HADRIAN'S TRAVELS

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Hadrian's predecessors travelled outside Italy mostly for military reasons. Thus Augustus, in Spain 27-24 BC, in the east 22-19 BC, in Gaul and Spain 16-13 BC and again in Gaul 11-10 and 8 BC, even if after the first journey his participation in the campaigns was indirect. Caligula's brief visit to Sicily in AD 38 was an exception, but his journey to Germany and the Channel coast in 39-40 was certainly military in purpose, as was Claudius' British expedition, 43-44. Nero's 'cultural' expedition to Greece in 66-67 is the major exception. Domitian left Italy exclusively for military purposes, in 83, 85-86, 89 and 92-93, likewise Trajan, first his tour of Rhine and Danube in 98-99, then his two Dacian wars, 101-102 and 105-106, and his Parthian war, 113-117.¹ One must exclude journeys from the provinces to Rome by emperors after their proclamation: Galba in 68, Vitellius in 69, Vespasian in 70—but Trajan's circuitous and long drawn out route from Cologne to Rome in 98-99 is slightly different: he evidently felt confident enough not to go straight to the capital, instead inspecting the northern military provinces.

Hadrian's return to Rome after his accession took eleven months, much longer than it might have, had the situation been peaceful: the military crisis necessitated his presence in the Danube-Balkan region. The first great provincial tour, beginning in 121, could be seen as aimed at Britain, where a revolt had been in progress; and the western part ended with an action in Mauretania, for which the senate decreed *supplicationes*. Further, in 123 the move from Spain or Mauretania to Syria was occasioned by the sudden threat of war with Parthia, to judge from a drastically abbreviated passage in the *Historia Augusta* (12.8-13.1). But the diplomatic resolution of this crisis, backed by a show of force, was marked by the closing of Janus, it may be conjectured: hence, at least until 132, his further journeys were not necessitated by military considerations.² Hadrian stayed in the east until 125, in 128 leaving Italy again, for Africa, followed, after a brief stay in Rome, by the second eastern tour, concluded at earliest in 132.

¹ For details see H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich* (Stuttgart 1986), 157 ff. (Augustus); 166 ff. (Caligula); 172 f. (Claudius); 173 ff. (Nero); 181 ff. (Domitian); 184 ff. (Trajan). This work is fundamental for imperial journeys.

² Coins at this time show Janus: *British Museum Catalogue of Coins in the Roman Empire* III (London 1936) 254; 437. Not recorded in the meagre literary sources.

The evidence for his prolonged absences, and, in broad terms, the areas visited, is clear enough. In the main sources, Dio and the *Historia Augusta*, Hadrian is portrayed as the ‘Reisekaiser’ *par excellence*, with some suggestions as to his motives. Help is given by the commemorative coin issues, which show his *adventus* in many cases, or his addresses to provincial armies, and by a mass of documentary evidence. The devil is in the detail. The first to tackle this was a French cleric, in 1842. He gave particular attention to the coinage, but confessed that he could not attempt a “classement chronologique de ces voyages”.³ Gregorovius’ attractive volume, a few years later, was a cultural history of Hadrian’s time for the general reader rather than an academic work.⁴ Serious analysis of the epigraphic evidence began with Dürre in 1881.⁵ Four dissertations followed between 1890 and 1907, the later ones influenced by the new approach to the *Historia Augusta* initiated by Dessau in 1889; the best was the last, by Weber, in some respects still not replaced.⁶ Nothing significant was added in the monograph of 1923 by Henderson, who, it is strange, completely ignored Weber,⁷ but the study of the coinage by Strack soon provided some welcome precision.⁸ It was over fifty years before Halfmann, in a general work on all imperial journeys, corrected a number of items in Weber’s dissertation in the light of new evidence.⁹ Some uncertainties remain, e.g. whether Hadrian stopped anywhere between Spain and Syria in 123 and over the date of his return from his last journey and, closely connected, whether or not he was present at the front during the Jewish War.¹⁰

³ J.-G.-H. Greppo, *Mémoire sur les voyages de l’Empereur Hadrien* (Paris 1842), 46.

⁴ F. Gregorovius, *Der Kaiser Hadrian. Gemälde der römisch-hellenischen Welt zu seiner Zeit* (Stuttgart 1851, 3rd ed. 1884; English translation 1898).

⁵ J. Dürre, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian* (Vienna 1881).

⁶ H. Dessau, ‘Über Zeit und Persönlichkeit der *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*’, *Hermes* 24 (1889), 337–392; J. Plew, *Quellenuntersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian* (Strassburg 1890); O.Th. Schulz, *Leben des Kaisers Hadrian* (Leipzig 1904); E. Kornemann, *Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker Roms* (Leipzig 1905); W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig 1907).

⁷ B.W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian AD 76–138* (London 1923).

⁸ P.L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des 2. Jhdts. II. Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Hadrian* (Stuttgart 1933).

⁹ Halfmann 1968, op.cit. (n.1), 188–210 (further references to Hadrian elsewhere in the work).

¹⁰ Against Halfmann 1968, op.cit. (n.1), 209 f., denying that Dio 69.14.3 implies Hadrian’s presence at the front: R. Syme, ‘Journeys of Hadrian’, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 73 (1988), 159–170, at 165 ff. = id., *Roman Papers VI* (Oxford 1991) 346–357, at 353 ff.; T.D. Barnes, ‘Emperors on the move’, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2 (1989), 247–261, at 254; V. Rosenberger, *Bella et expeditiones. Die antike Terminologie der Kriege Roms* (Stuttgart 1992), 97 ff.; A.R. Birley, *Hadrian the restless emperor* (London 1997), 272 f.; 352 n. 38. The argument depends on the term *expeditio* in inscriptions of

The *HA, Hadrianus*, our fullest source, offers the following details on Hadrian's travels:

117-118 5.10 Antiochiam regressus praepositoque Syriae Catilio Severo per Illyricum Romam venit. 6.6 audito dein tumultu Sarmatarum et Roxalanorum praemissis exercitibus Moesiam petit. 7.3 Romam venit...

119 9.6 summotis his a praefectura, quibus debebat imperium, Campaniam petit...

121: 10.1 post haec profectus in Gallias... 10.2 inde in Germaniam transiit...

122 11.2 ergo conversis regio more militibus Britanniam petit... 12.1 compositis in Britannia rebus transgressus in Galliam...

123 12.3 post haec Hispanias petit et Tarracone hiemavit... 12.7 motus Maurorum compressit et a senatu supplicationes emeruit. 12.8 bellum Parthorum per idem tempus in motu tantum fuit, idque Hadriani conloquio repressum est. [Nothing is said about Hadrian's journey from Spain to Syria]

124 13.1 post haec per Asiam et insulas ad Achaiam navigavit...

125 13.3 post in Siciliam navigavit... 13.4 inde Romam venit atque [jumping over an interval of three years]

128 ex ea in Africam transiit... 13.6 denique cum post Africam Romam redisset, statim ad orientem profectus per Athenas iter fecit...

129 per Asiam iter faciens templa sui nominis consecravit. 13.7 deinde a Capadocibus servitia castris profutura suscepit. 13.8 toparchas et reges ad amicitiam invitavit... 13.9 cumque ad eum quidam reges venissent... 13.10 et circumiens quidem provincias procuratores et praesides pro factis supplicio adfecit...

130 14.1 Antiochenses inter haec ita odio habuit... 14.2 moverunt ea tempestate et Iudaei bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia [apparently misplaced]. 14.3 sed in monte Casio, cum videndi solis ortus gratia nocte ascendisset... 14.4 peragrata Arabia Pelusium venit... 14.5 Antinoum suum, dum per Nilum navigat, perdidit... At this point the *Historia Augusta* abandons its (drastically compressed) chronological narrative until 23.1, which begins the account of the succession crisis of 136-138.

At a few points between 14.5 and 23.1 the travels are mentioned again:

16.3 Floro poetae scribenti ad se:

ego nolo C<a>esar esse,

participants in the Jewish War (as in other imperial campaigns) meaning that the emperor had been present in person, so Rosenberger 133-140. For support of Halfmann's view: G. Alföldy, commentary on *CIL* VI 40524 (= 974).

ambulare per Brittanos
 <latitare per --->
 Scythicas pati <p>ruinas
 Rescripsit ego nolo Florus esse,
 ambulare per tabernas,
 latitare per popinas
 culices pati rotundos.¹¹

19.3 Athenis mille ferarum venationem in stadio exhibuit.

20.2 apud Alexandriam in musio multas quaestiones professoribus proposuit et propositas ipse dissolvit.

20.13 oppidum Hadrianotheras in quodam loco, quod illic et feliciter esset venatus et ursam occidisset aliquando, constituit.

22.11 causas Romae atque in provinciis frequenter audivit adhibitis in consilio suo consulibus atque praetoribus et optimis senatoribus.

22.14 quando in Africam venit, ad adventum eius post quinquennium pluit, atque ideo ab Africanis dilectus est.

What survives of Dio, mainly in Xiphilinus' *epitome*, is less detailed. First, in 69.5.2-3, a general statement: "He subjected the legions to very strict discipline ... and assisted the allied and provincial cities very generously. Indeed, he saw many of them—more than any other emperor". A little later, the remark that "both at Rome and abroad he always kept the noblest men about him" (69.7.3) is a reminder that a *comitatus* was with him on his travels. These passages come in what Dio calls, in 69.8.1¹, "a kind of preface", followed by a sadly abbreviated narrative of events (69.8.1² ff). The account of his travels occupies 69.9.1-12.3, with one later reference, to his presiding at the Athenian Dionysia (69.16.1). The main stress is on the restoration of discipline (9.1-6, quoted below), recalling *HA*, *Hadrianus* 10.2-11.2, with a few further details, such as his not visiting his *patria* (Italica) (69.10.1), his founding of Hadrianutherae after his hunt (69.10.2), his admission to the Mysteries (69.10.3²), his passage from Judaea into

¹¹ W.D. Lebek, 'Florus und Hadrian: *Ego nolo Caesar esse*', *Wiener Studien* 114 (2001), 419-442, at 438 restores Florus' poem differently:

Ego nolo Caesar esse,
 ambulare per Batauos
 <equitare>are per Britannos,
 Scythicas pati <p>ruinas

He interprets *Scythicas* simply as 'very cold', as 'Siberian' is used today, not as referring to Hadrian's presence in 'Scythia', i.e. around the Danube delta, in 118.

Egypt and the death of Antinous (69.11.1 ff.) his refoundation of Jerusalem and the ensuing Jewish revolt (69.12.1-14.3). Combining all sources, Hadrian's movements may be tabulated as follows:¹²

117 Antioch - Cilicia - Antioch (*HA, Hadrianus* 5.9-10); Antioch - Tarsus (12 October) - Mopsucrene (13 October) - Panhormus (14 October) - Aquae Calidae (15 October) - Tynna (16 October) - Tyana (17 October) - Andabalis (18 October)¹³ - Ancyra - Juliopolis (11 November)¹⁴ - winter at Nicomedia? and/or Byzantium?

118 Thrace - Moesia Inferior (*HA, Hadrianus* 6.6-8) - Dacia - Moesia Superior - Pannonia¹⁵ - Italy - Rome (9 July).¹⁶

119 Rome - Campania (*HA, Hadrianus* 9.6) - Rome.

120 Rome.

121 Rome - Gaul (*HA, Hadrianus* 10.1)¹⁷ - Germania Superior (*HA, Hadrianus* 10.2 ff.) - Raetia - Noricum - Raetia¹⁸ - Germania Superior.

122 Germania Inferior - Britain (*HA, Hadrianus* 11.2; 12.1)¹⁹ - Gaul (*HA, Hadrianus* 12.1).

123 Gaul (Nemausus, Apta)²⁰ - Spain (Tarraco) (*HA, Hadrianus* 12.3-5) - Legio²¹ - Mauretania Tingitana? (*HA, Hadrianus* 12.7) - ?Africa -

¹² The items cited here are mostly those with explicit evidence for Hadrian's presence, especially when dated. Reference to the coins registering Hadrian's *adventus* and addresses to various *exercitus* are only mentioned where they provide the sole evidence.

¹³ The itinerary for 12-18 October AD 117 is based on von Domaszewski's conjecture ap. Weber 1907, op.cit. (n.6), 57 f. that the list of places with dates in *CIL* VI 5076 represents Hadrian's route.

¹⁴ IGR IV 349 = E.M. Smallwood, *Documents illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian* (Cambridge 1966), no. 61.

¹⁵ Philostratus, *Vitae sophistarum* 2.14; Dio 69.9.6; *ILS* 2558 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 336, interpreted by M.P. Speidel, 'Swimming the Danube under Hadrian's eyes. A feat of the emperor's Batavi horse guards', *Ancient Society* 22 (1991), 277-282. Cf. generally *HA, Hadrianus* 5.10: *per Illyricum Romam venit*.

¹⁶ The *Acta Arvalium* (Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), 21 f.) date his arrival after 30 May 118, see Weber 1907, op.cit. (n.6), 81 f. (restoring *VI I[ulius]*).

¹⁷ His departure was in 121: he was called proconsul in that year, Weber 1907, op.cit. (n.6), 99, presumably after he renewed the Parilia festival on 21 April: Strack 1933, op.cit. (n.8), 102 ff.

¹⁸ The only evidence for Hadrian's visits to Raetia and Noricum is the coins showing him addressing their armies and, for Noricum, his *adventus*: Strack 1933, op.cit. (n.8), 139 ff.

¹⁹ Other evidence for Hadrian in Britain: Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 123 ff. and Appendix, below.

²⁰ Nemausus: he began a basilica there in memory of Plotina: *HA, Hadrianus* 12.2; Dio 69.10.2-3a. She was still alive in 123, *CIL* XV 691 ff.: H. Temporini, *Die Frauen am Hofe Traians. Ein Beitrag zur Stellung der Augustae im Prinzipat* (Berlin 1978), 11 ff.; M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (Ier-IIe siècles)* (Louvain 1984), no. 631. Apta: *CIL* XII 1122 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 520, not dated, but cf. *HA, Hadrianus* 20.12.

²¹ His presence at the legionary base seems guaranteed by the *exercitus Hispanicus* coins: *British Museum Catalogue* III, op.cit. (n.2), 501.

?Cyrenaica - ?Crete - ?Cyprus²² - Syria (Antioch) - Euphrates (*HA, Hadrianus* 13.1) - Cappadocia (Neocaesarea - Trapezus) - Pontus/Bithynia (Nicomedia?)²³ - Thrace.

124 Asia²⁴: conjectured route: Cyzicus - Ilium (Philostratus, *Heroicus* 288) - Hadrianutherae (*HA, Hadrianus* 20.13; Dio 69.10.2) - Pergamum?²⁵ - Thyatira - Saittae²⁶ - Sardis²⁷ - Smyrna²⁸ - Erythrae²⁹ - Ephesus (29.08.)³⁰ - Rhodes³¹ - Athens and Eleusis (*HA, Hadrianus* 13.1) - Peloponnese:³² Megara - Epidaurus - Troezen - Hermione - Argos? (Dec. 124?).

125 Mantinea - Tegea - Sparta - Corinth - Athens (Dionysia in March: *HA, Hadrianus* 13.1; Dio 69.16.1) - Thespieae - Coronea - Abae - Hyampolis - Delphi - Dyrrachium (20 May?)³³ - Sicily (Etna) (*HA, Hadrianus* 13.3) - Rome - Tibur (between 14 August and 12 September)³⁴ - Rome.

²² It is often denied, e.g. by Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 197, that he landed anywhere between Spain and Syria in 123, let alone that he conducted operations in Mauretania, or stopped in North Africa, Crete and Cyprus on his way to the east. For Cyrene, see J.H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri* (Philadelphia 1989), no. 122. For Crete Strack 1933, op.cit. (n.8) 77. See further Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 151 ff.

²³ Neocaesarea was named in Phlegon's *Olympiads*, see Weber 1907, op.cit. (n.6), 265, inferring a visit, dated by Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 198, to AD 123, rather than 131, as Weber. Trapezus: Arrian, *Periplus* 1. Nicomedia: *Chronicon Paschale* I 475, cf. Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 198 f.

²⁴ The reconstruction of the route for the first two thirds of this year, beginning in Thrace and going from there into Asia, including Ionia, Lydia and Phrygia, depends on the improved Arabic text supplied by G.W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969), 120 ff., of Polemo's *Physiognomica*, ed. G. Hoffmann (Leipzig 1893), 138 ff. It is not necessary, however, to infer that Hadrian travelled from Spain to Syria 'by way of the Balkans'; and most of the journey described by Polemo may be assigned not to AD 123, as Bowersock supposes, but to 124. Further details: Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 191; 199; Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 162 ff.

²⁵ *JGR* IV 351, Pergamum, calling Hadrian a god 'most manifest', implies his presence.

²⁶ P. Weiss, 'Hadrian in Lydien', *Chiron* 25 (1995), 213-224, a city coin registering Hadrian's *adventus*.

²⁷ Guaranteed by Bowersock's emendation 1969, op.cit. (n.24), 122, of Polemo, *Physiognomica*, not discussed by Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1).

²⁸ A stay at Smyrna is virtually certain: Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 200.

²⁹ *JGR* IV 1542, Erythrae: a 'Great Hadrianic landing festival'.

³⁰ M. Wörle, *Stadt und Fest im kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* (Munich 1988) includes Hadrian's reply to Oenoanda, written at Ephesus on that day.

³¹ *HA, Hadrianus* 13.1; Polemo, *Physiognomica* 138, as emended by Bowersock 1969, op.cit. (n.24), 120 ff.; Malalas, *Chronographia* 279; *Inchriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, Ephesos* nos. 1487-1488, interpreted by T. Drew-Bear, F. Richard, 'Hadrien et Erastos, naulère d'Ephèse', in: Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *L'Afrique, la Gaule, la Religion à l'époque romaine. Mélanges à la mémoire de M. Le Glay* II (Brussels 1994), 742-751.

³² For the places visited in Greece the best evidence is in Pausanias, augmented by some inscriptions: Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 191 f.; 202 f.; Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 175 ff.

³³ A letter to Heraclea Lyncestis from an emperor, name not preserved, written at Dyrrachium on 20 May, year not preserved, is plausibly assigned to Hadrian in 125: Oliver 1989, op.cit. (n.22), no. 56; cf. Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 203; Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 189.

³⁴ He wrote to Delphi from Tibur between these dates: Oliver 1989, op.cit. (n.22), no. 74 bis.

126 Rome (11 February, 1 March).³⁵

127 Rome - (from 3 March) *Italia circum[padana]* - Rome (1 August).³⁶

128 Rome - Sicily - Africa (*HA, Hadrianus* 13.4 f.)³⁷ - Numidia: Lambaesis (1 July) - Zarai (7 July) - unknown *castellum* (12/13 July)³⁸ - Mauretania - Rome (*HA, Hadrianus* 13.6) - Athens (September)³⁹ - Sparta⁴⁰ - Athens.

129 Athens - Eleusis - Ephesus⁴¹ - Miletus⁴² - Lycia (Patara)⁴³ - Maeander valley - Tralles - Laodicea on the Lycus (29 June)⁴⁴ - Apamea/Phrygia (23 July)⁴⁵ - Melissa⁴⁶ - Cappadocia (*HA, Hadrianus* 13.6-7) - Antioch (Malalas, *Chronographia* 278).

130 Antioch - Mt. Casius (*HA, Hadrianus* 14.3) - Palmyra⁴⁷ - Gerasa⁴⁸ - Judaea (Jerusalem) - Gaza (July)⁴⁹ - Pelusium (Appian, *Syriaca* 50; *HA, Hadrianus* 14.4; Dio 69.11.1; *Anthologia Palatina* 9.402) - Alexandria (before August 29)⁵⁰ - Libyan Desert (September)⁵¹ - Heliopolis -

³⁵ He wrote three times in 126 from Rome to Stratonicea in Lydia, first on 11 February, again, date not preserved, finally on 1 March: Oliver 1989, op.cit. (n.22), nos. 79-81.

³⁶ L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses* (Prague 1982, 2nd ed.), 49, restored by R. Syme, 'Transpadana Italia', *Athenaeum* 63 (1985), 28-36 = id., *Roman Papers* V (Oxford 1988), 431 ff., at 28 = 432.

³⁷ *AE* 1957.135 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 195, a *comes divi Hadriani per Siciliam Africam Mauretaniam*.

³⁸ *CIL* VIII 2532; 18042 = *ILS* 9133-4 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 328.

³⁹ *HA, Hadrianus* 13.6; *IG* II/III² 2040, Athens. W. Eck, D. MacDonald & A. Pangerl, 'Neue Diplome für das Heer der Provinz Syrien', *Chiron* 32 (2002), 427-448, at 435ff., list all Hadrianic diplomas and note that *CIL* XVI 74-75, datable to the first months of 129, do not show him with the title *procos.*, from which it seems to be inferred that he had not left Italy for Greece in 128. But the inscription from Athens cited above says that his arrival there was 'within the fourth year' from his previous stay. Cf. also Hieronymus, *Chronica* (vers. arm., Karst), p. 220, according to which he spent the winter 128-129 at Athens.

⁴⁰ *IG* V 1, 486; *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* XI 492: Hadrian's 'second stay' at Sparta.

⁴¹ *Inscripfen griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, Ephesos* 1487-1488, discussed by Drew-Bear and Richard 1994, op.cit. (n.31): he sailed direct from Eleusis to Ephesus.

⁴² A. Rehm, ed., *Didyma* II. *Die Inscripten* (Berlin 1958), nos. 254; 356.

⁴³ *IGR* III 668, interpreted by G.W. Bowersock, 'Hadrian and metropolis', *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium* 1982/3 (Bonn 1985), 75-88, at 82 ff.; see also Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 205 and Wörle 1988, op.cit. (n.30), 40 ff.

⁴⁴ Tralles: Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 204. Laodicea: *IGR* IV 1033 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 73 = Oliver 1989, op.cit. (n.22), no. 68, restoring the month as June in the light of the inscription cited n. 45, below.

⁴⁵ Revealed by an unpublished inscription cited by C.P. Jones in a review, *Phoenix* 37 (1983), 74.

⁴⁶ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 13.574 f. For the location of this Melissa: L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1980), 257 ff.

⁴⁷ *IGR* III 1054 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 77; *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* II 3959.

⁴⁸ *AE* 1915.42 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 332; C.B. Welles, in: C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis* (New Haven 1938), nos. 58, 143-5.

⁴⁹ Judaea: Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 207. Gaza: *Chronicon Paschale* I 474; M. Rosenberger, *City-Coins of Palestine* II (Jerusalem 1975), 54 ff.

⁵⁰ J. Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen* (Stuttgart 1924), I 102 f.; II 53.

Memphis⁵² - Oxyrhyncus - Hermopolis - Antinoupolis (30 October)⁵³ - ?Ptolemais - Thebes (Colossus) (18-21 November)⁵⁴ - Oxyrhyncus (29-30 November) - Tebtunis (1 December)⁵⁵ - Alexandria.

131 Alexandria - ?Antinoupolis (March/April)⁵⁶ - Alexandria - Syria (Dio 69.12.2) - Cilicia - Pamphylia (Phaselis)⁵⁷ - ?Ephesus - ?Mysia (Hadriani, Hadriania)⁵⁸ - Athens.

132/133(?) / 134(?) Athens⁵⁹ - Judaea⁶⁰ - Athens - Macedonia - ?Thrace - ?Moesia Superior - ?Dalmatia - Pannonia⁶¹ - Italy - Rome (at latest 5 May 134).⁶²

Ancient comments may be cited, in chronological order. First, *HA, Hadrianus* 16.3, Florus' poem, quoted above. Next, implied criticism about five years after Hadrian's death, by Aelius Aristides, *To Rome (Orationes* 26K) 33:

The Great Archon and the Prytanis over everything [i.e. Antoninus Pius] does not need to wear himself out travelling round the whole empire, nor to visit one land after another and to lay down regulations for each one when he reaches them.

⁵¹ *HA, Hadrianus* 26.3; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 15.677d-f, *P Oxy* 1085. Cf. R. Lambert, *Beloved and God. The Story of Hadrian and Antinous* (London 1984), 118 f.

⁵² K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Magici Graeci* IV (Stuttgart 1973, 2nd ed.), 2441 ff.; cf. Lucian, *Philopseudes* 34 f.

⁵³ This was the foundation date of Antinoupolis: *Chronicon Paschale* I 475 (with the wrong year).

⁵⁴ A. and E. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du colosse de Memnon* (Paris 1960), nos. 28-32.

⁵⁵ *P Oxy* 2553; *Papyri Osloenses* III 77a: see P.J. Sijpestein, 'A new document concerning Hadrian's visit to Egypt', *Historia* 18 (1969), 109-118; 112 ff.; 115.

⁵⁶ Hadrian perhaps attended inaugural 'Great Antinoan games' at Antinoupolis in March or April 131, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1952, no. 180, and the 'Hadrianic Philadelphian contest' at Alexandria, L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche* (Rome 1953), no. 84. See G. Grimm, 'Paulina und Antinous. Zur Vergöttlichung der Hadrianschwester in Ägypten', in: *Das antike Rom und der Osten. Festschrift K. Parlasca* (Erlangen 1990), 33-44, at 39 f.

⁵⁷ The visit to Cilicia is only recorded by *adventus* coins: *British Museum Catalogue* III, op.cit. (n.2), 490. Phaselis: *Tituli Asiae Minoris* II 3; 1187; 1191-4.

⁵⁸ Ephesus: cf. Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 208. Mysia: E. Schwertheim, 'Zu Hadrians Reisen und Stadtgründungen in Kleinasien', *Epigraphica Anatolica* 6 (1985), 37-42; id., *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, Hadrianoi*, on nos. 56; 129.

⁵⁹ *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., 842, Epidauros: Hadrian wintering for the third time at Athens.

⁶⁰ Cf. above with n.10 on the uncertainty over Hadrian's participation in the Jewish War and hence over the date of his return: at latest 134.

⁶¹ *AE* 1957.135 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14), no. 195, a *comes divi Hadriani per Orientem et Illyricum*, clearly on Hadrian's last journey.

⁶² *IGRI* 149 = Oliver 1989, op.cit. (n.22), no. 86.

In the early 160s Fronto made a neutral comment, *De feriis Alsiansibus* 5.229-230:

avom item vestrum, doctum principem et navom et orbis terrarum non regendi tantum, sed etiam perambulandi diligentem, modulorum tamen et tibicinum studio devinctum fuisse scimus et praeterea prandiorum opimorum esorem optimum fuisse.⁶³

Soon afterwards Fronto waxed sarcastic, *Principia Historiae* 11.208.7 ff.:

Lucio Parthis aut dilectu novi tirones sumendi fuerunt aut fracti aspera legitima militia tenendi militibus tristi et molli militia corruptis. namque post imperatorem Traianum disciplina propemodum expertes erant Hadriano principe circumeundis et facunde appellandis exercitibus satis inpigro, sed summa fugiente bellorum. quin provincias manu Traiani captas, quarum Daciae non iam pacatae erant, omittere maluit [209.1] quam exercitu retinere. eius itinerum monumenta videas per plurimas Asiae atque Europae urbes sita, cum alia multa tum sepulchra ex saxo formata. non solum in gelosas, sed etiam bis in meridionalis sedis terras profectus est saluti# his provinciis,* quas trans Euphratis et Danuvii ripas sitas Traianus spe Moesiae et Asiae provincias addere posse se§ imperio Romano adnexuerat.* has omnino provincias Daciam et Parthis missas partes ultro restituit. exercitus in Asia se pro scutis atque gladiis sali<ci>bus+ sub pellibus delectare: neminem umquam ducem post eiusmodi vidit.⁶⁴

⁶³ M.P.J. van den Hout (ed.), *M. Cornelii Frontonis Epistulae* (Leipzig 1988).

⁶⁴ Van den Hout 1988, op.cit. (n.63); # read *soluti*<s> ARB?

§ van den Hout prints *addere ...e. imperio*, noting Hauler's reading *posse se*.

* * van den Hout punctuates *his provinciis, quas trans Euphratis ...adnexuerat*. If one retains *saluti*, this would mean that Hadrian's journeys to the southern (=Mediterranean) provinces were 'to the advantage of those lying beyond the banks of Euphrates and Danube', which cannot be what Fronto wrote. One could punctuate *his provinciis*. [with full stop], i.e. Hadrian's two journeys were 'to the advantage of these [sc. Mediterranean] provinces', then read: *quas trans Euphratis et Danuvii ripas sitas Traianus spe Moesiae et Asiae provinciis addere posse se imperio Romano adnexuerat, has omnino provincias, Dacis et Parthis amissas partes, ultro restituit*, 'As for those which, lying beyond the banks of Euphrates and Danube, Trajan, in the hope that he could add them to the provinces of Moesia and Asia, had annexed to

At the end of the second century Tertullian has a striking phrase, *Apologeticus* 5.7, which implies that Hadrian was inspired simply by (unhealthy) inquisitiveness:

quales ergo leges istae quae adversus nos soli exercent impii, turpes, truces, vani, dementes? quas Traianus ex parte frustratus est vetando inquiri Christianos, quas nullus Hadrianus, quamquam omnium curiositatum explorator, nullus Vespasianus, quamquam Iudaeorum debellator, nullus Pius, nullus Verus inpressit.

Dio 69.9.1-4 stresses military discipline:

Hadrian travelled through one province after another, visiting both countryside and cities and inspecting all the garrisons and forts—some he removed to more suitable sites, he gave up others and established new ones. 2. He viewed and inspected absolutely everything personally: not just the usual items in the forts, weapons, engines, ditches, ramparts and palisades, but also every individual's conduct, both soldiers and officers—their lives, quarters and habits—and reformed and corrected in many cases what had become too luxurious. 3. He trained the men for battles of all kinds... and so that they should benefit from his example, he everywhere led a rigorous life and always either walked or rode, never used a chariot or four-wheeler. 4. He did not cover his head either in the heat or the cold but alike in German snows and Egyptian heat went about bare-headed. In short, both by example and by precept he so trained and disciplined the entire armed forces throughout the whole empire that even today the methods he then introduced are the basis of military regulations.

the Roman Empire, all these provinces, the parts lost by the Dacians and the Parthians, he restored voluntarily.'

+ *sali<ci>bus* R.W. Davies, 'Fronto, Hadrian and the Roman army', *Latomus* 27 (1968), 75-95, registered in the apparatus but not included in his text by van den Hout. On 209, 7-8 he comments: 'sententiae perturbatae: nonnulla perisse puto'. As his apparatus indicates, much of this, as with the rest of Fronto, is highly uncertain. Cf. the Loeb edition of Haines (1920) II 296, who relied on Naber's Teubner edition (1867), with only minor changes; Haines' text is used by most who discuss this passage.

The *HA*, *Hadrianus* offers several general statements:

13.5: nec quisquam fere principum tantum terrarum tam celeriter peragravit. 13.10: et circumiens quidem provincias procuratores et praesides pro factis supplicio adfecit...17.8: peregrinationis ita cupidus, ut omnia, quae legerat de locis orbis terrarum, praesens vellet addiscere. 23.1: peragratissane omnibus orbis partibus capite nudo et in summis plerumque imbribus atque frigoribus in morbum incidit lectualem. Cf. *HA*, *Aelius* 2.1 Ceionius Commodus...quem sibi Hadrianus aevo ingravescente morbis tristioribus pressus peragrato iam orbe terrarum adoptavit... and *HA*, *Antoninus Pius* 7.11 nec ullas expeditiones obiit, nisi ad agros suos profectus est et ad Campaniam dicens gravem esse provincialibus comitatum principis, etiam nimis parci.

The latest comment, *Epitome de Caesaribus* 14.4-5, highlights building:

immensi laboris, quippe qui provincias omnes passibus circumierit agmen comitantium praevertens, cum oppida universa restitueret, auget ordinibus. 5 ad specimen legionum militarium fabros perpendiculatores architectos genusque cunctum exstruendorum moenium seu decorandorum in cohortes centuriaverat.

This is often understood to mean that Hadrian formed a special unit of craftsmen. Rather, he simply assigned soldiers from his entourage to building and engineering operations.⁶⁵

Various conclusions can be drawn. An important motive for the first part of his tour of 121-125 was to construct new frontiers and to improve military discipline. Clear from the *HA*, where in *Germaniam transiit*, 10.2, is followed by the lengthy section on army discipline, 10.2-11.1, summed up, 11.2, by *ergo conversis regio more militibus*. Then comes the building of the Wall in Britain, 'to divide barbarians and Romans', 11.2; after some anecdotes, the visit to Britain is summed up by *compositis in Britannia rebus*, 12.1. An inscription from his Wall shows that *disciplina imp. Had. Aug.*

⁶⁵ See O. Stoll, 'Reform oder Marotte? Einige Bemerkungen zur sogenannten "Handwerkerreform" des Kaisers Hadrian', *Lavema* 9 (1998), 66-81, reprinted in id., *Römisches Heer und Gesellschaft. Gesammelte Beiträge 1991-1999* (Stuttgart 2001), 379-394.

was imposed in Britain as well as in Germany. Fronto recounts similar measures taken in Syria in the 160s by Verus' elderly *comes* Pontius Laelianus. Obviously Laelianus remembered his experience forty years earlier, when as tribune of VI Victrix he moved with the legion from Lower Germany to Britain, at the same time as the Emperor. Altars to Ocean and Neptune set up by this legion on the banks of the Tyne at Newcastle, where the Wall initially ended, hint that Hadrian consciously repeated, in the far west, what Alexander had done in the far east at the conclusion of his Indian expedition. Fragments of a monumental inscription found not far away, interpreted as a 'Hadrianic war memorial', may, rather, be from a speech by Hadrian to the army, justifying his new frontier policy. (See the Appendix for texts relating to Britain.) In Spain military matters were still to the fore: a *dilectus*, 12.4. As an afterthought the *HA*, *Hadrianus* inserts, 12.6, after the account of the stay in Spain, a general comment on artificial frontiers, in the form of a palisade, which belonged earlier in the context of the tour of Germany (and Raetia). The new frontier policy was, it may be argued, a revival of what was claimed to have been that of Augustus, *coercendi intra terminos imperii*.⁶⁶

It was long ago pointed out that at about the time he was in Spain Hadrian's titulature was drastically abbreviated on the coinage: instead of 'Imp. Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus', simply 'Hadrianus Augustus', sometimes 'Augustus Hadrianus'.⁶⁷ The stay at Tarraco coincided with the 150th year since Augustus' assumption of that name; and it was shortly after this that Augustus had gone to Tarraco. Hadrian had the temple of Augustus at Tarraco rebuilt (*HA*, *Hadrianus* 12.3). There is more. Suetonius, who had composed his life of Augustus shortly before this, goes out of his way to portray the first emperor's foreign policy as basically defensive, a picture which is contradicted by statements elsewhere in this *vita*.⁶⁸ As Strack argued, and Syme subsequently underlined, at the same time Tacitus was subversively hinting that Hadrian was more like Tiberius, a *princeps proferendi imperii incuriosus*, than Augustus.⁶⁹ To pursue the notion that

⁶⁶ Tacitus, *Annales* 1.11.4. The restoration of military discipline was specifically the restoration of the *post Caesarem Octavianum labantem disciplinam* (*HA*, *Hadrianus* 10.3).

⁶⁷ Strack 1933, op.cit. (n.8), 12 ff.; cf. *British Museum Catalogue* III, op.cit. (n.2), cxv; clxvii; M. Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues* (Cambridge 1950), 101 f.; R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958), 248; 496.

⁶⁸ Suetonius, *Augustus* 21.2: *tantumque afuit a cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam augendi*, etc.; contrast 31.5: *proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent*.

⁶⁹ Tacitus, *Annales* 4.32.1; cf. Strack 1933, op.cit. (n.8), 41; Syme 1958, op.cit. (n.67), 240 ff.; 482; 484; 490; 498.

Hadrian in 123 was attempting a comprehensive *imitatio* of Augustus, one may note that he next negotiated with the Parthians, echoing Augustus' recovery of the standards in 20 BC. Emulation of the first *princeps* may be detected again at the end of the reign with the complex succession arrangements. The selection of an heir who himself had to adopt two sons recalls Augustus' measures in AD 4.

In the later 120s one may detect a change of role: Hadrian as a new Pericles. The creation of the Panhellenion was in effect the fulfilment of what Pericles had attempted with his 'Congress decree'; and in 129 Hadrian assumed as a title in the east Pericles' nickname Olympios.⁷⁰ The lavish building programme at Athens—itsself mirroring what had been undertaken in Pericles' day—included the completion of the great temple of Olympian Zeus. The last person who had tried this had been Antiochus IV Epiphanes. It is tempting to infer that Hadrian's completion of this project led to further Antiochus-*imitatio*: the revival of the King's attempt to hellenise the Jews and the replacement of their temple with a pagan one.⁷¹

It may be added that Hadrian was accompanied everywhere he went by a large entourage. Inscriptions of his *comites* are thin on the ground, it is true. But not all those senators who accompanied Hadrian may have registered the fact.⁷² That it is known that Oxyrynchus had to lay in large extra supplies ten months before Hadrian arrived in Egypt is merely a chance survival of what must have happened all over the empire in places he was expected to visit. It is hard to estimate the numbers in his party on this basis—for one thing, an emperor's arrival would bring in hordes of loyal subjects from surrounding districts, eager to see their sovereign.⁷³

⁷⁰ Plutarch, *Pericles* 8.2; 17; 39.2. Cf. Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 218 f.

⁷¹ Thus convincingly D. Willers, *Hadrians panhellenisches Programm* (Basel 1990), 101 f., followed by Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10), 228 ff.

⁷² Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 249 finds only four (his nos. 48-51). R.H. Chowen, 'Traveling companions of Hadrian', *Classical Journal* 50 (1954-5), 122-124, has a meagre list of seven persons (mostly not *comites Augusti*), followed by M.V. Contini, 'I viaggi in età adrianea', in: G. Camassa, S. Fasce, edd., *Idea e realtà del viaggio: il viaggio nel mondo antico* (Genoa 1991), 343-358. Further definite or possible travelling companions are mentioned at various points in Birley 1997, op.cit. (n.10); add another poetess in Egypt, as argued by T.C. Brennan, 'The poets Julia Balbilla and Damo at the Colossus of Memnon', *Classical Journal* 91 (1997-8), 215-234.

⁷³ B.A. van Groningen, 'Preparatives to Hadrian's visit to Egypt', in: *Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni* II (Milan 1956), 253-256 = F. Preisigke et al., *Sammelbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten* no. 9617. Halfmann 1986, op.cit. (n.1), 110 infers from the quantities that there were at least 5000 persons in Hadrian's entourage. He does not consider how many days' supplies might be involved, nor does he reckon with local visitors, coming to cheer the Emperor.

All over the empire, inscriptions registered the ruler's name. The Wall in Britain presumably carried a building inscription at every milecastle—eighty of them, with another forty 'milefortlets' along the coast to the south of the western end; and the forts on the Wall would likewise carry his name. Great structures of other kinds, such as the vast temples at Cyzicus and Athens, carried a similar message. The resplendent building-works with his name prominently displayed, and the statues of the ruler, rammed home his universal presence. "The medium is the message", as Marshall McLuhan put it. During his travels Hadrian played a variety of roles in the course of his reign. Not the first ruler to have done so—one recalls Augustus' question to his friends on his deathbed: *ecquid iis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse*⁷⁴—nor the last.

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⁷⁴ Suetonius, *Augustus* 99.1.

Appendix: Hadrian's wall: some documents and texts

For discussions of Hadrian's motives for building this and other artificial frontiers cf. Birley, *op.cit.* (n.10), 116 f.; 133 ff.; 304, stressing that it among other things was a signal for internal consumption, that expansion was over; D.J. Breeze, B. Dobson, *Hadrian's Wall* (London 2000, 4th ed.), 25 ff.

1. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* 1319-1320, Newcastle (Pons Aelius), found in River Tyne: *Neptuno l(egio) VI Vi(ctris) p(ia) f(idelis)*; *Ociano leg. VI Vi(ctris) p(ia) f(idelis)*. Cf. Arrian, *Indica* 18.11: Alexander's sacrifice to Poseidon and Ocean.

2. *Britannia* 10 (1979), no. 6 = *AE* 1979.388, Chesters (Cilurnum), altar found in River North Tyne, close to Wall: *[d]isciplinā imp. Had. Aug. ala Augusta [o]b virt. appel.* Cf. *HA* Hadrianus 10.3: *si quidem ipse post Caesarem Octavianum labantem disciplinam incuria superiorum principum retinuit*, etc.

3. *CIL* VI 1479 + 1549 = *ILS* 1094 + 1100, Rome: *M. Pontio M. f. Pup. Laeliano Larcio Sabino cos. (AD 144) ...comiti divi Veri Aug. donato donis militarib. bello Armeniaco et Parthico...trib. mil. leg. VI Victr. cum qua ex Germ. in Brittan. transiit.* Cf. Fronto, *Ad Verum imp.* 2.19 (Van den Hout 1988, *op.cit.* (n.63), 128): *exercitus tibi traditus erat luxuria et lascivia et otio diutino corruptus... ad hoc vestiti melius quam armati, adeo ut vir gravis et veteris disciplinae Laelianus Pontius loricas partim eorum digitis primoribus scinderet, equos pulvillos instratos animadverteret. iussu eius cornicula consecra, a sedilibus pluma quasi anseribus devolsa.*

4. *Tabulae Vindolandenses* II 344, archaeological context ca. 105 - ca. 122: lines 4 ff.: *tuam maies[t]atem imploro ne patiaris me [in]nocentem virgis cas[t]igatum esse ...* lines 13 ff.: *[...tu]am misericord[ia]m imploro ne patiaris me hominem trasmarinum et innocentem de cuius f[ide] inquiras virgis cruent[at]u[m] esse ac si quid sceler[i]s commissem.* Cf. *HA* Hadrianus 20.1: *in conloquiis etiam humillimorum civilissimus fuit.* This writing-tablet suggests that the writer expected Hadrian's arrival and hoped to present him with a petition: Birley 1997, *op.cit.* (n.10), 135.

5. *CIL* VII 498 = I.A. Richmond, R.P. Wright, 'Stones from a Hadrianic war memorial on Tyneside', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, 21 (1943) 93-120 = *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* 1051, Jarrow (south side of River Tyne near Newcastle), reused in the Anglian church, two fragments, (a) 52.5 X 52.5 cm, (b) 55 X 50 cm (underlined lettering is uncertain):

- (a) *[divorum?] omnium fil[ius]
imp Caesar Tr[iaianus] Hadr[ianus]
Augustus impo]sita necessitat[e imperii?
4 ?intra fines conser]vati divino pr[ae]cepto
c]os II[I]*

- (b) *diffusis [barbaris? et]
provinc[ia] recuperata?]
Britannia ad[didit] limitem? inter]
4 utrumque O[ceani] litus per MP LXXX]
exercitus pr[ov]incia[e] opus valli fecit?]
sub cur[a] A. Platoris Nepotis leg. Aug. pr. pr.?)*

The editors argue 108-112, for their unparalleled restoration in (a), line 1. Equally possible is e.g. *[principum] omnium fid[issimus]*. In lines 2-4, the lettering underlined is also restored; previous readings of line 4 were *vatis...II*, *vatisv..incrr*, *vatisevnorp*, *vatis:inopr*. In (b), of which the left-hand margin is preserved, line 6 gives the approximate original width.

The editors regard this as from “a *tropaeon* or war-memorial”, dismissing arguments for it being an *adlocutio*, as suggested by E. Huebner, on *CIL* VII 498, and others. This remains possible: if it was inscribed on a four-sided monument, as at Lambaesis (*ILS* 2487; 9133-9135 = Smallwood 1966, op.cit. (n.14) no. 328), the two fragments might represent less than one quarter of the original. E. Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (Kendal 1961), 159, argued that, as Hadrian's name is in smaller lettering than that of lines (a) 1 and (b) 1-4, the inscription was probably Severan, commemorating “Severus's reconstruction of the frontier—referring back to Hadrian as its original builder”. Aurelius Victor, *Caesares* 20.18, wrote of Severus that he *Britanniam, quoad ea utilis erat, pulsus hostibus muro munivit per transversam insulam ducto utrimque ad finem Oceani*. The last words echo lines (b) 3-4 of this inscription, which could also be restored e.g. as *ad[ducto muro ad finem] utrumque O[ceani]*.

6. HA, Hadrianus 11.2: *ergo conversis more regio militibus, Britanniam petit in qua multa correxit murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit, qui barbaros Romanosque divideret*. This is the only explicit record in the ancient sources that it was Hadrian who built the Wall, confirmed by the inscriptions cited under 7.

7. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* 974, Netherby (outpost fort north of Wall) *Imp. Caes. Tra. Hadriano Aug. leg. II Aug. fecit*; 995, Bewcastle (another outpost fort): *[Imp.] Caes. Tra[iano Hadriano Aug. le]g. II Aug. et XX V. [V.] ...*; 1340, Benwell (on Wall) *Imp. Caes. Traiano Hadr[ia]no Aug. A. Platorio N[epote] leg. Aug. pr. p[r.] vexillatio c[lassis] Britan.*; 1427, Chesters (on Wall) *Imp. Caes. T[ra. Hadriano] Aug. leg. VI V[ictrix p. f.] A. Platorio N[epote] leg. Aug. pr. [pr.]*; 1637, Wall near Housesteads fort *Imp. G[ai]s. (sic) Traian. Hadrian. Aug. leg. I[I] Aug. A. Platorio [N]epote leg. pr. p[r.]*; 1638, probably from Milecastle 38 *Imp. Caes. Traian. Hadriani Aug. leg. II Aug. A. Platorio Nepote leg. pr. pr.*; 1666, Milecastle 42 (same text as 1638); 1702, Vindolanda (same text as 1638); 1852, near Milecastle 47 *[Imp. Caes. divi Traiani fil. divi] Nervae ne[p. Trai]ano Hadriano Aug. leg. XX V.V.*

8. Aelius Aristides, *To Rome (Orationes 26K)* 81: “An encamped army like a rampart encloses the world in a ring ... as far as from Ethiopia to the Phasis and from the Euphrates to the great outermost island towards the west; all this one can call a ring and circuit of the walls. They have not been built with asphalt and baked brick, nor do they stand there gleaming with stucco. Oh—but these ordinary works too exist at their individual places, ‘fitted close and accurately with stones and boundless in size and gleaming more brilliantly than bronze’, as Homer says of the palace wall.” These words were delivered just as Hadrian’s Wall had been abandoned in favour of the more northerly Antonine Wall. The ‘brilliant gleam’ may have been achieved by a white plaster on the Wall surface: this was at any rate found on the Wall as rebuilt under Severus: J.G. Crow, ‘A review of current research on the turrets and curtain of Hadrian’s Wall’, *Britannia* 22 (1991), 51–63, at 58 f.