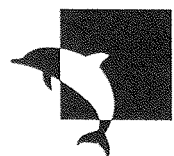
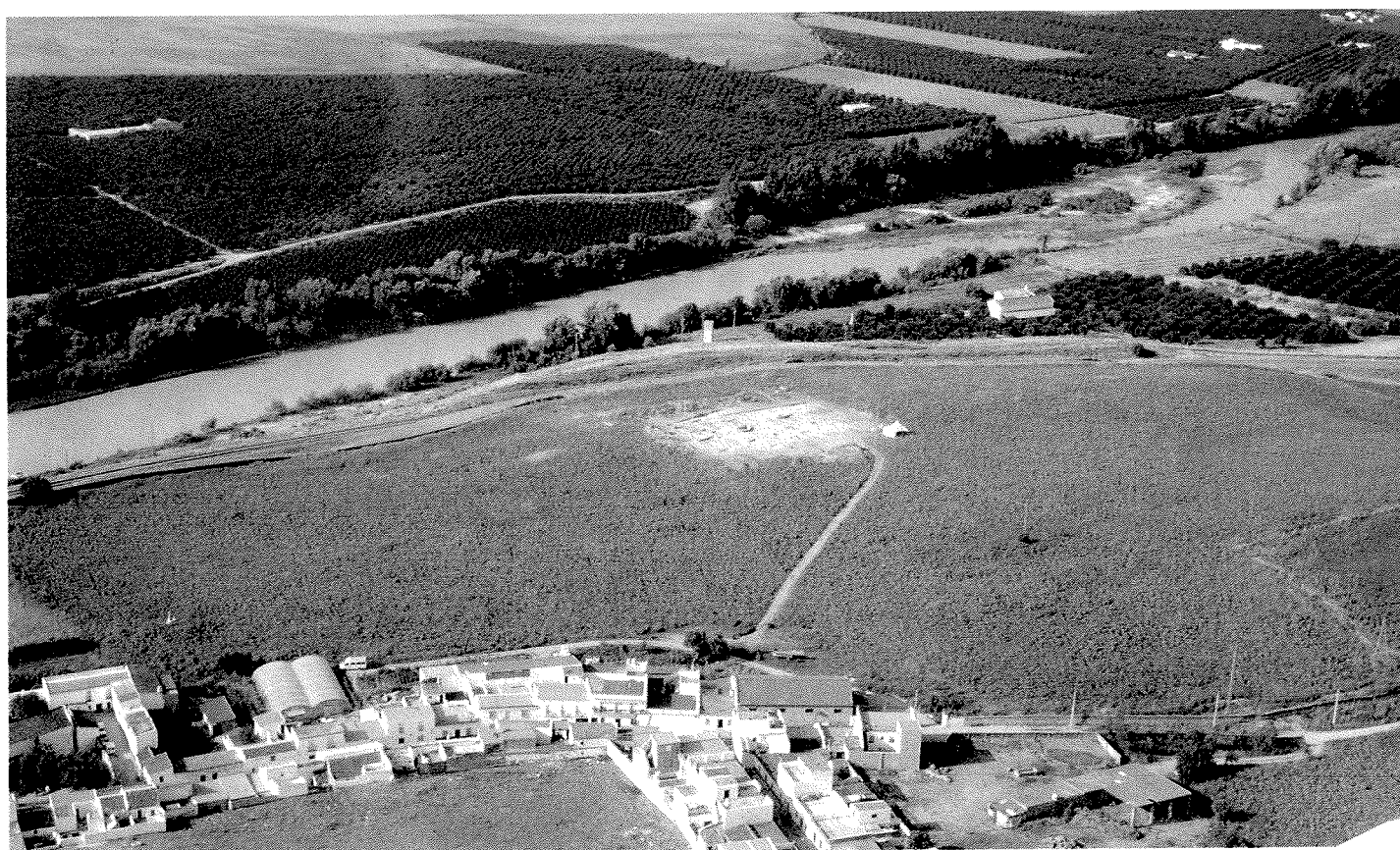


CELT PEÑAFLOR

THE ARCHAEOLOGY
OF A HISPANO-ROMAN TOWN IN BAETICA

Simon Keay, John Creighton and José Remesal Rodríguez



University
of Southampton

Oxbow Books 

CELT (Peñaflor)

The Archaeology of a Hispano-Roman Town in Baetica
Survey and Excavations 1987-1992

*Simon Keay,
John Creighton and José Remesal Rodríguez*

Oxbow Books

*Southampton University Department of Archaeology Monographs are published by
Oxbow Books, Park End Place, Oxford OX1 1HN*

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ISBN 1 84217 035 X

A CIP record for this book is available from The British Library.

This book is available direct from

Oxbow Books, Park End Place, Oxford OX1 1HN
(Phone: 01865-241249; Fax: 01865-794449)

and

The David Brown Book Company
PO Box 511, Oakville, CT 06779, USA
(Phone: 860-945-9329; Fax: 860-945-9468)

or from our website

www.oxbowbooks.com

*Printed in Great Britain at
The Short Run Press
Exeter*

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Chapter 8

The Topography and Epigraphy of Celti

José Remesal Rodríguez

Abstract

This chapter begins with an analysis of the available historical and epigraphic evidence for the identification of ancient Celti with Peñaflor. It then goes on to provide a catalogue of all known inscriptions from the site. This work builds upon earlier catalogues and commentaries to present a fairly large number of inscriptions, 65, quite a few of which are previously unpublished. This is the first time that all the inscriptions from a Baetican municipality are published together with a detailed excavation and survey, and enables a fairly full discussion of the mid to late 1st century AD town to be presented in Chapter 10. A detailed discussion of the material points out a number of idiosyncracies in the epigraphic repertoire from the town, not least that the inscriptions are virtually devoid of any reference to external activities, such as imperial or municipal administration or military service. However, they do allow us to identify some of the key families at Celti, their relationships to each other and to the province of Baetica as a whole.

Introduction

Uncertainty over the location of ancient Celti has been the subject of discussions that continue to the present-day. This is largely due to the rarity of inscriptions that might have allowed its location to have been established with certainty. There are two main sources of information. Firstly, Pliny the Elder, who names Roman towns between Corduba (Córdoba) and Hispalis (Sevilla), and secondly, the Antonine Itinerary. Those towns mentioned by Pliny, which include Celti, were located on the banks of the river Guadalquivir and analysis of their inscriptions demonstrates that they were granted municipal status during the Flavian period. The Antonine Itinerary, however, suggests that Celti lay further inland. This chapter begins with an attempt to look at the problem again, and is followed by a new analysis of all known inscriptions from Peñaflor and its immediate region. It thus complements and develops some of the comments made in Chapter 1 of this volume.

The History of a Name

Pliny's text (*NH* 3, 11) allows the towns of Celti, Axati, Arva, Canama, Naeva and Ilipa to be placed in the *conventus hispalensis*. Moreover, the discovery of inscriptions has meant that the location of Axati (Lora del Río)¹, Arva (El Castillejo, Alcolea del Río)², Canama (Alcolea del Río)³ and Naeva (Cantillana)⁴ have been known for a long time. The greatest difficulty has been trying to establish the exact location of Celti and Ilipa – both of which have been discussed for many years. Ambrosio de Morales, who visited Peñaflor during the 16th century,⁵ considered it to have been the site of Ilipa (Ambrosio de Morales 1575). Strabo (3; 5; 9) mentions that the Guadalquivir was navigable by large ships as far as Ilipa, and Morales noticed that Peñaflor was the point where the volume of the river increased, on account of the inflow from the Genil. Further weight to his argument was added by the fact that he thought that the remains of El Higuero could be interpreted as part of the remains of an ancient port that could have sheltered ships

when the river flooded. I have demonstrated elsewhere⁶ that this impressive structure has little to do with port installations and that it is best interpreted as having formed part of the defences of the pre-Roman settlement of Peñaflor. Thus, Ambrosio de Morales' arguments are merely conjectures based upon the oft cited text of Strabo and a reading of the archaeological remains visible during his day.

The correct identification of Celti with Peñaflor and Ilipa with Alcalá del Río was first proposed by Maldonado de Saavedra in the later 17th century.⁷ He recognised that the influence of the Atlantic tides upon the current of the Guadalquivir extended no further north than Alcalá del Río and that this coincided with Strabo's observation about the limits of the river's navigability. He also drew upon the evidence from the Antonine Itinerary and the known location of the other towns cited by Pliny. Furthermore, he suggested that the name of Celti was derived from a Celtic population and that the town functioned in part as a port for the export of metals mined in the Sierra Morena. Thus he followed Jerónimo de Zurita in suggesting that Celti be identified with Peñaflor, and rejected other names that had been attributed to the site. Maldonado de Saavedra's ideas reveal a sound understanding of the classical sources and contemporary literature, given that he remarks that the authority of Ambrosio de Morales had led many – whose names he lists – to identify Peñaflor with Ilipa. In particular, he highlights Rodrigo Caro's change of opinion. He had followed Morales in principle, but later believed that Alcalá del Río should be identified with Ilipa, without returning to the matter of the location of Celti, which Rodrigo Caro had placed in the vicinity of Regina. He also collected together the known inscriptions of Peñaflor.⁸

This debate continued for almost a century and, in May 1743, Alonso Carrillo wrote a work entitled "Discurso Geográfico" in which he argues that the ancient Ilipa Magna on the Baetis was not located at the village of Peñaflor, as was generally believed, but at Alcalá de Río instead.⁹ A little later, Padre Enrique Flórez was inclined to locate Celti near Puebla de los Infantes, not far from Peñaflor.¹⁰ Polemic on the location continues down to the present day, owing to the fact that it is difficult to reconcile the locational information provided by the Antonine Itinerary (It.414, 5) and the Ravenna Cosmography (Rav.IV.44, 315, 2) and the fact that the town was located on the banks of the Guadalquivir. Some scholars have located the town in the hinterland of Peñaflor, more or less within the Sierra Morena: thus Hübner, followed by Blanco and Luzón, sited it near Mellaria in the

vicinity of Fuenteovejuna (Córdoba).¹¹ Others, whose ideas were closer to those of Flórez, sited Celti somewhere between Constantina and Peñaflor. Antonio Blázquez, for example, located it near Constantina, while Saavedra sought it in Las Navas de la Concepción. Corzo and Jiménez doubted between Peñaflor and Puebla de los Infantes, while Tovar prevaricated and Roldán did not commit himself.¹² Others, however, have followed the identification of Celti with Peñaflor.¹³

The Epigraphy

The aim of this section is to provide a catalogue of all known Roman inscriptions on stone from Celti. It includes texts recently published in CILA 2.1, with commentary and, where necessary, corrections. It also contains a substantial number of new texts that have come to light at Peñaflor in various circumstances in recent years. The chapter concludes with a series of general reflections on the overall epigraphic assemblage from the town and the light that it sheds upon the society of ancient Celti.

The first epigraphic records from Celti were collected together by Florián de Ocampo and annotated in the Codex Valentinus,¹⁴ which is dated to between 1525 and 1544.¹⁵ Some inscriptions from the site were also collected together by Zurita in his Baetican series, which suggests that he may well have visited Peñaflor.¹⁶ The same is probably true of Ambrosio de Morales. Known inscriptions from the site were also collected together by Maldonado de Saavedra in his book, while Pedro Leonardo de Villacevallos kept several inscribed stones in his museum.¹⁷ F. Fita, A. Blázquez and F. Pérez Minguez made known some texts through publication in the Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia. More recently, A. Blanco Freijeiro, G. Chic García, M. Ponsich and J. González have all published new texts.

The Catalogue

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE 1988 SYSTEMATIC SURFACE SURVEY
These are discussed and illustrated (Figs 5.43, 5.44 and 5.45) in Chapter 5.

OTHER INSCRIPTIONS

Most of the texts already published in CILA 2.1 are not illustrated here. New texts, however, have been illustrated with photographs wherever possible. All of these are in private ownership, which has made the task of photography difficult. Consequently, therefore, the quality of photographs is not ideal.

1. Unpublished (Fig. 8.1 and 8.38)

This text was unusual in being inscribed on a plaque of pink marble with moulding on both sides and a groove along the upper edge. It is not known whether this grooving was contemporary to the primary function of this piece or whether it was created at a later date. It is possible that the piece derived from a balustrade, possibly of a tribunal, upon which the inscription was cut. The first line is inscribed on a plinth below the mouldings.

Measurements: 44cm wide by 16cm high; thickness 14.5cm. The letters are *scriptura actuariaria*. Height of the letters: 5cm in the first line. Triangular stop. It was discovered in La Viña and is now in the possession of D. José Higuera Muñoz.

---]pro honore[---
...(c.15 letters)...

The second line is illegible although it must belong to an imperial title. The first letter on the left hand side could be an L, the second a C or an S, the third an E and the fourth either a P or an R, after which there is a gap corresponding to some 7 or 8 letters. The last three letters could have been either S or C, the head of an E or I and the upper part of the left arm of a V. It is impossible to propose a full reading of this, although it might possibly be interpreted as: *pro honore.../...L(uci). Sep([timil] Sev([liri])*, a reading which would be consistent with the dating suggested by the form of the letters. If this reading is correct, then this may well be an important document recording a dedication to an Emperor who, after the defeat of Clodius Albinus, intervened directly in the economic reorganization of the region.¹⁸

2. Unpublished (Fig. 8.2)

A pedestal made from grey marble with black veins, with the upper and lower sections missing. The maximum conserved height was 70cm, the width was 59cm and the thickness 50cm. The epigraphic field is defined by a border. It was discovered in La Viña although its exact findspot is unknown. The height of the surviving epigraphic field is 40cm. Width is 36cm. The height of the letters: line 1 and 2: 5cm; lines 3 and 4: 4.5cm; line 5: 4cm. Width of the interlineal space: 3; 2; 5; 2; and 3cm respectively.

Triangular stops. Apice on the first E of Aeliae. The 4th line shows a clear tendency towards the cursive script on Dressel 20 amphorae. The inscription is in the possession of D. José Fernández Rosa.

Aeliae . Q(uinti)
F(ilia). Flaccinae
Post . mortem
Aelia. M(arci) . F(ilia). Marcellina . f(ilia)

5. D(onum) D(at)

"To Aelia Flaccina, daughter of Quintus, this pedestal and statue is dedicated after her death by Aelia Marcellina, daughter of Marcus (Aelius) and of (?Aelia) Marcellina."



Fig. 8.1. Photograph of inscription no. 1



Fig. 8.2. Photograph of inscription no. 2

The type of lettering allows this inscription to be dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD. This text is interesting in that it is a dedication to one woman by another in the same family. Since the dedicant is the daughter of Marcus Aelius and the person to whom it is dedicated is named as the daughter of Quintus Aelius, it is possible she may be her cousin, aunt or paternal grandmother. It is interesting to note that feminine filiation of the dedicant is recorded. Given that only the *cognomen* of the mother is recorded, the proposed restoration of the name of the mother of the dedicant is given as Aelia.

3. (Fig. 8.3)

This belongs to a pedestal of white marble with orange veins, the top of which was prepared to receive a bronze sculpture.¹⁹ Prior to this study it had not been noticed that it was never finished, since the upper part had yet to be properly cut (Fig. 8.32). Measurements: height: 1.48m; width: 75cm; width: 50cm. The epigraphic field is defined by a listel and cyma recta measuring 81 x 53cm. The letters take the form of capitals in *scriptura*

actuaria. The height of the letters is 5cm. The stops are triangular. The inscription is to be found at the corner of the building which used to be the Ayuntamiento and which is now the Biblioteca Pública of Peñaflo, in the Plaza de España No. 1.

Q(uinto) Aelio Q(uinti) F(ilio) Optato
 Aelia Q(uinti) F(ilia) Optata
 testamento
 poni iussit
 G(aius) Appius Superstes
 Canninius Montanus
 H(eres) P(onendum) C(uravit)

"In her will, Aelia Optata ordered that this monument was put up in honour of her father Quintus Aelius Optatus, son of Quintus. Caius Appius Superstes Canninius Montanus, her heir, ensured that this should be done."

I have transcribed this text according to the text published in CIL. II 2329; Thévenot 1952; Caamaño Gesto 1972; Ponsich 1979; 102 no. 82 Lám. XXXII; Blázquez Martínez 1980, 28; Bonneville 1984, 72–3; CILA 2.1, 143 no. 168; There is a copy of this text signed by Zurita although it is probable that he received it from Ginés de Sepulveda (Gimeno Pascual 1997, 130 no. 191). Today, only the first two lines of the text are legible.

The person commemorated in this inscription has been related to the Quintus Aelius Optatus known from Dressel 20 amphora stamps.²⁰ The stamps which bear the name of this individual have appeared at the nearby Dressel 20 kiln sites of El Castillo²¹ and La Catria,²² both of which are near to Lora del Río (Axati). However, it is probable that at least the latter – and possibly both – were located in the territory of the town named "Mesa de Lora" or "Lora La Vieja".²³ This should not create any conflict, since there is no reason why a distinguished individual from one town should not possess property in the territory of a neighbouring community. Indeed it is emblematic of the links and mobility that existed between the municipal elites in the region.

A surprising feature of this text is that the person responsible for erecting this monument is considered as an heir without having adopted the family *nomen*. This, of course, assumes that we consider Appius Superstes to have been the surviving husband of Aelia Optata. If this were the case, the normal practice would have been that he would have appeared in the text explicitly in this role. It is also curious that this individual, whose name is rare in Baetica, was also considered to have been the heir of Calpurnia Sabina, and dedicated a similar pedestal and statue *ex testamento* to her son Fulvius Lupus (No. 17 below), even though there was no formal familial relationship between them.

4. (Fig. 8.4)

Funerary altar in white marble. This is decorated with a pediment with loculus, at the edges of which are sheaves while the front is decorated by two rosettes.²⁴ The piece is well conserved and is to be found in Peñaflo. Measurements: height: 92cm; width: 49cm; thickness: 32cm. The epigraphic field is defined by a



Fig. 8.3. Photograph of inscription no. 3



Fig. 8.4. Photograph of inscription no. 4

moulding and stands 30cm high and 36cm wide. The capital letters are squared. Height of the letters: 1st line 7cm; 2nd line 6cm. Triangular stop. This is no longer in the Ermita de Villadiego where it was seen by González (CILA 2.1 no. 172) or in the Biblioteca Pública where this writer saw it.

Q(uinti). Aelii
Zenonis

“(The monument) of Quintus Aelius Zeno”.

CIL. II 2331; ILER 2176; Chic Garcia 1975, 358–9; Ponsich 1979, 98 n° 72, Lám. XXIV; CILA 2.1 no. 172; Gimeno Pascual 1997 191, 1.

This inscription has been dated by González to the first half of the 2nd century AD (CILA 2.1, 146–7). However it is probable that this dedication, in the genitive, is earlier and possibly dates to the Flavian period. The Aelii seem to have been an important group within the society of Celti. If Quintus Aelius Optatus can be identified with the person identified on the Dressel 20 amphora stamps (*supra* pp.144), it is surprising that he did not achieve any public office in the town. In their filiation, our Aelii only indicate their father and do not invoke the names of earlier generations. This would suggest that they were second generation and that their ancestors only gained Roman Citizenship in the immediately preceding generation. All of our Aelii bear the *praenomen* Quintus, with the exception of the father of the dedicator of the inscription to Aelia Flaccina, who was called Marcus.

5. (No Surviving Illustration)

Plaque or pedestal, whose current whereabouts is not known.

Venerem. Aug(ustam). cum parerg(o). item phialam
argent(eam). Aemili Rustici
item trullam argenteam. M(arcus). Annus Celti
tan(us). Testamento
suo post mortem Aemiliae Arthemisiae uxoris et
Heredis suae poni iussit. Aemilia

5. Arthemisa filia posuit eademq(ue). de suo
annullum aureum gemma meliore

“In his will, Marcus Annus Celtitanus stipulated that upon the death of his wife and heir, Aemilia Artemisia, a statue in the form of Venus with her attributes would be erected to her. Aemilia Artemisia, his daughter, erected this monument and, for her part, added a ring of gold with precious stones of the best quality. Aemilius Rusticus, for his, gave a cup and a tray of silver”.

CIL. II 2326; ILER 418; Thouvenot 1940, 286; Remesal Rodríguez 1986–87, 140–1; Larrey Hoyuelos 1987, 530; CILA 2.1, 140, n° 165; Gallego Franco 1993, 123 n° 4; Melchor Gil 1993–1994, 340; del Hoyo 1994, 428 n° 3; Gimeno Pascual & Stylow 1999.

Here I have followed the new version of the text put forward by Gimeno Pascual and Stylow (1999)²⁵, which adheres to the text recorded by Fernández Franco (Biblioteca Nacional: Ms 577). I also follow their view when they suggest that this was a *consecratio in forma deorum* to the deceased, rather than a dedication to the

goddess Venus. The new reading of the inscription proposed above, allows us to distinguish the names of the people who were involved in the creation of this monument: Annus Celtitanus, his wife Aemilia Artemisia and their daughter who has chosen to take her mother's name; Aemilius Rusticus, who supplemented the gift, was, in my opinion, brother of Aemilia Artemisia (the mother). This is not the only case at Celti where the daughter retains the *nomen* of the mother (*infra* no. 35).

6. (Fig. 8.5)

Plaque of pink marble, whose upper left-hand corner is missing. In CILA 2.1 no. 173, it is recorded as measuring 27.5cm in height; 4.17cm in width and 2.5cm thick. The letters are in *scriptura actuariaria*. The height of the letters oscillates between 5.3 and 3.8cm. Triangular stops on the 3rd line, hederæ in the 2nd and 4th lines. The final letters *us* of the second line are ligatured. The P of *pius* is raised. The I in *suis* is long.

The inscription is conserved in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Sevilla.

[M(arcus) A]emilius.

M(arci) (hed.) F(ilius) (hed.) Marcianus

ann(or)um . XXXXIII . pius

in (hed.) suis (hed.) H(ic) (hed.) S(itus)/(hed.) E(st)
(hed.) S(it) (hed.) T(ibi).(hed) T(erra) (hed.) L(evis)
(hed.)

“(Marcus) Aemilius Marcianus, son of Marcus, of 45 years. Here he lies. May the earth rest light upon you!”

CIL. II 5539; ILER 3020; Fernández Chicarro 1946, 120 n° 18; Fernández Chicarro & Fernández Gómez 1980, 129 n° 4; CILA 2.1 no. 173.

González (CILA 2.1, 147–8) dates this inscription to the middle of the 2nd century AD on the basis of letter shape. However, it should be noted that the inscription lacks any invocation to the Dii Manes, which suggests that it might date to the end of the 1st century AD.

7. (Fig. 8.6)

A grey marble plaque. Measurements: height: 27cm; width: 31.5cm; visible thickness: 1.5cm. The stonemason has attempted to use squared capital letters which, in the end, have been mixed with letters in *scriptura actuariaria*. The height of the letters: 3.5cm. Triangular stops. The final S of the first line is of a lesser size. This inscription was discovered in Peñaflor, although the exact findspot is not known. It is currently embedded in the wall to the left of the main door of the Ermita de Nuestra Señora de Villadiego.

Apollonius

ann(or)um XXXIII. piu[s]

in (hed.) suis (hed.) H(ic) (hed.) S(itus) E(st) (hed.) S(it)
(hed.) T(ibi) (hed) T(erra) (hed.) L(evis) (hed.)

“Apollonius, 33 years and devoted to his own. Here he lies. May the earth rest light upon you !”

CILA 2.1 no. 174; HEp 4, 1994, no. 777. González (CILA 2.1, 148–9) did not point out that the inscription was cut onto a piece of reused marble with coarsely re-cut



Fig. 8.5. Photograph of inscription no. 6

edges. The smaller sized S in the first line was not due to the stonecutter's strain, as the compiler suggests, but was requested by whoever composed the text. It is sufficient to compare this with the space taken up by the second line where, although the González does not point it out, the final S of *pius* is missing on account of being broken.

8. (CIL 2.1. Fig. 91)

Small (12 × 16cm) plaque of yellowish marble, the upper part of which is decorated by two doves supporting a garland held between their beaks, at the centre of which there is a crown. Letters are in *scriptura actuaria* with triangular stops. There is a ligature XV in the age of the deceased. The inscription was discovered in 1916, owing to flooding of the Guadalquivir in the vicinity of Peñaflo. H. Sandars sent a pencil tracing of the inscription to F. Fita.²⁶ The stone is conserved in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Córdoba (Inv.2638).²⁷

(dove) (crown) (dove)

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)

Bruttia Victorina

Celtitana . A<n>nor(um) . XXXV

Pia . in . suis

H(ic) . S(ita) . E(st) . S(it) . T(ibi) . T(erra) . L(evis)

"Dedicated to the Dii Manes. Bruttia Victorina, from Celti, of 35 years and devoted to her own. Here she lies ! May the earth rest light upon you !"

Fita 1916, 120–3; Larrey Hoyuelos 1987, 530; CIL 2.1 no. 177, where *annor(um)* is transcribed when the manuscript actually reads *a<n>norum*. Here, the name Celtitana must be an indication of the *origo* of the deceased although, as we have seen in the case of the Fabii, it is also possible that it may have been a second *cognomen* (see infra no. 14).



Fig. 8.6. Photograph of inscription no. 7

9. Unpublished (Fig. 8.7)

Fragment of a plaque of white marble which lacks the upper right-hand corner as well as the lower part of the inscription. Measurements: maximum height: 24 cm; minimum width: 40.5cm; thickness: 4.5cm. The epigraphic field measures 26.5cm wide by a minimum of 17cm high and is defined by a moulding. The inscription was discovered in gravel works to the east of Peñaflo "a bit beyond the roof". The letters are *scriptura actuaria* capitals and measure: line 1: 5.5cm; line 2: 5cm; line 3: 4cm. The interlineal spaces measure 2 and 1.5cm. The first two stops are hederæ, the third is triangular. The I and V of Bruttius are of a smaller

size to enable the *nomen* to fit onto the first line. The lower part of the G of Primigenius is rounded, while the stonecutter has omitted the E of the *cognomen*. The inscription is in the possession of D. José Carranza Cruz.

Sex (hed.) Bruttius
Primig<e>ni-
us (hed.) ann . XXXX
[-----]

"Sextus Bruttius Primigenius. 40 years of age....."

Two or three lines with the usual formulae found on Peñaflor inscriptions are missing (such as *pius in suis*, *H.S.E. S.T.T.L.*). It is possible that the deceased was more than 40 years old at the time of death.

10. Unpublished (Fig. 8.8)

Fragment of a plaque, of which only a small part of its upper margin remains, and which exhibits a hole for a nail. Measurements: minimum height is 16.5cm; maximum width: 10cm. Regularly executed letters in *scriptura actuaria* style. Height of the letters on the first line: 6cm. Triangular stop. This inscription is recut onto the back of an earlier text, given that there are traces of a large upright letter on the reverse side. It was probably found at the farm of El Tesoro.

--- B]ruttius [---
--- i]n suos . H[---
[----]

Since the upper edge of this inscription survives, it is certain that it lacked the formula *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)*. It is not possible to posit relationships between people bearing the name Bruttium, a family well represented at Celti. It is worth pointing out that two of the three inscriptions mentioning this family, lack the formula *D.M.S.* (It is probable that the order of the funerary formulae is altered and that here *Pius in suis* appears before the mention of age).

11. (CIL 2.1. Fig. 92)

Plaque of pink marble. Measurements (according to CIL 2.1.no. 178): height: 34 cm; width: 32cm; thickness: 2cm. Capital letters are used on the first line, with letters in *scriptura actuaria* in the remaining lines. Height of the letters is between 2.8 and 5cm. Triangular stops except on the first line where all the stops are hederæ with an upright stalk inclined to the right. Some letters are raised: all the Ls, the C of Caesia, the G of Gallus, the I of in, the S of suis and the H in the formulario of Caesia, the P of pius of Gallus.

D(is) (hed.) M(anibus) (hed.) S(acrum)
Caesia . Annula . ann(or)um XXV
pia . in . suis . H(ic) . S(ita) . E(st). S(it) . T(ibi)
T(erra). L(evis)
L(ucius) . Licinius . Gallus . ann(or)um
5. LXV . P(ius) . in . s(uis) . H(ic) . S(itus) . E(st). S(it)
T(ibi) T(erra). L(evis)

"Consecrated to the Dii Manes. Caesia Annula, 25 years of age, devoted to her own. Here she lies. May the



Fig. 8.7. Photograph of inscription no. 9



Fig. 8.8. Photograph of inscription no. 10

earth rest light upon you ! Lucius Licinius Gallus, 65 years of age, devoted to his own. May the earth rest light upon you !"

García y Bellido 1960, 192; HAE 1964; ILER 3144; CIL 2.1 no. 178.

González (CIL 2.1, 152) considers that in this inscription, "the pagination (arrangement of the text) is careless". I do not believe this to be the case. Two lines have been dedicated to each of the deceased, emphasizing the line from the beginning of the name of each of the deceased (1st and 3rd). The inscription provides no clue about the relationship between them. They may have been husband and wife, or father and daughter. Despite their age difference, the inscription was cut at one moment in time which may point to

them being a married couple who died together for unknown reasons.²⁸ Annula is a rare *cognomen*.²⁹

12. (CILA 2.1. Fig. 94)

Fragment of a white marble plaque, chipped on all edges. Measurements: height: 19,5cm; width: 25cm; thickness: 15cm. Capital letters with elements of *scriptura actuaria*, and the I of *libertus* raised. Height of the letters: 3.5cm. Triangular stops. The precise place of discovery in Peñaflor is not known. The inscription is conserved in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Sevilla (CILA 2.1, 154).

C]orneli[us ---
---]mani . lib[---
---] annor(um) . X[---
[-----]

"----Cornelius---, libertus of (Cornelius) ---- hand of ? years."

CILA 2.1 no. 180; HEp 4, no. 799. I understand the second line as referring to the *cognomen* of the patron. This is the thickest funerary plaque from Celti.

13. (Fig. 8.9)

Small plaque in pink marble, according to one scholar, and yellow, according to another. The upper part of the inscription is missing. The lower part is decorated with a palm, an animal variously identified as a rabbit, boar or dog, and a bull. Measurements: minimum height: 16.5cm; width: 16.5; thickness: 2cm. The script is in the form of squared capitals, although it tends towards *scriptura actuaria*. Height of the letters: between 1 and 1.5cm. Triangular stops. It is conserved in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Sevilla.

us Chres[---
os . mensi<u>m
VI . pius in sui-
s.Hic.S(itus).E(st).S(it).T(ibi).T(erra).L(evis)
(palm) (bull)

"...us Chres...os, 6 months old, devoted to his own. Here he lies. May the earth rest light upon you !"

CIL.II 5542; ILER 3021; Fernández-Chicarro 1951, 50;

Fernández-Chicarro & Fernández Gómez 1980, 89 n° 2; CILA 2.1 no. 179; HEp. 4, 1994, no. 778.

There is no agreement about how the *cognomen* should be expanded: Hübner preferred *Chres[ti]cus*; Fernández Chicarro and Fernández Gómez chose *Chrisos*; González (CILA 2.1, 153) inclined for *Chres[t]os*, while *Chris[tin]os* and *Chrys[er]os* were proposed in HEp 4, 1994.

14. Unpublished (Fig. 8.10)

Block of grey marble belonging to a funerary monument. It measures 37cm in height and 1.70m long, although part of its left-hand side is missing, and is 29cm thick.³⁰ The epigraphic field, 16cm ´ 1.17m is defined by a cyma. Letters in *scriptura actuaria* style. Height of the letters: 1st line: 5cm; 2nd line: 4cm. The stops are hederæ. The F of *Fabia* and the C of *Celtitana* are raised. The crossbars of the letter A are sometimes horizontal and sometimes inclined. The text is displaced towards the left-hand side of the epigraphic field, both in the first and the second line. The inscription was discovered in El Camello and is currently to be found

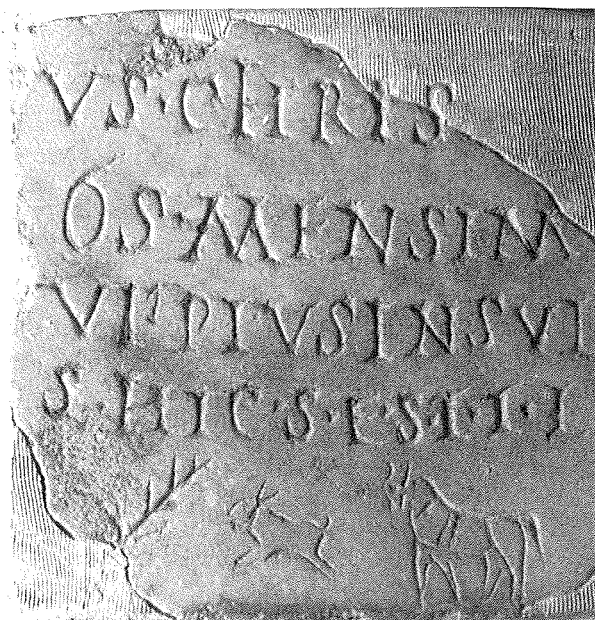


Fig. 8.9. Photograph of inscription no. 13

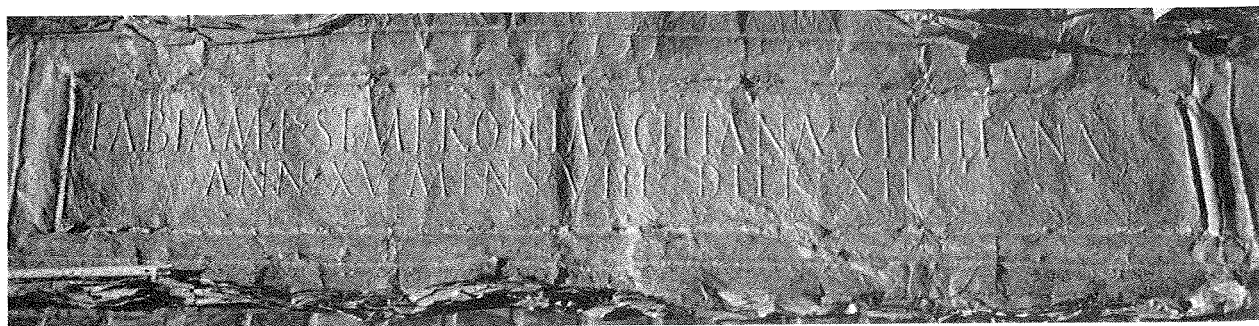


Fig. 8.10. Photograph of inscription no. 14

as the architrave of the chimney in the Huerta de Corbacho, the property of D. Fernando Mallén Cabrera.

Fabia (hed.) M(arci) (hed.) F(ilia) (hed.) Sempronia
(hed.) Aciliana (hed.) Celtitana
Ann(orum) (hed.) XV (hed.) mens(ium) (hed.) VIII
(hed.) dier(um) (hed.) XIII

"Fabia Sempronia Aciliana Celtitana, daughter of Marcus, 15 years, 8 months and 13 days."

The inscription was reported by Larrey Hoyuelos (1987), and referred to in HĒp 4 (1994, no. 773) although no commentary was provided. There is little doubt that the young lady commemorated on this inscription came from one of the most distinguished families in Celti, as her *nomen* and *cognomen* indicate. The type of inscription suggests that it formed part of a monument of notable proportions, perhaps a tower-shaped mausoleum. An inscription from Corduba provides us with more information about the young lady's family. In effect, a certain Fabius, whose *cognomen* remains unknown, was *flamen divorum augustorum provinciae Baeticae* between July/August of AD 215 and July/August of AD 216. The inscription and statue dedicated to him was paid for by his father, Marcus Fabius Basileus Celtitanus. The father of the young lady commemorated on the inscription from Celti was also Marcus Fabius, probably with the *cognomen* Celtitanus.³¹ I therefore believe that both inscriptions refer to people from the same family. In our current state of knowledge it is not possible to be specific about the degree of the relationship between them, even though the chronological similarity between the two suggests that it may have been close. The *nomen* and one of the *cognomina*, however, lead us to raise another question. It has been supposed that the twice Consul Lucius Fabius Cilo had a Baetican origin.³² The study of Dressel 20 amphora stamps from the Cerro de los Pesebres³³ suggests to me that the initials of the stamp LFCCVFS and other variants may be an abbreviation of the name Lucius Fabius Cilo: *L(ucius) F(abius) C(ilo) C(larissimus) V(ir) F(iglina) S(calensia)*.³⁴ To accept this reconstruction would be to reinforce the idea that Fabius Cilo was Baetican in origin (see also Chapter 10). Amongst the *cognomina* of Fabius Cilo is to be found that of Acilianus,³⁵ a name which was also shared by the young lady commemorated on this inscription, and which may help us define the origin of this Consul even more precisely than has hitherto been possible.

15. (No Surviving Illustration)

An inscription which has disappeared and which, according to old records, served as the support for the holy-water stand in the Peñaflor parish church.

Victoriae Aug(ustae)
At<t>icus . G(ai) . Fabi . Nigri . L(ibertus)
Firmo . Bit(h)y nitis . L(ibertae) . L(ibertus)
augustales . D(onum) . D(ederunt)

"Dedicated to Victoria Augusta. This offering was made by (Fabius) Atticus libertus of Caius Fabius Niger and (Fabius) Firmus libertus of the liberta (Fabia) Bithynis, augustales".

CIL. II 2327; ILER 499; CILA 2.1 no. 166. Gimeno Pascual 1997, 488.

This inscription informs us about the existence of the free-born Fabius, G. Fabius Niger, and three liberti. It also underlines the importance of the gens Fabia in Celti.

16. (Fig. 8.11)

Plaque of white marble. The lower part of the stone is decorated. A bunch of grapes marked with two ivy leaves is at the top end and lower are two flanking doves resting upon branches – possibly olives – who are pecking the grapes. The inscription is currently embedded into a wall inside the Ermita de Villadiego. Measurements: height: 70cm; width: 30cm; thickness: over 3cm. Letters are in *scriptura actuarii*. Lines 1–7 are 5cm high; lines 8–11 are 2.3cm high; line 12 is 1.8cm.³⁶ The stops are hederæ with zigzagging stalks. If my information is correct, this inscription was discovered midway along the Calle Nueva in Peñaflor.

D(is) (hed.) M(anibus) (hed.) S(acrum) (hed.)
Atimet(i) (hed.) lib(erta) (hed.)
Fabia (hed.) Mer-
ope (hed.) anno-
5. rum (hed.) LXXV (hed.)
pia (hed.) in suis (hed.)
H(ic) (hed.) S(ita) (hed.) E(st) (hed.) S(it) (hed.)
T(ibi) (hed.) T(erra) (hed.) L(evis) (hed.)
Si quantum pietas potu-
it tantum fortuna



Fig. 8.11. Photograph of inscription no. 16

10. dedisset litteris au-
ratis scribere(m) hunc
titulum
(Hed) (Hed)
(grapes)
(dove) (dove)

"Dedicated to the Dii Manes. Fabia Merope, liberta of (Fabius) Atimetius. 75 years. Devoted to her own. Here she lies. May the earth rest light upon you ! If my luck was as great as my love for you³⁷ I would write this in letters of gold".

Chic 1975, 359–66; Correa 1976, 367–9; Ponsich 1979, 95; CILA 2.1 no. 175.

Chic did not point out that the last five lines of the inscription were written in the form of a poetic rhythm (Correa 1976). None of the scholars who have studied this text have noticed that it is cut on a re-used plaque, as can be deduced from the irregular profile of its right hand margin. This fact adds emphasis to the verse. The dedicant knew that the elegy to the much-loved person was inscribed upon a slab re-used from an earlier monument. The name of the dedicant is not known to us, although given that the term *Pietas* used in the verse is associated with family love, it is possible that he or she may have been the deceased's husband or, given the age of the deceased (see below), her son or daughter.

17. (Fig. 8.12 & 8.14b)

Pedestal in greyish marble. This probably supported a bronze figure, given the form of the upper plinth and the impressions on its upper surface of the pedestal (Fig. 8.14b). Measurements: height: 144cm; width: 86cm; thickness: 57cm. The epigraphic field was 78.5cm high and 62.5cm wide. Capital letters are in *scriptura actuaria*. Height of the letters: 6.5cm in the 1st line; 6cm in the remaining lines. The text was very eroded and difficult to read. It is conserved in the patio of the Ermita de Villadiego.

Q(uinto) . Fulvio . Q(uinti) . F(ilio) . Lupo
Calpurnia . L(uci) . F(ilia) . Sabina . Mater
testamento . poni . iussit
C(aius) . Appius . Superstes . Cani-
nius . Montanus
H(eres) . P(onendum) . C(uravit)

"To Quintus Fulvius Lupus, son of Quintus. In her will, his mother, Calpurnia Sabina, daughter of Lucius, ordered that this monument be erected. Her heir Caius Appius Superstes Canninius Montanus ensured that it was done".

CIL. II 2330; ILER 5118; Chic 1975, 357–8; Ponsich 1979, 97; CILA 2.1 no. 169; Gimeno Pascual 1997, nos. 96, 188 and 875. Chic suggests that there were two dedicants: C. Appius Superstes and C. Aninius Montanus.

18. (Fig. 8.13)

Plaque of pinkish marble, part of whose right margin is broken. The exact place of discovery in Peñaflor is not known. Measurements: height: 29.5cm; width: 17.5cm; thickness: 3cm. Letters are in *scriptura actuaria* although

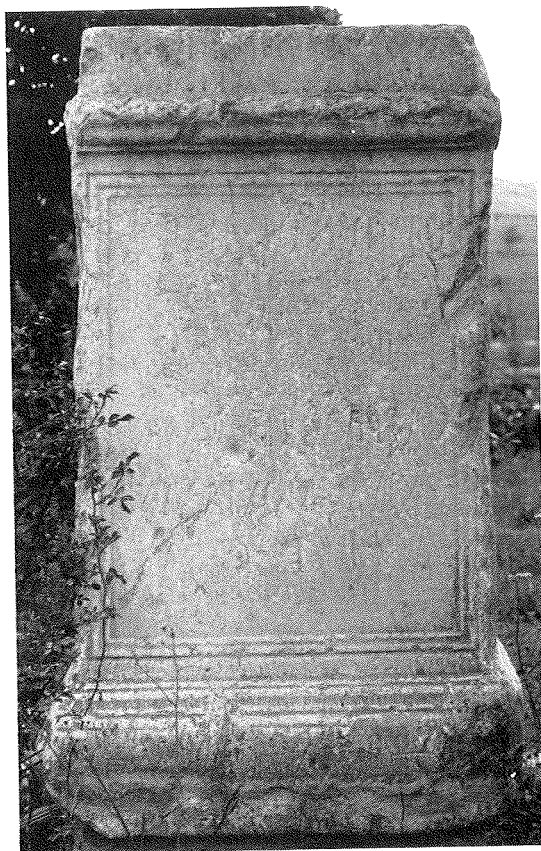


Fig. 8.12. Photograph of inscription no. 17

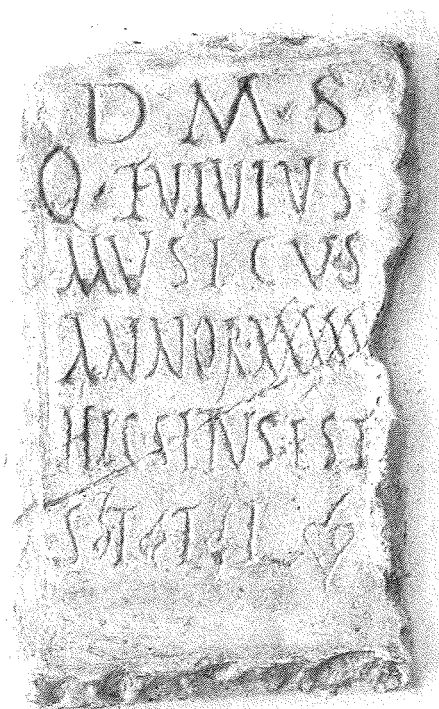


Fig. 8.13. Photograph of inscription no. 18

the rendering of the D.M.S in the first line tends towards squared capitals. Height of the letters: 1st line: 3cm; 2nd to 6th lines: 2.5cm. Triangular stops: in the 6th line the stops are hederæ. The inscription is conserved in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Sevilla³⁸.

D(is). M(anibus) . S(acrum)
Q(uintus) . Fulvius
Musicus
annor(um) . XXXXV
Hic . situs . est
S(it) (hed.) T(ibi) (hed.) T(erra) (hed.) L(evis) (hed.)

"To the Dii Manes. Quintus Fulvius Musicus, 45 years. Here he lies. May the earth rest light upon you !"

González 1982, 159–60; CILA 2.1 no. 181.

González dates this inscription to the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD on the basis of the letter typology (CILA 2.1, 155). The relationship between this individual and Quintus Fulvius Lupus is difficult to establish (supra no. 17). If the *cognomen* Musicus gives an idea of his professional occupation, then it is possible that this individual may have been a slave of the Fulvii of Celti. The lack of any filiation might be taken as evidence to support this although this cannot be conclusive. The shared *praenomen* might possibly be an index of a certain family relationship between these two people.

19. Unpublished (Unillustrated)

Plaque of coarse-grained white marble. The upper and left-hand margins are straight, while the right-hand and lower margins indicate that the piece had been recut. There is a hole in the upper margin for the fastening of the inscription. Measurements: height: 31cm; width: 21.7cm; thickness: 2.2cm. Height of the letters: 1st line: 3.5cm; 2nd to 4th line: 3cm. The stops are triangular and, in the first three lines, the sharpest angle points upwards: in the last line, however, they point downwards. The former are almost certainly hederæ. The cross-bar of the H is inclined; the P is not closed. The inscription was found at the Fuente del Pez.

D(is) (hed.) M(anibus) (hed.) S(acrum)
Iul(ius) . Siriacus
annor(um) . LXVII
(ius).i(n).s(uis).h(ic).s(itus).e(st).S(it).T(ibi).T(erra).
L(evis)

"To the Dii Manes. Iulius Siriacus, 67 years, devoted to his own, lies here. May the earth rest light upon you!".

The use of *duonimina* and the *cognomen* Siriacus suggest that this individual was probably a libertus.

20. (No Surviving Illustration)

White marble stela whose epigraphic field is defined by two horizontal mouldings. The inscription was cut at two separate times. The name of the deceased was inscribed adjacent to the moulding that defined the lower part of the epigraphic field. The formula that follows was written outside the epigraphic field. The inscription is conserved in the Castillo of the Marqueses

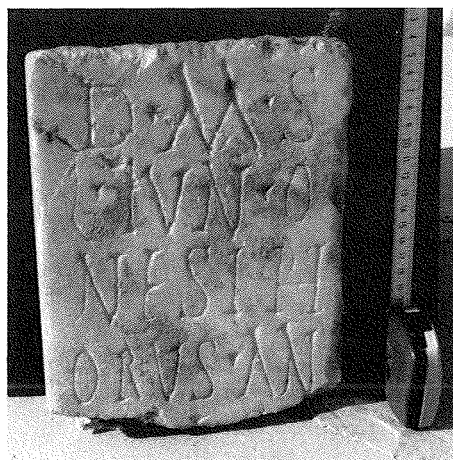


Fig. 8.14a. Photograph of inscription no. 21

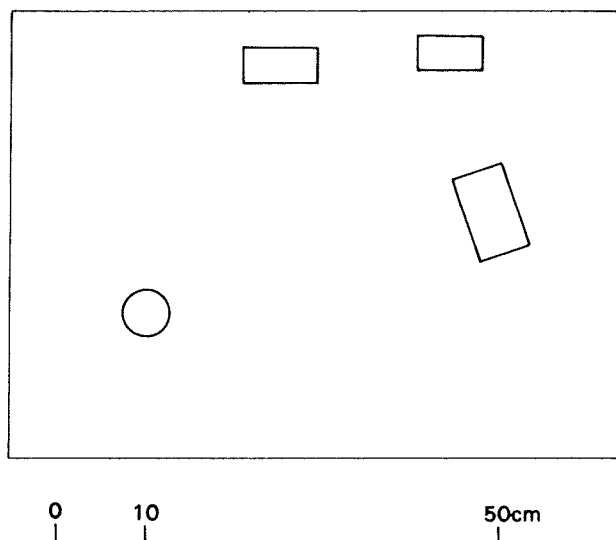


Fig. 8.14b. Drawing of impressions in the top of inscription no. 17

de las Casas in Navas del Marqués. We only have an indication of its height: 50cm.³⁹ The letters are *scripta libraria*. In the first line the stops are hederæ, while in the rest of the text they are triangular stops.

D(is) (hed.) M(anibus) (hed.) S(acrum)
Barbatus
ser(vus) . ann(or)um LI
pius . in . suis
H(ic) . S(itus) . E(st) . S(it) . T(ibi) . T(erra) . L(evis)
et . Iunia . Optatina
annor(um) . LXXV . pia in suis

"Consecrated to the Dii Manes. Barbatus, slave, of 51 years. Devoted to his own. Here he lies. May the earth rest light upon you ! And Iulia Optatina of 75 years. Devoted to her own".

CIL. II 2332 (follows Ocampo and only publishes the text relative to Barbatus); Blázquez 1920, 539 (who

published the complete text for the first time); Pérez Mínguez 1930, 788; Rodríguez Moñino 1940, 44; ILER 3141 (publishes the text as it appears in CIL) and 3147 (reproduces the complete text as published by Rodríguez Moñino); CILA 2.1 no. 176.

This and the following inscription refer to individuals bearing the *nomen* Iunius, since I suggest that Barbatus was a slave belonging to a member of this family. Given the age of both of the deceased, I would suggest that Optatina was the *contubernalis* of Barbatus, who died before gaining his freedom, while Optatina died subsequently. It is particularly interesting to note that the script of the two texts are different: the letters A in the text referring to Barbatus has a horizontal cross-bar while the same letter in that which refers to Optatina has an oblique one in the archaic style – or even lacks it altogether. If we consider that a maximum of 24 years elapsed between the execution of the first and second texts on this inscription, and that both of the deceased had been born the same year, this inscription as a whole sheds light on the evolution of epigraphic style at Celti and helps provide relative dating for inscriptions from the town.

21. (Fig. 8.14a)

Reused plaque of white marble from Almadén, to the north of Seville. The lower part of the inscription is missing. Measurements: minimum height: 22cm; width: 17cm; thickness: between 2.5 and 1cm. Rustic capital letters. There is a nexus in PH. Height of the letters: between 4.6 and 2.9cm. The inscription is conserved in a private collection at Sitges.

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)

L(ucius) . Iunius . O-

nesiph-

orus . An(norum)

5. [LX P(ius) I(n) S(uis)]

[-----]

"Consecrated to the Dii Manes. Lucius Iunius Onesiphorus of 60 years. Devoted to his own.....".

Fabre, Mayer & Rodà 1982, 234 no. 41; CILA 2.1 no. 182.

The scholars who originally published the inscription reconstructed, undoubtedly correctly, the 5th line, although the abbreviation P.I.S. is rare at Celti. The *cognomen* of this individual makes one think that this was an individual of libertine status.

22. (CILA 2.1, Fig. 102)

Plaque of white marble with pink veins.⁴⁰ In the centre of the lower part of the inscription there is a palm and, to the left, a dove. Measurements: height: 42cm; width: 30cm; thickness: 2cm. Letters are in *scriptura actuarii* style. Their height oscillates between 2.5 and 3.5cm. Triangular stops, except in the 1st and 3rd line where they are hederæ. The horizontal bar of the A is inclined in the archaic style. The inscription was found in the olive-grove of D. Alejandro Pinto to the south of Peñaflor and is preserved in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Sevilla.

D(is) (hed.) M(anibus) (hed.) S(acrum)

Optatinus . Ser(vus)

annor(um) (hed.) XVIII

pius in suis

5. H(ic) . S(itus) . E(st) . S(it) . T(ibi) . T(erra) . Levis (dove) (palm)

"Consecrated to the Dii Manes. Optatinus, a slave, 18 years, devoted to his own. Here he lies. May the earth rest light upon you !"

Fita 1916, 118–20; Fernández-Chicarro & Fernández Gómez 1980, 127 n° 32; CILA 2.1 no. 190.

Previous studies of this inscription have not pointed out that it was cut into a re-used plaque, as is implicit in the good symmetry of the text and the irregular right-hand margin. This also explains why the palm is not flanked by two doves, because once the branch was centred with respect to the text, there was not enough space for another dove on the right. González (CILA 2.1, 190) transcribes the final formula as *L(evis)* although his published photo shows that it should read *Levis*. As I have suggested, Optatinus must be related to his co-slave Iunia Optatina (supra no. 20). Alternatively, it is possible that he was her son and that he was born before she gained her freedom.

23. (Fig. 8.15)

Plaque of grey marble split vertically into two. Measurements: length: 1.91m; height: 70cm; thickness: 12cm. Squared capital letters are engraved in the marble and have nail holes to allow the bronze letters to be attached. Measurements: height of the letters: 11.5cm. Given the character of the letters, it is impossible to know the nature of the stops.⁴¹ The inscription was discovered at Peñaflor although its exact findspot is not known. Local sources suggest that it may have been found at the angle of the Calle Nueva and the Calle Blancaflor. Today it can be found on the wall of the patio of the Ermita de Villadiego, to the left of the main entrance.

Licinia. C(ai). F(ilia). Mancina

ann(orum). XV. H(ic). S(ita). E(st). S(it). T(ibi). T(erra). L(evis)

C(aius). Licinius. Gal(eria tribu). Lupus

.H(ic). S(itus). E(st). S(it). T(ibi). T(erra). L(evis).

"To Licinia Mancina, daughter of Caius, 15 years of age. Here she lies. Caius Licinius Lupus, Galeria tribu. Here he lies. May the earth rest light upon you !"

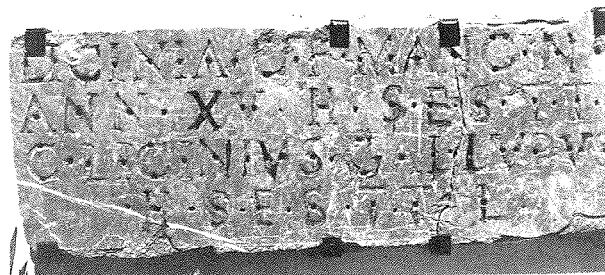


Fig. 8.15. Photograph of inscription no. 23

Blanco Freijeiro 1977, 140–1; Ponsich 1979, 98 n°72; AE 1980, 558; CILA 2.1 no. 183.

If the information about the findspot is correct and my proposal to link this inscription with the Roman tomb known as the Ermita de los Mártires is accepted, then this is the only inscription from Celti whose original location is known. It is also the only inscription that mentions a Roman voting-tribe. Moreover, the inscription lacks reference to the usual formula *Pius/a in suis/os*. The age of the father has also been omitted, possibly voluntarily, so as to avoid giving undue emphasis to the “unnatural” fact that a father had outlived his daughter.

24. (No Surviving Illustration)

A lost inscription which, according to Morales, served as the pillar supporting the holy-water stand in the Parish Church. According to Morales’ description it was an altar, which was decorated on its sides by a *simpulum* and a *patera* (Morales 1575, f.88.v).

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)
Lurius. Fortunio
vixit an(nis). LXI
P(ius). I(n). S(uis). S(it). T(ibi). T(erra), L(evis)

“Consecrated to the Dii Manes. Lurius Fortunius, who lived 61 years. Devoted to his own. May the earth rest light upon you”.

CIL. II 2333; ILER 3431; CILA 2.1 no. 185. Gimeno Pascual 1997, no. 489 mentions the earliest record of this inscription by Zurita, in which the *nomen* appears as Urius and the *cognomen* as Fortunatus, a more common form than Fortunius.

25. (CILA 2.1, Fig. 98)

A white marble altar with a lightly conical shape. It is decorated with a triangular pediment and focus, and adorned on the front by two rolls decorated with flowers, on the right side by a *patera*, and a *simpulum* on the left. Measurements: height: 61cm; width: 31cm; thickness: 17cm. The epigraphic field is delimited by two mouldings in the upper and lower areas. The script tends towards *scriptura actuarial* capitals, although it is quite irregular. Height of the letters is between 1.5 and 3.5cm. Triangular stops.

D(is). M(anibus). S(acrum)
L(urius) Valer-
ianus. v-
icsit. an-
5. nis. XXXI. P(ius)
I(n). S(uis). H(ic). S(itus). est

“Consecrated to the Dii Manes. Lur(ius) Valerianus, lived 31 years, devoted to his own. Here he lies”.

CIL. II 5540; Fernández Chicarro 1946, 123; CILA 2.1 no. 184.

I have followed CILA 2.1 no. 184 in transcribing the text since I have not seen the inscription. I would venture to suggest the following interpretation of the

6th line: I(n). S(uis). H(ic). S(itus). E(st). S(it). T(ibi) [(T(erra). L(evis))].

I propose the reading L(urius) for the *nomen* because this and the previous inscription have two elements in common. Both are altars which are rare in the epigraphic repertoire of Celti. Moreover, both are unique in sharing the same the formula *vixit annis* and are two of the three inscriptions with the abbreviation *P(ius/a) I(n) S(uis)*.

26. (CILA 2.1, Fig. 99)

Pink marble plaque. Measurements: height: 37cm; width: 27cm; thickness: 3.5cm. The letters of the first line tend towards squared capitals, while the rest are in *scriptura actuarial* style. Height of the letters: line 1: 4cm; 3.5cm in the remaining lines. In the 4th line the initials are raised, as is the I of Antiocis in line 2, the L of the numeral and the L of the 5th line. In the first two lines the stops are hederæ, while in the rest they are triangular stops. The first stop of the 5th line was indicated as a hedera, although the stalk has not been added. The inscription was found in a place named Moncludas and then passed into the ownership of Villacevallos⁴²: “The present manuscript, as with the previous one, I obtained from the most reverend Hinestrosa brother of the Marquis of Peñaflor. It comes from a site next to the river, called Las Moncludas, the house of D. Diego Gomez”. Today the inscription is to be found in the Museo Arqueológico de Málaga.

D(is). M(anibus). S(acrum)
Marcia. Antio
cis. ann(or)umLXX
Pia. In. Suis
H(ic). S(ita). E(st). S(it). T(ibi). T(erra). L(evis)

“Consecrated to the Dii Manes. Marcia Antiocis of 70 years. Devoted to her own. Here she lies. May the earth rest light upon you !”

Villa y Zevallos 1740, f. 54 v. Antigualla 41; 310–313 n° 51 (Ms. Biblioteca Nacional. 20275); CIL. II 2292 and 2334 (they differ in the age assigned to the deceased: XX or LXX years, depending on how the scraped surface of the stone is interpreted: in my opinion LXX is the correct reading); ILER. 3142; Serrano and Atienza 1981, 45–7 n° 45; CILA 2.1 no. 187.

27. (No Surviving Illustration)

Lost inscription. Fragment of a white marble plaque. Morales, who first published it, suggests that it measured two palms long and a little more than 1 palm high: in other words, ± 43cm × 22cm.⁴³ It was discovered in Peñaflor at the house of Pedro Ponce, near the Plaza, who gave it to Morales. It was in Morales’ ownership and, later, that of his brother Agustín de Oliva in Córdoba. In 1672, the inscription was to be found in the house of the Licenciado Bernardo de Cabrera. Works in his house in 1729 uncovered part of the inscription which was collected by Pedro Leonardo de Villacevallos (Real Academia de la Historia. 9–5770 no. 2, fol. 51 v.–53 v. Antigualla 39). By this stage the inscription had already lost the first line and its invocation of the Dii Manes.

[D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)]
 Q. Marius. Optatus [---
 Heu. iuvenis. tumulo. qualis. iacet. a[---
 qui. pisces. iaculo. capiebat. missile. dextra [---
 aucupium. calamo. praeter. studiosus. agebat [---

CIL. II 2335; CLE 412; Fita 1916, 116ff; García y Bellido 1967, 199ff; Piernavieja 1977, 32–4; CILA 2.1 no. 186. The metric style of this inscription has attracted the attention of various authors and Fita, in connecting this fragment with CIL. II 2314, attempted to reconstruct a graceful text. Sadly, however, that which remains today only allows one to confirm that the young Marius Optatus was fond of fishing and hunting, appropriate activities for a young man of good social standing who, by virtue of hunting, prepared himself for military tasks.

28. (CILA 2.1, Fig. 100)

Grey marble plaque. Measurements: height: 22cm; width: 24cm; thickness: 6cm. The letters of the first two lines tend to be squared capitals, while those of the other lines are in *scriptura actuaria*. The height of the letters is between 1.8 and 2 cm. It was found in the El Camello field and is now in the possession of D. José M^a Parias.

D(is). M(anibus). S(acrum)
 Maurula
 ser(va) ann(or)um XXXXIII
 Pia. in. suis. Hic. S(ita). E(st)

"Consecrated to the Dii Manes. Maurula, slave of 43 years. Devoted to her own. Here she lies".

García y Bellido 1960, 191 n° 30; CILA 2.1 no. 188. García y Bellido read the last line in the following way ...*hic si(ta)*. I prefer the reading published in CILA 2.1, since there is no evidence for the formula ending with STTL.⁴⁴

29. Unpublished (Fig. 8.16)

Plaque of pink marble with a small fracture on the left edge, which only affects the final S of the third line. The inscription reuses an earlier stone, whose inscribed face is gently curved and of which only the right edge is original: the reverse has been worked. Measurements: height: 35cm; width: 29cm; thickness: between 3 and 5cm. Letters are in *scriptura actuaria*. The height of the letters is the same on all three lines: 3cm. The interlinear spaces, however, are different: 3.7cm for the first, 2.2 for the second and 2 cm for the remainder. The L of Laeta and the I of Pia are raised. The crossbar of the letter A and H of *H(ic)* is a little inclined. The stops are triangular with the stop pointing downwards. The inscription was discovered in El Camello. It is in the possession of D. Manuel Carranza Naranjo.

D(is) . M(anibus) . S(acrum) .
 Messia . Laeta
 Patriciensis
 An(norum) . XXXXV . Pia .
 in . suis . H(ic) . S(ita) .
 E(st) . S(it) . T(ibi) . T(erra) . L(evis)



Fig. 8.16. Photograph of inscription no. 29

"Consecrated to the Dii Manes. Messia Laeta, from Corduba, of 45 years. Here she lies. May the earth rest light upon you".

Normally, the size of the letters on inscriptions from Peñaflor graduate from larger to smaller, as is common in Latin epigraphy. Here, however, all the letters are of the same height. Attention to certain lines was drawn by creating different interlineal spaces. It is interesting to note the presence at Celti of someone from Corduba, the provincial capital.

30. (CILA 2.1, Fig. 101, Fig. 8.17)

Black marble plaque. Measurements: height: 34cm; width: 56cm; thickness: 2cm+. Quite elegant letters in *scriptura actuaria*. Height of the letters: 1st line: 5cm; 2nd and 3rd line: 4cm. Triangular stops. The place of discovery is not known and the inscription is now to be found inside the Ermita de Villadiego, to the left of the main door.

| | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| Myris Rusticae . l(ibertus). an(norum) | Cinismus |
| LII. H(ic) S(itus). E(st). S(it) | Rusticae. l(ibertus) |
| T(ibi)T(erra). L(evis) | H(ic). S(itus). E(st). S(it) T(ibi). |
| | T(erra). L(evis) |

"Myris, libertus of Rustica, of 52 years. Here he lies. May the earth rest light upon you ! Cinismus, libertus of Rustica, Here he lies. May the earth rest light upon you !"

CILA 2.1 no. 189; HEp. 1994, no. 780. González (CILA 2.1, 161) considered that Myris was three years old. However, the inscription is broken at the base of the two letter uprights which indicate Myris' age, while the top of the first stroke resembles that of the letter L of *l(ibertus)* and *l(evis)*.

31. (Fig. 8.18)

White marble plaque. The text is framed within a decorative border: in its upper angles, there are two



Fig. 8.17. Photograph of inscription no. 30

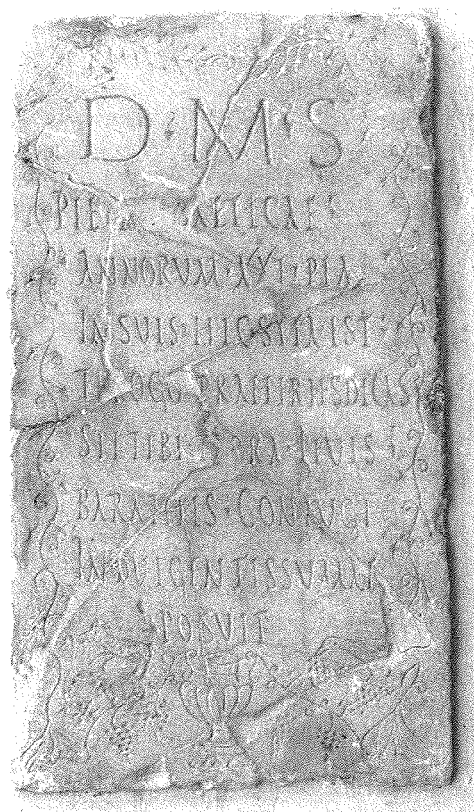


Fig. 8.18. Photograph of inscription no. 31

doves whose beaks share a stalk of ivy and which they unite to form a crown at the centre. A stem of ivy trails from the feet of the doves to the lower part of the inscription, finishing in a large leaf; in the centre of the lower part there is a crater from whose handles spring vine tendrils with bunches of grapes, which join up with the ivy leaves adjacent to the border of the inscription. Above the bunches of grapes to the right, there is a dove which pecks at the grapes and, to the left, an animal, almost certainly a dog, which is walking to the left. Measurements: height: 54cm; width: 30cm; thickness: more than 2.5cm. The dedication to the Manes is in squared capital letters, while the rest is in actuary

style. The height of the letters: 1st line: 4.6cm; the remaining lines: 2cm. Some letters are raised: P (in *Pietati*), A (in *Annorum*), I (in *In*), S (in *Sit*), L (in *Levis*), C (in *Coniugi*) and I (in *Indulgentissimae*). The stops are triangular, those at the end of the line are hederæ with a zigzagging stalk.

D(is). M(anibus). S(acrum).

Pie[tati].] Baeticae.

annorum. XXI. pia

in suis. hic. sita. est.

5. te rogo praeteries dicas

sit tibi. terra. levis.

Barathes. coniungi

indulgentissumae

posuit

"Consecrated to the Dii Manes. In memory of Baetica, of 21 years, devoted to her own. Here she lies. I ask that you say when passing, May the earth rest light upon you ! Barathes put up (this dedication) to his most indulgent wife".

Chic García 1975, 360; CILA 2.1 no. 191.

Although *Pietas* has been attested as a *cognomen* (Kajanto 1965, 168), it is probable that it has another meaning in this case, otherwise this person would have two *cognomina* and no *nomina*. In this case, therefore, *Pietas* has been taken to signify *memoria*.

32. (CILA 2.1, FIG. 104)

Yellowish marble plaque. Measurements: height: 30cm; width: 22cm; thickness: 2cm. Capital letters in *scriptura actuary*. Height of the letters: between 2.3 and 3cm. Triangular stops. Discovered in Peñaflo and now to be found in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid.

D(is). M(anibus). S(acrum)

Pyramis ser(va)

ann(orum). XXXXV. P(ia). I(n). S(uis)

H(ic). S(ita). E(st). S(it). T(ibi). T(erra). L(evis)

"Consecrated to the Dii Manes. Pyramis, slave, of 45 years. Devoted to his own. Here he lies. May the earth rest light upon you."

CIL.II 1236; del Rivero 1933, 44 n° 141; ILER 3058; CILA 2.1 no. 192.

33. (No Surviving Illustration)

Plaque which was discovered in "Las Moncruas" and is now housed in the house of Antonio Parias in Peñaflo.

Romula. an(norum). XVI

pia in suis

H(ic). S(ita). E(st). S(it). T(ibi). T(erra). L(evis). D(is).
M(anibus). S(acrum)

"Romula, 16 years of age, devoted to her own. Here she lies. May the earth rest light upon you ! Consecrated to the Dii Manes".

Clark Maxwell 1899, 298; Bonsor 1931, 20; CILA 2.1 no. 193.

Bonsor was mistaken in the place of discovery. As González notes in CILA 2.1, the placement of the formula DMS at the end of the inscription is unusual.

34. (No Surviving Illustration)

Fragment of a marble plaque found at Peñaflor and obtained by Pedro Leonardo de Villacevallos in 1739: "Finding myself in Écija in the year 1739, I owed to M. R. P. Mro. Hinestrosa of the Order of the Merced, the present fragment of stone, and the next two pieces which will be revealed, and which he brought from the village of Peñaflor." The measurements reported by Villacevallos are: "Considered to be a third in height (approximately 30cm). Approximately a quarter in width (approximately 22cm) and a finger in thickness." Berlanga (1903) sent a tracing to Hübner who affirmed: "Litterae sunt optimae saec. II, pictis simile" (CIL. II 2304).⁴⁵

Sempronia
Prixsilla
a]nnoru[m ---

"Sempronia Prixsilla,years....."

Villacavallos 1740, f.54 antigualla 40; CIL. II 2304; Berlanga 1903, 81; CILA 2.1 no. 194.

In CIL. II 2304, the third line is reproduced as *annor(.,)*, whereas in fact Villacevallos' own drawing suggests *a<n>no(rum)*, although from the tracing which Berlanga sent to Hübner, it can be established that the formula in fact read *a]nnorum*. The *xs* in the name Prixsilla is probably due to the difficulty that the inhabitants of the region still have in recognizing the sound *sc* and, thus, in expressing it graphically.

35. (Fig. 8.19)

Plaque of pink marble with dark veins. Measurements: height: 18cm; width: 41cm; thickness is not known since the inscription is embedded in a wall. The letters are squared capitals, although the last line is written in such a way as to suggest that it was written at some time after the main body of the text. Height of the letters: 2.6cm in the first three lines; 2.2cm in the fourth line. Triangular stops. The inscription was discovered in the Cortijo de Malapié. It is now in the possession of D. José Parias.

Sempronia. Superata
C. Licini. Capitonis. Filia
annor(um) XXI. Hic. S(ita). E(st). S(it). T(ibi). T(erra).
L(evis)
et. Sempronia. Peregrina

"Sempronia Superata, daughter of Caius Licinius Capito, 21 years. Here she lies. May the earth rest light upon you ! And Sempronia Peregrina."

García y Bellido 1960, 191 n° 29; M. Ponsich 1979, 107 n° 92; CILA 2.1 no. 195.

García y Bellido considered that Superata "is the natural daughter or of a second marriage". González (CILA 2.1, 165–6), suggests that she was adopted because the father's name was not mentioned. I think that both possibilities are wrong. In the first place, one needs to explain why it is that Sempronia Peregrina appears in the text at all. There are two alternative explanations. The first is that Sempronia Peregrina is the mother of Sempronia Superata and the appearance of her name in the text is to be explained by the wish to mention the names of both the father and the mother. The second is that Sempronia Peregrina could be equally the mother or the sister of Superata who were buried in the same tomb at a later date. The second hypothesis is preferred, given that the form of the letters may indicate a later date: the letters T, E and As of the fourth line tend to be in the *scriptura actuarial*, even though there are some letters in this style in the main body of the text, such as the top of the Ts and the curved foot of some of the Rs. Against this second hypothesis, it can be argued that there is no formula in honour of Sempronia Peregrina even though there is space for a fifth line at the bottom of the inscription. I am inclined to the view that Sempronia Peregrina is the mother of Superata and that her name was added once the monument had been finished. This would have made it harder for the stonecutter to add the name so that he was not able to cut the name with the same fineness and regularity. The fact that Superata followed her mother's *nomen* could be explained by the fact that at Celti the Sempronii were a more important family than the Licinii.



Fig. 8.19. Photograph of inscription no. 35

36. (Fig. 8.20)

Plaque of white marble from Almadén de la Plata. Measurements: Height: 31cm; width: 22.5cm; thickness: between 1.6 and 3.5cm. The first line tends to be in squared capitals, while the remainder is in *scriptura actuarial* style. Height of the letters: between 2.6 and 3.5cm. Some letters are raised. Triangular stops. Incorrect punctuation in the preposition *in*. The inscription was discovered in Peñaflo, although its exact find-spot is not known. It is now to be found in a private collection at Sitges (Barcelona).

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)
Sergia. Rustica
ann(or)um). LXXXX. P(ia)
i.n. suos. H(ic). S(ita). E(st)
S(it). T(ibi). T(erra). L(evis)

"Consecrated to the Dii Manes. Sergia Rustica, 90 years, devoted to her own. Here she lies. May the earth rest light upon you !"

Fabre, Mayer & Rodá 1982, 234; CILA 2.1 no. 196.

37. (No Surviving Illustration)

An inscription which is now lost. It was discovered in the Cortijo de la Vega in the Cerro de El Cucharón, opposite Peñaflo.

D(is) (hed.) M(anibus) S(acrum)
Successa (hed.)
ann(or)um) (hed.) XXV (hed.)
pia (hed.) in suos (hed.)
H(ic) S(ita) E(st) S(it) T(ibi) T(erra) L(evis)

"Consecrated to the Dii Manes. Successa, 25 years, devoted to her own. Here she lies. May the earth rest light upon you !"

CIL. II 1514; CILA 2.1 no. 197.

38. (CILA 2.1, Fig. 107)

Greyish marble plaque. Measurements: height: 22.5cm; width: 30.5cm; thickness: 4.2cm. The letters tend to be in *scriptura actuarial*. Height of the letters: between 2.7 and 3cm. Triangular stops. Discovered at Peñaflo although the precise find-spot is not known. It is to be found today in the Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Sevilla.

Successus
ser(vus) ann(or)um). XXX.
H(ic). S(itus). E(st). S(it). T(ibi). T(erra). L(evis).

"Successus, slave, 30 years. Here he lies. May the earth rest light upon you !"

CIL. II 5541; Fernández-Chicarro 1946, 119; Fernández-Chicarro & Fernández Gómez 1980, 130; CILA 2.1 no. 198.

The fact that the *cognomen* of the person commemorated on this and the previous inscription are the same suggests that they were related in some way. Since the text states that Successus was a slave, it is likely that Successa was his fellow slave.

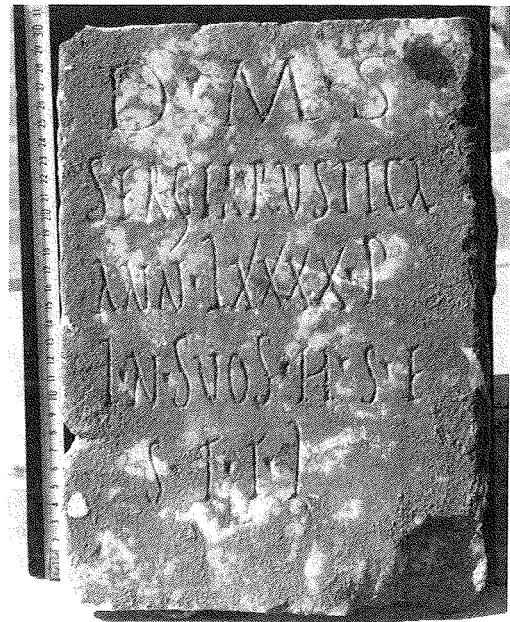


Fig. 8.20. Photograph of inscription no. 36

39. (CILA 2.1, Fig. 108)

Yellowish-pink marble plaque. Measurements: height: 26cm; width: 19cm; thickness: 2.3cm. The first line of text tends to be squared capitals, while the remainder is *scriptura actuarial*. Height of the letters: 2.5cm. The stops of the first line are hederæ and triangular stops in the rest of the text. The shape of the letters suggests that the stonecutter was not very skilled. This inscription belonged to Villacevallos' collection: "This, and the previous one, were sent by D. Diego Gómez, from Peñaflo, saying that they had been found at Moncludas adjacent to the Guadalquivir". Today the inscription is to be found in the Museo Arqueológico de Málaga.

D(is). M(anibus) (hed.) S(acrum) (hed.)
Vibia. ser(va).
ann(or)um). LXV
5. pia in s[uis]
H(ic). S(ita). E(st). S(it). T(ibi). [T(erra). L(evis)]

"Dedicated to the Dii Manes. Vibia, slave, of 65 years. Devoted to her own. Here she lies. May the earth rest light upon you !"

Villacavallos 1740, f. 55 antigüalla 42; CIL. II 2336; Berlanga 1903, 72, XLII; Atienza Páez 1971, 35 n° 6; Serrano and Atienza 1981, n° 46; CILA 2.1 no. 199.

40. Unpublished (Fig. 8.21)

White marble plaque, none of whose edges survive. Measurements: minimum height: 10cm; minimum width: 11.5cm; thickness: 4.2cm. The inscription retains traces of *ordinatio* on the first surviving line. Height of the letters: 3cm. Triangular stops. At the bottom of the fragment are traces of a final line which probably read *H.S.E.S.T.T.L.*

[---]
 ---]detumonen[---
 ---]lxx . pia . [---

The calligraphy is quite cursive in style, similar to that of the tituli picti on Dressel 20 amphorae. Worthy of particular note is the L in the expression of age, the raised P of *pia* and the A without cross-bar. These characteristics permit the inscription to be dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD. The text makes reference to a woman from Detumo who died at 70 years of age. Stylow has recently suggested that this town be identified with neighbouring Palma del Río, 6 km upriver from Peñaflor and the point at which the Guadalquivir intersects with its tributary the Genil. ⁴⁶

41. Unpublished (Fig. 8.22)

White marble block of which the upper edge is preserved. Measurements: surviving height: 12cm; surviving width: 15cm; surviving thickness: 5cm. The reverse side of the inscription is polished. The letters are cursive, the F and T a little more raised, and the As without crossbar. The height of the letters oscillates between 3.5 and 2.5cm. In the first line there is a small rectangular stop, in the second there is a triangular stop. The inscription was discovered at the Cortijo de La Laguna. It is in the possession of a potter, Sr. Linares. It is dateable to the first half of the 3rd century AD.

---]a . Faustina[---
 ---] . pia in [---

Given that it is the upper edge of the inscription that is preserved, it seems likely that that it took the form of an elongated plaque which lacked the formula *D.M.S.*

42. Unpublished (Fig. 8.23)

White marble plaque which is polished on both sides. The upper, lower and right-hand edges of the inscription are conserved. It belongs to an inscription in which there figure at least two names, a feature not noted when it was originally published (see also no. 30). Measurements: height: 28.5cm; maximum surviving width: 27cm; thickness: 1.8cm. Height of the letters: 1st line: 3.2cm; 2nd line: 2.2cm; 3rd line: 2.1cm; 4th line: 2.5cm; 5th line: 2cm. The interlineal spaces are also very irregular: 1; 3.5; 3.2; 2.7cm respectively. Triangular stops. Discovered at the crossroads between the Calle Calvario and the Seville to Córdoba road.

[--] ...]S
 [---]a A.Hermione
 an.XXXV
 pia in suis
 [---] .S.E.S.T.T.L.]

"(Consecrated to the Dii Manes and of (.....) A (....) Hermione, 35 years. Devoted to her own. She lies here. May the earth rest light upon you !"

Larrey Hoyuelos 1987, 530; HEp. 4, 1994, 772.

43. Unpublished (Fig. 8.24)

White marble fragment. Part of the upper edge is preserved. The plaque is decorated above, and towards

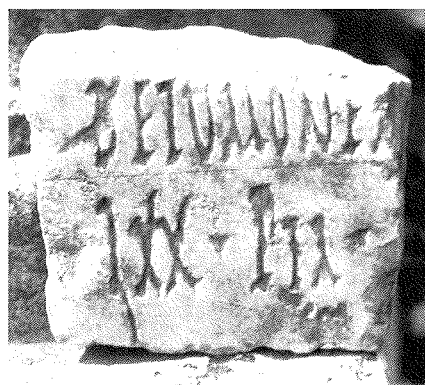


Fig. 8.21. Photograph of inscription no. 40



Fig. 8.22. Photograph of inscription no. 41



Fig. 8.23. Photograph of inscription no. 42

the centre of, the epigraphic field by a crown. Two undulating sashes run out towards the edges of the plaque (in reality only the right-hand one survives). Measurements: maximum surviving height: 10cm; maximum surviving width: 8.5cm; thickness: 2.5cm. The letters are *scriptura actuaria*. The inscription was discovered in La Viña. ⁴⁷ The inscription is now in the possession of D. José Fernández Rosa.

(crown)
---] Rustic[---
[-----]

Given the position of the first line of the inscription immediately below the crown, it clearly lacked the invocation of the *Dii Manes*.



Fig. 8.24. Photograph of inscription no. 43

44. Unpublished (Fig. 8.25)

Fragment of a plaque of grey marble with reddish veins. The upper edge of the inscription survives. Measurements: maximum surviving width: 22cm; thickness: 8cm. The edge is polished 1.5cm from the inscribed face. The rear of the inscription is polished. The way in which the edge has been polished suggests that the inscription stood 1.5cm above the wall which supported it. The capitals are quite elegant and in *scriptura actuaria*. Height of the letters: line 1: 8cm; line 2: 6cm; interlineal space: 3.3cm. Very small triangular stops. Discovered in El Camello. The inscription is now in the possession of D. Rafael Castellano (Lora del Río).

---]ius . C(ai) . L(ibertus) . Pis[---
---]XXV . P(ius) . in su[is] . [---

"...ius, libertus of Caius, Pis..., 25 (or more) years. Devoted to his own.....".

It is probable that this inscription lacks the formula *D.M.S.*



Fig. 8.25. Photograph of inscription no. 44

45. (Fig. 8.26)

Unpublished. Fragment of a pink veined marble. Only the lower part of the inscription survives. The right and left margins are not regular. Below the text there is an ivy leaf, which is not centred in respect to the text. Measurements: minimum height: 21.5cm; width: 20cm; thickness: 2cm. Letters are in *scriptura actuaria*. Triangular stops. Discovered in El Camello and now in the possession of D. José Carranza Cruz.

[----]
---]ser(us/a)
---]ascutta . ser(va) .
(hedera)

Before the A of the second preserved line, there appears to be another letter which may be a C. The structure of the text and the fact that the hedera is not centred suggests that the inscription has been broken on its left and right hand sides. It is possible that the last surviving line may read as follows:

...]as cutia.ser(va) or ...]ascula.ser(va)



Fig. 8.26. Photograph of inscription no. 45

46. (Fig. 8.27)

White marble plaque, of which only the right-hand side survives. Measurements: height: 28.5cm; minimum width: 28cm; thickness: not known. Letters are in *scriptura actuarii*. Height of the letters: 4.5cm. The cross-bars of the As are inclined. Triangular stops, some of which tend towards a hederia leaf. The inscription is embedded in the façade of No. 15 of the Calle Concepción Ruiz in Peñaflor and was discovered during the digging of a drain.

---]cus . ann(orum) . IX
 --- an]nor . XXXI
 ---]us . annor(um) . XXX
 ---]XX . H(ic) . S(itus) . E(st) . S(it) . T(ibi) . T(erra) .
 L(evis)

CILA 2.1 no. 201; HEp. 1994, no. 783.

There is no doubt that this inscription was cut at a single moment in time, given the regularity and consistency of the letters. Consequently, it seems clear that the final formula conformed to the common stereotype, instead of having written: *H(ic) S(iti) S(unt) S(it) V(obis) T(erra) L(evis)*. The ages of the deceased, of which the first and the third were male, and the characteristics of the inscription, suggest that all three died at the same time. Another interpretation would be that the inscription was only cut after the death of the last person.

47. Unpublished (Fig. 8.28 top left)

Fragment of a white marble plaque. It seems that the left-hand edge is the original. Measurements: minimum height: 11cm; minimum width: 7cm. The thickness is impossible to gauge since the inscription currently adheres to a block of cement. The findspot is unknown. The inscription is in the possession of D. José Carranza Cruz.

[-----]
 Se[---
 vern[---
 [-----]

In the second surviving line, the word *verna* can be read, suggesting, therefore, that this inscription commemorates a slave born in the home.

48. Unpublished (Fig. 8.28 bottom left)

Fragment of a white marble block. It is impossible to establish whether or not its upper edge is original, since the inscription is embedded in a block of cement. Measurements: minimum height: 10cm; width: 12cm; thickness: indeterminate. The text is comprised of fairly elegant capitals in *scriptura actuarii*. Original findspot is unknown. It is in the possession of D. Jose Carranza Cruz.

?-----?
 --- Cal]purn[---
 [-----]

I believe that the *nomen* Calpurnium can be distinguished here, making it the first time that it has been attested in Celti.



Fig. 8.27. Photograph of inscription no. 46



Fig. 8.28. Photograph of inscription nos. 47, 48 and 49

49. Unpublished (Fig. 8.28 bottom right)

Fragment of a white marble plaque, none of whose original edges survive. Measurements: maximum height: 10cm; maximum width: 5cm; thickness: impossible to gauge owing to the fragment being embedded in a plaque of cement. *Litterae librariae*. The original findspot is unknown. It is in the possession of D. José Carranza Cruz at Peñaflor.

 ---]uin[---
 ---]TT[---

The first surviving line could also be read as ----]nin[--- . I believe that the second line retains part of the

formula *S(it) T(ibi) T(erra) L(evis)*, which suggests that the first line should be read as: *pi]u<s> in [suis ----*. Alternatively, the first of the surviving lines could be read in this way: *---]VI M[---* which could be expanded to read: *annorum..]VI M[ensium...*

50. Unpublished (Fig. 8.29)

Plaque of a yellowy limestone. The back of the piece has been polished and the original lower edge has survived. Measurements: minimum height: 14.5cm; width: 31.5cm; thickness: 4cm. It was discovered at La Cruz de los Guardias (next to the mine on the road to La Puebla de los Infantes). It is now in the possession of D. Juan Bocero Viñuela.

[---]
an(norum) . IIII hic
S(itus/a) . E(st) . S(it) . T(ibi) . T(erra) . L(evis)

This is one of the earliest inscriptions from Celti, since it can be dated to the middle of the 1st century AD on palaeographic criteria. It is interesting to note that the inscription is cut into soft limestone and not a harder stone.



Fig. 8.29. Photograph of inscription no. 50



Fig. 8.30. Photograph of inscription no. 52

51. Unpublished (Not Illustrated)

Fragment of a white marble plaque. Only part of the left side remains. Measurements: minimum height: 13cm; minimum width: 10.5cm; Squared capitals. Height of the letters: 3.3cm. Interlineal space: 2cm. Triangular stops. Discovered at Peñaflor although its precise findspot is not known.

[----]
an[---
P(ius/a) . I(n) . S(uis) . H[---

52. Unpublished (Fig. 8.30)

White marble plaque with grey veins. Only the lower left-hand margin of the plaque survives. Minimum height: 29cm; minimum width: 29cm; thickness: 1.3cm. Traces of the *ordinatio* survive in both lines. The letters, which are markedly cursive in character, are 4cm high in the first surviving line and 3.15cm in the second. Triangular stops in the final line, it is not possible to be certain if there were stops in the previous line. The inscription was discovered at the Huerta de los Velos. A small rectangular terracotta urn covered by two tegulae "a doble vertiente" was discovered adjacent to the inscription. It is now in the possession of D. Pedro Meléndez León.

---]US IA[---
---]us in [---
H . S . E . S . T . T . L

The inscription is the tombstone of a youth, of which only part of the final formula remains: *[pi]us in suis (or in suos)/H(ic) S(itus) E(st) S(it) T(ibi) T(erra) L(evis)*. Given that the original border of the right-hand side does not survive, the inscription is off-centre with respect to the rest of the stone. This suggests that this plaque may have had two inscribed texts, an established practice at Celti (see also no. 30).

53. Unpublished (Not Illustrated)

Plaque of a schist-like rock. Only the upper and right-hand edge survives. Measurements: minimum height: 12.5cm; width: 18.5cm; thickness: 2.5cm. *Litterae libraria*. Height of the letters: 5cm. Discovered in the Pared Blanca. In the possession of D. Juan Montoro.

[D(is)] M(anibus) S(acrum)
[-----]

54. Unpublished (Not Illustrated)

Fragment of a reddish marble plaque with darker veins. The rear-side has been badly damaged. Measurements: minimum height: 12cm; maximum width: 12cm; thickness: 6.5cm. *Litterae libraria*. The A has no cross-bar. Height of the letters: 1st surviving line: 4cm; 2nd line: 3.3cm. Interlineal space: 0.5cm. Triangular stops. Discovered at the Haza de Copete.

[----]
---]fau[---
---S.T.T.] L(evis) .

Traces of the bases of the letters of the preceding line are visible; given their angle, it is possible that they are the remains of an A, M or X. After *---]fau* there is an oblique stroke of an A or M.

55. Unpublished (Not Illustrated)

Fragment of a limestone plaque, of which the right-hand and lower margins survive. The rear of the inscription is damaged. Measurements: minimum height: 14.5cm; maximum width: 10.7cm; thickness: 5cm. It was discovered near the Fuente del Pez, on the

path which heads right towards La Puebla de los Infantes. Height of the letters of the first two surviving lines: 1.8cm; line 3: 2.7cm. Interlineal spaces of 1.8cm. It is in the ownership of D. José Carranza.

[----]
 --- anno]r (um) CXV
 ---]s pi[---
 --- ST]T(erra) L(evis)

In the second surviving line the letters PI should be read as corresponding to the formula *pi[us/a in suis] or P(ius) I(n) S(uis)*. The person commemorated here is, without doubt, the longest living person attested at Celti.

56. Unpublished (Not Illustrated)

Fragment of a white marble plaque, with a fine moulding in its lower part. There seems to have been a border in the upper part of the inscription, while the back of it seems to have been worked. Measurements: height: 16.5cm; minimum width: 8.5cm; thickness: 2.5cm. Height of the letters: 3.7cm. Interlineal space: 1cm. Triangular stops. The inscription was discovered in front of the Guardia Civil building at Peñaflores. It is currently owned by D. Miguel Rios at Lora del Río.

---]s.S[---
 a]n.XX[---
 --]S.H.S.[--

It seems that there is a stop before the S and, if the surviving upper edge is original, it could be perhaps be interpreted as being the first S in the formula *D(iis) M(anibus)]S(acrum)*. If this is not the case, then the S must belong to the final letter of the *nomen* of a youth in the nominative. The third line could be expanded with the formula *P(ius) I(n)]S(uis). H(ic) S(itus/a) [E(st)*.

57. Unpublished (Fig. 8.31 second from right)

Fragment of a plaque of white marble, which does not retain any of its original margins. Measurements: minimum height: 13cm; minimum width: 15cm. Letters are capitals in *scriptura actuaria*. Height of the letters: 3ms. Interlineal space: 1cm. Triangular stops. The inscription was discovered at the Ermita de Nuestra Señora de Villadiego.

[---]
 ---]erius.[---
 ---]tto.anno[---
 ---]in [suis] H[---

The *nomen* of this individual is surely Valerius. His age was probably written as *annor(um)* or *annorum*. In the third line, the formula *Pius in suis* is clear, followed by *H(ic) S(itus) E(st)*...

58. Unpublished (Fig. 8.31 second from left)

Fragment of a plaque of white marble with red veins, none of whose margins are conserved. Measurements: minimum height: 13.5cm; maximum width: 6.4cm; thickness: 2.7cm. The lettering was relatively rough and similar to that of inscription no. 10. Height of the letters: 3.2cm. Interlineal space: 1 and 1.5cm. Triangular stops. Discovered in El Camello (Peñaflores). It is in the possession of D. José Carranza.

[----]
 ----]r ii[---
 ---]viii[---
 ---].S(it).T(ibi)[---

In the first surviving line, there seems to be an R that in this case would belong to an inscription which would be referring to more than one deceased person and could thus be expanded in the following way: --- *anno]r(um) II[---*. The second line records a number which must surely be relative to the age of a second person. The third line contains part of the formula --- *]S(it) T(ibi) T(erra) L(evis)*.

59. Unpublished (Fig. 8.31 extreme right hand side)

Fragment of a white marble plaque broken with all its edges broken. Measurements: minimum height: 7cm; minimum width: 11cm. Triangular stops. Discovered at Peñaflores. It is in the possession of D. José Carranza.

[---]
 ---]XXVII.[---

60. Unpublished (Fig. 8.31 extreme left hand side)

Fragment of a plaque, of which only part of the left margin is conserved. It probably belongs to a monumental inscription. Measurements: minimum height:



Fig. 8.31. Photograph of inscription nos. 57, 58, 59, and 60

12cm; minimum width: 7cm. Letter height: 4cm. This inscription was discovered in Peñaflor and is in the possession of D. José Carranza at Peñaflor.

[---]
IM[---]
[---]

The reading of the second letter as M is dubious.

61. Unpublished (Not illustrated)

Fragment of the upper right hand angle of a plaque of darkish limestone. Measurements: minimum height: 12.5cm; minimum width: 18.5cm; thickness: 2.4cm. Height of the letters: 5cm. This came from the Pared Blanca (Peñaflor). It is in the possession of D. Juan Montoro.

D(ii)] M(anibus) S(acrum)
[-----]

62. Unpublished (Fig. 8.32)

Fragment of a plaque of violet-veined marble. Only the upper left-hand margin survives, worked with a hand pick, and with the back of the stone left rough. Measurements: minimum height: 14cm; minimum width: 21cm; thickness: 9cm. The script is quite irregular, tending towards squared capitals. Height of the letters: 3.5cm; spaces between lines 1 to 1.5cm. Triangular stops. Discovered in the Calle Aviador Carmona at Peñaflor.

[-----]
cit.s[---
sepul[---
nim[---

The reading of the last line is not certain. This may not be Roman.

63. Unpublished (Fig. 8.33)

Fragment of a white marble plaque, lacking its original borders. Measurements: minimum height: 59cm; width: 34cm; minimum thickness: 7cm. Squared capital script. Height of the letters: 14cm. The inscription is built into the western wall of the garden of Don José Parias at Peñaflor.

[---]
---]VIR[---
[---]

In CILA 2.1 no. 171 this inscription is recorded as unpublished and as still retaining the lower and upper margins. It is probable that this fragment formed part of an inscription published by Clark-Maxwell (1899, 267-98 = EE IX 250) and which has been published by González (CILA 2.1, 167) in the following way and recorded as lost:

[---]
---]VIR (hed.) AV[---
---]CVM GRA[---
[---]

If this background to the inscription was not known, one could be misled into thinking that there were two separate inscriptions instead of one.

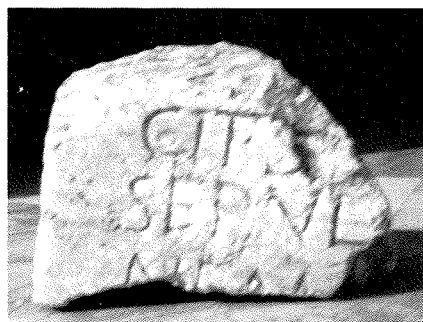


Fig. 8.32. Photograph of inscription no. 62



Fig. 8.33. Photograph of inscription no. 63

64. (Fig. 8.34)

Fragment of white marble which, in the opinion of the writer, formed part of a plinth upon which a single line of text was inscribed. González (CILA 2.1, 170) suggests that it had been cut from a pedestal to form a step: "...had been cut on both sides of the text and its faces polished to give it a rectangular form". This analysis is incorrect, since close inspection of the piece shows that the upper and lower faces of the inscription had not been cut in the way that he suggested. Instead, the treatment of the inscription is what one would expect for a stone which had been sandwiched between two other blocks. Measurements: height: 14cm; width: 65cm; thickness: 29cm. Squared capital letters. Height of the letters: 7.5cm. Triangular stops. The P is not closed. This was discovered in Peñaflor and is in the possession of D. José Parias.

---]D(e) . S(ua) . P(ecunia) . D(onum) . D(edit)

Ponsich 1979, 103, Pl.XXXI; CILA 2.1 no. 170. This is dateable to the end of the 1st and the beginning of the



Fig. 8.34. Photograph of inscription no. 64

2nd centuries AD. If the interpretation put forward here is acceptable, this fragment is quite important since rather than being cut from an honorary dedication to an individual, it would instead be part of an inscription from a public building.

65. (Fig. 8.35)

Fragment of a white marble plaque, of which only the lower margin survives, while on the left hand side, the surface of the epigraphic field has been lowered. Measurements: minimum height: 27cm; minimum width: 16cm; minimum thickness: 6cm. Squared capital letters. Height of the letters: 1st line: 10cm; second line: 6.5cm. Interlineal space: 2.5cm. Triangular stop. Discovered at Peñaflor and in the possession of D. José Parias at Peñaflor.

[----]
---]S. A[---
---]DE[---

CILA 2.1 no. 200. González (CILA 2.1, 169) dates this inscription to approximately the 1st century AD. The head of the A suggests that this is doubtful and that it should probably be later.

Characteristics of the Epigraphy of Celti

The Archaeological Context

The archaeological context is of key importance in assessing the value of these inscriptions as a source of information for understanding the Hispano-Roman society at Celti. We are fortunate in having a substantial number of texts as well as knowing a reasonable amount about where they were found. Only a very small number are known to have derived from within the ancient town itself, with many more coming from the surrounding cemeteries and sites elsewhere in the region around the town. The information can be summarised in the following way:

| Approximate Location | Catalogue Number | Total Number |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
| Ancient Town (La Viña) | Ch.5 (nos 1 and 2), 1, 2 and 43 | 5 |
| Ancient Town (Pared Blanca) | 53 and 61 | 2 |



Fig. 8.35. Photograph of inscription no. 65

| Approximate Location | Catalogue Number | Total Number |
|------------------------------------|--|--------------|
| Area of West Cemetery (El Camello) | 14, 28, 29, 44, 45, 56 and 58 | 7 |
| Area of North Cemetery | 42 and 50 | 2 |
| Area of East Cemetery (Peñaflor) | 3, 9, 15, 16, 23, 24, 27, 46 and 62 | 9 |
| Somewhere in Peñaflor | 12, 32, 34, 36, 38, 51, 59, 60, 64 and 65 | 10 |
| Sites in Surrounding Country | 4, 7, 8, 10, 17, 19, 22, 26, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 52, 54, 55 and 57 | 17 |
| Unknown Location | 5, 6, 11, 13, 18, 20, 21, 25, 30, 31, 40, 47, 48, 49 and 63 | 15 |
| Total | | 65 |

The value of these figures in shedding light upon different parts of the town or its surrounding country should not be over-estimated. Inscriptions, and particularly the larger ones, are prone to be moved from one place to another for re-use in buildings or out of antiquarian curiosity. It is quite possible, therefore, that the eventual findspot of many inscriptions is due to Medieval and later building work in and around Peñaflor. This may well be particularly true of texts from the built-up area of the eastern cemetery in the modern village,

even though two ancient mausolea are known from here (Chapter 1). By contrast, those from the area of the western cemetery (El Camello) have derived from a green-field area where other archaeological discoveries suggest that an ancient cemetery still lies buried (Chapter 1). Some of the inscriptions from sites in the surrounding country may derive from ancient rural sites while others may have been found at Peñaflor itself in the Medieval, post-Medieval and contemporary periods. Of those inscriptions known to have come from within the area of the ancient town, it is interesting to note that two fragments may have derived from public commemorative inscriptions, as one might expect; the original findspot of other commemorate inscriptions (such as 65), however, is not known. Most of the remainder, however, are clearly funerary, which is curious. Given that early imperial cemeteries were located outside Roman towns, this suggests that the inscriptions were not moved in the post-Roman period or later.

The Epigraphic Mountings

The surviving inscriptions of Celti are almost all funerary stelae. Most were cut onto marble blocks, of which a considerable number had been reused. Most of the marble seems to have been quarried in Baetica. Only three pedestals have come to light and their form and size suggest that they should be identified as statue bases.⁴⁸ They were all private dedications and two of them belonged to the family of the Aelii. Only four funerary altars are known. Two were dedicated to the family of the Lurii, one to Barbatus, a slave – possibly of the Iunii –, and one to an Aelius; the latter stands as a clear contrast between the richer and more poorly executed monuments. Most of the other inscriptions were plaques, which derived from funerary monuments, whose character is unknown. The inscriptions themselves, however, can be sub-divided into three groups on the basis of size:

- a) The smaller plaques – which account for the majority
- b) A few slightly larger plaques, which are taller than they are wide
- c) A group of larger plaques or blocks, which are wider than they are tall

It is difficult to assign the groups to types of funerary monument, given that none has been excavated at Celti. Nevertheless, information about occasional finds suggests that inscriptions from group a) may have derived from small funerary monuments, possibly *cupae*, pyramidal tombs built from brick or small tower-shaped tombs. In each case the inscription would have been embedded on

one side of the monument. The two inscriptions that comprise group b) were found in the same spot. Their chronology and typology suggest that they date to the same period and that they may mark inhumation burials. The inscriptions of group c) are of two types: some were smaller with one coming from a collective tomb (no. 46) and others were bigger, and associated with larger monuments. One of these, the inscription to Fabia Celtitana (no. 14) must have been embedded in, and formed part of, a wall – perhaps as the architrave over the entrance. The other, the inscription to Licinia Mancina (no. 23), is a plaque which must have been adjacent to (held by clamps), or part of, a wall. The inscriptions of Aemilia Artemisia (no. 5) and Q. Marius Optatus (no. 27) belong to this same group.

The east cemetery, which lies below the present village of Peñaflor, still retains two of these substantial funerary monuments. One of them consists of a vaulted chamber with small niches let into its walls; until recently this was used as a bedroom. This tomb has been long known in that part of the town called “Cortinal de las Cruces”.⁴⁹ Its characteristics are similar to the tombs at Carmona (Bendala 1976) although instead of being cut into bedrock it was built from concrete. The other monument, however, was unknown until very recently and is embedded within the Ermita de los Santos Mártires. This is a small chapel, which consists of two rooms (Fig. 8.36), and which is entered from No. 15 in the Calle Blancaflor. The first of these through which one enters the tomb has a small barrel vault, the decoration of which dates to the 18th century. The second room, in which the altar is to be found (Fig. 8.36: left), is rock cut. In my opinion, this probably originated as a tower-shaped Roman funerary monument and would have been cut from the bedrock in-situ. The bullrush that crowns the monument rests upon

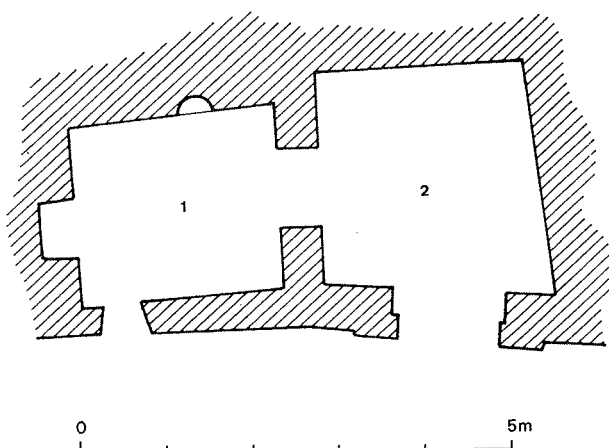


Fig. 8.36. Plan of the tomb at No. 15 Calle Blancaflor in Peñaflor

a small terrace that probably marks the maximum height of the building during the Roman period. The contemporary ground-level would seem to be raised in relation to that of the Roman period. The doorway connecting both rooms in the Ermita was probably created at the time that the monument was built. In the south wall of the ancient burial chamber is a niche, possibly of ancient date. In the north wall there is a window which illuminates the room today. In my opinion, the original entrance corresponds to the gap that is currently visible in the eastern wall below the altar. The interior of the chamber measures 2.10m × 2.33m

by a minimum of 2m. Little more can be said about this monument. Local sources in the village suggest that the inscription to Licinia Mancina (no. 23) was discovered in its vicinity, at the angle of the Calle Nueva and the Calle Blancaflor. Given the characteristics of the inscription, it is thus possible that it may have originally derived from the mausoleum.

Profiles of the monuments to Aelius Zeno, Aelius Optatus and Fulvius Lupus can be seen in Fig. 8.37, and the similarities between them suggest that the pedestals of Optatus and Lupus followed the same design. The profiles of the plaques of

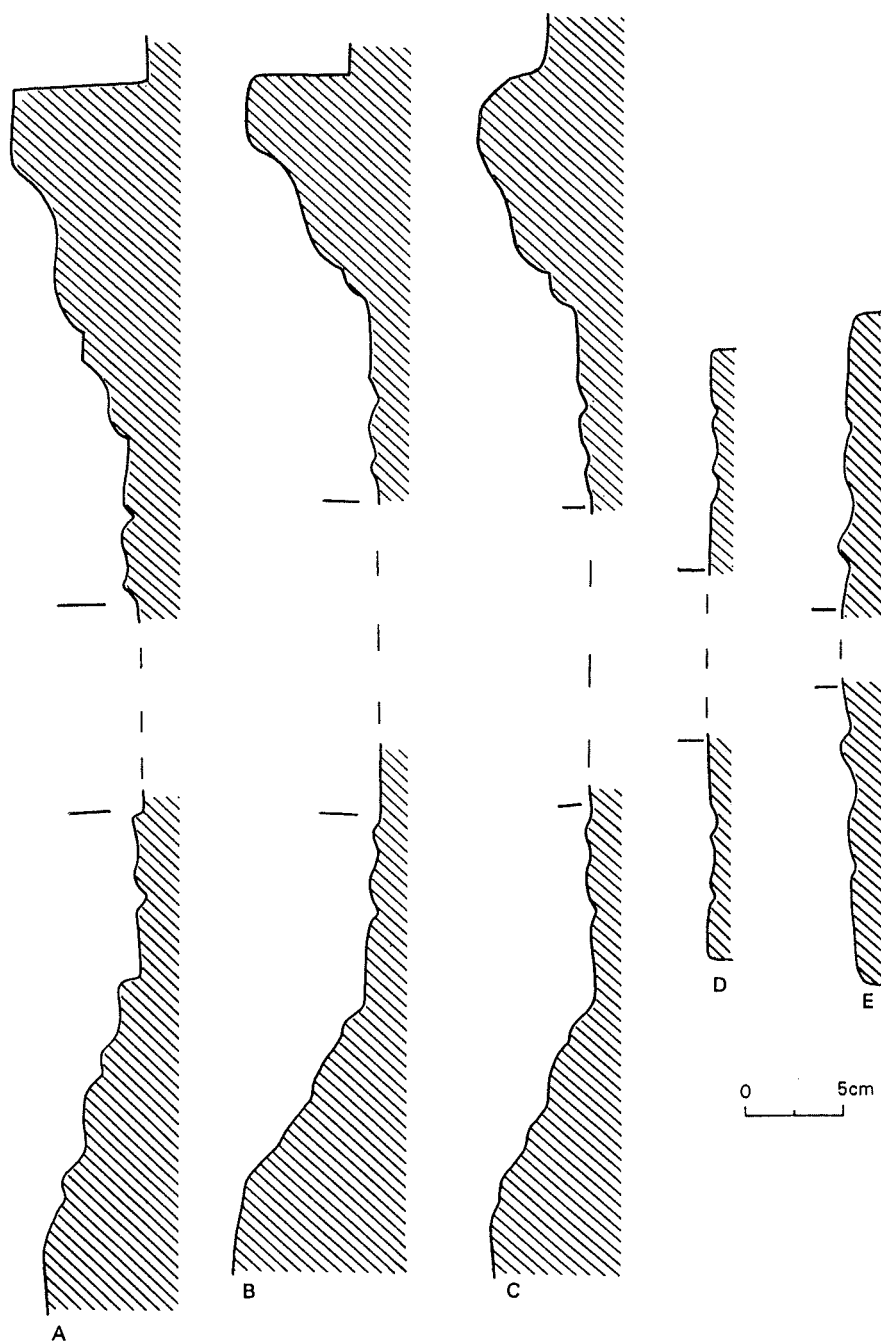


Fig. 8.37. Moulding Profiles of Inscription nos 3, 4, 9, 14 and 17

Bruttius Primigenius and Sempronia Aciliana Celtitana also resembled each other (Fig. 8.37). A section of the inscription -----]pro honore[----- and the impressions on the upper surface of the pedestal of Fulvius Lupus can be seen in Figs. 8.14b and 8.38. The surviving drawings of the inscription of Marcus Optatus lack decoration, while the copy of the same text recorded on Manuscript no. 577 in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid seems to suggest that it was carved on a plaque with mouldings. The other inscriptions from Celti lack any kind of geometric framing.

The Epigraphic Formulae

The inscriptions from Celti are distinctive, and so allow possible inter-relationships to be proposed and chronological and typological groupings to be suggested. Only small fragments of public inscriptions survive, while none mentions any member of the local governing elite. Only one voting tribe, the *galeria*, is mentioned. This, like the *quirina tribu*, is common amongst towns in those regions which were granted the title of *municipium latinum* in the Flavian period.

The nomenclature of known people allows us to suggest that filiation was rare amongst young men: in only three cases are the names of fathers mentioned (nos. 3, 6 and 7). However, it is more common amongst young women with the names of at least seven fathers being attested (nos. 2, 3, 5, 14, 17, 23 and 25). In three cases we also know the name of the mother of young women, two of whom also took the *nomen* of their maternal family, Aemilia Artemisia (no. 5) and Sempronia Superata (no. 35). The reason for this must be sought in the relative prestige of the maternal name.

Young free men always use *tria nomina* in their nomenclature.⁵⁰ The *liberti* use *duo nomina*. Three males whose social background is uncertain (since the inscription provides no indication) use the *duo nomina* Iulius Siriacus (no. 19) and the two Lurii – Fortunius and Valerianus (nos. 24 and 25). The *cognomen* of the first of these suggests that he was a *libertus*. In the latter two, however, the use of *duo nomina* is more likely to have been an indication of the period when the inscription was cut rather than an index of their personal status, since these are amongst the latest inscriptions from the town. Thus, those individuals who are only referred to by their *cognomen* are likely to have been slaves – even if there was no formal indication as such. Amongst those women who appear to be freeborn and those freedwomen who use *duo nomina*, filiation is used to indicate a better social position. This is why it is more frequently used than amongst young men. Fabia Merope and

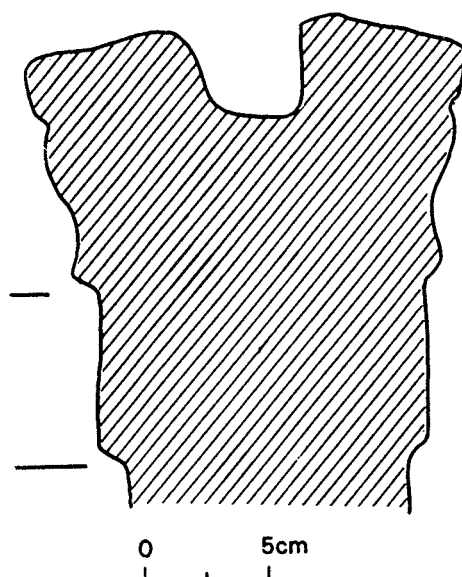


Fig. 8.38. Section through inscription no. 1

Bithynis are both explicitly mentioned as a *liberta*, while Fabia Bithynis, Marcia Antiocis and Iunia Optatina must have had the same status.

The presence or absence of the formula *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)* has become a key element in dating inscriptions, with those bearing the formula *D.M.S* generally dating from the end of the 1st century AD.⁵¹ At Celti the majority of inscriptions which lack this formula also lack the formula *pius/a in suis*. Most of these belong to that group which I have defined as c) that is, inscriptions that are wider than they are tall, as well as the two largest inscriptions known from the site. It is almost as if the elite of Celti were less interested in this kind of advocacy or, simply that it was strictly associated with altars and small monuments. It should be remembered, however, that the formula was also absent from the epitaphs of a slave, Successus (no. 38) and the *liberti* Myris and Cinismus (no. 30). On the other hand, the formula *pius/a in suis* also appears on all those inscriptions which bear *D.M.S*,⁵² with the exception of the epitaph of Q. Fulvius Musicus (no. 18). All of these inscriptions are cut onto plaques that belong to our group a). The formula *pius/a in suis* is common in Celti and is usually written in full and not abbreviated. On the epitaph of Caesia Annula and L. Licinius Gallus (no. 11) was inscribed: *P(ius) in S(uis)*, a formula which is repeated on another fragment. The formula *pius/a in suos* only appears in three cases: the fragment referring to Bruttius, and the inscriptions to Sergia Rustica (no. 36) and Successa (no. 37). The formula *P(ius/a) I(n) S(uis)* is equally rare and only attested on the epitaphs of the Lurii,

Pyramis and Iulius Siriacus (nos. 19, 24, 25 and 32). The formula *hic situs/a est* is normally abbreviated to *H(ic) S(itus/a) E(st)*. In its unabbreviated form it only appears on the epitaph to Baetica and Q. Fulvius Musicus (nos. 31 and 18). Only three epitaphs lack this formula (nos. 14, 20 and 25). The indication of age under the formula *vixit annis* is only attested in the inscriptions of Lurius Fortunatus and L(urius) Valerianus (nos. 24 and 25), texts in which the rare abbreviation *P(ius) I(n) S(uis)* also appears. The formula *Sit tibi terra levis* is always abbreviated as *S(it) T(ibi) T(erra) L(evis)* – except for the epitaph of Baetica (no. 31). Although the lettering in most inscriptions tend to be in *scriptura actuaria*, the formula *D.M.S.* almost always appears in the form of squared capitals and in a larger size than the rest of the text. With the exception of the formula *D.M.S.* the remainder of the lines are approximately of the same height and, where this was not possible, the same optical effect was created by varying the height of the interlineal space.

Calligraphy and Chronology

We lack the absolute dates necessary for establishing a chronological seriation of the inscriptions from Celti. However, the table in Fig. 8.39 lists the characteristics that have helped to define the evolution and chronological grouping of some of the funerary inscriptions. Our current understanding of inscriptions in the region suggests that although there are common threads in their development, the epigraphic tradition of each urban centre is distinctive.⁵³ On the other hand, it should be admitted that writing was quite a common practice in this part of Baetica. After all, it was a region from which thousands of olive oil amphorae were exported, each one bearing an extensive handwritten “label” (*titulus pictus*), as well as frequent *ante-cocturam* graffiti.⁵⁴

The study of the inscriptions from Celti makes it clear that, apart from the large workshops which were capable of importing marble from distant quarries and undertaking large monuments like pedestals and statues, there must have been a multitude of smaller workshops. These would have satisfied the normal demands of the town and, in doing so, would have quite frequently reused marbles from earlier monuments. Consequently, it is important to distinguish two large groups of inscriptions at Celti and, indeed, many other towns in the region. Firstly, there were monumental inscriptions – both public and private – most of which would have been created away from Celti. Secondly, there were what one might term

“ordinary inscriptions” and were fundamentally funerary texts from small monuments that were actually cut at a local workshop in Celti, sometimes by inexperienced individuals, as may have been the case of the inscription to the slave Vibia (no. 39).

The two most accomplished funerary inscriptions from Celti were dedicated to two young 15 year old girls, Fabia Sempronia Aciliana Celtitana and Licinia Mancina (nos. 14 and 23). Both belonged to distinguished families and their epitaphs lacked the formula *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)*. The latter feature suggests that they dated to the late 1st or early 2nd centuries AD. However, the calligraphy of the former inscription indicates a date somewhat later, around the second half of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century AD. Although the inscription dedicated by Fabius Basileus Celtitanus at Corduba is now lost, the manuscript copies of it which have survived suggest that both inscriptions were stylistically related.⁵⁵ This fact supports three of our suggestions:

- a) that both these people were related
- b) that both inscriptions came from the same workshop, perhaps at Corduba
- c) that the styles and epigraphic formulae were conditioned by the monument for which they were destined and, equally, that the calligraphy and textual formulae were largely dictated by the character of the monument they were destined to decorate

Consequently, even though it was very common to record the formula *DMS* during this period, it is absent in this inscription.

Another interesting fact about the inscriptions from Celti is that nearly all the decorated examples were dedicated to women.⁵⁶ Similarly, those inscriptions with *litterae lungae*,⁵⁷ decorated with hederæ⁵⁸ or where stops and hederæ appear in a single text,⁵⁹ were nearly all dedicated to women.

Other details are of assistance in grouping inscriptions together, such as the presence of hederæ with a zigzagging stalk on the texts of Aemilius Marcianus, Fabia Merope and Baetica (nos. 6, 16 and 31). These examples share a further characteristic: the formula *annorum* is used to indicate the age of the deceased. Otherwise, the distinctiveness of the letter G allows the inscriptions of Caesia Annula and Licinius Gallus, Baetica and Sergia Rustica to be grouped together (nos. 11, 31 and 36). The letter L with the arm inclined downwards allows the epitaphs of Caesia Annula, Licinius Gallus, Baetica and Vibia to be grouped together (nos. 11, 31 and 39). The letter x with the upper right-hand arm over-raised, and the letter A in cursive style are two other concomitant

| Núm. | Inscription | DMS | Anorum | Pius In Suis | Decoracion | Hederae | G | Litterae Lungae | L | X | A | Stops and Hederae | Ligatures |
|------|------------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|-----------------|------------|---------|---|--------------------|---|----|---|----------------------|-----------|
| 4 | Q. Aelius Zeno | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | M. Aemilius Marcianus | | +++ (43) | ++ | | | | +++ | | + | | +++ | ++ |
| 7 | Apollonius | | ann.(33) | ++ | | | | | | | | | ++ |
| 8 | Bruttia Victorina | +++ | annor. (35) | ++ | +++ | | | | | ++ | + | | |
| 9 | S. Bruttius Primigenius | | ann. (40?) | | | | | | | ++ | | +++ | ++ |
| 10 | ---]Bruttius[--- | | | Suos | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | Caesia Annula | +++ | ann. (25) | ++ | | | + | | + | ++ | + | +++ | |
| 11 | L. Licinius Gallus | | ann. (65) | ++ | | | | | | ++ | | | |
| 12 | ---]Cornel[ius--- | ? | annor.(10+) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 | ---]us Chres[---]los | ? | mensium | | ++++ | | | | | | | | |
| 14 | Fabia Sempronia Aciliana Celtitana | | ann. (15) | | | +++ | | | | | | | |
| 16 | Fabia Merope | +++ | +++ (75) | ++ | ++++ | +++ | | | | | + | | |
| 18 | Q. Fulvius Musicus | +++ | annor.(45) | | | | | | | ++ | + | +++ | |
| 19 | Iulius Sirtiacus | +++ | annor.(67) | P.I.S. | | | | | | ++ | | | |
| 20 | Barbatus | +++ | ann.(51) | ++ | | | | | | | | +++ | |
| 20 | Iunia Optatina | +++ | annor.(75) | ++ | | | | | | | | +++ | |
| 21 | L. Iunius Onesiphorus | +++ | an.(60?) | ++ | | | | | | | | | |
| 22 | Optatinus | +++ | annor (18) | ++ | ++++ | | | | | | | +++ | |
| 23 | Licina Mancina | | ann (15) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | C. Licinius Lupus | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 24 | Lurius Fortunius | +++ | vixit (61) | P.I.S. | | | | | | | | | |
| 25 | Lurius Valerianus | +++ | vicsit (31) | P.I.S. | | | | | | | | | |
| 26 | Marcia Antiocis | +++ | ann (70) | ++ | | | | +++ | | ++ | + | +++ | |
| 27 | Q. Marius Optatus | +++ | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 | Maurula | +++ | ann. (43) | | | | | | | ++ | | | |
| 29 | Messia Laeta | +++ | an. (45) | ++ | | | | +++ | | ++ | | | |
| 30 | Myris | | an (52) | | | | | | | | + | | |
| 30 | Cinismus | | | | | | | | | | + | | |
| 31 | Baetica | +++ | +++ (21) | ++ | ++++ | +++ | + | +++ | + | ++ | + | | |
| 32 | Pyramis | +++ | ann (45) | ++ | | | | | | ++ | | | |
| 33 | Romula | +++ | an. (16) | ++ | | | | | | | | | |
| 34 | Sempronia Prixsila | ? | +++ (?) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 35 | Sempronia Superata | | Annor (21) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 35 | Sempronia Peregrina | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 36 | Sergia Rustica | +++ | ann.(90) | suos | | | + | +++ | | ++ | + | | |
| 37 | Successa | +++ | ann. (25) | suos | | +++ | | | | | | | |
| 38 | Successus | | ann. (30) | | | | | | | | + | | |
| 39 | Vibia | +++ | ann.(65) | ++ | | | | | + | ++ | + | +++ | |
| 40 | Detumonen(sis) | ? | ? (70) | ++? | | | | | | ++ | + | | |
| 42 | ---]a Hermione | +++ | an. (35) | ++ | | | | | | | | | |
| 43 | ---]Rustic[--- | | ? | ? | ++++ | | | | | | | | |
| 44 | ---]nius C.L. Pis[--- | | ? (25+) | ++ | | | | | | ++ | | | |
| 46 | Fragment of the four individuals | ? | ann. (9) annor. (31) annor.(30) | | | | | | | | | | |

Fig. 8.39. Synoptic Table for Inscriptions from Celti

elements. However, given the frequency of both these letters A and x in epitaphs, they are of a broader relevance than some of the other letter characteristics discussed here. Inscriptions with the formula *pius/a in suos* (nos. 10, 36 and 37) also form part of this group because the inscription of Sergia Rustica (no. 36) also belongs to it. On the basis of its calligraphy, the fragment of] *Bruttius*[.. (no. 10) could certainly be included within this group, while only the Successa text differs from it even though use of the formula *pia in suos* and the manner of indicating age by use of the formula *ann[orum]* is similar to the Sergia Rustica inscription.

All these characteristics allow us to define a group of inscriptions, which could date to the end of the 2nd and the first half of the 3rd centuries AD (Fig. 8.39). The lack of the formulae *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)* and *pius/a in suis* allow us to date these inscriptions in general terms to the first half of the 2nd century AD, with the exception of the epitaph of Fabia Sempronia Aciliana Celtitana which, as was mentioned earlier, must date to between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries AD. Between both of these groups should be those with the formulae *DMS* and *pius/a in suis*, and whose letters tend towards capitals in *scriptura actuaria*, a group dating towards the middle of the 2nd century AD.

Non-funerary monumental inscriptions are not difficult to date, although the site has only produced fragments.⁶⁰ Private monumental inscriptions, or monuments dedicated by individuals to people without public involvement or not involved in public life, are represented by the pedestals dedicated to Aelius Optatus, Fulvius Lupus and Aelia Flaccina (nos. 2, 3 and 17). The pedestals of Aelius Optatus and Fulvius Lupus must have been created within a short space of each other, some time towards the middle of the 2nd century AD. The typology of the letters on Aelia Flaccina's pedestal suggests a somewhat later date.

Epigraphic Evidence for the Society of Celti

Despite the relative abundance of inscriptions from Celti, it is not possible to discuss the elites from the town, since we lack the epigraphic records of those who exercised administrative and political posts at the town, in imperial service or in the army. This stands in contrast to the epigraphic record from a range of neighbouring river towns in region, such as Axati (Lora del Río), Arva (El Castillejo) and Canama (Alcolea del Río), despite the relatively high number of inscriptions from the town.

In any event, the use of filiation, which is quite

rare at Celti, does provide us with one way of learning about the more distinguished families at the town. Those individuals who did record their filiation were indicating that they were descendants of people who possessed Roman Citizenship, which had probably been acquired by virtue of having exercised a political post in the town after it had been granted the Latin Right under the Flavians (see Chapter 10). Of course, some individuals at Celti could well have enjoyed Roman Citizenship before this date. The majority of people commemorated on these inscriptions, however, would have gained it from the Flavian period onwards.

In this context, the epitaph of Licinia Mancina (no. 23) is interesting. It states that she is the daughter of Caius and, moreover, born to an individual who was a Roman Citizen. Her father, Caius Licinius Lupus, is mentioned on the same inscription and, although he belonged to the Galeria voting tribe, does not mention his filiation. One must conclude, therefore, that Licinius Lupus was the first in his family to gain Roman Citizenship. This would explain why he did not advertise his filiation but did mention his membership of the municipal elite by explicitly stating his voting tribe – which was a characteristic feature of Roman Citizenship.

Of particular note are those individuals to whom reference is made, but who belonged to generations preceding people dedicating, or being commemorated by, inscriptions at Celti. Thus, we know of four previous generations of the Aelii: Quintus Aelius, father of Aelius Optatus (no. 3); Quintus Aelius, father of Aelia Flaccina (no. 2)⁶¹; Marcus Aelius, father of Aelia Marcellina (no. 2) and Aelia ?Marcellina, mother of Aelia Marcellina (no. 2). For the Aemilii, we know of a Marcus Aemilius, father of Aemilius Marcianus (no. 6). For the Fabii, we know of a Marcus Fabius, father of Fabia Sempronia Aciliana Celtitana (no. 14). For the Fulvii, we know of a Quintus Fulvius, father of Fulvius Lupus (no. 17) and the maternal grandfather of Fulvius Lupus, Lucius Calpurnius (no. 17). Finally, amongst the Licinii, it is recorded that Caius Licinius Capito was the father of Sempronia Superata (no. 35).

Personal relationships are not expressed on funerary inscriptions from Celti, apart from the inscription to Baetica by Barathes, in which the latter states that she was a *coniux indulgentissima*. Instead, only the names of the deceased are mentioned. I have assumed that when the names of a man and a woman appear on an inscription, they were a married couple. In this sense, Caesia Anula would be the wife of Licinius Gallus (no. 11); Barbatus must have been the *contubernalis* of

Iunia Optatina (no. 20) and, perhaps, Optatinus servus might have been the offspring of this union (no. 22).

Monumental inscriptions have left further traces of the connections between different families. In this way we know that one Calpurnia married Fulvius (no. 17), that one Licinius married a Sempronia (no. 35), and that an Annius married an Aemilia (no. 5). The double *nomen* of the young Fabia Semproniana (no. 14) permits us to suppose that there was a marriage between a Fabius, Marcus Fabius, her father, and a Sempronia – who may or may not have been related to Sempronia, the wife of Licinius Capito (no. 35). If we accept this reconstruction, it would suggest that the Sempronii were an important gens at Celti, as also seems to be inferred from the fact that the daughter of Lucius Capito chose to use the name of her mother, Sempronia (no. 35), and not her father. This is not the only case attested at Celti. Aemilia Arthemisia (no. 5) is another case, where a woman chose the name of her mother rather than her father. Other women took an active part in the social life of Celti, particularly those belonging to the Aelii, dedicating inscriptions to both young men and women. Moreover, as has already been pointed out, the more attractive inscriptions in terms of their form and content were dedicated to women.

The most disconcerting case at Celti is Caius Appius Superstes Caninius Montanus (nos. 3 and 17). The two inscriptions that refer to him suggest that he was simultaneously the heir to the fortunes of two separate families, the Aelii and the Fulvii. Furthermore, it is even more curious that even though he bore several names, he had not adopted the *nomina* of either of the families from which he had received bequests. As both inscriptions are in a poor state of preservation, it is not possible to read this man's name clearly. It is probable that the inscriptions have long been this way and that, therefore, this reading of his name cannot be confirmed.⁶² It is probable that, either by error or through difficulty in reading the inscription, the same name has been recorded for both inscriptions. Moreover, it is possible that, in reality, this polynym represents two different people and that each one of them would have been commemorated on a different inscription. We could also suggest that the *nomen* APPIUS is really a misreading of the *nomen* AELIUS. For example, if the E was read as a P – an easy mistake – the reader of the inscription would follow the logic of a name which he thought began with AP and interpret the L as a second P, suggesting APPIUS instead of AELIUS. After all, the number of letters was the same and they followed the same order. If we accept this

reconstruction, the descendant of Quintus Aelius Optatus would be the son of his daughter and would have borne the *nomen* of his mother and not his father. In this way, we avoid the social problems that would be implied by one individual being the heir of two families without bearing the name of either.

If, however, we retain the traditional reading of the inscriptions, we could suggest the following sequence of events. Appius Superstes was the husband of Aelia Optata and that when she died without an heir, he carried out her testamentary wish to erect a monument to her father. Subsequently he married Calpurnia Sabina, widow of Quintus Fulvius, and again carried out her will and erected a statue to her predeceased daughter. Alternatively, it could equally be suggested that he married Calpurnia Sabina first and Aelia Optata second. As I have suggested above, the monument to Aelius Optatus was never finished, or at least it never bore its statue. In one way or another, this man inherited the wealth of two of the notable families of Celti.

There now follows an attempt to synthesize our current state of knowledge of some of the families of Roman Celti.

The Aelii: This is the best represented family in the epigraphic repertoire from Celti. The earliest known individual was Quintus Aelius Zeno (no. 4). Given that his *cognomen* is Greek and that he makes no reference to his antecedents suggests that he was a libertus. Aelius Zeno must have lived in the second half of the 1st century AD. Quintus Aelius Optatus (no. 3) only mentions one ancestor, his father, who also bore the *praenomen* Quintus. Given that the inscription of Quintus Aelius Optatus can be dated to the 2nd century AD, it is possible that his father was a descendant of the same Quintus Aelius Zeno. Quintus Aelius, father of Flaccina (no. 2), and Marcus Aelius, father of Marcellina (no. 2), must have belonged to the same generation as Quintus Aelius Optatus. This points to the existence of two branches of the family, one with the *praenomen* Quintus and the other with the *praenomen* Lucius. It could also be suggested that the father of Optata and Flaccina were one and the same person and that Quintus Aelius Optatus and Marcus Aelius were brothers. The epigraphy suggests that the last generation of these Aelii was composed of women: Aelia Optata (no. 3), Aelia Flaccina and Aelia Marcellina (no. 2).

The Aemilii: We have little information about this family (nos. 5 and 6). However, they are sufficient to suggest that one Aemilia Artemisia was married to a rich man called Annius Celtitanus, who

wished to see her in the guise of the goddess Venus. This wish was carried out generously by his daughter, who bore the same name as her mother, and by Aemilius Rusticus, a young man of the Aemilii, who may well have been her brother.

The Bruttii: Although this family is attested by three inscriptions (nos. 8, 9 and 10) we do not know if they came to play an important role in Celti.

The Fabii: Available information suggests that this was most significant family at Celti. Whether or not one accepts the link between the Fabii of Celti and the Senator Fabius Cilo, there is evidence to do so. Apart from the fact that the funerary monument to Fabia Sempronia Aciliana Celtitana (no. 14) must have been of large proportions and that her inscription was created in Corduba, as I believe that I have shown, there is other evidence which attests the wealth of this family. Our inscription no. 15 is a dedication to Victoria Augusta by Fabius Atticus and Fabius Firmus, freedmen of one Fabius Niger, and by Fabia Bithynis a freedwoman of the Fabii. Atticus and Firmus were Augustales, which implies that they belonged to the group of rich liberti of Celti. This inscription can be dated to the 1st century AD. This means that we have information about the Fabii for over a century, since the inscription dedicated to Fabia Sempronia Aciliana Celtitana (no. 14) and to the liberta Fabia Merope (no. 16) are dated to the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd centuries AD. Moreover, the inscription to Fabia Merope, a deceased old lady, that bore some doleful sentiments, was inscribed upon a reused stone.

The Fulvii: This family is only attested once, but the nature of the inscription (no. 17) – which mentions that Calpurnia Sabina honoured her son Quintus Fulvius Lupus with a bronze statue – gives us some idea of their social standing in the town. It is difficult to posit a link between this and the inscription to Quintus Fulvius Musicus (no. 18) with certainty, although Musicus probably belonged to a later generation and may have been a libertus of the family.

The Licinii: The inscriptions inform us about various members of this family, which must have enjoyed a certain degree of importance during the 1st century AD, the period to which date the inscriptions of Caius Licinius Lupus (no. 23) and the daughter of Caius Licinius Capito (no. 35). The inscription of Lucius Licinius Gallus (no. 11) dates to the 2nd century AD. Two members of this family bore names that referred to totemic animals: Lupus and Gallus. The inscription that

Caius Licinius Capito dedicated to his daughter, Sempronia Superata (no. 35), and which Caius Licinius Lupus dedicated to his, Licinia Mancina (no. 23), correspond to two funerary monuments of some importance. In particular, the latter of the two may have derived from the tower-shaped mausoleum known today as the Ermita de los Santos Mártires. It is probable that Caius Licinius Capito and Caius Licinius Lupus belonged to the same generation and may have been brothers who suffered the same destiny: to see both their daughters die young. Lucius Licinius Gallus belongs to a later generation.

Little can be said about other families, amongst whose number one should count the Marii, one of whose deceased was a young man and to whom was dedicated a metric inscription and, almost certainly, a funerary monument of some pretension.

Even less can be said about the lower social classes, since inscriptions that commemorate slaves and liberti do not usually say to whom the people commemorated belong. Consequently, although we know the names of one or two, we do not know which family they belonged. Apart from the liberti of the Fabii, to whom reference has already been made, it has only been possible to identify Iunia Optatina and Barbatus (no. 20). As has been noted, Optatinus servus (no. 22), was perhaps the offspring of this union, and born before his mother had gained her liberty. The relationship between these individuals and L. Iunius Onesiphorus (no. 21), is not known, although the latter bore a Greek *cognomen* which suggests that he was a libertus or son of a libertus. The chronology of these inscriptions, second half of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd centuries AD, suggests that all these individuals were contemporary.

The double inscription of Myris and Cinismus (no. 30) only gives us the *cognomen* of their patron, Rustica, which suggests that she belonged to a well-known family in the town. Rusticus is a *cognomen* attested amongst the Aemilii at Celti. However, it is not possible to directly link her with this family, since Rusticus/a is a common *cognomen* in Baetica. Barathes (no. 31) praises his partner, Baetica, as *coniux indulgentissima*. Legally, however, Barathes could not call his contubernalis *coniux*. Devotion, however, seems to have permitted such licence.

Known inscriptions from Celti inform us that there were women not native to the town. One, Messia Laeta (no. 29), came from the provincial capital Corduba, while the other, whose name is unknown, came from the nearby municipality of

Detumo (Posadas). It is interesting to note in this context that both came from the conventus *cordubensis* even though Celti itself lay within the conventus *hispalensis*. Other sources of evidence suggest that relations with Corduba were probably more frequent than with Hispalis, given that even though Celti lay at the junction of both conventus, it was geographically closer to Corduba. For example, several *nomina* attested at Corduba, such as Lurius (CIL. II 2248a) or Caninius (CIL. II 2211 and 2266), are only otherwise attested at Celti in Baetica.

Conventional analysis of the age pyramid from the Celti inscriptions might suggest that women died more frequently between 20 and 30 years of age (Fig. 8.40). This could perhaps be related to post-natal illnesses – a source of female mortality down to comparatively recently. Those who survived this age may have lived longer than their male counterparts. The greatest attested age was 115 years, although it is not known whether the person was male or female (no. 55).

The economy of Celti depended upon both agriculture and mining. If the Quintus Aelius Optatus attested on the pedestal from the town is to be identified with his namesake known on Dressel 20 stamps (see Chapter 10), then we have good evidence for the source of his family's wealth. We lack direct epigraphic evidence for the mineral wealth of Celti (see Chapter 10). Perhaps, however, the young Quintus Marius Optatus (no. 27) was related to the famous Sextus Marius. This man,

who possessed many of the mines in the region of Corduba during the reign of Tiberius, was accused of incest by the Emperor as a pretext for laying hands on his wealth (Tacitus *Annals* 6, 19; Pliny, 34, 4)

In sum, therefore, as the reflection of a profoundly romanized environment, the epigraphy from Celti exhibits the normal characteristics of Latin inscriptions, with a range of names which follow normal Roman rules. Although there is no direct evidence as to who exercised municipal posts, it has been possible to identify some of the principal families in the town, some of whose members would almost certainly have held public office. Nor is there direct evidence as to which, if any, members of the local elite achieved promotion into the upper governing classes of the Empire – the *ordo senatorius* and the *ordo equester*. If, however, one accepts the interpretation proposed for the inscription of Fabia Sempronia Aciliana Celtitana (see also Chapter 10), there is evidence of at least one member of a family from Celti being elected to the provincial flaminiate and, perhaps, being related to the twice-Consul Lucius Fabius Cilo.

Index of Latin Names from Celti

C. Appius Superstes Canninius Montanus: no. 3, 17
 Aelia Q. F. Flaccina: no. 2
 Aelia M. F. Marcellina: no. 2
 Aelia Q. F. Optata: no. 3
 Q. Aelius Q. F. Optatus: no. 3

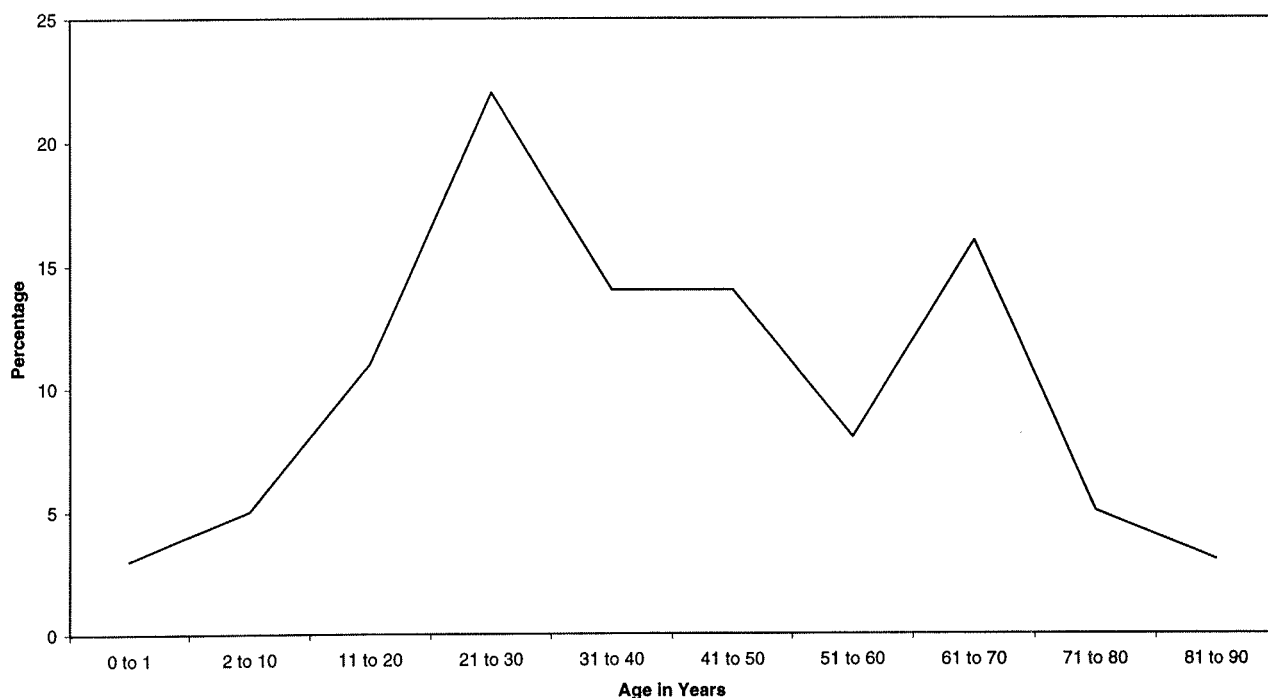


Fig. 8.40. Graph representing ages on inscriptions at Celti

Q. Aelius Zeno: no. 4
 Aemilia Artemisia (mater): no. 5
 Aemilia Artemisia (filia): no. 5
 M. Aemilius M. F. Marcianus: no. 6
 Aemilius Rusticus: no. 5
 M. Annius Celtitanus: no. 5
 Bruttia Victorina Celtitana: no. 8
 Sex. Bruttius Primigenius: no. 9
 Bruttius.....: no. 10
 Caesia Annula: no. 11
 Calpurnia L. F. Sabina: no. 17
 Callpurn[us/ia: no. 48
 C]orneli[us/a ...: no. 12
 Fabia Bithynis.F.L(ibera): no. 15
 Fabia Merope: no. 16
 Fabia M.F. Sempronia Aciliana Celtitana: no. 14
 Fabius Atimetus: no. 16
 Fabius Atticus: no. 15
 Fabius Firmus: no. 15
 G. Fabius Niger: no. 15
 Q. Fulvius Q. F. Lupus: no. 17
 Q. Fulvius Musicus: no. 18
 Iulius Sirciacus: no. 19
 Iunia Optatina: no. 20
 L. Iunius Onesiphorus: no. 21
 Licinia C. F. Mancina: no. 23
 C. Licinius Capito: no. 35
 L. Licinius Gallus: no. 11
 Licinius Galeria (tribu) Lupus: no. 23
 Lurios Fortunius: no. 24
 Lurios Valerianus: no. 25
 Marcia Antiochis: no. 27
 Q. Marius Optatus: no. 26
 Messia Laeta patriciensis: no. 29
 Sempronia Prixisilla: no. 34
 Sempronia Peregrina: no. 35
 Sempronia C. Licini Capitonis F. Superata: no. 35
 Sergia Rustica: no. 36
 ...]a Faustina: no. 41
 ...]A Hermione: no. 42
 ...] Rustic[us / a: no. 43
 ...]ius C. L. Pis[...no. 44
 ...]ascutta: no. 45
 ...]cus[...: no. 46
 ...]us [...: no. 46
 ...]us Chres[...: no. 13

Individuals of servile origin
 Apollonius: no. 7
 Baetica: no. 31
 Barathes: no. 31
 Barbatus: no. 20
 Cinismus: no. 30.
 Maurula: no. 28
 Myris: no. 30
 Optatinus: no. 22
 Pyramis: no. 32
 Romula: no. 33
 Rustic(us/a): no. 43
 Successa: no. 37
 Successus: no. 38
 Vibia: no. 39

Notes

- 1 CIL. II 137ff
- 2 The first to identify the location of Arva was Tomás Andrés Gusseme (de Gusseme 1773, 237; see also Remesal (ed.) 1981, 46ff). Hübner, in CIL. II, 138ff erred in his location of the town.
- 3 CIL. II 140ff
- 4 CIL. II 140ff
- 5 A. de Morales 1575, fol.88 (Madrid 1792, 319ff).
- 6 Remesal Rodríguez 1991, 281–95
- 7 Maldonado de Saavedra 1673
- 8 Maldonado de Saavedra was a Sevillian erudite in the 17th century, whose work has not been studied until the present day. His manuscripts are collected together in a tome in the Biblioteca Colombina (Biblioteca Colombina Ms. 59–2–36), amongst which is to be found a printed copy of his discourse on Peñaflo, other notes on this text and observations on the work by Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga and the Carmelite Padre Fray Juan Felix Jirón and some sonnets in praise of the work. He wrote another dissertation on the various towns which bore the name Ilipa and other Baetic towns.
- 9 Manuscript in the Real Academia de Historia 9–5996, in which Saavedra's ideas were taken up again and he insisted upon the distance of Ilipa from the Ocean. He also collected together the inscriptions from Alcalá del Río, amongst which he informs us about CIL. II 1091 for the first time. This carried the place-name Ilipensis. He also mentions the discovery of many coins bearing the name Ilipa. E. Hübner in CIL. II did not cite Carrillo's work, only that of Merchante, a contemporary of Carrillo's, and who wrote few years later.
- 10 Flórez 1754 (Tome IX), 24–5.
- 11 CIL. II 321; Blanco and Luzón 1966, 87.
- 12 Blázquez 1892, 73; Saavedra 1914, 862; Corzo & Jiménez 1980, 41; Tovar 1974, 158; Roldán Hervás 1975, 230–1.
- 13 Ceán Bermúdez, 1832, 275–7; Clark-Maxwell, 1899, 262; Bonsor 1931, 19–21; Thouvenot 1940 (2nd edition 1973); García y Bellido 1960, 191–2; Ponsich 1979, 101 no. 82; Sillières 1990, 467–8; González in CILA 2.1, 139–40 (=CILA 2.1).
- 14 Inscripciones de memorias Romanas y Españolas antiguas y modernas, recogidas por D. Gaspar Galceran de Pinos y Castro. This manuscript is discussed by H. Gimeno Pascual 1997.
- 15 Gimeno Pascual 1997, 35.
- 16 Ead. Op. cit. 31, 33, 230; Remesal 1998a.
- 17 Pedro Leonardo de Villacevallos, a gentleman from Córdoba, formed a museum at his home in which he placed numerous inscriptions from Córdoba, together with other places in Andalucía including Peñaflo.
- 18 Remesal Rodríguez 1996, 195–221. For the third century AD in Hispania see Cepas Palanca 1997 and bibliography.
- 19 J. González in CILA 2.1 no. 168 Fig. 83. The inscription has not lost its left side as González suggests, rather that this had partly deteriorated and had been obscured by a modern construction. Nor is the upper moulding absent, as the same author suggests, since this inscription served as a base for supporting a bronze sculpture whose plinth covered the upper part of the marble base.
- 20 Thévenot 1952; Caamaño Gesto 1972; Ponsich 1979, 101 no. 82 and Pl.XXXII; Blázquez Martínez 1980, 28; Bonneville 1984, 72–3; Gallego Franco 1993, 124 no. 6; most recently, Chic 1992 with bibliography.
- 21 Bonsor 1931; Ponsich 1974, 193 no. 145–6.
- 22 Remesal Rodríguez 1977–1978.
- 23 Remesal Rodríguez 1997.

- 24 Gamer 1989, 266, No. SE 37.
- 25 I would like to thank both authors for kindly allowing me to see their manuscript on this inscription and who put at my disposition all the information collected together at the "Centro CIL" at Alcalá de Henares (Madrid).
- 26 Fita 1916, 118.
- 27 A. Stylow (personal communication: CIL. II archive).
- 28 These hypotheses need to be treated with caution. It is possible that upon the death of the second of these two people, the inscription was created in honour of both even though one had already been dead for one year.
- 29 Albertos Firmat 1964, 221; Francia Somalo 1988, 20.
- 30 If the epigraphic field was centred its length would have been 1.79m.
- 31 I understand that in these cases the name Celtitanus/a is functioning more as a *cognomen* than as an indication of origo. In any event, however one understands it, the name is valid to relate both inscriptions.
- 32 For this individual see Caballos 1990, 132–135.
- 33 Ponsich 1979, 139 no. 152.
- 34 Remesal Rodríguez 1989
- 35 His full name was: L. Fabius, M.f., Gal.,Cilo Septiminus Catinius Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus.
- 36 Both Chic 1975, 360 and González in CILA 2.1 no. 175 err in measuring the letters and only count 11 of the inscription's 12 lines.
- 37 I have translated the verse with a certain degree of freedom.
- 38 Correa 1976
- 39 A copy of this inscription is embedded in the inner wall of the ermita de Villadiego, to the left of the door.
- 40 This is the way that it is defined by González in CILA 2.1 no. 190. According to H. Sandars, who informed Fita (1916, 118) of its existence, it was a plaque of "white-yellow marble". Moreover the measurements given by González and Fita do not coincide: the first saw and photographed the text while the second only saw a tracing.
- 41 In CILA 2.1, 183 it is affirmed freely that they were circular.
- 42 A piece of information gleaned from Pedro Leonardo de Villa y Zevallos, an erudite Córdoban of the 18th century, who created a lapidary museum in his house. Many copies of his handwritten catalogue are known. These have been added to over the years and there are copies of it in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid and the Biblioteca Colombina in Sevilla. Recently a copy was discovered in the Real Academia de Madrid, and it is this copy which I have used as a source.
- 43 There is an error in the measurements published in CILA 2.1.
- 44 I attempted to establish whether this was possible. However, the stone could no longer be found in the garden of its owner.
- 45 In this respect, González (CILA 2.1) translates Hübner badly, "the letters were painted, excellent and of the 2nd century".
- 46 Stylow 1988.
- 47 It is surprising that this funerary inscription should come from La Viña, the site of the urban centre of Celti (Chapter 2). However, given the fact this is a small fragment, it could have arrived at the site in a number of different ways. Alternatively, there could be some mistake about its find-spot.
- 48 It seems that one of these, that of Aelius Optatus, was not completed.
- 49 See Chapter 1.
- 50 Only Aemilius Rusticus (no. 5) used two *cognomina*, probably for reasons of space, as the new copy of the inscription suggests.
- 51 Stylow 1988.
- 52 The root of the problem lies in determining whether the funerary inscription was cut over a period of time, adding the name of a deceased after each passing, or if all the names were inscribed at the same time, or whether it was solely a matter of space. The indication of the age of the deceased appears in the formula *Ann(norum)*, *An(norum)*, *Annor(um)* and *annorum*. The formula *Ann(orum)* is chronologically earlier than the formula *Annor(um)* in the inscription of Barbates and Iunia Optatina and, perhaps, may be in no. 46.
- 53 As an example, I could cite the formula *C(arus/a) S(uis)* which is characteristic of Gades (Cádiz), or the formula *memoria aeterna* which is typical to Corduba.
- 54 For the amphora epigraphy of the region there is an ample bibliography. See, for example, the recent volume J. M. Blázquez Martínez and J. Remesal Rodríguez (eds.) 1999, *Estudios sobre el monte Testaccio (Roma) I. Instrumenta* (Barcelona).
- 55 The manuscript copies are collected together in CIL. II 2/7, 295 and reproduced in the microfiche. The similarities were clear in individual letter forms. For example, the letter F, with its raised upper arm was very similar in both inscriptions. The same is true of the B, whose upper and lower sections differs, and particularly the C, whose upper arm was raised.
- 56 Although two inscriptions dedicated to young males, the child Chres[.]tos and the youth Optatinus, were decorated, they cannot be readily compared to the decorative scheme on inscriptions dedicated to young women.
- 57 The epitaph of Aemilius Marcianus (no. 6) is the exception.
- 58 The epitaph of Bruttius Primigenius (no. 9) is the exception.
- 59 In this case the one exception is the epitaph of Bruttius Primigenius (no. 9).
- 60 In this context I take as "public" those inscriptions financed by the municipality or dedicated by individuals for a public function.
- 61 It is possible that the father of Optatus and Flaccina were the same person.
- 62 In fact, in Manuscript 5973 of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid which is attributed to Fernández Franco and which records both inscriptions, this man is named only as C. Appius Superstes. The inscription of Aelius Optatus (f.110) is copied with many deficiencies, but is still better than that of Fulvius Lupus (f.110).