Cicero’s passage prompts more general questions about the economic and social consequences of Sullan colonisation. To discuss them in further detail, it is now worth dealing with the evidence we have for the colonial foundations decided by Sulla after the Civil War. Unfortunately, it is incomparably less rich and less detailed than that for the triumviral or Augustan colonial programme.¹

Appian says that Sulla settled 120,000 veterans throughout Italy.² The reliability of this figure has been questioned; Kromayer has reckoned that 100,000 veterans were settled, Brunt has argued that they were 80,000.³ At any rate, it seems certain that the settlers belonged to twenty-three legions, as Appian records, and they were assigned a large amount of land in the territories of the cities, some of it being still undivided, and some of it being withdrawn from the cities in punishment.⁴

¹ Keppie 1983, 49–86.
² App. b. c. 1.104.489: ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν δυώδεκα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἦσαν (“there were 120,000 men throughout Italy”).
³ Kromayer 1914, 160; Brunt 1971, 305. On the reliability of the figure, see also Krawczuk 1960, 53–56 and Keppie 1983, 39; the scepticism of Hirschfeld 1913 is probably excessive (Krawczuk 1960, 54, fn. 14). Chouquer 1987, 302 suggests that the Sullan land division covered between 100,000 and 300,000 iugera, but see Gabba 1994a, 197–201 on the unreliability of this kind of estimates.
⁴ App. b. c. 1.100.470: τέλεσι τ/ος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτ/ος στρατευσαμέν/ος τρισὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπένεμεν, ὃς μοι προείρηται, πολλὴν ἐν ταῖς πώλεις γῆν, τὴν μὲν ἐτὶ οὐδὲν ἀνέμητον, τὴν δὲ τὰς πώλεις ἀφαιροῦμενος (“he distributed a great deal of land in the various cities to the twenty-three legions that had served under him, as I have already related; some of the land was still undivided, and some was confiscated from the cities”). Appian consistently uses the verb ἐπινέμειν to refer to land assignments to veterans (as opposed to διαιρεῖν and διανέμειν, which he uses in other contexts); Senatore 2004, 92–96. The figure of twenty-three legions is certainly more reliable than that of forty-seven given in Liv. Per. 89,12: XLVII legiones in agros captos deduxit et eos his diuisit (“he settled forty-seven legions in the conquered territories and he apportioned the land among them”). This XLVII may well be a corruption of XXIII: Krawczuk 1960, 54–55; Harmand 1967, 445, fn. 43; 471–472, fn. 243. It is interesting however, that Livy’s emphasis is on the land assignments, rather than on the foundation of colonies. Brunt 1971, 305 speculates that each legion was settled in a different colony, and that the Sullan colonies may actually be twenty-three in total.
The sources of the land used for these assignments are clearly identified by Appian: the *ager publicus* and some of the *ager* of the cities that Sulla punished for their stance during the Civil War. As Brunt has noted, there is no evidence that the estates confiscated in the proscriptions were assigned to the veterans.

It is significant that Appian does not explicitly mention the foundation of colonies, but speaks of land assignments. Since we know that Sulla created at least a dozen colonies, this passage could seem odd, or inaccurate; after all, the *Epitome* of Livy clearly states that Sulla *colonias deduxit*. In fact, Appian provides an interpretation which regards the foundation of the colonies as part of a wider process, whereby Sulla assigned land to his soldiers in many areas of Italy, not necessarily accompanying the assignment with the foundation of a colony. Moreover, all the known Sullan colonies, except Urbana in Campania and Aleria in Corsica, were founded on the territories of already existing communities. It is surely significant that Cicero once referred to the Sullan colonies with the verb *constituere*, normally used for *municipia*, instead of *deducere*.

For the sake of clarity, I will organise the list of the communities affected by Sulla’s colonial programme into four categories.

A. Here follows a list of the certain Sullan colonies, in alphabetical order.

*Aleria.* “Corsica… is sixty-two miles from Vada Volaterrana, has thirty-two communities, and the colonies of Mariana, founded by Gaius Marius, and Aleria, founded by the dictator Sulla.” Nothing else is known about this community, certainly founded as a response to the Colonia Mariana, which, however, appears not to have been dismantled after the defeat of the Mariani.