

***Onomastic practice and socio-juridical condition:
on dedicants of indigenous deities
in the conventus Asturum (Hispania citerior)***¹

In votive Latin inscriptions corresponding to *conventus Asturum*, the widest of the three interprovincial administrative divisions of northwestern *Hispania citerior*, a significant representation of deities with indigenous names and the dedicants who worship them is documented in the Imperial period². The particular epigraphic, historical and linguistic appeal of these deities has boosted the research about them, regardless of documented dedicants and without a specific analysis of their worshippers³. Our work will focus on analysing the onomastic formula of the dedicants who are individually recorded in the *conventus*

¹ Work carried out within the Research Project HAR2011-25370/HIST of the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation National R+D+I Plan and relating to the activity carried out by the Research Group of Basque University System IT 760-13.

Abbreviations in tables: *AE*: *L'Année Épigraphique*; Alfayé, González, Gorrochategui 2012: *vide infra* n. 53; *Aquae Flaviae* I²: A. Rodríguez, *Aquae Flaviae*, I. *Fontes epigráficas da Galiaecia meridional interior*, Chaves 1997²; *CIL* II: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*; Diego Santos 1954 [2009]: *vide infra* n. 56; *ERA*: F. Diego, *Epigrafía romana de Asturias*, Oviedo 1985²; *ERBr*: A. Redentor, *Epigrafía romana na região de Bragança*, Lisbon 2002; *ERPLe*: M.A. Rabanal, S.M. García, *Epigrafía romana de la provincia de León: revisión y actualización*, León 2001; González, Ramírez, 2010: *vide infra* n. 69; *HEp*: *Hispania Epigraphica*; *IRG* IV: J. Lorenzo Fernández (ed.), *Inscripciones romanas de Galicia*, IV. *Provincia de Orense*, Santiago de Compostela 1968; Redentor 2006: *vide infra* n. 4; *Scheda T.*: M.L. Albertos, *Schedae epigraphicae (Tarraconensis)*, *antequam mortem obiit a. 1986*, A. Stylow dedit.

² A. Tranoy, *La Galice romaine. Recherches sur le nord-ouest de la péninsule ibérique dans l'Antiquité*, Paris 1981, 263-300. *Vide* a precise analysis of written evidence relating to the *Astures* during the process of the Roman conquest and to the creation and development in the Early Imperial period of the *conventus Asturum* in M.C. González, *Los Astures y los Cántabros Vadinienses. Problemas y perspectivas de análisis de las sociedades indígenas de la Hispania indoeuropea*, Vitoria-Gasteiz 1997, 38-51.

³ Except those of a collective character, *vide* M.C. González, *Noms des divinités préromaines du Nord-Ouest hispanique: bilan provisoire*, in J. d'Encarnação (ed.), *Divindades indígenas em análise. Actas do VII Workshop FERCAN*, Coimbra-Oporto 2008, 81-104; Ead., F. Marco, *Divindades y devotos indígenas en la Tarraconensis: las dedicaciones colectivas*, in *Palaeohispanica* 9, 2009, 65-81, on three certain collective dedications in the *conventus Asturum* (*ERPLe* 4 and 29; *ERBr* 1) and two possible (*ERA* 11 and *ERPLe* 19). An initial approach to individual dedicants is developed in E. Ortiz de Urbina, *Cultores de divinidades indígenas en el conventus Asturum: onomástica personal y condición cívica*, in J.M. Abascal, A. Caballos, S. Castellanos, J. Santos (eds.), *Estudios de Historia Antigua en homenaje a M.A. Rabanal*, León-Sevilla 2012, 185-217.

Asturum, worshipping deities with indigenous names, as well as Latin theonyms with local epithet. Thus, we try to reflect on the juridical conditions and the processes of socio-political integration that may have occurred among these worshippers, who did not remain unchanged under the new organizational and cultural models introduced by Rome⁴, as neither did the deities which were the object of their devotion⁵.

I. The corpus of study

I.1. For this study we have considered votive dedications which have been the subject of a recent autopsy and have a sure reading of the onomastic formula of those who act as individual dedicants, as well as the currently missing inscriptions for which there is an *editio princeps* or a good edition resulting from a precise autopsy⁶. The thirty-two inscriptions which form the *corpus* of the proposed study correspond to thirty dedicants, because three epigraphs have the

⁴ There is no specific study about individual dedicants, but different contributions mention these worshippers, among them: F. Diego, *Problemas de onomástica en las fuentes antiguas. Dioses indígenas en el conventus Asturum y las ciudades en las fuentes literarias*, in Id., *El conventus Asturum y anotaciones al Noroeste hispano*, Oviedo 2009, 519-542 (1st ed. *Lletres asturianos: Boletín Oficial de l'Academia de la Llingua Asturiana* 12, 1984, 24-36); S.M. García, *La mujer en el conventus Asturum: su reflejo epigráfico*, in *Estudios Humanísticos. Geografía, historia y arte* 16, 1994, 31-60; I. Sastre, *Onomástica y relaciones políticas en la epigrafía del conventus Asturum durante el Alto Imperio*, Madrid 2002; M.A. Rabanal, S.M. García, *Élites sociales y manifestaciones religiosas en las capitales conventuales del noroeste peninsular*, in L. Hernández, J. Alvar (eds.), *Jerarquías religiosas y control social en el mundo antiguo. Actas del XXVII Congreso Internacional Girea-Arys IX* (Valladolid, noviembre 2002), Valladolid 2004, 357-366; A. Redentor, *Manifestações religiosas e onomástica na civitas Zoelarum*, in *Conimbriga* 45, 2006, 253-273.

⁵ As can be seen in the evidence of public cult found in the urban centre and in the territory of *Asturica Augusta* and in the *civitates Zoelarum* and *Paesicorum*, among other cities and civic communities of the northwestern peninsula, vide M.C. González, *Sobre la religio de los pueblos del NO durante el Alto Imperio: algunas observaciones*, in *Palaeohispanica* 5, 2005, 775-792 (775-776 and 779-783).

⁶ The autopsy of the finds discovered in the current Spanish provinces was carried out by the research group led by M. Cruz González, who I would like to thank for her generous and valuable help in the production of this work. The Portuguese evidence has been examined by A. Redentor (*ERBr* 2002; *Manifestações religiosas* cit.). The *editio princeps* has been examined by me in the archives of *CIL* II Center at the University of Alcalá de Henares and I would like to thank its director, Helena Gimeno. I have rejected uncertain onomastic readings or those of doubtful restoration, which are in an inadequate state of preservation and have been used later as building materials: *ERPL* 5, 13, 14, 18 and 24. For the last but one inscription (n° 18) vide the revision of H. Gimeno, A.U. Stylow, *Analecta Epigraphica Hispanica: manuscritos, calcos, dibujos, duplicaciones*, in *Sylloge Epigraphica Barcinonensis* 3, 1999, 85-112 (90-92 and 108-109).

same text⁷. There are twenty-four altars, one votive plaque, one bronze *tabula*, one marble block, two prismatic blocks and three currently unknown supports⁸. The material used as support is mainly granite, which presents significant difficulties for epigraphic reading⁹. The distribution of findings, with a significant concentration of evidence in the current basin of the river Sil, is documented in three municipalities of the Portuguese district of Bragança and in four Spanish provincial boundaries: León; Asturias between the basins of the Navia and Sella rivers; the eastern area of Orense; and the northwest area of Zamora. What stands out in this group of dedications is the minimal presence of female dedicants, with just one example in *Bergidum Flavium* (Cacabelos, León), against twenty-nine mentions of male devotees. This feature lies within the characteristics of the votive epigraphy of the region and of the Hispanic area, with male worship being predominant and dedications carried out by females being linked mainly to deities from the indigenous tradition¹⁰. Considering the paleographic and onomastic criteria, as well as the formulae of consecration and the structure of the text, the thirty-two analysed inscriptions present a relative chronology which corresponds to the Imperial period, from the first to the third century, but with a higher concentration in the second century and the first half of the third century¹¹.

⁷ Cn. *L(ucius) Terentius Homullus Iunior*, legate of the *legio VII Gemina*, dedicates three votive inscriptions with the same votive formula: *Nymphis Fontis Amevi* (ERPLe 25).

⁸ Among the dedications which are not altar stones or we cannot with certainty classify as altar stones *vide*: ERPLe 3 and 27, IRG IV, 96 (unknown supports); *Aquae Flaviae* I², 103 (*tabula aenea*); ERPLe 25 (votive plaque); ERPLe 16 (one marble block, which was re-used on the wall of a house and could have been altered).

⁹ Other stone supports are used to a lesser degree (sandstone, limestone, marble) and bronze on only one occasion. On the reading difficulties *vide* P. Le Roux, *Cultos y religión en el Noroeste de la Península Ibérica en el Alto Imperio romano: nuevas perspectivas*, in *Veleia* 26, 2009, 265-285 (271); M.C. González, *Problemas de división y restitución de nombres de divinidades indígenas en la epigrafía votiva del noroeste español: el ejemplo de Couxil (Cartelle, Orense, Hispania ceterior)*, in J.A. Arenas (ed.), *Celtic religion across space and time. IX Workshop F.E.R.C.A.N.*, Toledo 2010, 131-137 (133-136).

¹⁰ H. Gallego, *La mujer en las estructuras religiosas de Hispania septentrional. Consideraciones en base a la epigrafía votiva hispanorromana del territorio castellano-leonés*, in *Ilus. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones* 9, 2004, 69-89 (73-76). On the evidence of female names in other epigraphic contexts of *Hispania*, *vide* P. De Bernardo, F. Burillo, M.E. Saiz, R. Wedenig, *Women potters and their names in celtic speaking areas*, in P. Anreiter, E. Bánffy, L. Bartosiewicz, W. Meid, C. Metzner-Nebelsick (eds.), *Archaeological, cultural and linguistic heritage. Festschrift for Erzsébet Jerem in honour of her 70th birthday*, Budapest 2012, 115-134 (123-127).

¹¹ On the dating criteria used (paleography, onomastics, consecration formulae, text structure, in particular), *vide* the *corpora* used and E.W. Haley, *Foreigners in Roman Imperial Spain. Investigations of Geographical Mobility in the Spanish Provinces of the Roman Empire. 30 B.C.-A.D. 284*, New York 1986 (616-617); M. Dondin-Payre (ed.), *Les noms de personnes dans l'Empire Ro-*

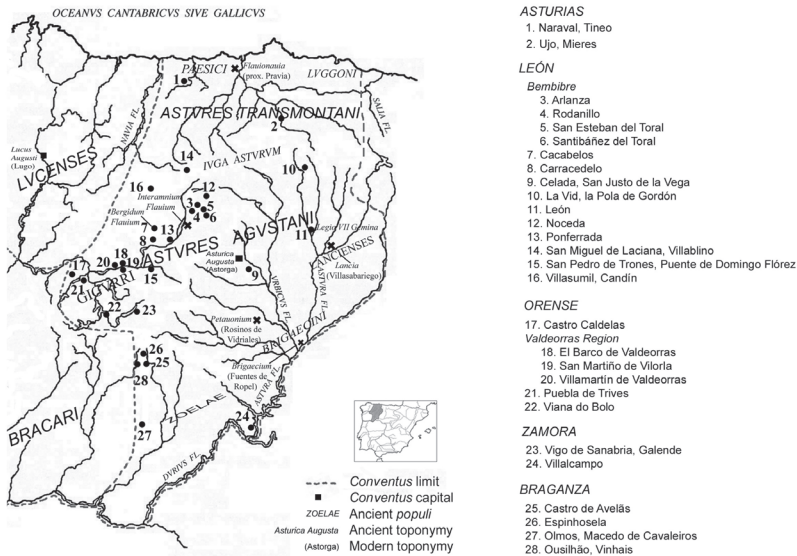
I.2. The onomastic practice which these individual dedicants show, with peregrine and Roman onomastic formulae, allows us to observe the juridical conditions and the processes of socio-political integration and Romanization that may have occurred among these worshippers, who must have developed their dedications spontaneously or devoid of an official character. The origin of most of the analysed dedicants, except for a few examples, must have been Hispanic, if we take into account the indication of the *origo* or lack of, together with the onomastic evidence¹². Their civic condition must have been determined by their status as full members of the different *populi*, which formed the *civitates* in the early Imperial period, political communities assigned by Rome to the *conventus Asturum*, in whose civic pantheon previous indigenous deities were integrated. Even when the place where the inscriptions have been found is not a reliable criterion to determine their origin, the largest concentration of evidence is recorded in the area of important mineral wealth in ancient times inhabited by *Astures Augustani* around two of its main *poleis* [*Bergidum Flavium* and *Interamnium Flavium* (Congosto, León)] and in the territories assigned to *civitates* without the provision of an urban center, formed by *Gigurri* and *Zoelae*.

However, analysis of the civic condition and of the juridical and political aspects which this condition implied in the Roman period is especially interesting among the *civitates* assigned to the *conventus Asturum*, made up of a territory with a distinctly rural character. Prior to the foundation of the *Asturica Augusta* (Astorga, León), following the Roman conquest, only the *civitates* of *Lancia* (Villasabariego, León) and *Noega* (Campa Torres, Gijón) are of urban character. As the Imperial period progressed this urban condition was not shared by all the political communities accredited by Rome in this conventual area. This territorial set up, either with an urban centre layout or not, did not interfere with the diverse juridical and social conditions enjoyed by those who, apart from showing themselves as devotees of indigenous deities, were full-rights members of the different *populi* which formed the new *civitates* assigned to the *conventus Asturum*¹³ in the early Imperial period.

main. Transformations, adaptation, évolution, Bordeaux 2011 (25); Ead., M.Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (eds.), *Noms, identités culturelles et romanisation sous le Haut-Empire*, Brussels 2001 (IX-XIV); E. Cantón, *Propuesta de datación de las inscripciones vasconas*, in J. Alonso, C. García, I. Mamolar (eds.), ΣΤΙΣ ΑΜΜΟΥΔΙΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ. *Homenaje a la profesora Olga Omatos*, Vitoria-Gasteiz 2007, 83-100.

¹² Of the group of analysed dedicants, two Roman citizens were not Hispanic, if we consider their functions within the Roman army. However they are the only ones who specify their positions: legate of the *legio VII Gemina* (*ERPL* 25) and centurion of the same legion (*Aquae Flaviae* P², 106), vide P. Le Roux, *L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces ibériques d'Auguste à l'invasion de 409*, Paris 1982 (279 and 315).

¹³ *Lancia* is recorded as *validissima civitas* and *urbs* in Florus (*Epit.* 2.33.57). *Noega* is



The distribution of findings and the concentration of evidence

I.3. The various personal nomenclatures exhibited by these thirty worshippers refer to diverse anthroponymic systems, with regard to their linguistic stock (indigenous and Latin), the existence of onomastic habits corresponding to diverse cultural traditions, and the adaptation to the Roman onomastic formula¹⁴.

designated πόλις in Strabo (3.4.20) and *oppidum* in Mela (3.13-14) and Plinius (*nat.* 4.111). According to this last author (*nat.* 3.28) there were twenty-two *populi* assigned to the *conventus*: *Iunguntur iis Asturum XXII populi divisi in Augustanos et Transmontanos*. On these matters relating to civic development in the *conventus*, *vide supra* n. 2.

¹⁴ Different studies have emphasized how onomastic formula allows, in the Imperial period, an appropriate approach to the adaptation processes of the provincials to Roman civilization, providing information about the spread of the Latin language and juridical conditions derived from the attachment of these provincials to the new civic administrative framework introduced by Rome: the *civitas*. *Vide* in part. A. Chastagnol, *Onomastique et droit latin*, in Id., *La Gaule romaine et le droit latin*, Lyon 1995, 49-190; Dondin-Payre, Raepsaet-Charlier (eds.), *Noms, identités culturelles* cit; Dondin-Payre (ed.), *Les noms de personnes* cit. Recent studies have been developed on northern *Hispania*: Redentor, *Manifestações religiosas* cit., P. Ciprés, *La onomástica de las inscripciones romanas del País Vasco. Estructura del nombre personal y estatuto jurídico*, in *Veleia* 23, 2006, 85-128; E. Cantón, *Onomástica y organización social de los vascones*, in J. Andreu (ed.), *Los vascones de las fuentes antiguas: en torno a una etnia de la Antigüedad peninsular*, Barcelona 2009, 423-455; M.C. González, *En torno a la expresión de la origo en el Noroeste hispano: el caso de los cántabros vadinienses como ejemplo de la integración cívica*, in J.M. Iglesias, A. Ruiz (eds.), *Viajes y cambios de residencia en el mundo romano*, Santander 2011, 93-117.

Besides, it is not unreasonable to suppose¹⁵ that among those with Latin anthroponymy there would be some who were close to Roman citizenship from a potential perspective, if we consider the access of the *civitates peregrinae* of *universa Hispania* to a Latin juridical statute from Vespasian's *edictum* onwards. From the Flavian dynasty up to the extension of Roman citizenship by Caracalla, the *ius Latii* became a suitable instrument at the service of Roman interests. It favored the progressive integration of ruling groups (ex-magistrates and their families) of benefiting *civitates* into Roman citizenship, as well as the enjoyment of a series of civil rights by the rest of their full-rights inhabitants, some of whom were in the phase prior to the execution of the first civic *honos* and to accessing effective Roman citizenship¹⁶. However, a peregrine onomastic formula does not basically document an earlier relative chronology, but coexists from the late first century up to the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (212) with others of an effective or potential Roman nature. These latter onomastics present nominal systems related to the consolidation and the further development of the system of Roman official nomenclature from the extension of Roman citizenship by Caracalla and in the late Imperial period¹⁷.

In the following sections I shall focus in detail on each of the diverse onomastic formulae.

II. Peregrine onomastic formulae

II.1. These onomastic formulae, made up of single or dual names, have been considered in onomastic analyses to be the most frequent among people of free condition, who are not Roman citizens. In the *corpus* studied it represents 20% of the total records, with a greater number of examples between the late second and early third centuries and no evidence after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*

¹⁵ *Vide infra* section III.1.

¹⁶ On this juridical benefit F. Lamberti, *Tabulae Irnitanae. Municipalità e ius Romanorum*, Napoli 1993; Ead., *Civitas Romana e diritto latino fra tarda repubblica e primo principato*, in *Index* 39, 2010, 227-235; P. Le Roux, *Rome et le droit latin*, in *RH.* 76, 1998, 315-341; Id., *Romanos de España. Ciudades y Política en las provincias (siglo II a.C.-siglo III d.C.)*, Barcelona 2006; E. Ortiz de Urbina, *Las comunidades hispanas y el derecho latino*, Vitoria-Gasteiz 2000; D. Kremer, *Ius Latinum. Le concept de droit latin sous la République et l'Empire*, Paris 2006.

¹⁷ I. Kajanto, *The emergence of the late single name system*, in H.G. Pflaum, N. Duval (eds.), *Actes du Colloque International sur l'Onomastique Latine (Paris 1975)*, Paris 1977, 421-430; B. Salway, *What's in a name? A survey of Roman onomastic practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700*, in *JRS.* 84, 1994, 124-145.

(212). If we exclude the names *Craro* and the uncertain *Caelaio*¹⁸, the rest of the personal names are documented in the northern region and some of them, or their variants, in the northwestern peninsular¹⁹. In some of these names, there is evidence of patronymic suffixes, which might indicate the existence of hereditary anthroponyms within a family or family group, without them needing to be analysed from a relationship of paternity²⁰.

DEDICANT	FILIATION	ORIGO / INDIG. SOC. ORGAN.	CONSECRATION FORMULA	THEONYM	FIND SITE	REFERENCE
SINGLE NAME/IDIONYM (INDIGENOUS STOCK)						
<i>Anctolu[s]</i>		<i>Auri(ensis?) exs c(astello) Sesm[aca?]</i>	<i>votum possit q(uoius) e(um) c(ompotem) f(ecit)</i>	<i>Navia[e]</i>	Prox. Puebla de Trives (Or)	<i>CIL</i> II 2601 <i>Scheda T. 22</i> (prior to end 1 st c.)
<i>Burrilus</i>	<i>Avelci f(ilius)</i>	<i>exs gente Arniciorum</i>	<i>ex v[oto?]</i>	<i>Madarssu Soelagau</i>	Vigo de Sanabria, Galende (Za)	Redentor 2006, 261-262 (end 1 st c.- first half 2 nd c.)
<i>Craro</i>			<i>votum s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	<i>Augo Propeddi</i>	San Miguel de Laciana, Villablino (Le)	<i>ERPL</i> 1 (end 2 nd c.- beg. 3 rd c.)
<i>Veicius</i>			<i>votu(m) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	<i>Deo Bodo</i>	Carracedelo (Le)	<i>ERPL</i> 2 (end 2 nd c.- beg. 3 rd c.)
BINOMINAL SYSTEM (INDIGENOUS STOCK)						
<i>Elaesus Caelaio ?</i>			<i>ex vot[o]</i>	<i>De(o) Co(ssue) Calv(i)celaeo?</i>	Villasumil, Candín (Le)	<i>ERPL</i> 7 (end 2 nd c.- beg. 3 rd c.)
<i>Elanicus Taurinus</i>			<i>vo(tum) l(ibens) sol(vit)</i>	<i>Laesu</i>	Ousilhão, Vinhais (Br)	<i>ERBr</i> 8 (prior to 212)

(Le): León, (Or): Orense, (Za): Zamora, (Br): Braganza

¹⁸ The uncertain *Caelaio* (*ERLe* 7: *Caeiaio* [?]) presents difficulties in its interpretation due to the characteristics of the *inscriptio*. *Craro* (*ERLe* 1; J.M. Abascal, *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania*, Murcia 1994, 337; autopsy 26.06.2009: *vide supra* n. 6) is registered outside the Iberian Peninsula (B. Lörincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae latinarum*, II, Wien 1999, 82; X. Delamarre, *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise: une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental*, Paris 2001, 107), which allows us to reject the reading *Cr(escens) Aro* (*HEp* 1, 1989, 403). I would like to thank Patrizia de Bernardo, for her valuable help in the study of these expressions and revision of the English translation.

¹⁹ M.L. Albertos, *La onomástica personal indígena del noroeste peninsular (astures y galai-cos)*, in J. de Hoz (ed.), *Actas del III Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas paleohispánicas* (Lisboa 1980), Salamanca 1985, 255-310; Ead., *La onomástica personal indígena de la región septentrional*, in *Veleia* 2-3, 1985-1986 155-194; J.M. Vallejo, *El concepto de área onomástica: el caso de los astures*, in *Hist. ant.* 31, 2013, 89-113.

²⁰ *Elanicus Taurinus* bears two names whose basis is documented in the northern region (*Elanus*, *Elaninus*, *Taurus*), *vide* Albertos, *La onomástica personal indígena* cit., 172 and 183; Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 350 and 524. Albertos includes *Taurus* and *Taurinus* in the indigenous anthroponyms, considering *Taurius* to be the Latin variant. *Taurus* is located prominently in the Lusitanian-Galician region, where the majority of its variants are attested (*Taurinus*, *Taurina*), *vide* J.M. Vallejo, *Antroponimia indígena de la Lusitania romana*, Vitoria-Gasteiz 2005, 424-426. A Latin influence in the spread of this anthroponymy in examples of advanced chronology is not ruled out (*ERBr* 8; Redentor, *Manifestações religiosas* cit., 268).

The absence of filiation in five of the six dedications seems to be related, in cases where the dedicants have a free condition, to the gradual disappearance and to the evolution of this onomastic formula, if we consider the established dating. However, the Latin term *f(ilius)* is used in the only case which mentions filiation, showing a higher level of Latinization than the usual mention of the father's name in the genitive. Two of the dedicants complete the expression of their idionym with the optional reference to the indigenous organizational units from which they come, documented in the Indo-European area of the Iberian Peninsula: the *castellum* in which *Ancetolus* lives and the *gens* or fictional group of kinship to which *Burrilus* belongs. But in the case of *Ancetolus*, the indication of his status as a citizen of the *civitas Auriensis* belonging to *conventus Bracaraugustanus* is obligatory, because the dedication of an altar to the goddess *Navia* is done in a foreign territory: possibly the *civitas Gigurrorum*²¹.

II.2. Considering the proposed relative chronology, these dedicants²² would come from civic communities with associative links originally *peregrini* to which had been added juridical and civil rights (*civitas Romana per honorem, ius commercii and ius conubii*), associated with the Flavian granting of *ius Latii*²³.

If we take into account the places where the dedications have been found and the proposed boundaries for the territory of some *civitates* of *conventus Asturum*, between these civic communities of origin, with or without the provision of an urban center, we would find the following: the *civitas Zoelarum*

²¹ G. Pereira-Menaut, *La formación histórica de los pueblos del norte de Hispania. El caso de Gallaecia como paradigma*, in *Veleia* 1, 1984, 271-287; M.C. González, *Reflexiones sobre las unidades organizativas indígenas del área indoeuropea*, in Ead., J. Santos, *Las estructuras sociales indígenas del norte de la Península Ibérica*, Vitoria-Gasteiz 1994, 139-166. Simultaneously to the optional reference to their indigenous organizational units specified by these two dedicants, other families adapted to the Roman onomastic system. In this sense, it has been suggested that the members of these families indicated their kinship group by means of attributively used family names on -co- in the Roman onomastic system; vide M. Ramírez, *Epigrafía latina y relaciones de parentesco en la región celtibérica: nuevas propuestas*, in S. Armani, B. Hurllet-Martineau, A.U. Stylow (eds.), *Epigrafía y sociedad en Hispania durante el Alto Imperio: estructuras y relaciones sociales*, Alcalá de Henares 2003, 13-31; J. Gorrochategui, *Interferencias lingüísticas en el material epigráfico hispano-celta*, in E.R. Luján, J.L. García (eds.), *A Greek man in the Iberian street. Papers in Linguistics and Epigraphy in Honour of Javier de Hoz*, Innsbruck 2011, 201-216; M. Navarro, J. Gorrochategui, J.M. Vallejo, *L'onomastique celtibère: de la dénomination indigène à la dénomination romaine*, in Dondin-Payre (ed.), *Les noms de personnes cit.*, 89-175.

²² With the exception of *Ancetolus*, who was able to make the dedication to *Navia* before the Flavian dynasty.

²³ *Vide supra* n. 16.

among whose full-rights inhabitants would be *Burrilus* and *Elanicus Taurinus*²⁴; *Bergidum Flavium* in the case of *Veicius*²⁵; *Interamnium Flavium* in whose territory or in the neighboring areas the dedications of *Craro* and *Elaesus Caelaio* (?) could have been made²⁶. Some of these civic communities had an urban center, with *mansio* functions on different Roman roads in the area, in particular on the *via Nova* which went from *Bracara Augusta* to *Asturica Augusta* and in their designation of an imperial epithet highlight the Flavian granting. In other cases, as is shown by the *civitates Zoelarum* and *Gigurrorum*, if we take into account the place where the dedication of *Ancetolus* was discovered, the agglomerations assigned to their territories did not reflect an urban structuring²⁷.

The provision or not of an urban center did not interfere in the juridical rights relative to *ius Latii* that their full-rights inhabitants were able to enjoy from the Flavian period onwards, among which were those who, from a private initiative, showed their indigenous anthroponyms in these votive dedications. These worshippers, who exhibit an onomastic formula of non-Roman designation and a virtual absence of decoration in most of the inscriptions that they financed, would be full-rights inhabitants of Latin communities, but descendants of non aristocratic families, whose parents were not Roman citizens and without possession of Roman citizenship, taking into account the content of *ius conubii*. Neither did these dedicants form part of a suitable group of *cives Latini* in their communities for the renovation of these aristocratic families, through the *census*, *mores* and *natus* required and the execution of the first civic *honus* which enabled them to obtain the *civitas Romana*²⁸.

²⁴ Redentor, *Manifestações religiosas* cit., 256-257 and 261-262.

²⁵ The place where the dedication made by *Veicius* was found is close to the center of *Bergidum Flavium* (Cacabelos, León). It is documented as *mansio* in the confluence of the roads XVIII (*via Nova*), XIX and XX of the Itinerary of Antoninus (425.4; 429.2; 431.1).

²⁶ *Interamnium Flavium* (Congosto, León) is documented as *mansio* in the road XVIII (*via Nova*) of the Itinerary of Antoninus (429.3; 431.2).

²⁷ González, *Los Astures y los Cántabros Vadinienses* cit., 38-39, 69-72 and 91-95; Ortiz de Urbina, *Las comunidades hispanas* cit., 122-123, 128 and 163; Ead., *Derecho latino, organización cívica y élites hispanas*, in J. Santos, G. Cruz (eds.), *Romanización, fronteras y etnias en la Roma Antigua: el caso hispano. Revisiones de Historia Antigua VII*, Vitoria-Gasteiz 2012, 631-664 (658-660).

²⁸ S. Dardaine, *Citoyenneté, parenté, conubium dans les réglemens des municipes flaviens de Bétique*, in S. Armani, B. Hurlet-Martineau, A.U. Stylow (eds.), *Epigrafía y sociedad en Hispania durante el Alto Imperio: estructuras y relaciones sociales*, Alcalá de Henares 2003, 93-106 (99-104). *Vide infra* section III.1.

III. Roman onomastic formula: tria nomina

III.1. They make up 80% of the formulae analysed, dating from the second third of the first century to the second half of the third century. The high percentage (45.8%) of eleven dedicants designated with *tria nomina*, reaching 36.6% of the total of thirty dedicants analysed, stands out in this corpus.

The designation through *praenomen*, *nomen* and *cognomen* of the eleven worshippers makes no reference to membership of a Roman *tribus*, that is to say, is not that of an official Roman citizen²⁹. In this regard, research about recovered municipal legislation and wide onomastic evidence in Flavian *municipia* of *Baetica* has questioned that the employment of *tria nomina* without the specification of the *tribus* was an exclusive onomastic system of Roman citizens from the Flavian dynasty. The complexity lies in the consideration that juridical heterogeneity of the *municipia* and *civitates* with Latin rights, with non-Roman (*cives Latini*) and Roman citizens (*cives Romani*), projected itself or not in onomastic duality between peregrine single name and the *tria/duo nomina* of Roman citizens. Besides these two official onomastic formulae, it cannot be ruled out that those who enjoyed a Latin condition might have been among those designated with *tria/duo nomina*, but without being allowed to be registered in a Roman *tribus*³⁰. This *Latina condicio* brought them closer to Roman citizenship only from a potential perspective. In particular, those who were among the *cives Latini* suitable for the renovation of

²⁹ Besides the *tria nomina*, the official nomenclature of a Roman citizen established in the Imperial period included, between *nomen* and *cognomen*, the paternal filiation if it was *ingenuus*, or the reference to the *praenomen* of his *patronus* if he had obtained the civic status through manumission, and the Roman *tribus* to which he had been assigned. In extra-official contexts and in private, a Roman citizen could be designated solely with *tria nomina* (*duo nomina*, when the *praenomen* is omitted), vide Chastagnol, *Onomastique et droit latin* cit.; Dondin-Payre, Raepsaet-Charlier (eds.), *Noms, identités culturelles* cit.; Dondin-Payre (ed.), *Les noms de personnes*, cit. In these contributions it is established that the *nomen gentilicium* was an inherent element of Roman citizenship status and that the *peregrinae condicionis homines* were not allowed to *usurpare Romana nomina* (Suet. *Cl.*, 25.3), being exceptional usurpations (*CIL* V 5050).

³⁰ L.A. Curchin, *The local magistrates of roman Spain*, Toronto-Buffalo-London 1990, 89-99; Le Roux, *Rome et le droit latin* cit., 333-335; Id., *Ciudades y ciudadanos en las áreas circumpirenaicas bajo el Alto Imperio romano*, in J. Santos (ed.), *Los tiempos antiguos en los territorios pirenaicos*, Vitoria-Gasteiz 2009, 159-174 (169); Id., *La Péninsule Ibérique aux époques romaines (fin du III^e s. av. n.è – début du VI^e s. de n.è)*, Paris 2010, 215; C. González, *La Lex Iritana y la onomástica de los municipios flavios*, in *Memorias de Historia Antigua* 23-24, 2002-2003, 77-102 (85-86); Dardaine, *Citoyenneté, parenté, conubium* cit., 102; S. Armani, *Relations familiales et sociales des magistrats locaux en Hispania sous le Haut-Empire*, in E. Ortiz de Urbina (ed.), *Magistrados locales de Hispania. Aspectos históricos, jurídicos y lingüísticos*, Vitoria-Gasteiz 2013, 271-298 (281); on northern *Hispania*, vide *supra* n. 14. On the Latin condition of civic communities of *Hispania* from the Flavian period, vide *supra* n. 16.

aristocratic families displayed the choice of unofficial Roman nomenclature prior to their registration or official integration into the *populus Romanus*³¹.

Without forgetting this difficulty of onomastic distinction in communities with Latin rights, the private character of votive dedications may have led those worshippers who were Roman citizens *de iure* not to specify their *tribus*. This element of onomastic formulae began to be less used from the middle of the second century onwards³².

III.2. In some instances it is possible to identify the worshippers in possession of Roman citizenship, as well as the projection of Roman power in an area with significant mineral wealth. *Terentius*, with possible *origo* in *Perusia* (Perugia, Italy), was a *legatus legionis*, a function reserved for the members of the senatorial order, who commanded the *Legio VII Gemina*, established in the area from the Flavian dynasty onwards, and erected three inscriptions. The three epigraphs, with the same dedication to the *Nymphae Fontis Amevi*, were found around the year 140 A.D. in the area of establishment of this legion, probably due to the importance of a water supply for the operation of the legionary camp. *Terentius* asserts his filiation through his father's *praenomen*, which is also among his two *praenomina* (*Cn(eus) L(ucius)*), and he has two *cognomina* (*Homullus Iunior*), one identical to his father's and the other one freely adopted for appropriate family identification³³. *L(ucius) Cornelius Placidus* was also in possession of Roman citizenship. He was *centurio legionis VII Cl(audiana)*, at the head of one of the *centuriae* into which the ten *cohortes* which made up the *legio* were divided. He made a dedication to *Atilaecus* in the second half of the third century, in an area close to the gold mine of Las Médulas³⁴.

³¹ During the execution of the first civic *honos* (AE 1989, 456) or near to its conclusion (CIL II².5 308) and with testimonies in *Baetica* and *Citerior* from the Flavian period onwards, vide Cantón, *Onomástica y organización social de los vascones* cit., 434-435; E. Ortiz de Urbina, *La proyección de la élite de los Vascones en época romana. Representación local, provincial y estatal*, in J. Andreu (ed.), *Los vascones de las fuentes antiguas: en torno a una etnia de la Antigüedad peninsular*, Barcelona 2009, 457-478 (466-467); Ead., *Derecho latino, organización cívica* cit., 656 and n. 68. Three of the members show *duo nomina* (with indication of the *origo* [*Orniacus* and *Zoelae*] and of the organizational units of indigenous tradition [*gentes: Avoligorum, Visaligorum, Cabruagenigorum*]) of the *clientela* and *foedera* developed in 152 A.D. in the capital of the *conventus Asturum* (ERPL 303). In this sense, it is not to be ruled out that *Sempronius Perpetuus*, *Antonius Arquiis* and *Flavius Fronto* identified themselves by means of Roman onomastic formulae of a potential nature, because they were not determined as belonging to the *populus Romanus*.

³² Dondin-Payre (ed.), *Les noms de personnes* cit., 25.

³³ G. Andrés, *Una aproximación a la religión del ejército romano imperial: Hispania*, Logroño 2005, 164-165 and 477; vide *supra* n. 7 and 12.

³⁴ Andrés, *Una aproximación a la religión* cit., 482; vide votive dedications to deities with an indigenous theonymy made by soldiers whilst carrying out military service in the Northwest in Le Roux, *Cultos y religión en el Noroeste* cit., 275.

DEDICANT	FILIAT.	ORIGO	CONSECRATION FORMULA	THEONYM	FIND SITE	REFEREN.
<i>PRAENOMEN + NOMEN + COGNOMEN (LATIN STOCK)</i>						
<i>P(ublius) Arquius Clemens</i>		<i>Gigurrus</i>		<i>Conso S[---]emensi</i>	San Pedro de Trones, Puente de Domingo Flórez (Le)	<i>ERPLe</i> 12 (2 nd third 1 st c.)
<i>L(ucius) Aur(elius) Fr(onto)</i>			<i>ex voto l(ibens) m(erito) p(osuit)</i>	<i>Deo Domino Cossue Segidiaeco</i>	Arlanza, Bembibre (Le)	<i>ERPLe</i> 11 (end 2 nd c.- beg. 3 rd c.)
<i>L(ucius) Cornelius Placidus</i>			<i>ex v(oto) m(erito)</i>	<i>Atilaeco</i>	Barco de Valdeorras (Or)	<i>Aquae Flaviae</i> I ² , 106 (268-270)
<i>M(arcus) Emili[u]s (sic) Lepid[i]nus</i>			<i>v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	<i>Por[o]lo</i>	Villamartín de Valdeorras (Or)	<i>Aquae Flaviae</i> I ² , 90 (1 st half 3 rd c.)
<i>Q(uintus) Iul(ius) Tiro</i>			<i>v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	<i>Tilleno</i>	San Martiño de Viloria (Or)	<i>Aquae Flaviae</i> I ² , 130 (from end 1 st c.)
<i>C(aius) Iunius Silanus</i>			<i>v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	<i>Udunnaeco</i>	Santibáñez del Toral, Bembibre (Le)	<i>ERPLe</i> 15 (end 2 nd c.- beg. 3 rd c.)
<i>M(arcus) [Pl]acidi[u]s [-] Placi[d]ianus</i>			<i>v(otum) l(ibens) r(edidit) l(-etuli)</i>	<i>Deo Aerno</i>	Castro de Avelás (Br)	<i>ERBr</i> 3 (2 nd half 2 nd c.)
<i>L(ucius) Pompeius Paternu[s]</i>			<i>v(otum) m(erito) s(olvit)</i>	<i>Mandicae</i>	Ponferrada (Le)	<i>ERPLe</i> 21 (1 st half 2 nd c.)
<i>L(ucius) Ser(vius) Secund(us)</i>			<i>v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	<i>Evedutoniū Barciaeco</i>	Naraval, Tineo (As)	<i>ERA</i> 10 (from end 1 st c.)
<i>G(aius) Sulpicius Africanus</i>			<i>v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	<i>Nimmedo Aseddiago</i>	Ujo, Mieres (As)	<i>ERA</i> 9 (beg. 2 nd c.)
<i>Cn(eus) L(ucius) Terentius Homullus Iunior</i>	<i>L(ucii) f(ilius)</i>			<i>Nymphis Fontis Amevi</i>	León (Le)	<i>ERPLe</i> 25 (c. 140)

(As): Asturias, (Le): León, (Or): Orense, (Br): Braganza

In some cases the condition of freedman of one of the worshippers may be considered. Thus, *G(aius) Sulpicius Africanus* dedicated an *ara* to *Nimmedus Aseddiagus* around the early second century and a commemorative stele to a *praefectus symmachiariorum Asturum*, *G(aius) Sulpicius Ursulus*, who was a centurion and prefect in different legions and also his possible *patronus*³⁵.

III.3. Considering the nomenclature of these eleven dedicants, the documented *praenomina* show a distribution of examples which coincides with the order of frequency established for the *praenomina* witnessed in *Hispania*. In

³⁵ *ERA* 9 and 22. S.M. García, *El fenómeno de la esclavitud en el noroeste hispanorromano según la evidencia epigráfica*, in *Memorias de Historia Antigua* 18, 1997, 195-217 (202 n. 89).

the only case where filiation is specified (the *legatus legionis* with possible *origo* in *Perusia* [Italy]), there is a homonymity between father and son. The latter has two *praenomina* (*Gn(eus)* chosen freely perhaps and *L(ucius)* passed on from his father), also observable in his two *cognomina*. It was a common practice among the members of the imperial aristocracy to clearly show the family line, although the choice both of the *praenomen* and the *cognomen* was a personal decision³⁶.

Some of the documented *nomina* are imported or are of Italic origin, relating to imperial families (*Iul(ius)*, *Aur(elius)*) or Roman families with significant military and political activity in the Iberian Peninsula (*Cornelius*, *Emili[u]s* [sic], *Iunius*, *Pompeius*, *Sulpicius*)³⁷. Other *nomina* are scarcely represented, such as *[Pl]acidi[u]s* and *Ser(vius)*, or appear as *nomen*, *cognomen* or also as peregrine single name, such as *Arquius*, which could belong to the family names of patronymic formation³⁸. These are *nomina* formed with a Latin ending (-*ius*) from a nickname (*Placidus*, *Servus*) or from a peregrine single name common in the onomastic formulae of *Lusitania* and northwestern *Hispania citerior* (*Arquius/Arquio*)³⁹. This onomastic practice is considered usual in communities with Latin rights, where the promotion of the civic elite to Roman citizenship (not forgetting the *Latina condicio* of the rest of the full-rights members of these communities) did not imply an obligatory recognition towards those responsible for the granting of juridical rights, expressed in the adoption of imperial *nomina*. In this sense, with the lack of examples of *Flavii*⁴⁰, these *nomina* of patronymic formation show the adaptation processes of peregrine nomenclatures to Roman onomastic formula. They reveal a freedom of choice or fabrication of the family name (*nomen*), not used in peregrine onomastic formulae, from single names of indigenous stock (translated into Latin or with Latin assonance), with the addition of Latin ending⁴¹.

³⁶ The *praenomina* *L(ucius)* is documented on five occasions; *C(aius)/G(aius)* and *M(arcus)* on two; *P(ublius)*, *Q(uintus)* and *G(neus)* on one. On the similar order of frequency of these *praenomina* in *Hispania*, vide Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 28-29.

³⁷ Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 29-30. *Iulius*, *Cornelius* and *Aemilius* stand out among the *nomina* which are widely spread throughout *Hispania*.

³⁸ Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 197, 221 and 286; Navarro, Gorrochategui, Vallejo, *L'onomastique celtibère* cit., 143-144.

³⁹ I. Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina*, Rome 1982², 262 and 314; Vallejo, *Antroponimia indígena* cit., 180-181.

⁴⁰ However with limited representations in *Hispania* if we consider the extent of Vespasian's *edictum*.

⁴¹ Armani, *Relations familiales et sociales* cit., 282. *Flavius* could be, however, a *nomen* of patronymic formation derived from the nickname *Flavus* (blond), vide Le Roux, *La Péninsule Ibérique aux époques romaines* cit., 200; Dondin-Payre (ed.), *Les noms de personnes* cit., 16-20.

Among the *cognomina* relating to identification in the private sphere, and possibly locally, the following stand out among these worshippers: the laudatory *Lepidinus*; those relating to psychic characteristics (*Placidus*, *Placi[d]ianus*); physical peculiarities (*Fr(onto)*, *Silanus*); kinship (*Paternu[s]*); the familial position according to birth (*Secund(us)*); the possible place of origin or development of functions (*Africanus*, *Tiro*); or moral qualities, such as *Clemens*, very popular among slaves and freemen⁴². Its bearer, *P(ublius) Arquius Clemens*, asserts his origin from the *civitas* of *Gigurri* and erects an altar to *Consus S[---] emensis*, perhaps with a epithet which refers to the specific nucleus of origin among *Gigurri*. Tastefully decorated, in comparison to other altars analysed⁴³, it is the only dedication without consecration formula. The self-representation shown by *Clemens* documents his optimal degree of integration in the politico-juridical and social structures represented by Rome.

A more detailed analysis of these *cognomina* allows us to consider that, not excluding those of Latin origin among which a familiar homonymity or possible place of origin could be reflected⁴⁴, in other cases these freely chosen nicknames must have been fabricated from the Latin translation of the peregrine single name. As is the case with the *nomina* from Latin translations, this onomastic practice is also considered usual in communities with Latin rights. In this sense, the presence of a *cognomen* of kinship, *Paternu[s]*, recorded close to the centre of *Bergidum Flavium*, has been related to an adaptation to the Roman onomastic system of the allusion to kinship links in the Indo-European area of the Iberian Peninsula⁴⁵. The *cognomen* *Secund(us)*, recorded in the territory associated to the *civitas* of *Paesici*, expresses an order associated to the position of the children in the family by their birth⁴⁶. On the other hand, the *cognomina* which allude to physical and psychic peculiarities may go back to indigenous anthroponyms translated to Latin. Here we might find the *cognomina* *Fr(onto)* and

⁴² Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina* cit., 69, 133-134, 236-237, 283, 292 and 320. Among slaves and freemen of *Hispania*, Latin *cognomina* which express mental or moral qualities appear with some frequency, such as *Clemens*, *Firmus*, *Modestus*, *Quietus*, *Severus*, *Domesticus*, among others, vide Haley, *Foreigners in Roman Imperial Spain* cit., 622.

⁴³ Its lavish decoration stands out, with two *cornua* on the front, a small libations jug, and possibly the handle of a *patera* on the right and left sides respectively, elements similar to those represented in a dedication to the goddess *Fortuna*, found in Astorga, with no mention of the dedicant (*ERPL*e 34).

⁴⁴ Vide *supra* section III.2.

⁴⁵ J.M. Abascal, *Los cognomina de parentesco en la península ibérica. A propósito del influjo romanizador en la onomástica*, in *Lucentum* 3, 1984, 219-260 (251-256); Ramírez, *Epigrafía latina y relaciones de parentesco* cit., 27-29.

⁴⁶ Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina* cit., 292.

Silanus, transmitted in two dedications found near to the centre of *Interamnium Flavium*⁴⁷, or *Placi[d]ianus*. The latter is derived from *Placidus* and related to the *nomen* [Pl]acidi[u]s among the *tria nomina* of the worshipper who made a dedication to the protective deity (*Deus Aernus*) of the *civitas* of *Zoelae*⁴⁸.

III.4. The find sites of the inscriptions which present *tria nomina* are not different from those with peregrine onomastic formula, if we consider the boundaries proposed for the civic communities of *conventus Asturum*: *Bergidum Flavium*, *Interamnium Flavium*, *civitas* of *Zoelae* and *civitas* of *Gigurri*. We must add to this list the *civitas* of *Paesici* and the area of establishment of the *Legio VII Gemina*. Among the eleven worshippers we find Roman citizens from *Hispania* and from outside the Iberian Peninsula and probably freedmen, in the event that their *patroni* were part of the *populus Romanus*. But also it cannot be ruled out that among the bearers of *tria nomina* (considering the relative chronology of some inscriptions and diverse historiographical proposals⁴⁹) there would be those who, their political community being a beneficiary of Latin rights from the Flavian dynasty onwards, came close to Roman citizenship from a potential perspective, prior to the development of a first civic *honos*, which led them to access effective to Roman citizenship.

IV. Roman onomastic formula: duo nomina

IV.1. Seven worshippers bear *duo nomina*, which represent 29.1% of the Roman onomastic formulae and 23.3% of the total of thirty dedicants analysed. The relative dating is between the second and third centuries. The find sites of the dedications show a connection with the previous sections (peregrine formula and *tria nomina*), in this case with a less diversified representation: greater concentration in the *civitas* of *Zoelae* and lower in the *civitas* of *Gigurri* and *Bergidum Flavium*.

The omission of *praenomen* is linked to the evolution which the Roman nomenclature goes through during the Empire, with the increasingly important role of the *cognomen* as the identifying element because of the reiteration of

⁴⁷ Navarro, Gorrochategui, Vallejo, *L'onomastique celtibère* cit., 153. García, *El fenómeno de la esclavitud en el noroeste hispanorromano* cit., 201, nn. 65-66, considers *Fr(onto)* a public freedman by his *nomen* with imperial characteristics. Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina* cit., 69 and 133-134 does not consider the *cognomen* as usual among freedmen.

⁴⁸ González, *Sobre la religio de los pueblos del NO* cit., 781-782.

⁴⁹ *Vide supra* section III.1.

the *praenomen* and *nomen* in the family group. The disappearance of the *praenomen* is eventually documented in *Hispania* from the Flavian period and regularly from the mid-second century onwards⁵⁰.

IV.2. Regarding the linguistic stock of the *duo nomina*, the designation *Iulius Reburrus* reflects a mixed onomastic formula. *Iulius* is the most common *nomen* documented in *Hispania*⁵¹. *Reburrus*, of indigenous stock, is documented mainly in *Callaecia*, *Asturia* and *Lusitania*⁵². The chronological period estimated for this private dedication (the second century, more probably in the second half) and the absence of filiation allow us to suggest different perspectives of analysis for this *ara* reused in a chapel located around 32 kms from the camp of the *Legio VII Gemina* and 97 kms from *Asturica Augusta*⁵³. In this sense, the dedicant's name might indicate a dependent socio-juridical condition, in which the first anthroponym referred to the Latin *nomen* of his *patronus* (considering its use with some frequency among freedmen) and was followed by a name of an indigenous linguistic stock⁵⁴. It might also refer to an *ingenuus* worshipper, without indication of filiation, to a probable Roman citizen. The nomenclature of this dedicant shows certain similarities, (there is, however, no certainty that it can be identified with it, considering the popularity in *Hispania* of the *nomen* and *cognomen*), to that of a soldier (*miles*) of the *Legio VII Gemina*, *C(aius) Iulius Reburrus* object of an honorable dedication in *Tarraco* (Tarragona), the capital of *Hispania citerior*⁵⁵.

IV.3. The rest of the dedicants with *duo nomina* show anthroponyms of Latin stock. Among them, *Carisius Fronto*, might be of a probable Roman civic condition. He bears a *nomen* unusual in *Hispania*, which has been related to a *lega-*

⁵⁰ Haley, *Foreigners in Roman Imperial Spain* cit., 616; Salway, *What's in a name?* cit., 130-131; Dondin-Payre (ed.), *Les noms de personnes* cit., 16 and 25.

⁵¹ Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 151-163.

⁵² Albertos, *La onomástica personal indígena* cit., 292-293; Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 480-482; Vallejo, *Antroponimia indígena* cit., 384-389; P. de Bernardo, M.V. García, *Población trilingüe y divinidades del castro de Lansbriga* (prov. Ourense), in *Madriider Mitteilungen* 49, 2008, 254-290 (262-263).

⁵³ S. Alfayé, M.C. González, J. Gorrochategui, Deis Queunur(is): nuevo teónimo del noroeste hispano. *Relectura del ara de La Vid* (Pola de Gordón, León. Hispania Citerior), in *Veleia* 29, 2012, 415-424 (415 and 420-421).

⁵⁴ Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 29-30.

⁵⁵ *CIL* II².14 1067. It is established as coming from *Segisama Brasaca*, the only mention of this toponym. A connection has been suggested with *Segisama Iulia*, located close to *Segisamo* (Sasamón, Burgos), vide Le Roux, *L'armée romaine* cit., 200.

DEDICANT	FILIA.	ORIGO	CONSECRATION FORMULA	THEONYM	FIND SITE	REFEREN.
<i>NOMEN + COGNOMEN (LATIN + INDIGENOUS STOCK)</i>						
<i>Iulius Reburus</i>			<i>v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	<i>Deis Queunur(is)</i>	La Vid, La Pola de Gordón (Le)	Alfayé, González, Gorrochategui 2012 (2 nd c.)
<i>NOMEN + COGNOMEN (LATIN STOCK)</i>						
<i>Antistius Placidus</i>	<i>Cili filius</i>	<i>Alterniaicinus</i>	<i>v(otum) s(olvit)) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	<i>Aegiamunniaego</i>	Viana do Bolo (Or)	<i>CIL</i> II 2523 <i>Scheda T.</i> 29 (2 nd c.- beg. 3 rd c.)
<i>Carisius Fronto</i>			<i>ex voto</i>	<i>Mentoviaco</i>	Villalcampo (Za)	Diego Santos 1954 [2009], 357 (2 nd c.- 3 rd c.)
<i>Claudius Capito</i>			<i>pro s(alute) sua et s(uorum) p(osuit) ex vo(to)</i>	<i>Tutela[e] Bolgens[i]</i>	Cacabelos (Le)	<i>AE</i> 1928, 176 <i>Scheda T.</i> 1973 (2 nd c.-3 rd c.)
<i>Cornelius Oculatus</i>			<i>v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	<i>Bandue</i>	Espinhosela (Br)	<i>ERBr</i> 4 (from 2 nd half 2 nd c.)
<i>Lucr(etius) Valens</i>			<i>ex voto</i>	<i>Deo [A]erno</i>	Olmos, Macedo de Cavaleiros (Br)	<i>ERBr</i> 2 (from 2 nd half 2 nd c.)
<i>[V(alerius)] Fl(avus)</i>			<i>sacrum [posit(um)] dedicavit pro salute sua et suorum</i>	<i>D(iis) d(eabus) Caulecisaec(is)</i>	Castro Caldelas (Or)	<i>CIL</i> II 2551 <i>Scheda T.</i> 35 (from mid. 2 nd c.)

(Le): León, (Or): Orense, (Za): Zamora, (Br): Braganza

tus Augusti of the *provincia Lusitania*, *P(ublius) Carisius*, who fought against the Asturians in 25 B.C. This *nomen* is also documented in the epitaph dedicated to *P(ublius) Carisius Fronto*, with the same *cognomen* and from the same place where the dedication to *Mentoviacus* was located, within the territory of the *civitas* of *Zoelae*. But it cannot be specified whether he is the same individual or a member of the family group⁵⁶.

Three dedicants are also designated with *nomina* which evoke imported family names of the Imperial family or of significant Roman families (*Claudius*, *Cornelius*, *Valerius*). The latter *nomen* has been related in *Hispania* with the access to Roman citizenship of veterans of the auxiliary units. It is frequently documented in association with the *cognomen Flavius*, as in this case, which could indicate a Latin translation of an indigenous nickname⁵⁷. Other documented

⁵⁶ F. Diego Santos, *Las nuevas estelas astures. Importantes datos del ángulo sureste augustano para la onomástica indígena*, in Id., *El conventus Asturum y anotaciones al noroeste hispano*, Oviedo 2009, 349-391 (357-365) (1st ed. *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Asturianos* 23, 1954, 461-492); Redentor, *Manifestações religiosas* cit., 266.

⁵⁷ Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 29-31, 111-113, 116-125 and 232-244. *Lucretius* also documented as *nomen*, *Ibidem*, 175-176.

cognomina also refer, like *Flavus*, to physical peculiarities (*Capito*, *Oculatus*) and to physical and mental strength (*Valens*)⁵⁸.

It should not be ruled out that among bearers of *duo nomina* we can find different civic conditions, as among the bearers of *tria nomina*. Thus, a worshipper in possession of potential or effective Roman citizenship could be found among these dedicants. In this sense, *Antistius Placidus* is the only worshipper who specifies filiation at the end of his onomastic formula, using the single name of his father (*Cilius*) of indigenous stock⁵⁹. Moreover, the *nomen Antistius* is not derived from the single name of his father, unlike what has been considered to be frequent practice among new Roman citizens, particularly if their promotion was related to the benefits afforded by Latin rights⁶⁰. The word *Alterniaicinus*, engraved before the consecration formula at the end, has been interpreted as a probable allusion to the place of origin of *Antistius*⁶¹, linking the find site of the votive dedication to the assigned or neighboring territory to the *civitas* of *Gigurri*.

V. Roman onomastic formula: single Latin name

V.1. The worshippers designated with a single Latin name are five men and one woman, with particular concentration of evidence north of *Interamnium Flavium*. Three other dedications are found in the vicinity of *Asturica Augusta*, *Bergidum Flavium* and possibly in the *civitas* of *Gigurri*. They represent 20% of the total number of onomastic formulae and 25% of the dedicants who document their accommodation to the Roman nomenclature. The relative dating is between the end of the first and during the third centuries.

⁵⁸ Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina* cit., 224, 227, 235 and 247.

⁵⁹ Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 328; Vallejo, *Antroponimia indígena* cit., 280 and 282. P. De Bernardo, *I 'compagni' celtici*, in *Études Celtiques* 36, 2008, 85-88. The filiation at the end of the onomastic formula and the exceptional nature of its indication in the analysed dedications, coincide with the evidence transmitted by the examples of *duo nomina* available in *Hispania*, with particular reference to the northern region, vide Ciprés, *La onomástica de las inscripciones romanas del País Vasco* cit., 116-118; Cantón, *Onomástica y organización social de los vascones* cit., 430.

⁶⁰ Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 79; Dondin-Payre (ed.), *Les noms de personnes* cit., 17. Vide *supra* section III.3.

⁶¹ In the *tabula aenea*, on which the votive dedication was inscribed, the word *Alterniaicinus* was engraved in smaller letters, marked with dots, possibly at a later time after the first writing of the epigraph. The location of what may have been the *civitas* where *Antistius* was from is not known. In *CIL* II 2523 is indicated Ptolemy's mention (2.6.57) of the πόλις of Ἀλτέρινα among the *Carpetani*; a possible connection with *Alternum* or *Asterum* is also considered, a *mansio* of uncertain location mentioned by the *Ravenna Cosmography* (5.3, p. 342.17, and 4.42, p. 304.8) between *Dianium* (Denia, Alicante) and *Saetabi* (Játiva, Valencia).

DEDICANT	FILIATION	CONSECRAT. FORMULA	THEONYM	FIND SITE	REFERENCE
SINGLE LATIN NAME (MALE)					
Anniu[s]		v(otum)	Naviae Sesmaeae	Pos. Puebla de Trives (Or)	CIL II 2602 Scheda T. 21 (3 rd c.)
Flaccus	Avit<i>	vo(um) l(ibens) so(lvit) pr(o) filio	Tutela Cal[ubrigensi?]	Rodanillo, Bembibre (Le)	AE 1994, 962 HEp 10, 2000, 349 (2 nd c.- 3 rd c.)
Flavinus	Flavi	a(ram) p(osuit)	Cossue Nidoleio	Noceda (Le)	ERPL 8 (end 2 nd c.- beg. 3 rd c.)
Fl[avi]us	+u[-]ni	ex [v]oto l(ibens) [s(olvit)]	Cos[so] S(acrum?) vel S(egidiaeco?)	San Esteban del Toral, Bembibre (Le)	ERPL 10 (end 2 nd c.- beg. 3 rd c.)
Fronto	Reburri filius)	v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)	Caraedudi vel Caraedudi(o)	Celada, San Justo de la Vega (Le)	CIL II 5663 ERPL 3 (end 2 nd c.- beg. 3 rd c.)
SINGLE LATIN NAME (FEMALE)					
Flavia	Fl(avi)	in hono(rem) vel hono[r(em)] Argael(orum) f(ecit) l(ibens)	Deae Degant[ae, -iae]	Cacabelos (Le)	González, Ramírez, 2010 (from end 1 st c.)

(Le): León, (Or): Orense

V.2. These formulae seem to refer to Hispanic *ingenui* who specify their filiation. The only exception is *Anniu[s]*. He bears a *nomen* which is unusual in the nomenclature of the dependent population, and which may have been chosen for its homophony with the indigenous anthroponymy⁶². However, taking into account the relative chronology proposed, some designations would reflect the evolution of nomenclature, particularly with the universalization of Roman citizenship among the provincials from the *Constitutio* of Caracalla⁶³. The use of the *cognomen* (*Flaccus*, *Flavinus*, *Fronto*) is observed in three dedications, which were found in the vicinity of *Interamnium Flavium* and *Asturica Augusta*. This role of the *cognomen* as the identifying name in a private context grows because of the reiteration of the *praenomen* and *nomen* in the family group⁶⁴. Also two Latin *cognomina* (*Avitus*, *Flavus*) appear in the filiation of two of these three dedicants, instead of the obligatory *praenomen* of the altoimperial onomastic system. Expressing the filiation by the *cognomen* of the father was a more significant practice from a family and social perspective, which allowed

⁶² Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 76-78; Navarro, Gorrochategui, Vallejo, *L'onomas-tique celtibère* cit., 140. However, it cannot be ruled out, with a relative chronology prior to the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (212) and a single name of indigenous tradition (Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 277), that it is a peregrine onomastic formula, although there are few examples in *Hispania*, compared to the projection of the *nomen Annius*.

⁶³ Salway, *What's in a name?* cit., 133-144.

⁶⁴ Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 366, 367-368 and 372-373.

a differentiation between members of the same family with identical derived *praenomen* and *nomen* or *cognomina* (*Flavinus* son of *Flavus*)⁶⁵. But it was not a general practice, as is shown by the onomastic formula of *Fronto Reburri f(ilius)*, who indicated his filiation by a single name of an indigenous stock⁶⁶, which suggests that he was the first in his family to use a Latin *cognomen* and to develop Roman nomenclature, in connection with his juridical statute.

V.3. In the dedication made by *Flavia*, the only female within the *corpus* of evidence analysed, a process of anthroponymic Latinization and accommodation to the Roman nomenclature can be seen⁶⁷. She bears a *nomen*⁶⁸ linked to the name of the father in the indication of her filiation. It is thought that this was developed from the *nomen* in the position of the *cognomen* [*Fl(avii)* in the genitive and abbreviated], an unusual mention of filiation, although it does not prove that the father did not have a *praenomen*⁶⁹. Both names (*Flavia* and *Flavius*) and the ancient toponymy of the find site of the dedication (*Bergidum Flavium*) evoke the Flavian dynasty. It cannot be ruled out, however, that *Flavia* could be a *nomen* of patronymic formation derived from the paternal nickname *Flavus*, in allusion to physical peculiarities⁷⁰. Her possible status as a Roman citizen (although a *Latina condicio* prior to effective juridical promotion cannot be ruled out) may come from aristocratic family transmission or from a marriage bond with an ex-magistrate promoted to Roman citizenship *per honorem*⁷¹.

VI. Conclusions

In the study of the onomastic practice of the thirty documented worshippers we can witness a high percentage of Roman onomastic formulae (80%) in comparison to those of peregrine nomenclature (20%). This observation lies within the characteristics of the onomastic practice documented in the Indo-

⁶⁵ Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 294-295 and 368-370. *Flavus* may well be, as *Flaccus* or *Fronto*, a translation name. Vide Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina* cit., 240, 236, 304 and 227.

⁶⁶ Vide *supra* n. 52.

⁶⁷ Gallego, *La mujer en las estructuras religiosas* cit., 73-76; vide *supra* section I.1.

⁶⁸ Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 138-141.

⁶⁹ Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 367-368; *ERPL* 16; M.C. González Rodríguez, M. Ramírez Sánchez, *Observaciones sobre la fórmula in hono. Argael. en un epígrafe de Cacabelos, León (CIL II 5672)*, in *Palaeohispanica* 10, 2010, 63-79, 68 and 74. On the onomastic formulae of women, vide Dondin-Payre (ed.), *Les noms de personnes* cit., 15-16.

⁷⁰ Abascal, *Los nombres personales* cit., 138 and 368-370, vide *supra* n. 41 and 58.

⁷¹ Armani, *Relations familiales et sociales* cit., 281.

European area of *Hispania*, particularly its western area. Here, a significant representation of votive Latin inscriptions is present in the Imperial period for the analysis of onomastic practice of these individual worshippers and for the study of indigenous deities which were the object of their devotion. Taking into account the proposed relative chronology of dedications studied, it is from the Flavian period onwards when they were made, except for two dedications which may have been developed prior to the start of this dynasty⁷². The essential contents of Vespasian's *edictum* must have been a suitable via of acquisition of the *Roman civitas* which was followed by worshippers of Hispanic origin before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. This approach does not exclude other official procedures for this civic promotion such as *manumissio* and the inclusion within the *gens* of their *patronus* which might have been the case of some of these dedicants.

The high percentage of worshippers with *tria nomina* (45.8%) and *duo nomina* (29.1%) allows us to consider that there was predominant Roman citizenship, without excluding that *Latina condicio* would make it easier for some of them to choose an unofficial Roman nomenclature prior to their registration or official integration into the *populus Romanus*. Among worshippers with citizen nomenclature who are not of Hispanic origin, two members are recorded from the only Roman legion stationed in the northern area of *Hispania* from the Flavian dynasty. With their dedications they highlight the transcendence of indigenous deities in protecting the activities of the *Legio VII Gemina* as well as the influence of the Roman military in an area with significant mineral wealth.

However, peregrine nomenclature does not basically record an earlier relative chronology, but coexists from the late first century up to the *Constitutio Antoniniana* with that of Roman character, without different find sites of inscriptions between both onomastic practices being recorded. These worshippers, who exhibit non-Roman designations, would be full-rights inhabitants of Latin communities, but descendants of non aristocratic families, whose parents were not Roman citizens.

The epigraphic habit developed by these worshippers, who express their *pietas*, once having received the favor and the requested protection from the local deity of choice, takes on a relevant meaning in an administrative area where there are significant difficulties in identifying sanctuaries with architectural structures and there is no written evidence relating to Latin expressions which refer to the existence of sacred buildings (*templa*, *aedes*, *aedicula* or

⁷² Vide in peregrine onomastic formulae: *CIL* II 2601, *Scheda T. 22*; in roman onomastic formulae (*tria nomina*): *ERPL* 12.

fana). Furthermore, with their onomastic identification, these dedicants project an appropriate self-representation within collective practices in which private sacrifices could develop with the fulfillment of the *votum*, namely the promise contracted with the benevolent deity⁷³.

These worshippers with different onomastic formulae agree to designate the invoked deities of indigenous tradition with theonymic determinative (*deus, dea, dii, deae*) in several dedications analysed, specifying their role within the new model of civic organization provided by Rome. Besides, they adopt an expression of consecration characteristic of Roman religion. These benevolent deities were part of a civic pantheon, composed of different divine powers, optimal for the continuity of a political community. Within the religious organization of these *civitates* of *conventus Asturum*, with or without the provision of an urban center, and in the area of the establishment of the *Legio VII Gemina* is where these worshippers, attached to this *conventus* or not and independently of their civic condition, develop their religious practices to deities with indigenous names. The choice of a deity of indigenous tradition to express a spontaneous devotion is not determined by a specific civic condition. Its benevolent character in the religious perception of its dedicants and its ability to respond positively to the request of its worshippers is what prevails in the selection of the worshipped deities.

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⁷³ M.C. González, *Santuarios y epigrafía en las ciudades hispanorromanas: una aproximación*, in P. Mateos, S. Celestino, A. Pizzo, T. Tortosa (eds.), *Santuarios, oppida, ciudades: arquitectura sacra en el origen y desarrollo urbano del Mediterráneo Occidental*, Mérida 2009, 407-416; F. Marco, *Las inscripciones religiosas hispanas del ámbito rural como expresión del hábito epigráfico*, in *Espacios, usos y formas de la epigrafía hispana en época antigua y tardoantigua. Homenaje a A.U. Stylow*, Mérida 2009, 197-210; J. Rüpke, *Dedications accompanied by inscriptions in the Roman Empire: functions, intentions, modes of communication*, in J. Bodel, M. Kajava (eds.), *Dedicatio sacra nel mondo greco-romano. Diffusione, funzioni, tipologie*, Roma 2009, 31-41.