

SNEŽANA FERJANČIĆ
Faculty of Philosophy
University of Belgrade
Serbia

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VETERANS OF THE ROMAN ARMY AS MEMBERS OF THE MUNICIPAL ELITE IN MOESIA SUPERIOR*

Abstract: This paper aims to examine the social status and role of Roman veterans in the municipal life in Moesia Superior. The epigraphic evidence suggests that discharged soldiers rarely took an active part in the administration of the towns chosen for their retirement. This picture is in accordance with the situation throughout the Roman Empire. Legionary and auxiliary veterans are attested as decurions and magistrates of the *municipia* and colonies of Moesia Superior. Some of them were wealthy enough to finance the construction of temples or baths. Most of the veterans who took active part in the municipal administration and public life of their communities had served as *duplicarii* in the army. Their satisfactory economic and social situation made them willing to undertake municipal offices and duties.

The veteran settlement in Moesia Superior started in the second half of the first century AD. The earliest case from the territory of the future province belongs to the time of Nero. A veteran of the cohort *I Cretum* settled in Naissus during his reign.¹ The majority of veterans attested in Moesia Superior simply stayed where they had served. Some of them returned home and others participated in organized settlement, obtaining land allotments in the territory of the colonies of Scupi and Ratiaria. Epigraphic evidence suggests that discharged soldiers rarely took an active part in the administration and public life of the towns chosen for retirement. Of approximately one hundred veterans, only ten made this decision. This percentage is slightly higher than in the other regions of the Roman Empire. For example, in the Danubian provinces and on the Rhine, only 5.8 percent of veterans participated in the life of their communities by undertaking various offices and duties. The situation is similar elsewhere (e. g. North Africa, Egypt).²

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¹ *IMS* IV 34. For the dating see: P. A. Holder, *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army from Augustus to Trajan*, Oxford 1980, 305, no. 1341.

² L. Mrozewicz, Die Veteranen in den Munizipalräten an Rhein und Donau zur hohen Kaiserzeit (I-III Jh.), *Eos* 77, 1989, 69-70; G. Wesch-Klein, Recruits and Veterans, in: P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*, Malden – Oxford – Carlton 2007, 447.

The earliest cases of veterans assuming active roles in local administration are found in the colony of Scupi during the second half of the first century AD. Two veterans of the legion *VII Claudia* were members of the city council. L. Valerius Dexter was buried in the city by his slaves Venustus and Arescusa.³ Judging by the expression *hic situs est* and the absence of the dedication *Dis Manibus*, his funerary stele was set up during the second half of the first century AD.⁴ The fragmentary epitaph of L. Aufidius Celer probably belongs to the same period.⁵ The dating is likewise based on the absence of the formula *Dis Manibus*. In Moesia, this formula appears at the turn of the first century AD.⁶ It seems that Dexter and Celer belonged to the Flavian colonists in Scupi. Dexter's origin speaks in favour of this possibility. His hometown was Aquileia in northern Italy and the easiest way to explain his presence in the south of Moesia Superior is to presume that he had received a land grant in the territory of the new colony. In addition, epigraphic evidence from Scupi and its territory testifies that veterans of the legion *VII Claudia* participated in the Flavian *deductio*. The expressions *deductus Scupos*,⁷ *deductus deductione*⁸ and *deducticius*⁹ are found on four monuments of soldiers discharged from the aforementioned unit. Taking all of that into consideration, it is possible that L. Valerius Dexter and L. Aufidius Celer were members of the original city council established immediately upon the foundation of the colony of Scupi.

The same is presumed in the case of C. Valerius Firmus, veteran of the legion *VII Claudia*, who served on the council of Ratiaria. His homonymous son, also a decurion of the colony, took care of his burial in Ratiaria. Judging by the palaeographic features, his tombstone was erected in the early second century AD.¹⁰ C. Valerius Firmus is styled *conscriptus decurio*. According to modern scholars, the phrase means that Firmus was a member of the original council created when Trajan established the veteran colony at Ratiaria.¹¹ The dating of Firmus' tomb-

³ *AE* 2010, 1403. Cf. Л. Јованова, Ветеран од легијата VII (Claudia ?) од Скупи со потекло од Аквилеја, у: *Скупи – некрополи. Стории за истакнати личности според епиграфски и археолошки сведоштва*, Скопје 2015, 71-88.

⁴ П. Петровић, *Палеографија римских натписа у Горњој Мезији*, Београд 1975, 80-82.

⁵ *IMS* VI 49.

⁶ Д. П. Димитров, *Надгробните плочи от римско време в северна България*, Софија 1942, 14; Петровић, *Палеографија* (n. 4), 82.

⁷ *IMS* VI 52, 53.

⁸ *IMS* VI 56.

⁹ *IMS* VI 54. On the terms and the Flavian *deductio* see: С. Ферјанчић, *Насељавање легијских ветерана у балканским провинцијама (I-III век н.е.)*, Београд 2002, 71-75.

¹⁰ *AE* 1938, 95 = С. М. Danoff, *Lateinische Inschriften aus Nordwestbulgarien*, *JÖAI* 31, 1938, 106-107, no. 11.

¹¹ Danoff, *op. cit.* in n. 10, 107 ad no. 11; Димитров, *Надгробните плочи* (n. 6), 41, no. 67; А. Móscy, *Gesellschaft und Romanisation in der römischen Provinz Moesia Superior*, Budapest 1970, 107, n. 66 stating that he was designed to be a decurion, but he died before the *deductio*.

stone implies that he was one of Trajanic colonists. It appears, however, that he was opted into the city council without having held any offices previously. The term *conscriptus* is considered as a synonym for *pedanus*.¹² *Pedani* were decurions who have not held an office prior to their enrollment in the *ordo*.¹³

Two veterans of the legion *VII Claudia* are attested as decurions in Viminacium. Their legion garrisoned the fortress near the civilian settlement since the last decades of the first century AD. The first one is a former *beneficiarius consularis*, who dedicated an altar to the Persian god Mithras.¹⁴ His name is given as C. Iulius Valens, but the cognomen, recorded in abbreviated form *Val()*, might be read in other ways as well (e. g. *Valentinus, Valerianus, Valerius* etc.).¹⁵ The monument was found on the hill of Sopot, to the north of Požarevac. Judging by its palaeographic features, it should be dated to second half of the second century AD.¹⁶ The text on the altar reveals that our veteran and decurion was rather wealthy. He repaired the temple of Mithras from its foundations at his own expense. The case of M. Valerius Speratus will be discussed later.

The list of decurions in Moesia Superior comprises one man discharged from an auxiliary regiment. The former *signifer*, whose name is not preserved, served in the ala *Claudia nova*. His fragmentary epitaph, found in Orsoja (ancient Remetodia), on the territory of Ratiaria, was set up during the first half of the second century AD.¹⁷ The mention of *colonia Ulpia Traiana Ratiaria* points to the time after the establishment of the colony. Trajan's victory over Decebalus marked the beginning of an age of stability and prosperity in Moesia Superior. Although the exact date is not recorded, Ratiaria must have been granted colonial status soon after the creation of Dacia in 106 AD.¹⁸ Ala *Claudia nova miscellanea* garrisoned Moesia and Moesia Superior since the first years of Domitian's reign, with brief interruptions after Trajan's Dacian wars and during his Parthian campaign.¹⁹ One should note the somewhat

¹² W. Langhammer, *Die rechtliche und soziale Stellung der Magistratus municipales und der Decuriones in der Übergangsphase der Städte von sich selbstverwaltenden Gemeinden zu Vollzugsorganen des spätantiken Zwangsstaates (2.-4. Jahrhundert der römischen Kaiserzeit)*, Wiesbaden 1973, 199.

¹³ Langhammer, *Die rechtliche und soziale Stellung* (n. 12), 199-200; F. Jacques, *Le privilège de liberté. Politique impériale et autonomie municipale dans les cités de l'Occident romain (161- 244)*, Rome 1984, 478-482; H. Mouritsen, *The Album from Canusium and the Town Councils of Roman Italy*, *Chiron* 28, 1998, 230-231.

¹⁴ *IMS* II 308.

¹⁵ For names beginning with *Val-* see: *OPEL* IV 139-146.

¹⁶ A. von Premerstein, N. Vulić, *Antike Denkmäler in Serbien*, *JÖAI* 3, 1900, 109 no. 4.

¹⁷ *CIL* III 14217 = 14500. For the dating see: M. Тачева, *Настоящи и освободени робини*, in: *Власт и социум в римска Мизия и Тракия*, София 2000, 143, no. 22.

¹⁸ Ферјанчић, *Насељавање легијских ветерана* (n. 9), 79.

¹⁹ J. Beneš, *Auxilia Romana in Moesia atque in Dacia. Zu den Fragen des römischen Verteidigungssystems im Unteren Donauraum und in den angrenzenden Gebieten*,

unusual abbreviation of the title *decurio* in the fourth line of the inscription. Some scholars have left the letters *DE*, preceding the title of the colony, unexpanded.²⁰ It seems certain, however, that they should be read as *de(curio)*. The abbreviation is attested in the provinces of Dacia, Thracia and Dalmatia.²¹

For the majority of veterans discussed above we only know that they were members of local city councils. The only exception is L. Valerius Dexter who was *aedilis* in the colony of Scupi. Several other veterans held public offices in their respective communities, in addition to seats on the local councils. C. Cornelius Magnus, former *beneficiarius* and *immunis* of the legion *VII Claudia*, was buried on his property in the vicinity of Scupi by his wife Publicia Secunda. Magnus' epitaph was found in a grave near the village of Zlokućani in the colony's territory. It is dated to the first decades of the second century AD.²² Although Magnus is not styled *veteranus*, one can presume that he had obtained an honourable discharge from the army. The possibility that he died during military service seems highly unlikely. Since he lived 75 years and served for 21 years, that would mean that he was enlisted when he was 54 years old, an impossibly high age for recruitment. Consequently, he must have been a veteran, prematurely dismissed due to some illness or wounds sustained in a campaign (*missio causaria*).²³ In addition to having a seat in the council of Scupi, C. Cornelius Magnus served as a *duovir* in the colony.

Two other veterans, both of them discharged from the legions, attained higher posts in the cities of Moesia Superior. The first one was L. Marcianus (only the ending *-ndus* is preserved of his cognomen²⁴) from Salona. His funerary stele was found in the village of Radišani, to the north of Scupi.²⁵ Now lost, it is known only from a majuscule copy published by N. Vulić. Modern scholars have suggested various interpretations of Marcianus' military rank, recorded in the fourth line: *BMVE LEG CONSVLA*. Vulić proposed the reading *b(ene)-f(iciarius) et immunis leg(ati) co(n)s(ularis)*.²⁶ B. Dragojević-Josifovska

Praha 1978, 7-8; K. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans. Studien zur Geschichte des mittleren und unteren Donauraumes in der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, Bonn 1984, 110.

²⁰ Б. Геров, Романизмът между Дунава и Балкана. Част II: Романизмът между Дунава и Балкана от Хадриан до Константин Велики, *Годишник на Софийския университет. Филологически факултет* 48, 1952/1953, 155, no. 14; М. Тачева, Настоящи и освободени робини (n. 17), 143, no. 2.

²¹ Dacia: *IDR* III/2, 368; *ILD* 694 = *AE* 1977, 662; *CIL* III 7881 = *AE* 2004, 1181. Thracia: *CIL* III 7298. Dalmatia: *ILJug* 1510.

²² *IMS* VI 45 = *CBFIR* 611.

²³ On *missio causaria* see: A. Neumann, *Veterani*, *RE* Suppl. IX 1599-1600; Y. Le Bohec, *L'Armée romaine*, Paris 1990, 239.

²⁴ It was restored as [*Secu*]ndus (N. Vulić, *Antički spomenici naše zemlje, Spomenik SKA* 71, 1931, 243, no. 650) and [*Ama*]ndus (*CBFIR* 600).

²⁵ *IMS* VI 46.

²⁶ Vulić, *loc. cit.* in n. 24.

tentatively suggested *b(eneficiarius) mu(ni)<f>(ex) leg. consul.*, presuming that the stonecutter mistakenly incised an E instead of an F, as in lines 5 and 6.²⁷ Since the B at the beginning certainly stands for *b(eneficiarius)*, and the letters *LEGCONSVLA* for *leg(ati) consula(ris)*, the three letters in between – *MVE* – could be interpreted as a radically abbreviated name of a provincial governor. Similar wording – the term *beneficiarius* followed by the name of the provincial legate in genitive – is attested on several inscriptions from both western and eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.²⁸ S. Dušanić has suggested that the name of the legate should be read as *M. U(lp)ii <T>(raiani)* or *<Tr>(aiani)*. According to his opinion, Trajan governed Moesia Superior ca. 92-93 AD.²⁹ R. Syme has proposed the most plausible interpretation of the group *MVE*: *M. V(alerii) E(trusci)*.³⁰ The senator M. Valerius Etruscus governed Moesia Superior in 156-157 AD³¹ and Marcianus served on his staff. His epitaph records two posts in the administration of Scupi. After the quaestorship, he became *duovir*, thus attaining the chief magistracy in the colony.

Next we will discuss the case of T. Aurelius Atticus, former signifer of the legion *IV Flavia*, who dedicated an altar to Jupiter, Terra Mater, Liber and Libera in Singidunum. Judging by the family name *Aurelius*, the monument dates from the second half of the second century AD or the third century AD. The posts Atticus held after the honourable discharge from the army are recorded in lines 7 and 8: *P. K. q(uin)q(uennalis) Sing(iduni) dec(urio) col(oniae) Sirmens(ium)*.³² The letters *PK* were interpreted by Vulić as *p(raefectus) k(astrorum)* with a question mark.³³ This possibility seems slight, because the post of *praefectus castrorum* was normally available only to *primipilares*.³⁴ P. Le Roux has suggested the reading *p(atronus) k(anabarium)*, while H.-G. Pflaum has opted for *p(raefectus) k(anabarium)*.³⁵ Though neither of these titles is attested in

²⁷ B. Dragojević Josifovska, *IMS* VI p. 78 ad no. 46.

²⁸ Gallia Narbonensis: *CBFIR* 41. Germania: *CBFIR* 87, 176. Noricum: *CBFIR* 263. Dalmatia: *CBFIR* 495. Cappadocia: *CBFIR* 689, 695.

²⁹ S. Dušanić, Moesia and Pannonia in Domitian's Last War on the Danube, in: *Selected Essays in Roman History and Epigraphy*, Belgrade 2010, 953, n. 24. Cf. idem, The Frontier and the Hinterland: The Role of Scupi in Domitian's Wars on the Danube, in: *Selected Essays in Roman History and Epigraphy*, Belgrade 2010, 1007.

³⁰ R. Syme, Legates of Moesia, in: *Danubian Papers*, Bucharest 1971, 215.

³¹ B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium* I, Goeteborg 1984, 127, no. 40.

³² *IMS* I 16.

³³ N. Vulić, Antike Denkmäler in Serbien, *JÖAI* 13, 1910, 212, no. 4.

³⁴ A. von Domaszewski, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres* (Einl., Bericht u. Nachtr. von B. Dobson), Köln – Graz 1967², 119-120; B. Dobson, *Die primipilares. Entwicklung und Bedeutung, Laufbahnen und Persönlichkeiten eines römischen Offiziersranges*, Köln 1978, 68-74; M. Mirković, *IMS* I p. 52 ad no. 16.

³⁵ P. Le Roux, *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, vol. I, *Singidunum et le nord-ouest de la province*, par M. Mirković et S. Dušanić; sous la direction de F. Papazoglou, Centre d'études épigraphiques et numismatiques de la Faculté de Philosophie de l'Université de Beograd, Beograd 1976, 33 x 24, 171 p., nombreuses illustrations dans le texte et hors-texte, 9 index, *REA* 82, 1980, 375.

the epigraphic evidence of the Roman Empire, the latter interpretation of the letters *PK* seems more plausible. Administrative organization of settlements at military camps was modelled after *municipia* and colonies. They had their own magistrates and a council which fulfilled the same tasks as their counterparts in self-governing communities.³⁶ It is conceivable that the *canabae* at Singidunum had its prefect, since prefects are attested among city officials in Italy and the provinces.³⁷ The titles in line 7 of Atticus' dedication should therefore be read as *p(raefectus) k(anabarum) q(uin)q(uennalis) Sing(iduni)*. Their interpretation, however, is open to discussion. Following S. Dušanić, they might be understood as a single, otherwise unknown, function – *praefectus canabarum quinquennalis*. His duties would be identical to those of *quinquennales* in *municipia* or colonies. They might have had something to do with lease of terrain/goods controlled by the *canabae* of Singidunum. Atticus presumably took care of the *vectigalia* situated in the neighbourhood of the city and the legionary fortress.³⁸ Considering, however, that the title *praefectus canabarum quinquennalis* is not attested elsewhere in the epigraphic evidence of the Roman Empire, one is tempted to regard *praefectus kanabarum* and *quinquennalis* as two distinct functions. The absence of the word *municipium* before the toponym *Singiduni* has led Dušanić to associate the word *quinquennalis* with Atticus' prefecture.³⁹ However, in a few inscriptions from Italy, Pannonia and Macedonia, the term *quinquennalis* is followed by the name of the town without any determination of its status.⁴⁰ Hence, one should not completely discard the possibility that Atticus actually held the magistracy in the *municipium* of Singidunum. The municipal autonomy was granted by Hadrian to the civilian settlement near the camp of *IV Flavia* and not to the *canabae*.

The existence of those two agglomerations near the legionary fortress at Singidunum is presumed on the analogy with Viminacium and other, better researched, sites on the *limes*. Simultaneous existence of the *canabae* of the legion *VII Claudia* and the Hadrianic *municipium* is proven by epigraphic evidence. A fragmentary inscription from the environs of Kostolac testifies that the *canabae* were rebuilt under Sep-

³⁶ F. Vittinghoff, Die rechtliche Stellung der *canabae legionis* und die Herkunftsangabe *castris*, *Chiron* 1, 1971, 301-307; Langhammer, *Die rechtliche und soziale Stellung* (n. 12), 5-6; N. Hanel, Military Camps, *Canabae*, and *Vici*. The Archaeological Evidence, in: P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Army*, Malden – Oxford – Carlton 2007, 412.

³⁷ W. Enßlin, Praefecti, *RE* XXII 1257-1347.

³⁸ S. Dušanić, The Legions and the Fiscal Estates in Moesia Superior: Some Epigraphical Notes, in: *Selected Essays in Roman History and Epigraphy*, Belgrade 2010, 603-605; idem, Army and Mining in Moesia Superior, in: *Selected Essays in Roman History and Epigraphy*, Belgrade 2010, 705-707.

³⁹ Dušanić, Army and Mining in Moesia Superior (n. 38), 706, n. 100.

⁴⁰ *AE* 1980, 465 (*quinquennalis Camerini*); *AE* 1947, 46 (*quinquennalis Mediolani*); *RIU* 567 (*quinquennalis Brigetionis*); HD048223 (*quinquennalis Philippis*).

timius Severus.⁴¹ One should also note that the *canabae* and civilian settlements co-existed next to the legionary fortresses of Carnuntum and Aquincum in Pannonia.⁴² To return to the possibility that T. Aurelius Atticus was *praefectus canabiarum* and *quinquennalis* in the municipium of Singidunum, a similar case of a veteran holding posts in the *canabae* and the civilian settlement near the legionary fortress is attested in Troesmis in Moesia Inferior. In 159/160 AD, L. Licinius Clemens, discharged from the legion *V Macedonica* which garrisoned Troesmis, was *quinquennalis canabensium* and *decurio Troesmensium*.⁴³ Since the *municipium* was founded between 177 and 180 AD,⁴⁴ Clemens presumably belonged to the *ordo* of a *conventus civium Romanorum* in the civilian settlement near the legionary fortress.⁴⁵ In addition to the posts held in Singidunum, T. Aurelius Atticus was a member of the council in Sirmium in Pannonia Inferior. According to Dušanić, his post in the colony may have had something to do with the silver mines in the valley of lower Drina, which were connected with the mining complex of Kosmaj and Avala.⁴⁶ On the other hand, Atticus may have been elected into the council of his hometown. Two men recruited in the Flavian colony of Sirmium are already attested in the legion *IV Flavia*.⁴⁷

The case of M. Valerius Speratus, mentioned above, deserves special attention in our discussion. His funerary stele, discovered in modern Kostolac, was erected by his wife Lucia Aphrodisia.⁴⁸ The monument is actually a cenotaph, since Speratus died in Britain (*obiit in Britannia*).

⁴¹ *IMS* II 55. Judging by the emperor's title *Parthicus Maximus*, the inscription was set up in or after 198 AD. For the titles of Septimius Severus see: D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt 2003, 158.

⁴² M. Kandler et al., Carnuntum, in: M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer (eds.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia / Die Autonome Städte in Noricum und Pannonien. Pannonia II*, Ljubljana 2004, 28-49; P. Zsidi, Aquincum. Ergebnisse der topographischen und siedlungshistorischen Forschungen in den Jahren 1969–1999, in: M. Šašel Kos, P. Scherrer (eds.), *The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia / Die Autonome Städte in Noricum und Pannonien. Pannonia II*, Ljubljana 2004, 209-230. Cf. Mirković, *IMS* I, p. 32-35.

⁴³ *IScM* V 158.

⁴⁴ W. Eck, Die *Lex municipalis Troesmensium*: Ihr rechtlicher und politisch-sozialer Kontext, in: C. G. Alexandrescu (ed.), *Troesmis – A Changing Landscape. Romans and the Others in the Lower Danube Region in the First Century BC – Third Century AD. Proceedings of an International Colloquium Tulcea, 7th-10th of October 2015*, Cluj-Napoca 2016, 34.

⁴⁵ On councils of *conventus civium Romanorum* see: Langhammer, *Die rechtliche und soziale Stellung* (n. 12), 7. On the *canabae* and the civilian settlement at Troesmis see: R. Vulpe, Colonies et municipes de la Mésie Inférieure, in: *Studia Thracologica*, București 1976, 291; R. Cîrjan, *Statute citadine privilegiate în provinciile dunărene ale Imperiului roman (sec. I-III p. Chr.)*, Cluj-Napoca 2010, 84-85.

⁴⁶ Dušanić, The Legions and the Fiscal Estates in Moesia Superior (n. 38), 605.

⁴⁷ *IMS* I 34; M. Mirković, Beneficarii consularis in Sirmium, *Chiron* 24, 1994, n° 61; Cf. S. Ferjančić, Regrutacija gornjomezijskih legija IV Flavia i VII Claudia, *Zbornik radova Narodnog muzeja* (Čačak) 38, 2008, 66.

⁴⁸ *IMS* II 110.

His career took him from the middle Danube to the British isles. As *beneficiarius consularis* of the legion *VII Claudia*, Speratus served on the staff of the governor of Moesia Superior who resided in Viminacium.⁴⁹ After his honourable discharge from the army, he decided to stay where he had served and was elected into the council of Viminacium. His career then took an extraordinary turn. He was opted into the *ordo equester* and then entrusted with the command of an auxiliary regiment and named prefect of the cohort *I Aquetanorum* (= *Aquitanorum*). Auxiliary units of the Roman army comprised two Aquitanian cohorts bearing the number I. The cohort *I Aquitanorum veterana equitata* garrisoned Germania Superior during the second century AD. The other regiment, called simply *cohors I Aquitanorum*, belonged to the army of Britain since 122 AD.⁵⁰ Speratus undoubtedly held command over the second regiment, since he died in Britain, at the age of fifty-five. His unusual career provides a *terminus post quem* for the dating of his cenotaph. The practice of granting equestrian status and corresponding commanding posts to veterans probably originated under Septimius Severus. The earliest example dates from his reign. Publius Aelius Valerius, veteran of an unnamed auxiliary regiment, became tribune (*tribunus ex veterano*) of the cohort *I Campanorum voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, which garrisoned the fort of Acumincum in southeastern part of Pannonia Inferior.⁵¹ Under his supervision, in 212 AD, the unit erected the base of a statue of Caracalla, found in Sirmium.⁵² Hence, it seems improbable that the cenotaph of M. Valerius Speratus was erected before the reign of Septimius Severus. A *terminus ante quem* for its dating is provided by the fact that he held his post in the council of the municipium. In 239 AD, Gordian III promoted Viminacium to the rank of a colony.⁵³ Consequently, the part of Speratus' career that followed his honourable discharge falls into the first decades of the third century AD.

Epigraphic evidence suggests that some veterans had considerable funds at their disposal. We have already mentioned C. Iulius Valens, from the legion *VII Claudia*, who repaired the temple of Mithras in Viminacium at his own expense.⁵⁴ Aelius Tertius, discharged from an unnamed unit, built the baths for his fellow veterans in Singidunum. He did it to honour the memory of his late wife Aelia Tertia. The verse inscription

⁴⁹ A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia. A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire*, London and Boston 1974, 215; M. Mirković, *Moesia Superior. Eine Provinz and der mittleren Donau*, Mainz 2007, 52.

⁵⁰ F. Gayet, *Les unités auxiliaires gauloises sous le Haut-Empire romain*, *Historia* 55, 2006, 73-74.

⁵¹ B. Lőrincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. Teil I: Die Inschriften*, Wien 2001 33.

⁵² *CIL* III 3237. On the practice of opting the veterans into the *ordo equester* see: E. Birley, *Septimius Severus and the Roman Army*, in: *The Roman Army. Papers 1929-1986*, Amsterdam 1988, 35.

⁵³ Mirković, *IMS* II p. 48.

⁵⁴ *IMS* II 308.

he set up to commemorate the undertaking dates from the first half of the third century AD.⁵⁵

The analyzed epigraphic evidence from Moesia Superior suggests that veterans hesitantly took an active part in the administration of the places of their residence. Their reluctance to take on public functions was due to various circumstances. Most of them were older and had little appetite for undertaking new and burdensome responsibilities. Some of them lacked experience and skills required for administrative duties. Moreover, veterans who became city officials or councilors lost their tax immunity. They had to pay an entrance fee and further expenditures were expected of them during their term of office. Veterans discharged as simple soldiers could hardly meet the financial obligations associated with the exercise of municipal offices. These requirements were more suitable for men who had risen to higher ranks during their military service.⁵⁶ It is not surprising, therefore, that six out of nine veterans who held municipal offices in Moesia Superior were former *principales*: three were *beneficarii consularis*,⁵⁷ two *signiferi*⁵⁸ and one was *beneficiarius* and *immunis*.⁵⁹ All of them received double the pay of common soldiers and belonged to the highest pay grade of *principales*.⁶⁰ Due to their above-average economic and social situation, they were more keen than ordinary soldiers to undertake municipal offices and duties. Their wealth enabled them to cover the required expenses.

⁵⁵ *IMS* I 48. For various attempts to a more precise dating see: *IMS* I p. 75.

⁵⁶ Cf. Wesch-Klein, *Recruits and Veterans* (n. 2), 447-448.

⁵⁷ *IMS* II 110, 308; *IMS* VI 46.

⁵⁸ *CIL* III 14217 = 14500; *IMS* I 16.

⁵⁹ *IMS* VI 45.

⁶⁰ D. J. Breeze, *Pay Grades and Ranks below the Centurionate*, *JRS* 61, 1971, 134.