UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

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EPIGRAPHY AND URBAN COMMUNITIES IN EARLY ROMAN BAETICA

In Two Volumes

Volume 1

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

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EPIGRAPHY AND URBAN COMMUNITIES IN EARLY ROMAN BAETICA

By Helen Sophie Kate Woodhouse

At the present time there is enormous opportunity to investigate the epigraphic assemblages of the Roman province of Baetica. The steady progression in the research and publication of the revised editions of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* is providing a significant new study resource for the material which takes appropriate account of the archaeological contexts of the material wherever possible.

This research takes full advantage of current advances in the epigraphic discipline, and brings the benefit of a fully contextualised archaeological methodology to a study of approximately 1000 Latin inscriptions from a selection of twelve towns predominantly located across the landscape of the lower and western Guadalquivir Valley in the Comunidad Autónoma de Andalucía of southern Spain.

Discussion of the place of inscriptions within Roman towns is not new, but unique to this research is the way in which the methodology contextualises the material within its appropriate spatial, historical and social context. It builds upon a background of social theory to model the relationship between human society and its material culture in an attempt to identify a series of relationships not considered before with this material. Inscriptions are meticulously analysed for patterns of common behaviour in the way that they were designed and erected. More specifically, it identifies instances where these similarities extend beyond individual settlements, and conversely where individual settlements display distinctly unique characteristics that distinguish them from the other towns studied here. An understanding of the social context of inscriptions enables us to interpret the motivations stimulating the use of inscribed monuments throughout the study region. These are key to answering the question asked by this thesis, namely how the inscriptions from the urban communities of Early Roman Baetica reflect the interconnected nature of Baetican society and provide evidence for social connectivity throughout the study region.

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1. "Latin Inscriptions from the Baetis Valley": CD containing the database of material studied in this research (located in pocket in rear cover of Volume II).

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, HELEN SOPHIE KATE WOODHOUSE
…………………………………………………………………………….,

declare that the thesis entitled

EPIGRAPHY AND URBAN COMMUNITIES IN EARLY ROMAN BAETICA
……………………….…………………………………………………………….

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission.

Signed: ………………………………………………………………………..

Date:………………………………………………………………………….

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was produced with the support of an extensive group of people. The research was funded through a studentship from the Arts and Humanities Research Council tied to the similarly AHRC funded Urban Connectivity Project based at the University of Southampton. The University of Southampton also helped to fund some of the many trips that were necessary to work at the Centro CIL II in Alcalá de Henares near Madrid, the Deutsche Archäologische Institut in Madrid, and the library of the Universidad de Sevilla.

This research could not have been carried out without the extreme generosity of Dr Armin Stylow and Dr Helena Gimeno Pascual of the Centro CIL II who provided me with access to all their as yet unpublished work on the inscriptions from the study sites which fell within the Conventus Hispalensis, in addition to their valuable archive and library resources. I am indebted to them for their help throughout this research, most specifically for their revised transcriptions, details of unpublished inscriptions, and to Dr Stylow for help with the more complex translations included in the database.

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I am extremely grateful to my supervisor Professor Simon Keay who has supported me at all stages, and particularly so in the later phases having had some considerable time away from this project.

Finally I would like to thank those friends and colleagues who have repeatedly read various drafts and made many helpful comments.

DEFINITIONS AND ABBREVATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Vol. II Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae*
CIL I^2	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum: Inscriptiones Latinae antiquissimae ad C. Caesaris mortem*
CILII^2	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum: Editio Altera. Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae*
CILA	*Corpus de Inscripciónes Latinas de Andalucía (Sevilla)*
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary

1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

This thesis analyses the ways in which groups and individuals within the urban communities of the Baetis (modern Guadalquivir) valley utilised epigraphy as a medium for social expression and the representation of identity. The analysis will focus upon the identification of expressions of identity amongst the inhabitants of a series of settlements associated with the main river valley and its tributaries. The analysis is designed to bring to light the social relationships which existed within and between settlements of varying position and status in the landscape of Baetica. This will be approached through a carefully selected series of case studies derived from the area in and around the province's most important geographical feature, the Baetis River. The sites will be prioritised for study either by the number of well provenanced inscriptions recorded, the preservation of both public and domestic architectural remains, or conversely by a lack of this type of information. Therefore, whilst some of the study sites represent urban areas which have been more fully documented in the archaeological record, the development of the methodology presented here will also enable the material derived from those settlements which are less well documented to be investigated. The inclusion of smaller sites in the survey ensures that the data set is unbiased towards the larger and more intensively investigated urban settlements.

Baetica's potential for a study of this nature is manifold. The epigraphic record of Roman Baetica is striking, both for the quantity and quality of the material available for study.[1] Several thousand monuments provide an exceptional opportunity to investigate the nature of the social relationships and networks operating amongst the urban populations of the Baetis Valley. It is fortunate that so many assemblages of these monuments were preserved throughout the later history of the sites under investigation, even where this involved removal by antiquarian collectors at the expense of valuable contextual information. The first attempt to publish a complete collation of epigraphic material in Latin on a large scale was the

[1] *Harris 1989, 267-268*: Quantification of monumental inscriptions per 1000 sq km in selected western provinces places Baetica below the average of 30.9 at 21.7 in comparison with Lusitania at 9.6 and Tarraconensis at 7.8. Although these calculations are based on the original CIL volumes, and as such are now no longer accurate, they at least represent an approximation of the relative preservation of inscriptions in these three provinces.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum in 1853. Hübner's Hispania volume was produced in 1869, followed by its supplement in 1892, and remained the most comprehensive catalogue of the Spanish material for some time[2]. More recently, other catalogues have been published which concentrate upon smaller areas within Hispania,[3] but most importantly the original CIL volume is currently being revised and updated to include all those inscriptions which have been found since the nineteenth century.[4] This has proven to be a monumental academic undertaking given that the number of extant inscriptions in Hispania has practically doubled in the intervening years.[5]

Contrasting with the quantity of inscribed stone Imperial monuments is the almost complete lack of such material in Baetica before the Roman Republic.[6] Comparison with the archaeological evidence indicates that the literary texts have been interpreted in a misleading light as a source of information for the genesis of an epigraphic tradition in Spain. Strabo describes the literary culture of the Turdetanian people,[7] the occupants of the majority of what was to become Baetica, as advanced, although very little supporting material evidence for a specifically epigraphic tradition survives beyond a few rare inscriptions and coin legends.[8] The earliest Latin inscriptions found to date range from 189 BC to 44 BC, and nearly all relate to Roman officials and administrators within the province rather than reflecting the activities of native inhabitants.[9] These inscriptions have all been dated on the basis of their scripts, the names of the magistrates involved, and via correlation with historical events described in literary texts, but other examples without secure dates or provenance also exist. A literal interpretation of Strabo might suggest that a written tradition was previously established amongst the Turdetani, and that subsequent changes in the appearance and content of inscribed monuments may reflect the increasing 'Romanisation' of a technique already in use. However, the

[2] Two further addenda were published in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* in 1899 and 1903.
[3] E.g. *Corpus de Inscripciónes Latinas de Andalucía* (1989-2002); Knapp (1992) *Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain*; New findings of inscriptions from Hispania are recorded in *l'Année Epigraphique* and *Hispania Epigraphica*.
[4] Currently published are the volumes for Cordubensis CIL II^2,7 & Astigitanus CIL II^2,5.
[5] *Edmondson 2000, 373.*
[6] *Stylow, 1995, 219; Stylow, 1998, 109*; Pre Roman non-Latin inscriptions have been catalogued by *Untermann (1975 and 1990)* and are limited to minor inscriptions and coin legends.
[7] Strabo *Geographica* 3.1.6.
[8] *Stylow 1995, 219; Stylow 1998, 109; Untermann 1975, 322-342; Ibid 1990, 637f.f* These include a range of silver and bronze coins with a variety of legends including reference to Castulo, Iliberi and Obulco: *Ibid 1975, 322-42*; and two stone inscriptions on very roughly worked blocks in regularly spaced capitals which appear to record the names of individuals: *Ibid 1990, 651-652.*
[9] *Stylow 1995, 219-220; Stylow 1998, 109-110.*

existence of a literary tradition does not necessarily entail the existence of an epigraphic tradition, and furthermore the archaeological evidence provides no support for this hypothesis. The absence to date of any earlier monuments does not preclude their existence but, at this stage, it is suggestive that at the least this was not a widespread phenomenon.

This study forms part of a regionalised survey of changing social, economic and geographical relationships between Iron Age and Roman towns and nucleated settlements in the area of central and western Baetica between c. 500BC and AD200,[10] which responds to claims that investigation of the Roman period has been biased in its dominant focus upon towns. It concentrates upon improving understanding of 'connectivity'[11] and changing relationships at regional level amongst a less restricted group of settlements, and questions the ways in which Roman urban entities in the region were created. This project builds upon a continuing tradition of research into both the region and the province as a whole, and on various aspects of its settlement patterning and material culture.[12] The interpretations from all of the case studies will be compared with the results of a series of investigations based upon network analysis. The benefit of this comparison is that the network analyses focus upon elements of the epigraphic assemblages not considered by this thesis. The social networks evidenced through the epigraphic record will therefore be integrated within the wider project in order to build up a picture of the way in which inscriptions reflected or contrasted with the widespread

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[10] The project, based at the University of Southampton, is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council of the UK.

[11] *Hordern & Purcell 2000: see in particular pp 123-172.*

[12] E.g. *Thouvenot 1940* (general survey of the province as a whole)*; Ponsich 1974, 1979, 1987 & 1991* (rural settlement patterns)*; Castillo García 1975* (development of some major Roman families in towns)*; Blanco Freijeiro & Corzo Sánchez 1976* (at this point generally outdated overview of Roman urbanism in Baetica)*; Rodríguez Neila 1981* (society and local administration)*; Chic García 1985 & 1988* (epigraphy on Baetican amphorae)*; Saez Fernández 1985 & 1987* (role of the river Baetis and agriculture during the Roman period)*; Le Roux 1987* (the city under Trajan)*; Padilla Monge 1989 & 1991* (3rd - 5th Centuries AD)*; Caballos Rufino 1990* (prosopographical study of Spanish senatorial families and Romanisation*; González Román 1991* (Baetica in its historical context)*; Rodríguez Cortés 1991* (society and religion)*; Keay 1992 (Romanisation of Turdetania); Cortijo Cerezo 1993* (territorial administration)*; González Román 1994* (society)*; Melchor Gil 1994* (contribution of euergetism to municipal life)*; Serrano 1994* (local production of ceramics)*; Alföldy 1995* (legal status)*; Fear 1996* (Baetica's relationship with Rome and urbanisation)*; Chic García 1997* (economic history of Baetica under Augustus)*; Castillo García 1998* (flamines provinciales); *Keay 1998* (series of articles discussing the early history of Baetica from an archaeological perspective)*; García Vargas & Bernal Casasola 2001* (Baetican amphorae and trade in shipped contents)*; González Román & Padilla Arroba 2002* (urban study)*; Haley 2003* (study of social and economic history from Caesar to Septimius Severus)*; Saez Fernández et al 2004* (archaeological survey of the city of Écija)*;* as well as academic discussion concerned with individual settlements in Baetica and within the wider context of the Hispaniae as summarised recently within *Keay 2003.*

interlocking system of networks throughout the province. Whilst the project as a whole looks at the Iberian to Roman transition, it has not been possible to attempt this type of approach with the epigraphic evidence[13] due to the limited quantity of material available for the Iberian period.

1.2. THE SPECIFIC AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

1.2.1 ***The Relationship between Inscriptions and Urbanisation***

The occurrence of Latin inscriptions is often interpreted as one indicator of the process termed Romanisation, whereby increased assimilation to what is identified as being a Roman way of life is inferred by an increased frequency in the spatial distribution of epigraphic material.[14] Early descriptions of Baetica depict it as one of the most rapidly and thoroughly Romanised provinces in the Roman world.[15] To a great extent, responsibility for this view lies with acceptance at face value of the content of the literary sources. Strabo asserts that by the time of Augustus the Turdetanians, particularly those inhabiting the Baetis valley, had adopted the Roman way of life and language in preference to their own.[16] The archaeological and epigraphic material both supports and challenges this theory. Recent scholarship has demonstrated the strong persistence of native and other pre-Roman traditions far into the Roman period.[17] Therefore the evidence invites a re-analysis of earlier assumptions and the creation of a more nuanced model for our understanding of the way in which processes of social and cultural change operated within Baetica and how they developed during the centuries following the Roman conquest of Iberia. This topic is still a high priority in the academic discourse surrounding the province and indeed the region as a whole. Detailed analysis of the factors affecting these cultural processes warns against accepting the literary sources at face value and their overly simplified impressions of a complicated and multi-layered situation.

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[13] E.g. *De Hoz, 1995* looking at the whole of the Iberian Peninsula.
[14] E.g. *MacMullen 1984, 233-246*; *Mócsy 1966.*
[15] *Rostovzeff 1926, 198; Mommsen 1945, 90; Ibid 1957, 799.*
[16] Strabo *Geographica* 3.2.15.
[17] For assessments of this scholarly tradition and arguments concerning the concept of Romanisation as a cultural inevitability see e.g. *Castro López & Gutiérrez Soler 2001, 148-150; Keay 1992, 292-293; 1998, 291*; *2001, 118-122.* Persistence of funerary traditions at Carmona: *Bendala Galán 2002;* Continuation of road system: *Sillières1990.*

At the root of understanding the processes involved in social and cultural change under the Roman Empire is the concept of 'being Roman',[18] and a clear understanding and definition of what this meant in practice is a fundamental prerequisite for any analysis of this sort, if in fact it did have any significance for the communities under investigation. The material evidence suggests that although urban populations were adopting the exterior trappings associated with Imperial Rome, such as architectural form, way of dress, diet, language or administration, this did not occur as quickly as interpretations of the literary sources might suggest. It should also not in itself be interpreted as evidence that the ways in which these populations viewed themselves as communities, or the ways in which they regarded their cultural or ethnic origins, was also changing. A primary, but complex, source of evidence for these developments is the epigraphic material through which individuals and communities voiced their identities. This evidence is fraught with complexities of meaning and the manipulation of the concept of identity itself. It must be considered carefully so that an appreciation of the accepted method in which to express identity, and the appropriate content for those identities, can be distinguished from deep seated feelings of 'belonging' to a new Roman world.

However, this research is not primarily concerned with the question of Romanisation since the issues surrounding the precise identification of the cultural or ethnic identity of the dedicators of inscriptions are incredibly complex. Whilst this thesis does not overtly consider the influence of processes of cultural assimilation and integration during the period of study, it does question the link between the ensuing urbanisation and the distribution of inscribed material. The data from each site will be analysed for patterns in the use of these media and elements throughout time. This will question specifically whether there was a discernible link between use of inscriptions and the history of occupation at the study sites, emphasising in particular the course of urban development and expansion and querying the impact of changes, such as legal status, upon individual assemblages.

[18] Concept developed by Woolf throughout his research in the 1990s, culminating in *Becoming Roman: the origins of provincial civilisation in Gaul* (1998).

1.2.2 *The impact of propaganda and social competition upon the use of inscriptions*

The widespread emergence of inscribed monuments throughout the province can be closely linked to the Augustan period when, across the Roman world in general, epigraphic workshops flourished and experimented with different forms and styles of lettering.[19] Inscribed material culture was adopted on a large scale in Baetica and grew to be an important and recognisable part of the legacy of the urban settlements of the region. It has often been suggested that the way in which Augustus made use of epigraphy as a medium for propaganda[20] was the primary force behind the development of monumental inscriptions, but this falls short of explaining exactly why the evidence from Baetica is so very rich and plentiful. This research exploits the potential of the Baetican inscribed monuments as the physical embodiments of social competition between the communities of the Baetis valley as expressed verbally and symbolically. The research will ask whether social competition acted as a driving force upon the development of the use of inscribed monuments in Baetica, particularly in regard to the impact on the progress of standardisation in the physical nature of inscribed material culture and also in the emergence of individual epigraphic trends associated with specific settlements.[21]

1.2.3 *Identifiable characteristics of epigraphic culture associated with individual settlements*

The nature and distribution of patterns within the inscribed material culture of the period also suggests the potential of Baetica as a study area. The identification of distinct preferences for specific types of monument within different geographical areas of the province is suggestive of a variety of attitudes towards the material and its use by the communities within these regions.[22] These preferences will be

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[19] Very early workshops from the 2nd Century BC have been found further along the coast in Carthago Nova and similar workshops begin to be found in Baetica under Augustus: *Stylow 1998, 111*.

[20] E.g. *Zanker 1988* for Augustan innovations in imagery overall and *Alföldy 1991* for specific reference to epigraphy.

[21] The effects of social competition as a culturally stimulating force: competition will be defined as everyday interaction between individuals and groups which results in the assertion of identities in an attempt to be more socially successful. See *Woolf 1996* for discussion of the idea that this developed from a reaction to social instability.

[22] E.g. Analysis by Stylow indicated that the distribution patterns of *paralellopipeda* and *stelae* overlap chronologically but not spatially in the 1st Century AD. *Stelae* can generally be associated with smaller rural funerary commemorations and are rarely found in the assemblages from major urban settlements such as Italica or Hispalis. However, an anomaly occurs in their distribution

compared with more general patterns, such as the use of standardised formulae or the use of particular genres or architectural forms of inscription, in order to determine whether certain groups within Baetica were using inscriptions as a means of asserting their own individuality within the more generalised attributes of urbanisation.

The study will consider the employment of different elements of inscriptions including their monumental structure, decoration, structural composition of the text, purpose and location. Patterns and anomalies in the distribution of inscriptions with specific occurrences of these elements will be used as the basis for questioning whether there were identifiable characteristics associated with the epigraphic culture of individual sites.

1.2.4 *Urban and communal identity*

Particular attention will be paid to questioning whether inscribed monuments were utilised to display expressions pertaining to a sense of community and communal relationships and whether these acted to reinforce expressions of urban identity in the cities of the province. This leads directly on from the investigation of recognisable characteristics at individual settlements, and questions whether such commonality can be used to infer communal action or shared taste. The investigation of community identity brings a new element to the study of the Baetican epigraphic material and draws the research into a dialogue concerning the wider relationships for which archaeological material is more able to provide detailed evidence. The identification and evaluation of communal identity is a major issue, given that many previous studies have focused more exclusively on the individual or particular social groups such as, for example, those defined by gender or status, often utilising the evidence to demonstrate how identities were constructed in order to promote the social position of their human counterparts. Discussion of the role of community identity raises questions relating to the relative importance and strength of the community in comparison with relationships based upon other criteria, asking whether being part of a community transcended, confronted or reinforced those other identities. This thesis argues that the community is a valid entity with which to investigate social relationships in Baetica. Choosing to express an association with a

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amongst the material remains of the *conventus* capital of Astigitanus, where they are particularly prominent: *Stylow 1995, 120*.

particular settlement through inscribed media suggests an acknowledgement of the value of being part of that community. Whilst promotion into the Roman or equestrian order fostered an identity focused on the Roman state rather than the local polity, such a hierarchical system relied heavily upon an individual's position of power and influence within that local community. Therefore whilst groups formed along lines such as social status potentially afforded individuals a role within the larger community of the Roman Empire, they also utilised the building blocks cemented around local communities. This thesis will consider the apparently paradoxical question of how members of an urban community within Baetica might be able to use inscriptions as a way to integrate themselves within an urban and potentially imperial whole whilst, at the same time, distinguishing themselves as separate individuals or groups. Thus, this research is an investigation into the development of an articulated urban society within which the assertion of individual identities could be accomplished whilst maintaining the potential for a sense of social, political and cultural cohesion.

1.2.5 *Epigraphic Networks*

The identification of shared courses of action in the creation of material culture and the association of these similarities with communities of various composition provides an opportunity to consider the growth of social networks throughout the study region. They research may suggest that inscriptions were not exclusively utilised to foster social interaction, but may also have fulfilled a role as a medium for social competition to act against forces which encouraged links and uniformity between settlements, operating as a means to distinguish and isolate social groups. However, when commonalities in the use of individual elements of inscriptions or epigraphic culture on a larger scale can be perceived to indicate persistent trends across wider areas, it becomes possible to start talking in terms of networks. This development, from the analysis of individual epigraphic characteristics, incorporates the central objectives of the larger research project.

1.3. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The approach applied here is founded upon the interpretation of inscriptions as objects which are produced by the social activities of human populations, and as reflections of the impact of conflicting cultural, social and political forces upon the fabric of urban life.[23] As such, they provide information about how conflicts were resolved in order to allow the development and continuation of social order and practice, enabling the negotiation of individual identities. The social interpretation of artefacts draws upon theories regarding the relationships between societies and their material culture developed by sociologists including Bourdieu and Giddens.[24] These ideas have been applied to archaeology generally,[25] although not without the criticism that practice–centred arguments ignore the role and identity of the individual.[26] Here, they will be approached with specific relevance to epigraphic material taking account of their shortcomings in relation to the individual in society. The inscriptions studied in this thesis will be interpreted as a medium by which individual and communal identities were constructed. Taking the premise posited by Foucault and re-worked by Giddens, identities will be defined as the fluid and reflexive product of a discourse about their own biographies between individuals and groups.[27] They represent the visual expression of social negotiation and competition - the factors which it will be argued here drive the development and spread of epigraphic culture throughout Baetica.

The theorists and archaeologists whose work underpins this study have emphasised the role of the individual human agent as an active force in the production of material culture. In theory each individual has the ability and opportunity to construct their own unique identities to their own design through the medium of epigraphic material. In practice this is mediated through epigraphic workshops with a range of standard patterns, conventions and traditions. Equally, there exists the potential for each individual who encounters an inscription in the urban context to perceive and decipher the messages and meanings communicated in a different way based on their own personal experiences and knowledge. In practice, both the construction of monuments and the understanding of their messages can be seen to display patterns which develop out of the sharing of knowledge and experiences by human populations. The construction of models for these common

[23] Whilst the approach here focuses upon urban inscriptions some comments are relevant about rural epigraphy. These questions will be addressed later in chapter 4.
[24] Bourdieu (1972) *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique, précédé de trois études d'ethnologie kabyle*; Giddens (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*.
[25] E.g. In particular *Barrett 1994; 2000a, 61-68; 2000b, 23-32; 2001, 141-164* although the influence can be seen throughout most post–processual theory.
[26] E.g. *Hodder 1986, 149; 2000, 21-33; Wilkie & Bartoy 2000, 755.*
[27] E.g. *Foucault 1975, 1980, 1988, 1997, 2005; Giddens 1991, 14,36-42,53-54.*

behavioural patterns by Bourdieu and Giddens enables social relationships to be inferred where the data demonstrate physical similarities.

Since meaning can only be understood within the context of the individual who creates or deciphers it, the methodology applied here must reconstruct that context within which to interpret the material. This approach will follow theories of interpretation based around a contextual analysis of the archaeological material. A complete archaeological context will be reconstructed by integrating the information conveyed by the historical, social, cultural, political, economic and geographical contexts into a network of relationships with the evidence which alone can explain individual aspects, but together explain the whole. By taking account of all these elements in the reconstruction of context and therefore not relying solely upon provenance and location, this enables the same methodological approach to be taken with both the provenanced and un-provenanced material irrelevant of the level of variability in information available regarding individual monuments

1.4. MATERIAL ANALYSIS

The first stage in the analysis is to assess the epigraphic background and the changes and patterns that were occurring across the study area. This provides a generalised picture of the distribution and nature of the epigraphic culture against which the increasingly detailed analyses of the assemblages from individual settlements can be compared and contrasted. In this way individual anomalies can more easily be identified. It also allows the large quantity of undated material to be integrated into the analysis.

In order to draw meaningful conclusions about how and why inscriptions formed part of the wider phenomenon of urban social expression, this thesis will wherever possible re-contextualise the inscriptions from the study sites spatially within the urban fabric of public and domestic architecture. In so doing, a more comprehensive understanding can be formed of the ways in which Baetican populations utilised inscriptions. It is hoped that the patterns in this data will enable suggestions to be made regarding the intra-urban distribution of un-provenanced epigraphic material. Admittedly in many cases there is neither enough provenanced material or surviving urban fabric to perform such an analysis with a high level of detail. But it will be demonstrated that in all cases provided the limits of the data set are well understood, this is a valuable exercise.[28] This thesis will assess the impact of these forms of social expression on the urban environment. The analysis will draw comparisons and distinctions between the evidence from various cities of Baetica, and will develop a clear understanding of how the populations of different cities utilised various forms of epigraphy.

The contextualisation of the epigraphic messages will enable interpretation through reconstruction of the physical urban framework in order to explore the relationships between urban communities and the identities exhibited by these monuments. An analysis of the visibility of a monument within its urban context and the availability or restriction of access to that monument may assist in understanding these questions by enabling a reconstruction of the audience whose daily interactions took place within their spatial settings.[29] The analysis of the use of urban space in relation to the location of urban epigraphy takes advantage of recent theoretical advances in the interpretation of domestic material deposits and enhanced understandings of the way in which space functioned on a daily basis. The relationship between space and activity is cruc**ial to this study since the way in which artefacts were utilised reflects society's attitudes** towards those artefacts. Theories relating to both public and domestic architecture provide useful points of comparison with inscriptions, since this material combines inherently private, personal elements with overtly public methods of display.

The Baetis valley was certainly a dynamic and diverse landscape and this is reflected in its material culture and society. The potential impact of this kind of study on an understanding of social change in Baetica as a whole is significant, offering the opportunity to clarify questions relating to the adoption and adaptation of exterior material culture in terms of how it was viewed by the urban communities within the province. Moving firmly away from the traditional and historically based nature of many studies of the epigraphic assemblage of the province of Baetica, this thesis takes a fresh look at a highly valuable resource of social commentary. It takes full advantage of developments within social theory and its application to archaeological theory and material. Whilst this is neither the first time social theory

[28] The issues surrounding this procedure, and the problems encountered when conducting spatial analyses on data with limited information relating to provenanced material and surviving urban context, are discussed in detail when the methodology is outlined in detail in Chapter 4.
[29] See the discussion by Eck of the composition of the audience for Roman inscriptions: *1984, 135.*

has been applied to epigraphic interpretation[30], nor the first consideration of the urban community as a group identity in the Roman world,[31] it is the first attempt to integrate community theory and to understand the implications in terms of community identity.

[30] E.g. *Woolf, 1996, 34; Revell, 2009.*
[31] E.g. *Mattingly 2006, 520-528*.

1.5. SUMMARY OF FOLLOWING CHAPTERS

Chapter 2: Geographical & Historical Background

Commencing with a geographical and historical background, the province of Baetica as a whole will be discussed with particular attention paid to the relationships, interaction and interconnectivity between its regions. The nature and development of the provincial settlement distribution, both before and during Roman rule, will be discussed, both as an urban and administrative network and as the system of exploitation of the rural landscape, considering the role of epigraphy within this pattern. Then the focus will widen to explore the relationships between Baetica and the Empire as a whole. These discussions will provide a background for definitions of the study period and study region in chapter 4, explaining why they represent key phases and regions in the history of Baetica and why they hold such significance for a study along the principles outlined above.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Background

This chapter will comprise a discussion of the theoretical issues relevant to this study and which were considered in the formation of the methodology. The review of literature will concentrate upon a discussion of the interdisciplinary theories which have been applied in the interpretation of material culture and its relationships with society, with reference to the influence of social archaeology. Special attention will be focused upon the use of epigraphy as a social indicator, with emphasis placed upon the methodologies of previous work in this field. Publications relating to the contextualisation of epigraphic material and the identification and interpretation of social relationships will be prioritised for debate, since these represent the two main themes of this research.

Chapter 4: Methodology

The methodology developed to contextualise and interpret the Baetican material considered here will be fully explained and its potential and validity illustrated. Particular attention will be paid to the way in which the epigraphic material is to be re-contextualised within its specific archaeological and urban historical contexts. The available sources of evidence will be described, followed by a comprehensive discussion of the sampling and handling techniques which will be employed to elucidate the patterns and relationships within the data. The development of a database of epigraphic material will be outlined and its use as both an archival and analytical tool demonstrated. The methodology will integrate the inscriptions by way of various analyses and interpretation within the social context of individual towns and the wider urban networks operating across the study area.

Chapter 5: Redefining the Broader Epigraphic Culture of Baetica

This chapter will take account of the need to redefine the background patterns of epigraphic culture within Baetica. Recent epigraphic compilations will be utilised to explore overall patterns of epigraphic behaviour at urban sites across the region as a whole. This will provide a background against which the material studied in Chapters 6 and 7 can be compared. As such, this chapter will apply the methodology presented in the previous chapter to each site in sequence and, in so doing, highlight the unequal epigraphic presence in the urban settlements from the study area. Having made the point that there is a structured difference in the epigraphic distribution across the landscape, this will lead into the argument that a more detailed analysis is therefore warranted in order to investigate and interpret this difference.

Chapter 6: The 12 Study Sites

This chapter will discuss in detail the twelve study sites and their epigraphic assemblages in context. It will demonstrate both the applicability of the theoretical framework and the analytical techniques in the investigation of the twelve study sites, and also how they can be adapted to suit the nature and quantity of the available evidence. It will bring together the epigraphic material and contextualise it archaeologically so that it can be interpreted in the light of its spatial location within the urban landscape and the specific history of occupation at each of the sites in question.

Chapter 7: Epigraphic Networks

This chapter will engage in a comprehensive, comparative analysis of the twelve sites forming the basis of the preceding chapter by considering that data within its chronological and spatial context. This largely excludes the undated material from the main analysis, although it will be referred to when necessary. A series of individual elements of inscriptions will be plotted chronologically and spatially in order to determine whether any patterns or anomalies in their employment can be visualised across time throughout the study period. The main aim of this chapter will be to address the research questions relating to the identification of epigraphic characteristics unique to particular settlements at specific points in their history. This chapter will serve to draw out and critique the major conclusions of this analysis.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

This final chapter will refer back to the original research questions and consider whether the analyses have been able to answer them successfully. It will assess the research and its contribution to academic debate by discussing the validity of the methodology and its contribution to the project as a whole. The main focus will lie with the research presented here but where necessary the results of this analysis will be compared with those produced by the main results of the Urban Connectivity Project. The chapter will draw upon its association with a project largely concerned with network analyses. It will question whether it is appropriate to interpret common patterns within individual epigraphic elements such as decoration or monument structure as more significant than spatial co-presence; in fact potential identifiers of a network of connectivity.

2: THE PROVINCE OF BAETICA IN ITS GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXTS

2.1 THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE PROVINCE OF BAETICA

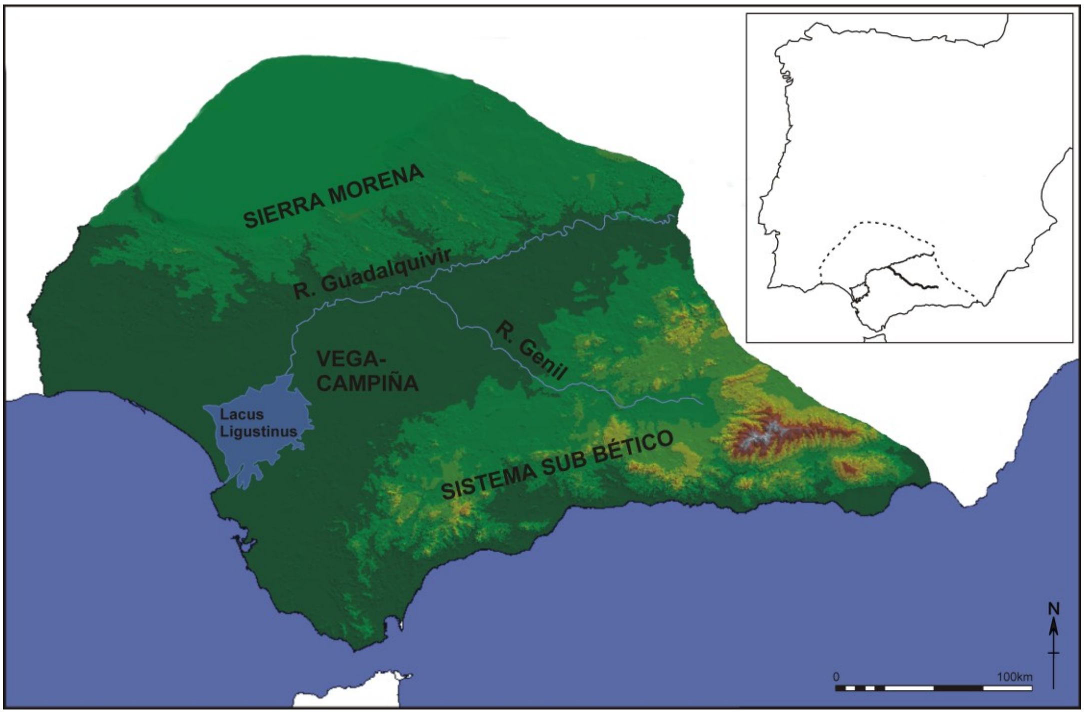

Fig. 1: The location of the province of Baetica at the southern extent of the Iberian Peninsula[1]

The Roman province of Baetica comprised a series of varied and interconnected landscapes, consisting of several mountainous regions interspersed with lowland valleys and surrounded to the south by a narrow coastal strip. In many respects, the province was more closely related to the Atlantic since the central valley of the province and all of the province's major rivers opened out onto that ocean. Its relationship with the Mediterranean was more disconnected due to the intermediary southern mountain ranges.

The European climate in the study period was probably drier and warmer than at present, and that of the study area would have resembled a modern Mediterranean climate with high temperatures in the long summers particularly along the Guadalquivir basin, and mild winters with higher precipitation rates in the mountainous regions.[2]

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[1] Landscape model generated from spot heights on ICA 1:10000 vector data.

[2] *Cunliffe, 1995, 9-12 and Figs 4 & 5; Curchin 1991, 12 and 14*. For a more detailed discussion of past climates see *Lamb 1981 & 1982.*

2.1.1 *The Sierra Morena*

The northern reaches of the Sierra Morena mountain range formed the northern border of Baetica. Beyond this the terrain was rocky and impenetrable, creating a formidable natural barrier between the province and the central region of Spain.[3] The geology of the Sierra Morena is formed of gullied schists (crystalline foliated metamorphic rocks, in this instance with seams of quartzite[4]). This region came to be widely exploited in the search for stone both for general construction, and for sources of marble and other hard stones suitable for use in the production of inscriptions within the province.[5] The mountains were strewn with rich mineral deposits of lead, iron, copper, tin, gold and silver and mining settlements such as those around the Rio Tinto were abundant.[6] This resource had long been exploited by the local populations, as is demonstrated through the development of metal working skills to the north of the River Guadalquivir which continued to grow during the Roman period.[7]

2.1.2 *The Guadalquivir Valley*

South of the Sierra Morena lies the Guadalquivir basin, the ancient Baetis valley, and the river from which the province derived its name. The source of the Baetis was beyond the limits of Hispania Baetica in Tarraconensis in the Sierra de Cazorla,[8] but it flowed through the centre of the province to its mouth just south of Caura (Coria del Río), and from there to the Atlantic Ocean north of Gades (Cadiz) via the *Lacus Ligustinus*, a large inland expanse of water. The main tributary of the Baetis was the

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[3] The highest peak is over 1300m with an average height overall of 1100m, and the range as a whole was around 40 miles deep: *Fear 1996,1.*
[4] *Thouvenot 1973, 7; Gibbons & Moreno 2002* for a detailed geological history of Spain.
[5] Several quarries have been discovered in Astigitanus, Gaditanus and Hispalensis; *Canto 1977-78* (exploitation of marble sources in Roman Spain)*; Braemer 1986* (Stone production and exportation during the Roman period)*; Cisneros Cunchillos 1988* (Use of Spanish marble in Roman Spain): Principal studies identifying the sources of stone from Baetica; *Grünhagen 1978*: With specific reference to the coloured stone types found at Munigua; See also *Loza Azuaga & Beltrán Fortes 1990* for similar exploitation of southern mountain ranges; *Mayer & Rodà 1998* (use of marble and decorative stone in Baetica); *Haley 2003, 104-105* (quarries in Baetica); See also *Maniatis et al 1995* (general study of the use of marble and other stones in antiquity) and *Herrmann et al 2002* (conference proceedings of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity).
[6] *Jones 1980*; *Domergue 1990; Fear, 1996, 2.*
[7] Archaeological evidence from mining towns in the Sierra Morena e.g. Rio Tinto: *Jones 1980*; Literary evidence: Strabo III.2.9 ff; *Blanco Freijero & Luzón Nogue 1966*; *Cunliffe 1995, 12 and Fig 7*; *Domergue 1987* and *1990* (Mines and foundries of the Iberian Peninsula); *Escacena & Belén 1998, 24* (Growth of an artisan class based on metallurgical work); *García Bueno & Fernández Rodríguez 1993* and *1995* (Valderripisa in Sierra Morena); *Ponsich, 1998, 171.*
[8] *Keay 1998, 2.*

Singilis (modern Genil) and this and the other smaller tributaries passed down to the main river valley from the surrounding mountainous regions.

To the south of the Baetis valley the land retained an open aspect and highly fertile alluvial soils, so that the *campiña* as it is known was in many respects an extension of the valley basin proper. Whilst the basin itself was mainly semi-arid, the frequent changes in altitude produced many minor variations in its climate, and the nature of these localised environments influenced the development of the agricultural economy that was stimulated under Roman rule. The lower, well drained regions at the widest point of the valley, between Hispalis and Corduba, were particularly fertile and capable of supporting a wide range of crops. These rich alluvial deposits which extended to the south of the main river valley into the *campiña* plains, coupled with the ready source of water, were well suited to cereal crops.[9] By contrast, the higher stretches of the river where the valley narrowed and the aspect heightened and became more undulating[10] were more suitable for various forms of arboriculture such as vineyards[11] and olive groves.[12] Olive production was both extensive and impressive, and the manufacture of olive oil comprised a significant proportion of the province's economic activity. There were also many open areas in the valley suited to animal husbandry,[13] and these were often used in conjunction with the foothills of the Sierra Morena for transhumance pastoralism.[14] In addition, it has been noted that south of the valley proper the agricultural land opened out and the vines, which may have been introduced to Spain by the Phoenicians,[15] were prolifically cultivated.

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[9] Both surveys and excavations have revealed evidence for grain-storage facilities in Baetica: *Lacort Navarro 1982*, *1985* (regions surrounding Carchena and Cordoba) & *Lacort Navarro & Melchor Gil 1993* (area of Palma del Río); Literary evidence: e.g. Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 18.66 and 37.203; Epigraphic evidence: e.g. CIL II ^{2}/5 457, 495 and 1330; *Haley 2003, 22-25, 39-40, 56-57, 82-83.*

[10] *Ponsich 1998, 174 Fig 1.*

[11] Material evidence in the form of amphorae e.g. Dressel 2-4, 28 and wine presses at e.g. Loma de Ceres (*Haley 2003, 91)*; Literary evidence: e.g. Strabo *Geography* 3.2.6, Columella *Res Rustica* 1 pref 20 and *De Arboribus* 11.2.60; *Haley 2003, 26, 41, 59-60, 91-92.*

[12] Material evidence in the form of amphorae: e.g. Dressel 20, and oil presses: e.g. *Carrillo Díaz-Pines 1995* (*Subbética Cordobesa*); *Haley 2003, 25-26, 40, 57-59, 83-91.*

[13] Particularly concentrated around the *Lacus Ligustinus* in the lower Baetis valley; Literary evidence: Strabo *Geography* 3.2.4, Columella *Res Rustica* 7.2.4-5, Martial 9.61.3-4, 12.63.4-5, 12.65.5, 12.98.1-2, Juvenal 12.40-43, Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 8.191; *Haley 2003, 43, 64-65, 106-108.*

[14] Possible indirect epigraphic evidence: Disputed reading *'finis callis publici'* which may refer to herds being warned off imperial property*:* CIL II^{2}/5 660; *Haley 2003 106-108*; See *Ponsich 1974*, *1991* and *1998* for identification of scatters of material away from recognised sites which might be interpreted as temporary shelters used in transhumance pastoralism.

[15] *Ponsich 1998, 177.*

2.1.3 *The Sistema subbético*

To the south east of the Baetis valley, the sub-Baetican mountain chain forms a barrier between the basin and the coastal strip. This range of mountains, the Baetic Cordillera or *sistema subbético*, includes in particular the Sierra Nevada, which is of alpine character formed from plates of limestone[16]. Although the *sistema* is on average higher than the Sierra Morena with peaks often reaching beyond 1500m,[17] it is more broken, pervaded by many alluvial basins, and does not form as formidable a barrier as the northern range.[18] This rocky plateau, with its variations in altitude, produced local variations in climate throughout the terrain. Despite the water courses which permeate the range, the *sistema* nevertheless formed a barrier between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, and focused the Baetis valley outlook firmly on the Atlantic by creating a dramatic contrast in the environment through a sharp rise in altitude. The Sierra Morena and the *Sistema subbético* meet in the north east of the province and both can be seen clearly from Corduba, forming not only a physical barrier to movement but also a visible boundary to the inner protected region of the valley.

2.1.4 *The Coastal Regions*

The coastal region of Baetica comprises two separate areas - the Atlantic seaboard and the Mediterranean coastal strip - which display very different characteristics and are distinguished by their outlook and orientation with respect to the sea. The Atlantic seaboard was relatively narrow and was characterised by a variety of marine life which attracted widespread fishing and extensive populations of sailing communities such as those based around the harbours at Gades and Huelva[19]. These marine resources were also exploited through the production of fish sauce at many sites along the coast[20]. Today there are several good harbours in this area, but in antiquity the Mediterranean coastline was more suited to the harbouring of ships

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[16] *Fear 1996, 2; Thouvenot 1973, 5*.
[17] The highest in the range, within the Sierra Nevada, is 3480m. This is also the highest peak in the Iberian peninsula,.
[18] *Gibbons & Moreno 2002*; *Curchin 1991, 11*.
[19] *Strabo Geographica 3.5.3*; Known harbours listed by Hohlfelder's fieldwork report from 1976.
[20] Archaeological evidence is particularly plentiful around the Bay of Cádiz with many production sites indicating both large and smaller scale operations. Other archaeological evidence comes in the form of *amphorae* and *tituli picti*; *Haley 2003, 26-27, 61-64, 92-94.*

with a series of harbour sites along the coast including Carteia, Malaca and Portus Magnus[21].

By contrast with the Atlantic seaboard, the Mediterranean littoral was much more variable in its nature, alternating between inhospitable and more accessible environments split by winding rivers. The area consisted of a series of alluvial plains along the arc of the south coast, open to the sea around the promontories beyond which the southern Baetican ranges terminate. A Mediterranean climate predominated with long hot summers and wet winters. Rain in the summer was rare but the many rivers provided the resources required for settlement and farming of cereals and olives,[22] while the flat aspect to the land allowed this area to be used for pasture.[23]

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[21] *Blackman, 1982 & 1982a; Hohlfelder, 1976.*
[22] See nn. 9 and 12 above.
[23] See n.13 above.

2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

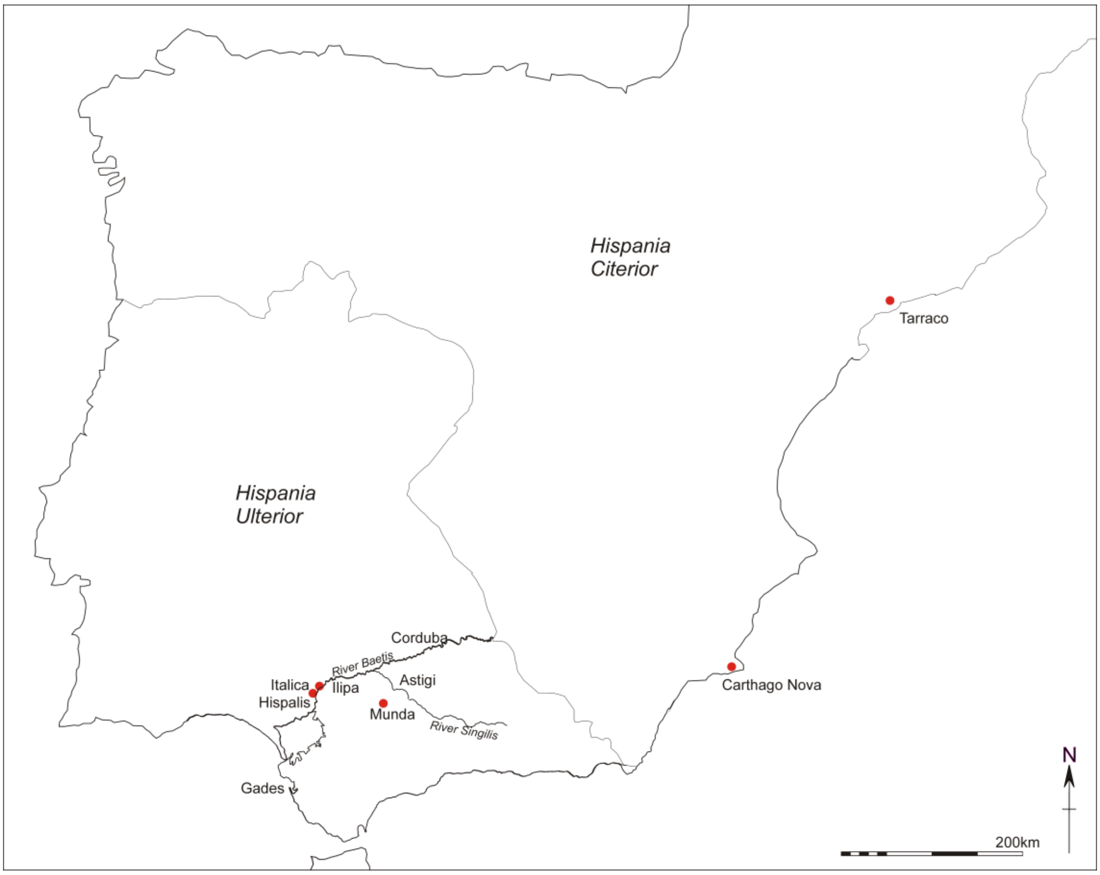

Fig. 2: The Iberian Peninsula indicating sites mentioned in the text

Baetica's history is largely one of interaction with outside communities. Its position at the southern extent of the Iberian Peninsula and close physical proximity to the African continent facilitated an influx of communities from the south, and from the eastern Mediterranean. The most notable of these were the Phoenician and Greek colonies who settled the east and southern coastlines around the 9th and 6th Centuries BC respectively.[24] Despite interaction largely based upon trading negotiations between the indigenous population and these foreign communities, they remained politically and administratively independent of one another.

The first major change to this pattern of interaction came with the incursion of the Carthaginian Barcid dynasty to southern Spain from 237 BC onwards[25], actively seeking control and the establishment of Carthaginian territory as a result of

[24] *Richardson 1996, 14.*
[25] Hamilcar's army landed at Gades in 237 BC: Polybius *Histories* 2.1.5-9.

its defeat in the First Punic War (264-241 BC)[26] and consequent loss of control over Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. This resulted in a debilitating shortfall in revenue and manpower, so that Carthage was forced to look to the exploitation of Spain in an attempt to raise the necessary revenue to meet the cost of Rome's war indemnity.

Iberia formed a main focus of the conflict between Rome and Carthage until the end of the 3rd Century BC when the Carthaginians were finally expelled from southern Spain subsequent to the Battle of Ilipa in 206 BC.[27] The senate had assigned Hispania as a *provincia* in 218 BC, and in 197 BC two divided *provinciae* were established:[28] Hispania Ulterior centred on the Baetis valley with its primary settlement at Corduba, and Hispania Citerior comprising the eastern coast between the Pyrenees and Carthago Nova with its principal military base at Tarraco. Although in the second half of the 2nd C BC Rome's involvement which had to this point been almost exclusively military, started to evolve with the influx of settlers keen to exploit the province's mineral wealth, the situation still revolved heavily around the Roman military presence.

In the 2nd Century BC the Roman presence in Iberia concentrated upon establishing control, and the historical accounts indicate the frequency of military activity and indigenous insurrections quelled. But if the lack of comment from Livy and Appian is to be believed, after 178 BC and the end of Gracchus and Albinus' tenure in Hispania, there was a distinct decrease in the frequency with which warfare broke out in the province.[29] Gracchus had set up a series of treaties with the Celtiberians whilst in Hispania Citerior in conjunction with Albinus, the details of which are not recorded but which certainly made provision for taxation.[30] It is likely that similar agreements were arranged with other communities in Spain although there is no specific evidence for this.[31]

The civil wars in Spain against Sertorius and between Caesar and the Pompeys wreaked physical havoc on Hispania as the communities of Hispania Ulterior were actively involved in this more volatile period during the final century

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[26] The main historical account is that of Polybius (*Histories* 1). Unfortunately most of the relevant section of Livy's account (16-20) is lost and survives only in a 4th Century summary of Livy's *Ad Urbe Condita*: the Periochae.
[27] Polybius *Histories* 11.20 ff; Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 28.12-16; Appian *Spanish Wars* 38.152.
[28] Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* 32.28; *Richardson 1996, 48-49; Keay, 1988, 47.*
[29] *Richardson 1996, 59.*
[30] Appian *Iberike* 43.179
[31] *Richardson 1996, 58-59, 70-71.*

of the Roman Republic between those competing for political control of the region, culminating in Caesar's victory at Munda in 45 BC.[32] From the mid 1st Century BC onwards, a more conscious attempt was made to advance changes in the hierarchies of settlement through the establishment of *coloniae* of Roman citizens[33] such as the Colonia Hispalis Romula (Sevilla) and the Colonia Patricia Corduba (Córdoba). These new *coloniae* were accompanied by administrative changes which awarded certain settled native communities varying degrees of autonomy, and raised several to the status of *municipium.*[34] In the aftermath of the Civil Wars, the repayment of loyalties by Caesar and Augustus conditioned the distribution of several Roman towns by political motivation rather than economic or topographical concerns. During the late Republic a number of urban settlements such as Hispalis and Corduba can also be associated with a *conventus civium Romanorum*, an unofficial assembly of citizens within a site otherwise unrecognised by Rome who started to have a visible influence on the appearance of those towns.[35]

The victory of Augustus at Actium in 31 BC[36] heralded a new era for Roman politics and administration, and Hispania Ulterior took its place at the forefront as one of the first overseas territories conquered by Rome. The final stage in Rome's conquest of Iberia contrasts with the earlier campaigns because it formed part of an organised strategy with clear objectives of which Augustus himself eventually took charge during the period 27-26 BC.[37] Although Augustus returned home triumphant in 24 BC, the Iberian population had not been completely subdued, and the subsequent rebellions were not finally quelled until 19 BC by Agrippa.[38]

The warfare had lasted for nearly two centuries but, despite having been a laborious and haphazard process, Rome's conquest of Hispania was relatively final requiring only a single relatively modest garrison to maintain control.[39] By contrast,

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[32] Caesar *De Bello Hispaniensi* 27-33; Plutarch *Life of Julius Caesar 56*; Suetonius *Divus Iulius* 35 and 36.
[33] *Keay 1992, 297-8; 1995, 301; 1988, 52; 1998a, 64.*
[34] *Ibid 1992, 297 and 299-300.*
[35] Hispalis: Caesar *De Bello Civili 2.20.5*; Corduba: *Caesar De Bello Civili 2.19.2*; *Richardson 1996, 118-119, 121.*
[36] Plutarch *Life of Mark Antony* 62-68; Suetonius *Divus Augustus* 17.
[37] *Richardson 1996, 135*; Suetonius *Divus Augustus* 20.
[38] Cassius Dio 54.11.1.
[39] Pliny notes that there was only 1 cohort in Baetica under the governor *Epistolae x.21.32*. Inscriptions from Italica suggest that a *statio* was in place there for some time: CIL II 1131 and 1132. The difficulty with which the Moorish invasions in the 2nd Century AD were quelled reflects the lack of military forces - see *Mackie 1983, 185.*

the subjugation of other provinces necessitated an almost continuous military presence.[40]

In the two centuries following the establishment of the first Spanish *provinciae*, continued Republican territorial conquests expanded Hispania Ulterior to comprise a large part of southern and western Spain together with Portugal. An administrative reorganisation was begun sometime between 16 and 13 BC[41] with major repercussions for the province which had expanded far beyond its original territory. The administrative complexities created by the extent of Ulterior prompted the division of the province under Augustus to form Hispania Ulterior Baetica (hereafter Baetica), a proconsular province,[42] and Lusitania. By 5 BC a later redistribution of the eastern part of the Baetican territories assigned them to another new *provincia* derived from Hispania Citerior, namely Tarraconensis. Lusitania and Tarraconensis bordered Baetica to the north, west and east, demarcating an area of southern Spain which is most easily recognised today as the Comunidad de Andalucía, but which had its closest parallels with the old Reino de Sevilla together with southern Extremadura.[43] These borders were maintained with very little alteration until the end of the Roman period. Augustus also made changes to the administration of the judiciary system through the provincial governor by creating the four *conventus* divisions of Hispania Ulterior administered from capitals at Astigi, Corduba, Gades and Hispalis.[44]

Under Augustus the province underwent a radical period of urban reorganisation and expansion together with the extension of the formal status of

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[40] E.g. The considerably larger number of units stationed in the province of Britannia is estimated by *Frere 1987, 143-146*.

[41] *Albertini 1923*; *Cortijo Cerezo 1993; Haley 2003, 34* after c. 13 BC. *Alföldy 1998* for the epigraphic evidence. *Syme 1969, 126*; followed by *Alföldy 1969, 224 n9*; *Haley 2003, 33-34; Keay 2003, 166; Richardson 1996; Mackie 1983, 353-357* argues on uncertain grounds for the genesis of the province in 25 BC; Pliny suggests Lusitania’s borders were set by 12 BC: *Naturalis Historia* 4.118.

[42] For the arguments in favour of abandoning the unsubstantiated categories of senatorial and imperial provinces see Millar 1966, 1977 (reprinted 2002) & 1989.

[43] *Keay1998,12.*

[44] *Albertini 1923;Keay 1992, 295-7;Cortijo Cerezo 1993.* For the argument against calling these 4 settlements 'capitals' of the respective *conventus* divisions: *Haensch 1997* - an analysis of provincial administration throughout the Empire and the selection criteria for major administrative centres. Haensch argues that the term *'caput provinciae'* is rarely seen in the literary sources. Further he suggests that the modern connotations of the word 'capital' engender ideas of fixed government, when during the study period the governors frequently toured their territories and did not always set up their main residences in the main fiscal or administrative settlements. The term 'capital' will continue to be used throughout this thesis, but bearing in mind the considerations discussed here about how that term is understood.

colonia and *municipium* which largely continued and was consolidated under the Julio-Claudians. This period represents the first in the region's history where administrative and exploitation considerations outweighed those of military control.

The next significant alteration to the structure of the province was the reign of Vespasian during which he granted Latin rights, *ius Latii*, apparently to the whole of Hispania.[45] This grant rewarded both the elite and non elite by providing non citizens with the practical daily benefits of citizenship.[46] Vespasian's policies also reflected the reduced military presence within the region as a legionary presence was absent from the province for the first time since 218 BC.[47] As a result of Vespasian's grant a large number of municipia appear within Baetica at this time which include *Flavium* within their urban name. By the Flavian period, the urban community in Baetica was highly developed, sophisticated and organised as is illustrated by the content of the *Lex Irnitana*[48] and other Flavian statutes which detail the laws imposed upon the new Flavian *municipia*.[49]

The history of Roman involvement in southern Spain had progressed from long and fierce military combats to a comparative calm, under which the administrative structure was reorganised in order to manage the new territories more efficiently. The natural landscape formed the basis for this re-ordered system, helping to define the borders between the new provinces. This arrangement was reinforced by the use the administrative regime made of the established settlement pattern, the natural routes of access through the region and the courses of the river valleys to organise its own new network of connections.

[45] *Pliny Naturalis Historia 3.30.*
[46] *Richardson 1996, 208.* Full universal citizenship was later granted by Caracalla in AD 212.
[47] *Ibid, 188-190.*
[48] *González 1986; CILA II.iv.1201.*
[49] E.g. Lex Municipalis from Salpensa: CIL II 1963 & CILA II.iii.964. Lex Munipcalis from Ostippo: CIL II^2 5,959.

2.3 URBAN SETTLEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Of the whole province, the most densely settled areas were the plains south of the Guadalquivir valley. The settlement pattern preceding Roman colonisation[50] was dictated to a large extent by the importance of inter-visibility between sites and the structuring of a landscape hierarchy which impacted upon the hierarchy of the settlements within it.[51] Towns such as Salpensa, Irippo and Carmo were located on elevated plateaux in order to dominate smaller settlements in the lowlands.[52] In contrast, the major centres of Hispalis, Astigi and Corduba were situated in low terrain on the River Guadalquivir and the Genil to establish their roles as commercial control points within the new administration.[53] The pre-Roman settlement pattern therefore actively exploited the natural ability of the landscape to structure hierarchies between settlements and to isolate larger settlements by locating them on higher vantage points with superior visibility and defensibility.[54] The mineral deposits of the Rio Tinto[55] were one of the main attractions to outsiders, and the distribution of seams of these minerals in conjunction with the requirement to remain near the Baetis to facilitate the transport of the mined resources away from the site, was one of many factors which influenced the development of the settlement pattern of the area. In the lower open areas to the south there were many places suitable for human settlement and expansion, but beyond Corduba the nature of the environment is less cohesive, more broken in its terrain and increasingly inaccessible for exploitation.[56]

In the early stages of Roman administration the system continued to exploit the existing social, economic and settlement patterns.[57] Several new foundations created during this period, such as Italica and Corduba,[58] were situated near to pre-existing native settlements, while those new settlements which were not located

[50] See e.g. *Almagro Gorbea 1987* for discussion of Iberian settlements before Romanisation.
[51] See *Keay et al 2001* for a discussion of the territory of Carmona and its location with respect to the landscape and visibility.
[52] *Keay 1998a, 60.* Problems with establishing the nature of these hierarchies, see *Haley 2003, 76 ff.*
[53] *Keay 1998a, 60.*
[54] See e.g. *Fortea & Bernier 1970* for discussion of Iberian fortifications.
[55] Most importantly the economic metals: copper, gold, iron, lead, silver, and tin.
[56] *Ponsich 1987, 9.*
[57] E.g. *Keay 1992, 292.*
[58] Italica was founded in 206 BC by Scipio Africanus. Excavations near the Turdetanian settlement of Pajar de Artillo (near modern Santiponce) have located the town: *Keay 1988, 50*; *Rodríguez Hidalgo & Keay 1995, 395-420; Caballos Rufino & León 1997*; *Caballos Rufino et al 1999*; Corduba: See *Knapp 1983*, *León 1996*, *Ventura et al 1998.*

within the established pattern were inhabited by native populations rather than colonists;[59] as a result, a visible continuity in the location of many settlements both preceding, during and after Roman colonisation can be clearly identified. Therefore, early Roman settlement patterns in Baetica were largely based upon earlier networks, and the advantages of the hierarchical positioning of towns enabled Roman infrastructure to maintain connectivity between them and retain control over the entire area. Under Augustus and the Julio-Claudians there was a significant growth of urbanisation particularly within the Baetis valley. This was coupled with the extension of formal legal status discussed earlier which continued into the Flavian period with Vespasian's grant of *ius Latii*.

The *conventus* divisions were largely based upon natural boundaries in the landscape as dictated by the local topography and features. As a result they reflected the importance of the natural features and resources of the landscape in shaping the character of the provincial administration and emphasised the regional variation in its character.

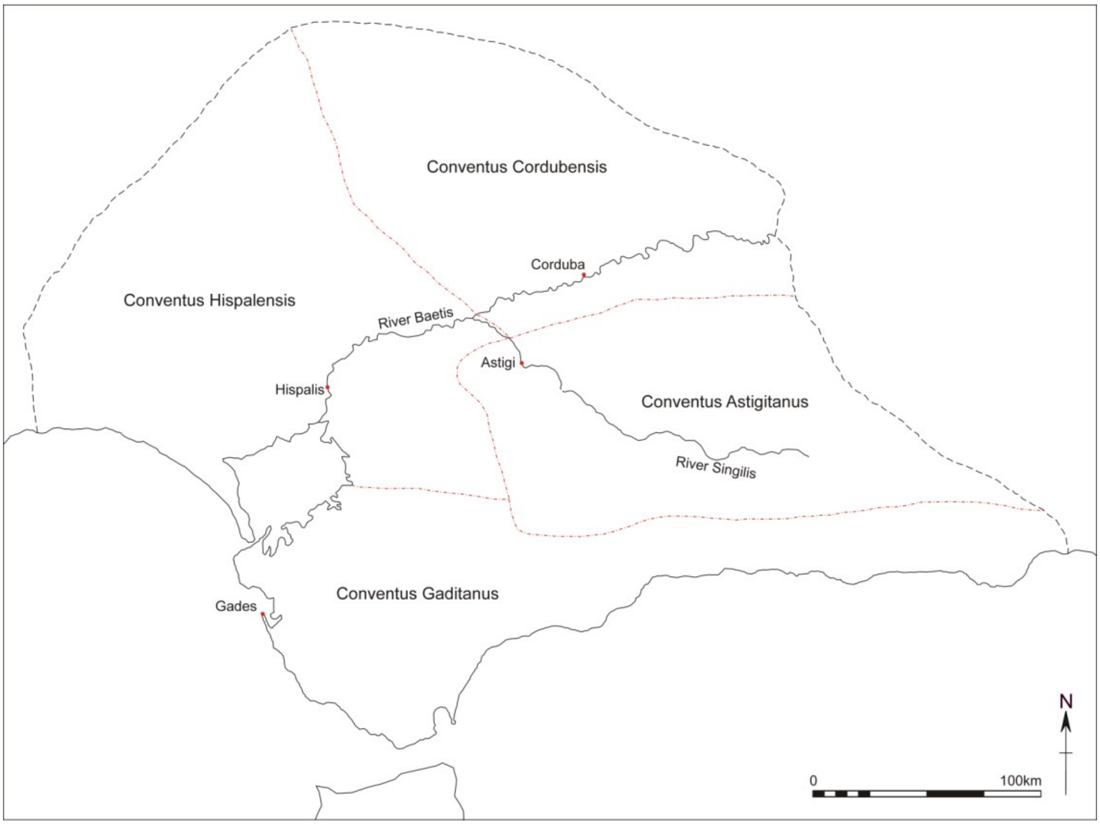

Fig. 3: The estimated boundaries of the conventus divisions of Roman Baetica (After Keay 1998)

59 *Keay, 1988, 50.*

These connections were strengthened by the development of the road system.[60] Strabo records the construction of a new road through Baetica from the Pyrenees leading down through the Baetis valley to Gades.[61] However this was not in fact a new road, but rather a reconstruction of a much older route, which became known during this time or under Tiberius as the Via Augusta.[62] This route provided a physical link to Italy and Rome via its connection to the Via Domitia through southern Gaul. Therefore the main addition to the pre-Imperial road system did not restructure the landscape or introduce a significant alteration, but instead reinforced and strengthened existing capabilities. With improved transportation links and communication routes, settlements became part of a structured physical network which allowed and promoted changes in the relative hierarchies if not the physical distribution of settlements.[63]

Further development of the distribution of settlements throughout the region continued to respond to key locations within the landscape, but these often demonstrated wider concerns connected to political stability and economic viability rather than just the negotiation of administration.[64]

[60] *Roldán Hervás 1975*; *Silliéres 1990* ;*Corzo Sanchez & Toscano Gil 1992; Nünnerich-Asmus1993.*
[61] *Strabo Geographica 3.4.9-10.*
[62] *Sillières 1990, 35-39; Richardson 1996, 163.*
[63] *Abascal Palazón & Espinosa 1989* and *Guichard 1993* both discuss aspects of power and hierarchies within urban settlements during the Roman period in Iberia.
[64] *Keay 1992, 298; Keay 1988, 49.*

2.4 RURAL SETTLEMENT AND AGRICULTURAL EXPLOITATION

The patterns of countryside settlement contrast with the picture of urban development and generalised continuity in Baetica before and after the Roman conquest. Patterns of rural settlements are not as well understood in the pre-Roman period as the contemporary urban foundations.[65] A large number of small sites associated with agriculture appear not to have been occupied permanently, but functioned as temporary, even daily, bases for land cultivation and pastoralism, which were abandoned when their occupants returned to nearby village sites[66] or continued along transhumance routes. Consequently, archaeological evidence for these settlements is often minimal due to the lack of permanent structures and often short periods of occupation. The evidence indicates smaller groups of people tending to restricted areas of land centred around the village as the core of the community. One major problem with the identification of patterms of rural settlement is that these are largely based on the presence of Roman pottery and therefore exclude an unknown number of sites where traditional, indigenous ceramic forms persisted in use.[67] The later 1st Century BC and early 1st Century AD is characterised on the basis of this evidence by a major alteration in rural exploitation of the province and an explosion in the number of farm-based settlements both near *coloniae* and throughout the Baetis valley within the territories of existing native settlements.[68] Slightly later in the second half of the 1st Century AD the same pattern is seen with the continued establishment of sites further east up the Baetis valley.[69] During the early Imperial period, the towns exerted firm control over the economic and administrative life of the province. Whilst the most luxurious *villae* were located near the most urbanised regions of the province, they also managed the resources in areas further removed from the centres of the urban networks. With *villae* complementing the role of the towns in less accessible regions of Baetica though without the same political authority,[70] the settlement distribution across the province formed a coherent and inter-connected pattern.

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[65] *Keay 1992, 303;* Rural settlement in Astigitanus: *Haley 1996;* Rural settlement in Baetica: *Ponsich 1974, 1979, 1987, 1991 & 1998; Haley 2003, 15-31, 37-38, 47-55, 71-81.*
[66] *Ponsich 1987, 107.*
[67] *Keay 2000, 170-171.*
[68] *Ponsich 1974, 1979, 1987 & 1991; Richardson 1996, 162; Keay 1992, 275-315.*
[69] *Richardson 1996, 162-163.*
[70] *Ponsich 1987, 108.*

The function of these *villa* sites is further clarified in relation to their distribution with respect to the river. The change in use of the river dictated by its natural capability for navigability meant that the opulent *villae* common elsewhere along the river are very rarely seen in this upper region of the valley[71]. The increased agricultural intervention involved production of large quantities of the province's cash crops of oil and wine, and the resulting prosperity in turn influenced the development of the urban network. Amphora production sites were primarily located close to the banks of navigable stretches of the Baetis and other rivers.[72] The careful choice of the locations for these production sites, according to the navigability of the river on which they depended for transport and trade, is demonstrated by the fact that to date no olive oil amphora kiln sites have been found beyond Corduba.[73] These kilns were concentrated on the Baetis and Singilis due to the proximity of the clay and water resources rather than the location of the olive groves. This also meant that they were close to the transhipment points down the river to Hispalis, enabling the export of this product to be tightly controlled.[74] Comparison of the spatial relationship between amphora production sites and the generalised system of agricultural exploitation of the province also indicates that they were closely correlated, since the main area of crop cultivation was centred on the valley between Hispalis and Corduba.[75]

Thus as agricultural activity expanded, urban communities prospered and continued to develop the networks of trade and control around which they had initially established themselves. Hence, rural expansion can be seen to spread beyond the immediate territories of the large urban sites as a reflection of a new interest in the exploitation of the countryside.[76] The resulting changes in the Baetican settlement pattern responded to the need to expand the network of control of the province's economic resources. As a result of the export trade in the economically valuable crops produced by this new large scale, systematic rural exploitation, Baetica also encouraged its connections with the rest of the Empire and the increase

[71] *Gorges 1979*; *Ponsich 1987, 9.*
[72] *Remesal Rodríguez 1998, 188.*
[73] *Ponsich 1998, 175.*
[74] *Remesal Rodríguez 1998, 188.*
[75] *Ponsich 1998 182 Fig 6; Remesal Rodríguez 1998, 187 Fig 1.*
[76] *Keay 1992, 304; Haley 2003, 37.*

in the wealth and prosperity of rural landowners facilitated their participation in the administrative system through political office.[77]

The pattern of inter-dependent development between the urban and rural settlement patterns of Roman Baetica demonstrates the complexity of the relationship, with no clear distinction between the function of urban and rural areas. The use of inscribed monuments was not exclusively restricted to urban areas in Baetica, and many examples have been found in the context of much smaller rural sites throughout the province. This reinforces the decision to include a wide range of site types, as it is clear that their character is hard to define and that individual sites do not fit easily into structured categories such as rural agglomeration,[78] farmstead,[79] *villa*[80] or urban.[81]

2.5 CONCLUSION

The geographical structures which defined Baetica, the interconnected regions of its landscape, and its settlement hierarchies continued to provide a skeleton for the administrative structure during the Roman period, but this framework was adapted so that relationships between urban settlements could be altered without necessarily shifting their location or overall distribution.

The natural features which characterise the localised environments and underline their diversity were responsible for linking the varied landscapes of the province, so that they both defined the various regions and formed a network of connections between them. Therefore, the Sierra Morena and the *sistema* defined the borders of Baetica and separated areas within the province, but also connected its northern and southern outreaches. In the same way, the *campiña* and the valley basin proper can be viewed as separate regions, but the close similarity between their environments meant that in practice the one functioned as an extension of the other.

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[77] Spanish senators and equites from Baetica: *Caballos Rufino 1990* and *1998*; *Etienne 1965*.
[78] Small groups of individual settlements within isolated areas of the countryside with small populations and either with or without a limited number of structures associated with shared activities, akin to villages or hamlets and associated with agriculture.
[79] A small individual household settlement designed as a functional collection of buildings associated with exploitation of the rural landscape.
[80] A small individual household settlement primarily based around its functional requirements in the exploitation of the rural landscape but with a particular series of attributes which provide elements of luxury to the inhabitants such as bathhouses and hypocausts, mosaics or painted walls.
[81] Individual settlement with an increased density of structures for a diverse range of activities including residential, commercial, industrial, administrative and religious in comparison with the surrounding area, and high population densities of varied social status.

This relationship is particularly important to the selection of the case studies and enabled sites at the furthest southern reach of the study area to be included alongside those in close proximity to the river.

3. EPIGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY: A CONTEXT FOR INTERPRETATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The methodology presented in Chapter 4 draws upon debates surrounding the interpretation of material culture and its role as an indicator of change within society. The purpose of the following discussion is to explore the approaches to this issue which may contribute to a re-contextualisation of material culture within the urban settlements of Baetica, in order to demonstrate how my own methodological approach has been informed by archaeology, social theory and epigraphic research.

The methodology is founded upon the basic assumption that inscribed monuments can be exploited as a source of information pertaining to social identities through a reconstruction and analysis of the relationship between inscribed material culture and society. This facilitates a discussion regarding how that material was utilised as a medium for the expression of shared identities by the urban populations residing within the study area. Analysis of the social contexts and identities of the monuments from the study sites within the reconstructed interpretative context accomplishes the central aim of this thesis – the identification of groups, communities and social networks involved in Baetican urban epigraphic culture.

There follows a summary of the theoretical framework of the various methodologies discussed in order to fulfil the main purpose of this chapter - to highlight those approaches taken with potential for the current research project.

***The Application of Archaeological Techniques and Concepts* (3.2)**

Initially, the advantages of an archaeological methodology will be considered, which relies heavily upon the formulation of an interpretative framework rooted in contextual analysis.

***An Interpretative Context for the Epigraphic Monument* (3.3)**

The methodology adopted here re-contextualises epigraphic material within its historical, spatial and social contexts. Archaeology has developed methodologies for contextual approaches, drawing together material and its context for analysis in order to enhance its potential to act as a social indicator. However, similar approaches are rare in epigraphic studies and a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between a community and its epigraphic culture should be defined.

***The Motivation to Inscribe* (3.4)**

The motivation to inscribe will be discussed as a product of the involvement of an individual in relationships which prompted feelings of familial sentiment, duty or obligation, legal requirements or concern for their status.

***Identities & Communities* (3.5)**

The social theory of identity and communities will be discussed in order to identify the purpose of communal relationships, and the reasons for which different types of groups might display similar patterns of behaviour.

***Cultural Change* (3.6)**

Activities involving artefacts are frequently analysed in order to discern patterns of use and activity. This has enabled the identification of commonalities and differences based upon the ways in which society creates, utilises and perceives its material culture. The detection of alterations in those patterns over time is a common method for the identification of changes in the socio-cultural climate in both temporal and spatial contexts of individual sites, or within wider urban networks and provincial landscapes. Therefore, this discussion will consider epigraphic-based approaches to the identification of cultural change, questioning their validity and considering how they can be most advantageously employed.

3.2 THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONCEPT OF CONTEXT AND THE APPLICATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL TECHNIQUES TO EPIGRAPHIC STUDIES IN BAETICA

Employment of the word ‘context’ within archaeology[1] does not simply relate to a stratigraphic relationship in time and space, but refers to the entirety of the available evidence associated with an object or event which can assist in explanation and interpretation. The amalgamation of archaeological contexts representing specific relationships with the material evidence forms a complete background for interpretation.[2] Contextual analysis is integral to archaeological practice since the discipline demands that artefacts are not interpreted as disassociated objects, but in conjunction with other information.

Epigraphy has begun to ask more searching questions of its material, particularly with regard to its context, and there has been a general move in more

[1] Derived from the Latin verb *contexere* meaning to weave or join together (OLD).
[2] *Butzer 1982, 4,12; Hodder 1986, 4-6.*

recent scholarship to apply the standards of the archaeological discipline to inscriptions.[3] Advances in both archaeological and specifically epigraphic technology, together with newly accumulated knowledge from excavation,[4] have made the answers to these questions much more readily available for inscriptions discovered during these investigations.[5] The use of electronic resources within the most recent generation of scholarship has allowed increasingly detailed information to be documented in equal detail, such as through computerised storage of information in searchable databases, or the digital collation of multiple images which conventional publications cannot produce.[6] The internet is revolutionising epigraphic studies and research by making databases easily and globally accessible.

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[3] For early advocacy of archaeological investigation of inscribed monuments see *Ferri 1965, 39* & *Mallon 1961, 299-301.* See *Limentani 1995* for an overview of the development of the epigraphic discipline. For examples of forward thinking epigraphic research see e.g. *Roueché 1989:* Considered use of epigraphic material as source of historical information for the city of Aphrodisias in late antiquity*; Roueché 1993:* Categorisation of inscriptions from buildings associated with theatrical activity in Aphrodisias so as to illuminate the various roles of those involved as audience or performer; *Woolf 1998, 77-105:* Analysis of distribution of inscriptions as a method for mapping cultural change in Gaul*; Allison 2001:* Contextual approach to the interpretation of social information derived from a study of Pompeian epigraphy and material contexts; Cooley *2000a:* Edited conference volume demonstrating various approaches to the use of inscriptions for topographical studies, all of which interpret the material with regard to their complete physical appearance rather than their text alone; *Gimeno Pascual 2003:* Consideration of the society of Munigua through the epigraphic evidence from the site*; Keay 2006:* Analysis of epigraphic assemblage from Celti as a less prominent Baetican urban settlement contextualised within the contemporary history of the town, the development of an epigraphic culture and social developments together with the material from other sites in the region; Also worth noting is the work carried out at Sarmizegetusa by Piso and Diaconescu amongst others e.g. *Piso & Diaconescu 1999; Bota & Diaconescu 2004; Piso 2004.* Changes and developments in epigraphic practice noted in review articles in the Journal of Roman Studies: *Reynolds 1971 & 1976; Reynolds et al 1981 & 1986; Gordon et al 1993, 1997* and *Gordon & Reynolds 2003*. For Hispania e.g.: *Castillo García 1972, 1973, 1979, 1985, 1987, 1991, 1995*.

[4] In Baetica examples of excavated sites with significant epigraphic assemblages include Singilia Barba: *Sillières 1978; Atencia Páez 1988; de Luque Moraño & Atencia Páez 1989-1990; Serrano Ramos & Rodríguez Oliva 1988;* Baelo Claudia: *Bonneville et al, 1988;* and Munigua: *E.g. Grünhagen 1961; Raddatz 1973; Collantes de Teran & Fernández-Chicarro de Díos 1972-1974; Vegas 1988; Blech et al 1993; Meyer et al 2001;* Summarised by *Schattner 2002.* Singilia Barba contrasts with the following two examples which were both excavated to a high standard.

[5] General commentary: *Gordon et al, 1993, 132; Gordon et al 1997, 203-204*; E.g. The development of a technique utilising x-ray fluorescence imaging to recover eroded and damaged texts from stone inscriptions at Cornell University: *Bilderback et al 2005, 221-227.*

[6] E.g. The Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (EAGLE) comprises databases housed in Bari and Rome and the Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg provides a searchable database including all the extant information with links to images where available. This includes the material from the revised CIL editions from Spain at the Centro CIL II-Universidad de Alcalá.
Another similar database is the Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby (EDCS) which contains a larger corpus of material than the Heidelberg edition. However a significant problem with both databases is the lack of contextual archaeological information archived relating to the precise findspot and type of inscription which could easily be achieved with a free text field.
The Archivo Epigráfico Virtual de Hispania was created by the editors of *Hispania Epigraphica* for the purpose of documenting online Latin inscriptions published in the journal.
See *Ramírez Sánchez 2003, 275-301* for overview of the use of the internet in epigraphic (and numismatic) publication and research in Spanish research centres and universities.

In addition, it provides an alternative forum for publication and discussion and an increasing number of projects and journals are making use of the facility to circulate and archive academic research online.[7] A further development has been the use made of the XML markup language in order to represent and archive epigraphic material in a standardised form.[8]

Despite advances in the development of an epigraphic approach which contemplates a much more inclusive sense of context, such ideas have not as yet been universally adopted.[9] Many publications of newly discovered epigraphic material are still produced in isolation, divorced from other forms of evidence, or published separately prior to the production of the final excavation report. This reflects a lack of concern for a fully integrated analysis and interpretation, and limits contextual interpretation at this early stage.[10] These limitations must be overcome in favour of a more integrated approach, not only with respect to publication, but also analysis and interpretation.

In the revised CIL volumes for Iberia, the attention to details of archaeological context and attempts to spatially locate inscriptions within the urban landscape have achieved a precise conjunction between contextual archaeological information and inscriptions.[11] It is to be hoped that this awareness of context will extend beyond these catalogues into the detailed investigations that they will doubtless encourage. The same project[12] is demonstrating the value of re-examining the material itself, wherever possible, and returning to antiquarian documentation where it is not. In some cases, they have been able to reassign provenance where it was omitted or incorrectly recorded, and have reunited separated fragments of the

[7] E.g. Current Epigraphy, Hispania Epigraphica, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik amongst others. In addition several other general classical and archaeological journals including articles on epigraphic topics are either published or archived online e.g. Journal of Roman Studies. The Inscriptions of Aphrodisias project provides an excellent model of how to achieve a high standard of online publication: http://www.insaph.kcl.ac.uk/index.html.
[8] The EpiDoc project initiated in the 1990s is the forerunner in this respect, and was piloted with the material from excavations at Aphrodisias and Vindolanda.
[9] *Corbier 1998, 22-24:* Archaeological context is discussed briefly in relation to funerary inscriptions, but not with any of the other inscribed genres.
[10] E.g. Publication of inscriptions from excavated sites in Écija: *Sáez Fernández et al, 2001* no. 5 and *Sáez Fernández et al , 2003* no. 8: In both cases the excavations from which the inscriptions derive are referenced to unpublished reports.
[11] See *Stylow et al 1995, Pars VII Maps 1&2* of Corduba; *Stylow et al 1998, 341* for plan of Astigi; *Edmondson 1999, 652* for discussion of the value of the inclusion of this information in the new CIL II volumes and e.g. *Edmondson 2001* for application within his own research at Émerita.
[12] http://www2.uah.es/imagines_cilii/

same inscription.[13] These detailed analyses indicate how much information can be gleaned for the purposes of reconstructing an interpretative context, even where it was assumed that no such information was available.[14]

The importance of using all the available contextual evidence in an interpretative framework can be illustrated by recent developments in approaches to Mediterranean domestic architecture, where the advances of researchers have demonstrated the importance of careful analysis of occupational deposits in conjunction with the architectural remains.[15] To date this kind of approach has been largely restricted to domestic architecture, although its potential is now being expanded into other areas such as military contexts.[16] Similar principles can be applied to epigraphic material in order to reconstruct a context for inscriptions based upon their uses and functions within urban activity. The Spanish epigrapher Navascués touched upon this connection when discussing the relationships between funerary rites and monuments and how the apparatus necessary for life after death affected the shape of the monument.[17] Hence the meaning of an object and the contexts within which it functioned were important in shaping the appearance of that item in terms of its structure, decoration and content.

Failure to employ a contextual archaeological approach to epigraphic material can result in the generation of unsupported hypotheses.[18] In Mann's

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[13] E.g. CILA II ii 17-18 reassigned from Hispalis to Italica by CIL II^2; CIL II 1114 & 5370: 3 fragments reunited as single inscription ITA027TI by CIL II^2. (See list of abbreviations page viii and relevant section of methodology 4.1.4.5.2 p 83 for explanation of referencing system for inscriptions within this thesis. In addition Appendix F contains a table of concordances with existing publications).

[14] Evaluation of parallel entries for inscriptions in CIL II and CIL II^2 illustrates the incorporation of a more detailed interpretative context, even simply through comparisons with other monuments of the same provenance e.g. CIL II 1471 = CIL II^2 5,1162 = AST002SC.

[15] Researchers such as Allison, Berry and Nevett have all demonstrated that theories which predict the use of space for specific activities or ranges of activities do not stand up to the material evidence and that domestic space was used in different ways at different times and dependent upon the individual or group concerned. E.g. *Allison 1993, 183; 1999* generally *& 60-61, 2004, 2004a, 2006; Berry, 1997, 183; Nevett 1993, 1995 1999.* Such criticisms are not confined to studies of domestic architecture and also affect wider urban contextual studies: see 3.13.3.2 page 42 -43.

[16] *Allison 2004a, 2006.*

[17] *Navascués 1948-9.*

[18] For example consider the repeated use of information from tombstones to analyse demography and mortality rates such as *Hopkins 1966, Parkin 1992*, *Frier 1982* & *2000* and *Paine & Storey 2006* which will never indicate anything other than the average age of death of the sample of individuals who recorded this information on stone funerary monuments and whose monuments have been preserved. Also consider the use of statistical analysis to infer levels of literacy from densities of preserved inscriptions by *Harris 1989*.

criticism[19] of certain claims made by Saller and Shaw's article concerning Roman family relations, [20] he makes important points about inferences concerning the generalised population based upon patterns in the material evidence. Saller and Shaw contended that the provincial epigraphic assemblage demonstrated that native Britons were not as a rule recruited into the provincial army,[21] but Mann rightly argued that the evidence was not suitable to make such a claim.[22] Failure to appreciate the implications of external factors on the distribution of any material and appreciation of the relevant context for interpretation can easy lead to biased and incorrect assumptions. Saller and Shaw should have restricted their interpretations to those who had actually set up the inscriptions they studied.

Another advantage derived from archaeological methodology is the application of detailed statistical analyses to epigraphic assemblages. This includes integrating the philosophy of exploratory data analysis (EDA) which constructs models based upon the results of analysis, and the employment of methods of graphical presentation.[23] Basic statistical analysis such as evaluations of chronological distributions based on percentages have long been a feature of epigraphic research, but more nuanced approaches to these techniques can bring a new aspect to epigraphic studies. The application of modern and quantitative techniques has also served to encourage exploitation of the potential of epigraphic material by archaeologists in addition to ancient historians who have tended to monopolise debate due to the origins of epigraphy as a discipline branching out from ancient history. Statistical analyses can enable the efficient comparison of various assemblages according to a common methodological standard. This enables large-scale regional or chronological distributions to be compared within a framework that has the potential to enable objective generalisations whilst retaining control over bias and subjectivity.[24] However, such analyses are often applied unsuccessfully to epigraphic data, incorporating errors which result from a lack of understanding of the

[19] *Mann 1985.*
[20] *Saller & Shaw 1984.*
[21] *Ibid 142.*
[22] *Mann 1985, 204.* Mann argues that Saller and Shaw neglected to consider the impact upon the distribution patterns of factors such as the availability of stone resources on the island or the history of Roman military occupation, and most importantly the regional differences in these factors.
[23] EDA: *Tukey 1977*; Statistics in archaeology: Overviews, manuals and arguments for incorporation in quantitative archaeological research – *Orton 1980, 20-21, 23-24, 218-220; Drennan 1996; Shennan 1997; Aldenderfer 1998; Orton 2000; Baxter 2003.*
[24] *Shanks & Tilley 1993, 56-57.*

implications of utilising specific techniques of statistical analysis and the unsuitability of the approach selected.[25] Statistics are not a failsafe method for the interpretation of quantitative data and can be easily manipulated, even unwittingly, to demonstrate an expected outcome.

Both the importance of contextual interpretation and the problems associated with unsuitable statistical methods were well illustrated by Abramenko[26] in his analysis of inscriptions relating to *Seviri Augustales* and *Seviri* in Italy. He argued against the traditional assumption that the body of *seviri augustales* was primarily founded in order to provide a route for social achievement by freedmen. His re-analysis of the data brought into play chronological and geographical contexts; it then became clear that inscriptions to *seviri* in the main predate those to *seviri augustales* and that, when contemporary assemblages of inscriptions from the same areas of Italy are compared, they in fact demonstrate little difference between the social status of the individuals recorded.[27]

Therefore, whilst statistical analyses can be utilised as a valuable interpretative resource in the identification and interpretation of patterns within the evidence, this can only be achieved if the researcher both asks the correct questions of the evidence (herein lies the value of archaeological methodology) and has a thorough understanding of statistical methods.

Epigraphic research has in the past conformed to a type of approach which presents a series of descriptions of the past corresponding to various time periods, rather than a fluid chronological progression which would more intuitively characterise uneven development and change. In order to avoid functionalist descriptions, epigraphic evidence should be conceptualised as a source of evidence for particular social practices; thus, what emerges is a series of relationships within time and space from which meaningful chronologies and spatial distributions can be identified.[28] An obvious starting point is to devise different ways of statistically identifying relationships in the data such as correspondence analysis where the samples are of sufficient size, and in simple correlations between more meaningful categories where they are not.

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[25] *Ibid 57; Orton 1980, 20-21.*
[26] *Abramenko 1993.*
[27] This is a controversial issue and Abramenko's findings have been challenged more recently by Mouritsen (2006), although the details of the discussion fall outside the parameters of this analysis.
[28] Following the arguments of Barrett concerning the conceptualisation of archaeological material in general: *Barrett 1988, 24-25, 28.*

3.3 THE EPIGRAPHIC CONTEXT

3.3.1 *The Complete Epigraphic Monument*

Stagnation in the way inscriptions have been used as a source of evidence for social interaction has often resulted from a concentration upon the text as the primary basis of information to the detriment of all other elements. In many cases this can be linked to a tendency within the scope of ancient history studied through literary sources, for inscriptions to be viewed as vehicles for the historical information they might yield. Consequently, much of the associated evidence, such as decoration, was often commented upon more for its aesthetic value than its integral importance to the object. The first attempt at a comprehensive collection of all the Latin inscriptions from Iberia in the 19th Century[29] represented a major advance in recording in a relatively standardised format, but also demonstrates a preoccupation with the value of the textual component over the appearance and design of the monuments. This particular record of inscribed material is dominated by transcriptions of the text, as are later volumes,[30] but other early publications produced detailed artistic representations.[31]

The history of epigraphic studies, in general as well as relating specifically to Baetica, is largely characterised by division of the evidence, harvesting those elements that were relevant to the purpose of the particular study. Problems arise when this is the first stage or even the sole purpose of the analysis designed to validate studies in other academic areas. Studies of prosopography,[32] onomastics,[33] administrative networks,[34] social mobility[35] or economics[36] are all valuable resources for epigraphic and archaeological interpretation, but they are often based upon incomplete data sets where the epigraphic material has not first been fully re-contextualised. There is nothing inherently wrong with such an approach if it relates directly to the research questions posed. The textual information is of great value for

[29] *Hübner (1869) Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Volume II Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae.* And supplementary edition *Hübner, 1892.*
[30] One of many examples is *Fernández López 1904.*
[31] The illustrations from the excavations at Italica by Demetrio de los Ríos reproduced in *Fernández Gómez 1998, 244-253.*
[32] E.g. *Prosopographia Imperio Romani I, II & III*: *PIR*[1] *Klebs & Dessau 1897-1899* and its 7 volume replacement *PIR*[2] *1933-1999* which is not yet complete; *Suolahti 1955 & 1963; Castillo 1965; Alföldy 1969 & 1973; Curchin 1990.*
[33] E.g. *Kajanto 1965 & 1966; Albertos Firmat 1966; Salomies & Solin 1994; Abascal Palazón 1994; Salway 1994.*
[34] E.g. *Mackie 1983; Curchin 1994; Eck 1999 & 2002.*
[35] *Richardson 2001; Rodríguez Neila & Navarro Santana 1999.*
[36] E.g. *Joshel 1992; Forbis 1996; Harris 1993.*

studies in many areas ranging from the social to the historical, but this study argues that the written portion of an inscription can and should only be exploited in this way in conjunction with an analysis of the monument in its complete contextual form.

Approaches to epigraphy have sometimes based interpretations of complete monuments or assemblages upon the evidence of single components, applying simplified, one-dimensional and generic interpretations to complex and individual situations.[37] Due to their dominance in the surviving archaeological record, funerary inscriptions are easy candidates.[38] Approaches to the complete monument must recognise the potential significance of each and every aspect. A subject which is treated variously by different epigraphic researchers is the level of detail included when transcribing texts for publication, such as with respect to the inclusion and distinction between different types of interpunct. Some are inclined to ignore these completely[39] whilst others regard the complete transcription of the text as important, both due to the inherent significance of interpuncts for dating and other issues, and as a basic principle in the publication of epigraphic material so that the reader has the ability to draw their own conclusions from the complete record.[40]

In 1961 the palaeographer Jean Mallon demonstrated the value of approaching inscriptions as objects containing messages pertaining to a wider range of information than merely the content of their text.[41] Many Spanish epigraphers had worked with Mallon and adapted his theories. One in particular, Joaquín Navascués, significantly pushed forward the discipline even earlier by taking into consideration the totality of the epigraphic monument and therefore the possibility of dating monuments through the combined analysis of several elements including, but not entirely reliant upon, the script.[42] Giancarlo Susini has cited the influence of this approach upon his own work, and has continued to stress the importance of interpreting the whole inscribed monument as a communication replete with explicit

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[37] This trend has been particularly prevalent in the field of Roman studies where analyses founded upon typological categorisations based upon rules of composition are often prioritised in functional analyses.
[38] E.g. *Meyer 1990.*
[39] E.g. *Knapp 1992.*
[40] E.g. *Stylow et al 1995 & 1998; Gordon et al 1997.*
[41] *Mallon 1961, 312.*
[42] Navascués (1953) *El concepto de la epigrafía. Consideraciones sobre la necesidad de su ampliación*: Navascués was developing the theory that the linguistic aspects of inscriptions had obscured palaeographical aspects and that this preoccupation had resulted in the misinterpretation of certain palaeographical elements. See *Fernández 2004* for discussion of the contribution made by Navascués.

and implied messages.[43] Eck has also stressed the importance of the object in the interpretation and understanding of the purpose of individual inscriptions.[44] Epigraphic research must therefore continue to advance by a more nuanced approach to the whole monument.

3.3.2 *Inscriptions as a Facet of the Urban Environment*

In order to reconstruct a complete interpretative context, inscriptions must be incorporated into the relationship between material culture and society and the urban environment within which all the monuments studied here existed. Urban environments are defined here as a combination of the built environment and its resident human population. Therefore, in order to complete the contextual reconstruction urban space, society and social activities must be taken into account. The built environment should be visualised as the result of a highly culturally and temporally specific design, altering in nature according to the patterning of activities of the individuals or groups involved.[45] The application of theories of space to archaeological material has gained momentum in recent years, particularly within the field of domestic archaeology.[46] Many of these theories imbue architecture and space with the ability to mediate information, thereby imparting social knowledge and serving as a continual social commentary of its purpose within society.

The spatial distribution of inscribed monuments was influenced by the layout and organisation of the individual settlement, and by restrictions upon and control of access and movement.[47] Whilst differences in physical organisation may indicate differences in the nature of social relationships, spatial and temporal change may also indicate change in social requirements. Studies which have looked at the spatial distribution of inscriptions within particular towns or specific regions of the town, such as the forum, have demonstrated that through understanding the activities taking place within the city we can better understand the reasons behind the placement of inscriptions.[48] The phenomenological aspect to this question involves

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[43] *Susini 1973, 60; Susini 1982.*
[44] *Eck 1984, 131-133.*
[45] E.g. *Rapoport 1990, 9-20.*
[46] *E.g. Kent 1990; Samson 1990; Sanders 1990; Hodder 1994; Locock 1994; Parker Pearson & Richards 1994.*
[47] Restriction of movement restricted the available audience for an inscription: *Eck 1984, 134-135.*
[48] E.g. *Van Nijf 1997* in the Roman East; *Condron 1998* at Lepcis Magna*; Piso & Diaconescu 1999* at Sarmizegetusa.

the largely non-physical response to the monuments as they were encountered. Patterns of movement around the town would have conditioned to some extent the most likely constitution of the audience in different intra-urban regions.[49] The static locations of most inscriptions ensured that the audience would be rooted in space but potentially changing in time.[50] Criticisms levelled at one dimensional approaches to the interpretation of domestic architecture and space[51] are also relevant here given the tendency towards prescriptive and inert interpretations of the use of urban space. Discussion of urban space has also prompted approaches to urbanism and in particular architecture that consider the town as a whole unit rather than as a series of individual, isolated buildings, and approaching the urban landscape from the point of view of its use as a network of structures and a place of activity[52]. In this way patterns of movement and visibility and spatial relationships which both connected and divided urban settlements demonstrate the concurrent homogeneity and diversity within Roman towns. This type of approach has been followed by many without necessarily explicitly stating their methodology for contextualisation. Far more influential has been the work of Zanker, who combines substantive elements such as architecture, sculpture and inscriptions with more ephemeral indications of the impressions made by religious ritual or social interaction. In this way he attempts to recreate the total 'visual imagery' to which an individual would have been exposed and hence a much more complete sense of the social context.[53]

The often overtly public nature of inscriptions has tended to prioritise their interpretation within exclusively public spheres of activity to the detriment of the function of inscriptions within for example, domestic settings.[54] Eck has made the important point that some honorific inscriptions may have been set up on private land and were therefore only visible to family members.[55] This idea is of great significance for interpretation as honorific monuments are often regarded to have a particularly public quality and purpose. Subsequent to the development of the methodology utilised here, but no less useful in reinforcing the arguments for a

[49] See *Eck, 1984.*
[50] *Seebohm 2004, 132-133.*
[51] See n15 above.
[52] E.g. *MacDonald 1986.*
[53] *Zanker1988,*3.
[54] A balance of contexts is more evenly addressed by *Corbier 1987 & 2006* and in *Allison 2001* a predominantly domestic contextualisation is considered.
[55] *Eck 1984, 133-134.*

contextual approach, the publication of Corbier's *Donner à voir, donner à lire* has addressed this issue of the various contexts within which inscriptions were utilised and therefore should be interpreted[56]. This volume provides just the more holistic approach to the place of inscriptions within the urban fabric of the built environment that has been required. Corbier approaches the subject from two standpoints; detailed vigorous analysis of specific texts and contexts, and as a source of valuable information relating to much broader cultural and historical questions which have tended to focus on text-based research. These questions are not necessarily elite or urban based, for example Corbier demonstrates how epigraphic evidence can contribute to a study of transhumance.[57] She brings image and text together for both analysis and interpretation,[58] acknowledging that the text itself may have an intrinsic artistic and aesthetic value in its own right.

More important even than the locations of inscriptions in relation to the flow of movement throughout the town is the nature of the connection that has resulted in the use of inscriptions as indicators of urbanism. It is true that the density of preserved epigraphic material is often highest in areas with high levels of urbanisation, but this does not take into account comparative density in areas where a tradition of urbanism had not developed widely. The understanding of this connection is fundamental to the understanding of the motivations behind the use of inscriptions. Woolf has highlighted the characterisation of inscriptions in this way and its uneven balance with the distribution of epigraphic material.[59] He draws parallels between the two types of areas concluding that these similarities indicate the role of a series of factors in the promotion of epigraphy. These comprise economic prosperity amongst the population; a population composed of individuals from a range of different levels of social status but importantly within a context that facilitated mobility between these strata; the presence of high ranking individuals displaying behaviour to which others could aspire, an aspect picked up elsewhere in the copying of the *princeps* as a means to self-aggrandisement;[60] the integration of these settlements and communities within wide scale communication networks that facilitated a more rapid transfer of both goods and information than was probably

[56] *Corbier 2006.*
[57] *Ibid, 217-232.*
[58] *Ibid, 91-128.*
[59] *Woolf 1996, 23 & 37.*
[60] *Bonneville 1984.*

common elsewhere; and finally the origin of significant proportions of these communities from other parts of the world.[61] This last has been commented upon with specific reference to the earliest material from Baetica[62].

3.4 THE MOTIVATION TO INSCRIBE

A key interpretative aspect of inscribed monuments which relies heavily upon the relationship between individuals and their material culture is the ideological context. This entails the processes of human thought that were involved in the decision to erect an inscription and its completed form. In this way, each inscription can be interpreted as the negotiation of the requirements of a series of social motivating factors upon the person or group responsible. This negotiation is tempered by mitigating factors such as practical availability of natural and financial resources or the existence of and skills of a workshop. This type of approach, as opposed to a more traditional empirical analysis, is vital for the incorporation of the ideological context which represents those forces that compelled societies to set up inscriptions and deals with their perceptions of those actions.

The form and nature of those motivating factors is the subject of contentious debate, in part because the analysis of meaning can be exceptionally complex, and a literal translation of the text does not necessarily provide answers to all the questions posed by a study such as this. Consideration of the concepts of social knowledge and knowledgeability[63] may provide a means to understanding how an individual became aware of what forms of inscription were appropriate in what situations, what information they should include, and how to interpret the social messages in other inscriptions.[64]

MacMullen directs us to question the reasons behind generalised patterns in the density and distribution of inscriptions across the Roman world.[65] Whilst he does not attempt to hypothesise on the exact nature of these determinant factors

[61] *Woolf 1996, 37.*
[62] *Stylow 1998,111.*
[63] *Giddens 1984, xxx, 3-4, 21-2, 26-7, 90-2, 281-2, 289, 375, 327-34, 291, 308, 334-43, 341-3; Giddens 1979, 72; Bourdieu 1977, 87-89* Bourdieu discusses by way of example how a child comes to learn through observing the social practices going on around him and learns to understand what they mean both to him and the rest of society.
[64] *Pobjoy 2000, 90.*
[65] *MacMullen 1982.*

beyond commenting on a possible 'sense of audience',[66] he does suggest that they were controlled less directly by economic and political developments than by more personal and psychological changes in society which affected each community's wish to express themselves, both as individuals or as a group.[67] This interpretation agrees with other studies of epigraphic motivation which have argued against its interpretation purely in the context of economic trends and prosperity.[68]

This study argues that all of the various hypotheses put forward as answers to this research question can be encompassed within the overarching theme of a widespread attempt to construct, negotiate and immortalise identities in a world where society, identities and relationships were becoming increasingly complex.[69] The concept of identity places an individual within a network of social relationships, and defines them with respect to those relationships. The nature of social interaction and the strength and character of the ties between individuals and groups within the urban community provided an individual with the impetus to set up an inscribed monument. Hence political office gave an individual a particular status and identity within a community, and that political identity was responsible for any legal obligations which required them to set up inscriptions. In the same way, membership of a family unit accounted for feelings of duty or responsibility to the other members of that group which induced them to set up inscriptions in their honour or memory. Therefore, an individual's identity was inextricably linked to the factors which motivated them to inscribe.

3.4.1 *Identity & Posterity*

An inscribed monument at its most fundamental level communicates to its audience the existence of particular individuals and groups within their shared urban landscape. Whatever the level of information conveyed, inscriptions function as indicators of the existence and identity of human beings. Concern for posterity after death is not solely restricted to funerary and post mortem honorific dedications. Inscriptions were likely to have been relatively permanent installations, which may have remained part of the urban fabric long after an individual was either prominent

[66] *Ibid 246.*
[67] *MacMullen 1982, 244-246.*
[68] E.g. *Meyer 1990.*
[69] *Woolf 1996, 29.*

or alive.[70] A recognition of the permanence of this form of social expression meant that the use of most types of monumental inscriptions actively contributed to ensuring the persistence of visible identities within the town. Woolf's discussion of the anxiety felt by populations regarding their posterity clearly indicates the major importance of enduring identity construction in this context.[71]

3.4.2 *Assertion of Status*

Another motivation for the setting up of inscriptions was the expression of identity in order to affirm social status. Such assertions imply competition as individuals attempt to establish their position with respect to others. Social competition is a phenomenon often associated with the elite and freedmen who are generally agreed to have felt a particular urge to assert their status within the established hierarchy. If the expression of identity is to be viewed as an assertion of status, its occurrence amongst groups with lower social standing must also be acknowledged. Elizabeth Meyer has argued that only status motivation had enough real power to alter the frequency of inscriptions across the Roman world and that 'personal and affective' motivation did not have the ability to instigate large scale changes.[72] The research carried out here would suggest that this is an oversimplification, and that status as a part of identity was only one element powerful enough to motivate change. Mouritsen's research focusing largely on the funerary epigraphy from Ostia and Pompeii has compared the epigraphic behaviour of different social classes and argues both that freedman are significantly over-represented in the epigraphic record and that the various social groups utilised epigraphy in different ways and for different purposes.[73] Whilst the specifics of his findings can only be applied to the towns in central Italy studied, the more general conclusions relating to the use of inscriptions by members of differing social classes can be applied without prejudice to central and western Baetica.

Greg Woolf has identified a particular relationship between urban centres, building programmes and epigraphy in the 3rd Century AD, where the decline in

[70] The question of the lifespan of individual monuments will be returned to in detail within the methodology: 4.1.4.6.2 a.
[71] *Woolf 1996, 32.*
[72] *Meyer 1990, 95.*
[73] *Mouritsen 2005, 38-63.*

inscription numbers is placed against a background of concurrent decline in the construction of civic buildings. As such it should be characterised not as a cessation in the desire to express wealth and status, but firstly as a response to changing attitudes about how appropriate such expression was and through what medium this should be achieved, and secondly as the results of alterations in the way that the civic centre functioned under the later Empire.[74] Whilst this does not categorically refute Meyer's hypothesis, it does demonstrate a greater subtlety and complexity in the relationships between motivation and epigraphy than she allows for.

Roman control and administration did not on the whole constrain its subjects but allowed for a certain amount of social and spatial mobility.[75] This mobility made it important for individuals to assert their positions and statuses relative to others and epigraphy was one method by which they achieved this end.[76] Hence, while social mobility continued to exist, epigraphy remained a valid medium by which to negotiate and construct identities in the Roman world.

Condron's study of elite appropriation of the public monuments of Lepcis Magna, Tripolitania, for personal display and advancement demonstrates that control of the urban epigraphic landscape was equally powerful as an assertion of status.[77] She notes that the local council controlled which locations were deemed appropriate for honouring particular individuals and therefore dictated the nature of the distribution of inscribed statues and other honorific monuments across the city.[78]

3.4.3 *Identity & Citizenship*

One of the most widely commented upon elements of identity and status denominations in the Roman world is that of Roman citizenship.[79] That citizenship was advantageous and desirable is evident in that it was on occasion alluded to

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[74] *Woolf 1996, 38-39.*
[75] *Häussler 1998, 47; Hordern & Purcell 2000* on Mediterranean connectivity and mobility.
[76] *Woolf 1996, 34 ff.*
[77] *Condron 1998.*
[78] *Condron 1998, 44.* It should be noted that whilst Condron's analysis looks in detail at the source of funding which the inscriptions suggest she does not consider the problems raised by *Pobjoy 2000* in assigning funding to public or private resources and as such the apparent predominance of public funding sources may be misleading (p 49). Hence whilst her study demonstrates the possibilities for this type of study through careful analysis of how and why inscriptions were set up together with an appropriate awareness of the availability and cost of materials and the effect of post depositional processes such as erosion and reuse, the details of her interpretations may need adjustment.
[79] *Dench 2005, 3* argues that citizenship should not eclipse ethnic or cultural facets in the study of identity, suggesting that a legal distinction may not have been what ruled self-perception of identity.

outside official grants.[80] If this is true, then it demonstrates both that there can have been little attempt to enforce the restriction of Roman citizens to commemoration on Roman style monuments, and also that there was no way of distinguishing between Roman citizens and non-Romans on the majority of epitaphs.[81] Meyer argues that the increased demand and petition for higher status in the 2nd century AD is reflected in the higher number of individuals choosing to display their status than in the 1st Century AD, when a smaller number of settlements possessed or wished to possess Roman citizenship.[82] The opinion of the value of citizenship in the 2nd century AD offered by Sherwin-White through an analysis of comments by Tacitus and Pliny the Younger is that of its decreasing importance which seems at odds with Meyer's interpretation of the material evidence.[83] This however is a view from Italy outwards rather than reflecting how the citizenship was perceived within Baetica. Meyer claims that the universal grant of citizenship in AD 212 made the expression of status redundant and potentially even distasteful, since it could now be applied to even the lower classes of society in addition to the wealthier and elite. Since many aspects of the distribution curves relate to Meyer’s averaging system rather than true developments, it is difficult to prove her theory on the impact which the AD 212 citizenship grant really had in practice, and it seems more likely that citizenship had little influence on the motivation to inscribe, but more on the content of what was inscribed.[84] Citizenship denoted the right to cultivate particular relationships and the associated obligations which they imposed, but whilst it was a legal distinction, a legal citizen in the provinces might not necessarily have identified themselves as either ethnically or culturally Roman. The desire to *appear* Roman must not necessarily be equated with the desire to *be* Roman.

3.4.4 *Latin Speaking Identity*

The geographical transmission of Latin is often misconstrued to directly relate to a variety of cultural features:

a) *A correlation between the spread of Latin as an epigraphic language and Latin in general use*.

[80] *Meyer 1990, 79 & n33.*
[81] *Cherry 1995, 144-145.*
[82] *Meyer 1990, 79 & n34.*
[83] *Sherwin-White 1973 ,257-258.*
[84] *Meyer 1990, 78ff; Cherry 1995, 145-150.*

Analysis of monumental and bilingual inscriptions once thought to indicate a period of transition in fact demonstrates that often the use of Latin as an epigraphic language developed more slowly than its social application.[85]

b) *The spread of the Latin language and spread of literacy[86] due to an inferred connection with the social elite*.

Harris has rather unsophisticatedly equated the spread of epigraphic culture with increased levels of literacy,[87] whereas in fact the two have only an indirect relationship. There is no reason to infer that all dedicators of Latin inscriptions commanded a working knowledge of the language. Anthropological research by Jack Goody has addressed the link between literacy, writing and written communication as a means of diffusing knowledge in the emergence, development and organisation of social institutions.[88] Knowledge of Latin as the administrative language throughout the Roman Empire must, therefore, not only have been an advantageous but also a necessary skill for anyone wishing to advance socially and politically in conjunction with the financial requirements. There is some evidence however, that Latin as a language does not seem to have been as fundamental to Roman administration as the Greek language was to the Hellenistic Empires.[89] Another common misconception is that Latin was the language of the elite and went hand in hand with social promotion and mobility, but evidence for non-elite knowledge of Latin and bilingualism is well attested.[90]

c) A connection between use and knowledge of the Latin language and Roman identity.

It is equally misleading to directly equate Latin-speaking identity with Roman identity.[91] Latin does appear to have played a part in the unifying of identity across Italy. When it was universally adopted in the 1st Century BC, it was accompanied by a surge in the number of Latin inscriptions,[92] but it should not be assumed to have

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[85] *Häussler 1998, 35* (bilingual inscriptions)*;* Häussler *2002, 68* (monumental inscriptions).
[86] Literacy: *Harris 1989; Humphrey 1991; Bowman & Woolf 1994.*
[87] *Harris 1989, 44.*
[88] *Goody & Watt 1963, 1968.*
[89] *Woolf 2002, 181.*
[90] *Adams 2003.* Non elite defined by Adams as all those who had not had the benefit of a literary education: *Adams 2003, 14.*
[91] Research has demonstrated diverse outcomes to the investigation of this relationship: *Woolf 2002, 186.*
[92] *Häussler 1998, 31.*

had the same effect in the provinces, where there is no apparent correlation between the adoption of the Latin language and the legal status of towns.[93] Latin and inscriptions are often dangerously interpreted as indicators of *Romanitas,* a concept which indicates identification with a Roman identity.[94] However, the adoption of Latin as an inscribed language[95] should not be interpreted as a clearer indication of cultural change than the adoption of new artefacts.

3.4.5 *Roman Identity*

Turning specifically to Roman identity, it has been established that the adoption of epigraphic practices does not necessarily correlate with how an individual saw him or herself in terms of their geographical origin, ethnicity or cultural affinities.

Meyer sees the adoption of the practice in the provinces as a demonstration of provincial inhabitants not only wishing to imitate Roman practice but also having acquired the right to cultivate these relationships and the associated obligations which they imposed.[96] However, she does at least note that this pattern is not universally constant.[97] A deeper ideological intention and identity is sometimes ascribed to the adoption of a Roman name than the adoption of an artefact, but this seems to give a false impression of reality.[98] Identification of the retention of an indigenous name as an act of opposition or resistance is beyond our capabilities. It is possible that the adoption of Roman names came to be as much a way of expressing local identity in a new fashion as a way of becoming Roman. Therefore, the adoption of new Roman and Latin nomenclature by indigenous populations should not automatically be interpreted as the passive abandonment of localised identities.[99]

3.4.6 *Obligations Associated with Status*

a) Legal Obligation

The evidence of senatorial decrees and municipal charters demonstrates that official public positions entailed a series of responsibilities which included contribution of a

[93] *Cooley 2002, 9.*
[94] *Häussler 2002, 69; Woolf 2002, 181.*
[95] As opposed to in common usage.
[96] *Meyer 1990, 79.*
[97] *Meyer 1990, 90.*
[98] *Häussler 1998, 36.*
[99] The possibility for the use of onomastics as a marker of identity represents a huge topic well beyond the capabilities of this research. It lends itself more to an investigation of individuals than is envisaged here.

proportion of private income in locally beneficial projects.[100] There is no indication in the evidence of a legal or universal requirement for these acts to be recorded, but it is easy to see that recording their activities in this manner would have been beneficial to the way in which he or she was regarded by other members of the community.[101] Therefore, an inscription acts as a standing record of an individual's participation in projects for the benefit of the civic community and, as such, reinforces and justifies their position by clarification of the way in which they have fulfilled those duties. It also acts as a piece of propaganda for their continued occupancy of that post, thereby offering an opportunity for advancement through the advertisement of personal virtues and a permanent record of their activities.[102]

Meyer would like us to see a similar responsibility in the obligation of the heir to commemorate, reflecting a legal relationship which brought with it a series of official duties.[103] Meyer's argument for the link between a legal obligation and the spread of epitaphs has been questioned by Cherry, who finds nothing in Roman law to prove that heirs were legally responsible for the burial of their patrons, for paying or arranging for burial monuments, or that those who died without burial monuments also died without heirs. Although the actual existence of such a legal requirement is doubtful, there may have been a perceived obligation which carried a similar weight to a legal one. Eck has argued that local magistrates did not record the activities they were legally obliged to participate in and contribute to, but only those which provided them with the opportunity to capitalise upon displays of generosity beyond the legal requirement.[104] This argument would suggest that all monuments set up by local magistrates should therefore be interpreted as evidence of euergetism. Pobjoy prefers to see the situation in less defined terms and argues that it was up to individual officials whether they chose to record their legal obligation or not.[105]

[100] Lex Irnitana: *González 1986; Galsterer 1988; Fear 1996, 152-169.*
[101] *Pobjoy 2000, 90.*
[102] *Pobjoy 2000, 90* - This could be traded upon by ambitious individuals.
[103] *Meyer 1990, 79.*
[104] *Eck 1997.*
[105] *Pobjoy 2000.*

b) Euergetism

The identification of euergetistic behaviour[106] and consideration of the relationship between euergetism and civic responsibility demonstrates that this was a key motivating factor in the development of epigraphic culture in an urban context. Inscriptions such as *tituli honorarii* and those indicating their construction *ob honorem* an individual or group provided a canvas for social expression that was beneficial not just for the recipient but also for the dedicator. Careful analysis has brought the study of this motivation beyond subjective interpretation, and euergetism now might be considered the best evidence for motivation in the development of epigraphic culture amongst the élite.

Analysis of Spanish and, more specifically, Baetican motivations for euergetistic behaviour has suggested that personal factors such as family honour and prestige were combined with the desire to legitimise the power and political control of the elite, functioning as a demonstration of power rather than an attempt to gain control.[107] The large number of public projects funded by freeborn individuals in comparison with members of other social groups is as might be expected, together with a substantial contribution by freedmen seeking to enhance their own social status.[108] The detailed analysis of the benefactions in Baetican cities highlights one particularly important fact, and emphasises the importance of avoiding a masculo-centric bias towards our interpretation of euergetism - nearly twenty five percent of the dedications considered owe their construction to women.[109]

c) Duty Associated with a Personal Relationship

The nature of obligation exceeds the boundaries of legal requirements extending to obligations perceived as a result of particular relationships such as the duty of a family member to commemorate the dead,[110] honour the living, or perform duties towards the gods. Cherry's analysis of the relationships between the deceased and the commemorators at Lambaesis and Theueste led him to the conclusion that, in

[106] For a standard approach to euergetism see *Veyne 1976*; Or the more up to date discussion in *Lomas & Cornell 2003*; Spanish euergetism: Melchor Gil has published extensive research on this subject. His work on euergetism include: *Melchor Gil 1993, 1999, 2001 2001a, 2003.* For an assessment of the extent to which regulations regarding the official duties of magistrates were or were not adhered see *Pobjoy 2000, 82-84.*
[107] *Melchor Gil 2001a.*
[108] Ibid,
[109] *Melchor Gil 2001a, 170.*
[110] *Meyer 1990.*

these settlements at least, obligations of familial duty and affection were the main factors influencing the setting up of epitaphs rather than the legal obligation of an heir.[111] He argues that these obligations are usually seen tied to the most personal relationships between individuals. Although they often take a very showy and public form, for example in honorific inscriptions to family members, he believes that they express deep-seated sentiments such as affection, pride and personal grief.

The motivations to inscribe can therefore be classified according to the nature of the relationships between groups and individuals. In all their forms these motivations can be interpreted as the desire to express and maintain for posterity an identity particularly associated with their social ties within the community.

3.5 COMMUNITIES AND IDENTITY

3.5.1 ***Social theory of identity***

Identities are the product of two main sets of circumstances. Firstly, imposed or inherited identity which acts as a passive starting point for the construction of personal identity and cannot fundamentally be selected, although it might conceivably be concealed or denied.[112] Inherited aspects of identity, such as the cultural background into which an individual is born and amongst which he or she is raised, are constituted through habitual social practice and inextricably linked to society and the material world. These are potentially open to change throughout the life of an individual, either as the result of individual choice or as part of wider processes of social or cultural evolution. Social and material change, therefore, impact upon and alter identities, so that identity is a product of cultural circumstances.

Secondly, there exists the more active and fluid concept of personally created identity which, for Michel Foucault, was a construction, rather than an inherent part of the self, and therefore did not represent the reality of who an individual was but rather represented how the individual wished to be perceived.[113] Foucault's vision of identity was as a social discourse, a way of communicating about the individual.

[111] *Cherry 1995, 156.*
[112] *Meskell 2001, 188-189.*
[113] E.g. *Foucault 1978, 1980 & 1988.*

Erving Goffmann[114] described self identity as the way in which an individual presents him or herself to others, gaining and maintaining control over the impression they create. Consequently, individuals learn to view identity as a source of information about other people and respond to each other through expressions of their own identities. Self identity is, therefore, a non-verbal language of social communication. It cannot be entirely fictitious if it is to continue to function as a viable language within society. However, as it is personally constructed, it offers the potential to be both altered and manipulated by individuals as a means of articulating ideas and asserting social position in relation to their contemporaries.

The facilitation of social communication and negotiation in this way firmly places identity in the field of social interaction and, as such, is as much about an individual's relationships, relative position and role within the outside world as it is about their personal characteristics. Giddens suggests that a sense of the wider outside world and the events within it are also incorporated into self-identity, so that each identity will integrate a reaction to cultural and social changes.[115] Therefore, identity places an individual within a community, indicates his or her status within the variously constituted hierarchies of that group of people, and expresses his or her attitudes to social and cultural situations. Self-identity, then, is not observable in the individual as a set of characteristics, but it is each individual's understanding of his or her own life and the choices he or she has made. Therefore, expression of identity is a way of explaining an individual's actions, attitudes and beliefs to the wider community.

Giddens regards self-identity as an ongoing project that individuals continually revise and maintain throughout their lives, constantly reflecting upon the identity that is created as an individual biographical narrative.[116] Identity is thus not a permanent state but is a continually changing aspect of the way in which individuals communicate with one another. Bourdieu connects inherited and personal identity, whilst explaining how identity can be both exclusive and yet mutual through discussing how the variant environments, within which each individual grows up and is socialised, are responsible for the different experiences

[114] *Goffmann 1956.*
[115] *Giddens 1991, 54.*
[116] *Ibid 1991, 54.*

and knowledge gained.[117] Each individual constructs his or her own unique identity in order to communicate those experiences to others, but in the same way shared experiences can lead to shared identities. These shared identities are the basis of communal or collective identities, the focus of the research in this thesis.

3.5.2 *Communities*

Community theory, as a subject of research in social science, originated at the beginning of the 20th Century and has developed a series of definitions for the term 'community' and methodologies for studying the social implications of this type of interaction amongst groups of people. Community has been described as *"a group of households situated in the same locality and linked to each other by functional interdependencies which are closer than interdependencies of the same kind with other groups of people within the wider social field to which a community belongs"*.[118] The key point here is the assertion that interdependency is an essential feature of community. Tonnies drew a distinction between community (Gemeinschaft) and society (Gesellschaft) and posits Gemeinschaft, which he believed existed "*in the consciousness of belonging together and the affirmation of the condition of mutual dependence",*[119] as a characteristic primarily of pre-industrial communities, as opposed to the more practical and purposeful considerations of Gesellschaft, which were dominant in industrial communities.

The existence and strength of relationships within communities form the basis of a hierarchy which can help denote their place within the wider system of social networks. Strength of relationship does not necessarily relate directly to physical proximity, and relationships operating across significant distances may or may not have been of inferior importance to localised relationships. It is likely that the closest ties relate to families, where there was also likely to have been the greatest amount of interdependence between members and closest interpersonal involvement in the activities associated with membership of that group. Individuals' perceptions of this hierarchy of relationships can tell us something about how they viewed their place within the communities of which they were a member.

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[117] For Bourdieu social identity is embodied in the *habitus* or the system of behaviour can be passed down through generations and is reinforced both by formal education and exposure to the culture with which it was surrounded: *Bourdieu, 1972.*

[118] *Elias 1974, xix.*

[119] *Tonnies 1925, 69; Tonnies 1954.*

Community theory classifies groups of people around three common elements:[120]

a) Communities of place share a common element which involves location, and therefore includes urban populations and neighbourhoods.
b) Communities of interest are comprised of groups of people who share non-geographical common characteristics such as those sharing religious beliefs, ethnic origin, gender, status or profession. Many of these are 'elective' groups, where the members choose to include a characteristic as part of their identity.
c) The final group consists of communities of communion, where individuals share a 'spirit' of community tied to a place, other person, or idea. It is almost impossible to ascertain the existence of this type of community from archaeological evidence as it is not a tangible concept, but it is important to recognise the concept, as members of the first two categories of community may not actually have experienced a shared identity.[121]

A primary role of any community is to instil a sense of belonging amongst its members, which facilitates cooperation and collective action for common purpose. Bourdieu identifies groups or classes where individual members occupy similar positions within the social field and hence share a common identity or "*view of their own position in this (social) world*". Collective action can be motivated by factors affecting those positions, and the existence and composition of these groups can be influenced by social factors such as rivalry. Conflict and competition can stimulate fragmentation into groups but also cooperation amongst the members of those groups during periods of common struggle. Social competition can therefore be seen as a potential motivating factor in the formation of identity and social groups.[122]

However, whilst social interaction may be enabling, encouraging prosperity and reciprocal behaviour, it can also be repressive and restricting. By its very nature a community both includes and excludes. The element which is held in common also distinguishes them from other groups, so that the concept of community implies both

[120] After *Lee & Newby 1983; Willmott 1986, 1989; and Crow & Allen 1994.*
[121] *Lee & Newby 1983, 57.*
[122] *Bourdieu 1985, 724-728; Woolf 1998* has argued that interaction between Roman and native communities stimulated the creation of new identities.

similarity and difference. Members benefit from being a part of a group in ways that are restricted to non-members.

None of the communities outlined above are mutually exclusive, and members may easily both converge and diverge within and between groups. The boundaries between communities, which may be indicated by markers to ease their recognition, utilising elements of culture such as language or architecture, are sometimes clear and as physically recognisable as those formed by geographical entities. However in many cases they are more likely to have been vague, defined only in the mind and therefore open to individual interpretation and perception, potentially defined differently by different people from both within and outside the community.[123]

3.5.3 *Archaeological Applications and Developments of Identity Theory through Archaeological Research*

The search for communities and analyses of their genesis and structure is a common theme in anthropological studies, but the concept of identity with specific relevance to communities has only recently been explicitly discussed within archaeology and rarely with respect to theories of community from social science.[124] Despite this, communal, shared and collective identities have long featured in archaeological studies of identity which look for similarities and divergences in the use of material culture, language, ethnic origin or social status in order to classify individuals and groups into various rigidly defined social categories. Where a high level of homogeneity indicates close contact and interaction, dissimilarity is interpreted as resulting from separation, whether social or physical, gradual change denotes natural cultural or social evolution, and rapid developments are seen as indicative of exterior influence.[125]

In order to grasp the nature of these relationships more fruitfully, a new approach is required that utilises these similarities and differences, not as a method of classification but rather as a way to identify the existence of relationships which form the framework for any community. Evidence of these relationships can be found amongst archaeological and, more specifically in this case, epigraphic

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[123] *Cohen 1985, 12.*
[124] Archaeological material is brought into Dench's study of Roman identities and self-representation: *Dench 2005; Mattingly 2006, 520-528;*
[125] *Jones 2000, 447.*

material. The evidence indicates the role of external factors in the development of relationships, such as the environment and the fact that people happen to live within the same city, or the nature of urban layout of residential structures encouraging the formation of neighbourhoods within settlements. Groups can be formed deliberately for mutual benefit, but relationships may also be constructed unintentionally by otherwise unconnected individuals following parallel courses of action, such as in the worship of a particular deity or the use of a particular market. These relationships illustrate that membership of a community does not necessarily indicate a personal relationship between individuals.[126]

The term 'identity' is widely associated within archaeology with culture and ethnicity. Cultural identities are generally utilised as a means of grouping people through the assumption of a set of shared experiences, shared material culture and common practice.[127] Ethnic identities are also utilised as a means of categorising people, but to accurately associate individuals with ethnic groups is complicated. Ethnicity entails a *"self conscious identification with a particular social group at least partly based upon a specific locality…origin",*[128] ancestral heritage or kinship and cannot be determined simply by the identification of spatial variation.[129] It is a highly controversial subject, as is identity as a whole, one which has been addressed within the context of the epigraphic record of Baetica,[130] but which will not be approached here.

The idea of identity as a negotiable concept, capable of being altered to fit specific circumstances and continually being referenced and redefined, is fairly universally acknowledged.[131] The fact that identities can be deliberately constructed,

[126] *Lee & Newby 1983, 57*: Makes the point that there may be little interaction between neighbours.
[127] *Berry and Laurence 1998* attempted a generalised discourse on the subject of cultural identity in the Roman Empire, but their conclusions are restricted by the fact that the vast majority of the papers consider the western empire, particularly Britain and Italy and therefore do not represent an overview of the ways in which cultural identities can be identified and interpreted across the wider Empire. They posed questions relevant questions relating to the nature and purpose of identity, how the relationship between culture and identity can be characterised and whether common identities carry degrees of homogeneity, but did not attempt to resolve these difficulties through the application of an overall theoretical or methodological framework.
[128] *Shennan 1989, 14.*
[129] *Shennan 1989, 14; Meskell 2001, 190; Barth 1969; Graves-Brown et al, 1996; Jones 1997; Huskinson 2000; Jones 1997* responded to calls for an expansion of the way in which past societies can be reconstructed through archaeological evidence.
[130] E.g. *Alföldy 2001* looking at the evidence from Carmona.
[131] *Laurence 1998, 8; Meskell 2001, 188; Revell 2000, 1-2.*

altered and erased[132] raises questions about their manipulation by human society in order to express particular characteristics or values,[133] and their subsequent visibility in the archaeological record. Therefore, an analysis of the representation of identities through both textual and visual media is critical for the evaluation of identity. Through an understanding of why identities were constructed in a particular way, it becomes possible to understand what elements of character, personal history or other qualities were deemed to be important or appropriate in given situations, so that it might be possible to understand and interpret the strategic reasons for the affirmation of a particular identity in a specific context.

These ideas are reiterated by Janet Huskinson, who describes identity as a way of placing people, and therefore their identity relates to the context in which they happen to be and makes the valid point that people experience culture and identity in relation to the outside world, so that identity necessarily incorporates an element of an individual's perceived place within a wider community and society.[134]

Since social theory has demonstrated identities to be essentially unique, continually changing and at least in part actively constructed by individuals, it follows that individuals are capable of expressing multiple identities in any one time and place. For most scholars, personal identity is the united expression or intersection of all these separate identities whether social, political, cultural, religious, gender orientated, status, perceived or imposed, each of which relates to a different relationship with other individuals or groups in the outside world.[135] As with the reconstruction of culture, a complete reconstruction of identity can only be achieved through the integration of all these relationships; this is not often attempted, being viewed as too wide ranging and complex a topic.[136]

The problem of multiple identities is compounded by the potential for alteration that occurs when identities are perceived by an audience. The outside viewer reinterprets the identities of others in the light of his or her own social knowledge and experience, so that identity does not remain static even as it is

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[132] E.g. Alteration of represented identity of Emperor Titus post-mortem to indicate his status as *divus* (CIL II 1053 = MUN014TI); *Damnatio memoriae* of Lucius Commodus on *senatus consultum* from Italica (CIL II 6278 = ITA001LX).
[133] Construction of identity for specific purposes: *Hope 2000, 126.*
[134] *Huskinson 2000, 10.*
[135] E.g. *Grahame 1998, 159*. Grahame makes specific reference to social, political and ethnic identities, but these form only a small number of the range of possibilities.
[136] *Meskell 2001, 187-188; Revell 2000, Woolf 1998.*

understood by society. Therefore, there is no single way of reading identity, since perception and interpretation alter the original intention with every subsequent reading.[137] The problems associated with imposed identities have been discussed in particular with reference to ethnic identity. [138] Here there is evidence for a range of different ethnic categorisations, but much less evidence for assessing how accurately they described people's perceptions of themselves, or reflected how they were perceived by others. [139] This problem is compounded further when we question whether representations which seek to differentiate between identities are in fact true representations of reality, or whether the attributes utilised to distinguish between them were not perceived to be as divergent in the real world.[140]

Following Greg Woolf's reconstruction of social change under the early Empire as a process whereby newly integrated individuals could assert a range of different identities, not all necessarily Roman, as they negotiated their positions within the new society, it follows that individuals may have expressed both Roman and non-Roman identities.[141] This has led to the suggestion that many individuals may have lived with uncertain and often ambiguous identities regarding their social and political relationships,[142] although the expression of several identities need not necessarily have caused any real sense of personal conflict.

Aside from the identification of relationships through analysis of ideology and meaning in material culture, the presence of particular types of monument also denote the existence of communities. Architecture and inscriptions functioned as visible symbols of group identity at all levels, from the household domestic unit to the public buildings where communal activity took place and through which community ideals and identities were manifest. The occupation of public space demonstrates the power of the community, and so inscriptions set up in the heart of urban public space required the cooperation of administrative officials (in the form of the town council the *ordo* or *decuriones*) and therefore demonstrate which

[137] Valerie Hope has considered the perception of identities with relation to the gladiators buried in Nîmes: *Hope 1998; Laurence 1998, 8; Huskinson 2000, 14-15.*
[138] *Huskinson 2000, 14-15.*
[139] *Dench 2005:* Detailed discussion of the complexity of Roman and Italian self perception and self presentation.
[140] *Huskinson 2000, 6.*
[141] *Woolf 1998, 238-249.*
[142] *Laurence 1998, 109*; *Häussler 1998, 32.*

individuals and groups were particularly prominent within the community.[143] The existence of a social hierarchy in an indicator of the existence of a community.[144] The idea of the community is attested in Roman Italy with the term *civitas*, which has several distinct meanings, but all encompass the idea of community and the basis upon which it was founded. The *civitas* may be the territory of a conquered tribe, a basic administrative unit under the Roman Empire derived from indigenous landscape boundaries and centred upon a local town as the centre of government. It may also be any group of people living under a set of laws, a group of people united within a city as an urban community, or those who hold citizenship, specifically Roman.[145] Therefore, the community as a mutable entity may be presumed to have been a familiar concept within Roman culture. Specifically Roman notions of community can be seen in the Roman and Latin festivals which celebrate the citizen community and were initiated in order to protect fragmenting identities.[146] This research must question whether these concepts can be transferred to the provinces where Roman notions of community may have been at odds with local notions of community, if in fact it is even valid to question whether the Roman idea of community was disseminated to the provinces at all. A recent re-evaluation by Smith of the Roman *gens* has argued against polarised descriptions of Roman society and status, illustrating that the classification of social groups carries strong connotations of levels of wealth and privilege that are far from realistic. He identifies the plebs as a political movement and the broad range of personal prosperity that might accompany the position of *a cliens* in a patron-client relationship.[147] Although this again is based on data from Italy, it can still serve as a warning that if the concept of identity is accepted as a way of placing people within a social context, we must define individuals according to their relationships with other individuals in different social groups, as well as in relation to other individuals within the same group.

[143] See *Condron 1997* for a good discussion of the manipulation of the built environment by the social elite.
[144] *Hales 2003, 38:* The activities of magistrates in the control, regulation and encouragement of communal activity indicates the existence of communities.
[145] *Dench 2005:* Explores the cultural importance of the citizenship as a community with a universal history.
[146] *Dench 2005* referring to Italy. Her conclusions are not necessarily applicable to the provinces.
[147] *Smith 2007, 168-184; 299-336.*

3.6 INSCRIPTIONS AS INDICATORS OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE

In order to define how inscriptions were employed by society, it is necessary to draw upon a background of social theory relating to the development of how all types of artefact are used by human societies. The work of Bourdieu and Giddens has provided a foundation for the majority of modern scholarship relating to agency theory.[148] In the 1960s, the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu moved away from structuralist theories that prevented individuals from making any social or material impact upon their environment.[149] Similar arguments were subsequently expressed by Anthony Giddens through the development of his theory of Structuration.[150] These theories[151] and the relative advantage and pitfalls associated with their application to archaeology[152] have been comprehensively discussed elsewhere, and will not be repeated here. The main area in which they have influenced this thesis is in the discussion of how common patterns of behaviour and material culture arise, and what level of control and understanding we can attribute to human society in any model constructed of this relationship. The details of these theories will be indicated within the methodology set out in the following chapter.

However human agency is modelled, a method is required for the identification of changes in the social structure which it is responsible for reproducing. If models are generated from extreme definitions of human agency, the only possible outcomes will be either purely unintentional or revolutionary. If we are to avoid these generalisations, more nuanced models for the role of revolution and resistance are required.[153] Material change is usually utilised as an indicator of

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[148] Prior to Bourdieu and Giddens, Richard Collingwood made an early contribution through his assertion that it was necessary to understand the reasons behind human action as the key to understanding the wider social and cultural changes which are most visible in the archaeological record. Collingwood defined social action as an expression of thought, and therefore intention or purpose, on the part of the human agent. *Collingwood 1946, 283; Dray & van der Dussen 1999, 49, 50, 55-57, 67-69.*

[149] The original publication *Esquisse d'une Théorie de la Pratique (1972)* was subsequently translated into English - *Outline of a Theory of Practice (1977).*

[150] *Giddens (1984) The Constitution of society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration.*

[151] E.g. *Bourdieu 1972, 1980 & 1985; Giddens 1979, 1984, 1991 & 1993;*

[152] See *Dornan, 2002 308-314* for a critical evaluation of recent approaches to agency with archaeology categorised as a series of five common approaches and discussed in the context of their main exponents, or the more simplified classification by *Silliman 2001, 191.* Other discussions can be found in e.g. *Ortner 1984, Dobres & Robb 2000*, *Gardner 2004.*

[153] E.g. Silliman's 'acts of residence' - attempts by individuals to stake out a claim in their social worlds, even under contexts of oppression and domination, that may have little to do with outright or even impromptu resistance': *Silliman 2001, 195.*

social change, but it has become increasingly evident that the two do not necessarily follow a parallel course. Social change can occur via very simple methods and involve little or no concurrent alteration to structure.[154] If the material evidence displays no outward signs of alteration, thus giving a false sense of continuity, the evidence for change lies in the otherwise hidden ideological aspects. Therefore, the archaeological application of agency must integrate an awareness of the irrational, emotive and ideological nature of society in order to fully realise the potential for the analysis and interpretation of its material evidence, particularly with reference to apparent continuity.

If archaeologists are to utilise an interpretative model of human society in which the individual has a real and purposeful role in the creation and transformation of social reality, then Bourdieu's problematic exclusion of agency from past societies[155] must be refuted without entirely abandoning an awareness of the limitations and restrictions on human action and how that influences the choices made by individuals. An analysis of material culture provides a potentially fruitful context for these types of questions. If archaeology can define the roles played by material culture then it will have created a much more reflective characterisation of possibility and constraint within ancient societies. The identification of the individual as part of a cultural system and the instigator in the production of material culture reminds us that material culture is not a passive reflection of society but is, instead, an active medium through which the thoughts and ideas of a living society are expressed.

In the 19th Century, Mommsen developed a method for analysis of the distribution of inscriptions in comparison with that of Rome as a standard, mapping the relative spread of material to produce indices of the phenomenon of Romanisation. This basic method has largely remained the foundation for all subsequent investigations.[156] Quantitative analyses frequently focus on both spatial and temporal distributions, for example considering the relative frequency of

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[154] E.g. *Silliman 2001, 196-205:* Silliman demonstrates how the continued use of lithic technology in the Rancho Petaluma in the face of much more viable and easily obtainable alternatives should be interpreted as an indication of post-colonial changing circumstances as the male members of the community actively sought to undermine the newly asserted social structure by visibly retaining their material culture and heritage;
See also *Parker Pearson & Richards 1994, 1-37* who also put forward the theory that change in meaning can occur without concurrent change in architectural or artistic form.

[155] *Bourdieu, 1977, 164.*

[156] *Mommsen 1886, 86 & 102*

inscriptions across the provinces of the Roman world.[157] Temporal distributions often date inscriptions on a relatively crude basis. This is due on the whole to the lack of precision attainable when dating many inscriptions, a technique which often relies upon a subjective analysis of the content and appearance of the monuments.[158] Chronologies for inscribed monuments have improved, along with analytical methods and increases in the size of the extant assemblage, but research must continue to work within the accepted limitations as imaginatively as possible.

In 1982 Ramsay MacMullen developed the concept of the epigraphic habit,[159] based on the work of Stanislaw Mrozek,[160] as a culturally rather than a linguistically dependent phenomenon.[161] He defined a link between the nature and development of culture and epigraphy, after having observed that the chronological distributions of different types of inscription contained several similarities. MacMullen's interpretation of these distributions indicated that quantitative variations through temporal and spatial contexts were due to variations in the way that inscriptions were utilised by society. His article has proved to be extremely influential upon current debates because it stressed, from the very beginning, the importance of attributing local patterns in the material evidence to localised factors and situations. This theory has been re-worked and utilised with varying degrees of success,[162] but has at least generated discussion and various alternative models for the role of human society in the characterisation and furtherance of the tradition.

J.C. Mann uses the phrase 'epigraphic consciousness'[163] to describe the extent to which local populations adopted the tradition of inscribing upon stone, thereby imbuing society with an awareness of its actions, rather than simply

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[157] *MacMullen 1982, Duncan Jones 1982, 360-362* (survival rates for inscriptions); *Saller & Shaw 1984; Mann 1985* (adoption of practice of inscribing on stone in Britain *; MacMullen 1986; Harris 1989, 267-269* (density of epigraphic survival based on information from CIL).

[158] Discussion of dating methods: E.g. *Sandys 1927 2nd edtn, 200-203; Thylander 1952, 1-53; Limentani 1995, Duncan-Jones 1982, 362-363; Gordon 1983, 4-42; Keppie 1991, 25-29*; *Knapp 1992*.

[159] *MacMullen 1982*: MacMullen's system for charting the frequency of inscriptions was based upon averaging widely dated inscriptions into 25 year period and so his curves demonstrate more about the techniques of dating that he utilised than the actual distribution it is claimed they represent. See *Cherry 1995, 147-149* for this argument in relation to other research.

[160] *Mrozek 1973 & 1988.*

[161] MacMullen surmised that since the pattern was dependent on the culture rather than the language, it must therefore be Roman rather than Latin in nature.

[162] E.g. *Panzram 2002, 83, 106, 319-320*: Considers the decline of the epigraphic habit in the 3rd Century AD as a response to change in government but fails to distinguish the Severan era from the end of 3rd Century AD even though this decline is generally acknowledged to take place after AD 250; *Woolf 1996*; *Häussler 1998.*

[163] *Mann 1985, 206.*

assigning them to repetition and reproduction as the term 'habit' may suggest. The conceptualisation of such a cultural tradition requires the incorporation of intentionality and motivation to inscribe.[164] More recently, it has been suggested that the term 'epigraphic culture' should perhaps be substituted for 'epigraphic habit'.[165] This terminology situates the phenomenon and its development within a more complete context of both internal and external influences which closely link social and/or cultural changes to epigraphic trends. Greg Woolf[166] has applied these ideas successfully in his discussion of the relationship between society, social change and the adoption and development of monumental writing.

This thesis will apply the terminology 'epigraphic culture', since it does not attach unproductive connotations of predetermined practice to the investigation of the patterns of epigraphic density throughout the Roman world.

As with agency, both the concept and definition of Romanisation has been discussed extensively elsewhere.[167] This preoccupation with the use of a single term can in itself be counterproductive, when we should be concerned with identifying the occurrence, scale and extent of cultural interaction in all its forms and interpreting them with regard to the specific historical, cultural and social history of their location. Despite being the subject of contentious debate, inscriptions are one of the most commonly utilised indicators of the spread of 'Roman' culture,

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[164] The concepts of both cultural bricolage and becoming Roman assume an active, motivated and discursive human agent, but Woolf also incorporates an important ideological element to his characterisation of this cultural process.

[165] *Gordon et al 1993, 83.*

[166] *Woolf 1992, 82.*

[167] Selected publications on the theme of Romanisation with variant definitions: *Haverfield 1923; Collingwood 1930; Frere 1987; Millett 1990; Blagg & Millett 1990; Keay 1992; Woolf 1992; Freeman 1993 & 1997;* articles in *Mattingly 1997; Fentress 2000.* Rejection of early belief in an official policy of Romanisation and interventionist approaches e.g. *Frere 1987*, led to a more passive approach e.g. *Millett 1990;* An early assertion that under the Empire there existed a single, identifiable 'Roman' culture which was not altered through interaction with other cultural traditions was put forward by Mommsen who saw the adoption of Roman culture in conquered areas as an inevitable conclusion due to the supremacy of Roman culture: *Mommsen 1886, 1-6, 225-227.* See also *Rostovtzeff 1927, 251 & 1957, 131-149.* Similar ideas put forward by Haverfield in his description of the transformation of southern Britain into a Roman province: *Haverfield 1923, 12.* More specific comments and characterisations: *Hingley 2000, 2003, 2004:* As a result of concern that the theory and dialogue surrounding Romanisation owes its genesis to the colonial world and western imperial domination; *Woolf 1998:* Criticism of the terminology as closely related to imperial connotations of the imposition of a dominant culture at the expense of indigenous traditions; *Metzler et al 1995; Keay & Terrenato 2001:* Concentration upon regionalisation rather than attempts to bridge the critical division between the Eastern and Western Mediterranean as companion volumes *Blagg & Millett 1990 & Alcock 1997* might have done; *Trillmich & Zanker 1990; Metzler et al 1995, Woolf 1998:* Attempts to fill the academic void in the integration of an awareness of ideology, identity and a sense of belonging; *Woolf 1998:* Arguments for characterisation of change as cultural genesis rather than acculturation.

particularly in urban contexts.[168] The discussion here will therefore focus upon the way in which the spread of Latin epigraphy has been associated with the distribution of urban attributes which have been classified as Roman and as an indicator of the spread of that cultural tradition. Despite the fact that this is a long established tradition it will be argued that the connotations of Roman identity are not necessarily applicable in the province although a close correlation between urbanism and inscriptions will be acknowledged.

Epigraphic research often suffers from a tendency to focus upon similarities and convergent patterns rather than looking at differences and anomalies.[169] One of the more pressing problems associated with utilising inscriptions as the sole indicator of social and cultural change is the expectation that epigraphic developments will parallel cultural change in other areas. Terrenato has demonstrated that the use of epigraphic languages does not always occur in parallel with contemporary cultural changes revealed by other material evidence.[170] There are also dangers in assuming that material culture change reflects developments in social change of equal or similar weight.

Problems also arise due to the selection of cultural indicators judged to be representative of elite culture and society rather than society as a whole. These so-called elite cultural elements, with connotations of wealth and elevated social status, include epigraphy and urbanism. Since the individuals involved in epigraphic culture are not representative of the broad range of social classes within any given population, the relevance of the social interpretations of inscribed media to the entire community is therefore cast in doubt. It is important to ascertain how far down the social scale epigraphic culture penetrated before general comments can be made about the relationship between inscriptions and social class, and the implications for society as a whole of alterations in the epigraphic culture.

Approaches to the nature of social and cultural change which have developed less formulaic methodologies to deal with the interaction between cultures are also

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[168] E.g.: *Mócsy 1970, 199-212; Wightman 1985, 162-77; Cepas 1989, 54-8; Nicols 1987; Millett 1990, 81-83, 103-104; Woolf 1992 & 1998, 77-105*; *Benelli 2001; Keay 2001, 109-110;* In contrast *Fentress, 2000* is almost completely devoid of epigraphic consideration, which is surprising given its theme.

[169] E.g. Meyer focuses on similarities but does not sufficiently question the reasons why in twenty percent of the surviving inscriptions the name of the commemorator is not included, preferring to see such instances as following a variant path of cultural assimilation prioritising the indigenous culture rather than considering that it may have been a deliberate rejection of the technique.

[170] *Terrenato 1998, 105, 109,113.*

often still overly focused upon the changes observed in elite culture and do not effectively model cultural change for the whole of society.[171] Interpretation therefore comes down to appreciation of the correct limitations of context, valuable within those restrictions rather than regarding the inability to develop broader or more generalised inferences as a hindrance.[172] Alternatively, rather than isolating individual elements as signifiers of elite activity, it would be more productive to consider material culture as an indicator of a series of relationships of varying character and strength with different parts of society. It is therefore, capable of providing evidence for the role of this form of material culture as a part of urban life rather than as the end result of elite activity.

Arguments persist concerning how we should characterise not only what was Roman material culture but also what it was to be Roman. Greg Woolf's terminology of 'becoming Roman' integrates an awareness of ideology, identity and a sense of belonging.[173] Woolf sees the processes involved as relating to cultural genesis, not acculturation, whereby new citizens and members of the empire became actively involved in a debate about what it meant to be Roman. As active participants, they had the power to decide what that meant in their own situations and act accordingly, continually altering social action or material culture to reflect their own requirements and attitudes. Therefore, the changes that occurred in the manner in which people utilised space and materials make no sense unless the changes that were taking place in the way they thought about themselves and the way they felt as part of their community and wider cultural milieu are also understood. But Woolf's representation of the situation raises the key question of whether provincials did in fact see themselves as members of an empire. Understanding this point is crucial to determining the nature of the distinction between local and Roman identities.

Ideology is perhaps best described in a wide sense and as '*a system of ideas, values and norms which structure human behaviour and thought*'. This places ideology in a central position with respect to the core tenets of Romanisation.[174] The role of ideology is crucial for the determination of ways in which material was

[171] *Terenato 2001; Woolf 1998.*
[172] Mann states that stone inscriptions '…merely tell us something about the people in that area who used stone inscriptions': *Mann 1985, 206.*
[173] *Woolf 1998, 7ff.*
[174] *Metzler et al 1995, 1.*

actively used to construct, define, redefine and maintain social relationships and identities. Therefore, ideology must be seen as central to the construction of society and as such should play a major role in any discussion of the relationship between material culture and society. Central to the concept of ideology is identity, and identifying how populations saw their identities as a part of the Empire is of vital importance to this discussion.

There exists the assumption that, where change occurs, ideologically, this must be demonstrated through a recognisable change in material culture. Rather, social models should account for the possibility that old things can obtain new meanings, be used in different ways and for different reasons, none of which necessitate physical alteration to material culture. The term 'cultural bricolage' proposed by Nicola Terrenato in his discussion of the creation of a Roman Italy describes a process where '*new cultural items are obtained by means of attributing new functions to previously existing ones*'. [175] Hence, material culture can obtain a different meaning for the new society which adopts it as well as serving new purposes within both new and old contexts. Ideology, therefore, provides insight into the thought processes of society, which is vital in order to draw any distinction between increased density and distribution of material resulting from improved trading and communication routes and the deliberate selection and adoption of material as a result of *aemulatio.*

Despite the arguments regarding its role as a signifier of elite culture, epigraphic material still represents a valuable repository of information relating to identities of social strata, including and extending beyond the elite. Whilst epigraphic culture cannot provide an overall picture of Baetican society, it can be utilised in a wider sense not just as a way of measuring change but as a way of understanding change and motivations in the expression and negotiation of identity. This can be achieved through a rigorous re-contextualisation of the evidence within its social context as described above.

3.7 CONCLUSION

An apparent lack of unity between approaches to the various types of material is clear, particularly with regard to public and domestic contexts with certain

[175] *Terrenato 1998.*

methodologies favoured for particular types of evidence. The following methodology will not only actively exploit the potential of the material within the theoretical framework to reconstruct social archaeologies discussed here, but will also attempt to bridge the divide between urban contexts by utilising a coherent methodology suited to all genres of evidence. Previous approaches to the relationship between material culture and society have also highlighted the importance of retaining a theoretical framework from sociology in order to exploit the potential of the evidence.

The preceding discussion has demonstrated that material culture is meaningfully constituted, and is connected to the thought processes, attitudes and emotions of individual members of society. In this way, the characteristics of culture symbolise not society itself but social attitudes and beliefs, but this conceptual understanding has been hindered by lack of ideological analysis. The relationship between the active individual and material culture lies in the notion that material culture represents the physical outcome of the social practices and attitudes of human populations.

Material culture does not in itself hold any power; it gains the power to alter attitudes and practices only indirectly through the viewers' understanding of the meaning it conveys and its symbolism within a particular context, and that understanding induces an individual to respond, prompting him or her to either reproduce or alter the social practices through which that material was initially produced. It is through this appreciation of the importance of knowledge and meaning that social contexts can be reconstructed. Therein lies the value of material culture as a source of information relating to society as a direct link, not just to the practices occurring in the ancient world but also the thought processes and ideas and emotions of society as a whole and of individuals within the larger community.

The theoretical discussion surrounding the concept of identity has illustrated and given credence to evidence which argues for the construction and manipulation of identity and the expression of multiple identities. Identity has been shown to be unique to individual contexts but not necessarily a true representation of reality. However it is still possible using a basis of social theory to identify communities through the recognition of shared identities resulting from shared experiences and shared knowledge. The consideration of motivations to inscribe has demonstrated a close correlation with the expression of identity and concern for the persistence and advancement of that identity, but the characterisation of a single ‘Roman’ identity cannot be supported either by the evidence or by social theory. As a result we must look to the possibility for detecting other identities based around perhaps a provincial or local affinity.

The discussion highlighted the problems with utilising epigraphic material as an indicator of the spread of ‘Roman’ culture. However, it did enable an alternative strategy to be devised so that inscriptions could be utilised as an indicator of groups within society. Epigraphy is essentially a mechanism and medium for communication and whilst its use should not imply identical belief or motivation, even when individuals express similar group identities, once correctly re-contextualised it can be used to infer the influence of shared knowledge and experience.

Essentially, this thesis argues, in line with Susini, in favour of an ‘archaeology of epigraphy’.[176] The benefit of an integrated archaeological approach is that it enables the researcher to begin to readdress the balance between material and interpretation within the localised context of the settlements of central Baetica. It is therefore possible to intelligently analyse the urban landscapes of Baetica as larger and wider interconnected networks. This framework incorporates both physical remains and symbolic elements and considers the nature and requirements of specific activities in relation to architectural space. The discussion has demonstrated the applicability of a multi-disciplinary approach and integrated analysis and the value for interpretation of re-contextualising the material evidence. The combination of attention to detail in the individual monument and the placing of those monuments within their archaeological, chronological, geographical and historical context enables such analysis to arrive at a reconstruction of a working interpretative context, which must be a fundamental starting point for a study concerned with social relationships.

[176] *Susini 1973, 60.*

4: A METHODOLOGY FOR THE STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EPIGRAPHY AND SOCIETY IN THE URBAN SETTLEMENTS OF THE BAETIS VALLEY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter discussed previous approaches to material culture as an indicator of social behaviour and the existence of identities marking social relationships. It highlighted in particular the importance of adopting a complete contextual approach for analysis. The methodology presented here follows that lead in its integration of the material prioritised for study within its specific urban contexts, and within the wider context of the relationships between urban settlements in the Roman province of Baetica. Each of the various data sources will be discussed, along with the relevant methods for data sampling and handling. At each stage, those concepts which have a bearing on the research design of this project and which were discussed in the preceding chapter will be redefined within the paradigm of this methodology.

4.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK SURROUNDING THE INTERPRETATION OF MATERIAL CULTURE AND SOCIETY

The theoretical background established in the previous chapter facilitates an interpretation of archaeological evidence conceptualised as meaningfully constituted material culture actively produced by society. Therefore, it can be exploited as a potential indicator of social practice and behaviour. This methodology has been devised in order to support a complete contextual approach to the epigraphic material by reconstructing the spatial, functional, ideological and historical context within which inscriptions were physically situated, utilised and viewed on a daily basis. This methodology reflects the varied aspects of the relationships between material culture and society, involving the creation, perception and utilisation of material culture as part of and as a result of human activity and behavioural patterns.

Functional contexts provide a link between social behaviour and material culture. The functional use of an object plays a large part in the way that other types of meaning may be assigned, since part of the symbolic or cognitive significance of an object must derive in part from the way in which that item is commonly utilised.[1]. Therefore, the function of an inscribed monument is the key to understanding its social and symbolic role and interpreting the motivations behind it.

Epigraphic communication will be viewed as a system of constructing and expressing identities within the urban environment. The concept of identity will be applied here as a construction utilised to negotiate relationships between both groups and individuals.[2] Inscriptions represent a tangible source of evidence for the communication of identities in the urban context and a viable opportunity to use them in an investigation of social relations.

Routine, repeated or regularised behaviour is an essential component of the theories of both Bourdieu and Giddens. Common behaviour arises through the continual judgement which human societies make of their own actions and the actions of others. This process of judgement and assessment leads to a tendency towards a consensus through general experiences and a shared *habitus.*[3] The development of common behavioural patterns within communities exposed to the same experiences and gaining similar social 'knowledgeability'[4] will be exploited as evidence potentially signifying the construction and expression of community identities through inscribed media. It must be remembered, however, that these may not be experienced as such by the members of those communities.[5] These connections can primarily be identified through the recognition of common languages of expression within the distribution of inscriptions, whether verbal or symbolic.

Therefore, similarities in the ways in which communities utilised various elements of these media and, more importantly, their reasons for doing so, illustrate the patterns within the networks of communication that were constructed throughout Baetican society. This study aims to identify communities who voluntarily sought to associate themselves with others or who were connected by hereditary membership of groups,[6] but also those whose connections with fellow inhabitants were of a more

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[1] *Hodder 1986, 52-53.*
[2] See above pp47-49.
[3] *Bourdieu 1977, 87-89.*
[4] *Giddens 1984, 334-43.*
[5] See above 3.13.5.2 p55.
[6] For example, professional guilds and associations: *Waltzing 1895-1900*; *Cotter 1996; Van Nijf 1991* has argued that group identity might in fact be a determining factor in membership of funeral associations rather than financial necessity.

passive nature, constituted by shared experiences and knowledge of their settlement society.[7] These relationships may also be sought across wider networks and, in so doing, this encompasses the aims of the project to understand the relationships between different communities within the Baetican landscape.

4.3 DATA SOURCES

4.3.1 ***Epigraphic Evidence***

The primary and most important source of evidence is the epigraphic material itself. This was collected at two levels of detail in order to benefit the project in different capacities.

a) Revised editions of *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* for Hispania

This research has greatly benefited from the publication of the revised and updated editions of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* for Hispania, volume II^2 (henceforth CIL II^2). To date, the volumes concerning Baetican material comprise editions for the *conventus* divisions of Astigitanus (CIL II^2/5)[8] and Cordubensis (CIL II^2/7), although this second volume does not cover any part of the study area.[9] A third volume comprising the material from Hispalensis (CIL II^2/4) is currently in production.[10] Since the publication of the initial editions by Hübner in 1869, the discovery of a large number of previously unknown inscriptions throughout Baetica and the whole of Hispania has greatly increased our knowledge of many of the urban settlements analysed by this study and has made significant alterations to the localised spatial and temporal distributions of epigraphic material, even if the wider patterns of the early Imperial explosion in epigraphic material and the 3rd Century AD decline are not perceived to have been affected by these subsequent discoveries. The revision of these volumes to include the newly discovered inscriptions has made the collation of the epigraphic material from the study sites relatively straightforward. It has also simplified the analysis through the provision of a methodological consistency in the presentation of transcriptions and assignation of chronologies. This avoids the necessary negotiation of variability introduced when considering material published at different times and by different people. This

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7 See above 3.5.2 p55.
8 *Stylow et al 1998.* Reviewed and discussed in *Edmondson 2000.*
9 *Stylow et al 1995.*
10 *Stylow et al, Forthcoming.*

largely unpublished information was gathered during personal research at the centre coordinating the publication of the revised editions, thanks to the kind permission of the director, who has agreed to the use of the data within this research provided that transcriptions of unpublished inscriptions are not reproduced in the database or elsewhere in the thesis. The value of this revised resource is undeniable due, in particular, to its meticulous reference to previous editions of the material and information relating to depositional contexts. In a field which has the capacity to develop and be revolutionised at any stage by the discovery of even a single inscription, keeping abreast of the current research is essential to ensure as far as possible that the results of this study are not outdated by the time it is completed. Where practical, as many inscriptions as possible have been visited and examined in person so that, despite the reliance upon the transcriptions of others, this is complemented by a thorough working knowledge of the material at first hand.

b) *Corpus de Inscripciónes Latinas de Andalucía: Sevilla*[11]

Due to the current state in production of the CIL II^2 volumes, it was not possible within the time frame of this research to collate the material from all the urban sites in the study region. Therefore, the evidence from the remainder of the sites was gathered from the volumes of the Corpus de Inscripciónes Latinas de Andalucía (henceforth CILA). This series of volumes is unfortunately known to be fraught with errors, but it also represents the best single alternative source of published evidence for the remaining sites.

The only other data incorporated represented the identification of inscriptions found during surface survey at Gandul between 1997 and 2002, provided by Antonio Caballos Rufino which will be incorporated into the Hispalensis CIL II^2 volume when published.

[11] *González Fernández 1991-1996.*

4.3.2 *Archaeological evidence*

The primary source of information for the archaeological evidence utilised to contextualise the epigraphic assemblages is the material remains themselves.

a) *Collation of published material*

First-hand analysis of the remains is supplemented by consultation of excavation reports where these are available, together with other academic research and subsequent re-analyses and interpretations of the sites. The archaeological analysis is designed to gather information relating most specifically to the design and organisation of the structural remains, and the alterations to this aspect over time. This then forms the basis of the context within which the epigraphic material will be provenanced and subsequently interpreted. The evidence will then be employed as a source of information relating to the social activities of the communities, which controlled where and when inscriptions were set up and by whom. This information will be supplemented by personal discussions with individuals in Spain who have worked extensively at some of the sites in order to improve understanding.

b) *New Survey Data*

Data relating to a selected number of sites in the study region, for which other information is limited, has also been incorporated. This will be achieved through analysis of the results from a series of geophysical and topographical surveys conducted as part of the wider project with which this research is associated.[12].

Geophysical survey techniques have been applied at three sites in the study region prior to the commencement of this project – Celti (Peñaflor), Italica (Santiponce) and Irippo (El Gandul) - demonstrating that this technique has proved successful in obtaining good data within the valley's geological background.[13] Topographical survey is often seen merely as an adjunct to methods of geophysical prospection, and a means of referencing the geophysical survey data to real-world coordinates. However, it can show more of the nature of the archaeological remains than is possible through the use of geophysical survey alone through the initiation of a close contour model and recording the location and orientation of the excavated

[12] Results of the magnetometer surveys are illustrated in the context of each site in Chapter 6.
[13] *Keay et al 2000, 15-22*; *Creighton et al 1999*; Unpublished results of un-georeferenced survey by D. Jordan.

and otherwise extant archaeological material. The purpose of these surveys is to elucidate any information relating to the urban layout and organisation of sites which have not been excavated and at which there are no standing remains to provide any detailed evidence in this respect. The conjunction of these surveys will improve the opportunities for re-contextualising epigraphic material from these sites.

4.4 DATA SAMPLING

4.4.1 *The Selection of the Study Area – The Guadalquivir Valley*

This analysis utilises a study area which will enable the relationships between the urban settlements of the province to be reconstructed without distortion through the imposition of a modern geographical structure upon the ancient landscape. The limits of Baetica have been subject to debate, since very little clear evidence exists for the exact location of either the boundaries between individual provinces or the territories of individual settlements. Focusing on the Baetis valley ensures that the study area is well located within Baetica and away from the variety of mixed influences that may or may not have occurred along the borders of the province.

The course of the Guadalquivir River will form the core of the study area comprising the lower region of the valley, the corresponding areas of the *campiña* to the south down to the *sistema subbético*, and as far west as the Genil valley. The modern Guadalquivir basin is the modern counterpart of the ancient Baetis landscape and therefore provides an opportunity to correlate modern and ancient boundaries by focusing upon the geographical landscape.

The heterogeneous nature of Baetica inevitably meant that a variety of different types of networks co-existed within spatial and temporal landscapes. The discussion in Chapter 2 described the province as predominantly a series of inter-connected local and regional landscapes. Therefore, the selection of the Baetis valley as the study region makes use of the river and its main tributaries as a shared system traversing the region's varied environments.

One further demarcation will be made which constrains the survey area to the navigable stretch of the river Baetis, extending from its mouth just north of Gades to the confluence with the river Singilis. The Atlantic tidal nature of the river meant that sea-going ships could reach Hispalis with ease, and return on the outgoing tide. At Hispalis, goods were transferred to smaller vessels which could proceed as far as

Corduba.[14] The Baetis ceased to be navigable at Corduba, and this city might have been an obvious terminus for the study area, which would have reflected both the ancient utilisation of the river and an understanding of the distinctions between the successive environments along its course. However, the decision was taken to limit the study area in the east with the natural boundary created by the river Genil. A significant river such as this was likely to have also represented a physical boundary in the ancient landscape, if not necessarily one which was concurrently imposed ideologically or socially.

All the constraints placed upon the study area are designed to enable a dynamic reconstruction of the links between the geographical landscape, the resident communities and their social activities. The relationships evidenced in this area of the province can then be actively exploited in the identification and clarification of the potentially wide and complex network of relationships that operated within the region and between its peoples.

4.4.2 *The Selection of the Study Period*

The start date for the period of analysis has been set to coincide with the very earliest appearance of Latin inscriptions in Baetica during the 2nd Century BC.[15] Whilst the study will not ignore the evidence of later Roman material, the primary focus will fall upon the Early and Mid Empire, utilising the end of the 3rd Century AD as a basic cut-off point. This follows the historical background to the Roman presence in Baetica, as discussed in detail in Chapter 2, from its first interventions against the Carthaginians beyond the peak of Empire in the 2nd Century AD.[16] In addition, this period includes the reigns of the two Spanish emperors, Trajan and Hadrian (AD 98-138), and so enables the study to take advantage of the opportunity to explore the ways in which Baetica identified itself with Rome and what changes, if any, the accession of Trajan and Hadrian made to expressions of participation within the ideology of Empire.

The density of material dating from this period dictates the primary motivation for the use of these parameters, since the vast majority of the inscriptions

[14] Navigability of the Guadalquivir River in antiquity: *Chic Garcia 1978 & 1990*; *Ponsich 1998, 173.*
[15] *Stylow 1995, 219 & 1998 & 1998, 109-110:* e.g. CIL I^2 614 & 630.
[16] Section 2.2 p21.

known from Baetica derive from the early Empire.[17] Secondly, this period incorporates the most clearly defined development in the character of the Baetican epigraphic material. The Augustan period sees the first real flourishing of the epigraphic phenomenon throughout the province in conjunction with a great variety of form and rapid evolution of styles of decoration and script.[18] Also at this time, epigraphic workshops begin to be found throughout the province.[19] In studying the period when the use of inscriptions became much more common, the thesis has the potential to explore the reasons for this cultural development and its links to urbanism, the ideology of Empire or the creation of new identities.

The study period also covers the increased homogenisation of epigraphic forms and styles which occur in the 2nd Century AD.[20] This is also a widespread phenomenon throughout the province. It may be that the answers lie in the generation of shared activities and social experiences, and in the use of epigraphy as a medium for communication and a common language for the expression of identity, rather than in changes of style or technique within epigraphic workshops.

The 3rd Century AD marks the end of the study period with a significant decrease in the quantity of inscriptions found in the province.[21] This final change in the study period enables us to address the impact that the concurrent developments within the administration and stability of the Empire may have had on one particular element of material culture within the cities of Roman Baetica.

The distinct changes in the character of the inscriptions from Baetica during this period are clearly worthy of detailed study, and the chronological framework for the analysis enables this to be carried out within a well structured historical framework for discussion. Hence, the material record will not simply be described in terms of the patterns it displays, but the study will also attempt to understand the causes of those changes with direct reference to contemporary social, cultural and

[17] This follows the general patterns observed in epigraphic culture across the Roman world. See *MacMullen 1982*. Basic chronologies for dating early Imperial inscriptions from Spain are *Alföldy 1975, 470 ff* which is based on the evidence from Tarraconensis and therefore cannot be imposed upon Baetica without further debate. See *Knapp 1992* for Iberian and *Stylow 1995 221-222* for Baetican dating evidence. Also *Abascual Palazón & Ramallo Asensio 1997, 26-52* through their analysis of the epigraphic record of Carthago Nova.
[18] *Alföldy 1991*; *Stylow 1995, 220-221*; *Zanker 1988* sets these changes within the wider context of Augustan innovation in the use of imagery overall.
[19] *Stylow 1995, 220 & 1998, 111.*
[20] E.g. in funerary formulae: *Stylow 1995, 223 & 1998, 115.*
[21] For 3rd Century inscriptions see dating criteria of *Stylow 1995a, 217-237.*

political developments within the urban communities of Baetica.

4.4.3 *The Selection of the Study Sites*

A number of settlements have been prioritised for study within this thesis:

1. **Astigi** (Écija) Término de Écija
2. **Carmo** (Carmona) Término de Carmona
3. **Castillo de Alhonoz** (Ancient name unknown) Término de Écija
4. **Celti** (Peñaflor) Término de Peñaflor
5. **Cerro del Pascualejo** (Ancient name unknown) Término de Écija
6. **Hispalis** (Sevilla) Término de Sevilla
7. **Irippo** (El Gandul) Término de Alcalá de Guidaira
8. **Italica** (Santiponce) Término de Santiponce
9. **Munigua** (Castillo de Mulva) Término de Villanueva del Río y Minas
10. **Orippo** (Torre de los Herberos) Término de Dos Herman
11. **Salpensa** (El Casar) Término de Él Coronil
12. **Siarum** (Torre del Águila) Término de Utrera

The principal selection criterion was the location of epigraphic material, but care was taken to ensure that sites with a large number of extant inscriptions were not selected preferentially over those with few.[22] The historical contexts of the study sites were also considered, so that settlements with a known pre-Roman background[23] were included alongside those which can be attested as new foundations in the Republic or early Empire.[24] The sites were also selected for their close relationship with the Guadalquivir and Genil rivers, since the relationships between urban settlement, the geographical landscape of the province and the use of epigraphy form the core of this

[22] Ranges from 1 to 299.
[23] E.g. Alhonoz, Gandul, Munigua.
[24] E.g. Italica.

thesis. The following distribution map illustrates the location of the study sites within the landscape of the Baetis valley (**Fig. 4**).

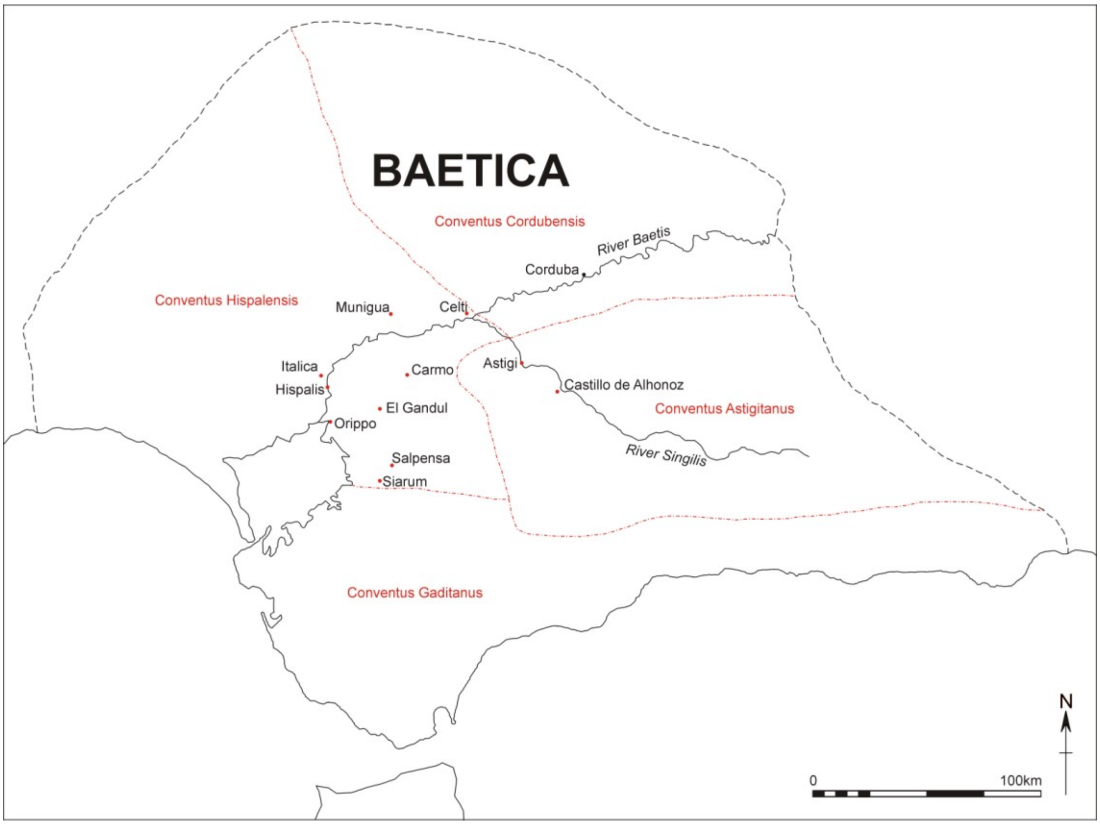

Fig. 4: Location of the Study Sites (After Keay 1998)

The study sites reflect a range of different settlement organisations including large urban walled centres such as Italica and Astigi, and smaller agglomerations in more rural locations such as Cerro del Pascualejo. As discussed above,[25] this thesis draws in such a range of sites under the heading of urban communities as a result of an understanding of the complex networks that existed between settlements in this period. The development of an interconnected system in Baetica which relied upon the mutual dependency of each settlement type with its neighbours of varied status, position and role is not unusual in the Mediterranean world. Classification as *tituli agri* relies upon location and function as much as content. Territorial boundary markers and rural burials commonly fall into this category. Since the purpose of this research is to look at networks between settlements, those inscriptions which have been classed as *tituli agri* will be considered within the broader context of the nature of the epigraphic culture of particular territories for those sites where the specific assemblage is too small to draw any real conclusions about the use of inscriptions at

[25] See the discussion of rural settlement in particular above 2.4 p29.

the site.[26] The view of the settlement pattern taken here and the acknowledgment of the interdependent nature of the sites in any given region argue against a clear distinction between rural and urban inscriptions.

4.4.4 *Geophysical and Topographical Surveys*

The sites selected for the geophysical surveys - Orippo (Dos Hermanas), Siarum (Torre del Águila), Castillo de Alhonoz (ancient name unknown), and Cerro del Pascualejo (ancient name unknown) - were chosen because they represent a variety of different settlement types ranging from a small rural agglomeration[27] to a large *municipium.*[28] Secondly, all of the sites have an extant, if sometimes small, epigraphic record, but generally little information regarding the layout or organisation of the settlement beyond a few excavated remains or standing walls and cisterns. Therefore, these sites present an opportunity to look more closely at the relationships between inscriptions and urban layout in a way that was previously impossible due to the lack of open area excavation and survey investigations of the type utilised here.

The geophysical surveys were undertaken using a Geoscan Research FM36 fluxgate gradiometer with readings triggered using an ST1 automatic encoder so that the surveys could be conducted rapidly. The 30m survey grids were set out and geo-referenced using a Leica GPS SR530. In accordance with standard practices developed over the course of previous fieldwork in the Mediterranean, readings were taken at 0.5m intervals along traverses of 1m spacing. The results were downloaded and processed in the Geoscan Research software Geoplot 3.00a and exported for the production of geo-referenced interpretative plots in AutoCAD Map.

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[26] A fruitful course of future study might be to compare the character and distribution of *tituli agri* with the main urban sites in the same region. Examples of possible candidates for such a study are Astigi and Celti. Such an analysis would be able to ascertain whether there were distinct differences between these assemblages or whether the *tituli agri* appear to be straightforward extensions of the nature of the inscriptions within the towns. There are likely to be differences in the distribution of monument types due to the range of different activities in the two regions, but it would be interesting to examine for example factors such as decoration and monument design to ascertain whether the distinctive character of the inscriptions from sites such as Celti was continued into the rural surroundings.

[27] E.g. Cerro del Pascualejo.

[28] E.g. Siarum.

4.5 DATA HANDLING

4.5.1 *Epigraphic Database*

The collation of all the pertinent information relating to the epigraphs from the study sites has been achieved through the creation of a Microsoft Access database, which includes data relating to each aspect of the inscription - origin, location, date, appearance, preservation, context, object, script, decoration, images, text and content, translation and reference bibliography.[29] The relational format of these data fields enables the database to be utilised in the analysis of the inscriptions by facilitating the identification of correlations between both individual elements and groups of whole inscriptions through generation of a series of queries. It is therefore of great use in this study as an analytical tool rather than simply functioning as an archive for the material.

Inclusion of the published data from Astigitanus was both straightforward and relatively quickly achieved. For the sites in Hispalensis, this involved a more laborious process of retrieving the relevant data from the records of the CIL II^2 centre in Alcalá de Henares which, though time consuming, is not a complex procedure due to the meticulous recording procedures of Stylow and his team.

In addition to the detailed information from the CIL II^2 research of the material from the twelve study sites, a range of less detailed data was also incorporated relating to the other urban sites within the study area that preserved assemblages of inscribed material which was gathered from the volumes of CILA.

4.5.2 *Classification of Inscriptions*

Integral to this database is a unique identifier which has been assigned to each inscription incorporated and consists of an alphabetic code based on the site name of origin, a three digit sequential reference number, and a second alphabetic code which indicates how the inscription has been classified, e.g. MUN001IP (**Table 1**). Where specific inscriptions from the database are referred to within this thesis, they will be referenced by this identifier. These classifications on the whole follow the accepted categories utilised in international epigraphic research. However, two slight differences have been incorporated. Firstly, as well as including dedications to the

[29] For a technical description of the database see Appendix A.

imperial cult within *tituli sacri*, they have been given a subcategory of *titulus sacer (cultus imperialis)*, indicating the particular nature of the dedication so that they can be analysed separately.[30] In addition, *instrumentum* has been used as a separate category to *instrumentum domesticum* which is restricted to items where the text has a close personal connection to the individual concerned. This avoids the pitfalls of classifying inscriptions according to the object upon which they are inscribed rather than the type and purpose of the inscription as with other genres.

CLASSIFICATION	ABBREV.	DESCRIPTION
INSTRUMENTUM	IN	Everyday object which has been inscribed often as part of the manufacture process
INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM	ID	Object which has been inscribed by or for an individual for their own purposes
INSTRUMENTUM PUBLICUM	IP	Instrumentum which has been inscribed in an official capacity
INSTRUMENTUM POPULI ROMANI	IR	Inscription of document for the benefit of and on behalf of the Roman people
LEX COLONIAE	LC	Colonial law
LEX MUNICIPIALIS	LM	Municipal law
TABELLA DEFIXIONIS	FX	Curse tablet
TITULUS HONORARIUS	TH	Celebration of the deed, character or life of an individual by another
TITULUS HONORARIUS POST MORTEM POSITUS	HP	Celebration of the deeds, character or life of an individual by another after his or her death
TITULUS IMPERATORUM	TI	Dedication to the emperor (living or deified)
TITULUS INCERTI GENERIS	IG	Lack of extant text precludes classification
TITULUS MILIARII	ML	Milestone
TITULUS OPERIS PUBLICI	TO	Inscription detailing the provision and/or dedication of a building or attribute of a building
TITULUS SACER	SC	Dedication to a religious deity or other divine power
TITULUS SACER (CULTUS IMPERIALIS)	SC	Dedication to an incarnation of the imperial cult
TITULUS SEPULCRALIS	TS	Gravestone marking the resting place of the deceased
TITULUS TERMINATIONIS	TE	Inscription recording the setting of boundary limits

Table 1: Epigraphic classifications utilised within the database

[30] These inscriptions have been given the same alphabetic code of SC in the inscription identifier as they still form part of the group of *tituli sacri*, but they are distinguished within the database with the field 'Alternative Classification'.

4.5.3 *Digital Plans of the Urban Landscape*

The handling of the archaeological data sources will primarily comprise a creation of digital plans of the study sites. The first intended use of these plans is to illustrate the internal organisation of the study sites through a two dimensional reconstruction of the physical environment. The plans were created by scanning images from the various publications and digitising an amalgamation of the plans relating to different parts of each town in successive versions of AutoCAD Map. All the spatial data from the inscriptions, raster and digital maps from the Instituto Cartográfico de Andalucía, site plans and the surveys were geo-referenced in AutoCAD Map.

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.6.1 *Establishment of a generalised picture of the epigraphic culture of the study region*

Once the epigraphic material has been collated within the database, an initial stage of very basic analysis will be carried out in order to identify any widespread patterns across the study region. The purpose of collation for the less detailed material is to allow a re-evaluation of the generalised epigraphic background. This can then be referred to at later stages in the analysis, as providing something akin to an average with which other more specific distributions can be compared. This information will be plotted spatially according to the relevant sites in the landscape and will facilitate the incorporation of the entirety of the preserved material, irrelevant of knowledge of precise archaeological context or ability to assign a clear date. The analysis of patterns in the use of different elements and epigraphic characteristics will produce a general overview of the ways in which epigraphy was used across the study area. This spatial analysis will also function as a first step in identifying some of the causes and motivations behind the patterns identified in relation to the natural landscape.

4.6.2 *Intra-urban Analysis*

The second stage in the analysis is to consider the individual distributions of assemblages at each study site. The intra-urban analysis will reconstruct the architectural, historical and social elements of the urban context and discuss the implications which the introduction of this information has on the interpretation of the patterns identified.

a) *Temporal Context*

Temporal analyses of the epigraphic distributions were originally often confined to a traditional categorisation based on dating to 100 year periods. However, not all inscriptions can be assigned to one century in preference to another due to the lack of precision possible with dating techniques. MacMullen dealt with this problem by dividing these inscriptions equally between 25 year periods, which has a danger of attributing false patterns to the data.[31] One major problem with this kind of dating technique is that changes in epigraphic style were unlikely to be as definite as this dating method necessarily assumes. There is no reason to assume that an inscription produced in AD 99 will be dramatically different from one produced in AD 100. Unfortunately, we are constrained in what we can say and how we can approach this problem due to the difficulties of assigning dates to the majority of these monuments. In an attempt to stretch out the details of these patterns more accurately across their timescales, these chronologies can be broken down into shorter time periods.[32] However, the problem still remains that a large number of inscriptions cannot be dated with even this level of accuracy.[33] If these inscriptions were assigned equally across time periods there is a distinct possibility that the distribution could be distorted. This study suggests new ways to place epigraphic material within its historical context which are less restricted by the problems associated with dating the monuments. The analysis accepts the limitations on interpretation from undated inscriptions and prefers to use it positively only in those contexts where it can be valuable.

This study, therefore, proposes to supplement the dating evidence by contextualising the inscriptions within the life of the settlements and the phases of

[31] *MacMullen 1982*.
[32] E.g. Early 1st Century, Mid 1st Century, Late 1st Century etc.
[33] Subsequent to the completion of the analysis of the material evidence, it was suggested to the author that fuzzy set theory would provide a means to address some of the problems associated with assigning loosely dated inscriptions to individual temporal periods. Fuzzy set theory defines membership of a set as a possibility distribution so that an element can have a degree of membership to more than one set. In this way an inscription which is dated to the late 3rd or early 4th Century AD might have a degree of membership of the 3rd Century set and a degree of membership of the early 4th Century. In the same way the use of inscriptions in primary and in reused contexts could be analysed along more sophisticated lines. The application of fuzzy set theory would therefore allow the analysis to be re-conducted taking account of the potential permutations in the assignment of inscriptions to temporal categories.

their development. This allows us to visualise the changing epigraphic landscape within the study sites in conjunction with contemporary changes regarding urban development and the resident population.

First, the archaeological information gathered about each site will be utilised to compile a series of phased descriptions of the history of urban development which will be invaluable for the interpretation of the epigraphic material. In cases where sites have been extensively excavated, the phase categories will be taken verbatim from the published reports but potentially adapted in order to deal with inscriptions which are dated across two of these periods. Where they have not, they will be devised in order to remain comparable with traditional timescales and large scale changes within the province as a whole, once again taking into account the need to date inscriptions to transitional periods. It is recognised that this involves applying dating strategies devised using a series of different criteria. However, this is a necessary concession given the number of sites, the long period of study and quantity of material addressed by this research. The dated epigraphic material will then be correlated with these sequences of occupation phases so that the contextual interpretation can question the reasons behind the appearance of patterns in the use of this material.

Traditional dating categories reflect the initial construction of inscribed monuments but do not, however, take account of the fact that inscriptions remained a visible part of the urban context for some time, even though this might lead to a better understanding of the changes evidenced in the temporal distributions of these monuments.[34] The preceding chapter clearly illustrated that meaning and perception change over time and are dependent upon the composition of the audience.[35] Therefore, we should not seek to classify inscriptions solely within the time of their erection. The archaeological evidence for inscriptions in secondary contexts provides the opportunity to clarify to some extent the periods until which inscribed monuments can reasonably be expected to remain visible in the urban landscape, but the assemblage does not preserve enough cases of these to make more generalised comments. The picture of epigraphic distributions should be ideally be viewed as cumulative across the life of a town, rather than separated into indistinct and meaningless time frames. However, in attempting to demonstrate graphically the

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[34] *Cooley 2000a.*
[35] See above 3.13.3.2 p42.

cumulative development of epigraphic trends, it can sometimes be difficult to tell whether the data relates to a new or existing monument. Therefore, whilst the importance of recognising the effect of the accumulation of material will be remembered at all stages in this section of the analysis, the material will be plotted spatially according to the period when it was first set up.

The question of the life-span of individual monuments is a major problem for the temporal analysis of inscribed monuments. Inscriptions that remained on display for long periods of time made statements about identity throughout more than one period. The study material yielded a number of opisthographic texts, mainly *tabulae*, which were found to have been reused at around a century after their initial erection. However, the evidence of a few inscriptions of the same structural design cannot be utilised to argue that all texts were displayed for comparable periods. The length of time displayed would undoubtedly have been affected by a range of factors. These would have included the history of urban development and re-development at a site where subsequent phases of construction may have necessitated moving or removing a particular inscription. In extreme cases an inscription may have been taken down due to the individual commemorated having been dishonoured. The length of the display period would also likely have been affected by the type of monument. Stated in obvious terms, a funerary monument records a final static condition for the commemorated individual, whereas honorific monuments set up in an individual's lifetime may not have been envisaged as permanent fixtures. The structure of the monument might also have been a factor, *tabulae* lent themselves to reuse and may have been perceived in this manner, whereas a statue base or altar was less easily modified for secondary use. In addition there is the possibility that further variation was introduced by location, within and between individual settlements. These problems leave no alternative at this stage but to make assumptions about the period of display of individual monuments. Whilst the question is undoubtedly an important one, this thesis is primarily concerned with the motivation to inscribe. Although clearly interconnected issues, the various permutations cannot be addressed adequately here due to the inconsistent nature of the archaeological evidence which has not to date preserved enough monuments in sealed contexts to start to hypothesise on how long different types of monuments remained visible within their original urban contexts. Those inscriptions which have been preserved with enough supporting information to judge their length of display will be commented upon individually as they arise in the analysis.[36]

b) *Spatial Context*

One of the main objectives of this thesis is to experiment with the possibilities for interpretation utilising spatial and chronological distributions of material.[37] The locations of provenanced inscriptions will be referenced to the digital plans of the sites, thereby enabling the epigraphic material to be located within the urban landscape. In this way, a spatial integration between the epigraphic material and the archaeological remains is accomplished. Those inscriptions for which either less detailed or no certain provenance exists will be dealt with as follows. Firstly, those which can be associated with certain areas of the town will be located on the plan, but will be distinguished from those for which the context is more precise. There is a small possibility that suggestions leading to hypothetical redistributions of the material with no detailed provenance may arise from considering the trends in the general distribution pattern of similarly classified, designed or constructed inscriptions, although this may lead to a level of circularity and should be treated with extreme caution. The un-provenanced inscriptions which could not be classified due to their poor preservation cannot be located on the plans since this would require a level of subjective analysis which the quality of the data does not support. Those inscriptions which cannot be spatially contextualised will still be interpreted in a subsequent phase of analysis. This second stage forms the reconstruction of the physical and spatial context within which the inscribed monuments and archaeological remains were associated.

The production of digital plans in this way will facilitate the visualisation of the physical integration between urban architecture and epigraphic material within individual settlements. At this stage, the information can be considered in more detail, and the reasons behind the spatial distribution of the material can begin to be questioned by looking at its relationship with the overall topography and layout of the towns. The way in which the settlement worked as a whole has implications for

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[36] These examples are discussed in full below in 5.15.3.1 p98.

[37] In all cases inscriptions have been located based on their most recent publication (or forthcoming publication in the case of inscriptions reassigned by CIL II^2,4. Therefore the judgement of the specialists who have in some cases allocated un-provenanced inscriptions to a particular settlement based on the textual content are deemed to be final for the purposes of this research.

understanding the role of the epigraphic material within that framework. The type of holistic approach to the urban landscape advocated in the previous chapter lays the groundwork for a more detailed analysis of the urban framework, as conforming to the needs and requirements of the activities of the inhabitants within the space offered by the local topography. Through a holistic understanding of urban function, it is therefore possible to integrate both ‘public’ and ‘private’ contexts by considering the way in which various parts of the city worked together as a whole rather than as separate units.[38] A better understanding of the organisation of settlement will assist in the characterisation of individual population centres and enable the site to be discussed in terms of the types of activities which might have been associated with its epigraphic monuments and community.

The ability to visualise the material within its spatial context will enable the analysis to consider the factors affecting its distribution. The analysis will consider if certain types of inscription were restricted to or preferentially selected for specific areas. A clearer understanding of the principles guiding the urban layout will assist the interpretation of how these monuments were regarded by providing evidence for the way in which the audience was formed. The urban topography dictated the details of the town planning to a large extent and therefore was responsible for the construction of access routes to each of the component buildings. The surrounding buildings framed, directed and controlled access and movement around the town’s epigraphic monuments.[39] Some forms of urban activity may have been directly associated with the inscriptions, the nature of which can be deduced by plotting the distribution of building types and occupational deposits across the town. The reconstruction of surrounding activities will help to contextualise the reception of the inscribed monuments within daily urban life. However, this consideration of access, movement and activity within the urban landscape needs to be contextualised further within the social context in order to understand the reasons behind observed conjunctions between the types of inscription set up and the activities of the urban population.

[38] See above 3.13.3.2.
[39] *Eck, 1984, 135.*

c) *Social Context*

For the purposes of this research, the social context will be defined as the way in which the urban communities of Baetica utilised epigraphy as a means of social expression and identity negotiation. Reconstruction of this context requires an understanding of the relationships between the various elements in the material and identifying patterns within their employment. Simple correlations between inscriptions might take the form of the use of a particular type of monument within a specific phase of occupation, or the use of particular styles of decoration on specific types of inscribed object.

In order to analyse a selection of the potential correlations, the material from each site will be considered in terms of:

1. Its chronological distribution and correlation with the specific history of occupation.
2. The range of classifications of monument in any given period.
3. The relationship between the type of inscribed object and the classification of monument according to the history of occupation.
4. The relationship between the type of inscribed object and the material utilised.
5. The relationship between the type of decoration and the material utilised.
6. The relationship between the selection of various funerary formulae at different periods in the history of occupation.
7. The relationship between the selection of various non-funerary formulae at different periods in the history of occupation.

The aim of this analysis is to produce an interpretation of the use of these elements of the material from each site within their temporal, spatial and social context. It should, therefore, be possible to consider some of the relationships between individual epigraphic elements and characteristics at each site. The discussion will also enable the phases in the development of epigraphic trends and distributions to be seen in the light of concurrent developments within the town as a whole.

4.6.3 *Inter-urban Analysis*

The third stage in the analysis was devised in order to consider inter-urban patterns and the evidence for more widespread relationships and communities which extended beyond the limits of individual urban territories. The geographical landscape forms the spatial framework for the inter-urban analysis. The nature of the Baetis valley under the Roman Empire is a fundamental context within this study. The impact that the character, diversity and resources of this environment had upon the epigraphic and architectural material culture of its settlements is crucial to forming a complete understanding of the epigraphic history of the province. This analysis will consider the ways in which the natural landscape affected the distribution of epigraphic material, both directly through the location of resources and also indirectly through its effect upon settlement patterns, urban development and activity.

The key aim here is to identify whether individual towns might be recognisable as similar or separate 'epigraphic communities' due to the selections made within their inscribed monuments. Relationships will be identified through patterns in the material evidence. Therefore, a communal relationship or identity may be identified where a group of individuals demonstrate that they use material culture in a significantly similar way, either through the choice of a particular style of monument together with its decoration and material, or perhaps through the location of those monuments within a particular spatial region of the settlement or settlements.[40] Since these monuments function as media for communication, similarities in the use of the medium may represent the use of a common language, although the possibility exists that this solely results from the existence of itinerant stonecutters. It will be suggested here that the use of a common language reflects an intention to make social expression intelligible to others outside the immediate community. In this way, the evidence supports the identification of group identities and communities within and between individual settlements across the province.

At this stage the analysis starts to consider the possibilities for the identification of networks made visible through the use of inscribed monuments. Again, the data is spatially plotted according to its chronological distribution, and the same range of elements and their differential distribution are considered within this

[40] See above 3.13.3.2 p42.

context. The data will be re-phased into a series of more generalised periods in order to encompass the range of different levels of detail to which the material has been dated, and also to allow patterns to be visualised more easily by creating a series of common groups which can be compared with one another.

4.6.4 *Project Analysis*

At this stage, the published results of the other aspects of the projects will be integrated. The results of this study of epigraphic trends and urban communities will be fully grounded within the remit of the project as a whole in the consideration of the urban networks in operation throughout the settlements of Roman Baetica. Therefore, the more localised questions lead to a more wide ranging discussion relating to a more extensive geographical area, and the contexts which have been reconstructed for each of the individual sites can be woven into a far more complex reconstruction of the relationships operating between settlements.

4.6.5 *Application*

The methodology discussed above will be applied to each of the study sites incorporated into this research, irrespective of the nature and extent of the archaeological and epigraphic records. In selected cases, adjustments will be made prior to analysis in order to deal with very small, entirely residual, assemblages at sites such as Cerro del Pascualejo. In these situations, intra-urban spatial analysis will be substituted for consideration of the distribution of material at a range of smaller sites in the same territory as the selected study site. In this way, the universal validity of the methodology will not be compromised and occasional distributions can be interpreted meaningfully within a localised context, when they might otherwise be ignored by research such as this.

The common aim at all stages in the analysis will be the identification and characterisation of the relationship between inscriptions and society and changing attitudes towards this type of display in the urban settlements of the Baetis valley.

5. THE EPIGRAPHIC BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY AREA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter takes account of the need to redefine the background patterns of epigraphic culture within Baetica in order to provide a revised general picture of the use of inscribed monuments against which the evidence from specific settlements can be compared and contrasted across time. Through the application of the first stage in the methodology presented in the previous chapter, the inscribed material available from all the urban sites in the study region will be incorporated for analysis.[1] The wider picture enables instances of individuality and originality to be isolated and identified more easily.

The wealth of new material discovered since the last comprehensive catalogue was produced has contributed greatly to our understanding of the use of inscriptions in Roman Spain and will doubtless alter to some extent traditional assumptions about patterns of epigraphic activity across the province of Baetica when this has been fully integrated. The implications of the new material cannot be ignored and it is vital that this information is brought into the interpretative process at the provincial level in the first instance in order to contribute as far as possible to any necessary re-characterisation of the epigraphic culture of Baetica presented by this study. At this stage, it is still not possible to do this for all the sites within the study area, and therefore the additional sites studied in this chapter rely on the published inscriptions in the volumes of CILA and the inscriptions discovered during field survey at El Gandul (Irippo).[2]

This reassessment of the general background of epigraphic culture[3] and its use in Baetica is vital for the more specific settlement-based analysis to progress. It provides the wider context within which the patterning amongst individual settlements can best be understood and acts as a generalised standard against which those patterns, and those amongst the distributions of individual elements, can be compared. It is essential to include the material from towns other than the twelve selected study sites at this stage so that the background which is reconstructed does

[1] See above 4.1.4.6.1 p85.
[2] *Caballos Rufino Forthcoming*.
[3] See above 3.6 for decision to utilise this term within the thesis.

in fact represent the picture of the use of inscribed material across the study area rather than an approximation extrapolated from the inscriptions of the study sites.

5.2 RECONSTRUCTING THE EPIGRAPHIC BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY REGION

The process of reconstructing the epigraphic background for the study material is essentially simple - it involves pulling together all the available information, associating it with the relevant urban provenance, and plotting this information spatially according to the locations of the settlements so that any patterns can be observed in the context of the settlement distribution of the study area. The urban settlements with identified epigraphic assemblages as published in CILA which fall within the boundaries of the study area are illustrated in **Fig. 5** below.

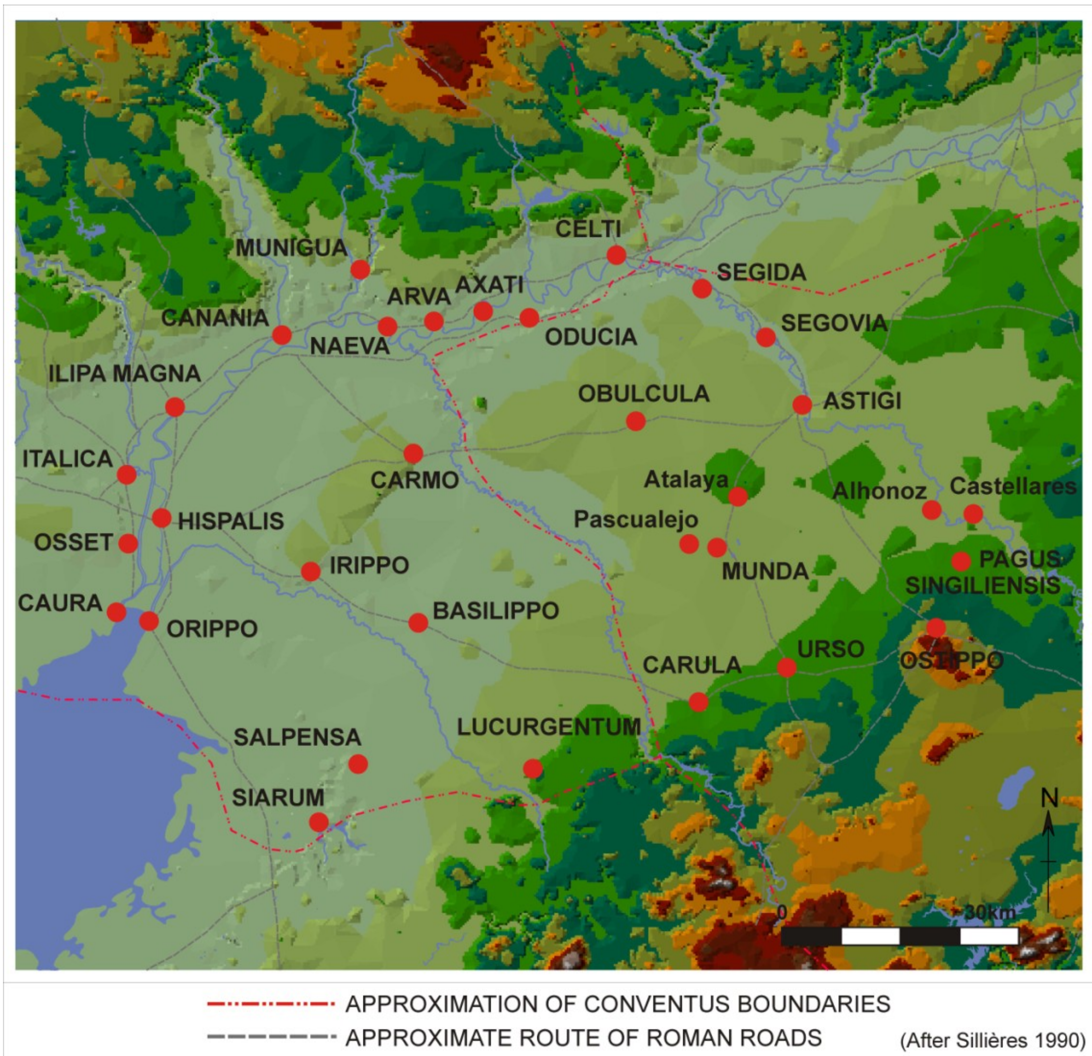

Fig. 5: Locations of urban settlements within the study area with epigraphic assemblages

The locations allocated to the urban settlements identified rely on the work carried out in relation to the Urban Connectivity Project with which this research is associated, utilising information from the Junta de Andalucía's database of known sites, the published CIL II[2] volumes and previous work looking at the urban settlement pattern in this region of Baetica[4] and supplemented by field visits to adjust locations where necessary.

5.3 RESULTS

A series of five different aspects of the inscriptions from the study area will be considered in the re-establishment and evaluation of the epigraphic background:

1. General distribution of preserved material
2. Chronological distribution
3. Genre of inscription
4. Type of inscribed object
5. Type of material

These same aspects will be returned to in the analysis of individual settlements in the following chapter, and in the more detailed analyses in Chapter 7. These elements give a broad picture of where inscriptions have been most frequently preserved, when they were set up, for what purpose, and with what design and material.

5.3.1 *Distribution of Material*

The following illustration (**Fig. 6**) demonstrates the size of the extant epigraphic assemblages from the urban settlements in the study area as defined in Chapter 1. The distribution demonstrates that Astigi, Carmo, Hispalis, Italica and Urso all preserve significantly larger assemblages than the other settlements within the study area. There are various possible explanations for this distribution pattern. As larger urban centres within the region they may have had more substantial areas dedicated to public activity and display, In addition, the likelihood of larger urban populations

[4] Discussed in more detail above 2.3 p26.

and in particular larger groups within that population capable of affording the expense of an inscribed monument might well have increased the number of inscriptions originally constructed and displayed within those settlements. The legal status of these settlements may also have played a role but each of these settlements had a varied history. *Coloniae* were established at Hispalis and Urso after the Civil Wars by Caesar, and under Augustus at Astigi. Italica was made a *colonia* by Hadrian in the 2nd Century AD, and Carmo appears to have been a *municipium* under Tiberius.[5] The diversity in status of these towns is not surprising as superior legal status did not necessarily entail larger urban scale. In fact it has been argued that the early *coloniae* at least were not necessarily larger or more prestigious towns than *municipia* and that the latter native communities, by virtue of their promotion to either Latin or Roman status, were often more unequal in their distribution of wealth and social status than some of the *coloniae* where the population was more egalitarian.[6] Irrelevant of their status, all of these settlements played key roles within the province as centres for control, administration or trade and were well connected with the surrounding landscape. They were therefore highly developed centres of prolific social and economic interaction with many of the attributes associated with urban development, elements which as discussed in chapter 3 are often found in association with a high frequency of inscribed material.
In order to ascertain the precise reasons for the variation in assemblage size, analysis of the individual character of the material from each settlement is required.

Before the overall distribution pattern can be assessed, the effect of the transformation of the archaeological landscape by processes affecting epigraphic survival must be considered.[7] There is a close correlation between the sites where larger assemblages have been recorded and where there is a history of continuous occupation down to the present day. The archaeological levels of the urban centres at sites such as Astigi, Carmo and Hispalis are in some ways the least accessible, directly overlain by medieval and modern town centres. Consequently limited information is available about the urban nucleus, which can only be seen archaeologically in small areas as dictated by the process of modern redevelopment.

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[5] A more detailed discussion of the settlement history of each of these sites follows in Chapter 6.
[6] This inequality is seen in the origin of settlers, both military and civilian, the influx of merchants and others capitalising on the potential from the provinces resources and trade in minerals, oil and *garum*: *Syme 1958, 10; Ibid 1977, 373-378.*
[7] *Keppie 1991, 30-35.*

However, continued occupation and repeated building over older strata can often preserve a great deal of information and artefact-based evidence in situ which might otherwise have been destroyed or reused elsewhere. Unfortunately, this does not always reflect the reality of the situation. For example, whilst the assemblage from Sevilla is sizeable, it contains a very low proportion of well provenanced inscriptions, with many monuments preserved in secondary contexts, such as the cathedral and the Real Alcazar, and also in extensive private collections. This means that a sizeable number of inscriptions (40/147) cannot be provenanced securely. Their presence in collections associated with Sevilla suggests that they may have originally come from Hispalis but examples from these collections have been proven to originate from much further afield even beyond the province.[8] The lack of records means that the origin of many of these monuments may never be fully resolved. Antiquarian interest in urban history and in the material remains of Roman Hispalis has acted to the detriment of its archaeological record. However, sites which have been continuously occupied also offer plentiful opportunities for discovery of new material, particularly in recent years, due to the regular interventions associated with modern building and urban development.

In contrast, sites such as Salpensa, Siarum, Orippo and Irippo, where occupation ceased to be urban in character after the Roman period and was abandoned in the medieval period or probably earlier in the case of Irippo, preserve very few inscriptions since they were more likely to be removed and reused elsewhere in the post-Roman period or simply buried by the accumulation of overlying deposits. At abandoned sites and others such as Celti and Italica where a large proportion of the ancient site lies beyond the limits of modern occupation, inscriptions may be unearthed during agricultural disturbance or identified as casual finds.

Many of the processes affecting the survival of inscriptions in the archaeological record are distinctly visible at sites in the study area. Reused marble slabs are very common in the funerary inscriptions of Celti, and in two cases inscriptions of unknown classification dating to the 1st to early 2nd Century preserving fragmentary evidence of monumental scripts, were reused in the later 2nd

[8] E.g. Within the collection of Mateos Gago were inscriptions from Emerita (modern Mérida) now on display in the Museo Arqueoloógico Provincial de Sevilla: *Edmondson 2001, 124*. It is entirely possible that other similar examples exist which we cannot identify.

Century as funerary slabs in the surrounding countryside.[9] Similar indications of reuse are found at Hispalis,[10] Italica,[11] Salpensa[12] and Siarum.[13] The evidence indicates that inscriptions began to be re-used within only a few generations. At Italica, a Trajanic honorific monument was reused as a funerary monument in the late 2nd Century,[14] and at Siarum a late 2nd or 3rd Century inscription is inscribed on the reverse of another inscription which is dated to the 2nd or 3rd Century. All the reused inscriptions, bar one column from Hispalis, are on *tabulae* (plaques or slabs), and the structure of these monuments lent themselves easily to this kind of reuse. Larger public monuments on more substantial blocks of stone might have been less likely to be reused, as potentially were *arae* which may explain the lack of evidence from the study sites. This evidence may suggest that there was not a prolonged accumulation of inscriptions within the urban landscape. However, although apparently demonstrating similar temporal patterns of reuse, the limited number of examples within the sample surveyed here could also be interpreted as evidence that whilst reuse within a few generations was common it did not represent a standard custom.[15]

Inscriptions were often used from the 3rd Century into the Medieval period onwards as building material rather than as material for later inscriptions, despite legal restrictions and curses protecting grave sites from this type of desecration.[16] In the 3rd Century, these were often used in the reconstruction of fortifications and as such were re-used in close proximity to their original locations.[17] Movement well beyond the limits of the site is more characteristic of the later history of inscriptions as antiquarian curiosities.[18] This is a problem with significant ramifications for parts of the study area. As examples from further afield have been found within collections at Sevilla it is possible that material has also moved beyond the limits of the

[9] CEL082IG & CEL084IG.
[10] HIS092IP & CIL II 1224.
[11] ITA081TS & ITA042TH; ITA189TS & ITA245TS; ITA225TS & ITA244TS.
[12] SAL015IG & SAL016IG.
[13] SIA015IG & SIA016IG; SIA019TS & SIA020IG; SIA031IG & SIA032IG
[14] ITA 42TH & ITA081TS.
[15] A systematic survey of all the available evidence from the province wouldgreatly benefit understanding here but this falls outside the remit of the present project and should wait for the publication of the remaining CIL II^2 volumes.
[16] *Keppie 1991, 31.* There are numerous examples of inscriptions from the study sites in re-used and residual contexts often built into church walls e.g. HIS023TH , as part of urban fortifications e.g. MUN033HP, other constructions e.g. PAS001OP or as other objects such as this example from Los Castellares CAS001HP that was re-cut and used as mill weight.
[17] E.g. MUN033HP.
[18] *Keppie 1991, 33.*

province and become untraceable from a point of view of academic research. The impact of such movement of material upon the study region is certainly an important consideration that would benefit from detailed study in the future.

The nature and extent of archaeological analysis at the settlements must also be considered as a factor affecting the survival of epigraphic assemblages. A long and detailed history of excavation at a site, particularly one where the site has been subjected to large open area excavations, is likely to result in an increase in the number of artefacts as at Italica and Munigua.[19] A similarly exponential increase in the size of the epigraphic assemblage can also be seen after field-survey programmes at Irippo.[20] Therefore, these factors must be taken into consideration when assessing the relative assemblage sizes across the study region. New inscriptions regularly turn up at sites where rescue excavations are carried out in areas of modern development,[21] and may in fact offer a potentially more representative sample if those interventions are distributed across the area of settlement, rather than research excavations focused in single areas of an urban centre or cemetery.

Taking all these factors into subjective consideration, it appears that the traditional view of Baetica as a province where an epigraphic culture flourished holds true. Whilst many of the smaller sites to date have limited assemblages of epigraphic material, it is also clear that that may not be due to a dearth of material, but rather a lack of detailed investigation. It is true that the majority of the sites with epigraphic assemblages recorded here, irrelevant of their size or status, are of known name. There is an area in the central and southern portion of the study area that is relatively quiet in terms of inscriptions. No major urban sites have been identified in this area which may account for the paucity of material. There is also a significant possibility that inscriptions found at smaller sites have been assigned incorrectly because their sites of origin are either not well understood or remain unidentified. This raises the problems with which the wider project is concerned regarding the identification and classification of sites as urban, and the need for the way in which site types are categorised to be readdressed and re-evaluated. Until the Hispalensis volume of CIL II^2 is published it may not be possible to answer this question properly as far as the study area is concerned.

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[19] E.g. *Caballos Rufino et al 1999 & Schattner 2003.*
[20] *Caballos Rufino Forthcoming.*
[21] *Sáez Fernández et al 2003.*

The division of assemblage size into 5 classes reflects the optimal clustering of the current data set. It utilises natural breaks (Jenks) so that class categories are based on natural groupings inherent in the data. Relatively large jumps in the data values are selected as points for division in order to group similar values together and maximise the differences between individual classes. Consequently, with the exception of the group containing less than ten inscriptions, there are reasonably significant gaps between clusters of data. This method is particular suited to data that does not follow a statistically normal distribution and as such is more valid in this situation than a system utilising standard deviation, equal intervals or quartiles which do not demonstrate the differential preservation across the study area to its best potential[22].

Within the five categories the data clusters as follows:

a) <10: Between 1 and 9 inscriptions preserved

b) 10-19: Between 10 and 17 inscriptions preserved

c) 20-49: Between 21 and 47 inscriptions preserved

d) 50-100: Between 78 and 81 inscriptions preserved

e) >100: Between 101 and 299 inscriptions preserved.

[22] δ= 53; Mean = 28; Median = 7; Lower quartile = 1; Upper quartile = 26.

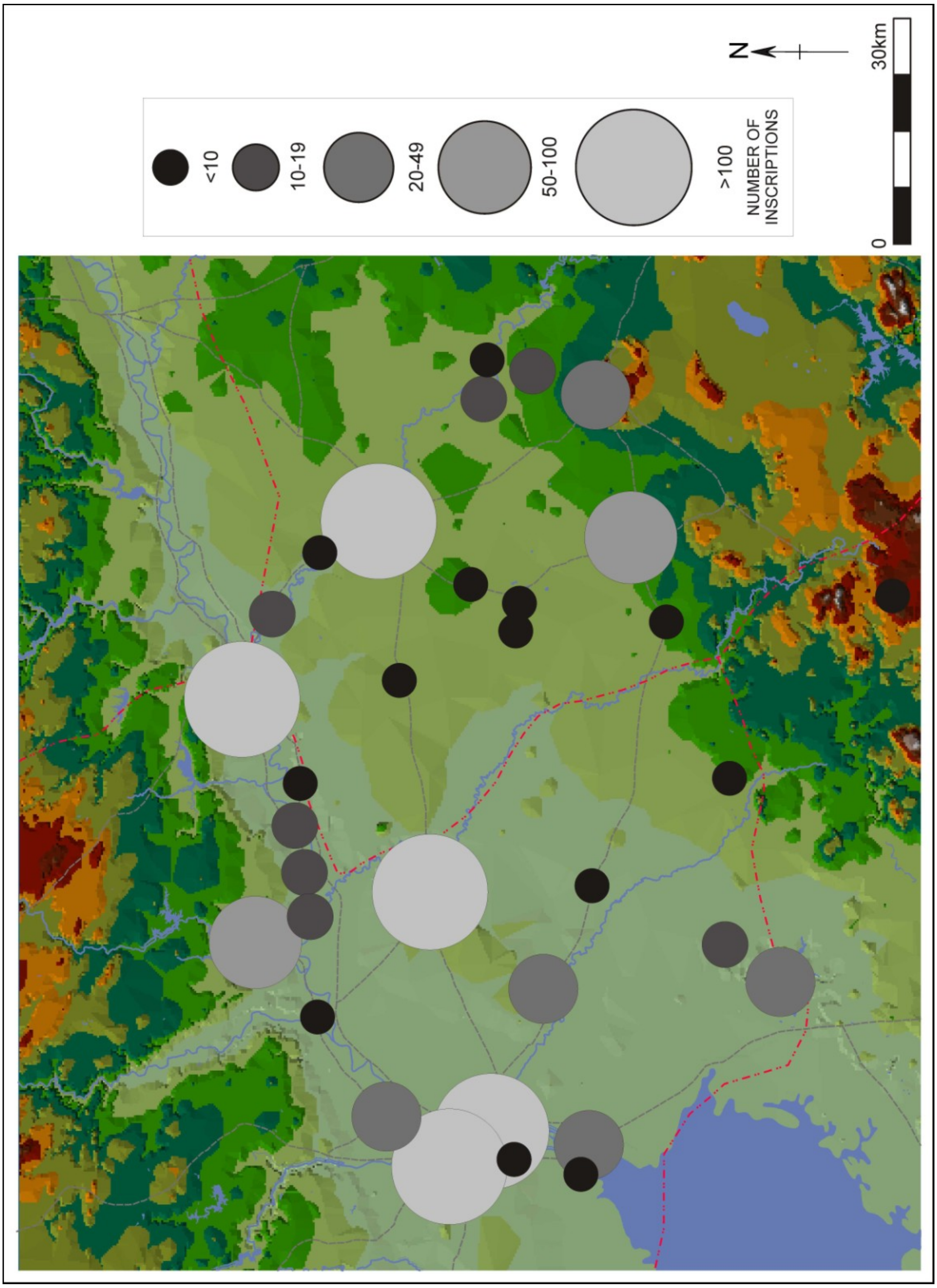

Fig. 6: Relative sizes of preserved epigraphic assemblages from sites within the study region[23]

[23] Tabularised data: Appendix B.1.

5.3.2 *Chronology*

The following chronological distribution (**Fig. 7**) demonstrates the growth of an epigraphic culture across the study region. The distribution is very simplified, serving only to provide the type of general picture which can then be broken down on a site by site basis in order to understand the real development of this tradition in accordance with the developments and events responsible for shaping the history of each settlement.

Inscriptions begin to appear in the last century BC, possibly earlier, and continue through to the end of the study period in the 3rd Century AD. However this distribution indicates that in general the practice of setting up inscriptions did not become a widespread phenomenon until the time of Augustus. The distribution increases steadily through the Early Empire into the height of the Roman period, followed by the beginning of a decline after the end of the 2nd Century. Overall, this pattern is not significantly different from that which is generally agreed to be a universal trend in the development of an epigraphic culture across the Roman world.[24] A major proportion of the securely dated material derives from the 2nd Century AD.

Of particular interest is the distribution of inscriptions not only from the Augustan period (traditionally associated with new possibilities for exploitation of the potential of the inscribed monument for social and political expression and ideology) but also the Late Republic. A range of sites in the study region demonstrate the use of epigraphic monuments in the late 1st Century BC to early 1st Century AD, namely Castillo de Alhonoz, Arva, Cerro del Atalaya, Astigi, Carmona, Caura, Pagus Singiliensis, Hispalis, Ilipa, Italica, Munda, Orippo, Segida, Siarum, and Urso, illustrating that an early adoption of the technique and use of inscriptions was not unusual. The variation in settlement history, topographical location, legal status and character of the local population of these centres indicates that the early use of inscriptions at these sites was dependent on very localised and individual factors, and that the forces motivating the uptake and continued use of inscriptions did not conform to a standard across the study area. The importance of these early inscriptions will be considered in more detail in the context of individual settlements and their history of occupation in subsequent chapters.

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[24] E.g. *MacMullen 1982.* For detailed discussion see above 3.6.

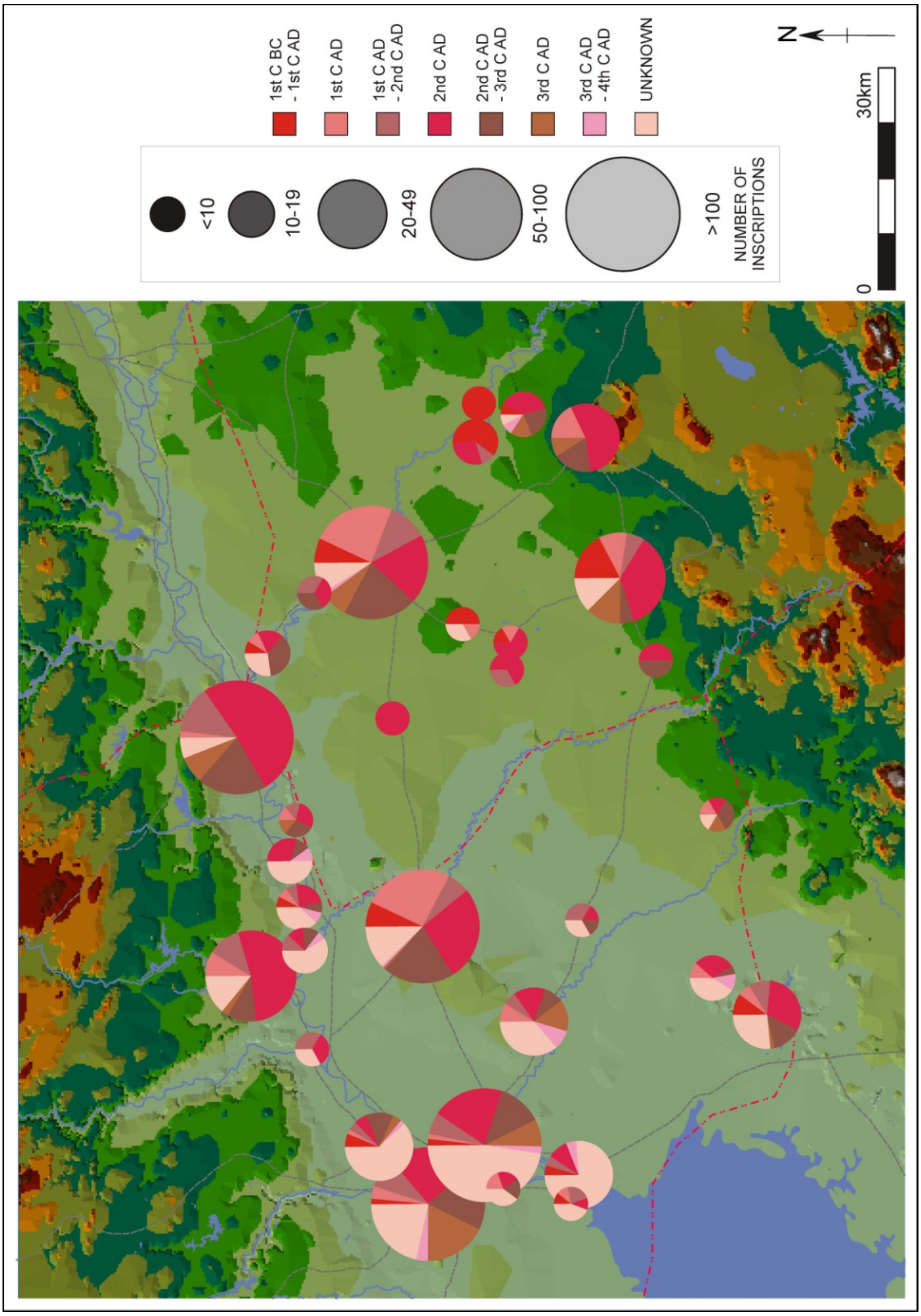

Fig. 7: Chronological Distribution of Preserved Inscriptions[25]

[25] Tabularised data: Appendix B.2.

5.3.3 *Type of inscription*

A brief look at the distribution of the types of inscribed monument utilised within the study area illustrates that the most common inscriptions are those used to honour the dead and locate their place of burial.[26] These monuments are commonly seen to be preserved in the highest quantities, partly due to the large numbers set up outside ancient settlements in areas more accessible for recovery. Funerary dedications may appear to reflect a less restricted subset of the population demographic than other types of inscription and were potentially within the aspirations of a wider group of social classes. In reality they still represent individuals with financial means and even those who appear on gravestones as slaves were probably associated with the more economically successful households within individual towns or held a recognisable position within the town.[27] Public monuments within the urban centre may be more closely, although not exclusively associated, with elite members of the population. Funerary monuments are not dominant at all sites, for example Munigua, where the more intensive excavation of the central public and domestic areas than those of the outer sepulchral regions has biased the data set. Some of the sites along the Guadalquivir with smaller assemblages demonstrate similar characteristics, either with a more even distribution as at Arva or with other types of monument preserved more frequently at Segida Augurina and Orippo. This is also true at Siarum.

Overall, the distribution map (**Fig. 8**) illustrates the diversity of the province's epigraphic assemblages. Each town (where the material occurs in sufficient quantity) contains a wide variety of types of inscription. Prominent individuals are recorded setting up dedications or donating the cost of public buildings, but they are also honoured by their friends, families and fellow citizens for these acts and for their contributions to urban life.

The influence of Imperial adminsitration is demonstrated through copies of legal documents and communications between the Emperor or the proconsul of Baetica with individual towns,[28] but that power is also celebrated and honoured

[26] The classifications utilised here is discrete so that there is no overlap between classifications and no possibility for ambiguous interpretation through correlation between classifications. The one exception to this is the partial separation of inscriptions relating specifically to imperial cults from the more usual and universal *tituli sacri*.
[27] E.g. Servus publicus: AST003SC, AST016TS, CAR002SC.
[28] E.g. ITA002LX & OST001LM; MUN001IR.

through dedications to the Emperors and to variations of the Imperial Cult.[29] Since administrative inscriptions were erected at the instigation of Imperial power rather than at the request of local communities they are not useful within the context of the detailed analyses conducted in Chapter 7. The more personal inscriptions tend to occur on less permanent objects, and are less frequently and less equally preserved across the study area. It is unlikely that the number preserved accurately reflects the true proportion of these artefacts in the total epigraphic assemblage of the province; the portability of those items and the less durable nature of the materials on which they were inscribed are likely causes for the small numbers preserved.

In those sites with larger assemblages, there is a statistically predictable potential for an increased number and range of the types of inscription found. Inscriptions from smaller assemblages often come from the most common classifications amongst the larger sets of material, such as *tituli sepulcrales* and *honorarii*, since their frequency guarantees that they have the highest potential to be preserved and discovered. However, this is not exclusively the case and on occasion rarer examples have been found at sites with very small extant assemblages.[30]

[29] The Imperial cult is a contentious issue. The various interpretations of the evidence and arguments for and against the use of this term will be discussed in Chapter 7.
[30] E.g. Fragment of municipal law from Cerro de la Atalaya: ATA001LM.

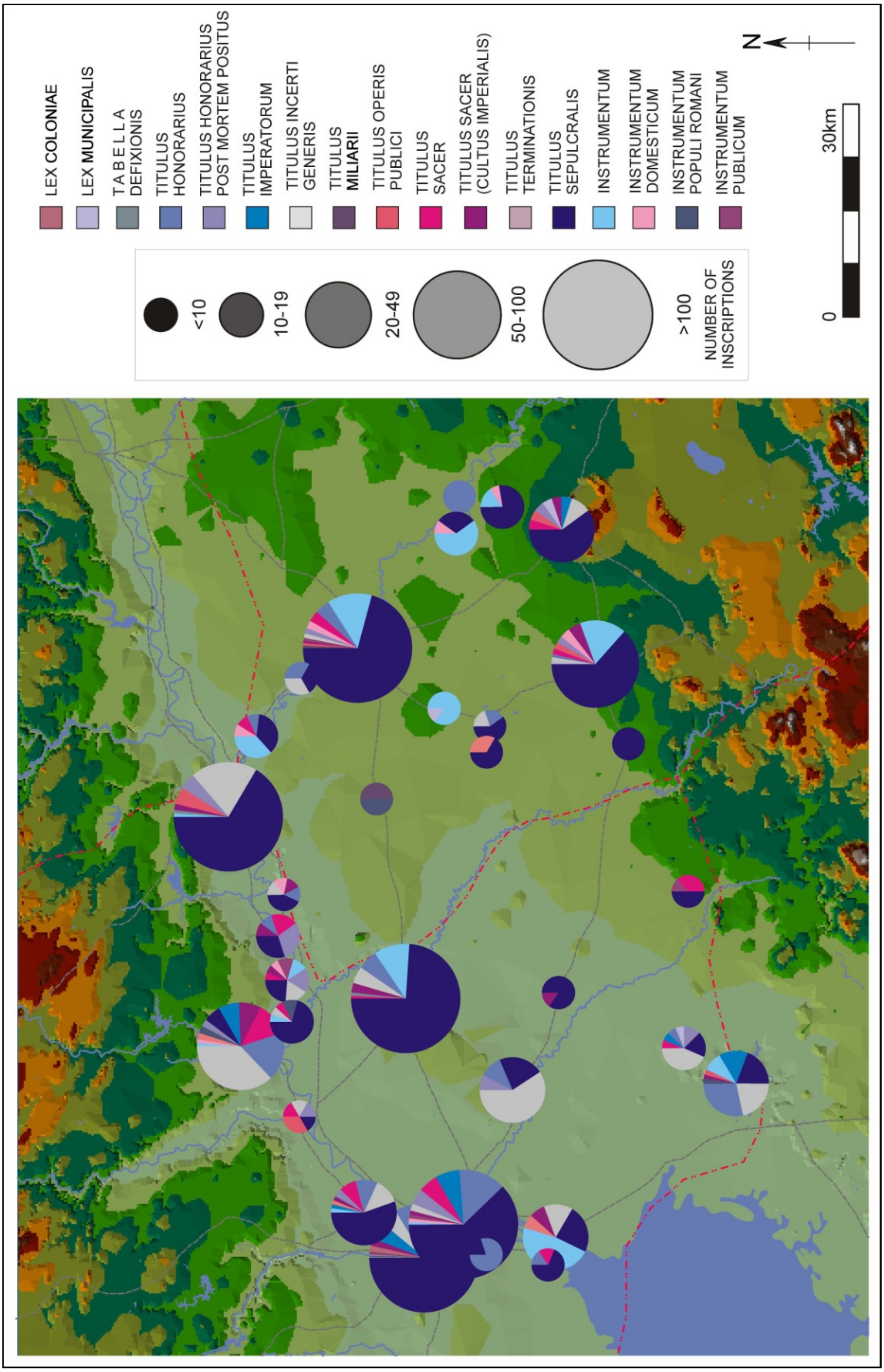

Fig. 8: Distribution of types of inscribed monument[31]

[31] Tabularised data: Appendix B.3.

5.3.4 *Type of inscribed object*

The distribution of the types of object utilised for inscribed monuments (**Fig. 9**) demonstrates a generally consistent pattern across the study area. By far the most commonly preserved monument type is the simple *tabula*. This reflects the flexibility of its design, adaptable for a range of different situations and for various types of inscription ranging from funerary memorials to building inscriptions and imperial dedications. No other monument type has been documented in such a wide range of inscribed contexts as the *tabula*.[32] A second type of monument, the statue base (*basis statuae*), is seen most commonly in the context of honorific inscriptions (with attached statues) dedicated to individual citizens, but is also seen in the context of religious dedications, and is widely used across the province. The third most common monument type is the altar (*ara*), used within both votive and funerary contexts. Compared to the majority of *tabulae* and statue pedestals, this is one of the most ornate types of monument and it is these which display the highest level of decoration in terms of relief sculpture and decorative geometric, vegetative and floral borders around the epigraphic field. A cursory assessment of the distribution suggests that *arae* are more commonly preserved in the *conventus Hispalensis*, but this may be a product of the distribution of the settlement sites throughout the study region selected and the sizes of the assemblages available for study. More personal items, namely those usually classified as *instrumentum domesticum*, are also commonly found across the study region. Unsurprisingly, they are found in greater number and variety in the sites with larger assemblages, a product of the increased likelihood of both preservation and recovery.

The distribution also sheds some light on a traditional generalisation made about one particular monument type, the *stela*. This is usually thought to be particularly common in *Astigitanus* and also in rural areas rather than urban.[33] Initially, the distribution demonstrates that whilst it may well be considered to be more common in *Astigitanus*, there are several cases of its use elsewhere in *Hispalensis*, primarily to the south of the river Baetis, from urban centres ranked as

[32] E.g. funerary, votive, honorific. This section is dealing with the architectural structure of the monument and therefore different types of monument are conflated within single categories such as votive and funerary *arae* as a result of their utilisation of the same monument structure. This does not suggest that these inscriptions should be interpreted as texts in the same way but actively serves to illustrate the variation in content and function of monuments with similar structural design.

[33] In Baetica: *Stylow 1995 226-227 & 1998, 120;* Limited distribution in urban sites elsewhere in Iberia:*Pereira Menaut 1995, 296ff.*

both *coloniae* (Italica and Hispalis), and *municipia* (Orippo and Carmona). Whilst this picture does not contradict the traditional assumptions regarding the use of these monuments, it does actively suggest that a greater level of interest should be taken in understanding how, when and why this monumental type is used outside of its area of prominence. By contrast, the *stela quadrata*[34] is confined exclusively within the defined study area to the urban centre of Astigi.

Given the dominant preservation of funerary inscriptions as discussed above, it is unsurprising that two of the most commonly preserved monument types are both used in funerary contexts. At the majority of the sites in the study area, only two or three different types of monument are seen within the funerary assemblages. The material is a little more varied amongst the larger assemblages, but no more so than at Carmo where the cemeteries have been extensively excavated,[35] thereby increasing the number and type of funerary monuments known.[36] Based on the evidence of this distribution alone, there is no reason to assume that the funerary rituals at Carmo were any more varied or unusual than elsewhere without further detailed analyses of the patterns amongst the funerary monuments with respect to individual settlements.

Potentially interesting is that Hispalis, Astigi and possibly also Ostippo and Orippo have one element of their distributions in common: No one inscription type forms more than fifty percent of the entire assemblage.[37] This may indicate either a more varied selection of monument type, or a more equal temporal shift in changes of preference.

[34] A rectangular block with the rounded upper edge of the stela carved into the upper section.
[35] E.g. *Bendala Galán 1976.*
[36] Ara (3), Basis Statuae (2) Cista (3), Murus (3), Stela (1), Tabula (44), Undetermined or unknown (12), Urna (11).
[37] This is also true at some of the other sites but their assemblage sizes are too small to support inferences of this nature.

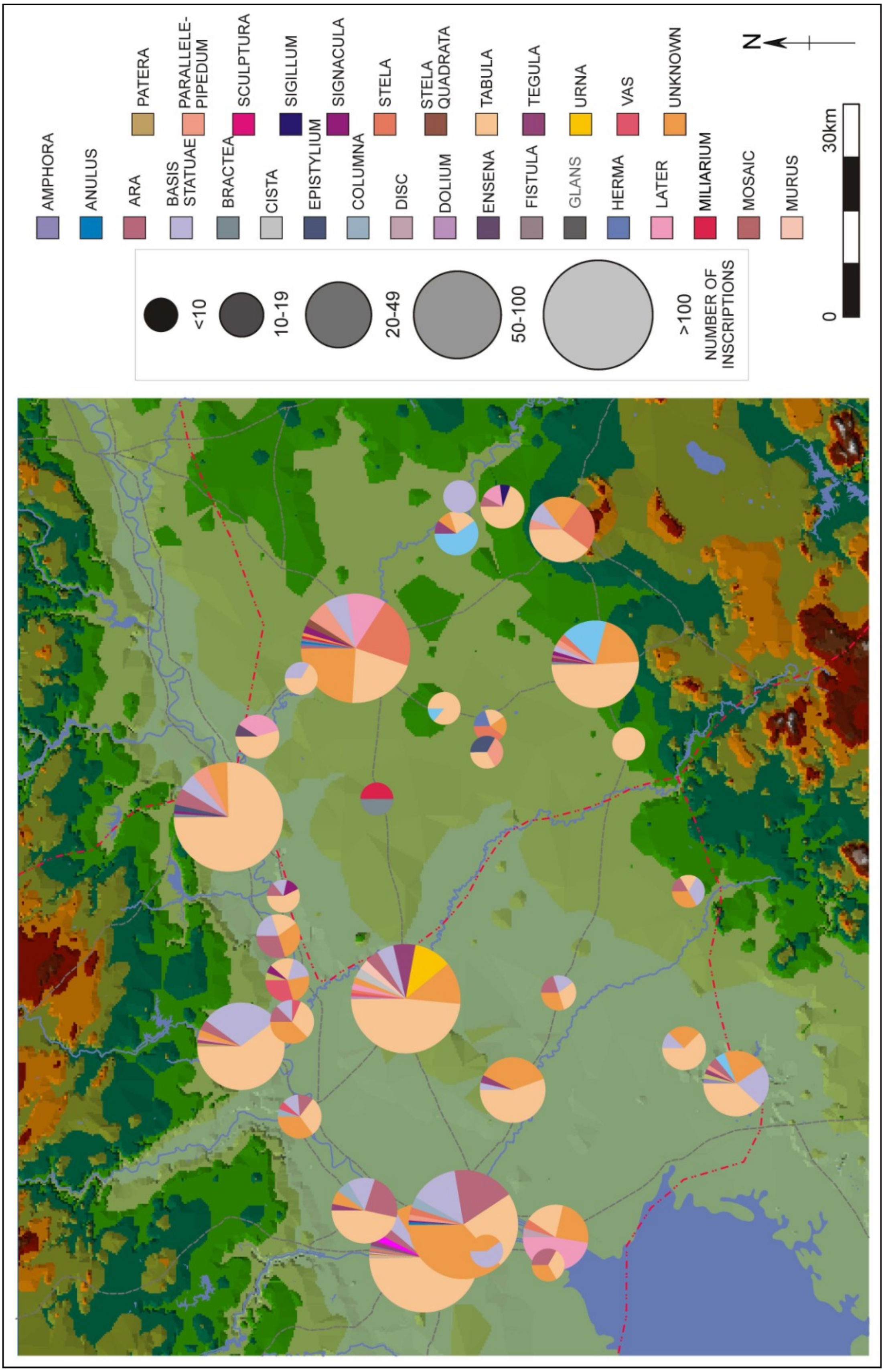

Fig. 9: Distribution of types of inscribed object[38]

[38] Tabularised data: Appendix B.4.

5.3.4 *Material*

The material basis of Baetica's epigraphic culture reflected the rich and varied nature of its natural landscape.[39] The first illustration (**Fig. 10**) demonstrates the variety of different materials used to construct inscribed monuments across the study area. Marble forms the largest proportion of the materials utilised, indicating a clear preference for this stone as the superior material, although subsequent discussions will make it clear that the use of marble was a later development. Limestones were also extensively used, much more than sandstone with its less durable crystalline structure.[40] Bronze inscriptions are distributed across the settlements with municipal or higher status. The remainder of the range of materials utilised comprises those associated with functional objects such as lead and precious metal objects, glass or ceramic vessels, and clay roofing tiles or bricks. The basic divide between stones, metals and other materials follows general divides in the types of inscription, demonstrating that the material and the object were directly related and selected specifically for the purpose of the individual inscription. The patterns from the study area show that the more decorative *arae* are almost exclusively sculpted from marble. Only four exceptions exist, two from granite and two from a hard limestone often mistaken for a marble due to its structure,[41] whereas there is much more variety of material amongst the comparatively simple *tabulae* from the region.

Recent investigations which have looked closely at the distribution of inscribed monuments constructed from the marble of specific Baetican quarries have begun to clarify the picture of this wide variety of materials, if only in relatively narrow avenues.[42] Studies of the petrology of inscriptions lag behind the application of this type of analysis to the materials used in more general monumental construction.[43] With the limited information available to date (**Fig. 11**), it is possible to say that the materials utilised were predominantly locally and regionally sourced from the natural resources of Baetica. In particular, the mountainous regions of the Sierra Morena and the Baetic Cordillera provide a wealthy source of a varied supply of marble.[44] In addition to this, Baetica had plentiful sources of sandstone as well as limestone local to the region, which were formed with crystalline structures which

[39] See above 2.1 p 16f.
[40] *Stylow 1995, 223-224 & 1998, 115-116.*
[41] E.g. AST009HP.
[42] E.g. *Beltrán Fortes & Loza Azuaga 2003*.
[43] E.g. *Polvorinos et al 2006*.
[44] See above n 5 p17.

made them characteristically hard and produced excellent smoothed and polished surfaces for inscribing.[45] When the individual grain and colour of these local materials is analysed, it becomes clear that a very wide range of different materials were utilised.

Of the marble quarries in Baetica, two have been studied in detail with relevance to this study. The quarries at Almadén de la Plata supplied a marble used widely across the study area and appear to have been imperially controlled.[46] Examples of the marble from the Sierra de Mijas have also been identified within the study area,[47] but unfortunately there is no information relating to the materials used in the epigraphic assemblages from the study sites closest to this area of quarrying. Inscriptions constructed out of materials sourced from smaller local quarries have also been identified near Carmona, Siarum and Lucurgentum, which have much more restricted distribution patterns within the provincial epigraphic assemblage, only evidenced to date at sites in the immediate vicinity of the quarries.[48] Granites presumably from the Sierra Morena are less commonly found and restricted to more northern sites, although they have also been found in Hispalis.[49] A small number of examples have also been identified as imported marble from Italy[50] and Euboae[51] but even given the small sample of inscriptions for which the material can be provenanced it is clear that this is a very small subset of the whole. Imported marbles used for construction are notable across the study region with particular work having been focused at Italica in, for example, the Trainaneum[52] and the theatre,[53] and at Munigua where evidence for material sourced from other regions in Iberia was also found.[54]

The general overall picture from the limited information available is that of a regional and localised network of material sources and distribution, with those

[45] *Stylow 1995, 223-224 & 1998, 115-116.*
[46] Studies of Baetican quarries: *Canto 1977-1978*; *Braemer 1986*; *Cisneros Cunchillos 1988; Gimeno 1998*; *Rodà 1997*; *Mayer & Rodà 1998, 218*; Epigraphic evidence for a *statio serrariorum Augustorum* at Italica: ITA051OP & ITA052OP.
[47] *Beltrán Fortes & Loza Azuaga 2003*.
[48] Carmona: CAR026TS, Siarum: SIA013TS, SIA014TS, SIA021OP, SIA027OP, SIA028OP. Lucurgentum: LUR001TV, LUR006TS, SIA038TH.
[49] Seen in 8 examples from Munigua: *Grünhagen 1979*; 1 from Canania, and 2 from Hispalis.
[50] AST026TS and AST092TS have been identified as 'Roman' and possibly therefore Italian marble. A *titulus imperatorum* ILI005TI=CILA II i 291 from Ilipa has been identified as Italian marble from Verona.
[51] ITA053OP
[52] *Mayer & Rodà 1998, 228; Léon 1989, 50-69.*
[53] *Mayer & Rodà, 1998, 231-234.*
[54] *Grünhagen 1979.*

materials perceived to be of the highest quality used across the study region, whilst lesser quality materials were used more locally to their source. The exceptional variety of good quality stone suited to inscribing from this region of Hispania with a pattern of localised procurement complements other trends seen in the general view of Baetican epigraphic culture.

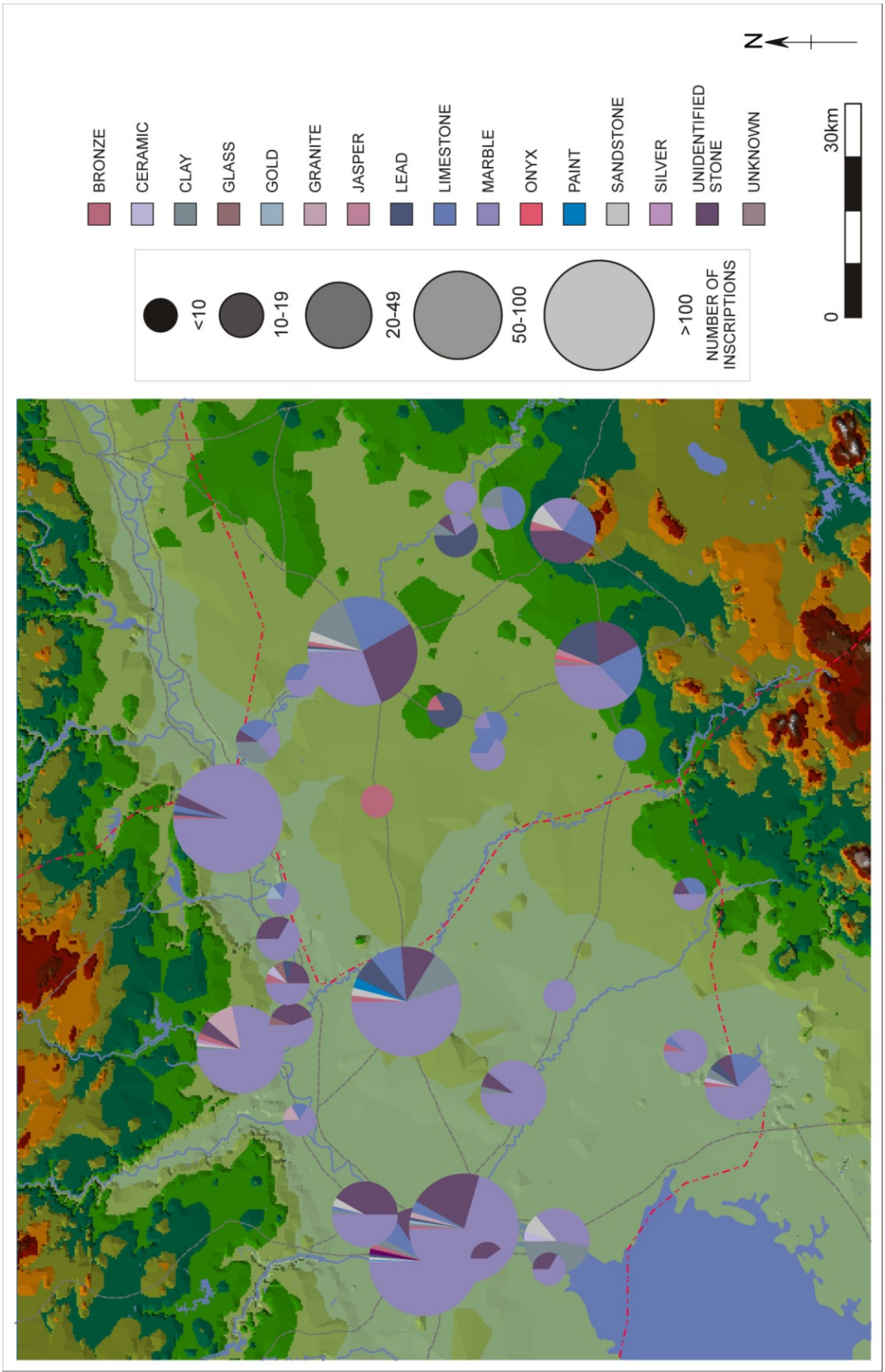

Fig. 10: Distribution of types of material utilised in construction of inscriptions[55]

[55] Tabularised data: Appendix B.5.

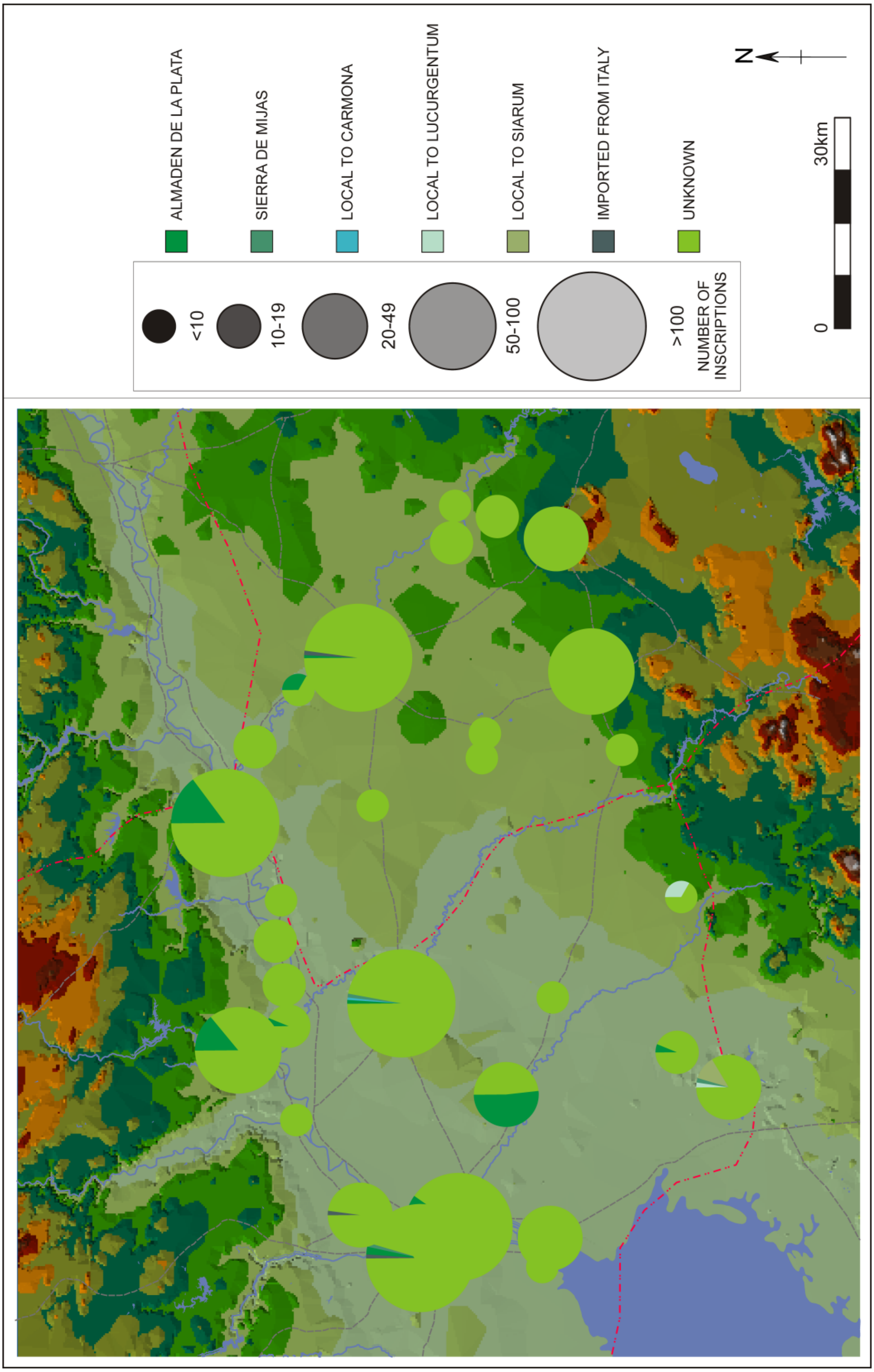

Fig. 11: Distribution of inscriptions of known and unknown sources of stone[56]

[56] Tabularised data: Appendix B.6.

5.4 PUTTING THE EPIGRAPHIC BACKGROUND TO USE

The description of the general chronological and typological patterns within the epigraphic assemblages from the study area demonstrates that epigraphy in Baetica should be characterised both regionally and locally in order to best indicate the range of different characteristics and the factors which affected their distribution. The development of recognisable characteristics of an epigraphic culture in the study area provided a potential link between many of the urban settlements of the region so that they were able to express themselves via a common medium but, at the same time, retain their individuality through local variation. The development of an inscribed culture in Baetica follows general trends identified across the Empire as a whole, but it appears that the motivations behind epigraphy in Baetica responded to the requirements of the local populations, as did the form and appearance of the monuments. This prompts us to investigate the internal patterns more closely in order to consider the nature of these local impetuses, and unequivocally demonstrates how much this kind of detailed approach is needed in conjunction with consideration of the more generalised patterns of distribution identified here.

The reconstruction of the study area's background epigraphic culture can now be used as a contextual level in order to interpret the individual and localised patterns within the use of inscribed monuments from specific settlements. This background provides a general standard against which individual assemblages can be measured and assessed for signs of anomalous material. The details of these site-based analyses can only be interpreted correctly in context, and the epigraphic background forms the first level of that wider context.

6: THE EPIGRAPHY OF THE STUDY SITES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the twelve study sites and their epigraphic assemblages individually, demonstrating the applicability of the analytical techniques. The epigraphic material will be contextualised wherever possible within its specific archaeological context within the urban and historical landscape. The locations of the sites within the study area and the reasons for their selection have been outlined in the methodology. The aim here is to consider the relationship between changes in the character of the epigraphic assemblage and the history of occupation at each site; to assess the relationships between individual elements of location, classification, material, decoration and formulae; and to assess the value of these relationships as evidence for the factors which caused groups of individuals associated with individual towns to devise their own epigraphic character or retain a level of homogeneity.

The nature and preservation of the material and processes affecting its survival and distribution in the archaeological record affect the way in which the evidence from each site can be utilised. Therefore, a common structure will be evident in the approach to each site but the same level of detail and interpretation may not be followed. Certainly the discussion of these elements can be more wide ranging in conjunction with the more substantial assemblages and those for which the material is well provenanced, but there is also much to be gained from careful assessment and interpretation of the material from the smaller and less well provenanced assemblages.

6.2 ÉCIJA (COLONIA AUGUSTA FIRMA ASTIGI)

6.2.1 *Origins and History, Location and Nature of the Settlement, Topography and Urban Organisation*

The settlement at Astigi was originally a lowland, native Iberian settlement located on the western bank of the River Singilis, the main tributary of the River Baetis running south from modern Palma del Río. Located on the site of the modern city of Écija, its origins date to the end of the Bronze Age. The position of Astigi Vetus on the navigable section of the River Singilis[385] was one of the advantages which influenced the selection of this location for the establishment of a *colonia* – the Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi - in the 1st Century BC under Augustus.[386] The settlement became a base for control and regulation of resources and, in particular, the administration of justice through its role as capital of the conventus Astigitanus. Astigi's position in relation to the networks of communication throughout the province was further enhanced by the route of the Via Augusta which connected it with the capitals of the other conventus divisions.[387]

The area surrounding the city was heavily exploited for olive oil production, and a series of Dressel 20 amphorae production sites were established along the Singilis in the area downstream of Astigi.[388] This combined to give the settlement a wealthy and prosperous outlook and it became one of the Empire's most prolific centres of oil export between the 2nd and 3rd Centuries AD. One inscription in particular provides valuable evidence of the trade in oil: a *titulus honorarius* to the deceased *diffusor olearius* Marcus Iulius Hermesianus[389] who probably acted as an intermediary between those producing oil and those trading in it.[390]

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[385] *Ponsich, 1998, 173 & 175;* Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 3.1.12.

[386] The date of foundation has been estimated at 14 BC: *Sáez Fernández et al 2004, 27*; *Keppie 1983, 17 & 83*; *Ordoñez 1988; 46. González 1995* disagrees with this date preferring 25BC on the basis that three inscriptions from the settlement which make reference to a *duovir*, a *miles* and a *veteranus* in conjunction with military units (AST009HP, AST014TS and AST130TH), suggest that there were veterans in the area at the time of their construction. These individuals record the Papiria voting tribe in their nomencature for which the only other attested example at a colonia in Hispania is at Emerita Augusta. Comparison with the voting tribes recorded at other coloniae throughout Hispania lead González to conclude that the Colonia Augusta Firma was established at a comparable date with Emerita, and hence he ascribes a date of 25 BC. *Stylow et al 1998* have dated these inscriptions as Augustan, mid 1st Century AD and the Late 1st C BC respectively.

[387] *Sillières 1990.*

[388] *Chic Garcia 1985 & 1988*; *Remesal Rodríguez 1998, Fig.1.*

[389] AST020HP.

[390] *Remesal Rodríguez 1983, 91-111* & *1998, 192.*

A series of rescue excavations in the modern town in recent years have elucidated areas of the urban plan, most notably in the area of the forum.[391] The *colonia* was laid out to an orthogonal grid plan orientated roughly north-north-west to south-south-east[392] with the intramural section of the Via Augusta functioning as the *decumanus maximus* through its centre. Sections of minor roads and streets have been found throughout the city which confirm the alignment and regularity of the grid.[393] The forum is not located at the intersection of the *cardo* and *decumanus* but just to the east in the south eastern quarter of the city, with the *decumanus* as its northern boundary. As part of the early Imperial redevelopment, Astigi also received a perimeter wall,[394] several temples to various deities and many other public buildings,[395] aqueducts and cisterns,[396] an amphitheatre,[397] and public baths evidence for which has been found at the northern end of the forum[398] , in addition to a large number of private residences with mosaic floors.[399] It is likely that other public monuments such as a theatre and circus existed given that public spectacles were most commonly associated with theatres in Baetica during the 1st Century AD,[400] and also due to the presence of two inscriptions which detail the provision of circus games.[401] However, to date there is no clear archaeological evidence and none of the extant inscriptions mention the *aediles* responsible for putting on public shows. Of particular relevance to this discussion is the identification of an enclosure dedicated to the Imperial Cult where inscriptions and statues would have been housed.[402] After the initial redevelopment under Augustus, it appears that another period of significant remodelling or reconstruction occurred in the 2nd Century AD, documented amongst the remains of the city wall and the public buildings of the forum which saw an increased use of marble over limestone.[403]

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391 *García-Dils de la Vega & Ordoñez Agulla 2007; Saez Fernández et al 2005*; *García-Dils de la Vega et al 2006.*
392 *Sáez Fernández et al 2004, 27-28.*
393 *Ibid, 29-32.*
394 *Ibid, 32-36.*
395 *Ibid, 36-48.*
396 *Ibid, 49-58.*
397 *Ibid, 79-81*. Dating of the amphitheatre is not secure.
398 *Ibid, 38 & Fig.016.*
399 *Ibid, 58-79*
400 *Ibid, 80-81.*
401 *Ibid, 81*; AST002SC & AST019TH.
402 *Ibid, 44-45*; *García-Dils de la Vega & Ordoñez Agulla 2007;* Earlier evidence for Imperial cult at Astigi: *Chic García 1987-1988.*
403 *Sáez Fernández et al 2004, 34, 44-45.*

Evidence for industry and artisanal activity has generally been located on the western side of the ancient city.[404] There is in particular plentiful evidence for architectural workshops and metalworking sites. The distinct character of the *stelae* from Astigi is highly suggestive of local production, and the *fistula* of Aurelius Carus[405] indicates the likely presence of a smelting factory in the town.[406] Several cemeteries have been identified around the outskirts of the ancient town associated in particular with the cardinal routes leading to other urban centres, in addition to several isolated burials within the city itself.[407]

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[404] *Sáez Fernández et al 2004, 81-83.*
[405] AST017IP.
[406] *Sáez Fernández et al 2004, 82-83.*
[407] *Sáez Fernández et al 2004, 83-92.*

PHASE	DESCRIPTION	PERIOD OF OCCUPATION	NO. INSCRIPTIONS
ASTIGI 01	First occupation: End of the Bronze Age	8^{th} - 7^{th} C BC	
ASTIGI 02	Orientalising period	Late 8^{th} C - end 6^{th} C BC	
ASTIGI 03	Stratigraphic hiatus	5^{th} & 4^{th} C BC	
ASTIGI 04	Republican occupation; Forum c. 250 BC	3^{rd} - 1^{st} C BC	
ASTIGI 05	Colonia Augusta Firma Astigi (Augustan promotion)	14 BC – Early 1^{st} C AD	8
ASTIGI 05-06	Transition between Colonia status and urban reconstruction	1^{st} C AD	12
ASTIGI 06	Urban reconstruction: later Julio-Claudians and Flavians	Later 1^{st} C AD	10
ASTIGI 06-07a	Transition between urban reconstruction and High Empire	1^{st} - 2^{nd} C AD	31
ASTIGI 07a	Roman Imperial Astigi - Important period of urban renewal and increased use of marble	Later 2^{nd} C AD	17
ASTIGI 07a-b	Roman Imperial Astigi	2^{nd} - 3^{rd} C AD	27
ASTIGI 07b	Roman Imperial Astigi	3^{rd} C AD	10
ASTIGI 08	Later Roman: Abandonment of public spaces	End 3^{rd} - 4^{th} C AD	

Table 2: Phases of occupation at Astigi

6.2.2 *The Epigraphic Assemblage*

a) *Chronology* **(Table 2 & Fig.13a)**

Astigi's earliest surviving inscriptions date to the reign of Augustus, suggesting that the change in focus and status of the town in this period was significantly related to its adaptation of this particular form of social expression. In proportion with the size of the town's extant epigraphic assemblage and the number of inscriptions dating to later periods, the epigraphic record from this period is not of an insignificant quantity suggesting that epigraphy may have been used relatively widely at this time.

Overall, Astigi's inscriptions are concentrated within the Imperial period of the 2nd and early 3rd Century AD, closely following the phases of urban development which document a significant period of urban remodelling and increased use of marble as a construction material.

b) *Typology* (**Fig. 13b**)

The first inscriptions from the later part of the 1st Century BC and the first half of the 1st Century AD comprise not only *tituli sepulcrales* but also a single *instrumentum domesticum*, *titulus honorarius*, *titulus honorarius post mortem positus*, and *titulus incerti generis* which indicate that epigraphy was adopted in the first instance for public as well as private expression.

Consideration of the broad spectrum of the types of inscriptions found at Astigi immediately makes two facts obvious. Firstly, that the number of funerary inscriptions far outweighs that of any other genre and comprise the vast majority of the 130 inscriptions found to date from the site (92). The second noteworthy fact is that there are no *tituli imperatorum* or *tituli sacri (cultus imperialis)* from the site published to date despite the legal status of the town and the fact that the extant assemblage provides references to officers of the imperial cult to the divine Augustus on two occasions.[408] These references appear to indicate that the assemblage does not form an entirely representative sample of the inscriptions from the town. In recent years the site has been subjected to a number of rescue excavations, in particular in several of the main public areas of the town including the forum. Additional inscriptions have been found here which are not yet published at the time of writing but it appears that they may begin to shed more light upon this part of the city's epigraphic traditions.[409]

Amongst the *tituli sacri* are dedications to Bonus Eventus,[410] Mars,[411] Pantheus[412] and Pietas,[413] all of which have a personal element as they represent the fulfilment of vows and testamentary bequests[414]. These deities represent success in

[408] AST002SC – *Sacerdos Divarum Augustarum*; AST011TH – *Flamines Divorum Augustorum*. See García-Dils de la Vega & Ordoñez Agulla 2007 for a discussion of up to date evidence for the imperial cult in Astigi.
[409] *Pers. Comm. García Dils de la Vega, 2004.*
[410] AST002SC.
[411] AST003SC.
[412] AST004SC.
[413] AST005SC.
[414] Descriptions of the attributes of these deities from OLD.

commerce and agriculture, war and military victory, as well as duty to family and state. Dedications such as these reflect Astigi's importance as an administrative centre and the importance of agriculture to the urban economy. Bonus Eventus was a specifically Roman deity with particular importance for farmers and farming communities who became synonymous with good fortune in general.[415] He was therefore also associated with success in business ensuring healthy profits in both commerce and agriculture through a good harvest.[416] The dedication to Pantheus represents an attempt to syncretise the polytheistic Pantheon of Roman gods into a single deity, which became progressively more popular during the Empire.[417] Pietas was one of the Roman virtues and deference to this deity usually signified respect for authority, whether of one's duty to family, country or to the State.[418] The imagery of Pietas was very common under Augustus used to represent the emperor's character and that of his Empire.[419] It is also seen frequently throughout Hispania.[420] These dedications date to the period when Astigi was flourishing under the Empire during the 2nd and 3rd Centuries AD. They demonstrate an awareness of Astigi's role and importance within both the province and the Empire, but also are closely linked to local considerations and personal interests.

Eight inscriptions are classified as *tituli honorarii*, two of which were dedicated post mortem. Beyond this, the remaining inscriptions are singular finds of individual genres and, as such, cannot be utilised to consider the use of their genres at Astigi but only as part of the wider assemblage as a whole.

Therefore, the more detailed discussion here will focus primarily upon the funerary inscriptions, for which the sample is more varied. Since sufficient numbers can be provenanced to individual extra-urban cemeteries, it is possible to engage in a more detailed discussion regarding changing patterns in the funerary epigraphy of the city.

c) *Location* (**Fig. 12**)

Plotting the location of the findspots of the inscriptions from Astigi allows the distribution of the material between identified cemetery sites to be visualised more

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[415] *Fears 1981, 867.*
[416] *Étienne 1958, 277; Fears 1981, 867.*
[417] Pantheus: *Rodríguez Cortés, 1991 85-87*. For Roman religion and elements of syncretism see *Beard et al 1998*; *Scheid 2003; Rjves 2007, 147.*
[418] *Scheid 2003.*
[419] *Fears 1981, 889-890.*
[420] *Ibid, 935.*

easily. In addition to the four main cemeteries associated with the cardinal routes out of the city, two other sites are identified. The first, c. 2km to the north of Astigi, contained only two inscriptions[421] from the 2nd or 3rd Centuries AD, and the second at Cerro del Burro to the east has so far proven to be a singular isolated burial from the 1st Century AD of Cornelia Paulla, daughter of Marcus, with four identical inscriptions marking the extent of her burial.[422] In the eastern cemetery the single *titulus incerti generis*[423] can perhaps be tentatively assigned a classification of *titulus sepulcralis* due to the absence of any other genre of inscription found to date at this location.

If the chronological and spatial distribution of the funerary inscriptions from specific cemetery sites is compared (**Table 3**) it suggests that the western cemetery was utilised throughout the period for which inscriptions have been found at Astigi. Other cemeteries appear to have a more curtailed history but, in reality, the sample is not large enough to interpret an absence of inscriptions in any one period as an absence of activity.

[421] AST10TS & AST095TS.
[422] AST024TS & AST044-46TS.
[423] AST104IG.

Cemetery	ASTIGI 05	ASTIGI 05-06	ASTIGI 06	ASTIGI 06-07a	ASTIGI 07a	ASTIGI 07a-b	ASTIGI 07b
Northern Cemetery				1 x Unknown	1 x Unknown	4 x Unknown	
Southern Cemetery				1 x paralellepipedum		1 x Unknown	
Western Cemetery	1 x Parallelepipedum			1 x Unknown	1 x Tabula	2 x Tabula	1 x Ara; 1 x Unknown
Eastern Cemetery		4 x Stela; 1 x stela quadrata	1 x Stela; 1 x Stela quadrata	*? 1 x Tabula*	1 x Stela; 1 x Unknown	2 x Tabula; 1 x Unknown	
Cerro del Burro		4 x Stela					
Second northern cemetery c. 2km from Astigi						1 x Stela	1 x Parallelepipedum
Intra-urban finds of uncertain origin	2 x Stela; 1 x Parallelepipedum	4 x Stela; 2 x Parallelepipedum; 6 x Unknown;	1 x Stela; 1 x Stela quadrata; 1 x Parallelepipedum; 2 x Unknown	3 x Stela, 1 x Tabula; 4 x Unknown	3 x Stela; 7 x Tabula; 4 x Unknown	1 x Stela; 11 x Tabula; 2 x Unknown	2 x Stela; 1 x Tabula;

Table 3: Types of inscribed funerary inscription in the cemeteries near Astigi arranged according to phases of occupation at the site

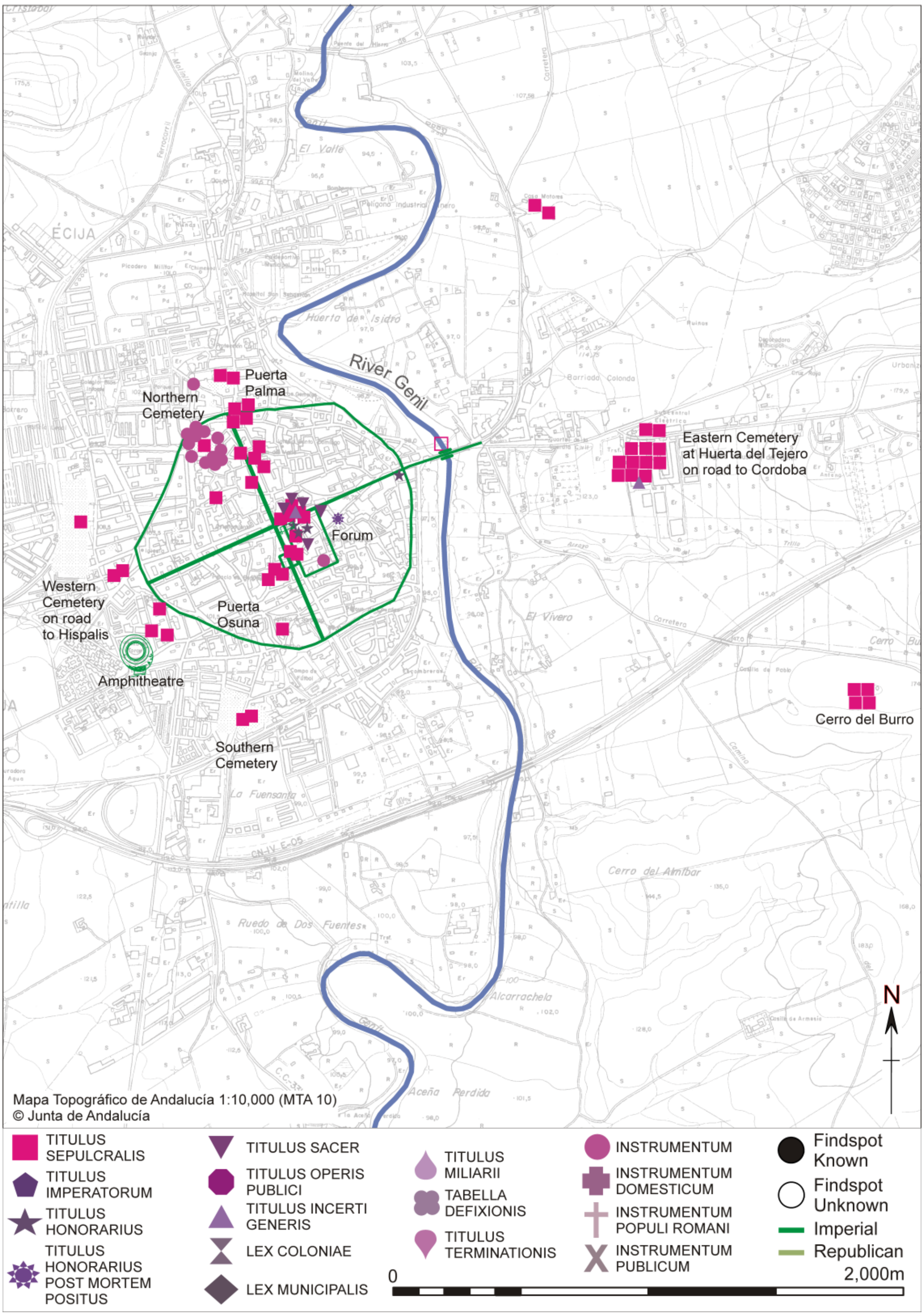

Fig. 12: Location of inscriptions with known findspots within Écija and within close proximity[424]

[424] The digital plan was compiled from plans and information published mainly in *Saez Fernández et al 2004* together with additional, more detailed information from other publications mentioned throughout the discussion..

d) *Object* **(Fig. 13c)**

Analysis of the relationship between monument or object type, site phase and spatial distribution demonstrates that *stelae* were very much a feature of Astigi's urban cemeteries as well as in the rural cemeteries of Astigitanus. Despite this, they are not as completely dominant as has sometimes been claimed, with an equal number of *tabulae* published to date. *Stelae* were the most popular early form of funerary monument in 1st Century AD Astigi, remaining in use, although less frequently, into the 2nd Century AD. At the same time *paralellepipeda* are seen amongst both the funerary and public inscriptions, and statue bases amongst the honorific inscriptions. The unusual form of *stelae quadratae* are seen in the Augustan period and 1st Century AD but do not reoccur after this point. *Tabulae* are not preserved at the site until the late 1st Century AD although they rapidly become frequently used.

e) *Material* **(Fig. 13d)**

A great deal of variation is evident amongst the materials employed, although apart from a few examples from Almadén de la Plata and some generic 'Roman' marble none have been identified with specific sources. Marble utilised for the public buildings of Astigi has been identified from the regional quarries at Sierra de Mijas (Málaga) and Almáden de la Plata together with imported marble from Africa, Italy and Greece[425] but there is currently no evidence to suggest whether imported marbles were ever also utilised for inscribed monuments.

It is apparent that Astigi's *stelae* are almost exclusively constructed from limestone and its *tabulae* are predominantly marble, as are its statue bases. As a result, limestone, the most popular construction material in the early Empire, is overtaken by marble between the 1st and 2nd Centuries AD while, at the same time, *tabulae* become the more popular choice for monument design. These patterns were not only concurrent but closely related to one another resulting from the substantial general cultural change to the use of marble for architectural construction.[426] The earliest marble inscription has been dated to the 1st Century AD,[427] and is a record of the donation from an official (three times *praefectus*) Longinus, son of Marcus of the Papiria tribe. That a *titulus operis publici* should be the earliest marble inscription

[425] *Sáez Fernández et al 2004, 81.*
[426] This assumes that earlier marble inscriptions did not exist and were not reused and hence are not visible in the archaeological record to the same degree as the limestone examples.
[427] AST015OP.

preserved to date is perhaps not surprising, but in the context of the other inscriptions on marble dated at the earliest to the latter part of the 1st Century AD it seems likely that this inscription relates to the urban reconstruction of the same period.

Given the lack of examples from any other material in a sample of twenty-five, it seems highly likely that those *tabulae* for which information regarding material has been lost[428] are also marble.

Both the *stelae quadratae* of known material are limestone which fit with their early date. The only marble *stela*[429] dates from the Severan period and as such it is the monument type rather than the selection of material that appears to be uncharacteristic of this period. Two final anomalous *stelae*[430] are constructed from sandstone, one of which has an early date of the 1st Century AD and the other has a later date of the 3rd Century AD. These are two of only four sandstone inscribed monuments from Astigi, and the remaining monuments fall within the same phase categories. Two of the sandstone monuments are *stelae*, the others are p*arallelepipeda* which are not complicated in design and therefore more suited to a stone of this kind.

f) *Decoration* (**Fig. 13a**)

In general, the inscriptions from Astigi are not highly decorated and the decorative elements utilised are relatively modest. The most common types of ornamentation are carved cornices, relief borders around the epigraphic field, recessed epigraphic fields and *hederae* utilised as *puncta*. Since Astigi's prosperity is not in question, this is unlikely to be ascribed to economics, nor does there appear to be any correlation between the decoration and the status of the individual dedicator or dedicatee. The sample is not really large enough to draw any firm conclusions, but it is worth noting that the only identified materials with recessed epigraphic fields are limestones, and *hederae* are only seen on marble, which results in *hederae* exclusively seen on *tabulae* and recessed epigraphic fields restricted to *stelae* and *stelae quadratae*. It therefore appears that the selection of decoration is particularly suited to the material of construction, and hence as limestone becomes less popular in favour of marble, recessed epigraphic fields become less common and *hederae* are used more

[428] AST54TS & AST103TS.
[429] AST067TS.
[430] AST023TS & AST057TS.

frequently. It may, therefore, be possible to suggest that, of the monuments of unidentified stone, those with recessed epigraphic fields may be limestones[431] and those with *hederae* may be marble.[432] In the few examples extant, the decorative motifs upon altars, statue bases and *parallelepipeda* appear to be relief only, whereas both relief and engraved features are recorded on *stelae* and *tabulae*.

The most variation in decorative elements utilised coincides with the 1st–3rd Centuries AD and the second period of substantial development in the town, together with the increased use of marble.

g) *Formulae* (**Fig. 13b**)

Analysis of changes in the use of different formulae is only really possible with the funerary inscriptions. The *tituli sacri* utilised a range of formulae but only single instances of each survive. The same is true of the *tituli honorarii* and *post mortem positi* although with a smaller range of formulae. Of the testamentary formulae, *ex testamento suo* is seen only in the later 1st Century AD, but formulae relating to the five percent inheritance tax on the estates of Roman citizens introduced by Augustus to fund discharge payments to Roman troops[433] (*sine ulla deductione XX)* is seen equally across all periods. Overall, the formulae recorded tend to relate to the source of funding for the monument, including three examples detailing amounts in silver, indications of who was responsible for setting up the monument using the verb *ponere* and the role of the *decuriones* and *ordo* in sanctioning the dedication and location for the monuments.

The recognisable formulae of *Dis Manibus Sacrum* (D.M.S.) does not appear until the 2nd Century at which point it is frequently adopted. *Hic Situs Est* (H.S.E.) with various degrees of abbreviation is common across all periods, although the addition of *Sit Terra Tibi Levis* (S.T.T.L.) occurs more frequently in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries AD. S.T.T.L. without the preceding associated formulae is seen on five occasions in the Augustan period and three in the 2nd to 3rd Centuries AD. The more poetic *Dic Qui Legis Sit Tibi Terra Levis* (D.Q.L.S.T.T.L.) and *Dicite Qui Legitis Sit Vobis Terra Levis* (D.Q.L.S.V.T.L.) are only seen in the Augustan period but as

[431] AST30TS & AST37TS.
[432] AST038TS.
[433] *Duncan-Jones 2002, 195.*

single examples, as is *Te Rogo Praeteriens Ne Me Laedere Velis* in the Severan period.

The tendency to inscribe age at death is equally common in both males and females. Of 43 adult females, 34 were deceased recipients and of these 32 have a recorded age ranging from 12 to 75+ years. In only one example is age recorded in months as well as years for an adult female. Of the 48 adult males represented, 36 are deceased recipients and of these 25 record their age with an age range of between 16? and 98. In only one example through the entire assemblage is age at death recorded in hours for an adult. *Annorum* as a register of age in years is commonly used across all periods. Despite the smaller sample relating to Astigi 06, it is still reasonable to assume the same trend is followed as proportionately the number of instances is still equal. Mention of age in months and years is not common and only appears from the 2nd Century AD. A single example in the 2nd Century AD adds the formula *plus minus*.

Pius/a in Suis has a very high occurrence from the 2nd Century AD but prior to this was seen only twice in the later 1st Century AD. This adjective is applied to family members, and examples such as *pius* and *uxori piissimae* appear in the 2nd Century AD but not before. On one occasion *pius* is used with slightly different connotations to denote dutifulness to a mistress.[434]

The formula *in frontes p(edes)..., in agro p(edes)* describing the extent of the burial plot is primarily seen in the Augustan period, with two examples in the later 1st Century AD. The peak of 17 inscriptions is slightly artificial due to the preservation of all four identical inscriptions at the burial of Cornelia Paulla at Cerro del Burro. [435]

If we assume that the dedicator was responsible for the financial burden of the inscription in the absence of textual information indicating otherwise, the pattern amongst the dedicators of monuments and their status may suggest a possible change in the distribution of expendable wealth of the city, with a rising proportion of freed individuals under the height of the city's prominence.

A few individuals were made dedicators by proxy by the provision of wills, sometimes leaving the responsibility with their heirs, but in the main the financial burden was shouldered by living individuals and is noted using the phrase *de sua*

[434] AST025TS.
[435] AST044-046TS & ASt124TS.

pecunia in four examples. There are no recorded uses of the verbs *facere* or *ponere* amongst the funerary inscriptions, as is understood from the sense of the text.

There is limited evidence for provincial magistrates and officials setting up inscriptions beyond Aponia Montana erecting a *titulus sacer* from her own resources for the honour of the priesthood of the *Divae Augustae*,[436] and a potentially personally funded venture of *titulus operis publicis* by the *praefectus* Longinus.[437]

Overall, the assemblage from Astigi displays a large number of inscriptions confined to standard formulae, which increase in number in the 2nd Century AD possibly as an attempt to individualise inscribed texts beyond the standardised content and forms of expression.

[436] AST002SC.
[437] AST015OP. A *praefectus* (prefect) was a military commander or civil official charged with one of a range of different administrative duties who worked alongside the elected magistrates.

6.2.3 *The Social Community*

The individuals represented in the early monuments[438] are mainly deceased recipients, but interestingly both the earliest dedicators recorded are adult females: Servilia, daughter of Lucius[439] a presumed *ingenua* as a result of recorded filiation, and Arria wife of Lucius Caninius Pomptinus.[440] Five of the adult male individuals record their citizenship through membership of the Papiria tribe. The social scale is represented by *ingenui*, *liberti*, *seviri*, *milites*, *veterani* and members of the higher social orders by Cnaeus Manlius, *eques publicus.*[441] The few instances of high status individuals all date to Astigi's peak of prosperity apart from one Augustan *eques* as discussed earlier. As time progresses *liberti* appear to increasingly take part in Astigi's urban epigraphy, with peaks in the late 1st and 2nd Centuries AD. A large number of individuals are recorded throughout the assemblage, most of whom appear as deceased recipients accounted for by the predominance of funerary inscriptions, which tend to record other individuals less frequently than other genres such as *tituli honorarii.* Social ranks other than ordinary *liberti* and free individuals of uncertain origin (free born or manumitted) comprise slaves, *Augustales*, *Equites*, soldiers, senators, *servi publici* and veterans. There are often only one or two examples of each, but they do demonstrate the use of epigraphy across the social scale. Magistracies recorded comprise *duoviri*, together with other civil officials and priesthoods, namely the *seviri augustales*, a *sacerdos* of the *Divae Augustae*, a *praefectus*, *Agens* of the Procurator (the equivalent of or acting provincial governor), *Flamines* of the Divine Augustus and *decuriones*.

All the cemeteries display a wide subset of individuals ranging from male to female, child to adult, and free to freed. Based on this evidence there appears to be no social segregation between cemeteries, although to date the high status individuals of senatorial and equestrian rank are only seen recorded in *tituli honorarii* and *tituli operum publicorum*, not in *tituli sepulcrales*.. Without further detailed location data it is not possible to say whether there was indeed a lack of segregation overall or whether there was a hierarchy of burial location within individual cemeteries.

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438 AST029TS, AST036TS, AST042TS, AST049TS, AST065TS, AST074TS, AST075TS, AST088TS; AST107ID; AST130TH; AST009HP; AST008IG.
439 AST088TS.
440 AST130TH.
441 AST008IG.

Astigi's inscriptions record relationships associated with the immediate family and extended household. These relationships are seen most commonly on funerary inscriptions but also on *tituli sacri*, *tituli operum publicorum*, *tituli honorarii* and *post mortem positi*. On those occasions where a specific relationship can be identified between the dedicator and the recipient of the monument it is possible to see a range of individual motivations for the inscriptions. The majority are associated with family units either through birth or marriage, but others indicate extensions of the household in the form of patronage relationships,[442] or personal relationships including friendships and business associations, as well as respect for recognisable groups such as the priesthoods. Personal aggrandisement is restricted to a single monumental building inscription.[443]

The majority of the groups recorded in Astigi's epigraphy are military cohorts and legions occurring in honorific inscriptions. As such they are not directly involved in the process of inscribing, but they represent groups with which certain members of the population identified themselves and recognised themselves as a part. Aside from the military, these groups are either geographical and residential (Colonia Augusta Firma, Colonia Astigitana, Res Publica Astigitana, Provincia Baetica, *concilium immune ilienses ilipenses* – the organisation of the *coloniae immunes* of the province of Baetica of Ilia and Ilipa)[444] as are the records of individuals' *origo*, or offices held (*ordo, decuriones, Augustales*). These inscriptions demonstrate the existence of the town as a community. Astigi's place within the province is recognised, as is the role of smaller groups and communities within its population, who were responsible for maintaining order, regulating activity, and for ensuring that lines of communication between the town and other settlements remained open.

[442] AST019TH, AST055TS, AST089TS.
[443] AST015OP.
[444] Transcription and interpretation from A. U. Stylow.

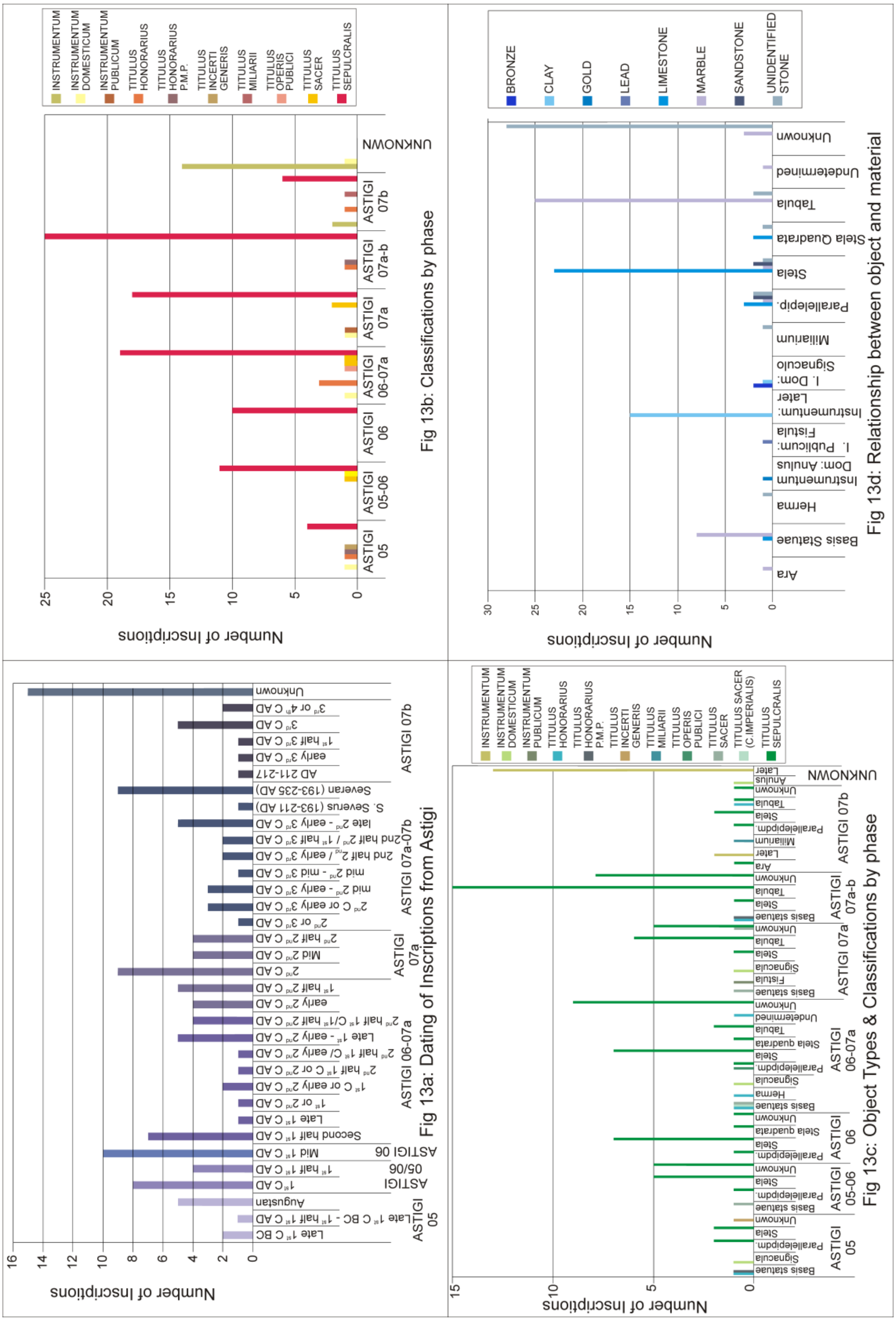

Fig.13 a: Dating of inscriptions from Astigi
Fig.13 b: Classifications by phase
Fig.13 c: Object types and classification by phase
Fig.13 d: Relationship between object and material

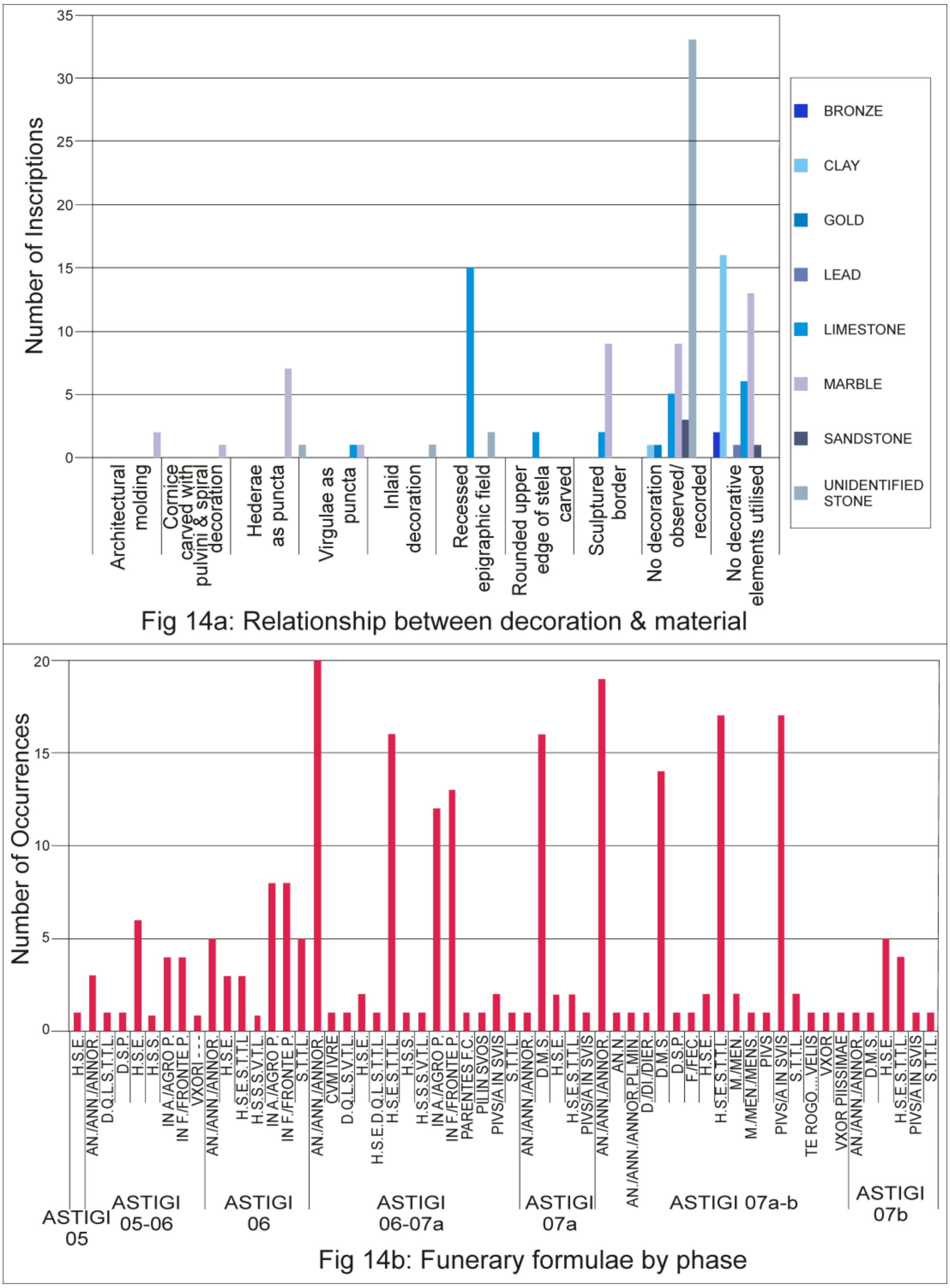

Fig. 14 a: Relationship between decoration and material
Fig. 14 b: Funerary formulae by phase

6.3 CARMO (CARMONA)

6.4.1 *Origins & History, Location and Nature of the Settlement, Topography and Urban Organisation*

Carmona is situated on a plateau in the range of Los Alcores, overlooking the fertile plains of the Guadalquivir valley to the east from its raised position. To the west, the land slopes gradually down towards the river valley. The exceptional visibility that this location afforded is one of Carmona's primary characteristics. This position provided both an impregnable stronghold and a centre for exploitation of the agricultural landscape below. Carmona is traditionally associated with settlements of foreign populations, notably Phoenician, Punic and Carthaginian prior to the Roman period, but the question as to whether any of these influences persisted into the Roman period and can be seen in the material culture of the period is hotly debated with starkly opposing views on each side.[445]

Under the control of the Carthaginian Barcid dynasty in the later 3rd Century BC, Carmo's strategic and defensive position was fully realised with the construction of a substantial perimeter wall.[446] Whilst in many ways the short lived period of Carthaginian control had only a limited effect upon Carmo, in reality the long tradition of contact between these two regions of the Mediterranean and settlements of Punic colonies within and around Carmo have made a significant impact upon the nature of the material remains, as evidenced by the archaeological record.[447]

Little is known of Republican Carmo which comprised a restricted area of the plateau on the ridge, but it is has been suggested that it was altered very little and that the forum was located in a roughly central position in the Barrio de San Blas and Judería possibly in the Plaza de Arriba where the focus of communal activity was located in this period as evidence by the dense distribution of ceramic and building material, and analysis of the routes of the major routes through the town.[448]

Despite Carmo's important position in the landscape of the Baetis valley, under the Augustan reorganisation of the province it was not selected as a major centre for the administration of justice. However, during the late Republic and early

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[445] E.g. *Escacena & Belén, 1998, 27;* Social organisation: *Alföldy, 2001, 383-385; Bendala Galán, 1982;* Demographic multi-culturalism as seen through the urban pantheon *Alvar Ezquerra 2001.*
[446] Evidence for Punic fortifications discussed in *Bendala Galán 2001.*
[447] Escac*ena & Belén, 1998, 27.*
[448] *Beltrán Fortes 2001, 137-140.*

1st Century AD Carmo was subjected to a major programme of expansion and monumentalisation which broadened its area to enclose the entirety of the plateau, around five times the size of the former town.[449] Republican and early Augustan Carmo had largely been one of limestone, but under Augustus and in the Julio-Claudian era, monumental construction took place in marble and local workshops flourished.[450] The new urban layout was distinctly different from its predecessor, with a change of alignment to incorporate the route of the Via Augusta functioning as the *cardo maximus* through the city. Archaeological excavations have suggested that the Republican forum may have been retained and monumentalised. It reflected the concurrent changes in administrative organisation and improved infrastructure.[451] A new forum was constructed near the zona Santa María,[452] together with areas for public spectacle - an intra mural theatre,[453] amphitheatre[454] and circus,[455] and public games are referenced in a *titulus honorarius* from the site.[456] Facilities such as a new public bathhouse were incorporated,[457] as were new temples and structures to facilitate commercial activities.[458] The necropolis did not escape this wave of new monumental architecture, as several of the excavated tombs demonstrate.[459] This extensive programme of monumentalisation would have visually enhanced Carmo's already imposing visual impact upon the landscape even further.

6.4.2 *The Epigraphic Assemblage*

a) *Chronology* (**Table 4 & Fig. 16a**)

Carmo's first inscription has been dated to the final years of the Republic despite the lack of archaeological context, and is a *tabella defixionis* of very early date, not just for the Iberian Peninsula but also for this type of document.[460] Carmo's earliest inscription is therefore of a very personal nature and non-formulaic in the

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449 *Lineros 2005, 1011.*
450 *Beltrán Fortes 2001, 140ff.*
451 *Ibid, 144-146.*
452 *Lineros 2005, 1022-1028; Beltrán 2001, 146-148; 2004, 887-893.*
453 Discovered in 1995 in Calle General Freire: *Anglada et al 1999.*
454 The amphitheatre, excavated first by Fernández López and Bonsor in 1885, and subsequently in 1970 appears to date to the first quarter of the 1st Century BC: *Bonsor 1887; Fernández Chicarro 1975; 1977.*
455 The circus was found in 2003 in calle Tinajeria: *Anglada & Conlin 2003, 1218-1227.*
456 CAR003TH: Lucius Iunius Rufus invested with the Quattuorviral power for the provision of games *muneri[s] edendi causa*.
457 Calle Pozo Nuevo: *Anglada et al 2001.*
458 *Beltrán Fortes 2001, 146ff.*
459 *Bendala Galán 1976.*
460 CAR063FX. *Corell 1993; Sáez 1999.*

composition of its text. It relates to a tradition foreign to the Peninsula as, it appears, was the person responsible, Luxia Antestius daughter of Aulus. Beyond this, Carmo's epigraphic record begins under Augustus but continues with a sudden surge in numbers corresponding to the period after the Late Republican and Augustan urban building programme. From this point it is relatively constant throughout the late 1st and 2nd Centuries until the appreciable increase in the 2nd Century AD. If the numbers of extant inscriptions reflect the true patterns of use, by the later 3rd Century it appears to have ceased almost entirely.

PHASE ID	DESCRIPTION	PERIOD OF OCCUPATION	NO. INSCRIPTIONS
CARMO 01	Chalcolithic settlement	Pre 9th C BC	
CARMO 02	Bronze Age: Phoenician colonisation	8th C BC	
CARMO 03	Tartessian	8th - 6th C BC	
CARMO 04	Turdetania: defences reinforced	late 6th – 3rd C BC	
CARMO 05	Carthaginian conquest under the Barcid dynasty	237 – 206 BC	
CARMO 06	Republican Carmo: Little change from Turdetanian & Punic settlement, concentrated on Barrio de San Blas	2nd – 1st C BC	1
CARMO 06-07	Republican - Early Imperial	1st C BC – 1st C AD	1
CARMO 07a	Early Imperial: Augustan monumentalisation	Early 1st C AD	5
CARMO 07b	Julio-Claudian: Continued monumentalisation & expansion	Mid 1st C AD	20
CARMO 08	Flavian onwards	Late 1st – early 2nd C AD	12
CARMO 08-09	2nd C AD	2nd C AD	16
CARMO 09	Intensive period of construction & urban expansion	2nd C AD - early 3rd C AD	28
CARMO 10	Later Roman Imperial period: conversion of public areas to domestic; abandonment of amphitheatre	3rd C AD -4th C AD onwards	3

Table 4: Phases of occupation at Carmo

b) *Typology* (**Fig. 16b**)

The largest proportion of the extant assemblage being funerary inscriptions (79), these will necessarily form the main focus of the discussion. Aside from *instrumenta*, which appear through the 1st and 2nd Centuries AD providing evidence for brick (2), *dolia* (1), and tile production (7), and narrative information associated with figured scenes on domestic items (1), Carmo preserves two dedications to the cult of Nemesis Augusta from the 2nd–3rd Centuries AD,[461] five honorific inscriptions all dedicated to living individuals from the 1st Century AD, and one *titulus sacer* from the 2nd Century AD. The range of genres is therefore not vast, and no inscriptions are preserved documenting any of the monumental construction which was part of the process of change that correlates with the genesis of a tradition of Latin inscriptions at Carmo. The relative proportion of *instrumenta* perhaps reflects something of the nature of archaeological investigation and excavation at Carmo, with small localised pockets of information as dictated by the difficulties of excavating a site lying under the modern town. No dedications to the emperor have been preserved, but two individuals were recorded who were responsible for the practices of the imperial cult of the divine Augustus. Both instances are honorific inscriptions, the first dedicated to L. Servilius Pollio, a *praefectus* under Caligula who is recorded as being a pontifex of the *divus Augustus,*[462] and the second to Lucius Iunius Rufus, Pontifex of Augustus or the Augustales.[463] The cult of Nemesis Augusta reflects both the emperor and the administration of justice and retribution, of specific relevance to Astigi in its new role as conventus capital.[464]

The inscriptions potentially identify Carmo as a *municipium*, provided that the text of an honorific inscription detailing the official positions held by Lucius Servilius Pollio,[465] and the fragment of a funerary inscription[466] which has been restored to read *municipium*, actually refer to Carmo itself.

[461] CAR002SC & CAR065SC.
[462] CAR004TH.
[463] CAR003TH.
[464] *Hornum 1993.*
[465] CAR004TH.
[466] CAR036TS.

c) *Location* (**Fig. 15**)

With very few exceptions, the inscriptions for which we have a certain findspot from Carmo can be located to different areas of the western cemetery on the route of the Via Augusta towards Hispalis. The association of groups of inscriptions with particular tombs creates a false impression of significant variation in location of burial over time. Of the two *tituli sacri (cultus imperialis)*[467], one is un-provenanced but two factors suggest that it may derive from the northern half of the western cemetery. Both are dedications to Nemesis Augusta, which are often associated with amphitheatres and other areas of public spectacle.[468] In the northern section of the western cemetery are located the Augustan amphitheatre and circus, while the second inscription was found in the area probably at the eastern end of the circus. No epigraphic evidence can be related to the northern necropolis, so to date the epigraphic funerary evidence is concentrated almost entirely around Carmo's western cemetery. One honorific inscription has a certain provenance, dedicated to Servilia within the tomb of the same name in the western necropolis.[469] A second discussed earlier, to Lucius Iunius Rufus, a *quattuor vir* and *pontifex* of the Imperial cult, was found in the church of Santa María but, given the location of this church on the edge of the area of the Imperial forum, it is possible that it had not travelled far from its original site.[470]

[467] See n. 461 p140 above.
[468] *Hornum 1993.*
[469] CAR31TH.
[470] CAR003TH.

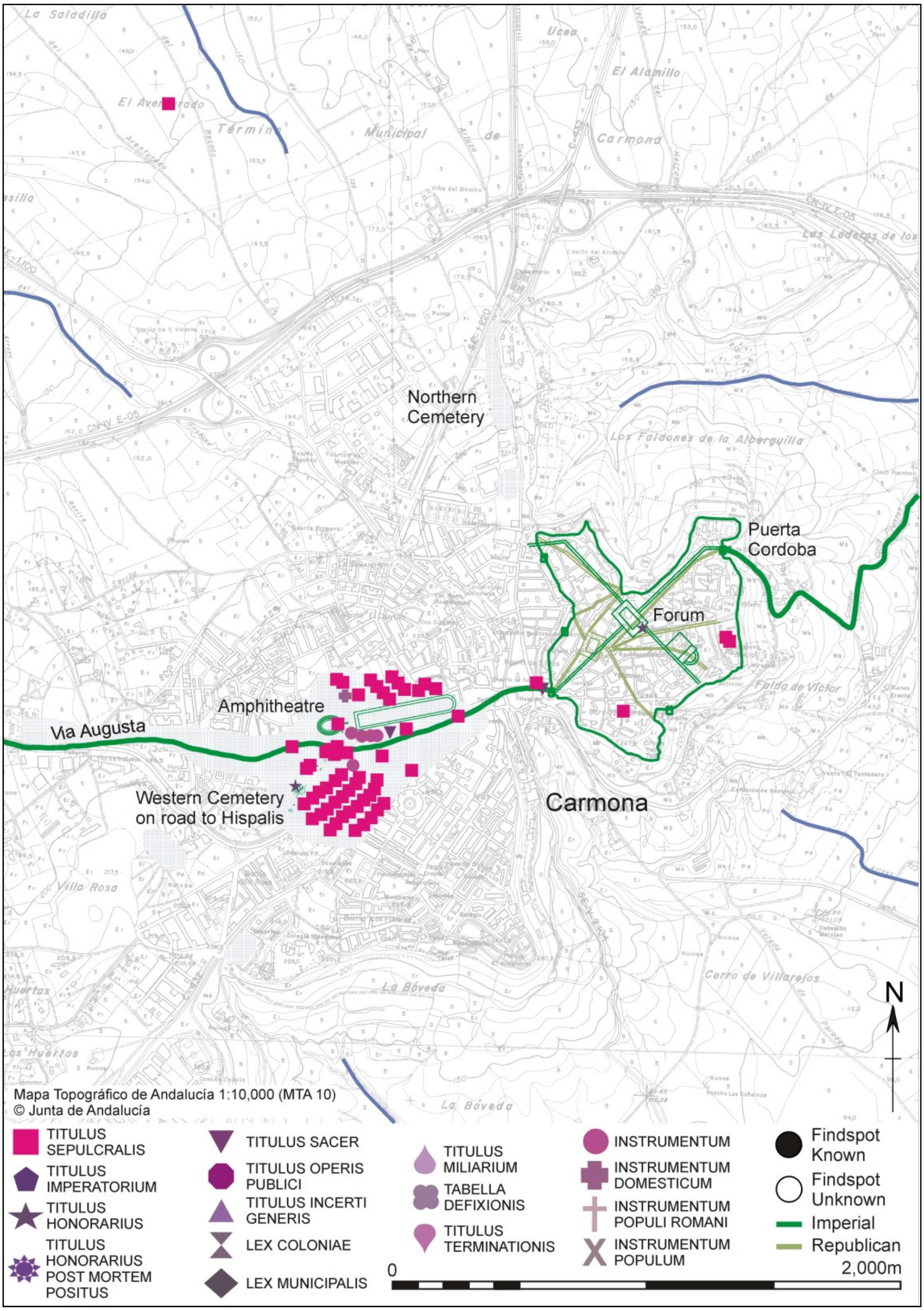

Fig. 15: Location of inscriptions with known findspots from Carmo

d) *Object* (**Fig. 16c**)

The range of inscribed objects demonstrates a great deal of variety amongst the epitaphs of Carmo. The burial practice of cremation is evidenced through the existence of fourteen inscribed urns and boxes dating between the 1st and 3rd Centuries AD which still or originally contained glass cremation vessels. Detailed excavation of the western cemetery site uncovered three examples of early Imperial texts painted upon the walls of the tombs.[471] A few examples of altars are seen from the 2nd Century AD onwards, utilised both as funerary inscriptions[472] and in one case as a sacrificial altar in a dedication to the Matres Aufaniae.[473] Statue bases are utilised for honorific inscriptions in the early Imperial period,[474] but also for funerary inscriptions.[475] The most frequently employed object is the tabula, used for funerary, honorific and imperial cult dedications across all periods of Carmo's epigraphic record. One anomalous inscription is a funerary *stela* dating to the 1st Century AD found in one of the tombs of the cemetery, which records the burial site of Privatus as measuring five feet.[476]

e) *Material* (**Fig. 16d & Fig. 17a**)

The statistics relating to the selection of material suggests that marble was the favoured material throughout all periods, which is likely to result from the fact that Carmo's epigraphic tradition began at a time when the city's public buildings were being rebuilt in marble and marble workshops were prospering in the local area. Limestone inscriptions are seen in the 1st and 2nd Centuries AD and include the anomalous *stela* identified previously as well as *tabulae* and *urnae*. The funerary urns are produced from a range of different materials comprising clay, lead, limestone, sandstone (the only examples of this stone which date to the 2nd – 3rd Century AD) and marble. All the *cistae* are manufactured from lead as is the *tabella defixionis*. Marble appears to have been selected exclusively for altars and statue bases, and the two dedications to Nemesis Augusta are inscribed upon bronze sheets. Very few of the materials have been sourced, but it is known that the limestone *stela*

[471] CAR011TS, CAR033TS & CAR034TS.
[472] CAR068TS & CAR102TS.
[473] CAR001SC. The *Matres Aufaniae* were essentially Celti in origin, representing protection of the countryside and rivers, connected with fertility: *Alvar Ezquerra 2001, 485.*
[474] CAR004TH & CAR031TH.
[475] CAR061TS & CAR072TS.
[476] CAR026TS.

was produced from a grey stone local to Carmo itself,[477] an honorific *tabula* to an unidentified individual was produced from the white marble of Almadén de la Plata,[478] and a funerary inscription to an unknown deceased has been identified as the violet limestone of the Sierra de Mijas.[479] White marble was the most common colour overall but individual examples of yellow, grey, and white with grey, pink or violet veins have also been identified. No definite conclusions can be made on the basis of the sample size, but it appears that the greatest variety in marble types coincides with the 1st to early 3rd Centuries AD. The limestone was slightly less varied with examples of grey, violet and yellowish with black veins stones, and one unidentified stone was black.

f) *Decoration* (**Fig. 17a**)

Many of the decorative elements from Carmo are individual to particular inscriptions and range from architectural ornamentation in the form of carved feet, cornices, *pulvini* and *rosae* or sculptured borders, to more delicate engravings of sacrificial vessels, a mason's trowel, elegant *puncta* styled as *hederae*, irises and *virgulae* and wavy undulating lines. Of particular interest are the unusual motifs such as the mason's trowel, which might be assumed to relate to the profession of the deceased, except for the fact that the deceased was an infant of only one year and eight months.[480] The *hederae* stylised to resemble irises used as *puncta*,[481] undulating wavy lines around the epigraphic field,[482] and the solid relief bands running horizontally across the entire monument are also worth noting for their unusual character. The wavy lines occur in more than one place on the same monument.[483] The most common artistic motifs are sculptured borders, *hederae* as *puncta*, prominent cornices and bases, carved feet and engraved *paterae*. Most of the decoration dates to the later 1st to early 3rd Century AD at the height of Carmo's prosperity. Relief decoration is seen on lead, limestone, marble and sandstone objects, whereas only marble and sandstone objects are seen engraved. The majority of the decoration is associated with funerary inscriptions; the few examples on other

[477] CAR026TS.
[478] CAR052TH.
[479] CAR084TS.
[480] CAR017TS.
[481] CAR022TS.
[482] CAR006TS.
[483] CAR006TS.

genres are restricted to the more basic relief elements, namely solid horizontal sculpted bands on a *titulus honorarius,*[484] and prominent cornices and bases on the same *titulus honorarius* and a *titulus sacer.*[485] All object types appear to have equally diverse decorative schemes of both engraved and relief decoration except, perhaps, the statue bases which only demonstrate relief decoration where this information is recorded. The greatest variety of different decorative motifs is seen on altars, *tabulae* and *urnae*.

g) *Formulae* (**Fig. 17b**)

The epigraphs from Carmo demonstrate a large number of formulae which are to date extant only on single inscriptions. This is partly due to minor changes in form including, for example, the level of abbreviation in common use. There are also several references to different personal relationships.

The most common phrase is S.T.T.L. in various forms, such as coupled with H.S.E. Age in years as *annorum* is common proportionally throughout all periods and there are nine inscriptions which record this in months, but these are not restricted to children, occurring on individuals aged between one and 30+. Four examples include age in days, and a single example records age at death in hours. Again these are not restricted to children, although age at death is more commonly seen in this form at Carmo amongst younger individuals. Of the adult males represented, none record age at death beyond the year. It seems possible then that the adult of unknown gender, whose age is recorded in years, months and days, may be female, but there is insufficient evidence to argue for this strongly. *Vixit annis* is seen on three inscriptions from the 2nd Century AD onwards.

D.M.S. sees a huge increase in frequency in the 2nd–3rd Centuries and a few isolated examples of Dis Manibus alone are recorded from the two preceding periods. Two unique phrases are *supra cubicul(arios)* referring to the slave responsible for the bedrooms in the house,[486] and *se viva faciundum curavit* indicating that an individual made the necessary arrangements for an inscription

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[484] CAR031TH.
[485] CAR001SC & CAR031TH. The figurative scene occurs on a glass cremation vessel.
[486] CAR006TS.

while they were still alive.[487] There are few indications of the more personal adjectives with only one *uxori merentissimae*[488] and one *cara suis.*[489]

Indications within the texts of the source of funding are not common within the sample. One interesting example is the formula *aere conlato* which indicates the pooling of resources from subscription payments by a group of equestrian officers in order to set up an honorific inscription to Lucius Iunius Rufus.[490] Others record the provision made during life generally by way of a will for specific monuments, which were executed by the heirs of the deceased.[491] Beyond this, the evidence is limited to a few instances of *dedit*, *posuit*, or *posuerunt* amongst the honorific inscriptions, and indications of dedication from family members such as to a wife or mother.

6.4.3 *The Social Community*

Males and females of all ages are represented in equal proportions amongst the deceased recipients and dedicators. The sample preserves a smaller number of *liberti* who record their own status than might be expected in comparison with the numbers of slaves and other free individuals. It is entirely possible that several of the free individuals of unknown origin are *liberti* but overall they do not appear to be as dominant as in some other towns. A proportionately large number of slaves are recorded including two manumitted by the town and state (*servus municipii* and *servus publicus*[492]). Members of the population of senatorial rank are also recorded although, as at Astigi, they are only visible in honorific dedications. These were either local citizens of Carmo who had been promoted to the senatorial order or Roman senators present in Baetica as part of the provincial administration. Lucius Iunius Rufus, being of the Galeria voting tribe was therefore probably local to Hispania since that tribe was associated with the region of Caesaraugusta. Individual magistrates are not recorded frequently due to the small number of honorific inscriptions preserved, but those that are rank in the main from the 3rd class provincial magistracy of *quattuorvir*, together with an equestrian *praefectus* and priests responsible for the imperial cult and public sacrifices.

[487] CAR014TS.
[488] CAR102TS.
[489] CAR021TS.
[490] CAR003TH.
[491] CAR028TS, CAR014TS.
[492] CAR065SC & CAR002SC.

The relationships recorded in the inscriptions from Carmo are connected exclusively with the extended family unit and are mainly evidenced from the funerary inscriptions. There is not such an appreciable sense of the identity of a wider or specifically urban community amongst Carmo's epigraphy, but one individual inscription demonstrating a community working together for a common aim and pooling resources shows inscriptions were not exclusively the work of individuals.[493] In conjunction with the evidence for public shared activities in the form of games and spectacles, the evidence for participation in the imperial cult, and the evidence for organisation and administration, there is no doubt that within Carmo there were many collaborating and cooperating units of people, but an identity associated closely with the town itself is not evident amongst the material preserved.

[493] CAR003TH.

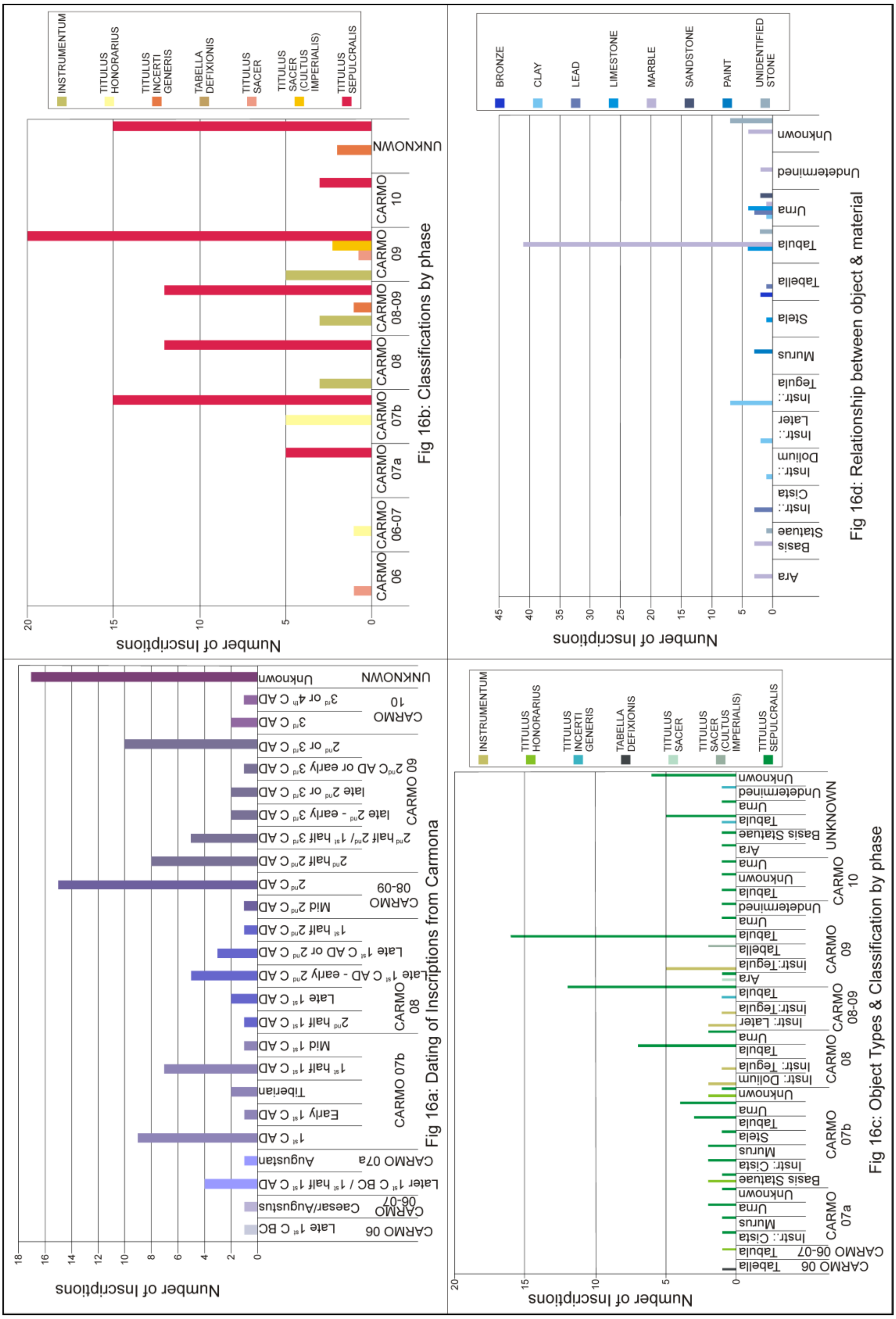

Fig. 16 a: Dating of Inscriptions from Carmo
Fig. 16 b: Classifications by phase of the inscriptions from Carmo
Fig. 16 c: Object Types and Classifications by Phase
Fig. 16 d: Relationship between object and material in the inscriptions from Carmo

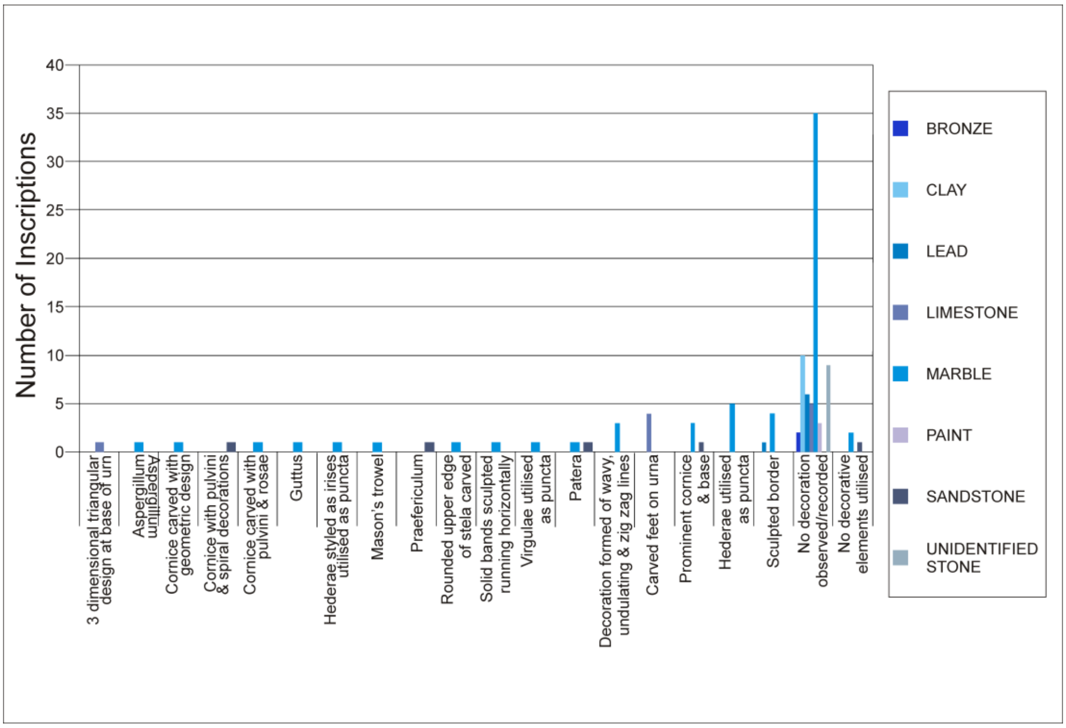

Fig. 17 a: Relationship between decoration and material in the inscriptions from Carmo

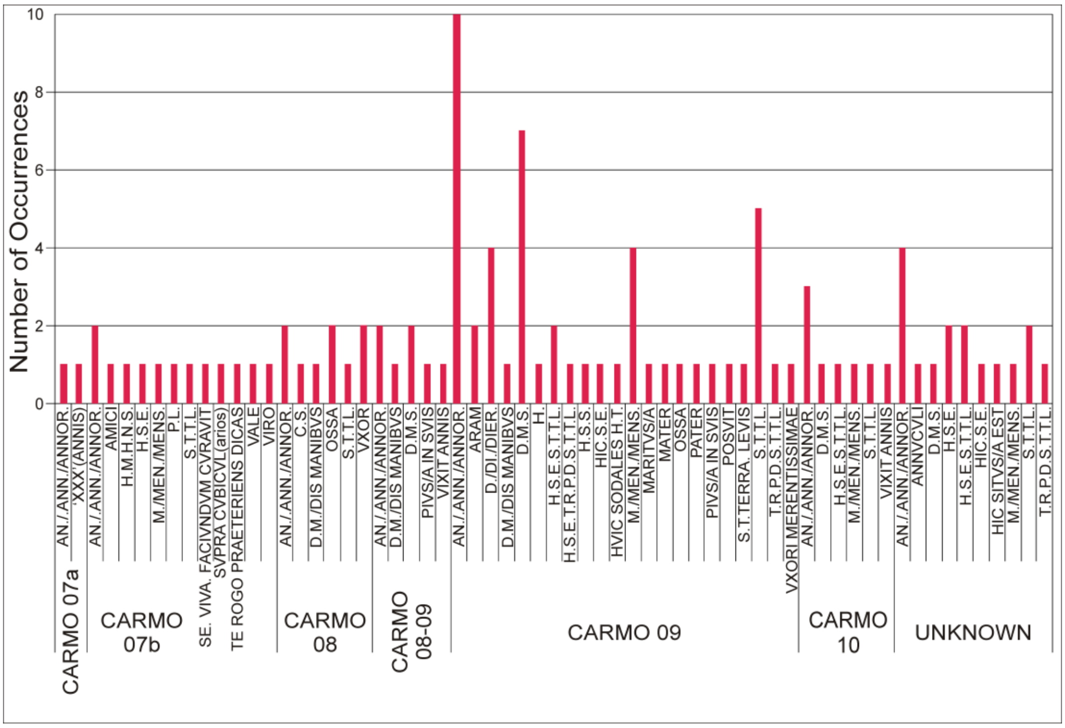

Fig. 17 b: Funerary formulae by phase in the inscriptions from Carmo

6.4 CASTILLO DE ALHONOZ (ANCIENT NAME UNKNOWN)

6.4.1 *Location and Nature of the Settlement, Origins and History, Topography and Urban Organisation*

The settlement at Alhonoz was established in the 9th Century BC and continued in occupation through the period of Punic colonisation and the Turdetanian culture down to the end of the Republic, when it appears to have been abandoned during the 2nd or 1st Century BC. The site occupies a relatively inaccessible elevated narrow ridge plateau in close proximity to the River Genil (Singilis) with a commanding view of the landscape in all directions. Excavation at the northern and southern tips of the settlement identified and dated a series of occupation phases[494], and the geophysical survey carried out as part of the research of the project with which this thesis was associated elucidated the nature of the settlement in between these two areas. The plateau itself slopes relatively steeply down towards the northern limit of the site, and the entirety of this main upper area was surrounded by a defensive wall, of which remains are still visible. The results indicate a series of what are most likely to be domestic buildings aligned along the main axis of the site. The orientation of the identified geophysical anomalies follows those of the excavated areas and small areas of standing remains across the plateau. The organisation of the site and the urban layout closely follows the changing orientation of the topography at the site in order to make best use of the available space. The southern area in the vicinity of the medieval tower appears to demonstrate much more intensive activity perhaps with some evidence of industry, which is supported by excavated remains suggesting the production of ceramics. There is also some indication that part of this highest area of the settlement remained an open space, perhaps suggestive of a public and communal function due to its slightly larger area and higher elevation, hence improved visibility. When approaching the site today, the remains of the medieval tower are clearly visible and it is possible to imagine that any ancient buildings on this part of the site would have been at least as impressive on approach. The excavations indicated that the Turdetanian layout persisted from its conception until the final days of settlement at the site in probably the 1st Century BC. The geophysical survey results support this interpretation, giving no indication of any phases of re-planning or remodelling of the interior of the site.

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[494] *López Palomo 1981.*

A total of ten inscriptions have been provenanced to Castillo de Alhonoz and the surrounding hills. A small group like this cannot be subjected to the types of analyses utilised for the other sites and therefore a different approach must be implemented. In addition, several of the inscriptions from Alhonoz date to a period after the abandonment of settlement at the site, although it is likely that occupation in the area continued at smaller sites around the plateau which could account for the material preserved from these later phases. The inscriptions from Alhonoz have therefore been incorporated into a group which contains the material from other urban sites in the same territory,[495] namely Estepa (Ostippo), Los Castellares, and Herrera (**Fig.19)**. These will be considered in more general terms regarding the nature of the epigraphic record from this small region rather than one site in isolation. Ostippo (the Iberian site of Astapa) had remained allied to the Carthaginians after the Second Punic War. [496] After it resisted surrender, it was besieged and destroyed by the Romans in 206BC. Due in part to its strategic location, it was subsequently rebuilt in s new location as the Roman city of Ostippo, focused on the highest point of the landscape. Until recently few remains had been found, but important excavations in the autumn of 2007 will, when published, shed much light on the history of Roman occupation at the site.[497] To the north west of Ostippo was the Roman quarry at Los Canterones providing local building material only a short distance away. Herrera to the north of Ostippo en route to Alhonoz is also little understood in terms of its plan as a Roman settlement beyond the excavation of structures on the outskirts of the town including a public bath complex.[498] To date most of the evidence for these two settlements derives from the 2^{nd} and 3^{rd} Centuries AD.

The existence of Roman inscriptions from a site such as Alhonoz, which was abandoned at the end of the Republic, can be difficult to explain. The majority of the finds specifically from Alhonoz are associated with movement of the military and, as such, need have no fixed point of origin since their deposition could take place anywhere in the landscape in accordance with the movement of troops. The date on many of these at 45BC places them at the end of the Civil Wars and in the context of the battle of Munda to the west. Of the remaining inscriptions which are more

[495] According to Stylow CIL II^2, 5.
[496] Livy *Ab Urbe Condita 28.22*; Polybius *Naturalis Historia 3.10*.
[497] Located in Calle mirasierra.
[498] *Romo Salas & Vargas Jiménez 1991.*

pertinent to the present study, one at least was found in a reused context either in or around the medieval tower. Roman remains of early Imperial date have been found in the vicinity of Alhonoz mainly near the modern *cortijo* sites, so it is possible that these inscriptions related to periods after the abandonment of Alhonoz are in fact connected with rural settlements in close proximity to the abandoned hilltop site. Those that cannot be explained as residual material due to lack of evidence should be considered in this context.

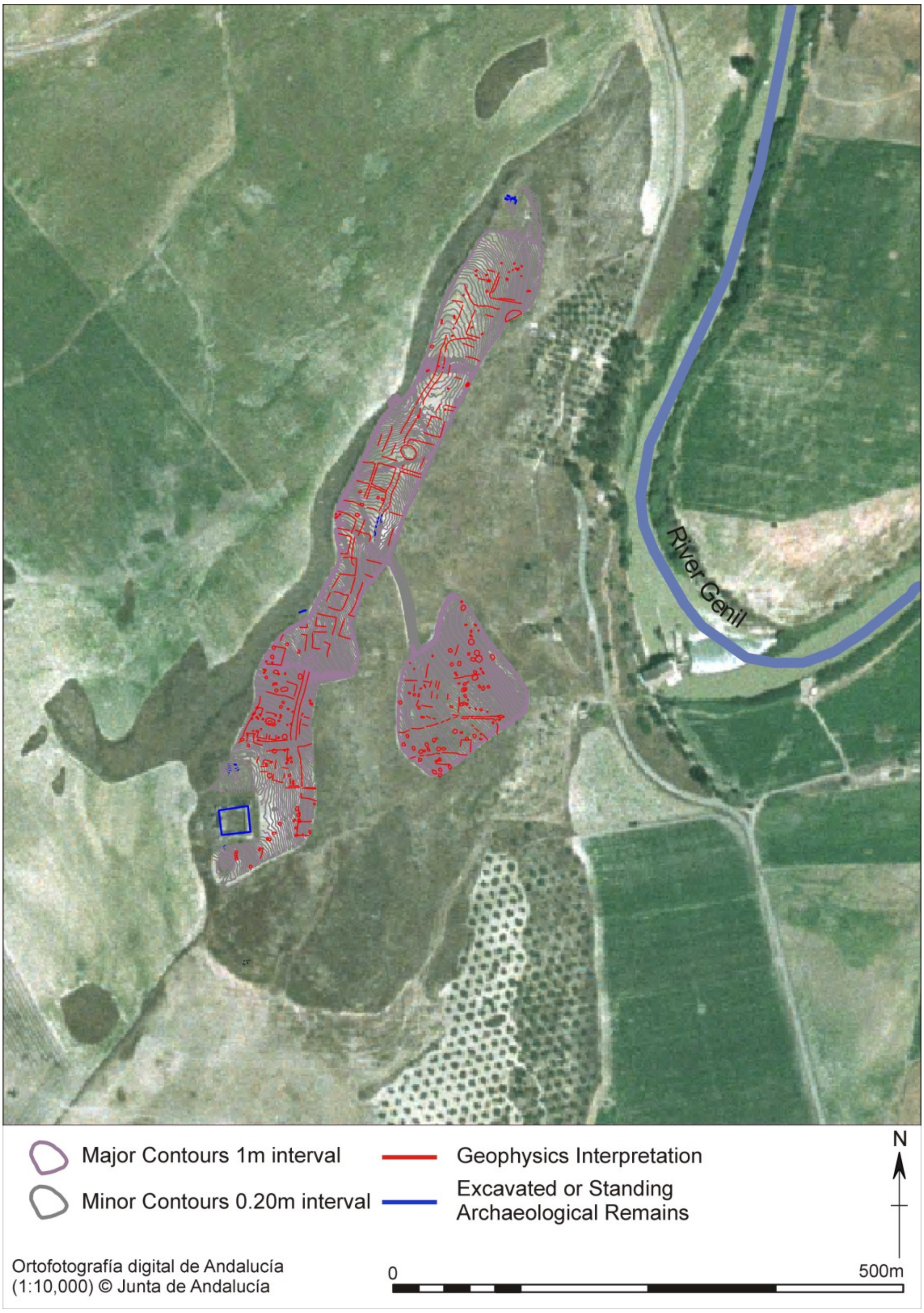

Fig. 18: Castillo de Alhonoz: Aerial photograph of the site overlain with topographical and geophysical survey results

PHASE ID	DESCRIPTION	PERIOD OF OCCUPATION	NO. INSCRIPTIONS
ALHONOZ 01	First occupation at the site	From second half of 9th Century BC	
ALHONOZ 02	Arrival of new non-Mediterranean population who create new settlement with houses of square or rectangular plan. Contact with Phoenician communities.	8th Century BC	
ALHONOZ 03	Phase of Punic colonisation	7th – 5th Century BC	
ALHONOZ 04	Phase of Cultura Ibérica	4th – 3rd Century BC	
ALHONOZ 05	Phase of late Ibérian & Roman influence. Construction of architectural remains that survive to present day.	2nd – 1st Century BC	*6*
ALHONOZ 05a	Carthaginian & Republican (Astapa besieged & destroyed by Romans after continued alliance with Carthaginians)	237 - 206 BC – end 1st Century BC	
ALHONOZ 06a	Post abandonment 1a: Early Imperial (Augustan)	Early 1st Century AD	*1*
ALHONOZ 06b	Post abandonment1b: Early Imperial (Julio-Claudian)	Early-mid 1st Century AD	*1*
ALHONOZ 06-07	1st Century AD	1st Century AD	*1*
ALHONOZ 07	Post abandonment 2: Early Imperial (Flavian)	Second half of 1st C AD	*2*
ALHONOZ 07-08	Early Imperial - Imperial	Late 1st – early 2nd Century AD	*2*
ALHONOZ 08	Post abandonment 3: Imperial	2nd C AD	*22*
ALHONOZ 08-09	Imperial (mosaics from Herrera public baths)	2nd – 3rd Century AD	*9*
ALHONOZ 09	Post Abandonment 4: Later Imperial	3rd – 4th Century AD	*5*

Table 5: Phases of occupation at Alhonoz and subsequent history of the surrounding area

6.4.2 *The Epigraphic Assemblage*

a) *Chronology* (**Table 5 & Fig.20a)**

Taking the inscriptions from these sites as a single unit for discussion, the majority of the epigraphic assemblage dates to the 2nd and 3rd Centuries AD, which corresponds to much of the dated evidence found from excavations in Ostippo and Herrera,[499] although there are earlier examples if few in number. Two funerary inscriptions from Herrera and Ostippo dating to the Augustan period and late 1st Century AD respectively[500] have also been found. Another early inscription from Ostippo is a dedication to the imperial cult of Salus Augusta set up under Tiberius in AD 15-20.[501] But undoubtedly the most important inscription from this period is the *Lex Municipalis* from Ostippo inscribed under Domitian[502] which indicates that, despite the lack of evidence, Roman settlement was well established in this region. The number of inscriptions preserved rises in the 2nd Century due to finds in the main from Ostippo (14). Whilst the finds from Ostippo and Herrera are dated to the later 2nd and 3rd Centuries AD, no inscriptions dated after the 2nd Century AD were found at Castillo de Alhonoz.

b) *Typology* (**Fig. 20b**)

Funerary inscriptions dominate the assemblage, with only instrumenta (10) registering more than individual examples of a genre in any one time period. Despite the small sample of inscriptions, examples of public inscriptions survive in conjunction with the evidence for funerary memorials. These comprise the *lex municipalis* discussed above, two *tituli honorarii post mortem positi*, a *titulus imperatorum*, *titulus operis publici* and a *titulus sacer*. All these public inscriptions were found in and around Ostippo. Given Ostippo's history at the end of the Republic, it might seem surprising to see an imperial dedication so early (to Drusus as Caesar), but in this early period of rebuilding there was likely to be a substantial Roman presence and population in the area, so this inscription does not necessarily indicate such an immediate adoption by the indigenous population of this form of expression. The dedication by the *decemvir* Quintus Lucius Niger from his own

[499] E.g. *Romo Salas & Vargas Jiménez 1991.*
[500] HER002TS, OST019TS.
[501] OST004TI. *Étienne 1958, 329-330; Rodríguez Cortés 1991, 88-89*: Salus was considered not only as the personification of physical health but in a more general context as the personification of conservation.
[502] OST001LM.

funds may represent an attempt to demonstrate loyalty in view of this history.[503] The greatest variety in genre amongst the inscriptions from the territory corresponds to the 2nd Century from which a larger sample of inscriptions has been preserved. This is in keeping with larger and more generalised trends in the distribution of epigraphic material.

c) *Location* **(Fig.19)**

There is little information to indicate the distribution of the inscriptions within the settlements discussed here. The majority do not have secure findspots and there is insufficient evidence to connect a significant proportion of the funerary inscriptions with known *necropoleis* such as on the outskirts of Ostippo. This often makes it difficult to distinguish between the urban epigraphy proper and that of the associated rural territory. There is some evidence to indicate local movement of inscriptions, presumably in the post-Roman period. The *lex municipalis* from Ostippo was found in the older, pre-Flavian town, and a second inscription from Ostippo was found at Lora de Estepa (ancient site of Olaura) as was an example from the ancient site at Herrera. Stylow has also re-provenanced an inscription found at Los Castellares to Herrera. This indicates a reasonable degree of movement between the sites in the local area, and also some of the problems with interpreting a series of small (with the exception of Ostippo) assemblages. There is also evidence for re-use of inscriptions in the post-Roman period, since an inscription from Ostippo[504], originally a monumental building dedication, was found re-used as a tomb lid in a Visigothic graveyard nearby.

[503] OST004TI.
[504] OST005OP.

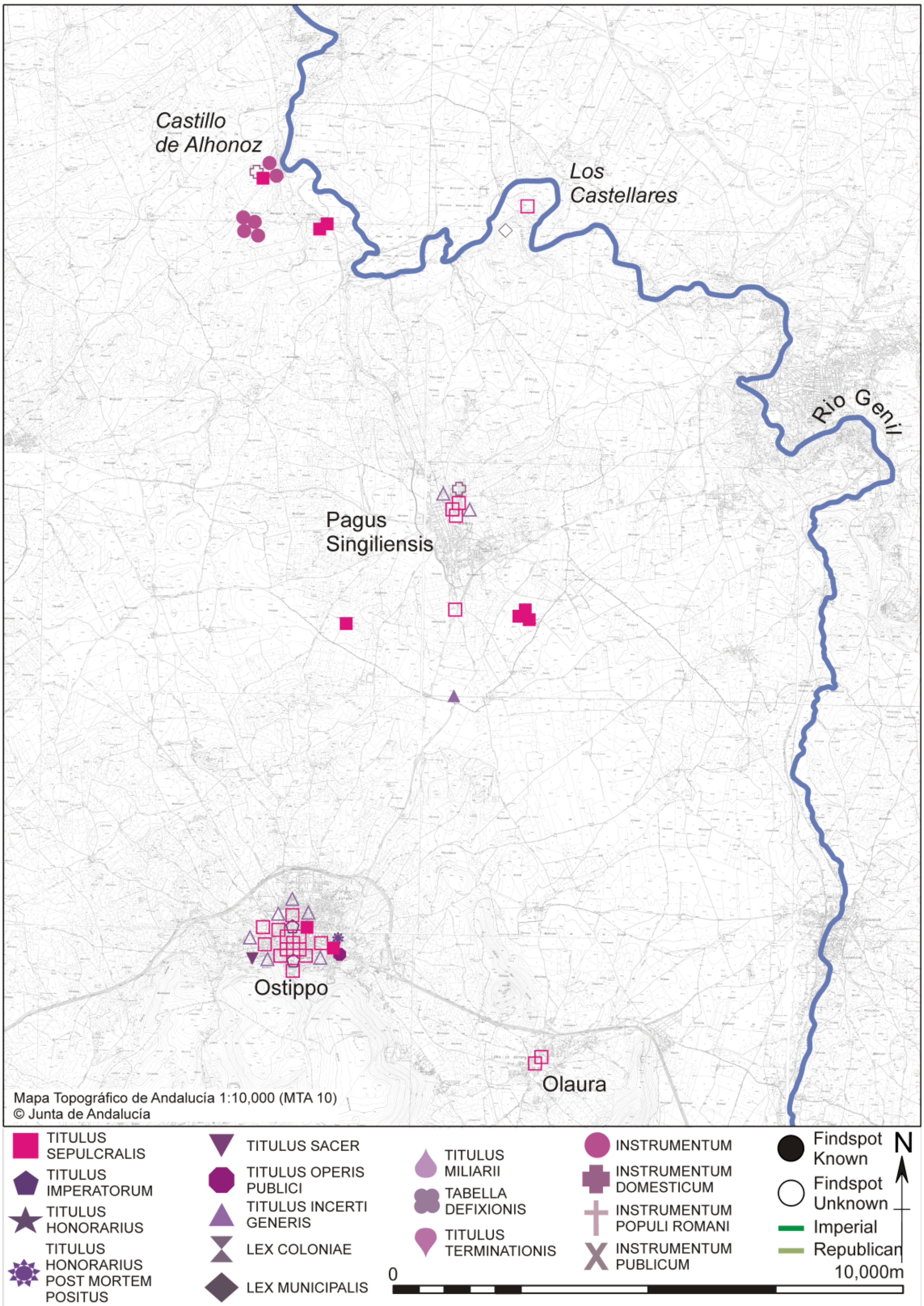

Fig. 19: Location of sites and inscriptions from the territory of Ostippo

d) *Object* **(Fig.19c)**

A range of inscribed objects have been identified which display nothing immediately out of the obvious. Statue bases are used for imperial and honorific dedications, *stelae* and *tabulae* for funerary inscriptions. The single *ara* is funerary[505] and the only *parallelepipedum* is an imperial cult dedication.[506] The last dated *stelae* originate in the 2nd Century AD whereas *tabulae* continue into the 3rd Century AD. The earliest *tabula* predates the earliest *stela* but there are insufficient quantities preserved to conclude that *stelae* were not also utilised at this time. In the 2nd Century, though not preserved as commonly as *tabulae*, there are still four examples of *stelae*. The object type utilised for the widest range of genre was the tabula and this appears to be true across all periods. All the *stelae* identified come from in and around Ostippo, and the only *ara* from Herrera, but it is nonetheless likely that *stelae* were used beyond Ostippo.

e) *Material* (**Fig.20d & 21a**)

In the 2nd Century AD almost equal numbers of limestone and marble are utilised. From this time onwards the numbers of finds decreases and the relative proportions may show some slight changes. Limestone gradually decreases in comparison with marble, although in real numbers there is only ever one inscription difference between the two. In the earlier periods there are examples of limestone monuments, but the first marble monument dates to the later 1st/early 2nd Century AD. More relevant is the fact that limestone continues to be used in the 3rd Century in addition to marble. Limestone, apart from the possible but unlikely exception of a *titulus incerti generis*,[507] is used exclusively for funerary inscriptions, whereas marble is used more flexibly for different inscription genres. Aside from one sandstone example, all the *stelae* identified are produced from limestone, although limestone is used frequently for *tabulae* (11) and comparable with marble (10). Limestone is the most varied of the stones utilised with several different hues: ashy grey, blue with yellowish veins, bluish grey, dark nearly black, purple and tawny, though the most common is plain white. Only a pink and white marble with blue veins is seen in addition to the usual white. Unfortunately, none of the stone from these sites has been provenanced but, given the proximity to the quarry at Los Canterones, it must be possible that the two sandstone monuments used local stone[508].

[505] HER001TS.
[506] OST002SC.
[507] OST021IG.
[508] OST003SC & OST019TS; *Stylow et al 1998, 271,*

f) *Decoration* (**Fig.21a**)

There is relatively little evidence for decoration on the inscriptions from the assemblage, but this includes standard architectural ornamentation, the use of *hederae* for *puncta*[509] , a more unusual and individual engraved garland with leafy boughs,[510] and an unidentified anaglyph which has been discussed as Punic in origin.[511] No decorative elements except for one late 1st Century AD recessed epigraphic field are seen until the 2nd Century AD and this is the main period of ornamentation; *hederae* continue to be utilised during the 3rd Century AD and the potentially Punic anaglyph dates to the late 2nd or early 3rd Century AD. *Stelae* are the most decorated of the monument types. The only three recessed epigraphic fields are carved upon *stelae* together with sculptured borders, engraved garlands and vine branches. The most common motif on *tabulae* was the use of *hederae* as *puncta*, although there are two examples with sculptured borders and the anaglyph was also inscribed upon a *tabula*. Overall, limestone seems to have been more likely to be decorated in some way than marble.

g) *Formulae* (**Fig.21b**)

Examples of formulae from public inscriptions occur in the greatest number in the 2nd Century in accordance with the greatest number of dated inscriptions. These are mostly entirely standard and refer to the practicalities of setting up inscriptions, such as the source of funding (e.g. *de sua pecunia*), who instigated the setting up of the monument (e.g. *fieri iussit*), who sanctioned it (*ordo decrevit*) and the source of motivation (*votum animo libens solvit*). The only family relationship mentioned is that of mother. Greater variety is exhibited amongst the funerary inscriptions, but in general the same formulae are utilised across each time period interspersed with a few more irregular examples. The earliest formula preserved is *sepultus est fundo suo*,[512] but the only other unusual formulae is *hic interfectus est* utilised in the 2nd Century AD.[513] Concentration is upon the age at death in years only, utilising *annorum* in all cases and all periods except one *vixit annis* in the 2nd or 3rd Century

[509] HER003TS, HER005TS, HER007TS & OST008TS.
[510] OST009TS.
[511] HER005TS.
[512] HER002TS: Buried on his own land.
[513] HER001TS: Here he was slain.

AD. The term *in fronte pedes...in agro pedes* is seen once in the 1st Century AD.[514] D.M.S is first seen in the 2nd Century and continues during the 3rd Century. *Pius in Suis* is particularly common and is used frequently from the 2nd Century onwards, with one *pia in nepotem* in the 2nd or 3rd Century AD.[515] The final formulae seen in various guises and abbreviated forms is HSESTTL, once seen only as H.S.E.,[516] once as just S.T.T.L.,[517] but more often in full,[518] and once as the variant H.S.E.D.Q.L.S.T.T.L.[519]

6.4.3 ***The Social*** *Community*

Of the majority of individuals represented, being deceased recipients, males and females are represented equally, although there appear to be a larger number of males definitely identified as adults. Age at death is recorded in most cases but only in years. There are two examples where the age appears to have been exaggerated - a male aged 113 and a female aged 140 from Ostippo and Herrera respectively.[520] No children were positively identified. Free individuals and *liberti* form the bulk of the social groups referenced, but apart from a *decemvir* and member of the *Augustales* from Ostippo no other magistrates, officials or members of the higher social orders are recognised[521].

None of the funerary inscriptions give a clear textual indication of who in particular was responsible although familial relationships are identified by the formulae *Pius in Suis* and *Pia in nepotem*. The public inscriptions are a little more enlightening, with references to individuals utilising their own funds to set up inscriptions, making preparation for inscriptions to be set up, and leaving it to the responsibility of their heirs. The preserved evidence over all therefore points to personal responsibility and responsibility associated with the household and family.

Relationships connected to the extended household are referred to amongst both *tituli sepulcrali* and *tituli honorarii.* Only two groups are really identified in the inscriptions apart from the *ordo*, which is recorded as the sanctioning body for the

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514 OST019TS.
515 HER006TS.
516 ALH001TS.
517 OST019TS.
518 HER001TS, HER009TS & OST023TS.
519 OST017TS.
520 OST014TS & HER006TS.
521 Aside from the eldest son of Pompey, Gnaeus Magnus, recorded on the lead glandes near Alhonoz which make reference to the fact that he was acclaimed *imperator.*

honorific dedications. The first occurs in the *lex municipalis* as the *municipibus municipi flavi ostipponensis* which indicates that Ostippo was raised to the status of municipium under the Flavian emperors.[522] The other group mentioned are the plebs of the ancient urban settlement at Los Castellares, who are recorded on a post mortem honorific inscription.[523]

The only deity mentioned other than the Di Manes is Salus Augusta, a personification of the imperial cult, which evokes the good health, strength and courage of the emperor.[524] A member of the Augustales was recorded amongst the individuals of these communities[525] and such a dedication once again sets Ostippo and the other sites in its territory within the wider community of the empire.

There is some limited information for geographical mobility from the assemblage. Individuals who record their *origo* as Barba and Cedrippo probably came from further south, another is originally from Corduba, and two men and a woman record Ostippo as their *origo.*

[522] OST001LM.
[523] CAS001HP: *ep(ulo) . or[dini et??] plebi*
[524] OST002TS; *Rodríguez Cortés 1991, 88-89.*
[525] OST006TS.

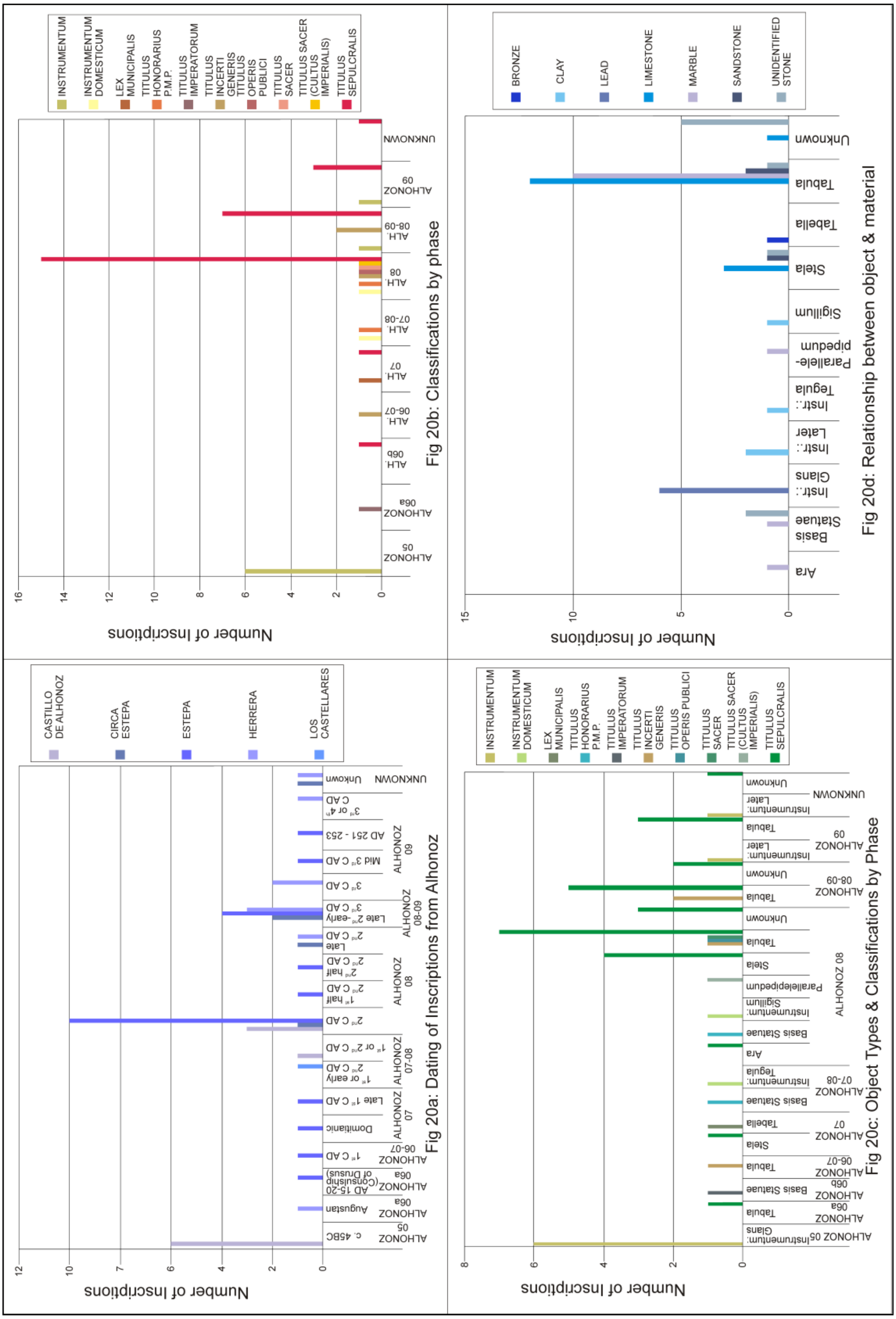

Fig. 20 a: Dating of inscriptions from Alhonoz and the surrounding landscape
Fig. 20 b: Classifications by phase of inscriptions from Alhonoz and the surrounding landscape
Fig. 20 c: Object types and classifications by phase of the inscriptions from in and around Alhonoz

Fig. 20 d: Relationship between objects and material in the inscriptions from in and around Alhonoz

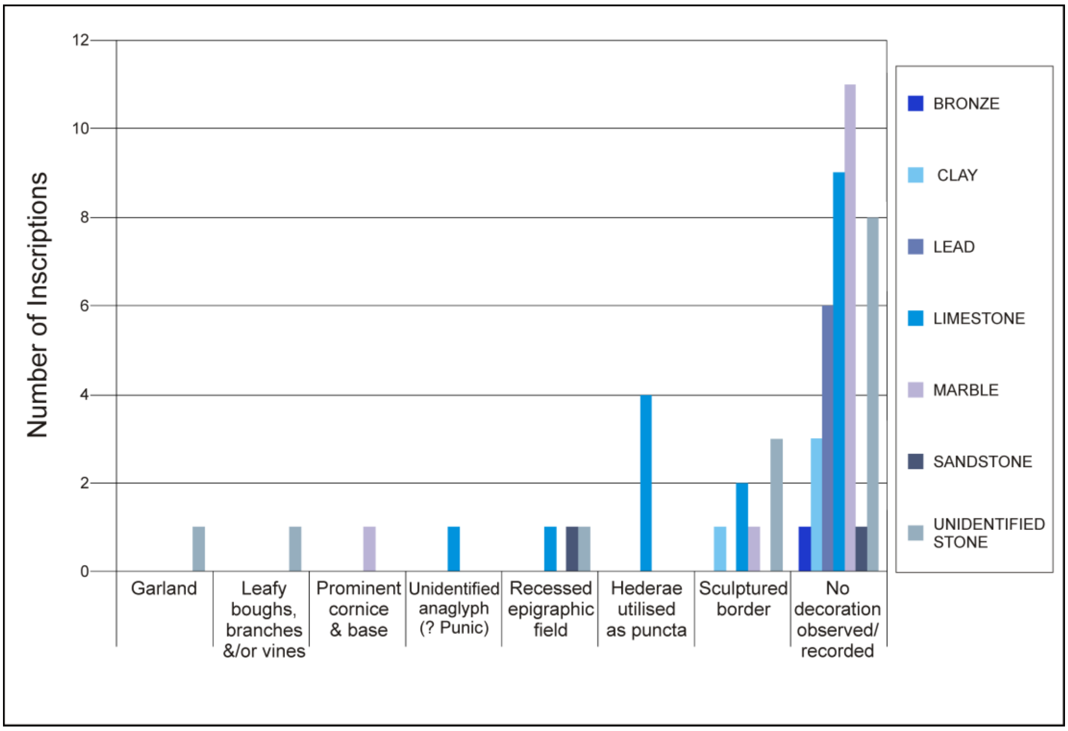

Fig. 21 a: Relationship between decoration and material in the inscriptions from in and around Alhonoz

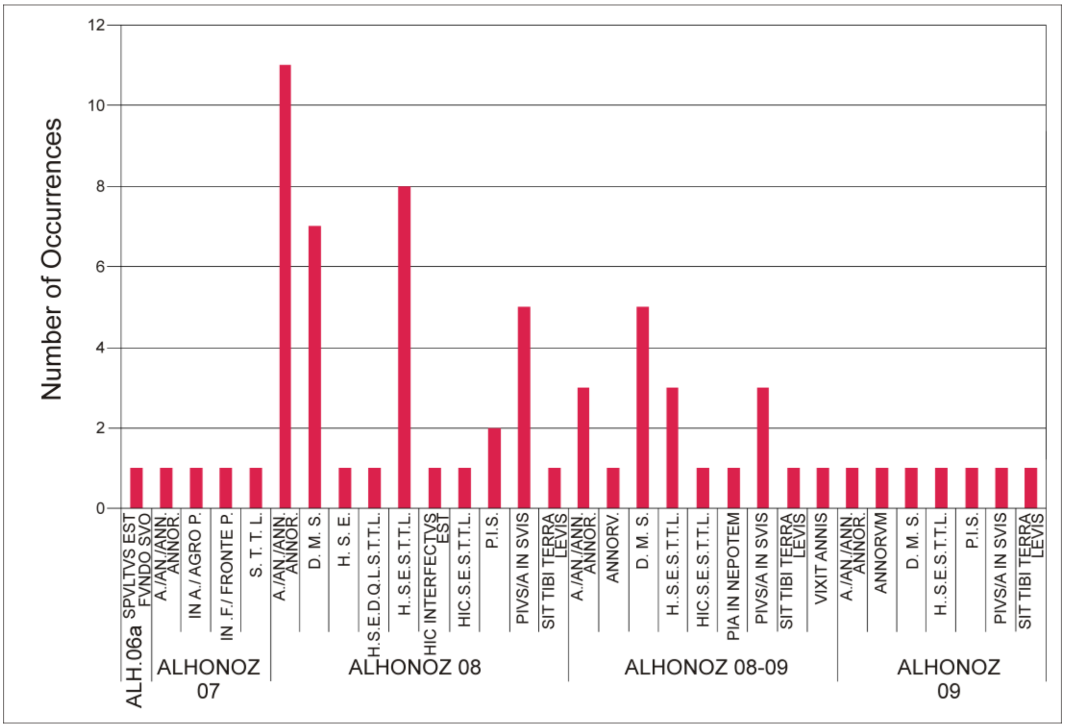

Fig. 21 b: Funerary formulae by phase from the inscriptions in and around Alhonoz

6.5 PEÑAFLOR *(CELTI)*

6.5.1 *Location and Nature of the Settlement, Origins and History, Topography and Urban Organisation*

The settlement at Celti was located on the northern bank of the River Baetis (Guadalquivir) in a strategic location well positioned to control regional resources. Its territory probably extended north to the lower foothills of the Sierra Morena and ended in the south with the river.[526] It was a major settlement in this area apparently functioning as an 'agro town' with those working on the primarily cereal agriculture of the region actually residing within the settlement itself.[527] The settlement was first established in the 9th Century BC and the distribution of surface material suggests that in the late Bronze Age and Iron Age the area covered by that occupation was extensive, although its density and character cannot be ascertained.[528] The toponym Celti has been discussed in relation to the origin of its inhabitants and theories regarding a possible connection with Celtic settlements and material culture from northern Spain have been debated.[529] However, the archaeological evidence provides no substantiation in support of such a hypothesis due to its strongly local character and meagre evidence for imported material.[530] There is no evidence that Carthaginian rule had any impact upon Celti, material generally associated with this period being totally absent. [531] The Republican and Augustan levels at Celti are badly preserved as a result of later redevelopment of the site, but it appears that the site was re-walled in the later Turdetanian or Republican period and that the Augustan period was the first to see any evidence of changes in material culture.[532] Prior to this imported wares had been practically non-existent but, in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period, imports begin to appear more frequently although always alongside continued production of Iberian wares.[533] Despite the availability of imports, local interpretations of foreign forms were continually selected in preference and this inclination towards a retention of native styles persisted well into the Imperial period.[534] Although the urban organisation and material culture of Celti

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[526] *Creighton et al 2000,194.*
[527] *Ibid,198.*
[528] *Ibid,194.*
[529] *Almagro Gorbea 1993.*
[530] *Creighton et al 2000, 6 & 197.*
[531] *Ibid,197.*
[532] *Ibid,200.*
[533] *Ibid,200.*
[534] *Ibid, 200-201.*

remained fairly conservative, there is evidence for significant changes in the agricultural economy, particularly with the appearance of smaller rural sites in the landscape around Celti.[535] The mid-later 1st Century AD saw a radical re-planning of the western region of the town which altered the focus of the site towards the river, although geophysical survey has indicated that this shift was not followed elsewhere in the site.[536] These new buildings have been described as a large residential property with atrium and peristyle, but perhaps more convincing is the interpretation of this as a new, small forum.[537] Change occurs in this area of the town once again in the late 2nd to early 3rd Century AD with a major alteration to this same main building.[538] The structure was re-styled as a large domus and, whether interpreted as house or forum, this should still be interpreted as evidence indicative of a flourishing economy capable of supporting individuals who could take on such a major private project, and not indicative of a decline in 'civic consciousness' at a time when olive oil production was at a high . This situation enabled Celti to maintain a position of some economic influence into the 3rd Century AD.[539] It was only after the administrative restructuring of the early 3rd Century that the town became marginalised, although precisely why this happened is still unclear.[540]

[535] *Creighton et al 2000,201.*
[536] *Ibid 204ff.*
[537] *Ibid, 182ff.*
[538] *Ibid, 208-209.*
[539] *Ibid, 208.*
[540] *Ibid, 209.*

6.5.2 *The Epigraphic Assemblage*

a) *Chronology* **(Table 6 & Fig.23a)**

PHASE ID	PHASE	PERIOD OF OCCUPATION	NO. INSCRIPTIONS
CELTI 01	pre Late Bronze Age	9^{th} C BC	
CELTI 02	The Late Bronze Age period	8^{th} C BC	
CELTI 03	Some time after the Late Bronze Age and Tartessian period	8^{th} C BC – $5^{th}/6^{th}$ C BC	
CELTI 04	Turdetanian occupation	$6^{th}/5^{th}$ C BC – 3^{rd} C BC	
CELTI 05	Roman Republican	End 3^{rd} C BC- late 1^{st} C BC	
CELTI 06	The Augustan Period	Late 1^{st} C BC – early 1^{st} C AD	
CELTI 07	The Julio-Claudian Period	First half 1^{st} C AD	
CELTI 08	Between the Neronian and the beginning of the Flavian periods. Transformation of western sector	Mid 1^{st} C – late 1^{st} C AD	1
CELTI 09	Archaeological evidence lost due to later rebuilding	Between late 1^{st} & late 2^{nd} Cs AD	24
CELTI 10	Period between development programmes	2^{nd} C AD	43
CELTI 10-11	Re-development of possible forum to private domus	Later 2^{nd} C AD - early 3^{rd} C AD	20
CELTI 10	Changing status resulting from administrative, political & economic changes in the region	Early 3^{rd} – early 5^{th} C AD	8

Table 6: Phases of occupation at Celti

The earliest inscription at Celti coincides with the major restructuring of the western portion of the site dating to the mid-later 1st Century AD; however, the sample is very limited in comparison with the relative explosion of material that can be dated to the 2nd Century and continues into the 3rd Century AD. Although archaeological evidence for the settlement in the late 1st to early 2nd Century has been lost, the epigraphic evidence indicates a strong adoption of this form of expression at this time. The later development of epigraphic culture at Celti is potentially in keeping with its tradition of retaining older indigenous styles in preference to imports, perhaps demonstrating a distinctive character, persuasion and identity amongst its inhabitants. The site clearly continues to prosper well from the olive oil trade into the 3rd Century AD[541] but that fact that no inscriptions have been found that date beyond the 3rd Century and particularly the early 3rd Century, may suggest that the situation in the town was beginning to change even if it was not in decline. The impact of this upon the town, its economy and hence its epigraphy was clearly significant. Relatively, therefore, Celti's epigraphic history is comparatively brief.

b) *Typology* (**Fig. 23b**)

The number of funerary inscriptions brings the size of Celti's epigraphic assemblage to a sizeable figure with a small number of public inscriptions in comparison. The identified public inscriptions date exclusively to the mid 1st to late 2nd Centuries and disappear from the preserved record when the overall number of inscriptions declines from the later 2nd Century onwards. Those remaining include two dedications to the cults of Venus and Victoria Augusta,[542] five post mortem honorific dedications,[543] and five *tituli operum publicorum*[544] which shed some light upon the programme of rebuilding that took place at this time. Inscriptions which clarify the nature of the urban landscape include a dedication by a priestess which describes the open space in front of the temple,[545] whilst another indicates the construction of a building with steps.[546] A bronze seal and lead curse tablet provide evidence of very

541 *Creighton et al 2000, 208-209.*
542 CEL001SC & CEL002SC: *Étienne 1958, 326-328; Fears 1981, 812-813.* Victoria Augusta symbolises the emperor's victories. The cult of Venus was well established in Hispania: *Rodríguez Cortés 1991, 91-93.*
543 CEL09-13HP.
544 CEL004-8OP.
545 CEL004OP.
546 CEL005OP.

different practices.[547] Unfortunately, a large proportion of the extant assemblage is unable to be classified due to the small size or poor preservation of the fragments. One of those classified as *incerti generis* has a slight possibility of reclassification as an imperial dedication possibly to the emperor Trajan.[548] However, since it is now lost, no information survives relating to its material, context, structure, or decoration, which might help to place it with a little more clarity.

[547] CEL101ID & CEL003FX.
[548] CEL096IG.

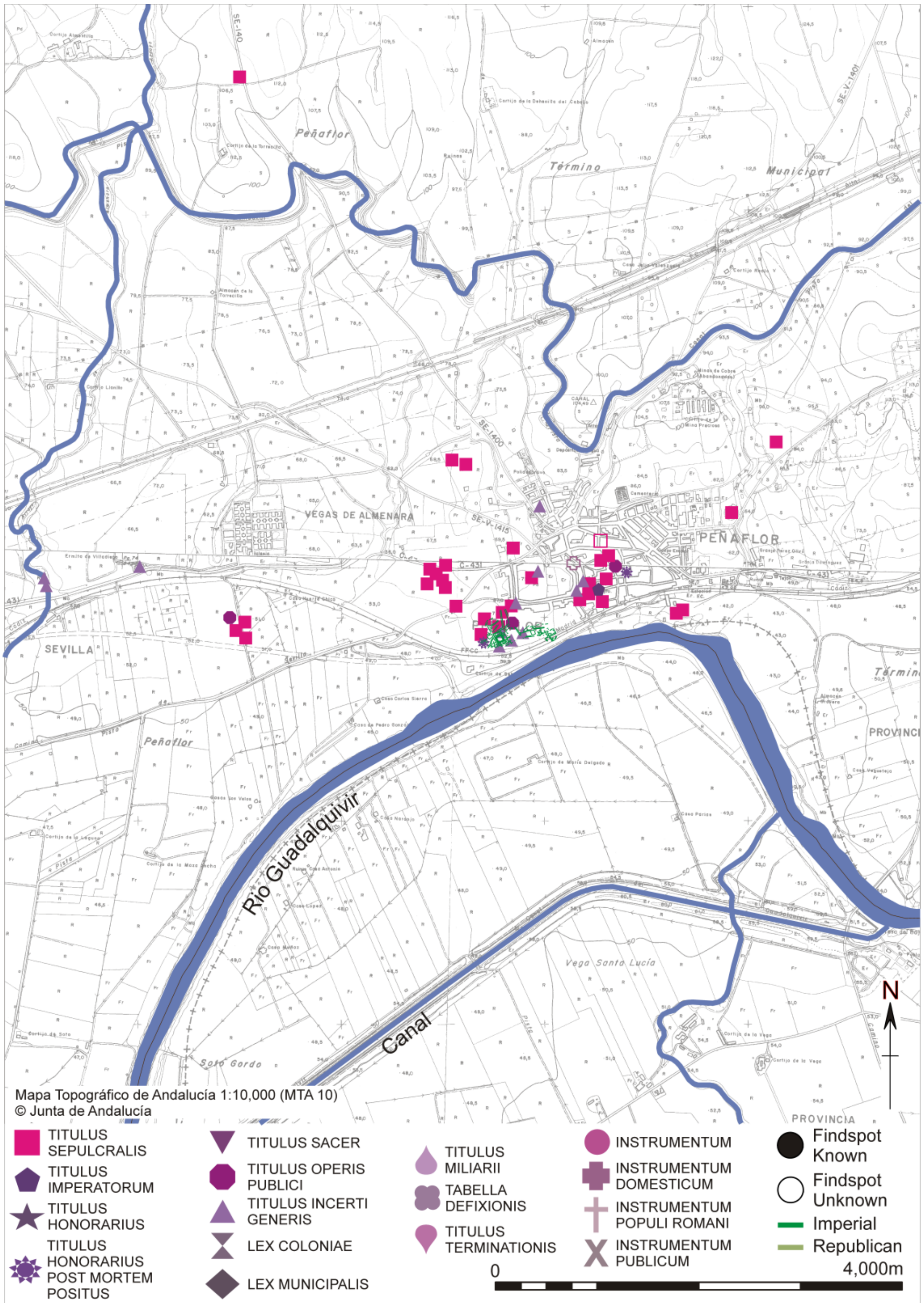

Fig. 22: Inscriptions from Celti with known findspots

c) *Location* (**Fig.22**)

The distribution of inscriptions with known findspots within the urban centre and across the immediate hinterland is unfortunately not very enlightening. Small clusters of funerary inscriptions have been identified which may correspond to cemetery areas to the north west and west but others are isolated. Two identified public inscriptions were found in the excavated area around the possible forum as were a number of funerary monuments, but these do not help to characterise the area any more clearly. Unfortunately, the findspots of the majority of the known inscriptions can only be pinpointed to the modern site of Peñaflor and no further.

d) *Object* (**Fig.23c**)

In all periods from the late 1st Century AD onwards, the *tabula* is the overwhelmingly dominant choice of monument. Monuments were selected according to their suitability for the intended purpose, hence statue bases for cult dedications and post mortem honorific monuments, and the inscription on an *epistylium* presumably forming part of the building the *titulus operis publici* it bears.[549] However, more individual choices also appear to be made with the use of funerary altars since the assemblage preserves a funerary and monumental *parallelepipedum* and even an *epistylium* inscribed with a funerary dedication which may indicate reuse of the original material.[550] No *stelae* occur in the assemblage and *tabulae* are by far the most common type of monument erected. Although these appear to be in the main restricted to use in funerary contexts, the small number of public inscriptions conserved leaves room for this pattern to alter should new examples be found.

e) *Material* (**Fig.23d & 24a**)

The inscriptions are almost entirely composed of marble. There is some indication that limestone was used in the earliest monuments in the form of a *parallelepipedum*, post mortem honorific dedication and *tabula* funerary inscription, but by the 2nd Century AD the monuments are exclusively marble except for one lead curse tablet,[551] and three monuments on unidentified stones which, given the preponderance of marble, may well prove to be also. The only stones with identified sources are white marble sometimes with violet, pink or red veins from Almadén de la Plata, of which there are fourteen examples amongst the funerary inscriptions plus

[549] CEL06OP.
[550] CEL016TS.
[551] CEL003FX.

one monumental dedication. There is a great variety of colour amongst the stones utilised, particularly in the late 1st to later 2nd Centuries AD.

f) *Decoration* (**Fig.24a**)

The decoration exhibited in Celti's inscriptions is varied and exceptionally individual. It includes some of the usual architectural carvings such as sculptured borders, cornices and bases, and *pulvini* and *rosae*, together with recognisable engraved motifs including *hederae* utilised as *puncta*, garlands, vine branches, *paterae* and *praefericula*. However, many decorative features peculiar to Celti have also been observed including the use of *hederae* as larger decorative features in their own right, engravings of birds, animals and plants, incised rather than sculpted borders and unusual large triangular and diamond *puncta*. The earliest decorative motifs utilised are the simple *hederae* as *puncta*, but by the later 1st Century AD and through the 2nd and 3rd Centuries AD the ornamentation became varied, although some inscriptions remain completely un-elaborated.

Embellishments are limited exclusively to the marble monuments. A single unidentified stone with *hederae* as *puncta* can therefore possibly be reclassified as likely marble, given the lack of evidence to the contrary. The unique engravings are only utilised on funerary inscriptions whereas the decorative schemes of the public inscriptions follow more standard patterns and, apart from the use of *hederae* as *puncta*, are entirely comprised of architectural relief carving.

g) *Formulae* (**Fig.24b**)

The formulae utilised on Celti's assemblage of public inscriptions contain references in its *tituli operum publicorum* to the types of buildings which were dedicated at the site. There is evidence of a temple, arch and an altar, [552] and a flight of steps.[553] Most of the formulae identify those who were financially responsible for these monuments and who took care to have the monuments erected after the death of those who left provision for a memorial. There are also references to family members. Personal finances were the main source of funding for inscriptions in

[552] CEL004OP.
[553] CEL005OP.

Celti. One inscription in fragmentary form utilises a formula usually associated with the involvement of the *ordo*, but this is an exception.[554]

Celti's individuality in terms of its epigraphic assemblage is reflected again through the formulae utilised in its funerary inscriptions and even to the creation of two unique epigrams. The formulae HSESTTL is the most common, occurring as the shorter HSE or STTL alone in smaller numbers. Age at death is indicated in years by *annorum* until the 3rd Century, when *vixit annis* is used on two monuments. DMS is common from the late 1st Century AD onwards as is *Pius in Suis*.

6.5.3 *The Social Community*

The individuals of Celti as represented by the epigraphic assemblage are a mix of free individuals, freedmen, women and slaves, together with a limited number of local officials including Augustales who are some of the earliest individuals to set up inscriptions in the town. In Celti, positively identified *liberti* are not as frequently seen as elsewhere and are not recorded as frequently as the freeborn members of the population. However, for a large number of the free population, the basis of their freedom cannot be ascertained for certain so this may explain to some extent the missing *liberti*. Both classes, however, are involved in setting up the town's public inscriptions.

Age at death is recorded for both adults and children, although only three very small infants have been identified, one aged six months, another three years and a third four years. Otherwise, age at death is recorded for individuals between 10+ and 90 for both males and females. On four occasions age is recorded in months and on three of the same in days. No ages at death are recorded in hours. Male and female dedicators are recorded, although there appear to be more adult males in the group. Women are also honoured on two of four post mortem dedications. Several nomen reappear throughout the inscriptions of Celti, indicating the role of several large families within the community.[555]

The inscriptions of Celti do not directly record the existence of any groups involved in the erection of inscriptions with the exception of the Augustales, but other references to the *origo* of Celti suggest a sense of community associated with the settlement, as do records of individual magistrates. The funerary inscriptions and

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[554] CEL013HP *statvam locvm sepulturae laudationem*
[555] Aelius, Aemilius, Appius, Bruttius, Fulvius, Licinius.

the relationships exhibited throughout the assemblage indicate strong family ties. In addition, the indication of several large extended families with freedmen and women suggest that this town was dominated by groups relating to these units. The consistently distinctive nature of the decoration on the funerary epigraphy also indicates a high level of individuality and perhaps competition between such groups.

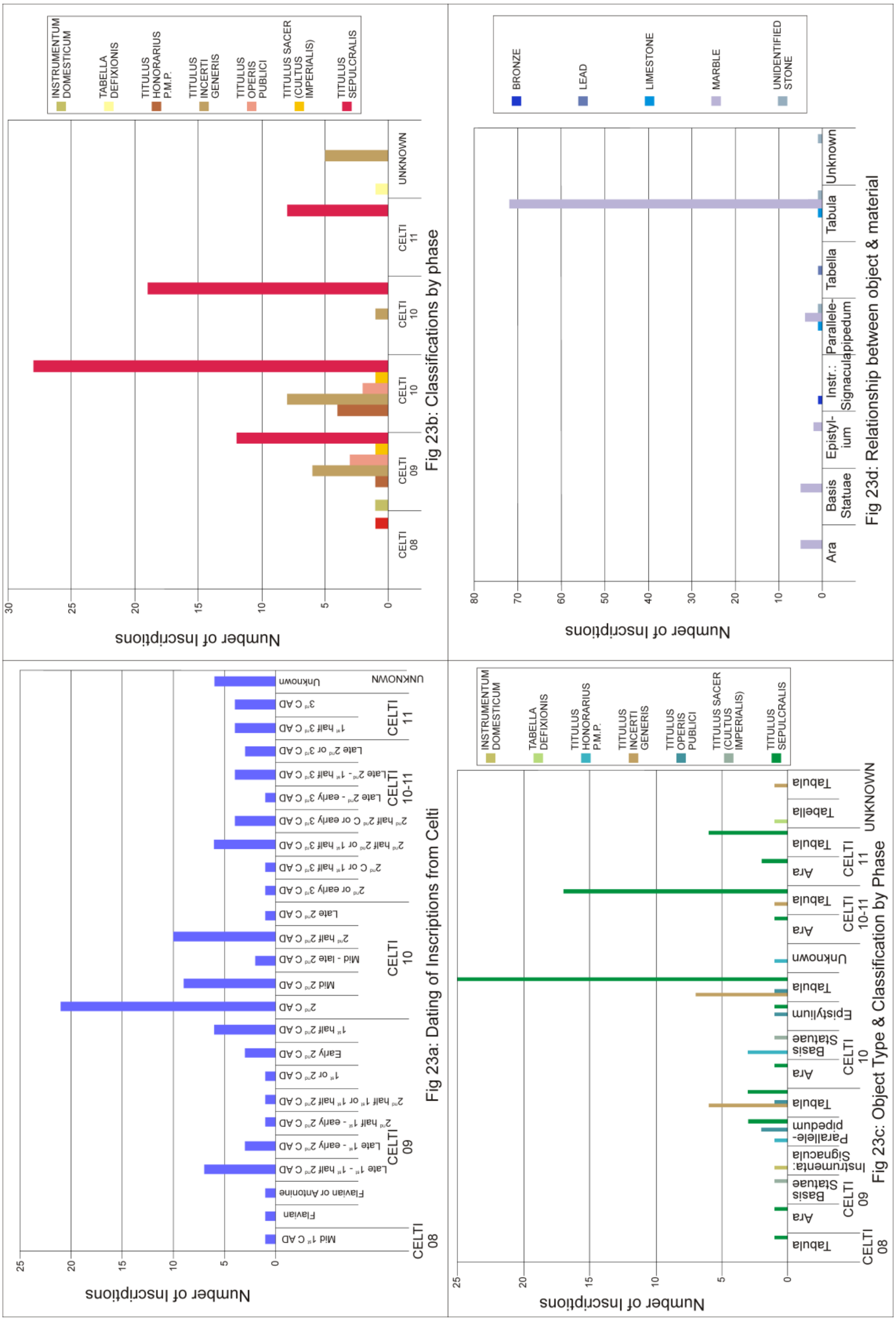

Fig. 23 a: Dating of inscriptions from Celti
Fig. 23 b: Classifications by phase of the inscriptions from Celti
Fig. 23 c: Object type and classification by phase of the inscriptions from Celti
Fig. 23 d: Relationship between object and material in the inscriptions from Celti

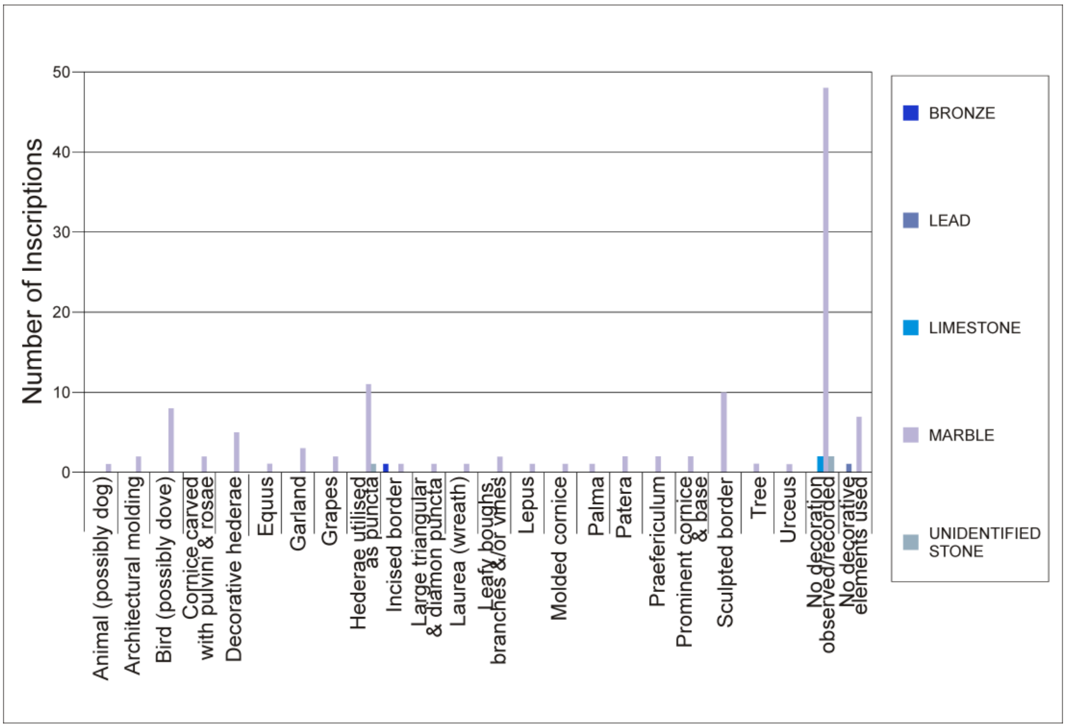

Fig. 24 a: Relationship between decoration and material in the inscriptions from Celti

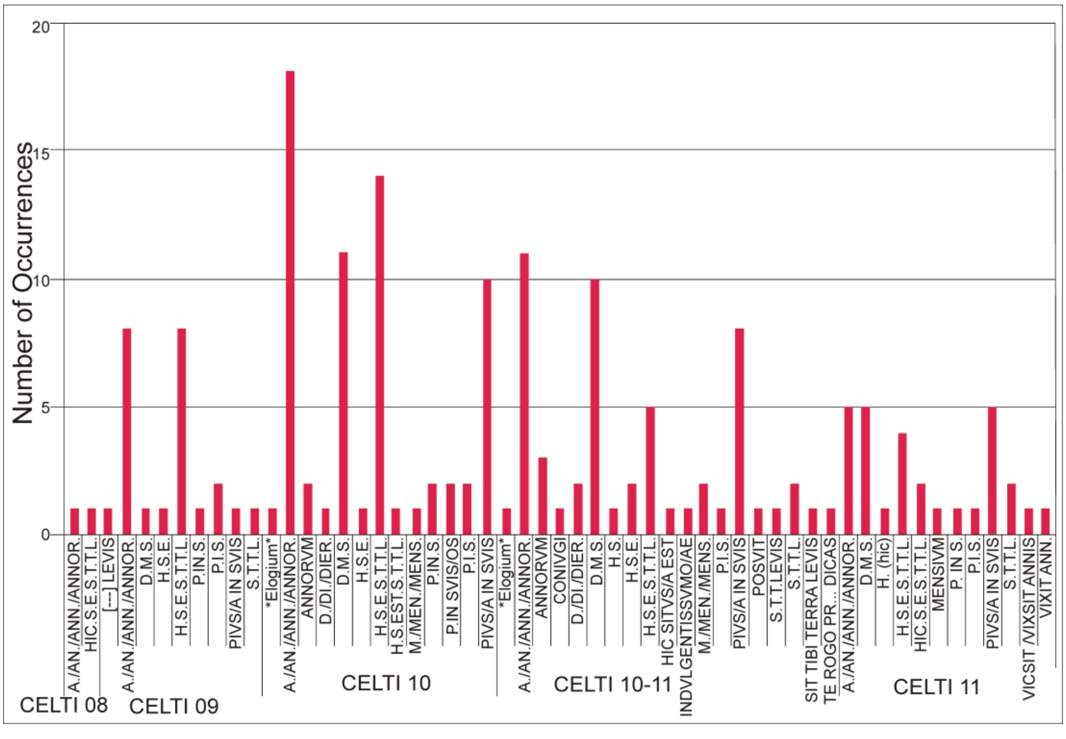

Fig. 24 b: Funerary formulae by phase of the inscriptions from Celti

6.6 CERRO DEL PASCUALEJO (ANCIENT SITE NAME UNKNOWN)

6.6.1 *Location and Nature of the Settlement, Origins & History, Topography & Urban Organisation*

Recent analyses based on the distribution of archaeological material with respect to the known settlement sites in the region, most particularly the epigraphic material, have suggested that Cerro del Pascualejo, characterised as a *vicus* agglomeration, lay within the territory of a *municipium* located on the site of the modern town of Cerro de la Atalaya (**Fig.25**). Cerro del Pascualejo lies to the south west of this municipium, roughly in the centre of the extrapolated territory.[556] It is likely that several towns of both Spanish and Roman origin existed in this district, although few can be located with any certainty. The *municipium* at Cerro de la Atalaya lay on a hill of elevation 276m and was separated from the next town in its territory by a marshy valley. The town drew the course of one of the major Roman roads through the region running from Corduba and Astigi to Urso and appears to have been inhabited from the 5th Century BC into the Roman period.

A small fragment of a municipal law found in the town[557] confirms that municipal status was conferred by Vespasian as at many other sites in the study area, but does not preserve the ancient name of the town. This has resulted in a great deal of debate about the identity of the settlement which has been associated with the historic settlement of Munda, site of the battle between the armies of Caesar and Pompey in 45BC.[558] Munda is now thought to be around 7km to the south of the territory of Cerro de la Atalaya, on the site of the modern town of Cerro de las Camorras.[559] The same major road passed by this settlement on a hill of more modest elevation (175m) which, in contrast to Cerro de la Atalaya, was walled.[560]

The settlement at Cerro del Pascualejo has been subjected in the past to a series of investigations, but the geophysical survey demonstrated the continuation of the settlement away from these two sondages at its apparent centre. The results demonstrate that the settlement was well organised with a series of structures of consistent alignment. These structures comprise a series of residences with stone

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[556] *As per Stylow et al 1998.*
[557] ATA001LM.
[558] Caesar *De Bello Hispaniensi* 27-33; Plutarch *Life of Julius Caesar 56*; Suetonius *Divus Iulius* 35 and 36.
[559] *Stylow et al 1995, 326.*
[560] *Stylow et al 1995, 326.*

and brick pavements, and associated artefacts indicate that this was a Roman settlement with a late Imperial chronology.[561]

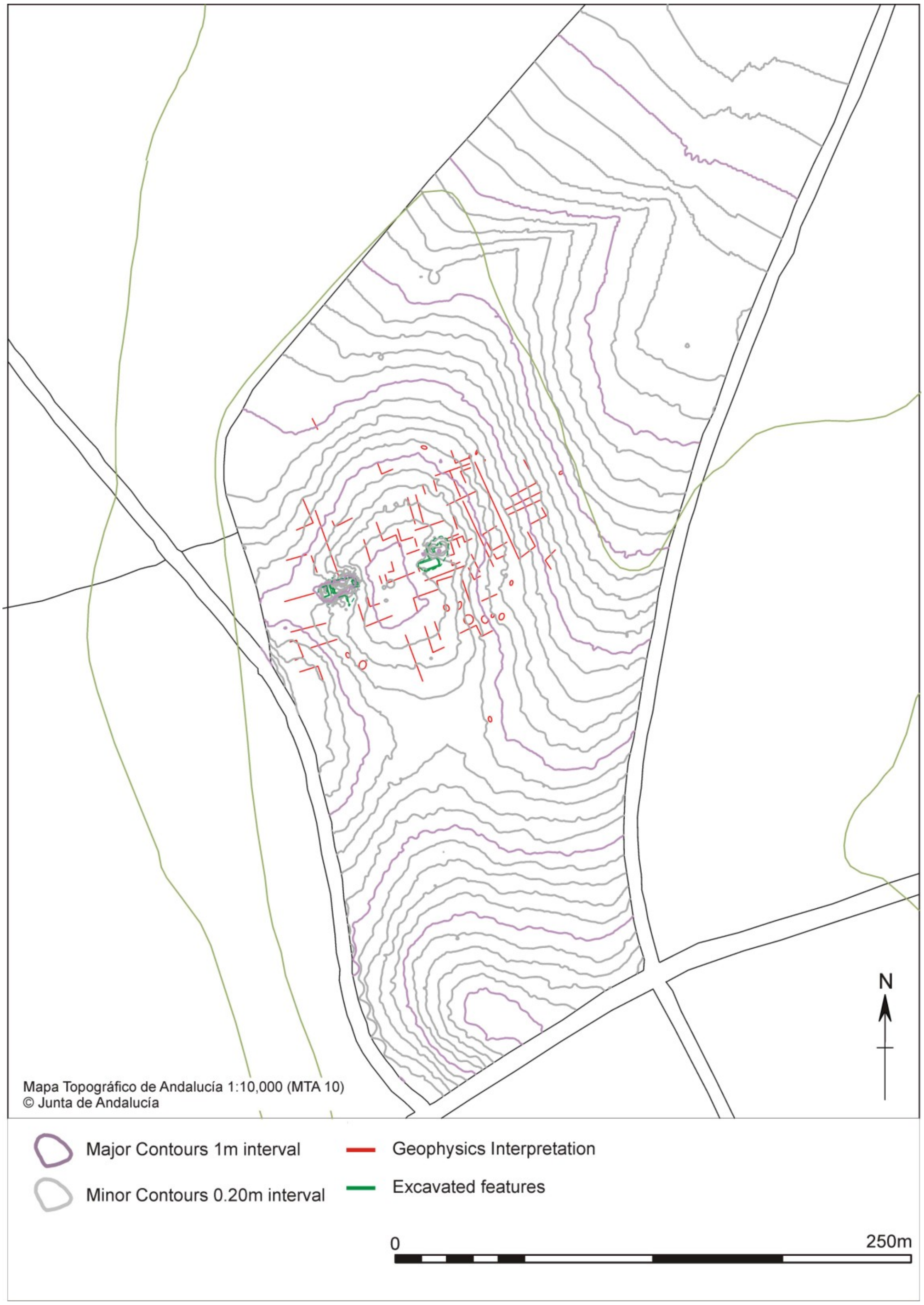

Fig. 25: Results of the topographical and geophysical survey at Cerro del Pascualejo in relation to the excavated sondages

[561] Site characterisation derived from records in Arqueos.

6.6.2 *The Epigraphic Assemblage*

a) *Chronology* (**Table 7 & Fig.27a)**

The main problem to contend with in the interpretation of the material from Cerro del Pasculaejo is its residuality. The contextual information recorded for these inscriptions seems to relate to material transported from other sites for secondary re-use. Cerro del Pascualejo has been dated as a much later site than its inscriptions and the main period focus of this thesis. It might be assumed therefore that the original provenance of this residual material was the range of other sites in the same territory in close proximity. Although this is not necessarily so, Pascualejo's position in the centre of the projected territory rather than on a border makes that more likely. The best use of this material is not to illuminate the specifics of the particular site, but to add to a wider picture which arguably has greater potential to provide information for a study of this type, which is concerned primarily with relationships both within and between sites of this nature and larger urban centres.

Apart from the possible exception of the Christian inscription, CIL II^{2}5,1131, (not included in the database due to its chronology), no inscriptions have yet been found in this territory dating beyond the 2nd Century AD.

PHASE ID	PHASE	PERIOD OF OCCUPATION	NO. INSCRIPTIONS
PASCUALEJO 01	Turdetanian: Occupation at Cerro de la Atalaya	5^{th} – end of 3^{rd} C BC	
PASCUALEJO 02	Ibero-Republican	End 3^{rd} C BC – late 1^{st} C BC	3
PASCUALEJO 02-03	Transition between Republican and Imperial	Second half 1^{st} C BC	1
PASCUALEJO 03	Early Imperial (Augustan & Julio-Claudian)	1^{st} half 1^{st} C AD	
PASCUALEJO 03-04	Transition from Julio-Claudian to Flavian	mid 1^{st} C AD	1
PASCUALEJO 04	Imperial Flavian	Second half 1^{st} C AD	1
PASCUALEJO 04-05	Flavian – 2^{nd} C AD	Late 1st - early 2nd Century AD	2
PASCUALEJO 05	Imperial	2^{nd} - early 3^{rd} C AD	7
PASCUALEJO 06	Later Roman: dated occupation at Cerro del Pascualejo	From second half 3^{rd} C AD	
PASCUALEJO 07	Late Antique	4^{th} - 7^{th} C AD	

Table 7: Phases of occupation at Cerro del Pascualejo and the surrounding area

b) *Typology* (**Fig. 27b**)

In addition to the architectural remains, three inscriptions have been provenanced to the site. Although they were all discovered in what are likely tertiary contexts, they did not travel far from the site, being reused in some of the modern houses nearby as curb stones and thresholds. Two of these are funerary inscriptions but one is clearly a public building inscription. Since this is not a find which might normally be associated with a site of this nature it prompts the question of how this public and urban inscription might be understood in the context of a small rural agglomeration. The small quantity of epigraphic material and the nature of the remains suggest that the interpretation of this site should take a wider perspective and incorporate the available data from the surrounding area in this analysis. No viable patterns can be deduced from three inscriptions alone; hence Cerro del Pascualejo must be contextualised as one of a number of sites within the territory of a larger municipium.

As discussed above, the evidence from this region is best interpreted as a whole, and the patterns of human activity can be understood more clearly in this way. Epigraphs are not prolific in this area largely due to the lack of any major excavated settlements;[562] sixteen alone have been documented within this territory, only four of which are published as *tituli oppidi* leaving a remaining twelve *tituli agri* and, as seen at Cerro del Pascualejo, these are not easily interpreted. Unsurprisingly, the majority of these are sepulchral (8) and offer the most productive opportunity to consider the social relationships of the inhabitants of this territory and the ways in which they utilised epigraphy to express those relationships.

c) *Location* (**Fig.26**)

There are so few inscriptions spread in small groups across several sites with none known to derive from primary contexts that little can be determined from the distribution of material. The proximity of Cerro del Pascualejo to both Munda and Cerro de la Atalaya, and the fact that other residual inscriptions were found at Lantejuela which has not been identified as a comparable settlement in this period, suggests that residual inscriptions from Pascualejo may well have travelled here from these sites.

[562] Cf. Sabora: 24; Cortijo del Tajo: 19; Oducia: 17; Obulcula: 7; Ilipula Minor: 5; Carula: 2. Figures from CIL II^2,5.

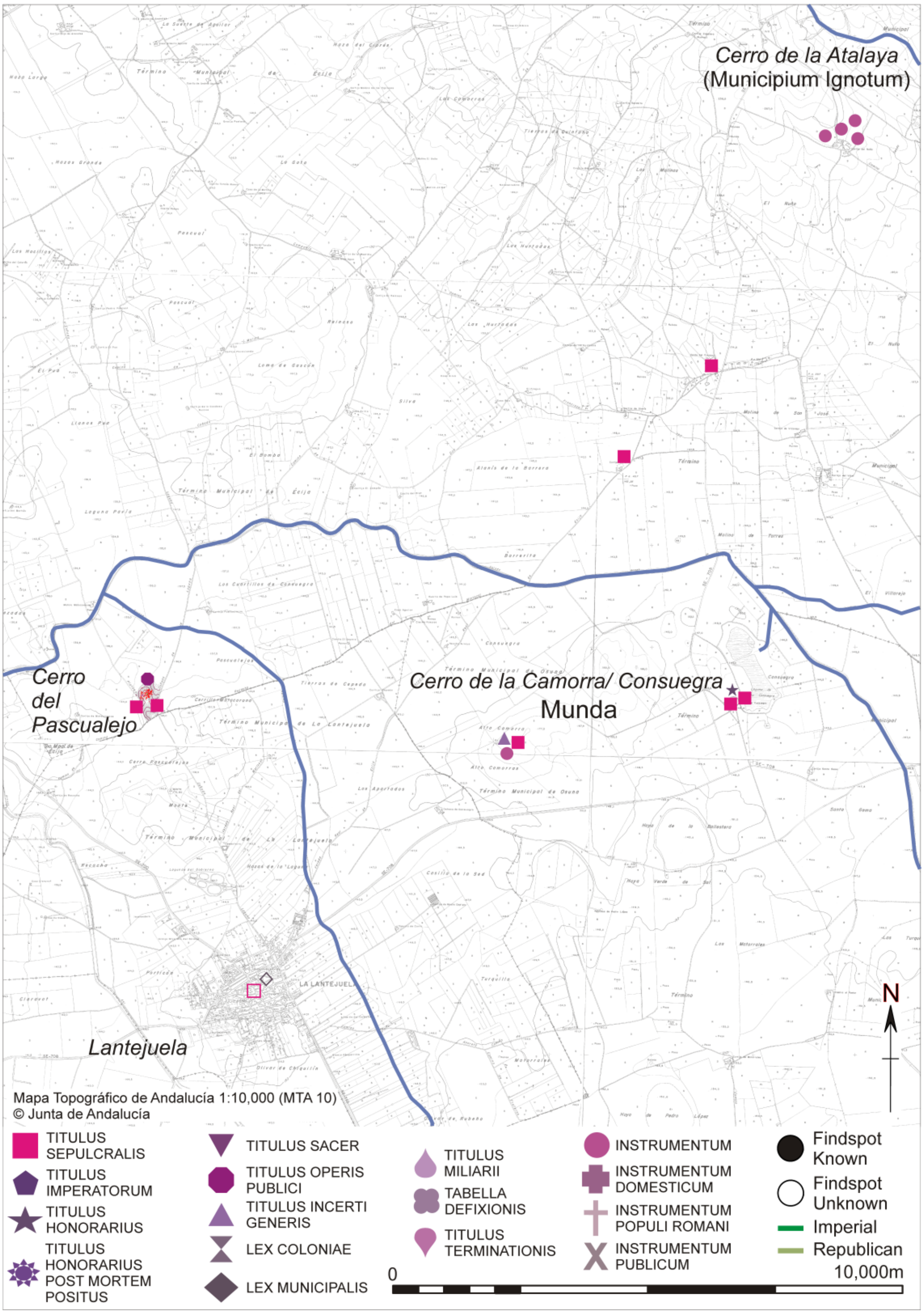

Fig. 26: Location of inscriptions with known findspots from the area within the territory of Cerro de la Atalaya

d) *Object* **(Fig.27c)**

Of the funerary inscriptions from the territory, all but two are *stelae*, placing the epigraphic traditions of the area within the context of a tradition more usually associated with Astigitanus. The selection of the remaining *tabula* and *parallelepipedum* follow trends visible in the other territories along the border and also in Astigi itself.[563]

e) *Material* (**Fig.27d & 28a**)

Other investigators at the site have commented that the construction materials visible do not originate from the local area,[564] a fact which is borne out both by the carving of the already anomalous *titulus operis publici* on a fragment of pink marble, and a consultation of the geological maps of the region.[565] On the whole, across the entire territory limestone is the most commonly utilised material for inscribed monuments. This is observed in a wide range of different types of various hues, often bright and colourful. Limestones were much more readily available in the Baetican landscape than marble and this predominance reflects the provincial nature of the epigraphic practices. The use of these materials demonstrates the existence of networks over wider areas than the territory of Cerro de la Atalaya, necessary for the procurement and transport of these materials to the local district.

The selection of which material to use does not appear to demonstrate any discernable patterns based on the small number of examples preserved. When a comparison is made of the materials utilised in other territories along the Astigitanus–Hispalensis border it appears that certain territories and *municipia* demonstrated a preference for one type of material over another.[566] Where a larger number of marble monuments are seen, they are seen overall and less limestone inscriptions are preserved. No distinction can be seen between the monuments from the towns and the *tituli agri*; the patterns appear to hold true across each region. Taking two *municipia* at the northern and southern extents of the border for the purpose of comparison; in the territory of Oducia marble is the most common material, whereas in Sabora varieties of limestone are predominant. These patterns may relate to the proximity of the Sierra Morena in the north and the southern mountain ranges respectively. Cerro de la Atalaya lies towards the middle of this axis. The selection of material does not display any correlation with smaller, more

[563]See 6.2.2 p121.
[564] Hérnandez Díaz et al 1951, 89.
[565] Carta geológica produced by the IGME (Instituto Geológico y Minero de España): Mapa de Síntesis Geológica 1:200,000.
[566] Using the data from CIL II^2,5.

specific, trends such as the use for specific types of inscription, by certain members or groups of the community or the design of the monument and the incorporation of decorative features, nor are any chronological patterns evident in the selection and employment of various materials.

Limestone inscriptions are as commonly elaborated as those constructed from marble. It may be that the lack of marble examples in parts of the epigraphic record from this area of the province reflects a selection of marble inscriptions for secondary use. However, these patterns are likely to hold true due to the lack of any discernable bias in the collection of material across the various territories. All the extant *stelae* and the single *stela quadrata* were constructed from limestone.

f) *Decoration* (**Fig. 28a**)

Despite the fact that two of the inscriptions are relatively elaborate with a carved floral relief on a limestone *stela quadrata*[567] and inlaid bronze in the *herma*,[568] the extant epigraphic material from this municipium territory is not overly ornate. Several inscriptions display sculptured borders around the text, but equally many are comparatively plain. The familiar correlation between the stela monument and the recessed epigraphic field is evident. Punctuation marks are generally triangular where these can be seen, with only one instance of *unci redacta*.[569] However, the texts themselves are very often well crafted, with flowing lines and letters extending above and below the lines of text, requiring little ornamentation to make them stand out.

g) *Formulae* (**Fig. 28b**)

The formulae utilised in the funerary inscriptions suggest a pattern through the commonality of the phrases utilised. All but one of these employ the HSESTTL formula in one form or another. All but two include details of the age at death of the deceased. The DMS formula is not so universal; only two of the examples where this section is preserved begin with this formula. On tombstones, the formula H.S.E. usually indicates a date prior to the end of the 1st Century AD, whilst D.M.S. does not become widely used until the mid 1st Century AD and is most common in the 2nd

567 RAB001TS
568 CSH001TH
569 CSG001TH.

and 3rd Centuries AD.[570] The epigraphic assemblage from the territory of Cerro de la Atalaya demonstrates how fluid such patterns are in reality. The formula H.S.E. appears frequently in inscriptions of the mid to late 2nd Century[571] as well as earlier periods. [572] The majority of the inscriptions overall date to the 2nd Century AD (7)[573] following more widespread patterns of epigraphic density across the Roman world. Particularly interesting is an early *stela* from the second half of the 1st Century BC,[574] dedicated to Marcus Porcius Gallicus, son of Marcus and member of the Galerian voting tribe. The inscription is roughly carved but it bears early signs of traditions which can be seen to continue throughout the epigraphic life of the region in terms of formulae (H.S.E.S.T.T.L.), monument (s*tela*) and design (plain with recessed epigraphic field). Amongst the non-funerary formulae there is only the reference to the status of Cerro del Atalaya as a *municipium* in the *Lex Municipalis.*[575]

6.6.2 *The Social Community*

Relationships between individuals are particularly evident amongst the epigraphic record of the territory of Cerro de la Atalaya. Individuals are connected to each other in several ways. Firstly, specific relationships are recorded such as Briseis, the nursemaid of Quintus Rutilius Flaccus Cornelianus[576], or filiation in the record of an individual's full name.[577] Some are associated through their burial together, although no specific relationship is recorded.[578] Others are jointly involved in instigating the construction of individual monuments and buildings.[579] Relationships and connections between specific individuals are made explicitly in this way rather than simply recording the name of the honoured or deceased individual and retaining the anonymity of the benefactor of the inscribed monument. These relationships are

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570 *Stylow 1998, 113-114.*
571 RAB001TS, CSG002TS & PAS003TS.
572 1st Century BC: CSG004TS.
573 4 1st C BC therefore early start in this region; 2 clear 1st C AD; 2 1st/2nd C AD; 7 clear 2nd C AD; 1 later is Christian.
574 CSG004TS.
575 ATA001LM.
576 RAB001TS.
577 RAB001TS, CSG003TS, & CSH004TS.
CSG002TS & LAN001TS.
578 e.g. LAN001TS.
579 CSG001TS & PAS001OP.

primarily seen in the funerary inscriptions but are also mirrored in other types of epigraph.[580] One unidentified individual records his or her *origo* as *Obulcula*, but there is little information other than this regarding movement between communities.[581]

Within this larger community various social groups are evidenced in the epigraphic record. Analysis of the names, professions and family relationships recorded demonstrates that a range of individuals were responsible for setting up inscribed monuments, including likely wealthy individuals,[582] and freedmen and women.[583] The same breadth is demonstrated amongst the individuals commemorated, who are by no means restricted to wealthy individuals.[584] A large proportion of the inscriptions record female members of the community. The majority of these are recipients but not exclusively so[585] and the same two inscriptions are the most elaborate in the assemblage. This small epigraphic assemblage demonstrates that members of the community from various social groups were involved in the epigraphic life of the region, illustrating the smaller networks and relationships within the wider community.

It is not possible to discern conclusively whether an imperial settlement was constructed over Cerro de las Camorras. The epigraphic evidence offers little help since, of the five inscriptions known, all are sepulchral except for a single honorific *herma*. Stylow cites the *decurion* commemoration and the record of membership of the Galerian tribe, but argues rightly that neither can be utilised as firm arguments in support of the existence of an ancient municipium at Cerro de las Camorras rather than being connected to the city of Urso.[586]

The overall picture of the territory of the municipium situated on the site of Cerro de la Atalaya is one of a community built around close social relationships and family units, which forms part of larger networks and cooperation across both the *conventus* and the province as a whole. The modern convergence of four términos reflects the fact that the ancient site was also close to a border - between two

[580] CSG001TS & PAS001OP.
[581] PAS002TS.
[582] E.g. possibly RAB001TS.
[583] CSG001TS.
[584] RAB001TS: Nursemaid.
[585] E.g. CSG001TS.
[586] *Stylow et al 1995, 326.*

conventus divisions. There is plenty of evidence for deliberate contact between areas of the *conventus*, the most obvious being the roads connecting the major settlements. These physical routes were likely utilised as thoroughfares in the transport of the materials utilised for construction and epigraphy. There certainly seems to have been some relationship between the Cerro de la Atalaya territory and that of Obulcula, as evidenced by the inscription from Cerro del Pascualejo inscription.[587] Obulcula lay to the north of the projected territory studied in detail here. Of the funerary inscriptions from the territory, all but two are *stelae*, and the remaining *tabula* and *parallelepipedum* follow trends visible in the other territories along the border and also in Astigi itself.

[587] PAS002TS.

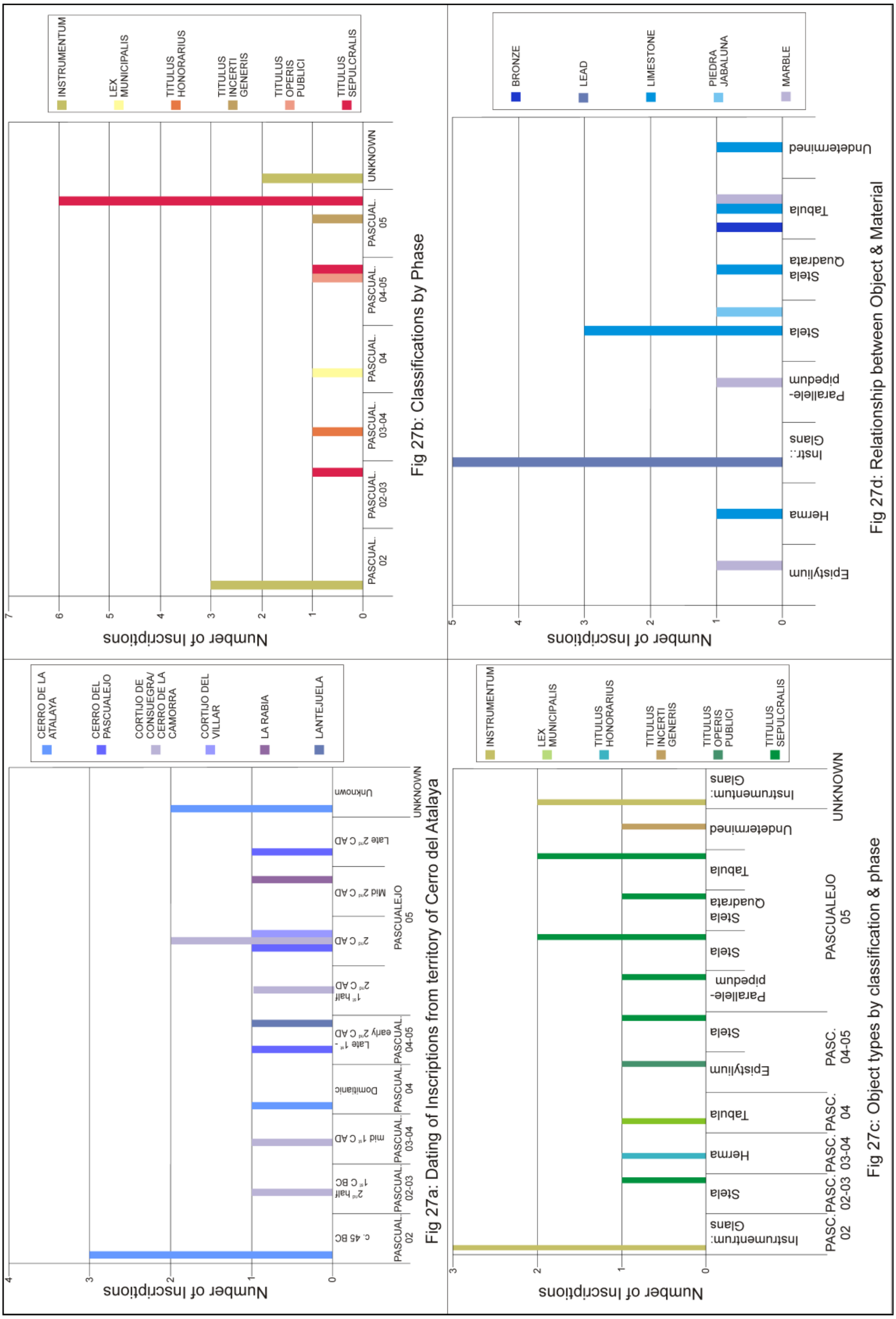

Fig. 27 a: Dating of inscriptions from the territory of Cerro de la Atalaya
Fig. 27 b: Classifications by phase of the inscriptions from Cerro de la Atalaya
Fig. 27 c: Object types by classification and phase of the inscriptions from Cerro de la Atalaya
Fig. 27 d: Relationship between object and material in the inscriptions from the territory of Cerro de la Atalaya

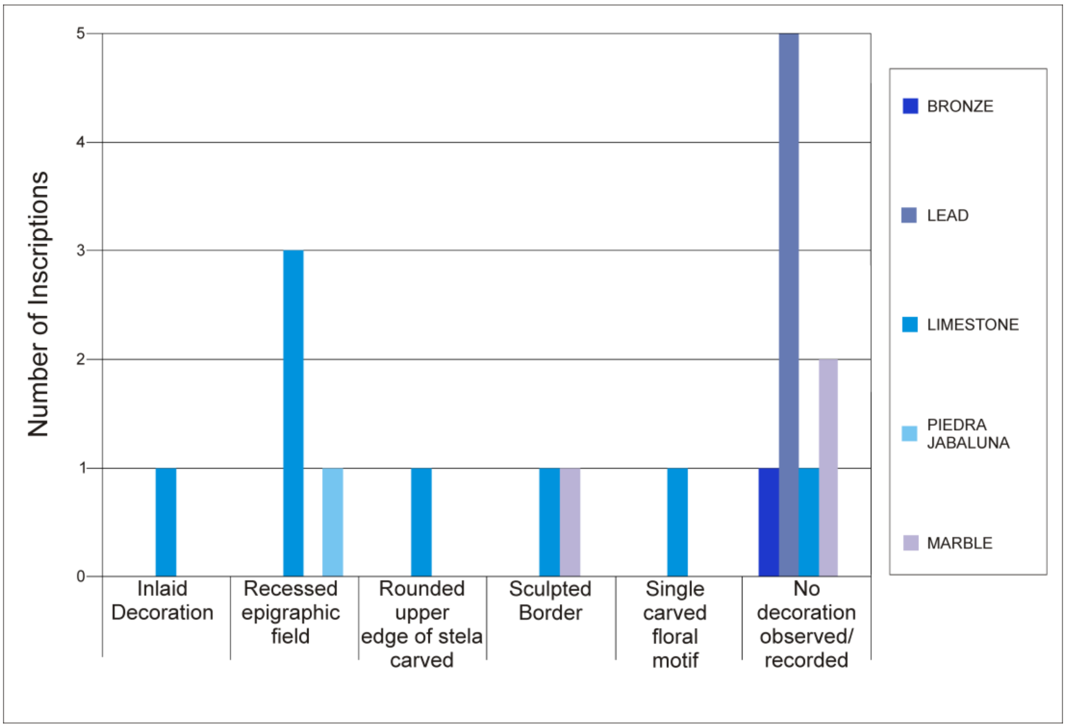

Fig. 28 a: Relationship between decoration and material in the inscriptions from the territory of Cerro de la Atalaya

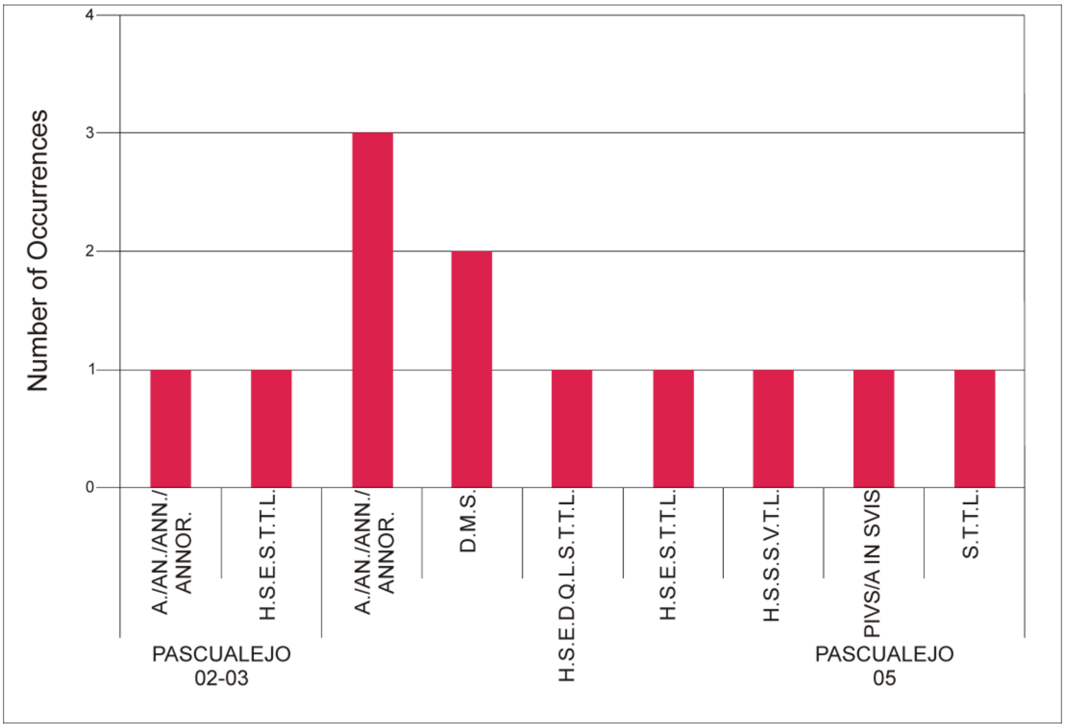

Fig. 28 b: Funerary formulae by phase in the inscriptions from the territory of Cerro de la Atalaya

6.7 EL GANDUL *(IRIPPO?)*

6.7.1 *Location and Nature of the Settlement, Origins and History, Topography and Urban Organisation*

The settlement at Mesa de Gandul is located on a wide peninsula at the south western limit of the Los Alcores, the opposite extent to Carmona. It is the final settlement in a series following the length of the Los Alcores from Carmona to the west.[588] Several factors indicate that the site at Gandul should be interpreted as a major Roman town which was comparable with Carmona in size and status. In the absence of any contradictory evidence the site is acknowledged as possibly being Irippo.[589] The Mesa, which consisted of a large plateau surrounded by steep slopes to the northeast and south and fortifications to the west and north so that access could be tightly restricted, appears to have been the focus of settlement and activity. The size and extent of the plateau made it the most suitable location for urban construction. Gandul's excellent visibility and location overlooking the *campiña* and the Guadalquivir valley gave it a strong strategic position from which to control access and movement into and through much of this area of the province, and it lay on the main communication route between Hispalis and Basilippo. It is possible to imagine the visual impact that a major settlement in such a prominent location created upon the surrounding landscape.

There are very little visible remains left at the site, but the surface material evidence is exceptionally densely distributed from all periods,[590] lending credence to the theory that Gandul was a prominent site. Little of the internal organisation can be ascertained; there are few remains at surface level beyond the occasional wall footing and one apsidal *opus signinum* structure on the Mesa itself, remains of burial sites including a Roman mausoleum of Claudian date and an amphitheatre to the north, but it is clear that occupation was dense. Evidence of industrial activity was located outside the walls. Several Roman pottery wasters indicating the presence of workshops producing ceramics have been found to the west, as has metalworking debris to the north of the earthworks. A limestone quarry was also located abutting

[588] Amores Carredano 1982.
[589] As argued by *Pascual Barea 2002 & 2003*, although the evidence is rather convoluted.
[590] The evidence described in the following paragraph relates to investigations carried out by members of the University of Southampton as part of the Cuidades Romanas Project, and which are collated in an unpublished report.

the defensive earthworks to the north, so local construction material for architecture and epigraphy was available close at hand.

The inscription reading *Ordo Municipum Municipii Ilipensium*[591] has been used as an argument for identification of Gandul with the site of Ilipa with little success. No other indications are given amongst the epigraphy of urban name or status.

6.7.2 *The Epigraphic Assemblage*

a) *Chronology* (**Table 8 & Fig.30a)**

PHASE ID	PHASE	PERIOD OF OCCUPATION	NO. INSCRIPTIONS
GANDUL 01	Chalcolithic	From 3rd Millennium BC	
GANDUL 02	Late Bronze Age	To 8th C BC	
GANDUL 03	Tartessian	To 6th C BC	
GANDUL 04	Turdetanian	6th – 3rd C BC	
GANDUL 05	Carthaginian	Late 3rd C BC	
GANDUL 06	Ibero-Republican	Late 3rd – late 1st C BC	
GANDUL 07	Augustan	End 1st C BC – early 1st C AD	
GANDUL 08	Early Imperial	Mid-later 1st - 2nd C AD	3
GANDUL 08-09	Early – Mid Imperial	2nd C AD	2
GANDUL 09	Mid Imperial	Later 2nd - 3rd C AD	4
GANDUL 09-10	Mid – Late Imperial	3rd C AD	5
GANDUL 10	Late Imperial	Later 3rd - 4th C AD	1

Table 8: Phases of occupation at Irippo

The earliest inscriptions so far provenanced to Gandul date from the second half of the 1st Century AD under the Flavian emperors. The settlement appears therefore, as

591 GAN017HP.

do several other well established native settlements, to have retained its structure throughout the Republican period and into the early years of the Empire, unaffected by the influence of Augustan rebuilding programmes elsewhere. The use of inscriptions continues into the later Empire with five inscriptions from the 3rd Century, the most from any single time period, and a further example dated to the 3rd or 4th Century AD. It is unfortunate that so many of the inscriptions from Gandul, being exceptionally fragmentary in nature, have been impossible to date.

The nature of the inscriptions found during a surface survey in 1997 have been suggested by Caballos Rufino to be civil in character, despite the inability to pronounce classification for certain, and the range of dates found he suggests indicates the destruction of the settlement.[592]

b) *Typology* (**Fig. 30b**)

The earliest inscriptions comprise two honorific dedications and a funerary inscription, and a similar set of material dates to the later 2nd to early 3rd Century AD. There can be no doubt that at this time Gandul was a prospering town erecting public as well as private inscriptions. Since the majority of the inscriptions cannot be classified, little else can be suggested from the material.

c) *Location* (**Fig.29**)

Had more inscriptions been provenanced to specific areas of the settlement it might have been possible to extrapolate more detail from their patterns of distribution. Nevertheless it is clear that the Mesa was a focus of activity and a suitable setting for the erection of epigraphic monuments. Given the lack of modern occupation over the archaeological site there is potential for more inscriptions to be found, particularly if a programme of excavation were to be carried out. At best it can be verified that the area where the civil inscriptions are located represents the heart of the settlement.

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[592] *Caballos Rufino Unpub., 1.*

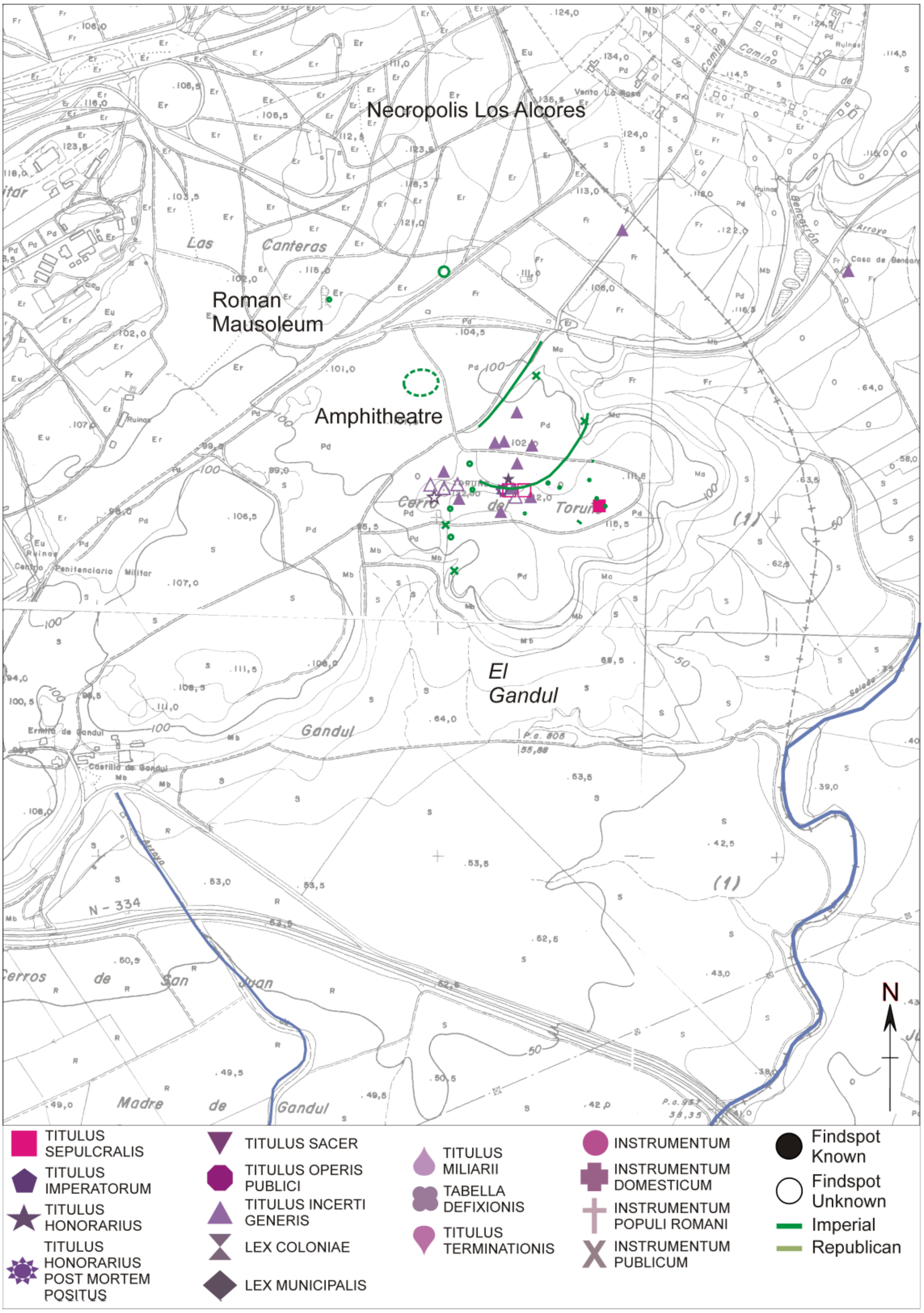

Fig. 29: Location of inscriptions with known findspots from Irippo

d) *Object* **(Fig.30c)**

Once again, the inability to deduce what type of inscribed monument the fragments originated from, limits the inferences that can be drawn from the material. The largest number preserved (15) are *tabulae* excluding only a single statue base and *tegula*. The statue base forms the structure of an honorific dedication,[593] but since similar texts (both to the living and post mortem) were inscribed upon *tabulae* it is clear that there was a degree of variation in the selections of monument type for similar inscriptions.

e) *Material* (**Fig.30d & 31a**)

Aside from the clay *tegula* and two fragments for which the information pertaining to material is lost, the entirety of the extant assemblage is inscribed upon marble. Fourteen of these are the plain white marble derived from Almadén de la Plata. There is no great variety of colours as at other sites, with only three inscriptions recorded as utilising yellow marble.

Marble sourced from Almadén de la Plata was utilised throughout the settlement's monumental history under the Roman Empire for both funerary and honorific dedications dating from at least the second half of the 1st Century AD through to the 3rd Century, and even potentially the 4th Century AD.

f) *Decoration* (**Fig. 31a**)

Due to the fragmentary nature of the assemblage, little decoration has been preserved and recorded. *Hederae* are utilised as *puncta* on two funerary inscriptions, two honorific inscriptions have relief sculptured borders, and a third employs *virgulae* as *puncta*. There is little dating evidence for the use of decorative motifs, but the *virgulae* date to the late 1st to 2nd Century AD, and the sculptured borders and *hederae* appear in the later 2nd to 3rd Century AD, perhaps indicating a shift in preference.

g) *Formulae* (**Fig.31b**)

Despite the fragmentary nature of many of these inscriptions, a large range of formulae has been recorded including a unique elogium. The formulae concentrate upon the commonly seen details of the deceased's age at death, standard funerary formulae such as D.M.S., H.S.E.S.T.T.L. and variations, together with details of the involvement of the *ordo* in sanctioning and designating space and funds for honorific

593 GAN018TH.

dedications. One of these indicates that a shield and pedestal statue were decreed[594] which correlates with the statue base found at the site. Also indicated are the roles of individual family or household members as dedicators shouldering the financial burden for these inscriptions. Three superlatives are seen, *dulcissimae*, *piissumae* and *pientissimae* to describe the relationship between the deceased and the dedicator.. One post mortem honorific dedication includes age at death in years, months and days.[595] One honorific inscription suggests the influence of the emperor, granting the monument '*indulgentiae* eius'.[596] The earliest 'formula' is actually the elogium which dates to the late 1st to early 2nd Century AD.[597] This is composed in hexameters and indicates a knowledge of Latin literary works, which might be interpreted as an indication of Romanisation but could just as easily be the product of an outsider. *Annorum* is utilised, but *vicsit annis numero* is also inscribed in the late 2nd or 3rd Century AD.

6.7.3 *The Social Community*

Sixteen individuals are discernible from the assemblage, but eight of these cannot be identified even by gender. Age at death is recorded in years, but also on two occasions (one adult and one child) in months and days. Despite the limited information from Gandul the evidence preserves a post mortem dedication to Marcus Accenna Helvius Agrippa, of senatorial rank, by his son.[598] The association of the town with an individual such as this signifies that Gandul was an important settlement with an elite population, and the fact that his son set up the inscription suggests that they were a local family, having been promoted to senatorial rank. Amongst the remaining individuals two others can be identified with *tria nomina*. Only one *origo* is mentioned: Lucurgentum,[599] a town not too far distant from El Gandul associated with the modern site of Moron de la Frontera.[600] Few relationships are preserved, but those that are relate to close family ties.

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594 GAN017HP.
595 GAN016HP.
596 GAN017HP.
597 GAN022TS.
598 GAN016HP.
599 GAN021TS.
600 In the past inscriptions from Irippo which were found in Morón de la Frontera have been assigned to Lucurgentum, and Gandul was once thought to be Lucurgentum. Pliny lists the site amongst the towns of Hispalensis : *Pliny Naturalis Historia 3.*11 but the situation was only clarified when during

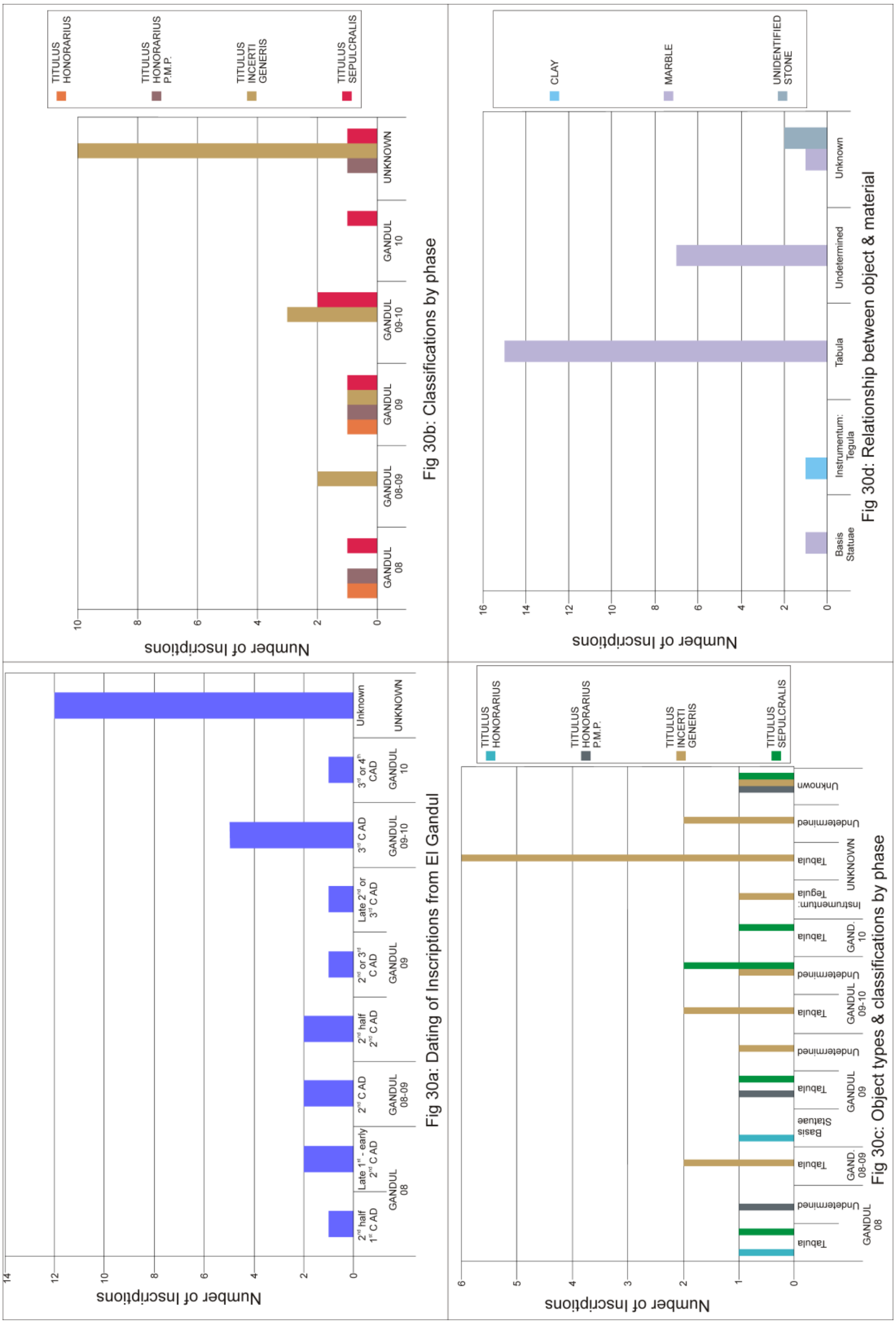

Fig. 30 a: Dating of inscriptions from Irippo
Fig. 30 b: Classifications by phase of the inscriptions from Irippo
Fig. 30 c: Object types and classifications by phase of the inscriptions from Irippo
Fig. 30 d: Relationship between objects and material in the inscriptions from Irippo

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the construction of the Base Aérea de Móron de la Frontera, an inscription was discovered which included the urban name: *Amores 1982, 126; Corzo & Toscano Gil 1992, 150.*

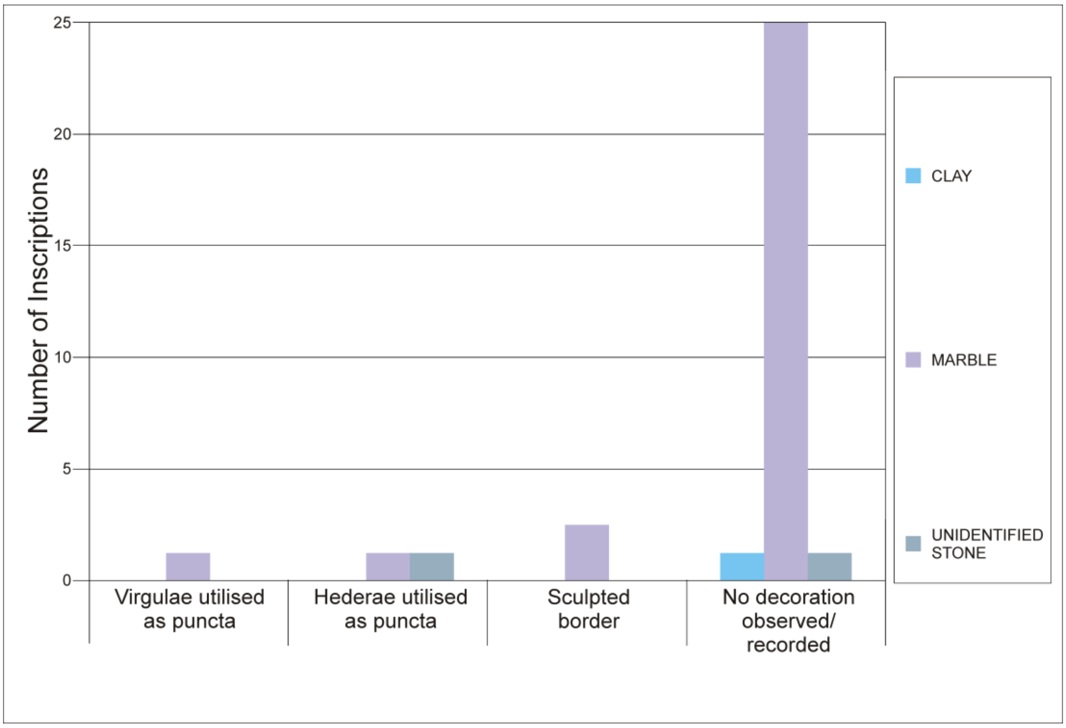


Fig. 31 a: Relationship between decoration and material in the inscriptions from Irippo

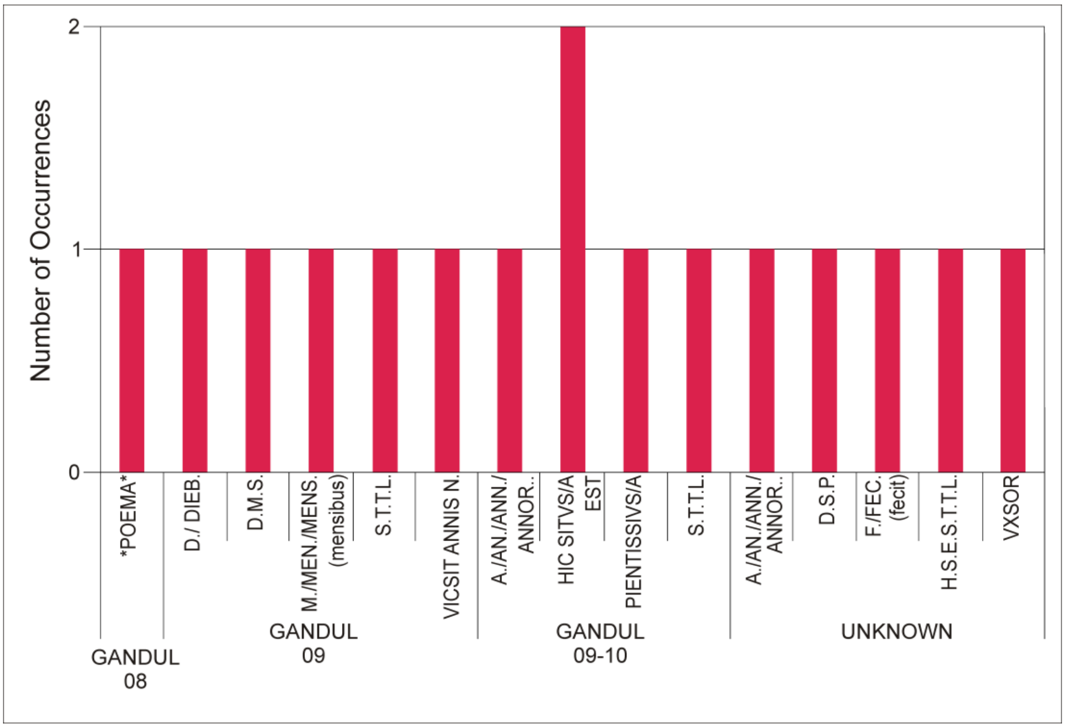


Fig. 31 b: Funerary formulae by phase in the inscriptions from Irippo

6.8 SEVILLA (COLONIA ROMULA IULIA HISPALIS)

6.8.1 *Location and Nature of the Settlement, Origins & History, Topography & Urban Organisation*

The Roman site of Hispalis was resettled after it was destroyed by the Carthaginians in 216 BC. Reconstruction of the city began in 206 BC when Scipio Africanus founded Italica. Hispalis grew into an important and prosperous port at a juncture of the navigable stretch of the River Baetis and came to control access and communications by this route throughout the rest of the province. During the Late Republic although there was no formal Roman presence it was associated with a *conventus civium Romanorum*[601] which was in keeping with its position on the provincial trading networks. Given that some of the population of Hispalis had supported Pompeian forces during the Civil Wars of the 40s BC,[602] the foundation of a *colonia* by Caesar in 45 BC - the *Colonia Iulia Romula Hispalis,* should be viewed as part of a policy of settlement and not reward.[603] By the second half of the century a new forum[604] had been constructed and the city wall was completed by the end of the 1st Century AD.[605] Hispalis' prominence relied upon its position in relation to the river, but the connections provided by the Via Augusta also provided it with easy access to land routes. Trajan and Hadrian, who did much at Italica,[606] did not make any significant alterations to the new plan of Hispalis and it continued to thrive largely on the basis of the trade in olive oil through the 3rd Century AD and its influence spread as far as north Africa.

The generation of the Imperial town out of the Republican settlement represents a huge expansion in area extending mainly in three directions from the Republican town.[607] The Imperial forum abutted the northern edge of the Republican settlement.[608] A second forum in the south western corner of the new Imperial city was the forum of the corporations,[609] who are seen frequently in the epigraphic assemblage of the site. Only the bare bones of the Roman city have been known until recently, but now rescue excavations in the centre of the modern city

601 Caesar *De Bello Civili 2.20.5.*
602 Caesar *De Bello Hispaniensi 42.1-3.*
603 *Richardson 1996, 120.*
604 *Campos Carrasco 1987.*
605 *Campos Carrasco 1993.*
606 As discussed in several of the articles in *Caballos Rufino & Léon 1997.*
607 *Campos Carrasco 1993; Tabales Rodríguez 2001.*
608 *Campos Carrasco 1987.*
609 *Campos Carrasco 1987.*

have begun to provide more evidence.[610] However, as is the case in most cities with similar occupation histories, it is necessary to base any interpretations upon a series of spatially isolated pockets of data.

6.8.2 *The Epigraphic Assemblage*

a) *Chronology* (**Table 9 & Fig. 33a)**

PHASE ID	PHASE	PERIOD OF OCCUPATION	NO. INSCRIPTIONS
HISPALIS 01	Tartessian settlement	8th C BC -5th C BC	
HISPALIS 02	Phoenician & Carthaginian trading colony	5th C – 3rd C BC	
HISPALIS 03	Rebuilding after Carthaginian destruction	206 BC -	
HISPALIS 04	Caesarian: Colonia established	Second half 1st C BC (45 BC onwards)	
HISPALIS 04-05	Late Republican - Early Imperial	1st C BC – 1st C AD	1
HISPALIS 05	Augustan: Made capital	End 1st C BC – early 1st C AD	
HISPALIS 06	Early Imperial: urban expansion	1st - 2nd C AD	8
HISPALIS 06-07	Early-Mid Imperial	2nd C AD	20
HISPALIS 07	Mid Imperial	Later 2nd - 3rd C AD	20
HISPALIS 07-08	Mid-Late Imperial	3rd C AD	3
HISPALIS 08	Later Imperial	3rd - 5th C AD	2

Table 9: Periods of occupation at Hispalis

[610] *Tabales Rodríguez 2001.*E.g. excavation in *el mercado de la Encarnación* by Amores Carredano and others.

The earliest inscription dates to the Late Republic and Early Empire, the period most closely associated with Hispalis' change in status to that of *colonia*. There are no inscriptions that can be related specifically to the reign of Augustus, even though the creation of Hispalis as capital of one of the new *conventus* divisions might have encouraged the use of epigraphy as a form of expression. However, between the first inscription and the next there is a long hiatus until the late 1st Century AD. This new beginning in terms of epigraphy (provided the 40 undated inscriptions do not fill the gap) must surely relate to the urban expansion of the 1st and 2nd Centuries AD. Given that the site had been the location of a *conventus civium Romanorum* and had already started to display urban attributes which might be interpreted as culturally Roman,[611] it is perhaps surprising that the evidence seems to suggest that the adoption of inscriptions was a later development. Inscribing appears to continue at a relatively similar level through to the early 3rd Century AD, when economic instability perhaps rocked the situation enough to result in a decrease of the practice.

b) *Typology* (**Fig. 33b**)

The most common genre overall is the funerary inscription, but in the 1st to 2nd Century AD the numbers of preserved t*ituli honorarii* form the majority, closely followed by the *tituli imperatorum*. A comparatively high proportion of *tituli sacri* also form part of the assemblage from this period. By the later 2nd Century AD, the assemblage is dominated by *tituli sepulcrales*, but honorific dedications, *tituli sacri* and *tituli imperatorum* are still in existence, if in smaller numbers. Unfortunately, those inscriptions which are undated not only contain a large number of funerary inscriptions but also several public inscriptions of several genres which could add to the picture of the progression of epigraphy in the town. Whilst *tituli imperatorum* continue to be erected until the later imperial period during the very early 4th Century, no *tituli sacri* have been found dated after the later 2nd to early 3rd Century AD.

c) *Location* (**Fig.32**)

So many of the inscriptions which have since been provenanced to Hispalis derive from private un-contextualised collections, or reused contexts, that it is difficult to

[611] *Caesar De Bello Civili 2.20.4*; *Richardson 1996, 118-119.*

tell whether there is any value in plotting the findspots of the inscriptions. This principle relies to some extent upon the possibility that inscriptions will sometimes have been reused close to their original location. It is not conclusive, but there are conglomerations of a few honorific and imperial dedications in the region around the forum of the corporations and again around the imperial forum, and generally the public inscriptions for which findspots have been recorded are not dispersed over as wide an area as the funerary inscriptions.[612]

[612] Details of urban plan derived from *Campos Carrasco 1987, 1989 & 1993. & Tabales Rodriguez2001.*

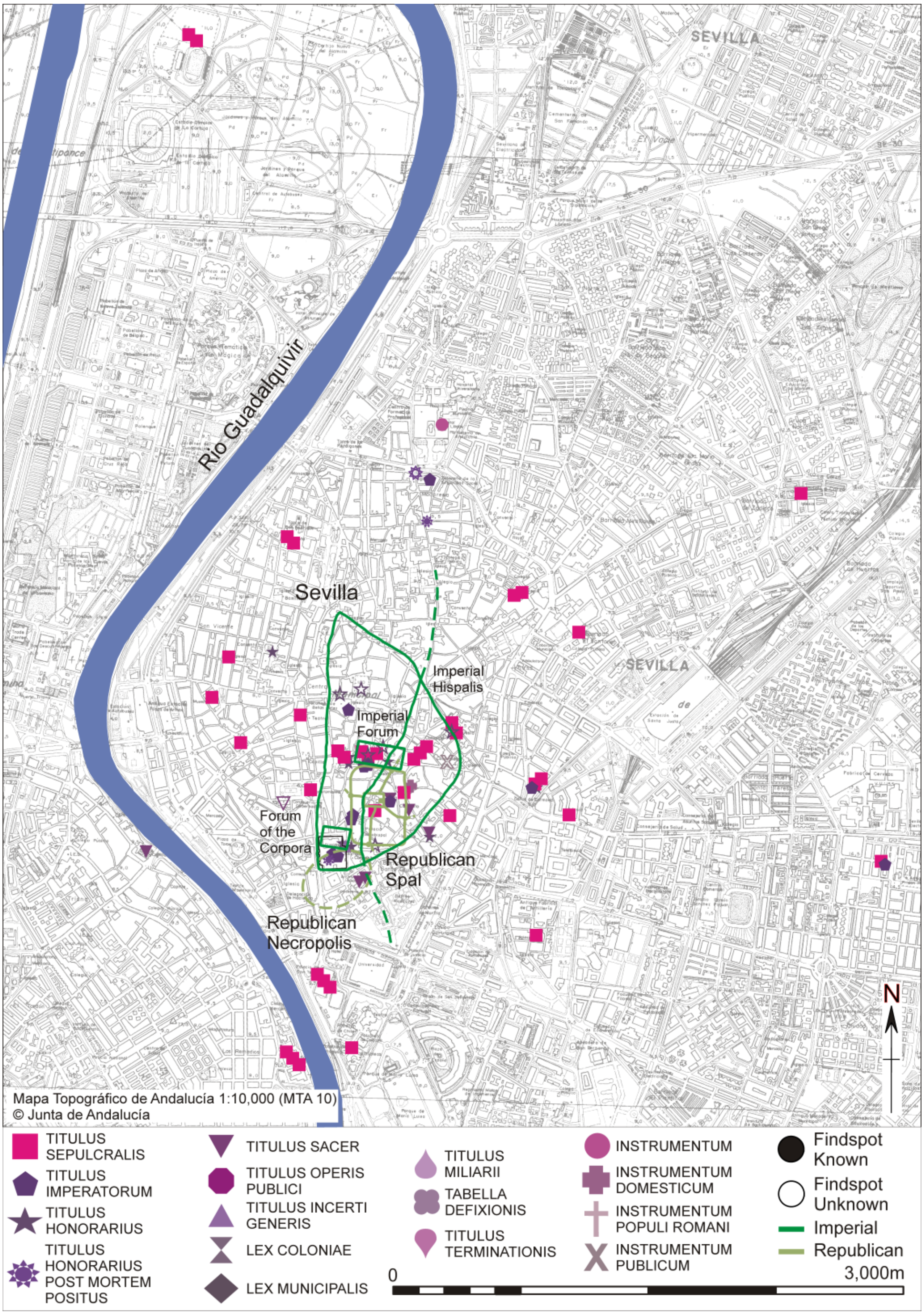


Fig. 32: Location of inscriptions with known findspots from Hispalis

d) *Object* **(Fig.33c)**

The range of inscribed object types from Hispalis is diverse; of those identified the most common are altars (16), statue bases (15) and *tabulae* (12). Interestingly, two *stelae* are amongst the assemblage,[613] along with other inscribed objects such as columns and *cippi*.[614] One of the *stelae* is the earliest inscription in the preserved assemblage, dating to the late Republic or early Imperial period, but the second dates to the later 2nd or early 3rd Century. Both appear anomalous within the context of the rest of the assemblage. One of these in particular[615] has a secure provenance to Hispalis so these are not inscriptions reassigned from other parts of the province in antiquarian collections and represent true anomalies in the data. The objects utilised for funerary inscriptions were more varied than has been observed at other sites previously. Overall, the funerary altar was the most common monument in all periods from the 1st Century AD onwards, except for a large number of statue bases in the late 1st and early 2nd Century. *Tabulae* occur on six occasions in the later 2nd to 3rd Century AD, but otherwise only another six examples, four earlier, two later, have been found.

Honorific inscriptions utilised statue bases, altars and *tabulae*, together with one example of an inscribed column. There are not enough examples to determine any patterns in their use over time, but the same objects reoccur so it seems likely that they were all employed throughout each period. The imperial dedications (to the emperors themselves and to the imperial cults of Minerva,[616] Pantheus,[617] Venus Genetrix[618] and Vesta Augusta[619]) are almost exclusively statue bases, with the exception of two *tabulae* from AD 145-161 and AD 198–208, both dedications directed to specific emperors. Hispalis is the first site studied so far where imperial dedications have been found in any significant numbers. The *tituli sacri* demonstrate the use of similar monuments as altars, statue bases and a *tabula*.

e) *Material* (**Fig.34a & 34b**)

Marble is the material of choice in Hispalis, with only three examples of limestone[620] and one of granite.[621] This dominance is true in all periods, but the limestone examples, which in previous sites we have seen occurring in the earlier periods, are

613 HIS045TS & HIS078TS.
614 Columns: HIS021TH, HIS092IP & HIS094IG; Cippi: HIS051TS & HIS060TS.
615 HIS078TS.
616 *Rodríguez Cortés 1991, 36-38.*
617 See n.417 p123 above.
618 *Rodríguez Cortés 1991, 91-97.*
619 *Ibid, 97-99.*
620 HIS045TS, HIS079TS & HIS088TS.
621 HIS139SC.

here found in the later periods from the later 2nd to second half of the 3rd Century AD. This potentially raises an interesting question regarding the selection of material for inscribing in the later part of Hispalis' history.

The limestone monuments comprise *the* later of the two *stelae* (the earliest being constructed from marble), and two tabulae, all of which are funerary inscriptions. The granite monument was a *titulus sacer* from the late 2nd to early 3rd Century AD. All the statue bases apart from one that remains unidentified are marble.

A series of different stones have been identified, some of which correspond to *tabulae* and altars. The majority are white, though some have lilac, pink or purple veins. Yellow, grey and black marbles have also been seen, but the colour of the granite is unknown. The limestone fragments are all yellow. Seven monuments have marble derived from the Almadén de la Plata quarries, and a further five have been provenanced to the Sierra de la Mijas. Given Hispalis' position in the trade and transport networks it is not surprising that local materials from both the north and south have been seen. It would be interesting to know whether any of the unidentified marble fragments are from imported types.

f) *Decoration* (**Fig. 34b**)

Hispalis' inscriptions are quite highly decorated, predominantly sometimes with quite elaborate relief architectural moulding and sculpture. Engraved motifs usually comprise decorative *hederae*, but also include vessels associated with ritual sacrifices, commonly seen on the sides of altars, and one particularly individual engraving of a *scapha*, which is directly related to the inscribers of the monument.[622] Unsurprisingly, the decoration dates in the main to Hispalis 06 and 07 with the most common motif in both periods as a sculptured border. Two inscriptions have recessed epigraphic fields,[623] one is the later funerary *stela*, the other a funerary altar. The granite altar is carved with geometric designs on its cornice and its *puncta* resemble *virgulae*.[624]

[622] HIS009TI.
[623] HIS045TS & HIS073TS.
[624] HIS139SC.

g) *Formulae* (**Fig.35a & 35b**)

The formulae from Hispalis are diverse, but a series of identifiable and recognisable peaks show clearly. The peaks correspond to formulae related to age in years as *annorum*, D.M.S. and the formulae H.S.E.S.T.T.L. The alternative form of recording age at death with the verb *vixit* is seen as early as Hispalis 06 and continues through all the main periods, but only as an occasional variation to the preferred *annorum*.

The formulae indicate that family and household members were responsible for setting up funerary inscriptions, that *tituli sacri* and imperial dedications were also funded by individuals, but that the *ordo* was sometimes involved in donating and sanctioning the location. The largest peaks amongst the public formulae correspond to verbs of *decernere* and *dare* in both singular and plural form, the participation of the *ordo*, and the returning of the cost or dedication of the cost by individuals involved in the construction of the monument.

6.8.3 ***Social*** *Community*

The epigraphic assemblage of Hispalis preserves the identity of a large number of high status individuals of senatorial and equestrian rank in comparison with earlier towns discussed, but once again only as dedicators or recipients of honorific dedications and not amongst the funerary epigraphy. It is possible that these higher status individuals were buried in different locations to the majority of the population, in private family tombs and hence they have largely not been found to date. Males are represented more frequently than females, and out of a total 140 recognisable individuals, only three were identified as children. For one of these, age at death is recorded in hours, the only instance amongst the assemblage.[625] Age at death in days is seen on a few occasions (8) but not always associated with children, as is also the case when it is recorded in months.

A strong series of groups and associations is visible in the epigraphy of Hispalis. Military legions are indirectly visible in the corpus of *tituli honorarii*, and the settlement name is mentioned frequently. These relate to Hispalis after colonisation and on the whole refer to the name Romula rather than Hispalis, which perhaps signifies that those inscribing in the main associated themselves or the

[625] HIS058TS.

purpose of the inscriptions with the Roman town and not its earlier predecessor. An alternative although not contradictory interpretation is that the main inscribers were not native to Hispania. They are concerned primarily with the population living in the city rather than the city. Other towns are mentioned in the context of dedications of inscriptions to individuals of merit at towns other than their own (Ilipa, Siarum and Aurgi). The most interesting series of groups, however, related to the professional associations and collegia within the city (*Lyntrarii*,[626] *Scapharii*,[627] *Corpus Oleariorum*,[628] *Corpus Centonariorum*,[629] *Collegium Hominum Hispalensium Dumtaxat*[630]). These represent groups of individuals who have joined together through choice either due to the shared goals of their profession which, in the case of Hispalis revolved around the river (various types of boatmen – *lyntrarii*, *scapharii*) and the trade in oil (*Corpus Oleariorum*) but also other tradesmen (*Corpus Centonariorum* – rag merchants who refashioned old textiles into fire blankets), or by virtue of shared residence. These inscriptions represent groups working as units, and even sometimes cooperating between branches such as in the case of Caelius Aelius Avitus, patron of all the *lyntrarii*. The *Lyntrarii* of Caniana, Naeva and Oducia combined forces and presumably funds in order to set up an honorific dedication to their patron.[631]

Therefore the social community most visible in Hispalis through its inscriptions is the trading and merchant community which relied on the river for its livelihood. In addition there is a significant elite population including in particular members of the senatorial and equestrian rank who are at least partly native citizens as they were enrolled in the Quirina tribe as were many new citizens in the Flavian period.[632] Other tribes recorded, the Sergia and Galeria are usually associated in Spain with Caesarian and Augustan foundations.[633] The inscribing population therefore appears to be native in origin.

[626] HIS032TH.
[627] HIS008-009TI, HIS023TH & HIS026TH.
[628] HIS136SC, HIS137TH & HIS143SC.
[629] HIS006-007TI.
[630] HIS006-007TI.
[631] HIS032TH.
[632] *Curchin 1991, 79.*
[633] *Ibid, 121.*

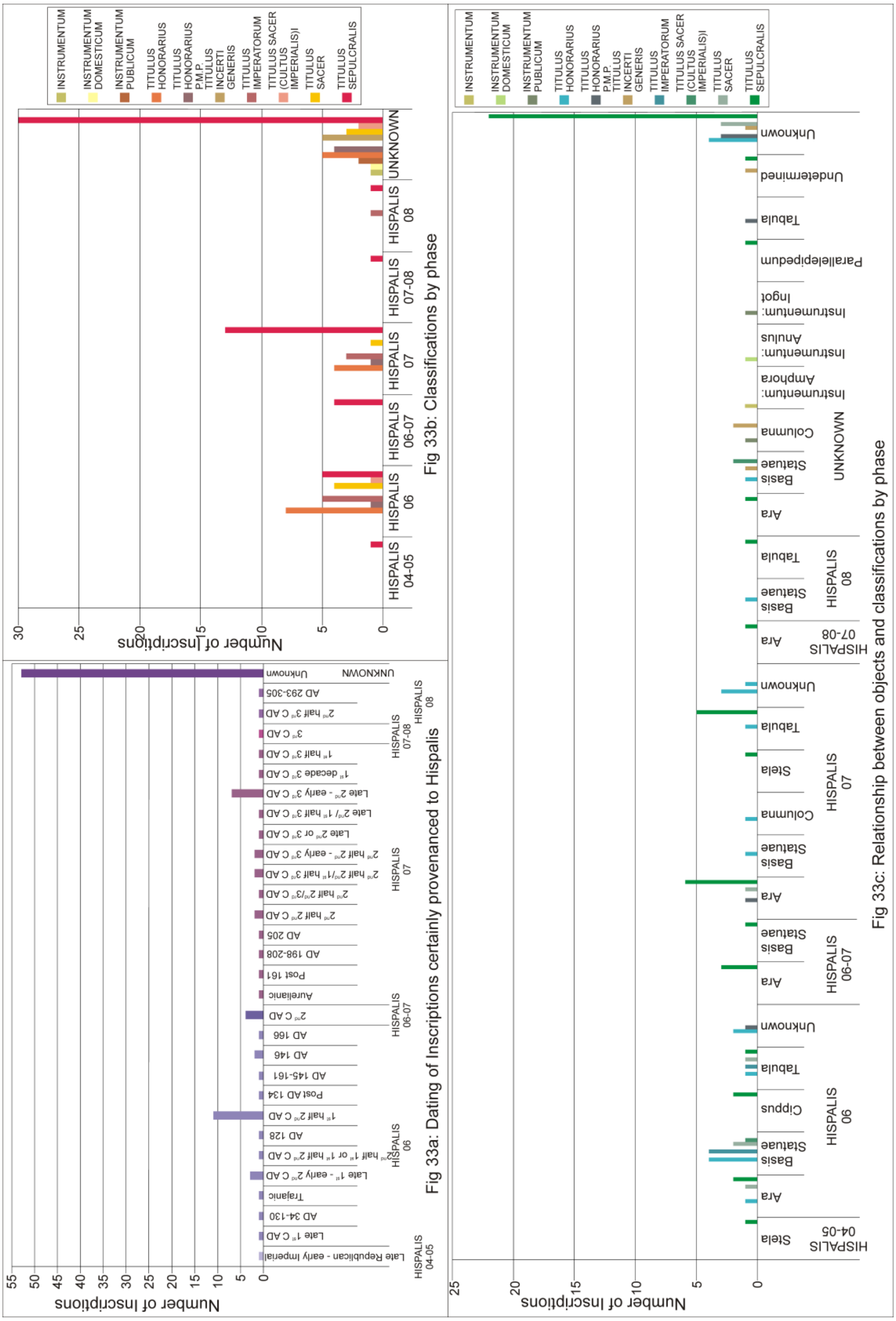
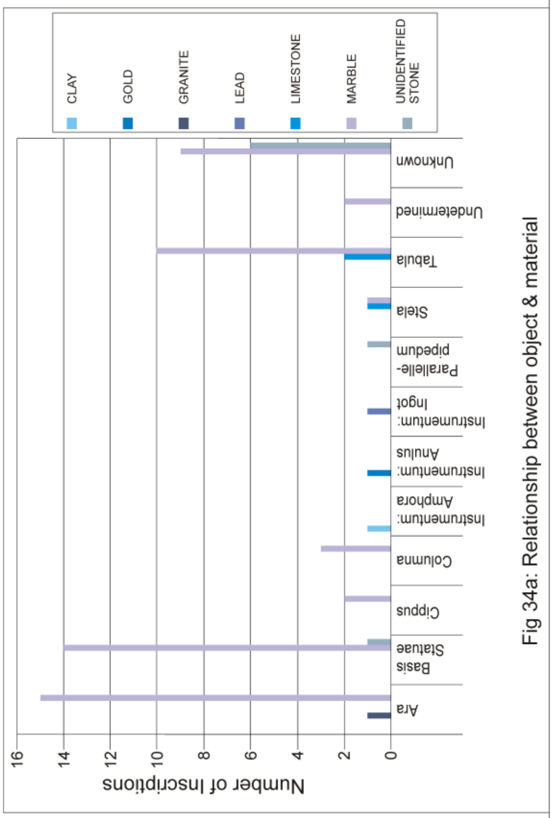


Fig. 33 a: Dating of inscriptions certainly provenanced to Hispalis
Fig. 33 b: Classification by phase of inscriptions certainly provenanced to Hispalis
Fig. 33 c: Relationship between objects and classification by phase of inscriptions certainly provenanced to Hispalis



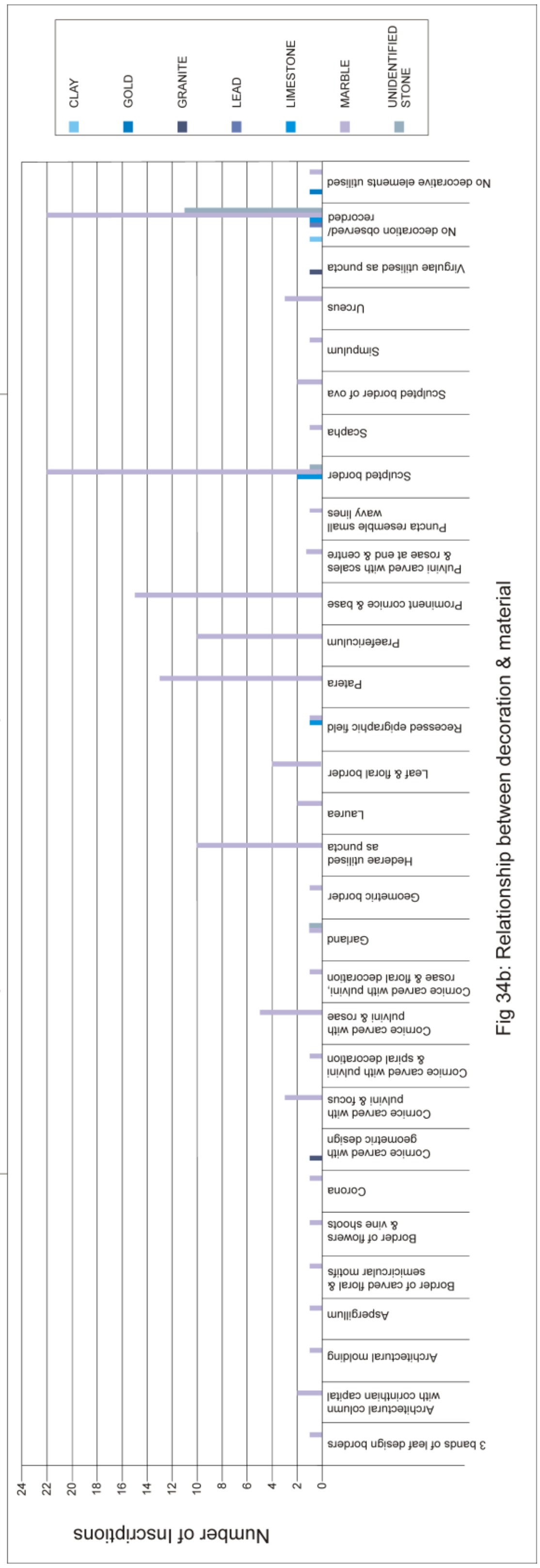


Fig. 34 a: Relationship between object and material in the inscriptions certainly provenanced to Hispalis

Fig. 34 b: Relationship between decoration and material in the inscriptions certainly provenanced to Hispalis

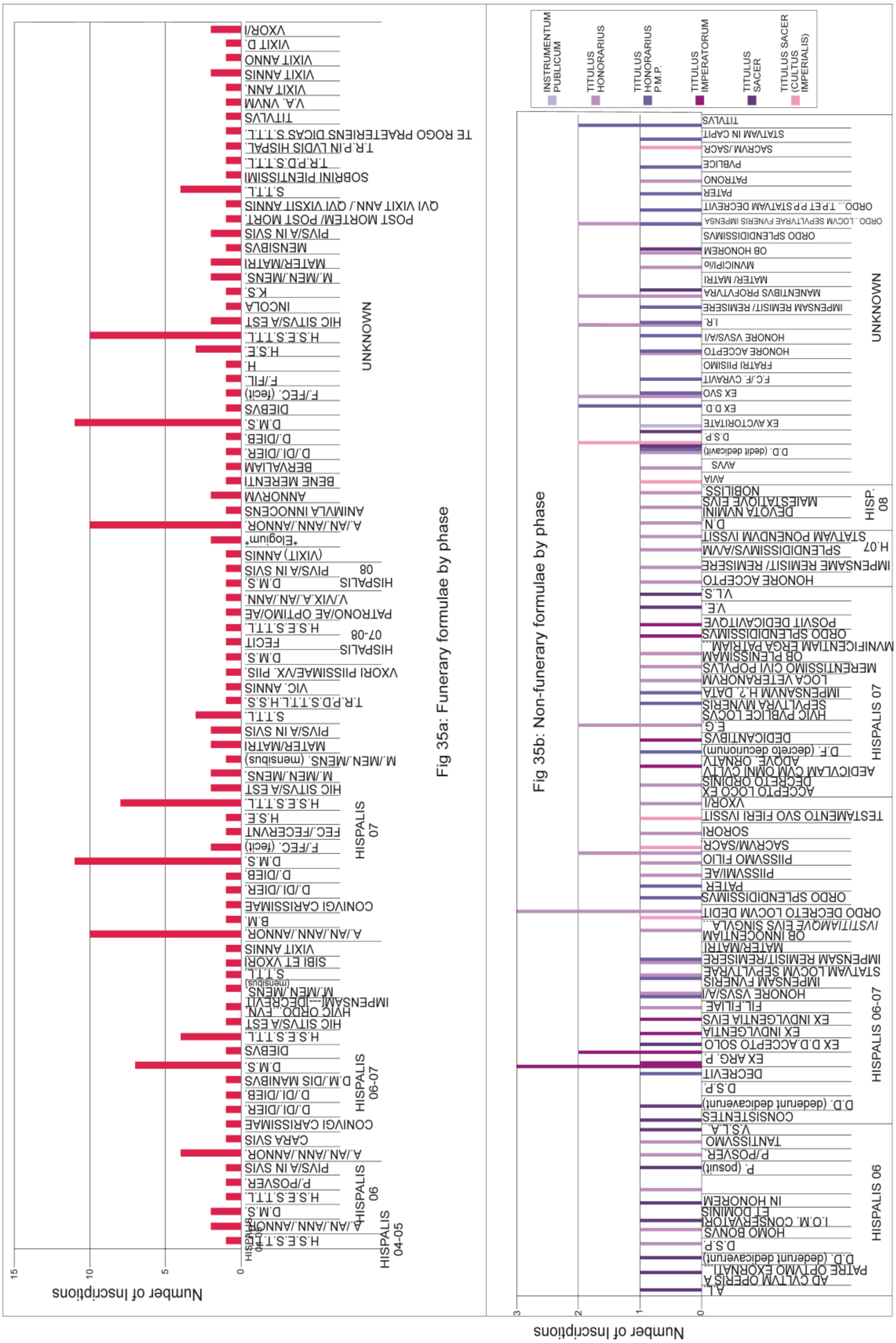


Fig. 35 a: Funerary formulae by phase in the inscriptions certainly provenanced to Hispalis
Fig. 35 b: Non-funerary formulae by phase of the inscriptions certainly provenanced to Hispalis

6.9 SANTIPONCE (COLONIA AELIA AUGUSTA ITALICA)

6.9.1 *Location and Nature of the Settlement, Origins and History, Topography and Urban Organisation*

The site of Italica was originally settled in the 5th Century BC after the collapse of the Tartessos culture. It was well connected via both natural land and riverine routes providing easy access to the north and south. The site was located on a plateau next to a tributary of the Guadalquivir. The Roman Republican settlement was founded by Scipio Africanus in 206 BC after the battle of Ilipa.[634] This part of the town, the 'vetus urbs',[635] is still only scantily understood due to later Roman and medieval rebuilding. In the mid 1st Century BC, Italica was awarded the status of *municipium* probably as a reward for loyalty to Caesar against Pompey during the Civil Wars. At the same time, the beginning of construction of the Via Augusta brought Italica into the networks of supply and control that had been initiated by Roman settlers. It is after these major changes to Italica's status and connections within the region that the first signs of the development of Imperial ideology began to be discerned in how Italica presented its public image at the end of the 1st Century BC. The Imperial layout and organisation is not much clearer than that of the Republican town, but there has been some suggestion that the forum lay roughly at the centre and there have been sufficient finds in this area to support the theory.[636] Of the entire site, only two structures are understood in any real detail – a public bathhouse on the western side of the town, and the theatre on the eastern.[637]

The next major alteration in the city was a complete re-planning and re-siting of the focus of the town to the northeast of the *vetus urbs* under Hadrian.[638] The Nova Urbs[639] had an orthogonal street grid with many elite residences[640] and large monumental public buildings[641] including temples[642] and a public baths[643], a new

[634] Appian *Iberike* 38.
[635] *García y Bellido 1960.*
[636] *Canto 1999; Caballos Rufino et al 1999, 99-109.*
[637] *Caballos Rufino et al 1999, 88-99; Toscano San Gil & Corzo Sanchez 2003.*
[638] *Corzo Sanchez 1982; Blanco Freijeiro 1982; Rodríguez Hidalgo 1987-1988; Léon 1988a; Luzón Nogue 1989; Rodríguez Hidalgo 1997; Boatwright 1997.*
[639] *García y Bellido 1960.*
[640] *Rodríguez Hidalgo 1991; Caballos Rufino et al 1999, 69-86.*
[641] *Ibid 87-122.*
[642] *Ibid 111-118.*
[643] *Ibid 118-121.*

perimeter wall[644] and the amphitheatre[645] which lay to the north of the new city. The new town was substantially larger than the old[646] and gradual research from excavation, surface survey and geophysical survey[647] has provided detail about the internal organisation in areas of the site. One building in particular, now known as the Traianeum,[648] was located on the highest point of the plateau, which today does not appear to be a very significant natural elevation due to deposition of material at a depth of as much as 8m, which has significantly reduced the visual impact of the site upon its surrounding landscape.[649]

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[644] As seen in the survey results from Italica in *Creighton et al 1999* particularly fig 5 & 6; *Caballos Rufino et al 1999, 61-63.*
[645] *Ibid, 99-109.*
[646] *García y Bellido 1960, 123-126:* The wall enclosed an area of c. 30 hectares.
[647] *Creighton et al 1999.*
[648] *León Alonso 1988.*
[649] *Keay, 1997, 24.*

6.9.2 *The Epigraphic Assemblage*

a) *Chronology* (**Table 10 & Fig. 37a)**

PHASE ID	PHASE	PERIOD OF OCCUPATION	NO. INSCRIPTIONS
ITALICA 01	Pre Roman settlement	5^{th} C – late 3^{rd} C BC	
ITALICA 02	Republican settlement of wounded & veteran soldiers by Scipio	Later 3^{rd} C BC	
ITALICA 03	Change in status post Civil Wars - municipium	Second half 1^{st} C BC	2
ITALICA 03-04	Republican/Early Imperial	Late 1^{st} C BC – early 1^{st} C AD	2
ITALICA 04	Augustan monumentalisation	Late 1^{st} C BC– early 1^{st} C AD	5
ITALICA 04-05	Augustan/Early Imperial	1^{st} Century AD	4
ITALICA 05	Early Imperial Italica	Early 1^{st} - early 2^{nd} AD	35
ITALICA 06	Hadrianic Italica: Construction of Nova Urbs	Early – mid 2^{nd} C AD (117-138)	16
ITALICA 06-07	2^{nd} Century AD	2^{nd} C AD	35
ITALICA 07	Mid Imperial Italica	Late 2^{nd} – early 3^{rd} C AD	90
ITALICA 08	Late Imperial Italica	3^{rd} /4^{th} C AD	62

Table 10: Phases of occupation at Italica

There is good evidence that inscriptions first began to be utilised at Italica at the end of the Republic, just prior to the beginning of the influence of Augustan ideologies of monumentalisation[650], but the technique doesn't really take hold until the 1^{st} Century AD, and doesn't flourish until the later 1^{st} and early 2^{nd} Century AD. Numbers remain high throughout the 2^{nd} and into the 3^{rd} Century and in fact this is

[650] *Zanker 1988.*

the most prolifically preserved period, presumably during and after completion of the Hadrianic Nova Urbs, after which point a dramatic fall off is observed.

b) *Typology* (**Fig. 37b**)

The earliest inscriptions preserved include two *tituli honorarii*,[651] an *instrumentum*,[652] *titulus operis publici*[653] and a *titulus imperatorum*.[654] The first funerary inscriptions which dominate the assemblage occur in the Augustan period.[655] After this the record is varied with several different types of inscriptions erected in each period. The largest number of public inscriptions date to the later 2nd and early 3rd Century AD, in particular *tituli sacri* and *tituli operum publicorum* in keeping with the construction of the new city and its implications for urban life. By the 3rd and 4th Centuries the only public inscriptions preserved are *tituli imperatorum* and the number of funerary inscriptions is significantly reduced.

c) *Location* (**Fig.36**)

In the *vetus urbs* a conglomeration of inscriptions potentially indicates the location of the forum. The street grid shown here, as devised by Canto,[656] is hypothetical and in reality relies heavily on the assumption that the modern street grid still follows the same alignment as that of the Augustan city. The theatre was located in the vicinity of the eastern cemetery which accounts for the funerary inscriptions in that area. The other inscriptions from the theatre relate to its construction and period of use. Clusters of public inscriptions in the centre of the Hadrianic town probably relate to public buildings, as can be seen at the Traianeum. The group of *tituli imperatorum* to the north of the Trainaneum indicate the location of the 2nd Century AD forum. The large group of funerary inscriptions from the area of the Trainaneum relate to phases of intra-mural excavation which may or may not have originally come from one of the extra-mural cemeteries shown on the plan. The northern cemetery near the amphitheatre is clearly defined, as are the *tituli sacri* dedications from the amphitheatre itself. The inscriptions that can be provenanced through knowledge gained by archaeological excavation therefore preserve a good deal of information

[651] ITA041TH & ITA059TH.
[652] ITA239IN.
[653] ITA236OP
[654] ITA026TI.
[655] ITA157TS, ITA207TS, ITA068TS & ITA046TS.
[656] *Canto 1985.*

relating to the urban organisation and the differentiation between areas for burial and residence, public buildings, communal areas and private spaces.

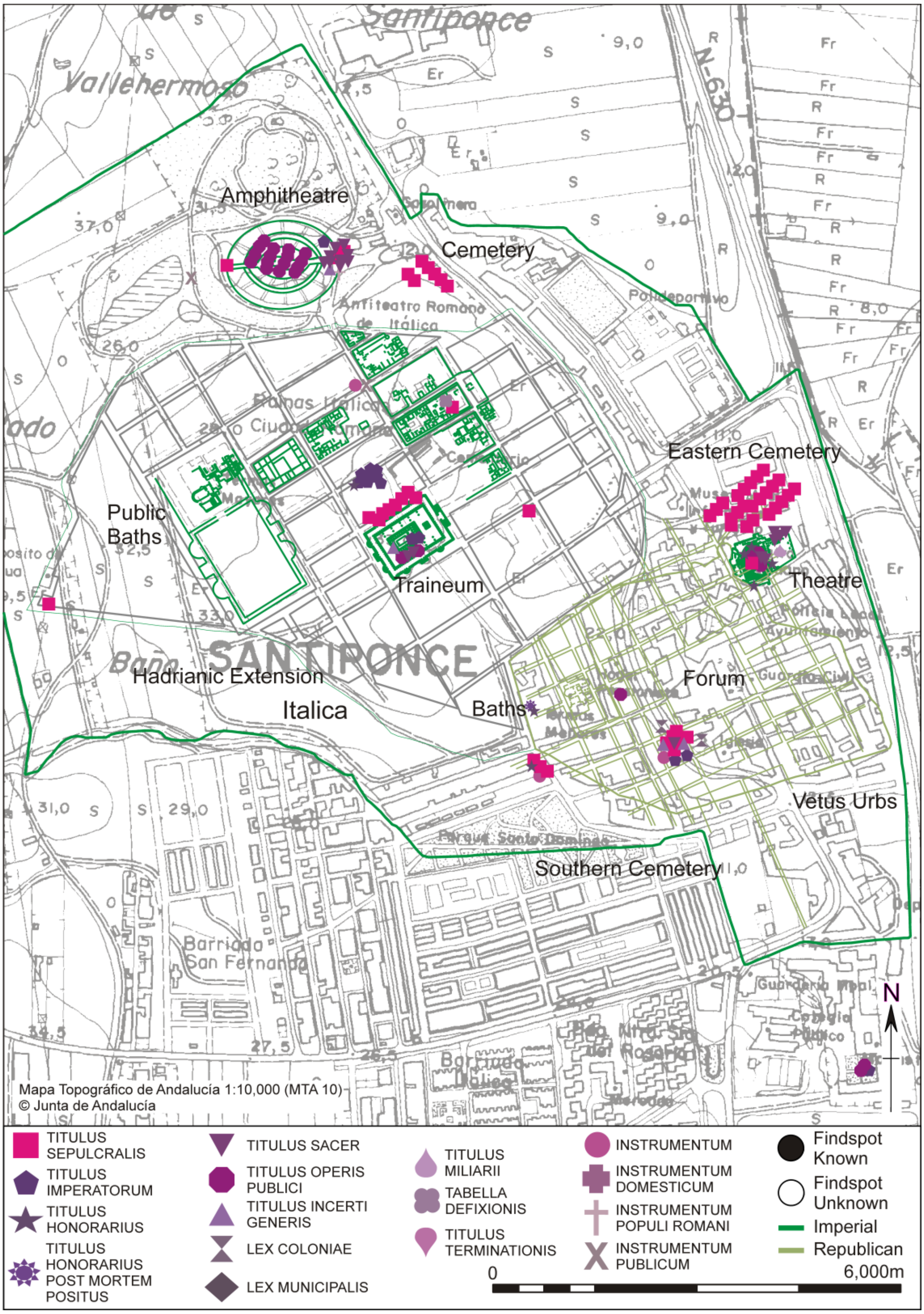

Fig. 36: Location of findspots of inscriptions from Italica

d) *Object* (**Fig.38a**)

By far the most popular monument type is the *tabula*, although statue bases and altars are also common if not on the same scale. After the Hadrianic redevelopment the number of monument types preserved decreases to these three types of monuments. No monuments except *tabulae* have been dated after the end of the 2nd Century AD. The dominance of *tabulae* means that there is no real differentiation between cemetery sites in the types of monuments found there. Altars, statue bases and *tabulae* are all utilised for different types of monument, with *tabulae* forming the most flexible of the three, whereas *stelae* are only seen utilised for funerary inscriptions.

e) *Material* (**Fig. 38b**)

With 213 examples, marble is the most frequently employed stone in comparison with 23 of limestone. Marble was first used in the second half of the 1st Century BC, and limestone in the Augustan period. Both continue to be used through to the early 3rd Century AD, but only marble has so far been found from dates later than this.

Altars and tabulae were constructed from either limestone or marble, as were statue bases, although there is also a single sandstone example as there is amongst the *stelae*. There are no marble *stelae*. The use of different materials is not conditioned by time period, and contemporary marbles and limestone examples of the same object are found.

The marbles are the most varied in colour and hue of veins, but there are also eight different types of limestone utilised. Seven monuments have marble derived from Almadén de la Plata, a further seven in the Sierra de la Mijas, and one imported from Carystos.

f) *Decoration* (**Fig. 39a**)

A range of often individual relief and engraved decoration is utilised at the site. The most common motif is the use of *hederae* as decorative *puncta*. Also relatively common are sculptured borders, architectural mouldings on cornices and bases, the pairs of engraved (sometimes also in relief) feet styled on *tituli sacri* dedications in the amphitheatre, and engravings of the ritual vessels for sacrifices. Individual motifs include *puncta* which resemble tear drops, and the depiction of an altar with fruit between two serpents. Seven inscriptions, none of which are *stelae*, have a recessed epigraphic field. The recessed epigraphic fields occur on five statue bases, a *miliarium* and a *tabula*. The two *stelae* one might have expected to have a recessed field have no decorative features at all.

Marble is the most decorated material and contains the most number of individual motifs. Where a motif is found on marble and limestone, it is always more common on marble. Motifs are used variously across classifications much of the time, but some are specific to particular types of monument and therefore often to a genre. For example, *pulvini* and *rosae* occur only on funerary altars. The *tabulae* with the representations of feet are also exclusively related to *tituli sacri* by the nature of the relationship between the motif and the text and inscription.

g) *Formulae* (**Fig. 40a & 40b**)

The range of funerary formulae is extremely varied with the vast majority of formulae appearing only once, but several distinct peaks do stand out. The most obvious of these is D.M.S., which is used more frequently in the mid to late 2nd Century AD. Second to this is H.S.E.S.T.T.L. and its derivatives. *Annorum* remains the most common choice for recording age at death, but *vixit annis* which first appears at the end of the 1st Century AD remains in constant use in a few examples, with the addition of *plus minus* in Italica 07. *Pius in suis* appears from the 2nd Century onwards and remains in use into the 3rd or 4th Century, although in smaller numbers. An interesting pair of peaks occurs in Italica 07 with *Mensibus* and *Diebus* as part of the record of age at death.

Amongst the public inscriptions, no peaks exceed five inscriptions. Overall, the general trend appears to indicate that individual responsibility was important, with many indications that a personal vow was fulfilled and the use of personal funds. Evidence of taxation and hence the working of the urban administration is found in the *titulus operis publici* where Marcus Trahius, the praefectus, used funds from both taxes (*de stipendia)* and his own resources (*D(e) S(u) P(ecunia)*) to construct a Temple to Apollo and associated railing.[657] Monumental donations are wealthy and include an arch and portico,[658] a silver statue,[659] marble tablet,[660] and a

[657] ITA236OP.
[658] ITA043OP.
[659] ITA020SC.
[660] ITA052OP.

temple with railings or boundary,[661] and two columns of carystian marble with an epistylium, bronze gates and an altar.[662] It appears, therefore, that individual benefactions were very much a part of the urban redevelopment at Italica. However, the inscription noting Alexander as the *conductores operum* is perhaps an indicator of state involvement, the force behind the urban reorganisation, even if some of the finer details were often provided by the town's own elite. The *decuriones* play a greater role in the honorific dedications, both financially and practically. Formulae that appear to be preferentially chosen are so throughout the periods of occupation at Italica.

6.9.3 *The Social Community*

As at Hispalis, a much larger contingent of the elite ranks of society is represented by the *tituli honorarii*. Other groups are recorded including four soldiers, who indicate their membership of individual *centuria*, cohorts and legions.[663] Age at death is seen across individuals of different ages amongst adults and children in years, months and days. On one occasion it is also recorded in hours, in the case of a deceased adult male, Victorinus, whose age is possibly exaggerated as the text has been restored as possibly reading 107 years, 5 months, 11 days and 6 hours.[664] Males outweigh females in the assemblage overall, and more males are represented amongst the public inscriptions as well as in the funerary assemblage.

The name of the town forms a focus for the identification of magisterial and residential groups.[665] These are found primarily on *tituli imperatorum* and honorific inscriptions, but also amongst the funerary assemblage. In addition, as at Hispalis, there is evidence of professional associations and collegia in the *Statio Serrariorum Augustorum* (imperial stonecutters),[666] *Harenarii* (attendants in the arena)[667] and a collegium of unknown membership utilised excess *funeraticio* or insurance to construct a funerary monument.[668] The stonecutters demonstrate imperial control over the quarries and quarried material which was utilised in the programs of

661 ITA236OP.
662 ITA053OP.
663 ITA)64TS, ITA065TS, ITA066TS & ITA068TS.
664 ITA266TS.
665 *Ordo Colonum Colonia, Colonum coloniae, Splendidissimus Ordo Italicensium, Res Publica Italicensium.*
666 ITA51 & 52OP.
667 ITS295TS.
668 ITA115TS.

rebuilding at Italica, and the *harenarii* can be associated with the amphitheatre located to the north of the settlement.

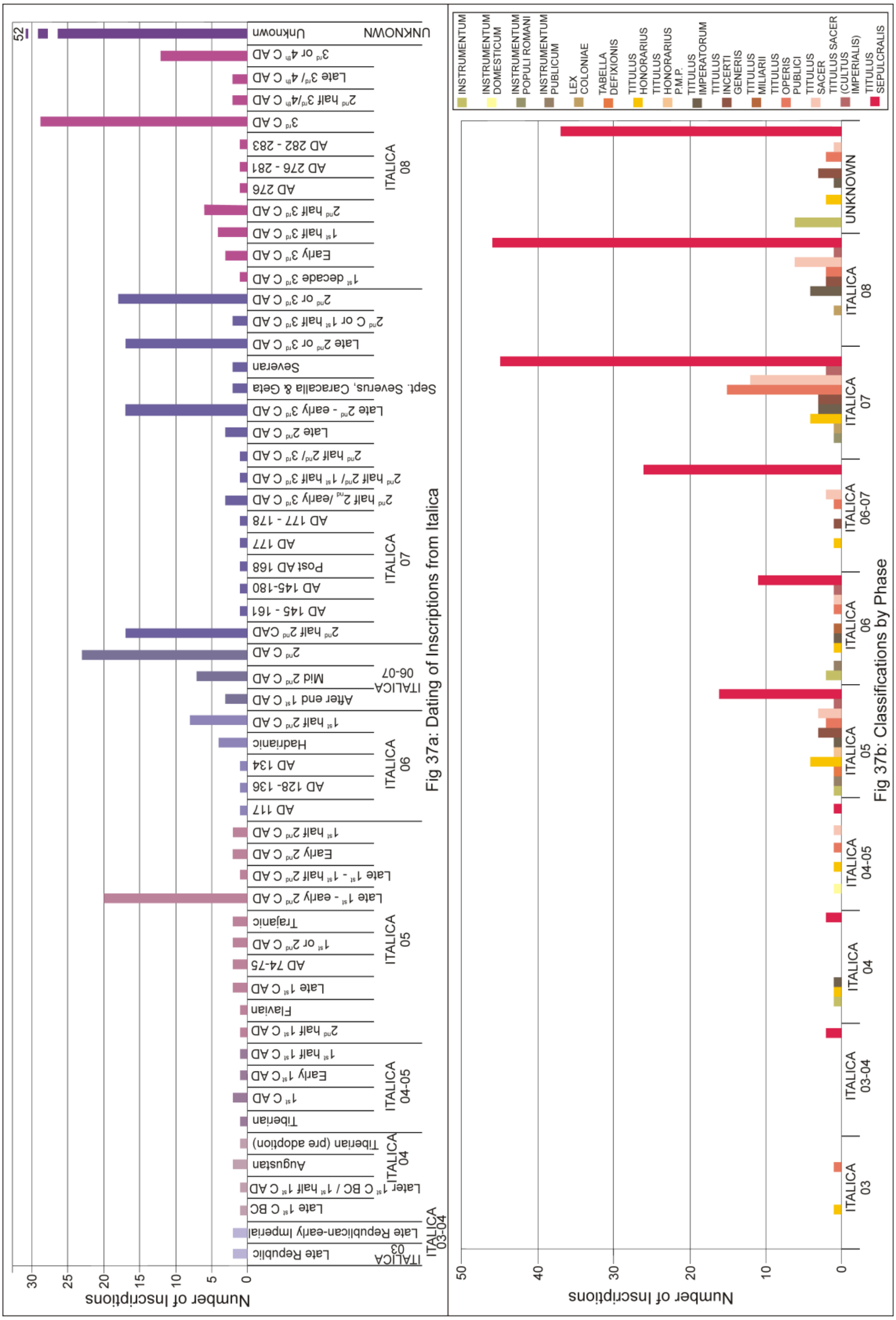

Fig. 37 a: Dating of inscriptions from Italica
Fig. 37 b: Classification by phase of inscriptions from Italica

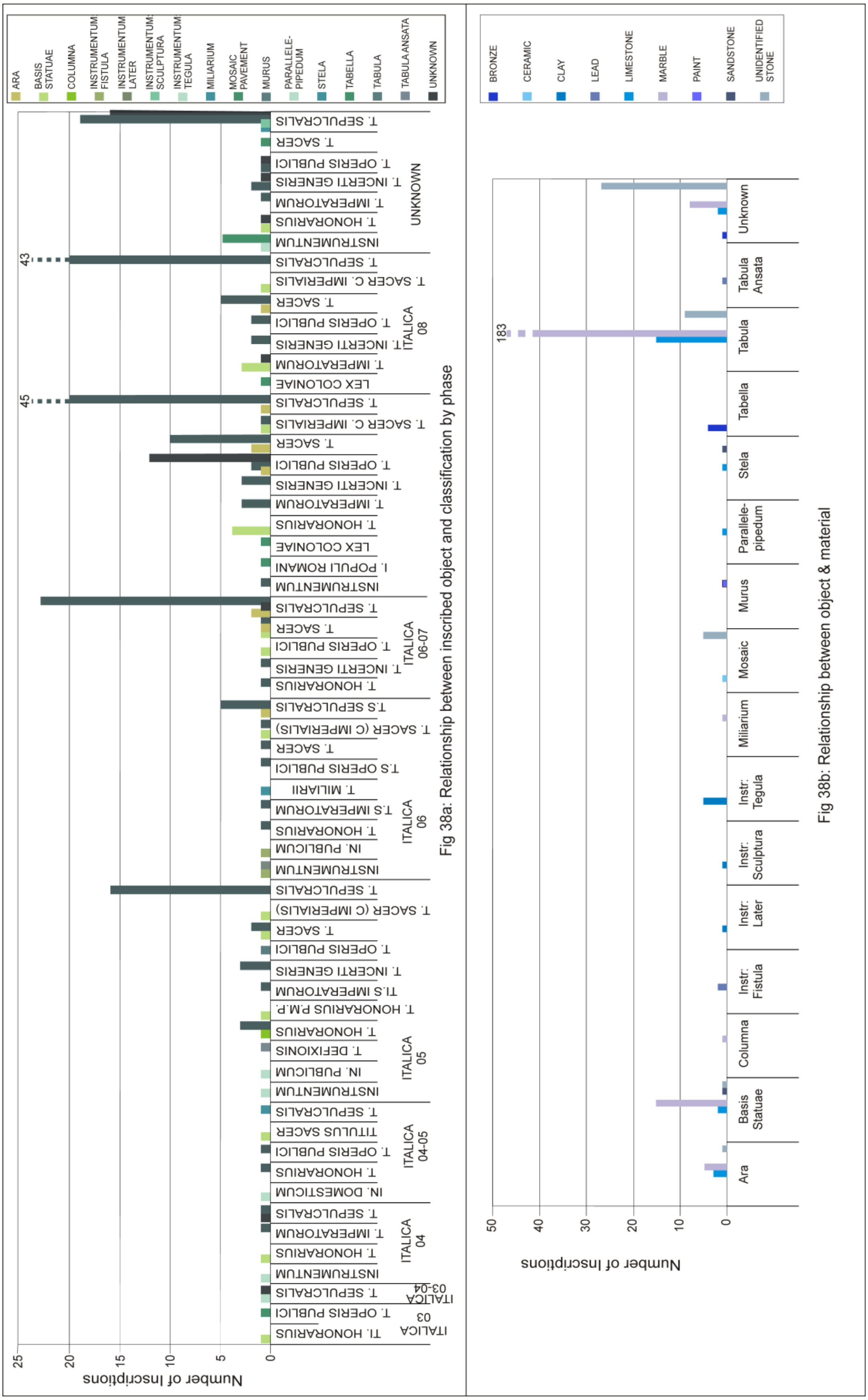

Fig. 38 a: Relationship between inscribed object and classification by phase in the inscriptions from Italica

Fig. 38 b: Relationship between object and material in the inscriptions from Italica

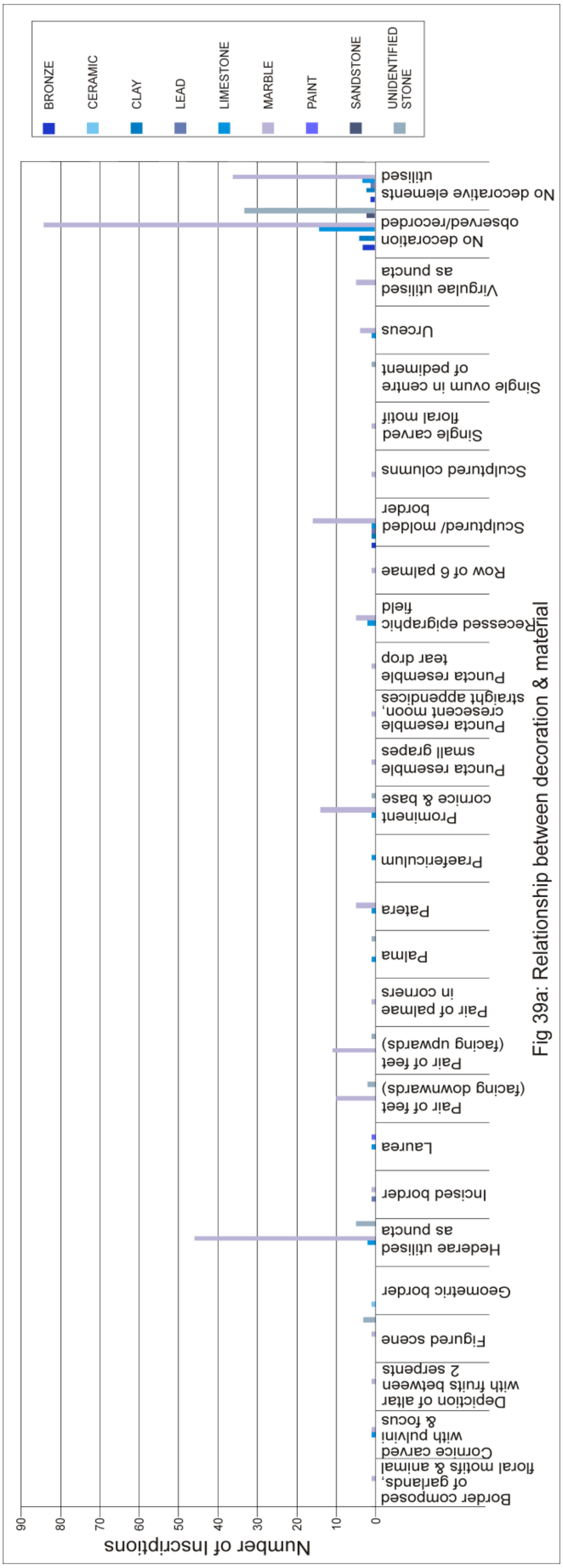

Fig. 39 a: Relationship between decoration and material in the inscriptions from Italica

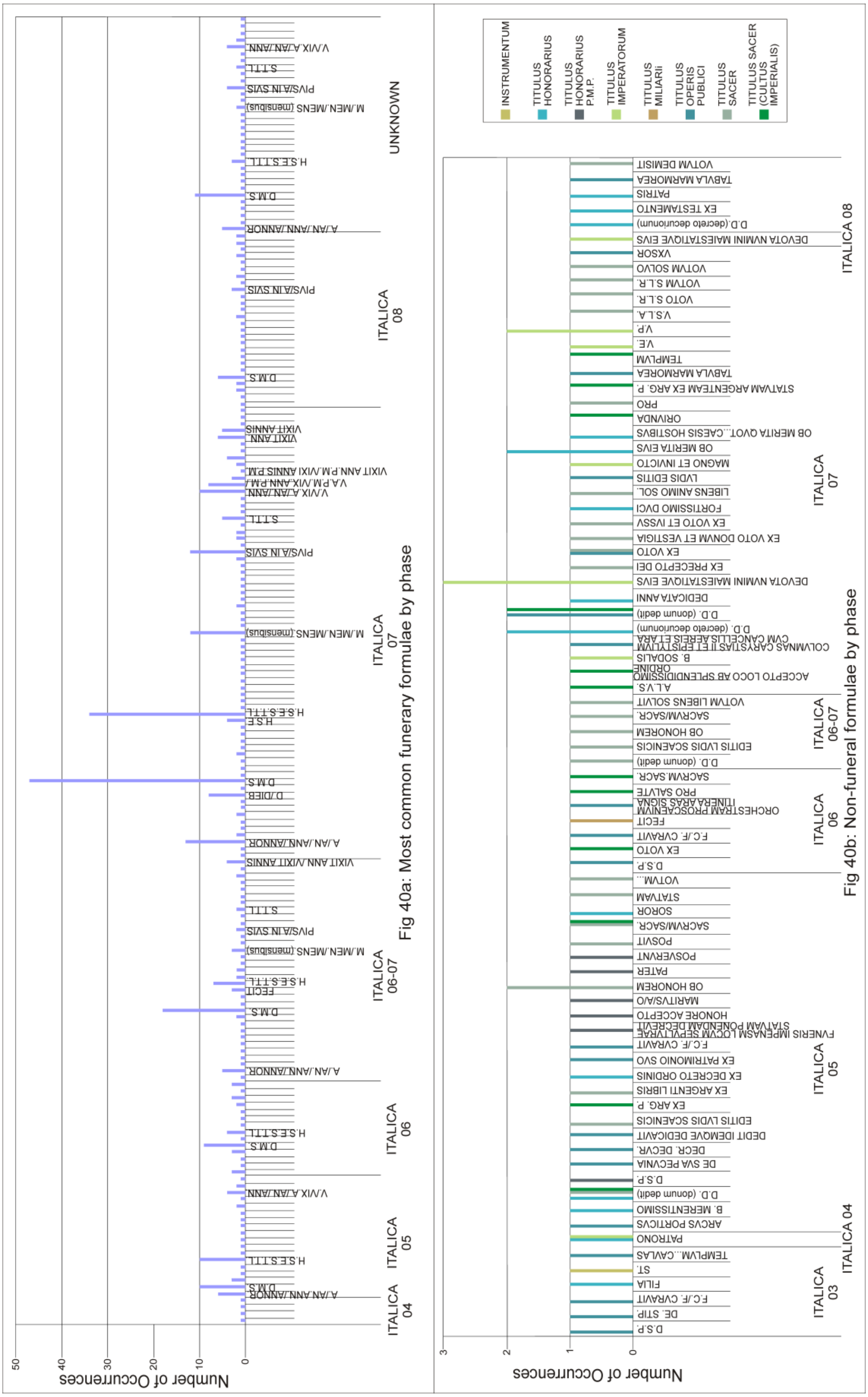

Fig. 40 a: Most common funerary formulae by phase in the inscriptions from Italica
Fig. 40 b: Non-funerary formulae by phase in the inscriptions from Italica

6.10 CASTILLO DE MULVA *(MUNIGUA)*

6.10.1 *Location and Nature of the Settlement, Origins and History, Topography and Urban Organisation*

Prior to the Roman conquest, Munigua was located within the region occupied by the Turdetani. The investigators[669] have identified the original Iberian settlement at Munigua and examples of local Iberian influences in the archaeological material suggest a continuity of cultural traditions and knowledge which can perhaps be explained by continuity amongst the population. [670]

The first period which can be identified as Roman at Munigua dates from the 1st Century BC until the mid 1st Century AD.[671] At this time metallurgical activity is recognised across the site. The early settlement of the Iberian period is only really abandoned towards the end of Nero's reign. At this point the major building programme began which transformed Munigua into the imposing site that remains in ruins today. This monumentalisation continued into the early Flavian period and saw the construction of the terraced sanctuary on the crest of the hill. The forum was constructed in the late 1st Century AD, and several of the domestic structures had arisen by the end of the 1st Century and beginning of the 2nd. Such a major program of work must have necessitated local funds from taxation to complete even despite the obvious profits from the mines.[672]

In Munigua, urban space is universal. Administrative, commercial, industrial and residential activities all take place in proximity to one another and often in the same architectural units. There is no dichotomy between the residential and industrial or commercial buildings. The urban organisation both distinguishes and unifies the terraces and individual buildings and complexes. Munigua’s urban landscape is intricately woven together and displays a detailed knowledge and understanding, both of its local area and the wider landscape and life further afield. It demonstrates what might be identified as civic pride, displayed through the decoration of its public and private buildings, and the involvement of local benefactors is clearly revealed through even a cursory examination of the town’s epigraphic assemblage. The organisation of the settlement itself suggests a degree of continuity. It has been observed, particularly with relation to Houses 1 and 6, that the plot locations and

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669 *Grünhagen 1959; Raddatz 1973; Vegas 1988; Blech et al 1993; Meyer et al 2001.*
670 *Carriazo 1969, 272-281; Schattner 2002, 25-26; 215-126;*
671 *Ibid, 216.*
672 *Ibid, 217.*

sizes demonstrate very little alteration through the pre-Roman, early Roman and Imperial periods.[673]

The character of the site therefore is an unusual mix of several styles of architecture and monumental display originating from local traditions,[674] as well as archaic designs from other countries and cultures,[675] posing challenging questions about the identity of the community and the origin of its people who chose to express their relationships within the urban context.

6.10.2 *The Epigraphic Assemblage*

a) *Chronology* (**Table 11 & Fig.42a)**

PHASE ID	PHASE	PERIOD OF OCCUPATION	NO. INSCRIPTIONS
MUNIGUA 01	Pre Roman	c 450 BC - 50 BC	
MUNIGUA 01a	Mid - Late 1st C BC	Mid - Late 1st C BC	
MUNIGUA 02	First Roman Phase	End 1st C BC - 68 AD	1
MUNIGUA 02-03	1st Century AD	1st C AD	1
MUNIGUA 03	Flavian re-development onward	70s AD - 2nd C AD	21
MUNIGUA 03a	Change to initial Flavian re-development		8
MUNIGUA 03-04	Second half 2nd Century AD	Second half 2nd C AD	16
MUNIGUA 04	Mid Roman Phase	Later 2nd C AD	10
MUNIGUA 04-05	Mid-Later Roman	Late 2nd – early 3rd C AD	8
MUNIGUA 05	Later Roman phase	3rd – 4th C AD	2

Table 11: Summary of Main Phases of Occupation at the site of Munigua

673 *Schattner 2002, 81-101.*

674 The construction materials and techniques used are almost exclusively local in origin *(Mierse 1999, 262-264)*, and utilisation of locally sourced materials would have been both efficient and cost effective.

675 The architectural style, particularly of the sanctuary temple is peculiarly Italian in design.

The first real explosion of an epigraphic tradition at Munigua begins during the Flavian redevelopment. This building programme represents a deliberate decision by the town and its authorities to redesign and recreate its urban image. This being the case, similar interests might explain the increasing number of inscriptions during this period. The dating of MUN002IR may, if it is clarified as originating in phase 2, suggest that there was imperial administrative involvement in the settlement prior to the development of the urban landscape. This may well be a logical hypothesis, since Munigua's earliest inscription records the existence of the town's senate. In order for such an authority to organise a project on the scale of those achieved, it must have been well established and had both the financial and political support of the community. In addition, early signs of the introduction of inscriptions into the urban repertoire make their establishment in a period of urban regeneration, which is instigated by the town itself rather than from the outside, more understandable. The new buildings in association with the complement of inscriptions celebrate Munigua's status and its inscribing population.

It is unsurprising that no inscriptions have so far been discovered dating to the post Roman phase at the site (MUNIGUA 05). Despite evidence for continued occupation, Munigua was no longer a prosperous and outward looking town.[676] The expression of identities and relationships, therefore, was not a priority at this time

b) *Typology* (**Fig. 42b**)

It is unfortunate that the majority of the inscribed monuments from the earliest periods are unable to be categorised. However, proportionately significant numbers of those remaining are *tituli imperatorum* and *tituli sacri (cultus imperialis)* indicating that at this stage the emperor and the imperial cult were important figures for the inscribing population at Munigua. Much has been made of the frequent dedications to the imperial house and cult at Munigua. It has been suggested that the reason for this proliferation was the previous establishment of a leader or ruler cult at the site and that imperial dedications indicate a natural tendency to find analogies in the new urban culture.[677] Alternative reasons for Munigua's distinctive character have been sought based on the significance of the location which touch upon the view out through the Sierra to the Baetis River. Grünhagen interpreted the *tituli*

[676] *Schattner 2002, 217-218.*
[677] *Étienne 1958 & 1996; Curchin 1996.*

imperatorum found in the area of the sanctuary as indicative that the building was in fact dedicated to the emperor and the imperial cult.[678] Both Grünhagen and Coarelli have noted and discussed at length the similarity in artistic and architectural style and influence between the sanctuary at Munigua and the Roman republican temple to Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste and the Sactuary of Hercules at Tivoli. [679] There are a significant proportion of *tituli imperatorum* within the corpus of inscriptions from Munigua which appear potentially even more significant when compared with the historical background of the development at Munigua and the nature of its architectural design. The two other main groups of inscriptions, *tituli honorarii* and *tituli sacri*, though few in this period, reflect a trend which was to develop in the next phase of the site, for the celebration of the lives and qualities of individuals and the honouring of individual deities.

The vast majority of the inscriptions from Munigua originate in the 2nd and 3rd Centuries AD. Again, a large proportion cannot be categorised due to their damaged and/or fragmentary nature. Those remaining are mainly *tituli sacri* and *tituli honorarii*. Social interaction is clearly visible at Munigua, as is euergetism is,[680] but self promotion seems to take a back seat to the promotion of others, especially family members, the emperors and the town's deities. It is possible that personal advantage was gained in this way, through expressing devotion to those honoured.[681] The eastern wall of the forum contained several niches for the display of public and personal monuments and statues, in keeping with the predominant number of *tituli honorarii* found in this area of the town. Two inscriptions with similar texts record the construction of the forum, together with a temple, a portico, an *exedra* and a *tabularium*.[682] The forum can therefore be viewed as a coherent complex, funded through the beneficence of a single individual who records his status as a member of the *duoviri*.

A room in the north range of the forum complex was found to contain the remains of the inscribed pedestal of an equestrian statue, dedicated by Lucius Aelius Fronto who also dedicated a *titulus imperatorum* to the divine Caesar Vespasian

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678 *Grünhagen 1959.*
679 *Grünhagen 1959, 280; Coarelli 1987; Mierse 1999, 254-257.*
680 See inscriptions recording individual donations e.g. forum dedication, other buildings and banquets: MUN003SC, MUN004SC, MUN005SC, MUN007SC, MUN008SC, MUN021TH, MUN029TH, MUN025OP, MUN026OP.
681 These ideas will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.
682 MUN025-26OP.

Augustus.[683] In the provinces this honour extended to a range of social orders within a relatively short space of time. If the statue was of a mounted nobleman, one might expect the text to record that person's identity. Such a dedication would require the permission of the *ordo* which would again be reflected in the text. It therefore seems most likely that the statue was simply that of a horse. This dedication to Dis Pater is one of only a few known[684] and the only example from the Iberian Peninsula. Dis Pater is a Greek and subsequently Italic divinity with close ties to Proserpina.[685] The unusual choice of this dedication is further compounded by its equine association, a peculiarity to this one instance. Iberian cults of the horse are well documented, as are equine sacrifices within the context of pre-Roman Hispanic cults.[686] Dis Pater is understood to have links with various Roman deities of the underworld such as Hades, or Vulcan.[687]

In the Temple of Mercury, a small granite altar was found in the *exedra* in front of which was placed an inscription, a dedication by a freedman, Ferronius, in fulfilment of a vow.[688] A second inscription to Mercury is also thought to have been located in close proximity, possibly over the altar beneath the divine image. There is no stratigraphy to date the temple, since it is constructed upon smooth rock; the only evidence is the architectural sequence of the portico in which it was incorporated and, therefore, the Temple of Mercury must post date this building. The dedication to Mercury is thought to reflect the commercial nature of the surrounding urban structures and associated activities. The style of this temple is unusual when compared with contemporary constructions in Corduba, suggesting that this represents a local workshop utilising archaic decorative traditions.[689] The only parallel is a small temple next to the Hadrianic bridge of Alcántara in Lusitania.[690]

c) *Location* (**Fig.41**)

At Munigua, the vast majority of the provenanced inscriptions are associated with the middle terraces of the settlement for two reasons. This area comprises the terrace

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683 MUN005SC.
684 *Grünhagen 1977; Mierse 199, 248-250; Schattner 2002, 48-52; Gimeno 2003, 179-180.*
685 *Rodríguez Cortés 1991, 53-55.*
686 *Sánchez Morena 1995-1996*; *Almagro Gorbea & Torres 1999.*
687 *Beard et al 1998, 71.*
688 MUN012SC: *Schattner 2002, 42-48.*
689 *Hauschild 1968, 283-285.*
690 cf Porta Maggiore, Rome: *Ibid 281.*

on which the forum and other public buildings are situated, an area where a large number of inscriptions might be expected to be found. In addition, the DAI investigations focused largely on these areas of the town and the excavations were particularly detailed. The relationships between individual monuments and inscriptions can therefore be most productively investigated in this area. The inscriptions which were found in the lower, primarily residential, region of the town were found in reused contexts.[691] Therefore, the distribution of the inscriptions as evidence by the extant assemblage is primarily associated with the predominantly public areas of the town. The lower residential structures have also been extensively excavated, so this pattern cannot be explained due to differential sampling patterns across the site. The urban layout of Munigua is very structured as a result of the local topography and narrow terraces going up the hill, and this creates a series of restricted areas which impact on how the inscriptions within them were viewed making them perhaps more controlled and less accessible in contrast with the surrounding buildings which were showcased by the increasingly slope.

[691] E.g. MUN034TS.

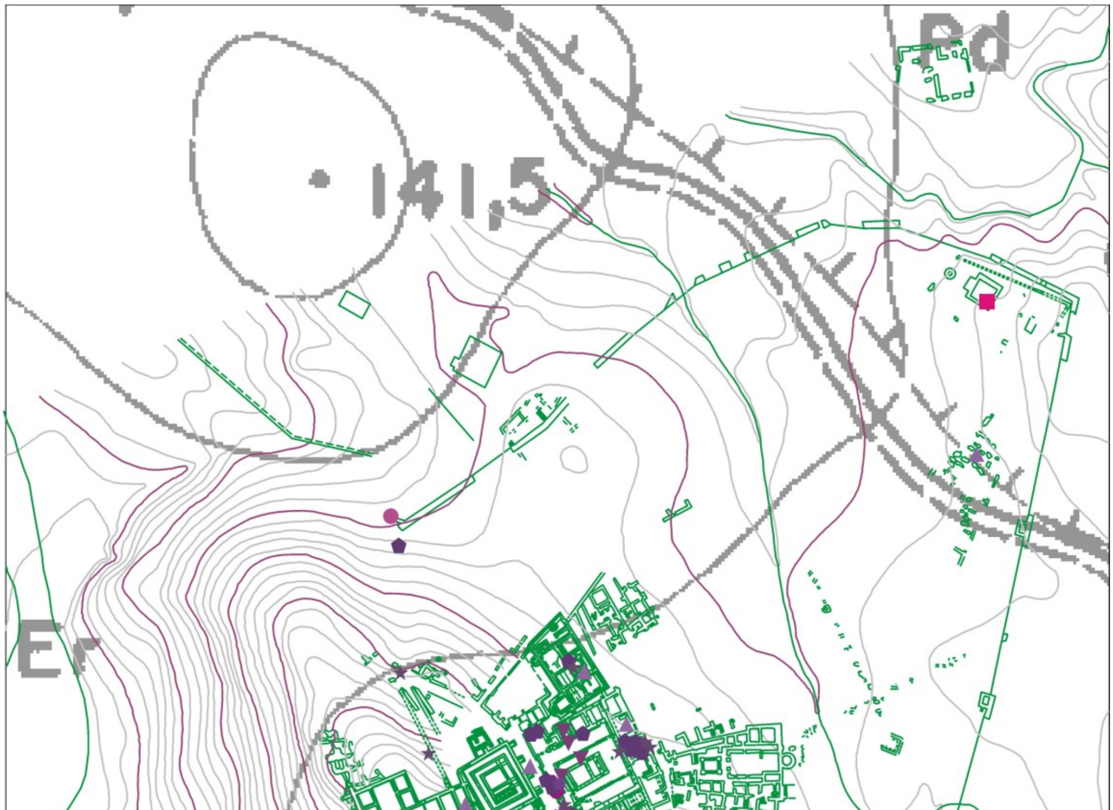

Fig. 41: Location of findspots of inscriptions at Munigua

d) *Object* (**Fig. 42c**)

The *tabula* is the most widely employed form of monument through all periods at Munigua. There are also a significant number of statue bases, which reflects the fact that the majority of the inscriptions found to date at Munigua are associated with areas around the temples and forum. Of the few funerary inscriptions that are preserved there are both *tabulae* and *arae*, but only one *parallelepipedum* has been found so far, employed in a dedication to the imperial cult.[692]

e) *Material* (**Fig. 42d**)

Marble is the most common construction material found amongst the assemblage at Munigua. It is used primarily and, in this case, exclusively for *tabulae*, although in conjunction with granite and sandstone amongst the *arae* and statue bases. One *tabula* exists of unidentified material, which may possibly also be marble given that no examples in other materials have yet been found. The single *parallelepipedum* is also constructed from marble. Several of the *tituli sacri* and *tituli honorarii* utilised a white marble with pink and sometimes blue veins from Almáden de la Plata, but apart from this there is very little variation with only white marble recorded where this information survives. The granite utilised is of a dark, almost black, hue, and the sandstone grey. There is not, therefore, the widely differing range of colours on display at Munigua as are seen at some other sites in the study region. Grünhagen's work on the construction stone from Munigua indicates a strong preference for local material, which may suggest that the stone used for inscriptions as yet unidentified was also largely local.[693]

f) *Decoration* (**Fig. 41a**)

Of the decoration known from Munigua all the examples are relief work rather than inscribed, comprised larger architectural decoration such as cornices and sculptured borders such as with *ova* and floral borders. The p*atera* and *praefericulum* are also common motifs. Decorative *puncta* are the only elements engraved on the inscriptions from Munigua. An unusual motif, the crescent moon is seen on two building inscriptions, indicative of a local workshop.[694]

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[692] MUN004SC.
[693] *Grünhagen 1979.*
[694] MUN025HP, & MUN026OP.

g) *Formulae* (**Fig. 42a**)

The small range of preserved funerary formulae revolves around age at death as *annorum, mensium* and *dierum*, with D.M.S. and H.S.E.S.T.T.L. as the accompanying formulae. One instance of the verb *ponere* is seen.

The majority of inscriptions being public and largely honorific in nature conform to the usual formulae detailing the sources of funding (*de sua pecunia)*, the role of the *ordo* in determining the distribution of inscriptions throughout the urban landscape *(accepto loco ex decreto ordinis)*, and the nature of the benefactions whether statues, public buildings, or aggrandisements for existing structures.

6.10.3 *The Social Community*

The majority of the inscriptions from Munigua are individual dedications (*tituli honorarii*), honouring and commemorating the lives of family members, municipal officials, and the emperors (both alive and deceased). Therefore, the predominant intention behind Munigua's epigraphic tradition was to celebrate individual identities and social relationships. This interpretation correlates with an analysis of the major types of object inscribed at Munigua. By far the most common inscribed monuments were plaques and statue pedestals, both ideally suited to honorific tributes. Euergetism was clearly present and at work here,[695] but one fact which is particularly interesting about Munigua's epigraphic assemblage is that it is not primarily self-promotion so much as the promotion of individuals close to the dedicator, such as parents, husbands and wives, children or slave owners. Familial and dependent relationships are important in this town, and the population actively exploits the new medium of epigraphy in order to express and assert those relationships. This is a town where blood relations dominate the inscribed scene. Of the relationships documented which can be fully reconstructed, three record the devotion of a son to their parent, one a husband to his wife, two the action of friends and heirs,[696] and the remainder freedmen and women of their former owners. The selection of laudatory epithets such as *pientissima* or *desiderantissima* may indicate that family values of loyalty and honour were considered important.[697] It is possible

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[695] *De sua pecunia:*
[696] MUN004SC & MUN006SC.
[697] See *Nielsen 1997.* This issue will be returned to in Chapter 7.

that such qualities were in mind when the citizens of the town were described as *bene meritus.*[698]
In several of the inscriptions from Munigua the repetition and glorification of the urban name[699] fosters civic pride, as do the dedications which honour individual members of that community, often for their contribution to the town, and also those inscriptions set up with euergetistic intentions which attempt to promote the relationships between the community and the benefactor of a new public building or social event.

The discussions above have highlighted that a community presence and identity was demonstrated at Munigua through the way in which it was organised, designed and decorated. This hypothesis is supported by the evidence for the existence of a senate through both inscribed material and the programme of rebuilding under the Flavian emperors. Leadership can foster a sense of community and structures joint action within the population. The problem lies in identifying the demographic composition of that community. The epigraphic assemblage provides evidence for a very small number of families based on onomastic analysis.[700] The individuals documented are likely to be members of elite and wealthy families judging from the content of the texts, and freedmen and freedwomen, a group which is traditionally associated with social competition and self promotion through public display, utilising both epigraphic and architectural media. Therefore, the inscribing community of Munigua, as documented by the remaining inscriptions, is primarily a wealthy but small group of people.

The inscribed evidence, when interpreted in the historical context of the concession of Latin rights, suggests that the city itself was responsible for the Flavian rebuilding programme and certainly several inscriptions document the donations of individual members of the community to the ongoing project.

Against the evidence for continuity are the numerous traits worked into the urban landscape derived from Italic and so-called 'Roman' culture some of which remain relatively isolated in Munigua.[701] Coarelli has argued that a group of wealthy Baeticans, possibly senators, known to be residing at Tivoli at the end of the 1st Century and into the 2nd Century AD should be seen to be responsible for the

[698] MUN034TS.
[699] e.g. *Splendidissimae*
[700] Aelius, Aemiliius, Licinius, Quintius, Valerius are the most frequently recorded nomen.
[701] E.g. Temple of Mercury.

Sanctuary construction and design.[702] It is possible that their wealth was derived from the mines and may have been returned to the town for this project. These individuals may provide the answer to the selection of such archaic architectural forms for the Sanctuary; living in Tivoli, they would be familiar with the Temple of Hercules and probably the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia, which was not very distant at Praeneste. Other suggestions have focused on wealthy Baeticans once again but still resident in the province, searching for a suitable Sanctuary site in which to express their association with the Empire, its ideals and culture through the creation of a monument utilising Italic media and architectural vocabulary.

Both these interpretations have one element in common: the fusion of cultures and exchange of techniques and traditions. Whichever may prove to be correct, they both embody the same spirit which is evident at Munigua, that of a variety of influences bound together to create a unique urban experience. There is clear evidence of continuity amongst the urban population and of their involvement in the building programme of the late 1st Century AD. The selections of Italic architectural influences are reconciled with traditional features across the site. The urban character which results is one of openness to alternative cultural traditions, an amalgamation of the best and most recognisable features from both sides. It is neither exclusively Roman nor exclusively Iberian, but the introduction of external elements is inescapable and, whilst the town is clearly unified, it is certainly not homogeneous.

[702] *Coarelli 1987.*

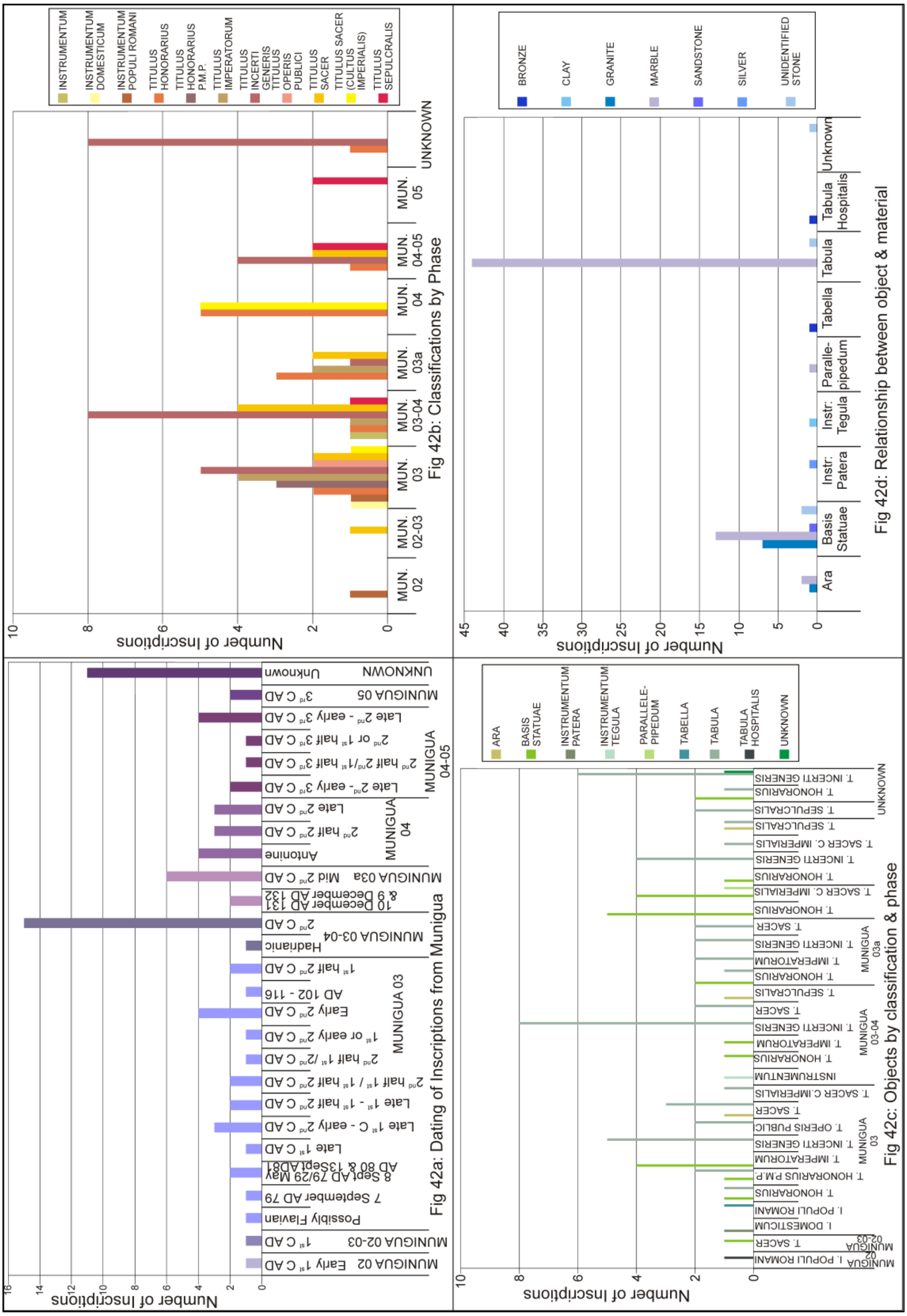

Fig. 42 a: Dating of inscriptions from Munigua
Fig. 42 b: Classifications by phase of inscriptions from Munigua
Fig. 42 c: Objects by classification and phase in the inscriptions from Munigua
Fig. 42 d: Relationship between objects and material in the inscriptions from Munigua

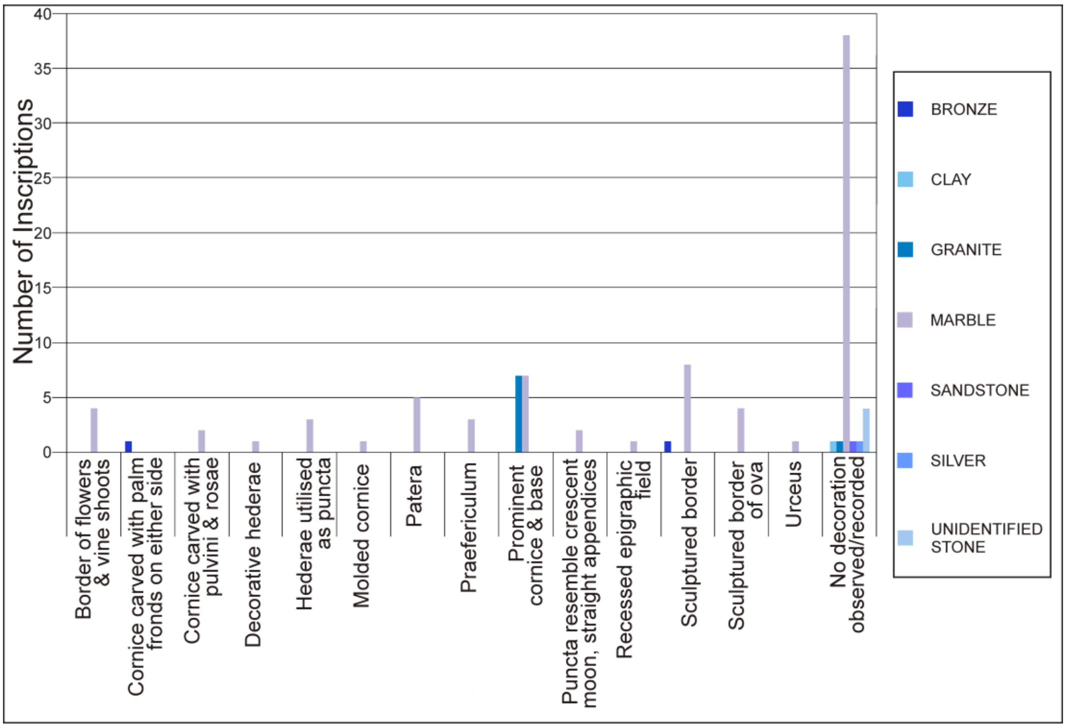

Fig. 43 a: Relationship between decoration and material in the inscriptions from Munigua

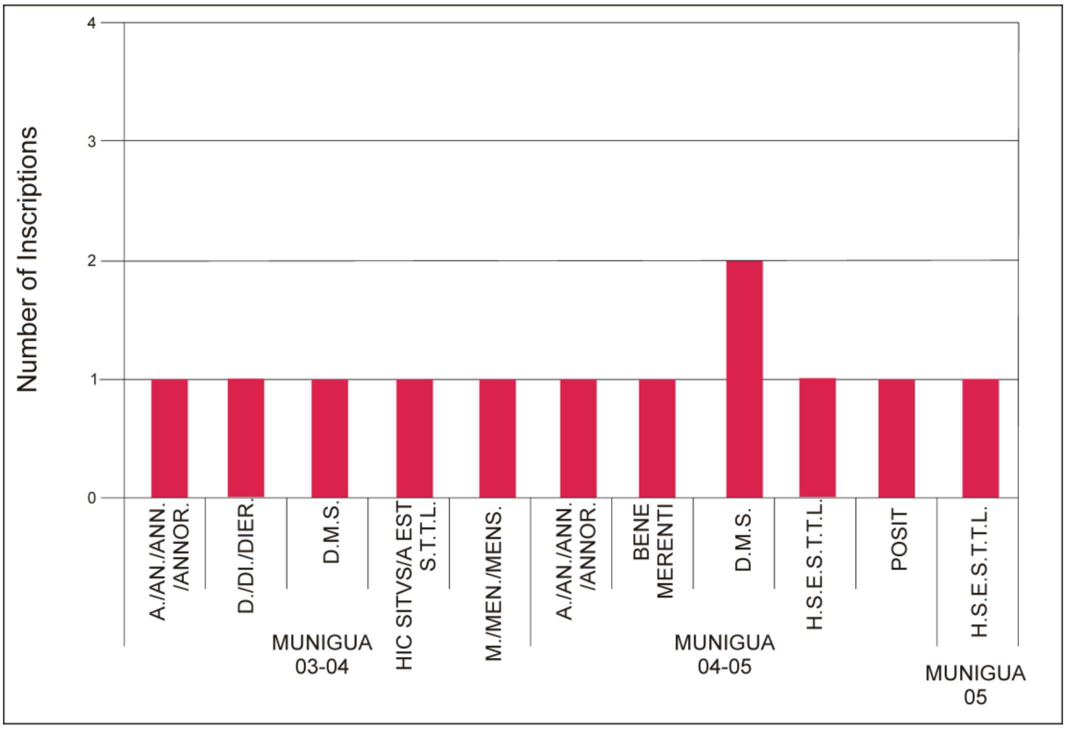

Fig. 43 b: Non-funerary formulae in the inscriptions from Munigua

6.11 ORIPPO (TORRE DE LOS HERBEROS)

6.11.1 *Location and Nature of the Settlement, Origins and History, Topography and Urban Organisation*

The Roman site of Orippo is known from ancient sources and itineraries[703], but the origin of occupation at the site can be dated back to prehistory with evidence for activity in the Chalcolithic/Bronze Age.[704] The first real urbanisation, however, coincided with the Turdetanian period during which time the settlement was a well established native centre of the Turdetani. The site occupied a strategically advantageous position located on the conglomerate sands and clays of the eastern terraces of the river Baetis, close to the Lacus Ligustinus and only a short distance south of Hispalis on the route of the Via Augusta, the major land route through the province.[705] Orippo was therefore located on two of the most important thoroughfares through the province, which ran roughly concurrent routes through the centre of the province from Gades in the south to the provincial capital Cordoba in the north east. The land surrounding Orippo was particularly fertile and ripe for agricultural exploitation, and the transport and communication routes with which Orippo was connected provided the infrastructure for this exploitation to flourish. Its location and resources enabled it to flourish as an industrial centre for the local production of amphorae.[706]

The topography of the site is that of a long finger-like plateau running roughly west-northwest-east-southeast with a relatively steep gradient at the limits of the slope. Geophysical surveys carried out prior to[707] and as part of this research demonstrated clearly that the potential features identified follow the site topography very closely in terms of their distribution and orientation, and that the site was both densely occupied and a thriving centre of industry and production. The initial Turdetanian urban nucleus was situated on the top of this plateau and it seems that the extra-mural wall was in place by this period; however, it soon expanded far

[703] Pliny *Naturalis Historia 3,1.11* describes it as an *oppidum* within the *conventus Hispalensis*; *Antonini Itinerarium: Item a Gadis Corduba mpm CCXCIIII sic... Orippo mpm XXIIII.*

[704] For descriptions of the site and discussions of periodic archaeological intervention see: *Bendala Galán & Pellicer Catalan 1977; Fernández Gómez 1986; Guerrero Misa 1989 & 1996; Romero & Escudero 1990; Hoz Gandára 1991; Miranda & Martínex Peñarrolla 1992; Pérez Paz 1993; Martínez Peñarrolla 1996 & 1997; Fernández Gómez 1997.*

[705] *Sillières 1990, 313.*

[706] *Bendala Galán & Pellicer Catalan 1977.*

[707] E.g. *Pérez Paz 1993, 486.*

beyond this area, and the original centre became the focus for the public buildings constructed in the height of the Empire.

Fig. 44: Results of the geophysical and topographical survey at Orippo[708]

[708] Digital data and excavation plans were provided by the Ayuntamiento de Dos Hermanas.

The few visible architectural remains confirm that brick and other stonework were common construction materials. Investigations around the site have uncovered evidence of a small bath complex and other structures, amphora kilns, and two cemeteries (**Figs 44 & 45**). Also apparent from the geophysical surveys is the existence of a defensive structure at the edge of the main settlement area, but the continuation of the geophysical anomalies further to the south suggests that the edge of the plateau did not form the outer extent of the occupied area in all periods of Orippo's history.

PHASE ID	**DESCRIPTION**	**PERIOD OF OCCUPATION**	**NUMBER OF INSCRIPTIONS**
ORIPPO 01	End of Bronze Age: First settlement	9^{th} – 8^{th} C BC	
ORIPPO 02	Tartessian	8^{th} – 6^{th} C BC	
ORIPPO 03	Turdetanian	Late 6^{th} C – 3^{rd} C BC	
ORIPPO 04	Carthaginian	3^{rd} C BC	
ORIPPO 05	Republican	3^{rd} -1^{st} C BC	
ORIPPO 05-06	Republican/Early Imperial	Late 1^{st} C BC – early 1^{st} C AD	1
ORIPPO 06	Augustan & Julio-Claudian: regeneration of Via Augusta & creation of municipium	1^{st} C BC – 1^{st} C AD	
ORIPPO 07	Flavian urban development	Mid – late 1^{st} C AD	
ORIPPO 07-08	Flavian – post Flavian	Late 1^{st} C – early 2^{nd} C AD	1
ORIPPO 08	Mid Imperial	2^{nd} – early 3^{rd} C AD	2
ORIPPO 09	Later Imperial	Later 3^{rd} – 4^{th} C AD	1

Table 12: Phases of occupation at Orippo

6.11.2 *The Epigraphic Assemblage*

a) *Chronology* (**Table 12 & Fig. 46a)**

Unfortunately, of the twenty-one inscriptions recorded from Orippo, only five have been accorded certain dates. The earliest is dated to the Republican/Early Imperial period,[709] but then the next dates to the late 1st or early 2nd Century AD,[710] leaving a large gap for which we have no evidence for the use of inscriptions. Unfortunately this hiatus covers the period both of Augustan and Julio Claudian regeneration of the re-named Via Augusta and the establishment of Orippo as a *municipium*.[711]

b) *Typology* (**Fig. 46b**)

The inscriptions from Orippo, though a small sample, demonstrate the expected preponderance of funerary inscriptions. The character of the monumental script of an example of a *titulus operis publici*[712], testifies to the existence of public architecture, and the survival of a *titulus sacer* to Mercurius Augustus references an observance of the imperial cult.[713] These inscriptions suggest that Orippo was a thriving community capable of erecting monumental architecture and that it supported individuals of sufficient income and standing to undertake personal benefactions. The dedication to the cult of Mercurius Augustus is particularly suited to Orippo as a centre of production and reflects how the town was viewed by members of its population. Mercurius Augustus, in addition to representing the Emperor, also represents commerce and profitability which must have been at the heart of the character of Orippo.[714] The evidence from the geophysical surveys would suggest that these types of inscriptions should be located on the high ground at the centre of the old town, which is indeed where they both originate from.

The majority of the extant inscriptions from Orippo are in fact *instrumenta*. Ten of the inscriptions provide evidence for the brick production and construction industries.[715] Nine of these cannot be interpreted with any great certainty due to the fragmentary nature of their various texts, but the tenth clearly records the mark of its

[709] ORI003TS.
[710] ORI001SC.
[711] *Keay 1998a, 85.*
[712] ORI008OP.
[713] ORI001SC.
[714] *Rodríguez Cortés 1991, 81-84.*
[715] ORI013-021IN.

manufacturer, Columinus Solumus.[716] These inscriptions testify to industrial regulation and control of resources and production, demonstrating a level of organisation in the exploitation of the provincial landscape.

The diverse findspots and the different inscriptions are not indicative that Orippo was a centre of brick production itself, but the site is known to have been an industrial centre for the local production of amphorae.[717] The position of Orippo on the Via Augusta meant that it was well placed both for transport of the materials for construction and the finished products.

The remaining *instrumentum* is indicative of an artistic tradition rather than an industrial one.[718] The disc portrays a figured scene, possibly of the emperor with the inscription SABINI. The thriving economy in Orippo would certainly have supported the purchase and production of artistic items such as this.

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[716] ORI005IN.
[717] *Bendala Galán & Pellicer Catalan 1977.*
[718] ORI006IN.

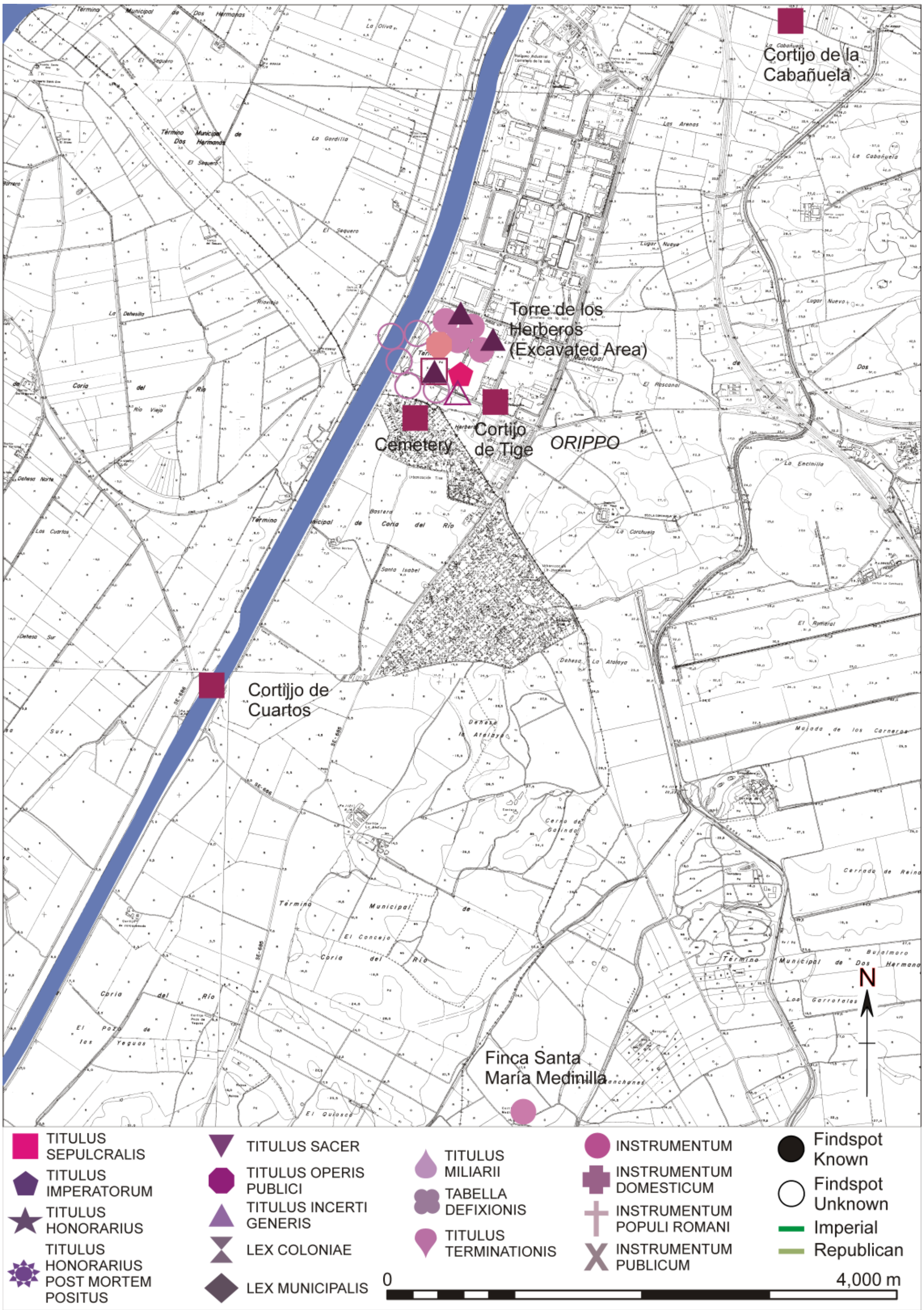

Fig. 45: Location of inscription findspots from Orippo

c) *Object* (**Fig.46c**)

The number of inscribed object types is reduced considerably by the large number of brick fragments in the assemblage. Perhaps the most unusual object type is the funerary *cippus*[719] which is also (apart from the figurative disc) the most decorative of the inscriptions from Orippo with an engraved *pater* and *praefericulum* on the left and right sides of the monument respectively. Unfortunately, information relating to the date, deceased individual interred with this monument and the identity of the dedicator is now irretrievable, so it is not possible to question what factors might have combined to produce a monument of this type.

Of the remaining funerary inscriptions, one is a *stela*[720] and the rest are *tabulae*. A *tabula* was also employed for the dedication to the cult of Mercurius Augustus.[721] The *stela* appears to be the earliest of the funerary monuments followed by the remaining *tabulae*.

d) *Material* (**Fig. 46d & 47a**)

The most commonly utilised material for inscribed monuments amongst the extant assemblage is marble, and it is utilised across the epigraphic genres for funerary inscriptions, the cult dedication and the monumental inscription as well as for some other inscriptions of unidentified genre. The use of marble reflects both Orippo's prosperity as a production centre and also its transport links via its proximity to the river Guadalquivir and the route of the Via Augusta. The most highly decorated inscription, the *cippus*, was carved not from marble but from sandstone, as was the funerary inscription of the freedwomen of Lucius.[722]

e) *Formulae* (**Fig. 47b**)

Formulae are only clearly represented on two of the inscriptions from the assemblage, both funerary, one with the familiar D.M.S., record of age at death and H.S.E.S.T.T.L.[723] The other utilises the formulae relating to the size of the burial site in which the deceased were laid to rest, which in this case was 12 foot x 10 foot.[724]

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719 ORI010TS.
720 ORI003TS.
721 ORI001SC.
722 ORI003TS.
723 ORI002TS.
724 ORI003TS.

6.11.3 *Social Community*

Given the small size of the sample, not a great deal can be said about the nature of relationships and the inscribing communities within Orippo. The dominance of funerary inscriptions is again evident in that the majority of the individuals recorded occur as deceased recipients. Two of these are freedwomen, Varinia Quarta and Varinia Tyche, both freedwomen of Lucius, who are buried together with Optatus, who may perhaps be a deceased child of Varinia Quarta.[725] These are in fact the only women seen amongst the epigraphic assemblage, all the rest being male and probably adult except for possibly Optatus. Other individuals named as deceased recipients of funerary monuments include Lucius Manilius Rarus whose name is recorded in *tria nomina*, but may not necessarily be a free individual.[726] It is possible that a free born individual is recorded in a fragmentary inscription where analysis reveals a possible filiation formula, but this cannot be confirmed with certainty.[727] Therefore, the only other individual for which we have firm information relating to status is Lucius Egnatius, the dedicator of the *titulus sacer* to Mercurius Augustus whose office is uncertain, he may be either a *flamen* or a a *sevir Augustalis*.[728] All the names recorded are Latin in origin apart from Tyche, which is Greek and therefore in keeping with Varinia Tyche's status as a freed slave. The deceased buried with Varinia Quarta bears the name Optatus, which is Latin in origin but also often seen amongst slaves.[729]

No specific information remains extant relating to who shouldered the financial burden for the inscriptions or Orippo. It is likely that the *sevir* Lucius Egnatius was personally responsible for the imperial cult dedication as a result of his civic position.[730] A small fragmentary inscription may potentially be read as [pe]CVNIA[731] but beyond this no information can be gleaned.

Whilst smaller and more private communities based around the family and extended household are evidenced through the funerary inscriptions, the main evidence for larger communities within Orippo comes from the imperial cult dedication. This provides evidence for two related communities within the

725 ORI003TS.
726 ORI002TS.
727 ORI004TS.
728 ORI001SC.
729 *Kajanto 1965.*
730 ORI001SC.
731 ORI004TS.

settlement, that of the followers of the imperial cult of Mercurius Augustus, and the *Augustales* who administered its rituals. This is also the sole official position recorded in the inscriptions from Orippo. The other inscriptions which indicate common activities such as those conducted within a public building, or those involved with production and manufacture, indicate the existence of a regulated community which was capable of cooperation for shared benefit in the pursuance of commercial success.

The epigraphic assemblage of Orippo, therefore, despite its small size, still has a great deal of information to offer about the communities of Orippo and the nature of urban activity, especially when interpreted in context with supporting information from the excavations and surveys carried out within the archaeological area.

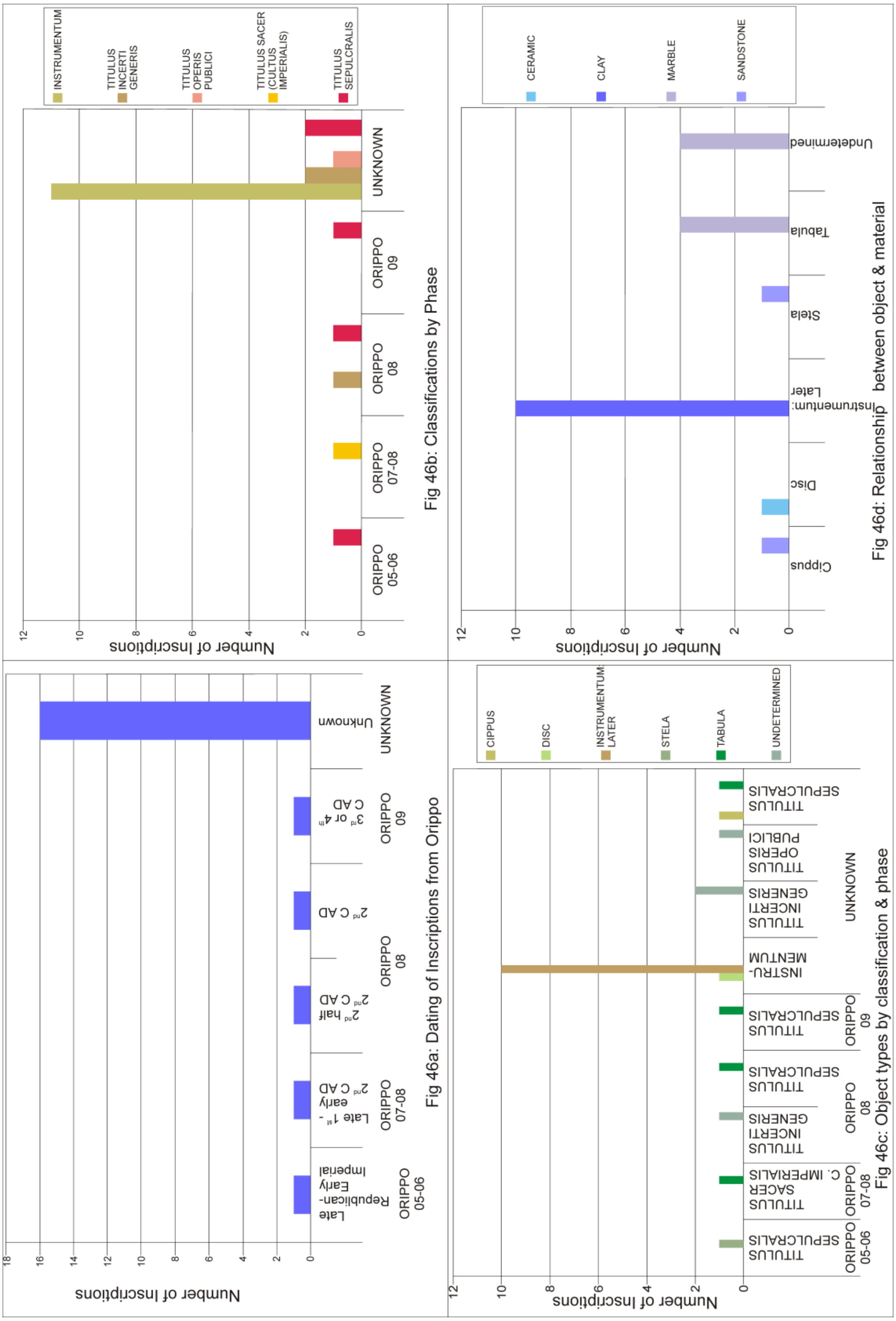

Fig. 46a: Dating of Inscriptions from Orippo
Fig. 46b: Classifications by phase of inscriptions from Orippo
Fig. 46c: Object types by classification and phase in the inscriptions from Orippo
Fig. 46d: Relationship between object and material

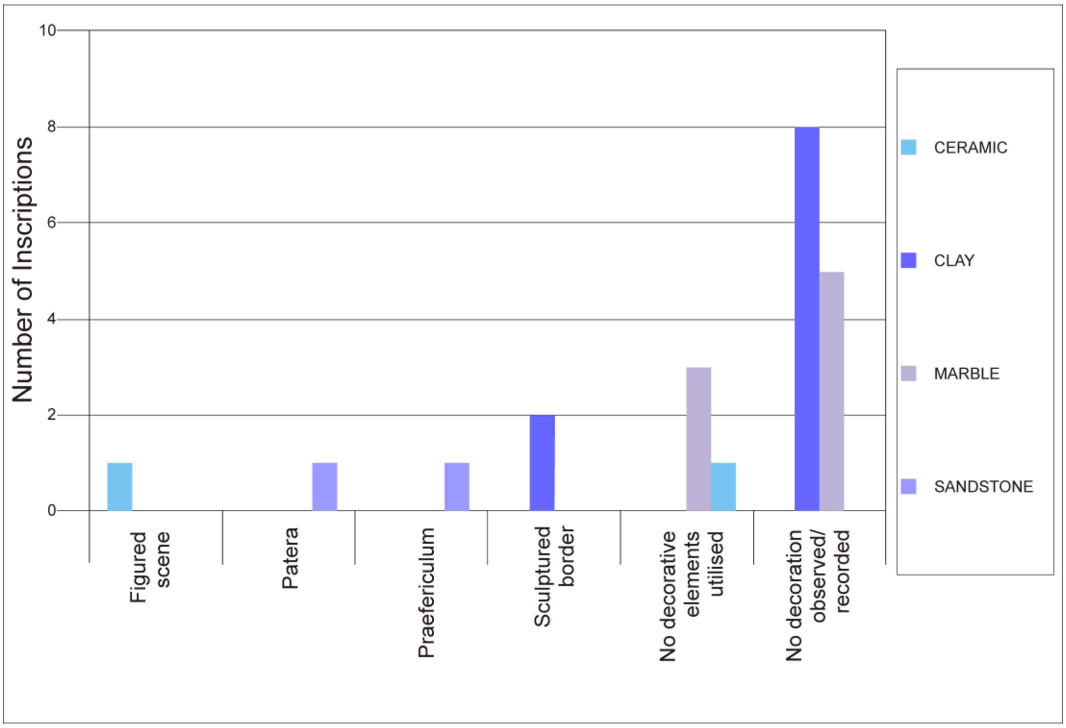

Fig. 47a: Relationship between decoration and material in the inscriptions from Orippo

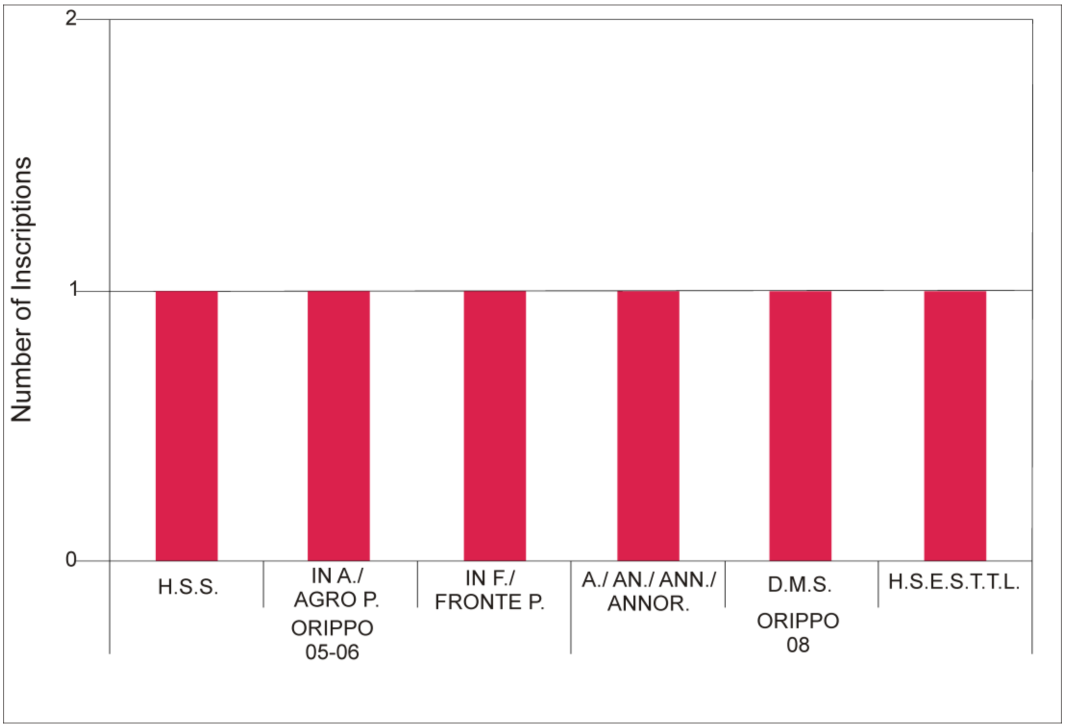

Fig 47b: Occurrence of funerary formulae in the inscriptions from Orippo

6.12 SALPENSA (EL CASAR)

6.12.1 *Location and Nature of the Settlement, Origins and History, Topography and Urban Organisation*

The settlement at Cerro El Casar, the ancient site of Salpensa,[732] has been little investigated, but it occupies a lowland plateau with a broad ridge at its summit on which settlement was based. Evidence of a perimeter wall is visible at the site, but little else. Salpensa as a pre-Roman settlement was of significant size and status due to its strategic location. It received municipal status under the Flavians[733] and, though there is little evidence, it is likely that given its size and history it was urban in character and internal organisation. As a result of its new status it displayed a *lex municipalis*,[734] later lost but which resurfaced in Malaga in the 19th Century. The site lies close to that of Siarum and the continuation of the Via Augusta to the south of Hispalis ran to the west of both sites. The site is situated on an elevated promontory, with good visibility which facilitated control over the lower terrain to its north and west, and this factor appears to have played an important role in determining its location.[735] It had been hoped that a geophysical survey would be possible on this site, but since that proved impossible it remains to interpret the epigraphic information in the absence of details of urban organisation.

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[732] Pliny *Naturalis Historia,* 3.1.14 (Salpensa).
[733] As evidenced by the Lex Municipalis Salpensanae SAL001LM; *Keay 1998a, 86.*
[734] *Hardy 1912*; *González Fernández 1990, 101.*
[735] *Keay et al 2001,* specifically *400, 404.*

6.12.2 *The* *Epigraphic Assemblage*

a) *Chronology* (**Table 13 & Fig.49a)**

PHASE ID	DESCRIPTION	PERIOD OF OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF INSCRIPTIONS
SALPENSA 01	Late Bronze Age	8th C BC	
SALPENSA 02	Tartessian	8th – late 6th C BC	
SALPENSA 03	Turdetanian	Late 6th C BC – later 3rd C BC	
SALPENSA 04	Carthaginian	Late 3rd C BC	
SALPENSA 05	Republican	End 3rd – late 1st C BC	
SALPENSA 06	Augustan & Early Imperial	Late 1st C BC – mid 1st C AD	1
SALPENSA 07	Flavian: Awarded Municipal Status	Second half 1st C AD	1
SALPENSA 08	Imperial	2nd - early 3rd C AD	6
SALPENSA 09	Later Imperial	later 3rd - 4th C AD	1

Table 13: Phases of occupation at Salpensa

The earliest inscription found to date is an imperial dedication to Nero.[1] The only other pre 2nd Century AD inscription is also the most important, the *lex municipalis*, inscribed during the reign of Domitian.[2] In the 2nd Century and potentially even the second half of the 2nd Century AD, more inscriptions start to be preserved from the site, the latest of which dates to the late 3rd to early 4th Century AD. The presence of the *lex* and the dedication to Nero suggest that the concentration of the extant material in the 2nd Century AD is a product of preservation and level of investigation rather than a true reflection of patterns of use.

[1] SAL002TI.
[2] SAL001LM.

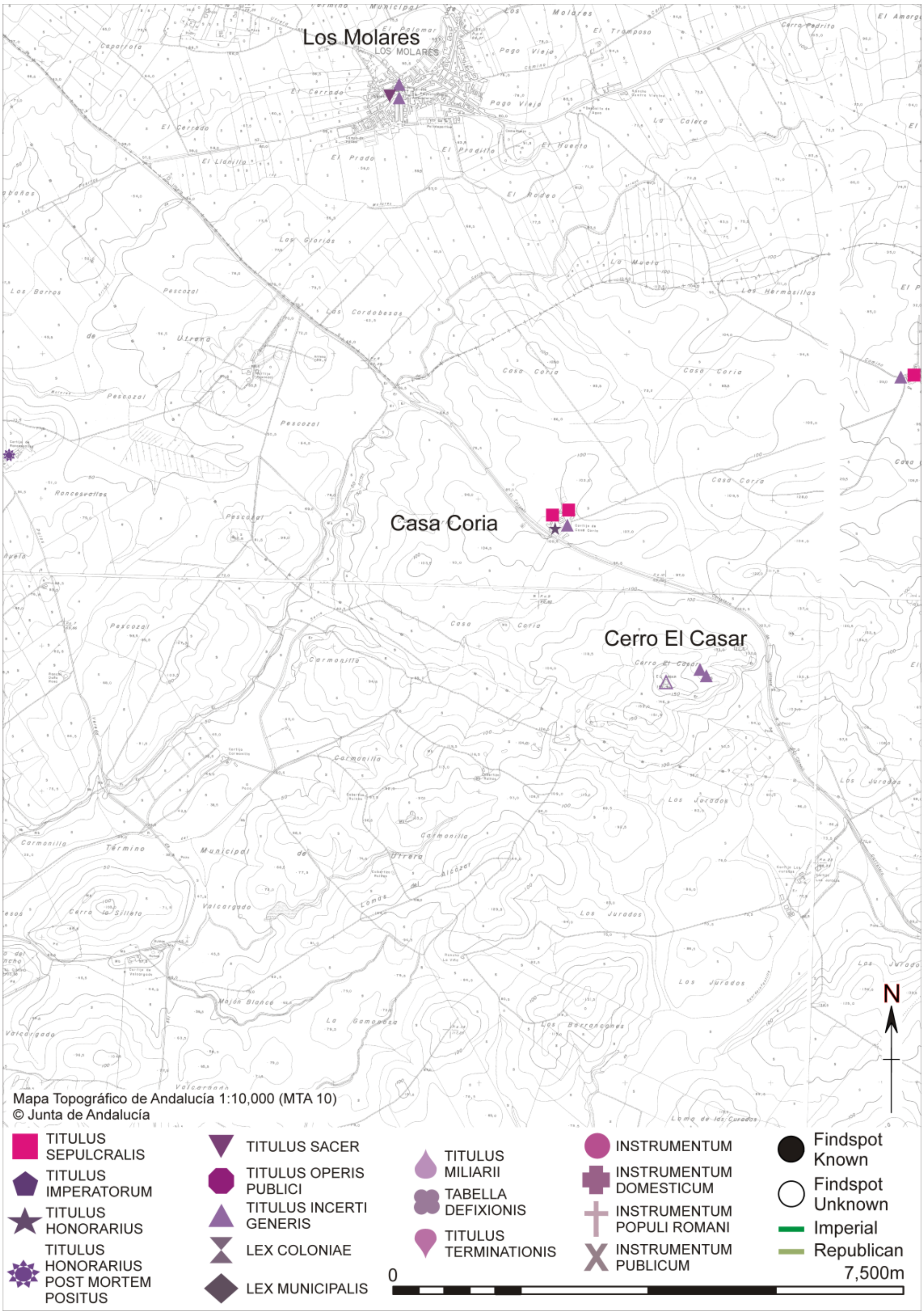

Fig. 48: Location of inscriptions with known findspots in the area surrounding Salpensa

b) *Typology* (**Fig. 49b**)

Of the few extant inscriptions, several are of a very public nature. Notwithstanding the *lex*, there are honorific dedications,[3] an imperial dedication[4] and a *titulus sacer*[5] in addition to three *tituli sepulcrales*.[6] The *titulus sacer* is dedicated to Minerva who had many aspects as a divinity which might be appropriate for an urban dedication of this type, such as connections with commerce and crafts.[7] The text is not preserved beyond the dedication, so it is not possible to interpret this selection in the context of its dedicator and their role within the community.

c) *Location* (**Fig.48**)

There are so few inscriptions to plot and so few that can be classified that location does not really offer any helpful information. Only three can be identified to the hilltop site itself, but none of these are classified. Other genres have been located in what would have constituted outlying extra mural areas.

d) *Object* (**Fig.49c**)

Only *tabulae* and statue bases have been identified from the site of Salpensa. *Tabulae* are seen utilised for various genres, whereas the only certain use of a statue base was as a base for an honorific statue.[8]

e) *Material* (**Fig.49d &50a**)

All but two examples from the assemblage are of marble. The *lex* is engraved upon a bronze sheet, and another unclassified monument is inscribed upon limestone.[9] Unfortunately, the limestone inscription can neither be dated nor classified, rendering it impossible to discern if the use of limestone might potentially have been an earlier tradition. All the stones recorded are white, and one example has been provenanced to Almadén de la Plata.[10]

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[3] SAL003-005HP.
[4] SAL002TI,
[5] SAL010SC.
[6] SAL006-008TS.
[7] *Rodríguez Cortés 1991, 36-39.*
[8] SAL004HP. A second statue base remains unclassified: SAL011IG.
[9] SAL013IG.
[10] SAL014IG.

f) *Decoration* (**Fig.50b**)

Nothing out of the ordinary was found in the decorative motifs, either relief or engraved. The limestone was not decorated so all the decorative fragments relate to the marble monuments, and include *hederae*[11] and *virgulae*[12] as *puncta*, and relief architectural moulding on the statue bases. There was also a leaf and floral border above the epigraphic field of one of the statue bases.[13]

g) *Formulae*

Each formula occurs in a single instance at Salpensa, so there are no peaks to determine which were the most commonly utilised. Two of the honorific formulae are usually interpreted as funerary, *annorum plus minus* and H.S.E., but are here seen in the context of a post mortem honorific monument.[14] Other formulae detail the use of personal funds, and sanction of the location of the monuments by the *ordo* together with associated rites and ornamentation.

In the funerary formulae, D.M.S is seen in both periods for which evidence has been preserved. *Annorum* and *vixit annis* are both utilised but in different periods, and no comparison can be made of their use over time with such a small sample. *Hic Situs Est* and S.T.L also appear, but again in different phases of occupation.

6.12.3 *Social Community*

Few individuals can be identified, but the existence of one with *tria nomina* and the erection of honorific dedications, both to living and deceased members of the community, in conjunction with its location in the landscape, indicate that Salpensa was an important settlement. Though the population recorded is only a small subset, it encompasses several of the major social groups, but no higher ranking individuals of the *equites* or senatorial order are represented. Males and females are represented as are members of different generations. Age at death in the few examples extant is limited to years except for one 18-year-old adult male, whose age is also recorded at

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[11] SAL007TS & SAL016IG.
[12] SAL009IG.
[13] SAL004HP.
[14] SAL005HP.

five months. The relationships identified reflect the range of social statuses, and the involvement of the *ordo* in the epigraphic culture of the town.

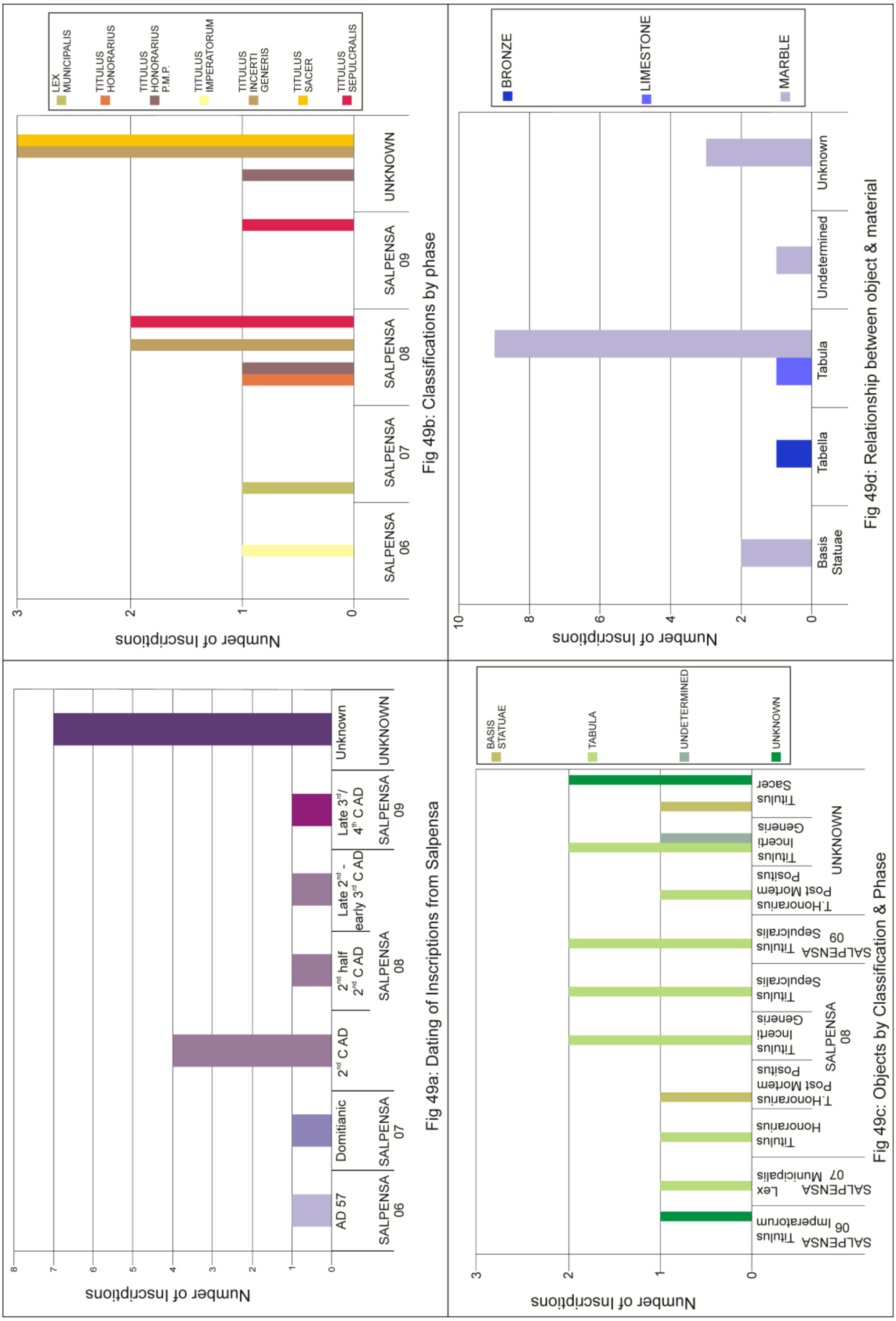

Fig. 49a: Dating of inscriptions from Salpensa
Fig. 49b: Classifications by phase of inscriptions from Salpensa
Fig. 49c: Objects by classification and phase in the inscriptions from Salpensa
Fig. 49d: Relationship between objects and material in the inscriptions from Salpensa.

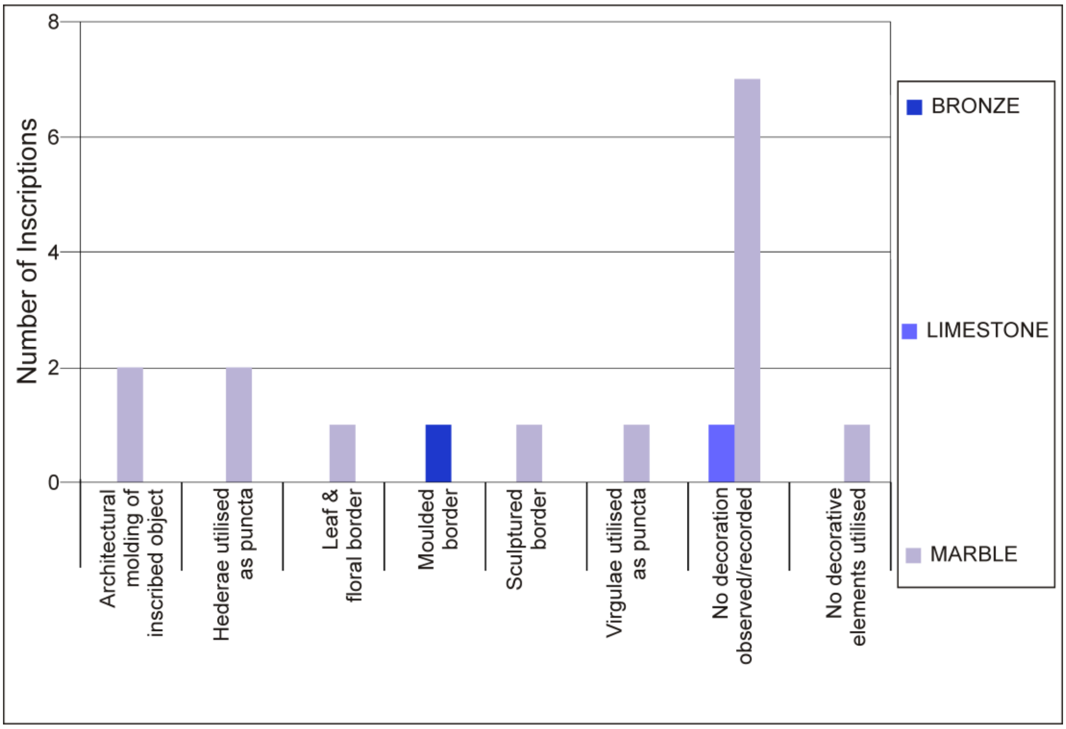

Fig. 50a: Relationship between decoration and material in the inscriptions from Salpensa

Fig. 50b: Occurrence of funerary formulae in the inscriptions from Salpensa

6.13 TORRE DEL ÁGUILA *(SIARUM)*

6.13.1 *Location and Nature of the Settlement, Origins and History, Topography and Urban Organisation*

The location of the settlement at Siarum[15] was for many years debated, but now most are agreed that it is sited on and around a narrow elevated site just to the east of Palmar de Troya, known due to its medieval tower as Torre del Águila.[16] The location of the settlement on high ground at the southern edge of the *campiña* provided it with an excellent position for control of the lowland areas to its north. Very little was known about the organisation of the settlement beyond the identification of a few cisterns and sections of wall prior to the geophysical survey, except that the topography of the hill suggested that a theatre had been constructed in between the two main elevations at the site facing roughly north west. Local residents describe having seen remains of stone seating become visible in periods of high rainfall and erosion. One of the *tituli operum publicorum* from the 2nd Century AD provides evidence for the construction of a *loca spectac(u)lorum* by Marcus Quintius Rufus[17] which may refer to a theatre or even more likely an amphitheatre following the convention use of this term in the Late Republic.[18] Another inscription of the same genre indicates the donation of a portico.[19]

The most important inscription from the site is the *Tabula Siarensis*, the bronze sheet fragments of which preserve a senatorial decree which refers to communication from the senate to the emperor Tiberius, requesting assistance in the provision of funeral honours for his nephew, Germanicus, who had recently died.[20] Although the text is not complete, there is enough overlap with the text of the *Tabula Hebana* to reconstruct the *senatus consultum* further than would otherwise have been possible.[21] This extremely important text has value in a number of areas and has been used as a source of historical information, able to shed light on such diverse subjects as the development of Imperial ideology,[22] and the urban topography of Rome as evidenced

[15] Pliny *Naturalis Historia*, 3.1.11.
[16] *Ruiz Delgado 1988, 83-85.*
[17] SIA021OP
[18] cf ILLRP 645 from Pompeii.
[19] SIA011OP.
[20] *Fernández & González 1981*; Discussed in its various contexts in *González & Arce 1988; Crawford 1996, no 37/38*; *Sánchez-Ostiz Gutiérrez 1999*.
[21] Combined translation in *Sherk 1985 no. 36 p 63-72*.
[22] E.g. *Millar 1988*.

through the display of epigraphic texts.[23] This text has important implications for the status of the site during the Roman period as it states that all provincial *coloniae* should publish the *senatus consulatum*. This would suggest that Siarum was a Roman *colonia*, although there is nothing to suggest that other towns could not and did not also erect copies of the document and there is no specific evidence within the epigraphic assemblage to support this theory. The status of Siarum represents a serious interpretative problem for our understanding of the site which is comparatively limited. González[24] believes that the settlement started out as an *oppidum civium Romanorum* and that it was promoted to the status of *colonia* by Augustus. Vespasian's concession of *ius Latii* would have concurrently promoted a neighbouring *civitas stipendiaria* to a *municipium iuris Latini* and these settlements were amalgamated at a later date into the documented *respublica Siarensium*. This interpretation is incredibly complex. Galsterer argues for a *municipium civium Romanorum* in the outset.[25] The inscription indicating that Siarum held the status of *municipium* is unfortunately undated, although it seems likely that assigning this status to the Vespasian grant of Latin rights gives us the most likely scenario for the status of the town.[26] In many ways this discussion is entirely academic. Whether Siarum was a *conventus, municipium , oppidum or colonia civium Romanorum* is likely to have made very little difference in practical terms to the residents and there is no decisive evidence to say that they were either particularly aware or concerned by that status. Galsterer argues that the only real difference perceived by a population was in their possession or lack of civic rights.[27]

The surface of the site on both sides of the modern road is densely covered in ceramic material giving a good indication of the extent of the settlement in all directions which is naturally dictated by the topography. The geophysical survey revealed a series of structures which were orientated according to the changing contours of the site, there being few areas that were relatively flat, and these were connected by narrower slopes and terraces.

In the northernmost section of the survey, a small structure was visible which was likely to be a tower associated with the perimeter wall, the line of which would

[23] *Corbier 2006, 163-179.*
[24] *González 1984, 1988.*
[25] *Galsterer 1988, 61 ff.*
[26] See detailed discussion in *González 1984*, *88ff*,; *Galsterer 1988* & *Le Roux 1988.*
[27] *Galsterer 1988, 71.*

have been clearly defined by the topography due to the steep drop along the southern edge of the site, down towards where the modern reservoir now lies. It is likely that in this area of the settlement the buildings were largely public in character and that the residential buildings were perhaps located on the opposite side of the modern road.

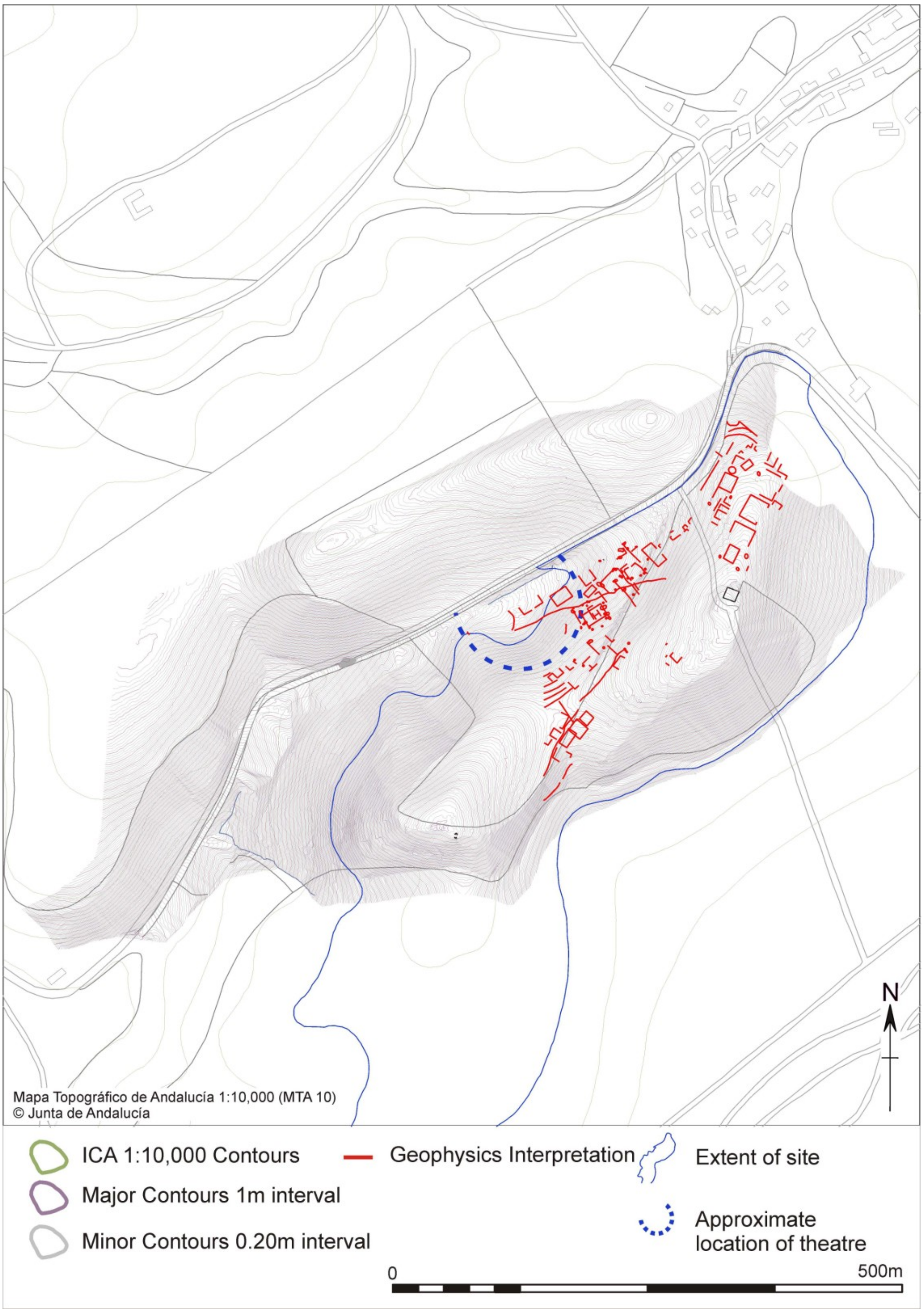

Fig. 51: Results of the topographical and geophysical survey at Siarum

PHASE ID	DESCRIPTION	PERIOD OF OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF INSCRIPTIONS
SIARUM 01	Late Bronze Age: First real settlement with circular mud huts	8^{th} C BC	
SIARUM 02	Phoenician influence: Rectangular structures	8^{th} – 7^{th} C BC	
SIARUM 03	Tartessian period	7^{th} – 6^{th} C BC	
SIARUM 04	Turdetanian Dark Age	Later 6^{th} – 3^{rd} C BC	
SIARUM 05	Carthaginian	3^{rd} C BC (237 – 206 BC)	
SIARUM 06	Republican	3^{rd} - 1^{st} C BC	1
SIARUM 06-07	Caesarean & Augustan Late Republic – Early Imperial	Second half 1^{st} C BC – early 1^{st} C AD	2
SIARUM 07a	Early Imperial: Augustan	Early 1^{st} C AD	1
SIARUM 07b	Early Imperial: Julio-Claudian & Flavian	Early – late 1^{st} C AD	3
SIARUM 08	Imperial Siarum urban expansion	Late 1^{st} – early 2^{nd} C AD	6
SIARUM 09	Mid Imperial	2^{nd} C AD	11
SIARUM 09-10	Mid-Late Imperial	Late 2^{nd} – early 3^{rd} C AD	6
SIARUM 10	Later Roman: alteration in character and focus of settlement	Later 3^{rd} C AD	1

Table 14: Phases of occupation at Siarum

6.4.4 *The Epigraphic Assemblage*

a) *Chronology* (**Table 14 & Fig.53a)**

The first inscriptions from Siarum date to the end of the Republic and very early Empire, but the majority of the assemblage corresponds to the late 1^{st} and 2^{nd} Century AD after the likely Flavian concession of Latin rights and Siarum's change in status to that of *municipium*. At this time, the town underwent a redevelopment and expansion which can be closely correlated with a series of honorific inscriptions.

The monumental inscriptions from Siarum date both to the earlier period under Augustus and the very early Empire as well as this second phase of urbanisation.

b) *Typology* (**Fig. 53b**)

A range of public inscriptions have been provenanced to Siarum with, in particular, a significant number of honorific dedications, all to living individuals. These set the tone for the assemblage as a whole, indicating that Siarum was a substantial town capable of attracting a population with an elite component of this type. In addition, there are a series of both imperial dedications to Hadrian,[28] Antoninus Pius[29] and Pertinax,[30] and a dedication to the cult of Fortuna Augusta[31] which have been seen amongst the previous sites to be indicative of both the status of the population and of the site itself.[32] In Spain this particular cult is often seen in votive offerings giving thanks for gaining municipal office.[33] Comparatively few *tituli sepulcrales* survive in comparison with the more public elements of the epigraphy from Siarum. The other *titulus sacer* from Siarum is dedicated to the *Genius* of the *municipium Siarensium*[34] and may offer further indication of the name of the town, although the restoration of this fragment is no easy matter.[35] The cult of Genius, the protector spirit, was popular in Hispania and spread easily so it is interesting to note that it is associated here with the *municipium* indicative of a community.[36]

c) *Location* (**Fig.52**)

The inscriptions from the site were often found far removed from the site itself and as a result not all are shown on the accompanying map. A conglomeration is visible in the region of the site itself of funerary, monumental and honorific inscriptions which supports the hypothesised location of the settlement. Others are located in the surrounding territory, reaching as far as the Roman bridge at Las Alcantarillas and even further to the west and north, though not depicted on this plan.

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[28] SIA003TI.
[29] SIA004TI.
[30] SIA005TI.
[31] SIA026SC.
[32] *Fears 1981, 867.*
[33] *Ibid, 933.*
[34] *Rodríguez Cortés 1991, 56-62.*
[35] SIA002SC; *Gimeno Pascual & Stylow 1998, 97-98.*
[36] *Rodríguez Cortés. 1991, 56.*

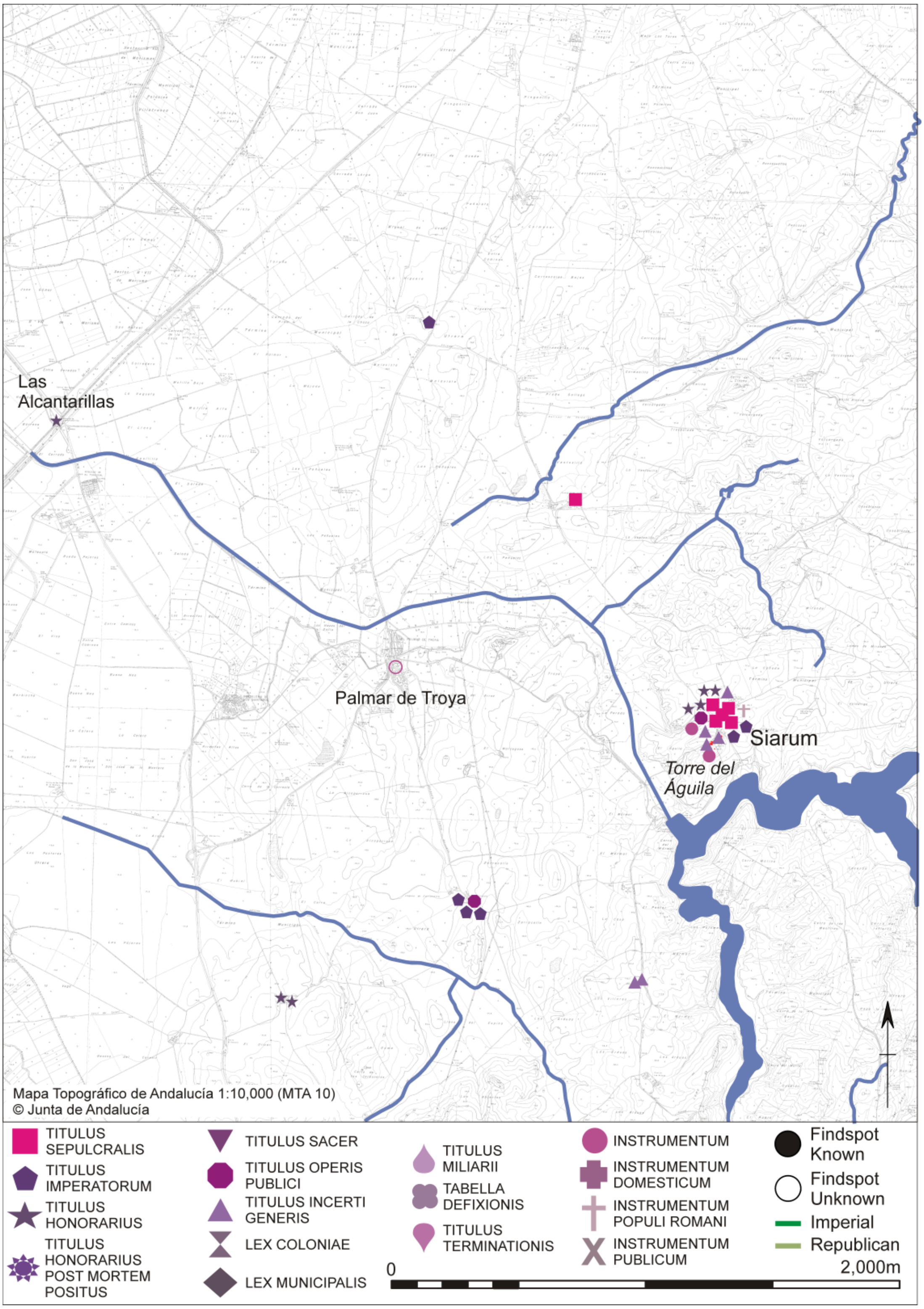

Fig. 52: Location of inscriptions with known findspots in the area surrounding Siarum

d) *Object* **(Fig.53c)**

Due to the proliferation of honorific monuments, a very common inscribed object is the statue base, but overall the majority of the monuments are *tabulae*. The *tituli* *honorarii* are mainly composed upon statue bases, but are also seen on an early *parallelepipedum*[37] and in the later periods, from which inscriptions are more commonly preserved, they are also seen on *tabulae* on three occasions. The same mix of monuments is seen in the *tituli imperatorum*. The funerary inscriptions, though few, are varied according to the type of monument comprising *cippi*,[38] *tabulae* and an *ara*.[39]

e) *Material* (**Fig.53d & 54a**)

The stone *tabulae* of Siarum are exclusively constructed from marble, and marble overall is the most common material from which all but two of the statue bases are constructed. One of the statue bases,[40] together with the *ara*, *cippi* and the *parallelepipedum*, are constructed from limestone.[41] The *Tabula Siarensis* is inscribed upon thin sheets of bronze and would have been displayed on the walls of one of the important buildings in the town.[42] The geophysical survey indicates that this may well have been on the eastern side of the modern road.

f) *Decoration* (**Fig.54a**)

The decorative elements from Siarum largely conform to standard architectural mouldings, sculptured borders and *hederae* utilised as *puncta*. However, one inscription has distinctive round *puncta*[43], and unusual motifs, first interpreted as the sign of the scorpion although more likely to be capricorns, symbols of the *felicitas* of Augustus,[44] are seen on the dedication recording the Genius of the Municipium.[45] A recessed epigraphic field is also utilised on a marble statue base.[46]

g) *Formulae* (**Fig. 54b**)

The funerary formulae indicate that *Annorum* and *vixit annis* were utilised in the same period from at least the 2nd Century onwards. The assemblage is characterised

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[37] SIA009TH.
[38] SIA013TS & SIA014TS.
[39] SIA015TS.
[40] SIA038TH.
[41] SIA009TH, SIA013TS, SIA014TS, SIA021OP & SIA038TH.
[42] SAL001LM.
[43] SIA035TH.
[44] Corrected by *Gimeno Pascual & Stylow 1998, 98.*
[45] SIA002SC
[46] SIA033TH.

by these formulae together with D.M.S. and *Dis Manibus*, an indication of age in months, and the formulae T.R.P.D.S.T.T.L. and S.T.T.L. with or without the preceding H.S.E. Amongst the public formulae there are several references to the nature of private benefactions, and in particular the personal characteristics of the honoured individual. Indication of the use of personal resources extends beyond pecuniary resources to *a solo saxsis* in the case of the provision of an area for public spectacle, indicating the use of local stone as a building material which has been confirmed as originating from a quarry near Carmona.[47]

6.4.5 *The Social Community*

The community represented at Siarum is weighted heavily towards the urban elite. No freedmen or slaves are identifiable except for those that may have been *seviri Augustales*[48], but several members of the senatorial order appear amongst the honorific dedications.[49] This places Siarum within the context of the other sites which record senatorial rank individuals through their inscriptions. In combination with the lack of lower ranked individuals, this presents a very different picture to that of other sites where the broad spectrum of the population is represented, but minus the upper echelons of Roman social hierarchy. Siarum, therefore, can be interpreted as occupied by a community comprising wealthy individuals who were actively involved in promoting their city and in personally contributing to its urbanisation. On the evidence of the named senatorial individuals this may have represented a small proportion of the population connected in particular with one family. Familial, marital and other personal relationships[50] at the root of the motivation to inscribe are on display alongside more formal relationships associated with those holding official positions within the settlement. Considerable pride in the town and its officials is

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[47] SIA021OP.

[48] Mentioned in SIA022TH and whose presence can be indicated indirectly by dedications to the Imperial cult.

[49] SIA003TI: Marcus Messius Rusticus Aemilius Papus Arius Proculus Iulius Celsus; SIA004TI & SIA007TI: Marcus Cutius Priscus Messius Rusticus Aemilius Papus Arrius Proculus Iulius; SIA029TH: Unknown male; SIA030IN: Marcus Petrucidius; SIA033TH: Burbuleius Ligarinus & Marcus Messius Rusticianus Aemilius Lepidus Iulius Celsus Balbinus Arrius Proculus; SIA034TH: Marcus Messius Rusticanus. A significant proportion of these individuals were closely related.

[50] Friendship: SIA007TH.

evident, as is an identity associated with the settlement,[51] especially in consideration of the dedication to the Genius of the municipium.[52]

An inscription from Siarum indicates a relationship with a community in Hispalis, and this is mirrored in an inscription from that site.[53] The individuals mentioned are not the same but they share the nomen, Rusticus. Unfortunately, the inscription from Hispalis cannot be dated, so it is not possible to determine whether this was a longstanding relationship that extended beyond the 2nd Century AD date of the inscription from Siarum.

[51] Variously termed *res publica siarensis, ordo splendidissimus municipii siarensis, splendidissimus ordo siarensis.*
[52] SIA002SC.
[53] HIS018TH & SIA035TH.

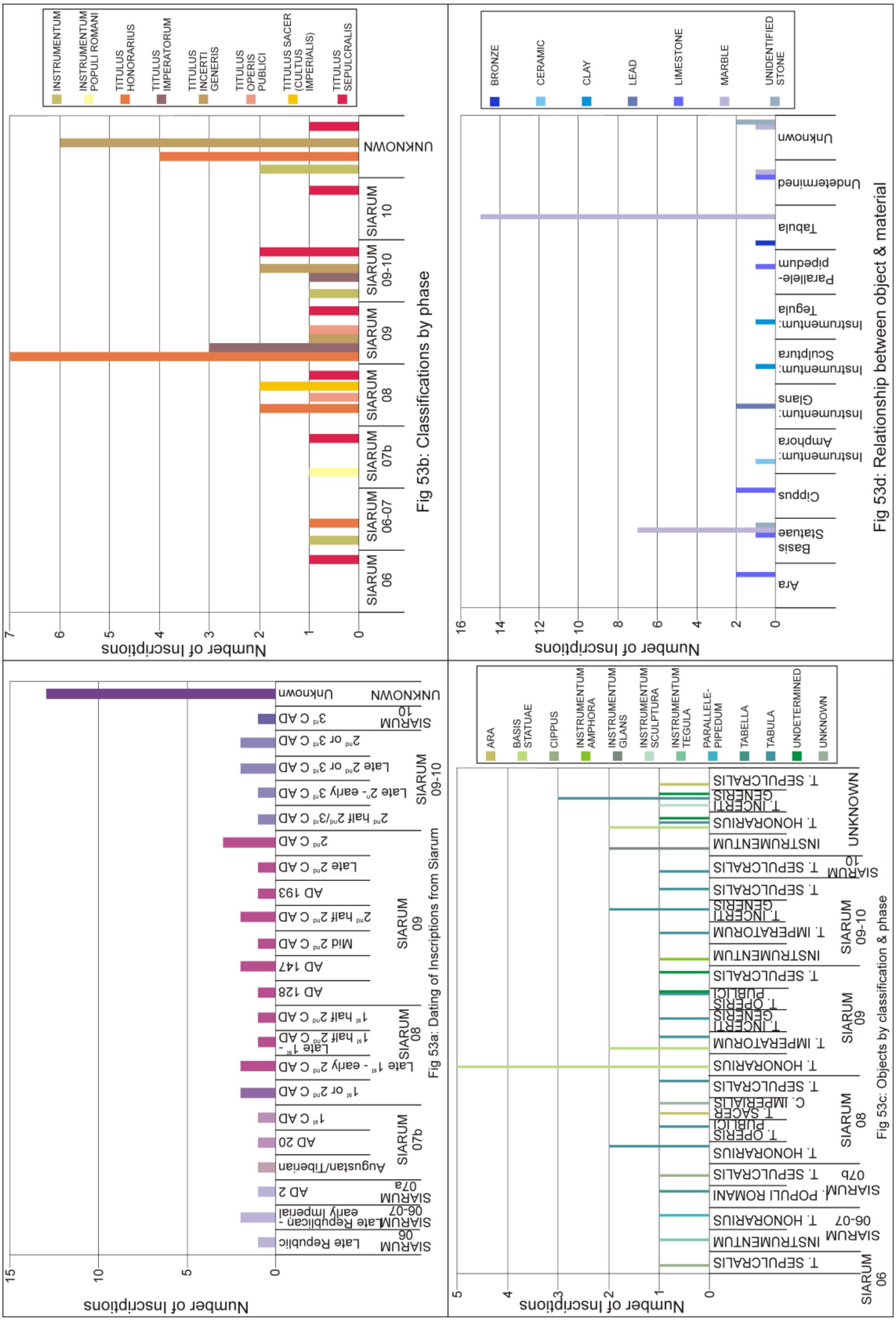

Fig. 53a: Dating of inscriptions from Siarum
Fig. 53b: Classifications by phase of inscriptions from Siarum
Fig. 53c: Objects by classification and phase in the inscriptions from Siarum
Fig. 53d: Relationship between objects and material in the inscriptions from Siarum

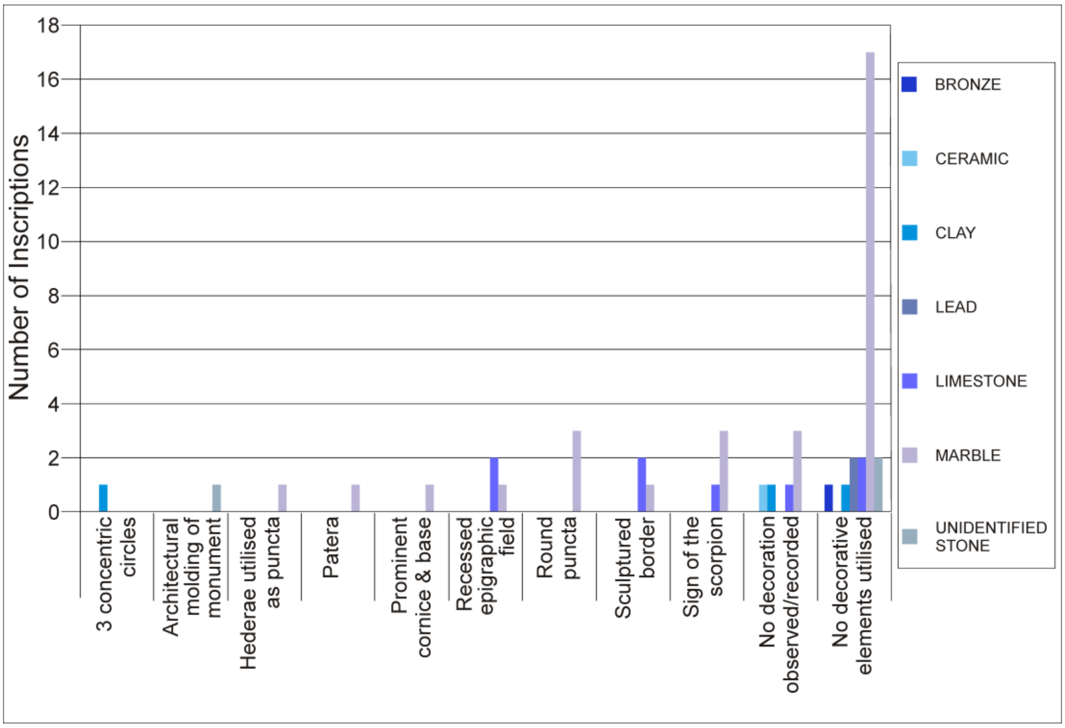

Fig. 54a: Relationship between decoration and material in the inscriptions from Siarum

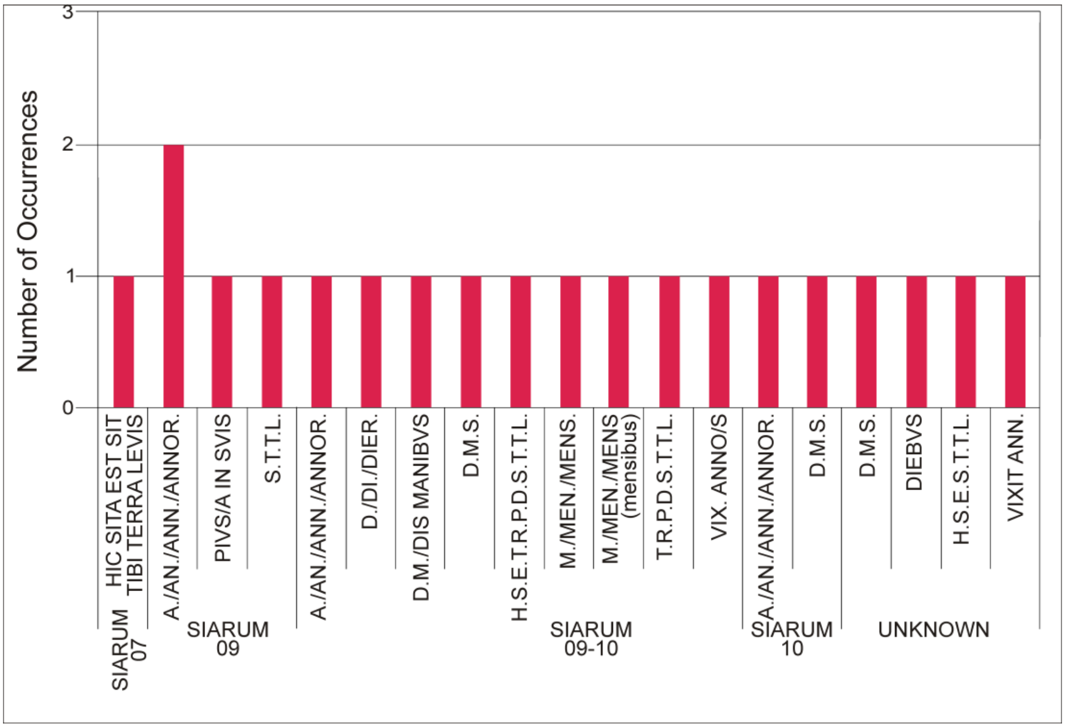

Fig. 54b: Occurrence of funerary formulae in the inscriptions from Siarum

This chapter has demonstrated the importance of looking at the relationship between individual elements of the inscription. In this way changes over time can be contextualised and interpreted in light of concurrent developments which have a bearing on the choices made when setting up inscribed monuments. Individual characteristics at specific sites have been identified, and these now need to be compared with the material from the other study sites in order to ascertain whether those characteristics are part of a wider phenomenon or unique to those sites.