

## LAYOUT

### 1. THE FOUR BIG BLOCKS AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT

During the 1500 years of its ruin, the monument was broken up so haphazardly and robbed so ruthlessly that there are no find-spots recorded: all fragments are stray pieces. Only such marks as the stones themselves bear – molding, shape of block, marble grain, toolmarks, form and size of lettering, and train of argument – give clues to the part of the monument from which the pieces come. To recover the structure of the inscription, one must work from these data. The following looks at ways to do this. The inscription was carved on the monument's four corner pillars. Nearly two meters high, each pillar consisted of four marble blocks, each block about  $152 \times 74 \times 49$  cm in size<sup>27</sup>. We will call them top, upper middle, lower middle, and bottom blocks. The 16 blocks bore writing on their two outer sides; thus there were 32 inscribed fields, each about  $74 \times 49$  cm<sup>28</sup>. As we have seen in figure 2, most of the bottom blocks were still in place in 1851, while other blocks lay among the rubble below. The bottom blocks must have borne text since the middle and top blocks alone are too few to fit in the fragments we have. Besides, writing on the dedication slab also reached as far down as the bottom blocks.

Figure 2 also suggests why so much of the bottom blocks disappeared: stone thieves, known to have quarried the tribunal after 1851<sup>29</sup>, surely turned first to the easily accessible, exposed bottom blocks, little of which is left today. On the other hand, much survives of the top and middle blocks, which, having fallen into the rubble heap below, came to light in Abbé Montagnon's excavations in 1898<sup>30</sup>. Otherwise, there is little system in the wreckage: quarried differently against the grain of the marble, some blocks split along the lines of lettering, others at right angles to those lines, while others flaked off thin slabs of writing.

The 32 inscribed fields are the basic units to work with in recovering the original layout and structure of the inscription. They are numbered here in sequence from the beginning of the text to its end, commencing with the southeastern pillar (field 1) where – following the dedication – the text proper begins. The numbering runs from top to bottom, proceeding toward the right around the monument, hence fields 1–8 are on the east side, 9–16 on the north, 17–24 on the west, and 25–32 on the south (fig. 3).

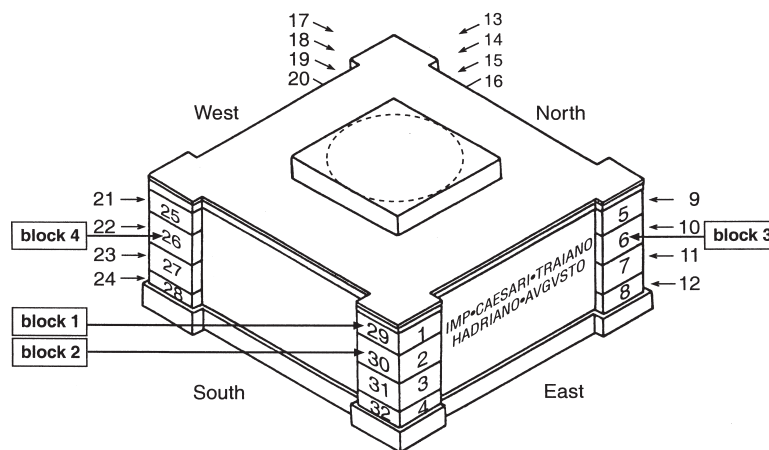


Fig. 3 The base of Hadrian's monument with its 4 preserved blocks and 32 text-bearing fields.

<sup>27</sup> Héron de Villefosse 1903, 194.

<sup>28</sup> Wilmanns 1866, 287 measured field 30 to be  $70 \times 50$  cm, Héron de Villefosse 1903, 194 measured them to be  $73-$

$74 \times 48-49$  cm, Leschi 1957, 198 as  $74 \times 48$  cm.

<sup>29</sup> Gsell 1901, 322.

<sup>30</sup> Notes on these excavations: Villefosse 1899; Gsell 1901, 320.

Scholars long believed that only the two eastern pillars bore the inscription<sup>31</sup>. It is certain, however, that all four pillars were inscribed<sup>32</sup>. Proof of this is the sheer mass of surviving fragments, greatly increased by the publication in 2003, of 79 new fragments to which we add here another eight<sup>33</sup>. Although the inscribed lines of the big blocks and the small pieces taken together might just about fit onto two pillars, much more space is needed to fill the gaps between the fragments, as seen, for example, in fields 9, 13, 16, 19, and 20.

The first task is to find the original places of the four preserved big blocks, for that will establish the basic structure of the inscription.

The east side, where the road from the Great Camp came in, was the show side. Since blocks 1 and 2 on the one side and block 3 on the other held between them the large marble slab with the dedication, they too must have faced east. Blocks 1 and 2 thus belong to the southeast pillar, block 3 to the north-east pillar<sup>34</sup>.

Blocks 1 and 2 bear the beginning of the inscription. The text on their right-hand, eastern side, reviews the legion, that on their southern, left-hand side, the auxilia. As long as scholars took the inscription to be written on only two pillars, they thought the same arrangement was true for the northeast pillar: the legion reviewed on the east or show side, and the auxilia around the corner, on the north side. This led to a tangle of errors: field 10 had to be taken for reviewing auxilia, which cannot be, for its wordiness fits only a review of the legion, whereas the much-shortened speeches to the auxilia always report brisk action.

A worse error was fitting block 4 into the northeast pillar under block 3<sup>35</sup>. Thus, Schmidt (1894) saw in field 22 the continuation of field 6 (on legionary horsemen), even though the text suits only bowmen on foot<sup>36</sup>, who with ›hands not slack‹ shoot so often ›that the enemy dare not lift their head above the shields‹. Since the text on both sides of block 4 deals only with auxilia, the block was not part of the eastern pillars<sup>37</sup>, which shows again that writing covered the western pillars as well.

The language of field 10 is long-winded and therefore relates to the legion, which makes it clear that all of block 3 – and thus the whole northeast pillar – deals only with the legion. That raises the question of where on the four pillars the speeches to the legion end and those to the auxilia begin. For an answer one may point to the fact that we have fragments of two top fields with legionary headings (fragments 21–22 and 25–26), and since the grain of their marble differs, they must belong to different blocks<sup>38</sup>. They must come from the northeastern and northwestern pillars, for the top of the southeastern pillar is complete, and, as block 4 shows, the southwestern pillar reviews auxilia on both sides.

There is no telling exactly where on the northwest pillar the speeches to the legion ended and those to the auxilia began, but one may reasonably assume that the monument was equally divided between the two branches of service – the east and north sides commemorating the speeches to the legion, the south and west sides those to the auxilia.

<sup>31</sup> Schmidt 1894, 1726; Le Bohec 2003, 79–80.

<sup>32</sup> First seen by Leschi 1957, 199; cf. Janon 1973, 210; Le Glay 1977, 546.

<sup>33</sup> 79 fragments: Le Bohec 2003, 73–76 (those drawn in 1940 by Ch. Godet and reproduced below, pp. 93–96). Our new fragments are nos. 7; 13; 17; 79; 80; 88; 96; 99.

<sup>34</sup> Leschi 1957, 198.

<sup>35</sup> Schmidt, 1894.

<sup>36</sup> Foot: Dehner 1883, 22 (but for his words about *signum*). Cagnat 1913, 148 ff. (connecting fields 6 and 22, but cautious on 10 and 26); Davies 1989, 110; Campbell 1994, 18

(10 and 26); Birley 1997, 210 (10 and 26); Horsmann 1991, 184 (fields 10 and 21; more prudent about this: Janon 1973, 214).

<sup>37</sup> Leschi 1957, 199 rightly assigned it to a western pillar.

<sup>38</sup> They cannot belong to fields 5 and 9, for the grain of the marble, running downward in fragment 21 and across in 25, shows that they belong to different blocks. Leschi 1957, 199, suggested, ›Ce qui concernait la légion proprement dite occupait la face encadrant la dédicace à l'Empereur‹ – but these legionary headings show that the north side also told about the legion.

To sum up: While only four of the original sixteen blocks are left whole or nearly so, they together with the further legionary headings are enough to establish the beginning of the inscription in field 1 and its end in field 32, as well as its basic structure: speeches to the legion on the east and north sides (fields 1–16), speeches to the auxilia on the west and south sides (fields 17–32).

This placement of the blocks also fits the time-line for the auxilia insofar as it is preserved. Hadrian spoke to cohorts II Hamiorum (field 21) a few days before July 1<sup>st</sup>: perhaps the cohort was stationed at Theveste and he stopped there on his way from Carthage to Lambaesis. Later, between July 2 and 7, Hadrian inspected the cohort at Zarai, some 70 km west of Lambaesis, (field 26), seeing ala I Pannoniorum and the horse of cohorts VI Commagenorum elsewhere on July 12<sup>th</sup> (field 29). The auxilia thus seem to appear on the inscription in the order Hadrian inspected them<sup>39</sup>.

In dealing with the large blocks, digital photographs provided by the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* in Berlin were of great use. Shining bright on computer screens, these photographs let one trace half-lost letters. This has led to some decisive new readings, among them Hadrian's less forgiving stance on letting maneuvers slip (field 2), centuriae detaching not four but five men (field 2), and bowmen shooting so sharply and often that the foe dare not lift their heads above their shields (field 22).

Of the bottom blocks, only a few small pieces survive. However, as fragment 67 shows, molding limited the inscribed fields on the bottom as on the top blocks. The bottom fields thus bore only seven or eight lines of writing rather than the twelve lines of the middle fields. With the four big blocks and the many small fragments, we thus have about a third of the original text<sup>40</sup>.

## 2. THE SMALL FRAGMENTS

For over a hundred years, scholars thought of joining the nearly one hundred small fragments<sup>41</sup>. They had little luck, for so much of the inscription is lost. Besides, the marble splits in such a way that edges break off, hence few fragments can actually be joined<sup>42</sup>. To join pieces under these circumstances is a task for the unflagging, and though many pieces have been put together here, further discoveries may await those with access to the stones themselves.

For 76 of the small fragments the Le Glay Archives in Paris have outstanding photographs, all here reproduced. Together with photographs of squeezes from the CIL, they are the basis for most of the new readings offered here. The scholars who made these photographs – anonymous though they be – knew what they were doing: they often placed fragments of the same grain and surface together (e.g. fragments 13 and 14), thereby providing information that one could otherwise glean only from the stones themselves. They also joined the two pieces of fragment 50, torn apart in other publications.

Drawings by earlier scholars, reproduced here to preserve the skill and wisdom of our forerunners and make the photographs easier to read, are rarely accurate. Even Schmidt's 1894 drawings in the CIL, made expressly to correct those of Wilmanns in 1881, fail to space the letters accurately. For many of the small fragments we have no measurements, though Godet's careful drawings in 1940 come with

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Wolff 2003, 96. For the date adduced by Le Bohec 2003, 102 see fragment 81.

<sup>40</sup> In 1957, 197 Leschi estimated we had only one fourth of the whole, including the small fragments, ›don't jusqu'ici on n'a pas pu tirer grand-chose‹.

<sup>41</sup> Dessau 1892: ›Praetermisi fragmenta minora quae non intellegi possunt‹. Schmidt 1894, 1724: ›Frustra F et G ubi possent adaptari, in lapidibus ipsis Purgoldius nullum invenit locum. Neque magis paucis quae in iis leguntur verbis patet,

quomodo cum maioribus fragmentis coniungenda sint‹. Héron de Villefosse 1903, 102 f: ›On doit maintenant les étudier et en rechercher patiemment la place si c'est possible‹. Leschi 1957, 199: ›Les petits fragments dont jusqu'ici on n'a pu tirer grand chose‹. Le Glay 1977, 548: ›Parmi les nombreux fragments, dont certains se laissent regrouper, dont beaucoup d'autres restent malheureusement isolés‹.

<sup>42</sup> Direct joins are e.g. fragments 18 and 19 of field 6 or fragments 20 and 104 of field 7.

measurements and are therefore reproduced here. Still, to be trustworthy, the reading and joining of fragments must be based not on drawings alone but on photographs and squeezes, and on the stones themselves. The following offers photographs for over 95% of the surviving text.

One clue to placing a fragment, is the stone's surface quality. Some fragments have coarse crystal streaks or dips in the grain, others have fine crystals with no grain. Some surfaces are tooled with fine-toothed chisels, some are almost polished, while others are pitted. All of this can lead to unexpected joinings of fragments such as 18(e) and 19, for example. In other cases different grains forbid joinings, as in the case of fragments 21 and 25. Adjoining fields of the same block must have similar grain; thus fields 7 and 11, as well as 23 and 27, have left-dipping grain, while most others are right-dipping.

Deciphering the fragments and fitting them together are processes that go hand in hand: the one can lead to the other. The letters, in *scriptura actuaria*, strive for elegance and so stress the vertical that E, I, L, and T often have the same shape, and sometimes cannot be told apart<sup>43</sup>. An O can look like a V<sup>44</sup>. P's are sometimes written as an upright with a second small upright beside it, or with the rounded roof one fourth of the way down the upright, making them look much like I's<sup>45</sup>. These overlaps in the identification of letters can foil computer searches on baffling strings of letters. Thus fragment 44 has been read as *it aquam*<sup>46</sup>, and even if *quam* is separated, one might still read it as *ita quam* had the surface quality of the stone not led to joining it with fragment 34s and hence to the reading *u//lla quam*.

Different styles of lettering also helped in placing fragments. A staid style, best seen in fields 6, 22, 29 and 30 uses small, straight crossbars or serifs and turns the feet of such letters as A, I, M, N, P, or T to the right. A frisky style, best seen in fields 2, 3, 10, and 26, uses heavy, wavelike crossbars and serifs, turns the feet of these letters to the left, and gives A's or M's a sometimes rounded upper flourish<sup>47</sup>. These variations are useful in that they warn against otherwise seemingly attractive joins, as between fragments 28 and 47. Height of letters seldom helps. For most fragments it is not recorded<sup>48</sup>, nor is there a coherent pattern. Aside from field 1 with the introduction, it seems that the stone cutters were given a height of about 4 cm per line, which they distributed more to letter height (fields 29 and 30) or more to interlinear space (field 22), according to their own taste, and with considerable variation. Nevertheless, differences in letter height and interlinear space can at times prevent otherwise attractive joinings, as with fragments 24 and 34w, and fragments 27 and 32. Stops marking the end of words are of little use, for they occur in some places but not in others – and sometimes inside a word, where they don't belong<sup>49</sup>.

In putting the fragments together, I have tried to get beyond the error-fraught method of merely looking for a meaningful text. The fact that Hadrian's speeches are so repetitious sometimes helps in reconstructing the text, but it can also lead to mistaken ›joins‹. Only when several lines of one fragment make sense with several lines of another, and when size and shape of letters, grain and tooling of marble, or color and shape of block agree, as they do in fields 3, 21, and 22, may one conclude with confidence that two pieces belong together.

It is customary and useful in the discipline of epigraphy to underpin the restoration of broken texts with exact drawings. This study being done mainly from photographs without scale or measurements, no such drawings can be offered here<sup>50</sup>. If one could examine the stones themselves, this would be different, and more fragments might be safely placed; yet for fifty years the stones have been languishing in the Antiquities Museum in Algiers, forbidden to scholars. It will be a good day for the study of classical antiquity and world military history when Algerians come to see their country's past as a source of pride, and when they will see students of these stones as scholars shedding light on their history.

<sup>43</sup> Wilmanns 1881, 287 (on E, I, and T); Schmidt 2004, 21 f.

<sup>44</sup> Field 6, end.

<sup>45</sup> Thus in field 10 *planus, caespite, pari*, also fragments 37 and 78.

<sup>46</sup> Le Bohec 2003, 104.

<sup>47</sup> There are also intermediary forms (e.g. field 14), hence one stone cutter may have written all.

<sup>48</sup> From Godet's drawings, below pp. 93–96, one can reconstruct the height of some letters.

<sup>49</sup> E.g. field 10: *intro.gressi*; also in fragments 30 and 78. Le Bohec 2003, 111 suggests that in fragments 24 and 51 stops mark the middle of the line, but evidence for this is lacking.

<sup>50</sup> Otherwise standard practice is observed, as for example with the diacritical signs that follow the ›improved Leiden system‹, as spelled out in Schmidt 2004, 24.