

ABOUT THE SECOND DACIAN-ROMAN WAR (105-...)¹

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*According to the previous theories, the second war between Dacians and Romans ended in 106 AD. That the things were not like that is proved by all the scientific errors which resulted from the use of a wrong hypothesis. Regarding 106 AD we have no certainty about the foundation of the Dacian province but as far as this second war is concerned, the official data does not confirm its ending in this year. According to the *Ranovac* military diploma, the only certainty is the foundation of the province before the end of the second Dacian War. The governor *Iulius Sabinus* mentioned by this diploma certifies the existence of the province while the fact that the soldiers receive the Roman citizenship in 106 AD but remain in military active service confirms the continuation of the war after this year. Because all these problems are related, one cannot speak about another conflict but about a stage continuation of the one begun in 105 AD.*

One of the few accepted facts until now regarding the Second Dacian War was its ending in AD 106. This is ascertained also by the current state of the art: "In the summer of 106, at the end of the second Dacian War, the military power of Decebalus was destroyed, his kingdom wiped out and the Trajanic province was founded"². This approach of the second war between Romans and Dacians appears in the latest Romanian history treaty and in any Romanian history handbook. To this view one should add the Romanian and foreign historiography dedicated to the subject. However, based on new evidence, this phrase should be thoroughly investigated.

Current state of the art. For a better chronological frame, since the data regarding the beginning of the province of Dacia is very poor, the founding of the first urban community in the province will be used, that is *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa*. Initially it has been considered that the foundation stone of the city was put by the first governor of Dacia, *Decimus Terentius Scaurianus* in 106 AD, as a *colonia deducta* with colonists originating from the soldiers participating to the war, discharged after the end of the armed conflicts and to whom the land for which

¹ A first part of this paper including the arguments of military nature and those related to the late urbanization of the province of Dacia has been already published in Băeștean 2012a.

² Protase 2010a, p. 38. The historical information was translated from Romanian by the author's of the study.

they fought was granted³. But, in February 1986, the military diploma from Ranovac⁴ (**Fig. 1**; for a full transcription see Appendix 1), attesting another governor, Iulius Sabinus, before Scaurianus, was discovered. Under these circumstances, it is very difficult to accept Ioan Piso's statement that the foundation of the city took place in 106 AD, especially when in the same work is admitted that this foundation could have

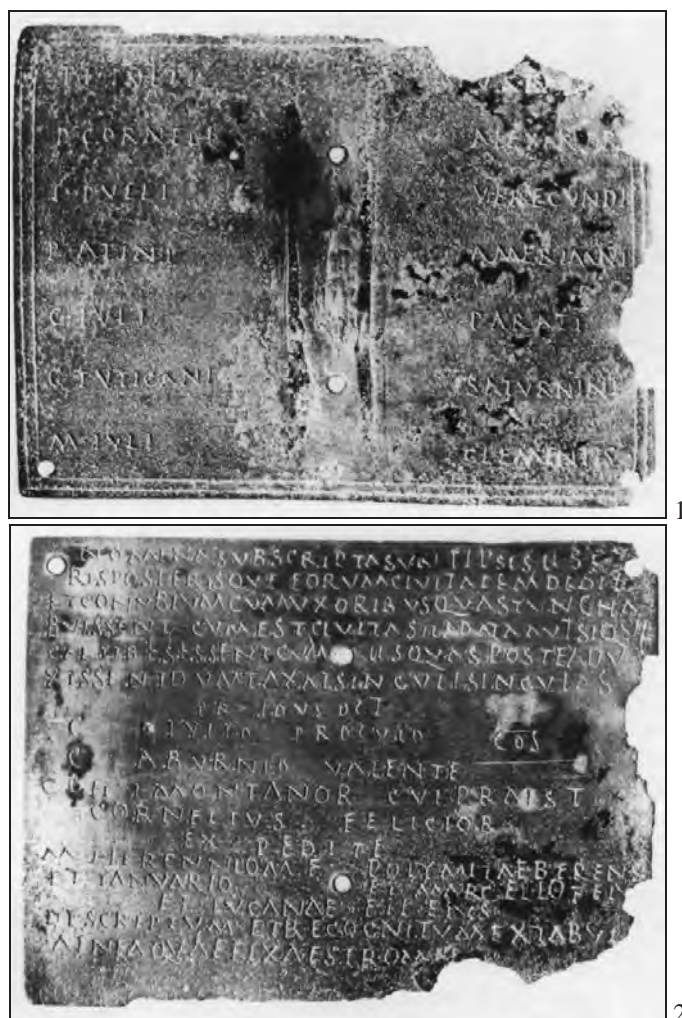


Fig. 1. 1-2. The Roman military diploma from Ranovac dated 14th October 109 AD (1 – after [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$AE_1987_00854_1.jpg;\\$AE_1987_00854_2.jpg&nr=2](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$AE_1987_00854_1.jpg;$AE_1987_00854_2.jpg&nr=2); 2 – after [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$AE_1987_00854_1.jpg;\\$AE_1987_00854_2.jpg&nr=1](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$AE_1987_00854_1.jpg;$AE_1987_00854_2.jpg&nr=1)) (Accessed: 08.07.2015)

³ This conception has been imposed by Constantin Daicoviciu through the studies dedicated to Sarmizegetusa. It was later followed by most of the scholars who discussed the subject, some exceptions being represented by those who noticed the changes brought by the discovery of the military diploma from Ranovac. But even in the case of those who have noticed that the foundation of Sarmizegetusa could not have occurred in 106 AD, the consequences of this discovery have not been fully understood because of the errors made when discussing the situation of the veterans who were not discharged in 106 AD but either in 109 AD or in 110 AD (according to the military diplomas from Ranovac and Porolissum respectively; those from Porolissum are three in number). This incomprehensible situation is found both in the Romanian and foreign historiography.

⁴ Garbsch 1989, p. 137-151; Roxan 1994, p. 148.

occurred also in another year⁵. This statement is made under the conditions in which the magistracy of D. Terentius Scaurianus is dated between 109-110 AD⁶ by the same author. A similar situation is encountered at Julian Bennett, who considers that his magistracy in Dacia occurred between 106 AD and 111/113 AD, and to this period the foundation of Sarmizegetusa should be attributed⁷. In the article dedicated to the city centuriation, Felix Marcu and George Cupcea resumed again the idea that the city was founded in 106 AD, mostly with veteran colonists who fought in the Dacian wars⁸. These are just few of the authors⁹ who confronted with the lack of logic of the situation, but they are not alone; the majority of those who addressed this topic were faced by the same lack of coherence.

Problems related to the arguments for ending the war in 106 AD. The foundation of the province of Dacia does not have to be necessarily related to the ending of the second war. Just as in today's conflicts, the conquest of a territory or of the capital does not imply always the end of the fights. It is true that the first military diploma from Porolissum describes events that took place in the year 106 AD, but even the *IDR* (*Inscriptiile Daciei Romane – The inscriptions of the Roman Dacia*) editors noticed a discrepancy between the *tribunicia potestas XIII* of the emperor and the consuls *suffecti* for the year 106 AD: L. Minicius Natalis and Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus Quadronius Proculus¹⁰. The problem, however, was given by D. Terentius Scaurianus, considered at that time to have been the first governor of the newly founded Dacia province. Even at that time, an error of incision was excluded and it has been supposed that the document was released in 110 AD. However, the clarifications came with the Ranovac diploma, dated 109 AD through the consuls C. Alburnius Valens and C. Iulius Proculus. On one hand, this document is considered more clear given the fact that five of the seven witnesses listed at the end of it are found also on the diploma of Porolissum (see the names in bold letters of the Ranovac and Porolissum diplomas in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2), and one cannot think that this is just a coincidence of names¹¹, on the other hand this document is confirming their military service during the governorship of Iulius Sabinus, probably the first governor of Dacia; but their discharge occurs only during the magistracy of the next governor, D. Terentius Scaurianus. Therefore, the dating of the Porolissum diploma in 106 AD cannot even be taken into consideration, because Scaurianus is mentioned in both cases.

Nevertheless, the diploma from Porolissum is not unique, also from there coming two other examples, mentioning the same governor and the same dating for the year 110 AD. Concerning the third diploma¹², the seven names of witnesses are identical with those appearing on the first diploma. The only difference is one change of position. Absolutely strange, this time no one contested the dating of 110 AD. Given

⁵ Piso 2006, p. 73-74, 214.

⁶ Piso 1993, p. 13-18.

⁷ Bennett 2008, p. 212, 217.

⁸ Marcu, Cupcea 2011, p. 543-560.

⁹ These authors have been used not only because they represent both Romanian and the foreign historiography, but also because their work is very recent.

¹⁰ IDR I, 1.

¹¹ The fact that a *cohors I Brittonum miliaria Ulpia torquata c. R.* is attested in both documents, and the five witnesses we deal with have the same *nomen*, *praenomen* and *cognomen* in both military diplomas, excludes any coincidence.

¹² IDR I, 3.

these considerations, one finds very hard to understand why the dating of the first military diploma from Porolissum to 110 AD¹³ is still being questioned. Another problem is the situation of the veterans from Dacia, considered to be discharged in 106 AD. The military diplomas mentioned above certify with certainty the fact that soldiers from auxiliary troops during the governorship of Iulius Sabinus are detained under arms until D. Terentius Scaurianus (109 AD or 110 AD), when they will be discharged. Unfortunately, the present data does not indicate explicitly the motives that have delayed their discharge, but certainly, this postponement of 3-4 years, corroborated with the arguments in favour of the continuation of the war, which are discussed further, offers some answers to the situation.

Another argument used to support this theory is the one provided by the inscription of C. Caelius Martialis, from Corinth¹⁴. According to this inscription: *...secunda expedition[e]/ qua universa Dacia devicta est...* Precise dating elements do not exist here. The official accepted chronological frame for this inscription is 107-114 AD¹⁵. On the other hand, it is not the purpose of this work to investigate the difference between expedition and war. Anyway, Trajan will be in the Balkans area until the spring of 107 AD, when we learn about armed conflicts with the Iazyges. An important aspect is the fact that this second expedition takes place while Martialis was tribune in the *Leg. XIII G*. The moment when this troop is moved to Apulum (today Alba Iulia, Romania) is not known, but clearly will accompany the governor Decimus Terentius Scaurianus there. The data that is available at this moment indicates that at least the first two governors of Dacia, Sabinus and Scaurianus, are stationed in the military camp from Sarmizegetusa until the foundation of the city¹⁶. For an early quartering of this legion to Sarmizegetusa there is no actual evidence. The tegular material, on which the name of the unit appears, is accompanied by anthroponyms¹⁷, and the inscriptions published by Wittenberger¹⁸, attesting legionnaires from this troop, are written on marble (a material that was used later at Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa, after 160 AD, as it will be seen in Section IV). These two arguments demonstrate that the presence of *Leg. XIII G* here occurred at a later moment, most likely related to the Marcomanic wars¹⁹. Therefore, the participation in a second expedition could have taken place most likely when the legion was already encamped at Apulum, and this seems more than unlikely before solving the Iazygian problem from 107 AD. Practically, the moment referred by this second expedition is either 107 AD when the future emperor Hadrian intervened against the Dacians allied with the Iazyges or sometime after this legion was quartered at Apulum. Arguments regarding a legionary presence in the Marisus (Mureș) valley in 106 AD are not known, and the existence of two legionary camps, one in the Orăștie Mountains, at Sarmizegetusa Regia (Grădiștea Muncelului) and another in Hațeg Country (on the same place where later the Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa will be founded, located at a distance of approximately 40 km West from Sarmizegetusa Regia), demonstrate the fact that the situation was not resolved from military point of view in this area. Only the defeat of the Iazyges and the

¹³ IDR I, 1 and Appendix 2.

¹⁴ AÉ 1934, 2.

¹⁵ For more details, see Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg at <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD026560&lang=en>.

¹⁶ Băeștean, Albulescu 2012, p. 83-111.

¹⁷ Băeștean 2008-2009.

¹⁸ Bădău-Wittenberger 1987-1988, p. 615-619.

¹⁹ Băeștean 2012, p. 144-145.

foundation of Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa clearly show a relief and thus the *Leg. VI Ferrata* and *Leg. II Adiutrix* are withdrawn. This will allow as well the departure of the governor from Sarmizegetusa to Apulum, accompanied by *Leg. XIII Gemina*, while *Leg. IIII Flavia Felix* will be detached to Berzovia (in Caraş-Severin, Romania). The *Leg. XIII Gemina* would have been able to take part, more likely under Iulius Sabinus and the future emperor Hadrian, to the campaign against the Iazyges, if it was quartered in the Haţeg Country, which would mean that the second expedition refers to this moment. The only problem is that the data about the presence of this unit at Sarmizegetusa in the early period (106-107 AD) is missing.

However, at a closer look it seems that none of the two testimonials does provide any direct data about the ending of the hostilities, but rather one can see their irrelevant character given by the indirect nature of the information.

Even though the official line is contradicted and there is no direct proof in this direction, there are authors such as Julian Bennett²⁰ who sustain even the foundation of the province before the conquest of Sarmizegetusa Regia. The proclamation of the Dacia province before the second war ended becomes clear given the presence of Iulius Sabinus as governor before Decimus Terentius Scaurianus. A similar situation occurs during Trajan's Parthian Campaigns. Here the main problem is represented by the existence of the *Assyrian* province which is mentioned by Festus and Eutropius, but not directly confirmed by numismatic and epigraphic evidence. However, the end of Trajan's Parthian campaigns was marked by his death at Selinus (modern Gazipasa) in Cilicia, in August 117 AD²¹. But even if the existence of the *Assyrian* province is discarded altogether, the existence of the Roman province of Mesopotamia before the Parthian War ended in 117 AD cannot be denied²².

Another good analogy with the second Dacian war would be the today's conflicts from the Middle East when after the capital was conquered, the conflict does not come immediately to an end. Not even the capturing and execution of the leaders does not end the hostilities entirely, just a relief can be felt.

Decebalus had the same fate as all totalitarian leaders who opposed a great external power; they disappear through a death whose immediate result is felt through a military relief (but not necessarily a complete ending of the hostilities). In Dacia this resulted in the withdrawal of half of the legionary effectives, the foundation of the first city in the province and the only one during Trajan's reign, Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa.

Coming back to the inscription from Corinth, the fact that this cannot be dated accurately makes it completely unsuitable to give precise information about the events related to the second Dacian war.

²⁰ Bennett 2008, p. 212.

²¹ Lightfoot 1990, p. 121.

²² Lightfoot 1990, p. 123.

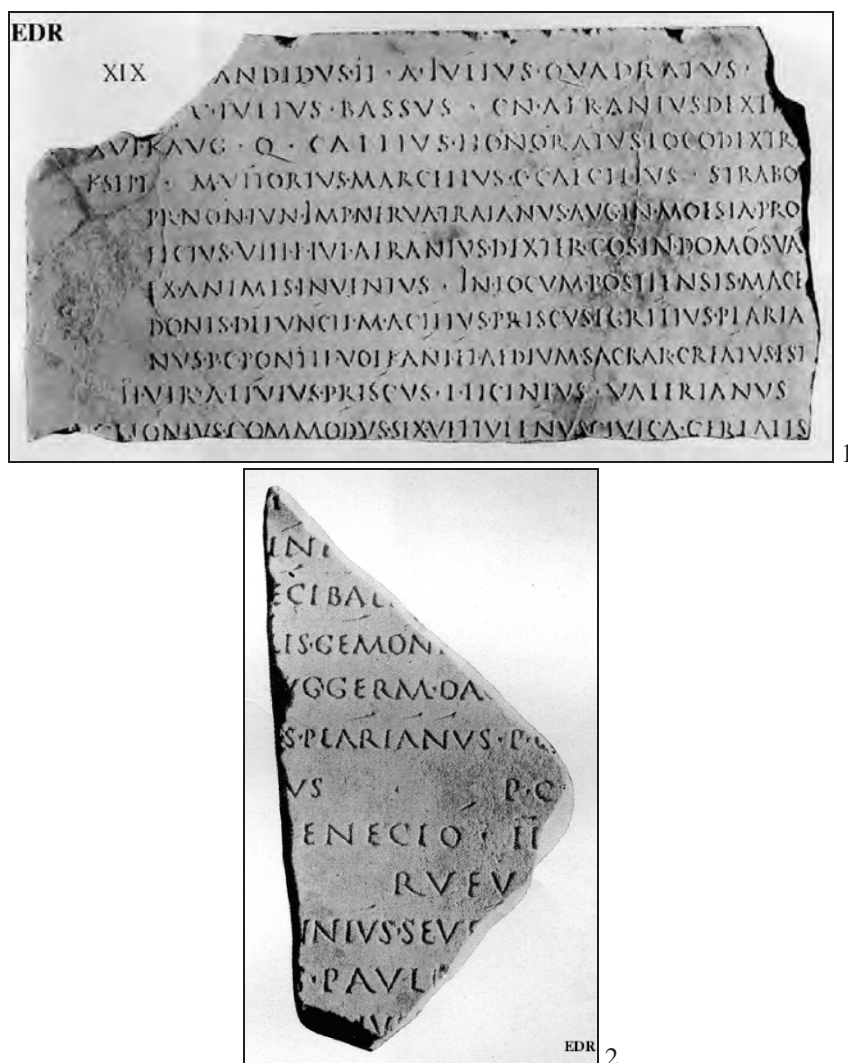


Fig. 2. 1-2. The fragments Ha (above) and Hb (below) of the *Fasti Ostiensis* for the year 106 AD. With permission. Source: Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'Area Archeologica di Roma – Sede di Ostia. (1 – after http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=121611-1&lang=it; 2 – after http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=121611-3&lang=it) (Accessed: 13.05.2015)

A similar situation occurs in the case of *Fasti Ostiensis* for the year AD 106 (**Fig. 2**) where due to a lack of text various additions have been proposed by the Romanian and foreign epigraphists. The text is: ... [caput] [D]ecibali .../[in sca]lis Gemoni[is]²³... Sometimes, this text is presented as: ... [caput] [D]ecebali ... [regis in sca]lis Gemon[is] [expositum] or [iacuit]²⁴... If the photos of the fragments Ha and Hb from the *Fasti Ostiensis* are carefully examined, one should observe that the last version of the inscription seems improbable. On the other hand, the additions [expositum] or [iacuit] are mere speculations. One cannot deny the possibility that the first word missing in the text could be the word *caput* and the first letter of the second word is *D*,

²³ Vidman 1982, p. 46-47; Degraasi 1963, 5 frag. 19-20.

²⁴ Petolescu 2010, p. 750-751.

but given the condition of the marble block, many doubts arise. On one hand, the missing word could acquire countless meanings, such as: sword, shield, sister, warriors, and so on. It is appreciated that two thirds from this section of the inscription are missing. Therefore, the room for speculations is huge. It is quite clear the fact that we deal with a long horizontal inscription and the fragments in discussion are exactly one above the other. And here are not missing just a word or two, but an entire line. Therefore, many problems and questions arise. And last but not least, Decebalus is a very common name in the Thraco-Dacian world, therefore completing another missing space using the word *regis*, seems risky. The hypothesis of a premature death of the Dacian king is not unlikely but the proofs are of indirect nature since Dio Cassius gives no year for Decebalus's suicide and according to the tomb stone of Ti. Claudius Maximus found at Grammeni in Macedonia, this soldier has been discharged by D. Terentius Scaurianus, not by Iulius Sabinus²⁵. Thus, this entire situation eventually raises the number of questions about the sequence of events and gives no answer. A proof of indirect nature in the favour of a later death of the Dacian king is his despotic character and what this implied. This comes to light when the problem of the leadership after his disappearance is considered. On one hand the inscription from Corinth seems to support at least the year 107 AD as the year in which Dacia was totally conquered. But on the other hand, who could be the ones to take the reins of leadership to fill the power void and continue the fight after his death? Absolutely no source does mention any hostile party; in fact, after starting the wars probably the only Dacian names mentioned are those of Decebalus and Bicilis. The rest are men, warriors, allies, Dacian king's sister. This shows why only Trajan and Decebalus are represented as larger characters than the others on the column from Rome. Here another question arises. If Decebalus had a despotic character (probably even becoming high priest at a certain moment), how could have the Dacians continued the war being allied with the Iazyges if he would have died in 106 AD? Who would have been the person with such important political prerogatives to close an alliance with the Iazyges after Decebalus's death if there is no mention of such person?

Arguments in favour of continuing the war. The historiography problem²⁶

Regarding the sources related to the Dacian wars, there is a series of coincidences. Strangely enough from Trajan's *Dacica* only one fragment has been preserved. From *Γετικά*, written by the emperor's physician T. Statilius Crito, again only few fragments are preserved. From Appian's *Roman History*, of the 24 books, just the book 23 about the Dacian wars disappeared. From Arrian we have many works on various topics, but bizarrely the one about the conflicts in Dacia has not been preserved. The intentions of the poet Caninius Rufus (a friend of Pliny the Younger's) and Tacitus to write about this topic have not materialized. Basically, the information on this subject is given by the *Roman History* of Dio Cassius. But even in this case exactly the books LXVII and LXVIII, which referred to Domitian and Trajan, evaporated curiously. What was preserved are only Byzantine summaries or excerpts.

Can all this represent just a long a series of coincidences? However, we are talking about the *Optimus princeps* and about a clear interest from later authors towards military subjects. Perhaps that is why especially military works from Caesar, Frontinus, Arrian or Vegetius still exist. But almost nothing about Trajan. Probably these gaps are

²⁵ Speidel 1970, p. 151.

²⁶ Petolescu 2010, p. 722-723.

speaking for themselves. It is very difficult to give an answer to these questions and therefore one shall refer to the data of archaeological nature, which will be corroborated with the information known at present.

As far as Dio Cassius is concerned, the summary character and the concise style in which he treats the subject of the second Dacian war is striking. We do not know to what extent the style is influenced by those who have transmitted the information to us, but clearly, those who had done it faced great problems, as demonstrated by the incoherence of some of the fragments. On the other hand, most of the ancient authors wrote on various themes except the second Dacian war. These authors, whose works have been preserved, tried to demonstrate knowledge and intellectual possibilities offering details and explanations, which sometimes fall into an encyclopaedism harmful for the work itself, but which for us, nowadays, are extremely valuable as a source of information. The same thing was expected from Trajan, or from those who referred to his rulership, about the Dacian civilization. Unfortunately, this has not happened and it is very difficult to say if the reason is given by the hazard or whether by more compelling reasons for which the imperial propaganda had to hide some certain things (like the fact that the Dacians possibly continued to fight even after Decebalus's death, as it results from the section IV, posing great problems to the Roman army).

Arguments of military nature. This type of argument has no indirect or speculative character and is very representative for the problem in question.

Clearly, what is surprising is the existence of some camps, and of the legionary soldiers in unreasonably large number during peacetime, corroborated with their gradual withdrawal, the unclarities related to veterans, the fact that at least two of the governors of Dacia stayed for some years in military camps, and sometimes also fight.

Undeniable are the two camps, the one in the Hațeg Country (represented by the buildings and defense system from the first wooden phase situated under Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa built in stone phase) and the other from Orăștie Mountains (on the place of Sarmizegetusa Regia). About the first camp one knows that it functioned only in the first wooden phase, the coins dating it most likely in the period between the two wars, and the garrison consisted of *Leg. IIII Flavia Felix*, who also built it, possibly *Leg. XIII Gemina* and auxiliary troops unattested on epigraphic or tegular material, but represented by the specific military equipment, although it may be cavalry troops attached to the legions²⁷.

The camp from Orăștie Mountains seems to have used the Dacian stone fortress, which was double in size, with a garrison composed of *Leg. VI Ferrata*, *Leg. II Adiutrix* and *Leg. IIII Flavia Felix*²⁸. Unfortunately, many times the term of vexillation²⁹ was used unjustified. Obviously, during peacetime is possible that only some parts of the legions effective participated in such tasks, and the tegular material can hardly provide answers. But in this case we deal with a *castrum*, in any case with a military camp, apparently involved in military actions, in which on a few building blocks units are attested and only in one case the term of *vexillatio* is used: *vex(illatio) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(ata)*³⁰. In fact the name of *Leg. IIII Flavia Felix* was preserved on three

²⁷ Băeștean 2012a, p. 131-150.

²⁸ Glodariu *et al.* 1996, p. 79-96, 133-134; Opreanu 2000, p. 79-96.

²⁹ Piso 2000, p. 211-213.

³⁰ IDR III/3, 270.

inscriptions, in two of the cases the term used was clearly *LEG*³¹, in the third the beginning³² is missing. This topic was taken in discussion because, looking for answers and using the assumption of the presence of some vexillations, there have been claims according which *Leg. IIII Flavia Felix* should be located in several places at the same time. One considers that in this case the differentiated use of the terms *vexillatio* and *legio* by the Romans themselves should eliminate an unnecessary discussion; definitely this troop has stationed in the camp from the Hațeg Country, in the one from Orăștie Mountains and in the one from Berzovia, with all the effectives, but at different times. Neither the argument according to which in the fortification from *Sarmizegetusa Regia* would not be room for three legions, is not valid. We do not know very exactly the effectives of a legion during peacetime, and we know even less about the situation during war, if we consider only the possible losses. More difficult seems to be the dating of the operational period for this camp. The interval between the wars does not seem worthy of consideration, because in that moment the legion built the camp in Hațeg Country. On the other hand difficult is also to give an answer to the existence motive of two camps and the legions camped in them even for a minimum period of two years, until the founding of the first urban settlement in Dacia in 108 AD (but this could have happened even in 110-112 AD); harder is to explain the military factor and the fights up to 110 AD or even 112 AD³³. Also unclear is the explanation according to which in 102 AD *Leg. IIII FF* was already stationed at Berzovia, *Sarmizegetusa Regia* was already conquered during the first war and the Dacian kingdom was limited to a small area with the center in the Apuseni Mountains, the second war becoming thus only a formality³⁴. If the second Dacian war was a mere formality, how could be explained the large number of soldiers, military camps, as well as the late appearance of the first civilian element, the *Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa* (108-112 AD given also the years of the magistracy in Dacia of Decimus Terentius Scaurianus); even the first veterans are attested only in 109-110 AD. On the other hand there is absolutely no information that could prove that vexillations of the *Leg. IIII FF* participated almost simultaneously at the construction of three different camps (on the site where later *Colonia Dacica* will be founded, in Orăștie Mountains or at Berzovia). The sizes of the *castrum* from *Sarmizegetusa* (later *Colonia Dacica*) and all the data from this moment currently indicate the presence of the troop, at least in the period between the wars³⁵, in the west of Hațeg Country. Therefore, the only remaining possibility is a presence during the year 106 AD or later. However, for the moment when this camp functioned no data is available to attest with certainty the presence of other legions in the area besides those listed above. One may assume the replacement of *Leg. IIII FF* with the *Leg. XIII G* at *Sarmizegetusa* in the Hațeg Country, but for the moment without arguments.

If the number of legions that participated in the first war is estimated at 13-14, plus many auxiliary troops³⁶, for the second war the situation is not as clear. On one hand one assumes the presence of occupation troops between the wars in the camp from

³¹ IDR III/3, 269b and c.

³² IDR III/3, 269a.

³³ Based on the dating of the D. Terentius Scaurianus's administration period.

³⁴ Opreanu 2006, p. 51-74.

³⁵ Based on the dating with coins from the *principia* and the area of military barracks excavated in the so-called *Insula 3*.

³⁶ Petolescu 2010, p. 730-731.

Orăștie Mountains³⁷ (at Sarmizegetusa Regia), on the other hand, one does not know if one should understand that only these are participating to the second war or should we consider a number of legions similar to those participating in the first war. Building a stone bridge over the Danube in the period between 102-105 AD could not have been intended only to ensure the withdrawal of a number of three or four legions. Not to question the fact that it may be a double-edged weapon, in the sense that it could have been used also by the enemies wishing to penetrate the Empire. The freezing of the Danube waters posed a perpetual threat for the Romans stationed South of the river for many years. Partial destruction of this building during the reign of Hadrian show its strategic role and that is why one considers that its edification has had the leading role of bringing the troops, securing the conquered territory in the Banat region, supplying the camp from Hațeg Country and eventually the soldiers who had to monitorize the compliance of the peace treaties concluded after the first war, camped in the Dacian fortresses area. Under these circumstances, one has to consider that the invasion force should have been at least as large as in the first war. The issue of dating the camp from Orăștie Mountains has been discussed; a restricted kingdom with a new capital cannot be sustained even by the author of the hypothesis³⁸ while the presence of a *castrum* and of *Leg. IIII Flavia Felix* between the wars in Hațeg Country cannot be questioned. If the two camps are still functioning in 106 AD or later means that much of the expeditionary corps was withdrawn and here only peacekeeping troops were left. A certitude is that Decebalus escaped from the claws tightened around its mountain fortresses, a thing which initially was considered of minor importance, but which contributed to the quick foundation of the province. It seems that Trajan made a major mistake with subsequent effects underestimating the organizational capacity and response of the Dacian king. The presence of the three legions (*Leg. VI Ferrata*, *Leg. II Adiutrix* and the *Leg. IIII Flavia Felix*) from Orăștie Mountains, to which could possibly be added *Leg. I Adiutrix*³⁹ or *Leg. XIII Gemina*, is considered the only clear argument, palpable and undeniable in the course of year 106 AD or thereafter within the newly created province. At least until the founding of Sarmizegetusa there is no other information about civilian or other legionary units. Initially Dacia had an important period of time just one legion, only after the Marcomanic wars achieving a maximum of two; this pacification, that lasts at least until the year 108 AD, gets a characteristic more than curious, especially if we consider the fights during the year 107 AD. Therefore, whether we use the term pacification, war or any other, all involve military actions clearly documented. Starting with the handicap of an erroneous opinion, that the foundation of the province means the end of the war, obviously including the death of Decebalus, leads to the idea that all the pacification fights must have had an end in the same year. No matter how numerous the legionary soldiers were, the building of a stone fortification, including baths at *Sarmizegetusa Regia*, is hard to believe that it was done over a very short period of time.

³⁷ Petolescu 2010, p. 738-739.

³⁸ Opreanu 1998, p. 40.

³⁹ IDR III/3, 271. The presence of this unit was taken into consideration on the basis of another building block, on which the representation of the Capricorn appears, the symbol of this legion. But the fact that on this limestone plate some letters appear, without any connection with the legion, should be disregarded at least until the appearance of further evidence. Otherwise this may lead again to a wrong hypothesis like the camping of this troop in Apulum.

Another important problem is the presence or the absence of the veterans in Dacia during the year 106 AD. Firstly, one has to consider the military diplomas from Ranovac⁴⁰ and Porolissum⁴¹, to which the one found in the camp of Românași⁴² should be added. The way in which these two diplomas (from Ranovac and Porolissum) have been treated over the time is full of contradictions. Thus, the first Porolissum diploma⁴³ was initially dated 106 AD, though it was noted that the tribunician power of the Emperor indicated the year 110 AD. Therefore, it was dated in 106 AD but was considered to be released in the year 110 AD.

As it has been already demonstrated, D. Terentius Scaurianus is attested as governor on 17th February 110 AD (CIL XVI, 57 = ILS 2004). The name of this magistrate appears on all military diplomas from Porolissum. The second is dated 2nd July, 110 AD, but it does not represent the object of this study. The first, as already mentioned, contains a discrepancy. Thus, this bears the date 11th August with the appropriate name of the suffect consuls of the year 106 AD L. Minicius Natale and Q. Silvanus Granianus, but the *tribunicia potestas* is that of 110 AD: *trib. potest. XIII, imp. VI, cos. V*. In this case, the privileges are granted, not on discharge, but *ante emerita stip(endia)*. Arthur Stein gives the following explanation for the discrepancy. According to his opinion, the document was initially issued in 106 AD for a soldier *ante emerita stip*. In reality it was not released until 110 AD, at about the same time as the other diploma from Porolissum (which is dated 2nd July 110 AD). Mention should be made of the fact that the lists of witnesses are identical, and the beneficiaries belong to the same troop, namely *coh. I Brittonum milliaria Ulpia torquata civium Romanorum*. Again, according to Stein's and Syme's opinion, Scaurianus was governor as early as August, 106 AD and that was the proof that the Second Dacian War was terminated in this year, 106 AD and "it did not, as some have believed, last into the next year"⁴⁴. Therefore, the last part of the explanation regarding the dating of the magistracy of Scaurianus and implicitly the end of the Second Dacian War is completely wrong, given the fact that the Ranovac diploma has not been yet discovered in 1944 when Stein wrote his *Die Reichsbeamten von Dazien*. Thus, even the mentioning of Scaurianus eliminates any relation with the year AD 106. The delay of the release of this diploma until 110 AD is characterized by serious and objective reasons.

There is also another possibility. According to the text of the first military diploma from Porolissum, the two consuls of the year 106 AD can date the moment in which the Roman citizenship was granted to the soldiers, before their discharge, and the *tribunicia potestate* of the emperor, as well as the governor D. Terentius Scaurianus, date the moment of the discharge itself. The interval of 3 or 4 years between the granting of the citizenship (106 AD) and the discharge (109-110 AD) is too long for some fights of attrition corresponding to the pacification. Probably, the imperial policy implied the detaining under arms of the veterans for a war whose end was hard to predict; the large number of auxiliary troops bearing the epithet *c(ivium) R(omanorum)* confirms this point of view.

⁴⁰ Garbsch 1989, p. 137-151.

⁴¹ IDR I, 1-3.

⁴² IDR I, 4.

⁴³ IDR I, 1; Syme 1946, p. 159.

⁴⁴ Syme 1946, p. 159.

The other two diplomas (the second and the third one from Porolissum) are officially dated 110 AD⁴⁵. On the other hand, the magistracy of Iulius Sabinus can be dated 106/107-109 AD⁴⁶ and therefore a discharge of veterans could have taken place in 109 AD, at least this indicates the diploma from Ranovac, the only amendment being that the soldiers from the time of Iulius Sabinus seem to be kept under arms until Scaurianus. Otherwise, it is difficult to understand the fact that five of the seven witnesses appear on both diplomas from Ranovac and Porolissum, and in the second is clear that the one who discharges the soldiers is Decimus Terentius Scaurianus, the name of Sabinus not even being mentioned. That is why the most logical interpretation of all these documents is a prolongation of the military service. Maybe is not a coincidence the fact that 8 out of 19 cohorts appearing on the Ranovac diploma possess the epithet *c(ivium) R(omanorum)*; the same is valid also for the 7 out of 12 cohorts mentioned on the second diploma from Porolissum, as well as for the 7 out of 23 cohorts on the third diploma from Porolissum. Even the cohort *I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum miliaria civium romanorum equitata* appearing on the Aiton milestone has the same epithet. A plausible answer to this problem is that all these soldiers continued their military service given extraordinary reasons and the granting of the Roman citizenship before the discharge represented for them an important motivation.

Despite this overwhelming evidence, despite the new information provided by the Ranovac military diploma, dated 109 AD, all the time and unanimously the scholars talked about the veterans from 106 AD. So which might be the reason for the release of these documents only between 109-110 AD? Because under these circumstances an important dilemma arises: either we have veterans discharged before the founding of the Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa, or the colony will be founded, but which will be the veterans colonized? And if the foundation of Sarmizegetusa will occur only between 108-110 AD (or even 112 AD), during the administration of the second governor known so far, seems more than unlikely that those soldiers waited somewhere in the Empire until the matter was solved. What could have made those veterans in an unpacified province, where there are still fights and in which no urban settlements will exist for the next few years? Or they agreed to wait under arms for a while until the necessary conditions were met. There were no veterans in 106 AD because the war was not at an end in that year. And if some discharge occurred during the administration of Iulius Sabinus, those former soldiers were probably long gone at the moment of the founding of the city. Also, analyzing the veterans situation from Sarmizegetusa, it appears that at least two of those about 15 known here will establish in Colonia Dacica only in the 3rd century⁴⁷. In fact they are the only ones who can be dated. Neither the fact that the overwhelming majority of the inscriptions dedicated to them are on marble is not an indication for an early dating⁴⁸. Quite on the contrary, in the forum this material will be used in the late Antonine period, after 160 AD⁴⁹. Even though for smaller monuments, marble was used earlier, this does not happen in case of early inscriptions like the one dedicated to the Emperor Trajan on the occasion of the foundation of the forum, this

⁴⁵ IDR I, 2-3.

⁴⁶ Piso 1993, p. 10-13.

⁴⁷ IDR III/2, 113, 391.

⁴⁸ Băeștean, Albulescu 2012, p. 94, 101.

⁴⁹ Etienne, Piso, Diaconescu 2002-2003, p. 96-101; Piso 2006, p. 90-91; Diaconescu, Bota 2009, p. 138.

being on limestone⁵⁰ or in the case of the inscription dedicated to the governor C. Avidius Nigrinus (written on sandstone)⁵¹. Thus, it is hard to believe that the veterans use marble in the same period. However, currently one cannot take into account a colony of veterans, but only a civilian one as is suggested by the ancient authors. If, however, they existed since the beginning of Sarmizegetusa, their role was insignificant. Only half of those known have reached the municipal magistracies, and of these, at least two date from the 3rd century⁵². Current data seems to confirm rather the establishing of veterans after the foundation of Colonia Dacica, but it is not impossible for a small number of veterans to exist at the beginning of the colony, considering that this was happening at the end of a war stage and in that context or a little later the first military diplomas are issued.

Clearly the fact that at least the first two governors of Dacia, Iulius Sabinus and D. Terentius Scaurianus, live in a *castrum*, whatever it will be, cannot plead for an early concluding of the military conflicts. Which was this military camp? For the beginning, three camps can be taken into consideration: the one from Hațeg Country (later Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa), the one from Orăștie Mountains (Sarmizegetusa Regia) and with many reserves the one from Apulum. The reserves regarding the third camp relate to the fact that it is very hard to believe that the legionary troops accompanying the governor will move to the Mureș valley when there are still fights behind them, which require the presence of 3 or 4 legions. Of course, one cannot exclude some actions of auxiliary troops⁵³ outside Orăștie Mountains, but even these seem to take place at a later time after the moving of *Leg. XIII Gemina* to Apulum. So far the first data about a governor, who may have moved his residence here, mentions D. Terentius Scaurianus who dedicated a monument to Jupiter⁵⁴. Under these circumstances, the other two *castra* remain as possible candidates. Perhaps that reference by Dio Cassius to *tò stratopedon en Zarmizegetouse katalipon*⁵⁵ is related to the moment when there were two camps facing the strong comeback of the Dacians allied with the Iazyges. It seems hard to believe that a high magistrate faced with problems of organization of a new province can come in the front line. Instead, remaining in a military camp (where later Colonia Dacica will be founded) located behind the front, to protect the supply lines and communications towards West, possibly

⁵⁰ Diaconescu 2006-2007, p. 95-106.

⁵¹ CIL III 7904 = IDR III/2, 205.

⁵² IDR III/2, 113, 391.

⁵³ The presence of the milestone from Aiton (CIL III 1627), dated 108 AD, probably has nothing to do with the civilians but rather with the military activities. Even if some names of settlements are mentioned, like Potaissa and Napoca, for the year 108 AD it is very hard to believe that we deal with two incipient Roman settlements. In a time when the war was not concluded and the legions were still quartered in the Orăștie Mountains and Hațeg Country, Sarmizegetusa probably was not yet founded, the existence of a Roman civil settlement under the protection of the auxiliary troops did not seem in anyway possible or even credible. Probably we are dealing only with two Dacian toponyms, which appear in Ptolemy (*Geographia* III, 8, 4) as well and which the Romans continued to use. Thus, in this moment of provincial beginning the road can only have had a military significance, *cohors I Flavia Ulpia Hispanorum miliaria civium romanorum equitata* having the role to prepare the way to the North for the bulk of the troops which have just solved the problem of the war with the Dacians in the Orăștie Mountains. Unfortunately, the dating problems represent a redoubtable obstacle in order to get a clear idea about the scale in time and space of these military operations.

⁵⁴ Protase 2010b, p. 46.

⁵⁵ Dio Cassius, *Istoria romană*, LXVIII, 10, 3.

accompanied by reserve troops, seems more likely and reasonably from the point of view of the logic development of the military conflicts⁵⁶.

The delayed urbanization of Dacia. The delayed foundation of the first city in the province, two years after the moment 106 AD at the earliest, raises many questions about the “peace” existing in the area. Neither the delayed foundation of other urban communities is not a sign of stability.

If really Trajan started that process of massive colonization with people from all over the Empire, immediately after the founding of the province, he also needed a territory for them in which to settle. But perhaps a major war in full swing was not taken into account neither by the most pessimistic. The imperial policy either could not recognize that the situation was still not clear. Probably this is why the information on the Dacian wars is so poor and sometimes lacks entirely. It was noted that Trajan was the only one who began the process of colonization while the one who continued it was Hadrian. One cannot exclude a new wave of colonists after the Marcomannic wars (166-180 AD), during the rulership of Commodus, simultaneous with the raising of status of some urban communities in the province of Dacia. It is considered as a characteristic of the entire 2nd century establishing large groups of civilians, especially pilgrims⁵⁷. However, the romanization results will be seen only during the Severan dynasty when most of the urban communities are founded⁵⁸. A certainty is that we have a huge area supervised by two legions and a very important colonization process mentioned by the ancient authors. The fact that *Leg. IIII FF* is withdrawn shortly after 110-112 AD from Dacia, in a moment when the hostilities were probably largely concluded, perhaps in 114 AD, supports a perceptible relief of the situation. Probably only now a part of the colonists will move toward the centre and north of the province. Those remaining in place will become the core of the four settlements for which Sarmizegetusa will be later the mother: Ampelum (Zlatna), one of the two cities from Apulum, Tibiscum (Jupa) and Dierna (Orșova).

It has been assumed that the award of *ius italicum*⁵⁹ to Sarmizegetusa during the reign of Septimius Severus, took place as a compensation for the territorial losses suffered at the expense of other communities detached from its territory. Nevertheless, granting that title, in a moment when the population, probably consisting of numerous civilian colonists under the pressure and stress provoked by a war that was not ending, signifies rather the wish of the emperor to keep there those who were coming. Besides, to Lajos Balla seemed really strange that *ius italicum* was granted for so many urban communities in Dacia, considering that privilege, even for subsequent periods, as a tool to improve the financial situation of the population on one hand, and to keep it in place, on the other⁶⁰. Only the double protection offered by the two legions and the direct benefits must have served as motivation for those colonists to wait in the huge *territorium* of Sarmizegetusa for the war to end. Besides, the motivation according to which the city should benefit from certain rights in order to compensate the territorial losses has not a very solid base. It is true that Colonia Dacica had suffered, but this is rather an abstract concept, because Sarmizegetusa's citizens and especially its

⁵⁶ For further details about the arguments of military nature, see Băeștean 2012b.

⁵⁷ Balla 2000a, p. 88; Balla 2000c, p. 178-179.

⁵⁸ Balla 2000b, p. 134.

⁵⁹ Ardevan 1998, p. 44, 118-119.

⁶⁰ Balla 2000a, p. 90.

businessmen have lost absolutely nothing that meant economical and even political supremacy in the so-called lost territories. As long as the most important citizens from Sarmizegetusa still remain decurions, hold priestly functions or important economic rights in the province, seems very difficult to understand which this loss was⁶¹.



Fig. 3. The inscription from *Forum Claudii Ceutronum*

(after [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$CIL_12_00105.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$CIL_12_00105.jpg)) (Accessed: 11.05.2015)

The epigraphic argument. The inscription from *Forum Claudii Ceutronum* (today, Aime, Département Savoie, France), dated 108 AD (**Fig. 3**), talks about the defeat of the Dacians⁶². The question raised by this epigraph is: why would erect a community located at a considerable distance, and probably not involved or in any case too little involved in the foreign policy of the Roman Empire, with public money, a monument dedicated to the defeat of the Dacians two years after the war ended? One considers that the communication of the news could be regarded as more than acceptable for the Roman civilization. On the other hand, which is the significance of a dedication made so late with respect to an event if it not deals with a celebration of a more recent date, 107 AD or even 108 AD? These doubts seem more justified if we consider the fact that Trajan ordered immediately after the battle of Tapae (and this was carried out immediately) the erection of an altar dedicated to the soldiers, who lost their lives. At this altar, is supposed that sacrifices were being held annually⁶³.

The Column in Rome. On the other hand, an argument at least as pertinent as the military ones regarding a continuation of the fights is supported by the representations on the Column. One considers the scene CLI, where the Dacians and Iazygians appear fighting together as allies against the Romans, in front of a stone

⁶¹ For further details about the delayed urbanization of the Dacian province, see Băeștean 2012b.

⁶² Petolescu 2010, p. 748 and CIL XII, 105. The text is as follows: *Imp(eratori) Caesar/ divi Nervae f(ilio)/ Nervae Traiano/ Aug(usto) Germ(anico) Daci/ co pontifici max(imo) tribunic(iae) potest(atis)/ XII imp(eratori) VI co(n)s(uli) V p(atri) p(atriciae)/ devictis Dacis/ Foroclaud(iensis) pub(lice)*.

⁶³ Dio Cassius, *Istoria romană*, LXVIII, 8, 2.

building reinforced with a palisade⁶⁴. The fact that the events take place in front of stone reinforcements could mean a *castrum* siege, because the barbarians are outside and probably were surprised by the intervention of the support troops sent to aid the beleaguered. This camp may be the one from Orăștie Mountains (Sarmizegetusa Regia) or the one from Hațeg Country (Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa), but the second still had no stonewall. Perhaps this outburst from the Dacians and their allies will detain or even involve directly the emperor until the late spring of 107 AD. About “some allies whose help has come, it seems, too late”⁶⁵ in 106 AD we have no news, but about the military actions directed against the Sarmatians Iazyges one knows data for the year 107 AD. On that occasion the future emperor Hadrian⁶⁶ will be involved as governor of the province Pannonia Inferior, probably the first governor of Dacia, Iulius Sabinus, and it is not impossible that Trajan himself. Probably this must be the explanation for the fact that the Emperor did not leave the Balkans area before the end of May or in early June 107 AD⁶⁷. This event may be taken into account as the famous *secunda expeditio*, though, as it has been already shown, the involvement of the *Leg. XIII Gemina* could indicate even a later moment.

The only question mark arises about the moment when Decebalus committed suicide. On the column, this moment is recorded in the scene CXLV, i.e. at a distance of only six sequences with respect to the one about the continuing fights. But, for example, the scene CXLVII is the one where the head and the right hand of the king are presented to the Roman army. More precisely, the question refers to the possibility of having two different episodes, or whether if it is possible to deal with a single event, that of continuing the fights, during which the suicide of Decebalus occurs. The dissociation of the two problems seems very difficult as long as the Dacian king seems to have concentrated all the power in his hand and none of the information kept so far can support the existence of a political party sufficiently strong, that may have had foreign affairs prerogatives and so well organized as to conclude an alliance with the Iazyges. Besides, the death of Decebalus had immediate consequences, namely a visible relief by withdrawing the troops (but not the total cessation of the fights) and, at the same time, created the opportunities for the founding of the first urban community in Dacia, Colonia Dacica Sarmizegetusa.

The error made again by the scholars was the same, namely the idea that the war ended in 106 AD. Anyway, initially, was difficult to explain the continuation of fights, mostly because the story of Dio Cassius ends abruptly with the suicide of Decebalus and the discovery of the royal treasury, making it even more difficult to explain the presence of the Iazyges as allies in 107 AD. A cliché of the scientific world is that the Dacians and this branch of Sarmatians were in bad relationships because Decebalus took some territories from them even before the start of the second war⁶⁸. Nevertheless, it is very strange that in the same paragraph of Dio Cassius it is told that the Dacian king sent messengers to the neighbours, some being obliged through force to participate in the second war, among them being included also perhaps the Iazyges. Actually, neither Trajan will give back these territories to the Sarmatians. For these reasons, everyone saw in Decebalus a leader that only sought alliances eastwards, especially

⁶⁴ Petolescu 2010, p. 749-750.

⁶⁵ Petolescu 2010, p. 750.

⁶⁶ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Hadr.* 3, 9.

⁶⁷ Bennett 2008, p. 144.

⁶⁸ Dio Cassius, *Istoria romană*, LXVIII, 10, 3.

since the Roxolans participated in first war on the Dacians side⁶⁹. Thus, the Dacian king's interest was not oriented towards the Roxolani anymore, who after the first war confronted with many problems and the subsequent conduct of events shows that the Dacian king's interests concentrated westwards, where since approximately the year 20 AD the Iazyges were living between the Danube and Tisa. It is forgotten that in diplomacy no one and nothing is eternal in nature, everything can change and can be negotiated. Thus, the greatest enemies (the Dacians and the Iazyges) became best friends in terms of a common danger and became again the greatest enemies after overcoming the problems. Perhaps the same thing happened in the case of the triangle formed by the Dacians, Romans and Iazyges, the latter being a lever that tilted the balance towards one side or the other and acting only in its own interest. Both Trajan and later Hadrian had to fight with the Iazyges for the lands in Dacia. Probably Decebalus only speculated this favourable situation and thus demonstrated that he was capable of fighting with a superpower of the times. Denying this alliance (between the Dacians and the Iazyges) is even more strange since one of the scenes on the Column, during the Second Dacian war, was interpreted as depicting Trajan negotiating with eleven messengers, representing six different ethnic groups, among which two Iazyges⁷⁰.



Fig. 4. Scene 151 from Trajan's Column in Rome. With permission. Source: German Archaeological Institute – Rome. Schlechter, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 1 89.26

⁶⁹ Petolescu 2010, p. 750.

⁷⁰ Bennett 2008, p. 140.

Under these circumstances, the episode from the Column where the Dacians and Sarmatians (wearing caps – see **Fig. 4**) fight against Roman troops should be reconsidered. In no case we are dealing with a delayed aid towards the end of year 106 AD from the Roxolans, a theory which is unsupported by the information known so far, but an Iazygian intervention in the winter or spring of 107 AD, hypothesis sustained by the data about the future emperor Hadrian. That the Dacian king's death will occur in late 106 AD or early 107 AD does not matter since the fight of the two populations in form of alliance is quite clear, and this union of interest could not have been validated by someone else other than Decebalus himself. It is possible that the Dacian king was already dead when the Iazygian intervention took place; that was due to Trajan's refusal to return the territories required by them, but the alliance already existed in Decebalus's lifetime.

Anyway, over the last 25 years, Trajan's Column in Rome stirred up many discussions on various subjects like: the position of the Column in relation with the leveling works between the *Campidoglio* and *Quirinale* or even the moment in which the frieze on the column was carved. There are opinions according to which this frieze was carved during Hadrian's reign⁷¹. Thus, one can consider the interest of the former governor, now emperor, of presenting his merits related to events at which he personally took part. Under these circumstances, the presentation of the events which might have occurred in 107 AD is not pointless or fortuitous.

The second triumph of Trajan. It is very strange that the celebration of this important event starts on the 25th of May or 26th of June 107 AD, during the distribution of the third *congiarium*, when 332 pairs of gladiators during the two *munera* will entertain the *plebs*, the second *munera* lasting 12 days. But really strange is that a third *munus* attended by 340 pairs of gladiators will take place for 13 days before 30th of March 108 AD. These coincidences seem strange, but might be accepted given the delayed return of Trajan to Rome. However, the fact that between June 108 AD and the 1st of November 109 AD, 117 days of shows will be held, attended by 4941 pairs of gladiators, and in which 11000 wild and tamed beasts lost their life, three years after the so-called end of the war, can hardly be a coincidence. Moreover, on the 11th of November 109 AD the construction of a *naumachia* was inaugurated and for 6 days 127 pairs of gladiators fought; basically the celebration of the conquest of Dacia will end on the 24th of November 109 AD⁷².

If the war had ended in 106 AD, then how can be explained that between 107 AD and March 108 AD the number of days and participants at shows is much, much smaller than those between 108 AD and 109 AD, the peak being recorded at the end of this interval? Could it be a mere coincidence that a community from Gaul dedicated a monument in the honour of the victory against the Dacians in 108 AD? Could it be just a momentary fit that between 109 AD and 110 AD the first military diplomas are issued and, perhaps, now we deal with the first veterans? And again coincidentally until 108-109 AD the legends on the coins were *Dacia Capta* and from 112 AD these become *Dacia Augusti Provincia*⁷³? And about the same time also the *Leg. IIII Flavia Felix* is withdrawn?

⁷¹ Claridge 1993; Wilson Jones 1993, p. 23.

⁷² Bennett 2008, p. 144.

⁷³ Woytek 2010, p. 334, 421-422.

Conclusions. It will be very difficult to provide an end to this argument without repeating again what is disclosed by the facts preserved.

Thus, one shall try based on the successive withdrawal of the legions to offer the deployment stages of continuing the war after year 106 AD.

Clearly, we confront with a great enigma of the ancient history. All the problems relating to the completion of the second conflict between the Romans and Dacians end with major gaps or with strange and illogical issues, that cannot offer yet a credible version of the interpretation of the events.

Regarding what was preserved from the ancient authors, one cannot judge a nonexistent information, but we can wonder if this information ever existed in the entire form and how just certain parts have disappeared from several authors at the same time, or how could others have given up writing about this subject? The argumentation has an indirect nature, and should draw the attention that there are too many coincidences and the lack of information speaks for itself.

The military argument and the one offered by the Column provide direct data. And here one refers to tangible things like camps or military diplomas; one has to take into consideration the mention of legionary effectives, which have remained in Dacia incomplete pacified at the time, while the monument from Rome presents clearly an event that spans also into the year AD 107. Regardless of the counter-arguments or reinterpretations brought to this theory, the ending of the conflict in 106 AD seems impossible and unacceptable.

It is true that the delayed urbanization of Dacia, the epigraphic argument or the celebration of the emperor's second triumph in Rome have all an indirect nature, but oddly fit very well with the presence or withdrawal of the legions from north of the Danube. Even if these do not have the same weight as the tangible evidences left by the army and the battles fought by the legionaries, this type of proofs is designed to complete a part too little known about the early years of the Dacia province.

Just as in the modern military conflicts, one considers that the conclusion of the second war between the Romans and the Dacians had many stages and phases. Even if we do not know the exact number of legions in the second confrontation, the adoption of the idea that this was a mere formality for the Romans could result in the hypothesis that the occupation army between the wars would have been sufficient for this second war. The presence of some generals as Licinius Sura, Claudius Livianus or Sosius Senecio, along with consulars like L. Fabius Justus, L. Herennius Saturninus, P. Metilius Nepos and Cn. Pompeius Longinus, the possible creation of the legions *II Traiana Fortis* and *XXX Ulpia Victrix*, not necessarily directly involved in the fighting, but which replaced the withdrawn units, the organization of some *nationes* and *symmachiarii* with permanent effective, like the *numeri*⁷⁴, are sufficient arguments to take into account a number of legionnaires comparable to the participants in the first war. This army of invasion certainly had to face the surprise attacks of the Dacians and to strengthen the back of the front with defense works or *clausurae*, or even to cope with desperate episodes like the attempt to assassinate Trajan or the abduction of Cn. Pompeius Longinus. But the hard part was to conquer, or rather to complete the process begun during the first conflict, the system of fortifications from Orăștie Mountains. The occupation of the mountain fortresses probably was considered sufficient to break the will of the Dacians, their leader himself seeking refuge in flight.

⁷⁴ Bennett 2008, p. 138-140.

This must have been the reason for which the proclamation of the founding of the Dacia province was hurried along with the withdrawal of most of the legions in the area, so ending the first phase of the war. The first governor, Iulius Sabinus, very probably stationing in the Hațeg Country camp with 3 or 5 legions, considering the *Leg. I Adiutrix* and *Leg. XIII Gemina*, had the task of pacifying the region and catches the fugitive king. Only that Decebalus in virtue of an alliance with the Iazyges which, if we take into account the Column, already existed or, in any case, was restored after escaping from the Roman siege, returned in force and probably attacked the *castrum* from Orăștie Mountains or Banat (in an unknown location at present) areas. Perhaps this started at the end of 106 AD, perhaps at the beginning of 107 AD, but clearly at the beginning of this year a forceful intervention took place attended also by Hadrian, surprising the attackers between the legions in the camp and the relief ones. The Dacian king's death seems more likely in this moment, because it provoked an obvious relief which coincided with the founding of the first provincial city and the withdrawal of *Leg. VI Ferrata* and *II Adiutrix*. Now, the second important phase of the war was concluded by eliminating the totalitarian and undisputed leader of the Dacians. The third stage will follow, namely the consolidation of what was succeeded at that time and to push the boundaries, maybe the Iazyges too, further North. After solving the problems from the Hațeg Country and Orăștie Mountains and after the founding of the Colonia Dacica, the second governor, D. Terentius Scaurianus, will head to Apulum accompanied by the *Leg. XIII Gemina* which, as already mentioned, at the beginning of 107 AD could have been part of the garrison from Sarmizegetusa (afterwards Colonia Dacica, but for now with no direct evidence). More difficult to solve at this moment is the issue about *Leg. I Adiutrix* because its presence is not very clear either in the camp from Orăștie Mountains, nor in the one from Apulum, where the tegular stamps are still disputed. Clearly, however, we know about the displacement of the *Leg. IIII Flavia Felix* to Berzovia. Thus, it was outlined the huge *territorium* of Sarmizegetusa between both legionary camps (from Apulum and Berzovia). Even if it is just a theoretical issue for now, the only logical explanation for a situation about an area where two protective legions are attested is the possible granting of *ius italicum* for Colonia Dacica since the beginning; the absence of other cities and the subsequent detachment from its territory of the big city of 4 cores that will result in as many urban communities should be taken into account as the place where the civilian colonists awaited the ending of the military conflict. Practically, this proves that the colonization begun by the emperor Trajan could not have been directed towards the centre and the north of the province due to the military conflict. The fact that this colonization was made with civilians and not veterans is related again to the military diplomas which show that up to 108 AD and probably till the beginning of 109 AD there were no veterans. There are also opinions according to which Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa was a city founded with veterans and no military camp existed on its site prior to this foundation. But it is this very camp that sustains the idea of a protracted war, a camp that will function till the foundation of the city. This military fort did not have a stone phase. Beginning with the second wooden phase, the civilians began to settle while the city will be developed according to the known plan, without any extension to the West. This is proven by the archaeological diggings from 1970-1980 where in a section of 60 m the fortification system of the camp came to light, while no trace of a stone wall emerged, hence no stone phase for the *castrum*.

On the other hand, it is very difficult to say whether the third phase of the war consisted in open confrontations with the Dacians or Iazyges or of the dispossession of land of the local tribes and the construction of the limes. That is because historical and archaeological data does not help. The fact that a single legion, possibly two, with the support of auxiliary troops could put an end to the conflict seems to indicate more probably the second option. In any case, one cannot discuss about fights of great magnitude during this stage. What was the duration of this stage? It is harder to say whether the inscription from *Forum Claudii* is related to the second phase or to the last one. Surely its conclusion is in relation with the years 109-110 AD, when the celebration of the conquest of Dacia comes to an end and the first military diplomas are released. The legends on coins also change and the *Leg. IIII Flavia Felix* is withdrawn while the *castrum* from Apulum and the auxiliary ones will ensure for a long time the defensive of the province.

Therefore, an answer to the question: what was the duration of the second war between the Romans and the Dacians?, one should say that we are dealing with a war between 105-109 AD. Of course, major conflicts have occurred at least until 107 AD, only that the role of the wars conducted by the Romans, and probably not just by them, was not only the one to conquer a capital and a territory, but to annihilate any resistance and any will to resist.

ANNEX

Appendix 1. The majuscule transcription of the Ranovac Roman military diploma (14th of October 109 AD) Source: EDH <<http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD024969>> (Accessed: 08.07.2015)

IMP CAESAR DIVI NERVAE F NERVA TRAI
ANVS AVG GERM DACICVS PONTIF MAXIM
TRIBVNIC POTESTAT XIII IMP VI COS V P P
EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITAVERVNT
IN ALIS TRIBVS ET COHORTIBVS DECEM ET SEX
QVAE APPELLANTVR I C R ET II FLAVIA COMMA
GENOR SAGITTARIA ET II PANNONIOR VETERA
NA ET I BRITTONVM | VLPIA TORQVATA C R ET
ET I BRITANNICA | C R ET I ITVRAEOR ET I THRA
CVM C R ET I AVG ITVRAEOR ET I VINDELICOR C R
P F ET I PANNONIOR VETERANA ET I MONTANOR
ET II GALLOR PANNONICA ET II HISPANOR ET II
BRITANNOR | C R P F ET II GALLOR MACEDONICA
ET III CAMPESTRIS C R ET IIII CYPRIA C R ET V
GALLOR ET VIII RAETORVM ET SVNT IN DACIA
SVB D TERENCE SCAVRIANO QVINIS ET VICENIS
PLVRIBVSVE STIPENDIIS EMERITIS DIMISSIS
HONESTA MISSIONE A IVLIO SABINO QVORVM
NOMINA SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBERIS POSTE
RISQVE EORVM CIVITATEM DEDIT ET CONVBIUM
CVM VXORIBVS QVAS TVNC HABVISSENT CVM
EST CIVITAS IIS DATA AVT SI QVI CAELIBES ESSENT

CVM IIS QVAS POSTEA DVXISSENT DVMTAXAT
 SINGVLI SINGVLAS PR IDVS OCT
 C IVLIO PROCVLO
 C ABVRNIO VALENTE COS
 COH I MONTANOR CVI PRAEST
 CORNELIVS FELICIOR
 EX PEDITE
 M HERENNIO M F POLYMITAE BERENS
 ET IANVARIO F EIVS ET MARCELLO F EIVS
 ET LVCANAE FIL EIVS
 SCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVLA AENE
 A QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE IN MVRO POST TEM
 PLVM DIVI AVG AD MINERVAM

IMP CAESAR DIVI NERVAE F NERVA TRAIANVS
 AVG GERM DACICVS PONTIF MAX TRIBVNIC PO
 TESTAT XIII IMP VI COS V P P
 EQVITIBVS ET PEDITIBVS QVI MILITAVERVNT IN
 ALIS TRIBVS ET COHORTIBVS DECEM ET SEX
 QVAE APPELLANTVR I C R ET I FLAVIA COMMA
 GENOR SAGITTARIA ET II PANNONIOR VETERA
 NA ET I BRITTONVM | VLPIA TORQVATA C R
 ET I BRITANNICA | C R ET I ITVRAEOR ET I THRA
 CVM C R ET I AVG ITVRAEOR ET I VINDELICOR
 C R P F ET I PANNONIOR VETERANA ET I MON
 TANOR ET II GALLOR PANNONICA ET II HISPA
 NOR ET II BRITANNOR | C R P F ET II GALLO
 RVM MACEDONICA ET III CAMPESTRIS C R ET
 IIII CYPRIA C R ET V GALLORVM ET VIII RAE
 TORVM ET SVNT IN DACIA SVB D TERENTIO
 SCAVRIANO QVINIS ET VICENIS PLVRIBVS
 VE STIPENDIIS EMERITIS DIMISSIS HONES
 TA MISSIONE A IVLIO SABINO QVORVM

NOMINA SVBSCRIPTA SVNT IPSIS LIBE
 RIS POSTERISQVE EORVM CIVITATEM DEDIT
 ET CONVBIVM CVM VXORIBVS QVAS TVNC HA
 BVISSENT CVM EST CIVITAS IIS DATA AVT SI QV[]
 CAELIBES ESSENT CVM IIS QVAS POSTEA DV
 XISSENT DVMTAXAT SINGVLI SINGVLAS
 PR IDVS OCT
 C IVLIO PROCVLO
 C ABVRNIO VALENTE COS
 COH I MONTANOR CVI PRAEST
 CORNELIVS FELICIOR
 EX PEDITE

M HERENNIO M F POLYMITAE BERENS
 ET IANVARIO ET MARCELLO F EIV[]
 ET LVCANAE FIL EIVS
 DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVL[]
 AENEA QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE

TI IVLI VRBANI
 P CORNELI ALEXANDRI
 L PVLLI VERECVNDI
 P ATINI AMERIMNI
 C IVLI PARATI
 C TVTICANI SATVRNINI
 M IVLI CLEMENTIS

Appendix 2. The majuscule transcription of the Porolissum Roman military diploma (110 AD) Source: EDH <<http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD020352>> (Accessed: 08.07.2015)

IMP CAESAR DIVI NERVAE F NERVA TRAIA
 NVS AVGVSTVS GERMANIC DACICVS
 PONTIF MAXIMVS TRIBVN POTEST
 XIII IMP VI COS V P P
 PEDITIBVS ET EQVITIBVS QVI MILITANT
 IN COHORTE I BRITTONVM MILLIARIA
 VLPIA TORQVATA P F CIVIVM ROMA
 NORVM QVAE EST IN DACIA SVB D
 TERENTIO SCAVRIANO QVORVM NO
 MINA SVBSCRIPTA SVNT PIE ET FIDELI
 TER EXPEDITIONE DACICA FVNCTIS
 ANTE EMERITA STIPENDIA CIVITA
 TEM ROMANAM DEDIT
 A D III IDVS AVG
 DARNITHITHI
 L MINICIO NATALE
 Q SILVANO GRANIANO COS
 PEDITI
 M VLPIO ADCOBROVATI F NOVANTICONI RATI
 DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TA
 BVLA AENEA QVAE FIXA EST RO
 MAE IN MVRO POST TEMPLVM
 DIVI AVG AD MINERVAM

IMP CAESAR DIVI NERVAE F NERVA TRAIA
 NVS AVGVST GERMAN DACIC PONTIFEX
 MAXIM TRIBVNIC POTESTATIS XIII
 IMP VI COS V P P

PEDITIBVS ET EQVITIBVS QVI MILITANT
 IN COHORTE I BRITTONVM MILLIARIA
 VLPIA TORQVATA P F CIVIVM ROMANO
 RVM QVAE EST IN DACIA SVB D TERENCE
 SCAVRIANO QVORVM NOMINA SVB
 SCRIPTA SVNT PIE ET FIDELITER EX
 PEDITONE DACICA FVNCTIS ANTE

EMERITA STIPENDIA CIVI
 TATEM ROMANAM DEDIT
 A D III IDVS AVG
 DARNITHITHI
 L M NATALE
 Q SILVANO GRANIANO COS
 PEDITI
 M VLPIO ADCOPROVATI F NOVANTICO RATIS
 DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX TABVLA AE
 NEA QVAE FIXA EST ROMAE

P CORNELI ALEXANDRI
 L PVLLI VERECVNDI
 P ATINI AMERIMNI
 C TVTICANI SATVRNINI
 L PVLLI TROPHIMI
 C IVLI PARATI
 M IVNI EVTYCHI

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Despre al doilea război daco-roman (105-...)

Rezumat

Despre o încheiere prematură a celui de-al doilea război dintre daci și romani se vorbește aproape în orice sursă bibliografică, fie că ne referim la cele în limba română, fie în alte limbi de circulație. Marea problemă, însă, a tuturor acestor surse este lipsa unei argumentări sau a unor argumente cu caracter direct, care să dovedească o astfel de afirmație.

Ca argumente pentru încheierea războiului la 106 am constatat că sunt două informații, ambele de natură indirectă și care, din punctul nostru de vedere, cu greu pot fi legate de evenimentul în cauză. Diploma militară de la Porolissum se referă la oferirea cetățeniei romane unor soldați, specificându-se destul de clar faptul că ei vor

rămâne în continuare în serviciu militar activ. Ceea ce este și mai ciudat, data de 11 august 106 a fost folosită chiar pentru a data fondarea provinciei. Credem că este legitim să ne punem întrebarea, cum pot data fondarea provinciei niște soldați care rămân în continuare în serviciu militar activ? Cu atât mai mult cu cât puterea tribuniciană a împăratului datează diploma în anul 110. Desigur, nu punem sub semnul întrebării fondarea provinciei în anul 106, doar data de 11 august. Al doilea argument este o inscripție de la Corint, în care se vorbește de o cucerire totală a Daciei. Deocamdată, pe baze destul de precare, respectiv a unui nume care nu este întreg, această inscripție este datată cel mai devreme la 107. Iar faptul că soldatul amintit face parte din legiunea XIII Gem., în nici un caz nu este un argument pentru o datare timpurie. Atât timp cât totul se data la 106, încheierea războiului, fondarea Sarmizegetusei, primul guvernator al Daciei este Decimus Terentius Scaurianus, consolidarea limesului, poate că astfel de afirmații ar fi putut avea un fundament, slab, dar există. Diploma de la Ranovac a făcut ca multe dintre aceste afirmații să se clatine serios (**Fig. 1**).

Prezența unui castru între cele două războaie și după aceea, la Sarmizegetusa sau existența unor lupte, ce apar pe Columna de la Roma (**Fig. 4**), după sinuciderea lui Decebal, aici vorbim de argumente de ordin direct, ne-au făcut să ne punem întrebări foarte serioase referitoare la încheierea celui de-al doilea război dintre romani și daci și chiar la începuturile provinciei Dacia. Chiar dacă sunt de ordin indirect, informații precum urbanizarea întârziată a provinciei, o inscripție din Gallia care atestă o înfrângere a dacilor în anul 108 (**Fig. 3**), încheierea triumfului la Roma abia în anul 109, primele diplome militare care atestă lăsări la vatră sunt pentru anii 109-110, inclusiv ciudățeniile legate de istoriografia subiectului, precum și alte astfel de probleme, considerăm că sunt suficiente pentru a supune întrebărilor o temă insuficient discutată. În orice caz, în baza acestor argumente de natură directă și indirectă, noi am ajuns la concluzia unui război purtat în mai multe faze. Având în vedere faptul că, în perioada 106-109, datele sunt extrem de sărace (**Fig. 2**), iar din 109-110 încep să apară tot mai multe, considerăm că răspunsul pus în titlul materialului este acela că, acest război cu toate fazele sale de desfășurare, va dura până spre anul 109.

Lista ilustrațiilor

Fig. 1. 1-2. Diploma militară de la Ranovac datată 14 octombrie 109 p.Chr. (1 – după [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$AE_1987_00854_1.jpg;\\$AE_1987_00854_2.jpg&nr=2](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$AE_1987_00854_1.jpg;$AE_1987_00854_2.jpg&nr=2); 2 – după [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$AE_1987_00854_1.jpg;\\$AE_1987_00854_2.jpg&nr=1](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$AE_1987_00854_1.jpg;$AE_1987_00854_2.jpg&nr=1)) (Accesat: 08.07.2015)

Fig. 2. 1-2. Fragmentele Ha (deasupra) și Hb (dedesubt) din *Fasti Ostienses* pe anul 106 p. Chr. Cu permisiune. Sursa: Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'Area Archeologica di Roma – Sede di Ostia. (1 – după http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=121611-1&lang=it; 2 – după http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=121611-3&lang=it) (Accesat: 13.05.2015) The fragments Ha (above) and Hb (below) of the *Fasti Ostienses* for the year 106 AD

Fig. 3. Inscripția de la *Forum Claudii Ceutronum* (după [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$CIL_12_00105.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$CIL_12_00105.jpg)) (Accesat: 11.05.2015)

Fig. 4. Scena 151 de pe Columna lui Traian de la Roma. Cu permisiune. Sursa: German Archaeological Institute – Rome. Schlechter, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 1 89.26