



IMMIGRATION EPIGRAPHY. THE HISPANI IN THE ROMAN EUROPE

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ROMA AND THE OUTSIDER

Rome was built from the outset as a multi-ethnic society. The legends about the origins speak of exchanges, interactions and population movements. The quick expansion throughout the Mediterranean meant the arrival to territories controlled by the Romans of many individuals of all kinds, conditions and origins. Yet this awareness of multiethnicity does not cancel out the plurality of ways in which the Roman citizen saw the "outsider" (Todisco 2006: 194).

The "duas patrias" theory of Cicero, by which any *ciuis* has two fatherlands, one by nature (the municipality) and one by law (Roma), leads to the existence of a double condition of "foreign": the legal one for the non-citizens and the territorial and communal one for the *ciuis Romanus* who take up residence in a community other than his hometown, or at least, not the one in which has civic rights.

But when analyzing migration in the Ancient World we must keep in mind that these movements are not always permanent: many of them are temporary transfers where the death surprised the traveler in the dangerous roads of Antiquity. Although epigraphic sources often speak of changes in permanent residence (through funerary inscriptions in most cases), literary sources report individuals who end up returning to their hometowns or traveling with some regularity.

Three main motivations explain the migratory activity: labor (artisans, merchants, writers, artists, military or athletes and senators, *equites*, local magistrates or judges), any kind of official representation (ambassadors, employers, illustrious people) and family or other affective bonds.

“Ac mihi, qui audienti multa legentique, plane compertum urbem Romam externorum virtute atque insitivis artibus praecipue crevisse.”

Indeed, as far as I am concerned, after reading widely and hearing many discussions, I am fully convinced that the city of Rome has grown great mainly through the excellence of outsiders and imported skills.

Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus* 11.12



THE HISPANIAE IN THE ROMAN WORLD

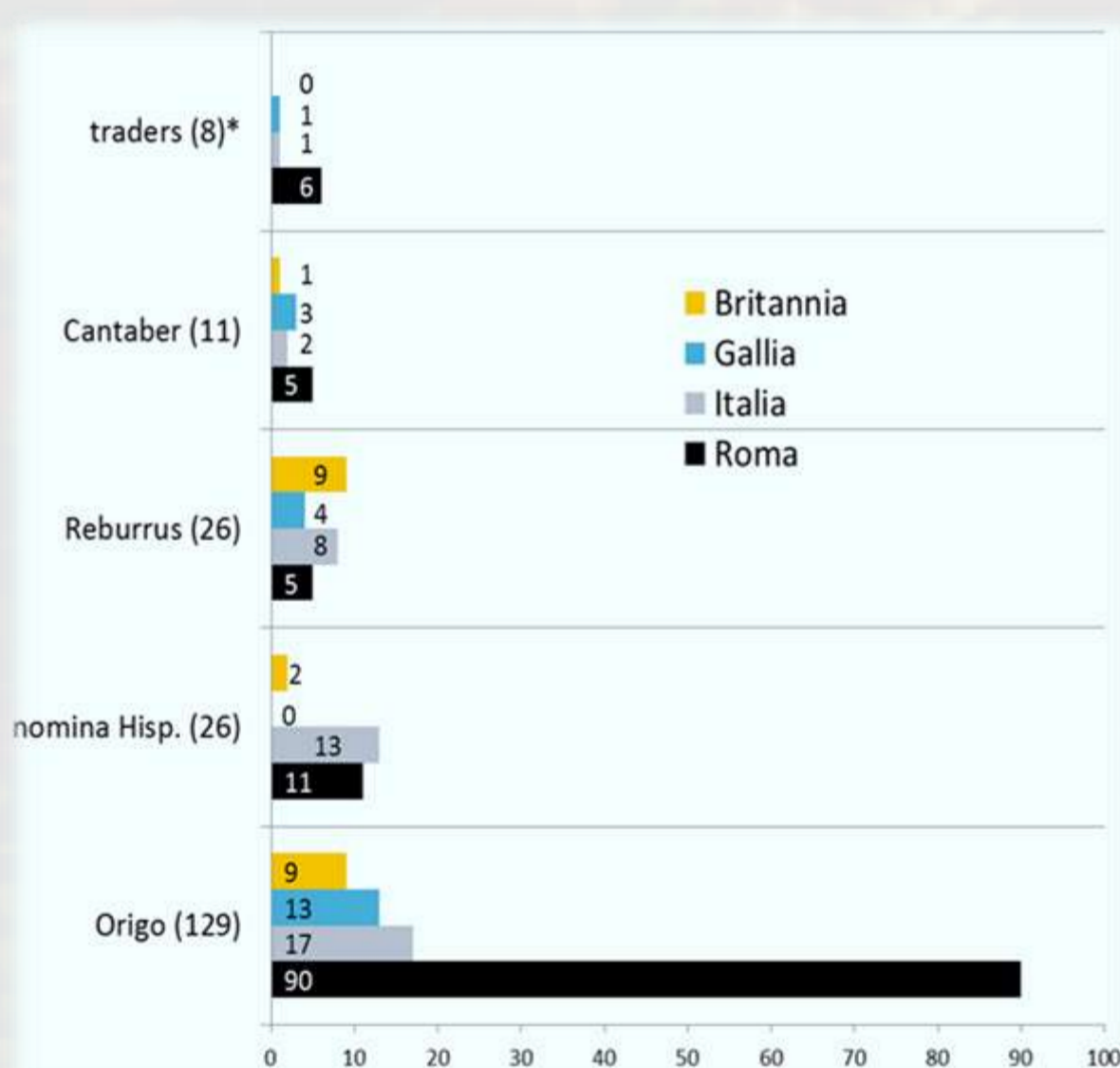
The Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, which started with the Second Punic War (218-201 BC) and finished after the victory of Augustus in the Cantabrian Wars (19 BC), marked the beginning of a long series of contacts between the two worlds: after a successful Romanization of *Hispania*, there was an equally effective "Hispanization" of Rome. Migration movements had begun forcibly following the conquest with the widespread presence of *Hispani* slaves in the international markets. Immigration had its peak in the period extending from the granting of *Ius Latii* by the Flavian emperors until the Ulpio-Aelian dynasty, also called "the Hispanic emperors" (I-II AD). From the Republican era, *Hispania* was origin and destination of all kinds of migrations echoed unevenly in the sources. Thus, the information provided offers an assorted but inconsistent picture. While Greek and Latin literature mention types or groups rather than real people, Epigraphy presents numerous terse and biased personal stories.

Scholars have focused on the researching of Spain as destination for migrations leaving almost forgotten the immigration of *Hispani*. This study analyzed the inscriptions found in the former territories of *Italia*, *Gallia* and *Britannia* in order to determine the characteristics of Hispanic immigration in Europe. These areas were chosen specifically because their immigration did not respond exclusively to a military motivation, giving the fact a less restrictive feature.

IDENTIFYING THE INMIGRANT IN EPIGRAPHY

There are 204 inscriptions of potential immigrants coming from *Hispania* in the former territories of *Italia*, *Gallia* and *Britannia*. These 204 individuals had been classified into five major groups based on the type of reference to their *Hispani* status: *origo (sensu lato)*, individuals with a *Reburus*, *Cantaber* or similar elements in their onomastic, people with references to Iberian Peninsula or its provinces in the *nomen* and/or *cognomen*, and traders specifying the Hispanic character of their products.

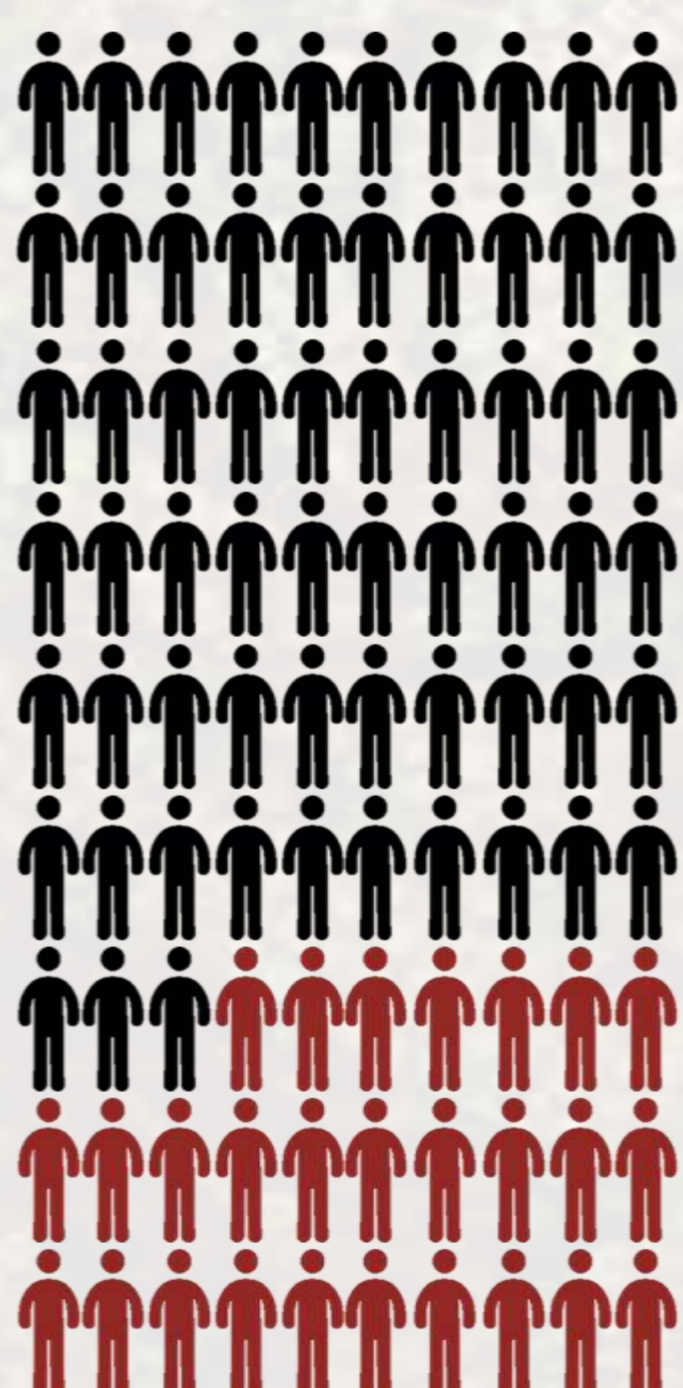
Reburus, *Cantaber* and their variations are traditionally considered *Hispani* onomastic elements, but there is no element in the sources ensuring their immigrant status. They could come from *Hispania* considering the high level of dispersion of these names in the Iberian Peninsula, but it could also not be the case, or maybe they are descendants or relatives of *Hispani*. This is the reason why they cannot be considered immigrants.



Cognomina with general references to Spain had been left out of the analysis due to the ambiguity of their Hispanic origin. They have a link with *Hispania*, but we cannot know the essence of this association. Moreover, a trader working Hispanic products does not necessarily mean that he is from *Hispania*. Thus, only the first group, *origo (sensu lato)*, will be analyzed, since it is the one that contains the information needed to examine the places of origin of Hispanic immigrants.

Origo (sensu lato) includes the legal and social notions that reflect a reality of municipal origin involving a *ciuis Romanus* who has or have had a legal, political or administrative relationship with a specific town, or individuals who are not Roman citizens but use this element to indicate their origin. This concept can be indicated in four different ways: *origo strictu sensu*, *natio*, *domicilium* and geographical *cognomina*.

DESTINATIONS



ROMA

Migration to Italy is concentrated in the Po valley, *Campania* and *Latium*. It is the only region with similar figures for civilians and soldiers. This proportional relation would probably be similar in Rome and Italy if the references to the Iberian Peninsula in the *tria nomina* were considered from Hispanic immigrants. This is because the need to identify a civilian, either himself/herself or the host community, may cause the choice of a geographical *cognomen*. This works for all civilians in all provinces.



ITALIA



Gallia and *Britannia* present opposite phenomena when only people with *origo in sensu lato* is considered. The immigrants to *Gallia* are all civilians from the Ebro valley established in the provincial capitals and along the roads of the neighboring Gallic provinces. Its relocation is related to economic reasons. This is confirmed by the existence in *Nemausus* (Nîmes) of a neighborhood dedicated to the oil trade. The immigrants at *Britannia* are mainly soldiers associated to the instability of the *limes* and the military centers. The presence on the island of auxiliary corps with Hispanic names is well known. However, we cannot consider immigrants from *Hispania* all who served in these forces over time. Geographical proximity and archeology allow us to assume a commercial network between the North of the Iberian Peninsula and *Britannia*. Epigraphy does not offer evidence of this except for the graphites in ceramics mentioning the name *Reburus*, which cannot be attributed to *Hispani* with any kind of assurance.

WHERE DO YOU COME FROM, HISPANO?

There are 129 immigrants from *Hispania* in the Latin inscriptions. Most of them (60) were former inhabitants of the *Tarraconense*. Only the addition of those from *Baetica* (28) and *Lusitania* (29) approaches to *Tarraconense* figures. The remaining 12 left, nearly all civilians, give only a general reference of *Hispania*.

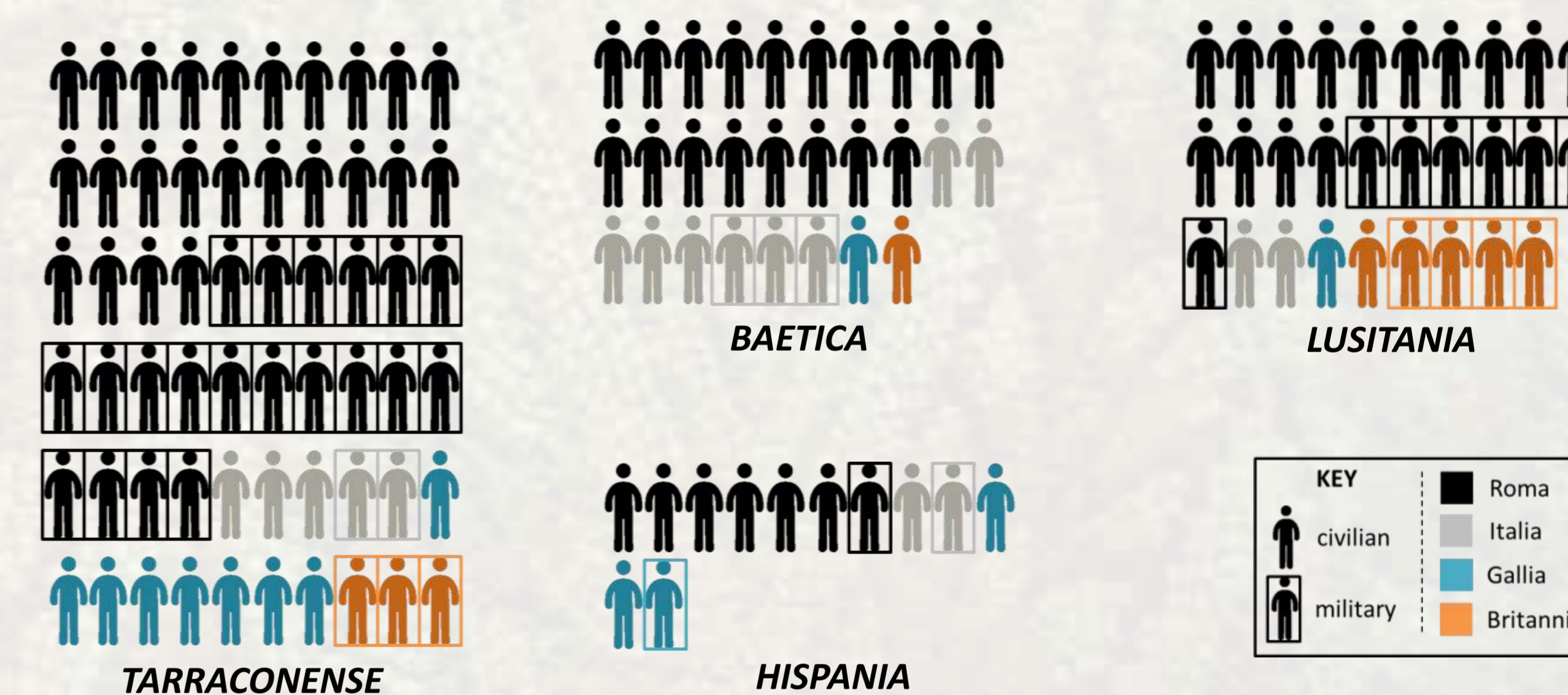
The small amount of Baetican soldiers (only one legionary from *Italica* on an inscription at *Aquileia*, Nord Italia, EDR117768) suggests that *Baetici* moved for economic and prestige reasons. The destination was always the Italian territory, including Rome, except for one woman found in *Massilia*, *Gallia Narbonense* (CIL 12, 00412) and a not known status person in *Deva*, *Britannia* (HD069788). The hometown *ciuitates* of *Baetici* match the main cities of the province: *Corduba* (4), *Italica* (4), *Astigi* (3), *Gades* (6). The two epigraphs referring to the inhabitants of *Gades* found at the Flavian Amphitheatre are probably the best indication for the prestige immigration. These inscriptions indicated the seats reserved for the citizens of *Gades*.

In another vein, Baetican senators and members of the *ordo equestre* are underrepresented in the epigraphic record. Did they feel *Hispani*, *Baetici*, *Cordubenses* or just Romans and that is why they did not mention their origins in the epigraphs?

The vastness of the *Citerior Tarraconense* does not explain the big difference in the number of testimonies. More *Baetici* would be expected attending literary sources that speak of their outstanding mobility. The main reason is the high number of *Tarraconense* soldiers (25). The dispersion of their *ciuitas* is directly related to the degree of Romanization and its chronology. All immigrants coming from northwestern *conventus* (*Asturum*, *Lucensis*, *Bracaraugustanus*) were military. In contrast, the *conventus* of the eastern coast (*Tarraconensis* and *Carthagenensis*), first regions of the Iberian Peninsula to be conquered, were all civilians. In the remaining two (*Caesaraugustanus* and *Cluniensis*), located in the middle of the Peninsula, there are half of each kind. This is due to a less intense and homogeneous process of Romanization, also reflected in the mention of different realities, not only *origo (sensu stricto)* or the name of the province, but also *conventus* and *nationes*. In the *Tarraconense*, there is no relationship between capital city status and migration, as in *Baetica*, because the *conventus* capital cities are mentioned, but do not stand out.

Not a capital but a strategic point for communications and exploitation of *lapis specularis*, *Segobriga* (6) was the hometown of many immigrants not only in the Roman Europe, but also in *Hispania*.

Lusitania has the most balanced relationship between civilians (18) and military (11). From the *conventus Emeritense* two-thirds were soldiers, mostly from *Emerita Augusta*. Given the importance of Mérida as *conventus* and provincial capital, more diversity in the legal and social status of the immigrants would be expected. Its foundation as a settlement for veterans cannot explain this phenomenon a century later. From the *c. Emeritense* were the only *Lusitanos* who did not immigrate to Rome: 3 soldiers and one civilian moved to *Britannia* (also CIL 12, 04539 was found in *Narbonna*, *Gallia*, but cannot be ascribed to any *conventus*). The situation for the *conventus Pacensis*, closest to the Romanized regions of *Baetica*, reinforces the idea that connects Romanization with no military immigration.



CONCLUSIONS

56 *ciuitates* were the hometown of the Hispanic immigrants who left an inscription mentioning their *origo*. Most of these *Hispani* (also the pseudo-*Hispani*) lived between first and second century AD. The nature of the sources analyzed imposes a cautious approach, aware that the information they provide is biased and subjected to the whims of conservation. We cannot know how many *Hispani* left the Iberian Peninsula and not even how many of those who left evidence were from *Hispania*, but we can guess the characteristics of their migration through their brief stories. These show a bigger migration volume from the *Tarraconense*, the inverse relationship between Romanization and military immigration or the non-correlation between capital status and migration except perhaps for the *Baetica*. All these immigrants preferably moved to Rome although few went to the most active areas of Italy. When they settled in *Gallia* or *Britannia* it was for economic or military reasons respectively. However, these stories leave more questions than answers at the end. Why, how and to whom an individual feels the need to identify with geographical and / or legal concepts? Is the immigrant or the host community who takes the first step in this process? Why of all forms of identifying himself an individual chooses its origin at the time of his death?

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BIBLIOGRAPHY



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