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THE BEGINNINGS AND EARLY WHEREABOUTS OF *LEGIO II TRAIANA FORTIS*[*]

LOS INICIOS Y PRIMERAS LOCALIZACIONES DE LA *LEGIO II TRAIANA FORTIS*

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ABSTRACT - RESUMEN

The early Imperial Roman legions were military units with great mobility which were required to move quickly wherever their emperor ordered and therefore some of them were not assigned to a definite camp for a long time. We analyze and discuss the possible early whereabouts of *Legio II Traiana Fortis*, the strong second Trajan's legion, a legion which, until its definite settlement in Egypt, was garrisoned in Judea. By analyzing current archaeological and epigraphical evidence, we conclude in which exact year it was transferred to Judea and which legions were displaced in Egypt and the Middle East during the first years of Hadrian's reign.

Las legiones romanas altoimperiales eran unidades militares con gran movilidad a las que se requería que se desplazaran rápidamente allá donde su emperador ordenara y por lo tanto algunas de ellas no tuvieron asignado un asentamiento definitivo durante mucho tiempo. Analizamos y discutimos las posibles primeras localizaciones de la *Legio II Traiana Fortis*, la segunda legión fuerte de Trajano, una legión que, hasta su asentamiento definitivo en Egipto, fue acuartelada en Judea. Analizando la evidencia arqueológica y epigráfica actual, concluimos en qué año exacto fue transferida a Judea y qué legiones cambiaron de localización en Egipto y Oriente Próximo durante los primeros años de mandato de Adriano.

KEYWORDS - PALABRAS CLAVE

Rome; legion; *Traiana Fortis*; Dacian Wars; Trajan; Hadrian; Parthia; Judea; Egypt.

Roma; legión; *Traiana Fortis*; Guerras Dacias; Trajano; Adriano; Partia; Judea; Egipto.

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For centuries, legions were of fundamental importance for the supremacy of Rome in the hostile and predatory environment of ancient Europe. Marius' reforms first and Augustus' later professionalized the Roman army and turned it into the most fearsome and effective army of the Mediterranean region.

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During the Principate, Roman legions were usually made up of *uoluntari* (volunteers) who had to be unmarried Roman citizens (Rankov, 2007: 42; Southern, 2007: 142-144). The use of *dilectus* (conscription), as occurred in the case of *Legio I Italica* raised by Nero in A.D. 66 (Absil, 2000: 228-238), or *uicarii* (substitutes who did not need to be Roman citizens) was reserved for situations of imminent external threats or internal uprisings, e.g. a civil war.

DARK ORIGINS

As its name suggests, *Legio II Traiana Fortis* was created by *Caesar Nerva Traianus Divi Nervae filius Augustus*, best known as Trajan (*Italica*, Hispania A.D. 53 – *Selinus*, Cilicia 117). From the very moment of his appointment as *imperator* in 98, Trajan was determined to put an end to the threat that the Dacian kingdom, ruled by Decebalus, posed to Rome. The city, during emperor Domitian's reign, had already gone to war against Decebalus in 86-88. That war ended without a clear winner, the complete loss of one legion (most likely *V Alaudae*, in 86) and a peace treaty from which Rome did not get much benefit (Rodríguez González, 2017: 499; Salmon, 1990: 248; Jones, 1992: 141). The moment of the creation of *II Traiana Fortis*, along with *XXX Ulpia Victrix*, is most likely related to the two campaigns that Trajan launched against the Dacians (101-102 and 105-106) and the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom and its surroundings to create the new province of *Arabia Petraea* (106).

The exact year and the causes of its creation have recently been topics of discussion amongst scholars. According to E. Ritterling (1925: 1484), Trajan created this legion during his first campaign against the Dacians in 101-102. H. M. D. Parker (1928: 114) stated that its creation must have occurred «either between the first and the second Dacian War or between the latter and the Parthian War (114-117)». On the other hand, R. Syme (1971: 91-3) assumed that it was created in 103 along with *XXX Ulpia Victrix* in the context of the Dacian Wars, but its participation in the second Dacian War was, in his opinion, as it is for us, more than doubtful due to the lack of evidence in support of this. Other current scholars opine that there is enough evidence to think that the creation of *II Traiana Fortis* was more closely related to the annexation of the Nabataean kingdom or with the preparations for the forthcoming campaign against the Parthians that Trajan began to plan soon after the end of the Dacian Wars (Urloiu, 2014: 30-45). Despite these different opinions, most scholars agree to set the creation of this legion between 101 and 106.

One of the first known commanders of *II Traiana Fortis* in this period was *M. Arruntius Claudianus*, as an inscription found in *Ephesus* attests. *Arruntius Claudianus* was an equestrian officer who was promoted by Domitian to the senatorial order *inter aedilicios,* and likely commanded this legion sometime between its creation and 115-116, when he was appointed proconsul of the senatorial province of *Macedonia* (ILS 8821).[1]

The first place where *Legio II Traiana Fortis* was stationed is still a controversial topic, and the unceasing movement of legions during and after the Dacian Wars is the main culprit. It seems rather certain that, in its first years of existence, this legion was placed in the Lower Danube. While many historians opine that its exact whereabouts at that time had to be in the Roman province of *Moesia Inferior*, some others think of *Moesia Superior*, in *Singidunum* (modern Belgrade) to be precise (Syme, 1971: 91-3; Strobel, 2010: 364; cf. Urloiu, 2014: 30-45). The motive to support this latter hypothetical location would be that *II Traiana Fortis* could have replaced *IIII Flavia Felix,* which had been temporary assigned to the recently con-

[1] See PIR2 C 753 on his career.

quered Dacian capital city (*Sarmigezetusa*), and *II Adiutrix*, which had returned to its former camp in *Aquincum* (modern Budapest), in *Pannonia Inferior*, soon after the second Dacian War ended.

There is definitely a general consensus on stating that it did not take too long until *II Traiana Fortis* was posted to the eastern provinces of the Empire, although its first destination in those lands is still unknown, and the new war that Trajan planned against another mighty enemy certainly influenced its new destination. Rome, after having subjugated the Dacian kingdom, was ready to deal with a different arch-enemy: Parthia.

NEXT TARGET: PARTHIA

Trajan's *casus belli* to attack Parthia, at least officially, was related to the unsolved Armenian affair (Dio 68.17.1). Since Nero's reign, treaties signed with the Parthian Empire stated that the Armenian kings, although proposable by Parthia, had to be authorized and officially crowned by Rome. Despite this condition, in 110, Osroes I, one of the two Parthian emperors who disputed the complete control of the empire, crowned his nephew Axidares as king of Armenia without the consent of Rome, and this affront was serious enough to declare war.

Trajan left Rome in October 113 and, soon after, turned down peace proposals which were put forward by a Parthian delegation sent to Athens to meet up with him to prevent war. Not even the hurried and desperate substitution of Axidares by his brother Parthamasiris satisfied Trajan, who had gathered a large amount of troops in Antioch to prepare the invasion. Some authors opine that several detachments of up to seventeen legions participated, along with their auxiliary troops, most likely among which was *Legio II Traiana Fortis* (González, 2000: 205-6) Around the middle of 114, Trajan entered Armenia and, in *Elegeia*, he ousted Parthamasiris in order to definitively annex the kingdom to the Roman Empire as a new province. For doing this without bloodshed, Trajan was granted the cognomen *Optimus* by the Senate of Rome in August that year. It was time to zero in on Parthia so, in the same year, he entered the north of Mesopotamia with the main body of his army and conquered *Nisibis* and *Edessa*, among others, before returning to Antioch to spend the winter. In spring 115, he restarted the campaign with part of the army and triumphantly entered Dura-Europos, where he rejoined the rest of the army that had arrived by boat through the Euphrates. From there Trajan launched the final attack, first conquering Babylon and *Seleucia* and soon after the capital city of the Parthian Empire, *Ctesiphon*, which most likely occurred at the end of January 116 (González, 2000: 214). While the emperor was moving towards the Persian Gulf, a series of uprisings in the conquered territories and attacks launched by the Parthian army forced him to send troops to the north. These troops were commanded by *Appius Maximus Santra* and *Lusius Quietus*, a Berber commander of senatorial rank whom Trajan trusted very much. Whereas *Santra* was defeated and killed during the campaign, *Quietus* managed to reconquer *Nisibis* and plunder the rebel city of *Edessa* in August 116, thereby quelling the uprisings. Parthamaspates, son of Osroes and one of the instigators of the revolt, was soon crowned vassal emperor of Parthia in *Ctesiphon* by Trajan himself, thus avoiding proclaiming the complete annexation of the Parthian Empire to Rome in order to cool off the situation. Osroes, who still controlled a huge ammount of staunch troops, never accepted these manoeuvres and kept fighting until he managed to expel the Romans from Babylon. This massive Parthian counterattack, along with the bloody uprisings of the Jews of *Cyrene* (Libya), Cyprus and Egypt that we will comment later, led Trajan to retreat again to Antioch in 117 after his failed attempt to conquer Hatra. The will of Trajan was to reorganize his army in order to attack Parthia again while *Lusius Quietus*, his

right-hand man, quashed the Jewish revolt. But Trajan's health was delicate at that time and he finally passed away in *Cilicia*, in summer 117, while trying to return to Rome to recover.

Following the death of Trajan, the efforts of Rome to suppress the Parthian threat were futile and Hadrian, his successor, ordered to abandon the recently created provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia and Assyria for considering them indefensible. This and the fact that the eastern Roman provinces had become a powder keg during the last years of Trajan's reign caused a necessary reorganization of all the legions which had been sent to those Roman territories (Farrokh, 2007: 158-63).

TUMULTU IUDAICO AND KITOS WAR

There is reliable evidence to attest that there was a series of violent revolts caused by the Jewish community of Cyrene, Cyprus and Egypt against all those who did not practise their religion, in particular the Greeks, between 115 and 117. Among the sources that we have available on those events are Cassius Dio, some Roman epitaphs that mention them as the *tumultu Iudaico*, and some Christian writings (Dio 68.32.1; cf. Eus., *Hist. Eccl*. 4.2; AE 1912 179; AE 1928 2). Although the chronology of events is very difficult to know with certainty, this kind of holy war likely broke out in Cyrene and was led by a man called *Loukuas* (according to Eusebius of Caesarea) or Andreas (according to Dio) who acted as a messiah. The revolt soon spread across the Jewish communities of Cyprus and Alexandria. The huge number of violent rebels, along with the fact they seized some Roman warships, obliged Trajan to react forcefully. He sent a detachment of *Legio VII Claudia* to Cyprus and *classis Misenensis* (Fleet of *Misenum*), under the command of *Quintus Marcius Turbo*, carrying amphibian troops to Alexandria to deal with *Loukuas*' rebels operating there (ILS 9491). The repression was brutal: Dio wrote that 220,000 insurgents died in *Cyrene* and, after quelling the rebellion in Cyprus, Rome forbade the Jews to settle there under penalty of death. In Mesopotamia, the Jewish community also rose up between 116 and 117 against the presence of the Roman army during Trajan's campaign against the Parthians. As we mentioned before, it was *Lusius Quietus* himself who quashed that revolt.

It is not clear whether the Jews of the Roman province of Judea took part in those events, but some Jewish sources which mentioned *polemos shel Qitos* (Kitos War, alluding to *Lusius Quietus*),[2] along with certain medieval Syrian writings[3] and a small number of Roman epitaphs (AE 2000 647), provide us with enough information to attest that Judea was an important source of problems to Trajan during the last year of his reign and that Quietus dealt pitilessly with the situation, as his plunder of the city of *Lydda* (current Lod, in Israel) shows.

In fact, due to either his role as pacifier of Judea or his accumulated merits as Trajan's right-hand man, *Quietus* was appointed governor of the province in 117 and held that position until Hadrian, the successor of Trajan, ordered his execution in 118 to prevent him from disputing the throne. As McElderry (1908: 110-113), at the beginning of the twentieth century, and subsequently other scholars stated basing their hypothesis on a passage from Dio's work which mentioned that *Quietus* ruled over Judea as *vir consularis* (for he had been appointed *consul*, most likely *in absentia*), Judea might have changed its status and thus received a second legion in 117 (Avi-Yonah, 1973: 209-213).

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[2] Seder Olam Rabbah 30; Mishnah, Sotah *9*.14.

[3] Bar Hebraeus*, Chron. Syr*. (see Budge, 1932: I, 52). This Syriac author from the thirteenth century reported how Lumpis, the «king» of the Jewish rebels in Egypt, moved to Palestine where he was defeated and killed by the Romans under the rule of a general called Lysias.

Whether or not *Quietus* was ever appointed *consul suffectus* (deputy consul) is still a moot point (Syme, 1958: 9; cf. Keppie, 1973: 859-864) but, in our opinion, the above-mentioned hypothesis is not far wrong, as some evidence of the presence of *Legio II Traiana Fortis* in the region or Judea itself, which we will analyze later, will prove.

LEGIO II TRAIANA FORTIS AND JUDEA: A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP

There is reliable evidence in support that, until its permanent settlement in Egypt occurred during the third decade of the second century, *Legio II Traiana Fortis* was billeted in Judea for an undetermined time, but the very moment of its arrival is still controversial (Dio 55.24.3; CIL III 42; CIL III 79; Keppie, 1990: 54-61). This controversy is related to the exact year in which the province of Judea was granted new status.

The Roman provinces where the holder of the *proconsulare imperium* was the emperor, i.e. the imperial provinces, could have three different ranks: equestrian, praetorian or consular. The imperial provinces of equestrian rank, e.g. Judea until AD 70, were usually small provinces which were ruled by an equestrian prefect, or a procurator since emperor Claudius' reign, and only had available auxiliary troops and local militia for their defense, as they were not considered hazardous territories. Egypt, a vital province for Rome, was the exception and had quartered legions at its disposal.

The imperial provinces with praetorian and consular rank were administered by a senatorial legate of the emperor (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*). Those provinces with praetorian rank were ruled by an ex-praetor legate who also commanded the only legion that they had available, whereas the provinces with consular rank were ruled by an ex-consul legate and had two or three legions at their disposal, each one commanded by an ex-praetor *legatus legionis* who received orders from the ex-consul (Bruun and Edmonson, 2015: 291-4).

Judea became an imperial province of praetorian rank in 70 AD and received one legion, *X Fretensis*, that was quartered in Jerusalem (Dąbrowa, 1993: 13-6; Dąbrowa, 2000: 317-25). With the arrival of a second legion Judea became a province of consular rank, but the exact moment when this occurred is still a moot point.

W. Eck (1984: 56-61) suggested that *Legio II Traiana Fortis* settled in Judea in 108. His hyphothesis was based on his interpretation of the inscription ILS 1036, dedicated to *Q. Roscius Coelius Murena Silius Decianus Vibullius Pius Iulius Eurycles Herculanus Pompeius Falco*:

> *leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis) et leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) [pr]ovinciae Iudaeae consularis*

According to Eck, the word *consularis* that appears after mentioning *Pompeius Falco*'s rule over Judea demonstrates that he was appointed *legatus Augusti pro praetore* soon after being *consul suffectus* in 108, thereby leading Judea to become a province of consular rank and receive a second legion.

Some modern scholars have stated that the word *consularis* in ILS 1036 might be a mistake made by the stonecutter who expanded *cos*. into *consularis* (a nominative) instead of *consuli* (a dative), with the significant change of meaning that this implies (Urloiu, 2014: 30-45; Syme, 1958: 4; Schwartz, 2006: 23-52). Neither ILS 1035 nor AE 1957 336 mention the word co*nsularis* and none say that *Pompeius Falco* had been *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of

Judea with consular rank.[4] [5] Moreover, at the beginning of the second century, Judea was not problematic enough to require a second legion and therefore there was no need for a change of rank. Therefore, in our opinion, Judea did not become an imperial province of consular rank in 108 and we set the rule of *Pompeius Falco*, with praetorian rank, between 105 or 106, after the former governor *C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus*, and 108, when he was appointed deputy consul.

LEGIO II TRAIANA FORTIS IN JUDEA

Irrefutable evidence that *Legio II Traiana Fortis* was the second legion that Judea received before 120 is a milestone, found in 1979, that marked the ninth mile of the stretch of Roman road between *Colonia Claudia Ptolemais* (*Acco*, in the province of Syria) and *Diocaesarea* (*Sepphoris*, in Galilee, Judea):[6]

> *[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Tr]aiani Part<h>ici fil(ius) D[ivi Nervae] nepos Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pontif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) potestas (sic) IIII co(n)s(ul) III Leg(io) II T(raiana) IX*

According to it, during the fourth year of tribunician power and third consulate of emperor Hadrian, between 119 and 120, *Legio II Traiana Fortis* built that stretch of road. Other milestones found in the road that linked *Sepphoris* and the military camp of *Caparcotna*, in Galilee, and dated at the same year, prove that this road linked *Caparcotna* (later known as *Legio*), as *caput uiae*, and *Ptolemais* through *Sepphoris* and that the legion in charge of its construction was *II Traiana Fortis* (Isaac and Roll, 1998: 182-97).

Another evidence of the arrival of a second legion in Judea before 119 is the career of *L. Cossonius Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanius Marcellinus Numisius Sabinus* (AE 1999 93b; AE 2003 1801). *Cossonius Gallus*, who had been *legatus legionis* of *I Italica* and *II Traiana Fortis,* was *consul suffectus* in 116 and was appointed *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Judea in 118, and he was the first in that position that we can confirm had consular rank (*vir consularis*).

All this evidence, along with the fact that in 118 there were already three legions garrisoned in Syria (*III Gallica, IIII Scythica* and *XVI Flavia Firma*),[7] leads us to the following conclusion: after the Parthian campaign and the Jewish revolts occurred during the last years of Trajan's reign, the legions posted to the eastern provinces of the Empire were relocated. In 117 or 118 (though less likely), Judea became an imperial province of consular rank and this caused the arrival of a second legion, *II Traiana Fortis*, which settled in *Caparcotna* whereas

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[4] *Q(uinto) Roscio Sex(ti) f(ilio) / Quir(ina) Coelio Murenae / Silio Deciano Vibullo / Pio Iulio Eurycli Herc(u)lano / Pompeio Falconi co(n)s(uli) / XVvir(o) s(acris) f(aciundis) proco(n)s(uli) provinc(iae) Asiae leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Traiani Hadriani Aug(usti) provinc(iae) / Brit{t}anniae leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Nervae / Traiani Aug(usti) Germanici Dacici / [pr]ovinc(iae) Moesiae inferior(is) curatori / [via]e Traianae et leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) / [Iudaeae e]t leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis) leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) prov(inciae) Lyciae / [et Pamphyl]iae leg(ato) leg(ionis) V Macedonic(ae) / [in bello Dacico donis militari]bus donato*

[5] *[Q(uinto) Roscio Murenae Coe]/[lio Pompeio Falconi] / [consuli leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)] / [Lyci]ae et Pamphyliae / [leg(ato) A]ug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) Iudae(a)e / [cura]tori viae Traiana[e] / [leg(ato) A]ugusti pr(o) pr(aetore) Moes(iae) / [inf]erioris leg(ato) Aug(usti) / [pr(o)] pr(aetore) provinciae / Brit{t}anniae / [3 A]nnaeus Vibianus / [ex t]estamento fratris / [1] Annaei Vibi posui[t]*

[6] Isaac and Roll, 1979: 149-56. Their interpretation of this inscription was rejected (cf. Rea 1980: 220-221), but Benjamin Isaac proved it again (see Isaac 1982: 131-132).

[7] Urloiu, 2014: 30-45; AE 1903 254; CIL III 13609; AE 1974 659. Legion *XVI Flavia Firma* settled in Samosata to substitute *VI Ferrata* which had been recently transferred to Bostra, in *Arabia Petraea*.

the legion that had been garrisoned in Judea since 70, *X Fretensis*, remained in its *castra* in Jerusalem.

EGYPT, AT LAST

There is epigraphic evidence of the presence of *Legio II Traiana Fortis* in *Nicopolis* (a suburb of Alexandria) in 127 (CIL III 42; CIL III 79). So, when was that legion definitively transferred to Egypt? This is difficult to answer since there is not any available document or epitaph from those years to help us. Nonetheless, we will try to approach this problem.

In 123 emperor Hadrian had to go to the Euphrates because he was warned that Osroes I was raising a new Parthian army against Rome. They managed to reach an agreement but Hadrian had gathered, just in case, a task force with detachments of *II Traiana Fortis*, from Judea, and *III Cyrenaica*, from Egypt, under the command of *Tiberius Claudius Quartinus* (CIL XIII 1802). A good moment for *II Traiana Fortis* to settle in Egypt might have been precisely when it returned from that expedition, approximately in 124, thus substituting one of the two legions that were garrisoned there in those years; *III Cyrenaica* itself and *XXII Deiotariana*. It is very difficult to confirm which of these two legions was substituted, for there is no reliable evidence of either where they were or what happened to them between 124 and the end of Bar Kokhba revolt (around 136).

One hypothesis states that the substituted legion was *III Cyrenaica*, thus assigned to Bostra (*Arabia Petraea*) to substitute *VI Ferrata* which had been relocated to the Roman fort of *Caparcotna* (Judea) in 124 to replace *II Traiana Fortis* (AE 1900 161; AE 1973 553; AE 1928 137).[8]

By contrast, in our opinion, the substituted legion was *XXII Deiotariana*, and it would have been relocated to *Caparcotna*. Thus, *III Cyrenaica* remained in Egypt, alongside *II Traiana Fortis*, and *VI Ferrata* in its *castra* of Bostra until *XXII Deiotariana* disappeared (Keppie, 1990: 54-61), either annihilated or dismantled, most likely during the bloody Bar Kokhba revolt which occurred in Judea between 132 and 136, since the name of this legion does not appear in the list of existent legions around 145 (CIL VI 3492 = ILS 2288). It is very difficult to prove our hypothesis but we base it on two circumstances. Firstly; assuming, as most scholars do, the controversial opinion that *XXII Deiotariana* disappeared during the Bar Kokhba revolt, the destruction of this legion by the insurgents would have been easier if it had been garrisoned in Judea in those years (Mor, 2003: 107-32). Secondly; the thorough investigation conducted by professors Roll and Isaac on an inscription found in a stretch of the high-level aqueduct of *Caesarea* (Judea), built by the legions garrisoned in that province, which proves that the number and name of the legion in charge of that stretch had been intentionally deleted (under *damnatio memoriae*), as was usually done with the legions that were dismantled in disgrace or annihilated like *XXII Deiotariana* (Ameling *et alii,* 2011: 134).

Whichever the subtituted legion was, *II Traiana Fortis* definitively settled in Egypt before 127 and it was the only legion in that province since 136, whereas *III Cyrenaica* was definitively quartered in Bostra and *VI Ferrata* in *Caparcotna* (in the new province of *Syria-Palaestina*).

The history of *Legio II Traiana Fortis* spanned many more years until the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476. During the rest of its existence it was granted new epithets, either due to its successful participation in military campaigns, e.g. *Germanica* (CIL III 6592; CIL III

[8] The presence of Legion *VI Ferrata* in Judea since the last years of Hadrian's reign is therefore unquestionable.

6609),[9] or added consecutively after having served under certain emperors, e.g. *Antoniniana* (CIL III 12057), *Severiana* (CIL III 12052; AE 2003 1841), *Gordiana* (IGR I 1147; AE 1903 228), *Philippiana*, *Valeriana Galliena* and *Galliena* (Daris, 2000: 359-63).

The name of this legion appeared for the last time in *Notitia Dignitatum*, a document of the late Roman Empire, as a legion still garrisoned in Egypt around the beginning of the fifth century.[10] [11] After this last mention, its destiny remains hitherto concealed waiting to be revealed.

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[9] It was granted this epithet after its participation in the campaigns against the *alemanni* during emperor Caracalla's reign.

[10] *In partibus Orientis. XXVIII Comes Limitis Aegypti. Sub dispositione uiri spectabilis comitis rei militaris per Aegyptum: Legio Secunda Traiana, Parembole* (Seeck, 1876: 59).

[11] *In partibus Orientis. XXXI Dux Thebaidos. Sub dispositione uiri spectabilis ducis Thebaidos: Legio Secunda Traiana, Apollonios Superioris* (Seeck, 1876: 64).

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