

Family Relations and Personal Onomastics in the Roman Province of
Lusitania: Civic Status, Family, and Identity

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Abstract

This dissertation argues that family commemoration and personal naming practices in Lusitania reveal a complex, uneven process of cultural change under Roman rule. Civic status shaped the legal and social possibilities available to communities, but it did not determine identity or family practice in a uniform way.

By systematically analyzing both the relations expressed between dedicators and deceased on funerary epitaphs and the personal names of those attested, this dissertation demonstrates that the impact of Roman rule and civic status on local practices in the province of Lusitania was uneven and highly variable. Some communities adopted Latin names and duo/tria nomina relatively early, while others preserved indigenous names and single-name structures even after gaining new civic rights. The result was not a single provincial pattern, but a series of local responses in which people adapted Roman civic and epigraphic habits to express family memory, status, and belonging.

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Introduction

In this dissertation, an in-depth analysis is presented on the connection between family relations and personal naming practices in the Roman province of Lusitania, spanning from the late 1st century BCE to the early 3rd century CE. By examining both quantitative and qualitative data derived from Latin funerary inscriptions, this study addresses how Roman imperial control, administration, exploitation, and urbanization of the provinces influenced representations of family and kinship. Significantly, the analysis focuses on the intersection of personal names and familial commemorations, offering insights into the broader impacts of Roman culture on local communities. The findings of this dissertation demonstrate a nuanced picture of cultural adaptation rather than wholesale assimilation. The correlation between naming practices and family relations reveals patterns of both resistance to and adoption of Roman customs. For example, while Roman funerary practices were adopted in some areas, local traditions in naming persisted in some cases. This dissertation shows that there was considerable variation across different communities in Lusitania, reflecting diverse responses to Roman rule. In particular, this study throws light on the impact of grants of Roman citizenship or the *ius Latii*, on onomastic and commemorative practices. Certain communities exhibited a notable shift towards Latinized names following the grant of *ius Latii*, whereas others retained indigenous naming conventions. This variability underscores the complexity of Romanization processes and the localized nature of cultural change in the province of Lusitania between the late 1st century BCE and early 3rd century CE.

The methodological approach builds upon Saller and Shaw's framework for analyzing family relations with an examination of onomastic data, offering an evaluation of familial and personal expressions of identity in the communities in question. While this dissertation focuses on

select communities in the region for which there are sufficient corpora of epigraphic data, the synthesis of these data enhances our understanding of how Roman imperial administration of the provinces influenced social behaviour and cultural expressions within communities with different civic statuses, from *civitates stipendiariae*, *municipia* of Roman citizens (such as Olisipo), *municipia* with the *ius Latii* (such as Ebora, Salacia, and Myrtilis, all of which were established under Augustus, and others founded under the Flavians), and *coloniae civium Romanorum*. Through detailed regional analyses of the *Conventus Pacensis*, several civic communities in the modern Spanish province of Cáceres, the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*, and the *municipium civium Romanorum* of Olisipo, this work provides a rich, multifaceted perspective on the dynamics of cultural change in Roman Lusitania. This is illustrated by some of the key findings from each chapter.

By uncovering the nuanced, localized responses to Roman rule, this study reveals that cultural integration was neither uniform nor unidirectional. In Olisipo, the only *municipium civium Romanorum* in Lusitania, for example, the pronounced emphasis on maternal bonds and matrilineal name transmission underscores a distinctive local adaptation, diverging from traditional Roman patriarchal norms. Similarly, the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*'s blend of Latin and indigenous names within familial commemorations highlights a complex yet cohesive cultural synthesis. The patterns identified in the *Conventus Pacensis* and Cáceres further illustrate that onomastic changes and commemorative behaviours were deeply influenced by local traditions and demographic nuances, demonstrating the region's resilience and adaptability. These insights collectively underscore the intricate and varying processes of cultural interaction and identity formation within the Roman Empire, providing a richer, more sophisticated understanding of ancient provincial life. While this dissertation draws on evidence that can inform our

understanding of family relationships in Roman Lusitania, it does not aim to provide a comprehensive social history of the Lusitanian family. Rather, the focus lies on the ways that Roman-style funerary monuments represent familial connections to the viewer. As such, this study intersects with both social and cultural history, but is not intended as a *histoire totale* of the family in Lusitania.

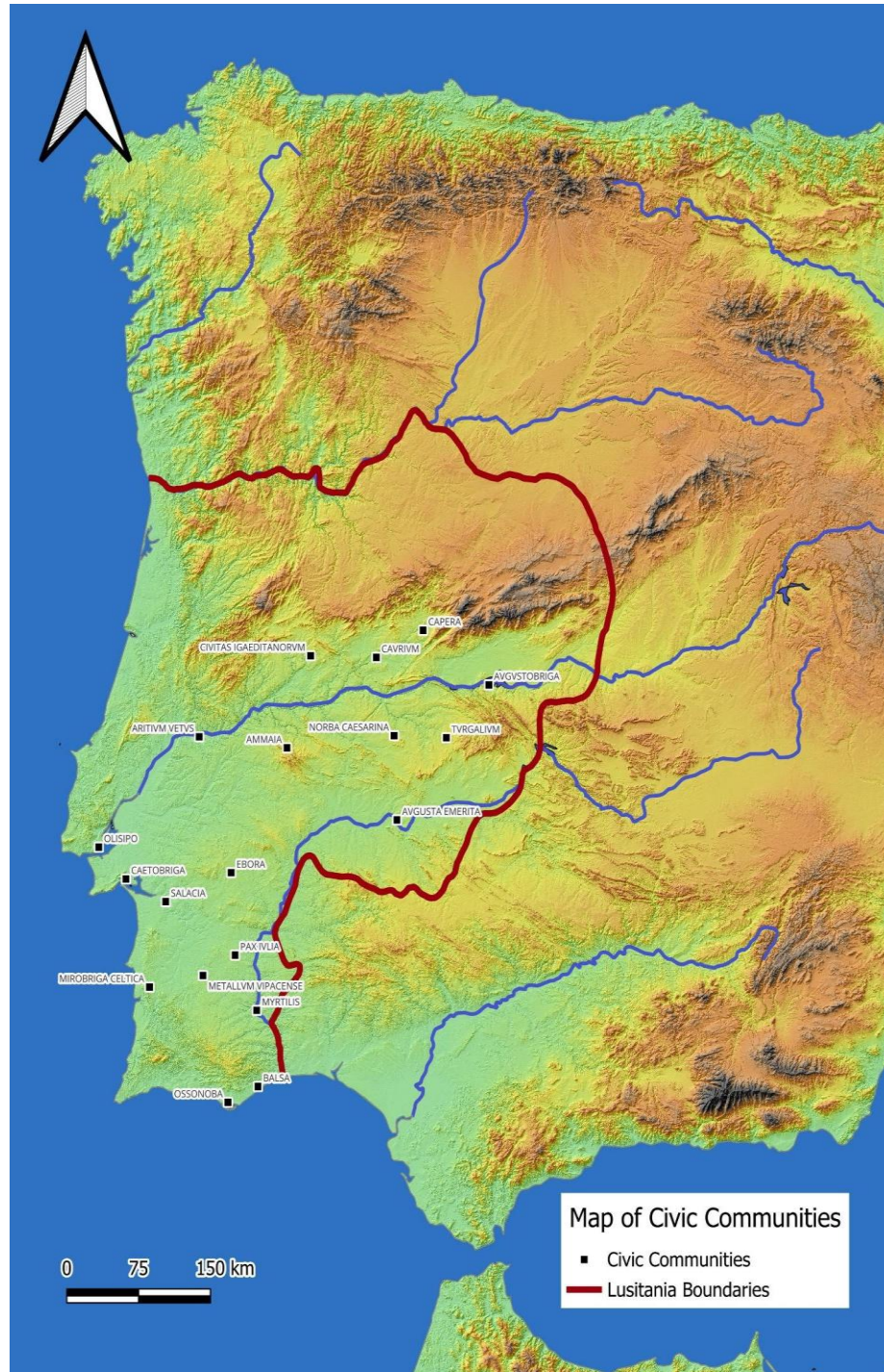
Roman Lusitania: A Brief History

This dissertation focuses on three regions within the Roman province of Lusitania. The province of Lusitania was established in the late 1st century BCE when Augustus reorganized the Republican *provincia* of Hispania Ulterior into the two provinces of Baetica and Lusitania. The province occupied a geographical zone that included modern Portugal south of the Duero river and a portion of western Spain to the east: much of (but not all of) modern Extremadura, the province of Salamanca and the western sectors of the provinces of Ávila and Toledo. The southern regions of Roman Lusitania (the modern Alentejo and Algarve in Portugal) consist mostly of plains, while the northern regions are quite mountainous, especially north of the river Tagus.¹ To the south along the river Guadiana the territory consists of mostly plains, while several mountain ranges separate communities north of the Guadiana ultimately leading to the mountainous Meseta Central plateau.

Although the province of Lusitania was established in the late 1st century BCE, the history of the region obviously dates back much further. Roman military activity and administrative involvement in this area began as early as the early 2nd century BCE, with the gradual annexation of these territories into Hispania Ulterior nearly two centuries before the official creation of Lusitania as a separate province. Even though historical evidence pertaining to much of the local

¹ Alarcão (1988) p. 1.

history prior to Roman military intervention in the region is scarce, it is nevertheless possible to identify certain pre-Roman ethnographic divisions.²



² Calderón Fraile, et. al. (2000) provides a good summary of pre-Roman archaeological material but is limited to the area of Cáceres.

It is clear from historical records that the peoples of these regions were not culturally homogenous before Roman conquest. For that reason, we will discuss the general ethnographic makeup of the Roman province of Lusitania with reference to historical records.

The first historical account of the peoples of this region, however scant, dates back to the 5th century BCE.³ In one of Herodotus' digressions concerning the source of the river Ister (the Greek name for the Danube), he infers that its source was near peoples called the Κελτοί, who lived near another group called Κυνησίοι or Κύνητες. The latter, Herodotus claims, were the westernmost peoples who lived in Europe.⁴ Strabo, writing in the first century BCE and early years of the first century CE, also references the territory associated with the Κελτοί and the neighbouring region named Κούνεον (Cuneum in Latin).⁵ From these references to the Pillars of Hercules and similar nomenclature for their nearby inhabitants, it is clear that Herodotus and Strabo are referring to two distinct pre-Roman groups, the *Celtici* and *Conii*, who inhabited the modern Alentejo and Algarve regions of what is now southern Portugal between the Tagus and Guadiana rivers.⁶

While the *Celtici* and *Conii* receive little other historical treatment, the *Lusitani* were well known for resisting early Roman incursions and engaging in revolts as late as 101 BCE, when they

³ References to a πόλις Κελτική in Stephanus of Byzantium's quotations of Hecataeus of Miletus in his *Ethnica* date to the 6th century BCE, but due to the much later transmission of Stephanus's quotation (6th century CE) and no direct reference to the Iberian regions, there is no direct association with the Κελτοί mentioned by Herodotus; *Ethnica Epitome*, FGrH 1A, #1 frags. 54-56.

⁴ Herodotus. *Hist.* 2.33: Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρρήνης πόλιος ῥέει μέσσην σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην: οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσὶ ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων, ὁμοῦρέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι, οἳ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων.

⁵ Strabo, 3.1.3-4.

⁶ Simms-Williams (2016) p. 13.

were finally defeated.⁷ The *Lusitani* are first mentioned in historical sources as early as the late third century BCE, with Livy recording their participation in conflicts during the Second Punic War, while Strabo later describes their territory and customs in his geographical account of the Iberian Peninsula.⁸ Appian identifies the *Lusitani* as an autonomous group within the peninsula who, under the leadership of Punicus, laid waste to fields of Roman subjects, fought against the praetor of Hispania Ulterior, L. Calpurnius Piso, and killed 6000 Romans including Piso's quaestor, Terentius Varro, in 154 BCE.⁹ Nevertheless, the *Lusitani* do not appear to have been considered a *populus* since they were never given a *civitas*, as the *Igaeditani*, *Tapori*, *Lancienses*, *Oppidani*, and *Aravi* were.¹⁰ Compared with the rapid conquest of the southern Iberian peninsula, the territory of the *Lusitani* was almost constantly contested from the early 2nd century until the late 1st century BCE. Around 194-193 BCE there were documented raids from the *Lusitani* near the Guadalquivir and L. Aemilius Paulus fought the *Lusitani* as well around 190-189 BCE.¹¹ In addition, according to Livy the praetors C. Calpurnius Piso and L. Quinctius Piso crossed the Guadiana and fought the *Lusitani* in 186-185 BCE.¹² The longest recorded continuous conflict between the *Lusitani* and Romans was the Lusitanian War,¹³ which began around 155 BCE, when Punicus began raiding Roman territories, and ended in 139 BCE with the death of the charismatic Lusitanian leader, Viriatus.¹⁴ While the Romans had conquered much of what would become the province of Lusitania by 133 BCE, there was still sporadic fighting between the Romans and

⁷ Curchin (2014) pp. 41-42.

⁸ Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 21.5; Strabo, 3.3.1-3.3.5.

⁹ Appian *Iberica*, 56.

¹⁰ Alarcão (1988) p. 4.

¹¹ Alonso Sánchez and Fernández Corrales (2000) p. 89; Alarcão (1988) p. 5.

¹² Livy, 39.30.

¹³ Appian *Iberica*, 56-75.

¹⁴ Pastor Muñoz (2000) p. 50.

Lusitanians south of the Tagus as late as 104 BCE, when the surrender of a Lusitanian force was recorded at Alcántara.¹⁵

Around 80 BCE the *Lusitani* became involved directly in a Roman civil war when they sent an embassy to Sertorius and offered to help fight against the Romans in the Sertorian war. The *Lusitani* fought with the Sertorian faction throughout the war, which concluded in 73-72 BCE with Sertorius' defeat.¹⁶ Not long after, during his governorship of Hispania Ulterior in 61 BCE, Julius Caesar fought against the inhabitants of the Mons Herminius, traditionally considered to be *Lusitani*, under the pretence of moving them from their hill settlements down to the plains.¹⁷ Eventually, Caesar's victories resulted in local support for his faction in southern Spain, leading them to abandon Pompey and join the Caesarian faction.¹⁸ By the time of Augustus, the *Lusitani* and their neighbours had been pacified for the most part, with Augustus campaigning against the *Cantabri* from 29 to 25 BCE before a final Roman victory in 19 BCE.¹⁹

In addition to these peoples, the areas in the modern Spanish province of Cáceres were located in the southern extremities of the territories traditionally occupied by the *Vettones* in pre-Roman times. The *Vettones*, who were traditional allies of the *Lusitani*, also participated in raiding activities near the Guadalquivir river between 194 and 193 BCE.²⁰ They subsequently suffered defeat in a battle with the Romans under the command of M. Fulvius Nobilior near Toletum.²¹ The area around modern Cáceres, due north of Mérida, was subject to military incursions by the Romans during the 2nd century BCE and was vital to the consolidation of Roman power in the

¹⁵ Pérez Vilatela (2000) p. 76; Alarcão (1988) p. 9 ; *AE* 1984, 495.

¹⁶ Plutarch *Sertorius*, 10-12.

¹⁷ Cassius Dio, 37.52-53.

¹⁸ *Caes. B. Civ.* 2.21-22.

¹⁹ Alarcão (1988) p. 13.

²⁰ Alonso Sánchez and Fernández Corrales (2000) p. 89.

²¹ Livy, 35.7.8.

northwestern zone of what would become the province of Lusitania. Norba Caesarina was probably founded in the later 30s BCE, most likely under C. Norbanus Flaccus, and incorporated as *contributi* the communities that originated as military camps, Castra Caecilia and Castra Servilia.²² In other respects, the *Vettones* were known for a herb that was used for the treatment of poisonous snake bites, which Celsus called the *herba Vettonica*.²³ Historical records certainly make it clear that both the *Lusitani* and the *Vettones* were obdurate opponents to the Romans in the early days of conquest along the western frontiers of the Hispanic provinces. Despite the heavy-handed nature of Roman conquest in the northwest of Lusitania, inscriptional evidence showing the presence of pre-Roman linguistic elements and kinship groupings well into the 2nd century CE also indicates that local naming practices were maintained to a certain extent following military pacification in the region.

There is some ambiguity about the exact date that the boundaries of Lusitania were established. Cassius Dio tells us that Augustus reorganized the Hispanic provinces following the first constitutional settlement in 27 BCE. In particular, Baetica was established as a public province with a governor appointed by the senate, while Tarraconensis and Lusitania were made imperial provinces.²⁴ Some scholars doubt Cassius Dio's account, however, and a number of later dates have been suggested for the establishment of Lusitania. Alarcão suggests that reorganization may have taken place in 26-25 BCE following Roman campaigns which led to the annexation of Callaecia, Asturia, and Cantabria, or alternatively in 19 BCE, when Augustus sent Agrippa to the north of the peninsula.²⁵ Another date for the establishment of Lusitania that has attracted wide

²² Pliny, *NH* 4.117: ...*Norbensis Caesarina cognomine; contributa sunt in eam Castra Servilia, Castra Caecilia.*

²³ Celsus *De Medicina*, 5.27.10.

²⁴ Cassius Dio *Hist. Rom.*, 53.12.4-5.

²⁵ Alarcão (1988) p. 15.

support is between 16 and 13 BCE, when Augustus himself visited the Iberian Peninsula for the second time.²⁶

Whatever the case, the province of Lusitania was established by the year 13 BCE and was divided into three *conventus* regions, each with its own *conventus* capital at which juridical matters of the regional inhabitants could be settled.²⁷ The three *conventus* regions were the *Conventus Pacensis*, *Conventus Emeritensis*, and *Conventus Scallabitanus*, for which the *coloniae* of Pax Iulia, Augusta Emerita, and Scallabis respectively served as *conventus* capitals. As for the other towns and cities in Lusitania (henceforth referred to as ‘civic communities’), Pliny the Elder, writing in the late 1st century CE, lists 45 in total: five *coloniae* (Augusta Emerita, Norba Caesarina, Metellinum, Pax Iulia, and Scallabis), one *municipium civium Romanorum* (Olisipo), three *oppida veteris Latii* (Ebora, Myrtilis, and Salacia), and 36 *civitates stipendiariae*.²⁸ Depending on the status of the civic community (*colonia*, *municipium*, or *civitas stipendiaria*), its inhabitants would have differing juridical status. In the case of *civitates stipendiariae*, their inhabitants would be considered *peregrini*, resident non-citizens of the province. Inhabitants of *municipia* possessed the *ius Latii* (of course with the rare exception of *municipia civium Romanorum*, whose inhabitants held Roman citizenship). These *Latini* were not full Roman citizens, but could gain full Roman citizenship after serving and completing a term as a magistrate in their local community.²⁹ The freeborn inhabitants of *coloniae*, lastly, held full Roman

²⁶ Le Roux (2010) p. 70; Ozcáriz Gil (2009) p. 324; Edmondson (2007) p. 461; Salinas de Frías (2001) p. 81; *Res Gestae* 12.

²⁷ Curchin (1991) p. 58.

²⁸ Pliny, *NH* 4.117: *Universa provincia dividitur in conventus tres, Emeritensem, Pacensem, Scalabitanum, tota populorum XLV, in quibus coloniae sunt quinque, municipium civium Romanorum, Latii antiqui III, stipendiaria XXXVI. coloniae Augusta Emerita, Anae fluvio adposita, Metellinensis, Pacensis, Norbensis Caesarina cognomine; contributa sunt in eam Castra Servilia, Castra Caecilia. quinta est Scallabis quae Praesidium Iulium vocatur. municipium civium Romanorum Olisipo, Felicitas Iulia cognominatum. oppida veteris Latii Ebora, quod item Liberalitas Iulia, et Myrtilis ac Salacia, quae diximus.*

²⁹ González and Crawford (1986) p. 186.

citizenship, with all the rights and privileges with which it came. The Augustan era saw significant transformations in the political landscapes of northern Lusitania, affecting both settlement patterns and the dynamics of local communities. Recent scholarship has highlighted the complexity of these changes, demonstrating both elements of continuity and clear signs of innovation in the Augustan reorganisation of northern Lusitania. Redentor and Carvalho have provided a particularly detailed analysis of this process, showing that traditional structures persisted alongside the creation of new *civitates stipendiariae*, each with a *civitas* capital and a clearly defined territory (*ager*).³⁰ The *termini Augustales* provide epigraphic proof that the boundaries of these communities were being established during this period.³¹ Their findings underscore that the Augustan impact was not uniformly progressive but was instead negotiated and adapted locally, with important consequences for understanding the development of communities.

While Pliny the Elder provides an extensive list of civic communities in the province of Lusitania, this list represents the state of juridical affairs in the mid-late 1st century CE or perhaps earlier if he was using an Augustan era source.³² Especially in the case of Lusitania, many of the *civitates stipendiariae* underwent a process of municipalization, the process through which civic communities were granted the status of a *municipium*, in the late 1st and early 2nd centuries CE.³³ While military incursion was the primary driver of urbanization in Lusitania during the 1st century BCE, municipalization performed a similar function in the 1st century CE. By granting local elites access to the privileges of full Roman citizenship and encouraging euergetism associated with holding magisterial office in local councils, the process of municipalization stimulated greater

³⁰ Redentor and Carvalho (2017) pp. 417–441, esp. pp. 418, 437.

³¹ For the epigraphic evidence of this territorial delimitation, see Cortés-Bárcena (2013) pp. 33–71, nos. 1–13, esp. nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, and 12 for Augustan examples; see also *FE* 834 and *AE* 2018, 860. On the wider Lusitanian dossier, including later Claudian examples, see also *FE* 808, 832, and 890.

³² Edmondson (1990) p. 153.

³³ Faria (1999) p. 29.

participation by newly enfranchised Roman citizens and *Latini*, which in turn contributed to the urbanization of these communities.³⁴ While Augustan *municipia* in Lusitania, such as Ebora Salacia, and Myrtilis, were established before the death of Augustus in 14 CE, the mass conferral of *ius Latii* to all of the inhabitants of the Hispanic provinces under Vespasian in 73-74 CE allowed communities the opportunity to become *municipia*. It should be noted that despite the mass conferral of *ius Latii*, the Latin status of community members did not automatically entail municipalization of their community.³⁵ Many of the communities discussed in this dissertation, however, became *municipia* in the Flavian period, indicating the strong impact of the mass conferral of *ius Latii* to the Hispanic provinces under Vespasian. Concurrently with the process of municipalization, the proliferation of the epigraphic habit, especially the habit of setting up Latin funerary inscriptions, was one of the major impacts of the conferral of *ius Latii* and Roman citizenship in the province of Lusitania. In this period, between the late 1st and early 2nd centuries CE, there was a significant increase in the adoption of the epigraphic habit along with intensified urbanization in the province.³⁶ For the purposes of this dissertation, the increased volume of Latin funerary inscriptions during this period represents the bulk of the primary source material from which personal names and expressions of family relations can be extracted.

By the mid-2nd century CE, the Iberian peninsula came under attack from the Moors in Mauretania and the Antonine plague ravaged much of the Roman Empire. After these attacks were finally curbed around 176-177 CE and the plague had subsided, epigraphic evidence shows that the habit of making inscriptions continued to thrive in Lusitania, eventually falling off in the early 3rd century CE around the time of the Edict of Caracalla, which granted full Roman citizenship to

³⁴ Salinas de Frías and Rodríguez Cortés (2000) p. 17.

³⁵ Andreu Pintado (2009) pp. 499-500.

³⁶ For this process in the Roman Empire in general, MacMullen (1982) p. 241; Meyer (1990) p. 81; Lavan (2016).

the entire free population of the Roman Empire in 212 CE. Elizabeth Meyer has argued that testamentary privilege, which entailed the right to make a legally recognized will, was a central driving force in the proliferation of funerary epigraphy during the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. In this respect, setting up a funerary inscription for one's relatives was a way of affirming the legal privileges that *Latini* and Roman *cives* enjoyed over their non-citizen counterparts.³⁷ With the Edict of Caracalla, the competitive social and legal value of Roman and Latin citizenship would have ceased, along with the need to assert one's juridical status through funerary epigraphy, once everyone had received full Roman citizenship.³⁸ Based on the history of the development and municipalization of the province and the chronology of inscriptional evidence, there seems to have been a clear connection between the proliferation of the epigraphic habit and the conferral of Roman and Latin citizenship in Lusitania.

While the impact of conquest and municipalization upon the adoption of the epigraphic habit in Lusitania is clear, the impact of these processes on other aspects of social life is less apparent. Funerary inscriptions, the primary source for this dissertation, contain valuable information pertaining to multiple personal attributes of both the dedicators of the inscriptions and deceased for whom they were set up. These attributes might include the ages of the deceased, personal names, occupations, legal status, and the relationships between individuals. Through the analysis of these various attributes, we can better understand the impacts of Roman conquest in the provinces on an individual and community level. Personal names, for example, contain linguistic and structural attributes that might indicate the retention of pre-Roman naming practices, the adoption of Latin or Roman ones, or whether an individual had Roman citizenship. Expressions

³⁷ Meyer (1990) p. 74.

³⁸ Meyer (1990) p. 88.

of family relations, likewise, indicate the range of social bonds within a given community and which ones were highly valued. While there have been many studies about both personal names (onomastics) and family relations expressed through the act of funerary commemoration, these issues have been examined independent of one another, and very few studies have tried to identify correlations between both patterns. This dissertation, therefore, studies both issues together to illuminate how processes of acculturation following Roman conquest in the province of Lusitania impacted the public expression of family relations.

Methodology

At the outset of my research for this dissertation, my initial plan was simply to improve upon previous quantitative discussions about family relations in the province of Lusitania, specifically those relations expressed through acts of funerary commemoration. My natural interest, however, in the personal names of the dedicators and deceased inspired me to include onomastic data in my collection process as well. This ultimately prompted me to combine both types of data in order to test whether there was a correlation between the names of dedicators of funerary inscriptions, the names of the deceased, and the types of relations expressed between them, specifically within the context of civic communities of differing juridical status (e.g. *civitates stipendiariae*, *municipia*, or *coloniae*). Particular attention will be given to the impact of municipalization in the province of Lusitania. Following the Flavian grant of *ius Latii* in 73–74 CE, *civitates stipendiariae* were provided the legal framework to assume *municipium* status, although the pace and extent of this transition varied regionally. This development stands in contrast to the earlier Augustan period, during which only four communities had been promoted to *municipium* status (Ebora, Salacia, Olisipo, and Myrtilis) and five *coloniae* had been founded in Lusitania (Norba Caesarina, Augusta

Emerita, Scallabis, Pax Iulia, and Metellinum). Certainly, the habit of setting up funerary inscriptions was a Roman import to the Iberian provinces. But did the act of setting up a funerary inscription for a loved one ultimately change the way people in Lusitania conceptualized or emphasized particular family relations in their respective communities? Did the relations expressed in these inscriptions follow a different pattern than was the case in other provinces, which would indicate a difference in cultural habits? Did these patterns change as more people in the province were given Latin rights or Roman citizenship? Were specific family relations emphasized more strongly among those who took up linguistically Latin names, or by those who retained their indigenous ones? These are just some of the questions that this dissertation attempts to answer.

At its core, this synthetic approach to expressions of family relations and personal naming practices is twofold: on the one hand this is an investigation of patterns of family relations, to examine the ways in which Roman imperial administrative systems (i.e., Roman conquest and subsequent administration) may have influenced concepts of family and kinship between the late 1st century BCE and early 3rd century CE in the province of Lusitania. On the other hand, this is a methodological exercise to determine whether existing analytical methods can detect a correlation between expressions of family relations and the names of the dedicators and the deceased in funerary inscriptions. By using proven statistical methods such as regression analysis, Fisher's Exact, and Chi Squared, I will add further methodological scrutiny to the corpora of inscriptional data which can definitively permit us to determine whether the body of data and the anomalous patterns identified therein are statistically significant. If there is indeed a correlation between the two, this will further improve methodological approaches to the analysis of Roman family history and acculturation processes in the Roman provinces.

There are rich traditions of research on the topics of both family relations and onomastics in Rome's western provinces, each with its respective trajectories and methodological intricacies.³⁹ Using an updated set of methodological approaches to both of these fields of study, each research-focused chapter of this dissertation will engage in both quantitative and qualitative discussions of family relations and personal naming practices. The resulting conclusions will use both of these data sets to explore the extent to which processes of Roman conquest, exploitation, urbanization, and provincial administration impacted the expression of family relations, and how these changes related to linguistic and structural changes in personal names within a number of civic communities. Since a comprehensive analysis of all known funerary epigraphy from the province of Lusitania would be beyond the scope of this project, this investigation will focus on the major communities of the *Conventus Pacensis* region in the south of modern Portugal, five civic communities in the modern province of Cáceres, the ancient community of the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* (Idanha-a-Velha in the Portuguese *distrito* of Castelo Branco), which was likely chosen by the Romans during the Augustan organization of Lusitania as the *civitas* capital of the *Igaeditani* from among several possible candidates, and Olisipo (Lisbon). The methodological approaches I have adopted for this study of family relations and personal onomastics will be outlined in detail following a brief discussion of the inscriptional sources and scope of this investigation. The dissertation treats the communities of the modern province of Cáceres as a discrete unit, not because of ancient administrative boundaries, but for practical reasons of modern

³⁹ On the topic of family relations, Richard P. Saller and Brent Shaw's pivotal 1984 JRS article set the standard for quantitative studies of family relations and funerary epigraphy. Scholars who have since expanded or critiqued this approach in the context of Hispania include Jonathan Edmondson (2004a; 2005), who specifically analyzes family structure in Lusitania, as well as M. Salinas de Frias & J.J. Palao Vicente (2003). Methodological debates were set out most notably by Dale Martin (1996), who critiqued Saller and Shaw's classification system, and Beryl Rawson (1997), who offered a defense of the original method. Likewise, the study of onomastic practice in the Hispanic provinces, specifically pertaining to indigenous naming tradition, was popularized by the works of Manuel Palomar Lapesa (1957), Maria Lourdes Albertos Firmat (1964), and Jürgen Untermann (1965).

scholarship and source availability. By using the present-day region, I am able to analyze a coherent set of funerary monuments whose provenance, while varied in antiquity, now lends itself to meaningful comparison due to the modern historiographical tradition and archaeological discovery patterns in this area. The communities in question display enough shared characteristics, as revealed by the funerary evidence, to justify considering them as a group for the purposes of one chapter.

Latin funerary inscriptions from selected areas of the province of Lusitania serve as the primary historical source of data for this dissertation. Ideally, but not in all cases, Latin funerary inscriptions involved dedications from one or more dedicator to one or more deceased individual, either explicitly or implied from the content of the epitaph. In many cases, but not all, the names of the dedicators and deceased were included in the inscription as well as the relationship between them. For all inscriptions in which the relations between dedicator(s) and deceased were expressly clear, these relations were recorded in my database. Likewise, all of the personal name elements of the dedicator(s) and deceased were recorded in the database, provided they were absolutely discernible with no uncertainty. In this context, “personal name elements” refers to the distinct parts that make up a Roman name, such as the *praenomen* (first name), *nomen* (family name), *cognomen* (additional family or personal name), and any indigenous or local name elements present. These combine to form the complete name structure as seen in epigraphic sources. Since the primary aim of this investigation is to identify any possible correlation between patterns of family relations and personal name elements, the onomastic component of this research only accounts for the personal names of dedicators and their deceased relatives as recorded in epitaphs. In other words, the analysis of personal name elements in this dissertation is not intended to provide an exhaustive discussion of personal onomastics in Lusitania.

In addition, the geographical scope of this project is not exhaustive and does not include every civic community in the province of Lusitania. Instead, a sample of regions and civic communities for which there are extensive inscriptional data was selected. Careful consideration was also taken to choose regions and civic communities with diverse circumstances of foundation and development. The selected regions and civic communities in Lusitania comprise: the major civic communities of the *Conventus Pacensis* region; five well documented civic communities located in the modern province of Cáceres; the Civitas Igaeditanorum (Idanha-a-Velha, Castelo Branco); and the port city of Olisipo (Lisbon). The civic communities of the *Conventus Pacensis* included major urban centres such as Ebora (Évora), whose local citizens received *ius Latii* under Augustus, and the *conventus* capital Pax Iulia (Beja), which was a *colonia* of Roman citizens, founded between 31 and 27 BCE. Communities in the province of Cáceres include one *colonia civium Romanorum*, Norba Caesarina (Cáceres) and four additional *civitates stipendiariae* that became *municipia* with the *ius Latii* in the Flavian period: Augustobriga (Talavera la Vieja, Bohonal de Ibor), Capera (Oliva de Plasencia), Caurium (Coria), and Turgalium (Trujillo). In addition, the Civitas Igaeditanorum, created under Augustus as a *civitas stipendiaria*, gained *municipium* status in the Flavian period, when the *ius Latii* was granted to all of the local citizens of the Hispanic provinces in 73-74 CE. Lastly, Olisipo, which held the rare civic status of *municipium civium Romanorum* as early as the Augustan period, serves as an additional point of comparison among this diverse group of communities in the province of Lusitania. The communities in the *Conventus Pacensis* and Olisipo, whose local citizens received earlier promotion in civic status, stood in contrast to most of the communities of the province of Cáceres and the Civitas Igaeditanorum that were located in more remote areas further North in the province and, with the exception of Norba Caesarina, received *ius Latii* later during the Flavian period. In

this respect, the chronological difference in the grant of *ius Latii* (Flavian vs. pre-Flavian) as well as the inclusion of three communities with full Roman citizenship (Olisipo, Pax Iulia, and Norba Caesarina) provides a suitable sample to test the extent to which juridical status affected the types of relations emphasized in each region and the personal names held by the individuals expressing these relations.

It is also worth noting that certain areas, including the provincial capital Augusta Emerita (Mérida), were consciously excluded. The case of Augusta Emerita, in particular, warrants specific mention. Given the extensive recent scholarship on the city's funerary practices and epigraphic record, further study in the context of this dissertation would largely duplicate previous work rather than contribute substantively new perspectives. Recent publications have comprehensively analysed the funerary inscriptions of Augusta Emerita, applying methodologies such as the Saller-Shaw approach, and integrating new epigraphic data into comparative frameworks. In addition, a corpus published in 2019 includes over 200 new funerary inscriptions from Augusta Emerita, with subsequent analyses of these data in one of its chapters.⁴⁰ These studies, together with earlier treatments, have established a thorough scholarly baseline for Augusta Emerita's funerary landscape. For this reason, and in the interest of focusing on less intensively studied sites where the present research can make a more distinct contribution, Augusta Emerita has not been included among the core study areas.

The data collected for this series of discussions are drawn from several principal epigraphic corpora and reflect the most up-to-date published information about funerary inscriptions in the province of Lusitania as of the year 2020. The foundational source consulted was the *Corpus*

⁴⁰ For earlier treatments of funerary epigraphy from Augusta Emerita, see: Edmondson (2000); Edmondson (2004a); Edmondson (2005). For a treatment of the most recent additions to the corpus of funerary epigraphy at Augusta Emerita, see Hidalgo Martín *et al.* (2019).

Inscriptionum Latinarum Vol. II (*CIL II*), originally published in 1869, with a Supplement issued in 1892. Additional updates to *CIL II* were produced by Emil Hübner in chapters published in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* volumes VIII (1899) and IX (1913, posthumously). While several new fascicles of the revised edition (*CIL II*²)—Parts V, VII, and parts of XIII and XIV—have been published since 1995, it should be noted that none of these address inscriptions from the province of Lusitania. To supplement the classical corpus, the following major epigraphic resources were also consulted: *L'Année Épigraphique* (*AE*), which is the ongoing standard annual publication for Latin epigraphy across the entire Roman Empire; *Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica* (*HAE*), which provided a focus on inscriptions from Hispania between 1950 and 1969; *Hispania Epigraphica* (*HEp*), which began annual issues in 1989 and offers comprehensive summaries of Hispanic inscriptions newly published in books and articles; and *Ficheiro Epigráfico* (*FE*), initiated in 1982, which differs in scope from the previous two by producing multiple fascicles each year, publishing first editions of new inscriptions or revised editions of already published material. Together, these resources enabled the compilation of a robust, up-to-date dataset of funerary epigraphy within Lusitania.

In addition, most of the geographical areas chosen for this study were the subjects of more recent regional corpora of inscriptional data. Published in 1984, José d'Encarnação's *Inscrições romanas do Conventus Pacensis* (*IRCP*) provided a study of Roman inscriptions found in the south of Portugal, between the Tagus and Guadiana rivers, and served as a more contemporary foundational corpus for the *Conventus Pacensis* region. Julio Esteban Ortega's five volumes of the *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Cáceres* (*CILC I–V*) likewise provided a recent catalogue of inscriptions from the modern province of Cáceres, in which the civic communities of Norba Caesarina, Capera, Caurium, Turgalium, and Augustobriga were situated. Lastly, Antonio José

Vieira da Silva's *Epigrafia de Olisipo*, published in 1944, offered another regional catalogue of inscriptions and served as the foundation for the collection of inscriptional data from the ancient community of Olisipo and its surrounding territory. All of these inscriptional catalogues were instrumental in supplementing the corpus of inscriptions in *CIL II* and were further complemented by annual inscriptional publications such as *L'Année Épigraphique (AE)*, *Ficheiro Epigráfico (FE)*, and *Hispania Epigraphica (HEp)*. A new, authoritative corpus of the epigraphy of Olisipo was published in late 2024, with the first volume covering the city itself and the forthcoming volumes 2 and 3 addressing the wider territory; this resource appeared too late to be incorporated into the present study.⁴¹

Using all of these inscriptional *corpora*, two primary sets of data were collected from the funerary inscriptions attributed to the *Conventus Pacensis*, the modern province of Cáceres, the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*, and Olisipo. The first included expressions of family relations from dedicators to deceased when the relations between them were expressly clear: with no room for question about the relationships expressed (e.g. descending nuclear = father to son, etc.). The second data set included the personal names of any of the dedicators or deceased mentioned in the inscriptions from the first data set (i.e., inscriptions in which relations were expressed). These onomastic data took account of the full personal names of the dedicators and the deceased, including the separate linguistic (e.g. Latin, Greek, indigenous) and structural (e.g. single name vs. *duo/tria nomina*) attributes of their individual name elements (e.g. single name, *nomen*, *cognomen*). In doing so, extra care was taken to painstakingly cross reference entries from the various *corpora* with one another in order to prevent double counting of inscriptions and the data contained therein. The result was a substantial body of data from 638 inscriptions pertaining to

⁴¹ Guerra et al (2024).

patterns in the expression of family relations and personal names in funerary inscriptions. While a thorough synthesis of these two data sets has yet to be conducted for the province of Lusitania, the topics of family relations and personal onomastics have separately received much scholarly attention over the past decades. These topics each have rich methodological traditions which needed to be reviewed and, for the purpose of synthesis, improved upon for the sake of this study.

Since the 1950s there have been numerous scholarly contributions to the study of personal onomastics in the province of Lusitania. One of the earliest treatments of the topic was that of Manuel Palomar Lopesa in 1957, in which the linguistic variations in pre-Roman personal names were explored on a regional basis.⁴² In essence, Palomar Lopesa's work focused on the linguistic nuances of pre-Roman names and paved the way for further studies on regional variation in personal names in Lusitania. Not long after, Jürgen Untermann published *Elementos de un atlas antroponímico de la Hispania antigua* in 1965.⁴³ This pioneering atlas mapped the regional distribution of personal names from epigraphic sources throughout the ancient Iberian Peninsula. Untermann's analysis was especially significant for its nuanced approach: he recognized the Indo-European nature of many Lusitanian names, but carefully distinguished between Celtic and non-Celtic elements, underscoring the linguistic complexity and diversity of pre-Roman Iberia. His work marked a major step forward, moving beyond earlier, more uniform interpretations of Lusitanian onomastics. At the time, Maria Lourdes Albertos Firmat's work added further nuance, challenging the prevailing view that indigenous personal names in Lusitania were uniformly Celtic in origin. Her study on indigenous personal onomastics in Iberia identified nuance in the local linguistic traditions, proving that while the indigenous names in the region are clearly Indo-

⁴² Palomar Lopesa (1957).

⁴³ Untermann (1965).

European, they are not all “Celtic” in origin.⁴⁴ Rather, there was linguistic diversity in the Iberian peninsula that consisted of traditions originating among the variety of people who inhabited the area in the pre-Roman era, Celtic and non-Celtic.

While the majority of early scholarly work on the subject of personal names in the Iberian peninsula focused solely on linguistic aspects of onomastics, scholars later began to explore the implications of onomastic practice within the context of acculturation processes. A prime example of this approach can be seen in the work of Manuela Alves Dias, which proposed sequences of acculturative processes in the structure and linguistics of personal names at the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*. Especially in cases where individuals held *tria nomina* which included a mixture of Latin and indigenous names, she identified various stages in which individuals would adopt, to various degrees, linguistically Latin names or retain indigenous ones, invariably ending with later generations possessing entirely Latin personal names.⁴⁵

In 2003 the Grupo Mérida, coordinated by Milagros Navarro Caballero and José Luis Ramírez Sádaba, published an atlas of personal names from epigraphic material in Lusitania, the *Atlas antroponímico de la Lusitania romana* (henceforth *AALR*). This publication updated the previous work of Untermann, significantly improving our understanding of indigenous onomastics in the province of Lusitania. The *AALR* included an exhaustive catalogue of 2030 personal names from all of the epitaphs attributed to Lusitania to that date and 339 maps outlining the geographical distribution of them. In addition, the *AALR* also contained a series of appended chapters, covering themes such as “Indigenous Onomastics” (Gorrochategui & Vallejo Ruiz), “Family Structures in the Indigenous Environment” (Salinas de Frías & Palao Vicente), and “Social Status and

⁴⁴ Albertos Firmat (1983).

⁴⁵ Dias (1985) p. 560.

Onomastics” (Navarro Caballero & Bost), focusing on Latin and Greek names.⁴⁶ The massive endeavour that culminated in this most recent onomastic atlas has paved the way for updated qualitative analyses of onomastic structure and linguistics in Lusitania. Another subsequent publication on the topic of indigenous onomastics in the ancient Iberian peninsula includes José María Vallejo Ruiz’s doctoral dissertation, *Antroponimia indígena de la Lusitania romana* (2005), which advanced the work of the *AALR* with a more detailed catalogue of documented indigenous personal names, maps of their geographical distribution, and historical and linguistic commentary.⁴⁷ Most importantly, Vallejo Ruiz confirmed the existence of a distinctive indigenous onomastic area in northern Lusitania, distinctive from its neighbouring regions of Celtiberia, Asturia, and Galicia.⁴⁸

In more recent years, digital initiatives have greatly advanced the study of personal onomastics in Lusitania and the wider Iberian Peninsula. The most significant of these is the ADOPIA project, which constitutes a major update and expansion of previous onomastic resources such as the *AALR* and currently covers the provinces of Lusitania and Baetica. Rather than being simply a digital reproduction of earlier work, ADOPIA provides a substantially enriched and chronologically nuanced database of personal names attested on epigraphic material, with sophisticated filtering by date, linguistic element, name structure, and region. Of particular note, ADOPIA attributes inscriptions to the territories of Roman-era *civitates* and links them to modern administrative boundaries, increasing analytical precision in studies of geographic distribution. In addition to its digital platform, ADOPIA is supported by a series of print publications that offer

⁴⁶ Grupo Mérida (2003); Gorrochategui & Vallejo Ruiz (2003); Salinas de Frías & Palao Vicente (2003); Navarro Caballero & Bost (2003).

⁴⁷ Vallejo Ruiz (2005).

⁴⁸ Vallejo Ruiz (2005) pp. 729-740.

in-depth regional analyses and present major advances in the scholarship of Iberian onomastics. These printed volumes disseminate findings from the database and make them accessible in a more traditional academic format, ensuring that ADOPIA's contributions reach both digital users and those working primarily with print resources. This combination of digital access and scholarly publication allows for continuous updates to the corpus and supports regional and temporal analyses that assess the impact of Roman conquest and administration on local naming practices in the Hispanic provinces.⁴⁹

Scholarly contributions to the study of family relations expressed in Latin inscriptions from the Roman provinces have followed a similar trajectory, albeit almost completely separately from the linguistically geared studies of onomastic practice. As with more recent studies of onomastic practice in the provinces, scholars have realized the limitations of such broad quantitative analyses of family relations, namely that large data sets can obscure regional peculiarities that might indicate differing regional patterns of kinship. For example, L.A. Curchin has produced important regional analyses, such as "La famille lusitano-romaine" and "*Aetates mortuorum*: Études quantitatives sur les âges des défunts en Lusitanie", which provide detailed perspectives on family structures in Lusitania.⁵⁰ Scholars such as Jonathan Edmondson have engaged in more regional analyses of expressions of family relations through funerary epigraphy. Edmondson's chapter, "Family Relations in Roman Lusitania: Social Change in a Roman Province?" adopts the same methodology employed by Saller and Shaw in order to gauge the process of social change in the province of Lusitania. Edmondson had also previously used this approach in an earlier study

⁴⁹ For a comprehensive review of developments in the field of pre-Roman and Roman onomastics in the province of Lusitania over the past 25 years, see Edmondson and Navarro Caballero (2017); Edmondson and Navarro Caballero (2024).

⁵⁰ Curchin (2000a); (2000b).

specifically focused on Augusta Emerita ("Conmemoración funeraria y relaciones familiares en Augusta Emerita").⁵¹ Moreover, Edmondson tests the results of Saller and Shaw's method against Martin's and concludes that the results are similar despite the difference in methodology.⁵² While these rather brief analyses of expressions of family relations in Latin funerary epigraphy have been useful in elucidating some interesting patterns of social behaviour and ideology, there have not been any comprehensive regional analyses of family relations beyond the scope of journal articles or book chapters.⁵³

Despite recent scholarly contributions that have sought to illuminate regional nuance in patterns of family relations expressed in funerary epigraphy, few scholars have explored the ways in which onomastic data, when examined in conjunction with family relations, can add further nuance to the regional study of family relations in the Roman provinces. Quantitative evidence of family relations expressed in funerary epigraphy in the province of Cáceres shows that among settlements in the region, there is indeed variation in the ratio of particular types of funerary commemorations and types of family relations expressed therein. Whether these variations are determined by specific cultural traditions (i.e., either local pre-Roman or adopted Roman cultural habits) or by unrelated demographic circumstances remains unclear, and concurrent quantitative analysis of the linguistic qualities of personal names in the region may be able to provide some answers to this question.

This study, therefore, will be both quantitative and qualitative in its approach. On the one hand, the quantitative component will analyze patterns of family relations attested in funerary

⁵¹ Edmondson (2000).

⁵² Edmondson (2005) p. 216.

⁵³ There have been some additional treatments of epigraphic material from the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* that do discuss both onomastics and family relations Cf. Gallego Franco (2011); Edmondson (2004a).

commemorations between the 1st century BCE and 3rd century CE. The data pertaining to family relations will then be analyzed with reference to onomastic patterns in the region, and in particular, with reference to evidence of linguistically indigenous personal names. This will help to determine the extent to which patterns in expressions of family relations may be related to the preservation under Roman rule of local, pre-existing cultural habits and social behaviour. On the other hand, qualitative analysis of linguistic and structural changes in naming practices within families over the course of two or more generations will assist in gauging the degree and processes of adoption and/or retention of indigenous names. Such changes will be studied within the context of municipalisation in the region and promotion in civic status under the empire. First, however, the quantitative and qualitative methodologies of this project must be outlined.

Family Relations

The most plentiful primary source for the study of family relations is funerary epitaphs. Latin funerary epitaphs are particularly suited for such a study because in many cases, the act of setting up a funerary monument, or tombstone, involved the process of inscribing the stone with information which might include the identity of the dedicator(s) of the inscription, the identity of the deceased, the age of the deceased, and how both parties were related. Although not all epitaphs included details of the relation between the dedicator(s) and deceased, either due to omission or damage to the inscription, a substantial number of funerary epitaphs contain these expressions, providing an invaluable source of data pertaining to family relations. The following inscription from Ossonoba (Faro in the Algarve) is a typical example of such a funerary dedication:

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) Caturicae Primae coniugi piissimae quae vixit ann(os) XXV
m(enses) VIII L(ucius) Calp(urnius) Theodorus marit(us)*

CIL II, 4

In this example, L. Calpurnius Theodorus has set up a funerary inscription for his wife Caturica Prima, who died at 25 years of age and 8 months in the mid-late 2nd century CE. This funerary monument includes a clear expression of conjugal relations between the dedicator and the deceased, in this case from husband to wife. A wide range of relations may be attested in a given funerary inscription. Some epitaphs involve cases where the deceased and dedicator(s) are members of the nuclear family (i.e., the tombstones are set up by parents, children, conjugal partners, and siblings). Others involve extended family relations (i.e., those set up by grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins, etc). Some tombstones were set up by friends (*amici*) and servile relations (patrons, freed people, and slaves). The expression of nuclear family relations was a common feature of Latin funerary epitaphs. When particular types of relations appear on tombstones with unusual frequency in a given community, this can indicate, to a certain degree, regional differences in the social value of particular family relations.

Nevertheless, patterns in the attestation of family relations may not always be attributed to local social or cultural habits, but also demographic phenomena such as disease, war, or other circumstances that might affect mortality rates. A disease with a disproportionately high mortality rate among older adults, for example, might result in a high percentage of ascending nuclear (child to parent) funerary dedications in a particular community and these factors must also be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, other patterns, for which no demographic data exist, may be attributed to cultural and social habits within a community or region. An example of this would be the high percentage of descending nuclear dedications from parents to their adult children in the province of Lusitania. The reasons behind anomalous patterns in the expression of family relations may not always be clear.

Over the past few decades there has been much scholarly debate concerning conceptions of family and the cultural dynamics of family relations in the Roman world. In broad terms, some of the questions that have been central to this discourse are whether there was a distinctly “Roman” concept of family, whether this concept was reflected in the epigraphic record, and the extent to which this concept may have proliferated throughout the provinces as a cultural practice following Roman conquest. Richard Saller and Brent Shaw’s pivotal 1984 *JRS* article was the first comprehensive attempt to determine whether nuclear or extended family relations were predominantly represented among expressions of family relations from dedicators to the deceased in Roman funerary epigraphy. Their study recorded and quantified expressions of family relations in funerary epitaphs in Rome, Italy and throughout the Western Roman provinces. This kind of analysis provides insight into the types of familial bonds that were most valued or emphasized within these societies.⁵⁴ In this respect, a high percentage of nuclear dedications would reflect an emphasis on relations between members of the nuclear family, while a high percentage of extended relations would reflect the opposite. Saller and Shaw’s study concluded that nuclear relations were by far the most commonly attested relations in the corpus of funerary epigraphy in the Western provinces.⁵⁵ In addition, Saller and Shaw recorded specific relationships within each category (i.e., descending nuclear dedications = father to son; father to daughter; mother to son; mother to daughter), providing additional analytical categories for regional studies. While the initial methodology of Saller and Shaw has been replicated in subsequent studies on family relations, it has received criticism and been subject to debate over the years.

⁵⁴ Saller & Shaw (1984) pp. 124-125.

⁵⁵ Saller & Shaw (1984) pp. 145-146.

Dale Martin argued in 1996 that Saller and Shaw's method of counting individual relationships undermined the prevalence of extended family relations, especially in the case of acts of collective commemoration. For this reason, Martin suggested counting tombstones based on a set of categories instead of the individual relationships between dedicators and deceased. His categories included tombstones involving relations between spouses only, whole or partial nuclear families, non-immediate family members, servile relations, and uncertain relations.⁵⁶ Martin was correct to identify issues in Saller and Shaw's method. However, subsequent scholarship has challenged his alternative approach. Not long after Martin suggested his new methodology, Beryl Rawson responded by asserting that Martin's criticisms misinterpreted the implications of Saller and Shaw's study. Rawson points out that Saller and Shaw were primarily interested in family relations not family structure, as Martin assumes, and that Saller and Shaw's method was sufficient for the purposes of their study.⁵⁷ In addition to Rawson's defence of Saller and Shaw's method, Jonathan Edmondson tested both methods on the inscriptions from the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* and *Augusta Emerita*. He concluded that, while there is definitely merit to Martin's approach, the difference in results was actually marginal.⁵⁸ For the purpose of this dissertation, therefore, this study will follow Saller and Shaw's method because it has been proven to yield reliable results and has been employed in other studies of family relations in the province of Lusitania most recently.⁵⁹ In light of my own observations as well, however, some adjustments will be made to Saller and Shaw's methodology.

⁵⁶ Martin (1996) p. 42.

⁵⁷ Rawson (1997) p. 294.

⁵⁸ Edmondson (2005) p. 216.

⁵⁹ Edmondson (2004a); (2005).

Following the method of Saller and Shaw, the main quantitative goal of this project is to extract each act of funerary commemoration from the samples of funerary epigraphy and then sort these according to the relationship between the dedicator and the deceased.⁶⁰ The majority of discussion will be limited to the inscriptions in which family relations between the dedicator and deceased are expressly clear, with no room for question about the relationships attested. Relations will then be separated into smaller categories of specific relations under the umbrella of the nuclear and extended categories. Within the nuclear category, family relations will be divided into the following four sub-categories: conjugal (spouse to spouse), descending (parent to child), ascending (child to parent), and siblings (lateral). As for the extended category, relations have been counted according to less specific criteria. For example, ascending and descending categories still remain except specific relations have not been counted due to the variation in vocabulary for extended relatives and the more expansive range of relations which make up the extended categories. The extended category includes aunts, uncles, grandparents, and in-laws, both maternal and paternal. Lastly, patrons, *clientes*, friends, slaves, *heredes*, and self-dedications (*sibi et suis*) are all counted in their own categories separate from nuclear and extended relations (table. 1).

⁶⁰ Saller & Shaw (1984) p. 127.

Nuclear	Extended
Conjugal (wife and husband)	Descending Extended
Descending Nuclear (Mother/Father to Daughter/Son)	(Grandparents/Aunts/Uncles to Grandchildren/Nephews/Nieces)
Ascending Nuclear (Daughter/Son to Mother/Father)	Ascending Extended
Siblings (Brother(s) and Sister(s))	(Grandchildren/Nephews/Nieces to Grandparents/Aunts/Uncles)
	Lateral Extended (Cousins)
Other	
<i>Clientes</i> to Patrons	
Patrons to <i>Clientes</i>	
<i>Amici</i>	
Self Dedications	
Servile relations (Master/Slave to Slave/Master)	

Table 1: List of family relations attested in epitaphs and recorded in this study.

The issue of counting mixed/multiple commemorations (i.e., cases in which there are either (a) multiple commemorators or (b) multiple deceased persons) has been contentious, but this project has followed Saller and Shaw's method of counting multiple dedications separately. A dedication, for example, in which a woman is commemorated by both her father and aunt would count as two separate family relations in the database: the former being counted as a descending nuclear dedication and the latter as a descending extended dedication. Since these methodological critiques have failed to yield any viable alternative methodology, every relation expressed through funerary dedications in which there are multiple dedicators will be counted separately.

That is not to say that the methodology employed by Saller and Shaw was entirely perfect. In arranging the data concerning family relations in the province of Lusitania, some serious methodological issues have come to light, which will require some explanation. Firstly, Saller and Shaw's table for funerary commemorative relations does not count ascending and descending nuclear dedications in which the gender of the children is unclear.⁶¹ Especially with inscriptions from Turgalium in the modern province of Cáceres, there is a prevalence of ascending nuclear dedications in which the gender of the child(ren) dedicators is unclear due to an absence of their name(s) and a high instance of collective commemoration (multiple dedicators). According to Saller and Shaw's method, therefore, which does not include a category for dedications from "child to parent", these dedications would go unrecorded. An example of such an inscription comes from Turgalium:

[Ma]xumu[s]
Mutan[i]
f(ilius) an(norum) LX h(ic)
s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)
fili f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)
CILC II 832, Turgalium

In the case of the inscription above, Maxumus' children have set up a funerary monument for him, but the number and gender of his children are unclear.⁶² While the masculine nominative plural *fili* can indicate any number or mixture of sons and daughters, a number we will never know, at least two ascending nuclear family relations are still being clearly expressed in this inscription. Since Saller, Shaw, and Edmondson do not include a category, such as "child to

⁶¹ Saller & Shaw (1984) p. 127.

⁶² *CILC II*, 832 = *AE* 2012, 702.

parent”, “child to mother”, or “child to father”, it is safe to conclude that ascending and descending nuclear dedications in which the gender and number of children is unknown have gone unrecorded in past analyses.⁶³ This is equally true of descending nuclear dedications in which the relation of the parent is clear but the gender of the child is unclear:

mater fa[c]-
i(e)ndum c-
uravit s(it) t(ibi)
t(erra) l(evis)

CILC II 592, Turgalium.

The above inscription records a mother dedicating a funerary monument to her child or children.⁶⁴ Again the gender of the deceased child is not recognizable due to damage, but it is abundantly clear that a descending nuclear dedication is being made between a mother and one of her children.⁶⁵ In such cases, the relation between the dedicator and the deceased is without question, but the categories of Saller and Shaw’s tables do not account for these relations which would have impacted the total number of ascending and descending nuclear relations counted in the province of Lusitania, especially in the case of Turgalium and the province of Cáceres, in which there are numerous examples of such dedications. For this reason, the categories of “parent to child” and “child to parent” have been included and in cases where the number and gender of children are unclear, at least two dedications will be counted.

⁶³ Saller & Shaw (1984) pp. 147-155; Edmondson (2005) pp. 194-196.

⁶⁴ *CILC II*, 592 = *AE* 2012, 715 = *HEp* 2012, 192.

⁶⁵ The *tibi* in the formula “STTL” indicates that the subject of the dedication is singular.

Moreover, Saller and Shaw's method, which counts individual relations when there are multiple dedicators or deceased, does not separate dedications made from *parentes* to children, but instead counts them as a single expression of family relations.⁶⁶ This is not consistent with their method of counting individual relations on tombstones with mixed/multiple dedicators/deceased, especially since there is no category for dedications from "child to parents", presumably since each child in this case was responsible for a dedication to each parent. For example, in cases where a child makes a dedication to their *matri et patri*, which happens quite often, these have traditionally been counted as two separate dedications.⁶⁷ Conversely, when *parentes* or *mater et pater* make a dedication to a child, these have been traditionally counted as one dedication.⁶⁸ The oversight inherent in the previous methodology has resulted, again, in an underrepresentation of ascending and descending nuclear dedications in the epigraphic record of family relations. For the sake of consistency, this methodological oversight has been corrected in the current project and dedications in which multiple parents are involved as either dedicators or deceased have been counted separately.

Using this methodology, I counted all expressions of family relations along with the modern location of the corresponding inscriptions, ancient location, age of the deceased (if applicable), the chronology of the inscriptions, as well as the gender of the dedicators and deceased. With each main chapter being divided according to geographical region, the data concerning age and gender will be discussed, where applicable, along with the general number and percentage of relations in each category. In doing so, quantitative data pertaining to family

⁶⁶ Saller & Shaw (1984) pp. 147-155; Edmondson (2005) pp. 194-196.

⁶⁷ Cf. *CILC* III, 911; *CIL* II, 664; *CILC* I, 231; *CILC* III, 1142; *ERBeira* 60; *ERBeira* 78; *ERBeira* 104; *ERBeira* 120; *ERBeira* 95; *ERBeira* 33.

⁶⁸ Cf. *CIL* II, 750; *CILC* II, 1055; *CILC* I, 134; *CILC* I, 216; *CILC* IV, 1206; *CILC* IV, 1216; *CILC* IV, 1224; *CIL* II, 291; *Olisipo* 144.

relations in the communities of interest will be compared and any anomalous patterns that are particular to any community will be discussed at further length.

Onomastics

Over the last three decades, Roman onomastic scholarship has increasingly rejected any simple equation between name and ethnicity, stressing instead the polyvalent rôle of personal names as indicators of legal status, social aspiration, familial strategy, and cultural positioning. Comparative work from across the empire has demonstrated that naming practices often combined continuity with adaptation, so that local and imperial modes of self-representation could coexist within the same family or community. This wider body of scholarship offers an essential comparative context for the present analysis of Lusitania.⁶⁹ The onomastic component of this dissertation will take into account both linguistic and structural attributes of personal names. For the sake of this study, the following onomastic terminology will be used to distinguish between complete personal names and the individual elements of which they consist. Full names will be referred to as “personal names” (e.g., C. Iulius Caesar or Arco Tangini filius), while individual names whether they are used as *nomina*, *cognomina* or in a single-name format with or without patronymic will be referred to as “name elements”. In terms of linguistic attributes, each name element could either be linguistically Latin, Greek, indigenous, Punic, Semitic, Gallic, Celtic, or Germanic, etc. In the case of this study, however, the only linguistic categories recorded were Latin, Greek, and indigenous. In terms of structural attributes which apply to full personal names, we have distinguished between single names and *tria/duo nomina* (e.g. *nomen* + *cognomen*, plus *praenomen* for men). *Peregrini* and *Latini* could possess a personal name that was structurally Indo-European, with a single

⁶⁹ See, among others, Dondin-Payre & Raepsaet-Charlier (eds.) (2001); Dondin-Payre (2012); Chastagnol (1990); Chastagnol (1993); Raepsaet-Charlier (2009); Rizakis (2019).

personal name followed by filiation in the genitive case.⁷⁰ While individuals with full Roman citizenship absolutely had to bear *tria/duo nomina*, the evidence from municipal charters and legal inscriptions suggests that *Latini* could choose to adopt the *tria/duo nomina*. In each case, a complete personal name might contain multiple name elements with any configuration of linguistic properties. In some cases, single names can be Latin, Greek, or indigenous. Likewise, the *tria nomina* may contain any configuration or mixture of the same.

While there is the temptation indiscriminately to equate personal name structure with the juridical status of individuals (i.e., single name = peregrine; *tria nomina* = Roman citizen), this study instead focuses on patterns in name structure within communities. This allows consideration for the large presence of *Latini* (people with *ius Latii*) who were local citizens of many of the *municipia* discussed in this study. Whether the conferral of *ius Latii* entailed a definitive personal status along with its own legal rights and privileges has been a point of contention among scholars for a number of years. Since the onomastic component of this study operates on the premise that *Latini* were allowed to adopt the *tria/duo nomina*, it is necessary to discuss the evidence and argumentation for the premise in this introductory chapter.

Prior to the discovery of the bronze tablets containing the *Lex Malacitana* and *Lex Salpensa*, the legal status of *Latini* (*municipes* to whom *ius Latii* had been conferred) at provincial *municipia* was still relatively unclear. Most notably, Fergus Millar in 1977 put forth the argument that municipal Latin status was a temporary status held by magistrates before they received Roman citizenship through holding a local magistracy.⁷¹ From this, it followed that the rest of the population remained *peregrini* until they stood for magistracies. Despite the discovery of the *Lex*

⁷⁰ Gorrochategui & Vallejo Ruiz (2003) p. 359; Albertos Firmat (1983) p. 860.

⁷¹ Millar (1977) p. 406.

Irnitana in 1981, which included further details about the nature of *ius Latii* at provincial *municipia*, scholars such as A.T. Fear continued to argue that *Latini* and *peregrini* essentially shared the same status.⁷² More recently, however, other scholars have argued that the conferral of *ius Latii* entailed a distinctive personal status that included some (but not all) of the rights and privileges that came with full Roman citizenship.⁷³ Upon close inspection of the *Lex Irnitana* a number of facts become abundantly clear. Firstly, Chapter 93 of the *Lex Irnitana* indicates that the *municipes* of the *municipium Flavium Irnitenum* (who would be of Latin status) were subject to *ius civile*, the same laws as Roman citizens, rather than *ius gentium* in matters not outlined in the municipal charter.⁷⁴ If the status of *Latini* was no different than that of *peregrini*, it would make little sense for municipalities to distinguish between the laws to which they were subject.

Secondly, the *Lex Irnitana* also clearly specifies that *municipes* exercised the power of *patria potestas*, contrary to Fergus Millar's arguments that only Roman citizens could have it.⁷⁵ Chapter 21 states that after holding a magistracy, *municipes* would receive Roman citizenship along with any wives and children who were born in legal marriages and had been under the *patria potestas* of their parents.⁷⁶ The fact that *patria potestas* was a pre-existing power held by *municipes* indicates that *Latini* enjoyed at least some rights and privileges that are traditionally associated with Roman citizenship, in this case *conubium* and *patria potestas*. Chapter 22, likewise, states that those who acquire Roman citizenship remain in the *manus*, *mancipium*, and *patria potestas* as before they acquired citizenship.⁷⁷ The impact of chapter 22 is also that slaves or freedmen of the

⁷² Fear (1990) p. 149-166.

⁷³ López Barja (1998) p. 146; López Barja (2010) pp. 51-60; López Barja (2018) pp. 575-577; Le Roux (1998) pp. 316-317; González & Crawford (1986) p. 149.

⁷⁴ *Lex Irnitana*, Ch. 93. Cf. González & Crawford (1986) p. 180.

⁷⁵ Millar (1977) p. 484.

⁷⁶ Roman citizenship was given to the family of a magistrate: *Lex Irnitana*, Ch. 21: *qui legitimis nuptis quaesiti in potestate parentum [fu]er[un]t*. Cf. González & Crawford (1986) p. 154.

⁷⁷ *Lex Irnitana*, Ch. 22: *qui ciuitatem Romanam consequuntur, maneat in eorumdem manu mancipio potestate*. Cf.

person now made a Roman citizen still remain in his control. This prevents freedmen, for example, from arguing that their obligations to their patron (*operae*) are now cancelled because the patron is now of a different legal status.

Lastly, Chapter 86, which outlines the provisions for the selection of *iudices* by the two *Ilviri*, or if one is absent, by one of the *Ilviri*, states that a number of *iudices* must be chosen from the *municipes*, apart from the *decuriones* and *conscripti* for the sake of judging private cases. It also stipulates that these *iudices* must be freeborn, have at least 5000 sesterces of property, or had been under the *patria potestas* of someone with the equivalent property, and that whoever is in charge of administering justice is to have all their *praenomina*, *nomina*, fathers' *praenomina*, tribes, and *cognomina* written on tablets that can be read from ground level.⁷⁸ These provisions clearly indicate that *iudices* selected from outside of the pool of magistrates and local *decuriones* were assumed to have a voting tribe and *tria nomina* displayed next to their tribunal if they were serving as judges.

The *Lex Irnitana* clearly indicates that *Latini* could indeed hold *tria nomina* and were bound by similar legal concepts, most notably *patria potestas*, by which full Roman citizens were also bound.⁷⁹ For all intents and purposes, any subsequent arguments concerning name structure will be made under the premise that *Latini* could choose to have either single names or *tria/duo nomina*. Although the Flavians granted *ius Latii* to Hispania in 73–74 CE, only those who were

González & Crawford (1986) p. 154.

⁷⁸ *Lex Irnitana*, Ch. 86: *eorumque omnium i[s] qui i(ure) d(icundo) p(raerit) praenomina nomina item patrum praenom[i]na et ipsorum tribus cognomina in tabulis scripta apud tribunal suum per omnes reliquos eius anni dies maiorem partem cuiusque die[i] pr[o]posi[ta] h[a]b[et]o, ita u[t] d(e)[p(lano) r(ecte)] l(egi) p(ossint)*. Cf. González & Crawford (1986) p. 177.

⁷⁹ Ch. 86 of the *Lex Irnitana* requires judges (*iudices*) to be *municipes* (Latins) with at least 5,000 sesterces (or under the authority of someone who does), and to display their full name and filiation on publicly readable tablets (cf. González & Crawford 1986, p. 196).

freeborn and did not already possess Roman or Latin status became *Latini*. Inscriptional evidence from the region shows that while some of these newly enfranchised *Latini* adopted the *tria* or *duo nomina*, others continued to use single names well into the 2nd century CE. For the purposes of this analysis, therefore, patterns of name structure in communities that clearly held Latin status reflect the degree to which individuals chose to adopt new name structures or to retain their indigenous ones based on cultural choices rather than differences in juridical status. While this results in some ambiguities concerning the juridical status of individuals, which cannot always be ascertained, focusing on name structure rather allows us to consider the extent to which single name structure was retained in certain areas, in the later 1st century and in the 2nd century CE, and hence to engage in an assessment of various degrees of cultural assimilation across time and space in the province of Lusitania in the period of the 1st century BCE to the 3rd century CE.

In terms of quantitative analysis, the percentage of linguistic and structural attributes in a given territory can indicate two primary phenomena: 1) The extent to which particular linguistic systems were dominant in personal names for a region (e.g. if Latin, indigenous or Greek names are more popular). 2) The pattern and proliferation of different name structures at the civic communities under scrutiny.⁸⁰ When compared with expressions of family relations, quantitative onomastic data allow us to test whether or not there is a correlation between patterns in the expression of family relations and patterns in naming practice. On the other hand, a quantitative comparison of onomastics and family relations may also indicate that certain commemorative patterns were not necessarily determined by cultural factors, but rather by broader demographic

⁸⁰ It is acknowledged that in many cases inscriptional evidence is damaged in such a way that portions of the inscription are lost. This has an obvious impact on the number of names we can recover in the epigraphic record and the quantitative data is not meant to reflect exact demographic information. Nevertheless, the quantitative approach to naming practice is intended to reflect what is left to the record.

factors such as localized patterns of mortality, or even by the differing socio-economic conditions that predominated in urban areas as opposed to in rural territories.

Qualitative Analysis

While the quantitative data are indeed valuable in terms of identifying patterns and deviations in the expression of family relations and personal names in the province of Lusitania, it is important to note that we are not dealing with a purely synchronic body of data. As we have seen with multi-generational inscriptions, personal names were often given to children by their parents and could reflect a willingness to maintain linguistic traditions for another generation, even following promotion to Latin or full citizen status.⁸¹ In the case of M. Norbanus Tureus, his father, Lancius, bore a single indigenous name. It is likely that Tureus himself was originally known only by this indigenous name until he acquired Roman citizenship or Latin status. At that point, he adopted the *tria nomina*, using his former indigenous name, Tureus, as his *cognomen*. Thus, although the structure of his name changed, the indigenous linguistic tradition was preserved through the *cognomen*. Likewise, there are some cases in which individuals may inherit matrilineal name elements, either *nomina* or *cognomina*, from their mothers concurrently with or instead of the typical patrilineal pattern.⁸²

All of these phenomena, which may be too specific to quantify on a regional level, occur over time and serve as an index of processes of cultural change. Following the discussion of

⁸¹For example, *CIL* II, 800: *M. Norban[us] Ture(us) Lanci f.* Here M. Norbanus Tureus's indigenous *cognomen* was likely chosen by his father, Lancius, who had an indigenous single name. Given the single name of his father, it would appear that M. Norbanus Tureus was the first generation of his family to hold *tria nomina*. Despite the fact that his name structure differs from that of his father, the indigenous linguistic tradition is maintained in his *cognomen*. Cf. Salomies (2008).

⁸² There were a number of examples of this matrilineal name transmission at Olisipo. Some examples include *CIL* II, 5020; *CIL* II, 214; *CIL* II, 4994; *CIL* II, 219; *CIL* II, 204; *HEp* 4 1994, 1073; *CIL* II, 313. The discussion of family relations in the chapter for Olisipo will address the details of this phenomenon.

patterns in quantitative data for each area of Lusitania, we will take some time to discuss qualitative trends in expressions of local family relations and personal names. These include names and relations in multigenerational inscriptions and popular names in the region. While not every area will share all of the same qualitative elements, a discussion of these will explore some of the local epigraphic and onomastic habits in each community selected for this study.

Outline

The discussion of the relevant data from the province of Lusitania will be arranged as follows. First, the epigraphic data will be discussed on a geographical basis, divided between the four selected areas of interest in the province of Lusitania: 1) the *Conventus Pacensis*; 2) the modern province of Cáceres; 3) the community of the *Igaeditani* (civitas Igaeditanorum); and 4) Olisipo. Each chapter will begin with a brief discussion of the region, its history and the juridical status of its communities, followed by quantitative analysis of data for expressions of family relations as revealed by acts of funerary commemoration and secondly, of data for local onomastics. The analysis of quantitative data will be followed by a detailed discussion in which data pertaining to family relations and personal onomastics will be examined in a comparative fashion.

In some cases, the quantitative comparison of family relations and onomastic patterns reveals distributions that appear unusual or potentially meaningful. In such instances, statistical analysis is used as a statistical tool to test whether an observed association between two variables is likely to reflect a genuine pattern in the data rather than random variation within a limited sample. Put simply, statistical analysis examines whether variation in one variable is systematically associated with variation in another. In this dissertation, the variables under comparison include, for example, types of family relations expressed in funerary inscriptions and the linguistic character or structural form of the personal names borne by dedicators and the deceased.

The purpose of using statistical analysis here is not to replace historical interpretation, but to strengthen it. Where the data suggest a possible correlation, for instance an unusually high number of conjugal dedications involving individuals with Greek name elements in a particular region, statistical analysis allows that apparent relationship to be tested more formally. The analysis produces a p-value, which is a measure used to assess how likely it is that the observed pattern could have arisen by chance if there were in fact no real association between the variables. A smaller p-value indicates that the observed result would be less likely under that assumption. Throughout this dissertation, statistical significance is assessed at the conventional 95% confidence level, meaning that results with a p-value below 0.05 are treated as statistically significant. In other words, if there were in fact no real association between the variables, a result this strong, or stronger, would be expected to occur by chance in fewer than 5 out of 100 cases. In practical terms, this means that the observed association is unlikely to be due to chance alone within the sample.

This method is especially useful in a study such as this one, where the surviving evidence is uneven and sometimes limited. Epigraphic material from Roman Lusitania does not survive in quantities that allow every historical impression to be accepted at face value. Statistical analysis therefore provides a more rigorous means of evaluating whether apparently anomalous patterns in the evidence are sufficiently strong to justify further interpretation. At the same time, statistical significance does not by itself demonstrate causation. A significant association between naming practices and commemorative habits does not prove that one directly caused the other. Rather, the analysis identifies patterns that are unlikely to be accidental and that therefore merit historical explanation in light of local social, cultural, juridical, and demographic contexts.

In this way, statistical analysis forms an important part of the methodological framework of the dissertation. It enables the quantitative dimensions of the evidence to be assessed more systematically, while still remaining subordinate to broader historical interpretation. The method is used selectively, in cases where the data display potentially meaningful irregularities, in order to determine whether those irregularities are statistically robust enough to support the arguments advanced in the chapters that follow. This will be followed by a qualitative analysis of epigraphic data for each region. Lastly, some concluding remarks will discuss how the patterns in expressions of family relations and personal names pertain to processes of cultural change in each region within the scope of this dissertation. Once the epigraphic data from each area has received sufficient analysis, the final chapter will address the main regional trends in the data and their significance for our understanding of the processes of acculturation in the province of Lusitania between the 1st and 3rd centuries CE.

Chapter 1. The *Conventus Pacensis*

The province of Lusitania was established in the late 1st century BCE when Augustus reorganized the Republican *provincia* of Hispania Ulterior into the two provinces of Baetica and Lusitania, but Roman conquest in the area dates back to the 2nd century BCE. The *Conventus Pacensis* was one of three administrative zones within the Roman province of Lusitania, covering the southwestern area of modern-day Portugal between the Tagus and Guadiana rivers. Despite having fewer civic communities than the *Conventus Emeritensis* to the north, evidence for pre-Roman urbanization in the *Conventus Pacensis* shows a higher degree of development upon the establishment of the province (fig. 1.1). This high degree of development is also reflected in the relatively early establishment in this region of the key *colonia* of Pax Iulia and the *municipia* of Salacia and Ebora, the three largest civic communities in the *conventus*.⁸³ The geographical location of the *Conventus Pacensis* afforded the region excellent access to communication and trade networks through urban centres both inland and along the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts. The major *colonia* in the region, and *conventus* capital, was Pax Iulia, while other settlements in the region varied in civic status, being either *civitates stipendiariae* or *municipia*. While many civic communities in Lusitania began to municipalize following the blanket grant of *ius Latii* to the Iberian provinces in 73-74 CE, a number of communities in the *Conventus Pacensis*, in particular Salacia, Myrtilis, and Ebora, were granted Latin rights (*ius Latii*) under Augustus, and this clearly had an impact on the proliferation of the epigraphic habit, *tria nomina*, and linguistically Latin name elements. The earliest chronology for epigraphic evidence in the region corresponds with the organizational development of the province in the late-1st century BCE with the epigraphic habit diminishing by the 3rd century CE. In particular, funerary inscriptions will serve as the basis of this discussion

⁸³ Plin. *NH* 4.22.117.

concerning expressions of family relations, personal onomastics, and the extent to which patterns in these data reveal new insights into the processes of cultural change in this region.

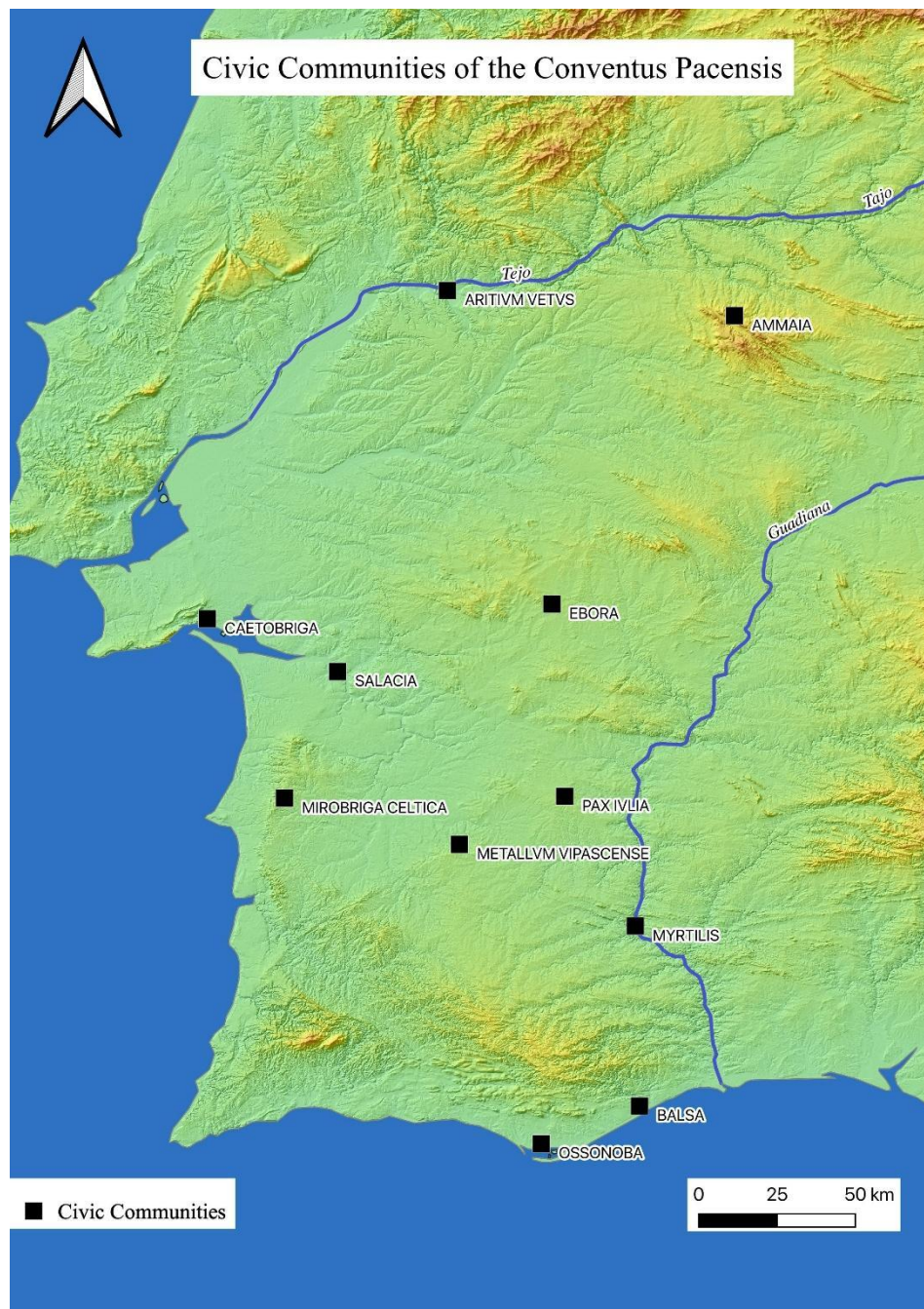


Figure 1.1: Map of the *Conventus Pacensis* and civic communities of importance.

The chronology of urban, or proto-urban, development in the *Conventus Pacensis*, predates the establishment of the province of Lusitania and its administrative *conventus* zones. While many

pre-Roman settlements in Lusitania were Iron Age hill forts, or *oppida* in the Latin lexicon, archaeological evidence from what would be considered highly urbanized ‘Roman’ cities at lower topographical elevations show signs of earlier Iron Age occupation, especially in the case of the *Conventus Pacensis*.⁸⁴ Moreover, the scale and pace with which various tiers of civic status were conferred upon these settlements was considerable in this region. For example, Pliny the Elder claims that during the Augustan period Pax Iulia had been established as a Roman *colonia*, an obvious necessity for a *conventus* capital, while Ebora, Myrtilis, and Salacia had become Augustan *municipia* or at least received Latin rights.⁸⁵ In addition, evidence from literary sources, coin legends, and archaeological data show that additional pre-Roman settlements in the region including Ossonoba, Balsa, Mirobriga Celtica, and Caetobriga had received *municipium* status during the Flavian period.⁸⁶ Within the context of this study, these settlements account for eight out of the eleven settlements in the epigraphic catalogue of *Conventus Pacensis*. The conferral of such civic status, at least for local elites of *municipia* and at most for the inhabitants of *coloniae*, would entail enfranchisement as new citizens of the Roman Empire. Copies of the *Lex Flavia Municipalis*, such as the *Lex Salpensa* and *Lex Irnitana*, indicate that following a one-year term as *duovir*, *aedile*, or *quaestor*, office holders of the *municipium* would obtain full Roman citizenship along with their parents, spouses, and children.⁸⁷ It is safe to say, therefore, that the number of civic communities that had been granted degrees of Roman civic status in the *Conventus Pacensis* was relatively high during the 1st century CE with its three Augustan *municipia* and one *colonia*.

It is within this context of Roman colonization and local municipalization that we see the proliferation of the epigraphic habit in the *Conventus Pacensis*. Inscribed dedications in the region,

⁸⁴ Edmondson (1990) p. 167.

⁸⁵ Plin. *NH* 4. 117.

⁸⁶ Strabo 3.2.15.

⁸⁷ *Lex Salpensa* and *Lex Irnitana*, ch. XXI.

whether funerary, honorific, votive, or otherwise, can provide modern historians with a variety of information concerning the individuals mentioned therein. Onomastic practice, for example, can serve as an excellent indication of cultural identification through variations in language and naming practice, while the family and social relations between the dedicator(s) and the deceased allow us to explore the nuances of social and emotional bonds emphasized between individuals on a regional level.⁸⁸ Within the context of epigraphic studies on family relations in Lusitania, the *Conventus Pacensis*, in particular, has not received a detailed regional breakdown of dedicatory patterns.⁸⁹ This is most likely because the *Conventus Pacensis* contains the fewest inscriptions in the province of Lusitania.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, while some of the eleven settlements in the epigraphic catalogue of the *Conventus Pacensis* have only a few surviving inscriptions in which family and social relations are clearly articulated, there are higher concentrations of inscriptional evidence, most notably from Pax Iulia and Ebora, which provide a decent number of relations for the purpose of this discussion.⁹¹

Chronology

Of the 133 inscriptions expressing family relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*, 108 of them could be roughly dated. In some cases, certain inscriptions could be dated more specifically than others, but given the more general sense of chronology that is available for most inscriptions, these dates have been streamlined and placed in broader categories based on the latest possible date the texts could have been inscribed (fig. 1.2). The method for dating these inscriptions is based on linguistic,

⁸⁸ See Saller and Shaw (1984); Martin (1996); Rawson (1997); Edmondson (2005).

⁸⁹ Cf. Edmondson (2005) p. 194, who treats the *Conventus Pacensis* as a single entity, preferring not to break it down into its individual civic communities.

⁹⁰ For example, Edmondson (2005) counts 306 total relations in Augusta Emerita which almost doubles the number counted in the entire *Conventus Pacensis* at the time of Edmondson's study, 171.

⁹¹ Funerary inscriptions from Pax Iulia and Ebora account for 59% (105/178) of family relations in the catalogue for the *Conventus Pacensis*.

decorative, and paleographic elements including: the invocation of the *di manes*; the use of superlative adjectives; and the type of materials on which the inscriptions were inscribed.⁹² In addition, the chronological data included in this chapter draw from the main inscriptional *corpora* used to compile expressions of relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*, which include *CIL* II, José d’Encarnação’s *Inscrições Romanas do Conventus Pacensis*, as well as *HEp*, *FE*, and *AE* entries published recently. All of these chronological data follow the chronology attributed by scholars of the ADOPIA project.⁹³

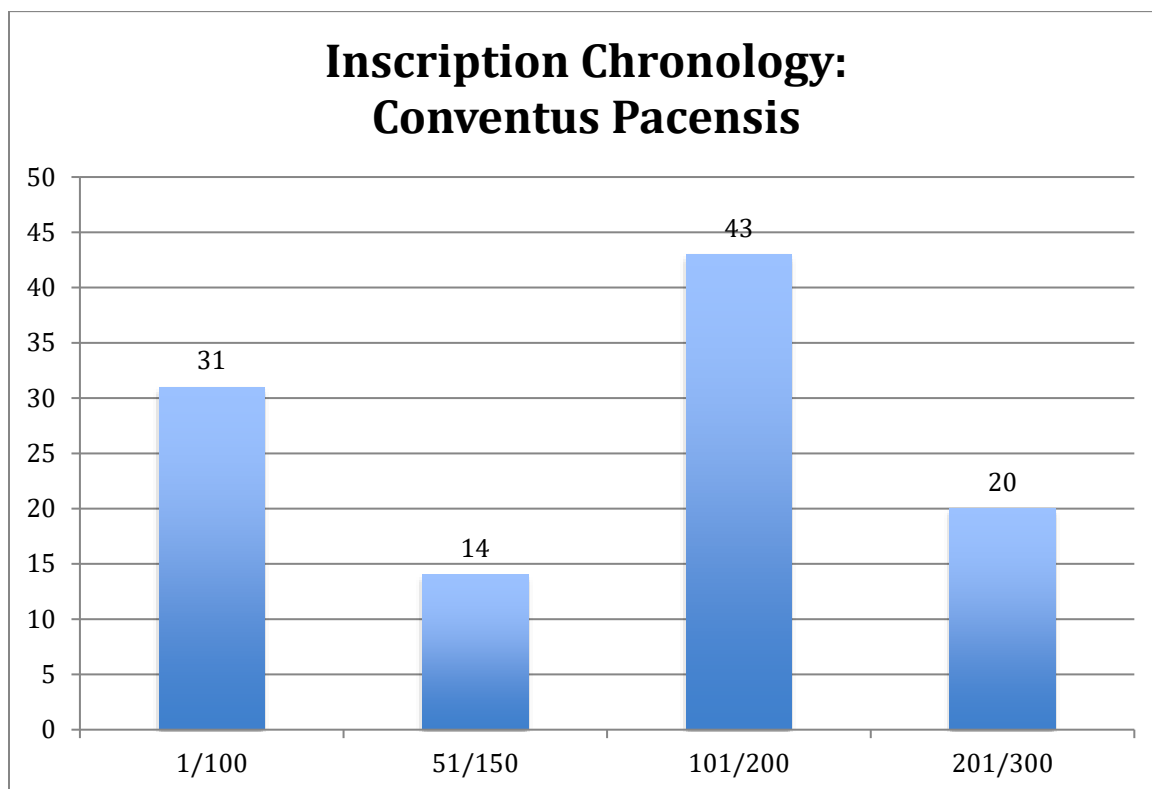


Figure 1.2: Chronology of inscriptions expressing family relations.

The chronology of inscriptions expressing family relations in the *Conventus Pacensis* is indicative of a region in which civic communities experienced an early process of municipalization, resulting in a significant number of inscriptions dating to the 1st century CE with

⁹² For a detailed discussion of dating methods, see Bruun and Edmondson (2015) pp. 14-17.

⁹³ d’Encarnação (1984); ADOPIA Project: <http://adopia.huma-num.fr/>

the epigraphic habit continuing strongly into the 2nd century CE and tapering off during the 3rd century.⁹⁴ A similar pattern is observed at Olisipo in the *Conventus Scallabitanus* and its surrounding territory (see below, Chapter 4), while many of the other communities discussed in this study underwent municipalization during the Flavian period following Vespasian's grant of *Ius Latii* to all of the Hispanic provinces in 73-74 CE.⁹⁵ While most of the Flavian *municipia* show a boom in the epigraphic habit during the late 1st and early 2nd centuries, communities such as Olisipo and the ones in the *Conventus Pacensis* that were promoted in civic status earlier tend to contain more inscriptions dating to the 1st century CE.

⁹⁴ Meyer (1990) p. 95; MacDonald (1988); MacMullen (1982).

⁹⁵ Plin. *NH* 4.117.

Family Relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*: Nuclear vs. Extended

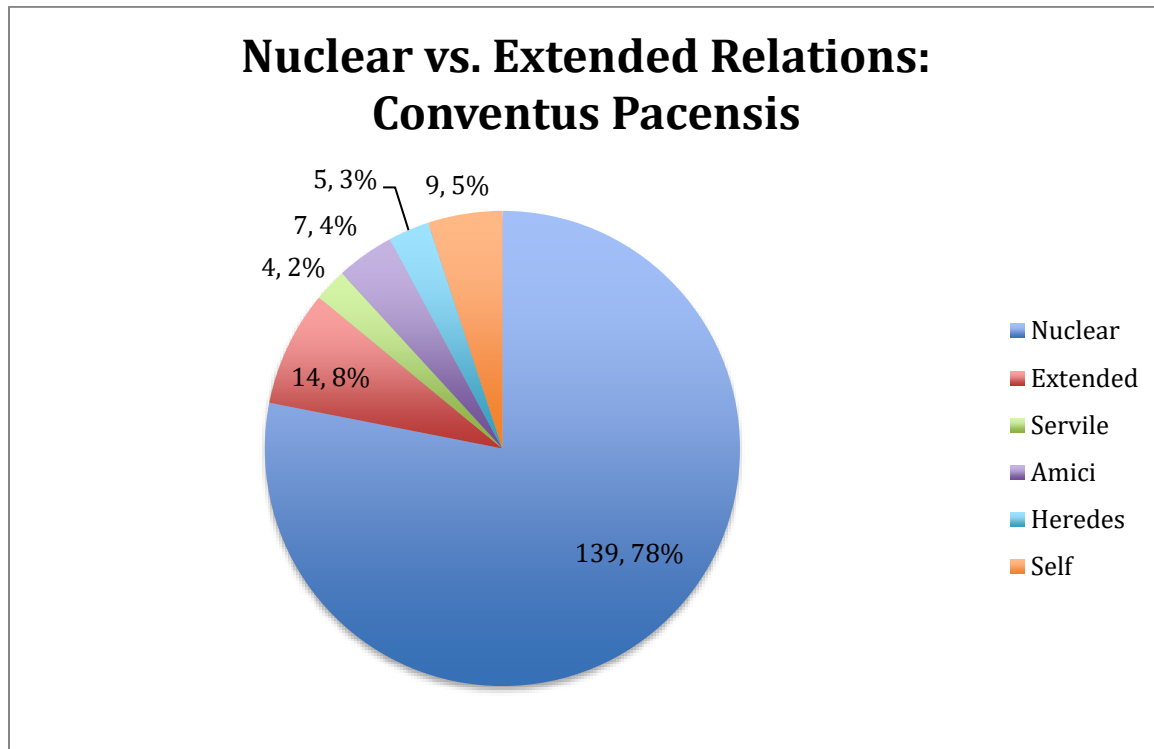


Figure 1.3: Nuclear vs. extended relations.

Using the methodology outlined above, a review of all known funerary epigraphy from the *Conventus Pacensis* has resulted in the collection of 178 relations expressed between dedicators and deceased individuals (fig. 1.3). The study of family relations in the Roman world, especially using funerary evidence, began with a simple question about whether nuclear or extended family relations are more commonly expressed through funerary dedications.

<i>Conventus Pacensis</i>		
Dedicator	Deceased	N
Husband	Wife	25
Wife	Husband	19
Total Conjugal		44
Father	Son	19
	Daughter	6
	Child	1
Mother	Son	19
	Daughter	13
	Child	2
Parent	Son	
	Daughter	
	Child	
Total Descending		60
Son	Father	1
	Mother	7
	Parent	
Daughter	Father	2
	Mother	4
	Parent	
Child	Father	2
	Mother	4
	Parent	
Total Ascending		20
Brother	Brother	5
	Sister	2
	Sibling	
Sister	Brother	4
	Sister	4
	Sibling	
Sibling	Brother	
	Sister	
Total Siblings		15
Total Nuclear		139
Descending Extended		4
Ascending Extended		7
Lateral Extended		3
Total Extended		14
<i>Amici</i>		4
<i>Heredes</i>		7
<i>Other</i>		11
Patron	<i>Libertus/a</i>	2
Master	Slave	
<i>Libertus/a</i>	Patron	3
Slave	Master	
Total Servile		5
Self		9
Total Relations		178

Table 1.1: Family relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

Out of the 178 relations counted from the *Conventus Pacensis*, 139 (78%) of them were from within the nuclear family (Table 1.1). This percentage is essentially the same as the percentage of nuclear relations counted in Jonathan Edmondson's study of relations in Lusitania, although the number of relations counted has increased from 171 to 178.⁹⁶ Only 14 (8%) relations were between extended family members while another 15 (9%) expressions refer to *amici*, slaves, and freedmen. Again, despite the increased number of relations counted since the most recent quantitative study of the region, the updated percentages are essentially the same with Edmondson counting 10 (6%) extended relations.⁹⁷

At a glance, it is quite clear that nuclear relations make up an overwhelmingly predominant portion of the relations expressed on funerary monuments in the *Conventus Pacensis*. In comparison, the number of nuclear family dedications recorded in the *Conventus Pacensis* is only five percent lower than the percentage recorded by Saller and Shaw in their 1984 study of the Hispanic Provinces.⁹⁸ While these numbers seem quite typical when compared to percentages from previous studies, a closer look at the subcategories within the nuclear and extended control groups will add nuance to these findings and, perhaps, reveal some more distinctive regional patterns in funerary dedication.

⁹⁶ Edmondson (2005) p.194.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

Nuclear Relations: *Conventus Pacensis*

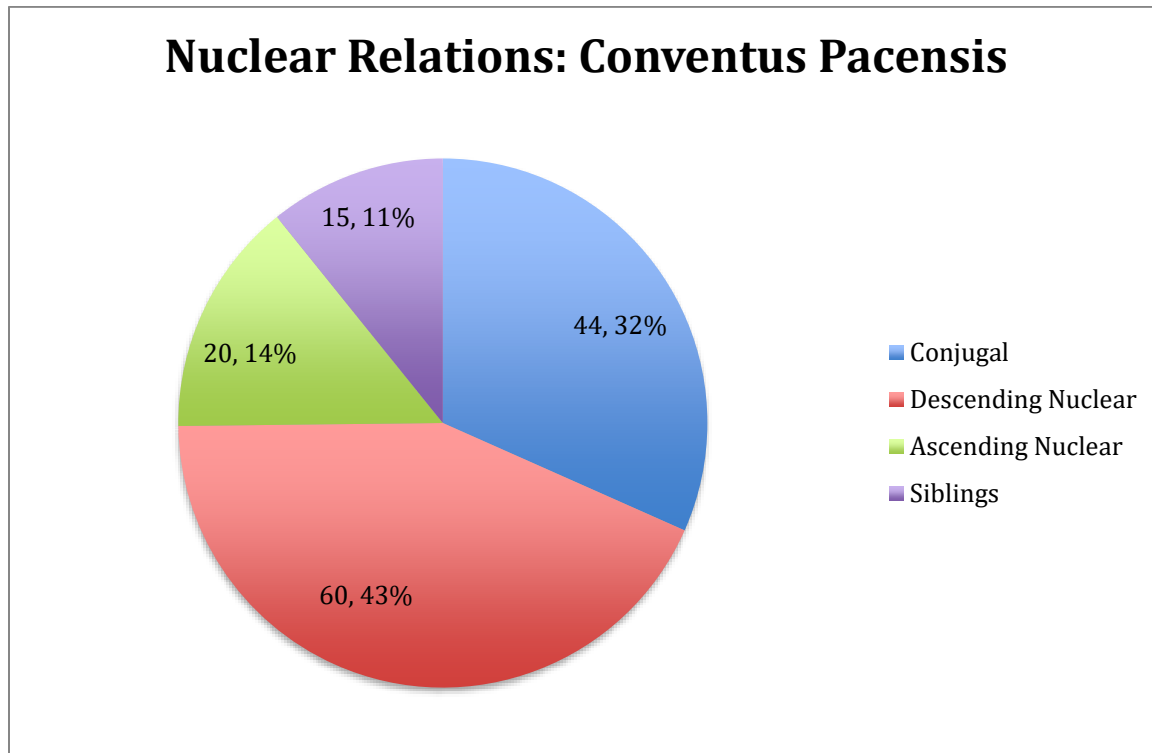


Figure 1.4: All nuclear relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

The category of nuclear family relations is divided into the following subcategories: conjugal, descending, ascending, and sibling (lateral) family relations. Out of 139 total nuclear relations counted for the region, the largest portion of them belong to the descending category with 60 (43%) relations counted (fig. 1.4). In keeping with the methodology of counting individual relations, the numbers in this category count separate relations for joint parental dedications to their children. For this reason, the percentage of descending nuclear dedications from parents to children make up the largest number of nuclear dedications.⁹⁹ Conjugal dedications make up the second most commonly expressed relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*, accounting for 44 (32%) dedications. Of all the regions in this study, this region had the highest percentage of conjugal

⁹⁹ Cf. 53 (31%) relations counted in Jonathan Edmondson's chapter on family relations in Lusitania. Edmondson (2005) p. 192.

dedications and lowest percentage of ascending nuclear dedications, the latter of which there were only 20 (14%) attestations. Susan Treggiari has observed that higher percentages of conjugal dedications are a typical phenomenon in the Western provinces of the Roman Empire and the same appears to be true for the *Conventus Pacensis*.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, since ascending nuclear dedications always outnumber conjugal dedications in the other communities discussed in this study (i.e., the communities of Cáceres, the Civitas Igaeditanorum and Olisipo), the *Conventus Pacensis* shows patterns that are more congruent with other provinces than the other regions of Lusitania discussed in this dissertation.

Siblings, on the other hand, compose the smallest number and percentage of family relations expressed between dedicators and the deceased on funerary inscriptions. Keeping in line with the percentages from previous studies, funerary dedications between siblings account for only 15 examples (11%) in the *Conventus Pacensis*.¹⁰¹ In a broad sense, little can be said about the small number of sibling dedications in this region except that the obligations of commemorating deceased family members were not strong along lateral family lines. That being said, siblings still appear to have fulfilled commemorative obligations from time to time, probably when other nuclear family members were no longer living to carry out such funerary commemorations.

When compared to the results of earlier studies on funerary inscriptions and family relations, the percentage of conjugal dedications is lower than other regions within the Roman Empire, but consistent with the average recorded for Spain. In the study published by Saller and Shaw in 1984, the 210 conjugal relations recorded accounted for 29% of the total nuclear relations counted for all of the Hispanic provinces.¹⁰² The percentage of conjugal dedications counted for

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Treggiari (1991) p. 492.

¹⁰¹ This number is higher than the number of siblings counted in Jonathan Edmondson's chapter, 7 (9%), but the percentage is only two percent higher in this updated corpus of relations. Edmondson (2005) p.192.

¹⁰² Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

Italy, Gallia Narbonensis, Germania Inferior, Noricum, and Britain account for between 40-45% of total nuclear relations, which is higher than the *Conventus Pacensis* in which conjugal dedications account for 32% of nuclear relations. Hispania, Auzia (Africa), and Caesarea (Africa), on the other hand, all have lower percentages of conjugal dedication ranging between 29-30%.¹⁰³ This could have some implications in terms of the relative importance of emotional bonds and family obligations between conjugal partners in commemorative practice throughout the Roman Empire. It would seem, therefore, that conjugal dedications, however important to the commemorative practice of families in the *Conventus Pacensis*, are somehow less pronounced when compared to other areas of the Empire.

The degree of disparity between descending and ascending relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*, moreover, shares some statistical similarities with other regions in Saller and Shaw's study, but some differences as well. At the *Conventus Pacensis*, the percentage of descending nuclear dedications outnumbers ascending relations at 43% vs. 14%, respectively. Compared to Saller and Shaw's percentages for relations in all of the Hispanic provinces, in which descending nuclear relations count for 36% and ascending count for 25%, the predominance of descending nuclear dedications over ascending is highly pronounced. Elsewhere in the Roman Empire, Saller and Shaw observed a similar trend. Percentages for descending and ascending nuclear relations in Britain, for example, appear similar with 32% descending nuclear relations and 10% ascending.¹⁰⁴ In many cases the higher percentage of descending nuclear dedications will only outnumber ascending dedications by roughly 10%, which indicates that the disparity between the two in the *Conventus Pacensis* is pronounced to an anomalous degree. For this particular *conventus* region,

¹⁰³ Ibid. pp. 147-150.

¹⁰⁴ The trend of higher percentages of descending nuclear commemoration can also be observed more generally in Latium, Spain, Germania Inferior, Noricum, Africa: Caesarea, and Ostia. Other areas, however, show surprisingly close and sometimes identical percentages as is the case with Africa: Auzia. Saller and Shaw (1984) pp. 148-150.

however, it should be noted that the number of inscriptions, let alone ones expressing relations, is significantly lower than the two others and may not contain enough entries to form any solid conclusions about anomalous trends.

While some might argue that the high percentage of descending nuclear dedications in the *Conventus Pacensis* could be attributed to high rates of child mortality in the Roman world, this was not the case. One of the defining features of descending nuclear dedications in the *Conventus Pacensis* is the average age of death expressed in funerary inscriptions from parents to their children. In many cases, descending nuclear dedications involved deceased adult children well above the age of marriage.¹⁰⁵ Of the 60 descending nuclear dedications in the *Conventus Pacensis*, 38 were to deceased sons, 19 were to deceased daughters, and 3 were to children of unspecified gender. While this clearly indicates that sons were twice as likely to receive commemorations from their parents, the data concerning the age of the deceased indicates that the median age of deceased daughters (25 years) was significantly higher than sons (20 years). Based on the general scholarly views on the matter, the average age of marriage in the Roman world likely ranged from 14-19 years of age for women and 19-30 for men.¹⁰⁶ The data on age at death for individuals classified as "children" in the *Conventus Pacensis* show a notable disparity between girls and boys: many deceased daughters had already reached or exceeded the typical marriageable age at the time of their death, while most sons died at ages that still fall within the expected range for childhood (Table 1.2).

¹⁰⁵ Saller has argued that non-elite men did not marry until their late 20s, while Shaw has argued that non-elite women mostly married by their late teens. Saller (1987) pp. 28-30; Shaw (1987) pp. 40-43. Lelis, Percy, and Verstraete, on the other hand, argue that Roman women often married around 15 and men around 20. Lelis, Percy, and Verstraete (2003) p. 75.

¹⁰⁶ Saller (1987) pp. 28-30; Shaw (1987) pp. 40-43; Lelis, Percy, and Verstraete (2003) p. 75.

Age of Death: Descending Nuclear Dedications (<i>Conventus Pacensis</i>)			
Dedications to Sons		Dedications to Daughters	
Number of Dedications	38	Number of Dedications	19
Indications of Age	22	Indications of Age	13
Age Mean	20.7	Age Mean	23.3
Age Median	20	Age Median	25
Highest Age	35	Highest Age	37
Lowest Age	3	Lowest Age	5

Table 1.2: Age of death among the deceased in descending nuclear dedications.

In terms of patterns of commemoration based on gender, the pattern of descending nuclear dedications indicates that fathers were more likely to commemorate sons than daughters, while mothers more often set up funerary dedications in practically equal numbers for their daughters and sons. Although this trend is the most obvious gender-based pattern in the region, the deficit of descending nuclear dedications from fathers to daughters is only significantly pronounced in the data from Eborac. At Eborac, of the 60 expressions of family relations counted, only a minority of descending nuclear dedications from fathers were made to daughters, whereas mothers' dedications to children were nearly equally divided between sons and daughters. Elsewhere, descending nuclear dedications from parents to sons and daughters are distributed more or less equally among the other communities discussed in this chapter.

The relatively high proportion of descending nuclear dedications could have a number of plausible explanations: Firstly, this may simply reflect particularly strong social bonds between parents and children. Secondly, it may also indicate that men and women in this area married at an older age than elsewhere. In the latter case, marriage at an older age would leave mostly parents to dedicate tombstones to their children around the mean ages we are seeing.

In a general sense, the breakdown of nuclear relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*, as a whole, can tell us many things. Firstly, descending nuclear relations are of particular importance

in the record of funerary inscriptions and although sons were commemorated twice as much as daughters, parents were taking up the task of commemorating their deceased children when they were well into adulthood and of marriageable age. Conjugal relations, on the other hand mark the second most common family relations expressed, indicating strong bonds between conjugal partners as well. Of all the regions discussed in this dissertation, the *Conventus Pacensis* showed the highest overall percentage of conjugal dedications.

Extended Relations: *Conventus Pacensis*

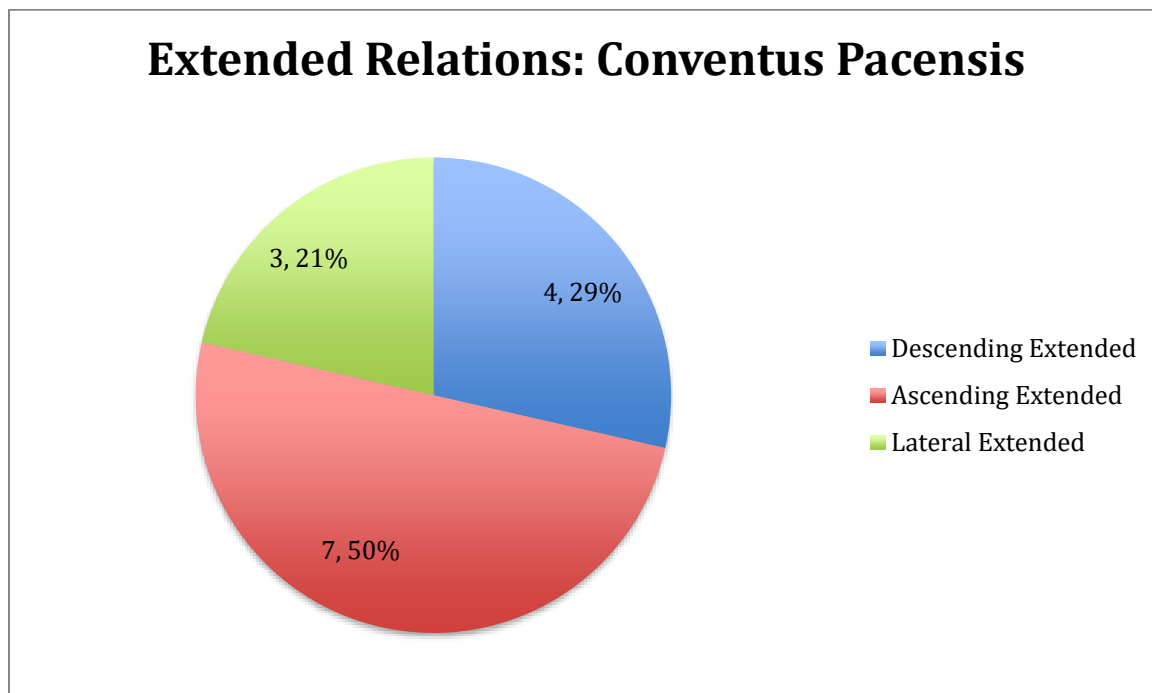


Figure 1.5: Extended family relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

Extended family relations in the *Conventus Pacensis* only appear 14 times in funerary dedications and account for only 8% of the total relations expressed in the region. Given that the number of relations in question is so small, little can be said about the division of relations, whether they are descending, ascending, or lateral dedications between cousins (fig. 1.5). The percentage of extended family relations in the *Conventus Pacensis* is consistent with the percentage of extended family relations counted from funerary inscriptions for the whole of Hispania by Saller

and Shaw.¹⁰⁷ At a glance, therefore, it is apparent that funerary monuments are most commonly dedicated between members of the nuclear family in the *Conventus Pacensis* region. Moreover, the number of descending and ascending dedications are offset by the three lateral dedications (a dedication between cousins), an uncommon dedicatory practice absent from the other civic communities discussed in this dissertation.¹⁰⁸ One of the more difficult aspects of analyzing family relations in the *Conventus Pacensis* is the sparse distribution of inscriptions across the region. Although 178 relations have been counted from a total of 133 inscriptions expressing family relations in the area, they are distributed across the territory of eleven separate civic communities, with only two communities – Eborac and Pax Iulia – containing a significant number of inscriptions (fig. 1.6). In order to better understand the distribution of these relations, both nuclear and extended, it will be necessary to divide the evidence on a geographical basis to see if there are any anomalous concentrations of dedicatory trends within the region.

¹⁰⁷ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

¹⁰⁸ *CIL* II, 5193 = *IRCP* 446.

Geographical Distribution of Family Relations: *Conventus Pacensis*

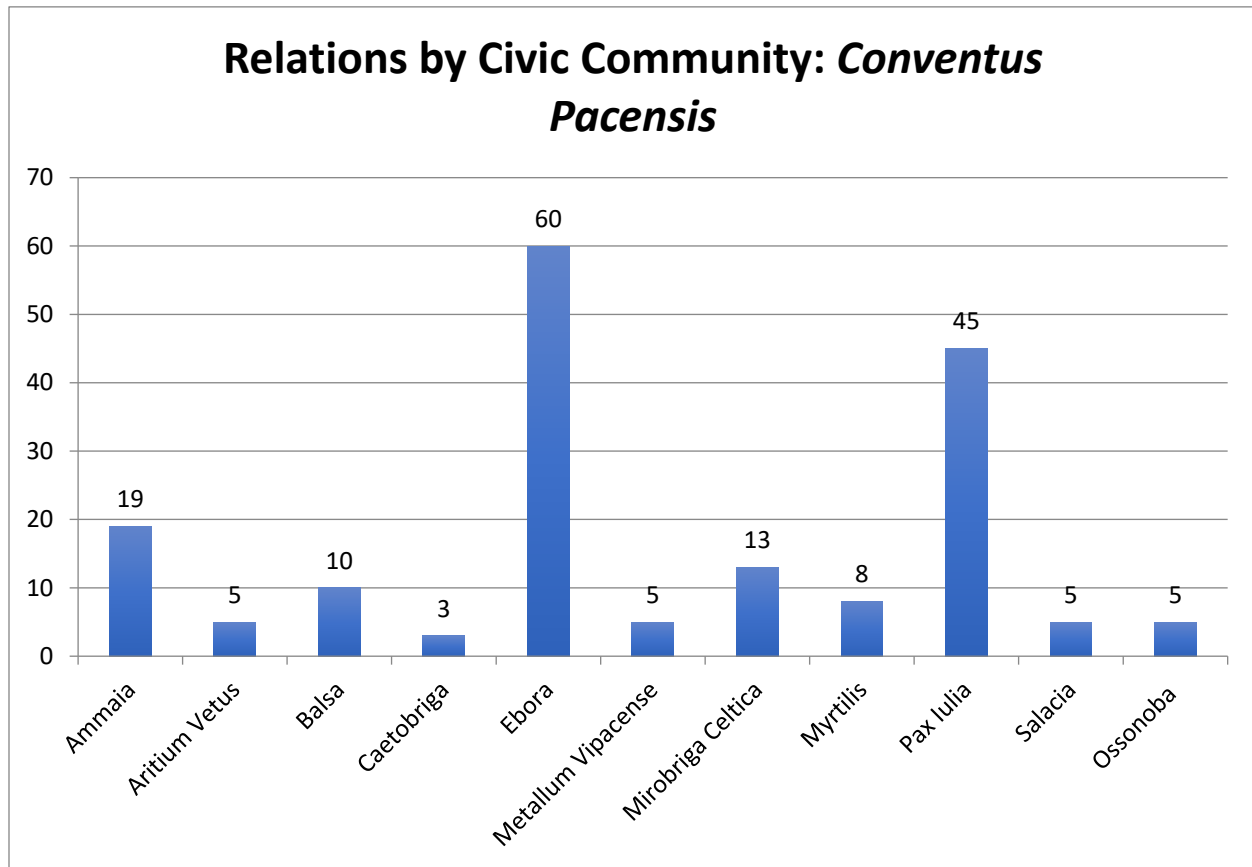


Figure 1.6: Expressions of family relations by civic community.

Broad trends in the family relations gleaned from funerary inscriptions within the *Conventus Pacensis* can only offer general, and sometimes vague, conclusions. For this reason, it is absolutely necessary to examine the geographical distribution of commemorative patterns expressing family relations on a sub-regional basis. In this case, the following discussion will examine patterns and trends of commemoration, dividing the quantitative data between civic communities and their surrounding territory. The bulk of epigraphic evidence from the *Conventus Pacensis* is localized in and around eleven civic communities in the region and has been divided as such in previous epigraphic catalogues, most notably José d'Encarnação's *IRCP*.¹⁰⁹ Again, while the total number

¹⁰⁹ d'Encarnação (1984).

of funerary inscriptions in the region is well over 700, only 133 of those inscriptions contain expressions of family relations, out of which 178 relations have been counted. As a result, there were only a few settlements and regions which contained a substantial enough number of relations for a comparative quantitative analysis. Out of the total number of 178 relations expressed on funerary inscriptions from the region, Pax Iulia and Ebora are the only communities that yielded more than 20 relations each and collectively account for 105 (59%) of all the relations counted in this region.¹¹⁰ Both of these settlements are located in the central and north-eastern areas of the *Conventus Pacensis* and vary in terms of civic status as well as size, providing a diverse sample of quantitative data. The following discussion, therefore, will analyze and compare the quantitative data for expressions of family relations on funerary epitaphs in the settlements with the highest concentration of relations. Due to the much higher general concentration of nuclear relations, extended relations will be discussed separately as a whole following the analyses of each settlement.

¹¹⁰ Number of relations counted from the two largest samples, 105 (59%): Pax Iulia: 45 (25%), Ebora: 60 (34%).

Nuclear Relations: Pax Iulia

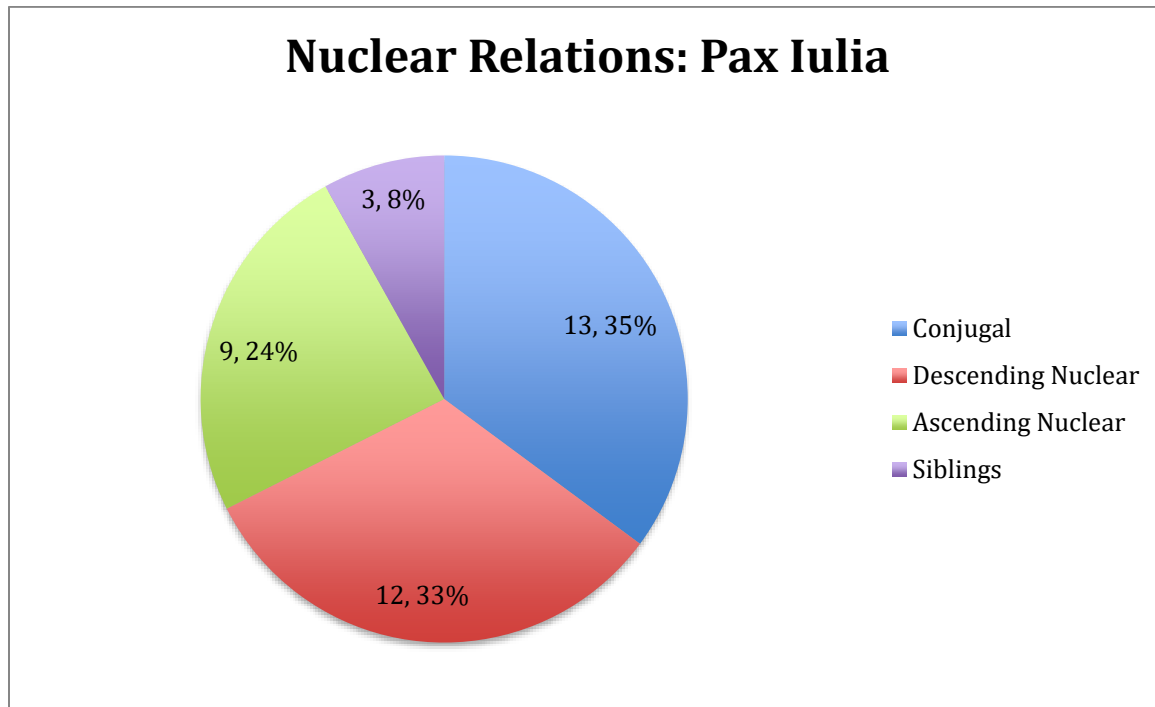


Figure 1.7: Nuclear relations at Pax Iulia.

Pax Iulia		
Dedicator	Deceased	N
Husband	Wife	6
Wife	Husband	7
Total Conjugal		13
Father	Son	2
	Daughter	2
	Child	
Mother	Son	3
	Daughter	4
	Child	1
Parent	Son	
	Daughter	
	Child	
Total Descending		12
Son	Father	1
	Mother	4
	Parent	
Daughter	Father	
	Mother	2
	Parent	
Child	Father	
	Mother	2
	Parent	
Total Ascending		9
Brother	Brother	2
	Sister	
	Sibling	
Sister	Brother	1
	Sister	
	Sibling	
Sibling	Brother	
	Sister	
Total Siblings		3
Total Nuclear		37
Descending Extended		2
Ascending Extended		1
Lateral Extended		
Total Extended		3
<i>Amici</i>		
<i>Heres</i>		
Other		
Patron	<i>Libertus/a</i>	
Master	Slave	2
<i>Libertus/a</i>	Patron	1
Slave	Master	
Total Servile		3
Self		2
Total Relations		45

Table 1.3: Family relations at Pax Iulia.

The second largest concentration of relations in the *Conventus Pacensis* region were collected from the corpus of funerary inscriptions attributed to Pax Iulia, which had the status of a Roman *colonia* and served as the *conventus* capital of the region (Table 1.3). The use of Pax Iulia as a *conventus* centre was both practical and convenient for logistical reasons since it was located almost in the centre of the *Conventus Pacensis*, providing easy access for individuals from other, smaller, settlements in the region. Numismatic and historical sources show that Pax Iulia received *colonia* status during the late 1st century BCE, possibly between 31 and 27 BCE, which would indicate that a large portion of the local population held full Roman citizen status around the time that Latin funerary dedications became more frequent in the area.¹¹¹ Moreover, Strabo mentions Pax Augusta, likely a misnomer for Pax Iulia, as one of several cities in which Roman citizens have settled alongside their increasingly Latinized neighbours, which implies that the city was not established *ex novo* as a *colonia*, but received a number of Roman citizens and was promoted to this status.¹¹² Vasco Gil Mantas further corroborates this hypothesis, stating Iron Age archaeological evidence at Pax Iulia (modern Beja) indicates pre-Roman settlement.¹¹³ In addition, archaeological evidence suggests that Pax Iulia underwent a process of intense monumentalization during the 1st century CE with the construction of a forum, temple, and additions to the earlier fortifications.¹¹⁴ While the emphasis which Strabo places on the cultural impact of Roman colonization on local language and practices ought to be treated with suspicion, we can securely confirm an early date for the conferral of *colonia* status at Pax Iulia.

¹¹¹ De Faria (2001) p.352; De Faria (1999) pp. 38-41.

¹¹² Strabo 3.2.15: Λατῖνοι τε οἱ πλεῖστοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἐποίκους εἰλήφασι Ῥωμαίους, ὥστε μικρὸν ἀπέχουσι τοῦ πάντες εἶναι Ῥωμαῖοι. αἱ τε νῦν συνωκισμέαι πόλεις, ἥ τε ἐν τοῖς Κελτικοῖς Παξαυγοῦστα καὶ ἡ ἐν τοῖς Τουρδούλοις Αὐγοῦστα Ἡμέριτα. The majority have become Latins, and they have accepted Roman settlers, so that they are only a little short of all being Romans. And now there are newly founded cities: Pax Augusta among the Celtici, and Augusta Emerita among the Turduli.

¹¹³ Mantas (1998a) p. 41.

¹¹⁴ Lopes (2003) p. 190.

A total of 45 relations were counted from Pax Iulia which account for 25% of the total relations in the whole region. Out of those 45 relations, 37 (82%) of them were dedications between members of the nuclear family. The most common relations expressed between dedicator and deceased in Pax Iulia were conjugal relations accounting for 35% of all nuclear relations in the area. This figure is only slightly higher than the percentage of conjugal dedications in the *Conventus Pacensis* as a whole, which is also the case for both descending and ascending relations. The second most frequent nuclear relations expressed between dedicator and deceased in Pax Iulia are descending nuclear relations, which account for 33% of the total nuclear relations expressed at Pax Iulia.

Ascending relations are next, accounting for 24% of nuclear relations, followed by siblings which represent only 8% of nuclear relations. The main difference between the pattern of relations at Pax Iulia and the rest of the *conventus* region is that the percentage of ascending nuclear dedications were 13% higher and descending nuclear dedications were 14% lower when compared to all of the other communities combined (fig. 1.7). While this could be because Pax Iulia contains a relatively high number of relations compared to the other civic communities in the region, the numbers are broadly consistent with the averages from both the *Conventus Pacensis* region and those of the Hispanic provinces counted by Saller and Shaw in 1984.¹¹⁵ Due to its status as a *colonia* the population would mainly have consisted of individuals who had Roman citizenship. Whether this juridical status had any impact on patterns of funerary commemoration within the family is difficult to say with such small numbers. One possible explanation for the high percentage of conjugal dedications could be the presence of an immigrant population (i.e., colonists or settlers

¹¹⁵ Of the 723 nuclear relations Saller and Shaw counted for 'Spain' they were numbered as follows: Conjugal 210 (29%); Descending Nuclear 256 (36%); Ascending Nuclear 184 (25%); and Siblings 72 (10%). Saller and Shaw (1984) p.149.

who had travelled from elsewhere). Since the *Conventus Pacensis* was well connected to trade and travel networks stemming from the Mediterranean coast, the presence of an immigrant population would be plausible. Moreover, individuals who may have migrated to the region would likely be away from their parental relations, making descending nuclear dedications from their parents unviable. As a result, conjugal dedications would become more common among new families in the region. By comparing Pax Iulia to other settlements with substantial evidence in the region, however, it may be possible to arrive at some more solid conclusions.

Nuclear Relations: Eborā

The largest concentration of funerary inscriptions in the *Conventus Pacensis* was located in and around the ancient city of Eborā, or modern Évora. Located roughly 75km due north of Pax Iulia, Eborā is closer to the northern extremity of the *Conventus Pacensis*. It is not exactly clear when Eborā received *municipium* status; however, literary and epigraphic evidence suggests that it was likely between 13 BCE and 14 CE, as Pliny mentions Eborā was an *oppidum veteris Latii*.¹¹⁶ We know from an inscription that reads *munic. Eborensis* that Eborā absolutely held *municipium* status and based on inscriptional evidence of individuals enrolled in the *Galeria* voting tribe, it is safe to say that the settlement was likely granted *municipium* status under Augustus.¹¹⁷ Moreover, as A.M. De Faria has argued, the absence of Eborā in Pliny's list of *municipia* would indicate that Eborā did not receive *municipium* status until after 13 BCE, although Pliny does mention Eborā among communities with Latin rights.¹¹⁸ Archaeological evidence also suggests a period of monumentalization during the 1st century CE, much like Pax Iulia, which would coincide with its

¹¹⁶ Pliny *NH* 4.117.

¹¹⁷ *CIL* II, 114: *munic. Eborensis*; *CIL* II, 118, *IRCP* 407, *CIL* II, 123: *Gal(eria tribu)*; On the significance of the assignment of the tribe *Galeria* to Eborā as evidence for *municipium* status under Augustus, see Wiegels (1985) p. 77 and Stylow (1995).

¹¹⁸ De Faria (1999) p. 41; cf. Pliny *NH* 4.117.

promotion in status. The city forum was located within the limits of the modern Praça da República near which the remains of a temple are situated along with evidence of a large reflecting pool, both of which can be dated to the middle of the 1st century CE.¹¹⁹ A summary of the type of funerary commemorations from Eborac is given in Table 1.4.

¹¹⁹ Hauschild (2002) pp. 218-219.

Ebora

Dedicator	Deceased	N
Husband	Wife	10
Wife	Husband	7
Total Conjugal		17
Father	Son	7
	Daughter	1
	Child	
Mother	Son	9
	Daughter	7
	Child	
Parent	Son	
	Daughter	
	Child	
Total Descending		24
Son	Father	
	Mother	
	Parent	
Daughter	Father	
	Mother	1
	Parent	
Child	Father	
	Mother	1
	Parent	
Total Ascending		2
Brother	Brother	
	Sister	1
	Sibling	
Sister	Brother	3
	Sister	1
Sibling	Brother	
	Sister	
Total Siblings		5
Total Nuclear		48
Descending Extended		1
Ascending Extended		3
Lateral Extended		3
Total Extended		7
<i>Heres</i>		3
Other		3
Patron	<i>Libertus/a</i>	
Master	Slave	
<i>Libertus/a</i>	Patron	1
Slave	Master	
Total Servile		1
Self		1
Total Relations		60

Table 1.4: Nuclear relations at Ebora.

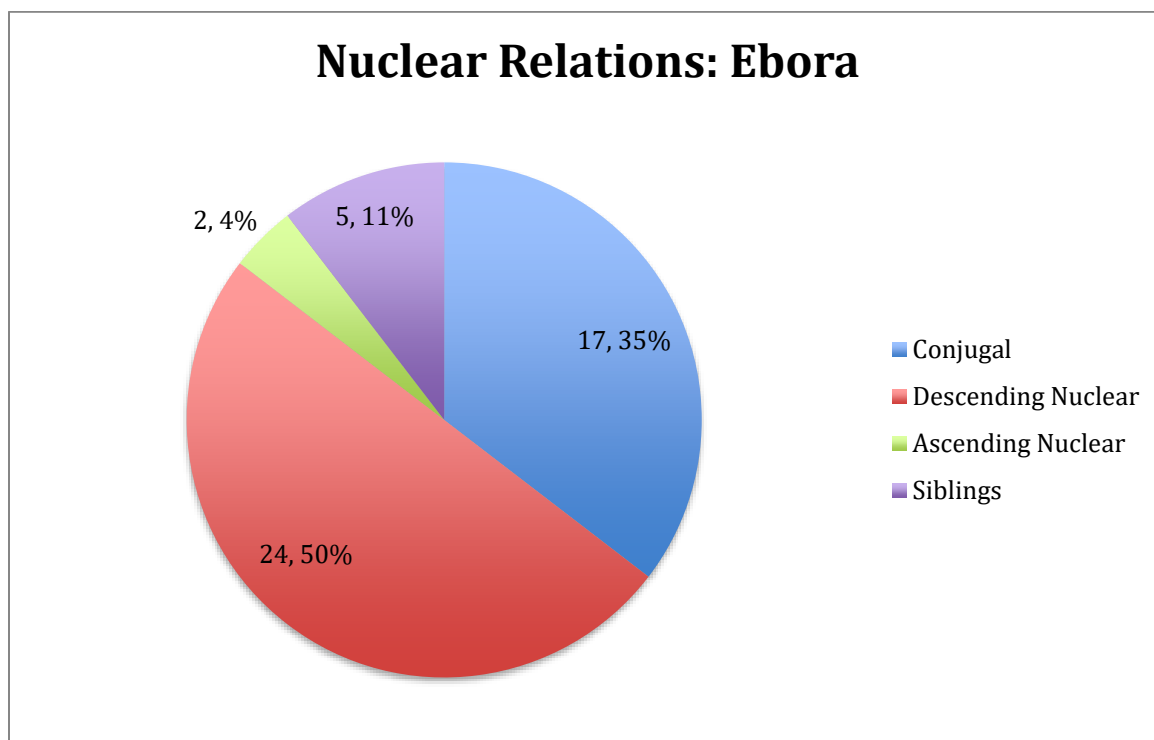


Figure 1.8: Nuclear relations at Ebora.

A total of 60 expressions of family relations between dedicators and the deceased were counted from the corpus of inscriptions at Ebora, accounting for 34% of funerary dedications from the whole of the *Conventus Pacensis* (fig. 1.8). Statistically speaking, however, the distributions of expressed relations between members of the nuclear family differ from Pax Iulia and the regional average in terms of the distribution of particular types of nuclear relations. Out of the 60 relations counted, 48 (80%) of them involved members of the nuclear family. Both descending and conjugal dedications were the most commonly attested expressions of nuclear family relations at Ebora, with 12 (33%) and 13 (35%) dedications, respectively. While the percentage of descending dedications is ten percent lower than the total percentage for the *Conventus Pacensis* as a whole, conjugal dedications at Ebora are only two percent higher than the regional percentage. This is not surprising since there is a conspicuously low number of ascending nuclear dedications at Ebora, for which only 20 (14%) dedications were counted. Dedications between siblings at

Ebora make up 11% of nuclear relations, which is identical to the regional percentage. Compared to the percentages of nuclear relations expressed in the *Conventus Pacensis* and at Pax Iulia, therefore, Ebora shows evidence of both consistent and anomalous patterns. In conclusion, while the number of conjugal dedications at Ebora emphasizes the importance of relations between married couples, ascending nuclear relations are infrequent.

Family Relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*: Conclusions

A comprehensive review of family relations expressed on funerary monuments from the *Conventus Pacensis* irrefutably demonstrates key findings. Firstly, 139 out of 178 (78%) total family relations documented were between nuclear family members, aligning seamlessly with the percentages identified for the Hispanic provinces in Saller and Shaw's seminal study on family relations in the western provinces.¹²⁰ Secondly, descending relations categorically emerge as the most frequently attested type among nuclear family commemorations in funerary dedications.

Of the two civic communities with the largest samples of family relations counted, the assemblage of relations counted at Ebora shows some interesting deviations from the regional norms. Dedications at Ebora include very few attestations of ascending nuclear dedications. Descending nuclear dedications are predominant and account for 50% of all nuclear dedications at Ebora (Table 1.5). In this respect, descending nuclear dedications and relations between conjugal partners are more strongly emphasized in the record of funerary epigraphy at Ebora. Upon a closer examination of descending nuclear dedications, a significant number of dedications were between parents and adult children, the oldest of whom died at the age of 35. Of 15 descending nuclear dedications containing age of death, the mean age of death for deceased “children” was 20

¹²⁰ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

years of age.¹²¹ Although it is acknowledged that there is a general underrepresentation of adolescents in the corpus of funerary epigraphy in the Roman world, eleven out of the fifteen deceased children with a given age of death, were over the age of 20.¹²² In terms of the overall predominance of descending nuclear dedications, most deceased sons and daughters were adults, many of which were well over what is generally agreed to be the average age of marriage at the time.¹²³ Moreover, although women were less likely to receive descending nuclear dedications, the fact that the median age of death for deceased daughters (25 years) was higher than sons (20 years) indicates that strong bonds between parents and children were maintained in this region as a pattern of cultural habit that included both sons and daughters.

¹²¹ Age of death of deceased “children” at Ebora: Mean = 23; Median = 20.

¹²² Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 130.

¹²³ Saller (1987) pp. 28-30; Shaw (1987) pp. 40-43; Lelis, Percy, and Verstraete (2003) p. 75.

Descending Nuclear Dedications: Ebora				
Parent	Child			
N/A	C. Iulius Proculus	35	<i>IRCP</i> , 651	Ebora
Tryphon	Q. Fabius Tryphon Argyrius	25	<i>IRCP</i> , 450	Ebora
N/A	P. Aurelius Niger	11	<i>CIL</i> II, 5211	Ebora
N/A	L. Aurelius L.f. Flaus	35	<i>CIL</i> II, 5211	Ebora
Milfus Sulpicius	Misinius Phanstianus	35	<i>CIL</i> II, 97	Ebora
Taporus	G. Iulius Proculus Tapor f.	20	<i>CIL</i> II, 6263	Ebora
Marius Maximus	Marius Q.f. Quintilianus	18	<i>CIL</i> II, 124	Ebora
Iulia Rufina	Marius Q.f. Quintilianus		<i>CIL</i> II, 124	Ebora
Iun(ia) Verecunda	C. Antonius C.f. Flavinus		<i>CIL</i> II, 115	Ebora
[---Va]leria	N/A		<i>IRCP</i> , 472	Ebora
Baebia Boutia	Q. Romanus Q.f. Gal. Tuscus	17	<i>IRCP</i> , 467	Ebora
N/A	Q. Alfius Modestus		<i>IRCP</i> , 407	Ebora
N/A	Q. Tullius Habiti f. Gal. Modestus	20	<i>IRCP</i> , 407	Ebora
Iulia Q.f. Avita	N/A		<i>CIL</i> II, 113	Ebora
Calpurnia Sabina	Q. Iulius Nepotianus	20	<i>CIL</i> II, 112	Ebora
Calpurnia Sabina	Q. Iulius Clarus	21	<i>CIL</i> II, 112	Ebora
Iun(ia) Leonica	Calchisia		<i>CIL</i> II, 122	Ebora
Manni[a] Mani f. Camira	Iulia Maura	30	<i>IRCP</i> , 460	Ebora
Turrana Maxsuma	Iulia Aviti f. Avita	20	<i>IRCP</i> , 451	Ebora
N/A	Tullia Habiti f. Tusca	5	<i>IRCP</i> , 407	Ebora
Terentia M.f. Tertulla	Manilia C.f. Tusca		<i>CIL</i> II, 5197	Ebora
Iulia T.f. Maxuma	N/A		<i>IRCP</i> , 401	Ebora
Cecia Prisca	Calpurnia T.f. Fufiniana	33	<i>IRCP</i> , 391	Ebora
N/A	N/A		<i>IRCP</i> , 401	Ebora

Table 1.5: Table of descending nuclear dedications at Ebora.

In many ways there is no practical explanation for this phenomenon, which is also similarly seen in the data from Olisipo (see Chapter 4, below). The pronounced frequency of descending nuclear dedications between parents and their adult children at Ebora indisputably reflects cultural factors, dispelling any attribution to demographic variables. In this case, relations between parents and their children appear to be highly cherished in this civic community, to the extent that this has resulted in a higher regional percentage of descending nuclear dedications for the entire *conventus* region. Likewise, the relative absence of ascending nuclear dedications at Ebora accounts for the anomalously low percentage of these relations recorded in the *conventus* as a whole. The pattern of relations expressed at Pax Iulia more closely follow the wider patterns observed by Saller and Shaw for the whole of the Hispanic provinces.

While the conclusions from our quantitative analysis of expressions of family relations on epitaphs in the *Conventus Pacensis* give insight into some anomalous trends when compared to regional averages, relations alone do not provide enough context to understand the extent to which these patterns reflect acculturative processes within the region. For that reason, a discussion of onomastic patterns in the region is necessary to evaluate the linguistic and structural elements of personal names of individuals mentioned in funerary inscriptions expressing family relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

Conventus Pacensis: Linguistic Name Elements

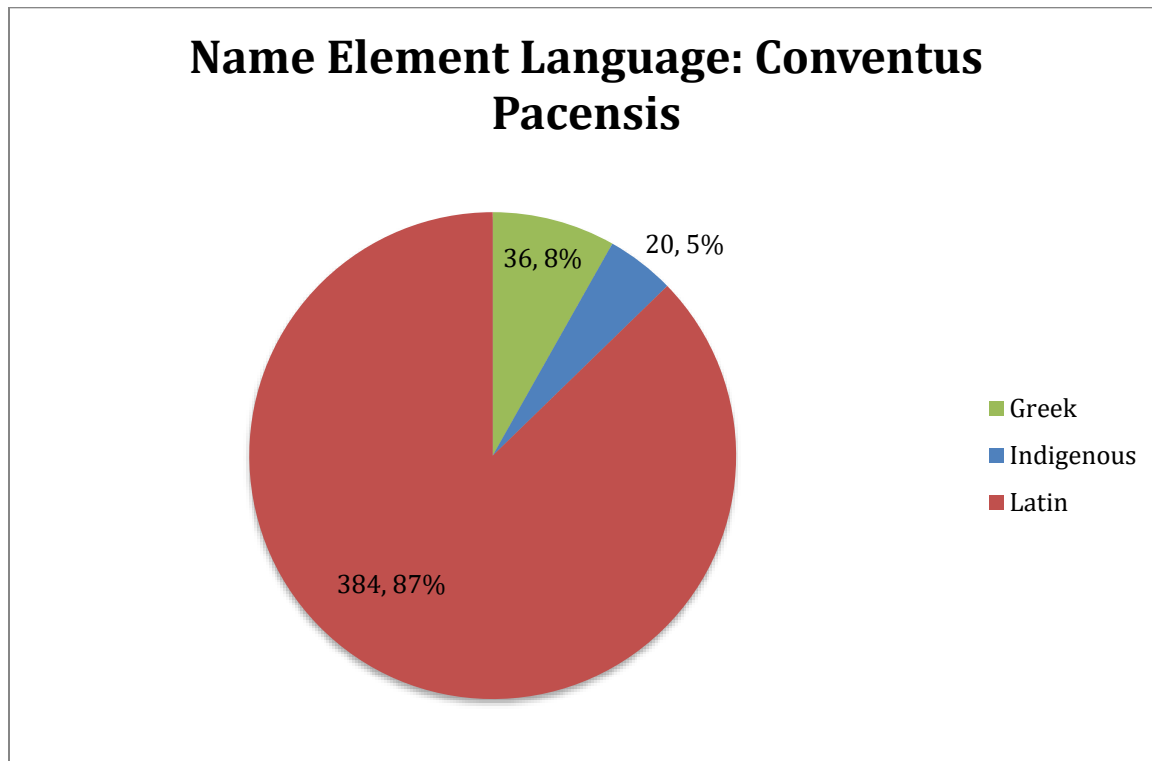


Figure 1.9: Linguistic attributes of name elements in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

Of the 133 funerary inscriptions expressing family relations, a total of 440 name elements were identifiable (fig. 1.9). These name elements included single names, *nomina*, and *cognomina*. Of these, the linguistic origin of each name element was recorded and these have been categorized as

either Latin, Greek, or indigenous.¹²⁴ Of the name elements held by individuals expressing family relations, Latin was clearly the most common, accounting for 384 (87%) of all name elements, while Greek and indigenous name elements accounted for 36 (8%) and 20 (5%), respectively.

The linguistic attributes of these name elements show a high degree of Latinization among the population, with relatively few indigenous name elements appearing among dedicators of funerary monuments and their deceased relatives.¹²⁵ While proximity to Mediterranean trade and communication routes may have contributed, other factors likely played a more significant role. In particular, communities like Pax Iulia became Roman colonies settled by veterans and immigrants, many originating from Italy under Augustus. The process of colonization introduced a substantial population with Latin or Italian onomastics, directly influencing the local naming landscape. Additionally, the Roman conquest of the region in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE brought an influx of Romans and Italians who often remained in the peninsula, marrying local women and further accelerating Latinization. Although coastal trade and riverine connections may have impacted certain sites, such as Olisipo (which was not in the *Conventus Pacensis*) or the river ports of Salacia and Myrtilis, these influences were likely less pronounced in the more agriculturally focused interior communities of the *Conventus Pacensis*. It should also be noted that the relatively small number of funerary inscriptions currently recorded and published for the entire *conventus* region results in a limited and uneven sample of evidence, spread across more than a dozen civic communities. A closer analysis of concentrations of inscriptions will help determine whether these general trends hold true across the region or whether notable variations exist. As was the case with expressions of family relations, inscriptions from Ebora and Pax Iulia provided

¹²⁴ The linguistic categories for personal name elements here follow the most recent onomastic studies and ongoing research projects, which include: the *AALR* (2003); Vallejo Ruiz (2005); Vallejo Ruiz (2016); and the ADOPIA project: <http://adopia.huma-num.fr/en/>.

¹²⁵ Mantas (2003) pp. 11-12; Mantas (2008-2009) pp. 245-246; Mantas (2012).

the majority of name elements for this study, and accordingly, the linguistic composition of each community will be discussed individually.

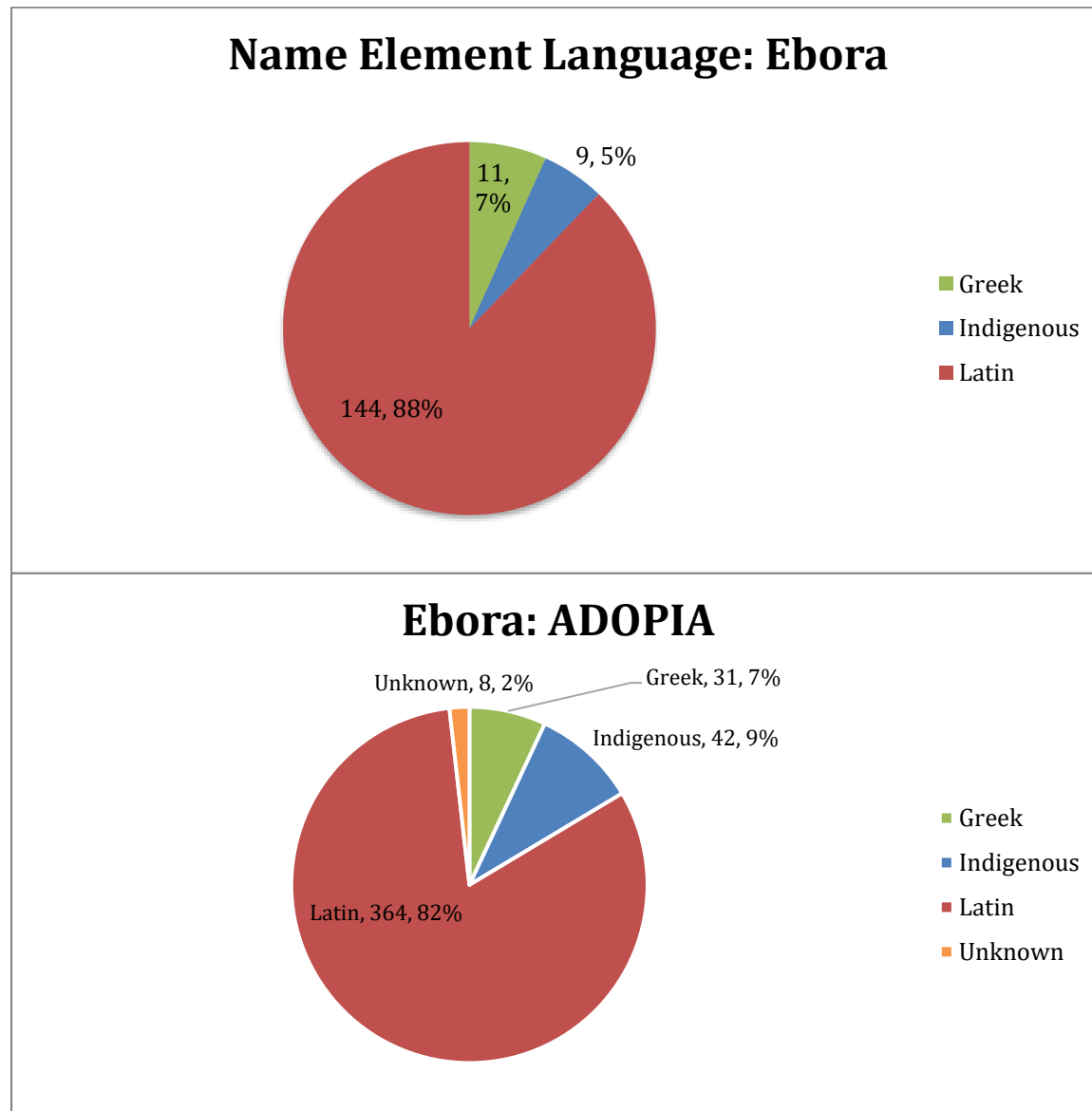


Figure 1.10: Linguistic attributes of name elements at Ebora (compared to comprehensive linguistic data from ADOPIA- data collected May 2022)

The name elements attributed to the civic community of Ebora accounted for 164 of the 440 name elements recorded from inscriptions with family relations across the entire *Conventus Pacensis* and for the most part, the linguistic elements follow the same pattern as those for the

whole *conventus* region (fig. 1.10). Latin name elements accounted for 144 (88%) followed by Greek and indigenous name elements with 11 (7%) and 9 (5%) attestations, respectively. Compared to the rest of the region, all of these values fall within two percent of the values recorded for the entirety of the *Conventus Pacensis*. These data indicate a high degree of Latinization, a relatively high number of Greek name elements, and few attestations of indigenous name elements. When compared with comprehensive linguistic data from the ADOPIA onomastic project, which involve all known inscriptions and not just those funerary texts that include evidence about family relations, a slightly higher percentage of indigenous names are attested.

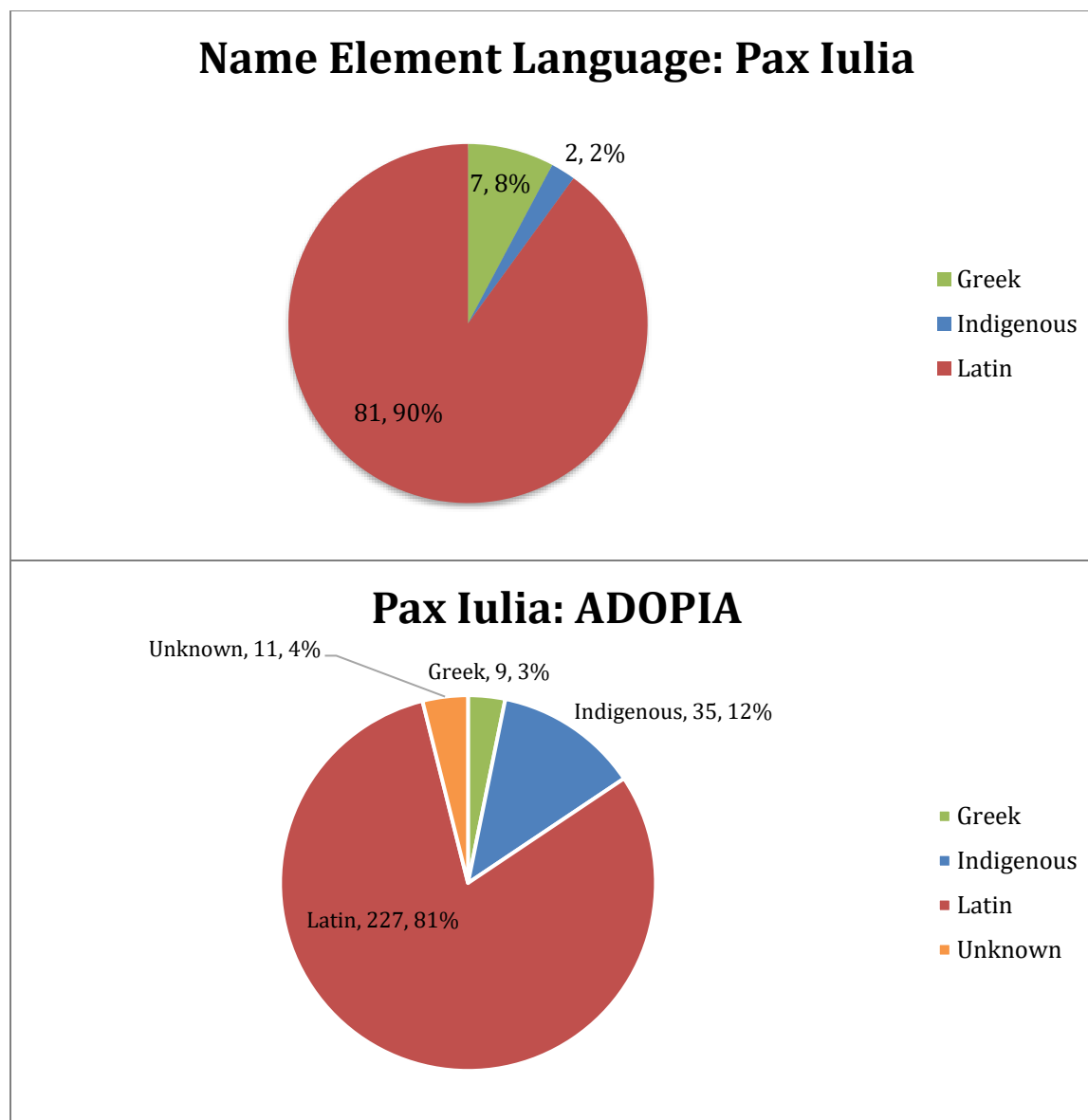


Figure 1.11: Linguistic attributes of name elements at Pax Iulia (compared to comprehensive linguistic data from ADOPIA – data collected May 2022)

Pax Iulia, likewise, follows a similar pattern when it comes to the linguistic attributes of name elements (fig. 1.11). Latin name elements accounted for 81 (90%) attestations, while Greek and indigenous name elements accounted for 7 (8%) and 2 (2%) attestations, respectively. Much like Ebora, both Latin and Greek name elements at Pax Iulia closely resemble the linguistic data from the rest of the *conventus* region. Indigenous name elements, however, account for an even

smaller percentage at Pax Iulia than at Ebora and the rest of the *conventus*. Little else can be said about the numeric data concerning the linguistic attributes of name elements at Pax Iulia. As with Ebora and the *conventus*, there appears to be a high degree of Latinization at Pax Iulia, which is not surprising since it was a *colonia* and the capital of the *conventus*. A subsequent look at the structural attributes of personal name elements will provide a further basis upon which to examine the social and juridical status of individuals in the *Conventus Pacensis*. When compared with comprehensive linguistic data from the ADOPIA project, a much higher percentage of indigenous names are attested in the comprehensive data. This, along with a similar phenomenon at Ebora, could indicate that individuals with linguistically indigenous name elements were less likely to express family relations on their funerary monuments. Moreover, in the case of Pax Iulia, individuals with linguistically Greek name elements appear more likely to express family relations on their funerary monuments.

Conventus Pacensis: Name Structure

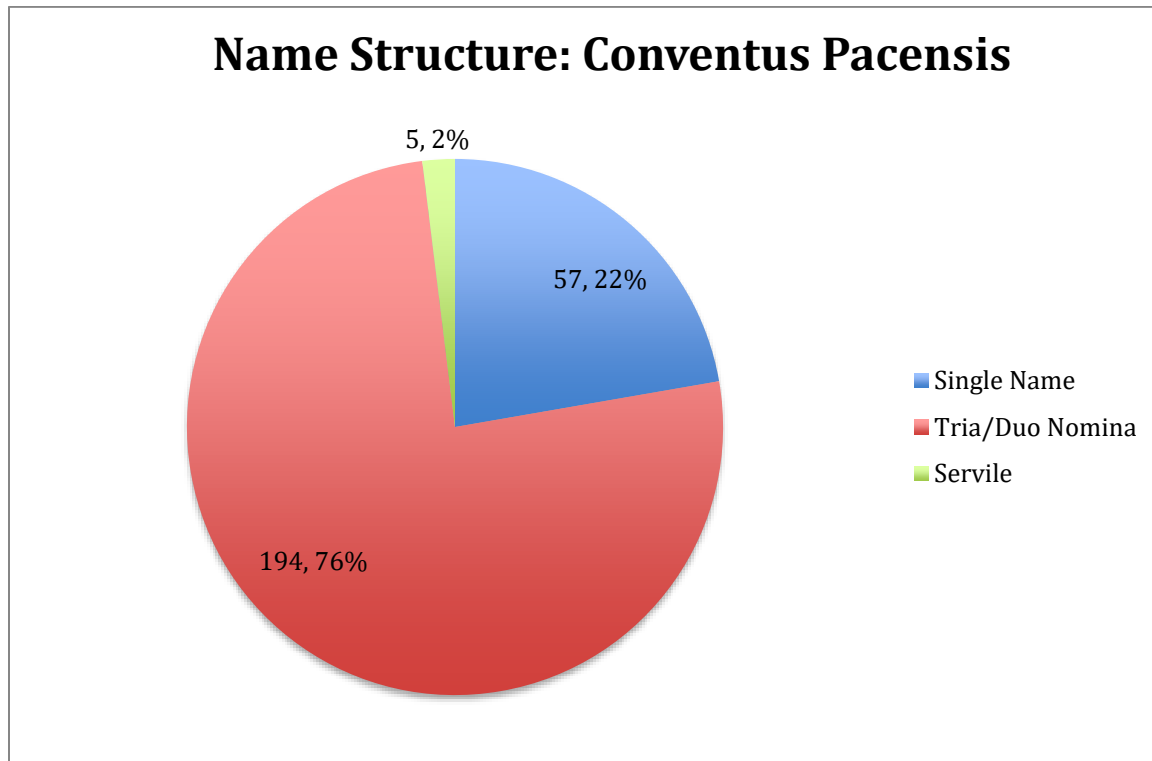


Figure 1.12: Personal name structure in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

Of the 133 inscriptions expressing family relations, 256 individuals were identified. 194 (76%) of these individuals had *tria/duo nomina*, 57 (22%) had single names, and 5 (2%) were of servile status, i.e., had single names with an indication of their servile status (fig. 1.12). Compared to the other regions discussed in this study, the *Conventus Pacensis* region has the second highest percentage of individuals with *tria/duo nomina*, behind Olisipo. Based on this, the majority of individuals expressing family relations in the *Conventus Pacensis* either held Latin status or were full Roman citizens, showing a high degree of enfranchisement. Nevertheless, individuals possessing single names still accounted for almost one quarter of the sample. The percentage of individuals of servile status is conspicuously low since I have only recorded cases in which servile status is absolutely verifiable. While there are many probable or possible attestations of slave status, I have adopted a minimalist approach to the identification of the servile population.

Nevertheless, there was most surely a more significant population of slaves in the province of Lusitania.¹²⁶ Since the inscriptions from which the onomastic data were collected were most highly concentrated at both Ebora and Pax Iulia, a separate discussion of name structure at these civic communities will provide a clearer picture of regional variation in name structure in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

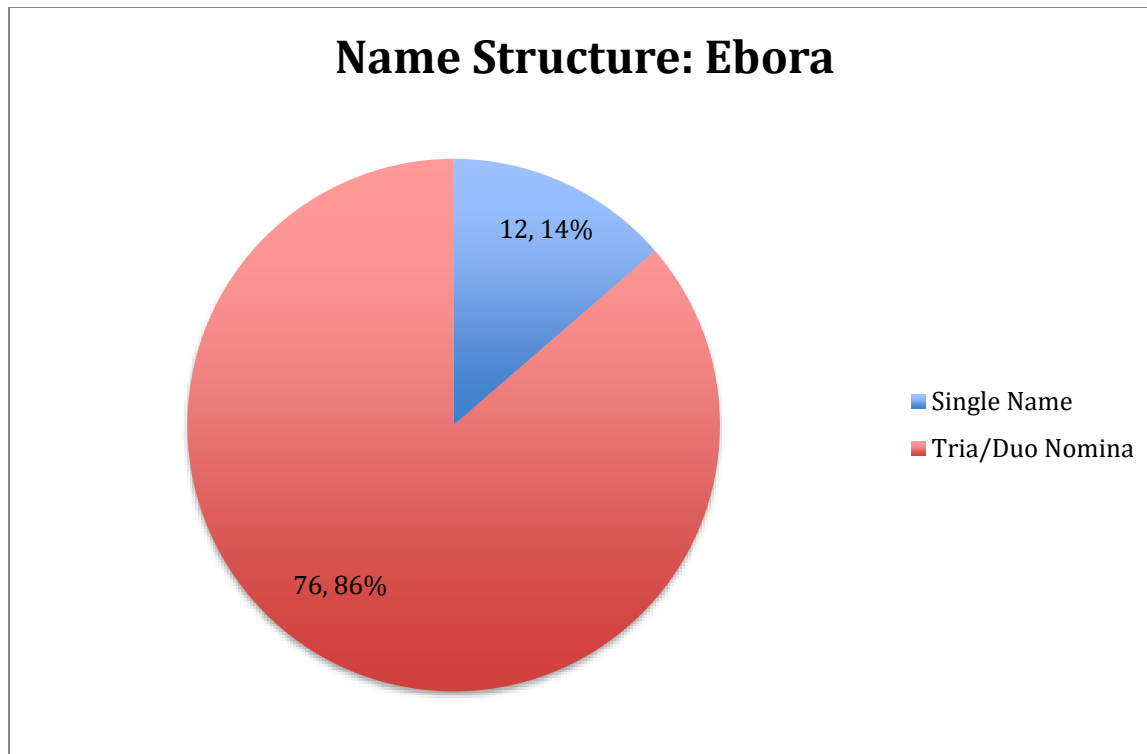


Figure 1.13: Personal name structure at Ebora.

Of all the civic communities in the *Conventus Pacensis* the highest number of individuals were identified at Ebora and its territory (fig. 1.13). A total of 88 individuals were identified, 76 (86%) of whom had *tria/duo nomina* and 12 (14%) of whom had single names. Of all these individuals, none appear to have been of servile status. Compared to the rest of the region, Ebora has a higher percentage of *tria/duo nomina* and a lower percentage of single names, indicating that

¹²⁶ This approach follows that of Leonard Curchin, who also acknowledges that a detailed demographic history of the servile population in Lusitania is impossible. Curchin (2017) pp. 82-83.

the majority of individuals holding single names were situated elsewhere in the *conventus*. Since Eborac was granted *municipium* status in the Augustan period, this clearly resulted in the proliferation of *tria/nomina* among *Latini* and newly enfranchised *cives Romani* during the late 1st century BCE and the early 1st century CE and, hence, a higher percentage of *tria/duo nomina* in the onomastic record. Compared to the Flavian *municipia* discussed in this study (see Chapters 2 and 3, below), a very high percentage of individuals at Eborac hold *tria/duo nomina*, which clearly indicates that the conferral of Latin status, in particular, had a direct effect on the structure of personal names. Oddly enough, the percentage of *tria/duo nomina* at Eborac is higher than the percentage observed at Pax Iulia, the *conventus* capital of the region.

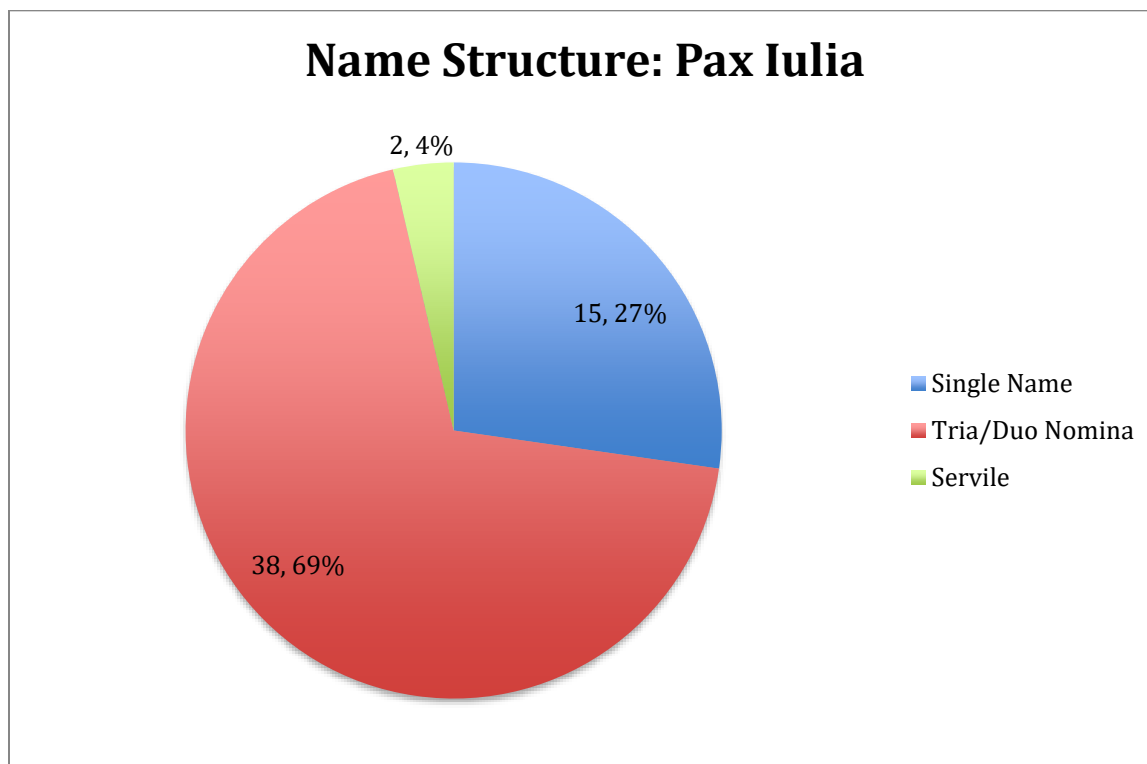


Figure 1.14: Personal name structure at Pax Iulia.

Significantly fewer individuals were identified in the corpus of inscriptions expressing family relations at Pax Iulia (fig. 1.14). Of the 55 individuals identified, 38 (69%) had *tria/duo nomina*, 15 (27%) had single names, and 2 (4%) were of servile status. Oddly, the percentage of

single names at Pax Iulia, the *conventus* capital of the region, was higher than the percentage at Ebora, a *municipium*. While it is plausible that some of the individuals with single name were simply slaves whose status is not explicitly stated in the inscriptions, we cannot know for sure whether these are *peregrini* or slaves. Nevertheless, a significant sample of single names at a civic community with *colonia* status is not unparalleled. For example, Norba Caesarina, another *colonia* discussed in this dissertation (see chapter 2), also exhibited a high percentage of single names in its onomastic sample.

The quantitative onomastic data from Ebora, Pax Iulia, and the *conventus* region as a whole clearly indicate that many people in the *Conventus Pacensis* had taken *tria/duo nomina*. With the majority of individuals attested in funerary inscriptions holding *tria/duo nomina* it is safe to say that by the 1st century CE many people, at the very least in Ebora and Pax Iulia, were either *Latini* or full Roman citizens who had adopted this naming structure.¹²⁷ The relatively early promotion of Ebora to *municipium* status and the fact that Pax Iulia was a Roman *colonia* most definitely contributed greatly to this pattern, not to mention the fact that these two communities account for 72/133 (54%) of all inscriptions expressing family relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*. With the quantitative evidence having been discussed, a further discussion of the qualitative elements of these personal names will be necessary.

Personal Names and Family Relations: *Conventus Pacensis*

Now that family relations and the attributes of personal name elements have been discussed, it is necessary to compare both sets of data to determine if there is a correlation between the types of relations being expressed and the onomastic attributes of both dedicators and the deceased, i.e.,

¹²⁷ De Faria (1999) p. 33; Ribeiro (1999) fig. 14.

whether the names that individuals bore – Latin, Indigenous, or Greek – helped to determine patterns in commemorative practices among family members.

For this section of the discussion, the linguistic attributes of the given names (i.e., only single names and *cognomina*) of both dedicators and the deceased have been separated based on the type of relation expressed (e.g., conjugal, descending nuclear, siblings, etc.). Since *nomina* are almost exclusively Latin in the onomastic sample recorded for this study and they are either inherited or chosen from a limited range of options at the moment when an individual first assumed the *tria nomina*, I have decided to focus solely on the linguistic elements of given names which include single names and *cognomina*, names given to children by their parents. In my analysis, the given name elements are either categorized as “Greek”, “Latin”, or “Indigenous”, or in cases where the given name is not discernible, attestations are listed as “Null” (Table 1.6).

It is immediately apparent that the majority of the deceased (127/178) had a Latin given name, which is not surprising since the majority of name elements in this sample were linguistically Latin (fig. 1.19). The majority of deceased persons with a Latin given name received commemorations from one or both parents; these account for 47 of the 60 descending nuclear dedications. This is interesting since one of the notable patterns of descending nuclear dedications in the region is the prevalence among them of descending nuclear dedications to adult children, particularly at Ebora, but also observed elsewhere in Lusitania. We can confirm, therefore, that the descending nuclear dedications to adult children in the *Conventus Pacensis* mainly occurred between parents and children with Latin given names. The majority (29/47) were between parents with Latin given names and children with the same. Moreover, there were an additional fifteen cases (15/47) of descending nuclear dedications in which the given name of the dedicator could not be identified.

Relations and Name Elements: *Conventus Pacensis*

Dedicators	Deceased				
	Greek	Indigenous	Latin	Null	Total
Conjugal	7	3	30	4	44
Greek	1		10	1	12
Indigenous			1		1
Latin	5	2	14	2	23
Null	1	1	5	1	8
Descending Nuclear	4	2	47	7	60
Greek	3				3
Indigenous			3		3
Latin		2	29	4	35
Null	1		15	3	19
Ascending Nuclear	3	2	13	2	20
Greek			3		3
Latin	2		10		12
Null	1	2		2	5
Siblings	3	2	8	2	15
Greek	2				2
Indigenous				1	1
Latin	1		8		9
Null		2		1	3
Descending Extended			4		4
Greek			1		1
Indigenous			1		1
Latin			2		2
Ascending Extended			4	3	7
Latin			3		3
Null			1	3	4
Lateral Extended			3		3
Indigenous			1		1
Latin			2		2
Amici			4		4
Greek			1		1
Latin			3		3
Heir			4	3	7
Latin			4	2	6
Null				1	1
Servile	1		4		5
Greek			2		2
Indigenous	1				1
Latin			2		2
Self	1	1	6	1	9
Greek	1				1
Indigenous		1			1
Latin			6		6
Null				1	1
Grand Total	19	10	127	22	178

Table 1.6: Table of relations vs. given name of deceased & dedicator.

With only 10 of the deceased and only 10 of the dedicators having indigenous given names, it is clear that individuals with indigenous given names were not subjects of funerary commemoration very often in the *Conventus Pacensis* (Table 1.6). While dedicators and deceased with indigenous name elements appear in most relation categories, they are sporadic with less than three attestations in each category.

Expressions of family relations involving Greek name elements, however, show some interesting patterns. In particular, Greek given names appear most frequently in conjugal dedications in the *Conventus Pacensis* and represent 18 out of 44 (41%) of all conjugal relations expressed in the region. The majority of these conjugal dedications were between partners with linguistically different given names (i.e., Dedicator: Greek; Deceased: Latin, etc). With most of these conjugal dedications, however, the dedicator had a Greek given name and the deceased a Latin one. With only 7 deceased conjugal partners and 12 dedicators with Greek names, individuals with Greek given names were more likely to be dedicators of conjugal commemorations than recipients. A statistical analysis comparing the relationship between Greek onomastic elements and conjugal dedications in the *Conventus Pacensis* yielded a very high statistical confidence level of 99.9% ($P = 0.001$). This indicates that there is indeed a statistically significantly positive correlation between Greek name elements and acts of conjugal funerary dedications in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

Additionally, I have been careful not to indiscriminately equate Greek name elements with individuals of servile status, since individuals of servile status undoubtedly possessed Latin and indigenous name elements as well.¹²⁸ Moreover, recent study by Leonard Curchin has demonstrated that descending nuclear dedications were most common among the servile

¹²⁸ Solin (1971) pp. 146-158.

population in Lusitania.¹²⁹ Although there are some examples of descending nuclear dedications between slave parents and their children in the *Conventus Pacensis*, these are still uncommon.¹³⁰

Even though some clear patterns emerge when comparing family relations and onomastic data, the funerary evidence from the *Conventus Pacensis* is strongly biased toward individuals with Latin given names. There is a clear correlation between having a Latin given name and being involved in descending nuclear dedications, most of which represent commemorations between parents and their adult children. Many of these dedications are concentrated in Ebora, highlighting enduring and close ties within nuclear families, especially between parents and children even after the children reached marriageable age. Notably, with the exception of four cases, nearly all descending nuclear dedications involved individuals with Latin given names. Jonathan Edmondson has previously argued persuasively that the emphasis on parent-child commemorations in agriculturally rich communities is related to the need to legitimize property transfer within land-owning families, and I am in agreement with this explanation. However, my findings also indicate that the linguistic aspect is significant. In other words, it is not only social and economic factors that shape which family relations are commemorated, but also the degree of cultural and linguistic integration. The fact that these dedications overwhelmingly feature Latin names suggests that public commemorative practices and the value attached to certain family bonds were more prevalent or visible among individuals who had adopted a Romanized identity. This connection between the predominant use of Latin names and the emphasis on nuclear family ties points to a deeper interrelation between linguistic identity and social practice, adding further

¹²⁹ Curchin (2017) p. 99.

¹³⁰ Examples include: Amoena for her son *Ruga Q. Iuli Halli ser(vus)* at Pax Iulia: *IRCP*, 359; Amoena for her son *Amoenus Iuliae ser(vus)* at Ammaia: *CIL* II, 161.

complexity to our understanding of the cultural factors influencing family commemoration in these communities.¹³¹

Although the scarcity of tombstones recording family relationships involving people with indigenous given names allows no definite conclusions, the prevalence of Greek given names among dedicators and the deceased of conjugal dedications show an additional correlation between linguistic name elements and the expression of family relations. In this case, conjugal dedications involving people with Greek given names clearly emphasize the importance of conjugal relations among this sample. A plausible explanation is that some of these individuals were freedpersons. Since freedpersons often lacked the kind of formally commemorative parental framework available to the freeborn, spouses may have been more likely commemorators than parents, which would help explain the prominence of conjugal dedications in this group. Nevertheless, Greek names cannot be equated automatically with servile or freed status, and migration or other forms of cultural contact may also have contributed to this pattern. That having been said, the realities of family life are complex and the name elements of members in the same family are not always linguistically homogenous. Many of the funerary dedications discussed in this chapter and the others involve acts of collective commemoration, in which one or more family members commemorate one or more of their deceased relatives. Especially in dedications involving parents and children, which make up the majority of dedications, the linguistic attributes of personal name elements can show changes between generations. It is through these qualities, which are only observable within a family context, that funerary inscriptions can show the ways in which personal name elements can change within a nuclear family as new generations are born and named.

¹³¹ Jonathan Edmondson discusses both the prominence of parent–child commemorations in agrarian communities and the connection between linguistic identity and commemorative practices in Lusitania. Edmondson (2005) p. 200-201.

Qualitative Discussion: *Conventus Pacensis*

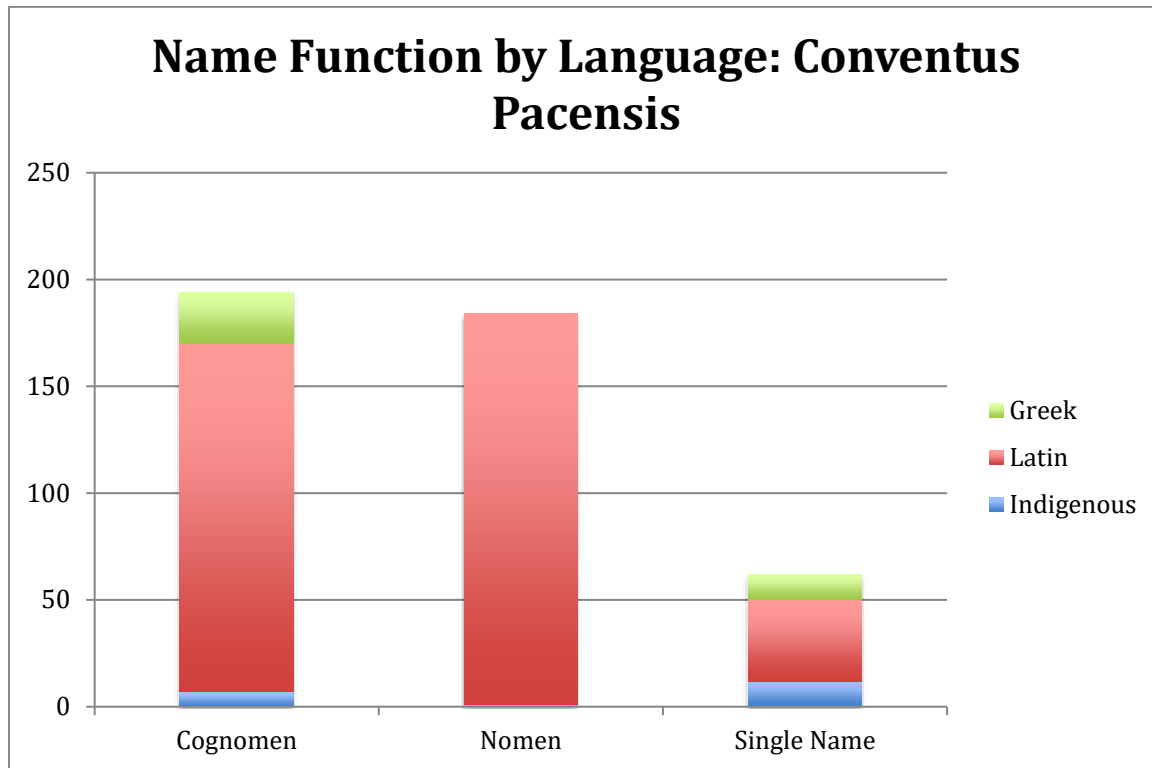


Figure 1.15: Name function separated by language in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

Latin *nomina* and *cognomina* were the most commonly attested name elements in the *Conventus Pacensis*, which is not surprising since *nomina* are almost always accompanied by a corresponding *cognomen* to form a full Roman personal name. In some cases, however *nomina* might be excluded or implied for individuals mentioned in inscriptions (fig. 1.15). Naturally, it is possible in many cases to infer a *nomen* from the name elements of other family relations expressed in the same commemorative text. For this reason, there were 194 *cognomina* attested and only 184 *nomina* in this sample. *Nomina* tend to be linguistically Latin, with only one indigenous *nomen* attested. *Cognomina*, although mainly Latin in this region, were also Greek or indigenous in a number of cases. Single names, on the other hand, only accounted for 62 personal names in the sample, the majority of which were Latin with a substantial number of Greek and indigenous single names. Since linguistically indigenous names are generally uncommon in the corpus of

inscriptions expressing family relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*, they will be discussed all together.

<i>Conventus Pacensis</i>: Indigenous Name Elements			
<i>Cognomina</i>			
CILEVS, -A	Turrana <u>Cilea</u>	Ammaia	<i>HEp</i> 2009, 583
LOVESIVS, -A	Iulia <u>Lobessa</u>	Pax Iulia	<i>CIL</i> II, 79
BOVTIVS, -A	Baebia <u>Boutia</u>	Ebora (T)	<i>IRCP</i> , 467
CAMIRVS, -A	Mani[a] Mani f. <u>Camira</u>	Ebora (T)	<i>IRCP</i> , 460
CATVENVS, -A	Iulia B[--- f.] <u>Gatuen[a]</u>	Ebora (T)	<i>IRCP</i> , 452
BOVTIVS, -A	Luriae T.f. <u>Boutiae</u>	Ebora	<i>CIL</i> II, 123
TANCINVS, -A	C. Vibius <u>Tancinus</u>	Ebora	<i>CIL</i> II, 119
<i>Nomina</i>			
MAELIVS, -A	<u>Maelia</u> Tertulla M.f.	Ebora	<i>CIL</i> II, 121
Single Names			
DVATIVS, -A	<u>Duatius</u> Aviti f.	Ammaia	<i>IRCP</i> , 644
VIRANIVS, -A	<u>Virani</u>	Ammaia	<i>IRCP</i> , 627
ARANTA	<u>Aranta</u> Virani [f.]	Ammaia	<i>IRCP</i> , 627
DOBITERVS, -A	<u>Dobiteri</u>	Ammaia	<i>IRCP</i> , 627
ANCEITVS, -A	<u>Anceiti</u>	Ammaia	<i>IRCP</i> , 621
LOVESIVS, -A	<u>Lovesio</u> Anceiti f.	Ammaia	<i>IRCP</i> , 621
CAMVLIVS, -A	<u>Camuli</u>	Ammaia (T)	<i>IRCP</i> , 578
TAPORVS	<u>Tapori</u>	Ebora	<i>CIL</i> II, 6263
CILEVS, -A	<u>Cilei</u>	Ebora	<i>IRCP</i> , 416
APANO	<u>Apano</u> Cilei f.	Ebora	<i>IRCP</i> , 416
ANCEITVS, -A	[An]ceitus	Metallum Vipacense	<i>IRCP</i> , 140

Table 1.7: Indigenous name elements in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

Immediately, it becomes clear that most of the linguistically indigenous name elements in this sample are concentrated at Ebora and Ammaia, with only two attestations at Pax Iulia and one each at Metallum Vipacense and Aritium Vetus (Table 1.7). At Ebora, indigenous name elements mostly function in the form of *cognomina* (e.g., Baebia Boutia, Mani[a] Mani f. Camira, Iulia B[--- f.] Gatuen[a], Luria T.f. Boutia, and C. Vibius Tancinus).¹³² In some cases, it is possible to observe inter-generational shifts in naming practice with the appearance of patronymics in the

¹³² *IRCP*, 467; *IRCP*, 460; *IRCP*, 452; *CIL* II, 123; *CIL* II, 119.

genitive case alongside *tria nomina*. For example, Taporus, who buried his son C. Iulius Proculus Tapori f., is known to us because his name appeared in the form of a patronymic.¹³³ Taporus appears to have been of peregrine, or possibly Latin, status since he held a single name, whereas his son had already adopted the *tria nomina* likely following the promotion of Ebora to *municipium* status. A similar case at Ebora shows a mother, Baebia Boutia, whose *cognomen* is linguistically indigenous, making a funerary dedication to her son, Q. Romanus Q.f. Gal. Tuscus, who was explicitly a Roman citizen, as his tribal designation as a member of the Galeria voting tribe makes clear.¹³⁴ This is another example of a case in which cross-generational relations, in this case between mother and son, exhibit bi-cultural elements of naming practice in which a parent and child have linguistically different given names. Of course, we can see that Tuscus's father was a Q. Romanus, though we cannot recover his *cognomen* to see if it was Latin or indigenous. These cases illustrate the complexity of relations between individuals and bi-cultural elements of their personal names when viewed in tandem.

Expressions of conjugal relations, likewise, demonstrate that conjugal partners could also have differing linguistic elements in their personal names. For example, G. Iulius L.f. Gal. Severus' funerary dedication from Ebora to his wife Luria T.f. Boutia demonstrates this.¹³⁵ Although both conjugal partners have *tria/duo nomina* as one might expect, their given names are linguistically different and represent a bicultural element when examined within the context of their relationship to each other. On the one hand the husband was a Roman citizen (*Galeria tribu*) with a fully Latin name, whereas his wife had a bicultural name. From a qualitative standpoint,

¹³³ CIL II, 6263: *C(aius) Iulius Proculus Tapori f(ilius) an(norum) XX h(ic) s(itus) e(st) cur(avit) pater.*

¹³⁴ IRCP, 467: *Q(uintus) Romanus Q(uinti) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Tuscus an(norum) XVII Baebia Boutia f(ilio) f(aciendum) c(uravit).*

¹³⁵ CIL II, 123: *Luriae T(iti) f(iliae) Boutiae / G(aius) Iulius L(uci) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Severus / uxori sibi suisque f(aciendum) c(uravit).*

these instances complicate traditional quantitative analyses of personal names since these linguistic elements would simply be counted separately in a purely onomastic study. When the additional social lens of family relations is introduced and personal names are discussed with context in relation to each other, personal name elements cease to be viewed in homogenous groups, and we see the extent to which individuals with these different name elements were socially connected.

Apano Cilei f. receives a commemoration from his sister, and based on Apano's single name as well as the single name of his father Cileus, it is clear that both of them at this early stage in Ebora's civic promotion had not yet adopted the *tria nomina*. Even the only example of an indigenous *nomen* in the *Conventus Pacensis* (Maelia Tertulla M.f.) is from Ebora and, again, dates to the first half of the 1st century CE.¹³⁶ All of these examples illustrate that in the early stages of its civic promotion, individuals with structurally and linguistically indigenous single names were living among others who had begun to adopt the *tria nomina* at the outset of the 1st century CE. Moreover, they also show that linguistically indigenous name elements at Ebora all date to the early 1st century CE and were probably already falling out of use in the region at this time.

Indigenous name elements at Ammaia, on the other hand, were primarily single names with the exception of one indigenous *cognomen*, Turrania Cilea.¹³⁷ Again, most of these inscriptions can be dated to the 1st century CE, indicating that many of these linguistically indigenous names were not maintained beyond then.

Latin name elements were by far the most common in the *Conventus Pacensis*, most frequently appearing as components of *tria nomina*. Aside from only one indigenous *gentilicium*,

¹³⁶ CIL II, 121: *Maelia Tertulla L(ucius) Caecilius C(ai) f(ilius) uxori fe(cit)*.

¹³⁷ HEp 2009, 583: *M(arco) Iunio Quir(ina) Gallo Ilvir(o) Turrania Cilea genero*.

all of the other *nomina* recorded in this sample were linguistically Latin. Of these name elements, 73 different *nomina* were identified, many of which were attested multiple times (Table 1.8). Of the different *nomina* a number of them were attested on more than five occasions each; these included: IVLIVS, -A (45), VALERIVS, -A (9), IVNIVS, -A (6), and CALPVRNIVS, -A (6). It is immediately clear that the *nomen* IVLIVS, -A is by far the most common of all the *nomina* with 45 attestations in the sample. Of the 45 attestations of the *gentilicium* IVLIVS, -A, 35 of them are attributed to either Ebora or Pax Iulia, which is unsurprising since these communities account for the two major concentrations of inscriptions in the entire *conventus* region. Since Ebora received *municipium* status under Augustus and Pax Iulia was founded under Iulius Caesar, the rôle of the *gens* Iulia in the promotion of these communities clearly had its effect on the personal names of newly enfranchised *Latini* and *cives Romani* who lived there. The other popular *nomina*, however, were distributed sporadically between all of the civic communities and showed no discernible pattern of distribution.

Conventus Pacensis: Latin

Nomina

AELIVS, -A	1	CASSIVS, -A	1	LABERIVS, -A	1	SCRIBONIVS, -A	3
AEMILIVS, -A	4	CASTRICIVS, -A	3	LIBVRNIVS, -A	2	SERTORIVS, -A	1
AGRIVS, -A	2	CATINIVS, -A	2	LVRIA	1	SESTIVS, -A	1
ALFIVS, -A	1	CATVRICVS, -A	3	MANILIVS, -A	2	SVLPICIVS, -A	3
ALLIVS, -A	1	CECIVS, -A	1	MANIVS, -A	2	TERENTIVS, -A	1
ANNIVS, -A	2	CLAVIDIVS, -A	1	MARIVS, -A	3	TVLLIVS, -A	4
ANONIVS, -A	1	CLODIVS, -A	1	MERANIVS, -A	1	TVRRANIVS, -A	2
ANTONIVS, -A	3	COCCEIVS, -A	1	MINATIVS, -A	1	VALERIVS, -A	9
AQVILIVS, -A	1	COCILICIVS, -A	2	MISINIVS, -A	1	VIBIVS, -A	1
ARTVLLIVS, -A	1	CORNELIVS, -A	5	MVMMIVS, -A	4	VIVENNIVS, -A	1
ATILIVS, -A	2	FABIVS, -A	2	NORBANVS, -A	2	VOCONIVS, -A	1
AVRELIVS, -A	3	FABRICIVS, -A	2	PACCIVS, -A	1	VOCONIVS, -A	1
BAEBIVS, -A	1	FIRMIDIVS, -A	1	PAGVSICVS, -A	3		
BLAESIDIENVS, -A	2	FLAVIVS, -A	2	PETICIVS, -A	1		
BLOSSIVS, -A	1	FLORICA	1	PETRONIVS, -A	1		
CAECILIVS, -A	3	FVLVIVS, -A	1	PORCIVS, -A	1		
CAESIVS, -A	2	GALLEVS, -A	1	PROPINIVS, -A	1		
CALLAEVS, -A	1	HERENNIVS, -A	2	PVBLCIVS, -A	1		
CALPVRNIVS, -A	6	IVLIVS, -A	45	QVINTIVS, -A	2		
CANIDIVS, -A	1	IVNIVS, -A	6	ROMANIVS, -A	1		

Table 1.8: Latin *nomina* in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

Conversely, there were more attestations of Latin *cognomina* in the corpus of inscriptions expressing family relations due to cases in which the *nomen* of the dedicator or the deceased was either implied or omitted. Since Roman naming structure allows for more variation among *cognomina*, there were a higher number of different *cognomina* (Table 1.9). Nonetheless, a number of these name elements were more popular than others and had multiple attestations. Some of the ubiquitous *cognomina* included: AVITVS, -A (6), FVNDANVS, -A (6), MARCELLVS, -A (6), MAXIMVS, -A (14), as well as RVFVS, -A and its diminutive form RVFINVS, -A (10).

Conventus Pacensis: Latin Name Elements

Cognomina					
ACILIANVS, -A	1	LVCIANVS, -A	1	SEVERINVS, -A	1
AEMERITVS, -A	1	LVPATVS, -A	1	SEVERVS, -A	3
ALBINVS, -A	1	LVPERCILLVS, -A	1	SILO	1
ALEXANDINVS, -A	1	LVPVS, -A	1	SVLPICIVS, -A	1
AMOENVS, -A	2	MARCELLVS, -A	6	TERTIVS, -A	1
ATILIANVS, -A	1	MARCIANVS, -A	4	TERTVLLVS, -A	3
AVITVS, -A	6	MARCIVS, -A	1	TVSCVS, -A	3
BADIVS, -A	1	MARINVS, -A	1	VALENS	2
BARBARIO	1	MATERNVS, -A	3	VALERIANVS, -A	2
CAECILIANVS, -A	1	MAVRVS, -A	1	VEGETVS, -A	1
CAESIANVS, -A	1	MAXIMVS, -A	14	VELLICVS, -A	1
CANIDIANVS, -A	1	MODESTIANVS, -A	1	VERECVNDVS, -A	1
CARVS, -A	1	MODESTVS, -A	4	VERNACLVS, -A	3
CATVLLINVS, -A	1	MONI[---]VS	1	VIBIANVS, -A	1
CLARILLVS, -A	1	MVS	1	VICTORNIVS, -A	1
CLARVS, -A	1	NEPOTIANVS, -A	1	VICTVS	1
COLVMBA	1	NIGELLIO	1	VITALIS	1
COMMVNIS	1	NIGER/NIGRA	2		
CORINTHIVS, -A	1	NORBANVS, -A	1		
CRESIMVS, -A	1	PATERNVS, -A	2		
CVPITVS, -A	1	PEREGRINVS, -A	1		
DECVMVS, -A	1	PHANSTIANVS	1		
DEXTER	1	PLACENTIA	1		
DONATVS, -A	1	PRIMVS, -A	1		
FAVSTINVS, -A	2	PRISCION	1		
FELIX	2	PRISCVS, -A	2		
FLAVINVS, -A	1	PROCVLVS, -A	2		
FLAVVS, -A	1	QVINTILIANVS, -A	1		
FRONTO	1	QVINTILLVS, -A	1		
FVNDANVS, -A	6	RELATVS, -A	1		
FVSCVS, -A	1	ROMVLVS, -A	1		
GALLIO	1	RVFINIANVS, -A	1		
GALLVS, -A	3	RVFINVS, -A	5		
GEMINVS, -A	1	RVFVS, -A	5		
HERENNIANVS, -A	1	RVLLVS, -A	1		
IVLIANVS, -A	2	SABINVS, -A	2		
LAETVS, -A	1	SATVLLVS, -A	1		
LEPIDINVS, -A	1	SATVRNINVS, -A	2		
LVCANIO	1	SECVNDINVS, -A	1		
LVCCEIANVS, -A	1	SEVERIANVS, -A	1		

Table 1.9: Latin *cognomina* in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

While attestations of the *cognomina* MARCELLVS, -A and FVNDANVS, -A are more or less sporadic in the province of Lusitania, the popularity of the *cognomina* RVFVS, -A, RVFINVS, -A, AVITVS, -A, and MAXIMVS, -A is a pattern that is typical throughout the province and some have suggested these names constitute Latin names that closely resemble Indigenous names, hence their popularity among locals (Table 1.10).¹³⁸ Moreover, 11/45 (24%) of the individuals with the *nomen* IVLIVS, -A in this sample also held one of these common Latin *cognomina*:

L. Iulius Rufus	Ebora (T)	<i>IRCP</i> , 455a
Iulius Maxumus	Ebora (T)	<i>IRCP</i> , 451
Iulia Aviti f. Avita	Ebora (T)	<i>IRCP</i> , 451
[Iul]ia Rufina	Ebora	<i>CIL</i> II, 124
Iulia T.f. Maxuma	Ebora	<i>IRCP</i> , 401
[Iu]lia Q.f. Avita	Ebora	<i>CIL</i> II, 113
Q. Iul(io) Maximo	Ebora	<i>CIL</i> II, 112
Iulia Rufina	Pax Iulia	<i>IRCP</i> , 329
Iulia C.f. Maxima	Pax Iulia	<i>IRCP</i> , 302
C. Iulio L.f. Gal. Avito	Pax Iulia	<i>IRCP</i> , 265
Iulius Maximus	Salacia	<i>IRCP</i> , 191

Table 1.10: Attestations of AVITVS, -A/RVFVS, -A/MAXIMVS, -A with the *gentilicium* IVLIVS, -A.

Furthermore, the majority of individuals were also from Ebora, the community in which the highest concentration of indigenous *cognomina* also happened to have been identified. The connection between these *cognomina* and linguistically indigenous name elements, at least in the case of Ebora, could represent an additional, if not more clandestine, element of the retention of indigenous naming practice in this area of the *Conventus Pacensis*. Lastly, attestations of single name elements in this sample of individuals, although relatively small in number compared to *nomina* and *cognomina*, were mostly Latin (Table 1.11). Of these name elements, there was only one Latin single name that was attested more than twice, AMOENVVS, -A:

¹³⁸ Abascal Palazón (1994) pp. 31-32.

Conventus Pacensis: Latin

Single Names

ALBVRVS, -A	1	FVSCVS, -A	1	OPTENTIA	1	VEGETVS, -A	1
AMOENVS, -A	3	GALLVS, -A	1	ORICLLO	1	VICTORINVS, -A	1
APVLIA	1	HABITVS, -A	1	PERENNIVS, -A	1		
AVINTINVS, -A	1	HERCVLANVS	1	RVGA	1		
AVITVS, -A	2	MARMORARIVS, -A	1	SALIANVS	1		
CATVLA	1	MARTIALIS	1	SATVLLVS, -A	1		
COGITATVS, -A	1	MAXIMVS, -A	2	SECVNDINVS, -A	1		
COPIRVS	1	MERCATOR	1	SERVILIANVS, -A	1		
DIGNITAS	1	MODESTVS, -A	2	SEVERVS, -A	2		
FABIANVS, -A	1	OCELAECVS	1	SILO	1		

Table 1.11: Latin single names in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

While AMOENVS, -A is one of the most highly attested Latin names in the province of Lusitania, it is still relatively infrequent in the *Conventus Pacensis*, and with only five attestations among both *cognomina* and single names, it does not represent a significant onomastic presence in the *conventus* or any of its communities. In addition, some of the more frequently attested Latin *cognomina* appear among these Latin single names, AVITVS, -A and MAXIMVS, -A, for example. These, likewise, do not represent a significant number of attestations, leaving little else to be said about them.

There were slightly more Greek name elements than indigenous ones in the *Conventus Pacensis* with a total of 36 name elements and only one of them being attested more than once (Table 1.12). The Greek *cognomina* and single name elements attested in this sample of individuals from the *Conventus Pacensis* were as follows:

Conventus Pacensis: Greek Name Elements

Cognomina

AGATE	1	EVTICHES	1	TRYPHON	2
AGATEMERA	1	HEGESISTRATE	1	TYCHE	1
ALEXANDER	1	LAEONICA	1	ZOGRAPHVS	1
ARGYRIVS, -A	1	NYMPHE	1		
ASBESTVS, -A	1	PAEZON	1		
CHAERIS	1	PASTOS	1		
CLEOPATRA	1	PHIALE	1		
ELICON	1	TERPSICORE	1		
EVPREPIVS, -A	1	THALASSINVS	1		
EVREMON	1	THEODORVS	1		
Single Names					
ALCIMIO	1	MVSICE	1		
CALETYCHE	1	PATROCLVS	1		
CRYSEROS	1	PLOCE	1		
EPOLITA	1	SALCEA	1		
HYPNVS	1	SYCECALE	1		
MENELAVS	1	TRICISMA	1		

Table 1.12: Greek name elements in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

Of the various Greek *cognomina* and single names attested in this sample, the majority of these Greek name elements appeared in inscriptions from Ebora (11), Pax Iulia (7), and Balsa (6). Interestingly, the function of these names differed depending on the location. In the case of Ebora, for example, 9/11 of the Greek name elements were *cognomina*, while at Pax Iulia 4/7 were single names. Whether the higher number of Greek single names at Pax Iulia could be attributed to a servile population is unclear and we should be careful of making such assumptions based solely on the linguistic attributes of name elements. In fact, the only Greek name element associated with a servile relation at Pax Iulia was the *cognomen* of a woman, Iulia Terspicore, who made a funerary dedication to her *liberta*, Iulia Paterna, who had fully Latin name elements (Table 1.13).¹³⁹

¹³⁹ IRCP, 263: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) Iulia Paterna ann(or)um XV Iulia Terspichore libertae obsequentissimae h(ic) s(ita) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)*.

**Relations Involving Greek Name Elements:
ConventusPacensis**

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Reference	Location
C. Fabius Relatus	Aemilia Chaeris	Husband to Wife	<i>CIL</i> II, 5168	Balsa
Hypnus	Galla	Husband to Wife	<i>IRCP</i> , 210	Caetobriga
Modestus	Maria Euprepia	Husband to Wife	<i>CIL</i> II, 89	Ebora
Cryseros	Dignitas	Husband to Wife	<i>CIL</i> II, 87	Ebora
Calpurnius Marcianus	Iunia Tyche	Husband to Wife	<i>IRCP</i> , 399	Ebora
Claud(ius) Thalassinus	N/A	Husband to Wife	<i>CIL</i> II, 31	Mirobriga Celtica
Aem(ilius) Euremon	Sestia Aemerita	Husband to Wife	<i>IRCP</i> , 114	Myrtilis
L. Calp(urnius) Theodorus	Caturica Prima	Husband to Wife	<i>CIL</i> II, 4	Ossonoba
Patroclus	Avintina	Husband to Wife	<i>CIL</i> II, 5145	Ossonoba
N/A	Musice	Husband to Wife	<i>IRCP</i> , 358	Pax Iulia
Herennius Priscus	Iul(ia) Cleopatra	Husband to Wife	<i>IRCP</i> , 261	Pax Iulia
Caturica Agatemera	Caturicus Lupatus	Wife to Husband	<i>CIL</i> II, 14	Balsa
Victorina	M(arcus?) Menelaus	Wife to Husband	<i>IRCP</i> , 429	Ebora
Po(mpeia) Phiale	L. F(abius?) Elicon	Wife to Husband	<i>CIL</i> II, 5194	Ebora
Epolita	Fabianus	Wife to Husband	<i>IRCP</i> , 301	Pax Iulia
M. Sulpicius Zographus	Iunia Satulla	Husband to Wife	<i>IRCP</i> , 198	Salacia
Iun(ia) Leonica	Apon(ius) Lupianus	Wife to Husband	<i>CIL</i> II, 122	Ebora
[F]lorice Agate	Oricello	Wife to Husband	<i>IRCP</i> , 259	Pax Iulia
Tryphon	Q. Fabius Tryphon Argyrius	Father to Son	<i>IRCP</i> , 450	Ebora
C(alpurnius) ? Alexander	Cal(purnia) ? Hegesistrate	Father to Daughter	<i>IRCP</i> , 448	Ammaia
Iun(ia) Leonica	Calchisia	Mother to Daughter	<i>CIL</i> II, 122	Ebora
N/A	A(ntonio?) [Heli]ce	Mother to Daughter	<i>IRCP</i> , 298	Pax Iulia
Herculanus	Caletyche	Son to Mother	<i>IRCP</i> , 299	Pax Iulia
Iulius Marcianus	Iulia Laeonica	Son to Mother	<i>CIL</i> II, 36	Salacia
Cocilicia Pastos	G. Cocilicius Fuscus	Daughter to Father	<i>CIL</i> II, 26	Mirobriga Celtica
Allia Nymphe	Vivennia Badia	Daughter to Mother	<i>IRCP</i> , 408	Ebora
N/A	Ploce Ser. F. Catula	Child to Mother	<i>CIL</i> II, 5173	Balsa
N/A	Annia Eutyches	Child to Mother	<i>IRCP</i> , 443	Ebora
Veget[a]	Sycecale	Sister to Sister	<i>AE</i> 1989, 364	Balsa
Salcea	Sycecale	Sister to Sister	<i>AE</i> 1989, 364	Balsa
Tricism[a]	Sycecale	Sister to Sister	<i>AE</i> 1989, 364	Balsa
C. Valerius Paezon	G. Agrius Silo	Friend to Friend	<i>IRCP</i> , 151	Mirobriga Celtica
Iulia Terspicore	Iulia Paterna	Patron to Freedwoman	<i>IRCP</i> , 263	Pax Iulia
C. Valerius Asbestus lib.	C. Valerius Vibianus	Freedman to Patron	<i>IRCP</i> , 160	Mirobriga Celtica
Anniola	Alcimio	Freedwoman to Patron	<i>IRCP</i> , 344	Pax Iulia
M. Sulpicius Zographus	M. Sulpicius Zographus	Self Dedication	<i>IRCP</i> , 198	Salacia

Table 1.13: Conjugal dedications involving individuals with Greek name elements.

Despite only 32 expressions of family relations involving individuals with Greek name elements, 18 (50%) of these relations were between conjugal partners which account for 36% of all conjugal relations expressed in the *Conventus Pacensis* (fig. 1.16). Although Greek name elements only account for a mere 8% (36/440) of the name elements in this sample, individuals possessing these name elements were responsible for more than one third of the inscriptions expressing conjugal relations. Conversely, only two descending nuclear dedications involved individuals with Greek name elements, despite descending nuclear dedications being the most commonly expressed relation in all of the *conventus*.

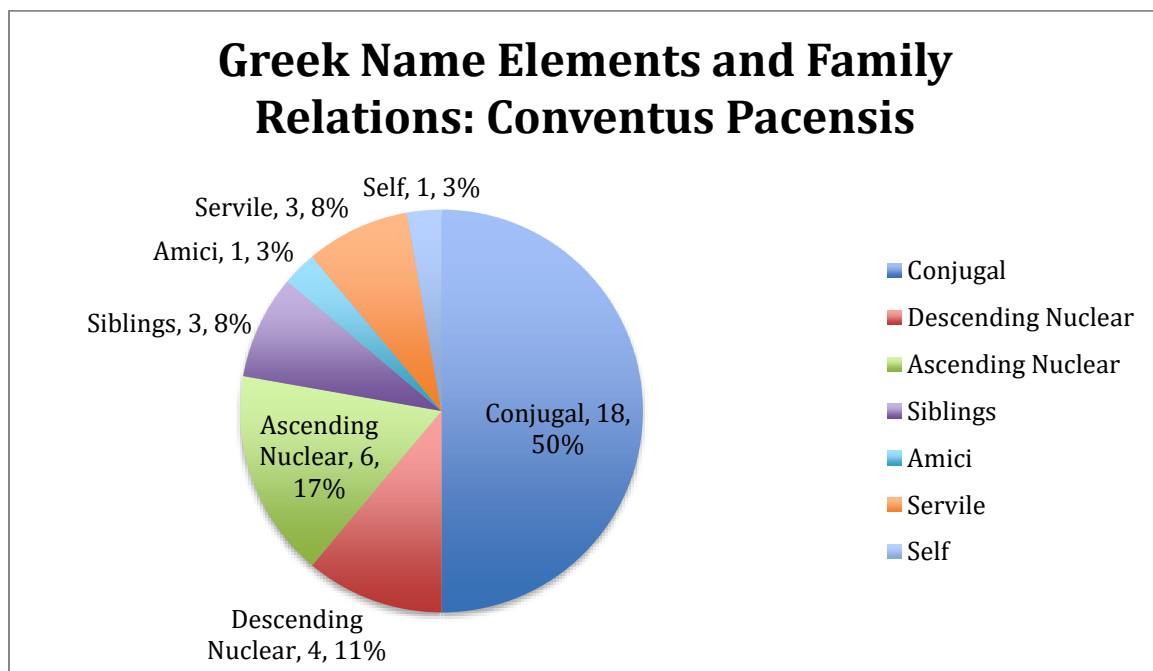


Figure 1.16: Family relations involving Greek name elements in the *Conventus Pacensis*.

There is a definite correlation between individuals with Greek name elements and expressions of relations between conjugal partners in the *Conventus Pacensis*, to such an extent that these relations account for a large quantity of all conjugal relations recorded in this region. As previously argued, the possession of Greek name elements does not necessarily denote servile status or, still less, Greek origin since names may be chosen for individuals based on personal

preference. Nevertheless, there is clearly a pattern among individuals with Greek name elements in the *Conventus Pacensis* that emphasizes relations between conjugal partners. There is also, however, significant overlap between the linguistic attributes of name elements. In many cases, individuals may possess both Latin and Greek name elements (usually when Latin *nomina* are present), and in many cases the relatives of individuals with Greek name elements will have entirely Latin name elements or even indigenous name elements. For this reason, it is difficult to attribute expressions of family relations to one linguistic group since these expressions are formed on a relative basis, usually between two individuals who in many cases have completely different sets of name elements. This is completely typical in most cases and provides an opportunity to examine changes and differences in name elements within a family.

Again, there are possible explanations for the high incidence of conjugal dedications among individuals with linguistically Greek given names, though these explanations should not be treated as mutually exclusive. One possibility is that some of these individuals were enslaved or formerly enslaved. The realities of life under slavery often separated parents and children physically or socially, since family members could be sold separately, and children could be fathered by enslavers. Such conditions could weaken or disrupt parental and natal-family ties, increasing reliance on conjugal partners for funerary commemoration, especially among newly established households after manumission. However, Leonard Curchin has recently cautioned against equating Greek personal names with servile status, and his data indicate that descending nuclear commemorations remained the most common pattern among servile funerary dedications.¹⁴⁰ Another, and perhaps more likely, factor is migration. The *Conventus Pacensis* was connected to wider networks of trade and travel through Mediterranean port towns, inland roads,

¹⁴⁰ Curchin (2017).

and relatively accessible terrain. These conditions may have facilitated the settlement of migrants, including individuals from culturally Greek regions of the Roman Empire. Migrants, whether freeborn, enslaved, or formerly enslaved, were often separated from their natal families, making spouses more likely to appear as dedicators or recipients in funerary commemorations. Thus, the prominence of conjugal dedications among individuals with Greek given names may reflect overlapping experiences of mobility, social displacement, and household formation rather than a single cause.

If we examine cases where structural and linguistic attributes of Roman and indigenous onomastics overlap between generations on epitaphs, then the processes through which changes in naming practice occurred become clearer. Especially in cases involving *tria nomina*, linguistically indigenous onomastics and filiation indicate the processes of name change following the conferral of Roman citizenship or the *ius Latii*.¹⁴¹ In cases where expressions of indigenous filiation are included for men with the *tria nomina*, it is possible to see variations in the frequency with which linguistically indigenous names are included as *cognomina*. In the case of “C(aius) Iulius Bouti f(ilius) Letondo” from Metallum Vipascense it is clear from his father’s indigenous single name (Boutius), that C. Iulius Letondo is a first-generation Latin or Roman citizen whose indigenous name has been included as a *cognomen* (Letondo). In all likelihood his father, Boutius, had probably given his son the single name of Letondo at birth, which he then used as a *cognomen* after enfranchisement. Although this example is straightforward, similar cases often become more complicated. Take the example of “C(aius) Licinius Verus Medugeni f(ilius)” from Ammaia, in which C. Licinius Verus’ name is linguistically Latin and structurally Roman. While his father,

¹⁴¹ *IRCP*, 130: *C(aius) Iulius Bouti f(ilius) Letondo*; *IRCP*, 620: *C(aius) Licinius Verus Medugeni f(ilius) Cl(uniensis?)*; *IRCP*, 424: *G(aius) Iulius Proculus Tapori f(ilius) an(norum) XX (viginti) H(ic) s(itus) e(st) cur(avit) pater*.

who has a markedly indigenous name, may have given his son a Latin single name, Verus, the expression of his relation to Medugenus indicates that he is possibly a first-generation Latin or Roman citizen. If it were not for the expression of filiation in this case, C. Licinius Verus' names would look linguistically and structurally Roman, which effectively mask his linguistic ties to his indigenous ancestors.

In the case of second-generation Latin or Roman citizens with parents who have linguistically indigenous names, we can see the modes of transition from single indigenous names to linguistically and structurally Roman names within the family.¹⁴² Iulia Amoena's family from the territory of Ossonoba is one such example. We can tell that her grandfather, Bolbus, had a single indigenous name along with her mother, Arbura. Her father, C. Iulius Arenius, on the other hand had the Roman *tria nomina* with a Latin *nomen*, which she shares, and a linguistically indigenous *cognomen*, Arenius. Over the course of three generations, therefore, we can see a transition from indigenous single names, to linguistically mixed Roman names, to fully Latin and structurally Roman names for Iulia Amoena. Again, if it were not for the presence of her family members on the epitaph and the expression of filiation next to her name, which makes use of her father's indigenous *cognomen* instead of "Gaius", Iulia Amoena's name alone would tell us nothing about the complexity of her indigenous background and the processes through which she received her name.

That being said, there are other cases in which individuals of citizen status retain indigenous *cognomina* and their filiations indicate that their parents held full citizen status as well. This clearly indicates an effort to retain indigenous onomastic elements. The examples include

¹⁴² IRCP, 66: *C(aius) Iulius Arenius h(ic) e(st) s(itus) Arbura Bolbi [f(ilia)] Aren(i) uxor h(ic) s(ita) [e(st)] / [I]ulia Amoena Aren(i) f(ilia) h(ic) s(ita) e[st ?]*".

individuals with indigenous *cognomina* and filiation using the Latin *praenomina* of their fathers. Such cases would indicate that the linguistic impact of Roman citizen status on naming practices within the family allowed for some survival of indigenous names in the form of *cognomina*, but when Latin names are given instead, the indigenous background of individuals with *tria nomina* can become obscured within two generations. This could have very well happened with descendants of C. Licinius Verus and C. Iulius Proculus, whose names consist of entirely Latin names and Roman structure.¹⁴³

Even in cases with single names there can be linguistic overlap between the names of parents and children, which shows that the process of linguistic change could also occur before enfranchisement.¹⁴⁴ The epitaph of Fusca Dobiteri f(ilia) from Ammaia shows us that despite continuity of linguistically indigenous names between her grandfather Viranus, and her parents, Dobiterus and Aranta, she receives a perfectly Latin single name. Scholars of onomastic practice in Lusitania have noted this phenomenon and identified popular Latin names among *peregrini* in the region such as Avitus and Fusca.¹⁴⁵ Inversely, the epitaph of Duatius from Ammaia provides an example of two parents with Latin single names giving their son a distinctive indigenous single name that is attested elsewhere in Lusitania.¹⁴⁶ This illustrates that this is by no means a linear process of change from indigenous to Latin names.

Lastly, there are even more attestations of multi-generational name change.¹⁴⁷ In one case from Eborā, an individual with a single indigenous name, Turanus, erected an honorific statue of his father, Langarus, and the name of his grandfather L(ucius) Betacus is given through the son's

¹⁴³ Abascal Palazón (1994) p.30.

¹⁴⁴ *IRCP*, 627, Fuscae Dobiteri f(iliae) / ann(or)um XXV / Aranta Virani [filia] / sibi et filiae f(aciendum) c(uravit)

¹⁴⁵ Albertos Firmat (1983) p. 864; Knapp (1992) p. 345; Abascal Palazón (1994) p. 31.

¹⁴⁶ *IRCP*, 644, Duatius / Aviti f(ilius) / ann(or)um XX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) / t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) / Ullea / Afuli f(ilia) / mater / et Avitu/ s p(ater) f(ilio) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)

¹⁴⁷ *HEp* 1995, 962: *Statua Langari / L(uci) Betaci f(ili) / Turanus statuit patri.*

filiation. What appears to have happened with her is that Turanus' grandfather had inordinately taken on a *praenomen*, a component which neither his son nor his grandson had in their names. Given the eroded state of the inscription, it is also unclear whether Langarus is actually L(ucius) Angarus, but even in that case the absence of a *praenomen* for Turanus hints to the abandonment of this practice for the youngest generation. It should be noted that this example is unique to this region and probably signifies local confusion over when it was appropriate to adopt Roman structural naming patterns (i.e., taking *praenomina* without citizenship). Nevertheless, this example illustrates the potential for abnormal examples of linguistic change in the provinces and shows that change in naming practice was neither a linear nor smooth process.

Because the majority of inscriptions including indigenous names in this region can roughly be dated to the 1st century CE, this indicates that indigenous onomastic practice falls out of use with time in the *Conventus Pacensis*. This is not surprising, because unlike the Flavian *municipia* elsewhere in the province, the two most populated communities in the *Conventus Pacensis*, Ebora and Pax Iulia held *municipia* and *colonia* status, respectively, in the 1st century BCE, decades before the Flavian grant of *ius Latii*. Nevertheless, it goes to show that even by the 1st century CE, more than one hundred years after Roman conquest, indigenous and Roman habits of naming practice were still undergoing a process of negotiation and change that was neither linear, nor without complexity. With many communities receiving *municipium* status in the province of Lusitania during the Flavian period, undoubtedly more new Latin and Roman citizens were taking the *tria* and *duo nomina*, in some cases removing any linguistic trace of their local heritage. Although there are relatively few linguistically indigenous name elements in the *Conventus Pacensis*, there are practically no attestations of linguistically indigenous names in Pax Iulia, while

the highest number of attestations comes from Ebora. The absence of indigenous names at Pax Iulia must surely be related to the status of the community as a Roman *colonia*.

Conclusions

The quantitative data concerning patterns of family relations in the *Conventus Pacensis* and the personal name elements of dedicators and the deceased attested in funerary inscriptions both confirm the conclusions of previous studies and also lead to some new ones. Even with the updated methodology for counting expressions of relations in funerary inscriptions, the percentage of relations expressed in each category is essentially the same as the ones observed by Saller and Shaw as well as Edmondson more recently.¹⁴⁸ Descending nuclear dedications were the most commonly attested relations in the *Conventus Pacensis*, followed by conjugal dedications. Ascending nuclear dedications and dedications between siblings equally represented the least common dedications, also keeping in line with previous studies. Previous studies did not, however, separate these expressions based on the civic community from which they originated. Once this had been done, it was clear that the highest concentration of familial commemorations were split between Ebora and Pax Iulia, with both communities showing different patterns of family relations. On the one hand, many of the descending nuclear dedications attested in the *conventus* were from inscriptions at Ebora and a significant number of these inscriptions were between parents and their adult children. This pattern was the most discernible in the region and confirms that the maintenance of close relations between parents and natal kin, well past the age of marriage, was most highly emphasized at Ebora in particular, to such an extent that almost half of all descending nuclear dedications in the region can be attributed to inscriptions from Ebora.

¹⁴⁸ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 149; Edmondson (2005) p. 194.

Furthermore, a closer analysis of the median age of death for both sons and daughters showed that parents commemorated adult children often. The median age of death was 20 years of age for sons and 25 for daughters. Firstly, this indicates that parents often commemorated their adult sons when they were around or past the average age of marriage for men (generally accepted to be 20-29 years old).¹⁴⁹ Likewise, although daughters less often received dedications from their parents, the median age of death shows that parents often commemorated their deceased adult daughters who were well into and past their mid-twenties. All of this clearly shows that the high number of descending nuclear dedications for adult children was not limited to either sons or daughters and that the proclivity for these dedications was a cultural habit, influenced by a strong emphasis on social bonds between parents and children in the *Conventus Pacensis*. In addition, this is also supported by evidence of unusually high average ages at marriage in this region, which would indicate legal factors were also at play.

Quantitative analysis of linguistic and structural attributes of the personal name elements of dedicators and the deceased also allow some significant conclusions to be drawn about the effects of pre-Flavian municipalization on personal onomastics in the *conventus*. The majority of the name elements identified in this sample were linguistically Latin, with very few Greek and Indigenous name elements. When the data were separated based on civic community, there were only two indigenous name elements from the sample at Pax Iulia and nine at Ebora. A significant concentration of indigenous name elements were from inscriptions at Ammaia, all of which appeared in the form of single names, denoting the peregrine or Latin status of the individuals possessing them. Nevertheless, the most significant sample of name elements came from Ebora and Pax Iulia. In terms of name structure (single names vs. *tria/duo nomina*), *tria/duo nomina* were

¹⁴⁹ Saller (1987) pp. 28-30; Shaw (1987) pp. 40-43; Lelis, Percy, and Verstraete (2003) p. 75.

most common in the entire *conventus* as well as Ebora and Pax Iulia. Compared to the data from more remote communities in Lusitania that underwent municipalization later during the Flavian period (e.g., the communities in the modern province of Cáceres and the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*), the communities of the *Conventus Pacensis* underwent an earlier process of municipalization, especially in the key community of Ebora. This earlier promotion entailed the grant of *ius Latii*, which undoubtedly increased the rate at which *duo/tria nomina* were adopted in the region resulting in the predominance of this name structure by the time of the 1st century CE. This clearly demonstrates the impact of *ius Latii* and promotion in juridical status on personal name elements of the inhabitants of communities in the province of Lusitania.

While previous quantitative studies on the topic of family relations and personal name elements have greatly contributed to our understanding of the social history of Lusitania, few scholars have attempted to synthesize these data in order to test whether there is a correlation between the attributes of personal name elements and family relation patterns attested in funerary epigraphy. The quantitative discussion in this chapter concluded with a synthesis of both of these types of data, which indicated a certain degree of correlation between the two. The linguistic attributes of given personal names, that is single names and *cognomina* that are given rather than inherited, of the dedicators and deceased showed a correlation between relations and name elements on two fronts. Firstly, in 47 of the 60 descending nuclear dedications in the *conventus* the deceased bore a Latin given name, but conversely only 4 of the deceased had Greek given names and 2 of the deceased had indigenous given names. This is due to the relative scarcity of indigenous name elements in the region, but Greek name elements, which are well represented in the region, were conspicuously absent among the dedicators and deceased involved in descending nuclear dedications. Greek name elements, instead, were most commonly attested among conjugal

dedications and were held by either the dedicator or the deceased in almost half of all the attested conjugal dedications.

The connection between Greek name elements and conjugal dedications in the *Conventus Pacensis* is the most conspicuous onomastic pattern relating to expressions of family relations, representing 36% of all conjugal dedications in the region. One possible explanation is that these dedications reflect members of the slave or freedman population, as Greek names were commonly associated with servile or freed status in many parts of the Roman Empire. However, I am cautious not to equate Greek onomastics automatically with slave or freed status unless there is explicit evidence for such a background. While the hypothesis that these individuals were of servile origin remains possible, the regional epigraphic record does not provide direct confirmation, so other scenarios must also be considered.

Another relevant factor may be mobility, including direct immigration from Greek-speaking or culturally Greek regions of the empire. This explanation is particularly plausible in the context of the *Conventus Pacensis*, which was less geographically isolated than other parts of Lusitania and had good access to Mediterranean trade and travel networks. These conditions may have made the region more accessible to people moving within the Roman Empire. Such migrants could have included freeborn individuals, enslaved persons, and freed persons, since slavery and migration were not mutually exclusive experiences. Indeed, enslaved and formerly enslaved individuals were often displaced through sale, service, manumission, or economic opportunity, while free migrants could also have settled far from their natal kin. In either case, separation from parental and extended family networks may have increased the commemorative importance of marital relationships. The prominence of conjugal dedications involving Greek name elements,

therefore, may reflect a combination of servile background, mobility, and the formation of new households away from natal kin rather than a single social explanation.

Still, it is important to recognize that there is no definitive evidence, apart from the linguistic form of their names, that individuals bearing Greek given names in the region were indeed immigrants. The adoption of Greek names could also reflect broader cultural trends or local fashion within Roman society. Therefore, while direct immigration is a plausible explanation and perhaps even the most compelling given the available contextual evidence, it should be seen as one possibility among several, including social mobility, freedman origins, and the wider appeal of Greek onomastics in the Roman world.

It is important, however, to acknowledge that these relations and name elements are part of a diverse social network of families and individuals who possess linguistically different name elements. The qualitative discussion of personal name elements and family relations in this chapter demonstrates the extent to which members of the same family might possess differing name elements. In some cases, parents with one set of linguistic name elements have children with linguistically different name elements. A parent with indigenous name elements might give their children Latin or Greek given names, or vice versa. Siblings may have linguistically different name elements demonstrating that in some cases the linguistic attributes of a given name were decided not by cultural factors, but simply by personal preference of the parents when they came to name their child or children. These qualitative aspects of the discussion, in which personal names are analyzed within the context of the family, demonstrate that trends in the linguistic attributes of name elements change over time and across generations, and in many cases show strong bicultural elements within a family unit.

It is clear from both quantitative and qualitative analyses of family relations and personal name elements that the process of municipalization in the *Conventus Pacensis*, and in particular the relatively early conferral of *municipium* and *colonia* status on Ebora and Pax Iulia, respectively, had already resulted in a high degree of onomastic Latinization by the early 1st century CE. This clearly resulted in a relatively higher number of inscriptions dating to the 1st century, after which fewer indigenous name elements are attested. The fact that many of the indigenous names attested were patronymics, in many cases representing an individual a generation older than the dedicator or deceased mentioned in the inscription, indicates that indigenous name elements often represent the parents of individuals with Latinized names. Given the data discussed above, there is a clear and decisive correlation between the types of family relations documented in these inscriptions and the linguistic name elements of the dedicators and deceased, particularly concerning Greek given names. The consistencies and differences between various regions and civic communities, as discussed in other chapters, will be thoroughly examined in the concluding discussion of this dissertation.

Table of Relations: *Conventus Pacensis*

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Age	Reference	Ancient Location
Conjugal					
Fundanus	Iulia Laeta	Husband to Wife		<i>IRCP</i> , 645	Aritium Vetus
C. Fabius Relatus	Aemilia Chaeris	Husband to Wife	27	<i>CIL</i> II, 5168	Balsa
L. Quintius Priscion	Iulia Tiberi f. Marcia Gemina	Husband to Wife		<i>IRCP</i> , 86	Balsa
Hypnus	Galla	Husband to Wife	35	<i>IRCP</i> , 210	Caetobriga
Antonius Romulus	Minatia Faustina	Husband to Wife	40	<i>CIL</i> II, 166	Ebora
L. Corneli[us] Rufus	Iulia B[---] Catuven[a]	Husband to Wife	30	<i>IRCP</i> , 452	Ebora
N/A	Perennia	Husband to Wife	35	<i>CIL</i> II, 91	Ebora
Modestus	Maria Euprepia	Husband to Wife	45	<i>CIL</i> II, 89	Ebora
G. Iulius L.f. Gal. Severus	Luriae T.f. Boutiae	Husband to Wife		<i>CIL</i> II, 123	Ebora
Cryseros	Dignitas	Husband to Wife	25	<i>CIL</i> II, 87	Ebora
L. Caecilius C.f. [---]	Maelia Tertulla M.f	Husband to Wife		<i>CIL</i> II, 121	Ebora
Calpurnius Marcianus	Iunia Tyche	Husband to Wife	54	<i>IRCP</i> , 399	Ebora
Cornelius Valens	Cornelia L.f. Maxuma	Husband to Wife		<i>IRCP</i> , 393	Ebora
Fundanus	Iulia Norbana	Husband to Wife	35	<i>IRCP</i> , 385	Ebora
Claud(ius) Thalassinus	N/A	Husband to Wife		<i>CIL</i> II, 31	Mirobriga Celtica
Aem(ilius) Euremon	Sestia Aemerita/e	Husband to Wife	59	<i>IRCP</i> , 114	Myrtilis
L. Calp(urnius) Theodorus	Caturica Prima	Husband to Wife	25	<i>CIL</i> II, 4	Ossonoba
Patroclus	Avintina	Husband to Wife	35	<i>CIL</i> II, 5145	Ossonoba
N/A	Musice	Husband to Wife	38	<i>IRCP</i> , 358	Pax Iulia
Iul(ius) Marinus	[---] Marcel[la]	Husband to Wife	32	<i>CIL</i> II, 78	Pax Iulia
Q. L(icinius?) N(iger?)	M(umma?) L.f. Cupita	Husband to Wife	44	<i>IRCP</i> , 331	Pax Iulia
N/A	Optentia	Husband to Wife	21	<i>IRCP</i> , 315	Pax Iulia
Sul[pic]ius Moni[---]us	Sulpicia Iuliana	Husband to Wife	28	<i>CIL</i> II, 68	Pax Iulia
Herennius Priscus	Iul(ia) Cleopatra	Husband to Wife	33	<i>IRCP</i> , 261	Pax Iulia
M. Sulpicius Zographus	Iunia Satulla	Husband to Wife	70	<i>IRCP</i> , 198	Salacia
Propina Severa	C. Iul(ius) Vege[t]us	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL</i> II, 160	Ammaia
Aquila Camali f. Cara	P. Anonius Quir. Silo	Wife to Husband	61	<i>IRCP</i> , 578	Ammaia

Caturica Agatemera	Caturicus Lupatus	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL</i> II, 14	Balsa
Iun(ia) Leonica	Apon(ius) Lupianus	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL</i> II, 122	Ebora
Iulia Colomb(a)	L. Iulius Rufus	Wife to Husband	50	<i>IRCP</i> , 455a	Ebora
Victorina	M(arcus?) Menelaus	Wife to Husband	50	<i>IRCP</i> , 429	Ebora
N/A	Apano Cilei f.	Wife to Husband		<i>IRCP</i> , 416	Ebora
Iulia Alexandrina	L. Fabius Valerianus	Wife to Husband	58	<i>CIL</i> II, 5195	Ebora
Po(mpeia) Phiale	L. F(abius?) Elicon	Wife to Husband	95	<i>CIL</i> II, 5194	Ebora
Calpurnia Sabina	Q. Iulius Maximus	Wife to Husband	48	<i>CIL</i> II, 112	Ebora
Agria Rufina	M. Valerius Rufus	Wife to Husband		<i>IRCP</i> , 137	Metallum Vipacense
P(ublia!) Aemil(ia) Catulina	N/A	Wife to Husband	41	<i>IRCP</i> , 71	Ossonoba
Iulia Lobessa	Meranius Victus	Wife to Husband	25	<i>CIL</i> II, 79	Pax Iulia
[I]ulia A[moena?]	N/A	Wife to Husband	50	<i>IRCP</i> , 355	Pax Iulia
N/A	Mercator	Wife to Husband	32	<i>CIL</i> II, 102	Pax Iulia
N/A	N/A	Wife to Husband	60	<i>IRCP</i> , 311	Pax Iulia
Epolita	Fabianus	Wife to Husband	26	<i>IRCP</i> , 301	Pax Iulia
N/A	Marmorarius	Wife to Husband	77	<i>IRCP</i> , 269	Pax Iulia
[Fl]orice Agate	Oricello	Wife to Husband		<i>IRCP</i> , 259	Pax Iulia
Descending Nuclear					
N/A	Severus Aviti f.	Father to Son	20	<i>IRCP</i> , 630	Ammaia
N/A	Maximus Severi f.	Father to Son	25	<i>IRCP</i> , 463	Ammaia
Placentia	Decumus Placentiae f.	Father to Son	12	<i>EE</i> IX, 23	Aritium Vetus
Avitus	Duatius Aviti f.	Father to Son		<i>IRCP</i> , 644	Ammaia
N/A	Salianus	Father to Son	33	<i>IRCP</i> , 88	Balsa
N/A	C. Iulius Proculus	Father to Son	35	<i>IRCP</i> , 651	Ebora
Tryphon	Q. Fabius Tryphon Argyrius	Father to Son	25	<i>IRCP</i> , 450	Ebora
N/A	P. Aurelius Niger	Father to Son	11	<i>CIL</i> II, 5211	Ebora
N/A	L. Aurelius L.f. Flaus	Father to Son	35	<i>CIL</i> II, 5211	Ebora
Milfus Sulpicius	Misinius Phanstianus	Father to Son	35	<i>CIL</i> II, 97	Ebora
Taporus	G. Iulius Proculus Taponi f.	Father to Son	20	<i>CIL</i> II, 6263	Ebora
Marius Maximus	Marius Q.f. Quintilianus	Father to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 124	Ebora
P. Aelius Modestus	Modestianus	Father to Son	10	<i>IRCP</i> , 134	Metallum Vipacense
L. Scribonius	Q. Scribonius L.f.	Father to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 29	Mirobriga Celtica

Saturninus	Quir. Paternus				
L. Liburnius Mus	L. Liburnius Gal. Maternus	Father to Son	23	<i>IRCP</i> , 110	Myrtilis
Tullius Vellicus	Tullius Donatus Faustinus	Father to Son	16	<i>IRCP</i> , 115	Myrtilis
L. Atilius Atilianus	L. Atilius Maximus	Father to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 8	Ossonoba
Fabricius [G]allio	Fabricius Fronto	Father to Son	26	<i>CIL</i> II, 73	Pax Iulia
Q. Iulius Ma[cer]	N/A	Father to Son		<i>IRCP</i> , 330	Pax Iulia
Gn. Blaesidienus Marcellus	Blaesidiena Gn. f. Marcella	Father to Daughter	20	<i>IRCP</i> , 580	Ammaia
C(alpurnius) ? Alexander	Cal(purnia) ? Hegesistrate	Father to Daughter	17	<i>IRCP</i> , 448	Ammaia
N/A	N/A	Father to Daughter		<i>IRCP</i> , 401	Ebora
Firmidius Peregrinus	Cogitata	Father to Daughter	5	<i>CIL</i> II, 5178	Myrtilis
L. Cornelius Rufinus	Cornelia L.f. Avita	Father to Daughter	28	<i>IRCP</i> , 329	Pax Iulia
G. Blossius Saturninus Gal.	N/A	Father to Daughter	33	<i>CIL</i> II, 105	Pax Iulia
N/A	N/A	Father to Child	7	<i>IRCP</i> , 635	Ammaia
N/A	Maximus Severi f.	Mother to Son		<i>IRCP</i> , 463	Ammaia
Iulia	Decumus Placentiae f.	Mother to Son		<i>EE</i> IX, 23	Aritium Vetus
Apulia	Duatius Aviti f.	Mother to Son	20	<i>IRCP</i> , 644	Aritium Vetus
Iun(ia) Verecunda	C. Antonius C.f. Flavinus	Mother to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 115	Ebora
[---Va]leria	N/A	Mother to Son		<i>IRCP</i> , 472	Ebora
Baebia Boutia	Q. Romanus Q.f. Gal. Tuscus	Mother to Son	17	<i>IRCP</i> , 467	Ebora
Iulia Rufina	Marius Q.f. Quintilianus	Mother to Son	18	<i>CIL</i> II, 124	Ebora
N/A	Q. Alfius Modestus	Mother to Son		<i>IRCP</i> , 407	Ebora
N/A	Q. Tullius Habiti f. Gal. Modestus	Mother to Son	20	<i>IRCP</i> , 407	Ebora
Iulia Q.f. Avita	N/A	Mother to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 113	Ebora
Calpurnia Sabina	Q. Iulius Nepotianus	Mother to Son	20	<i>CIL</i> II, 112	Ebora
Calpurnia Sabina	Q. Iulius Clarus	Mother to Son	21	<i>CIL</i> II, 112	Ebora
Agria Rufina	M. Valerius Marcellus	Mother to Son		<i>IRCP</i> , 137	Metallum Vipacense
Filumena	Quintus Iulius Lup(us)?	Mother to Son	3	<i>CIL</i> II, 19	Myrtilis
Porcia Materna	Tullius Donatus Faustinus	Mother to Son		<i>IRCP</i> , 115	Myrtilis
Artullia	L. Atilius Maximus	Mother to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 8	Ossonoba
Albura	Fabricius Fronto	Mother to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 73	Pax Iulia

Amoena	Ruga (Q. Iuli Galli ser.)	Mother to Son	10	<i>IRCP</i> , 359	Pax Iulia
N/A	Q. Peticius T.f. Rufus	Mother to Son		<i>IRCP</i> , 271	Pax Iulia
Aranta Virani f.	Fusca Dobiteri f.	Mother to Daughter	25	<i>IRCP</i> , 627	Ammaia
Iun(ia) Leonica	Calchisia	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 122	Ebora
Manni[a] Mani f. Camira	Iulia Maura	Mother to Daughter	30	<i>IRCP</i> , 460	Ebora
Turrania Maxsuma	Iulia Aviti f. Avita	Mother to Daughter	20	<i>IRCP</i> , 451	Ebora
N/A	Tullia Habiti f. Tusca	Mother to Daughter	5	<i>IRCP</i> , 407	Ebora
Terentia M.f. Tertulla	Manilia C.f. Tusca	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 5197	Ebora
Iulia T.f. Maxuma	N/A	Mother to Daughter		<i>IRCP</i> , 401	Ebora
Cecia Prisca	Calpurnia T.f. Fufiniana	Mother to Daughter	33	<i>IRCP</i> , 391	Ebora
Iulia Rufina	Cornelia L.f. Avita	Mother to Daughter		<i>IRCP</i> , 329	Pax Iulia
N/A	Serviliana	Mother to Daughter	33	<i>IRCP</i> , 316	Pax Iulia
N/A	A(ntonio?) [Heli]ce	Mother to Daughter	37	<i>IRCP</i> , 298	Pax Iulia
[S]ulpicia	Sulpicia Iuliana	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 68	Pax Iulia
(Iunia) Satulla	Iunia Corinthia	Mother to Daughter	17	<i>CIL</i> II, 5183	Salacia
Amoena	Amoenus Iuliae ser.	Mother to Child		<i>CIL</i> II, 161	Ammaia
N/A	N/A	Mother to Child	15	<i>IRCP</i> , 335	Pax Iulia
Ascending Nuclear					
L. Iulius Herennianus	L. Clodius Barbarius	Son to Father	50	<i>IRCP</i> , 254	Pax Iulia
Sertorius Nigellio	Aemilia	Son to Mother		<i>CIL</i> II, 16	Myrtilis
[C. Iulius?] Maximus	Iulia C.f. Maxima	Son to Mother		<i>IRCP</i> , 302	Pax Iulia
Herculanus	Caletyche	Son to Mother	70	<i>IRCP</i> , 299	Pax Iulia
Q. P(etrionius?) Mater(nus)	Iulia Q.f. Quintilla	Son to Mother	42	<i>CIL</i> II, 5187	Pax Iulia
P(ompeius?) Communis	Cocceia Clarilla	Son to Mother	80	<i>IRCP</i> , 256	Pax Iulia
Iulius Marcianus	Iulia Laeonica	Son to Mother	40	<i>CIL</i> II, 36	Salacia
Iulius Maximus	Flavia Lupercilla	Son to Mother	28	<i>IRCP</i> , 191	Salacia
Valeria G. f. Tertulla	Blaesidiena Gn. f. Marcella	Daughter to Father		<i>IRCP</i> , 580	Ammaia
Cocilicia Pastos	G. Cocilicius Fuscus	Daughter to Father		<i>CIL</i> II, 26	Mirobriga Celtica

Quintia Avita	Iulia Tiberi f. Marcia Gemina	Daughter to Mother		<i>IRCP</i> , 86	Balsa
Allia Nymphe	Vivennia Badia	Daughter to Mother	80	<i>IRCP</i> , 408	Ebora
Mu[m]mia Rufina	M(ummia?) L.f. Cupita	Daughter to Mother		<i>IRCP</i> , 331	Pax Iulia
Antonia Fundana	M(ummia?) L.f. Cupita	Daughter to Mother		<i>IRCP</i> , 331	Pax Iulia
N/A	Lovesius Anceiti f.	Child to Father		<i>IRCP</i> , 621	Ammaia
N/A	Lovesius Anceiti f.	Child to Father		<i>IRCP</i> , 621	Ammaia
N/A	Ploce Ser. F. Catula	Child to Mother	40	<i>CIL</i> II, 5173	Balsa
N/A	Annia Eutyches	Child to Mother		<i>IRCP</i> , 443	Ebora
N/A	N/A	Child to Mother		<i>IRCP</i> , 229t	Pax Iulia
N/A	N/A	Child to Mother	55	<i>IRCP</i> , 229t	Pax Iulia
Siblings					
L. Voconius Tertius	[L. Voconius] Fuscus	Brother to Brother		<i>CIL</i> II, 164	Ammaia
Copirus	L. Iulius L. et T. lib. Valens	Brother to Brother	25	<i>CIL</i> II, 41	Caetobriga
Anceitus	N/A	Brother to Brother		<i>IRCP</i> , 140	Metallum Vipacense
N/A	N/A	Brother to Brother	75	<i>EE</i> VIII-02, 268	Pax Iulia
[Iuli]us Sabinus [---]	C. Iulius L.f. Gal. Avitus	Brother to Brother		<i>IRCP</i> , 265	Pax Iulia
Iulius Maxumus	Iulia Aviti f. Avita	Brother to Sister		<i>IRCP</i> , 451	Ebora
Pagusicus Lucianus	Pagusica L.f. Fundana	Brother to Sister		<i>CIL</i> II, 28	Mirobriga Celtica
C(aecilia) Vitalis	L. Caecilius Galio	Sister to Brother		<i>CIL</i> II, 5193	Ebora
N/A	Apano Cilei f.	Sister to Brother		<i>IRCP</i> , 416	Ebora
N/A	Apano Cilei f.	Sister to Brother		<i>IRCP</i> , 416	Ebora
Secundina	Marialis	Sister to Brother		<i>CIL</i> II, 103	Pax Iulia
Veget[a]	Sycecale	Sister to Sister		<i>AE</i> 1989, 364	Balsa
Salcea	Sycecale	Sister to Sister		<i>AE</i> 1989, 364	Balsa
Tricism[a]	Sycecale	Sister to Sister		<i>AE</i> 1989, 364	Balsa
Valeria Amoena	Cornelia L.f. Maxuma	Sister to Sister		<i>IRCP</i> , 393	Ebora
Descending Extended					
Iun(ia) Leonica	Mar(ia) L.f. Sidonia	Grandmother to Granddaughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 122	Ebora
Agria Rufina	M. Valerius Marcellus (2nd)	Grandmother to Grandson		<i>IRCP</i> , 137	Metallum Vipacense
Iulia Vernacula	Iulius Lucceianus	Maternal Aunt to Nephew	35	<i>IRCP</i> , 266	Pax Iulia
Turrania Cilea	M. Iunius Quir. Gallus	Mother in-law to Son in-law		<i>HEp</i> 2009, 583	Ammaia
Ascending					

Extended					
N/A	N/A	Grandchild to Grandmother		<i>IRCP</i> , 229t	Pax Iulia
N/A	N/A	Grandchild to Grandmother		<i>IRCP</i> , 229t	Pax Iulia
(Quintus) L(icius?) Felix	Paccia Lepidina	Grandson to Grandmother	80	<i>IRCP</i> , 219	Caetobriga
G. Au(relius) Victorinus	Lab(eria) Nigra	Nephew to Maternal Aunt	61	<i>IRCP</i> , 426	Ebora
Catinia M.f. Aciliana	Canidia Albina	Niece to Maternal Aunt		<i>CIL</i> II, 111	Ebora
N/A	Max[i]mus Ocelaeci f.	Son in-law to Father in-law	75	<i>IRCP</i> , 462	Ebora
N/A	N/A	Son in-law to Father in-law		<i>AE</i> 1996, 839	Mirobriga Celtica
Lateral Extended					
M. Ful(vius) ? Caecilianus	L. Caecilius Galio	Cousin to Cousin		<i>CIL</i> II, 5193	Ebora
Cas(sia) Marcella	T. Galleus Marcianus	Cousin to Cousin	20	<i>CIL</i> II, 5191	Ebora
C. Vibius Tancinus	Manilia M.f. Maxuma	Kinsmen	12	<i>CIL</i> II, 119	Ebora
Amici					
Callaea T.f. Severina	Iulia Tiberi f. Marcia Gemina	Friend to Friend		<i>IRCP</i> , 86	Balsa
C. Valerius Paezon	G. Agrius Silo	Friend to Friend		<i>IRCP</i> , 151	Mirobriga Celtica
M. Castricius Lucanius	G. Agrius Silo	Friend to Friend		<i>IRCP</i> , 151	Mirobriga Celtica
Pub(licius) Felix	Herennia Secundina	Friend to Friend	55	<i>CIL</i> II, 18	Myrtilis
Heredes					
C. Norbanus L.f. Iu[---] Dexter	L. Iunius L.f. Gal. Rullus	Heir to Testator		<i>CIL</i> II, 118	Ebora
Iulia Vernaculus	Q. Iulius Iulianus	Heir to Testator		<i>IRCP</i> , 398	Ebora
Iulia Marciana	Q. Iulius Iulianus	Heir to Testator	15	<i>IRCP</i> , 398	Ebora
P. Vale[rius ---]	N/A	Heir to Testator		<i>IRCP</i> , 159	Mirobriga Celtica
C[astricia] Ma[xima]	N/A	Heir to Testator		<i>IRCP</i> , 159	Mirobriga Celtica
Castri[cius] [Maxi]mus	N/A	Heir to Testator		<i>IRCP</i> , 159	Mirobriga Celtica
Scribonia G.f. Maxima	G. Pagusicus Valerianus	Heir to Testator		<i>CIL</i> II, 27	Mirobriga Celtica
Servile					
Mumia Fundana	Mumius Cr[e]simus	Patron to Freedman	16	<i>CIL</i> II, 39	Pax Iulia
Iulia Terspicore	Iulia Paterna	Patron to Freedwoman	15	<i>IRCP</i> , 263	Pax Iulia

C. Valerius Asbestus lib.	C. Valerius Vibianus	Freedman to Patron		<i>IRCP</i> , 160	Mirobriga Celtica
Caesia Vernacula lib.	L. Caesius Caesi[anus]	Freedwoman to Patron	60	<i>CIL</i> II, 5190	Ebora
Anniola	Alcimio	Freedwoman to Patron		<i>IRCP</i> , 344	Pax Iulia
Self Dedication					
Aranta Virani f.	Aranta Virani f.	Self Dedication		<i>IRCP</i> , 627	Ammaia
Gn. Blaesidienus Marcellus	Gn. Blaesidienus Marcellus	Self Dedication		<i>IRCP</i> , 580	Ammaia
Valeria G. f. Tertulla	Valeria G. f. Tertulla	Self Dedication		<i>IRCP</i> , 580	Ammaia
Aquilia Camali f. Cara	Aquilia Camali f. Cara	Self Dedication		<i>IRCP</i> , 578	Ammaia
G. Iulius L.f. Gal. Severus	G. Iulius L.f. Gal. Severus	Self Dedication		<i>CIL</i> II, 123	Ebora
Norbana Modesti f. Modesta	Norbana Modesti f. Modesta	Self Dedication		<i>IRCP</i> , 155	Mirobriga Celtica
N/A	N/A	Self Dedication	59	<i>IRCP</i> , 362	Pax Iulia
Annius Fundanus	Annius Fundanus	Self Dedication		<i>IRCP</i> , 345	Pax Iulia
M. Sulpicius Zographus	M. Sulpicius Zographus	Self Dedication	80	<i>IRCP</i> , 198	Salacia

Chapter 2. The Province of Cáceres

Although the modern geographic boundaries of the province of Cáceres are the product of the territorial division of Spain in 1833, in ancient times the area fell within the jurisdiction of the *Conventus Emeritensis*. In accordance with the major inscriptional *corpora* for the province of Cáceres, the following analysis will focus on the major nuclei of population in the region. These included the Roman communities of Norba Caesarina, Turgalium, Caurium, Capera, and Augustobriga.¹⁵⁰ All of the communities above were located between 60 and 150km north of the *conventus* capital, Augusta Emerita, in the northeastern quarter of the province of Lusitania (fig. 2.1). Prior to Roman conquest, the pre-Roman inhabitants of the province of Cáceres consisted of a mixture of the Lusitani and Vettones.¹⁵¹ Archaeological evidence indicates nucleated habitation within and around a number of Iron-Age hill settlements in the region.¹⁵² By the 2nd century BCE, there is evidence of increased fortification within these communities, most likely as a reaction to both Carthaginian and Roman intrusion into the region.¹⁵³ Despite the invasive nature of Roman military intervention during the 2nd century BCE, material remains of coinage and Campanian ceramics provide evidence of contact and trade.¹⁵⁴ Since the Lusitanii and Vettones were still engaging in periodic revolts following the Lusitanian War (ca. 155-140 BCE), we do not have any inscriptional evidence recording interactions between the pre-Roman inhabitants and Roman

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Esteban Ortega (2007-2019).

¹⁵¹ Esteban Ortega, (2007) p. 13.

¹⁵² Some documented Iron-age communities in the region are found in the province, specifically Alcántara and Villasviejas. Alonso Sánchez & Fernández Corrales, (2000) p. 93.

¹⁵³ Calderón Fraile, (2000) p. 60.

¹⁵⁴ Alonso Sánchez & Fernández Corrales, (2000) p. 92.

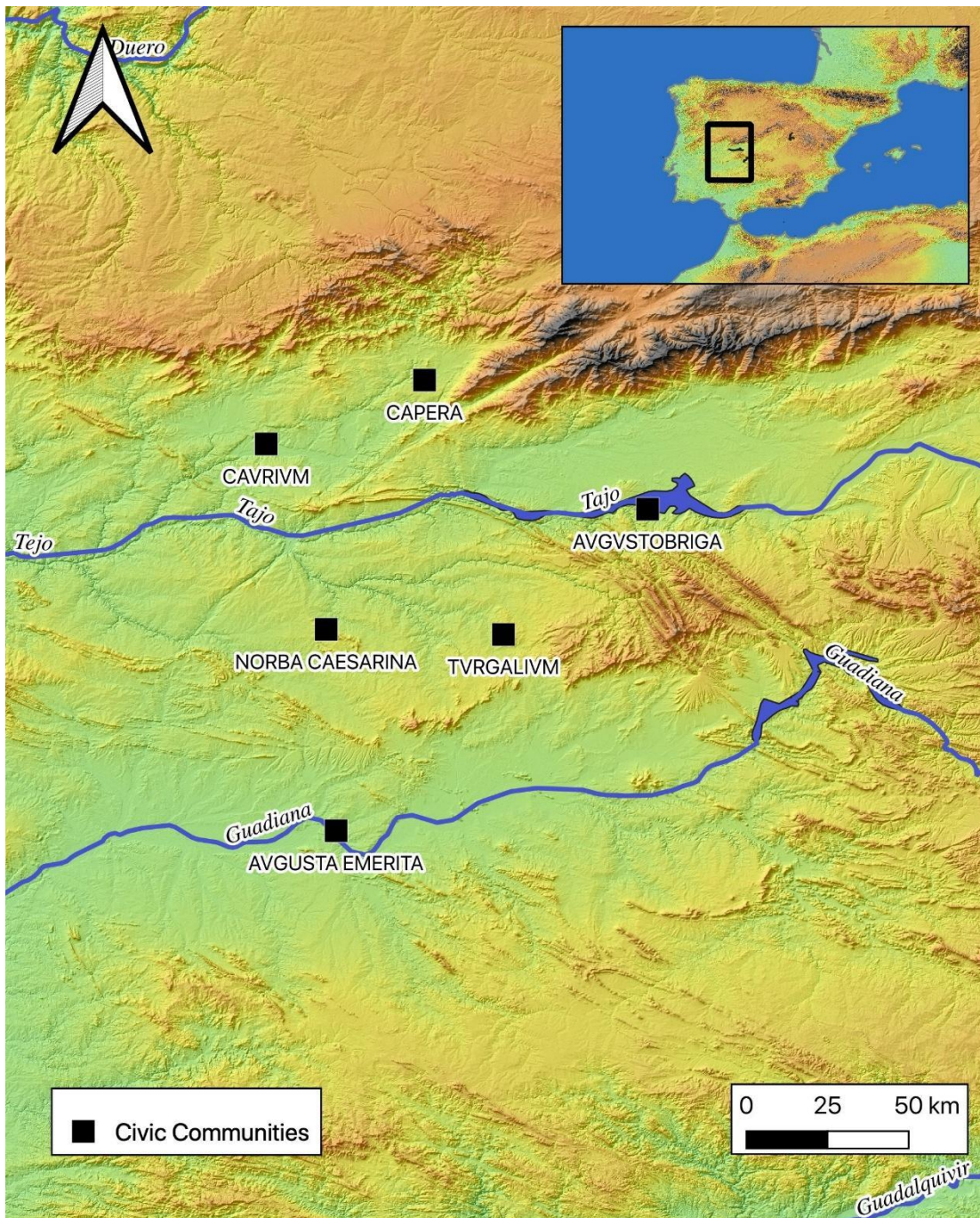


Figure 2.1: A map of the Roman communities in the modern province of Cáceres and the *conventus* capital, Augusta Emerita.

officials in the province of Cáceres until around 104 BCE when a *deditio* was recorded on a bronze plaque in which the Seanoci surrendered to Roman authorities near modern Alcántara.¹⁵⁵

It is during the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE that the local inhabitants of the region began to migrate from hill settlements and *oppida* to urban centres in the lowlands, but this process was neither quick nor uniform.¹⁵⁶ In the case of Capera, for example, there is evidence of pre-Roman activity, which grave finds from the necropolis containing a number of materials from the Iron Age indicate.¹⁵⁷ Other communities, however, such as Norba Caesarina, were founded *ex novo* and settled by Roman veterans, many likely from Italy. Pliny the Elder notes that the existing populations of Castra Caecilia and Castra Servilia, two nearby military encampments, were assigned as *contributi* to the new colony, meaning their territories and populations were integrated into the new *colonia* and placed under its jurisdiction, rather than forming the core of the population themselves.¹⁵⁸ In any case, the process through which the Romans conquered and consolidated territory in the province of Cáceres was long and gradual, beginning in the early 2nd century BCE and continuing up until the creation of the province of Lusitania during the reign of Augustus. Also protracted were the concurrent processes of cultural contact and exchange between Roman authorities and the local population. It is not until the late 1st century BCE that Latin funerary epigraphy, our primary source of evidence for family relations and naming practices in the province of Cáceres, began to proliferate widely.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁵ AE 1984, 495 = CILC I, 29 = ELRH-U, 2. It is also worth noting that the *deditio* includes some of the names of local authorities, which are both linguistically and structurally indigenous: *Cren[us(?) et] Arco Cantoni f(ilius) legates* [sic].

¹⁵⁶ Alonso Sánchez & Fernández Corrales (2000) p. 87.

¹⁵⁷ Floriano Cumbreño (1944) p. 270.

¹⁵⁸ Pliny, NH 4.117: ...*Norbensis Caesarina cognomine; contributa sunt in eam Castra Servilia, Castra Caecilia.*

¹⁵⁹ Alfayé & Marco Simón (2008) p. 281.

During the early imperial period, there is evidence for increased urbanization in the province of Cáceres. Much of this development took place along major lines of communication originally established by Roman military intervention during the republican period and further consolidated by Augustus. One of the most significant examples is the so-called “Via de la Plata”, the Roman road that connected Hispalis, Emerita, and Asturica. This road served as a central axis for communication and urban growth within the modern province of Cáceres and became a typical feature of the Roman strategy for territorial consolidation in the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁶⁰ Along with urbanization came the conferral of incremental privileges and civic status on the inhabitants of communities in the area. While some pre-Roman communities and *oppida* enjoyed continuity as *civitates stipendiariae* consisting of non-citizens, or *peregrini*, Norba Caesarina was established as a *colonia* by 19 BCE in which many of the inhabitants held full Roman citizenship. In many cases, *municipium* status was conferred to the communities in the area during the Flavian period when Latin rights (*ius Latii*) were granted to the provinces of Hispania. Among these *municipia*, individuals of Latin status might choose to retain their peregrine single name or adopt the *tria nomina*, adding a further layer of complexity to the issue of juridical status in these communities.¹⁶¹ This was the case for Caurium, Augustobriga, and Capera, which Pliny the Elder listed among the *civitates stipendiariae* during the earlier part of the 1st century CE.¹⁶² In this sense, Roman authorities were engaging in their typical “entanglement” tactics, incentivizing local elite involvement in administration, which also entailed obligations of taxation and provision of military

¹⁶⁰ Fernández Corrales, 1987. p. 14

¹⁶¹ Ch. 86 of the *Lex Irnitana* stipulates that for the selection of judges (*iudices*) in the municipality, a number should be chosen from the *municipes* (ie. Latin citizens) and they must display their *praenomen*, father’s *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen* on tablets that can be read from ground level. Cf. González (1986) p. 196.

¹⁶² Pliny, *NH* 4.118: Since Pliny lists the *Augustobrigenses*, *Caurienses*, and *Caperenses* among the number of *civitates stipendiariae* at his time of writing, all of these communities must have witnessed promotion to *municipium* status during the Flavian period.

resources when necessary. In addition, the *decuriones* of the local councils at the newly municipalized Caurium, Augustobriga, and Capera and their parents and children received full Roman citizenship upon completion of a term as *duumvir*, *aedile*, or *quaestor*, further increasing the population of full Roman citizens in the region.¹⁶³ It is safe to say that in terms of juridical status, the population in the communities of Cáceres were not homogenous by any means. Rather, depending on the community, local populations could consist of a variety of Roman citizens, non-citizens, and *Latini*.

Although this chapter focuses primarily on the province of Cáceres, which is delineated by modern geographical limits, we must acknowledge the complexity of the relation of this territory to surrounding areas within the juridical zone of the *Conventus Emeritensis*. In particular, the relationship between the communities of the province of Cáceres and the *conventus* capital Augusta Emerita is quite complex. Ancient sources indicate that there was significant proximity between the territories of Augusta Emerita and its surrounding territories in the province of Cáceres, which will require some explanation. More specifically, we are told that the *colonia* of Augusta Emerita was in possession of three *praefecturae*, one of which extended into the hinterland of the community of Turgalium (modern Trujillo). The *gromaticus* Siculus Flaccus describes a *praefectura* as lands appropriated for use by a *colonia* and its inhabitants from the surrounding territory, some of which may already have been in use by inhabitants of *municipia* or *civitates stipendiariae*.¹⁶⁴ We know for certain that Augusta Emerita had established at least two *praefecturae* by the time of Trajan. In the *Constitutio limitum*, often ascribed to Hyginus Gromaticus, three *praefecturae* of Augusta Emerita are mentioned: the *praefectura Mullicensis*, the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*, and a third whose name is not specified in the

¹⁶³ *Lex Irnitana* Ch. 21. Cf. González (1986) p. 154.

¹⁶⁴ Siculus Flaccus, *De Conditionibus Agrorum* (ed. Thulin) p. 99.

agrimensores.¹⁶⁵ While we do not know the location of the *praefectura Mullicensis*, we know for sure that some of the land around Turgalium in the province of Cáceres belonged to Augusta Emerita.

While recent scholarship on the province of Cáceres has focused more on the issue of unclear boundaries between ancient communities, the issue of separating the *coloni* of the *praefectura* from the denizens of the territory of Turgalium has not been emphasized in the published corpus of inscriptions, so the data attributed to the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* relies on the most recent scholarly discussions of the proposed limits of the *praefectura*.¹⁶⁶ The most recent volume of inscriptions collected from Turgalium, Esteban Ortega's *CILC* vol. II, does not make this distinction in the catalogue of inscriptions.¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, Julio Gómez Santa Cruz's recent onomastic analysis of the Turgalium region made a good case for the limits of the *praefectura* by defining concentrations of names that indicate the Italic origin or Roman citizen/*coloni* status of their carriers. He concludes that a certain number of inscriptions found in satellite villages around modern Trujillo, ascribed to the area of Turgalium by Esteban Ortega, were likely part of the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* based on the concentration of Italic names and *tria nomina*.¹⁶⁸ This question has been significantly advanced by M. Navarro Caballero and J. Gorrochategui who offer a detailed discussion of Turgalium and the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*; see also the map in figure 4.1 (prepared by the present author), which lays out the proposed boundaries.¹⁶⁹ Importantly, the ADOPIA database now explicitly distinguishes between individuals from the *praefectura* and those from Turgalium, reflecting the most up-to-date

¹⁶⁵ Hyginus Gromaticus, *Constitutio Limitum* (ed. Thulin) pp. 136-140.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Navarro Caballero (2018) for a discussion of the boundaries of Norba Caesarina; Gómez Santa Cruz (2017) for a proposal on the boundaries of the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*.

¹⁶⁷ Esteban Ortega (2012).

¹⁶⁸ Gómez Santa Cruz (2017) pp. 510-514.

¹⁶⁹ Gorrochategui and Navarro Caballero (2024), fig. 4.1, p. 277.

scholarly consensus on the organization of this region. Accordingly, the data attributed to the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* in this study follow the criteria set forth in this new analysis.¹⁷⁰ These new developments have been taken into account for the current study of the province of Cáceres.¹⁷¹

Chronology

While not all of the inscriptions in this study could be dated, 247 inscriptions involving family relations from the province of Cáceres were able to provide some chronological information. In a general sense, the chronological patterns observed from inscriptions involving family relations in the province of Cáceres are consistent across all of the communities studied, with the exception of Turgalium. In every case, however, there is a definite spike in the number of funerary dedications from the late 1st century CE to the 2nd century CE. This pattern is in step with Elizabeth Meyer's assertion that spikes in the epigraphic habit in the Roman provinces have a direct correlation with processes of civic enfranchisement among local populations.¹⁷² Since we know that Vespasian granted the *ius Latii* to all of the Hispanic provinces during his censorship of 73-74 CE, this would have, to some extent, accelerated the number of local inhabitants receiving full Roman citizenship in accordance with the *Lex Flavia Municipalis*.¹⁷³ To a greater extent, nevertheless, it is very clear that the spike in inscriptional dedications in Cáceres starting in the late 1st century CE coincides with the mass grant of *ius Latii* under Vespasian and represents a willingness among newly enfranchised *Latini* within the region to express their status through epigraphy (fig. 2.2). The onomastic ambiguities, however, of *Latini* and the extent to which they decided to adopt *tria*

¹⁷⁰ Navarro Caballero & Gorrochategui (2024) p. 277.

¹⁷¹ The issue of the territorial boundaries of both Norba Caesarina and Turgalium, respectively, will be discussed at further length below during the regional analysis of data for family relations and onomastics.

¹⁷² Meyer (1990) pp. 95-96.

¹⁷³ Cf. *Lex Irnitana*, *Lex Salpensa*, and the *Lex Malacitana*.

nomina or present themselves informally using their *tria nomina* makes it difficult to know the absolute number of *Latini* or *cives Romani* in the record.

Following this spike in the epigraphic habit throughout the province of Cáceres, the number of datable inscriptions abruptly drops off during the 3rd century CE. Both Ramsey MacMullen and Elizabeth Meyer have observed this same phenomenon, the latter arguing that the benefits of *ius Latii* and Roman citizenship motivated provincial inhabitants to adopt the epigraphic habit as a way of distinguishing themselves from *peregrini* who did not benefit as such from these statuses.¹⁷⁴ Unlike their peregrine counterparts, newly enfranchised *Latini* and Roman citizens enjoyed benefits of *conubium*, *commercium*, and the testamentary privileges of a legally recognized will. Especially in the case of testamentary privileges, funerary epigraphy was a perfect way for *Latini* and new citizens to advertise the competitive value of their status. Meyer argues that with the advent of the *constitutio Antoniniana*, which conferred Roman citizenship on the whole Empire in 212 CE, the epigraphic habit ceased to serve its function as a status marker, indicating the social advantages of *Latini* and citizens over *peregrini*.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Meyer (1990) p. 81.

¹⁷⁵ Meyer (1990) p. 89.

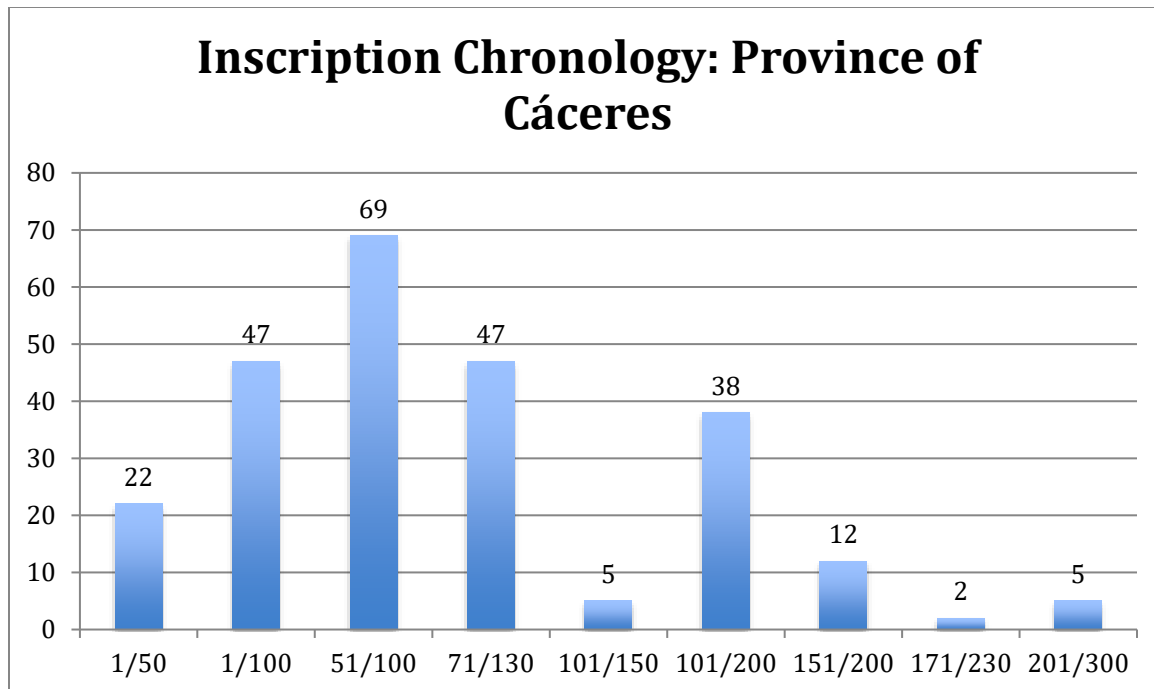


Figure 2.2: Inscription chronology in the province of Cáceres.

If we look closer at the chronology of the inscriptions in these separate communities, Turgalium shows evidence of some anomalous patterns. Compared to the other communities, there were significantly more inscriptions that were set up between 1 and 100 CE and 71 – 130 CE at Turgalium than at other civic communities in the region (fig. 2.3). It is most plausible that the apparent rise in inscriptions at Turgalium is due to the uneven survival and discovery of epigraphic material across time. Many more inscriptions have simply been preserved at Turgalium compared to other regions, largely because numerous stones were reused as building material in houses and churches in Trujillo and its immediate surroundings. This haphazard pattern of survival and reuse probably accounts for the concentration of inscriptions in the area, rather than any demographic or legal event.

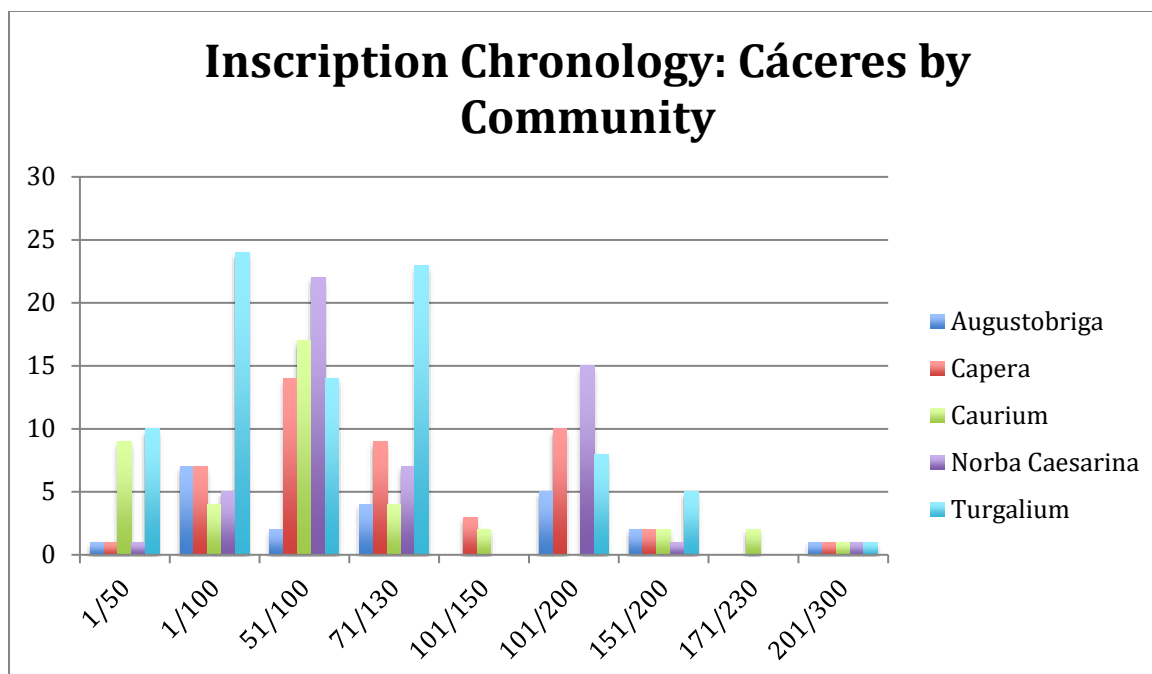


Figure 2.3: Inscription chronology by community in the province of Cáceres.

Of the 36 inscriptions involving family relations between 51 and 130 CE at Turgalium, it was possible to extract 42 relations. Out of these, 21 (50%) were ascending nuclear and 8 (19%) were between siblings (fig. 2.4). Descending nuclear and conjugal dedications, which typically account for the largest percentage of family relations in Lusitania and elsewhere in the province of Cáceres, were only attested on 6 and 5 occasions, respectively, at Turgalium.

The highest concentration of ascending nuclear dedications and dedications between siblings at Turgalium were set up between 51 and 130 CE.¹⁷⁶ In addition, the relations recorded from inscriptions during the 1st century CE at Turgalium, another period with an abnormally high number of dedications, follows the same pattern with ascending nuclear and sibling relations dominating the record.

¹⁷⁶ Navarro Caballero (2018) provides different chronology for some inscriptions from Norba Caesarina than Esteban Ortega (2007). Navarro Caballero's chronology, which updates Esteban Ortega, is more plausible and has been followed for this study. It was also what is recoverable from ADOPIA 2.0: <https://adopia.humanum.fr/en/home>.

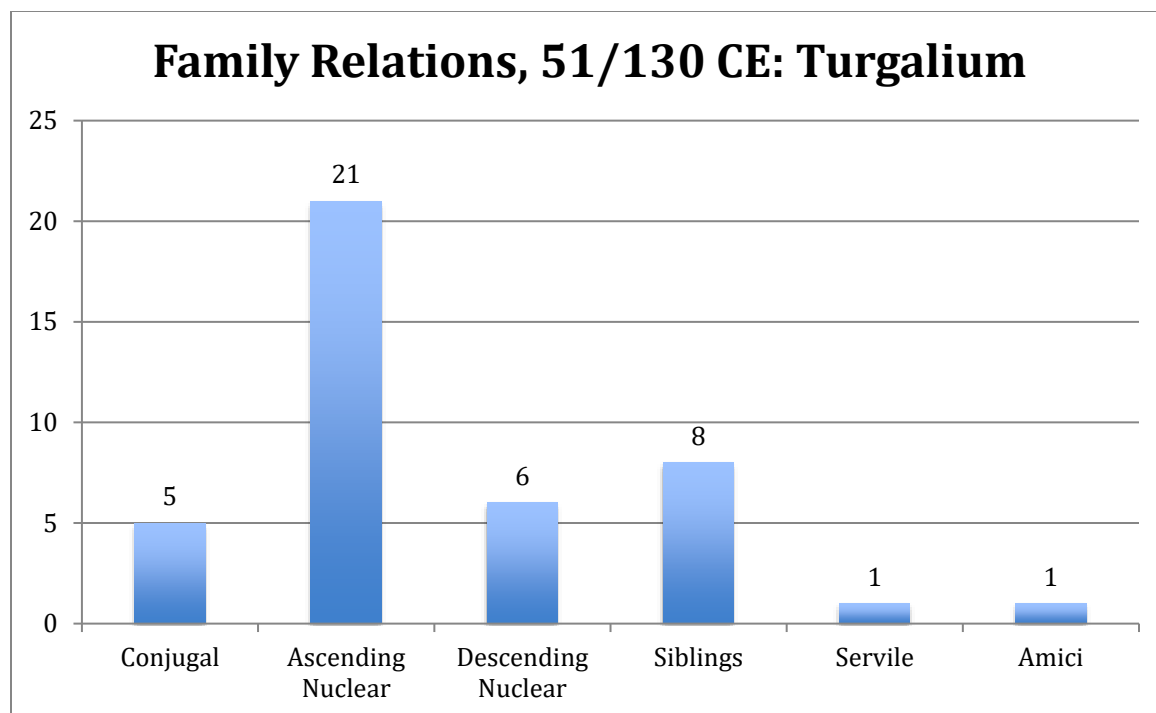


Figure 2.4: Family relations at Turgalium, 51 to 130 CE.

It would seem, then, that the abnormally high number of ascending nuclear dedications and dedications between siblings at Turgalium was limited to a particular chronological period. In this case we can never really know the reasons behind this pattern, but for some reason ascending nuclear dedications (child – parent) and dedications between siblings were the most commonly attested dedications between the 1st and early 2nd centuries at Turgalium. This was either due to disease that targeted individuals of a particular age group, leaving children and siblings to bury their loved ones, or to an emphasis on bonds between these particular relations due to local cultural preferences in this particular period.

Province of Cáceres: Nuclear vs. Extended

Analysis of all known funerary epigraphy in the five civic communities selected for this discussion of the province of Cáceres has revealed a total of 354 expressions of family relations between dedicators and deceased. Before analyzing the distribution of family relations among the

subcategories within the larger nuclear and extended family relation categories, we must discuss the broader trend of expressions of family relations between the basic categories of nuclear and extended family relations (table 2.1).

Capera Caurium Norba Turgalium Augustobriga Total

Dedicator	Deceased						
Husband	Wife	5	5	5	11	2	28
Wife	Husband	4	4	7	7	3	25
Total Conjugal		9	9	12	18	5	53
Father	Son	4	5	7	4	3	23
	Daughter	2	3	3	3	3	14
	Child	4	1	1	1		7
Mother	Son	4	8	12	4	3	31
	Daughter	2	5	4	3	3	17
	Child	4	3	1	2	2	12
Total Descending		20	25	28	17	14	104
Son	Father	6	3	5	4	2	20
	Mother	5	3	7	5		20
	Parent				1		1
Daughter	Father	1	1	2	6		10
	Mother		2	1	9	2	14
	Parent						
Child	Father	1		5	14	2	22
	Mother	1		1	9	1	12
	Parent				2		2
Total Ascending		14	9	21	50	7	101
Brother	Brother	4	3		11		18
	Sister	3		3	7		13
	Sibling						
Sister	Brother	1	1	2	5	2	11
	Sister			1			1
	Sibling						
Total Siblings		8	4	6	23	2	43
Total Nuclear		51	47	67	108	28	301
Descending Extended		2	1	2	4	1	10
Ascending Extended		3	1	1			5
Total Extended		5	2	3	4	1	15
<i>Amici</i>		3		1	6		10
<i>Heres</i>		1	6	5		4	16
Other		4	6	6	6	4	26
Patron	<i>Libertus/a</i>					1	1
Master	Slave						
<i>Libertus/a</i>	Patron	2	1	1		2	6
Slave	Master				2		2
Total Servile		2	1	1	2	3	9
Self		1	1		1		3
Total Relations		63	57	77	121	36	354

Table 2.1: Table of all commemorative relations in the province of Cáceres.

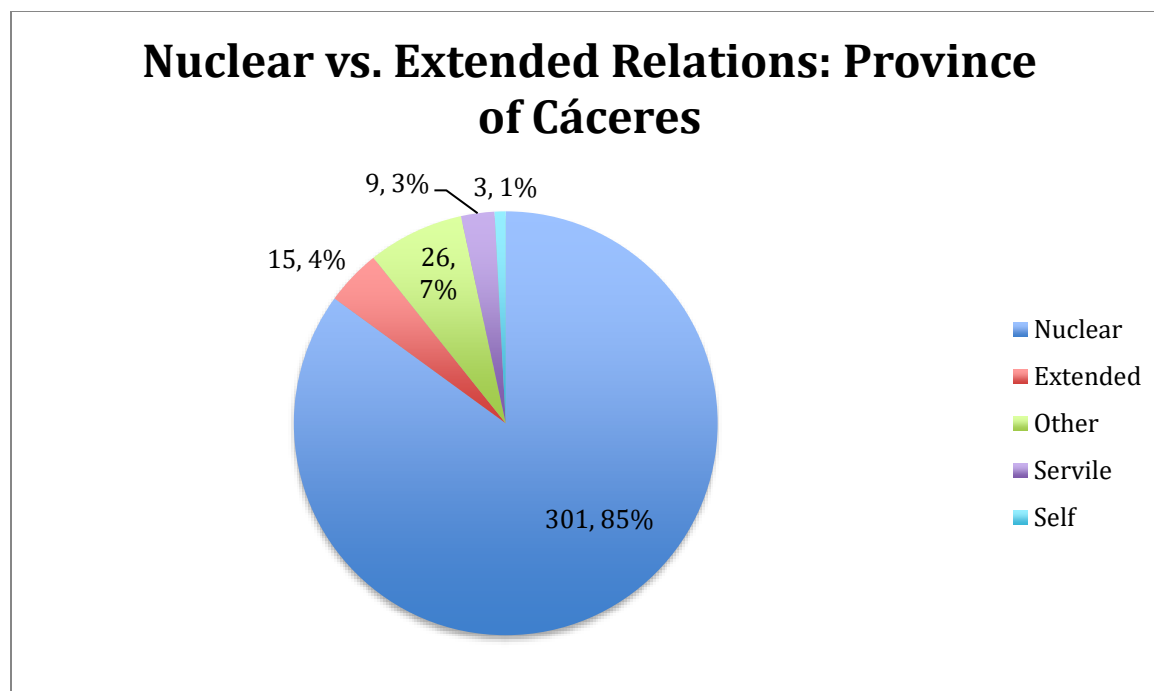


Figure 2.5: Nuclear vs. extended relations in the province of Cáceres.

When all 354 family relations are separated into the categories of Nuclear, Extended, Other (friends and heirs), Servile, and self-dedications, it is abundantly clear that nuclear relations were the most commonly attested family relations in the province of Cáceres. Of all the relations attested, 301 (85%) of them were between members of the nuclear family (i.e., spouses, siblings, parents, and children). The percentage of dedications between members of the nuclear family in Cáceres was two percent higher than the 83% that Saller and Shaw counted for all of Hispania (fig. 2.5).¹⁷⁷ At a glance, these numbers are statistically similar to the results of early studies on family relations in the Hispanic provinces.

In comparison, the number of dedications involving extended relations, servile relationships, heirs, or friends was marginal. Of the 354 relationships counted, only 15 (4%) were between extended family members, 26 (7%) were between others (friends and heirs), 9 (3%) involved servile relationships, and 3 (1%) were self-dedications. Again, these numbers are in step

¹⁷⁷ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

with relationships counted during previous studies in the region which count nuclear relations among the most common in the Hispanic provinces.¹⁷⁸ As with other areas of Lusitania examined in this study, regional numbers and percentages tend to obscure variations in local patterns of expression and interesting trends begin to appear when the subcategories within nuclear and extended relations are examined more closely. Only then will we begin to see patterns and local variations in the expression of family relations in funerary epigraphy.

Province of Cáceres: Nuclear Relations

Unlike other regions of Roman Lusitania, the various relations expressed within the nuclear category follow an almost uniform pattern in their distribution. There are four main sub-categories: conjugal relations, relations between siblings, ascending nuclear relations, and descending nuclear relations. Out of 354 total relationships counted, 301 of these were from within the nuclear family (fig. 2.6).

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Edmondson (2005) p. 194; Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 149.

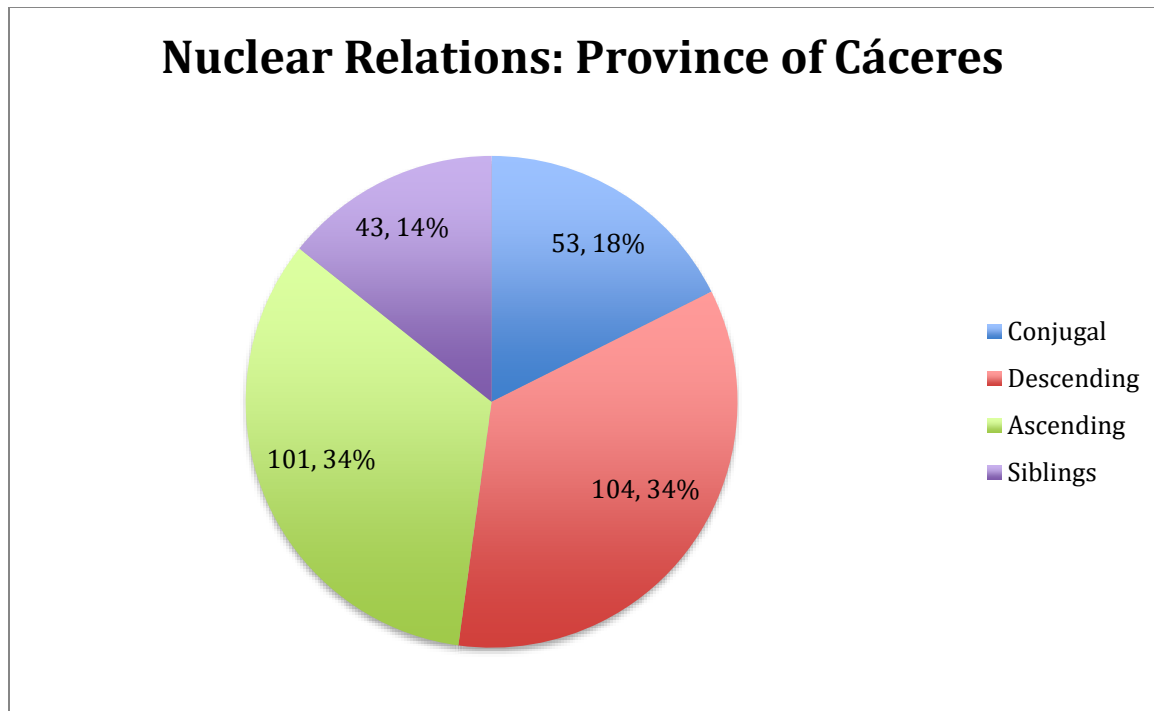


Figure 2.6: Nuclear relations in the province of Cáceres.

The two predominant subcategories represented in this sample were ascending and descending nuclear relations (i.e., expressions of relations between parents and children). Ascending and descending nuclear relations accounted for 101 (34%) and 104 (34%), respectively, of the total 301 nuclear relations counted. The fact that ascending and descending expressions were almost at parity is atypical when compared to the relations counted by Saller and Shaw in their 1984 study as well as Edmondson's study of Lusitania in 2005.¹⁷⁹ According to Saller and Shaw, descending nuclear dedications, from parents to their deceased children, were the most common type of dedication attested in Roman funerary epigraphy in both the Hispanic provinces and elsewhere. In this case, however, the abnormally high number of ascending nuclear relations counted in the area of Turgalium affected the regional total, resulting in an almost even distribution of ascending and descending nuclear relations. This issue will be further discussed below in the

¹⁷⁹ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148: Ascending and descending nuclear relations accounted for 184 (25%) and 257 (36%) of nuclear relations expressed, respectively, in the whole of the Hispanic provinces. Also see Edmondson (2005) p. 194.

sub-regional analysis of the data for family relations expressed in funerary epigraphy. Expressions of relations between siblings and conjugal partners, likewise, were almost at parity as well, with sibling relations accounting for 43 (14%) and conjugal relations 53 (18%) of the total 301 nuclear relations expressed. Again, conjugal and dedications between siblings typically represent the two least commonly attested nuclear relations in most areas. This pattern can be clearly observed in both the relations counted for the *Conventus Pacensis* and Saller and Shaw's numbers for the whole of the Hispanic provinces.¹⁸⁰ Although conjugal dedications in Cáceres (18% of nuclear relations) are proportionally less frequent than in the *Conventus Pacensis* (32%) or the Hispanic provinces in general (29%), both conjugal and sibling dedications remain less commonly attested than parent–child dedications, which is consistent with broader epigraphic patterns.

While the predominant categories were ascending and descending nuclear relations, attested in almost equal numbers, relations expressed between siblings and conjugal partners were both lower in number than the other categories. Although the number of ascending nuclear dedications was atypical compared to other regions of Lusitania and the Hispanic provinces in general, analysis of the individual civic communities in the area will show that this is due to anomalous patterns observed at Turgalium, namely abnormally high numbers of ascending nuclear dedications and dedications between siblings. The discrepancy between the pattern of relations observed at Turgalium and the rest of the communities is immediately clear when they are all viewed separately.

¹⁸⁰ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

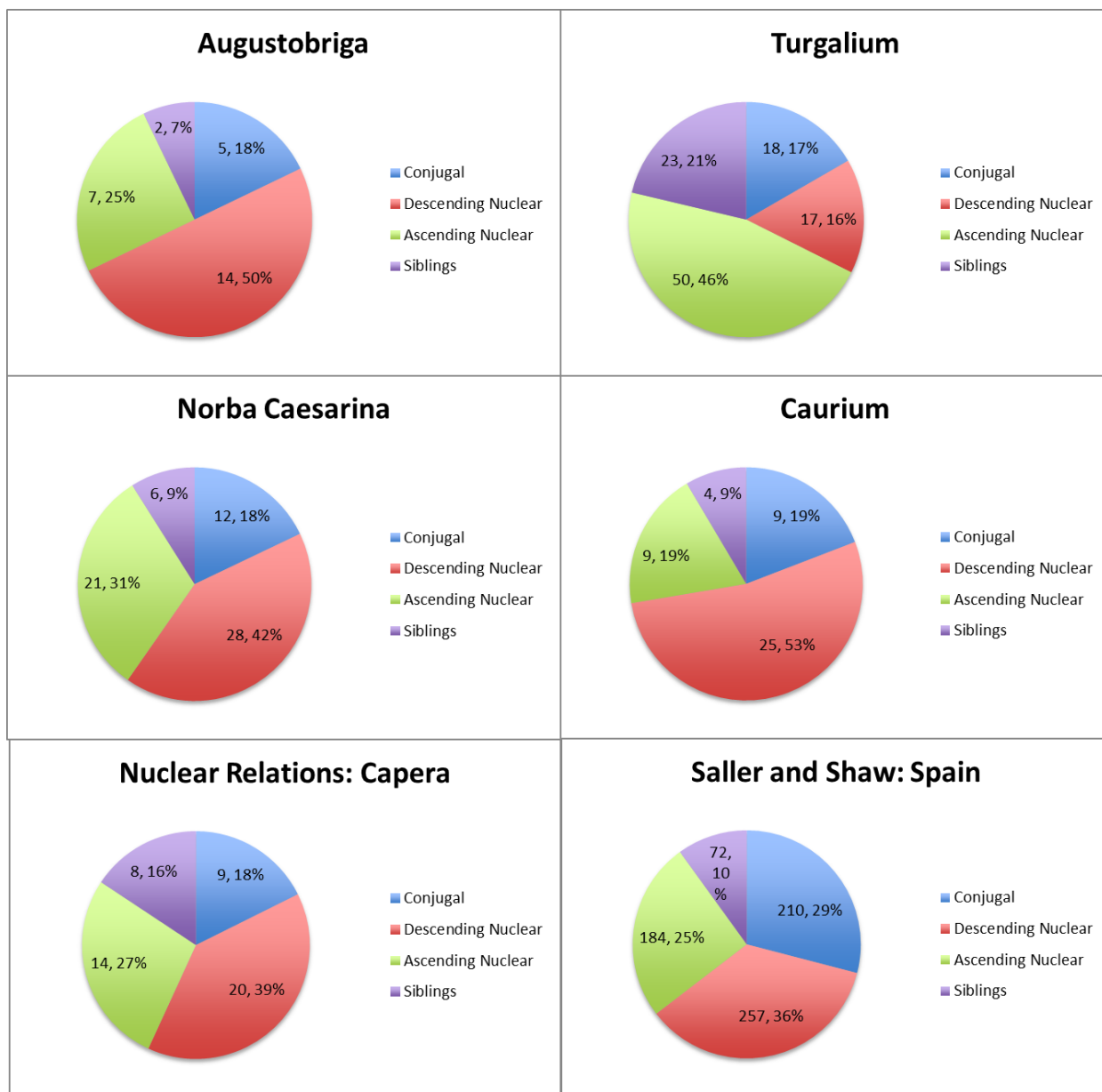


Figure 2.7: Nuclear relations at selected civic communities in the modern province of Cáceres vis-à-vis Saller and Shaw's data for Hispania.

If we are to examine the pattern of nuclear family relations across all of the civic communities discussed in this chapter, some preliminary observations can be made concerning the regional trends in funerary commemoration (fig. 2.7) First of all, when all of these patterns were

viewed opposite the relations counted by Saller and Shaw in 1984, all of the communities had strikingly lower percentages of conjugal dedications. In this respect, the data from the province of Cáceres differed greatly from those collected by Saller and Shaw.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, compared with the pattern of family relations observed by Jonathan Edmondson in his more recent study of Lusitania, which did not include communities in the modern province of Cáceres, ascending nuclear dedications supplanted conjugal relations as the second most common relation in all communities.¹⁸² This updated survey of family relations has clearly identified that natal relations between parents and children were of extreme importance at the ancient communities in the province of Cáceres. Secondly, in all cases except for Turgalium, descending nuclear dedications were the most commonly expressed relations. This corroborates a trend in family relations that has been observed elsewhere in Lusitania and appears to be a defining feature of patterns in Lusitanian family relations.¹⁸³ It is abundantly clear, therefore, that there was a strong emphasis on bonds between parents and children in the province of Cáceres.

Among the civic communities in the province of Cáceres, Norba Caesarina and Capera shared the most similar patterns, with Caurium and Augustobriga showing slightly higher percentages of descending nuclear dedications. Turgalium, on the other hand, had an abnormally high number of ascending nuclear dedications as well as dedications between siblings. While the number of sibling dedications was marginally higher, the number of ascending nuclear dedications from Turgalium was so high that the regional totals of descending and ascending nuclear dedications were almost at parity, a pattern which has not been observed in any previous studies

¹⁸¹ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

¹⁸² Jonathan Edmondson observed the following pattern of nuclear relations for all of Lusitania: Conjugal 199 (31%); Descending Nuclear 242 (37%); Ascending Nuclear 150 (23%); Siblings 56 (9%). Edmondson (2005) p. 195.

¹⁸³ Cf. Edmondson (2005) p. 194.

of family relations in the province of Lusitania. A statistical analysis was conducted in order to determine whether the high number of ascending nuclear relations at Turgalium was statistically significant, and the results were overwhelmingly positive. The analysis confirmed that compared to the rest of the province of Cáceres, the high number of ascending nuclear dedications at Turgalium yielded a high significance interval ($P = 0.001$). This demonstrates that the high number of ascending nuclear relations expressed at Turgalium was not due to an accident of the data record, but rather a local commemorative habit emphasizing strong bonds between children and parents, in particular following the death of the latter.¹⁸⁴ In this respect, Turgalium is the only civic community in the province of Cáceres to have a statistically anomalous pattern in the expression of family relations, the possible reasons for which will be explored following a discussion of the personal name elements and juridical status of the inhabitants of Turgalium.

Province of Cáceres: Linguistics, Name Structure, and Juridical Status

The personal onomastics of people named on the funerary epitaphs of this study can tell us much about the cultural background of individuals and their juridical status – whether they were *peregrini*, *Latini*, or full Roman citizens. Individuals of peregrine or sometimes Latin status bore personal names with particular structural characteristics, namely that of the single name followed by a patronymic, expressed by the single name of their father, in the genitive case. While the structural configuration of personal names serves as a general, albeit imprecise index of juridical status, the linguistic properties of single names can indicate the extent to which *peregrini* or *Latini*

¹⁸⁴ If the null hypothesis is that the number of ascending nuclear dedications at Turgalium is significantly greater than the number of ascending nuclear dedications in the other communities in the province of Cáceres, statistical analysis should yield a probability value of at least 95% confidence ($P = < 0.05$) in order to be statistically significant. In this case, the P-value for ascending nuclear relations at Turgalium, $P = 0.001$, is statistically significant.

with single names were adopting Latin single names, and this was especially important in cases in which filiation provided the name of an individual's father. Likewise, as we are aware of the various processes through which local individuals acquired Latin and Roman citizen status, possession of the *tria* and *duo nomina* can indicate either Latin or full Roman citizen status.¹⁸⁵ As with the single names of *peregrini*, the *tria* and *duo nomina* may consist of a combination of name elements with differing linguistic properties. *Praenomina* and *nomina* were typically Latin, but *cognomina* could be Latin, Greek, or indigenous, the latter indicating active retention of local naming practices. Since individuals with Latin rights could choose to either retain their single name structure or adopt *tria* or *duo nomina*, it is not always possible to identify the absolute juridical status of every individual. For this reason, the discussion of juridical status mostly concerns the extent to which single names were retained vs. the extent to which *tria/duo nomina* were adopted. Lists of *nomina*, *cognomina*, and the number of their attestations are provided below (tables 2.2 & 2.3):

¹⁸⁵ It is important to note that except in rare cases of elite women, only men typically hold the *tria nomina*, while the *duo nomina* are typical for women of citizen status. Salway notes, however, that in some cases onomastic practice of provincial enfranchisees did encourage binominal system by changing the *cognomina* to primary signifiers for individuals. Salway (1994) p. 145.

Nomina

ACCIVS, -A	2	CVRIVS, -A	1	QVINTIVS, -A	1
ACILIVS, -A	1	DIDIVS, -A	2	QVINTVS, -A	1
AELIVS, -A	7	DOMITIVS, -A	2	RVTILIVS, -A	1
AEMILIVS, -A	2	FABIVS, -A	1	SARIVS, -A	1
AMMIVS, -A	2	FIDIVS, -A	1	SATVRIVS, -A	1
ANNIVS, -A	1	FLAVIVS, -A	1	SEMPRONIVS, -A	1
ANTISTIVS, -A	1	FVLVIVS, -A	2	SESTILIVS, -A	1
ARRVNTIVS, - A	1	HERCINIVS, -A	1	SEVERVS, -A	2
ARTORIVS, -A	1	IVLIVS, -A	27	SOCONIVS, -A	1
ATIVS, -A	1	IVNIVS, -A	1	SVLPICIVS, -A	2
ATTIVS, -A	7	KANIA	1	TERENTIVS, -A	1
AVFIDIVS, -A	1	MANIVS, -A	1	TIBERIVS, -A	1
AVIVS, -A	1	MARCIVS, -A	3	TITIVS, -A	1
CAECILIVS, -A	5	NORBANVS, -A	19	TREBIVS, -A	2
CAELIVS, -A	2	PALPHVRIVS, -A	2	TVRELLIVS, -A	1
CAERIVS, -A	1	PAPIVS, -A	1	VALERIVS, -A	6
CAESILIVS, -A	1	PECVLIARIS	1	VETVRIVS, -A	1
CAESIVS, -A	1	PETRONIVS, -A	4	VIBIVS, -A	2
CALPVRNIVS, - A	2	POMPEIVS, -A	2	VILLIVS, -A	1
COCCEIVS, -A	1	PONTIVS, -A	1	VITELLIVS, -A	1
CORNELIVS, - A	1	POPILIVS, -A	1	VPRILLVS, -A	1
CRVSTINVS, - A	1	PRAESENTIVS, - A	1		
CVNTIVS, -A	1	PVBLICIVS, -A	2	Total:	152

Table 2.2: A list of *nomina* and number of attestations from the province of Cáceres.

Cognomina

AIA	1	CATVRO	1	TANGINVS, -A	1
ARCIVS, -A	1	CESSEA	1	TAPILVS, -A	1
BOVIVS, -A	1	COVTIVS, -A	1	TVREVS, -A	1
BOVTIVS, -A	1	IBARRA	1		

Total: 11

Table 2.3: A list of linguistically indigenous *cognomina* and attestations in the province of Cáceres

Of the 273 inscriptions containing expressions of family relations in the entire province of Cáceres, a total of 757 name elements (single names, *nomina*, and *cognomina*) were counted, including single names expressed through filiation. The three linguistic categories for personal names identified in the region were Latin, indigenous, and Greek. Of the 757 name elements counted, the majority of them were linguistically Latin, accounting for 477 (63%) of all name elements. Indigenous names, on the other hand, accounted for 265 (35%) of the total names counted. Greek names were attested very infrequently with only 15 (2%) cases occurring in epitaphs set up by family members (fig. 2.8).

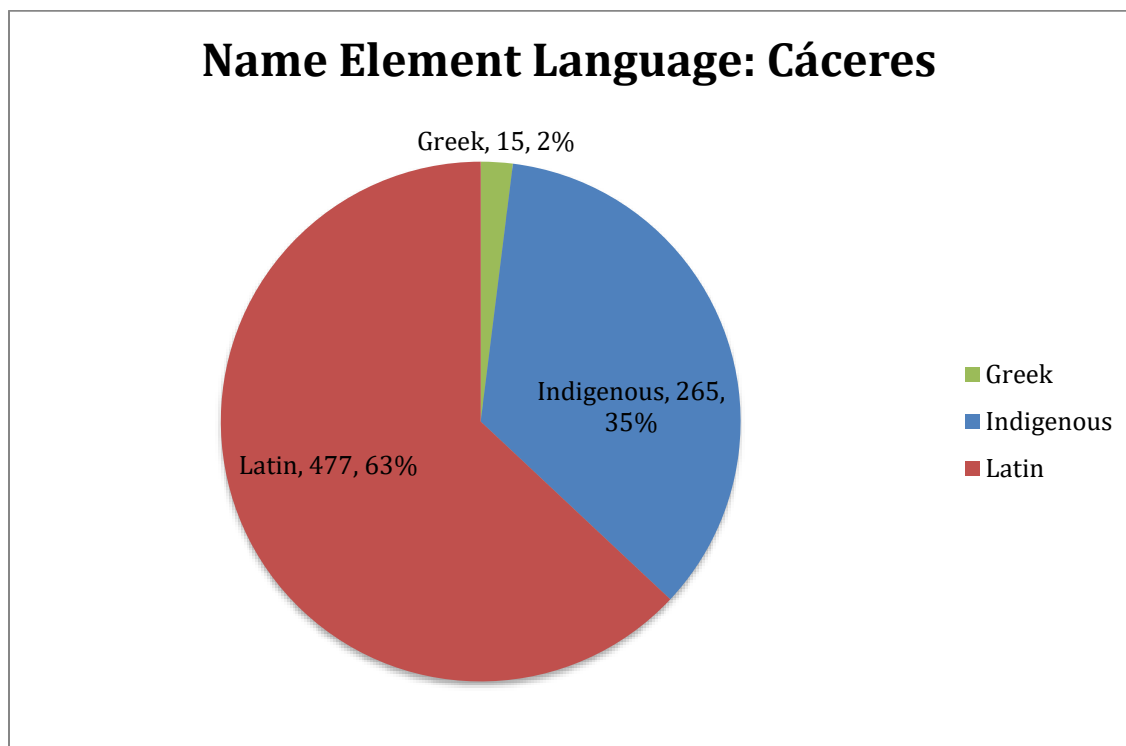


Figure 2.8: Name element linguistics in the province of Cáceres.

The dominant language of personal name elements in the province of Cáceres was Latin. The fact, however, that one third of the name elements counted were linguistically indigenous indicates that there was a significant degree of continuity with the pre-Roman past in terms of

linguistically indigenous names. The geographical distribution of these linguistic patterns is not uniform, however, as we will see.

While one might assume that a high degree of Latinization was accompanied by a high number of individuals with *tria/duo nomina*, the quantitative data for individual name structure across the modern province of Cáceres indicates otherwise. Of the 757 names extracted from the epitaphs in question, 611 individuals could be identified, whose name structure was clear beyond question. Since *Latini* could have either single names or *tria/duo nomina*, individuals have been counted based on complete personal name structure rather than supposed juridical status. In addition, individuals whose servile status is clear (e.g. Abulaius Vibi Tertulli servu(s) from the *praefectura Turgaliensis*) have been counted separately as such (fig. 2.9).¹⁸⁶

Despite the fact that the personal names attested in the region are predominantly Latin, individuals with single names born by individuals who were not explicitly slaves account for 435 (71%) of the people identified within the epitaphs here analyzed. In contrast, individuals with *tria/duo nomina* accounted for only 162 (27%) of the individuals identified within the corpus of inscriptions. Slaves, on the other hand, only represent a marginal quantity of the individuals counted, with only 14 (2%) attestations.

¹⁸⁶ *CILC* II, 763.

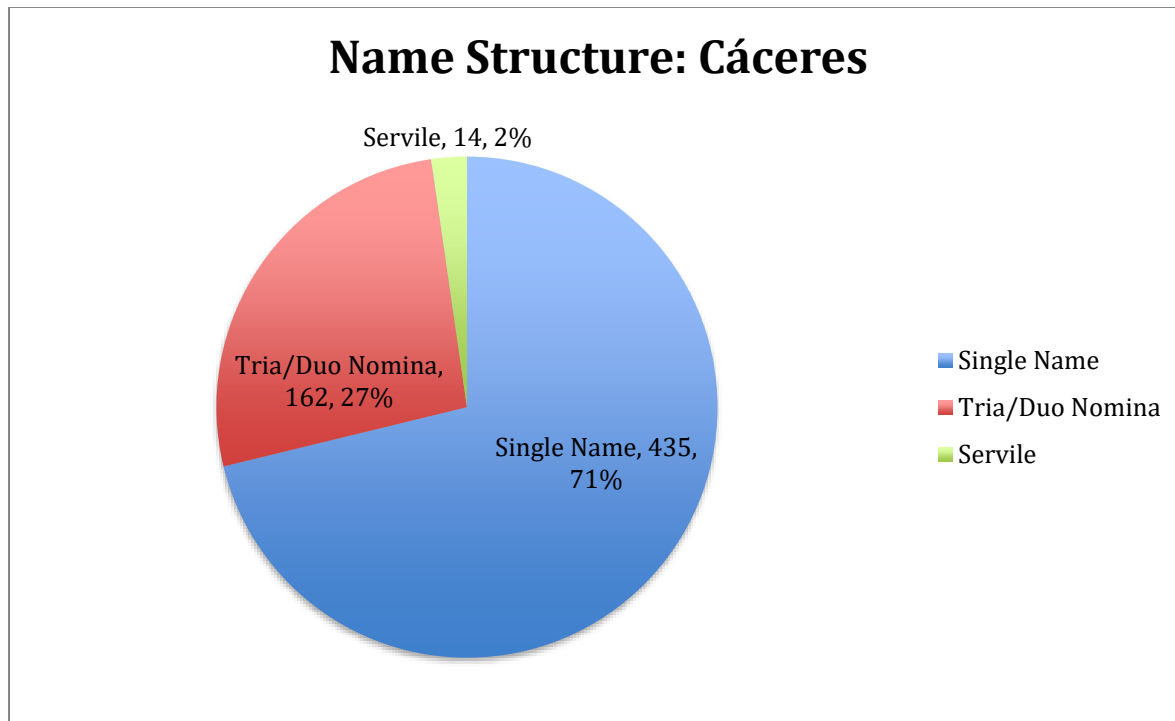


Figure 2.9: Personal name structure in the province of Cáceres.

These regional data reveal some interesting trends that raise some more nuanced questions that must be asked of epigraphic material in the area and the variations in the data that they present. Some of the issues these data raise include: the extent to which the juridical/civic status of different communities affected the phenomenon of Latinization; the extent to which the name structure of individuals affected linguistic changes in the onomastic record; and whether or not trends in the expression of family relations and personal names can help more clearly delineate the territories of Augusta Emerita's *praefecturae*. The following discussion will focus on the major communities in the province of Cáceres and explore any possible regional variations in the data they present.

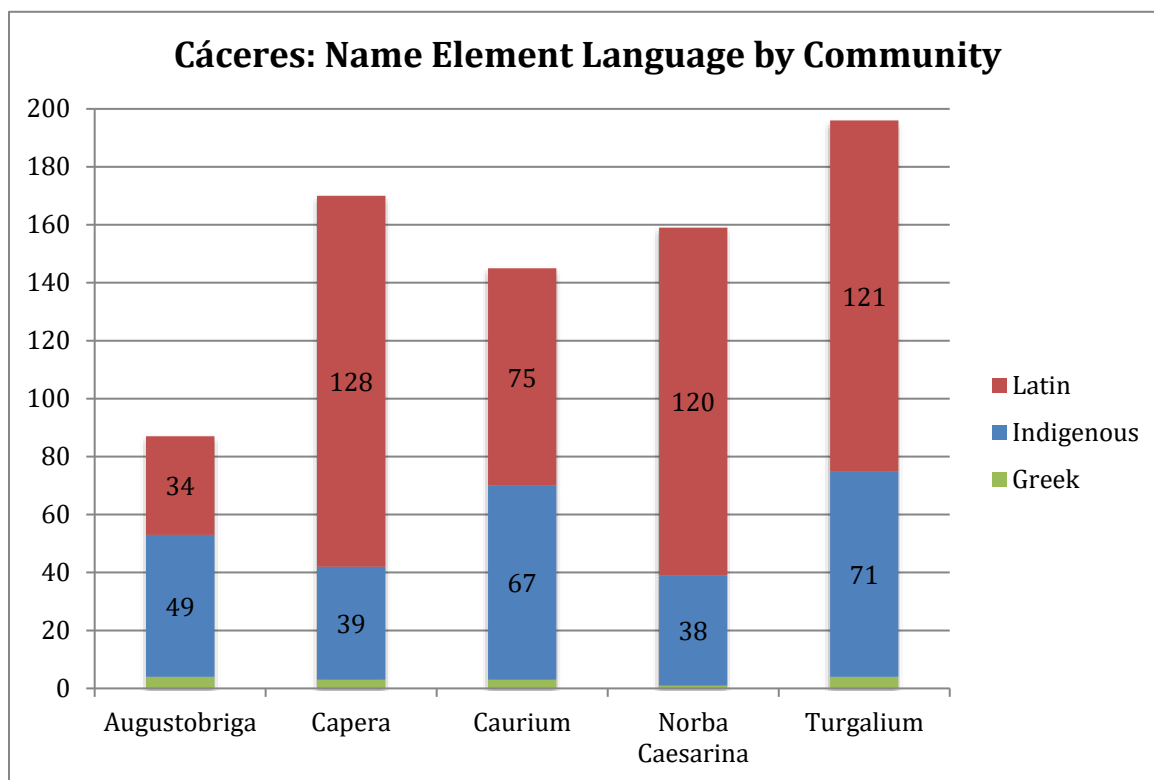


Figure 2.10: Name element language of dedicators and deceased in the communities of Cáceres.

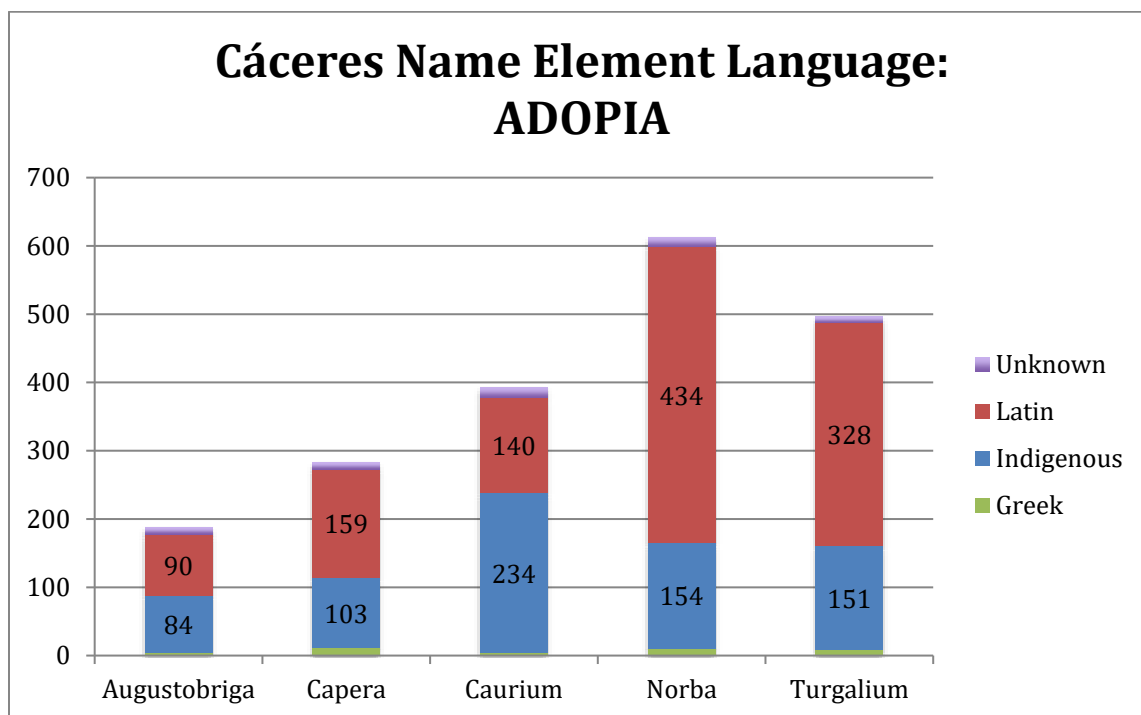


Figure 2.11: Name element language from all inscriptions in each community (ADOPIA).

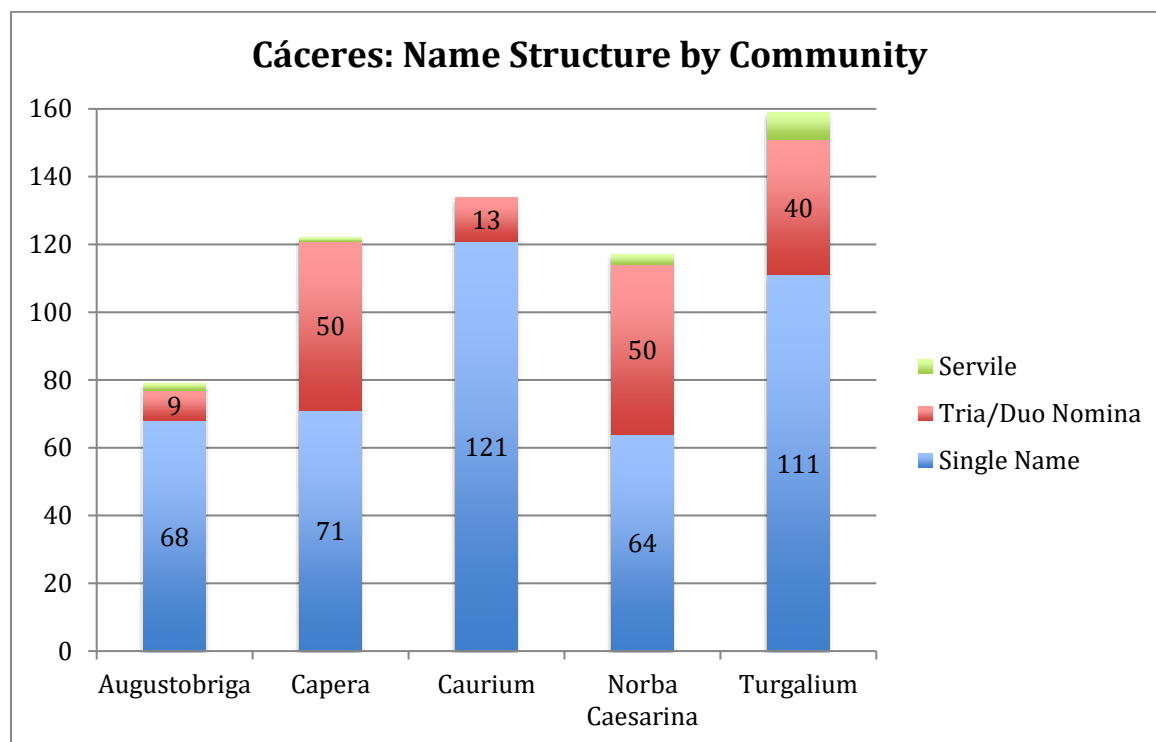


Figure 2.12: Name structure of dedicators and deceased in the communities of Cáceres.

In terms of the linguistic and structural attributes of the names of dedicators and deceased in the province of Cáceres, a number of trends emerge from the data. Firstly, although Latin name elements were predominant in all cases except Augustobriga, at least 25% of the name elements in each community were linguistically indigenous with the exception of Capera in which only 23% were linguistically indigenous (fig. 2.10). When the linguistic data pertaining only to family relations were compared to comprehensive onomastic data from all inscriptions in these communities, the results were largely consistent (fig. 2.11). Turgalium, Norba Caesarina, and Augustobriga show almost identical ratios of Latin to indigenous name elements when compared to comprehensive onomastic data from these communities. The only difference was an underrepresentation of indigenous name elements at Capera and Caurium, which might indicate that people with indigenous name elements were less likely to set up funerary monuments

expressing family relations in their communities. Nevertheless, all of these data demonstrate a relatively high degree of retention of linguistically indigenous name elements in each of these communities.

Conversely, a comparative analysis of the name structure of dedicators and deceased shows that single name structure was by far the most common onomastic type among relatives involved in the known epitaphs (fig. 2.12). The highest number and percentage of *tria/duo nomina* was recorded at Norba Caesarina accounting for 50 (43%) of the individuals identified in the body of data. In the case of Norba Caesarina, this is interesting since it was a *colonia* of Roman citizens. This would indicate that a number of *peregrini*, or perhaps slaves, were living at Norba and within its territory. Turgalium and Capera had relatively low percentages of individuals with *tria/duo nomina*, 40 (25%) and 50 (41%) respectively, while Augustobriga and Caurium very few attestations of *tria/duo nomina* (11% and 17%, respectively). In terms of name structure, Norba Caesarina and Capera show relatively similar patterns. Capera stands out as a Flavian *municipium* and these data all clearly indicate that for some reason Capera experienced a higher degree of assimilation compared to Caurium and Augustobriga when it came to personal onomastics in the province of Cáceres. Nevertheless, even these more Latinized communities contained significant numbers of people who retained their indigenous naming practices.

Two particularly striking phenomena are clear from the data concerning the linguistic and structural attributes of name elements in the province of Cáceres. Firstly, the high number of single names, especially in Flavian *municipia*, indicates that not all individuals adopted the *tria nomina* following the grant of *ius Latii* under Vespasian. While people at Turgalium and Capera adopted the *tria nomina* in higher numbers than Augustobriga and Caurium, there was still a high degree of retention when it came to pre-Roman onomastic practices overall, especially when compared to

the *Conventus Pacensis* and Olisipo. It seems very likely that the remote location of these communities, inland to the north and east of the *Conventus Pacensis* and Olisipo, resulted in a slower acculturative process between Roman and indigenous elements of onomastic practice. For whatever reason, the proliferation of *tria nomina* was less pronounced than the proliferation of linguistically Latin name elements in this region of Lusitania.

What is most surprising about these phenomena is that around one quarter of the individuals retained linguistically indigenous name elements at Norba Caesarina, whose foundation probably belongs in the later 30s BCE, making it an early colonia in the region. While the establishment of a *colonia* entails a population of Roman citizens, and hence the right to hold the *tria nomina*, there surely must have been a significant population of *incolae*, or resident aliens, at Norba Caesarina and in its territory. Therefore, we might surmise that there was a significant population of *incolae* in and around Norba Caesarina, who retained various attributes of their indigenous naming practices. We know from the various surviving *leges* pertaining to the administration of *coloniae* and *municipia* that *incolae* were a common element of most communities and held certain obligations and responsibilities despite their resident alien status. For example, chapter 98 of the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* indicates that not only were *coloni* expected to contribute to public building projects, but also “Whoever in that colony or within the boundaries of that colony shall have a domicile (*domicilium*) or estate and shall not be a colonist of that colony, he is to be liable to the same construction work as a colonist.”¹⁸⁷ Likewise, the *Lex Irnitana* included multiple provisions discussing the role of *incolae* in the community. For example, *incolae* were subject to the authority of *aediles* (Ch. 19), liable to fines (Ch. 69 and 71), they fell under the jurisdiction of *duumviri* and *aediles* (Ch. 84), could vote in some elections (Ch.

¹⁸⁷ *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* Ch. 98; trans. Crawford (1996) pp. 421-432.

54), and contributed to public works (Ch. 83). Since *incolae* seem to have been omnipresent in the affairs of both *municipia* and *coloniae*, there appears to have been a significant population of them at Norba Caesarina and they are well represented in the epigraphic record.

As far as family relations were concerned, the communities in the province of Cáceres show a pattern that deviates from those observed by Saller and Shaw. All of the communities discussed in this chapter, with the exception of Turgalium, have a higher percentage of descending nuclear dedications and a lower percentage of conjugal dedications. This strongly implies that compared to the whole of the Hispanic provinces, relations between parents and their children were more commonly attested, emphasizing the importance of natal bonds between parents and children in these communities. This very likely signifies a set of values that are particular to the communities immediately to the north of Augusta Emerita and, to a greater extent, the Roman province of Lusitania. Even in the case of Turgalium, in which ascending nuclear dedications were by far the most common, the most frequently attested relations were those between parents and children. The statistical significance of the high number of ascending nuclear dedications at Turgalium, a pattern which deviated greatly from all other evidence in the province, also serves as a warning that cultural factors were not always the impetus behind patterns in commemorative acts.

Some telling patterns also emerged from the analysis of personal names in the province of Cáceres. Firstly, the linguistic attributes of individual name elements indicate that while there was a high degree of Latinization within these communities, in particular at Norba Caesarina and Turgalium, linguistically indigenous name elements were still quite common, accounting for at least one quarter of the name elements attested among dedicators and deceased in each community. Not only this, but this pattern was consistent with the comprehensive onomastic data collected

from all known inscriptions in the region by the ADOPIA project, including votive and honorific inscriptions. What is most striking about the linguistic patterns is that linguistically indigenous name elements are more commonly attested in northern communities. While Turgalium and Norba Caesarina are further south and closer to Augusta Emerita, the other communities in which indigenous names were more common were either located along or north of the Tagus river. It seems that the natural geographic limits of the river served as a convenient boundary past which retention of indigenous name elements was a more common practice.

Although the linguistic attributes of personal name elements in the province of Cáceres followed a definitive geographical pattern, attributes pertaining to personal name structure were less straightforward. When the name structure of all individuals attested as dedicators or deceased in funerary inscriptions were tabulated, single names appeared more often in the record than *tria/duo nomina*. While Augustobriga, Caurium, and Turgalium had the fewest number of individuals with *tria/duo nomina*, Norba Caesarina and Capera had the most. We know that all of the other communities except for Norba Caesarina were Flavian *municipia* and were inhabited by *Latini* after the Flavian period. Since the chronology of the inscriptions from these communities indicates that a majority were either Flavian or post-Flavian in date, these appear to have been communities of *Latini* in which many chose not to adopt the *tria nomina*. Compared to many of the communities in the *Conventus Pacensis* to the southwest, in which the *tria nomina* was the most commonly attested name structure, there appears to have been a concerted habit to resist or outright ignore the choice to adopt *tria nomina* following conferral of *ius Latii*. Moreover, the significant number of individuals with single names at Norba Caesarina, a *colonia*, is further baffling and can only be explained by a significant population of *Latini* or peregrine *incolae* who had settled in and around Norba Caesarina as resident aliens. In any case, there was clearly a

significant contingent of individuals who maintained pre-Roman naming practices in all of these communities and this divergence in name structure does not appear to have influenced the various types of relations emphasized through acts of funerary commemoration. A further comparison between individual relationships and name elements of dedicators and deceased will be necessary and this will need to be done on a community basis. For this reason, the following discussion will determine if there is a direct correlation between expressions of family relations and personal name elements in the communities of the province of Cáceres.

Norba Caesarina

Norba Caesarina is 75km from the *conventus* capital Augusta Emerita and 90km from Metellinum (modern Medellín), another Roman *colonia* situated just south of the river Anas (modern Guadiana). Despite this relative proximity, Norba Caesarina is the only city that had the status of a *colonia* in the province of Cáceres. The ancient site is now occupied by the modern city of Cáceres located on a small, elevated plateau in the central area of the modern province, which also has visual and territorial command over a substantial hinterland of arable plains (fig. 2.1).¹⁸⁸

The exact date of the foundation of Norba Caesarina is uncertain, but epigraphic and literary evidence suggests that the colony was probably founded in the later 30s BCE, most plausibly under C. Norbanus Flaccus, who was proconsul in Hispania in 35/34 BCE.¹⁸⁹ This hypothesis is supported both by the name of the colony and by the prevalence of the nomen *Norbanus* in the local epigraphic record. Pliny's notice that *Castra Caecilia* and *Castra Servilia* were *contributi* to Norba Caesarina further clarifies the framework within which the new settlement developed. When listing Norba Caesarina among the five *coloniae* of the ancient

¹⁸⁸ Esteban Ortega (2007) p. 13.

¹⁸⁹ Esteban Ortega (2000) pp. 250-251.

province of Lusitania, he mentions that at some point the populations of two military camps, the Castra Caecilia and the Castra Servilia, served as *contributi* for the newly established *colonia*.¹⁹⁰ The *Antonine Itinerary* also makes reference to the Castra Caecilia to the exclusion of Norba, which indicates that the *castra* likely continued to exist as *contributi* long after Pliny mentions them, perhaps more conveniently located along the trajectory of the itinerary.¹⁹¹

Archaeological evidence of Roman military activity in the region has further complicated our understanding of the foundation of the *colonia*. Adolf Schulten conducted archaeological campaigns during the 1930s in which the remains of a Roman military camp were uncovered at Cáceres El Viejo. Günter Ulbert's subsequent analysis of material from the military camp at Cáceres El Viejo, however, proposes that this camp was in fact occupied earlier in the 1st century, ca. 90-75 BCE, and destroyed by Q. Sertorius' forces during the conflict between Marius and Sulla.¹⁹² It is not expressly clear whether Schulten's camp was one of the *castra* that served as *contributi* for Norba Caesarina. In any case, despite locating the boundaries, remains of a forum, and a temple, archaeological material from the camp indicated that it was occupied during the 1st century BCE, but there was no evidence indicating occupation into the imperial period.¹⁹³ Subsequent archaeological investigations during the 20th century have produced strong evidence that Norba Caesarina stood in the same location as the modern city of Cáceres.

In the final half of the 20th century, a series of archaeological excavations conducted in the city centre of modern Cáceres uncovered inscriptional, architectural, and sculptural evidence that strongly support the hypothesis that Norba Caesarina was located in the same place as modern

¹⁹⁰ Pliny, *NH* 4.117: *contributa sunt in eam Castra Servilia, Castra Caecilia*.

¹⁹¹ *It. Ant.* 433.4.

¹⁹² Ulbert (1984).

¹⁹³ Salas Martín and Esteban Ortega (1994) p. 60.

Cáceres.¹⁹⁴ Archaeological investigations near the Palacio de Mayoralgo and the church of Santa María uncovered the remains of masonry of a type commonly found in other *fora* in the province of Lusitania, a pool (possibly part of a *balneum* or domestic peristyle), and a series of cuts indicating that the ancient city stood on a series of artificial terraces.¹⁹⁵ As is the case with communities that enjoyed continuous occupation between the ancient and modern periods, disturbances from construction, rebuilding, and reuse make these archaeological and topographic data incomplete.

In particular, the discovery of a concentration of honorific inscriptions naming the *colonia* and prominent citizens hint toward a certain degree of monumentalization at Cáceres. The epigraphic evidence found in the modern Cáceres provides some additional clues as to when and where the *colonia* Norba Caesarina was founded. One inscription, found in 1794 and now lost, which read “*Col(onia) Norb(a) Caesarin(a)*” was found in the city centre of Cáceres, further validating the hypothesis that the *colonia* Norba Caesarina was located in the same place as modern Cáceres.¹⁹⁶

An honorific inscription naming L. Cornelius Balbus as patron of the *colonia* is important evidence for the civic life and early status of Norba Caesarina, but it should not be used to date the colony’s foundation directly. Rather, it indicates that Balbus was patron of the *colonia* at some point after 19 BCE.¹⁹⁷ The inscription to L. Cornelius Balbus, patron of the *colonia Norba Caesarina*, was found in a wall near the church of Santa María measuring 58 x 38 x 32 cm. While these dimensions seem relatively small, the block on which the inscription was originally made

¹⁹⁴ Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres and Nogales Basarrate (2014) pp. 57-83; (2010) pp. 137-166.

¹⁹⁵ Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres and Nogales Basarrate (2014). pp. 60-64.

¹⁹⁶ *CIL* II, 694.

¹⁹⁷ *CILC* I, 112; *CPILC*, 145; *AE* 1962, 71.

had been cut for secondary use.¹⁹⁸ The inscription, which reads *L(ucio) Cornelio Balbo imp(eratori) c(olonia) Norba Caesa(rina) patrono*, provides clues as to the location of the forum at Norba Caesarina. The title of *imperator* indicates that this was in fact L. Cornelius Balbus minor, the nephew of the consul of 40 BCE who was born at Gades and came to prominence serving against Sertorius in Hispania.¹⁹⁹ The patronage of L. Cornelius Balbus at Norba Caesarina is of cultural importance because both L. Cornelius Balbus (procos. 19 BCE) and his uncle (cos. 40 BCE) of the same name were naturalized Roman citizens, having originated from Gades and receiving citizenship in 72 BCE during the Sertorian war.²⁰⁰ Although Gades is a significant distance south of Norba Caesarina, L. Cornelius Balbus' patronage shows a willingness of the local Hispano-Roman elite to emphasize their ties to newly established *coloniae* through acts of euergetism, a common practice among Roman elites.

Taken together, the evidence suggests that Norba Caesarina was probably founded in the later 30s BCE, although the exact date remains uncertain.²⁰¹ In addition, Jonathan Edmondson has argued that Norba Caesarina may have undergone two colonial assignations: one is suggested to have occurred in the 40s or 30s BCE based on the prevalence of individuals enrolled in the tribe Sergia and the other in the 20s under Augustus due to the prevalence of individuals in the tribe Galeria.²⁰² Compared to other communities in the region that underwent municipalization during the Flavian period, the inhabitants of Norba Caesarina would have held full citizen status from an earlier date in the 1st century BCE, transferring this status to their descendants and so forth. Taking all of these points into consideration, the following discussion will examine the quantitative

¹⁹⁸ Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres and Nogales Basarrate (2014) p. 68.

¹⁹⁹ Cicero, *Pro Balbo*, 5.

²⁰⁰ Cicero, *Pro Balbo*, 63.

²⁰¹ Álvarez Martínez (1993) p. 130.

²⁰² Edmondson (2011) p. 52.

evidence of expressions of family relations and personal onomastics on funerary epigraphy from Norba Caesarina and its rural hinterland.

Norba Caesarina: Personal Names and Family Relations

A comparison between linguistic attributes of given names and the categories of relations expressed by individuals possessing these names will demonstrate whether there is any correlation between onomastic data and patterns of relations at Norba Caesarina. For this purpose, the given names of dedicators and the deceased (single names and *cognomina*) have been separated into their respective linguistic categories (“Latin”, “Indigenous”, “Greek”, and “Null” for cases in which the name is unclear) and organized based on the type of relation expressed. In addition, the chronological data have been considered as well to determine whether patterns of commemoration are related to personal name elements of the dedicators and deceased over time (table 2.5).

The most commonly expressed relations at Norba Caesarina were descending nuclear with 28 attestations, followed by ascending nuclear dedications with 21 attestations. Collectively, these two categories accounted for 64% of all relations preserved in the surviving inscriptions at Norba Caesarina. In terms of linguistic attributes, indigenous given names were only attested in expressions of descending nuclear, ascending nuclear, and sibling relations. Since indigenous given names mostly appear in the descending and ascending nuclear categories, the following discussion will focus on these two specifically since they allow for a substantial comparison with patterns of relations among people with Latin given names. It should also be noted that a substantial number of given names were unidentifiable in the record due to their fragmentary nature, adding ambiguity to our understanding of onomastics within the family. While the given names of only twelve of the deceased could not be identified, forty of the dedicators’ given names

were unclear. For this reason, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the potential correlation between linguistic attributes of given names and the pattern of relations expressed.

Commemorative Relations and Language: Norba Caesarina

		Deceased			
Dedicators		Indigenous	Latin	Null	Total
	Conjugal		9	3	12
	Latin		7		7
	Null		2	3	5
	Descending Nuclear	6	19	3	28
	Indigenous	4	2		6
	Latin		12		12
	Null	2	5	3	10
	Ascending Nuclear	7	10	4	21
	Indigenous	3			3
	Latin	2	2		4
	Null	2	8	4	14
	Siblings	1	5		6
	Indigenous	1			1
	Latin		3		3
	Null		2		2
	Descending Extended	1	1		2
	Latin	1	1		2
	Ascending Extended		1		1
	Latin		1		1
	Amici		1		1
	Null		1		1
	Heir	4		1	5
	Null	4		1	5
	Servile			1	1
	Null			1	1
	Grand Total	19	46	12	77

Table 2.5: Commemorative Relations and linguistic origins of names at Norba Caesarina.

In a trend that runs opposite the other civic communities discussed in this chapter, parents and children tend to share the same linguistic properties in their given names at Norba Caesarina. In this respect, parents with indigenous names more commonly than in the rest of Lusitania gave

their children indigenous names as well, and the same goes for individuals with Latin given names. There are only three cases in which a parent with an indigenous name gave their child a Latin name, but there are twenty examples of child-parent relations in which both individuals had linguistically homogenous given names. This indicates that there was a strong emphasis on maintaining familial linguistic traditions when deciding on names within the nuclear family at Norba Caesarina. This is further corroborated by the fact that a number of indigenous given names continue to be attested in inscriptions that date well into the 2nd century CE in the region (table 2.6). This appears to show continuity, therefore, between the 1st and 2nd centuries CE at Norba Caesarina. The question remains, whether the linguistic nature of the names individuals bore, or rather the cultural affiliations associated with them, correlated with particular sorts of funerary commemorations.

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Age	Reference	Dedicator Language	Deceased Language	Date
Cilea	Tongius Sullae f.	Daughter to Father	50	<i>CIL</i> II, 757	Indigenous	Indigenous	51/100
Ambatus	Cilea Tancini f.	Son to Mother	50	<i>CILC</i> I, 75	Indigenous	Indigenous	101/220
Boutia	Cilea Tancini f.	Daughter to Mother	50	<i>CILC</i> I, 75	Indigenous	Indigenous	101/220
Secunda Cili f.	Cilius	Daughter to Father	25	<i>CIL</i> II, 735	Latin	Indigenous	51/100
Alburus	Iulia G.f. Boutia	Son to Mother	80	<i>CILC</i> I, 262	Latin	Indigenous	1/100
P. Caelius Tacitus	Norbana Anulla	Son to Mother	60	<i>CILC</i> I, 325	Latin	Latin	51/100
Norbanus Saturninus	Iulia Turpilla Talonis f.	Son to Mother	55	<i>CILC</i> I, 286	Latin	Latin	25/100
N/A	Norbana Bovia	Son to Mother	98	<i>CILC</i> I, 52	Null	Indigenous	151/250
N/A	Aebarus Vallocaudi (?) f.	Son to Father	24	<i>CIL</i> II, 751	Null	Indigenous	101/200
N/A	Amona Talavi f.	Son to Mother	60	<i>CILC</i> I, 398	Null	Latin	51/100

N/A	Norbanus Severinus	Child to Father	35	<i>CILC I</i> , 331	Null	Latin	51/100
N/A	Norbanus Severinus	Child to Father	35	<i>CILC I</i> , 331	Null	Latin	51/100
N/A	L. Papius Rufus f.	Son to Father	30	<i>CIL II</i> , 1006	Null	Latin	51/100
N/A	Decumus Callaburi f.	Son to Father	110	<i>CILC I</i> , 81	Null	Latin	51/100
N/A	Decumus Callaburi f.	Son to Father	110	<i>CILC I</i> , 81	Null	Latin	51/100
N/A	Lucius Urcalonis f.	Child to Father	55	<i>CILC I</i> , 131	Null	Latin	51/100
N/A	Lucius Urcalonis f.	Child to Father	55	<i>CILC I</i> , 131	Null	Latin	51/100
N/A	N/A	Son to Father	60	<i>CILC I</i> , 397	Null	Null	
N/A	N/A	Son to Mother	80	<i>CIL II</i> , 5308	Null	Null	
N/A	N/A	Child to Mother		<i>CILC I</i> , 231	Null	Null	
N/A	N/A	Child to Father		<i>CILC I</i> , 231	Null	Null	
Cesca	Sunua Laeti f.	Mother to Son	15	<i>CILC I</i> , 217	Indigenous	Indigenous	101/200
Casina	Cabura Domiti f.	Mother to Daughter	16	<i>CILC I</i> , 72	Indigenous	Indigenous	
Cilius	Maila Cili f.	Father to Daughter	13	<i>CILC I</i> , 216	Indigenous	Indigenous	101/220
Tongius	Maelo Tongi f.	Father to Son	18	<i>CIL II</i> , 749	Indigenous	Indigenous	51/100
Camira	Quintus Caenoni(s) f.	Mother to Son	12	<i>CILC I</i> , 218	Indigenous	Latin	71/130
Taurus	Iulia Tauri f. Rufa	Father to Daughter	3	<i>CILC I</i> , 297	Latin	Latin	26/75
F(abius)? Balbinus	Curius Romulus	Father to Son		<i>CIL II</i> , 1173	Latin	Latin	
Prisca	Curius Romulus	Mother to Son		<i>CIL II</i> , 1173	Latin	Latin	
Maura	C. I(ulius) M.f. Caesius	Mother to Son	35	<i>CILC I</i> , 252	Latin	Latin	51/100
Maura	M. I(ulius) M.f. Marcellus	Mother to Son	11	<i>CILC I</i> , 252	Latin	Latin	51/100
Iulia Secunda	[---] Severus	Mother to Son	20	<i>CILC I</i> , 178	Latin	Latin	51/100

Iulia Silonis f. Secunda	L. Praesentius Rufinus	Mother to Son	3	<i>CILC</i> I, 128	Latin	Latin	101/200
Fortunata	Uprilla Severae ser.	Mother to Daughter	2	<i>CILC</i> I, 84	Latin	Latin	
Campanus	Popilius Flavius Campani f.	Father to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 750	Latin	Latin	51/120
Fusca Capitonis f.	Capito Aviti f.	Mother to Son	13	<i>CIL</i> II, 748	Latin	Latin	51/220
Fusca Capitonis f.	Avita Aviti f.	Mother to Daughter	10	<i>CIL</i> II, 748	Latin	Latin	51/220
N/A	P. Iulius P.f. Tapilus	Father to Son	30	<i>CILC</i> I, 299	Null	Indigenous	26/75
N/A	Maila Cili f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>CILC</i> I, 216	Null	Indigenous	101/220
N/A	G. Norbanus G.f. Gemellus	Mother to Son	14	<i>CILC</i> I, 295	Null	Latin	26/75
N/A	Soconia Secunda L.f.	Father to Daughter	9	<i>CILC</i> I, 275	Null	Latin	27/50
N/A	Sunua Senecae f.	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> I, 138	Null	Latin	51/100
Seneca	Sunua Senecae f.	Father to Son	25	<i>CILC</i> I, 138	Latin	Latin	51/100
N/A	Maxsumus Tancini f.	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> I, 134	Null	Latin	101/220
Tancinus	Maxsumus Tancini f.	Father to Son	16	<i>CILC</i> I, 134	Indigenous	Latin	101/220
N/A	Popilius Flavius Campani f.	Mother to Son	28	<i>CIL</i> II, 750	Null	Latin	51/120
N/A	N/A	Father to Son		<i>CILC</i> I, 360	Null	Null	
N/A	N/A	Father to Child	18	<i>CILC</i> I, 85	Null	Null	
N/A	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC</i> I, 85	Null	Null	

Table 2.6: Descending and ascending nuclear dedications at Norba Caesarina

While attestations of ascending nuclear dedications are almost equal in number between those set up by people with Latin names to honour individuals with Latin names and those set up

by people with indigenous names to commemorate family members also with indigenous names, there were a significantly higher number of dedicators and deceased with Latin given names in the descending nuclear category. Individuals with Latin given names at Norba Caesarina, therefore, were more likely to make descending nuclear dedications (parents to child). Again, the high incidence of dedicators and deceased with unidentifiable (Null) given names could obscure the presence of a higher degree of linguistically mixed dedicator/deceased given names, or even higher numbers of indigenous given names in general.

Two main conclusions can be drawn from these data: firstly, relations between parents and children were most highly emphasized in the community to such an extent that individuals with indigenous given names are practically limited to dedications within this category, save for one dedication between siblings with indigenous given names. Secondly, there was a strong habit of linguistic homogeneity in the given names of parents and their children (i.e., parents tended to give their children linguistically the same sort of names as they themselves bore). This applied to individuals with either Latin or indigenous given names, except in three cases. In the cases in which parents and children had linguistically differing given names, the parents always bore the indigenous name and the children always bore the Latin name. In this way there was a very limited shift over generations as few parents with indigenous names chose to give their children Latin names.

In terms of name structure, the majority of indigenous name elements appeared in the form of single names, which, rather surprisingly, are still attested in some examples dating to the 2nd century despite the fact that Norba Caesarina was a *colonia*. If, indeed, all freeborn individuals and their freed slaves in the community held full Roman citizenship, as was typical for a Roman *colonia*, it is clear that a significant number of people in the community chose to represent

themselves and their family members in funerary inscriptions using single names. The most likely scenario here is that they were *incolae*, or resident aliens, whose presence in these communities is confirmed by the various responsibilities they held in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* and the *Lex Irnitana* and who were possibly *peregrini* that resided in the area.²⁰³ In the case of Norba Caesarina, it would seem that a significant number of *incolae* were in the region and representing themselves using single names. There was also a significant number of individuals at Norba who had *tria/duo nomina*, some of whom even had indigenous *cognomina*. There does not, however, seem to be a correlation between name structure and patterns in funerary commemorations at Norba Caesarina. What we can conclude is that the process of cultural change (i.e., adoption of Latin name elements and the *tria/duo nomina*) at Norba Caesarina was slower than other communities such as Olisipo or even those in the *Conventus Pacensis*. Again, this is surprising since by the 2nd century CE Norba Caesarina had long been a Roman *colonia*, but there still remained a strong habit of maintaining indigenous naming traditions even at that date.

Turgalium

While there is a significant quantity of epigraphic evidence associated with Turgalium, at least 500 inscriptions recorded in the *CILC* II, there are few archaeological remains and no explicit references to the community in literary sources. Neither Pliny, Strabo, nor Ptolemy mention Turgalium and any mention of Turgalium is absent from the *Antonine Itinerary*. Hyginus Gromaticus, however, makes reference to the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* and names it among two *praefecturae* that belonged to the *conventus* capital Augusta Emerita.²⁰⁴ Considering the bulk of epigraphic material in the area was located in or around the modern town of Trujillo,

²⁰³ *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* Ch. 98; trans. Crawford (1996) pp. 421-432; *Lex Irnitana* Chs. 19, 54, 69, 71, 83, 84.

²⁰⁴ Hyginus Gromaticus, *Constitutio Limitum* (ed. Thulin) pp. 136-140.

which has been inhabited continually since at least the Roman period, it is most likely that Turgalium stood at this modern location.²⁰⁵

Epigraphic evidence that names this community is sufficient enough, nevertheless, to conclude that there was in fact a self-governing civic community called Turgalium. Firstly, a votive inscription found at modern Trujillo records a dedication to the *genius* of the *Turgal(i)enses* (the people of Turgalium).²⁰⁶ Secondly, the ethnic adjective *Turgaliensis*, *-e* appears on more than one inscription in the province of Cáceres, one of which is attested at Norba, indicating a clear geographical and conceptual distinction between Norba Caesarina and Turgalium.²⁰⁷

Interestingly, the personal names attested in the inscriptions from Turgalium mentioned above are linguistically diverse. Lucius Crusinus Primigenius (see n. 207) has completely Latin *tria nomina*, Libaecus and his father have indigenous single names, and Maxuma Teia has *duo nomina* with indigenous filiation (see n. 208). Nevertheless, the sample of personal names in the region highlights how problematic it is to assume that all of the individuals in and around Turgalium were in fact Turgalienses. In this particular case, the presence of a *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*, under the jurisdiction of Augusta Emerita, adds a new layer of complexity to the data acquired from this area.²⁰⁸

Despite the lack information about Turgalium from both archaeological and literary sources, epigraphic material has provided a substantial baseline of information from which the details of social and cultural life at Turgalium can be examined. Based on the few inscriptions

²⁰⁵ Gómez Santa Cruz (2017); Navarro Caballero & Gorrochategui (2024).

²⁰⁶ CIL II, 618: *Genio Turg(alensium) Lucius Crusinus Primigenius v(otum) s(olvit)*.

²⁰⁷ Cf. CILC II, 648: *Libaeco Caenici f(ilius) Turgale(nse) h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*; CIL II, 5307: *Maxsuma Teia Turcale(nsis) Arconi [f(ilia)] an(norum) XX [h(ic)] s(ita) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)*.

²⁰⁸ Gómez Santa Cruz argues that concentrations of individuals holding *tria nomina* in the region may be *Emeritenses* living within the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* and he argues this from patterns in personal onomastics from the area. Cf. Gómez Santa Cruz (2017).

mentioned above, it is clear that Turgalium was an autonomous community that, much like other *civitates stipendiariae* in the region, likely received promotion to *municipium* status during the Flavian period. Nevertheless, the personal names of the inhabitants at Turgalium were not homogenous by any means. In many cases there are individuals of peregrine or Latin status with Latin single names, and in other cases there are individuals with *tria/duo nomina* who had linguistically indigenous *cognomina*. The fact that Norbanus and Iunius, who held positions of aedile and *IIvir*, dedicated a votive *ara* to the local deity Baraecus further supports the image of a diverse community in which local traditions exist along with newly established magistracies and changing onomastic habits.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless, recent studies have also identified that particular areas of the territory of Turgalium show localized patterns of onomastic practices which could reflect pockets of full Roman citizens settled within the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*.²¹⁰ Initially, however, expressions of family relations and personal names in the area of Turgalium will first be examined altogether with no distinction between possible territories of the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* followed by an analysis which excludes possible limits of the *praefectura*.

Praefectura Regionis Turgaliensis

Especially because of the anomalous pattern of family relations at Turgalium, the issue of the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* needs to be addressed. Literary evidence, most notably the *Constitutio Limitum* of Hyginus Gromaticus, identifies a number of *praefecturae* that were administratively dependent on Augusta Emerita, most notably the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*.²¹¹ Since there were at least three ethnic adjectives attesting Turgalienses, it is also

²⁰⁹ *CIL* II, 5276. Turgalium/Trujillo.

²¹⁰ Gómez Santa Cruz (2017); Navarro Caballero (2018); Navarro Caballero & Gorrochategui (2024) p. 277 for a similar discussion of onomastics and the territorial limits of Norba Caesarina.

²¹¹ Hyginus Gromaticus, *Constitutio Limitum* (ed. Thulin) pp. 136-140.

clear that Turgalium was an autonomous *municipium* at least by the end of the Flavian period.²¹² For these reasons, it is apparent that a number of individuals occupying territory within the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* would in fact be citizens of Augusta Emerita, the *conventus* capital, to which the *praefectura* belonged.

Recent scholarship on the limits of the territories in the province of Cáceres has argued that despite scant evidence of centuriation which could further our understanding of the territorial organization of Turgalium, funerary epigraphy provides some possible evidence for the limits of the *praefectura*.²¹³ For example, Navarro Caballero illustrates that there is repeated testimony of individuals with Italic names, who could appropriately be considered *coloni* from Augusta Emerita who had settled in the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*.²¹⁴ Based on concentrations of members of the voting tribe Papiria (the voting tribe of the citizens of Augusta Emerita) and of veterans of legions settled after completion of service, there is a general understanding that certain areas around Turgalium likely belonged to the *praefectura*.²¹⁵

Although the presence of Roman citizens settled in the area of Turgalium would have no effect on patterns of mortality due to demographic phenomena, there is significant variation in the origins and juridical status of individuals attested here. These data provide a basis upon which to examine whether differences in patterns of intra-familial funerary commemoration can possibly

²¹² CIL II, 618: *Genio Turg(alensium) Lucius Crusinus Primigenius v(otum) s(olvit)*; CILC II, 648: *Libaeco Caenici f(ilius) Turgale(nse) h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*; CIL II, 5307: *Maxsuma Teia Turcale(nsis) Arconi [f(ilia)] an(norum) XX [h(ic)] s(ita) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)*.

²¹³ Gómez Santa Cruz (2017) p. 501.

²¹⁴ Navarro Caballero (2000) p. 287; (2018)

²¹⁵ Gómez Santa Cruz argues that the modern communities of Abertura, Alcollarín, Campo Lugar, Ibahernando, Madrigalejo, Puerto de Santa Cruz, and Villamesías were part of the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*. The ADOPIA project eliminates Ibahernando and adds Conquista de la Sierra, Escorial, Herguijuela to the *praefectura* (see Gorrochategui and Navarro Caballero (2024), fig. 4.1, p. 277: 9 sites rather than the 7 of Gómez Sta Cruz) and listed onomastic data from these areas as part of the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* as of May 2021. The exact territorial limits of the *praefectura* are still a matter of ongoing scholarly discussion and are subject to change. Cf. Gómez Santa Cruz (2017).

be explained on the basis of cultural preferences or cultural habits. For this reason, this poses an interesting opportunity to test the extent to which patterns in onomastic practice and expressions of family relations in funerary commemoration reflect either pre-Roman cultural habits or newly adopted Roman conceptions of family and culture in this region of the province of Cáceres (fig. 2.13).

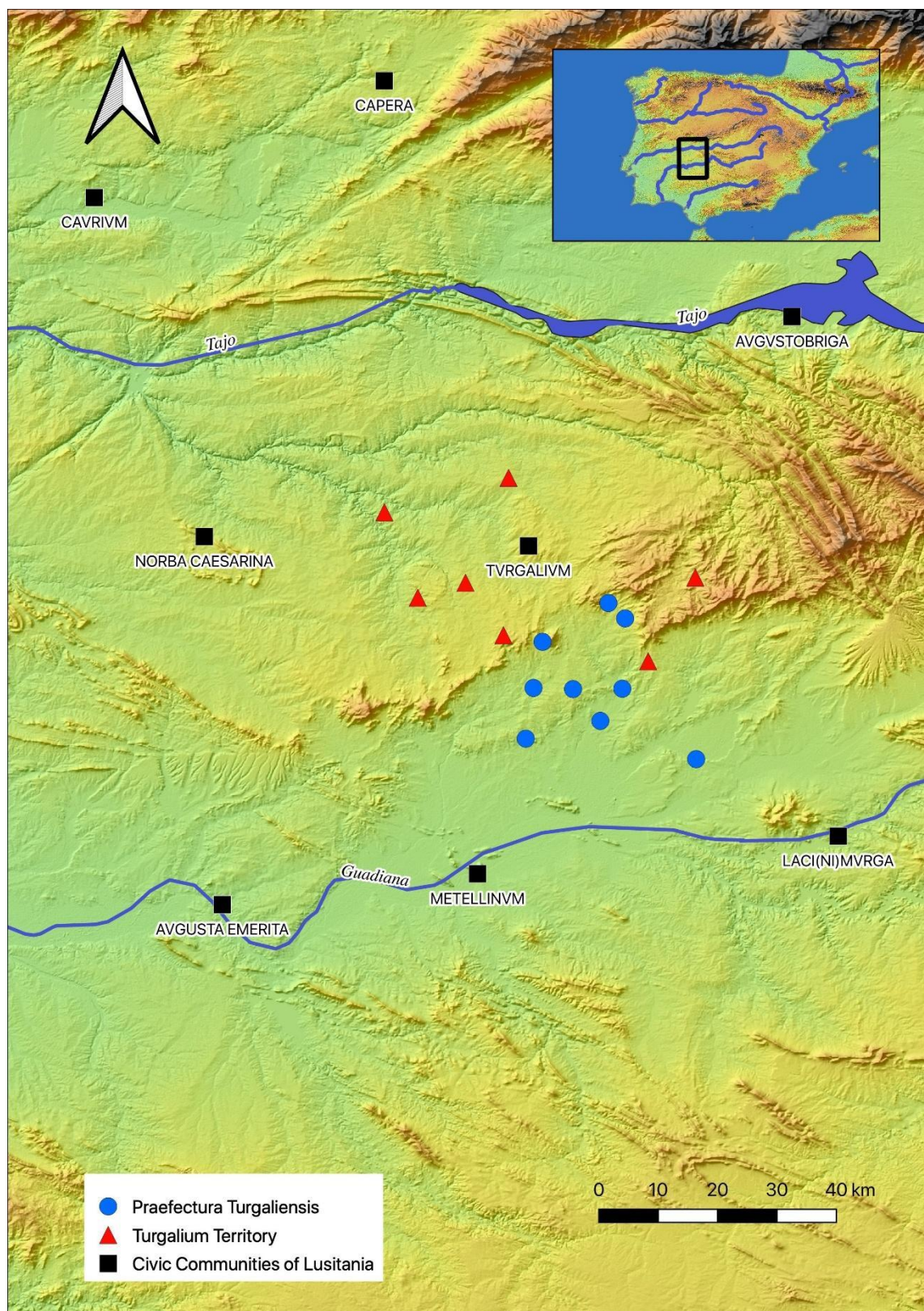


Figure 2.13: Modern communities in the territory of Turgalium and possible extent of the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*.

Turgalium: Nuclear Relations (*praefectura* excluded)

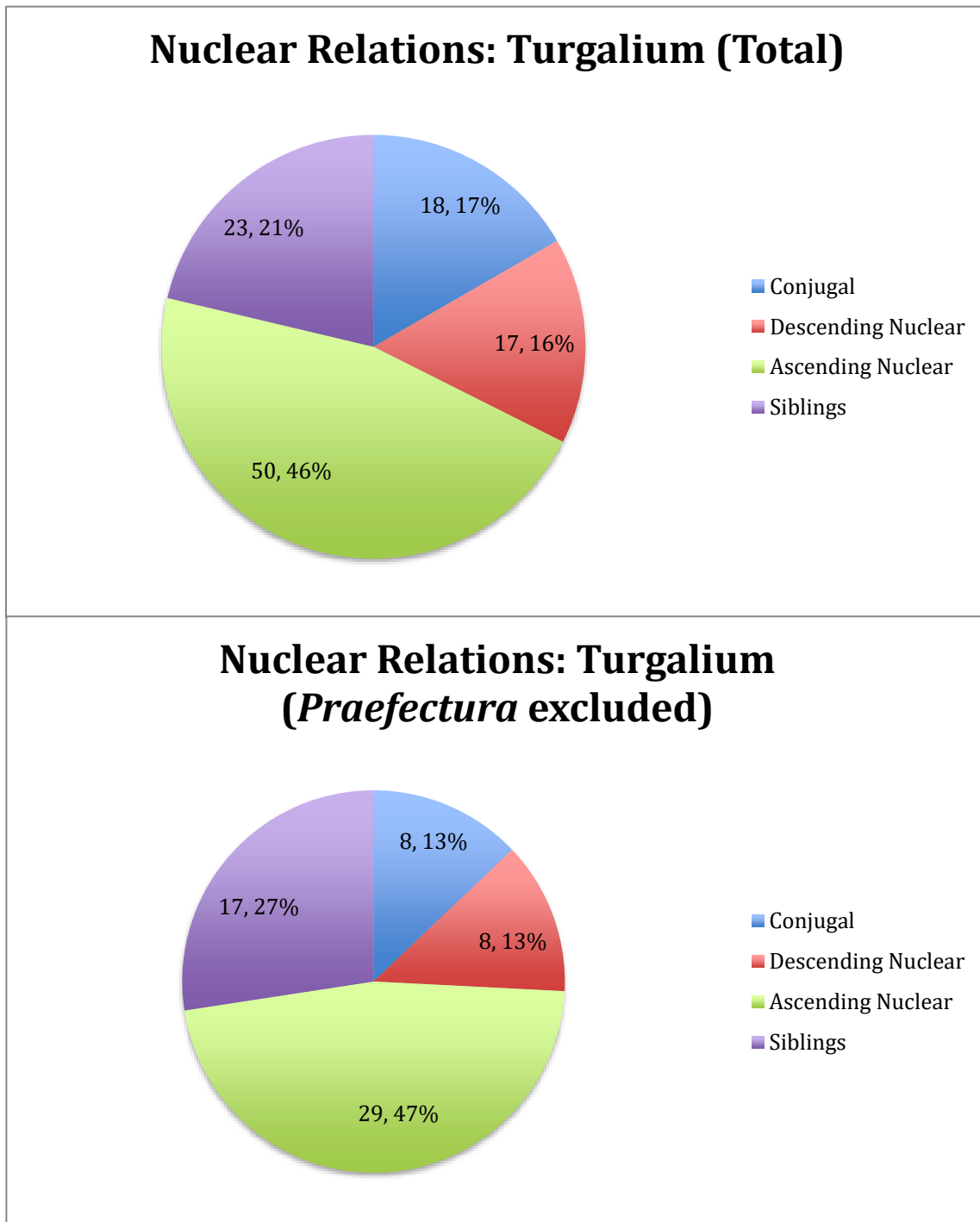


Figure 2.14: Nuclear relations at Turgalium vs. Turgalium (*praefectura* excluded).

If expressions of family relations from Abertura, Alcollarín, Campo Lugar, Conquista de la Sierra, Escorial, Herguijuela, Madrigalejo, Puerto de Santa Cruz, and Villamesías (the 9 sites included by ADOPIA in the *praefectura*) are excluded from the data for Turgalium, 69 expressions remain, 62 of which were between members of the nuclear family. After data from the supposed *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* is removed the percentage of ascending nuclear dedications is essentially the same with 29 attestations accounting for 47% of expressions relations between members of the nuclear family (fig. 2.14). This similar percentage of ascending nuclear dedications is offset by a lower number of dedications between conjugal partners and descending nuclear relations with 8 dedications each, accounting for 13% of the nuclear relations. Dedications between siblings were the second most common with 17 (27%) attestations.

Although the exact reason for such a high number of ascending nuclear dedications at Turgalium is unclear, the statistical significance of this pattern was not skewed by the inclusion of data from the so-called *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*. This anomalous pattern of ascending nuclear relations at Turgalium is even more pronounced when expressions of family relations from areas deemed part of the *praefectura* are removed from the dataset. Nevertheless, the data from the *praefectura* still closely resemble the overall patterns observed in the territory of Turgalium.

Turgalium: Nuclear Relations (within the *Praefectura*)

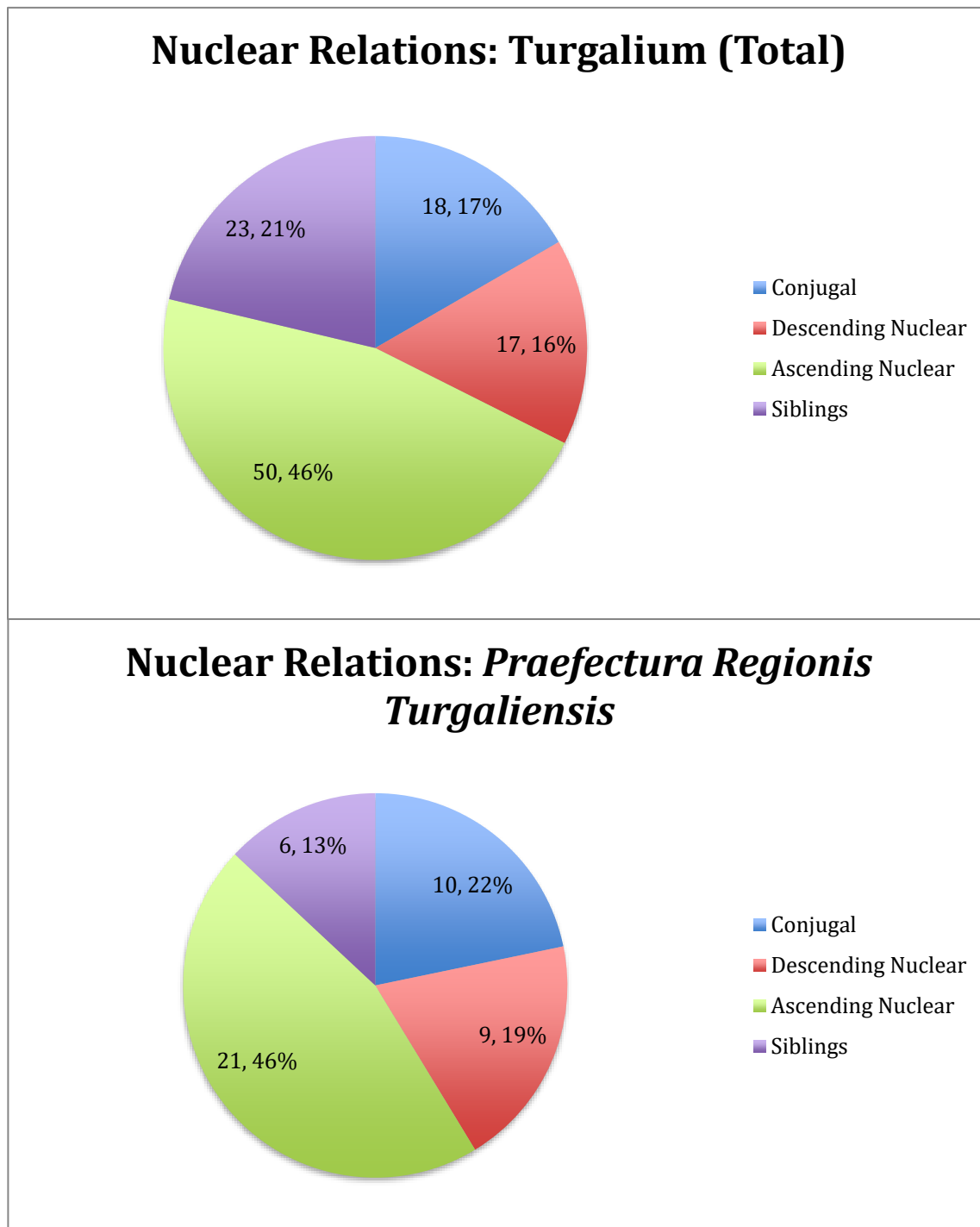


Figure 2.15: Nuclear relations: Turgalium (Total) vs. *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*.

Conversely, if we examine the data from areas attributed to the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* in isolation, a similar pattern of expressions of family relations emerges. Ascending nuclear dedications are still predominant with 21 (46%) attestations. Conjugal and descending nuclear dedications formed the next largest sample of attestations with 10 (22%) and 9 (19%) attestations, respectively. Sibling dedications occupied the lowest register of expressions with 6 (13%) attestations (fig. 2.15).

Although the percentages of these relations maintain the same general pattern observed before these data were isolated, patterns of family relations in the *praefectura* show more conjugal dedications and fewer dedications between siblings. Aside from this, the rest of the data indicate that patterns of family relations expressed on funerary epitaphs in Turgalium and the areas attributed to the *praefectura* both contained abnormally high numbers of ascending nuclear dedications. It could be that the habit of ascending nuclear dedications among inhabitants both within and outside of the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* was due to demographic reasons, while the different ratio of conjugal vs sibling dedications may have been culturally or socially determined. Saller and Shaw have suggested that the proportion of conjugal and ascending nuclear dedications could be determined by class related factors. They argued that humble families which tend to be “working units” were not as concerned with transmitting property as their upper class counterparts, who emphasized relations between parents and children who would be the primary recipients of inherited property.²¹⁶ While socio-economic factors could very well explain the high number of ascending nuclear dedications in the region of Turgalium, this does not explain the high number of dedications between siblings, which may simply have been a local tradition or also due to demographic factors related to local mortality patterns. In order to elucidate the extent to which

²¹⁶ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 138.

cultural factors influence this pattern, an analysis of the linguistic and structural attributes of personal onomastics in the two areas will be necessary.

Turgalium: Linguistic Roots (*praefectura* excluded)

If we exclude the onomastic data collected from funerary inscriptions expressing family relations in the areas attributed to the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*, 114 Greek, indigenous, and Latin name elements could be identified in the area of Turgalium. Of these names 80 (70%) were Latin, 32 (28%) were indigenous, and 2 (2%) were Greek. When compared with the unadjusted data from the territory, there is a slight decrease in the percentage of linguistically indigenous names and an increase in Latin names.²¹⁷ Although proponents of the limits attributed to the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* do not argue that this territory was exclusive to citizens from Emerita (i.e., citizens of other communities could occupy land there as *incolae*), the adjusted numbers for the linguistic attributes of personal names in the area of Turgalium outside of the *praefectura* show a predominance of Latin onomastics.²¹⁸ If the land attributed to the *praefectura* was in fact appropriated exclusively for use by citizens of the *conventus* capital (i.e., *coloni* and veterans), one might expect a higher percentage of Latin name elements in the *praefectura* than in the territory of Turgalium. Instead, there is a higher percentage of Latin names outside of the *praefectura*, when the data from the *praefectura* are separated from those of Turgalium and its territory (fig. 2.16).

Additionally, when compared to the comprehensive onomastic data at Turgalium recorded by the ADOPIA onomastic project, the linguistic attributes of name elements from only dedicators and deceased in funerary commemorations are broadly the same. This indicates that the data from inscriptions involving family relations reflect the general linguistic trends at Turgalium observed

²¹⁷ Compare with percentages from Turgalium (pre-adjusted): Latin 121 (62%); indigenous 71 (36%); and Greek 4 (2%)

²¹⁸ Gómez Santa Cruz (2017) pp. 500-502.

in all surviving inscriptions from the community. It also indicates that despite a high degree of Latinization, between 65% and 70% of the inscriptions at Turgalium involved individuals with linguistically indigenous name elements. In terms of the linguistic attributes of personal name elements at Turgalium, pre-Roman naming practices were maintained to a significant extent.

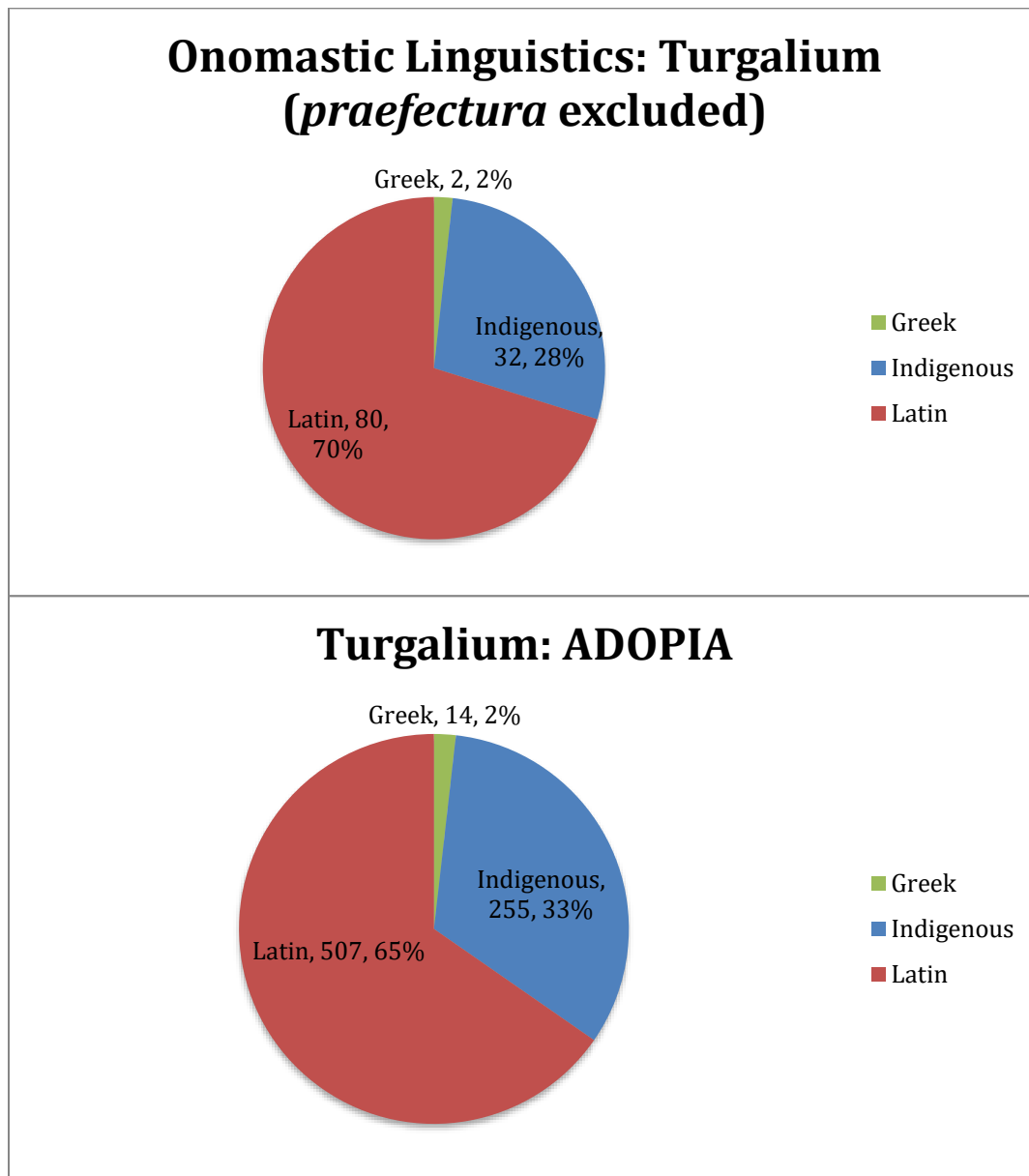


Figure 2.16: Name element linguistics at Turgalium (*praefectura* excluded) vs. all onomastics in Turgalium (ADOPIA).

Turgalium: Linguistic Roots (within the *praefectura*)

Conversely, the onomastic data counted solely from the areas attributed to the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* corroborate the shift in linguistic patterns observed above. If the data from the argued *praefectura* territory are viewed in isolation and compared to the linguistics data gathered for the entire region of Turgalium, the percentage of indigenous names increases and the percentage of Latin decreases in the *praefectura* compared to the Turgalium region (fig. 2.17). In the case of the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*, 82 name elements were identified, 41 (50%) were Latin, 39 (48%) were indigenous, and 2 (2%) were Greek.

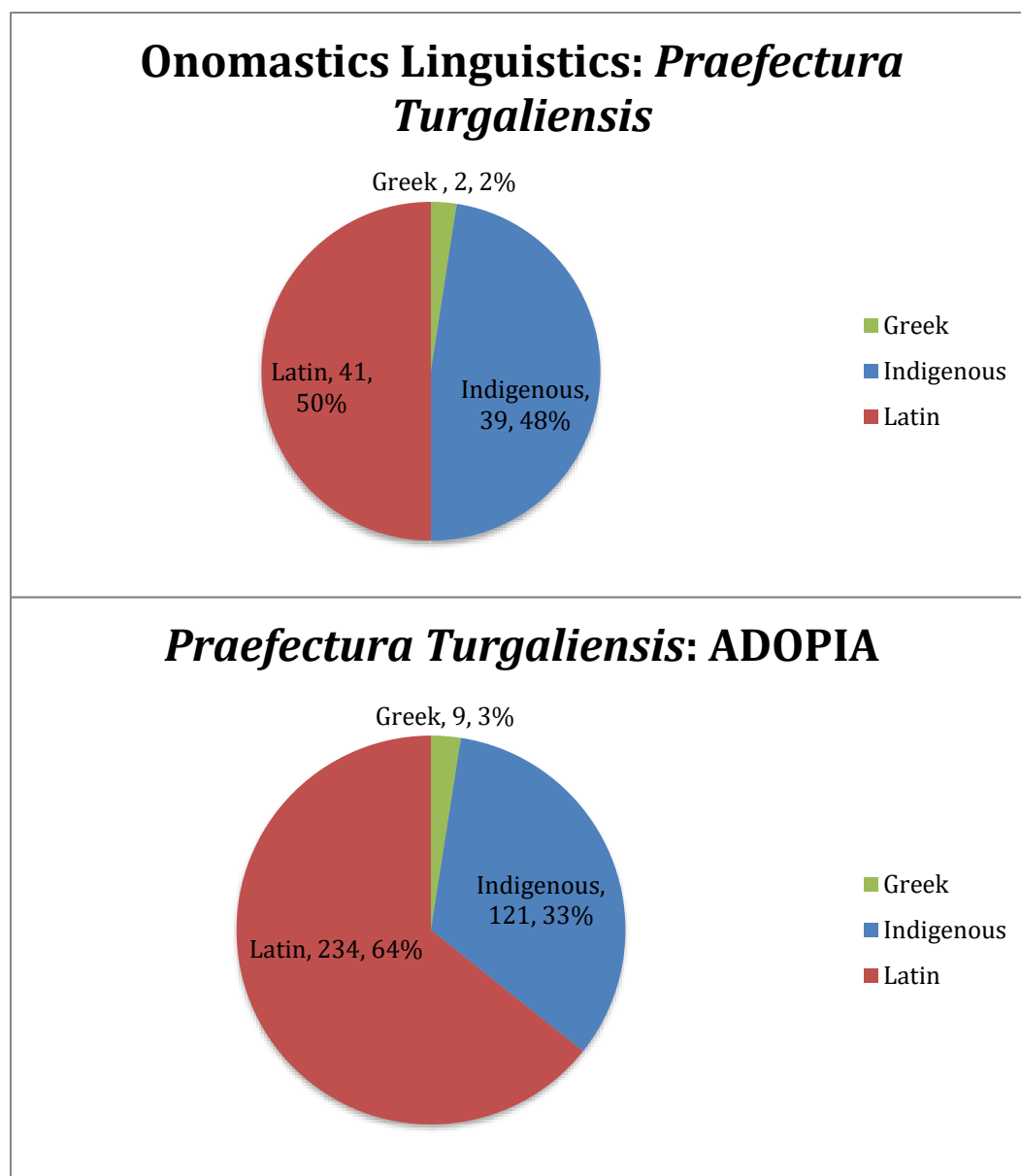


Figure 2.17: Name element linguistics in the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* vs. all onomastics in the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* (ADOPIA).

Again, it seems odd that the onomastic data from the so-called *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*, a territory supposedly appropriated by the *colonia* of Augusta Emerita for the settlement of *coloni*, show an increase in indigenous personal names and a decrease in Latin ones when viewed in isolation from the local *municipium*. While I acknowledge that a mixture of the local indigenous population and newly settled *coloni* would surely have inhabited this region, onomastic data clearly indicate that fewer people with linguistically Latin names appear in the

praefectura than they do at Turgalium. While this certainly does not account for all of the names attested in the entire region of Turgalium and the *praefectura*, the onomastic sample taken from inscriptions expressing family relations presents some interesting trends. Nevertheless, the linguistic attributes of name elements in the region do not necessarily determine the juridical status of individuals, for which analysis of the structural elements of personal names would be better suited.

The linguistic patterns from inscriptions where family relations were expressed differ greatly from the comprehensive onomastic data from the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*. While the inscriptions involving family relations indicate an almost 50/50 division of Latin and indigenous personal name elements, the comprehensive data show that only one third (33%) of the name elements of all surviving inscriptions were linguistically indigenous and roughly two thirds (64%) were Latin. Nevertheless, two main observations can be drawn from these data. Firstly, compared to the community of Turgalium, a higher percentage of individuals with indigenous name elements in the *praefectura* appeared in inscriptions expressing family relations. Secondly, the comprehensive onomastic data from both Turgalium and the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* were broadly the same. The fact that patterns of linguistics at Turgalium were the practically same in the *praefectura* demonstrates that local traditions transcended, or simply ignored, the ancient juridical boundaries of the two areas. In conclusion, the presence of the *praefectura* did not result in any difference between the onomastic traditions in either region, despite being settled by *coloni* from Emerita.

Turgalium: Name Structures (*praefectura* excluded)

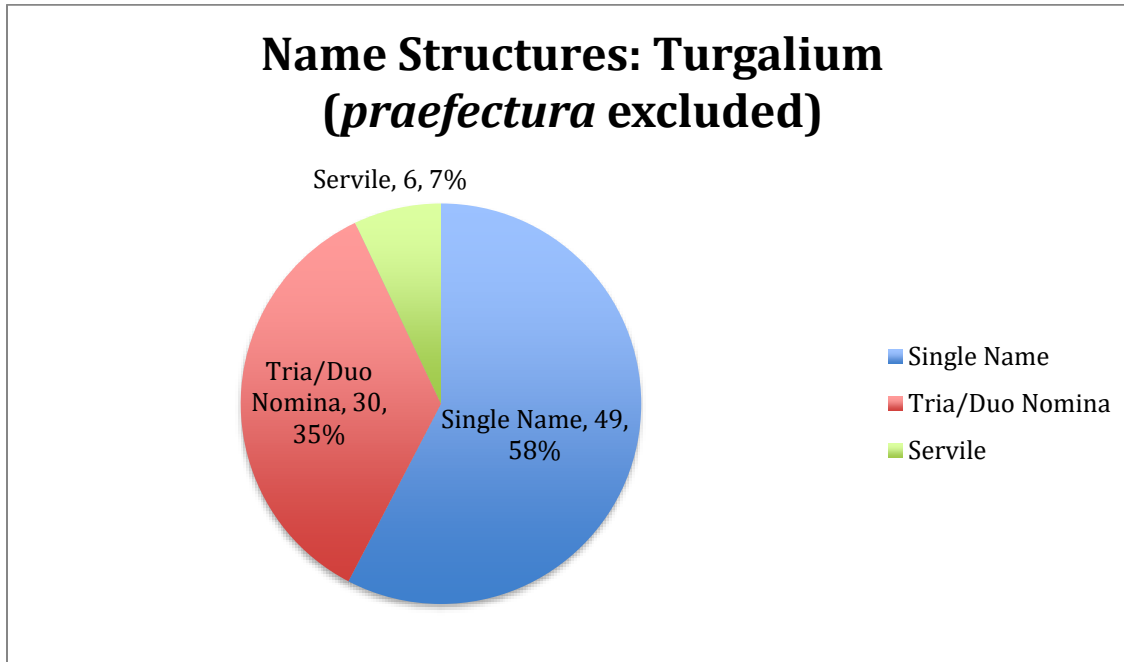


Figure 2.18: Personal name structure at Turgalium (*praefectura* excluded).

With the onomastic data from the *praefectura* excluded, 85 individuals can be identified out of funerary inscriptions expressing family relations in the territory of Turgalium. Of these individuals, 49 (58%) of them had single names, 30 (35%) of them had *duo* or *tria nomina*, and 6 (7%) were of explicitly servile status (fig. 2.18).

Again, with the *praefectura* excluded, onomastic data concerning name structure shows a predominance of single names. *Duo* and *tria nomina*, on the other hand, are still borne by a significant number of individuals in the area of Turgalium. When compared with the pre-adjusted analysis of name structure from the territory of Turgalium, some changes are apparent.²¹⁹ Firstly, if we exclude the data from the territories attributed to the *praefectura*, there is an increase in the

²¹⁹ Compare with percentages from Turgalium (pre-adjusted): Single name 111 (70%); Tria/Duo Nomina 40 (25%); Servile 8 (5%).

percentage of *duo/tria nomina* and a decrease in the percentage of single names. While the difference in percentage for both main categories is less than 10%, it is clear that the exclusion of the *praefectura* removes a significant number of individuals with single names, more so than individuals with *tria* or *duo nomina*. Again, it would seem that the area associated with the *praefectura* has a higher concentration of individuals with single names than the territory of Turgalium. This all points to the conclusion that the presence of citizens of Emerita or *coloni* from Emerita settled on the land of the *praefectura* is poorly represented in the onomastic record, to the extent that it has little impact on the results of this analysis. If anything, the data recorded from the presumptive area of the *praefectura* contains a higher concentration of pre-Roman personal names than does the territory of Turgalium.

Turgalium: Name Structures (within the *praefectura*)

Likewise, the isolated onomastic data from the supposed *praefectura* territory itself contain a lower percentage of *tria/duo nomina* and a higher percentage of single names. Of the 74 individuals identified on funerary inscriptions expressing family relations in the *praefectura*, 62 (84%) held single names, 10 (13%) had *tria/duo nomina*, and 2 (3%) were of servile status (fig. 2.19).

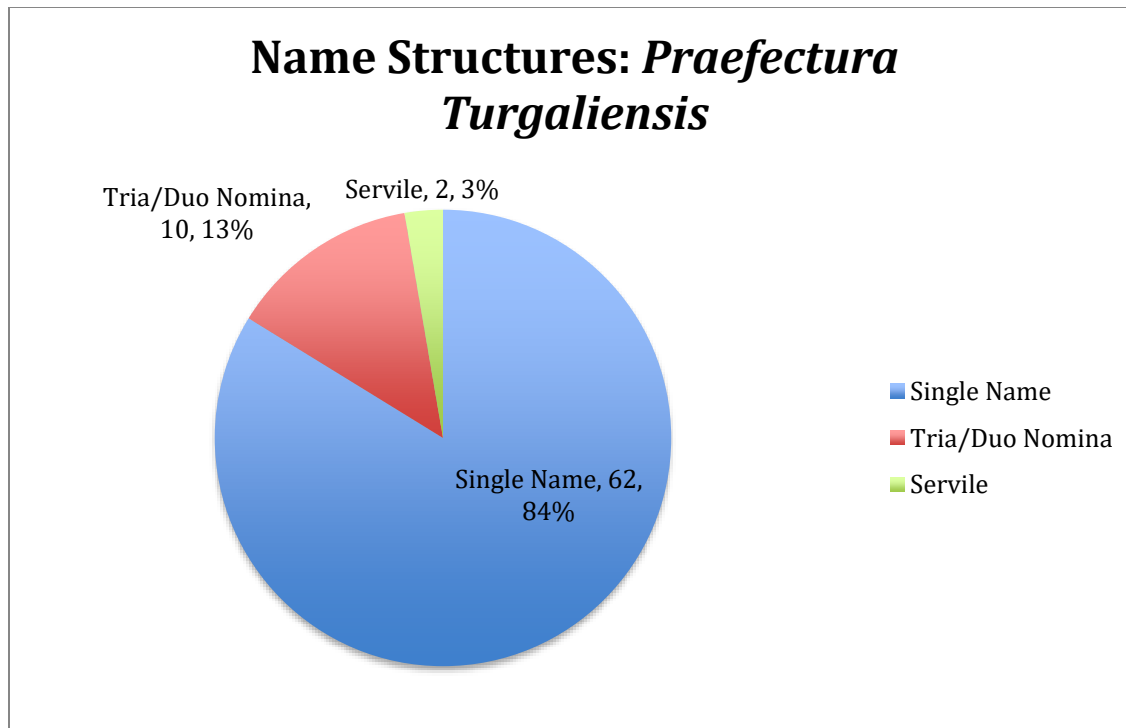


Figure 2.19: Personal name structure in the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*.

When compared to the adjusted onomastic data for juridical status at Turgalium, the *praefectura* has a much higher percentage of individuals with single names. Compared to the pre-adjusted total for all of Turgalium and its surrounding territory, the *praefectura* consists of 26% more people with single names and 25% fewer people with *tria* or *duo nomina*. If anything, therefore, names attested in funerary inscriptions expressing family relations in this area are primarily of a pre-Roman structure.

Praefectura Regionis Turgaliensis: Discussion

Several conclusions can be drawn from this discussion of the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*. Firstly, it must be acknowledged that the onomastic data in this particular discussion does not include all of the onomastic data from the region. Rather, since expressions of family relations are the focus of this dissertation, the data come only from inscriptions in which family relations are expressed between the dedicator(s) and deceased.

Nevertheless, the onomastic data carry some interesting implications about the abnormally high percentage of ascending nuclear dedications in the territory of Turgalium. Firstly, the data collected from the presumed territory of the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* show a similar pattern of family relations when separated from the data pertaining to the entire region of Turgalium. Although the percentage of nuclear relations in the *praefectura* are slightly different, ascending nuclear dedications were still the most common, a phenomenon which is inconsistent with patterns of nuclear family relations collected for both the Iberian peninsula and the rest of the Roman West.²²⁰ The only major difference was the higher percentage of conjugal dedications over dedications between siblings in the *praefectura*, which differs from the pattern of relations observed in the area of Turgalium. Again, this shows that inhabitants of the *praefectura* and the community of Turgalium were both making abnormally high numbers of ascending nuclear dedications, despite the administrative and juridical boundaries of the *praefectura*. Clearly the habit of making ascending nuclear dedications in this area transcended the boundaries that distinguished the territory of Turgalium from the *praefectura*, indicating that there is no correlation between this habit and the juridical status of the individuals either at Turgalium or the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis*.

When we look at the onomastic data, however, we may question the extent to which the *praefectura* was entirely inhabited by veterans and *coloni* affiliated with Augusta Emerita, as some scholars suggest.²²¹ While Navarro Caballero and Gómez Santa Cruz are absolutely right to point out that details such as enrolment in the voting tribe Papiria and the mention of military careers

²²⁰ Cf. Saller and Shaw (1984); Edmondson (2005). In both of these analyses descending nuclear dedications are the most common with conjugal dedications following.

²²¹ For discussions of the territory of Turgalium, Augusta Emerita, and Norba Caesarina see: Navarro Caballero (2000); (2018); Gómez Santa Cruz (2017); Cordero Ruiz (2010). Most recently, Navarro Caballero and Gorrochategui (2024).

are indications that some Emeritans most definitely settled in the *praefectura*, attestations of personal names from this sample do not indicate a dominant presence of *coloni* in the area, at least among inscriptions in which family relations are expressed. What appears to be the case here is that a higher percentage of people with single names and linguistically indigenous name elements are expressing family relations on the epitaphs they are setting up. That is, the authorities of the *colonia* of Emerita seem to have allowed some indigenous inhabitants to remain on the land as *incolae* and these indigenous inhabitants are well represented in the corpus of funerary inscriptions expressing family relations. This situation closely resembles the case of Norba Caesarina, which despite its status as a *colonia*, shows evidence of a significant population of *incolae* based on local onomastic data.

When the linguistic data from personal names on funerary monuments expressing family relations are separated between the *praefectura* and the area of Turgalium outside of the *praefectura*, the area of the *praefectura* shows a higher percentage of linguistically indigenous names. Moreover, when the same analysis is conducted with data pertaining to name structure, the *praefectura* also has a higher percentage of single names and a lower percentage of *tria* or *duo nomina* than the areas attributed to Turgalium. While this may be a simple accident of the record, the overarching conclusion to draw here is that the higher percentage of ascending nuclear dedications in the territory of Turgalium is not statistically impacted by the presence of the *praefectura*. It would seem, then, that the inhabitants of the *praefectura regionis Turgaliensis* were following the same commemorative patterns as their neighbours in the territory of Turgalium and maintained pre-Roman naming habits to a higher degree than the neighbours in the territory of Turgalium.

Whether or not this was due to cultural or demographic factors, however, remains unclear. Since the onomastic data collected from funerary inscriptions expressing family relations do not indicate a significant population of full citizens with *tria nomina*, but instead many *peregrini* or *Latini* with single names, little else can be said except that this pattern of predominant ascending nuclear dedications and dedications between siblings persists across the geographic region around Turgalium. Socio-economic status could explain this phenomenon since a *praefectura* would entail a large swath of arable land, which would include a population of landowning families tied to this land. As Saller and Shaw have suggested, dedication patterns that primarily emphasize relations between parents and children could be characteristic of landowning families operating in the capacity of “property transmitting units”.²²² Natal relations, between parents and children, is the primary vector of property transmission following death in a family and this pattern could reflect a population with a high number of landowning families. On the contrary, a higher percentage of conjugal relations might indicate the presence of humbler “working unit” families where property transmission is not a primary consideration in acts of commemoration. Such socio-economic conditions provide one possible explanation for this pattern observed at Turgalium and in its immediate territory. In this case, it is not abundantly clear why these anomalous patterns are exclusive to this region and socio-cultural or demographic factors could very well have contributed to this pattern as well.

Turgalium: Personal Names and Family Relations

When the linguistic attributes of given names are compared with the patterns of relations observed at Turgalium, it becomes clear that the people in this region were undergoing a slow process of cultural change, not dissimilar to the process observed at Norba Caesarina. Nevertheless, much

²²² Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 138.

like the data from Norba, the given names of the dedicators are missing 60% of the time. As a result, it is impossible to observe linguistic difference in the given names of family members in many cases (table 2.8).

Turgalium had the most abnormal patterns of expressed relations of all the communities discussed in this dissertation, with a high percentage of ascending nuclear relations and relations expressed between siblings, which combined accounted for 60% of all relations attested in the region of Turgalium. In both of these categories over 50% of the dedicators' given names could not be identified. The given names of the deceased, however, were more frequently attested and can provide some data useful for reaching general conclusions about the possible relationship between given names and types of relations expressed.

**Commemorative Relations and Language:
Turgalium**

		Deceased				
Dedicators		Greek	Indigenous	Latin	Null	Total
	Conjugal		2	10	6	18
	Greek			1		1
	Indigenous		1	3		4
	Latin		1	5	2	8
	Null			1	4	5
	Descending Nuclear		7	6	4	17
	Indigenous		2			2
	Latin		1	1		2
	Null		4	5	4	13
	Ascending Nuclear		16	24	10	50
	Indigenous		4			4
	Latin		2	6	3	11
	Null		10	18	7	35
	Siblings		5	16	2	23
	Indigenous		2	5		7
	Latin		1	1	2	4
	Null		2	10		12
	Descending Extended			2	2	4
	Latin				1	1
	Null			2	1	3
	Amici	3		2	1	6
	Latin	1			1	2
	Null	2		2		4
	Servile			2		2
	Latin			2		2
	Self		1			1
	Indigenous		1			1
	Grand Total	3	31	62	25	121

Table 2.8: Commemorative relations and the linguistic origins of names at Turgalium.

Relations in the ascending nuclear category, from children to parents, were by and large the most ubiquitous of all the relations counted at Turgalium. Although thirty-five of the dedicators' names were unknown, individuals with Latin given names were more than double in number than those with indigenous given names. While the names of the deceased were more commonly

attested, Latin names were still the most common. This pattern indicates that it was most common for children with Latin names to make dedications to parents with Latin names, suggesting a high degree of Latinization in the region. Nevertheless, there were still sixteen deceased individuals with indigenous given names and in cases where the given name of the dedicator was clear they bore indigenous names.

Both of these trends within the ascending nuclear category seem to indicate that children and parents most commonly shared linguistically homogenous names. There were no examples of parents with Latin given names and children with indigenous given names, which would indicate that parents with linguistically indigenous given names were shifting toward giving their offspring Latin given names. To a certain degree, evidence from Turgalium indicates that there was definitely the habit of maintaining indigenous given names within some nuclear families as well as maintaining Latin names within the family where the parents already had a Latin given name. The high number cases in which the given name of the dedicators was unknown and evidence of given names among siblings, however, add some doubts to these conclusions.

In the case of dedications between siblings, there were a number of examples of siblings in the same family having a mixture of indigenous and Latin given names (table 2.9). Examples of these can be dated to the 1st century CE and the other to the late 1st and 2nd century CE. Three of these sibling dedications involve dedicators and deceased with single names plus a patronymic in the genitive case. In one case, *CILC* II, 551, the deceased, G. Norbanus Caturus, bears an indigenous *cognomen* while his brother Q. Norbanus Niger has a Latin one.²²³ Likewise in the case of *CILC* II 819, two siblings, Severa and Turcadius, have Latin and indigenous single names respectively,

²²³ *CILC* II, 551: *G(aius) Norbanus Catur(o) an(norum) L Q(uintus) Norban(us) Niger fratri f(aciendum) c(uravit)*.

while their father, Turaesius, also has an indigenous single name.²²⁴ Thus, while dedications between parents and children indicate a high degree of homogeneity between the linguistic attributes of their given names, dedications between siblings clearly show that members of the same nuclear family could have linguistically differing names and this is not expressly clear unless the names of all siblings are present. In addition, the high percentage of cases in which the name of the dedicator could not be identified at Turgalium creates a massive gap in our data that prevents any solid conclusions being drawn.

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Reference	Dedicator Language	Deceased Language	Date
Turcadius	Severa Turaesi f.	Brother to Sister	<i>CILC</i> II, 819	Indigenous	Latin	51/100
Tancinus Cauciri f.	Amonicus	Brother to Brother	<i>CILC</i> II, 688	Indigenous	Latin	151/250
Tancinus Cauciri f.	Clavic(i)us	Brother to Brother	<i>CILC</i> II, 688	Indigenous	Latin	151/250
Tancinus Cauciri f.	Atanius	Brother to Brother	<i>CILC</i> II, 688	Indigenous	Latin	151/250
Angetus	Fuginus Ang(eti) f.	Brother to Brother	<i>CILC</i> II, 424	Indigenous	Latin	1/100
Q. Norbanus Niger	G. Norbanus Caturo	Brother to Brother	<i>CILC</i> II, 551	Latin	Indigenous	75/200

Table 2.9: Commemorative Relations between siblings with linguistically different given names at Turgalium.

These data from Turglaium show that the process of linguistic change at Turgalium was slow, but at the same suggest that linguistically Latin name elements were gradually adopted within nuclear families over generations. While in a number of cases parents and their children bore given names with the same linguistic attributes, a number of cases show that parents with indigenous given names would sometimes give their children Latin given names, but the reverse

²²⁴ *CILC* II, 819: *Severa Turaesi f(ilia) h(ic) s(ita) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) Turcaudus frater d(e) s(uo) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*.

is not attested. Relations between siblings also show that in some cases siblings would have linguistically differing given names. Much the same as at Norba Caesarina, the evidence from Turgalium indicates a more gradual adoption of linguistically Latin name elements, primarily among individuals who bore single names.

The emphasis on ascending nuclear dedications is also of great interest, but since the given names of the dedicators are missing for more than half of these dedications, it is unclear whether ascending nuclear dedications were driven more by a particular linguistic group. Nevertheless, it is clear that relations between children and their parents were held in high regard in this community. Children setting up an epitaph to honour one of their parents was the most common type of funerary commemoration attested at Turgalium and the fact that the majority of the deceased held Latin given names may only indicate that linguistically Latin names became more popular in the region over time.

Augustobriga

Located approximately 90km northeast of Norba Caesarina, Augustobriga was established on a central road network that connected Norba Caesarina with Caesaraugusta, modern Zaragoza, in the Ebro valley in the northeast of the Iberian peninsula. The geographical limits of the territory of Augustobriga are not exactly clear, but the Sierra de Gredos mountain range forms a likely northern limit and the area to the south of the Tagus may have served as the southern limits of its territory.²²⁵ Augustobriga itself was located beneath the modern town of Talavera la Vieja. In 1960, the Spanish authorities created a reservoir by flooding the Valdecañas area next to the Tagus River and building the Valdecañas dam to control water use. As a result, both the modern town and much

²²⁵ Esteban Ortega (2019) p. 9.

of the ancient site were submerged. However, the surviving standing remains of the Roman city were relocated to a new site in the vicinity prior to the flooding.²²⁶

The territory around Augustobriga had been inhabited long before its establishment as a Roman civic community. Evidence of ceramics, *fibulae*, and gold pieces indicate pre-Roman human activity from the Paleolithic era to the Bronze and Iron ages. In particular, there is a prevalence of Vettonian material culture including ceramics and zoomorphological sculptures, which were discovered around Talavera la Vieja in the 18th century.²²⁷ Since the community saw continuous occupation from the Roman period until the 1960s, archaeological evidence from the site of Augustobriga is scant and limited to some rescued ruins of a public building and the results of emergency excavations from 1958 to 1959.²²⁸

Despite the scant archaeological evidence for Augustobriga, literary evidence provides some details concerning the importance of Augustobriga as a civic community along the road networks of eastern Lusitania. Like many of the other communities discussed in the province of Cáceres, Pliny the Elder mentions Augustobriga among the 36 *civitates stipendiariae* in his catalogue of Iberian communities.²²⁹ There is a discrepancy here, however, since the name of the community and some epigraphic evidence might indicate promotion to municipal status earlier during the Augustan period. The fact that Pliny the Elder mentions Augustobriga, however, emphasizes its importance as a civic community in the province of Lusitania. Claudius Ptolemaeus' *Geography* lists Augustobriga among the communities in the region of the Vettones, providing an interesting ethnographic distinction within a province consisting of both Lusitani and

²²⁶ García y Bellido (1962) p. 235.

²²⁷ Hermosilla y Sandoval (1796)

²²⁸ García y Bellido (1962) p. 236.

²²⁹ Pliny, *NH* 4.117-118.

Vettones.²³⁰ Likewise, Augustobriga appears in the *Antonine Itinerary* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* on the road between Emerita and Complutum, indicating the continued importance of the community into the 3rd and 4th centuries CE.²³¹ Lastly, Augustobriga is also mentioned in the *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, dated to the 8th century CE, as being on the route from Toletum to Emerita.²³² Based on these literary references, Augustobriga was clearly an important location along the road networks of the Iberian provinces and its importance continued into the medieval period.

Inscriptional evidence, as well, provides information regarding the juridical status of Augustobriga and its promotion to *municipium* status during the Flavian period. In particular, an inscription found in 1887 at Talavera la Vieja mentions the *senatus populusque Augustobrigensis*.²³³ Esteban Ortega follows Hübner's dating of this inscription to the Augustan period based on the palaeography of the text, which conflicts with the hypothesis of Flavian municipalization supported by Pliny's *Natural History* and García y Bellido's chronology.²³⁴ Archaeological evidence for the chronology of Augustobriga is vague since the emergency excavations in the 1950s were only able to offer a partial glimpse into the development of the community during the 1st century CE.²³⁵

The fact that Augustobriga was inhabited continuously between the Roman and the modern period has made archaeological investigation difficult. Before the emergency excavations in the

²³⁰ Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geography* II.5-6. Interestingly, Claudius Ptolemeus lists Norba Caesarina and Caurium among the cities of *Lusitani*; while Capera and Augustobriga are listed among the cities of Vettones. Turgalium is not mentioned in this work, however.

²³¹ *AntIt* 438.6; Esteban Ortega (2019) p. 11.

²³² *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* 311.2 and 312.12; Listed as "*Augustabriga*". Unlike the *Antonine Itinerary*, the *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* also lists Turgalium along the route, spelled "*Turcalion*".

²³³ *CIL* II, 5346 = *CPILC*, 480; *CILC* V, 1352: *C(aius Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Gl[---] senatui popu[loq(ue)] Augustob[rigensi] hospes d[onum] dat.*

²³⁴ Mierse (1999) p. 102.

²³⁵ Esteban Ortega (2019) p. 14.

1950s, the most notable archaeological remnants of Augustobriga were the remains of a large tetrastyle temple.²³⁶ At the time of its recording in the 1920s, the temple was incorporated into a later building, but it was later deconstructed in 1931 and relocated to the shore of the reservoir of Valdecañas, where it stands today.²³⁷ The peripteral style and granite building materials of the temple at Augustobriga are strikingly similar to those of the so-called Temple of Diana at Augusta Emerita, which was originally constructed in the late 1st century BCE or early 1st century CE.²³⁸ Results from the emergency excavations in 1958 and 1959 further indicated some areas that correspond to the morphology of a forum as well as some semi-circular walls, towers, and a southward facing gate.²³⁹ In conclusion, the style of the temple and the chronology of the inscription point to the process of urbanization and monumentalization during the 1st century CE. Given the absence of extensive archaeological investigation, the chronological sequence of urban development at Augustobriga is not exactly clear. Inscriptional evidence from the surrounding areas, however, provides useful patterns of expressions of family relations and personal onomastics.

Augustobriga: Personal Names and Family Relations

The two most common acts of commemoration at Augustobriga were of the descending nuclear family members type followed by those for ascending nuclear family members, indicating, once again, a strong emphasis on relations between parents and their children. Overall, Augustobriga provides the fewest attestations of relations between deceased and commemorator(s) of all the civic communities in the province of Cáceres: a total of just 36. Nevertheless, a comparison of the

²³⁶ Mélida (1924) no. 262, plate 20; Álvarez Martínez & Nogales Basarrate (2003).

²³⁷ Morán Sánchez (2017) pp. 357-360.

²³⁸ Mierse (1999) p. 75.

²³⁹ Esteban Ortega (2019) p. 14.

linguistic attributes of the given names (single names and *cognomina*) of dedicators and the deceased with the relations expressed between them reveals that parents documented in acts of both descending and ascending nuclear relations were more likely to have indigenous given names than their children (table 2.10), a phenomenon observed elsewhere in Lusitania, most notably the Civitas Igaeditanorum (cf. Chapter 3).

At Augustobriga descending nuclear dedications from parents to their deceased children accounted for 14 (39%) of all 36 relations expressed through acts of funerary commemoration. Of these, nine of the deceased had Latin given names and only two had indigenous given names. This shows that deceased children at Augustobriga were more likely to possess Latin given names than indigenous ones.

**Commemorative Relations and Language:
Augustobriga**

Deceased

		Greek	Indigenous	Latin	Null	Total
Dedicators	Conjugal	1	2		2	5
	Indigenous		1		1	2
	Latin	1	1			2
	Null				1	1
	Descending Nuclear		2	9	3	14
	Indigenous		1	3	1	5
	Latin		1	4	2	7
	Null			2		2
	Ascending Nuclear		4	2	1	7
	Latin		2	2		4
	Null		2		1	3
	Siblings			2		2
	Indigenous			1		1
	Latin			1		1
	Descending Extended				1	1
	Null				1	1
	Heir		4			4
	Indigenous		2			2
	Null		2			2
	Servile		3			3
	Indigenous		3			3
	Grand Total	1	15	13	7	36

Table 2.10: Linguistic origins of given names and family relations at Augustobriga.

Since most of the inscriptions involving individuals with indigenous given names can be dated to the 1st century CE, the people of Augustobriga were clearly undergoing a shift in naming practices during the 1st century CE. This shift was most clearly articulated in relations expressed between parents and children (table 2.11). This all indicates that there was a shift toward the more widespread adoption of Latin given names during the 1st century CE, since the parents, representing an older generation of the population, are often seen in relation to children with Latin given names. Much like the similar phenomena observed in the data from the Civitas Igaeditanorum and Capera, it seems clear that the grant of *ius Latii* to all of the Hispanic provinces

directly resulted in an increase in the adoption of the epigraphic habit at Augustobriga, but also in the assumption of name elements that were linguistically Latin. Again, however, changes in name structure (i.e., the adoption of *duo/tria nomina* among Latin citizens) did not occur as an immediate result of this, indicating that for the most part single name structure was maintained out of preference, not necessarily due to newly acquired juridical status. In other words, the grant of the *ius Latii* does not seem to have led to a widespread adoption of the Roman *duo/tria nomina* among the local civic population.

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Age	Reference	Dedicator Language	Deceased Language	Date
Duenia Anmonis f.	Cupiena Camali f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>CILC</i> V, 1440	Indigenous	Latin	1/100
Camalus Aveli f.	Cupiena Camali f.	Father to Daughter	25	<i>CILC</i> V, 1440	Indigenous	Latin	1/100
Elandetus Triti f.	Tatianus	Father to Son	2	<i>CILC</i> V, 1404	Indigenous	Indigenous	
Tongeta Tancini f.	Lupus Vegeti f.	Mother to Son	12	<i>CILC</i> V, 1343	Indigenous	Latin	51/130
Cabura Caenoni(s)	N/A	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> V, 1421	Indigenous	Null	51/100
Albinus	L[---] Goutina Albini f.	Father to Daughter	20	<i>CILC</i> V, 1382	Latin	Indigenous	51/130
Crustenus Decianus	Flavia Rufina	Father to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 941	Latin	Latin	1/100
Honorina	Flavia Rufina	Mother to Daughter	23	<i>CIL</i> II, 941	Latin	Latin	1/100
Saluta?	Rufinus	Father to Son	25	<i>CIL</i> II, 936	Latin	Latin	151/300
A(ttia) Galatia	Attia A.f. Avita	Mother to Daughter	24	<i>CIL</i> II, 856	Latin	Latin	
Attius Nigrinus	Maimian? Acida	Mother to Child	9	<i>CILC</i> V, 1344	Latin	Null	101/200
Attius Nigrinus	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC</i> V, 1344	Latin	Null	101/200
N/A	Quintilianus Quinti f.	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> V, 1434	Null	Latin	101/220
N/A	Quintilianus Quinti f.	Father to Son	15	<i>CILC</i> V, 1434	Null	Latin	101/220
Viriatus	Galaetus A. Triti f.	Son to Father		<i>CILC</i> V, 1403	Latin	Indigenous	101/230
Festus	Galaetus A. Triti f.	Son to Father		<i>CILC</i> V, 1403	Latin	Indigenous	101/230
Avita Iuli f.	Casia Vironi f.	Daughter to Mother		<i>CILC</i> V, 1436	Latin	Latin	1/100
Aproncula	Arruntia Avita	Daughter to Mother	50	<i>CILC</i> V, 1435	Latin	Latin	1/100
N/A	Maelo Dovai f.	Child to Father		<i>CIL</i> II, 6336e	Null	Indigenous	1/50
N/A	Maelo Dovai f.	Child to Father		<i>CIL</i> II, 6336e	Null	Indigenous	1/50
N/A	N/A	Child to Mother		<i>CIL</i> II, 932	Null	Null	1/100

Table 2.11: Descending and ascending nuclear dedications and personal names at Augustobriga.

Capera

The ancient Roman city of Capera, near modern day Oliva de Plasencia, was located in the north-central area of the modern province of Cáceres. We first hear of the ancient site, perched near the southern bank of the Ambroz river, from Pliny the Elder. In his *Natural History* Pliny lists Capera among a number of *civitates stipendiariae* in the region of Lusitania, which indicates that during the early part of the 1st century CE, Capera must have been a community composed of individuals of peregrine status.²⁴⁰ While one might assume that most *civitates stipendiariae* would show evidence of pre-Roman occupation, and perhaps even the defensive characteristics commonly associated with pre-Roman hill forts, or *oppida*, archaeological evidence from Capera does not indicate pre-Augustan foundations as a fortified *oppidum*.

Instead, archaeologists have noted a surprisingly “municipal” character to the layout of the remains of the city which, although undergoing intensive monumentalization during the Flavian period, showed some Augustan developments in the lower levels of the archaeological strata.²⁴¹ Excavations in the early 20th century focused on the standing *quadrifrons* arch, while subsequent excavations discovered an orthogonal street plan along with a forum, in which the arch stood at the entrance.²⁴² Nevertheless, the excavations of J.M Blázquez Martínez in the 1960s established that the nucleus of Capera, which included the forum, the arch, temples, and a *decumanus maximus* underwent an intensive monumentalization process in the late 1st century, likely following its promotion to municipal status under the Flavians.²⁴³ In the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries, projects such as “Alba Plata” (1998–2004), directed by A. Bejarano and E. Gijón with support

²⁴⁰ Pliny, *NH* 4.118

²⁴¹ Cerrillo Martín de Cáceres (2000) p.157.

²⁴² Cf. Mélida (1924); Floriano Cumbreño (1944); Nünnerich Asmus (1996).

²⁴³ Blázquez Martínez (1965) pp. 54-55.

from the University of Extremadura and regional authorities, have resulted in renewed archaeological interventions and the creation of a visitor centre.²⁴⁴ This argument for Flavian municipalization is corroborated by epigraphic evidence, which securely confirms that Capera was promoted to *municipium* status during the Flavian period. A monumental inscription inscribed on five blocks, three of which are now lost, displays the munificence of a local named Albinus with reference to the *municipium*.²⁴⁵

Despite the municipal characteristics of the built environment of Capera and its status as a Flavian *municipium*, epigraphic evidence also indicates that local traditions were afforded a certain degree of continuity, at least in the early stages of municipalization. In one case, a prominent member of the local elite who held full Roman citizen status made a dedication to the goddess *Trebaruna*, a Lusitanian deity.²⁴⁶ Some interpretations argue that this inscription was intended for the façade of a small sanctuary, since its size [52 cm high by 160 cm wide by 21 cm deep] seems to indicate a lesser degree of monumentality than other façade inscriptions.²⁴⁷ The details of the dedicator, M. Fidius Fidi f(ilius) Macer, present us with a moment in which local and Roman identity are in a process of synthesis.

The honorific inscription above mentions that M. Fidius Macer was *IIvir* and magistrate (*magistratus*) three times, a distinction between offices which indicates that M. Fidius Macer held office as a *magistratus* when Capera was a *civitas stipendiaria* and subsequently as *IIvir* following

²⁴⁴ For the historiography and excavations at Capera/Cáparra, see Blázquez Martínez (1965); Mélida (1924), p. 96; Floriano Cumbreño (1944), p. 270; Bejarano Osorio (2021); Cidoncha Redondo (2020).

²⁴⁵ CILC III, 1002 = AE, 1986, 307: [*Pro sa*]lute municipi(i) Flavi(i) Ca[perens(is)] / Aqua Augusta / [---] Albinus [ex] te[st]amento [f(ieri) iussit?]; Stylow (1986).

²⁴⁶ CILC III, 1014: Aug(ustae) Trebar[unae] / M(arcus) Fidius Fidi f(ilius) Quir(ina) [Macer] mag(istratus) III IIvir II praef(ectus) fa(brum); Cf. Alarcão (2009) p. 106.

²⁴⁷ AE, 2002, 705, summarizing the arguments of González Herrero (2002).

creation of the *municipium iuris Latini* in the Flavian period.²⁴⁸ Both the offices of his political career and the single name of his father, Fidius, indicates that Macer was definitely a first generation Roman citizen, and his voting tribe – the Quirina – indicates Flavian promotion to citizenship. Most importantly, this provides us with a snapshot of a member of the local elite in a Lusitanian town transitioning to life in a Flavian *municipium*, and, as we shall see, his involvement in the monumentalization of Capera was quite extensive.

M. Fidius Macer set up two additional honorific inscriptions at Capera which further indicate the extent of his involvement in the dedication of public works.²⁴⁹ The first inscription, *CIL* II, 834, is located *in situ* on the southeast pillar of the *quadrifrons* arch at the entry to the forum. The second inscription, *CIL* II, 835, was not located in context but the size of the stone matches the dimensions of the stones used in the construction of the arch and was likely associated with the arch as well.²⁵⁰ M. Fidius Macer clearly expresses his rôle as the builder of this arch through both of these honorific inscriptions, one to his wife and another to his parents. In addition to his dedication to the Lusitanian deity Trebaruna, which carries the express intention of maintaining connections to his local religious heritage, M. Fidius Macer also contributed to public works in the new Flavian *municipium*, specifically a monumental *quadrifrons* arch and its associated inscriptions, which evoke strong associations of acts of euergetism and patronage, commonly associated with members of the local elite in the Roman provinces.

In the very same honorific inscriptions associated with the *quadrifrons* arch, M. Fidius Macer reveals his familial connection to individuals of peregrine origin as well. In the honorific inscription for his wife, Iulia Luperca, it is evident that his father-in-law, Luperus, and his own

²⁴⁸ Esteban Ortega (2000) p. 260-261; Curchin (2015) p. 167; This block has recently been rediscovered: see Esteban Ortega (2017b).

²⁴⁹ *CIL* II, 834 = *CILC* III, 1003; *CIL* II, 835 = *CILC* III, 1004.

²⁵⁰ Esteban Ortega (2014) p. 92.

father each held a single name, indicating that he and his wife were the first generation of their respective families in which *duo/tria nomina* were adopted.²⁵¹ In the other inscription M. Fidius Macer makes an honorific dedication to a man and a woman, Bolosea Pelli f(ilia) and Fidius Macri f(ilius), who were almost certainly his parents. Based on his father's name, it would seem that M. Fidius Macer had taken his father's single name as a *nomen* and his grandfather's single name, Macer, as his cognomen.²⁵² Even though these single names are both Latin, the retention of these family names on the part of M. Fidius Macer would indicate an express decision to represent his peregrine ancestry by keeping their names in his *tria nomina*.

All of these details and his dedication to a local deity present the reader of these inscriptions with a striking moment of cultural synthesis at Capera. Through a thorough analysis of expressions of family relations and personal onomastics, the following discussion will explore how these processes of cultural change are reflected in the funerary epigraphy at Capera.

Capera: Personal Names and Family Relations

Approximately two thirds of the relationships expressed on funerary dedications at Capera comprise ascending and descending nuclear relations. A comparison of the given name elements of dedicators and deceased along with the relations expressed will confirm whether or not there is a correlation between relationship patterns and personal name elements at Capera. For this reason, the following table separates dedicators and deceased based on the linguistic attributes of their given names (i.e., single names and *cognomina*) which have been categorized as "Latin", "Greek", "Indigenous", or "Null" for cases in which the given name is unknown (table 2.13).

²⁵¹ CIL II, 835 = CILC III, 1004: *Iuliae Luperi f(iliae) Lupercae M(arcus) Fidius Macer uxori p(oni) i(ussit)*.

²⁵² CIL II, 834 = CILC III, 1003: *Bolosea[e] Pelli f(iliae) Fidio Macri f(ilio) M(arcus) Fidius Macer testamento f(aciendum) c(uravit)*.

**Commemorative Relations and
Language: Capera**

		Deceased				
Dedicators		Greek	Indigenous	Latin	Null	Total
	Conjugal		2	2	5	9
	Indigenous				1	1
	Latin		1	2	2	5
	Null		1		2	3
	Descending Nuclear	1	2	8	9	20
	Indigenous		1			1
	Latin	1		6	9	16
	Null		1	2		3
	Ascending Nuclear		7	3	4	14
	Indigenous		5			5
	Latin		2	3	2	7
	Null				2	2
	Siblings	2		5	1	8
	Indigenous			1		1
	Latin	2		3		5
	Null			1	1	2
	Descending Extended			2		2
	Latin			1		1
	Null			1		1
	Ascending Extended			2	1	3
	Latin			2	1	3
	Amici	1		1	1	3
	Latin	1				1
	Null			1	1	2
	Heir		1			1
	Latin		1			1
	Servile			2		2
	Latin			2		2
	Self			1		1
	Latin			1		1
	Grand Total	4	12	26	21	63

Table 2.13: Commemorative Relations and the linguistic origin of given names at Capera

In total, there were twice as many deceased individuals with Latin given names as there were persons with indigenous given names, indicating that by the end of the 1st century CE the

majority of dedicators and deceased possessed Latin given names at Capera. Of the 34 descending and ascending nuclear dedications, only four date beyond the 1st century CE and the remaining 30 are all to be dated within the 1st century CE (Tables 2.14 & 2.15). In these 34 inscriptions only nine of the deceased individuals bear indigenous given names. The most obvious pattern among the descending and ascending nuclear categories is that people with indigenous given names were more often both the recipients and dedicators of ascending nuclear acts of commemoration, while individuals with Latin given names were more likely to receive descending nuclear dedications from their parents who also had Latin given names.

Overall, there was a certain degree of linguistic homogeneity between the given names of parents and children at Capera. Among descending nuclear dedications (parent to child), dedicators with Latin given names were most common and the deceased (children) most often held Latin given names as well. Ascending nuclear dedications, on the other hand, showed that children with indigenous given names most often had parents with indigenous given names. It would seem, then, that while Latin given names had indeed become predominant at Capera by the 1st century CE, as the case of M. Fidius Macer and his wife reveals, some individuals chose to maintain linguistically indigenous name elements within their nuclear family, exemplified by the fact that a number of parents with indigenous given names chose to give indigenous given names to their children as well.

Given the fact that these inscriptions represent a relatively early stage in the adoption of the epigraphic habit at Capera, they demonstrate that there was a shift from indigenous given names to Latin given names during the 1st century CE, highlighted by the fact that there were no examples of descending nuclear dedications from parents with Latin given names to deceased children with indigenous given names. Similar to the pattern observed at the Civitas Igaeditanorum

(cf. Chapter 3), this pattern represents a linguistic shift that was likely the result of the grant of *ius Latii* (Latin status) to all of the Hispanic provinces between 73-74 CE. Nevertheless, this pattern clearly represents a strong emphasis on ties between natal kin, most notably parents and children, regardless of the cultural self-identification of family members as revealed by the personal names they bore.

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Reference	Dedicator Language	Deceased Language	Date
Ambatus Pelli f.	Camira	Father to Daughter	<i>CIL</i> II, 853	Indigenous	Indigenous	1/100
Fortunata	Partenis Acciae Marcianae ser.	Mother to Daughter	<i>CILC</i> III, 1048	Latin	Greek	51/100
Procula	Severus	Mother to Son	<i>CILC</i> III, 1049	Latin	Latin	51/100
L. Ammius Rufus	L. Ammius Ligustinus	Father to Son	<i>CILC</i> III, 924	Latin	Latin	71/130
Petronia Secunda	Petronia Prisca	Mother to Daughter	<i>CILC</i> III, 1119	Latin	Latin	1/100
Amoena	Servilius Corcori f.	Mother to Son	<i>CILC</i> III, 1118	Latin	Latin	1/100
Sempronius	Voconius Semproni f.	Father to Son	<i>CIL</i> II, 849	Latin	Latin	51/100
L. Caecilius Firmus	Fronto Minati lib.	Father to Son	<i>CIL</i> II, 836	Latin	Latin	1/100
Iulius Maxentianus	N/A	Father to Daughter	<i>CIL</i> II, 839	Latin	Null	101/200
Terentia Vitalis	N/A	Mother to Child	<i>CILC</i> III, 1055	Latin	Null	51/100
Terentia Vitalis	N/A	Mother to Child	<i>CILC</i> III, 1055	Latin	Null	51/100
Terentia Vitalis	N/A	Mother to Child	<i>CILC</i> III, 1055	Latin	Null	51/100
Terentia Vitalis	N/A	Mother to Child	<i>CILC</i> III, 1055	Latin	Null	51/100
C. Pompeius Seranus	N/A	Father to Child	<i>CILC</i> III, 1055	Latin	Null	51/100
C. Pompeius Seranus	N/A	Father to Child	<i>CILC</i> III, 1055	Latin	Null	51/100
C. Pompeius Seranus	N/A	Father to Child	<i>CILC</i> III, 1055	Latin	Null	51/100
C. Pompeius Seranus	N/A	Father to Child	<i>CILC</i> III, 1055	Latin	Null	51/100
N/A	Talabus Tangini f.	Mother to Son	<i>CILC</i> III, 1144	Null	Indigenous	101/230
N/A	Severus Tangini f.	Mother to Son	<i>CILC</i> III, 906	Null	Latin	101/230
N/A	L. Caecilius Ingenuus	Father to Son	<i>CILC</i> III, 1035	Null	Latin	1/100

Table 2.14: Descending nuclear dedications and name elements at Capera.

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Reference	Dedicator Language	Deceased Language	Date
Burrilus Celti f.	Celtius Anderci f.	Son to Father	<i>CILC</i> III, 962	Indigenous	Indigenous	1/100
Ambatus Pelli f.	Arbura Tancini f.	Son to Mother	<i>CIL</i> II, 853	Indigenous	Indigenous	1/100
Arco	Talticus Meidueni f.	Son to Father	<i>CILC</i> III, 1001	Indigenous	Indigenous	1/100
Tureus	Talticus Meidueni f.	Son to Father	<i>CILC</i> III, 1001	Indigenous	Indigenous	1/100
Arantonius	Talticus Meidueni f.	Son to Father	<i>CILC</i> III, 1001	Indigenous	Indigenous	1/100
Flavus	Cilea Flavi f.	Son to Mother	<i>CILC</i> III, 1143	Latin	Indigenous	51/100
Capito	Samacia M. Acili Frontonis lib.	Son to Mother	<i>CIL</i> II, 844	Latin	Indigenous	51/100
Fulvius Firmus	Fulvius Rufus	Son to Father	<i>CIL</i> II, 852	Latin	Latin	N/A
Marcia Procula	C. Marcius Clarus	Daughter to Father	<i>CIL</i> II, 825	Latin	Latin	N/A
Iulius Avitus	Caelia Aunia Iuli Fusci Tuberiani uxor	Stepson to Stepmother	<i>CIL</i> II, 820	Latin	Latin	51/100
Flavos	Boetela Cili f.	Son to Mother	<i>CILC</i> III, 1142	Latin	Indigenous	51/100
Flavos	[---] Cilisi f.	Son to Father	<i>CILC</i> III, 1142	Latin	Null	51/100
N/A	N/A	Child to Father	<i>CILC</i> III, 911	Null	Null	N/A
N/A	N/A	Child to Mother	<i>CILC</i> III, 911	Null	Null	N/A

Table 2.15: Ascending nuclear dedications and name elements at Capera.

Outside of the ascending and descending nuclear categories at Capera, dedicators and the deceased mostly possessed Latin given names, although a large quantity of dedications involved individuals whose names were not identifiable, resulting in a “Null” classification. Since “Null” given names are almost as common as Latin given names, we must acknowledge that a significant portion of the dedications lacks complete onomastic data and that any conclusions from these data are based on partial information. Nevertheless, the pattern of the linguistic shift in given names across generations is apparent from the identifiable onomastic data in this sample. In conclusion, parent child relations are most strongly emphasized in funerary commemorations from Capera,

almost equally between descending and ascending categories, regardless of linguistic and structural attributes of the persons involved, whether dedicators or deceased.

Caurium

The ancient community of Caurium, upon which the modern town of Coria now stands, is located approximately 40km west of Capera and 60km north of Norba Caesarina (fig. 2.1). Ancient Caurium likely originated as a fortified pre-Roman hill settlement due to its elevation above the surrounding territory and the defensive quality of the Alagón river to the south of the community.²⁵³ Since Caurium seems to have enjoyed continuous occupation from the pre-Roman period through the middle ages to this day, little is known about the Roman-period archaeology of Caurium, although there is extensive epigraphic evidence and some remains of statuary. Some of these inscriptions were incorporated into the late Roman walls during the fourth century CE. Other than the late Roman walls, the remains of a Roman aqueduct still stand on the modern site.²⁵⁴

In typical fashion, we first hear of Caurium from Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, in which he lists Caurium among the number of *civitates stipendiariae* in the province.²⁵⁵ None of the surviving inscriptions mention the civic status of Caurium, nor any magistrates, but there is record of a Roman citizen enrolled in the voting tribe Quirina, which indicates that Caurium received the *ius Latii* under Vespasian in the late first century.²⁵⁶ But as we shall see, the lower degree of onomastic Latinization and scarcity of *tria* or *duo nomina* among individuals on epitaphs at Caurium indicates that either few of the inhabitants represented on epitaphs expressing family relations held full citizen status or that few *Latini* chose to adopt *tria nomina*. Whether these

²⁵³ Fernández Corrales (1988) p. 36.

²⁵⁴ Fernández Ochoa & Morillo Cerdán (1992) p. 323.

²⁵⁵ Pliny, *NH* 4.118.

²⁵⁶ *CIL* II, 789 = *CILC* IV, 1209: *L(ucio) Valerio Quir(ina) Severino Valeria M(arci) f(ilia) Marcia marito*.

differences have any effect on the types of family relations emphasized on funerary epigraphy will be explored in the following discussion.

Caurium: Personal Names and Family Relations

When the onomastic data and expressions of family relations are viewed in relation to each other, Caurium proves to be an invaluable case study since this sample contains the highest percentage of individuals with indigenous name elements (46%) and single names (90%) of all the communities discussed in this study. Compared with comprehensive onomastic data from the ADOPIA project, the percentage of linguistically indigenous name elements of Caurium from all surviving inscriptions is actually higher at 62%, with Latin name elements accounting for only 34% (fig. 2.11).²⁵⁷ The data from Caurium, therefore, provide an excellent opportunity to determine whether the linguistic attributes of name elements or the structural elements of personal names influenced the pattern of relations expressed in one of the most “un-Roman” communities in the region (i.e., possessing the fewest *duo/tria nomina* and Latin name elements in its surviving funerary commemorations where a dedicator is mentioned). By examining expressions of family relations in relation to the linguistic attributes of the given names of dedicators and the deceased (i.e., single names and *cognomina*), the following discussion will determine whether there is a correlation between both personal name elements and the patterns of family relations (table 2.16).

²⁵⁷ The ADOPIA project counted 185 (34%) Latin, 344 (63%) indigenous, 8 (1%) Greek, and 16 (3%) unknown name elements in all surviving inscriptions from Caurium and its territory. See figure 2.11 for a comparative chart of linguistic attributes, courtesy of the ADOPIA project.

**Commemorative Relations and
Language: Caurium**

		Deceased				
		Greek	Indigenous	Latin	Null	Total
Dedicators	Conjugal	2	1	4	2	9
	Greek	1				1
	Indigenous	1				1
	Latin			4	1	5
	Null		1		1	2
	Descending Nuclear		8	8	9	25
	Indigenous		7	2	4	13
	Latin			5	2	7
	Null		1	1	3	5
	Ascending Nuclear		4	3	2	9
	Indigenous		1	1	2	4
	Latin		3	2		5
	Siblings		2	1	1	4
	Indigenous		1			1
	Latin			1	1	2
	Null		1			1
	Descending Extended			1		1
	Latin			1		1
	Ascending Extended			1		1
	Indigenous			1		1
	Heir		2	2	2	6
	Indigenous		2		1	3
	Latin			2	1	3
	Servile		1			1
	Indigenous		1			1
	Self		1			1
	Indigenous		1			1
	Grand Total	2	19	20	16	57

Table 2.16: Commemorative relations and the linguistic origin of given names at Caurium.

As we have seen from the onomastic data, 90% of the individuals identified in inscriptions expressing family relations possessed single names at Caurium. Relations involving individuals with *duo/tria nomina* were few in number and appeared sporadically throughout the various

relation categories. Of the relations expressed, the most commonly attested were those that involved descending nuclear relations, which accounted for 44% of all relations at Caurium. While the number of deceased with Latin, indigenous, or unknown given names was practically even, a high number of dedicators with indigenous given names were responsible for descending nuclear dedications (table 2.17). From these data it is clear that individuals with linguistically indigenous given names were most likely to make descending nuclear dedications at Caurium.

Even though thirteen of the descending nuclear dedicators possessed indigenous given names, the majority of the deceased subjects of these dedications held indigenous given names as well. Descending nuclear dedications from people with Latin given names were mostly set up for deceased individuals with Latin names. Although there were two cases in which the dedicator (parent) and deceased (child) had linguistically different names, these involved parents with indigenous given names and children with Latin names, representing a generational shift to linguistically Latin given names in the community. Since the majority of these epitaphs from Caurium have been dated between 1 and 100 CE, a clear pattern emerges from these data. First, there appears to be an impetus to maintain indigenous name elements. Especially in the case of descending nuclear dedications, most of the dedicators, who were parents of the deceased and represented an older age demographic of the population, held indigenous given names. Secondly, acts of commemoration where a dedicator with a Latin name honoured a deceased relative with an indigenous name were only found in the ascending nuclear category, which shows to some degree that the process of Latinization at Caurium took place at an earlier stage during the 1st century CE, as many parents with indigenous given names were giving their children Latin given names, and not vice-versa.

There was a strong emphasis on relations between parents and children at Caurium and individuals with indigenous given names were responsible for 52% of all descending nuclear dedications. The adoption of Latin names was clearly slower at Caurium than at other communities such as the Civitas Igaeditanorum, to judge from the number of nuclear families with linguistically homogenous given names (i.e., parents and children having given names of the same linguistic origin). The name structure of the individuals at Caurium tell us that the inhabitants were mostly of peregrine or Latin status in the 1st century CE. Although we know that all of Caurium's local citizens were given Latin status along with the rest of the province in 73-74 CE, it is still unclear whether Caurium requested *municipium* status. The fact that many of the inhabitants possessed single names and the process of Latinization was slow to occur here further support the conclusions that juridical and, by extension, cultural change was slow during the 1st century CE at Caurium and that many of the individuals who bore single names likely represented local *peregrini* and *incolae*. Additionally, these individuals could represent *Latini* who decided to keep their single names rather than take the *tria nomina*. Nevertheless, these data all point to two main conclusions: firstly, relations between parents and children were clearly of importance to the inhabitants of Caurium, regardless of the personal names held by the dedicators or deceased. Secondly, the higher number of descending nuclear dedicators with indigenous name elements most definitely represents a cultural choice among the inhabitants of Caurium to preserve pre-Roman naming traditions.

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Age	Reference	Dedicator Language	Deceased Language	Date
Tancinus	Caturo Tancini f.	Father to Son	7	<i>CIL</i> II, 753	Indigenous	Indigenous	51/100
Camalus Iusti f.	Boutia Camali f.	Father to Daughter	30	<i>CILC</i> IV, 1192	Indigenous	Indigenous	51/200
Sunua Alboni f.	Camira Adori f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 776	Indigenous	Indigenous	51/200
Sunua Alboni f.	Paugende Tabali f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 776	Indigenous	Indigenous	51/200
Sunua Alboni f.	Avelea Calacti f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 776	Indigenous	Indigenous	51/200
Apana Catuveni f.	Catuvenus Tancini f.	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1195	Indigenous	Indigenous	51/100
Pisirus	Venica Pisiri f.	Father to Daughter	9	<i>CIL</i> II, 790	Indigenous	Indigenous	1/50
Tongius	Titanus Tongi f.	Father to Son	11	<i>CIL</i> II, 795	Indigenous	Latin	51/100
Coria Capitoni f.	Tertia Nigri f.	Mother to Daughter	12	<i>CIL</i> II, 786	Indigenous	Latin	51/100
Mantau	N/A	Father to Child		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1316	Indigenous	Null	51/100
Boutia Tangini f.	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1187	Indigenous	Null	51/100
Cilea	N/A	Mother to Child	10	<i>CILC</i> IV, 1235	Indigenous	Null	51/100
Coria Catuveni f.	N/A	Mother to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 780	Indigenous	Null	
Laurilla Lauri f.	Flaus Caesi f.	Mother to Son	30	<i>CILC</i> IV, 1241	Latin	Latin	171/230
Fuscus	Fuscinus Fushi f.	Father to Son	13	<i>CIL</i> II, 779	Latin	Latin	1/50
C. Iulius Quintius	Iulia Avita	Father to Daughter	10	<i>CILC</i> IV, 1206	Latin	Latin	51/100
Iulia	Iulia Avita	Mother to Daughter		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1206	Latin	Latin	51/100
Tusca	Niger Loucini f.	Mother to Son	9	<i>CIL</i> II, 781	Latin	Latin	51/100
Amoena	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1316	Latin	Null	51/100
L. Quintius Proculus	N/A	Father to Son	5	<i>CILC</i> IV, 1216	Latin	Null	1/50
N/A	Dobiter[u]s [---]	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1252	Null	Indigenous	1/50
N/A	Nero Agrip(pa) [--] f.	Mother to Son	28	<i>CIL</i> II, 800	Null	Latin	
N/A	N/A	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1252	Null	Null	1/50
Titia [---]a	N/A	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1216	Latin	Null	1/50
[---]us Fushi f.	N/A	Father to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 780	Null	Null	

Table 2.17: Descending nuclear dedications at Caurium.

Quantitative Analysis: Conclusions and Discussion

In conclusion, the data indicate that there is no correlation between cultural habits pertaining to personal names and the types of family relations expressed through funerary epigraphy in this region. A case in point is the fact that Caurium and Norba Caesarina, two communities of different juridical statuses, share very similar patterns in the expression of family relations, but the individuals attested are completely divergent in terms of the linguistic and structural attributes of their name elements. Likewise, while those attested at Norba Caesarina and Capera show similar linguistic and structural patterns in their onomastics, the patterns of family relations observed at each community are dissimilar.

Although the exact reasons for the abnormal patterns observed from expressions of family relations at Turgalium are still obscure, the inconsistencies in the overall pattern of family relations among these communities raised some important methodological issues. The central question occupying previous studies of family relations has been of a social nature; that is, whether extended or nuclear family relations expressed on funerary inscriptions were dominant, and what that might indicate in terms of social and emotional ties between individuals in a given community.²⁵⁸ As the data from this region clearly show, however, other demographic factors affecting mortality rates must be given equal consideration in such studies. Local demographic patterns influencing mortality rates, for instance, also had a significant impact on family relation patterns and equally shaped the epigraphic record independently of purely cultural elements such as onomastic preference. In the case of the anomalously high number of ascending nuclear dedications recorded at Turgalium, children were more likely to commemorate the death of their parents than to receive dedications from their parents. A range of demographic factors could account for this pattern. One

²⁵⁸ Saller and Shaw (1984).

important consideration is migration, or the relative lack of it. Communities such as Capera and the Civitas Igaeditanorum show epigraphic evidence for significant in-migration, reflecting a certain openness to newcomers and, by analogy, the likelihood of out-migration as well. This is especially plausible for the Civitas Igaeditanorum, located in a mining area and therefore economically attractive. Turgalium, in contrast, does not display similar signs of demographic movement and appears to have had a more stable and locally rooted population. This demographic stability might help explain why children were consistently present to commemorate their parents, resulting in an elevated number of ascending nuclear dedications. In communities with higher rates of in- and out-migration, family ties would likely have been more dispersed. While other factors such as disease or differences in mortality could have played a role, there is little direct evidence to support these hypotheses in the case of Turgalium. Overall, there is no evidence from the epigraphic record of a correlation between patterns in the family relationships expressed on funerary inscriptions and the personal onomastics of those mentioned in this region. These findings underscore the importance of considering demographic realities, such as migration and stability, in addition to cultural explanations, when interpreting patterns in the Roman provincial epigraphic record.

Names collected from epitaphs set up to commemorate members of the nuclear family show a clear correlation between the ratio of Latin to indigenous names and the ratio of people with *duo/tria nomina* to single names at each community. In the case of the province of Cáceres, both Caurium and Turgalium show higher numbers of linguistically indigenous onomastics, which coincide with each having a high degree of single names among those attested from their respective community. Conversely, Norba Caesarina, and Capera show high degrees of Latinization in terms of the personal names attested and substantial documentation of *duo/tria nomina* among both

dedicators and the deceased. What can be said for certain is that evidence from the province of Cáceres shows that communities with higher percentages of people holding *duo* or *tria nomina* are consistently more Latinized, even when people with single names still account for the majority of individuals attested on funerary inscriptions in which family relations are mentioned in inscriptions involving family relations.

The process of Latinization at each community can be gauged based on those epitaphs that indicate both the personal names of the parents and the names they chose for their children. With the exception of Turgalium, the most common type of funerary commemoration at each community were descending and ascending dedications within the nuclear family. As a result, it is possible to compare the data concerning the linguistic attributes of given name elements of dedicators and the deceased with the familiar relations that were expressed by these individuals. Taking into account the chronology of the epitaph (even if such dating is often imprecise), it is clear that the civic communities in the province of Cáceres underwent a shift from linguistically indigenous to Latin given names during the 1st century CE. In all cases, descending nuclear dedications were more likely to include dedicators (parents) with indigenous names and deceased (children) with Latin names. Ascending nuclear dedications, likewise, included higher percentages of deceased parents with indigenous given names and children with Latin given names. This all indicates that the parents in the 1st century CE, representing an older generation of the population, more commonly held indigenous given names and increasingly began to give their children Latin given names. At Capera, this process of Latinization was already at an advanced stage by the late 1st century CE, although some families insisted on retaining indigenous given names. The shift from indigenous to Latin nomenclature was likely slower at Capera since we can observe a high degree of linguistic homogeneity in the given names of nuclear family members. The same could

be said for Norba Caesarina, where despite the predominance of Latin given names even among parents in descending nuclear commemorations, there was still a tradition of maintaining linguistically homogenous given names in the family to the extent that around one quarter of given names were linguistically indigenous. An analysis of given names of parents and children at both Augustobriga and Turgalium suggests that there were similar shifts toward linguistically Latin given names in the communities in the course of the 1st century CE.

Qualitative Discussion: Norba Caesarina

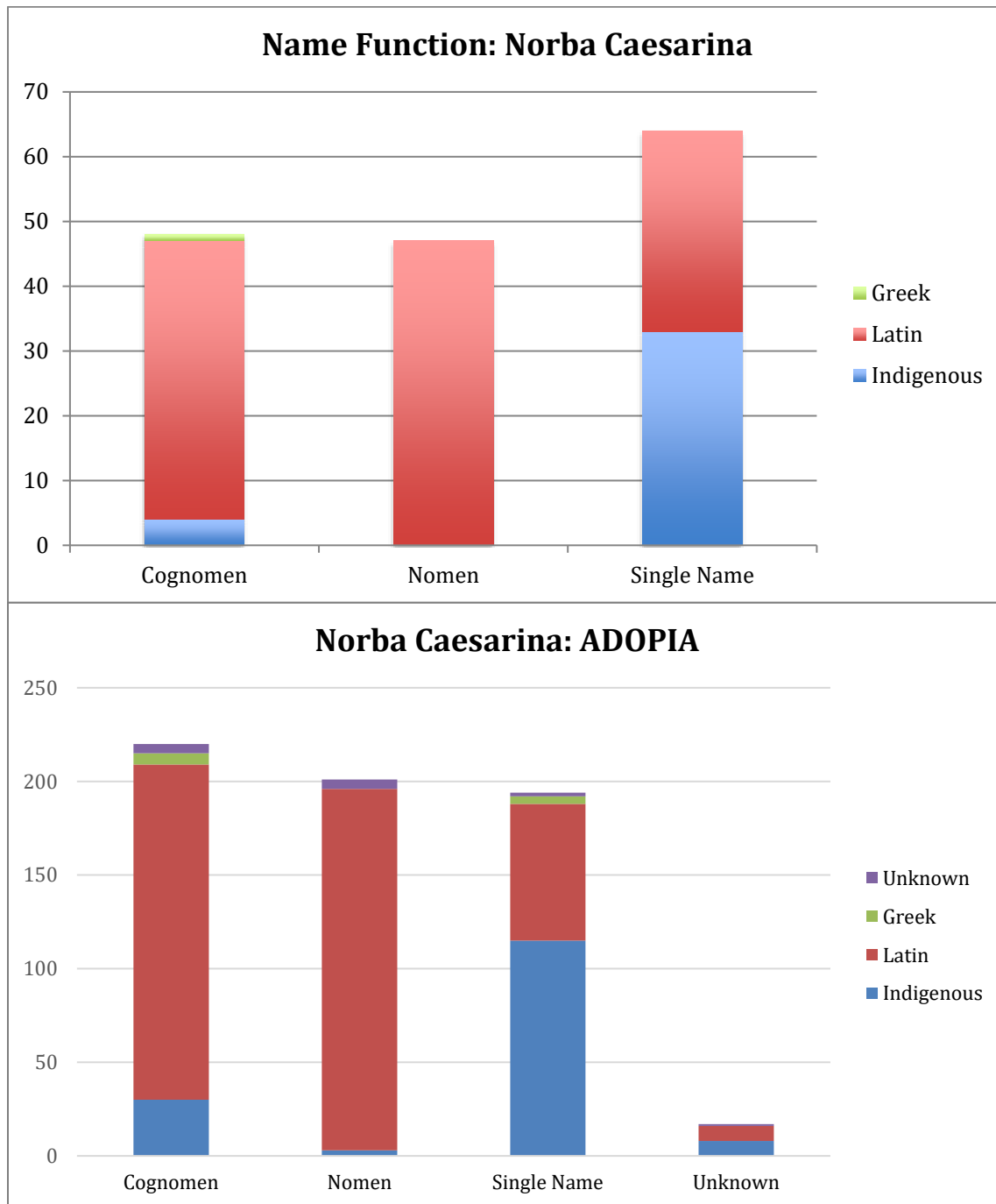


Figure 2.20: Name function at Norba Caesarina (compared with comprehensive data form the ADOPIA project – data collected May 2022).

To recap, quantitative onomastic data from funerary inscriptions expressing family relations at Norba Caesarina showed slightly more single names than *duo* or *tria nomina*.²⁵⁹ Conversely, linguistic analysis shows a very high degree of Latinization among names from all structural categories.²⁶⁰ On the one hand, individuals with single names showed an almost even distribution of Latin and indigenous names, while *duo* and *tria nomina* were almost exclusively Latin. Nevertheless, there were still some individuals carrying linguistically indigenous *cognomina* (fig. 2.20). As with the case of Turgalium, individuals at Norba Caesarina with indigenous *cognomina* exclusively bore one of two possible *nomina*: *Norbanus*, -a or *Iulius*, -a:

P. Iulius P. f. Tapilus	<i>CILC</i> I, 299
Iulia G. f. Boutia	<i>CILC</i> I, 262
Q. Norbanus Pruncius	<i>CILC</i> I, 133
Norbana Bovia	<i>CILC</i> I, 52

Two of the four individuals with indigenous *cognomina* appear to be at least 2nd generation Roman citizens. Both Iulia Boutia and P. Iulius Tapilus had fathers with *praenomina*, which indicates that their fathers had *tria nomina* as well. In this case, indigenous *cognomina* are retained for more than one generation of local individuals who had already adopted *tria/duo nomina*.

Of the indigenous single names attested in the inscriptions at Norba Caesarina, they made up almost 50% of the single names attested. Nevertheless, there was a high degree of diversity in the number of indigenous personal names attested, with Tancinus, -a the only name attested more than twice as a single name. This is not surprising since Tancinus, -a / Tanginus, -a is the most popular indigenous name attested on inscriptions in Lusitania.²⁶¹ All indigenous single names are included in the list below (table 2.18):

²⁵⁹ *Duo/tria nomina*: 50 (43%); Single name: 64 (55%); Servile: 3 (2%).

²⁶⁰ Latin: 120 (76%); Indigenous: 38 (24%).

²⁶¹ Navarro Caballero (2018) p. 365.

AEBARVS, -A	CILEVS, -A	TALAVVS, -A
AMBATVS, -A	CILIVS, -A	TALO
ARGANTONVS, -A	CILLA	TANCINVS, -A
BETVA	CILVS, -A	TONGIVS, -A
BOVTIVS, -A	COSVRVS, -A	VALLOCAVDVS, -A
CABVRVS, -A	MACRIO	VRCALO
CAENO	MAELO	
CALLABVRVS, -A	MAILA	
CAMIRVS, -A	SENVA	
CASINVS, -A	SVLLA	
CESEA	SVNVA	

Table 2.18: Indigenous single names at Norba Caesarina.

Of the Latin single names attested on funerary inscriptions expressing family relations at Norba Caesarina, there does not appear to be any overwhelming preference for a particular type of name. Latin single names that were attested on more than one occasion included Avitus, -a and Capito. Avitus, -a has been identified as a common Latin single name in Lusitania and is attested on numerous occasions as a single name and *cognomen*.²⁶² Otherwise, there were no discernible preferences for particular Latin single names in funerary inscriptions involving expressions of family relations at Norba Caesarina.

²⁶² Vallejo Ruiz (2005) p. 201.

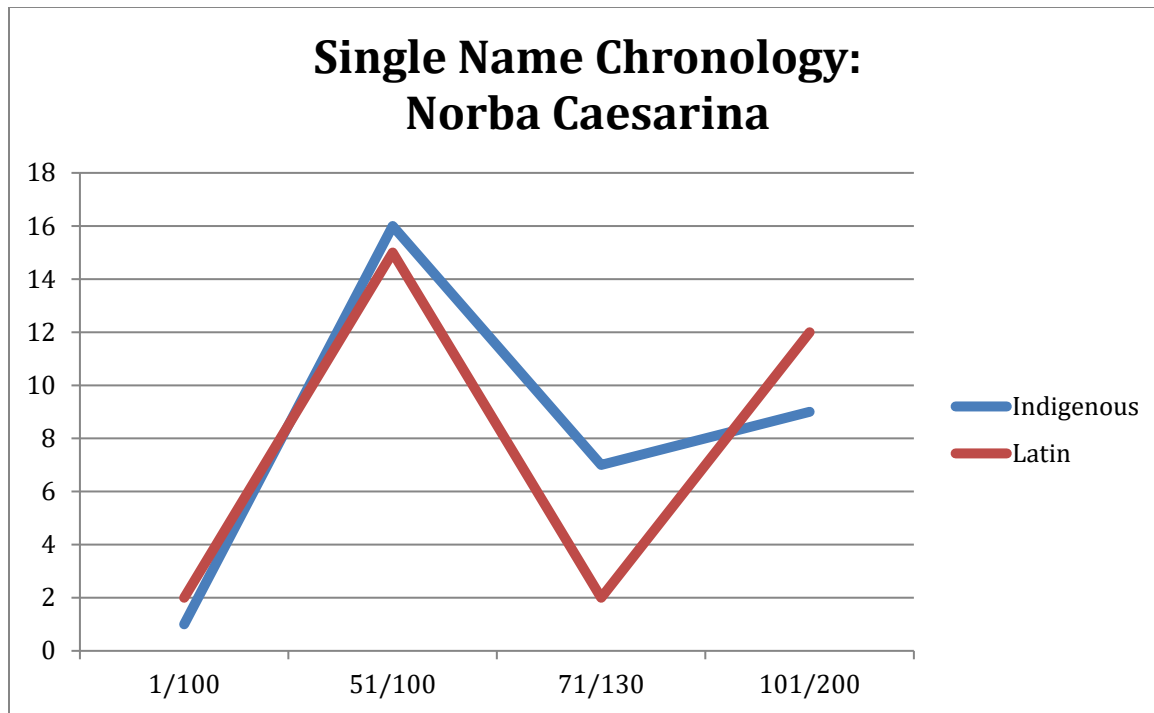


Figure 2.21: Single name chronology at Norba Caesarina.

A chronological comparison of both indigenous and Latin single names at Norba Caesarina exposes some interesting patterns in the linguistic origins of single names over time. As demonstrated above, the number of indigenous and Latin single names attested in the corpus of funerary inscriptions expressing family relations at Norba Caesarina was essentially equal. Unlike many other civic communities in the modern province of Cáceres, the number of indigenous vs. Latin names at Norba Caesarina were at parity in the early 1st century, with indigenous single names more commonly attested in the late 1st century. This changed in the 2nd century, when Latin single names were more commonly attested. With only 60 single names recorded from the corpus of funerary inscriptions expressing family relations at Norba Caesarina, these numbers closely resemble the comprehensive onomastic data from all surviving inscriptions in this community and its territory. The ADOPIA project counted 320 (30%) single names, 355 (34%) *nomina*, 346 (33%)

nomina, and 30 (3%) unknown.²⁶³ It seems as though linguistically indigenous single names maintain a significant presence in the record into the 2nd century CE, indicating a significant presence of *incolae* (fig. 2.21).

²⁶³ <http://adopia.huma-num.fr/>

Qualitative Discussion: Turgalium

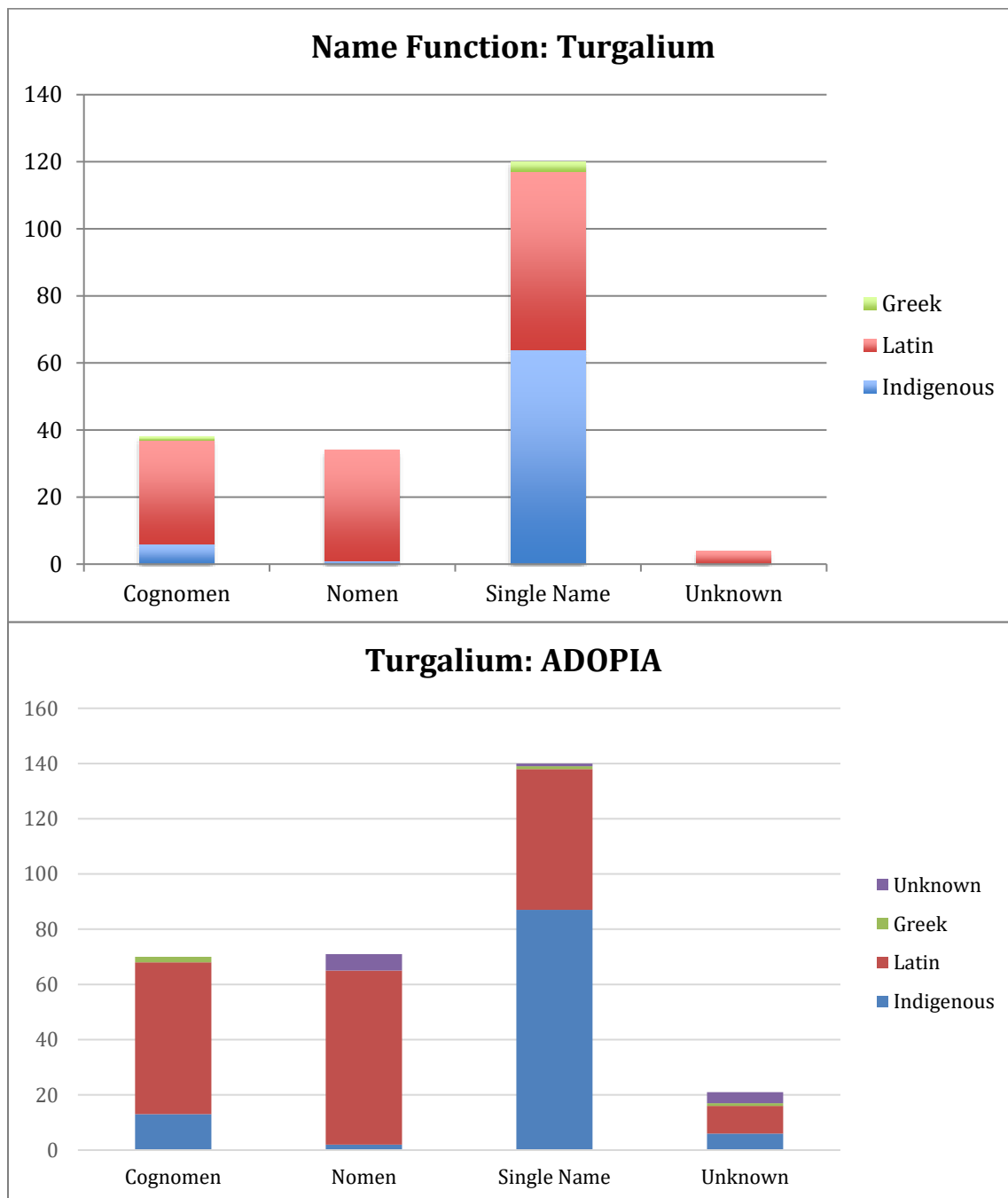


Figure 2.22: Name function and linguistics at Turgalium (compared with comprehensive data from the ADOPIA project – data collected May 2022).

In review, quantitative onomastic data from Turgalium indicate that the majority of individuals attested in acts of funerary commemoration where a dedicator was named bore single names that were predominantly Latin. Upon closer inspection, a more qualitative analysis of onomastic data at Turgalium exposes some of the idiosyncrasies of naming practice within this particular region of the modern province of Cáceres.²⁶⁴ For example, Turgalium boasts six attestations of indigenous *cognomina* among individuals with *duo* or *tria nomina*, the highest number in the region:

M. Norban[u]s Ture(us) Lanci	<i>CILC</i> II, 800
L. Iulius Lascivi Ibarra	<i>CILC</i> II, 646
Norb(anus) Tanginus	<i>CILC</i> II, 580
Norb(anus) Coutius	<i>CILC</i> II, 580
G. Norbanus Caturo	<i>CILC</i> II, 551
M. Iulius [A]rcisus	<i>CILC</i> II, 490

With the six individuals with indigenous *cognomina* at Turgalium, all of their *nomina* clearly indicate that they were of local heritage. In this case, these individuals share only one of two *nomina*, Norbanus or Iulius (fig. 2.22). As it has been noted above, the *nomen* *Norbanus* is locally associated with the likely *deductor* of Norba Caesarina, C. Norbanus Flaccus, and is attested almost exclusively as a *nomen*.²⁶⁵ Likewise, while Iulius is a common Roman *gentilicium*, its association with the early emperors, Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula made it a popular choice of *nomen* for citizens newly enfranchised during the first half of the 1st century CE.²⁶⁶ The expression of filiation for two of the six individuals by means of indigenous *cognomina* at

²⁶⁴ It should be noted once again that the onomastic data examined in this discussion only account for funerary inscriptions in which family relations between dedicators and the deceased are expressly clear. A more comprehensive onomastic analysis would be beyond the scope of this dissertation.

²⁶⁵ Vallejo Ruiz (2005); Navarro Caballero (2018) p. 380. In particular, Navarro Caballero notes that Norbanus, -a is the most popular *nomen* in the area of Norba Caesarina. He served as *consul ordinarius* in 38 BCE and later as proconsul of Hispania Ulterior. His successful military campaigns in Hispania earned him a *triumph ex Hispania* in 34 BCE. Norbanus Flaccus is widely recognized as the founder (deductor) of Norba Caesarina, and the prevalence of the *nomen* Norbanus in the local epigraphic record underscores his direct association with the colony's foundation. For further details, see *PIR*² N 166.

²⁶⁶ Gorrochategui Churrua & Vallejo Ruiz (2003)

Turgalium identifies them as members of a family with ancestors who had likely received citizenship under Augustus, Tiberius, or Caligula.

In addition, there are more attestations of these *nomina* among individuals holding Latin *cognomina*. When counted together, there are eight attestations of the *nomen* Norbanus, -a and eight attestations of the *nomen* Iulius, -a, accounting for 16 out of the 40 individuals holding *duo* and *tria nomina* at Turgalium. In conclusion, therefore, the frequent attestations of the *nomina* Norbanus, -a and Iulius, -a with both indigenous and Latin *cognomina*, coupled with evidence of a high degree of Latinization among peregrine individuals would indicate that many local families had adopted completely Latin onomastics by the time that individuals from Turgalium received Latin status.

Despite these patterns in onomastic practice, family members, even of the same generation, sometimes bore *cognomina* of differing linguistic roots (Latin or indigenous). A pair of brothers from Turgalium provide a case in point:

G(aius) Norbanus Catur(o)
an(norum) L Q(uintus) Norban(us) Nige(r)
fratri f(aciendum) c(uravit)
CILC II, 551.

In this example, we can see that two brothers, G. Norbanus Caturo and Q. Norbanus Niger, have linguistically different *cognomina*. Caturo, on the one hand, is an indigenous *cognomen* and Niger is a Latin *cognomen*. While this example hardly demonstrates any normative onomastic practice in terms of the names given to children, it brings into question the extent to which it was of importance for parents to be consistent with the linguistic attributes of names they gave to their children. Surely *Latini* and *cives Romani* who retained indigenous *cognomina* as part of his *tria nomina* represented an effort to continue a local tradition of naming practice, but in some cases it

seems as though linguistic considerations may not have been of primary importance when parents named their children in the province of Cáceres.

Indigenous single names in funerary inscriptions expressing family relations at Turgalium were quite numerous and diverse. Nevertheless, the names Lancius, -a and Tancinus, -a / Tanginus, -a were the most commonly attested of these.²⁶⁷ All indigenous single names in funerary inscriptions expressing family relations are included in the list below (table 2.19):

ABVLAIVS	CILIVS, -A	SVNVA
AMANA	CLOVTIVS, -A	TAGANA
ANGETVS, -A	CORIA	TALABARIVS
ARBVRA	COVTIVS, -A	TANCINVS, -A
ARCCO	DOQUIRIVS, -A	TANGINVS, -A
ARCO	DOVO	TRITIVS, -A
BOELIVS	DVATIVS, -A	TVRAESIVS
BVTRIO	LANCIVS, -A	TVRCADIVS
CAENICVS	LOBES(I)VS, -A	TVROLIVS
CAENO	LVBAECVS	VIROTVS
CAMIRVS, -A	MAILO	VISAL(I)VS
CATVRO	MANTAVS	
CAVCIRIVS	MVTANVS	
CAVQVIRIVS	PELA	
CAVSIRVS, -A	PINTAMVS	
CELTIVS, -A	SEOFVS	

Table 2.19: Indigenous single names at Turgalium.

Of the Latin single names attested in the inscriptions at Turgalium, there was not the same degree of repetition. Only three Latin single names were attested on more than two occasions: Rufus, -a (5); Severus, -a (3); and Caesius, -a (3). One particular phenomenon that was interesting in the record at Turgalium was the scarcity of those Latin single names commonly attested in

²⁶⁷ Out of 64 indigenous single names counted at Turgalium, there were 10 attestations of Tancinus, -a / Tanginus, -a and 4 attestations of Lancius, -a.

Lusitania such as Maternus, -a, Paternus, -a, and Avitus, -a, although there are some attestations of these names in the region.²⁶⁸

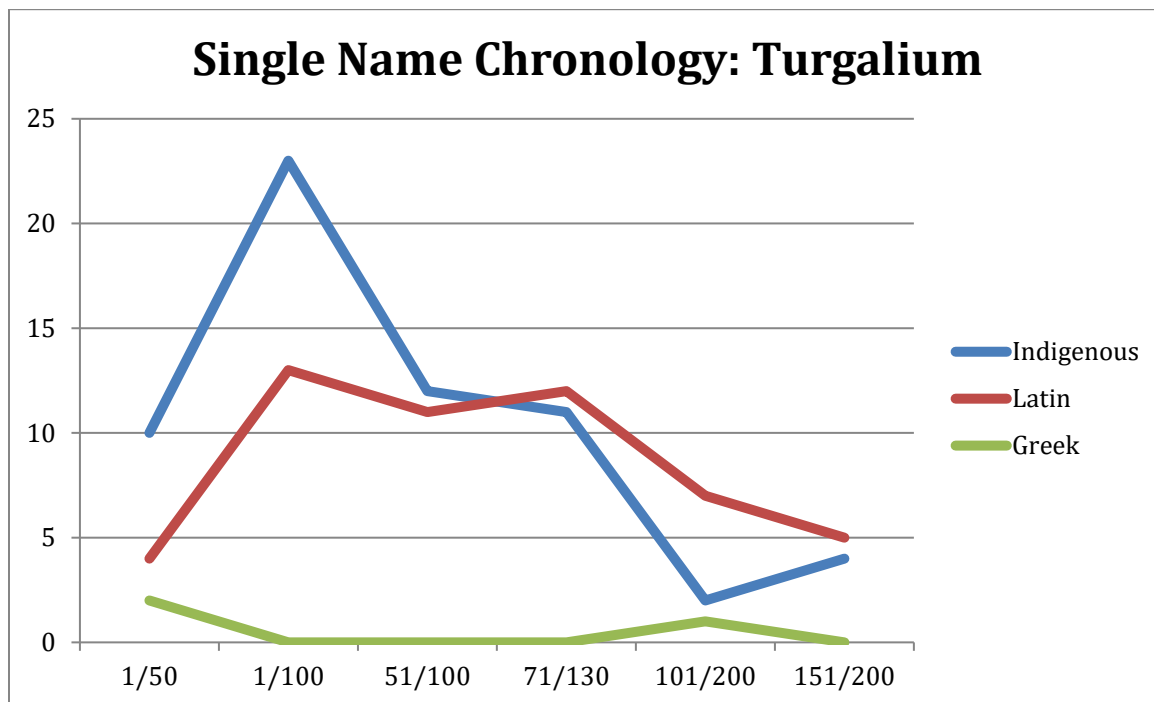


Figure 2.23: Single name chronology at Turgalium.

A chronological analysis of the prevalence of indigenous and Latin single names over time provides an additional way to gauge the processes of cultural change in the civic community of Turgalium (fig. 2.23). The number of indigenous and Latin single names recorded from the corpus of funerary inscriptions expressing family relations at Turgalium are almost equal in number, with a slight predominance of indigenous single names (64 indigenous, 53 Latin, and 3 Greek single names). Over time, however, the predominance of indigenous single names is not consistent. As the chronology chart demonstrates, indigenous single names were almost twice as common as Latin single names in the early 1st century CE, but declined in the late 1st century as Latin names became more commonly attested. Despite the increase in Latin single names and decrease in

²⁶⁸ Both Navarro Caballero (2018) and Gómez Santa Cruz (2017) have acknowledged this phenomenon in the region as well.

indigenous single names in the late 1st and early 2nd centuries CE, both Latin and indigenous single names appear to be equal in number as they both taper off along with the number of inscriptions toward the 3rd century CE. In this situation it does not seem as though Latin names replaced indigenous names, but rather that both linguistic types reach parity at the peak of the inscriptional record in the early 2nd century CE and then decline in numbers during the 2nd century CE, when Latin names predominate.

Qualitative Discussion: Augustobriga

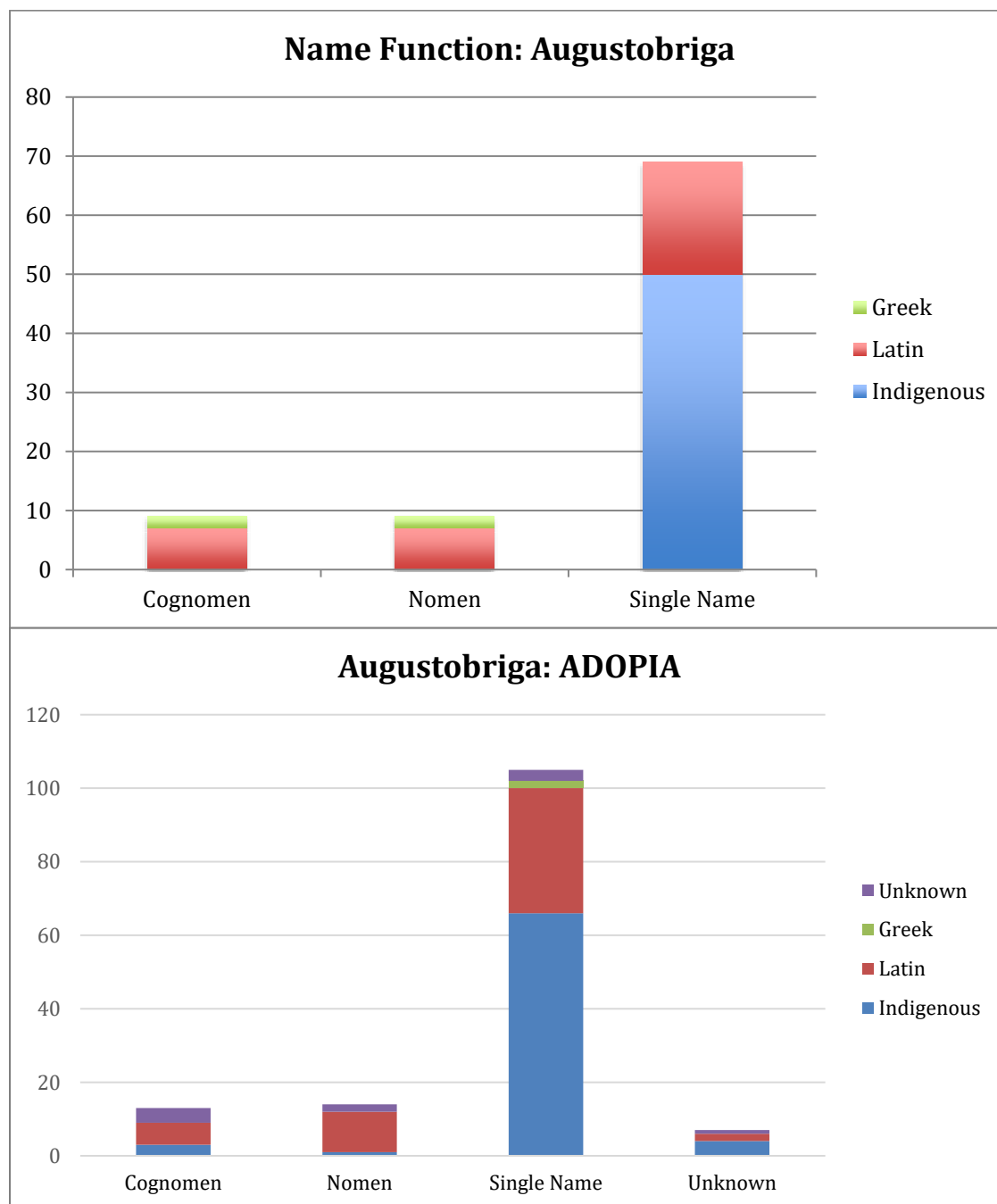


Figure 2.24: Name function and linguistics at Augustobriga (compared with comprehensive data from the ADOPIA project – data collected May 2022).

The quantitative onomastic data collected from inscriptions at Augustobriga highlight two particular phenomena: 1) the prevalence of individuals with linguistically indigenous single

names; and 2) the lower number of Latin name elements, which correlates with significantly fewer attestations of *duo* or *tria nomina*. Not surprisingly then, higher percentages of linguistically indigenous names indicate that fewer inscriptions survive that involve individuals who held *tria/duo nomina*. The corpus of inscriptions expressing family relations at Augustobriga, therefore, consists mainly of individuals with single indigenous names (fig. 2.24).

On a qualitative level, inscriptions involving expressions of family relations at Augustobriga are particularly revealing. We have already noted the relative scarcity of *tria nomina* vs. *duo nomina*. Of the 9 men and women identified with *duo* or *tria nomina*, 7 (2 men and 5 women) held *duo nomina* and only 2 held *tria nomina*. That is not to say that *tria nomina* are absent from the inscriptional record at Augustobriga; they were just uncommon in the case of inscriptions expressing family relations.²⁶⁹ The only cases in which *tria nomina* were attested were those of M. Palphurius Lamenus and his father M. Palphurius Iasus, coincidentally the only individuals with Greek name elements attested in this corpus of data.²⁷⁰ While this could indeed be an accident of the record, especially since many of the inscriptions from the territory of Augustobriga are fragmentary, it is nonetheless important to note. The higher numbers of *duo nomina*, especially among men, may be symptomatic of slowness in the adoption of praenomina among newly enfranchised *Latini* and *cives* due to local preference, which would also be corroborated by the low degree of Latinization in the linguistics of personal names at Augustobriga.

Of the few *duo* and *tria nomina* recorded, it was difficult to identify any preference for particular *nomina*. The most common of the 9 attested *nomina* were Palphurius, -a and Attius, -a

²⁶⁹ To list some of the *tria nomina* from other Augustobrigan inscriptions not included in this analysis: *CIL* II, 3456: *C. Iulius C.f. Gl[aber?]*; *CIL* II, 938 = *CIL* II, 5343: *L. Vibius Reburus*; *CIL* II, 928: *C. Antonius Q.f. Apolaustus*.

²⁷⁰ *CIL* II, 934.

with two and three attestations, respectively. In both cases, however, two of the attested individuals were parent and child. Otherwise, the number of *nomina* and *cognomina* recorded at Augustobriga were so few that the results were of little numerical value. *Cognomina*, likewise, were fairly diverse with the exception of two women with the *cognomen* Avitus, -a, which was a commonly used *cognomen* among indigenous people in the province of Lusitania who had received Roman citizenship.²⁷¹

Of the single names attested on funerary epigraphy expressing family relations at Augustobriga, 50 (72%) of them were linguistically indigenous. As is the case with all of the other communities discussed in this chapter, the most common indigenous single names from the inscriptions in question at Augustobriga were Tancinus, -a and Boutius, -a, each with 4 attestations. The second most popular indigenous single name was Camalus, -a, with 3 attestations at Augustobriga. While Tancinus, -a and Boutius, -a were the most common indigenous single names at all of the other communities analyzed in this chapter, Camalus, -a is less common elsewhere. A list of indigenous single names and the number of attestations of each from inscriptions expressing family relations between dedicator and deceased at Augustobriga is below (table 2.20):

²⁷¹ Navarro Caballero & Bost (2003) p. 414.

AGILIO	1	DOVILO	1	TONGETVS, -A	1
ALBONIVS, -A	1	DVATIVS, -A	1	TRITIVS, -A	1
ALVQVIVS, -A	1	DVENIVS, -A	1	VACAENVS, -A	1
ANMO	1	ELANDETVS	1	VIRONVS, -A	1
ANNIENVS, -A	1	ELBVS, -A	1		
APANVS, -A	1	GALAETVS, -A	1		
ARCO	1	GOVTINVS, -A	1		
ARCONIVS, -A	1	GOVTIVS, -A	1		
AVELICVS, -A	1	MAELO	1		
AVELIVS, -A	1	MATVCENVS, -A	1		
BOVTIVS, -A	4	PINARVS, -A	1		
CABVRVS, -A	1	PISIRVS, -A	1		
CAENO	2	SINEROS	1		
CAESIVS, -A	1	TAGANVS, -A	1		
CAMALVS, -A	3	TALEVVS	1		
CATVRO	1	TANCINVS, -A	4		
CINIVS	1	TATIANVS, -A	1		
DOVAIVS	1	TIRIVS, -A	1		

Table 2.20: Indigenous single names at Augustobriga.

Of the single names attested in the inscriptions from Augustobriga, 19 (27%) were Latin. With the exception of *Capito*, which is attested twice, all of the other Latin single names are only attested once each. There is a relative absence of common Latin single names such as Paternus, -a and Avitus, -a, and the small number of Latin single names (table 2.21) further indicates a local preference for linguistically indigenous personal names.

ALBINVS, -A	FESTVS, -A
APER	HONORINVS, -A
APRONCVLVS, -A	IVLIVS, -A
AQVILIVS, -A	LVPVS, -A
AVITVS, -A	QVINTILIANVS, -A
CVPIENVS, -A	RVFINVS, -A
CAPITO	VEGETVS, -A
CASIVS, -A	VICTORINVS, -A
CLEMENTINVS	VIRIATVS, -A

Table 2.21: Latin single names at Augustobriga.

Of all the civic communities discussed in this chapter thus far, Augustobriga had the highest percentage (72%) of indigenous single names versus Latin ones. It is not surprising, therefore, that this pattern is consistent over time as well. For the entirety of the 1st century CE indigenous single names were at least double the number of Latin single names attested. Into the 2nd century CE, all single names declined in number, eventually dwindling by the 3rd century CE. At Augustobriga, indigenous single names were predominant throughout most of the chronological record of inscriptions involving the expression of family relations at Augustobriga (fig. 2.25).

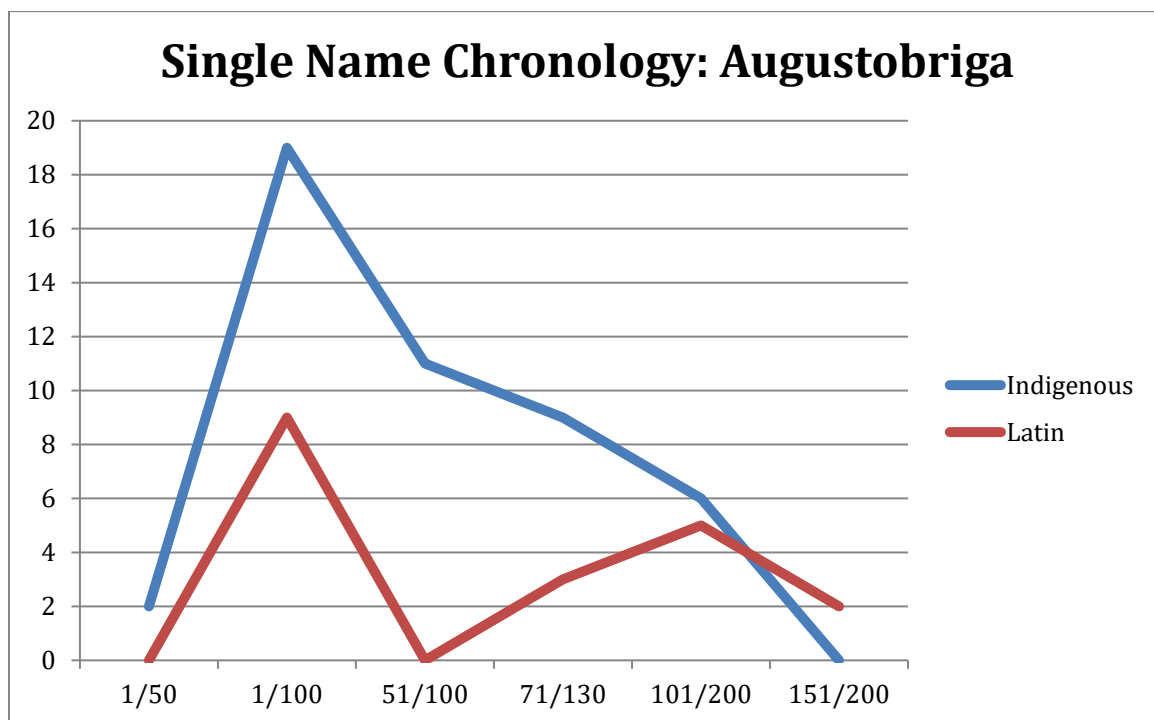


Figure 2.25: Single name chronology at Augustobriga.

These data lead to two main conclusions. First, there was a generally low degree of Latinization at Augustobriga, with indigenous single names maintaining popularity into the 2nd century CE. Secondly, these data also show that despite this, there is a definite spike in the number of funerary epitaphs expressing family relations during the late 1st century CE. Once again, this last phenomenon can likely be explained by the Flavian grant of *ius Latii* to the Hispanic provinces

and shows, again, that the grant of the *ius Latii* does not appear to have had an impact on the linguistic attributes of single names in this civic community.

Qualitative Discussion: Capera

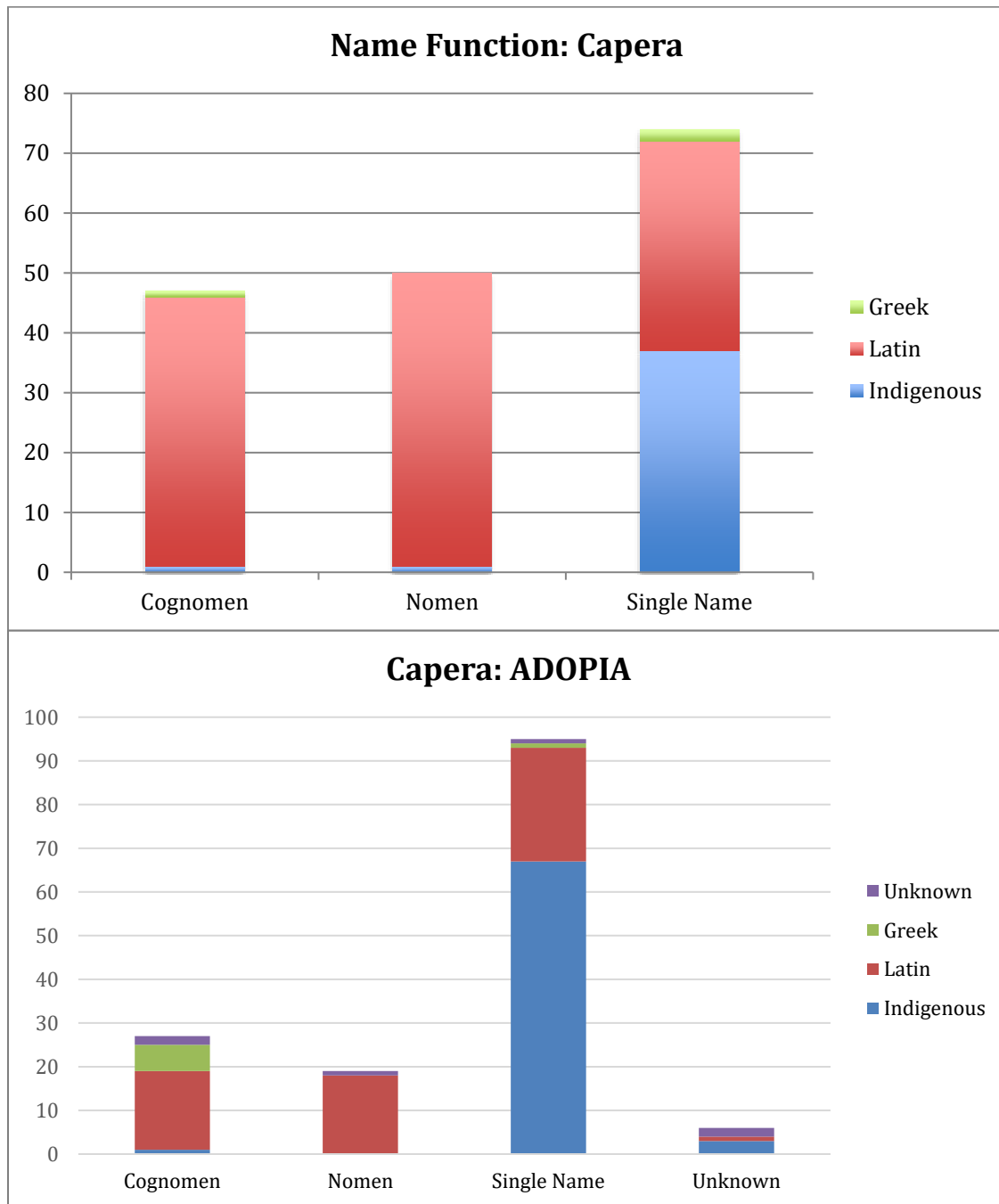


Figure 2.26: Name function at Capera (compared with comprehensive data form the ADOPIA project – data collected May 2022).

The quantitative onomastic data from inscriptions at Capera show a proportionately even number of individuals who had single names and *tria/duo nomina*, with percentages that closely resemble those found at Norba Caesarina. Linguistically, 75% of the name elements recorded were Latin and 23% indigenous, again following the patterns observed at Norba Caesarina. The main difference, however, is the relative absence of indigenous *cognomina* among individuals with *duo* or *tria nomina* (fig. 2.26). In effect, therefore, the *duo* and *tria nomina* at Capera were almost entirely Latin. The most common *nomina* represented in funerary commemorations where a dedicator was named were Aelius, -a and Iulius, -a, with 7 and 5 attestations, respectively.

The prevalence of the *nomina* Aelius, -a is of particular interest here at Capera. While certain *nomina* such as Iulius, -a and Norbanus, -a are very often associated with individuals of local origin elsewhere in the modern province of Cáceres, four of the six individuals with the *nomen* Aelius, -a at Capera appear to have immigrated from outside of the region. It is possible that the *nomen* Aelius, -a is associated with enfranchisement under the emperor Hadrian, whose *gentilicium* was Aelius. This is further corroborated by the fact that all of the inscriptions from Capera bearing this *nomen* are dated between the 2nd - 3rd centuries CE.²⁷²

Of the single names that appear on funerary epigraphy expressing family relations at Capera, 37 (50%) were indigenous, 35 (47%) were Latin, and 2 (3%) were Greek. Of the 37 indigenous single names attested at Capera, there is no discernible preference for any particular name, except that there are 3 attestations of Tanginus, -a. Otherwise, there are only one or two attestations of any particular indigenous single name at Capera (table 2.22):

²⁷² *CIL* II, 818 = *CILC* III, 1029; *CIL* II, 830 = *CILC* III, 1091; *CIL* II, 831 = *CILC* III, 1092.

ADERNIA	CAMIRA	MAELO	TANCINVS, -A
AMBATVS, -A	CELTIVS, -A	MALGENVS, -A	TANGINVS, -A
ANDERCIVS, -A	CESSEA	MEIDVENVS	TONGIVS, -A
ARANTONIVS	CILEVS, -A	PELLIVS	TVRAIVS
ARBVRA	CILISIVS	PELLVS	TVREVS, -A
ARCO	CILIVS, -A	PISIRIVS, -A	
BOETELA	CORCORVS	SAMACIA	
BOLOSEA	EDICROCO	SEGONTIVS	
BVRILLVS, -A	GOUTIVS, -A	TALABVS	
CADARVS	LVBAECVS	TALTICVS, -A	

Table 2.22: Indigenous single names at Capera.

Among the Latin single names attested in the inscriptions at Capera, there does not appear to be any preference for a particular single Latin name. The three single Latin names attested more than once include Albinus, -a, Flavius, -a, and Severus, -a. These names, however, are each attested only twice, which does not indicate any significant degree of popularity among the local population.

Much like Norba Caesarina, the number of indigenous and Latin single names was practically equal at Capera. The number of attestations of these names and their linguistic properties are not equal over time, however, presenting a different chronological sequence than the one observed at Norba Caesarina (cf. fig. 2.21). Firstly, indigenous single names are significantly more prominent during the first half of the 1st century CE at Capera with relatively few Latin single names attested. During the second half of the 1st century CE, however, attestations of indigenous single names plunge, with a spike in the number of Latin single names. Into the 2nd century CE, there is a plunge in attestations with a roughly equal number of attestations of each as they both declined before the 3rd century (fig. 2.27).

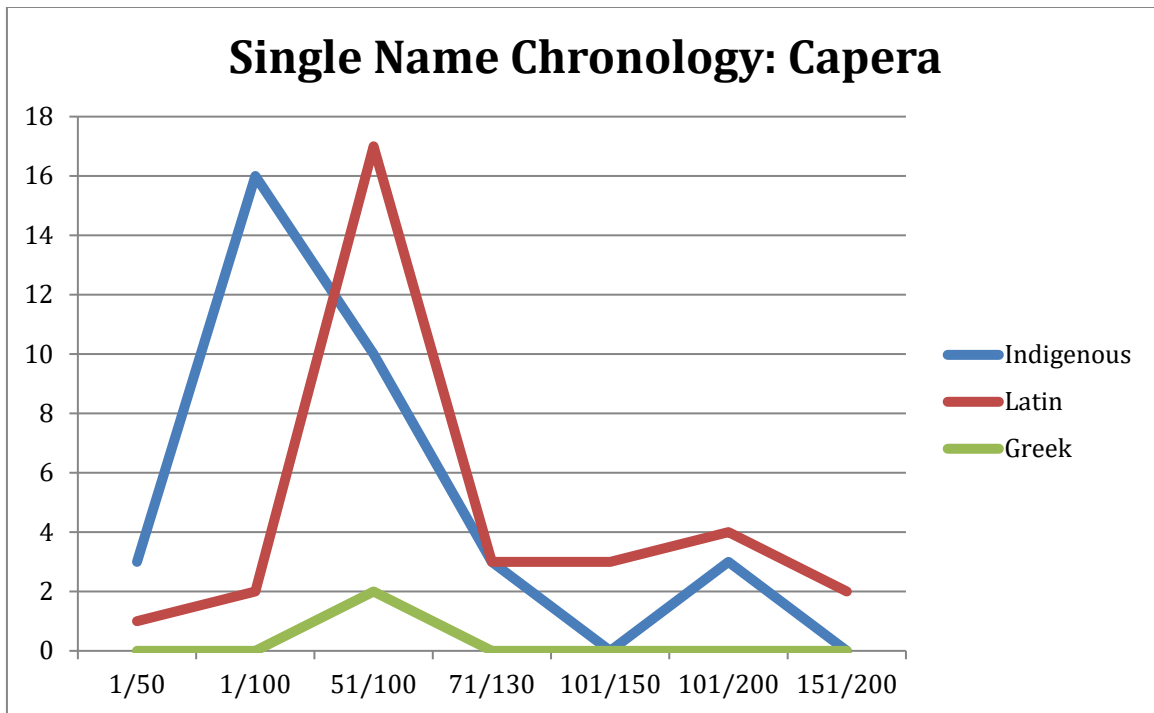


Figure 2.27: Single name chronology at Capera.

What we see at Capera is a surge in attestations of Latin single names during the late 1st and early 2nd centuries CE, a trend that implies a change in the onomastic habits of the peregrine inhabitants. Instead of the relatively equal ebb and flow between indigenous and Latin single names at Turgalium (fig. 2.23) and Norba Caesarina (fig. 2.21), over the course of the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, there appears to have been a surge in Latin single names at Capera during the late 1st century CE, indicating a high degree of onomastic Latinization over a short period of time.

Qualitative Discussion: Caurium

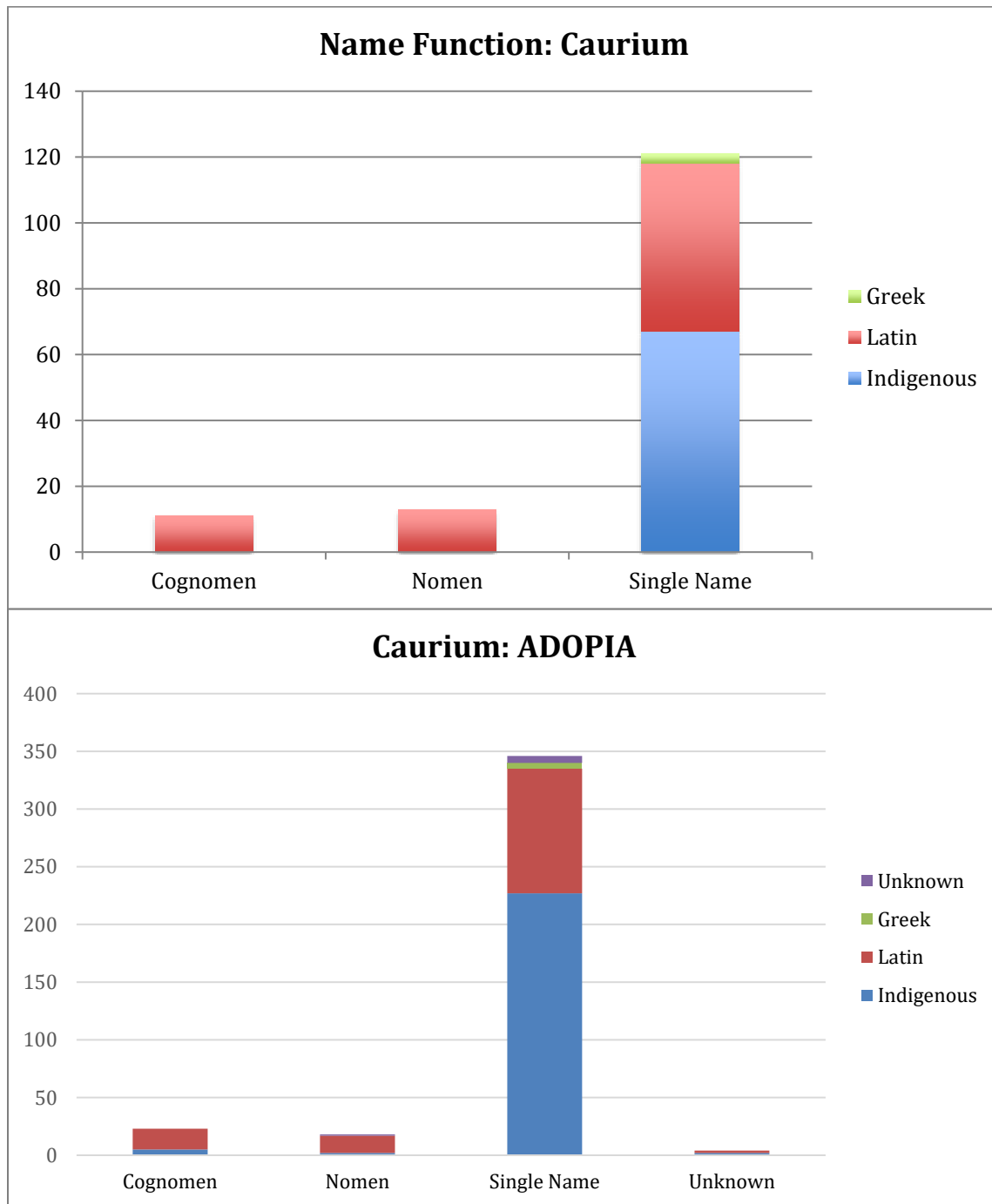


Figure 2.28: Name function and linguistics at Caurium (compared with comprehensive data form the ADOPIA project – data collected May 2022).

As previously discussed, the quantitative onomastic data from Caurium show the highest percentage of individuals with single names in the modern province of Cáceres. Of 134 individuals identified from the corpus of data, only 13 (10%) had *duo* or *tria nomina* and 121 (90%) had single names. Linguistically, Caurium also showed the highest percentage of linguistically indigenous name elements in the region, with 46% of personal name elements being indigenous. There is a clear correlation, therefore, between the prominence of Latin name elements and individuals with *tria/duo nomina* in a given community.

Of the 13 individuals holding *duo* or *tria nomina*, the most common *nomina* attested were Iulius, -a and Valerius, -a, each attested three times. It should be noted, however, that all attestations of Iulius, -a were recorded on the same epitaph, as were two of the Valerii.²⁷³ Otherwise, the *nomina* attested at Caurium are so few that there is no discernible prominence of any particular *nomen*. Moreover, only one of the 13 individuals with *duo* or *tria nomina* at Caurium, Vitellia Silonis f. Tertulla, indicated that they had a father with a single name, demonstrating that her generation of the family was likely the first to adopt the *duo/tria nomina*.²⁷⁴

Out of the single names that are attested in the funerary commemorations expressing family relations at Caurium, 55% were linguistically indigenous, 42% were Latin, and 3% were Greek (fig. 2.28). In this respect, Caurium has the highest overall number and concentration of indigenous single names within the province of Cáceres, closely followed by Turgalium (53%). Of the single indigenous names recorded from the data at Caurium, Tanginus, -a and Boutius, -a were particularly popular with 6 and 4 attestations respectively. In addition, the single names Coria, Cileus, -a, and Catuvenus, -a are each attested 3 times. Although most of the names listed above are typical indigenous single names in the province of Cáceres, Coria was one of the more popular

²⁷³ Cf. *CILC* IV, 1206 for the Iulii and *CILC* IV 1209 for the Valerii.

²⁷⁴ *CILC* IV, 1227.

names and its similarity to Caurium could be a linguistic reference to the pre-Roman name for the community.²⁷⁵ A list of the indigenous single names recorded from inscriptions expressing family relations at Caurium is below (table 2.23):

ADVREVS, -A	CAMALVS, -A	MAELO	VALVTIVS, -A
ALBONVS, -A	CAMIRVS, -A	MANTAVS	VENICA
ALVQVIVS	CARESVS, -A	MEDAMVS, -A	VORTIACIVS, -A
AMBATVS, -A	CATVENVS, -A	MELAMANVS, -A	
AMVS	CATVRO	MVSTAR	
ANGEITVS, -A	CILEVS, -A	PAVGENDE	
APANO / APANA	CILVS, -A	PISIRVS, -A	
ARRENIVS, -A	CORIA	SVNVA	
AVELEA	CVNTIRVS, -A	TABALVS, -A	
BOTILLA	DOBITERVS, -A	TANCINVS, -A	
BOVCARVS	DVATIVS, -A	TANGINVS, -A	
BOVTIVS, -A	DVTIA	TANVINVS, -A	
CAERIVS, -A	LACARVS	TONCINVS, -A	
CAINO	LANCIVS, -A	TONGIVS, -A	
CALAETVS, -A	LOVCINIVS, -A	TVREVS, -A	

Table 2.23: Indigenous single names at Caurium.

Out of the Latin single names from the data collected from Caurium (table 2.24), there are a number that have more than 2 attestations. If we include diminutive forms of each name, Flavus, -a and Albinus, -a both have 3 attestations each, while Fuscus, -a and Rufus, -a are each attested 5 and 4 times, respectively. Most of these names are relatively popular Latin single names and *cognomina* in modern province of Cáceres, but the relative absence of common Latin single names such as Paternus, -a, should be noted as well.

²⁷⁵ Vallejo Ruiz (2005) p. 292.

AGRIPPA	FLAVINVS, -A	NERO
ALBINILLVS, -A	FLAVS, -A	NIGER / NIGRA
ALBINVS, -A	FLAVVS, -A	POMPONIVS, -A
AMOENVVS, -A	FRONTO	QVADRATVS, -A
APER	FVSCILLVS, -A	RVFINVS, -A
ARBITER	FVSCINVS, -A	RVFVS, -A
AVITICVS, -A	FVSCVS, - A	SATVRNINVS, -A
AVITVS, -A	FVSCVS, -A	SEVERVS, -A
AVNIA	GRATVS, -A	SILO
BOCCVS, -A	GVTAMVS	TERTIVS, -A
CAESIVS, -A	IVCVNDVS, -A	TITANVS, -A
CAPITO	IVSTVS, -A	TVSCVS, -A
CELER	LAVRILLVS, -A	TVTOR
CELSVS	LAVRVS, -A	VEGETVS, -A
CRISPINVS, -A	MVRRIVS, -A	VITVLVS, -A

Table 2.24: Latin single names at Caurium.

Indigenous single names were only slightly more common than Latin single names at Caurium, with 67 attestations accounting for 55% of all single names at Caurium. In terms of chronology, indigenous single names accounted for the majority of single names attested throughout the whole 1st century CE; even though there was a spike in Latin single names in the late 1st century CE, indigenous single names were still more numerous (fig. 2.29). This spike was most certainly a direct consequence of Flavian grant of *ius Latii* to the Hispanic provinces in 72-72 CE. It, however, did not necessarily result in the replacement of linguistically indigenous names with Latin ones. The process of Latinization, it appears, was a process that occurred independently of the proliferation of the epigraphic habit and the promotion of the community in terms of its civic status.

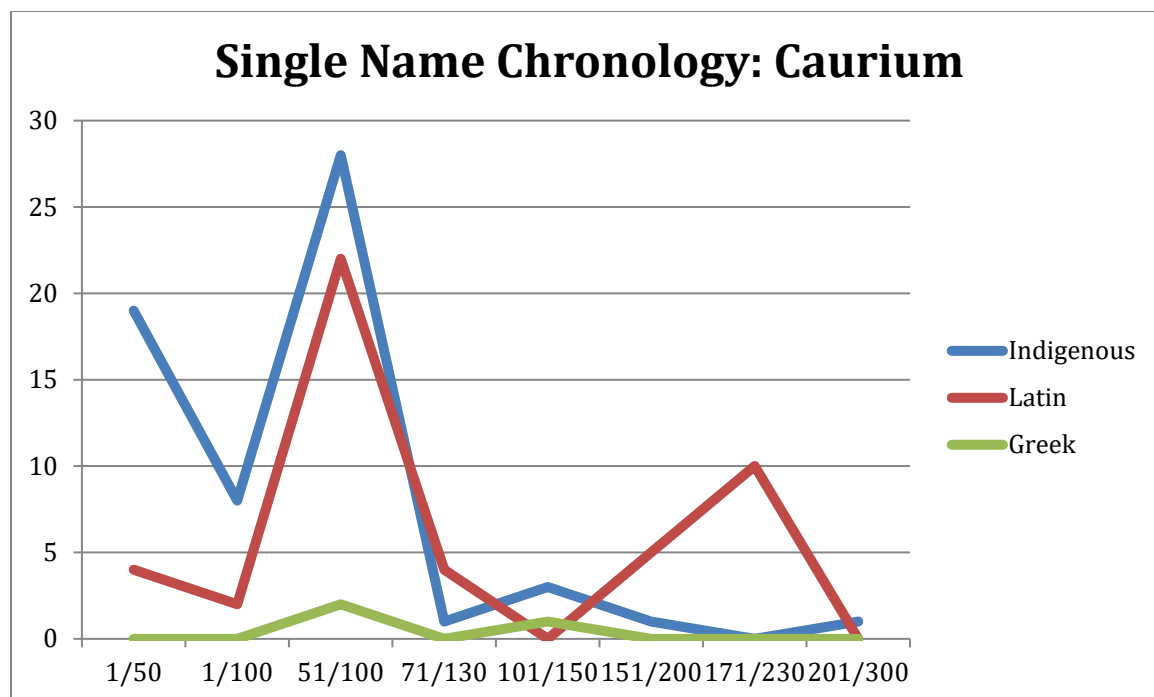


Figure 2.29: Single name chronology at Caurium.

Qualitative Analysis: Conclusions and Discussion

It should be no surprise that the linguistic and structural nuances of naming practice in the Roman world are extremely complex, making it difficult to distinguish between settled *coloni* and locals who have adopted Roman onomastics after being granted *ius Latii* or Roman citizenship.²⁷⁶ Nevertheless, as other scholars of onomastics in Lusitania have noticed, in certain places, there were Latin *nomina* and *cognomina* that were typically adopted by individuals of peregrine ancestry when they received promotion in civic status: e.g. Norbani at Norba.²⁷⁷ While individuals who took *tria nomina* following conferral of citizenship or *ius Latii* may have retained their former indigenous single name as their *cognomen*, indigenous *cognomina* did not see a high degree of continuity among this segment of the population. In fact, most who possessed *duo/tria nomina* had

²⁷⁶ Navarro Caballero and Bost (2003).

²⁷⁷ Navarro Caballero (2018) p. 406. In the case of Norba Caesarina there were more Norbani than Iulii.

entirely Latin name elements, which obscured their ancestry unless the status of their fathers was revealed through their patronymics (i.e., either single name or *praenomen*) or the presence of indigenous name elements in their family. Especially in the case of Norba Caesarina, which was a *colonia civium Romanorum*, it is clear that individuals holding *duo/tria nomina* and fully Latin names should *not* be automatically considered Italic immigrants or *coloni*. From a methodological perspective, onomastic studies that focus solely on individual personal names in isolation as opposed to studies that try to locate these personal names within as broad a family context as possible tend to overlook these nuances.

In particular, the common use, for instance, of *nomina* such as Norbanus, -a and Iulius, -a among individuals with linguistically indigenous *cognomina* is interesting. In addition, the adoption of these *nomina* can serve as a basis to identify individuals with fully Latinized onomastics who likely had peregrine ancestry. It is also notable that some Latin single names typical elsewhere in the province of Lusitania were relatively scarce in the province of Cáceres, a phenomenon that Milagros Navarro Caballero has noticed as well in Norba Caesarina.²⁷⁸ What begin to emerge, therefore, are the regional nuances and idiosyncrasies of naming practice in the province of Cáceres.

When the personal names of individuals who expressed family relations are compared to the comprehensive onomastic data for these civic communities, there are some common attributes of the data.²⁷⁹ While the linguistic and functional attributes of personal names of individuals who expressed family relations is generally the same as the comprehensive data, fewer individuals with indigenous single names appear to express family relations (table 2.25). In all cases except for

²⁷⁸ Navarro Caballero (2018) p. 401. Navarro Caballero notes the relative absence of popular single names such as Paternus, -a, Maternus, -a, etc.

²⁷⁹ Comprehensive onomastic data was collected from the ADOPIA project website and reflects the data as of May 2022. <http://adopia.huma-num.fr/en/home>

Augustobriga, there was an average of 8.4% more indigenous single names present in the comprehensive onomastic data from the ADOPIA project. Although the roughly equal percentage of indigenous vs. Latin single names among our data indicate that many of the dedicators and deceased with indigenous single names did in fact express family relations, there are more individuals with indigenous single names in the record of all surviving inscriptions. These data unequivocally show that the act of expressing family relations on tombstones was more slowly adopted among members of these communities who possessed indigenous single names.

	Latin Single Names	Indigenous Single Names	% of Indigenous single names
Norba			
Relations Expressed	31	33	52%
ADOPIA	73	115	61%
Turgalium			
Relations Expressed	53	64	55%
ADOPIA	51	87	63%
Augustobriga			
Relations Expressed	19	50	72%
ADOPIA	34	66	66%
Capera			
Relations Expressed	35	37	51%
ADOPIA	26	67	72%
Caurium			
Relations Expressed	51	67	56%
ADOPIA	108	227	68%

Table 2.25: Percentage of indigenous single names per civic community in the province of Cáceres – Data from inscriptions expressing relations vs. comprehensive onomastic data from the ADOPIA project as of May 2022.

Perhaps most interestingly, in the province of Cáceres, individuals attested on epitaphs that specified relations between the dedicator and deceased with single names outnumbered individuals with *duo* or *tria nomina*. One argument for the impetus behind the “epigraphic habit” is that people in the provinces often made funerary inscriptions in order to make a statement about their juridical

status and the legal rights that accompany this.²⁸⁰ If this were the case, then the dominance of single names in the record of funerary inscriptions from Cáceres is surprising, especially in the case of the *colonia* in the region which would ostensibly be populated entirely by Roman citizens holding *tria nomina*. Likewise, specifically in the case of Norba Caesarina, if we were to subscribe to Sherwin-White's argument that with the promotion to colony status, "citizens of all classes gained the Roman citizenship, whether formerly of Latin or of peregrine status", then the prominence of single names in the epigraphic record throughout Cáceres indicates that in many cases, individuals chose to retain, or at the very least represent themselves in the epigraphic record using a single name, despite possession of the *ius Latii*.²⁸¹ It would seem, instead, that despite the fact that many of these communities received *ius Latii* and their communities subsequently received *municipium* status, many retained their single names either by choice or, in the case of Norba Caesarina, because they were peregrines who were resident aliens (*incolae*) in the community.

Not only does the significant number of individuals possessing single names indicate that pre-Roman naming practices were maintained in the province of Cáceres well into the 1st century CE, but a comparison of name elements and expressions of relations reveals some additional information. Through the analysis of names and relations of dedicators and deceased of funerary dedications in the province of Cáceres it was possible to observe stages in the process of onomastic Latinization and the extent to which there was a correlation between patterns of funerary commemoration and name elements. An analysis of these data has revealed that while relations between parents and children were most highly emphasized in this region, the pattern was the same

²⁸⁰ Meyer (1990) p. 83. Meyer acknowledges that there are many reasons for the "epigraphic habit", but that status is a major motivation for erecting a tombstone.

²⁸¹ Sherwin-White (1973) p. 44.

no matter the linguistic attributes or name structure of the dedicators or the deceased. However, most of the inscriptions attesting this are dated to the late 1st century CE and in this period the descending nuclear dedicators (i.e., parents) were most likely to have indigenous given names. Moreover, many of these descending nuclear dedications involved deceased children with Latin names. This indicates that during the late 1st century CE parents, many of whom had indigenous given names, were increasingly giving Latin names to their children.

This phenomenon, however, was not consistent across every community. Based on data from descending and ascending nuclear dedications, Norba Caesarina and Capera were at an advanced stage of Latinization by the end of the 1st century CE. This is confirmed in the high number of individuals with *duo/tria nomina* at both communities. Nevertheless, there were still some individuals who maintained pre-Roman naming practices in both of these communities. On the other hand, evidence from Caurium and Turgalium suggests that these communities underwent a slower process of Latinization based on the higher number of parents with indigenous given names represented among both dedicators and the deceased.

The linguistic complexities of descending and ascending nuclear dedications highlight the fact that linguistic attributes alone do not by any means indicate people's subscription to a particular set of cultural habits or ideals, whether they be Roman or indigenous to Lusitania. Rather we can see from this analysis that individuals within the same nuclear family unit often possessed linguistically different given names. From a linguistic perspective, the shift towards Latin names observed in these data clearly show that there was a strong correlation between the grant of *ius Latii* and the increased adoption of Latin name elements and an increase in the epigraphic habit in the province of Cáceres. In terms of name structure, however, the grant of Latin status did not result in the immediate adoption of *duo/tria nomina* even though this was allowed for the new

cives Latini that resulted from the grant. Rather, some the inhabitants of the communities in Cáceres with the *ius Latii* simply chose to keep their single names, in some cases even into the 2nd century CE.

The one unifying behaviour in all of these communities, regardless of onomastics, was the strong emphasis on relations between parents and children. In all communities with the exception of Turgalium, the most commonly attested types of funerary commemoration were those carried out by parents for one or more children within the nuclear family (i.e., descending nuclear dedications). Moreover, in all communities except Norba Caesarina and Caurium, the median age of death for deceased children was between 20 and 21.5 years of age. This demonstrates that parents went on commemorating their adult children, the oldest of which in the current state of our evidence was 35 years of age.²⁸² This overall trend is consistent with other communities discussed in this dissertation and reflects a pattern that deviates from the patterns observed by Saller and Shaw for all of the Hispanic provinces.²⁸³ While Saller and Shaw observed that conjugal dedications were the second most common in the Hispanic provinces after descending commemorations, they are less common in Lusitania and ascending nuclear dedications occupy this place instead in the province of Cáceres. Despite differences in onomastic practice between the various communities of Lusitania, there is a consistent commemorative pattern emphasizing relations between parents and children across the entire Roman province of Lusitania.

²⁸² *CILC* I, 252 (Norba Caesarina).

²⁸³ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 149.

Table of Relations: Province of Cáceres

Norba Caesarina

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Age of Death	Reference
Conjugal				
L. Norbanus Celer	Rufina Rufi f.	Husband to Wife		<i>CILC</i> I, 6
Aufilius	N/A	Husband to Wife	85	<i>CIL</i> II, 1014
N/A	N/A	Husband to Wife	25	<i>CILC</i> I, 304
Pompeius Priscus	Didia L. f. Severina	Husband to Wife		<i>CILC</i> I, 206
N/A	[---] Ciliae f. Lavita	Husband to Wife	30	<i>CILC</i> I, 204
Norbana Maxima	Q. V(alerius?) R(ufus?)	Wife to Husband	45	<i>CILC</i> I, 357
N/A	N/A	Wife to Husband	30	<i>CILC</i> I, 301
N/A	C. Norbanus Rufus	Wife to Husband	40	<i>CILC</i> I, 288
Kania I. Phiralis	Marcus L.I. Baccinus	Wife to Husband	55	<i>CILC</i> I, 244
Iulia Quintilla	Q. Norbanus Q.f. Capito	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL</i> II, 695
Accia Iusta	M(---) Geminus	Wife to Husband	50	<i>CILC</i> I, 126
Fusca Capitonis f.	Avitus Capitonis	Wife to Husband	40	<i>CIL</i> II, 748
Descending Nuclear				
N/A	N/A	Father to Son		<i>CILC</i> I, 360
N/A	P. Iulius P.f. Tapilus	Father to Son	30	<i>CILC</i> I, 299
N/A	Sunua Senecae f.	Father to Son	25	<i>CILC</i> I, 138
F(abius)? Balbinus	Curius Romulus	Father to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 1173
N/A	Maxsumus Tancini f.	Father to Son	16	<i>CILC</i> I, 134
Campanus	Popilius Flavius Campani f.	Father to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 750
Tongius	Maelo Tongi f.	Father to Son	18	<i>CIL</i> II, 749
Taurus	Iulia Tauri f. Rufa	Father to Daughter	3	<i>CILC</i> I, 297
N/A	Soconia Secunda L.f.	Father to Daughter	9	<i>CILC</i> I, 275
Cilius	Maila Cili f.	Father to Daughter	13	<i>CILC</i> I, 216
N/A	N/A	Father to Child	18	<i>CILC</i> I, 85
N/A	G. Norbanus G.f. Gemellus	Mother to Son	14	<i>CILC</i> I, 295
Maura	C. I(ulius) M.f. Caesius	Mother to Son	35	<i>CILC</i> I, 252
Maura	M. I(ulius) M.f. Marcellus	Mother to Son	11	<i>CILC</i> I, 252
Camira	Quintus Caenoni(s) f.	Mother to Son	12	<i>CILC</i> I, 218
Prisca	Curius Romulus	Mother to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 1173
Cesea	Sunua Laeti f.	Mother to Son	15	<i>CILC</i> I, 217
Iulia Secunda	[---] Severus	Mother to Son	20	<i>CILC</i> I, 178
N/A	Sunua Senecae f.	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> I, 138
N/A	Maxsumus Tancini f.	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> I, 134
Iulia Silonis f. Secunda	L. Praesentius Rufinus	Mother to Son	3	<i>CILC</i> I, 128

N/A	Popilius Flavius Campani f.	Mother to Son	28	<i>CIL</i> II, 750
Fusca Capitonis f.	Capito Aviti f.	Mother to Son	13	<i>CIL</i> II, 748
N/A	Maila Cili f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>CILC</i> I, 216
Fusca Capitonis f.	Avita Aviti f.	Mother to Daughter	10	<i>CIL</i> II, 748
Fortunata	Uprilla Severae ser.	Mother to Daughter	2	<i>CILC</i> I, 84
Casina	Cabura Domiti f.	Mother to Daughter	16	<i>CILC</i> I, 72
N/A	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC</i> I, 85
Ascending Nuclear				
N/A	N/A	Son to Father	60	<i>CILC</i> I, 397
N/A	L. Papius Rufus f.	Son to Father	30	<i>CIL</i> II, 1006
N/A	Aebarus Vallocaudi (?) f.	Son to Father	24	<i>CIL</i> II, 751
N/A	Decumus Callaburi f.	Son to Father		<i>CILC</i> I, 81
N/A	Decumus Callaburi f.	Son to Father	110	<i>CILC</i> I, 81
N/A	Amona Talavi f.	Son to Mother	60	<i>CILC</i> I, 398
N/A	N/A	Son to Mother	80	<i>CIL</i> II, 5308
P. Caelius Tacitus	Norbana Anulla	Son to Mother	60	<i>CILC</i> I, 325
Norbanus Saturninus	Iulia Turpilla Talonis f.	Son to Mother	55	<i>CILC</i> I, 286
Alburus	Iulia G.f. Boutia	Son to Mother	80	<i>CILC</i> I, 262
Ambatus	Cilea Tancini f.	Son to Mother	50	<i>CILC</i> I, 75
N/A	Norbana Bovia	Son to Mother	98	<i>CILC</i> I, 52
Secunda Cili f.	Cilius	Daughter to Father	25	<i>CIL</i> II, 735
Cilea	Tongius Sullae f.	Daughter to Father	50	<i>CIL</i> II, 757
Boutia	Cilea Tancini f.	Daughter to Mother		<i>CILC</i> I, 75
N/A	Norbanus Severinus	Child to Father		<i>CILC</i> I, 331
N/A	Norbanus Severinus	Child to Father	35	<i>CILC</i> I, 331
N/A	N/A	Child to Father		<i>CILC</i> I, 231
N/A	Lucius Urcalonis f.	Child to Father		<i>CILC</i> I, 131
N/A	Lucius Urcalonis f.	Child to Father	55	<i>CILC</i> I, 131
N/A	N/A	Child to Mother		<i>CILC</i> I, 231
Siblings				
[Didius] Severinus	Didia L. f. Severina	Brother to Sister		<i>CILC</i> I, 206
N.A	Pacula Silvani f.	Brother to Sister		<i>CILC</i> I, 62
N/A	Pacula Silvani f.	Brother to Sister	23	<i>CILC</i> I, 62
Sulpicia Fausta	Q. Norbanus Q.f. Capito	Sister to Brother		<i>CIL</i> II, 695
Aemilia Severina	Aemilius Severinus Calpurniani f.	Sister to Brother	15	<i>CIL</i> II, 747
Cilea	Camira Tongi f.	Sister to Sister	30	<i>CIL</i> II, 757
Descending Extended				
Labeus	L. Norbanus Rufus	Maternal Uncle to Nephew	24	<i>CIL</i> II, 713
Cornelia Antiocis	Q. Norbanus Pruncius	Mother in-law to son in-law	40	<i>CILC</i> I, 133

Ascending Extended				
Iulia Vitula	Q. Calpurnius Clementinus	Daughter in-law to Father in-law	75	<i>CILC I, 89</i>
Amici				
N/A	Flaccus Argantoni f. Magilancum	Friend to Friend	35	<i>CILC I, 200</i>
Heredes				
N/A	N/A	Heir to Testator	80	<i>CILC I, 329</i>
P(ublius)	Betua Cosuri f.	Heir to Testator		<i>CILC I, 83</i>
T(itus)	Betua Cosuri f.	Heir to Testator		<i>CILC I, 83</i>
P(ublius)	Macrio Tancini f.	Heir to Testator		<i>CILC I, 83</i>
T(itus)	Macrio Tancini f.	Heir to Testator		<i>CILC I, 83</i>
Servile				
N/A	N/A	Client to Patron		<i>CILC I, 72</i>

Turgalium (*Praefectura* Excluded)

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Age of Death	Reference
Conjugal				
C. Sestilius Severus	[---] Rufa	Husband to Wife		<i>CIL II, 648</i>
Natalis	N/A	Husband to Wife		<i>CILC II, 771</i>
Sex. Iulius Hispanus	Severa Tancini f.	Husband to Wife	50	<i>CILC II, 738</i>
Iulia C.f. Modesta	T. H[---] Flaccus vet. Leg. VI C F	Wife to Husband	80	<i>CILC II, 830</i>
N/A	[---] Tancini f.	Wife to Husband	57	<i>CIL II, 647</i>
N/A	[---] Iulius [---]	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL II, 629</i>
N/A	N/A	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL II, 5288a</i>
Descending Nuclear				
Quintus ?	Modesta Quinti f.	Father to Daughter		<i>CIL II, 634</i>
N/A	Abulaius Vibi tertulli ser.	Father to Son	8	<i>CILC II, 763</i>
Lascivius	L. Iulius Lascivi Ibarra	Father to Son	33	<i>CILC II, 646</i>
N/A	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC II, 774</i>
N/A	Caesia Cili f.	Mother to Daughter	25	<i>CIL II, 627</i>
N/A	Tanginus Dovonis f.	Mother to Son	6	<i>CILC II, 903</i>
N/A	Abulaius Vibi tertulli ser.	Mother to Son		<i>CILC II, 763</i>
Ascending Nuclear				
N/A	L. Sarius Celer	Child to Father	40	<i>CILC II, 835</i>
N/A	Maxumus Mutani f.	Child to Father	60	<i>CILC II, 832</i>
N/A	M. Norbanus Tureus Lanci f.	Child to Father		<i>CILC II, 800</i>

N/A	M. Norbanus Tureus Lanci f.	Child to Father	30	<i>CILC</i> II, 800
N/A	T. Iulius Niger	Child to Father	80	<i>CIL</i> II, 630
N/A	Caeno	Child to Father		<i>CIL</i> II, 5280
N/A	[C]aturo [C]aturonis f.	Child to Father		<i>CIL</i> II, 641
N/A	L. Rutilius Munus	Child to Father	55	<i>CILC</i> II, 707
N/A	[---] Vernacila	Child to Mother	30	<i>CILC</i> II, 823
N/A	Norbana Rufini f. Rufina	Child to Mother		<i>CILC</i> II, 801
N/A	Norbana Rufini f. Rufina	Child to Mother	45	<i>CILC</i> II, 801
N/A	Annia Lanci f.	Child to Mother		<i>CILC</i> II, 509
N/A	Annia Lanci f.	Child to Mother	61	<i>CILC</i> II, 509
N/A	N/A	Child to Parent	60	<i>CILC</i> II, 770
N/A	N/A	Child to Parent	60	<i>CILC</i> II, 761
Hercinia Afra	Monin[---] Cili f.	Daughter to Father		<i>CIL</i> II, 5283
Petronia Marcella	N/A	Daughter to Father		<i>CILC</i> II, 791
Rufill[a]	C. Iulius [---] Pap. Rufus	Daughter to Father	100	<i>CILC</i> II, 780
Macra	N/A	Daughter to Father		<i>CILC</i> II, 754
Valeria	Caeno Cauciri f.	Daughter to Father		<i>CILC</i> II, 706
Camira	Amana Cili f.	Daughter to Mother	60	<i>CIL</i> II, 623
Maximus	Rufina Rufi f.	Son to Mother	70	<i>CILC</i> II, 817
N/A	N/A	Son to Parent		<i>CILC</i> II, 792
Siblings				
Hercinius	Monin[---] Cili f.	Brother to Brother		<i>CIL</i> II, 5283
Tancinus Cauciri f.	Amonicius	Brother to Brother		<i>CILC</i> II, 688
Tancinus Cauciri f.	Clavicius	Brother to Brother		<i>CILC</i> II, 688
Tancinus Cauciri f.	Atanius	Brother to Brother		<i>CILC</i> II, 688
N/A	Q. Artorius Q.f. Pap. Vettus	Brother to Brother	5	<i>CILC</i> II, 522
Turcadius	Severa Turaesi f.	Brother to Sister		<i>CILC</i> II, 819
N/A	Veturia L. f. Modesta	Brother to Sister		<i>CILC</i> II, 803
N/A	Veturia L. f. Modesta	Brother to Sister		<i>CILC</i> II, 803
N/A	Caesia Crusteni f. Severi ser.	Brother to Sister		<i>CILC</i> II, 785
N/A	Caesia Crusteni f. Severi ser.	Brother to Sister	25	<i>CILC</i> II, 785
N/A	Atia Doquiri f. Severa	Brother to Sister	18	<i>CIL</i> II, 624
Fruscilla	N/A	Sister to Brother	40	<i>CILC</i> II, 747
N/A	L. lib. Primigenius	Sister to Brother		<i>CILC</i> II, 737
N/A	L. lib. Primigenius	Sister to Brother	50	<i>CILC</i> II, 737
N/A	Q. Caecilius Macrio	Sister to Brother	25	<i>CILC</i> II, 694
Descending Extended				

N/A	[S]eppiu(s) Ti[tu]rius ?	Grandmother to Grandson		<i>CILC II, 898</i>
N/A	[S]ever[-]	Maternal Aunt to Nephew/Niece		<i>CILC, 758</i>
Amici				
N/A	Galla Maxumae lib.	Friend/Conlibertus to Conlibertus		<i>CILC II, 499</i>
N/A	Galla Maxumae lib.	Friend/Conlibertus to Conlibertus	70	<i>CILC II, 499</i>
Hilarius	M. Villius M.l. Philargurius	Friend/Conlibertus to Conlibertus		<i>CILC II, 450</i>
Servile				
Primio ser.	Veranus Arburae f.	Slave to Master	45	<i>CILC II, 824</i>
Self				
Camira	Camira	Self Dedication		<i>CIL II, 623</i>

Praefectura Regionis Turgaliensis

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Age of Death	Reference
Conjugal				
Arco	Quinta Butrionis f.	Husband to Wife	35	<i>CIL II, 668</i>
G. Gergenna	[Am]bati f.	Husband to Wife	31	<i>CILC II, 413</i>
Anteros	N/A	Husband to Wife		<i>CILC II, 669</i>
Assantius	Rufa Ursoti f.	Husband to Wife		<i>CILC II, 417</i>
Tiro	N/A	Husband to Wife	25	<i>CILC II, 665</i>
Fabianus	[S]evera [---]iri f.	Husband to Wife		<i>CILC II, 429</i>
Caeno	Norbana Q.f. Anta	Husband to Wife	20	<i>CILC II, 581</i>
N/A	Felicia	Husband to Wife	61	<i>CILC II, 547</i>
Pomponia	Lancius Arconis f.	Wife to Husband	50	<i>CILC II, 885</i>
Lobesa	Lup(us?) Marini f.	Wife to Husband		<i>CILC II, 870</i>
Duatia	M. Iulius Arcisus	Wife to Husband		<i>CILC II, 490</i>
Descending Nuclear				
N/A	N/A	Father to Child		<i>CILC II, 659</i>
N/A	Severa Pomponia L.f.	Father to Daughter	8	<i>CILC II, 658</i>
G. Gergenna	N/A	Father to Daughter		<i>CILC II, 413</i>
Celtius	Sunua Celti f.	Father to Son	25	<i>CILC II, 608</i>
N/A	[---] Lanci[us?]	Father to Son	50	<i>CILC II, 442</i>
N/A	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC II, 592</i>
N/A	Severa Pomponia L.f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>CILC II, 658</i>
N/A	Maura Mailonis f.	Mother to Daughter	30	<i>CIL II, 660</i>
N/A	Victor	Mother to Son	17	<i>CILC II, 656</i>
Coria Seofi f.	Lubaecus Loucini f.	Mother to Son	16	<i>CILC II, 437</i>
Ascending Nuclear				

N/A	Titus Mantai f.	Child to Father	50	<i>CILC</i> II, 871
N/A	Arco Tancini f.	Child to Father		<i>CIL</i> II, 664
N/A	Sunua Lubaeci f.	Child to Father		<i>CILC</i> II, 544
N/A	Sunua Lubaeci f.	Child to Father	65	<i>CILC</i> II, 544
N/A	Vicanus Talabari f	Child to Father		<i>CILC</i> II, 527
N/A	Vicanus Talabari f	Child to Father	60	<i>CILC</i> II, 527
N/A	Camira Visali f.	Child to Mother		<i>CIL</i> II, 664
N/A	N/A	Child to Mother		<i>CIL</i> II, 670
N/A	[Ma]xum[a M]unt[ani f.]	Child to Mother		<i>CILC</i> II, 545
N/A	[Ma]xum[a M]unt[ani f.]	Child to Mother	50	<i>CILC</i> II, 545
Tagana	Norbanus Coutius	Daughter to Father	60	<i>CILC</i> II, 580
N/A	Caesia Osi f. Sequ[n]da	Daughter to Mother	75	<i>CILC</i> II, 874
L[---] Modesta	Avia Rufi f. Tertia	Daughter to Mother	65	<i>CILC</i> II, 869
Norbana Modesta	Iulia Rufi f. Rufina	Daughter to Mother	70	<i>CILC</i> II, 568
N/A	Caesia Corneliae lib.	Daughter to Mother		<i>CIL</i> II, 659
N/A	Caesia Corneliae lib.	Daughter to Mother	75	<i>CIL</i> II, 659
Iulia M.f. Paula	M. Iulius Arcisus	Daughter to Mother		<i>CILC</i> II, 490
N/A	Pela Tangini f.	Daughter to Mother		<i>CILC</i> II, 488
N/A	Pela Tangini f.	Daughter to Mother	80	<i>CILC</i> II, 488
Celtius	Coutius	Son to Father		<i>CILC</i> II, 861
Caius	Novatus Boeli f.	Son to Father	80	<i>CILC</i> II, 850
N/A	[---]s Tancini f.	Son to Father	30	<i>CILC</i> II, 664
Pintamus	Turolius Viroti f.	Son to Father		<i>CILC</i> II, 431
C. Mo[destu]s	[Ru]fina [---]oci [f.]	Son to Mother		<i>CILC</i> II, 855
[---]larius	N/A	Son to Mother		<i>CILC</i> II, 674
N/A	Caesia Corneliae lib.	Son to Mother		<i>CIL</i> II, 659
N/A	Caesia Corneliae lib.	Son to Mother		<i>CIL</i> II, 659
Siblings				
N/A	Tancinus Cauquiri f.	Brother to Brother	85	<i>CILC</i> II, 888
Rufus	Celerius Mauri f.	Brother to Brother	35	<i>CILC</i> II, 887
Q. Norbanus Niger	G. Norbanus Caturo	Brother to Brother	50	<i>CILC</i> II, 551
Vir[---]	Tritius Clouti f.	Brother to Brother		<i>CILC</i> II, 476
Angetus	Fuginus Ang(eti) f.	Brother to Brother		<i>CILC</i> II, 424
Caturo	Tritius Clouti f.	Brother to Brother	9	<i>CILC</i> II, 476
N/A	Mania Mani lib. Veneria	Brother to Sister	40	<i>CILC</i> II, 531
Tagana	Norbanus Tanginus	Sister to Brother	15	<i>CILC</i> II, 580
Descending Extended				
Afelia	N/A	Grandmother to Grandchild	16	<i>CILC</i> II, 407

N/A	Q(uadratus?) Quadrati f.	Grandmother to Grandson	6	<i>CILC II, 558</i>
Amici				
N/A	Surus Tancini f.	Friend to Friend		<i>CILC II, 862</i>
N/A	Surus Tancini f.	Friend to Friend		<i>CILC II, 862</i>
Caesilia Anula	N/A	Friend to Friend		<i>CILC II, 524</i>
Servile				
Salvius ver.	Amoena Caenici f.	Slave to Master	55	<i>CILC II, 667</i>

Augustobriga

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Age of Death	Reference
Conjugal				
Albinus	Duatia L[---] Gouti f.	Husband to Wife	40	<i>CILC V, 1382</i>
Dovilo Elbi f.	Boutia Bouti f.	Husband to Wife		<i>CILC V, 1380</i>
N/A	N/A	Wife to Husband		<i>CILC V, 1449</i>
Pisira Bouti f.	N/A	Wife to Husband		<i>CILC V, 1421</i>
Valeria Afra	M. Palphurius Lamenus	Wife to Husband	48	<i>CIL II, 934</i>
Descending Nuclear				
N/A	Quintilianus Quinti f.	Father to Son	15	<i>CILC V, 1434</i>
Elandetus Triti f.	Tatianus	Father to Son	2	<i>CILC V, 1404</i>
Saluta?	Rufinus	Father to Son	25	<i>CIL II, 936</i>
Camalus Aveli f.	Cupiena Camali f.	Father to Daughter	25	<i>CILC V, 1440</i>
Crustenus Decianus	Flavia Rufina	Father to Daughter		<i>CIL II, 941</i>
Albinus	L[---] Goutina Albini f.	Father to Daughter	20	<i>CILC V, 1382</i>
N/A	Quintilianus Quinti f.	Mother to Son		<i>CILC V, 1434</i>
Cabura Caenoni(s)	N/A	Mother to Son		<i>CILC V, 1421</i>
Tongeta Tancini f.	Lupus Vegeti f.	Mother to Son	12	<i>CILC V, 1343</i>
Duenia Anmonis f.	Cupiena Camali f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>CILC V, 1440</i>
Honorina	Flavia Rufina	Mother to Daughter	23	<i>CIL II, 941</i>
A(ttia) Galatia	Attia A.f. Avita	Mother to Daughter	24	<i>CIL II, 856</i>
Attius Nigrinus (by testament)	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC V, 1344</i>
Attius Nigrinus (by testament)	Maimian? Acida	Mother to Child	9	<i>CILC V, 1344</i>
Ascending Nuclear				
Viriatius	Galaetus A. Triti f.	Son to Father		<i>CILC V, 1403</i>
Festus	Galaetus A. Triti f.	Son to Father		<i>CILC V, 1403</i>
Avita Iuli f.	Casia Vironi f.	Daughter to Mother		<i>CILC V, 1436</i>
Aproncula	Arruntia Avita	Daughter to Mother	50	<i>CILC V, 1435</i>
N/A	Maelo Dovai f.	Child to Father		<i>CIL II, 6336e</i>
N/A	Maelo Dovai f.	Child to Father		<i>CIL II, 6336e</i>

N/A	N/A	Child to Mother		<i>CIL</i> II, 932
Siblings				
Victorina Camali f.	Aper Camali f.	Sister to Brother	40	<i>CILC</i> V, 1443
Tagana Caenonis	Capito Matuceni f.	Sister to Brother	16	<i>CILC</i> V, 1436
Descending Extended				
N/A	N/A	Maternal Uncle to Nephew		<i>CIL</i> II, 5350
Heredes				
Albonius	Caturo Tancini f.	Heir to Testator	70	<i>CILC</i> V, 1340
Boutius	Caturo Tancini f.	Heir to Testator		<i>CILC</i> V, 1340
N/A	C[---] Arconi(us) Arconi f.	Heir to Testator		<i>CILC</i> V, 1444
N/A	C[---] Arconi(us) Arconi f.	Heir to Testator	60	<i>CILC</i> V, 1444
Servile				
Tancinus	Caesius Tancini f.	Freedman to Patron		<i>CIL</i> II, 942
Agilius	Caesius Tancini f.	Freedman to Patron	70	<i>CIL</i> II, 942
Vacaena Aluqui f.	Sineros Vacaenae lib.	Patron to Freedman		<i>CILC</i> V, 1415

Capera

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Age of Death	Reference
Conjugal				
Rufus Meidueni f.	N/A	Husband to Wife	22	<i>CILC</i> III, 1122
Albinus Lubaeci f.	Adernia Maelonis f.	Husband to Wife	40	<i>CILC</i> III, 1111
Maelius Amarilli f.	Piria Turai f.	Husband to Wife	40	<i>CILC</i> III 1090
Arruntius Paederos	Valeria T[---]	Husband to Wife		<i>CILC</i> III, 1046
Tongius Gouti f.	N/A	Husband to Wife		<i>CIL</i> II, 840
Procula	Petronius Capitoni f.	Wife to Husband		<i>CILC</i> III, 1049
Aet[---] Fantil[---]	Iunius Ti[---]	Wife to Husband	50	<i>CIL</i> II, 837
Martia C.f.	P. Aufidius P.f.	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL</i> II, 815
Vibia Felicitas	Saturius Basilius	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL</i> II, 797
Descending Nuclear				
Sempronius	Voconius Semproni f.	Father to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 849
N/A	L. Caecilius Ingenuus	Father to Son	4	<i>CILC</i> III, 1035
L. Caecilius Firmus	Fronto Minati lib.	Father to Son	20	<i>CIL</i> II, 836
L. Ammius Rufus	L. Ammius Ligustinus	Father to Son		<i>CILC</i> III, 924
Ambatus Pelli f.	Camira	Father to Daughter	20	<i>CIL</i> II, 853
Iulius Maxentianus	N/A	Father to Daughter	16	<i>CIL</i> II, 839
C. Pompeius Seranus	N/A	Father to Child		<i>CILC</i> III, 1055
C. Pompeius Seranus	N/A	Father to Child		<i>CILC</i> III, 1055
C. Pompeius Seranus	N/A	Father to Child		<i>CILC</i> III, 1055

C. Pompeius Seranus	N/A	Father to Child		<i>CILC</i> III, 1055
N/A	Severus Tangini f.	Mother to Son	21	<i>CILC</i> III, 906
Procula	Severus	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> III, 1049
N/A	Talabus Tangini f.	Mother to Son	25	<i>CILC</i> III, 1144
Amoena	Servilius Corcori f.	Mother to Son	30	<i>CILC</i> III, 1118
Petronia Secunda	Petronia Prisca	Mother to Daughter	12	<i>CILC</i> III, 1119
Fortunata	Partenis Acciae Marcianae ser.	Mother to Daughter	40	<i>CILC</i> III, 1048
Terentia Vitalis	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC</i> III, 1055
Terentia Vitalis	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC</i> III, 1055
Terentia Vitalis	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC</i> III, 1055
Terentia Vitalis	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC</i> III, 1055
Ascending Nuclear				
Flavos	[---] Cilisi f.	Son to Father	60	<i>CILC</i> III, 1142
Arantonius	Talticus Meidueni f.	Son to Father		<i>CILC</i> III, 1001
Tureus	Talticus Meidueni f.	Son to Father		<i>CILC</i> III, 1001
Arco	Talticus Meidueni f.	Son to Father	50	<i>CILC</i> III, 1001
Fulvius Firmus	Fulvius Rufus	Son to Father	65	<i>CIL</i> II, 852
Burrilus Celti f.	Celtius Anderci f.	Son to Father		<i>CILC</i> III, 962
Flavus	Cilea Flavi f.	Son to Mother	30	<i>CILC</i> III, 1143
Flavos	Boetela Cili f.	Son to Mother	51	<i>CILC</i> III, 1142
Capito	Samacia M. Acili Frontonis lib.	Son to Mother	50	<i>CIL</i> II, 844
Ambatus Pelli f.	Arbura Tancini f.	Son to Mother	70	<i>CIL</i> II, 853
Iulius Avitus	Caelia Aunia Iuli Fusci Tuberiani uxor	Stepson to Stepmother	50	<i>CIL</i> II, 820
Marcia Procula	C. Marcus Clarus	Daughter to Father	50	<i>CIL</i> II, 825
N/A	N/A	Child to Father		<i>CILC</i> III, 911
N/A	N/A	Child to Mother		<i>CILC</i> III, 911
Siblings				
L. Aelius Datus Parthicus	L. Aelius Quintus	Brother to Brother	22	<i>CIL</i> II, 830
L. Attius Avitianus	L. Attius Natalis	Brother to Brother	18	<i>CIL</i> II, 513
Domesticus	Vitulus Malgeini f.	Brother to Brother	35	<i>CIL</i> II, 847
N/A	N/A	Brother to Brother		<i>CILC</i> III, 974
N/A	Sempronia Firmi f. Paterna	Brother to Sister	6	<i>CILC</i> III, 1140
Veniatius	Tritene Licini f. Avonorum	Brother to Sister		<i>CILC</i> III, 970
Paternius	Tritene Licini f. Avonorum	Brother to Sister		<i>CILC</i> III, 970
Aelia Aia	G. Aelius Segonti f. Gal. Paternus	Sister to Brother	45	<i>CIL</i> II, 818
Descending Extended				
N/A	Severus Cadari f.	Maternal Uncle to Nephew	12	<i>CIL</i> II, 845
L. Publicius Severus	Valeria M.f. Salvia	Uncle to Niece	50	<i>CIL</i> II, 824

Ascending Extended				
Fusigius	Iulius Saronis	Grandson to Grandfather	41	<i>CILC</i> III, 1089
Rufus	Iulius Saronis	Grandson to Grandfather	41	<i>CILC</i> III, 1089
Sequndus	N/A	Nephew to Maternal Uncle	40	<i>CIL</i> II, 827
<i>Amici</i>				
N/A	[---] Abini f.	Friend to Friend	50	<i>CIL</i> II, 817
N/A	Peculiaris Cesseae lib.	Friend to Friend	40	<i>CIL</i> II, 816
Caecilius Vetto	L. Publicius L.f. Pap. Thiamus	Friend to Friend	27	<i>CIL</i> II, 823
<i>Heredes</i>				
M. Fidius Macer	Bolosea Pelli f.	Heir to Testator		<i>CIL</i> II, 834
Servile				
L. Aelius Herculanus lib.	L. Aelius Fortunatus	Freedman to Patron	55	<i>CIL</i> II, 831
Domitius Fortunatus	L. Domitius T.f. Gal. Vetto	Freedman to Patron		<i>CIL</i> II, 829
Self				
Albinus Lubaeci f.	Albinus Lubaeci f.	Self Dedication		<i>CILC</i> III, 1111

Caurium

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Age of Death	Reference
Conjugal				
[---]ucius	Apana	Husband to Wife	20	<i>CILC</i> IV, 1248
Symphorus	Briseis	Husband to Wife		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1167
T. Turelius Flavus	N/A	Husband to Wife	45	<i>CIL</i> II, 787
N/A	N/A	Husband to Wife		<i>CIL</i> II, 783
Boccus Grati f.	[Ru]finae lib.	Husband to Wife		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1200
Botila Ami f.	Irenus Ambati f.	Wife to Husband		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1273
Fuscilla Fusci f.	Flaus Caesi f.	Wife to Husband		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1241
Valeria M.f. Marcia	L. Valerius Quir. Severinus	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL</i> II, 789
Pomponia	Flavinus Flavi f.	Wife to Husband	18	<i>CIL</i> II, 778
Descending Nuclear				
Tongius	Titanus Tongi f.	Father to Son	11	<i>CIL</i> II, 795
Tancinus	Caturo Tancini f.	Father to Son	7	<i>CIL</i> II, 753
[---]us Fusci f.	N/A	Father to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 780
L. Quintius Proculus	N/A	Father to Son	5	<i>CILC</i> IV, 1216
Fuscus	Fuscinus Fusci f.	Father to Son	13	<i>CIL</i> II, 779
Pisirus	Venica Pisiri f.	Father to Daughter	9	<i>CIL</i> II, 790
C. Iulius Quintius	Iulia Avita	Father to Daughter	10	<i>CILC</i> IV, 1206
Camalus Iusti f.	Boutia Camali f.	Father to Daughter	30	<i>CILC</i> IV, 1192
Mantaus	N/A	Father to Child		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1316

N/A	Nero Agrip(pa) [---] f.	Mother to Son	28	<i>CIL</i> II, 800
N/A	N/A	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1252
N/A	Dobiter[u]s [---]	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1252
Laurilla Lauri f.	Flaus Caesi f.	Mother to Son	30	<i>CILC</i> IV, 1241
Coria Catuveni f.	N/A	Mother to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 780
Titia [---]a	N/A	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1216
Tusca	Niger Loucini f.	Mother to Son	9	<i>CIL</i> II, 781
Apana Catuveni f.	Catuvenus Tancini f.	Mother to Son		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1195
Coria Capitoni f.	Tertia Nigri f.	Mother to Daughter	12	<i>CIL</i> II, 786
Iulia	Iulia Avita	Mother to Daughter		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1206
Sunua Alboni f.	Avelea Calaeti f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 776
Sunua Alboni f.	Paugende Tabali f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 776
Sunua Alboni f.	Camira Adori f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 776
Amoena	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1316
Cilea	N/A	Mother to Child	10	<i>CILC</i> IV, 1235
Boutia Tangini f.	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1187
Ascending Nuclear				
Avicius	Toncius	Son to Father		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1264
[Avi]ticius ?	Toncius	Son to Father		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1264
Avitus	Toncius	Son to Father		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1264
Mailo Qu[e?]rati f.	Coria Aluqui f.	Son to Mother	42	<i>CILC</i> IV, 1302
Fronto	Cris[p]ina Frontinus f.	Son to Mother	26	<i>CIL</i> II, 754
Caerius	Venetia Albini f. La[---]ora	Son to Mother	35	<i>CIL</i> II, 754
Boutia Aper(is) f.	Aper Bouti f.	Daughter to Father		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1178
Cilea	[---]acia	Daughter to Mother		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1321
Antistia Vitalis f.	Vitellia Silonis f. Tertulla	Daughter to Mother		<i>CIL</i> II, 792
Siblings				
N/A	Tureus Cainonis f.	Brother to Brother		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1228
Q. Sulpicius Rusticus	N/A	Brother to Brother		<i>CIL</i> II, 764
Madureus	Cuntirus Angeiti f.	Brother to Brother		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1197
[Rufi]na	Ruf[inus] Rufi f.	Sister to Brother		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1320
Descending Extended				
Severa Severi Flacci f.	Valerius Saturnini f. Quir. Aquilus	Grandmother to Grandson	21	<i>CILC</i> IV, 1260
Ascending Extended				
Sunua Melami f.	Aper Bouti f.	Son in-law to Father in-law		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1178
Heredes				
Arbiter Mustari Allicqui	N/A	Heir to Testator		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1297
Arrenius Tancini f.	N/A	Heir to Testator		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1297
Boucarus Duati f.	Lancius Tancini f.	Heir to Testator		<i>CILC</i> IV, 1247

Celsus Celeris f.	Quadratus Mantai f. Turdulus vet.	Heir to Testator		<i>CILC IV, 1217</i>
Tancina Tancini f.	Tancinus Lancari f.	Heir to Testator	30	<i>CIL II, 770</i>
Saturninus Cili f.	Aunia Iucundi f.	Heir to Testator	40	<i>CIL II, 771</i>
Servile				
Cilea Dutiae lib.	Dutia [---] f.	Freedwoman to Patron	45	<i>CILC IV, 1324</i>
Self				
Botila Ami f.	Botila Ami f.	Self Dedication		<i>CILC IV, 1273</i>

Chapter 3. Civitas Igaeditanorum

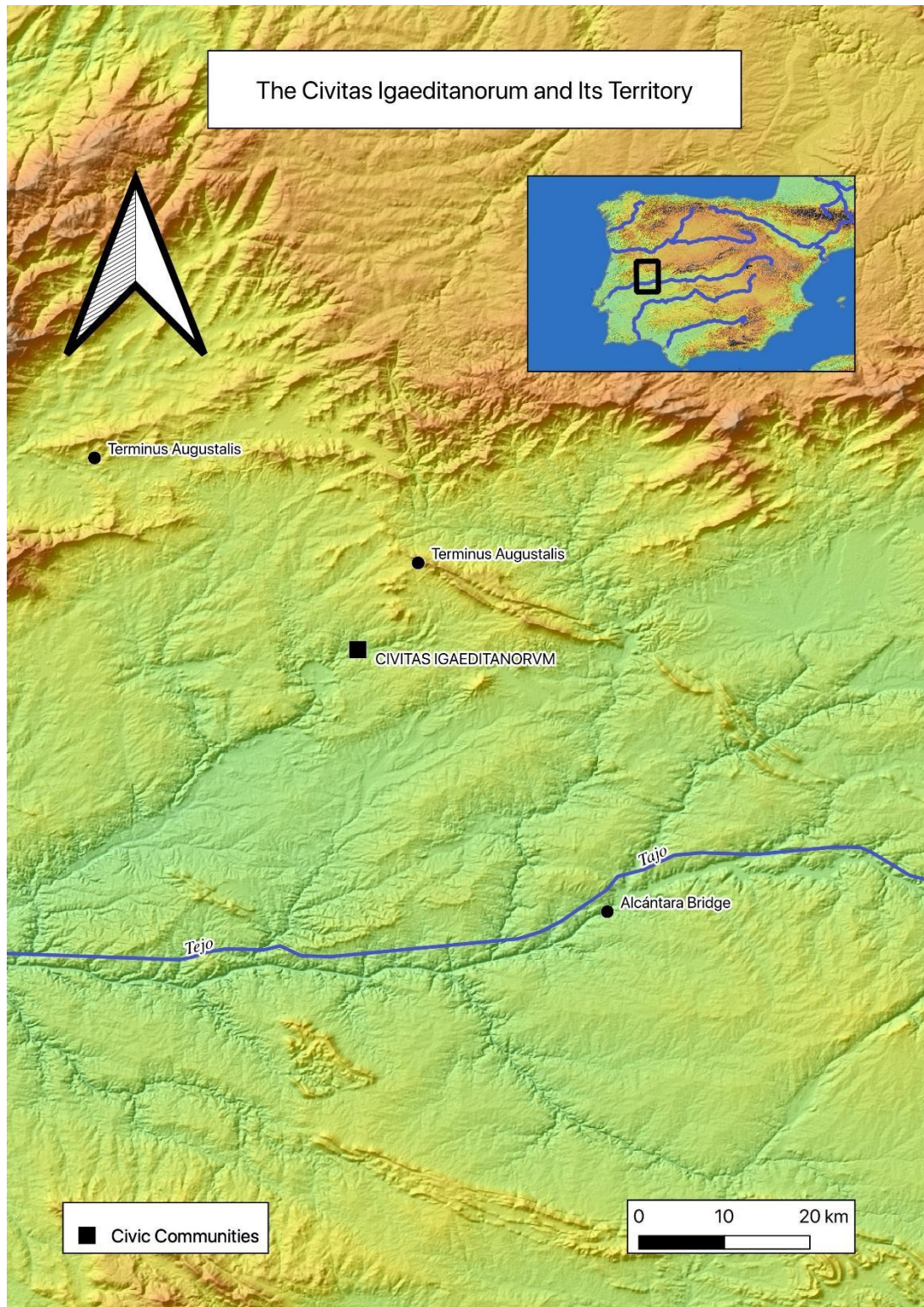


Figure 3.1: Map of the Civitas Igaeditanorum and its territory.

The civic community commonly referred to as the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* was located where the modern town of Idanha-a-Velha stands today in the municipality of Idanha-a-Nova in the *distrito* of Castelo Branco in the Beira Interior Sul region of central eastern Portugal (fig. 3.1). While only one inscription, a dedication to Augustus' adopted son Gaius Caesar, explicitly refers to the "*civitas Igaedit(anorum)*", other inscriptions commonly refer to the community by reference to the *Igaeditani*, the name of the pre-Roman people who occupied the territory.²⁸⁴ While the exact name of the civic community at the centre of this territory is unknown, scholars commonly refer to the civic centre of this community as the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*, meaning the community of the *Igaeditani*. For the purposes of this chapter, any mention of the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* will refer specifically to the civic centre at modern Idanha-a-Velha.

Located along the interior of a meander on the river Ponsul, the urban centre of the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* held an important strategic position in the interior of Roman Lusitania along the road between Augusta Emerita and Bracara Augusta.²⁸⁵ From Augusta Emerita, a journey would be made north through the area of Norba Caesarina, across the Alcántara bridge on the Tagus river, towards the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*.²⁸⁶ The presence of some *termini Augustales* and an inscription related to the construction of the Alcántara bridge help clarify its regional context. The *Civitas Igaeditanorum* bordered the territory of the *Lancienses* or *Lancienses Oppidani* to the north, Caurium to the east, and Ammaia to the south. Only the boundary to the west remains uncertain. At the turn of the era, the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* played a fundamental role as an intermediary between the local communities of northern Lusitania and the newly founded provincial capital,

²⁸⁴ Cf. *AE* 1961, 246 = *AE* 1961, 350 for "*civitas Igaedit(anorum)*"; *CIL* II, 435 & *AE* 1967, 138 for "*liberti Igaeditanorum*"; *AE* 1967, 144 = *HEp* 1990, 770 for the dedication from Q. Tallius to the *Igaeditani* ("*Igaeditanis*", in the dative plural).

²⁸⁵ Carvalho (2010) p. 126.

²⁸⁶ Guerra (2007) pp. 182-185.

Augusta Emerita. This political significance was marked by the establishment of a vast territory for the *civitas*, the boundaries of which appear to have been drawn at the same time as the city's urban centre, including its forum, was being constructed.²⁸⁷

Inscribed boundary markers found at modern Peroviseu and São Salvador, both to the north of the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*, indicate that the territory of the *Igaeditani* bordered that of the *Lancienses Oppidani* to the northeast and northwest.²⁸⁸ A significant quantity of inscriptions attesting individuals with the *origo* "*Lanciensis*" in the region of Idanha-a-Velha further indicates that the *Lancienses Oppidani* lived in close proximity to the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*. Likewise, an inscription from the Roman bridge across the Tagus at Alcántara lists a number of *municipia* that contributed to the construction of the bridge there in 105 CE. Some of the contributors included: the *Lancienses Oppidani*, *Interannienses*, *Colarni*, *Lancienses Transcudani*, *Aravi*, *Meidubrigenses*, *Paesures*, and possibly the *Igaeditani*.²⁸⁹ While the exact territories of all of the contributing communities listed above cannot be ascertained for certain, recent speculation places the *Interannienses*, *Lancienses Transcudani*, and *Lancienses Oppidani* in the territories north and northwest of the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*.²⁹⁰ At the very least the northern boundaries of the territory of the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* extended approximately 20km northwest and northeast, while the only discernible eastern boundary would be between the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* and *Caurium* where the Alcántara bridge crosses the Tagus river, although this does not eliminate the possibility

²⁸⁷ Redentor & Carvalho (2017) p. 418.

²⁸⁸ See *AE* 1976, 273 and *CIL* II, 460 for the *termini Augustales* found at Peroviseu and Salvador, respectively.

²⁸⁹ *CIL* II, 760. It should be noted that there is a dispute about the accuracy of the transcription of *CIL* II, 760 which relies primarily upon late records of humanists from the late 15th and early 16th century. Cf. Carbonell, Gimeno Pascual, Stylow (2007), pp. 247-258 for variations in the manuscript tradition. The contributors listed above are the most consistent throughout the manuscript tradition.

²⁹⁰ There have been disputes regarding the exact territories of the *Lancienses Oppidani* and the existence of the *Lancienses Ocelenses*, outlined most succinctly between Guerra (2007) and Carvalho (2009).

of other territories between the bridge and the Civitas Igaeditanorum. It is from within these boundaries that the inscriptions analyzed in this chapter were located.

Until the latter half of the 20th century the chronology of the Civitas Igaeditanorum was relatively unclear. Idanha-a-Velha saw continuous habitation through the medieval period and the abundance of Roman inscriptions from the region clearly indicated a Roman phase of habitation, but archaeological investigations conducted by Fernando de Almeida in the 1950s and subsequent investigations by Pedro Carvalho in 2007 and 2008 have clarified questions about the Roman chronology of the urban centre of the Civitas Igaeditanorum.²⁹¹ Despite the lack of information concerning the overall layout of the settlement, archaeological survey and excavations have identified the existence of a forum estimated to cover a 76 x 34 meter space along with the remains of a temple podium.²⁹²

Initial archaeological investigations around the Templar *castelo* and tower at Idanha-a-Velha revealed the remains of a temple podium and a forum space.²⁹³ Inscriptions indicate the construction of two temples, to Mars and Venus, funded by a certain C. Cantius Modestinus, but there is no evidence to connect these inscriptions directly to the temple podium found in the forum and the inscriptions are too fragmentary to identify the deities to whom they belonged.²⁹⁴ It has been hypothesized that the temples are now missing and were likely small, resembling the small temple at Alcántara, but this is purely conjecture.²⁹⁵ While only one temple podium remains in the archaeological record at Idanha-a-Velha, it is clear from inscriptional evidence that a number of temples likely occupied the area of the forum at the centre of the settlement. Based on the ashlar

²⁹¹ Almeida (1956).

²⁹² Mantas (1993) pp. 246-247.

²⁹³ Cf. Almeida (1956); Mantas (2002) pp. 231-233.

²⁹⁴ *CIL* II, 401; *CIL* II, 402; Mantas (2002) pp. 231-232.

²⁹⁵ Mantas (2006) p. 89.

foundation of the temple podium and features which indicate two side staircases, Theodor Hauschild hypothesizes that the temple podium at Idanha-a-Velha likely belonged to a prostyle temple fronted with 4 columns and ashlar walls on the sides.²⁹⁶

Subsequent excavations conducted between 2007 and 2008 under the direction of Pedro Carvalho further clarified the chronology of the forum complex and the temple podium, revealing both a pre-forum phase and an Augustan construction phase. These more recent excavations examined the soil used to level the foundation of the temple podium and the layers beneath. In doing so Carvalho aimed to determine the chronology of the forum and whether or not the site was inhabited before Roman intervention in the region. Carvalho found evidence of Italian terra sigillata and thin-walled ceramics in the fill in the foundation levels of the podium, which indicate that the temple podium and forum area were constructed during the Augustan period.²⁹⁷ More remarkably, the fill around the temple podium contained fragments of Italian terra sigillata with base stamps confirming production in Etruria during the Late-Republican period.²⁹⁸ These data securely confirm that the early phases of urbanization and the construction of the forum at the civic centre of the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* took place during the Augustan period. The monumentalization of the civitas capital belongs to this broader Augustan process of regional reorganization. The later *termini Augustales*, dated to 4 to 6 CE, should be understood as evidence for the subsequent confirmation of territorial boundaries rather than for the initial establishment of the civitas itself. This process is illustrative not only of an imperial program of reorganization and integration but also of active participation by indigenous populations, who contributed to the new order without entirely giving up their own values and traditions.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ Hauschild (2002) p. 220.

²⁹⁷ Carvalho (2009) p. 118.

²⁹⁸ Carvalho (2009) p. 121.

²⁹⁹ Redentor & Carvalho (2017) p. 419.

In addition, a pre-forum phase of occupation was also identified in the layers beneath the Augustan forum level at Civitas Igaeditanorum. To the immediate east of the temple podium, Carvalho's team uncovered the walls and floor of a pre-Roman structure consisting of mud and adobe walls with a beaten earth floor. In the southeast corner of this structure there was a hearth and the floor was decorated with circular patterns (7.2 cm in diameter), which are common among other indigenous archaeological contexts in Lusitania, some not far from Idanha-a-Velha.³⁰⁰ Similar ceramic materials, Italian terra sigillata and thin-walled ware and an earlier phase of stratigraphy date this pre-Roman structure to the period immediately before the construction of the *forum* and temple. In effect, these data indicate that Civitas Igaeditanorum was first inhabited during the late-Republican period, possibly three decades before the forum, with urban intensification occurring in the Augustan period.³⁰¹

The inscriptional record, as well, shows some key moments in the development of both the civic centre of the Civitas Igaeditanorum and its surrounding territory between the 1st century BCE and the 2nd century CE. The oldest inscription attested at Civitas Igaeditanorum, dated to 16 BCE, records a public benefaction by Q. Tallius, a Roman citizen from Augusta Emerita, to the *Igaeditani*.³⁰² The text states that he donated an *orarium* and names four local *magistri*. Whatever the precise nature of the object donated, the inscription securely demonstrates that by 16 BCE Idanha-a-Velha was already functioning as the civic centre of the *Igaeditani*. Q. Tallius' name (*duo nomina*) and tribal affiliation (*Papiria tribu*) indicate that he was a Roman citizen from nearby

³⁰⁰ Circular motifs have also been discovered in the Iron Age huts at Cachouça approximately 11km SW of Idanha-a-Velha: Vilaça (2007) p.69.

³⁰¹ Carvalho (2009) pp. 121-122.

³⁰² AE 1961, 349; AE 1967, 144; HEp 2, 1991, 770; AE 1992, 951: *Q(uintus) Tallius Sex(ti) f(ilius) Papi(ria) Augu(stanus) / orarium donavit / Igaeditanis l(oco) a(dsignato) f(actum) per mag(istros) / Toutoni(um) Arcii f(ili) / Malgeini(um) Manli f(ili) / Celti(um) Arantoni f(ili) / Ammini(um) Atii f(ili) / L(ucio) Domitio Ahenobarbo / P(ublio) Cornelio Scipione co(n)[s(ulibus)]*

Augusta Emerita.³⁰³ The *magistri*, whose names included Toutonus Arci f(ilius), Malgeinus Manli f(ilius), Celtius Arantoni f(ilius), and Amminius Atii f(ilius), all have indigenous single names followed by filiation using the father's single name in the genitive case, indicating that the local magistrates were of peregrine status. The names of the consuls in the final line are especially important since they securely date this inscription to the start of 16 BCE.³⁰⁴

What this inscription represents in terms of the early development of the Civitas Igaeditanorum is a matter for interpretation. Robert Etienne, who maintains the interpretation of Q. Tallius' dedication to the *Igaeditani* as the donation of a sundial (*orarium*), views this as an aggressive, and very much intentional, intervention to enforce Roman social and cultural practice by putting the *Igaeditani* on the "time" of the provincial capital, the *colonia* of Augusta Emerita, thereby regulating the temporal nature of their daily habits.³⁰⁵ José d'Encarnação, on the other hand, views Q. Tallius' dedication at Civitas Igaeditanorum as a less sinister attempt to consolidate ties between the *Igaeditani* and Augusta Emerita through an act of benevolence.³⁰⁶ Whatever the case, this inscription and the act which it records confirms that the Civitas Igaeditanorum was established by at least 16 BCE. Moreover, the fact that a citizen from the *conventus* and provincial capital in the region had interest in contributing to the development of the Civitas Igaeditanorum at its early stages as a *civitas stipendiaria* shows a willingness at least among local members of the elite to forge ties between their communities despite their difference in civic status.³⁰⁷ The donation of Q. Tallius is a paradigmatic case illustrating the strengthening of ties between the new

³⁰³ Upon its foundation in 25 BCE colonists of Augusta Emerita were enrolled in the voting tribe *Papiria*, which makes it almost certain that Q. Tallius originated from Augusta Emerita. Etienne (1992) p. 357.

³⁰⁴ cf. Etienne (1992); d'Encarnação (2004); d'Encarnação (2000).

³⁰⁵ Etienne (1992) p. 359.

³⁰⁶ d'Encarnação draws connections between this dedication directly to the *Igaeditani* and funerary dedications in which entire *gentilitates*, rather than individuals, commemorate a deceased person; a practice observed among indigenous communities in Lusitania. d'Encarnação (2004) pp. 58-59.

³⁰⁷ Edmondson (2004a); Guerra (2007); Carvalho (2009); Carvalho (2010): All emphasize the importance of this gesture of Q. Tallius' inscription to the *Igaeditani*.

urban centre and the provincial capital. This gesture served both as a symbol of the civitas's integration into imperial networks and as an example of the expansion of power and influence under Roman rule.³⁰⁸

Further inscriptional evidence demonstrates that *termini Augustales* were erected in the early 1st century CE to define the territorial limits of the Civitas Igaeditanorum in the interior of Lusitania. The boundary stones found at modern Peroviseu and São Salvador, to the north and northeast of Idanha-a-Velha respectively, mark the boundary between the *Lancienses Oppidani* and the *Igaeditani*. Although both inscriptions mention Augustus' thirteenth consulship, that formula alone would date them only broadly between 2 BCE and 14 CE. Their more precise chronology depends on the tribunician power recorded in each text: the Peroviseu stone, with TRIB. POT. XXIIIIX (= XXVII), dates to 26 June 4 CE–25 June 5 CE, while the São Salvador stone, with TRIB. POT. XXVIII, dates to 26 June 5 CE–25 June 6 CE.³⁰⁹ In terms of chronology, the appearance of these *termini Augustales* marks a significant stage in the consolidation and organization of territories within the province of Lusitania in the years following its creation.³¹⁰ If we view these boundary stones in relation to the foundation of Civitas Igaeditanorum, early processes of urbanization, and monumentalization, the delineation of its territory with these boundary stones were concurrent processes in the re-development of civic communities and infrastructure in this area of Lusitania.

³⁰⁸ Redentor & Carvalho (2017) p. 437.

³⁰⁹ Cf. CIL II, 460 (São Salvador, Castelo Branco): *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) / max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XXVIII / co(n)s(ul) XIII pat(er) patr(iae) / term(inus) Aug(ustalis) inter Lanc(ienses) / Opp(idanos) et Igaedit(anos)*"; AE 1976, 273 (Peroviseu): *"Imp(erator) Caesar Aug(ustus), pontifex / max(imus) trib(unicia) potest(ate) XXII X co(n)s(ul) XIII / pater patriae terminus Augustalis / inter Lancienses et Igaeditanos.*

³¹⁰ Additional *termini Augustales* dating from 4-6 CE have also been found further northeast in the area of Salamanca, presenting evidence of the scale of contemporary territorial consolidation and organization. Le Roux (1994) pp. 48-49; Cortés-Bárcena (2013) pp. 33-70.

The Civitas Igaeditanorum held a key strategic position, with visual command over the road between Augusta Emerita and Bracara Augusta, but this alone is not the only significance of this settlement in the region. Inscriptional and literary evidence indicate that the area around Civitas Igaeditanorum was a significant site for alluvial gold mining during the Roman period. The geographer Strabo, relying on Posidonius of Apamea's account of the region, specifically mentions that the Tagus river and its tributaries were a significant source of alluvial gold.³¹¹ Also given the absence of any definitive archaeological evidence of significant underground mining activity in the immediate vicinity of the Civitas Igaeditanorum, it is likely that alluvial mining activity took place in the area.³¹² In terms of chronology, Strabo's comments suggest that there had been significant interest in mining and awareness of the resources in Lusitania as early as the 1st century BCE, around the time that Civitas Igaeditanorum was in the early stages of its development.

A particular votive inscription, which was only recently confirmed to have originated from Civitas Igaeditanorum, emphasizes the importance and extent of gold mining at in the region.³¹³ From this inscription, we can see that Ti. Claudius Rufus made a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus after finding, or mining, 120 Roman pounds of gold, roughly 40kg in metric units.³¹⁴ If this were in fact the result of alluvial mining procedures, José d'Encarnação argues that it would take 20 years of labour with 100 workers to collect 40kg of alluvial gold, a significant undertaking in terms of time and labour.³¹⁵ Regardless of the method of extraction, it is clear that the extraction of this quantity of gold warranted the dedication of this votive inscription in public. In doing so, Ti. Claudius Rufus would bolster his own reputation through advertising his economic

³¹¹ Strabo *Geog.* 3.4.20; 3.3.4.

³¹² See Edmondson (1987) 231–237 nos. S03–22. 24–26; Edmondson (2020).

³¹³ *CIL* II, 5132. The provenance of this inscription was a point of contention until its rediscovery in 2005.

³¹⁴ *CIL* II, 5132 = HÉp 20, 2011, 690: *[T]i. Claudi/us Rufus / [I]ovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) / ob repe[rta] / [a]uri p(ondo) CXX[...?] / v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit).*

³¹⁵ Edmondson (2020) pp. 174–176.

accomplishments and contributions to the immediate community, not to mention the chief deity of Roman state religion.

The *cognomen* Rufus is frequently attested in Lusitania and often adopted as a single name among Latinizing individuals of peregrine status.³¹⁶ If he were in fact been a *peregrinus* who had received Roman citizenship, this inscription illustrates an interesting moment during the development in the Civitas Igaeditanorum, a proclamation of “Romanness” by one of its leading citizens within a community with strong indigenous foundations. Nevertheless, we do not know for certain whether Ti. Claudius Rufus was a Roman citizen from elsewhere who settled in the region, a Roman administrator, or one of the *Igaeditani* who had been given citizenship *viritalis*. Regardless, it is absolutely certain that mining operations around Civitas Igaeditanorum were producing significant quantities of gold, which would have definitely encouraged the development of infrastructure and urbanization in the region.

In conclusion, both the archaeological record and the abundance of inscriptional evidence at Idanha-a-Velha provide insight into some key moments in the development of Civitas Igaeditanorum from the 1st century BCE to the 3rd century CE. Architectural evidence from the forum area shows that the earliest structures at Civitas Igaeditanorum were built in the late 1st century BCE and were consistent with indigenous Lusitanian construction methods and decorative motifs.³¹⁷ At the same time inscriptional evidence shows a prominent citizen from Augusta Emerita setting up a dedication to the *Igaeditani*. In the Augustan period there is evidence of monumentalization, the leveling of the citadel, and construction of a large temple. More structures are built during the Flavian period with the Alcántara bridge being constructed in the early 2nd

³¹⁶ Abascal Palazón (1994) pp. 31-32.

³¹⁷ Carvalho (2009) pp. 199-122; The circular motifs found in the pre-Roman structure at Idanha-a-Velha are similar to those discovered in the Iron Age huts at Cachouça only a few kilometers from Idanha-a-Velha: Vilaça (2007) p.69.

century CE. The process of urbanization at Civitas Igaeditanorum was a process of negotiation. On the one hand, the civic centre was likely of indigenous origin, highlighted by the fact that it carries the name of the the *Igaeditani* who were the ancestral inhabitants of this territory. On the other hand, the Civitas Igaeditanorum underwent incremental stages of urbanization, all of which were initiated through the benefaction by members of the local elite and in one case by a citizen of Augusta Emerita. It is within the context of this process of development that the following discussion will analyze the family relations and personal names expressed through the medium of funerary epigraphy at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

Chronology

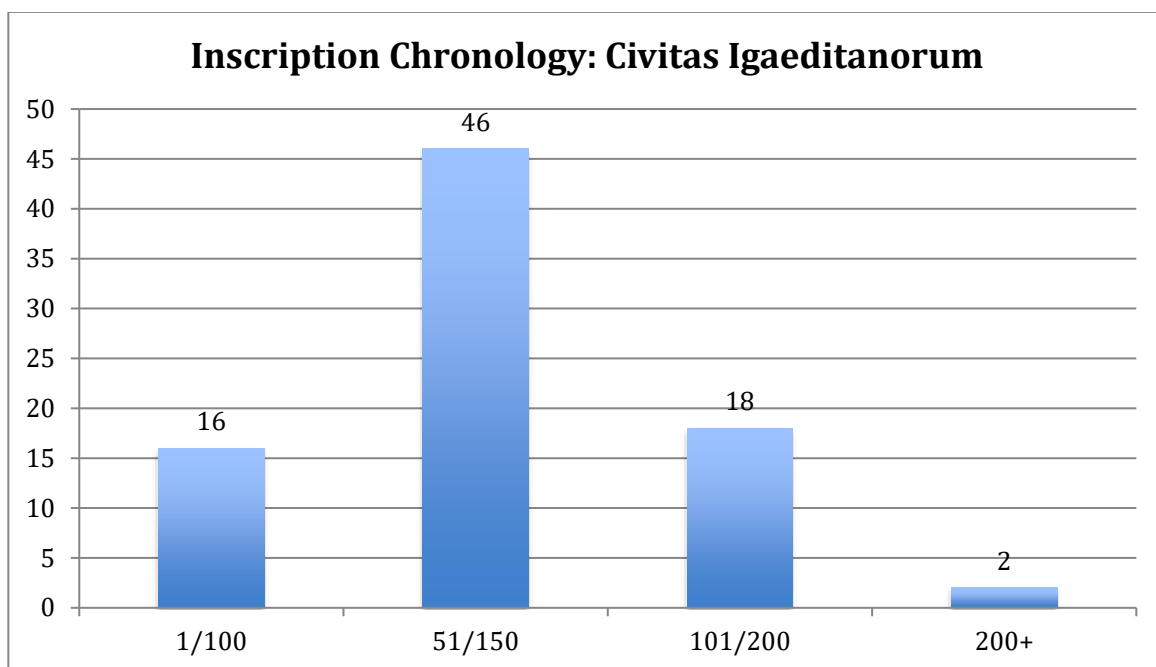


Figure 3.2: Chronology of inscriptions at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

Out of 89 inscriptions including family relations from the Civitas Igaeditanorum, 82 of them could be securely dated (fig. 3.2). Given the absence of any reference to the Civitas Igaeditanorum as a *municipium* and multiple attestations of individuals enrolled in the voting tribe *Quirina*, the Civitas Igaeditanorum was most likely promoted to the status of *municipium* and its

citizens given *ius Latii* along with the rest of the Hispanic provinces under Vespasian in 73-74 CE.³¹⁸ The chronological record of inscriptions, supports this hypothesis since more than half (46/82) of the inscriptions can be securely dated between the late 1st to mid-2nd centuries CE (51-150 CE). This chronological pattern in the epigraphic habit is consistent with other Flavian *municipia* in the province of Lusitania, which implies that the grant of *ius Latii* for all inhabitants and full citizenship for local magistrates resulted in wider proliferation of the epigraphic habit.³¹⁹ Perhaps, as Meyer and Macmullen suggest, this process compelled new Latin and Roman citizens to advertise their newly acquired juridical and social status by means of setting up inscriptions.³²⁰ The importance of the conferral of *ius Latii* for the proliferation of the epigraphic habit, moreover, is very clear in this case. Out of 321 individuals identified from inscriptions expressing family relations, only 56 (17%) held *duo* or *tria nomina*. Compared to the 265 (83%) who held single name elements, it would appear that the majority of individuals attested in funerary epitaphs were of peregrine status or held *ius Latii*. Patterns of onomastic practice and implications of personal juridical status will be discussed further below.

Family Relations at Civitas Igaeditanorum: Nuclear vs. Extended

One of the definitive attributes of the inscriptional record at Civitas Igaeditanorum is the high number of inscriptions involving multiple individuals, sometimes with varying degrees and typology of family relation. Out of 89 funerary inscriptions in which family relations were expressed, 42 (47%) of them involved multiple dedicators and/or multiple deceased, a practice that

³¹⁸ Attestations of the tribe *Quirina* at Civitas Igaeditanorum include: *CIL* II, 442; *ERBeira* 53; *ERBeira* 75; *ERBeira* 115; *ERBeira* 116; *ERBeira* 154. While there were two attestations of tribe *Galeria*, one of the individuals was a *Cluniensis*, indicating that the presence of individuals enrolled in the tribe *Galeria* was negligible and, to a certain extent, due to immigration: *ERBeira* 153; *ERBeira* 136.

³¹⁹ In accordance with the provisions of the *Lex Flavia Municipalis*, magistrates and their parents and their children would be granted full citizenship status following a term of service in the local council at a *municipium*. Cf. *Lex Irnitana*, *Lex Salpensana*, and the *Lex Malacitana*.

³²⁰ Meyer (1990) p. 95; MacMullen (1982).

may be classified as collective commemoration.³²¹ In some cases the multiple dedicators may consist of a mixture of nuclear and extended relations to the deceased, while other cases might include multiple individuals sharing the same relation to the deceased, particularly cases in which both parents, multiple siblings, or multiple children commemorate a child, sibling, or parent respectively. This commemorative pattern can be explained by the predominant material typology of funerary inscriptions found in the region. Of the five monument typologies in the area of *Civitas Igaeditanorum*, the most common are rectangular granite blocks with frames delimiting the epigraphic field, a type of funerary monument often set into façades or interior walls of funerary monuments.³²² Ana Paula Ramos Ferreira argues that this type of inscription appears to be an urban trait of *Civitas Igaeditanorum* and that these inscriptions were likely made for collective burials, which would explain the high concentration of collective funerary commemorations.³²³ Ramos Ferreira also notes that since we do not have evidence of burial practices at *Civitas Igaeditanorum* from the pre-Roman period, it is difficult to ascertain whether this style was a continuation of local tradition or a regional habit that developed on its own with the proliferation of the epigraphic habit.³²⁴ Nevertheless, this practice of collective commemoration, unique within this study, appears to have satisfied local needs at the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*, which emphasized close ties between multiple family relations.

As a result of this regional habit of collective commemoration, 166 relations have been identified from only 89 funerary inscriptions expressing family relations. Out of these 166, 121 (73%) were between members of the nuclear family (parents, conjugal partners, and children).

³²¹ Jonathan Edmondson discusses the habit of collective commemoration at the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*: Edmondson (2004a) pp. 239-243.

³²² González-Conde Puente (1995-1997).

³²³ Ferreira (2004) p. 38.

³²⁴ Edmondson (2004a) p. 239; Ferreira (2004) p. 39.

Conversely, there were only 13 expressions of extended and lateral blood relations (grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, grandchildren, etc), accounting for 8% of the total relations counted. Dedications involving people of servile status, *amici*, and heirs (i.e., close non-blood relations) collectively accounted for 15 (9%) of the total relations counted. Lastly, self-dedications, exclusively in cases where a dedicator includes themselves in a dedication to another close family member, account for an additional 17 (10%) of the relations counted (Table 3.1).

Dedicator	Deceased	N
Husband	Wife	12
Wife	Husband	17
Total Conjugal		29
Father	Son	5
	Daughter	7
	Child	
Mother	Son	10
	Daughter	11
	Child	1
Parent	Son	
	Daughter	
	Child	
Total Descending		34
Son	Father	11
	Mother	12
	Parent	
Daughter	Father	8
	Mother	10
	Parent	
Child	Father	4
	Mother	2
	Parent	
Total Ascending		47
Brother	Brother	4
	Sister	1
	Sibling	
Sister	Brother	3
	Sister	
	Sibling	
Sibling	Brother	2
	Sister	1
Total Siblings		11
Total Nuclear		121
Descending Extended		7
Ascending Extended		6
Total Extended		13
<i>Amici</i>		5
<i>Heredes</i>		3
Other		8
Patron	<i>Libertus/a</i>	
Master	Slave	
<i>Libertus/a</i>	Patron	7
Slave	Master	
Total Servile		7
Self		17
Total Relations		166

Table 3.1: Commemorative relations at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

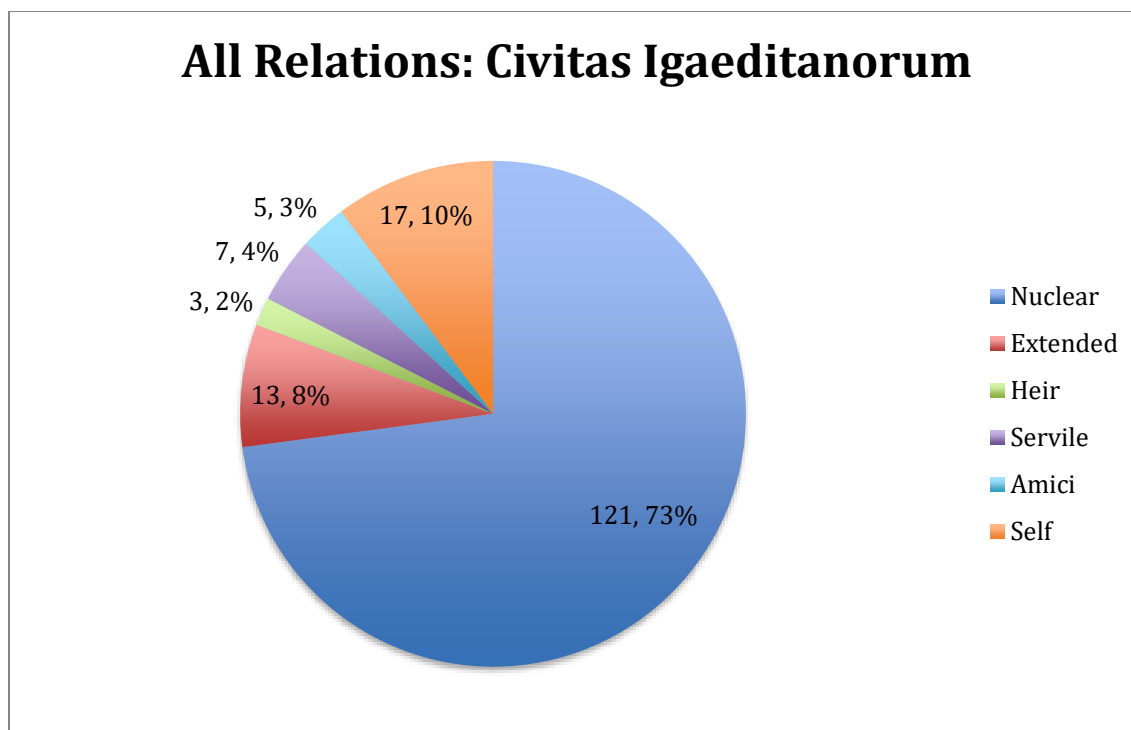


Figure 3.3: Nuclear vs. extended relations at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

In general terms, the distribution of nuclear and non-nuclear family relations at Civitas Igaeditanorum aligns with the regional trends that Saller and Shaw observed throughout the Hispanic provinces in 1984 in the sense that nuclear dedications are the most common (fig. 3.3). Nevertheless, there also appears to be a relatively high percentage of extended blood and non-blood relations expressed at the Civitas Igaeditanorum. This is quantitatively supported by the fact that nuclear relations account for only 73% of all relations, which is 10% lower than the percentage for the Hispanic provinces counted by Saller and Shaw and 14% lower than the percentage of nuclear relations that I have accounted for in the entire province of Cáceres.³²⁵ If we discount the 17 self-dedications which make up a large number of the dedications, 17% of all relations expressed at Civitas Igaeditanorum involve extra nuclear and non-blood relations, a pattern that Edmondson also observed.³²⁶ It is important to note, therefore, that the high number of self-

³²⁵ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148; see Chapter 2 on family relations in the province of Cáceres for comparison.

³²⁶ Edmondson (2004a) p. 235.

dedications makes it seem as though non-nuclear relations are common at the Civitas Igaeditanorum, but this is not the case. Rather, the number of non-nuclear and extended dedications is fairly close to those observed in other areas of Lusitania.

Family Relations at Civitas Igaeditanorum: Nuclear Relations

The pattern of family relations emphasized within the nuclear category at the Civitas Igaeditanorum is atypical compared to other areas of Lusitania and the Hispanic provinces in general. While descending nuclear and conjugal dedications were most common in Saller and Shaw's study of family relations, the pattern is different here.³²⁷ Of the 121 nuclear dedications at the Civitas Igaeditanorum, ascending and descending nuclear relations were most commonly attested with 47 (39%) and 34 (28%) attestations, respectively. Conjugal dedications and dedications between siblings represent slightly lower percentages with 29 (24%) and 11 (9%) attestations, respectively. When compared to the number of relations that Saller and Shaw counted for all of the Hispanic provinces, these patterns are atypical since ascending nuclear dedications are more prominent at the Civitas Igaeditanorum than conjugal or descending nuclear dedications.

³²⁷ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

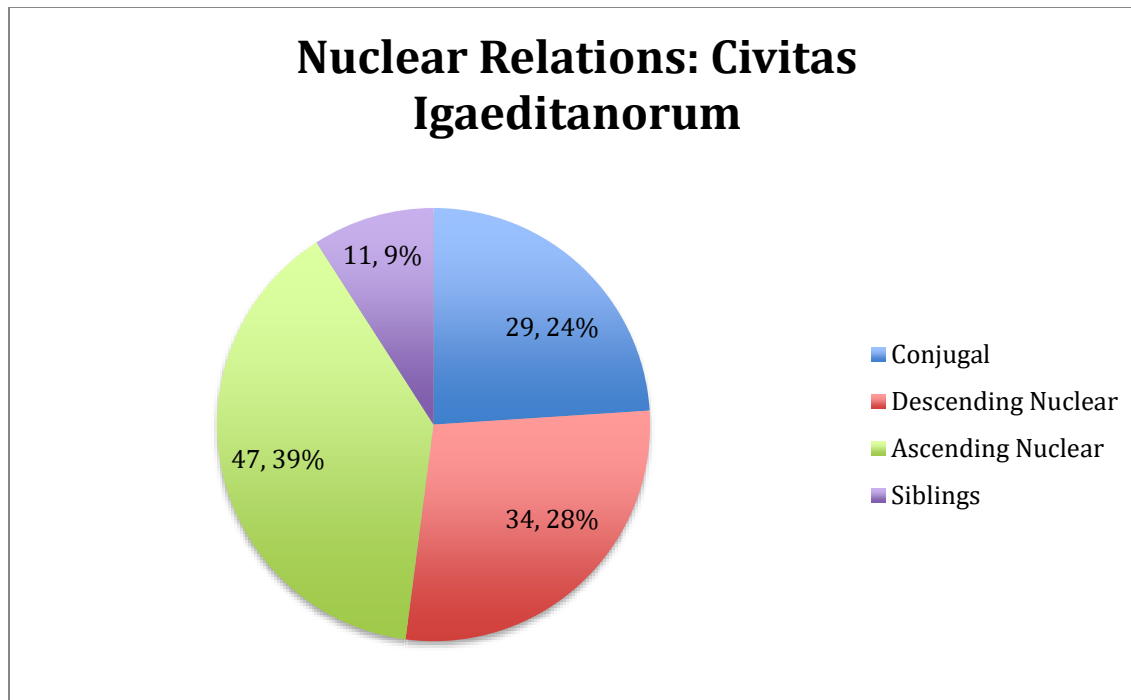


Figure 3.4: Nuclear family relations at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

Interestingly, the most commonly attested expressions of family relations between dedicator and deceased at the Civitas Igaeditanorum are ascending nuclear dedications made by children to their deceased parents. Compared to Saller and Shaw's numbers, this pattern deviates from the pattern observed for the entirety of the Hispanic provinces. For the Hispanic provinces Saller and Shaw observed that the percentage of expressions of nuclear relations were as follows: descending nuclear (36%), conjugal (29%), ascending nuclear (25%), and relations between siblings (25%).³²⁸ The pattern of nuclear relations at the Civitas Igaeditanorum, on the other hand, shows an inversion of descending and ascending expressions seen in the provincial pattern demonstrated by Saller and Shaw, in which ascending nuclear relations represent the largest category (36%) of nuclear relations and descending nuclear dedications represent a lower percentage (28%) of nuclear relations. Compared with other civic communities in the *conventus Emeritensis*, this is not unheard of since a similar pattern was observed at Turgalium in the

³²⁸ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

province of Cáceres, but the reason for this pattern, whether due to cultural habit or demographic circumstance, is not immediately clear. In addition, these numbers expand upon a similar pattern of relations observed by Jonathan Edmondson in his 2004 study, even with slight methodological differences in our method of counting relations.³²⁹ In conclusion, the pattern of nuclear relations expressed at the Civitas Igaeditanorum demonstrates a strong emphasis on dedications from children to their parents, a pattern that has parallels at Turgalium in the province of Cáceres. As to the reason for this pattern, comparative analysis of onomastic data will be able to confirm whether there is a correlation between these patterns in commemoration, attributes of individual's name elements, and the juridical status of the individuals possessing these name elements.

³²⁹ Edmondson (2004a) pp. 245-246.

Family Relations at the Civitas Igaeditanorum: Extended Relations

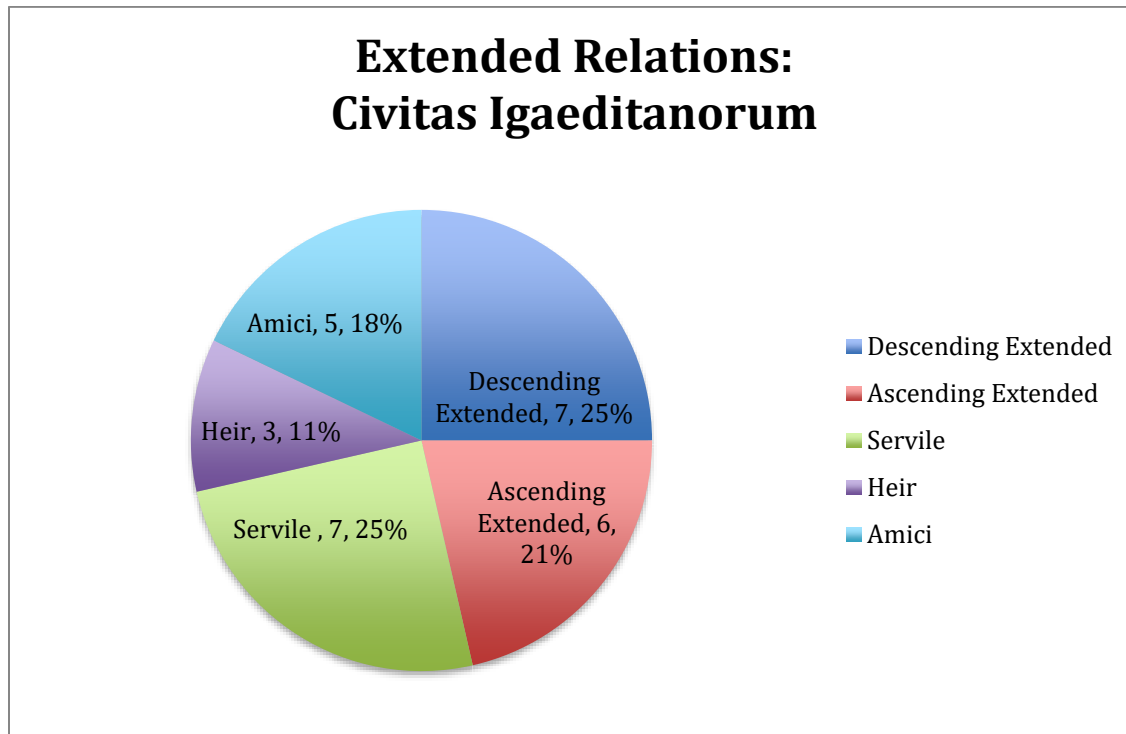


Figure 3.5: Extended relations at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

Since this is one of the cases in which there are a significant number of expressions of extended blood and non-blood relations, a discussion of extended relations is necessary. While there are only 28 such attestations, this is the highest concentration of such dedications in any civic community discussed in this study thus far (fig. 3.5). In particular, ascending and descending extended family relations make up almost half of these with 7 (25%) and 6 (21%) attestations, respectively. Dedications between *amici* and *heredes* (relation unknown) make up an additional quarter of these with 5 (18%) and 3 (11%) attestations, while servile dedications (expressing relations between slaves, masters, patrons, and freedmen) make up the final quarter with 7 (25%) attestations.

Of particular interest are examples of funerary dedications which include a father-in-law, which are uncommon in the inscriptional record in Roman Lusitania, or in general for that

matter.³³⁰ Of the three examples of dedications between parents-in-law and children-in-law in the Civitas Igaeditanorum, two of them are included in acts of collective commemoration and the other is solely from a mother-in-law to her son-in-law.

Both collective commemorations which contain these relations include the couple whose marriage created the in-law relationship. For example the dedication of Rufus Triti f(ilius) to his three children (Rufinus, Niger, and Vitalis), his daughter-in-law (Prisca Frontonis f(ilia)), and his wife (Camala Docquiri f(ilia)) included both his son Niger and Prisca to whom his son was married.³³¹ In another example, Caeno Lovi f(ilius) made a dedication to his own parents, Lovius Caenonis f(ilius) and Boudica Tongi f(ilia), as well as to his wife Cilea and his father-in-law Cilius.³³² It is also interesting here that Cileus bestowed his own indigenous single name to his daughter, here in its feminine form. Again, here we have an individual who has included his father-in-law along with his conjugal partner both of whom are among the deceased. In both of these cases the in-laws are included along with members of the dedicator's nuclear family, perhaps indicating the notion that marriage constituted a conceptual forging together of two families both in life and in death.

The third example of funerary dedication between affines, i.e., in-law relations, is a dedication from Aranta Craesoni f(ilia) to her son-in-law Paullus Lovesi f(ilius). Here, however, she is listed as his *heres* in accordance with his will, *ex testamento*.³³³ In this case, the legal implications of this dedication are clearly emphasized and, again, it is of particular importance to

³³⁰ *ERBeira* 98 = *HEp* 2003/2004, 927; *ERBeira* 35 = *HEp* 2000, 723 = *AE* 1985, 533 = *AE* 2000, 688; *ERBeira* 33 = *AE* 1967, 170.

³³¹ *ERBeira* 98 = *HEp* 2003/2004, 927. In this case the married couple are both included among the deceased.

³³² *ERBeira* 33 = *AE* 1967, 170.

³³³ *ERBeira* 35 = *HEp* 2000, 723 = *AE* 1985, 533.

note that all of the individuals mentioned in this dedication and the dedications discussed above hold single name elements, many of which are linguistically indigenous.

Civitas Igaeditanorum: Linguistic Name Elements

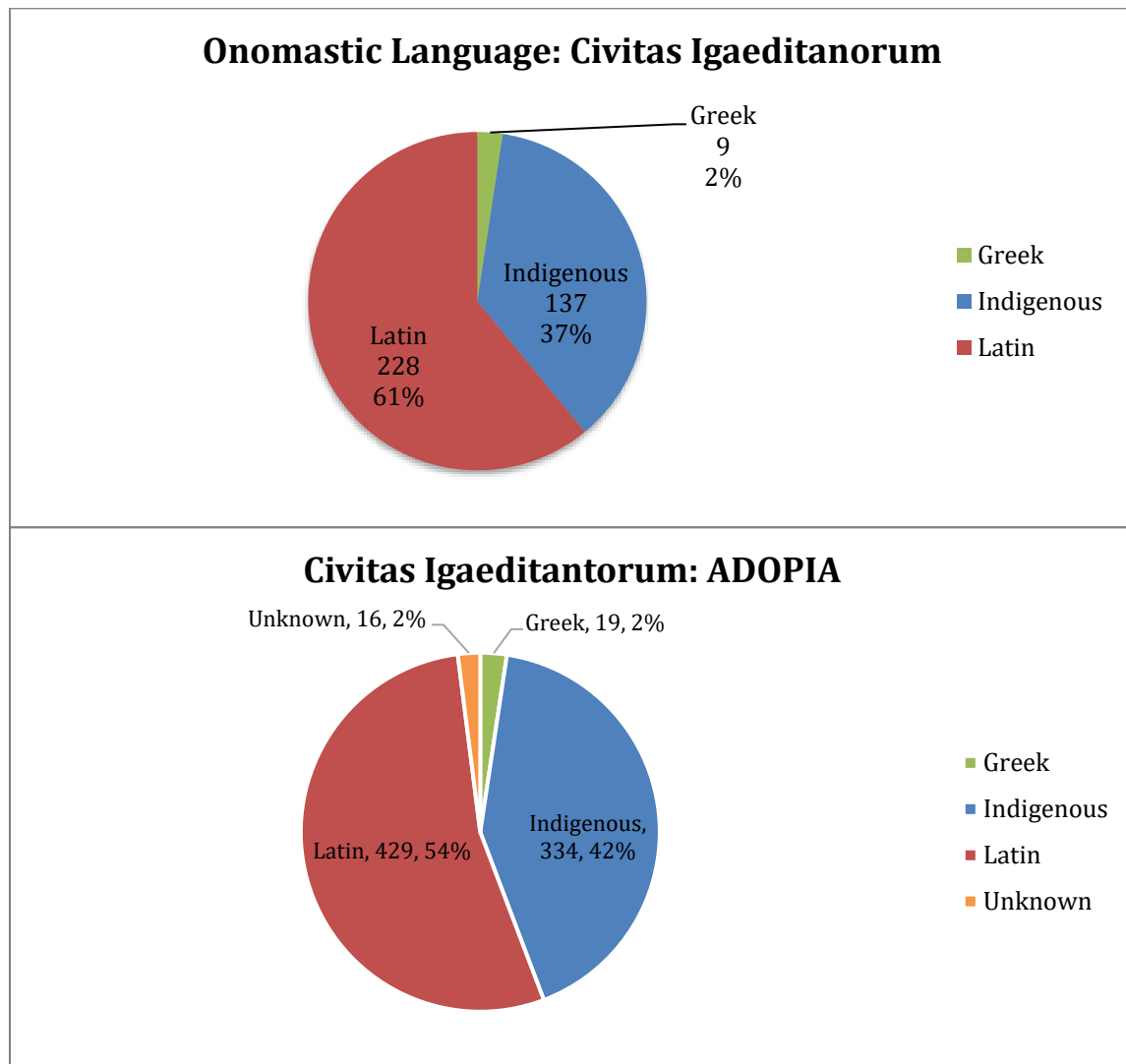


Figure 3.6: Linguistic name elements at the Civitas Igaeditanorum (compared with comprehensive linguistic data from the ADOPIA project – data collected May 2022)

Of the 374 name elements compiled from the corpus of inscriptions expressing family relations, 228 (61%) were Latin, 137 (37%) were Indigenous, and 9 (2%) were Greek (fig. 3.6). It is immediately clear that linguistically Latin names are the most common at Civitas Igaeditanorum, which is typical in the province of Lusitania, but there are still a significant number of linguistically

indigenous names as well.³³⁴ The percentage of linguistically Latin and indigenous names at Civitas Igaeditanorum is most similar to the percentages observed at Caurium and Turgalium in the province of Cáceres.

In terms of the process of acculturation at the Civitas Igaeditanorum, these data lead to several conclusions. First, the linguistic attributes of personal names at Civitas Igaeditanorum indicate a strong degree of Latinization among individuals expressing family relations through funerary dedications, with a significant number of individuals bearing Latin names.³³⁵ On the other hand, there are still a relatively significant number of indigenous names attested in this context as well, which also shows a certain willingness to retain indigenous linguistic elements in naming practice and perpetuate them through the act of inscription.³³⁶ Although the percentage of Latin names is 12% higher than indigenous ones, the 137 (37%) indigenous names attested at Civitas Igaeditanorum is significant, in terms of their overall percentage, compared to the number of indigenous names attested at other civic communities in the province of Lusitania. Lastly, Greek names are extremely uncommon at the Civitas Igaeditanorum, but in roughly half of the cases they appear as *cognomina*, indicating that these individuals held full citizen or Latin status. The other half are typically single names, which may have a number of implications about slave labour and slave status at the Civitas Igaeditanorum, but this will be discussed at more length below.³³⁷ Lastly, when compared with the linguistic data from the ADOPIA project, a higher percentage of indigenous names are attested in all inscriptions from the community, perhaps indicating that

³³⁴ The linguistics attributes of names attested at Civitas Igaeditanorum are slightly more Latinized than the numbers recorded by Ferreira for all of the Beira region: Latin 44.4%, Indigenous 51.5%, and Greek 2.6%. Ferreira (2004) p. 23.

³³⁵ Latinization is not a complete adoption of Roman culture, but it reflects a willingness to adopt certain cultural aspects. Cf. Dias (1985); d'Encarnação (1989); Edmondson (2004a).

³³⁶ d'Encarnação (2000) p. 151.

³³⁷ d'Encarnação (2000) p. 153.

people with indigenous name elements were less likely to express family relations on their funerary monuments.

Civitas Igaeditanorum: Name Structure

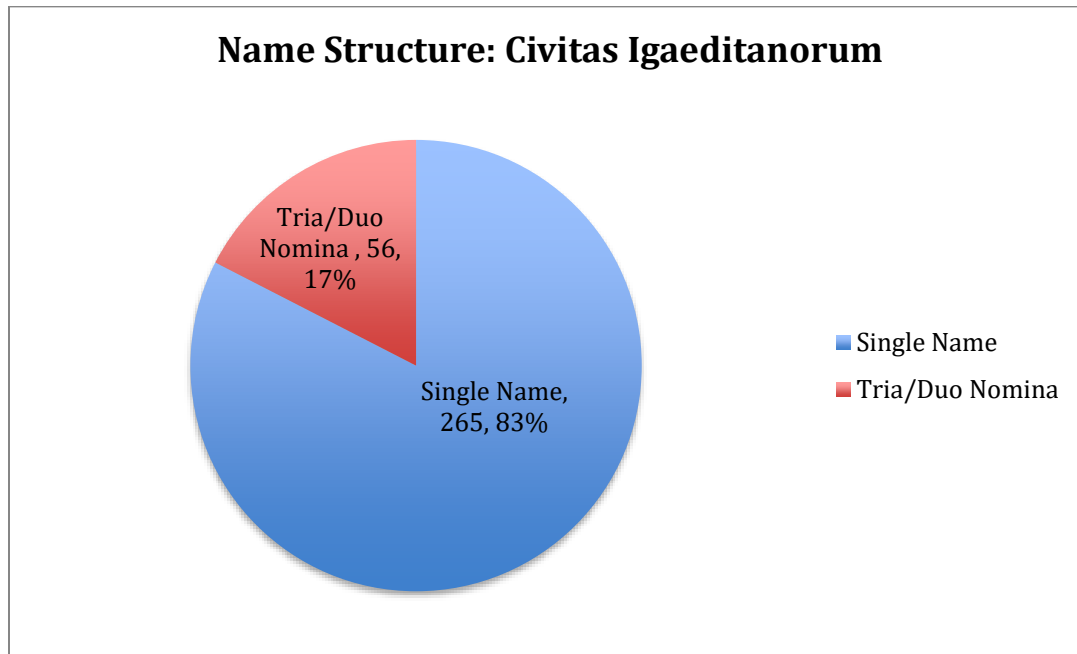


Figure 3.7: Name structure at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

Of funerary inscriptions in which family relations were expressed, a total of 321 individuals were identified from the record at Civitas Igaeditanorum. Of these, 265 (83%) possessed single names and only 56 (17%) had *duo* or *tria nomina* (fig. 3.7). Firstly, it is interesting to note that these 321 cases were drawn from just 89 inscriptions. This is due to the frequency of collective commemoration at the Civitas Igaeditanorum, which results in larger agglomerations of names. Except for cases in which first-generation Roman citizens are attested, most inscriptions expressing family relations involve individuals with the same name structure and, therefore, juridical status. These data show that individuals with single names, presumably of peregrine status, are the most commonly attested in inscriptions expressing family relations. Given the history of urban development and municipalization evident in the archaeological and inscriptional

record, it is interesting that so few individuals holding *duo* or *tria nomina* are attested in this dataset at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

Of further interest is the degree of Latinization compared to the prevalence of single names at this settlement. As discussed in the analysis of onomastic linguistics and structure in the province of Cáceres (chapter 2), there is a definite correlation between higher percentages of linguistically indigenous names and single name structure. Even though Latin names are predominant in inscriptions expressing family relations at the Civitas Igaeditanorum, indigenous names still make up 37% of the names attested. Compared to the other settlements discussed in this study, the percentage of indigenous names at Civitas Igaeditanorum is relatively high. It can be concluded, therefore, that despite municipalization and ongoing additions of particularly ‘Roman’ architecture and urban qualities to the settlement during the 1st century CE, people with peregrine status represent an overwhelming majority of the individuals attested in the inscriptional record at the Civitas Igaeditanorum. Contrary to some arguments for the impetus behind the proliferation of the epigraphic habit in the Roman provinces, it seems as though individuals expressing family relations through funerary commemoration, here at the very least, were not necessarily motivated by the need to advertise or express their status as full Roman citizens.³³⁸ Instead, it appears that individuals of peregrine status, or those with newly conferred Latin rights, make up the majority of individuals setting up funerary commemorations for their deceased relatives at the Civitas Igaeditanorum. Chronologically, it also appears that this habit increased in the late 1st – early 2nd century CE, most likely following the grant of *ius Latii* under Vespasian in 73-74 CE.

³³⁸ See MacMullen (1982); MacDonald (1988); Meyer (1990) pp. 95-96.

Personal Names and Family Relations: Civitas Igaeditanorum

Funerary inscriptions expressing family relations at Civitas Igaeditanorum primarily include indigenous and Latin name elements. Although the majority of dedicators and deceased identified in these inscriptions possessed single names, most of the name elements in the region were Latin. The question remains whether there is a correlation between the name elements of dedicators of funerary inscriptions, the deceased, and the types of relations expressed in these acts of commemoration. Table 3.2 lays out the types of relations expressed and the linguistic attributes of dedicators and the deceased. Since almost all *nomina* were linguistically Latin and were inherited, not given, names, only the linguistic attributes (“Greek”, “indigenous”, “Latin”, or “Null” for cases in which the name is unknown) of given names were counted in the table (Table 3.2).

**Relations and Name Elements
(Deceased): Civitas Igaeditanorum**

Dedicators	Deceased				
	Greek	Indigenous	Latin	Null	Total
Conjugal	1	6	17	5	29
Greek	1				1
Indigenous		2	5		7
Latin		4	11	2	17
Null			1	3	4
Descending Nuclear	1	6	25	2	34
Greek			2		2
Indigenous		4	12		16
Latin		2	11	2	15
Null	1				1
Ascending Nuclear	3	16	20	8	47
Greek			1		1
Indigenous			2	2	4
Latin	3	14	15	4	36
Null		2	2	2	6
Siblings		3	3	5	11
Indigenous		1	2	2	5
Latin		2		1	3
Null			1	2	3
Descending Extended		2	5		7
Indigenous		2	1		3
Latin			4		4
Ascending Extended		4	2		6
Indigenous		4			4
Latin			2		2
Amici		4	1		5
Indigenous		3			3
Latin		1	1		2
Heir		1	2		3
Indigenous			2		2
Latin		1			1
Servile			3	4	7
Indigenous			2	1	3
Latin			1	3	4
Self		4	11	2	17
Indigenous		4			4
Latin			11		11
Null				2	2
Grand Total	5	46	89	26	166

Table 3.2: Family relations and linguistic name elements of the dedicators and the deceased at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

The most noticeable trend in the table of name elements and family relations is that the number of deceased individuals with Latin given names (89) is almost twice the number of deceased individuals with indigenous given names (46), and the same applies for dedicators with 48 indigenous and 95 Latin dedicators, respectively. Despite the fact that there are only half the number of deceased (and dedicators) with indigenous given names, there are two trends that are immediately clear from this table: first, there is a relatively high number (16) of deceased individuals with indigenous given names who received ascending nuclear dedications, almost at parity with the number of deceased in the same category with Latin given names (20). This is accompanied by the conspicuous absence of dedicators in the ascending nuclear category with indigenous given names. Secondly, the inverse pattern is observed among dedicators in the descending nuclear category. A significant number (16) of dedicators with indigenous given names appear as commemorators of their children in the descending nuclear category, also accompanied by a conspicuous absence of deceased individuals with indigenous given names in the same category. Moreover, all of these ascending and descending nuclear dedications, except one, can be dated to the mid-1st to early-2nd century CE (Tables 3.3 and 3.4).

These trends indicate that individuals with indigenous given names in the late 1st century CE represented an older demographic among whom relations between themselves (parents) and their children were greatly valued and emphasized through acts of funerary commemoration. With few exceptions, in ascending nuclear dedications involving people with indigenous names it is the deceased (parent) who held the indigenous name element, with the dedicator (child) having a Latin name (Table 3.3). Conversely, with descending nuclear dedications involving indigenous given names the dedicator (parent) held the indigenous name element, while the deceased (child) held a Latin name element (Table 3.4).

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Reference	Dedicator Language	Deceased Language
C. Ammius Avitus	Camira Apanonis f.	Son to Mother	<i>ERBeira</i> , 4	Latin	Indigenous
Placidus Clisi f.	Bovanna Marin(i) f.	Son to Mother	<i>HEp</i> 2007, 623	Latin	Indigenous
Marcus	Cilea Crassi f.	Son to Mother	<i>ERBeira</i> , 95	Latin	Indigenous
Marcus	Reburrus Treucati f.	Son to Father	<i>ERBeira</i> , 95	Latin	Indigenous
Flaccus Calaeti	Calaetus Bouti f.	Son to Father	<i>ERBeira</i> , 121	Latin	Indigenous
Domitius	Cilea Turi	Son to Mother	<i>ERBeira</i> , 120	Latin	Indigenous
Domitius	Taganus Mantai	Son to Father	<i>ERBeira</i> , 120	Latin	Indigenous
Longinus	Sunua Vigani	Son to Mother	<i>ERBeira</i> , 113	Latin	Indigenous
Flaccus	Sunua Vigani	Son to Mother	<i>ERBeira</i> , 113	Latin	Indigenous
Priscus Maxillonis f.	Touta Tongi f.	Son to Mother	<i>ERBeira</i> , 107	Latin	Indigenous
Tertula Arci f.	Touta Tongi f.	Daughter to Mother	<i>ERBeira</i> , 107	Latin	Indigenous
Sila Silonis f.	Coelea Maelonis f.	Daughter to Mother	<i>ERBeira</i> , 104	Latin	Indigenous
Amoena Bouti f.	Boutius Camali f.	Daughter to Father	<i>ERBeira</i> , 46	Latin	Indigenous
Rufina Rufi Tongetami f.	Duatiae Puci f.	Daughter to Mother	<i>CIL</i> II, 447	Latin	Indigenous
N/A	Maturovius Veibali f.	Child to Father	<i>ERBeira</i> , 88	Null	Indigenous
N/A	Maturovius Veibali f.	Child to Father	<i>ERBeira</i> , 88	Null	Indigenous
Camira Flavi f.	Flav(i)us Reburri f.	Daughter to Father	<i>ERBeira</i> , 78	Indigenous	Latin
Camira Flavi f.	Liguria Liguris f.	Daughter to Mother	<i>ERBeira</i> , 78	Indigenous	Latin
Reburrus Rufini f.	N/A	Son to Mother	<i>ERBeira</i> , 167	Indigenous	Null
Camira Tongati f.	[...]ina Cattygae f.	Daughter to Mother	<i>ERBeira</i> , 128	Indigenous	Null

Table 3.3: Ascending nuclear dedications involving indigenous given names at Civitas Igaeditanorum.

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Reference	Dedicator Language	Deceased Language
Sunua Pisiri f.	Cilia Lubaeci	Mother to Daughter	<i>ERBeira</i> , 2	Indigenous	Indigenous
Cilea Aleonis f.	Tanginus Pauli f.	Mother to Son	<i>ERBeira</i> , 124	Indigenous	Indigenous
Tanginus Duataionis	Samacia	Father to Daughter	<i>ERBeira</i> , 100	Indigenous	Indigenous
Toutonus Arconi f.	Camira	Father to Daughter	<i>ERBeira</i> , 61	Indigenous	Indigenous
Sunua Apanonis f.	Maxima	Mother to Daughter	<i>ERBeira</i> , 3	Indigenous	Latin
Cilius Bouti f.	Maxima	Father to Daughter	<i>ERBeira</i> , 3	Indigenous	Latin
Sunua Apanonis f.	Amoena	Mother to Daughter	<i>ERBeira</i> , 3	Indigenous	Latin
Cilius Bouti f.	Amoena	Father to Daughter	<i>ERBeira</i> , 3	Indigenous	Latin
Sunua Apanonis f.	Lucanus	Mother to Son	<i>ERBeira</i> , 3	Indigenous	Latin
Cilius Bouti f.	Lucanus	Father to Son	<i>ERBeira</i> , 3	Indigenous	Latin
Tanginus Duataionis	Aurelia	Father to Daughter	<i>ERBeira</i> , 100	Indigenous	Latin
Camira Flavi f.	Procula Boeteli f.	Mother to Daughter	<i>ERBeira</i> , 78	Indigenous	Latin
Cilura Tongi f.	Avita Tongi f.	Mother to Daughter	<i>ERBeira</i> , 73	Indigenous	Latin
Cilura Tongi f.	Flaccus Tongi f.	Mother to Son	<i>ERBeira</i> , 73	Indigenous	Latin
Boudica Semproni	Bassinus	Mother to Son	<i>ERBeira</i> , 44	Indigenous	Latin
Coelea Mani f.	Avitus Ari f.	Mother to Son	<i>ERBeira</i> , 43	Indigenous	Latin
Avita Taci f.	Silo Tan[gius]? Silonis f.	Mother to Son	<i>ERBeira</i> , 143	Latin	Indigenous
Amoena Veracleli f.	Lubana Amoen(a)e f.	Mother to Daughter	<i>ERBeira</i> , 67	Latin	Indigenous

Table 3.4: Descending nuclear dedications involving indigenous given names at Civitas Igaeditanorum.

Since all of these inscriptions can be dated between the late 1st and early 2nd century, we appear to have a snapshot of a broad generational shift in naming practice at the Civitas

Igaeditanorum in which an older generation held mostly indigenous given names while many of their children were given Latin names. Among ascending nuclear dedications involving indigenous name elements, 14/20 of the dedications are to parents with indigenous given names from children with Latin name elements. Likewise, among descending nuclear dedications involving individuals with indigenous name elements, 16/18 involve a dedicator (parent) with an indigenous name element, while indigenous name elements only occur among four of the deceased and the majority (12/18) involve a child with a Latin given name. In general, these inscriptions emphasize the natal bond between parent and child; the trend towards Latin name elements among the younger generation is marked.

Perhaps not coincidentally, this is also around the time that many Lusitanian communities had received the *ius Latii* and were in the process of municipalization. Despite this process of cultural change, through which younger individuals were being given Latin name elements in contrast to the mostly indigenous given names of their parents, a pattern of family relations that appears to be an inherently localized phenomenon is held in common among these groups of natal kin. Notably, the cultural change evident in personal names is linguistic and not structural. Parents with indigenous given names are clearly giving their children Latin names but retaining the single name structure, within the wider context of the province-wide grant of *ius Latii* in 73-74 CE.

Lastly, this shift is only visible in the record because of the conspicuously high number of ascending nuclear dedications from children to their deceased parents, which is an abnormal phenomenon particular only to the Civitas Igaeditanorum and Turgalium in this study. Although there were still a number of dedicators and deceased in the ascending and descending nuclear category who held *tria nomina*, the vast majority of individuals attested in this sample had single names. Given these data it is clear that the strong emphasis of natal relations between parents and

children at Civitas Igaeditanorum, to a large extent, reflects the behaviour of individuals with indigenous ties to the area who are increasingly adopting Latinized names but also retaining single name structure despite the proliferation of *ius Latii*. This presents a very complex picture of the processes of acculturation in the region. The name structure of the Roman *tria nomina* was either mostly unattractive, or not beneficial, to the local population and many of these individuals who chose to maintain these pre-Roman name elements also emphasized the strong familial ties with their natal kin through acts of funerary commemoration. In this case, therefore, there is a definite correlation between structural name elements and patterns in commemoration between parents and children. Members of the same nuclear family who would collectively be involved in dedications may have linguistically differing names, highlighting the complexity of interpreting cultural elements within a given family.

Qualitative Discussion: Civitas Igaeditanorum

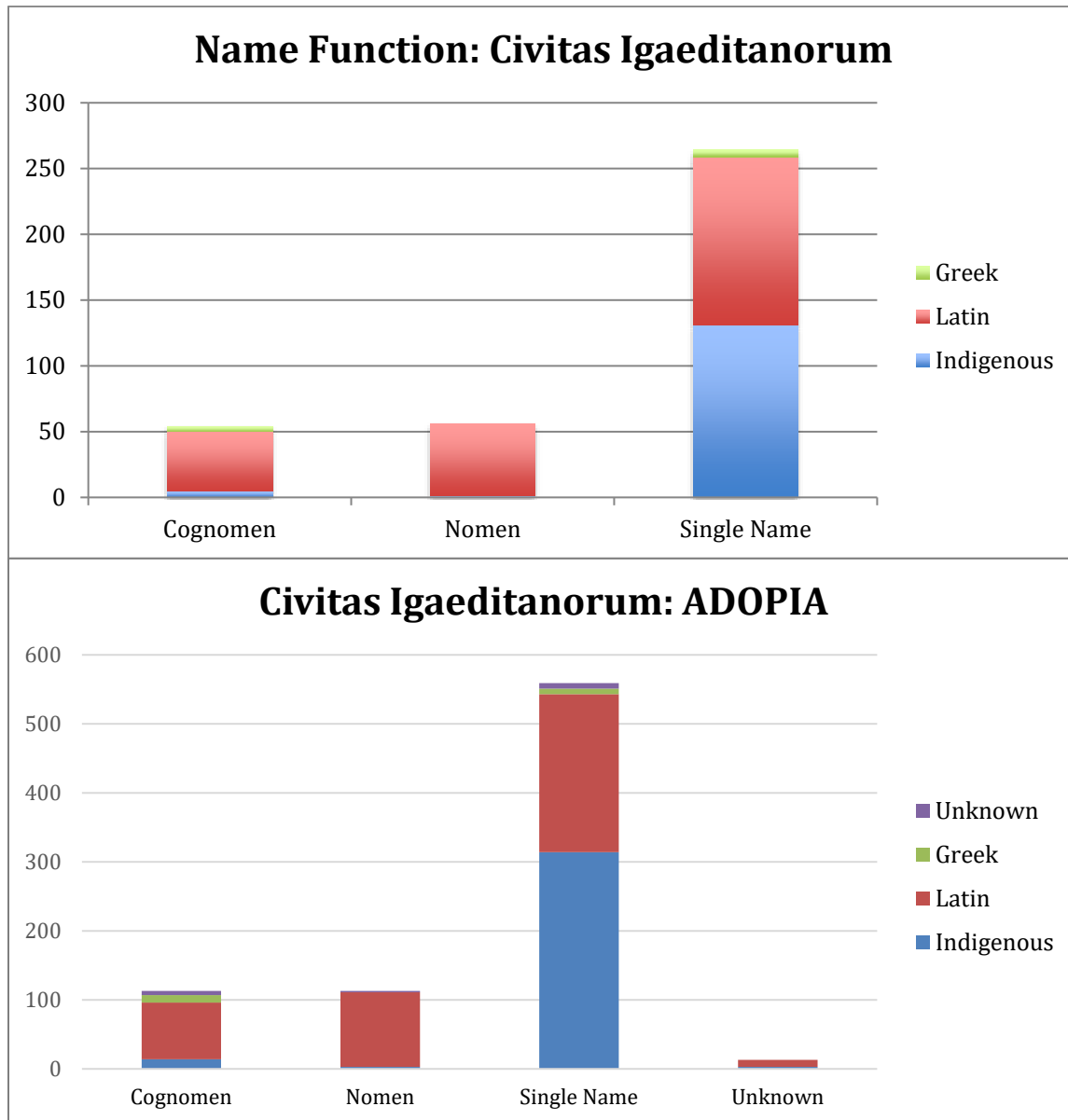


Figure 3.8: Name function at the Civitas Igaeditanorum (compared with comprehensive data from the ADOPIA project – data collected May 2022)

The high frequency of collective commemoration at Civitas Igaeditanorum provides an opportunity to observe the names of individuals over multiple generations within the same family. In one case, for example, four generations of personal names were recorded from a single funerary inscription, providing a very clear history of naming practice within a single extended family. In this example, a woman by the name of Claudia Tangina makes a dedication to both of her

grandparents (Lubaecus Antaeli f(ilius) and Binarea Triti f(ilia)), paternal uncle (Boutius Bubaeci f(ilio)), and her paternal aunt through marriage (Cilia Caenonis f(ilia)).³³⁹ While the names of her parents are both absent, the patronymic name elements of her grandparents provide the names of her paternal great-grandfathers. Given the chronology of this inscription, i.e., between 51 and 100 CE, the linguistically indigenous single name elements of her great-grandparents, grandparents, paternal uncle, and paternal aunt through marriage show four generations of consistency in onomastic practice in contrast with Claudia Tangina's linguistically mixed Latin / Indigenous *duo nomina*.

Additionally, the inscriptional record at Civitas Igaeditanorum shows some particular patterns in naming practice and relations, most notably a greater focus on extended family relations, examples of matronymics, and children taking names of maternal grandparents.³⁴⁰ While these data may only appear due to the number of collective commemorations and the corresponding fact that the name elements of ancestors outside of the nuclear family are more frequently present in these inscriptions, the inscriptional records at Civitas Igaeditanorum contains some illuminating evidence of the impact of cultural change between the 1st centuries BC and CE.

Of the single names attested at the Civitas Igaeditanorum, slightly more than half were linguistically indigenous with the rest being linguistically Latin. Conversely, *duo* and *tria nomina* (56 *nomina* and 54 *cognomina*) are made up of almost exclusively Latin name elements with the exception of four Greek (Caliope, Trophimus, Hermes, and Onesumus) and five indigenous *cognomina* (Seloca, Aquitus, Tanginus, Cutaecus, and Sunua). Greek names at Civitas

³³⁹ ERBeira 79: Lubaeco Antaeli f(ilio) avo / Binareae Triti f(iliae) avitae / Boutio Lubaeci f(ilio) paterno / Ciliae Caenonis f(iliae) amitae / Claudia Tangina suis / f(aciendum) c(uravit). Jonathan Edmondson included a photo of this text in Edmondson (2005) pp. 185-6, fig. 7.2.

³⁴⁰ Edmondson (2004a) pp. 239-241.

Igaeditanorum are generally scarce with only 9 attestations among single names, *duo* and *tria nomina*.

In all cases in which linguistically indigenous names appear as a component of *duo* or *tria nomina*, they function as *cognomina*. At Civitas Igaeditanorum the five following indigenous *cognomina* were recorded from the text of inscriptions expressing family relations (Table 3.5):

Cadia Tangini (f.) <u>Seloca</u>	ERBeira 140
M. Caelius Cormertonis f. <u>Aquitus</u>	ERBeira 86
Claudia <u>Tangina</u>	ERBeira 79
L. Iulius <u>Cutaecus</u>	ERBeira 75
Maria <u>Sunua</u>	ERBeira 66

Table 3.5: Indigenous *cognomina* at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

M. Caelius Cormertonis f. Aquitus and Cadia Tangini (f.) Seloca are clearly first-generation Roman or Latin citizens based on filiation or the presence of their father's name in the epitaph. Otherwise, the generation of citizenship is unclear for the rest given the absence of filiation, but as it has been observed elsewhere in this study, it is more common for indigenous *cognomina* to be retained among first-generation citizens than in subsequent generations. This is usually because the individual will keep their former single name as their *cognomen*. Again, in the case of Claudia Tangina, her paternal aunt, paternal uncle, grandparents, and great-grandparents all had indigenous single names (Lubaecus, Antaelus, Binarea, Tritius, Boutius, and Cilea). The linguistic continuity, therefore, of keeping an indigenous *cognomen*, possibly the single name she was given at birth, would adhere to a strong family tradition of using linguistically indigenous names in this particular case.³⁴¹ On the other hand there is no explicit evidence of continued use of indigenous *cognomina* among individuals holding *tria/duo nomina* at Civitas Igaeditanorum.

³⁴¹ ERBeira 79: Lubaeco Antaeli f(ilio) avo / Binareae Triti f(iliae) avitae / Boutio Lubaeci f(ilio) paterno / Ciliae Caenonis f(iliae) amitae / Claudia Tangina suis / f(aciendum) c(uravit).

That is not to say that second-generation citizens were never given indigenous *cognomina*, but in half of the cases the name of the individual's father is not present so we cannot tell.

27 different *nomina* are attested in the record of inscriptions expressing family relations at Civitas Igaeditanorum (Table 3.6). Of these, the *nomen Iulius, -a* was the commonest with 14 attestations. The second most common *nomen* was GRAECINVS, -A, with 5 attestations, although three of these were among members of the same nuclear family.³⁴² A list of *nomina* attested at Civitas Igaeditanorum can be seen below:

ACCIVS, -A	1	CAELIVS, -A	2	FABIVS, -A	2
AEMILIVS, -A	1	CAERIVS, -A	1	GRAECINIVS, -A	5
ALLONIVS, -A	1	CALEIVS, -A	1	IVLIVS, -A	14
AMMIVS, -A	1	CANTIVS, -A	2	LVCRETIVS, -A	2
ANNIVS, -A	3	CASSIVS, -A	1	MARIVS, -A	1
ANTIVS, -A	1	CLAVDIVS, -A	1	MEMMIVS, -A	1
ANTONIVS, -A	1	COCCEIVS, -A	3	NAEVIVS, -A	1
APONIVS, -A	1	CORNELIVS, -A	3	NORBANVS, -A	1
CADIVS, -A	1	CVRIVS, -A	3	VALERIVS, -A	1

Table 3.6: *Nomina* at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

Again, the prevalence of the *nomen* IVLIVS, -A is not surprising since it is the most commonly attested *nomen* in the province of Lusitania. This is because *peregrini* who had received Roman citizenship had a proclivity to adopt particular *nomina*, which happen to include the *nomen* IVLIVS, -A, often indicating newly enfranchised citizens.³⁴³

Of the single names attested in funerary inscriptions expressing family relations at Civitas Igaeditanorum, 131 (49.4%) of them were Indigenous. Of these some of the most common names included: CILIVS, -A/ CILEVS, -A with 15 attestations; REBVRRVS, -A, SVNVA, and TANGINVS, -A, all with 6 attestations each. All of these single names are typical within the north-

³⁴² Cf. *ERBeira* 74 = *AE* 1996, 857.

³⁴³ Abascal Palazón (1994) p. 29.

central zones of the province of Lusitania.³⁴⁴ A list of indigenous single name elements attested at the Civitas Igaeditanorum can be seen below (Table 3.7):

AEBIVCVS	BOVTIVS, -A	CVMELIVS, -A	REBVRRVS, -A	VERACLELIVS
ALEO	CABRVNVS, -A	CVTAECVS, -A	SAMACIVS, -A	VLLEA
AMAIVS, -A	CABVREINA	DAVTAIO	SELOCA	
ANCOLVS	CAENO	DAVTO	SVNVA	
ANTAELVS	CAERIVS, -A	DOCQVIRVS, -A	TACIVS	
ANTVTIVS	CAINO	DOQVIRVS	TAGANVS, -A	
APANO	CALAETVS	DVATIVS, -A	TALAVS	
APTVS, -A	CAMALVS, -A	ELAVIVS	TANCIVS, -A	
AQUITVS, -A	CAMIRVS, -A	LEGIRVS	TANGINVS, -A	
ARANTA	CASVS, -A	LOVESIVS, -A	TONGATVS	
ARANTONIVS, -A	CATTYGA	LVBAECVS	TONGETAMVS, -S	
ARCIVS	CATVRO	LVBANA	TONGETVS, -A	
ARCO	CELTATICVS	MAELO	TONGIVS, -A	
ARRENVS	CILEVS, -A	MAELOTALIS	TOVTONVS	
BINAREA	CILIVS, -A	MANTAVS	TREVCATVS	
BOETELVS, -A	CILVRVS, -A	MATVROVIVS	TRITIVS, -A	
BOLSIVS	COELEA	MEDAMVS	TVATRVS	
BOVANNA	COMALIVS, -A	PINTAMVS	TVOVTA	
BOVDICA	CORMERTO	PISIRVS, -A	TVRIVS	
BOVIVS, -A	CRAESONVS	REBVRRINVS, -A	VEIBALIVS	

Table 3.7: Indigenous single names at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

In addition to the popular single names at the Civitas Igaeditanorum that we have discussed, there are also some typically Galician names such as CATVRO and LOVESIVS, -A, which are also found in the province of Cáceres.³⁴⁵ In general terms, the number of indigenous single names at the Civitas Igaeditanorum is considerably higher compared to the *Conventus Pacensis* and some civic communities in the province of Cáceres, but there are certain popular indigenous single name elements that are similarly popular in the province of Cáceres such as: Tanginus, Boutius, Sunua, Reburus, etc. This clearly indicates that the prevalence, or retention, of linguistically indigenous

³⁴⁴ Gorrochategui Churruca and Vallejo Ruiz (2003) p. 360; Vallejo Ruiz (2005).

³⁴⁵ Albertos Firmat (1983) p. 867-870; Ferreira (2004) p. 23.

names in the province of Lusitania intensifies in the northeast areas of the province, at the very least before the grant of *ius Latii* which undoubtedly resulted in more Latin names in this region. This phenomenon could be attributed to both geographic and administrative factors — i.e., more mountainous terrain in the north of Lusitania, where communities are more isolated from centres of imperial power and administration. Nevertheless, these factors and their impact on processes of acculturation following conquest and territorial reorganization will be discussed at further length below.

Latin single names, on the other hand, account for 128 (48.3%) of the single names attested in funerary inscriptions expressing family relations. While many single Latin names are only attested once or twice each, certain names were more popular being attested multiple times.³⁴⁶ Of these the most popular was Amoenus, -a with seven attestations, while Silus, -a and Rufinus, -a were the next most popular with five attestations each. Lastly, Rufus, -a, Silo, Fronto, Flaccus, -a, and Avitus, -a were also moderately popular with four attestations each. If we take into account the similarity between Silo, a third declension name, and Silus, -a, as well as the fact that Rufinus, -a is the diminutive form of Rufus, -a, Silo/Silus, -a and Rufus, -a/Rufinus, -a would appear to be the most popular names. A list of Latin single names attested at the Civitas Igaeditanorum can be seen below (Table 3.8):

³⁴⁶ Again, these numbers do not reflect the entire onomastic record of Civitas Igaeditanorum. For the purpose of this analysis only names from inscriptions expressing family relations are being recorded.

AMOENVS, -A	GRAECINVS, -A	PATERNVS, -A	SILVS, -A
APER, APRA	GRATVS, -A	PAVLLVS, -A	SVLLA
AVELEIVS, -A	IVLIVS, -A	PAVLVS, -A	SVPERATVS, -A
AVELIVS, -A	IVNIVS, -A	PLACIDVS, -A	TERTVLLVS, -A
AVITVS, -A	LIGVR	PONTIVS, -A	TITVLLVS, -A
AVNIA	LIGVRIVS, -A	PRIMVLVS, -A	VARVIS, -A
AVRELIVS, -A	LONGINIANVS, -A	PRISCVS, -A	VEGETINVS, -A
BASSINVS, -A	LONGINVS, -A	PROBINVS, -A	VEGETVS, -A
BASSVS, -A	LVCANVS, -A	PROBVS, -A	VIGANVS
CAPITO	LVCRIO	PROCVLVS, -A	VIRIVS, -A
CARVS, -A	MANIVS, -A	PVCVS	VITALIS
CELER	MARCIVS, -A	PVLLVS, -A	
CRASSVS, -A	MARCVS	REDEMPTVS	
CRESCENS	MARINVS, -A	RVFINVS, -A	
FIRMVS	MAVRILLVS, -A	RVFVS, -A	
FLACCVS, -A	MAXILLO	SABINVS, -A	
FLAVIVS, -A	MAXIMVS, -A	SEMPRONIVS, -A	
FRONTO	MODESTINVS, -A	SEVERINVS, -A	
GEMELLVS, -A	MODESTVS, -A	SEVERVS, -A	
GRACILIS	NIGER, NIGRA	SILO	

Table 3.8: Latin single names at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

It is also important to note the popularity of the names Amoenus, -a, Fronto, and Avitus, -a, all of which were commonly adopted Latin single names among indigenous populations in the province of Lusitania.³⁴⁷

An additional striking feature of the linguistically Latin single names observed from the Civitas Igaeditanorum data is that Latin *nomina gentilia* are adopted as single names in a number of cases. The following *gentilia* appeared as single name elements at the Civitas Igaeditanorum: AVRELIVS, -A, IVNIVS, -A, and SEMPRONIVS, -A were each attested only once, but IVLIVS, -A and FLAVIVS –A were attested on two and three occasions, respectively, as single names.³⁴⁸ The fact that FLAVIVS –A was the most commonly attested Latin *gentilicium* appearing as a

³⁴⁷ Navarro Caballero and Bost (2003) p. 414.

³⁴⁸ Aurelius –a, *ERBeira* 100; Flavius –a, *ERBeira* 96 & 78; Iulius –a, *ERBeira* 162; Iunius –a, *ERBeira* 89; Sempronius –a, *ERBeira* 44.

single name at the Civitas Igaeditanorum serves as an index of the impact of the Flavian grant of *ius Latii* to the Hispanic provinces in 73-74 CE. Since the inscriptions in which FLAVIVS –A appears as a single name can all be dated between 71/150 CE, it would definitely seem that the single name FLAVIVS –A was given to these individuals in recognition of the Flavian grant of *ius Latii* along with all of the associated rights and privileges. This is clearly an explicit example of the direct impact of Roman imperial policy on the cultural habits, or at the very least the naming practices, of people living in a province at the very limits of imperial territory.

A chronological analysis of attestations of Latin and indigenous single names at Civitas Igaeditanorum reveals some interesting patterns. Firstly, although the numbers indicate an even distribution of indigenous and Latin single names collected from inscriptions expressing family relations, chronological analysis indicates that in the mid-1st century CE, indigenous single names were indeed more popular, while Latin single names do not become more predominant until the late 1st and early 2nd centuries CE (fig. 3.9).

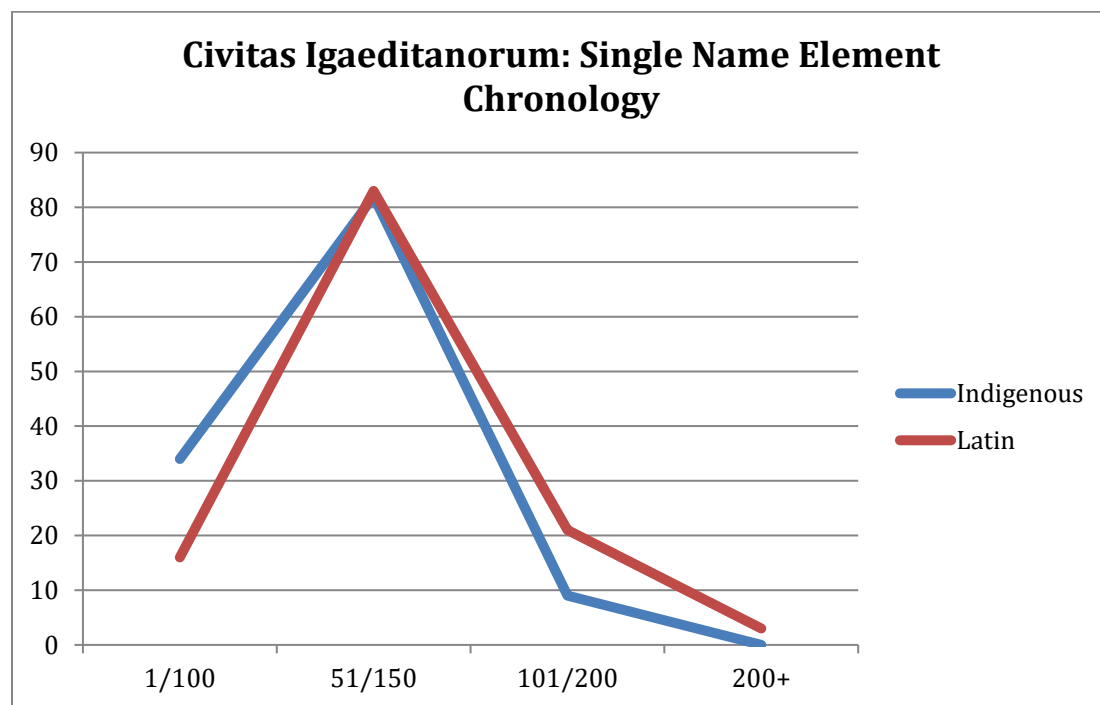


Figure 3.9: Single name chronology at the Civitas Igaeditanroum.

The chronological trajectory of single name linguistics at Civitas Igaeditanorum shows a number of phenomena occurring over time. For the first half of the 1st century CE there is an increase in the number of indigenous single names attested in the epigraphy record and for this period indigenous single names are predominant. During the second half of the 1st century CE indigenous single names are more numerous into the 2nd century CE. Latin single names, on the other hand, are relatively fewer during the first half of the 1st century CE followed by an increase after which Latin single names are at parity with the number of attested indigenous single names between the late 1st century CE into the 2nd century CE. Finally, the number of both Latin and indigenous single names decreases in the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries CE, as the epigraphic habit becomes less common in general.³⁴⁹

The chronological trends discussed above elicit a number of conclusions. First of all, the increase and predominance of Latin single names during the late 1st and early 2nd centuries CE clearly coincide with the Flavian conferral of *ius Latii* upon all of the inhabitants of the Hispanic provinces. It is also clear that this spike in Latin name elements can be attributed to the wave of parents with indigenous given names bestowing Latin names on their children as evidenced from the ascending and descending nuclear dedications discussed previously. This would indicate that there was a definite chronological correlation between the conferral of *ius Latii* and the Latinization of personal onomastics among *peregrini* at the Civitas Igaeditanorum. This, however, does not necessarily imply a decline in indigenous single names during these periods. Instead, attestations of indigenous names also increase during the same period, albeit at a lower rate than Latin single names, and decline along the same chronological vector as the Latin single names.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ Cf. MacMullen (1982).

³⁵⁰ Notice the number of indigenous and Latin single names still both increase during the late 1st early 2nd century CE, following a similar general trend.

This would also indicate, more generally, that the primary phenomenon made evident from these data is simply an increase in the epigraphic habit in general during the late 1st and early 2nd centuries CE. Data from Tables 3.3 and 3.4 show that the individuals possessing indigenous name elements in this sample represent an older generation of inhabitants, who had given their children Latin name elements. Individual families would consist of members with any combination of Latin or indigenous name elements, whether they be single names or otherwise, which highlights the problematic nature of simply quantifying individuals' names without considering the social context of the many relations, as I shall demonstrate below. In many cases, the rôle of naming practice as a function of cultural change can be best understood within the context of the family.

Personal names in the patriarchal societies of the ancient Mediterranean were given to individuals, not chosen by them. While one might expect a certain degree of linguistic consistency in parents' choice of names for multiple children, this is not always the case at Civitas Igaeditanorum. In some cases, a single generation of sibling children within a nuclear family unit held a mixture of Latin and indigenous names. In the case of two brothers, Cilius and Pontius, their parents, one of whom was named Pintamus, chose to give the former an indigenous single name and the latter a Latin one.³⁵¹ Likewise, in the case of two sisters, Samacia and Aurelia, their parents Tanginus and Tancia chose an indigenous name for the former and a Latin one for the latter.³⁵² In both of these cases, two children of the same sex were given names of differing linguistic origin, which illustrates that the increasing popularity of Latin single names in the late 1st and early 2nd centuries CE at Civitas Igaeditanorum was not a linear process of linguistic change. Even within the same generation of a single nuclear family, siblings might have linguistically different names.

³⁵¹ *CIL* II, 441 = *ERBeira* 62.

³⁵² *ERBeira* 100 = *HEp* 2003/2004, 877.

Further examples: two siblings, Laetus and Cilea, whose father's name was Cilius, bear linguistically different names, with the sister Cilea retaining the indigenous name.³⁵³ It is the same in the case of Domitius and Tagana, the latter of whom not only retains an indigenous single name but was given the feminine form of her own father's name.³⁵⁴ In an additional case, a brother Sabinus is given a Latin name and his sister Camira an indigenous one while their father Flavius has a Latin name himself.³⁵⁵ It is clear from these examples, as well as from the chronological data for the linguistics of single names at Civitas Igaeditanorum, that the process of Latinization through the adoption of Latin single names was not a chronologically linear process. Clearly the language of personal names could be different within a single generation of a nuclear family and also change back and forth between generations. Some scholars have argued that sex appears to be a factor in the retention of indigenous onomastics in the province of Lusitania, with women more commonly carrying indigenous names.³⁵⁶ More recent analysis by Milagros Navarro Caballero on the topic of this supposed phenomenon has argued that this was not the case.³⁵⁷ At the very least this did not appear to be the case for the individuals counted from inscriptions expressing family relations at the Civitas Igaeditanorum. Of the 137 indigenous single name elements counted for the Civitas Igaeditanorum in this study of, only 32 of them belonged to women. At least within the corpus of funerary inscriptions involving expressions of family relations, men were the primary holders of indigenous single name elements at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

³⁵³ *ERBeira* 77 = *HEp* 2003/2004, 913.

³⁵⁴ *ERBeira* 120 = *AE* 1967, 176.

³⁵⁵ *ERBeira* 78 = *HEp* 2003/2004, 914 = *HEp* 2008, 236.

³⁵⁶ Albertos Firmat (1983) p. 860; Gorrochategui Churruca and Vallejo Ruiz (2003) p. 365.

³⁵⁷ Navarro Caballero (2009) pp. 463-466.

Another interesting phenomenon that has been previously observed in the epigraphic record at Civitas Igaeditanorum is an emphasis on matrilineal, or bi-lineal, bonds between family members.³⁵⁸ There are two examples of children taking the name of their maternal grandparents. In the first case, Prisca Reburri f(ilia) has taken the feminine form of her maternal grandfather's name, which we can infer from the filiation in her mother's name, Cabrula Prisci f(ilia).³⁵⁹ In the other case, Sunua Elavi f(ilia) shares the same name as her maternal grandmother Sunua Pisiri f(ilia).³⁶⁰ While these are indeed isolated examples, it is important to note that the general absence of grandparents, let alone their personal names, in Roman inscriptions makes it difficult to conclude the extent of this practice. However, the large number of collective commemorations at Civitas Igaeditanorum provides a unique opportunity to observe such habits. Nevertheless, these personal names exemplify an emphasis on bi-lineal bonds between parents and their children (i.e., in both cases the agnatic bond is emphasized through filiation and the cognatic bond through transmission of the name of the maternal grandparent).

In addition to examples of children taking the names of their maternal grandparents, there are also examples of matrilineal filiation in the area of Civitas Igaeditanorum. In one example Gallus Amoenae f(ilius) set up a votive inscription to Iupiter Optimus Maximus at Vale da Senhora da Póvoa, roughly 15km north of Idanha-a-Velha.³⁶¹ There is no doubt here that Amoena, which has a commonly attested masculine form, is the name of the dedicator's mother. In another example, Amminus Andaitiae f. set up a votive inscription at Capinha in the territory of Civitas Igaeditanorum.³⁶² Jonathan Edmondson rightly notes that while there are some first declension

³⁵⁸ Edmondson (2004a) p. 239.

³⁵⁹ *ERBeira* 207 = *HEp* 2003/2004, 973 = *AE* 1977, 359.

³⁶⁰ *ERBeira* 2.

³⁶¹ *HAE*, 2141.

³⁶² *CIL* II, 454.

masculine names in the province of Lusitania, the masculine form Andaetius is attested elsewhere in the province of Lusitania.³⁶³ These examples further illustrate that there is a definite emphasis on matrilineal bonds in the inscriptional record from Civitas Igaeditanorum and its surrounding territories. It would seem, therefore, that this is a latent or vestigial tradition of pre-Roman socio-cultural practice in this area of the province of Lusitania.³⁶⁴ This would not be surprising either, especially since the onomastic record shows a show a high degree of retention of linguistically indigenous names over time.

Conclusions and Discussion

All of these data point toward a number of conclusions about patterns in the expression of family relations through the act of funerary commemoration and the personal names appearing therein. Firstly, the inscriptional record at Civitas Igaeditanorum clearly demonstrates a strong habit of collective commemoration, and this is reflected in the patterns of family relations recorded from the corpus of inscriptions. While nuclear family relations are still most common in the corpus of funerary inscriptions, representing 73% of all relations expressed at the Civitas Igaeditanorum, this civic community still contains the highest percentage of extended – blood and extra-familiar – relations recorded in this study. In many cases, collective commemorations include dedications made by individuals drawn from multiple generations, which is a habit that is not at all typical in more highly ‘Romanized’ civic communities in the province of Lusitania. Therefore, this habit reflects a particularly local commemorative behaviour with likely pre-Roman cultural origins.³⁶⁵

³⁶³ Edmondson (2004a) p. 238; cf. *CIL* II, 812 for Andaetius.

³⁶⁴ Edmondson (2004a) p. 239.

³⁶⁵ Jonathan Edmondson observes the same phenomenon at Civitas Igaeditanorum. Cf. Edmondson (2004a) p. 242.

Patterns in the expression of nuclear family relations are also atypical in this area, with the largest category of relations expressed being ascending nuclear (39%). This percentage is atypical in contrast to the average percentages counted for the Hispanic provinces as well as the averages for the *Conventus Pacensis* and the province of Cáceres.³⁶⁶ The only other civic community in which a similar patterns were observed was Turgalium, which also shared a similar percentage of indigenous to Latin names as well as single names to *duo/tria nomina*.

Of the inscriptions involving individuals possessing indigenous name elements, descending and ascending nuclear dedications were by far the most common. Of these, individuals with indigenous given names were most often dedicators of descending nuclear dedications or recipients of ascending nuclear dedications (cf. Tables 3.3 and 3.4). This coupled with the fact that almost all of these inscriptions date between the late 1st to early 2nd century CE indicates that the individuals possessing indigenous name elements in these dedications represented an older generation of the local population. Moreover, the fact that the majority of these parents with indigenous given names had children with Latin names represents a shift during the late 1st century in which parents were increasingly giving their children linguistically Latin names. It is clear from this phenomenon that the grant of *ius Latii* to the province of Lusitania in 73-74 CE had a cultural impact on the inhabitants of the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*. On the one hand, the late 1st century sees a general boom in the practice of setting up funerary epigraphy and a sharp change in the linguistic attributes of name elements. Structural attributes of naming practice, most notably the adoption of *duo/tria nomina* does not, however, appear to have occurred widely during the same time period since most inscriptions involve individuals possessing single names (fig. 3.9). Although the *ius*

³⁶⁶ The most commonly attested expressions of family relations for the Hispanic provinces are descending nuclear according to Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

Latii, at least in accordance with the *Lex Flavia Municipalis*, entitled the inhabitants of the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* to adopt *tria nomina*, they did not immediately do this during the late 1st century, instead preferring to retain indigenous name structure.³⁶⁷

As regards onomastic practices, the acculturative process that can be observed at the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* is one in which only some elements of Roman onomastics, namely the linguistic elements, were being adopted while others were ignored in favour of pre-Roman, indigenous practices. Moreover, amid the process of linguistic change that can be observed, there is a clear correlation between this process and the high number of ascending and descending nuclear dedications during the late 1st century CE. The emphasis on relations between parents and children was so strong in this region that the patterns of funerary commemoration demonstrate this habit as a regional particularity. Much like the shift toward Latin given names while retaining pre-Roman single name structure, it appears that the inhabitants of the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* wholeheartedly embraced the epigraphic habit while also emphasizing strong bonds between parents and children, a practice that perhaps reflects the retention of another aspect of pre-Roman culture in this region.

Particular qualitative aspects of the funerary inscriptions further indicate a local tradition of commemorative and onomastic habits at *Civitas Igaeditanorum*. First, a number of funerary inscriptions emphasize bi-lineal family relations across generations, in some cases with the agnate relations being emphasized through filiation and cognate relations with children being given names

³⁶⁷ Ch. 86 of the *Lex Irnitana* stipulates that for the selection of judges (*iudices*) in the municipality, a number should be chosen from the *municipes* (ie. Latin citizens), must have 5000 sesterces of wealth (or be under the *potestas* of someone who does), and they must display their *praenomen*, father's *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen* on tablets that can be read from ground level. *Lex Irnitana*, Ch. 86. Cf. González (1986) p. 196.

of their maternal grandparents. Although this is not a habit that is exclusive to the Civitas Igaeditanorum, it is more common here than in other civic communities discussed in this study. In addition, the habit of collective commemoration has resulted in a number of expressions between affines – i.e., relatives by marriage (in-laws) – at the Civitas Igaeditanorum, providing insight into extended family bonds. Both of these peculiarities support the conclusion that there was a strong emphasis on extended family and affinal relations at Civitas Igaeditanorum. Moreover, it would seem that quantitative and qualitative evidence of expressions of family relations and personal names all point to the possibility that these habits were the result of latent or vestigial pre-Roman cultural habits which have only surfaced through the medium of Roman funerary epigraphy. What is abundantly clear is that there is a definite correlation between the emphasis on extended relations in funerary inscriptions and the habit of collective commemoration at the Civitas Igaeditanorum.

The epigraphic and archaeological record at the Civitas Igaeditanorum provides a fairly clear picture of the developmental stages that the community underwent between the 1st century BCE and 2nd century CE. These include early indigenous rectilinear structures in the forum area, the dedication from Q. Tallius to the *Igaeditani* in 16 BCE, the construction of multiple temples in the forum area, and an inscription naming the communities that contributed to the construction of the Alcántara bridge. All of these give the impression of a community slowly changing from its pre-Roman form and habits to adopt Roman ways of urban life. The record of funerary epigraphy at the Civitas Igaeditanorum, on the other hand, paints a much more nuanced picture of private life within the civic community. It suggests that many of the members of the Civitas Igaeditanorum chose to retain certain elements of their pre-Roman social norms within the personal name structure of their children and the relations expressed through the act of inscriptional funerary commemoration. This is most clearly reflected in the chronology of single names attested in the

inscriptional record, the strong habit of collective commemoration, and the strong ties emphasized between parents and their children.

Table of Relations: Civitas Igaeditanorum

Dedicator	Deceased	Relation	Age of Death	Reference
Conjugal				
C. Alloniu[s] Severinus	Nor[ba]n(a) Sila	Husband to Wife		<i>ERBeira</i> , 463
Quintus Iulius Marianus	Iulia Felicula	Husband to Wife		<i>ERBeira</i> , 42
N/A	N/A	Husband to Wife		<i>ERBeira</i> , 192
Mae[lo]?	Cadia Tangini Seloca	Husband to Wife		<i>ERBeira</i> , 140
Cor[nel]ius Trophimus	Cor[nel]ia Caliope	Husband to Wife		<i>ERBeira</i> , 122
L. Antius Avitus	Aemilia Rufina	Husband to Wife		<i>CIL</i> II, 438
Tanginus Duataionis	Tancia Ancoli f.	Husband to Wife		<i>ERBeira</i> , 100
Rufus Triti f.	Camala Docquiri (f.)	Husband to Wife		<i>ERBeira</i> , 98
Lucanus Bovi f.	Sunua Maturovi f.	Husband to Wife		<i>ERBeira</i> , 80
Toutonus Arconi f.	Cilea Cili f.	Husband to Wife		<i>ERBeira</i> , 61
C. Lucretius ?	Merin(a) ?	Husband to Wife	31	<i>ERBeira</i> , 51
Caerius Dautonis f.	Sila Silonis f.	Husband to Wife		<i>ERBeira</i> , 48
Iulia Nigri f. Severa	Iulius Aviti f. Severus	Wife to Husband		<i>HEp</i> 2007, 624
N/A	[S]ulla Lucrio	Wife to Husband		<i>ERBeira</i> , 131
Verm[...] Fortuna	N/A	Wife to Husband		<i>ERBeira</i> , 180
Iulia Iuli f.	[...]ti lib.	Wife to Husband		<i>ERBeira</i> , 162
N/A	N/A	Wife to Husband	60	<i>ERBeira</i> , 18
[C]ilea Aebici f.	Celer Bolsi f.	Wife to Husband	65	<i>ERBeira</i> , 133
Murilla Celeris	Arrenus Crescentis f.	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL</i> II, 439
Graecinia Avelea	L. [Grae]cinius L. l. Sextius	Wife to Husband	41	<i>ERBeira</i> , 119
Curia Vitalis	C. Curius Pulli f. Quir. Firmanus	Wife to Husband	63	<i>CIL</i> II, 442
Cocceia Amoena	Rufus Antutii l.	Wife to Husband	48	<i>ERBeira</i> , 97
Caelia Modesti f. Avita	M. Caelius Cormertonis f. Aquitus	Wife to Husband	35	<i>ERBeira</i> , 86
Amoena Nigri lib.	Vegetus Vegetini f.	Wife to Husband		<i>ERBeira</i> , 70
Sila Silonis (uxor)	Silo Docq(uir) f.	Wife to Husband	50	<i>ERBeira</i> , 69
Maria Sunua	Longinianus Longini	Wife to Husband		<i>ERBeira</i> , 66
Casa Arantoni f.	Gemellus Apti lib.	Wife to Husband		<i>ERBeira</i> , 57
Marcia Marci f.	Reburus Doquiri f.	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL</i> II, 448
Rufina Rufi Tongetami f.	Modestus Proculi f.	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL</i> II, 447
Descending Nuclear				
Cilius Bouti f.	Lucanus	Father to Son	30	<i>ERBeira</i> , 3
Rufus Triti f.	Nigrus	Father to Son		<i>ERBeira</i> , 98
Rufus Triti f.	Rufinus	Father to Son		<i>ERBeira</i> , 98
Bassus Maturovi	Bassinus	Father to Son	30	<i>ERBeira</i> , 44

N/A	Eurus Cili f.	Father to Son	3	<i>CIL</i> II, 443
Cilius Bouti f.	Maxima	Father to Daughter	13	<i>ERBeira</i> , 3
Cilius Bouti f.	Amoena	Father to Daughter	16	<i>ERBeira</i> , 3
Tanginus Duataionis	Aurelia	Father to Daughter		<i>ERBeira</i> , 100
Tanginus Duataionis	Samacia	Father to Daughter		<i>ERBeira</i> , 100
Rufus Triti f.	Vitalis	Father to Daughter		<i>ERBeira</i> , 98
Toutonus Arconi f.	Camira	Father to Daughter		<i>ERBeira</i> , 61
M. Lucretius Onesumus	Lucretia Avita	Father to Daughter	3	<i>CIL</i> II, 445
Sunua Apanonis f.	Lucanus	Mother to Son	30	<i>ERBeira</i> , 3
Iulia Nigri f. Severa	M. Iulius Aviti f.	Mother to Son		<i>HEp</i> 2007, 624
Avita Taci f.	Silo Tan[gius]? Silonis f.	Mother to Son		<i>ERBeira</i> , 143
Cilea Aleonis f.	Tanginus Pauli f.	Mother to Son		<i>ERBeira</i> , 124
Amoena Eutychia lib.	Vegetinus Amoena lib.	Mother to Son	26	<i>ERBeira</i> , 112
Cilura Tongi f.	Flaccus Tongi f.	Mother to Son		<i>ERBeira</i> , 73
Boudica Semproni	Bassinus	Mother to Son	30	<i>ERBeira</i> , 44
Coelea Mani f.	Avitus Ari f.	Mother to Son		<i>ERBeira</i> , 43
Titulla	Primulus Grati f.	Mother to Son		<i>AE</i> 1967, 293
Marcia Marci f.	Rufus Reburri f.	Mother to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 448
Sunua Pisiri f.	Cilia Lubaeci	Mother to Daughter		<i>ERBeira</i> , 2
Sunua Apanonis f.	Maxima	Mother to Daughter	13	<i>ERBeira</i> , 3
Sunua Apanonis f.	Amoena	Mother to Daughter	16	<i>ERBeira</i> , 3
Philete	Superata	Mother to Daughter		<i>ERBeira</i> , 328
Camira Flavi f.	Procula Boeteli f.	Mother to Daughter	25	<i>ERBeira</i> , 78
Cilura Tongi f.	Avita Tongi f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>ERBeira</i> , 73
Amoena Veraceleli f.	Lubana Amoen(a)e f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>ERBeira</i> , 67
Annia Rufina	Annia Vegeta Anni Valentis f.	Mother to Daughter		<i>ERBeira</i> , 38
Aponia Fundana	Lucretia Avita	Mother to Daughter	3	<i>CIL</i> II, 445
Iulia Nigri f. Severa	Iulia P. f. Avita	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 444
Iulia Nigri f. Severa	Iulia Severi f. Severina	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 444
Severa	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>ERBeira</i> , 189
Ascending Nuclear				
C. Ammius Avitus	N/A	Son to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 4
Marcus	Reburri Treucati f.	Son to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 95
Fronto	N/A	Son to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 193
L. Cocceius Italicus	Coccei[us]	Son to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 147
C. Cantius Modestinus	C. Cantius Modestus	Son to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 142
Flaccus Calaeti	Calaetus Bouti f.	Son to Father	80	<i>ERBeira</i> , 121
Domitius	Taganus Mantai	Son to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 120
Longinus	Virius Tangini	Son to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 113
Flaccus	Virius Tangini	Son to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 113

Flavius Zosimus	Redemptus	Son to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 96
Graecinus Rufinus	Graecinius Hermes	Son to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 74
C. Ammius Avitus	Camira Apanonis f.	Son to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 4
Placidus Clisi f.	Bovanna Marin(i) f.	Son to Mother		<i>HEp</i> 2007, 623
Marcus	Cilea Crassi f.	Son to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 95
Quintus Iulius Marianus	Aunia Aveliae lib.	Son to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 42
Reburrus Rufini f.	N/A	Son to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 167
L. Caelius	Valeria Sextia	Son to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 134
Domitius	Cilea Turi	Son to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 120
Longinus	Sunua Vigani	Son to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 113
Flaccus	Sunua Vigani	Son to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 113
Priscus Maxillonis f.	Touta Tongi f.	Son to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 107
Graecinus Rufinus	Graecinia Caesia	Son to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 74
Gracilis Vari f.	Flaccus Tongi f.	Son to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 73
Sila Silonis f.	Silo Legiri f.	Daughter to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 104
Severina Severi f.	Severus Pintami f.	Daughter to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 102
Marcia	Marcus Arconis f.	Daughter to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 85
Camira Flavi f.	Flav(i)us Reburri f.	Daughter to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 78
Curia Chr(e)sum(i) f. Vitalis	Chresumus	Daughter to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 60
Cassia Chresumi f. Murilla	Chresumus	Daughter to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 60
Amoena Bouti f.	Boutius Camali f.	Daughter to Father	70	<i>ERBeira</i> , 46
Modestina Modest[i] f.	Modestus Proculi f.	Daughter to Father		<i>CIL</i> II, 447
Camira Tongati f.	[...]ina Cattygae f.	Daughter to Mother	75	<i>ERBeira</i> , 128
Tertula Arci f.	Touta Tongi f.	Daughter to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 107
Sila Silonis f.	Coelea Maelonis f.	Daughter to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 104
Memmia Flaccilla	Iunia Ulleae f.	Daughter to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 89
Camira Flavi f.	Liguria Liguris f.	Daughter to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 78
Curia Chr(e)sum(i) f. Vitalis	Amoena	Daughter to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 60
Cassia Chresumi f. Murilla	Amoena	Daughter to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 60
Naevia Silonis f. Clara	Aunia Arantoni Celtiatici f.	Daughter to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 41
Cocceia Silonis f. Avita	Aunia Arantoni Celtiatici f.	Daughter to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 41
Rufina Rufi Tongetami f.	Dutia Puci f.	Daughter to Mother		<i>CIL</i> II, 447
N/A	N/A	Child to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 183
N/A	[Firm]us Camali f.	Child to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 127
N/a	Maturovius Veibali f.	Child to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 88
N/A	Maturovius Veibali f.	Child to Father		<i>ERBeira</i> , 88
Clara	[Arant]oni f.	Child to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 160

N/A	[...]a Medami f.	Child to Mother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 127
Siblings				
Paternus	N/A	Brother to Brother		<i>HEp</i> 2007, 626
Reburrus	Luatrus Fronto[n]is f.	Brother to Brother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 145
Reburrus	Tuatrus Frontonis f.	Brother to Brother		<i>CIL</i> II, 450
Pontius	Cilius Pintami f.	Brother to Brother		<i>CIL</i> II, 441
Domitius	Tagana Tagani	Brother to Sister		<i>ERBeira</i> , 120
Cabureina Maelonis f.	N/A	Sister to Brother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 141
Camira Flavi f.	Sabninus Flavi f.	Sister to Brother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 78
Cilea Cili f.	Laetus Cili f.	Sister to Brother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 77
N/A	Cocceius It[licus F]laccus ?	Sibling to Brother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 157
N/A	[...] Firmi f.	Sibling to Brother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 127
N/A	N/A	Sibling to Sister		<i>ERBeira</i> , 183
Descending Extended				
Sunua Pisiri f.	Sunua Elavi	Grandmother to Granddaughter		<i>ERBeira</i> , 2
Accia Emerita	Curia Chr(e)sum(i) f. Vitalis	Grandmother to Granddaughter		<i>ERBeira</i> , 60
Accia Emerita	Cassia Chresumi f. Murilla	Grandmother to Granddaughter		<i>ERBeira</i> , 60
Iulia Nigri f. Severa	Q. Antonius Q(uir.) Rectus	Grandmother to Grandson		<i>HEp</i> 2007, 624
Cilea Aleonis f.	Cumelio Talai f.	Grandmother to Grandson		<i>ERBeira</i> , 124
Aranta Craesoni f.	Pallus Lovesi f.	Mother-in-Law to Son-in-Law		<i>ERBeira</i> , 35
Rufus Triti f.	Prisca Frontonis f.	Father-in-Law to Daughter-in-Law		<i>ERBeira</i> , 98
Ascending Extended				
Gracilis Vari f.	Avita Tongi f.	Nephew to Uncle		<i>ERBeira</i> , 73
Claudia Tangina	Boutius Lubaeci f.	Niece to Uncle (Paternal)		<i>ERBeira</i> , 79
Claudia Tangina	Cilia Caenonis f.	Niece to Aunt		<i>ERBeira</i> , 79
Sila Silonis f.	Amoena Maelonis f.	Niece to Aunt (Maternal)		<i>ERBeira</i> , 104
Claudia Tangina	Lubaecus Antaeli f.	Granddaughter to Grandfather		<i>ERBeira</i> , 79
Claudia Tangina	Binaria Triti f.	Granddaughter to Grandmother		<i>ERBeira</i> , 79
Amici				
Maelotali(s)	Caeno Cabruni f.	Friend to Friend		<i>ERBeira</i> , 17
Amaius	Caeno Cabruni f.	Friend to Friend		<i>ERBeira</i> , 17
Antonius	Caeno Cabruni f.	Friend to Friend		<i>ERBeira</i> , 17
Comalius	Caeno Cabruni f.	Friend to Friend		<i>ERBeira</i> , 17
Placidus Capiton[is f.]	Flaccus Rufi f.	Friend to Friend		<i>ERBeira</i> , 149
Servile				
Cil[ius]?	Graecinus Ce[...]	Freedman to Patron		<i>ERBeira</i> , 139

Tanginus	Graecinus Ce[...]	Freedman to Patron		<i>ERBeira</i> , 139
Carus	Fla[vius]?	Freedman to Patron		<i>ERBeira</i> , 130
Gemellus	Fla[vius]?	Freedman to Patron		<i>ERBeira</i> , 130
Lucrio	Fla[vius]?	Freedman to Patron		<i>ERBeira</i> , 130
Tongeta Probinae lib.	Probina Probi f.	Freedwoman to Patron		<i>ERBeira</i> , 92
Fabia Fabi lib. Bassa	C. Fabius C. f. Vernus	Freedwoman to Patron		<i>ERBeira</i> , 50
<i>Heredes</i>				
Sulla Arci f.	Caturo M[e]dami f. Paesur(us)	Heir to Testator		<i>ERBeira</i> , 137
L. Iulius Cutaecus	L. Iulius Rufini f. Quir. Fraternus	Heir to Testator		<i>ERBeira</i> , 75
L. Iulius Cutaecus	Iulia Q. f. Modesta	Heir to Testator		<i>ERBeira</i> , 75
Self Dedication				
Quintus Iulius Marianus	Quintus Iulius Marianus	Self Dedication		<i>ERBeira</i> , 42
Amoena Eutychiae lib.	Amoena Eutychiae lib.	Self Dedication		<i>ERBeira</i> , 112
Cocceia Amoena	Cocceia Amoena	Self Dedication		<i>ERBeira</i> , 97
Caelia Modesti f. Avita	Caelia Modesti f. Avita	Self Dedication		<i>ERBeira</i> , 86
Lucanus Bovi f.	Lucanus Bovi f.	Self Dedication		<i>ERBeira</i> , 80
Amoena Nigri lib.	Amoena Nigri lib.	Self Dedication		<i>ERBeira</i> , 70
Maria Sunua	Maria Sunua	Self Dedication		<i>ERBeira</i> , 66
Casa Arantoni f.	Casa Arantoni f.	Self Dedication		<i>ERBeira</i> , 57
C. Lucretius ?	C. Lucretius ?	Self Dedication		<i>ERBeira</i> , 51
Curia Vitalis	Curia Vitalis	Self Dedication		<i>CIL</i> II, 442
Fabia Fabi lib. Bassa	Fabia Fabi lib. Bassa	Self Dedication		<i>ERBeira</i> , 50
N/A	N/A	Self Dedication		<i>CIL</i> II, 443
Caerius Dautonis f.	Caerius Dautonis f.	Self Dedication		<i>ERBeira</i> , 48
Boudica Semproni	Boudica Semproni	Self Dedication		<i>ERBeira</i> , 44
Iulia Nigri f. Severa	Iulia Nigri f. Severa	Self Dedication		<i>CIL</i> II, 444
Bassus Maturovi	Bassus Maturovi	Self Dedication		<i>ERBeira</i> , 44
Marcia Marci f.	Marcia Marci f.	Self Dedication		<i>CIL</i> II, 448

Chapter 4. Felicitas Iulia Olisipo

Olisipo, also known as Felicitas Iulia Olisipo, was the ancient name of the modern capital of Portugal, Lisbon (Lisboa). Located on the western coast of the Iberian peninsula where the Tagus estuary meets the Atlantic ocean, Olisipo fulfilled an important rôle as a commercial and strategic port city, providing access and communication from the ocean to the inner territories of the Iberian peninsula. The exact limits of the territory are not known today. Since the citizens of Scallabis to the northeast and Eburobritium to the immediate north were enrolled in different voting tribes than the *Olisiponenses*, the geographic distribution of individuals enrolled in the tribe *Galeria* has been used to gauge the territorial limits of the *ager Olisiponensis*. Based on this criterion, Jonathan Edmondson has recently argued that the modern communities of Oeiras, Cascais, Sintra, Mafra, Torres Vedras, Amadora, Odivelas, Loures, Vila Franca de Xira, Arruda dos Vinhos, Sobral de Monte Agraço, and Alenquer would have been part of the territory of Olisipo during the Roman period.³⁶⁸ As such, inscriptions from these territorial communities have been included in the body of inscriptions collected for this discussion (fig. 4.1).

The importance of this civic community is highlighted by the fact that it held the rare juridical status of *municipium civium Romanorum*. This meant that despite the city's *municipium* status, its inhabitants held full Roman citizenship and of the 45 Lusitanian civic communities mentioned in Pliny's *Natural History*, Olisipo was the only one to hold this status.³⁶⁹ The earliest literary reference to Olisipo comes from Strabo's *Geography*, in which he claims the consul D. Iunius Brutus Callaicus fortified Olisipo as a base of operations in 138 BCE, using the Tagus river as a means to provide logistical support for his inland campaigns against the Lusitanians. The

³⁶⁸ Cf. Figs. 6.2 & 6.4 in Edmondson (2024b) pp. 397-398, 406.

³⁶⁹ Pliny, *NH* 4.117.

importance of the Tagus as a source of food, in particular fish and oysters, as well as alluvial gold made control of the river and its inland access a priority for Roman authorities and Olisipo was a key strategic point that allowed them to achieve this goal.³⁷⁰

The chronology of Olisipo's promotion to the status of *municipium civium Romanorum* is a subject of much debate. Some scholars have argued that the community was given the status of *oppidum civium Romanorum* in the early 40s BCE by Julius Caesar with *municipium* status being conferred later under Augustus between 19 and 13 BCE.³⁷¹ This argument for earlier promotion to *oppidum civium Romanorum* is tenuously based on a single inscription for a soldier enrolled in the voting tribe Aemilia, which neither provides a solid chronology nor proof that Olisipo was an *oppidum civium Romanorum* at an earlier date or at all for that matter because it is the only example of its kind found at Olisipo.³⁷² Jorge Alarcão and António Marques de Faria, on the other hand, provide a more plausible chronology for the promotion of Olisipo to the status of *municipium civium Romanorum*. Based on the popularity of the tribe *Galeria* among individuals attested at Olisipo, Alarcão argues that concession of *municipium* status to the community can at the very least be attributed to sometime under Caesar or Augustus.³⁷³ De Faria, likewise, argues that Olisipo received its rare municipal status between 31 and 27 BCE based on the ubiquity of tribe *Galeria* among individuals attested at Olisipo and the fact that many other civic communities received promotion to various statuses between 31 and 27 BCE under Augustus.³⁷⁴ It seems most likely, therefore, that Olisipo became a *municipium civium Romanorum* between 31-27 BCE under

³⁷⁰ Strabo, *Geog.* 3.3.1.

³⁷¹ Cf. Ribeiro (1994) pp. 76-77; Mantas (1996) p. 353-354; Mantas (1998b) p. 222; Fernandes (1998) p. 223.

³⁷² Ribeiro (1994) p. 77. The inscription in question is *ILER* 6317 = *AE* 1953, 268 = Le Roux (1982) p. 179, no. 27 (found at Vila Nova de Gaia, Porto, in the far north-west corner of Lusitania): *L(ucius) Lavius L(uci) f(ilius) / Aemilia tri[bu] / Tuscus / Felici<ta>tis Iul(iae) / miles leg(ionis) X / Gem(inae) vics[it - -]*.

³⁷³ Alarcão (1988) p. 48; Alarcão (1994) p. 58.

³⁷⁴ de Faria (1995) pp. 91-95; de Faria (1999) p. 36; Guerra (2020) p. 125; Fabião (2021) pp. 109-123.

Augustus within the same context as the promotion of other civic communities to Latin status in the province of Lusitania.

Archaeological evidence provides additional information about the modes of production, daily life, and the process of urbanization over the centuries at Olisipo. While it is almost certain that the port city of Olisipo was significant in size, its continuous occupation into the modern period and extensive damage from a catastrophic earthquake and subsequent tsunami in 1755 have obscured both the plan of the ancient city and many of the archaeological remains of its buildings.³⁷⁵ For this reason, most of the archaeological discoveries relating to Roman Olisipo took place during the 18th century concurrently with repair and reconstructive efforts following the earthquake of 1755. Subsequent archaeological investigations have been mostly limited to rescue excavations in the neighbourhoods around the southwestern slope of the hill on which the Castelo de São Jorge now stands, the area which likely served as the civic centre of ancient Olisipo. Since the 1960s there have been successful efforts to conduct long-term excavation and preservation of known Roman structures, such as the Roman theatre.³⁷⁶ As of very recently, there is now a major urban archaeology project run by the Câmara Municipal of Lisbon.

³⁷⁵ Alarcão (1988) pp. 123-126.

³⁷⁶ Alarcão (1982) p. 290; Fernandes (2011) p. 268.

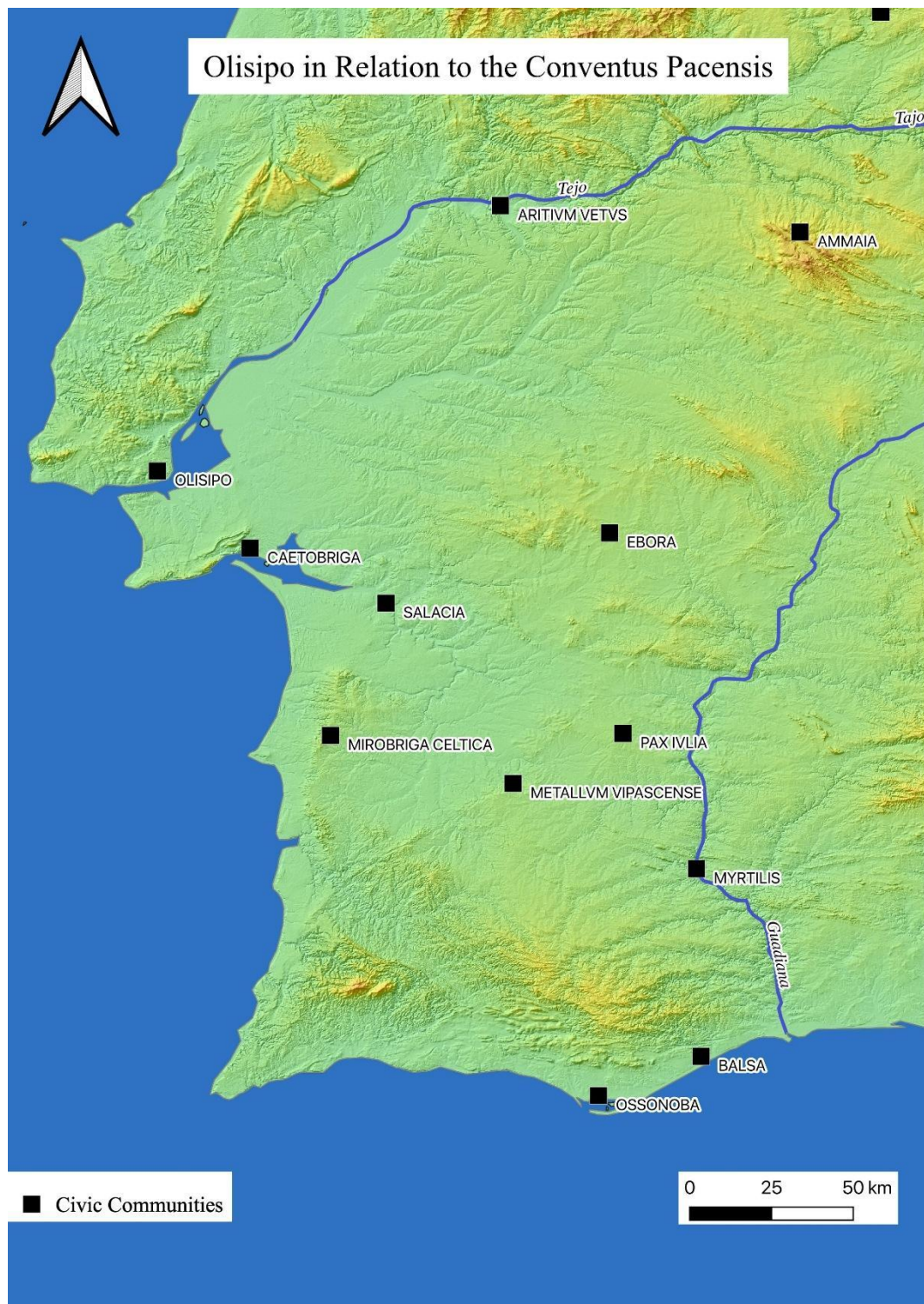


Figure 4.1: Map of Olisipo in relation to the civic communities in the *Conventus Pacensis*

The ancient residential and monumental centre of the ancient city was located on and around the southwest slopes of the hill on which the Castelo de São Jorge now stands in the Baixa and Alfama districts of modern Lisbon. The castle area of the hilltop was likely the citadel of the city, showing evidence of storage, and possibly military activity based on the discovery of large quantities of amphorae dating to the 2nd century BCE.³⁷⁷ Evidence of Iron age materials have also been found in the Lisbon Cathedral and structures of pre-Roman chronology have been discovered more recently in buildings on various streets in the southwestern area of the hill.³⁷⁸ The discovery of a Phoenician funerary stele in the walls indicates Phoenician presence as early as the 7th century BCE.³⁷⁹ While pre-Roman occupation of the civic centre is clear from archaeological evidence, the function and typology of some of these pre-Roman buildings are unclear.

Archaeological evidence of commercial fishing and fish salting activity around southern waterfront area dates from as early as the 5th and 4th centuries BCE with evidence of amphorae and organic material related to fish salting dating to the Punic period.³⁸⁰ Along the banks of the Tagus river there are further indications of the gradual installation of additional fish preparation facilities from the mid-1st century CE onward.³⁸¹ While one fish production location appears to have fallen into disrepair and been abandoned during the 3rd century CE, more recent excavations conducted suggest that the latest evidence of industrial fishing activity at Olisipo during the Roman period date to the mid to late 5th century CE.³⁸² It is evident that there was consistent industrial fishing activity in and around the ancient civic centre of Olisipo from the pre-Roman period until the 5th century CE.

³⁷⁷ Cf. Pimenta (2005) for an analysis of the amphorae discovered near the Castelo de São Jorge.

³⁷⁸ Pimenta, Silva, and Calado (2014) pp. 719-723 ; Pimenta, Calado, and Leitão (2005) pp. 724–735.

³⁷⁹ Neto et al. (2016) p. 126.

³⁸⁰ Amaro and Caetano (1993-1994) p. 283.

³⁸¹ Amaro (1994) pp. 76-79.

³⁸² Diogo and Tranidade (2000) p. 185.

In addition to evidence of industrial and commercial activity in the port area of the ancient civic centre, the remains of a number of public buildings have been excavated, in many cases with inscriptions commemorating construction, refurbishment, acts of euergetism and the individuals who fulfilled these acts. The most well documented and preserved of these public buildings was the Roman theatre that was located on the southern slopes of the hill in the modern Alfama district of Lisbon. Remains of the Roman theatre were first discovered in 1798 during repair efforts following the earthquake of 1755. The ruins were drawn by the architect Francisco Xavier Fabri and published in 1815 by Luis Antonio de Azevedo. These drawings show the plan of the *pulpitum*, marble blocks, capitals, and inscriptions found during repairs³⁸³ Between 1964 and 1967 D. Fernando de Almeida conducted excavations and the acquisition of privately owned buildings nearby for subsequent excavations where the preserved structure now stands today. Recent urban archaeological work at Olisipo has built upon early investigations by Theodor Hauschild's DAI team in the 1980s and has been further advanced by Lidia Fernandes's recent integrated project on the Roman theatre. These efforts have greatly enhanced our knowledge of the monument and its context within Roman Lisbon.³⁸⁴

The *pulpitum* and debris from the *scaena* are all that stands of the theatre today. More recent archaeological investigation has discovered evidence of layers with late Iron Age kilns in the back of the *proscaeinum*, which were probably in use before they were destroyed for the construction of the theatre.³⁸⁵ The *proscaeinum* had 13 *exedrae* (3 semicircular and 10 rectangular) and shows similarity with the *proscaeinum* of the theatre at Mérida, perhaps following the example of the architect at Augusta Emerita.³⁸⁶ Of most significance for chronology was the discovery of

³⁸³ Alarcão (1982) p. 288.

³⁸⁴ Hauschild (1990); Fernandes (2020)

³⁸⁵ Fernandes (2009) p. 200.

³⁸⁶ Alarcão (1982) p. 288.

an inscription commemorating the construction (or possible restoration) of the *proscenium*, *orchestra*, and theatre decorations by a certain Gaius Heius Primus, an *augustalis*, during the third year of the emperor Nero's reign in 57 CE.³⁸⁷ Many of the column fragments found at the theatre and in other places around the modern Baixa district are of the Ionic order indicating an appreciation and maintenance of a more traditional architectural motif.³⁸⁸ The location of this structure on the slope of the hill served as a blatant symbol of *Romanitas* and we can see that prominent individuals in the city were constructing the heart of a Roman city over Iron Age sites during the 1st century CE.³⁸⁹

Another important monumental building identified in the Baixa district is the cryptoporticus located under the Rua da Prata and Rua dos Retrozeiros, also discovered following the earthquake in 1755.³⁹⁰ The plans of the cryptoporticus complex are preserved in the Frei Manuel do Cenáculo collection at the public library at Evora and detail the complex which consisted of a number of vaulted chambers and corridors constructed in an orthogonal pattern covering a 54 x 28m area.³⁹¹ The construction of the complex consisted of *opus quadratum* in some areas and included buttresses, which imply Julio-Claudian chronology for its construction, and other areas show evidence of conversion in later phases. The exact function of this complex is unclear, but Manuel Justino Maciel suggests that the vaulted chambers could have been used as cisterns for water storage and possibly as small sanctuaries for healing.³⁹² An inscription found in one of the chambers in 1770 commemorates the dedication of something to do with public utility under the protection of Aesculapius, which could indicate either of the above hypotheses for the

³⁸⁷ *CIL* II, 183 = *ILER* 5640.

³⁸⁸ Fernandes (2011) pp. 269-271.

³⁸⁹ Fernandes (2009) p. 200.

³⁹⁰ Alarcão (1988) p. 126.

³⁹¹ Fernandes (2011) p. 267.

³⁹² Maciel (1993-1994) pp. 148-150.

possible function of this complex.³⁹³ In any case, the inscription can be dated to the late 1st century CE, which is consistent with the inscription commemorating the construction of parts of the theatre around the same time. Like the inscription at the theatre, the inscription from the cryptoporticus was also made by *augustales*, Marcus Afranius Euporio and Lucius Fabius Daphnus, indicating the importance of the imperial cult within the public sphere at Olisipo.

An inscription found at the *Thermae Cassiorum* records an additional act of euergetism in 336 CE when Numerius Albanus, *praeses* of the province of Lusitania, renewed the bath complex entirely from the ground up; this inscription has since been lost and was only recorded by Caetano de Bem and Frei Manuel de Cenáculo.³⁹⁴ Little is known about the *Thermae Cassiorum* since the only existing description of the complex came about during D. Tomas Caetano de Bem's excavation of the site in 1791.³⁹⁵ The formula *renovatae a solo iuxta iussionem...* clearly indicates that the bath complex existed before its renovation in the 4th century CE, but also prompts the question of whether they were in fact “totally restored”, which would have been a significant monetary endeavour. José d'Encarnação also casts suspicion upon this inscription and doubts whether the baths were restored from the ground up.³⁹⁶ Nevertheless, recent rescue excavations in the gardens of the Ministry of Public Works in Lisbon have unearthed some architectural materials from the *Thermae Cassiorum* showing architectural motifs common to the Flavian period.³⁹⁷ It is apparent, therefore, that Olisipo underwent a significant and ongoing process of monumental construction efforts during the 1st century CE, continuing through to the 4th century as some of the

³⁹³ CIL II, 185: *sacrum / Aesculapio / M(arcus) Afranius Euporio / et / L(ucius) Fabius Daphnus / Aug(ustales) / municipio d(onum) d(ederunt)*.

³⁹⁴ CIL II, 191: *thermae Cassiorum / renovatae a solo iuxta iussionem / Numeri Albani v(iri) c(larissimi) p(raesidis) p(rovinciae) L(usitaniae) / curante Aur(elio) Firmo / Nepotiano et Facundo co(n)s(ulibus)*.

³⁹⁵ Fernandes (2009) p. 202.

³⁹⁶ d'Encarnação (2009) pp. 481-493.

³⁹⁷ Fernandes (2009) p. 192.

monumental structure underwent repairs, modifications, and adaptive reuse. The rôle of euergetism and public works funded by the coffers of prominent individuals, all of whom possessed traditionally Roman personal name elements, was central to urban development in Olisipo during the decades following its promotion to *municipium civium Romanorum* and in subsequent centuries.

Other inscriptional evidence shows the importance of Roman deities and emperor worship in the city of Olisipo, specifically as an urban phenomenon and linked exclusively to individuals possessing Roman name elements. Sara Henriques dos Reis, for example, was able to identify linguistic patterns in the personal name elements of individuals mentioned in votive inscriptions from both the city proper and its hinterland. She notes the presence of indigenous astral cults, the imperial cult, and worship of Roman deities within the territory of Olisipo. Furthermore, she concludes that deities of the Roman pantheon were mentioned most frequently in votive dedications in the city and that none of the individuals identified in votive inscriptions in the city held indigenous name elements; indigenous name elements are only included in votive inscriptions from the countryside.³⁹⁸ Inscriptional evidence at Olisipo supports the conclusion that religious activity in the city was primarily devoted to the worship of Roman deities by individuals holding Roman name elements, while more traditional pre-Roman cult activity was a rural phenomenon more commonly performed by individuals with indigenous name elements.

Another recent study concerning the inscriptional habits of the inhabitants of both the city proper and hinterland of Olisipo has revealed some interesting details about individual name elements and social status. Manuela Alves Dias and Catarina Gaspar have noted that funerary, religious, and euergetistic inscriptions record individuals from families bearing a small number of

³⁹⁸ Henriques dos Reis (2015) p. 36.

gentilicia (the Fabricii, Terentii, Cassii, Marcii etc.) who held key political and religious positions.³⁹⁹ One of the most well-known honorific inscriptions at Olisipo includes two such individuals. In a dedication to the Emperor Commodus that can be securely dated between 176-180 CE, Quintus Coelius Cassianus and Marcus Fabius Tuscus, both of whom were *Ilviri*, set up an inscription in the Emperor's honour.⁴⁰⁰ Marcus Coelius Cassianus' connection to the Cassii is clear from his *cognomen*, which is derivative of the *gentilicium*, and Marcus Fabius Tuscus is, quite obviously, a member of the *Fabii*. In addition, Lucius Fabius Daphnus, one of the *augustales* who set up the inscription to Aesculapius, and who was possibly a freedman of the family, holds the same *gentilicium*, highlighting the importance of these prominent families among the high-ranking individuals at Olisipo.⁴⁰¹

Archaeological evidence at Olisipo indicates a long history of pre-Roman habitation, notably involving commercial fishing and ceramic production. The civic community underwent significant urbanization in the 1st century CE, when major public buildings were constructed on and around the hill now occupied by the Castelo de São Jorge. At the same time, there is extensive evidence for the adoption of the epigraphic habit, almost exclusively by individuals with Roman name elements (*tria nomina*). Within this social and cultural context, the expressions of family relations and onomastic patterns in the corpus of funerary inscriptions from Olisipo are analyzed in the present study.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁹ Dias & Gaspar (2013) p. 383.

⁴⁰⁰ CIL II, 187: *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Imp(eratoris) / M(arci) Aurel(i) Antonin(i) / Aug(usti) f(ili) divi Pii nep(oti) divi / Hadr(iani) pron(epoti) divi / Trai(ani) Parthici abnep(oti) / L(ucio) Aurelio Commodo / Aug(usto) German(ico) Sarm(atico) / Fel(icitas) Iul(ia) Olis(ipo) / per Q(uintum) Coelium Cassianum / et M(arcum) Fabium Tuscum Ilvir(os)*.

⁴⁰¹ CIL II, 175: *sacrum / Aesculapio / M(arcus) Afranius Euporio / et / L(ucius) Fabius Daphnus / Aug(ustales) / municipio d(onum) d(ederunt)*.

⁴⁰² It should be noted that a new corpus of Olisipo inscriptions, covering the urban centre, was published in autumn 2024, with two more volumes covering the wider territory forthcoming. Additionally, Cardim-Ribeiro (2025) has published a comprehensive study of the epigraphic habit in Lisbon and its territory. Since both appeared after the

Chronology

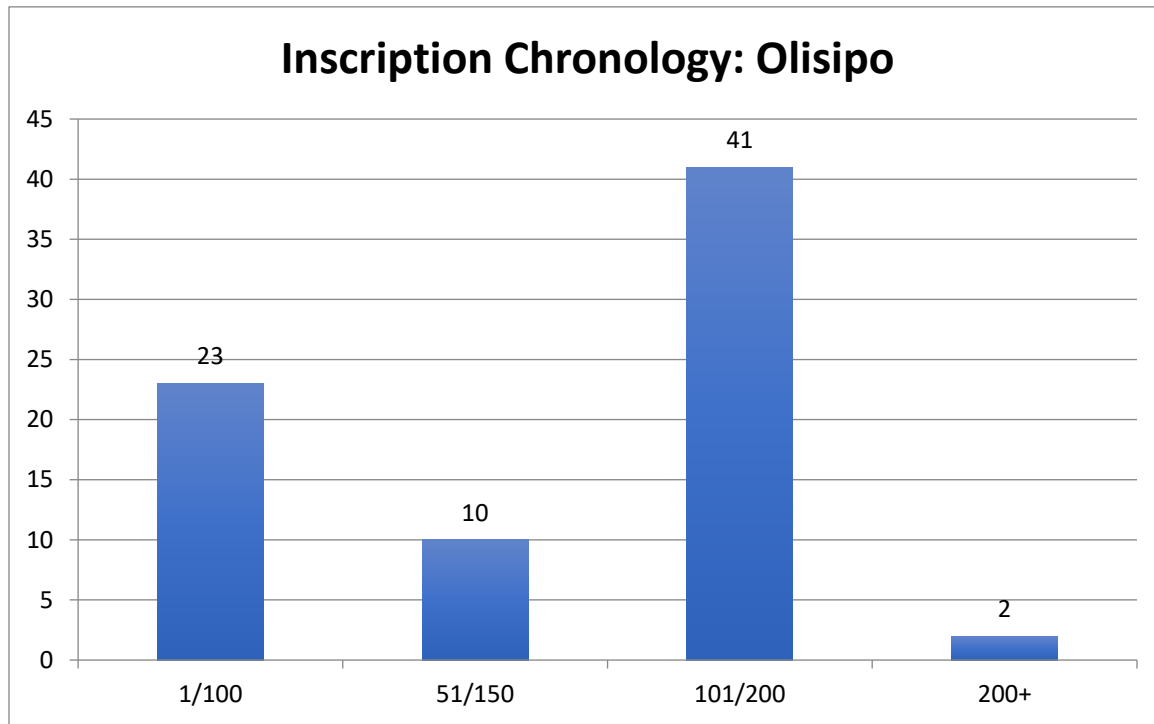


Figure 4.2: Inscription chronology at Olisipo.

Of the 84 inscriptions from Olisipo and its surrounding territory that included expressions of family relations, 76 can be securely dated (fig. 4.2). It is clear from the general aspects of personal name elements and tribal affiliation collected for this study at Olisipo, much like in the *Conventus Pacensis*, there are significant number of inscriptions dating to the 1st century CE. Unlike most other civic communities in this study that experienced promotion to Latin status in 73-74 CE, Olisipo does not show evidence of a spike in the epigraphic habit in the last half of the 1st century CE. Instead, there is a moderate number of inscriptions in the first century with an increase into the 2nd century, while inscriptions that could be dated to the transitional period between the late 1st and early 2nd centuries CE are relatively few. This would indicate that although

completion of this thesis, I have been unable to incorporate their findings into my analysis. Cf. Cardim-Ribeiro (2025).

there was an increase in the epigraphic habit at Olisipo in the 2nd century, there were still a significant number of 1st century inscriptions indicating a relatively stable habit following the establishment of the *municipium civium Romanorum*. Moreover, the scarcity of inscriptions dating to the 3rd century CE is typical of the overall chronological trend observed in the epigraphic habit across the Roman Empire.⁴⁰³ The chronology of funerary inscriptions expressing family relations at Olisipo is consistent with the history of the community's comparatively early promotion in civic status, which would explain why there is no spike in the number of inscriptions dating from the Flavian period.

Family Relations at Olisipo: Nuclear vs. Extended

Of all of the known funerary inscriptions from Olisipo and its surrounding territory, 84 of them included expressions of family relations. From these 84 inscriptions, 104 relations were recorded, the majority of which were between members of the nuclear family (Table 4.1). Of the 104 relations recorded 97 (93%) of them were between members of the nuclear family, 5 (5%) were between extended family members, and 2 (2%) were of a testamentary nature from heirs whose relation to the deceased was unknown (fig. 4.3).

⁴⁰³ Meyer (1990) p. 95; MacDonald (1988); MacMullen (1982).

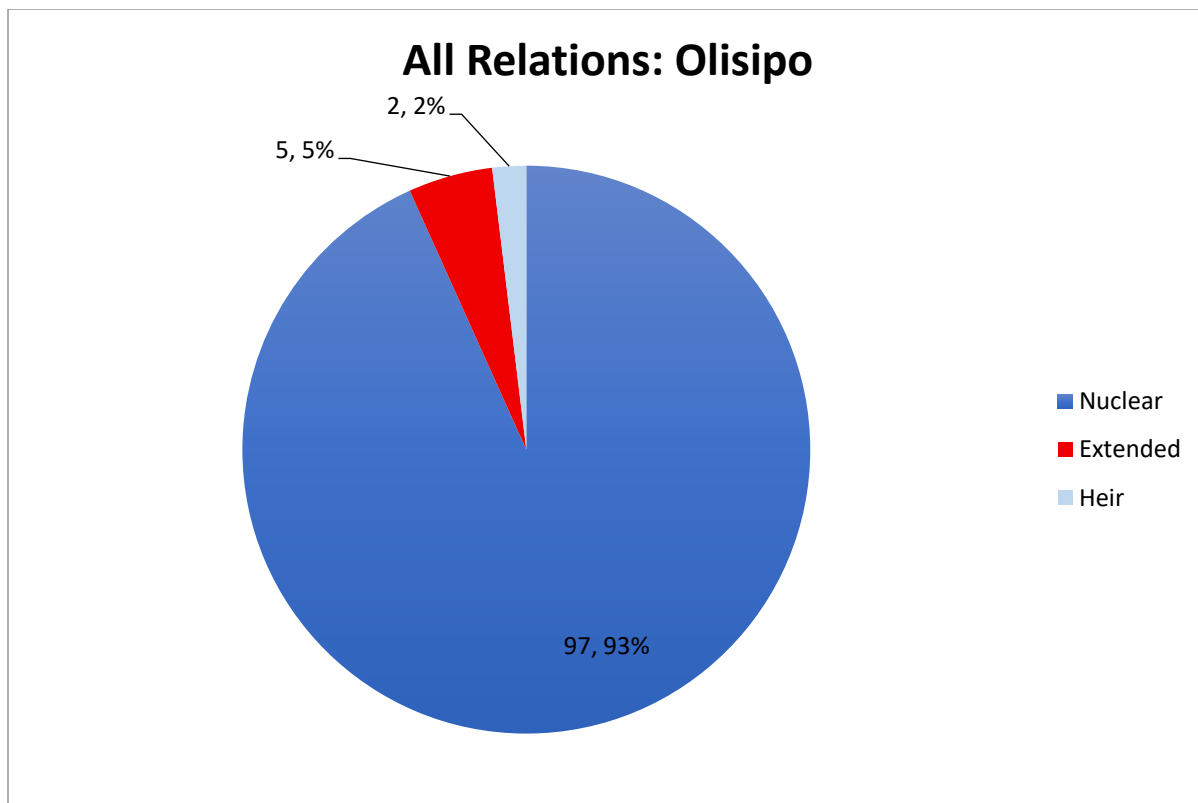


Figure 4.3: All family relations at Olisipo.

Olisipo

Dedicator	Deceased	N
Husband	Wife	5
Wife	Husband	8
Total Conjugal		13
Father	Son	14
	Daughter	5
	Child	
Mother	Son	18
	Daughter	17
	Child	2
Total Descending		56
Son	Father	6
	Mother	3
	Parent	
Daughter	Father	2
	Mother	5
	Parent	
Child	Father	
	Mother	1
	Parent	2
Total Ascending		19
Brother	Brother	5
	Sister	
	Sibling	
Sister	Brother	2
	Sister	
	Sibling	
Sibling	Brother	1
	Sister	1
Total Siblings		9
Total Nuclear		97
Descending Extended		3
Ascending Extended		2
Total Extended		5
<i>Heres</i>		2
Other		2
Total Relations		104

Table 4.1: Family relations at Olisipo.

Nuclear relations are clearly the most commonly attested family relations at Olisipo. The percentage of nuclear relations at Olisipo is typical of the regional percentage of nuclear relations, only marginally higher than the regional percentage Saller and Shaw observed throughout the Hispanic provinces in their study published in 1984. The percentage of expressions of relations between extended family members, likewise, is roughly the same as the percentage counted by Saller and Shaw.⁴⁰⁴ Little else can be said about the percentage of nuclear vs. extended family relations at Olisipo, since the results of this study are consistent with the regional percentages counted in previous studies concerning family relations in Lusitania and the Hispanic provinces.⁴⁰⁵ The total number of relations counted at Olisipo and the percentage of nuclear vs. extended relations is practically identical to those included in Jonathan Edmondson's chapter about family relations in Lusitania, although the total number of relations has increased along with the corpus of inscriptions over the past fifteen years, as is to be expected. Otherwise, a more in-depth analysis of expressions of family relations between particular members of the nuclear family allows us to draw some interesting conclusions about which nuclear relations are most commonly attested in the corpus of funerary inscriptions from Olisipo and its surrounding territory.

Family Relations at Olisipo: Nuclear Relations

Of the 105 expressions of family relations counted from the corpus of funerary inscriptions at Olisipo, 97 of them were between members of the nuclear family. Of these relations, descending nuclear relations (from parents to children) were by far the most common with 56 (58%) attestations. These are followed by ascending nuclear relations (from children to parents) with 19

⁴⁰⁴ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

⁴⁰⁵ Edmondson (2005) p. 194.

(20%) attestations, conjugal dedications, and dedications between siblings accounting for 13 (13%) and 9 (9%) attestations, respectively (fig. 4.4).

Compared to the regional percentages of expressions of nuclear family relations in all of the Hispanic provinces, there is an abnormally high percentage of descending nuclear dedications in the data from Olisipo. While descending nuclear dedications account for 36% of all nuclear relations in the Hispanic provinces according to Saller and Shaw, the percentage of descending nuclear dedications at Olisipo is much higher at 58%. Conversely, Olisipo has a lower percentage of conjugal dedications compared to Saller and Shaw's percentage for all of the Hispanic provinces.⁴⁰⁶ This indicates that dedications from parents to their deceased children were the most commonly emphasized relations in the surviving *corpus* of funerary inscriptions at Olisipo.

A closer inspection of the descending nuclear dedications reveals some interesting trends. Of particular importance is the prominent rôle of mothers as dedicators of inscriptions in honour of their deceased children. Of the 56 descending nuclear dedications recorded 19 (33.9%) were from fathers to their children, while 38 (67.8%) were from mothers to their children, with sons and daughters receiving an almost equal share of these dedications. More generally, funerary dedications from mothers to their children account for almost 40% of *all* nuclear dedications recorded at Olisipo. It is safe to conclude that mothers appear to have played a prominent rôle in the act of funerary dedication at Olisipo, to the extent that Olisipo boasts the highest percentage of descending nuclear dedications from mothers to children out of any of the civic communities in this study. A statistical analysis was conducted in order to test the significance of the correlation between descending nuclear dedications and dedications made by women. The results showed a very high level of statistical significance in the number of dedications from mothers to their

⁴⁰⁶ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

children at Olisipo, with the sample yielding a confidence level of 99.8% ($P = 0.002$). In other words, statistical analysis clearly demonstrates that the habit of descending nuclear dedications from mothers to children at Olisipo is not an accident of the record, but rather a quite intentional habit and a significant finding.

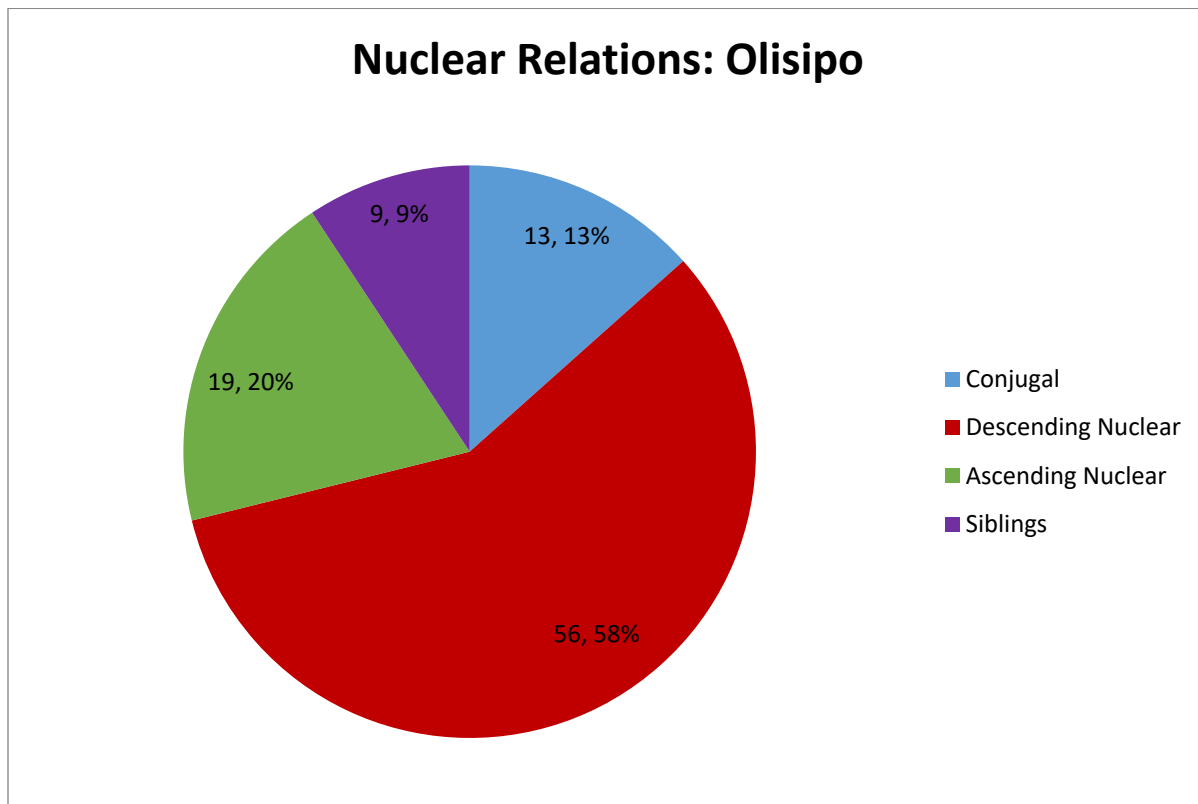


Figure 4.4: Nuclear relations at Olisipo.

While some might argue that this high percentage of descending nuclear dedications, in particular from mothers to their deceased children, was possibly due to high rates of child mortality in the ancient Mediterranean, previous epigraphic studies have indicated that there is a significant underrepresentation in the commemoration of children under the age of ten in Roman funerary epigraphy and this was no exception at Olisipo.⁴⁰⁷ Of the 50 individuals whose age of death was

⁴⁰⁷ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 130.

ascertainable, only four of these died below the age of 10. Of the 38 acts of commemoration from mothers to their children, the ages of 27 deceased children were recorded. The children who received funerary dedications from their mothers have a median age of 27 years, with more than two thirds (18/27) being over the age of 20. Furthermore, just under one third (8/27) of the deceased “children” were over the age of 30, the oldest deceased “child” being 37 years of age (Table 4.2). Based on these data, it is abundantly clear that mothers at Olisipo demonstrated a strong habit of commemorating their deceased adult children, many of whom were well over the age of 30.

Neither sons nor daughters received significantly more dedications than the other, and there does not appear to have been much difference in the average age of death between the two groups. The daughters who received funerary dedications from their mothers had a median age of 27, slightly higher than the median age of sons at 26 years old. The enigmatic nature of this trend is compounded by the fact of the relative scarcity of conjugal dedications at Olisipo and even among the conjugal dedications recorded, the length of marriage is never specified, and the age of death is only given for two deceased spouses. Comprehensive epigraphic studies about age of marriage in the Roman Empire conclude that the average age of ranged from anywhere between 14-19 years of age for women and 19-30 for men.⁴⁰⁸ Although Walter Scheidel argues that we should be careful with such data from epigraphic sources, especially outside of urban areas, it is safe to conclude that the median age of deceased “children” being commemorated by their mothers at Olisipo is well above the average age of marriage most plausibly suggested by previous studies.⁴⁰⁹ Especially

⁴⁰⁸ Saller has argued that non-elite men did not marry until their late 20s, while Shaw has argued that non-elite women mostly married by their late teens. Saller (1987) pp. 28-30; Shaw (1987) pp. 40-43. Lelis, Percy, and Verstraete, on the other hand, argue that Roman women often married around 15 and men around 20. Lelis, Percy, and Verstraete (2003) p. 75.

⁴⁰⁹ Scheidel (2007) p. 393-394.

in the case of deceased adult daughters, many of these sons and daughters over the age of 20 were already at or above marriageable age and likely already had children of their own.

Inscription	Deceased	Age		Inscription	Deceased	Age
<i>AE</i> 1982, 463	Daughter	12		<i>CIL</i> II, 5021	Son	30
<i>AE</i> 1982, 464	Son	19		<i>CIL</i> II, 5022	Son	25
<i>AE</i> 1982, 467	Son	17		<i>AE</i> 2015, 537	Son	15
<i>CIL</i> II, 261	Son	18		<i>HEp</i> 1998, 607	Son	28
<i>CIL</i> II, 271	Daughter	32		<i>CIL</i> II, 214	Daughter	18
<i>CIL</i> II, 278	Daughter	27		<i>CIL</i> II, 235	Daughter	27
<i>CIL</i> II, 296	Daughter	20		<i>CIL</i> II, 291	Daughter	37
<i>CIL</i> II, 308	Son	35		<i>CIL</i> II, 4996	Son	27
<i>CIL</i> II, 313	Son	28		<i>CIL</i> II, 219	Daughter	30
<i>CIL</i> II, 314	Son	25		<i>CIL</i> II, 5001	Son	17
<i>CIL</i> II, 5005	Son	30		<i>CIL</i> II, 222b	Daughter	18
<i>CIL</i> II, 318	Daughter	27				
<i>CIL</i> II, 319	Son	32				
<i>CIL</i> II, 323	Son	33				

Table 4.2: Descending nuclear dedications from mothers to children with age of death at Olisipo.

In addition, there are aspects of onomastic choices at Olisipo that corroborate this emphasized relation between mothers and their children. In some cases, children appear to inherit personal name elements from matrilineal relatives. In some cases, children appear to inherit *nomina* or *cognomina* from their mothers, a phenomenon which will receive further attention in the discussions below. But first it will be necessary to discuss the more general data concerning personal name elements recorded from the corpus of funerary inscriptions expressing family relations.

Olisipo: Linguistic Name Elements

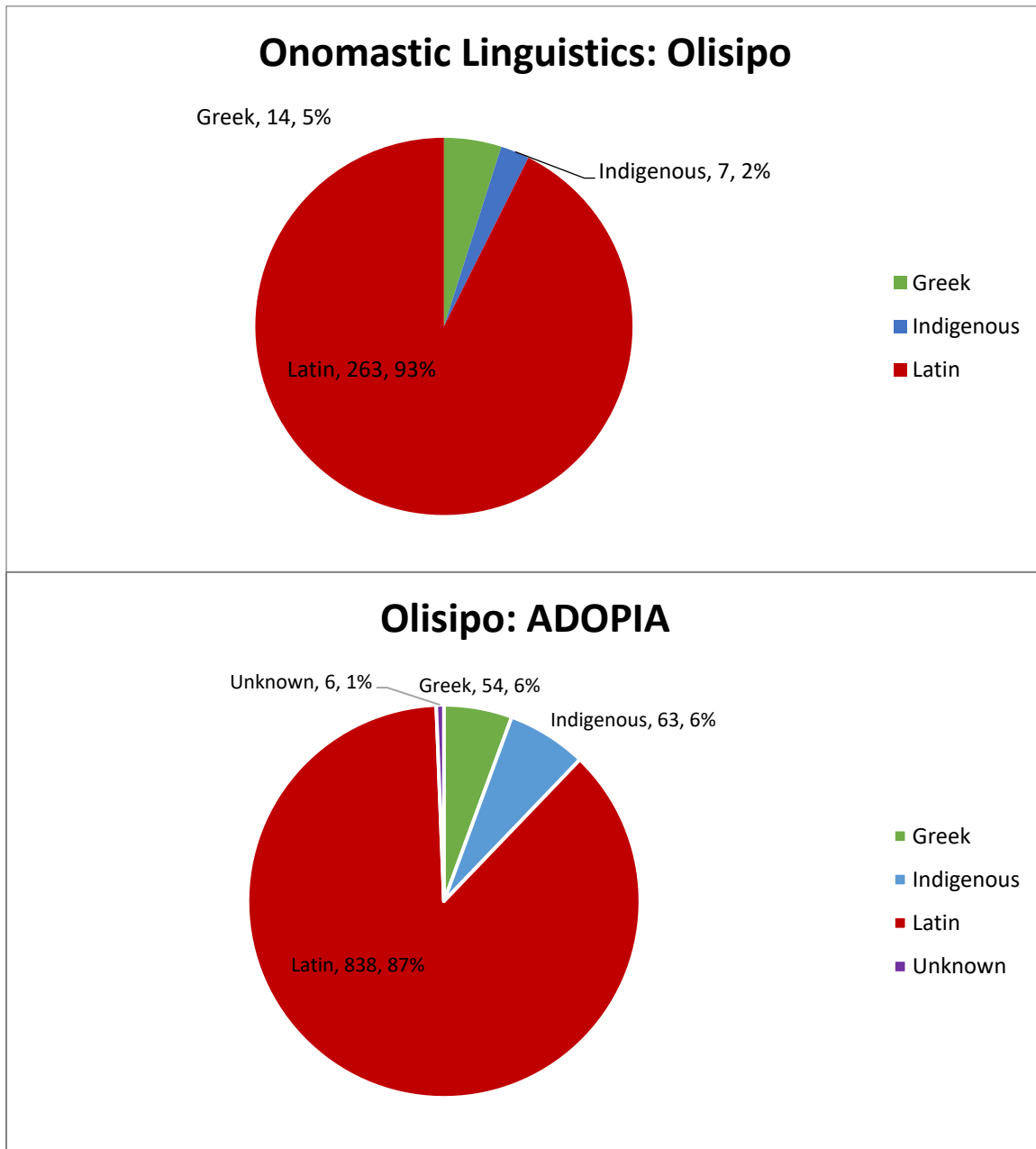


Figure 4.5: Linguistic attributes of name elements at Olisipo (compared with comprehensive data from the ADOPIA project – data collected May 2022)

At Olisipo, a total of 284 name elements, including single names, patronymics (appearing as single names in the genitive case), *nomina*, and *cognomina* are recorded in the corpus of inscriptions expressing family relations. Of these name elements an overwhelming majority of these name

elements are linguistically Latin, the highest number and percentage of Latin name elements, in fact, from any of the civic communities discussed in this study.⁴¹⁰ Of the 284 name elements recorded, 263 (93%) of them were linguistically Latin, 14 (5%) were Greek, and only 7 (2%) were linguistically indigenous (fig. 4.5). When compared with comprehensive linguistic data from the ADOPIA project, a higher percentage of indigenous names were attested in the complete onomastic data. This could indicate that individuals with linguistically indigenous name elements were less likely to express the family relations on their funerary monuments.

These results clearly show that there was a high degree of Latinization in terms of personal name elements at Olisipo, which is consistent with the early, and rare, promotion of the civic community to the status of a *municipium civium Romanorum*. Since the chronological record of funerary inscriptions at Olisipo sees early proliferation during the 1st century CE, not long after its promotion to *municipium civium Romanorum*, it would appear that by this time a large percentage of individuals, at the very least those commemorating their deceased family members, were Roman citizens, whose names included Latin name elements. Furthermore, only five of the ten indigenous name elements date to the 1st century CE, while all of the rest date to the mid to late 2nd century CE. Moreover, 6 out of 7 of these indigenous name elements were borne by individuals identified in inscriptions from the rural territory of Olisipo (Sintra, Mafra, Torres Vedra, and Loures), not from the urban civic centre.⁴¹¹ This is consistent with Sara Henriques dos Reis' observations about linguistic patterns of personal names found in religious inscriptions from Olisipo, showing only dedicators with Latin or Greek names in the city proper, with indigenous dedicators found mainly

⁴¹⁰ It is acknowledged that this survey of name elements is not exhaustive and only counts the names of individuals mentioned in funerary inscriptions that include expressions of family relations between the dedicators and the deceased. A comprehensive discussion of onomastics at Olisipo is beyond the scope and objectives of this study.

⁴¹¹ See Edmondson (2024b) pp. 447-449; 463-465 for discussions on indigenous personal names at Olisipo.

in rural areas.⁴¹² Based on these data, it is very clear that individuals at the civic centre of Olisipo were primarily holding Latin names as early as the 1st century CE, with linguistically indigenous name elements being held, albeit in small numbers, sporadically in Olisipo's rural territory. A more in-depth analysis and examples of particular name elements will be included following a quantitative analysis of structural name elements.

Olisipo: Juridical Status

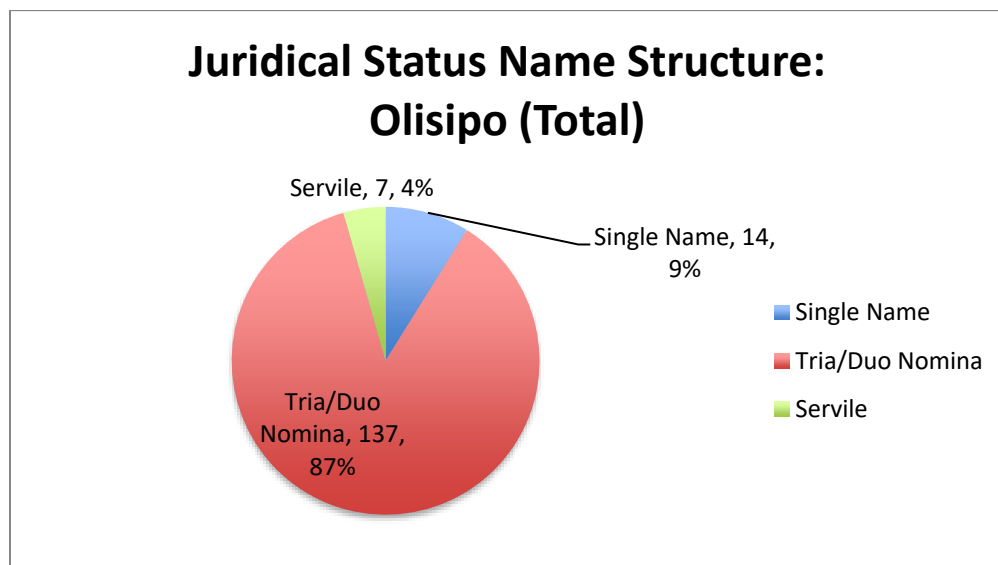


Figure 4.6: Name structure by individual at Olisipo.

Among the 284 name elements identified in the corpus of inscriptions expressing family relations, 158 individuals can be identified. Of these individuals 137 (87%) held *tria/duo nomina*, 7 (4%) were of servile status with single names, and 14 (9%) possessed single names without explicit indication of servile status (fig. 4.6). Of all the civic communities discussed in this study, Olisipo demonstrates by far the highest percentage of individuals possessing *tria/duo nomina*, which suggests that a high percentage of the population held full citizen status. This is not

⁴¹² Sara Henriques dos Reis (2015) p. 39.

surprising considering the fact that Olisipo was a *municipium civium Romanorum*, with its entire freed and freeborn population holding citizen status. Nevertheless, there are still a few individuals who held single names, possibly indicating peregrine status, although these individuals account for less than ten percent of the individuals identified.⁴¹³

The high degree of Latinization that is apparent from the linguistic analysis of name elements is consistent with the high percentage of *tria* and *duo nomina* in the inscriptional record at Olisipo, in ways not seen with other civic communities. In the case of the Civitas Igaeditanorum, Turgalium, Norba Caesarina, and especially Capera, which all have high percentages of Latin name elements but mostly individuals possessing single names, high degrees of Latinization in name elements do not necessarily translate to more *tria* or *duo nomina*. For that reason, Olisipo is one of the few cases where there is both a high percentage (93%) of Latin name elements and a high percentage of *tria* and *duo nomina* (84%). The most plausible explanation for this trend is the relatively early conferral of citizen status upon the population at Olisipo. Perhaps, most importantly, the quantitative onomastic evidence from Olisipo demonstrates a more widespread adoption of Roman linguistic and structural name elements than civic communities that underwent the municipalization process following the Flavian grant of *ius Latii* to the Hispanic provinces in 73-74 CE. This conclusion begs a number of questions: if name elements from inscriptions expressing family relations at Olisipo are mostly Latin *nomina* and *cognomina*, which name elements are linguistically indigenous? What are the most common Latin name elements (*nomina*, *cognomina*, or single names)? Can these data provide any information about processes of cultural

⁴¹³ It is acknowledged that the onomastic portion of this discussion is not comprehensive and only accounts for the personal name elements of individuals mentioned in funerary inscriptions expressing family relations between the dedicator and the deceased. Nevertheless, this discussion demonstrates that there is no obvious correlation between patterns in the expression of family relations at Olisipo and the attributes of individual name elements.

change in the province of Lusitania and help us determine whether there is a correlation between patterns of expressions of family relations and personal name elements?

Personal Names and Family Relations: Olisipo

A close look at the relations being expressed along with the linguistic attributes of given name elements of the dedicators and the deceased indicates, to some degree, whether there is a correlation between commemorative patterns and personal name elements (Table 4.3). Relations and the linguistic attributes of given names (i.e., single names and *cognomina*) have been listed for the dedicator and deceased of each relation as either “Latin”, “indigenous”, “Greek”, or “Null” for cases in which the name is unclear. So far, two key patterns are very clear from the relations and personal name elements recorded in funerary inscriptions at Olisipo. First, there is an abnormally high number of descending nuclear dedications in the sample. Secondly, individuals with Latin *tria/duo nomina* represented an overwhelming majority of dedicators and deceased identified in the inscriptions. Although individuals with indigenous name elements were relatively scarce in the inscription sample from Olisipo, some patterns emerge that illuminate the processes of cultural change in the region and how these relate to commemorative habits.

**Relations and Name Elements
(Deceased): Olisipo**

Deceased

		Greek	Indigenous	Latin	Null	Grand Total
Dedicators	Conjugal	1	1	9	2	13
	Latin	1	1	8		10
	Null			1	2	3
	Descending Nuclear	1	1	44	10	56
	Greek	1		1	1	3
	Indigenous			3		3
	Latin		1	33	5	39
	Null			7	4	11
	Ascending Nuclear	2		15	2	19
	Greek	1				1
	Latin	1		11		12
	Null			4	2	6
	Siblings	2		6	1	9
	Greek	1		1		2
	Latin			3	1	4
	Null	1		2		3
	Descending Extended			3		3
	Latin			3		3
	Ascending Extended			2		2
	Indigenous			1		1
	Latin			1		1
	Heir			2		2
	Latin					
	Null			2		2
	Grand Total	6	2	81	15	104

Table 4.3: Relations and name elements at Olisipo.

Since indigenous given names most commonly appear in relation to descending nuclear dedications and only once in conjugal and ascending extended dedications, descending nuclear dedications will be the focal point of this discussion. Of all the relation categories, the most commonly expressed relations were descending nuclear with 56 expressions. 44 (78%) of the deceased had Latin given names, 10 (18%) were Null, and one each had indigenous or Greek given

names. Of the descending nuclear dedicators there was only 1 dedicator with a Greek given name and 3 dedicators with indigenous ones. Of the descending nuclear, conjugal, and ascending extended dedications involving indigenous given names, almost all cases involved parents with indigenous names and children with Latin names. Of the six inscriptions in question, four of them can be dated to the 1st century CE, while two can be dated to the 2nd century CE (Table 4.4).

Dedicator Name	Deceased Name	Relation	Reference	Age	Dedicator Language	Deceased Language	Chronology
Aleba Arconis f.	L. Iulius Regulus	Mother to Son	<i>CIL</i> II, 5223		Indigenous	Latin	1/100
L. Iulius Reburrus	L. Iulius L. f. Gal. Iustus	Father to Son	<i>CIL</i> II, 313	28	Indigenous	Latin	101/150
Antistia Q. f. Maela	Q. Caecilius Gal. Rufus	Mother to Son	<i>CIL</i> II, 4996	27	Indigenous	Latin	31/130
Iulia L. f. Amoena	Iulia C. f. Tonceta	Mother to Daughter	<i>CIL</i> II, 296	20	Latin	Indigenous	151/200
L. Valerius Arco	M. Tullius M. f. Gal Crescens	Son-in-Law to Father-in-Law	<i>CIL</i> II, 321		Indigenous	Latin	1/50
Iulia Avita	M. Atilius N. f. Gal Tanginus	Wife to Husband	<i>CIL</i> II, 5010		Latin	Indigenous	31/100

Table 4.4: Family relations involving indigenous given names.

Most of these commemorations listed above involve dedicators with indigenous names and deceased with Latin names. As observed in other civic communities, some Latin names which commonly appear as single names are attested in relation to indigenous given names. AMOENVVS, -A, AVITVS, -A, and RVFVS, -A all appear here with either dedicators or deceased with indigenous given names. Moreover, only one inscription, a dedication from Aleba Arconis f. to her son L. Iulius Regulus dating to the 1st century CE, involved an individual with a single name, in this case providing an example of the shift toward Latin name elements and

adoption of *tria nomina* on the part of the son. The rest of the inscriptions involved dedicators and deceased with *tria/duo nomina*.

Despite so few relations involving individuals with indigenous given names, all of the descending nuclear dedications in which the age of the deceased was known were dedications to adult children with the youngest being 20 years of age. In addition, these descending nuclear dedications involving people with indigenous names follow the general phenomenon of descending nuclear dedications to adult children observed at Olisipo. Although this is neither a large, nor exhaustive sample of family relations, it appears that individuals with indigenous given names were engaging in the patterns of commemoration as the rest of the population in this sample of inscriptions.

In conclusion, there does not appear to be a correlation between the linguistic origin of names and the anomalous pattern of commemorations at Olisipo. Nevertheless, this clearly shows that the prevalence of descending nuclear dedications from parents to their adult children at Olisipo was not limited to individuals possessing name elements with specific linguistic attributes, either Latin, Greek, or indigenous. The general lack of single names in this sample also leaves no indication that name structure had any bearing on commemorative patterns at Olisipo. All of these quantitative data, however, provide strong evidence that regardless of linguistic and structural attributes of personal names, the people at Olisipo overwhelmingly emphasized the importance of relations between parents and children, even adult children well past the age of marriage. In his chapter about family relations in Lusitania, Jonathan Edmondson also notes this phenomenon in the area of Olisipo and suggests that the high percentage of descending nuclear dedications may have been due to “the agrarian nature of local society”.⁴¹⁴ This pattern is significant not only

⁴¹⁴ Edmondson (2005) pp. 200-201.

demographically but also culturally, since age and gender in Roman funerary commemoration could reflect particular valuations of familial roles, emotional attachment, and the place of the deceased within the family.⁴¹⁵ While it is unclear whether the emphasis on descending relations between parents and children at Olisipo was due to modes of living, cultural habits, or demographic factors, what is certain, however, is that name structure and language had no discernible influence on this pattern.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. Shaw (1991) on the cultural meaning of age and gender in Roman family commemoration.

Qualitative Discussion: Olisipo

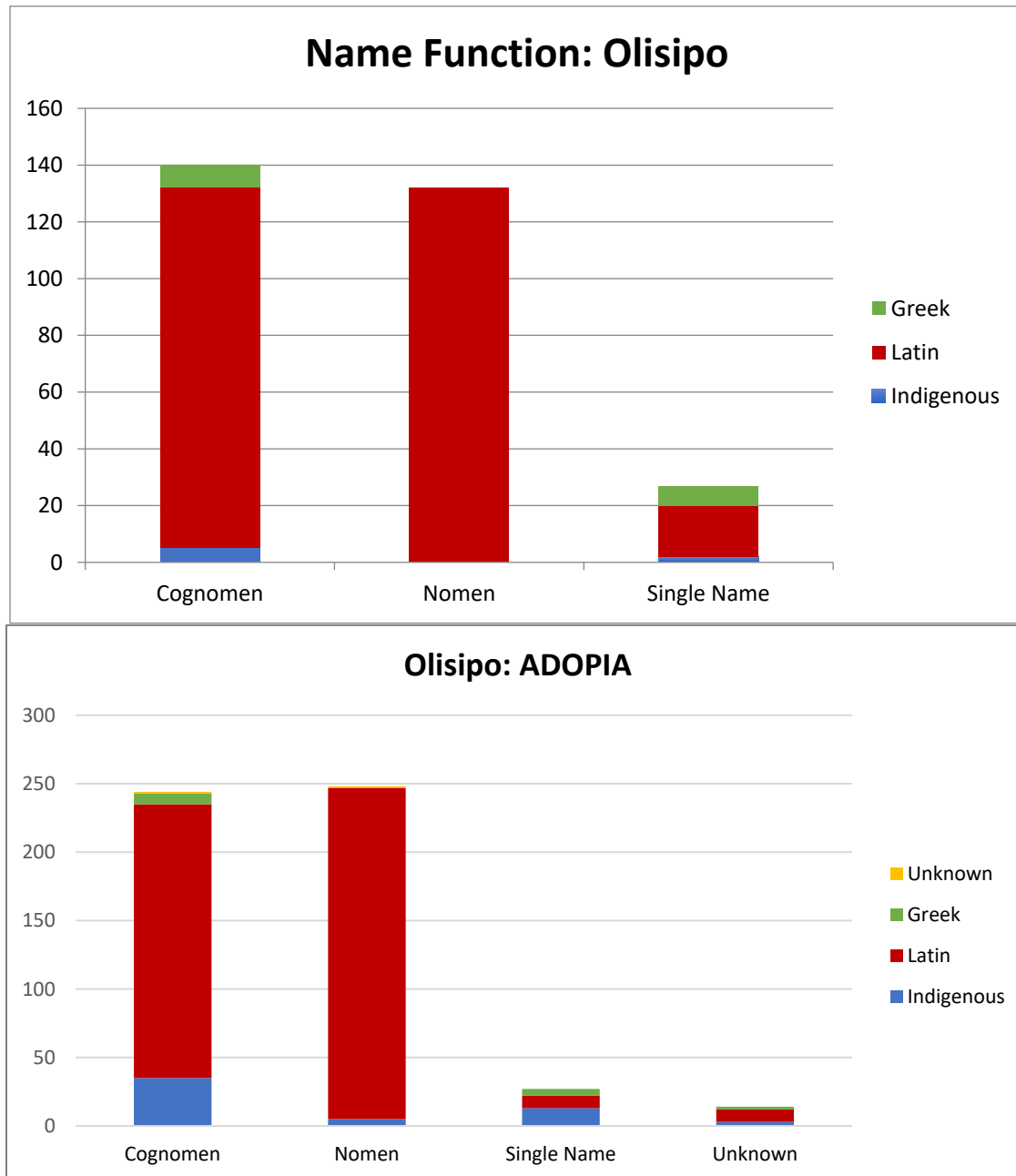


Figure 4.7: Name function by language at Olisipo (compared with comprehensive data from the ADOPIA project – data collected May 2022)

If we observe the linguistic and structural attributes of name elements from Olisipo all together, it is clear that Latin name elements are most common among all of the different structural name elements including *nomina*, *cognomina*, and single names (fig. 4.7). Indigenous name

elements, on the other hand, most commonly appear in the form of *cognomina*, which means that indigenous name elements appear more frequently among individuals with *tria* or *duo nomina*. Upon closer inspection, it also becomes clear that linguistically indigenous name elements in this data set mostly come from inscriptions in the rural hinterland of Olisipo, with the exception of one case from Olisipo proper (Table 4.5).

Inscription	Name	Function	Modern Location	Ancient Location	Date
<i>CIL</i> II, 4996	Antistia Q. f. <u>Maela</u>	Cognomen	Lisboa	Olisipo	31/130
<i>CIL</i> II, 321	L. Valerius <u>Arco</u>	Cognomen	Torres Vedras	Olisipo (T)	1/50
<i>CIL</i> II, 296	Iulia C. f. <u>Tonceta</u>	Cognomen	Torres Vedras	Olisipo (T)	N/A
<i>CIL</i> II, 5010	M. Atilius N(umerius) [f.] Gal. <u>Tanginus</u>	Cognomen	Pianos, Sintra	Olisipo (T)	31/100
<i>CIL</i> II, 5223	<u>Arco</u>	Single Name	Mafra	Olisipo (T)	1/100
<i>CIL</i> II, 5223	<u>Aleba</u>	Single Name	Mafra	Olisipo (T)	1/100
<i>CIL</i> II, 313	L. Iulius Reburus	Cognomen	Bucelas	Olisipo	101/150

Table 4.5: Indigenous name elements at Olisipo.

About these name elements, there are some interesting observations to be made. There are so few examples of individuals possessing indigenous *cognomina*, however, that there does not appear to be a strong tradition of upholding linguistically indigenous name elements across multiple generations in the territory of Olisipo, although one inscription shows that an individual holding an indigenous *cognomen* died in the second century, more than two generations after the conferral of citizenship upon the inhabitants of Olisipo. Hence in rare cases indigenous *cognomina* were still in limited use during the 2nd century CE.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁶ *CIL* II, 313: *D(is) M(anibus) / L(uci) Iuli L(uci) f(ili) Gal(er)ia) / Iusti aedilis / an(norum) XXVIII / L(ucius) Iulius Reburus pate[r] / et Iulia Iusta mater / filio piis(s)imo.*

Secondly, indigenous single names are extremely uncommon in this data set, with the only two examples, Aleba and her father Arco, both appearing from the same inscription found at modern Mafra in the territory of Olisipo and the inscription set up by L. Iulius Reburus.⁴¹⁷ Furthermore, such indigenous name elements at Olisipo seem to be chronologically restricted to inscriptions from the 1st century CE, with only two inscriptions, the epitaph that Antistia Maela set up for her son Q. Caecilius Rufus, dating to 130 CE at the latest.⁴¹⁸ Even in the case of this latest attestation of a linguistically indigenous name element, Antistia Maela, was evidently born during the 1st century CE, since the son she commemorated died in 130 CE at the age of 27. While this is not an exhaustive onomastic study of name elements in Olisipo, it can be safely concluded that individuals with linguistically indigenous single name elements are scarcely mentioned in inscriptions expressing family relations at Olisipo. There are no attestations of linguistically indigenous *nomina* at Olisipo, although these are extremely rare in the whole of Lusitania.⁴¹⁹

Lastly, the fact that 7 out of 8 of the indigenous name elements discussed above came from inscriptions in the rural hinterland of Olisipo (Sintra, Mafra, Torres Vedras, and Loures) complement similar onomastic studies of name elements in religious contexts at Olisipo. Henriques dos Reis has also observed that dedicators with indigenous name elements do not appear at all in urban votive dedications at Olisipo, even though some indigenous divinities received votives: e.g., the altar dedicated to Kassaecus by M. Caecilius Caeno (note: with an indigenous *cognomen*) in the urban centre (*E.Olisipo* 144E = *AE* 1950, 257).⁴²⁰ Conversely, this pattern seems

⁴¹⁷ *CIL* II, 5223: *Aleba Arconis / f(ilia) L(ucio) Iulio Regulo / mater pon/endum / curavit; CIL* II, 313.

⁴¹⁸ *Q(uinto) Caecilio / Gal(eria) Rufo an(norum) / XXVII Antistia / Q(uinti) f(ilia) Maela mat(er) f(aciendum) c(uravit) CIL* II, 4996.

⁴¹⁹ Gorrochategui Churruca and Vallejo Ruiz (2003) p. 365; Recorded indigenous *nomina* from the Hispanic provinces include: Arquius, -a (*CIL* II, 2830; *CIL* II, 377), Calleus, -a (*AE*, 1969-1970, 243; *AE*, 1994, 827; *CIL* II, 4990a = 5163; *CIL* II, 5191), and Caturicus, -a (*CIL* II, 14; *CIL* II, 4)

⁴²⁰ Henriques dos Reis (2015) p. 37.

to be similarly reflected in the onomastic data recorded on inscriptions expressing family relations. These observations lead, again, to the conclusion that the civic centre was almost entirely Latinized and that the process of Latinization was more intense in the urban centre than in the rural hinterland.

The fact that there were so few linguistically indigenous name elements at Olisipo has resulted in a substantial record of linguistically Latin name elements. Of the Latin name elements recorded from the corpus of inscriptions expressing family relations at Olisipo, 132 appear in the form of *nomina*. Of these Latin *nomina*, a number are attested multiple times (Table 4.6).

Nomina					
ANNIVS, -A	1	CORNELIVS, -A	3	MAIA	1
ANTISTIVS, -A	1	CVRIVS, -A	1	MARIVS, -A	1
ANTONIVS, -A	3	DECIVS, -A	1	PETICIVS, -A	1
APONIVS, -A	3	FABIVS, -A	6	POMPEIVS, -A	1
ARRIVS, -A	2	FIRMIDIVS, -A	1	POSTVMIVS, -A	3
ATILIVS, -A	1	FLORICA	1	RVTILIVS, -A	1
AVRELIVS, -A	1	GELLINVS, -A	1	SALVIVS, -A	1
BOVIVS, -A	3	GELLIVS, -A	2	SEMPRONIVS, -A	1
CAECILIVS, -A	8	GEMINVS, -A	1	SERTORIVS, -A	1
CAESIVS, -A	2	IVLIVS, -A	40	TERENTIVS, -A	7
CALVENTIVS, -A	1	IVNIVS, -A	1	TREBONIVS, -A	1
CANTIVS, -A	1	LABERIVS, -A	1	TVLLIVS, -A	1
CASSIVS, -A	2	LICINIVS, -A	6	VALERIVS, -A	3
CLODIVS, -A	2	LOREIVS, -A	1	VIBIVS, -A	1
COELIVS, -A	2	LVSIDIVS, -A	2	VRSIVS, -A	2
COMINIVS, -A	2	LVTATIVS, -A	1		

Table 4.6: Latin *nomina* number of attestations at Olisipo.

Of these, Iulius, -a was the most commonly attested *nomen*, with 40 attestations recorded. The popularity of the *nomen* Iulius, -a is a strong indication that many of the individuals carrying the name were from the families of naturalized citizens in the province, whose ancestors received citizenship when Olisipo was given the status of *municipium civium Romanorum* under Julius

Caesar or Augustus. This popularity of the *nomen* Iulius, -a is well known in the province of Lusitania, and the number of attestations at Olisipo, at least in the case of funerary inscriptions expressing family relations, accounts for almost one third of the *nomina* recorded.

Four other popular *nomina*, each with more than five attestations, were also identified at Olisipo and its surrounding territory: Caecilius, -a, Fabius, -a, Licinius, -a, and Terentius, -a. With the exception of Terentius, -a, all of the other popular *nomina* fall into the category of the ten most commonly attested *nomina* in the Hispanic provinces according to Juan Manuel Abascal Palazón.⁴²¹ While the adoption of these prominent Roman *gentilicia* among naturalized citizens in the Hispanic provinces may result from ties of clientage with prominent Roman families during the process of conquest, it is hard to tell if that is exactly the case in Olisipo especially since the onomastic data are not comprehensive and the fact that there are suspiciously few attestations of Iunii at Olisipo, which was fortified under D. Iunius Brutus Callaicus in 138 BCE.⁴²² Having also reviewed the list of legates in Broughton's *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* who were active in the Hispanic provinces during the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, only two individuals holding these *gentilicia* were active in farther Spain.⁴²³ The first of these was known as C. Fabius, legate to Caesar in his Spanish campaign (Caes. *BC* 1.37, 1.40; 1.58; Dio 41.20.1-2; Cic. *Att.* 8.3.7) and the second was M. Terentius Varro, legate to Pompey in further Spain (Caes. *BC* 1.38, 2.17-21; Liv. *Per.* 110; Suet. *Iul.* 34.2; Plut. *Caes.* 36; etc.).⁴²⁴ It would seem that if the attestations of prominent *gentilicia* at Olisipo were the result of ties of patronage, this is neither reflected

⁴²¹ Juan Manuel Abascal Palazón notes that ten popular *nomina* make up 33.92 % (3940/11614) of all *nomina* recorded in Hispania. These include: Iulius, -a, Valerius, -a, Cornelius, -a, Sempronius, -a, Iunius, -a, Aemilius, -a, Fabius, -a, Licinius, -a, Caecilius, -a, and Antonius, -a. Abascal Palazón (1994) p. 29.

⁴²² Ernst Badian, followed by Robert Knapp and Stephen L. Dyson, have argued that conquest in the provinces was the main source of provincial *clientelae*, who would subsequently adopt the prominent Latin *nomina* of their patrons. Badian (1958) pp. 252-284; Knapp (1978); Dyson (1980-1981).

⁴²³ Broughton (1951) pp. 256-304.

⁴²⁴ Broughton (1951) p. 267; p. 269.

explicitly in the onomastic record nor the literary record, the former of which is limited to the imperial period.⁴²⁵ Nevertheless, there are some key observations to be made about the Terentii, whose *gentilicium* is attested seven times in the body of funerary inscriptions expressing family relations.

Manuela Alves Dias and Catarina Gaspar identify the Terentii as a prominent family that dominated the rural landscape of Olisipo, with attestations of this *nomen* in the areas of Cadafais and Alenquer near the route connecting Olisipo to Scallabis.⁴²⁶ The inscriptions recording the *nomen* Terentius, -a in this study are mainly located in the territory of Olisipo as well (Cadadais, Alenquer, and Morelino), with the exception of one inscription from Olisipo proper. More indirectly, honorific inscriptional evidence connects the Terentii to Luceia Q. f. Albina Terentini (uxor) who served as a *flaminica provinciae Lusitaniae*.⁴²⁷ Alves Dias and Gaspar have also noted an interesting phenomenon in the region of Olisipo, in which individuals adopted or were given maternal *gentilicia* that were employed as *cognomina*, emphasizing bonds between prominent families.⁴²⁸

The *cognomina* recorded from the body of inscriptions expressing family relations at Olisipo also provide an extensive list of linguistically Latin, and some Greek, name elements. First, the *cognomina* recorded in these inscriptions were mostly Latin of which 76 were recorded. Of these Latin *cognomina*, there were four *cognomina* that were attested more than five times. The

⁴²⁵ More recently Francisco Pina Polo and Estela García Fernández have separately argued that Badian, Knapp, and Dyson's methodology does not consider the circumstances and practicalities of the patron-client relationship and overrepresents the number of provincial *clientelae* in the epigraphic record. Pina Polo (2015) pp. 35-38; García Fernández (2015) pp. 115-116.

⁴²⁶ Dias and Gaspar (2013) p. 383.

⁴²⁷ CIL II, 195: *flaminicae / provinciae / Lusitaniae / Serviliae L(uci) f(iliae) / Albini (uxori) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) / Luceiae / Q(uinti) f(iliae) Albinae / Terentiani (uxori) / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.

⁴²⁸ Dias and Gaspar (2013) p. 383.

most popular *cognomina* were: Amoenus, -a (8), Avitus, -a (10), Maximus, -a (10), and Rufus, -a (7) (Table 4.7).

**Latin, Greek and
Indigenous
Cognomina at
Olisipo**

Latin							
AEQVS, -A	1	FESTINVS, -A	1	MARCELLVS, -A	3	RVTILIANVS, -A	1
AMANDA	1	FESTIVS, -A	1	MARCIANVS, -A	2	RVFINVS, -A	1
AMOENVS, -A	8	FESTVS, -A	1	MARINVS, -A	2	RVFVS, -A	7
AQVILA	1	FLORIANVS, -A	1	MATERNVS, -A	1	SABINVS, -A	1
ARRIANVS, -A	1	FORTNATVS, -A	1	MAXIMVS, -A	10	SEVERVS, -A	4
ASPER	1	FRONTO	1	NEPOS	1	SILICIANVS, -A	1
AVDALEA	1	FVNDANVS, -A	1	NERVA	1	SILVANVS, -A	2
AVGVSTANVS, -A	1	FVRNVS	1	NIGRINVS, -A	1	TEMPORANVS, -A	1
AVITVS, -A	10	FVSCVS, -A	1	OPTATINVS, -A	1	TERENTIANVS, -A	1
CAECILIANVS, -A	1	GALLIO	1	PAPIANVS, -A	1	TVSCILLVS, -A	1
CALVVS, -A	1	GALLVS, -A	1	PATERNVS, -A	1	TVSCVS, -A	4
CASIANVS, -A	2	GELLIVS, -A	1	PEREGRINVS, -A	1	VP[---]	1
CASSIANVS, -A	1	GEMINVS, -A	1	POTITVS, -A	1	VEGETVS, -A	1
CIVIS	1	GLAVCVS, -A	1	PRIMITIVS, -A	1	VICILLIO	1
COGITATVS, -A	1	GRATVS, -A	1	PRISCVS, -A	1	VICTOR	1
CORINTHIVS, -A	1	HERMETIANVS, -A	1	PROCVLEIANVS, -A	1	VICTORNIVS, -A	1
CRESCENS	1	IVLIANVS, -A	4	PROCVLVS, -A	4		
DEMETRIVS, -A	1	IVSTVS, -A	2	QVINTILLVS, -A	2		
EXPECTATVS, -A	1	IVVENVS, -A	1	QVINTIVS, -A	1		
FELICVLA	1	LABERNARIVS, -A	1	REGVLVS, -A	1		
				Greek			
Indigenous				ATIMETVS	1		
ARCO	1			EPAGATHVS, -A	1		
MAELA/MAILA	1			EVELPIS	1		
REBVRRVS, -A	1			GAMICE	1		
TANGINVS, -A	1			HERMES	1		
TONGETVS, -A	1			NICOPOLIS	1		
				ORNE	1		
				ZOSIMVS	1		

Table 4.7: *Cognomina* at Olisipo.

Despite the fact that the majority of the *cognomina* recorded from inscriptions expressing family relations at Olisipo were Latin, scholars have noted that particular Latin names were ubiquitous among indigenous provincials, some of which went on to become popular *cognomina* among individuals holding *tria/duo nomina* in Lusitania. In the case of Olisipo, three of the most pervasive Latin *cognomina* (Amoenus, -a, Avitus, -a, and Rufus, -a) were also commonly adopted as single names among non-citizens in Lusitania.⁴²⁹ The most commonly attested Latin *cognomina* at Olisipo (and to a larger extent the popular *nomina* as well) are broadly similar to the preferred Latin names that are common in other areas of Lusitania.⁴³⁰

Indigenous *cognomina* recorded from the corpus of inscriptions expressing family relations at Olisipo are relatively scarce and each name was attested only once. Three inscriptions involving individuals with indigenous *cognomina* also include relations to parents, children, and spouses holding one of the popular Latin *cognomina* discussed above, effectively linking popular Latin *cognomina* to individuals with indigenous name elements:

Q(uito) Caecilio / Gal(eria) Rufo an(norum) / XXVII Antistia / Q(uiti) f(ilia) Maela mat(er) f(aciendum) c(uravit).
CIL II, 4996.

Iulia C(ai) f(ilia) Ton/ceta ann(orurum) XX / h(ic) s(ita) e(st) Iulia L(uci) / f(ilia) Amoena ma(ter) f(aciendum) c(uravit).
CIL II, 296.

M(arco) Atilio N(umeri) [f(ilio)] / Gal(eria) Tangino / [I]ulia Avita uxor d(edit).
CIL II, 5010.

In the first example, Antistia Q.f. Maela sets up a funerary inscription for her son, Q. Caecilius Rufus. In this case, Antistia Maela and her husband chose the *cognomen* Rufus for their son, giving him entirely Latin name elements. The indigenous ancestry of the mother of Q.

⁴²⁹ Navarro Caballero and Bost (2003) p. 414.

⁴³⁰ Cf. Untermann (1965) pp. 11-12; Gorrochategui and Vallejo Ruiz (2003) p. 359; Edmondson & Navarro Caballero (2024).

Caecilius Rufus, whose personal name elements are linguistically and structurally Roman, would be otherwise indiscernible if his mother had not expressed her relation to him in this inscription. Similarly, Iulia L.f. Amoena's funerary dedication to her daughter, Iulia C.f. Tonceta, demonstrates a scenario in which a mother with a Latin *cognomen* has a daughter who is given an indigenous *cognomen*. Lastly, Iulia Avita's funerary dedication to her husband, M. Atilius Tanginus, is another example in which we see individuals with Latin *cognomina* that are popular in Lusitania appearing next to nuclear family members with indigenous *cognomina*. Despite the small quantity of indigenous *cognomina* identified in the corpus of inscriptions expressing family relations, comparison between name elements of other nuclear family members mentioned in the same inscription provides a social and cultural context for the analysis of personal name elements. In this case, all of these inscriptions demonstrate that individuals with indigenous personal name elements at Olisipo often appear alongside nuclear family members who hold commonly attested Latin *cognomina* such as Rufus, -a, Avitus, -a, and Amoenus, -a, which are typically regarded as popular Latin names among the indigenous population based on more quantitative grounds.

The Greek *cognomina* recorded from the body of inscriptions expressing family relations at Olisipo were more numerous than linguistically indigenous *cognomina* accounting for eight attestations. It is highly likely that many of these individuals were freedmen or descendants of freedman, a segment of the population that is well represented in the inscriptional record, not least thanks to religious and honorific dedications by *Augustales* at Olisipo.⁴³¹ When viewed alongside the name elements of other family members included in these inscriptions, individuals with Greek

⁴³¹ Cf. *CIL* II, 175 and *CIL* II, 181 for dedications from *Augustales* to Aesculapius and Mercury respectively. Other inscriptions involving *Augustales* at Olisipo, many of whom held Greek name elements, include: *CIL* II, 182; *CIL* II, 183 ; *CIL* II, 196 ; *CIL* II, 264; *HEp* 1994, 1073; *AE* 1953, 256.

name elements are often accompanied in the inscription by siblings and parents with Latin name elements. In this respect, there does not appear to be a consistent pattern of preserving Greek name elements within nuclear families across multiple generations and even within the same generation.

Some examples include:

D(is) M(anibus) / Aponiae P(ubli) f(iliae) Iulianae / P(ublius) Aponius Iulianu[s] / et Aponia Nicopolis filiae.

CIL II, 272; HEP 2, 1990, 814.

Q(uinto) Bovio Atimetioni Victori / Q(uinti) B(ovi) Marciani / ann(or)um LXX / Q(uintus) B(ovius) Potitus / patri optumo.

AE 1982, 465.

D(is) M(anibus) / Cornelia Gamice / ann(or)um XXV / et L(ucius) Cornelius / Victorinus an(nor)um XXX / fratri et sorori / h(ic) s(iti) s(unt).

CIL II, 211.

D(is) M(anibus) / Q(uinti) Fabi Festivi / an(nor)um XL et / Q(uinti) Fabi Euelpis[t]i fratr(is) / an(nor)um XXX si[t]is urbe Itali[ca] / Q(uintus) Fabius Zosimus / [f]ra[t(er)] f(aciendum) c(uravit).

CIL II, 213.

The funerary dedication from P. Aponius Iulianus and Aponia Nicopolis to their deceased daughter, Aponia P.f. Iuliana, is one example in which a daughter whose mother had a Greek *cognomen* is given a Latin *cognomen*, the exact same one as her father. In this case, since both parents in this inscription share the same relatively rare *nomen*, it is likely that at least one, possibly Aponia Nicopolis, was a freed slave of a former master named P. Aponius. It is also possible that Aponia Nicopolis was manumitted by P. Aponius Iulianus on the condition of marriage, in which case only she need have been enslaved, rather than both individuals being former slaves from the same household. In other cases involving Greek *cognomina* appearing alongside Latin *cognomina* within nuclear families, it is less clear whether the individuals were freedmen or descendants of freedmen. A funerary inscription from a son, Q. Bovius Potitus, to his father, Q. Bovius Atimetio Victor, is another example in which a father with a Greek (and also a Latin) *cognomen* has given

his child a Latin *cognomen*. The name of the dedicator's grandfather, Q. Bovius Marcianus, is also included, however. In this case, Q. Bovius Atimetio Victor's father, who had a Latin *cognomen*, appears to have given his son two *cognomina*: one Greek, one Latin. This inscription demonstrates that Greek *cognomina* are not consistently maintained within multiple generations of a nuclear family, but inscriptions expressing family relations allow for a better understanding of the linguistic diversity of personal name elements within nuclear families and how linguistic elements are either maintained or discarded within families over the course of generations as an expression of personal cultural preference. The families of individuals with Greek *cognomina* at Olisipo demonstrate how family relations provide cultural and social context for the study of onomastics within a population. These examples also serve a cautionary function, to avoid deterministic assumptions about the social status of individuals based on the linguistic attributes of their personal names.

In a similar scenario, siblings may also hold a combination of linguistically different *cognomina*, in these cases both Greek and Latin. One funerary inscription dedicated by an unknown sibling to Cornelia Gamice and her brother L. Cornelius Victorinus is an example of linguistic diversity among the *cognomina* of individuals within the same generation of a nuclear family. Again, it is not explicitly clear whether or not these siblings are freed or descendants of freedmen, but this is another example of nuclear family members holding *cognomina* with different linguistic characteristics.⁴³² Likewise, another funerary inscription from Olisipo involves a dedication between three brothers (Q. Fabius Festivus, Q. Fabius Euelpistus, and Q. Fabius Zosimus), two of whom had Greek *cognomina* and the other a Latin *cognomen*. This ought to

⁴³² M.L. Albertos Firmat argued that women more often retain non-Latin name elements in provincial families but Milagros Navarro Caballero published evidence that shows neither men nor women are more likely to hold indigenous name elements than the other in Roman Lusitania. Cf. Albertos Firmat (1966); Navarro Caballero (2009) p. 454.

demonstrate above all that acculturative processes, such as Latinization, do not entail a linear transition from the use of non-Latin to Latin name elements over generations. Moreover, it also demonstrates the necessity to analyze family relations between individuals wherever possible in order to better understand the social and cultural context in which they lived. In the case of Greek *cognomina* identified in inscriptions expressing family relations at Olisipo, Greek name elements do not exist in a vacuum, separately from Latin name elements, and this is a definite warning against immediately equating Greek onomastics with servile or freed status. In the case of Olisipo, at least, individuals with Greek onomastics often appear alongside family members with Latin name elements. It seems evident that Greek onomastics reflect more of a cultural or personal choice (i.e., when parents named their children) rather than the social status of those possessing Greek name elements. With Olisipo being an important port city with connections to transport and trade networks across the Mediterranean, the inhabitants were comfortable with Latin and Greek culture and this is reflected in the name elements attested in funerary inscriptions.

In addition to these linguistic observations, six inscriptions from Olisipo appear to demonstrate a local habit of matrilineal name transmission between mothers and their children. In some of these examples children possess the exact same *cognomen* as their mother or a *cognomen* derived from their mother's *nomen* (Table 4.8). There are even more cases in which children share the same *nomen* as their mother, but many of them involve common *gentilicia* such as *Iulius*, *-a* or, if the father's name is missing, these might simply be children of freed parents who both took the *nomen* of their former master. For that reason, this discussion will focus on matrilineal name elements that appear in the form of children's *cognomina*:

	Mother	Child
<i>CIL</i> II, 5020	Iulia Procula	Laberia Procula
<i>CIL</i> II, 214	Sempronia Rufina	[-] Fabius Iusti f. Gal(eria) Rufus , Cluniensis
<i>CIL</i> II, 4994	Iulia Casiana	Iulia Decimi f. Casiana
<i>CIL</i> II, 219	Maxima	Iulia Maxima
<i>CIL</i> II, 204	Arria Avita	Q. Cassius Arrianus
<i>HEp</i> 4 1994, 1073	[L]icia M. f. Tusca	[Iu]nia T. f. Tusca
<i>CIL</i> II, 313	Iulia Iusta	L. Iulius L.f. Gal(eria) Iustus

Table 4.8: Children with matrilineal name elements at Olisipo.

While patrilineal name elements are commonly transmitted to children in the form of *nomina* and also sometimes *cognomina* both here and elsewhere in the Roman Empire, there is clearly an atypical pattern, albeit limited, of matrilineal name transmission between mothers and children at Olisipo.⁴³³ This could be for a number of reasons, but it is absolutely certain that there is a correlation between this habit of matrilineal name transmission and the high number of descending nuclear dedications from mothers to their children in this region. It is clear from both the personal names and family relations attested in funerary epigraphy that the bond between mothers and their children (in many cases adult children) was of extreme social and cultural importance at Olisipo. Although the linguistic attributes of personal names at Olisipo do not indicate a high degree of indigenous tradition, patterns in the expression of family relations and name elements recorded for this study indicate that the habit of emphasizing bonds between mothers and children at Olisipo through the medium of funerary epigraphy was culturally determined and particular to this region and found its expression (a) in the selection of children's names and (b) in the commemorative patterns of families.

⁴³³ Jonathan Edmondson has observed similar matrilineal naming patterns elsewhere in the province of Lusitania. Edmondson (2005) p. 221.

The number of single names recorded in the body of inscriptions expressing family relations at Olisipo is comparatively low compared to names involving *tria nomina* or *duo nomina* with a total of 27 attestations, or 9% of all individuals. Moreover, the linguistic attributes of these single names show that they were predominantly Latin with several Greek and only two linguistically indigenous single names (Table 4.9).

Single Names					
Latin				Greek	
AFER/AFRA	1	NIGELIO	1	CALLIOPE	1
AMOENVS, -A	1	PVLTARIVS, -A	1	CLYTE	1
APRONIVS, -A	1	RVTILIVS, -A	1	HOLVMPVS	2
CAEPIO	1	SCAPVLA	1	NEMESIVS, -A	1
CORINTHVS, -A	1	SECVNDIVS, -A	1	SOTIRIS (?)	1
FIRMVS, -A	1	TAVRILLVS, -A	1	TELEMACVS	1
IVSTVS, -A	2	VETTO	1		
MARTIALIS	1	VOLVPTAS	1		
MUNNA	1				
Indigenous					
ALEBA	1				
ARCO	1				

Table 4.9: Single name elements from the sample of inscriptions at Olisipo.

Since there were so few single names attested, most single names are only attested once, with the exception of *Iustus*, -a and *Holumpus* (the latter of which is in fact a Latinization of the Greek name Ὀλυμπος, with hypercorrect aspiration à la Catullus 84), both of which were only attested twice.⁴³⁴ There is no apparent preference for a particular single name among the sample, but the significant number of Greek single names indicates, at the very least, a high degree of preference of Greek personal names at Olisipo. While I am careful not to equate Greek name elements with servile status unless explicitly mentioned, the importance of Olisipo as a port city

⁴³⁴ Cf. Ribeiro (2000) for a discussion of Holumpus' personal name and Catullus 84.

and its access by sea to the Mediterranean would have undoubtedly entailed more frequent access to Greek language and culture. The prominent position of *Augustales* and other freedmen at Olisipo discussed earlier in this chapter also indicates that there was a significant slave and freed population at Olisipo, but there is no explicit correlation between servile status and Greek name elements in this case. The relatively high number of Greek names recorded at Olisipo stands in contrast to the data from all of the other civic communities discussed in this dissertation.⁴³⁵

Conclusions

Archaeological evidence, historical evidence, and certain aspects of the epigraphic record depict a civic community that could be described in a traditional sense as highly “Romanized”. A traditional, and now widely rejected, definition of this process would argue that following conquest and conferral of citizenship upon the population there was a linear transition from local or indigenous modes of living to “Roman” modes of living and behaviour. But was this really the case at Olisipo?⁴³⁶ Archaeological and epigraphic materials show evidence of a monumental theatre, cryptoporticus, and bath complexes along with inscriptions naming the local benefactors who commissioned these structures. Inscriptional evidence shows a strong presence of *Augustales*, who performed numerous acts of euergetism, a behaviour traditionally associated with ‘Roman’ urban life.⁴³⁷ The strong presence of these *Augustales* is definitely an indication that public life at

⁴³⁵ Linguistically Greek name elements at Olisipo outnumber indigenous name elements, which is uncommon compared to the other civic communities discussed in this dissertation. That is not to say, however, that Greek name elements do not appear in similar quantities elsewhere. Jonathan Edmondson, for example, has noted that Greek name elements are numerous at Augusta Emerita, the capital of the province of Lusitania and has equated this phenomenon to communities that experienced higher degrees of ‘Romanization’. Edmondson (2005) pp. 226-227.

⁴³⁶ This is keeping in line with recent scholarly consensus that the process of ‘Romanization’, a term now generally rejected among scholars, is a reciprocal process of cultural hybridization in which elements of indigenous cultural habits remain to varying degrees on a regional basis despite pressure from Roman legal and political institutions during the process of integration within the Roman imperial power network. Cf. Millett (1990), Woolf (1998), Webster (2001), Hingley (2005), and Mattingly (2013) on acculturative models and the ‘Romanization’ debate.

⁴³⁷ *CIL* II, 175; *CIL* II, 181; *CIL* II, 183. For more on *Augustales* in the Hispanic provinces see Étienne (1958); Serrano Delgado (1988). While *Augustales* are traditionally regarded as priests of the Imperial cult, more recent studies have led to the abandonment of this view and have argued that they served more of a social function,

Olisipo, or at least how it was represented in the epigraphic record, is more analogous to that of *coloniae* in the province of Lusitania than to that of Flavian *municipia*. Moreover, onomastic data show that many of the individuals attested in funerary inscriptions expressing family relations held *tria nomina* confirming that many of the inhabitants of this *municipium civium Romanorum* held full citizen status along with all of the rights and privileges that accompany Roman *civitas*.⁴³⁸

The problem with using ‘Romanization’ to describe the acculturative process at Olisipo is that the degree of so-called ‘Romanization’ is contingent on which data are being analyzed. A study of personal names, architecture, or archaeology alone provides a linear portrayal of a Lusitanian city that transformed from a fishing town on the frontier to a bustling Roman civic centre. Beneath the veneer of these ‘Roman’ cultural markers are obscured elements of family life and networks of personal relationships that reflect vestigial elements of pre-Roman life. Although there are many markers of so-called ‘Romanization’ at Olisipo, an in-depth analysis of both personal name elements and expressions of family relations in the epigraphic record indicate that the process of cultural change at ancient Olisipo was much more nuanced and complicated.

Mothers’ proclivity for commemorating their deceased adult children was the most obvious commemorative habit identified in the corpus of funerary inscriptions expressing family relations at Olisipo. Of all of the expressions of family relations between members of the nuclear family recorded, 40% of them were from mothers to their deceased adult children. Of the children receiving these dedications, the average age of the deceased was 24.5 years. Compared to the patterns of family relations observed in the *Conventus Pacensis*, at Norba and the Flavian *municipia* of Capera, Caurium, Turgalium, and Augustobriga in the province of Cáceres, and the

engaging in civic activities on behalf of the Imperial regime and performing acts of euergetism. More recently R. Duthoy and A. Abramenko have argued that the both freedmen and *ingenui* could serve as *Augustales* and that they constituted a ‘middle class’ echelon of urban society. Cf. Duthoy (1978); Abramenko (1993) pp. 128-189.

⁴³⁸ Cf. Dias and Gaspar (2013).

Civitas Igaeditanorum, Olisipo is the only civic community in which bonds between mothers and their deceased children are emphasized so strongly.

Moreover, onomastic data indicate that there was a habit of matrilineal name transmission at Olisipo not seen in the data from other civic communities in this study. In a number of cases, children with *tria nomina* share a name element with their mother. The extent of this habit is obscured by the fact that the name of both the child and the mother are not always present in every inscription. The high number of dedications from mothers to their deceased children has provided an opportunity to observe this habit at Olisipo. Nevertheless, the habit of matrilineal name transmission and the high number of funerary dedications from mothers to their adult children indicate that bonds between mothers and their children were of particular importance at Olisipo. If this analysis were based solely on personal names, this phenomenon would have gone unnoticed.

This conclusion, therefore, makes a very strong argument for the synthesis of both onomastic data and expressions of family relations for writing the social history of the family in the Hispanic provinces. In the case of Olisipo, the linguistic and structural elements of personal names give the impression of a society that had adopted a typically ‘Roman’ mode of living, while the personal relations emphasized through acts of funerary dedication and the transmission of personal name elements across generations reveal a vestigial cultural habit being maintained beneath a veneer of *Romanitas*.

A comparative approach to family relations and personal name elements indicates that despite the relatively small number of inscriptions involving people with indigenous given names, descending nuclear dedications between parents and children were also the most common among the group. Moreover, the dedicator and deceased had linguistically differing given names in most of these acts of commemoration involving individuals with indigenous given names, indicating

that across generations nuclear families contained bicultural linguistic elements, further complicating the dichotomy between Latin and indigenous personal names. Nevertheless, it appears that there is no apparent correlation between the linguistic attributes of personal names of people in the region and the patterns of family relations expressed. Instead, there is a consistent and strong habit of descending nuclear dedications from parents to their children, who in most cases were adults over the age of marriage. Moreover, it is not expressly clear whether this pattern was due to practical factors such as agricultural or coastal modes of living, cultural factors, or demographic factors. What is clear, however, is that Olisipo yields the highest percentage of descending nuclear dedications of all the civic communities discussed in this study, twenty percent higher than recorded by Saller and Shaw for the entirety of the Hispanic provinces.⁴³⁹ Given the highly abnormal rate of descending nuclear dedications, the fact that most of these are from mothers to their children, and the habit of matrilineal name transmission in some cases, it seems most likely that this was a culturally determined habit. Agrarian lifestyles do not provide an adequate practical basis for strong relations between mothers and their children. It seems, rather, that bonds between mothers and children were so strong at Olisipo that they were also emphasized to a certain degree in naming practices. In the absence of examples of pre-Roman funerary epigraphy in the region, however, little else can be said about the reason for these commemorative patterns.

⁴³⁹ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

Table of Relations: Olisipo

Name of Dedicator	Name of Deceased	Relation	Age of Death	Reference
Conjugal				
M. Terentius Tuscus	Atinia L. f. Amoena Tusci (uxor)	Husband to Wife		<i>CIL</i> II, 275
L. Terentius Furnus	Pompeia Epagatha	Husband to Wife		<i>CIL</i> II, 5227
M. Gellius Rutilianus	[Iu]lia [-. f.] Vegeta	Husband to Wife		<i>CIL</i> II, 197 = 5218
[I]ul(ius) Papianus	Postumia Q. f. Quintilla	Husband to Wife		<i>CIL</i> II, 245
Trebonius Tuscus	Curia Sex. f. Fundana	Husband to Wife		<i>CIL</i> II, 212
Iulia Avita	M. Atilius N. f. Gal. Tanginus	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL</i> II, 5010
Luc[retia...] Caec[iliana]	N/A	Wife to Husband		<i>AE</i> 2006, 570
[---]na	[---]anus	Wife to Husband		<i>AE</i> 2015, 538
Afra	Vetto	Wife to Husband	26	<i>CIL</i> II, 201
Iulia M. f. Marcella	Q. Caecilius Q. f. Gal. Caecilianus	Wife to Husband	40	<i>CIL</i> II, 261
Calventia Iuliana	Lutatius Asper	Wife to Husband	29	<i>Olisipo</i> , 5
[...]nna	T(---) Nigrinus	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL</i> II, 251
Peticia P. f. Tusca	C. Caecilius Q. f. Gal. Gallus	Wife to Husband		<i>CIL</i> II, 192
Descending Nuclear				
M. Terentius Tuscus	Terentia M. f. Tusca	Father to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 275
Ant(onius) Amoenus	Antonia Amoena	Father to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 270
C. Iulius Silvanus	Iulia Labernaria	Father to Daughter	37	<i>CIL</i> II, 291
P. Aponius Iulianus	Aponia P. f. Iuliana	Father to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 272, rev. <i>HEp</i> 2, 1990, 814
[Do]mitius	N/A	Father to Daughter	3	<i>FE</i> 2018, 170
pater	P. Ursius P.f. Gal. Priscus	Father to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 256
M. Terentius Tuscus	M. Terentius M. f. Gal Aquila	Father to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 275
Q. Coelius Cassianus	Q. Coelius Aquila	Father to Son	16	<i>CIL</i> II, 284
Holumpus	Holumpus Marci Lab(eri) ser.	Father to Son		<i>AE</i> 2000, 681
C. Terentius Maxumus Terentianus	C. Terentius C. f. Gal. Rufus	Father to Son	17	<i>CIL</i> II, 320
Q. Iul(ius) Ge[---]	N/A	Father to Son		<i>AE</i> 1999, 859
C. Licinius Avitus	L. Licinius C. f. Gal. Proculus	Father to Son	22	<i>CIL</i> II, 305
Q. Iulius Maximus	Q. Iulius Maximus Gal. Nepos Afer	Father to Son		<i>CIL</i> II 354; <i>Olisipo</i> , 116

Iulia Iusta	L. Iulius L. f. Gal. Iustus	Mother to Son	28	<i>CIL</i> II, 313
L. Iulius Reburus	L. Iulius L. f. Gal. Iustus	Father to Son	28	<i>CIL</i> II, 313
C. Lusidius Rufus	Q. Lusidius Proculeianus	Father to Son	11	<i>CIL</i> II, 310
P. Caecilius Hermes	Caecilius P. f. Hermetianus	Father to Son	2 +10 months, 17days	<i>CIL</i> II, 205
P. Caecilius Hermes	P. Caecilius Sicilianus	Father to Son	7 + 3m + 7d	<i>CIL</i> II, 205
G. Fabius Tuscus	G. Fabius G. f.	Father to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 5008
Licina Amanda	Maurinus	Mother to Son		<i>ILER</i> , 6204
Gemina Marcella	N/A	Mother to Child		<i>CIL</i> II, 215
Maia Felicula	N/A	Mother to Daughter	26	<i>CIL</i> II, 235
Iulia L. f. Amoena	Iulia C. f. Tonceta	Mother to Daughter	20	<i>CIL</i> II, 296
Iulia Casiana	Iulia D.f. Casiana	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 4994
N/A	[...] Marcella	Mother to Daughter		<i>Olisipo</i> , 10
N/A	Iulia L.f. Amoena	Mother to Daughter	12	<i>AE</i> 1982, 463
Amoena	Curia Sex. f. Fundana	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 212
Sempronia Rufina	Caecilia Scapulae f. Gemina Olisiponensis	Mother to Daughter	18	<i>CIL</i> II, 214
N/A	Mem[mia? ---]ia	Mother to Daughter		<i>AE</i> 1962, 319
<i>mater</i>	Iulia Q. f. Aequa	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 218
[Iu]ia? Tuscilla	[Mun]atia? Amoena	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 236
Iulia	[D]ecia D. f. Avita	Mother to Daughter	27	<i>CIL</i> II, 278
Iulia Glauca	Iulia Labernaria	Mother to Daughter	37	<i>CIL</i> II, 291
Aponia Nicopolis	Aponia P. f. Iuliana	Mother to Daughter		<i>CIL</i> II, 272, rev. <i>HEp</i> 2, 1990, 814
Maxima	Iulia Max(ima)	Mother to Daughter	30	<i>CIL</i> II, 219
Terentia L. f. Maxuma	Iulia C. f. Amoena	Mother to Daughter	27	<i>CIL</i> II, 318
N/A	Iulia C. f. Tusca Postumia	Mother to Daughter	18	<i>CIL</i> II, 222b
Caesia Amoena	Antonia Maxima	Mother to Daughter	32	<i>CIL</i> II, 271
Iulia Quintilla	Q. Iulius Q. f. Gal. Fronto	Mother to Son	17	<i>AE</i> 1982, 467
Maria Procul[a]	L. Cantius L.f. Gal. Marinus	Mother to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 193
Iulia ...	[---] Q.f. Gal. [---]s N/A	Mother to Son	19	<i>AE</i> 1982, 464
Voluptas	Pultarius Flaviani ser.	Mother to Son	25	<i>CIL</i> II, 314
Munna	Nigellio	Mother to Son	17	<i>CIL</i> II, 238
Licina Maxuma	M. Valerius M. f. Gal. Gallio	Mother to Son	33	<i>CIL</i> II, 323
Antistia Q. f. Maela	Q. Caecilius Gal. Rufus	Mother to Son	27	<i>CIL</i> II, 4996
Iulia Iuliana	M. Iulius Avitus	Mother to Son	28	<i>HEp</i> 1998, 607
Calliope	[---]agius	Mother to Son	15	<i>AE</i> 2015, 537

Aleba Arconis f.	L. Iulius Regulus	Mother to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 5223
Iulia M. f. Marcella	M. Caecilius Q. f. Gal. Avitus	Mother to Son	18	<i>CIL</i> II, 261
Caesia Avita	M. Loreius M. f. Gal. Maternus	Mother to Son	25	<i>CIL</i> II, 5022
Rutilia	L. Rutilius L. f. Gal. Severus	Mother to Son	30	<i>CIL</i> II, 5005
N/A	L. Licinius L. f. Gal Rufus	Mother to Son	30	<i>CIL</i> II, 5021
Iunia Festina	L. Terentius Primitivus	Mother to Son	32	<i>CIL</i> II, 319
N/A	L. Cornelius Avitus	Mother to Son	17	<i>CIL</i> II, 5001
N/A	L. Licinius Temporanus	Mother to Son	35	<i>CIL</i> II, 308
Cominia	L. Cominius Expectatus	Mother to Son		<i>CIL</i> II, 210
Ascending Nuclear				
N/A	N/A	Child to Mother		<i>AE</i> 1995, 727
N/A	Soteris	Child to Parent		<i>CIL</i> II, 317
N/A	Taurillus	Child to Parent	80	<i>CIL</i> II, 317
Iulia Festa	L. Iulius Fuscus	Daughter to Father		<i>Cascais</i> , 12
Lucretia L. f. Av[ita]?	L. Lucretius [- f.] Gal. Nep[os]?	Daughter to Father		<i>Olisipo</i> , 102
Iul(ia) Orne	Iul(ia) Severa	Daughter to Mother	55	<i>CIL</i> II, 220
Iulia Procula	Laberia Procula	Daughter to Mother	61	<i>CIL</i> II, 5020
Florica Sabina	Iulia D.f. Casiana	Daughter to Mother		<i>CIL</i> II, 4994
Terentia Maxsuma	Sallvia P. f. Amoena	Daughter to Mother		<i>CIL</i> II, 316 = 5220
[Iu]nia T. f. Tusca	[?Pub]licia M. f. Tusca	Daughter to Mother		<i>Olisipo</i> , 115
Nemesius	Telemachus	Son to Father	40	<i>CIL</i> II, 253
Q. B(ovius) Potitus	Q. Bovius Atimetio Victor, son of Q. B(ovius) Marcianus	Son to Father	70	<i>AE</i> 1982, 465
(Cominius) Augustanus	L. Cominius Expectatus	Son to Father		<i>CIL</i> II, 210
(Cominius) Iustus	L. Cominius Expectatus	Son to Father		<i>CIL</i> II, 210
N/A	L. Valerius Gal. Severus	Son to Father	50	<i>CIL</i> II, 254
N/A	L. Valerius Gal. Severus	Son to Father	50	<i>CIL</i> II, 254
C. Iulius Up[...]	Gellia Grata	Son to Mother	37	<i>AE</i> 1962, 327
Q. Cassius Arrianus	Arria Avita	Son to Mother		<i>CIL</i> II, 204
G. Fabius Tuscus	Iulia Severa Audalea?	Stepson to Stepmother		<i>CIL</i> II, 5008
Siblings				
N/A	Iulius C. f. Nerva	Brother to Brother		<i>CIL</i> II, 297
Postumius Florianus	Postumius Vicillio	Brother to Brother	35	<i>CIL</i> II, 246
Q. Fabius Zosimus	Q. Fabius Festivus	Brother to Brother	40	<i>CIL</i> II, 213

Q. Fabius Zosimus	Q. Fabius Eulpistus	Brother to Brother	30	<i>CIL</i> II, 213
C. Iulius Rufus	Q. Iulius M. f. Gal. Silvanus	Brother to Brother		<i>CIL</i> II, 227
N/A	L. Cornelius Victorinus	Sibling to Brother	30	<i>CIL</i> II, 211
N/A	Cornelia Gamice	Sibling to Sister	25	<i>CIL</i> II, 211
[Iu]nia T. f. Tusca	[---- A]vitus??	Sister to Brother	22	<i>Olisipo</i> , 115
Secundina	Martialis	Sister to Brother		<i>CIL</i> II, 103
Descending Extended				
Annia Corinthia	M. Cassius Marcianus	Grandmother to Grandson	22	<i>CIL</i> II, 4998
Vibia Maxima	L. Cantius L.f. Gal. Marinus	Grandmother to Grandson		<i>CIL</i> II, 193
Sempronia Rufina	[-] Fabius Iusti f. Gal. Rufus, Cluniensis	Mother-in-Law to Son-in-Law	40	<i>CIL</i> II, 214
Ascending Extended				
L. Valerius Arco	M. Tullius M. f. Gal. Crescens	Son-in-Law to Father-in-Law		<i>CIL</i> II, 321
Q. Sertorius Calvus	L. Valerius Gal. Severus	Son-in-Law to Father-in-Law	50	<i>CIL</i> II, 254
Heirs				
N/A	M. Aurelius M. f. Gal. Marinus	Heir to Testator		<i>CIL</i> II, 203
N/A	M. Aurelius M. f. Gal. Marinus	Heir to Testator		<i>CIL</i> II, 203

Conclusion

The findings of this dissertation elucidate the intricate interplay between family relations and personal naming practices within the Roman province of Lusitania from the late-1st century BCE to the 3rd century CE. The analysis reveals that processes of Roman imperial conquest and provincial administration, urbanization, the foundation of colonies and the promotion of *civitates stipendiariae* to municipal rank significantly influenced local expressions of family and kinship and that these differed to some degree among various communities. In this respect, this study has demonstrated that there was a complex pattern of cultural adaptation rather than wholesale assimilation when it came to the adoption of Roman naming practices and patterns of family relations expressed through funerary commemorations in Lusitania. While there was a clear uptake of Roman funerary practices in general, many communities retained indigenous naming conventions alongside the adoption of Latinized names following the grant of Roman citizenship rights either in the form of full Roman citizenship or the conferral of *ius Latii*. The regional variations identified in this study highlight a spectrum of responses to what might typically be referred to as “Romanization”, showing that local traditions and demographic factors played a crucial role in shaping both onomastic and commemorative habits.

Chapter 1, which analyzed data from the *Conventus Pacensis*, provides significant insights into family relations and onomastic practices within a region of Lusitania that displayed a high degree of onomastic Latinization and descending nuclear dedications. The predominance of the latter, which account for the largest portion of family relations expressed in funerary inscriptions, demonstrates a strong cultural emphasis on social bonds between parents and their adult children. Notably, the Augustan *municipium* of Ebora exhibited a particularly high occurrence of such dedications, reflecting close parental relationships with children that extended well past

marriageable age. Another finding is the correlation between Greek onomastic elements and conjugal dedications.

Furthermore, the data from Olisipo (Chapter 4) also indicate a high frequency of descending nuclear dedications from parents to adult children, a pattern similar to those seen in Ebora, suggesting that strong familial relationships were a prevailing regional practice here too. Another similarity extends to the onomastic patterns where Olisipo and the *Conventus Pacensis* both demonstrate a higher adoption of *duo/tria nomina* than in the other regions of the province studied, signifying extensive adoption of Roman naming practices, yet at the same time a retention of local naming traditions to a certain degree. These cross-regional patterns reveal not just the localized expressions of familial and cultural practices but also a broader spectrum of integrated and retained traditions across Roman Lusitania.

The data collected from the funerary inscriptions and onomastic records in the modern province of Cáceres (Chapter 2) offer a multifaceted perspective on the complex interactions between Roman and indigenous culture during the first two centuries CE. Analysis of nuclear family commemoration reveals that the province of Cáceres demonstrated a pronounced emphasis on ascending and descending nuclear relations, a trend that deviates from broader Hispanic provincial patterns identified by Saller and Shaw.⁴⁴⁰ This suggests that the bonds between parents and children were of importance within this region. In terms of onomastics in the province of Cáceres, a diversity in practices is observed across different communities. While certain communities such as Norba Caesarina and Capera exhibited high degrees of Latinization, indicated by the prevalence of *duo* and *tria nomina*, other areas such as Augustobriga, Caurium, and

⁴⁴⁰ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

Turgalium maintained substantial numbers of individuals with linguistically indigenous name elements, even into the 2nd century CE. This retention of indigenous names may suggest some form of localized resistance to complete cultural assimilation, reflecting a complex process of identity formation that blended both Roman and local traditions. The persistence of single-name structures, particularly in some Flavian *municipia*, further signifies that the adoption of Roman nomenclature was not uniformly embraced even following the grant of *ius Latii*. While some communities, like Capera, demonstrated rapid onomastic Latinization, others like Turgalium and Caurium exhibited a slower, more gradual transition. This linguistic dichotomy within family onomastics highlights that cultural integration was a selective and individualized process. This process was not solely influenced by the juridical status of individuals or by the civic promotion of communities.

The province of Cáceres, with its data drawn from five Roman civic communities, in this case, exemplifies a microcosm of the broader processes of acculturation across the province, characterized by significant local variations and a persistent interplay between Roman and indigenous customs. The analysis of commemorative data from here reveals distinct patterns in dedicatory practices that shed light on cultural and social dynamics within the region. A comparative evaluation with the western Roman provinces analyzed by Saller and Shaw highlights both unique and common trends: first, there is a pronounced emphasis on nuclear family relationships in the province of Cáceres, particularly between parents and children. Among the 301 recorded nuclear relations, ascending and descending nuclear dedications almost equally shared 34% each, contrasting with the patterns seen in studies like those of Saller and Shaw on a broad range of western provinces, where descending nuclear dedications typically dominate.⁴⁴¹

⁴⁴¹ Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

This balanced distribution suggests a unique local emphasis on commemorating both parents and children within the region. By contrast, in previous studies for the whole of the Hispanic provinces, the numbers typically show higher descending nuclear proportions (36%) and lower ascending commemorations (25%).⁴⁴² This unusual parity in the province of Cáceres is impacted significantly by the data from Turgalium, where ascending dedications were abnormally high. A statistical analysis confirmed this pattern at Turgalium was statistically significant ($P=0.001$).

If the province of Cáceres is compared with other regions, patterns observed elsewhere in Lusitania and the *Conventus Pacensis* reflect both diversity and commonality. For instance, there was a higher proportion of conjugal dedications in the *Conventus Pacensis*, illustrating a pattern prevalent in Western Roman provinces but this was less pronounced in the province of Cáceres. Similarly high proportions of ascending nuclear dedications were observed in the *Civitas Igaeditanorum*, where children to parent dedications predominated, echoing the trends found at Turgalium. This reinforces the argument that cultural or demographic factors, such as local mortality patterns, could be influential. The patterns elucidated from the province of Cáceres exemplify a localized cultural landscape where Roman and indigenous traditions interplayed in complex ways.

The data from the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* (Chapter 3) present a detailed and nuanced picture of the patterns and trends in funerary commemoration and the use of personal names in a more remote region of Lusitania. The data suggest a complex process of acculturation in which indigenous cultural practices were retained alongside an increasing adoption of Roman elements. This complexity is particularly evident in the prevalence of collective commemorations at *Civitas*

⁴⁴² Saller and Shaw (1984) p. 148.

Igaeditanorum, with 47% of the 89 funerary inscriptions involving multiple dedicators and/or multiple deceased. This practice resulted in a higher number of relations being identified from fewer inscriptions, with nuclear family relations accounting for 73% of all relations expressed. This reflects a strong emphasis on family bonds within the local community. Moreover, the pattern of family relations was atypical compared to other areas of the Hispanic provinces. Ascending nuclear relations (dedications from children to parents) were more prominent (39% of nuclear relations) than descending nuclear (parents to children) or conjugal dedications. This suggests a unique local commemorative behaviour possibly rooted in pre-Roman cultural traditions.

In terms of onomastic data, the emphasis on single names at the Civitas Igaeditanorum is indicative of the persistence of indigenous naming practices even as Latin names became more common. This high degree of Latinization demonstrates a quick process of linguistic change in naming practice, though a significant number of individuals continued to use indigenous names. From a chronological standpoint, there was also a shift in naming practices and commemorative habits that coincided with the grant of the *ius Latii* in 73-74 CE during the Flavian period. This shift included the increasing adoption by parents with indigenous names of Latin given names for their children while retaining the single name structure. In the study of Civitas Igaeditanorum, there are also patterns and cultural practices that bear a resemblance to those observed in other regions of Roman Lusitania. Both the Civitas Igaeditanorum and the community of Turgalium exhibited analogous proportions of indigenous to Latin names and the persistence of single names over the *duo* or *tria nomina* structures typical of Roman citizens. In both communities, individuals with indigenous given names most frequently appeared in nuclear dedications to parents or children, indicating a strong intergenerational retention of indigenous cultural identity even as Latin influences grew.

At both Civitas Igaeditanorum and Augustobriga, there was a significant prevalence of descending nuclear dedications from parents to children and ascending dedications from children to their parents. This pattern contrasts with the overall trends observed in the Hispanic provinces, where nuclear family relations were typically documented with a descending focus.⁴⁴³ Such patterns underscore localized commemorative behaviours emphasizing nuclear family ties in these communities. In addition, both the Civitas Igaeditanorum and Turgalium showed substantial retention of indigenous single names and matrilineal or bi-lineal naming practices, such as children receiving names from their maternal grandparents. These practices highlight the enduring influence of pre-Roman cultural traditions in the face of acculturation. Specifically, the Civitas Igaeditanorum presented several inscriptions where matrilineal filiation was evident, indicating a deep-rooted local cultural practice.

Chapter 4 on Olisipo paints a detailed and multifaceted picture of the city's commemorative practices, onomastic trends, and cultural landscape. The role of mothers in funerary dedications at Olisipo is especially striking. Out of 56 descending nuclear dedications, 38, or approximately 67.8%, were from mothers to their children, with sons and daughters equally represented. This maternal prominence is further accentuated by nearly 40% of all nuclear dedications being attributed to mothers. A statistical analysis confirmed the statistical significance of this trend, presenting a confidence level of 99.8% ($P = 0.002$). The detailed examination of these dedications reveals that the children commemorated by their mothers were often adults, with the median age of deceased children being 27 years. Notably, over two-thirds of these children were above 20 years old, and almost one-third were over 30. This pattern suggests that the bonds between mothers

⁴⁴³ Saller and Shaw (1984) p.148.

and their adult children were particularly strong in Olisipo, a trend not paralleled in other communities within the study.

In terms of onomastic practices, the data from Olisipo indicate a high degree of Latinization. The prevalence of Latin *tria/duo nomina* among both dedicators and the deceased further demonstrates the high level of “Romanization” in Olisipo, a phenomenon less observed in some other Lusitanian communities where single indigenous names were more common. However, a deeper analysis reveals a complex cultural integration beneath this veneer of *Romanitas*.

A comparison between the funerary and onomastic patterns observed in the regions studied here and those documented at Augusta Emerita further illuminates the distinctiveness of local responses to Roman cultural models within Lusitania. Augusta Emerita, as the provincial capital and a Roman colony populated in the main by Roman citizens, offers an illustrative case of pronounced Romanization in both funerary practice and naming conventions. As established in recent scholarship, notably the comprehensive corpus and analysis provided by Edmondson first in 2000, then in 2005 and, most recently in Hidalgo Martín et al. (2019), Augusta Emerita presents a model of funerary commemoration and onomastic change closely aligned with the ideals of *Romanitas*, both in ritual form and epigraphic formulae.⁴⁴⁴

By contrast, the regions examined in this dissertation reveal a spectrum of variation, frequently deviating from the patterns identified at Augusta Emerita. While certain elements of Roman practice are adopted, local traditions and choices persist, resulting in a more heterogeneous landscape of commemoration. This suggests that the influence of Augusta Emerita as a cultural

⁴⁴⁴ Edmondson (2000), (2005) and in Hidalgo Martín et al. (2019), 167-200 (chapter 6). On the onomastics of Augusta Emerita, see Edmondson (2024a).

exemplar, though significant, was neither uniform nor entirely successful in establishing a province-wide standard. Instead, communities across Lusitania appear to have negotiated their own approaches to funerary commemoration and personal naming, informed by local priorities and contexts rather than merely replicating those of the provincial capital. These findings underscore the diversity inherent in provincial responses to Roman cultural models and caution against assuming a straightforward process of cultural diffusion from metropolitan centres such as Augusta Emerita to the wider region. The evidence assembled here supports a more nuanced view, in which agency and local adaptation played key roles in shaping the landscape of funerary commemoration and onomastic practices in Roman Lusitania.

The issue of juridical status and the naming conventions among *Latini* have been a focal point of extensive discussion throughout this study. One of the pivotal queries addressed is whether *Latini*, individuals who held the Latin rights (*ius Latii*), could possess the *tria nomina*, a convention typically associated with full Roman citizenship. This dissertation has shown that there is clear evidence that *Latini* were permitted to adopt the *tria nomina* based on inscriptional evidence. The *Lex Irnitana* provides critical evidence about the juridical status of *Latini*. This law explicitly outlines several legal capacities for *municipes* (local citizens holding Latin rights) that align closely with those of full Roman citizens. For example, it establishes that these *municipes* could exercise *patria potestas*, contradicting earlier scholarly arguments that only Roman citizens possessed this right.⁴⁴⁵ Importantly, the *Lex Irnitana* stipulates that, for the selection of judges (*iudices*) in the municipality, a number should be chosen from the *municipes* (i.e., Latin citizens), who must have 5000 sesterces of wealth (or be under the *potestas* of someone who does), and they must display

⁴⁴⁵ *Lex Irnitana*, ch. 22: *qui ciuitatem Romanam consequuntur, maneat in eorumdem manu mancupio potestate*. Cf. González & Crawford (1986) p. 154.

their *praenomen*, father's *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen* on a whitened board (*album*) that can be read from ground level, even if they were not from the *decuriones* or *conscripti*, indicating that *Latini* could indeed possess and use *tria nomina*.⁴⁴⁶

Inscriptional evidence supports the premise that *Latini* had the option to adopt the *tria nomina*. An analysis of personal names indicates that while the grant of *ius Latii* under Vespasian in 73-74 CE provided the opportunity for *Latini* to assume the *tria nomina*, the choices varied across regions and individuals. In the Hispanic provinces, some *Latini* adopted the *tria* or *duo nomina*, integrating Roman naming conventions into their identities. Others, particularly in regions that retained strong indigenous cultural ties, chose to retain their single names well into the 2nd century CE.

The adoption of Roman naming conventions was not uniform. Civic communities like Olisipo, which was a *municipium* of Roman citizens, show a high percentage of individuals with *tria/duo nomina*, indicative of early and widespread Romanization following their gaining of full citizenship. Conversely, other regions like the *Conventus Pacensis*, which included the *colonia* of Pax Iulia, and Turgalium demonstrate a significant retention of single names, suggesting a slower or more selective acculturation process. This variation can be particularly noted in areas such as the province of Cáceres, where the personal onomastics reveal a mixed picture. Despite the legal capacity to adopt the *tria nomina*, many individuals retained their pre-Roman naming conventions. The distinctions observed at *municipia* like Capera and *coloniae* like Norba Caesarina illustrate this point well, with many inhabitants at Capera maintaining their indigenous names despite the inhabitants receiving *ius Latii* in 73-74 CE.

⁴⁴⁶ *Lex Irnitana*, Ch. 86. Cf. González & Crawford (1986) p. 196.

The choice to adopt the *tria nomina* involved complex social and cultural dynamics. The retention of indigenous single names can reflect a range of motives from cultural pride and identity preservation to pragmatic considerations related to local social structures and family traditions. Additionally, the adoption of Latin elements in personal names, though prevalent, did not always correlate with a change in name structure, further complicating the interpretation of juridical status solely based on onomastics. The *Lex Irnitana* provides clear legal confirmation that *Latini* could possess the *tria nomina* and held legal rights similar to full Roman citizens in specific contexts. However, the actual adoption of these Roman naming conventions across various regions reflected a nuanced spectrum of cultural assimilation rather than a uniform legal imposition. Consequently, while juridically permitted, the possession of *tria nomina* by *Latini* was a matter influenced by local customs, cultural identities, and individual choices.

Despite these observations, limitations have also surfaced during this research. These limitations include methodological constraints and data problems: One of the primary methodologies employed in this dissertation follows the framework established by Saller and Shaw, which focuses on counting individual relationships between commemorators and the deceased within funerary inscriptions. This method, however, has been subject to several criticisms over time.⁴⁴⁷ Critics argue that counting individual relationships may obscure the broader social structures of family relations, leading to potential misinterpretations. Dale Martin, for instance, in 1996 argued that this approach disregards collective commemorative practices, which can significantly reduce the representation of extended family relations. Furthermore, the quantitative methodology may not fully account for the complexity and variability of personal naming practices. The decision to focus on certain types of data, such as clear inscriptions of familial

⁴⁴⁷ Martin (1996) pp. 40-42. Criticisms of Martin include: Corbier (1998) and Rawson (1997).

relations, inherently excludes ambiguous or incomplete data, potentially omitting relevant patterns and relationships.

The data collected for this dissertation, totally derived from funerary inscriptions, is limited by the preservation and availability of these sources. Many inscriptions are damaged or incomplete, leading to potential problems in the analysis. For example, there are issues in accurately identifying the gender of deceased children in descending dedications from parents in certain cases due to the lack of clear naming information. Additionally, the geographic scope of the data is not exhaustive. This study focuses on selective regions within Lusitania with sufficient epigraphic data, such as the *Civitas Igaeditanorum* and the *Conventus Pacensis*. This selective approach may not capture the full variability in onomastic practices and family relations across the entire province. This regional focus might inadvertently lead to the exclusion of data from communities that might offer different perspectives on Romanization and acculturation processes.

The correlation between personal naming practices and family relations presents another set of limitations. My study suggests that variations in naming practices reflect broader social and cultural shifts due to integration within the Roman imperial system. However, the available quantitative data may not fully support this hypothesis. For instance, while some regions like the *Conventus Pacensis* showed a higher adoption of the *tria nomina*, others retained indigenous naming practices despite the spread of Roman imperial influence. The complex interplay between cultural, demographic, and socio-economic factors complicates the analysis further. Factors such as high mortality rates, localized disease outbreaks, or migratory patterns might significantly influence the patterns of family relations and naming practices, yet these elements are difficult to identify, quantify and incorporate comprehensively into the study. Moreover, this study reveals that linguistic and structural components of naming do not always change in tandem. In some

cases, Latinized names were adopted while retaining single name structures, highlighting an incomplete assimilation process. This observation suggests that using naming practices as a sole indicator of Romanization might lead to oversimplified conclusions.

These limitations underscore the inherent challenges in studying ancient onomastics and family relations through epigraphic evidence. While this study provides insights into the cultural transformations in Roman Lusitania, the methodological, data, and analytical constraints highlight areas where further research is needed. Future studies could benefit from more comprehensive data sets, refined methodologies to account for regional and social variability, and multi-disciplinary approaches that incorporate archaeological and anthropological perspectives to provide a more holistic understanding of Roman provincial life.

Despite the limitations discussed above, this study makes several significant contributions to our understanding of Roman social history. This detailed examination of family relations expressed through funerary inscriptions provides valuable insights into the social fabric of many communities in Lusitania. By quantitatively and qualitatively analyzing the types of familial relationships commemorated, this study reveals the predominance of certain nuclear family relations: for instance, the high percentage of descending nuclear dedications from parents to adult children in the *Conventus Pacensis* emphasizes strong natal bonds, contradicting the general notion that child mortality rates might be expected to have skewed these commemorative trends towards younger children. This nuanced understanding helps historians contextualize emotional and social bonds that defy simplistic frameworks, showcasing the variability and complexity of family dynamics.

Lastly, this study further highlights the distinctive regional responses to Roman rule, underscoring that cultural integration, often referred to as "Romanization", was neither uniform

nor unidirectional even within a single province. Similarly, the thesis uncovers distinctive commemorative practices in different communities, such as the strong maternal bonds in funerary commemoration and matrilineal name transmission at Olisipo and in its territory. These findings challenge the notion of wholesale Romanization, instead presenting a more complex mosaic of cultural adaptation and resistance. Moreover, this study's exploration of personal names in relation to juridical status, especially the use of *tria nomina* among *Latini*, significantly advances our understanding of how legal and civic structures influenced the public expression of personal identity in Roman provinces.

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