaigns were no longer the focus of research. Instead, the relations between the military and the broader society as well as the influence exerted by each other became the dominant themes within the field. The military history of ancient Rome was no exception to this trend. Traditionally, the study of the Roman army during the Principate mostly occupied itself with military tactics and organizational aspects (*Rangordnung*). This discipline went through profound changes in the late twentieth century, with a succession of in-depth studies focusing on the deeper connection between the broader societies within the Roman empire and its army being produced, most notably, by Shaw, Heath, Alston, and Pollard⁽¹⁾.

This paper follows this lineage of studies, and it aims to analyze the societal role Roman military veterans played in the province of Moesia Inferior during the Principate. First, a brief overview will be given on the legal rights and privileges of Roman veterans of this period and the state of research regarding them in Moesia Inferior. Second, their roles within the settlements of Moesia Inferior will be analyzed, in conjunction with a reappraisal of the traditional interpretations which held that military veterans were predominantly landowning farmers. This traditional view has been partially challenged by Boyanov⁽²⁾ in recent years, yet some scholars such as Čisťáková, Conrad, Królczyk and Mihailescu-Birliba still maintain the view of veterans predominantly being agricultural colonists⁽³⁾. The third part will reexamine this argument, and it will show that there is very little evidence of veterans becoming farmers, and that various factors would have made that prospect unlikely. Lastly, the veterans’ societal position within various settlements of the province will be analyzed, and a new view regarding their role in provincial society will be offered.

2. Military Veterans of Moesia Inferior

a. Veterans during the Principate in general

Before moving to the main theme of this article, it is necessary to present a general overview regarding the veterans during the Principate in order to contextualize the issue. It is well known that the Roman military system during the middle Republican era, which was based on conscripted citizen militia, collapsed due to the exhaustion of the middle-class farmers, and by the end of the Republic, the army was primarily formed by the *proretarii* class equipped and paid by the state. The Roman army was reorganized under Augustus after his victory over Marc Antony and the establishment of the Principate. Broadly speaking, this new Roman army was formed by legions composed of Roman citizens, and the auxiliary composed of peregrines. Soldiers were given cash payment (*stipendium*) every four months, and after completing twenty-five years of service citizen legionaries were given a retirement bonus (*praemium*) either in cash (*missio nummaria*) or land (*missio agraria*), and in addition to these auxiliaries were also given Roman citizenship. Other privileges bestowed upon veterans included exemptions from civic duties and road tolls⁽⁴⁾.

b. State of Research of Veterans in Moesia Inferior

Virtually no mention of military veterans retired from the Roman garrison in Moesia Inferior can be found in literary sources. Therefore, like in other provinces of the empire, the information regarding veterans in this province can only be gained from epigraphic sources. These include the bronze *diplomata* awarded to them upon retirement, as well as votive, commemorative and funerary inscriptions.

There has been much research on the Roman military garrisoned in the Lower Danube during the Principate, starting with the work of Filov in the early twentieth century⁽⁵⁾. Yet early research belonged in the framework of traditional military history, and mainly focused on the progress of wars and the disposition and movement of military units. Early works on the societal roles and position of veterans in Moesia Inferior include those done by Gerov, and dedicated analysis on this subject was pioneered by Mrozewicz during the 1980s⁽⁶⁾. Both Gerov and Mrozewicz saw the Roman veterans chiefly as farmers settled into the province by the Roman administration, and that they played a pivotal role in the Romanization of the region, although Mrozewicz was more cautious in his approach and interpretation of evidence. Poulter, who wrote extensively on the city of Nicopolis ad Istrum, also reached a similar conclusion⁽⁷⁾. With the start of the twenty-first century, more studies have been published regarding this theme, especially by scholars in eastern Europe, most importantly by Boyanov, Królczyk and Martemyanov⁽⁸⁾.

c. Settlement and Population of Military Veterans

According to Królczyk, the Roman colonization of Moesia Inferior can be divided into two phases. The first phase started at the beginning of the first century CE when the Roman state advanced into the Lower Danube, and ended with the conclusion of Trajan's Dacian Wars. The Lower Danube during this phase was both militarily and politically unstable, and colonization was only done on a limited scale. The second phase started after the Dacian war (106 CE), and with the destruction of the Dacian state and stabilization of the region, colonization picked up pace rapidly, including those of military veterans⁽⁹⁾.

Information regarding these veterans can be gleaned from votive and funerary inscriptions related to veterans by their names, places of birth and votive targets. Although caution must be exercised in the interpretation of these sources due to its fragmentary nature, according to Alexandrov's research most veterans in the first century CE were either born in the western regions of the empire, most numerous in Italy, or the provinces in Asia Minor. This trend changed in the second century CE, where the number of soldiers originating in the western regions decreased dramatically, and most soldiers now came from the Balkan provinces including Moesia, followed by those born in Asia Minor and Greece⁽¹⁰⁾. This change in the demographic trend of soldiers and veterans may be one of the reasons behind the increased settling of veterans in the second century, with many veterans simply retiring into their country of origin, or at least into an area close to it.

According to Duch's calculation, the population of Moesia Inferior was approximately 300,000 in the first century CE, 550,000 in the second century CE and 750,000 in the third century CE. The ratio of military personnel to the overall population of the province was 7-8% in the first century CE, 4-4.5% in the second century CE and 3-3.5% in the third century CE. Another estimation done independently by Matthews gives a provincial population of 400,000 in the second century CE⁽¹¹⁾. Additionally, Duch employed the formula developed by Duncan-Jones and concluded that the legions of the province produced about 220-330 veterans each year⁽¹²⁾. A similar number of veterans from the auxiliary should be added to this since the strength of the auxiliary force in the province was equal or slightly larger than that of the legions⁽¹³⁾.

Assuming a veteran joined the military at age twenty and was discharged at age forty-five, his life expectancy afterward would be about ten to fifteen years. If, for example, 500 veterans were being discharged every year in Moesia Inferior, this would mean that the veteran population would keep increasing until the death of the first-generation veterans, i.e. between ten to fifteen years. Even if we include those veterans who were born in the province but served in different parts of the empire, returning home after discharge⁽¹⁴⁾, it is unlikely that the veteran population in Moesia Inferior was more than 10,000. This would mean that

Societal Roles of Military Veterans in Moesia Inferior during the Principate: A Reappraisal (Edward Gale) even when the overall provincial population was at its lowest, the veteran population of Moesia Inferior could not have been anything more than 3%.

With their overall size established, the societal positions and role of these veterans in Moesia Inferior will be discussed below. The focal point of this analysis will be the villa and *vicus*, the two major centers of the rural population of the province.

3. Veterans as landowning farmers in Moesia Inferior

a. Definition of villa

Villa refers to farming estates in Ancient Rome. They are formed of three components, the residential area (*pars urbana*), farm (*pars rustica*) and storage houses (*pars fructuaria*)⁽¹⁵⁾. While it is commonly held that the concentration of wealth of the Roman nobility in the second century BCE caused villa to be divided into two types, one being the *villa rustica* focusing on its original purpose of agricultural production and the other being recreational resorts for the wealthy, but virtually no villa that lack food production facilities have been found, and clearly distinguishing between these two categories are impossible.

Three types of administration of *villa rustica* are known. The first is the possession of the villa by urban elites, and in this case, the owner resided in the city and the running of the villa itself was relegated to the owner's slaves and freedmen. The second type is similar to the first but instead, the administration of the villa was performed by contracted sharecroppers. The third type is where independent farmers directly ran the villa they owned, which were mostly of small to medium size.

During the Principate, villa-styled farming estates were built primarily in the western provinces, but it is difficult to determine whether the archaeological remains perceived to be "provincial villa" today were also seen as villa back then. Such judgments are made by analyzing if such remains have the architectural characteristics of "Roman" style buildings, such as peristyles, mosaiced or fresco paintings, central heating system, heated bricks and roof tiles⁽¹⁶⁾.

b. Villas in Moesia Inferior and land grants to military veterans.

The *praemium* given to soldiers during the Principate was divided into two types: the *missio nummaria* and the *missio agraria*, with the former being cash payment and the latter being a land grant.

While no source regarding Moesia Inferior mentions *missio agraria*, an inscription from the adjoining province of Pannonia shows such an example⁽¹⁷⁾, and Gerov concluded that a similar phenomenon happened in Moesia Inferior as well⁽¹⁸⁾. The distribution of lands to

veterans included the *possidentes* type where the land was recovered by authorities upon the death of its owner, and the *praedia patrita et avita* type where the land was inherited by the owner's heirs⁽¹⁹⁾. However, the actual process of how the *possidentes* lands were recovered and then given to another is unknown.

The first *villa rustica* in Moesia Inferior seems to have been formed in late first century CE⁽²⁰⁾, and large numbers were built more or less simultaneously at the beginning of the next century⁽²¹⁾. According to Băltăc, all three administrative types of the villa can be confirmed in Moesia Inferior. Epigraphic sources from this province show nineteen villas, and archaeological sources show twelve respectively, thus making a total of thirty-one. Băltăc contends that of the nineteen villa owners mentioned in inscriptions, five were veterans or their relatives. Their names are listed below, and the brackets show the location of the inscription's findspot, followed by the type of villa according to Băltăc's classification. However, as it will be noted below, his conclusions are problematic.

Table 1: List of Potential Veteran Owners of *villa rustica*, according to Băltăc⁽²²⁾

No.	Owner	Location	Type of Administration
1	Cocceius Elius ⁽²³⁾	Capidava	Owner
2	Cocceius Vitales ⁽²⁴⁾	Capidava	Owner
3	Valerius Rufus ⁽²⁵⁾	Montana/Kraodere	Owner
4	Flavius Gemellus ⁽²⁶⁾	Nicopolis ad Istrum	Administrator
5	Marcus Ulpius Longus ⁽²⁷⁾	Tomis	Administrator

It must also be pointed out that there are numerous traces of farms near the legionary bases of the province, and it is possible that veterans owned some of them. In recent years the hinterlands of *Novae*, the base of the *legio I Italica*, are under intensive investigation and thirty-two archaeological remains arranged in an organized manner have been found. These are presumed to be remains of farming estates and Conrad believes that their owners were veterans⁽²⁸⁾, although he does not provide any specific evidence for this claim.

Additionally, in his research regarding villa owners of Moesia Inferior, Mihailescu-Bîrliba also identified six more veterans as villa owners based only on findspots of inscriptions, but his argument lacks strong basis⁽²⁹⁾.

As mentioned above, Băltăc's identification of villa owners is also problematic. Of the sources he cites, only Marcus Ulpius Longinus is clearly mentioned as being a farm-owning veteran, and Băltăc does not mention on what criteria he determined the other four as being so⁽³⁰⁾. According to Mihailescu-Bîrliba, the *nomen* Cocceius belongs to the same family, and Cocceius Helius and Cocceius Elius refer to the same person, only under a different spelling.

Societal Roles of Military Veterans in Moesia Inferior during the Principate: A Reappraisal (Edward Gale) In Capidava where these inscriptions were discovered, another inscription referring to an auxiliary veteran named Cocceius Vitlus was found⁽³¹⁾. Mihailescu-Bîrliba believes that the same *nomen* and the findspot shows that Cocceius Vitales is related to Cocceius Vitlus. However, even if he is correct in this assumption, only two individuals can be identified as villa owners. Conrad's claim of large numbers of veterans owning farms around *Novae* also lacks evidence.

Królczyk also links the find of a *diploma* at the site of Oescus with the probable site of a villa nearby and argues that its owner must have been the veteran named in the diploma⁽³²⁾. However, the findspot of a *diploma* does not necessarily mean that its original owner resided there. Many *diplomata* that were found with clear archaeological context indicate that they often ended up as scrap metal, waiting to be melted down⁽³³⁾. Actual evidence of veterans being villa owners is surprisingly scarce. While these problems have already been noticed by Boyanov, he nonetheless maintains that up to 50% of the veterans in Moesia Inferior became landowning farmers⁽³⁴⁾, without offering much evidence for his argument. The following section will argue that this number may still be too high.

c. Were Veterans Successful as Farmers?

As it has been shown, much of the previous research on this subject repeat the claim of veteran colonization of the province as villa owners, but as far as this author is aware, none have addressed the issue of how these veterans were able to run a farming estate after twenty-five years or more of military service. Shaw, Keppie and Haynes have already pointed out the physical difficulty of starting farming anew for aged veterans, thus bringing into doubt the often-repeated notion of veteran farmers during the Principate⁽³⁵⁾. To this, I would also like to add another point. Even if a veteran originally came from an agricultural background, it is doubtful how much agricultural knowledge and methods he was able to maintain after serving twenty-five years in the military. As Columella demonstrated in his agricultural manual, even in ancient times farming required highly specialized knowledge and skills in addition to physical fitness⁽³⁶⁾, and it is unlikely that a veteran, someone inexperienced, unskilled and nearing the end of his active life would have been able to run a farm successfully. While the evidence cited above does show that there indeed were at least two veterans who possessed villas in Moesia Inferior, further analysis is required in order to determine whether this was a common occurrence.

As Boyanov noted, definite proof of veterans being landowners in Moesia Inferior is very sparse, and some of the evidence interpreted as such does not seem to bear scrutiny upon closer examination. While he still maintains that land allotments to veterans did happen and a significant number of them became farmers, his method of determining that rank-and-file

veterans were given 30–50 *jugera* of land based on the writings of Roman land surveyors is questionable⁽³⁷⁾. The system of land allotment described by the *gromatici* cited by Boyanov is often related to the founding of a new *colonia*. The only *colonia* in Moesia Inferior was Oescus, and even then Oescus was an existing settlement that was given the status of *colonia* by Trajan. Boyanov himself stated that it is unlikely that the Oescus' promotion to *colonia* involved a mass settlement of veterans⁽³⁸⁾. In the case of Moesia Inferior, *Gromatici's* description of veteran land allotment does not seem applicable, at least not directly.

Another consideration must be given to the idea of inheritance. If, as Boyanov states, most veterans only owned small to medium-sized farms maintained by themselves and their immediate households⁽³⁹⁾, the land that would be divided and distributed amongst heirs would be quite small. After a generation or two, it is difficult to imagine such small farms being economically viable enough to sustain themselves. What would have happened then?

It is possible, and perhaps attractive, to hypothesize a model where only one heir inherited the farm and the remaining sons of the veteran joined the army to make a living. However, epigraphic evidence from Moesia Inferior shows that a surprisingly small number of veterans' sons became soldiers⁽⁴⁰⁾. Admittedly this is more of an argument from the absence of evidence rather than presence of it, but the core of the argument still stands: the idea of Roman veterans as landowning farmers in Moesia Inferior requires reevaluation. In fact, the idea of military veterans during the Principate becoming farmers is in itself rather unlikely.

A series of large colonization programs were enacted by Octavian/Augustus during his reign, resulting in the creation of numerous veteran settlements in Italy, and some in the provinces such as Philippi and Berytus⁽⁴¹⁾. However, no settlements of veterans on a similar scale can be seen after Augustus. Augustus had to plan such programs because of the need for mass demobilization which occurred after the battle of Actium (31 BCE) and the conclusion of the civil war. There was no similar occasion during the Principate. Nero and Vespasian attempted to create new agrarian settlements in Italy by settling veterans as a way to stop rural depopulation, but the size of these colonizations seem quite small and they were relatively unsuccessful. Tacitus claims that Nero's attempt at settling veterans into Tarentum and Antium ended disastrously, since those veterans were gathered from different legions across the empire and the lack of solidarity between them made it impossible for them to cooperate with each other. As a result, most of these settled veterans abandoned their farmsteads and returned to the provinces where they were discharged. Vespasian's plan of sending veterans into Paestum as farmers also resulted in the said veterans abandoning their lands shortly after⁽⁴²⁾.

It is far more likely that the principal workforce that worked the farms in Moesia Inferior were not veterans, but the various ethnic groups settled into the region by Roman authorities

Societal Roles of Military Veterans in Moesia Inferior during the Principate: A Reappraisal (Edward Gale) in the first century CE⁽⁴³⁾. Strabo mentions that 50,000 Getae were settled into Moesia by its governor Aelius Catus at the beginning of the first century CE⁽⁴⁴⁾, and the famous inscription of Plautius Silvanus claims that 100,000 “trans-Danubians” were settled into Moesia Inferior as tax-paying subjects by the titular governor of the province during the reign of Nero⁽⁴⁵⁾. It would be unwise to accept these numbers at face value, and the exact nature and location of these mass settlements is still a matter of debate. But nevertheless, they and their descendants’ total number would still have dwarfed the veteran population in the province.

This raises the next question: if most veterans did not take up farming after retirement, what did they do? In general, the Roman army of the Principate was remarkably diverse in terms of occupations⁽⁴⁶⁾. Far from being composed solely of combatants, the Roman army had numerous specialists within its ranks in order to maintain itself. Tarruntenus Paternus, a jurist and praetorian prefect under Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, lists the type of specialists within the army, in a passage related to their exemption from fatigue duties. This list mentions medics, architects, carpenters, fletchers, catapult makers, tile-makers, swordsmiths, stonemasons, butchers, workshop overseers, scribes and trumpeters just to name a few⁽⁴⁷⁾. If a veteran was to start a new life after discharge, it would be far more likely for him to start a trade utilizing the skill acquired during his service, rather than engaging in the physically demanding and unfamiliar occupation of farming. Indeed, a certain veteran named Marcus Aurelius Statianus seems to have done just that. This Severan veteran of the Ravennate fleet was born in the *vicus Zinesdina maior* in the territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum in Moesia Inferior. After being discharged from the fleet in 225 CE, this man returned to Moesia Inferior and instead of returning to his home village near Nicopolis, he settled in or around Novae. Rather than becoming a farmer himself, he became an *actor* or a villa manager, and he also seems to have started a business selling building materials⁽⁴⁸⁾. His stint as a brick-seller suggests that his career as an *actor* was either short-lived, or he relegated that task to an underling. It is tempting to think that Statianus gained the skill of manufacturing bricks and roof-tiles in the fleet, and utilized this after retirement to start a business; some veterans discharged in Moesia Inferior would have followed a similar path. While there is no direct evidence of this, this does seem more likely than a veteran starting the unfamiliar occupation of farming. The archaeological sites near Novae are known for having large workshops of pottery and glassware during the second century CE⁽⁴⁹⁾. The close proximity of these areas to Novae would make it likely that some of the craftsmen were veterans like Statianus.

Another incentive for veterans to become merchants would have been their legal exemption from tolls and tariffs at road stations (*portorium*). At the latest, this privilege was put in place by 87–88 CE during the reign of Domitian, and it allowed veterans and their families to move goods across the empire tax-free. This too would have given a strong

incentive for veterans to engage in commerce after retirement⁽⁵⁰⁾.

Of course, it is entirely possible that a veteran originating from a farming family would restart agricultural activities after retirement. Such a scenario is more likely to have happened from the second century, with the increase in local recruits mentioned above. In this case, the lack of farming skills and knowledge, as well as physical difficulties, could have been mitigated through familial assistance. However, such a case should be interpreted as a member of a local farming family becoming a soldier/military veteran, rather than a military veteran becoming a landowning farmer from scratch, which is the case suggested by previous literature.

4. Veterans' societal role in rural settlements

a. Types of settlements in Moesia Inferior; *vicus* and *canaba*

As mentioned above, the most common type of settlements in Moesia Inferior were the *vicus* and *canaba*. (*vicus* being a small village, and *canaba* being a larger one). In other words, the *canaba* always referred to civilian settlements directly adjoined to legionary bases, while *vicus* could also refer to settlements unrelated to the military. Usually being small to medium-sized settlements, many of these were built near military bases not only in Moesia Inferior but throughout Roman frontiers. In Moesia, *vicus* usually referred to settlements formed near auxiliary forts, and *canaba* those built around legionary bases. But *vici* are known to be in regions without any military bases. It was also common for a *vicus* to exist near legionary bases as well⁽⁵¹⁾. For example, the legionary base of *Novae* had an adjoining *canaba*, but also a *vicus* approximately 2.5 km to the east with a maximum surface area of 15 ha⁽⁵²⁾.

Despite the lack of references to these settlements in literary sources, epigraphic sources are relatively abundant. Yet, while *canabae* are relatively easy to identify due to their physical proximity to legionary bases, very few *vici* have been identified archaeologically. Exact locations of many of these settlements are therefore unknown, and we only know their approximate location deduced from the findspots of inscriptions. However, like in the case of *vicus Classicorum*, it is possible that these inscriptions moved a great distance from their original location, so caution is required in making a definitive statement about the location of these settlements⁽⁵³⁾.

b. Political and Administrative Structure of Rural Settlements.

Approximately 50 *vici* have been mentioned in inscriptions related to Moesia Inferior⁽⁵⁴⁾, and the political and administrative structure of about 24 of them are either completely or

Societal Roles of Military Veterans in Moesia Inferior during the Principate: A Reappraisal (Edward Gale) partially known. There were public offices similar to those in Roman cities in these *vici*, usually with two annually elected *magisteri* and their subordinate *quaestores*, although there are variations in the number of *magisteri* and *quaestores* depending on which *vicus* is the subject of the inquiry. No *vici* seem to have been administratively independent, and they were always attached to the *territorium/regio* of a nearby city⁽⁵⁵⁾.

While the information these inscriptions provide is indeed incomplete, only *magister* and *quaestor* are confirmed as officeholders in these *vici*. Interestingly, of the two *magisteri* in *vicus Quintionis* of the *regio* of *Histria*, their names suggest that one was always a Roman citizen, and the other a peregrine. It can be surmised that there was either a written rule or a custom in which two communities of the settlement shared the public office. However, this pattern is only observed in this particular *vicus*, showing that even within the same province there were different political/administrative structures in these rural settlements⁽⁵⁶⁾. It is impossible to state the exact cause or causes of these differences, but it may have been related to the sizes of the individual communities in the settlements, and the difference in the political power balance resulting from it.

c. Veteran Communities inside *vici*

Inscriptions related to these settlements specified the communities inhabiting them. One of these communities was of military veterans, and the phrase *veterani et cives Romani* appears in inscriptions related to several *vici* and *canabae*⁽⁵⁷⁾. However, this phrase is rather oxymoronic. Every Roman veteran was a Roman citizen: legionary veterans would have been so before enlistment, and auxiliary veterans would have obtained citizenship upon retirement⁽⁵⁸⁾. The very mention of *veterani* shows that *cives Romani* referred to Roman citizens without a military background, and thus it must be concluded that these settlements had two types of Roman citizens: military veterans and civilians. Moreover, the fact that these inscriptions mention them as separate groups strongly suggests that they saw each other as such. But why? Mrozewicz and Suceveanu have already addressed this problem. But as Suceveanu states, no research has dealt with this matter in a detailed manner⁽⁵⁹⁾. While Mrozewicz posited that the *veterani* community was deliberately created by the Roman authorities as an apparatus of regional control, he provides no proof⁽⁶⁰⁾. More recently, Avram also briefly touched upon this problem. He speculated the veteran's financial advantages as a possible cause for the existence of two different communities, but he did not provide further analysis⁽⁶¹⁾. This problem requires additional study in order to deepen our understanding of the society of this frontier province.

The first question regarding the *cives Romani* is their origin. They were most likely relatives and descendants of veterans, merchants, freedmen and other immigrants who

migrated into the region after the Dacian Wars. An example of this would be immigrants from Asia Minor settled into Thrace by Trajan to found the new cities of Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis⁽⁶²⁾. Many of these *vici* were formed in the second century CE after the destruction of the Dacian state and the stabilization of the Danube frontiers. The regular raids by the Dacians and Sarmatians in the first century CE would have given little incentive for any would-be migrant to move into the region, even though the Roman state seems to have had a vested interest in populating the region, as seen in the examples of forced settlements of the Getae and trans-Danubians mentioned above. This situation changed dramatically with Trajan's conquest and creation of the province of Dacia. It has been noted that the second century was a period of economic and population boom for Moesia Inferior, with the completion of road networks, the formation of new industries such as viticulture and mass-produced pottery, and the creation of numerous rural settlements⁽⁶³⁾. This was coupled with the state-sponsored migration projects of Trajan, most notably the founding of two new cities of Nicopolis ad Istrum and Marcianopolis⁽⁶⁴⁾, which brought a large number of people into the province.

Undoubtedly, a portion of the *cives Romani* would have been included in some of these newcomers. This may explain why the local veterans saw themselves apart from these newcomers. As mentioned above, this century was also a period when the recruitment of soldiers was becoming increasingly localized. Unlike the first century CE where a significant portion of soldiers in Moesia Inferior had either a western or Italian origin, the majority of soldiers in the second century CE seem to have hailed from the Balkan provinces.

Both Mrozewicz and Suceveanu speculate that the legal privileges of veterans were the reason for the existence of these two communities, and those privileges certainly would have played a part. However, differences in psychological identities must also be taken into account.

From the evidence, there is no doubt that a sizeable number of veterans settled into rural settlements, as well as forming their own community. But how did these veterans choose which settlement to retire into? Some information can be gained from examples in other provinces. Roman veterans, in general, seem to have maintained some sort of network amongst themselves, aiding each other when in need.

One example of this would be the *collegium veteranorum*. This *collegium* functioned as a group providing mutual assistance to military veterans, where members would pool money into the *collegium's* account to form a syndicate. The funds were used to finance burials of its members, holding group banquets and aiding each other financially and in other ways⁽⁶⁵⁾. Fourteen examples of *collegium* of veterans are known to exist during the Principate, with a fairly wide geographical distribution including Pannonia in the Upper Danube⁽⁶⁶⁾. While no

Societal Roles of Military Veterans in Moesia Inferior during the Principate: A Reappraisal (Edward Gale) inscription directly referring to this organization has been found in Moesia Inferior, one inscription possibly mentioning a burial by *conveterani* or “fellow veterans” may be referring to either a *collegium veteranorum* or some similar organization⁽⁶⁷⁾. The ubiquitous existence of these *collegia* across the empire and the relatively large numbers of veterans that would have resided in this province suggests a high possibility of *collegia* existing in Moesia Inferior as well.

Informal networks of mutual assistance can also be assumed. The papyrus letter concerning the Egyptian veteran Terentianus is a good example of this⁽⁶⁸⁾. This papyrus was found in the village of Karanis of Fayum region in Lower Egypt. The letter was written by a soldier named Valerius Paulinus, also known as Ammonas, to his brother Valerius Apollinarius. In the letter, Paulinus tells Apollinarius that the deliverer of this letter is one Terentianus, a veteran. He instructs Apollinarius to introduce Terentianus to the villagers, and also that Terentianus wishes to move into the village and that Paulinus would lend his own house and field to Terentianus for the year⁽⁶⁹⁾. Karanis was a village that had an unusually high population of veterans, and it can easily be imagined how such informal ties between veterans and soon-to-be veterans affected their individual choices as to where to settle⁽⁷⁰⁾.

Some *vici* in the Dobruja also mention “Roman citizens and *Bessi* residents (*cives Romani et Bessi consistentes*)⁽⁷¹⁾” and “*Lai* residents (*Lai consistentes*)⁽⁷²⁾”. Both the *Bessi* and the *Lai* were Thracian groups that originally inhabited the region south of the Balkan Mountains. Literary sources make no mention of how and why these tribes migrated into the coastal area of the Black Sea some 400km away from the southern foot of the Balkan Mountains, but Ovid’s description of the *Bessi* makes it certain that some of the *Bessi* were already active in the Dobruja by 8 CE⁽⁷³⁾. Numerous scholars have claimed that the Roman authorities enacted a concerted migration (or deportation) effort to move the *Bessi* into this area, akin to the actions of Aelius Catus and Plautius Silvanus, both as a means to populate the desolated region of the Dobruja and also to deter the warlike *Bessi* from practicing banditry⁽⁷⁴⁾. However, no source actually mentions such actions taking place, and perhaps it would be prudent to exercise some caution before reaching such a conclusion. As early as 1927, Casson already suggested a voluntary migration of the *Bessi* into the Dobruja at the beginning of the first century CE, which was then absorbed into the Roman political/administrative system over the next several decades⁽⁷⁵⁾. More recently, in a paper discussing the existence of an Odrysian administrative region (*strategia*) in the Dobruja, Matei-Popescu suggests that a *Bessi* population was settled into the Dobruja by the Odrysian kings, decades before the direct Roman rule of the region⁽⁷⁶⁾. The fact that the Dobruja region was fully integrated into the Roman provincial administration only after 46 CE makes me inclined to support this hypothesis.

Another point worth considering about the *Bessi* is their apparent military tradition. Many *Bessi* served in the Roman military, especially in the fleets of Misenum and Ravenna⁽⁷⁷⁾. They undoubtedly produced a large number of veterans, and considering the tendency of Thracian veterans' to return home after their discharge, we can presume that a certain number of *Bessi* veterans inhabited Moesia Inferior as well, although epigraphic evidence is relatively scarce in this regard⁽⁷⁸⁾.

Considering this, the case of *Bessi consistentes* being mentioned alongside *vetarani et cives Romani* in *vicus Quintionis* is quite remarkable⁽⁷⁹⁾. If there were *Bessi* veterans, which community would they have belonged to? Unfortunately, it is impossible to answer this question at this point in time.

d. Veterans as officeholders in *vici* and *canabae*

A number of veterans can be seen among the officeholders of *vici* and *canaba*. A second century CE votive inscription from *Cius* (present-day Gârliciu) shows the *magister* of *vicus Vergobrittiani* Gaius Iulius Valens making the dedication. He was also a veteran of *legio V Macedonica*, a legion stationed in Moesia from the beginning of the first century CE up until 166 CE⁽⁸⁰⁾.

The *canaba* of Troesmis, that legion's base, also had several veterans as its *magisteri*: Gaius Valerius Pudens⁽⁸¹⁾, Publius Valerius Clemens and Lucius Cominius Valens⁽⁸²⁾. A *quinquennalis* of the same *canaba* also had a veteran, Titus Flavius Alexander⁽⁸³⁾. These sources clearly show that veterans were known to have joined the ranks of the rural elites.

Unfortunately, many of these sources simply list these men as *veteranus*, but their military ranks and titles are rarely mentioned, unless the individual in question was a member of the centurionate. Considering the privilege and honor of being a centurion, it is unlikely that a former centurion would not mention this fact in an inscription, and it would be safe to assume that those who simply wrote of themselves as *veteranus* never reached the rank of centurion before their discharge.

The only known former centurion in Moesia Inferior who became an officeholder is T. Aurelius Flavinus⁽⁸⁴⁾, and his post-military career during the Severan period is rather exceptional. In addition to being the representative of the city council of Oescus, he was also a council member of five different cities. Flavinus was a *primipilus* of an unknown legion. The *stipendium* of a *primipilus* was sixty times greater than that of an ordinary legionary, and his estimated *praemium* of 600,000 sestertii alone would have allowed him to join the equestrian order, which required a minimum property value of 400,000 sestertii. Such financial means would have aided any ex-centurions greatly in their political careers, should they have wished to follow that path.

It should also be noted that there is a possibility of some inscriptions seemingly written by civilians were in fact inscribed by veterans. One fine example of this in Moesia Inferior is the case of Marcus Aurelius Statianus mentioned above. The only reason we know that he was a veteran of the Ravennate fleet is the accidental finding of a *diploma* listing his name. Two votive inscriptions found in Novae dedicated by him make no mention of the fact that he was a veteran. There is no reason to believe that this is a solitary and isolated case, and some of those recognized as “civilians” could have been veterans.

Their *praemium* of 12,000 sestertii given as *missio nummaria* would have made them relatively well-off in the provincial society. This money was equal to 10 years’ salary of the rank-and-file legionary⁽⁸⁵⁾. While giving an estimate of the average yearly income in this province is impossible due to lack of information, it is thought that during the Principate, a family of four living at subsistence level would have required about 2,400–2,800 sestertii per year in urban areas and 1,000–1,200 sestertii in rural areas to survive⁽⁸⁶⁾. Therefore, if a veteran retired into a *vicus* with his family, he would have been able to live comfortably for the foreseeable future. Assuming that he was discharged at age forty-five, he could expect to live for another ten or fifteen years. In other words, even if he did not work a day for the rest of his life, he would have been able to live off his *praemium* and other savings he made during his military career until his death, in addition to whatever income his children made.

If he was not married or married but childless, he would not be able to expect any additional income but would have had fewer mouths to feed. On the other hand, if he was inclined to join the politics of the *vicus* and run for its magistracy, his financial savings would have assisted him greatly in meeting whatever property requirements the *vicus* has set for the offices. Either way, there seems to be little reason why he would start farming after retirement.

According to an unpublished calculation made by Hopkins, 7 to 8 *iugera* (0.25 ha) of land was required for a family of 3.25 people to live on subsistence level if the land was tilled by hand, and up to 20 *iugera* if the family used livestock to plow the land⁽⁸⁷⁾. While no information regarding land prices in Moesia Inferior survives, Columella, writing in the middle of the first century CE, noted that 1 *iugerum* of land suitable for a vineyard costs 1,000 sestertii in Italy⁽⁸⁸⁾. Papyrological sources from Roman Egypt during the Principate also show a mean price of about 300 drachmai (1,200 sestertii) as the price for 1 *aroura* (1.1 *iugerum*) of farmland⁽⁸⁹⁾. Obviously, land prices would have been affected by a multitude of factors such as yearly crop yields, famines, natural disasters and warfare. Still, the cost of 1 *iugerum* of land being in the range of several hundred to several thousand sestertii seems to be an acceptable conclusion. Most likely the land price in Moesia Inferior was on the lower end, owing to its relatively smaller population and undeveloped economy. However, if we add the

cost of necessary facilities, livestock and personnel required to run a farming estate, it is probable that any veteran who purchased enough land to operate an economically viable farm would have used up most, if not all, of his *praemium*. Perhaps a high-ranking veteran such as a centurion who managed to accumulate a significant amount of pay during his service, in addition to his *praemium*, may have had enough capital to purchase a *villa rustica* and lease out the farm to a tenant. The example of Marcus Ulpius Longinus mentioned above, who was most likely an *absentee* landlord, may well have been such a case⁽⁹⁰⁾. However, owing to a large deductions of a soldier's pay for necessary commodities, very few rank-and-file veterans would have been able to save that amount of money⁽⁹¹⁾.

Even the more conservative figures of Mrozewicz and Królczyk shows that about 7% of the veterans became officeholders in Moesia Inferior, a number which Mrozewicz interprets rather pessimistically⁽⁹²⁾. Martemyanov has recently revised the evidence and methodology, and he argues that the percentage should be increased to 17%⁽⁹³⁾. Even in the first century CE when the veterans would have been most numerous in the province, their population could not have been more than about 3% of the provincial population. Martemyanov points out it is difficult to think of any provincial social group of the time of which 17% of its members were able to obtain local magistracy⁽⁹⁴⁾. I would make the same argument even for Mrozewicz and Królczyk's lower figure of about 1 out of every 10 people.

Such disparity is a testimony to their relative wealth and chances of gaining the local magistracy. However, their capital is unlikely to have been great enough for them to purchase enough arable land to start an economically viable farmstead. This, in addition to the physical and technical difficulties in starting farming for veterans mentioned above, it must be assumed that very few veterans became farmers after their discharge.

5. Conclusion

During the Principate, military veterans had enough influence to form a distinct social group in Moesia Inferior. This was exacerbated after the destruction of the Dacian state by Trajan, and the political and military stabilization of the lower Danube. At the very least, a small number of veterans were able to join the cadre of rural elites by becoming villa owners and officeholders in rural settlements, and in some cases even in the cities.

There are several reasons as to why veterans were able to hold such an influence. The first would be the relatively large population of veterans produced by the large Roman garrison of the province. However, it is unlikely that their number exceeded anything more than 3% of the provincial population even at the peak of the veteran population. The second would be the legal privileges held by veterans, such as Roman citizenship and exemption from property

Societal Roles of Military Veterans in Moesia Inferior during the Principate: A Reappraisal (Edward Gale) taxes and road tolls. Lastly, the relative wealth of these veterans, who were probably given 12,000 sesterii upon retirement, would have been a significant amount of money in rural areas.

The second century CE, which saw a noticeable increase in the number of veterans in rural settlements, was also a period when the Roman army in Moesia Inferior began to increasingly rely on local recruits, and it is likely that these two phenomena were related. A large number of *vici* were also created in this century, and as Mrozewicz speculates, it is possible that veterans obtained the leading positions of these newly founded settlements with the backing of Roman authorities⁽⁹⁵⁾. Yet, sources regarding this matter are fragmentary, and it is impossible to give a definitive quantitative answer regarding questions such as how many veterans owned villas or were able to become officeholders, despite the hypotheses made by Mrozewicz and Martemiyarov.

There are several examples of veterans forming their own communities within these settlements, exemplified by the oxymoronic phrase *veterani et cives Romani* found in inscriptions related to several *vici* and *canabae*. While it is yet unclear what sort of power dynamics and tensions existed between these communities, the fact that every mention of *veterani et cives Romani* having the *veterani* before *cives Romani* suggests veterans being on the higher end of the hierarchy⁽⁹⁶⁾.

Even if we assume that veterans wishing to own farms were given lands for free as *missio agraria*, we do not know if this included the costs of building the necessary facilities to operate a farming estate⁽⁹⁷⁾. If not, the initial investment of setting up a farmstead would have been quite high and considering also the fact that many of the veterans would have had little knowledge of agriculture, the notion of veterans making up a significant portion of landowning farmers in Moesia Inferior must be questioned. This becomes even more so if *missio agraria* became impossible due to the lack of available arable land. If veterans had to purchase lands out of their own funds, it is quite likely that the cost would have depleted most, if not, all of their savings.

The availability of arable land was finite, and the Roman authorities would have faced increasing difficulty in procuring lands for veterans as time went by. With more and more lands becoming farms as well as the territorial expansion of the empire more or less coming to a halt after Trajan, Roman authorities eventually would have had to confiscate lands from the local population. Such a policy does not seem sustainable in the long run, and the fact that no veteran colonies being created after Hadrian supports this.

Traditional scholarship saw Roman veterans in Moesia Inferior chiefly as landowning farmers. However, a reappraisal of the evidence strongly suggests that this was not the case. Three types of careers for Roman veterans in Moesia Inferior can be hypothesized. The first

are the artisans and craftsmen in *canabae* and *vici*. This path would have been taken by veterans who learned specialized skills during service. The second, not necessarily mutually exclusive from the first, are officeholders in rural settlements. The money they accumulated during service would have aided them in performing whatever evergetic duties that were required for the office. The third would have been the “idle rich”. The *praemium* alone would have afforded enough money for veterans to live out the remainder of their lives comfortably, as long as they spent their money carefully.

Raising crops and feeding the local population, as well as the Roman garrison, was a task relegated to the native inhabitants and the various ethnic groups outside the empire that were settled into the area by Roman authorities (probably at sword-point in many cases), and immigrants from various parts of the empire.

notes

- (1) For overview of New Military History, see Peter Paret, “New Military History,” in *The US Army War College Quarterly Parameters* Vol. 21 (1991), pp. 10–18. For its influence on the historiography of ancient military history, see Sara E. Phang, “New Approaches to the Roman Army,” in Lee L. Brice, Jennifer T. Roberts(eds.), *Recent Directions in the Military History of Ancient World* (Regina books, 2011), pp. 105ff; Everett L. Wheeler, “Greece: Mad Hatters and March Hares,” *Recent Directions in the Military History of Ancient World*, pp. 53ff. For examples of “Military and Society” approach applied to the Roman army during the Principate, see Richard Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: A Social History* (Routledge, 1995); Nigel Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians in Roman Syria* (University of Michigan Press, 2000); Brent Shaw, “Soldier and Society: The Army in Numidia,” *Opus* Vol. 2-1 (1983), pp. 133–157.
- (2) Ilian Boyanov, “Veterans and Society in Lower Moesia and Thrace during the Principate,” in Lyudmil Vagalinski et al. (eds.), *The Lower Danube Roman Limes (1st – 6th C. AD)* (National Archaeological Institute with Museum - Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2012), pp. 251–269.
- (3) Viktoria Čisťáková, “Development of the rural settlement in Moesia Inferior,” pp. 89–116; Sven Conrad, “Archaeological Survey on the Lower Danube: Results and Perspectives,” in Pia Guldager Bilde, Vladimir F. Stolba (eds.), *Surveying the Greek Chora : Black Sea Region in a Comparative Perspective* (Aarhus UP, 2006), pp. 321–324; Krzysztof Królczyk, *Veteranen in den Donauprovinzen des Römischen Reiches (1.-3. Jh. n. Chr.)* (Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2009), p. 125f; Lucrețiu Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, “Le témoignage épigraphique des villae en Mésie Inférieure : remarques sur les propriétaires et sur le personnel administratif,” *Dacia* Vol. 60 (2016), pp. 221–236.

- (4) For overview of veterans' discharge, legal rights and social status, see Yann le Bohec, *The Imperial Roman Army* (Routledge, 1994), pp. 223–225; J. C. Mann, "Honesta Missio from the Legions," in Géza Alföldy, Brian Dobson, Werner Eck (eds.), *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000), pp. 155–160; Alfred Neumann, "veterani" in Konrat Ziegler (ed.), *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Suppl. 9 (J. B. Metzler Verlag, 1962), Coll. 1597–1609; Gabrielle Wesch-Klein, "Recruits and Veterans," in Paul Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Army* (Blackwell Pub., 2007), pp. 439–450.
- (5) Bogdan Filow, *Die Legionen der Provinz Moesia von Augustus bis auf Diokletian* (G. Kreysing, 1906)
- (6) Boris Gerov, *Landownership in Roman Thracia and Moesia : (1st - 3rd century)* (Hakkert, 1988); Leszek Mrozewicz, "Roman Military Settlements in Lower Moesia (1st-3rd c.)," *Archeologia* Vol. 33 (1982), pp. 87–92; Leszek Mrozewicz, "Die Veteranen in den Munizipalräten an Rhein und Donau zur hohen Kaiserzeit (I.-III. Jh.)," *Eos* Vol. 77 (1989), pp. 65–80.
- (7) A. G. Poulter, "Nicopolis ad Istrum: The Anatomy of a Graeco-Roman City," in Hans-Joachim Schalles, Henner von Hesberg, Paul Zanker (eds.), *Die Römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.: der Funktionswandel des öffentlichen Raumes : Kolloquium in Xanten vom 2. bis 4. Mai 1990* (Rhineland-Verlag, 1992), pp. 80–86.
- (8) Ilian Boyanov, "Veterans and Society in Lower Moesia," pp. 251–269; Krzysztof Królczyk, *Veteranen in den Donauprovinzen des Römischen Reiches*; Alexei Martemyanov, "On the method of Determination of Level of Social Activity of Veterans in Provinces of the Roman Empire (The Case of Lower Moesia)," *Studia Europaea Gnesnensia*, Vol. 16 (2017), pp. 415–429.
- (9) Krzysztof Królczyk, *Veteranen in den Donauprovinzen des Römischen Reiches*, p. 91f.
- (10) Oleg Alexandrov, "Ethnic and Social Composition of the Roman Army in Lower Moesia: Soldiers from the Danubian Provinces of the Roman Empire," in Dilyana Boteva-Boyanova, Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrliiba, Octavian Bounegru (eds.), *Pax Romana. Kulturaustausch und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen in den Donauprovinzen des Römischen Kaizeareichs* (Parthenon Verlag, 2012), pp. 219–222.
- (11) Stephen Richard Matthews, "The Logistics of Feeding the Roman Army on the Lower Danube," Ph.D. Diss. (University of London, 2018), p. 21.
- (12) Michał Duch, *The Economic Role of the Roman Army in the Province of Lower Moesia (Moesia Inferior)* (Instytut Kultury Europejskiej, 2017), pp. 64–74; Richard Duncan-Jones, *Money and Government in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge UP, 1994), p. 35.
- (13) For the estimated strength of the Roman garrison, see Florian Matei-Popescu, *The Roman*

- Army in Moesia Inferior* (Conphys Pub., 2010), pp. 275–280; Conor Whately, *Exercitus Moesiae: The Roman Army in Moesia from Augustus to Severus Alexander* (BAR Pub., 2016), pp. 78–82.
- (14) In contrast to veterans from other regions who generally retired into the province where they were discharged, The Thracian veterans in general seem to have preferred to return to their home province after their *missio*. Ian Haynes, *Blood of the Provinces: The Roman Auxilia and the Making of Provincial Society from Augustus to the Severans* (2013, Oxford UP), p. 343.
- (15) Adela Băltăc, “Types of Habitation in the Rural Environment of the Roman Province Moesia Inferior : the Villa-Type Structure,” in Mircea Victor Angelescu, Irina Achim, Adela Băltăc et al. (eds.), *Antiquitas Istro-Pontica : Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire Ancienne Offerts à Alexandru Suceveanu* (MEGA Pub., 2010), p. 437f; Columella, *Rust.* 1.6.1–24.
- (16) Christoph Höcker, “Villa,” in Hubert Canick, Helmuth Schneider, Christine F. Salazar et al. (eds.), *Brill’s New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World* Antiquity Volumes (Brill, 2010), pp. 411–420; David J. Mattingly, “Villa,” in Simon Hornblower, Antony Spawforth and Esther Eidinow (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary Fourth Edition* (Oxford UP, 2012), p. 1551f; Ursula Rothe, “The Roman Villa : Definitions and Variations” in Annalisa Marzano, Guy P.R. Métraux (eds.), *The Roman Villa in the Mediterranean Basin : Late Republic to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge UP, 2018), pp. 43–50.
- (17) CIL III, 4057. *C(aius) Cornelius C(ai) f(ilius) / Pom(ptina) Dert(ona) Verus / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) II adi(utricis) / deduct(us) c(oloniam) U(lpian) T(raianam) P(oetovionensem) / mission(e) agr(aria) II / milit(avit) / b(eneficiarius) co(n)s(ularis) / annor(um) L h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / test(amento) fier(i) ius(sit) / heres / C(aius) Billienius Vitalis / f(aciendum) c(uravit).*
- (18) Boris Gerov, *Landownership in Roman Thracia and Moesia*, pp. 43–47.
- (19) Viktoria Čist’akova, “Development of the rural settlement in Moesia Inferior in the context of frontier area,” p. 97.
- (20) *Ibid.*, p. 108.
- (21) Michał Duch, “The Integration Process of the Lower Moesian Areas,” *Studia Europaea Gnesnensia*, Vol. 16 (2017), p. 382.
- (22) Adela Băltăc, “Types of Habitation in the Rural Environment of the Roman Province Moesia Inferior : the Villa-Type Structure,” in Mircea Victor Angelescu, Irina Achim, Adela Băltăc et al. (eds.), *Antiquitas Istro-Pontica : Mélanges d’Archéologie et d’Histoire Ancienne Offerts à Alexandru Suceveanu* (MEGA Pub., 2010), pp. 437–441.
- (23) ISM V 29. *Dis / Manibus / Coc(ceius) Elius pos(uit) / vivo suo sibi / et Titie Matri / ne coiugi sue {Titiae Matrinae coniugi suae} / bene merenti qu / e {quae} vixit ann(is) XXX / obita ad vila {villam} / sua titulum po / suit.*
- (24) ISM V 30. *Dis Manibus / Cocceius Vitales {Vitalis}, vixit {vixit} / annis L et Coc(ceia) Iulia*

co / niunxs eius vixsit annis / XL obiti ad villam suam Coc / ceius Clemens et Coc(ceius) He / lius filii patri et matri [be] / ne merentibus titulum / posuerunt.

- (25) AE 1969–1970, 568 = MONTANA II, 110. *D(is) M(anibus), / Val(erius) Rufus, uet(ranus) ex vico Vor / ouo minore, uiuo suo / sibi et coniugi sue Aurel(iae) Zuraturmeni / memor / iam fecit insuper sol / um [s]uum, qui est annoru / m LXV. Valeatuiator, uibat qui leget.*
- (26) ILBulg. 403. *Herculanus actor Fl(avii) Gemelli vo / tum solvi[t(?)].*
- (27) ISM II, 180. *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Ulpius · Longinus / ex dec(urione) vet(erano) · bul(euta) · Tomitan(orum) / se · viv[o] sibi et U[l]lpiae Aquilinae / c[o]niugi suae mem[o]riam fecit / in praedio suo.*
- (28) Sven Conrad, “Archaeological Survey on the Lower Danube: Results and Perspectives,” in Pia Guldager Bilde, Vladimir F. Stolba (eds.), *Surveying the Greek Chora : Black Sea Region in a Comparative Perspective* (Aarhus UP, 2006), pp. 321–324.
- (29) Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba, “Le témoignage épigraphique des villae en Mésie Inférieure : remarques sur les propriétaires et sur le personnel administratif,” *Dacia - Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne* Vol. 60 (2016), pp. 222–228.
- (30) Bâltac also does not mention how he determined the villa of Longinus was ran by an administrator and not by himself. If I were to presume, he based this on the fact that Longinus is mentioned as being the member of the city council of Tomis. That would have made it likely of him residing inside the city, and if so the villa would have had to be administrated by someone else.
- (31) ISM V 24. *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Cocceius Vitulus {Vitulus} vet(eranus) co[h(ortis) I] / Ubio(rum) sig(nifer) vix(it) ann(is) LXX mili(tavit) ann(is) XXVIII / Claudia coniunx et Cocceius Veturius / et Cocceius Nardus filii) h(eredes) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) / M(arcus) Coc<c>eius Titio pi<i>s(simo) par(enti) fec(it).*
- (32) Krzysztof Królczyk, *Veteranen in den Donauprovinzen des Römischen Reiches*, p. 126.
- (33) Ian Haynes, *Blood of the Provinces: The Roman Auxilia and the Making of Provincial Society from Augustus to the Severans* (2013, Oxford UP), p. 343.
- (34) Ilian Boyanov, “Veterans and Society in Lower Moesia,” p. 255.
- (35) Brent Shaw, “Soldier and Society: The Army in Numidia,” p. 140; Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy, 47–14 B.C.* (British School at Rome 1983) p. 210f; Ian Haynes, *Blood of the Provinces*, pp. 359–361.
- (36) Columella, *Rust.* 1. *praef.* 22–28; 1.1.16–17;
- (37) Ilian Boyanov, “Veterans and Society in Lower Moesia,” p. 251f.
- (38) Ilian Boyanov, “Oescus - From Castra to Colonia,” *Archaeologia Bulgarica* Vol. 12–3 (2008), pp. 73–75.
- (39) Ilian Boyanov, “Veterans and Society in Lower Moesia,” p. 254f.

- (40) Mrozewicz counts only five such cases in Moesia Inferior throughout the Principate, all being sons of legionaries. Leszek Mrozewicz, "Roman Military Settlements," p. 86.
- (41) For a detailed analysis of these colonization programs, see Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy* pp. 58ff.
- (42) Failed veteran settlements in Italy: Tac. *Ann.* 14.27; Lawrence Keppie, "Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy in the First Century A.D.," *Papers of the British School at Rome* Vol. 52 (1984), pp. 81–104.
- (43) For a discussion of this issue including the strategic and economic motive of Roman authorities for these mass resettlements, see Leszek Mrozewicz, "Resettlement into Roman Territory Across the Rhine and the Danube under the Early Empire (To the Marcomannic Wars)," *Eos* Vol. 100 (2013), pp. 424–442.
- (44) Strab. 7.3.10.
- (45) CIL XIV 3608.
- (46) Gabriele Wesch-Klein, "Recruits and Veterans," p. 445.
- (47) *Dig.* 50.6.7.
- (48) For the analysis of Statianus' career, see Agnieszka Tomas, Tadeusz Sarnowski, "Marcus Aurelius Statianus from Lower Moesia. A Note on His Origin, Status and Business," in Liudmil Ferdinandov Vagalinski et al (eds.), *The lower Danube in antiquity (VI C BC - VI C AD) : international archaeological Conference, Bulgaria-Tutrakan, 6-7.10.2005* (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, National Institute of Archaeology and Museum, 2007), pp. 231–234.
- (49) Agnieszka Tomas, *Inter Moesos et Thracas: The Rural Hinterland of Novae in Lower Noesia (1st – 6th centuries AD)* (Archaeopress, 2016), pp. 70–72
- (50) CIL XVI App. 12; *veterani milites omnibus vectigalib(us) / portitoribus(!) publicis liberati immunes esse debe(a)n[t] / ipsi coniuges liberique eorum parentes qui conubia [eo]/rum*. Siegfried J. de Laet, *Portorium : etude sur l'organisation douaniere chez les Romains, surtout a l'epoque du Haut-Empire* (de Tempel, 1949; repr. Arno Press, 1975), p. 434.
- (51) There also were Greek type of settlements known as κώμη, but this article will not deal with this issue as it is not directly relevant to the theme. Dan Aparaschivei, "Some Remarks Concerning the Rural Vici and their Administration in Moesia Inferior Province," in Sorin Cociș et al (eds.), *Ad Finem Imperii Romani : Studies in Honour of Coriolan H. Opreanu* (MEGA, 2015), p. 27.
- (52) Agnieszka Tomas, "Civil Settlement at Novae[Moesia Inferior]," in C. Sebastian Sommer, Suzana Matešić(eds.), *Limes XXIII Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies Ingolstadt 2015*(Nünnerich-Asmus Verlag, 2018), p. 752f.
- (53) Florian Matei-Popescu, "*Vicus nov(iodunum)* and *vicus classicorum*: On the Origins of the *municipium noviodunum*," *Ancient West & East*, Vol. 15 (2016), pp. 217–219.

- (54) A. G. Poulter, "Rural communities (*vici* and *komai*) and their role in the organisation of the *limes* of Moesia Inferior," in W. S. Hanson, L. J. F. Keppie (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1979: Papers Presented to the 12th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (B.A.R. Pub., 1980), p. 729.
- (55) Dan Aparaschivei, "Some Remarks Concerning the Rural *Vici* and their Administration," p. 28.
- (56) *Ibid.*, p. 28f. ISM I 324–332, 336–338, 340–341.
- (57) For a discussion and a list of these inscriptions, see Alexandre Avram, "Les *ciues Romani* consistentes de Scythie mineure : état de la question," in R. Compatangelo-Soussignan, Chr.-G. Schwentzel (eds.), *Étrangers dans la cité romaine, Actes du Colloque de Valenciennes (14–15 octobre 2005)* (Rennes, 2007), pp. 97–101; 106–109.
- (58) These phenomena can also be seen in several inscriptions from nearby provinces. Five dedicatory inscriptions from the fort of Micia in Dacia Apulensis mentions *veterani et cives Romani* as dedicants (IDR III 3 80–84), and another dedicatory inscription from Aquincum in Pannonia Inferior also has *veterani et cives Romani consistentes ad legionem II adiutricem* as dedicants (CIL III 3505).
- (59) Alexandru Suceveanu, "A propos d'une nouvelle contribution concernant l'organisation villageoise dans l'Empire Romain," in Victor Henrich Baumann (ed.), *La politique éditiale dans les provinces de l'Empire romain : IIème - IVème siècles après J.-C. : actes du IIIe Colloque Roumano-Suisse La Vie Rurale dans les Provinces Romaines: Vici et Villae ; (Tulcea, 8–15 octobre 1995)* (Inst. de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale, 1998), p. 16.
- (60) Leszek Mrozweicz, "Roman Military Settlements," p. 88.
- (61) Alexandre Avram, "Les *ciues Romani* consistentes de Scythie mineure," p. 101.
- (62) Michał Duch, "The Integration Process of the Lower Moesian Areas," p. 387f.
- (63) Viktoria Čistáková, "Development of the rural settlement in Moesia Inferior," pp. 96–110; Adriana Panaite, "A Changing Landscape: the Organization of the Roman Road Network in Moesia Inferior," in Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu (ed.), *TROESMIS – A CHANGING LANDSCAPE. Romans and the Others in the Lower Danube Region in the First Century BC – Third Century AD* (MEGA Pub., 2016), pp. 151–164; A. G. Poulter, "Rural communities (*vici* and *komai*)," pp. 734–738; Velizar Velkov, "Thrace and Lower Moesia during the Roman and the Late Roman Epoch Some Aspects of the Historical Development," *Klio* Vol. 63–2 (1981), pp. 473–483.
- (64) For an overview of the city's history, see A. G. Poulter, "The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Lower Danube: the City, a Fort, and the Countryside," in A. G. Poulter (ed.), *The Transition to Late Antiquity, on the Danube and Beyond* (Oxford UP, 2007), pp. 51–97. While it must be noted that administratively both cities originally belonged to the province of Thrace

- and were only transferred into Moesia Inferior during the reign of Septimius Severus, numismatic evidence shows a strong economic tie existed between these cities and Moesia Inferior even before the merger. Michał Duch, *The Economic Role of the Roman Army*, pp. 108–114.
- (65) For the organization and functions of *collegium veteranorum*, see Neumann, “veterani,” coll. 1608–1609; Michael Ginsburg, “Roman Military Clubs and Their Social Functions,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* Vol. 71 (1940), pp. 149–156.
- (66) Aquileia: CIL V 784; Ateste: CIL V 2475; Carnuntum: CIL III 11189, 11097 = AE 1983 768. Ancyra: Julian Bennett, “New evidence from Ankara for the *collegia veteranorum* and the *albata decursio*,” *Anatolian Studies* Vol. 56 (2006), pp. 93–99; Ferrara: CIL XI 6739; Siscia: ILJug. III 3117; Concordia: CIL V 8755; Garda: CIL V 400 L; Isca: CIL VII 105; Lambaesis: CIL VIII 2618, 3284, 18096; Moguntiacum: CIL XIII 6676; Ostia: CIL XIV 409; Puteoli: CIL X 1881; Simitthus: CIL VIII 14608.
- (67) CIL III 7500 = ISM V 178. However, it should be noted that the reading *conveterani* is a restoration done by the editor. On the inscription itself, only “co” is fully intact and “n” is missing its right half. The remaining “veterani” is a conjecture.
- (68) SB VI 9636.
- (69) In what manner Terentianus decided to use the rented field is beyond our knowledge. However, if this Terentianus is the same Claudius Terentianus that appears in the Tiberianus Archive, we know that his family was well established in Karanis at least from the time of his father Tiberianus. Perhaps he was intending to start his own household and farming business in his own hometown? For the context of Tiberianus Archive, see Karolien Greens, “Claudius Tiberianus,” *Leuven Homepage of Papyrus Collections* <https://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/54.pdf> (Retrieved 8/28/2019)
- (70) For the social network formed by veterans in Karanis, see Richard Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt*, pp. 123ff.
- (71) vicus Quintonis = ISM I 324, 326–328, 330–332; vicus Ulmetum = ISM V 62–64.
- (72) The term *consistentes* usually referred to communities of foreign long-term residents, such as merchants. They are epigraphically attested over a wide geographical area during the Principate, including Gaul and Italy. K. Verboven, “Resident Aliens And Translocal Merchant Collegia In The Roman Empire,” in Olivier Hekster, Ted Kaizer (eds.), *Frontiers in the Roman World. Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Durham, 16–19 April 2009)* (Brill, 2009), p. 336, 341–342.
- (73) Ov. *Tr.* 3.10.5; 4.1.67.
- (74) Dan Aparaschivei, “Some Remarks Concerning the Rural Vici and their Administration,” p.

- 29; Michał Duch, “The Integration Process of the Lower Moesian Areas,” p. 382; Liviu Petculescu, “The Roman Army as a Factor of Romanisation in the North-Eastern Part of the Moesia Inferior,” in Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen (ed.), *Rome and the Black Sea Region : Domination, Romanisation, Resistance* (Aarhus UP, 2006), p. 38; A. G. Poulter, “Rural communities (vici and komai),” p. 735f.
- (75) S. Casson, “Thracian Tribes in Scythia Minor,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* Vol. 17 (1927), pp. 97–101.
- (76) Florian Matei-Popescu, “The Thracian strategiae in Scythia Minor,” in Dilayana Boteva-Boyanova, Peter Delev, Julia Tzvetkova (eds.), *Jubilaeus VII Society, Kings, Gods: In memoriam professoris Margaritae Tachevae* (St Kliment Ohridski UP, 2018), p. 114.
- (77) For *Bessi* and Thracians in the Roman fleets, see Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen, “Thracians in the Roman Imperial Navy,” *The International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 29–3 (2017), pp. 479–494.
- (78) To the knowledge of the author, only two examples of *Bessi* veterans in Moesia Inferior are known. Their names and sources are as follows: L. Valerius Volsenus, a fleet veteran (CIL XVI 83); Muctaralis, an auxiliary veteran (ILBulg 64). However, the presence of an Bessan auxiliary unit (*cohors II Flavia Bessorum*) garrisoned in Moesia Inferior, attested in a recently published *diploma* dated to 99 CE, suggests that at least several hundred *Bessi* soldiers were serving in Moesia Inferior during the late 1st – early 2nd century CE. For this diploma, see Werner Eck, Andreas Pangerl, “Neue Diplome für die Truppen von Moesia superior und inferior,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* Bd. 192 (2014), pp. 215–237.
- (79) ISM I, 326. 149 CE. *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / sac(rum) pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) / Titi Ael(ii) Antonini Had(r)iani/ Aug(usti) Pii et M(arci) Aureli Veri C / aes(aris) vet(erani) et c(ives) R(omani) et Bessi / consistentes vico Quinis, cura agen / tibus mag(istris) Cla(udio) Gai / us et Durisse Bithi, / idibus Iunis Orf / ito et Prisco co(n)s(ulibus), / et quaestore Servi / lio Primigenio*
- (80) ISM V, 115. *vici Verg[o] / [b]rittiani C(aius) Iulius / Vales {Valens} veter(anus) leg(ionis) V M[a] / ced(onicae) mag(ister) vici / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*
- (81) ISM V, 154. *[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] / [pr]o s[a]!(ute) / Imp(eratoris) Cae(saris) / Tra(iani) Hadr(iani) / Aug(usti) C(aio) Val(erio) / Pud(ente) vet(erano) le(gionis) V / Mac(edonicae) et M(arco) Ulp(io) Le / ont(io) mag(istris) canabe(nsi)um et / Tuc(cio) Ael(iano) aed(ile) d(onum) d(ant) / vet(erani) et c(ives) R(omani) cons(istentes) / ad canab(as) leg(ionis) V Ma(cedonicae).*
- (82) ISM V, 156. *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / pro sal(ute) Im[p(eratoris)] / Caes(aris) T(iti) Ael(ii) Had(riani) / Ant(onini) Aug(usti) Pii et M(arci) / Aur(elii) Ver(i) Caes(aris) / P(ublius) Val(erius) Clemes {Clemens} et / L(ucius) Cominius / Val(ens) vet(erani) leg(ionis) V*

- Mac(edonicae) / ma[g(istri)] / et L(ucius) Val(erius) Crispus / aedilis de s(uo) pos(uerunt).*
- (83) ISM V, 155. [I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) sacrum] / [pro sal(ute) Imp(eratoris) T(iti) Ael(ii) Ha] / [driani Antonini Aug(usti) Pii et] / [Aur(elii) Veri Caes(aris)] / sub Fuficio Cornu / to leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) de / dicante Q(uinto) Caecilio / Reddito leg(ato) Aug(usti) T(itus) / Fl(avius) Alexander vet(eranus) / leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) / domu Fab(ia) Ancyr(a) / q(uin)q(uennalis) canaben(sium) / cum Iulia Florenti / na uxore et Flavio A / lexandro, Valente, / Pisone, Maximilla, Res / pecta filis {filiis} d(e) s(uo) p(osuit) item X / CCL ob honor(em) q(uin)q(uennalitat)is cu / riae donavit ex quor(um) incre[mentis sportulae(?)] / [dividerentur(?)] om[nibus] / [decurionibus(?)] — — — —].
- (84) CIL III 14416.
- (85) Michael A. Speidel, "Roman Army Pay Scales," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 82(1992), pp. 87–106.
- (86) Steven J. Friesen, "Poverty in Pauline Studies: Beyond the So-called New Consensus," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* Vol. 26/3 (2004), pp. 343–345.
- (87) K. D. White, *Roman Farming* (Thames and Hudson, 1970), p. 336; Peter Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis* (Cambridge UP, 1988), p. 46, n. 6.
- (88) Columella, *Rust.* 3.3.8.
- (89) Kyle Harper, "People, Plagues, and Prices in the Roman World: The Evidence from Egypt," *The Journal of Economic History* Vol. 76–3 (Sep. 2016), pp. 820–822.
- (90) The fact that Longinus was a decurion in an auxiliary cavalry unit would have meant his *stipendium*, and probably *praemium* as well, was greater than those of regular troops.
- (91) For deductions of *stipendium*, see Michał Duch, *The Economic Role of the Roman Army in the Province of Lower Moesia (Moesia Inferior)* (Instytut Kultury Europejskiej, 2017), pp. 85–87; Michael Alexander Speidel, "Sold und Wirtschaftslage der römischen Soldaten," in Géza Alföldy, Brian Dobson, Werner Eck (eds.), *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000), pp. 74–76; Peter Herz, "Finances and Costs of the Roman Army," in Paul Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army* (Blackwell Pub., 2007), pp. 308–313.
- (92) Leszek Mrozewicz, "Die Veteranen in den Munizipalräten an Rhein und Donau zur hohen Kaiserzeit (I.–III. Jh.)," *Eos* Vol. 77 (1989), p. 67; Krzysztof Królczyk, *Veteranen in den Donauprovinzen des Römischen Reiches*, pp. 143–146; 149.
- (93) Alexei Martemyanov, "On the method of Determination of Level of Social Activity of Veterans," pp. 426–428.
- (94) *Ibid.*, p. 427.
- (95) Leszek Mrozewicz, "Roman Military Settlements," pp. 86–89.

- (96) Królczyk, *Veteranen in den Donauprovinzen*, p. 152.
- (97) While the colonization programs under Augustus often provided veterans with necessary equipment and livestock (sometimes confiscated from previous owners), there is no evidence of such measures being taken during other colonization attempts during the Principate. Lawrence Keppie, *Colonization and Veteran Settlement in Italy*, p. 87ff; 123.

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