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JOURNEYS OF HADRIAN

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I. The travels of the Caesars bring in most aspects of imperial history. Hence variegated instruction to be gleaned from every page in the *Itinera Principum* recently digested and expounded by H.Halfmann (1986). Hadrian could not fail to annex central prominence. Eighty years having elapsed since the book of W.Weber (erudite but untidy), the season had arrived long since for fresh investigations.¹⁾

Two reasons render the task abnormally arduous and delicate. First, the nature of the literary sources. Book LXIX of Cassius Dio (i.e. Xiphilinus) offers items of sporadic interest and value but yields little help for chronology.²⁾ Something more has to be said about the *Historia Augusta*. The biography of Hadrian is the most intricate and baffling in the whole work. On curt statement, three strands can be detected. First, a basic source favourable to the Emperor or at least neutral: the source that comes out clearly in the *Vita* of Antoninus Pius.³⁾ Second, additions from Marius Maximus, which betray the habits and quality of the consular biographer, prone to detraction and scandal.⁴⁾ Third, additions from the hand of the author himself. Above all, the late author, here a hasty compiler, has abridged ruthlessly the account of the imperial peregrinations. From first to last it admits the names of four cities only.⁵⁾

Second, the plethora of testimony accruing from coins and inscriptions. Some scholars have been over-eager to elicit facts and dates that might document Hadrian's passage through certain cities or regions. By contrast, Halfmann is a model of discretion, of clarity, of economy.

His procedure is to supply the essential items in the form of a table (pp. 190-194), elucidated by a commentary (pp. 194-210). Given the importance of the subject, it should be of general utility to present his conclusions in summary outline, year by year, with emphasis on what can be regarded as fixed points. At the same time, sundry uncertainties subsist. In proper compliment to the author, those matters will be indicated no less than the numerous improvements on earlier accounts. By the same token, an attempt will be made to emulate his brevity and care for relevance. However, problems inherent in the last stages of the Third Journey will entail argument and digression

1) W.Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 1907. Followed in essentials by D.Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1950, Ch. XXVI (with copious annotation).

2) For the travel items, F.Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio*, 1965, 66 ff.

3) For this hypothesis, *Emperors and Biography*, 1971, 30 ff. Regarded as 'a necessary postulate' by T.D.Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta*, 1980, 101. Marius Maximus has been the standard assumption, endorsed by most scholars.

4) Maximus is cited four times (Hadr. 2.10; 12.3; 20.3; 25.3). Much more can be surmised.

5) Apart from Athens, only Tarraco, Nemausus, Antioch.

II. The First Journey. That is, from Cilicia to Rome, begun soon after the new ruler had been proclaimed by the army in Syria on August 11 of 117. By rare felicity, clear guidance issues from epigraphy. A fragment found at Rome carries the names of stations on the highroad from Tarsus to Caesarea, beginning with Mopsucrene; and it is equipped with dates from October 12 to 19 (CIL VI 5076)⁶⁾ The items concord for Hadrian. Next, Ancyra: Latinus Alexander, a local magnate, lent help in quartering the troops (IGR III 208). Then from Juliopolis on November 11 the Emperor addressed a missive to Pergamum (SIG³ 831). Bithynian Juliopolis lies on the road leading to Nicomedia, which city is eminently suitable for an imperial residence in mid-winter. Finally, Hadrian entered the capital on July 9 of the next year, as the Acta of the Arval Brethren attest (VI 32374).

In the interval fell notable transactions outside the concern of the present limited exposition. An illustrious general, Julius Quadratus Bassus of Pergamum, died while on campaign in Dacia, the Sarmatians caused annoyance (both Rhoxolani and Jazyges), and Hadrian on departure from the Danube left a Roman knight in charge of Dacia and Pannonia Inferior, namely Marcius Turbo. That anomaly discloses an emergency more political than military: the ostensible conspiracy of the Four Consulars.

III. The Second Journey. After nearly three years devoted to Senatus Populusque, the Emperor turned his attention to the western provinces. On April 21 of the year 121, when celebrating the natal day of the city, he added emphasis and an innovation: he inaugurated the site for a great monument in the Forum, the Templum Veneris et Romae.⁷⁾

Hadrian then set out for Gaul, with time available for visiting the Rhine armies (along with Raetia and Noricum) both now and early in the next year. Therefore, Winter 121/2 ? Lugdunum (H., p.197).

In 122 Hadrian crossed to Britain from Germania Inferior (taking with him Platorius Nepos to replace Pompeius Falco).⁸⁾ The northern frontier gave him ample occupation. Departing with Spain for goal, he passed by Nemausus, where he enjoined that a basilica be built in honour of Plotina.⁹⁾ Then, Winter 122/3 Tarraco.

At Tarraco Hadrian convoked delegates from all the Spanish communities, so the HA reports, citing Marius Maximus (Hadr. 12.4). The sojourn in Spain suffered curtailment no visit to the province Baetica and to Italica, the

6) Weber, o.c. 59 f.

7) See now D.Kienast, Chiron X (1980), 391 ff.

8) No doubt about the year since the discovery of the diploma CIL XVI 69.

9) For the date of Plotina's decease, Kienast, o.c. 396. By oversight he assigned the basilica to 121.

'patria' of the Aelii. According to the biography, 'motus Maurorum compressit' (12.7). A number of scholars therefore assumed a journey to Mauretania.¹⁰⁾ The notion will be firmly dismissed (H. p.197)

The Euphrates frontier called the Emperor, urgently. War with Parthia threatened, 'idque Hadriani conloquio repressum' (12.7). That meeting with the Arsacid, that and nothing further is furnished by the truncated Vita, which passes at once to his return to Rome from Asia and Greece, in 125 (13.1) Hence the most obscure portion in all the journeyings (cf. H., p.197).

When Hadrian came to Syria (one notes in passing), he mustered a supplementary force, consigning to Claudius Quartinus the legions II Traiana and III Cyrenaica.¹¹⁾ The identity of the Syrian governor would be worth knowing. His close and congenial friend Bruttius Praesens had Cappadocia.

IV. The two years gap intervening before the summer of 125, how shall it be filled? To the meeting with the Parthian monarch, Halfmann subjoins an inspection of the Cappadocian frontier that took Hadrian not merely to Melitene and to Satala but as far as Trapezus (p.198). That is reasonable. Noteworthy also since it contradicts Weber, who argued for the year 131 (o.c. 264 f.).

The visit to Trapezus is certified by Arrian who adds curious details about the constructions Hadrian had ordained (Peripl. 1.2 ff.). Thus the altars have been already built, but the inscriptions, badly cut and even inaccurate, called for improvement; and the imperial statue, although well sited for perpetuity, showed neither close resemblance nor good workmanship. Further, a temple to Hermes has been completed, but the statue of the god is not good enough.

The date to be assigned to the imperial visit is bound up with Arrian's tour of inspection along the Pontic shore. It fell early in his tenure of the Cappadocian command, which began either in 130 or in 131.¹²⁾ Probably in the latter year.¹³⁾ Decision depends in part on the date of Arrian's consulship (129 or 130). Therefore, in any event, 131 was too late for Hadrian's visit and for the initiation of the works on which the governor reported.

From Cappadocia Hadrian proceeded westwards through Galatia into Bithynia. Such is the painless assumption (H., p.199). Hence Winter 123/4, Nicomedia.

10) As cited by M.Benabou, *La résistance africaine à la romanisation*, 1976, 177.

11) CIL XIII 1802 (Lugdunum); XIV 4473 (Ostia), cf G.Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses*, 1969, 79 f.

12) PIR² F 219.

13) For a tenure from 131 to 137, HSCP LXXXVI, 1982, 38 f. = Roman Papers IV, 1987, 199 f.

V. Early in the next year Hadrian traversed Mysia, Aeolis, Ionia, notable stages being surmised at Cyzicus, Ilium, Pergamum, Smyrna (H. pp. 199 f.).¹⁴⁾ From Ephesus he sent a letter (not yet published), addressed to Oenoanda or to Termessus and dated August 29 (H. p.201). Thence back to Italy by way of Athens (cf. Hadr. 13.1), with Winter 124/5 Athens.

One observes in passing that Halfmann disallows a journey into European provinces which Weber postulated with confidence for the year 124 (o.c. 148 ff.). It was extensive, embracing Thrace, Moesia, Pannonia.

From Athens the Emperor favoured various cities of old Hellas with his presence, for example Delphi early in 125 (H. p.202). The route of his return to Italy is not documented. He may have gone by way of Nicopolis (H. p.203). In that city abode Epictetus, the sage whom he held in peculiar esteem (Hadr. 16.8). However that may be, the Second Journey concluded before the summer ended. From Tibur (already a place of predilection) Hadrian sent a letter to Delphi late in August or early in September.¹⁵⁾

VI. Hadrian did not leave Italy again until a triennium had passed. At this point a casual detail might be inserted that tends to be overlooked. In 127 the Fasti Ostienses record a journey lasting from early March to early August 'ad Italiam circum[padanam]'.¹⁶⁾ That is, to the region once known as 'Cisalpinia'. The term 'circumpadanus' is attested, once in Livy, four times in Pliny. None of the cities, it is true, appears to acknowledge benefits from Hadrian.¹⁷⁾ Nevertheless, a consequence of this excursion may be discovered in Hadrian's decision to divide Italy into four juridical circumscriptions, each under a senator of consular standing. Furthermore, among the first to hold office should be reckoned L. Vitrasius Flamininus (cos. suff. 122), legate 'pro praetore' of Italia Transpadana.¹⁸⁾

The next year saw the Emperor in Sicily and in Africa (Hadr. 13.3-6). Useful supplement accrues from the inscription of T. Caesernius Macedo (suff. ? 139). It styles him a 'comes' of Caesar 'per Siciliam Afric. Mauret.' (AE 1957, 135). On July 1, Hadrian delivered allocutions to the troops at Lambaesis in Numidia (ILS 2487); and he was at Zarai, hard by the Mauretanian border on July 7 (H. p.203).¹⁹⁾

14) The proconsul of Asia in 123/4 was Pompeius Falco (suff. 108).

15) For the latest text, F.Martin, *La Documentacion griega de la Cancellaria del Emperador Adriano* (Pamplona, 1982, no 19).

16) For the supplement, JRS LVIII, 1968, 135 = *Roman Papers*, 1979, 695.

17) Hesitation was therefore expressed by L.Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses*², 1982, 117: 'sed monendum est in laterculo a W.Weber composito nullam illius regionis civitatem occurrere'.

18) CIL X 3870 (Capua). The theory was adumbrated in *Les empereurs romains d'Espagne*, 1965, 160. See further *Athenaeum* LXII, 1984, 58 = *Roman Papers* IV, 1907, 322; and, for a full statement about Flamininus, W.Eck, *Chiron* XIII, 1983, 170 n.409.

19) For Zarai, M.Le Glay, *Mélanges Seston*, 1974, 277 ff.

VII. The Third Journey. Coming back from Africa, the Emperor set out for Athens, 'statim' (Hadr. 13.6). He there dedicated the Temple of Zeus and assumed for himself the title of 'Olympius'. He had arrived by October (H. p.203). Hence Winter 128/9 Athens.

In the spring of the next year he sailed from Eleusis to Ephesus (SIG³, cf. 838).²⁰⁾ From Ephesus to Cilicia and Syria, 'per Asiam', his route can be established: in summary, Miletus - Tralles - Nysa - Laodicea - Colossae - Iconium - Tarsus - Antioch (H. p.204).

From Ionia and Caria, Weber took him along the coasts of Lycia and Pamphylia (o.c. 224 ff.);²¹⁾ and Lycia has found a recent advocate.²²⁾ Halfmann disallows, and strong arguments support the year 131 (see further below)

A casual particular that confirms the land itinerary has not escaped notice. Colossae yielded a dedication made to the Emperor by a tribune called L. Macedo (IGR IV. 869). He is patently the Guard tribune Ti. Claudius Secundinus L. Staius Macedo who ended as 'praefectus annonae' (ILS 1339) - and was close kin to the senatorial Caesernii of Aquileia (cf. PIR² C 1015).

After the brief phrase 'per Asiam iter faciens' (no cities named), and before bringing Hadrian to Syria, the biography proceeds with 'deinde a Cappadocibus servitia castris profutura suscepit' (13.7). A visit to Melitene in 129 was inferred, naturally enough (Weber, o.c. 234). The text continues with invitations extended to eastern princes. Of the Roman vassals ('toparchi et reges'), Pharasmanes the Iberian is named, who declined to turn up (13.9).²³⁾

These transactions Halfmann assigns to Hadrian's sojourn at Antioch during the winter of 129/130 (p.208). Hesitation will be conceived. Antioch was a distant place for summoning princes and dynasts from Colchis and the edge of Caucasus. When Trajan convoked them early in the year 114 he chose Satala and Elegeia.²⁴⁾ A later passage in the Vita commends Hadrian for the indulgence he showed towards the Roman vassals (17.10 f).

A chance therefore subsists that before this year ended Hadrian went not merely to Melitene but further northwards. It is less likely that he deferred Trapezus until so late. One and the same historic motive impelled both Hadrian and his friend the legate of Cappadocia - author of the

20) It may be noted that the proconsul who went to Asia in 129 was the jurist Juventius Celsus: highly anomalous since a 'bis consul' who opened that year.

21) Generally followed. Thus by Magie, o.c. 620.

22) A. Balland, Fouilles de Xanthos VII, 1981, 66 ff.

23) For the Pharasmanes item see remarks in Athenaeum LIX, 1981, 275 = RP III (1984), 1438. It was assigned to 131 by Magie, o.c. 621. Also by A.B. Bosworth, HSCP LXXXI, 1977, 228.

24) Dio LXVIII 19.2.

Anabasis and styling himself 'the new Xenophon'.²⁵⁾

VIII. So far the first section of the Third Journey, terminating with Winter 129/130 Antioch. About that city all that the Vita offers is the allegation 'Antiochenses inter haec ita odio habuit ut Syriam a Phoenice separare voluerit' (14.1). The source of this patent accretion on the itinerary can be divined, namely Marius Maximus, and it reflects what had been done in his own time by Septimius Severus.²⁶⁾

The next item is likewise an insertion, and it carries (in defiance of chronology) the solitary reference to the Jewish rebellion: 'moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia' (14.2). Then the itinerary resumes with Hadrian's ascent of Mount Casius to view the sunrise, the passage through Arabia, Pelusium and the tomb of Pompeius, the voyage up the Nile during which Antinous perished (14.3-5). Remarks about Antinous conclude with the fancy that Hadrian composed 'oracula' in his memory. That item leads on to Hadrian's literary tastes: 'fuit enim poematum et litterarum nimium studiosus' (14.8). Then his personality, and the way he treated his friends (14.9 - 15.13).

In this fashion the text abandons the imperial travels. It will come as a relief that nothing further needs to be said about the Historia Augusta, citation of which was expedient in order to illustrate by contrast the evidence required to construct the well documented account which is furnished by Halfmann of the passage from Syria to Egypt (206 f.). The main features are Gerasa (cf. p.193), Jerusalem (now to be converted into 'Aelia Capitolina'), Gaza, Alexandria. Then, on October 30, the founding of Antinoopolis (H. p.207), and finally Winter 130/131, Alexandria.

IX. For present purposes Egypt lapses, and the seductions of 'cognoscenda antiquitas'. Intricate problems supervene before the next fixed point, namely Athens for the winter of 131/2.

As will be recalled, Weber postulated for 131 a journey along the eastern frontier as far as Trapezus (o.c. 264f). Trapezus at least is ruled out by what Arrian reports about the completion of certain monuments (cf. above). Instead, Halfmann proposes a voyage along the coasts of Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, perhaps ending up at Ephesus (p.208).

For two Lycian cities their triple-arched monumental gates commemorating the advent of an emperor convey irrefragable testimony (p.130). That at

25) That is, irrespective of any date advocated for Arrian's Anabasis.

26) As argued in HAC BONN 1979/81, 1983, 321 ff = Historia Augusta Papers, 1983, 180 ff. For his benefactions to Antioch as reported by Malalas, Weber, o.c. 121, cf 231 f.; G.Downey, A History of Antioch in Syria, 1961, 221 ff. The festival in celebration was held on June 23: generally held for certain to indicate the year 129.

Phaselis carries the year 131 for date (TAM II 194).²⁷⁾ The gate at Patara has recently acquired an enhanced value. Along with an emperor it honoured the governor Mettius Modestus, also members of his family, viz. his father Mettius Rufus, his uncle Modestus, and his mother (TAM II 421).

Since C. Trebonius Proculus Mettius Modestus (suff. 103) was a known legate of the province Lycia - Pamphylia, the date of the monument seemed clear enough. A subtle but firm argument on the flank enforces the correct solution, with a visit by Hadrian in 131; and a second Mettius Modestus emerges, nephew to the Trajanic governor.²⁸⁾ A vacancy is open for him (? from 130 to 133), as successor to Sufenas Verus.²⁹⁾

Lycia does not exhaust the count of this year. Halfmann fills it out with a European journey of some amplitude: Thrace, Macedonia, Moesia, Dacia (p. 208). Appeal is made to the inscription of T. Caesernius Macedo, which declares him 'comes' of Hadrian 'per Orientem et Illyric.' (AE 1957, 135). That runs into a difficulty. After being with the Emperor in 128 (Africa and Mauretania), Macedo went on to be tribune of the plebs and praetor. Even allowing for a praetorship held in absence, the interval appears too constricted for a European journey as early as 131. Moreover, a more pertinent interpretation of the word 'Illyricum' will occur without effort, counselling the year 133 see further below).

In consequence, much remains obscure about Hadrian's occupations between his winter station at Alexandria and arrival in Athens.

X. Winter 131/2 Athens. The third sojourn was marked by noteworthy transactions (H. pp.207f). Hadrian consecrated the shrine of Olympian Zeus and he founded the Panhellenion (conveniently registered together in SIG³ 842: Epidaurus).

The gravest of all problems now intrudes: what next? The Emperor's presence at Rome is not certified until May 5 of the year 134 (IGR I 149). Some scholars assume that he had arrived in the course of 132.³⁰⁾ Nor is Halfmann in any doubt. Hadrian went on from Athens, direct or 'nur mit geringen Umwegen' (p.209).

In 132 broke out the insurrection in Palestine. Standard accounts take it that at some time or other the Emperor was at the seat of war or in the near

27) D.J.Blackman, in J.Schaefer, Phaselis, 1981, 142 f., 151 ff.

28) G.W.Bowersock, HAC BONN 1982/83, 1985, 82 ff. (discussing 'metro-poleis').

29) W.Eck, Chiron XIII, 1983, 164, cf 171 n.415 (on cognisance of Bowersock's paper). In welcome supplement, the fragment of a diploma found at Wimpfen shows Sufenas Verus consul (130 or 131) as colleague to Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes. For which, I am grateful to Geza Alföldy.

30) G.Alföldy, Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen, 1977, 348 (discussing Caesernius Macedo); D.Kienast, o.c. 397.

vicinity.³¹⁾ Which for some, by the way, entails the notion of a journey back from Rome in 133 or 134.³²⁾ Halfmann by contrast sets himself against Hadrian's presence (p.209). He even refuses to admit the natural inference from the notice in Dio: in a letter to the Senate Hadrian omitted the customary prefix "I and the army are well" (MIX 14.3). Emphasis is also put on silence in other sources. Irrelevant for the HA, that omission might perhaps inspire curiosity about Fronto, a senator whose comments on the ruler are far from amicable.³³⁾

XI. An excursus cannot be avoided. First of all, the rhythm and sequence of events. Dio's account, by exception fairly full, gives useful guidance (LXIX 12-14). Though annoyed by the founding of Aelia Capitolina, the Jews dissembled and kept quiet for a time, but disturbances began when Hadrian was some distance away, and at first the Romans paid little attention. Then the whole of Judaea rose in arms, causing damage and disasters. So far, it appears, the year 132, when Tineius Rufus needed help, although disposing of two legions, and Publicius Marcellus intervened, the legate of Syria.

For a time reinforcements from the nearest armies might have sufficed: three legions in Syria, one in Egypt, one in Arabia.³⁴⁾ Hadrian, however, was constrained to summon from Britain Sex. Julius Severus (suff. 127) defined by Dio as his best general. Further, troops from the Danubian armies. Thus detachments ('vexillationes') under Attius Senecio, equestrian tribune in X Gemma at Vindobona (CIL VI 3503). And Lollius Urbicus turned up, who had commanded that legion. His inscription defines him as 'legato imp. Hadriani in expedition. Iudaica' (ILS 1065). That is decisive. The Emperor himself took the field.

The term 'expeditio Iudaica' also occurs on the inscriptions of the officers Attius Senecio (above) and Staius Priscus (ILS 1092), of the senator Popillius Pedit, tribune in III Cyrenaica (1071). No doubt can be entertained anywhere when to 'expeditio' is attached the name of a nation or a country. Thus Domitian's War against the Chatti (ILS 1025) and the 'expedit. Suebic. et Sarm.' of 92 (1017); Trajan's campaigns against the Dacians (308; 1029) and the Parthians (2735); Hadrian in Britain (2735; 2726).

Hadrian, it follows, did not make for the capital when he left Athens in

31) G.Vermes and F.Millar in their revision of Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, etc. I, 1973, 549 (with 'probably'); E.M.Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 1976, 450. Those full and excellent accounts of the war reduce the need to cite evidence.

32) Thus W.Weber in CAH XI, 1936, 314; E.M.Smallwood, o.c. 450.

33) E.Champlin, *Fronto and Antonine Rome*, 1980, 94 ff.

34) For a catalogue of troops employed, Vermes and Millar, o.c. 547 f.

132. He spent the winter of 132/3 somewhere within reach of Palestine, making dispositions for the next year when (one assumes) he supervised the operations of his generals. That year may be deemed to have broken the back of the rebellion, although it lasted through 134 into 135. A diploma shows that Hadrian had not yet taken his imperial acclamation in September of 134 (CIL XVI 79)

While station and honour enjoined that the Emperor should not decline participation in a serious war, Hadrian was under no temptation to linger in these parts longer than was necessary. Setting himself in studied contrast to his predecessor, Hadrianus Augustus (the style he adopted on coins from 123 onwards) advertised peace and concord. Rebellion in Judaea and the measures needed to quell it came as a cruel and sudden disappointment to his aspirations. The effort and cost was excessive: heavy casualties, and a whole legion, XXII Deiotariana may now have ceased to exist. Add to that, the failure of the rigorous policy he adopted towards the Jews (Aelia Capitolina and the ban on circumcision) and the blow to the pride of the 'Olympius' who paraded as a philhellenic statesman and cosmopolitan citizen.

In fact, Hadrian did his best to play down the Jewish War: no triumphal arch or coins with the legend 'judaea capta'. Triumphal 'ornamental, it is true, were accorded to the consulars Publicius Marcellus and Julius Severus; and Lollius Urbicus earned a speedy consulship (? 135), with the governorship of Germania Inferior to follow at no long interval. But the military decorations won by Lollius Urbicus (ILS 1065) and by the Ignotus of Pisaurum, commander of X Fretensis (CIL XI. 6639) fell short of what was normal for legates of praetorian rank. Nor were equestrian officers treated generously (ILS 1092; 1400).³⁵⁾

Sporadic details help to interpret the personality or caprice of the ruler. It is no surprise that he changed the name of the province from 'Judaea' to 'Syria Palaestina'.

XII. After some success achieved in 133, departure from the theatre of a failed policy was more urgent for Hadrian than return to the capital; and recent events had sharply diverted the ruler of the world from civilian tours to military exigencies. Therefore no rapid voyage by sea this time. Pannonia called, with the frontier that faced Suebi to the north. Sarmatians on the east. He would reach Italy after proceeding along the highroad by Sirmium and Siscia (or Poetovio) to Aquileia. Since a Pannonian winter was not to be recommended, Rome saw the Emperor towards the end of the year, so it may

³⁵⁾ Those items were registered in *Les empereurs romains d'Espagne*, 1965, 246 n.12. See further V.A. Maxfield, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*, 1981, 147 f.

be supposed without discomfort.³⁶⁾

With Pannonia the enquiry reverts to T. Caesernius Macedo, who accompanied his emperor 'per Orientem et Illyric.' (AE 1957, 135) - and it endows 'Illyricum' with its full meaning. Halfmann, it will be recalled, invoked Macedo in support of a journey to Balkan and Danubian countries in 131, subsequent to Lycia (H. p.208). Reasons were adduced for disagreement. On every count 133 and the return to Italy concords with 'per Illyricum'.

The career of Macedo permits close datings, since it runs parallel to that of his brother T. Caesernius Statianus, his junior by two or three years (ILS 1068).³⁷⁾ The results are set out by Alföldy in a long investigation of unique value.³⁸⁾ Some divergences will now emerge, since Alföldy took Macedo back to Rome with Hadrian, in 132.

Now Macedo's next occupation was the command of the legion X Gemina. That encourages a conjecture: when visiting Pannonia in 133, the Emperor left him there, at Vindobona. Then, as qualifying post for the consulate, Macedo was 'curat. viae Appiae et alimentorum'. The post, an innovation, has for parallel the Flaminia, held by Minicius Natalis, consul suffect in 139 (ILS 1061); and two or three years seems a reasonable tenure, since equipollent with praetorian provinces in the portion of Caesar.³⁹⁾ On that showing, a consulship for Macedo in 139 (perhaps even in 140) rather than in 138, which Alföldy prefers.

So much having been said about Macedo, it will be venial to close the rubric with Statianus, likewise high in favour with the ruler. He became consul in 141, coming from the Numidian command (of 138-141). The legion XIV Gemma was the anterior post. That is, at Carnuntum, and he overlapped for a time with the brother at Vindobona.

XIII. Pannonia demands a further digression. Weber argued that Hadrian in 124, after visiting Thrace and the Moesian frontier, passed onwards into Pannonia (o.c. 154 ff.). Halfmann disallowed (p.195, cf p.201). For a reason that must be put under close scrutiny.

Halfmann made appeal to Strack's observations on a group of coins issued in the last years of the reign They show the Emperor addressing provincial

36) It is no bar that he is first attested there on May 5 of 134.

37) Both brothers are polyonymous. The one abridges to 'T. Caesernius Macedo Quintianus' (CIL V 855, cf 482: Aquileia), the other to 'T. Caesernius Statianus' (VIII 17849; Thamugadi; AE 1950, 60: Gemellae).

39) G.Alföldy, *Konsulat, etc.*, 1977, 347 ff. (with table on p. 150). For birth dates, ?101 and ?105.

39) The next to hold the Flaminia, in sequence to a legion, are P. Cluvius Maximus (suff. c. 142) and L. Aemilius Carus (?144) for whom their inscriptions do not add the item 'praef alimentorum'. Maximus went from the charge of the legion and the Flaminia to his consulship, Carus with the governorship of Arabia intervening (AE 1940, 99 and ILS 1077).

armies.⁴⁰⁾ The 'exercitus Pannonicus' is not represented. For its absence Strack proffered an explanation. The series was struck in the year 137, to celebrate the imperial 'vicennalia'. At that time Aelius Caesar had charge of both Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior. The Caesar therefore exercised his right to a separate issue, which honoured Pannonia.⁴¹⁾

Noting that omission, and citing Strack, Halfmann came out with an explanation of a different order. The Emperor, so he argued, intended that the coins should celebrate only the armies he had inspected during the Second Journey and the Third.⁴²⁾ Therefore he never went to Pannonia subsequent to his passage from Moesia to Rome in the early summer of 118.

Twelve armies figure on those coins, including that of Dalmatia. Strack declared Pannonia the only omission. ⁴³ He failed to see that Judaea was also absent (perhaps explicable). But Egypt and Africa are not there either - whereas Mauretania occurs.

In estimating arguments of this sort (and in deprecating them) recourse offers to a similar late Hadrianic series honouring provinces or regions, to a total of twenty-six.⁴⁴⁾ The muster is miscellaneous and most peculiar. It includes Judaea but not Syria, Libya but not Crete, while Phrygia occurs. Absent are Pannonia, Dalmatia, Raetia, Lycia, Pamphylia. Finally, Italy figures and two cities, viz. Alexandria and Nicomedia.⁴⁵⁾

If those anomalies inspire curiosity, they counsel renunciation.⁴⁶⁾ As Horace pronounced when dismissing a question of Alpine ethnography, 'quaerere distuli / nec scire fas est omnia'. The notion is not tenable that Hadrian failed to inspect the 'exercitus Pannonicus' subsequent to the first year of his reign. Whatever view be held of journeys in 124, 125, 131, the career of Caesernius Macedo vouches for the Emperor's passage 'per Illyricum', in 133, on the way back to Italy.

Epilogue. As indicated at the outset, the major problems concern Hadrian's occupations in the interval between the sojourn at Alexandria (winter of 130/131 and his return to Rome). For the rest, the chronological

40) P.L.Strack, Untersuchungen zur Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts II, 1933, 146 f; BMC, R. Emp. III, 1936, CLXXII f.

41) Strack, o.c. 147, For the 'sestertii' (with a standing image of Pannonia holding a 'vexillum'), see BMC, R. Emp. III, 544.

42) Halfmann, p. 195.

43) Strack, o.c. 146: 'als einzige die beiden Pannoniae'.

44) On which, J.M.C.Toynbee, The Hadrianic School, 1934, 24 ff.

45) Italy had recently been treated like a province (cf. above, on the four districts assigned legates of consular rank; abolished by Antoninus Pius). Nicomedia foreshadows its future strategic role as a capital city - and confirms Hadrian's residence in 117/8 and 123/4.

46) No call therefore to invoke the series of Pius: thirteen, including Parthia, Scythia, Phoenice - and one city, Alexandria (Toynbee, o.c.144 ff.).

outline should serve the interests of clarity, with due emphasis on the hazards in the use of fragmentary evidence. As Weber's book showed, reasoned reconstructions tend to be accepted for ease and convenience; and before *Itinera Principum* there was no other independent and detailed exposition of Hadrian's travels. Standard compilations have transmitted error or inadvertence.

A pair of specimens affords melancholy instruction. First, Weber himself in the chapter in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Vol. XI, 1936). For the Second Journey, Weber allowed 'five years of wandering' (p.319). That is from 120 to 125. Next, after the Third, Hadrian returns to Rome in 132 (p. 313), but he sets again, for Judaea, in the summer of 134 (p.314), to come back 'in late summer 134 to 135' (p.319). As is elsewhere amply evident, the chapter is a product of hasty compilation.⁴⁷⁾

Second, the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (ed. 2, 1970), p.485. Touching the First Journey, Hadrian after he reached Rome in 118, was 'called to Moesia by trouble with the Rhoxolani'. That is plain error. It arose from failure to recognise the doublet in the *Vita*, 'Roman venit' (5.10 and 7.3). Its source can perhaps be divined: in an English historian who in this precise matter declared aversion to 'Quellenforschung'.⁴⁸⁾ Further, Hadrian travelled to Gaul 'in 120 or 121'; and he passed the period from 123 to 127 in Greece and Asia. Finally, The Third Journey: he 'only returned to Rome in 131'.⁴⁹⁾

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47) The editors failed to disclose the sources, namely *Meister der Politik*, 1923, and *Rom. Herrschertum und Reich im zweiten Jahrhundert*, 1937.

48) B.W.Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian*, 1923, 45 cf. 282.

49) Thus Henderson, o.c. 294.