

Domo Hispanus

MICHAEL P. SPEIDEL

A Roman citizen, when living abroad, as a rule, indicated his home in the form of a town. A non-citizen, on the other hand, when indicating his home, as a rule referred to his province. This is best observed in the many and rather uniform cases of Roman soldiers. During the first century A. D. and often much later still, legionaries and praetorians, as citizen soldiers, generally gave towns as their homes, while non-citizen auxiliaries generally gave provinces¹.

This was simple enough for an *Afer*, *Lusitanus*, *Britto*, *Raetus*, *Noricus*, *Pannonius*, *Dalmata*, *Thrax*, *Cappadox*, or *Syrus*, since their provinces, at least in the first century A. D. were undivided and unmistakable. A *Gallus*, however, might come from Narbonensis, Lugdunensis, or Belgica, hence the phrase *natione Gallus* could be misleading. Gallic auxiliaries, therefore, even though serving abroad, never called themselves *Galli*, but instead have their *civitas* as their home². And what about Spaniards? Since the phrase *natione Hispanus* or a similar expression did not say whether a man came from Baetica, Hispania citerior, or Lusitania, Spanish non-citizen auxiliaries, too, mostly gave their *civitas* as their home, even when serving abroad³. In some cases they mentioned Spain in addition to their *civitas*⁴.

¹ However, non-citizen soldiers from the Orient often gave their *civitas* instead of their province, following the Greek tradition that defined a man by his town. See M. Speidel, «The Soldiers' Homes», *Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums über die Militärdiplome*, Passau, 1984, ed. W. Eck, Köln, 1986, forthcoming.

² Likewise, auxiliaries from the two Germanies gave their *civitas*, all the more since a *natione Germanus* might be mistaken for a free German. A rare (civilian) *nat(ione) Gallus* is known at Brigetio, RIÜ, II, 447.

³ Since service in a unit of one's home province also was a reason not to mention that province, only those serving in non-Spanish units are listed here: ILSard, 222; CIL, III, 2016; 4227; X, 7596; XVI, 47; 56; 166.

⁴ Thus RIB, 159 (cf. P. Le Roux, *L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces ibériques*

Only three soldiers are known to have given Spain and nothing else as their home⁵. One is an auxiliary whose diploma is made out to *Reburro, Severi f. Hispan(ó)*⁶. Auxiliary diplomas gave either *civitas* or province, but not both. On his gravestone Reburrus may well have given both. The second case is a legionary, described by his epitaph as *na(tione) Hispanus*⁷. The stone belongs to the ambience of the Ravenna fleet and adopts the fleet soldiers' way of indicating their homes⁸.

Our third case is therefore all the more interesting. It is a first-century gravestone from Pannonia with the following inscription⁹:

*Ti(berio) Cl(audio), Britti filio, Valerio, decurioni
alae II Aravacorum domo Hispano, annor(um) L,
stipendorum XXX, et Cl(audiae) Ianuariae, coniugi
eius et Cl(audiae) Hispanillae filiae, vivis ex
testamento. Flaccus dec(urio) frater et Hispanilla
filia heredes faciundum curaverunt.*

Valerius, then, is the only auxiliary described by his epitaph merely as a Spaniard, without mention of province or town. In Pannonia where he served, he was surrounded by strangers, yet his unit, and surely many of his colleagues, had come from Spain. As a decurion, Valerius played a leading role among them and may have been a spokesman for the Spanish in their foreign environment. At any rate, he was quite proud to be a Spaniard, for he called his daughter Hispanilla¹⁰. It follows that when Valerius unconventionally called himself *domo Hispanus*, he did so out of pride in Spain—all of Spain, it seems—as his home country.

d'Auguste à l'invasion de 409, Paris, 1982, p. 193, no. 81): *cives Hisp(anus)*, *Cauriesis*; *AE*, 1980, 537 (cf. *RAS*, I, 407; Le Roux, p. 192, no. 78): *Hispanus, domo Leonica*; *CIL*, XIII, 11317 *ex Hispania[---]niensis*; *AE*, 1972, 359 (cf. Le Roux, p. 239, no. 236): *domo ex Hisp. citeriore, Augusta Brac.* (3rd. century).

⁵ The Latin designation *Hispanus* used by Le Roux, 223ff. for a large number of soldiers is not warranted in most cases. Within the Iberian peninsula no soldier is described as *Hispanus*. The praetorian's *Hispanus*, *CIL* VI, 2498 = Dessau 2027, seems to be a *cognomen*, for praetorians, in the early period, never give their home province just so, see A. Passerini, *Le coorti pretorie*, Roma 1939, 156.
century, witness *CIL*, VI, 3278, *legione prima Adiutri(cis)* (third century).

⁶ *CIL*, XVI, 48 (a. 103).

⁷ *AE*, 1978, 342; cf. Le Roux, p. 195, no. 86.

⁸ Cf. Le Roux, loc. cit.; a third-century date is more likely than Le Roux suggested (*ibid.*, cf. p. 29), for the fully written name of a legion, in Italy, does not date an inscription to the first century, witness *CIL*, VI, 3278, *legione prima Adiutri(cis)* (third century).

⁹ *CIL*, III, 3271 (Teutoburgium).

¹⁰ For Hispanilla as derived from *Hispania*, see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki, 1965, 199. Hispanilla occurs also in *CIL*, III, 2083; 4489; 5839 (Ispanilla); VI, 27654 (Spanilla). Names given to the children of auxiliaries are known from elsewhere, too, to have expressed the feelings of their parents, like Emeritus and Emerita as children of a veteran, *CIL*, XVI, 2; or Vindelicus, son of a foreigner serving in Raetia, *CIL*, XVI, 5. By contrast, Dessau 2514 is probably wrong in restoring *Maurica*, see *CIL* VIII 21024 and the photograph Leveau, *AA* 1973, p. 158.