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ALA I PANNONIORVM – ONE OR MANY?

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## ALA I PANNONIORVM - ONE OR MANY?

When Conrad Cichorius compiled a list of auxiliary cavalry units of the Roman Empire for *Realencyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*,<sup>1</sup> he was not sure how many units of Pannonians he ought to consider. There was an ala Flavia Pannoniorum, but this, he noted, was only mentioned once on an inscription, CIL iii 3223, from Bassiana, though CIL iii 3222 might well refer to the same unit. He thought that this unit could be identical with ala Pannoniorum and that the "Beiname" of Flavia was given by Domitian.

But two other alae Pannoniorum were known; a unit of the Cappadocian army was mentioned by Tacitus, and another, named on the diploma for Moesia in 99, was probably stationed at Troesmis. Then in addition, three alae I Pannoniorum, a British, an African and a Danubian, were recorded and this made it important to differentiate between them. Then there was an ala I Pannoniorum in Numidia for which there were eight inscriptions.

Conrad Cichorius had now identified six units of Pannonian cavalry; three using the title I Pannoniorum, in Britannia, in Africa and in the Balkans; two using the simple Pannoniorum, in Cappadocia and in Pannonia, and one using the title Flavia Pannoniorum. Flavia Pannoniorum was, however, a misapprehension. CIL iii 3223 from Kraljevec (= Bassiana) is the tombstone of Iul. Aelius, du-plic., (v.45) of -L FL PANN which appears to refer to an ala Flavia Pannoniorum, but Chester G. Starr<sup>2</sup> claimed that the deceased was a duplicarius of the classis Flavia Pannonica which is much more likely.

More than fifty years after Cichorius, Konrad Kraft<sup>3</sup> noted that the Balkan ala I Pannoniorum was in Dalmatia before being moved to Pannonia by mid-First Century and was apparently identical with the unit in Moesia at the end of the First Century. With this summary, Géza Alföldy<sup>4</sup> agreed, and so more recently did Barnabás Lőrincz.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile the evidence for the Numidian ala I Pannoniorum and the discussion of the inscriptions had increased. Patrick Le Roux<sup>6</sup> discussing Spaniards enrolled in I Pannoniorum, was uncertain where the unit was, except that it was not in Hispania. The difference which 90 years of archaeological exploration can make is shown by Yann Le Bohec<sup>7</sup> who in contrast to Cichorius' eight inscriptions, listed 33, of which 29 were found in Africa. This did not include CIL viii 20144 which, quoting AE 1964,225, he attributed to coh. I Pannoniorum. He suggested despite the mysterious silence of the African texts, that

<sup>1</sup> *Realencyclopädie I*, 1, cols. 1253-55.

<sup>2</sup> *The Roman Imperial Navy 31 B C - AD 324*, Cambridge, (1960), 48, 161.

<sup>3</sup> *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau*, Bern (1951), 155.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Auxiliartruppen der Provinz Dalmatien*, A.A.A.S.H. 14, Budapest (1962), 262.

<sup>5</sup> *Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve*, Budapest (1990), 75.

<sup>6</sup> *L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces Ibériques*, Paris (1982), 189,190.

<sup>7</sup> *Les unités auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Afrique du Nord*, Paris (1989), 37.

Augustus raised the unit and sent it immediately as a support unit for legio III Augusta in Africa.

Before looking at the epigraphic evidence for ala I Pannoniorum as a whole, it seems sensible to make the following points. First, if the unit was raised by Augustus and disbanded by Diocletian it was in existence for around three centuries in the course of which, conditions did not remain static and some changes must be expected. Secondly, fashions may determine names more easily than bureaucracy conserves them. Thirdly, the informal name is often less expensive to carve than the formal. This means that inscriptional evidence has a value which is based on its nature; official inscriptions paid for by the state have greater testimony than private inscriptions which are funded by an individual.

The official evidence for the whereabouts of any unit between the accession of Vespasian and the demise of Commodus is to be found on a diploma some of which have been recovered, though none for Numidia. For ala I Pannoniorum in Europe there is only one diploma; CIL xvi 44, issued on 14 August 99, for Moesia Inferior, lists I PANNONIORVM as the second of three alae with men who had completed their service.

The diplomas for Moesia Inferior are as follows:

Moesia Inferior

CIL xvi 44	99 Aug 14	3 units	GALLORVM FLAVIANA et I PANNONIORVM et II HISPANORVM ET ARVACORVM
CIL xvi 50	105 May 13	3 units	I CLAVDIA GALLORVM et I VESPASIANA DARDANORVM et GALLORVM FLAVIANA
CIL xvi 83	138 Feb 28	3 units	[2 names missing] et II HIS ARV
RMD 50	157	5 units	-- LL ET PANN et I GALL ATE ---- et -- ----- ARVAC et I VESPASIA DAR --- et -----

in which there is no trace of I PANNONIORVM after 99. The diplomas for Moesia Superior also are silent on the subject of I Pannoniorum:

Moesia Superior

CIL xvi 46	100 May 83	3 units	PRAETORIA et I CLAVDIA NOVA et II PANNONIORVM
CIL xvi 54	103/107	2 units	PRAETORIA SINGVLARVM et -----
CIL xvi 111	159/160	2 units	I CLAVDIA NOVA et

RMD 55	161 Feb 8	2 units	I GALLOR FLAVIAN I CL NOVA MISCELL et GALL FLAVIAN
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so the inescapable conclusion is that no troopers from I Pannoniorum were serving in Moesia when the time came for their receipt of citizenship. One can go further and suggest that the unit had left Moesia after 99 and before 105. The Dacian campaigns of Trajan are assumed to have begun in 105, but Dacia provides no resting place for I Pannoniorum:

Dacia

CIL xvi 57	110 Feb 17	2 units	I CIVIVM ROMANORVM et I AVG ITVRAEORVM
CIL xvi 163	110 Jul 02	4 units	I AVG ITVRAEOR I CLAVDIA et I BRITANNICA CR et II PANNONIOR VETERANA

Dacia Inferior

CIL xvi 75	129 Mar 22	1 unit	I HISP
RMD 39	140 Dec 13	2 units	I AST ET HISP et I CLAVD GALL CAPIT

Dacia Porolissensis

RMD 35	133 Jul 02	2 units	SILIA C R et I TVNGR FRONTON
RMD 47	154 Sep 27	3 units	----- et -- GALL ET PANN-- - ---- -RONT
RMD 64	164 Jul 21	3 units	II GALLOR ET PANNON et SILIAN C R et I TVNGR FRONT

Dacia Superior

CIL xvi 108	158 Jul 08	3 units	I BATAV oo et I HISP CAMPAG et I GALL ET BOSPOR
RMD 123	179 Apr 01	2 units	I BATAVOR et I BOSPORANOR

and a similar search through Pannonia and all other provinces, except Numidia, for which province no diplomas have been recorded, of the Roman Empire from Hispania to Mauretania Tingitana via Syria reveals no trace of ala I Pannoniorum. Did it take part in Trajan's Dacian campaigns so enthusiastically and carelessly that it committed 'felo de se'? Or was it transferred? If so, it must be to a province for which no diplomas have yet been

found. From the evidence of the imperial diplomas, those most official documents, that it was transferred to Numidia, seems an inescapable conclusion.

Other evidence for the unit's presence in the Balkans at the end of the First Century includes some tiles (CIL iii 6242) found at Iglitza (= Troesmis) in the delta of the Danube stamped with ALA I PAN which suggests that the unit was in garrison at the fort of Iglitza, repairing the roofs of some building. Non-official documents include CIL iii 14453, a tombstone dedicated to T. Flavius Capito, a decurion of ALA PANNONIORVM, decorated by Vespasian for his bravery, which was set up at Constantza by his son T. Flavius Castus. Rather earlier in date is a tombstone, CIL iii 2016 = 8577 from Split on the coast of Dalmatia recording the life and death at the age of 35, hence still serving, of a duplicarius of ALA PANNONIOR.

From Ebersdorf = Arrabona come three tombstones. CIL iii 4377 has a relief of a trooper with drawn sword above the name in the nominative of a trooper of ALA PANNONIORVM who died after ten years of service. CIL iii 4372, later in style, commemorates a trooper of ALA PANNONIORVM who served for 9 years; and CIL iii 4376, has lost the name of another trooper of ALA PANNO who served for 16 years. Tombstones of two longer serving members of the unit were recorded in 1822 from Gyalóka about 50 mp.W.S.W. of Győr (= Ebersdorf) = Arrabona. One, named on CIL iii 4227, had served for 23 years, the other, named on CIL iii 4228, had served for 24 years in ALA PANNONIOR.

From this evidence, it is probable that ala Pannoniorum was the only unit with that ethnic name serving in the Balkans and it was based first at, or near, Split on the Dalmatian coast and transferred to Arrabona on the Danube in Northern Pannonia. A detachment of older soldiers, well trained and responsible men, was possibly stationed at Gyalóka watching and patrolling the western approach to main fort at Arrabona.

From there it was transferred to Iglitza (= Troesmis) in Moesia Inferior where the evidence indicates that it did not stay long. A unit with a long period of service would have a number of time-expired troopers every year so that its omission from the diploma of 105 implies that it was transferred before then.

From Haidra (= Ammaedara) in Africa comes a very interesting inscription. AE 1969/70,661 records the death of M. Licinius M. f. Gal Fidelis of Lugdunum, who 'milit. eq. in leg. III Aug. ann. xvi fact. dupl. in ala Pann. mens. III'; this stone was ordered by two troopers of legio III Augusta who were his heirs. While it is not unknown for centurions from legions to command, and for troopers to become under-officers in auxiliary cavalry units, the circumstances in which this happens tend to be exceptional rather than standard procedure. So it seems odd that Licinius Fidelis who had served for 16 years in Numidia and was therefore thoroughly acquainted with conditions in North Africa was not promoted within the legion, but was transferred to ala Pannoniorum. This must have been for a special purpose, and liaison with and for a newly arrived unit seems the likeliest.

Another member of legio III Augusta, M. Annus Martialis, was also promoted to duplicarius of I Pannoniorum and then to decurion, before returning as a centurion to III Augusta and later XXX Ulpia Victrix. In accordance with his will, his three freedmen erected an altar at Timgad (CIL viii 2354) to *Victoria Parthicae Aug(usti)* on which they detailed his career. Was he a colleague of Licinius Fidelis or his replacement as liaison officer?

Was ala I Pannoniorum in Africa in the First Century? The evidence suggests not. In summary form, there are building slabs, official dedications and altars which record the name of the unit as follows;

altar to [ ]

ALA PANN [Victoria Parthica Aug. sacrum]	Timgad	CIL viii 2354
AL I PANN [Mercurius Augustus]	Timgad	AE 1954,144
AL I PANN [Sol invictus Mithras]	El Gahra	CIL viii 18025
ALA I PANNONIORMVM [Mars Augustus et Genius coloniae]	Djemila	AE 1915,69
AL I PANN [I.O.M.pro salute Sevv.-198]	Menea	CIL viii 17953
ALA I PANN [pro salute Imppp Sevvv.]	Menea	CIL viii 17954
AL I P [Dii Campestris]	El Kasbat	AE 1976,735
ALA I PANNONIORMVM [Divus Pertinax pater]	El Kasbat	AE 1950,61
AL PANN SEVE [Dii Campestris]	El Kasbat	Libyca III,156

building inscription

AL P P--- (dated to 284)	Lambiridi	AE 1980,960
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dedication to [ ]

--- P-----IO--- [Antoninus Pius -140]	El Kasbat	AE 1950,60
ALA PR PAN [Severus et filii] -198	Messad	AE 1948,214
ALA PR PAN [Severus et filii] -198	Messad	AE 1948,215
ALA PR PAN [Severus et filii] -198	Messad	AE 1948,216
AL PANNO [L. Titinius Clodianus e.v. proc.prov. Numidia] (dated to 240/250)	Djemila	AE 1911,100
ALA EQ PANN GORDIANA [Gordian III]	El Kasbat	AE 1950,62

None of these inscriptions is of First Century date. Nor are the tombstones:

ALA PANN [nominative]	Haidra	AE 1969/70,661
ALA PAN [nominative]	Hr. Belda	CIL viii 27428
ALA PANNON - [nominative]	Ain Phua	CIL viii 19295
ALA PANNONIORMVM I [nominative]	Ain Phua	CIL viii 6309
ALA PANNONIORMVM I [nominative]	Ain Phua	CIL viii 19296

ALA PANNONIORVM I [nominative]	Ain Phua	AE 1930,132
ALA PANN--IORVM I [nominative]	Ain Kerma	AE 1930,133
-- I PANNONIORVM [dative]	Djemila	REA XVII p.35
AL I PANN [D.M.S., nominative]	O.Athmenia	UAAR 42
ALA PAN [D.M.S., nominative]	El Djem	AE 1946,63
ALA PAN-ONIORVM [D.M.S., dative]	Timchatt	AE 1951,222

One interesting point in these two summaries of evidence is the way in which the name changes. At first, even after its transfer to Africa, as in the Balkans, it used the simple ethnic title, ALA PANNONIORVM. At what time a second unit of Pannonians was raised is uncertain, but if it was raised during the late Julio-Claudian period as seems likely, the first unit did not feel the need to add a numeral, probably because the second unit was in Syria. During the Second Century, probably on bureaucratic insistence, the unit used the forms ALA PANNONIORVM I or ALA I PANNONIORVM, but from the start of the Third Century the name of the unit as recorded on stone, reverted to its informal numberless state, since there were no other Pannonians in Africa.

The transfer of ala I Pannoniorum from Moesia to Numidia was probably one of Trajan's first acts, before he planned the invasion of Dacia; the growth of Africa as a province and the movement of Legio III Augusta into the interior - from Ammaedara to Tebessa to Lambaesis - would make reinforcement by a very mobile force essential. The number of alae which should accompany every legion is unknown, but from the fact that some camps used in the early conquest of Britannia seem to be built for a half-legion and one ala, it would seem that there should be two alae for every legion. Only one ala, Flavia Numidica, was attached to legio III Augusta in the latter half of the First Century, so the transfer of another ala to support that legion would seem to be a very natural decision.

Such then is the evidence for the proposition that ala I Pannoniorum served in the Balkans in the First Century and in North Africa in the Second and Third. But with such a wealth of information about the unit it seems worthwhile to probe a little further into the careers of its commanders and its men.

Twelve commanders are recorded; one of the earliest was an unknown prefect from Tekirdag (AE 1973,485, or Bisanthe AE 1974,583) who went on to become praefectus vehiculorum for Vespasian. Yann Le Bohec did not know which Ala Pannoniorum he commanded, the one in Moesia or the one in Numidia. But given the absence of evidence for its presence in Africa in Flavian or pre-Flavian times, the unit was in Pannonia at that time.

C. Nonius Flaccus who stood in for Vespasian as *IIvir quinquennalis* of the colony of Firmum Picenum is described on AE 1975,353 as 'praef. equit. alae Pannonior.' His career is odd in that he did not command a quingenary cohort. Instead he was 'trib. mil. bis leg. V Macedonicae et leg. VII Claudiae piae fidelis'; he probably began his career in the last years

of Nero when such strange appointments could happen. Alternatively, if he began his career in 61, he may have transferred to VII Claudia when V Macedonica was sent to the East.

C. Iulius [- -] Fal. Ianu(arius) was another commander whose career as recorded by his wife on CIL v 4095 from Cremona, was odd. He commanded three cavalry units, ala Aravaco(rum), ala Hisp. Aur(iana), and a(la) Pannoniorum presumably in that order. During the early Flavian period all three units were in Pannonia, and one can speculate about the causes. It may be that though a very beloved husband, he was a very unpopular commander who had to be transferred quickly by the Governor of Pannonia, his unlucky superior.

Unlike Nonius Flaccus, his fellow-townsmen who also served in legio V Macedonica, L. Volcacius Primus recorded the names of the provinces of the units he commanded, namely, 'coh. I Noricor. in Pann., trib. milit. leg. V Macedonicae in Moesia, praef. alae I Pannonior. in Africa' on his 'cursus honorum' (CIL ix 5365). Ségolène Demougin<sup>8</sup> considered that he commanded the unit under Nero, on the grounds that legio V Macedonica left Moesia before 62 to take part in Corbulo's Parthian campaign. But it did return, because it is attested in Moesia in the Second and Third Centuries. The speculation that the provinces are included in the text, because I Pannoniorum had moved to Africa, and it was Volcacius who commanded it during its transfer, is tempting. He did not proceed to a procuratorial career.

According to CIL vi 32929 from Pozzuoles = Puteoli (mistakenly attributed to Roma), M. Artorius M. f. Pal Priscillus Vicarius Sabidianus commanded the unit after 'trib. coh. XV Volunt.C.R. trib. leg. VII Claud.piae fid.'. Hans-Georg Pflaum<sup>9</sup> recorded him as 'epistrategos' of the Thebaid between 115 and 117, which dates his command to the early part of Trajan's reign and explains the absence of decorations, since the unit was in Numidia.

The military appointments in the career of another possible Trajanic commander, Sextus Pulfennius C. f. Ter. Salutaris M. Luccius Valerius Severus as recorded on CIL x 4873 from Venafrum, are successively, 'praef. coh. III Gall. equitat., trib. mil. coh. I mill. Vindelic., praef. alae I Pannonior.', followed by 'flamen divi Traiani' which dates the end of his career to post-Trajanic times.

C. Vibius Metellanus, is known only from the tombstone (CIL viii 27428 from Henchir Belda) of a trooper, probably called A - - - us P. f. Rufus, domo Sena, of ALA PAN of which Metellanus was in charge. Yann Le Bohec suggested that from the formula used the stone dated from before 75, and Metellanus may have been a praepositus or a curator rather than a praefectus. But the name of the trooper suggests a date in mid-Second Century at the earliest, and his home town might be neither Sena Gallica in Umbria, nor Sena Iulia in Tuscany, since Italians serving in the auxiliary cavalry are very rare, but the island of Sena (modern Ile de Sein) off the west coast of Brittany.

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<sup>8</sup> Prosopographie des chevaliers romains julio-claudiens, Roma (1992), no.547.

<sup>9</sup> Les Carrières Procuratoriennes Equestres, Paris, (1960) no.88.

Three monumental inscriptions (AE 1948,214-6) of which large fragments remain, record the activity of Ala I Pannoniorum at Messad under Flavius Super, praef. eq., in 198. While legionaries of III Augusta built a fort, the troopers of I Pannoniorum patrolled the surrounding area.

It was customary for a cavalry unit to erect an altar to the Gods of the Exercise Ground on its perimeter, and one should have been set up when the unit arrived at El Kasbat = Gemellae, that is when T. Caesernius Staius was legatus Augusti (AE 1950,60). Two such altars have been found. AE 1976,735 was set up by T. Aurelius Aurelianus, 'praef. eq.'. This altar is probably a renewal as is a similar altar (Libyca III, 156) erected by M. Celerinius Augendus, 'praef. eqq. a. Pann. Seve.' in a temple probably built in the reign of Severus Alexander.

An altar (AE 1950,63) also from El Kasbat commemorates the Victory of Valerianus, Gallienus and Valerianus, and is thus dated to 257 or 258. At this time, a certain Faustinus of whom nothing else is known was in command.

Finally, AE 1980,960 records that a building, probably a temple, to 'Our Unconquered Lords', probably meaning Carinus and Numerianus, was erected at Kherbet ouled Arif = Lambiridi by Prospe-tus, 'praep. aeq. al. p.P--- cum commilitonibus -- -eq n collati.'

Of the twelve commanders named, six can be identified with towns, and of these as might be expected, one comes from Thrace and five from Northern Italy. Such origins are from the heartlands of the Empire and reflect the general run of commanders of units in the First and early Second Centuries. The origin of the remaining six from the late Second and Third Centuries are uncertain.

Yann Le Bohec provided an interesting breakdown of the 33 inscriptions (29 from Africa and 4 'cursus honorum') which refer to ala I Pannoniorum. Four of these, which gave the name of the unit as ala Pannoniorum I, he ascribed to the early First Century, but the fifth inscription with this version of the name he placed in the early Second Century. This inscription from Zana (= Diana Veteranorum) which is not recorded otherwise than by Stephan Gsell<sup>10</sup> reads:

D. M. S.  
C. IVLIVS DON  
ATVS EQVES  
- -ALA PANNON  
- ORVM I EM VIX  
\_ \_ \_ XXXXVIII

The inscription is expanded to "Dis Manibus Sacrum Gaius Iulius Donatus eques ex ala Pannoniorum I emeritus vixit annis 48", and seems to be a mid-Second Century tomb with

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<sup>10</sup> Ruines romaines au Nord des Monts de Batna II (1895), p.51, no.18.



heirs, Bovegius Venini f., Lanciesis and Penius Dovidari f., Aligantiesis. Scenus, Scenobarui f. and Bato, Buli f., Col.Ap. (colonia Claudia Aprensis = Aprio) were Macedonians, and Priscus, Flanali f., was a German. But Scilus, Batonis f., was a Breucus and Leucaspis and Deculus were probably members of the same ethnic group. Three out of ten definitely from Pannonia.

Of the later members,

M. Licinius M.f. Gal. Fidelis, duplicarius	Haidra	AE 1969/70,661
A - - - us P.f. Ru - us, Sena, (v.?,m.10)	Hr. Belda	CIL viii 2742
M. Annius M. f. Quir. Martialis, dupl. et dec., Liccaio, decurio,	Timgad	CIL viii 2354
Aemilius Emeritus, dec.,	Ain Kerma	AE 1930,133
Fo - tei - - Forun - - us, dec.,	Mena	CIL viii 17954
C. Iulius Pastor, dec.,	El Gahra	CIL viii 18025
C. Iulius Pastor, dec.	Oued Chair	UAAR, p.42
Iora, Lisri f., Golailus, signifer (v.22)	Ain Phua	AE 1930,132
Talanus, Surni f., - - - - -s, imaginifer	O.Athmenia	UAAR, p.34
C. Pomponius Saturninus, actuarius	Djemila	AE 1911,100
Boutius Ceii f., eq.	Ain Phua	CIL viii 19295
Dasius Liccaionis f., Breucus, eques	Ain Phua	UAAR p.63
Ti. Claudius Mantaii f. Cilius, Lusitanus, eques	Ain Phua	CIL viii 16296
Quintus Mucatrali f., Thracus, eques, (v.35;m.17)	Ain Kerma	AE 1930,133
Spinus Mucacenti f., eques	Ain Kerma	AE 1930,133
Iulius Rogatianus, eq., (v.,22)	El Djem	AE 1946,63
C. Iulius Hispanus, vet.ex dec., (v.80)	Tinchatt	AE 1951,22
L. Domitius L. f. Pap. Marcellus, vet. ex dupl.,	Timgad	AE 1954,144
C. Iulius Donatus (v.48)	Zana	Batna II,18
T.Flavius Quir.Breucus, decurio et princeps, annis XXVI,	Djemila	REA XVII, 1915 p.35 & AE 1915,69

Some of these were Pannonians, T. Flavius, Dasius Liccaionis f. and Liccaio, Breuci, Iora, a Golailus, and Talanus whose tribe is unknown, were from Pannonia. To match five Pannonians, there were three Spaniards two Thracians, and two Gauls. The three Spaniards were Boutius, whose name, according to Le Bohec, is frequently found in the Iberian peninsula, Ti.Claudius Cilius, and probably C.Iulius Hispanus, all second Century recruits. Quintus Mucatrali f., and Spinus Mucacenti f., were two Thracians. M.Licinius Fidelis was a Gaul from Lyons as would be A(eli)us Ru(f)us if he came from Brittany. Of the remainder, Donatus is a cognomen typically African as are Saturninus and Rogatianus; Martialis, Emeritus and Pastor are non-committal.

These proportions of recruits from various areas can be summarised:

Time \ area	Pannonia	Hispania	Thracia	Africa	other
1st Century	3=30%	4=40%	2=20%	0=0%	1=10%
2nd/3rd C.	5=28%	3=17%	2=11%	5=28%	3=17%

The sample is very small; 28 out of 5760<sup>12</sup> is not the statistician's dream figures but I Pannoniorum is one of the units with the largest number of known troopers, and the study seems to show that the proportion of Pannonians remained fairly constant.<sup>13</sup> Recruiting parties may have been sent to collect new men from Pannonia, but drafts from other provinces were responsible for keeping I Pannoniorum up to strength.

Andover

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<sup>12</sup> A quingenary unit of cavalry had nominally 480 troopers. In three centuries there would be twelve complete changes of personnel. 5760 is therefore the smallest number of members of an ala and is an underestimate.

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps one ought to have included Aur. Celsus, eq., ex sin. pro. Mes. Sup., (vixit 36) (CIL viii 3050) in the list of troopers. Aurelia Estea and her siblings who erected the gravestone at Lambèse for their brother Celsus failed to add the unit in which he served. From his name and the formula used, it is clearly a Third Century tombstone and there is nothing to indicate why he should have served in Moesia Superior, when his home was obviously in Numidia. As ala I Pannoniorum is the one unit with a Moesian connection, I would have included him in this list in preference to putting him in ala Flavia Numidica, the other cavalry unit in Numidia. Possibly he followed an equestrian to Moesia where he was chosen for the provincial guard when his patron retired or was promoted.

Not included in this list is CIL iii 1375, a dedication to Severus and his sons set up at Veczel in Dacia. The dedicator is recorded on lines 5 and 6 (with VET and APA ligatured) as

ANTONIVS . CRISPI  
NVS.VET.EX.DEC.APA.DD

According to CIL iii, APA is an abbreviation for A(la) PA(nnoniorum). It would be quite possible for the veteran to have retired to his home town from ala Pannoniorum in Numidia; but, the name of the units so heavily ligatured, (3-in-1) that it does not seem to warrant such a simple expansion. If APA refers to an ala Pannoniorum, it might refer to II Pannoniorum which was in Dacia, but as APA is joined to make an M, perhaps it should be read as 'VETeranus EX DE(curione) (Alae Hispanorum) CAMP(agonum), the unit which was stationed at Veczel.

An inscription from Szlankamen in Pannonia Inferior, CIL iii 3252, is an altar decorated with a relief of a bull. Dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, it was set up by Aurelius Iustianus, decurion and duplicarius, and Ulpius Silvinianus, duplicarius "ALE P-XNO". The names strongly suggest a Third Century date which makes it impossible for the men to have served in Ala I Pannoniorum in Pannonia. But they may have served in Numidia and erected the altar in gratitude for their safety. Equally, they may have served in Ala II Pannoniorum.