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FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

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EPIGRAPHY AND URBAN COMMUNITIES IN EARLY ROMAN BAETICA

In Two Volumes

Volume 2

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME 2

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

7: EPIGRAPHIC NETWORKS BETWEEN THE STUDY SITES

7.1　INTRODUCTION

　　The primary objective of this chapter is to utilise the detailed analyses of the assemblages from individual sites as the basis for a comparison of the distribution of specific epigraphic characteristics.　This section of the thesis represents the culmination of the research where the data relating to the use of individual elements of the inscriptions as studied in chapters 5 and 6 will be considered within the historical and spatial context of the study region.　The identification of patterns within the design and use of inscriptions that extend beyond the limits of individual sites and broadly generalised time periods will be interpreted as evidence of common behaviour and patterns of activity according to the background of social theory discussed in chapter 3.　The evidence for these shared patterns will be discussed in terms of potential communities, either associated with individual settlements, or crossing between settlements indicative of a system of social networks.　The term 'community' as defined earlier in the thesis refers to a set of people or agents who are linked by a shared or common component which for the purposes of this study forms the use of inscribed material culture.　The benefit of the approach applied here is that it holds the potential to identify individual variations within the epigraphic patterns documented across the study area.　This study has considered patterns in elements such as material, decoration, style and location associated with individual settlements.　It will now investigate the possibility that the occurrence of similar patterns in the use of these elements between settlements may demonstrate the existence of a social network operating between those settlements.

7.1.1　*The elements selected for study*

For the purposes of this study, a selection of seven different elements has been made, all of which have the potential to elucidate networks between settlements. These comprise the following:

1. The period during which epigraphy first began to be used most frequently
2. The use of particular types of inscribed object
3. The use of particular materials, specifically types of stone

4. The use of decorative elements within the text and upon the object itself

5. The way in which death was recorded

6. Occurrences of dedications to the emperor and manifestations of the imperial cults

7. Evidence potentially pertaining to civic identity and identifiable groups within the settlement often associated with their profession

These elements have been chosen for several reasons. Firstly, with the exception of the dating phases which involved a certain amount of subjective decision making to set boundaries between phases, they comprise easily distinguishable categories. Secondly the first seven all offer the opportunity to consider evidence for both homogenisation and individuality. And thirdly the factors affecting these elements are not mutually exclusive. Therefore any relationships identified each form an integral part of the social networks in existence.

The continual reference of these patterns, communities and potential networks to the physical landscape provides an opportunity to discuss the impact that geography and topography had upon connections between settlements. It also offers the opportunity to assess the validity of the structure created by imposed boundaries such as the conventus divisions as a means of discussing both regionalisation in general and the specific factors which affected the area of operation of social networks within the province.

The distribution of each element will be considered in terms of the historical background and relative statuses of the study sites involved, the geography of the province, the types of monument erected and the makeup of the population, particularly as evidenced through the inscriptions.

7.1.2 The dating criteria

In the previous chapter the chronological distribution of the inscriptions from each of the study sites was considered in detail, taking into account the evidence relating to the history of urban development for each settlement. In order to analyse the spread of the use of inscribed monuments across the study area this level of detail must necessarily be reduced to some degree. The individual phases of occupation identified at each site have been reduced to a series of five more generalised phases:

a) Republican: comprising material which can be dated positively to the Republican period and that which has been dated as either Republican or Early Imperial

b) Augustan and Early Imperial: comprising material which can be dated as Augustan or which dates to the early to mid 1st Century AD

c) Flavian & Post-Flavian: comprising material that dates predominantly to the later 1st and early 2nd Century AD

d) 2nd Century AD and early 3rd Century AD: comprising material that has been dated to the 2nd Century, the mid to late 2nd Century or which cannot be dated securely to either the later 2nd or early 3rd Century AD

e) From the 3rd Century AD onwards: comprising material which has been dated to any point beyond the start of the 3rd Century AD

These five phases form the chronological structure around which the analysis of the remaining six elements will be based. The undated material will necessarily be absent from this analysis, but the observations drawn from the detailed individual site analyses in chapter 6 will enable this study to identify any patterns in the dated material which appear anomalous in the context of the entire extant assemblage. A certain amount of fluidity between these dating periods must be allowed in order to account for the lack of precision often possible when dating inscriptions. This does not invalidate the data provided the potential possibilities are appreciated and their implications for the distribution patterns considered. The dating phases were devised both to fit the history of the province, and to limit the possibilities for multiple interpretation.

The data from each of the study sites have been plotted spatially within each of these phases in order to facilitate an analysis of the potential relationship to the landscape and natural features such as the routes of the river Guadalquivir and its main tributaries, man-made networks specifically the route of the Roman road system through the province, and the hypothesised boundaries of the conventus divisions.

7.1.3 *The nature of the community*

This research is based on the identification of communities through the recognition of common behaviour regarding the use of inscribed material. Before

these results can be interpreted it is important to assess the validity of this theory. It could be argued that in reality these patterns are the product of localised communities of professional craftsmen utilising similar designs and choice of language rather than an expression of common taste or action. This chapter proposes to consider whether it is possible to suggest that any of the patterns in the epigraphic characteristics of the study sites considered here do in fact demonstrate a common selection and decision making process which cannot solely be explained by manufacture within a single or small group of workshops.

Relatively little is known about the production of inscriptions within the study sites, but the data does provide some insights when considered in the context of the supporting archaeological evidence.

Not all settlements would have been large enough to support a permanent workshop, suggesting that in some areas at least craftsmen were more itinerant and worked locally or in situ on large projects such as at Munigua. There is a good argument for the association of various kinds of stone workers. Inscriptions from Italica record the *statio serrariorum Augustorum* who were stone cutters, involved with the removal of stone from the imperial quarry at Almadén de la Plata.[1] Other professions include the *(faber) lapidarius* seen on inscriptions from Carthago Nova[2] who were stone masons, and probably similar was the *saxo fab[er?]*.[3] Masons working exclusively or predominantly with marble were *marmorarii*[4]. Within these professions individuals would have specialise as for example in the carving of images or sculpture, and most would probably have worked with a range of apprentices who were responsible for some of the earlier less complex stages of production such as laying out the *ordinatio* for an inscription (*quadratarius*.[5]and a *scriptor* or *sculptor titulorum* would have carved the script.[6] It is likely that any stone workshops or *officinae* would have comprised individuals with all these different skills amongst them. At Italica there is evidence for local stoneworkers, in the form of a marble tablet with the first five letters of the alphabet inscribed upon

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[1] ITA051OP & ITA052OP; *Waltzing 1895-1900, II, 236.*
[2] e.g. CIL II 2404, 5934; *Joshel 1992, 179.*
[3] e.g. CIL II 6075.
[4] *Treggiari 1980;* e.g. CIL II 1724.
[5] e.g. OST021IG; *Susini 1973, 14-20.*
[6] e.g. CIL VI 9556 from Rome reads D M TITULOS SCRIBENDOS VEL SI QUID OPERIS MARMORARI OPUS FUERIT HIC HABES.

it.[7] This was probably a practice stone and testifies to the likely existence of such a workshop. It is possible that there was a close link between quarries and stone workshops, and given the location of the *statio serrariorum Augustorum* in Italica notwithstanding the character of the town, it is not surprising that there was such a workshop here. Each of these workshops would have developed their own monumental and decorative styles and on this is based the argument that regional stylistic differences are due to the preferences of local workshops rather than those of the individuals of particular settlements. Stylow has argued on the basis of the skills displayed that the earliest example of an inscription from Hispania Ulterior which was not instigated by an immigrant Roman magistrate was probably carved by a mason attached to Caesar's army.[8] It is likely that this was the case for many of these early monuments. As the local administration expanded to include native members of society who had gained sufficient rank to hold office, so it can be assumed that equivalent social change occurred within the professional communities and that the monuments came to be constructed by local craftsmen. There are no references to date for any *collegia* associated with stone workers within the study area which might indicate how they functioned as a group.[9]

In general many monuments would have been manufactured prior to the inscription of the text and would have been available in the workshop for a potential customer to choose from, or design their own at greater cost. Evidence of this might be seen in texts that have been squashed to fit the epigraphic field.[10] An example of a monument waiting to be purchased and inscribed was found at Carmona, a funerary altar which suggests the location of a stone workshop here.[11] This town would probably have been large enough to support such an enterprise, particularly during the urban monumentalisation of the early Empire. There is evidence for a quarry of fossiliferous limestone in Carmona which supports the theory suggested previously for a conjunction of the two crafts in the same locations.[12] The craftsmen would likely also have worked in the smaller surrounding towns. A

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[7] ITA196IN.
[8] CIL II² 5,521: *Stylow 1998, 110-111.*
[9] *Waltzing 1895-1900.*
[10] e.g. HIS099TS.
[11] CAR068TS.
[12] *Cisneros Cunchillos 1988.*

similar conjunction has been observed in Corduba where there is good evidence for a quarry and a stoneworkers' *officina*[13].

 The question of the relative influence of workshops upon regional variation in epigraphic culture will be addressed at appropriate points in the discussion of the distribution patterns in this chapter.

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[13] *Gutiérrez Deza 2004.*

7.1.4   The size of the assemblage

The size of the dated assemblage will be represented in accordance with the quantity of material dated to each of the five phases individually. The analysis of reused inscriptions in chapters 4 and 5[14] suggested that some monuments came to be replaced and reused within only a few generations. The assemblages could have been represented cumulatively but this would introduce a level of subjective analysis for which there is insufficient contextual and supporting data from within the study material. A cumulative analysis, whilst enabling the perceived and actual permanence of inscribed monuments to form an element of research as a factor affecting the erection of new monuments would require much more secure background data of the potential variations between monuments of different type and purpose. It might be acceptable for example to assume the continued display of a *titulus operis publici* physically attached to the building itself[15]. In general the inscriptions for which we have reuse information do not indicate a continuation of display between individual phases utilised here. As a result it is considered that individual analysis of each phase is the best way within the present study to examine the data.

Since the relative size of the assemblage at various sites cannot and should not be utilised as an indicator of the importance, wealth or size of the resident population, individual chronological distributions provide a more reliable indication of sudden rises and falls in the epigraphic assemblages of individual settlements.

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[14] 4.6.2 p 87-89; 5.3 p 98-99.
[15] ITA239OP: The inscription of M. Trahius is constructed within the pavement of the building and may therefore have been visualised with a greater degree of permanence than other examples.
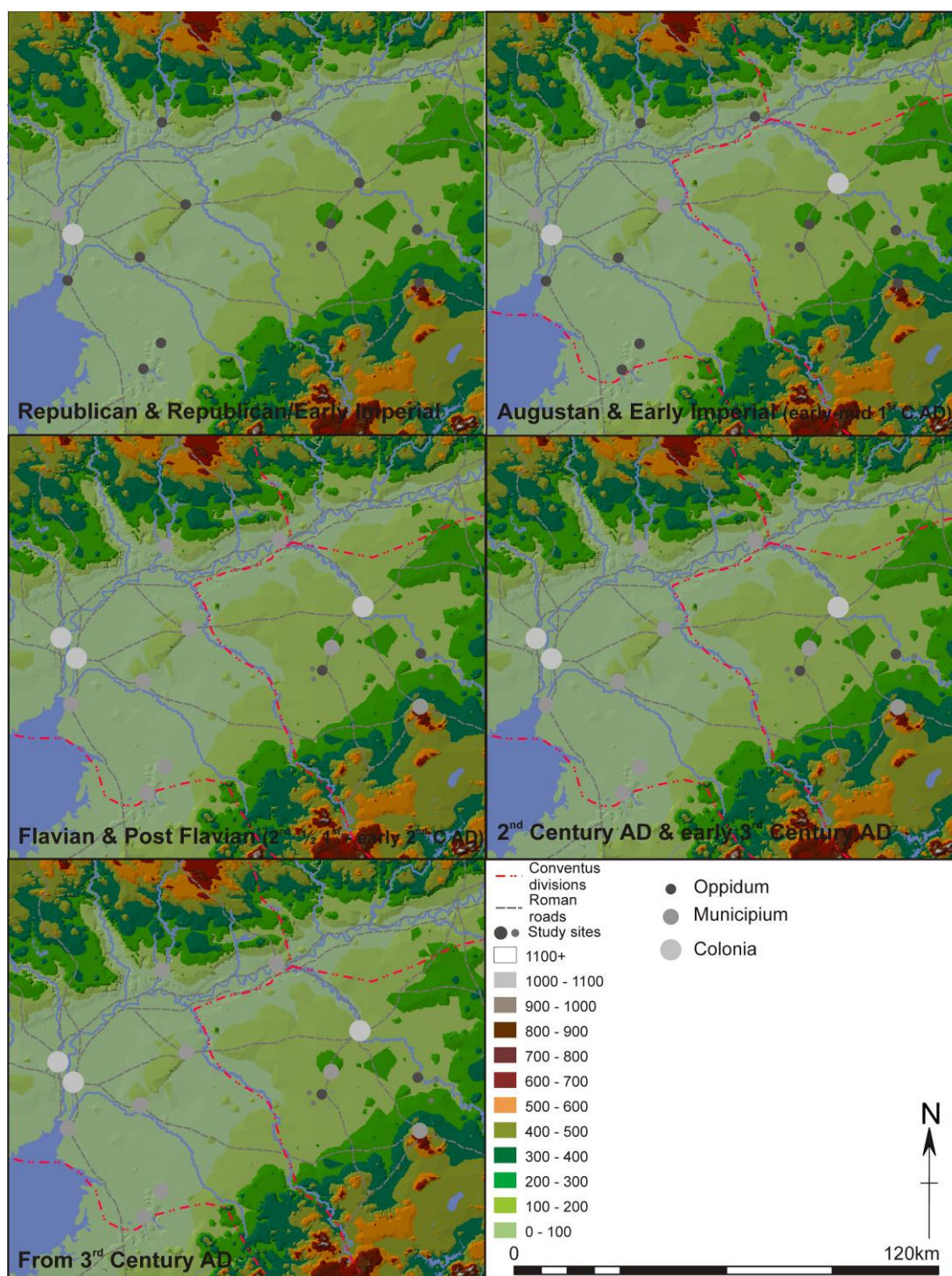
Fig. 55: Changing legal status of the study sites

7.2 THE PERIOD DURING WHICH EPIGRAPHY FIRST BEGAN TO BE USED FREQUENTLY (Fig. 56)[16]

The study region includes some of the sites to which the earliest occurrences of Latin epigraphy in the province are provenanced. These consist of the 2nd Century BC inscription of Mummius at Italica known only from a later copy and a small group of funerary inscriptions, the Lex Ursonensis dating to 44 BC and the *tabella defixionis* from Carmona which has been dated to the second half of the 1st Century BC but may be earlier[17]. It seems almost certain that the earliest inscriptions in Baetica from the Caesarean and Augustan periods are a direct result of the influx of colonists and immigrants to southern Spain rather than the handiwork of the local population. The high quality of certain early examples is more in keeping with the work of a stonemason connected to the military personnel of Caesar or working out of an established workshop such as those in Carthago Nova than that of a native stonemason newly introduced to the technique[18]. The rapidity with which these monuments were adopted also indicates that this scenario is the more likely[19]. Beyond this period the situation is undeniably more complex due to the likelihood of a greater degree of assimilation once the tradition became established and spread beyond the immigrant sectors of the urban population.

7.2.1 Late Republic

Overall there is comparatively little epigraphic material preserved from the Republican period, which may be partly due to the inaccessibility of Republican occupation levels and the destruction of Republican remains by subsequent urban development, but seems also to demonstrate that in fact the use of epigraphy did not really flourish until slightly later. Amongst the material are a number of objects which are not representative of the development of an epigraphic culture but indicate the presence of Roman military units in the region as a result of the Civil Wars of the 1st Century BC and in particular the Battle of Munda. These are the *glandes* (lead

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[16] Tabularised data Appendix C.1.
[17] *Corell, 1993; Stylow, 1998, 111; Stylow article on republican inscriptions 2005*
[18] *Stylow, 1998, 111*
[19] *Stylow 1998 121.*

sling-shot bullets) found near Castillo de Alhonoz and Cerro de la Atalaya.[20] Four sites preserve material which may either date to the Late Republic or early Imperial period (Hispalis, Italica, Munda and Orippo) but are included here. Beyond the sites with military connections, supporting evidence for the presence of Roman citizens at Hispalis, Italica and Siarum was presented in the individual site analyses in chapter 6. Hispalis was thought to have a *conventus civium Romanorum* and became a *colonia* after the Civil Wars. Italica was a settlement of immigrants promoted to municipium by Caesar. Siarum was also settled by immigrants as is testified by the activities of a *legatus pro praetore*[21]. Carmo does not appear to have had a recognised legal status at this point but the archaeological remains discussed in the preceding chapter indicate that it was an important settlement in the region and its strategic location would no doubt have attracted settlers. After the siege and surrender of Munda it is likely that to all intents and purposes a 'Roman' presence was maintained at the town which might explain the early appearance of inscriptions here, whereas at Orippo proximity to the river is likely to have been the determinant factor.

The sites are located in the central portion of the study area, demonstrating no obvious selection of higher ground over lower. It seems apparent that in this phase the spread of epigraphic culture was dictated by the presence of Roman citizens which was conditioned by more political than social or geographic factors in the aftermath of the Civil Wars.

Three genres of monumental inscription have been preserved: *tituli honorarii*, *tituli sepulcrales* and a *titulus operis publici* which contrast with the *tabella defixionis* from Carmo. The occurrence of monumental inscriptions of different genres at different sites suggests that at least in these settlements it was employed more widely than the quantity of preserved evidence suggests.

7.2.2   *Augustan* and Early Imperial

The Augustan period sees a widening of the epigraphic distribution across the study area. This extends beyond sites of recognised Roman status and includes more

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[20] This research strongly advocates the integration of all types of inscribed object for the analysis, not just those on stone (cf Favreau's approach 1997) but realises that in certain situations the *instrumenta* are not pertinent to the wider discussion.
[21] SIA030IN: M(arcus).PETRVCIDIVS.M(arci).F(ilius)LEG(atus).PRO.PR(aetore)

sites on the river as was seen in the general analysis in chapter 5, and in the high ground to the south of the *campiña*. Two sites in particular stand out in this period - Astigi and Carmo. Both were the locations of substantial building programmes under Augustus which followed changes in legal status and necessitated the settlement of non-indigenous members of the elite together with communities of Italian settlers. Notable for its absence in this period is Celti with only one inscription dating to the mid 1st Century AD. This is in keeping with the interpretation of the archaeological remains as a continuing urban centre with a preference for older indigenous styles particularly of ceramics.

Augustan monumental inscriptions have been provenanced to Astigi, Carmo, Italica, Pagus Singiliensis and Siarum. Each of the sites with Augustan material in Hispalensis (Carmo, Italica and Siarum) also preserve inscriptions dated to the Republican period. However the two sites with Augustan material in Astigitanus (Astigi and Pagus Singiliensis) do not appear in either the Republican or Republican/ Early Imperial assemblages. Since the division of Hispania Ulterior into Baetica and Lusitania and the conception of the *conventus divisions* in Baetica as the means to administer justice only took place between 16 and 13 BC, it is unlikely that this is anything other than coincidental and indicates the importance that the riverine network came to hold due to the inflation of status and urbanisation of the sites along the Singilis subsequent to those along the Baetis.

Those sites where the earliest material has been dated to the Republican/ Early Imperial period (Hispalis, Munda and Orippo) are absent from the Augustan period. It is unlikely that in reality there was a hiatus in the use of inscribed monuments at these sites. Therefore either the potentially earlier material in fact represents the use of epigraphy in the later phase of occupation, or other material exists which has not yet been discovered.

Overall there is a definite increase in the quantity of material preserved and widening of the distribution to new sites namely Astigi, Celti, Ostippo, Munigua, the Pagus Singiliensis and Salpensa which indicates a significant expansion in the epigraphic networks of the province at this time. The sites with the most significant increases in their epigraphic assemblages under Augustus and the early Emperors correlate with those settlements which experienced a change in status during this period, namely

the foundation of a *colonia* at Astigi with a community of Italian settlers and the elevation of Carmo to *municipium*.

7.2.3 Flavian and post Flavian

Each of the study sites preserves securely dated epigraphic material prior to the Flavian period except for Gandul (Irippo). This period sees a general increase in epigraphic numbers across the study area which may be tied to widespread social and political changes including the concession of Latin rights by Vespasian and the universal elevation of the remaining settlements to the status of *municipia* (Munigua, Celti, Orippo, Gandul, Salpensa, Atalaya, Ostippo).[22]

Whether the concession of Latin rights by Vespasian and the receipt of citizenship had a direct impact upon the use of epigraphy by the population is uncertain but it is clear that at this time when the status of many towns was concurrently raised there was an appreciable rise in the employment of epigraphy. It may be that the new situation, if indeed there was an appreciable alteration, encouraged greater participation in visible forms of social communication and competition. At this time however across the study region there is evidence for increased urbanisation and monumental building programmes at Astigi, Hispalis, Orippo, and perhaps most famously at Munigua, (this had happened at the end of the Neronian period at Celti) and the locations of these sites correspond to increased quantities of preserved inscribed material.[23] Urban construction work both hinged upon contributions from wealthy benefactors and encouraged them as part of a burgeoning of self-representation amongst the elite population. It is this last social connection which was responsible for the rise in numbers of inscriptions. The assemblage from this period contains a high proportion of *tituli honorarii* and *tituli operi publicorum* indicating public benefactions. This situation was facilitated by the economic prosperity of the province and is particularly noticeable at the settlements along the main rivers (e.g. Hispalis and Astigi) which had benefitted from their advantageous position for the exploitation of agricultural resources and control of transportation networks. It is unsurprising then that these same settlements became important within individual territories as far as can be established. For this reason the route of the Baetis and the Genil were clearly important in the development of the epigraphic tradition in the study region as an

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[22] Pliny *Naturalis Historia 3.30;* Evidence for Vespasian's grant of *ius Latii* amongst the epigraphic assemblage takes the form of the adoption of *municipium Flavium* to the records of urban name at e.g. Munigua and Salpensa and imperial dedications at Munigua.

[23] See discussion in chapter 6 of individual sites.

indirect result of the potential for control and communication that the river and its main tributary offered. All the sites along these rivers rose in prominence in the Flavian and post Flavian periods. This same dominance is seen throughout the 2nd Century AD and into the 3rd. Sites which were not positioned in the main river valleys such as Carmo, Gandul, Ostippo and Siarum exploited other advantages such as their elevated position, superior visibility and ability to control the low-lying countryside, and these factors enabled them to prosper.

7.2.4   2nd Century AD and early 3rd Century AD

No decrease in the sustained employment of inscriptions has been evidenced in the study region during the 2nd Century AD, with the assemblages from each of the sampled sites either remaining in similar proportions or rising in numbers. At Siarum and Ostippo a similar significant increase in material from the post Flavian period into the 2nd Century AD occurs. Although increases are evidenced at all the sites in the region, at these two sites this represents the first significant use of the material. The assemblage from Italica at this period is particularly significant since it corresponds to the construction of the *nova urbs* by Hadrian and hence a significant change in the character of this site. This period sees a significant increase in the numbers of high ranking individuals (*senatores* and *eques*) who can be identified as of indigenous origin. This observation has very important implications for the interpretation of the reasons for the spread of epigraphic culture as it is now clear that within the study sites it has been adopted as a medium for expression and communication by the local elite. These individuals are seen most frequently in this period at Hispalis and Italica, with other examples from Siarum, Munigua and Gandul. Given the status of Astigi it is surprising that to data there is only one example from this settlement. Having been reluctant to adopt new forms and styles of material, by the 2nd Century AD Celti was putting epigraphic monuments to good use, but the assemblage is dominated by funerary inscriptions. Only four inscriptions have been positively identified as non funerary and these all took the form of *tituli honorarii.*

7.2.5   3rd Century AD

The only sites which are no longer epigraphically visible in the 3rd Century record are the sites in the territory of Cerro de la Atalaya and Castillo de Alhonoz. The most significant assemblage of the 3rd Century AD is that from Italica. The range of types of inscription recorded during this period demonstrates that the factors promoting the use of epigraphy were still working strongly and resulted in a large number of *tituli sepulcrales*, but also *tituli sacri*, *tituli imperatorum*, and *tituli operum publicorum* indicating that inscriptions were still forming a vibrant element of the urban repertoire. Although a smaller assemblage is extant similar activities can also be seen at Hispalis through the preservation of a *titulus honorarius* and a *titulus imperatorum*, and also at Astigi with a *titulus honorarius*. Two *miliaria* from Astigi and Ostippo testify to continued maintenance of the road system during this period which indicates that the province was still flourishing.

7.2.6   Conclusions based on chronology

The implications of the period during which epigraphy was first adopted relate closely to the occupational history of each of the study sites and the social changes that took place within its population. It is clear from the generalised distributions based on chronology that the use of epigraphy developed alongside the generation of social networks that were instigated and facilitated by economic prosperity. The natural resources, development of settlement patterns and pre-existing social connections of the provincial landscape formed the basis for its incorporation into the culture of the region, but the necessity of individuals of wealth and status to take significant roles in the administrative and social development of individual settlements under the Empire and their wish to demonstrate those roles makes it clear that in Baetica epigraphy was closely linked to identity as a way of defining an individual's place in society and their relationships with others. In the earlier periods therefore it is clear that both those responsible for setting up inscribed monuments in the urban landscape and the professionals who constructed them were not native to southern Spain. This pattern was visibly starting to change by the Flavian and post Flavian era, and was clearly solidified by the 2nd Century AD when it is clear that a large proportion of the elite was of local origin.

Potential relationships can be drawn between the sites which adopted the technique at a relatively early and contemporary period i.e. Carmo, Italica and Siarum in the Republican period. By contrast therefore one might expect to see a comparable relationship between the sites which demonstrate an apparent reluctance to adopt the technique in the first instance such as Celti, but there is insuffient evidence to ascribe this interpretation to any of the other sites which are less visible due to the small size of their extant assemblages e.g. Irippo. At Gandul the nature of the history of occupation and location of the site might suggest possible parallels with Carmo. Munigua stands out against the wider patterns of epigraphic development, a comparatively small site with a particularly wealthy population based on its location well-suited to exploitation of the mineral resources of the Sierra Morena. The population of Munigua made a significant number of private benefactions for the benefit of the town. The unusual character of the broad mix of native and foreign building traditions and design makes this an interesting site in this context. It seems that at Munigua native and Italian traditions and individuals were particularly fused. Other relationships are documented by contemporary significant increases in the use of material as seen almost universally in the Flavian era onwards, indirectly resulting from the concession of Latin rights which impacted upon the social community by promoting social competition and expression.
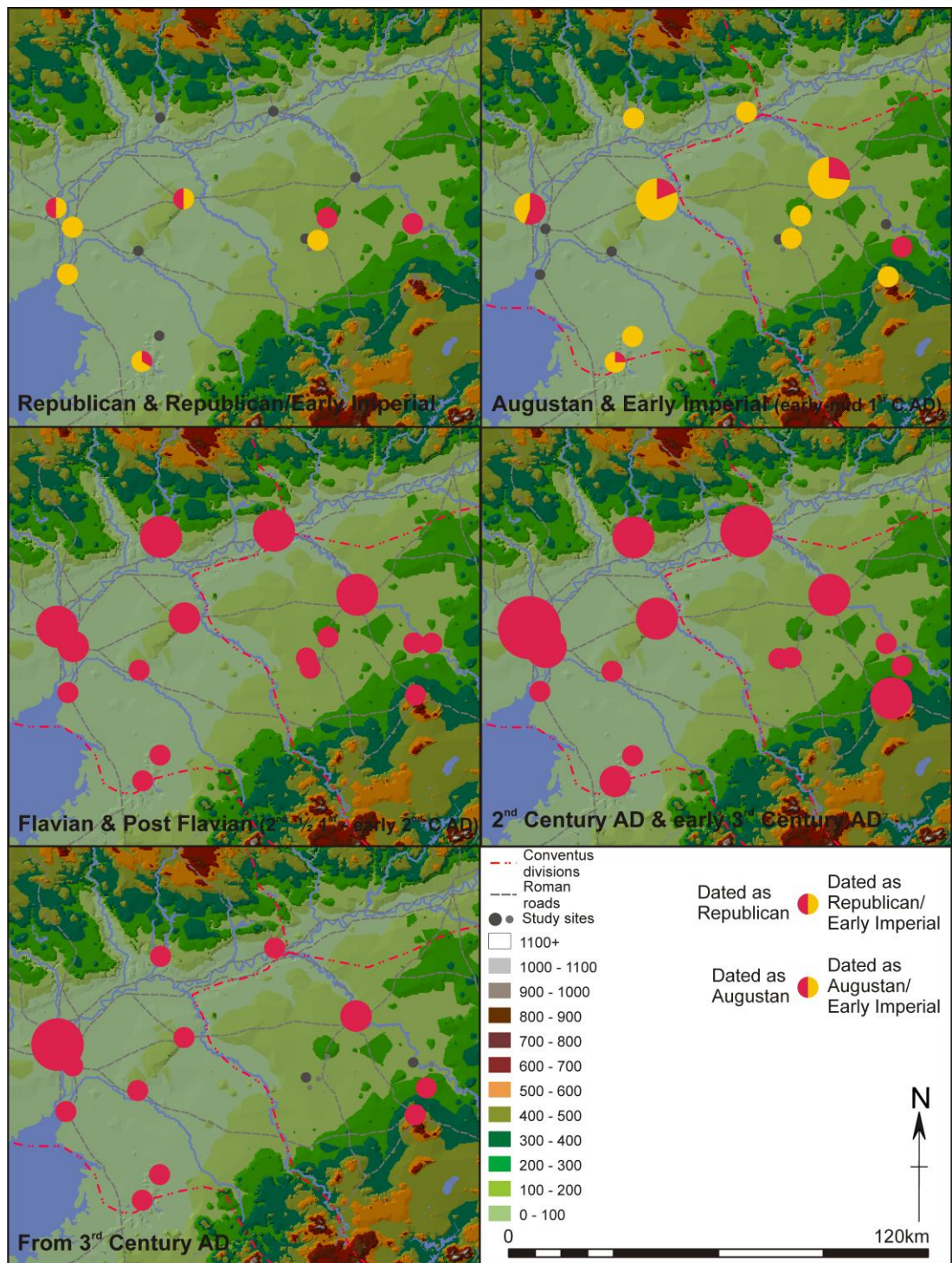
Fig. 56: Chronological distribution of inscriptions amongst the study sites

7.3 THE USE OF PARTICULAR TYPES OF INSCRIBED OBJECT[24]

For the purposes of this discussion the types of object subjected to analysis have been restricted to exclude all forms of instrumenta with the exception of funerary *urnae* and *cistae*. Assemblages of inscribed instrumenta do not occur at all of the study sites and as such cannot be analysed in terms of their distribution. They would more profitably be compared with distributions of equivalent un-inscribed objects, but that falls outside the remit of this study. Funerary *urnae* and *cistae* have been retained since within this context the information they provide has more in common with other forms of burial inscription than with urns and boxes used for different purposes.

7.3.1 Stelae

Funerary stelae are seen at three sites across the breadth of the study area as early as the Republican period (Hispalis, Munda and Orippo). They remain part of the Early Imperial corpora at Italica and Carmo but it is at Astigi that they really flourish. However as time progresses the distribution of *stelae* is reduced and generally restricted to the eastern section of the study area where they continue to be constructed in significant numbers. After the Augustan and Early Imperial period very few examples have been found west of the territory of Cerro de la Atalaya. In the Flavian and post Flavian era examples are concentrated at Astigi and Ostippo with a further inscription found at Lantejuela, and the 2nd Century AD distribution is spatially very similar with the exception of the reappearance of a single example at Hispalis. By the 3rd Century AD the only remaining examples have been provenanced to Astigi.

The continuation of this form particularly in the western and south western portion of the study region and most significantly at Astigi and Ostippo must represent a conscious decision to persist in the use of this particular type of early monumental form, not always in preference to but certainly alongside later structures. However, none of the four *stelae* with the potential earliest date derive from either of these sites. The latest example from Hispalis dated to the later 2nd or early 3rd Century AD may indicate that this monumental form continued in use on a much smaller scale within the urban epigraphic repertoire at least into the 2nd Century AD. The material from

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[24] Tabularised data Appendix C.2 THE USE OF PARTICULAR TYPES OF INSCRIBED OBJECT

disassociated collections most likely to have derived from Hispalis provides no potentially supporting evidence with only one *stela* dating to the Republican/Early Imperial period. At Orippo the single *stela* is the only example of this type of inscription to have been found, but the small size of the extant assemblage precludes any assumptions that might be made about its use after this point. A similar situation occurs at Italica where a single 1st Century AD stela and an undated example are the only 2 specimens of the use of this monumental type at this settlement. Examples of *stelae quadratae* are found solely at Astigi and in the territory of Cerro de la Atalaya.

7.3.2 *Tabulae*

The distribution of an increasing number of *tabulae* occurs rapidly between the mid 1st Century AD and the Flavian and post Flavian era. This phenomenon is seen to occur across the study area with notable exceptions at Astigi and Hispalis in the Flavian and post Flavian phase, and Hispalis again in the 2nd – early 3rd Century AD. In fact Hispalis is the only site where in no phase are *tabulae* the dominant monumental form. At Astigi, Ostippo, Munigua and possibly also Siarum the level of dominance is not comparable to that at the rest of the sites but it is still clearly the most commonly utilised monument by the 2nd and early 3rd Centuries AD. The preferential selection of the *tabulae* does not appear to have had a detrimental effect upon the variety of other types of monument despite the decrease in their numbers. Within *tabulae* there is wide ranging variation in size. This information was recorded together with the direction of the major axis (vertical or horizontal) during the initial data collection phase of this project and represents a valuable source of potential analysis. Most of the *tabulae* are rectangular but there are a small number of square examples. The depth of slab ranges in the main between 1 and 5cm, with fewer inscriptions between 6 and 9cm in depth. It might be argued that these monuments display so much variation that they should not be regarded as equivalent for the purpose of analysis of monument type. However it is the feeling here that since the general architectural structure is consistent throughout they should be taken as a single group. The popularity of the *tabula* derived from its flexibility and suitability for such a wide variety of different genres of monument which meant that it could be modified in shape and form in order to fit almost any urban situation.

7.3.3 Arae

The distribution of *arae* begins later than other forms in the Flavian and post Flavian era at Celti, Hispalis, Munigua and Siarum. Further examples are seen at these sites and at Carmo, Italica and Pagus Singiliensis in the 2nd and early 3rd Centuries AD in addition to an example which derives from either Salpensa or Siarum. The latest examples of *arae* from the study area were found at two of the sites where they first originated, Celti and Hispalis and also at Italica where they have only been preserved since the 2nd Century AD. However in the 3rd Century examples of *arae* are also preserved for the first time at Astigi. In the 2nd and early 3rd Centuries AD Hispalis demonstrates a clear preference for the altar and it is utilised widely for a range of inscribed genres comprising largely *tituli sepulcrales*, but also *tituli sacri* and *tituli honorarii*, demonstrating a flexibility of purpose that no doubt contributed to its popularity. At Italica it was also utilised on one occasion as the basis of a *titulus operis publici*. The altar therefore, whether funerary or votive, can be characterised as a monument which developed in popularity rather later than some of the other monumental forms. Its distribution was limited in comparison with other forms, but was adopted preferentially at both Hispalis and Italica.

7.3.4 Statue Bases including columns

Statue bases are evidenced at almost all of the study sites from as early as the Republican period at Italica. They were utilised for a variety of genres of inscriptions comprising *tituli honorarii*, *tituli sacri*, *tituli imperatorum*, *tituli operi publicorum*, as well as in some unusual cases *tituli sepulcrales*.[25] This adaptability is likely to have contributed to its high frequency of use. The use at Carmona and Hispalis of these monuments as funerary monuments is particularly unusual. Of the three monuments recorded, one dates to the 1st Century AD, another the 2nd Century AD and the third is undated so it is not possible to suggest why these monuments appear at this time. Nor does the information recorded about context provide any useful background.[26] Whilst the *tabula* became the most commonly selected object at Munigua it was closely followed by a significant number of statue bases. The proportion of these monuments here in the Flavian and post Flavian era is comparable only with that at Hispalis, and

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[25] CAR061TS, CAR072TS & HIS144TS.
[26] CAR061TS: From the tomb of la gran Motilla, Alcaudete; CAR072TS: from Carmona, location uncertain; From Sevilla, location uncertain.

in the 2nd and early 3rd Centuries AD only at Siarum. This is due largely to the small number of funerary inscriptions within the assemblages at these sites but does not detract from the fact that they were clearly popular choices for monuments in these periods. The presence of these monuments in high proportions provides direct evidence for members of the urban population who were heavily involved within the community. They also indicate the importance with which personal display and honorific expression was regarded amongst that community. Statue bases most commonly took the form of rectangular blocks with a vertical major axis, but they are also seen in much smaller numbers with the main axis to the horizontal at Astigi, Celti, Hispalis, Italica and Munigua from the Augustan period through to the first half of the 3rd Century AD. Two examples from Augustan Astigi are cylindrical in shape, both of which are *tituli honorarii*. These are the only two such examples from the study sites. In addition a *titulus honorarius* from Hispalis is inscribed upon a column, and there is another possible such example from Italica.

7.3.5   *Parallelepipeda*

Stylow has commented that *parallelpipeda* and *stelae* co-exist in time but not in space during the 1st Century AD,[27] and this is true at all sites where these monuments have been found in the study region (Hispalis, Italica, Siarum, Celti, Ostippo, Munigua and the territory of Cerro de la Atalaya) with one notable exception: Astigi. Here both these monuments are found in significant proportions of the total assemblage in the Augustan and Early Imperial period. One other site where they appear to have been frequently used is Celti during the Flavian and post Flavian period. The *parallelpipedum* appears at the majority of the study sites to have been an early monument selection which is seen in substantially smaller numbers after the post Flavian era. However it first appears at Munigua and Ostippo in the 2nd Century and continues at Astigi into the 3rd Century so it cannot be classified purely as an earlier style and represents an interesting possibly more haphazard distribution pattern between these three sites.

7.3.6   *Conclusions based on the distribution of inscribed objects*

A combination of continuity and change is evident in the distributions of inscribed monuments across the study region. Whilst the *tabula* became the more

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[27] *Stylow 1998, 120.*

frequent choice, the selections of other monuments tend to largely follow the choices made in previous phases of occupation and this continuity generally revolves around the use of statue bases and altars. Continuity is held at Carmo through the inscribed funerary urns which are found from Augustus through to the 3rd Century AD, demonstrating that at least in the western cemetery internment followed a relatively consistent form. Whilst inscribed funerary urns have only been documented to date at Carmo it is likely that this has resulted from the lack of ability to investigate any other urban cemetery site in as much detail. The settlement which demonstrates the greatest level of continuity between the Flavian and early 3rd Century AD phases is Munigua where a very consistent ratio between altars, statue bases and *tabulae* is maintained. It is possible that due to the more comprehensive excavation that has been carried out in the public areas of Munigua, the sample from this site is more representative of the true distribution makeup at other towns, though without comparable evidence this cannot be substantiated. Choices appearing to be relatively unusual (although perhaps as a result purely of survival) can be seen at most of the study sites such as in the selection of *parallelpipeda*, or *hermae* at Munda and Astigi. The two sites which stand out as more irregular from the generalised patterns of distribution are Hispalis and Astigi, the former primarily for the predominance of statue bases and altars over the *tabula*, and the latter for its continued use of the *parallelepipedum* throughout its epigraphic history.

Fig. 57: Distribution of selected inscribed objects across the study region during the Republican period

Fig. 58: Distribution of selected inscribed objects across the study region during the Augustan and Early Imperial period

Fig. 59: Distribution of selected inscribed objects across the study region during the Flavian and post Flavian period
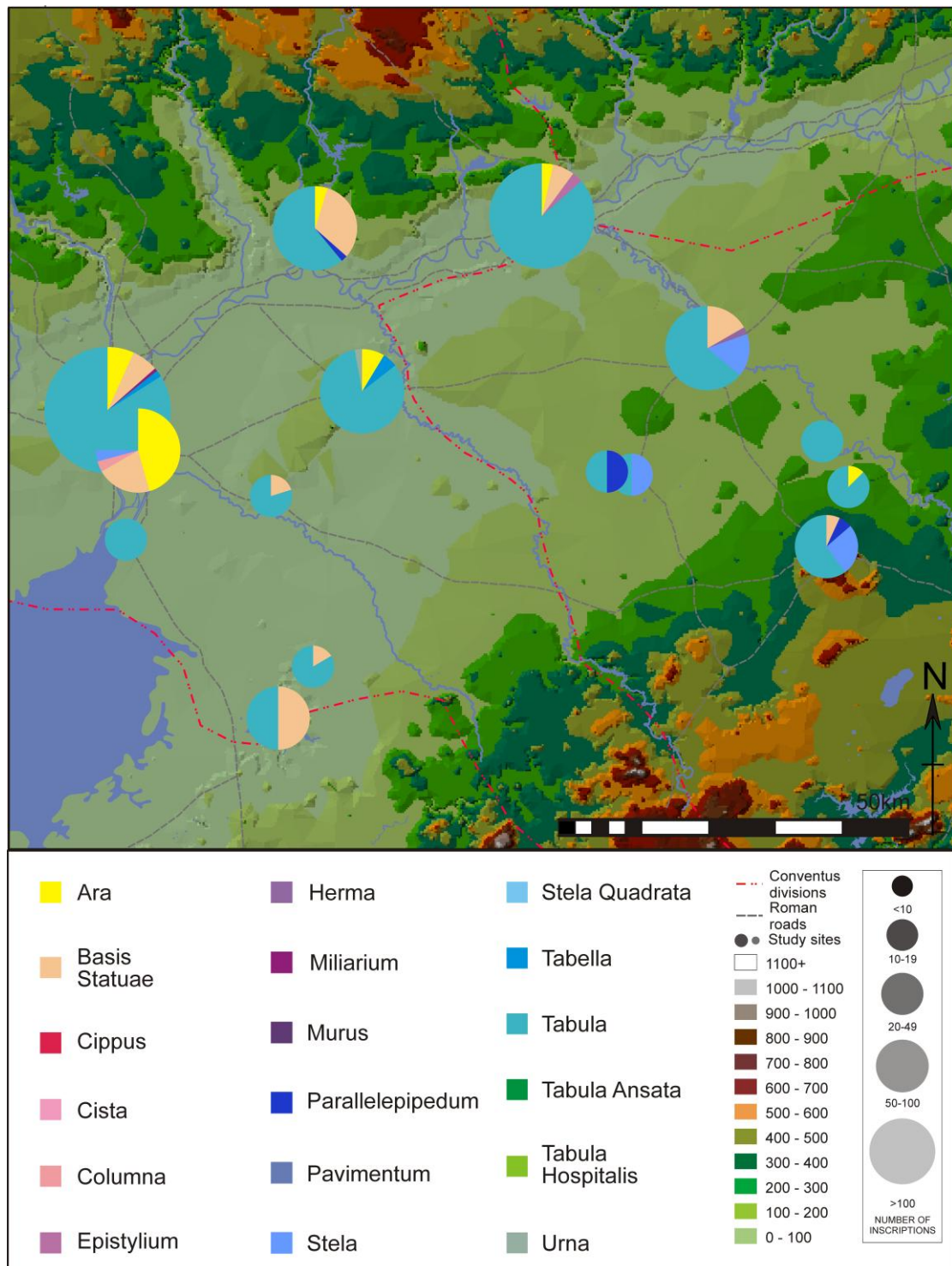
Fig. 60: Distribution of selected inscribed objects across the study region during the 2nd to early 3rd Centuries AD
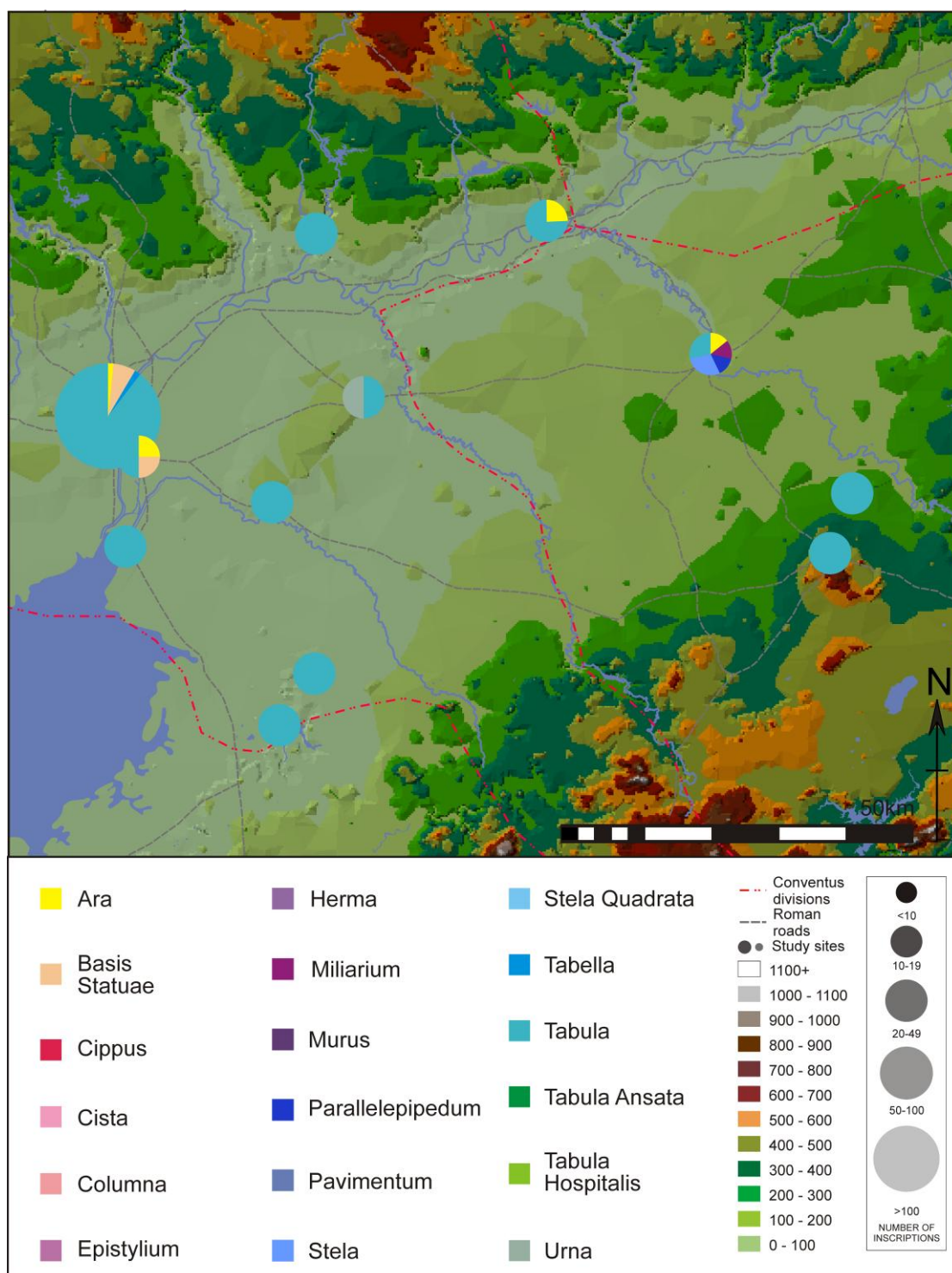
Fig. 61: Distribution of selected inscribed objects across the study region from the 3ʳᵈ Century AD

7.4 THE USE OF PARTICULAR MATERIALS, SPECIFICALLY TYPES OF STONE[28]

With few exceptions the two predominant materials at all sites and in all periods are limestone and marble. A marked change is visible in the distributions in the Flavian/post Flavian period as the use of limestone is overtaken by a preference for marble. This shift must however be seen in context. Some of the earliest inscriptions were inscribed upon marble in the Republican/Early Imperial period, and limestone remained in use even into the 3rd Century AD although occurring more commonly as a more significant proportion of the total assemblage in the south western region of the study area. Of the three inscriptions from the Republican period for which a source can be identified, two derive from the marble quarry at Almadén de la Plata.[29] The third is carved from a limestone local to Siarum.[30] Unfortunately the *damnatio* of the inscription from Carmona means that the name of the individual commemorated cannot be ascertained, but based on the discussion of the social groups responsible for setting up the fist Latin inscriptions in the province it seems likely that immigrant Roman citizens were responsible. The evidence from the examples from Italica and Siarum supports this theory since they include filiation in the names of the individuals recorded. The use of local stone at this early stage indicates that the communities of Roman citizens were already exploiting the natural resources of the province.

The assemblage from Flavian and post Flavian Munigua comprises a quantity of granite monuments. Two further granite inscriptions are seen again in the late 2nd Century at Munigua but by this period marble was completely dominating the distribution. Granite has only been identified at one other of the study sites, Hispalis, where a single example occurs dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd Century AD.[31] This monument has been securely provenanced to Hispalis and so it can be identified as anomalous in this context. The dedication is a votive altar to Hercules by a procurator of equestrian rank with unusual geometric carving on its cornice only mirrored elsewhere at Carmona in the same period which may suggest the work of a

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[28] Tabularised data Appendix C.3 THE USE OF PARTICULAR MATERIALS, SPECIFICALLY TYPES OF STONE
[29] CAR052TH & ITA059TH.
[30] SIA014TS..
[31] HIS139SC.

single craftsman or workshop serving both settlements. The use of this material for inscriptions therefore seems particularly restricted. The availability of granite in the vicinity of Munigua, located on the southern edge of the Sierra Morena is doubtless the reason for its preponderance at this site[32]. Granite was in fact the most commonly utilised material for all types of construction at the site during the Flavian redesign in particular. Several of the granite inscriptions at Munigua were particularly significant monuments. Of the eight granite monuments identified five are *tituli imperatorum*. Two of these were to the Flavian emperors Titus and Vespasian,[33] a third was to an unidentified Flavian emperor[34] and the remaining inscriptions were dedicated to Trajan and Hadrian.[35] Other marble *tituli imperatorum* to Hadrian are preserved from the site although both are *tabulae* rather than statue bases.[36] The selection of granite therefore may be significant in these cases since it cannot be attributed to a temporal distribution or one associated with a particular genre or individual type of monument. All the granite inscriptions were statue bases with the exception of a single votive *ara*.[37] The patterns of use of granite at Munigua shares similarities with limestone at other sites in the movement from the use of locally available materials to marble.

The adoption of marble at Astigi as the predominant material in use occurs considerably later than at the other sites and limestone still comprises the majority of the inscriptions on stone in the Flavian and post Flavian era. In comparison limestone is also commonly used in 2nd and 3rd Century Ostippo. This may be connected to the availability of limestone since Ostippo is located on a higher ground on the edge of the *Sierra subbética*.

White marble is consistently the most commonly represented marble at all sites except for Ostippo. White marbles with coloured veins are also seen almost universally amongst the central and northern sites of the study area. Non-white marbles with coloured veins are only seen at Astigi, Celti and Italica and only at

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[32] Grünhagen's single site analysis (1979), though erroneous in part as were all first attempts at a discussion of marble source in the region, was nevertheless revolutionary in its approach.
[33] MUN014TI later altered to incorporate Titus' divine status post-mortem, and MUN013TI.
[34] MUN016TI.
[35] MUN015TI & MUN019TI.
[36] MUN017TI & MUN018TI.
[37] MUN012SC.

Italica in more than one period appearing from the Republican through to the 3rd Century. The distribution of non-white marble is wider and more consistent across the study area. Munigua is a notable exception, preserving remains of no non-white marble monuments in any period, with or without coloured veins. A slightly greater variety of material is documented at Italica than at the rest of the study sites, which can be explained by the location of a *statio marmorum*, a distribution centre for marble transported from the quarries at Almadén de la Plata. This variety mirrors that within the materials used for construction in the monumental architecture at Italica[38].

The relative proportions of white limestone and non-white limestone varieties are less polarised. White limestones were most common at Astigi in the Augustan and early Imperial period, but the distribution of non-white limestones is wider reaching as was identified with the distribution of the non-white marble. White limestones with coloured veins have only been found in the central region of the study area at Carmo and Munda, and non-white limestones with coloured veins are restricted to the west at Astigi, Munda and Herrera.

The distribution of stone of known source, which is admittedly a very small proportion of the total number of extant inscriptions, gives a very sketchy indication of the breadth of the networks for their employment within the study region. This distribution is based upon the work of a handful of studies[39] and the proportion of material that has been sourced compared to that which has not is very small as was demonstrated in the discussion in chapter 5. As a result of the breadth of the studies conducted, known sources comprise Almadén de la Plata in the Sierra Morena to the north, Sierra de la Mijas in the southern mountainous range, stones local to Carmo and Siarum, as well as a single instance of imported marble and a generically 'Roman' marble. Although only stones local to Carmo and Siarum have been identified, it is likely that local stones were used at a large number of sites and have just not been identified, as potentially for example at Ostippo which was near a source of dolomitic sandstone.[40] The most representative of the Baetican marbles comes from Almadén de la Plata and a comprehensive distribution network was

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[38] E.g. *Mayer & Rodà 1998 228; 231-234; Léon 1989.*
[39] *Canto 1977-1978; Braemer 1986; Cisneros 1988; Grünhagen 1979.*
[40] *Cisneros 1988, 70-77*: ancient stone working sites in Roman Baetica.

clearly involved in its exploitation. Italica functioned as a redistribution centre for the quarried stone from this site. So far the available evidence demonstrates a wide distribution for this material across the study area from the earliest periods documented continuing into the 3rd Century AD. Close proximity to the riverine network necessary for transport of these materials and also to the Sierra Morena itself appears to have been a factor with no examples from sites south of Gandul yet identified. This would need to be compared with the evidence for marble from Almadén in other contexts to ascertain whether this marble was not used at all this far south or just not in the case of inscriptions.

Based on the available evidence it appears that the distribution of marble from the Sierra de la Mijas does not extend north of Italica. Whilst the evidence is slim and by no means conclusive, when compared with the apparent southern limit to the distribution of the marble from Almadén de la Plata, it may appear to be more significant, and certainly worth contemplation in the future if backed up by further evidence. If this were proven to be accurate, it would indicate that practicalities dictated by proximity to resources were important factors in the selection of material for inscribed monuments. Although the comparative ease with which marble from Almadén de la Plata can be identified due to its distinctive appearance has doubtless biased the distributions to some extent, it still appears to have been used commonly throughout the more northerly half of the study region. Given that Almadén's quarry was under imperial ownership it would have had a wider distribution network than the smaller individually owned quarries,[41] but yet based on the evidence currently available that network did not extend into the most southerly portion of the study area.

The only recorded instance to date within the study sites of an imported marble used for an inscription was from Carystos and found at Italica in the theatre which may prove interesting since marble from this location does not appear on the list compiled by Mayer and Rodà after microscopic analysis of the decorative marbles within the theatre.[42]

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[41] *Padilla Monge 1998.*
[42] *Mayer & Rodà 1998, 233-234.*

Baetican marble does not appear to have been exported widely if at all.[43] Therefore local stone was very important to the province and was utilised widely and often in preference to more expensive exported materials. Some sites such as Italica may demonstrate a wider variety of material from geographically distant sources than others such as perhaps Siarum where the materials used are predominantly local or not too distant regionally. The predominant selection of local and regional material seems to be universal across the study area based on the available evidence. Improvements to the distribution networks by land and river would have increased the potential for access to regional materials but this does not appear to have affected the use of local material which is still seen in use in the 2nd Century AD for a *titulus operis publici* perhaps indicating that it was also being used for general construction at this time.
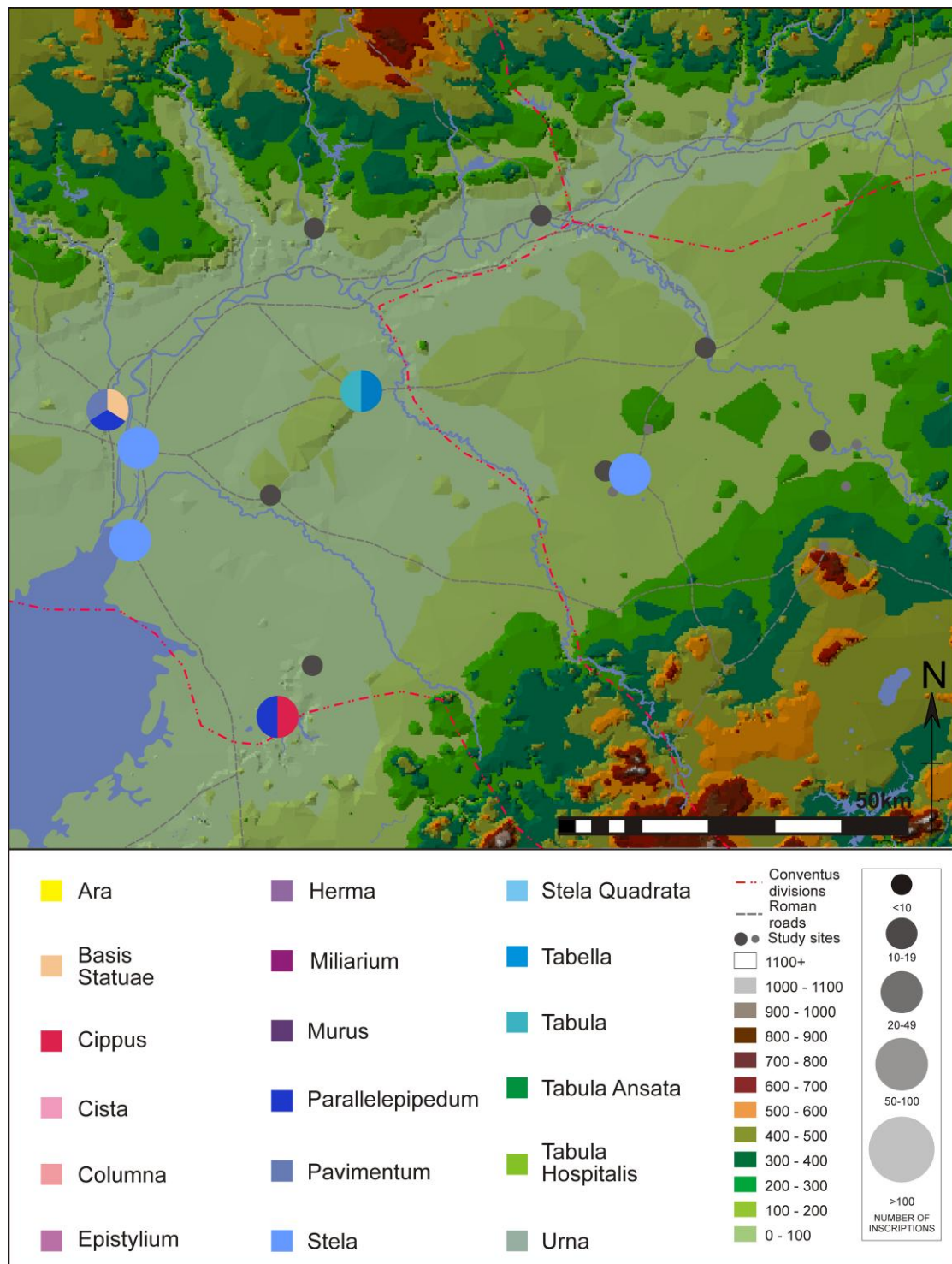
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[43] *Padilla Monje 1998.*
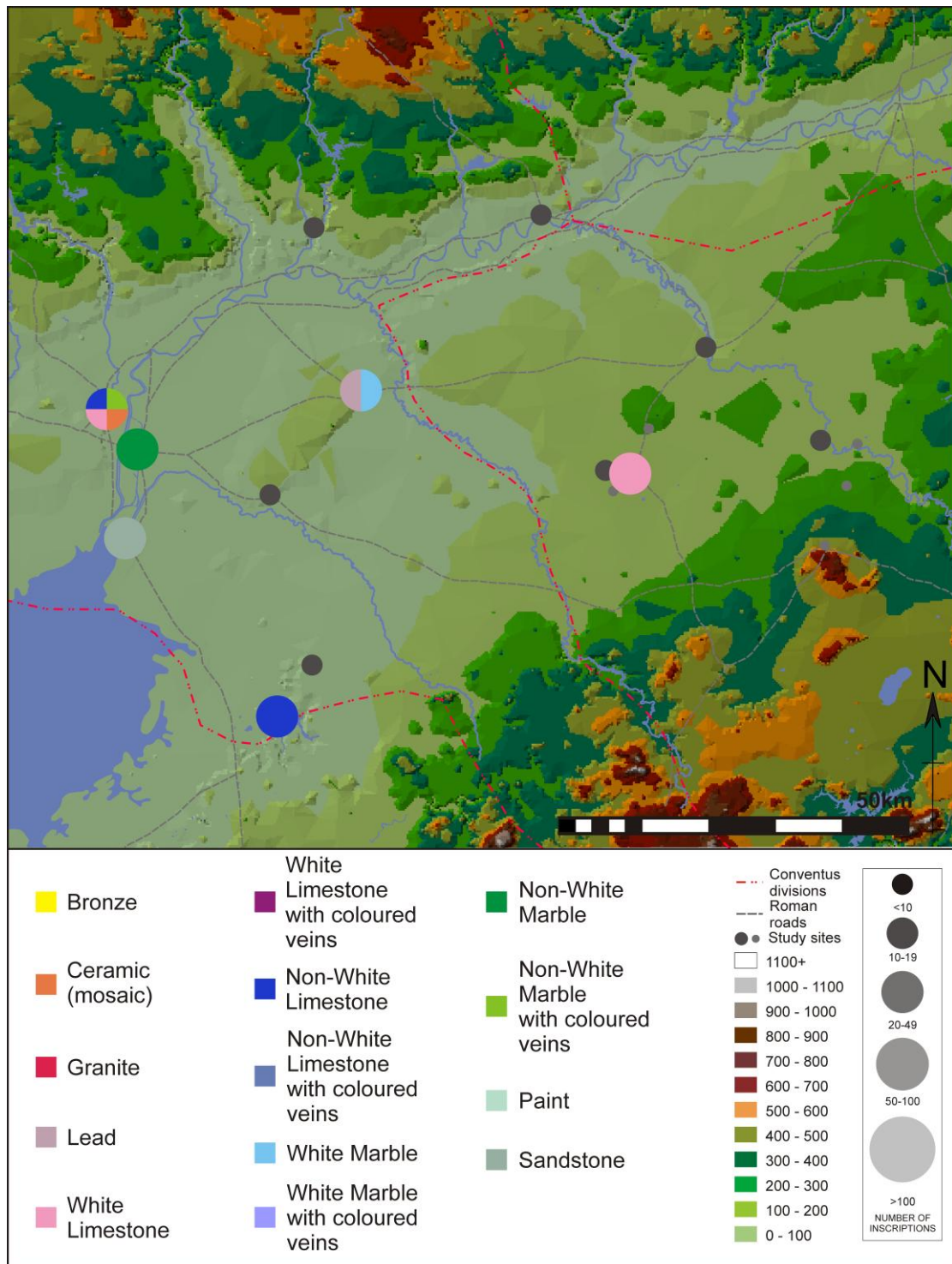
Fig. 62: The distribution of selected inscribed materials across the study region during the Republican period
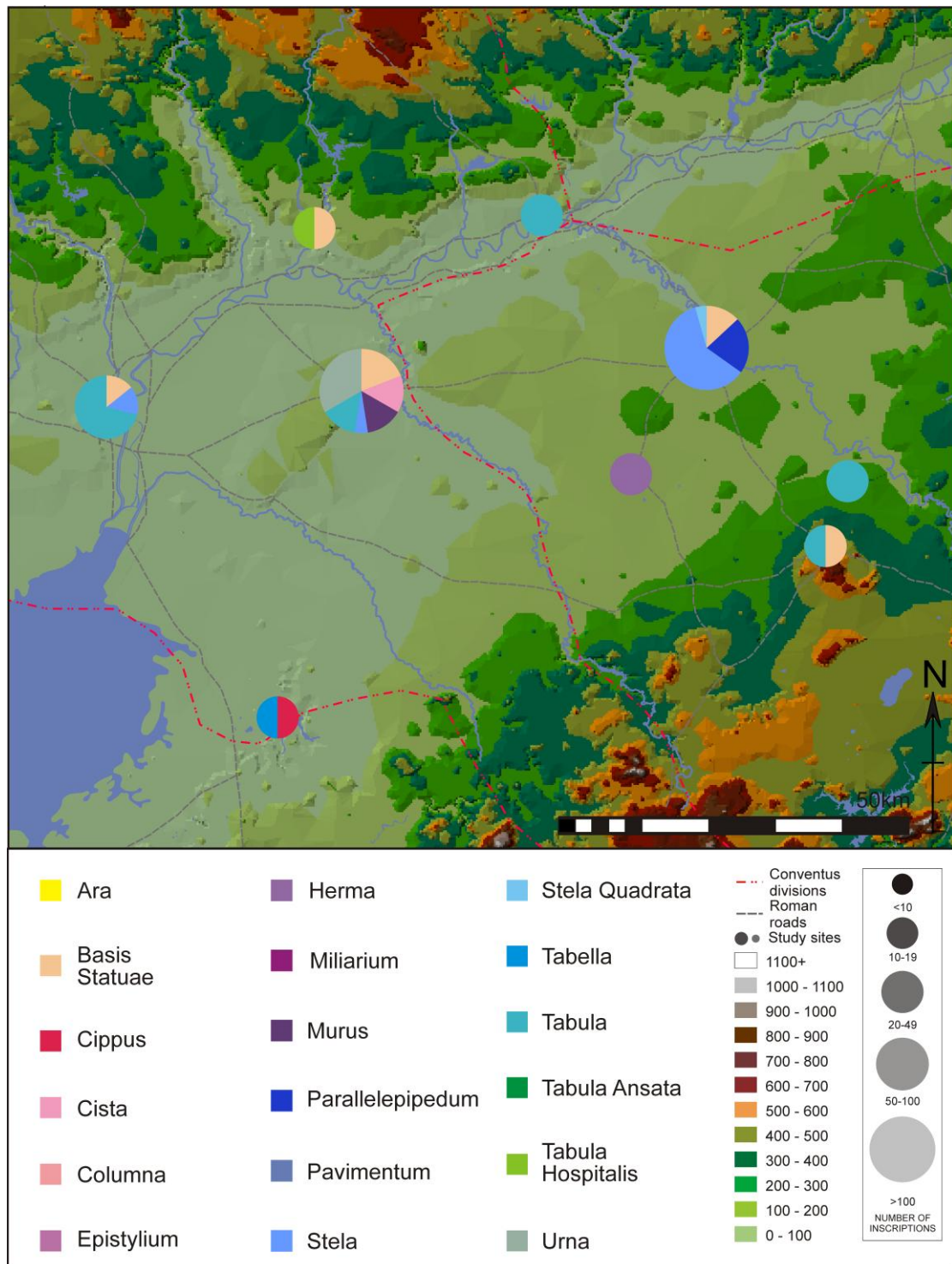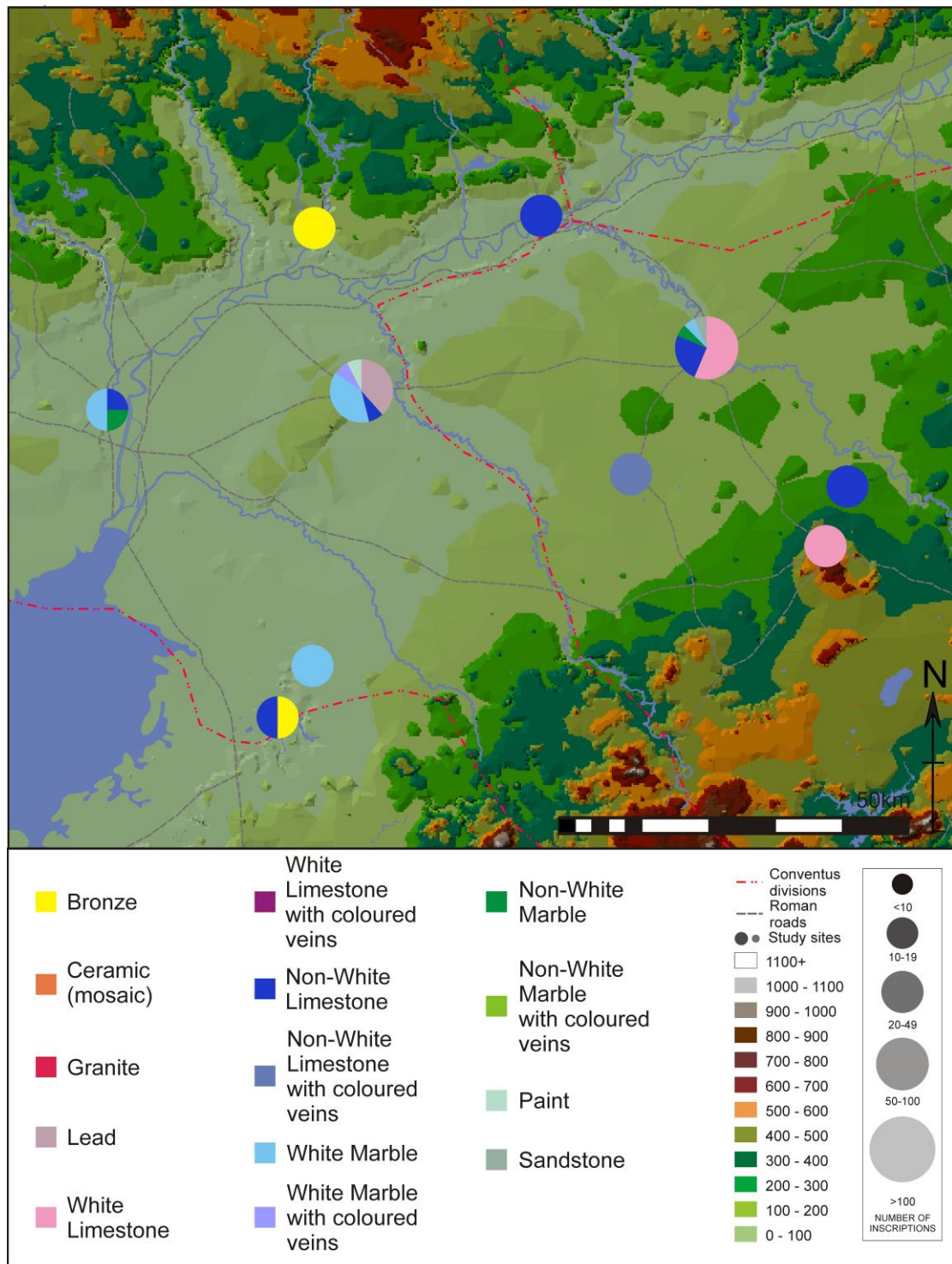
Fig. 63: The distribution of selected inscribed materials across the study region during the Augustan and Early Imperial period
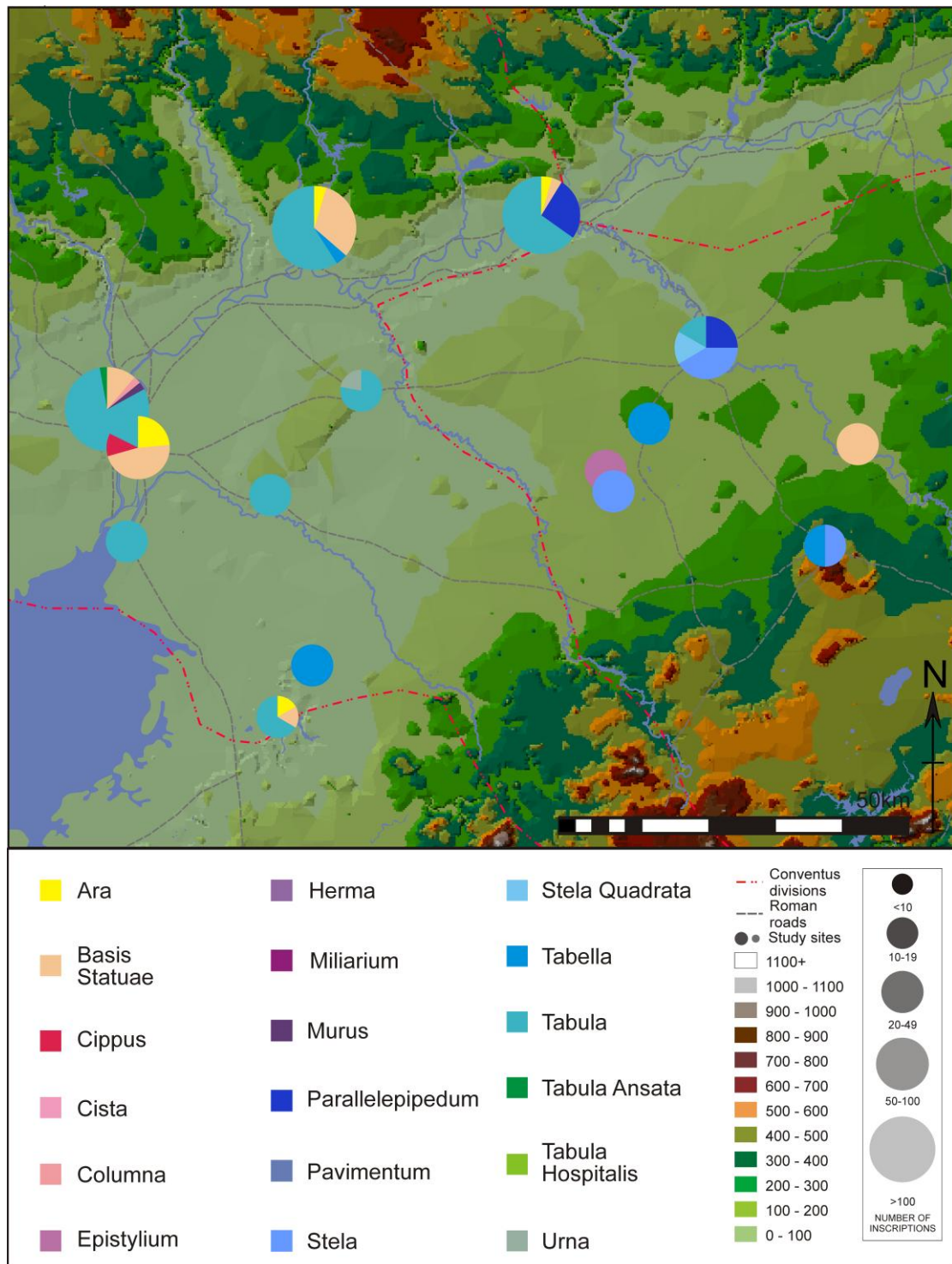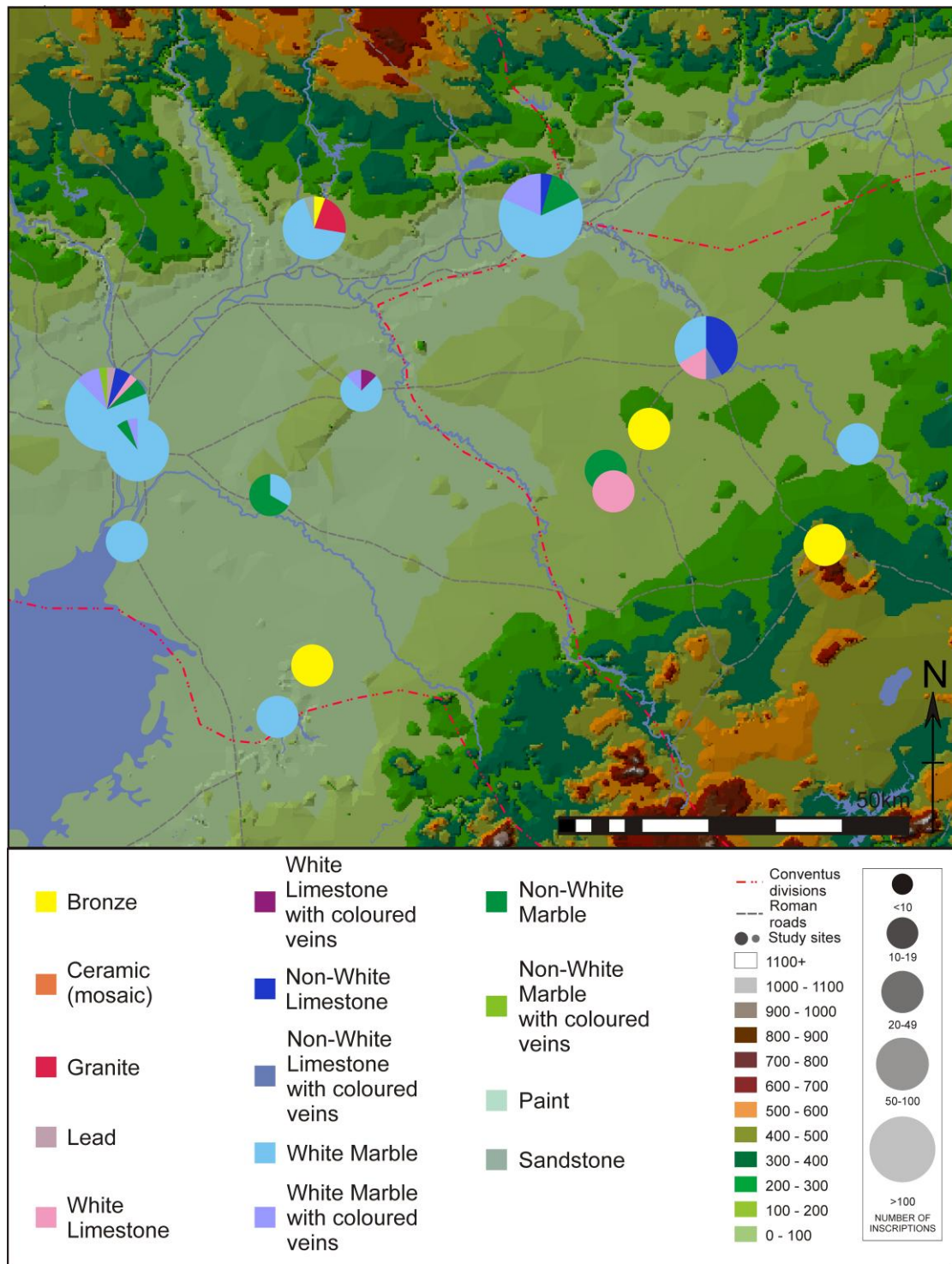
Fig. 64: The distribution of selected inscribed materials across the study region during the Flavian and post Flavian period
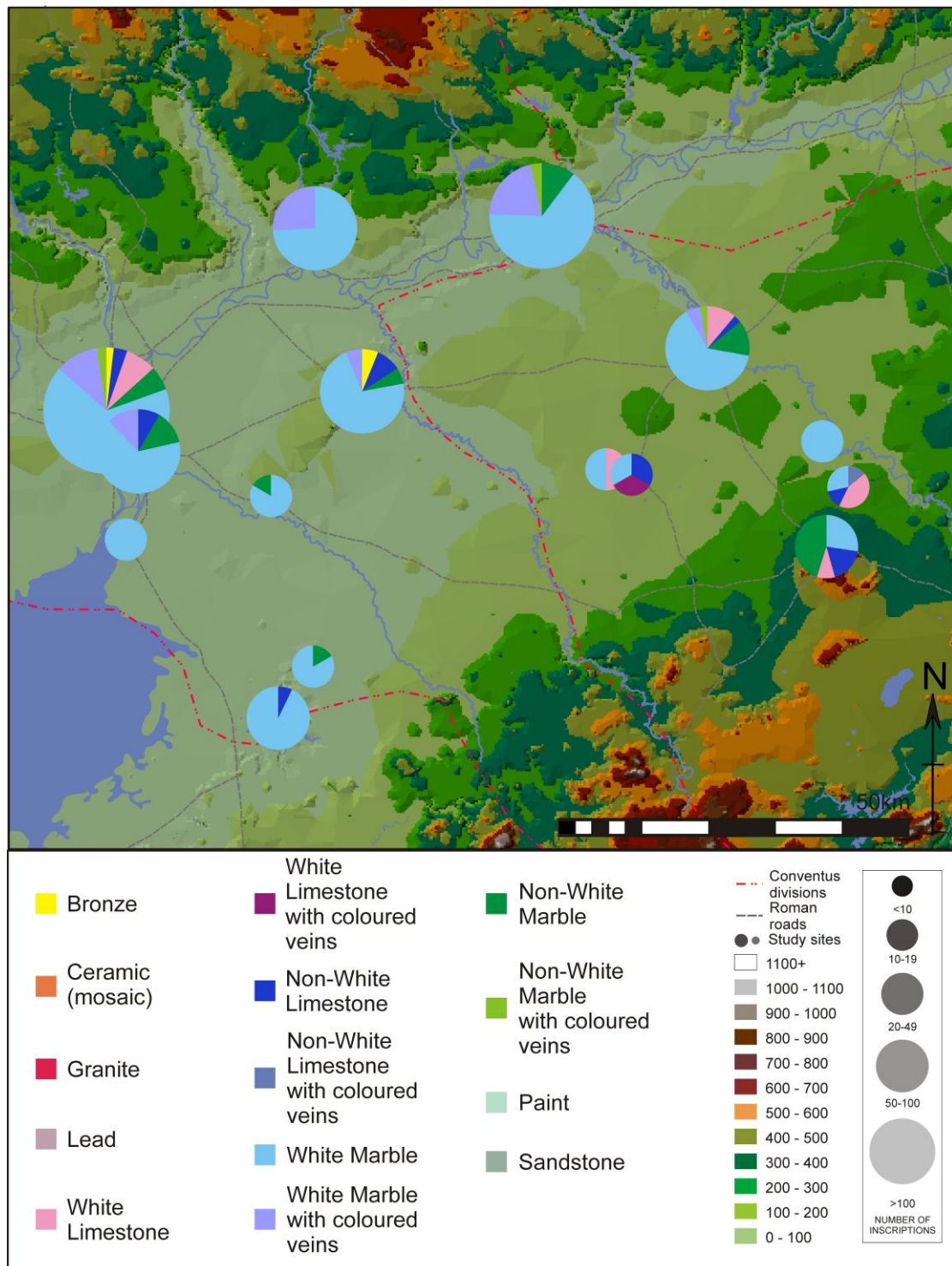
Fig. 65: The distribution of selected inscribed materials across the study region during the 2nd and early 3rd Century AD
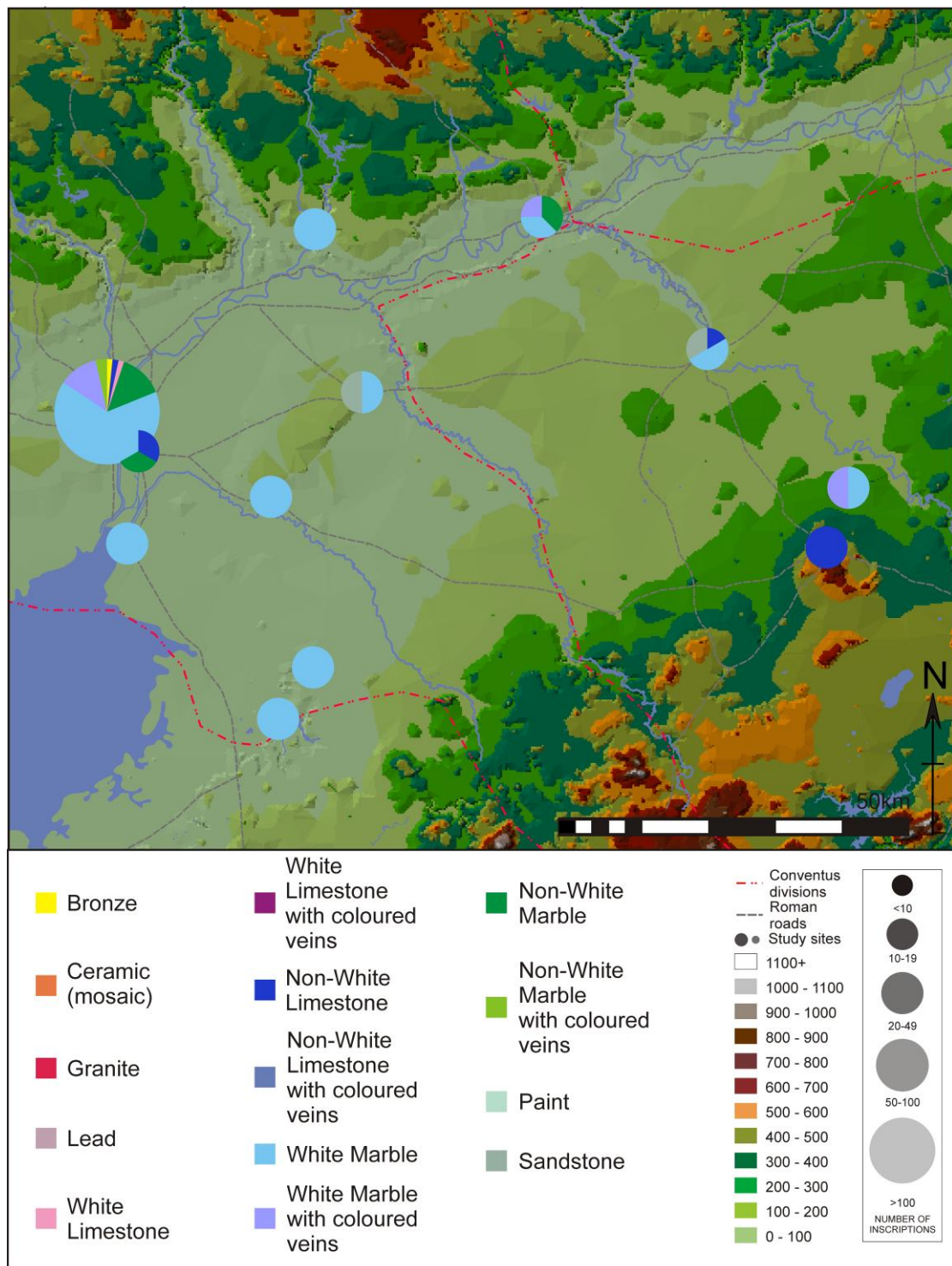
Fig. 66: The distribution of selected inscribed materials across the study region from the 3rd Century AD
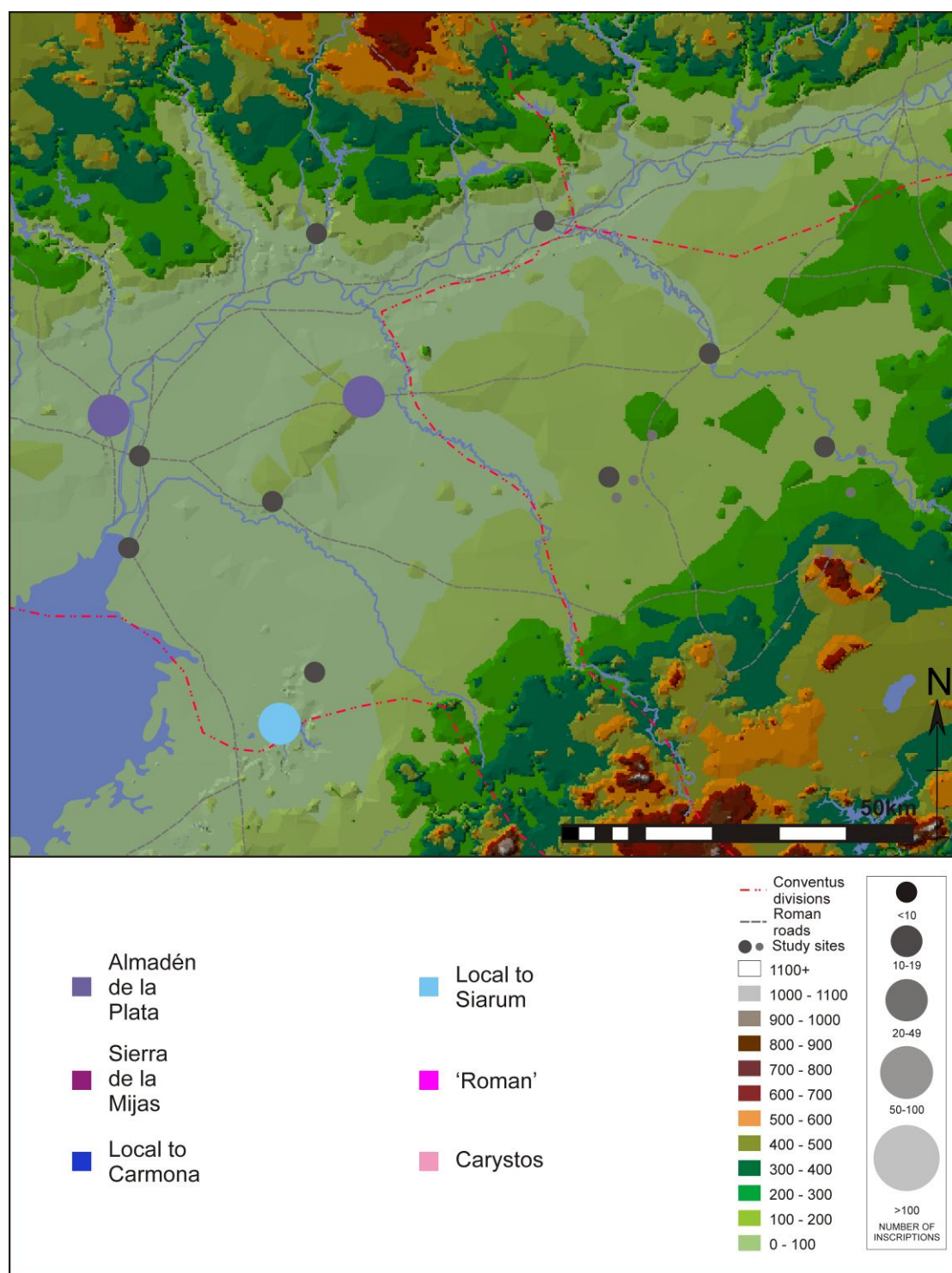
Fig. 67: Distribution of inscriptions with known sources of stone from the study sites in the Republican period
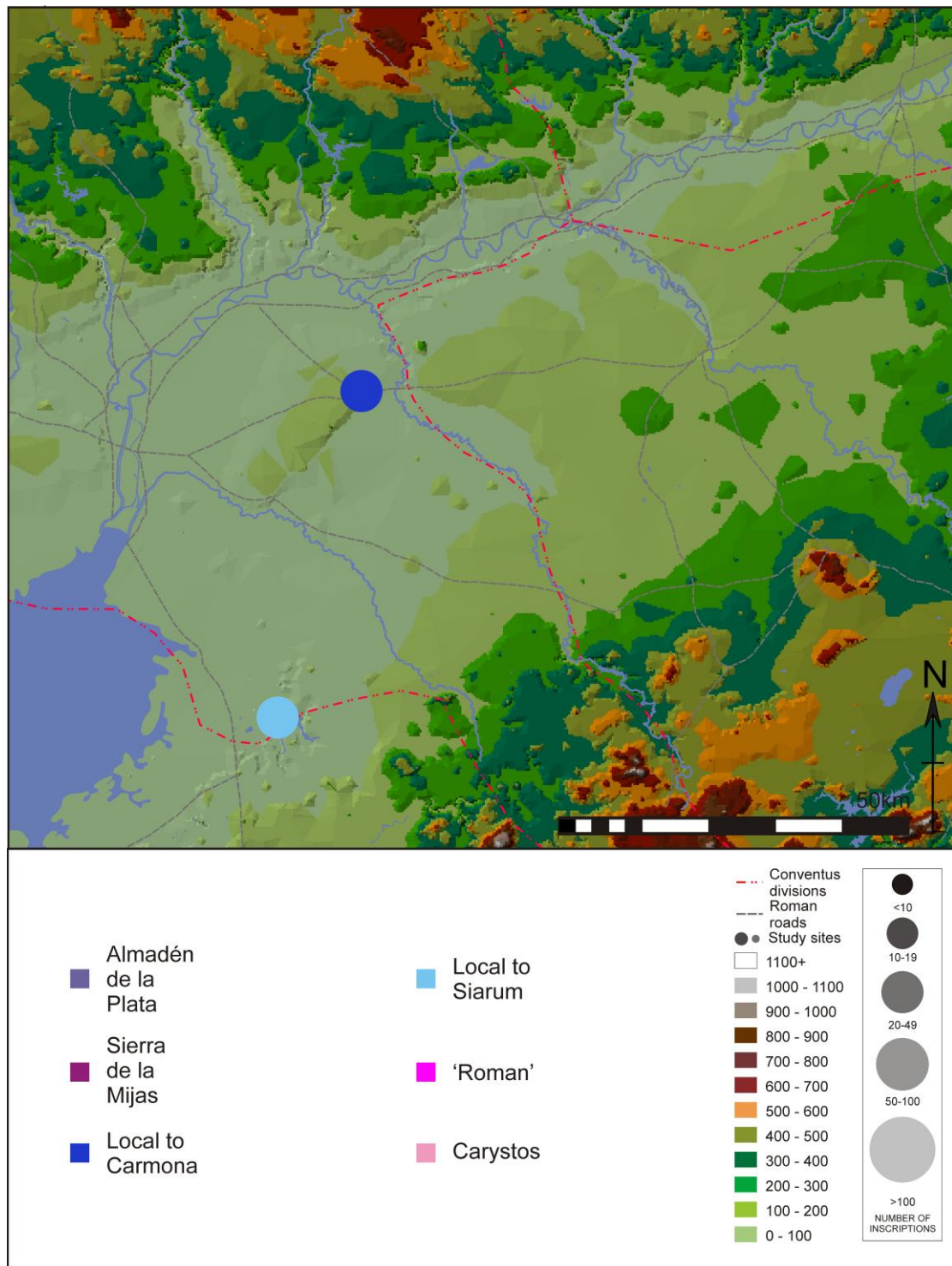
Fig. 68: Distribution of inscriptions with known sources of stone from the study sites in the Augustan and Early Imperial period
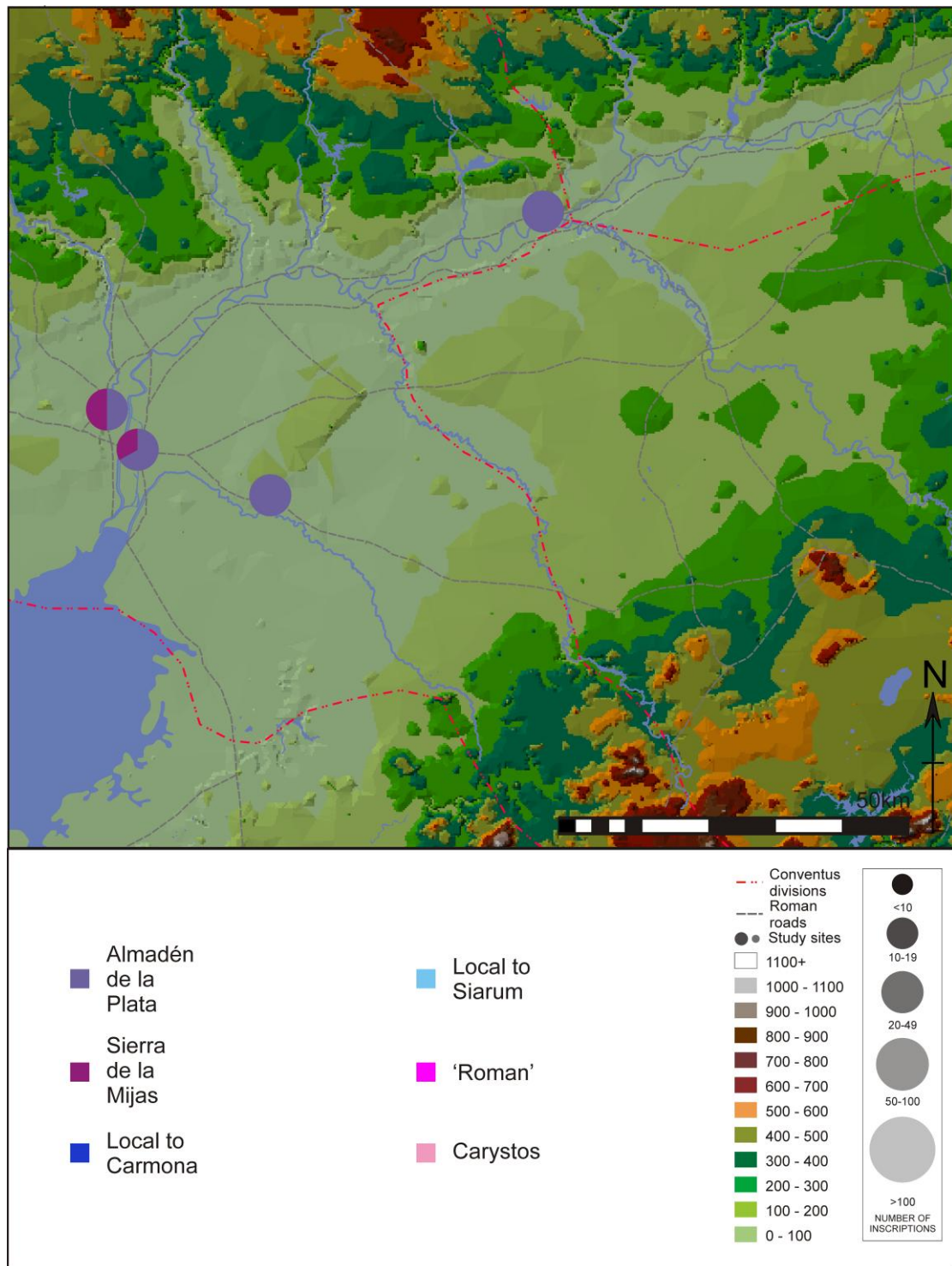
Fig. 69: Distribution of inscriptions with known sources of stone from the study sites in the Flavian and post Flavian period
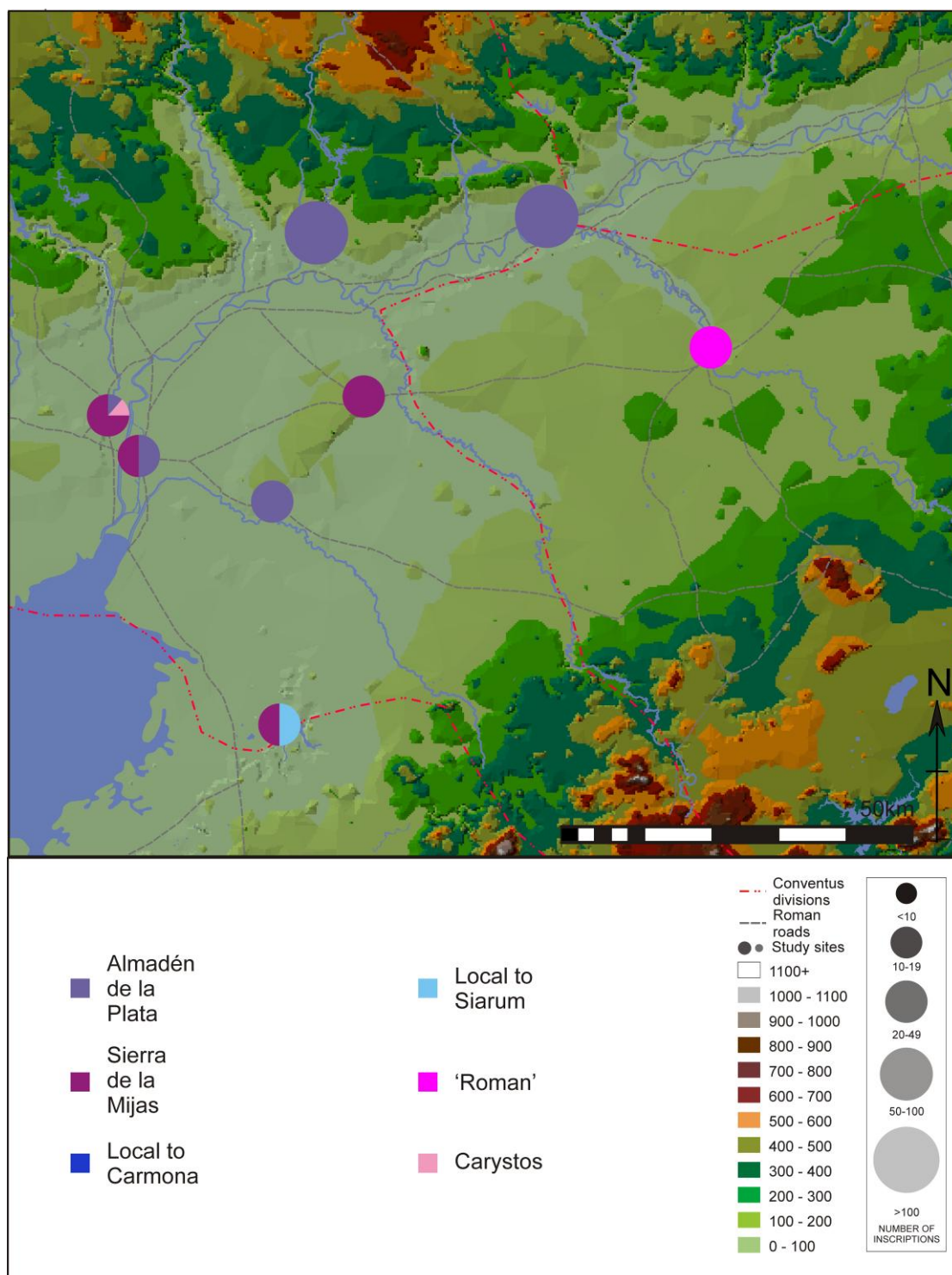
Fig. 70: Distribution of inscriptions with known sources of stone from the study sites in the 2nd and early 3rd Century AD
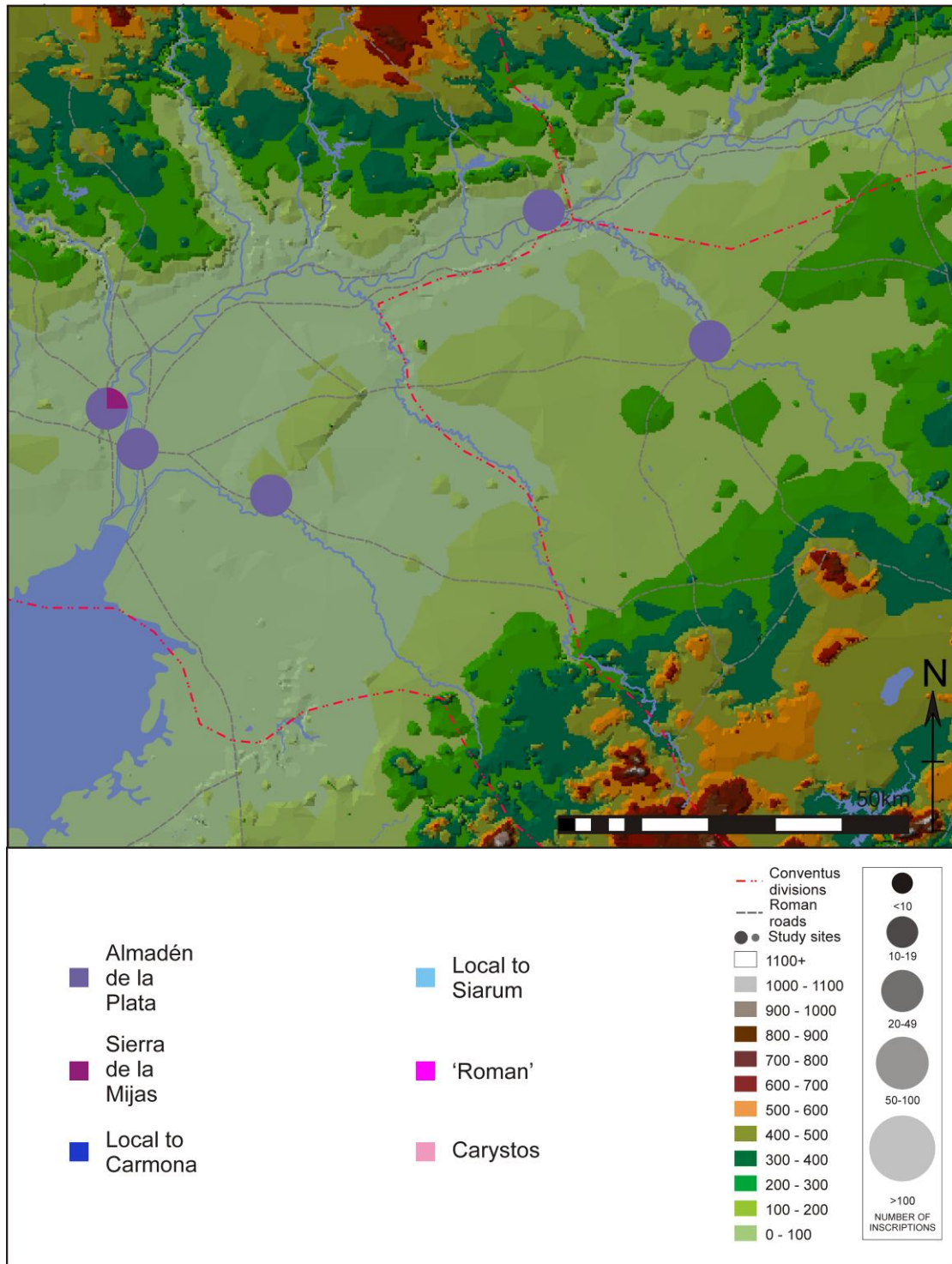
Fig. 71: Distribution of inscriptions with known sources of stone from the study sites in the 3rd Century AD

7.5   THE USE OF DECORATIVE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE TEXT AND UPON THE OBJECT ITSELF[44]

To a certain extent the distribution of decorative elements and motifs is closely linked to the distribution of monument types. Therefore representations of liturgical vessels are most commonly seen amongst the assemblages of sites containing significant numbers of *arae* such as Hispalis and Munigua. By the same token recessed epigraphic fields are seen most commonly at Astigi, Ostippo and other sites where the relatively plain *stela* was more prominent. The distribution plots below illustrate a level of homogenisation in the use of a range of decorative techniques such as the recessed epigraphic field, sculptured border, and architectural decoration and carving such as on the cornice which are found at most of the study sites across the five periods of comparison. Also common were entirely undecorated monuments. Simple unembellished monuments appear to have been the norm in the Republican period, but the selection of simplicity of design also continued into the 3rd Century AD when a significant number of funerary monuments from Italica in the main but also Astigi, Carmona, Celti and Orippo are completely plain. The data from Astigi and Carmo in the Augustan and early Imperial period suggest that decoration was in fact an early development, common in varied form by the Flavian period. The lack of decorative features on the monuments from Orippo is slightly artificial due to the number of *instrumenta* in the extant assemblage which are not included here, the lack of dating evidence for a funerary *ara* with *patera* and *praefericulum*,[45] and the lack of recorded data relating to decoration for the remaining monuments.

The most interesting insights into the use of decoration come not from the standardised elements but from instances of unique motifs which highlight certain settlements at different periods. By far the most noticeable of these are the individual incised faunal and floral motifs engraved on the funerary inscriptions from Celti in the later 2nd and early 3rd Centuries. It is unfortunate that for so many of the monuments dating to the earliest phase of Celti's epigraphic history, the later 1st Century and early 2nd Century AD, we do not have recorded details of decorative elements. This makes it difficult to judge how these distinctive motifs relate to the entirety of the town's

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[44] Tabularised data: Appendix C.4 THE USE OF DECORATIVE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE TEXT AND UPON THE OBJECT ITSELF
[45] ORI010TS.

epigraphic culture. Inscriptions dating to the second half of the 2nd Century AD are known where no decorative elements have been utilised,[46] so there was certainly some variation in design. Similar motifs are sometimes found upon different monuments from the site, but these motifs are not repeated elsewhere amongst the study sites.

Borders composed of a series of *ova* also have a restricted distribution, found only at Hispalis and Munigua in the later 1st and 2nd Centuries, with the use of a single ovum as an individual motif found on one example from Italica in the 3rd Century AD. Elaborate floral borders are likewise less common that plainer examples with examples at Hispalis, Munigua, Celti and Ostippo only which date between the Flavian and 3rd Century AD. Entirely unique motifs are found at Carmo and Italica including various glyphs and a series of horizontal bands dividing the epigraphic field at Carmo.

One phenomena seen earliest at Carmo in the Augustan/Early Imperial period and which continued to be utilised across the whole study area into the 3rd Century was the use of decorative interpuncts (*puncta*). Standard triangular *puncta* were the most commonly utilised at all sites except for Carmo, but in addition to these and the *rotunda* were a variety of different motifs and combinations of motifs. The most popular decorative *punctum* overall was the *hedera* but there were some interesting and unique variations across the study area. *Puncta* styled as crescent moons are seen at Italica during the Flavian and post Flavian period and at Munigua in the 2nd Century AD which may indicate a relationship based the continuing characteristics of an individual workshop. Square *puncta* are seen at Astigi in the mid 1st Century, wavy lines at Hispalis in the 2nd and tear drops at Italica in the 3rd Century. Variety and individuality therefore was not a later development, unique choices were made regarding decorative elements early on and continued throughout the study period.

Most notable from the study of decorative elements is the unique character of the material from Celti which stands out in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries from all the other sites. The use of these unusual decorative motifs produces a very distinct assemblage

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[46] CEL017TS, CEL050TS, CEL057TS & CEL063TS. There is nothing in particular within the inscriptions to suggest why a plain monument was selected. In CEL017TS the individual recorded was from Corduba which might have suggested that she had selected a type of monument design foreign to Celti, but there is no evidence that the individuals recorded in the remainder of the inscriptions were not local.

with a recognisable character not seen elsewhere amongst the study sites. It is interesting to note that this occurred at a site where the archaeological evidence has demonstrated a persistence of indigenous forms of material culture. It is possible that these decorative elements represent the conflation of a new form of material culture with more traditional forms of decoration, but this hypothesis cannot be substantiated without careful assessment of decorative techniques utilised at Celti in other forms.
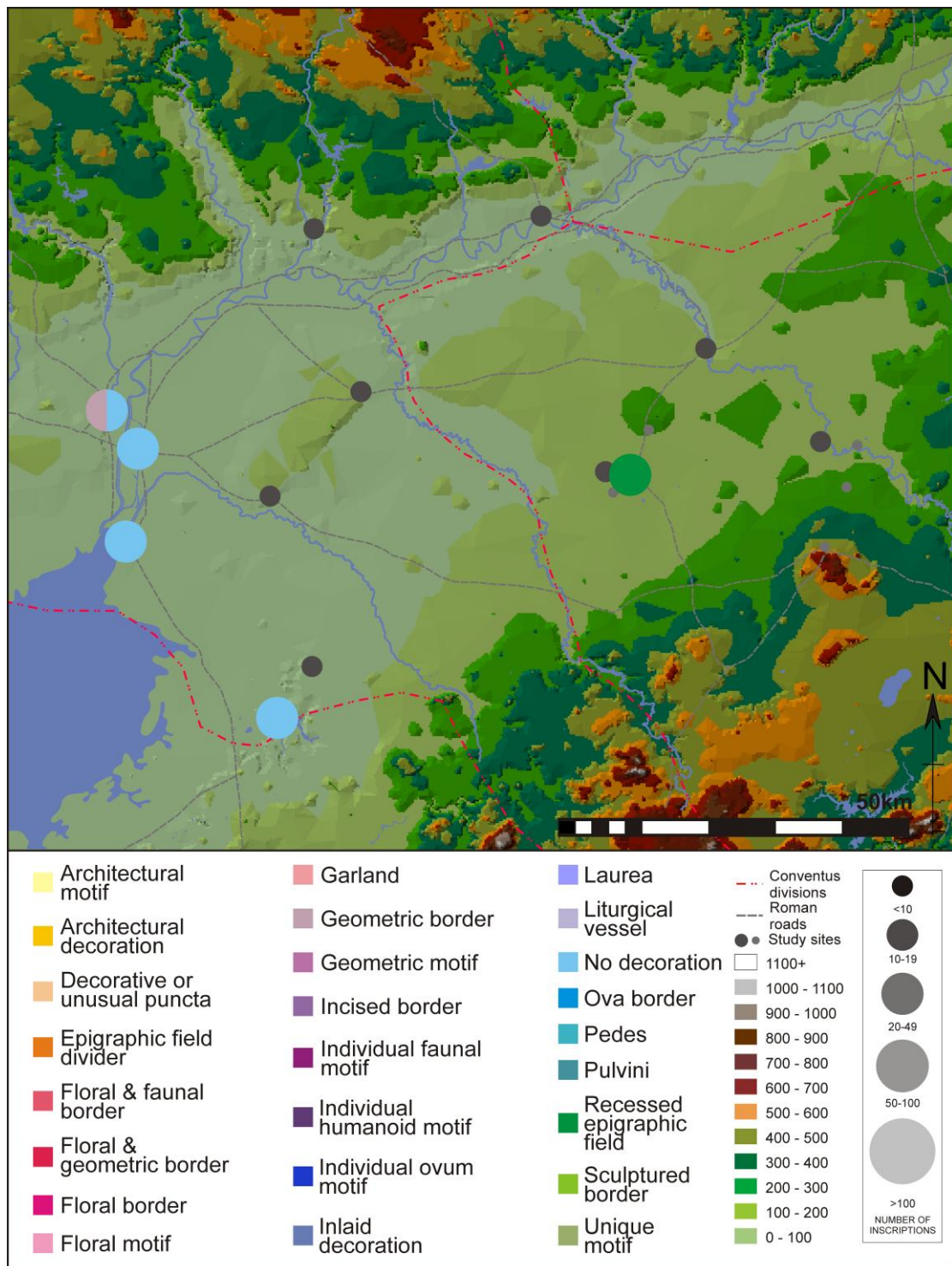
Fig. 72: Occurrences of decorative elements in the inscriptions of the study sites during the Republican period
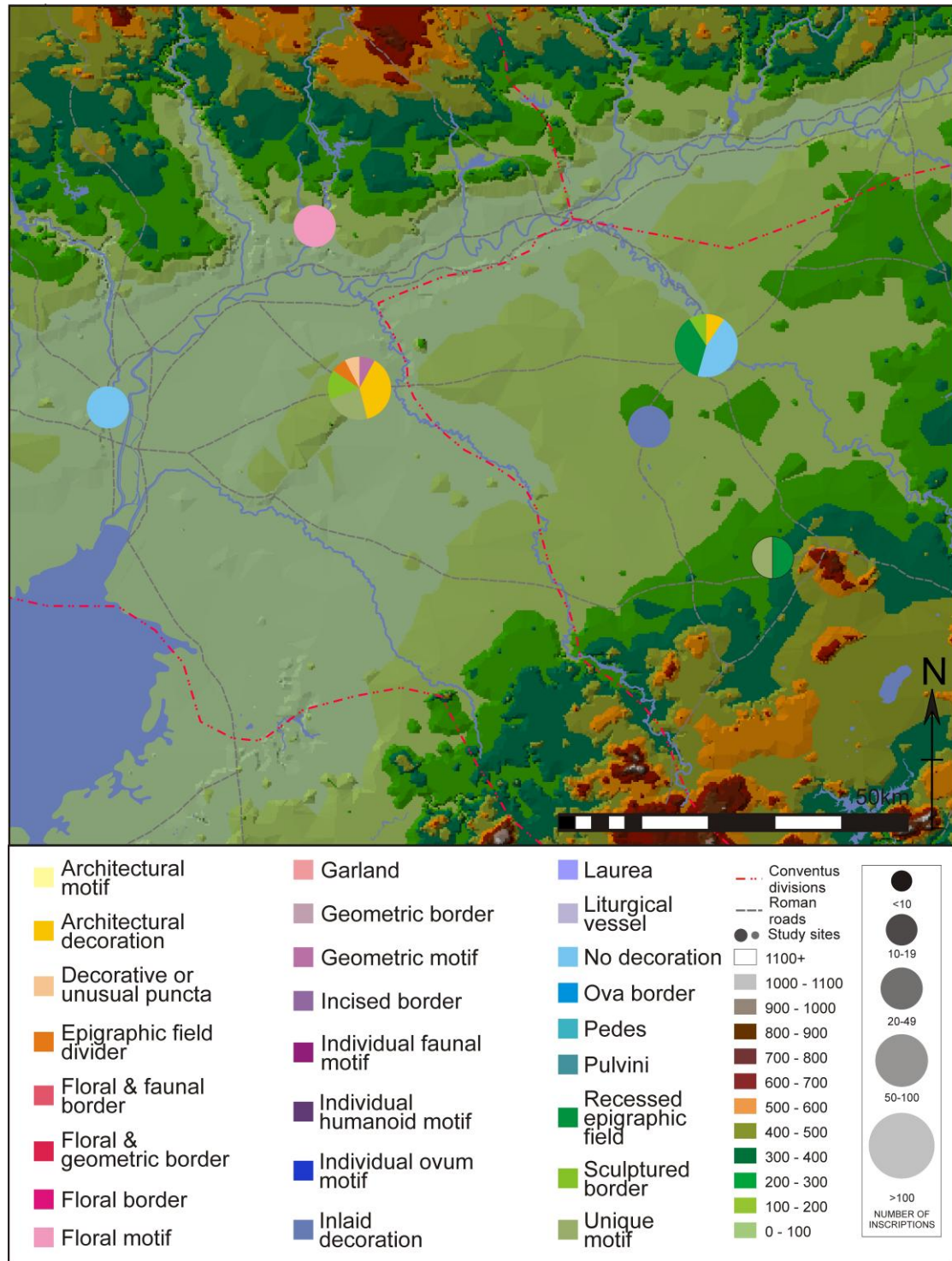
Fig. 73: Occurrences of decorative elements in the inscriptions of the study sites during the Augustan and Early Imperial period
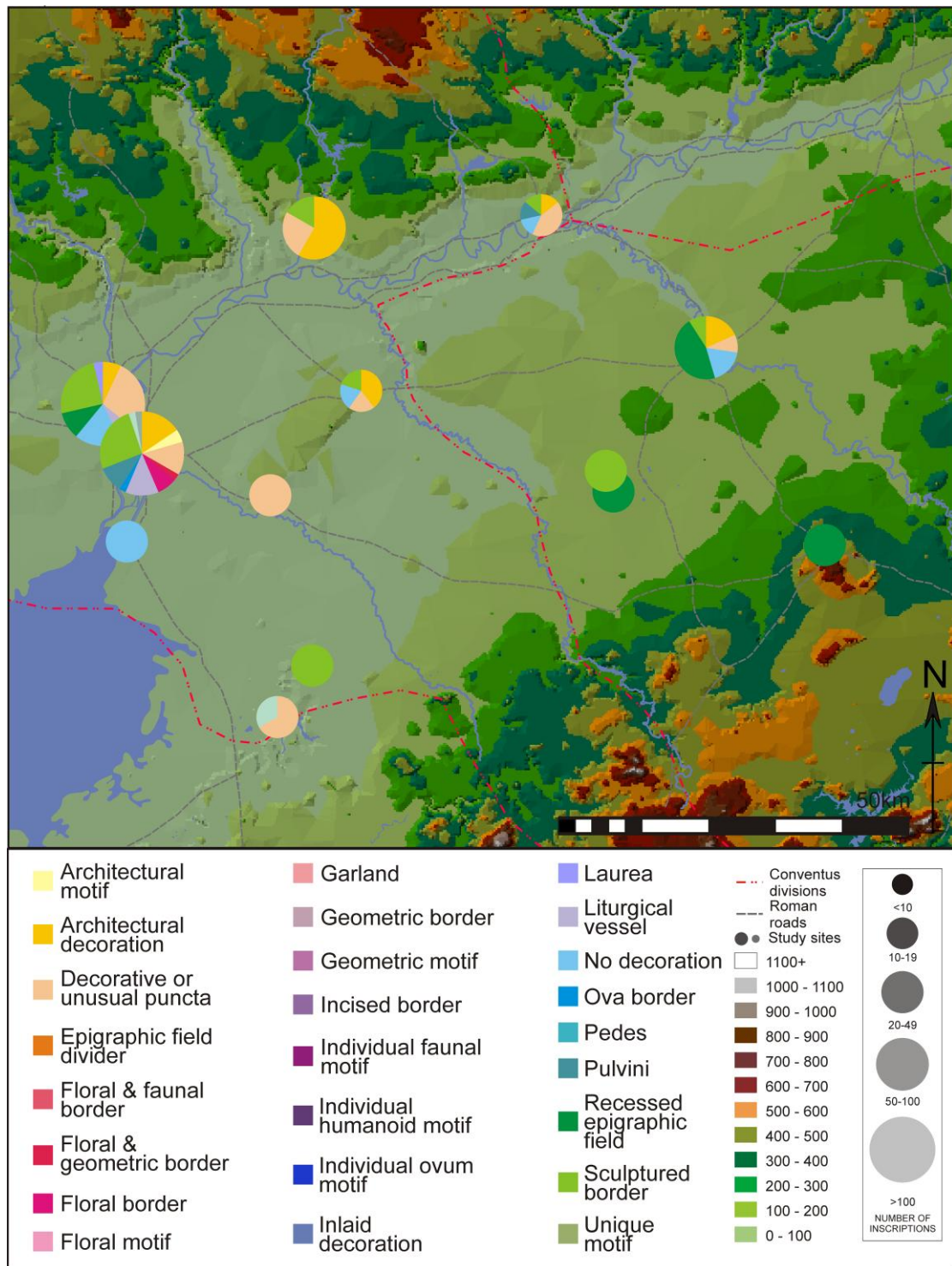
Fig.74: Occurrences of decorative elements in the inscriptions of the study sites during the Flavian and post Flavian period

Fig. 75: Occurrences of decorative elements in the inscriptions of the study sites during the 2nd and early 3rd Century AD

The legend includes:

Architectural motif, Architectural decoration, Decorative or unusual puncta, Epigraphic field divider, Floral & faunal border, Floral & geometric border, Floral border, Floral motif, Garland, Geometric border, Geometric motif, Incised border, Individual faunal motif, Individual humanoid motif, Individual ovum motif, Inlaid decoration, Laurea, Liturgical vessel, No decoration, Ova border, Pedes, Pulvini, Recessed epigraphic field, Sculptured border, Unique motif

Conventus divisions, Roman roads, Study sites

Number of inscriptions: 1100+, 1000 - 1100, 900 - 1000, 800 - 900, 700 - 800, 600 - 700, 500 - 600, 400 - 500, 300 - 400, 200 - 300, 100 - 200, 0 - 100

<10, 10-19, 20-49, 50-100, >100

Fig. 76: Occurrences of decorative elements in the inscriptions of the study sites during the 3rd Century AD

Fig. 77: Occurrences of types of puncta amongst the inscriptions of the study sites during the Republican period

Fig. 78: Occurrences of types of puncta amongst the inscriptions of the study sites during the Augustan and Early Imperial period

Fig. 79: Occurrences of types of puncta amongst the inscriptions of the study sites during the Flavian and post Flavian period

Fig. 80: Occurrences of types of puncta amongst the inscriptions of the study sites during the 2nd and early 3rd Century AD
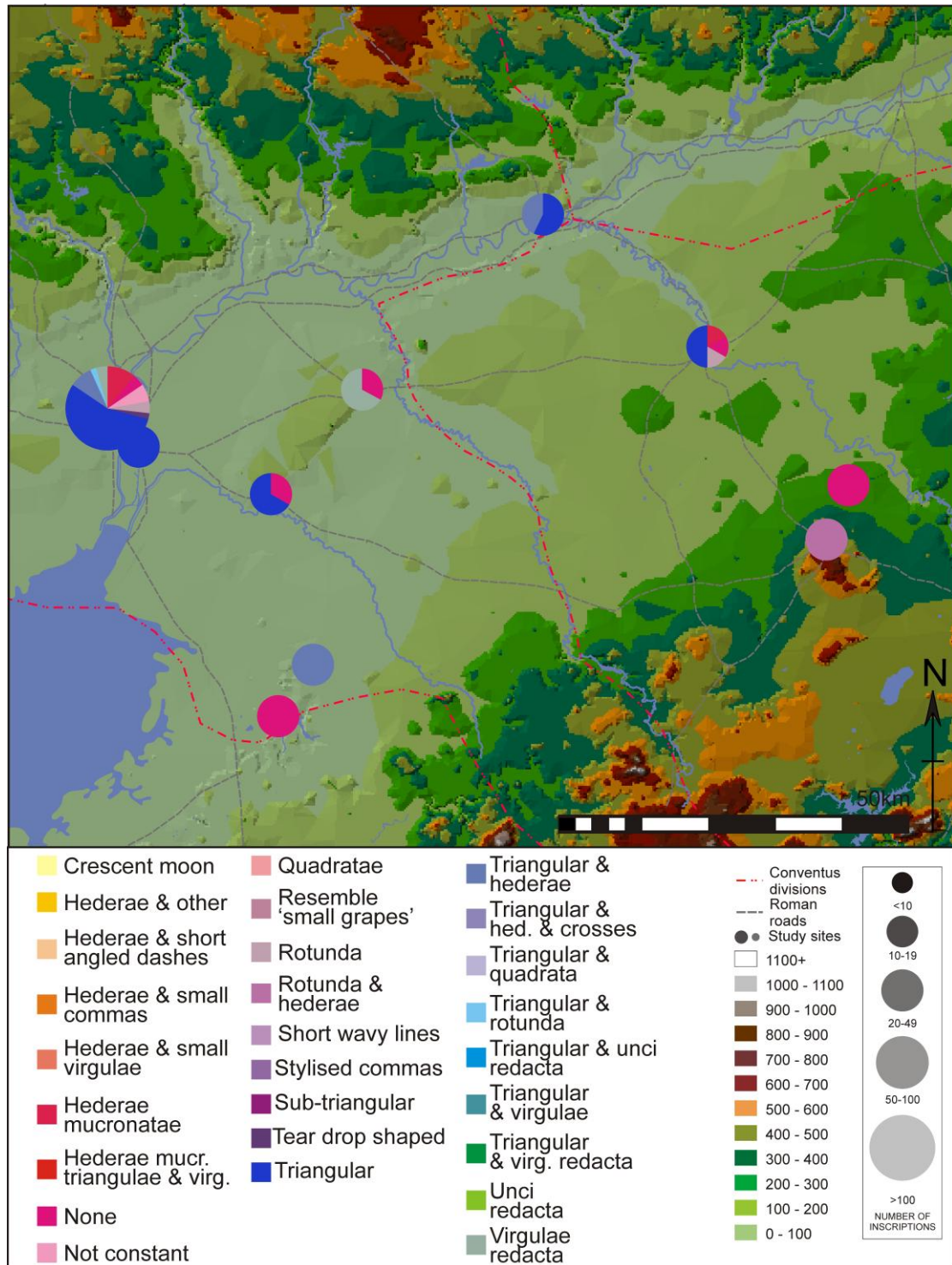
Fig. 81: Occurrences of types of puncta amongst the inscriptions of the study sites during the 3rd Century AD

7.6   *THE WAY IN WHICH DEATH IS RECORDED*[47]

The majority of extant inscriptions from the study area commemorate the lives of deceased members of the population.   Two genres of inscription provide clear evidence of this relationship between the living and the dead.   *Tituli sepulcrales* mark the place of burial with a straightforward commemoration of the deceased and are usually located outside the urban boundary.   *Tituli honorarii post mortem positi* are placed within the context of the living urban space, often in central locations within the town and as a result were potentially much more visible than the majority of funerary inscriptions, some of which may have been located in private tombs.

Analysis of the formulae in funerary inscriptions reveals that a relatively small number were utilised and that the variation between individual monuments usually exists in different forms[48] of this basic repertoire.   Record of the dimensions of the burial plot was particularly common at Astigi.[49]   The distribution at Astigi includes a series of four identical inscriptions marking a single grave, but this does not overly weight the distribution in comparison with the assemblages from other sites.   At all the other sites where it appears only single examples are preserved: during the Republican/Early Imperial period at Orippo,[50] at Italica in the Augustan period,[51] and Ostippo in the late 1st Century AD.[52]   In the cases from Orippo and Ostippo the inscribed objects are *stelae*, as it would at Italica were this information available.[53] Not enough information survives on which to base a hypothesis that the use of *stelae* at Orippo was not usual.   At Astigi the objects used are predominantly *stelae* (14) but also include 3 *stelae quadratae*, 2 *tabulae* and a *parallelpipedum*.   A variant form, *P(ede)s L(atum)*, is seen on a single inscription at Carmo in the 1st Century AD.[54]   The text is inscribed upon a *stela,* also an anomalous form at this site.   It is possible that this inscription records the existence of an individual not local to Carmona who chose to utilise the conventions with which he or she was familiar when setting up this

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[47] Tabularised data: Appendix
[48] E.g. alteration in word order or level of abbreviation.
[49] *In fronte p(edes)...in agro p(edes).   The f*requency at Astigi is noted as a phenomenon within a wider study of the use of similar formulae throughout the province by *Vaquerizo & Sanchez 2008, 103.*
[50] ORI003TS.
[51] ITA046TS.
[52] OST019TS.
[53] There is another example possibly assigned to Hispalis HIS015TS.
[54] CAR026TS.

inscription.[55]   Its predominance at Astigi ensured that it was the most common formula to be used during the whole of the 1st and into the early part of the 2nd Century AD but after this period there is a complete cessation in use of the formula. This formula was common in Italy, and may potentially indicate the presence of immigrants in the earlier periods as has already been suggested by other forms of evidence.

The combination of the formulae *Hic Situs Est* and *Sit Tibi Terra Levis* is seen right across the study area at almost all the sites and was a popular formula from the Republican/Early Imperial period until the 3rd Century.   It forms a significant proportion amongst the assemblages at most sites with the exception of Carmona where it is seen less frequently, and noticeably so in the 2nd and early 3rd Century with the use of *S.T.T.L.* alone much more common here. This may possibly be explained by the types of burials for which we have evidence from Carmona, namely cremations in funerary urns on which this formula is not used.   The use of this formula at the end of inscriptions is common throughout Spain during the 2nd Century AD later than it is seen in Rome and Gaul.[56] Also unusually this is sometimes repeated after the name of every individual commemorated.[57]

Similarly widespread and popular is the standard opener *Dis Manibus* with or without *Sacrum* which dedicates the monument to the spirits of all deceased souls and that of the individual buried there. The use of this formula appears earlier in the western portion of the study area than in the east with examples at Italica where it is picked up particularly quickly, Hispalis, Carmo and Celti. In the Flavian and post Flavian period the use of this formula represents a very distinctive difference in character between the inscriptions of sites in Astigitanus and those in Hispalensis. By the 2nd Century AD the formula is represented at all of the study sites with the exception of Munda due to its small sample size. In the 2nd to early 3rd Century period there appears to be another consistent pattern between the sites in Hispalensis and Astigitanus. The distribution suggests that the occurrence of the formula *D.M.S* is proportionately smaller in Astigitanus than in Hispalensis. The distribution continues into the 3rd Century appearing to be a little more restricted but this may be an artefact

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[55] There is little information recorded in the text relating to the deceased individual, Privatus.
[56] *Carroll 2006, 133.*
[57] e.g. AST072TS.

of the small quantities of preserved material from the sites as there are still significant numbers preserved at Italica, Astigi and Celti.

The final formula which is seen in significant numbers at a large number of the study sites is *Pius in Suis*. This formula is particularly associated with Baetica and is not only rare elsewhere in Spain but virtually never inscribed out of Hispania except by foreign immigrants drawing on their local traditions.[58] This formula first appears in the Flavian and post Flavian era at Italica, Hispalis, Celti, Siarum and Astigi and continues in use into the 3rd Century. During the 2nd Century it appears to be more commonly used in the eastern part of the study region at Celti, Astigi and Ostippo where it appears in larger proportions than at Hispalis, Carmo and Italica. In terms of the proportions preserved at this time Celti seems to have more in common with the sites in Astigitanus at this period than with those in Hispalensis.

The formula T(e) R(ogo) P(raeteriens) D(icas) is seen only rarely and only in Hispalensis during the Flavian period and 2nd – 3rd Centuries AD with the exception of a single example to date in Astigi.[59] It is also seen alone at Carmo in the Augustan period. By contrast, the incorporation of D(ic) Q(ui) L(eges) or D(icite) Q(ui) L(egitis) is only observed at sites in Astigitanus. Salutations such as *Vale* are very rare, in fact unique to a single inscription from Carmona.[60] Mention of the bones of the deceased, *ossa*, is restricted to Carmona, a product of the excavation of the internments of the western cemetery.[61]

The general picture presented by the evidence is that in general epitaphs from the study region are highly formulaic, making use of a range of standard phrases with varying degrees of abbreviation. Some inscriptions attempt a more individual composition although often this is achieved by reworking the traditional formulae such as variations on *Hic Situs Est* which replace *situs* with *iacet*, *quiescit* and *interfectus*.[62] This last appears on an altar from Los Castellares. This phrase is sometimes used to indicate where an individual was killed in battle[63] and in this case it suggests that the deceased was laid to rest where he was slain although not in battle

[58] *Carroll 2006, 134.*
[59] AST067TS.
[60] CAR035TS.
[61] CAR23TS & CAR025TS.
[62] ITA096TS, ITA249TS & HER001TS.
[63] Examples from Moesia AE 1905, 0163, CIL 03, 14587, CIL 03, 14214, 12, CIL 03, 08242 & CIL 03, 14574, and Britannia AE 1964, 0169;

due to the date of the inscription in the 2nd Century AD. Variations on *Pius/a in Suis* involve replacement of the pronoun with a specific relative such as *nepotem* at Herrera[64]. Despite this homogenisation individual preferences are evident at some towns. Carmona stands out for its wide range of formulae with only *Dis Manibus Sacrum* and possibly *Sit Terra Tibi Levis* being common to any degree.

Looking specifically at the range of formulae denoting age at death, it is clear that *annorum* was the most common overall choice for the indication of age at death in years in each of the phases considered here. However it seems to have been less dominant in the west than to the east of Carmo. The formula *vixit annis* appears to have been more popular at Italica than at any other site and is seen in use from the Flavian period onwards. At this point the relative proportions of these two formulae begin to change, becoming roughly comparable and subsequently demonstrating a rise in the popularity of *vixit annis* to the detriment of the earlier formula which is barely evident in the 3rd Century. Beyond these large scale patterns of common formulae, there appears to be less variation east of Carmo with the exception of Astigi where a variety of formulae are utilised but are only preserved in very small numbers.

Indications of less common selections of formulae can be seen at a few sites. Records of age at death in months and days (menses and dies) are particularly common at Italica and also at Hispalis in the Flavian period. Age at death in hours is seen only in undated examples from Sevilla and at Carmona in the 2nd to 3rd Century. Several formulae are only seen at Italica and these tend to occur in either the 2nd or 3rd Century. The inclusion of age at death in months in the accusative case is preserved only in the 2nd Century. *Vixit annis plus minus* is only seen in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries and *Qui vixit annis* only in the 3rd Century AD.

Thirty four examples of inscriptions record burials of between 2 and 5 individuals, with 2 the most common. Those individuals buried and commemorated in this way fall into two categories where their relationships to one another can be identified. They either have close family ties as parents and children or husbands and wives, or they share the same patron or owner as freed individuals and slaves from the same household. Not all individuals who were commemorated with shared

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[64] HER006TS

inscriptions can be assumed to have died at the same time. Examples of texts have been found which clearly leave space for an inscription relating to a second individual.[65]

A total of thirteen inscriptions, including five *tituli sacri* and a *titulus honorarius* in addition to examples from each of the categories discussed above, reflect the intentions of individuals considering the practicalities of their own demise and making provision for an inscription to be set up after their death either for their own benefit, for family members or for the veneration of a deity.

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[65] None have been found from the study sites, but an example from elsewhere in Spain has been found at Segóvia: *Carroll 2006, 89; Knapp 1992, no. 321.*

Inscription Identifier	No. of buried individuals	Relationships
AST013TS	2	Father and daughter
AST014TS	2	Undetermined
AST018TS	2	Undetermined
AST040TS	2	Husband and wife
AST041TS	2	Freedwomen of Publius
AST070TS	2	Husband and wife
AST082TS	2	Undetermined, possibly husband and wife
AST087TS	2	Undetermined, possibly husband and wife
CAR014TS	2	Husband and freedwoman of same individual
CAR024TS	2	Husband and wife
CAR043TS	2	Undetermined
CAR080TS	2	Undetermined
CEL029TS	2	Undetermined
CEL031TS	2	Undetermined
CEL041TS	2	Undetermined
CEL047TS	2	Freedwoman and freedman of Rustica
CEL062TS	2	Slaves, presumably of same owner
CSG002TS	2	Undetermined
HIS052TS	2	Undetermined
HIS072TS	2	Undetermined
HIS101TS	2	Undetermined, same nomen
ITA109TS	2	Two ?slaves of different individuals
ITA139TS	2	Undetermined
ITA145TS	2	Undetermined
ITA283TS	2	Undetermined
LAN001TS	2	Undetermined
AST072TS	3	Undetermined
CEL038TS	3	Possibly 3 slaves
HIS050TS	3	Undetermined, same nomen
HIS065TS	3	Husband, wife and son
HIS067TS	3	Freedwoman and 2 freedmen of different individuals but same nomen
ORI003TS	3	2 freedwomen of Lucius and another, perhaps the former's son
CEL063TS	4	Undetermined
AST089TS	5	Freedwoman and freedmen of Marcus, plus a daughter presumably of the last freedman

Table 15: Inscriptions recording multiple burials

The distribution of the use of epithets in funerary inscriptions shows clearly that this was a technique utilised particularly at Italica where a variety of different terms were employed mainly during the 2nd and 3rd Centuries. Epithets appear at other sites in small numbers of inscriptions but rarely in more than one form and never in more than two except at Hispalis in the 2nd and early 3rd Centuries. Epithets do not appear until the Flavian period and demonstrate a relatively restricted distribution which largely seems to be confined to the northern sites of the study area, with no examples south of Gandul, although this may result from the smaller sizes of the assemblages with the possible exception of Ostippo. At any event this is not a widely dispersed phenomenon and although the large numbers of funerary inscriptions at Italica will have contributed to the larger numbers witnessed here, the numbers of undated inscriptions containing epithets not illustrated on the distribution plot here do not provide evidence to argue against the perceived predominance of epithets at Italica.

The single most common adjective utilised throughout the sample assemblages from the study sites is *pius*. It was discussed above that the phrase *Pius in Suis* is peculiar to Baetica in particular and so this distribution reflects a characteristic which can be associated with the province as a whole. This general distribution raises the question of how we interpret the use of this adjective within inscribed epithets. Its widespread use perhaps indicates a less deep seated meaning and formulaic selection rather than individual choice, but the fact that its use is restricted to such a specific geographical area also questions whether this tells us something about the specific connotations of this word within Baetica. Nielsen's analysis of the use of this phrase in the inscriptions from CIL VI led her to believe that premature death particularly of children was behind the motivation in the use of this adjective and that it is most commonly seen in relation to sons and daughters commemorated by their parents.[66] The results from the study sites indicate that her Italian model should not be applied to the material from Baetica, which demonstrates a more widespread use of the term in the relationships to which it is applied than Nielsen's research. The same term was used with clients and freedmen and freedwomen as well as with close members of the family unit, which reinforces the validity of regarding them as a complex, extended social unit.

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[66] *Nielsen 1997, 179-185.*
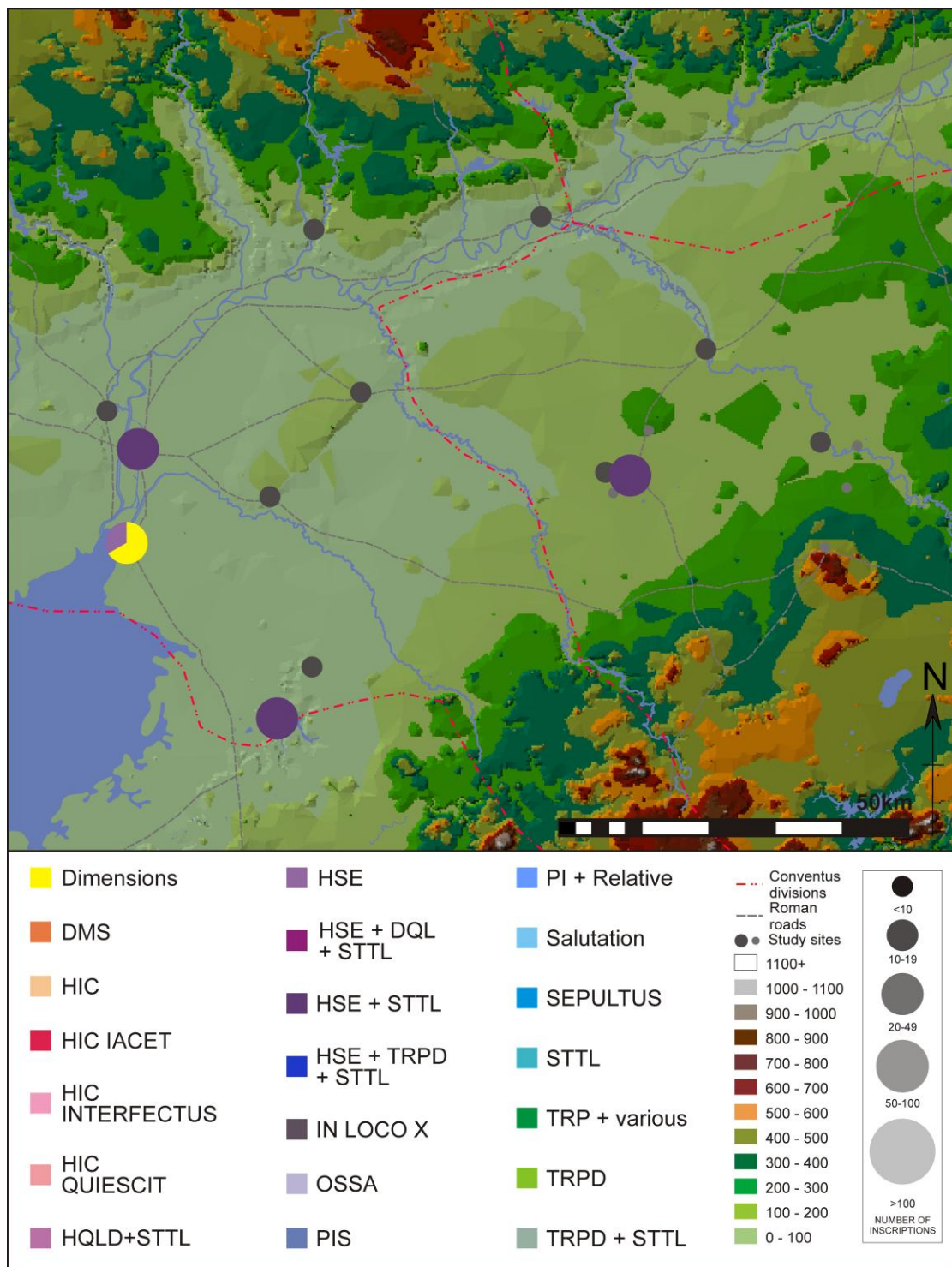
Fig. 82: Occurrences of funerary formulae amongst the inscriptions from the study sites during the Republican period
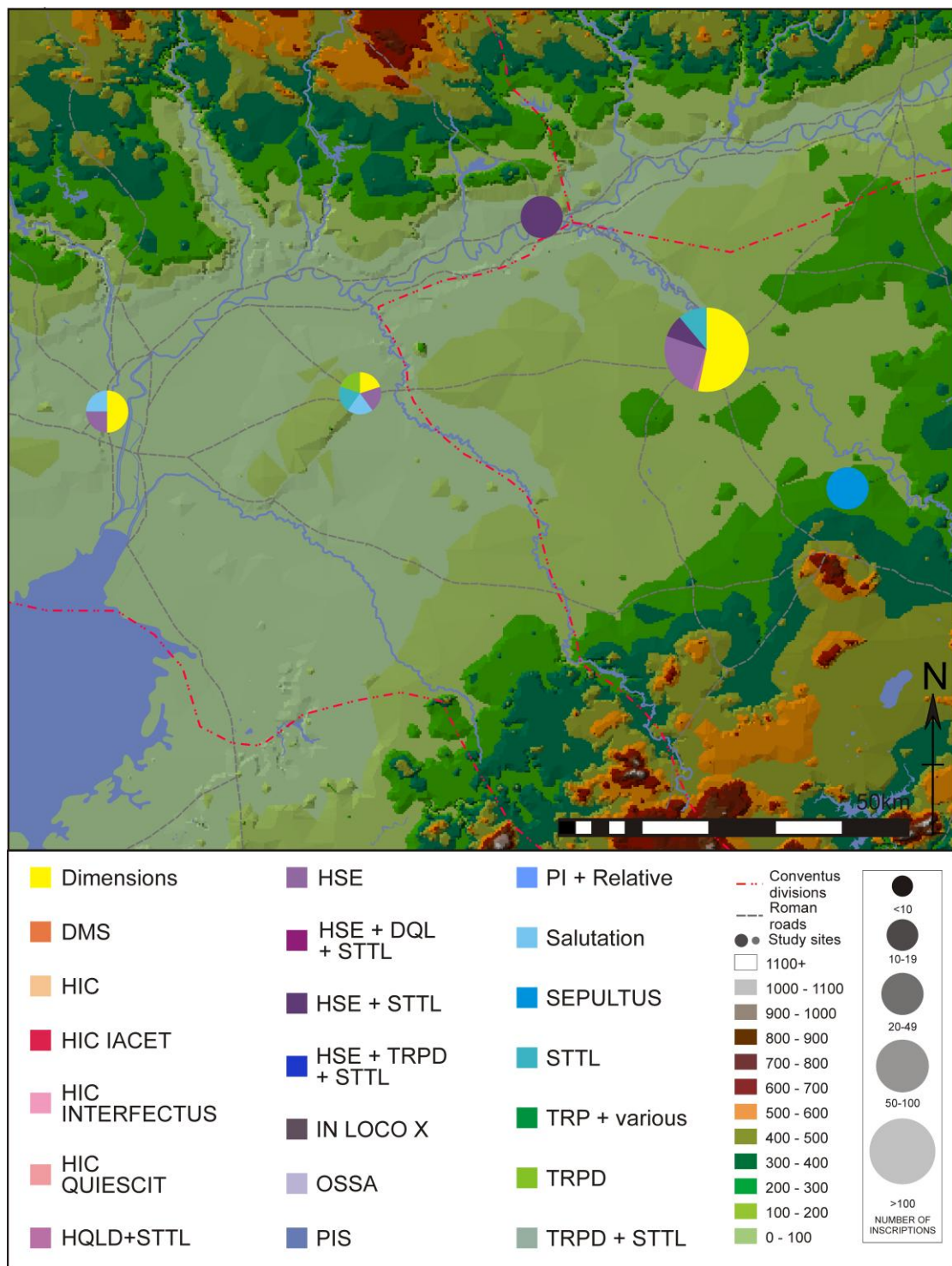
Fig. 83: Occurrences of funerary formulae amongst the inscriptions from the study sites during the Augustan and Early Imperial period
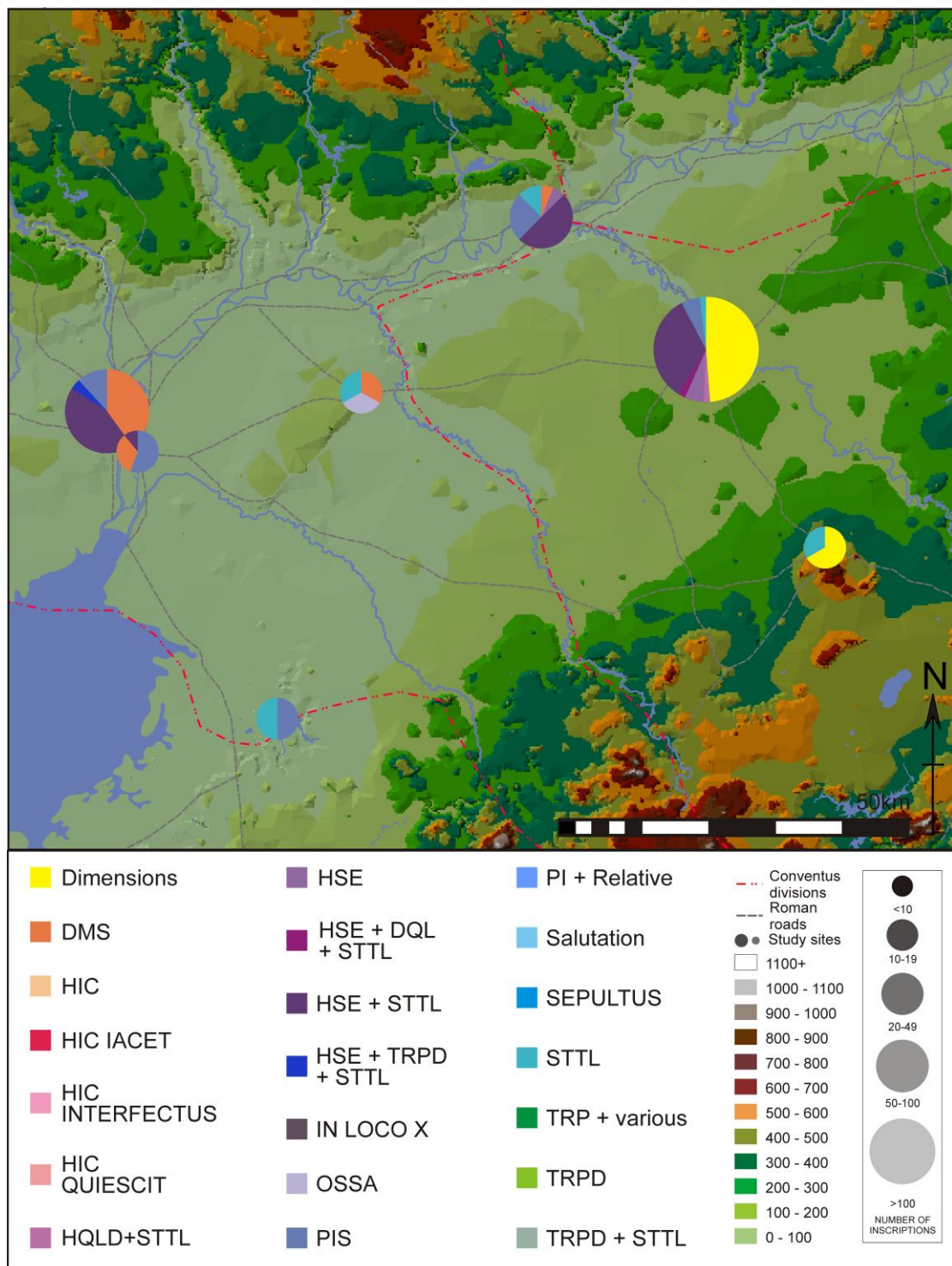
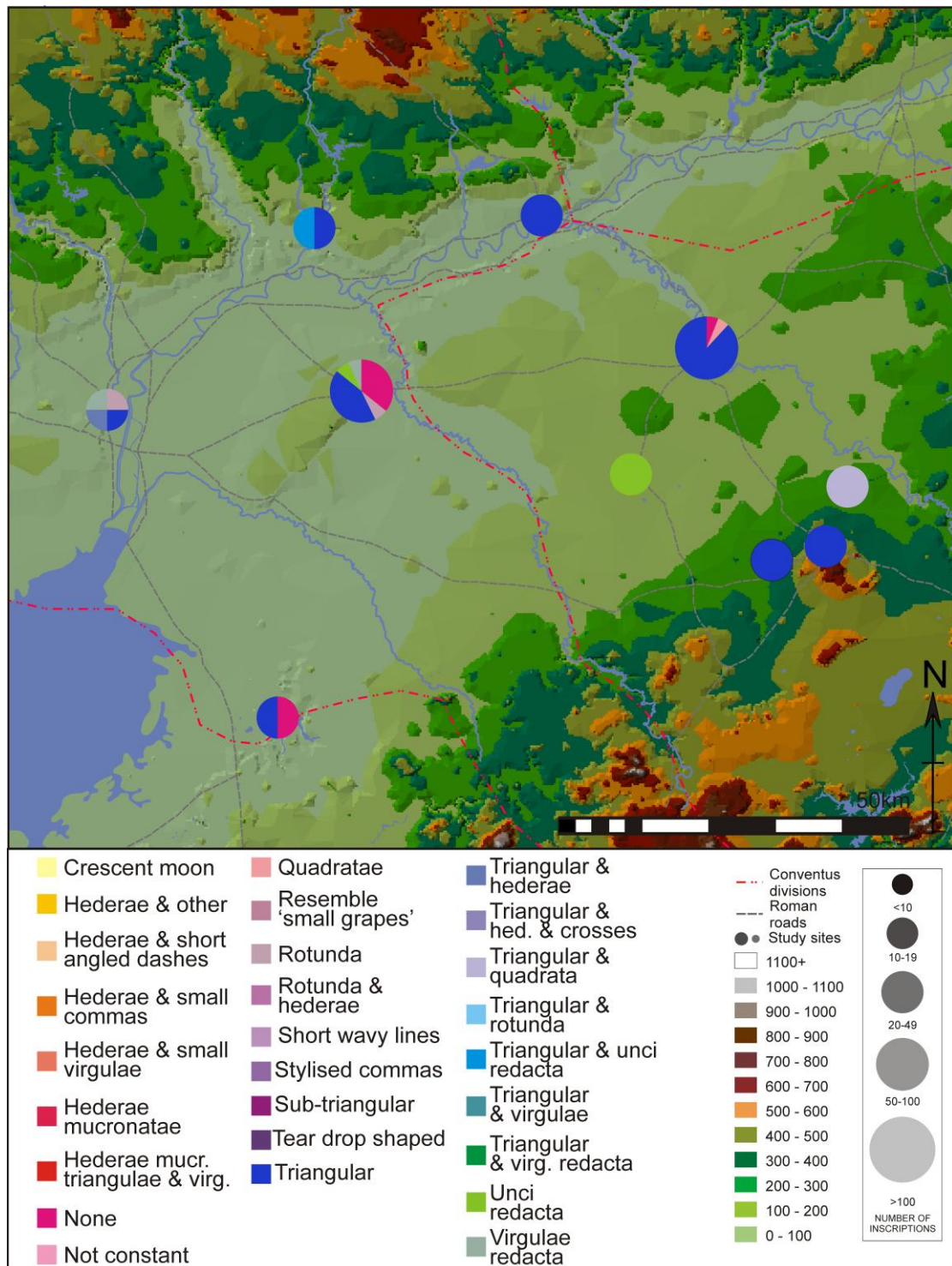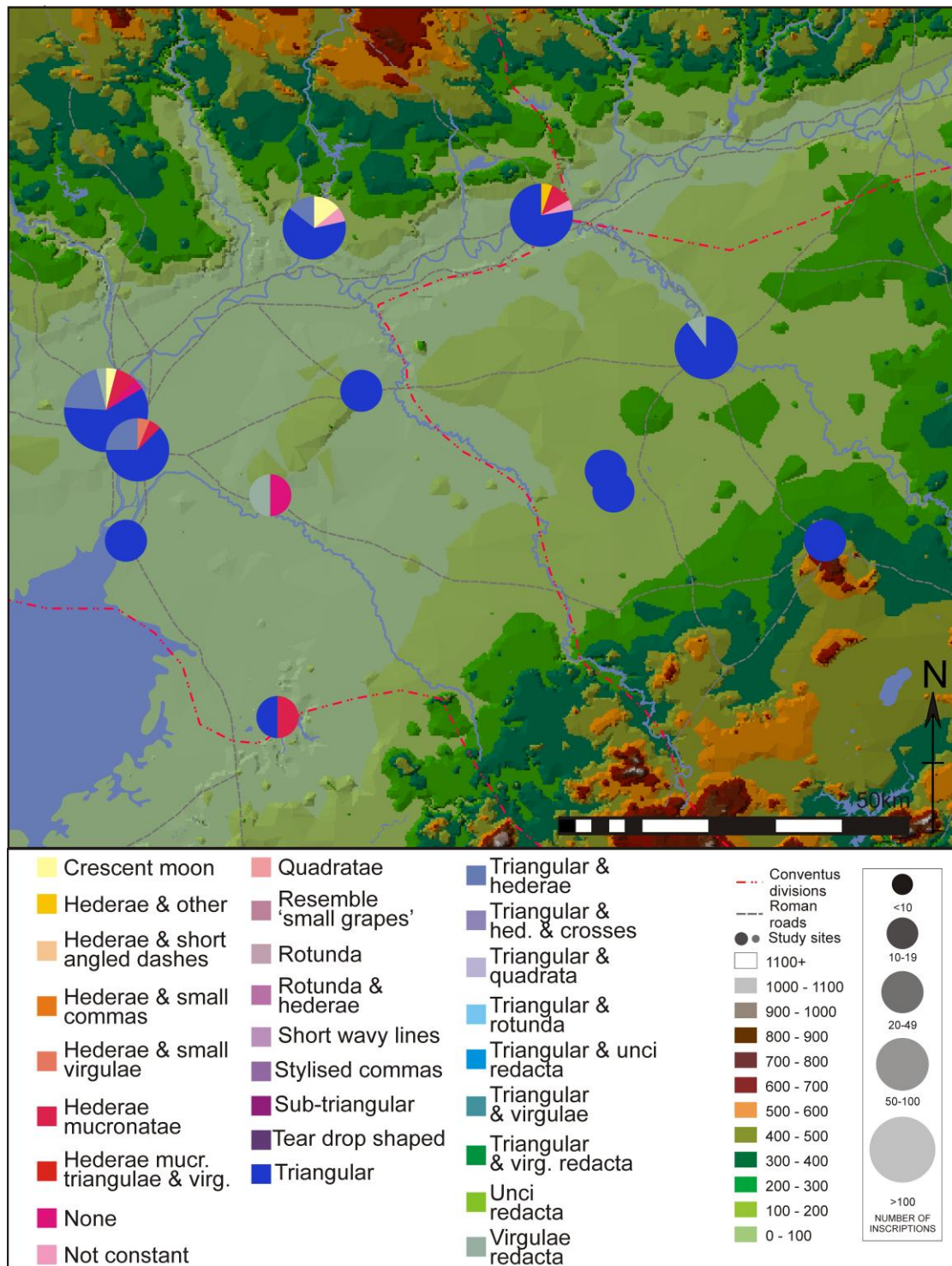**Fig. 84: Occurrences of funerary formulae amongst the inscriptions from the study sites during the Flavian and post Flavian period**
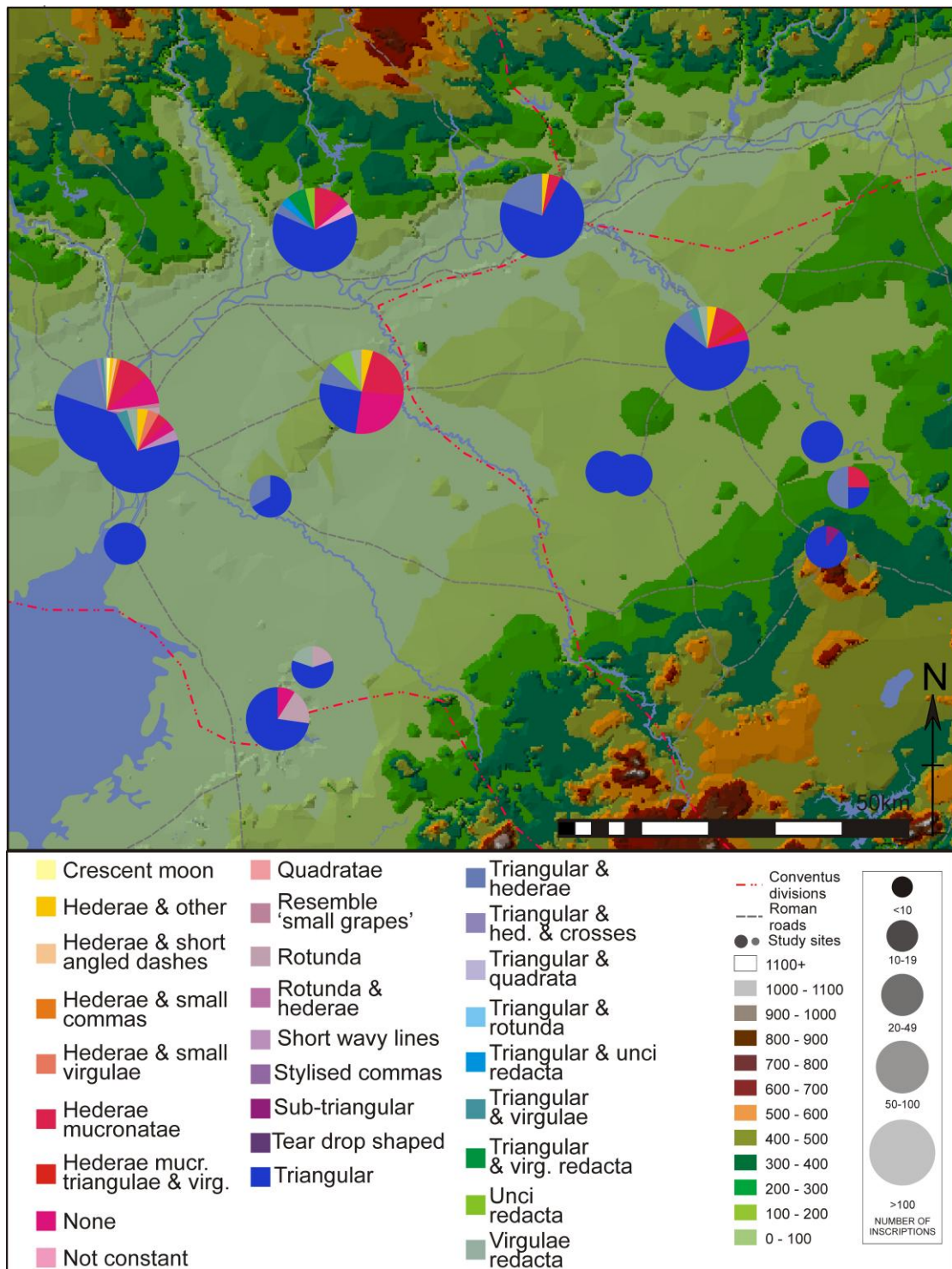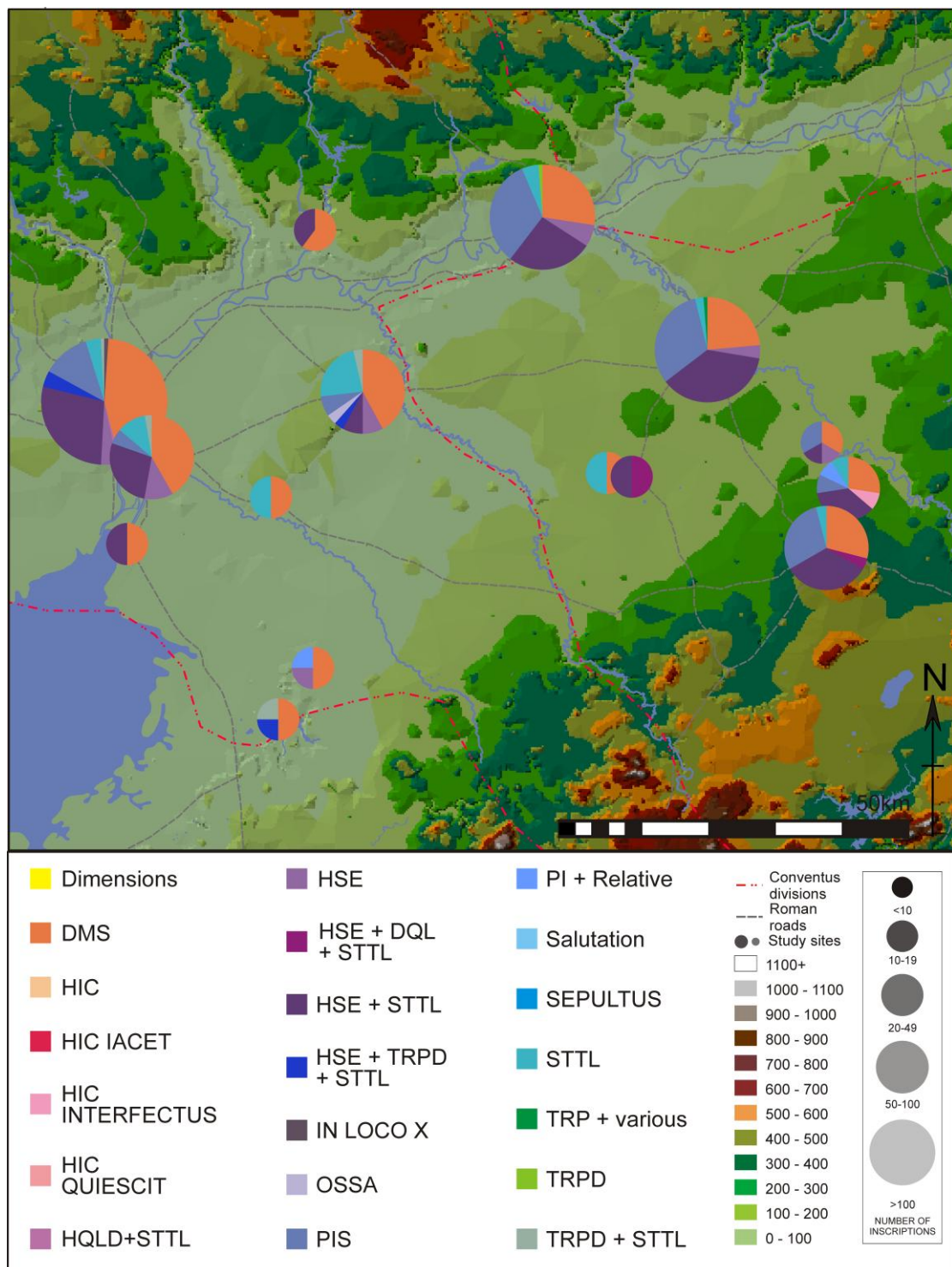
Fig. 85: Occurrences of funerary formulae amongst the inscriptions from the study sites during the 2ⁿᵈ and early 3ʳᵈ Century AD
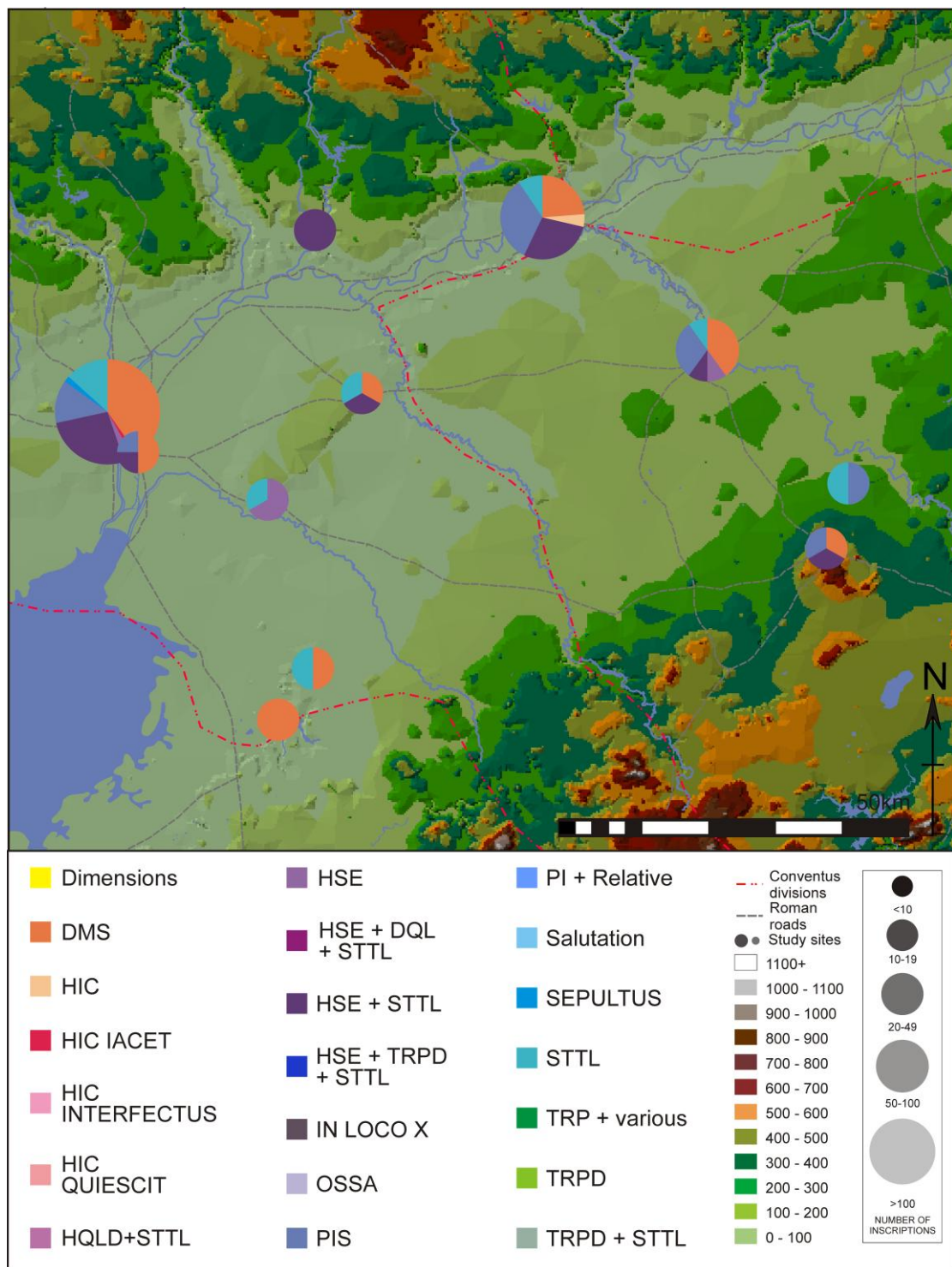
Fig. 86: Occurrences of funerary formulae amongst the inscriptions from the study sites during the 3rd Century AD
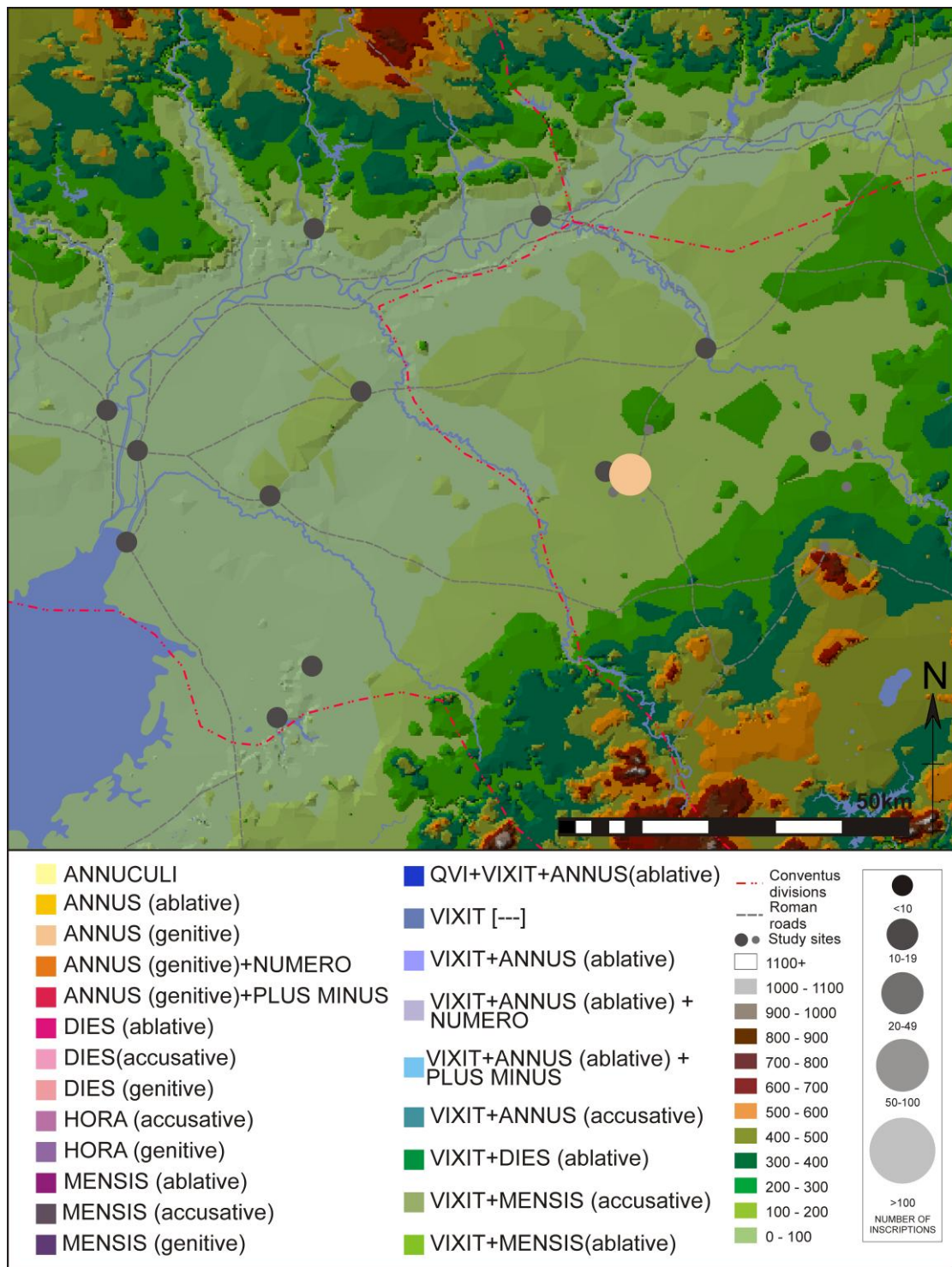
Fig. 87: Occurrences of formulae relating to age at death in the inscriptions from the study sites during the Republican period
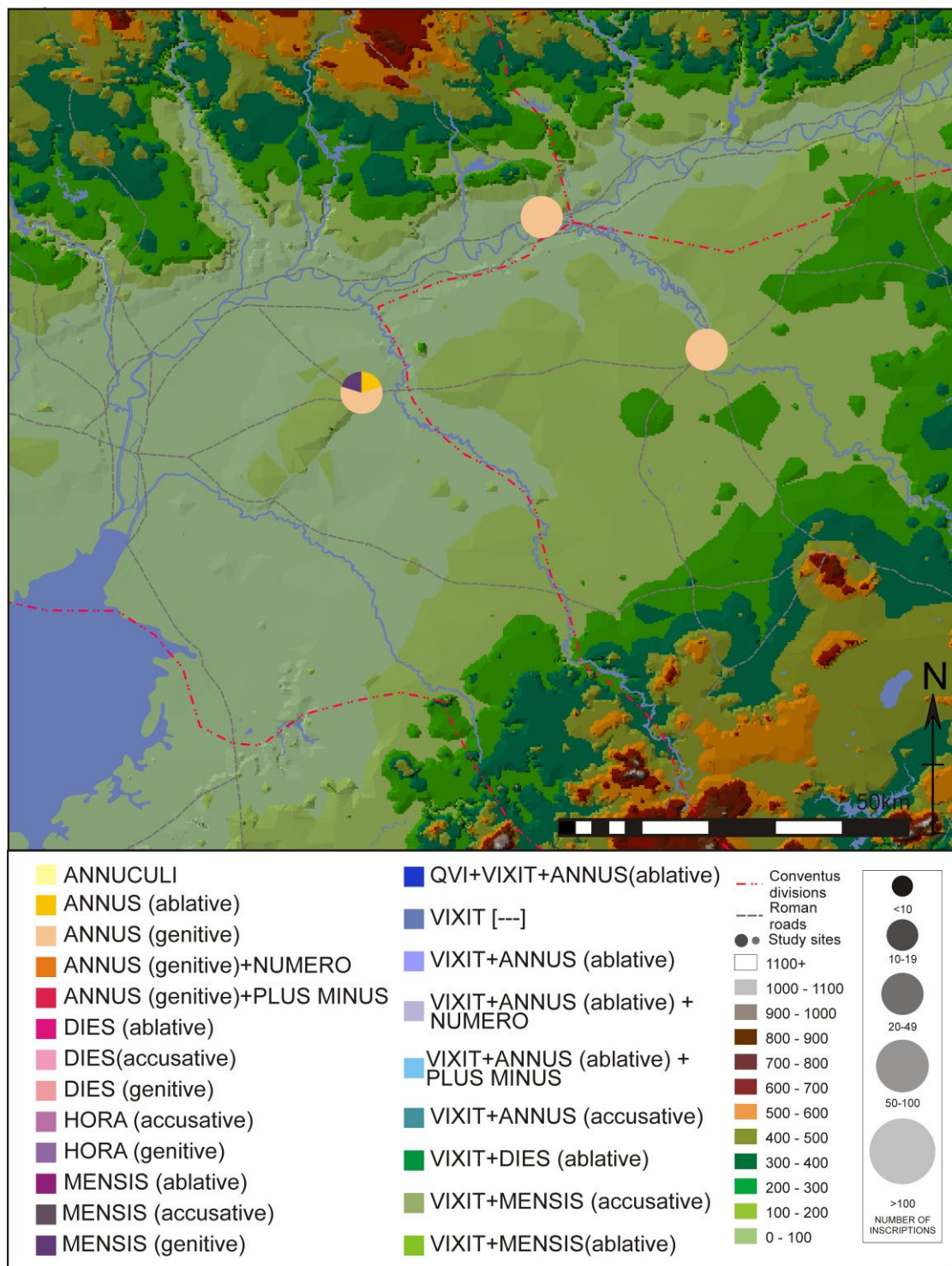
Fig. 88: Occurrences of formulae relating to age at death in the inscriptions from the study sites during the Augustan and Early Imperial period
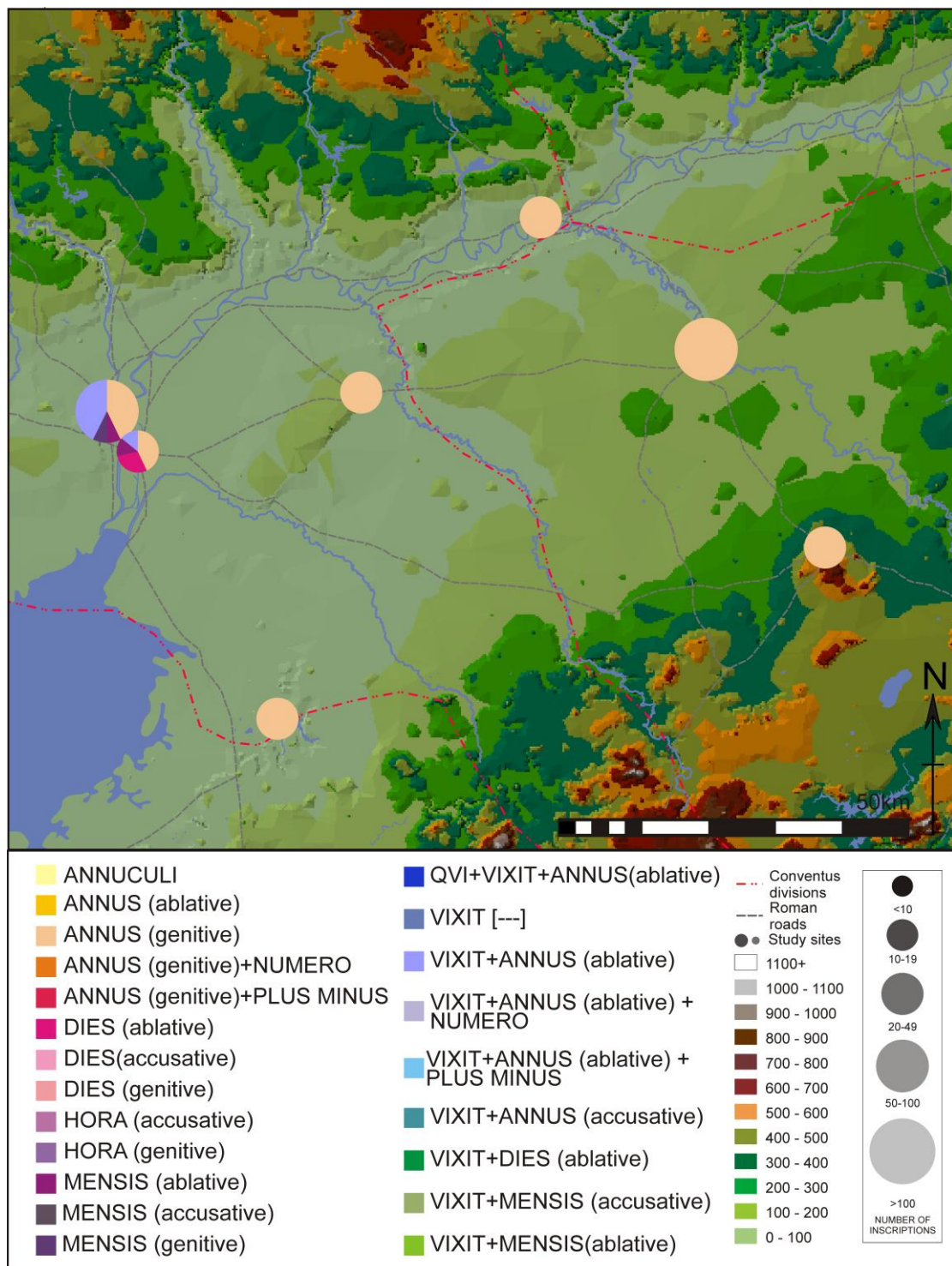
Fig. 89: Occurrences of formulae relating to age at death in the inscriptions from the study sites during the Flavian and post Flavian period
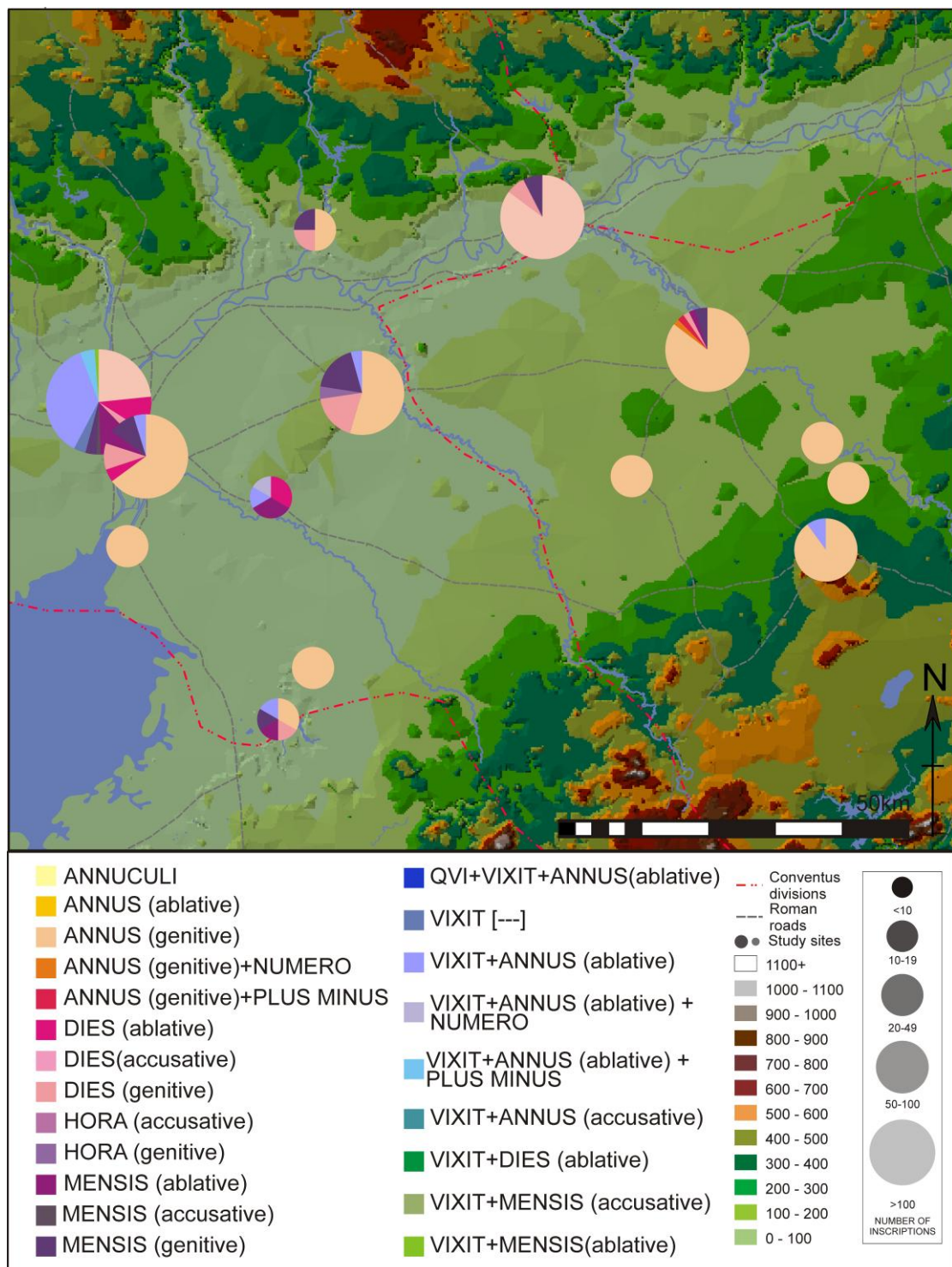
Fig. 90: Occurrences of formulae relating to age at death in the inscriptions from the study sites during the 2nd and early 3rd Century AD
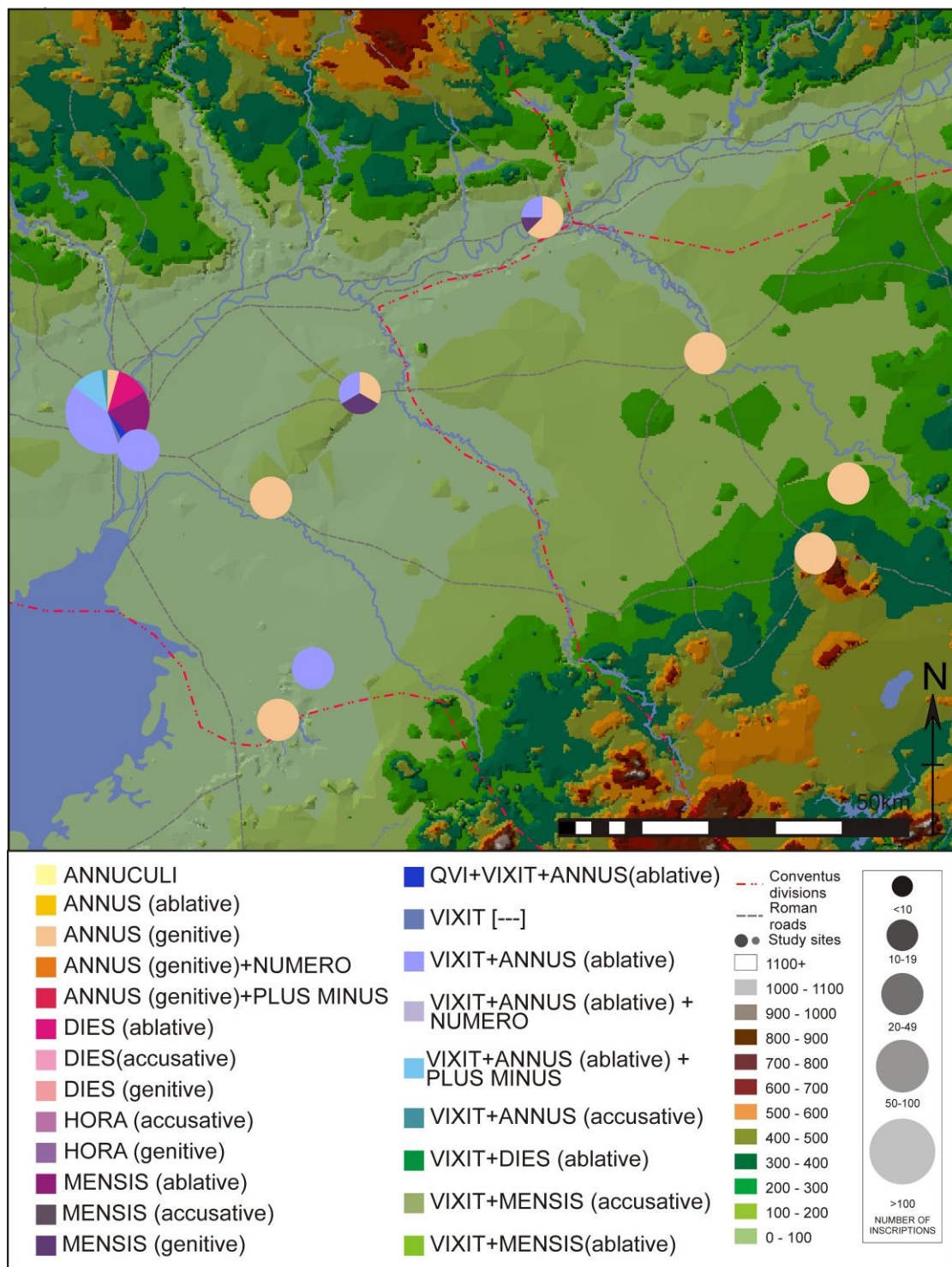
Fig. 91: Occurrences of formulae relating to age at death in the inscriptions from the study sites during the 3rd Century AD

7.7   OCCURRENCES OF DEDICATIONS TO THE EMPEROR AND MANIFESTATIONS OF THE IMPERIAL CULTS[67]

The purpose of this section of the discussion is to ascertain whether the monuments to so called imperial cults had in reality more connections with standard dedications to individual deities, or whether they can be interpreted as indicators of a greater affinity with the emperor and the empire and hence an identity that extended beyond the individual settlement.

The earliest dedications are not to reigning emperors but to Tiberius prior to his adoption by Augustus[68] and Drusus as Caesar.[69] The dedication to Nero at Salpensa[70] is therefore the earliest evidence for a dedication to a living emperor. Dedications to deified emperors are rare. Of the two examples, one was originally dedicated at Munigua to the living Titus and only altered after his death to include the title *'divus'*[71], the second, also from Munigua, was dedicated to the divine Vespasian. This does not appear therefore to have been a particularly important part of the epigraphic culture of the study region based on the available evidence.

The importance of Baetica ensured that many emperors had personal knowledge of the province gained whilst on campaigns within the region,[72] or whilst holding an administrative office as part of their political career.[73]   In 2 BC the province of Baetica sent a pure gold statue, a personification of the province, to Augustus in Rome in commemoration of his award of the title *pater patriae*[74]. Whilst instances as prominent as this are infrequent, the most common identification of the relationship is through dedications to the emperors and potentially references to the imperial cult[75]. The closest relationship Baetica claimed with Rome was through the Spanish emperors, Trajan and Hadrian.   Marcus Ulpius Traianus was born on the 18th

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[67] Tabularised data: Appendices C.7 IMPERIAL DEDICATIONS & C.8 IMPERIAL CULT DEDICATIONS

[68] ITA026TI.

[69] OST004TI.

[70] SAL002TI.

[71] MUN014TI

[72] E.g. Julius Caesar, Augustus

[73]Septimius Severus was *quaestor militaris* in Baetica: *Alföldy 1969, 38ff*; Trajan's father was governor of Baetica: *Bennett 1997, 321*.

[74] The statue was placed in the Forum Augustum and the dedication read *Imp(eratori) Caesari Augusto p(atri) p(atriae) Hispania ulterior Baetica quod beneficio eius et perpetua cura provincia pacata est auri p(ondo) C(entum)*; *Alföldy, 1992, 74*

[75] E.g. CIL II 1049, 1065 & 1066; *Etienne 1958; Millar 1977; Fishwick 1987.*

September in the town of Italica.[76] Although his family was originally from Umbria they had resettled in southern Spain after the conquest. Trajan's father (also named Marcus Ulpius Traianus) had a distinguished military and civil career which included the governorship of Baetica.[77] Trajan's successor Publius Aelius Hadrianus (Hadrian) was the son of his cousin Aelius Hadrianus Afer whose family had also relocated to Italica.[78] It is tempting to consider the descent of these two first 'provincial' emperors as extremely significant for the way in which Baetica was viewed from Rome and indeed the way in which Baetica viewed itself within the Empire.[79] During the reign of these two emperors there is certainly evidence for a particular connection with the province, most notably with Hadrian's *nova urbs* at Italica. However, by this time there were also a considerable number of senators from the province,[80] so Baetica was well established within the Empire and its administration. The nature of the relationship perceived during this period may therefore equally reflect these senators taking advantage of the close connection with the emperor. Whilst there are dedications to Trajan and Hadrian at Italica,[81] there are more preserved to date from Munigua[82] which indicates a broader connection than that associated with the emperors as a result of their town of birth. The dedication to Trajan at Italica was made by a likely Italian, of the Maecia tribe. It is unfortunate that this one of only two inscription where the origin of an individual dedicator has been preserved. There is a possibility that the Hadrianic dedications at Munigua, were set up by the local *decuriones* on behalf of the town.[83]

This issue is extremely important for an understanding of whether Baetica became ideologically part of the Roman Empire. Italica had understandable reasons for making dedications to the emperors, but it was by no means the only city to do so with inscriptions preserved in addition at Hispalis, Munigua, Ostippo, Salpensa and Siarum. It seems at odds with much of the other evidence to explain imperial

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[76] The evidence from Eutropius (*Breviarium historiae Romanae 8.5*) places Trajan's birth in AD 53 and is adopted by most historians whereas Cassius Dio calculates it as AD 56 (*Historia Romana 68.6.3 & 68.33.3*): *Bennett 1997, 13-14* argues for acceptance of Dio's date of AD 56; *Birley 1976, 38*.

[77] ILS 8970.

[78] Canto's analysis of the literary sources suggests that Hadrian was also born in Italica rather than Rome as is traditionally accepted: *Canto 2004*.

[79] *Fear 1996; Birley 1998, 239-240.*

[80] *Birley 1998, 239.*

[81] ITA027TI & ITA030TI.

[82] MUN015TI & MUN017-019TI.

[83] Possible reference to *Res Publica Muniguense*.

dedications simply as a result of wholesale assimilation since so much of native identity and tradition can be seen to have been retained in the material culture of Roman Baetica. The erection of dedications to the emperor does not necessarily signify ideological integration into the Empire. They are often set up by members of the higher social orders – senators and equites who in the earlier periods may not have been members of the indigenous population – and by other local magistrates, for all of whom social promotion was particularly important. Of the individuals who can be identified as dedicators of *tituli imperatorum* there is a definite weighting towards those of senatorial and equestrian rank, and although only one other records their *tribus* as Galeria [84] it seems likely given the later date of the inscriptions that these would largely have been native members of the elite. There is therefore amongst the *tituli imperatorum* from the study sites no evidence to suggest that concern with honouring the emperor extended beyond the local magistrates and elite. Imperial dedications and references to the imperial cult are found all across Baetica. It has been suggested that the existence of pre-Roman ruler cults in this region was influential in the adoption of the practice of imperial dedications in Baetica[85]. The expression of a relationship with the emperor or through observance of an imperial cult might entail connotations of belonging to the system of which the emperor was the head but the contextual information for social identities argues that at most this may have come to form part of the identity of some of the native social elite.

The nature and significance of the imperial cult is variously characterised. At one extreme it may be described as a formal means by which members of provincial societies were encouraged to participate in an activity which might solidify relationships within the empire and engender loyalty.[86] At the opposite end of the scale it has been argued that imperial cults followed the same selection process as with ordinary deities and that no special significance should be associated with them as indicative of different allegiances or forms of worship. In this second scenario the addition of Augustus or Augusta made no real difference to the nature and purpose of the cult and merely represents a nod to convention. In this case therefore there is a

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[84] SIA004TI.
[85] See *Etienne 1958; Fishwick 1987.*
[86] *Curchin 1991, 161-162.*

possibility that a similar process can be seen between the dedication of straightforward *tituli sacri* and those concerned with the imperial cults.

As might be expected in a province with such a diverse ethnic and cultural history, the range of deities invoked in the inscriptions from the study sites is also varied. The most common divinity invoked is that of the spirits of the departed, the Di Manes with 253 examples across the 12 study sites which appears only in funerary inscriptions and therefore explains its prolific distribution. Beyond this 11 other deities are represented either 2 or 3 times, and only 8 of these occur at more than one site. The remaining 33 deities are all unique in the nature of the dedication. This demonstrates the individual and personal nature of these dedications, and suggests that the selection of these deities had personal significance to the individual dedicator or settlement. When we look more broadly at the dedications it becomes obvious that a number of different attributes are shared between the deities selected for dedications. By considering the attributes of the deities recorded and their specific relevance to elements of daily life or relationships a series of broad themes can be categorised as follows:

1. Deities associated with agricultural and human fertility, and aspects of the natural landscape: Ceres, Domina Fons Fovens, Liber Pater

2. Commerce & profitability: Bonus Eventus and Minerva

3. Creators and protectors, including mother goddesses and the family: Domina Isis, Domina Regia, Domnula Bubastis, Isis Regina, Isis Victrix, Imperio Iunio, Matres Aufaniae

4. Good fortune and the future: Apollo

5. Good personal health and well-being, strength & courage: Hercules

6. Justice and retribution: Nemesis, Nemesis Praesente

7. The Roman state & the Roman people: Jupiter, Pantheus, Pietas, Serapis

8. The town: Genius Coloniae/ Municipium

9. The gods of the Underworld: Di Manes, Di Inferi, Dis Pater

10. War & military victories: Mars, Victoria

The fact that such a wide variety of deities are recorded testifies to the individuality of these dedications, but the fact that the themes and values they represent are seen

repeatedly throughout demonstrates the common goals between the citizens of these settlements.

There is little to suggest any patterning amongst the distribution of these dedications due to the small numbers preserved. The greatest variety is seen at Italica, doubtless in part due to the number of *tituli sacri* preserved in comparison with other settlements. Most of the sites preserve *tituli sacri* to only either 1 or 2 different deities within any one period with the exception of Italica, Hispalis in the Flavian and post Flavian period and Carmo in the 2nd to early 3rd Century AD. The dedications seem to make sense in the context of the nature of the settlement as might be expected due to the attributes of the deities revered. Those deities invoked which fall in the categories of commerce and profitability, Minerva[87] and Bonus Eventus[88] at Salpensa and Astigi reflect the very real importance of trade and commercial prosperity in the economic stability of the urban community. Similarly deities associated with agricultural fertility received dedications at Italica[89] and Hispalis[90] as a result of the importance of a profitable harvest to both individual and provincial economies. Dedications of this nature might have been expected further east along the valley within the main areas of agricultural production. Another common group which appears in a number of guises is the mother goddess. Eastern cults such as Isis were often taken up by the army and these are seen at Italica.[91] Several of the manifestations of creator and protector female deities are associated with cults based in other parts of the world, such as the Celtic Matres Aufaniae[92] and the African Isis. These deities contrast with the overtly Greco-Roman Jupiter,[93] Mars,[94] Apollo[95] and Hercules.[96] Early cults were established to Apollo at Italica and Dis Pater at Munigua.[97] These two dedications are informative in their origins, Apollo introduced from the Roman world and located within the context of a settlement for veteran

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[87] HIS136SC.
[88] SAL010SC, MUN003SC.
[89] Ceres: ITA020SC.
[90] Liber Pater: HIS002SC.
[91] ITS288SC, ITA290SC.
[92] CAR001SC.
[93] HIS001SC.
[94] AST003SC.
[95] ITA236OP.
[96] HIS139SC.
[97] MUN005SC *Grünhagen 1977.*

soldiers, and Dis Pater an Italic deity linked to Proserpina[98] at a site where an unusually Italic form of architecture developed later during the Flavian period. Individual dedications survive before the Flavian period but it is at this time that the evidence begins to display variety in the dedications preserved.

Little can be gleaned from the information relating to the social status of the dedicators. The inscription dedicated to Mars was set up by a *servus publicus* who despite his status would have had a recognised position in the town and therefore does not indicate the spread of these inscriptions to groups of lower social standing.[99] The higher strata are also evidence through the dedication to Apollo by an *eques*.[100] There is no visible distinction between the deities selected by men and women, and the dedications of *tituli sacri* are evenly spread between the genders.

Evidence for the existence of imperial cults is first visible at Carmo in the early Imperial period several years before the first recorded actual dedication. These monuments are dedications made to *pontifices* of the cults of Augustus and the divine Augustus.[101] It is interesting that these arise at Carmo rather than any of the other settlements such as Italica or Hispalis, but this is perhaps an indication of the nature of the community at Carmo in this period of the early 1st Century AD. The earliest recorded cults are of Apollo Augustus at Italica,[102] Mercurius Augustus at Munigua and Orippo[103] both towns which flourished within the trade network, Victoria Augusta at Celti[104] and Fortuna Augusta at Siarum.[105] Though few the uptake of these cults appears in the Flavian and post Flavian period and continues into the 3rd Century AD with much the same chronological distribution as the *tituli imperatorum* but also of the *tituli sacri*. The only other sites where such cults have been attested are Hispalis and Ostippo during the 2nd or early 3rd Century AD. Italica has the longest history of imperial cults, and is also one of the most diverse with three cults referenced in the 2nd and early 3rd Century as at Munigua. It is interesting that Hispalis figures negligibly in the distribution of imperial cult dedications despite preserving a wide ranging series of *tituli imperatorum* in the 2nd and early 3rd Centuries. The only site where the

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[98] *Rodríguez Cortes 1991, 53-55.*
[99] AST003SC.
[100] ITA236OP.
[101] CAR003TH & CAR004TH; *Delgado Delgado 2001.*
[102] ITA004SC.
[103] MUN010SC & ORI001SC.
[104] CEL002SC, also seen at Italica ITA020SC.
[105] SIA026SC.

records of cult officials and priests indicate a clear presence as does the archaeological record but there are no preserved dedications is Astigi. Salpensa is the only site where no evidence for imperial cults has been preserved in the extant assemblage but a *titulus imperatorum* exists in the form of a dedication to Nero[106].

The question of the imperial cult whether based at individual towns or as a provincial cult is a particularly complex topic and there is not a large enough assemblage of preserved material to comprehensively assess the validity of these arguments based exclusively on the evidence from the study sites. Only one instance of consistency within the extant material can be noted which might argue for a closer connection with ordinary *tiuli sacri:* the cult of Apollo Augustus is seen at Italica, where the cult of Apollo was documented in the Republican centre. This is also the earliest incarnation of an imperial cult at the town and it continues in use into the 2nd and early 3rd Century AD.

Whilst the request for a provincial cult from Baetica was denied by Tiberius[107], choosing instead to promote the cult of the deified Augustus, it indicates that there was a willingness to participate in these rituals at this early stage. Previous discussions of the nature of the population during this period indicate however that this request likely came from Italian settlers. By the time of Vespasian it appears that the cult was being actively promoted by the state.[108]

Analysis of the contexts of these dedications may provide some insight into their association with a specific imperial, provincial cult. From within the study sites at Italica the dedications to Apollo Augustus and Victoria Augusta were made in the context of the Traianeum, the sanctuary building of the imperial cult;[109] the sanctuary building at Munigua has been interpreted as a focus of the imperial cult;[110] and an enclosure dedicated to the imperial cult has been found at Astigi.[111] However, for the majority of cults bearing the epithet of Augustus or Augusta there was no necessity for a specific building, and dedications might be made at shrines to equivalent deities. In reality it appears from the limited evidence within the study sites, that the imperial cult should not be envisaged as a single entity with a single focus, the worship of the

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[106] SAL002TI.
[107] Tacitus *Annales* 4.37.1
[108] *Fishwick 1991, 219-239.*
[109] *León 1988.*
[110] *Grünhagen 1959.*
[111] *Sáez Fernández et al 2004, 44-45; García-Dils de la Vega & ORdoñez Agulla 2007.*

emperor and his family. There is clear evidence at in particular Italica and Astigi for a provincial imperial cult, but the variety of manifestations, and the lack of consistency from one period to the next suggests that in most towns these cults were very localised in character with various significance and focus dependent upon the situation, social character and political persuasion at any one time.[112] Local variation in the practise of the imperial cult has also been attested by other research.[113] When the distribution of manifestations of the imperial cult is compared with that of the ordinary cults it becomes clear that whilst there are points of comparison there are also significant differences in the range of sites where inscriptions are recorded in each period and in the variety of dedications.

There is some minor distinction between the deities selected for dedications by members of different social groups. Amongst the inscriptions set up by *liberti* there is a clear affiliation for the imperial cults, the only exception being a dedication to Pietas which itself invokes a sense of duty to the State. Since freedmen had no opportunity to hold public office the imperial cult became a popular means with members of this social group to win recognition. Within the inscriptions set up by freeborn individuals there is recognition of the protective deities of the town, imperial cults, and deities associated with commerce (Minerva) and health and fortune (Fortuna, Salus, Bonus Eventus). The senatorial dedications reflect imperial cults, links to the town, commerce, agricultural fertility, mother goddesses, creation and protection. Minor officials dedicate to the imperial cult, queen goddesses and Liber Pater. Therefore imperial cult dedications are particularly common amongst the freed population whereas dedications to living emperors are seen predominantly in the upper social strata of senatorial and equestrian rank. This difference emphasises the variation in the way that we should interpret dedications to imperial cults which in the lower strata may have functioned more as a means to an individual end, but may have entailed a greater degree of ideological significance for members of the elite.

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[112] *Beard et al 1998, 1.318; Scheid 2001, 85.*
[113] *Panzram 2003*: Analysis of the careers of the 24 officials of the provincial imperial cult in Baetica as compared to neighbouring provinces.
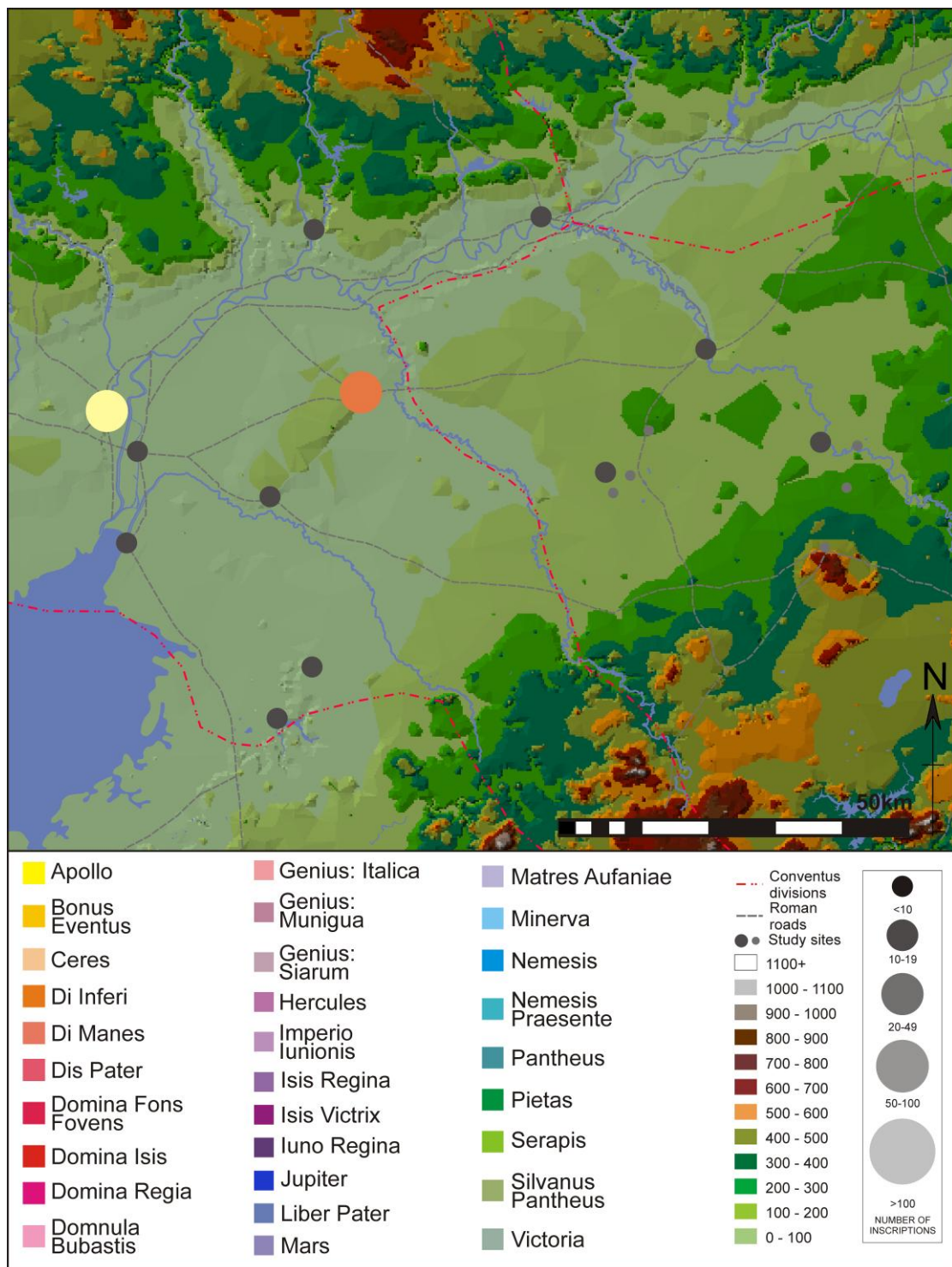
Fig. 92: Occurrence of dedications to specific deities excluding funerary references to the Di Manes during the Republican period
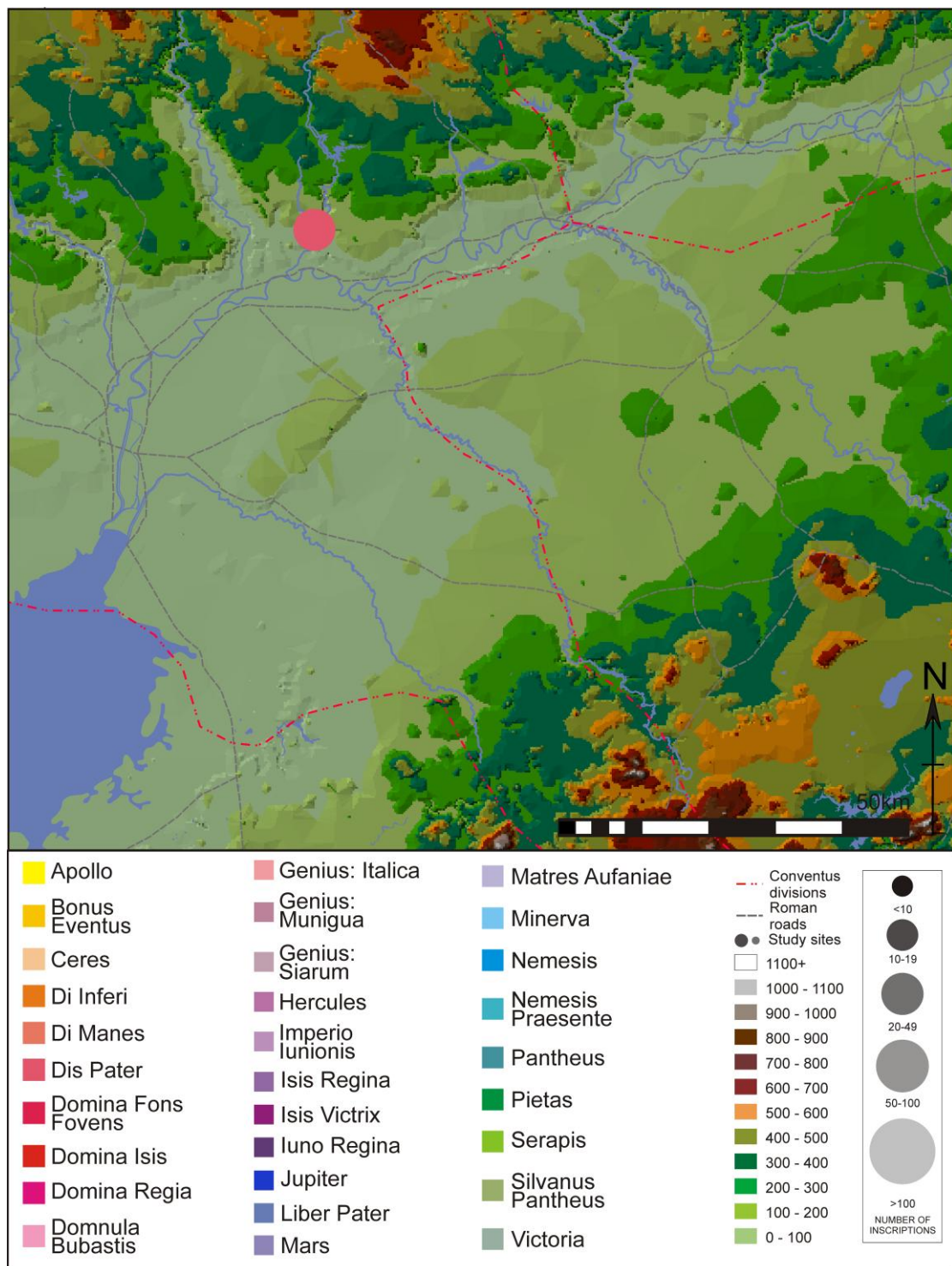
Fig. 93: Occurrence of dedications to specific deities excluding funerary references to the Di Manes during the Augustan and Early Imperial period
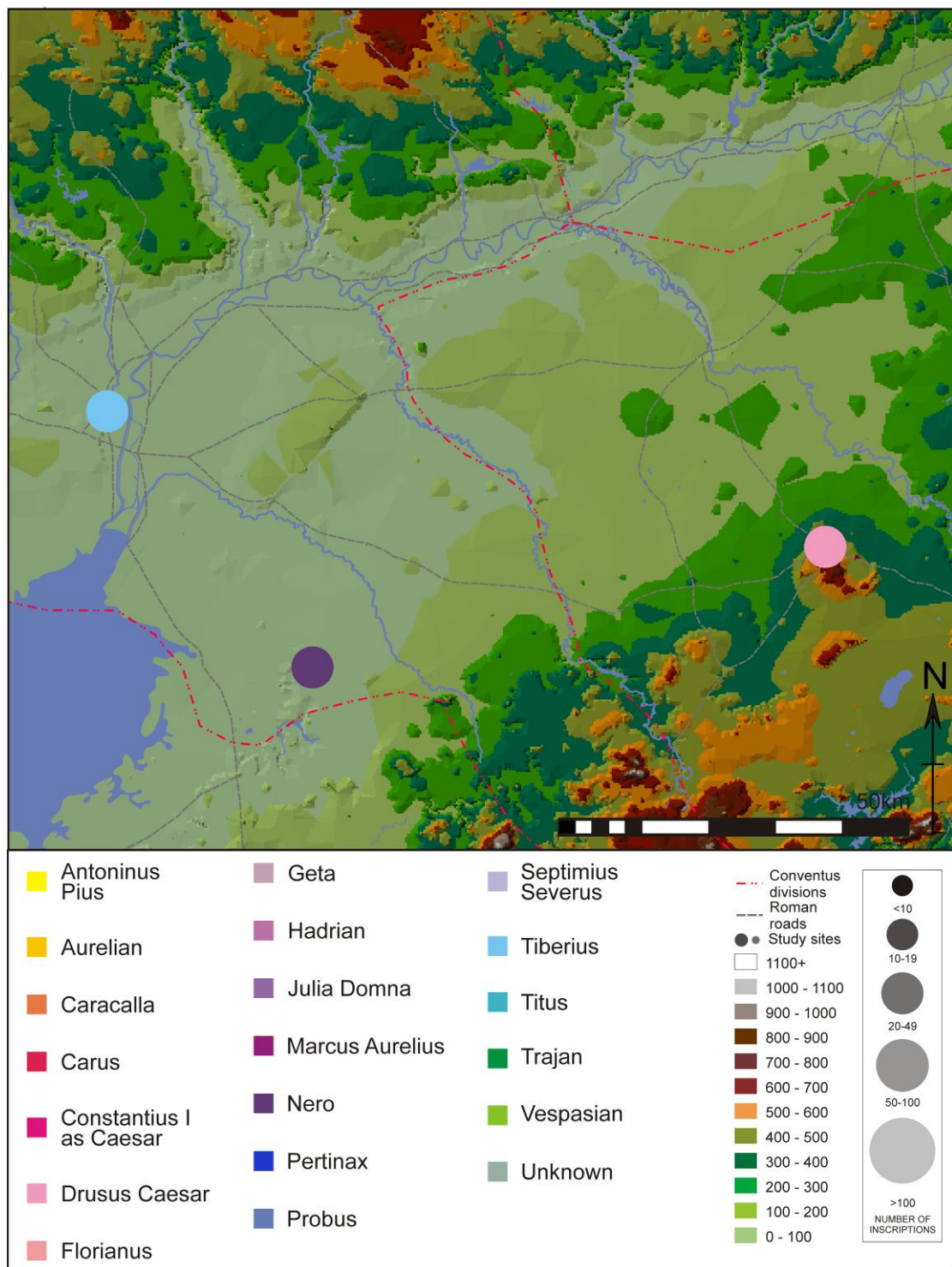
Fig. 94: Occurrences of imperial dedications at the study sites during the Augustan and Early Imperial period
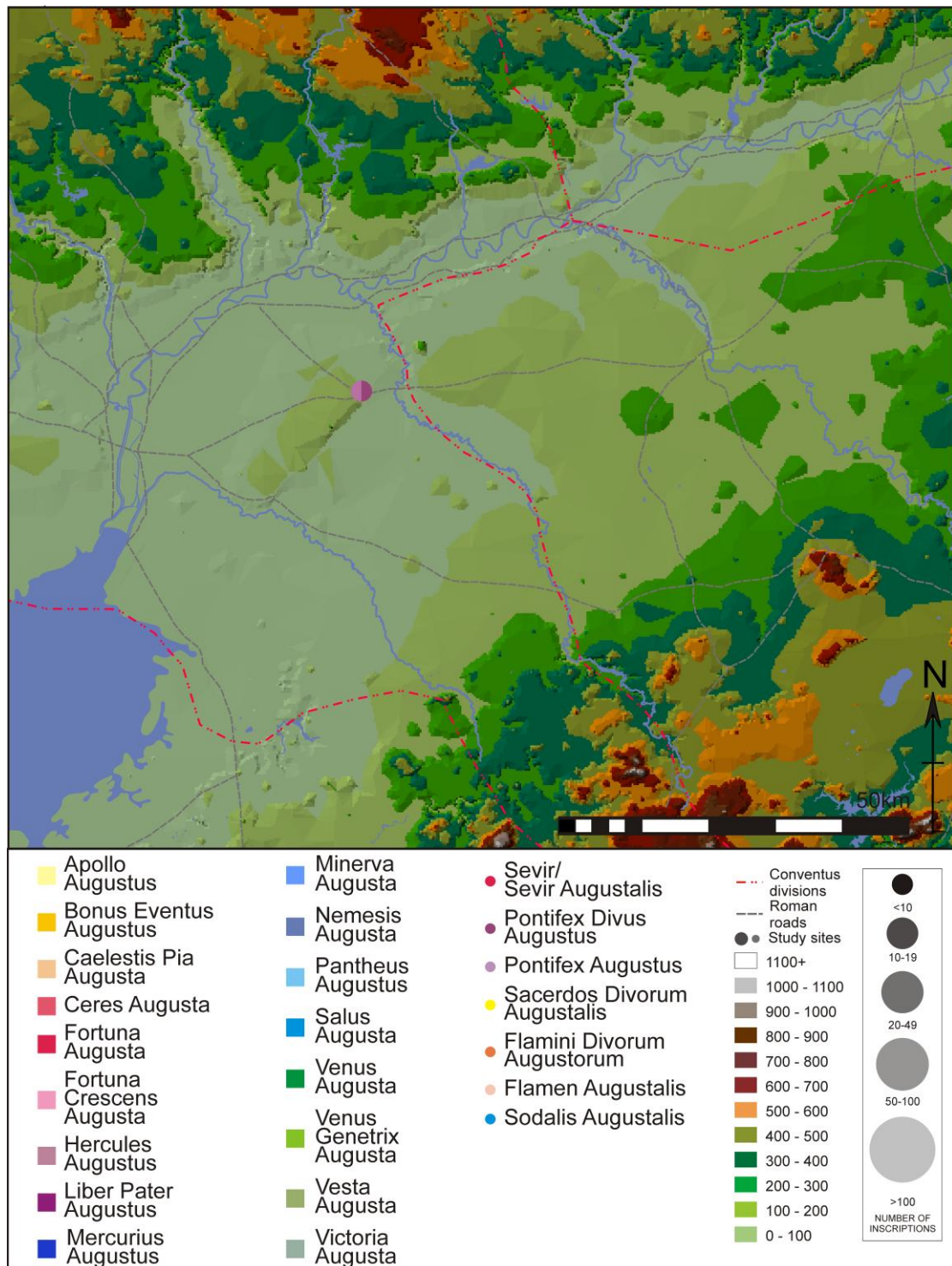
Fig. 95: Occurrence of evidence potentially relating to the existence of imperial cults at the study sites during the Augustan and Early Imperial period
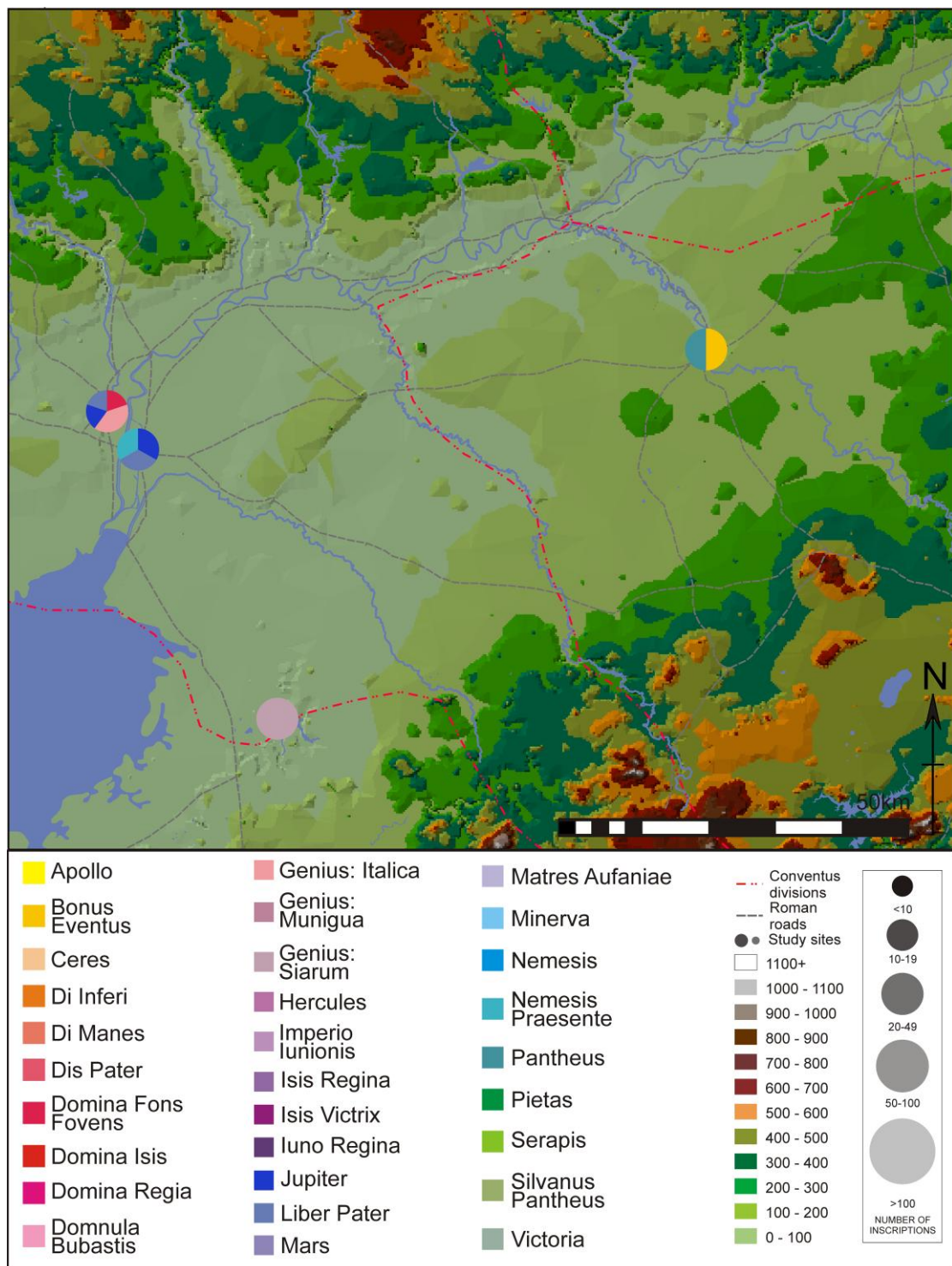
Fig. 96: Occurrence of dedications to specific deities excluding funerary references to the Di Manes during the Flavian and post Flavian period
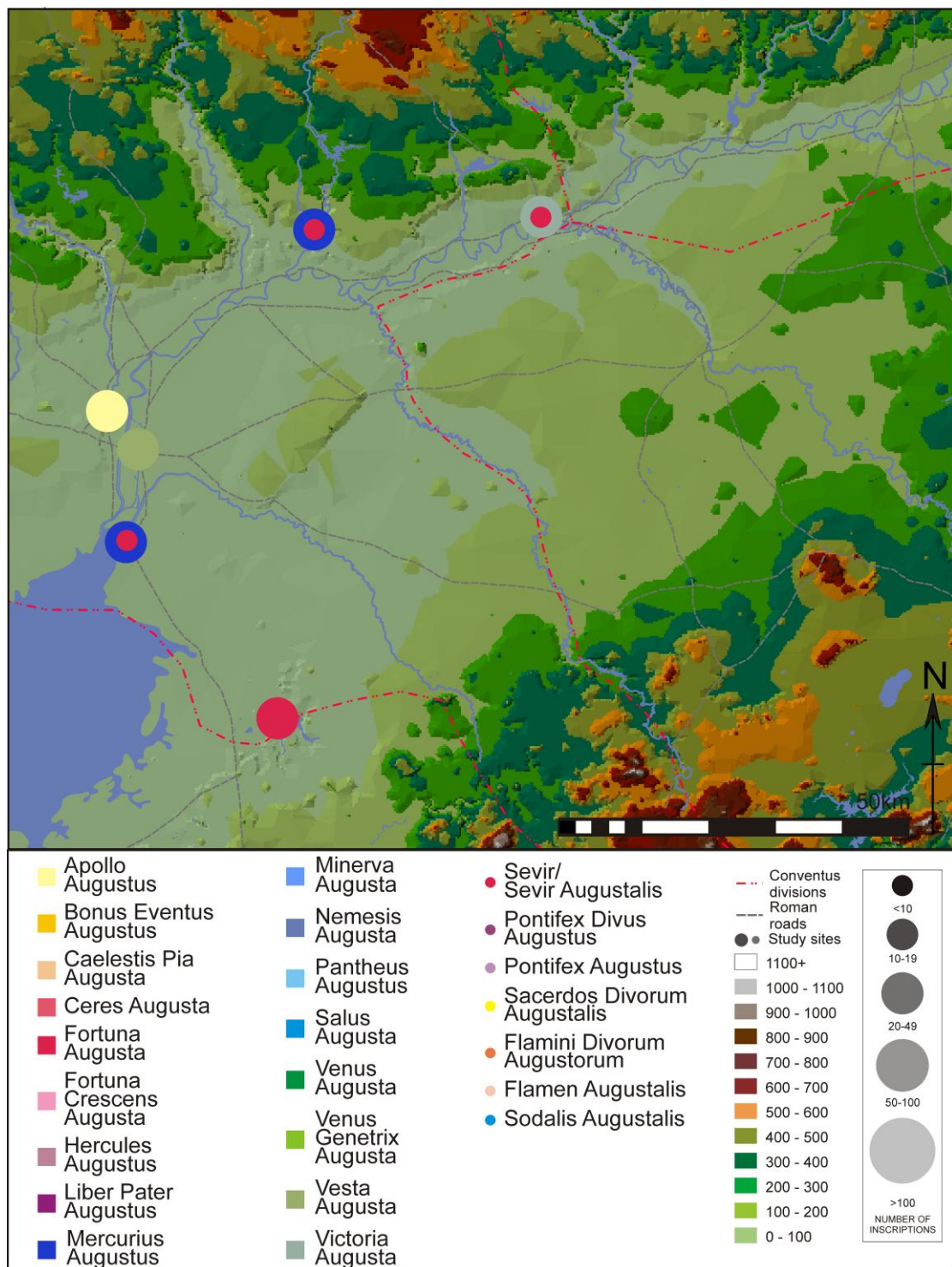
Fig. 97: Occurrence of evidence potentially relating to the existence of imperial cults at the study sites during the Flavian and post Flavian period
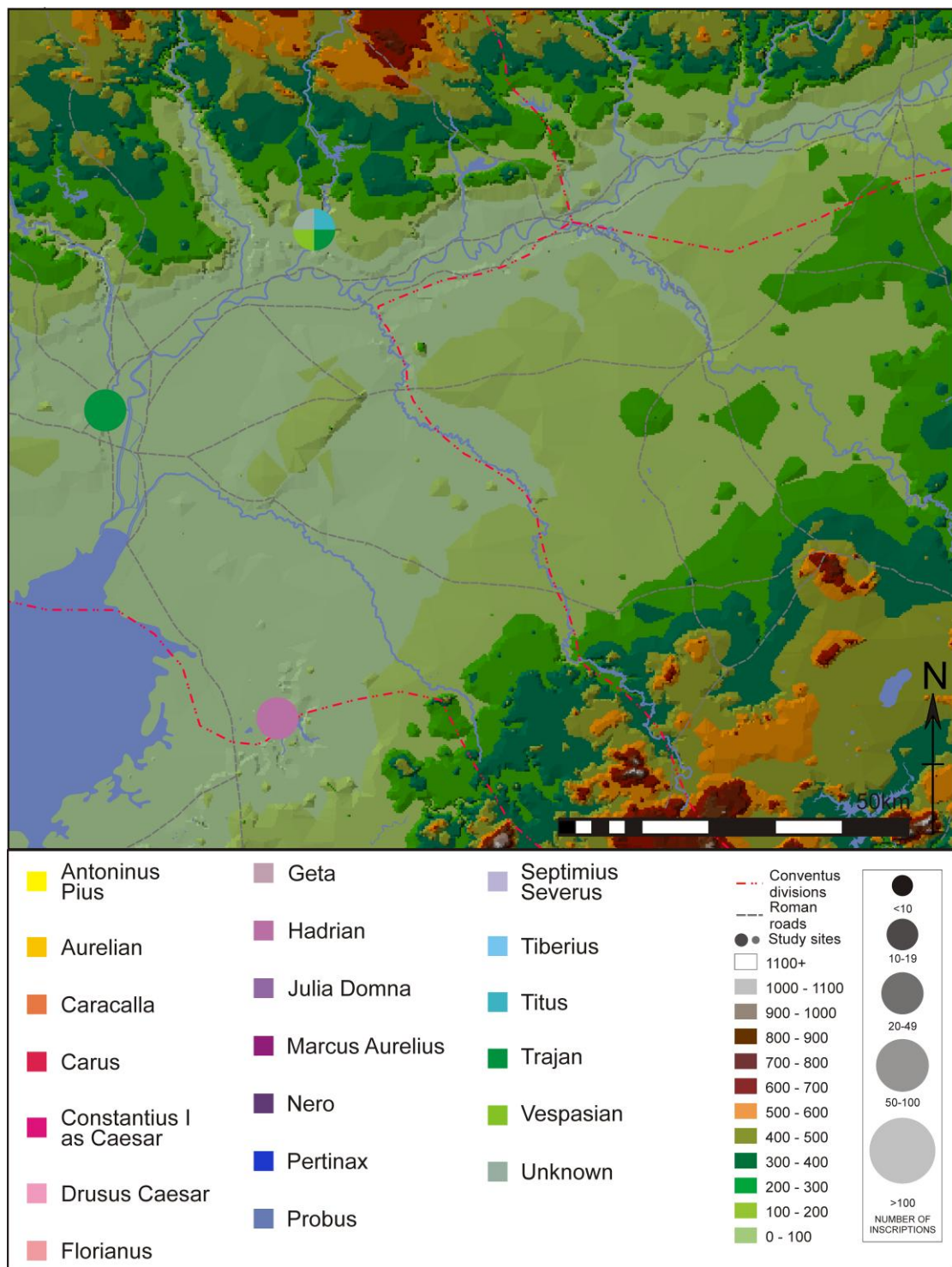
Fig. 98: Occurrences of imperial dedications at the study sites during the Flavian and post Flavian period
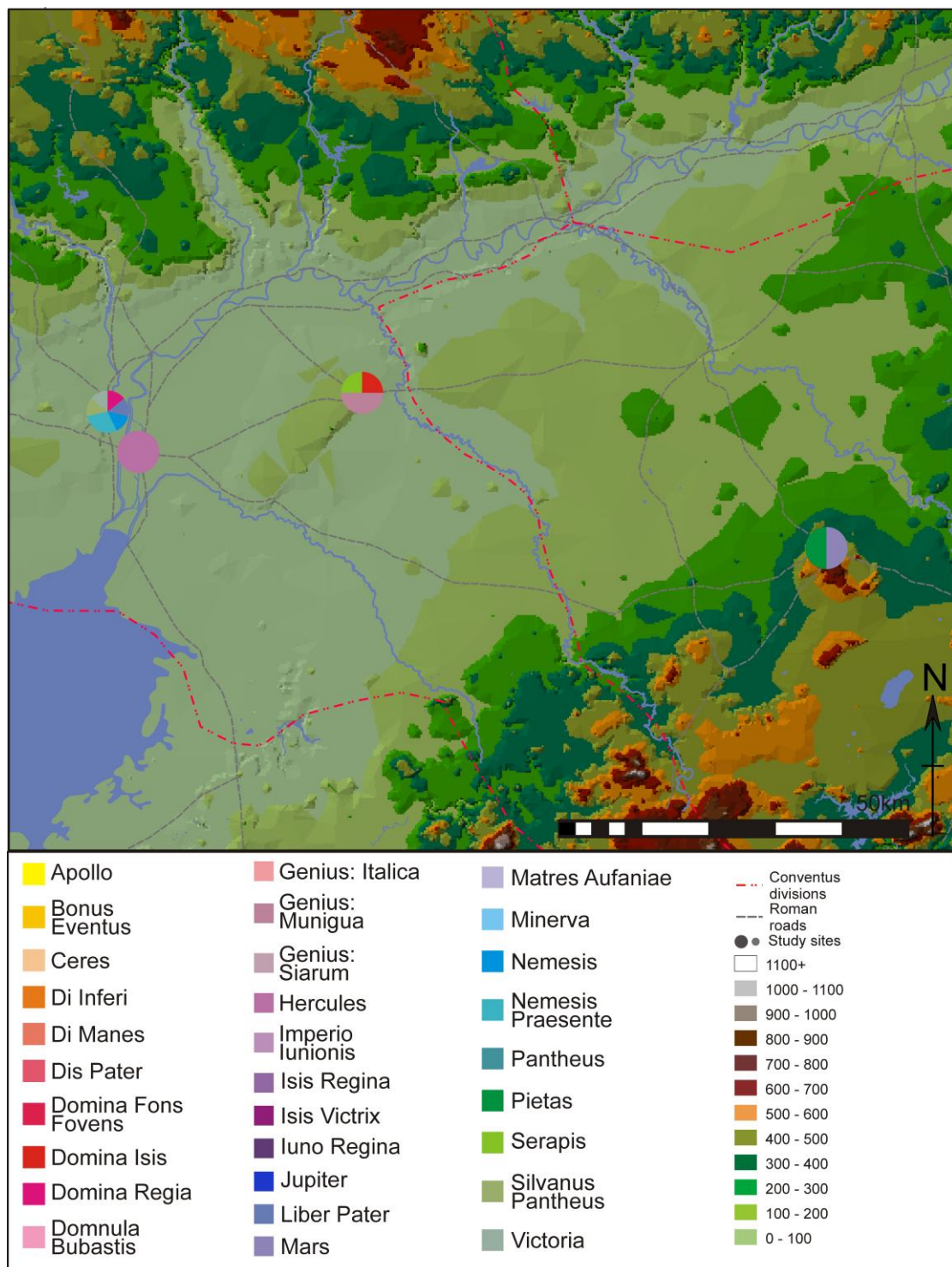
Fig. 99: Occurrence of dedications to specific deities excluding funerary references to the Di Manes during the 2ⁿᵈ and early 3ʳᵈ Century AD
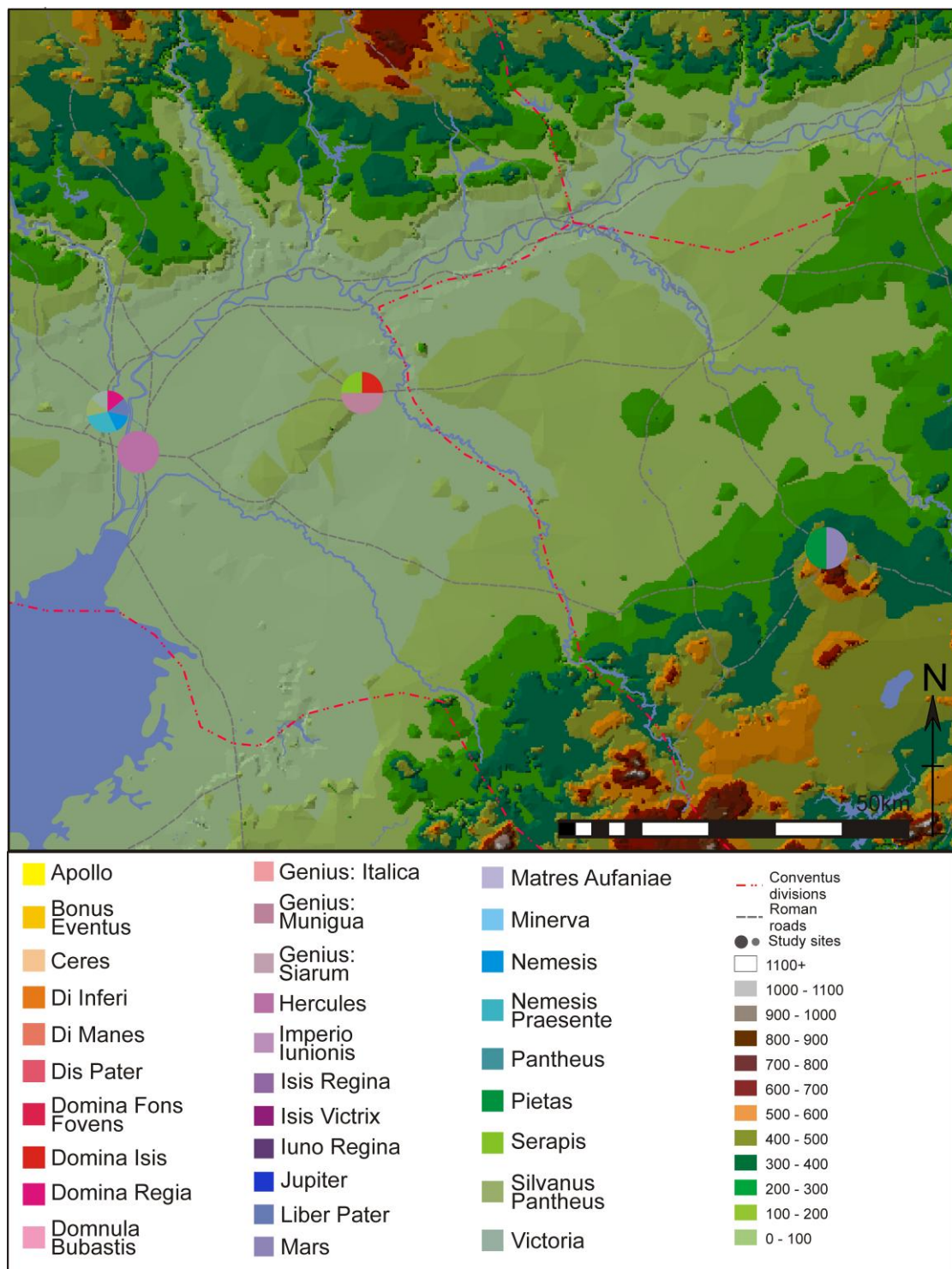
Fig. 100: Occurrence of evidence potentially relating to the existence of imperial cults at the study sites during the 2nd and early 3rd Century AD
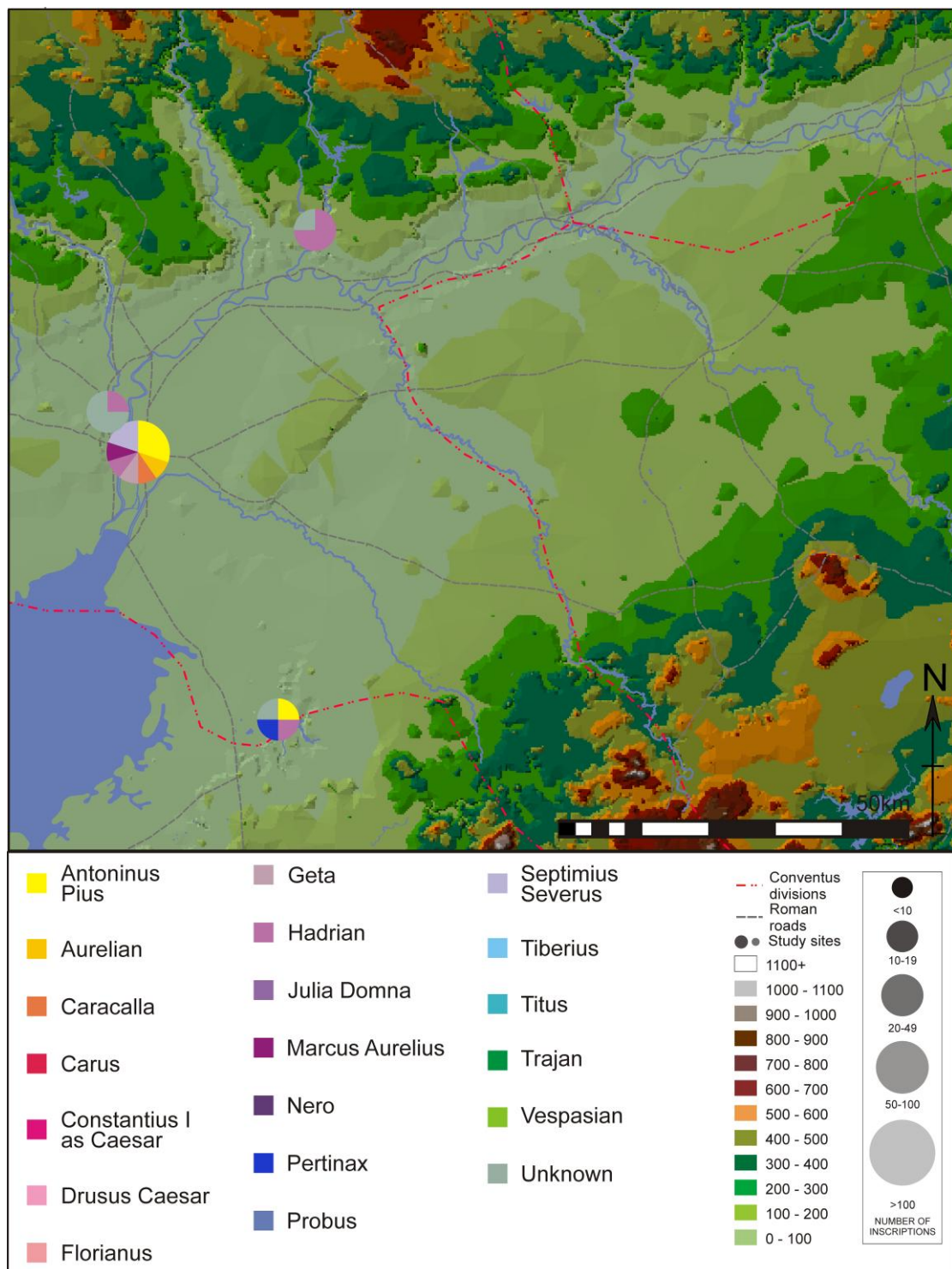
Fig. 101: Occurrences of imperial dedications at the study sites during the 2nd and early 3rd Century AD
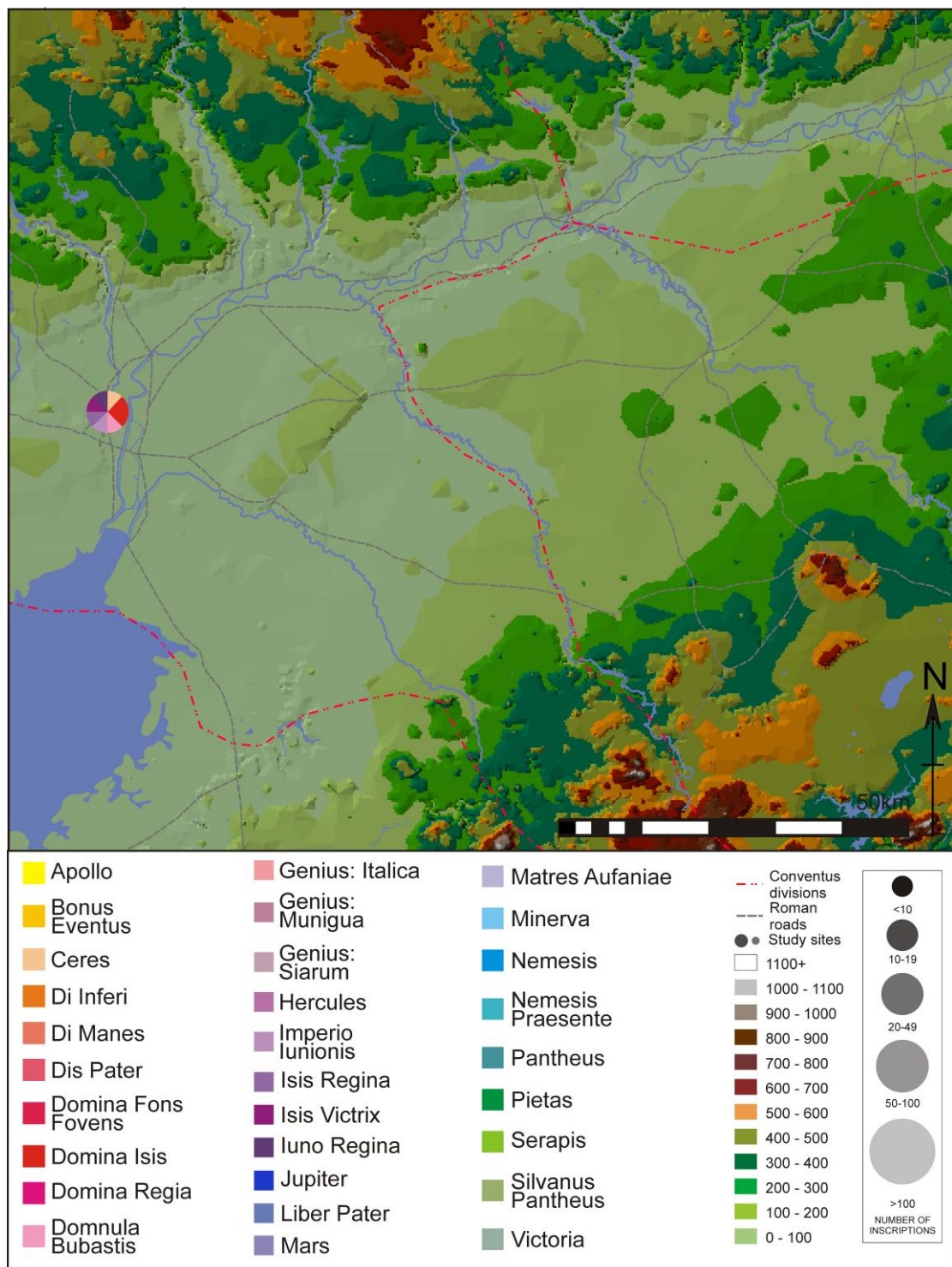
Fig. 102: Occurrence of dedications to specific deities excluding funerary references to the Di Manes during the 3rd Century AD
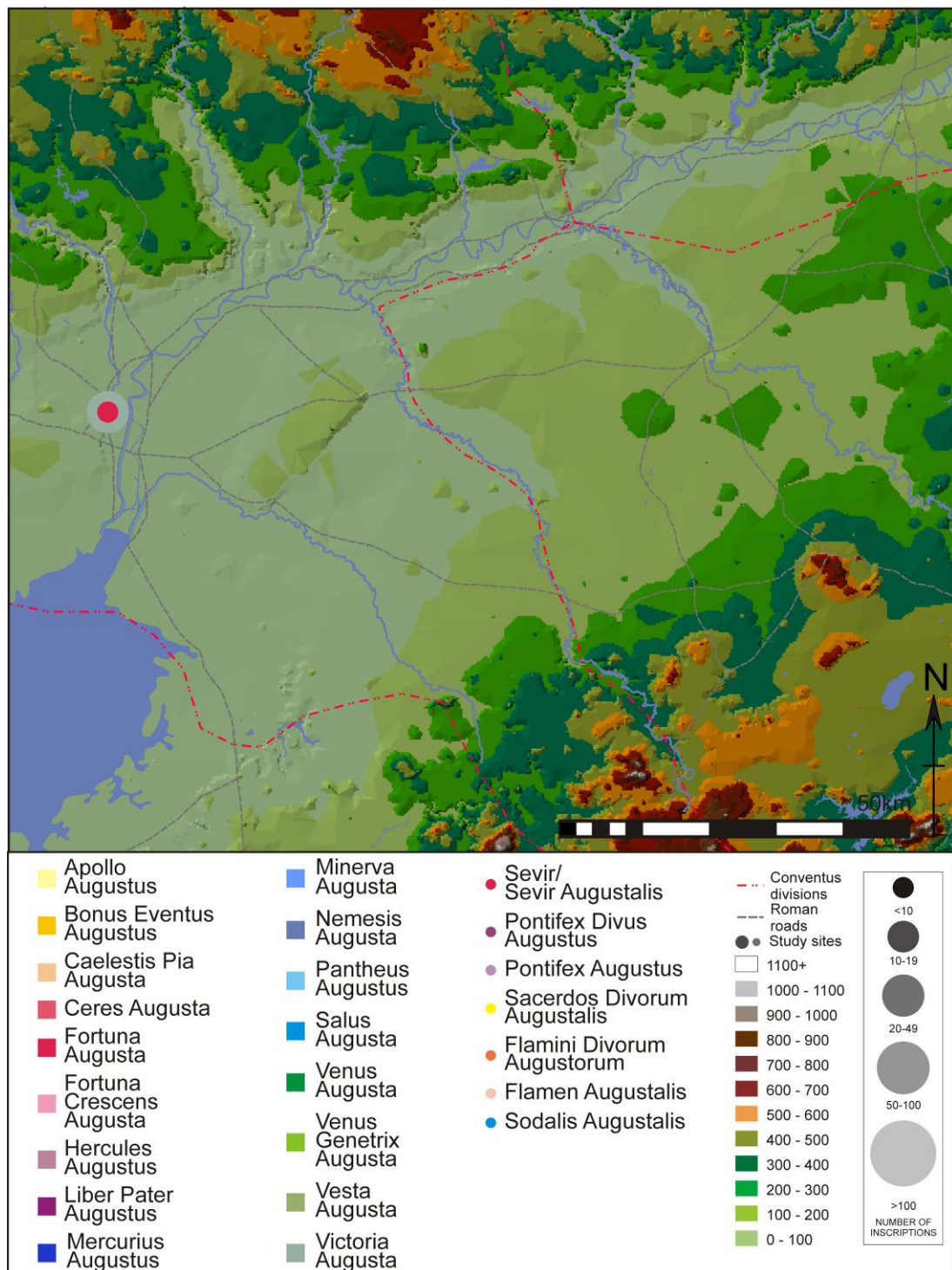
Fig. 103: Occurrence of evidence potentially relating to the existence of imperial cults at the study sites during the 3rd Century AD
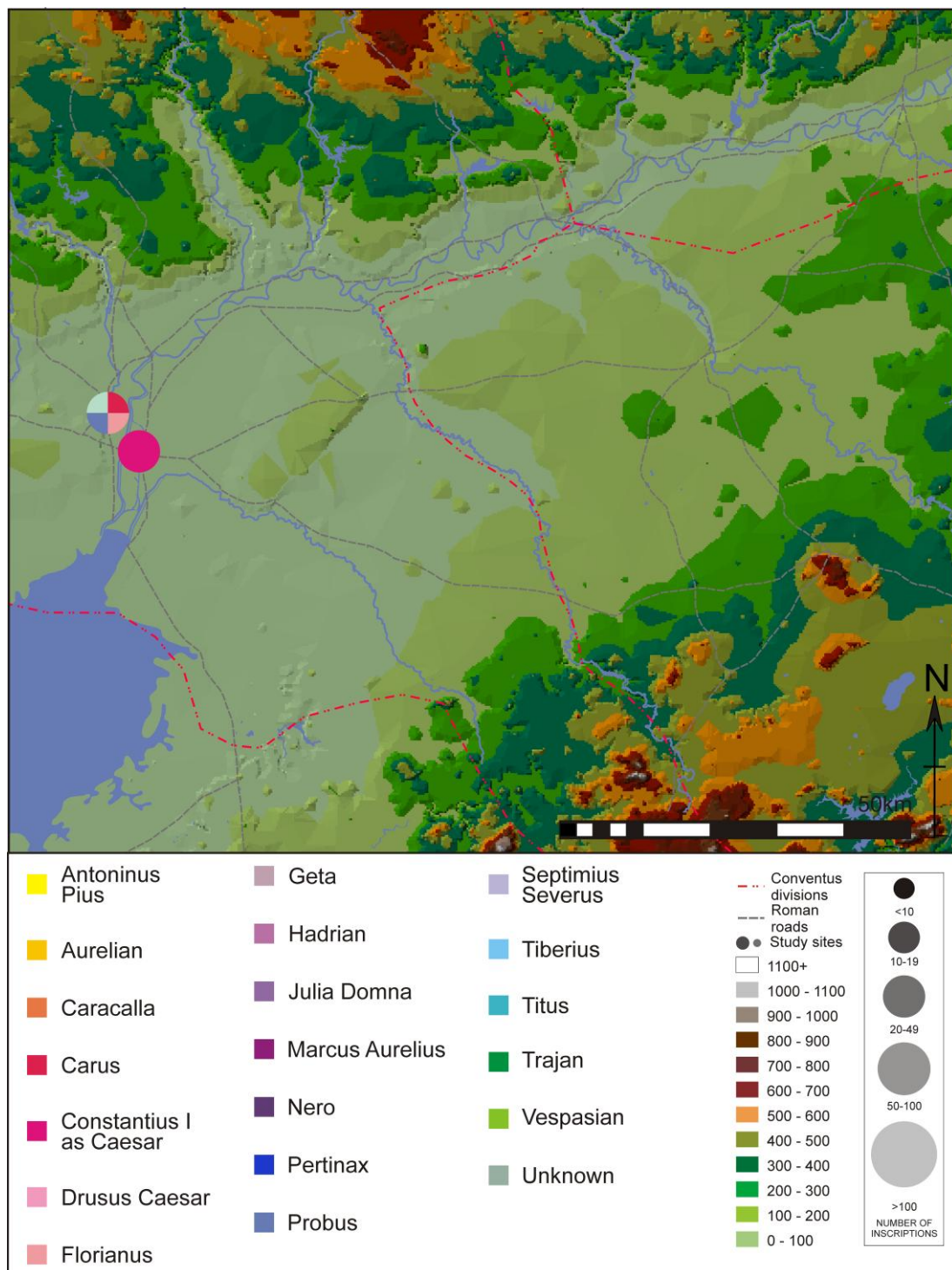
Fig. 104: Occurrences of imperial dedications at the study sites during the 3rd Century AD

7.8 EVIDENCE POTENTIALLY PERTAINING TO URBAN COMMUNITIES AND IDENTIFICATION WITH, IN PARTICULAR, INDIVIDUAL SETTLEMENTS[114]

To date the majority of studies dealing with the question of identity in Roman Spain fall into one of two categories. The first deals with the evidence for a widespread cultural identity, and assesses the presence or absence of evidence for 'Romanisation' and the validity of that term dependent upon its definition and usage within the context of a particular study area[115]. Secondly, many studies look at constructs of identity based upon gender, status or ethnicity. Elite identity has often been considered in conjunction with the study area of this thesis[116], but to date there has been no attempt to bridge the gap between these smaller scale identities and the larger more generalised identities conceptualised by Romanisation and the like.

Within the context of this research therefore I have attempted to take a different approach which considers both traditional categorisations and potential links between social groups which are often studied in isolation. In this way I hope to contribute to a continuing debate surrounding identity in Baetica without repeating many of the current issues.

This research is particularly interested in investigating the evidence for communal identities. The possible existence of a sense of community associated with specific individual settlements has not been considered in great depth before in a study of this type. The question of civic identity is complex since residence does not necessarily entail a conscious recognition of community of place or a community of communion. Inscriptions are one of the few sources of information to potentially provide a means to study the possibilities for community of communion.[117] A

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[114] Tabularised data: Appendix C.9 OCCURRENCES OF GROUP IDENTITIES (DATED AND UNDATED)

[115] See the discussion in chapter 3: 3.6 n167. *E.g. Blázquez 1974 & 1975; Caballos Rufino, 1986; Salinas de Frías, 1986; Curchin 1988; Blázquez, 1989; Caballos Rufino, 1990; Curchin, 1991; Keay, 1992; Blázquez & Alvar, 1996; Keay, 1998; José Hidalgo et al 1998; Castro López & Gutiérrez Soler 2001; Bendala Galán 2002; Curchin, 2004.*

[116] Caballos Rufino in particular has been a prominent discussant of the issues surrounding the Spanish elite and in particular the senatorial families e.g. *1989; 1990; 1998; 1999; 2001; 2001a; 2003; 2006. Rodríguez Neila & Navarro Santana, 1999; Navarro Caballero & Demougin, 2001;* Focus is normally on social promotion and upward social mobility, the identification of elite social groups within the study sites and their contribution to their resident communities; *Stylow* in *Caballero & Demougin 141-157; Gimeno Pascual 2003.*

[117] The issue becomes even more contentious when the potential relationship between civic identity and the pre-Roman history of occupation is considered. Much of the discussion surrounding the importance of cultural identity and its impact upon epigraphic conventions has hinged upon assessing

significant number of inscriptions from the Baetican corpus played a role in visibly presenting the urban identity by mentioning the name of a city either as a place of residence or an *origo*, in relation to a municipal cult, or in connection with official groups such as the *decuriones*. Expressions such as these may have played a role in visibly presenting an urban identity and in reinforcing the character of the town through expressions of civic pride. However it is also possible that less overt statements regarding individual identity and personal choice are also indicative of communal identity where they demonstrate a marked similarity between individuals.

Evidence relating to associations between individuals based on membership of specific groups or professions is limited to a few inscriptions from Hispalis and Italica. These inscriptions date from the Flavian period onwards into the 3rd Century AD. Despite the small number of examples these inscriptions testify both to the existence and in some cases persistence of groups within these two towns which not only have a definite communal identity but which demonstrate common purpose and joint activity.

The majority of these groups are constituted from individuals of the same profession, and these professions demonstrate a close relationship with the river. They comprise wine and oil merchants, boatmen, and fabric manufacturers all of which would have been dependent on the river for their livelihoods. The inscriptions with which they are connected include *tituli sacri* and *imperatorum* as well as some instances of *tituli sepulcrales* and *operum publicorum*. These groups were therefore involved in a range of urban activities and the inscriptions provide information relating to some of the relationships around which they were based. An early 2nd Century dedication by the [Vina]ri(i) (wine merchants) of Romula (Hispalis)[118] indicates clearly that it resulted from a consensus of decision and action by the use of the term

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the ethnic and cultural background of the urban population. Some researchers have argued that these populations were primarily composed of indigenous residents rather than immigrants from Italy with the exception of obvious cases such as the veteran colony established at Italica. Vespasian's letter to the *quattuorviri* and *decurione*) of the small town of Sabora (modern Cañete la Real south of the study area) (CIL II 1423) grants them permission to build a town upon the plain, suggesting that until this time the settlement had remained a hilltop site. It has been argued that this suggests that many communities were still residing in hillforts in this period. It has also been suggested that ties to individual settlements based upon tribal systems of loyalty were particularly important in Baetica and that these remained in force and continued from the pre-Roman into the Roman period: *Curchin 1991.*

[118] HIS002SC

consistentes.[119] The group selected an appropriate deity for the monument, Liber Pater, associated with wine as well as growth and fertility, thereby celebrating their profession and ensuring its continued prosperity. Other inscriptions were dedicated to various deities with the additional epithet of Augustus. Two inscriptions which may well be closely related[120] are dedications by the daughters of Valerius Valens to Minerva Augusta and Venus Genetrix Augusta.[121] Both inscriptions are set up in honour of the *Corpus Oleariorum* (Association of oil merchants) and presumably their father was a member of this group. The same group was itself responsible for a further monument in Hispalis. This was a *titulus honorarius* dedicated to Marcus Iulius Hermesianus who was, amongst other titles, the Diffusor of oil to the Annona[122]. Even more relevant he was the Curator of the Corpus Oleariorum in Romula Hispalis and the members of that merchant association arranged for the monument to be set up although the cost was eventually returned by his son.

Moving away from merchants and traders, the inscriptions also provide evidence for the existence of two groups of industry: the fabric manufacturers and stone cutters. The Corpus of *Centonari* set up two *tituli imperatorum* to Antoninus Pius in recognition of the grant of permission from the Senate for the existence of a collegia which, according to the *Lex Iulia* was a corpus consisting solely of men of Hispalis[123]. At Italica, Marcus Caelius Alexander and Lucretius Iulius Paulus gave marble plaques to the *Statio Serrariorum Augustorum* (the imperial stonecutters or sawcutters)[124].

Other groups associated with professions include the *harenarii* (arena attendants) who set up a funerary memorial in either the late 2nd or early 3rd Century to presumably, a colleague[125], and the deputies of the *Dispensator Arc(a)e Patrimonii* at Hispalis who commemorated the Dispensator himself Felix, with a funerary altar[126].

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[119] Alternative restorations of this inscription might be [scapha]ri(i), [navicula]ri(i), or [olea]ri(i), but the association with Liber Pater suggests *vinarii* is more likely.

[120] HIS143SC & HIS136SC. The former cannot be dated since its location is unknown, but the information that survives including that of the name of the father and details of design suggests that they were contemporary.

[121] HIS136SC & HIS143SC.

[122] HIS137TH

[123] HIS006TI & HIS007TI

[124] ITA051OP & ITA052OP

[125] ITA295TS

[126] HIS066TS

The largest number of different groups however, is associated with the various boatmen who transported the products of the merchants and manufacturers up and down the river. These take their name from their various vessels. Two *tituli honorarii*[127] and two *tituli imperatorum*[128] were set up as statue bases by the *Scapharii* of Hispalis. The honorific monuments were dedications to Sextus Iulius Possessor, the *Procurator Augustorum* responsible for the River Baetis and involved in much of the administration that ensured riverine trade progressed smoothly, and to a military officer Lucius Castricius Honoratus, the Primus Pilus, highest ranking centurion and commander of the first cohort. The imperial dedications honoured Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. The other group of boatmen in Hispalis responsible for setting up inscriptions were the *lyntrari* who are recorded as setting up an inscription to their patron Caius Aelius Avitus[129]. Unfortunately this inscription is undated, but it provides interesting evidence for a community which extended beyond that of an individual settlement since it indicates that the *lyntrari* of Canania, Oducia and Naeva were all responsible for the erection of the honorific monument.

One interesting anomalous group is that of the *equites Romani* who set up an honorific inscription presumably to one of their members using the funds available from subscription collections[130]. This group is significantly different from the others identified so far and is based around social status rather than a specific profession.

A final group observed has been called the funeral *collegium*, the means by which members of society who were not wealthy enough could secure themselves a funerary monument by combining their resources with others. Such societies are never explicitly recorded and likely did not exist in their own right but were attached to other groups such as religious or professional associations. One example from Italica indicates that the monument to Iulianus was paid for jointly by his *collegium* and by his wife[131]. In another the monument to Pontius Caecilius Donatus[132] is referred to as having been set up by his *'frates pientissimi'* and it has been suggested

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[127] HIS023TH & HIS026TH.
[128] HIS008TI & HIS009TI.
[129] HIS032TH
[130] CAR003TH
[131] ITA115TS
[132] ITA253TS

by Caballos Rufino that rather than referring to his natural brothers, this indicates a relationship with a guild, association or corporation of some kind[133].

Inscriptions indicating specific groups within the study sites are not widely preserved but those that are date to periods of prosperity within Italica and Hispalis when it can be assumed that the traders and merchants who form the largest component were flourishing and in a position to put back some of their prosperity into the town. These groups have very clear associations with individual towns and represent small but not necessarily unimportant communities active within individual urban economies.

Some of the largest and most common groups evident in the epigraphic record of the study region are those with which this thesis is primarily concerned - the urban communities identified with city of residence. These groups include incidences of the local *ordo* functioning on behalf of the wider community together with individuals recording their association with a particular place and their fellow residents. Membership of these communities is expressed in a variety of different ways such as the incorporation of an affinity with city of birth into the text of an inscription. This is evidence of the importance of these urban identities throughout life, as individuals sought to retain links with more than one locality.

Several inscriptions record the residents of a particular city as the dedicators of a monument or name the city itself as a personified entity in the role of dedicator. It can be assumed that in these cases local officials were acting on behalf of the community as whole. However they illustrate the existence of a collective identity with which members of individual urban populations could associate themselves. These collective entities are not restricted to the community as a whole but are also seen to reflect specific groups such as the plebs. In several inscriptions the identity of the town is repeatedly named, often in a variety of incarnations including the superlative *splendidissimus*. It is interesting to compare the distribution of occurrences of the urban name with occurrences of dedications to the Genius (protective deity) of the town. These appear at Italica,[134] Munigua[135] and Siarum,[136]

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[133]*Caballos Rufino, 1994.*
[134] ITA005SC & ITA006SC.
[135] MUN007SC & MUN008SC.
[136] SIA002SC.

all sites where a range of different urban groups have been identified. The evidence from Munigua is particularly worth noting due to the very high instance of indications of the role of the *ordo* as well as the municipium and its residents in the erection of the large number of honorific monuments found at the site.

Inscriptions such as this can only have helped to reinforce the character of the town and visibly present an urban identity.
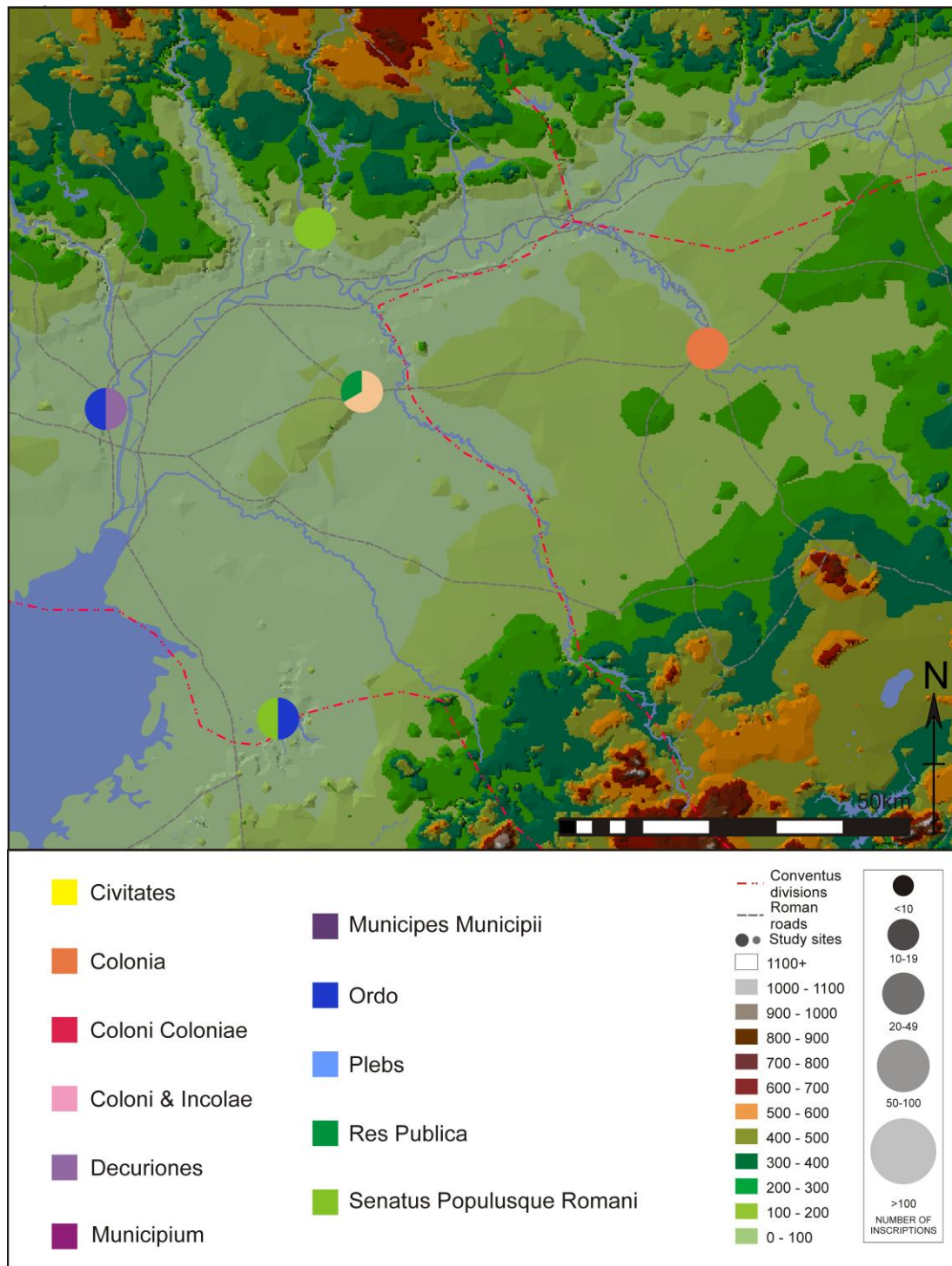
Fig. 105: Occurrences of Urban Groups within the inscribed monuments of the study sites during the Augustan and Early Imperial period
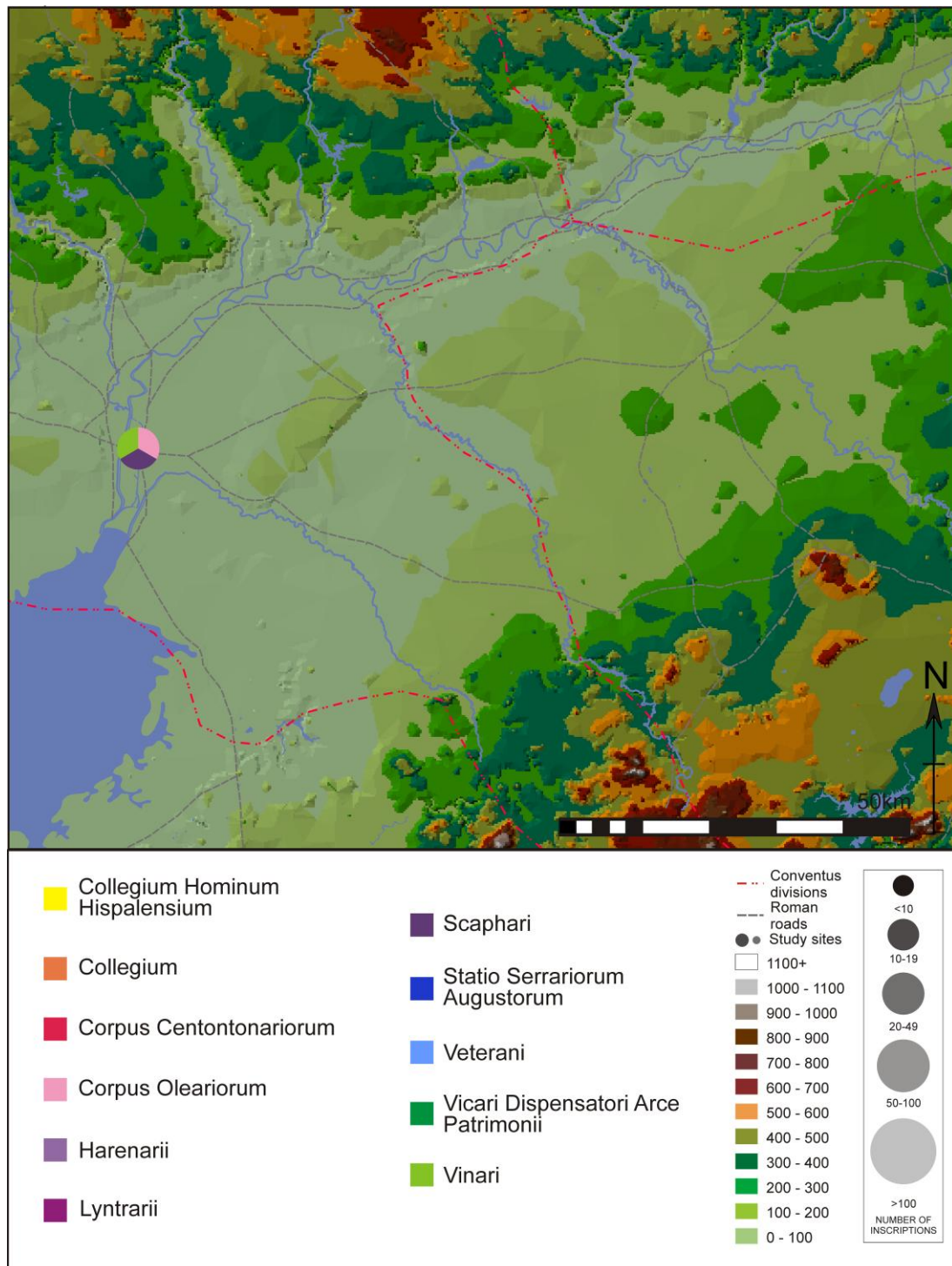
Fig. 106: Occurrence of references to professional associations and guilds within the inscriptions from the study sites during the Flavian and post Flavian period
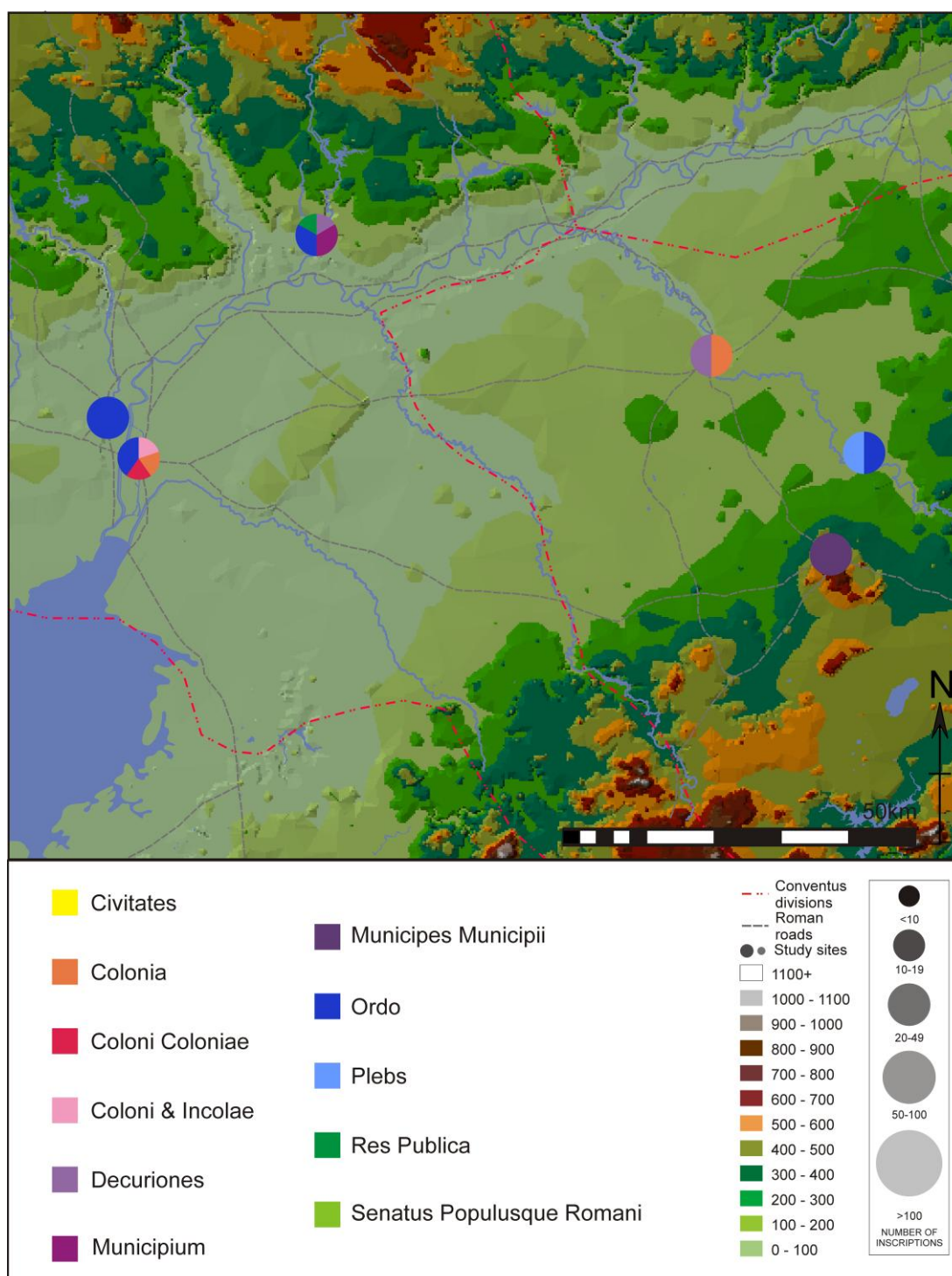
Fig. 107: Occurrences of Urban Groups within the inscribed monuments of the study sites during the Flavian and post Flavian period
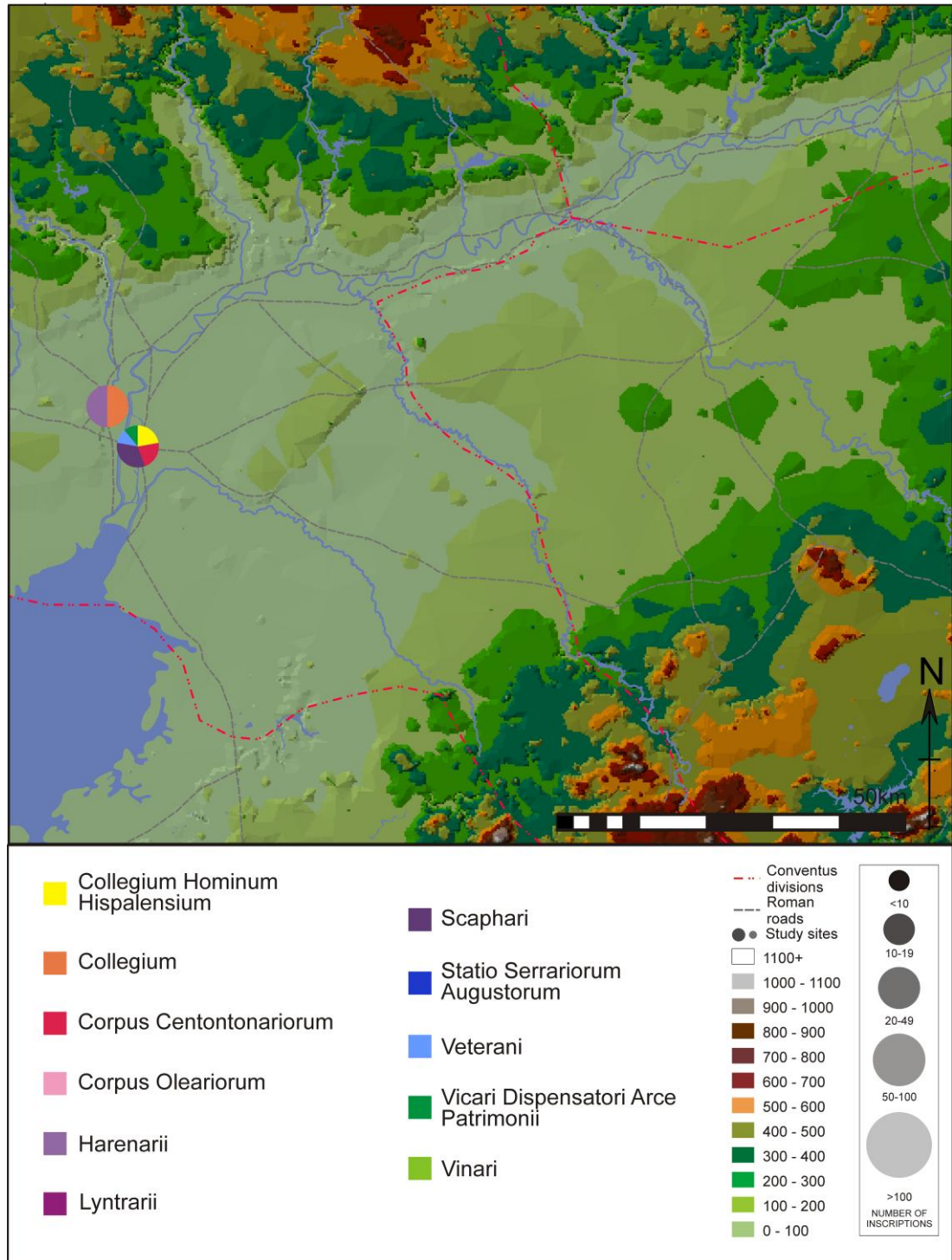
Fig. 108: Occurrence of references to professional associations and guilds within the inscriptions from the study sites during the 2nd and early 3rd Century AD
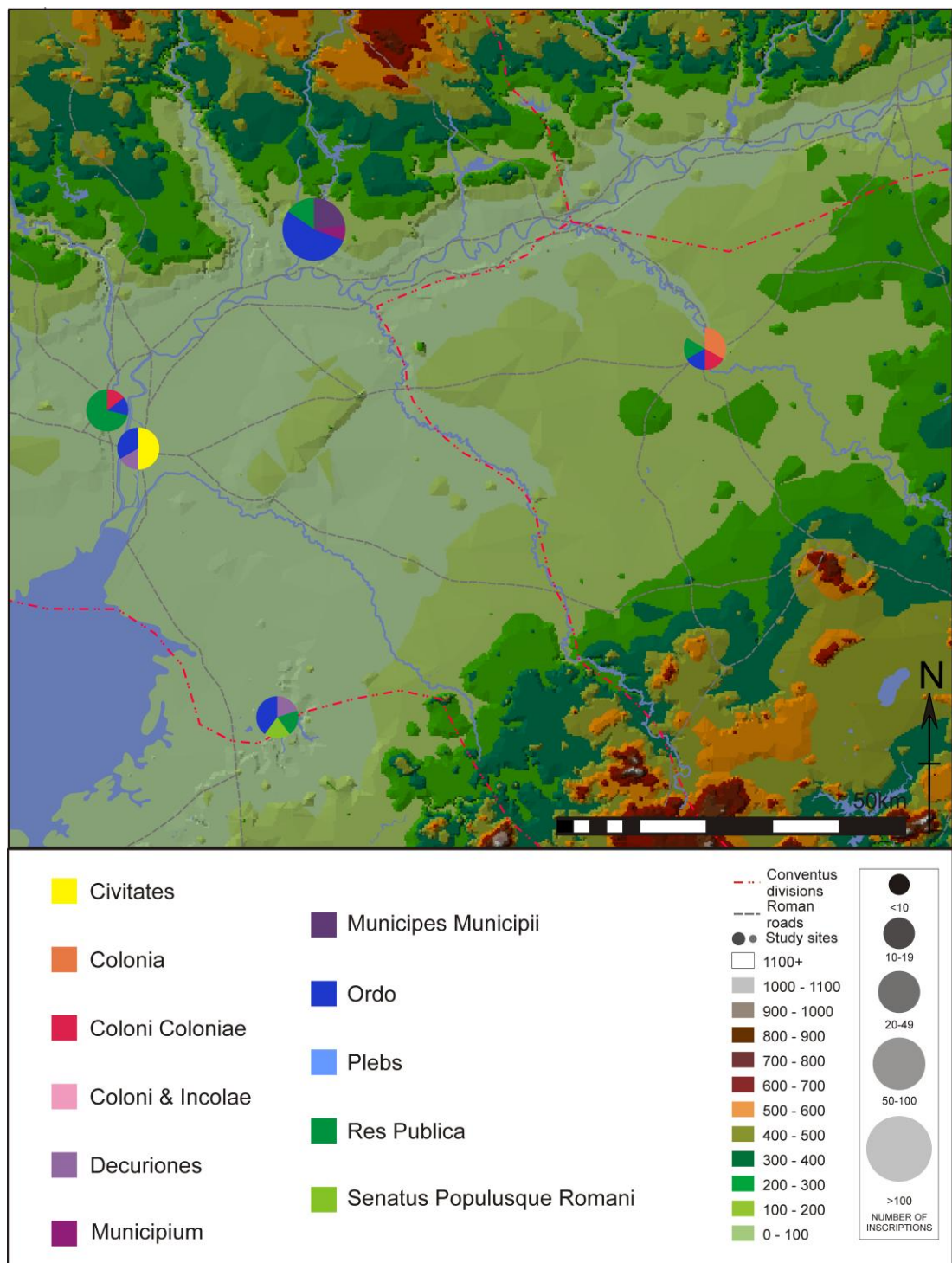
Fig. 109: Occurrences of Urban Groups within the inscribed monuments of the study sites during the 2nd and early 3rd Century AD
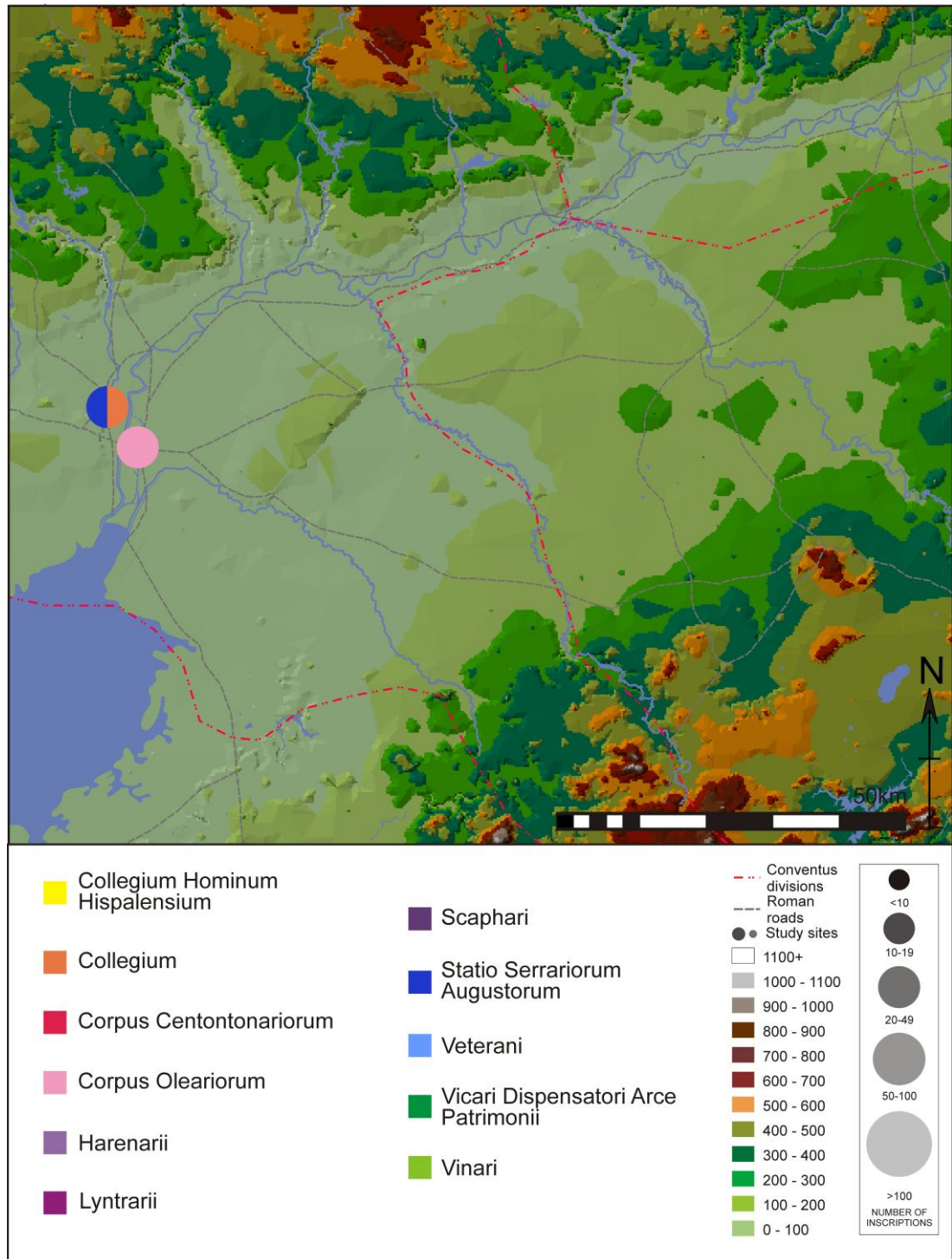
Fig. 110: Occurrence of references to professional associations and guilds within the inscriptions from the study sites during the 3rd Century AD
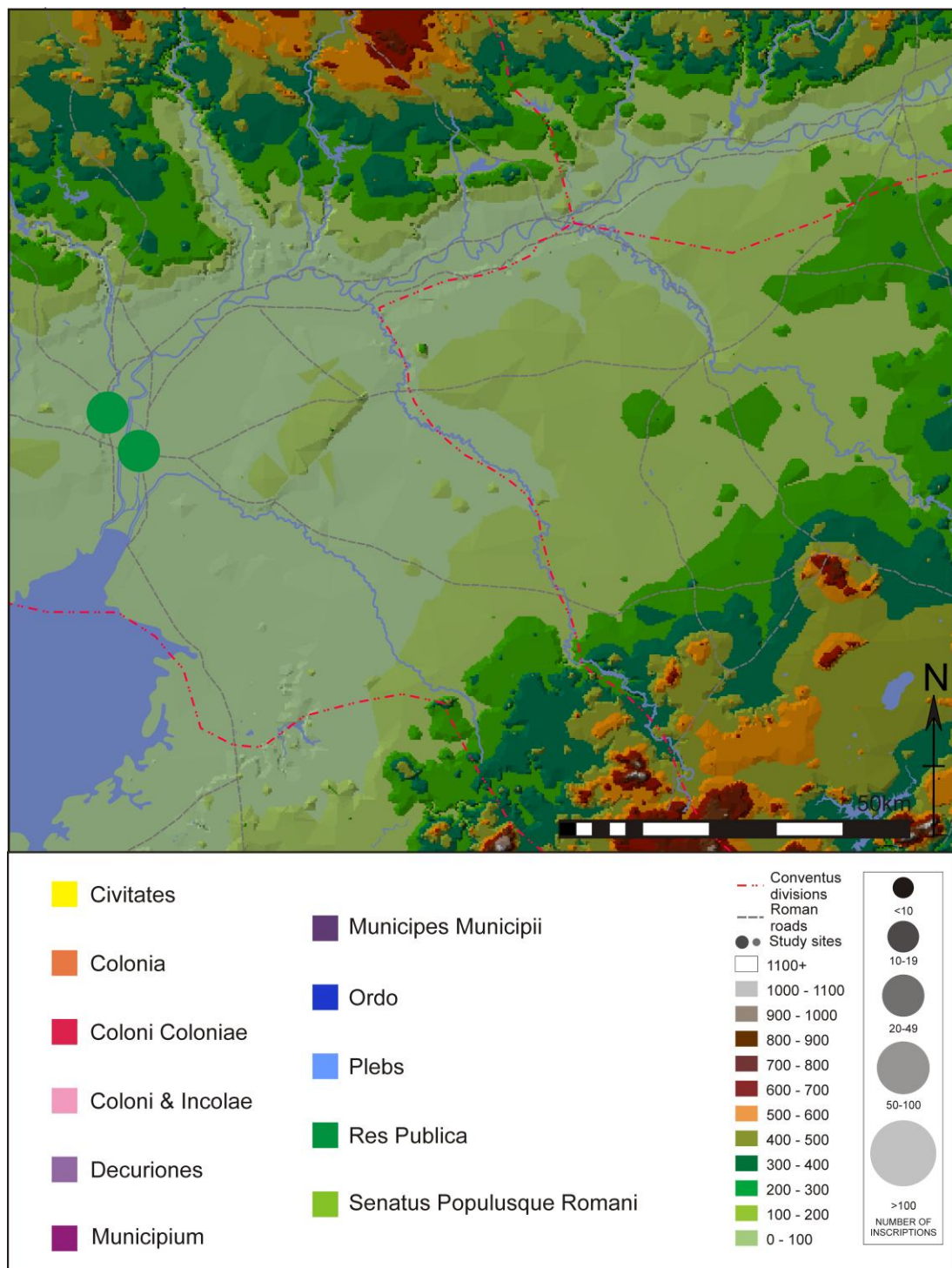
Fig. 111: Occurrences of Urban Groups within the inscribed monuments of the study sites during the 3rd Century AD

7.9   CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has identified a series of communities and relationships between settlements by considering patterns in the use and design of inscriptions. Groups of individuals have been characterised by associated shared epigraphic characteristics. This study has utilised the evidence for these individual identities to reconstruct relationships between them and the communities from which they originate, thereby reconstructing a social context within which we can better understand the use of these monuments within the towns of the study area. The benefit of this approach is that it holds possibilities for a better understanding of why specific groups might make individual choices about the nature of their epigraphic monuments such as inscribing to particular deities or utilising certain formulae.

This analysis has demonstrated that there are often distinct differences in the ways that various social groups utilised inscriptions within the study area. It has shown that a range of towns stood out in different periods against the generalised background. The precise nature of the history of urban and social development at each of the sites was a major factor in influencing the development of its epigraphic culture. Towns such as Italica stand out largely due to the superior preservation of material and wider range of groups responsible for setting up inscriptions. Other sites such as Hispalis and Munigua are recognisable for the greater proportion of non-funerary monuments which they preserve which allows patterns in other types of monuments to be observed more clearly. It is clear that the epigraphic character of Munigua is particularly unusual and probably derives from the origin of its population facilitated by its wealth and prosperity. At Astigi it is noticeable that unusual patterns appear in the distribution of inscribed material usually comprising the continuance in selection of particular types of monument where other sites have abandoned them at similar periods. At Celti the character of the designs engraved on funerary monuments provides this settlement with a very distinctive epigraphic assemblage. Therefore the use of inscribed monuments could function extensively as a means for asserting the individuality of certain towns amongst those studied here.

The importance of the geographical context and the landscape of the study area on the hierarchies between towns and the locations of individual settlements has been demonstrated throughout the research presented here. The importance of

situation, visibility and control of resources was I believe a major factor in developing connections between towns, and those connections can be seen through the inscribed material in, for example, the use of the same workshops, the physical movement of people, the extent of the administration, and the use of the same resources such as stone.

Communities of place have been identified with the urban populations of individual settlements as demonstrated by the shared use of certain epigraphic characteristics. Even though this may be to some extent due to the use of the same epigraphic workshops these communities of place are still valid as they indicate a relationship based on location. Communities of place have been shown to extend beyond individual settlements where patterns in the data have demonstrated a recognisable regional character associated with the *conventus*, the province or looser geographical regions such as defined by proximity to the river. At various points in the distribution patterns discussed above Celti sometimes appears to be anomalous in patterns distinguishing between the east and west of the study region interpreted as regional differences between Hispalensis and Astigitanus. This variation relates to its location on the river Baetis and it is this aspect of its location which in some cases dictates its character further than its eastern location. Regional communities of place are therefore not rigid and indicate that an individual's identity within those communities was multi-layered.

Communities of interest have been identified by their specific involvement in the erection of inscriptions such as the professional associations. These in particular are elective groups where membership is sought by individuals and results in an active desire to express that facet of their identity. Other elective communities of interest identified include magisterial groups such as the *ordo*, those connected by social status such as the *equites Romani* at Carmona[137], and those collaborating in the production of commemorative or honorific monuments whether related by blood, ties of patronage or simply by their relationship to the individual commemorated. Other communities of interest have been identified in the distributions of shared religious belief and worship of individual deities. One of the most important communities of interest in the study area was the native social elite who entered the Roman senate, all of whom are connected by their wish to succeed and desire for self

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[137] CAR003TH.

promotion. Social competition therefore can be seen as an instigator of communities of interest.

The most difficult type of community to identify is that of communion. The members of these communities experienced membership as a common identity and were cognisant of their connection with other members of the same group. The identification of a 'Roman' identity might fall into this category were it possible to ascertain for certain if such an ideological identity really existed amongst the population. It might be argued that adherence to the imperial cult in particular worship of the emperor was indicative of acceptance of a belief and identity system beyond the adoption of material artefacts or styles of architecture. A potentially more reliable source of evidence is the existence of senators of Spanish origin actively participating in the political and administrative structure of the province and of individual cities. Whilst this element of their identities should not be seen to negate other, perhaps Spanish identities, it is clear that these individuals must have experienced their membership as a shared identity. Communities of communion are particularly closely associated with identity since they entail awareness and appreciation of group membership on a level that is not necessarily felt by communities of place and interest. They exist alongside communities of place and interest but incorporate an element of perceived belonging which is very important to the research carried out here.

None of the communities identified are mutually exclusive. Even though social status had clearly defined boundaries, social mobility was facilitated by the system so that those boundaries could be crossed and actively were so by those pursuing political careers. In many cases however the boundaries would not have been distinct and identities would have incorporated elements of status, origin, residence and belief which may have varied in importance between individuals and in different circumstances. The complexities of these identities have been fundamental to our understanding of the nature of social networks within the study area.

The relationships identified here are only a small subset of those present throughout the communities of the study sites and the study area as a whole. Those identified have been prioritised as a result of their association with the elements selected for detailed study and cannot be fully characterised by this study as they are

based upon a sample of the available evidence from the study region which is itself a sample of the data from the province as a whole. These limitations do not comprise the data or the hypotheses presented here. This thesis was designed in part as an exploration of the possibilities for a new methodology for the study of inscriptions within their archaeological and social context and did not set out to produce a definitive characterisation of the social communities in Baetica based on an analysis of their inscriptions. The research has demonstrated the applicability of the methodology to the study material and presents a starting point for further study.

8: URBAN CONNECTIVITY

The research presented here set out to devise a new strategy for looking at Latin inscriptions within the context of the Roman province of Baetica, and specifically the area surrounding the lower and western section of the river Guadalquivir valley. Epigraphy as a discipline has suffered from a certain amount of stagnation, and the intention was to take advantage of the fist of the newly revised publications of the material, and bring the study of this material up to date in terms of theory, methodology and technology. It was hoped that this would demonstrate the continued value and relevance of including inscriptions in archaeological investigations of social change, but in a way which allows more subtle patterns within the use of these monuments to be highlighted against the more generalised pictures of density and distribution of the material.

8.1   ASSESSMENT OF PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE DATA AND HOW LIMITATIONS IN THE ANALYSIS WERE HANDLED

The research encountered several problems, but the careful planning of the methodology and the extensive research into the theory surrounding the relationship between material culture and society allowed these to be overcome without necessitating the abandonment of any data.

One of the most complex problems associated with this study was that of the dating of the monuments and correlating them with the information for the phases of occupation at the sites. The level of knowledge and detail regarding this information varied between settlements according to their location with respect to modern towns, and the amount of investigation to which they have been subjected. This therefore required a certain amount of subjectivity and at times alteration of phases and assignation of inscriptions into different periods when initial trials indicated that they did not best fit the evidence available.

There is likely to be a certain amount of inconsistency between the data from the volumes of CILA and CIL II^2 in the establishment of the background in chapter 5, followed by CIL II^2 alone for the detailed discussions. The former volumes are known to include frequent mistakes and obviously do not include more recently

discovered material. Given the time constraints of this study and the state of research regarding the forthcoming volume of CIL II^2 on Hispalensis, it was simply not possible to incorporate a greater amount of the new information. The selection of CILA however provides at least a recognisable single standard from which to assess the information at this stage, and a relatively quick way to incorporate a more general level of information into the database.

Whilst it might be argued that other sites should have been selected in some cases, such as for example Urso in preference for Cerro del Pascualejo, it should be remembered that this research was designed to contribute to a wider project with aims extending beyond the objectives of this one aspect. The sites selected were dictated by the requirements of the project as a whole, and due to problems associated with gaining permission to carry out fieldwork in some areas had to be re-evaluated in the early stages in order to find suitable alternatives. The inclusion of all the study sites is therefore valid within this context.

8.2 THE VALIDITY OF THE METHODOLOGY

The research benefitted greatly from the application of an archaeological methodology which at all stages enabled the inscriptions to be viewed as a combination of different sources of information. This meant that when one aspect proved less useful or more difficult to interpret due to loss of information, the interpretation of other elements was able to contribute to the investigation in a different way.

The detailed analysis of inscriptions, particularly those in a very fragmented state, requires a great deal of specialist knowledge and many hours of practical experience with the monuments. This study could not have been completed without the excellent work carried out by Armin Stylow and his team. One of the values in this research is its function as a bridge between mutually dependent disciplines which can benefit greatly from the experience and specialist knowledge of the other. An appreciation of the value of archaeological information was integral to the level of detail incorporated wherever possible to the entries in the revised volumes of CIL II, and in turn the potential of that information to add to a study of social networks in Baetica has been realised here.

The methodology has demonstrated that small scale quantitative analysis can be carried out on assemblages of inscriptions, provided that it is preceded by thorough research of the contextual background. In addition, the methodology demonstrated strongly that this type of research can be utilised to great effect as part of an integrated strategy of investigation along with a series of other methods and sources of material.

In general the results from spatial analyses of the material from individual settlements provided sound confirmation for theories based on analysis of other elements rather than radical new interpretations of their own. This does not in any way reduce the value of having carried out these analyses, and results from the poor preservation of information rather than the methodology. The instances where they have proved to be most enlightening are associated with those sites which have benefitted from sustained programmes of investigation, even if on a rescue basis. It is essential that the discipline persists in continuing to adopt this approach, so that not only will any information that comes to light assist in rebuilding spatial contexts and patterns further, but so that it will also encourage detailed recording of archaeological contexts when new inscriptions are discovered. In this way approaches to epigraphic material can only continue to develop, modernise and keep pace with the theory and technology in other areas of social science which can be of immeasurable value to the discipline.

The results of the analyses identifying correlations between the use of various elements, and the wider spatial analyses looking for connections between individual settlements worked exceptionally well despite the various limitations within the data. Both patterns and anomalies were discerned which could be related to specific historical and occupational developments due to the chronological background upon which the study was based. The study therefore has demonstrated the validity in the application of techniques of statistical and spatial analysis to epigraphic assemblages, provided that they are devised carefully and ask questions that the material is capable of providing answers to.

The methodology was therefore successful in terms of its relationship with the aims of the wider project, to identify potential social networks through an analysis of patterns in material culture. The particular value of the inscriptions in this respect

was their ability, as media for social expression and self-representation, to identify communities around which these networks may have been based.

The research has both contributed to and benefitted from being part of the wider Urban Connectivity project. Both studies received information outside the scope of their own analysis, and in turn contributed to a greater depth of re-contextualisation which enabled interpretations of specific patterns to be offered in areas which otherwise might have remained inconclusive.

8.3   CONTRIBUTION TO EPIGRAPHY AS A DISCIPLINE AND THE STUDY OF BAETICAN INSCRIPTIONS

The contributions made by this research will be discussed alongside those of the wider project[138] where relevant to the objectives of this thesis.[139] These interim interpretations provide an alternative data source with which to compare the conclusions drawn from the analysis carried out here and further contextualise the discussion of the social relationships and networks identified.

8.3.1 *Temporal distribution and urban history*

The research has clearly demonstrated that the generalised patterns for the temporal distribution of inscriptions do not hold true for individual sites and are suggestive of a more widespread motivation for the erection of inscriptions than is in fact the case. The in depth analysis of individual settlements demonstrated the close link between the relative frequencies of inscriptions and the specific details of urban history and development. Periods associated with intense building programmes and monumentalisation of individual settlements are those to which larger quantities of inscriptions have been dated. The wider project has compared the assemblage from Celti to that from a range of other sites in the region, of which Hispalis is the only settlement to demonstrate a similarly low proportion of preserved material prior to the 1st Century AD[140]. The sudden rise in numbers of preserved inscriptions in the later 1st Century coincides with the first major period of urban expansion. Urban

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[138] Henceforth, in order to avoid confusion, the wider AHRC funded Urban Connectivity Project will be referred to exclusively as 'the project'.
[139] *Keay 2006* presented at the 12th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy; *Keay & Earl 2006; Keay & Earl 2007.*
[140] *Keay 2006, 765.*

history and inscriptions are therefore closely related although in a less direct way than might be expected. Inscriptions are usually viewed as an important and indicative element of urbanisation but the research conducted here links inscriptions and urbanisation through the social factors that largely instigated the erection of inscriptions and arose from the conditions both responsible for and created by urbanisation. The importance of the ethnic and cultural makeup of the local population and in particular the elite has been discussed frequently throughout this thesis. The results have demonstrated that in the earlier periods inscriptions should be attributed to immigrant settlers where the monuments reflect the influx of populations, cultural attributes, ideologies and skills to the region. In the later periods it is clear that native members of the elite classes were largely responsible which alters the way in which these monuments should be interpreted and the significance which can be attributed to their use within Baetica. Changes in the use of inscriptions therefore are concurrent with alterations in the nature and origin of other forms of social practice and material culture and do not occur as a direct result of urbanisation. Neither do they conform to alterations in legal status or other political developments such as changes in the administrative structure, but follow a trajectory determined by the characteristics of the population at each individual settlement.[141] There is a firm assertion by the wider project that legal status is only capable of describing constitutional relationships between towns and in fact often excludes those of unknown name from discussion, which further argues in parallel with this thesis for the employment of new techniques of analysis in order to improve our understanding of the connectedness of the study area[142].

Analysis of the urban attributes displayed at each site does not equate the presence of these attributes with legal status, demonstrating that urban attributes may be present in sites without clarified legal status, whereas others with privileged legal status demonstrate an absence of such features[143]. This supports the arguments discussed in chapter 7 for the lack of correlation between urban status and epigraphic assemblages.

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[141] The wider project concurs with these findings and indicates that urban development was a far more important factor in the development of the use of epigraphy at Hispalis if not also at other sites than was ascription of legal status.
[142] *Keay & Earl 2006, 275-276.*
[143] *Keay & Earl 2007, 310-311.*

8.3.2 *The geographical landscape of Baetica and its settlement organisation*

The importance of the natural landscape as a factor in these developments has been emphasised, not simply in terms of the availability of localised resources, but as a response to the ability of the landscape to create and support hierarchies between settlements that are particularly subtle and complex. Discussion has tended to focus upon the river Guadalquivir and the Genil as the main natural features around which linear networks might have been derived, but this study has responded to the results of the wider project in asserting that these form only one aspect of the connections between towns.

The results of the wider project demonstrate that in the early period of study the dominant sites were located within the *campiña* rather than along the Baetis as is normally assumed due to the assumption that the river formed the economic focus of the region.[144] This suggests that in fact the rich agricultural soils of the *campiña* were more important and perhaps indicate that a more localised system of distribution of resources was prevalent. The increased use of the river under the Empire coincided with the requirements of a wider distribution network and one which involved significant exports of the province's cash crop – olive oil[145]. These patterns are supported by the distribution of material amongst the study sites where the earliest inscriptions tend to occur in the central and southern area of the study area, located at greater distances from the main rivers with the exception of Italica, Hispalis and Orippo, and only subsequently develop a closer association with sites along the Baetis. It is interesting to note however the reverse pattern demonstrated by the examples of euergetism in which the earliest inscriptions are associated with the major centres along the Baetis and in the Sierra Morena in the 1st Century AD such as Italica, and that subsequently during the 2nd and 3rd Centuries they develop away from this core area[146].

The wider project also analysed the relative densities of urban settlements in the vicinity of both Carmo and Urso, finding that this was higher around Urso. In conjunction with the variation in material culture at each site this was deemed to be significant[147]. The study also indentified a tendency for larger imperial towns to

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[144] *Keay & Earl 2007, 310-311.*
[145] *Keay & Earl 2007.*
[146] *Keay & Earl 2006, 280-281.*
[147] *Keay & Earl 2007, 310-311.*

cluster in the *campiña* away from the Baetis and the Singilis. The present study is not so well equipped given the selection of its case studies to address this particular issue. However the results do indicate at various stages the importance of Siarum as well as Carmo, both located away from the two main rivers. As a product of the case studies selected the distributions of material do demonstrate a greater clustering of sites with small samples of epigraphic assemblages in the eastern section of the study area, nearest to Urso. The smaller sites were included by the methodology as a way of dealing with the selection of sites with very small and largely residual assemblages. It may be that this is a feature of the sites in this area, but it must be stressed that the results from the thesis are not sufficient to either argue for or against this hypothesis.

An area that this research has highlighted for further study surrounds the density of sites of unknown name in the southern half of the *campiña*. Many of these sites fall under the category of urban as investigated within the remit of the wider project, but appear to have preserved no epigraphic record. The inscriptions from these sites may be recorded as *tituli agri* and attributed to the larger, more typically urban settlements when they have not been located in secure primary contexts such as to indicate the existence of a settlement with its own epigraphic tradition however minor. This problem is compounded by the often largely residual nature of the epigraphic material found away from the main urban centres.

The next analysis of the wider project concentrated on visibility and the effect of the geographical landscape of the Sevillan *campiña*, particularly south of the area between the Alcores to Astigi, upon this characteristic of the sites in question. In this region most sites were highly visible and had good visibility of their neighbouring sites. Sites in the foothills of the rising elevation of the Sierra Morena and Sierra de Grazalema foothills were well hidden but had good visibility themselves. The lowest visibility was exhibited by sites between the Sierra Morena foothills and the second terrace on the south side of the Guadalquivir. The greatest visibility was associated with prominent sites in the landscape such as Carmo and Urso as well as a few others located on the periphery of the study area[148]. The sites identified by the study of urban hierarchies as privileged, namely Carmo, Urso,

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[148] *Keay & Earl 2007,317-318*

Astigi and Hispalis, demonstrate opposite poles as far as visibility is concerned[149]. In the *campiña*, towns which were located close to major centres tend to be less visible within the landscape than those located at a distance. This is interpreted as an indication of the importance of the *campiña* as a resource and the potential for dispute between the major centres as regards its control and exploitation. The reduced visibility of the sites along the Baetis and Singilis is associated with less intensive settlement in the Iberian period and it is suggested that this indicates less centralised control[150].

The division into the *conventus* districts demonstrates an awareness and understanding of geographical realities[151]. This knowledge allowed the administration to maintain existing networks whilst restructuring them according to their own requirements. In this way the existing hierarchies were exploited for administrative and ideological advantage and adapted where necessary[152]. As far as this research is concerned, this makes sense of some of the broad scale patterns seen amongst the epigraphic assemblage of the study region as a whole. These sometimes indicate that a series of different characteristics can usually be associated with and are nominally seen to follow the divisions of the *conventus* boundaries. This makes little sense unless the *conventus* divisions can be seen to respond to pre-existing networks determined by the local geography and topography. The factors governing these connections would also have affected the distribution and employment of various epigraphic characteristics as a result of differential traditions, contact and movement between sites in these regions.

8.3.3 *Connectivity and networks*

The analysis of 'closeness' and 'betweenness' of urban sites along the Baetis and Singilis in conjunction with the Via Augusta[153] demonstrated that the conjunction of these two networks brought the sites in the region into a multimodal network which emphasised both the closeness and betweenness of Hispalis and

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[149] *Keay & Earl 2007,317-318.*
[150] *Keay & Earl 2007,317-318.*
[151] *Keay & Earl 2007,321ff.*
[152] *Keay & Earl 2007,321ff.*
[153] This is a measurement of topological distance and probability that a town will be encountered by passing traffic taking the shortest route between two other settlements within the network.

Astigi at either extent[154]. Their significance appears to derive from their position as intersecting nodes, providing access to both riverine and land based communication routes, thereby ensuring that they formed key locations within the regional network. The sites of Carmo, Hispalis, Italica, Ostippo and Astigi with high levels of centrality and physical connectivity as intersecting nodes in the communication networks score highly in this respect in comparison with sites such as Gandul or Siarum and were the most likely of all the sites with epigraphic assemblages in the study area to have played key regional roles[155]. Each of these sites stands out in the analysis presented in chapter 7 as a result of anomalous patterns in the distribution of various epigraphic elements. In particular the interfaces between networks at Hispalis and Astigi resulted in the locations of these settlements as major catalysts of change[156]. Whilst Hispalis had previously held significant status as a trading centre, Astigi was barely known and hence its development can be seen to have responded to a new set of circumstances. The change therefore in the use of existing networks means unsurprising that riverine towns came to be prominent over those in the *campiña* with larger numbers of urban attributes and indicators of status. The wider project argues that Carmo was neutralised by the route of the Via Augusta between the major centres of power, and that Urso was marginalised by Astigi. The study cannot comment on the epigraphic repercussions at Urso, but it does demonstrate that a varied use of epigraphy remained a feature of the assemblages from Carmo which may have resulted from a perceived need to reinforce expressions of individual, community and even urban identity in the face of its new situation. This may account for the pattern amongst the euergetistic inscriptions discussed above where the distribution favours sites along the river in the 1st Century AD, subsequently moving away from these node settlements in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries AD.

The inscriptions reflect the interconnectedness of the study region and of Baetican society, demonstrating social relationships on several levels from the family to that of the town itself and extending to groups between towns. The results of the wider project are suggestive of a network based upon local and regional relationships with the potential for an increased number of and stronger links

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[154] *Keay & Earl 2007, 315-317.*
[155] *Keay & Earl 2006, 285.*
[156] *Keay & Earl 2007, 321ff.*

between centres located in the *campiña* than along the main rivers. The epigraphic assemblages however seem to be associated in larger densities with the riverine sites due to their location at junctions of major roads and the river. The epigraphic evidence suggests a series of predominantly localised connections; therefore whilst the Baetis, Singilis and the Via Augusta promoted larger scale movement and connections, the everyday realities revolved around small scale networks at local or at most regional level as far as the relationships evidenced by inscriptions are concerned. This is supported by an analysis of inscriptions recording the intervention of the *Ordo munici*palis, *ordo equester* and *ordo senatorialis* which are dominated by the *ordo municipalis*, indicative of localised and small scale networks of euergetism[157].

8.3.4 *The importance of social interaction and competition*

The results have demonstrated that areas with increased social interaction as a result of, for example, the intersection of routes of communication or the integration of immigrant and native communities also saw increased motivation for inscribed monuments. Woolf has demonstrated the relationship between social interaction, competition and social mobility[158] and argued that the interaction in particular between Roman and non-Roman native communities stimulated new ideas and identities.[159] This reinforces the point made earlier that inscriptions do not directly results from urbanisation, but that urban centres, as a result of their function in the promotion of social, economic and political interaction, therefore become hotpots in the distribution of epigraphic material. MacMullen also argued earlier that the forces instigating the erection of inscriptions were neither political nor economic but social in nature.[160] The results of this research clearly indicate the social factors responsible for the development and spread of epigraphic culture through the study area. The fluid boundaries between some elements of the social hierarchy and the opportunities for mobility and communication can be seen to influence the spread of inscriptions during the study period. In particular the rise of native families to senatorial rank as evidenced at sites such as Astigi, Carmo, Gandul, Hispalis, Italica,

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[157] *Keay & Earl 2006, 283 Fig 9.*
[158] *Woolf 1996, 23 & 37.*
[159] *Woolf 1998.*
[160] *MacMullen 1982, 246.*

Munigua and Siarum provide an indication not only of the importance of these sites within the region, but also demonstrate the spread of epigraphic expression to sites located at the furthest extremes of the study area. The physical routes of communication and improvements to the administrative systems in the province facilitated the erection of an increased number of inscriptions but the motivating factors stem from social aspiration and cultural interaction.

It is therefore crucial to emphasise the role of social competition in determining the rise of epigraphy in Baetica over factors such as legal status or citizenship. In particular competition can be seen to have influenced the levels of homogenisation and variance against the generalised background at individual sites. The research demonstrated clearly that each of the study sites developed an individual epigraphic character within the study period, resulting from the history of urban development, the varied character and experiences of the population, and the motivations to inscribe which were most dominant in different areas. The identification of these individual characteristics within the broader distribution of material across the study area and interpretation of the reasons for their generation was crucial to the research carried out here. Whilst the emergence of individual epigraphic trends associated with specific sites in the study region is partly a reflection of the availability of the skills required for their construction, it also indicates a clear choice by the local population to favour expression in a particular form. This theory is supported by the wider project where the unusual decoration of funerary monuments at Celti is identified by Keay as a particular method in the exploitation of inscriptions for self-representation[161]. Observance of the high level of standardisation of formulae identified by this research serves to further enhance the ability of the decorative elements to individualise the monuments of Celti. Keay argues for an interpretation which views the numerical bias towards funerary inscriptions in the sample of preserved inscriptions at Celti not just as a result of factors affecting preservation, but in a more positive sense as representative of a conscious and deliberate selection procedure on the part of the urban population of funerary inscriptions as the preferred form of self-representation[162].

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[161] *Keay, 2006, 764 & 766.*
[162] *Keay, 2006, 765-766.*

8.3.5 *Possibilities for continuation of the research*

So many questions can be asked of inscribed monuments, and so many presented themselves in the early stages of this research, that it can often be difficult to decide on which elements to focus. No study of this kind can aim to be comprehensive, but it provides a valuable starting point for readdressing the material, and encouraging the employment of different styles and techniques of analysis which might bring the discipline out of its perceived rut and potentially revolutionise the subject. This methodology and analysis should now be expanded to test the validity of these findings across a wider range of sites within the immediate study area, and across the province as a whole. In addition the full range of epigraphic elements should be considered in conjunction with those prioritised for detailed study here. It would be prudent to await the publication of the revised CIL II^2 volumes for Hispalensis and eventually Gaditanus in order to ensure the highest level of consistency for the data possible. With this increased quantity of data it might be possible to investigate the relationship between individual epigraphic attributes and patterns of material distribution across the province with such methods as correspondence analysis in order to analyse and identify the associations between these variables.

This chapter has demonstrated the value in integrating the analysis from both parts of the project. This cross correlation of the data was achieved easily due to adherence to the same standards of data handling and conforming to the same principles in spatially plotting the data. The networks identified through each course of investigation both complement and contrast with one another, so that their integration provides a much more complete approximation of the various social networks in existence between the urban settlements of the period. The networks identified within the project are not exclusively social and therefore this provides an extra level of contextualisation for the epigraphic material and the networks identified in its use. The various analyses assist in providing possible interpretations and alternative scenarios to understand the patterns identified in other areas.

These initial results indicate a certain amount of overall correlation between the networks identified which is indicative of a series of interconnected, organised communities each with a particular character and identity. The differences cultivated

by individual settlements served to enhance these identities and continually promoted competition within and between urban communities. This resulted in the production of inscriptions as individuals and groups within the population sought to represent themselves and their varying, complex and multi-faceted identities. These identities illustrated their roles and positions within the community and place within the social networks that stemmed from the developments in settlement organisation and hierarchy, political administration, economic interaction and agricultural exploitation that were concurrent with this period of history in the region.

APPENDIX A: TABLE OF CONCORDANCE WITH CIL II, CIL II^2 AND CILA

Inscription Identifier	CIL II Catalogue No.	CIL II^2 Catalogue No.	CILA Volume	CILA Catalogue No.
ABL001TS		5,986	CILA II iv	1158
AGR001TS	1442	5,995	CILA II iv	1125
AGR002TS	1454	5,996	CILA II iv	1138
ALH001TS	1462	5,981	CILA II iii	766
ALH010ID		5,984	CILA II ii	1253
ARV001SC			CILA II i	220
ARV002TI			CILA II i	221
ARV003NH			CILA II i	222
ARV004HP			CILA II i	223
ARV005TH			CILA II i	224
ARV006HP			CILA II i	225
ARV007TS			CILA II i	226
ARV008TS			CILA II i	227
ARV009IG			CILA II i	228
ARV010IG			CILA II i	229
ARV011IG			CILA II i	229
ARV012TA			CILA II i	230
ARV013TA			CILA II i	231
ARV014ND			CILA II i	232
AST001ML		none	CILA II iii	691
AST002SC	1471	5,1162	CILA II iii	687
AST003SC	1472	5,1163	CILA II iii	688
AST004SC	1473	5,1164	CILA II iii	689
AST005SC	1474	5,1165	CILA II iii	690
AST006SC		5,1166	CILA II iii	696
AST007TH		5,1167	CILA II iii	694
AST008IG	1477	5,1168	CILA II iii	698
AST009HP	5053	5,1169	CILA II iii	694
AST010TS		5,1170	CILA II iii	1246
AST011TH	1475	5,1171	CILA II iii	695
AST012TS		5,1172	CILA II iii	1238
AST013TS	1489	5,1173	CILA II iii	718
AST014TS	1476	5,1174	CILA II iii	697
AST015OP	1478	5,1175	CILA II iii	699
AST016TS	1480	5,1176	CILA II iii	701
AST017IP		5,1177	CILA II iii	811
AST018TS		5,1178	CILA II iii	705
AST019TH	1479	5,1179	CILA II iii	700
AST020HP	1481	5,1180	CILA II iii	702

Appendix A

AST021TH	1482	5,1181	CILA II iii	707
AST022TS	1483	5,1182	CILA II iii	776
AST024TS	1484	5,1184	CILA II iii	721
AST025TS	1485	5,1185	CILA II iii	723
AST026TS	6284	5,1186	CILA II iii	725
AST027TS	5459	5,1187	CILA II iii	753
AST028TS	0139*	5,1188	CILA II iii	28*
AST029TS		5,1189	CILA II iii	708
AST030TS	1487	5,1190	CILA II iii	710
AST031TS	1486	5,1191	CILA II iii	709
AST032TS		5,1192	CILA II iii	711
AST033TS		5,1193	CILA II iii	712
AST034TS	5454	5,1194	CILA II iii	715
AST035TS	1488	5,1195	CILA II iii	716
AST036TS	AST036TS	5,1196	CILA II iii	720
AST038TS	1491	5,1198	CILA II iii	724
AST039TS	5456	5,1199	CILA II iii	727
AST040TS	1490	5,1200	CILA II iii	722
AST041TS		5,1201	CILA II iii	1241
AST042TS		5,1202	CILA II iii	732
AST043TS		5,1203	CILA II iii	733
AST044TS		5,1204	CILA II iii	729
AST045TS		5,1205	CILA II iii	730
AST046TS		5,1206	CILA II iii	798
AST047TS	5457	5,1207	CILA II iii	731
AST048TS		5,1208	CILA II iii	746
AST049TS		5,1209	CILA II iii	736
AST050TS		5,1210	CILA II iii	809
AST051TS	1494	5,1211	CILA II iii	737
AST052TS		5,1212	CILA II iii	738
AST053TS	1495	5,1213	CILA II iii	739
AST054TS	1496	5,1214	CILA II iii	740
AST055TS		5,1215	CILA II iii	741
AST056TS		5,1216	CILA II iii	742
AST057TS		5,1217	CILA II iii	774
AST058TS		5,1218	CILA II iii	743
AST059TS	1497	5,1219	CILA II iii	744
AST060TS		5,1220	CILA II iii	748
AST061TS	1498	5,1221	CILA II iii	749
AST062TS	1499	5,1222	CILA II iii	750
AST063TS	1500	5,1223	CILA II iii	751
AST064TS	1501	5,1224	CILA II iii	752
AST065TS		5,1225	CILA II iii	755
AST066TS	1502	5,1226	CILA II ii	760

AST067TS		5,1227	CILA II iii	759
AST068TS		5,1228	CILA II iii	757
AST069TS		5,1229	CILA II iii	758
AST070TS		5,1230	CILA II iii	761
AST071TS		5,1231	CILA II iii	762
AST072TS	1503	5,1232	CILA II iii	763
AST073TS		5,1233	CILA II iii	764
AST074TS		5,1234	CILA II iii	768
AST075TS		5,1235	CILA II iii	769
AST076TS	1504	5,1236	CILA II iii	772
AST077TS		5,1237	CILA II iii	792
AST078TS		5,1238	CILA II iii	775
AST079TS	5460	5,1239	CILA II iii	777
AST080TS		5,1240	CILA II iii	778
AST081TS		5,1241	CILA II iv	1239
AST082TS		5,1242	CILA II iii	780
AST083TS	1505	5,1243	CILA II iii	781
AST084TS		5,1244	CILA II iii	782
AST085TS	1508	5,1245	CILA II iii	784
AST086TS		5,1246	CILA II iii	787
AST087TS		5,1247	CILA II iii	786
AST088TS		5,1248	CILA II iv	1240
AST089TS	1506	5,1249	CILA II iii	788
AST090TS	1507	5,1250	CILA II iii	789
AST091TS	1509	5,1251	CILA II iii	790
AST092TS		5,1252	CILA II iii	793
AST093TS	1510	5,1253	CILA II iii	794
AST094TS	1511	5,1254	CILA II iii	795
AST096TS		5,1256	CILA II iii	800
AST097TS		5,1257	CILA II iii	807
AST098TS		5,1258	CILA II iii	801
AST099TS		5,1259	CILA II iii	802
AST100TS		5,1260	CILA II iii	806
AST102TS	5461	5,1262	CILA II iii	804
AST103TS		5,1263	CILA II iii	805
AST104IG		5,1264	CILA II iii	799
AST105ID	6260, 22			
AST106ID		5,1266	CILA II iii	813
AST107ID	5462	5,1267	CILA II iii	791
AST108IN	4967	5,1268		
AST109IN	4967 12a	5,1268		
AST110IN	4967 12b	5,1269		
AST111IN	4967 12b	5,1269		
AST112IN	4967 12b	5,1269		

AST113IN	4967 12b	5,1269		
AST114IN	4967 12b	5,1269		
AST115IN	4967 12b	5,1269		
AST116IN	4967 12b	5,1269		
AST117IN	4967 12b	5,1269		
AST118IN	4967 12b	5,1269		
AST119IN	4967 12b	5,1269		
AST120IN	4967 12b	5,1269		
AST121IN	4967 12b	5,1269		
AST122IN	6326	5,1270		
AST123IN	6327	5,1271		
ATA002IN	6325	5,1121	CILA II iv	1234
ATA005IN		5,1123	CILA II iv	812
ATA006IN		5,1123	CILA II iii	
AXA001TI			CILA II i	205
AXA002TH			CILA II i	206
AXA003HP			CILA II i	207
AXA005HP			CILA II i	209
AXA006SC			CILA II i	210
AXA007SC			CILA II i	211
AXA008TS			CILA II i	212
AXA009TS			CILA II i	213
AXA010TS			CILA II i	214
CAN001TS		5,999	CILA II iv	1151
CAR001SC	5413		CILA II iii	840
CAR002SC			CILA II iii	841
CAR003TH	1380		CILA II iii	842
CAR004TH	1520		CILA II iii	843
CAR005TH	1379		CILA II iii	844
CAR006TS			CILA II iii	845
CAR007TS			CILA II iii	846
CAR008TS	5428		CILA II iii	847
CAR009TS			CILA II iii	848
CAR010TS	5415		CILA II iii	849
CAR011TS	5416		CILA II iii	850
CAR012TS	5417		CILA II iii	851
CAR013TS			CILA II iii	852
CAR014TS	1381		CILA II iii	853
CAR015TS	5419		CILA II iii	854
CAR016TS	5420		CILA II iii	855
CAR017TS	1383		CILA II iii	856
CAR018TS	1384		CILA II iii	857
CAR019TS	1385		CILA II iii	858
CAR020TS			CILA II iii	859

CAR021TS	1386		CILA II iii	860
CAR022TS	5421		CILA II iii	861
CAR023TS	1387		CILA II iii	862
CAR024TS	5422		CILA II iii	863
CAR025TS	5423		CILA II iii	864
CAR026TS	5414		CILA II iii	865
CAR027TS	5424		CILA II iii	866
CAR028TS			CILA II iii	867
CAR029TS	1382 = 5425 = 5412		CILA II iii	868
CAR030TS			CILA II iii	869
CAR031TH			CILA II iii	870
CAR032TS	5426		CILA II iii	871
CAR033TS			CILA II iii	872
CAR034TS			CILA II iii	872
CAR035TS	5427		CILA II iii	873
CAR036TS			CILA II iii	874
CAR037TS			CILA II iii	875
CAR038TS	1388		CILA II iii	876
CAR039TS	1388		CILA II iii	876
CAR040TS	1388		CILA II iii	876
CAR041TS	5434		CILA II iii	877
CAR042TS	5431		CILA II iii	878
CAR043TS	5429a		CILA II iii	879
CAR044TS	5429b		CILA II iii	880
CAR045TS	5429c		CILA II iii	881
CAR046TS	5429d		CILA II iii	882
CAR047TS	5429e		CILA II iii	883
CAR048TS	5430		CILA II iii	884
CAR049TS	5433a		CILA II iii	885
CAR050TS	5433b		CILA II iii	885
CAR051TS	5433c		CILA II iii	885
CAR052TH			CILA II iii	886
CAR053IG			CILA II iii	887
CAR054TS			CILA II iii	888
CAR055TS			CILA II iii	889
CAR056IG			CILA II iii	890
CAR057TS			CILA II iii	891
CAR058TS			CILA II iii	892
CAR059TS			CILA II iii	893
CAR060TS			CILA II iii	894
CAR061TS	5432		CILA II iii	903
CAR064TS	6249			
CAR073TS	3186			

CAR095IN	6252, 17			
CAR096IN	6252, 17			
CAR101IN	6252, 18			
CAR102TS			CILA II i	269
CAS001HP	1441	5,985	CILA II iv	1129
CEL001SC	2326	4,1	CILA II i	165
CEL002SC	2327	4,2	CILA II i	166
CEL003FX		4,3		
CEL004OP	3279	4,4		
CEL005OP		4,5	CILA II i	167
CEL006OP		4,6		
CEL007OP		4,7	CILA II i	170
CEL008OP		4,8	CILA II i	200
CEL009HP	2329	4,9	CILA II i	168
CEL010HP		4,10		
CEL011HP	2330	4,11	CILA II i	169
CEL012HP		4,12		
CEL013HP		4,13		
CEL014TS		4,14		
CEL015TS		4,15	CILA II i	177
CEL016TS		4,16		
CEL017TS		4,17		
CEL018TS		4,18		
CEL019TS		4,19		
CEL020TS		4,20		
CEL021TS		4,21		
CEL022TS	2331	4,22	CILA II i	172
CEL023TS	5539	4,23	CILA II i	173
CEL024TS		4,24	CILA II i	174
CEL025TS		4,25	CILA II i	175
CEL026TS		4,26		
CEL027TS		4,27		
CEL028TS		4,28	CILA II i	191
CEL029TS	2332	4,29	CILA II i	176
CEL030TS		4,30		
CEL031TS		4,31	CILA II i	178
CEL032TS	5542	4,32	CILA II i	179
CEL033TS		4,33	CILA II i	180
CEL034TS		4,34	CILA II i	181
CEL035TS		4,35		
CEL036TS		4,36		
CEL037TS		4,37		
CEL038TS		4,38		
CEL039TS		4,39	CILA II i	182

CEL040TS	5540	4,40	CILA II i	184
CEL041TS		4,41	CILA II i	183
CEL042TS		4,42		
CEL043TS	2333	4,43	CILA II i	185
CEL044TS	2292	4,44	CILA II i	187
CEL045TS	2335	4,45	CILA II i	186
CEL046TS		4,46	CILA II i	188
CEL047TS		4,47	CILA II i	189
CEL048TS		4,48	CILA II i	190
CEL049TS		4,49		
CEL050TS	1236	4,50	CILA II i	192
CEL051TS		4,51		
CEL052TS		4,52	CILA II i	193
CEL053TS		4,53		
CEL054TS		4,54		
CEL055TS		4,55		
CEL056TS	2304	4,56	CILA II i	194
CEL057TS		4,57	CILA II i	196
CEL058TS	5541	4,58	CILA II i	198
CEL059TS		4,59		
CEL060TS	2336	4,60	CILA II i	199
CEL061TS		4,61		
CEL062TS		4,62		
CEL063TS		4,63	CILA II i	201
CEL064TS		4,64		
CEL065TS		4,65		
CEL066TS		4,66		
CEL067TS		4,67		
CEL068TS		4,68		
CEL069TS		4,69		
CEL070TS		4,70		
CEL071TS		4,71		
CEL072TS		4,72		
CEL073TS		4,73		
CEL074TS		4,74		
CEL075TS		4,75		
CEL076TS		4,76		
CEL077TS		4,77		
CEL078TS		4,78		
CEL079TS		4,79		
CEL080TS		4,80		
CEL081IG	2328	4,81	CILA II i	203
CEL082IG		4,82		
CEL083IG		4,83		

CEL084IG		4,84		
CEL085IG	2327	4,85	CILA II i	166
CEL086IG		4,86	CILA II i	171
CEL087IG		4,87		
CEL088IG		4,88		
CEL089IG	2337	4,89	CILA II i	202
CEL090IG		4,90		
CEL091IG		4,91		
CEL092IG		4,92		
CEL093IG		4,93		
CEL094IG		4,94		
CEL095IG		4,95		
CEL096IG		4,96		
CEL097IG		4,97		
CEL098IG		4,98		
CEL099IG		4,99		
CEL100IG		4,100		
CEL101ID		4,101		
CEL102TS		4,102		
CEL103TS		4,103		
CEL104IG		4,104		
CEL105TS		4,105		
CEL106TH		4,106		
CEL107TS		4,107		
CEL108TS		4,108		
CEL109TS		4,109		
CEL110IG		4,110		
CEL111TS		4,111		
CEL112TS		4,112		
CEL113IG		4,113		
CEL114TS		4,114		
CEL115IN		4,115		
CEL116HP		4,116		
CEL117TS		4,117		
CEL118TS		4,118		
CEL119TS		4,119		
CEL120TS		4,120		
CEL121TS		4,121		
CEL122IG		4,122		
CEL123TS		4,123		
CEL124TS		4,124		
CEL125TS		4,125		
CEL126IN		4,126		
CEL127TS		4,127		

CER001TS		5,998	CILA II iv	1150
CIA006TS			CILA II i	240
CSG001TH		5,1126	CILA II ii	679
CSG002TS		5,1127	CILA II ii	681
CSG003TS		5,1128	CILA II ii	680
CSG004TS		5,1129	CILA II ii	682
CSÑ001TS		5,993	CILA II iv	1148
GAN016HP	1262		CILA II iii	915
GAN017HP	1263		CILA II iii	916
GAN018TH			CILA II iii	917
GAN019HP			CILA II iii	918
GAN020TS			CILA II iii	919
GAN021TS	1264		CILA II iii	920
GAN022TS			CILA II iii	921
GAN023TS			CILA II iii	922
GAN024IG			CILA II iii	923
GAN025TS			CILA II iii	923
GAN026IG	1390		CILA II iii	924
GAN027IG			CILA II iii	925
HER001TS	1444	5,988	CILA II iv	1137
HER002TS		5,989	CILA II iv	1156
HER003TS	1452	5,990	CILA II iv	1157
HIS001SC	1624		CILA II i	1
HIS002SC			CILA II i	2
HIS003SC	1165		CILA II i	3
HIS004SC	1166		CILA II i	4
HIS005SC	1249		CILA II i	5
HIS006TI			CILA II i	6
HIS007TI			CILA II i	7
HIS008TI	1168		CILA II i	8
HIS009TI	1169		CILA II i	9
HIS010TI	1170		CILA II i	10
HIS011TI			CILA II i	11
HIS012TI			CILA II i	12
HIS013TI	1171		CILA II i	13
HIS014TI			CILA II i	14
HIS015TH	1172		CILA II i	15
HIS016TH	1173		CILA II i	16
HIS017TH	1175		CILA II i	17
HIS018TH			CILA II i	18
HIS019TH	1174		CILA II i	19
HIS020TH	1176		CILA II i	20
HIS021TH	1177		CILA II i	21
HIS022TH	1178		CILA II i	22

HIS023TH	1180		CILA II i	23
HIS024TH	1181		CILA II i	24
HIS025TH	1179		CILA II i	25
HIS026TH	1183		CILA II i	26
HIS027TH	1185		CILA II i	27
HIS028TH	1188		CILA II i	28
HIS029TH	6283		CILA II i	29
HIS030SC	1195		CILA II i	30
HIS031SC	1196		CILA II i	31 = 60
HIS032TH	1182		CILA II i	32
HIS033HP	1184		CILA II i	33
HIS034HP	1186		CILA II i	34
HIS035HP	1187		CILA II i	35
HIS036HP	1189		CILA II i	36
HIS037TS	1190		CILA II i	37
HIS038HP	1192		CILA II i	38
HIS039HP	1194		CILA II i	39
HIS040SC	1193		CILA II i	40
HIS041TS			CILA II i	41
HIS042TS	1203		CILA II i	42
HIS043TS	1205		CILA II i	44
HIS045TS	1206		CILA II i	45
HIS046TS	1208		CILA II i	46
HIS047TS	1208		CILA II i	46
HIS048TS	1209		CILA II i	47
HIS049TS	1210		CILA II i	48
HIS050TS			CILA II i	49
HIS051TS	1212		CILA II i	50
HIS052TS	1214		CILA II i	51
HIS053TS	1215		CILA II i	52
HIS055TS	1218		CILA II i	54
HIS056TS	1143		CILA II i	55
HIS057TS	1219		CILA II i	56
HIS058TS	1220		CILA II i	57
HIS059TS	1222		CILA II i	58
HIS060TS	1200		CILA II i	59
HIS061TS	1224		CILA II i	61
HIS062TS	1225		CILA II i	62
HIS063TS			CILA II i	63
HIS064TS	1223		CILA II i	64
HIS065TS	1226		CILA II i	65
HIS066TS	1198		CILA II i	66
HIS067TS	1227		CILA II i	67
HIS068TS	1228		CILA II i	68

HIS069TS	1199			
HIS070TS	1229		CILA II i	70
HIS071TS	1231		CILA II i	71
HIS072TS	1201		CILA II i	72
HIS073TS			CILA II i	73
HIS074TS	1232		CILA II i	74
HIS076TS	1234		CILA II i	76
HIS077TS	1235		CILA II i	77
HIS078TS			CILA II i	78
HIS079TS			CILA II i	79
HIS080TS	1237		CILA II i	80
HIS081TS	1238		CILA II i	81
HIS082TS	1239		CILA II i	82
HIS083TS	1241		CILA II i	83
HIS084TS	1243		CILA II i	84
HIS085TS			CILA II i	85
HIS086TS	1245		CILA II i	86
HIS087TS	1246		CILA II i	87
HIS088TS	1247		CILA II i	88
HIS089TS	1248		CILA II i	89
HIS090TS	1252		CILA II i	90
HIS091TS	1253		CILA II i	91
HIS092IP	4962,2 & 6245,1		CILA II i	92
HIS093ID	6260,21		CILA II i	93
HIS094IG	1251		CILA II i	95
HIS095TS			CILA II i	96
HIS096TH	1197		CILA II i	97
HIS097TS	1207		CILA II i	98
HIS098TS			CILA II i	99
HIS099TS			CILA II i	100
HIS100TS	1211		CILA II i	101
HIS101TS			CILA II i	102
HIS102TS	1213		CILA II i	103
HIS103TS			CILA II i	104
HIS104TS	1217		CILA II i	105
HIS105TS			CILA II i	108
HIS106TS			CILA II i	109
HIS107TS			CILA II i	110
HIS108TS			CILA II i	111
HIS109TS			CILA II i	112
HIS110TS	1221		CILA II i	113
HIS111TH	4982		CILA II i	114
HIS112TS	1230		CILA II i	115
HIS113TS			CILA II i	116

HIS114TS	5394		CILA II i	117
HIS115TS	5395		CILA II i	118
HIS116TS			CILA II i	119
HIS117TS	5390		CILA II i	120
HIS118TS	1202		CILA II i	122
HIS119TS	6286		CILA II i	123
HIS120TS	1240		CILA II i	124
HIS121TS	1242		CILA II i	125
HIS122TS			CILA II i	126
HIS123TS	1244		CILA II i	127
HIS124IG	5398		CILA II i	128
HIS125TS	5400		CILA II i	129
HIS126IG	5401		CILA II i	130
HIS127TS			CILA II i	131
HIS128TS			CILA II i	132
HIS129TS			CILA II i	135
HIS130TS			CILA II i	136
HIS131TS			CILA II i	137
HIS132TS			CILA II i	138
HIS133TS			CILA II i	139
HIS134TS			CILA II i	141
HIS142IG	4967/19B	HIS142IG	HIS142IG	HIS142IG
HIS144TS	3370	HIS144TS	HIS144TS	HIS144TS
ITA001LX	6278		CILA II ii	339
ITA002LX			CILA II ii	340
ITA003IR	5368		CILA II ii	341
ITA004SC			CILA II ii	342
ITA005SC			CILA II ii	343
ITA006SC			CILA II ii	344
ITA007SC	1108		CILA II ii	345
ITA008SC	1109		CILA II ii	346
ITA009SC			CILA II ii	347
ITA010SC			CILA II ii	348
ITA011SC			CILA II ii	349
ITA012SC			CILA II ii	350
ITA013SC			CILA II ii	351
ITA014SC			CILA II ii	352
ITA015SC	1112		CILA II ii	353
ITA016SC			CILA II ii	354
ITA017SC			CILA II ii	355
ITA018SC			CILA II ii	356
ITA019SC			CILA II ii	357
ITA020SC			CILA II ii	358
ITA021SC	5367		CILA II ii	359

ITA022SC			CILA II ii	360
ITA023SC			CILA II ii	361
ITA024FX			CILA II ii	362
ITA025SC			CILA II ii	363
ITA026TI	1113		CILA II ii	364
ITA027TI	1114 & 5370		CILA II ii	365
ITA028IP			CILA II ii	366
ITA029ML			CILA II ii	367
ITA030TI	5369		CILA II ii	368
ITA031SC			CILA II ii	369
ITA032TI	1115		CILA II ii	370
ITA033TI	1116		CILA II ii	371
ITA034TI	1117		CILA II ii	372
ITA035TI	5037		CILA II ii	373
ITA036TI	1118		CILA II ii	376
ITA037TI	1119		CILA II ii	377
ITA038TH	1120		CILA II ii	378
ITA039TH			CILA II ii	379
ITA040TH			CILA II ii	379
ITA041TH	1121		CILA II ii	380
ITA042TH	1122		CILA II ii	381
ITA043OP			CILA II ii	382
ITA044OP			CILA II ii	383
ITA045TH	1129		CILA II ii	384
ITA046TS	1133		CILA II ii	385
ITA047TS			CILA II ii	386
ITA048TS			CILA II ii	387
ITA049TS			CILA II ii	388
ITA050HP	1130		CILA II ii	389
ITA051OP	1131		CILA II ii	390
ITA052OP	1132		CILA II ii	391
ITA053OP			CILA II ii	392
ITA054TH	1135		CILA II ii	393
ITA055OP			CILA II ii	394
ITA056TH			CILA II ii	395
ITA057TH			CILA II ii	396
ITA058TH			CILA II ii	398
ITA059TH			CILA II ii	399
ITA060IG			CILA II ii	400
ITA061IG			CILA II ii	401
ITA062TH	5371		CILA II ii	402
ITA063TH			CILA II ii	403
ITA064TS	1126		CILA II ii	404
ITA065TS	1127		CILA II ii	405

ITA066TS			CILA II ii	406
ITA067TS			CILA II ii	407
ITA068TS	1128		CILA II ii	408
ITA069TS			CILA II ii	409
ITA070SC			CILA II ii	410
ITA071TS	1137		CILA II ii	411
ITA072TS	1138		CILA II ii	412
ITA073TS			CILA II ii	413
ITA074TS			CILA II ii	414
ITA075TS			CILA II ii	415
ITA076TS			CILA II ii	416
ITA077TS	1139		CILA II ii	417
ITA078TS			CILA II ii	418
ITA079TS			CILA II ii	419
ITA080TS	1140		CILA II ii	420
ITA081TS	1141		CILA II ii	421
ITA082TS			CILA II ii	422
ITA083TS	1142		CILA II ii	423
ITA084TS			CILA II ii	424
ITA085TS	5383		CILA II ii	425
ITA086TS	5383		CILA II ii	426
ITA087TS			CILA II ii	427
ITA088TS			CILA II ii	428
ITA089TS			CILA II ii	429
ITA090TS			CILA II ii	430
ITA091TS			CILA II ii	431
ITA092TS			CILA II ii	432
ITA094TS			CILA II ii	434
ITA095TS	5376		CILA II ii	435
ITA096TS	1145		CILA II ii	436
ITA097TS	1144		CILA II ii	437
ITA098TS	1153		CILA II ii	438
ITA099TS			CILA II ii	439
ITA100TS	1146		CILA II ii	440
ITA101TS			CILA II ii	441
ITA102TS	6279		CILA II ii	442
ITA103TS	6280		CILA II ii	443
ITA104TS	1147		CILA II ii	444
ITA105TS			CILA II ii	445
ITA106TS	6281		CILA II ii	446
ITA107TS	1148		CILA II ii	447
ITA108TS	5038		CILA II ii	448
ITA109TS	1149		CILA II ii	449
ITA110TS			CILA II ii	450

ITA111TS			CILA II ii	451
ITA112TS	5377		CILA II ii	452
ITA113TS	1150		CILA II ii	453
ITA114TS	1151		CILA II ii	454
ITA115TS			CILA II ii	455
ITA116TS			CILA II ii	456
ITA117TS			CILA II ii	457
ITA118TS	1152		CILA II ii	458
ITA119TS			CILA II ii	459
ITA120TS	5378		CILA II ii	460
ITA121TS			CILA II ii	461
ITA122TS	1136		CILA II ii	462
ITA123TS	5379		CILA II ii	463
ITA124TS	6282		CILA II ii	464
ITA125TS			CILA II ii	465
ITA126TS	5039		CILA II ii	466
ITA127TS			CILA II ii	467
ITA128TS			CILA II ii	468
ITA129TS			CILA II ii	469
ITA130TS			CILA II ii	470
ITA131TS			CILA II ii	471
ITA132TS			CILA II ii	472 & 11 (falsa)
ITA133TS	1154		CILA II ii	473
ITA134TS			CILA II ii	474
ITA135TS			CILA II ii	475
ITA136TS			CILA II ii	476
ITA137TS	5938		CILA II ii	477
ITA138TS			CILA II ii	478
ITA139TS	5381		CILA II ii	479
ITA140TS			CILA II ii	480
ITA141TS			CILA II ii	481
ITA142TS			CILA II ii	482
ITA143TS	1155		CILA II ii	483
ITA144TS	1156		CILA II ii	484
ITA145TS			CILA II ii	485
ITA146TS	5040		CILA II ii	486
ITA147TS			CILA II ii	487
ITA148TS	1157		CILA II ii	488
ITA149TS			CILA II ii	489
ITA150TS	1158		CILA II ii	490
ITA151TS			CILA II ii	491
ITA152TS			CILA II ii	492
ITA153TS			CILA II ii	493
ITA154TS			CILA II ii	494

ITA155TS			CILA II ii	495	
ITA156TS	5382		CILA II ii	496	
ITA157TS			CILA II ii	497	
ITA158TS	5397		CILA II ii	498	
ITA159TS	1123		CILA II ii	499	
ITA160IG	1124		CILA II ii	500	
ITA161TI	1134		CILA II ii	501	
ITA162TS	1159		CILA II ii	502	
ITA163TS	1160		CILA II ii	503	
ITA164IG	1161		CILA II ii	504	
ITA165OP	5102		CILA II ii	506	
ITA166OP	5103		CILA II ii	507	
ITA167OP	5104		CILA II ii	508	
ITA168OP	5105		CILA II ii	509	
ITA169OP	5106		CILA II ii	510	
ITA170OP	5107		CILA II ii	511	
ITA171OP	5109		CILA II ii	513	
ITA172OP			CILA II ii	514	
ITA173OP	5111		CILA II ii	515	
ITA174OP	5112		CILA II ii	516	
ITA175OP	5113		CILA II ii	517	
ITA176OP	5114		CILA II ii	518	
ITA177OP	5115		CILA II ii	519	
ITA178OP	5116		CILA II ii	520	
ITA179TI	5370		CILA II ii	521	
ITA180OP	5372		CILA II ii	522	
ITA181IG	5373		CILA II ii	523	
ITA182TS	5384		CILA II ii	524	
ITA183TS	5385		CILA II ii	525	
ITA184TS			CILA II ii	526	
ITA185TS			CILA II ii	527	
ITA186TS			CILA II ii	528	
ITA187TS			CILA II ii	529	
ITA188TS			CILA II ii	530	
ITA189TS			CILA II ii	531	
ITA190TS			CILA II ii	531	
ITA191TS			CILA II ii	532	
ITA192IG			CILA II ii	533	
ITA193TS			CILA II ii	534	
ITA194IG			CILA II ii	535	
ITA195TS			CILA II ii	536	
ITA196IN			CILA II ii	537	
ITA197TS			CILA II ii	538	
ITA198TS			CILA II ii	539	

ITA199TS			CILA II ii	540
ITA200TS			CILA II ii	541
ITA201TS			CILA II ii	542
ITA202TS			CILA II ii	543
ITA203TS			CILA II ii	544
ITA204IG			CILA II ii	545
ITA205TS			CILA II ii	546
ITA206TS			CILA II ii	547
ITA207TS			CILA II ii	548
ITA208TS			CILA II ii	549
ITA209TS			CILA II ii	550
ITA210TS			CILA II ii	552
ITA211TS			CILA II ii	553
ITA212TS			CILA II ii	554
ITA213TS			CILA II ii	555
ITA214TS			CILA II ii	556
ITA215TS			CILA II ii	557
ITA216IG			CILA II ii	558
ITA217TS			CILA II ii	559
ITA218TS			CILA II ii	560
ITA219TS			CILA II ii	561
ITA220TS			CILA II ii	562
ITA221IG			CILA II ii	563
ITA222TS			CILA II ii	564
ITA223TS			CILA II ii	565
ITA224TH			CILA II ii	566
ITA225TS			CILA II ii	567
ITA226TS			CILA II ii	568
ITA227IG			CILA II ii	569
ITA228TS			CILA II ii	570
ITA229TS			CILA II ii	571
ITA230IG			CILA II ii	572
ITA231OP			CILA II ii	573
ITA232OP			CILA II i	574
ITA233IN	1110		CILA II ii	575
ITA234IN			CILA II ii	576
ITA235IN			CILA II ii	577
ITA236OP			CILA II ii	578
ITA237IP			CILA II ii	579
ITA238IP	1125; 6252,2		CILA II ii	580
ITA239IN			CILA II ii	581
ITA240IN			CILA II ii	582
ITA241ID	4967, 31		CILA II ii	583
ITA242IN	6252, 12		CILA II ii	584

ITA244TS			CILA II ii	567	
ITA245OP	5106		CILA II ii	510	
ITA250TS	1216		CILA II i	53	
ITA252TS			CILA II i	16*	
ITA254TS			CILA II i	107	
ITA256TS			CILA II ii	17-18	
ITA257TS	1143		CILA II ii	55	
ITA263TS			CILA II i	25*	
ITA268TS	5380, 5395		CILA II i	118	
ITA273TS			CILA II i	137	
ITA286IN	5386				
ITA294TH	5391		CILA II i	296	
ITA295TS	1193		CILA II i	133	
LAN001TS		5,1130	CILA II ii	683	
MOR001TE	1438	5,994	CILA II iv	1122	
MUN001IR			CILA II iv	1052	
MUN002IR			CILA II iv	1053	
MUN003SC			CILA II iv	1054	
MUN004SC			CILA II iv	1055	
MUN005SC			CILA II iv	1056	
MUN006SC			CILA II iv	1057	
MUN007SC			CILA II iv	1058	
MUN008SC			CILA II iv	1059	
MUN009SC			CILA II iv	1060	
MUN010SC			CILA II iv	1061	
MUN011SC			CILA II iv	1062	
MUN012SC			CILA II iv	1063	
MUN013TI	1049		CILA II iv	1064	
MUN014TI	1053		CILA II iv	1065	
MUN015TI	1051		CILA II iv	1066	
MUN016TI	1052		CILA II iv	1067	
MUN017TI			CILA II iv	1068	
MUN018TI			CILA II iv	1069	
MUN019TI			CILA II iv	1070	
MUN020TH	1053		CILA II iv	1071	
MUN021TH	1378		CILA II iv	1072	
MUN022TH			CILA II iv	1073	
MUN023TH			CILA II iv	1074	
MUN024TH			CILA II iv	1075	
MUN025OP			CILA II iv	1076	
MUN026OP			CILA II iv	1077	
MUN027HP			CILA II iv	1078	
MUN028HP			CILA II iv	1079	
MUN029TH			CILA II iv	1080	

MUN030TH			CILA II iv	1081
MUN031TH			CILA II iv	1082
MUN032SC			CILA II iv	1083
MUN033HP			CILA II iv	1084
MUN034TS			CILA II iv	1085
MUN035TS			CILA II iv	1086
MUN036IG			CILA II iv	1087
MUN037IG			CILA II iv	1088
MUN038IG			CILA II iv	1089; 1091 & 1112
MUN039SC			CILA II iv	1090
MUN040TH			CILA II iv	1092
MUN041IG			CILA II iv	1093
MUN042TI			CILA II iv	1094 & 1098
MUN043IG			CILA II iv	1095
MUN044IG			CILA II iv	1096
MUN045IG			CILA II iv	1097
MUN046IG			CILA II iv	1099
MUN047SC			CILA II iv	1100
MUN048TS			CILA II iv	1101
MUN049TS			CILA II iv	1102
MUN050IG			CILA II iv	1103
MUN051TS			CILA II iv	1104
MUN052IG			CILA II iv	1105
MUN053IG			CILA II iv	1106 & 1109
MUN054IG			CILA II iv	1107 & 1113
MUN055TH			CILA II iv	1108
MUN056IG			CILA II iv	1110
MUN057IG			CILA II iv	1111
MUN058IG			CILA II iv	1114
MUN059IG			CILA II iv	1115
MUN060TH			CILA II iv	1251
MUN065IG	1076			
ORI001SC			CILA II ii	601
ORI002TS			CILA II ii	602
ORI003TS			CILA II ii	603
ORI004TS			CILA II ii	604
ORI005IN			CILA II ii	605
OST001LM		5,959	CILA II iv	1116
OST002SC	1437	5,960	CILA II iv	1119
OST003SC		5,961	CILA II iv	1120
OST004TI	5048 (& cf 1953)	5,962	CILA II iv	1121
OST005OP		5,963	CILA II iv	1128

OST006TS	5049	5,964	CILA II iv	1127
OST007HP	1465	5,965	CILA II iv	1133
OST008TS		5,966	CILA II iv	1134
OST009TS	1449	5,967	CILA II iv	1145
OST010TS		5,968	CILA II iv	1146
OST011TS	5050	5,969	CILA II iv	1136
OST012TS		5,970	CILA II iv	1153
OST013TS	1451	5,971	CILA II iv	1135
OST014TS	1456	5,972	CILA II iv	1141
OST015TS	1458	5,973	CILA II iv	1143
OST016TS	1461	5,974	CILA II iv	1144
OST017TS	1463	5,975	CILA II iv	1149
OST019TS		5,977	CILA II iv	1154
OST020IG		5,978	CILA II iv	1152
PAR001TS		5,997	CILA II iv	1155
PAS001OP		5,1132	CILA II iii	796
PAS002TS		5,1133	CILA II iii	785
PAS003TS		5,1134	CILA II iii	437 &728
RAB001TS			CILA II iii	719
SAL001LM	1963		CILA II iii	964
SAL002TI	1281		CILA II iii	965
SAL003TH			CILA II iii	966
SAL004HP			CILA II iii	967
SAL005HP	1286		CILA II iii	968
SAL006TS			CILA II iii	969
SAL007TS			CILA II iii	970
SAL008TS			CILA II iii	972
SAL009IG			CILA II iii	973
SAL010SC	1279		CILA II iii	977
SAL012IG	1287		CILA II iii	978
SAL015IG			CILA II iv	1231
SAL016IG			CILA II iv	cf 1231
SIA001IR			CILA II iii	927
SIA002SC	1280		CILA II iii	928
SIA003TI	1371		CILA II iii	929
SIA004TI	1282		CILA II iii	930
SIA005TI			CILA II iii	931
SIA006TI			CILA II iii	932
SIA007TH	1283		CILA II iii	933
SIA008TH			CILA II iii	934
SIA009TH			CILA II iii	935
SIA010TH			CILA II iii	936
SIA011OP			CILA II iii	937
SIA012TS			CILA II iii	938

			CILA II iii	939
SIA013TS			CILA II iii	939
SIA014TS			CILA II iii	940
SIA015TS	1292		CILA II iii	941
SIA016TS			CILA II iii	942
SIA017TS			CILA II iii	943
SIA018IG			CILA II iii	944
SIA019IG			CILA II iii	945
SIA020IG			CILA II iii	945
SIA021OP			CILA II iii	946
SIA022TH	1276		CILA II iii	947
SIA023TH	1277		CILA II iii	948
SIA024TH	1277		CILA II iii	949
SIA025TS			CILA II iii	950
SIA026SC	1278		CILA II iii	951
SIA027OP	1285		CILA II iii	952
SIA028OP			CILA II iii	953
SIA029TH	1284		CILA II iii	954
SIA030IN			CILA II iii	955
SIA033TH			CILA II iii	961
SIA034TH			CILA II iii	962
SIA035TH			CILA II iii	963
SXX002TS	1288		CILA II iii	979
SXX003TS	1289		CILA II iii	980
SXX004TS			CILA II iii	981
SXX005TS	1291		CILA II iii	982
SXX011IN	49651		CILA II iii	984

APPENDIX B: DATA TABLES CHAPTER 5

B.1   SIZE OF EPIGRAPHIC ASSEMBLAGES FROM THE SITES OF THE
STUDY REGION

No. of surviving inscriptions	Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Conventus
1	Arroyo Blanco	Unknown	Astigitanus
1	Cañada Afán	Unknown	Astigitanus
1	Castillo de la Monclova	Obulcula	Astigitanus
1	Cortijo del Villar	Unknown	Astigitanus
1	Cortijo Parchilena	Unknown	Astigitanus
1	El Moralejo	Unknown	Astigitanus
1	La Rabia	Unknown	Astigitanus
1	Lantejuela	Unknown	Astigitanus
1	Los Canterones	Unknown	Astigitanus
1	Los Castañares	Unknown	Astigitanus
1	Los Castellares	Unknown	Astigitanus
1	Los Cerverales	Unknown	Astigitanus
2	Arroyo Granado	Unknown	Astigitanus
2	Cerro del Agua	Carula	Astigitanus
3	Cerro del Pascualejo	Unknown	Astigitanus
3	Isla del Castillo	Municipium Segovia	Astigitanus
3	Maribañez	Unknown	Hispalensis
5	circa Estepa	Ostippo	Astigitanus
5	Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Munda	Astigitanus
5	San Juan de Aznalfarache	Osset Constantia Iulia	Hispalensis
6	Alcolea del Rio	Municipium Flavium Canania	Hispalensis
6	Cerro de la Atalaya	Unknown	Astigitanus
6	Cerro del Cincho	Basilippo	Hispalensis
6	Morón de la Frontera	Lucurgentum Genius Iulii	Hispalensis
7	Mesa de Lora	Oducia, Municipium Flavium	Hispalensis
9	Coria del Rio	Caura, Civitatas Stipendiaria	Hispalensis
10	Castillo de Alhonoz	Unknown	Astigitanus

10	Lora del Rio	Axati, Municipium Flavium	Hispalensis
11	La Saetilla	Segida Augurina	Astigitanus
12	El Casar or Torre de Águila	Salpensa or Siarum	Hispalensis
13	Herrera	Unknown	Astigitanus
14	Villanueva del Rio/Peiia de la Sal	Municipium Flavium Arva	Hispalensis
16	El Casar	Municipium Flavium Salpensanae	Hispalensis
17	Cantillana	Municipium Flavium Naeva	Hispalensis
21	Torre de los Herberos	Orippo, civitas stipendiaria	Hispalensis
22	Estepa	Municipium Flavium Ostipponensis	Astigitanus
26	circa Peñaflor	Celti	Hispalensis
27	El Gandul	Municipium Irippo	Hispalensis
40	Possibly Sevilla	Colonia Romula Iulia Hispalis	Hispalensis
44	Torre de Águila	Siarum, Fortunales Siarenses	Hispalensis
47	Alcalá del Rio	Ilipa Magna	Hispalensis
78	Castillo de Mulva	Municipium Flavium Muniguense	Hispalensis
81	Osuna	Colonia Genetiva Iulia (Urso)	Astigitanus
101	Peñaflor	Celti	Hispalensis
103	Carmona	Carmo, municipium ignotum	Hispalensis
107	Sevilla	Colonia Romula Iulia Hispalis	Hispalensis
130	Écija	Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi	Astigitanus
299	Santiponce	Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica	Hispalensis

B.2 CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF PRESERVED INSCRIPTIONS

Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Castillo de Alhonoz	Unknown	1st C BC - 1st C AD	6
		1st AD	0
		1st - 2nd AD	1
		2nd AD	3
		2nd - 3rd AD	0
		3rd AD	0
		3rd - 4th C AD	0
		Unknown	0
		Total	10
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Villanueva del Rio	Arva	1st C BC - 1st C AD	1
		1st C AD	1
		1st - 2nd	1
		2nd	3
		2nd - 3rd	1
		3rd - 4th	1
		unknown	5
		Total	13
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Écija	Astigi	1st C BC - 1st C AD	12
		1st AD	40
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
		1st - 2nd AD	19
		2nd AD	33
		2nd - 3rd AD	36
		3rd AD	12
		3rd - 4th C AD	2
		Unknown	15
		Total	169
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Lora del Rio	Axati	2nd C AD	2
		2nd - 3rd	1
		3rd	1
		Unknown	5
		Total	9
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Guadajoz	Canania	1st - 2nd C AD	2
		2nd C AD	2
		Unknown	2
		Total	6

Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Carmona	Carmo	1st C BC - 1st C AD	10
		1st AD	36
		1st - 2nd AD	9
		2nd AD	37
		2nd - 3rd AD	29
		3rd AD	1
		3rd - 4th C AD	1
		Unknown	17
		Total	140
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Cerro del Agua	Carula	2nd C	1
		2nd - 3rd C	1
		Total	2
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Coria del Rio	Caura	1st C BC - 1st C D	1
		1st C AD	1
		1st - 2nd C AD	2
		2nd C AD	1
		Unknown	4
		Total	9
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Peñaflor	Celti	1st C BC - 1st C AD	0
		1st AD	2
		1st - 2nd AD	14
		2nd AD	52
		2nd - 3rd AD	20
		3rd AD	8
		3rd - 4th C AD	0
		Unknown	6
		Total	102
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
El Gandul	Irippo	1st C BC - 1st C AD	0
		1st AD	3
		1st - 2nd AD	2
		2nd AD	5
		2nd - 3rd AD	3
		3rd AD	5
		3rd - 4th C AD	3
		Unknown	12
		Total	33

Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Sevilla	Hispalis	1st C BC - 1st C AD	3
		1st AD	2
		1st - 2nd AD	10
		2nd AD	31
		2nd - 3rd AD	19
		3rd AD	12
		3rd - 4th C AD	3
		Unknown	74
		Total	154
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Alcala del Rio	Ilipa	1st C BC - 1st C AD	3
		1st AD	1
		1st - 2nd AD	2
		2nd AD	3
		2nd - 3rd AD	6
		3rd AD	2
		3rd - 4th C AD	1
		Unknown	29
		Total	47
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Santiponce	Italica	1st C BC	3
		1st C BC - 1st C AD	5
		early 1st AD	11
		1st - 2nd AD	25
		2nd AD	73
		2nd - 3rd AD	56
		3rd AD	53
		3rd - 4th C AD	10
		Unknown	64
		Total	300
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Moron de la Frontera	Lucurgentum	1st AD	1
		2nd AD	1
		2nd - 3rd AD	2
		3rd Ad	1
		Unknown	1
		Total	6
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Munda	1st BC - 1st AD	1
		1st C AD	1
		2nd C AD	4
		Total	6

Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Castillo de Mulva	Munigua	1st C BC - 1st C AD	0
		1st AD	7
		1st - 2nd AD	9
		2nd AD	41
		2nd - 3rd AD	8
		3rd AD	2
		3rd - 4th C AD	0
		Unknown	11
		Total	78
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Cantillana	Naeva	1st - 2nd C AD	1
		2nd C AD	2
		2nd - 3rd C AD	2
		3rd - 4th C Ad	1
		Unknown	9
		Total	15
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Lora La Vieja	Oducia	1st C Ad	1
		1st - 2nd C AD	1
		2nd C AD	2
		2nd - 3rd	2
		3rd	1
		Total	7
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Torre de los Herberos	Orippo	1st C BC - 1st C AD	1
		1st - 2nd AD	1
		2nd AD	2
		3rd - 4th C AD	1
		Unknown	16
		Total	21
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
San Juan de Aznalfarache	Osset	1st C AD	1
1	First half of 1st Century AD	2nd C AD	1
1	mid 2nd Century AD	2nd - 3rd C AD	1
1	Second half 2nd Century/ first half 3rd Century AD	Unknown	2
		Total	5

Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Estepa	Ostippo	1st AD	4
		2nd AD	12
		2nd - 3rd AD	4
		3rd AD	2
		Total	22
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Osuna	Osuna	1st C BC - 1st C AD	14
		1st AD	8
		1st - 2nd AD	5
		2nd AD	29
		2nd - 3rd AD	4
		3rd AD	10
		3rd - 4th C AD	0
		Unknown	10
		Total	80
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
El Casar	Salpensa	1st C AD	2
		2nd C AD	5
		2nd - 3rd	1
		3rd - 4th	2
		Unknown	7
		Total	17
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
La Saetilla	Segida	1st C BC_1st AD	1
		1st C AD	1
		2nd C AD	2
		2nd - 3rd C AD	4
		Unknown	3
		Total	11
Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Isla del Castillo	Segovia	1st - 2nd AD	1
		2nd AD	1
		2nd - 3rd AD	1
		Total	3

Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Time periods	
Torre de Águila	Siarum	1st C BC - 1st C AD	5
		1st AD	3
		1st - 2nd AD	5
		2nd AD	15
		2nd - 3rd AD	7
		3rd AD	1
		Unknown	13
		Total	49

B.3   DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF INSCRIBED MONUMENT

Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Alternative Classification	No. surviving inscriptions
Lora del Rio	Axati, Municipium Flavium	TITULUS HONORARIUS	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	2
		TITULUS SACER	3
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	3
Cerro del Cincho	Basilippo	TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	5
Carmona	Carmo, municipium ignotum	INSTRUMENTUM	11
		TABELLA DEFIXIONIS	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS	17
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	3
		TITULUS SACER	4
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	2
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	130
Cerro del Agua	Carula	TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	1
Coria del Rio	Caura, Civitatas Stipendiaria	TITULUS HONORARIUS	1
		TITULUS SACER	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	7
Peñaflor	Celti	INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM	1
		TABELLA DEFIXIONIS	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	6
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	20
		TITULUS OPERIS PUBLICI	8
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	4
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	73

Santiponce	Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica	INSTRUMENTUM	11
		INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM	1
		INSTRUMENTUM POPULI ROMANI	1
		INSTRUMENTUM PUBLICUM	2
		LEX COLONIAE	2
		TABELLA DEFIXIONIS	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS	15
		TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	1
		TITULUS IMPERATORUM	11
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	13
		TITULUS MILIARIUM	1
		TITULUS OPERIS PUBLICI	27
		TITULUS SACER	35
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	6
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	208
Écija	Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi	INSTRUMENTUM	16
		INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM	7
		INSTRUMENTUM PUBLICUM	2
		TITULUS HONORARIUS	8
		TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	3
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	3
		TITULUS MILIARIUM	1
		TITULUS OPERIS PUBLICI	1
		TITULUS SACER	7
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	143

Osuna	Colonia Genetiva Iulia (Urso)	INSTRUMENTUM	14
		INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS	3
		TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	2
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	1
		TITULUS OPERIS PUBLICI	3
		TITULUS SACER	3
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	52
Sevilla	Colonia Romula Iulia Hispalis	INSTRUMENTUM	1
		INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM	1
		INSTRUMENTUM PUBLICUM	2
		TITULUS HONORARIUS	24
		TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	6
		TITULUS IMPERATORUM	10
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	5
		TITULUS SACER	10
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	3
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	61
Possibly Sevilla	Colonia Romula Iulia Hispalis	TITULUS HONORARIUS	2
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	2
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	36
Alcalá del Rio	Ilipa Magna	INSTRUMENTUM	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS	5
		TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	3
		TITULUS IMPERATORUM	1

Alcalá del Rio	Ilipa Magna	TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	5
		TITULUS OPERIS PUBLICI	2
		TITULUS SACER	4
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	27
Morón de la Frontera	Lucurgentum Genius Iulii	TITULUS HONORARIUS	1
		TITULUS SACER	2
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	3
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Munda	TITULUS HONORARIUS	2
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	5
Villanueva del Rio/Peiia de la Sal	Municipium Flavium Arva	INSTRUMENTUM	1
Villanueva del Rio/Peiia de la Sal	Municipium Flavium Arva	INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM	2
		INSTRUMENTUM PUBLICUM	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	2
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	2
		TITULUS SACER	1
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	2
Alcolea del Rio	Municipium Flavium Canania	TITULUS HONORARIUS	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	1
		TITULUS OPERIS PUBLICI	2
		TITULUS SACER	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	1

Castillo de Mulva	Municipium Flavium Muniguense	INSTRUMENTUM	1
		INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM	1
		INSTRUMENTUM POPULI ROMANI	5
		TITULUS HONORARIUS	19
		TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	3
		TITULUS IMPERATORUM	7
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	27
		TITULUS OPERIS PUBLICI	4
		TITULUS SACER	13
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	16
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	5
Cantillana	Municipium Flavium Naeva	INSTRUMENTUM	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS	2
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	1
		TITULUS SACER	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	12
Estepa	Municipium Flavium Ostipponensis	LEX MUNICIPALIS	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	1
		TITULUS IMPERATORUM	1
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	2
		TITULUS OPERIS PUBLICI	1
		TITULUS SACER	2
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	12
circa Estepa		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	2
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	3

	Municipium Flavium Salpensanae		
El Casar	Municipium Flavium Salpensanae	LEX MUNICIPALIS	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	2
		TITULUS IMPERATORUM	1
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	5
		TITULUS SACER	3
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	4
El Gandul	Municipium Irippo	TITULUS HONORARIUS	5
		TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	3
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	16
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	9
Isla del Castillo	Municipium Segovia	TITULUS HONORARIUS	1
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	1
Castillo de la Monclova	Obulcula	INSTRUMENTUM POPULI ROMANI	1
Mesa de Lora	Oducia, Municipium Flavium	INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS	1
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	1
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	3
Torre de los Herberos	Orippo, civitas stipendiaria	INSTRUMENTUM	11
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	3
		TITULUS OPERIS PUBLICI	1
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	5

San Juan de Aznalfarache	Osset Constantia Iulia	TITULUS HONORARIUS	4
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	1
El Casar or Torre de Águila	Salpensa or Siarum	INSTRUMENTUM	1
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	3
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	8
La Saetilla	Segida Augurina	INSTRUMENTUM	4
		INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS	1
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	4
Torre de Águila	Siarum, Fortunales Siarenses	INSTRUMENTUM	4
		INSTRUMENTUM POPULI ROMANI	1
		TITULUS HONORARIUS	16
		TITULUS IMPERATORUM	4
		TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	9
		TITULUS OPERIS PUBLICI	2
		TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	2
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	11
Arroyo Blanco	Unknown	TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	1
Arroyo Granado	Unknown	TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	3
Cañada Afán	Unknown	TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	1
Castillo de Alhonoz	Unknown	INSTRUMENTUM	6
		INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	3
Cerro de la Atalaya	Unknown	INSTRUMENTUM	5
		LEX MUNICIPALIS	1

Cerro del Pascualejo	Unknown	TITULUS OPERIS PUBLICI	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	2
Cortijo del Villar	Unknown	TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	1
Cortijo Parchilena	Unknown	TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	1
El Moralejo	Unknown	TITULUS TERMINATIONIS	1
Herrera	Unknown	INSTRUMENTUM	2
		INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM	1
		TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	12
La Rabia	Unknown	TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	1
Lantejuela	Unknown	TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	1
Los Canterones	Unknown	TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	1
Los Castañares	Unknown	TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	1
Los Castellares	Unknown	TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	1
Los Cerverales	Unknown	TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	1

B.4 DISTRIBUTION OF OBJECT TYPE

Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Object Type	No. Surviving Inscriptions
Lora del Rio	Axati, Municipium Flavium	Ara	3
		Basis statuae	3
		Tabula	2
		Unknown	2
Cerro del Cincho	Basilippo	Ara	1
		Basis statuae	1
		Tabula	2
		Unknown	2
Carmona	Carmo, municipium ignotum	Ara	4
		Basis statuae	5
		Instrumentum: Cista	3
		Instrumentum: Dolium	1
		Instrumentum: Later	2
		Instrumentum: Tegula	7
		Instrumentum: Vas	1
		Murus	3
		Stela	1
		Tabella	3
		Tabula	47
		Undetermined	2
		Unknown	13
		Urna	11
Cerro del Agua	Carula	Tabula	1
Coria del Rio	Caura, Civitatas Stipendiaria	Ara	3
		Tabula	3
		Unknown	3
Peñaflor	Celti	Ara	5
		Basis statuae	5
		Epistylium	2
		Instrumentum: Signacula	1
		Parallelepipedum	5
		Tabella	1

Peñaflor	Celti	Tabula	76
		Unknown	6
Santiponce	Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica	Ara	9
		Basis statuae	18
		Columna	1
		Instrumentum: Fistula	2
		Instrumentum: Later	1
		Instrumentum: Sculptura	1
		Instrumentum: Tegula	5
		Milliarium	1
		Murus	1
		Parallelepipedum	1
		Pavimentum	6
		Stela	2
		Tabella	4
		Tabula	208
		Tabula Ansata	1
		Unknown	38
Écija	Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi	Ara	1
		Basis statuae	9
		Herma	1
		Instrumentum: Anulus	1
		Instrumentum: Fistula	1
		Instrumentum: Later	15
		Instrumentum: Signacula	3
		Milliarium	1
		Parallelepipedum	8
		Stela	27
		Stela quadrata	3
		Tabula	27
		Undetermined	1
		Unknown	31
Osuna	Colonia Genetiva Iulia (Urso)	Ara	3
		Basis statuae	3
		Bractea	1
		Instrumentum: Glans	14

Osuna	Colonia Genetiva Iulia (Urso)	Instrumentum: Signacula	1
		Parallelepipedum	2
		Pavimentum	1
		Stela	2
		Tabula	44
		Unknown	10
Possibly Sevilla	Colonia Romula Iulia Hispalis	Ara	6
		Stela	1
		Tabula	17
		Unknown	1
Sevilla	Colonia Romula Iulia Hispalis	Ara	17
		Basis statuae	18
		Cippus	2
		Columna	4
		Instrumentum: Amphora	1
		Instrumentum: Anulus	1
		Instrumentum: Ingot	1
		Parallelepipedum	1
		Stela	2
		Tabula	12
		Undetermined	2
		Unknown	40
Alcalá del Rio	Ilipa Magna	Ara	6
		Basis statuae	4
		Columna	2
		Instrumentum: Tegula	1
		Parallelepipedum	1
		Tabula	14
		Unknown	19
Morón de la Frontera	Lucurgentum Genius Iulii	Basis statuae	2
		Parallelepipedum	1
		Tabula	1
		Unknown	2

Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Munda	Herma	1
		Stela	2
		Tabula	1
		Undetermined	1
Villanueva del Rio/Peiia de la Sal	Municipium Flavium Arva	Basis statuae	3
		Instrumentum: Later	1
		Instrumentum: Signacula	1
		Instrumentum: Vas	2
		Tabula	4
		Unknown	2
Alcolea del Rio	Municipium Flavium Canania	Basis statuae	1
		Epistylium	1
		Tabula	4
Castillo de Mulva	Municipium Flavium Muniguense	Ara	3
		Basis statuae	23
		Instrumentum: Patera	1
		Instrumentum: Tegula	1
		Parallelepipedum	1
		Tabella	1
		Tabula	45
		Tabula Hospitalis	1
		Unknown	2
Cantillana	Municipium Flavium Naeva	Ara	2
		Basis statuae	2
		Instrumentum: Vas	1
		Tabula	5
		Unknown	7
Estepa	Municipium Flavium Ostipponensis	Basis statuae	2
		Parallelepipedum	1
		Stela	5
		Tabella	1
		Tabula	7
		Unknown	4

circa Estepa	Ostippo	Tabula	4
		Unknown	1
El Casar	Municipium Flavium Salpensanae	Basis statuae	2
		Tabella	1
		Tabula	9
		Undetermined	1
		Unknown	3
El Gandul	Municipium Irippo	Basis statuae	1
		Instrumentum: Tegula	1
		Tabula	15
		Undetermined	7
		Unknown	3
Isla del Castillo	Municipium Segovia	Basis statuae	1
		Tabula	2
Castillo de la Monclova	Obulcula	Bractea	1
Mesa de Lora	Oducia, Municipium Flavium	Ara	1
		Basis statuae	1
		Instrumentum: Signacula	1
		Tabula	4
Torre de los Herberos	Orippo, civitas stipendiaria	Cippus	1
		Disc	1
		Instrumentum: Later	10
		Stela	1
		Tabula	4
		Undetermined	4
San Juan de Aznalfarache	Osset Constantia Iulia	Basis statuae	2
		Parallelepipedum	1
		Unknown	2

El Casar or Torre de Águila	Salpensa or Siarum	Ara	2
		Basis statuae	1
		Instrumentum: Glans	1
		Parallelepipedum	1
		Tabula	1
		Unknown	6
La Saetilla	Segida Augurina	Instrumentum: Later	4
		Instrumentum: Pondus Textrinum	1
		Tabula	6
Torre de Águila	Siarum, Fortunales Siarenses	Ara	2
		Basis statuae	9
		Cippus	2
		Instrumentum: Amphora	1
		Instrumentum: Glans	2
		Instrumentum: Sculptura	1
		Instrumentum: Tegula	1
		Parallelepipedum	1
		Tabella	1
		Tabula	15
		Undetermined	2
		Unknown	5
Arroyo Blanco	Unknown	Unknown	1
Arroyo Granado	Unknown	Stela	1
		Unknown	1
Cañada Afán	Unknown	Tabula	1
Castillo de Alhonoz	Unknown	Instrumentum: Glans	6
		Instrumentum: Tegula	1
		Tabula	2
		Unknown	1
Cerro de la Atalaya	Unknown	Instrumentum: Glans	5
		Tabella	1

Cerro del Pascualejo	Unknown	Epistylium	1
		Parallelepipedum	1
		Tabula	1
Cortijo del Villar	Unknown	Stela	1
Cortijo Parchilena	Unknown	Stela	1
El Moralejo	Unknown	Unknown	1
Herrera	Unknown	Ara	1
		Instrumentum: Later	2
		Sigillum	1
		Tabula	9
La Rabia	Unknown	Stela quadrata	1
Lantejuela	Unknown	Stela	1
Los Canterones	Unknown	Stela	1
Los Castañares	Unknown	Stela	1
Los Castellares	Unknown	Basis statuae	1
Los Cerverales	Unknown	Tabula	1

B.5   DISTRIBUTION OF MATERIAL TYPES

Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Material	No. Surviving Inscriptions
Lora del Rio	Axati, Municipium Flavium	Marble	6
		Unidentified Stone	3
Cerro del Cincho	Basilippo	Marble	1
Carmona	Carmo, municipium ignotum	Bronze	2
		Clay	11
		Lead	7
		Limestone	9
		Marble	54
		Paint	3
		Sandstone	2
		Unidentified Stone	10
Cerro del Agua	Carula	Limestone	2
Coria del Rio	Caura, Civitatas Stipendiaria	Marble	6
		Unidentified Stone	3
Peñaflor	Celti	Bronze	1
		Lead	1
		Limestone	2
		Marble	87
		Unidentified Stone	3
Santiponce	Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica	Bronze	5
		Ceramic	1
		Clay	7
		Lead	3
		Limestone	24
		Marble	213
		Paint	1
		Sandstone	2
		Unidentified Stone	43

Écija	Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi	Bronze	2
		Clay	17
		Gold	1
		Lead	1
		Limestone	29
		Marble	40
		Sandstone	4
		Unidentified Stone	36
Osuna	Colonia Genetiva Iulia (Urso)	Bronze	1
		Clay	1
		Jasper	2
		Lead	14
		Limestone	16
		Marble	30
		Onyx	1
		Unidentified Stone	15
Possibly Sevilla	Colonia Romula Iulia Hispalis	Granite	1
		Marble	26
		Unidentified Stone	12
Sevilla	Colonia Romula Iulia Hispalis	Clay	1
		Gold	1
		Granite	1
		Lead	1
		Limestone	3
		Marble	57
		Unidentified Stone	13
Alcalá del Rio	Ilipa Magna	Clay	1
		Limestone	1
		Marble	23
		Sandstone	2
		Unidentified Stone	20
Morón de la Frontera	Lucurgentum Genius Iulii	Limestone	2
		Marble	3
		Unidentified Stone	1

Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Munda	Limestone	4
		Marble	1
Villanueva del Rio/Peiia de la Sal	Municipium Flavium Arva	Bronze	1
		Ceramic	1
		Glass	1
		Lead	1
		Marble	7
		Unidentified Stone	3
Alcolea del Rio	Municipium Flavium Canania	Granite	1
		Limestone	1
		Marble	4
Castillo de Mulva	Municipium Flavium Muniguense	Bronze	2
		Clay	1
		Granite	8
		Marble	60
		Sandstone	1
		Silver	1
		Unidentified Stone	4
Cantillana	Municipium Flavium Naeva	Glass	1
		Marble	9
		Unidentified Stone	6
Estepa	Municipium Flavium Ostipponensis	Bronze	1
		Limestone	5
		Marble	4
		Sandstone	2
		Unidentified Stone	9
El Casar	Municipium Flavium Salpensanae	Bronze	1
		Limestone	1
		Marble	14
El Gandul	Municipium Irippo	Clay	1
		Marble	24
		Unidentified Stone	2
Isla del Castillo	Municipium Segovia	Marble	2
		Piedra Jabaluna	1

Castillo de la Monclova	Obulcula	Bronze	1
Mesa de Lora	Oducia, Municipium Flavium	Gold	1
		Limestone	1
		Marble	5
Torre de los Herberos	Orippo, civitas stipendiaria	Ceramic	1
		Clay	10
		Marble	8
		Sandstone	2
San Juan de Aznalfarache	Osset Constantia Iulia	Marble	3
		Unidentified Stone	2
circa Estepa	Ostippo	Limestone	3
		Marble	2
El Casar or Torre de Águila	Salpensa or Siarum	Bronze	1
		Lead	1
		Limestone	2
		Marble	5
La Saetilla	Segida Augurina	Clay	4
		Limestone	3
		Marble	3
		Unknown	1
Torre de Águila	Siarum, Fortunales Siarenses	Bronze	1
		Ceramic	1
		Clay	2
		Lead	2
		Limestone	7
		Marble	26
		Unidentified Stone	3
Arroyo Blanco	Unknown	Sandstone	1
Arroyo Granado	Unknown	Sandstone	1
		Unidentified Stone	1
Cañada Afán	Unknown	Marble	1
Castillo de Alhonoz	Unknown	Clay	1
		Lead	6
		Marble	2
		Unidentified Stone	1

Cerro de la Atalaya	Unknown	Bronze	1
		Lead	5
Cerro del Pascualejo	Unknown	Limestone	1
		Marble	2
Cortijo del Villar	Unknown	Piedra Jabaluna	1
Cortijo Parchilena	Unknown	Limestone	1
El Moralejo	Unknown	Unidentified Stone	1
Herrera	Unknown	Clay	3
		Limestone	6
		Marble	4
La Rabia	Unknown	Limestone	1
Lantejuela	Unknown	Limestone	1
Los Canterones	Unknown	Sandstone or Limestone	1
Los Castañares	Unknown	Limestone	1
Los Castellares	Unknown	Marble	1
Los Cerverales	Unknown	Marble	1

B.6 DISTRIBUTION OF MATERIAL FROM KNOWN AND UNKNOWN SOURCES

Modern Site Name	Ancient Site Name	Material	Source	No. Surviving Inscriptions
Lora del Rio	Axati, Municipium Flavium	Marble	Unknown	6
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	3
Cerro del Cincho	Basilippo	Marble	Unknown	1
Carmona	Carmo, municipium ignotum	Bronze	Unknown	2
		Clay	Unknown	11
		Lead	Unknown	7
		Limestone	Local to Carmona	1
		Limestone	Sierra de la Mijas	1
		Limestone	Unknown	7
		Marble	Almadén de la Plata	1
		Marble	Unknown	53
		Paint	Unknown	3
		Sandstone	Unknown	2
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	10
Cerro del Agua	Carula	Limestone	Unknown	2
Coria del Rio	Caura, Civitatas Stipendiaria	Marble	Unknown	6
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	3
Peñaflor	Celti	Bronze	Unknown	1
		Lead	Unknown	1
		Limestone	Unknown	2
		Marble	Almadén de la Plata	14
		Marble	Unknown	73
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	3
Santiponce	Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica	Bronze	Unknown	5
		Ceramic	Unknown	1
		Clay	Unknown	7

Santiponce	Colonia Aelia Augusta Italica	Lead	Unknown	3
		Limestone	Almadén de la Plata	1
		Limestone	Unknown	23
		Marble	Almadén de la Plata	6
		Marble	Carystos	1
		Marble	Sierra de la Mijas	7
		Marble	Unknown	199
		Paint	Unknown	1
		Sandstone	Unknown	2
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	43
Écija	Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi	Bronze	Unknown	2
		Clay	Unknown	17
		Gold	Unknown	1
		Lead	Unknown	1
		Limestone	Unknown	29
		Marble	"Roman"	2
		Marble	Almadén de la Plata	1
		Marble	Unknown	37
		Sandstone	Unknown	4
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	36
Osuna	Colonia Genetiva Iulia (Urso)	Bronze	Unknown	1
		Clay	Unknown	1
		Jasper	Unknown	2
		Lead	Unknown	14
		Limestone	Unknown	16
		Marble	Unknown	30
		Onyx	Unknown	1
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	15
Possibly Sevilla	Colonia Romula Iulia Hispalis	Granite	Unknown	1
		Marble	Unknown	26
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	12

Sevilla	Colonia Romula Iulia Hispalis	Clay	Unknown	1
		Gold	Unknown	1
		Granite	Unknown	1
		Lead	Unknown	1
		Limestone	Unknown	3
		Marble	Almadén de la Plata	7
		Marble	Sierra de la Mijas	5
		Marble	Unknown	45
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	13
Alcalá del Rio	Ilipa Magna	Clay	Unknown	1
		Limestone	Unknown	1
		Marble	Unknown	22
		Marble	Verona	1
		Sandstone	Unknown	2
Alcalá del Rio	Ilipa Magna	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	20
Morón de la Frontera	Lucurgentum Genius Iulii	Limestone	Morón ?	2
		Marble	Unknown	3
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	1
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Munda	Limestone	Unknown	4
		Marble	Unknown	1
Villanueva del Rio/Peiia de la Sal	Municipium Flavium Arva	Bronze	Unknown	1
		Ceramic	Unknown	1
		Glass	Unknown	1
		Lead	Unknown	1
		Marble	Unknown	7
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	3
Alcolea del Rio	Municipium Flavium Canania	Granite	Unknown	1
		Limestone	Unknown	1
		Marble	Unknown	4

Castillo de Mulva	Municipium Flavium Muniguense	Bronze	Unknown	2
		Clay	Unknown	1
		Granite	Unknown	8
		Marble	Almadén de la Plata	11
		Marble	Unknown	49
		Sandstone	Unknown	1
		Silver	Unknown	1
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	4
Cantillana	Municipium Flavium Naeva	Glass	Unknown	1
		Marble	Almadén de la Plata	1
		Marble	Unknown	8
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	6
Estepa	Municipium Flavium Ostipponensis	Bronze	Unknown	1
		Limestone	Unknown	5
		Marble	Unknown	4
		Sandstone	Unknown	2
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	9
El Casar	Municipium Flavium Salpensanae	Bronze	Unknown	1
		Limestone	Unknown	1
		Marble	Almadén de la Plata	1
		Marble	Unknown	13
El Gandul	Municipium Irippo	Clay	Unknown	1
		Marble	Almadén de la Plata	14
		Marble	Unknown	10
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	2
Isla del Castillo	Municipium Segovia	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	1
		Marble	Unknown	1
		Piedra Jabaluna	Unknown	1

Castillo de la Monclova	Obulcula	Bronze	Unknown	1
Mesa de Lora	Oducia, Municipium Flavium	Gold	Unknown	1
		Limestone	Unknown	1
		Marble	Unknown	5
Torre de los Herberos	Orippo, civitas stipendiaria	Ceramic	Unknown	1
		Clay	Unknown	10
		Marble	Unknown	8
		Sandstone	Unknown	2
San Juan de Aznalfarache	Osset Constantia Iulia	Marble	Unknown	3
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	2
circa Estepa	Ostippo	Limestone	Unknown	3
		Marble	Unknown	2
El Casar or Torre de Águila	Salpensa or Siarum	Bronze	Unknown	1
		Lead	Unknown	1
		Limestone	Unknown	2
		Marble	Unknown	5
La Saetilla	Segida Augurina	Clay	Unknown	4
		Limestone	Unknown	3
		Marble	Unknown	3
		Unknown	Unknown	1
Torre de Águila	Siarum, Fortunales Siarenses	Bronze	Unknown	1
		Ceramic	Unknown	1
		Clay	Unknown	2
		Lead	Unknown	2
		Limestone	Local to Siarum	5
		Limestone	Morón ?	1
		Limestone	Unknown	1
		Marble	Sierra de la Mijas	1
		Marble	Unknown	25
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	3
Arroyo Blanco	Unknown	Sandstone	Unknown	1

Arroyo Granado	Unknown	Sandstone	Unknown	1
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	1
Cañada Afán	Unknown	Marble	Unknown	1
Castillo de Alhonoz	Unknown	Clay	Unknown	1
		Lead	Unknown	6
		Marble	Unknown	2
		Unidentified Stone	Unknown	1
Cerro de la Atalaya	Unknown	Bronze	Unknown	1
		Lead	Unknown	5
Cerro del Pascualejo	Unknown	Limestone	Unknown	1
		Marble	Unknown	2
Cortijo del Villar	Unknown	Piedra Jabaluna	Unknown	1
Cortijo Parchilena	Unknown	Limestone	Unknown	1
El Moralejo	Unknown	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	1
Herrera	Unknown	Clay	Unknown	3
		Limestone	Unknown	6
		Marble	Unknown	4
La Rabia	Unknown	Limestone	Unknown	1
Lantejuela	Unknown	Limestone	Unknown	1
Los Canterones	Unknown	Sandstone or Limestone	Unknown	1
Los Castañares	Unknown	Limestone	Unknown	1
Los Castellares	Unknown	Marble	Unknown	1
Los Cerverales	Unknown	Marble	Unknown	1

APPENDIX C: DATA TABLES CHAPTER 7

C.1 THE PERIOD DURING WHICH EPIGRAPHY FIRST BEGAN TO BE USED FREQUENTLY

Modern Site Name	Generalised phase	No. Surviving Inscriptions
Carmona	Republican	1
Castillo de Alhonoz	Republican	6
Cerro de la Atalaya	Republican	3
El Casar or Torre de Águila	Republican	1
Santiponce	Republican	2
Torre de Águila	Republican	1
Carmona	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Possibly Sevilla	Republican/ Early Imperial	2
Santiponce	Republican/ Early Imperial	2
Sevilla	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Torre de Águila	Republican/ Early Imperial	2
Torre de los Herberos	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Carmona	Augustan	5
Écija	Augustan	8
Herrera	Augustan	1
Los Canterones	Augustan	1
Santiponce	Augustan	5
Torre de Águila	Augustan	1
Arroyo Granado	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	20
Castillo de Mulva	Augustan & Early Imperial	2
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	22
El Casar	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
El Moralejo	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Estepa	Augustan & Early Imperial	2
Peñaflor	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Santiponce	Augustan & Early Imperial	5
Torre de Águila	Augustan & Early Imperial	3
Arroyo Granado	Flavian & post Flavian	1

Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	12
Castillo de Alhonoz	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	21
Cerro de la Atalaya	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Cerro del Pascualejo	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	31
El Casar	Flavian & post Flavian	1
El Gandul	Flavian & post Flavian	3
Estepa	Flavian & post Flavian	2
Lantejuela	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Los Castellares	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	24
Possibly Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	7
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	34
Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	8
Torre de Águila	Flavian & post Flavian	6
Torre de los Herberos	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	44
Castillo de Alhonoz	2nd C AD	3
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	42
Cerro del Pascualejo	2nd C AD	2
circa Estepa	2nd C AD	4
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	2nd C AD	3
Cortijo del Villar	2nd C AD	1
Cortijo Parchilena	2nd C AD	1
Écija	2nd C AD	44
El Casar	2nd C AD	6
El Casar or Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	1
El Gandul	2nd C AD	6
Estepa	2nd C AD	16
Herrera	2nd C AD	8
La Rabia	2nd C AD	1
Los Castañares	2nd C AD	1
Los Cerverales	2nd C AD	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	63
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	8
Santiponce	2nd C AD	141
Sevilla	2nd C AD	40
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	17

Torre de los Herberos	2nd C AD	2
Cañada Afán	3rd C AD	1
Carmona	3rd C AD	3
Castillo de Mulva	3rd C AD	2
Écija	3rd C AD	10
El Casar	3rd C AD	2
El Gandul	3rd C AD	6
Estepa	3rd C AD	2
Herrera	3rd C AD	3
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	8
Possibly Sevilla	3rd C AD	8
Santiponce	3rd C AD	62
Sevilla	3rd C AD	5
Torre de Águila	3rd C AD	1
Torre de los Herberos	3rd C AD	1

C.2 THE USE OF PARTICULAR TYPES OF INSCRIBED OBJECT

Modern Site Name	Object Type	Generalised phase	No. Surviving Inscriptions
Carmona	Tabella	Republican	1
Castillo de Alhonoz	Instrumentum: Glans	Republican	6
Cerro de la Atalaya	Instrumentum: Glans	Republican	3
El Casar or Torre de Águila	Instrumentum: Glans	Republican	1
Santiponce	Basis statuae	Republican	1
Santiponce	Pavimentum	Republican	1
Torre de Águila	Cippus	Republican	1
Carmona	Tabula	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Stela	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Possibly Sevilla	Stela	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Possibly Sevilla	Tabula	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Santiponce	Parallelepipedum	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Santiponce	Unknown	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Sevilla	Stela	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Torre de Águila	Instrumentum: Tegula	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Torre de Águila	Parallelepipedum	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Torre de los Herberos	Stela	Republican/ Early Imperial	1
Carmona	Instrumentum: Cista	Augustan	1
Carmona	Murus	Augustan	1
Carmona	Unknown	Augustan	1
Carmona	Urna	Augustan	2
Écija	Basis statuae	Augustan	2
Écija	Instrumentum: Signacula	Augustan	1
Écija	Parallelepipedum	Augustan	2
Écija	Stela	Augustan	2

Écija	Unknown	Augustan	1
Herrera	Tabula	Augustan	1
Los Canterones	Stela	Augustan	1
Santiponce	Basis statuae	Augustan	1
Santiponce	Instrumentum: Tegula	Augustan	1
Santiponce	Tabula	Augustan	2
Santiponce	Unknown	Augustan	1
Arroyo Granado	Stela	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Carmona	Basis statuae	Augustan & Early Imperial	4
Carmona	Instrumentum: Cista	Augustan & Early Imperial	2
Carmona	Murus	Augustan & Early Imperial	2
Carmona	Stela	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Carmona	Tabula	Augustan & Early Imperial	3
Carmona	Unknown	Augustan & Early Imperial	4
Carmona	Urna	Augustan & Early Imperial	4
Castillo de Mulva	Basis statuae	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Castillo de Mulva	Tabula Hospitalis	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Herma	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Écija	Basis statuae	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Écija	Parallelepipedum	Augustan & Early Imperial	2
Écija	Stela	Augustan & Early Imperial	12
Écija	Stela quadrata	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Écija	Unknown	Augustan & Early Imperial	6
El Casar	Unknown	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
El Moralejo	Unknown	Augustan & Early Imperial	1

Estepa	Basis statuae	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Estepa	Tabula	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Peñaflor	Tabula	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Santiponce	Basis statuae	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Santiponce	Instrumentum: Tegula	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Santiponce	Stela	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Santiponce	Tabula	Augustan & Early Imperial	2
Torre de Águila	Cippus	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Torre de Águila	Tabella	Augustan & Early Imperial	1
Arroyo Granado	Unknown	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Carmona	Instrumentum: Dolium	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Carmona	Instrumentum: Tegula	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Carmona	Instrumentum: Vas	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Carmona	Tabula	Flavian & post Flavian	7
Carmona	Urna	Flavian & post Flavian	2
Castillo de Alhonoz	Instrumentum: Tegula	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Castillo de Mulva	Ara	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Castillo de Mulva	Basis statuae	Flavian & post Flavian	6
Castillo de Mulva	Instrumentum: Patera	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Castillo de Mulva	Tabella	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Castillo de Mulva	Tabula	Flavian & post Flavian	12
Cerro de la Atalaya	Tabella	Flavian & post Flavian	1

Cerro del Pascualejo	Epistylium	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Écija	Basis statuae	Flavian & post Flavian	3
Écija	Herma	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Écija	Instrumentum: Signacula	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Écija	Parallelepipedum	Flavian & post Flavian	3
Écija	Stela	Flavian & post Flavian	7
Écija	Stela quadrata	Flavian & post Flavian	2
Écija	Tabula	Flavian & post Flavian	4
Écija	Undetermined	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Écija	Unknown	Flavian & post Flavian	9
El Casar	Tabella	Flavian & post Flavian	1
El Gandul	Tabula	Flavian & post Flavian	2
El Gandul	Undetermined	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Estepa	Stela	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Estepa	Tabella	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Lantejuela	Stela	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Los Castellares	Basis statuae	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Peñaflor	Ara	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Peñaflor	Basis statuae	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Peñaflor	Instrumentum: Signacula	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Peñaflor	Parallelepipedum	Flavian & post Flavian	6
Peñaflor	Tabula	Flavian & post Flavian	15

Possibly Sevilla	Ara	Flavian & post Flavian	2
Possibly Sevilla	Tabula	Flavian & post Flavian	5
Santiponce	Basis statuae	Flavian & post Flavian	3
Santiponce	Columna	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Santiponce	Instrumentum: Tegula	Flavian & post Flavian	2
Santiponce	Murus	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Santiponce	Tabula	Flavian & post Flavian	26
Santiponce	Tabula Ansata	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Sevilla	Ara	Flavian & post Flavian	2
Sevilla	Basis statuae	Flavian & post Flavian	4
Sevilla	Cippus	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Sevilla	Unknown	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Torre de Águila	Ara	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Torre de Águila	Tabula	Flavian & post Flavian	4
Torre de Águila	Unknown	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Torre de los Herberos	Tabula	Flavian & post Flavian	1
Carmona	Ara	2nd C AD	3
Carmona	Instrumentum: Later	2nd C AD	2
Carmona	Instrumentum: Tegula	2nd C AD	6
Carmona	Tabella	2nd C AD	2
Carmona	Tabula	2nd C AD	29
Carmona	Undetermined	2nd C AD	1
Carmona	Urna	2nd C AD	1
Castillo de Alhonoz	Tabula	2nd C AD	2
Castillo de Alhonoz	Unknown	2nd C AD	1
Castillo de Mulva	Ara	2nd C AD	2
Castillo de Mulva	Basis statuae	2nd C AD	14

Castillo de Mulva	Instrumentum: Tegula	2nd C AD		1
Castillo de Mulva	Parallelepipedum	2nd C AD		1
Castillo de Mulva	Tabula	2nd C AD		24
Cerro del Pascualejo	Parallelepipedum	2nd C AD		1
Cerro del Pascualejo	Tabula	2nd C AD		1
circa Estepa	Tabula	2nd C AD		4
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Stela	2nd C AD		1
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Tabula	2nd C AD		1
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Undetermined	2nd C AD		1
Cortijo del Villar	Stela	2nd C AD		1
Cortijo Parchilena	Stela	2nd C AD		1
Écija	Basis statuae	2nd C AD		3
Écija	Instrumentum: Fistula	2nd C AD		1
Écija	Instrumentum: Signacula	2nd C AD		1
Écija	Stela	2nd C AD		4
Écija	Tabula	2nd C AD		21
Écija	Unknown	2nd C AD		14
El Casar	Basis statuae	2nd C AD		1
El Casar	Tabula	2nd C AD		5
El Casar or Torre de Águila	Ara	2nd C AD		1
El Gandul	Basis statuae	2nd C AD		1
El Gandul	Tabula	2nd C AD		4
El Gandul	Undetermined	2nd C AD		1
Estepa	Basis statuae	2nd C AD		1
Estepa	Parallelepipedum	2nd C AD		1
Estepa	Stela	2nd C AD		4
Estepa	Tabula	2nd C AD		5
Estepa	Unknown	2nd C AD		4
Herrera	Ara	2nd C AD		1
Herrera	Sigillum	2nd C AD		1
Herrera	Tabula	2nd C AD		6
La Rabia	Stela quadrata	2nd C AD		1
Los Castañares	Stela	2nd C AD		1
Los Cerverales	Tabula	2nd C AD		1
Peñaflor	Ara	2nd C AD		2

Peñaflor	Basis statuae	2nd C AD	4
Peñaflor	Epistylium	2nd C AD	2
Peñaflor	Tabula	2nd C AD	52
Peñaflor	Unknown	2nd C AD	3
Possibly Sevilla	Ara	2nd C AD	2
Possibly Sevilla	Tabula	2nd C AD	3
Possibly Sevilla	Unknown	2nd C AD	1
Santiponce	Ara	2nd C AD	8
Santiponce	Basis statuae	2nd C AD	8
Santiponce	Instrumentum: Fistula	2nd C AD	2
Santiponce	Instrumentum: Later	2nd C AD	1
Santiponce	Milliarium	2nd C AD	1
Santiponce	Tabella	2nd C AD	2
Santiponce	Tabula	2nd C AD	106
Santiponce	Unknown	2nd C AD	13
Sevilla	Ara	2nd C AD	13
Sevilla	Basis statuae	2nd C AD	9
Sevilla	Cippus	2nd C AD	1
Sevilla	Columna	2nd C AD	1
Sevilla	Stela	2nd C AD	1
Sevilla	Tabula	2nd C AD	9
Sevilla	Unknown	2nd C AD	5
Torre de Águila	Basis statuae	2nd C AD	7
Torre de Águila	Instrumentum: Amphora	2nd C AD	1
Torre de Águila	Tabula	2nd C AD	6
Torre de Águila	Undetermined	2nd C AD	2
Torre de Águila	Unknown	2nd C AD	1
Torre de los Herberos	Tabula	2nd C AD	1
Torre de los Herberos	Undetermined	2nd C AD	1
Cañada Afán	Tabula	3rd C AD	1
Carmona	Tabula	3rd C AD	1
Carmona	Unknown	3rd C AD	1
Carmona	Urna	3rd C AD	1
Castillo de Mulva	Tabula	3rd C AD	2
Écija	Ara	3rd C AD	1
Écija	Instrumentum: Later	3rd C AD	2
Écija	Milliarium	3rd C AD	1
Écija	Parallelepipedum	3rd C AD	1
Écija	Stela	3rd C AD	2
Écija	Tabula	3rd C AD	2
Écija	Unknown	3rd C AD	1

El Casar	Tabula	3rd C AD	2
El Gandul	Tabula	3rd C AD	3
El Gandul	Undetermined	3rd C AD	3
Estepa	Tabula	3rd C AD	1
Herrera	Instrumentum: Later	3rd C AD	1
Herrera	Tabula	3rd C AD	2
Peñaflor	Ara	3rd C AD	2
Peñaflor	Tabula	3rd C AD	6
Possibly Sevilla	Ara	3rd C AD	1
Possibly Sevilla	Tabula	3rd C AD	7
Santiponce	Ara	3rd C AD	1
Santiponce	Basis statuae	3rd C AD	4
Santiponce	Tabella	3rd C AD	1
Santiponce	Tabula	3rd C AD	52
Santiponce	Unknown	3rd C AD	4
Sevilla	Ara	3rd C AD	1
Sevilla	Basis statuae	3rd C AD	1
Sevilla	Tabula	3rd C AD	2
Sevilla	Unknown	3rd C AD	1
Torre de Águila	Tabula	3rd C AD	1
Torre de los Herberos	Tabula	3rd C AD	1

C.3 THE USE OF PARTICULAR MATERIALS, SPECIFICALLY TYPES OF STONE

Modern Site Name	Generalised phase	Material	Source	Colour	No. Surviving Inscriptions
Carmona	Republican	Lead	Unknown		1
Castillo de Alhonoz	Republican	Lead	Unknown		6
Cerro de la Atalaya	Republican	Lead	Unknown		3
El Casar or Torre de Águila	Republican	Lead	Unknown		1
Santiponce	Republican	Ceramic	Unknown	Red	1
Santiponce	Republican	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	Ashy (Greyish) with dark veins	1
Torre de Águila	Republican	Limestone	Local to Siarum	Yellow	1
Carmona	Republican/ Early Imperial	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White	1
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Republican/ Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	White ?	1
Possibly Sevilla	Republican/ Early Imperial	Granite	Unknown	Grey	1
Possibly Sevilla	Republican/ Early Imperial	Marble	Unknown	Grey	1
Santiponce	Republican/ Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	White ?	1
Santiponce	Republican/ Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	Yellowish	1
Sevilla	Republican/ Early Imperial	Marble	Unknown	Black	1
Torre de Águila	Republican/ Early Imperial	Clay	Unknown	White	1

Torre de Águila	Republican/ Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	Yellow	1
Torre de los Herberos	Republican/ Early Imperial	Sandstone	Unknown	Yellow	1
Carmona	Augustan	Clay	Unknown	Unknown	1
Carmona	Augustan	Lead	Unknown		1
Carmona	Augustan	Limestone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Carmona	Augustan	Marble	Unknown	White	1
Carmona	Augustan	Paint	Unknown	Unknown	1
Écija	Augustan	Clay	Unknown	Terracotta	1
Écija	Augustan	Limestone	Unknown	Ashy (Greyish)	1
Écija	Augustan	Limestone	Unknown	White ?	1
Écija	Augustan	Limestone	Unknown	Yellowish	1
Écija	Augustan	Marble	Unknown	Dark (black)	1
Écija	Augustan	Sandstone	Unknown	Yellowish	1
Écija	Augustan	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	2
Herrera	Augustan	Limestone	Unknown	Bluish grey	1
Los Canterones	Augustan	Sandstone or Limestone	Unknown	Purple	1
Santiponce	Augustan	Clay	Unknown	Unknown	1
Santiponce	Augustan	Marble	Unknown	Pink	1
Santiponce	Augustan	Marble	Unknown	Unknown	1
Santiponce	Augustan	Sandstone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Santiponce	Augustan	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Arroyo Granado	Augustan & Early Imperial	Sandstone	Unknown	Ashy (Greyish)	1
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Lead	Unknown		4
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Limestone	Local to Carmona	Grey	1
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	Unknown	2
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Marble	Unknown	White	2

Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Marble	Unknown	White ?	2
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Marble	Unknown	White with pink veins	1
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Paint	Unknown	Red	1
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Paint	Unknown	Unknown	1
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Black	1
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	3
Castillo de Mulva	Augustan & Early Imperial	Bronze	Unknown		1
Castillo de Mulva	Augustan & Early Imperial	Granite	Unknown	Unknown	1
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Augustan & Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	Reddish with clear veins	1
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	Ashy (Greyish)	4
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	Bluish grey	1
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	Pale yellow (lurido)	1
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	Unknown	2
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	White ?	3
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	Yellowish	1
Écija	Augustan & Early	Marble	Unknown	White ?	1

	Imperial				
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	Sandstone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	8
El Casar	Augustan & Early Imperial	Marble	Unknown	White	1
El Moralejo	Augustan & Early Imperial	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Estepa	Augustan & Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	White	1
Estepa	Augustan & Early Imperial	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Peñaflor	Augustan & Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	Dark (black)	1
Santiponce	Augustan & Early Imperial	Clay	Unknown	Unknown	1
Santiponce	Augustan & Early Imperial	Limestone	Unknown	Grey	1
Santiponce	Augustan & Early Imperial	Marble	Sierra de la Mijas	White	1
Santiponce	Augustan & Early Imperial	Marble	Unknown	White	1
Santiponce	Augustan & Early Imperial	Marble	Unknown	White ?	1
Torre de Águila	Augustan & Early Imperial	Bronze	Unknown		1
Torre de Águila	Augustan & Early Imperial	Limestone	Local to Siarum	Yellow	1
Arroyo Granado	Flavian & post Flavian	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	Clay	Unknown	Unknown	2

Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	Limestone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	Limestone	Unknown	Yellowish with black veins	1
Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White	4
Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White ?	2
Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White with ashy grey veins	1
Castillo de Alhonoz	Flavian & post Flavian	Clay	Unknown	Terracotta	1
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	Bronze	Unknown		1
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	Granite	Unknown	Dark (black)	3
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	Granite	Unknown	Unknown	2
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White	7
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White ?	5
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	Sandstone	Unknown	Grey	1
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	Silver	Unknown		1
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Cerro de la Atalaya	Flavian & post Flavian	Bronze	Unknown		1
Cerro del Pascualejo	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	Pink	1
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Bronze	Unknown		1
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Limestone	Unknown	Ashy (Greyish)	3
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Limestone	Unknown	Bluish grey	1
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Limestone	Unknown	Pink	1
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Limestone	Unknown	Pink with white and violet	1

				veins	
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Limestone	Unknown	White	2
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Limestone	Unknown	White ?	2
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	"Roman"	Pink	1
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	Ashy (Greyish)	1
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	Pink	1
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White	1
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White ?	6
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	10
El Casar	Flavian & post Flavian	Bronze	Unknown		1
El Gandul	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White	1
El Gandul	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	Yellow	2
Estepa	Flavian & post Flavian	Bronze	Unknown		1
Estepa	Flavian & post Flavian	Sandstone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Lantejuela	Flavian & post Flavian	Limestone	Unknown	Whitish	1
Los Castellares	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White	1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Bronze	Unknown		1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Limestone	Unknown	Pink	1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White with pink veins	2
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White with violet veins	1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	Ashy (Greyish)	1

Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	Black	1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	Pink	1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White	1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White ?	13
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White with bluish grey veins	1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Possibly Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White	5
Possibly Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	Yellow	2
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Clay	Unknown	Unknown	2
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Lead	Unknown		1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Limestone	Unknown	Dark (black)	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Limestone	Unknown	Grey	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Limestone	Unknown	White	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White with pink and blue veins	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	Cream	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	Dark (black)	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White	20
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White ?	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White with pink and yellow veins	1

Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White with red veins	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	Yellowish with black veins	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Paint	Unknown	Unknown	1
Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Sierra de la Mijas	White to blue	1
Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White	4
Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White with pink veins	1
Torre de Águila	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White	5
Torre de Águila	Flavian & post Flavian	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Torre de los Herberos	Flavian & post Flavian	Marble	Unknown	White	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Bronze	Unknown		2
Carmona	2nd C AD	Clay	Unknown	Unknown	8
Carmona	2nd C AD	Limestone	Sierra de la Mijas	Violet	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Grey	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Yellowish with black veins	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Grey	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	13
Carmona	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White ?	10
Carmona	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with grey veins	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with violet veins	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Yellow	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Sandstone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	2
Castillo de Alhonoz	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	2
Castillo de Alhonoz	2nd C AD	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	1

Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Clay	Unknown	Unknown	1
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Granite	Unknown	Dark (black)	1
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Granite	Unknown	Unknown	1
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White with pink and blue veins	1
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White with pink veins	9
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	15
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White ?	14
Cerro del Pascualejo	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	White	1
Cerro del Pascualejo	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	1
circa Estepa	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Purple	1
circa Estepa	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	White	1
circa Estepa	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	2
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Ashy (Greyish)	1
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	White with pink veins	1
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White ?	1
Cortijo del Villar	2nd C AD	Piedra Jabaluna	Unknown	Tawny (yellowish brown)	1
Cortijo Parchilena	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	White	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Bronze	Unknown		1
Écija	2nd C AD	Lead	Unknown		1
Écija	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	White	2
Écija	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Yellowish	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Marble	"Roman"	Pink	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Pink	1

Écija	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White ?	19
Écija	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with ashy grey veins	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with lilac veins	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Yellowish with pink veins	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	14
El Casar	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Pink	1
El Casar	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	5
El Casar or Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	1
El Gandul	2nd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White	3
El Gandul	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	2
El Gandul	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Yellow	1
Estepa	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Ashy (Greyish)	1
Estepa	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Dark (black)	1
Estepa	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	White	1
Estepa	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Pink	1
Estepa	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	3
Estepa	2nd C AD	Sandstone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Estepa	2nd C AD	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	7
Herrera	2nd C AD	Clay	Unknown	Terracotta	1
Herrera	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Blue with yellowish veins	1
Herrera	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	White	3
Herrera	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Yellowish	1
Herrera	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	2
La Rabia	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	White	1
Los Castañares	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	White	1
Los Cerverales	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Tawny (yellowish brown)	1

Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White	3
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White ?	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White with pink veins	4
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White with red veins	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White with violet veins	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Ashy (Greyish)	2
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Ashy (Greyish) with dark veins	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Calcario? With green veins	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Greenish	2
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Pink	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	4
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White ?	30
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with ashy grey veins	2
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with dark (black) veins	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with pink and red veins	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with pink veins	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Yellow	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Yellowish with reddish veins	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Dark (black)	1

Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	5
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Yellow	1
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	2
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Bronze	Unknown		2
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Clay	Unknown	Unknown	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Lead	Unknown		2
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Dark (black)	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Grey	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Pink	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	White	4
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	White ?	4
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Yellowish	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White with pink veins	2
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Carystos	White	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Sierra de la Mijas	White	4
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Sierra de la Mijas	White to blue	2
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Grey	2
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Grey with white veins	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Pink with white veins	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	65
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White ?	10
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White to blue	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with blue veins	2
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with dark (black) veins	4
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with grey veins	3

				White with pink veins	4
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with pink veins	4
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Yellow	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Yellowish	2
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Yellowish with black veins	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	18
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Granite	Unknown	Unknown	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Yellow	2
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White	3
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White with lilac veins	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White with pink veins	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Marble	Sierra de la Mijas	White	2
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Marble	Sierra de la Mijas	White to blue	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Grey	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	16
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White ?	6
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with purple veins	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Yellow	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Ceramic	Unknown	Unknown	1
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Limestone	Local to Siarum	Yellow	1
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Marble	Sierra de la Mijas	White	1
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	13
Torre de los Herberos	2nd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	2
Cañada Afán	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	1
Carmona	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White ?	1

Carmona	3rd C AD	Sandstone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Carmona	3rd C AD	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	1
Castillo de Mulva	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	2
Écija	3rd C AD	Clay	Unknown	Terracotta	2
Écija	3rd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Yellow	1
Écija	3rd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White ?	1
Écija	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White ?	2
Écija	3rd C AD	Sandstone	Unknown	Purple	1
Écija	3rd C AD	Sandstone	Unknown	Saffron yellow	1
Écija	3rd C AD	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	2
El Casar	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	2
El Gandul	3rd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White	3
El Gandul	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	3
Estepa	3rd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Tawny (yellowish brown)	1
Herrera	3rd C AD	Clay	Unknown	Terracotta	1
Herrera	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	1
Herrera	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with blue veins	1
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White with pink veins	1
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Ashy (Greyish)	2
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Tawny (yellowish brown)	1
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White ?	3
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with pink veins	1
Possibly Sevilla	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Grey	1
Possibly Sevilla	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Pink	1
Possibly Sevilla	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	6
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Bronze	Unknown		1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Pink	1

Santiponce	3rd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	White	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White	2
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	White with pink veins	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Sierra de la Mijas	White	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Beige	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Blue with white veins	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Cream	5
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	30
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White ?	5
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White to blue	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with bluish grey veins	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with grey veins	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White with pink veins	4
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Yellowish	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Yellowish with pink veins	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Unidentified Stone	Unknown	Unknown	4
Sevilla	3rd C AD	Limestone	Unknown	Yellow	1
Sevilla	3rd C AD	Marble	Almadén de la Plata	Unknown	1
Sevilla	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	Black	1
Sevilla	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	1
Torre de Águila	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	1
Torre de los Herberos	3rd C AD	Marble	Unknown	White	1

C.4 THE USE OF DECORATIVE ELEMENTS WITHIN THE TEXT AND UPON THE OBJECT ITSELF

Modern Site Name	Generalised phase	Decoration Description	Engraved or Relief?	No. Surviving Inscriptions
Carmona	Republican	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Castillo de Alhonoz	Republican	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	6
Cerro de la Atalaya	Republican	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	3
El Casar or Torre de Águila	Republican	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Santiponce	Republican	Geometric border	Neither	1
Santiponce	Republican	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Torre de Águila	Republican	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Carmona	Republican/ Early Imperial	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Republican/ Early Imperial	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	1
Possibly Sevilla	Republican/ Early Imperial	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	1
Possibly Sevilla	Republican/ Early Imperial	Sculptured border	Relief	1
Santiponce	Republican/ Early Imperial	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Santiponce	Republican/ Early Imperial	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	1
Sevilla	Republican/ Early Imperial	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	1
Torre de Águila	Republican/ Early Imperial	3 concentric circles	Relief	1

Torre de Águila	Republican/ Early Imperial	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	1
Torre de Águila	Republican/ Early Imperial	Sculptured border	Relief	1
Torre de los Herberos	Republican/ Early Imperial	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	1
Carmona	Augustan	Carved feet on urna	Relief	1
Carmona	Augustan	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	2
Carmona	Augustan	Sculptured border	Relief	1
Écija	Augustan	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	5
Écija	Augustan	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	3
Herrera	Augustan	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Los Canterones	Augustan	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	1
Los Canterones	Augustan	Two incised lines forming inverted V shape	Engraved	1
Santiponce	Augustan	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	4
Santiponce	Augustan	Sculptured border	Relief	1
Arroyo Granado	Augustan & Early Imperial	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	3 dimensional triangular design at base of urn	Relief	1
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Carved feet on urna	Relief	2
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Decoration formed of wavy, undulating and zig-zag	Engraved	3
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	13
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	2

Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Sculptured border	Relief	1
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Solid bands sculpted running horizontally	Relief	1
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Virgula/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
Castillo de Mulva	Augustan & Early Imperial	Cornice carved with palm fronds on either side	Relief	1
Castillo de Mulva	Augustan & Early Imperial	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Augustan & Early Imperial	Inlaid decoration	Neither	1
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	9
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	4
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	7
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	Rounded upper edge of stela carved	Relief	1
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	Sculptured border	Relief	1
Estepa	Augustan & Early Imperial	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	2
Peñaflor	Augustan & Early Imperial	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Santiponce	Augustan & Early Imperial	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Santiponce	Augustan & Early Imperial	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	3
Santiponce	Augustan & Early	Patera	Relief	1

	Imperial			
Santiponce	Augustan & Early Imperial	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	1
Santiponce	Augustan & Early Imperial	Sculptured border	Relief	1
Santiponce	Augustan & Early Imperial	Urceus	Relief	1
Torre de Águila	Augustan & Early Imperial	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	2
Arroyo Granado	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	Carved feet on urna	Relief	1
Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	Figurative scene	Relief	1
Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	6
Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	1
Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	Rounded upper edge of stela carved	Engraved	1
Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	Sculptured border	Relief	1
Castillo de Alhonoz	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	12
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	6
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	Puncta resemble crescent moon, straight appendices	Engraved	2
Castillo de Mulva	Flavian & post Flavian	Sculptured border	Relief	2
Cerro de la Atalaya	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1

Cerro del Pascualejo	Flavian & post Flavian	Sculptured border	Engraved	1
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Architectural moulding of inscribed object	Relief	1
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Inlaid decoration	Neither	1
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	14
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	4
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	7
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Rounded upper edge of stela carved	Relief	1
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Sculptured border	Relief	5
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Virgula/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
El Casar	Flavian & post Flavian	Moulded border	Engraved	1
El Gandul	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	2
El Gandul	Flavian & post Flavian	Virgula/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
Estepa	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Estepa	Flavian & post Flavian	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	1
Lantejuela	Flavian & post Flavian	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	1
Los Castellares	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Architectural moulding of inscribed object	Relief	1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Cornice carved with pulvini and rosae	Relief	1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	3
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Incised border	Relief	1

Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	17
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Sculptured border	Relief	1
Possibly Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Cornice carved with pulvini, rosae & floral dectn	Relief	1
Possibly Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Garland	Relief	1
Possibly Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	4
Possibly Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Patera	Relief	2
Possibly Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Praefericulum	Relief	2
Possibly Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	2
Possibly Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Sculptured border	Relief	3
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	6
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Laurea (wreath)	Neither	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	11
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	6
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Puncta resemble crescent moon, straight appendices	Engraved	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	3
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Sculptured border	Relief	6
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Virgula/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Architectural column with corinthian capital	Relief	1

Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Cornice carved with pulvini & spiral decoration	Relief	1
Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Cornice carved with pulvini and rosae	Relief	1
Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Neither	1
Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	2
Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Patera	Engraved	1
Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Praefericulum	Engraved	1
Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	2
Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Sculptured border	Relief	4
Torre de Águila	Flavian & post Flavian	Capricorns (Sign of the Scorpion)	Unknown	1
Torre de Águila	Flavian & post Flavian	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	2
Torre de Águila	Flavian & post Flavian	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	3
Torre de los Herberos	Flavian & post Flavian	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Cornice carved with geometric design	Relief	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini & spiral decoration	Relief	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini and rosae	Relief	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	3
Carmona	2nd C AD	Hederae styled as irises utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	36
Carmona	2nd C AD	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Patera	Engraved	1

Carmona	2nd C AD	Praefericulum	Engraved	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	2
Carmona	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	1
Castillo de Alhonoz	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	3
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Border of flowers and vine shoots	Relief	4
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini and rosae	Relief	2
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Decorative hederae	Engraved	1
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	2
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Moulded cornice	Relief	1
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	21
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Patera	Relief	5
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Praefericulum	Relief	3
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	8
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	1
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	7
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Sculptured border of ova	Relief	4
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Urceus	Relief	1
Cerro del Pascualejo	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
circa Estepa	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	4
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	2
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	2nd C AD	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	1

Cortijo del Villar	2nd C AD	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	2
Cortijo Parchilena	2nd C AD	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	2
Écija	2nd C AD	Architectural moulding of inscribed object	Relief	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	7
Écija	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	18
Écija	2nd C AD	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	12
Écija	2nd C AD	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	2
Écija	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Engraved	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	3
Écija	2nd C AD	Virgula/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
El Casar	2nd C AD	Architectural moulding of inscribed object	Relief	2
El Casar	2nd C AD	Leaf and floral border	Relief	1
El Casar	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	2
El Casar	2nd C AD	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	1
El Casar	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	1
El Casar	2nd C AD	Virgula/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
El Casar or Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini and rosae	Relief	1
El Casar or Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Palma	Engraved	1
El Casar or Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Praefericulum	Engraved	1
El Casar or Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	1
El Casar or Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	1

El Gandul	2nd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
El Gandul	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	3
El Gandul	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	2
Estepa	2nd C AD	Garland	Unknown	1
Estepa	2nd C AD	Leafy boughs, branches and/or vines	Unknown	1
Estepa	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	11
Estepa	2nd C AD	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	2
Estepa	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	3
Estepa	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Unknown	3
Herrera	2nd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	3
Herrera	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	3
Herrera	2nd C AD	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	1
Herrera	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Engraved	1
Herrera	2nd C AD	Unidentified anagylph (possibly Punic?)	Engraved	1
La Rabia	2nd C AD	Rounded upper edge of stela carved	Relief	1
La Rabia	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	1
La Rabia	2nd C AD	Single carved floral motif	Relief	1
Los Castañares	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	2
Los Cerverales	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Animal (possibly dog)	Engraved	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Architectural moulding of inscribed object	Relief	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Bird (possibly dove?)	Engraved	8
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Decorative hederae	Engraved	5
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Garland	Engraved	3
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Grapes	Engraved	2

Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	6
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Incised border	Engraved	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Laurea (wreath)	Engraved	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Leafy boughs, branches and/or vines	Engraved	2
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Moulded cornice	Relief	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	35
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	4
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Patera	Relief	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Praefericulum	Relief	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	2
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	9
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Tree	Engraved	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Urceus	Engraved	1
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini and focus	Relief	1
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	2
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	4
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	Patera	Relief	1
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	Praefericulum	Relief	1
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	1
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	3
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Border composed of garlands, floral motifs, animal	Relief	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini and focus	Engraved	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini and focus	Relief	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Depiction of altar with fruits between 2 serpents	Relief	1

Santiponce	2nd C AD	Figurative scene	Relief	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	31
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Incised border	Engraved	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Incised border	Relief	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Neither	3
Santiponce	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	52
Santiponce	2nd C AD	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	17
Santiponce	2nd C AD	No decorative elements utilised	Unknown	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Pair of feet (facing downwards)	Engraved	4
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Pair of feet (facing downwards)	Relief	7
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Pair of feet (facing upwards)	Engraved	4
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Pair of feet (facing upwards)	Relief	3
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Patera	Relief	6
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Praefericulum	Relief	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	11
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Puncta resembe small grapes	Engraved	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	4
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	12
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Sculptured columns	Relief	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Single carved floral motif	Engraved	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Urceus	Relief	5
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Virgula/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	2
Sevilla	2nd C AD	3 bands of leaf design borders	Relief	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Architectural column with corinthian capital	Relief	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Architectural moulding of inscribed object	Relief	1

Sevilla	2nd C AD	Aspergillum	Relief	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Border of carved floral & semicircular motifs	Relief	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Border of flowers and vine shoots	Relief	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Cornice carved with geometric design	Relief	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini and focus	Relief	3
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini and rosae	Relief	3
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini, rosae & floral dectn	Relief	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Corona	Relief	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Decorative hederae	Engraved	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Garland	Relief	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Geometric border	Relief	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	9
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Laurea (wreath)	Relief	2
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Leaf and floral border	Relief	3
Sevilla	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	8
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Patera	Engraved	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Patera	Relief	10
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Praefericulum	Relief	8
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	11
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Pulvini carved with scales & rosae at end & centre	Relief	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Puncta resemble small wavy lines	Engraved	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Scapha	Engraved	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Engraved	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	20

Sevilla	2nd C AD	Sculptured border of ova	Relief	2
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Simpulum	Relief	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Urceus	Engraved	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Urceus	Relief	2
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Virgula/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	11
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	2
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	3
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	1
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Round puncta	Engraved	1
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	4
Torre de los Herberos	2nd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Torre de los Herberos	2nd C AD	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	1
Cañada Afán	3rd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Carmona	3rd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
Carmona	3rd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	1
Carmona	3rd C AD	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	1
Castillo de Mulva	3rd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	2
Écija	3rd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini & spiral decoration	Relief	1
Écija	3rd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
Écija	3rd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	4
Écija	3rd C AD	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	3
Écija	3rd C AD	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	1
Écija	3rd C AD	Sculptured border	Relief	1

El Casar	3rd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	2
El Gandul	3rd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	6
Estepa	3rd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
Herrera	3rd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	3
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini and rosae	Relief	1
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Equus	Engraved	1
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	3
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Large triangular and diamond puncta	Engraved	1
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Lepus	Engraved	1
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	2
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	2
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Palma	Engraved	1
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Patera	Relief	1
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Praefericulum	Relief	1
Possibly Sevilla	3rd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini and focus	Relief	1
Possibly Sevilla	3rd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	3
Possibly Sevilla	3rd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	4
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	12
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Laurea (wreath)	Engraved	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	25
Santiponce	3rd C AD	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	14
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Pair of feet (facing downwards)	Relief	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Pair of feet (facing upwards)	Relief	6
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Pair of palmae in corners	Engraved	1

Santiponce	3rd C AD	Palma	Engraved	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Palma	Relief	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	4
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Punctum/a resembles tear drop	Engraved	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Row of palmae (6)	Engraved	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Sculptured border	Engraved	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Single ovum in centre of pediment	Relief	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Virgula/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	2
Sevilla	3rd C AD	Cornice carved with pulvini and rosae	Relief	1
Sevilla	3rd C AD	Leaf and floral border	Relief	1
Sevilla	3rd C AD	No decoration observed/recorded	Unknown	4
Sevilla	3rd C AD	Patera	Relief	1
Sevilla	3rd C AD	Praefericulum	Relief	1
Sevilla	3rd C AD	Prominent cornice and base	Relief	1
Sevilla	3rd C AD	Recessed epigraphic field	Relief	1
Torre de Águila	3rd C AD	Hedera/ae utilised as punctum/a	Engraved	1
Torre de los Herberos	3rd C AD	No decorative elements utilised	Neither	1

C.5 THE WAY IN WHICH DEATH IS RECORDED: FUNERARY FORMULAE

Generalised phase	Modern Site Name	Funerary	CountOfInscription Identifier
Republican	Torre de Águila	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
Republican/ Early Imperial	Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
Republican/ Early Imperial	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: Dimensions	2
Republican/ Early Imperial	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: HSE	1
Republican/ Early Imperial	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
Republican/ Early Imperial	Sevilla	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
Republican/ Early Imperial	Torre de los Herberos	Funerary: Dimensions	2
Republican/ Early Imperial	Torre de los Herberos	Funerary: HSE	1
Augustan	Écija	Funerary: HSE	1
Augustan	Herrera	Funerary: Sepultus	1
Augustan	Los Canterones	Funerary: Dimensions	1
Augustan	Los Canterones	Funerary: HSE	1
Augustan	Los Canterones	Funerary: PIS	1
Augustan	Santiponce	Funerary: Dimensions	2
Augustan	Santiponce	Funerary: HSE	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Arroyo Granado	Funerary: HSE	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Carmona	Funerary: Dimensions	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Carmona	Funerary: HSE	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Carmona	Funerary: Salutation	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Carmona	Funerary: STTL	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Carmona	Funerary: TRPD	1

Augustan & Early Imperial	Écija	Funerary: Dimensions	24
Augustan & Early Imperial	Écija	Funerary: HQLD + STTL	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Écija	Funerary: HSE	10
Augustan & Early Imperial	Écija	Funerary: HSE + STTL	4
Augustan & Early Imperial	Écija	Funerary: STTL	5
Augustan & Early Imperial	Peñaflor	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Santiponce	Funerary: Salutation	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Arroyo Granado	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Carmona	Funerary: CIS	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Carmona	Funerary: DMS	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Carmona	Funerary: Ossa	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Carmona	Funerary: STTL	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Écija	Funerary: Dimensions	25
Flavian & post Flavian	Écija	Funerary: HQLD + STTL	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Écija	Funerary: HSE	3
Flavian & post Flavian	Écija	Funerary: HSE + DQL + STTL	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Écija	Funerary: HSE + STTL	17
Flavian & post Flavian	Écija	Funerary: PIS	3
Flavian & post Flavian	Écija	Funerary: STTL	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Estepa	Funerary: Dimensions	2
Flavian & post Flavian	Estepa	Funerary: STTL	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Peñaflor	Funerary: DMS	1

Flavian & post Flavian	Peñaflor	Funerary: HSE	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Peñaflor	Funerary: HSE + STTL	8
Flavian & post Flavian	Peñaflor	Funerary: PIS	4
Flavian & post Flavian	Peñaflor	Funerary: STTL	2
Flavian & post Flavian	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: DMS	5
Flavian & post Flavian	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: HSE	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: HSE + STTL	3
Flavian & post Flavian	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: PIS	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: STTL	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Santiponce	Funerary: DMS	10
Flavian & post Flavian	Santiponce	Funerary: HSE + STTL	11
Flavian & post Flavian	Santiponce	Funerary: HSE + TRPD + STTL	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Santiponce	Funerary: PI Relative	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Santiponce	Funerary: PIS	3
Flavian & post Flavian	Sevilla	Funerary: DMS	2
Flavian & post Flavian	Sevilla	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Sevilla	Funerary: PIS	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Torre de Águila	Funerary: PIS	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Torre de Águila	Funerary: STTL	1
2nd C AD	Carmona	Funerary: DMS	11
2nd C AD	Carmona	Funerary: HSE	2
2nd C AD	Carmona	Funerary: HSE + STTL	2
2nd C AD	Carmona	Funerary: HSE	1

		+ TRPD + STTL	
2nd C AD	Carmona	Funerary: Ossa	1
2nd C AD	Carmona	Funerary: PIS	2
2nd C AD	Carmona	Funerary: STTL	6
2nd C AD	Carmona	Funerary: TRPD + STTL	1
2nd C AD	Castillo de Alhonoz	Funerary: DMS	2
2nd C AD	Castillo de Alhonoz	Funerary: HSE	1
2nd C AD	Castillo de Alhonoz	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
2nd C AD	Castillo de Alhonoz	Funerary: PIS	2
2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Funerary: DMS	3
2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Funerary: HSE + STTL	2
2nd C AD	Cerro del Pascualejo	Funerary: DMS	1
2nd C AD	Cerro del Pascualejo	Funerary: STTL	1
2nd C AD	circa Estepa	Funerary: DMS	1
2nd C AD	circa Estepa	Funerary: PIS	1
2nd C AD	circa Estepa	Funerary: STTL	1
2nd C AD	Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Funerary: HSE + DQL + STTL	1
2nd C AD	Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
2nd C AD	Cortijo del Villar	Funerary: DMS	1
2nd C AD	Cortijo Parchilena	Funerary: HSE + DQL + STTL	1
2nd C AD	Écija	Funerary: DMS	18
2nd C AD	Écija	Funerary: HSE	3
2nd C AD	Écija	Funerary: HSE + STTL	28
2nd C AD	Écija	Funerary: PIS	24

2nd C AD	Écija	Funerary: STTL	2
2nd C AD	Écija	Funerary: TRP various	1
2nd C AD	El Casar	Funerary: DMS	2
2nd C AD	El Casar	Funerary: HSE	1
2nd C AD	El Casar	Funerary: PI Relative	1
2nd C AD	El Casar or Torre de Águila	Funerary: DMS	1
2nd C AD	El Casar or Torre de Águila	Funerary: HSE + TRPD + STTL	1
2nd C AD	El Gandul	Funerary: DMS	1
2nd C AD	El Gandul	Funerary: STTL	1
2nd C AD	Estepa	Funerary: DMS	6
2nd C AD	Estepa	Funerary: HSE + DQL + STTL	1
2nd C AD	Estepa	Funerary: HSE + STTL	8
2nd C AD	Estepa	Funerary: PIS	6
2nd C AD	Herrera	Funerary: DMS	3
2nd C AD	Herrera	Funerary: HIC INTERFECTUS	1
2nd C AD	Herrera	Funerary: HSE + STTL	4
2nd C AD	Herrera	Funerary: PI Relative	1
2nd C AD	Herrera	Funerary: PIS	1
2nd C AD	Herrera	Funerary: STTL	1
2nd C AD	La Rabia	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
2nd C AD	La Rabia	Funerary: PIS	1
2nd C AD	Los Castañares	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
2nd C AD	Los Castañares	Funerary: PIS	1
2nd C AD	Los Cerverales	Funerary: DMS	1
2nd C AD	Los Cerverales	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1

2nd C AD	Los Cerverales	Funerary: PIS	1
2nd C AD	Peñaflor	Funerary: DMS	21
2nd C AD	Peñaflor	Funerary: HSE	5
2nd C AD	Peñaflor	Funerary: HSE + STTL	20
2nd C AD	Peñaflor	Funerary: PIS	25
2nd C AD	Peñaflor	Funerary: STTL	4
2nd C AD	Peñaflor	Funerary: TRPD	1
2nd C AD	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: DMS	3
2nd C AD	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: HSE + STTL	3
2nd C AD	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: PIS	2
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: DMS	57
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: HQLD + STTL	1
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: HSE	5
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: HSE + STTL	36
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: HSE + TRPD + STTL	5
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: IN LOCO	1
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: PIS	16
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: STTL	6
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: TRPD + STTL	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Funerary: CIS	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Funerary: DMS	18
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Funerary: HSE	4
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Funerary: HSE + STTL	12
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Funerary: PIS	2
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Funerary: STTL	4
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Funerary: TRPD + STTL	1
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Funerary: DMS	2
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Funerary: HSE	1

		+ TRPD + STTL	
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Funerary: TRPD + STTL	1
2nd C AD	Torre de los Herberos	Funerary: DMS	1
2nd C AD	Torre de los Herberos	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
3rd C AD	Cañada Afán	Funerary: PIS	1
3rd C AD	Cañada Afán	Funerary: STTL	1
3rd C AD	Carmona	Funerary: DMS	1
3rd C AD	Carmona	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
3rd C AD	Carmona	Funerary: STTL	1
3rd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Funerary: HSE + STTL	2
3rd C AD	Écija	Funerary: DMS	4
3rd C AD	Écija	Funerary: HSE	1
3rd C AD	Écija	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
3rd C AD	Écija	Funerary: PIS	3
3rd C AD	Écija	Funerary: STTL	1
3rd C AD	El Casar	Funerary: DMS	2
3rd C AD	El Casar	Funerary: STTL	2
3rd C AD	El Gandul	Funerary: HSE	2
3rd C AD	El Gandul	Funerary: STTL	1
3rd C AD	Estepa	Funerary: DMS	1
3rd C AD	Estepa	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
3rd C AD	Estepa	Funerary: PIS	1
3rd C AD	Herrera	Funerary: PIS	1
3rd C AD	Herrera	Funerary: STTL	1
3rd C AD	Peñaflor	Funerary: DMS	5
3rd C AD	Peñaflor	Funerary: HIC	1
3rd C AD	Peñaflor	Funerary: HSE + STTL	6

3rd C AD	Peñaflor	Funerary: PIS	7
3rd C AD	Peñaflor	Funerary: STTL	2
3rd C AD	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: DMS	3
3rd C AD	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: HSE	1
3rd C AD	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: HSE + STTL	3
3rd C AD	Possibly Sevilla	Funerary: PIS	1
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: DMS	27
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: HIC IACET	1
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: HSE	2
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: HSE + STTL	18
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: PIS	9
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: Sepultus	1
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Funerary: STTL	9
3rd C AD	Sevilla	Funerary: DMS	2
3rd C AD	Sevilla	Funerary: HSE + STTL	1
3rd C AD	Sevilla	Funerary: PIS	1
3rd C AD	Torre de Águila	Funerary: DMS	1

C.6 THE WAY IN WHICH DEATH IS RECORDED: AGE AT DEATH

Modern Site Name	Generalised phase	Age at Death Formulae	No. Surviving Inscriptions
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	Republican/ Early Imperial	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Carmona	Augustan	Age: Annus as ablative	1
Carmona	Augustan	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Age: Annus as genitive	2
Carmona	Augustan & Early Imperial	Age: Mensis as genitive	1
Écija	Augustan & Early Imperial	Age: Annus as genitive	8
Peñaflor	Augustan & Early Imperial	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Arroyo Granado	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Carmona	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Annus as genitive	2
Écija	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Annus as genitive	20
Estepa	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Peñaflor	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Annus as genitive	8
Possibly Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Annus as genitive	2
Possibly Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Annus as genitive + Plus Minus	2
Possibly Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	2
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Annus as genitive	6
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Mensis as ablative	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Mensis as genitive	1
Santiponce	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	6
Sevilla	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Annus as genitive	2
Torre de Águila	Flavian & post Flavian	Age: Annus as genitive	1

Carmona	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	12
Carmona	2nd C AD	Age: Dies as genitive	4
Carmona	2nd C AD	Age: Hora as genitive	1
Carmona	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as genitive	4
Carmona	2nd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	1
Castillo de Alhonoz	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	2
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Age: Dies as genitive	1
Castillo de Mulva	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as genitive	1
Cortijo de Consuegra/ Cerro de la Camorra	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	3
Cortijo Parchilena	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	30
Écija	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive + Numero	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive + Plus Minus	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Age: Dies as genitive	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as ablative	1
Écija	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as genitive	2
El Casar	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	1
El Casar or Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	1
El Casar or Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Age: Dies as genitive	1
El Casar or Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as genitive	1
El Gandul	2nd C AD	Age: Dies as ablative	2
El Gandul	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as ablative	2
El Gandul	2nd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	1
El Gandul	2nd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative + Numero	1
Estepa	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	9
Estepa	2nd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	1
Herrera	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	5
La Rabia	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	1

Los Castañares	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Los Cerverales	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	34
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Age: Dies as genitive	3
Peñaflor	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as genitive	3
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	2
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	Age: Dies as ablative	2
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as ablative	1
Possibly Sevilla	2nd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	4
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	20
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Age: Dies as ablative	9
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Age: Dies as accusative	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Age: Dies as genitive	2
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as ablative	10
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as accusative	1
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as genitive	3
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Age: Vixit [---]	3
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	32
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative + Plus Minus	4
Santiponce	2nd C AD	Age: Vixit + Mensis as ablative	1
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	14
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Age: Dies as ablative	3
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Age: Dies as genitive	2
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as ablative	2
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as genitive	2
Sevilla	2nd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	2
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	2
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Age: Dies as genitive	1
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as ablative	1
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Age: Mensis as genitive	1
Torre de Águila	2nd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	1
Torre de los Herberos	2nd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Carmona	3rd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Carmona	3rd C AD	Age: Mensis as genitive	1

Carmona	3rd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	1
Écija	3rd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	5
El Casar	3rd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	2
El Gandul	3rd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Estepa	3rd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Herrera	3rd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	1
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	5
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Age: Mensis as genitive	1
Peñaflor	3rd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	2
Possibly Sevilla	3rd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	4
Possibly Sevilla	3rd C AD	Age: Dies as genitive	1
Possibly Sevilla	3rd C AD	Age: Mensis as genitive	1
Possibly Sevilla	3rd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	2
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	2
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Age: Dies as ablative	6
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Age: Mensis as ablative	10
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Age: Qui + Vixit + Annus as ablative	2
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Age: Vixit [---]	1
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	19
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative + Plus Minus	6
Santiponce	3rd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as accusative	1
Sevilla	3rd C AD	Age: Vixit + Annus as ablative	1
Torre de Águila	3rd C AD	Age: Annus as genitive	1

C.7 IMPERIAL DEDICATIONS

Generalised phase	Modern Site Name	Emperor	No. Surviving Inscriptions
Augustan	Santiponce	Tiberius	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	El Casar	Nero	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Estepa	Drusus Caesar	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Castillo de Mulva	Titus	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Castillo de Mulva	Trajan	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Castillo de Mulva	Unknown	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Castillo de Mulva	Vespasian	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Santiponce	Trajan	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Marcus Aurelius	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Septimius Severus	2
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Antoninus Pius	1
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Hadrian	1
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Pertinax	1
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Unknown	1
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Carus	1
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Florianus	1
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Probus	1
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Unknown	1
3rd C AD	Sevilla	Constantius I as Caesar	1

C.8 IMPERIAL CULT DEDICATIONS

Generalised phase	Modern Site Name	Deity	No. Surviving Inscriptions
Flavian & post Flavian	Castillo de Mulva	Mercurius Augustus	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Peñaflor	Victoria Augusta	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Santiponce	Apollo Augustus	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Torre de Águila	Fortuna Augusta	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Torre de los Herberos	Mercurius Augustus	1
2nd C AD	Carmona	Nemesis Augusta	2
2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Bonus Eventus Augustus	1
2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Ceres Augusta	1
2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Fortuna Crescens Augusta	1
2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Hercules Augustus	1
2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Pantheus Augustus	1
2nd C AD	Estepa	Salus Augusta	1
2nd C AD	Peñaflor	Venus Augusta	1
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Caelestis Pia Augusta	1
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Liber Pater Augustus	1
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Mercurius Augustus	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Vesta Augusta	1
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Victoria Augusta	1

C.9 OCCURRENCES OF GROUP IDENTITIES (DATED AND UNDATED)

Generalised phase	Modern Site Name	Group	No. Surviving Inscriptions
Augustan	Écija	Cohors ?	1
Augustan	Écija	Cohors Praetoria	1
Augustan	Écija	III Cohors Augur	1
Augustan	Écija	Legio II	1
Augustan	Écija	Legio II Pansiana	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Arroyo Granado	Legio VI	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Carmona	Equites Romani	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Carmona	Municipalium (Carmo)	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Carmona	Municipium (Carmo)	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Carmona	Municipium Municipii (Carmo)	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Castillo de Mulva	Senatus Populusque Muniguense Hispaniae Ulterior	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Écija	Colonia Augusta Firma	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Santiponce	Decuriones (Italica)	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Santiponce	Ordo (Italica)	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Torre de Águila	Magistri Sodales Augustales	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Torre de Águila	Ordo Siarensium	1
Augustan & Early Imperial	Torre de Águila	Senatus Populusque Romanus	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Castillo de Mulva	Decuriones (Munigua)	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Castillo de Mulva	Decuriones Muniguensium	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Castillo de Mulva	Municipium Muniguense	2
Flavian & post Flavian	Castillo de Mulva	Ordo (Munigua)	1

Flavian & post Flavian	Castillo de Mulva	Ordo Splendidissimus Muniguensium	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Castillo de Mulva	Res Publica Muniguense	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Écija	Colonia Augusta Firma	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Écija	Decuriones (Coloniae Augustae Firmae)	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Estepa	Municipibus Municipi Flavium Ostipponensis	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Los Castellares	Ordini (Carmonae)	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Los Castellares	Plebi (Carmonae)	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Santiponce	Flaminales Provinciae Baetica	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Santiponce	Legio VII Gemina Felix	3
Flavian & post Flavian	Santiponce	Splendidissimus Ordo Italicensium	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Sevilla	Coloni et Incolae	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Sevilla	Corpus Oleariorum	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Sevilla	Legio V	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Sevilla	Legio X Gemina	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Sevilla	Scaphari Romulae	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Torre de Águila	Legio III Gallicae	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Torre de Águila	Legio XV Apollinaris	1
Flavian & post Flavian	Torre de los Herberos	Seviri Augustales	1
2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Flamines Divarum Augustarum	1
2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Municipium Municipii Flavi Muniguensis	3
2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Muniguense (?)	1
2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Ordo (Munigua)	6
2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Ordo Splendidissimus Municipium Flavium Muniguense	1

2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Res Publica Muniguense	2
2nd C AD	Castillo de Mulva	Seviri Augustales	1
2nd C AD	Écija	Colonia Astigitana	1
2nd C AD	Écija	Colonia Augusta Firma	1
2nd C AD	Écija	Colonia Coloniae Augustae Firmae	1
2nd C AD	Écija	Legio VI Victrix Pia	1
2nd C AD	Écija	Ordo Astigitani	1
2nd C AD	Écija	Res Publica (Astigitana)	1
2nd C AD	Écija	Viritim Ilienses Ilipenses	1
2nd C AD	El Gandul	Legio XVI Flavia	1
2nd C AD	El Gandul	Legio XX Valeria Victrix	1
2nd C AD	Santiponce	[---] Sagitariorum	1
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Collegium Ex Funeraticio	1
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Colonum Coloniae (Italicensium)	1
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Harenarii	1
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Legio VII Gemina	1
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Ordo Colonum Colonia (Italicensium)	1
2nd C AD	Santiponce	Res Publica Italicensium	5
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Civitates Malvensis	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Civitates Populus???	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Civitates Romulensium	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Cohors III Gallorum	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Collegio Hominum Hispalensium Dumtaxat	2
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Colonia Romula	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Colonorum Coloniae Romulensis	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Corpus Centonariorum	2
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Decuriones (Hispalis)	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Legio I Adiutrix	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Legio XII Fulminata	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Ordo (Colonorum Colonia Romulensis)	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Ordo (Hispalis)	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Ordo Municipii Flavii Aurgitani	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Ordo Romulensium	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Scaphari Romulae	2
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Scapharii Hispalenses	1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Veterani	1

		Vicarii Dispensatori Arce		
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Patrimonii		1
2nd C AD	Sevilla	Vinari Romulae		1
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Decuriones (Siarum)		1
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Legio III Augusta		1
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Legio III Gallicae		1
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Legio VIII Augusta		1
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Legio XV Apollinaris		1
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Legio XX Valeria Victrix		2
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Res Publica Siarensis		1
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Senatus		1
		Splendidissimus Ordo		
2nd C AD	Torre de Águila	Siarensis		2
3rd C AD	Écija	Cohors ?		1
3rd C AD	Écija	Legio ?		1
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Collegium Ex Funeraticio		1
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Res Publica Italicensium		4
		Statio Serrariorum		
3rd C AD	Santiponce	Augustorum		1
3rd C AD	Sevilla	Corpus Oleariorum		1
		Corpus Oleariorum		
3rd C AD	Sevilla	Romulensium Hispalensium		1
3rd C AD	Sevilla	Res Publica Hispalensis		1
		Ordo Municipium Municipii		
Unphased	El Gandul	Ilipensium		1
Unphased	Santiponce	Decuriones (Italica)		1
Unphased	Santiponce	Ordo (Italica)		1
		Statio Serrariorum		
Unphased	Santiponce	Augustorum		1
Unphased	Sevilla	Cohors I Ausetani		1
		Colonorum Coloniae		
Unphased	Sevilla	Romulensis		1
Unphased	Sevilla	Corpus Oleariorum		1
Unphased	Sevilla	Decuriones (Hispalis)		1
		Decuriones Colonum		
Unphased	Sevilla	Coloniae Romulensium		2
Unphased	Sevilla	Lyntrarii		1
Unphased	Sevilla	Lyntrarii Canianenses		1
Unphased	Sevilla	Lyntrarii Naevenses		1
Unphased	Sevilla	Lyntrarii Oducienses		1
		Ordo Municipium Municipii		
Unphased	Sevilla	Ilipensium		1
Unphased	Sevilla	Ordo Romulensium		1
Unphased	Sevilla	Ordo Siarensium		1
Unphased	Torre de Águila	Decuriones (Siarum)		1

Unphased	Torre de Águila	Ordo Splendidissimus Municipii Siarensis	1
Unphased	Torre de Águila	Seviri	1

APPENDIX D: DATABASE TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

D.1   INTRODUCTION

The database uses the Microsoft Access DBMS (DataBase Management System) and is constructed in a relational system with a series of related entities with attributes. These entities and relationships are implemented in Access as a series of tables of which a list follows:

Additional features	Description of features associated with use of object prior to, as an inscription, or secondary use
Architectural Structure	Type of object, orientation of main axis and basic shape
Artistic Elements	Description of decoration, location on monument and relationship with text
Context	Description of findspot
Date	Date assigned, indication of source and whether accepted or published variant, correlation with site phase
Deity	Mention of deities within text of inscription
Description	State of preservation and number of fragments preserved
Dimensions	Dimensions of preserved inscription or fragment
Formulae	Occurrence of formulae in text of inscriptions
Group	Occurrence of mention of group identities in text of inscriptions
Image References	Reference to publication of images of inscriptions
Images	Images of inscriptions
Imperial Titulature	Occurrence of imperial titulature in text of inscriptions
Individuals	Personal details of individuals recorded in the inscriptions
Inscriptions	Unique identifier codes for inscriptions and provenance to modern and ancient site names
Letter characteristics	Specific characteristics of individual letters
Location	Current location of storage, use or display of inscription
Magistracy	Occurrence of magistrates in text of inscriptions
Material	Material of construction including colour and source where known
Notes	General comments about the inscription that do not fit into any other field
Place Name	Occurrence of place names in the text of inscriptions
References	Published references to the inscriptions in previous literature
Relationships	Indications of relationships between inscriptions either due to their use or content of their text
Script	Description of script, occurrence of ordination and form of tabulae
Script Dimensions	Dimensions of script
Script Max/Min	Details of individual letter dimensions when they exceed the norm for the inscription

Subject	Description of subject of inscription and indication of classification
Transcription	Link to Microsoft word document with full transcription of text following standard notation
Translation	Link to Microsoft word document with full translation of text where possible
Variants	Link to Microsoft word documents with full translation of variant texts where alternatives have been published and there is no academic consensus

The structure of the database is too large and complex to reproduce here but is represented in the relationships section of the attached database on the cd which forms Appendix F.

D.2   DATA CONSTRAINTS

A series of methods for controlling and validating the data entry were applied which ensured the quality of the data stored in the system. These included:

- **Look-Up tables:** These enforced the use of standardised terminology within the database. New values were continually incorporated to accommodate the variations in data from all the study sites.

- **Referential Integrity**: This ensured that where relationships existed they were enforced so that data could not be entered in the wrong order and unrelated data could not be accidentally incorporated into the system.

- **Cascade Updates**: This ensured that any critical updates and correction of errors were performed simultaneously to all the related records in the database.

- **Cascade Deletions:** These were not utilised in order to ensure data was not accidentally deleted.

D.3 DATA RELATIONSHIPS

The fields in each table have a series of one to one and one to many relationships dependent upon the nature of the information they contain. For example:

Inscriptions Table: Field List

Name	Type	Size
Inscription Identifier	Text	8
CIL II2 Reference	Text	50
Modern Site Name	Text	50

Date Table: Field List

Name	Type	Size
Date ID	AutoNumber	Long Integer
Inscription Identifier	Text	8
Date	Text	50
Accepted/Variant	Text	50
Date Origin	Text	50
Rationale	Text	50
Site Phase	Text	50

Transcription Table: Field List

Name	Type	Size
Inscription Transcribed	Text	8
Transcribed Text	Hyperlink	

Look Up Site Table: Field List

Name	Type	Size
Site Number	Number	Long Integer
Modern Site Name	Text	50
Ancient Site Name	Text	50
Conventus Division	Text	20
Territory	Text	50
Tribus	Text	50
Category of Site	Text	50
Category of Inscriptions	Text	50
Coordinates: Eastings	Number	Long Integer
Coordinates: Northings	Number	Long Integer

Inscriptions Table: Selected Relationships

Inscriptions   **Date**

Inscription Identifier   1   ∞   Inscription Identifier

Attributes: Enforced, Cascade Updates

Relationship Type: One To Many

Inscriptions   **Look up Site**

Modern Site Name   ∞   1   Modern Site Name

Attributes: Enforced, Cascade Updates

Relationship Type: One To Many

Inscriptions   **Transcription**

Inscription Identifier   1   1   Inscription Transcribed

Attributes: Enforced, Cascade Updates

Relationship Type: One To One

D.4 HEIDELBERG STATUS CLASSIFICATIONS

The following conventions for classifying social status were adapted from the *Handbuch zur Epigraphischen Datenbank Heidelberg* pp39-40.

- Ruler: (Augustus, Augusta, Caesar) or Imperial house (domus Augusta)
- Senator
- Eques: whether in government office, within municipium or without office
- Urban élite: Decurion i.e. member of the Ordo Decurionem
- Augustalis
- Apparitor (public servant, clerk etc.)
- Ingenuus (more than only one name with Filiation, except peregrini; secured Roman citizens, except liberti)

- Libertus (recognisable through for example Gens resembling that of marriage partner, denomination of patronus, Greek cognomen, function)
- Servus or Verna (Slave, Slave born in the master's household)
- Libertus Augustalis, Libertus Caesaris (Slave manumitted by Augustus or Caesar)
- Servus/ Verna Augustalis; Servus/ Verna Caesaris
- Libertus publicus
- Servus publicus
- Peregrinus (native individual name + possibly father's name in the genitive; Individual name + native Gens)

- Miles (Indication of duration of military service, military unit)
- Veteranus (Indication of duration of military service over 25 years)

The status of women is defined in a similar way with the appropriate female office substituted e.g. Flaminica for Decurion.

APPENDIX E: REFERENCES

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