

# ALAE THRACUM

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The identification of the cavalry regiments styled *Thracum* offered different results. Keil identified nine *alae*, Cichorius eight, while Jarrett ten. Four other *alae* labeled *Gallorum et Thracum* had to be also taken into account. A thorough review of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century Thracian cavalry regiments on the basis of inscriptions and the evidence of the military diplomas (further on MDs) offered a new numbering of twelve known *alae Thracum* in all.

The mixed Gaulish-Thracian regiments seem to have been among the oldest ones in which Thracians were included in the Roman army in a regular manner. Their unique attributes and epithets made them clearly distinguishable. It is remarkable that they appear initially only in the MDs for Syria and Judea, except nr. II, recorded for the first time in 122 in Britain. It is also presumably that the group of the four regiments was the result of the first large scale draft (*dilectus*) carried out in Thrace after the uprisings of 21 or 26. *Veterana* (nr. IV) seems one of the oldest during this process. *Antiana* is evidently a derivation from C. Antius who carried out a census in Gaul in A.D. 16 (nr. I). The four regiments bearing a mixed name are the result of an amalgamation of Thracian effectives to a corps of older *alae Gallorum* part of the Gallic cavalry force raised by Germanicus before his Germanic campaign in 14-16. Saddington supposes the amalgamation of the Gaulish and Thracian contingents in order to ensure a better training of the last ones and for security.

The numbering of the Thracian cavalry regiments does not go beyond III. The analysis of the epigraphic material discloses a number of six *alae*

I (nr. V-IX), an *ala* numbered II (nr. XI) and a regiment III (nr. XII).

There are three *alae I, II, III Augustae Thracum* (nr. V, XI, XII), which seem to have been established under Augustus, therefore possibly the first regular units raised in Thrace or amongst the Thracians. Others are identified on the basis of their specific tactical attributes: *sagittariorum* (nr. I and XII); regional, as a result of a longer stationing in a province (*Mauretana*) (nr. VIII) or behavioral (*invicta bis torquata Victrix*) (nr. II) or *victrix* (nr. X). Two are identified after their first commanders (*Antiana, Herculiana, Classiana*) (nr. I, II and VII) and another (nr. IX) as a result of the split of a mixed *Gallorum et Thracum* (nr. IV). Nr. VI does not have any indication. Jarrett did not include nr. VII in the list and states that 'the unit was frequently known as the "*ala (I) Herculiana*, never as *ala I Thracum*, without the distinguishing epithet *Herculiana*". However, a series of inscriptions indicate it explicitly as *ala Thracum Herculiana*.

Nesselhauf read AC on the interior face of the Stannington MD (124) (*CIL XVI, 70 = RIB 2401, 6*), suggesting the restoration [*I Thr*] AC (*um*). On this basis, he proposed the identification of *ala I Thracum veteranorum sagittariorum* (nr. IX) with *ala I Thracum* (nr. VI) from Britain, maintaining its transfer from Pannonia to the island. Nagy (1956: 49-50) noticed on good ground that decisive for the differentiation between the two *alae* remains the epithet *veterana/veteranorum* which never appears on the British MDs.

The initial deployment of the Thracian regiments shows a notable disproportion between the Eastern and Western provinces of the Empire. Seven *alae* are detectable in Syria in the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. (nr. I, III, IV, V, VII, VIII, and XII) while in the

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Western provinces (Britain, Germany, Africa) nr. II, VI, and XI have constant bases in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. By early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, after the Dacian wars, other Thracian cavalry regiments were deployed and permanently stationed in the Danubian provinces (nr. IX, X, XII).

There is no epigraphic evidence of an *ala Thracum milliaria*.

Of the twelve identified Thracian cavalry regiments the majority continued their existence along the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century. *Ala veterana Gallorum et Thracum*, clearly a *quingenaria* unit, was apparently divided in two distinct units: *ala veterana Gallica*, sent to Egypt and *ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum* to Pannonia. The effectives of both regiments could have been adequately increased.

Notitia Dignitatum records nr. I, III, and V, whose names survived in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, while there is good evidence also for the survival of nr. VIII. It is possible therefore that the other eight regiments were either amalgamated in the Tetrarchic or Constantinian new type of units, or simply disappeared during the tumultuous events of late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 4<sup>th</sup> century.

## I. ALA GALLORUM ET THRACUM ANTIANA SAGITTARIORUM

The regiment is recorded in the 1<sup>st</sup> century MDs for Syria from Sarsânlar (54) and 88<sup>1</sup>. It probably should be identified with the *ala Antiana Gallorum* as suggested by Lambrino<sup>2</sup> and endorsed by Nesselhauf<sup>3</sup>. The regiment appears later in the Kalin Ören, Aphek, the 154/161, 160 (both u.f.s.) and Hebron(186) MDs<sup>4</sup>. The full name is rendered in

the 160 MD as *ANTIANA(a) GALL(orum) THRAC(um) SAG(itaria/ittariorum)*. Saddington<sup>5</sup> suggested that the Thracian soldier, the recipient of the Sarsânlar MD, could have been initially recruited in an *ala Thracum*, which was later amalgamated with Gauls. That same regiment might have been named by that time "Antiana", after Germanicus' legate, C. Antius, who conducted a Gallic census in 16 A. D. together with P. Vitellius<sup>6</sup>.

Thracian recruits seem to have been sent to Gaul shortly after the quelling of the 21 or 26 Thracian revolts. Therefore, the regiment must have taken a final form in ca. 29/30 at the latest<sup>7</sup>. No clear evidence supports the assumption of a later presence of the unit in Gallia<sup>8</sup>, as Sarsânlar MD is not an indication of an early garrisoning in Moesia<sup>9</sup>, as Lambrino suggested.

173 (u.f.s.); RUSSELL, "A Roman Military Diploma...", *o.c.*, 80-81; 111 note 205; RMD 69 (Hebron). For an extensive debate see RUSSELL, "A Roman Military Diploma...", *o.c.*, note 205 and the *Conspectus* which resolves the different opinions and conflicting interpretations; see also LIFSHITZ, B., "Un fragment d'un diplôme militaire de Hebron", *Latomus* XXXV, 1976, 117-122; ROXAN, M., "Pre Severan auxilia named in Notitia Dignitatum", BARTHOLOMEW, P. (edd); GOODBURN, R., *Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum* (BAR Suppl. Ser. 15), Oxford 1976, 62; ECK, W., "Ein Militärdiplom...", *o.c.*, 454.

5. SADDINGTON, B., *The Development of the Roman Auxiliary Forces from Caesar to Vespasian* (49 B. C.-A. D. 79), Harare 1982, 147.

6. PIR I<sup>2</sup> A 780. TAC. *Ann.* II 6; MELLOR, R., "A new Roman military diploma", *The Paul Getty Museum Journal* 6-7, 1978-1979, 173-184, especially 182. SADDINGTON, *The Development...*, *o.c.*, 147; RUSSELL, "A Roman Military Diploma ...", *o.c.*, 113. For the name of the *ala* after its first commander see WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, *o.c.*, 41; BIRLEY, E., "Alae named after their Commanders", *Ancient Society* 9, 1978, 265, nr. 2. SADDINGTON, *The Development...*, *o.c.*, 147 think that in case of mixed *alae* the Thracian recruits were supposed to have either acquired the equestrian skills from the Gauls, or to strengthen their own military discipline. The second supposition might be right, but according to both ancient sources (SOF., *Ter. Fr.* 523; THUC. II, 94; STRAB. *Geogr.* VII, 3. 2; ARR. *Tact.* 16, 6; 44, 1) and the twelve *alae Thracum*, the Thracians were already very skilled in the field of cavalry.

7. HOLDER, P. A., *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman army from Augustus to Trajan* (BAR Int. Ser. 70), Oxford 1980, 22; RUSSELL, "A Roman Military Diploma ...", *o.c.*, 113-114 suggests successive waves of Thracian recruits into the regiment over a longer span of time, so that the proportion was sufficient enough to justify the formal changing of the regiment's title. The terminus post quem for the end of the practice of naming auxiliary units after their commanders during Tiberius' reign is A.D. 27; see in general.

8. SADDINGTON, *The Development...*, *o.c.*, 147, 161.

9. LAMBRINO, "Comptes Rendus...", *o.c.*, 1931, 261 note 37 followed by STEIN, E., *Kaiserliche Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat*, Wien 1932, 122; GEROV, B., "Zwei Neugefundene Militärdiplome aus Nordbulgarien", *Klio* 37, 1959, 195-216; GERASIMOVA, V., "Dislokacija na rimskite pomostni voiski v provintia Mizia ot 44 do 86 g. na n.

1. CIL XVI, 3 (Sarsânlar); RMD 3 (u.f.s.). ECK, W., "Ein weitere Kopie der domitianischen Bürgerrechtskonstitution für die Truppen Syriens vom 7. November 88", *ZPE* 143, 2003, 229-233. For the regiment see in general WAGNER, W., *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliarformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus*, Berlin 1938, 41; KRAFT, K., *Zur Rekrutierung der Alen und Kohorten an Rhein und Donau*, Bern 1951, 148 nr. 290-291; SPAUL, J., *Ala 2. The Auxiliary Cavalry units of the pre-Diocletianic Imperial Roman Army*, Andover 1994, 27-28.

2. LAMBRINO, S., *Comptes rendus de l'Academie des inscriptions*, 1930, 171; *ibidem*, 1931, 259-260.

3. NESSELHAUF, H. commentary to CIL XVI, 3 note 3.

4. RMD 160 = RUSSELL, J., "A Roman Military Diploma from Rough Cilicia", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 195, 1995, Appendix, 111-115; CIL XVI, 87 (139); RMD 60 (u.f.s.); ECK, W., "Ein Militärdiplom für die Auxiliareinheit von Syria Palastina aus dem Jahr 160 n. Chr.", *Kölner Jahrbuch* 26, 1993, 451-459 = RMD

The regiment seems to have been transferred to Syria long before 54, possibly shortly after its creation. An inscription found at today's Hissar-edi, near the ancient Pisidian Antioch<sup>10</sup> (AE 1926, 82 = 1982, 88), datable in 18 - 38 shows clearly that the regiment had an early garrison in Syria. The inscription records an "ignotus" as praefectus ALAE ANTI, lately reinterpreted as *alae Anti(anae)*, obviously referring to the regiment in the title. The epithet *sagittaria/sagittariorum* which appears only in the 186 MD must have been used by the unit from its very beginning, considering the well known skills of the Thracians as mounted archers<sup>11</sup>.

The regiment was transferred to Judea either before 120, together with legio X Fretensis, when this province acquired the consular rank, or in 131/132 together with other troops for the suppression of the Bar-Kochba revolt<sup>12</sup>. Therefore, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century the garrison of the regiment must have been located in the province of Syria-Palestina. According to an inscription of a decurion, dated in ca. 150 a detachment, if not the whole regiment, was stationed permanently at Scythopolis (Syria-Palestina). In the 4<sup>th</sup> century an *ala Ant(i)ana dromedariorum*, which is recorded by Notitia Dignitatum at Admatha, in Palestine, could have been the same 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century unit<sup>13</sup>. If so, massive reorganization of the regiment must have taken place through the replacement of the horse stock with dromedarii<sup>14</sup>.

## II. ALA GALLORUM CLASSIANA INVICTA BIS TORQUATA VICTRIX CIVIUM ROMANORUM

The regiment is recorded at a later date (105) in Britain in the Sydenham and Middlewich MDs,

e.", *Arheologia* IV, 1970, 23; BENEŠ, J., "Die römischen Auxiliarformationen im unteren Donaauraum", *Sbornik Prače Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University* E-15, 1978, 160 nr. 20; BENEŠ, J., "Auxilia Romana in Moesia atque in Dacia", *Studie archeologického ústavu Československé Akademie věd v Brně* VI, 1978, 2, Praha, 6 nr. 1.

10. AE 1926, 82 = 1982, 88.

11. RUSSELL, "A Roman Military Diploma...", *o.c.*, 113 note 207; 114 note 217.

12. APPELBAUM, M., *Prolegomene to the study of the second Jewish revolt (A. D. 132-135)* (BAR Int. Ser. 7), Oxford 1976, 68 nr. 28; LAST, R.; STEIN, A., "Ala Antiana in Scythopolis. A New Inscription from Beth-Shean", *ZPE* 81, 1990, 224-228; RUSSELL, "A Roman Military Diploma...", *o.c.*, 114.

13. ND Of. XXXIV 33; ROXAN, *Pre-Severan auxilia...*, *o.c.*, 62; RUSSELL, "A Roman Military Diploma...", *o.c.*, 115.

14. DĄBROWA, E., "Dromedarii in the Roman army: a note", *Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Exeter 1991, 364-366.

and from other three MDs, Glava (20.08.127), one found in the Rhodopi Mountains (23.03.178) and another f.s.u.(23.03.178)<sup>15</sup> The Middlewich MD was granted to a horseman of this unit. *Classiana* derives from Classius, a rarely attested name<sup>16</sup>. The unit seems to have been formed by 29 or even earlier, in the series of *alae Gallorum et Thracum* and initially dispatched directly to the East, very likely to Syria, where it was stationed for a certain period<sup>17</sup>.

From East the unit was included in Claudius' expeditionary force in Britain and continued to garrison in the island in the Flavian period. During Agricola's campaigns in northern Britain, the regiment must have gained the juridical distinction *Civium Romanorum*<sup>18</sup>. It is also possible, as Alföldi assumes, that the recipient of the Middlewich MD was part of the contingents brought from Germany in order to fill the gaps in the unit following the casualties during Agricola's campaigns in Britain<sup>19</sup>.

15. CIL XVI, 51 = RIB 2401, 2 (Sydenham); RMD 8 = RIB 2401, 3 (Middlewich), RMD 239 (Glava), RMD 293 (Rhodopi), RMD 294 (f.s.u.). On the regiment see also: CICHORIUS, C., *Ala*, RE I, 1893, 1237; APPELBAUM, *Prolegomene...*, *o.c.*, 68 nr. 27; BIRLEY, "Alae named...", *o.c.*, 266; SADDINGTON, *The Development...*, *o.c.*, 149.

16. CIL XII, 3085; 4087; BIRLEY, "Alae named...", *o.c.*, 266, nr. 7.

17. KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, *o.c.*, 148, nr. 300: "scheint mir ein orientalischen Aufenthalt"; ALFÖLDY, G., "Die Hilfstruppen der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior" (*Epigraphische Studien* 6), Düsseldorf 1968, 17; MAXFIELD, V., *The military decorations of the Roman army*, London 1981, 266 also suggests the presence of the regiment in the East at an earlier date on the basis of the decurion originating from Galata (CIL XIII, 8306 = ILS 2534) by mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

18. ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", *o.c.*, 17 nr. 6; NASH WILLIAMS, V.E., *The Roman Frontier in Wales*, Cardiff 1969, 16; KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, *o.c.*, nr. 300, 301 suggests that the route of the unit before reaching Britain passed through Lower Germany; cf. also STEIN, *Die Beamten...*, *o.c.*, 127; SPAUL, *Ala...*, *o.c.*, 88. HOLDER, *Studies...*, *o.c.*, 39 no. 4 thinks that the citizenship and therefore the title *Civium Romanorum* was granted after the Civilis revolt and also some of the torques. STEIN, *Die Beamten...*, *o.c.*, 127 and SPAUL, *Ala...*, *o.c.*, 1994, 88 think that the titles *invicta* and *bis torquata* were acquired as a consequence of Nero's (the Bouddica revolt) or Agricola's operations; cf. ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", *o.c.*, 175-176 nr. 29, 30. It is noticeable, however, that these distinctions do not appear in the British MDs of Sydenham, Middlewich and not even in the Ó Szöny (122) MDs (CIL XVI, 69), although in Devijver's view the command of Caesidius Dexter, in whose honorary title the epithets *invicta bis torquata* took place possibly during the Hadrian's war in Britain in 122; DEVIJVER, H., *Prosopographia militarium equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Galienum I*, Leuven 1976, 204-205, nr. 39; cf. SPAUL, *Ala...*, *o.c.*, 88. The regiment is not recorded in the British MDs of 103 (CIL XVI, 48).

19. cf. ROXAN, RIB 2401, 2 note 8.

The C. Caesidius Dexter's *cursus honorum* records the regiment as *'invicta bis torquata'*, a title granted on the occasion of the Hadrian's British wars of 122, while in the Glava MD(127) as *torquata victrix*, a title ascribed on the occasion of the British wars of this emperor in 122-124<sup>20</sup>. The Ó Szöny MD attests the presence of the unit in Britain still in 122<sup>21</sup>. The regiment was moved soon after 122 from Britain to Lower Germany, where it appears in the Glava MD, but it is not recorded in a British MD with f.s.u., bearing the same date (27. 08. 127). In the Glava MD title of the unit is *Civium Romanorum torquata victrix*, which partially confirms the titulature given in the Dexter inscription.

It is possible that the unit was transferred to the Eastern provinces by the end of Hadrian's reign in connection with the Jewish war in 132-135. The mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century Köln inscription of M. Valerius Valens, a *veteranus ex decurione* originating from Galata, could have belonged to the Oriental contingents, recruited in the area during Hadrian's Jewish war<sup>22</sup>. From Judea the regiment returned to Lower Germany for military operations during Marcus Aurelius' or Commodus' reigns. Its name in an abbreviated form could have been probably included in the Xanten (158) diploma<sup>23</sup>.

In 178 the unit is recorded again in Britain<sup>24</sup> and by early 3<sup>rd</sup> century again on the Rhine. The Altkalkar inscription dates the presence of the regiment in Lower Germany in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century<sup>25</sup>.

### III. ALA GALLORUM ET THRACUM CONSTANTIIUM

The early evolution of the regiment must have followed the same pattern as in the case of nr. I and II. The *ala* is recorded in the MDs for Syria: Sarsân-

lar (54), f.s.u. (88), Suhozem (91) Aphek (139), Kalin Ören (c.136-137), f.s.u. 154/161, f.s.u. (160), and Hebron (186)<sup>26</sup>. The diplomata show clear signs that the regiment was continuously garrisoned in Syria during the 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries.

*Constantes* was an epithet for both Gaulish and Thracian soldiers before 88<sup>27</sup>, as a result of excellent behavior during the Jewish revolt of 70/71. The regiment was transferred from Syria to Judea together with nr. I, sometime in 132-135<sup>28</sup>. The unit seems to have remained definitively on the territory of the former province of Judea, if the Hebron MD is a proof for its position.

The regiment appears to have been under the command of Ti. Claudius Subatianus Aquila<sup>29</sup> as

26. CIL XVI, 3 (54); RMD 3 (88); RMD 4 (91); CIL 16,87 (139); RMD 160 (ca. 136-137), RMD 60 (154/161), ECK, W., "Ein Militärdiplom...", o.c., 451-459 = RMD 173 (160); RMD 69 (186). For the unit see also: LAMBRINO, *Comptes rendus...*, o.c., 1930, 130-131; ibidem, 1931, 251; KRAFT, *Die Rekrutierung...*, o.c., 26-27; SADDINGTON, *The Development...*, o.c., 152; APPELBAUM, *Prolegomene...*, o.c., 68 nr. 28; ECK, W., "Ala Costiam constituerunt", *Klio* 74, 1992, 395-400; A commentary on the Syrian MDs: RUSSELL, "A Roman Military Diploma...", o.c., 115-116; SPAUL, *Ala...*, o.c., 96; The abbreviations GALL ET THR in the Aphek MD refer to this regiment. See also Roxan's suggestion in RMD 69 note 3 that in the 154/161 MD list of cavalry regiments, instead of ANTIANA, the reading (CONST)ANT (I) ANA would be appropriate. However, the difficulty arises when observing that the regiment is always recorded CONSTANTIIUM in the MDs, referring to the soldiers of the regiment (Constantes). Only in a later epoch the name seem to have been modified in inscriptions to Constantiana. KRAFT, *Die Rekrutierung...*, o.c., 28 note 5; 140, nr. 300 incorrectly identifies nr. III with nr. II (ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana CR.). For an unanimous identification with ala in the title see also LAMBRINO, "Comptes Rendus...", o.c., 131; ROXAN, "Pre-Severan auxilia...", o.c., 62; 70, nr. 2; HOLDER, *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army...*, o.c., 39; MELLOR, "A new Roman military diploma...", o.c., 181, nr. 37.

27. RUSSELL, "A Roman Military Diploma...", o.c., 116.

28. HOLDER, *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army...*, o.c., 39, nr. 1. The epithet CONSTANTIIUM is recorded only in the 88 (RMD 3), 91 (RMD 4) and 160 MDs; see also ECK, W., "Ala Costiam constituerunt", *Klio* 74, 1993, 454, nr. 38. In the Hebron MD there is an ambiguous reference to both ala nr. I and nr. II as: ANTIANA GALLOR ET THRAC ET ANTIANA. (the corrupted text reads E. TANTIANA); Roxan's revision of RMD 69 to LIFSCHITZ's, "Un fragment d'un diplome militaire de Hebron...", o.c., 117-122 note 46 original reading is: ANTIANA [G]ALLOR ET III [CIV] R. ANTIANA and attributes the mistakes to a slip of the engraver's eye. She also conjectures the amalgamation in the text, by the engraver of *ala Gallorum et Thracum Constantium* with *ala Antiana Gallorum et Thracum*. Cf. LIFSCHITZ, "Un fragment d'un diplome militaire de Hebron...", o.c., 18-19; ECK, "Ein Militärdiplom für die Auxiliareinheit...", o.c., 454; RUSSELL, "A Roman Military Diploma...", o.c., 116.

29. AE 1911, 107 = DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia Militarium...*, o.c., C 187. The inscription was found at Djemila in Mauretania Caesariensis, but it does not imply the presence of the unit in this province.

20. CIL XI, 6033; ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 17-18.  
21. CIL XVI, 69.

22. MAXFIELD, *The military decorations...*, o.c., 226. The ex decurio from Galata mentioned on a tombstone at Köln (CIL XIII, 8306 = ILS 2534) could have been the product of a series of Oriental recruits who were included in the regiment during the short garrisoning of the unit in Judea. ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 19 no. 30 dates the Köln inscription to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, but the date seems to be earlier, towards mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

23. ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 18; 165, nr. 5.

24. RMD 184.

25. CIL XIII, 8668. ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 18-19, nr. 29. The Altkalkar fragment records a decurio with a cognomen preserved fragmentary [...] *Anhu* [...], but clear enough to disclose its German origin as a consequence of a continuous recruitment in the Rhine provinces.



*ala equitum Cons[...]* on a Mauretanian inscription shows, and also under an unknown prefect, originating from Ostia<sup>30</sup>.

In 303 the regiment was stationed in Yotvata (Arabia), in the Negev district, where a milestone records *ala Costia* usually perceived as *ala Co(n)st(ant)ia*<sup>31</sup>. The unit is still recorded in the 4<sup>th</sup> century in NDOr., where it is listed under *dux Palaestinae* and placed at Toloha (El Telah, near El Kerak)<sup>32</sup>.

#### IV. ALA VETERANA GALLORUM ET THRACUM

The regiment, recorded in the Sarsânlar (54) MD,<sup>33</sup> is the fourth from the well known series of mixed Gallo-Thracian regiments created in the 20s of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. There is no proof that the unit was ever stationed in Moesia by that time<sup>34</sup>, as Gerasimova and Beneš suggested. The unit seems to have been sent directly to Syria. Its designation as *veterana* as early as 54 is a clear indication of its very early formation<sup>35</sup>. The term *veterana* comes either from a previous Gaulish regiment which already bore the title, or it was granted to the new mixed unit of Gauls and Thracians, which means that the unit was in essence the oldest of the four *Gallorum et Thracum*. The regiment is not recorded with the complete title either in the 88 or in the Suhozem (91) MDs. The intus tabella II of the Gradište (91) MD was restored as *ala veterana, [G]all [i]ca* a unit already mentioned in the Muhovo (88) MD<sup>36</sup>. Kraft, Saddington and Dąbrowa equate the Gradište unit with the one in

the title<sup>37</sup>, while Roxan suggests two separate *alae*: an *ala Veterana Gallorum* and an *ala Thracum*<sup>38</sup>.

The restoration *[G]all [i]ca* instead of *Gallorum* and the lack of the second ethnical name, *Thracum*, shows on the contrary that the regiment in the Gradište MD is a quite distinct one: *ala Veterana Gallica*. In our opinion, a splitting of an initial regiment, *Gallorum et Thracum* and the setting of other two separate units seems to be the most convenient likelihood. The new *alae* were: 1. *Veterana Gallica*, a distinct regiment in the Syrian army by late 1<sup>st</sup> early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, recorded in the Gradište MD. It was later (106) sent to Egypt where 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries papyri record it<sup>39</sup>; 2. *ala I Thracum veterana sagittariorum* (see nr.IX), sent to Pannonia where it is first mentioned in 112<sup>40</sup>. Both preserved the title *veterana*, which came from the initial mother unit. The splitting into two new units of the initial regiment could have taken place even before 88. A soldier of Thracian origin in the Gradište MD seems to have been part of the Thracian contingents preserved in the already divided unit.

#### V. ALA I AUGUSTA THRACUM SAGITTARIORUM

The unit seems to have been part of an early group of *alae Thracum* drafted during Augustus' reign<sup>41</sup>. After its establishment, the regiment was sent directly to Syria. Stein, Wagner, Kraft, and Jarrett identify this regiment with an *ala Thracum* from a series of inscriptions found in Djerach<sup>42</sup>

30. CIL XIV, 5351 = DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia Militarium...*, o.c., A 131.

31. AE 1987, 961 = 1990, 1015. AE 1981, 961 = 1986, 699. ROLL, I., "A Latin Imperial Inscription from the time of Diocletian found at Yotvata", *Israel Exploration Journal* 39, 1989, 106-112 reads: *alam c(um) osti<o> constituerunt*, while ECK, "Ala Costiam...", o.c., 395 considers the regiment as garrisoning in a fort specifically named Costia.

32. ND Or. XXXIV 34, KENNEDY, D.; REILLY, D., *Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air*, London 1990, 205-207 fig. 157-158 nr. 67.

33. CIL XVI, 3. On the unit, see also: CICHORIUS, "Ala...", o.c., 1245; VELKOV, I., "Nova voena diploma ot Domitian", *Izvestia* 4, 1927, 74, nr. 3; WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, o.c., 42; KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, o.c., 1951: 26-27; GEROV, "Zwei neugefundene Militärdiplome...", o.c., 210-212.

34. GERASIMOVA, "Dislokacia na rimskite pomostni...", o.c., 27; BENEŠ, "Die Römische Auxiliarformationen...", o.c., 9-10 nr. 19; SADDINGTON, *The Development...*, o.c., 251-252.

35. The discharge of the contingents in 54 from this unit shows its existence at least in 29 if not earlier

36. RMD 3 (88); RMD 4 (91); RMD 5 (91); CIL XVI, 35 (88).

37. KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, o.c., 26-27; SADDINGTON, *The Development...*, o.c., 152 note 93 and DĄBROWA, "Dromedarii...", o.c., 364-366.

38. ROXAN, "Pre-Severan auxilia...", o.c., 62.

39. LESQUIER, J., *L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Diocletien*, Le Caire 1918, 26-28. In fact it is an abandonment of the ethnicon Thracum for this new unit as shown by the Muhovo MD (88).

40. DIETZ, D., "Das älteste Militärdiplom für die Provinz Pannonia Superior", *Bericht der Römisch Germanischer Kommission* 65, 1984, 161-268 = RMD 86.

41. STEIN, *Die Beamten...*, o.c., 155; HERRLING, W.G.L., *The Romanization of Raetia*, Chicago 1940, 51; SPAUL, *Ala...*, o.c., 229.

42. CIL III, 141591 = AE 1899, 27; 1900, 159 = IGR III, 1374; AE 1930, 89; 90; STEIN, *Die Beamten...*, o.c., 154; WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, o.c., 72; KRAFT, *Die Rekrutierung...*, o.c., 161, nr. 651-653; JARRETT, M., G., "Thracian Units in the Roman army", *Israel Exploration Journal* XIX, 1969, 217, nr. 1; HOLDER, *Studies...*, o.c., nr. 831-833; CICHORIUS, "Ala...", o.c., 1263 does not mention its presence in Syria; DIETZ, K., "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 262 note 623 suggests for this regiment the likelihood of having been recorded in the Sarsânlar MD (CIL XVI, 3). SPAUL, *Ala...*, o.c., 228-230 conjectures its presence in Syria.

(Gerasa). The town seems to have served as headquarters for the cavalry unit in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. The regiment appears as part of the Syrian army in 88<sup>43</sup>. In Speidel's opinion the year 106 as a *terminus ante quem* for its departure seems to be too late. Spaul suggested 96 for its leaving together with *ala II Flavia milliaria*<sup>44</sup>. From the three Gerasa inscriptions, only one records the number I, allowing a clear identification of this unit: *A[la] I THRACV[m]*<sup>45</sup>.

It is not very difficult to conjecture to which area the regiment was moved. A *praefectus* of this *ala*, Q. Attius Priscus, fulfilled one of his militia in this regiment during Trajan's reign as recorded in an inscription from Seravalle<sup>46</sup>. This office followed a tribunate in legio I Adiutrix during the Suebian war, which suggests that there was at least an involvement of the cavalry regiment in the Dacian Wars (105-106). Before 107, shortly after the end of the conflict, the unit was redeployed in Raetia where it is recorded in the Weissenburg (107) and later in the Künzig and Straubing series of MDs<sup>47</sup>.

There is no indication to suggest in which fort in Raetia the regiment garrisoned. A today lost inscription of an active *equus* from Augsburg could be an indication of certain activities of the unit in this place in the first decade of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>48</sup>. The Künzig and Straubing MDs prove clearly that during Trajan's reign the regiment was still in Raetia before its new redeployment in Noricum. The arrival of the unit in Noricum is traditionally dated during Hadrian's reign. The years 140-144

are also to be considered<sup>49</sup>. Alföldy invokes the Mautern MD where before (*ala*) *Pan(noniorum) Tam[piana]* one could restore either *[I Aug(usta) Thracu]m* or *[Commagenoru]m*<sup>50</sup>.

A *praefectus* of the regiment is recorded in an inscription from Firmi, shortly after its arrival in Noricum<sup>51</sup>. However, a *terminus ante quem* for the date of the arrival of the regiment in Noricum is the 140-144 Traismauer altar dedicated to Antoninus Pius, attesting the rebuilding of the auxiliary fort in stone by the *ala*<sup>52</sup>.

Military men of different ranks from the regiment set inscriptions at Hohenstein, Zollfeld, Traismauer, Winden am See, Wallsee, Wells (Ovilava), and Seeckau<sup>53</sup>. The regiment appears mentioned for the last time in an inscription dated in 200, at Zollfeld<sup>54</sup>.

However, the two Hohenstein altars that record two active decurions of the regiment<sup>55</sup>, raise the question of the garrisoning either of the entire *ala* or of a vexillation in this place by mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The inscription of an *equus dimissus* of the unit at Wels, who was also *singi(laris)* (sic!) is datable between 170-200. It shows the existence of these individuals in the governor's staff whose offices had been moved to Ovilava (Wels)<sup>56</sup>.

In the 4<sup>th</sup> century the regiment appears to have been garrisoned at Augustianis (Traismauer)

43. RMD 3 (88); Eck, "Ein weitere Koppie...", *o.c.*, 229-233(88). On Gerasa inscriptions see also: WELLES, C.B., KRAELING, C.H. (ed.), "The Inscriptions", *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1948, 355, nr. 200, 201.

44. SPEIDEL, M.P., *Roman Army Studies II*, Stuttgart 1988, 707-708; SPAUL, *Ala2...*, *o.c.*, 229.

45. CIL III, 141591.

46. CIL V, 7425. STEIN, *Die Beamten...*, *o.c.*, 155 dates the prefect's office in 97.

47. CIL XVI, 55 (107); RMD 155 (116); RMD 229 (116). For the presence of the regiment in Raetia see ALFÖLDY, G., *Noricum*, London 1974, 257-258; RADNÓTI, A., "Neue Rätische Militärdiplome aus Straubing und Eining", *Germania* 39, 1961, 111, 113.

48. CIL III, 5819 = 12 2394 = HOLDER, *Studies...*, *o.c.*, nr. 884; STEIN, *Die Beamten...*, *o.c.*, 155; KRAFT, *Die Rekrutierung...*, *o.c.*, 161 nr. 654; DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", *o.c.*, 262-263, note 631; 264. The name of the regiment in the Augsburg inscription appears as *ala I Augusta* but it is unquestionably identifiable with the regiment in the title ALFÖLDY, *Noricum...*, *o.c.*, 161; DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", *o.c.*, 262, note 631; doubts in this direction at CICHORIUS, "Ala...", *o.c.*, 1894: 1232-1233; HERRLING, *The Romanization...*, *o.c.*, 51.

49. CICHORIUS, "Ala...", *o.c.*, 1263; WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, *o.c.*, 14; ALFÖLDY, *Noricum...*, *o.c.*, 257; DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", *o.c.*, 262; SPAUL, *Ala...*, *o.c.*, 229. For the years 140-144 see ALFÖLDY, *Noricum...*, *o.c.*, 57; STEIN, *Die Beamten...*, *o.c.*, 154; WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, *o.c.*, 1938, 72; JARRETT, "Thracian Units...", *o.c.*, 217 nr. 1; cf. DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", *o.c.*, 262, 264.

50. ALFÖLDY, *Noricum...*, *o.c.*, 57; CIL XVI, 174 (128/138). The date of the Mautern MD would be an argument in itself for an earlier date of the arrival of the regiment in Noricum.

51. CIL IX, 5357 = ILS 1417; PIR 12: 182, nr. 342; PFLAUM, H.G., *Les Carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire*, Paris 1961, nr. 144; DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia Militarium...*, *o.c.*, 116-117, nr. 153.

52. CIL III, 5655 = 11796; KANDLER; VETTERS, *Der Römische Limes...*, *o.c.*, 142 and 142-148 on the auxiliary fort. A fragmentary tile stamp: *ALA[...]* found at Wallsee belongs very likely to this regiment; KANDLER, M.; VETTERS, H., *Der Römische Limes in Österreich. Ein Führer*, Wien 1989, 114.

53. CIL III, 4806; CIL III, 4839; CIL III, 5655 = 1179611 = AE 1950, 416; AE 1974, 472); CIL III, 4812; AE 1990, 785, AE 1968, 412; see DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", *o.c.*, 262; cf. ALFÖLDY, *Noricum...*, *o.c.*, 258; CIL III, 5340.

54. CIL III, 4834, The Wells, Winden am See and Zollfeld inscriptions designate the regiment simply as *ala Augusta*, cf. ALFÖLDY, *Noricum...*, *o.c.*, 258.

55. CIL III, 4806, 4839.

56. AE 1968, 412. ALFÖLDY, *Noricum...*, *o.c.*, 161, 258.

although under the command of *dux Raetiae*, showing that the place had been transferred to that province<sup>57</sup>.

## VI. ALA I THRACUM

The unit seems to have been established at an early date, for previously or during the Claudius' reign it is recorded in the army of Germania Inferior. Stein<sup>58</sup> thinks that it appears in a Xanten fragmentary inscription (before 43) under the name of *al(a) Tra (cum)*<sup>59</sup>.

Nevertheless, the regiment was part of the expeditionary force in Britain in 43, where it remained in garrison for a longer period<sup>60</sup>. Two records of the unit, previous to 70, come from Colchester, during Claudius' reign (*RIB* 201) and Cirencester, from Nero's time<sup>61</sup>.

*Ala* continued to be garrisoned in Britain in the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> and, at least, in the first three decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, as Malpas and Stanington MDs show<sup>62</sup>.

The unit was redeployed again in Germania Inferior sometime between 124 and 127, for it appears "in Germania inferiore", in the Glava MD from 127<sup>63</sup>.

By mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century the regiment was still in Germania Inferior, as shown by an altar set by one of its praefecti in Köln<sup>64</sup>. This indication coincides with a very probable record of the regiment in the 158 MD of the same province<sup>65</sup>. An inscription of a veteran: *ex n(umero) alae I [Th]racum* found at Bunnik-Vechten, datable at mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century, proves the presence of the regiment in this province at that time<sup>66</sup>.

In 219, *ala Thracum* was involved in a transfer of contingents to the guards of equites singulares in Rome, an event attested by an altar dedicated to Hercules Magusanus set by *cives Batavi et Thraces adlecti ex provincia Germania Inferiore*<sup>67</sup> with the occasion of the return of the Emperor Elagabalus in the City capital. A praefectus of the regiment who subsequently became tribunus in *legio XXX Ulpia*<sup>68</sup> set an inscription at Ostia during the Gallienus' reign.

57. NDOcc. XXXV 3=14.

58. STEIN, *Die Beamten...*, o.c., 153 note 250.

59. CIL XIII, 8659 = ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", o.c., nr. 67; cf. KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, o.c., 160, nr. 610. BOGAERS, J.E., "Les Troupes auxiliaires Thraces dans la partie neerlandaise de la Germania Inferior", *Actes du IX<sup>ème</sup> Congrès International d'études sur les frontières romaines*, București, Köln 1974, 456 note 83 and even ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 36 consider the inscription uncertain as referring to *ala I Thracum*, and therefore attesting its presence in Germania Inferior. On the regiment see also: JARRETT, "Thracian Units...", o.c., 218, nr. 7; LE GLAY, M., "Les Thraces dans les Gaules et les Germanies", *Pulpudeva* IV, 1980, 46, 48; SPAUL, *Ala...*, o.c., 221-222, JARRETT, M.G., "Non-Legionary Troops in Roman Britain: Part One, The Units", *Britannia* XXV, 1994, 44, nr. 15.

60. STEIN, *Die Beamten...*, o.c., 1932, 153; BOGAERS, "Les troupes auxiliaires...", o.c., 456 note 83; HOLDER, *Studies...*, o.c., 111, nr. 801-802; Bogaers, suggests its dispatch to Britain 'en 43 et au plus tard en 61'; cf. JARRETT, "Thracian Units...", o.c., 218, nr. 7; SADDINGTON, *The Development...*, o.c., 1982, 67 note 58; 93; JARRETT, "Non-Legionary Troops...", o.c., 44, nr. 15.

61. *RIB* 201; *RIB* 109; HOLDER, *Studies...*, o.c., 111, nr. 801, 802; CICHORIUS, "Ala...", o.c., 1894, 1264 and STEIN, *Die Beamten...*, o.c., 153 suggest that *ala I Thracum* from Britain is identical with *ala I Thracum veteranorum* from Pannonia Inferior or with *ala I Thracum victrix* from Pannonia Superior, which is not only unlikely but also impossible; JARRETT, "Non-Legionary Troops...", o.c., 44 nr. 15 dates the Colchester inscription very early. The early dating of the Colchester and Cirencester inscriptions is also proved by the end of the occupation at Cirencester in late 70s of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, "before Colchester became a colonia in 49".

62. CIL XVI, 48 = *RIB* 2401, 1 (103); CIL XVI, 70 = *RIB* 2401, 6 (124); ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 36; BOGAERS, "Les Troupes auxiliaires...", o.c., 456.

63. RMD 239; HOLDER, *Studies...*, o.c., 111; CIL XVI, 82 (135); ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 8-10, note 188; BOGAERS, "Les troupes auxiliaires...", o.c., 456; cf. KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, o.c., 160, nr. 610. HOLDER, *Studies...*, o.c., 111 supposes the move to Germany by the end of the Hadrian's reign; WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, o.c., 69 discusses a fragmentary funerary altar mentioning *Ulpus Saturninus eq(ues) al(ae) [Thr]ac(um)* from Giläu (CIL III, 849) and places the presence of a unit here in "den ersten Hälfte des 2 Jhs." GUDEA, N., "Câteva observații în legătură cu trupele din Dacia de Nord și cu armata din Dacia Porolissensis (Zu den Truppen in Nord Dakien und dem Heer der Dacia Porolissensis)", *Acta Musei Porolissensis* I, 1977, 117 rebuts the lecture and also the existence here of a Thracian cavalry regiment.

64. CIL XIII, 12058 = ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", o.c., nr. 65.

65. AE 1968, 400 = ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 165, nr. 5: "die fünfte ala war höchstwahrscheinlich die I Thracum". STEIN, *Die Beamten...*, o.c., 154 have noticed that the terms *numerus-ala*, creating a pleonasm indicates a later period of this monument, however subsequent to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

66. CIL XIII, 8818 = ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 188, nr. 68; BOGAERS, "Les troupes auxiliaires...", o.c., 456 note 80 stresses that the monument was not found in Utrecht, as circulated in the epigraphic literature; CICHORIUS, "Ala...", o.c., 1264; KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, o.c., 160, nr. 613; STEIN, *Die Beamten...*, o.c., 154; SPAUL, *Ala...*, o.c., 221 give Utrecht as a finding spot; BOGAERS, "Les troupes auxiliaires...", o.c., 459; JARRETT, "Thracian Units...", o.c., 218 nr. 7.

67. CIL VI, 31162 = ILS 2188; KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, o.c., 160, nr. 613; ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 37 and nr. 65 believes that the headquarters of the *ala* remains unknown, eventually suggesting one of the seven *ala* forts between Rindern (Havenatium) and Wörringen (Burungum) as a garrison for the regiment.

68. CIL XIV, 5340; PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes...*, o.c., 935, nr. 352.

The mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century headquarters of *ala I Thracum* was Vechten (*Fectio*) where it replaced *cohors I Flavia Hispanorum*<sup>69</sup>. Besides the monument of the Thracian veteran mentioned above, Vechten yielded several graffiti on pottery mentioning Thracian names and number of *turmae*, specific to a cavalry regiment.<sup>70</sup> The presence of the regiment, at Vechten, seems to go well towards mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century<sup>71</sup>.

## VII. ALA I THRACUM HERCULIANA

Two 1<sup>st</sup> century inscriptions from Tarragona (*Tarraco*) and Vaison la Romaine (*Vasio*), both mentioning *praefecti alae*, are the earliest records of the regiment.<sup>72</sup> The surname of the unit is rendered in several variants; in Latin: *Herculiana*, *Herculana*, *Herculaniana*, *Herclana*; in Greek: Ἡερακλειανῆς, Ἡερακλιανῆς Ἡερακλειοτικῆς. The general opinion is that this surname comes from a praefectus named *Herculianus/Herculanus*, who was likely to have been one of the first (if not the first) commander of the regiment, not epigraphically attested yet<sup>73</sup>.

The *ala* seems to be part of the group of the Thracian regiments formed in the first part of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. In the light of the two inscriptions mentioned above, an early presence of the unit in Hispania or Gallia is less probable. In 100, the regiment was stationed in Cappadocia, as a MD shows, although it is not known since when, or whether it was first dispatched to Syria shortly after its creation and then redeployed to the above mentioned province. The regiment is recorded rather late in Syria, at mid 2<sup>nd</sup> in the Kazanlák (156/157) MD<sup>74</sup>.

The regiment was part of the expeditionary force during L. Verus' Parthian campaign and

appears recorded in the Byllis inscription<sup>75</sup>. During Marcus Aurelius' reign, it continued to garrison in Syria, at Palmyra. An inscription from 167 found in the Bel temple mentions Iulius Iulianus praefectus of the regiment<sup>76</sup>. A fragmentary *ex voto*, recording a Thracian soldier, dated in early 60s is another evidence for the presence of the *ala* in Palmyra<sup>77</sup>.

A text from the Bel temple records a praefectus of the '*ala* which is stationed here' (ἐνθάδε εἰληῆς)<sup>78</sup>, which stresses on place of garrison and the presence of the cavalry regiment in Syria in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>79</sup>.

A fragmentary inscription from Konularp (*Prusias ad Hypium*) is considered by Lorincz as an evidence of the presence of the cavalry regiment in Pannonia, after 175, during the Marcommanic wars. The likelihood that Πεωνία in the text of the inscription to be a reference to Pannonia ([ἐπαρχος ἐν Πεωνία τῆς α' Θρακῶν Ἡερακλειανῆς]) seems probable<sup>80</sup>.

After the Marcommanic wars, the unit was dispatched to Egypt, at Coptos, next to Thebe, where it switched the garrisons with *ala Vocontiorum* moved to Palmyra after 179<sup>81</sup>. The arrival of the Thracian regiment at Thebes, however, is generally considered to have occurred after 183 on the basis of an inscription dated in this year<sup>82</sup>. *Ala Vocontio-*

75. CIL III, 600.

76. SEYRIG, H., "Antiquités Syriennes 12. Textes relatifs à la garnison romaine de Palmyre", *Syria* XIV, 1933, 159 = ILS 8869; for the unit in Syria see SPEIDEL, M.P., *Roman Army Studies I*, Amsterdam 1984, 169; DARIS, S., "Le truppe ausiliare romane in Egitto", *ANRW* II, 10, 1, Berlin, New York 1988, 753.

77. AE 1952, 240. The fragment was dated on the basis of Silvanus and Augurinus consulships: *Silvano et Augurino cjos*.

78. SEYRIG, "Antiquités Syriennes...", *o.c.*, 159, nr. 1 The inscription was dated by the author under Antoninus Pius at the latest, as the building of the western portico of the Bel sanctuary was erected at that time. Both SEYRIG, "Antiquités Syriennes...", *o.c.*, 154 and SPEIDEL, *Roman Army Studies...*, *o.c.*, 169 suggest the year 183 as the date of the monument.

79. SEYRIG, "Antiquités Syriennes...", *o.c.*, 160, nr. 3 = AE 1933, 209 datable, after its artistic style, in 150-180; DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia Militarium...*, *o.c.*, 30, nr. 1792.

80. IGRRP III, 1420 = ILS 8868; cf. also CAGNAT in IGRRP I 497 note 1; LÖRINCZ, B., *Pannonia régészeti kézikönyve*, Budapest 1990, 76; LÖRINCZ, B., "Thrakische Hilfstruppen im Pannonischen Heer", *Acta Classica Univ. Scient. Debrecen*. XXVIII, 1992, 91; LÖRINCZ, B., *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit, Teil I: Die Inschriften*, Wien 2001, 24.

81. IGRRP I 1184; LESQUIER, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte...*, *o.c.*, 79; SPEIDEL, M.P., "Numerus or ala Vocontiorum à Palmyre?", *Syria* 49, 1972, 494-497 = SPEIDEL, *Roman Army Studies...*, *o.c.*, 167-169; RÖMER, C., "Diplom für einen Fussoldaten aus Koptos vom 23 März 179", *ZPE* 81, 1990, 144.

82. AE 1933, 241; SEYRIG, H., "Inscriptions grecques de

69. BOGAERS, "Les troupes auxiliaires...", *o.c.*, 456-459.

70. CIL XIII, 10017- graffiti with a Thracian name; 10028-inscription on a spear head recording a *turma*; ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", *o.c.*, 192, nr. 84; the inscription CIL XIII, 10028 is pointed on a bronze helmet.

71. BOGAERS, "Les troupes auxiliaires...", *o.c.*, 459.

72. CIL II, 4239 = RIT 301(Tarraco); CIL XII, 13572 (Vasio). On this regiment see JARRETT, "Thracian Units...", *o.c.*, 216-217.

73. CICHORIUS, "Ala...", *o.c.*, 1263; BIRLEY, "Alae Named...", *o.c.*, 267, nr. 12, with the specification that the name, apparently of a later date, belongs to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century ("well into the 2<sup>nd</sup> century"). See a similar attribution of a surname to C. Antius the first commander of nr. I. SPAUL, *Ala...*, *o.c.*, cites C. Iulius Heracles who might have been its first commander while a certain *Herculan(i)us* is also recorded.

74. ECK, W.; PANGERL, A., "Eine Bürgerrechtskonstitution für zwei Veteranen des Kappadokischen Heeres", *ZPE* 150, 2004, 233-241; CIL XVI, 106 (Kazanlák).



rum is recorded to have been still in *Aegypto* on March 2, 179<sup>83</sup>. It was, therefore, replaced at Coptos by the Thracian regiment after that date. An inscription of a duplarius of the Thracian ala, dated in 185, shows clearly that at that time it was in Coptos (ἐν Κόπτῳ εἰλης Ἡερακλειανῆς)<sup>84</sup>. According to a papyrus dated 213-216 referring to one of its praefecti, the ala continued to be stationed in Egypt at that time<sup>85</sup>. A series of receipts issued in the administrative offices of the city and several ostraka from Thebes dated in 188-202 reveal the presence of the regiment in the province throughout the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century<sup>86</sup>. An inscription from Termessos shows that one of its praefecti was the famous, Tib. Claudius Agrippa<sup>87</sup>.

### VIII. ALA I THRACUM MAURETANICA

The unit is known either as *Mauretana* or as *Mauretanic*<sup>88</sup>. The title suggests an initial and longer stay in Mauretania Caesariensis. Jarrett assumes its arrival in the Mauretanian province on the occasion of the wars waged by Gaius and Claudius<sup>89</sup>.

The regiment stationed in Mauretania for a longer period, hence its epithet. *Mauretana* seems, however, to have been granted and officially circulated prior to its move to Judea<sup>90</sup>. The unit is first

l'agora de Palmyre", *Syria* 22, 1941, 241; SPEIDEL, "Numerus...", *o.c.*, 494-497; RÖMER, "Diplom für einen Fussoldaten...", *o.c.*, 145. A receipt of 159 from Coptos (BGU, 262) εἰς τὴν ἐν Κόπτῳ εἰλην refers rather to ala Vocontiorum, still there at that time, than to Thracian ala; CICHORIUS, "Ala...", *o.c.*, 1263.

83. RÖMER, "Diplom für einen Fussoldaten...", *o.c.*, 137-153 = RMD 185.

84. DARIS, S., *Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto*, Milano 1964, nr.54.

85. THOMAS, J.D.; DAVIES, R.W., "A New military Strength Report on papyrus", *JRS* LXVII, 1977, 53.

86. WILCKEN, U., *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien. Ein Beitrag zur antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Leipzig, Berlin 1899, Editio anastatica et addenda, J. Sijpesteijn, Amsterdam 1970, 262-263; DARIS, *Documenti...*, *o.c.*, 135, nr. 54; FINK, O., *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, Cleveland, Ohio 1971, nr. 89; 39 note 5; Ostr. 961, 1012, 1013.

87. AE 1929, 125, DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia Militarium...*, *o.c.*, 238-239, nr. 115.

88. BGU, nr. 696 = DARIS, *Documenti per la storia...*, *o.c.*, 1964: 49-52, nr. 9; CIL III, 14139; RÖMER, "Diplom für einen Fussoldaten...", *o.c.*, 137-153 = RMD 185. For the unit see also SPAUL, *Ala...*, *o.c.*, 158-159.

89. JARRETT, "Thracian Troops...", *o.c.*, 1969, 217, nr. 5; MOMMSEN, TH., "Die Conscriptioordnung der Römischen Kaiserzeit", *Hermes* XIX, 1884, 404 thinks the epithet *Mauretana* was received following some military actions in Mauretania; CAGNAT, R., *L'armée romaine d'Afrique et l'occupation militaire de l'Afrique sous les empereurs*, Paris 1892, 299; REA, J., "Troops for Mauretania", *ZPE* 26, 1977, 224.

90. CICHORIUS, "Ala...", *o.c.*, 1894, 1264; JARRETT, "Thracian

recorded in the Turea (86) MD granted to a Thracian cavalryman, where it appears as *Mauretana*<sup>91</sup>.

The regiment is recorded in the Karanis and Coptos MDs for Egypt<sup>92</sup>. It might have arrived in the province by early 2<sup>nd</sup> century and remained in the garrison throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries

The earliest known document of the regiment in Egypt is a testament left by a soldier of ala, in Alexandria, dated 27 March 142, where its garrison is precisely indicated as in: "*Alex(andriae) ad Aeg(yptum) in castris Aug(ustis) hibernis leg(ionis) II Tr(aiana) For(tis)*"<sup>93</sup>. P. Berol. records an imminent dispatch to Mauritania Caesariensis of the entire regiment or only of a detachment, possibly to boost the troops engaged in the Antoninus Pius' Mauretanian war in 152<sup>94</sup>.

A pridianum of the *cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum* of August 156 mentions a decurion who was *reiectus* (sent back) from the cavalry regiment and moved *ad vircam* (to a commission) in the infantry unit as a promotional measure taken in March 134<sup>95</sup>. In 154-155, a cavalryman is sub-

Troops...", *o.c.*, 217, nr. 5; REA, J., "Troops for Mauretania", *ZPE* 224, nr. 16; APPELBAUM, *Prolegomene...*, *o.c.*, 68, nr. 32. The ala could have been created in Mauretania with auxiliaries recruited in Thrace. The tradition of sending Thracian recruits in the northern Africa is maintained even in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century when 1000 young Bessian recruits were sent to Mauretania Tingitana: CIL VIII, 9381 = ILS 2763; SPEIDEL, M., "A thousand Thracian recruits for Mauretania Tingitana", *Antiquites Africaines* 11, 1977, 167-173 = *Roman Army Studies* I, 341-347. CICHORIUS, "Ala...", *o.c.*, 1894, 1264 assumes that the ala switched garrison with ala Sebastenorum at Kherba des Ouled Hellal.

91. CIL XVI, 33 = IDR I 24.

92. CIL XVI, 184; RÖMER, "Diplom für einen Fussoldaten...", *o.c.*, 137-153 = AE 1990, 1023 = RMD 185; REA, "Troops for Mauretania...", *o.c.*, 1977, 224.

93. AE 1948, 68; CPL 221; MAXFIELD, V., "The Deployment of the Roman Auxilia in Upper Egypt and the Eastern desert during the Principate", ALFOLDI, G.; DOBSON, B.; ECK, W. (edd). *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley*, Stuttgart 2000, 407-442.

94. P. Berol. inv. 21675; REA, J., "Troops...", *o.c.*, 223-227; A series of papyri dated March 27, the same year records decuriones, principales and equites of the unit in Philadelphia: CRINITI, N., "Supplemento alla prosopografia dell'esercito romano d'Egitto da Augusto a Diocleziano", *Aegyptus* LIII, 1973, nr. 159, 196, 1021, 1284, 1490, 1516, 1581, 1778, 2101, 2074, 2170); JARRETT, "Thracian Troops...", *o.c.*, 217, nr. 5; APPELBAUM, *Prolegomene...*, *o.c.*, 68 nr. 32; DARIS, *Le truppe ausiliarie...*, *o.c.*, 754; SPAUL, "Ala...", *o.c.*, 1994, 158.

95. BGU II, 696 = CPL 118; DARIS, *Documenti per la storia...*, *o.c.*, 1964: 50, nr. 9; FINK, "Roman military records...", *o.c.*, 64 i 25-26, 228-229; LESQUIER, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte...*, *o.c.*, 80 note 2 with important correctives to the Mommsen's commentary, *Ephemeris Epigraphica* VII, 1892, cap. XLIX, 456). The text is: *reiectus ab alae I THRAC dec I II Mauretaniae ad vircam cohortis*; see also FINK, "Roman military records...", *o.c.*, 229,

mitted to ἐπικρῖσις on which occasion the unit is mentioned again<sup>96</sup>.

In 173-174 a detachment of the *ala* is recorded at *Arsinoe*<sup>97</sup>. In 199, , sixteen of its decurions together with those of *ala Veterana Gallica* set a honorific altar dedicated to Septimius Severus in *Castra Caesaris*, near Alexandria<sup>98</sup>. From the same city comes another undated inscription belonging to a *veteranus ex decurione*<sup>99</sup> and from Kalebsah (*Talmis*) a horseman appears in the same unit<sup>100</sup>.

By early 3<sup>rd</sup> century the regiment was still in Egypt, as shown by an altar set by a decurion in Philae, in 203-210<sup>101</sup>.

Alexandria was the main base of the regiment through 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century, while finds at Philadelphia, Arsinoe, Talamis, Philae indicate the presence of the regiment's detachments in these places.

It is likely that the regiment continued to garrison in Egypt during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. By 205 the unit or rather a part of it seems to have been billeted at *Alabastrine*, on the right bank of the Nile<sup>102</sup>. In 288, it carried out building activities at *Sille* (Tell Abou Seifa), where a detachment had been sent for this purpose<sup>103</sup>. The inscription is the last epigraphic document known thus far referring to the existence of this cavalry regiment.

line 25-27 and note 25; MOMMSEN, *Ephemeris Epigraphica...*, o.c., 456-457 corrects *ALA EI* in *ALA II*, a lecture refuted by CICHORIUS, "Ala...", o.c., 1264; FINK, "Roman military records...", o.c., 229.

96. *BGU* II, 447 = I26; CAVENAILLE, R., "Prosopographie de l'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien", *Aegyptus* L, 1970, nr. 26, 32, 116, 126, 292, 307, 401, 606, 670, 1102, 1133, 1722); cf. LESQUIER, *L'armée romaine...*, o.c., 80 note 1.

97. *BGU* 447, 20 = I 26, 1; LESQUIER, *L'armée romaine...*, o.c., 80; DARIS, *Le truppe ausiliarie...*, o.c., 754-755.

98. *CIL* III, 14 = 6581. CICHORIUS, "Ala...", o.c., 1894, 1264 took this inscription as an argument for the stationing of both *alae* in *Castra Caesaris*, near Alexandria; DARIS, *Le truppe ausiliarie...*, o.c., 754.

99. *CIL* III, 14139.

100. *CIG* 5062 = *IGRRP* 3, 1349; P.Coll Youtie I 53, 16; SPEIDEL, M. P., "Ala Maurorum?, Colloquial names for Roman Army units", *Anagennesis* 1, 1981, 89-92 = *Roman Army Studies* II. SPEIDEL, M.P. (ed) *Mavors. Roman Army Researches*, VIII Stuttgart 1992, 109-110 thinks also to our regiment; RÖMER, "Diplom für einen Fussoldaten...", o.c., 144; DARIS, "Le truppe ausiliarie...", o.c., 754.

101. *CIL* III, 75 = *ILS* 4424. The inscription is dated by Subatianus Aquila's office of *pr(aefectus) Aeg(ypti)*.

102. PRIEST, N.E., "A Loan of Money with some Notes on *Ala Mauretana*", *ZPE* 51, 1983, 65-70.

103. *CIL* III, 13578; VALBELLE, D.; CARREZ-MARATRAY, J.Y., *Le camp romain du Bas-Empire a Tell el-Herr*, Paris 2000, 28.

## IX. ALA I THRACUM VETERANA SAGITTARIORUM

In modern epigraphic literature, the epithet *veterana* / *veteranorum* is still a matter of debate. Even the ancient inscribers offer different variants. The Mactar inscription<sup>104</sup> gives the complete name *veteranorum* interpreted by Keil, Mommsen, Cichorius, Stein, Nagy, and Jarrett as a title referring not to *ala* but to *Thracum*<sup>105</sup>. The first MD for Pannonia Superior, known thus far (113) shows clearly *vet[era]na* and it is preferable to treat it that way<sup>106</sup>. The regiment could have very well resulted from the splitting in two of the initial regiment *Veterana Gallorum et Thracum* (nr. IV), towards the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century from which resulted two distinct units: one deployed in Egypt and known in inscriptions and papyri as *ala Veterana Gallica* and the other the unit in the title.

The *ala* is considered to have been initially stationed in Galatia, in the 1<sup>st</sup> century, from where it was redeployed on the Danubian frontier between the two Dacian wars. Dietz<sup>107</sup> assumed that the

104. *CIL* VIII, 619=11780.

105. KEIL, E., *De Thracum auxiliis*, Leipzig 1885, 16, 68; MOMMSEN, in *CIL* III, 436, CICHORIUS, "Ala...", o.c., 1265, STEIN, *Die Beamten...*, o.c., 154, note 251; NAGY, T., "The Military Diploma of Albertfalva", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 7, 1956, 49 note 1; JARRETT, "Thracian Units...", o.c., 218, nr. 6.

106. DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 161-268 = *RMD* 86. WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, o.c., 69; KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, o.c., 160, nr. 620; RADNÓTI, A.; BÁRKOCZI, L., "The Distribution of Troops in Pannonia Inferior during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 1, 1951, 204, 218; MOCSY, A., "Pannonia", *RE Suppl.* IX 1962, 620. DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 228-229, STROBEL, K., "Anmerkungen zur Truppengeschichte des Donauraums in der hohen Kaiserzeit IV: zur Truppenliste des Oberpannonischen Militärdiploms *CIL* XVI, 64 von 116 n. Chr. Mit einem Anhang zur Geschichte der *Ala I Ulpia Contariorum milliaria C. R.*", *ZPE* 81, 1987, 264-265, and LÖRINCZ, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien...*, o.c., 24-25, prefer *veterana*, while KEIL, *De Thracum auxiliis...*, o.c., 16, 68; CICHORIUS, "Ala...", o.c., 1265; NAGY, T., "The Military Diploma...", o.c., 49 n.1; JARRETT, "Thracian Units...", o.c., 1969, 218, nr. 6; cf. BENSEDDIK, N., *Les Troupes auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Maurétanie Césarienne sous le Haut Empire*, Alger 1979, 49 incline towards *veteranorum*. In another MD from 03. 05.112 for Pannonia Superior with unknown find-spot (SPAUL, *Ala...*, o.c., 223; ROXAN *RMD* 361, nr. 6) the epithet is also *veterana*. NAGY, "The Military Diploma...", o.c., 1956, 59 points out that *veteranorum* is not associated with *ala* as a unit, but with *Thracum*. ROXAN, *RMD* 59 note 34, on the contrary, considers *veterana* as the correct epithet because *veteranorum* comes from *veterani* and would have been an unusual denomination in the nomenclature of an active unit. On this question see also DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 226-227; 229, and STROBEL, "Anmerkungen...", o.c., 1987, 265.

107. DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 227.

Isaurian soldier discharged from the unit in 129<sup>108</sup> could have been part of a larger contingent destined to fill up the gaps in the unit following the first Dacian war and was therefore recruited in ca. 103<sup>109</sup>. The view that this regiment is identical with nr. VI (*ala I Thracum*) in the Malpas (103) and Stanington (124) MDs seems highly improbable and at all sustainable, for this British unit moved to Lower Germany before 127<sup>110</sup>.

Once deployed on the Danube frontier, since 106, the regiment was assigned to Pannonia Superior, in the Petronell auxiliary fort built during Flavian period, around the Carnuntum legionary base. From Petronell comes a fragmentary stamped tile *AITHR [...] a(la) I Thr(acum) [...]*<sup>111</sup>. The tile is usually seen as proving the stationing of the *ala* in Carnuntum-Petronell by early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The Schwechat (Ala Nova) fort has also been considered lately as the first base of the regiment in Pannonia Superior<sup>112</sup>. Although Strobel considers the stamped tile from Carnuntum-Petronell as irrelevant and uncertain for the presence of the regiment in this fort in the first two decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>113</sup>, Lörincz's and Dietz's suggestions that the regiment garrisoned in western Pannonia Superior remains however convincing<sup>114</sup>.

During the war with Sarmatians 117/118 the unit was moved to Intercissa (Dunapentele) in Pannonia Inferior, where it replaced cohorts I Alpinorum<sup>115</sup>, as the tombstone of Axeto, curator

*alae* shows. He died while in service, in the 20s or 30s of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>116</sup>.

The series of MDs for this province records the unit uninterruptedly in 138-185. Cohors I Alpinorum returned to Intercissa in about 134-135, a fact that produced the deployment of *ala I Thracum* at Campona (Nagyteteny) in the 40s of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (at the latest), where it replaced *ala I Frontoniana*, rebuilt the fort in stone, and remained along the 3<sup>rd</sup> century<sup>117</sup>. A large number of epigraphic monuments attesting a rich building activity come from the fort and other places<sup>118</sup>. An altar from Aquincum was interpreted as a consequence of the presence of some military men of the regiment in the capital-city of the province, where they buried their relatives<sup>119</sup>. Other monuments at Budafok and Racálmás appear either as a result of the building activity or family interests<sup>120</sup>. It is yet rather difficult to explain the epitaph of the decurion at Puszta Geller, near Mártonvásár, who died while in active service.

## X. ALA I THRACUM VICTRIX

The pre-Pannonian history of this regiment remains completely unknown. Keil suggests that

108. RMD 34.

109. DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", *o.c.*, 227; STROBEL, K., *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans. Studien zur Geschichte des mittleren und unteren Donaaraumes in der Hohen Kaiserzeit (Antiquitas I 33)*, Bonn 1984, 118; DIETZ, "Anmerkungen...", *o.c.*, 265; ROXAN, RMD, 34 note 6.

110. RIB 2401.1; RIB 2401.6; RMD 239; NAGY, "The Military Diploma...", *o.c.*, 56.

111. LÖRINCZ, B., "Pannonische Ziegelstempel III. Limesstrecke Ad Flexum-Ad Mures", *Dissertationes Archaeologicae ser. II* nr. 9, 1981, 129; DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", *o.c.*, 265; STIGLITZ, H., *Das Auxiliarkastell von Carnuntum*, Carnuntum 1986, pl. 12, nr. 31. On the Carnuntum auxiliary fort see also KANDLER, VETTERS, *Der römische Limes...*, *o.c.*, 202, 210.

112. DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", *o.c.*, 261; STROBEL, "Anmerkungen...", *o.c.*, 264 note 28 and 29; KANDLER; VETTERS, *Der römische Limes...*, *o.c.*, 210. Another conjectural possibility invoked by LÖRINCZ, "Die thrakischen Hilfstruppen...", *o.c.*, 92; LÖRINCZ, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen...*, *o.c.*, 24-25 is that the regiment stationed initially at *Ala Nova* (Schwechat) as had already been suggested by NAGY, "The Military Diploma...", *o.c.*, 46-47; 57-58.

113. STROBEL, "Anmerkungen...", *o.c.*, 266.

114. LÖRINCZ, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen...*, *o.c.*, 24; DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", *o.c.*, 228, 230, 265.

115. RADNÓTI; BÁRKOCZI, "The Distribution...", *o.c.*, 201; NAGY, "The Military Diploma...", *o.c.*, 58; DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", *o.c.*, 260-261, 265.

116. AE 1906, 109 = RIU 1206. NAGY, "The Military Diploma...", *o.c.*, 50-51 note 19 pointed out that no matter the characteristics of the stylistic forms on the Axeto' funerary monument are, *ala I Thracum* can not be excluded among the Intercissa auxiliary units. RADNÓTI; BÁRKOCZI, "The Distribution...", *o.c.*, 207 opined that the earliest monuments of the military personnel of the unit (among which Axeto's) appears with a calo and two horses, what would indicate their provenance from the Aquincum workshops, in close connection with the ancient tradition inherited from the time when the personnel of *ala Frontoniana* was present here. Cf. CICHORIUS, "Ala...", *o.c.*, 1265; WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, *o.c.*, 193; 69; JARRETT, "Thracian Units...", *o.c.*, 196, 218, nr. 6.

117. NAGY, "The Military Diploma...", *o.c.*, 50-52; 58; see also WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, *o.c.*, 70-71; RADNÓTI; BÁRKOCZI, "The Distribution...", *o.c.*, 216, 220; LÖRINCZ, "Die thrakischen Hilfstruppen...", *o.c.*, 92; LÖRINCZ, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen...*, *o.c.*, 24-25.

118. The epigraphical material of the regiment was collected and reproduced by NAGY, "The Military Diploma...", *o.c.*, 49-50, n. 1-14; see also CICHORIUS, "Ala...", *o.c.*, 1262; WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, *o.c.*, 69; MOCSY, "Pannonia...", *o.c.*, 620-621; RADNÓTI; BÁRKOCZI, *The Distribution...*, *o.c.*, 205; LÖRINCZ, "Die thrakische Hilfstruppen...", *o.c.*, 92; FITZ, J., *Les Syriens a Intercissa (Coll. Latomus CXXII)*, Bruxelles 1972, 42-43 considers that *ala* stationed here in 117/118, until Marcus Aurelius or Commodus when the garrison was taken over by *cohors I Hemesenorum*.

119. CIL III, 3465 = 10342; RADNÓTI; BÁRKOCZI, "The Distribution...", *o.c.*, 201.

120. CIL III, 10624; NAGY, 1956, 50; CIL III, 10 632; NAGY, "The Military Diploma...", *o.c.*, 45; CIL III, 15154; RADNÓTI; BÁRKOCZI, "The Distribution...", *o.c.*, 201.



the unit could have been redeployed in Pannonia from Germany, a fact which cannot be accurately sustained<sup>121</sup>. Wagner and Kraft<sup>122</sup> invoked the 1<sup>st</sup> century inscription from Mattersdorf (Scarbantia)<sup>123</sup> which records an eques of Celtic origin in order to sustain the idea of an early presence in Pannonia, although the monument mentions *ala I H(ispanorum)*. Radnóti's final revision<sup>124</sup> of the Troucleimarus tombstone and Strobel's<sup>125</sup> arguments are a good base to maintain the presence of the regiment on the Danube line at Traismauer (Noricum), as early as 70s of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, during the Flavian and Trajanic periods. The Troucleimarus tombstone is dated by the German epigraphist in Flavian epoch, when the first phase of the fort was built. It is indeed little chance that Troucleimarus' inscription to have belonged to nr. V (*ala I Augusta Thracum*),<sup>126</sup> which is always recorded with the Imperial name, *Augusta*. The Strobel's assumption is brilliantly confirmed by a military diploma of 08. 09.79 for Noricum, granted to a soldier of Thracian origin<sup>127</sup>.

The early presence of the regiment in Noricum is confirmed also by a fragmentary inscription from *Lentia* (Linz), dated in the second half of the

1<sup>st</sup> century. It bears the letters *I THRAC V[...]*<sup>128</sup> The letter V has been interpreted either as *V[ictix]* or as the last letter of the word, and therefore *THRACV[M]*. This reading could be a good argument for an early presence of the regiment in Noricum before it was moved to Pannonia Superior. Dietz assumes the stationing of the *ala* in Noricum, at *Lentia* even 'kurz vor' 133 where it was replaced by the newcomer, *ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana* from Britain<sup>129</sup>.

From Carnuntum-Petronell comes a fragmentary stamped tile *AITHR [...] a(la) I Thr(acum) [...]*, which was assigned with certainty to this regiment<sup>130</sup>. The auxiliary fort here was built during the Flavian period, but important repair were undertaken in the period II, by late Trajan's-early Hadrian's reigns when the *ala* was moved to this place. The tile must be seen therefore as a proof for the stationing of the *ala* in Carnuntum by that time and the fort as the first basis of the regiment in Pannonia Superior<sup>131</sup>.

Lörincz assumes that the *ala* came in Pannonia Superior from Noricum in about 118/119, but the date seems to be too late. Strobel on the other hand demonstrated that the *ala* took part in Trajan's Parthian war as an auxiliary troop of *legio XV Apollinaris*, which was stationed at that time in Pannonia Superior<sup>132</sup>. The epithet *Victrix* could have ensued, therefore, from an excellent behavior

121. KEIL, *De Thracum auxiliis...*, o.c., 22. For the history of the regiment see in general: CICHORIUS, "Ala...", o.c., 1894: 1265; RADNÓTI; BÁRKOCZI, "The Distribution of Troops...", o.c., 218; MOCSY, A., "Pannonia...", o.c., 620; ALFÖLDY, *Noricum...*, o.c., 1974, 258; KANDLER, "Archäologische Beobachtungen zur Baugeschichte des Legionslagers Carnuntum am Ausgang der Antike", *DÖAW* 145, 1980, 83-92, 3-10; GENSER, K., "Der österreichische Donaulimes in der Römerzeit. (Ein Forschungsbericht)", *RLiO* 33, 1986, 532-534; KANDLER; VETTERS, *Der Römische Limes...*, o.c., 210; LÖRINCZ, "Die thrakischen Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 25; WEISS, P., "Ein Konsuln paar vom 21. Juni 159 n. Chr. Drei Diplome für Kommilitonen der oberpannonischen Ala I Thracum victrix c. R.", *Chiron* 99, 1999, 147-182; LÖRINCZ, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen...*, o.c., 25. SPAUL, *Ala...*, o.c., 1994, 226 opines, without no convincing arguments, the provenance of the unit during the division of a certain *ala* Thracum (?) in Pannonia during the Hadrian's reign.

122. WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, o.c., 72; KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, o.c., 161, nr. 641. cf. CICHORIUS, "Ala...", o.c., 1265.

123. *CIL* III, 4244.

124. RADNÓTI, A.; SZILÁGYI, J., "Roman Garrisons stationed at the Roman Pannonian-Quad Frontier-Sectors of the Empire", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 2, 1952, 192 note 26; DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 260 note 608.

125. *AE* 1950, 116; STROBEL, K., *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans...*, o.c., 118; STROBEL, "Anmerkungen...", o.c., 263, 260 assign the Troucleimarus' tombstone to *ala I Augusta Thracum*.

126. KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, o.c., 1951, 162, nr. 655 and DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 260 assign the Troucleimarus' tombstone to *ala I Augusta Thracum*.

127. WEIB, P., "Zwei vollständige Konstitutionen für die Truppen in Noricum (8. Sept. 79) und Pannonia Inferior (27. Sept. 154)", *ZPE* 164, 2004, 239-254. *CIL* XVI, 52.

128. KARNISCH, P., "Der Heilige Bezirk von Linz", *Hjblinz* 1956, 251, nr. 240, pl. 19,1; KARNISCH, P., "Die Römische Kastelle von Lentia (Linz)" (*Linzer Archäologischen Forschungen, Sonderheft IV/1*), 1970, 59. For the dating of this fragment in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century see ALFÖLDY, *Noricum...*, o.c., 251, 258; it would imply that either the entire regiment or a detachment was dispatched in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century from Pannonia Superior, a possible but less probable occurrence; cf. DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 261. The fragment bears: *[...] Sabin(us) [...] I Thrac v[ictrix]*.

129. DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 261; cf. ALFÖLDY, *Noricum...*, o.c., 258. See, however, STROBEL, "Anmerkungen...", o.c., 263 note 263 who considers the piece as insufficient to admit the presence of the *ala* at Linz.

130. STIEGLITZ, *Das Auxiliarkastell...*, o.c., pl. 12, nr. 31; DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 265. LÖRINCZ, "Pannonische Ziegelstempel...", o.c., 129 thinks that the piece comes from the military workshops of *ala I Thracum. veterana*.

131. DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 1987, 261; STROBEL, "Anmerkungen...", o.c., 1987, 264 notes 28 and 29; KANDLER; VETTERS, *Der Römische Limes...*, o.c., 210. On the Carnuntum auxiliary fort see: STIEGLITZ, *Das Auxiliarkastell...*, o.c., KANDLER; VETTERS, *Der Römische Limes...*, o.c., 202, 210; VISY, Z., "The Roman Army in Pannonia. An Archaeological Guide of the Ripa Pannonica", Budapest 2003, 58-60.

132. LÖRINCZ, "Thrakische Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 93; STROBEL, "Anmerkungen...", o.c., 264 note 28; LÖRINCZ, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen...*, o.c., 25.



of the regiment in the Dacian wars<sup>133</sup>. A fragmentary tombstone of *Ulp(ius) Civ[es vet(eranus)]/al(a)e I Thr[(acum) an(norum L...)] Luc(ilius) Mar[cius] cur(ator) feci[t]* from Mannersdorf<sup>134</sup> could also be an argument for the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century presence of the regiment in Pannonia Superior. This would fully confirm Dietz's attempt<sup>135</sup> to restore *ala I Thracum victrix* instead of *ala Cannanefatium* in the earliest MD for Pannonia Superior (113), and also suggests that the regiment seems to have been present in Pannonia Superior very likely shortly after the Dacian wars. An early proof of the activity of the *ala* in Pannonia Superior is the Ptuj (Poetovio) altar dedicated *I(ovi)O(ptimo)M(aximo)D(epulsori)* by a *decurio* of the unit, dated initially in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>136</sup> and recently towards the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The *ala* is recorded in the Győr and Ó Szöny<sup>137</sup> (133) MDs for Pannonia Superior and continued to be recorded by MDs of this province until 160/164.

After the return of the entire Upper Pannonian expeditionary force from Trajan's Parthian war (ca. 117), the regiment returned to Pannonia Superior at *Ala Nova* (Schwechat)<sup>138</sup> where it seems to have been stationed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century<sup>139</sup>. From late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century comes the tombstone of an *equus singularis* who was *allectus ex ala I Thracum ex Pannonia Superioris* in the Imperial body guards<sup>140</sup>. Spaul suggests either the inclusion of the rests of this regiment into *ala Gallorum et Thracum Antiana* (nr. I), or its disappearance in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, because of lack of recruits, or simply its elimination from the records of the Roman army after a heavy defeat in the Marcommanic wars<sup>141</sup>. None of these possibilities can arguably be sustained, for there is a complete lack

of information on the regiment at that period or later.

## XI. ALA II AUGUSTA THRACUM PIA FIDELIS

The unit was garrisoned from an early period in Mauretania Caesariensis, where it appears recorded in the Cherchel MD (107)<sup>142</sup>. The patronim *Augusta* suggests an early recruitment during Augustus' reign.

Two inscriptions from Villar de Placencia (Lusitania), Flavian in date, and Ricobayo (Zamora) (Hispania Citerior), from Claudius' period record an *ala II Thracum* and soldiers recruited in the two provinces<sup>143</sup>, which Benseddik identifies it with the one in the title<sup>144</sup>. Although they do not include it among the military forces of the two Iberian provinces, Le Roux and Saddington<sup>145</sup> think that Lusitania continued to be a recruitment area for the regiment, even when it was garrisoned in Mauretania Caesariensis. Two inscriptions from Mauretania Caesariensis<sup>146</sup> record recruits from Lusitania and Hispania. Le Roux claims even 'un recruitment cosmopolite' in the last third of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and rightly assumes that the soldiers of Thessalian, Gaulish, and Illyrian origin of the *ala* recorded in inscriptions do not mean automatically the presence of the *ala* in all these countries.

The Ricobayo inscription could be an argument for the temporary presence of the unit, during Claudius' reign, in the Iberian peninsula<sup>147</sup>. Eventually, in ca. 60 at the latest, it could have received new local recruits<sup>148</sup>.

133. STROBEL, K., *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans...*, o.c., 118; SPAUL, *Ala...*, o.c., 1994: 226.

134. UBL, H., "Das Römerzeitliche Gräberfeld und die zugehörige Siedlung von Mannersdorf", *Actes du IX<sup>ème</sup> Congrès International d'Études sur les frontières romaines*, București, Köln 1974, 422 note 31.

135. DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 239; cf. 241 = RMD 80.

136. BRATANIĆ, R., "Rimski nadpisi Ptuja", *Arh. Vestnik* II/1 1951, 15-16 = *ILJug* I 339; DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 26; STROBEL, "Anmerkungen...", o.c., 264 note 27.

137. *CIL* XVI, 76, 77.

138. KANDLER; VETTERS, *Der Römische Limes...*, o.c., 187-192.

139. DIETZ, "Das älteste Militärdiplom...", o.c., 265; STROBEL, "Anmerkungen...", o.c., 264.

140. *CIL* VI, 3308 = *ILS* 2210. WAGNER, "Die Dislokation...", o.c., 71; KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, o.c., 161, nr. 641 dates the inscription around 200; cf. JARRETT, "Thracian Units...", o.c., 217, nr. 4.

141. SPAUL, *Ala...*, o.c., 226.

142. CICHORIUS, "Ala...", o.c., 1265-1266; JARRETT, "Thracian Units...", o.c., 217, nr. 2, and LE ROUX, P., *L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces ibériques d'Auguste à l'invasion de 409*, Paris 1982, 87 presume that the unit was garrisoned in Mauretania Caesariensis only, where it appears recorded in the Cherchel MD (*CIL* XVI, 56).

143. *CIL* II, 812 = *ILER* 6333 = LEVEAU, PH., "L'aile II des Thraces, la tribu des mazices et les praefecti gentis en Afrique du nord", *Antiquités Africaines* 7, 1973, nr. 1 = LE ROUX, *L'armée...*, o.c., 226, nr. 192; *HAE* 904 = LEVEAU, "L'aile II des Thraces...", o.c., 169, nr. 28 = LE ROUX, *L'armée...*, o.c., 227, nr. 196.

144. BENSEDDIK, N., *Les troupes auxiliaires de l'armée romaine en Maurétanie Césarienne sous le Haut-Empire*, Alger 1977, 43; SPAUL, *Ala...*, o.c., 233.

145. LE ROUX, *L'armée...*, o.c., 87; SADDINGTON, *The Development...*, o.c., 120.

146. *CIL* VIII, 9390 = LEVEAU, "L'aile II des Thraces...", o.c., 157, nr. 2; *AE* 1975, 945 = LEVEAU, "L'aile II des Thraces...", o.c., 158, nr. 5.

147. BENSEDDIK, *Les troupes auxiliaires...*, o.c., 44.

148. SADDINGTON, *The Development...*, o.c., 120; SPAUL, *Ala...*

In the 60s of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, the regiment was moved to Mauretania Caesariensis at *Caesarea* (Cherchel), which remained its main headquarters along the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century and yielded a significant number of inscriptions which record regiment's personnel<sup>149</sup>. Towards the end of the 80s of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, the *ala* was temporarily sent to the Danubian frontier, in Pannonia, where it was garrisoned at Dunaújváros (Intercissa), as shown by tombstone of a cavalry man of Celtic origin datable around 100. He was recruited in the *ala* during its presence in Pannonia<sup>150</sup>. Once redeployed in Mauretania Caesariensis, the regiment discharged contingents recorded in the Cherchel (107)<sup>151</sup> MD.

Caesarea, where the regiment was permanently stationed along the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century yielded the majority of epigraphic material. However, there are several inscriptions significant for the distribution of the detachments of the unit.

Cichorius considers that the altar set by M. Ulpius Crescens' at *Manliana* (El Kemis) might be an indication of the headquarters of the *ala* in this place, but the monument is only a pious gesture of the brothers-in-arms in active service or veterans to a recently discharged ex-trooper<sup>152</sup>. Some inscriptions at *Rapidum* would indicate the pres-

ence of a detachment of the regiment in the fort in order to replace *cohors II Sardorum* which had left for *Altava*<sup>153</sup>.

Nor the Aïn bu Dib inscription<sup>154</sup> is a proof of an eventual transfer of the unit to this place, for it is set in 254 through the care of a *decurio* of the regiment following the military operations against the Moors, which were waged by the governor of the province, Marcus Aurelius Vitalis. An inscription was set by the wife and son of a horseman from the Thracian *ala* in his memory at El Kemis<sup>155</sup>. An altar from *Thanaramusa Castra* (Berrouaghia) refers to the burying of a one year old child in this area, which would clearly imply the presence of a detachment of the cavalry regiment here for a longer period of time<sup>156</sup>. During its presence at Caesarea, military men from the Thracian regiment entered the staff of the procurator of the province<sup>157</sup>.

Inscriptions at Berrouaghia, Hadjar Roum (Altava) Mactar, Sour Djouab<sup>158</sup> (*Rapidum*) seem to indicate the presence of the detachments of the unit in these places. It is rather difficult to explain the contents of the Mactar inscription where an *equus* of the *ala* dies during the service<sup>159</sup>. The specific designation of *ex n(umero) sing(ulariorum)* and especially *ex provincia M(auretaniae) Caesariensium* would suggest the possibility of a temporary presence of a cavalry man from *ala II Thracum* at Mactar, after his transferring in the body of *equites singulares* of the governor of Mauretania Caesariensis. He was implied in some activities in Africa Proconsularis at a certain time and for yet unknown specific reasons.

Two votive inscriptions dated 208 from Hadjar Roum (Altava) belong very likely to the same *decurio* of *ala Thracum*. The *decurio*, as pertaining to a unit of higher rank, was in the same time *praepositus cohortis II Sardorum* (AE 1929, 135) garrisoned at *Rapidum* in the 2nd century, together with a detachment of the cavalry unit<sup>160</sup>.

*o.c.*, 223; cf. GARCIA Y BELLIDO, A., "El 'Exercitus Hispanicus' desde Augusto a Vespasiano", *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 34, 1961, 135; ROLDAN HERVAS, M., *Hispania y el ejército romano. Contribución a la historia de la España antigua*, Salamanca, 1974, 216; KEIL, *De Thracum auxiliis...*, *o.c.*, 31 supposed that the regiment could be stationed in Tarraconensis even before. A.D. 40. In Keil's view, after that date it must have been dispatched in Mauretania Caesariensis. If we consider, as Le Roux thinks, that the Villar de Placencia and Ricobayo inscriptions show recruitments in the Spanish lands for the regiment stationed by that time in Mauretania Caesariensis, it means to accept a very early presence of the regiment, eventually under Claudius, if not before, in the African province. On the other hand, Le Roux excludes the stationing of this *ala* in Hispania "il ne nous paraît pas possible de compter l'aile II des Thraces au nombre de troupes en garnison en Hispania".

149. The mentioning of an *ala II Thracum* in three distinct provinces at relative short intervals gave birth to the idea of two different *alae II Thracum*. An *equus* of the *ala II Thracum* recorded in Dunaújváros at ca. 100 was an argument for WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, *o.c.*, 73 and JARRETT, "Thracian Units...", *o.c.*, 218, nr. 8 to suggest two *alae II Thracum*, one in Mauretania Caesariensis and another in Pannonia. Jarrett makes even the distinction between the regiment mentioned in Lusitania and Pannonia, on one hand and the one recorded in Mauretania Caesariensis on the other. In fact, there is one and the same regiment recorded in three different provinces.

150. KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, *o.c.*, 162, nr. 660-661. An inscription from Leibnitz (CIL III, 5332) discussed by ALFÖLDY, *Noricum...*, *o.c.*, 258 refers in fact to *ala III Thracum*.

151. CIL XVI, 56.

152. CIL VIII, 9615; CICHORIUS, "Ala...", *o.c.*, 1266.

153. BENSEDDIK, *Les troupes auxiliaires...*, *o.c.*, 45; LEVEAU, "L'aile II des Thraces...", *o.c.*, 164.

154. CIL VIII, 20827.

155. AE 1936, 31.

156. BENSEDDIK, *Les troupes auxiliaires...*, *o.c.*, 45.

157. AE 1958, 158; AE 1929, 135; LEVEAU, "L'aile II des Thraces...", *o.c.*, 171.

158. CIL VIII, 9238 (Berrouaghia); CIL VIII, 10949 = AE 1932, 31 (Altava-Hadjar Roum); AE 1951, 41 (Mactar); CIL VIII, 9203; AE 1929, 135) (*Rapidum*- Sour Djouab).

159. AE 1951, 41 = SPEIDEL, M.P., "Guards of the Roman Armies. An essay on the singulares of the provinces", *Antiquitas* 28, 1978, 124, nr. 82.

160. AE 1929, 135; SESTON, W., "Le secteur de *Rapidum* sur le

Salama opines that the entire cavalry regiment together with *cohors II Sardorum equitata* was stationed at Rapidum<sup>161</sup>. Although the size of the fort (430 × 330) could apparently fit the accommodation of the two units, the percentage of the inscriptions set by Thracian horsemen, in comparison to the rest of the epigraphic material, does not allow such an option. The character of the inscriptions, mentioning deceased officers while in active duty, horsemen and decurions as *praepositi* of *ala II Thracum*, would rather point to the presence of an important detachment rather than the entire unit<sup>162</sup>.

## XII. ALA III AUGUSTA THRACUM SAGITTARIORUM CIVIUM ROMANORUM

The epithet *Augusta* would imply the setting of the regiment during Augustus' time<sup>163</sup>. It was sent directly to Syria. Its first record is a *cursus honorum* from Tarraco (Tarragona) pertaining to M. Valerius Propinquus Gratus Cerialis, who fulfilled his career during Titus' and early Domitian's reigns. His *quarta militia* occurred therefore in 85/86, as *praef(ectus) alae III Thracum in Syr[ia]*<sup>164</sup>.

Unlike Keil, Cichorius suggests the existence of two *alae III Augustae Thracum*, one with this name in the title and another *ala III Thracum*, as it appears in the Tarraco *cursus honorum*<sup>165</sup>. The

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limes de Maurétanie Césarienne après les fouilles de 1927", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* XLV, 1928, 168-169, 171 supposes a temporary plurality of offices, similar to a situation at Rapidum (Sour Djouab), during Alexander Severus' reign, when *cohors II Sardorum* was under the command of a decurion of *ala Parthorum*.

161. SALAMA, P., "Les déplacements successifs du limes en Maurétanie Césarienne (essai de synthèse)", *Akten des II. Internationalen Limeskongresses*, Budapest 1977, 586.

162. On the basis of the Sour Djouab inscription (*CIL* VIII, 9203); CICHORIUS, "Ala...", *o.c.*, 1266 thinks that *ala II Thracum* was stationed here in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. On the other hand the early presence of a detachment at Sour Ghoslan (Aumale) is assumed on the basis of the P. Aelius Primianus' carrier (*CIL* VIII, 9045): *ex dec(urione) al(ae) Thrac(um)*.

163. WAGNER, "Die Rekrutierung...", *o.c.*, 73; SADDINGTON, *The Development...*, *o.c.*, 161; SPAUL, *Ala...*, *o.c.*, 235).

164. *CIL* II, 4251 = *ILS* 2711 = *RIT* 311; cf. WAGNER, "Die Rekrutierung...", *o.c.*, 73-74; DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia Militarium...*, *o.c.*, 826 V 30 considers this *praefectura* as having been fulfilled concomitantly (item) with that in the *cohors VIII Phrygum*, also in Syria. The individual was appointed in *equite* in about 70/81; ALFÖLDY, "Die Hilfstruppen...", *o.c.*, 192-193, nr. 85.

165. KEIL, "De Thracum auxiliis...", *o.c.*, 36; CICHORIUS, "Ala...", *o.c.*, 1266. CICHORIUS, in fact, hesitates in assuming an unambiguous existence of two regiments. Keil identifies both regiments in a single one, *ala III Augusta Thracum* which is correct; VELKOV, "Nova voena diploma...", *o.c.*, 74 nr. 2 thinks also

assumption can not be sustained, for there is no epigraphic evidence for a distinct *ala III Thracum*. The regiment in the title is rather identical with the one from the Tarraco inscription<sup>166</sup>.

The regiment is also recorded in the Muhovo (88), Nicopolis (88) and Suhozem (90) MDs as being continuously stationed in Syria in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. The last MD was granted to a Thracian horseman in the unit<sup>167</sup>.

A fragmentary inscription from Konularp (Bithynia)<sup>168</sup> dates from a period when the unit was still garrisoned in Syria. A marble plaque from Membidj mentioning a veteranus of the *ala*, refers also to the presence of this unit in Syria in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century<sup>169</sup>. A detachment of the regiment could supposedly have been integrated in *vexillatio equitum ex Syria*, recorded in the Tokod MD<sup>170</sup> (110) for Pannonia Inferior<sup>171</sup>, which took part in the Dacian wars<sup>172</sup>.

The possible and even probable early presence of some contingents of the *ala* in Pannonia Inferior could have attracted, subsequently, the deployment of the whole regiment on the Danubian frontier, in Pannonia Superior, where it is recorded in the MDs from 133 through 163<sup>173</sup>.

An inscription from Carnuntum<sup>174</sup> mentions an *eques* from the Servilius' turma, deceased while on duty in the town. On the basis of this monument, Betz, Wagner and Lörincz assume the presence of the unit at or in the area of *Carnuntum* (Pannonia Superior) during the Trajan's reign<sup>175</sup>.

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about the existence of two *alae III Thracum*, but the regiment in the title appears frequently in inscriptions without the epithet *Augusta* (e. g. *CIL* III, 5332 = AE 1982, 901 = AE 1987, 78.). The vexillation was under the command of T. Iulius Maximus Marinianus; cf. WAGNER, "Die Dislokation...", *o.c.*, 74.

166. JARRET, "Thracian Units...", *o.c.*, 218, nr.9.

167. *CIL* XVI, 35; AE 1939, 26; *RMD* 4.

168. *IGRRP* III, 57.

169. AE 1982, 901.

170. *CIL* XVI, 164; SAXER, R., *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian*, Köln, Graz 1967, 25, nr. 43.

171. In the Szöny MD (*RMD* 62), LÖRINCZ, "Pannonische Ziegelstempel...", *o.c.*, 58-59 proposes correctly [*III Aug(usta) Thr(acum) Sag(ittariorum)*].

172. STROBEL, "Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans...", *o.c.*, 118.

173. Cf. KRAFT, *Zur Rekrutierung...*, *o.c.*, 162 nr. 672.

174. BETZ, A., "Ein Soldatengrabstein mit Totenmahlszene aus Carnuntum", *Germania* 21, 1937, 168-171, fig. 2 = AE 1937, 78.

175. BETZ, "Ein Soldatengrabstein...", *o.c.*, 170; WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, *o.c.*, 74; LÖRINCZ, "Thrakische Hilfstruppen...", *o.c.*, 93; LÖRINCZ, *Die römische Hilfstruppen...*, *o.c.*, 25-26 LÖRINCZ,

The previously held opinion that the regiment was garrisoned at Ács (*Ad Mures*)<sup>176</sup> until Marcus Aurelius' reign has been corrected by recent investigations. On the basis of a tile stamp found in this fort it has been showed that cohors I Thacum was in fact the occupant of this fort<sup>177</sup>.

A prolongation of the presence of the unit at Carnuntum is even possible until 118/119, when it was moved to *Adiaum/Odiavum* (Dunaalmás)<sup>178</sup> where it rebuilt the fort in stone. In the 40s of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century the regiment left temporarily Pannonia Superior for Mauretania Caesariensis in order to participate in the military operations in that province<sup>179</sup>. In the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century the regiment continued to garrison the fort at *Adiaum/Odiavum*<sup>180</sup>.

During Caracalla's reign, the *Brigetio* military centre, to whose territory the *Adiaum* fort belonged, was shifted to Pannonia Inferior. A second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century tombstone of an eques of the *ala*, found at Leibnitz (*Solva*), in Noricum, where his family lived can not, however, be taken as a proof for a base of the regiment in this place<sup>181</sup>.

As a result of the intense activities of roads and bridges rebuilding and maintenance between *Adiaum* and *Brigetio*, the regiment received successively the surnames of *Gordiana* in 242; *Philippiana* in 245, 247; *Deciana*, in 249-251; *Galliena-Volusiana*, in 252; *Claudiana*, in 270<sup>182</sup>. During Decius' reign, the regiment appears to have had the high distinction of *civium Romanorum* a high juridical status which might have been granted earlier<sup>183</sup>. It is missing in the MDs, an indication that it could only have been received in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, possible during or after the Severan period.

A series of 2<sup>nd</sup> century MDs show that the regiment was *sagittariorum*, as it is recorded in 146. This designation does not, however, appear in any of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century inscriptions. The imperial epithet *Augusta*, even though it does not appear in all the inscriptions, might have been preserved until mid 3<sup>rd</sup> century<sup>184</sup>.

It still remains to be clarified if an inscription of Arrabona (Győr) which was restored [*ala III Aug Th[racum]*] by the editors of *CIL* refers to this regiment or to the infantry regiment, *cohors III Augusta Thracum*<sup>185</sup>.

B.; VISY, Z., "Die Hilfstruppen der Provinz Pannonia Superior unter Trajan", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 39, 1987, 339; RADNÓTI, A., "Zur Dislokation der Auxiliartuppen in den Donauprovinzen", *Limes Studien. Vorträge des 3. Internationalen Limeskongresses in Rheinfelden*, Basel 1959, 141; LÖRINCZ, B., "Die Stempelziegel der Alen in Pannonien", *Archeologiai Értesítő* 1977, 87; LÖRINCZ, *Pannonische Ziegelstempel ...*, o.c., 37. The same reconsideration also in the case of the Győr tile stamp considered by WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, o.c., 74 to have belonged to our unit; LÖRINCZ, "Die Stempelziegel...", o.c., 10-15. It is interesting that in the inscriptions on the Pannonian limes the *ala* appears again with the attribute *Augusta* only during Volusianus' reign (*CIL* III, 4270) and only in an official dedication; the cognomen was usually abandoned very likely for practical reasons, related to the writing up of the text.

176. BÁRKOCZI, L., "A New Military Diploma from Brigetio", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 9, 1958, 418; FITZ, J., "A Military History of Pannonia from the Marcomann Wars to the Death of Alexander Severus (180-235)", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 14, 1962, 44; MOCSY, "Pannonia...", o.c., 620.

177. LÖRINCZ, *Pannonische Ziegelstempel III...*, o.c., 16, 37. The *Solva* fragmentary inscription mentions (*CIL* III, 5332) [*ala...*] *I Aug Thr* interpreted as being either nr. 11 or more probably [*ala II*] *I Aug. Thr*.

178. LÖRINCZ, "Thrakische Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 93.

179. *CIL* XVI, 99.

180. CICHORIUS, "Ala...", o.c., 1266; WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, o.c., 74; MOCSY, "Pannonia...", o.c., 620; RADNÓTI, "Zur Dislokation...", o.c., 138-139; LÖRINCZ, "Die Stempelziegel...", o.c., 87; LÖRINCZ, *Pannonische Ziegelstempel ...*, o.c., 252; LÖRINCZ, "Thrakische Hilfstruppen...", o.c., 93; LÖRINCZ, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen...*, o.c., 25-26.

181. *CIL* III, 5340; WAGNER, *Die Dislokation...*, o.c., 74.

182. *Gordiana*: *CIL* III, 11332; FITZ, *Honorific Titles of Roman military Units in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century*, Budapest 1983, nr. 614; cf. *CIL* III, 11327; FITZ, J., *Honorific Titles...*, o.c., nr. 613, both from Brigetio; *Philippiana*: *CIL* III, 4626; FITZ, *Honorific Titles...*, o.c., nr. 691; *CIL* III, 4627 = 11324; FITZ, *Honorific Titles...*, o.c., nr. 692, from Sütto; *Deciana*: *CIL* III, 4625; FITZ, *Honorific Titles...*, o.c., nr. 717, from Sütto; *Galliena-Volusiana*: *CIL* III, 4270 = *ILS* 523 = *RIU* 705; FITZ, *Honorific Titles...*, o.c., nr. 212, from Almás; *Claudiana*: *CIL* III, 11333b = FITZ, *Honorific Titles...*, o.c., nr. 777.

183. During Decius' reign the regiment appears to have had the high distinction of *civium Romanorum* (*CIL* III, 4270) a high juridical status which might have been granted earlier. It is missing in the MDs,

184. *CIL* XVI, 178; *CIL* XVI, 96; *CIL* XVI 99; *CIL* XVI, 104; *CIL* III, 4270 = *RIU* 704 = *ILS* 523.

185. *CIL* III, 4380.