

A new era of epigraphy: 40 years of Epigraphic database Clauss/Slaby

New inscriptions, new readings, new interpretations of
Roman inscriptions

Edited by
Anne Kolb and Michael A. Speidel

DE GRUYTER

The open access publication and prepress of this book has been published with the support of the Swiss National Science Foundation.



ISBN 978-3-11-914543-5

e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-221318-6

e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-221339-1

DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783112213186>

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. For details go to <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0>.

Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content that is not part of the Open Access publication (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.). These may require obtaining further permission from the rights holder. The obligation to research and clear permission lies solely with the party re-using the material.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2025940795

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2025 the author(s), editing © 2025 Anne Kolb and Michael A. Speidel, published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston, Genthiner Straße 13, 10785 Berlin
The book is published open access at www.degruyterbrill.com.

Cover image: EnginKorkmaz/iStock/Getty Images Plus

Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyterbrill.com

Questions about General Product Safety Regulation:
productsafety@degruyterbrill.com

Manfred Clauss (16.8.1945–20.1.2025)
magnanimo auctori

Preface

The *Epigraphic Database Claus–Slaby* (EDCS), now encompassing 541,333 records and registering an average of 10,000 to 20,000 queries per day, is by far the world's largest electronic repository for Latin inscriptions. The database remains in a state of continuous expansion: new inscription texts, publications, corrections, revised readings, additional metadata and photographs are being integrated on an ongoing basis. Since 2021, Greek inscriptions —primarily from the western part of the Roman Empire— have also been incorporated. The extraordinary success of the EDCS can be attributed to several additional factors. For instance, it is exceptionally user-friendly, free of charge, and accessible without requiring an account or password.

However, it is fundamentally its conceptual framework that sets the EDCS apart from all other epigraphic databases. The EDCS is a powerful research tool, designed to enable users to locate inscription texts or text fragments with maximum speed and minimal effort. It has never been, nor will it ever be, the aim of the EDCS to replace scholarly editions—whether in print or digital form—but rather to serve as a gateway to them. Unlike the model of printed corpora, which present all metadata, descriptions, categories, photographs, drawings, and commentaries on the readings and content, the EDCS more closely resembles an extended *checklist*. It provides the best available published text of an inscription, concordances, the most essential core information, and free-text search capability. In this way, the EDCS is ideally adapted to the online medium and, unlike databases modelled after the traditional corpora, has been able to achieve remarkably rapid growth.

This was achieved thanks to the exceptional foresight of Manfred Claus. As a result, the EDCS now encompasses almost the full extant body of Latin inscriptions. Even incised, punched, or stamped inscriptions are incorporated into the database in considerable numbers. The corpora and other collections have not become obsolete; rather, the material assembled in them has been made vastly more accessible to the scholarly community. In this manner, the EDCS has fundamentally transformed the work of epigraphers over the past forty years. Thanks to the EDCS, it is possible, anywhere in the world, to obtain the results of a search within fractions of a second—where previously, one might have needed to devote many hours or even days of research in highly specialised libraries. The time once spent on laborious mechanical searches can now be devoted to employing inscriptions as primary sources for historical, linguistic or cultural enquiry. It is no exaggeration to claim that the EDCS has revolutionised the discipline.

Forty years after its creation, the EDCS is relocating from Eichstätt to Zurich. Regrettably, Manfred Claus did not live to witness the completion of this transition. For all these reasons, it is fitting to pause and reflect on both the accomplishment represented by this modern research tool and on its founder, Manfred Claus. The present volume, which is dedicated to his memory, is offered as a tribute.

We would like to express our sincere gratitude at this point, firstly to the Swiss National Science Foundation and the University of Zurich for funding the publication, and secondly to Till Kappis and Nicola Steger for their outstanding support in the printing process, as well as to the team at De Gruyter, especially Mirko Vonderstein and Jessica Bartz, for their attentive cooperation.

Zurich, 1 April 2025, Anne Kolb and Michael Speidel

Vorwort

Die «Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss – Slaby» ist heute mit einem Bestand von 541.333 Nummern und durchschnittlich 10–20.000 täglichen Abfragen mit Abstand die weltweit grösste elektronische Datenbank lateinischer Inschriften. Die Datenbank befindet sich zudem in ständiger Erweiterung, denn es werden fortlaufend neue Inschriftentexte, neue Publikationen, Korrekturen und Leserevisionen, zusätzliche Meta-Daten und Photographien der Inschriften eingespeist. Ausserdem werden, seit 2021, auch griechische Inschriften primär aus dem Westen des Römischen Reiches aufgenommen. Der grosse Erfolg der Datenbank hat aber noch weitere, wichtige Ursachen. So ist sie einfach zu bedienen sowie kostenlos und ohne Konto oder Passwort zugänglich.

Vor allem aber ist es ihr Konzept, das sie von allen anderen Inschriften-Datenbanken unterscheidet: Die EDCS ist ein leistungsstarkes Recherchemittel, das dazu dient Inschriftentexte oder Textteile in kürzest möglicher Zeit und ohne Aufwand zu finden. Das Ziel der EDCS war es niemals und wird es niemals sein, analoge oder digitale wissenschaftliche Editionen zu ersetzen, vielmehr will sie diese erschliessen. Denn die EDCS folgt nicht dem Modell der gedruckten Inschriften-Corpora, in denen sämtliche Meta-Daten, Beschreibungen, Kategorien, Photos, Zeichnungen sowie Kommentare zu Lesung und Inhalt erscheinen, sondern sie gleicht vielmehr einer erweiterten «check-list», die den bestmöglichen veröffentlichten Text der Inschriften bietet, sowie Konkordanzen, die wichtigsten Basisinformationen und die Möglichkeit der freien Suche. Damit ist sie dem Medium Internet ideal angepasst und konnte, anders als die nach dem Modell der Corpora gestalteten Datenbanken, ausserordentlich schnell wachsen.

Es war das grosse Verdienst von Manfred Clauss, dies erkannt und umgesetzt zu haben. So umfasst die EDCS heute weitestgehend den gesamten Bestand der lateinischen Inschriften. Selbst geritzte, gepunzte oder gestempelte «Kleininschriften» finden in grosser Zahl Eingang in die Datenbank. Die Corpora und anderen Sammlungen wurden nicht überflüssig, sondern das in ihnen gesammelte Material wurde der Wissenschaft leichter zugänglich. Damit hat die EDCS die Arbeit des Epigraphikers in den letzten vierzig Jahren grundlegend verändert. Es ist der «Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss Slaby» zu verdanken, dass man überall auf der Welt in Bruchteilen von Sekunden die Ergebnisse einer Abfrage erhält, wozu man früher viele Stunden oder Tage in besonders spezialisierten Bibliotheken hätte verbringen müssen. Die Zeit, die man zuvor für langes mechanisches Suchen aufwenden musste, konnte man nun mit der Verwendung der Inschriften als Quellen für historische, sprachliche oder kulturelle Fragen verbringen. Mit Fug und Recht kann man deshalb behaupten, dass die EDCS die Arbeit mit Inschriften revolutioniert hat.

Vierzig Jahre nach ihrer Gründung zieht die EDCS von Eichstätt nach Zürich. Den Abschluss dieser Migration konnte Manfred Clauss bedauerlicherweise nicht mehr miterleben. Es gibt daher gute Gründe innezuhalten und die Errungenschaft, die dieses moderne Hilfsmittel für die wissenschaftliche Arbeit mit Inschriften darstellt, und

ihren Schöpfer, Manfred Clauss, zu würdigen. Der vorliegende Band, den wir dem Andenken an Manfred Clauss widmen, möchte dazu einen Beitrag leisten.

Herzlich danken möchten wir an dieser Stelle einerseits für die Finanzierung der Publikation dem Schweizerischen Nationalfonds sowie der Universität Zürich, andererseits für die grossartige Unterstützung bei der Drucklegung Till Kappis und Nicola Steger sowie auch dem Team des Verlags De Gruyter, bes. Mirko Vonderstein und Jessica Bartz, für die fürsorgliche Kooperation.

Zürich 1.4.2025, Anne Kolb und Michael Speidel

Contents

Preface — VII

Vorwort — IX

Manfred Clauss[†]

Die Entwicklung der EDCS — 1

Werner Eck

Erinnerung an Manfred Clauss und seine Verdienste um die lateinische Epigraphik — 7

Schriftenverzeichnis und biographische Daten von Manfred Clauss — 15

Part I: **New interpretations of Roman inscriptions**

François Bérard

Un père sévir augustal et son fils magistrat d'après trois monuments funéraires lyonnais — 45

Christer Bruun

The *schola* of the *Ulpii* at Ostia — 53

Laura Chioffi

***Gradus*, in epigrafi di età repubblicana — 65**

Michel Christol

À propos de C. (T.) Atticius Norbanus Strabo, gouverneur de Galatie : les origines et la carrière — 79

Dan Dana

Deux palimpsestes juridiques sur bronze: RMD II 96 et RMD I 271 verso — 89

Dino Demicheli

Ducenarius de numero sagittariorum on an inscription from Salona — 107

Werner Eck

**Suffektkonsulnpaare: die Reihenfolge ihrer Namen in Diplomen und
munizipalen Fasten — 117**

Anne Kolb

**Meilensteine und «Meilenzähler» entlang der *viae publicae* im Imperium
Romanum — 135**

Christian Laes

***Patruelles* as cousins in Latin inscriptions — 143**

Marc Mayer, Silvia Braito

**The Senatorial Family of the Cocceii after Nerva: Some Reflections Regarding
CIL XI 5672 = EDCS 23000344 and a New Brick Stamp — 155**

Mustafa H. Sayar

Ein Veteran aus der *Legio VIII Augusta* in der Kolonie *Apri* — 167

Heikki Solin

***Tegularius* und Verwandtes — 171**

Michael A. Speidel

***Titurnius Quartio* und Severus' Parthersieg — 179**

Günther E. Thüry

**Inschriften als Zeugnisse für Schriftlichkeit und Bildung. Der Fall der Provinz
Noricum und allgemeine Perspektiven — 191**

Christian Witschel

**Statuen von Personifikationen und Gottheiten im spätantiken Stadtraum –
die epigraphische Evidenz — 201**

Part II: New readings and new Roman inscriptions

Juan Abascal

***Autour de trois inscriptions votives dédiés par militaires en Gallaecia
(Hispania citerior) — 217***

Radu Ardevan

Zu einer römischen Inschrift aus Smirë (Obermoesien) — 227

Giuseppe Camodeca

***Ludi publici* per Claudio e il *Genius coloniae* in una dedica inedita del 46 da *Puteoli* — 235**

Alison E. Cooley

An ash-chest in an English country-garden: EDCS 65000025 revisited — 243

Jonathan Edmondson

Funerary plaques with double epitaph panels from Augusta Emerita (Mérida, Spain) — 251

Rudolf Haensch, Eduard Shehi

Aus verschiedensten Epochen und Schichten. Weitere Inschriften aus *Dyrrachium* — 267

Marietta Horster

***Servi publici* – Begriffe, Namen und Lücken. Bemerkungen zu CIL II 3181 und CIL II²/13, 987 — 279**

Péter Kovács

Supplementum to the Greek inscriptions of Pannonia – New Greek tituli from *Sirmium* — 289

Winfried Kumpitsch[†], Verena Reiter, Wolfgang Spickermann

Celtic divine names in Latin inscriptions from *Germania* and *Raetia*. A digital edition — 299

Attilio Mastino

Il Tempio delle Acque di Ain Zaghouan in Tunisia: nuovi inediti epigrafici — 315

Florian Matei-Popescu, Mihaela Simion

***Oppressit ruina*: A mining accident in Alburnus Maior (Dacia superior) — 325**

Krešimir Matijević

Inschriftenabklatsche von Kriegsverlusten aus *Castellum Mattiacorum*/Mainz-Kastel — 341

Silvia Orlandi

Non una di più, ma una di meno (CIL VI 40572) — 357

Ioan Piso

Die zwei Statuenbasen für Q. Marcius Turbo aus *Sarmizegetusa* — 361

Marie-Thérèse Raepsaet-Charlier

Révision d'inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise. Mourières (*ILGN*, 70) et Glanum (*CIL*, XII, 999 ; *CAG* 13/2, p. 304) (Bouches-du-Rhône, France) — 373

Olli Salomies

Zu einigen Stellen der *tabula patronatus* des J. 335 n. Chr. (*AE* 1937, 121 = *CIL* IX 8223 = EDCS-10801485) — 385

Benet Salway

Onomastic observations on two military tombstones from Roman Anatolia — 397

Roger S.O. Tomlin

One hundred thousand *denarii*, a gift to Mercury — 415

Ekkehard Weber

Eine ungeklärte Inschrift aus Carnuntum — 425

François Wibl 

Une inscription bien  nigmatique de Massongex — 429

Rainer Wiegels

***Nugae epigraphicae* – Anmerkungen zu einigen epigraphischen Zeugnissen aus Biesheim-Oedenburg — 437**

List of contributors — 457

Jonathan Edmondson

Funerary plaques with double epitaph panels from Augusta Emerita (Mérida, Spain)

1 Double funerary plaque set up by Iulia Semele for her son and her husband (CCMM, inv. 2956-00-1)

In *NEFAE*, the corpus of new funerary inscriptions from the colony of Augusta Emerita (Mérida), capital of the province of Lusitania, that appeared in 2020,¹ Luis Ángel Hidalgo Martín, José Luis Ramírez Sádaba and I published the *editio princeps* of an elegant, if damaged, white marble funerary plaque that bore a double epitaph for the son and the husband of a woman called Iul(ia) Semele (*NEFAE* 83 = *AE* 2019, 728 = *HEp* 2018–2019, 177 = *CILAE* 93 = EDCS-77100082) (Fig. 1).

It was discovered in Mérida in excavations in summer 2007 at the site of what is now the head office of the *Confederación Hidrográfica del Guadiana* (Avenida Reina Sofía 43). In the Roman period this site formed part of the large necropolis located near the Circus in Emerita's eastern suburbs. The plaque had been reused, along with several *tegulae* and floor-tiles, to cover a later Roman burial of an adult.² The plaque, which now forms part of the collections of the Consorcio de la Ciudad Monumental de Mérida (CCMM, inv. 2956-00-1), measures (37.5) cm tall, (52) cm wide and between 4.5 and 5 cm thick. The back is smooth, but not polished. The two epitaph panels are each surrounded by a *cyma reversa* moulded frame and separated by a suspended laurel garland sculpted in low relief with a fastening to keep the garland in place visible just beneath the plaque's broken top edge. The inscribed field of the left-hand panel measures (32) cm (maximum surviving height) by (18.5) cm (maximum width), that of the right-hand panel (29) cm (maximum surviving height) by 20 cm (actual width). We suggested, at *NEFAE* 83, that the left-hand panel was probably of the same width, i.e., 20 cm, as the right-hand one.

In the left-hand epitaph, a mother, Iulia Semele, commemorated her “most respectful son”, whose name is missing thanks to the damage to the plaque, although part of his age-at-death – [ann(orum) - - -]VIII, [men]s(i)um X – and most of the standard funerary formula – h(ic) s(itus) e(st), s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) – are preserved. In the right-hand panel, the same woman commemorated her “dearest husband”, whose name, also lost, was originally inscribed before the funerary formula that is partially

1 Hidalgo Martín *et al.* 2019 [2020]. This article is offered in warm appreciation to Manfred Clauss for all the efforts he has devoted to the development of EDCS, a tool that all epigraphers use daily. Not least, he has been instrumental in integrating new texts from Emerita, for which the team working on the Mérida fascicules for *CIL* II²/3 is hugely grateful.

2 Hidalgo Martín *et al.* 2019 [2020], 348. No further details of the excavation have to date been published.

visible in the first preserved line. Both epitaphs were inscribed in square capitals showing the influence of librarial script, 3.2 cm tall, except in the first three surviving lines of the right-hand text, where they measure 3.5 cm, with triangular interpuncts. The texts read as follows:³

left-hand panel:

----- / [ann(orum) • -?]VIII / [men]s(i)um • X • [h(ic) • s(itus) •] e(st) • s(it) • t(ibi) • t(erra) • l(evis) •
• / [Iul(ia) •] Semele • / mater • / [fi]lio • piiss(imo) • / [f]ecit •

right-hand panel:

----- / h(ic) • s(itus) • e(st) • [s(it) • t(ibi) • t(erra) • l(evis) •] / Iul(ia) • Semele / marito / karissimo
• / fecit •



Fig. 1: Funerary plaque set up by Iul(ia) Semele for her son and her husband, Augusta Emerita, CCMM, inv. 2956-00-1. Photo: H. Pires (Project CIL II Mérida).

³ This text presented here differs from *NEFAE* 83 only in the reading of interpuncts after *piiss(imo)* in line 6 of the left-hand text and after *fecit* in line 5 of the right-hand text. Given the clear interpunct after *mater* in line 5 of the left-hand panel, it is a surprise not to find another after *marito* at the end of line 3 of the right-hand panel.

The *ordinatio* of the two epitaphs is not identical. The right-hand text ends some 2.5 cm higher up on the plaque than its neighbour to the left, with a *vacat* of 6 cm below it compared to one of just 3.5 cm beneath the left-hand text. However, they do share some common features. In both texts the funerary formula occupies an entire line, as does the dedicator's name, Iul(ia) Semele, which signposts the start of the second half of each epitaph. The family relationship she enjoyed with each of the deceased males was emphasized immediately after her name, where *MATER* and *MARITO* occupy an entire line and visually draw the viewer's attention to this element in each of the texts. The word *FECIT* stands alone in the final line of both epitaphs. Throughout, the letterforms are almost identical, suggesting that both texts were inscribed at the same time. At *NEFAE* 83, we dated the text to the mid- to later second century A.D., based on the letterforms and the use of the superlative epithets *piissimus* and *karissimus*.

In publishing this new text, we briefly drew attention to two further examples of such double funerary plaques from Emerita, both of which have received some attention in previous scholarship and hence are included in EDCS, but neither has received a full and satisfactory epigraphic publication.⁴ It is the aim, therefore, of the rest of this short paper to provide full editions of these two texts and, in the process, to correct some small errors of reading that have appeared in previous discussions. A comparative study of the three double plaques together allows some final thoughts about epigraphic workshops in the Roman colony.

2 Fragment of a marble funerary plaque with double epitaph (MNAR, inv. 13834)

Two adjoining fragments of an elegant white marble plaque are conserved in storage at the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano (henceforth MNAR) in Mérida (inv. 13834), which, once combined, measure (36) cm tall by (24) cm wide by 6 cm thick. The plaque preserves small parts of two epigraphic panels, both of which have suffered serious damage (Fig. 2).

What remains of the inscribed surface of the left panel measures (20) cm (maximum height) by (6.5) cm (maximum width); that of the right-hand panel (33) cm (maximum height) by (8) cm (maximum width). Each of the panels is bordered by a *cyma reversa* moulded frame 3.0 cm wide, which most likely surrounded the top, bottom and two sides of each panel. In the centre, the two moulded panels are separated by a pendent laurel garland, gathered together by a central fastening, sculpted in low relief, 2.7 cm wide. The plaque's rear side was left unfinished but punctured with small irregular holes to facilitate its adhesion into a wall or other structure.

⁴ See Hidalgo Martín *et al.* 2019 [2020], 182–183 (with Fig. 6.4a-c), 349–351 (*NEFAE* 83, with Figs. 83 and 83a).



Fig. 2: Fragmentary plaque with two epitaphs, Augusta Emerita, MNAR, inv. 13834. Photo: J. Edmondson.

The plaque has formed part of the MNAR's collection since March 22, 1972, when it was first recorded and then transferred from the enclosure of the Roman theatre, which served for much of the 20th century as a deposit for finds from across Mérida, to the storage facility then located in the Arab Alcazaba. As a result, its precise find-spot within Mérida is unrecoverable. After the opening of the MNAR in 1986, it was moved to the new museum's storerooms, where I studied and photographed the plaque in June 2019.

The *editio princeps* of the text appeared in the unpublished doctoral thesis of Luis García Iglesias, *Epigrafía romana de Augusta Emerita* (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1973), pp. 767–768, n° 452. His text was duly incorporated into EDCS (EDCS-42700223) and reproduced, without further commentary, in the doctoral thesis of María Teresa Pando Anta (Universidad de Cantabria, 2016).⁵ García Iglesias' edition forms the basis for text now available as *CILAE* 651.

Traces of letters from five lines are visible on the left-hand panel (text A) and from six lines on the right-hand panel (text B). As with *NEFAE* 83, the texts of the two panels are not aligned, and the letters are larger in text B than in text A. Text A was evidently centred, with some lines extending to the right edge of the panel, while

⁵ Pando Anta 2016, 2.315. It is not discussed in Murciano Calles 2019.

others – for example, the last two surviving lines – finish some distance from it. This feature would suggest that these lines were indented at the left edge. Text B, however, inscribed in the right-hand panel, does not appear to have been centred, since all surviving lines are aligned on a vertical axis at their left edge.

Both epitaphs are inscribed in square capitals with traces of librarial script observable in the narrow, oval-shaped Os in lines 2 and 3 of text A and the diagonal crossbars of the A in line 3 and the H in line 5 of text B. The letters of the lines in text A ending in -O and -RITO measure 2.5 cm, while the partially preserved A in the penultimate line and the partially preserved T in the final line measure (2) cm and (0.5) cm respectively. The letters of text B measure (0.8) cm in line 1 and 3.2 cm in line 2–6. The two surviving interpuncts are triangular in form. The following text can be made out on the stone:

left-hand panel:

 + [- - -]
 ? [- - -]
 [- - -]o
 [- - -]ma]rito
 [- - -]a •
 [- - -]t

right-hand panel:

 + [- - -]
 R[- - -]
 an[n(or)um] - - -]
 me+[- - -]
 5 h(ic) • s(it-) [e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)]
 Iu[- - -]

Bibliography: García Iglesias, *ERA Emerita*, pp. 767–768, n° 452 (EDCS-42700223; Pando Anta 2016, 2.315); *CILAE* 651.

As for the left-hand text, a very small trace of the lower right corner of a letter is visible just below the horizontal crack across the top of the stone, but too little survives to identify it. The gap between this fragmentary trace of a letter and the O below it measures 2.5 cm, whereas the interlineal spacing between each of the remaining four lines is just 1.25 cm. This raises the question whether a line of text, which was centred, was originally inscribed between the line with the small vestige of its last letter and the line that ends in an O, with vacant space at its right end, and hence, we may presume, at the start of the line to the left as well. The letters -RITO in the antepenultimate line are surely to be restored as *[ma]rito*, showing that this epitaph was set up by a wife to her husband. The letter O in the second line (or third line, if the proposal that a short, centred line originally existed immediately prior is accepted) belongs to

the end of the deceased's *nomen* or *cognomen* in the Dative, while the A at the end of the line following *[ma]rito* was the last letter of his wife's *nomen* or *cognomen*. Using NEFAE 83 as a parallel, although certainty is impossible, one might interpret the T at the end of the last surviving line as the final letter of *[fecit]*.

Slightly more can be reconstructed of the epitaph inscribed in the right-hand panel. At the top of the surviving section, traces of a vertical stroke of a letter are just visible where the surface of the stone breaks off. The second line begins with an R, of which the entire left upright, part of the curved top and a section of the curving diagonal lower stroke of the letter are visible on the stone. The age-at-death of the deceased appears in line 3, if one interprets the surviving letters as *an[norum]* followed by a numeral. If the number of years involved a lengthy numeral made up of numerous characters – for instance, *ann(orum) XXXVIII* (vel sim) –, then the age-at-death may have continued in line 4, if ME+ is interpreted as *men[s(ium)]* followed by a numeral and possibly also *[d(ierum)]* and then another numeral. A dozen or so cases survive from Emerita, where months and, sometimes, days are included in the age-at-death, and this may constitute another, previously unrecognized, example.⁶ The penultimate line included the standard funerary formula *h(ic) s(itus) vel s(ita) [e(st), s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)]*, while the final surviving line is most plausibly read as giving the start of the name of the epitaph's dedicator: *Iu[l(ius) - - -]* or *Iu[l(lia) - - -]*, although the *gentilicium* *Iunius*, -a or even a single name such as *Iu[cundus/a]* or *Iu[lianus/a]*, both of which are attested eight times at Emerita, cannot be excluded.⁷

If the text of this double epitaph was organized in a similar fashion to that of NEFAE 83 (n° 1, above), then it would be preferable to read a female name here – for instance, *Iu[lia - - -]* – and propose that she also features in the penultimate line of the left-hand text, which she dedicated to her husband. If so, as with NEFAE 83, she might then have commemorated a son or daughter with the epitaph inscribed in the right-hand panel, but obviously no certainty about this hypothesis is possible. Given so little survives of the texts, it is difficult to date this funerary monument. However, based on the letter forms, both texts would seem to date to between the end of the first century and the mid-second century A.D.

⁶ CIL II 540 = EDCS-05500551: *mensum* (sic) XI; CIL II 541 = EDCS-05500552 (with corrected reading): *ann(orum) n(umero) III mens(ium) III dierum n(umero) II*; EE VIII 53 = EDCS-34900139: *ann(orum) IIII m(ensium) III*; EE IX 56 = EDCS-37900059: *v(ixit) ano I m(ensibus) VI d(iebus) XII*; ERAEmerita 346 = EDCS-42700481: *ann(orum) XX / m(ensium) III d(ierum) XXIII*; ERAEmerita 393 = EDCS-42700176: *vixit an(nis) III m(ensibus) IX d(iebus) XVIII*; ERAEmerita 396 = EDCS-42700177: *[a]nn(orum) XX m(ensium) V dier[um]*; AE 1983, 487 = HEp 4, 1994, 173 = EDCS-08500335: *q(ui) vixit ann<i>s XXXVII mensibus VII diebus X{X}X{X}VIII*; AE 1997, 780 = HEp 7, 1997, 114 = EDCS-05900011: *ann(orum) XXXIII m(ensium) VII d(iei) I*; AE 2004, 723 = HEp 13, 2003–2004, 171 = EDCS-33600053: *vixit ann(is) / IIII m(ensibus) V*; AE 2012, 692b = HEp 2012, 28 = EDCS-67400274: *ann(i) I m(ensium) VI*.

⁷ Edmondson 2024, 134; cf. <http://adopia.huma-num.fr/names/1049> (Iucundus) [last accessed 02.04.2025]; <http://adopia.huma-num.fr/names/1050> (Iulianus) [last accessed 02.04.2025].

3 Fragment of a marble funerary plaque with a double epitaph (MNAR, inv. 36038)

In the excavations at Mérida of the suburban villa known as the “House of the Amphitheatre” (“Casa del Anfiteatro”), the lower section of a damaged white marble funerary plaque with panels for two separate epitaphs was discovered in the 1980s (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3: Damaged plaque with two panels for the epitaphs of an *Augustalis* and another individual, Augusta Emerita, MNAR, inv. 36038. Photo: J. Edmondson.

It was deposited in the MNAR on October 30, 1989 by the director of the excavations, where it remains in storage (MNAR, inv. 36038). The text of the right-hand panel only was first brought to scholarly attention by José Carlos Saquete in his 1997 study of the local elite of Augusta Emerita, thanks to information provided by José Luis de la Barrera, then a MNAR curator. Saquete offered just a summary text, without any further elaboration, and made no comment about the existence of remains of a second epi-

taph on the left-hand panel.⁸ His text was duly incorporated in *HEp* (7, 1997, 126), with some expansion of the missing text of the right-hand panel. This *HEp* reading was then included in the EDCS (EDCS-16900209), but with a small error in the transcription of the final line, where the correct reading *sibi* mistakenly appears abbreviated as *s(ibi)*. In the course of time, the EDCS text also incorporated details of the epitaph in the left-hand panel, as follows:

*JS / [3 P]ap(iria) / [3]VIII / [h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi?)] t(erra) l(evis) / [3] et // L(ucius) A[3] / Afric
[anus] / Emerit[ensis] / Augustali[s] / ann(or)um h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / s(ibi) fec(it).*

The fact that the text provides evidence from the Roman colony for another *Augustalis* led me to inspect the plaque on several occasions in the MNAR storerooms (June 7, 1999, June 6, 2018 and, most recently, on June 5, 2024). These autopsies made it clear that the text still needs a full epigraphic edition, which I offer in the lines that follow.

The plaque of white marble (probably from the quarries of Borba – Estremoz, Portugal) is broken horizontally across the top, vertically down the left side and diagonally across the front surface at the right. The plaque's bottom edge survives in its original state, while its rear side was left rough to facilitate its insertion in the wall of a funerary monument. The surviving section of the plaque measures (33) cm (maximum height) by (39) cm (maximum width) by 4–5 cm thick. Each of the panels is surrounded by a band of *cyma reversa* moulding 3 cm wide, while they are separated by a central flat band of moulding 3 cm wide, i.e., a simpler version of what is found with the two other examples of this type of double plaque known from Emerita (n° 1 and n° 2, above).

The moulding around the plaque's outer border, which survives intact across the bottom and at the lower right side, measures just 2 cm wide. The partially preserved epigraphic field of the left-hand panel measures (25) cm (maximum height) by (5.7) cm (maximum width) and that of the right-hand panel (23) cm (maximum height) by 18 cm (actual width). It is likely that the epigraphic fields of both panels were of equal size, as seems to have been the case with the best-preserved example of this type of double plaque (n° 1, above), but this cannot be confirmed for certain.

Both epitaphs were inscribed in square capitals of some elegance that show the influence of librarial script, most notably in the curled bowl of the G and the undulating crossbar of the T of AVGVSTALI[S] in line 4 of the right-hand panel. The quality of the carving is quite high with well-incised lettering, even if the second N of ANN[orum] in line 5 and the S and B of SIBI in line 6 are somewhat maladroitly executed. The letters of the epitaph in the left-hand panel measure 3.5 cm in lines 1–2, 3.2 cm in line 3, 3 cm in line 4 and 2.5 cm in line 5; those of the text in the right-hand panel measure (2.3) cm in line 1, 3 cm in line 2, 2.7 cm in line 3, 2.5 cm in lines 4 and 6, 2 cm in line 5. The interpuncts are triangular throughout.

⁸ Saquete Chamizo 1997, 146, note 588 (in his discussion of *Augustales* of the colony: pp. 145–156) and 174, n° 28 (Appendix with a catalogue of inscriptions).

As for the *ordinatio* of the texts, the right-hand epitaph is well organized, with the start of all lines, except the last, arranged on a vertical axis. The stonecutter attempted to centre the shorter final line. Given its fragmentary state, it is impossible to determine the *ordinatio* of the left-hand text. In the final line, there is an empty space, 2 cm wide, to the left of the word ET, and this *vacat* may have extended further to the left in the missing section of the plaque. This would suggest that the left-hand text, in general, was arranged to extend across the full width of the panel, except possibly in the penultimate line, where the funerary formula, with each of its surviving letters separated by interpuncts, appears to have been centred, since it does not quite extend to the right edge of the epigraphic panel. In the right-hand panel, a large *vacat* 6.2 cm wide is visible in the middle of line 5 between *ann(orum)* and *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*, a feature to which we shall return below. Based on the letter forms and the formulas used, both texts would seem to date to the later first or early second century A.D. The following text can be read:

left-hand panel:

[- - -]S
 [- - - P]ap(iria tribu) •
 [ann(orum) - - -]VIII
 [h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi)] • t(erra) • l(evis) •
 5 [- - -] (vacat) et •

right-hand panel:

+ A[- - -]
 Afric[anus]
 Emerit[en(sis)]
 Augustali[s]
 5 ann(orum) • (vacat) h(ic) • s(itus) • e(st) •
 sibi • fec(it) •

Bibliography: Saquete Chamizo 1997, 146, note 588; 174, n° 28 (*HEp* 7, 1997, 126; EDCS-16900209); Murciano Calles 2019, 232, n° 104, with photo (lám. 96, n° 4); *CILAE* 785.

As for how best to restore these texts, it is helpful to start by discussing the right-hand text. Previous editors have prevaricated over the case in which the name of the *Augustalis* was inscribed. For *CILAE* 785 José Luis Ramírez Sádaba and Raquel Campo Lastra restored the deceased's name in the Dative, but a careful consideration of the *ordinatio* of the text as a whole and, more generally, the need for a subject for the verb *fec(it)* require that the name be restored in the Nominative, as Saquete proposed and which has been accepted in the readings of *HEp*, EDCS and by Murciano. In the antepenultimate line, AVGVSTALI is visible on the stone, but there is clearly space for one more letter before the right edge of the epigraphic panel, making AVGVSTALI[S] a more plausible reading than AVGVSTALI followed by a *vacat*. Similarly in line 2, there is room for four more letters at the right-hand end of the line where the original surface has broken off, sufficient for AFRIC[ANVS] rather than just AFRIC[ANO]. In line 3, the *origo* of

the *Augustalis* must have been abbreviated as EMERIT[EN(sis)] or EMERIT[ENS(is)], since there is insufficient room here for EMERIT[ENSIS] to have been inscribed in full.⁹

In the first line, Saquete read the *praenomen* of the *Augustalis* as *L(ucius)*, and this has won acceptance in most subsequent editions (*HEp*, EDCS, Murciano) and in the discussion of the text by Alberto Barrón Ruiz de la Cuesta in his study of *Viviri Augustales* in Hispania and Gallia.¹⁰ However, close inspection of the stone, while confirming the presence of a vertical upright, reveals absolutely no trace of any adjoining lower horizontal bar to justify reading an L. It is, therefore, necessary to reject the traditional reading and suggest, instead, a P or a T. Given there is no trace of lettering where the bowl of a P would have coincided with the upright, the reading *T(itus)* is preferable. The stone's surface is damaged where an interpunct likely stood to the right of the *praenomen*. The next trace of a letter is clearly the lower section of the left diagonal bar of an A, as all previous editors have noted. From the point where this A would have ended to the right edge of the inscribed panel amounts to c. 10 cm, i.e., space for about five letters. Of the *gentilicia* beginning with A of this length so far attested at Emerita, the only serious candidates are ANNIVS, ALLIVS or APPIVS, or perhaps even ANICIVS, though the latter is one letter longer.¹¹ Given the fact that Annius is the most frequently attested of these *nomina* at Emerita, a reading of *T(itus) A[nnius]* would seem to be the most plausible restoration of this line.

The final line of the right-hand text – *sibi fec(it)* – confirms that the dedicator of this epitaph was one and the same as the person honored. As such, it provides another case from Emerita of where an individual – in this case, a person of some distinction, an *Augustalis* – decided to set up his own epitaph before his death.¹² This is further emphasized in the penultimate line, where a space, 6.2 cm wide, was left vacant between *ann(orum)* and the funerary formula, *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*, in which to insert the

⁹ For *Emeriten(sis)*, cf. *CIL* II 824 = *CILCaceres* III 1026 = EDCS-05500834 (Capera); *AE* 1952, 117 = *ERAEmerita* 145 = Edmondson, Nogales Basarrate, Trillmich 2001, n° 2 = EDCS-13900412 (Emerita); cf. *Emeritens(is)*: *AE* 1988, 789 = *HEp* 2, 1990, 124 = *CIRPBurgos* 84 = EDCS-07000653 (Clunia).

¹⁰ Barrón Ruiz de la Cuesta 2020, cat. n° 213, based on the EDCS text. The edition at *CILAE* 785, while citing Saquete's text in full, remains silent on the best reading of the *praenomen*.

¹¹ Parallels for Annius from Emerita: for example, T. Annius Corintus (*AE* 1997, 783 = *HEp* 7, 1997, 132 = 9, 1999, 94 = EDCS-05900014) and L. Annius Cerialis Emerite(n)sis (*AE* 1993, 899 = *HEp* 5, 1995, 85 = EDCS-03700365); cf. <http://adopia.huma-num.fr/names/2510> [last accessed 02.04.2025]. Allius: L. Allius Cres[cens], L. Allius Firmo and L. Allius Nereus (*ERAEmerita* 218 = *HEp* 2016–2017, 43 = EDCS-42700443); cf. <http://adopia.huma-num.fr/names/115> [last accessed 02.04.2025]. Appius is to date unattested at Emerita: <http://adopia.huma-num.fr/names/2573> [last accessed 02.04.2025]. For Anicius, cf. Anicius Ma[r]cellianu[s] (*HEp* 7, 1997, 123 = *AE* 2021, 626 = EDCS-16900207); cf. <http://adopia.huma-num.fr/names/170> [last accessed 02.04.2025].

¹² For other case of self-commemoration, see Edmondson 2000, 308–309, Tabla 1; Edmondson in Hidalgo *et al.* 2019 [2020], 167–178, Tabla 6.1, section J. Among over 20 cases, note, for example, *CIL* II 494, 507, 528, 532, 575, 578 + 5101, 584, 591; *EE* VIII 30; *AE* 1982, 483; *AE* 1999, 876 = *HEp* 7, 1997, 122; Edmondson 2016–2017 [2020] (*AE* 2018, 823 = *HEp* 2018–2019, 69) = EDCS-05500504, 05500518, 05500539, 05500543, 05500586, 05500589, 05500595, 05500602, 34900119, 08600345, 16900206, 81200138.

appropriate numeral after the honorand's eventual death. Evidently, his heirs failed to follow through and inscribe this detail. The same phenomenon recurs at Emerita on a funerary plaque commemorating four Matii, on which the ages-at-death of three of the deceased are given:¹³ *ann(orum) LXX* for G. Matius G. l. Optatus in line 2, *an(norum) XXV* for Matia Optata in line 4 and *an(norum) XXVI* for C. Matius Emeritus in line 5; but in the case of the second person mentioned, Matia G. l. Festa, in line 3 an empty space was left after *ann(orum)* for her precise age to be included after her death.¹⁴

In the less well-preserved left-hand panel, the first surviving line likely included part of a male name ending in S. The next line ends in the letters AP, followed by an interpunct, very likely the abbreviation of the Roman voting tribe *[P]ap(iria)*, in which Emerita's Roman citizens were enrolled.¹⁵ The traces of the letters VIII at the end of line 3 must be part of the deceased's age-at-death. In line 4 the last two letters are preserved of the standard funerary formula *h(ic) s(itus) e(st), s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)*, with interpuncts before, between and after them. The final line must have contained a short, perhaps abbreviated, phrase before the connective ET, fully preserved at the right end of the line. A possible option would be *ex test(amento)* or even *ex t(estamento)*. While this phrase usually appears in full as *ex testamento* in epitaphs at Emerita, there is one case so far known of an abbreviated form.¹⁶

This detailed reconsideration of the surviving elements of each epitaph allows a tentative proposal for how we should understand the pair of texts. It is my contention that, in contrast to the two large plaques bearing multiple epitaphs of individuals largely unrelated to one another that survive from *columbaria* at Emerita,¹⁷ these three double plaques were set up in each case to commemorate members of the same family. This is clearest in the case of the first double plaque discussed (n° 1, above), but I would argue that the two individuals commemorated on the plaque set up by an *Augustalis* (n° 3) were also connected. The man remembered on the more fragmentary left-hand panel was evidently a Roman citizen, given the mention of the *Papiria*

13 It now forms part of the Eugenio Fontaneda collection at Ampudia de Campos (Palencia): Fontaneda Berthet and Hernández Guerra 1996, 99–101, n° 6, with Plate IV, a photograph too small to decipher much of the text (*AE* 1996, 863 = *HEp* 7, 1997, 131) = *CILAE* 239 = EDCS-03000453.

14 Salas Martín (1996, 67–68, n° j) mistakenly read the text of a funerary plaque set up at Emerita of an *Augustalis* from Norba, [L. Pl]ostumius L. lib. Gal. Apollonius Norbensis, and his wife, Volosinia Secunda, as if the final line contained a similar *vacat* after the word *ann(orum)* in the wife's age-at-death. For the correct reading, *ann(orum) XXX*, see Saquete Chamizo 1997, 146, note 590, 174, n° 32 (*AE* 1997, 781 = *HEp* 7, 1997, 125) = EDCS-05900012.

15 See further Forni 1976; Wiegels 1985, 77–79; Sánchez Abal and Redondo Rodríguez 1985; updated at Edmondson 2024, 87–97, with Cuadro 1.5.

16 *Ex testamento*: for example, *CIL* II 490 (a *liberta* commemorating her patron *ex testamento*); *AE* 1946, 195; *AE* 1962, 64; *AE* 1996, 863 = EDCS-05500500, 07100115, 13400019, 03000453. *Ex t(estamento)*: *CIL* II 512 = EDCS-05500523, line 7.

17 *NEFAE* 46, 47A–G = *CILAE* 680, 569–575 = EDCS-00380369, 00380370. Discussed fully in Hidalgo Martín *et al.* 2019 [2020], 57–63 (with Fig. 3.7) and 282–304.

voting-tribe. I would suggest that he was the *patronus* of *T. A[nnius?] Afric[anus]*, the *Augustalis* attested in the right-hand text. If the reconstruction of this freedman's name is correct, then his patron must have borne the same *praenomen* and *nomen*, hence *T. Annius* [- -]. In line 2, before the tribal affiliation, his *cognomen* or his filiation and a shorter *cognomen* must have been inscribed. Using the *patronus* Propertius Africanus and his freedman Prope<r>tius Afer from Emerita as a parallel (AE 2017, 614 = *HEp* 2014–2015, 87 = *CILAE* 1000 = EDCS-69400013), it is tempting to restore the deceased's name in the first two lines of the left-hand panel as [*T. Annius* / *T. f. Afer P]ap*. While far less usual, there are cases from Emerita and its territory where the tribe appears after the *cognomen* in personal nomenclature rather than before it.¹⁸ If this is correct, then the age-at-death occupied the whole of the third line and must have comprised a numeral with several characters: [*ann(orum) XXX*]/*VIII* or even possibly [*ann(orum) XXXX*]/*VIII*.

If we accept the restoration *ex test(amento)* in the final line, then the former master of the *Augustalis* left instructions in his will that his own freedman look after his burial. This freedman, evidently successful enough to be later appointed an *Augustalis* of the colony and proud of his civic identity as an *Emeritensis*, duly obliged.¹⁹ In setting up this double memorial, the *Augustalis* emphasized his links to a full-citizen member of the civic community, who, I would argue, left funds in his will for his freedman to carry out his burial and funerary commemoration. After the *Augustalis* himself eventually passed away, his heirs were not so dutiful, since they never inscribed his precise age-at-death in the gap left vacant for this purpose in the penultimate line of the epitaph inscribed in the right-hand panel. It is a matter of speculation why that might have occurred.

In light of this discussion, I would tentatively propose that the texts of the two epitaphs be restored as follows:

[*T.? Anniu?*]*s* / [*T(iti)? f(ilius) Afer?* *P]ap(iria tribu) •* / [*ann(orum) XXX*]/*VIII* / [*h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi)*] • [*t(erra) • l(evis) • f̄*] [*ex test(amento)?*] (*vacat*) *et •* // *T. A[nnius?] / Afric[anus] / Emerit[ensis] / Augustali[s] f̄ ann(orum) •* (*vacat*) *h(ic) • s(itus) • e(st) / sibi • fec(it) •*

¹⁸ For instance, Ti. Claudius Fronto Pap., *veter(anus) eq(ues) ala(e) Tauriana(e)* (CMBa 917 = *CILAE* 444 = EDCS-42700419), C. Rubrius Proculus Pap. (AE 1982, 483 = *CILAE* 497 = EDCS-08600345), P. Aplianus Marcianus Pap. (AE 1971, 147 = *CILAE* 2123 = EDCS-09700592, La Pinela, Badajoz), Aquilia Seuera G. f. Papir[i]la Emeritens(is) (AE 1993, 898 = *HEp* 5, 1995, 110 = *CILAE* 2135 = EDCS-03700364, Olivenza) or S. Iun[ius – f.] Ianuari[us] Pap. (*CIL* II²/7, 952 = EDCS-09001006, Monterrubio de la Serena).

¹⁹ For other freedmen setting up funerary monuments to their patrons at Emerita, cf. *CIL* II 490, 491, 508, 509, 537; *EE* VIII 41, IX 67, revised at Edmondson 2021, 61–62, with Fig. 5a–b; AE 1993, 903; AE 1994, 864; *HEp* 7, 1997, 127; AE 2012, 690 = EDCS-05500500, 05500501, 05500519, 05500520, 05500548, 34900130, 37900067, 03700369, 42700474, 16900210, 67400272.

4 Some concluding remarks: double funerary plaques and epigraphic workshops at Emerita

Specimens of this type of plaque with two panels for separate epitaphs of individuals with a social connection are extremely rare among the abundant funerary epigraphy of Augusta Emerita, nor is the type common elsewhere in Hispania.²⁰ On honorific pedestals occasionally twin texts were inscribed within parallel moulded panels, as, for instance, on that dedicated at Valentia (modern Valencia) to Sertoria Q. f. Maxima by her husband and her daughter in the later first or second century A.D.²¹ At Emerita some funerary stelae or plaques with a single inscribed panel incorporated more than one epitaph,²² and a number of the funerary monuments with *aediculae* incorporating two portrait busts were designed to commemorate a married couple.²³ One case survives of a funerary altar which bears two successive epitaphs, both dedicated by the same man, Cornelius Calitychius, first to his wife and then to his mother.²⁴ The overall design of the first two plaques discussed here is so similar that they appear to be the products of the same workshop. The third plaque is a simplified version of the same overall form of monument. Furthermore, the style of lettering – square capitals with the clear influence of librarial script – is virtually identical in all three cases, which further strengthens the argument that they were produced in the same *officina*.

²⁰ A stela from the territory of Ossonoba in the Algarve has separate epitaphs of a daughter, Patricia, and her father, Patricius, inscribed within identical moulded panels (*IRCPacen* 49 = EDCS-11901253, Quinta do Marim, Olhão). In Hispania Citerior several stelae from Valeria and other locations in the interior of the *conventus Carthaginensis* have two panels with arched tops to incorporate parallel epitaphs: *CIL* II²/13, 1022, 1111, 1188, 1196, 1418 = EDCS-08600404, 08400358, 05200416, 05200402, 60600001.

²¹ *CIL* II 3752 = II²/14, 76a-b = EDCS-09100078, with Navarro Caballero 2017, 767–768, n° 602.

²² For example, *EE* VIII 53, rev. Edmondson and Murciano Calles 2012–2013 [2018], 154–157, n° 19 = *CILAE* 399 = EDCS-34900139 (stela); *AE* 2003, 881 = Edmondson 2008, 166–169, n° 3 (*HEp* 17, 2008, 8) = *CILAE* 691 = EDCS-30000480 (plaque).

²³ For example, Edmondson, Nogales Basarrate, Trillmich 2001, n° 16–18 = Vedder 2001, n° 7, 40, 41 = EDCS-22800030, 42700425, 34900119, plus two more recent discoveries: Stylow and Ventura Villanueva 2009, 515–517, n° 56 (*AE* 2010, 668 = *HEp* 19, 2010, 32) = EDCS-44800585; *NEFAE* 1 = *CILAE* 38 = EDCS-77100006.

²⁴ *HEp* 1, 1989, 104 = *CILAE* 241 = EDCS-22200068: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Cornelia Ven[er]ia vel - usta / ann(or)um LXII h(ic) s(ita) e(st) s(it) [t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)] / Cornelius Calit[ycius] / uxori {ii} p<ie>ntissim(a)e / d(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Cornelia Hieria / ann(or)um LXXIV h(ic) s(ita) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) / Cornelius Calitychius / matri pientissim(a)e f(aciendum) c(uravit).*

Bibliography

- Barrón Ruiz de la Cuesta, A. (2020). *Los seviros augustales en Hispania y las Galias. Una aproximación a la movilidad social en el Imperio romano*. Logroño.
- Edmondson, J. (2000). 'Conmemoración funeraria y relaciones familiares en *Augusta Emerita*', in J.-G. Gorges and T. Nogales Basarrate (eds.), *Sociedad y cultura en Lusitania romana. IV Mesa Redonda Internacional*. Mérida, 299–327.
- Edmondson, J. (2008). 'Amanda's Former Slaves: Epigraphy, Archaeology and Social History at Augusta Emerita (Mérida)', in E. La Rocca, P. León, C. Parisi Presicce (eds.), *Le due patrie acquisite: studi di archeologia dedicati a Walter Trillmich*. Rome, 163–173.
- Edmondson, J. (2016–2017 [2020]). 'Una nueva familia de libertos de *Augusta Emerita*', *Anas* 29–30: 125–133.
- Edmondson, J. (2021). 'Reconstructing the Texts of Funerary Inscriptions from Augusta Emerita for the CIL II² Mérida Project with the Aid of New Technologies', in I. Velázquez Soriano and D. Espinosa Espinosa (eds.), *Epigraphy in the Digital Age: Opportunities and Challenges in the Recording, Analysis and Dissemination of Epigraphic Texts*. Oxford, 55–70.
- Edmondson, J. (2024). 'Onomástica y sociedad en una *colonia ciuium Romanorum* y *caput prouinciae*: la colonia *Augusta Emerita*', in J. Edmondson and M. Navarro Caballero (eds.), *Onomastique, société et identité culturelle en Lusitanie romaine / Onomástica, sociedad e identidad cultural en Lusitania romana (ADOPIA I)* (Scripta Antiqua 178). Bordeaux, 39–196.
- Edmondson, J. and Murciano Calles, J. M. (2012–2013 [2018]). 'Las estelas funerarias marmóreas de *Augusta Emerita*: novedades, revisiones y apuntes tipológicos, técnicos e iconográficos', *Anas* 25–26: 133–171.
- Edmondson, J., Nogales Basarrate, T., and Trillmich, W. (2001). *Imagen y memoria: Monumentos funerarios con retratos en la colonia Augusta Emerita* (Monografías Emeritenses 6). Madrid.
- Fontaneda Berthet, C. and Hernández Guerra, L. (1996). 'Las inscripciones de la Colección Eugenio Fontaneda', *Hispania Antiqua* 20: 91–136.
- Forni, G. (1976). 'La tribu Papiria di Augusta Emerita', in A. Blanco Freijeiro (ed.), *Augusta Emerita: Actas del simposio internacional conmemorativo del bimilenario de Mérida, 1975*. Madrid, 33–42.
- García Iglesias, L. (1973). *Epigrafía romana de Augusta Emerita*. Tesis doctoral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Hidalgo Martín, L. Á., Edmondson, J., Márquez Pérez, J. and Ramírez Sádaba, J. L. (2019 [2020]). *Nueva epigrafía funeraria de Augusta Emerita: Tituli sepulcrales urbanos (ss. I–VII) y su contexto arqueológico (NEFAE)* (Memoria. Monografías Arqueológicas de Mérida 1). Mérida.
- Murciano Calles, J. M. (2019). *Monumenta. Tipología monumental funeraria en Augusta Emerita. Origen y desarrollo entre los siglos I a.C. y IV d.C.* (Monografías Emeritenses 12). Mérida.
- Navarro Caballero, M. (2017). *Perfectissima femina. Femmes de l'élite dans l'Hispanie romaine* (Scripta Antiqua 101). Bordeaux.
- Pando Anta, M. T. (2016). *Las manifestaciones sociales proporcionadas por soporte y texto en las estelas y placas funerarias de Augusta Emerita en época altoimperial* (2 vols.). Tesis doctoral, Universidad de Cantabria.
- Salas Martín, J. (1996). 'Fuentes para el estudio de la Colonia Norba Caesarina y sus contributa *Castra Servilia* y *Castra Caecilia*', *Anas* 9: 59–78.
- Sánchez Abal, J. L. and Redondo Rodríguez, J. A. (1985). 'La tribu Papiria. Testimonio de la colonia Emerita Augusta en la Alta Extremadura', *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional* 3: 61–68.
- Saquete Chamizo, J. C. (1997). *Las élites sociales de Augusta Emerita* (Cuadernos emeritenses 13). Mérida.

- Stylov, A. U. and Ventura Villanueva, Á. (2009). 'Los hallazgos epigráficos', in R. Ayerbe Vélez, T. Barrientos Vera and F. Palma García (eds.), *El foro de Augusta Emerita. Génesis y evolución de sus recintos monumentales* (Anejos de AEspA 53). Mérida, 453–524.
- Vedder, U. (2001). *Grabsteine mit Porträt in Augusta Emerita (Lusitania): zur Rezeption stadtrömischer Sepulkralkunst in einer Provinzhauptstadt* (Kölner Studien zur Archäologie der römischen Provinzen 5). Rahden, Westfalen.
- Wiegels, R. (1985). *Die Tribusinschriften des römischen Hispanien. Ein Katalog* (Madrider Forschungen 13). Berlin.