

RECRUITMENT AND IDENTITY  
EXPLORING THE MEANINGS OF ROMAN SOLDIERS' HOMES

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Origins are among the strongest markers of human identity. Latin and Greek documents (inscriptions and papyri) often add geographic or ethnic information to personal names and thus provide a rich source for studying the origins and migrations of individuals from the Roman Empire. This practice is particularly well documented for Roman soldiers of the first three centuries CE. It is surely significant, therefore, that every recruit was obliged to indicate his legal status and geographical background at provincial headquarters during his recruitment procedures (*probatio*) by answering queries (*examinatio*) about his parents' origins (*origo parentum*)<sup>1</sup>. The information was then entered into his personnel files. Countless military documents and soldiers' inscriptions thus record origins by giving the names (full or partial) of cities, provinces, peoples, or tribes, sometimes introducing them by one of the terms *domo*, *natione*, *natus*, *oriundus*, *regione*, or *civis*, or by adding them as adjectival compliments<sup>2</sup>. The wording may thus vary, but there can be no doubt that this practice intended to indicate a soldier's home. Many modern investigations of the patterns and principles of recruitment to the different branches of the Roman imperial army have therefore made use of this important feature<sup>3</sup>. The precise meaning of the various expressions, however, has been a matter of debate. In the days of Theodor Mommsen, when the

1. Plin., *Ep.* 10.30; *AE* 2013, 2182 and 2184: (...) *ex dilectu probati parum examinata origine parentum* (...). – I thank Dan Dana (Paris) for his helpful comments.
2. A small selection may serve to illustrate the phenomenon: *Heras Ennom/ai f(i)lius*, *mil(es) c(oh)or(tis) II / Cyrr(hestarum)*, *do(mo) Cyr(rh)o: ILJug II, 842* (Burnum); *L(ucius) Tadius Cn(aei) f(i)lius Arn(ensi)/ domo Carthag(ine)*, *miles leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae): ILTun 468* (Ammaedara); *Vlp(ius) Maximus/nat(ione) Pann(onijs)*, *mil(es) l(egionis) X G(eminae): I. Ankara 49* (Ankara); *Catalus Callaei f(i)lius/natione Sequ(anus)*, *equ(es) ala(e) Scub(u)l(orum): CIL V, 907* (Aquileia); *Mucatral(is) / Site f(i)lius, natio(ne) / B(essus)*, *m(iles) c(o)h(ortis) II F(laviae) B(rittonum): ILBulg 64* (Oescus); *Scaurus / Ambitouti f(i)lius/domo Nantuas/eques ala / [B]osporanorum: ILS 2510* (Karkamış); *Iulius Lon(ginus) Doles / Biticenti f(i)lius*, *Bes(sus)*, *eques alae / Tau(rianae) tor(quatae) vic(tricis) c(ivium) R(omanorum): ILS 2516* (Calagurris); *Marcellus Bolgedonis (filius)/ miles coh(ortis) I Ligur(um)/ civis Sequan(us): AE 1967, 338* (Niedernberg); *L(ucius) Septimi(us) L(uci) f(i)lius n(atione) / Pannonius d(omo) Vlp(ia) / Papir(ia) P(o)etavione / Marcellinus: CIL III, 1890* (Lugdunum); *M(arco) Vlpio Quartioni/ C(olonia) Ar(a) A(grippinensium)*, *eq(ues) sing(ularis) / Aug(usti): AE 1968, 49 = Speidel 1994, no. 170* (Rome). Numerous other examples can easily be found in the established online data bases and relevant epigraphic collections.
3. Cf. only Forni 1953; 1992, p. 11-63, 64-141; Kraft 1951; Holder 1980; Mann 1983. Most recently see Sołek 2015 with further literature.

phenomenon was first investigated, juridical interpretations dominated the contemporary scholarly interest<sup>4</sup>. This line of research has since been completely abandoned. About a century later, administrative practises of individual units or branches of the imperial Roman army were suspected to have been responsible for the variations that occur in the ways in which soldiers' names and origins were recorded in military diplomas<sup>5</sup>. Yet more recently, attempts to make sense of the different formulas used to express origins have been made in the context of the now fashionable field of research on ethnicity and ethnic identity in the ancient world<sup>6</sup>. According to these studies, the various formulas expressed specific meaning including world views, mental maps, urban lifestyle, notions of grandeur, and tribal bravery. We therefore need to ask, to what extent personal choice shaped the ways in which the homes of Roman soldiers were recorded in official and private documents on papyri and inscriptions.

### Encrypted meanings?

In a recent study, Richard Talbert used the geographic and ethnic data contained in military diplomas to investigate “world views” and personal “mental maps” of the Roman Empire that Roman soldiers may have had<sup>7</sup>. This is a novel and intriguing attempt to make scientific use of the information contained in these important documents. R. Talbert argues that the recipients of military diplomas were consulted in advance of their discharge, in order to personally supply the necessary information on their home or ethnic origins, and that they were free to indicate their origins as they wished. Hence, some Pannonians would call themselves *Pannonius* on their diplomas while others chose to be more precise and referred to their Pannonian tribes: *Eraviscus*, *Azalus*, *Cornacas* and so on<sup>8</sup>. According to R. Talbert, it “is only natural to expect that men gave as their *origo* the place or people with which they most closely identified themselves and regarded as their ‘home’”, and that this information can therefore be used to “re-create the outlook of some of the empire’s vast lower-class, non-Roman-citizen population”<sup>9</sup>. According to R. Talbert, personal choices led some soldiers to conceal their ethnic or geographical origins or at least kept them unconcerned when supplying unintelligible place names, whereas others made sure to declare their origins for their diplomas in such ways that even people from afar could make sense of them<sup>10</sup>. Non-citizens from Pannonia serving abroad, for instance, could call themselves *natione Pannonius* on their military diploma rather

4. See in particular Wilmanns 1877; Mommsen 1910, p. 92ff; *CIL* III, 6627, 1212; Vittinghoff 1971, p. 301-308. Mócsy 1992a; 1992c; Sołek 2015.
5. Cf. esp. Mócsy 1992b; Speidel 1992.
6. E.g. Derks 2009; Talbert 2013.
7. Talbert 2013, p. 163 (though wrongly describing military diplomas as “discharge documents”) and 165. Cf. also Talbert 2008, p. 24; 2010, p. 269.
8. Cf. e.g. *CIL* XVI, 2, 17, 20, 96, 97, 99, 112, 123; *RMD* III, 169, etc.
9. Talbert 2013, p. 166-167, 170.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 166-168, without, however, explaining why any soldier should have wished to conceal his home in an official document.

than *Eraviscus* or *Azalus* or *Cornacas* etc. or, if they considered their home to be too obscure to be meaningful, they could choose formulations such as *ex Pan(nonia) Infer(iore) Iatumentianis* (RMD IV, 304)<sup>11</sup>.

R. Talbert also argues that a man might even change the way he referred to his home during the course of his military service, and provides a seemingly convincing case<sup>12</sup>. For according to the widely accepted interpretation of a “corrected” word on a military diploma of 133 CE (RMD I, 35) for one *Sepenestus Rivi filius* of *cohors I Britannica milliaria* in Dacia Porolissensis someone attempted to correct the recipient’s *origo* on the outer face of this diploma<sup>13</sup>. The original text read PANNON, and *Pannonius* is indeed what one might expect on a diploma of a Pannonian soldier serving abroad<sup>14</sup>. C. Daicoviciu and D. Protase, the editors of the diploma, believed the correction to read CORNON or COR(I)NON, and suggested that this referred to *Corinium Dobunorum* in Britannia (modern Cirencester)<sup>15</sup>. The editors of the *Journal of Roman Studies*, however, in an *addendum* to Daicoviciu’s and Protase’s publication of the diploma, preferred to recognize a reference to the Pannonian tribe of the *Cornacates*<sup>16</sup>. J.C. Mann, in a letter to Margaret Roxan, supported the latter view and suggested that it was the owner of the diploma himself who “corrected” PANNON to CORNAC, thus giving a more precise indication of his home. Talbert concurs and adds that the soldier retrospectively wished to claim a more appropriate identity, or to refer to a name with which he more closely identified<sup>17</sup>. If true, we would be dealing with an anomaly as the surviving military diplomas usually indicate an auxiliary soldier’s tribe as his home only if he served within his province or if his unit, though stationed abroad was raised in his home province<sup>18</sup>.

R. Talbert further points to a group of “diplomas issued to sailors” in which “in the second decade of the third century, the *origo* is expanded to specify three levels – province, city, and village”<sup>19</sup>. This phenomenon has long been recognised but it has not, as yet, been convincingly explained<sup>20</sup>. R. Talbert proposes that it had “for some reason [...] become a matter of pride among sailors to demonstrate a more informed worldview in this way”, as “greater specificity in stating an *origo* can hardly have been a demand on the part of the authorities, because by the reign of Elagabalus diplomas had become no more than honorific”<sup>21</sup>.

Ton Derks, in an earlier, independent study, also recognised expressions of “mental maps” in the ways soldiers’ homes were recorded in their inscriptions, and argued that the *Batavi*, *Tungri* and other northern tribes who contributed very large numbers of recruits to the Roman army deliberately designed the epigraphic designations of

11. *Ibid.*, p. 167f.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 166 referring to Speidel 1992, p. 323-325.

13. For a full commentary and a new reading see now Dana 2017.

14. Thus Speidel 1992, p. 313ff. Cf. also J.C. Mann in RMD I, ad no. 35.

15. Daicoviciu, Protase 1961, p. 64.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 70, with reference to *CIL* XVI, 2.

17. Talbert 2013, p. 167.

18. Speidel 1992, p. 313-316.

19. Talbert 2013, p. 168, referring to diplomas of *milites classarii*.

20. Weiß 1999; 2000, esp. p. 284: “Auf dem gesamten Feld besteht weiterhin Beobachtungs- und Erklärungsbedarf”. Talbert does not refer to Weiß’ contributions.

21. Talbert 2013, p. 168.

their homes to convey notions of military virtues such as “manliness”, “bravery”, and “martiality”<sup>22</sup>. The “label” Batavian, he claims, became “synonymous with typical military virtues”, which is why, even after the establishment of the *Municipium Vlpium Noviomagus Batavorum*, “Batavian auxiliarii preferred to [...] present themselves as ‘*Batavus*’ rather than ‘*civis Noviomagensis*’ or, collectively, as *Noviomagenses* or *Vlpienses*”<sup>23</sup>. The *Tungri* and the *Cananefates* more or less followed the example of the *Batavi* in generally avoiding to indicate their origins by reference to their municipal centres, the *municipium Tungrorum* and the *municipium Aelium Cananefatium*. The *Vbii* and the *Cugerni*, on the other hand, quickly gave up their old ethnic names after the elevation of Cologne to *colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium* and Xanten to *colonia Vlpia Traiana*: the *Vbii* calling themselves *Agrippinenses* and the *Cugerni* *Traianenses*, because, it is alleged, they thereby wished to express their superior urban lifestyle<sup>24</sup>.

Finally, B. Turner argued in a recent study that inscriptions displaying long lists of soldiers’ names and abbreviations of their origins “can be re-imagined as a sort of map upon which the peoples and places of the Roman Empire were inscribed for posterity”, allowing the viewer “to recognise at least a part of the Roman Empire”. Such monuments in Rome and the provinces, Turner claims, “serve(d) to increase the grandeur of the Romans and their limitless empire”<sup>25</sup>. Did soldiers record their homes to express such notions?

## Recording homes

It is certainly true that every soldier of the Roman imperial army had to reveal his origins to the military authorities. However, the only known occasion for this to happen was not shortly before his honourable discharge but during the recruitment procedure (*probatio*), thus even before his actual enrolment. Trajan insisted that recruits were obliged, on the day of their *probatio*, to tell the truth (*veritas*) about their *origo*<sup>26</sup>. A recently discovered edict, which Hadrian issued in 119 CE to enfranchise soldiers who had unrightfully been drafted or transferred into the praetorian cohorts without being Roman citizens, confirms that even drafted recruits were questioned about the origins of their parents as a matter of routine<sup>27</sup>. Unsurprisingly, therefore, several papyri surviving from the Roman army’s administrative services contain lists of soldiers’ and their origins. Extracts of such lists were occasionally also copied on

22. Derks 2009, esp. p. 263f., 269.

23. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 257, 268 n. 122. See also Roymans 2004.

24. Derks 2009, p. 257, 264.

25. Turner 2015, p. 387-390, with references to Turner 2013, Talbert 2008, p. 24; 2010, p. 269. Turner 2015, p. 387, 389-390 mistakenly speaks of “discharge notices” and “postings of the discharges in Rome”, as he believes military diplomas to “commemorate” the discharge of their owners (*ibid.*, p. 389). Talbert’s approach was also welcomed by e.g. Albaladejo Vivero 2014; Geus, Thiering 2014, p. 7 n. 1; Turner 2015.

26. Plin., *Ep.* 10.30: *Ille enim dies, quo primum probati sunt, veritatem ab iis originis suae exegit.*

27. Four copies have survived, three of which are fragmentary: Mráv, Vida 2011-2013; *AE* 2013, 2182-2184. Cf. Eck 2013b; Eck, Pangerl, Weiss 2014a; 2014b.

inscriptions. Together, these documents illustrate how soldiers' names and homes (as well as their *tribus*, if they were Roman citizens) were recorded in the army's personnel files since the early years of imperial rule: *nomina cum tribus et patriis*<sup>28</sup>. Thus, full entries for Roman citizens in the administrative papers of the military during the first three centuries took the forms:

[ - C]anidius · C · f · Pol(lia) · Ancyra (BGU IV, 1083, l. 2),  
C. Valerius C. f. Pol(lia) Bassus Cas(tris) (P. Gen. Lat. 1 recto III, l. 4),

those for auxiliaries:

Sarapion Isidori Anti(noïtes) (P. Mich. III 162, l. 25),  
Pathermuthis Ptolemei Heliopol(i) (ChLA X, 410, fr. A, 2, l. 31),

or

C. Valerius Germanus Tyr(o) (P. Gen. Lat. 1 recto I col. iii, l. 1).

Registering soldiers' origins made sure that their names were all permanently linked to a specific geographical indication from the very day of their enrolment into the army. Unfortunately, our sources fail to inform us why exactly this was done<sup>29</sup>. Interestingly, the terms *natione* and *domo* are extremely rare on military diplomas and none of the surviving official military lists appears to indicate soldiers' homes by using the terms *regione*, *civis*, *natus*, *oriundus* etc.<sup>30</sup>. Such expressions were confined to gravestones and altars. That, among other considerations, strongly recommends analysing official and private documents separately. For although administrative documents can be shown to have influenced the terms and formulations used on privately sponsored inscriptions, the two groups evidently served very different purposes<sup>31</sup>. We therefore cannot simply assume that the formulas used on altars and gravestones always strictly followed the official practice of the military administration.

Military diplomas, on the other hand, are official legal documents. Their texts consist mainly of a standard compilation of copies and extracts from texts and lists produced by the imperial chancellery and the military's administration. They certify that the owner of the diploma had received Roman citizenship and / or the right to enter into full legal marriage with a non-citizen wife (*conubium*) as a reward for

28. Thus AE 1981, 134 = AE 1989, 62: Rome and CIL VI, 793 = CIL XIV, 2258 = ILS 505, Albanum, both 3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE. Compare Tac., *Ann.* 1.44: *nomina, ordinem, patriam*... Cf. Forni 1992, p. 191-196 on varying forms of *origo* indications in inscriptions. Personnel files of individual soldiers may indeed have been kept since the civil wars of the Late Republic: Cosme 1993. For surviving documents on papyrus listing legionaries with their homes see e.g. BGU IV, 1083. P. Gen. Lat. 1 recto III. For auxiliary soldiers: ChLA X, 456 + XI, 468 (with R. Marichal, in ChLA XI, p. 5, and Speidel 2009, p. 217-218); ChLA V, 283; ChLA XI, 481; P. Mich. III, 162. For the practice of copying of administrative documents (and, mainly, extracts thereof) onto inscriptions on durable materials see Speidel forthcoming.

29. Particularly, the meaning of the term *origo castris* has been heavily debated ever since Wilmanns 1877, p. 200-203. Cf. Mommsen 1884, p. 10f. and CIL III, 6627; Vittinghoff 1971; Mócsy 1992c; Mirković 1980; 2007; Phang 2001, p. 326ff., 336, 342.

30. *Natione*: CIL XVI, 10, 152; RMD I, 78; RMD II, 131. *Domo*: CIL XVI, 152 and 154 (both 3<sup>rd</sup> century fleet diplomas of soldiers from Italy).

31. On such influence see Speidel forthcoming.

completing his full term of military service. Military diplomas therefore employ terms and expressions from the language used by the respective offices. The reasons why diplomas with unaltered texts continued to be issued to praetorians, horse guards and fleet soldiers after the *constitutio Antoniniana* (as if that decree had never been issued) are not yet fully understood<sup>32</sup>. We can be confident, however, that even after 212 CE these documents were more than merely “honorific”, as they continued to be issued as formal legal documents containing privileges granted by the emperor and recorded by a sealed master text on the inside and a copy of it for ready access together with the seals of seven witnesses on the outside (“Doppelurkunde”)<sup>33</sup>.

Furthermore, the surviving evidence for members of the Roman army changing their *origo* can hardly be used to detect feelings of belonging, for they all appear to be linked to a change of the respective recruits’ or soldiers’ legal status. Thus, a certain unknown (but perhaps larger than generally admitted) number of non-Romans were enfranchised (and therefore assigned a new urban home) upon enrolment so they could serve in the legions<sup>34</sup>. An inscription from the early second century CE reveals the case of a tribesman of the Upper German *Triboci* from the region of modern Strassburg, who was given a new home in Lower Germany’s main city Cologne (perhaps upon his promotion from service in the frontier cavalry to the imperial horse guard in Rome)<sup>35</sup>. Cologne may have been the city of his choice, but there is nothing to indicate that he identified more with his new home than with his tribal origins. Many of his comrades in the horse guard may have acquired new urban homes in the same way<sup>36</sup>. Under different (though not yet fully understood) circumstances, others (perhaps the illegitimate sons of soldiers) were given a fictitious home in the “camp” (*castris*)<sup>37</sup> – an *origo* that neither of their parents shared, and one they would lose upon discharge<sup>38</sup>. It remains entirely unknown whether the soldiers in any of these cases developed feelings of belonging for their new “homes”.

Nor can the “correction” on *RMD* I, 35 be adduced to support the idea that Roman auxiliary soldiers were entirely free to indicate their homes on their diplomas as they wished, for there is no way of telling either who was responsible for “correcting” PANNON nor which reasons may have prompted this change. Moreover, according to Dan Dana who recently studied the diploma at the National Museum of History of Romania in Bucharest, the superimposed letters read CORNOV, not CORNON, and thus appear to refer to a *Cornovius* from *Britannia*<sup>39</sup>. If correct, the alteration was not intended to render the recipient’s Pannonian origin more precisely. Rather, we seem to be dealing with a true correction that meant to eliminate an actual mistake.

32. On the subject in general see Eck 2012.

33. Merely honorific: Talbert 2013, p. 168.

34. Mócsy 1992, p. 181-187; Forni 1992, p. 192-193; Haensch 2012, p. 72. For recently published evidence from the 20s BCE see Derda, Łajtar, Płóciennik 2015, p. 52-55 no. 3. Speidel forthcoming.

35. *CIL* VI, 31139 = Speidel 1994, no. 2 (cf. also no. 3: *Traianensis Baetasius*).

36. *T. Fl. T. f. Pol. Castr(is) Lucilius*, a horseman ranking as *duplicarius et summus curator equitum singularium Augusti* before he was promoted *centurio coh. VIII vol.* in the same period was apparently given his *origo* before joining the horse guard (*AE* 2006, 1013; cf. Faure 2010). For other veterans with the *origo castris* cf. Mócsy 1992c, p. 179.

37. Cf. *supra* (n. 29).

38. Cf. e.g. Wilmanns 1877, p. 203; Mirković 1980, p. 270-271; Mócsy 1992c, p. 178-180.

39. Dana 2017.

In all other cases, however, importance ought to be given to the legal and administrative context from which the military diplomas and papyrus lists emerged. For this context strongly suggests that Roman bureaucratic practice involved in the production of these documents was responsible for the choice of formula that indicated soldiers' homes. If true, such indications did not express feelings of belonging but were the results of particular bureaucratic practices. It is remarkable, in this context, that even private monuments of Roman soldiers recorded terms that emphasised Roman administrative institutions<sup>40</sup>:

*nat(ione) Pann(onia) Inf(eriore)* (Speidel 1994, no. 624),  
*nat(ione) Mysia Superiore* (CIL VI, 2730 [p. 3370]),  
*natus ex provincia Maesia Inferiore* (CIL VI, 2936),  
*oriund(o) ex provincia Norica* (CIL VI, 2482),  
*natus in Dacia provincia* (CIL III, 371)...

In fact, by the third century, most designations of soldiers homes on their grave-stones consisted of or were supplemented by references to provinces:

*natione Noricus, Claudia Viruno* (e.g. CIL VI, 3304),  
*natione Pannonica, pago Traiani* (CIL VI, 37224),  
*domo (Hi)erapuli, cives Surus* (CIL III, 11076),  
*nat(ione) Afer, domo Theveste* (CIL III, 12057).

Roman administrative units (rather than ethnicities) were probably also meant in formulations such as *cives Italici et Norici, civis Thrax, natione Syrus, natione Raetus* or *quingenti Pannonii nondum sub signis, tirones Asiani, Cilices contirones* and so on<sup>41</sup>. This is borne out not only by the explicit references to *provinciae* in the above-mentioned parallel formulations (i.e. *natus provincia Moesia Superiore* or *natione Pannonia Superiore* etc.) but also by such expressions as:

*domo Thracia* (CIL VI 3216),  
*domo Pannonia* (AÉ 2010, 1620),  
*do(mo) Macedonia* (CIL III 7728),  
*domo Maurit(ania)* (AÉ 1905, 240),  
*ex prov(incia) Italica* (AÉ 1964, 256),  
*tirones ex provincia Thebaidos* (P. Abinn. 1, 19)<sup>42</sup>.

In all these cases, it is far more likely that administrative practices of the offices in

40. Cf. also CIL VI, 3300 (=Speidel 1994, no. 658); CIL VI, 32798 (=Speidel 1994, no. 572); CIL VI, 3286 (=Speidel 1994, no. 609); CIL VIII, 4416; AE 2001, 251.

41. Cf. Speidel 1992, p. 320-321; 1994, p. 15; 1994a, p. 85; 2009, p. 229. The doubts Talbert 2013, p. 166 expressed whether it is possible, in the cases in question, to distinguish between ethnicities and provinces, are thus unfounded. Before the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the indication of a city or tribe often sufficed. The recipient of a diploma from the reign of Antoninus Pius ([--]f(ilio) Raeto) recently published by W. Eck and A. Pangerl (Eck, Pangerl 2015a) was perhaps also rather an inhabitant of *provincia Raetia* than an ethnic *Raetus*, not least because he served in Pannonia Inferior.

42. Other parallel formulations: CIL XIII, 6823; CIL VI, 3286, 3300, 3365 and 32798; RIB I, 2100. Cf. AE 1968, 31. See also Beutler, Kemer 2013; Eck 2016b, p. 206 for *domo Iudaeus/Iudaei* in AE 2009, 1051 and AE 2013, 1240 meaning « from *provincia Iudaea* », not « Jewish ».

the Roman army were responsible for the increased frequency of references to *provinciae* than individual private choices, for there is little to support the notion that the fluctuating framework of Roman provincial administration fostered stronger feelings of belonging than native cities or tribal communities<sup>43</sup>. Moreover, a papyrus of 122 CE from a military archive listing soldiers by provinces and home communities (*nationes et [patrias]*) reveals the interest which the Roman military administrative offices (at least in Egypt at that time) took not only in the individual soldier's province of origin but also in compiling statistics from such information<sup>44</sup>. On non-official monuments on the other hand, the use or choice of the expressions *natus, natione, oriundus, domo, regione, civis* and *ex*, appears to have been interchangeable and without additional meaning or import.

Finally, the strong influence of military bureaucratic practices on the formulations used to record soldiers' origins is also evidenced by certain patterns in the ways in which soldiers' names and homes were recorded in military diplomas<sup>45</sup>. Thus, as a general rule, an auxiliary soldier's native province was only given as his home if he was sent abroad as a recruit. By contrast, an auxiliary soldier's tribe or town was stated only if he served in his home province or if his unit had been raised in his home province before it was transferred to other parts of the Empire. Even the exceptions to this rule appear to follow patterns: soldiers from Spain, Gaul and Germany were nearly always designated by their tribe or home town even when sent outside their home province, perhaps because the terms *Hispanus, Gallus* or *Germanus* were not distinctive enough. Home towns were recorded particularly often in the diplomas of auxiliary soldiers from the East, even if serving abroad, and they were always recorded in the case of those *auxilarii* who enrolled as Roman citizens<sup>46</sup>. In another case on record from a particular occasion in the early third century CE, Roman recruiting officials in Thrace recorded the names of recruits for the legions in *Germania* and the *equites singulares Augusti* in Rome by using unusual onomastic forms<sup>47</sup>. Such patterns and phenomena are hardly likely to have developed if recruits and soldiers had been free to record their names and true feelings of belonging with the military administration as they wished.

## Villages

The formula *civitas ex provincia* (e.g. *Oniando ex Lycia* or *Selinunt(o) ex Cilicia* etc.) to designate soldiers' homes on military diplomas is linked to another peculiar administrative tradition<sup>48</sup>. For this formula is highly typical of fleet diplomas (for soldiers

43. Cf. Eck 1998, p. 183-185. More positive: Speidel 1992, p. 320f.

44. *ChLA* X, 422. See Speidel 2009.

45. Mócsy 1992b; Speidel 1992.

46. For these observations and further details see Speidel 1992.

47. See now Weiss 2015. Cf. Alföldy 1987, p. 370; Mócsy 1992, p. 200; Speidel 1994, no. 60, p. 87.

48. *CIL* XVI, 177; *RMD* I, 44; *RMD* III, 171.



from both Ravenna and Misenum) where it occurs since the late years of Hadrian<sup>49</sup>. Why this is so remains unclear, as the formula otherwise appears quite frequently throughout the empire on gravestones and altars of soldiers from all branches of the army. At any rate, there is nothing to suggest that any deeper meaning was expressed by the use of this formula on the diplomas for fleet soldiers. From the second decade of the third century onwards, fleet diplomas reveal another puzzling habit: they add the names of villages to the indications of the discharged soldiers' homes. Twelve such cases are currently on record<sup>50</sup>:

Diploma (unit)	Date	Home
RMD II, 131 (CM)	27 Nov. 214	<i>n(atione) Isaur(o), vico Calloso — uxor(i) civit(ate) Isaur(a), vico s(upra) s(cripto)</i>
RMD V, 457 (CR)	221 (before 29 Nov.)	<i>Nicopoli ex Moes[ia Infer(iore)], vico Bres</i>
RMD IV, 307 (CM)	29 Nov. 221	<i>Dolich(e) ex Syria, vico Araba — uxori ex civitate s(upra) s(cripta)</i>
RMD V, 463 (CR)	224	<i>Nicopoli ex Moesia, vico Dizerpera</i>
Diplome 8 (C -)	ca. 221-225	<i>Vlp(ia) M[arcianopoli? ex Moesia Inferiore?], vic[o ---]</i>
Diplome 9 (C -)	ca. 221-225	<i>[--- ex Moesia Inferiore, vic]o Calmovia</i>
RGZM 56 (CM)	17 Nov. 225	<i>Isauro, vico Catessdo — uxori Graecae</i>
RMD IV, 312 (CR)	18 Dec. 225	<i>Cibalis ex Pann(onia) I[nf(eriore)], pago Augusto, vico S[---]</i>
RMD IV, 311 (CR)	18 Dec. 225	<i>Nicopoli ex Moesia Infer(iore), vico Zinesdina Maiore</i>
RMD II, 133 (CM)	27 Nov. 229	<i>Claudiopoli ex Cilicia, vico Vindemi — uxori Afrae</i>
RMD III, 201 (CR?)	ca. 218-235 (?)	<i>[Ni]copol(i) ex Moesia Inf[er]iore, vico [---] tsitsi.</i>
Diplome 10 (C -)	ca. 222-235	<i>[--- ex Moesi]a Inf[er]iore, vico [---]</i>

This phenomenon was probably not restricted to fleet diplomas, for fragments of three third century diplomas for *equites singulares Augusti* appear to display the same type of *origo* indication<sup>51</sup>:

49. *CIL* XVI, 79 (15.9.134); *CIL* XVI, 177 (20.11.140); *RMD* IV, 264 (1.8.142); *RMD* V, 392 (1.8.142); *RMD* V, 394 (1.8.142); *RMD* I, 44 (26.10.145); *RMD* III, 171 (6.1.158); *RMD* I, 105 (7.2.160); *RMD* IV, 277 (7.2.160); *AE* 2006, 1855 (7.2.160); *RMD* V, 427 (7.2.160); *RMD* IV, 304 (7.9.192-7.9.206); *RMD* III, 189 (22.11.206); *RMD* I, 74 (30.8.212); *CIL* XVI, 127 (13.5.212?), etc. Exceptions are: *RGZM* 31 (20.1.151: auxiliary) and *RMD* V, 454 (20.10.207: *equus singularis Augusti*).

50. **CR** = *classis Ravennatis*. **CM** = *classis Misennatis*. **C -** = unknown, which *classis praetoria*. Diplome = Eck, Pangerl 2014.

51. Eck, Pangerl 2015b, p. 218-220.

Diploma (unit)	Date	Home
RMD V, 459	7 Jan. 222	<i>Philippop(oli) ex Th[rac(ia), vico (?) ---]</i>
RMD V, 462	7 Jan. 223	<i>[--- e]x Moesia In[fer(iore), vico ---] THIVRI[- (?)]</i>
ZPE, 196, 2015, p. 218-220	7 Jan. 235	<i>[?V]pi]a Anchi[alo ex Thracia, ?vic]o RIOL/ IO CABV+[- ---]</i>

Moreover, several third century inscriptions are known in which the homes of praetorian soldiers are indicated by town *and* village, yet none of the many third century diplomas for praetorians records an *origo* including a *vicus*<sup>52</sup>. Were the references to villages in praetorian inscriptions private additions or can they be taken to reflect bureaucratic practices of the *cohortes praetoriae* inspite of the evidence from the diplomas? Support for the latter solution comes from a statue base which twenty Thracian praetorians from Philippopolis set up *in honorem domus divinae* in Rome in 227 AD. For the names of the dedicants are listed on the face of this monument, grouped by *cohors* and *centuria*, with *praenomen*, *nomen gentile*, filiation, *pseudo-tribus*, *cognomen* and *patria*, including the name of a *vicus*<sup>53</sup>:

*coh(ortis) I praet(oriae),  
7(centuria) Coccei*

*M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Diza Philippopoli, vico Cuntiegerum (!)  
7(centuria) Valentis*

*M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Diza Philippopol[i], vico Vevocaseno  
M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Cresce(n)s Philippop(oli), vico  
Vevocaseno*

*coh(ortis) II praet(oriae)*

*M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Martinus Philippop[oli], vico Palma  
7(centuria) Iuliani pr(ioris)*

*M(arcus) A(u)r(elius) [M(arci) f(ilius)] Bitus Phil(ippopoli), v(ico) Pomp(-)  
Burdap(-)  
[M(arcus) Au]r(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Maximus Philipp[op]oli, vico  
Stelugermme  
M(arcus) Aur(elius)] M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Maximus Philipp[op]oli, vico  
Tiutiameno*

*coh(ortis) III praet(oriae)*

*[M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius)] Fl(avia) Vitalis Philippopo[li, v]ico Cun[t]i  
egerum (!)*

52. Inscriptions: *CIL* VI, 2730 = *AE* 1979, 20 = *AE* 1996, 91 (Rome); *CIL* VI, 2736 (Rome); *CIL* VI, 2799 = 32543 = *ILS* 2094 (Rome); *CIL* VI, 2807 = 32582 = *ILS* 4068 (Rome); *CIL* VI, 32589 (Rome); *CIL* VI, 32605 (Rome); *AE* 2001, 219 fr. 14 (Rome); *CIL* X, 1754 = *InscrIt* I, 145 = *ILS* 2043 (Puteoli), etc. Cf. Forni 1992, p. 193. See Eck 2012, p. 332-336 for an overview of the diplomas for praetorians and the preserved indications of their homes.

53. *CIL* VI 2799 = 32543 = *ILS* 2094 (Rome).

7(*centuria*) *Saturnini*  
 [M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci)] f(ilius) Fl(avia) Apollodorus Philip[p(opol)],  
 vico Peceto

7(*centuria*) *Magni*  
 [M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci)] f(ilius) Fl(avia) Vitalis Philippopol(i) vico Zburulo  
 coh(ortis) III praet(oriae)

7(*centuria*) *Celeris*  
 C(aius) Val(erius) C(ai) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Valens Philippopoli vic[o], Zburulo  
 M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Cassius Philippopoli, vico Carbrino  
 coh(ortis) VII praet(oriae)

7(*centuria*) *Quarti*  
 sp(eculator) M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Diogenes  
 Philippopoli, vi[c]o C[-]menos  
 coh(ortis) VIII praet(oriae)

7(*centuria*) *Prisci*  
 M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Diza Philippopoli, vico Ardiceno

7(*centuria*) *Calventi*  
 M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Diza Philippopoli, vico Pupeses  
 coh(ortis) VIII praet(oriae)

7(*centuria*) *Z[eno]nis*  
 [M(arcus) Au]r(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Chrestus Philippop[oli, vi]co  
 Cuntiegero  
 coh(ortis) X praet(oriae)  
 [7(*centuria*) ---]ni

[M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius)] Fl(avia) Artila Phil[lippop(oli), vico] Stairesis  
 [M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia)] Ota[-]is Philippop[oli, vico]  
 Stairesis

7(*centuria*) *Augustian[i]*  
 [M(arcus) Aur(elius)] M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Bithus Philippopoli, vico] Diuresure  
 [7(*centuria*)] Quintiani  
 M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius) Fl(avia) Mucianu[s Phili]ppopol(i), vico  
 Lisenon(-)

The completeness and standard uniformity of the entries leave no doubt that they were copied from the unit's rolls<sup>54</sup>. The note *sp(eculator)* at the left margin nicely confirms this impression, as functions, professions etc. are otherwise, as a general rule, given after a person's name. If true, the inscription surely reveals the normal form of registration in the books of the praetorian cohorts in 227 AD. At the same time, our inscription offers an explanation for the new practice of adding villages to the indications of soldiers' homes: all soldiers in this list were from Philippopolis, yet only one was not a *M(arcus) Aur(elius) M(arci) f(ilius)* with the pseudo-tribe *Fl(avia)*. Four shared the cognomen *Diza*, and those named *Vitalis*, *Maximus* and *Bit(h)us* each had a namesake. The numbers of their cohorts were of no use in distinguishing the *Maximi* (*coh. II*), the *Vitales* (*coh. III*), and two of the *Dizae* (*coh. I* and *VIII*). The *Maximi* even served in the same *centuria*. They could only be distinguished from each

54. For the influence of army records on soldiers' inscriptions in general see also Speidel forthcoming.

other by the name of their home *vicus*. It is significant, therefore, that there were no homonymous soldiers from the same village, although four villages are named more than once: *Vevocasenum*, *Zburulum*, *vicus Stairesis*, *Cuntiegerum* (named three times). It thus seems likely that the development of the Roman onomastic system, particularly since the *constitutio Antoniniana* in 212, as well as repeated recruitment of large numbers of soldiers in the same restricted regions (esp. the Danube provinces) made it necessary to add the names of villages to the soldiers' home towns. This additional piece of information would allow the army's administration to distinguish between many otherwise perfectly homonymous soldiers.

One might suspect that villages had assumed a new administrative importance or a practical role in the recruitment procedures of the third century. However, there is nothing to substantiate such a view<sup>55</sup>. On the other hand, using soldiers' origins as a means to distinguish between homonymous members of the same unit or subunit (*cohors*, *centuria*) was a well known practice in the Roman army. Thus, for instance, the administration of *legio III Cyrenaica*, in the reign of Domitian, distinguished between two soldiers of the same name by referring to their homes: *C. Iulius Longus, Sido* and *C. Iulius Longus, Amiso*<sup>56</sup>. Different homes would also have helped the administrative services of *legio VII Claudia* to distinguish between *C. Valerius Valens* and his namesake, both serving in the legion's *cohors III* in the later second century, but one hailing from *Rat(iaria)*, the other from *R(emesiana?)*<sup>57</sup>. Similar cases are also known from Vindolanda and Egypt<sup>58</sup>. The need to unambiguously identify individuals may therefore have been the true reason for the seemingly puzzling habit of adding names of *vici* to the homes of Roman soldiers.

If correct, we must surely conclude from the evidence presented above that after 212 CE, as a general rule, the names of villages were added to the indications of soldiers' homes in the books both of the praetorian guard and in those of the fleet soldiers, as well as, probably, in the books of the *equites singulares Augusti*<sup>59</sup>. The large number of *Marci Aurelii* among the fresh recruits appears to have overstrained previous techniques to distinguish between namesakes<sup>60</sup>. *Vicus*-indications may therefore eventually also have been introduced in other branches of the Roman army after the *constitutio*

55. Caracalla's words in *AE* 1948, 109 = *AE* 1992, 1937 = *IAM* II, 100 (Banasa, 215/216 CE), (...) *vicor(um) et provinciarum bene de re p(ublica) merentium non tantum viris fortibus / in omni ordine spectatissimis castrensiu[m] adque civiliu[m] officioru[m] (...)*, are remarkable in this context but hardly refer to imperial administrative practice. Cf. Gasco 1992.

56. *P. Gen.Lat.* 1 V = *RMR* 9, 11-12 = *ChLA* I, 7.

57. *CIL* III, 14507 + *AE* 2004, 1223, front b ll. 39 and 43 (Viminacium, 195 CE).

58. Cf. *Tab. Vindol.* 182: *Sabinus Trever* and *Victor Van[gi]o?* and 1475: *Vatto Trever* with Birley 2002, p. 99. *AE* 1985, 840 (an address on a writing tablet): *Leg(io) III Cyr(enaica), / 7(centuria) Minuci / Claudiani, / C(aius) Anthistius / Valens, nomo / Arsenoite*. Cf. Devijver, Harrauer, Worp 1984-1985.

59. *CIL* VI, 3297 = Speidel 1994, no. 657 (Rome); *CIL* VI, 3300 = Speidel 1994, no. 658 (Rome); 1994, no. 212 (Rome). Cf. also below n. 69.

60. Various terms had been in use to distinguish between homonymous soldiers: *prior* and *sequens* (in *legio III Augusta*), *prior* and *posterior* (praetorians and Dura Europos), *senior* (implying *iunior*) (Carlisle), *maior* (implying *minor*) (*mons Claudianus*) and *summus*, *superior* and *inferior* (*equites singulares Augusti*). Cf. Forni 1992, p. 191ff.; Speidel 1992, p. 120ff., 320; 1994, p. 17; *AE* 1998, 839a = *AE* 2007, 872 (Carlisle); *O. Claud.* II 4041, 4073). Remarkably, ascribing new names to recruits, which was an otherwise well-known practice of Roman recruiting authorities (cf. Mócsy 1992, p. 188-217; Derda, Łajtar, Płóciennik 2015, p. 52-55) was apparently not considered to be a viable solution in this case.

*Antoniniana* in order to conclusively identify individual soldiers<sup>61</sup>. However, this seems not have been the case in all provinces. Thus, for instance, respective evidence from North Africa is completely absent<sup>62</sup>. Remarkably, there is also a conspicuously small number of *Marci Aurelii* among the known soldiers of North African *legio III Augusta*, which corresponds to the low frequency of *Marci Aurelii* known from North Africa in general<sup>63</sup>. By contrast, enfranchisement under Marcus Aurelius (creating mainly *Marci*, but also *Titi* and *Lucii Aurelii*) and the *constitutio Antoniniana* produced countless *Marci Aurelii* among the inhabitants of Rome's most important recruiting fields on the Middle and Lower Danube<sup>64</sup>. Significantly, it is precisely from the provinces of Pannonia, Moesia, and Thracia that the bulk of *vicus*-indications has become known. If these correlations are more than coincidence, they strongly support the notion that references to villages primarily served to identify individual soldiers beyond doubt, and that they played a particularly important role in the aftermath of the *constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 CE in the military records of units with high percentages of soldiers from the Middle and Lower Danube. Perhaps the Roman army's administration even resorted to existing local Thracian traditions of expressing identity by reference to a village (cf. e.g. *IGBulg* III 1, 1197; 1445; 1474. *IGBulg* III 2, 1690).

For unknown reasons, however, the new *origo*-formula with the indication of a *vicus* was not universally used on military diplomas. Only the diplomas of the fleet soldiers (and, perhaps for some time, those of the *equites singulares Augusti*) recorded *vici*, even though the administrative offices of the praetorian cohorts appear to have routinely used *vicus*-indications to identify soldiers<sup>65</sup>. Yet such inconsistencies need not surprise, as similar minor variations are well known from military diplomas<sup>66</sup>. It is interesting, however, that the introduction of the new style of recording soldiers' homes eventually became popular beyond strictly administrative contexts. Thus, soldiers now began to record their home villages on their private altars and grave-stones. Also, hailing from the same *vicus* appears to have become a bonding factor that encouraged soldiers to form groups or "clubs" within their units<sup>67</sup>. Moreover, the practice of recording villages as one element of an individual's home soon began to spread to circles closely connected to the military, including soldiers' wives, and priests of deities that were popular with the troops<sup>68</sup>.

61. Cf. e.g. for the legions: *CIL* V, 892 = *InscrAq* II, 2733 (Aquileia) and for the *auxilia*: *CIL* V, 898 = *InscrAq* II, 2802 (Aquileia).

62. *Vici* as such, however, were not unknown in North Africa: cf. e.g. *CIL* VIII, 1439 = 15255; *CIL* VIII, 4205 = 18495; *CIL* VIII, 23125; *AE* 1949, 109; *AE* 1913, 226; *AE* 1923, 28 = *ILTun* 778; *ILTun* 779; *AE* 1957, 72; *AE* 1980, 900.

63. Le Bohec 1989, p. 314-332; Pferdehirt, Scholz 2013, p. 49.

64. Cf. *CIL* III, 14507 + *AE* 2004, 1223; *CIL* VI, 30720 = Speidel 1994, no. 56; Pferdehirt, Scholz 2013, p. 49.

65. For *vici* on third century diplomas of the horse guard see Weiss 2000, p. 283-284; Eck, Pangerl 2015, p. 220.

66. See e.g. Mócsy 1992b; Eck, Pangerl 2012, p. 62-64; 2016, p. 243f.

67. *CIL* VI, 2807 = 32582 = *ILS* 4068 (Rome).

68. Wives: *IGLS* XIII.1, 9193 (Bostra); *RMD* II, 131 (27 Nov. 214). Priests: *AE* 2005, 1313 (Viminacium); *AE* 2010, 1240 (Poetovio); *CIL* III, 3490 = *InscrAq* I, 374 (Aquincum). Civilians: *CIL* III, 11701 = *ILS* 7207 (Celeia); *AE* 2000, 1262 (Viminacium); *RIU* II, 533 (Brigetio); *RIU* III, 712 (Brigetio).

## Meanings and uses of *origo*-indications

People in the Roman world were free to design the texts on their private monuments as they wished. The use of military recording practises by civilians closely connected to the army is therefore telling. What is more, it is fully in line with earlier phenomena. Thus, ever since the early first century, soldiers largely followed the same patterns of recording their homes on their private monuments as those known from the military diplomas since Claudius<sup>69</sup>. The influence of Rome's military administration on the epigraphic habits of its soldiers thus appears to have been significant<sup>70</sup>. It is imprudent, therefore, to argue that the ways in which the homes of soldiers and those closely connected to the army were recorded allow "unparalleled access to subjective feelings of belonging even at the level of the individual"<sup>71</sup>.

That is not to say that soldiers could not have strong feelings of belonging about their homes<sup>72</sup>. Tacitus, in a passage on the Batavian revolt in 69 AD, even suggests that the way in which individuals referred to their homes reflected such feelings. For the historian records that Batavian troops raided the Ubian region with particular hostility "because this was a people of Germanic origin which had renounced its nationality and preferred to be known by the Roman name of *Agrippinenses*"<sup>73</sup>. This seems to confirm Derks' suggestion that the *Vbii* called themselves *Agrippinenses* and the *Cugerni Traianenses* because they wanted to emphasise their enhanced degree of urban Roman life style<sup>74</sup>. Yet, by setting the good German against the bad in this passage Tacitus is being polemical, and therefore a poor witness. For in his treatise on the *Germani* he proclaims that the *Vbii*, despite calling themselves *Agrippinenses*, were proud of their Germanic origins<sup>75</sup>. The case of the *Treveri* offers another example that shows that particular styles of *origo*-indications were not designed to express notions of tribal or ethnic pride, or urban lifestyle<sup>76</sup>. For the citizens of *colonia Augusta Treverorum* generally indicated their origins as *Trever*, *natione Trever*, *domo Trever* or *civis Trever*<sup>77</sup>. Explicit reference to *colonia Augusta Treverorum* was hardly ever made<sup>78</sup>. Yet no one would claim that this had anything to do with a low degree of

69. Cf. Speidel 1992, p. 320-322.

70. On the phenomenon in general cf. Speidel, forthcoming.

71. Derks 2009, p. 240.

72. For political consequences in the first half of the third century see Speidel 2016.

73. Tac., *Hist.* 4.28. Cf. Derks 2009, p. 257.

74. Derks 2009, p. 257, 264.

75. Tac., *Germ.* 28.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 263 discusses the evidence case of the *Treveri* but sees no contradiction to his arguments concerning the *Batavi*, *Tungri*, *Cugerni*, *Vbii* etc.

77. See the evidence collected by Krier 1981, Derks 2009, p. 263.

78. Rare exceptions are *CIL* III, 1214 = *ILS* 7154 = *IDR* III.5, 527 (Apulum); *AE* 2001, 1635 (Veszprem). Derks 2009, p. 265 argues that there was a fundamental difference between formulations using *civis* (which according to Derks 2009, p. 256 describes « civic ascription ») and *natione/domo* (« tribal affiliation »), or by mention of the *caput civitatis* (« geographical provenance »). However, the surviving evidence much rather suggests a largely indiscriminate use of the terms: cf. e.g. *natione Italus* or *Italicus* and similar (*AE* 1949, 209; *AE* 1983, 487; *CIL* III, 6611; *CIL* III, 14349; *CIL* V, 1658; *CIL* VI, 2787; *CIL* VI, 23783, etc.), *civis Italicus*, or *Noricus* (*RIB* I, 2148; *AE* 1930, 20), or *Raetus* (*RIB* I, 984 and 2100; *AE* 1982, 258), *cives prov(inciae) T(h)raci(a)e* (*CIL* VI, 32567), *natione provincialis* (*CIL* XIII, 1880), etc.

urbanisation among the citizens of *Augusta Treverorum*<sup>79</sup>. It is far more likely that the name *colonia Augusta Treverorum* simply did not offer the specific elements that were needed to compose an indication comparable to *Agrippinenses* or *Traianenses*, for evidently, *Augustenses* would not satisfy the requirement of being distinct enough<sup>80</sup>. The same is no doubt true for the terms *Vlpienses* or *Noviomagenses*. They were surely avoided simply because they would not have helped to determine which of the several places in the provinces of Gaul and Germany bearing the element *Vlpia* or called *Noviomagus* was meant<sup>81</sup>. This is even more likely to be true in view of the high proportion of soldiers among the epigraphically attested *Batavi* and other members of Germanic tribes from Lower Germany, as it was evidently essential for the army to be able to identify each and every soldier beyond doubt.

Recruitment procedures (*probatio*) at provincial headquarters were governed by rules that attached great importance to asserting and recording the origins of every single recruit's parents (*examinare originem parentum*), thereby determining his legal and geographic origins<sup>82</sup>. Information on a recruit's legal status was necessary to determine whether he was barred from serving in the Roman army altogether, or admitted only to certain branches, or had the right to serve in a legion (or other citizen unit)<sup>83</sup>. Keeping records of the soldiers' legal status even after the *probatio* therefore made sense, as this information could be of great value if ever doubts arose in such matters (as we know occasionally happened)<sup>84</sup>. Yet was there any use made of the geographical information beyond identifying individual soldiers? According to a suggestion by M.P. Speidel, the recordings of soldier's homes on official military documents may also have served to indicate or statistically assess loyalty or military quality, as certain peoples are indeed on record for having been particularly warlike, whereas others hardly contributed recruits to the Roman army at all<sup>85</sup>. On markets, the origins of slaves and other goods were indeed taken to indicate degrees of quality<sup>86</sup>. However, such equations would have made little sense within the context of empire-wide recruitment and the respective documentation. Not only would such a practice have left differences between individual soldiers unrecorded, but it is also unlikely that the many minute and exotic groups named, for instance, *Nantuas*, *Gigurrus*, *Golailus*, *Berensis*, *Mogiones* etc. all stood for different degrees of loyalty and categories of soldierly excellence<sup>87</sup>. Nor can such a theory explain the existence of the above-mentioned recording patterns of soldiers' homes on military diplomas

79. Thus, Derks 2009, p. 263 finds this phenomenon « hard to explain ».

80. Thus, surprisingly, also Derks 2009, p. 268.

81. *Vlpia Noviomagus* / *colonia Vlpia Traiana* / *civitas Vlpia Sueborum Nicrensium* / *Noviomagus Biturigum* / *Noviomagus Cantiacorum* / *Noviomagus Lexoviorum* / *Noviomagus Nemetum* / *Noviomagus Remorum*, etc.

82. *AE* 2013, 2182, 2184: (...) *vel ex dilectu probati parum examinata origine parentum vel ex alia qua causa translate (...)*.

83. Cf. *CPL* 102: (...) [*... iuratusque dixit per ... se inge]nnum natum et c(ivem) R(omanum) esse ius[que militandi in leg(ione) habere ...]*.

84. Plin., *Ep.* 10.30; *AE* 2013, 2182-2184. Cf. Eck 2013b; Eck, Pangerl, Weiss 2014a; 2014b.

85. Speidel 1992, p. 320 with reference to Tac., *Hist* 3.47; Dio 75.2.4; *Expositio totius mundi* 50.

86. Slaves: *Dig.* 21.1.31.21 (Ulpian). Goods: Philostr., *v. Apoll.* 6.12.

87. *CIL* III, 6707 = *ILS* 2510 (Karkamış); *CIL* II, 2610 (Cigarossa); *AE* 1930, 132 (Ain Foua); *RMD* III, 148; *RMD* IV, 303.

or the apparently synonymous use of the designations *Thrax* and *Bessus* in military inscriptions<sup>88</sup>.

In the case of non-citizen recruits, recording origins may also have helped to establish whether provincial communities were supplying the expected annual number of recruits. Such obligations to provide manpower were detailed in provisions like the one Tacitus relates to have existed between Rome and the Batavians, or the ones which the edicts from El Bierzo of 15 BCE refer to<sup>89</sup>. Recording soldiers' homes thus made it possible to compile statistical overviews of the kind known from the above-mentioned papyrus from Egypt listing auxiliary [*milites di]gesti per co(n)s(ules) et nationes et [patrias]* (*ChLA* X, 422). The information extractable from such documents was particularly useful in the context of empire-wide recruitment operations<sup>90</sup>.

Common origins were strong bonds that even gave rise to various ethnic networks in the Roman imperial army<sup>91</sup>. It would therefore certainly be welcome to find a tool that allows us to decipher hidden epigraphic codes and encrypted identities in order to catch a glimpse of the Roman soldiers' innermost feelings of belonging. However, there is nothing to show that the ways in which soldiers' homes were recorded on the surviving official documents and private inscriptions encrypted messages bearing on sentiments of identity, tribal bonds, urban lifestyle, world views, mental maps or notions of imperial grandeur. Rather, the evidence suggests that most soldiers simply copied or reproduced onto their own inscribed monuments formulaic designations of their homes that had been designed by the military administration and used in the offices of their units.

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88. Cf. Mócsy 1974, p. 65; Speidel 1994, p. 15, no. 589; Tacheva 1997, p. 26; Dana 2013, p. 245-246. *Contra*: Topalilov 2013, who believes the terms to have referred to different groups.

89. Batavians: Tac., *Germ.* 29. El Bierzo: *AE* 1999, 915 = *AE* 2000, 760. Alföldy 2000, esp. p. 198, 202f. The mass of these provisions probably owed their existence to the Augustan standardisation of the *auxilia* when a regular influx of recruits became essential to uphold the given strengths of the new auxiliary formations. Cf. Speidel 2016a.

90. Cf. Speidel 2009.

91. Cf. Speidel 2016.



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