

# FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL EPIGRAPHIC CULTURES IN ROMAN LUSITANIA

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In his recent paper on funerary epigraphy in the province of Baetica, Armin Stylow began by lamenting that it was impossible to do justice to his topic in a single paper; it would require a whole book<sup>1</sup>. For me to cover the local epigraphic cultures of Lusitania in any detail in an even shorter paper is next to impossible. It is my aim, therefore, to provide a preliminary sketch of the broad chronological rhythms and main regional variations of the epigraphic culture that did develop in Lusitania under Roman rule, concentrating in the main on funerary inscriptions. It will not be possible to consider here such important topics as funerary formulae and the different scripts used for the epitaphs across the province, but nevertheless, it is hoped that this general survey of Lusitania's varied epigraphic cultures may make a modest contribution to our understanding of the cultural diversity of Roman Hispania<sup>2</sup>.

The province of Lusitania was created when Augustus split the Republican *provincia* of Hispania Ulterior into Baetica and Lusitania, sometime probably between 16 and 13 B.C. (Plin. *NH* 3.6). Based on the current state of our knowledge, it was only under Augustus that inscribed funerary monuments made their appearance in this part of Hispania. Except for official Roman texts such as the *deditio* set up on a bronze plaque in a hill-fort near Alcántara (prov. Cáceres) in 104 B.C. (*AE* 1984, 495 = *AE* 1986, 304 = *HEp* 3, 113), no inscriptions in Latin or any other language, it

appears, had been set up here during the Republican period<sup>3</sup>. The establishment of Roman colonies at Metellinum, Scallabis, Norba Caesarina, Pax Iulia and Augusta Emerita and the granting of privileged status to four existing local communities, Olisipo, Salacia, Eborá and Myrtilis, provided a crucial stimulus for the appearance of inscriptions in the urban centres of the new province. In this regard, Lusitania was more similar to Baetica and rather distinct from Hispania Citerior, where a Roman epigraphic culture had already begun to flourish in the late Republic, most notably at Carthago Nova and Tarraco<sup>4</sup>. In Lusitania monumental inscriptions started to grace some of the public buildings that were erected, most of all, in the privileged cities of the province in the Augustan and early Julio-Claudian periods: for example, on the theatre (*CIL* II, 474, dated to 16/15 B.C.) and amphitheatre (*HAE* 1479 = *AE* 1959, 28, dated to 8/7 B.C.) at Emerita (Mérida) or at Pax Iulia (Beja), commemorating the construction of the colony's wall-circuit and gates (*FE* 131, dated 3/2 B.C.). The practice occasionally spread to *civitates stipendiariae*, sometimes through the direct intervention of individuals from one of the privileged communi-

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1. STYLOW, A.U., "La epigrafía funeraria en la Bética", VAQUERIZO, D. (ed.), *Espacios y usos funerarios en el Occidente Romano*, Córdoba 2002, 353-367, at 353.

2. For further discussion, see EDMONDSON, J., "Writing Latin in the province of Lusitania", COOLEY, A.E. (ed.), *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin? Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West* (*JRA Suppl.* 48), Portsmouth, Rhode Island 2002, 41-60.

3. On the importance of Augustus for the diffusion of an epigraphic culture in Hispania, see BELTRÁN LLORIS, F.; STYLOW, A.U. (this volume); BELTRÁN LLORIS, F. (ed.), *Roma y el nacimiento de la cultura epigráfica en Occidente*, Zaragoza 1995; more generally ALFÖLDY, G., "Augustus und die Inschriften: Tradition und Innovation. Die Geburt der imperialen Epigraphik", *Gymnasium* 98, 1991, 289-324.

4. For Baetica, see STYLOW, *o.c.* (n. 1); for Citerior, BELTRÁN LLORIS, F., "Writing, language and society: Iberians, Celts and Romans in northeastern Spain in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.", *BICS* 43, 1999, 131-151; ALFÖLDY, G., "Desde el nacimiento hasta el apogeo de la cultura epigráfica de Tarraco", HERNÁNDEZ GUERRA, L.; SAGREDO SAN EUSTAQUIO, L.; SOLANA SÁINZ, J.M. (ed.), *La Península Ibérica hace 2000 años*, Valladolid 2001, 61-74.

ties. Thus in 16 B.C. a citizen of Emerita travelled some 150 km to the *civitas* capital of the *Igaeditani* (Idanha-a-Velha) to dedicate there under the supervision of the town's local *magistri* a sundial (*horologium*) that bore a commemorative inscription, ensuring not just that the native community thereafter operated under a completely new, Roman time-system, but also that it grew accustomed to the cultural practice of setting up texts inscribed in Latin in its public spaces<sup>5</sup>. Similarly, towns of Roman and peregrine status alike soon came to erect inscribed dedications to members of the Roman imperial house: so, for example, at Salacia (Alcácer do Sal), Vicanus Bouti f. set up an inscribed dedication to Augustus in 5/4 B.C. (*CIL* II, 5182 = *IRCP* 184), while between A.D. 1 and 3 the *civitas Igaeditanorum* honoured Gaius Caesar, the grandson and adopted son of Augustus (*AE* 1961, 246 = *HAE* 1064); even in the far north of the new province in the territory of the Paesuri a public offering was made to Augustus (*EE* IX, 269, São Paio, S. Cristovão de Nogueira, Cinfães, distr. Viseu).

The earliest funerary inscriptions to have survived from the province were set up in the colonies of Emerita, Metellinum (Medellín) and Pax Iulia, at Olisipo (Lisboa), a *municipium* of Roman citizens, as well as at and near the mines of Vipasca (Aljustrel), some 35 km SW of Pax Iulia. At Emerita and Metellinum these took the form of simple granite stelae with rounded tops of a type common in Rome and Italy in the late Republic and under Augustus<sup>6</sup>. In the first decades of the first century A.D. epitaphs on white marble plaques, with or without moulded edges, started to appear in Emerita as well in other towns in the south of the province: for example, at Eborá and

Salacia<sup>7</sup>. Elsewhere there was, it seems, a much slower and less intensive adoption of this distinctly Roman cultural practice. Vespasian's grant of the *ius Latii* to all communities of Spain in A.D. 73/4 and the consequent promotion of some Lusitanian communities to municipal rank provided an important impetus towards a more widespread use of inscribed funerary monuments. It may well have been the local elite who started the trend, keen to advertize their Roman citizenship, newly won after holding local magistracies in their home towns. This is discernible at the *civitas Igaeditanorum*, from where about fifty epitaphs survive on carefully moulded blocks of pinkish-brown granite<sup>8</sup>. Some of these commemorated individuals who from their names appear to be first-generation Roman citizens: for example, L. Iulius Rufini f. Quir(ina tribu) Fraternus (*HAE* 1134 = *AE* 1967, 169) or P. Valerius Celti f. Quir(ina tribu) Clemens (*HAE* 1201 = *AE* 1967, 182). A number of their fellow Igaeditani who did not possess full Roman citizenship were also commemorated with the same type of funerary monument: for example, Casa Arantoni f. (*HAE* 1103 = *AE* 1967, 155), Calaetus Bouti f. (*HAE* 1097 = *AE* 1967, 154) or Flaccus Ammini f. (*HAE* 1197 = *AE* 1967, 166). But in the less urbanized and more remote north of the province, it was not until the second century A.D. that funerary inscriptions were erected on any significant scale; so, for example, the distinctive granite stelae from Cárquere (Resende, distr. Viseu) overlooking the Douro valley were produced, it has been argued, between the mid-second and third centuries A.D.<sup>9</sup> Similarly to the east the numerous granite funerary stelae from Hinojosa de Duero and Yecla de Yeltes (both in the modern province of Salamanca) have been dated to the second to third centuries A.D. Further east and south, of the ninety epitaphs from the modern province of Ávila included in Robert Knapp's corpus, only one can be dated to earlier than the second century A.D., and this is a funerary stele set

5. *HAE* 1063 = *AE* 1967, 144 = *AE* 1992, 951, with ÉTIENNE, R., "L'horloge de la civitas Igaeditanorum et la création de la province de Lusitanie", *REA* 94, 1992, 355-362.

6. Emerita: RAMÍREZ SÁDABA, J.L., "Estelas de granito inéditas del M.N.A.R. de Mérida", *Anas* 7-8, 1994-95 [1998], 257-268; EDMONDSON, J., "Some new granite funerary stelae from Augusta Emerita", *Mérida. Excavaciones arqueológicas. 1999 (Memoria 5)*, Mérida 2001, 383-394. Metellinum: RAMÍREZ SÁDABA, J.L., "Nuevos datos para la historia de Metellinum: las inscripciones conservadas en el M.A.P. de Badajoz", *Homenaje al Profesor Presedo*, Sevilla 1994, 637-653, nos. 1, 3-5 = *CIL* II, 611, *HEp* 6, 79, 74-76 = *AE* 1994, 870, 872-874. Pax Iulia and territory: *CIL* II, 61, 62, 66, 77, 96, 100; *EE* VIII, 267; *IRCP* 345; *FE* 82, 83, 259. Olisipo and territory: *CIL* II, 4997, 5000, 5012; *EE* VIII, 13; *AE* 1985, 513; *FE* 222; *Roteiro epigr. de Cascais*, no. 18. Vipasca: *IRCP* 123-132, 135-139. Italian parallels: e.g. *CIL* I, 1379, 3004a-b, 3022-23 (Rome); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 1863, 1865-66, 1870, 1886, 3290-91 (*Amiternum*); *ILLRP* 914 = SUSINI, G.; PINCELLI, R., *Le collezioni del Museo Civico di Bologna. Il lapidario*, Bologna 1960, no. 52 & Tav. X (photo) (*Bononia*).

7. White marble plaques: Emerita: RAMÍREZ SÁDABA, J.L.; GIJÓN GABRIEL, M.E., "Los inscripciones de la necrópolis del Albarregas (Mérida) y su contexto arqueológico", *Veleia* 11, 1994, 117-167; Eborá: *IRCP* 397, 406, 407; Salacia: *IRCP* 198. In general, on the earliest funerary epigraphy from the Portuguese part of Lusitania, see ENCARNACÃO, J. DE, "Roma e as primeiras culturas epigráficas da Lusitânia ocidental", *BEIRÁN LLORIS, o.c.* (n. 3), 255-269.

8. ALMEIDA, D.F., *Egitânia: história e arqueologia*, Lisboa 1956; ENCARNACÃO, o.c. (n. 7), 262-263.

9. ALVES DIAS, M.M., "Inscrições romanas inéditas de Cárquere, Resende, na colecção epigráfica do Museu Nacional de Arqueologia e Etnologia", *O Arqueólogo Português* iv, 4, 1986, 185-202; CARON, L., "Art et société d'après les stèles funéraires de Cárquere", *Conimbriga* 35, 1996, 69-106.

up for an immigrant from Emerita in the late first or early second century A.D. (*LICS* 4)<sup>10</sup>.

It is of course possible that this chronological pattern is simply the result of the chance survival of our evidence and does not necessarily represent any historical reality. It could be that many epitaphs were set up in the province of Salamanca, for instance, in the early first century A.D., but the cemeteries in which they were erected have simply escaped discovery. This is possible, but, I would argue, unlikely, since so few inscriptions have been found in their original context. Many have been discovered in situations of reuse, serving as grave-covers in late-antique necropoleis or as building material for late-Roman or early-medieval wall-circuits, as at Mérida, Coria, Ávila or Talavera de la Reina. Still more have come to light in private collections of "antiquities", usually without any precise details about their original provenance. Given these circumstances, it would be strange if, of all the epitaphs originally set up, only those from a single chronological period happen to have survived. The lack of a suitable supply of stone for inscriptions might be another factor that hindered the development of an epigraphic culture in all regions of the province<sup>11</sup>, but this does not on the whole seem to have been a problem in Lusitania, with its very extensive marble quarries in the region of Estremoz, Borba and Vila Viçosa (distr. Évora) and other more localised possibilities: for example, the blue streaked marble from Trigaches (distr. Beja), the limestone from the quarries at São Domingos de Rana in the territory of Olisipo and from those near Conimbriga (Condeixa-a-Velha), not to mention the abundant supplies of local granite found in the Spanish provinces of Badajoz, Cáceres, Salamanca and Ávila<sup>12</sup>.

10. HERNÁNDEZ GUERRA, L.; MAÑANES PÉREZ, T.; JIMÉNEZ DE FURUINDARENA, A., "Nuevas aportaciones a la epigrafía salmantina: Hinojosa de Duero", *Hisp. Ant.* 18, 1994, 317-379; MARTÍN VALLS, R., "Novedades epigráficas del castro de Yecla de Yeltes (Salamanca)", *Estudios dedicados a Carlos Callejo Serrano*, Cáceres 1979, 499-510. Province of Ávila: KNAPP, R.C., *Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain*, Berkeley 1992, nos. 1-109.

11. As argued for Roman Britain by MANN, J.C., "Epigraphic consciousness", *JRS* 75, 1985, 204-206.

12. On Lusitanian quarries, see briefly ENCARNACÃO, J. DE, *Inscrições romanas do conventus Pacensis*, Coimbra 1984, II, 821-822; ALARCÃO, J.; TAVARES, A., "A Roman marble quarry in Portugal", *Studia Pompeiana & Classica in Honor of W. Jashemski. II. Classica*, New York 1989, 1-12; TAVARES, A., in ALARCÃO, J.; ÉTIENNE, R. (ed.), *Fouilles de Conimbriga. I. L'architecture*, Paris 1977, 271-275. Granite quarries near Mérida: DE LA BARRERA ANTÓN, J.L., *La decoración arquitectónica de los foros de Augusta Emerita*, Roma 2000, 193-194.

Another possibility is that more perishable materials, such as wood or wall-plaster, were used for epitaphs in certain periods and that these have simply disappeared from view. It is true that other materials were used for inscriptions in Lusitania; at Emerita an early third century dedication to Nemesis was painted on frescoed plaster on the wall of the north entrance to the amphitheatre (*AE* 1961, 48, rev. *HEp* 6, 127), while a late second century epitaph painted on fresco (as yet unpublished) came to light in 1980 in the necropolis uncovered when the foundations were being dug for the new Museo Nacional de Arte Romano. But again this would seem insufficient grounds for invalidating the chronological pattern for the spread of funerary inscriptions sketched above.

However, once the epigraphic habit did spread across various parts of Lusitania, it was not one single, standardized model of funerary epigraphy that developed; rather, a multiplicity of local epigraphic cultures took root during the later first, second and early third centuries A.D. In some areas, especially at Emerita and the other cities of the south, particularly Roman types of funerary monument were set up, but elsewhere much more hybrid, distinctive styles appeared. This variety may tell us something about the differing responses of the inhabitants of the various regions of the province to Roman rule and Roman culture. An interesting and complex cultural dialogue was clearly taking place between provincial periphery and imperial metropole.

At the Roman colony of Emerita, all the funerary monuments would have been very familiar to a visitor from Rome or Italy: in the late first century B.C. and first century A.D. granite stelae with round tops of a type common in late Republican Rome and Italy; from the early first century onwards A.D. elegantly cut plaques, with or without moulded edges and, occasionally, marble stelae decorated with an arch and rosettes of a type common in the central Apennines and Cisalpine Gaul; then from the late first century funerary altars and from c. 125 monuments in the form of *aediculae* that incorporated portrait-busts of the deceased. In this same period barrel-shaped tomb-markers in granite (or occasionally marble), so-called *cupae*, also made their appearance<sup>13</sup>.

13. Granite stelae: see above, note 6; plaques: see above, note 7; marble stelae: EDMONDSON, J., "Specula urbis Romae: a group of marble funerary stelae with arch and rosettes from Augusta Emerita", *Anas* 6, 1993 [1995], 9-49; altars: a good selection in GAMER, G., *Formen römischer Altäre auf der hispanis-*

Similar types of epitaphs, especially marble or limestone plaques and altars, were produced in a number of the other towns of southern Lusitania, especially Eborā, Pax Iulia and Myrtilis (Mértola) in the Alentejo, and Salacia and Mirobriga (Santiago do Cacém) further towards the Atlantic coast<sup>14</sup>. Of all the Lusitanian towns, the epigraphic culture of Eborā has perhaps the closest affinity to Emerita, perhaps not surprising since their territories shared a common border, but very similar types were also produced in the neighbouring areas of Baetica: granite stelae with round tops in Baeturia Turdulorum in the *conventus Cordubensis*, marble altars and plaques in Baeturia Celtica in the *conventus Hispalensis*, for example, at towns such as Seria Fama Iulia (Jerez de los Caballeros)<sup>15</sup>. This epigraphic zone clearly cut across the provincial boundary between Lusitania and Baetica.

However, within this "southern Lusitanian" zone, there were also some distinctively local features. The diffusion of the barrel-shaped funerary monuments known as *cupae* provides a good illustration of this. In addition to those from Emerita, they have also been discovered in some quantity in and around Pax Iulia and Myrtilis, in the Algarve and in the area of Olisipo, with an occasional specimen at Conimbriga, Aeminium (Coimbra) and

Caurium (Coria)<sup>16</sup>. In a sense they might be considered a characteristically "Lusitanian" type of funerary monument, since they are not often found elsewhere in Roman Spain except at Barcino (Barcelona), at Gades (Cádiz) and Baelo (Bolonia) along the southern coast of Baetica, and now recently at Corduba too<sup>17</sup>. But in each of the zones of Lusitania in which they were used, they took on a different form. At Pax Iulia and Myrtilis, the *cupae* were more rounded and tapered, more closely resembling a real barrel<sup>18</sup>. In the Algarve, the *cupae* from Quinta de Marim, Olhão tend to have straighter, plainer sides with the epitaph cut on a recessed field (e.g. *CIL* II, 5145, 5147, 5149 = *IRCP* 41, 44, 46), more like the Emeritan examples, but even here one example has been discovered that was much more elaborately decorated than any other (*CIL* II, 5143 = *IRCP* 50). Furthermore, those from the region of Olisipo had their epitaph carved on the front end rather than on one of their sides and some of them at least were mounted on a base, inside which the remains of the deceased were placed along with grave-offerings<sup>19</sup>. As Cardim Ribeiro has argued, these were much more imposing, striking monuments than those found at Pax Iulia, Myrtilis or the Algarve (and they also appear to be the earliest in the sequence, dating to the first century A.D., unlike those from other regions of Lusitania, which seem to have been produced a century or so later)<sup>20</sup>.

In the interior of Portugal either side of the river Tagus, granite funerary monuments predominated, especially relatively plain granite stelae with round tops. At the *civitas Igaeditanorum*, for example, granite stelae are found with rounded tops or triangular pediments, some of which were

chen Halbinsel (*Madrider Beiträge* 12), Mainz 1989; aediculae: EDMONDSON, J.; NOGALES BASARRATE, T.; TRILLMICH, W., *Imagen y Memoria: Monumentos funerarios con retratos en la colonia Augusta Emerita*, Madrid 2001; *cupae*: CALDERA DE CASTRO, M.P., "Una sepultura de cupa hallada en Mérida", *Habis* 9, 1978, 455-463; BEJARANO OSORIO, A., "Sepulturas de incineración en la necrópolis oriental de Mérida: las variantes de cupae monolíticas", *Anas* 9, 1996 [2000], 37-58. General survey: NOGALES, T.; MÁRQUEZ, J., "Espacio y tipos funerarios en Augusta Emerita", VAQUERIZO, o.c. (n. 1), 113-144.

14. Eborā: *IRCP* 382, 386, 387a, 393, 397, 401-2, 404-5, 407, 409 (plaques); 381, 385, 387, 389-392, 394-5, 398-9, 408 (altars), with GAMER, o.c. (n. 13), 173-174, cat. nos. ALA 1-6. Pax Iulia: *IRCP* 246-7, ? 253, 268, 273, 279 (plaques); 248-9, 260, 262, 276, 285 (altars), with GAMER, 199-200, cat. nos. BAA 1-9. Salacia: *IRCP* 190, 197-8, 200, 203 (plaques); 191, 194, 195 (altars). Mirobriga: *IRCP* 152, 155, 159-60 (plaques); 180 (altar). Myrtilis: *IRCP* 104, 112, 118-9 (plaques); 98, 110, 120 (altars). See also ENCARNAÇÃO, J. DE, "Epigraphie funéraire du *conventus Pacensis* (Lusitania). Un essai de distribution géosociologique des types des monuments", *Epigraphie hispanique*, Paris 1984, 297-300; CAETANO, J.C., "Necrópoles e ritos funerários no Ocidente da Lusitânia romana", VAQUERIZO, o.c. (n. 1), 313-334, esp. 315-327.

15. For Baeturia Turdulorum, see *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/7, 911, 914, 917, 919, 928-931, 935, 936 (Iulipa, incl. territory), 949-951 (Cabeza del Buey), 952-957 (Monterrubio de la Serena), 958, 959, 961 (Campanario), 964, 968-973 (Magacela). For Baeturia Celtica, CANTO, A.M., *Epigrafía Romana de la Beturia Céltica*, Madrid 1997 (altars from Seria = *ERBC* nos. 5, 9, 11bis, 12-14, 16-20 and ?28).

16. Emerita: see n. 13; Pax Iulia, Myrtilis: see n. 18; Algarve: see below; Olisipo: see n. 19. Conimbriga: *Fouilles de Conimbriga*, II, no. 26 & pl. VIII; Aeminium: *CIL* II, 368 = RODRIGUES, M. DE LURDES, "Inscrições romanas do Museu Machado de Castro", *Humanitas* 11-12, 1959-60, 112-132, esp. 117-118, no. 7. Caurium: SÁNCHEZ ALABALÁ, J.I.; VINAGRE NEVADO, D., *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Coria* (Temas Caurienses 1), Coria 1998, no. 54 with photo.

17. See in general, BONNEVILLE, J.-N., "Les *cupae* de Barcelone: les origines du type monumental", *MCV* 17, 1981, 5-38; SRYLOW, o.c. (n. 1), 363 + n. 71 (Baetican examples).

18. Pax Iulia: *IRCP* 250, 252, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 261, 264, 266, 269, 274, 277, 278. Myrtilis: *IRCP* 100, 102, 105, 107, 111, 114, 115.

19. See, for example, *EE* VIII, 13 (Goitão, S. Domingos de Rana); *AE* 1981, 491 (Caparide, Cascais); *AE* 1979, 334 (Assafora, Sintra); *CIL* II, 299, 301 (Lourel, Sintra). Cupa mounted on a base: e.g. *HAE* 1622 (São Romão de Lourel).

20. CARDIM RIBEIRO, J., "Estudos histórico-epigráficos em torno da figura de L. Iulius Maelo Caudicus", *Sintria* 1-2, 1982-83, 151-476, esp. 277-293.

decorated in a style even commoner further to the north (e.g. *HAE* 1082, 1091, 1110, 1148, 1169 = *Egitânia*, nos. 28, 40, 60, 106, 130); but moulded granite blocks of some elegance were also produced, presumably designed to be inserted into the facade of a funerary monument or mausoleum, and parallels have also been found further to the north-west as one moves from the district of Castelo Branco into the district of Viseu<sup>21</sup>. However, just occasionally strikingly distinct epitaphs occur. At the *civitas Igaeditanorum*, for example, one finely wrought plaque of white marble, quarried in the area of Estremoz some 150 km to the south, with a double band of egg-and-dart and vegetal moulding and finely cut lettering, stands out from the otherwise exclusively granite funerary monuments of the community (see Fig. 1). It was set up by Curia Vitalis to commemorate her husband, a Roman citizen, C. Curius Firmanus, whose style of filiation, Pulli f., suggests that he was a first-generation Roman citizen (*CIL* II, 442 =

*Egitânia*, no. 76). The family was making a powerful statement about their newly won Roman status by using such a perfectly Roman style of tombstone of the very highest quality, as was also the case at the five other sites in the districts of Castelo Branco, Viseu and Guarda where plaques of identical style and quality have come to light<sup>22</sup>.

In those *municipia* located north of the Tagus in that part of Lusitania that faced the Atlantic, on the whole elegant, Roman-style epitaphs with well-cut lettering were produced. For example, in Olisipo and its territory the round-topped stelae, pedestal blocks, *cupae* and occasional funerary altars of local limestone are cleanly cut and generally simple in form, but imposing nevertheless. Further north at Sellium (Tomar), Collippo (São Sebastião do Freixo, Leiria), Aeminium and Conimbriga, stelae, plaques, altars and pedestal blocks of a recognizably Roman style were produced, but the funerary monuments of each of these cities, as of Olisipo

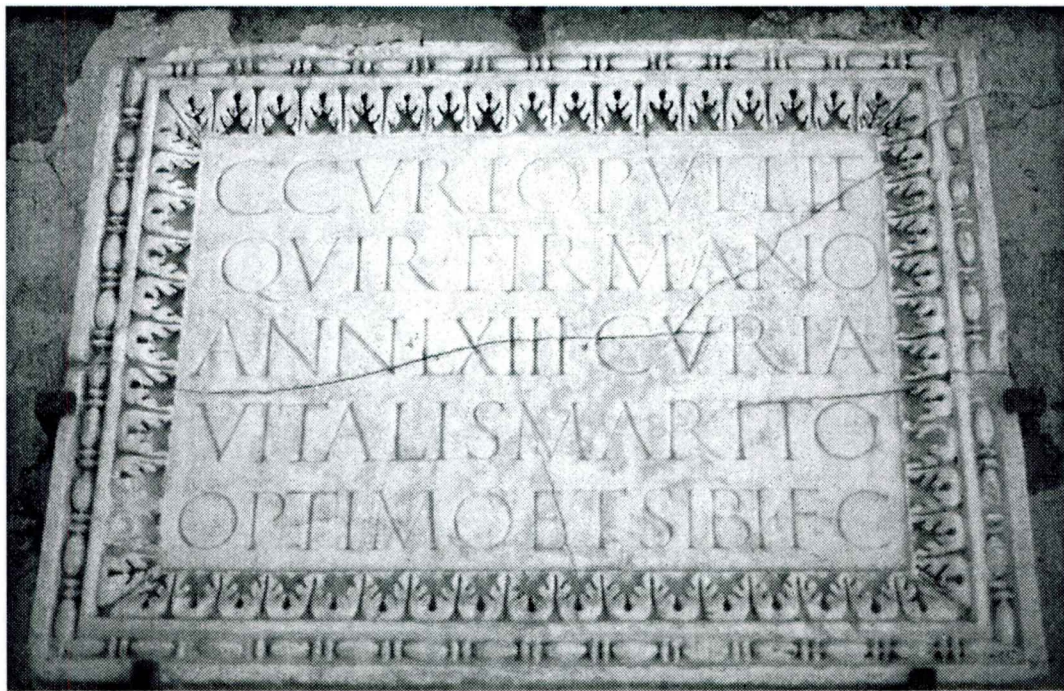


Fig. 1: Marble plaque commemorating C. Curius Pulli f. Quir(ina tribu) Firmanus. *Civitas Igaeditanorum* (Idanha-a-Velha). Museu lapidar, Idanha-a-Velha. Photo: J. Edmondson.

21. *Civitas Igaeditanorum*: see note 8; district of Castelo Branco: Vaz, J.L. Inês, "Inscrições romanas do museu de Fundão", *Conimbriga* 16, 1977, 1-31; distrito of Viseu: FE 79 = AE 1986, 302 = Vaz, J.L. Inês, *A civitas de Viseu: espaço e sociedade*, Coimbra 1997, 245-246, no. 53 & plate 84 (Fornos de Algodres); FE 160 = Vaz, J.L. Inês, 249-250, no. 57 & pl. 88 (Povolide); Vaz, 267-258 no. 72 & pl. 95 (Ínsua, Penalva do Castelo).

22. AE 1977, 378 (Beijós, Carregal do Sal); *CIL* II, 5251 (Santa Maria de Almacave, Lamego); Curado, F.P., "Epigrafia das Beiras", *Beira Alta* 44.4, 1985, 641-655, at 651-652, no. 7 (Santa Maria de Aguiar, Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo); AE 1983, 472 (Orjais, Covilhã); Garcia, J.M., *Epigrafia lusitano-romana do Museu Tavares Proença Júnior*, Castelo Branco 1984, no. 25 (Castelo Branco). On this group, see Fernandes, L. da Silva, "O epitáfio latino de Beijós e a romanização na Beira Interior", *Universidade Católica Portuguesa – 20 Anos de estudos humanísticos em Viseu (Cadernos do CLCPB 1)*, Viseu 2002, 115-139.

too, bore their own distinctively local hallmark<sup>23</sup>. Those of Conimbriga were particularly varied, with some finely wrought "classical" marble plaques (*Fouilles de Conimbriga* II, no. 32 & plate IX), funerary altars or impressive pedestals (*FC* II, no. 60, 70 & plates XII & XIV), but also with some distinctive types such as the altar of local limestone set by Rufus and Calliope for their deceased brother C. Allius Avitus (*FC* II, no. 63 & plate XIII) with eight concentric circular motifs carved into its entablature, another four on its cornice, four on the moulding beneath the epitaph, and one each on the pediment and on the front ends of the volutes.

However, north of Conimbriga in the Portuguese districts of Viseu, Oporto and Guarda and to the east in the modern Spanish provinces of Cáceres and Salamanca, Latin epitaphs were inscribed on granite stelae that bore very little relation to the funerary monuments found to the south. Here tall stelae either with rounded tops or triangular pediments were produced in local granite or sandstone and bore a variety of non-Roman decorative motifs: for instance, solar wheels, circles with stylised rosettes or crescent moons<sup>24</sup>. The stelae from Yecla de Yeltes, 75 km west of Salamanca, are typical of those found across the north of the province from the Atlantic to its eastern boundary with Hispania Citerior<sup>25</sup>. They have much more in common with the decorated stelae found in northern Portugal and beyond in Galicia in the modern provinces of Vigo and Pontevedra and across the interior of northern Spain than with anything found in southern Lusitania<sup>26</sup>.

Once again it is clear that the epigraphic culture that developed in these northerly parts of the province had little respect for Roman political boundaries.

Similar types of granite stelae are also found in the modern province of Cáceres, even in the territory of the Roman colony of Norba Caesarina (modern Cáceres): for example, the stele set up for L. Murrius Rufinus (see Fig. 2), found near Ibaheirando<sup>27</sup>. So while Roman styles of monument were used for official acts, such as the marble altar set up in A.D. 194 by the colony's duumvirs to accompany the dedication of a silver statue in honour of Septimius Severus (*CIL* II, 693), in its funerary epigraphy the cultural influence of Rome does not seem to have been as strong<sup>28</sup>. Perhaps we have here a Lusitanian analogue of what Barbara Levick observed for the Roman colonies of southern Asia Minor, where initially the colonists were very punctilious about asserting their Romanness, using Latin for their public and private inscriptions, but gradually started to use Greek and increasingly came to assimilate themselves to the culture of the neighbouring communities in central Anatolia<sup>29</sup>. At the Flavian *municipium* of Caesarobriga (Talavera de la Reina, prov. Toledo) near the eastern frontier of Lusitania there is a similar mixture of Roman and less Roman style monuments: polished white limestone moulded plaques or altars of some elegance, but also granite stelae with round tops incorporating crescent moons and other motifs familiar from the stelae from further north in the Iberian peninsula<sup>30</sup>.

23. Sellium: BATATA, C. et al., "Sellium na história antiga peninsular", *Actas do II Congresso peninsular de História antiga, Coimbra 1990*, Coimbra 1993, 511-550, esp. 519-544 ("achegas epigráficas" by FERNÁNDEZ, L.; BATATA, C.). Collippo: BRANDÃO, D. de P., "Epigrafia romana coliponense", *Conimbriga* 11, 1972, 41-192; BERNARDES, J.P., "Romanização e sociedade rural na civitas de Collippo", GORGES, J.-G.; NOGALES BASARRATE, T. (ed.), *Sociedad y cultura en Lusitania romana*, Mérida 2000, 421-443. Aeminium: LE ROUX, P.; FABRE, G., "Inscriptions latines du musée de Coimbra", *Conimbriga* 10, 1971, 117-130. Conimbriga: *Fouilles de Conimbriga*, II, esp. 207-217.

24. VAZ, o.c. (n. 21, 1997), nos. 37, 39, 47, 48, with photos; ENCARNACÃO, J. DE, "Indigenismo e romanização na epigrafia de Viseu", *Actas do I Colóquio Arqueológico de Viseu*, Viseu 1990, 315-323; ENCARNACÃO, J. DE, "Os indígenas na epigrafia da Beira Interior", *Beira Interior. História e Património*, Guarda 2000, 151-158; DIAS, o.c. (n. 9); NAVASCUÉS, J.M. DE, "Caracteres externos de las antiguas inscripciones salmantinas. Los epitafios de la zona occidental: su trascendencia epigráfica e histórica", *BRAH* 152, 1963, 159-223.

25. MARTÍN VALLS, o.c. (n. 10); HERNÁNDEZ GUERRA, L.; SOLANA SAINZ, J.M.; JIMÉNEZ DE FURUNDARENA, A., "Epigrafia romana de Yecla de Yeltes y Salamanca", *Veleia* 14, 1997, 241-254.

26. Cf. NAVARRO CABALLERO, M., "Las estelas en brecha de Santo Adrião: observaciones tipológico-cronológicas", *BSEAA*

64, 1998, 175-206 (Trás-os-Montes); BAÑOS RODRÍGUEZ, G., *Corpus de inscripciones romanas de Galicia. II. Provincia de Pontevedra*, Santiago de Compostela 1994, nos. 39, 41-48, 52, 56, 57, 81 (Vigo and surrounding area); ABÁSULO, J.A.; MARCO, F., "Tipología e iconografía en las estelas de la mitad septentrional de la península ibérica", BELTRÁN LLORIS, o.c. (n. 3), 327-349.

27. CPILC 300 = FERNÁNDEZ OXEA, J.R., "Nuevos epígrafes romanos en tierras de Cáceres", *BRAH* 136, 1955, 251-274, at 253-254, no. 2 & fig. 2. For similar types from Caurium, see SÁNCHEZ ALBALÁ; VINAGRE NEVADO, o.c. (n. 16), nos. 6-11, 13-14, 17, 21, 23-27, 32, 47, 50, 52, 53, 63, 79, 80-82, 87-89.

28. BELTRÁN LLORIS, M., "Aportaciones a la epigrafía y arqueología romana de Cáceres", *Caesaraugusta* 39-40, 1975-76, 19-111; CALLEJO SERRANO, C., "Simbología romana funeraria en Alta Extremadura", *Homenaje a García y Bellido* III, Madrid 1977, 145-161.

29. LEVICK, B., *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967, 130-162.

30. Elegant plaques: *CIL* II, 899, 900, 5331; altars: *CIL* II, 897, 901, 918 = GAMER, o.c. (n. 13), 283-284, cat. nos. TO 4-6 & Taf. 65; granite stelae: *CIL* II, 905 = 5315, 915 = 5317. See further CORTÉS HERNÁNDEZ, S.; FERNÁNDEZ GAMERO, J.; OCAÑA RODRÍGUEZ, E., "Cuatro inscripciones romanas empotradas en las murallas de Talavera de la Reina (Toledo)", *Norba* 10, 1989-90, 67-77.



Fig. 2: Granite stele for L. Murrius Rufinus. Sta. María de la Jara, Ibahernando (prov. Cáceres). Museo Arqueológico Provincial, Cáceres. Photo: P. Witte (DAI-Madrid, Inst. Neg. PLF 2982).

Finally, one distinctive group of funerary monuments, set up in the north-eastern third of the province in the territory occupied prior to the Roman conquest by the Vettones, raises particularly interesting questions about the relationship between Roman epigraphic culture and pre-Roman cultural traditions. From the fourth to sec-

ond centuries B.C. the Vettones had set up statues of wild-boars and bulls either along access roads leading to their hill-forts or at the entrances to the enclosures where they kept their herds. About four hundred of these sculptures are now known<sup>31</sup>. What is interesting is that twenty five of them (about six per cent.) bear epitaphs in Latin, inscribed in the late-first to second centuries A.D.<sup>32</sup>, as, for example, at Guisando (prov. Ávila), where a statue of a bull was inscribed: *Longinus / Prisco Cala/eti(um) patri f(aciendum) c(uravit)* (CIL II, 3052 = LICS 89). How should we interpret this interplay between Roman and non-Roman culture? Were these pre-Roman sculptures being integrated within a Roman epigraphic culture that had now spread to this outlying part of the province? Was Longinus, though proud of his Vettonian heritage, keen to emphasise his Romanness by inscribing a Latin text on a quintessentially local artefact? Or was he using this striking "medium" to assert some kind of local identity, perhaps even some form of "resistance" to Roman culture? Possibly, but the use of a Latin text and the Roman names that he himself and his father bore would seem to argue against this. Rather what may have been taking place was a more subtle assertion of difference. In an increasingly unified world, the use of this ambivalent artefact for his father's epitaph may have fulfilled a need for local self-expression.

## CONCLUSION

So, in conclusion, I hope to have shown that in no way did all parts of the province of Lusitania share a common epigraphic culture. Rather, a multiplicity of local epigraphic cultures developed under Roman rule, but at varying rhythms and with varying degrees of assimilation to a purely Roman, "classical" model of what an epitaph should look like. One can identify broad "epigraphic zones" within the province: for example, a southern zone where marble plaques and, later, altars were the norm or the northern third of the province from Oporto to Ávila, where granite stelae predominated, decorated with various symbols that alluded to pre-Roman, indigenous traditions. The epigraphic culture found in these zones, however, was not restricted to Lusitania, since it

31. LÓPEZ MONTEAGUDO, G., *Esculturas zoomorfas célticas de la península ibérica* (AEspA Anejo 10), Madrid 1989, esp. 45-212 (catalogue); ÁLVAREZ-SANCHIS, J.R., *Los Vettones* (Bibl. Arch. Hisp. 1), Madrid 1999, esp. 215-294, 345-373 (catalogue).

32. LÓPEZ MONTEAGUDO, o.c. (n. 31), 123-138.

clearly extended across the provincial frontier into Baetica or Tarraconensis respectively. And even within these zones the epitaphs set up in individual cities or regions displayed their own distinctive traits, such as the decorated stelae from Cárquere, the granite blocks from the *civitas Igaeditanorum*, the *aediculae* with portraits busts of Emerita, or the *cupae* from the territory of Olisipo. However, despite these local styles, certain families chose to make a powerful statement by setting up an epitaph of a type that was completely alien to the region: an elaborately decorated white marble plaque, for example, certainly stood out within a

basically granite universe. In so doing, they asserted their distinctiveness, wealth and a desire to advertise a close assimilation to Roman culture. But overall the clear regionalism apparent in the funerary epigraphy of Lusitania should not be taken, I would argue, as some kind of cultural resistance to Roman rule. Rather, amidst the almost suffocating cultural uniformity that the spread of Roman rule brought throughout the western provinces, some Lusitano-Romans saw the need to assert a degree of local identity and found funerary monuments, inscribed in Latin, to be an effective medium for communicating this.