

## HADRIAN IN MOESIA

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Hadrian was many times on the Danube. He began his military career with tribunates in two legions of Moesia (95 to 97), passing thence to the Rhine. Not long after, when quaestor in 101, he went with Trajan to the first war against the Dacians; and he commanded a legion in the second war. In the winter and spring of the first year of his reign he visited Moesia on the way to Rome. He was there again in 124; and for the last time ten years later when returning from the last of his journeys, as is revealed by the inscription of Caesernius Macedo (cos. suff. c. 140), who was in his company 'per Orientem et Illyric(um)' (AE 1957, 135).

Much could be said or surmised. The present enquiry, however, is restricted to the first episode, to the season of Hadrian's military tribunates. None the less, it raises a number of questions of detail that have a general bearing on imperial administration and the history of the time; and the search for precision will entail a certain amount of speculation.

By good fortune, Hadrian's service as *laticlavus* has a double attestation. The inscription at Athens registers the three legions in order of time, viz. II Adiutrix, V Macedonica, XXII Primigenia (ILS 308). The *Historia Augusta* has the name of the first legion only (Hadr. 2. 2). It then proceeds 'post haec in inferiorem Moesiam translatus' (2. 3). Next, after an anecdote about the prediction of an astrologer, it states that, on the news of Trajan's adoption by Nerva, the young man was deputed to convey the good wishes of the army, and was transferred to Germania Superior (2. 5). Then, when Nerva's decease was reported, Hadrian made haste to bear the tidings to Trajan, which he managed despite the malicious attempt of Servianus to delay his journey (2. 6).

Such is the account in the *Vita Hadriani*, deriving from an excellent source which the compiler abbreviated and interlaced with dubious anecdotes. By itself, it is so compressed as to be barely intelligible. It has to be supplemented with facts and dates from other sources.

Hadrian was born on January 26, 76. The first military tribunate, in II Adiutrix may be assigned to the year 95, the second, 'extremis iam Domitiani temporibus' (Hadr. 2.3), to 96: V Macedonica was the legion, stationed at Oescus in Moesia Inferior. It was seen long ago that the language of the *Historia Augusta*, 'in inferiorem Moesiam translatus', offered a clue to the location of II Adiutrix at this time. That is, Moesia Superior.<sup>1</sup> Such has been the general persuasion.

<sup>1</sup> E. Ritterling, '*Legio*', RE XII. 1443. It was a much earlier suggestion, going back to Pfitzner.

Hadrian's second military tribunate lasted for more than twelve months. He was still with V Macedonica in Moesia Inferior in the autumn of 97: Trajan was adopted by Nerva in October. The curtailed item in the *Vita* (Hadrian's mission and his transference to Germania Superior) happens to furnish the only clue to determining Trajan's provincial command at that time. The legion his young kinsman now joined was XXII Primigenia, at Moguntiacum. When Nerva died on January 28 of the next year, Trajan was no longer in Germania Superior. A late epitomator (the sole evidence) states that he was proclaimed emperor at Agrippina, i. e. Colonia Claudia (Eutropius VIII 2. 1). Hadrian's journey is explained; and Trajan, it follows, had brought Servianus to fill his place as legate of Germania Superior.

So far the chronology. Hadrian's tribunate in II Adiutrix impinges on an intricate nexus of problems: the distribution and location of the Danubian legions. Before the changes caused by the wars of Domitian (from 85 to 92), Pannonia had two legions, viz. XIII Gemina and XV Apollinaris. In Moesia stood three for certain, VII Claudia, V Macedonica, I Italica; and also a fourth, V Alaudae, if a legion be deemed to have perished in the disaster of Cornelius Fuscus (86 or 87). In the course of those wars no fewer than five fresh legions had been brought to the Danubian provinces: I Adiutrix, II Adiutrix, IV Flavia, XIV Gemina, XXI Rapax. One of them, XXI Rapax, was destroyed by the incursion of the Sarmatians in 92;<sup>2</sup> and there is no sign that any of the others reverted to their original stations. Therefore a total of nine may safely be assumed after 92 for the three commands on the frontier (Moesia was divided in 86).<sup>3</sup>

Attempts have been made to trace the changes and permutations of the legions during Domitian's campaigns.<sup>4</sup> Given the defects in the evidence, not much can be established. The interval of peace and stability between 93 and 100 is more promising.<sup>5</sup> Yet full and detailed ascertainment is baffled. Three matters call for scrutiny.

First, and in general: the nine legions. How should they be apportioned between Pannonia and the Moesian commands? Four are not too few for Pannonia, which now becomes the most important military province in the Empire.<sup>6</sup> Five, that is another matter.<sup>7</sup> Excessive as a permanent establishment under one legate. In fact, not tolerable and not on record in the military annals of the Empire since the wars of Caesar Augustus. One imagines what Domitian would have thought of the notion.

<sup>2</sup> The year 93 was incautiously advocated by R. Hanslik, *Wiener Studien* LXIII (1948), 126 ff. Erroneous, like the notion that Pliny (suff. 100), was praetor in 95 (ib. 127). The present paper eschews comment on the recent article 'M. Ulpius Traianus', *RE*, Supp. X, 1035 ff.

<sup>3</sup> E. Ritterling, o. c. 1279.

<sup>4</sup> R. Syme, *JRS* XVIII (1938), 45 ff. See now, with exhaustive detail, G. Alföldy, *Acta Arch. Ac. Sc. Hung.* XI (1959), 113 ff.

<sup>5</sup> R. Syme, o. c. 48 ff.; 50 f.; *Laureae Aquincenses* (1938), 267 ff., G. Alföldy, o. c. 133 ff. Ritterling produced tables of legionary distribution for 88/9 and for 93 (o. c. 1364). It was a pity that he omitted 93—100.

<sup>6</sup> R. Syme, o. c. (1928), 52; *CAH* XI (1926), 187.

<sup>7</sup> Five legions for Pannonia in 93—100 are postulated by G. Alföldy, o. c. 141. The corollary, only four for the two Moesian provinces, is also damaging. If the survival of V Alaudae after 70 is conceded (and why not?), the undivided Moesia had four legions in 85.

In consequence four legions fall to Pannonia, five to the two commands in Moesia. A piece of evidence can be adduced in support. A *laticlavus* of II Adiutrix earned military decorations 'bello Suebico it[em Sar]matico' (ILS 2719: Potentia in Lucania). He is further described as the *optio* of the tribunes of five legions. The post is unique: it appears to indicate the senior officer in a corps of  *vexillationes* . Hence, it is assumed, a force drafted from the two armies and sent to Pannonia for Domitian's campaign in 92.<sup>8</sup>

Second, as between Moesia Superior and Moesia Inferior, which had three legions for its garrison? Provincial boundaries come into the question. Between 86 and 106 the former province had a longer frontier than subsequently, so it can be argued; and its military role was of central importance before Dacia was conquered and annexed. It had long been conjectured that the region between the lower course of the Save and the Danube ('Syrmia' for short) was attached to Moesia Superior and remained so until Pannonia Inferior was created in 106.<sup>9</sup> Welcome indications now accrue from the evidence of military *diplomata*. Two auxiliary regiments, the Ala Praetoria and Cohors V Gallorum belonged to Pannonia in 85; in 93 and 100 they are registered under Moesia Superior; but in 110 they are in Pannonia Inferior.<sup>10</sup> An easy explanation offers.<sup>11</sup> Not transfer of regiments back and forth, but a change in the status of the region. The location of V Gallorum is not known, but Ala Praetoria was at Teutoburgium: observe the *decurio* M. Ulpius Super who died there aged 32 after 16 years of service (ILS 2339).

The wider extension of Moesia Superior towards the west, taking in Sirmium (which was made a *colonia* by Domitian) and a section of the Danube frontier above Singidunum towards the mouth of the Drave at least as far as Teutoburgium will therefore be conceded. However, at the other end, the boundary against Moesia Inferior comes into play, a neglected factor. In the Second Century it fell a few miles below Ratiaria, not far short of the river Almus. There is a chance that from 86 to 106 the tract along the Danube from Ratiaria up to the Iron Gates belonged to Moesia Inferior. It corresponded with part of the 'Moesia' in the old territory 'Moesia et Treballia' which was in the charge of an equestrian officer in the time of Tiberius (ILS 1349). The entity was reconstituted when Aurelian gave up Dacia. That is, his Dacia Ripensis, with two legions, one at Ratiaria, the other at Oescus. If this 'old Moesia' belonged to the lower province between 86 and 106, it touches the distribution of the five legions between two armies.

Third, legions and their camps. As previously, VII Claudia was at Viminacium, V Macedonica at Oescus, I Italica at Novae. The new arrivals cause trouble, II Adiutrix and IV Flavia.<sup>12</sup> There are other perplexities.

<sup>8</sup> E. Ritterling, o. c. 2719; R. Syme, o. c. (1928), 47 f.

<sup>9</sup> E. Ritterling, o. c. 1444; M. Fluss, 'Moesia', RE XV. 2353; A. Graf, Übersicht der antiken Geographie von Pannonien (1936), 36; A. Mócsy, 'Pannonia', RE Supp. IX. 584 f.

<sup>10</sup> CIL XVI. 31; 34; 46; 164.

<sup>11</sup> A. Radnóti and L. Barkóczy, Acta Arch. Ac. Sc. Hung. I (1951), 198; 201.

<sup>12</sup> G. Alföldy, o. c. 128 ff.; 135 f.; 139 f. Admitting only four legions in the two Moesian commands, that scholar assigns IV Flavia to 'Pannonia'. That this legion was at the other extremity, at Durostorum in Moesia Inferior, was suggested by

The early history of Singidunum is obscure (from the beginning of Hadrian's reign IV Flavia was there, after a sojourn in Dacia).<sup>13</sup> And Ratiaria deserves a thought — a strategic position, where a road from Naissus reaches the Danube.<sup>14</sup> Now Oescus was made a *colonia* when V Macedonica departed to Troesmis after the Dacian Wars. Ratiaria was also a *colonia Ulpia*.

As concerns II Adiutrix, various indications suggest that it was stationed somewhere in the western parts of Moesia Superior.<sup>15</sup> About the year 100 a centurion who had been decorated for service in a Dacian War by an unnamed emperor died at Sirmium (ILS 9193). The gravestone was set up by his heir, the procurator T. Caesernius Macedo. This man is attested as governor of Mauretania Caesariensis in 107 (CIL XVI. 56).

The camp of II Adiutrix may have lain somewhere close to Sirmium. Otherwise, perhaps Singidunum.<sup>16</sup> Let that suffice, with a reminder that the notice in the HA indicates Moesia Superior as the province.

Hadrian's service as tribune in three legions between 95 and 98 opens up another theme: the identity of consular legates towards the end of Domitian's reign. The young *laticlavus* is often allocated to a province governed by some kinsman or friend. Passage from one legion to another is not common. It can denote the transfer of a legion or a governor. That is to say, the *laticlavus* remains in the province when the legion goes, or follows a governor to another province. Thus Junius Avitus went with Julius Servianus from Germania Superior to Pannonia in 98 or 99 (Pliny, Epp. VIII. 23. 5). Further, it may be desirable for the young man himself to change his province and join a second friend or member of a family group.

To be tribune in three legions is abnormal. The only other instance is Minicius Natalis (ILS 1061, cf. 1029). He was just thirty years younger than Hadrian. Precision offers. Natalis in one and the same year was quaestor of the emperor and quaestor under his father, the proconsul of Africa. Clearly 121. Hadrian, setting out on his tour of the western provinces, had no need of a quaestor. And there is a useful corollary. The father of Natalis (suff. 106) comes neatly into line as proconsul of Africa, for the tenure 121/2.

Natalis had been in succession *laticlavus* of I Adiutrix, XI Claudia, XIV Gemina. Those posts should fall c. 114-8. Now I Adiutrix belonged to the first garrison of Trajan's Dacia, such is the reasonable conjecture.<sup>17</sup> Further, this legion went to the East for Trajan's Parthian War. It was there commanded by Platorius Nepos (ILS 1052), before his governorship of Thrace (?117-9).<sup>18</sup> The second legion belonged to Moesia Inferior, the third to Pannonia Superior.

C. Patsch, Wiener S-B CCXVII, Abh. 1 (1937), 46 f. Divergences of this order betray the absence of the necessary facts.

<sup>13</sup> For IV Flavia as one of the three legions garrisoning Trajan's Dacia, cf. R. Syme, o. c. (1938), 277; JRS LII (1962), 88.

<sup>14</sup> R. Syme, JRS XVIII (1928), 49; Laureae Aquincenses (1938), 272 f.

<sup>15</sup> Its early traces at Aquincum in Pannonia (G. Alföldy, o. c. 128) can be assigned to the period of Domitian's wars — or the early years of Trajan.

<sup>16</sup> For Singidunum (with necessary reservations), R. Syme, o. c. (1928), 48 f.; G. Alföldy (positive), o. c. 140.

<sup>17</sup> E. Ritterling, o. c. 1390 f.; R. Syme, o. c. (1938), 276.

<sup>18</sup> Platorius Nepos is described as a friend of Hadrian at the time of the 'expeditio Parthica' (HA, Hadr. 4, 2).

Natalis, it might be supposed, preferred to stay behind in the Danubian lands when I Adiutrix went away. It would be of interest to know the names of the three governors in question. For Dacia, no clue — unless Avidius Nigrinus (suff. 110) was already there. His governorship is attested by the dedication set up by the centurion in charge of his *equites singulares* at Sarmizegethusa (ILS 2417). As for Moesia Inferior, Pompeius Falco (suff. 108) is not on record before 116 (CIL III. 12470), but may have arrived a year or two earlier. Finally, the father of Natalis (suff. 106) is certified as legate of Pannonia Superior in 116 (CIL XVI. 64). As with Falco, his first consular command; and he was in office when Trajan died (ILS 1029).

Curiosity is therefore whetted about Hadrian. Who were the consular legates during his sojourn on the Danube, from 95 until the autumn of 97? For the period 92—100, the facts are as follows:

#### A. Moesia Superior<sup>19</sup>

93 Cn. Pompeius Longinus (suff. 90) CIL XVI. 93.

100 C. Cilnius Proculus (87). CIL XVI. 46.

The attestation of Longinus is a *diploma* dated to 93 by the imperial titulature, to 94 by the suffect consuls. (CIL XVI. 39). He might have been there since 91 or 92. He next turns up in Pannonia, registered on February 20, 98 (CIL XVI. 42), where Julius Servianus soon takes his place (Pliny, Epp. VIII. 23. 5).<sup>20</sup> As for Cilnius, he had previously been legate of Dalmatia (Not. Scav. 1925, 224: Arretium). He vacated that post in 98: the poet Martial writing in that year acclaims a new governor of Dalmatia, a man called 'Macer', who baffles identity.<sup>21</sup> Therefore there is a gap between Longinus and the arrival of Cilnius in 98 or 99, for one legate, perhaps for two.

#### B. Moesia Inferior<sup>22</sup>

92 Sex. Octavius Fronto (suff. 86). CIL XVI. 37.

96/7 L. Julius Marinus (? 93). CIL XVI. 41.

99 C. Pomponius Rufus (95). CIL XVI. 44 f.

100 M' Laberius Maximus (89). SEG. I. 329, 11. 62 ff.

Here a vacancy is to be assumed between Fronto and Marinus. The latter, the 'Julius Mar[']' attested in January of 97 (CIL XVI. 41) is identified as L. Julius Marinus, proconsul of Bithynia c. 89, compare the inscription of his son (ILS 1026). Perhaps appointed id 96 — and to have no long tenure, being replaced by Pomponius Rufus in 97 or 98.

There is space, it follows, for *Ignoti* in both commands towards the end of Domitian's reign. Their identification would be a precious fact of

<sup>19</sup> A. Stein, *Die Legaten von Moesien* (1940), 39 f.

<sup>20</sup> The date of the transference of Pompeius Longinus from Moesia Superior to Pannonia is vital. It can have occurred as early as 94. The question has been obfuscated by the obtrusion of L. Neratius Priscus (i. e., the suffectus of 87) as legate of Pannonia from 94 to 97. Thus, recently, A. Reidinger, *Die Statthalter des ungeteilten Pannonien*, etc. (1956), 58 f. Against, R. Syme, *Gnomon XXIX* (1957), 521. This governor is presumably the homonymous suffectus of 97, with the tenure 102—105.

<sup>21</sup> Martial X. 78, cf. R. Syme, *Gnomon XXXI* (1959), 515.

<sup>22</sup> A. Stein, o. c. 58 ff.; J. Fitz, *Die Laufbahn der Statthalter in der römischen Provinz Moesia Inferior* (1966), 44.

political and social history. In the first instance would occur Hadrian's kinsman and guardian, M. Ulpius Traianus (cos. 91). Trajan, whose father had been a friend of Vespasian and governor of Syria, was a firm support of the Flavian dynasty. Yet no consular employment is on record in the last years of Domitian. It was Nerva who sent him to Germania Superior (Pliny, Pan. 9.5).

Pliny in his *Panegyricus* is explicit and exuberant about one notable exploit of the future emperor. When Antonius Saturninus, the governor of Germania Superior, made a proclamation at the beginning of 89 the loyal Trajan conducted a legion from Spain with marvellous expedition. The orator has not seen fit to put on record any consular command. All he says is 'cum aliis super alias expeditionibus itinere illo dignus inveni-eris' (Pan. 14. 5). It is a fair surmise that Trajan was on Domitian's staff in Pannonia in 92 — and held a military province in the sequel.<sup>23</sup> To be sure, Pliny implies that Trajan stayed at Rome during the Terror — 'you shared our life, our dangers our fears' (Pan. 44. 1).

Not only Trajan. Julius Servianus (suff. 90) comes into the reckoning, the husband of Hadrian's sister. When Hadrian in the autumn of 97 was transferred to XXII Primigenia in Germania Superior, he joined Trajan and remained there with his successor Servianus. The question arises: had Hadrian previously served under either (or both) when *laticlavus* of II Adiutrix and of V Macedonica?<sup>24</sup>

Alternatives offer. The one person might have governed the Moesian provinces in succession, the *laticlavus* accompanying his relative. That would presuppose a promotion. Also, two legions for Moesia Superior, three for Moesia Inferior. Which is not excluded (compare above, on Ratiaria and the boundary between the two provinces). Otherwise, the tribune passed from the one consular relative to the other. If so, in which order?

Let it be supposed that Trajan held Moesia Superior from 94 to 96 or 97, succeeding Pompeius Longinus, with Servianus in the other province from 92 or 93 to 96 (after Octavius Fronto). In that case, Hadrian went first to Trajan as tribune of II Adiutrix and permuted to Servianus in 96. Julius Marinus took the place of Servianus (perhaps late in the year), but Hadrian did not depart. He stayed on as tribune of V Macedonica with Marinus (no personal attachment is on record), and did not join Trajan when Trajan was sent by Nerva to be governor of Germania Superior. It was the adoption that brought him from the Danube of the Rhine.

Trajan rather than Servianus as governor of Moesia Superior when Hadrian took up his tribunate in 95, is there any criterion for deciding? An extraneous item now supervenes, which may (or may not) be accorded validity. In any event, it raises questions of some interest concerning the imperial army.

An *optio* of the legion XV Apollinaris called M. Ulpius Dasius died at Carnuntum after 20 years of service (CIL III. 4491). That provides a date. This legion, it is generally held, was removed from Pannonia and taken to the eastern lands for Trajan's Parthian War. No evidence records its

<sup>23</sup> R. Syme, JRS XXXV (1945), 115 (review of A. Stein, Die Legaten von Moesien); Tacitus (1958), 34.

<sup>24</sup> R. Syme, Tacitus (1958), 34; JRS LIV (1934), 143 f.

share in any campaign — and it might not have been among the first of the Danubian legions to depart. However, XV Apollinaris turns up in the sequel at Satala as one of the two legions garrisoning Cappadocia. The soldier had 20 years of service — and also Trajan's *gentilicium*. If he was enrolled in or subsequent to 98, it would follow that XV Apollinaris did not leave Carnuntum until 118, or later.

That is not impossible. Another explanation avails. M. Ulpius Dasius carries Sirmium as his *origo*. That is to say, he is a native (observe the Illyrian *cognomen*) recruited from the territory of Sirmium and given the citizenship on enlistment. Perhaps he took the *nomen* not from Trajan the Emperor but from M. Ulpius Traianus, who may have been the governor of Moesia Superior in 94—96. As has been shown above, Sirmium probably belonged to the province at that time.

Such a surmise would need to be justified. Provincial governors transmit their *nomen* to clients. Yet a glance, however, cursory, at the nomenclature of new citizens shows that the practice tended to fade out. It was not encouraged by the emperors. Not but that examples can still be found in the Second Century. A family of Ummidii occurs at Gigthis.<sup>25</sup> It permits the conjecture that Hadrian's friend C. Ummidius Quadratus (suff. 118) was proconsul of Africa in 133/4.<sup>26</sup>

Soldiers are another matter. The thing occurred, to be sure in the early period. The army list at Coptos c. 1 B. C. (ILS 2483) provides clear instances. Thus two men with Ancyra for their *origo* and the name 'M. Lollius'. They are patently native Galatians enrolled by M. Lollius, when he was governor of Galatia (25 — 22 B. C.). Later examples are not easy to come by. The Caesars were jealous about *clientela*. They would not wish to have their monopoly infringed precisely in the armed forces.

Therefore, when the *nomina* of governors crop up among soldiers, one must proceed with caution. They may derive from civilian parents who have been granted the *civitas*. Thus probably the Batavian 'C. Petillius C. f. Vindex', *decurio* in an auxiliary regiment in the year 110 (CIL XVI. 164). A notable document. The *nomen* is that of the Roman general who defeated the Batavian insurgents C. Petillius Cerialis. His parent was enfranchised by the general.

Another document has strangely escaped notice: a list of legionaries who joined V Macedonica in 108 and 109 (CIL III. 6178: Troesmis). The names 'Aponius Moe[?sicus]' and 'Fonteius Capito' occur. They echo M. Aponius Saturninus, legate of Moesia in 69, and his successor C. Fonteius Capito, whose tenure was quietly terminated by death in the field. Perhaps these men are in fact the sons of soldiers who had been recruited in a season of emergency.

A later example has been detected, acclaimed with unanimity and exploited to a notable conclusion and certainty. An inscription found at Municipium Montanensium in Moesia Inferior carries the names of soldiers belonging to a  *vexillatio*  of the legion XI Claudia (CIL III. 7449). On the list no. 60 is reproduced as 'Umi. Quadratus'. He got his name, such is the

<sup>25</sup> CIL VIII. 4042-4; 22693; 22743.

<sup>26</sup> As argued in a paper on the senatorial Ummidii, *Historia* XVII (1968), 92.

assumption, from an Ummidius Quadratus who was governor of the province. That person turns up providentially, revealed by the inscription of his *beneficiarius* at Charax in the Crimea (Arch. Anz. 1911, 236). Hence a governor of Moesia Inferior under Antoninus Pius. He is identified as C. Ummidius Quadratus (consulate not attested) who married c. 137 Annia Cornificia, the sister of Marcus (PIR<sup>2</sup>, A 708). His governorship was therefore put c. 150.<sup>27</sup>

An attractive combination. The certitude was premature. First, the assumed acquisition of name and *civitas* might go back to the soldier's father. Here and elsewhere it is relevant to note that, like the freedman, the client does not normally take the *cognomen* of the *patronus*.<sup>28</sup> Still it may sometimes supervene in the second generation. Thus, presumably, the 'Fonteius Capito' recruited in 109 or 110 for v Macedonica. The prime instance is the Cypriote notable C. Ummidius Quadratus, the son of C. Ummidius Pantauches (IGR III. 750, f. 751: Palaepaphus). The latter got the citizenship from the great ancestor of the Ummidii (suff. c. 40), pro-consul of Cyprus under Tiberius (ILS 972).

Second, the original publication of the inscription in fact gave the soldier's name as 'Jmi. Quadratus'.<sup>29</sup> Observe two others on the list, viz. 'Mum. Celer' (no. 61) and 'Mu[?m.] Niger' (no. 66).

Doubt therefore arises, or even denial. That soldier did not take a governor's name, towards the year 150. And, for that matter, the legate of Moesia Inferior certified by the Charax inscription does not have to be the youthful husband of Annia Cornificia. Rather his parent, the suffectus of 118; and his tenure can be put c. 121-4.<sup>30</sup>

To sum up. There is a chance that M. Ulpius Dasius from Sirmium acquired *civitas* and *nomen* before the accession of Trajan. Hence a prop to the notice that Trajan was legate of Moesia Superior about the year 95. In any event, the hypothesis that both Trajan and of Servianus held governorships in the Moesian provinces as their first consular posts ought to be taken into account. The Rhine commands, though now reduced to three legions each, had a higher and a historic prestige. Trajan when adopted by Nerva was holding Germania Superior, and Servianus replaced him there. In the crisis of 97 the legates in the consular army commands were vital. Their previous employments are instructive — if they can be ascertained. For want of something better, Hadrian's military service is a relevant factor.

<sup>27</sup> W. Hüttl, Antoninus Pius II (1933), 120 ff.; A. Stein, o.c. 70; J. Fitz, *Epigraphica* XXVI (1964), 45 ff., cf. the résumé in *AE* 1965, 152.

<sup>28</sup> Compare remarks about persons called 'Sentius Saturninus', *Historia* XIII (1964), 163 f.

<sup>29</sup> *Eph. Ep.* IV, p. 527.

<sup>30</sup> As suggested in *Historia* XVII (1968), 89 f. A place can be found after the mysterious 'Irtorius' attested in 120 (CIL III. 7359), probably a Sertorius Brocchus, and before C. Bruttius Praesens (suff. ? 119). Cappadocia preceded Moesia Inferior in the cursus of Praesens (*AE* 1950, 66: Mactar; IRT 545: Lepcis).



## POVZETEK

*Hadrijan v Meziji*

Hadrijan je služboval kot *tribunus militum* v dveh mezijskih legijah (II *Adiutrix* in V *Macedonica*) od leta 95 do pozne jeseni leta 97. To dejstvo načenna vrsto vprašanj iz vojaške in administrativne zgodovine. Prvič, kolikšno je bilo število legij v obeh Mezijah. Predpostaviti moramo, da jih je bilo med 93 in 100 pet. Drugič, v kateri od obeh Mezij so bile stacionirane tri, v kateri dve legiji. Odločilna pri tem je ugotovitev, dokod je v tem času *Moesia superior* segala. Tretjič, garnizijski mesti obeh legij, ki sta prišli poslednji v provinco, namreč II *Adiutrix* in IV *Flavia*. Čeprav je še mnogo negotovosti, kažejo različni indici, da je bila II *Adiutrix* vsekakor v Meziji *superior*.

Dalje, določitev konsularnih legatov. Tribuni služijo navadno v provincah, ki jih upravljajo njihovi sorodniki. S tega vidika zaslužita našo posebno pozornost *M. Ulpius Traianus* in *Ser. Iulius Servianus* (ki se je poročil s Hadrijanovo sestro). Eden od njiju ali oba sta upravljala Mezijo proti koncu Domicijanove vlade. Morda pomaga še majhen indic. Vojak legije XV *Apollinaris*, *M. Ulpius Dasius*, je umrl v Karnuntu star 40 let po 20 letih službe (CIL III. 4491). Doma je iz Sirmija, ki je spadal med leti 86 in 106 verjetno v Mezijo *superior*. Morda je prejel ime in državljanstvo od Trajana samega, ki je okoli leta 95 upravljal provinco. Ni pa gotovo, če so v tem času legijski rekruti prejemali gentilno ime po guvernerjih, ki so jih vpoklicali.