



Michael P. Speidel

Emperor Hadrian's speeches to the African Army – a new Text

Römisch-Germanisches
Zentrum
Forschungsinstitut für
Vor- und Frühgeschichte

R G Z M



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*Adversus hosti facienda umquam
sunt ulla quam caute.*
When facing the foe, nothing must
ever be done recklessly!

Hadrian, Field 26

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Friends in England, France, and Germany helped greatly with this book. Manfred Schmidt of the world's premier epigraphic institution, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL) at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, provided the photographs of the large fragments, answered my every question about details to be wrung from squeezes at the CIL, and read a version of the manuscript. Yann Le Bohec in Paris, editor of the latest studies on Hadrian's speeches, gave generous, helpful advice. From the archives of Marcel Le Glay, Jean-Louis Voisin kindly lent photographs of the small fragments that went a long way toward renewing the text. Anthony Birley, author of the splendid *Hadrian*, gave precise and truly wise counsel. To these scholars, dedicated to furthering our knowledge of ancient Rome, go my heartfelt thanks.

Studying Hadrian's speeches, my thoughts turned to Marcel Le Glay. No longer among us, he was my friend, and his eagerness still inspires. He thought keenly about ancient North Africa and about this inscription. It is only right that the photographs published here bear his name.

Honored Idus Newby, Professor Emeritus and former Chair of the History Department at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, turned my phrases as he did in *Riding for Caesar* and *Ancient Germanic Warriors*. To him I owe more than words can say. Gisela, my wife, as always shared in the goings-on through spirited discussion and plucky editing – it is as if we had written this book together.

INTRODUCTION

Seeking peace through strength, emperor Hadrian (117–139) went to Numidia in summer 128 to review the fighting skills of Rome's African army¹. He witnessed its maneuvers and critiqued them in speeches to the troops. Afterwards, the army recorded the speeches in an inscription on the parade ground at Lambaesis. Though shortened and broken by gaps, this is the Queen of the African inscriptions, recording the only surviving speeches of an ancient emperor to his soldiers. As our liveliest, richest, and most authentic source for understanding the training and fighting skills of the Roman army, they offer unparalleled insight². Hadrian, accomplished expert on military matters, spoke from experience: he had seen and evaluated countless maneuvers. Coins show him greeting the armies of nearly all frontier provinces, and a passage by Fronto, written not long afterwards, implies that he made the rounds of the troops to inspect their maneuvers and address them with a critique thereof³.

Among military classics, Hadrian's speeches lack Sun Tzu's intricacy and Clausewitz' wealth of detail. But these authors wrote for generals, while Hadrian spoke to soldiers. In the wonted way of mixing critique with praise⁴, his words show leadership in action: they build morale while driving home advice and criticism; they acknowledge skill and eagerness, rewarding them with honor as well as material goods; they deftly retell and praise great deeds. Not theoretical reflections, they are the words spoken to his soldiers by the emperor of three continents.

To recover as much of Hadrian's speeches as possible from the wreck and ruin of time is the purpose of this book. It is for the reader to judge its success in restoring the structure of the inscription and in recreating an often coherent text. The effort itself has been breathtaking: nothing compares with hearing Hadrian's words ring again, down through the millennia.

1. THE MONUMENT ON THE PARADE GROUND AT LAMBAESIS

Lambaesis, the strategic center of Rome's African army, lies some 200 kilometers from the Sahara frontier, in an area of some rain on wooded uplands, scorching heat in summer, and freezing cold in winter. The fortress housed the main force of the Third Augustan legion, nominally 6000 strong, sent there by Trajan (98–117)⁵. As commander of Rome's only legion in Africa outside Egypt, the *legatus Augusti legionis*, was also commander-in-chief of the African army. Besides the legion, he thus commanded three *alae* (regiments of 500 horse each), and six or more cohorts (mixed regiments of 380 foot and 120 horse each)⁶. The *auxilia* thus totaled nearly as many men as the legion, but were strung out in far-flung outposts along the frontier.

From the beginning, Lambaesis had a suitable training- and parade ground, set two kilometers west of the fortress (fig. 1)⁷, for such a *campus* was an essential part of every Roman fort or fortress⁸.

¹ *Historia Augusta*, ›Hadrian‹ 10: ›pacificus magis quam belli cupidus militem, quasi bellum immineret, exercuit‹.

² Suffice it to point to the use made of the inscription e.g. by R. Cagnat 1913, 146–151; H. Delbrück in his *History of the Art of War*, vol. II, 1980, 173–178; Kiechle 1964; Campbell 1984, 77–80; Davies 1989, 107–111; Horsmann 1991, 57; 159–171; 184; and Birley 1997, 210–213.

³ *Historia Augusta*, ›Hadrian‹ 14,10: ›Armorum peritissimus et rei militaris scientissimus‹. Fronto, *Principia Historiae* 11, 208, 7 ff. (Van den Hout 1988): ›Hadriano principe circum-

eundis et facunde appellandis exercitibus satis inpingro‹. Coins: Birley 1997, 122; 140 f. For a lost, but perhaps similar inscription on Hadrian's Wall (RIB 1051) see Birley 1997, 132.

⁴ Cf. Tibullus, 3,8,88: ›Laudis ut adsiduo vigeat certamine miles‹.

⁵ Le Bohec 1989, 369; cf. Janon 1973; Le Bohec 2003, 41–51.

⁶ *Cohortes equitatae*: Hyginus, *De munitione castrorum* 26–27 (Lenoir 1979, 73 ff.); Le Bohec 1989b, 27; Weiss 2002.

⁷ Drawing after Gassend – Janon 1978 and Sartori 2003.

⁸ Davies 1989, 93 ff.; Le Bohec 1989b, 120 f.

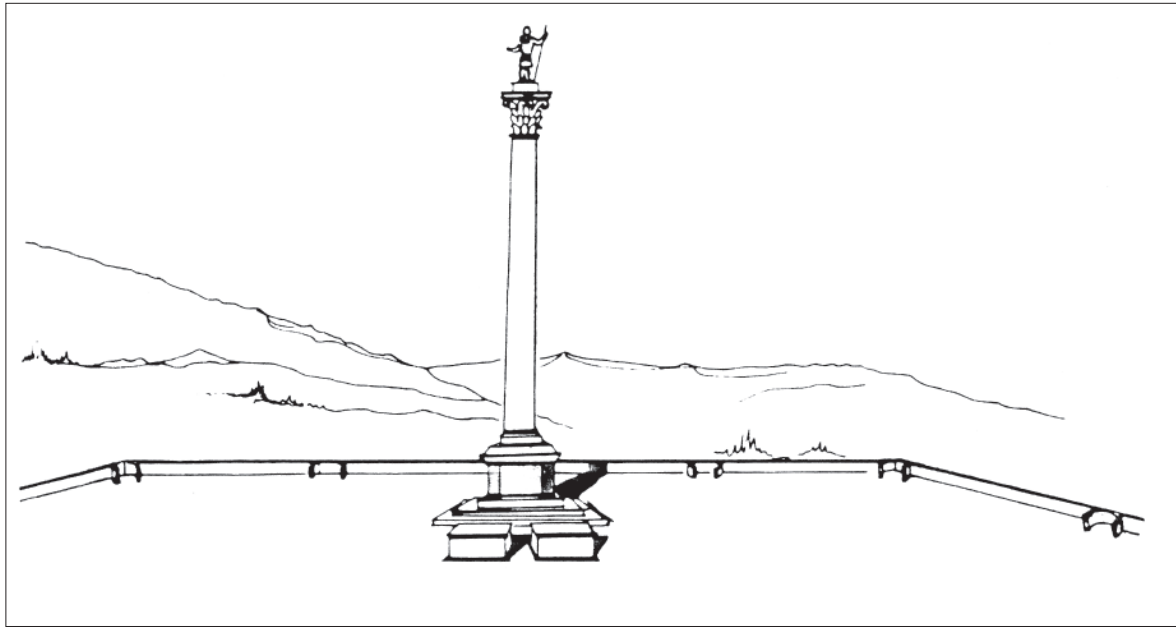


Fig. 1 The parade ground of legion III Augusta at Lambaesis.

The parade and training ground was a piece of level land, 200 meters square, with a 60-cm wide perimeter wall, built of irregular blocks⁹. Since only the lower parts survived into modern times, we do not know how high the wall was. It had a west and an east gate, and on the inside twelve semi-circular structures that may have been water basins rather than towers or gun-emplacements¹⁰. In an area of flagstones in the middle of the parade ground stood a viewing platform or *tribunal*. It was on the corner pillars of this platform that Hadrian's speeches to the African army were engraved.

A square base about two meters high with sides four-and-a-half meters long, the viewing platform was topped by a Corinthian column, nine meters tall, perhaps crowned with a statue of Hadrian¹¹. There is no way of knowing whether platform and column were in place when the emperor came in June 128, or whether they were set up afterwards to commemorate his visit. In our new reading of the dedication, Hadrian approved the training ground; hence it seems by that time to have been finished.

Hadrian may have addressed the legion from this platform. With many men away on outpost duty or in Carthage, far fewer than 6000 legionaries would have been there to hear his speeches. The full number of men would have fit into the space, though to hear the emperor's voice they would have had to gather closely¹². It seems, however, that Hadrian spoke to the legionaries present in four or more groups: the *pili*, *principes*, *hastati* and the legionary horse.

⁹ Discovered in the 19th century, it was long mistakenly called the ›Western Camp‹ or ›Camp of the Auxiliaries‹: Gsell 1901; Cagnat 1913, 436–440; Leschi 1957, 199; Janon 1973, esp. p. 210–215, with map p. 253. Field 10, referring to the building of a wall as part of the maneuvers, hardly means the parade-ground wall itself, as argued by Janon, for one day's work can no more than have embellished the permanent training ground. Le Bohec 1989, 407.

¹⁰ Gun emplacements: Gsell 1901, 320 ff. Water basins: Cagnat 1908, 12; Cagnat 1913, 437 f.; Le Bohec 1989, 407.

¹¹ Leschi 1957, 198; Le Bohec 2003, 46. For an artist's reconstruction of column and statue see Janon 1977, 5. Viewing: Arrian, *Tactica* 38,2: τοῖς ἐπὶ βήματος ὀρώσι. For such a *bema* see Davies 1989, 97 ff.

¹² Vegetius 2,15. On the formal setting of *adlocutiones* see Campbell 1984, 72 ff.; Bishop 1990; Stoll 2002, 267.

For many years after 128, this training ground served for parades and ceremonies, with the inscription of the emperor's words on *disciplina* there for the men to see. Later recuttings show that the inscription long continued to be read, though some have said that the monument fell into disrepair after the legion's dissolution in 238. Upon its return in 253, the legion recut its name on the dedication and the foreword (field 1). For hundreds of years the inscription thus kept alive the memory of Hadrian's visit to the African army, holding up the skilled performance of the troops in 128 as an *exemplum*, a standard to strive for by those who came after. The monument thereby lifted exercises and ceremonies to the height of imperial pomp and purpose¹³.

With the coming of Arabs in the Middle Ages, Hadrian's monument fell in ruin. Some time during the one-and-a-half millennia after the fall of Roman Africa, the column crashed and the platform crumbled. Yet when the French arrived in the mid-nineteenth century much of it was still lying where it fell. The drawing in figure 2 shows the state of the monument in 1851¹⁴.

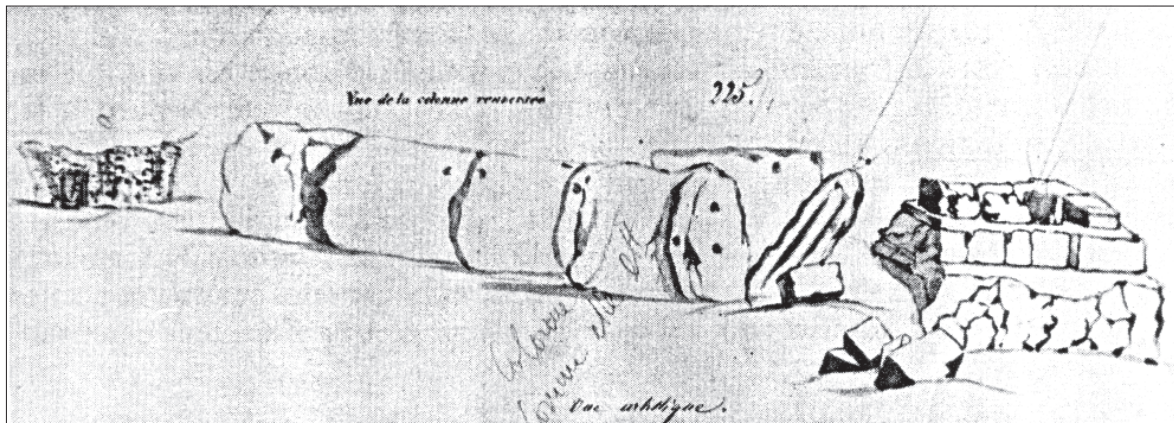


Fig. 2 Hadrian's monument when re-discovered in the mid-nineteenth century.

The lower blocks of the platform were still in place, and the large blocks in the foreground are of the kind on which the inscription was carved. Sadly, by the end of the 19th century, stone thieves had made away with much of the marble¹⁵. Today, both platform and column are gone; yet four of the sixteen inscribed blocks survive, as do over a hundred small fragments: enough to recover a good part of Hadrian's speeches.

¹³ Cagnat 1913, 441: >... réservé sans doute pour certains cérémonies militaires, défendue, en tout cas, par la mémoire d'un grand événement local et d'un des empereurs qui ont le plus fait pour l'armée romaine et la prospérité des prov-

inces<. Janon 1973, 214. Army ceremonies on the campus: Davies 1989, 100ff.; Stoll 2001, 116 f.

¹⁴ After Le Bohec 1989, 409.

¹⁵ Gsell 1901.

2. SCHOLARSHIP

In 1851, L. Renier brought word of the inscription to the attention of the learned world¹⁶, and scholarship about the text began. It took its twists and turns. In 1881 Gustav Wilmanns published a scholarly edition of the text in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*¹⁷. Thirteen years later, a new CIL edition became necessary, for new fragments had been found, and, as Johannes Schmidt noted, researchers working to restore missing words had been misled by inaccurate drawings in the 1881 publication¹⁸. Hardly had Schmidt's revised edition appeared in 1894, when new excavations at the parade ground uncovered a large block with the beginning of the inscription and part of the end, as well as many small fragments¹⁹ – spectacular finds that overturned the reconstruction of the inscription in the CIL.

For a hundred years thereafter the inscription was accessible to scholars only in the chaotic mix of a high-quality but now obsolete CIL edition, provisional publications in journals of many loose fragments, and a somewhat jumbled selection by Hermann Dessau²⁰. Yet, given the importance of the text, scholars used the available pieces of it, whatever the state of its overall presentation. Those interested in training and battlefield tactics of the Roman army were at times badly served thereby, for the gaps in the text proved to be pitfalls. In a typical misreading, army scholars read ›if you want to attack, you have to charge‹, or ›ride in serried ranks‹, or ›gallop‹²¹, when all Hadrian had said was ›ride through the middle of the field‹. The most astonishing mistake thus handed down is the one that has Hadrian saying in field 2 that he would have excused the legion had it given up training for a long time, which contradicts everything Hadrian stood for²².

Still, scholars made progress over the years. Héron de Villefosse healed the misread passage *in campos allete*, restoring it to *in Commagenorum campo salieti[s]*, ›you will jump (on your horses) on the Commageni training ground‹²³, and he found the true reading of the passage *hast[is usi] quamquam brevibus et duris*, ›though having used short and hard spears‹²⁴. W. Seston saw that Hadrian's *auctor* (field 26) was Trajan. Louis Leschi first realized that the inscription was laid out not over two but four pillars, and Marcel Le Glay brilliantly identified Hadrian's companion Viator (field 29) as the commander of his *Equites Singulares* horse guard.

In the 1970s, Marcel Le Glay planned a new edition of the inscription. Yann Le Bohec, Le Glay's student, and a team of other, mostly French, scholars brought this plan to fruition in 2003 by gathering all the published pieces and making known, for the first time, the drawings and measurements of 79 fragments made by Ch. Godet in 1940. Their volume constitutes the richest commentary on Hadrian's speeches so far²⁵. However, they did not try to reconstruct the text. This is the aim of the work at hand.

¹⁶ Janon 1973, 193; Le Bohec 1977, 71.

¹⁷ CIL VIII, 2532.

¹⁸ Schmidt 1894, CIL VIII 18042. Drawings by nature are less accurate than photographs: Schmidt's own drawing of field 2 lets one believe that at the end of line 4 *quaternos* were possible, although there is only space for *quinos* (below, p. 32).

¹⁹ Héron de Villefosse 1899.

²⁰ CIL VIII 18042; decisive find: Héron de Villefosse 1903; unconnected fragments: Héron de Villefosse 1899. Dessau 1892 and 1916 for a long time was the single most useful text.

²¹ Lammert 1931, 53; Kiechle 1965, 124; Voisin 2003, 25; Wolff – Berthet 2003, 116. Gallop: Davies 1989, 110.

²² Cf. *Historia Augusta*, ›Hadrian‹ 10,2 (quoted above, note 1); Le Bohec 2003, 123–132.

²³ Field 29. AE 1904, 54; Dessau 1916. Contra: Gagé 1952, 193 ff.

²⁴ Field 29. Héron de Villefosse 1903, 196, improving on his publication 1899, CXCVIII. Different: Lassère 2003, 90.

²⁵ Le Bohec et al. 2003. Outstanding earlier commentary: Mueller 1900.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

The inscription has three parts:

- A. Dedication
- B. Legion (fields 1–16)
- C. Auxiliary units (fields 17–32).

A. DEDICATION

*Imp. Cae[s]ari Traiano
Hadriano Augusto
for[ti]ss[im]o
libera[lissimo]que,
5 [[[le]g[io III Augusta]]]

adprob[atis campo et exe]rcitu.*

Translation²⁶:

To Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, most gallant and most generous, the Third Augustan Legion, training field and army having been approved.

B. THE LEGION

Field 1: Introduction; the *pili*

*Imp(erator) Caesar Traianus
Hadrianus Augustus
[[[legionem I]II [Augustam]]]
exercitationibus inspectis adlocutus
5 est is quae infra scripta sunt
Torquat[o] II et [Lib]one[m] co(n)s(ulibus), K(alendis) Iulis.

At pi[l]os*

Translation:

Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, having watched its maneuvers, addressed the Third Augustan Legion in the words written below, on the first of July when Torquatus for the second time and Libo were consuls.

To the *pili*

²⁶ The best English translation (and one from which I have adopted a good many phrases) is that by Birley 1997, 210–213.

Field 2: All is fine

[Catullinu]s leg[at]us pro causa ves[tra a]cer est, ve[rum], quae argu-
[e]nda vobis apud me fuissent omnia mihi pro vobis ipse dixit, quod
cohors abest, quod omnibus annis per vices in officium pr[oe]con-
sulis mittitur, quod ante annum tertium cohortem et qui [nos]
5 ex centuriis in supplementum comparum tertianorum dedis-
tis, quod multae, quod diversae stationes vos distinent, quod
nostra memoria bis non tantum mutastis castra sed et nova fecis-
tis. Ob haec excusatos vos habe[re]m si quid in exercitatione cessas-
set. Sed nihil aut cessavis[se] videtur aut est ulla causa cur]
10 vobis excusatione [apud me opus esset - - - ca. 25 - - -]
retis val[de] - - - ca. 48 - - -]

Translation:

Catullinus, my legate, is keen in your support; indeed, everything that you might have had to put to me he has himself told me on your behalf: that a cohort is away because, taking turns, one is sent every year to the staff of the Proconsul; that two years ago you gave a cohort and five men from each centuria to the fellow third legion, that many and far-flung outposts keep you scattered, that twice within our memory you have not only changed fortresses but built new ones. For this I would have forgiven you if something had come to a halt in your training. But nothing seems to have halted, nor is there any reason why you should need my forgiving. ... you would

Field 3: the value of training

- - -]stissim[- - -]
[- - -]mpellat d[omi]n[us] fe-]
runtur [- - -] v[er]is barbar[orum] - - -]
moti sua s[pont]e - - -]
5 [- - - ca. 55 - - -]
vos modo non faciat leni[ores] - - - ca. 35 - - -]: sperate
[m]elius esse facturos qua[e] - - - ca. 20 - - -]sim[il]i o[mn]ium. Ord-
nem tam longae exercit[ationis] - - - ca. 25 - - -]et stren[ua] multa fe-
cistis et satis speciose sp[er]lendetis sub cura Catullini m[ag]ni clari[s]simi viri,
10 [le]gati qu[is] - - - ca. 54 - - -]
mir[is] - - -]

Translation:

- - - most - - - let push - - - carried away - - - a force of barbarians - - - borne by their own willfulness
- - - does not make you softer - - -. Trust that you will do better whatever - - - toughest of all. Such
a long course of training - - -. You have keenly done much, and you shine brightly under the care of
my noble Catullinus, the legate who - -

Field 4 (lost)

Field 5 (lost)

Field 6: legionary foot and horse

[- - ca. 14 - - -]armorum [- - ca. 12 - - - sollicit]ite vide-
[antur attendi]sse vobis. Primi ordines et centuriones agiles
[et fortes mo]re suo fuerunt.

[[[At equites legionis]]]

5 [Exe]rcitationes militares quodam modo suas leges
[ha]bent quibus si quit adiciatur aut detrahatur aut minor
[exer]citatio fit aut difficilior. Quantum autem difficultatis
[additur, tan]tum gratiae demitur. Vos ex difficilibus difficil-
[limum feci]stis ut loricati iaculationem perageretis
10 [- - ca. 10 - - - c]um damno, quin immo et animum proba
[- -].

Translation:

... weapons ... seem to have carefully looked after you. The battle-line leaders and centurions were quick and keen as is their wont.

To the legionary horsemen

Military exercises somehow have their own laws by which, if anything is added or taken away, the exercise gets either lesser or harder. And the harder one makes it, the less graceful it becomes. You have made the hardest out of a hard task by throwing spears while wearing the cuirass, and thereby you lost in elegance. But I do approve the spirit in which you did this - - -

Field 7: legionary horse

[- - p]robo .a..[- -]
[- -]tis iuvat itaq[ue - - -]
[- -]IO[- -]

Translation:

- - - I approve - -
- - - hence it helps - - -

Field 8 (lost)

Field 9: principes

[[[- - -]i[- - -]]]

[- - -]u hesternu[- - -]
- - -
[- - - eleg]anter est[is - - -]
[- - - exerc]itabam et c[- - -]

Translation:

To the *principes*

- - - of yesterday - - - you did this elegantly - - - thus I would train - - -

Field 10: wall and ditch

*ta]tione[- - - ca. 35 - - - quas] alii [..... per]
plures dies divis[is]sent, e]as uno die peregristis. Murum lo[n]gi
operis et qualis mansuris hibernaculis fieri solet non [mul]-
to diutius extrucxistis quam caespite exstruitur qui m[o]-
5 dulo pari caesus et vehitur facile et tractatur et sine mo[les]-
tia struitur ut mollis et planus pro natura sua. Vos lapid[ibus]
grandibus, gravibus, inaequalibus, quos neque vehere n[e]-
que attollere, neque locare quis possit nisi ut inaequa[lita]-
tes inter se compareant. Fossam glaria duram scabram
10 recte percussistis et radendo levem reddidistis. Opere pr[o]-
bato introgressi castra raptim et cibum et arma cepistis
equitem emissum secuti magno clamore revertentem per*

Translation:

- - - work others would have spread out over several days, you took only one day to finish. You have built a lengthy wall, made as if for permanent winter-quarters, in nearly as short a time as if it were built from turf which is cut in even pieces, easily carried and handled, and laid without difficulty, being naturally smooth and flat. You built with big, heavy, uneven stones that no one can carry, lift, or lay without their unevenness becoming evident. You dug a straight ditch through hard and rough gravel and scraped it smooth. Your work approved, you quickly entered camp, took your food and weapons, and followed the horse who had been sent out, hailing them with a great shout as they came back.

Field 11: the fight at the ditch (lost)

Field 12: (lost)

Field 13: *hastati*

[[[At] h̄ast[a]t[os]]]

[- - -] + dies poscit u[t - - -]

[- - -] + s + u[- - -]

Translation:

To the *hastati*

- - - the day - - - demands that - - -

Field 14: *bastati* (lost)

Field 15: *bastati* (lost)

Field 16: *bastati* end

[- -] *iaculari non potuit qu*[- -]
[- -] *ϕo Celer hastatus rect*[e - -]
[- -] *vos exercuit.*
[- -]

Translation:

- - - could not throw spears, for - - -
- - - Celer, the *hastatus*, has rightly drilled you.

C. AUXILIA

Field 17 (lost)

Field 18 (lost)

Field 19: unit with horsemen

- - - *il*-
lic saltib[*us* - - - *in*]-
tellexi v[*os* - - - *fuis*]-
setis ne[- -] *habili*-
5 *ter iacu*[*la* - -] *as qui*-
dam bi[- -]
[.] *ic*[- -]

Translation:

- - - there with jumps - - - I understand that you - - - would have been - - - but not - - - spear-
throwing skillfully - - - some - - -

Field 20: horsemen alighted

[- -] *et ex equis per tot*[- -]
[- -] *am quoque celer*[- -]
[- -] *exercitatione c*[- -]

Translation:

- - - alighted from the horses over the whole - - - also, quickly - - - by training - - -

Field 21: cohors II Hamiorum

[- - -] *K(alendis) Iul(is). Coh(orti) II Ha[miorum]*

[*Cum cast*] *ra vobis refragata s[im]t* - - - ca. 30 - - -]

[- - -] *us in campo, iusto* [- - - ca. 26 - - -]

[- - -] *a]quis ipsis int[erclu-* - - - ca. 28 - - -]

5 [- - - ca. 55 - - -]

[- - - ca. 55 - - -]

[- - - ca. 55 - - -]

Translation:

June - - - . To cohors II Hamiorum

Since the fort worked against you - - - open field, set battle- - - even cut off from water (?) - - -

Field 22: Bowmen shooting often and sharp

[.....] *m[.....]cistis et manibus non languidis. Id-*
[*circo, cum*] *vos iam sagitt[as no]n ad signum miseritis quod iam hostis*
[*adest, impe]llit praefectus ad eu]m vos mittendi saepius et instantius*
[*studium ut*] *in freq[uentibus telis ho]stis ultra scutum non audeat caput*

5 [*tollere.* - - - ca. 31 - - -] *tarde iunxistis [..]*

[- - - ca. 42 - - -] *erumpetis veh[e-*

[*mentius* - - - ca. 36 - - -] *idit* [- - - ca. 9 - - -]

[- - - ca. 52 - - -] *tum*

[- - - ca. 40 - - -] *Catullinus meus lega-*

10 [*tus* - - - ca. 45 - - -] *dit prae-*

[*fectus* - - - ca. 49 - - -]

[- - -]

Translation:

- - - you did - - - and with hands not slack. Hence, as you do not shoot at a signal (the foe being already upon you) your prefect makes you try and shoot oftener and sharper, so that among the many missiles the foe dare not lift his head above the shield. - - - You were slow to close ranks - - - you will break out more briskly - - - my Catullinus, the legate - - - the prefect - - - .

Field 23: an unknown unit (lost)

Field 24: more of that unknown unit (lost)

Field 25: Ala - - - pa - - - - sin - - -

- - -]ate contos [- - -]sī . . . [- - -]
[- - -] scop[os - - -]rsent es[- - -]
[- - - praefectus vester] vobis[c]um agil[iter decucurrit].

[- - -] Ala [. . .]pā[.] sī[- - -]

- 5 [Cantabricum a]criter alacriter eff[ecistis ita ut hostis] non potuisset vos tu[r]bare]
[- - - vos red]egisset qua fui[sssetis]
[- - - Catullinum meum virum clarissimum, legatum]

Translation:

- - - thrusting lances - - - the targets - - your prefect, keenly rode with you in the maneuver.

To ala . . . pā. sī - - -

You rode the Cantabrus sharply and keenly, so that the foe could not thwart you, nor push you where - - - my noble Catullinus, the legate - - -

Field 26: How to charge

laudo quod convertuit vos ad hanc exercitat[ionem . . . quae verae di]-
micationis imaginem accepit et sic exercet [vos - - - ca. 12 - - - ut lau]-
dare vos possim. Cornelianus praefectus ves[ter intre]pide [officio suo sa]-
tis fecit. Contrari discursus non placent mihi nec [div]o Tra[iano qui mihi]
5 est auctor. E tecto transcurrat eques et pe[- - - . Si non]
videt qua vadat aut, si voluerit, eum r[efr]en[are nequit, non potest
[qu]i sit obnoxius caliculis tectis a[ut fo]ss[is quas] non videt. S[i]
[vul]tis congregi, debetis concurre[re per me]dium campum. Ta[m]-
[q]uam adversus hosti facienda [umquam sunt u]lla quam caute.

10 [- - -]on(is) Iul(is), Zarai. Coh(orti) [- - -]

[- - - ca. 15 - - -] turbetis et di[- - -]
[- - -]

Translation:

I praise him for having brought you over to this maneuver that has taken on the looks of true fighting, and for training you so well - - - that I can praise you. Your prefect Cornelianus has done his duty undauntedly. I do not like counter-wheelings, nor did deified Trajan, my model. A horseman should ride out from cover and - - - . If he does not see where he is going, or cannot rein in his horse when he wishes, he may come to grief from hidden traps and trenches he does not see. If you want to attack, you must charge across the middle of the field -as when facing the foe, nothing must ever be done recklessly.

July - - -, Zarai. To cohort - - -

- - - you might break the formation and - - -

Field 27: the Zarai cohort (lost)

Field 28: lost

Field 29: ala I Pannoniorum

III Idus Iulias. Ala I Pannoniorum

Omnia per ordinem egistis. Campum d[ec]ursionibus complestis, iaculati estis non ineleganter, hast[is] usi q[uam]quam brevis et duris; lanceas plures vestrum [scie]nter miserun[t]. Saluistis et hic agiliter et heri velociter. Si q[ui]t defuisset, desid[er]arem, si quit eminuisset, designarem. Tota exercitatione perae[que] placuistis. Catullinus legatus meus v[ir] clarissimus in o[mn]i-

Translation:

July 13. Ala I Pannoniorum

You did everything according to the book: you filled the training ground with your wheelings, you threw spears not ungracefully, though with short and stiff shafts. Several of you hurled *lancea* spears with skill. Your jumping onto the horses here was lively and yesterday swift. Had anything been lacking, I would note it; had anything stood out, I would mention it. You pleased equally throughout the whole maneuver. Noble Catullinus, my deputy, gives the same care to all - - -

Field 30: ala I Pannoniorum and cohorts VI Commagenorum

bus quibus praeest parem suam curam exhib[uit][prae]fectus vester sollicite videtur vobis attendere. Congiar[um] accipite. Viator, iam in Commagenorum campo salietis[is].

Eq(uites) coh(ortis) VI Commagenorum

Difficile est cohortales equites etiam per se placere, difficilius post aliam exercitationem non displicere: alia spatia campi, alius iaculantium numerus, frequens dextrator, Cantabricus densus, equorum forma, armorum cultus pro stipendi modo. Verum vos fastidium calore vitastis, strenue faciendo quae fieri debent. Addidistis ut et lapides fundis mitteretis et missilibus confligetis; saluistis ubique expedite. Catullini leg(ati) mei c(larissimi) v(iri) [insignis virtus] apparet, quod tales vos sub illo v[ir]o v[ir]i estis.

Translation:

- - - he has charge of. Your prefect - - - seems to look after you conscientiously. Accept a largess! Viator, you will do your jumping on the Commageni training ground.

Horsemen of Cohors VI Commagenorum

It is hard for horsemen of a cohort to please, even as they are, and harder still not to displease after a show by horsemen of an ala: the training field differs in size, spear throwers are fewer, the right-wheelers are tight, the Cantabrian formation is crammed, the build of horses and shine of weapons in keeping with the pay level. But you have banished weariness by your eagerness, by doing briskly what had to be done. Moreover, you both shot stones from slings and fought with javelins; everywhere you jumped nimbly onto your horses. The outstanding manhood of noble Catullinus, my legate, shows itself in that under this man you are such men.

Field 31: praise for the prefect of cohorts VI Commagenorum etc. (lost)

Field 32: end (lost)

D. UNPLACED FRAGMENTS

Fragments 23 and 24

[- -] *a eruptio non* [- -] *m acriter nunc* [- -]
[- -] *rapi[do c]ursu* [- -] *co[n]cucurristi[s - -]*
[- -] *Catullin* [- -]
[- -] *isi* [- -]

Translation:

- - - breakout did not - - - now you sharply - - - charged at a run - - - . Catullinus - - - .

The two fragments could belong to field 12.

Fragments 45 and 46

[- -] *i viri [cele]brat[ae virtutis - -]*
[- -] *C(o)h]o(rti) II F[l(avia) A]fro[rum - - -*

Translation:

- - - a man of far-famed manhood - - - .

- - - To cohorts II Flavia Afrorum - - - .

Fragment 47

---]us et
[---p]raefectum.

[--- Coh(orti)- --- eq]ui(atae)

Translation:

--- and --- the prefect.

--- To cohort --- part-mounted. ---

Fragment 48

--- dec]ucurrit v[obiscum].

[---]M PER [---

Translation:

--- rode on parade with you ---.

---]M PER[---

Fragment 49

---]IIL[---]

[--- coh(orti) I Ch]al[cidenorum ---

Translation:

--- to *cohors I Chalcidenorum* ---

Fragment 50

[---] quam ut possint, altera [manu ---]
[---]um altera manu [---

Translation:

--- as much as they can, with one hand ---, with the other ---

Fragments 51, 52, 53

- - -]istis vib[ra . . .] + + [- - -]da [. . .]
[- - -]scopos et redeunt[es - - -]f]uistiſ.

Translation:

- - - you have done - - - hurled - - - the targets, and returning - - - have been - - - .

Fragment 54

- - - mo]llosso[- - -]
[- - - e]xcubi[- - -]

Translation:

- - - Molossi dogs - - - the watch - - -

Fragment 55

- - -]ſa ordi[- - -]
- - - commu]nibus stud[uiis - - -]
- - -]urguere[- - -]

Translation:

- - - by joint effort - - - push - - - .

Fragment 56

- - -]mm[. . .]
[- - - ta]ntop[ere]
[- - - l]audo
[- - - m]ag-
5 [n - - -]

Translation:

- - - so much - - - . I praise - - - great - - -

Fragment 57

- - -]nus ag[. . .]us [- - -]
[- - -].it qua equ[- - -]

Translation:

- - - where the horse - - -

Fragment 58

--- *med]io campo c[- - -]*
[- - -] *CIFR*[- - -]

Translation:

--- in the middle of the training ground ---

Fragment 59

--- *o]bnox[ius* ---

Translation:

--- likely to be hurt ---

Fragments 60, 61, 62

---]
[- - -] *us circula*[- - -]

---] *sive ter*[- - -]
[- - -] *et redeu*[- - -]

---] + + + [- - -]
[- - -] *direct[e .]n*[- - -]
[- - -]

Translation:

--- riding in a circle --- or three --- and on the way back (?) --- straight ---

Fragments 63, 64

---] *a manu derigi op*[portet ---]
[- - -]

Translation:

--- need be hurled with firm(?) hand ---

Fragment 65

---e]xbibuer[unt.]

[[[---]usq[---]]]

Translation:

--- They have shown. ---

Fragment 66

*--- exercitatio]onum cu[ra---]
[---]num laudo [---*

Translation:

--- the care for training --- I praise -nus ---

Fragment 67

---] vobiscum de]cucurrit.

Translation:

--- he rode with you in the maneuver.

Fragment 68

---] disciplina ? ---

Translation:

-- discipline ---

Fragment 69

*---] armaturam [---]
[---].m.[---*

Translation:

--- highly trained fighter ---

Fragment 70

-- -] *fossam it su*[- - -

Translation:

- - - went to the ditch and - - -

Fragment 71

-- -] *excepistis* [- - -
-- -] *tis et sum*[*m* - - -

Translation:

- - - You received them - - - and with outmost - - -

Fragment 72

-- -] + + + [- - -
-- -] *exercit*] *abam et* [- - -
-- -] *m erum*[*p* - - -

Translation:

- - - I would train - - - break out - - -

Fragments 73–144 (below, pp. 77–87) are too broken to warrant translation.

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 size²⁷. 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 74×49 cm²⁸. 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 1851²⁹, 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 1898³⁰. 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).

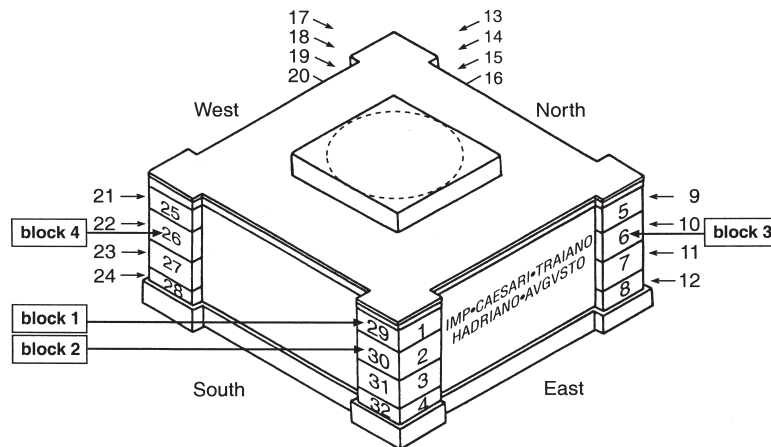


Fig. 3 The base of Hadrian's monument with its 4 preserved blocks and 32 text-bearing fields.

²⁷ Héron de Villefosse 1903, 194.

²⁸ Wilmanns 1866, 287 measured field 30 to be 70×50 cm, Héron de Villefosse 1903, 194 measured them to be $73-$

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

²⁹ Gsell 1901, 322.

³⁰ Notes on these excavations: Villefosse 1899; Gsell 1901, 320.

Scholars long believed that only the two eastern pillars bore the inscription³¹. It is certain, however, that all four pillars were inscribed³². 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 eight³³. 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 pillar³⁴.

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 3³⁵. Thus, Schmidt (1894) saw in field 22 the continuation of field 6 (on legionary horsemen), even though the text suits only bowmen on foot³⁶, 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 pillars³⁷, 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 blocks³⁸. 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.

³¹ Schmidt 1894, 1726; Le Bohec 2003, 79–80.

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

³³ 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.

³⁴ Leschi 1957, 198.

³⁵ Schmidt, 1894.

³⁶ 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).

³⁷ Leschi 1957, 199 rightly assigned it to a western pillar.

³⁸ 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 1st: 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 12th (field 29). The auxilia thus seem to appear on the inscription in the order Hadrian inspected them³⁹.

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 text⁴⁰.

2. THE SMALL FRAGMENTS

For over a hundred years, scholars thought of joining the nearly one hundred small fragments⁴¹. 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 joined⁴². 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

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

⁴⁰ 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‹.

⁴¹ 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‹.

⁴² 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 apart⁴³. An O can look like a V⁴⁴. 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's⁴⁵. 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*⁴⁶, 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 flourish⁴⁷. 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 recorded⁴⁸, 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 belong⁴⁹.

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 here⁵⁰. 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.

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

⁴⁴ Field 6, end.

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

⁴⁶ Le Bohec 2003, 104.

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

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

⁴⁹ 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.

⁵⁰ 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.

RESTORING THE TEXT AND ITS MEANING

Berthet, Lassère, Wolff, and Le Bohec in 2003 have commented richly on many aspects of the speeches, and the reader is referred to their study⁵¹. Their observations are noted here only insofar as they matter for the restoration of the text⁵².

1. THE DEDICATION

Fragments 1–6⁵³ (Fig. 4)



Fig. 4 The dedication of the monument (fragments 1–6).

*Imp. Cae[s]ari Traiano
Hadriano Augusto
for[t]issim[o]
libera[lissimo]que,
5 [[[le]gio III Augusta]]]
adprob[at]is campo et exe]rcitu.*

(Line 5, re-cut in AD 253:)

Le[gio III Augusta].

IMP CAESARI TRAIANO
HADRIANO AVGVSTO
FORTISSIMO
LIBERALISSIMOQVE
LEgio iii aug
ADPROBante exERCITV

Fig. 5 Cagnat's drawing of the dedication⁵⁴.

⁵¹ Le Bohec 2003, 79–114.

⁵² Earlier publications are listed below on pages 97–99.

⁵³ Héron de Villefosse 1899, CXCVII, abbreviated the name of the legion to *Aug.* as he spaced the letters wrongly and failed to recognize that LE in line 5 stands on an erasure.

Leschi 1957, 198 f. read *leg. III Augusta*, but by his time some of the stone had broken off, especially at the beginning of line 6; Wolff 2003, 80 f. goes back to Héron de Villefosse's abbreviated version.

⁵⁴ AE 1900, 33.

Unlike the text of Hadrian's speeches, the dedication was written not on a corner pillar but on a marble slab (measuring 3.05 × 1.75 × 0.30 meters), held between the two eastern pillars on the show side of the monument. During excavations in 1899, Abbé Montangnon found several fragments of the dedication in the middle of the parade ground. The font is *scriptura capitalis quadrata*, as befits the dedication of a grand monument; the letters in lines 1–5 are 15 cm high, those in line 6 only 9 cm.

The name of the legion in line 5 was erased in 238 and restored in 253. As the photograph shows⁵⁵, one letter of the original version of the legion's name is still recognizable: the G that stands beneath the R of *liberalissimo*. The place of this letter, so far left, proves that the word *Augusta*, as in the introduction (field 1), was spelled out in full. Spelling out the full name of the legion fits its role as dedicant of the monument much better than would a mere abbreviation⁵⁶.

The name of the legion was recut in 253 in letters about 10 cm high. The photograph still shows an L and an E belonging to the phrase *le[gio III Augusta]* in the re-written text⁵⁷.

The sixth line of the dedication brings a surprise. Louis Leschi, who paid great attention to the spacing of letters and words when putting the slab together in the Stéphane Gsell Museum in Algiers, rightly saw that the line called for 24 letters. The photograph bears him out. Héron de Villefosse's restoration, *adprob[ante exe]rcitu*, with 18 letters thus cannot be right, nor Wolff's reading *adproba[to exe]rcitu* with only 17 letters⁵⁸. Leschi himself had two suggestions for the line: either *[ad]prob[atis illa et exe]rcitu*, ›it (the legion) and the army having been approved‹, or *[ad]prob[(atis) castris et exe]rcitu*, ›the camp and the army having been approved‹⁵⁹. The first suggestion is out of the question, for the legion was not separate from the army but part of it. The second suggestion, only one letter short, uses a rare abbreviation (*adprob*), which is unlikely in as formal a text as this.

As for Leschi's second suggestion, it is hard to see what *castra* Hadrian could have approved. In the mid-twentieth century scholars still thought of the training ground as a camp; however, no traces of buildings (and of only two gates) have been found there, and the consensus now is that it was not a camp at all⁶⁰. Moreover, in a speech in 128, Hadrian would hardly approve the Great Camp that had been built more than eleven years earlier⁶¹, nor would he do that on the parade ground while reviewing maneuvers. Most likely, Hadrian approved the parade ground itself, that is its size, its leveled ground, its stone wall, its gates and water basins, its flagstone field, its plinths for statuary, and its tribunal. It seems best, therefore, to read *adprob[atis campo et exe]rcitu*, ›training field and army having been approved‹, which is only one more than the 24 letters postulated by Leschi⁶². Hadrian used a similar expression, *opere probato*, for similar work in his maneuver critique in field 10.

Fragment 7

Known only from a photograph in the Le Glay Archives and lacking all measurements (fig. 6), the piece shows right-dipping toolmarks or grain. It seems to belong to the bottom line of the dedication slab, and may spell out the word *campo*. However, it cannot (and need not) be used as proof for the reading *approbato campo* until scholars are allowed to check it against fragments 1–6, to find out whether it is of the same kind of marble and of the same thickness.

⁵⁵ After Leschi 1957, 142.

⁵⁶ *Hadriano Augusto* had 15 letters. *Liberalissimoque* crams 16 letters into the same space. *Legio III Augusta* had 15 letters and was slightly tighter, hence it could give up some space at the beginning and the end of the line. On the other hand, if *Aug(usta)* was abbreviated it would use more space per letter than line 4. It seems, though, that there is not enough space for *sua* as there may be in the introduction (field 1).

⁵⁷ Leschi 1957, 198: ›Le nom de la légion a été martelé puis regravé en lettres plus petites comme on l'a fait couramment

en Afrique‹. Though denied by Wolff 2003, 80 without discussion, the photograph bears out Leschi's statement. Inspection of the original may one day reveal more writing at the end of the line, e.g. *sua*.

⁵⁸ Wolff 2003, 80 f. ›compte tenu de la dimension de la lacune‹. The second a in Wolff's text seems a mere lapse.

⁵⁹ These readings were adopted by Le Glay 1978, 546.

⁶⁰ Le Bohec 1989, 407; Le Bohec 2003, 46.

⁶¹ Le Bohec 1989, 410; Le Bohec 2003, 45.

⁶² For this structure being a *campus* see Davies 1989 (published 1968), 261 and Le Bohec 1977, 79.

--- ca]mpo [---



Fig. 6 Fragment 7 – from the dedication slab?

If one reads, as here suggested, ›training field and army having been approved‹, the dedication need not say what is dedicated to Hadrian. Everyone could see that: it was the monument with the column and perhaps a statue of the emperor. On the other hand, if one reads with J. Carcopino [*com*]prob[*ante toto exe*]rcitu, ›and the whole army agreed‹, one ought to learn what they agreed with. The lack of such a statement makes Carcopino’s reading unlikely, quite aside from the fact that Héron de Villefosse and Cagnat saw the letters AD at the beginning of line six⁶³.

In AD 138 a dedication by veterans at Lambaesis again calls Hadrian *fortissimus* and *liberalissimus*⁶⁴. Praise for being *liberalissimus*, ›freely spending‹, mattered to Hadrian in his quest for the support of the army. An example of his openhandedness is the *congiarium*, the bonus handed out to the horsemen of ala I Pannoniorum (field 29). The *Augustan History* says the soldiers liked Hadrian for being *liberalissimus*⁶⁵ – one of those striking correspondences between inscriptions and literary sources in which, typically, the inscription adds authenticity and the literary source wider meaning. To call an emperor *liberalissimus* in official inscriptions – not only Hadrian but succeeding emperors as well – became a local tradition at Lambaesis⁶⁶. Its origin can be traced to the dedication of these speeches.

The recutting of the legion’s name on the dedication and on the introduction (field 1) shows, contrary to what some have said, that the legion did not abandon the parade ground in 253, but used it for years thereafter⁶⁷.

⁶³ Carcopino: AE 1942–43, 90, with a discussion of [*com*]prob[--- versus [*ad*]prob[---. Besides, as the legion is half the army, it would be awkward if ›the whole army‹ agreed with it.

⁶⁴ CIL VIII, 2534.

⁶⁵ HA, Hadr. 21: ›*A militibus propter curam exercitus nimiam multum amatus est, simul quod in eos liberalissimus fuit.*

⁶⁶ Stoll 2002, 250; 253.

⁶⁷ As follows also from the re-engraving in field 1. Re-engraved: Leschi 1957, 198. Not re-engraved and hence abandoned: Wolf 2003, 80, though without discussion or evidence for this startling assumption.

2. THE LEGION

Field 1. Introduction

Fragment 8e (east-facing side of block 1)



Fig. 7 Introduction.

*Imp(erator) Caesar Traianus
Hadrianus Augustus
[[[legionem I]II [Augustam]]]
exercitationibus inspectis adlocutus
5 est is quae infra scripta sunt
Torquat[o] II et [Lib]ionę co(n)s(ulibus), K(alendis) Iulis.*

At p[il]os:

line 3, first recutting:

[—]ff[—]

line 3, second recutting:

leg[ionem] - - - III Augustam - - -]

In 1899, Montagnon, who found the block, could still see the O and the S of *pi[l]los* in line 7⁶⁸. On the strength of Montagnon's report, Héron de Villefosse wrote *pi[l]los* in his 1903 text, though by then the O had broken away. Le Glay, however, read *pe[dite]s*, to match the *equites legionis* of field 6⁶⁹. Yet that reading is clearly too long. Indeed, *At pilos* is certain, for it not only reflects what Montagnon observed, but it parallels the headings *principes* and *hastati* in fields 9 and 13, and is borne out by the broken-off S that has come to light again, and is added here to figure 7⁷⁰. This is the S missing from the middle of line 7 in field 1, for it has the same shape and size as the S in the line above, is level at the bottom (this being the lower rim of the block), and has the same surface texture of diffuse grain and vertical lines as field 1. Its fracture lines fit well into the gap in which it belongs, and, if joined, restores the outline of the text in figure 8⁷¹.

Pili make up a third of the legionaries. Of old they were one of the legion's three battle lines⁷². Fields 9 and 13 mention – in the order of rank – the other two lines, the *principes* and the *hastati*. We do not know, however, whether Hadrian addressed the nearly 6000 men of the legion in these smaller groups to make himself better heard, or whether the three lines maneuvered separately. If the latter were true, we would gain a much more detailed understanding of the legions' battlefield tactics during the first three centuries of our era⁷³.

Unlike some earlier editions, the photograph in figure 7 clearly shows the words *i(i)s* and *Iuli(i)s* written with a single, not a double I. Of the E in *quae* one can still see the upper part of the vertical stroke; and the *II* and *ET* in line 6 are still partly preserved.

Montagnon in 1899 and Cagnat in 1900 still saw the letters ONIBV in line 4 and INFR in line 5, yet in Héron de Villefosse's 1903 drawing they are missing (fig. 8)⁷⁴.

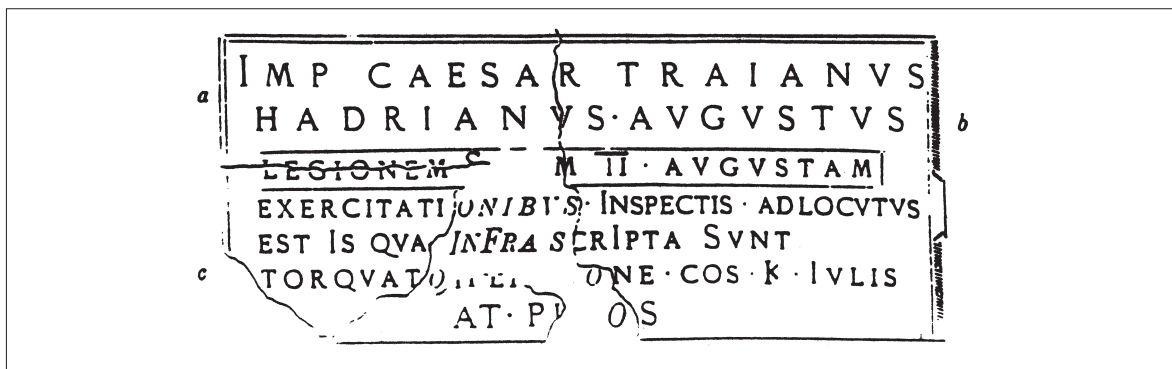


Fig. 8 Héron de Villefosse's 1903 drawing of field 1.

⁶⁸ Ibid: «Il est certain que cette face a subi des mutilations depuis sa découverte; le marbre a été brisé, sûrement pendant qu'il était en la possession des indigènes, car plusieurs éclats n'ont pas été retrouvés. Une copie de M. l'Abbé Montagnon, remontant au mois de septembre 1899 porte en effet ... ATP///OS».

⁶⁹ Le Glay 1977, 546. Likewise Berthet 2003, 81.

⁷⁰ Photograph Archives Le Glay 10,c. No measurements are available. A similar accident happened to the fragment AT PI in the same line: Le Bohec 2003, 66 (10,4,50) and 108, took it as loose, but see Héron de Villefosse 1903, 193 note 2.

⁷¹ The right border as reproduced here is straight only because the photograph is cut off at that point.

⁷² Speidel 2002, 128: *pili* were the men themselves, not only the twenty highest-ranking centurions as suggested by Dessau 1916 (followed by Horsmann 1991, 170; Campbell 1994, 18; Birley 1997, 210).

⁷³ Milner 1993, 88 (on Vegetius 1,20; II, 15–17; III, 14): «Developments under the principate did not render the basic pattern obsolete»; Speidel 2002, 133 and 2005a; see field 9; Wheeler 2004a, 170.

⁷⁴ See Héron de Villefosse's account 1903, 194. Drawing *ibid*.

The name of the legion in line 3 was chiseled out when the unit was banished in AD 238. Villefosse, whose text all scholars accept, did not realize that the line had been twice erased and twice recut⁷⁵. Many of the traces he took to belong to the original version belong instead to the first or second recutting. To judge from the photograph, all that seems to belong to the first version of the legion's name are two downstrokes of the numeral III in the middle of the line⁷⁶. Even the word *sua* for the legion is doubtful; the lengthened S taken by Héron de Villefosse to be its first letter may belong to a recutting.

The recuttings are of great interest. There seems to have been a first one that included a C near the beginning of line 3, and an elegant F beneath the first V in the word *Augustus* of the second line. A study of the original might reveal whether here, and in field 9, certain auxiliary units of the African army replaced the legion on the inscription. The recutting of AD 253, [*leg[ionem] III Augustam*], though hitherto overlooked, is certain⁷⁷. Like the recutting of the dedication, it proves that when the legion came back, it again used this training ground⁷⁸.

Field 2. Legionary foot

Fragment 9e (east-facing side of block 2)

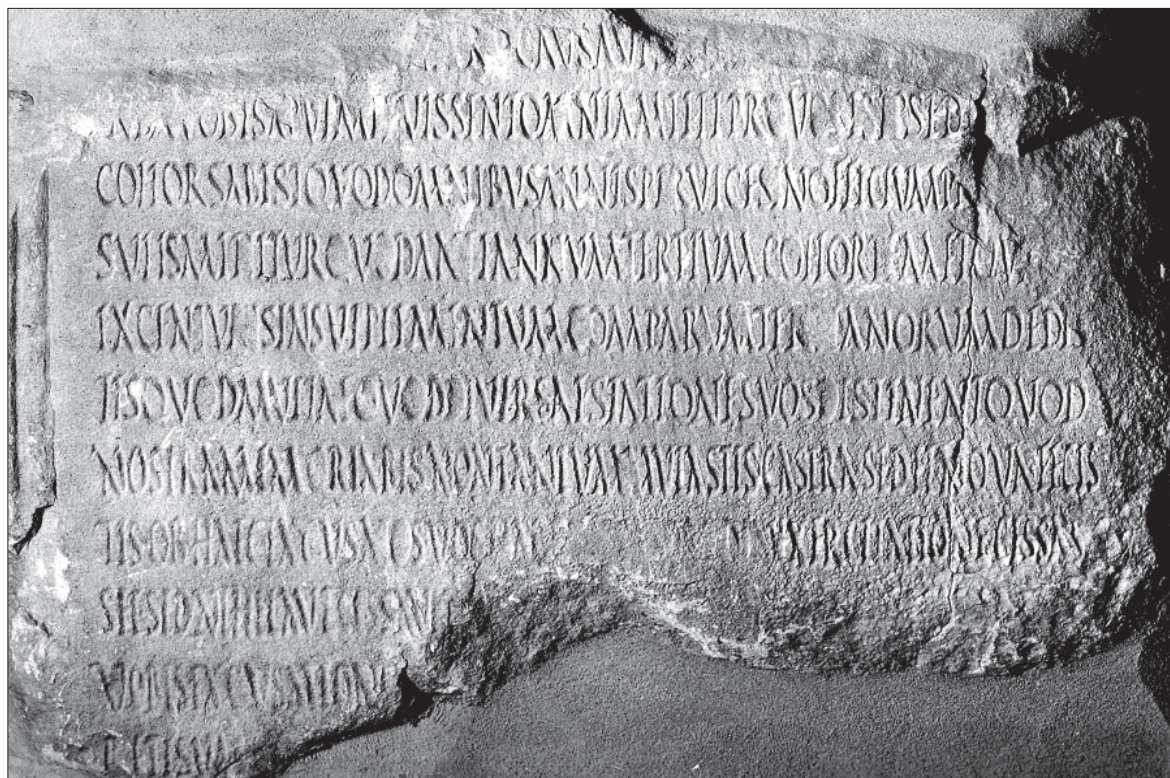


Fig. 9 Excuses for the Legion.

⁷⁵ Nor did Leschi 1957, 199.

⁷⁶ Perhaps also the lengthened letter at the beginning, in which case it would be an L.

⁷⁷ Not noticed by Leschi 1957, 199 or Berthet 2003, 81.

⁷⁸ Contra Wolff 2003, 80. See also field 9.

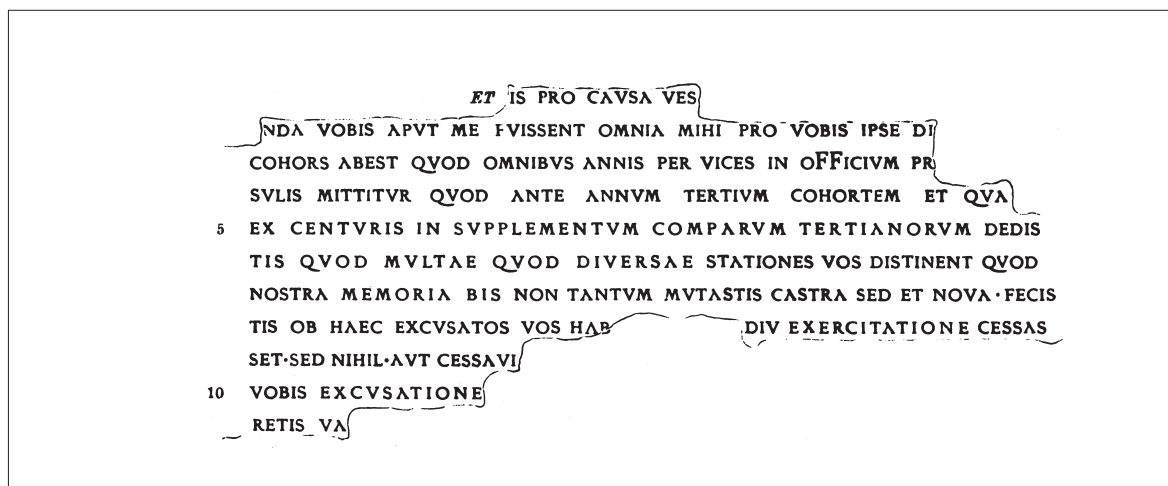


Fig. 10 Schmidt's 1894 drawing of field 2.

*[Catullinu]s leg(atu)s meu[s] pro causa ves[tra] a]cer est, ve[r]um, quae argu]-
[e]nda vobis apud me fuissent omnia mihi pro vobis ipse di[xit], quod]
cohors abest, quod omnibus annis per vices in officium pr[ae]con]-
sulis mittitur, quod ante annum tertium cohortem et qui[nos]
5 ex centuris in supplementum comparum tertianorum dedis-
tis, quod multae, quod diversae stationes vos distinent, quod
nostra memoria bis non tantum mutastis castra sed et nova fecis-
tis. Ob haec excusatos vos habe[rem si] quid in exercitacione cessas-
set. Sed nihil aut cessavis[se] videtur aut est ulla causa cur]
10 vobis excusacione [apud me opus esset - - - ca. 25 - - -]
retis val[et] - - - ca. 48 - - -]*

In field 1 the writing reaches to the bottom rim of the block (fig. 7). This makes it certain that between the bottom of field 1 and the first preserved line of field 2, there is no room for another line⁷⁹. Hence only some 18 letters are missing from the beginning of Hadrian's speech. One will hardly go wrong in thinking that the missing letters refer to Catullinus, the commanding officer of the African army and Hadrian's host in Lambaesis, who is so often and prominently praised in the inscription. Indeed, Catullinus himself may have decided which of Hadrian's words were engraved, and very likely began the text with his own name. The number of letters fits this, especially if Catullinus' title *leg(atu)s* is shortened, as in the small fragment 10 that comes from the upper rim of a block and that may belong here.

⁷⁹ Against the earlier views of Dessau 1892, 2487 and Schmidt 1894, 1726.

Fragment 10

--- Catullinu]s leg(atu)s meu]s ---
 [---]... [---

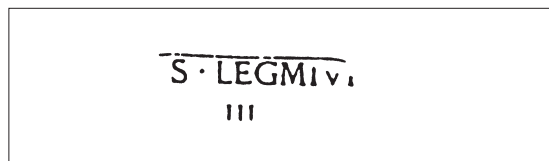


Fig. 11 Fragment with name and title of Catullinus.

Fragment 10a

--- Cat]ulli]nus ---

This piece, known only from Godet's drawing no. 23, may belong here since the letters are about 3 cm high.

Fragment 11

--- a]cer est ve]rum ---



Fig. 12 Fragment from the first line of field 2.

The piece likely belongs to the top of field 2, as it comes from the upper rim of a block, is of high quality marble and lettering, has the downward smoothing lines seen in fields 2 and 6, and has a broad free space above the first line of writing. Héron de Villefosse read the letters as CERESIVE, and indeed there is no telling whether the sixth letter is I or T. The wording *acer est*, though poor in verbal force, is matched in field 6 by *agiles fuerunt*.

Figure 9 shows that only one small letter is missing at the beginning of field 2 in line 2. Hence one cannot restore the passage as *[excusa]nda* or *[dice]nda*, as has been suggested⁸⁰. On the other hand, *[argue]nda*, fits well, since *arguere* is, as here, often used with *apud*.

At the end of line 4, one must read *qui[nos]* instead of *qua[ternos]* since there is no room for more than four letters after the V⁸¹, and the foot of the presumed A fits an I just as well. The new reading matters both for the number of legionaries at Lambaesis and for the manner of detaching troops from one unit to another. One cohort sent away lowers the book strength of the legion from 6000 to 5400 men, while dispatching five men per centuria removes a further 300 (5 × 60) instead of the 240 (4 × 60) thought so far⁸². There may thus have been up to 5100 legionaries at Lambaesis, but many of these no doubt served on the outposts.

The *compares tertiani* ›the fellow third legion‹ to which the men were transferred, was not legion III Gallica in Syria, but legion III Cyrenaica in Arabia. This is shown by the gravestone of one of the transferred soldiers, a citizen of Carthage, bearing a typical African name, Silvanus⁸³. A newly found military diploma of the Arabian army records another Silvanus, a Numidian who served in cohorts I

⁸⁰ Wilmanns 1881, 288; Dessau 1892, 2487; Schmidt 1894, 1726. Berthet 2003, 82 suggests *[dic/e]nda*, but syllables are not split in this text.

⁸¹ Berthet 2003, 83 (top) also saw that for lack of space *quater-nos* will not fit and that the inscription does not abbreviate such words.

⁸² Detaching troops: Saxer 1967, 118 and 128; Kennedy 1985; Wheeler 2004a, 164: ›squad of four‹. Book strength 6000: Speidel 2002, 126; legionary strength 6400: Petrikovits 1975, 123; 5000: Le Bohec 1989b, 24 f.

⁸³ Kennedy 1980, 305.

Classica until AD 145. Hence in AD 125 a thousand or so desert-proven fighters, not only legionaries but auxiliaries too, left Africa for Arabia⁸⁴. Their enrollment in local units of the latter province shows the usefulness of the uniform empire-wide training system fostered by Hadrian⁸⁵.

The end of lines 3 and 4 of field 2 may (or may not) be preserved in fragment 92. In line 5 the word *compares* has a ligature of C and O like those found in fragments 38 and 99.

Scholars have understood Hadrian to say, in the middle of line 8, that he would have forgiven the legion if it had long suspended maneuvers. This is a most unlikely thing to say for an emperor who put so much emphasis on training his troops⁸⁶. The new reading, *quid in* instead of *diu*, yields an altogether different meaning. The last three letters of the word *quid* are clear on the photograph: to read *diu* was a mistake. The new reading also improves the emperor's diction: he did not switch to the third-person *legio* while addressing legionaries in the second person. Parallelism suggests that *nihil* in line 9 is the subject of the sentence as *quid* is in line 8.

Strangely, *quid* is here written with a D, while in fields 6 and 29 it appears twice with a T. Perhaps Hadrian's words were recorded by different scribes.

RETIS in line 11 seems to be the subjunctive imperfect form of a verb such as *faceretis*. Before and underneath the R, an earlier text had been written that began with an S, very likely a mistake by the stone cutter. Of the last letter a downstroke can still be seen, hence *val[---* may be meant.

Nothing is said in this field about parade-ground weapon drills, battle formations, or field maneuvers⁸⁷, though these are the main topics of Hadrian's speeches. Instead, we hear general remarks about the legion. If, as is likely, the *pili* did the same maneuvers as the *principes* and the *hastati*, they marched out, dug in, and stood off an attack by horsemen, while Hadrian observed. Dehner therefore restored lines 10 and 11 to read [*Omnia strenue fecistis, cum et defende*]retis *va[llum - - -*, which deftly leads into the action⁸⁸. But this is no more than a guess, as Hadrian may have touched on broader issues in both fields 2 and 3.

⁸⁴ The diploma is yet unpublished. The reason for the troop transfer is still unknown – perhaps the coming back to Arabia of legion III Cyrenaica (Kennedy, *ibid*).

⁸⁵ Vegetius 2,2,7: ›*Denique, cum in expeditionibus plurimum prosit omnes milites unius praecepti significatone converti, non possunt aequaliter iussa complere qui ante pariter non fuerunt.*

⁸⁶ Wilmanns 1881, 288; Dessau 1892, 2487; Schmidt 1894, 1726; Berthet 2003, 82: [*si legio*] *diu exercitatione cessasset.*

⁸⁷ As, for example, in Vegetius 1,26, 4–8 or Tibullus 3,8,82–105.

⁸⁸ Dehner 1883, 5, followed by Cagnat 1913, 148. While the added L found on the photograph somewhat strengthens Dehner's suggestion, it is still no more than a guess.

Field 3. *Pili*. The value of training

Fragments 12; 13; 14; 15; 16; 17



Fig. 13 Discipline is better than willfulness.

---]stissim[---]
[---i]mpellat d[--- fe]-
runtur [---]vis barbar[orum ---]
moti sua s[pon]te ---]
5 [--- ca. 55 ---]
vos modo non faciat leni[fo]res --- ca. 35 ---]: sperate
[m]elius esse facturos qua[e --- ca. 20 ---s]sim[i] o[mn]ium. Ordini-
nem tam longae exercit[ati]onis --- ca. 25 ---]et stren[u]e multa fe-
cistis et satis speciose sp[le]ndetis sub cura Catullini m[ei] clari[s]simi viri,
10 [le]gati qu[i --- ca. 54 ---]
m[ir] [- - -

There is no doubt that in figure 13 the two large fragments, 14 (left) and 16 (right), belong together: they are joined by strong links of meaning over four lines, and constitute the essential framework of the field. Fragments 13 (left top) and 17 (left bottom) also seem to belong here, since their lettering and the right-dipping grain of the marble match those of the others; known only from photographs in the Le Glay Archives, they are published here for the first time. Fragment 17 seems to abut fragment 14 and to be marred by the same blow that struck off the left rim of the stone. The two middle fragments, 12 and 15, are less certain to belong here, though they share the same lettering. All six of these fragments have broad interlinear space and therefore short letters, about 2.5 cm tall.

Since its wordiness precludes a speech to an ala or cohort, the text of field 3 must be addressed to the legion and therefore comes from the east or north side of the monument. Nearly eleven lines long, it cannot be from a top or bottom block. It fits field 3 insofar as Hadrian began his speech there by touching on broad issues first. His remarks on the state of training in legion III Augusta in field 2 might well have been followed by a lecture on the value of training and discipline in field 3⁸⁹. However, the placement of the text in this field remains uncertain.

The passage in line 2, hitherto read meaninglessly as MPPILAIIS, comes in fact from the verb ›impellere‹ to push to attack⁹⁰. Hadrian may owe his use of the word *vis* to mean ›a force of men‹ to his favorite poet Ennius⁹¹. The end of line 6 has so far been read as ISIERATE, but the top of the third letter is cut off, only the lower upright remaining – it may well have been a P, and the word itself *sperate*. The beginning of line 9 has been read as TII SIT, but the new reading *cistis et* better fits the traces on the stone. In line 10, the word *legati* is uncertain, but it fits here, for the uppermost part of a G is still seen on the stone, and there is no room for this word in line 9. Either above or below lines 6–9, a line of text is lost, for, field 14 will have had twelve lines of writing like the other fields of middle blocks.

Splendere, to shine, describes soldiers decked out with gleaming weapons, battle decorations, and gilt standards. Officers encouraged spit and polish as it struck fear into foes and raised the men's pride⁹². Only the first two letters of *splendere* are preserved, but no other word will fit, since *speciose*, chosen by Hadrian to jingle with *satis* and *splendere*, demands a verb denoting looks. Putting smart looks on the same level as brisk action shows how much appearance mattered to Hadrian. He wanted showy weapons not only for the legions but also for the auxilia, as seen by his reference to the latter's *armorum cultus* in field 30.

Hadrian sees ›barbarians‹ as rushing into battle at their own whim, seized by fighting madness, while legionaries are not softer, but indeed the toughest fighters, having gone through such a long course of training. Perhaps the Latin of the last lines ran as follows: *Sperate [m]elius esse facturos qua[e] facienda erunt et fortis[sim]os o[mn]ium, ordinem tam longae exercit[ationis] persecuti*.

By arguing against the view that discipline, i.e. obedience and training, made legionaries soft, Hadrian may answer the great question why he instituted the cult of *Disciplina* in the Roman army⁹³. Trajan's Column as well as literary sources show that by the turn of the second century, Rome's fiercest attack troops were Germani and Mauri⁹⁴. Surely soldiers as well as commanders wondered why this should be so, and given that fact, what was the role of the legions. In claiming that discipline i.e. training toughened rather than softened warriors, Hadrian insisted that *disciplina* wins over willfulness⁹⁵. For Rome, tied to discipline by history and outlook, Hadrian was right: lack of discipline caused the defeat at Adrianople in AD 378 that led to the fall of Rome⁹⁶.

⁸⁹ Still, this text could also come from fields 14–15. Of other legionary middle fields, 7 is excluded by the different grain of fragment 20, while field 11 records dramatic action.

⁹⁰ The word is also used in field 22.

⁹¹ Ennius, *Annals*, 7,229: ›*Marsa manus, Paeligna cohors, Vestina virum vis*‹.

⁹² Curtius Rufus 4,13,1: ›*Armis insignibus viri equique splendebant*‹. Vegetius 2,14,5: ›*Ut bene vestiti et calceati sind, ut arma omnium defricentur ac splendeant*‹. Idem 2,14,8: ›*Plurimum enim terroris hostibus armorum splendor inportat*‹.

Josephus, *Jewish War* 5, 351; Maurice, *Strategikon* 1,2,25. Bishop 1990; Speidel 1994, 104; Stoll 2001, 235 ff.

⁹³ Horsmann 1991, 102–107; Ziolkowski 1992; Birley 1997, 117 f.; 132.

⁹⁴ Tacitus, *Histories* 2,32,1; *Annals* 3,40,3; Vegetius 1,28,6–10. Germani: Speidel 2004; Mauri: idem 1984, 117–148.

⁹⁵ The small, unplaced fragment 68 that mentions the word *disci[plina]* may belong here.

⁹⁶ Historic outlook: Lendon 2005. Adrianople: Speidel 1996.

There may be a deeper meaning in the fact that this passage was chosen to represent a much longer speech. Perhaps it was the best thing Hadrian had to say about the value of training; perhaps it was also a point Hadrian wanted to stress because people had begun to believe otherwise.

Field 4. *Pili*. Lost

Since field 6 (like fields 26 and 29) praises officers whose units had performed well in maneuvers, fields 4 and 5 are likely to have reviewed the maneuvers of the *pili*.

Field 5. *Pili*. Lost

Fragment 65, with an erasure and hence legionary, may have belonged to field 5, for it seems to mention such officers as the tribunes. If it does, the address to the *pili* had two sequels, one to officers and one to the legionary horse, while the speeches to the other two battle lines began in fields 9 and 13, each at the top of a pillar.

Field 6. *Pili*, end. Legionary horse

Fragments 18e (east-facing side of block 3) and 19



Fig. 14 Field 6: Legionary Horse.

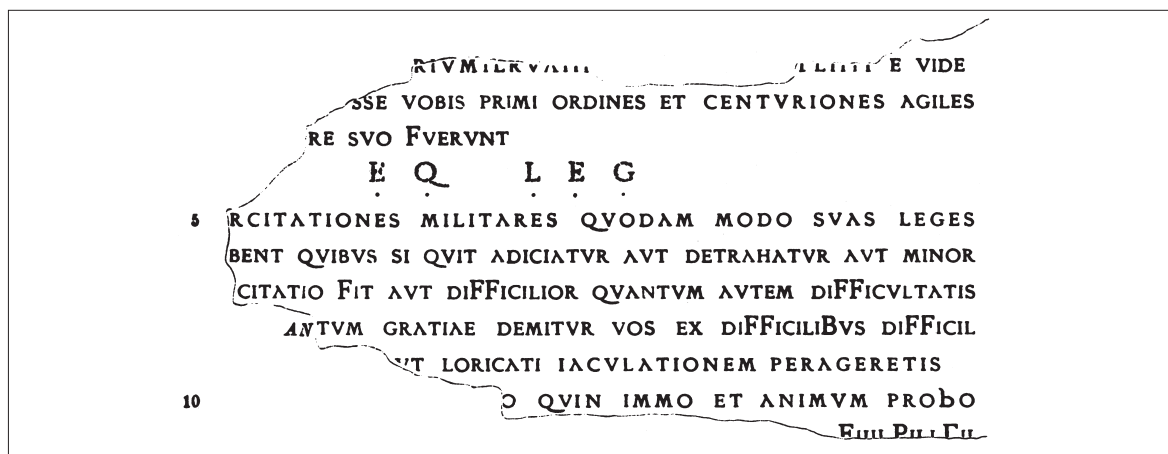


Fig. 15 Schmidt's 1894 drawing of field 6.

[--- ca. 14 ---] armorum[--- ca. 12 --- sollicitē vide-
[antur attendi]sse vobis. Primi ordines et centuriones agiles
[et fortes mo]re suo fuerunt.

[[[At equites legionis]]]

5 [Exe]rcitationes militares quodam modo suas leges
[ha]bent quibus si quit adiciatur aut detrahatur aut minor
[exer]citatio fit aut difficilior. Quantum autem difficultatis
[additur, tan]tum gratiae demitur. Vos ex difficilibus difficil-
[imum feci]stis ut loricati iaculationem perageretis
10 [--- ca. 10 ---] cum damno, quin immo et animum probo
[---].

Line 4, later recutting: *E*q(uites) lēg(ionis) [---]

Hitherto overlooked, the small fragment 19 directly joins the large fragment 18 on its lower left (lines 9–11), making for a more accurate and complete text⁹⁷. It also shows that only the top part of the letters in the last line was carved on this block, and that here the block is complete. The lower part of the letters thus continued in field 7 on the block below, which proves that block 3 was a middle block. Fragment 18, 43.5 cm high, has lost about 4.5 cm of its original height of 48 cm⁹⁸, hence a further line of text may have been lost at the top⁹⁹.

The word *armorum* in line 1 has not been recognized so far, but it is borne out in the photograph. Perhaps Hadrian speaks of *armorum cultus*; as in field 30, since the gleam of weapons mattered so much for morale. The tribunes of the legion saw to it that the men shone their weapons¹⁰⁰, and here in line 1 praise for officers ranking above *primi ordines* is to be expected.

⁹⁷ In line 10 all editors so far printed an O before *quin*, but there is none: the photograph is quite clear about it. The new join also excludes the suggestion (Dehner 1883, 14) to read *petrina* at the beginning of this line.

⁹⁸ For the height of the blocks to be 48 cm see above, p. “! M. Schmidt, kindly measuring the height of frag. 18 for me on a

squeeze, kept at the CIL in Berlin, found it to be 43,5 cm.

⁹⁹ Besides, corresponding field 2 – even without a heading – also has eleven lines. On the other hand, corresponding fields 10 and 30, with their smaller letters, have 12 lines of text.

¹⁰⁰ Onasander 28; Vegetius 2,12,4. Importance of shining weapons: Speidel 1994, 104.

With tribunes in mind, Wilmanns (1881) restored the verb in the plural for the phrase *[sollicit]e vide[antur attendi]sse vobis* (after the parallel in field 30)¹⁰¹.

Since the text was meant for the *pili* alone, as stated in field 1, the *primi ordines* among them are the two *primi pili*¹⁰². The role of the *primi ordines* in training explains why a former trainer of the emperor's horse guard was promoted *primus hastatus* of the legion¹⁰³.

In line 3, some 8 or 9 letters are missing and Mommsen's restoration, *agiles / [et fortes mo]re suo* makes sense¹⁰⁴. Praising centurions as *agiles*, ›quick‹, differs from Polybius' description, 300 years earlier, when centurions were chosen for being steady (στασίμος). Back then, Roman fighting spirit had been brimming over and had to be restrained; in Hadrian's time it was sluggish and had to be roused¹⁰⁵.

In line 4, shadowy letters suggest that text was erased when the legion was disbanded in AD 238 and rewritten when it was restored in 253. One can no longer make out the words – perhaps they once read *at equites legionis*, which would parallel the phrase *at pilos* in field 1. *Equites* would go well with Vegetius' statements that both legionary foot and legionary horse had to train¹⁰⁶.

The newly added fragment 19 confirms in lines 10 and 11 the hitherto conjectured word *fecistis*, and brings a surprise in line 11. Scholars have thought that Hadrian praised the legionary horse for spear-throwing while wearing cuirasses¹⁰⁷, but we now see that he was reprimanding them. He nevertheless acknowledged their *animus*, the spirit of carrying out maneuvers as if they were battles. *Cum damno*, ›with loss‹, could refer to a loss of range, or, as the preceding lines suggest, a loss of elegance, perhaps *gratiae cum damno*.

Gravestones show that legionary horsemen regularly wore cuirasses in battle¹⁰⁸. Why, then, did Hadrian object to their doing so on maneuver, especially when in field 26 he shows himself pleased that the maneuver appeared like a real battle?¹⁰⁹ The answer is that the first phase of cavalry maneuvers was not intended to imitate battle but to demonstrate the skill and elegance of horsemanship. This is spelled out in Arrian's description of the first phase of these maneuvers – riding in and throwing spears – in which troops dressed in piebald ›sports armor‹ hurled spears lighter than those used in battle¹¹⁰. In field 26, on the other hand, Hadrian tells a cavalry unit that its maneuver is too convoluted. The two critiques make sense only in the context of a games-like first phase and a war-like third phase as described in Arrian's *Tactica*¹¹¹.

¹⁰¹ For the phrase *sollicite attendere* see below, field 29. One cannot read with Schmidt (1894, 1726) *vide/[ntur]*, for syllables are not split this way. *Vide/[tur]* is, of course, possible. Lassère 2003, 84 has an unhelpful [...]RIVMILRVXIII (?) ... ILIII I [...]L VIDE/[...]sse vobis.

¹⁰² cf. AE 1993, 1364.

¹⁰³ Speidel 1994b, no. 754.

¹⁰⁴ Space for 8–9 letters is plainly to be seen on the photograph (fig. 14) and certainly not ›two or at the most three‹ as claimed by Lassère 2003, 84. Schmidt 1894 spells this out sharply, approving the restoration by Mommsen, *Ephe-meris Epigraphica* 4, 239, discarded by Lassère 2003, 85.

¹⁰⁵ Polybius 6,24,9. Fighting spirit: Lendon 2005.

¹⁰⁶ Vegetius 2,9,6: *Exercitatio non solum peditum sed etiam equitum legionariorum*; 1,27,1: *Tam equites quam pedites educantur ambulatum*.

¹⁰⁷ Kiechle 1964, 91. Lassère 2003, 87. Dehner 1883, 14 thought this applied only to the particularly hard *petrinos* throw

over the back of the horse and thus restored *petrina* at the beginning of line 11 (not adopted by Dessau 1892, nor by Schmidt 1894). *Petrinos*: Arrian, *Tactica* 37,4 f. Even if it were *iaculatio petrina*, it would not, as Le Glay 1977, 553, suggests, be the throwing of stones, but, as Arrian says, spear-throwing, ἀκοντίσσαι. However, the *petrinos* is an integral part of the first standard maneuver and there is no time to change into cuirasses during it: Arrian's horsemen, tellingly, change into cuirasses only for the last part of the standard maneuvers (phase 2).

¹⁰⁸ Speidel 1994a.

¹⁰⁹ See field 26, *verae dimicationis imaginem*, and Arrian, *Tactica* 44,2: ἐς χρείαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ.

¹¹⁰ See below, p. 89. These lighter spears, I would suggest, are also the *subarmalis* of AE 1998, 839a–d, used when one wore no cuirass but merely a battle shirt (*subarmalis*).

¹¹¹ Arrian: see Kiechle 1965.

Focusing on elegance, Hadrian may have wanted to bring out the best in horsemanship and spur his men to greater efforts. Elegance also impressed viewers. Legionary horsemen, after all, were the governor's guards and as such had to reflect his splendor, which may be why these 120 horsemen are addressed in 18 lines of text (fields 6–7), while some 500-men auxiliary units have no more than 9 lines.

Field 7. Legionary horsemen

Fragment 20

[- - - p] ῥοβο .a. [- - -]
 [- - -] tis iuvat itaq[ue - - -]
 [- - -] ! O ! [- - -]



Fig. 16 *Iuvat*: it helps.

The placement of fragment 20 (from the upper rim of a block) in the first two lines of field 7 is certain, for this is the only known place on the monument with letters going over two blocks. The letters are very tall¹¹²; space between the lines is correspondingly narrow. The grain of the marble dips to the left. The letters in line one are uncertain, save for an *A*; perhaps the word *probo* is repeated here from line ten, field 6. Line 2 could have read *hos]tis* (as in field 22): the foe, by his moves, may have helped, perhaps by getting pinned against the wall¹¹³.

In fields 9–12 (and 13–16?) legionary *principes* (and *hastati*), together with their horsemen, fight off cavalry attacks. The *pili* may have carried out the same kind of maneuver, training being the same for the same kind of troops. This would explain why Hadrian speaks to the legionary horsemen before reviewing the battle lines of the *principes* and *hastati*.

Perhaps fragment 104 belonged here; the field may have ended with the action described in fragment 71.

Field 8. Lost

Catullinus may have been praised in this field as he is praised in every speech. The centurion commanding the legionary horse may also have been praised here¹¹⁴. Fragments 55 and 56, discussed on pages 70–71, might belong here.

¹¹² M. Schmidt in Berlin kindly measured them as 2,5–3 cm on the squeeze of CIL VIII, 18042, E.

¹¹³ This may be said in fragment 70 *ad fossam it* (if that reading is right). For such a tactical move see Tacitus, *Annals* 1,68.

¹¹⁴ Recorded, perhaps, in fragment 66. For this centurion see Pavkovic 1991, 46–51.

Field 9. *Principes* (?)

Fragments 21 and 22

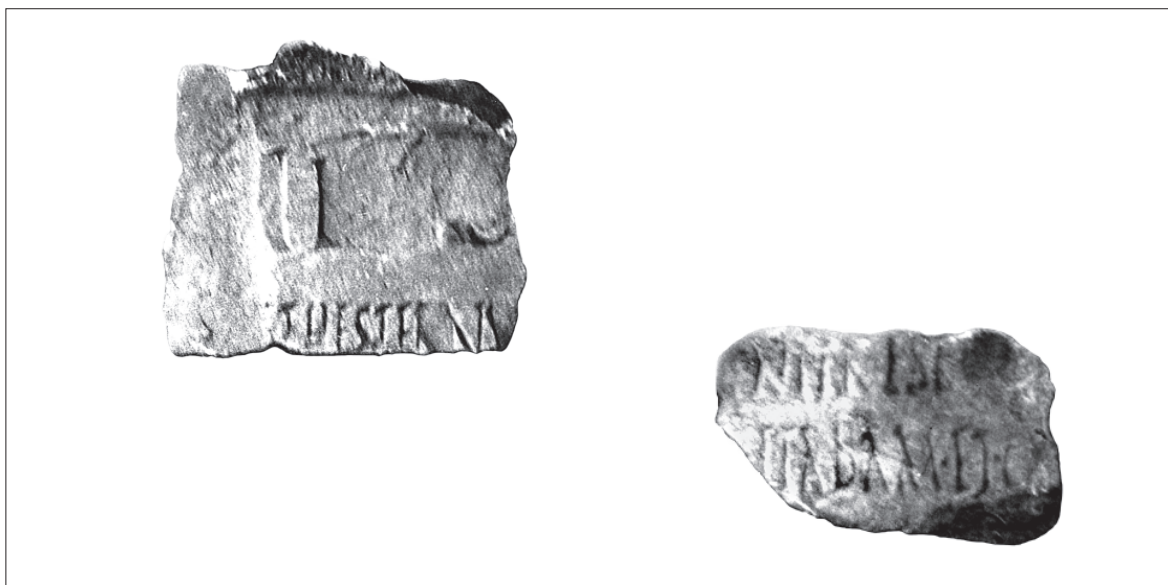


Fig. 17 Legionary maneuvers with erased heading. Top of field 9.

1 [[[- - -]i[- - -]]]

[- - -]u hesternu[- - -

--- eleg]anter est[is - - -]

5 [- - - exerc]itabam et c[- - -

The molding at the top shows fragment 21 as part of an upper block, and the 4 cm-tall letters in line 1 show it to be a heading¹¹⁵. Since the heading was erased, it must have mentioned legionaries. The fragment thus comes from a legionary upper block (fields 5, 9, or 13).

If the interpretation here of fields 1, 9, and 13 is correct, the legions of Hadrian's day could still be grouped into three lines, the *pili*, *principes*, and *bastati*, with field 1 addressing *pili*, field 9 *principes*, and field 13 *bastati*¹¹⁶, though in field 9 the reading is very uncertain. If it refers indeed to *principes*, fragment 23 belongs to the top of the north face (field 9) of this pillar, for the top of the east face (field 5) belonged to *pili* if they too had three fields of text.

¹¹⁵ Height of letters after Héron de Villefosse, BSAF 1898, 379, K.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Cagnat 1913, 148.

In reviewing the three ›battle lines‹ separately, Hadrian may reveal something of the still largely unknown legionary battle order, namely, that during the second century AD the three lines could still, or once again, train, and therefore fight, independently of each other, as they had during the Republic¹¹⁷. This may explain why in the second and third centuries of our era, legionaries are so often called *pili*, *principes*, or *hastati*¹¹⁸. It is possible, though, that Hadrian spoke to the groups separately merely to be better heard. It is tempting to join fragments 21 and 25, for they both belong to an upper block, bear a legionary heading, and refer to a day. Yet not only does fragment 25 reach further down, but, as the photographs show, the grain of the marble does not match that of fragment 21. In the latter, the grain is fine and dips to the right, while that of the former is coarse and runs across. The distinct grain of fragment 21, however, matches that of fragment 22, and since both fragments show a T with a bent downstroke, they very likely come from the same field, i.e. field 9. Fragment 25 thus must be assigned to field 13.

It is unclear what maneuvers the men performed for Hadrian, though they may have thrown spears or lances, in which case line 1 of fragment 22 may have read *elegant[er] est[is] iaculati*¹¹⁹. Whatever they did, Hadrian was pleased and told them this was the right way to train. The imperfect *exercitabam*, also found in fragment 72, is surely *de conatu*, that is continuous action as an effort: Hadrian wanted training to be done in that way. He thus meant to say, ›I was always trying to train the army thus (and you have done it so)‹. It would make sense in legionary maneuvers for shooting skills to be shown before a training camp was built and a mock-battle fought.

In AD 238, when the legion was dissolved, the heading was thoroughly erased. As with those of the dedication and field 13, the erasure here seems to have been later overwritten – perhaps twice – but we cannot now say to which version the existing traces of letters belong.

¹¹⁷ If Hadrian's speeches were fully preserved, we might learn in what way the maneuvers of these ›battle lines‹ differed from each other. Should ›yesterday‹ refer to the inspection of the *pili*, then the *principes* may have held their maneuver on the second day and the *hastati* theirs on the third.

¹¹⁸ Speidel 1992, 21–55 and 2005a. Mosser 2003, 279 f. Vegetius (3,14,5), for what he is worth, also knows these battle lines (*ordines; acies*).

¹¹⁹ For elegance as Hadrian's goal see below, p. 91.

Field 10. *Principes*. Wall and ditch

Fragment 18n (north-facing side of block 3)

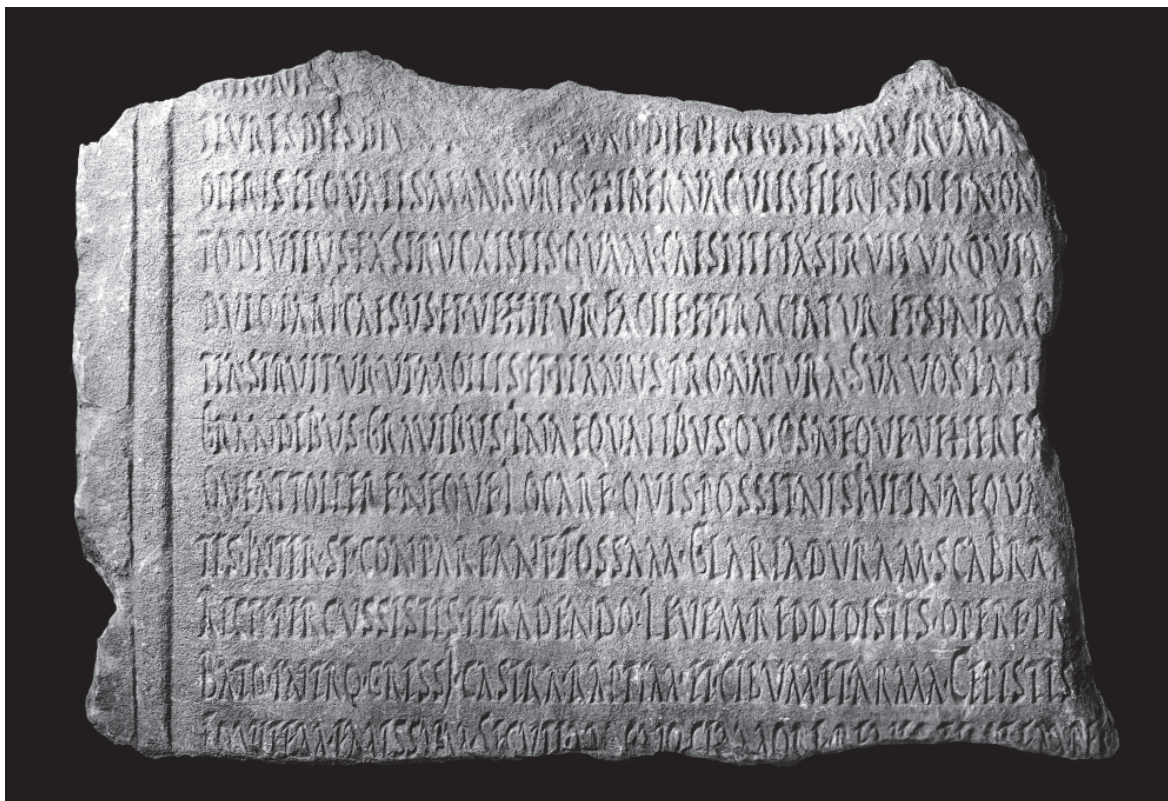


Fig. 18 Field 10: Wall and ditch.

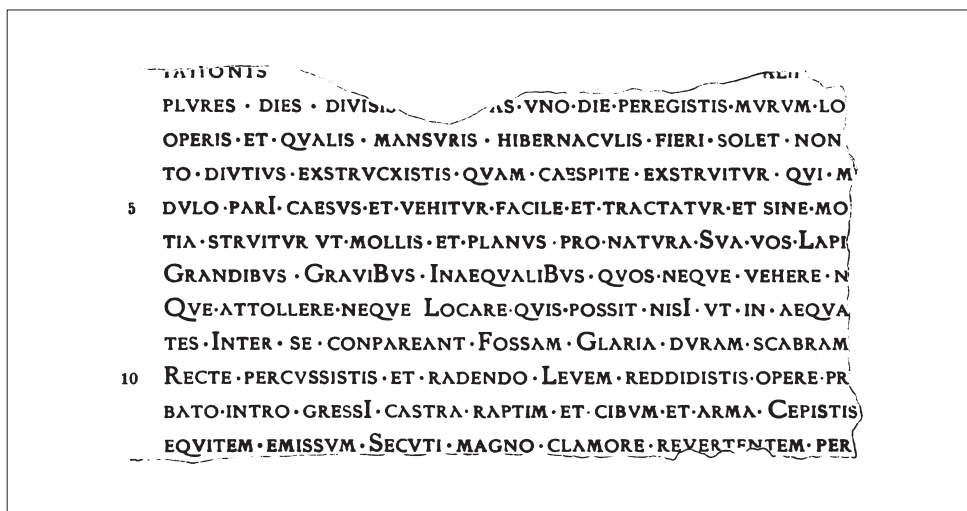


Fig. 19 Schmidt's 1896 drawing of field 10.

*taionis [- - - ca. 35 - - - quas] alii [.... per]
 plures dies divisissent, eas uno die peregristis. Murum lo[n]gi
 operis et qualis mansuris hibernaculis fieri solet non [mul]-
 to diutius extruxistis quam caespite exstruitur qui m[o]-
 5 dulo pari caesus et vebitur facile et tractatur et sine mo[les]-
 tia struitur ut mollis et planus pro natura sua. Vos lapid[ibus]
 grandibus, gravibus, inaequalibus, quos neque vehere n[e]-
 que attollere, neque locare quis possit nisi ut inaequa[lita]-
 tes inter se compareant. Fossam glaria duram scabram
 10 recte percussistis et radendo levem reddidistis. Opere pr[o]-
 bato introgressi castra raptim et cibum et arma cepistis
 equitem emissum secuti magno clamore revertentem per*

Since, as in field 6, the stone in field 10 is now 43.5 cm high and has thus lost about 4.5 cm from its original height¹²⁰, a line of text may be missing at the top. The letters here on the north side are 2.5 cm tall, almost as tall as those on the east side (field 6). At the bottom the text is complete, for, as field 6 shows, little of the stone there is lost.

In line 10, earlier editors have read *scabram[que]*, but no letters need be added. Heaped adjectives without joining particles have a parallel in line 8, and belong to Hadrian's stylistic flourish.

Field 10, like field 2, shows the leisureliness, expansiveness, and rhetorical flourishes that may have characterized all of Hadrian's speeches but were lost in the reports on the auxilia that were ruthlessly cut to fit into the few lines available on the monument. One wonders why this part of a much longer speech was chosen to be recorded, for there is little intrinsic interest in the cutting of turf. Did Hadrian want his words preserved for their eloquence?

From line 11 we learn that while the men were building a wall and ditch, their weapons were stored inside the area to be fortified and their meals were prepared there¹²¹. It mattered that they got their meals quickly, as the foe was near. Roman warfare handbooks taught that men in camp and under danger of attack were to take their meal early so as not to have to fight on empty stomachs¹²².

Line 12 breaks off at a dramatic moment: the horse had gone out to look for the enemy, the foot had followed, and now, as the horse return pursued by the foe, the foot welcome them with a great shout. Some scholars have thought the horsemen raised the shout¹²³, but among thundering hooves that would not have been heard. In such cases visual signals, such as waving a coat, were used¹²⁴. Horsemen racing back and crying loudly might look like a sorry lot; but waiting foot raising the war cry would hearten themselves and the horsemen, and frighten off the enemy¹²⁵.

Auxiliary troops also could build a wall, dig a ditch, send out horsemen and then follow them out and receive them as they stream back before the enemy¹²⁶. Auxiliary units, however, rarely have more than 15 lines of text, hence it is unlikely that such a unit had 13 lines devoted to only one of its many exercises. Fragment 18n thus addresses the legion, not, as has been said, cohorts II Hispanorum¹²⁷. Even the horse seems to be legionary, which would fit Vegetius' statement that legionary horse on maneuvers turned from attack to flight and back to attack, just as they do here¹²⁸. The maneuver of the *principes* described here may be the same as that of the legionary horsemen in fields 6 and 7: there too a ditch seems to have played a role.

¹²⁰ M. Schmidt kindly measured this for me on the CIL squeeze and reports letters of 2,5 cm. Wilmanns 1881 (CIL VIII 2532) reports a height of 46 cm, letters of 2,4 cm.

¹²¹ Discussed by Horsmann 1991, 171.

¹²² Onasander 12.

¹²³ Cagnat 1913, 149: ›Les cavaliers qu'on avait lancés sur l'ennemi et qui revenaient à grand cris‹. Likewise Wolff – Berthet 2003, 116.

¹²⁴ Ammianus 18,6,13; 19,5,5; 29,5,48; Vegetius 3,5,9.

¹²⁵ One battle line supporting another with shouting: Maurice, *Strategikon* 3,15.

¹²⁶ Roman army units typically trained in siege craft and entrenchments: Polybios 6,42,5; Vegetius 1, 21–25; Horsmann 1991, 71 ff.; 164 ff.

¹²⁷ Contra Cagnat, *ibid.*, and those who followed him, e.g. Horsmann 1991, 169.

¹²⁸ Vegetius 1,27,3: ›Interdum cedant et recursu quodam impetus reparant‹. For the wall see field 10.

Field 11. *Principes*. The fight at the ditch. Lost

The beginning of field 11 must have told how the legionary horsemen streaming back from the enemy were received by the foot. Line 12 of field 10 thus may have continued into line 1 of field 11 as *revertentem per / [intervalla recepistis]*¹²⁹. Next came the fight against those who had driven back the legionary horse.

Field 12. *Principes*. Lost.

As field 16 praises the *hastatus*, so field 12 will have praised the *princeps*, the centurion who led the battle line of the *principes*¹³⁰.

Field 13. *Hastati*

Fragments 25 and 26

[[[At] h̄ast̄[a]t[os]]]
[- - -]+ dies poscit u[t - - -]
[- - -]+s+u[- - -]



Fig. 21 Speech to the *hastati*.

As in field 9, the original letters in line 1 have been deeply erased. They must therefore have addressed legionaries. The letters found now on that line, especially the A, may therefore belong to later overwrites. It is hard to say to which version the various, still visible traces belong, though perhaps the erased and overwritten versions said the same thing.

Scholars have not heretofore joined the two fragments, but the resulting word *poscit* and the very coarse grain of both pieces make it certain that they belong together. As in fields 9 and 25, the free space below the heading is much broader than the interlinear spaces in the text, which proves that, even though the molding is lost, the two fragments come from the top block of their pillar.

The meaning of Hadrian's words in field 13 is lost. *Dies* seems not to be the subject to *poscit*: no Latin equivalent to our >the day demands ...<. is known. Other fragments with the same strong grain running across the marble may belong here, but they reveal little, and they may come from the adjoining field 17¹³¹. As in field 9, Hadrian frames his critique into days during which the maneuvers took place. Fields 2–5, it seems, told of the first day of legionary maneuvers, fields 9–12 of the next day, fields 13–16 of the third day¹³².

¹²⁹ See Livy 10,5,6: *Reliquerat intervalla inter ordines peditum qua - - - equi permitti possent*. Fragment 71 could therefore belong here.

¹³⁰ For these centurions see Speidel 1992, 21 ff.

¹³¹ Fragments 90, 95, 96.

¹³² As field 29 shows, even auxiliary units could last two days.

Field 14. *Hastati* (lost)

Field 15. *Hastati* (lost)

Part of the illegible epigraphic field is preserved with fragment 28.

Field 16. Celer the *Hastatus*

Fragment 27

---] iaculari non potuit qu[---]
[---]vo Celer hastatus rect[e ---]
[--- v]os exercuit.
[---

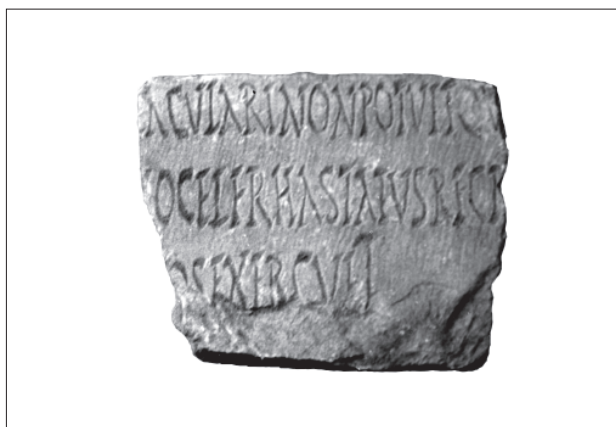


Fig. 22 Celer trains the *hastati*.

This fragment, from the upper rim of a block, belongs to field 16 because it mentions the *hastatus* centurion and is therefore part of the speeches to the legion. Moreover, it seems to continue the critique of the *hastati* in field 13. The stone bears vertical tool marks on a good, flat surface without grain or pits as in field 18. The letters, with serifs pointing right, are carefully and evenly carved.

Celer here is almost certainly a name, since it is followed by the title *hastatus*. *Hastatus* is short for *primus hastatus*, the centurion leading the *hastati* battle line¹³³. One *hastatus* of legio III Augusta had been training officer of the emperor's horse guard, which underscores the role of the *hastatus* in training the legion¹³⁴. The mention of the *hastatus* strengthens the likelihood that Hadrian spoke separately to the legion's *pili*, *principes*, and *hastati*.

The empty space at the end of line 3 suggests that the speech to the *hastati* ends here. The next line may have borne a new heading, perhaps announcing the conclusion of Hadrian's speeches to the legion, or the rest of the field may have been free of text.

¹³³ Speidel 1992, 23 and 38.

¹³⁴ Speidel 1994b, no. 754.

3. AUXILIA

Field 17. Lost

This field, on the top block of the northwest pillar, must have been of the same marble as field 13, with a strong, horizontal, grayish grain. Fragments 91 and 92, of such marble, may therefore belong here.

Field 18. Lost

Field 19. Horsemen throwing spears

Fragments 28, 29, 30, and 31

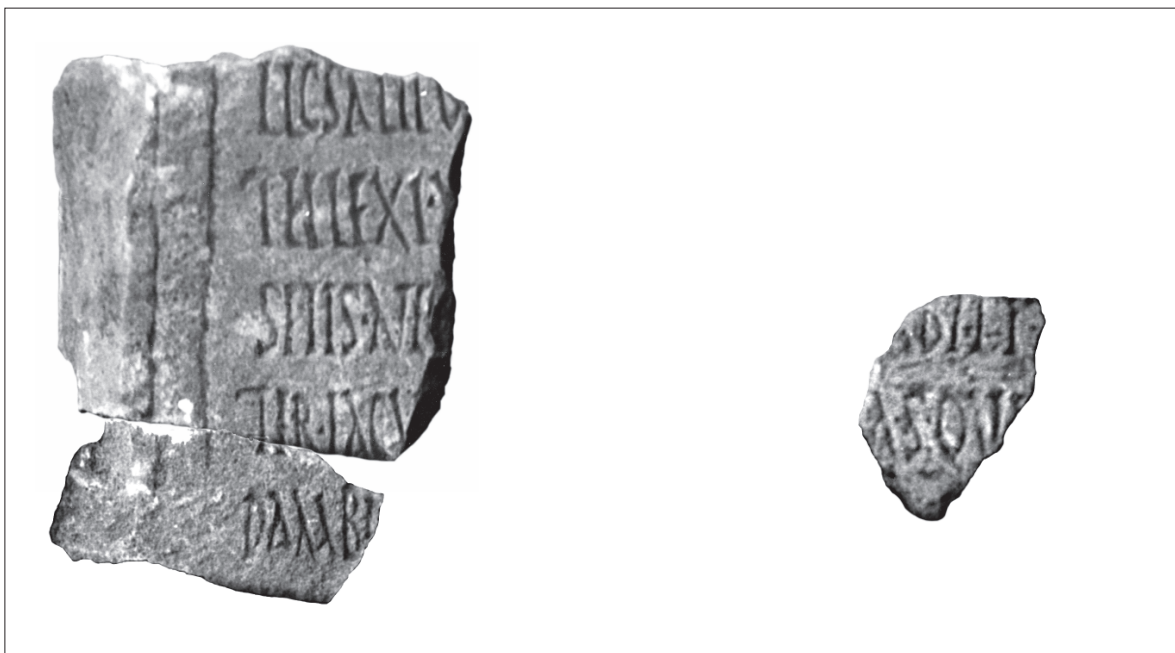


Fig. 23 You have skillfully thrown your spears.

--- il]-
lic saltib[us --- in]-
tellexi v[os --- fuis]-
setis ne[---] habili-
5 ter iacu[la ---]as qui-
dam bi[---]
[.]ic[---]

With at least seven lines of text, fragment 28 cannot be part of a top or bottom block, and since it concerns auxilia (as we will see), it must be from the west or south side of the monument. Since all of these pieces could also fit into fields 18 or 27, their placement in field 19 is uncertain.



Fig. 24 Fragment 29.

When Héron de Villefosse published fragment 28 in 1898, he joined fragment 29 to it, and read in line 5 *iacu[]atione*. The letters of fragment 29, however, look not like those of fragment 28, and they seem rather to read *TICUE*, perhaps for *[re]ticue[rim]*, ›I would not mention‹. Fragment 29 thus seems not to belong here, nor is it certain that fragment 30 does either, for matches by meaning alone are weak. Hadrian here speaks to horsemen about their jumping and spear-throwing. They must be auxiliary horsemen, for fragment 28 has part of an (illegible) epigraphic field on its left, and thus comes from the right-hand side of a pillar, while fields 6–8 which deal with legionary horsemen, belong to the left-hand side of a pillar.

There is no telling whether the lost fields 17 and 18 dealt with the same or with another unit, nor whether the horsemen of field 19 are from an *ala* or a part-mounted cohort. Remarkably, of the eight known auxiliary fields only two speak of foot. Hadrian, then, sought out horsemen for attention, well aware, it seems, of the rise of horse over foot as ›queen of the battlefield‹¹³⁵.

If the review of this unit began with field 19, Hadrian mentions jumping onto horses early in his speech. He may, however, follow the standard sequence of exercises, for, as field 29 shows, jumping occurred near both the beginning and the end of the program. The comment after ›*intellexi*‹ may have been about breaking formation during the riding-in, followed by a review of the usual spear and lance-throwing exercises (further discussed with fragments 60–62).

Field 20. Horsemen alighted

Fragment 32

[- -] *et ex equis per tot* [- -]
 [- -] *am quoque celer* [- -]
 [- -] *exercitatione c* [- -]

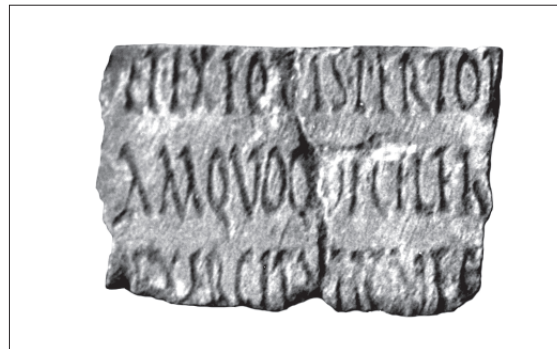


Fig. 25 Horsemen alighted.

From the top of a block, fragment 32 seems to belong to field 20 since its surface and lettering match those of the adjoining field 16 (though the letters are smaller), and two fields of the same block often have similar lettering.

¹³⁵ Even of the (admittedly few) surviving legionary fields many deal with the horse (6, 7, and end of 10). Cf. Horsmann 1991, 57.

The phrase *ex equis* often goes with *desilire*, ›alight‹. The riders who jumped off their horses along the whole line are horsemen on maneuver, for Hadrian never describes the ›enemy‹ in any detail. Alighting for the fight was a widely practiced tactical move, though North African horsemen were not known to be good fighters on foot¹³⁶. The men then did something quickly in which they had been drilled *exercitatione c[rebra]* or *exercitatione c[ontinua]*. Perhaps this was jumping onto their horses, which according to Arrian follows the hurling of lances in the standard sequence of cavalry maneuvers, and which, as field 29 states, had to be done quickly. We learn here that the troopers jumped off at command and back onto their horses also at command, a useful battlefield maneuver¹³⁷, and an impressive part of the show. Hadrian always prodded men to be quick at their tasks, a goal expressed here by the word *celer[iter]*, in field 11 by *raptim*, and in field 29 by *velociter*. Speed mattered, for show as for battle. ›In war‹, Vegetius said, ›speed is more useful than bravery‹¹³⁸.

Field 21: Cohors II Hamiorum

Fragment 33



Fig. 26 Cohors II Hamiorum.

[- - -] K(alendis) Iul(is). Coh(orti) II Ha[miorum]

[Cum cast]ra vobis refragata s[unt] - - - ca. 30 - - -]

[- - -]us in campo, iusto [- - - ca. 26 - - -]

[- - - a]quis ipsis int[er]clu - - - ca. 28 - - -]

5 [- - - ca. 55 - - -]

[- - - ca. 55 - - -]

[- - - ca. 55 - - -]

¹³⁶ Alighting: Livy 21,46,6; 22,48,2; Caesar, BG 4,2,3. North Africans: Livy 24,48,5: *rudem ad pedestria bella, Numidarum gentem esse equis tantum habilem.*

¹³⁷ Vegetius 1,18,3: ›*Tantaque cura erat ut non solum a dextris*

sed etiam a sinistris partibus et insilire et desilire condiscerent, euaginos etiam gladios uel contos tenentes.

¹³⁸ Vegetius 3,31,4: ›*In rebus bellicis celeritas amplius prodest quam virtus.* Speed (δξύτης) for the show: Arrian, *Tactica* 34,5.

This fragment is now lost, but the careful drawing shows that it had molding above the text and was thus a top block. Since it mentions *auxilia*, it belonged to the west or south side of the monument. Among western and southern top blocks, field 29 is already taken by *ala I Pannoniorum*, hence fragment 33 belonged to field 17, 21, or 25.

Line 1 is a heading, for the letters are larger than those of the text below. The two letters preserved at the beginning of the cohort name are *H* and very likely *A*. Only the rounded upper end of the *A* is preserved, but the drawing shows that here as in some other fields the upper ends of *A*'s and *M*'s are rounded. Scholars have therefore rightly suggested that the letters refer to *cohors II Hamiorum*, a cohort of bowmen, known from other inscriptions to have been stationed in Africa¹³⁹. Since field 22 also deals with a cohort of bowmen, fragment 33 must be the beginning of a speech to that unit. It therefore belongs to the west-facing side of the southwest pillar, to field 21.

As the drawing shows, the letter *K* for *kalendis* is not doubtful¹⁴⁰. Since Hadrian addressed the legion on the kalends of July (field 1), he will have spoken to the cohort not on that day, but a few days earlier. *Cohors II Hamiorum* may have been stationed at Theveste (Tebessa), which is on the way from Carthage to Lambaesis, and Hadrian could have inspected it there a few days before he reached Lambaesis¹⁴¹. If, as is likely, the auxiliary units are listed in the order Hadrian inspected them, then the two units reviewed before *cohors II Hamiorum* may have been stationed east of Theveste, and Hadrian had seen them while underway from Carthage.

In line 2 one expects something that contrasts with *campus*, ›field‹, in line 3; hence one should read *cast]ra*¹⁴². The meaning of *castra refragata*, ›the fort has worked against you‹, becomes clearer in line 4, where one must surely read *QUIS* rather than *VIS*¹⁴³, hence *[e]quis*, or, more compellingly, *[a]quis*, ›you have been cut off from water‹. Safeguarding the water supply was essential when building a camp¹⁴⁴. Hadrian's phrase ›the camp has worked against you‹ would be too harsh if he meant a permanent fort built at great expense of labor at a carefully chosen place. He is therefore likely to refer to a temporary practice camp. Such camps were often purposely placed in bad terrain to toughen the men¹⁴⁵. Attacks against units in sometimes unfinished practice camps were a standard feature of Roman field maneuvers: it also happened to the *principes* of the legion in fields 10–11¹⁴⁶.

Since the phrase *campo iusto* is found nowhere else¹⁴⁷, line 3 very likely reads *iusto proelio*, ›in a set battle‹¹⁴⁸. The cohort, it seems, could free itself only by such a battle.

Given that top blocks have only six lines below the heading, the description of the cohort's maneuver must have continued on the next field¹⁴⁹.

¹³⁹ Le Bohec 1989a, 82 f.; Wolff 2003, 96, though Schmidt 1889, 1725, read *HI* from Delamare's notes.

¹⁴⁰ Schmidt 1894; contra Wilmanns 1881.

¹⁴¹ Theveste: Le Bohec 1989a, 82; there inspected: Wolff 2003, 96.

¹⁴² Tacitus, *Annals* 12,36,2: ›*Stetere in armis praetoriae cohortes campo qui castra praeiacet*‹. Florus, *Epitome* 2,18,9: ›*Acrius in castro quam in campo - - proeliandum fuit*‹. For the various meanings of *campus* in this context see Le Bohec 1977.

¹⁴³ *VIS*: Wolff 2003, 95. As the drawing shows, and *CIL* VIII, 18042,D confirms, the inscription is not ›brise de tous les côtés‹ (ibid.), but complete on top.

¹⁴⁴ Tibullus 3,8, 85: ›*Quemve locum ducto melius sit claudere vallo / fontis ubi dulces erumpat terra liquores / ut facilisque tuis aditus sit et arduus hosti*‹.

¹⁴⁵ Davies 1989, 130.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Vegetius I, 25. Davies 1989, 102.

¹⁴⁷ Davies 1989, 110 takes *campo iusto* to mean ›the level training ground‹. ›Level‹ is not a meaning of ›*iustus*‹, but ›of the prescribed size‹ might be.

¹⁴⁸ E.g. Livy 23,40,9; 28,48,11; 38,41,5.; cf. 26,51,4: ›*tertio die rudibus inter se in modum iustae pugnae concurrerunt*‹.

¹⁴⁹ Scholars thought that would be the text in field 10: Schmidt 1894; Horsmann 1991, 184; Berthet 2003, 87–88; discussion by Wolff 2003, 97 and above p. 22. Cautious: Janon 1973, 213 f.

Field 22. Bowmen, Shooting Often and Sharp

Fragments 34w (west-facing side of block 4), 35, 36, and 37

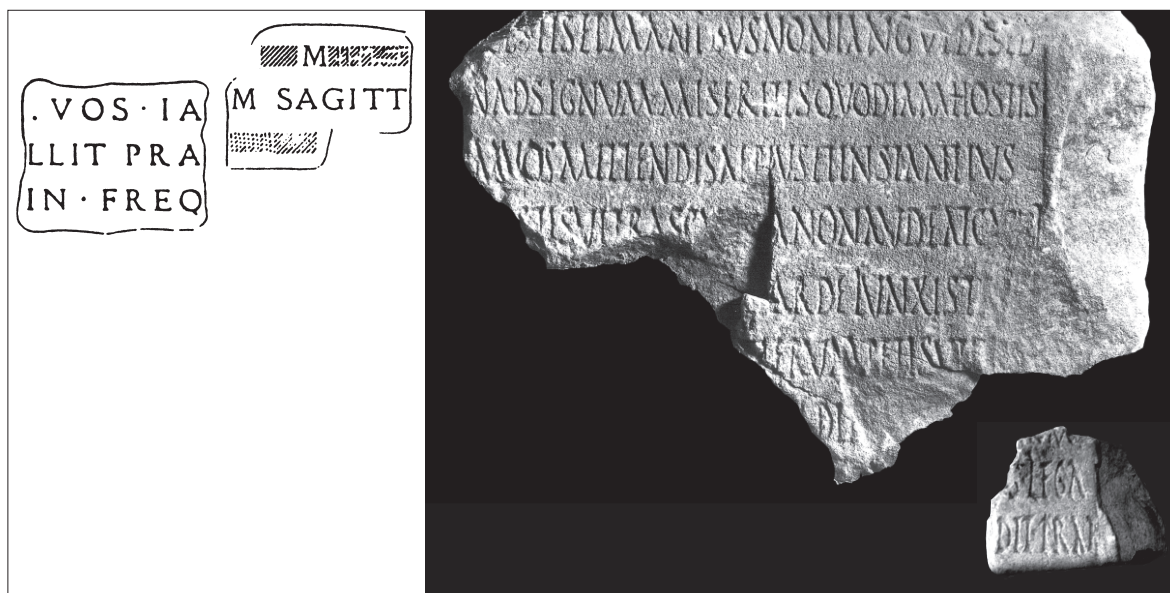


Fig. 27 Shoot oftener and sharper!

[.....]m[.....]cistis et manibus non languidis. Id-
 [circo, cum] vos iam sagitt[as no]n ad signum miseritis quod iam hostis
 [adest, impe]llit praefectus ad eu]m vos mittendi saepius et instantius
 [studium ut] in freq[uentibus telis ho]stis ultra scutum non audeat caput
 5 [tollere. --- ca. 31 ---] tarde iunxistis [..]
 [- - - ca. 42 - - -] erumpetis veh[e-
 [mentius - - - ca. 36 - - -]idit [- - - ca. 9 - - -]
 [- - - ca 52 - - -]tum
 [- - - ca. 36 - - -] Catullinus meu]s lega-
 10 [tus - - - ca. 45 - - -]dit prae-
 [fectus - - - ca. 49 - - -]
 [- - -]

Block 4, dealing with auxilia in both its fields (22 and 26), cannot belong to the eastern or northern pillars, and is thus part of the southwestern pillar¹⁵⁰. Having at least 11 lines of text, it cannot be a top or bottom block, where molding reduces the text to no more than 7 lines. It is an upper middle block since the reference on it to bowmen continues the text from field 21. Block 4 as an upper middle block is also decisive for field 26 – one of the most worthwhile findings of this study.

Fragments 34 and 37 together contain 11 lines of text. A twelfth line is missing from the bottom, for when fragment 34 was placed with others in the Museum Stephane Gsell in Algiers, it served as support for another block¹⁵¹. Hence, it is flat and complete at the top. According to Wilmanns it is only 28 cm high, while the adjoining field 26 is 39 cm high.

¹⁵⁰ See above, p. 22 f.

¹⁵¹ See figure 1 in Le Bohec 2003.

The letters are shorter than in other fields, yet the lines take up no less space, for the span between them is broader. In the lower lines the letters are slightly larger and the span between them narrower, hence fragment 37 may belong here: its slightly pitted, non-grained surface and its letters with right-pointing feet are similar. Its size also fits the gap in the corresponding right-facing field 26¹⁵². If the fragment belongs here, the review of the unit begins in field 21 and ends in field 22 with praise for Catullinus, the legate, and the prefect of the unit. Since fragments 35 and 36 are known only from early drawings and therefore cannot reliably be placed here, the restored text of the left half of the field is uncertain¹⁵³.

This is the only review of auxiliary foot we have, and like that of the legionary foot, it records a fight at a training camp. Very likely the cohort first showed its marching formation and shooting skills, and Hadrian may have commented on these in his speech, but only the passage dealing with the fight at the camp was chosen for the inscription. Holding out in a fort could, after a while, work against the besieged. In his *Gallic War* Caesar tells of a siege that dragged on for so long that the only course left to the besieged cohorts was to break out, which they did with great success¹⁵⁴.

The incident recorded in field 22 is an ambush so dramatic that Hadrian leaves the speaker's past tense (- - *cistis*) and falls into the storyteller's historical present with the verb forms *impellit* and *audeat*. It is the only time he does this. In his actual speech he will have enlarged upon this episode with gusto. With *iunxistis* he returns to the past tense, although still speaking of the same siege and break-out.

The word *vos* in line 2, being unstressed, is not needed at all, but Hadrian uses it to create a bond with his listeners, as he does also in field 30, line 12.

The ›hands not slack‹ refer to strength and speed, which matters in shooting arrows rather than throwing spears¹⁵⁵. The men are told to shoot so often ›that the foe dare to not lift his head above his shield‹ – a new reading that adds a colorful twist to our knowledge of Roman battlefield tactics¹⁵⁶. ›*Mittere*‹ is the technical word for shooting arrows; since we now know that its effect is to make the foe hide behind their shields, it can no longer be understood to mean sending help to the standard. This makes it quite certain that bowmen are meant and hence that field 21 refers to cohorts II Hamiorum¹⁵⁷.

Hamii are known to have formed cohorts of archers, but for the unit stationed in Africa this has been doubted. The new reading makes it certain that they were bowmen. Like all Roman archers they wielded the powerful composite bow¹⁵⁸.

The *signum* can not be the unit's standard, as some have said¹⁵⁹. Shooting *ad signum* means shooting either at a practice target or on a given signal. Here, where a fight is going on, the former makes no sense. The phrase therefore means shooting on command. We thus learn that when the foe was still at a distance, Roman bowmen shot flights of arrows upon given signals.

Still more astonishing is that as the foe neared, the men were told to fire so quickly that the foe dare not raise his head above his shield. This is the first evidence that Roman bowmen could and did defend their own battle line frontage by firepower alone, which some have thought to be impossible¹⁶⁰. In the sixth century AD, Maurice must have had just such a case in mind when he said that if the foe are bowmen, lure them into the plain (*campus*) and fight them hand-to-hand¹⁶¹.

¹⁵² Le Bohec 2003, fig. 1, bottom.

¹⁵³ The length of the fragments fits well, however, and for parallel phrases see e.g. Pliny, Ep. 5,8,4: ›*Me vero ad hoc studium impellit domesticum quoque exemplum*‹. Quintilian, Inst. 9,4,76: ›*ipso componendi durius studio*‹; Fronto, Ep. 4,3,2: ›*periculum verba industriosius quaerendi*‹. Still more uncertain would it be to place fragment G 71 in line 1.

¹⁵⁴ Caesar, *Gallic War* 3,3–6.

¹⁵⁵ *Languidus*, ›weak, soft, slack‹ is military terminology, see Caesar, *Gallic War* 3,5,1; Seneca *De benef.* 2,17,4.

¹⁵⁶ So far the passage has been read as a meaningless ›*ultra scuf*‹. ›*Ja non audeat cas[tra] . . .*‹, Wilmanns 1881; Wolff 2003, 99; or misread as ›*ultra sca[mn]a*‹ Dehner 1883, 22

followed by Schmidt 1894 and Cagnat 1913, 148.

¹⁵⁷ Davies 1989, 110 saw here a cavalry unit.

¹⁵⁸ Hamii as cohortal bowmen, wielding the composite bow are known from gravestones found at Carvoran on Hadrian's Wall, Coulston – Philipps 1988, nos 200 f. Doubtful: Le Bohec 1989a, 84: ›*Il n'est pas exclu que les Hamiens aient utilisé la même arme*‹. Composite bow the standard weapon: AE 1955, 131; Speidel 1994, plate 14.

¹⁵⁹ The unit's standard, captured by the foe: Dehner 1883, 22, followed by Cagnat 1913, 148. To send help there of t e n makes no sense.

¹⁶⁰ Goldsworthy 1996, 188; idem 2003, 180.

¹⁶¹ *Strategikon* 7,A, Pr. 31.

Even a helmet could not guard against a Bowman's mastershot, a hit through the eye. Such deeds are mentioned with awe in literary sources, and one is known from a Bowman's gravestone relief showing a naked enemy sinking to the ground, an arrow in his eye – much as the English king Harold staggers with an arrow in his eye on the Bayeux tapestry¹⁶². This was what the Hamii must have aimed for when they kept foes from lifting their heads above their shields. If they succeeded, they could then shoot at the foe's unprotected legs and right arms¹⁶³. We do not know who played the foe – here a very dangerous task – but in early Byzantine cavalry maneuvers, ten men out of a troop of 300 were picked for this role¹⁶⁴.

Erumpetis, ›you will break out‹, written with a clear and certain E, is in the future tense. Its meaning therefore depends on a lost conditional clause, such as ›if you close ranks in a certain way, you will break out more briskly‹. Hadrian teaches the troops, not just inspects them. Effective leader that he is, after blaming the men for being late in closing up, he tells them what good may come from doing things properly.

The men closed up either their shields or their ranks to break through the foe¹⁶⁵. Units of bowmen may have had shield-bearers to cover them in frontal attacks¹⁶⁶, and the billhook of a Hamius Bowman on Hadrian's Wall may have been used for hand-to-hand fighting¹⁶⁷. The word *veh[ementius]* in line 6 is new¹⁶⁸.

The words ›open field‹ and ›set battle‹ in field 19 now gain deeper meaning: hand-to-hand fighting was far more trying for bowmen than shooting from behind a fort wall. Under the emperor's eyes they passed this uttermost test, and fittingly, as the highlight of their maneuver, a record of it was carved on Hadrian's monument.

In line 10 Hadrian may have said of the officer *[eru]dit*, ›he has trained‹¹⁶⁹.

Field 23. (Lost)

Horsemen seem to be addressed here and in field 24, for the topmost three lines of field 25 speak of horsemen wielding thrusting lances (*conti*). Fragments 51, 52, and 53, mentioning similar targets, may be part of this field.

Field 24. (Lost)

¹⁶² Eyes: Caesar, *Bellum Civile* 3,53. Gravestone of Iulius Rufus, Walbersdorf, Burgenland: AE 1909, 198 = Dessau 9137 = Krüger 1974, 13 f., no. 9.

¹⁶³ Legs and right arm: Plutarch, Crassus 25, 4–5.

¹⁶⁴ Maurice, *Strategikon* 3,5,91.

¹⁶⁵ Compare Livy 34,57,9: ›*Densari ordines iussit ut vir viro arma armis iungerentur*‹. Also *ibid.* 23,9,3 and, 500 years later, Maurice 3,5,26.

¹⁶⁶ Vegetius 3,14,5; cf. Maurice, *Strategikon* 2,8. Greater cover of front-rank fighters: Speidel 2000. Attack by shield bearers before bowmen: Maurice, *Strategikon* 3,5,31, see Speidel 2004, 140.

¹⁶⁷ Above, note 158.

¹⁶⁸ Dehner 1883, 8, was on the right path when he restored *v[alidi]*.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Vegetius 2,14,3: ›*erudire ad omnia quae equestris pugna deposcit*‹. Héron de Villefosse 1899, 6 actually read VDIT.PRAE.

Field 25. Thrusting lances; ala [. . .]pa[.]sin[- - -]

Fragments 38, 38a, 39, 40



Fig. 28 Field 25.

---]ate contos [- - -]si . . . [- - -]
 [- - -] scop[os ---] r̄s̄ent es[- - -]
 [- - - praefectus vester] vobis[c]um agil[iter decucurrit].

[- - -] Ala [. . .]pa[.] sin[- - -]

- 5 [Cantabricum a]criter alacriter eff[ecistis ita ut hostis] non potuisset vos tu[rbare]
 [- - - vos red]egisset qua fui[ssetis]
 [- - - Catullinum legatum meum virum clarissimum].

Fragments 39 and 40 belong together, for they are of similar height, thickness, color, grain, fracture lines, and lettering. Fragment 39 still has its original length on the left, reaching into field 21, where fragment 33 is of similar size and fracture lines. This suggests that fragments 39 and 40 come from the same block as fragment 33, the top block of the southwest pillar. Being at a right angle to fragment 33, they belong to field 25. The original edges and much of the inscribed surface have splintered off. Fragment 38 belongs here also since it has free space at the top that cannot come from a heading, for exercises with the *contus* weapon are among the last parts of maneuvers and thus not near the heading. This is the only auxiliary field that has free space atop that is due not to a heading, and therefore to molding. The piece is similar to fragments 38a, 39, and 40 in its dark color, vertical fracture lines, pitted surface with little grain, crammed letters, and the flaking off of some of the inscribed surface. This confirms that the fragments belong to an upper block. Fittingly, the text describes the end of a maneuver just before the new heading in line 4.

In Godet's drawing, fragment 38a is 17.5 cm long, hence about a fourth of a block's full length of 70 cm. Its 18–22 letters in line 3 are thus about a fourth of the letters the line once held (with space to spare for the molding). The letters are so tight that a line could easily hold 72 or more of them, whereas in other fields lines often held only 50–55 letters.

The first preserved letter cannot be the F for which it has been taken. It does not look like an F, and - FATE has no meaning in Latin. It could be an L or an E: Hadrian may have asked the men to wield their long spears in a wide reach (*late*) or to wheel about with them (*remeate*)¹⁷⁰. Arrian's *Tactica* reports that fighting with a long *contus* entailed sudden wheelings-about.

Long, thrusting *contus* lances could be wielded by foot soldiers as well as by horsemen¹⁷¹. Here it seems that horsemen are meant, for with their greater speed and lesser accuracy horsemen needed more target practice than did foot.

The ligature of C and O in line 2 is also found in field 2 (line 5); almost certainly the word *scopus*, ›target‹ was meant, as in fragment 51. Unless rockthrowers or slingers are meant, this is the only time that we hear of horsemen in antiquity training with long thrusting lances against targets. Perhaps the phrase read *scop[os incu]rsent* ›they should ride up against the targets‹¹⁷². The example of 15th-century Mamluk lancers who practiced with two-handed lances against cask-targets strengthens the likelihood that lancers' targets are meant¹⁷³.

We cannot tell whether *contus* refers here to the slender, two-handed Sarmatian lance or the heavy, couched Germanic spear¹⁷⁴. Scholars have had much to say about the Sarmatian or Eastern origin and late adoption of the *contus* in the Roman army, but in fact auxiliary horsemen used long lances from the first century BC when Batavians and Canninefatians among them did so¹⁷⁵. Nevertheless, fragment 38 is the earliest mention of thrusting lances in Rome's African army. Under Antoninus Pius in AD 150, *contarii* came from the Danube to fight the Mauri: the weapon, it seems, had proved effective against North Africans¹⁷⁶.

In line 3 Hadrian praises the commander for riding skillfully with his men during the maneuver¹⁷⁷. Very likely Catullinus' praise was also to be read in lines 2–3.

Ala . . . pa sin - - -

Since the letters in line 4 are taller than others here, and take up twice as much space, they must be part of a heading. The first preserved letter of the unit's name has been read as a P for either *ala [His]pa[norum]* or *ala Pa - - -*¹⁷⁸. It could also be an R, as its downstroke bends sharply to the right. The second letter could be an I¹⁷⁹ for the reading *ala I Ul]pi[a - - -*. Since about 14 ordinary letters would fit into the gap

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Tacitus, *Annals* 3,21,4: ›*Tacfarinas - - - ubi instaretur cedens ac rursus in terga remeans*‹. Claudianus 8, 540 f., on emperor Honorius: ›*Quis tendere contum acrior aut subitios melior flexisse recursus?*‹ Inspection of the original might tell whether the L (or) E is the first letter in that line. If it was, *meate* is out, for syllables were not split.

¹⁷¹ Tacitus, *Histories* 1,79; 3,27,3; *Annals* 6,35. Arrian, *Tactica* 43,2–44,1; Arrian, *Ektaxis* 16 f. (perhaps meaning the legionary *pilum*, used against Sarmatians in Tacitus, *Histories* 1, 79,4). Kiechle 1964, 104 f.; Bosworth 1993, 271; Wheeler 2004a, 152–9.

¹⁷² However, the alternative reading *a]bsint* ›be they gone‹ is also possible.

¹⁷³ Hillenbrand 2000, 452.

¹⁷⁴ In Greek, *κοπτός* means any long lance (e.g. Josephus 3, 96; Arrian, *Ektaxis* 16), but even in Latin this is so (Tacitus,

Histories 3, 27,3), hence it is not restricted to the Sarmatian lance.

¹⁷⁵ Speidel 2004, 98 ff.; 135 ff. Contra: Kiechle 1965, 104 f.; Bishop – Coulston 1993, 109 f.; Goldsworthy 2003, 138. The mistaken claim that a *contus* could not be used with a shield – contra Arrian, *Tactica* 43,2 – shows the need to differentiate, as does Arrian, *Tactica* 44,1, between Sarmatian and Germanic (›Celtic‹) lancer tactics.

¹⁷⁶ Speidel 1984, 211; idem 1992, 62–66. *Contarii* in the Danubian auxilia: Speidel 2004, 135 ff. Men from the Danube in Numidian auxilia: Le Bohec 1989a, 85; Weiss 2002, 500.

¹⁷⁷ See also fragments 48, 67, and 87, Vegetius 2,12, 3–4 asks that unit commanders serve their men as models in military skills.

¹⁷⁸ Héron de Villefosse 1903, 197; Le Bohec 1989a, 33.

¹⁷⁹ Compare the right-leaning I in *redigisset*.

between the left and the right fragments, the name of the ala should contain about seven heading-size letters after the P and before the S. The name *ala I Fl(avia) Praetoria singularium* would fit, for after the certain S come two downstrokes and perhaps a faint G¹⁸⁰. Since that unit is known from Syria, one would have to assume that it came to Africa sometime before AD 128 and then left, for later sources show it back in Syria¹⁸¹. Unless other Numidian inscriptions mention this ala¹⁸², its presence here remains uncertain.

In line 5 scholars have read *pariter* instead of *acriter*, but the C is certain, for the bottom stroke of the letter turns rightward, whereas that of an A turns leftward. With *acriter alacriter* Hadrian indulges in a jingle; but the combination of *alacer* and *acer* occurs in other military contexts as well¹⁸³.

In lines 5 and 6, Hadrian speaks of the foe trying to mar the unit's battle order and pushing it off course. He mentions this in the irreal subjunctive, as if it were not a fact but a possibility that must be faced. Since Hadrian, or more likely Catullinus as editor, singled this out so strikingly, it must have been a significant point in the ala's maneuver reviewed in field 26.

In line 6, scholars have read a meaningless OIDE; but *qua* seems more likely. If so, in the maneuver the ala was to ride across the campus to meet and repulse a foe who tried but failed to throw it into disarray, or push it (*redegisset*) in a direction where it would come to grief. Almost certainly, this was the Cantabricus attack – and – counterattack maneuver¹⁸⁴.

¹⁸⁰ Ala I Thracum vet(erana) sagit(tariorum) does not fit, as the two downstrokes after the certain S exclude the letters AG. Since the letter after the R could as easily be an M as an A, the name of ala Germanicana is also to be considered.

¹⁸¹ Strobel 1984, 116: an *ala Praetoria* mentioned by CIL III, 600 in Syria in AD 160?

¹⁸² A possible mention of *ala I Singularium* at Baali in the Aures Mountains: AE 1976, 720.

¹⁸³ Cf. Curtius Rufus 7,9,9: ›*Alacres mutua adhortatione in terram desilire et turbatis acriter pedem inferre coeperunt*‹. Also Florus, *Epitoma* 2, 146,4: ›*Numquam acrior neque alacrior exercitus Caesaris fuit*‹.

¹⁸⁴ Arrian, *Tactica* 40.

Field 26. How to Charge

Fragments 34s (south-facing side of block 4), 41, 42, 43, and 44

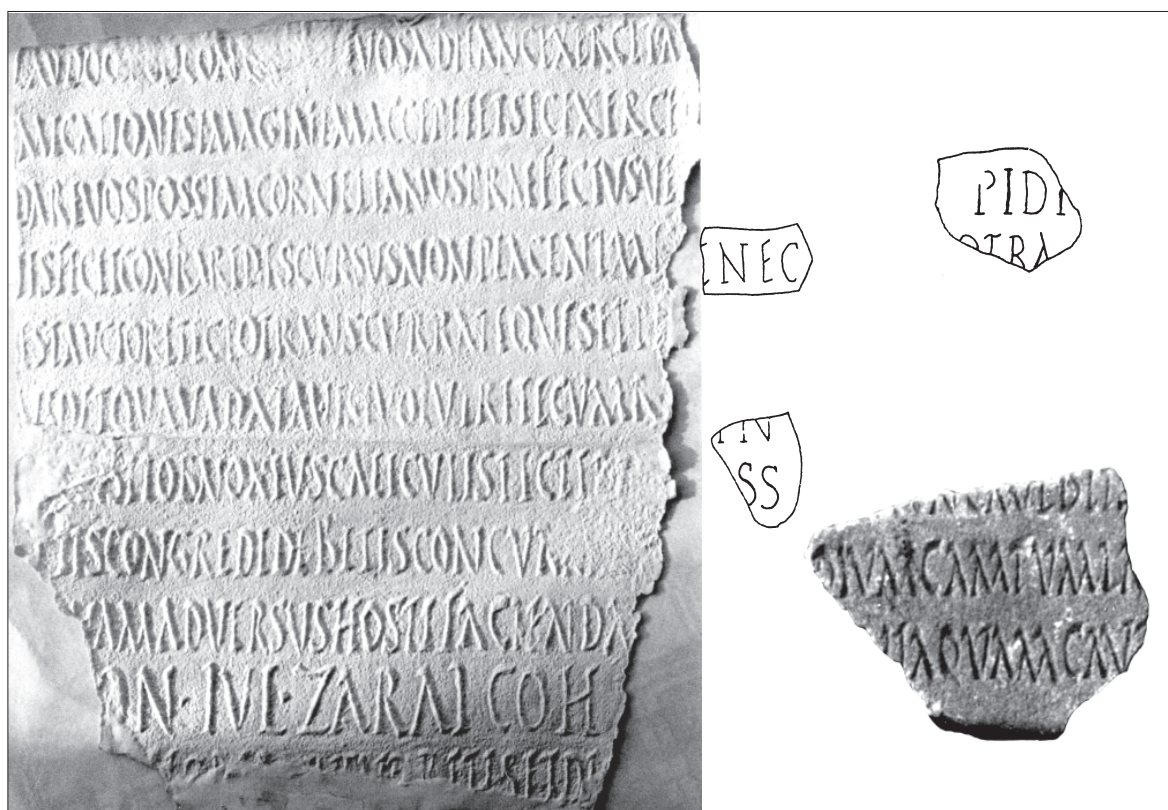
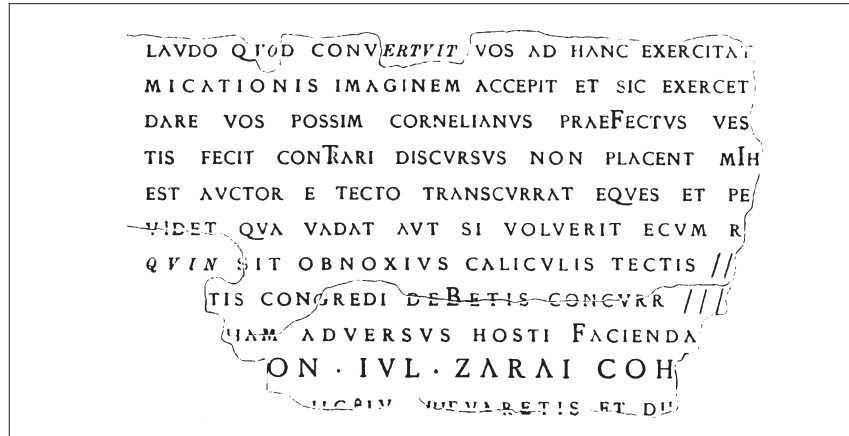


Fig. 29 Field 26: An improved maneuver.

laudo quod convertuit vos ad hanc exercitat[ionem] . . . quae verae di-
micationis imaginem accepit et sic exercet [vos - ca. 12 - ut lau]-
dare vos possim. Cornelianus praefectus ves[ter intre]pide [officio suo sa]-
tis fecit. Contrari discursus non placent mihi nec [div]o Tra[iano qui mihi]
5 *est auctor. E tecto transcurrat eques et pe[- - -]. Si non]*
videt qua vadat aut, si voluerit, ecum r[efr]en[are nequit, non potest
[qu]in sit obnoxius caliculis tectis a[ut fo]ss[is quas] non videt. S[i]
[vul]tis congregi, debetis concurre[re per me]dium campum. Tam-
[quam adversus hosti facienda [umquam sunt u]lla quam caute.

10 *[- - - N]on(is) Iul(is) Zarai. Coh(orti) [- - -]*
[- - - ca. 15 - - -] turbetis et di[- - -]
[- - -]

Being on the right-hand side of block 4, fragment 34s belongs to field 26¹⁸⁵, and therefore concerns the *ala ...pa* of field 25¹⁸⁶. Much of the reconstruction of this text depends on joining to it the small fragment 44. The latter has the same grainless, slightly pitted surface and the same lettering with curved serifs at the top. Joined to fragment 34s, fragment 44 makes excellent sense over lines 7–9 and has the necessary free space in line 10, following the cohort's name. The place of the other fragments here is less certain, in part because 41, 42, and 43 are known only from Godet's drawings (nos. 24, 33, and 70). They matter little, however, for one would restore the text in much the same way without them.



In fragment 34s, several letters thought by Schmidt to be missing can be seen in traces on the squeeze. Besides, in line 4, the TR in *contrari* is not a ligature, as in Schmidt's drawing but one of the stonemason's rare mistakes, corrected by adding the missing T above the line.

A decisive new reading comes at the beginning of line 9, where the squeeze shows instead of the I printed in the CIL, the upper part of a V. This leads to the word [*q*]uam, and, correspondingly, ta[m] at the end of line 8, which significantly changes the meaning heretofore read into Hadrian's words.

Fragment 41 is of interest, for it not only supplies the word *intrepide* but also emperor Trajan's name¹⁸⁷. It bears out the view that Hadrian's *auctor*, mentioned here, must be Trajan¹⁸⁸. Other than ›Trajan, my model‹, the phrase could also be translated as ›Trajan, my sponsor‹ or ›Trajan, my father‹, but since elsewhere in these speeches Hadrian consistently stays close to the subject of training, he is unlikely here to dwell on being the son or favorite of Trajan¹⁸⁹.

¹⁸⁵ See above, p. 50 (field 22).

¹⁸⁶ Schmidt 1894 and Cagnat 1913, 149 f., thought of *cohortes* II H - - .

¹⁸⁷ See also fragment 76.

¹⁸⁸ Seston 1921; Le Glay 1977, 547; Voisin 2003, 29 f.; Wolff 2003, 99.

¹⁸⁹ Closely related, and certainly going back to Hadrian's own usage of the word, is the passage in the *Historia Augusta*,

›Hadrian‹ 10,2: ›*exemplo Scipionis Aemiliani at Metelli et auctoris sui Traiani*‹. For ›model‹ see e.g. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5,14,16: ›*auctoris sui imitator*‹. For ›sponsor‹ see Ammianus 25,8,11: ›*ad sublimiora proventus auctoris sui nutantem adhuc statum studio fundare ingentis*‹. For ›father‹ see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6, 172 ›*Mibi Tantalus auctor*‹. It may be better to read [*qui mihi*] *est auctor*, instead of the traditional [*qui meus*] *est auctor*.

Like all cavalry units reviewed on the monument, this one is measured against standard exercises¹⁹⁰. Hadrian here focuses on the fact that Catullinus ›converted these horsemen to a more warlike maneuver. Given that the text of field 25 leads into that of field 26, the maneuver must be the one described in lines 5 and 6 of field 25: a scrimmage in which two hostile parties try to push each other out of the way: the Cantabricus attack, made more warlike. The passage shows that in the mid-second century the spirit of innovation was still alive in the Roman army – as it always was – above all among the horse¹⁹¹. Pits, such as those mentioned in line 7, are known from Caesar and from Roman forts in Britain; Trajan’s Column shows them built by Dacians outside their fortification walls, as square pits with sharpened stakes in the middle¹⁹². If it rightly belongs here, fragment 43 reveals that hidden trenches, as well as pits, were a danger to Roman horsemen. Trenches as traps are known since the time of Alexander the Great, when Dareios III had them dug on the field of Gaugamela and Alexander spotted them on a reconnaissance outing¹⁹³. Indeed, such devices were timeless, for in the sixth century AD, Maurice urges the use of both pits and trenches to trap horsemen¹⁹⁴.

Line 8 makes it clear that in line 5 Hadrian wants horsemen on the attack to ride straight across the training field¹⁹⁵. This must be the lancer attack of phase 3 of Arrian’s *Tactica* that has horsemen ride across the training field in manifold turns¹⁹⁶. Since Arrian describes actual Roman cavalry maneuvers, Hadrian would have seen such maneuvers and approved them¹⁹⁷: colorful wheelings must have been fine to him, but he may not have wanted them in the standard, phase 3 part of the maneuvers¹⁹⁸.

E tecto, ›from cover‹, does not necessarily imply a sizable area of bushes¹⁹⁹. Other troops could screen an attack party, a role they often played on battlefields²⁰⁰. Fragment 44, newly joined here, makes it clear that the clash took place near the viewing platform, though it started on the far side²⁰¹.

Scholars have not known who in the Roman army made tactical decisions²⁰². Here we see such decision-making. Not the unit commander but the commander of a provincial army, in this case Catullinus, decided on an improved maneuver²⁰³. His decision was reviewed by the emperor, for training, and hence tactics, had to follow uniform, empire-wide standards²⁰⁴. The emperor, of course, consulted experts of his praetorian and horse guards who, like Viator in field 30, watched with him the exercises of provincial troops and stood ready to show how the exercises should be done. Then what he approved became innovative, new policy (Arrian, *Tactica* 41,2).

¹⁹⁰ E.g. Davies 1989, 110.

¹⁹¹ Arrian, *Tactica* 44,2; Vegetius 1,20,2; 3,26,34.

¹⁹² Caesar, *Gallie War* 7,73; Keppie 1998, 125 f.; Trajan’s Column, scene 25.

¹⁹³ Arrian, *Anabasis* 3,9,4.

¹⁹⁴ *Strategikon* 4,3,1 ff.; 4,3,52 ff.

¹⁹⁵ For earlier opinions see above, p. 6. For supplying *pe[rcurra]t* in the gap one may quote Tibullus 3,7, 207: › – – – *equum rigidos percurrere campos doctum*‹. Levi 1994, 718 wrongly supposed all maneuvers were defensive.

¹⁹⁶ *Tactica* 43,2.

¹⁹⁷ ›Like real combat‹ is also what Arrian, *Tactica* 42,5 praises about cavalry maneuvers.

¹⁹⁸ See below (Arrian) p. 89 f. Fragment 58 likewise stresses action in the middle of the field (*medio campo*). Trajan may have scorned too many turns in the face of the foe because on his northern campaigns he met horse that wheeled only to the right and otherwise charged directly: Tacitus, *Germania* 6,2; Speidel 2004, 146 f.; Bosworth 1993, 262.

Trajan thus nudged Roman tactics from over-subtle mobility to the daring head-on clashes of Rome’s northern and eastern neighbors, foreshadowing the Middle Ages, cf. Horsmann 1991, 57 and 111.

¹⁹⁹ Thus Berthet and Wolff 2003, 116.

²⁰⁰ Woods or hills as cover: Maurice, *Strategikon* 7,B,14; other troops: *ibid.* 7,B,8.

²⁰¹ Arrian, *Tactica* 35,1 suggests that the cover is somewhere outside the *campus*.

²⁰² Campbell 1994, 89.

²⁰³ A parallel case is that of Lucullus, governor of Britain who invented a new lance for his army and, having them named after himself, drew Domitian’s wrath (Suetonius, *Domitianus* 10,3). Commanders readying their army for battle: Goldsworthy 1996, 167 f.

²⁰⁴ Vegetius 1,8, 11; 1, 27, 1: ›*Praeterea et vetus consuetudo permansit et divi Augusti atque Hadriani constitutionibus praecavetur, ut ter in mense tam equites quam pedites educantur ambulatum*‹.

How could Catullinus, a senator, come up with an improved training maneuver for an auxiliary unit? Army commanders like him relied on experience, books, and advice from centurions²⁰⁵. To make sure the advice was available, and to strengthen the African army's loyalty, the emperor promoted several men from his own horse guard (where the imperial training standards were created and maintained) to centurions of legio III Augusta²⁰⁶.

Hadrian's downright commitment to caution, to never doing anything reckless against the foe, startles²⁰⁷. Earlier handbooks for generals allowed desperate measures in desperate situations²⁰⁸, while later ones allowed risk-taking to gain an advantage²⁰⁹. Surely Hadrian himself was ready to take risks in battle, but here he speaks to soldiers and he must have felt decisions to take risks were in the purview of generals, not soldiers.

The name of the cohort in Zarai, a fort 150 km to the northwest from Lambaesis, on the Mauretanian border, is unknown. Fragment 34s tells us little of the unit, save that its inspection took place on or before June 7, 128²¹⁰.

In line 11 Schmidt (1894) read: ›. . . [le]varetis et dil(?igenter) . . . ‹; but the photograph of the squeeze clearly shows the word *turbetis*: Hadrian warned the men against losing their formation. Vegetius too speaks of *ordinem turbare*, ›breaking the formation‹. Hadrian, it seems, refers to the cohort's horse, for horsemen are more likely to break formation than foot soldiers. In his *Tactica*, Arrian fears this may happen to horsemen during the elegant riding-in²¹¹; and since this danger is mentioned here in the first line of the cohort's review, the reference may be, as in field 25, to the riding-in²¹². The future tense here has the same effect as the irreal subjunctive mode in fields 19 and 25: Hadrian points not to a fact, but to a danger to watch out for.

Field 27. The Zarai Cohort. Lost

Field 28. Lost

²⁰⁵ Campbell 1984, 317–362, esp. p. 330.

²⁰⁶ CIL VIII, 2817 = Speidel 1994b, 751; Speidel 1994, 142; 147; 149 f.; Le Bohec 1989, 169 f.; 172. Commanders of African auxilia too came from the horse guard: Speidel 1992, 297. Tribunes of the legion were another source of expertise, but they are not named in the preserved parts of the inscription.

²⁰⁷ Perhaps it echoes Augustus' caveat against rashness (Suetonius, *Augustus* 25) as Hadrian re-worked Augustus' mili-

tary precepts (Vegetius, 1,8,260): ›*Quae Augusti et Traiani Hadriani constitutionibus cauta sunt.*‹

²⁰⁸ Onasander 32, 3.

²⁰⁹ Maurice, *Strategikon* 8,1,40.

²¹⁰ Perhaps fragments 51, 52, and 53 belong here also.

²¹¹ Vegetius 2,13,2. Arrian, *Tactica* 35,7: τᾶξις not be disturbed, both for its beauty and its usefulness.

²¹² Perhaps Hadrian's review of the cohort's foot soldiers was edited out for the stone inscription.

Field 29. Ala I Pannoniorum

Fragment 8s (south-facing side of block 1)



Fig. 31 Ala I Pannoniorum.

Of the two drawings by Héron de Villefosse, that of 1903 is far better than the one of 1899²¹³.

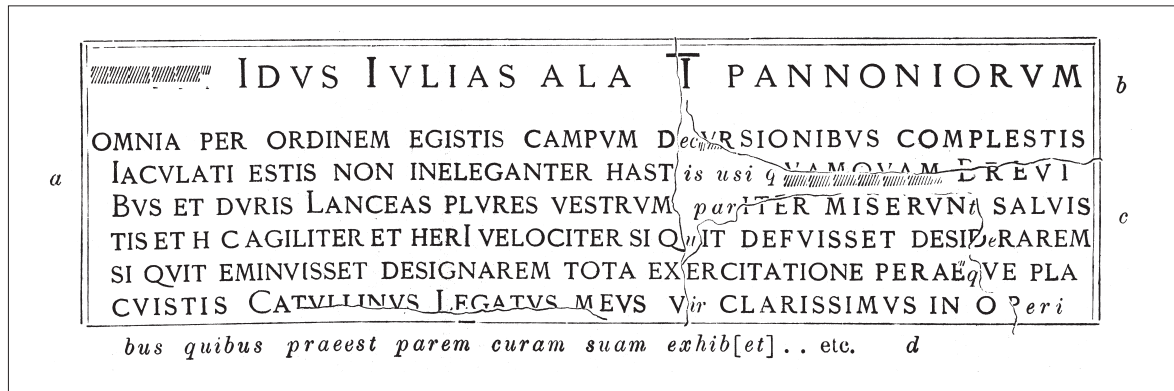


Fig. 32 Héron de Villefosse's 1903 drawing of field 29.

III idus Iulias. Ala I Pannoniorum.

Omnia per ordinem egistis. Campum d[ec]ursionibus complestis, iaculati estis non ineleganter, hast[is us]i quamquam brevis et duris; lanceas plures vestrum [scie]nter miserun[t]. Salvis et hic agiliter et heri velociter. Si [qui]t defuisset, desid[er]arem, si quit eminuisset, designarem; tota exercitatione perae[que] placuistis. Catullinus legatus meus vir clarissimus in o[mni]-

At the beginning of line 1, the stone may have traces of four rather than the three I's read so far. It thus refers to July 12 or 13. On July 1st Hadrian spoke to the legion at Lambaesis, and on or before July 7 to the cohort at Zarai near the Mauretanian border. Hadrian did not then cross into Mauretania²¹⁴. Instead, he reviewed ala I Pannoniorum and the horsemen of cohorts VI Commagenorum on July 12 or 13, very likely in southern Numidia. Reviewed on the same day, these two units must have been stationed together, though we do not know where²¹⁵. If Hadrian visited them on the southern frontier, he no doubt also approved the site of the great new camp at Gemellae, the future home of ala I Pannoniorum²¹⁶. Hadrian's journey from Lambaesis to Zarai and then on to ala I Pannoniorum elsewhere in Numidia, shows that during his journey through Africa he went out of his way to see individual units.

Some have read in line 2 *campum incursionibus complestis*, but *incursiones* are hostile inroads. *Decursiones*, on the other hand, are parade formations, and the photograph leaves no doubt that *decursionibus* is meant, for the round part of the letter D curls over the downstroke in a way never found with the letter I. Hadrian here, and in field 30, follows the order of the exercises (below p. 89): *decursiones*, *dextratio*, *Cantabricus*, and throwing *lanceae*.

²¹³ The drawing of 1899 is reproduced in Le Bohec 2003, 61; its readings are followed by Lassère 2003, 90 f., unaware of the progress Héron de Villefosse had made in those four years. For example, Hadrian describes his governor Catullinus not simply as *clarissimus* but as *vir clarissimus* (traces of all three letters of *vir* are still on the stone).

²¹⁴ This notion of Müller 1900, 21 was wrecked by the find of block 1.

²¹⁵ Le Glay 1977, 550–551, suggested that Hadrian backtracked to Lambaesis.

²¹⁶ Gemellae: Troussel 1977. Emperors went to approve sites: Cassius Dio 78,13,4.

In line 3 it is best to read, with Héron de Villefosse, *hastis usi quamquam brevibus*²¹⁷, for the photograph shows unmistakable traces of all the letters of *quamquam*, and Hadrian liked past participles of deponent verbs, such as the *iaculati estis* found in the same line.

In line 4 some scholars have read *lanceas plures vestrum permiseru[nt]*²¹⁸. A look at the photograph gives instead *lanceas plures vestrum [...]*nter miserun[t]. There is space for seven or eight letters before *miserunt*, hence *permiserunt* is out of the question. Héron de Villefosse saw in 1903 that an adverb must be sought to fill the gap and suggested *pariter. Scienter*, ›with skill and experience‹, often used for the throwing of pole weapons, fits even better²¹⁹.

According to Arrian's *Tactica*, jumping onto horses is the last stage in traditional Roman cavalry maneuvers. Hadrian's mentioning that stage here in lines 4–5²²⁰ (and in field 30), as the last part of the maneuvers, shows that he watched the same kind of maneuvers as those described by Arrian and in the same sequence, that is, *per ordinem*. When Hadrian says the jumping was done ›yesterday swiftly‹, he may thus refer to the last stage of the traditional maneuvers, which included the jump while bearing weapons²²¹. His reference to ›jumping lively here‹, on the other hand, may be to jumping across a ditch and a wall, a part of Arrian's ›added exercises‹. In field 30, jumping is likewise done in more than one place (*ubique*). Speed matters most in jumping onto a horse, liveliness in jumping across a ditch or a wall. The fact that the jumping was done in different places suggests that there were different kinds of jumps²²².

At the end of line 7 Héron de Villefosse believed he saw an upper, rounded part of a P, and hence read *in op[er]ibus*; but what one sees of that P seems rather to be a crack in the stone. Dessau rightly read *in of[mni]bus*, which goes well with *parem*: ›to all - - - equal‹, and which in the sense of ›to all troops‹ fits slightly better than *operibus*, ›in all works‹.

Field 30. Ala I Pannoniorum and Cohors VI Commagenorum

Fragment 9s (south-facing side of block 2): see fig. 31

-bus quibus praeest parem suam curam exhib[uit] ...[prae]fectus vester sollicitè videtur vobis attendere. Congiar[i]um accipite. Viator, iam in Commagenorum campo salietis[.]

Eq[ui]tibus) coh[ort]is) VI Commagenorum.

- 5 *Difficile est cohortales equites etiam per se placere, difficilius post aliam exercitationem non displicere: alia spatia campi, alius iaculantium numerus, frequens dextrator, Cantabricus densus, equorum forma, armorum cultus pro stipendi modo. Verum, vos fastidium calore vitastis, strenue faciendo quae fieri debent.*
 10 *Addidistis ut et lapides fundis mitteretis et missilibus confligetis; saluistis ubique expedite. Catullini leg(ati) mei c(larissimi) v(iri) [insignis virtus] apparet, quod tales vos sub illo v[ir]o v[ir]i estis[.]*

²¹⁷ Rejected by Lassère 2003, 90.

²¹⁸ Lassère 2003, 90.

²¹⁹ Vegetius 1,17,1; 1,20,20; 2,14,3.

²²⁰ *Saluistis* is clearly written on the stone (Héron de Villefosse 1903, 196); *valuistis* (Héron de Villefosse 1899, CXCVIII;

Lassère 2003, 90; Berthet-Wolff 2003, 116 ›Vous avez montré votre valeur‹) is ›contra lapidem‹.

²²¹ Arrian, *Tactica* 43,4.

²²² Thus I would like to reconcile Davies 1989, 107, who sees here jumping across ditches and walls, with Horsmann 1991, 159, who sees here jumping onto horses.

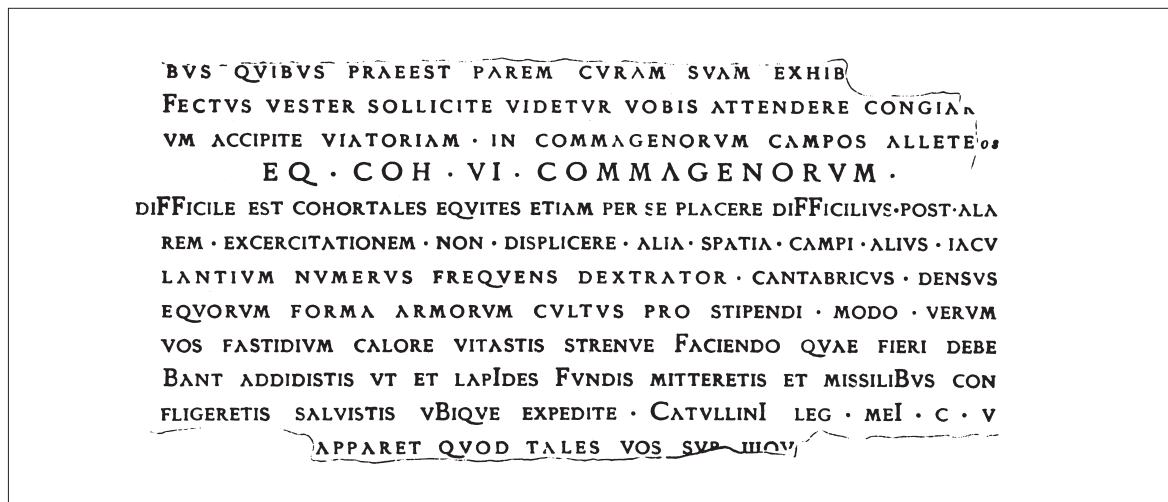


Fig. 33 Schmidt's 1894 drawing of field 30.

For a parallel to the phrase *sollicite videtur vobis attendere* in line 2 see field 6. To describe the deeds of the officers, Hadrian here uses the present-tense infinitive. Elsewhere he uses the past tense.

There is no need to lengthen line 2 after *congiarium* with another word such as *meum* or *duplum*. If the line ends in RI it is as long as the next line (*saliētis*) and as line 7 further down²²³. This is the only ala of which we hear that Hadrian gave a gratuity, surely because they did everything so well²²⁴.

The much debated third line seems to say that the equites singulares Augusti under Viator will do some jumping later on the training field of the Commageni²²⁵. Since jumping is the last stage in Roman cavalry maneuvers, the plan must have been to end the show of the ala with a demonstration by the emperor's horse guards. Hadrian, however, cancelled this to honor the *alarii* who had jumped so well that they needed no-one to show them how to²²⁶. The cancellation is mentioned not because the inscription wants to record ›with a stenographer's detail‹ everything Hadrian said, nor to strike a tone of familiarity²²⁷, but to include a significant item chosen from a much longer speech. If that was indeed the reason, it tells us of yet another way to train provincial horse: the emperor's horse guards show them how to do it²²⁸.

Shortening the name of a unit to a single word, such as from ›cohort VI Commagenorum‹ to ›Commageni‹, was not only camp speech but literary usage as well, and is found in Tacitus and Arrian²²⁹. ›Commageni‹ was also the name of ala I Commagenorum milliaria sagittaria in Noricum²³⁰.

²²³ Meum: AE 1952, 26.

²²⁴ Davies 1989, 107 f. For *congiarium* as a handout to soldiers see e.g. Bagnall 1976, 20.

²²⁵ Viator: Speidel 1994, 150; 1994b, 57 f.; Voisin 2003, 30 f. Lassère 2003, 91 suggests to read *in campos*, but the slightly taller A of *saliētis* does not suggest the beginning of a new word, see the slightly bigger letters that do not begin new words in the preceding line: an F, an L, and a B, and in this line a V. Moreover, the preposition *in* here does not demand the accusative case; to assume a mistake by the stone cutter (one S for two) is wanton; and the surmise that the Commageni had several *campi* is uncalled-for in this context.

²²⁶ Nicely anticipated by M. Yourcenar, *Mémoires d'Hadrien*, 183: ›Il eût été impossible - - d'imposer à ce cavalier une voltige nouvelle‹.

²²⁷ Detail: Gagé 1952, 195; familiarity: Le Glay 1977, 547, corrected by Berthet 2003, 153.

²²⁸ Ways known so far: Speidel 1994, 148–151. For the horse guard otherwise training ala I Pannoniorum in Numidia see Speidel 1992, 296. For their connection with legio III Augusta see Speidel 1994b, no. 754.

²²⁹ Speidel 1984, 100 and 110.

²³⁰ CIL III, 5650 cf. Alföldy 1974, 257. It also underlies the place name ›Commagenis‹ for Tulln in Lower Austria, cf. Ubl 2003.

Equorum forma in line 8, the build of horses, mattered for their strength as well as for their looks: when Tacitus judged the quality of Germanic cavalry *forma* and speed of the horses were his criteria²³¹. Here *equorum forma* is a shortcoming, like the other things he mentioned that made horsemen of the cohorts lesser warriors than those of the *alae*²³².

Armorum cultus refers to the quality and shine of weapons soldiers could buy on their own. Roman army commanders so valued gleaming weapons that in later times they often shouldered the cost of such weapons themselves²³³. Arrian says that some horsemen on maneuvers wore helmets of bronze or gilt iron, and dress of purple, scarlet, or piebald color: when riding by the viewing stand, they sat upright to make sure their weapons gleamed for the viewers²³⁴.

Frequens dextrator is another shortcoming²³⁵: the right-circling horsemen had ridden too tightly behind one another. Men of lesser skill could not otherwise shower the foe with an unbroken flight of spears as Arrian says one should²³⁶. Arrian warns against riding too tightly lest the maneuver look cramped. The word *dextrator* shows that Roman horsemen, like Tacitus' Germani, usually attacked in right circles, so the men had their shields on the side facing the foe²³⁷.

Both Hadrian and Arrian mention the Cantabrian maneuver, which meets a right-wheeling counter circle. There, too, men must not be crammed too closely together²³⁸.

The oriental unit of the Commageni, recruited some time after the annexation of the kingdom of Commagene in AD 71²³⁹, had been part of the Roman army for only a few decades. Yet Hadrian's speech shows it training in the standard exercises set forth by Arrian. This is telling evidence of the reach of Hadrian's written regulations and of the speedy standardization of traditionally diverse *auxilia*²⁴⁰. Standing at the high-water mark of this standardization and Romanization, Hadrian came to rue the loss of ethnic tactical skills and *calor Martis*. He therefore gave orders to preserve the fighting skills and war cries of ethnic troops in the Roman army²⁴¹.

Not the foot, only the horse of cohorts VI Commagenorum performed before Hadrian. Whether they joined ala I Pannoniorum just for this task or stayed with the ala for a longer time, their presence reflects the frequent practice of detaching cohortal horsemen to cavalry forces on missions elsewhere²⁴². Their training maneuvers prove that they fought as true cavalry, not as mounted infantry²⁴³.

Calor in line 9 means eagerness, not the heat of the sun²⁴⁴. *Calor*, ›heat‹, is the Indo-European warrior quality of eagerness²⁴⁵. Though Vegetius says that *calor militaris* had not yet left the peoples of the Empire²⁴⁶, by Hadrian's time the spirit of attack, *virtus*, was threatening to vanish from Roman soldiers. To bolster the men's eagerness, Hadrian here praises their *calor*.

²³¹ Pliny, *Natural History* 8, 162; Tacitus, *Germania* 6,2: ›*equi non forma, non velocitate conspicui*‹; Lammert 1931, 50–51 and 58. Cf. Claudianus, *Carmina Minora* 48,9.

²³² Contra: Le Bohec 1989a, 75. Dehner 1883, 18 f., Cagnat 1913, 151, Campbell 1994, 19, and Birley 1997, 212 translate as if Hadrian's eye was on horsemen of the *alae*. Yet he spoke of the horsemen of the cohort.

²³³ Gleaming weapons: above, fields 3 (line 9) and 6 (line 1). Pay scales: M. A. Speidel 1992. Cost: Speidel 1992, 131–136.

²³⁴ Arrian, *Tactica* 34,2; 38,3.

²³⁵ Lammert 1931, 55 wrongly sees here praise.

²³⁶ Arrian, *Tactica* 38,3; contra: Perez Castro 1982.

²³⁷ Tacitus, *Germania* 6: ›*In rectum aut uno flexu dextros agunt*‹. Speidel 2004, 146 ff. Arrian for turning right: *Tactica* 36,5; 39,1; 40,3; 42,2.

²³⁸ Horses have a tendency to ride on the tail of the horse before them: Hyland 1993, 140.

²³⁹ Ubl 2003: ›Wahrscheinlich erst in nachflavischer Zeit‹.

²⁴⁰ Discussed by Alföldi 1967, 397 ff.; see Wheeler 2004a, 314; Commageni: Ubl 2003.

²⁴¹ Arrian, *Tactica* 44,1.

²⁴² E.g. CIL III 600 = Dessau 2724 (Saxer 1967, 64 and passim; Kennedy 1997). The horsemen of cohorts VI Commagenorum are not mentioned in the standard work on the subject (Saxer 1967) because our inscription does not use the term *vexillatio*.

²⁴³ Le Bohec 1989b, 27.

²⁴⁴ Silius 1,5,49; Statius, *Achilleis* 881; Donatus, *Vita Vergili* 7; Vegetius 1,28,2; Macrobius 1,19,3; 1,19,6. ›Ardeur‹ Cagnat 1913, 151 and Le Glay 1977, 551. Contra: Campbell 1994, 18; Birley 1997, 212. Berthet and Wolff 2003, 116 offer both translations.

²⁴⁵ Speidel 2004, 79. *Virtus*: Lendon 2005.

²⁴⁶ Vegetius 1,28,6.

In line 10, *addidistis* shows that after performing the prescribed maneuvers, units were free to display skills of their own choice²⁴⁷. Perhaps this is why Arrian's sequence – first darts, then stones – is overturned here. Hadrian's *et – et* shows that the horsemen of cohorts Commagenorum did not only one but two extra performances.

Lapides here is the only definite reference to the use of slings by an auxiliary cohort²⁴⁸. Sling bullets, however, have been found in many auxiliary forts²⁴⁹, and even the best equipped and most highly trained troopers threw rocks, since they were highly effective weapons²⁵⁰.

Missilia, we learn from Arrian, are darts, javelins, cross-bow bolts, sling-shot, and rocks²⁵¹. North African tribes excelled in the use of darts; and since Romans everywhere made a point of adopting the weapons of local enemies, African auxilia used darts widely²⁵². As gravestones show, when soldiers skirmished with darts, they switched to light, round shields²⁵³.

Saluistis ubique: again, as in field 29, jumping is part of two different maneuvers, very likely jumping onto horses and jumping over ditches and walls²⁵⁴.

Tales vos sub illo v[ir]o v[ir]i estis, 'under this man you are such men'. The last three words are a new reading where nothing has been read before²⁵⁵. The photograph shows that the words *viro* and *viri* are certain, which suggest that at the beginning of the line one should read *insignis virtus* rather than *insignis cura*. Hadrian indulges here not in just another jingle; *viro vir* was a high-sounding, traditional battle phrase, and three- or even four-fold alliteration is in place at the purple end of a speech²⁵⁶. Praise for the unit's commander must have come in the first lines of field 31. For Hadrian's usage of the word *vos*, see field 22, line 2.

Field 31. Lost

Field 32. Lost – and with it the end of the inscription.

²⁴⁷ See below, p. 89 f.

²⁴⁸ Goldsworthy 1996, 186; the use of slings by horsemen is doubted by Griffiths 1989.

²⁴⁹ Slings in the Roman army: Völling 1990.

²⁵⁰ Speidel 2004, 131.

²⁵¹ Arrian, *Tactica* 43,1: παλτά; Speidel 2004, 129 f.

²⁵² They are mentioned, it seems, in fragment G 2 as well.

²⁵³ Speidel 1993; 1994b, no. 686; 2004, 254, note 1.

²⁵⁴ Horsmann 1991, 160.

²⁵⁵ Dehner 1883, 19: *sub[ito]*.

²⁵⁶ *Viro vir*: Vergil, *Aeneid* 10, 361; 734; Livy 33,8,14, etc. Cf. Hadrian's favorite Ennius, *Tragoediae* III 300: *sed virum vera virtute vivere animatum addecet*. End of speech: Skutsch 1985, 191.

4. UNPLACED FRAGMENTS

Valuable words and thoughts of the emperor are found also in the many small, unplaced fragments. They are listed here roughly in order of importance from headings down to scraps.

Fragments 23 and 24



Fig. 20 Breakout and attack at the double.

[- - -] *a eruptio non* [- - -] *m acriter nunc* [- - -]
 [- - -] *rapi[do] cursu* [- - -] *ncucurristi* [- - -]
 [- - -] *Catullin* [- - -]
 [- - -] *isi* [- - -]

These fragments belong together because they come from the upper rim of a block, have the same right-dipping grain, even lettering, and wide interlinear space. Lacking molding at the top, they must belong to a middle or a bottom block, though the latter is less likely since next to nothing survives of the bottom blocks. Among such blocks there is space for them in fields 11, 14–15, 18 and 27²⁵⁷; field 11 with the fight at the ditch would fit well. Perhaps one should read - - - *ia]m eruptio [non tardat, cu]m acriter nunc* [- - - : a fast and fierce counterattack²⁵⁸. The word *nunc* may reflect the dramatic tension of fields 10 and 11.

All cavalry units inspected by Hadrian did the standard exercises known from Arrian's *Tactica*; the breakout described here thus seems to be an infantry maneuver. Roman infantry, then, could charge at a run. The *cursus rapidus* mentioned here implies that at other times they charged more slowly, although breaking out from inside a camp was always done at speed²⁵⁹. It has been said that mostly ›the Roman advance was a slow, steady affair²⁶⁰; but Hadrian's speech shows that the slow advance was only one of several attack speeds the Roman army practiced, one of them being *rapido cursu*²⁶¹. Charging at a run was the best way of fighting Berbers, whose strength was javelin throwing²⁶².

Line 4 brings praise for Catullinus, which usually comes near the end of a speech.

²⁵⁷ Field 3 has left-slanting marble, field 23 begins with a heading, the other fields are taken.

²⁵⁸ For *acriter* as a way of fighting see also field 25.

²⁵⁹ E.G. Tacitus, *Annals* 1, 68.

²⁶⁰ Goldsworthy 1996, 201.

²⁶¹ Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* 12, 682 f.: ›*per tela ruit - - ac rapido cursu media agmina rumpit*. Marching too had several well-defined levels of speed: Vegetius 1,9, see Milner 1993, 10. In ancient China: Kolb 1991, 206.

²⁶² Lucanus 4, 680–683; Speidel 1993.

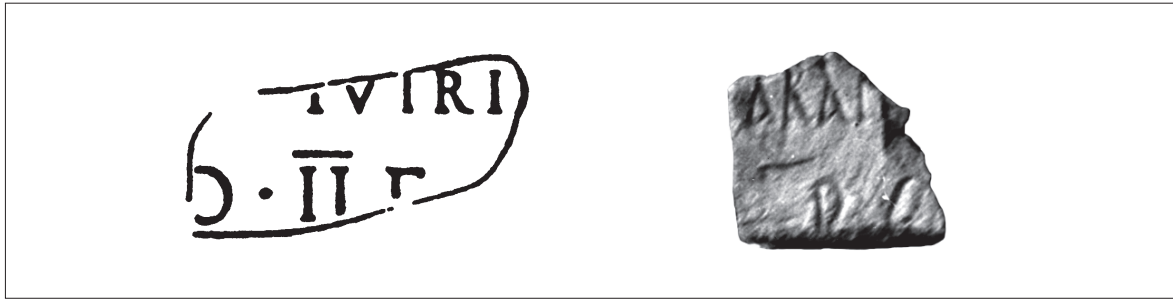


Fig. 34 Cohors II Afrorum.

[- -]i viri [cele]brat[ae virtutis - - -]

[- - - C(o)h]o(rti) II F[l(avia) A]fro[rum - - -]

These two fragments, one of which with left-dipping grain, do not abut directly. That they belong together is not in doubt, however, for each refers to cohorts II Flavia Afrorum, and each has in line 2 the tall letters that are used for headings²⁶³. The spacing deduced from the four missing letters in [cele]brat[ae] proves the word Fl(avia) to be shortened to Fl²⁶⁴. With its left-dipping grain, fragment 99 may also belong here.

In line 1, the prefect of an auxiliary unit is praised, for this is the end of a speech and the letter string *brat* seems to come from the word *celebratus*. Tacitus offers a parallel in characterizing one Haterius as *eloquentiae celebratae*²⁶⁵.

Line 2 may have begun with a date and perhaps referred only to the horsemen of the cohort rather than the unit itself. Like all African cohorts this one too needed horsemen for its task²⁶⁶.

Until 1989 the presence of cohorts II Flavia Afrorum in Numidia during Hadrian's visit was no more than a hypothesis, but two military diplomas (of AD 127–129 and 129–136) found since then prove that the cohort was indeed in Numidia at the time, which confirms our joining of the two fragments²⁶⁷.

Fragment 47

- - -]us et
[- - - p]raefectum.

[- - - Coh(orti)- - - eq]ui[tae]



Fig. 35 A prefect.

²⁶³ The joining also proves that Le Bohec 1989, 67 had the correct reading.

²⁶⁴ The drawing G 61 reads the first letter of line 1 as an A and overlooks the big F in line 2, but as the photograph shows, these readings are certain.

²⁶⁵ Annals 4,61,1.

²⁶⁶ Well argued by Euzennat – Troussel 1979, 60.

²⁶⁷ Hypothesis: Le Bohec 1989a, 67. Diplomas: Weiss 2002.

The fragment, mentioning a prefect, is addressed to either an ala or a cohort and thus belongs to the west or south side of the monument. It is the bottom right corner of a field, and its last line, with taller letters, is a heading²⁶⁸.

In the heading (line 3) *cohors I Chalcidenorum equitata* may be meant, but the reading is uncertain²⁶⁹. The critique of the unit, here as elsewhere, ends with praise of its prefect. As usual, Catullinus will have been mentioned in the lines above the reference to prefect.

Fragment 48

-- *-dec]ucurrit v[obiscum].*

[- - -]M PER[- - -



Fig. 36 Fragment of a heading.

This fragment comes from the bottom rim of a block. The marble is fine-grained and the surface nearly polished, which sets the piece off from all other fragments, and keeps one from placing it in any known field.

The first line gives the end of a speech as it praises the commanding officer for having personally led his men through the maneuver²⁷⁰.

With tall letters (3.2 cm), line 2 may be part of a heading. After PER there is some open space as often between words of headings. Perhaps a stop between M and P is to indicate word separation.

The piece may announce Hadrian's speeches to the auxilia in a phrase like [*At exercitum auxiliariu]m per [provinciam Africam]*, unless the word *imperator* is meant, perhaps in a phrase like *veterani imperatoris*.

Fragment 49

-- -]IIL[- - -]

[- - - *coh(orti) I Ch]al[cidenorum - - -*

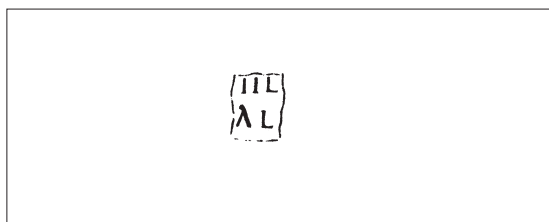


Fig. 37 A heading.

The second line, in letters 3.4 cm tall, is a heading, perhaps mentioning *cohors Chalcidenorum*. The reading is altogether uncertain.

²⁶⁸ The lettering may be more frisky, but field 10 shows the same change from the upper to the lower lines: the top ends of the M's become rounded, etc.

²⁶⁹ Our reading of fragment 47 is derived from the photograph,

while Heron de Villefosse, who saw the stone, read in that line a B. The unit may be *cohors Chalcidenorum* (Le Bohec 1989a, 70–73) if fragment 49 belongs here, which it could.

²⁷⁰ As in field 25 and fragment 67.

Fragment 50

[- - -] *quam ut possint, altera [manu - - -]*
 [- - -] *um altera manu [- - -*



Fig. 38 With one hand and with the other.

This fragment, broken in two pieces, is from the upper rim of a block²⁷¹. The marble looks denser and more uniformly fine-crystalline than that of any other field.

Here fighters do something as much as they can. When Hadrian uses the third person he often, but not always, means the enemy; in field 26 he speaks thus of Roman soldiers in general. It is unlikely that ›hostiles‹ are meant here, for references to them are vague throughout, while here we find precise detail. Hadrian seems to mean horsemen rather than foot: since horsemen have to handle steeds as well as weapons, it makes sense to say what they did with each hand. Again, the emperor teaches.

Fragments 51, 52, and 53



Fig. 39 They hit the targets and return.

- - -] *istis vib[ra . . .]+ +[- - -]da [. .]*
 [- - -] *s]copos et redeunt[es - - -]fuisti[s].*

Fragment 51 comes from the lower rim of a block. Fragment 52, with the same lettering and depth, seems to adjoin directly. Fragment 53 cannot be placed with assurance, but if *fuistis* goes with *redeuntes*, it should be placed to the right, perhaps even at the end of the line. Hadrian may have said something like ›you hit the targets and returned straight‹²⁷², for this is what he asks for in fragment 62. If so, Hadrian speaks here to lancers or horse archers. The pieces may be from the last two lines of field 23.

²⁷¹ Joined by the anonymi who took the photographs for the Archives Le Glay.

²⁷² Fragment 85 seems not to fit, however, as its letters are higher up from the bottom.

Fragment 54

--- mo]llosso[s ---]
 [--- e]xcubi[---]



Fig. 40 Molossi dogs.

The fragment comes from the upper rim of an unknown block. Scholars have read *acubi* in line 2, yet the photograph shows an unambiguous X instead of an A. Hence Hadrian speaks about *excubiae*, watch that is kept. This, in turn, makes it plain that line 1 mentions Molossi hounds.

Vegetius says that on walls and in watchtowers one kept fierce dogs that by barking betrayed incoming foes, and Horace mentions *excubiae* of watchful dogs²⁷³. To Grattius, Molossi were the best hounds for use in battle²⁷⁴. Here, however, they are not to fight but to watch²⁷⁵. Learning that the Roman army used Molossi hounds for keeping watch at field fortifications adds a new and colorful item to our knowledge of Roman tactics.

Where in the inscription this fragment belonged is unknown, but its detail suggests that it refers to the legion. If so, it belongs to Hadrian's review of legionary field fortifications (fields 4, 8, 11 or 15). Maneuvers, then, entailed not only building, defending, and breaking out from fortified camps, but also keeping watch. One may doubt, however, whether this was a hallmark of ›rational‹ warfare that set the Roman army off from wild Celtic and Germanic iron-age warriors who, it was said, scorned keeping watch²⁷⁶.

Fragment 55

---]sa ordi[---]
 --- ommu]nibus stud[iis ---]
 ---]urguere[---]



Fig. 41 ›By joint effort‹.

²⁷³ Vegetius 4,26,4: ›Acerrimos et sagacissimos canes in turribus nutriant, qui adventum hostium odore praesentiant, latratuque testentur‹. Horace, *Carmina* 3,16,1: ›Inclusam Danaen turris aenea robustaeque fores et vigilum canum tristes excubiae munierant satis‹.

²⁷⁴ Grattius *Cynegetica* 179–181: ›At magnum cum venit opus promendaque virtus / et vocat extremo praeceps discrimine

*Mavors: non tunc egregios tantum admirere Molossos‹. Molossi would kill men: Arrian, *Bithynika* 63.*

²⁷⁵ For the different use of battle hounds and watch hounds see Robert 1976, 206–209.

²⁷⁶ Not keeping watch: Maurice, *Strategikon* 11,3,31 f.; but the late-Roman word for ›watch‹ is Germanic σκούλκα (English ›to skulk‹) see Haldon 1984, 627 f. and Kaegi 1992, 34 f. ›Rational‹ as against iron-age warfare: Speidel 2004, 193 ff.

The fragment seems to belong to a maneuver of legionary foot arranged, perhaps, in a battle line (*ordo*) that pushed the foe unflaggingly. Well-armored and well-ordered legionaries were hardly capable of surprise attack or speed, but they were good at wearing out an enemy in drawn-out, stationary fighting. The ›joint effort‹ could be that of several centuriae, maniples, or cohorts²⁷⁷. But it could also be praise for officers (*tribuni militum?*) who ›unflaggingly urged‹ the legionaries on. *Communibus studiis* is a well-known phrase. The tenor is that of fragment 56, which may indeed belong here. Perhaps both fragments are from field 8.

Fragment 56

---]mm[. . .]
 [- - -]ta]ntop[ere]
 [- - -]laudo
 [- - -]ag
 5 [- - -



Fig. 42 Praise.

In line 2, the choice is between *ta]ntop[ere* and *qua]ntop[ere*²⁷⁸, both of which indicate great exertion. The wordiness, and a certain similarity in tone with fragment 55, suggests that this is from a speech to the legion. Since officers are praised, the text is from near the end of a speech. Like fragment 55, it may come from field 8.

Fragment 57

---]nus ag[. .]us [- - -]
 [- - -].it qua equ[- - -



Fig. 43 Where the horse. . .

²⁷⁷ For *studia* as a military effort see e.g. Cicero *Pro M. Fonteio*, 44: ›*At infestis prope signis inferuntur Galli in M. Fonteium et instant atque urgent summo cum studio summa cum audacia*‹. For *studiis communibus* see also Cicero, *Ep. ad fam.* 6,9,1.

²⁷⁸ Le Bohec 2003, 112, following Godet's drawing, reads VIOE, but the photograph leaves no doubt that the first preserved letter is an N and not a V.

The restoration of line 1 is uncertain. Villefosse (1899, CCXII) read [*Catulli*]nus leg[a]tus, but the fourth letter in that line is certainly an A, not an L, nor is there a T to be seen before the VS. Line 2 could speak of either *equ[es]* or *equ[us]*, ›horseman‹ or ›horse‹. Fragments 59 and 81, with similar left-dipping rain, seem to come from the same field as this fragment.

The text, similar to that in field 26, may repeat the advice given there: to watch where one is riding. If fragment 59 indeed belongs with this one, then Hadrian gave rather stereotyped maneuver critiques, which is very well possible, for the Roman army had some 450 auxilia, all of which trained according to the same written instructions, and Hadrian inspected them all.

Fragment 58

--- med]io campo c[- - -]
[- - -]C[IFR][- - -]



Fig. 44 In the middle of the field.

Very likely fragment 73 with similar grain and lettering belongs with this one. The word *campo*, though not recognized before, is certain.

Hadrian's insistence upon where on the campus things must be done is remarkable. Cavalry units had to fill the campus with their wheelings (field 29); horsemen of cohorts made less of an impression since the size of their campus was small (field 30); attacks had to charge through the middle of the campus (field 26). In the last case Hadrian gives as his reason the usefulness for actual warfare. Elsewhere (field 29), the motif was striving for elegance. In fragment 58 very likely one of these two reasons also applied.

Fragment 59

--- o]bnox[ius ---



Fig. 45 Likely to be hurt.

This fragment is from the upper rim of a block. Hitherto wrongly read SNOV, the fragment shows the letters BNOX. *Obnoxius* is also found in field 26, referring to horsemen. Since fragment 64, like this one, comes from the upper rim of a block with left-dipping grain, the two seem to belong together; yet the connection between ›likely to be hurt‹ and ›hurling weapons‹ remains unclear. Perhaps this fragment comes from the same field as fragment 57.

Fragments 60, 61, 62

---]us circula[---
 ---]s sive ter[---]
 [---]s et redeu[---]
 ---]+++ [---]
 [---] direct[e .]n[---]
 [---]... [---]



Fig. 46 Circle and straight.

The same lettering, pitted surface, and depth, prove the anonymous scholar right who put these three pieces together when photographing them at the Museum in Algiers. The content confirms this as well: circling as against straight, and, if rightly read here, the words ›on the way back‹ echo those in fragment 51.

If the word *circulare* is meant, Hadrian speaks to horsemen about circling, spear-throwing maneuvers as described in Arrian's *Tactica*. These maneuvers are followed, according to Arrian, by throwing *lancea* spears against targets. One could restore in fragment 61 *et redeuntes* (after fragment 51 where a similar *et redeuntes* follows hitting a target), perhaps during the throwing of spears, though the reading is very uncertain. Arrian says Hadrian wanted the men to ride straight when they shot at the targets²⁷⁹, and this mattered so much that in this context Arrian repeats the expression ὀρθῶ τῶ ἵππῳ four times. Hadrian likewise uses the word *directe* several times in his speeches²⁸⁰.

Stress on riding straight is not the only point of similarity between Arrian's and Hadrian's remarks on spear-throwing maneuvers. Arrian says that horsemen at the first riding-up past the viewing platform throw one spear, then at a voluntary second riding-up two, and at a third three, each time trying to hit the targets while riding straight at them. Though hard to do, Arrian says, this was the best training for war itself²⁸¹.

Hadrian watched spear-throwing carefully, and though the word *lancea* has not survived in fragments 60–62 or fields 18–19 (unless fragments 76 and 84 belong here), it is found elsewhere in these speeches²⁸². Even the throwing of one, two, and three spears can be traced in the fragments: one may restore fragment 61 to read *bina]s sive ter[nas*, and perhaps join this with fragments 83 and 84 to field 19 to read ›--- vibrastis] lanceas singu[l]as, quidam bi[na]s sive ter[nas] ---‹ ›you have thrown single spears, some even two or three‹. This joining is not certain, however – color and grain are not quite the same for all pieces, and the gaps are wide. Hence these fragments are not here put into field 19.

²⁷⁹ Arrian, *Tactica* 41–42.

²⁸⁰ See fragment 85.

²⁸¹ Arrian, *Tactica* 41–42.

²⁸² Field 29 and fragments 76; 84; 91.

Comparing Arrian's *Tactica* with Hadrian's remark that some horsemen threw two or three spears suggests that this was a standard part of cavalry maneuvers. Arrian, however, goes on to say that after the initial exercises ›good army commanders‹ had each horseman called up to throw three spears. An army commander in Cappadocia when he wrote his treatise, Arrian is likely to speak self-promotingly about himself, perhaps in a game of one-upmanship with Catullinus. Certainly, Hadrian's remark that ›some‹ horsemen threw two or three spears betrays the fact that in Numidia not all horsemen threw three. The remark shows the difference a governor could make in the training of a provincial army. Remarkably, Hadrian twice mentions horsemen returning after throwing their spears, once in fragment 51 and again in fragment 61. Arrian says nothing about the return, but Hadrian must have had a concern about it, very likely because in battle horsemen had to make room quickly for those coming behind them. If they tarried, those after them would be crowded near the enemy, exposed to enemy missiles, and delayed in renewing the attack.

Fragments 63 and 64

-- -]a manu derigi op[portet -- -]
[- - -

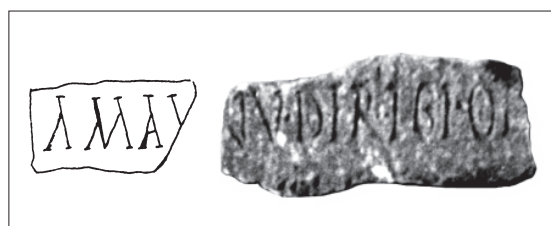


Fig. 47 Hurling weapons.

These two fragments may very well belong together, but since fragment 64 is known only from a drawing (Godet, 55), we cannot be certain about it. However, even without fragment 64 one would restore *manu* before *derigi*. Fragment 59, also from the upper rim of a block with left-dipping grain, may belong here.

Hadrian here gives another directive drawn from the wealth of his and his advisers' tactical knowledge. Yann Le Bohec considered Hadrian's monument itself, in the middle of the training ground, ›a training handbook.²⁸³ Fragment 64 may add substance to that observation.

Fragment 65

-- -e]xhibuer[unt.]
[[[- - -]usq[- - -]]]

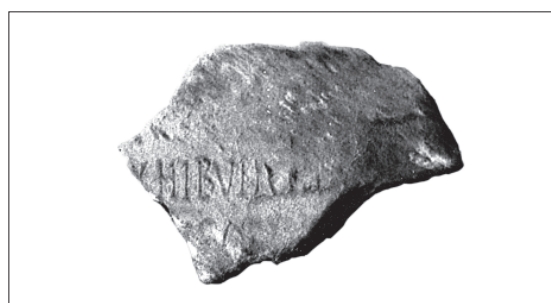


Fig. 48 Legionary heading.

²⁸³ Le Bohec 2004, 79. *Directores*, however, are sharpshooters, not directors (ibid. 107–108; 112).

The reading *exhibuit*, 'he has shown' is also possible here, and may refer to Catullinus. Hadrian uses the verb *exhibere* (field 30) and the third person to describe officers' deeds. These are fitting ends for speeches, witness fields 16, 25, and 29. Line 2 here brings the heading of a new speech. Unlike those at the beginnings of fields, headings inside fields have no broad interlinear space to set them off, as seen in fields 29 and 30.

Of great interest is the erasure in the second line. Like the erasures in fields 9 and 13, this one leaves a vertical band untouched. Since the heading was erased, it must have referred to legionaries. With its right-dipping grain, the fragment may belong to field 5, that addresses officers of the legion.

Fragment 66

--- exercitati]onum cu[ra---]
 [---]num laudo [---]



Fig. 49 ›I praise‹.

The expansion of line 1 is uncertain, but the fragment speaks of praise for one or two officers. The even letters with leftward pointing feet, the left-dipping grain and toolmarks, and the V with a hook on the upper right, fit the features of fields 7 and 8, where praise for the officer of the legionary horse is expected. Alternatively, the piece might belong to field 27, and invites comparison with fragments 67 and 94.

Fragment 67

---] vobiscum de[cucurrit].



Fig. 50 ›He rode with you on parade‹.

The grain dips leftward, and the feet of the letters also point left. The piece is of great importance as it shows the end of a block with molding below (now hacked away). It follows from this, that the bottom blocks, like the top ones, had not twelve but seven lines of text.

The meaning of the text is clear; it repeats what we already saw in fields 25 and in fragments 48 and 87: troop officers are praised for their parade riding skills.

Fragment 68

-- -] disci[plina ? - - -

This fragment, known only from Godet's drawing no. 75, belongs perhaps to field 3.

Fragment 69

-- -] armaturam [- - -]
[- - -].m.[- - -



Fig. 51 Armatura or arma, tuba?

One of the saddest cases of the stones' inaccessibility, this fragment has always been read *arma, tuba*, and yet it cries out to be read *armatura*. This is all the more likely as fragment 62 shows that an R can look much like a B. *Armaturae* were soldiers who raised their skill with weapons to the level of public performance, and who in the legions ranked as leaders in weapon training²⁸⁴.

Fragment 70

-- -] fossam it su[- - -

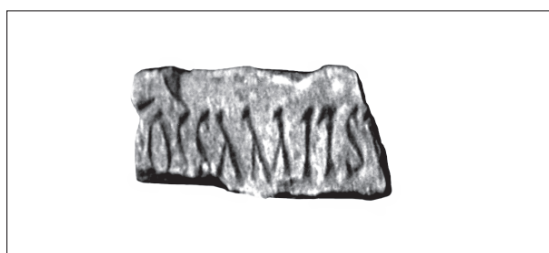


Fig. 52 At the ditch.

Godet did not see the F at the beginning, but the long upper bar of the letter is clearly to be seen. There is some loss at the upper rim, hence it is hard to tell whether lower parts of letters are to be made out there, or whether the piece comes from the upper rim of a block. If it did, it may belong to field 7 and together with fragment 20 could tell what the enemy of the legionary horse did at the ditch.

Fragment 71

-- -] excepistis [- - -]
[- - -]tis et sum[m- - -

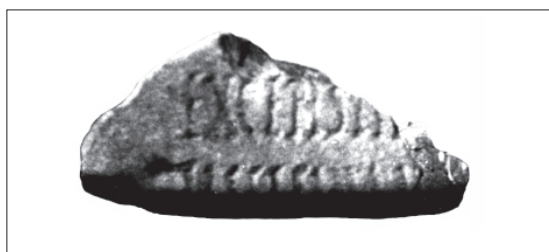


Fig. 53 You received them.

²⁸⁴ Horsmann 1991, 92–102. Arrian's *Tactica* not for *armaturae*: Bosworth 1993, 259.

This is the bottom left corner of a block. The letters are even, narrow, and tall, and deeply carved onto a slightly pitted, grainless surface. With their upper and lower ends looking like a row of holes, they best match the letters of field 7.

The beginning of line 2 could refer to the enemy (*hostis*) but is more likely the past perfect form of a verb, describing what the troops have done. Hadrian speaks here not of a shooting or riding performance but of action against ›hostiles‹, which would fit well in field 7²⁸⁵. *Excipere* can mean ›to give shelter‹ to friendly forces as well as ›to sustain an attack‹ by an enemy. The text is wordy enough to be part of an address to the legion.

Fragment 72

---]...[---]
 [- - -exercit]abam et [- - -]
 [- - -]m erum[p- - -



Fig. 54 Breaking out.

Here Hadrian reviews a maneuver and speaks of breaking out, either from where they huddle together in the field or from a camp. The phrase *exercitabam et* occurs also in field 9. Neither of these words has been read before. Breaking out is the most dramatic part of infantry maneuvers, as note above, p. 52.

Fragment 73

---]us pra[---]
 [- - -] Alfenum [- - -



Fig. 55 Alfenus.

The grain of the marble here fits that of fragment 58. Hadrian praises an officer Alfenus, perhaps the otherwise known *praefectus castrorum* Alfenus Fortunatus²⁸⁶. If so, the piece likely comes from fields 4–6.

²⁸⁵ Schmidt 1894, 1726, on the other hand, suggested that this fragment may be the continuation of the fight at the ditch (field 11).

²⁸⁶ CIL VIII, 2632 with p. 954 and 1739, see Le Bohec 2003, 110. Line 1 may give Alfenus' title, but nothing is certain here.

Fragment 74

-- -Pr]obus irr[- - -]
[- - -]. . VC. . .[- - -

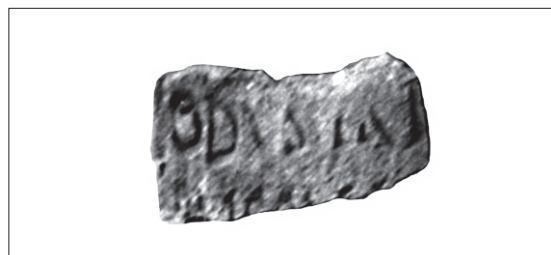


Fig. 56 Fragment with the name Probus (?).

This fragment's surface shows a left-slanting pattern, and the letters are very carelessly carved. Godet 1940, 38 read ODOSIIN and PVSAIL. If at the end of the first line one reads *tri[bunus]*, Probus would be a legionary officer.

Fragment 75

-- -]m Ro[- - -]
[- - -]hum Afri[- - -]
[- - -]u[- - -



Fig. 57 Afri - - -.

From the upper rim of a block with strongly left-dipping surface grain, this fragment is perhaps of the same field as fragment 78, which has a similar left-dipping grain, overlong A's with very low crossbars, and E's and F's with upturned crossbars.

The tantalizing Afri- seems to be part of a name, for the syllables Ro- and -hum also seem to be part of names such as Romanus and Gracchus. Perhaps the fragment belongs to field 3 as suggested by its left-slanting surface pattern.

Fragment 76

-- -]q̄ianō [- - -]
[- - -]I[- - -

An alternative reading is

-- -] lanç[ea - - -]
[- - -]I[- - -

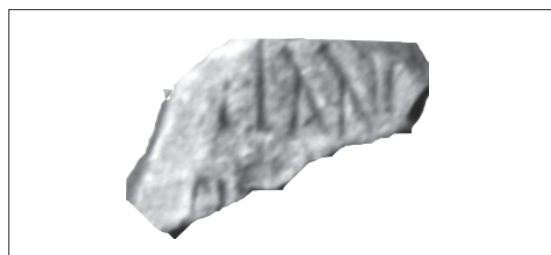


Fig. 58 Traiano? Lancea?

This could be Trajan's name in field 26, but inspection of the original is needed to tell whether the marble is the same as in fragment 34s.

Fragment 77

---] *sagita*[- --



Fig. 59 Arrows.

From the lower rim of a block. Against regular usage, the T is not doubled here.

Fragment 78

---]i
[- --]n pau-
[- --]s haec
[- --]praef[e]-
5 [ct---



Fig. 60 Right rim of a field.

This fragment is from the right-hand side of a field with characteristics like those of fragments 75 and 82.

Fragment 79

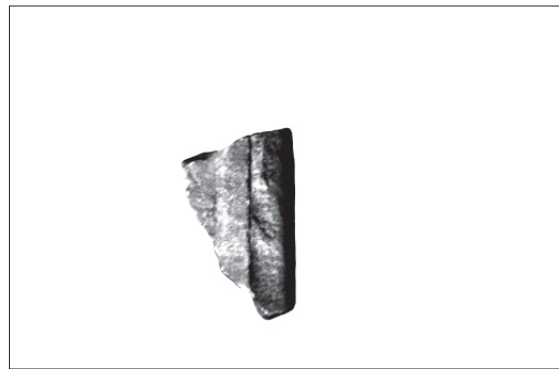


Fig. 61 Right-hand molding.

This piece is perhaps from the right-hand edge of a field like fragment 81. There is possibly an A at the end of a line.

Fragment 80

--]IISM[---



Fig. 62 Fragment with letters.

No meaning can be wrung from this fragment. Its surface looks much like that of fragment 74.

Fragment 81

---] . . [---]
[---] non i[---]
[---] qus [---



Fig. 63 Non.

The letters here, only 2 cm high, are too small for a heading²⁸⁷. Perhaps this piece comes from the same field as fragment 57.

Fragment 82

---]sus com[---]
[---]cem p[---

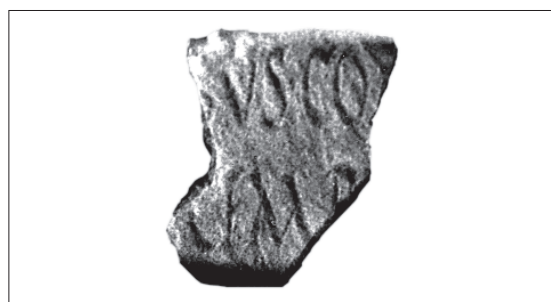


Fig. 64 Fragment from the upper rim of a block.

Fragments 65, 66 and 82 seem to belong together because of their right-dipping grain and left-slanting toolmarks. However, they neither join nor explain each other. As fragment 82 comes from the upper rim of a block, it and the other fragments just named should all belong to a middle or lower block such as fields 14, 22, or 26.

²⁸⁷ Contra Le Bohec 2003, 102.

Fragment 83

---] singu[l---]
[---]... [---]



Fig. 65 Single ones.

This fragment with uneven letters may refer to single spears thrown, as in fragments 60, 61, and 62²⁸⁸.

Fragment 84

---]. . . . [---]
[---] lance[a---]
[---]IS[---]

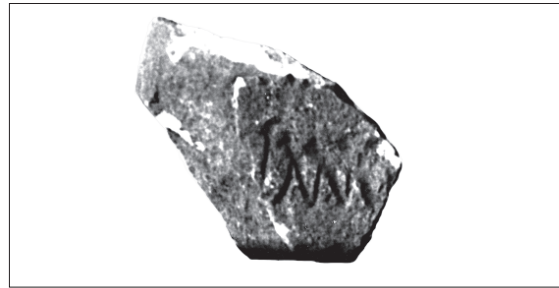


Fig. 66 Lances?

No direction of the grain is apparent here. For *lancea* spears see field 19 and fragments 60–62.

Fragment 85

---]IA [---]
[---] *derecte*.



Fig. 67 Straight.

This fragment must be the bottom right corner of a block, for the photograph shows it flat underneath, and around the corner where there was once molding, someone carved an M, very likely as the beginning of a field around the corner.

The last line ends early, no doubt because, as is often the case, a speech ended with the end of the field. *Derecte*, the older form of *directe*, may have the same meaning as it has in fragment 62, coming back straight. One would therefore think that this fragment should go with fragment 51, but there the letters are nearer the bottom of the block and it is hard to see how that could change between there and our fragment. Perhaps, then, Hadrian asked yet another group of horsemen to return straight after having thrown their spears.

²⁸⁸ Le Bohec 2003, 110 thinks of Singulares guards. The R at the beginning is uncertain.

Fragment 86

-- -] *quoque* [- - -



Fig. 68 *Quoque.*

The text is unremarkable, the grain fits with that of fragment 87.

Fragment 87

-- -] *cucurr[i]* -- -

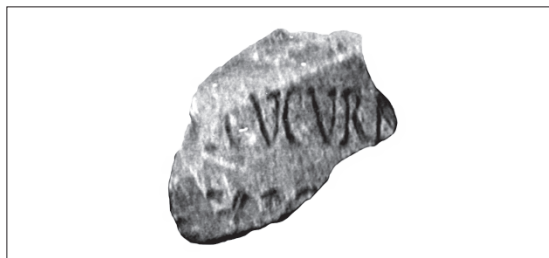


Fig. 69 ›*Rodex.*

A unit commander may be praised here, at the end of a speech, for riding at the head of his unit during the show (*decucurrit*). Alternatively, a unit may have been told how it clashed with the foe (*conconcurrestis*). The grain fits that of fragment 86.

Fragment 88

-- -] *VGO V*[- - -

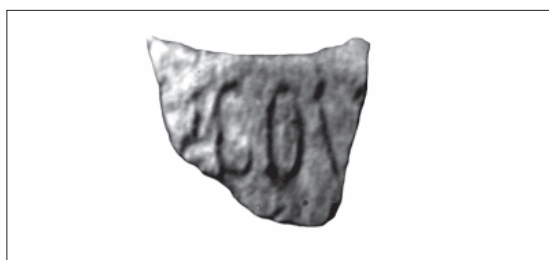


Fig. 70 *VGOV.*

Perhaps *aerugo* is meant here, ›copper-rust‹. If so, care of weapons was the topic. The grain fits that of fragment 87.

Fragment 89

-- -] *annorum* [- - -]
[- - -] *si* *mulqu[e]* -- -



Fig. 71 *Years.*

This fragment is backed by dark marble with grain running across it like that in fragment 90. Hence it likely belongs to the same field as fragment 90. The reading *simulque* is new but fairly certain.

Fragment 90

---]. *quidem* [---]
 [- - -] *die* *mu*[- - -]

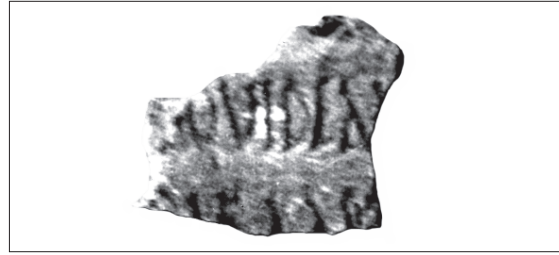


Fig. 72 Today (?).

With the grain of the marble running across it, this fragment likely belongs somewhere in fields 13 to 17. The clumsy lettering suggests field 17. The layer of dark marble deeper in, matches that of fragment 89, and the reading *hodie*, though new and uncertain, may answer to the ›years‹ of the latter fragment.

Fragment 91

---] *rida* *vi* [---]
 [- - -] *lanceas* [---]

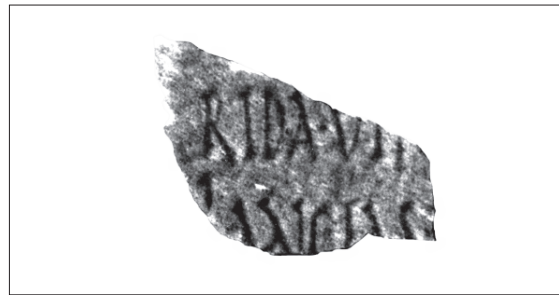


Fig. 73 Throwing lances.

Lanceae, heavy throwing spears hurled against targets, belong to the latter half of cavalry maneuvers. They may have been thrown ›with terrible strength‹²⁸⁹. Together with fragment 95, this piece may come from field 17 (see also fragments 60–62).

Fragment 92

---] *n*
 [- - -] *s*
 [- - -]

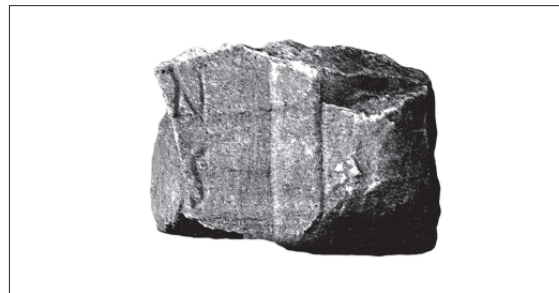


Fig. 74 Small, broken piece from the right rim.

Verification on the stone would tell whether or not this piece belongs to field 2 (lines 3 and 4).

²⁸⁹ Lucretius 3,170: ›*si minus offendit vitam vis horrida telis*‹; Cicero, *De legibus* 16,11: ›*vires --- horridas*‹; Seneca, *Oedipus* 87 ff.: ›*si vis horrida Mavortis in me rueret*‹.

Fragment 93

-- -] ex̄ercita[- - -]
[- - -]m̄ intra [- - -



Fig. 75 Inside.

The letters being rather tall, this piece may come from the east side. To judge from the photograph, the piece comes from the upper rim of a block.

Fragment 94

-- -]que [- - -]
[- - -]tur t[- - -

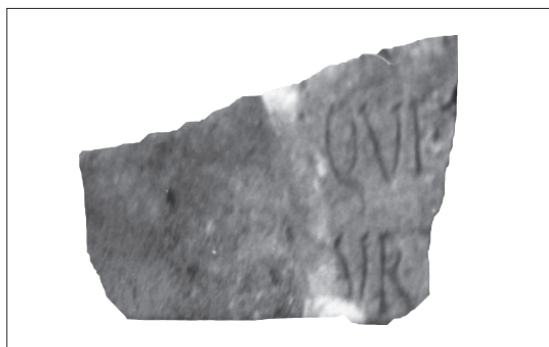


Fig. 76 >And<.

No meaning can be wrung from this fragment, but its left-dipping grain, even letters, and V with a hook on the upper right, like similar features of fragment 66, point perhaps to field 7.

Fragment 95

-- -]ETM[- - -]
[- - -]IVB[- - -

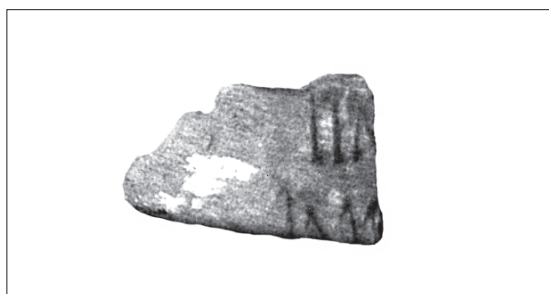


Fig. 77 A coarse-grained fragment.

Since the coarse grain runs crosswise, this piece may belong, like fragment 99, to either fields 13 or 17.

Fragment 96

---]AVII[- - -]
[- - -]ALAN[- - -]



Fig. 78 Another coarse-grained fragment.

Since the grain runs crosswise, this piece, like fragment 98, may belong to field 13 or 17. Line 2 could be a heading mentioning an ala; Numidia, however, seems to have had only two alae, and this would be a third, unknown one.

Fragment 97

---]nato sin[- - -]
[---]ut[---]

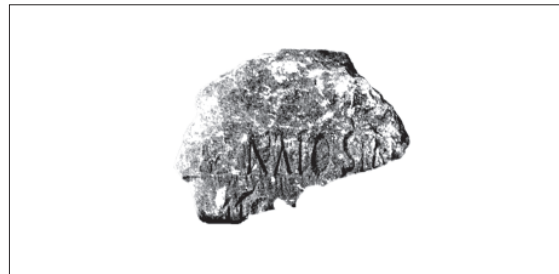


Fig. 79 A fragment from field 3?

Though this fragment with its dark color and right-dipping grain likely belongs to field 3, it is hard to wring meaning from it.

Fragment 98

- - -]
sus[- - -]
am[- - -]

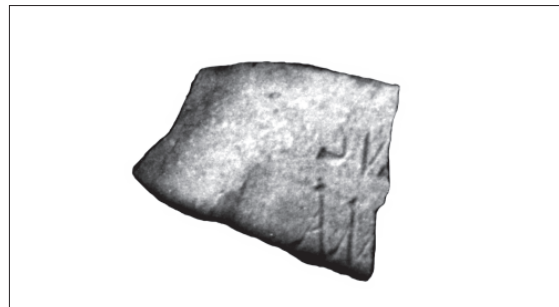


Fig. 80 Rim fragment with letters.

Molding on the left shows that two lines of writing begin here. The letters are in Godet's drawing no. 46 nearly 3 cm tall. The photograph shows them carefully written on fine-grained marble. Hence they should come from the east side of the monument and describe the legion.

Fragment 99

---]st̄is a[---]
[---]COB[---



Fig. 81 Small fragment.

The left-dipping grain places this nearly illegible piece in either field 31 or field 3.

Fragment 100

---]m̄ibi n[---

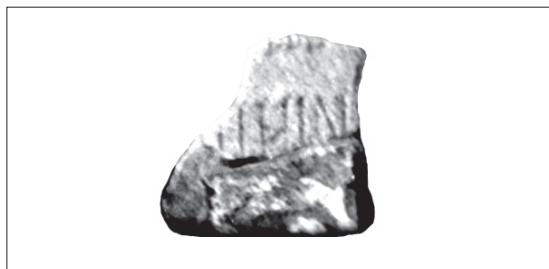


Fig. 82 Small fragment.

Fragment 101

---]VD[---



Fig. 83 Small fragment.

This fragment might be read *ill]ud[*; or perhaps as part of the perfect tense of a verb like *tundere* or *fundere*; or else a form of *laudare*.

Fragment 102

---]M̄IM[---
---]...[---

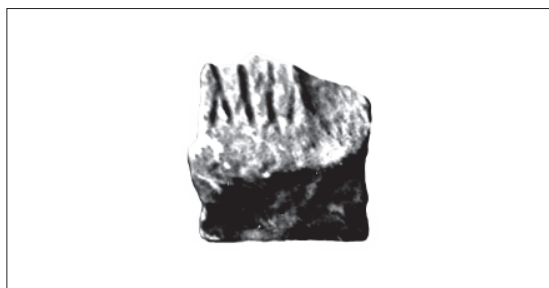


Fig. 84 Small fragment with bottom molding?

Fragment 103

---]IV[---]
 [- -] utiqu[e ---



Fig. 85 Fragment with strong grain dipping rightward.

To judge from its grain, this piece should belong to field 3 or 5, perhaps alongside fragment 17.

Fragment 104

---]quaecumq[ue ---



Fig. 86 Fragment with tall letters.

This fragment may belong to field 7.

Fragments 105–134

These are known only from Godet's drawings (below, pages 93–96 numbers 1; 2; 4; 7; 13; 25; 27; 31; 32; 33; 47; 52; 58; 60, 62; 63; 64; 66–74; 76–79. They call for no comment. The same is true of fragments 135–144, published by Héron de Villefosse in 1899 as numbers 11; 13; 14; 15; 18; 20; 27; 28; 31; 47. He gives their drawings as follows:

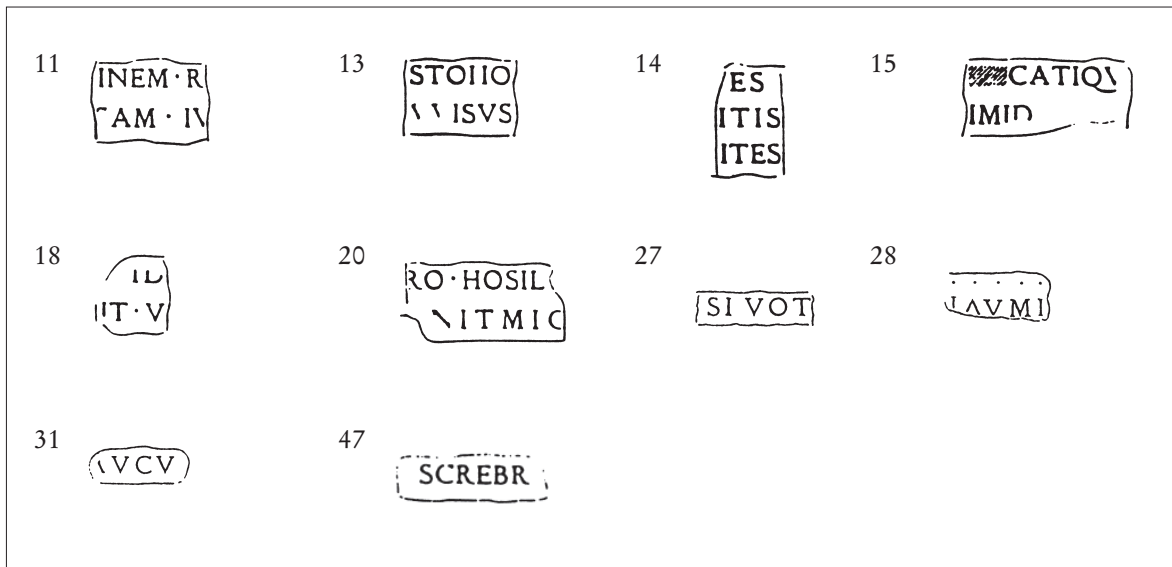


Fig. 87 Drawings of fragments 135–144.

FORM AND PURPOSE OF THE SPEECHES

1. WORDING

Scholars have thought that Hadrian's speeches, meant for the ears of soldiers, were brief, forceful, and direct²⁹⁰. They are not. The long list of reasons for slack training (field 2), the rambling remarks on the value of training itself (field 3), and the lengthy description of stones in the wall (field 10) are neither brief, forceful, nor direct. They are wittingly long-winded to show the emperor's concern and understanding²⁹¹ – so much so that wherever the speeches are indeed short, they must have been ruthlessly cut to fit the available space on the stones.

The Augustan History notes that Hadrian's Latin was artful; and Fronto calls Hadrian's harangues to his soldiers ›well-spoken‹²⁹². The introduction (field 1) must be right when it says that the words of the inscription are Hadrian's own; and the emperor, who wrote poems for his horse guard²⁹³, clearly thought that soldiers liked rhetorical flourishes. The fragments newly joined and the revised readings bear this out with examples unknown heretofore.

Like his favorite poet Ennius, Hadrian indulged in alliteration, assonance, and anaphora²⁹⁴, to which one may now add the newly restored instances of *satis speciose splendetis* (field 3), *acriter alacriter* (field 25), and *umquam sunt ulla* (field 26).

Hadrian's heaping of adjectives leaps to the eye from his best-known poem, in which he calls his soul *animula vagula blandula*, echoing *loca pallidula, rigida, nubila*²⁹⁵. Removing an unwarranted *-que* in field 10, our text restores such a flourish of heaped, asyndetic adjectives in which *lapidibus grandibus, gravibus, inaequalibus* matches *fossam glaria duram, scabram*.

Bonding with the troops, Hadrian used *vos* more often than any other word in these speeches. The high command, on the other hand, was the emperor's own. Catullinus, therefore, is *legatus meus*, while a unit officer belongs to the troops and thus is *praefectus vester*²⁹⁶.

The word *veh[ementius]* in field 22,6 is a new reading. Together with *acriter, alacriter, strenue, non languide*, and *fortiter*, it shows the wealth of Hadrian's vocabulary for the unflinching exertion he expected of soldiers.

At the end of a Roman speech, purple prose is in order. A full measure of this comes in field 26 where the newly restored *facienda umquam sunt ulla quam caute*, while ending in a common Hadrianic clausula of creticus and trachee²⁹⁷, nevertheless follows the forceful double negation *non potest quin* and sounds off in the alliterating double negation of *umquam* and *ulla*²⁹⁸. No less powerful is the end of the speech in field 30, with the restored reading *sub illo viro viri estis*. Coming from a Spanish-born emperor, these are perhaps not coincidentally mannerisms characteristic of Spanish literature in its Golden Age²⁹⁹.

²⁹⁰ Campbell 1984, 77 f. – with a list of words; Voisin 2003, 35.

²⁹¹ Hadrian's attention to minute detail was to broadcast his image as an expert in everything: *Historia Augusta*, ›Hadrian‹ 14,10; 15,10–13; 20,7.

²⁹² *Historia Augusta*, ›Hadrian‹ 3,1: ›Usque ad summam peritiam et facundiam Latinis operam dedit‹. Fronto, *Principia Historiae* 11, quoted above p. 3, note 3. Eutropius 8,7,2: ›Facundissimus Latino sermone‹.

²⁹³ Speidel 2005.

²⁹⁴ Such as *videt qua vadat* (field 26), *egistis --- complestis --- estis --- bastis --- saluistis* (field 29); *aut --- aut --- aut ---*

--- autem (field 6, lines 6–7) and (ibid) *difficilior --- difficultatis --- difficilibus difficillimum*. Also *exstrucxistis --- exstruitur --- struitur* (field 10), and *lapidibus grandibus, gravibus, inaequalibus* lines 6–7 (ibid, lines 4–6), or in field 29 *et hic agiliter et heri velociter*. Anaphora: the six *quod* in field 2. For alliteration, assonance, and anaphora see Wilkinson 1966, 25–31.

²⁹⁵ HA Hadrian 25, 9, see Birley 1997, 301.

²⁹⁶ Fields 26 and 29. Cf. Voisin 2003, 28.

²⁹⁷ Berthet 2003, 156.

²⁹⁸ Compare Ennius, *Annals* 5, 170: *umquam lex ulla iuberet*.

²⁹⁹ Curtius 1961, 272–305; cf. Wilkinson 1966, 31.

2. STRUCTURE

As recorded in the inscription, none of the speeches, whether to an ala, a cohort, or a legionary battle-line, takes more than a minute to read aloud. The troops will hardly have mustered on parade and the emperor will hardly have stood ceremoniously before them for a speech lasting a mere minute. If the abovementioned length of some passages, set against the brevity of others, is not proof enough that extensive cuts were made in the speeches, the overall shortness of the inscription surely is. The speeches written on the monument thus are certainly not, as has been suggested, a stenographic recording of what Hadrian said³⁰⁰. Yet their structure nevertheless reflects that of the spoken speeches, for, as we will see, they follow the order of cavalry maneuvers set forth in Arrian's *Tactica*.

The skill and courage of their men was the officers' responsibility and pride³⁰¹. Hence at the end of most speeches, Hadrian praises the officers: first Catullinus the commander-in-chief, then the unit's commander, whether a leading centurion (field 16), or a prefect of an auxiliary unit (fields 22, 26, and 30). In field 26, however, he inserts a lengthy criticism after the praise. In this way his praise was not marred by criticism, and the effect of the ensuing critique lasted longer.

The pluperfect subjunctives denoting a condition contrary to fact such as *excusatos vos haberem si quid in exercitatione cessasset* (field 2) and *si quit defuisset desiderarem, si quit eminuisset designarem* (field 29) reflect not only a form of speech but a structure of thought. Hadrian looks at the overall picture, finds everything as it ought to be, and says so in a way that shows he has weighed the alternatives.

In criticisms he includes lengthy explanations, removing thereby some of the sting while making the point more telling (fields 6, 21, and 26).

So shortened are the speeches that we often lack the context of Hadrian's remarks. For cavalry maneuvers, however, much of the context can be found in the *Tactica* which Hadrian's governor of Cappadocia, Arrian, wrote in AD 136, eight years after the emperor's visit to Lambaesis. According to Arrian, Roman cavalry maneuvers unfold in five phases after the riding-in (*decursiones*):

1. Games of skill (*dextratio*; *Cantabricus*), performed in piebald dress using light spears (ἄκόντια; *hastae*) (34–40).
2. Shooting exercises by individuals wearing cuirasses, using heavy spears (λόγγα; *lanceae*) (41–42).
3. Maneuvers with special weapons such as cross-bows, javelins, rocks, slings, *contus*-lances, and swords (43).
4. Exercises of jumping onto horses (43).
5. Maneuvers newly learned from foreigners like Persians, Sarmatians, and Germani (45)³⁰².

Some of Hadrian's puzzling remarks become understandable in the context of Arrian's phases. Thus in field 6, Hadrian says legionary horsemen should not have thrown spears while wearing cuirasses. This critique would be nonsense for phase 2 maneuvers, for all Roman horsemen fought in cuirasses. In the context of phase 1 maneuvers, however, it makes sense, for the games were performed in colorful light dress with the objective of achieving elegance. Another example is found in field 26 where Hadrian scorns counterwheelings that do not allow one to see where he goes. This would seem to contradict

³⁰⁰ Thus Gag  1952.

³⁰¹ Vegetius 2,9,7: *Ad praefecti laudem subiectorum redundare virtutem*. Speidel 1994, 109–116.

³⁰² Kiechle 1964 overlooks that by Κελτοί, Arrian means Germani; see Cheesman 1914; Speidel 1994, 113. *Dextratio*: Th. LL, s.v. Speidel 1996, 60.

Arrian's emphasis on the many figures the horsemen are to ride blindly following the leader's standard. But Arrian speaks of phase 1 maneuvers, while Hadrian is reviewing those in phase 3, for which his criticism is sound. Seen thus, Hadrian's rules for cavalry maneuvers are the same as Arrian's³⁰³.

In speeches on fields 25, 26, 29 and 30, Hadrian takes up Arrian's phase 3, training with special weapons such as lances, *missilia*-javelins, and stones hurled with slings. In doing so, his remarks follow the same sequence as Arrian's.

Phase 4, jumping onto the horses is for Arrian the last part of traditional maneuvers³⁰⁴. Hadrian too mentions it after the other phases of a maneuver (fields 29 and 30). More than any other piece of evidence, this proves that the African army followed the maneuver sequence set forth in Arrian's treatise³⁰⁵.

Phases 3 and 4 consist of traditional maneuvers, rightly so called by Arrian³⁰⁶. They are not, as some have said, a recent addition by Hadrian to make maneuvers more warlike³⁰⁷. Indeed the whole sequence of maneuvers –riding in with speed or artful wheeling, circling right and left for spear throwing, wielding heavy spears, hurling stones – was in place already in Augustus' time³⁰⁸. Emperors, however, prescribed only phases 1 and 2 for all units, leaving individual troops to choose the phase 3 and 4 skills in which they wanted to excel. This explains why Hadrian says in field 30 ›you added rock-slinging and dart-throwing‹. The Roman army clearly was not over-regulated in its fighting techniques: there was room for initiative and innovation, which seems to be one reason for its success.

Phase 4, charging with a very long thrusting *contus*-lance³⁰⁹, may have been more appropriate for troops on the northern and eastern frontiers, but the African army trained in such attacks as well: fragment 38 (field 25) mentions the weapon. It was very likely a charge with the *contus* that Hadrian wanted to see unmarred by counterwheelings (fields 25–26). The men he criticised there failed not at a prescribed standard maneuver –how could they! – but at an additional maneuver chosen by their commander.

Even though horse, like foot, also went on field maneuvers (field 10), both Arrian's *Tactica* and Hadrian's speeches describe only their formation and shooting skills on the training ground, not their field maneuvers³¹⁰. The reason for this may be that cavalry drill was best seen from the grandstand at the parade ground, while infantry field maneuvers were best watched from horseback in the field³¹¹. It may be for the same reason that we hear much of the infantry's dramatic field maneuvers but nothing of their formation or shooting drills on the parade ground.

³⁰³ Bosworth 1993, 259: ›Striking agreement in content, notably the concealed approach (*e tecto*) and the so-called ›Cantabrian attack‹. Contra: Kiechle 1964, 91 and 123 ff.; Perez-Castro 1982; Bishop 1990, note 47. Cf. Voisin 2003, 33 f.

³⁰⁴ Arrian, *Tactica* 43, 3 and 4.

³⁰⁵ Horsmann 1991, 159 f.

³⁰⁶ Arrian, *Tactica* 43,1; 44,1.

³⁰⁷ Contra Kiechle 1964, 103; 105.

³⁰⁸ Tibullus 3,8, 91–97.

³⁰⁹ Arrian, *Tactica* 43,2: ἐπελαύνουσιν.

³¹⁰ Even the attack maneuvers of field 26 were done on the parade ground.

³¹¹ Arrian's cavalry maneuvers are also watched from a grandstand (*Tactica* 34,1: βῆμα), while Hadrian's coin for the Mauretanian army shows him on horseback, speaking to troops on foot.

3. PURPOSE

The inscription shows Hadrian fulfilling a Roman commander's duties, which were, according to Pliny, to ›look after construction works, be present at maneuvers, and see that men, weapons, and walls work‹³¹². His speeches were to heighten the skill and morale of men and officers. Tireless training of body and mind was always the Roman army's main source of strength³¹³, but Hadrian, more than any other emperor, strove for all-round combat-readiness through *disciplina*, a broader concept than today's ›military discipline‹, for it stressed skill rather than behavior³¹⁴. It seems to have worked. Hadrian's cult of *Disciplina* kept his army focused on battle readiness, unlike parallel exercise games in Han China that became ritualized performances seeking sanction and help from the gods³¹⁵.

Having rewritten Augustus' empire-wide standards for maneuvers³¹⁶, Hadrian held the troops to these standards. Hence, when he came to inspect the African army, officers and men must have done their outmost to put the parade grounds in shape, to hone their skills, to outfit themselves, and to perform for the emperor at a very high level. Indeed, Hadrian found field maneuvers so crucial to battle readiness that he himself marched the prescribed twenty miles under arms as an example to his men³¹⁷. He looked upon maneuvers as training for what had to be done against the foe: *tamquam adversus hosti facienda* (field 26). And though the prescribed standard maneuvers (Arrian's phases 1 and 2), were not mock battles but games, Hadrian had them done with battle in mind. He praises a maneuver for being an image of battle (field 26), as does Arrian in his *Tactica*³¹⁸. While Hadrian would not beset a training field with pitfalls or hidden trenches to forestall counterwheelings, he nevertheless wanted officers to be aware of traps and trenches as they designed the maneuvers.

Even the elegance Hadrian sought (fields 9 and 29) is not so much the mark of hellenizing taste, as has been said, than a tool for efficiency – as it was in military exercises in the Republic, in Han China, and among ancient Germanic warriors³¹⁹. Everywhere training led to skill, and skill to grace³²⁰. Hence striving for grace heightened skill. The same goes for spit and polish of which Hadrian speaks as highly as he speaks of deft action (field 3): it too heightened fighting efficiency, Hadrian's main purpose, which he truly achieved.

³¹² Pliny, *Panegyric* 18,1: ›Instant operibus, adsunt exercitacionibus, arma, moenia, viros aptant‹. Fronto, *Principia Historiae* 8 (Van den Hout 19): ›Spectandis in campo militibus operam dare‹.

³¹³ Quintilian 3,14,55: ›Non enim nobis aut multitudo maior est quam ceteris gentibus aut vebementiora corpora quam vel his ecce Cimbris aut maiores opes quam locupletissimis regnis aut mortis contemptus facilior quam plerisque barbaris causam vitae non habentibus; principes nos facit severitas institutorum, ordo militiae, amor quidam laboris et cotidiana exercitatione assidua belli meditatio‹. Horsmann 1991. For the relation of *virtus* and *disciplina* in earlier times see Lendon 2005. Josephus, *Jewish War* 3,72–75 and many other sources refute Levi's 1994 opinion that Hadrian was the first to institute intensive peacetime training, cf. Speidel 1994, 109–116.

³¹⁴ Cassius Dio 69,9,3; 78,27,1–28,1; 80,4; *Historia Augusta*, *Hadrian* 10; Eutropius 8,7,2. Le Bohec 1989b, 120 ff. Horsmann 1991, 184; Ziolkowski 1992.

³¹⁵ ›Ritualized‹: Bishop 1990, 25. China: Lewis 1990, 137–163.

³¹⁶ Horsmann 1991, 103.

³¹⁷ *Historia Augusta*, ›Hadrian‹ 10: *Exemplo virtutis suae ceteros adhortatus cum etiam vicena milia pedibus armatus ambularet*. Twenty or 24 miles: Vegetius 1,9,3; 1,27,2.

³¹⁸ Arrian, *Tactica* 42,5; cf. Josephus, *Jewish War* 3,75; Vegetius 1,13,2. The relation between sports game and war maneuver is well described by Kiechle 1964, 127.

³¹⁹ Hellenizing: Le Glay 1977, 556. Efficiency: Valerius Maximus 2,3,2: ›Armorum tractandorum meditatio a P. Rutilio consule Cn. Malli collega militibus est tradita: is enim nullius ante se imperatoris exemplum secutus ex ludo C. Aureli Scauri doctoribus gladiatorum arcessitis uitandi atque inferendi ictus subtiliorem rationem legionibus ingeneravit uirtutemque arti et rursus artem uirtuti miscuit, ut illa impetu huius fortior, haec illius scientia cautiore fieret‹. Kiechle 1964, 106. Republic: Livy 44,9,5: ›Simulacrum decurrentis exercitus erat, ex parte elegantioris quam militaris artis, propiorque gladiatorum armorum usus‹. China: Kolb 1991, 156 f. Germanic warriors: Speidel 2004, 117 and see next note.

³²⁰ Tacitus, *Germania* 24,1 ›exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorem‹. Cf. Quinilian 9,4,8.

CONCLUSION

The work in hand restores the overall structure of the inscription of Hadrian's speeches on the parade-ground monument in Lambaesis. It also identifies the structures of fields 3, 21–22, and 25–26, revises 56 individual readings, and joins 32 hitherto loose fragments. The gain may be gauged by comparing the list of Hadrian's own words drawn up in 2003, which had 210 entries, with our list that has 739³²². The newly recovered structures, words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs, make this a new text.

Several of Hadrian's stylistic flourishes appear here for the first time, as does his attitude toward army training (field 2) that is altogether different from what scholars have believed so far. New are also his guiding principle of guardedness in battle (field 26), and his resounding purple rhetoric at the end of a speech (field 30).

Some discoveries are colorful indeed, such as the shooting of flights of arrows against a distant foe, and the only known instance of Roman bowmen defending their battle line in close fighting as they keep the enemy from raising their heads above the shields (field 22). The use of Molossi watch-dogs at field fortifications is new (fragment 54), as are the training of horsemen with *contus*-lances against targets and their straight attack maneuver (field 25–26). Surprisingly, Hadrian addressed the three battle lines of the legion (*pili*, *principes*, and *hastati*) one by one.

The inscription, I hope, will yield many further insights as it becomes the object of other studies. Here, the foremost concern has been to restore the text.

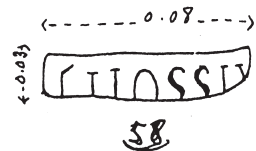
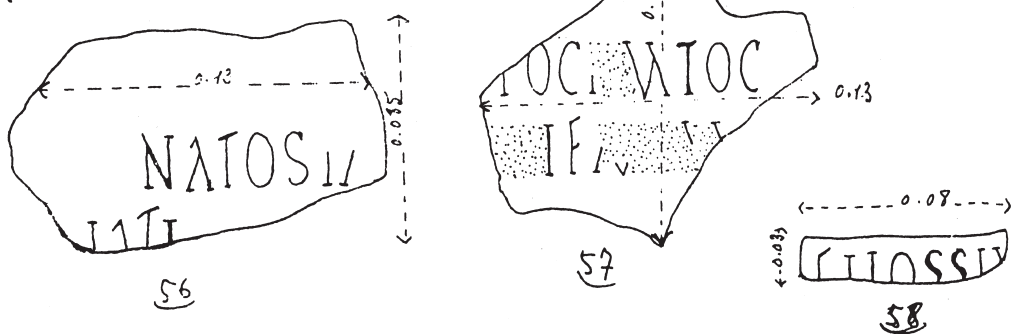
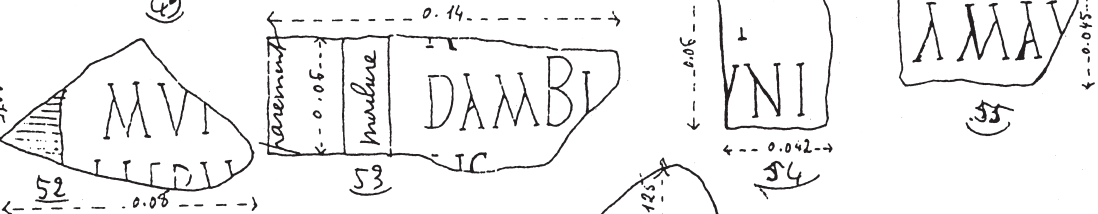
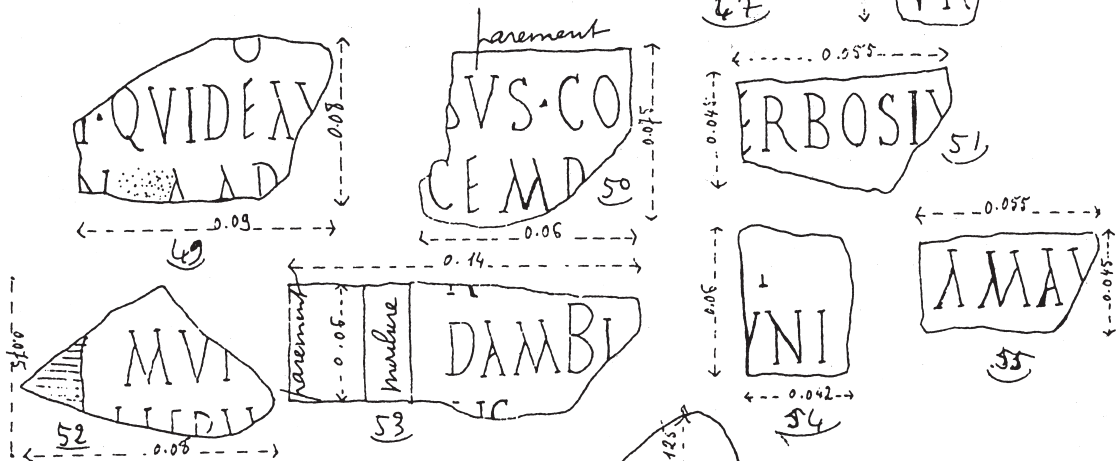
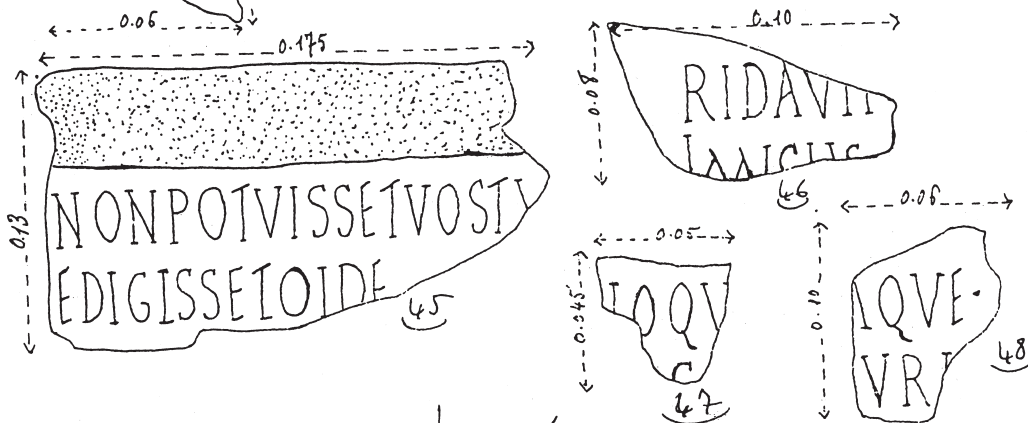
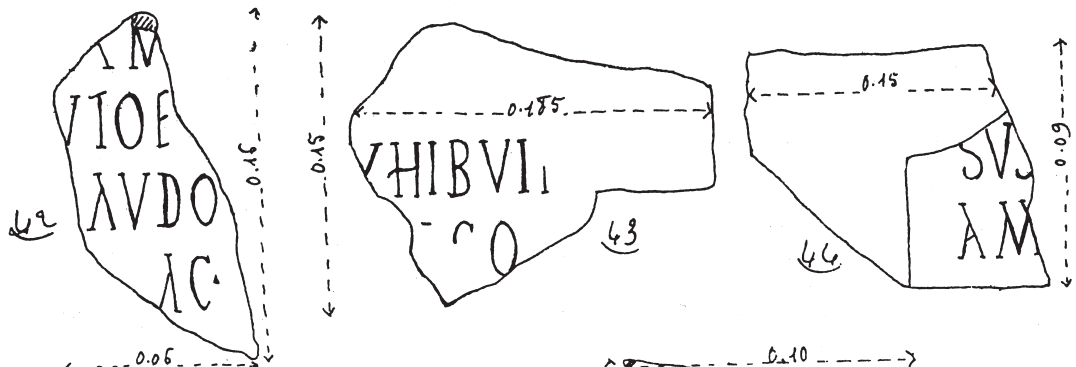
³²² Le Bohec's 2003, 167 f.

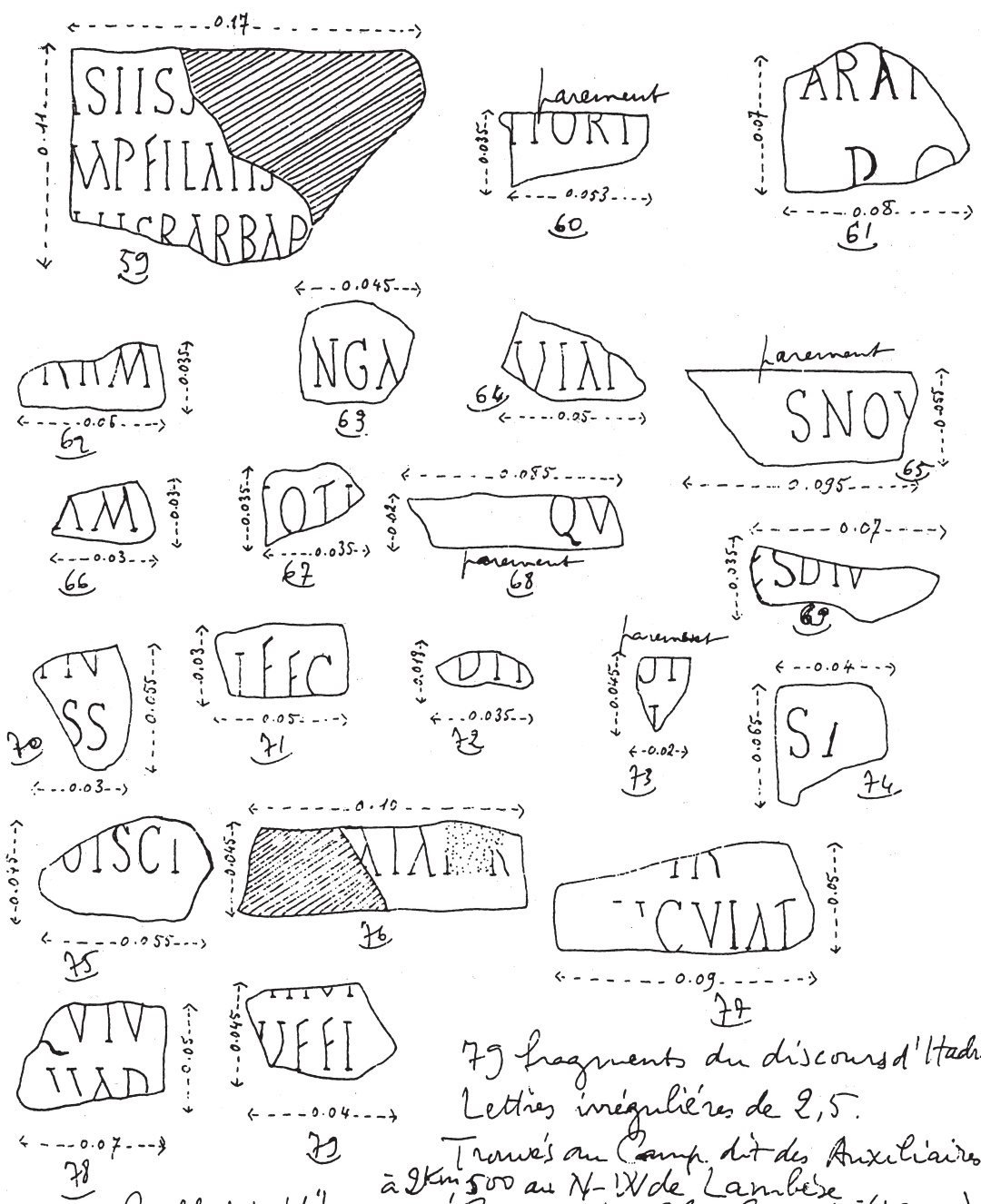
BACK MATTER

1. GODET'S 1940 DRAWINGS

79 fragments du discours d'Hadrien, copiés en 1940 par Chr. Godet

1 TORIBV
 2 SSILIBVS
 3 COMMODV
 4 TISS
 5 MAV
 RAN
 6 QVOQVE
 7 M·Q
 8 OE·REC·TE
 9 DIT
 ISTI
 10 ITERET
 11 OITVQVE
 RSENTES
 12 VSLR
 AEEENVA
 13 ITITATES
 14 IVZ
 TIQV
 15 OM·RIT
 TVM·AERI
 16 VHASIA
 17 RSINGV
 18 IDIT
 A·S·QV
 19 SAGITA
 20 OSSAMITS
 21 TMI
 IS
 22 PIDI
 TRA
 23 SITPER
 24 FLCON
 TITSV
 25
 26





semblent inédits

79 fragments du discours d'Hadrien,
 Lettres irrégulières de 2,5.
 Trouvés au Camp dit des Auxiliaires
 à 2 km 500 au N-NW de Lambèse
 Copie de Ch. Godet. (1940).

2. LIST OF FRAGMENTS

The small fragments published by Héron de Villefosse are labeled HdV, those known from the drawings of Godet (see pages 93–96) are labeled G.

Fragment	Field	Publication
1–6		HdV 1899; AE 1900,33; Leschi 1957,198 f.; Wolff 2003, 80 f.
7		unpublished
8e	1	HdV 1899; AE1900,34; HdV 1903,81; Dessau 9133; Berthet 2003, 81
9e	2	CIL VIII 2532 Ab; 18042 Ab; Dessau 2487; Berthet 2003, 82
10	2	HdV 1899, 49
10a	2	G 23
11	2	HdV 1899, 45
12	3	G 59
13	3	unpublished
14	3	HdV 1899, 1
15	3	HdV 1899, 40
16	3	CIL VIII 2532 E; 18042 F; Le Bohec 2003, 101
17	3	unpublished
18(e)	6	CIL VIII 2532B,a; 18042 B,a; Dessau 2487; Lassère 2003, 84
19	6	HdV 1899, 39
20	7	CIL VIII 18042 E; Le Bohec 2003, 101
21	9	G 39
22	9	HdV 1899, 35
18(n)	10	CIL 2532 Bb; 18042 Bb; Dessau 2487; Berthet 2003, 87 ff.
23	p. 66	HdV 1899, 4
24	p. 66	G 29
25	13	HdV 1898, 379 (K); Le Bohec 2003, 62; 102
26	13	G 15
27	16	HdV 1899, 2; Dessau 9135a
28	19	HdV, BASF 1898, 379 (H); Le Bohec 2003, 62; 102
29	19	HdV, BASF 1898, 379 (I); Le Bohec 2003, 62; 102
30	19	G 19
31	19	G 53
32	20	HdV 1899, 33–34; Dessau 9135
33	21	CIL VIII 2532 C; 18042 Db; Le Bohec 1989a, 83; Wolff 2003, 95 f.
34w	22	CIL VIII 2532 Da; 18042 Ca; Le Bohec 2003, 99 ff.
35	22	HdV 1899, 8
36	22	HdV 1899, 23
37	22	HdV 1899, 6
38	25	HdV 1899, 46
38a	25	G 11
39	25	HdV 1899, 36
40	25	G 45
34s	26	CIL VIII 2532 Db; 18042 Cb; Dessau 2487; Wolff 2003, 97 ff.
41	26	G 24
42	26	G 33

Fragment	Field	Publication
43	26	G 70
44	26	HdV 1899, 5
8s	29	HdV 1899 CXCVIII; AE 1900, 34; HdV 1903, 196; Dessau 9134; Lassère 2003, 90 ff.
9s	30	CIL VIII 2532Aa; 18042 Aa; Dessau 9134; Lassère 2003, 90 ff.
45	p. 67 f.	G 61
46		HdV 1899, 42
47		HdV 1899, 37
48		HDV 1899, 21
49		HdV 1899, 26
50		HdV 1899, 3 and HdV 1898 378(J) = Le Bohec 2003 62; cf. 102, 104
51		G 30
52		G 54
53		G 9
54		HdV 1899, 7
55		HdV 1899, 38
56		G 42
57		HdV 1899, 22
58		G 57
59		G 65
60		HdV 1899, 48
61		HdV 1899, 41
62		HdV 1899, 43
63		G 36
64		G 55
65		G 43
66		G 35
67		HdV 1899, 9
68		G 75
69		HdV 19
70		G 21
71		CIL 18042 G; Le Bohec 2003, 101 f.
72		HdV 1899, 12
73		G 12
74		G 38
75		G 16
76		HdV 1899, 24
77		G 20
78		G 34
79		unpublished
80		unpublished
81		HdV 1898, 379 L = Le Bohec 2003, 62 and 102 f.
82		G 50
83		G 18
84		G 22
85		G 8
86		G 6
87		G 40

Fragment	Field	Publication
88		unpublished
89		HdV 1899, 16
90		G 49
91		G 46
92		G 37
93		HdV 1899, 17
94		G 48
95		HdV 1899, 25
96		unpublished
97		G 56
98		G 44
99		unpublished
100		HdV 1899, 29
101		HdV 1899, 30
102		G 28
103		G 14
104		HdV 1899, 10

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Abbreviations:

AE L'Année Épigraphique

ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (Festschrift J. Vogt), Berlin 1972 ff.

BCTH Bulletin du Comité des Travaux Historiques

CIL Theodor Mommsen et al. (ed.), Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (1862 ff.).

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Seeking peace through strength, emperor Hadrian (117-139) went to Numidia in summer 128 to review the fighting skills of Rome's African army. In speeches to the troops, he reviewed the maneuvers he witnessed. Afterwards the army recorded the speeches in an inscription on the parade ground at Lambaesis. Though shortened and broken by gaps, these are the only surviving speeches of an ancient emperor to his soldiers. As our liveliest, richest, and most authentic source for understanding the training and fighting skills of the Roman army, they offer unparalleled insight.

Hadrian, accomplished expert on military matters, spoke from experience: he had seen and evaluated countless maneuvers. Coins show him greeting the armies of nearly all frontier provinces, and a passage by Fronto, written not long afterwards, implies that he made the round of the troops to inspect their maneuvers and address them with a critique thereof.

Among military classics, Hadrian's speeches lack Sun Tzu's intricacy and Clausewitz' wealth of detail. But these authors wrote for generals, while Hadrian spoke to soldiers. In the wonted way of mixing critique with praise, his words show leadership in action: they build morale while driving home advice and criticism; they acknowledge skill and eagerness, rewarding them with honor as well as material goods; they deftly retell and praise great deeds. Not theoretical reflections, they are the words spoken to his soldiers by the emperor of three continents.

To recover as much of Hadrian's speeches as possible from the wreck and ruin of time is the purpose of this book. It is for the reader to judge its success in restoring the structure of the inscription and in recreating a coherent text. The effort itself has been breathtaking: nothing compares with hearing Hadrian's words ring again, down through the millennia.