

SNEŽANA FERJANČIĆ

University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy
sferjanc@f.bg.ac.rs

THE ALA PANNONIORUM IN THE ARMY OF ILLYRICUM*

Abstract: The province of Illyricum, established shortly after Octavian's Illyrian war and divided into Illyricum Superius (Dalmatia) and Illyricum Inferius (Pannonia) during or after the Pannonian-Dalmatian Rebellion, was garrisoned by several legions and various auxiliary regiments. The list of *auxilia* includes an ala Pannoniorum. Epigraphic evidence from Dalmatia and Pannonia provides some information on its relocation, as well as on its recruitment. Under Augustus, the regiment was in Dalmatia. It was relocated to Pannonia ca. 15 AD. At the beginning of Vespasian's reign, the ala Pannoniorum was transferred to Moesia Inferior. Its return to the Pannonian section of the Danubian limes is dated after the Marcommanic War of Marcus Aurelius. Belonging to the army of Pannonia Inferior, the unit was probably stationed in the fortress of Cusum. Epigraphic evidence allows us to glimpse certain patterns of its recruitment during the first sojourn in Illyricum. It appears that it was conscripted among the bellicose tribes of the Iberian Peninsula and the indigenous population of the southern Pannonia.

Keywords: Illyricum, Dalmatia, Pannonia, ala Pannoniorum, recruitment, Spaniards, Pannonians.

The province of Illyricum, encompassing the vast region between the Danube and the Adriatic Sea, was established shortly after Octavian's Illyrian war (35-33 BC). During the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion (6-9 AD), or immediately after its suppression, it was divided into two separate administrative units, known as Illyricum Superius (i. e. Dalmatia) and Illyricum Inferius (i. e. Pannonia).¹ The army of Illyricum consisted of several legions and numerous auxiliary units, including the ala Pannoniorum. The aim of this paper would be to examine its relocation and the patterns of its recruitment.

* The following abbreviations were used in the text and in the list of references: *AE*=*L'année épigraphique*, Paris.; *CIL*=*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin; *OPEL*=*Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum* I-IV, Budapest/Wien, 1994-2002; *RE*=*Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart; *RIU*=*Die römische Inschriften Ungarns I-VI*, Budapest/Amsterdam/Bonn, 1972-2001.

¹ On the establishment of Illyricum see Dzino 2010: 119. On the date of its division see Mócsy 1962: 583; J. J. Wilkes 1969: 95; Papazoglu 2007: 264; Dzino 2010: 137.

Inscriptions mentioning soldiers and officers of the *ala Pannoniorum* have been discovered at various locations in Dalmatia and Pannonia. They form two distinct groups from a chronological point of view. Seven monuments belong to the pre-Flavian period. A fragmentary epitaph of Cloutius, son of Clutamus, was found in Salona in Dalmatia and dated to the reign of Augustus (*CIL* III 2016=8577).² The funerary stelae of the regiment's soldiers from Pannonia, found in Peresznye (*RIU* 216, 217),³ Győr (*RIU* 255, 256, 258) and Deutsch Altenburg (*AE* 1997, 1251) respectively, belong to the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The names of the deceased soldiers in nominative and the regiment's title in ablative are characteristic for the pre-Flavian period.⁴ The second group consists of three inscriptions found in Pannonia Inferior. They are dated to the end of the second century AD or to the beginning of the third century AD. A fragmentary epitaph of a soldier named Crispinianus was discovered in the vicinity of the village of Páty, on the territory of Aquincum (*RIU* 1326). Two votive monuments were found in the south-eastern reaches of the province. An altar erected by the decurion Cogitatus to a deity whose name had not been preserved was found in Belegiš (*CIL* III 15138/3). Acumincum (modern Slankamen) has yielded a statue of Jupiter Dolichenus. It was dedicated by a decurion Aurelius Iustianus and a duplicarius Ulpus Silvinianus (*CIL* III 3252=10241).⁵

Considering the adduced epigraphic evidence, the history of the *ala Pannoniorum* in Illyricum is reconstructed as follows. At first, during Augustus' reign, it was garrisoned in Dalmatia, where it probably participated in the suppression of the Pannonian-Dalmatian Revolt. The exact location of its fortress remains unknown. Perhaps it should be sought in the vicinity of Salona, since the only inscription mentioning the regiment was discovered in that colony (*CIL* III 2016=8577). At the beginning of Tiberius' reign, ca. 15 AD, the *ala Pannoniorum* was transferred to Pannonia.⁶ It garrisoned the fortress at Strebersdorf, 4 km from Peresznye, the find-spot of the two tombstones of its soldiers (*RIU* 216, 217). Recent archaeological excavations at the site have shown that the earliest camp was constructed during Tiberius' reign.⁷ The relocation of the *ala Pannoniorum* from Dalmatia to Pannonia should be regarded as one of the measures undertaken for ensuring a more efficient protection of the road system in Pannonia. It guarded a section of the famous Amber road, a vital trade route that connected Aquileia in northern Italy with Carnuntum on the Danube.⁸ In the second half of Tiberius' reign, however, the *ala Pannoniorum* garrisoned the fortress of Arrabona. Its presence there is attested by three funerary stelae found in modern Győr (*RIU* 255, 256, 258).⁹ The earliest timber-earth fort at the site was erected

² Holder 1980: 283, n° 621.

³ In *RIU*, Gyalóka is recorded as the find-spot of the monuments. For Peresznye see Lőrincz 2001, 203, ad n° 151 with literature.

⁴ Holder 1980: 144.

⁵ For the dating of the inscriptions see Lőrincz 2001: 205, n° 157-158 (Belegiš and Acumincum); Alföldy 2002: 271, n° 13 (Páty).

⁶ Knight 1991: 190 connects its relocation to the division of Illyricum.

⁷ Mráv 2010-2013: 68.

⁸ On the Amber road see Mócsy 1974: 94-95.

⁹ Spaul 1995: 66 considered Arrabona as the unit's permanent camp. The fort at Gyalóka was garrisoned by a detachment of experienced older soldiers with the task of patrolling the western approach to the main camp at Arrabona.

between 25 and 30 AD.¹⁰

The ala Pannoniorum remained in Pannonia until the beginning of Vespasian's reign. It was transferred to Moesia Inferior, where it garrisoned the fortress of Troesmis.¹¹ Sometime during the reign of Trajan, the ala Pannoniorum changed its garrison province once again. It remains uncertain whether it was transferred to Dacia or Numidia.¹² Epigraphic evidence strongly suggests that it was sent back to Pannonia during the second half of the second century AD. According to modern scholars, the transfer of the ala Pannoniorum to its former garrison province occurred after the Marcomannic War of Marcus Aurelius.¹³ The site of its fortress has not been determined. Adduced epigraphic evidence, i. e. the two votive inscriptions from Belegiš (*CIL* III 15138/3) and Slankamen (*CIL* III 3252=10241), strongly suggests that it was located in the south-eastern parts of the province. Considering the distribution of auxiliary units on the lower stretch of the Pannonian Danube, one might presume that the ala Pannoniorum was stationed in Cusum (modern Petrovaradin). The garrisons of other auxiliary *castella* on that section of the limes are all accounted for. Cornacum (modern Sotin) was occupied by the cohort II Aurelia Dacorum milliaria equitata, Malata/Bononia (modern Banoštor) probably by the ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum, Acumincum by the cohort I Campanorum voluntariorum civium Romanorum, Rittium (modern Surduk) by the ala I Augusta Ituraeorum sagittariorum and Burgenae by the cohort I Thracum civium Romanorum.¹⁴ The late Roman stone fortress of Cusum was garrisoned by the equites Delmatae.¹⁵ Archaeological evidence from Petrovaradin implies the existence an earlier *castellum* at the site, possibly occupied by the Ala Pannoniorum.¹⁶

Epigraphic evidence from Dalmatia and Pannonia provides scant information on the origins of soldiers serving in the ala Pannoniorum. During its first sojourn in Illyricum, the regiment was replenished by Spaniards and Pannonians. Cloutius, son of Clutamus, who served under Augustus in Dalmatia,¹⁷ had been enlisted among the Susarri, one of the twenty two tribes of the Astures (*CIL* III 2016=8577). The ethnonym is recorded on the famous edict from El Bierzo, issued by Augustus in 15 BC. The emperor granted perpetual immunity to the inhabitants of the *castellum* Paemeiobriga, belonging to the *gens* of the Susarri, because they had, unlike other tribes from the north-western Spain, remained loyal to Rome in the years between 26 and 22 BC. He also decreed that they should keep the lands they were holding when the short-lived province of Transduriana was governed by Lucius Sestius Quirinalis (22-19 BC). All the duties of the Paemeiobrigenses were

¹⁰ Mráv 2010-2013: 76. On the history of the ala Pannoniorum and its movements in the first century AD see Wagner 1938: 57; Mócsy 1962: 619-620; Wilkes 1969: 140-141; Alföldy 1987: 244; Lőrincz 2001: 22.

¹¹ Lőrincz 2001: 22; Matei-Popescu 2010: 191.

¹² Roxan, Holder 2003: 433, ad n° 222 have opted for Dacia, stating that the unit was back in Moesia Inferior in 125 AD, after it had been amalgamated with the ala I Gallorum. Spaul 1995: 68 has presumed that the regiment was transferred to Numidia.

¹³ Lőrincz 2001: 22; Alföldy 2002: 271.

¹⁴ Lőrincz 2001: 104-105. For the possibility that the ala Pannoniorum garrisoned Cusum cf. Dušanić 1968: 102; Višy 2003: 145.

¹⁵ Not. dig. Occ. XXXII 32, 34. Cf. Wilkes 2005: 207.

¹⁶ Višy 2003: 145.

¹⁷ Holder 1980: 283, n° 621.

transferred to the inhabitants of the *castellum Aiiobrigiaecum*, belonging to the *gens* of the Gigurri.¹⁸ Apparently, the Susarri and the Gigurri were neighbors, the former living to the northeast of the latter.¹⁹ Since the Gigurri were one of the Asturian tribes mentioned by Pliny the Elder,²⁰ Susarri probably also belonged to the Astures.²¹ Cloutius' home is recorded in ablative as *Curunniace*. Although modern scholars followed Hübner in identifying it with *Curunda* in the territory of the Asturian Zoelae,²² it seems logical to presume that it was located in the region inhabited by the Susarri, i. e. the vicinity of modern Bembibre and the valley of the river Boeza and its tributaries.²³

Two Spanish recruits are attested in the ala Pannoniorum during its stay in Pannonia. They served in the fort of Strebersdorf, under Tiberius, along with their comrade Abilus, son of Turancus (*RIU* 216).²⁴ Pentius, son of Dovidar or Dovidarus, is styled *Aligantiensis*. Although the exact location of Aligantia remains undetermined, it seems that it was situated in the north-western parts of the Iberian peninsula. The name *Pentius* is considered as Cantabro-Asturian.²⁵ One should also note that a Cantabrian princeps, attested on an inscription from modern Valmartino, bore the name *Dovidarus*.²⁶ Bovegius, son of Veminus, was recruited in Lancia. Two towns bearing that name are attested in Lusitania, and one in the territory of the Astures.²⁷ It is impossible to determine which of them was the hometown of Bovegius. Abilus, son of Turancus, presumably belonged to the indigenous population of the Iberian Peninsula as well. His origin is implied by the name *Abilus*, attested on an inscription mentioning a man from the Cantabrian town of Vadinia.²⁸ Abilus' home was recorded as *Lucocadiacus*. He was enlisted in Lucocadia, a settlement presumably located in the *conventus Asturum* or in the western Lusitania.²⁹ The presence of Spaniards in the ala Pannoniorum is not surprising, considering the warlike disposition of various Iberian tribes. Spanish auxiliaries were already prominent in the Roman army in the late Republican period.³⁰ After the final subjugation of the north-western regions of the Iberian Peninsula in 19 BC auxiliary regiments were formed throughout the Spanish provinces.³¹ A reference concerning the recruitment of Spaniards under Augustus is found in Strabo. The geographer states that the Cantabrian tribes who live near the sources of the Iber were subdued by Augustus and they take field for the

¹⁸ Alföldy 2000: 177-205. In addition to the edict, the name of Susarri is attested on a *tessera hospitalis* found at Torre de Cabreira and dated to 28 AD (AE 2000, 748).

¹⁹ Alföldy 2000: 189.

²⁰ Plin. *HN* III 28.

²¹ Luján Martínez 2008: 74 presumes that the Susarri could have been Gallician or Asturian.

²² Hübner 1901: 1894. Cf. e. g. Wilkes 1969: 475; Albertos Firmat 1974: 432; Costabile, Licandro 2002, 45, n. 47. For a different opinion see Luján 2009, 243; Correa 2002: 256 and 257, n. 16.

²³ On the territory of Susarri see Alföldy 2000: 187; Solana Sáinz 2004: 50.

²⁴ For the date see Holder 1980: 283, n° 622.

²⁵ Vallejo 2013: 99.

²⁶ AE 1997, 875.

²⁷ Schulten 1924: 620-621; Galsterer 1971: 63.

²⁸ Vives 1971, 5431. On Vadinia and its territory see González Rodríguez 2011: 95.

²⁹ P. Le Roux 2007: 205-206, n. 51.

³⁰ Saddington 1982, 152.

³¹ Holder 1980: 113.

Romans.³²

Epigraphic evidence indicates that the ala Pannoniorum was regularly replenished by Pannonian recruits during its first sojourn in Pannonia. Scilus, son of Bato, was conscripted among the Breuci under Tiberius or Claudius (*RIU* 256).³³ Two soldiers, enlisted at the same time as Scilus,³⁴ came from the tribe of Colapiani – a horseman whose name is not preserved, son of Cralus (*RIU* 258), and Bato, son of Bulus (*RIU* 255). According to J. E. H. Spaul, Bato was recruited in the Claudian colony of Apri and he was Macedonian, as well as his decurion and heir Scenus, son of Scenobarvus.³⁵ His *origo*, recorded as *COLAP* on his tombstone, should be read as *Colap(ianus)* for two reasons. First, Bato could have been recruited under Tiberius, at the time when the colony of Apri had not yet been founded. Second, his service took place in the period when auxiliary units were for the most part conscripted in the provinces and areas where they had been raised.³⁶ Pannonian soldiers in the ala Pannoniorum were all drafted in the southern parts of the province, which had come under the Roman influence and rule during the last decades of the Republican period and under Augustus. Living along the middle and lower Colapis,³⁷ Colapiani were subdued at the end of Octavian's Illyrian war, after the fall of Segestica in 35 BC.³⁸ Breuci inhabited the area to the south of Andizetes and the confluence of the rivers Drava and Danube. Their territory, stretching to the Sava in the south,³⁹ was conquered during the *bellum Pannonicum* (13-9 BC).⁴⁰ Reflecting on the Pannonians in the ala Pannoniorum, one should bear in mind that the local recruitment in the province started under Tiberius. The earliest datable testimony is provided by a military diploma issued before 54 AD to a certain Dases, veteran of the cohort II Hispanorum scutata.⁴¹ He was enlisted before 29 AD among the Cornacates. Their territory extended to the east of Breuci and Andizetes, between the rivers Sava and Danube.⁴²

Onomastic evidence provides certain hints concerning the origin of a number of other soldiers of the ala Pannoniorum during its first sojourn in Illyricum. Some of them bore Illyrian and others Celtic names. The decurion and heir of the Colapian Bato was of Illyrian descent (*RIU* 255). His name *Scenus* and the name of his father *Scenobarvus/Scenobarbus* belong to the Illyrian onomastic corpus.⁴³ The same holds true for both the decurion and heir of the other Colapian recruit (*RIU* 258). The officer's name *Artus* (or *Artius*) is considered to be Illyrian,⁴⁴ as well as the heir's patronymic

³² Strabo III 3, 8=C 156.

³³ Holder 1980: 284, n° 624.

³⁴ Holder 1980: 284, n° 625-626.

³⁵ Spaul 1995: 72.

³⁶ On the pattern of recruitment see Holder 1980: 114-115, 123.

³⁷ Grbić 2014: 189-190.

³⁸ Šašel Kos 2005: 441; Dzino 2010: 114.

³⁹ Zaninović 2003: 48.

⁴⁰ Mócsy 1962: 540-541; Dzino 2010: 131-134.

⁴¹ *CIL* XVI 2.

⁴² Mócsy 1959: 76.

⁴³ Krahe 1929: 101; Mayer 1957: 312-313; Mócsy 1959: 189; Alföldy 1969: 289.

⁴⁴ Krahe 1929: 11; Mayer 1957: 63; Mócsy 1959: 164.

Plassarus.⁴⁵

Judging by onomastic evidence, two soldiers of the *ala Pannoniorum* were of Celtic descent. The first one was Deculus, decurion and one of the two heirs of the Breucus Scilus (*RIU* 256). He bore a Gaulish name.⁴⁶ The other soldier, whose name is only partially preserved as [- -]cus, was the son of a certain Elmallus (*RIU* 217). K. Kraft believed that he was enlisted among the German tribe of Chatti. His opinion was based on the reading of the second row of the soldier's epitaph proposed by Th. Mommsen. The word *f(i)lius* was followed by the restitution [C]attus.⁴⁷ However, on the photograph, published in the first volume of *Römische Inschriften Ungarns*, the last three letters of the row – *TTVS* – are clearly preceded by the upper part of an I. Consequently, the word after *f(i)lius* was [I.]ittus. It should be considered as part of the soldier's name and, following B. Lőrincz, restituted as [C]ittus.⁴⁸ The Celtic origin of the soldier named [- -]cus *Cittus* is revealed by his patronymic. The name *Elmallus*, not attested elsewhere in the western provinces or northern Italy,⁴⁹ belongs to the Celtic onomastic corpus. The element *-mallus* is found in various Gaulish personal names (e. g. *Cantomallus*, *Caramallus*), as well as a single name – *Mallus*. It is derived from the word *mallos*, meaning “lazy, slow”.⁵⁰

To sum up. The *ala Pannoniorum* garrisoned Illyricum twice during the first three centuries of the Roman empire. Its first sojourn in Dalmatia and Pannonia occurred during the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. At first, the regiment was stationed in Dalmatia, possibly in the vicinity of Salona. At the beginning of Tiberius's reign, it was transferred to Pannonia. Its earliest fort there was located near modern Strebersdorf, protecting the section of the famous Amber road between Savaria and Scarbantia. A couple of decades later, the *ala Pannoniorum* was relocated to the north, to the fortress of Arrabona. It remained there until the beginning of Vespasian's reign, when it was transferred once again, this time to Troesmis in Moesia Inferior. The *ala Pannoniorum* left the Danubian provinces some time under Trajan. It was relocated either to Numidia or Dacia. It was brought to the Danube once again, after the Marcommanic War of Marcus Aurelius. It might have garrisoned Cusum in Pannonia Inferior. Epigraphic evidence from Dalmatia and Pannonia reveals two main areas of recruitment of the *ala Pannoniorum* during its first sojourn in Illyricum. Fresh conscripts were drafted among the warlike tribes of the Iberian Peninsula. The home of one soldier was Lancia in the land of the Astures or one of the two homonymous towns in Lusitania. A duplicarius was enlisted among the Asturian Susarri, while two soldiers presumably came from the north-western parts of the Iberian Peninsula. Judging by epigraphic evidence, the *ala Pannoniorum* was replenished by Pannonians as well. Inscriptions mention two Colapiani and one Breucus. Both tribes inhabited regions that were under the Roman rule or influence since the end of the republican period or the time of Augustus. The Colapiani were subdued during Octavian's Illyrian war (35 BC) and the Breuci during the *bellum Pannonicum* (13-9 BC). Epigraphic evidence dated to the

⁴⁵ Krahe 1929: 92; Mócsy 1959: 184.

⁴⁶ Mócsy 1959: 243, n° 158/7.

⁴⁷ Kraft 1951: 156, n° 472. Cf. Mommsen, *CIL* III 4228.

⁴⁸ Lőrincz 2001: 204, n° 152.

⁴⁹ *OPEL* II 115.

⁵⁰ Delamarre 2003: 214-215.

first sojourn of the ala Pannoniorum in Illyricum provides some information on the regiment's ethnic composition and recruitment. Inscriptions belonging to the time when the unit garrisoned Pannonia Inferior unfortunately offer no clues to its soldiers' origins.

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СНЕЖАНА ФЕРЈАНЧИЋ

Универзитет у Београду, Филозофски факултет

ALA PANNONIORUM У ВОЈСЦИ ИЛИРИКА

Резиме

Провинција Илирик, која је обухватала огроман простор између Јадранског мора и Дунава, основана је кратко време после Октавијановог Илирског рата (35-33. године пре н.е.). У току делматско-панонског устанка (6-9. године н.е.) или непосредно по његовом завршетку, подељена је на Горњи Илирик (*Illyricum Superius*) и Доњи Илирик (*Illyricum Inferius*), тј. Далмацију и Панонију. Војну посаду ових провинција чинило је неколико легија, као и велики број помоћних одреда, међу којима је била и *ala Pannoniorum*. Натписи ове јединице, нађени на неколико локалитета у Далмацији и Панонији, омогућавају да се реконструише њена историја и пружају извесне податке о њеној регрутацији.

Ala Pannoniorum је у Илирику боравила два пута током Принципатата. Први пут је то било за владе династије Јулијеваца-Клаудијеваца, а други пут после Маркоманских ратова Марка Аурелија. На почетку свог првог боравка у Илирику, *ala Pannoniorum* је била стационарирана у Далмацији. Почетком Тиберијевог владе, око 15. године, пребачена је у Панонију. Најпре је била стационарирана у утврђењу поред Штреберсдорфа, а затим у Арабони. Почетком Веспасијанове владавине, *ala Pannoniorum* је прекомандована у Доњу Мезију. Под Трајаном је пребачена у Дакију или Нумидију, да би се у Илирик вратила у другој половини II века. На ову претпоставку указују натписи наше јединице који су нађени на три локалитета у Доњој Панонији (Пати на територији Аквинкума, Белегиш и Сланкамен) и датовани на крај II или почетак III века. Имајући у виду распоред помоћних одреда на најјужнијем делу панонског лимеса, препостављамо да је *ala Pannoniorum* могла бити стационарирана у Кузуму.

Натписи из Далмације и Паноније откривају два главна извора регрутације наше јединице током њеног првог боравка у Илирику. Један део регрута чинили су људи уновачени на Иберијском полуострву. Међу њима срећемо једног човека из Ланције (није јасно да ли је реч о граду на територији Астура или једном од два истоимена града у Лузитанији), те једног припадника Сусара, који су припадали племену Астура. Још двојица војника могла су бити уновачена на северо-западу Иберијског полуострва. На то указују њихова имена, као и имена њихових очева. Присуство хиспанских регрута у али на дунавском лимесу није нимало изненађујуће. Припадници ратоборних иберских племена играли су значајну улогу у помоћним одредима римске војске још од доба позне републике. Други значајан извор војника била су домородачка племена јужне Паноније. У али *Pannoniorum* су посведочена двојица Колапијана и један Бреук. Њихова племена живела су у областима које су под римским утицајем и влашћу биле од последњих деценија републике или Августове владавине. Колапијани су покорени у току Октавијановог Илирског рата, када је пала Сегестика (35. године пре н.е.), а Бреуци током панонског рата (13-9. године пре н.е.). Епиграфски материјал везан за други боравак але *Pannoniorum* у Илирику, тј. у Доњој Панонији, не пружа никакве податке ни индикације о пореклу њених војника.

Кључне речи: Илирик, Дамација, Панонија, *ala Pannoniorum*, регрутација, Шпанци, Панонци.