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THE SPURIOUS “EXPEDITIO IVDAAEAE” UNDER TRAJAN

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1. The situation in the East

In the spring or early summer of A.D. 117 Trajan sent one of his foremost generals, the Mauretanian cavalry commander Lusius Quietus, to Judaea as governor.² Since A.D. 115 the Jews of the Diaspora had been rebelling all over the East, in Cyrene, in Egypt, in Cyprus and in Mesopotamia, at the same time when Rome was engaged in Trajan's great Parthian war.³ But what went on in Palestine proper at that time? One might expect that Jews in their homeland would have taken up arms as well, as they were to do some fifteen years later in A.D. 132 under Bar Kochba, and that one reason for sending Quietus to Judaea was to quell an insurrection. But oddly enough, there is no clear ancient evidence on this, and it has long been thought that no fighting took place in Judaea, or that it was on a very limited scale.⁴ However, research of the last decades has turned up various bits of information, and today one quite often encounters the opinion that war-operations went on in Judaea as well.⁵

This question might have some wider implications, because it has some bearing on the explanations for the rebellion of the Jews of the Diaspora - to mention one: if the rebellion is seen as a national movement,⁶ it would seem awkward that there was no co-ordination with the Jews in the homeland.

Among the evidence presented in favour of warfare in Judaea are many recently found inscriptions mentioning the presence of various military units during the end of, or shortly after,

¹ My sincere thanks are due to W. Eck, F. Millar, S. Panciera, H. Solin, and M.P. Speidel for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Naturally, errors and shortcomings are my own.

² Cass. Dio 68,32,5; see e.g. M. Pucci, *La rivolta ebraica al tempo di Traiano*, Pisa 1981, 104f.

³ See the treatment in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. - A.D. 135) I* (English version rev. and ed. by G. Vermes & F. Millar), Edinburgh 1973, 529-34. The monograph by Marina Pucci (see n. 2) is entirely devoted to this question. I follow the chronology generally accepted. It has recently been challenged in an interesting paper by T.D. Barnes, "Trajan and the Jews", *JJS* 40, 1989, 145-62, who argues that the rebellion did not start until A.D. 116, and that it began in Mesopotamia.

⁴ Cf. Schürer (above n. 3), 533: "Palestine does not seem to have been involved to any great extent in the revolt, but there is scattered evidence to suggest that real upheavals took place there and had to be repressed" and p. 534: "But it can hardly have come to real war. Otherwise our sources would say something about it". For limited warfare see also E.M. Smallwood, "Palestine ca. A.D. 115-18", *Historia* 11, 1962, 500-10; eadem, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, Leiden 1976, 421f.; and M. Mor, "The Roman Army in Eretz-Israel in the Years A.D. 70-132" in Ph. Freeman & D. Kennedy (eds.), *The Defense of the Roman and Byzantine East*, *BAR IntS* 297,ii, 1986, 579. Similarly also Barnes (above n. 3), 159f., who assumes that Judaea had a two legion garrison already before Trajan's war, which explains why no real rebellion was possible (based on W. Eck, "Zum konsularen Status von Judaea im frühen 2. Jh.", *BASP* 21, 1984, 55-67).

⁵ See Pucci (above n. 2), 104-19 with bibliography; see also some of the works referred to in n. 8.

⁶ Such an explanation is given by G. Alon, *The Jews in their Land in the Talmudic Age II* (ed. and transl. by G. Levi), Jerusalem 1984, 413. 429; a similar mention also in A. Fuks, "Aspects of the Jewish Revolt in A.D. 115-17", *JRS* 51, 1961, 104.

Trajan's reign.⁷ But as such they are hardly enough to show that there was a military campaign in Judaea, and so far no unequivocal evidence for a military campaign under Lusius Quietus has been produced.⁸

2. A man from Rome engaged in an "expeditio Iudaeae"

One inscription does however mention a campaign in Judaea which might belong under Trajan (contrary to the other epigraphical cases of *expeditio Iudaica* or the like, which can all be dated to either the First Jewish War or to Hadrian's campaign⁹). The inscription comes from Sardinia and has been known since its first publication in 1929 (NSA, p. 103f., whence AE 1929,167). For a long time considered lost, it was recently rediscovered and edited with interesting alterations of the reading:¹⁰

*L. Tettius Crescens / domo Roma / vix. ann. (vacat) / expeditionib. interfui(t) / Daciae bis
Armeniae / Parthiae et Iudaeae / se vivo sibi fec.*

The first to draw attention to this inscription was G. Alon, who thought that since Crescens had been fighting in Dacia under Trajan - the enumeration of the military campaigns makes it certain that the man had lived at the beginning of the second century - he had been enrolled in A.D. 105 at the latest (Alon did not know that Crescens in fact had participated also in the first Dacian war.) When the war against Bar Kochba broke out in A.D. 132, Crescens would have had at least 25 years of service on his record. Alon considered such a length of service unlikely, and therefore suggested that *expeditio Iudaeae* should refer to an earlier campaign under Trajan.¹¹ A decade ago

⁷ For a summary see now B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire. The Roman Army in the East*, Oxford 1990, 427-35 Appendix I: Roman army sites in Judaea. New evidence keeps turning up; see R. Last & A. Stein, "Ala Antiana in Scythopolis. A New Inscription from Beth-Shean", ZPE 81, 1990, 224-28.

⁸ The interpretation depends on the very vexed ongoing debate regarding the collocation of the legions in the East during the first three decades of the II century. A starting point is provided by Schürer (above n. 3), 547f. and M.P. Speidel, "The Roman Army in Arabia", ANRW II.8, 1977, 687-730 (= Roman Army Studies I, Amsterdam 1984, 229ff.); for the more recent discussion see D. Kennedy, "'Legio VI Ferrata': the Annexation and Early Garrison of Arabia", HSPH 84, 1980, 283-309 (but the reading of one crucial inscription has now been proved wrong, cf. P.-L. Gatier, *Inscr. Grecq. et Latines de la Syrie XXI*, 2, Paris 1986, 31f., no. 3); M. Mor, "Two Legions - the Same Fate? (The Disappearance of the Legions IX Hispana and XXII Deiotariana)", ZPE 62, 1986, 267-78; idem (above n. 4), 575-602 which also provides a comprehensive bibliography; K. Strobel, "Zu Fragen der frühen Geschichte der römischen Provinz Arabia und zu einigen Problemen der Legionsdislokation im Osten ...", ZPE 71, 1988, 251-80.

⁹ E. De Ruggiero, *Diz.Epi* II.3, 1922, 2192 s.v. "expeditio"; the four occurrences of *expeditio Iudaica* are all safely dated to Hadrian.

¹⁰ G. Sotgiu, "L'Epigrafia latina in Sardegna dopo il C.I.L. X e l'E.E. VIII", ANRW II.11.1, 1988, 560 nr. A 57 (with pl. II.1). It had been reedited before, on the basis of the reading of the discoverer A. Taramelli, in G. Sotgiu, *Iscrizioni latine della Sardegna I*, Padova 1961, 49 no. 57. Earlier the name of the deceased was given as *Bettius Crescens*, and the *bis* of the *exp. Daciae* was not mentioned.

¹¹ Alon (above n. 6), 417f. He was right in maintaining that the expression *expeditio Iudaeae* must be taken in the geographical sense, and not the ethnic. If the latter were true, the text could refer to an expedition against e.g. the Jews in Cyrenaica or Egypt. But to judge from the epigraphic evidence, when the fighting in Africa was meant, *tumultus Iudaicus* was the term used, cf. AE 1974,669a. 670. 672. Recently on the meaning of *expeditio* when used in a military context, see G. Alföldy, *Römische Heeresgeschichte*, Amsterdam 1987, 479-81.

this argument was taken up by Marina Pucci, who actually regarded this inscription as the strongest proof for the existence of a Judaean war under Trajan.¹²

3. Was Tettius Crescens really a soldier?

The potentially crucial epitaph of Tettius Crescens is worth some further attention. Firstly, we must ask whether Tettius Crescens can be considered a soldier at all. He is not mentioned in any of the large inventories of legionaries by G. Forni or J.C. Mann,¹³ nor, with one recent exception,¹⁴ in any other work dealing with the Roman army known to me, but one could of course surmise that he has escaped the attention of scholars dealing with the Roman army because no familiar catchword like *veteranus*, *miles*, etc. appears in the inscription. Thus, his absence from comprehensive works on Roman soldiers does not necessarily mean that he has been considered a non-military man by authorities in the field.

Instead, as proof of his military status one might point to the funerary monument, and the description given thereof by the first editor Taramelli:¹⁵ "nel centro ha scolpita in altorilievo un'aquila legionaria ad ali aperte". But such a relief does not prove much when it comes to determining the status of the deceased, since the eagle is one of the most common symbols in Roman funerary art, and in most cases refers only to the apotheosis.¹⁶ Admittedly, the eagle sometimes appears in connection with the burial of soldiers, and there it should perhaps be given a martial meaning.¹⁷ Nevertheless, generally speaking, the eagle in itself is not proof enough that the deceased had been a soldier.

When discussing Crescens' hypothetical military status, one interesting feature in the inscription might be worth examining closer, notably a feature that was left out by Pucci when she cited the inscription as proof for her theory.¹⁸ This feature is the mention of his origin: DOMO ROMA. Soldiers from the city of Rome are very rare during the Empire,¹⁹ understandably so since

¹² Pucci (above n. 2), 112. 116.

¹³ G. Forni, *Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano*, Milano 1953; idem, "Estrazione etnica e sociale dei soldati delle legioni nei primi tre secoli dell'impero", ANRW II.1, 1974, 339-91; J.C. Mann, *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement during the Principate*, London 1983.

¹⁴ Y. Le Bohec, *La Sardaigne et l'armée romaine sous le Haut-Empire*, Sassari 1990, 47. The military status is assumed as a matter of fact. Crescens' inscription is cited in a slightly incorrect version on p. 122.

¹⁵ A. Taramelli in NSA 1929, 103; for a photograph see now pl. II in Sotgiu's paper in ANRW II.11.1.

¹⁶ See e.g. H.P. L'Orange in EAA 1, 1958, 489-97 s.v. "Apoteosi". An interesting collection of funerary sculpture is provided, vid photos, in Museo Nazionale Romano I.7,1, Roma 1984 (ed. A. Giuliano). An eagle appears 14 times, only twice for soldiers (I.6 and V.28w), twice in a dedication by the *equites singulares* (III.6-7), but 4 times for women (II.10; IV.15; V.23; VII.29), 3 times for imperial slaves and freedmen (IV.3; VII.5; VII.10), once for another civilian (V.27) and twice without text (IV.7 and V.2).

¹⁷ As for the frequency of the eagle in military funerary art, one can point to e.g. Cl. Franzoni, *Habitus atque habitudo militis*. Monumenti funerari di militari nella Cisalpina Romana, Roma 1987, who presents 71 monuments (some of them fragmentary). In no case do we find an eagle with a symbolic meaning (in two cases *aquiliferi* carry the eagle standard, plates III.2 and XVII.1). Cf. also n. 31 below, where an eagle is represented in the funerary monument of a man, now thought by Speidel not to have been a soldier.

¹⁸ Pucci (above n. 2), 112 n. 399.

¹⁹ J.F. Gilliam, "The Veterans and 'praefectus castrorum' of the 'II Traiana' A.D. 157", *AJPh* 77, 1956, 363 = *Roman Army Papers*, Amsterdam 1986, 149; also P.A. Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic and Related Essays*,

the capital must have provided many more attractive ways of earning one's living than enlistment in the army.

Admittedly, it has been concluded by J.C. Mann (followed by others) that men from Rome were enlisted under very special circumstances, e.g. during a civil war, or when new legions were formed in view of a larger campaign.²⁰ Two new legions were actually formed under Trajan, the II Traiana and the XXX Ulpia, but they were both set up between the Dacian wars.²¹ Therefore, Tettius Crescens cannot have been enrolled in any of these legions, at least not when he enlisted for the first time, as he mentions the first Dacian war in his inscription. He can of course have been enrolled as reinforcement for an existing legion.

To another feature of Tettius Crescens' hypothetical service one can perhaps attach more importance, after the new reading of the inscription, namely its duration. If he fought in the Bar Kochba war, we must calculate a time of service closer to 30 years (from A.D. 102 to A.D. 132, or even longer). The official length for ordinary legionary service was 20 years, but in fact 25 years was more commonly the rule. Service-lengths of 30 years or more are also recorded.²²

Another possibility is that Tettius Crescens had been serving in one of the units in Rome, the *praetoriani* or the *urbaniciani*, the former unit certainly the more likely one.²³ We know that the praetorians took part in all the campaigns under Trajan.²⁴ Moreover, it is in the praetorian cohorts that we find most of the men of urban origin doing military service during the Empire,²⁵ understandably so, since to serve there was clearly a privilege, both because of the higher pay and the shorter service.²⁶ If Tettius Crescens had been a soldier and a praetorian, his service would

Oxford 1988, 253f.; Forni, *Il reclutamento* (above n. 13), gives among 73 identified legionaries from Italy under the Flavians and Trajan, just one from Rome (D 9107 = CIL III 14214.II,b,2). In Forni's additional paper in ANRW II.1, 1974, 371 no others are mentioned (but three soldiers from Rome among 20 Italians are added, recruited under Hadrian, *ibid.* 374f.).

²⁰ J.C. Mann, "The Raising of New Legions during the Principate", *Hermes* 91, 1963, 483-89, cf. Forni, ANRW II.1, 1974, 381f. and H. Devijver, ANRW II.1, 1974, 458.

²¹ Much discussion has been going on about the date for the founding of the two new legions. See most recently Strobel, ZPE 71, 1988, 270f. with bibliography (and *idem*, *Untersuchungen zu den Dakerkriegen Trajans*, Bonn 1984, 97-99. 331) who advocates A.D. 103. In any case it seems excluded that they could have been set up in time for the first Dacian war.

²² See Forni, *Il reclutamento* (above n. 13), 143 and Forni, ANRW II.1, 1974, 359.

²³ Of 148 soldiers from the first two centuries for which the *origo* is known, nine are from Rome; see H. Freis, *Die cohortes urbanae*, Köln 1967, 53. But we do not know whether the *urbaniciani* were present both in Dacia and in the East under Trajan; see Strobel, *Dakerkriege* (above n. 21), 104 for a possible presence in Dacia. Freis mentions nothing about any participation in military expeditions.

²⁴ Strobel, *Dakerkriege* (above n. 21), 103f. states that also *evocati* and *equites singulares* took part; F.A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian Wars*, London 1948, 178 for the Eastern wars.

²⁵ A. Passerini, *Le coorti pretorie*, Roma 1939, 148-56 lists 15 praetorians from Rome out of altogether 838 from the Italian peninsula during the first two centuries.

²⁶ Passerini (above n. 25), 100-130 *passim*. An appointment with the praetorians was probably easier to obtain for residents in Rome who had the opportunity to form the necessary liaisons for entering service. Patronage certainly played a role for men enlisting in the Roman army; cf. G. Watson, *The Roman Soldier*, Bristol 1969, 37f. and a possible case put forward by Chr. Bruun, *Arctos* 22, 1988, 29. New evidence is presented and discussed by M.P. Speidel & R. Seider, "A Latin papyrus with a recruit's request for service in the auxiliary cohorts", *JEA* 74, 1988, 242-44.

have been limited to 16 years, in which case his *expeditio Iudaeae* should fall well before A.D. 132 (provided his career was not continued as e.g. *evocatus*).²⁷

4. More likely: Tettius Crescens was a non-military man

How much importance can be attached to the omission of any unit of service and rank in the inscription? Admittedly, we know of soldiers who were not very detailed in describing their military career, but were content just to give their status as *veteranus*.²⁸ But clearly such cases constitute a small minority of all known soldiers; the pattern indeed seems to be that whenever a soldier had a tombstone erected, his service achievements were recorded.²⁹

We can also point to cases where soldiers have preferred to describe their military career with more fantasy than that involved in the usual formulas, and so for instance have named the places they visited instead of the units in which they served - the fourth-century case of Aurelius Gaius, recently discovered, is of course the best example.³⁰ All the same, the wording of the inscription from Sardinia raises the question whether we are not in fact dealing with a non-combatant participant in the wars of Trajan; at least it might be an aspect worth investigating.

We can be certain that Rome's armies, like all armies everywhere, were accompanied by a number of civilians and semi-civilians. One large group consisted in the camp-followers, servants and others who assisted the army on campaign. The Roman camp-followers were called *lixae* or *calones*; only a very limited number of such persons are known from inscriptions,³¹ but their numbers undoubtedly run into the thousands during a major campaign. Among them there were both slaves, freedmen and presumably some freeborn.³² Occasionally we can spot such a camp-follower in circumstances where the actual position must be deduced from the context, like in the

²⁷ The two longest terms of service mentioned by Passerini (above n. 25), 126 are of 26 respectively 28 years (CIL VI 2428 and 2534).

²⁸ The expression *veteranus Aug(usti)* is the most common, as can be seen for instance from the indices of l'Année Épigraphique.

²⁹ This assumption cannot of course be proven, and it is not difficult to point at noncommittal epitaphs of persons, for whom it is assumed that they had really been soldiers; cf. H. Solin, *Arctos* 24, 1990, 124f. on A. Alfidius Olussa in RIB 9: "wahrscheinlich ein Soldat".

³⁰ For Aurelius Gaius who during his service under Diocletian visited 23 provinces and dioceses as mentioned on his tombstone, see AE 1981,777. Other cases were military personnel mention the geographical extension of their service are e.g. D 2888: ... *scribae cl. pr. Mis. hic Epheso in munere missus defunctus est et ibi ... situs est*; D 9477 = MAMA VIII, 522 (reedited by M.P. Speidel & J. Reynolds, *Epigr. Anat.* 5, 1985, 31-35) where a soldier of the leg. I Parthica stresses that he had been stationed "by the river Tigris". Further examples are given by Speidel & Reynolds 34f.

³¹ For the very poor epigraphic evidence see G. Barbieri in *Diz.Epi* IV, 1964, 1426f. s.v. "lixa". A new case has possibly been turned up by M.P. Speidel, "Lixa of the Third Thracian Cohort in Syria", *ZPE* 38, 1980, 146-48 + Addendum, *ZPE* 42, 1981, 272 = *Roman Army Studies* I, Amsterdam 1984, 203-07: M. Titius, *lixa coh. III Tracum Syriac.* from the early I century (Lixa could also be a cognomen). A new discovery, one L. Freius L. l. Faustus, *lixa leg. V Macedonicae*, has recently been presented by R. Ivanov, *ZPE* 80, 1990, 131-36. For *calones* see the brief treatment in RE III (1899) 1362 (v. Domaszewski).

³² See K.-W. Welwei, *Unfreie im antiken Kriegsdienst* III, Stuttgart 1988, 81-112 and M.P. Speidel, "The Soldiers' Servants", *AncSoc* 20, 1989, 239-47. Among the literary evidence see e.g. Tac. *hist.* 2,71,1 *calonum numerus amplior* (sc. *quam sexaginta milia armatorum*).

wellknown funerary epigram from Noviodunum, where it is described how an *alumnus* of the praefect Postumus followed his patron to many postings in the empire.³³ This inscription exemplifies the fact that among civilians also it was common to let inscriptions tell about travels and voyages, the one feature which is so conspicuous about Tettius Crescens' epitaph.³⁴

Other categories of persons who may have followed the Roman army without being part of the fighting forces include various kinds of *mercatores* and *negotiatores*. We cannot prove that our L. Tettius Crescens was such a man, but many Lucii Tettii are found engaged in business activities. This was so already in the Augustan age.³⁵

Inscriptions from Rome do not tell us much about Lucii Tettii,³⁶ but in some other places we find people bearing this family name engaged in various kinds of economic activities. In Bologna there is a L. Tettius L. l. Philarg(yrus) who appears as *caligarius* together with two other artisans (D 7676 = AE 1896,114); near Luna a large inscription of a *collegium fabrum tignuariorum* mentions L. Tettius Apollonius and L. Tettius Glycon both as *medici* and *decuriones* (D 7227 = CIL XI 1355a); and outside Italy, in Arles, the oculist L. Tettius Sabinianus is found (AE 1902,52). Finally, recent finds from Britain and Ostia have turned up amphorae of Flavian date from Antipolis (Antibes) with the name L. Tettius Africanus.³⁷

One group of *mercatores* or *negotiatores* could be particularly listed, namely the slave-merchants. We have next to no evidence for their existence in epigraphical sources from the Empire, yet they must have existed. It has been surmised that slave-traders might have preferred to point to other aspects of their activity in the documentation left for posterity,³⁸ and a clever euphemism for a slave-trader following the conquering army all over the empire could certainly be "expeditionibus interesse".

³³ AE 1977,762 (now improved by H. Solin, *Arctos* 15, 1981, 116-21 and idem, *Arctos* 19, 1985, 198-200; cf. P. Cugusi, *Epigraphica* 48, 1986, 86-89 and also L. Gamberale, *ZPE* 77, 1989, 43-54): [-]stallus *alumnus* Postumi praef. class. apud fluentum Iberic(um) Romanus infans editus, *alumnus castris Martiis, Hibera postquam viderit et Maura longe moenia, nacta quiescit Moesica primaeve pubis indigus, ut verna florum germina vento feruntur Thracio*. It would certainly seem that we here deal with a follower of the *praefectus classis* Postumus, who had the opportunity to visit both Hispania and Africa and the Balkans.

³⁴ This is particularly common in *carmina epigraphica*, cf. G. Barbieri, "Una nuova epigrafe d'Ostia e ricerche sugli acrostici", *Quarta Miscellanea greca e romana*, Roma 1975, 301-403 who presents such an inscription, and on p. 310 a collection of parallels. See also recently H. Leppin, "Zur anonymen Pantomimeninschrift aus Rom", *Epigraphica* 51, 1989, 29-46 on the inscription of a much-travelled actor (AE 1956,67).

³⁵ We know of a medium-sized pottery manufacture owned by one L. Tettius in Arretium, while L. Tettius Crito seems to have been manufacturing goods close by Rome. The products marked L. Tettius were exported widely within the empire, but unfortunately no direct link can be established to our L Crescens, since the activity of the L. Tettii seems to have ceased during the last decade B.C.; see the extensive treatment by G. Prachner, *Die Sklaven und Freigelassenen im arretinischen Sigillatagewerbe*, Wiesbaden 1980, 133-37. See also s.v. "Tettius" in *RE VA* (1934) 1106 (Münzer).

³⁶ The index to *CIL VI* shows that among 28 male Tettii, 5 are Lucii. They are in some cases clearly later than our man, and the inscriptions do not tell us much about their occupations.

³⁷ See F. Laubenheimer, *Amphores romaines et histoire*, Coll. EFR 114, Rome 1989, 106f. and AE 1984,618 = *Britannia* 15, 1984, 344 no. 37. The man was coeval with the presumed brothers L. Tettius Julianus, consul in A.D. 83, and C. Tettius Africanus, *praef. Aeg.*

³⁸ W.H. Harris, "Towards a Study of the Roman Slave Trade", *The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome*, eds. J. D'Arms & E. Kopff, *MAAR* 36, 1980, 117-40 esp. p. 129 for "Notes on Slave-traders". See also the case-study "Aulos Kapreilios Timotheos, Slave Trader" by M. Finley in *Aspects of Antiquity* (2. ed. 1977), 154-66 (the inscription is also discussed by H. Duchêne, *BCH* 110, 1986, 513-30).

5. The meaning of "interesse". Civilians participating in "expeditiones"

Is it, then, possible to give the verb *interesse* the particular meaning of "being there", rather than "actively participating"? The original meaning of this verb is to indicate that something "is in between" (e.g. in a temporal or geographical sense). But we also find it in a wider meaning summarized by the ThLL as "de positione - latius i. q. adesse, participem esse, inesse, interdum cum notione adiuvandi".³⁹ Among the references one can point to Tac. ann. 1,76: *cur (Tiberius) abstinerit spectaculo ipse, varie trahebant; ... quia Augustus comiter interfuisset*. We are of course told that Augustus participated as an onlooker in the gladiatorial show, not as a contender. But the verb is very common, and often undoubtedly indicates direct participation.

Epigraphical parallels are perhaps more relevant in our case, but there seems to be rather few (the word is rarely listed in epigraphical indices). In the CIL VI it appears in four inscriptions, all rather sophisticated, which underlines the special character of the word. In one case we are dealing with an *elogium* for a charioteer from after A.D. 131 (VI 10048), in another case the word appears in a stipulation regarding a *locus* in private ownership (VI 10244 from A.D. 102). In both cases the meaning is "to participate". The same is the case in VI 32329, a fragment of the Acta of the *ludi saeculares* of A.D. 204, and in VI 2066, which is part of the Acta Fratrum Arvalium for A.D. 89. The word *interesse* was used only in this year (twice documented), but even then *adesse* appears as well, and in all the other numerous inscriptions dealing with the Arval Brotherhood *adesse* is always used to denote participation.⁴⁰

Interesse in a military context is known to me from one papyrus only, and even that a rather fragmentary one (dated to ca. 225/250 by R. Fink) where one can barely read *interfuit iteru[m]*, while it is difficult to make sense of the passage.⁴¹ Clearly, *interesse* was not commonly used in the Roman army, since if it had been so, we would have found traces in the papyrus material. Therefore it was not a question of military routine when Tettius Crescens used the word in his inscription.

Expeditio refers mostly to martial enterprises, but by no means exclusively. It has been concluded that the EXPEDITIO coins issued by Hadrian did not refer to campaigns, but to the emperor's travels around the empire.⁴² We also know that civilians as well as military men recorded their participation in *expeditiones*. For instance, the epitaph of one M. Ulpus Symphorus was erected by M. Ulpus Castorus *librarius Arabicus* because the former *expeditionibus duabus Galliae et Syriae secundum fuerat* (D 1684 = CIL VI 8883). Not only do both persons presumably belong to the *familia Caesaris*, but since the inscription refers to Hadrian's travels, we are dealing with non-military operations, at least in Gallia.⁴³ Other similar cases are known.⁴⁴

³⁹ See ThLL s.v. "intersum", cf. col. 2282f. for this particular meaning.

⁴⁰ See W. Henzen, Acta Fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt, Berolini 1874.

⁴¹ R.O. Fink, Roman Military Records on Papyrus, Ann Arbor 1961, 205 no. 53 "Morning Report? Unit Unknown" = P.Mich VII 455a verso = S. Daris, Documenti per la storia dell'esercito romano in Egitto, Milano 1964, 63.

⁴² Thus most recently H. Halfmann, Itinera principum, Stuttgart 1986, 43.

⁴³ See also Halfmann (above n. 42), 109 for the inscription.

⁴⁴ See D 1681 = CIL VI 8635 *D. m. Delicatus Augg. adiut. a cognitionib. domnicis obiit in expeditione Germanica ...* and D 1738 = CIL VI 8498 mentioning M. Aurelius Augg. lib. Prosenes *a cubiculo Aug. who died when regrediens in urbe ab expeditionibus*.

6. Conclusions

Two features in the epitaph of Tettius Crescens can be said, *prima facie*, to point to his having been a soldier, namely the sculptured eagle above the inscription, and the mentioning of four *expeditiones* in which he *interfuit*. As for the eagle, clearly in itself it constitutes no evidence for a military career (the epitaph for M. Titius, who Speidel thinks was a *lixa*, shows exactly the same feature⁴⁵). When the use of *expeditio* is examined more closely, it appears that it could denote both civilian expeditions, and civilian participation in military campaigns. Thus, when a person merely states that he *expeditionibus interfuit*, it is undoubtedly possible to give it a non-military interpretation. Perhaps an ambiguity was intended, and the person, who in this case had the inscription cut for himself, wanted to be associated with the glorious operations of the army.⁴⁶

What causes suspicions, and speaks against Crescens' status as a soldier, is precisely that the author of the inscription clearly wanted it to sound impressive. If Tettius Crescens really had been fighting in an army unit, why was he so secretive about it?

While evoking military associations, the inscription also conforms to a certain pattern during the Empire, the description of the geographical dimensions of a person's life. We know that camp-followers, *mercatores* and slave-traders must have existed by the thousands. At least some other L. Tettii were engaged in activities which might have led them to travel around, possibly in the wake of the army.

While all we have is circumstantial evidence, on at least three issues the probabilities speak against Crescens having been a soldier: he does not mention any military unit; he was born in Rome; and his epitaph was cut in Sardinia. What could lead a soldier from Rome to retire there? The normal pattern was for a veteran to return to his home, or, more and more often, to settle down close to where he had served.⁴⁷

Altogether, a case can be made for Tettius Crescens having been a civilian instead of a soldier, belonging to the "middle group" of the Roman society of which we know so little.

As for the events in Judaea, if Tettius Crescens was not a soldier, the chronological arguments for an *expeditio Judaeae* in about A.D. 117 fall down, since nothing prevents us from assuming that he had been conducting business in the wake of the army for 30 years or even longer.

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⁴⁵ Speidel, *Roman Army Studies I*, Amsterdam 1984, photo on p. 207.

⁴⁶ One must also consider the possibility that the text contains an exaggeration of the Judaeian experience. Perhaps only minor skirmishes (in A.D. 117 for instance) caused Crescens to use the term "expeditio Judaeae"? But the context is such that I think it must echo official terminology and some sort of common knowledge about a real military expedition.

⁴⁷ See Mann (above n. 13), 56-68. Possibly as late as under Trajan the last attempt to settle veterans in Italy was made, between Rome and the Tiber mouth. It is certainly easier to explain the Sardinian inscription if we assume that Tettius Crescens was travelling around the empire as *negotiator* or *mercator*.