

The imperial cult and its private dedicants in Hispania

An epigraphic case study for emperor worship in a Roman province

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Table of contents

List of abbreviations	4
1. Introduction	6
1.1. The historiographical debate	6
1.2. Aim.....	10
1.3. Sources and methodology	13
2. The geographical spread	16
2.1. Hispania Citerior	18
2.1.1. The East Coast (Tarraconensis and Carthaginiensis)	19
2.1.2. The Central Northern region (Caesaraugustanus and Cluniensis)	21
2.1.3. The Northwest (Asturum, Lucensis and Bracaraugustanus).....	22
2.2. Lusitania	26
2.3. Baetica	29
2.4. Conclusions	34
3. Who dedicates what? The object of the cult and its dedicants	35
3.1. Genius and numen.....	36
3.2. Imperial virtues and blessings and Augustan gods	43
3.3. Emperors and their families.....	51
3.3.1. The initial phase (31 B.C. – A.D. 14)	52
3.3.2. The Julio-Claudian dynasty (A.D. 14 – 68)	54
3.3.3. The Flavian reformation (A.D. 69-96)	59
3.3.4. The Antonine era. Cult extension to the detriment of private dedicants (A.D. 96-193).....	62
3.3.5. The third century A.D. Decline and end of imperial dedications (A.D. 193-284).....	64
4. Conclusions	66
Appendix 1. Maps	72
Bibliography	86

List of abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CILA	<i>Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía</i>
EE	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i>
ERBC	<i>Epigrafía Romana de la Beturia Céltica</i>
ILER	<i>Inscripciones latinas de la España romana</i>
ILPGranada	<i>Inscripciones latinas de la provincia de Granada</i>
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
IRC	<i>Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne</i>
IRIlici	<i>Inscripcions romanes d'Ilici, Lucentum, Allon, Dianium i els seus respectius territoris</i>
IRVT	<i>Inscripcions romanes de Valentia i el seu territori</i>
LICS	<i>Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain</i>
RICIS	<i>Receuil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques</i>
RIT	<i>Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco</i>
SIRIS	<i>Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae</i>

Online databases

CIL Datenbank

<http://cil.bbaw.de/>

Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby (EDCS)

<http://www.manfredclauss.de/gb/index.html>

Epigraphic Database Heidelberg (EDH)

<http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/inschrift/suche>

Hispania Epigraphica (HE)

<http://eda-bea.es/>

Journals are abbreviated as in *L'Année philologique*.

1. Introduction

The imperial cult has been studied in depth for decades, to the point that we are nowadays able to recognise its main features and characteristics. There are many studies focusing on the rituals, ceremonies, sacrifices and more generally on the set of practices that constituted the worship of the imperial family during the Principate. One of the reasons that may explain the huge interest in the imperial cult among historians is the fact that it does not easily fit into our categories. We are used to establishing a clear distinction between rulers and gods, where the former pertain to the human reign and the latter to the divine reign. This does not seem to have been the case with Roman emperors however, who were thought to become divine after death and were referred to as sons of the gods.

1.1. The historiographical debate

This conflation was bound to create divergences, and resulted in different points of view that are today still the focus of discussions regarding the nature and origin of the cult. Traditionally, there was agreement among scholars for the division of the Roman Empire in two when analysing the worship of rulers.¹ On one side was the East, where people had previously worshipped their rulers as gods and were consequently more inclined towards extravagant flattery, which paved the way for the deification of the Roman emperors. On the other side, the Western part of the Empire was not prepared to consider the god-like qualities of the ruler. The dichotomy between spontaneity in the East and imposition in the West has led to a tendency for historians to state that the East not only embraced the cult of the ruler, but actually promoted it or even established it; whereas in the West, with no tradition of ruler worship, the imperial cult was basically founded and expanded by the Roman State as a means for the political promotion of the emperor's figure.

Keith Hopkins was the first scholar to point out that this dichotomy is not sufficient to explain the origin of the imperial cult; it is not enough to say that it

¹ This differentiation is found as early as in Gibbons' (1909) *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

originated in the East and spread to the West because, then, “Why did it spread?”² It seems quite extreme to make such a clear division between the West and the East when within each are, processes of conquest and Romanisation were so different and spread over time.³ Fernando Lozano notes (correctly in my opinion) the influence of Eurocentric postulates in the West/East division.⁴ It seems appropriate to cite Edward Said, who describes Orientalism as “the ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority”.⁵ It must be noted that historians who still draw the distinction between West and East probably do not intend to imply the superiority of the former over the latter; its usage may be due to a theoretical framework that persists from previous Eurocentric postulates.

An important transformation in the scholar study of the imperial cult originated from Simon Price’s (1984) publication *Rituals and power. The Roman imperial cult in Asia Minor*, where he offered new and potent insights about the traditional interpretation of emperor worship. Price reflects on one of the main problems in the study of the ruler cult, which is to be found in our own cultural background (as are the Eurocentric postulates already cited). Christianising assumptions and categories have proved, in Price’s opinion, to be a stumbling block in the interpretations of the imperial cult, and in particular our conception that politics and religion are separate areas.⁶

Price criticised the fact that among his contemporaries, the imperial cult was considered a fundamentally secular institution, more a matter of practical politics than of religion. This point of view has allowed historians to argue that the imperial cult was manipulated by the state, “an argument that is commonly in work for Western

² Hopkins (1978): 199, 209.

³ Note that the conquest of Spain began in 218 B.C., whereas the conquest of Britain began in A.D. 43. This results in many differences, starting from the political configuration of the Roman State at the moment of the conquest, followed by social and religious transformations. However, this does not prevent historians from labelling both regions under the category of the West, which enables them to clearly differentiate it from the East.

⁴ Lozano (2011): 477. Lozano quotes Gibbon’s *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and notes how inclined the author is to distinguish between Greek flattery and Roman ideals. In the same vein, Price (1984: 13) had already mentioned Gibbon as being influenced by Christianity when talking of ‘this servile and impious mode of adulation’ that would be the imperial cult.

⁵ Said (1978): 42.

⁶ Price (1984): 2. Hopkins (1978: 200, 228) had already reflected on the fact that politics and religion are intertwined and blended into each other, but never established that this was a reflection of Christianising assumptions.

provinces”.⁷ But of course, as Hopkins argues, “central promotion does not imply cynical manipulation”.⁸ At the same time, the political nature of the imperial cult is also used to sustain the argument that the Greeks used it as a form of flattery. Here we see how the West/East dichotomy is supported by the assumption that there was a clear distinction between politics and religion in ancient Rome, which is sustained under the influence of Christianity. If, as Price defends, we accept that religion was as much concerned with power as with politics, then we have no reason to privilege politics over the imperial cult,⁹ and thus the West/East distinction fades away.

This argument, despite having been considered a revolution in the study of the imperial cult, is not followed by everyone. Duncan Fishwick for instance, who was one of the most prominent historians in the Roman ruler cult, stated soon after Price’s publication that “in the origin the impetus to establish the ruler cult came from the East; but in the West provincial cult, at least, was for the most part installed by Augustus and his successors”.¹⁰ He ratified this theory in his third volume of a monumental study on the imperial cult in the Latin West when he affirmed that “by and large provincial cult in the West appears as an instrument of imperial policy, a device that could be manipulated in whichever direction the purposes of the central authority might require”.¹¹ However, this type of reasoning presupposes a unity in the Western part of the Roman Empire that tends to lay out certain contradictions, as it has already been stated above. It is useful to quote Leonard Curchin’s study of the imperial cult in central Spain, in which he remarks on the spontaneity with which emperor worship was accepted, probably due to the tradition of *devotio*, which had religious connotations of attachment to the chief.¹²

Fresh and stimulating insight was provided by Ittai Gradel’s *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*, the main thesis of which is that differentiating God from humans as

⁷ Price (1984): 16.

⁸ Hopkins (1978): 208-209.

⁹ Price (1984): 242.

¹⁰ Fishwick (1987, 1.1): 92.

¹¹ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1): 219.

¹² Curchin (1996): 144. Lozano (2011: 478) still sees in this publication the continuation of imposition versus spontaneity, which in his opinion misses the point. However, I think that this is a very useful and interesting work for the purpose of this thesis, even if the theoretical framework might not entirely be in line with the ideas that I intend to follow.

being another 'species' is a feature of monotheistic religions but cannot be applied to Graeco-Roman religion, and certainly not to the ruler cult. Scholars have tried to define the ruler cult as exceptional, perverse, or political, but Gradel prefers another option, which lies in seeing the man-god divide as a "distinction in 'status' between respective beings, rather than a distinction between their respective natures, or 'species'", and therefore considering "divinity as a relative rather than absolute category".¹³ Therefore, Gradel follows Price's criticism of the distinction between politics and religions, but takes its implications even further by suggesting that humans were different from gods in 'degree' but not in 'kind', which avoided the idea of transgression and propitiated the acceptance of the ruler cult. His argument explaining the lack of a state cult dedicated to the ruler before the Empire is that during the Republic there was not a single man who outweighed the rest in power. Thus, "emperor worship conflicted with republican tradition only in the banal sense that the Roman republic in the nature of things did not have an emperor; the novelty lies in the gradual emergence of monarchy, and not in the history of Roman religion and mentality".¹⁴

Gradel's transgressive interpretation, paradoxically arguing against the transgression of the imperial cult, was bound to create convulsion among scholars. For instance, David Levene, in spite of accepting Gradel's argument that the imperial cult did not suppose a transgression and was accepted quite easily among the emperor's subjects, does not share the notion that in Rome the human/god distinction is closely analogous to the status distinction of ruler/subject.¹⁵ Levene analyses various philosophical and poetical texts where he finds examples of a clear division between humans and gods, who would therefore be of separate 'kinds'.¹⁶ However, as Levene explains, Gradel would probably dismiss this evidence as being influenced by Christianity, and thus not being applicable to the ruler cult of the first century B.C. and the first century A.D.¹⁷

¹³ Gradel (2002): 26.

¹⁴ Gradel (2002): 52.

¹⁵ Levene (2012): 43.

¹⁶ Levene (2012): 48.

¹⁷ Levene (2012): 44. This is a very interesting discussion in which both authors provide deep and thoughtful contributions. I cannot expand upon their arguments here, but these are mainly concerned with whether we can (Levene) or cannot (Gradel) accept ideas expressed in philosophical and poetical texts as a standard part of the Roman thought-world.

As can be observed from the debate over the ‘nature’ of the Roman emperor’s divinity, conclusions are difficult to reach. Is the reason for its acceptance to be found in the lack of distinction between men and gods, or would there rather have been a distinction, although a quite blurry one? The answer depends on how we assess our sources, and therefore the debate is bound to continue, for we are self-interpreting animals.¹⁸ This thesis does not pretend to find answers to the many questions that emperor worship poses, but rather investigate how this set of practices came into existence in Hispania, with a special interest in the dedicants that took active role.

1.2. Aim

The objective of this thesis is, as mentioned, to analyse the imperial cult in the Spanish provinces. However, I am not so interested in the realisation of an antiquarian study focusing on the practical and technical characteristics of the imperial cult in Spain. My interest lies more closely in the social penetration of the imperial cult. Who erected the dedications and what was the purpose of this action? We can assume, as shown by several historians, that central promotion of the cult in the provinces existed, but was this the only instance of ruler worship in the Spanish provinces? What happened with private cults? Did they exist? And if so, why? What meaning did they have for individuals?

My study is narrowed to the Spanish provinces for different reasons. The most relevant justification is to be found in Price’s appreciation that “the Roman Empire is too large and too diverse to allow us to study the imperial cult throughout the Empire”.¹⁹ Price therefore focuses on one area, allowing him to pay proper attention to particular historical, social and cultural contexts. Accordingly, I have decided to circumscribe my analysis to Spain, using it as a case study of the imperial cult in the provinces, which will enable me to provide a deeper historical and social analysis. In addition, the Spanish provinces are a good starting point because they provide us with a wide and varied set of data. Both the quantity and the quality of the epigraphic evidence in Spain is

¹⁸ Taylor (1985) argues that in the sciences of man, interpretation is essential, because the social scientist’s role is to interpret the self-interpretations (or self-conceptions) of the people who are under study.

¹⁹ Price (1984): 20.

significant, which presents a good base upon which sustained hypotheses and comparisons can be drawn. Last but not least, the conquest of the Spanish provinces began during the Second Punic War (218 B.C.), long before the establishment of the Empire by Augustus. Consequently, Roman influence had been in place for a lengthy period of time when the imperial cult was founded. This differentiates the Spanish provinces from more recent additions to the Empire (e.g. Egypt or Britain) in the sense that Spanish citizens would not have been so impressed by the exhibiting of the power held by Rome because they were already accustomed to it. I am conscious however, that it was Augustus who completed the conquest in North-West Spain, reason why there is no uniformity, which from my point of view makes the Spanish case even more interesting.

I do not wish to place the Spanish provinces in a broader geographical division (i.e. West/East) other than that of the Empire as a whole, due to the reasons provided earlier in this introduction. Moreover, it will be seen throughout this thesis that there are already many differences between the three Spanish provinces and even within each one of them in terms of the spread and nature of the imperial cult.

With respect to the timeframe investigated in the current work, this is necessarily restricted to the first three centuries A.D., which constitute the Principate, due to the sources used. The inscriptions documenting the imperial cult in Spain end abruptly at the end of the third century A.D. with the proclamation of the Tetrarchy. However, three centuries of evidence constitute a sufficient base to assess the progression and the divergences of the cult over time.

The interpretation of the primary sources will focus on the corpus of dedicants and the nature of the dedications. For this purpose, I will follow the distinction between public and private that Gradel draws from Festus²⁰:

Public rites are those which are performed at public expense on behalf of the [whole] people, and also those which are performed for the hills [*montes*], villages [*pagi*], 'clans'

²⁰ Gradel (2002): 9.

[*curiae*] and chapels [*sacella*], in contrast to private rites which are performed on behalf of individual persons, households, or family lineages.²¹ (Fest. p. 284L)

Therefore, public *sacra* are basically concerned with “cults performed on behalf of the whole individual city—or ‘city state’— and all its citizens (*populus*), by city magistrates, at public expense”.²² Magistrates would have belonged to the Senate in Rome and to the corresponding local council (*ordo decurionum*) outside of Rome, which is the case for the evidence used in this study. These cults are termed ‘state cults’. With respect to the private cult, this is primarily related to individuals and families. It is important to note that this distinction between public and private does not correspond to our ideas of public versus private because “private cults regularly took place in public, even at public temples, and could be under tight control and scrutiny from the public authorities”.²³ This must be borne in mind because the inscriptions analysed would have been placed in public spaces, but this does not imply that they must be labelled as public. The distinction will be assessed, as in Gradel, with respect to how the dedication was financed.

Dedicants will be the main focus, but not the only one. From the analysis of the epigraphic data, other trends can be observed. In this way, the origin of the dedications will be taken into account to determine whether geographical variations can be observed and if these correspond to different levels of Roman influence. Other areas of interest are the evolution of the imperial cult over time²⁴ and onomastics. Are patterns distinguishable in the three centuries under study? Do the dedicants have Roman or rather indigenous names? If these are Roman, do they add the *tria nomina*? What about the filiation and tribe?

Lastly, it is significant to emphasise that the dedications will be treated from the point of view of rituals, rather than beliefs. The term belief has too much of a religious sense, and may be interpreted as the acceptance of the clear division between politics

²¹ *Publica sacra quae publico sumptu pro populo fiunt, quaeque pro montibus, pagis, curis sacellis: at privata, quae pro singulis hominibus, familiis, gentibus fiunt.*

²² Gradel (2002): 9-10.

²³ Gradel (2002): 13.

²⁴ For this specific point Étienne (1958) may prove very valuable, for he gives an analysis of the progression over time of the imperial cult in Spain.

and religion. In contrast, ritual is more neutral. In this way, such distinctions, together with Christianising assumptions, will be avoided.²⁵

1.3. Sources and methodology

The primary sources used in this analysis of the nature of the imperial cult are mainly epigraphical, although some literary sources on the dedications of altars in the North-West of Spain soon after its conquest under Augustus and two *legatios* requesting permission for the building of temples dedicated to Augustus and Tiberius in Tarraco and Corduba, among other sources are also used in analysing the implementation of the cult in Spain.

A total of 334 inscriptions from the three Spanish provinces (Hispania Citerior, Lusitania and Baetica) have been systematically collected from Robert Étienne's *Le culte imperial dans la péninsule ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (1958). Étienne's study of the imperial cult in Spain has been invaluable, for he provides a detailed study with all the inscriptions known at that moment, basically through references to CIL. More recent inscriptions were found by checking the recent regional corpora, which have also proved very valuable in the dating and understanding of the inscriptions, due to the fact that translations are often added. The compilation process also took advantage of new online databases where basic information can be found (e.g. transcription, references and origin), mainly the Epigraphic Datenbank Clauss-Slaby (EDCS), the Epigraphic Database Heidelberg (EDH), Hispania Epigraphica (HE) and the CIL database.

The epigraphic evidence consists of dedications to different aspects related to the imperial cult: *numen* ('divine power') (N = 46), *genius* ('guiding star') (N = 2), imperial virtues (N = 7) and blessings (N = 22), Augustan gods (N = 69), *domus Augusta* (the imperial family) (N = 25), living emperors and empresses (N = 143) and divine emperors and empresses (N = 20). These inscriptions have been organised in a database. This is an example of an entry from the database:

²⁵ Gradel (2002: 5) defines religion as "action of dialogue—sacrifice, prayer, or other forms of establishing and constructing dialogue—between humans and what they perceive as 'another world', opposed to and different from the everyday sphere in which men function".

ID	Reference	Province	Conventus	Town	Place of origin	Date	Type of inscription
198	CIL 2, 4094 = CIL 2-14-2, 881 = RIT 65 = AE 1930, 146	Hispania Citerior	Tarraconensis	Tarraco		A.D. 279-296	Honorific – Statue base
To whom (1)		To whom (2)	Dedicant (1)	Dedicant (2)	Altar	Bibliography	Observations
Divine Emperor		Vespasian	Individual (male)	Marcus Acilius Nymphodotus			

The main focus of my analysis of the epigraphic evidence lies in the dedicants. The person or entity dedicating an inscription would usually include their name and titles in order to provide evidence of their worship, and these can be used to distinguish public and official dedications from those originating from private initiative. Inscriptions present various difficulties that are not always easy to solve however. First, many of them are not complete, mainly due to having been broken or reused for other purposes. Moreover, many are lost, which makes the task of the epigrapher challenging and forces them to rely on descriptions that can date back centuries.

Another problem in the analysis of epigraphic data is the manner in which they are worded, which can make reading them quite complicated. It is sometimes difficult to discern how and with what purpose some dedications were conceived. For example, some inscriptions might have been set up by a local magistrate but were paid for with his own money. Does the initiative in these cases come from the local *ordo*, or is it to be understood as originating from the individual, who would have wanted to make his social and political position within the community clear?

Dating inscriptions can generate problems as well, and these cannot always be solved, even by experienced epigraphers, resulting in some being left without a reference to the time in which they were inscribed. Most of the time however, epigraphers can estimate a date through the study of the nature of the characters and style, but even in these cases the dating can end up being quite vague, within a span of perhaps a hundred years. Nevertheless, this still allows for conjectures and for a broader analysis, perhaps not concretised in the lifetime of a specific emperor, but in that of a dynasty.

Despite the challenges that epigraphic evidence presents, this, alongside archaeological data, still constitutes very valuable information for the study of the imperial cult in the provinces. The sheer number of inscriptions coming from the Spanish provinces is considerable. Moreover, the Spanish case is quite peculiar for its conquest began in the 3rd century B.C. and ended in 19 B.C. This timespan resulted in differentiated areas, with the East coast being more romanised than the centre and the North-West. This fact is interesting because the Roman influence over the Spanish provinces was not homogeneous, and this might be reflected in inscriptions from the respective areas.

At this point it is necessary to state that the usefulness of the term Romanisation is nowadays under scholarly debate “because of its long-standing associations with an obsolete colonial and Romanocentric view of cultural change”.²⁶ Reflecting on the influence that the term Romanisation, as traditionally understood, has had in scholarly research is necessary when analysing the imperial cult in the provinces. Woolf, for example, argues that the term Romanisation has no explanatory potential, since “there was no standard Roman civilization against which provincial cultures might be measured”.²⁷ I completely agree with Woolf’s idea that Romanisation cannot be understood as the imposition of the Roman culture in detriment of local cultures, in a process totally alien to the local inhabitants. However, I agree with Curchin in that “rather than abandoning the term Romanisation, it is preferable to deconstruct and revitalise it as a useful descriptor of an important cultural term”,²⁸ reason why it will be used in this thesis. It must also be taken into account that Romanisation is by no means homogeneous, and different processes coexist alongside each other depending on the geography of the territory, the levels of urbanisation, the trajectory of Roman occupation, etc. Romanisation will therefore be used to refer to a set of constant cultural changes motivated by the Roman presence in the provinces, but undertaken jointly by provincials, with either indigenous or Roman backgrounds, and by the Roman authorities. As Woolf puts it, “culture must be shared for it can have any meaning at all [...], but what is shared is a set of associations or conventions, not rules, and individuals

²⁶ Curchin (2004): 8.

²⁷ Woolf (1998): 7.

²⁸ Curchin (2004): 8.

are free to conform, ignore or even change those conventions”.²⁹ In the same vein, Curchin asserts that “assimilation cannot therefore be imposed, but requires the willing co-operation of the participants”.³⁰ These ideas strongly coincide with the whole approach behind this thesis and should be borne in mind throughout the entire analysis.

2. The geographical spread

The main focus on this chapter is the geographical spread of the dedications related to the imperial cult in Spain. We can expect to find more epigraphical evidence in the capitals of provinces due to their link with Rome; it was in the capitals where the provincial council (*concilium provinciae*), presided over by the provincial *flamen*, would meet once a year, and where governors sent from Rome would administer the province. We can also assume that more dedications will come from the East coast and the South because in these areas, contact with Rome would have been in place for a longer time and, therefore, Roman influence would have been more significant.

Particularly interesting is the evidence from more remote areas and from smaller urban, and even rural, settlements. In these places, central influence would have been lower or almost non-existent, and both the local elites and other inhabitants would have had fewer opportunities to make their worship visible to the central administration. Why then did they spend money on dedications to the imperial cult? Moreover, many towns did not achieve privileged status until the Flavians came to power or even later, and therefore were immersed in the Roman political ‘game’ at a late stage. However, as we will see, they had been participating in the imperial cult even before their immersion. How can we explain the evidence for emperor worship in these less Romanised areas? Did the Roman/Latin status of cities influence the presence and forms of the imperial cult?

Before embarking on a geographical analysis of the epigraphic habit, it is necessary to mention how the Spanish provinces were organised. Under the Republic

²⁹ Woolf (1998): 12.

³⁰ Curchin (2004): 11. For a very clear and interesting overview of the problems and models of the concept of Romanisation see Curchin (2004: 8-14).

there were two provinces arranged along the East coast: Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior. This administration was changed with the territorial reforms made by Augustus in 27 B.C., in which he reorganised the provinces. From this moment onwards, the new territories conquered in the North-West (the conquest of which ended in 19 B.C.) would become part of Hispania Citerior. This province thus became the largest in Spain, with its capital at Tarraco. The former Hispania Ulterior was divided into two new provinces: Baetica, which would roughly coincide with modern Andalucía, with its capital at Corduba; and Lusitania, with its capital at Emerita Augusta. It is relevant to mention that both Hispania Citerior and Lusitania were reformed into imperial provinces, which meant that it was the emperor who chose the provincial governors.³¹ Baetica was the only province in Spain to remain under senatorial administration.³²

Under Augustus, the Spanish provinces were divided into smaller territorial subsets named *conventus iuridici*.³³ The *conventus iuridici* were administrative subdivisions in the Roman provinces made with the aim of organising the administration of justice.³⁴ The Spanish provinces were composed of the following subdivisions:

- Hispania Citerior (7): Tarraconensis, Carthaginiensis, Caesaraugustanus, Cluniensis, Asturum, Lucensis and Bracaraugustanus
- Baetica (4): Cordubensis, Hispalensis, Astigitanus and Gaditanus
- Lusitania (3): Emeritensis, Scallabitanus and Pacensis

This territorial division is useful here as a way to organise the different dedications and analyse them from the point of view of the levels of Romanisation in the different *conventus*. These administrative regions followed different patterns, noticeable mostly in Hispania Citerior. In addition, in five of the seven *conventus* of this province there are *flamines* attested, who were responsible for the organisation of the

³¹ Pérez Villatela (1990: 124) explains that the Cantabrian Wars (29-19 B.C.) were a pretext used by Augustus to convince the Senate of the necessity to give imperial status to Hispania Citerior and Lusitania, as armies needed to be stationed in these provinces to fight against the indigenous peoples of the North-West. Pérez Villatela notes the cleverness of Augustus in maintaining the 'obsolete' Hispania Citerior, pacified long before, in order to whisk away a huge territory previously administered by the Senate.

³² The provincial distribution of Spain as arranged by Augustus is explained by Stanley (1984: 56-57).

³³ It had generally been argued that the organisation of the provinces into *conventus iuridici* was undertaken by Vespasian, but Dopico Caínzos (2006: 432) proved that Augustus was in fact responsible.

³⁴ Oscáriz Gil (2013): 58.

imperial cult within the *conventus*. These will not be discussed further unless any dedications can be attributed to them.³⁵

In this chapter the patterns stemming both from the provincial and conventual levels will be analysed.³⁶ This will allow for larger patterns in the evidence for imperial cult in Hispania to be outlined. When needed, we will include the analysis of the most characteristic towns, being these either for the numerous inscriptions found or for the peculiarity of the evidence. At the same time, the juridical status of towns is a reflex of the social status of their inhabitants, feature that might also be reflected at some point of this paper.

The structure of this chapter is based on three main sections corresponding to each Spanish province. Within each province the evidence from the different *conventus* is studied and comparisons among them are drawn. The last subchapter comprises the conclusions that can be reached after analysing the geographical spread of the imperial dedications in Spain.

2.1. Hispania Citerior

Hispania Citerior is the province to which are attributed the largest amount of dedications (N = 151), which is not surprising since it is by far the largest one. However, when we take a closer look at how the dedications are spread throughout the province we soon realise that the distribution is not balanced whatsoever. The two *conventus* on the east coast (i.e. Tarraconensis and Carthaginiensis) comprise 75% of the inscriptions in this province, whereas the other five *conventus* altogether represent the remaining 25%. The distribution throughout the *conventus* is as follows: Tarraconensis (N = 78), Carthaginiensis (N = 34), Caesaraugustanus (N = 6), Cluniensis (N = 7), Asturum (N = 10), Lucensis (N = 6) and Bracaraugustanus (N = 9), with the provenance of one inscription remaining unclear.³⁷

³⁵ For a detailed study of the conventual *flamines* and their role, see Étienne (1958: 177-195).

³⁶ I will try to avoid too much detail with respect to the municipal level due to space limitations and also to avoid the tediousness that a huge list of towns and dedications would invoke in the reader.

³⁷ CIL 2, 6262. Étienne (1958: 338) explains that this inscription comes from the Sub-Pyrenees, which makes it belong to either Tarraconensis or Caesaraugustanus.

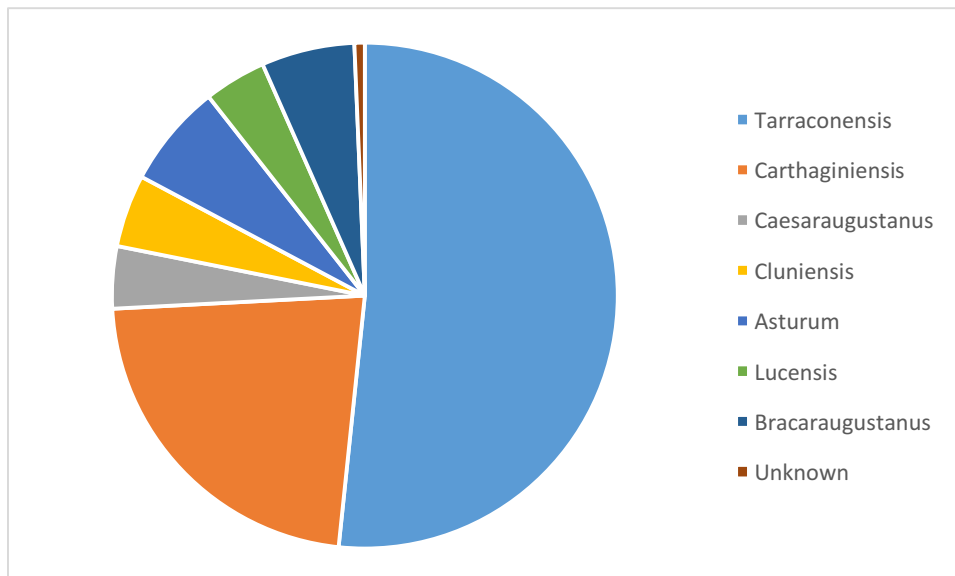


Figure 1. Distribution of imperial dedications among *conventus* in Hispania Citerior.

In this thesis the *conventus* composing the province of Hispania Citerior have been divided into three areas depending on their level of Romanisation. The first subsection comprises the towns on the east coast, which were under Roman domination from the Second Punic War (218 – 201 B.C.). The second consists of the two *conventus* in the central-north region of the province, the homeland of the Celtiberian chiefdoms subjugated by the Republic during the Celtiberian Wars (181 – 133 B.C.). The third and last area comprises the North-West of the Iberian Peninsula, which was the last region to be conquered by Rome during the Cantabrian Wars (29 – 19 B.C.), during Augustus' reign.

2.1.1. The East Coast (Tarraconensis and Carthaginiensis)

High levels of Romanisation in Tarraconensis and Carthaginiensis may be explained by the fact that these originally formed the province of Hispania Citerior during the Republic, created in 197 B.C. soon after its conquest. Consequently, the peninsula's East Coast had already been in contact with Rome for more than two centuries when an official cult to the emperor was first established in Tarraco, as we are informed in Tacitus' *Annals*:

Permission to build a temple of Augustus in the colony of Tarraco was granted to the Spaniards, and a precedent set for all the provinces. (Tac. *Ann.* 1, 78)³⁸

The permission to build a temple was granted in A.D. 15, only one year after the emperor's deification, reason why the temple "can have been only to Divus Augustus".³⁹ This is the first evidence of a temple dedicated to the imperial cult in the Spanish provinces, although the offering of dedications and altars had been taking place before this time in other parts of Spain. It is therefore clear that the imperial cult was propelled from Tarraco (Tarragona), which partly explains the fact that it is this city in which one finds the most inscriptions in Hispania Citerior (N = 28).

In Tarraconensis imperial dedications are concentrated in the big urban settlements, namely Saguntum (N = 10), Valentia (N = 9), Barcino (N = 8), Dertosa (N = 6), Iluro (N = 6) and Baetulo (N = 4). From the point of view of the location of the inscriptions in the East Coast region, the *conventus* Carthaginiensis shows more diversity in the towns that provide epigraphic evidence for the imperial cult. For instance, this *conventus* presents a duality in that there are many Romanised towns along the coast, whereas the urban settlements inland, settled originally by the Celtiberian chiefdoms,⁴⁰ are much less Romanised. This is the case for both Toletum⁴¹ and Mentesa Oretanorum,⁴² which probably achieved privileged status when Vespasian granted the *Ius Latii* in Spain.⁴³ It is interesting to note that Carthago Nova (Cartagena), the capital of the *conventus* Carthaginiensis, is not where the largest number of representations of the imperial cult can be found, providing only three, in contrast with Acci for instance, which provides six. This same situation is also found in certain other

³⁸ *Templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in omnis provincias exemplum.* The translation is from *The Annals of Tacitus* published in Vol. III of the Loeb Classical Library edition of Tacitus (1931). This passage and its implications are discussed by Fishwick (1987, 1.1): 150-151; (2002a, 3.1): 43-49; (2004, 3.3): 5.

³⁹ Fishwick (2004, 3.3): 5.

⁴⁰ I use the term 'chiefdoms' instead of 'tribes', as well as 'indigenous' instead of 'native' when referring to the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula before the arrival of the Romans in order to avoid pejorative colonialist connotations (Curchin 2004: 10).

⁴¹ CIL 2, 3073.

⁴² CIL 2, 3236.

⁴³ Curchin (2012): 17-18. Curchin explains that stipendiary towns had to pay tribute until they were granted privileged status, most of the time as Latin *municipia*. It is clear that Toletum achieved it under Vespasian, and Curchin conjectures that Mentesa Oretanorum must have achieved it as well due to its importance, even though there is no evidence for this hypothesis.

conventus, and is quite significant in light of the fact that the conventual *flamen*, responsible for the imperial cult, seems to have been based in the capital of a *conventus*.⁴⁴ This makes one wonder how significant the role of these conventual priests was in the spread of the imperial cult.

2.1.2. The Central Northern region (Caesaraugustanus and Cluniensis)

The towns located in Northern and Central Spain provide interesting evidence about the geographical distribution of imperial dedications. It is surprising that not a single dedication has been found in the town of Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza), which was an Augustan colony settled by veterans of the Cantabrian Wars (Legio IV, VI and X and the capital of the *conventus* Caesaraugustanus.⁴⁵ One would assume that this would have made it a suitable settlement for the promotion of the imperial cult, but this does not seem to be the case. Of course, dedications may have existed here and faded into history, but it is nonetheless significant that dedications are to be found in other towns of this *conventus*, but not in the capital. Instead, dedications come from Complutum,⁴⁶ Osca⁴⁷ and Bilbilis,⁴⁸ the latter two probably being Augustan *municipia* due to their adscription to the Galeria tribe, and the former a Flavian *municipium* for its adscription to the Quirina tribe.⁴⁹ Another inscription comes from Albarracín,⁵⁰ in the mountainous region of modern Teruel. This dedication to Claudius II is of special interest because it was found in an isolated and rural settlement, the Roman name of which is unknown. Therefore, the imperial cult appears to have spread to areas having little contact with important towns and with very low levels of Romanisation, whose rural nature points to a population with few economic resources. One particular inscription to Venus

⁴⁴ This statement obviously applies only to the *conventus* in which the presence of at least one conventual priest is attested. Étienne (1958: 182) records two in Carthago Nova (CIL 2, 3418; CIL 2, 3412).

⁴⁵ Keay (2012).

⁴⁶ CIL 2, 6308 = *HEp* 15, 234 = AE 1989, 469; CIL 2, 3030 = LICS 119 = ILER 5979; CIL 2, 6305 = LICS 116 = ILER 219; CIL 2, 3032 = LICS 117 = *HEp* 4, 507 = AE 1994, 1054a = ILER 600.

⁴⁷ CIL 2, 3002 = AE 2007, 698.

⁴⁸ CIL 2, 5852 = CIL 2, *265. This is an interesting inscription as its dedication dates to Augustus' reign (5-4 B.C.). Its offering might have been influenced by the fact that the emperor spent some time in the region. These aspects will be studied more deeply in the next chapter.

⁴⁹ Wiegels (1985): 98, 108, 126.

⁵⁰ EE 9, 318.

Augusta may come from the *conventus* Caesaraugustanus,⁵¹ but this cannot be confirmed since the exact location is unknown. Étienne established that this inscription was found in the sub-Pyrenees region,⁵² therefore there is also a possibility of ascribing it to the *conventus* Tarraconensis. In spite of not knowing the exact *conventus* to which this inscription belongs, what matters here is that this dedication was also set up in a mountainous region where big urban centres are not found, reinforcing again the spread of the cult to areas without high levels of urbanisation.

In the case of Cluniensis, its capital is where the majority of inscriptions are found,⁵³ which is not surprising if we bear in mind the fact that it probably headed the economic hierarchy of the region and dominated the religious hierarchy within the northern Meseta.⁵⁴ The other dedications in this *conventus* come from Numantia,⁵⁵ Palantia⁵⁶ and Uxama.⁵⁷

One final consideration concerning the social variety of the dedicants is needed here. It must be emphasised that six out of thirteen inscriptions are dedicated by individuals, of which two are freedmen and the other four, one of them a woman, are Roman citizens as they include the *tria nomina*. It is significant to find so much variety in a less Romanised area, far away from the main zone of Roman influence and within a fairly small corpus of dedications. A deeper analysis of dedicants will be the subject of the next chapter.

2.1.3. The Northwest (Asturum, Lucensis and Bracaraugustanus)

There are some considerations to note before analysing the evidence coming from these three *conventus*. As mentioned, this was the last Spanish region to be conquered, reason why imperial policy and propaganda can be expected to have played a major role in this area. As Beard, North and Price state, “religion and culture are

⁵¹ CIL 2, 6262.

⁵² Étienne (1958: 338).

⁵³ CIL 2, 2780; AE 1971, 205 = ILS 9239 = *HEp* 4, 194; CIL 2, 2778. This last inscription was dedicated to *Divus Augustus* by a *Sevir Augustalis* during Augustus' lifetime, which is very unusual because Augustus was only deified after his death. Again, more attention will be paid to these matters in the next chapter.

⁵⁴ Curchin (2004): 83.

⁵⁵ CIL 2, 2834 = *HEp* 10, 582.

⁵⁶ CIL 2, 5761.

⁵⁷ *EE* 8, 143; CIL 2, 2819 = *HEp* 13, 648 = AE 2007, 697.

regularly put to work on imperialism's behalf, incorporating the conquering power into local traditions".⁵⁸ In fact, the names of the capitals of the three *conventus* are already suggestive: Asturica Augusta (Astorga), Lucus Augusti (Lugo) and Bracara Augusta (Braga). All of them are Augustan creations, of which Asturica Augusta was the military camp of the Legio X Gemina,⁵⁹ and the other two were new urban centres upon which a certain pre-eminence was conferred in order for them to be imitated by settlements in the area.⁶⁰ Apart from these three urban settlements, two of the remaining seven towns that provide evidence for imperial dedications had previously been military camps (Legio VII and Castrum S. Christophori). These elements suggest that the army played a huge role in the process of Romanisation in this region, acting as a promoter for the imperial cult.

To these considerations we must add the important *Arae Sestianae*, which are mentioned in the literary sources.⁶¹ This is the only contemporary example of multiple altars, and the only known example of altars being named after a Roman commander, Lucius Sestius Quirinalis Albinianus (governor of Hispania Citerior between 22 and 19 B.C.). Fishwick states that the erection of altars in this region was linked to the desire to associate its conquest with the emperor, which is feasible.⁶² Fishwick further suggests that the three altars of the *Arae Sestianae* would correspond to the three *conventus* of Lucus Augusti and Bracara Augusta in Callaecia, and Asturica Augusta in Asturica, all of them named after Augustus. In agreement with Tranoy, he accepts that the three altars would have served the people of the three regions (as the single federal sanctuary at the Confluence in Gallia Comata).⁶³

These are not the only altars known in the North-West. Of the inscriptions collected in this region, five are altars,⁶⁴ which constitutes a significant number if we bear in mind that of all the inscriptions collected throughout the Spanish territories, only

⁵⁸ Beard – North – Price (1998): 314.

⁵⁹ Orejas Saco del Valle – Morillo Cerdán (2013): 94-95.

⁶⁰ Le Roux (1996): 366.

⁶¹ Pomponius Mela III, 13; Ptolemy II, 6, 2; Pliny the Elder *N.H.* IV, 111.

⁶² Fishwick (2002a, 3.1): 6-7. Fishwick defines them as "the earliest traces of imperial cult in the Latin west". Étienne (1958: 380) explains that this set of altars was promoted by the army, which is clear from the fact that they carry the name of a Roman general.

⁶³ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1): 9.

⁶⁴ CIL 2, 5123; CIL 2, 2581; EE 8, 307 = *HEp* 5, 324a; EE 8, 308 = *HEp* 5, 324b; EE 8, 280 = ILS 8895.

twenty are altars. The presence of an altar allows for the performing of rites *in situ* and therefore denotes activity related to the imperial cult.

Altogether, these elements support the idea that the region was a good starting point for the early promotion of the imperial cult launched from Rome. Further evidence of this can be gleaned from the dedicants, the diversity of which is less significant than in the two regions previously analysed. Out of twenty-five dedications, seven are made by imperial officers, five jointly by an imperial officer and army officials, one by the army alone, one by local magistrates, one by a *sacerdos perpetua* of the *conventus* Bracaraugustanus, two by a town and four by individuals, and the remaining four having lost the mention of the dedicant. As it can be observed, dedicants are predominantly imperial and army officers. Moreover, seventeen inscriptions are directly dedicated to the Roman emperors, and some also to the *domus Augusta*. The pre-eminence of imperial officers and army officials setting up dedications directed towards the exaltation of the figure of the emperor is therefore clear. This coincides with the observation made by Beard, North and Price, who note that “outside Italy, the body of men which most clearly stood for Rome was the army”,⁶⁵ meaning that army officers played an important role in expanding the Roman religion to recently conquered regions.

One of the inscriptions for which the dedicant is uncertain remains of special interest due to its connection to an official promotion of the imperial cult. It has been proposed that the dedicant is Cneus Calpurnius Piso, who committed suicide after having been accused of the murder by poison of Germanicus, under the reign of Tiberius.⁶⁶ As a consequence of his crime, his name received the *damnatio memoriae* and was therefore suppressed from all official representations. The monumental inscription, which received the *damnatio memoriae*, is very large (0,80m x 1,62m x 0,50m). Apart from the fact that the dedication was supposedly set up by an imperial officer, this inscription is mainly of interest because it has recently been proposed that it may have been part of a monumental tower dedicated to Augustus in Cape Torres

⁶⁵ Beard – North – Price (1998): 324.

⁶⁶ CIL 2, 2703 = *HEp* 14, 20 = AE 1971, 197.

(modern Gijón, Asturias).⁶⁷ If this is indeed the case, it again reinforces the role played by the central administration in the promotion of the imperial cult in this area.



Figure 2: CIL 2, 2703; imperial dedication with *damnatio memoriae* (source: HE).

In the North-West, the *civitas Limicorum* must be mentioned. This town was located in the *conventus* Bracaraugustanus and offered dedications to Hadrian (A.D. 132-133) and Antoninus Pius (A.D. 141).⁶⁸ Most of the towns in this region were probably given Latin rights (citizenship *per honorum*, *connubium* and *comercium*) under the Flavians.⁶⁹ However, Wiegels explains that the *civitas Limicorum* would not have had privileged status by A.D. 141.⁷⁰ Thus, it appears that the town was not privileged by the time of the dedications, which is also clear in its being referred to as *civitas* instead of *res publica*, which would imply a privileged status.⁷¹ This dedication was made when the conquest and the most intense period of central promotion of the cult were already distant in time. What was the reason behind it? The citizens would have had little to no opportunities to make their worship visible to the emperor, nor were they motivated by a promotion in the status of the town. Why then did they spend their money on a

⁶⁷ Fernández Ochoa – Morillo Cerdán – Villa Valdés (2005): 144.

⁶⁸ CIL 2, 2516 = IRG 4, 9; CIL 2, 2517 = IRG 4, 10.

⁶⁹ Le Roux (1996): 367. However, Le Roux points out that there is clear evidence only in the case of Aquae Flaviae.

⁷⁰ Wiegels (1985): 121.

⁷¹ Identifying a titled city as having privileged status has been generally accepted among historians. Fear however, in his analysis of the status of the Baetican towns, points out that a stipendiary city could possess a title, as it seems to be the case of Saepo (Fear 1996: 124).

dedication to the emperor? There might not have been any other purpose in this inscription than the desire of the city to honour the emperor.

2.2. Lusitania

Literary sources are absent when it comes to identifying the establishment of an official cult in Lusitania. Fishwick identifies the earliest stage of the provincial cult in Lusitania through the inscription to Divus Augustus set up by the *flamen Augustalis provinciae Lusitaniae* L. Papirius L. f. documented at Conimbriga.⁷² This inscription can be dated to A.D. 14 and therefore shows that by this date, soon after his death, an official cult to Divus Augustus had already been established. Fishwick justifies the absence of literary references for the establishment of an official cult in Lusitania by affirming that the example set at Tarraco in A.D. 15 with the building of a temple to Divus Augustus, rendered a Roman embassy unnecessary.⁷³ The example of Papirius attests to an early provincial priesthood, beginning much earlier than in the other provinces, where it begins under the Flavians.⁷⁴ In contrast, in Lusitania there is a full record from the early Julio-Claudian period.

The epigraphic evidence for the imperial cult in Lusitania is much smaller than in Hispania Citerior and Baetica. Only 45 dedications are attested, with a balanced distribution throughout the *conventus*: Emeritensis (18), Pacensis (12), Scallabitanus (15), and the original location of one inscription remaining unknown.⁷⁵

⁷² CIL 2, 41*, in Fishwick (2002a, 3.1: 53-54).

⁷³ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1): 60. I see a weakness in Fishwick's argument in the fact that this inscription pre-dates the embassy of Tarraco. However, the discussion over the exact date of the establishment of an official cult in the different provinces is not the main aim of this paper and will therefore not be discussed any further.

⁷⁴ Fishwick (2002b, 3.2): 101, 241.

⁷⁵ EE 8, 301 = AE 1898, 1.

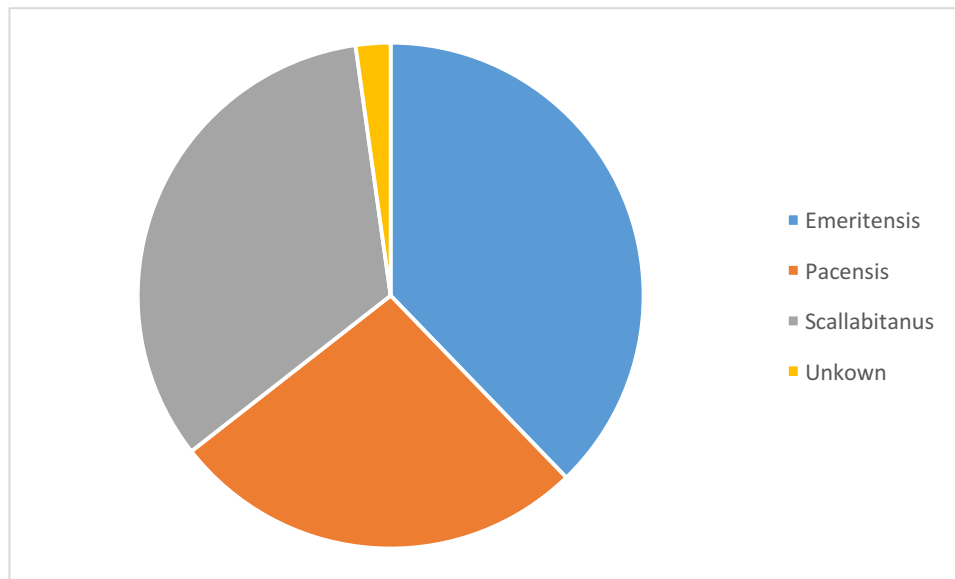


Figure 3. Distribution of imperial dedications among *conventus* in Lusitania.

The greatest concentration of imperial dedications is to be found in the city of Olisipo (modern Lisbon), with a total of 11. This is not surprising as the city played an important role in the defeat of the Lusitanians in the mid-second century B.C., a role reflected in it being conferred the status of a Roman municipality one century later, in the middle of the first century B.C.⁷⁶ Despite this, the high number of imperial dedications found in this city remains in sharp contrast to the rest of the province, where only one, or at maximum two dedications are found in most of the towns. The only exception is Augusta Emerita, a colony established by Augustus around 25 B.C. as a settlement for legionaries of the legions *V Alaudae* and *X Gemina*⁷⁷ and the provincial capital, which provides eight imperial dedications. One explanation for the exiguous evidence in Lusitania might lie in the fact that this province as a whole was substantially less prosperous than the towns in the East Coast and Southern regions of the Iberian Peninsula, where most of the epigraphic evidence is to be found. The exception is Olisipo, which apart from being more highly Romanised than other cities, was strategically situated on the coast, enabling its inhabitants to accumulate wealth through commercial marine activities and therefore allowing them to spend more money on imperial dedications.

⁷⁶ Osland (2006: 19) explains Pliny's identification of Olisipo as the only municipality of Roman citizens in the province of Lusitania.

⁷⁷ Osland (2006): 45.

Even if the corpus of dedications is meagre, there are some clear examples that attest to an early central promotion of the cult in this province. A dedication was set up in Augusta Emerita to Augustus in 27-20 B.C. by none other than the general Marcus Agrippa,⁷⁸ who was based in Lusitania with the mission of defeating the Cantabri and Astures of the northwest corner of Hispania. Apart from the example of Papirius already mentioned above, in Augusta Emerita we also find an official dedication to Divus Augustus and Diva Augusta set up in A.D. 42 by the provincial flamen Albinus.⁷⁹ These dedications, together with the early foundation of an official cult with a temple and a provincial priest, point towards the desire of the central administration to promote emperor worship in Lusitania. This early promotion of the imperial cult in Lusitania might be explained by pointing out that this province served as a base of operations for the conquest of the North-West of the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, imperial and army officers were a strong presence in the region when the Principate began.

In spite of the examples discussed, there is evidence of a less official worship being present in Lusitania, even at an early stage of the imperial cult. We see that some dedications are set up by local dedicants. One named Vicanus, son of Botius, offered an *ex voto* to Augustus in Salacia in 5-4 B.C.⁸⁰ Osland tells us that Salacia received Latin rights between 27 B.C. and 12 B.C., when its citizens were inscribed in the Galeria tribe.⁸¹ However, this might have only involved the elites that were part of the *ordo decurionum*. This is demonstrated by the dedicant's name, Vicanus, and that of his father, Botius. Vicanus does not use the *tria nomina*, an important Roman feature, which most probably means that he did not receive Latin status. In addition, if we focus on the onomastics of the name we may conclude that his, and that of his father, are indigenous names, as D'Encarnação also points out.⁸² Thus, this votive inscription from Salacia, the only evidence of an imperial cult in this city, is an example of a private worship undertaken at a very early stage by an indigenous person that had not yet received privileged status and was therefore not able to gain access to the political

⁷⁸ CIL 2, 472.

⁷⁹ CIL 2, 473 = ILS 6892 = *HEp* 7, 110 = AE 1946, 201. For the problems and possible solution to the reading of this inscription, see Fishwick (2002a, 3.1: 56-59).

⁸⁰ CIL 2, 5182. The mention of *sacrum* in the inscription is of particular interest, clearly linking it to a ritual practice.

⁸¹ Osland (2006): 37.

⁸² D'Encarnação (1981): 24.

sphere of the city. The example of Vicanus suggests that some sort of personal attachment to the emperor had developed in the city.

One final example that I would like to emphasise comes from the *civitas Aravorum*, which in A.D. 119 set up a dedication to Hadrian.⁸³ Very little is known about the development of this town. Osland, basing his argument on one inscription set up by Trajan on the monumental bridge in Alcántara,⁸⁴ thinks that the city had municipal status by the early 2nd century A.D.⁸⁵ While this is possible, it remains odd that the town used the designation of *civitas* instead of an official title such as *res publica*, which would presumably have been received at the granting of municipal status. In addition, even if we accept that the city was already privileged when the dedication to Hadrian was set up, it remains clear that this inscription was not dedicated by the *ordo decurionum* or by any magistrate, since mention of these institutions is lacking. It can therefore be argued that the inscription was erected by the whole city (i.e. a decision by the town's citizens gathered in an assembly), although the elites may have been involved. Again, this dedication cannot easily be linked to any political development of the city and therefore stands as an instance of citizen worship of the emperor.

2.3. Baetica

Tacitus informs us of an embassy to Rome requesting permission in A.D. 25 to erect a temple for Tiberius and Livia in Cordoba.⁸⁶ However, permission was never granted. Fishwick therefore finds no evidence for the establishment of an official cult in the province of Baetica before the end of the Julio-Claudian period. Instead, this would have begun under Vespasian, as before him there are neither temples attested, nor inscriptions with priests.⁸⁷ Placing the origins of the provincial cult so late in time sharply contrasts with the abundant evidence for municipal and, more abundantly, private cults in Baetica during the Julio-Claudian dynasty.⁸⁸

⁸³ AE 1954, 87.

⁸⁴ CIL 2, 760.

⁸⁵ Osland (2006): 89.

⁸⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 4, 37, 1, in Fishwick (2002a, 3.1: 111).

⁸⁷ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1): 111.

⁸⁸ The assessment of private cults will follow in the next chapter.

Baetica was the location of a huge number of imperial dedications. A total of 138 inscriptions have been collected, in contrast with 151 inscriptions in Hispania Citerior and 45 in Lusitania. The number of inscriptions in Hispania Citerior is still higher, but we need to consider the relative size of this province in comparison to the province of Baetica, which is much smaller. The distribution of inscriptions throughout *conventus* is also more balanced here than in the case of Hispania Citerior. Nevertheless, the *conventus* Astigitanus and Hispalensis, with 53 and 39 inscriptions respectively, have almost double the amount of dedications found in the other two *conventus*, Cordubensis (N = 26) and Gaditanus (N = 20).

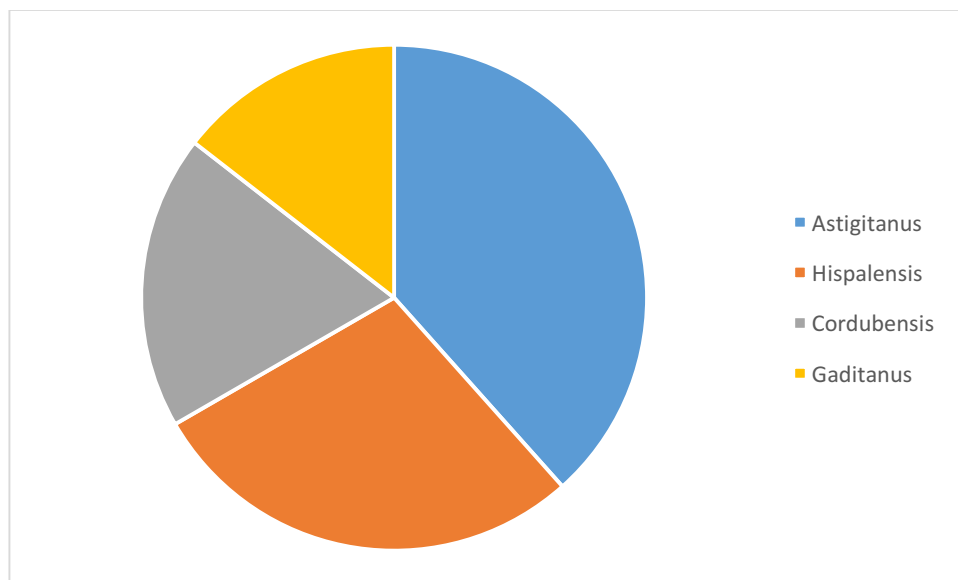


Figure 4. Distribution of imperial dedications among *conventus* in Baetica.

One possible explanation for the high proportion of imperial dedications in Baetica is the many sources of wealth located in this province. These ranged from the production of cereals, olive oil and wine, to honey and fish sauce. Also important in the area were animal husbandry and mining. Moreover, the southern coast of the province and the navigable Baetis River facilitated the transport of goods, strongly promoting trade.⁸⁹ Economic activity and growth in Baetica from c. 50 B.C. to c. A.D. 200 created a wealthy sector within the population, composed of people from the senatorial class but

⁸⁹ For an analysis on the sources of wealth in Baetica, see Haley (2003: 56-68).

also freedmen and *honesti* outside the *ordo*.⁹⁰ These groups had the means to set up inscriptions, an action that always involved great expenditure.

It is also interesting to note that inscriptions are scattered among many towns. In fact, Baetica is the province comprising the largest number of towns providing evidence for the imperial cult, with a total of 60, whereas in Hispania Citerior the inscriptions, despite being more abundant, are concentrated in 49 towns. We do not find in Baetica an accumulation of inscriptions per town able to emulate Tarraco's 28 inscriptions. Instead, the dispersion in this province is much more significant. This situation could be explained by pointing to the high, uniform levels of Romanisation in this province. However, the picture might not be as straightforward as this.

Keay identifies varying landscapes in the province, which created distinct areas. The richer agricultural lands were situated around the Baetis River and on the valley floor, an area that comprised the south of the *conventus* Cordubensis and Hispalensis and the north of the *conventus* Astigitanus. In contrast, the northern regions of Cordubensis and Hispalensis were composed of flat and arid lands, while the southeast of Astigitanus was formed of marginal mountain areas.⁹¹ These differences must have had an impact on the urbanisation of the province. Keay points out the fact that Baetica might not have been as urbanised as traditionally understood; in this urbanisation process it seems unlikely, he claims, that the Roman government was directly involved.⁹² Consequently, levels of Romanisation, which can to a certain degree be assessed by analysing the legal status of cities, must have varied between the towns located around the Baetis to those placed in less prosperous regions. Along this line of reasoning, Fear ends his chapter on the legal promotion of Baetican cities by stating that the speed of growth leading to Roman legal status was slow. Baetica, therefore, "despite its reputation as a 'Romanized' area of the empire, remained mainly peregrine, in terms of legal status at least, in the Julio-Claudian period".⁹³

We have seen that the *conventus* Cordubensis was not one of the main areas for the development of the imperial cult in Baetica. This needs to be emphasised, since the

⁹⁰ Haley (2003): 135.

⁹¹ Keay (1998a): 14.

⁹² Keay (1998b): 83.

⁹³ Fear (1996): 130.

capital of the province was Corduba. Despite the fact that permission was never granted to the embassy requesting to build a temple in this city, the initiative of the provincials remains clear. This request demonstrates an interest in launching the imperial cult in the provincial capital. In addition, Corduba was a Roman *colonia*, promoted either by Caesar or Augustus, and therefore more deeply Romanised than other towns in the province.⁹⁴ This conjunction of circumstances seems to highlight the potential of the provincial capital to become one of the main focal points for ruler worship in Baetica. However, the reality remains in sharp contrast to what one might expect, since only three inscriptions are attested in Corduba, all of them dating from the second half of the III century A.D.⁹⁵

Finally, attention must be drawn towards the large number of inscriptions that come from Baeturia Turdulorum, a region in the north of the *conventus* Cordubensis. As previously mentioned, the towns in this area were less Romanised than the ones located around the Baetis. In spite of this fact, they provide many examples of ruler worship, some from a very early stage when the official cult in Baetica had not yet been established. This is the case in Regina, where an inscription dedicated to Claudius was set up in A.D. 41-54.⁹⁶ Another interesting case is the dedication to Drusus in Azuaga from A.D. 22-23.⁹⁷ Stylow identifies this settlement as the *municipium Flavium V(---)*, which he proposes to expand *Victoria*.⁹⁸ It is clear then that the legal status of this town was promoted by the Flavians' grant of the *ius Latii*, which is also true for Regina.⁹⁹ Consequently, the inscription to Drusus must have been set up before the promotion of the *oppidum*. *Municipium Flavium V(---)* is actually the town with the largest number of dedications in the *conventus* Cordubensis, a total of six. Apart from the dedication to

⁹⁴ Fear (1996): 64.

⁹⁵ CIL 2, 2201 = CIL 2/7, 260 = *HEp* 4, 304 = ILER 1197; CIL 2, 2199 = CIL 2/7, 257 = ILER 1188; CIL 2, 2200 = CIL 2/7, 258 = ILS 552 = ILER 1283.

⁹⁶ CIL 2, 1027 = CIL 2/7, 978. Regina also provides a later dedication to the *numen* of Caracalla (CIL 2, 1037 = CIL 2/7, 980 = *EE* 8-2, p. 387). Fear (1996: 110) identifies a city called Regina as a *municipium civium Romanorum* at the time that Pliny compiled his sources. However, the two towns must have been different settlements since present-day Regina is located at the north of the *conventus* Cordubensis, whereas Fear places the other Regina at the south of the *conventus* Gaditanus.

⁹⁷ CIL 2, 2338 = CIL 2/7, 886 = *HEp* 5, 47.

⁹⁸ Stylow (1991): 17.

⁹⁹ Stylow (1991): 25.

Drusus, the other five can all be dated to A.D. 115,¹⁰⁰ and all of them concern the imperial family, with two dedications to Matidia,¹⁰¹ one to Marciana,¹⁰² one to Trajan,¹⁰³ and one to *Divus* Nerva.¹⁰⁴

The largest agglomeration of dedications is found in the *conventus* Hispalensis and Astigitanus, as already stated above. In both of these, the towns which provide more evidence for an imperial cult are the Roman colonies founded by Caesar and Augustus, namely Hispalis (N = 7) and Tucci (N = 7). Hadrian promoted Italica, his hometown, to the rank of Roman colony,¹⁰⁵ which explains why the largest number of dedications in Baetica is to be found in this city (N = 9). Most of these date to his reign and that of his predecessor, Trajan, also a native of Italica. However, important centres in the province, such as the Roman colonies of Astigi (also capital of *conventus*), Itucci, Hasta Regia and Asido, fail to contribute evidence for the cult.

In contrast to the absence of imperial dedications in the important centres of the province, we do find dedications at an early stage in cities far away from the main Romanised areas, at a time in which these cities had not yet been promoted. This is the case of the *civitas Aruccitana*, in the northern region of the *conventus* Hispalensis identified as Baeturia Celtica, which in A.D. 37-41 decided to erect a statue to Aggripina the Elder.¹⁰⁶ This is one of the two dedications to Aggripina known in Spain, which emphasises the high degree of local initiative undertaken by the natives of Arucci, a town that at this time was still stipendiary, as this was not a common dedication. Another interesting example comes from Ilurco, in the mountain area of the southeast of the *conventus* Astigitanus and far away from the main roads, where Titus Papirius Severus set up a white marble column to Tiberius in A.D. 26-27.¹⁰⁷ These examples

¹⁰⁰ Stylow (1991: 15) ventures the possibility that the group of statues was set up by Marcus Herennius Laetinus, attested in CIL 2, 2342, through a testamentary action. This hypothesis will be more carefully analysed in the next chapter.

¹⁰¹ CIL 2, 2341, 5546 = CIL 2/7, 889; CIL 2, 5549 = CIL 2/7, 890.

¹⁰² CIL 2, 2340, 5545 = CIL 2/7, 891 = EE 9, p. 94.

¹⁰³ CIL 2, 5543, 1028 = CIL 2/7, 888 = AE 1971, 170b = AE 1993, 1016 = *HEp* 5, 50.

¹⁰⁴ CIL 2, 5544, 2339 = CIL 2/7, 887 = *HEp* 5, 48 = ILER 1095.

¹⁰⁵ Fear (1996): 111.

¹⁰⁶ CIL 2, 963 = CIL 1, 2 = EE 9, p. 56 = ERBC 157 = *HEp* 3, 197 = AE 1990, 483 = ILER 1261.

¹⁰⁷ CIL 2, 2062 = CIL 2/5, 677 = ILPGranada 99 = CIL 4, 74 = *HEp* 12, 285 = AE 2003, 927 = ILER 1049. It is curious that he uses the *tria nomina* at a time in which Arucci seems not to have been privileged. However, Fear (1996: 113) identifies the case of Ugia in which some families might have obtained citizen rights while the majority of its inhabitants would have remained *peregrini*. This might also have occurred in Ilurco.

strongly suggest a high level of local initiative, both from individuals and towns in less Romanised areas, already during the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

2.4. Conclusions

As it has been shown throughout this chapter, the geographical spread of the imperial cult in Spain was not as straightforward as we would tend to think. Obviously, the greatest number of imperial dedications is to be found in the richer and highly romanised areas of the Iberian Peninsula, such as Baetica and the east coast of Hispania Citerior. At the same time, it appears that the Roman central administration and the military boosted official forms of ruler worship in the less Romanised regions of the North-West of Hispania Citerior and in Lusitania.

However, there are many exceptions to these patterns. For example, we have seen how several cities scattered all over Hispania offered dedications when they were still *peregrini* and had therefore not yet received any privilege from Rome. Being under Roman control must have been a heavy burden, but still they honour the imperial family. Moreover, there are examples of indigenous people without citizen status worshipping the emperor during the Julio-Claudians. In addition, provincial capitals in Baetica and Lusitania, where the provincial cult was based, seem not to have been the major exponents of ruler cult in these provinces, in contrast with what one might expect. Last but not least, it is significant that many dedications of different types were made in Baetica under the Julio-Claudians, a time at which the official cult had not yet been established in the province. Beard, North and Price point out that “the adoption and adaptation of Roman religious custom by local communities depended on much more than constitutional position [...]: individual interests within the province, local perceptions of cultural and religious identity, calculations of advantage, no doubt, in relation either to the Roman government or the ‘native’ elite, or both”.¹⁰⁸ We can certainly appreciate this situation in Spain and can therefore conclude by again stressing the great diversity in the geographical spread of the dedications, a diversity that transcends any clear relation between status and worship.

¹⁰⁸ Beard – North – Price (1998): 316.

3. Who dedicates what? The object of the cult and its dedicants

Imperial dedications took many forms, and anyone could honour the emperors and their families. The word 'anyone' needs to be highlighted since, as we will see, a wide variety of dedicants participated in the veneration of the imperial family. Both at the public and private levels, dedications took place over almost 300 years, and the dedicants ranged from imperial and army officers to local elites and associations, to a wide variety of individual worshippers.

This chapter aims to outline the people who took an active role in ruler worship in Spain. Who set up the dedications? We have seen that central promotion indeed existed in various areas of the Iberian Peninsula, but this phenomenon alone does not explain the popularity that the cult enjoyed in the Spanish provinces. In investigating this popularity, the development of the imperial cult over time is an important aspect to examine. Does the nature of the worship change over time? And more importantly, is there a relation between private and public cults over the first three centuries A.D.?

In order to analyse the dedicants over such a large timeframe it is necessary to know what they were worshipping (i.e. the various forms that imperial veneration took), and therefore this chapter is structured around the object of the cult. Consequently, the three sections of this chapter are linked to the types of dedications, resulting in the following subchapters: (1) *Genius* and *numen*, (2) Imperial virtues and blessings and Augustan gods and (3) Emperors and their families. These categories are very useful for this particular study because as will be pointed out throughout, clear patterns with respect to the corpus of dedicants can be drawn among them. An explanation of the nature of each one will be provided at the beginning of each section. It should be kept in mind however, that as stated above, the people who set up the inscriptions remain the main purpose of this chapter. Consequently, not much attention will be paid to the definitions of the different types of inscriptions. Historiography has expended much effort attempting to solve the epistemological problems surrounding around some of these, and the debate is still not settled. This paper does not pretend to find a solution to these problems.

The distinction between public and private cults here follows the one outlined by Festus as set out in the introduction. Therefore, it is essential to look at the provenance of the funding used in the setting up of the inscriptions. In some instances however, no mention of either public or private funds is found, and in these cases no conclusion can be reached with respect to the aim of the dedication. Another methodological approach is the assessment of the dedicants' status, which in some cases can be discerned through onomastics. *Cognomina* will hence be employed to distinguish Roman from non-Roman citizens, as well as slaves and freedmen from the freeborn.

3.1. Genius and numen

The *genius* can be defined as a divinity external to a man (his *comes*, guiding star or spiritual companion), under whose *tutela* he lived.¹⁰⁹ In Spain there are only two dedications to the emperor's *genius*.¹¹⁰ This is not surprising because as Gradel points out, the *genius* of the living emperor did not imply divinity.¹¹¹ Every Roman man had a *genius*. Not only humans, but also places, buildings, towns, groups of men or things, and even the Senate could have a *genius*.¹¹² Therefore, worshipping the emperor's *genius* did not automatically confer upon him divine status and it did not distinguish him from other men in the Roman world, reason why it might have been unpopular as a form of cult.

Despite the exiguous instances for the *genius*' cult in the Spanish provinces, a few interesting aspects of this cult can be noted. Gradel claims that the worship of the emperor's *genius* in the state cult was first institutionalised by Claudius and not under Augustus' reign as traditionally understood.¹¹³ If we take a look at the evidence in Spain, it appears that the veneration of the living emperor's *genius* was a matter of private

¹⁰⁹ Fishwick (1991, 2.1): 382.

¹¹⁰ CIL 2, 3524; CIL 2, 5123.

¹¹¹ Gradel (2002): 162.

¹¹² Fishwick (1991, 2.1): 382. Notice, for example, the dedication of the *sevir* M. Servilius Onesimus to the *genius* of the *municipium Florentinorum* in Baetica (CIL 2, 2069 = CIL 2/5, 619 = ILPGranada 31 = CILA 4, 1).

¹¹³ Gradel (2002): 196-197.

initiative, as Étienne has already noted.¹¹⁴ Of the two Spanish dedications to the emperor's *genius*, there is only one in which the dedicant is mentioned, L. Trebius Menophilus.¹¹⁵ This dedication can be ascribed to Augustus' *genius* and therefore, came long before the official state cult was established. The second inscription, which reads *Genio Augusti*,¹¹⁶ provides very little information. Étienne describes it as an altar and dates it to the end of the second century A.D.¹¹⁷ It is interesting to note the provenance of both inscriptions. The former is the only imperial dedication attested in Urçi and the latter is one of only three dedications found in Bracara Augusta. Interestingly therefore, the cities these inscriptions were found in were not main centres for the imperial cult.

In contrast to the *genius*, the veneration of the emperor's *numen* was more widespread in Spain. A total of forty-six inscriptions devoted to the *numen* have been collected from the three Spanish provinces. The imperial *numen* is, however, a concept that generates many difficulties. Its basic meaning as 'divine power' or 'divinity/godhead' seems quite clear; it is impersonal, but belongs to a god and is the force or power by which the god manifests himself to the world.¹¹⁸ However, the vagueness of the term in relation to the emperor has led to a complicated debate in which some older scholars saw it as synonymous with *genius*.¹¹⁹ This view was discarded by Fishwick who stated that it was not the same to pay cult to the *genius* of the emperor (i.e. his guardian) or to his *numen*, which is a divine property immanent within him.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, this distinction does not end the debate over the *numen*'s nature, since Fishwick thinks that "the emperor's 'divinity' must be understood not as the conferring of divine nature upon Augustus but rather as the working of divinity through the agency of the human emperor".¹²¹ In contrast, Gradel studies the inscription from Forum Clodii, twenty-three miles north-west of Rome,¹²² which he uses to conclude that the cult of the *numen* itself "did not exist –a *numen* could not be worshipped– or rather that

¹¹⁴ Étienne (1958): 306-307.

¹¹⁵ CIL 2, 3524.

¹¹⁶ CIL 2, 5123.

¹¹⁷ Étienne (1958): 306.

¹¹⁸ Gradel (2002): 235; Fishwick (1991, 2.1): 383.

¹¹⁹ For references, see Fishwick (1991, 2.1): 377, n. 10.

¹²⁰ Fishwick (1991, 2.1): 386.

¹²¹ Fishwick (1991, 2.1): 387.

¹²² CIL 11, 3303.

worshipping the emperor's divinity (*numen*) was simply synonymous with worshipping him directly, as a god".¹²³

As it has been shown, defining the concept of *numen* is not an easy task. Whether worshipping the emperor's *numen* meant to worship the divine status inherent within him, or rather to worship him directly as a god, matters a great deal in defining the 'nature' of the Roman emperor. However, this research is not so much focused on identifying the emperor's 'nature', but rather on identifying the worshippers that took part in his cult. Whatever the exact nature of the cult to the emperor's *numen* was, what is relevant to this research is the fact that it was closely linked with the emperor's divinity. People were thus dedicating inscriptions to his divine power, exercised through his person or by him directly. Therefore, the epigraphic habit attesting the imperial *numen*'s cult can be studied with a focus on the dedicants, rather than on the *numen*'s exact definition.

In interpreting the cult to the *numen* in Spain, it must first be highlighted that it received a very low number of direct dedications - only five. Beard, North and Price already noticed that the cult of the *numen* did not prove popular in general,¹²⁴ and this is certainly true for the Iberian Peninsula. In contrast, the Spanish provinces produced scores of examples of the peculiar *devotus* formula, *devotus numini maiestatique eius/eorum* (D.N.M.Q.E), which appears in forty-one inscriptions.¹²⁵ Many differences can be appreciated between the two models, both from the perspective of the dedicants and the chronology.

Let us first analyse the direct dedications. The first documented inscription is an altar found in the theatre of Tarraco which reads *Numini August(i)* and can be dated to Augustus' reign.¹²⁶ Fishwick explains that the cult to the *numen* (of Augustus) was

¹²³ Gradel (2002): 245. Gradel (2002: 244-245) explains that the emperor was not omnipresent and therefore his statue was necessary, but the *numen* could not be personified and his images could not move.

¹²⁴ Beard – North – Price (1998): 354. Fishwick (1991, 2.1: 388) explains that in the Western provinces of the Roman Empire, the cult seems "to have been slow in establishing itself as a popular form of worship and to have been restricted in the areas where it took hold".

¹²⁵ For references see Étienne (1958: 309-313). There are some variations to the original formula, such as DNE (*devotus numinis eius*) or ME[D] (*maiestati eius (dica or devo)tissimus*), among other minor variations.

¹²⁶ CIL 2/14/2, 851 = RIT 48 = AE 1946, 198.

officially ‘instituted’ by Tiberius when he dedicated the Ara Numinis Augusti.¹²⁷ It seems that Spaniards had an early interest in worshipping the emperor’s *numen*, even before the establishment of the provincial cult in Hither Spain, which happened in A.D. 15. Moreover, this is an altar, not a simple dedication. The presence of an altar implies sacrificial rites, which is the basis for Gradel’s definition of emperor worship.¹²⁸ The intention of carrying out the worship with subsequent actions seems clear in this early case. Sadly, we do not know the dedicant and therefore cannot discern whether this was a private or a public offering.¹²⁹ Nonetheless, whoever the dedicant was, they spent money and effort in setting up this altar, which can be appreciated in its decorations.

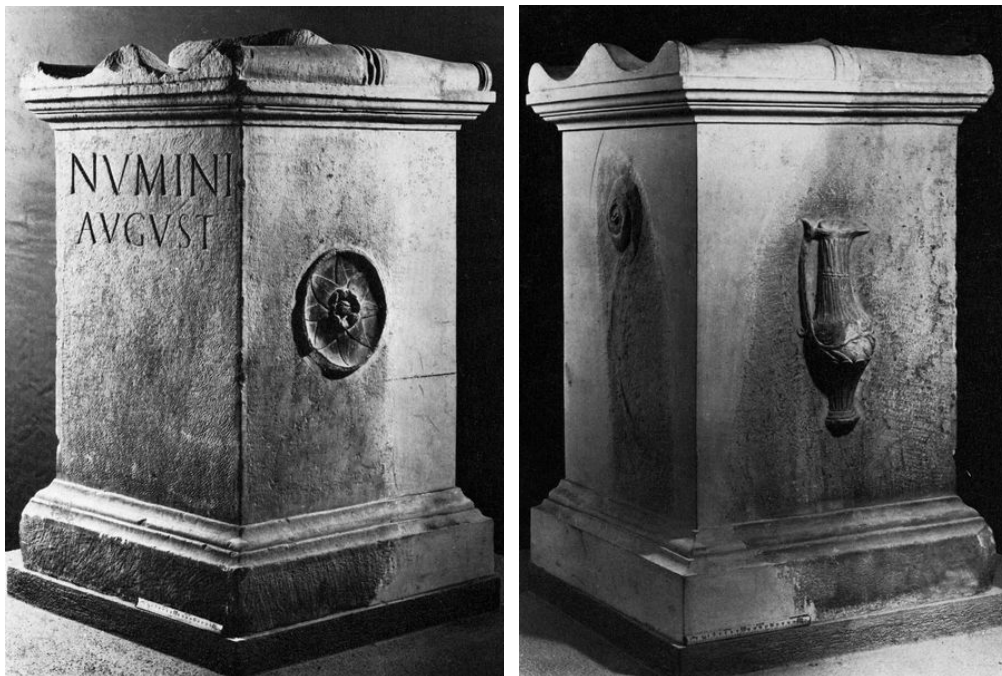


Figure 5. CIL 2/14/2, 851, ‘The altar of Augustus at Tarraco’. The letters are beautifully inscribed and decorations demonstrate excellent craftwork. There is an *urceus* (vessel with a narrow neck) on the left side, a *patera* (flat bowl) on the right side and a *lituus* (crooked wand without knots) at the back. The *urceus* and *patera* were used in ritual acts to pour libations on the altar. The *lituus* was also a cult instrument used by augurs (source: EDCS).

¹²⁷ Fishwick (1991, 2.1): 388.

¹²⁸ Gradel (2002): 7.

¹²⁹ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1: 235) states that the altar was set up by the colony of Tarraco, *colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco*, most probably in honour of Augustus’ sojourn there in 26-25 B.C.

The next dedication in time to the emperor's *numen* comes from Ipagrum (Baetica) and was set up to Tiberius by Fidentinus.¹³⁰ This is an interesting inscription since, as we have seen in the previous chapter, Tiberius never accepted the consecration of a temple dedicated to himself and Livia in Corduba. This fact delayed the establishment of a state cult in Baetica until the Flavian dynasty. Moreover, Tiberius was never deified after his death. There is no mention of the funds used for erection of the altar but it cannot be part of an official cult, since this did not yet exist in the province, and the dedicant does not bear the *tria nomina*, which shows that he was not a Roman citizen. It thus seems safe to label this inscription as part of a private worship. Provincials did confer divine status to the emperor even when he did not want them to do so.

A statue base in Anticaria (Baetica) uses the same formula as the first inscription discussed: *Numini Aug(usti)*.¹³¹ It was dedicated by [-] Cornelius Se[d]igitus, who paid for it with his own money. The recipient of the honour is unknown however. Through palaeography, the inscription can be dated to between the end of the first century A.D. and the beginning of the second century A.D., and therefore the emperor honoured was either a member of the Flavian dynasty or one of the first Antonines.

The last two inscriptions directly honouring the emperor's *numen* are also altars. In Nescania (Baetica), Claudius Publicus Fortunatus, freedman of the *municipium*, set up an altar with his own money to the *Numini divorum Augg(ustorum)* in the second century A.D.¹³² It is unclear whether the recipients were only the divinised emperors or whether they also included the living ones. Fishwick argues in favour of the second option, since the living emperors were included in the state cult since the Flavians.¹³³ What matters here is the fact that an individual, in this particular case an ex-slave, is again spending his own money to set up an altar.

The last *ara* was found in Complutum (Hispania Citerior), a region that we have seen was not one of the most highly Romanised. The inscription reads *Sacrum Numinis*

¹³⁰ CIL 2, 1516 = CIL 2/5, 591 = ILER 599. It is not known which type of inscription this was.

¹³¹ CIL 2, 2045 = CIL 2/5, 745.

¹³² CIL 2, 2009 = CIL 2/5, 841 = ILER 601.

¹³³ Fishwick (1991, 2.1): 394-395.

*pro salute et pro victoria Caesaris*¹³⁴ and it poses some troubles in its dating. Hübner and Étienne provided a late antique date, but Knapp notes that the letters would be more appropriate to the first or second century A.D. Due to this uncertainty, the inscription must be left out without a specific date. Dedicant and recipient are not stated and therefore remain unknown.

To sum up, at least three of the five direct dedications to the emperor's *numen* were erected with private funding, and three of them are altars. With respect to the chronology (and leaving out the last undateable example), two are dated under Augustus and Tiberius' reigns and two can be placed either under the Flavians or the Antonines. Therefore, the cult of the *numen* was initiated at a very early stage and even though it was never popular, it somehow continued.

The evidence studied sharply contrasts with the other *numen* dedications, all of which include the formula D.N.M.Q.E (N = 41). This set of dedications, which is found in all three Spanish provinces, starts at the beginning of the third century A.D. Curiously, the potential first (A.D. 197-217) and last (A.D. 283-285) dedications that we find were to two empresses, Iulia Domna (wife of Septimius Severus)¹³⁵ and Magnia Urbica (wife of Carinus)¹³⁶ respectively. While this might be due to a question of chance in the preservation of the evidence, it is nonetheless representative of the great power that some empresses accumulated, even during the third century crisis. Apart from these two instances, we find other examples of dedications to the *numen* of various women of the imperial family, such as Iulia Mamaea (mother of Severus Alexander),¹³⁷ Sabina Tranquillina (wife of Gordian III),¹³⁸ Cornelia Salonina (wife of Gallienus)¹³⁹ and Ulpia Severina (wife of Aurelian).¹⁴⁰

Furthermore, the nature of the dedicants must be pointed out. Not a single dedication with the D.N.M.Q.E. formula is an altar and only one of these 41 dedications

¹³⁴ CIL 2, 3032 = EE 8, p. 432 = LICS 117 = *HEp* 4, 507 = AE 1994, 1054a = ILER 600. There is a twin to this inscription coming from Alapardo, 27 km away from Complutum (see LICS 174).

¹³⁵ CIL 2, 810.

¹³⁶ CIL 2, 3394 = CILA 4, 126 = ILPGranada 71.

¹³⁷ CIL 2, 3393 = CILA 4, 125 = ILPGranada 70 = ILER 1276.

¹³⁸ CIL 2, 2070 = CIL 2/5, 620 = ILPGranada 32 = CILA 4, 2 = ILER 1279.

¹³⁹ CIL 2, 2200 = CIL 2/7, 258 = ILS 552 = ILER 1283.

¹⁴⁰ CIL 2/14/2, 927 = RIT 87 = AE 1930, 150 = AE 1938, 13 = ILER 1284.

may have been set up by an individual.¹⁴¹ However, this cannot be confirmed since mention of funding is absent. Most of the dedications were erected either by a decree of the local senate (*decreto decurionum*), by the local senate itself (*ordo decurionum*) or by decision of the whole town. There is one instance of a dedication by the *actarius* (high-ranking administrators of stores and provisions who warrant for irregularities with their private assets) of the *Legio VII Gemina*.¹⁴² Lastly, four dedications were set up by imperial officers, one by Allius Maximus and Flaminus Priscus, both *legati iuridici* (in charge of supporting the provincial governor in legal and administrative matters) in Hispania Citerior,¹⁴³ and one by Marcus Aurelius Valentinianus, a *legatus Aug(ustorum)*.¹⁴⁴ They all praise the emperor's virtues and magnificence with expressions such as *fortissimo et clementissimo* (strongest and most clement), *victoriosissimo* (most victorious) or *iusto clementi* (fair and clement). This is by no means the case for the other D.N.M.Q.E. dedications set up by the *ordo decurionum*.

To recapitulate, the veneration of the emperor's *genius* was a matter of individual initiative and was located in towns that do not provide many examples of the imperial cult in Hispania. With respect to the cult of the *numen*, we have seen that in contrast to the direct *numen* dedications, the inscriptions including the formula D.N.M.Q.E. are restricted to the third century A.D. Individuals were hardly, or maybe never, involved in this type of worship. Dedications were set up by local senates and imperial and army officers. The imperial officers had a special interest in overemphasising the emperor's qualities. Moreover, these inscriptions took the form of statue bases, and never altars. Taking all these facts into account, we can safely state that this type of dedication was promoted from the centre. It may have been instituted by the Severans, probably at the initiative of Caracalla as the inscriptions suddenly appear during his reign, in order to reinforce their newly acquired sovereignty. This practice was continued with the same aim by the emperors that followed. In a period

¹⁴¹ See previous reference. The names of Ulpia Severina and Aurelian, the honorees, received the *damnatio memoriae* and were erased from the inscription. The dedicant was *a studiis Augusti*, which was an imperial office in charge of imperial correspondence. However, this cannot be used as proof that he set up this dedication under the emperor's command.

¹⁴² CIL 2, 2663 = ILS 2335.

¹⁴³ CIL 2, 3738 = CIL 2/14/1, 20 = ILS 597 = IRVT 1, 23 = IRVT 2, 25 = *HEp* 18, 462 = ILS 1202; AE 1923, 102.

¹⁴⁴ CIL 2, 4102 = CIL 2/14/2, 929 = ILS 599 = RIT 89 = ILS 1208; CIL 2, 4103 = CIL 2/14/2, 930 = RIT 90 = ILS 1210.

in which the ruler's authority was in crisis and emperors could not hold power for a long time, self-representation and propaganda was strategically used to foster a positive image and gain as much support as possible. These examples contrast greatly with the direct dedications to the imperial *numen*, initiated as early as Augustus' reign by individuals who did not need to be prompted in their divine veneration of their ruler.

3.2. Imperial virtues and blessings and Augustan gods

A total of twenty-nine inscriptions documenting the veneration of imperial blessings and virtues in Hispania have been gathered in the database. However, the study of imperial blessings and virtues is not as straightforward as one would assume and requires a quick introduction. Virtues were already linked to prominent persons during the Republic to emphasise certain qualities, and this evolved to become applied to the Emperor during the Principate. These virtues appear mostly on coins and therefore scholars have focused on numismatic studies of these, rather than analysing their appearances in epigraphy. This subchapter will first elaborate on the main characteristics of the Augustan virtues and blessings with the help of some numismatic studies before analysing the collected epigraphical data.

The concept of virtue was qualified by Wallace-Hadrill as "the moral quality of a man, whether innate or developed by education and practice".¹⁴⁵ This author also pointed out the necessity of distinguishing between what is a virtue and what is not.¹⁴⁶ Whereas some scholars labelled all the imperial abstractions as virtues,¹⁴⁷ Fishwick introduced the concept of 'blessing' or 'desirable condition' as distinguished from virtue,¹⁴⁸ a term that we will use in this research. For the sake of clarity, we may exemplify the difference between virtues and blessings with some examples from the inscriptions collected in the database. While *Iuventus*, *Pietas*, *Virtus* and *Providentia* are

¹⁴⁵ Wallace-Hadrill (1981): 308-309.

¹⁴⁶ Wallace-Hadrill (1981): 309.

¹⁴⁷ Étienne (1958: 320-334) for instance, always used the term imperial virtues and never delineated what can be considered a virtue and what cannot.

¹⁴⁸ Fishwick (1991, 2.1): 460. Wallace-Hadrill (1981: 309) used the term personification, which Fishwick finds unsatisfactory. Fishwick (1991, 2.1: 465) maintains that the distinction between a virtue and a blessing "is inherent in the abstraction itself, not in the way it is qualified", an idea that I am inclined to follow.

virtues because they are inherent to the person of the emperor, Concordia, Fortuna, Pax and Victoria are blessings because they refer to a desirable situation.¹⁴⁹ One main question arises in the study of these two deified abstractions: Did they pass for supernatural beings among the masses in Roman society? The majority of historians follow the idea that both imperial virtues and blessings were actually worshipped as independent godheads, with no essential differences between them and the Olympians, at least by the more naïve and uneducated people of the Empire.¹⁵⁰ I completely agree that they were worshipped as gods as this is palpable in the epigraphic data collected, where no differences can be appreciated between dedications to imperial virtues and blessings and to Augustan gods. However, I do not feel comfortable with explaining this type of worship through the ‘stupidity’ of the masses. A state cult existed for these abstractions, and state colleges and even senators, people who had supposedly received some kind of education, accorded honours to them.

Before going deeper in the analysis of the dedications, we shall sketch the main characteristics of the Augustan gods. Both types of dedications share common features regarding dedicants and chronology and will therefore be studied together. Dedications to gods accompanied by the epithet *Augustus/Augusta* have also given rise to scholarly discussion. Were the dedicants worshipping the god and appealing for the emperor’s protection or were they instead worshipping the emperor by linking him to divine qualities? Some authors opt for the latter option and argue that worshipping an Augustan god was a way of honouring special attributes of the emperor.¹⁵¹ However, this view has been dismissed by most of the historians who study the imperial cult. It is generally claimed that “in a dedication to an Augustan God, the subject pays cult to a particular deity, whose protection is simultaneously invoked for the emperor”.¹⁵² An interesting aspect of this type of worship was pointed out by Hopkins, who thought that Augustus served as the integrating title between local and Graeco-Roman deities, even though only the ‘sophisticated litterateurs’ might have realised this connection.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ For a list of what can be catalogued as virtues and blessings see Fishwick (1991, 2.1: 460).

¹⁵⁰ Wallace-Hadrill (1981): 314; Fishwick (1991, 2.1): 460.

¹⁵¹ Folliot (1927); Ward (1933): 220.

¹⁵² Fishwick (1991, 2.1): 448. See also Nock (1925: 92-93) and Étienne (1958: 342-343). Étienne (1958: 346) takes it a bit further and states that the Augustan gods became the emperor’s familial deities.

¹⁵³ Hopkins (1978): 230-231.

Fishwick used this last statement to claim that “to qualify every kind of divinity as Augustan must in most cases have been an uncomprehended and hence meaningless, empty practice”.¹⁵⁴

There is a revealing case in Baetica in which we can see the real purpose of a dedication to an Augustan god. The *sevir Augustalis* L. Iunius Puteolanus dedicated an altar to Augustan Neptune in Suel with his own money.¹⁵⁵ Haley argues in favour of linking the *cognomen* Puteolanus to the region of Puteoli (Puzzoli) in Campania.¹⁵⁶ This allows him to identify the status of this *sevir Augustalis* as a *libertus*, who would have been freed in Italy and then travelled to Baetica. This geographical mobility, together with the identification of the production of *garum* both at Puteoli and in the surroundings of Fuengirola where the inscription was found, leads Haley to link this freedman and his wealth to the commerce of *garum*.¹⁵⁷ It thus seems correct to suggest that due to his close connection with the sea, Puteolanus had the god Neptune in mind when he set up this dedication. However, can we affirm that he was not aware of the connotation held by the epithet *Augustus*? The fact that Puteolanus was a *sevir Augustalis* does not necessarily justify the inclusion of the epithet, as I shall argue later. After being freed, Puteolanus had amalgamated a fortune through commercial activity and had become a *sevir Augustalis*, a distinguished honour. This does not seem to be someone who was unaware of the developments of the culture in which he lived. Instead, I believe that the epithet *Augustus* served as a good way to worship a god and at the same time pay respect to the most powerful person in the Roman world: the emperor. As we will see, many dedications to Augustan gods were set up by individuals without any apparent privileged social position. Nonetheless, I find it a bit harsh to label this group of worshippers as not capable of understanding what they were doing. In addition, drawing certain links between intellectual capacity and ritual practices is not always appropriate, even in regards to today’s religious practices.

Two categories of dedicants are prominent in the dedications to Augustan virtues, blessings and gods: individuals and *seviri Augustales*. Before going any further

¹⁵⁴ Fishwick (1991, 2.1): 454.

¹⁵⁵ CIL 2, 1944 = ILS 6914 = ZPE 80-72 = AE 1990, 537.

¹⁵⁶ Haley (1990): 73. Puteolanus would be linked to this region through manumission (Haley 1990: 78). Kajanto (1965: 191) also links this *cognomen* to Puteoli, in Campania.

¹⁵⁷ Haley (1990): 74-75.

in this analysis, we need to say a few words about the *seviri Augustales*. There are different titles that include the adjective *Augustalis*, mainly *seviri Augustales*, *magistri Augustales* and *Augustales*. Due to this linguistic connection with the figure of the emperor, many commentators have generally defended the idea that these institutions were all concerned with the cult of the emperor.¹⁵⁸ Abramenko brought new insight when he noticed that the *seviri*, generally thought to be a different type of institution, did not differ with respect to the colleges already mentioned. Although he did not completely dismiss the connection with the imperial cult, he maintained that all these institutions functioned as a second order below the *ordo decurionum*, just as the *ordo Equester* functioned as a second order in Rome, below the senatorial class.¹⁵⁹ Abramenko's contribution has been applied by other scholars in order to reject any connection of the (*seviri*) *Augustales*, the term that will be used from now on to encompass all the different titles, with the imperial cult. As Mouritsen puts it, "if we accept that no sharp distinction can be drawn between *Seviri*, *Augustales* and *Seviri Augustales*, the terminological argument loses its force and the posited link with the worship of the emperor becomes tenuous".¹⁶⁰

If the (*seviri*) *Augustales* were not an institution focused on the worship of the emperor, what were they? Gradel upholds Abramenko's *ordo* model and states that as members of a local *ordo* they did not have any functions of office, and "their appellation after the emperor was thus purely honorary".¹⁶¹ In Gradel's opinion they formed a private association, but were "closely interrelated with the formal public sphere of the Italian townships".¹⁶² Mouritsen, although also rejecting any connection with the imperial cult, disagrees with the 'ordo model' and claims that the "institution [of the (*seviri*) *Augustales*] was invented as an euergetic office which exploited an otherwise

¹⁵⁸ Premerstein (1895); Taylor (1914); Duthoy (1978); Ostrow (1990); Fishwick (1991, 2.1: 609-616). Despite upholding the connection of the *Augustales* with the imperial cult, there are many divergences among these scholars. For instance, Duthoy (1978: 1298-1299), whose work supposed a revolution in the study of these associations, thought that the main object of their cult was the *genius* of the emperor or the *Numen Augusti*. In contrast, Fishwick (1991, 2.1: 612) upheld the idea that the *Augustales* originally focused on the person of the living emperor but later came to include other members of the *domus imperatoria*.

¹⁵⁹ Abramenko (1993): 76-82; Gradel (1994): 60.

¹⁶⁰ Mouritsen (2006): 240-241.

¹⁶¹ Gradel (2002): 229.

¹⁶² Gradel (2002): 230.

untapped resource”.¹⁶³ This ‘untapped resource’ was the wealth of the freedmen, who could not access any public office. The associations of (*seviri*) *Augustales* were mostly composed of men withdrawn from this social sector. Hence, in Mouritsen’s opinion, “these posts represented attempts to widen the pool of public donors who sustained the urban culture of the Roman Empire”.¹⁶⁴

I feel inclined towards the idea that the (*seviri*) *Augustales* had nothing to do with the emperor’s worship. In the evidence collected for Spain, we find few dedications to the imperial family and not a single one to the *genius* or the *numen* of the emperor set up by (*seviri*) *Augustales*. Their worship, aimed primarily at Augustan virtues, blessings and gods, does not differ in any respect from other dedications set up by individuals.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, many of these inscriptions were paid with the (*seviri*) *Augustales*’ own money and thus cannot be considered as part of any office’s ‘duties’. Instead, they are better understood as private initiatives. Moreover, if we take a quick look at other inscriptions referring to the (*seviri*) *Augustales* in Spain collected by Étienne,¹⁶⁶ we see that most of them are either funerary or honorific. Therefore, little remains to consider them as related to the imperial cult in any way.

In the Spanish provinces, out of 98 inscriptions set up to Augustan virtues, blessings and gods, 54 are dedicated by individuals. Regarding the (*seviri*) *Augustales*, they set up 28 inscriptions, of which 11 explicitly mention private funding. The 17 left are difficult to assess because they either do not state how the inscriptions were financed or are erected for the honour of being appointed as *seviri* (*ob honorem Vlviratus*). This last set could be identified as private initiatives, since there were no specific requirements stating the necessity to set up this sort of inscription.¹⁶⁷ However, it might have become socially expected, and therefore their real purpose is difficult to recognise.

¹⁶³ Mouritsen (2006): 247. In another publication he gives a list of reasons why in his opinion this model does not function (Mouritsen 2011: 256).

¹⁶⁴ Mouritsen (2006): 243.

¹⁶⁵ See Beard – North – Price (1998: 358), who state that the (*seviri*) *Augustales* “performed the conventional range of local religious actions, and there is no reason to think of them as particularly connected by definition with the ‘imperial cult’”.

¹⁶⁶ Étienne (1958): 252-262.

¹⁶⁷ See Bruun (2014), who argues in favour of studying them as private initiatives.

Only six inscriptions can be ascribed to an official cult. These were set up by priests and priestesses who do not specify whether they paid for the dedications themselves. Still, two of them were set up *ob honorem*,¹⁶⁸ so uncertainty remains. The other four are more clearly labelled as part of the state cult.¹⁶⁹ There are some interesting examples of members of the elite with an extended *cursus honorum* who, in spite of holding religious titles, set up dedications with their private money, and therefore by virtue of their private religious feelings. This is the case of Lucius Calpurnius Silvinus, who was *duumvir* of Urgavo twice, *flamen* of the *municipium* and *pontifex* of the *domus Augusta*, and who set up a dedication to Augustan *Liber Pater*.¹⁷⁰ Even though many of the inscriptions are in a bad state, the fact that these types of dedicants spent more money can be appreciated when compared with the general trend.

We see then that the majority of these dedications were set up by individuals. In most of cases, the people behind the dedication do not state in the inscription any office or privileged position within their communities. Most likely, if they had held public office, they would be eager to let their co-citizens know about it. Moreover, most of the inscriptions that I have been able to check through photos are of poor quality, which reinforces the idea that this set of worshippers, with the exception of the elites and the (*seviri*) *Augustales*, had limited resources. Consequently, we can tentatively suggest that these individuals were less likely to hold public offices, as this required the payment of the *summa honoraria*.

It is curious that many inscriptions to Augustan virtues, blessings and gods were set up in memory of family members. All of the inscriptions begin with a main dedicatory part, but some of them have an additional part in memory of beloved sons, daughters, brothers or wives. Only one of these inscriptions was erected by a member of the local elite,¹⁷¹ again reinforcing the argument that most of these individuals had limited

¹⁶⁸ This is the case of a *sacerdos* in Salpensa (CIL 2, 1278 = CILA 2/3, 951 = ILER 438) and a *flamen* in Lacippo (CIL 2, 1935).

¹⁶⁹ We can identify a *sacerdos perpetua Romae et Augustorum conventus Bracaraugustani* (CIL 2, 2416 = ILS 6924 = SIRIS 760 = RICIS 2, 603/1201), a *magister* of the *Larum Augustorum* and his daughter (CIL 2, 2013 = CIL 2/5, 773 = ILER 230), a *flamen Augustalis* (CILA 2/2, 347 = HEP 3, 348 = ILER 264) and a *flaminica* (CIL 2, 2122 = CIL 2/7, 57 = CILA 3/1, 266 = ILER 5955).

¹⁷⁰ CIL 2, 2105 = CIL 2/7, 68 = ILS 6910 = CILA 3/2, 558 = ILER 210. He does so for the honour of the pontificate, but he also adds the formula *de sua pecunia*. Moreover, this inscription attests two different priestly titles in the same city, which is difficult to assess.

¹⁷¹ CIL 2, 4458 = EE 9, p. 146 = IRC 2, 19 = ILER 640.

resources. They could in this way kill two birds with one stone: take part in the imperial cult and remember their beloved ones.

Other dedications include the formula *pro salute* followed by the name of an emperor. These dedications are devoted to Augustan gods, who are asked to aid and protect the emperor. There are only two direct examples of this, one to Hadrian¹⁷² and another one to Antoninus Pius.¹⁷³ However, the interpretation of both is difficult. The irregular abbreviations, the spelling of Hadrian without the H and the clumsy outline seem to indicate that the former was a private dedication by someone who did not have sufficient means and expertise to set up a proper dedication. The latter is clearer, but its nature is not easily discerned. The dedicant, a *libertus* named Atimetus, was a *tabularius* (archivist) in the province of Hispania Citerior. However, funding is not specified and therefore it cannot be catalogued as private or public. Another inscription was set up by an *aedile* in honour of Vespasian, thanking him for the awarding of Roman status to the *municipium* of Igabrum.¹⁷⁴ In this case, the reason for the dedication surely lies in the imperial bestowal of municipal status by the emperor.

Most of the individuals who set up inscriptions to Augustan virtues, blessings and gods are either Roman or Latin citizens because they use the *tria nomina*. However, there are some exceptions. We have already seen the case of the freedman Atimetus. Most of the (*seviri*) *Augustales* are also freedmen. There is also a dedication made by Viciria to Augustan Nemesis.¹⁷⁵ Another example comes from Tarraco, where Mercurius, a slave, and his wife dedicated an altar to Minerva Augusta.¹⁷⁶ In addition, many names have Greek origins, which might indicate a slave past. This might also explain the presence on certain inscriptions of Greek divinities such as Nemesis or Asklepius, alongside other oriental deities like Isis.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷² EE 9, 356 = IRIllici 2, 121 = *HEp* 6, 66.

¹⁷³ CIL 2, 4089 = CIL 2/14/2, 853 = RIT 50 = ILER 304.

¹⁷⁴ CIL 2, 1610 = CIL 2/5, 308 = ILS 1981 = *HEp* 1, 244 = AE 1986, 334d = ILER 174.

¹⁷⁵ CILA 2/2, 356 = AE 1955, 253.

¹⁷⁶ CIL 2, 4084 = CIL 2/14/2, 844 = RIT 42 = *HEp* 17, 146 = ILER 394. Étienne (1958: 337) thinks that he would have been a slave of the temple, which is confirmed by naming his wife *mulier*.

¹⁷⁷ Étienne (1958: 343) hypothesised that due to the significant number of Greek freedmen in the epigraphic material, some Greek divinities might have been adapted to their Roman equivalents. However, Étienne himself stated that this explanation was not sufficient, since many dedicants do not actually have Greek origins. The result is that few Greek divinities were worshipped in Spain with the epithet *Augustus/a*.

One element of particular significance is the large number of altars dedicated to Augustan virtues, blessings and gods. Out of 20 altars found among the totality of the inscriptions analysed, 12 correspond to this category of dedications (2 for Augustan virtues and blessings and 10 for Augustan gods). The cultic activities associated with these dedications (most of them private) are therefore clear. Obviously, asking favour from a god might have been the real motivation for the numerous altars. Yet gods were linked to the emperor with the epithet *Augustus/a* in an appeal for his protection and, consequently, he was substantially incorporated into these ritual practices.

In spite of some isolated examples,¹⁷⁸ dedications to Augustan virtues, blessings and gods began under the Flavians and clearly expanded during the Antonines, but had gradually disappeared by the end of the second century A.D. It must be said that these inscriptions are difficult to date due to the lack of official titles, but still epigraphists have managed to narrow down the chronology for most of them. The resulting timespan coincides with the one provided by Wallace-Hadrill regarding virtues and blessings in coinage, the heyday of which was during the civil wars of A.D. 68/69. They were then settled by the Flavians and expanded by the Antonines.¹⁷⁹

It seems that central promotion greatly influenced these dedications, since the chronology of the epigraphic habit paralleled trends on the centrally minted coins. If we take a look at the object of these dedications, only four virtues are attested (*Iuventus*, *Pietas*, *Virtus* and *Providentia*), while the rest can be catalogued as blessings (*Concordia*, *Fortuna*, *Pax*, *Victoria*, etc.). It stands out that 'desirable conditions' are much more abundant than virtues. Therefore, when dedicants worshipped these imperial abstractions, they had in mind the desirable situation in which they were living. This situation was possible due to the supreme powers of the emperor. During the third century A.D., emperors continued to issue coins with imperial blessings¹⁸⁰ but inscriptions demonstrate that the cult was never practiced again. Consequently, central promotion does not explain everything. Rather, we might suggest that when desirable

¹⁷⁸ A dedication to the *Victoria Augusta* set up by Tarraco is dated between 26 B.C. and A.D. 19 (CIL 2/14/2, 864 = RIT 58 = AE 1955, 243).

¹⁷⁹ Wallace-Hadrill (1981): 311.

¹⁸⁰ Southern (2001: 73) describes the case of Philip, who minted a coin in A.D. 247 to the *Concordia Augustorum* in order to advertise the fact that he had a strongly unified family. Even usurpers who could not mint coins from Rome used imperial blessings to promote themselves. This is the case of Marius, second leader of the Gallic Empire, who minted coins to *Victoria Augusti* (Claes 2005: 26).

situations started to decay due to the crisis in the third century A.D., so did their dedications. We find then a similar nature to *ex votos* set up to honour the gods, which were usually subject to the gods' 'behaviour'. If a wish was conceded, the gods were honoured. Similarly, if 'desirable situations' were achieved thanks to the emperor's actions, dedications were set up.¹⁸¹

3.3. Emperors and their families

The worship of the imperial family is the most enduring feature of what is nowadays known as the 'imperial cult'. Emperors and their families were apotheosised at the moment of their death and received the title of *divus*.¹⁸² The apotheosis was declared by the Roman Senate and took place at the imperial funerals, where a whole procedure was put in practice to ensure deification.¹⁸³ Deified emperors, called *divi*, became the main object of a whole system of rituals. Nonetheless, the living emperor was also venerated and worshipped throughout the Roman provinces. The traditional interpretation upholds that worship of living emperors did not take place in Rome, and by extension in Italy, where it was not fostered, nor even allowed. Recent studies have convincingly challenged this interpretation.¹⁸⁴ This thesis, however, does not pretend to shed light on the situation in Italy, but rather on that in the Spanish provinces. The imperial cult in Hispania, both to the *divi* and to the living emperor, went through different phases. The present analysis will therefore be divided into subcategories based on these chronological developments, which allows for interesting conclusions to be reached. Subsections will draw upon the chronological analysis provided by Fishwick regarding the institution and evolution of the cult in the Western provinces of the Empire.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ The Roman religion was a system of exchange. For example, when defining sacrifices in the ancient world, Gradel (2002: 15) explains that "in return for gifts of food, drink, and pleasant smells, the gods were expected to assist the worshippers with their requests".

¹⁸² For a full list of deified emperors and imperial family members, see Kienast (1996).

¹⁸³ See Price (1987) for the different elements found in the apotheosis ceremony (mainly a pyre, the release of an eagle and an eyewitness who could confirm that the dead emperor had ascended to heaven to join the gods), and for the significant changes in the ceremony over time.

¹⁸⁴ Gradel (2002: 73-108) for instance, finds evidence throughout Italy for the municipal worship of the living emperor.

¹⁸⁵ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1).

3.3.1. The initial phase (31 B.C. – A.D. 14)

Fishwick explains that the veneration of the living emperor was introduced in the Spanish North-West during Augustus' reign, with the consecration of the *Arae Sestianae* (probably in 19 B.C. after Agrippa's subjection of the region) by the Roman commander Lucius Sestius Quirinalis Albinianus.¹⁸⁶ This isolated fact serves Fishwick's imposition theory, explained in the introduction, which sees the establishment of the imperial cult in Spain as a purely political tool used to further Roman central ideology. While this was certainly an act of central propaganda, I am more inclined to believe that the aim was merely to link the conquest with the emperor, as Fishwick himself accepts,¹⁸⁷ and not to establish a cult that was still too green in other areas of the Empire for the centre to be aware of its supposed 'potential'. Moreover, Augustus might not have had anything to do with this decision. Even if the altars were intended to spread the cult in Spain, it is hard to imagine how they can have influenced the more Romanised people from the East and South of the Iberian Peninsula. The North-West had just been conquered and the local indigenous people, with a strong celtic background, were undoubtedly seen by the rest as 'barbarians'. Consequently, measures applied there were most probably not seen as something to emulate by the rest of the Spaniards. Therefore, the offering of these altars can hardly have set an example for the whole Spanish population to start honouring the living emperor.

The inscriptions, however, demonstrate that Spaniards did begin to honour the living emperor everywhere on the Iberian Peninsula during Augustus' reign, soon before any form of state or provincial cult, with a more official aura, was instituted for the emperor.¹⁸⁸ Other examples of central promotion exist, but these are scarce and were set up in the newly-conquered and more unstable areas of the North-West. The dedication by Agrippa (27-20 B.C. in Emerita Augusta, where he was stationed with the army preparing the conquest), the consecration of two altars by the *legatus Caesaris*

¹⁸⁶ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1): 6-9.

¹⁸⁷ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1): 6-7.

¹⁸⁸ Similar to the situation in Hispania, in Italy Gradel (2002: 77) finds inscriptions testifying the existence of temples, priests and sacrifices to the living emperor, evidence that is most abundant from the time of Augustus' reign.

Paullus Fabius Maximus (one in 27 B.C. in Lucus Augusti and the other (undated) in Bracara Augusta) and the inscription attributed to Cneus Calpurnius Piso (A.D. 9-10 probably in Gigia, *conventus* Asturum) have already been commented on in the previous chapter and are the only examples of dedications to Augustus by imperial or army officers during his reign. Three of these are located in the North-West and the other in Lusitania, where Roman army units were stationed. Due to their geographical location, all four inscriptions can, in my opinion, be explained with the same reasoning as the *Arae Sestianae*.

Apart from the four instances of central promotion, there are seven other inscriptions left that can be dated to Augustus' reign and are dedicated to the living emperor (i.e. Augustus). These dedications are scattered throughout the three Spanish provinces. What is most striking about this set of inscriptions is that many of them can be labelled as part of private cults. These are the cases of Caius Maecius Celer (27 B.C. – A.D. 14 in Ilici, *conventus* Carthaginesis),¹⁸⁹ Vicanus (5-4 B.C. in Salacia, *conventus* Pacensis),¹⁹⁰ and Lucius Aemilius Nigellus (A.D. 11-12 in Urgavo, *conventus* Cordubensis).¹⁹¹ There are many factors that differentiate these three inscriptions. Two of the dedicants are Roman citizens (deduced from the use of the *tria nomina*), while Vicanus must be a *peregrinus*. L. Aemilius Nigellus is the only one who mentions the offices held during his *cursus honorum* (he had been *aedile* and *duumvir* in Urgavo), but the inscription was set up by his own initiative. Lastly, the formulas used are also different. While Celer dedicates to *Augusto divi filio*, Vicanus and Nigellus use a more standard formula by adding Augustus' pontificate, consulship and *tribunicia potestate*. Significantly, these last two dedications include the word *sacrum*, Nigellus linking it to Augustus' *Victoria* and Vicanus apparently to Augustus himself, which highlights the cultic nature of both inscriptions.

The nature of two of the four remaining inscriptions cannot be fully confirmed. While they are dedicated by individuals, their fragmentary state does not allow us to attribute them to a private or public cult.¹⁹² However, it is clear that the imperial

¹⁸⁹ CIL 2, 3555.

¹⁹⁰ CIL 2, 5182.

¹⁹¹ CIL 2, 2106 = CIL 2/7, 69 = CILA 3/2, 559 = ILER 1030.

¹⁹² EE 9, 269 (date unknown in Aquae Flaviae, *conventus* Bracaraugustanus); CIL 2, 5852 (5-4 B.C. in Bilbilis, *conventus* Caesaraugustanus).

titulature is not included in any of them. Another inscription was dedicated by the local senate of Urgavo and is therefore part of the municipal (i.e. public) cult of the city.¹⁹³ The last known dedication that took place during Augustus' reign was set up by the *municipes Saguntini* (4-3 B.C. in Saguntum, *conventus* Tarraconensis).¹⁹⁴ This inscription poses some difficulties regarding its interpretation. There is no mention of either private or public funds, nor of any official institution or office. Is it then to be understood as a decision by the whole town, or only of its citizens? Was it the elites who took the decision of setting it up? How was it financed? Sadly, these questions cannot be answered with convincing arguments. However, the term *municipes* implies a certain connection with the city's privileged status at the moment of the dedication, from which we might suggest that only the citizens, and not all of the town's inhabitants, participated in this *veneratio*. A similar case is seen in a later inscription from the third century A.D. dedicated to Sabina Tranquillina by the *municipes Eborenses*, in which the decision to set up the inscription can be regarded as made by the local senate, since the formula *decreto decurionum* is attested.¹⁹⁵ It could thus be argued that there may have been a similar situation at Saguntum, where the local elites of the *ordo* may have taken the decision to set up this honorary inscription. Yet, a conclusive answer cannot be reached and whether this was a decision by all citizens or only the elite unfortunately remains obscure. Nevertheless, what must be noted in regards to this first stage of the imperial cult in Spain is the diversity of the dedicants, some of them individuals, and the diversified formulas used, both referring to the emperor and to the dedicants. We will see in the following subsections how this situation changed progressively as the cult developed.

3.3.2. The Julio-Claudian dynasty (A.D. 14 – 68)

Under Tiberius' reign, the next phase of the imperial cult in the Spanish provinces developed, marked by the institution of the provincial cult to the deified Augustus

¹⁹³ CIL 2, 2107 = CIL 2/7, 70 = ILS 96 = CIL 3/2, 560 = ILS 1024.

¹⁹⁴ CIL 2, 3827 = CIL 2/14/1, 305.

¹⁹⁵ CIL 2, 110.

together with Roma in Hispania Citerior and Lusitania.¹⁹⁶ Fishwick provides a Flavian date for the establishment of the provincial cult in Baetica, where as previously noted, Tiberius did not grant permission for the building of a provincial temple in Corduba dedicated to him and his mother Livia.¹⁹⁷ In contrast, Le Roux disagrees with this chronology and interprets the provincial initiative shown in the request of a provincial temple as a confirmation that there must have already been some sort of provincial cult.¹⁹⁸ As it is not my concern in this paper to secure a date for the starting point of the provincial cult in Baetica, I will not delve further into this argument. Due to a lack of sources confirming Le Roux's theory, I will follow the chronology established by Fishwick.

Dedications to *Divus Augustus* began once the provincial cult was established. It should be noted that only one comes from a provincial capital (Tarraco) and it does not provide any information about who set it up.¹⁹⁹ Another inscription with the same formula is found in Axati (*conventus* Hispalensis),²⁰⁰ and two were set up by (*seviri*) *Augustales*.²⁰¹ These are the only instances where (*seviri*) *Augustales* set up dedications to the deified emperor in Spain. One last inscription dates from the reign of Claudius and was set up by the *flamen* of the province of Lusitania to both *Divus Augustus* and *Diva Augusta* (Livia). This dedication has already been commented on above (see subsection 2.2).

Dedications to the divinised Augustus are not the only ones to be found under Tiberius' reign, in which offerings to the living emperor also abound. It has been repeatedly mentioned that Tiberius prohibited the construction of a temple dedicated to him in Baetica. This should have sent a message to the provincials not to venerate him, but they did anyway. The epigraphic evidence proves the existence of many private cults in Hispania at this stage, although no former official veneration is attested. This

¹⁹⁶ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1): 43-52 (Hispania Citerior) and 53-59 (Lusitania).

¹⁹⁷ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1): 111-126 (Baetica).

¹⁹⁸ Le Roux (1994): 399.

¹⁹⁹ CIL 2, 4093 = CIL 2/14/2, 880 = RIT 64. The inscription is nowadays lost; RIT states that it could have been either an altar or a statue base.

²⁰⁰ CIL 2/1, 205 = EE 9, 187.

²⁰¹ CIL 2, 2778 (the name of the dedicant is unknown due to the fragmentary state of the inscription); CIL 2, 182 = *HEp* 18, 577 = AE 2009, 502 = ILER 1033. This last statue base has recently been rediscovered; about the finding see Quinteira – D'Encarnação (2009), who hypothesise that it was located in the temple of the municipal forum of Olisipo (2009: 146).

situation demonstrates a high level of initiative from the Spaniards, who were eager to venerate the living emperor. Provincial cult was one thing, municipal and private cults were another. Sadly, for most of these inscriptions it is hard to discern who the dedicants were. One, undertaken by a father and his son (both named Lucius Fabius Severus) can definitely be attributed to a private cult due to the addition of the formula *de suo dederunt*.²⁰² Others present more difficulties. This is the case of the dedication by Titus Papirius Severus, where no information apart from the name of the dedicant is provided.²⁰³ It is a beautifully inscribed stone with the standard elements, which makes one wonder whether it could have been part of the municipal cult. A definitive answer cannot be determined however. Other dedications come from a *magister Larum Augustorum*²⁰⁴ and the *ordo decurionum* of Castulo.²⁰⁵

Also under Tiberius' reign, many inscriptions were set up in honour of members of the *domus Augusta* (imperial family). The nature of these epigraphic records is very varied, with both municipal and private cults attested. Drusus (Tiberius' son) was honoured several times, both by individuals²⁰⁶ and local senates,²⁰⁷ even though in many instances the evidence remains fragmentary. Germanicus (Tiberius' adopted son) also received honours.²⁰⁸ Significantly, three inscriptions were set up by two *pontifici Caesarum* of Anticaria (*conventus Astigitanus*). Marcus Cornelius Proculus honoured Livia (Tiberius' mother) and Germanicus in what seem to be part of the functions of his office as *pontifex Caesarum*.²⁰⁹ However, Cornelius Bassus, who might have been Proculus' brother, honoured Drusus but did so with his own money.²¹⁰ This instance goes to exemplify the high level of variation during the Julio-Claudian era, where two *pontifici Caesarum* (an uncommon office since priests of the imperial cult were normally termed *flamen* or *sacerdos*) in the same place and within the same timeframe venerated the

²⁰² *HEp* 1, 215. The authors of *HEp* prefer an earlier date, probably in A.D. 4-14.

²⁰³ CIL 2, 2062 = CIL 2/5, 677 = ILPGranada 99 = CILA 4, 74 = *HEp* 12, 285 = AE 2003, 927 = ILER 1049. The authors of CILA would have this dedication as an initiative of the local *ordo*.

²⁰⁴ CIL 2, 2181 = CIL 2/7, 204 = ILER 1048.

²⁰⁵ CIL 2, 3268 = CILA 3/1, 83 = *HEp* 5, 388. In very bad state, Hübner reconstructed the formula *ex decreto decurionum*.

²⁰⁶ CIL 2, 5048 = CIL 2/5, 962 = CILA 2/4, 1121.

²⁰⁷ CIL 2, 1553 = CIL 2/5, 440.

²⁰⁸ CIL 2, 1517, 2198 = CIL 2/5, 592 = *HEp* 3, 169.

²⁰⁹ CIL 2, 2038 = CIL 2/5, 748 = ILER 1258 (Livia); CIL 2, 2039 = CIL 2/5, 749 = ILER 1054 (Germanicus).

²¹⁰ CIL 2, 2040 = CIL 2/5, 750 = ILER 1059.

domus Augusta in completely different ways. Finally, I would like to emphasise the fact that *flamines* in charge of the cult of the living emperor and his family are also attested. We come across the names of Marcus Aurelius in Pax Iulia, a *flamen* of Tiberius,²¹¹ Marcus Iulius Plotus, *flamen* of Germanicus, and Iulia Augusta (Livia) in Olisipo.²¹² These priesthoods were devoted to Tiberius and his family even though he had refused the institution of a provincial cult in his name; the high level of local initiative could not be clearer.²¹³

We have seen how under the first two Roman emperors municipal and private cults were abundant and took different forms. This suddenly stopped when Caligula succeeded Tiberius. Caligula was not a popular emperor and his reign was short-lived (A.D. 37-41), which is probably why he is not prominent in our source material. Nonetheless, two dedications to Caligula's mother, Agrippina, can be dated from his reign. One was carried out by the *flamen Augustalis* of Mentesa Bastitanorum by a decree of the local senate,²¹⁴ and the second was carried out by the *civitas Aruccitana*,²¹⁵ (see subsection 2.3). Agrippina's manners ensured her considerable popularity, both among the army and the people. Moreover, she was Germanicus' wife. We have seen how popular the Roman general was, which granted him veneration by the Spaniards. The same veneration was bestowed on Agrippina, even though she never visited Spain and consequently the Spanish population never had direct contact with her. It must be noted, however, that she did not receive honours during her lifetime. She had died in A.D. 33 and the inscriptions date from Caligula's reign. The explanation for this fact might lie in Tiberius' hatred towards her. Tiberius had her banished to Pandateria, where she died. Her ashes were not returned to Rome until Caligula's ascension to power, when dedications to her appear in Hispania.

²¹¹ CIL 2, 49 = *HEp* 14, 414.

²¹² CIL 2, 194 = ILS 6896.

²¹³ Similarly, Gradel (2002: 85) finds evidence for the flamine of Tiberius in Paestum (Lucania), even though the emperor had refused offers of divine worship. Gradel takes this evidence to mean that "the relationship between emperor and Senate in the capital was only of marginal relevance to them [the grandees of Paestum], and Tiberius' hesitations and refusals were presumably never meant to curtail his worship at this level".

²¹⁴ CIL 2, 3379 = CIL 2/5, 4 = CILA 3/1, 279 = ILS 1260.

²¹⁵ CIL 2, 963 = CILA 1, 2 = EE 9, p. 56 = ERBC 157 = *HEp* 3, 197 = AE 1990, 483.

After Caligula's short reign, imperial dedications to the living emperor reappear. Although in lower numbers than under Augustus and Tiberius, and no longer including the *domus Augusta*, both Claudius (the second emperor to be apotheosised by the Roman senate) and Nero were honoured with dedications. The main characteristic of this worship is still the abundance of private cults, with a great variety of dedicants and very inconsistent and irregular in its form. Claudius received honorific inscriptions by several *peregrini*, most of them with a clear indigenous background. We see, for instance, the freedman Optatus and his two sons, Optatus and Reburus;²¹⁶ Vestinus and his son Rusticus;²¹⁷ and Terpulia, who set up a dedication to Claudius following the testamentary will of her husband Albanus.²¹⁸ A dedication set up by Lucius Cornelius exemplifies the high level of irregularity in the imperial cult at this stage.²¹⁹ The text ends with the abbreviation *D.D.S.*, which was expanded by Hübner as *d(e) d(ecurionum) s(ententia)*. This is highly unusual and is not found on any other imperial dedication; honours decreed by local senates generally follow the formula *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. The editors of CIL 2/5 prefer to expand it as *d(e) d(edit) s(uo)*. This formula is also very unusual because the common one reads *d(e) s(uo) d(edit)*, and allows for the identification of this dedication as part of a private cult. The use of such a non-standard formula is better understood within the context of private cults, the initiative for which was taken by individuals. Municipal cults were organised by the elites of the *ordo decurionum*, who were probably more aware of formalities. Another inscription with unique wording was devoted by the *civitas Ammaiensis*, where it is made clear that an annual vow was offered by the town.²²⁰

²¹⁶ CIL 2, 1569 = CIL 2/5, 394.

²¹⁷ CIL 2, 1953 = ILS 5504.

²¹⁸ CIL 2, 1302 = CIL 2/3, 993 = ILS 1609. The editors of CIL explain that while Terpulia and Albanus are Roman names, the names of their respective father and mother (Saunus and Sunna) are clearly indigenous.

²¹⁹ CIL 2, 1519 = CIL 2/5, 583.

²²⁰ AE 1950, 217 = AE 1969/70, 238. See Beard – North – Price (1998: 320 n. 17) for a brief note on this inscription.

In most of the inscriptions devoted to Nero, which are less abundant than those to Claudius, dedicants cannot be discerned.²²¹ There is only one exception, which was set up by an *Augustalis perpetuus*.²²²

To sum up, we have seen that during the Julio-Claudian dynasty, Rome's subjects in Spain showed great initiative. Many private cults venerated Augustus during his lifetime, even though the state cult in Rome had not yet been established. It has also been argued that the few instances of central promotion found in the North-West can be understood as a way of linking the emperor with the recently conquered territories, but not as the central imposition of the imperial cult intended for the whole Peninsula. Even when the provincial cult to the deified Augustus was instituted in Hispania (which, as we have seen was the result of the initiative of the provincials), private cults to the living emperor continued. Moreover, at this time the living emperor was Tiberius, who had rejected the establishment of a provincial cult in Baetica devoted to him and Livia. A provincial cult to Tiberius might have not started at this point, but private cults devoted to him surely existed, as the epigraphic evidence shows. We must therefore accept that Spaniards, both with and without indigenous backgrounds, were eager to worship the living emperor.

3.3.3. The Flavian reformation (A.D. 69-96)

Fishwick has argued that the existing provincial cult devoted to the *divi* and Roma was reformed by the Flavians to include the living emperor in both Hispania Citerior and Lusitania. In my analysis, this can be proven for Lusitania where there is an example of a dedication to Titus set up by the province at the time that he was co-emperor with his father Vespasian; the dedication was accompanied by a gold *protomé* of the emperor to be carried in procession.²²³ In the inscription, there is a special mention in honour of the provincial *flamen* M. Iunius Latronus. As it is the province that offers this dedication to

²²¹ CIL 2, 1392 = CILA 2/3, 818 = *HEp* 13, 596 = AE 2003, 917; CIL 2, 184; EE 8, 24; CIL 2, 1281 = CILA 2/3, 965 (Hübner reconstructed a mention of the *ordo* of Salpensa, but the editors of CILA are not convinced and prefer not to attempt a restoration).

²²² CIL 2, 183 = ILS 5640 = *HEp* 4, 1074.

²²³ CIL 2, 5264 = ILS 261 = *HEp* 9, 102 = AE 1982, 486 = ILS 1082. Fishwick (2002a, 3.1: 166-167) analyses this inscription, which he thinks must have also included Vespasian as co-emperor.

the living emperor, and the provincial *flamen* is also included, it proves the incorporation of the living emperor into the provincial cult. In contrast, in Baetica, as has already been mentioned, the provincial cult, also to the living emperor and the *divi*, was first established in this period.²²⁴ This reformation and expansion of provincial cults can be explained by pointing out Vespasian's desire to promote loyalty to his new dynasty, whose legitimacy and authority was still uncertain.²²⁵ What matters to the present study is whether these changes at the provincial level affected the patterns in dedicatory inscriptions that we have seen until now. Is there a shift in the status of the dedicants? Are dedications more standardised? As the following analysis will show, they are. However, these changes seem to have been progressive and did not become the rule until the second century A.D. Individual initiatives can still be appreciated under the Flavians, even though municipal cults, with a more official tone, grew in importance.

Private cults are bestowed upon the Flavians as living emperors during their respective reigns, and to Vespasian also as a *divus* after his state apotheosis. A statue base refers to the dedication by Lucius Porcius Sabellus, *duumvir* of Nescania, who offered it to the living emperor with his own money.²²⁶ Another private initiative was clearly a ritual dedication, but was linked to the fact that the dedicants had obtained Roman citizenship under Vespasian's reign (*per honorem civitatem Romanam consecutus*). It is offered with private funds by Marcus Clodius Proculus, his wife Annia and their two sons Marcus Clodius Rusticus and Marcus Clodius Marcellus, to the *sacrum domus Augustae* in benefice of Vespasian.²²⁷ A similar private dedication was offered to Domitian by two *duoviri* from Iluro, who state that they achieved Roman citizenship through their exercise of the duumvirate (*civitatem Romanam per honorem Ilviratus*

²²⁴ For a full account of the development of the provincial cult in Spain under the Flavians, see Fishwick (2002a, 3.1: 111-127 –Baetica–; 156-165 –Hispania Citerior–; 166-169 –Lusitania).

²²⁵ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1): 96; Beard – North – Price (1998: 356). While both studies accept Vespasian's intention of promoting loyalty to his newly installed regime, they disagree on the origins of such a reformation. Fishwick claims a central orchestration, while Beard – North – Price defend that, in some instances, the initiative came from the provincials.

²²⁶ CIL 2, 2041 = CIL 2/5, 845.

²²⁷ CIL 2, 1570 = CIL 2/5, 401 = *HEp* 10, 162 = AE 2000, 729.

consecuti).²²⁸ Regarding the deified Vespasian, Marcus Acilius Nymphodotus offered two dedications in Tarraco to *Divus Augustus* in A.D. 79-96.²²⁹

One inscription is difficult to define; it was dedicated to Vespasian by the *pagani pagi Carbulensis*.²³⁰ Curchin defines the *pagi* in Spain as small administrative *institutes* governed by magistrates and located in the *territorium* of Roman colonies in the most Romanised regions (mainly Baetica).²³¹ Curchin thinks that the *Pagus Carbulensis* must be understood “as the rural territory surrounding the town of Carbula” and not as a dependency of Corduba.²³² In spite of not specifically mentioning how the dedication was financed, in light of the nature of a *pagus* this epigraphic record is best analysed as a public cult rather than as a private one. However, it sheds light on the extent of emperor worship reached in Spain, since small institutions with a rural base such as the *pagi* were fervently involved in the cult.

Although private cults remained abundant, as anticipated above public cults undertaken by local senates became more important. Consequently, the three Flavians received municipal cults.²³³ The formulas in these inscriptions are more standard than before; they usually include the official titulature of the emperor, the decree of the local senate that offers the inscription (*decreto decurionum*) and the local magistrate who carries out the command. However, some irregularities are still found. An inscription devoted to Titus whose dedicant is not mentioned, inverts the order of the *praenomen Imp.* and the *nomen Caes.* and includes the title *conservator pacis Aug(ustae)*, which is not found anywhere else.²³⁴ The editor of IRVT thinks that this dedication would have been carried out by the town of Valentia. If this is true, it can be considered public, even though we have seen that dedications set up by towns are not easily labelled since they do not come from the *ordo* (formed by the local elite). Still, local elites must have had a real influence in these initiatives.

²²⁸ CIL 2, 1945 = ILS 1982

²²⁹ CIL 2, 4094 = CIL 2/14/2, 881 = RIT 65 = AE 1930, 146; CIL 2/14/2, 894 = RIT 69 = AE 1930, 146 = ILER 1087.

²³⁰ CIL 2, 2322 = CIL 2/7, 728 = ILER 1080.

²³¹ Curchin (1985): 338, 343.

²³² Curchin (1985): 339.

²³³ CIL 2, 1049 = CILA 2/4, 1064 = ILS 256 = AE 1972, 256 (*divus* Vespasian); CIL 2, 3250 = CILA 3/1, 46 = ILER 1081 (Titus); CIL 2, 1050 = EE 9, p. 73 = CILA 2/4, 1065 = AE 1972, 258 (*divus* Titus); CIL 2, 1051 = CILA 2/4, 1066 = *HEp* 15, 331 = AE 1972, 259 = AE 2006, 639 = ILER 6051 (Domitian).

²³⁴ CIL 2, 3732 = CIL 2/14/1, 13 = IRVT 1, 14 = IRVT 2, 15 = ILS 259.

In conclusion, we see a change in the trend of imperial dedications in Hispania after the Flavian reformation. While private cults are still bestowed on both the *divi* and the living emperor, municipal cults using more standardised formulas multiply. There seems to be a progressive shift in the types of dedicants, and the local senates appear to accumulate more prerogatives for the veneration of the emperor than before.

3.3.4. The Antonine era. Cult extension to the detriment of private dedicants (A.D. 96-193)

Imperial dedications to the living emperor, the *divi*, and the *domus Augusta* under the Antonines increased dramatically (N = 74) compared to the previous stages (N = 48 under the Julio-Claudians and N = 16 under the Flavians). This is not an odd development, since the second century A.D. saw an era of internal ‘peace’ and prosperity in which the Roman borders were expanded and the imperial cult was introduced in the provinces of the Danube region. Moreover, some of the Antonines were of Spanish origin. This is the case for Trajan, born in Italica (Baetica), and his adoptive son and successor Hadrian, who might have also been born in the same town. In addition, Hadrian took an active role in the promotion of the imperial cult in Hispania. He undertook major building works, such as the repair of the provincial ‘Temple of Augustus’ in Tarraco²³⁵ and the construction of the *Traianeum* (i.e. imperial temple bestowed to his predecessor Trajan) in Italica. Fishwick explains that the provincial cult remained unchanged during this period, though he notes that “enthusiasm for office was plainly on the wane by the last decades of the century”.²³⁶

Despite this clear expansion in emperor worship, private cults (N = 4) seem to diminish during the second century A.D. and fade away entirely in the third century A.D. There are only two dedications that can be clearly labelled as part of private cults offered by individuals. We find Pudens, who in spite of being an imperial freedman (*Augusti libertus*), offers a dedication to Nerva at his own expense (*de suo possuit*),²³⁷ and Marcus

²³⁵ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1): 186-188.

²³⁶ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1): 186.

²³⁷ CIL 2, 956 = ILS 276 = CILA 1, 29. The editors of CILA think that Pudens must have been one of the *procuratores metallorum* in charge of the administration and control of the mining districts.

Acilius Ruga Singiliensis, who offers a statue to Hadrian.²³⁸ Other initiatives are more obscure and therefore remain uncertain.²³⁹ The only innovations witnessed within private cults from the Antonine period are two dedications offered in A.D. 146 to the emperor Antoninus Pius and his adopted son, the *Caesar* Marcus Aurelius, by a private association, the *scaphari*.²⁴⁰ The editors of CIL explain that the *scaphari* were river boatmen (the name derives from the type of boat they used: *scaphae*) in charge of transporting the products for the *annona* along the river Baetis to the ports on the coast. The expression *qui Romulae negotiantur* on the inscriptions indicates that they were not from Hispalis, but resided in the city, where they formed a *collegium*. They were attracted to the potential profits that could be obtained by being at the service of the *praefectus annonae*.

As anticipated, the immense majority of dedications under the Antonines were set up by the local senates or by the towns (either with or without privileged status, though privileged centres already abound in Hispania in this period). In most instances, these dedications took the form of bases that supported statues of the members of the *domus Augusta*. The phrasing is generally very standard, with the main elements already commented above (official titulature, name of the town, the formula *decreto decurionum*, and in some cases the names of the local magistrates that executed the command of the *ordo decurionum*).

Apart from this municipal veneration, an even more official type of worship, which had been in place at the very first moments of the imperial cult in Hispania, reappears now: dedications set up by army officers. There is the striking case of five dedications found in the Castrum S. Christophori (*conventus* Lucensis) honouring Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the *Augusti* Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Verus, by various army officers and one procurator, who is always an imperial freedman, from around A.D. 163-184.²⁴¹ The dedicants change in each of the five inscriptions, but

²³⁸ CIL 2, 2014 = CIL 2/5, 775 = *HEp* 2, 458 = ILER 1105.

²³⁹ EE 8, 301 = AE 1898, 1 (with no mention of funds, Étienne (1958: 493) labels it as dedicated by the *civitas*/people); CIL 2/2, 369 = EE 8, 305 = ILS 3563 = AE 1915, 9 (ex voto offered by Autarces, Sabina's freedman, *pro salute Hadriani Augusti et Sabinae Augusta nostrorum* – it is not a direct dedication).

²⁴⁰ CIL 2, 1168 = CIL 2/1, 8 = ILS 7270 = ILER 1119 (Antoninus Pius); CIL 2, 1169 = CIL 2/1, 9 = ILS 355 (Marcus Aurelius). The formula *d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)* appears in both inscriptions.

²⁴¹ CIL 2, 2552 = ILS 9125 = ILER 24 (A.D. 163); CIL 2, 2555 = ILS 9128 = ILER 38 (A.D. 163); CIL 2, 2553 = ILS 9127 = AE 1910, 4 = ILER 25 (A.D. 167); CIL 2, 2556 = ILS 9129 = AE 1910, 6 = ILER 27 (A.D. 167); CIL 2, 2554

the content remains the same; the trigger for this set of inscriptions seems to have been the anniversaries (*ob natalem*) of the creation of different cohorts within the *Legio VII Gemina*.

In conclusion, we observe a standardisation of the imperial cult in Hispania at this time. The cult becomes more official and is carried out by municipal councils rather than by individuals, accelerating the changes already introduced in the Flavian era. This development points in the direction of a 'politicisation' of the imperial cult and can be linked to certain changes undertaken in Rome. Price observes that in the first century A.D. the heavenly honours were bestowed on the emperors at their funerals, after an particular set of procedures had been followed. This all changed in the second century A.D. when sometimes the passing of the decree by the senate bestowing heavenly honours on the emperor preceded rather than followed the funeral.²⁴² This change is interpreted by Price to mean that the "religious tradition ceased to be relevant and the decision became more of a political formality".²⁴³ This change is paralleled in the Spanish provinces, where the religious traditions followed by individuals almost cease completely and the dedications by local councils appear as political formalities.

3.3.5. The third century A.D. Decline and end of imperial dedications (A.D. 193-284)

Imperial dedications decrease and finally disappear during the third century A.D. (N = 27 for the Severans and N = 23 between A.D. 235 and 284). The content of the cult at the provincial level did not change in this period, but as Fishwick appreciates, expressions of loyal support for the regime reflect political nervousness.²⁴⁴ Dedications with the formula *D.N.M.Q.E.* have already been examined, and reflect a rigid and controlled initiative on the part of the provincials. Septimius Severus and Caracalla are the emperors who receive the majority of dedications (N = 10 each). During the third-century crisis, emperors and their family members receive either one or two

= ILS 9126 = AE 1910, 5 = ILER 26 (A.D. 184; curiously, this dedication has the exact same content as the previous four, but it was set up at a time when both emperors had died). All these inscriptions include the formula *pro salute*, used to ask the gods for the protection of the emperors.

²⁴² Price (1989): 91.

²⁴³ Price (1989): 92.

²⁴⁴ Fishwick (2002a, 3.1): 197.

dedications, likely due to the short length of their reigns. There is only the exception of Claudius II Gothicus, who receives six dedications. This is somewhat striking, since Claudius II held the title of emperor for only two years (A.D. 268-270). However, some features of his reign may help explain the numerous imperial dedications bestowed on him. To start with, he did not represent a rupture from the measures applied by the previous emperor, Gallienus, but rather endorsed everything that Gallienus had done. Moreover, he was a popular emperor, since he was chosen by the army and ratified by the Senate.²⁴⁵ His popularity is proven by the fact that he was not removed from power by his enemies (a common occurrence throughout the third-century crisis), but died of the plague that broke out in A.D. 270. Finally, Hispania might have separated itself from the Gallic Empire in A.D. 269. If this is true, Spaniards must have been willing to show their renewed loyalty to the Roman emperor after nine years under the authority of the Gallic emperor Postumus. This would also help to explain the large amount of dedications devoted to Claudius II. Most of the honours bestowed on the third-century emperors were offered by local senates and imperial officers, thus continuing the pattern initiated during the previous century.

There is, however, a group of inscriptions which prove difficult to assess. The *Valentini veterani et veteres* dedicated six inscriptions to different emperors and empresses between A.D. 222 and A.D. 269.²⁴⁶ The editor of IRVT describes this set of inscriptions as dedicated by the double community at Valentia. Menaut explains that Valentia was founded by Roman soldiers who had fought against Viriathus in Lusitania (the *veteres*), and expanded in the first century A.D. with the arrival of a new group of ex-soldiers (the *veterani*). However, they did not completely merge into a unique corpus of citizens and each group maintained an established number of the magistrates of the city.²⁴⁷ Consequently, these honours include the two separate communities of the city and must therefore be understood as an initiative of all the citizens of Valentia. The

²⁴⁵ Southern (2001): 108-109.

²⁴⁶ CIL 2, 3733 = CIL 2/14/1, 14 = IRVT 1, 17 = IRVT 2, 20 = ILER 1277 (Iulia Mamaea, with *damnatio memoriae*); CIL 2, 3734 = CIL 2/14/1, 15 = IRVT 1, 18 = IRVT 2, 19 = ILER 1278 (Sallustia Orbiana); CIL 2, 3735 = CIL 2/14/1, 16 = IRVT 1, 19 = IRVT 2, 21 = ILER 1184 (Herennius Etruscus); CIL 2, 3736 = CIL 2/14/1, 17 = IRVT 1, 20 = IRVT 2, 22 = ILER 1185 (Hostilian); CIL 2/14/1, 19 = IRVT 1, 22 = IRVT 2, 17 = IRVT 2, 24 = AE 1938, 24 = AE 1972, 284 = AE 2002, 851 (Aurelian); CIL 2, 3737 = CIL 2/14/1, 18 = IRVT 1, 21 = IRVT 2, 23 = ILER 1190 (Claudius II).

²⁴⁷ Pereira Menaut (1987): 340.

reasons that motivated them to begin their indiscriminate worship of different emperors at this stage in the cult are obscure. It could be hypothesised that the city, in contrast to the general trend in the empire, flourished for some particular reason. This explanation does not easily fit into the general development of the Roman world in the third century A.D. however. They may also have had specific reasons to seek the favour of the living emperor. However, hypotheses remain unsettled because no further evidence is available to strengthen any suggestion.

4. Conclusions

As stated in the introduction, this thesis aimed to identify the extent to which private worshippers participated in the imperial cult in Hispania. There are many historical analyses about the imperial cult in general, however few focus on the individuals who took part in it. Theoretical studies concentrating on the theology of complicated concepts miss one essential element: the religious feelings of the worshippers. Moreover, if only the most characteristic features of the imperial cult, such as the imperial temples and priests, are studied, the whole picture remains fragmentary and conclusions might not be accurate. The research undertaken in this thesis has attempted to fill this gap for one Roman province on the basis of the epigraphic material of imperial dedications.

The first chapter undertook an analysis of the geographical spread of the cult, with a particular emphasis on the status of the cities where inscriptions are attested. As expected, the cities on the east coast and in the basin of the Baetis River accumulated most of the imperial dedications due to their economically privileged positions and their long period of subjection to Roman control. However, evidence is also found in other regions where the Roman influence was lower. There are, for instance, some inscriptions attested in the Baetica Turdulorum at a very early stage, a region that was not as well connected with Rome as the Baetis basin. Similarly, inscriptions from mountainous and isolated regions in the *conventus* Caesaraugustanus, whose conventual capital does not provide significant evidence for the cult, were set up in settlements with a clear rural character, testifying to the huge spread of the imperial cult in Spain.

The political game and the status of cities is not enough to explain the evidence found in many towns. It is true that most of the Spanish towns enjoyed privileged status at the time when imperial dedications were set up. Caesar and Augustus, and later the Flavians, granted either Roman or Latin status to many urban settlements in Spain. However, there are examples of imperial dedications being erected in towns at a time at which no Latin or Roman status is attested. This was the case of the *civitas Aruccitana* and the *civitas Limicorum*, among others. The imperial veneration in these places cannot be explained as an act of gratitude towards the legal promotion of the city. It could be argued that what the inhabitants of these places were aiming for when erecting imperial dedications was the favour of the emperor. However, one must wonder what the actual chances of reaching the attention of the emperor were. As Gradel explains, the provincials surely appreciated a direct link with the emperor, reason why they sent *legationes* to Rome. However, the honours bestowed on the emperor by local towns hardly fulfilled this function, since the emperor would only be informed at the inception of the honours,²⁴⁸ most likely at a provincial level. Consequently, imperial honours offered by small communities had little chance of being noticed by the emperor.

Furthermore, the status of Rome's subjects does not seem to have been a significant factor in determining the nature of the imperial dedications. Whereas the majority of the dedicants bear the *tria nomina*, meaning that they were citizens, many people without the *tria nomina* also venerated the emperor. Most importantly, most of the dedications set up by *peregrini* are to be found in the first stages of the imperial cult, under Augustus and his immediate successors. It is true that the *ius Latii* granted by the Flavians to many towns in Spain surely reduced the number of *peregrini*, which partly explains why most of them are attested before the Flavians. However, we still find dedicants without privileged status venerating Augustan virtues, blessings and gods during the second century. In addition, some of the dedicants' names have a clear indigenous origin. It therefore seems that everyone, no matter what status they bore, could and did participate in the veneration of the emperor.

The focal point of the second chapter was the analysis of the dedicants. For this purpose, the general evolution of the imperial cult as well as the provincial

²⁴⁸ Gradel (2002): 98-99.

developments, were taken into account, with special attention to chronological aspects. It was explained that the imperial cult of the deified emperor and Roma at a provincial level was instituted during Tiberius' reign in Hispania Citerior and Lusitania. In Baetica in contrast, the provincial cult was probably founded by the Flavians. However, it has been demonstrated that private cults bestowed on the living emperor existed as early as under Augustus. Therefore, before the state cult in Rome and the provincial cult in Hispania were established, provincials privately venerated the living emperor. Some authors explain this by pointing out the establishment of some altars such as the *Arae Sestianae*, and imperial dedications in the recently conquered areas of the North-West of the Iberian Peninsula. They interpret these actions, undertaken by imperial and army officers, as being aimed at prompting the provincials to begin honouring the living emperor. However, it was argued in this thesis that these isolated examples found in recently conquered areas can hardly have meant anything for the rest of the population in Hispania. The goal was most likely that of linking the emperor with the conquest, not that of consciously starting the imperial cult in Hispania.

Imperial worship at the private level seems to have been especially important in the first stages of the imperial cult (i.e. under Augustus and Tiberius). Also, imperial dedications are very varied in these first moments of the cult, when many types of veneration are attested, such as to the *numen* of both Augustus and Tiberius, to Augustus' *genius* and to the emperors and the *domus Augusta* directly. Dedications to Tiberius as the living emperor are especially interesting because the emperor always refused divine honours both in Rome and in the provinces. For instance, he did not allow the Baetican population to build a provincial temple in Corduba dedicated to him and Livia. These restrictions, although followed in the capital of the empire and in the provincial capital of Baetica, seem not to have been understood as a restriction for the veneration of the emperor at the municipal and private levels however. Even municipal *flamines* in charge of the cult to Tiberius, Germanicus and Livia during their lifetime have been identified.

This initial picture seems to have begun to shift with the installation of the Flavian dynasty. While private cults honouring both the living and the deified emperors were still in evidence, municipal cults grew in importance. The Flavians were responsible for

introducing a series of modifications in the provinces. For instance, they initiated some reforms to the imperial cult at the provincial level, and the living emperor was introduced in Hispania Citerior and Lusitania. Similarly, they established the provincial cult in Baetica devoted to both the living emperor and the *divi*. This seems to show the desire of the new dynasty to promote loyalty towards their newly established regime. These reforms appear to have had an impact on local veneration, as municipal councils took an active role in the imperial cult. Moreover, the formulas attested on the epigraphic evidence become more standardised under the Flavians. The evidence seems to prove an active central promotion, and up to a certain extent, a regulation of the imperial cult in the Spanish provinces, which changed the patterns of veneration observed up until this time.

During the Antonines, the modifications initiated by the Flavians seem to have definitively taken hold and private cults fade away almost entirely. While there is innovation shown in some private cults undertaken by the private association of the *scaphari* in Baetica, standardised municipal cults honouring the living emperor predominate. We can identify a certain 'politicisation' of the imperial cult; a politicisation that, as stated above, has some parallels in the city of Rome. However, a new type of private cult, already attested during the Flavian dynasty, flourished under the Antonines. These are the cults bestowed on Augustan virtues, blessings and gods, most of them by private individuals and (*seviri*) *Augustales*. In light of the chronology of these dedications, it is tempting to argue that while the veneration of the living emperor and the *domus Augusta* seem to have progressively become the domain of a more official cult, individuals found another way of honouring the emperor by linking him to virtues, blessings and gods. Even though these cults were most likely prompted by coins centrally minted by the Roman government, individual actions could not be fully monitored by the centre, and Rome's subjects always maintained a certain degree of initiative. Emperors continued to issue coins with Augustan virtues and blessings during the third century, but these dedications had stopped at the end of the previous century and never reappeared. It therefore appears that worship was strongly connected to the situation of the worshippers, who could decide to quit their veneration when feelings of uncertainty and scepticism towards the emperor's administration arose.

The third century saw the decline of dedications honouring both the living emperor and the *divi*. While these are still numerous attested under the Severans (mostly devoted to Septimius Severus and Caracalla), they are marginal between A.D. 235 and 284. Private cults are completely absent in the third century. The central control of the imperial cult seems evident because standard inscriptions with the formula D.N.M.Q.E. honouring the emperor's *numen* make their appearance. Dedications with this exact same formula, or with some minor variations, exist in many different towns scattered throughout the Spanish provinces, which suggests that these inscriptions were not fully set up by the municipal councils' own initiative. Moreover, dedications expressing extreme praise for the emperor were erected by imperial officers. Hence, the epigraphic evidence seems to show that in a moment characterised by great initiative on the part of provincials to venerate the emperor, central devices were put in practice to ensure some kind of worship that could provide the emperor with as much support as possible.

In conclusion, this thesis has demonstrated that private cults were very abundant, mostly in the first stages of the imperial cult. The initiative of individuals is proven by the numerous dedications they set up. These dedications were highly irregular at the beginning, which goes to support the idea that individuals were very enthusiastic in their desire to venerate the emperor, even before any form of official cult and guidelines had been established in Rome and in the provinces. On some occasions, even when guidelines were provided by the emperor, individuals chose not to follow these and kept on venerating the living emperor, despite him having explicitly refused worship.

The reasons behind the quick adoption of the imperial cult by the Spanish population are more difficult to discern, since dedicants do not mention why they set up inscriptions. Gradel's theory upholding that the difference between humans and gods was in 'degree' but not in 'kind' is certainly appealing, because it explains why the imperial cult did not suppose a transgression and became widespread so quickly. However, this is an area that we have not ventured into in this thesis and remains open to future studies.

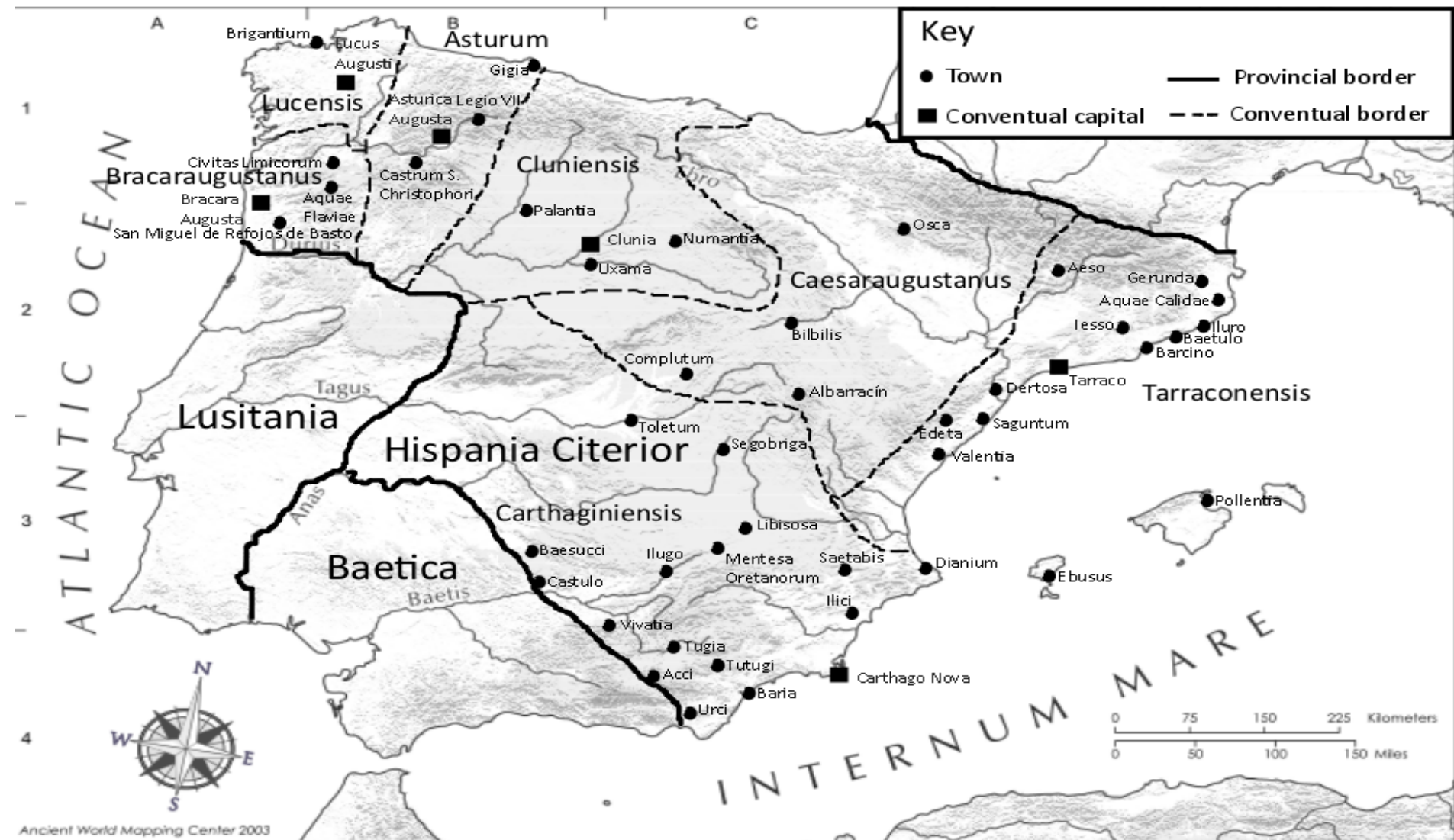
From the patterns observed in the epigraphic sources, what we can be certain of is that individuals were not mere spectators, easily manipulated according to political needs. While the central government could attempt to provide direction, individuals always maintained high levels of autonomy. A major conclusion of this study is that the imperial cult in Hispania was a shared construction between all the contributors that were involved in it. Similarly to the shifts recently taken in defining processes of Romanisation, where the interaction of both the Roman authorities and Rome's subjects need to be taken into account, the imperial cult in the provinces should be analysed from the point of view of a dialogue between the different participants. Only by studying all the components of the imperial cult can we get a sense of the bigger picture. In order to achieve this goal, we must necessarily bear in mind processes of conquest, levels of Romanisation, availability of resources, geography of the terrain, status of cities and their inhabitants, local and provincial ambitions, etc. For this reason, trying to find general patterns and apply them to a set of broadly defined territories (with a distinction such as West and East), does not make sense and misses the whole point. Evidence must be studied much more locally and, from there, taken onto the next level where comparisons with other areas can be attempted.

Appendix 1. Maps

Map 1. Provinces and conventus of Hispania



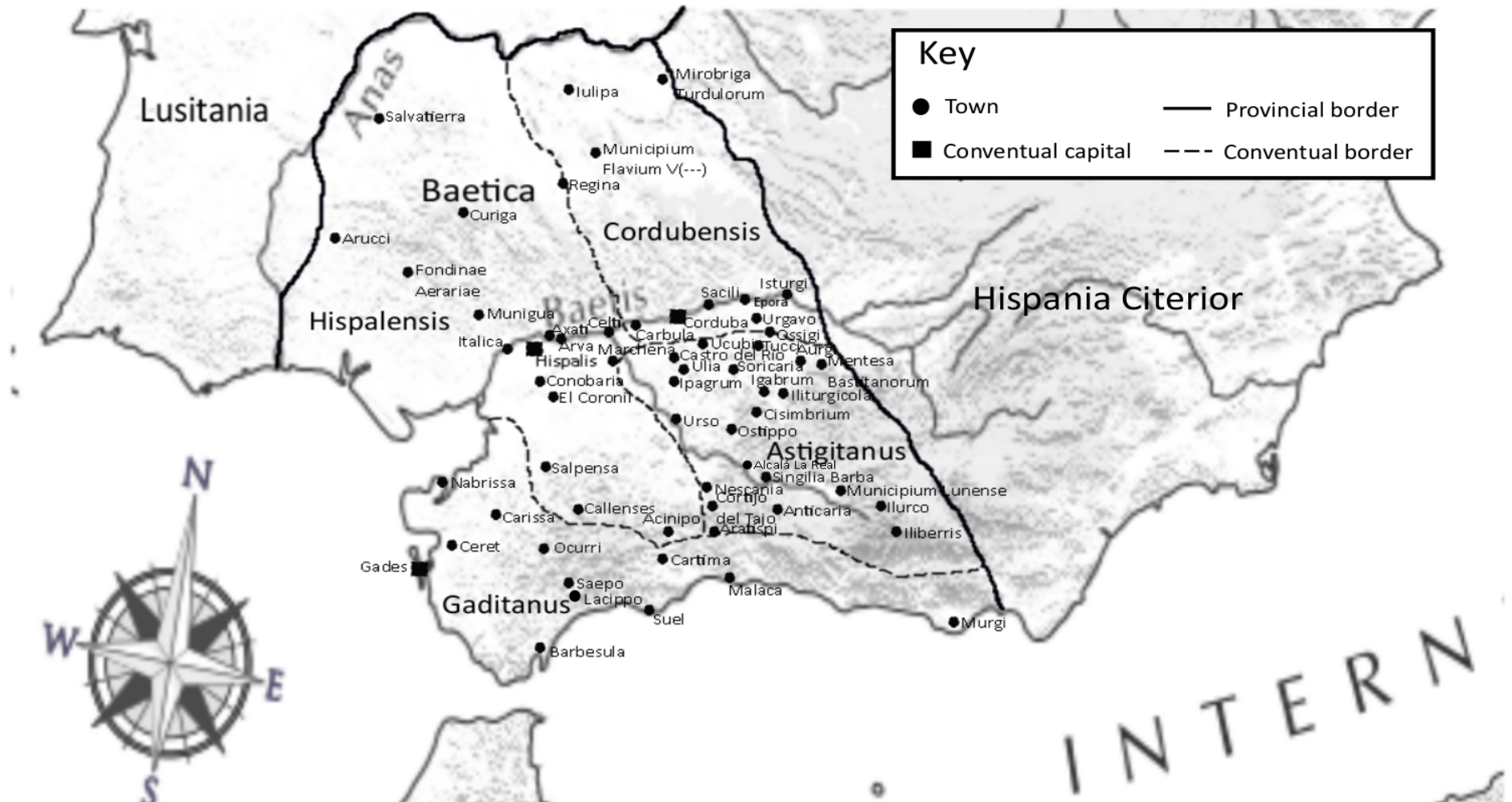
Map 2. Towns providing imperial dedications in Hispania Citerior



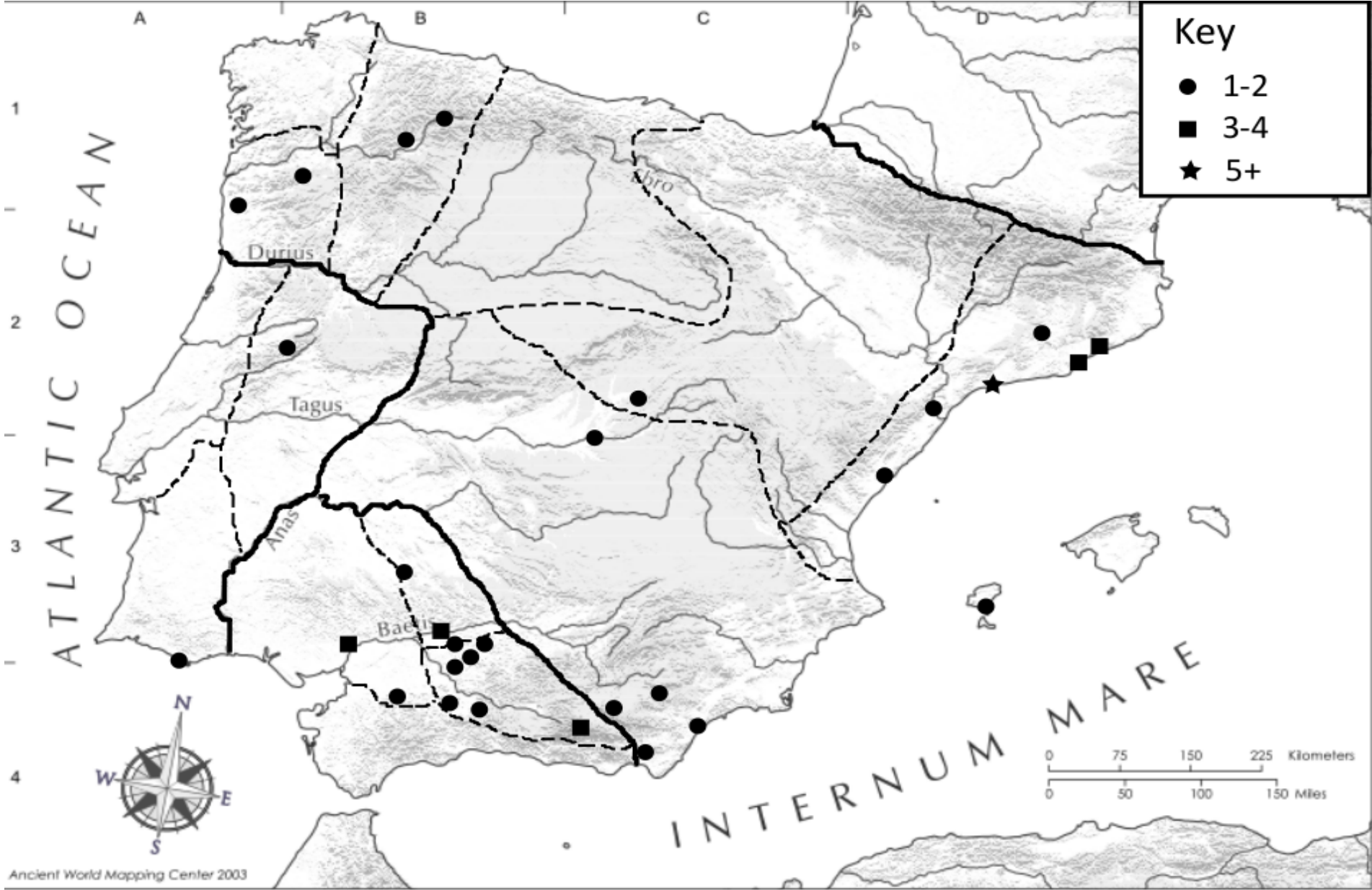
Map 3. Towns providing imperial dedications in Lusitania



Map 4. Towns providing imperial dedications in Baetica



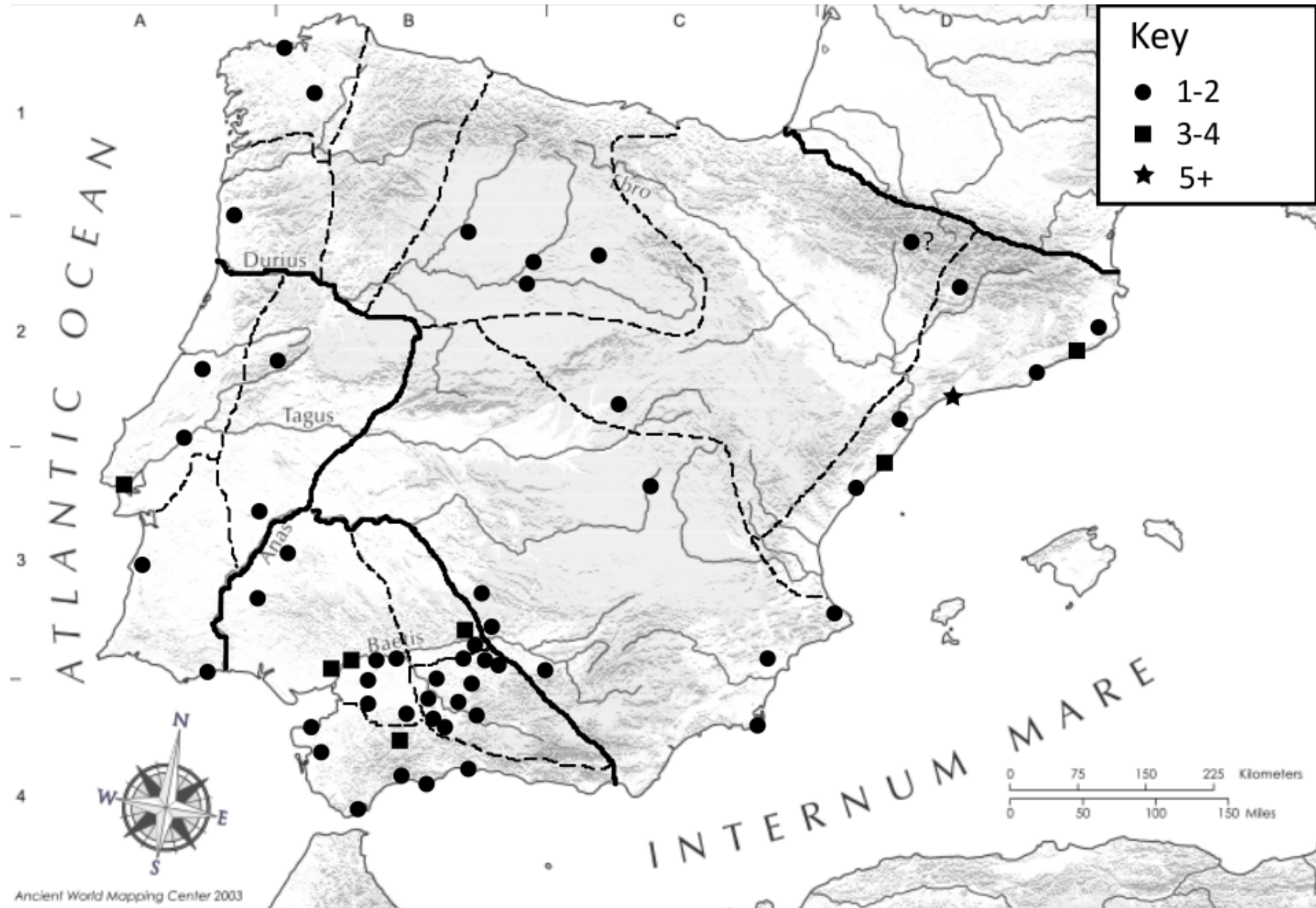
Map 5. Genius and numen



Key to map 5. Genius and numen

Acci	CIL 2, 2200	CIL 2, 6083
CIL 2, 3393	CIL 2, 2201	CIL 2/14/2, 851
CIL 2, 3394	Dertosa	CIL 2/14/2, 920
Anticaria	CIL 2, 4058	CIL 2/14/2, 927
CIL 2, 2045	Ebusus	Toletum
Aquae Flaviae	CIL 2, 3660	CIL 2, 3073
CIL 2, 4787	Ilesso	Tucci
Asturica Augusta	CIL 2, 4452	CIL 2, 1673
AE 1923, 102	Iliberris	Tutugi
Baetulo	CIL 2, 2070	CIL 2, 3406
CIL 2, 4606	CIL 2, 2071	Ucubi
CIL 2, 4607	CIL 2, 2072	CIL 2, 1554
CIL 2, 4608	Ipagrum	Ulia
Barcino	CIL 2, 1516	CIL 2, 1533
AE 1994, 1088	Italica	Urci
CIL 2, 4505	CIL 2, 1115	CIL 2, 3524
CIL 2, 4506	CIL 2, 1116	Valentia
CIL 2, 4507	CIL 2, 1117	CIL 2, 3738
Baria	Legio VII	
CIL 2, 5947	CIL 2, 2663	
Bracara Augusta	Nescania	
CIL 2, 5123	CIL 2, 2009	
Callenses	Ossonoba	
CIL 2, 1372	AE 1897, 49	
Capera	CIL 2, 1	
CIL 2, 810	Regina	
Complutum	CIL 2, 1037	
CIL 2, 3032	Tarraco	
Corduba	CIL 2, 4102	
CIL 2, 2199	CIL 2, 4103	

Map 6. Imperial virtues and blessings and Augustan gods

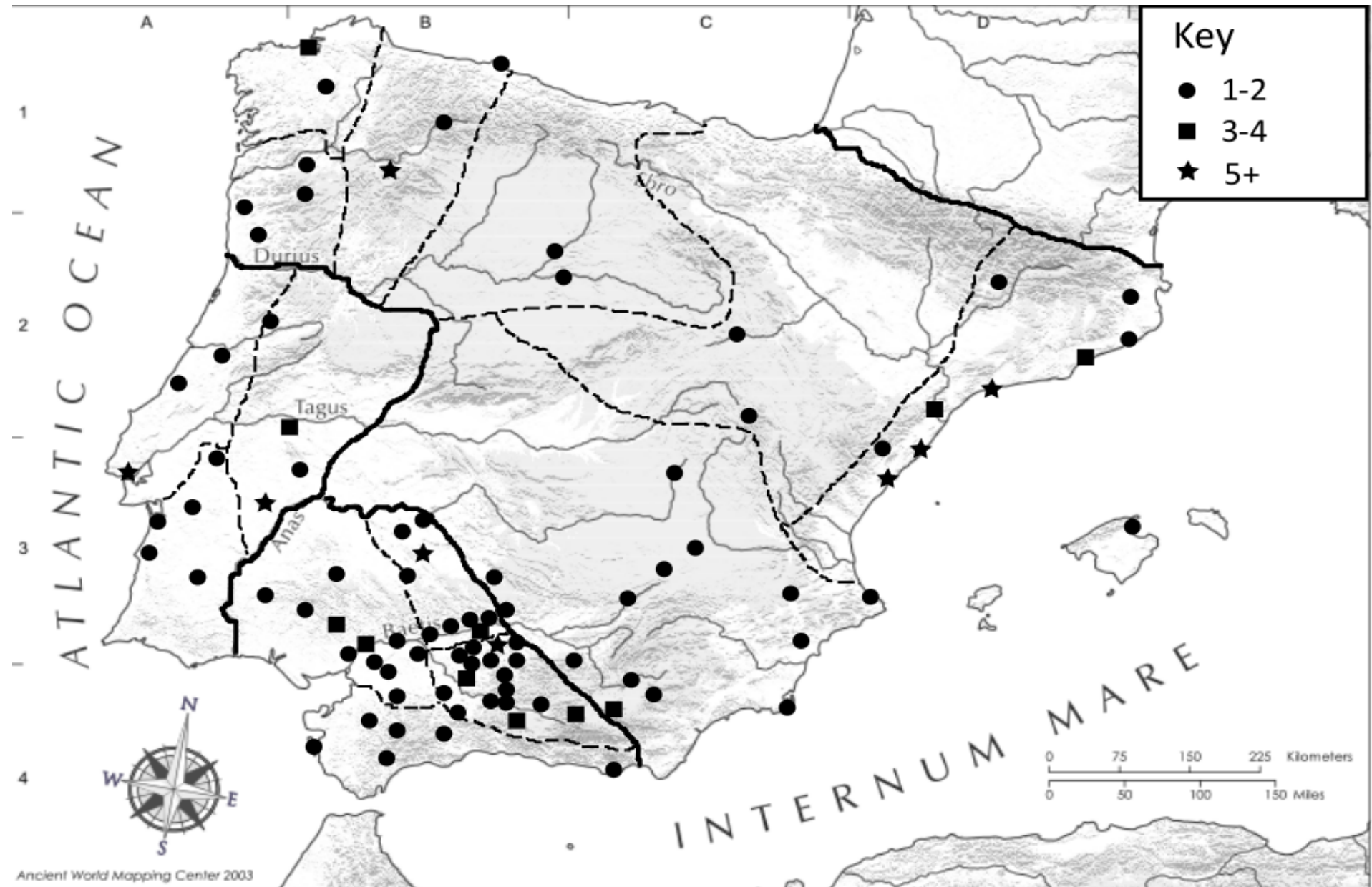


Key to map 6. Imperial virtues and blessings and Augustan gods

Acinipo	AE 1946, 15	Dianium
CIL 2, 1345	CIL 2, 807	EE 9, 356
Aeso	Carthago Nova	IRIllici 1, 121
CIL 2, 4458	CIL 2, 3410	Emerita Augusta
Aquae Calidae	Cartima	CIL 2, 465
CIL 2, 6181	CIL 2, 1949	Hispalis
Arucci	CIL 2, 1951	CIL 2, 1165
CIL 2, 962	CIL 2, 1952	CIL 2, 1166
Arva	Castulo	CIL 2, 5387
CIL 2, 1061	CIL 2, 3265	Igabrum
CIL 2, 1062	Celti	CIL 2, 1610
Aurgi	CIL 2, 2326	CIL 2, 1611
CIL 2, 3358	CIL 2, 2327	Ilici
CIL 2, 3360	Ceret	CIL 2, 5950
Baesucci	CIL 2, 1303	Iluro
CIL 2, 3249	CIL 2, 1304	CIL 2, 4612
Baetulo	Clunia	CIL 2, 4613
CIL 2, 4603	AE 1908, 147	CIL 2, 4614
Balsa	Complutum	CIL 2, 4615
CIL 2, 13	CIL 2, 3030	Ipagrum
CIL 2, 5164	CIL 2, 6305	CIL 2, 1515
Barbesula	Conimbriga	Isturgi
CIL 2, 1938	AE 1924, 12	CIL 2, 2121
Barcino	Conobaria	CIL 2, 2122
CIL 2, 4498	CILA 2/3, 992	CIL 2, 2123
Bracara Augusta	Cortijo del Tajo	Italica
CIL 2, 2416	CIL 2, 1425	AE 1944, 69
Brigantium	Dertosa	AE 1955, 253
CIL 2, 2559	CIL 2, 4054	CIL 2, 1109
Capera	CIL 2, 4056	CILA 2/2, 347

Lacippo	CIL 2, 3349	CIL 2, 4081
CIL 2, 1934	Ostippo	CIL 2, 4084
CIL 2, 1935	CIL 2, 1437	CIL 2, 4087
Lucus Augusti	Palantia	CIL 2, 4089
CIL 2, 2570	CIL 2, 5761	CIL 2, 4500
Malaca	Saguntum	CIL 2, 6078
CIL 2, 1967	CIL 2, 3819	CIL 2/14/2, 864
Mentesa Bastitanorum	CIL 2, 3824	CIL 2/14/2, 869
CIL 2, 3378	CIL 2, 3825	Tucci
Mirobriga	Salpensa	CIL 2, 1663
CIL 2, 23	CIL 2, 1278	Unknown
Nabrissa	Salvatierra	CIL 2, 6262
CIL 2, 1301	CIL 2, 982	Urgavo
Nescania	Scallabis	CIL 2, 2105
CIL 2, 2004	CIL 2, 332	Urso
CIL 2, 2008	Segobriga	CIL 2, 1403
Numantia	CIL 2, 3090	Uxama
CIL 2, 2834	Singilia Barba	CIL 2, 2819
Olisipo	CIL 2, 2013	Valentia
CIL 2, 174	CIL 2, 2035	CIL 2, 3732
CIL 2, 181	Suel	Vivatia
Osca	CIL 2, 1944	CIL 2, 3336
CIL 2, 3002	Tarraco	
Ossigi	CIL 2, 4080	

Map 7. Emperors and their families



Key to map 7. Emperors and their families

Acci	CIL 2, 3250	Castulo
CIL 2, 3391	Barcino	CIL 2, 3268
CIL 2, 3392	CIL 2, 4503	Cisimbrium
CIL 2, 3399	CIL 2, 4504	CIL 2, 2097
CIL 2, 3400	IRC 4, 23	Civitas Aravorum
Aeso	Bilbilis	AE 1954, 87
CIL 2, 4459	CIL 2, 5852	Civitas Limicorum
Albarracín	Bracara Augusta	CIL 2, 2516
EE 9, 318	EE 8, 280	CIL 2, 2517
Alcalá la Real	Brigantium	Clunia
CIL 2, 1640	EE 8, 307	CIL 2, 2778
Ammaia	EE 8, 308	CIL 2, 2780
AE 1950, 217	EE 8, 309	Collippo
CIL 2, 158	Carbula	CIL 2, 5232
Anticaria	CIL 2, 2322	Conimbriga
CIL 2, 2037	Carissa	CIL 2, 41
CIL 2, 2038	<i>HEp</i> 1, 215	Conobaria
CIL 2, 2039	Carthago Nova	CIL 2, 1302
CIL 2, 2040	CIL 2, 3412	Curiga
Aquae Flaviae	CIL 2, 3413	CIL 2, 1040
CIL 2, 2529	Cartima	Dertosa
EE 9, 269	CIL 2, 1953	CIL 2, 4057
Aratispi	Castro del Río	CIL 2, 5128
CIL 2, 2054	CIL 2, 1569	CIL 2/14/1, 789
CIL 2, 2055	Castrum S. Christophori	Dianium
Arucci	CIL 2, 2552	CIL 2, 3581
CIL 2, 963	CIL 2, 2553	El Coronil
Axati	CIL 2, 2554	CIL 2, 1371
EE 9, 187	CIL 2, 2555	Ebora
Baesucci	CIL 2, 2556	CIL 2, 109

CIL 2, 110	Ilugo	CIL 2, 3236
Edeta	CIL 2, 3239	Metellinum
CIL 2, 6012	Ilurco	CIL 2, 608
Emerita Augusta	CIL 2, 1945	CIL 2, 610
CIL 2, 472	CIL 2, 2062	Mirobriga
CIL 2, 473	CIL 2, 5511	CIL 2, 863
CIL 2, 477	Iluro	Mirobriga Turdulorum
CIL 2, 480	CIL 2, 1946	CIL 2, 2365
CIL 2, 5264	Ipagrum	CIL 2, 2366
EE 8, 24	CIL 2, 1517	Mun. Flavium V(---)
Epora	CIL 2, 1518	CIL 2, 2338
CIL 2, 2158	CIL 2, 1519	CIL 2, 2340
Fondinae Aerariae	Isturgi	CIL 2, 2341
CIL 2, 956	CIL 2, 2124	CIL 2, 5543
Gades	Italica	CIL 2, 5544
CIL 2, 1725a	AE 1915, 9	CIL 2, 5549
CIL 2, 1725b	CIL 2, 1144	Mun. Lunense
Gerunda	Iulipa	CIL 2, 1644
CIL 2, 4620	CIL 2352	Munigua
CIL 2, 4621	Legio VII	CIL 2, 1049
Gigia	CIL 2, 2661	CIL 2, 1050
CIL 2, 2703	CIL 2, 5674	CIL 2, 1051
Hispalis	Libisosa	CIL 2, 1052
CIL 2, 1168	CIL 2, 3234	Murgi
CIL 2, 1169	Lucus Augusti	AE 1935, 10
CIL 2, 1170	CIL 2, 2581	Nescania
CIL 2, 1254	Marchena	CIL 2, 2010
Ilici	CIL 2, 1392	CIL 2, 2041
CIL 2, 3555	Mentesa Bastitanorum	Norba
Iliturgicola	CIL 2, 3379	CIL 2, 693
CIL 2, 1643	Mentesa Oretanorum	CIL 2, 759

CIL 2, 761	CIL 2, 3827	CIL 2, 4101
CIL 2, 762	CIL 2, 3829	CIL 2, 6081
Ocurri	CIL 2, 3831	CIL 2, 6082
CIL 2, 1336	CIL 2, 3832	CIL 2/14/2, 894
CIL 2, 1337	CIL 2, 3833	CIL 2/14/2, 928
Olisipo	CIL 2, 3834	Tucci
CIL 2, 182	CIL 2, 3835	CIL 2, 1668
CIL 2, 183	Salacia	CIL 2, 1669
CIL 2, 184	CIL 2, 5182	CIL 2, 1670
CIL 2, 185	Salpensa	CIL 2, 1671
CIL 2, 186	CIL 2, 1281	CIL 2, 1672
CIL 2, 187	CIL 2, 1282	Tugia
CIL 2, 188	S. Miguel Refojos Basto	CIL 2, 3328
CIL 2, 4993	CIL 2, 2382	Tutugi
CIL 2, 5221	Santo Tomas das Lamas	AE 1918, 9
Ostippo	AE 1898, 1	Ucubi
CIL 2, 5048	Segobriga	AE 1946, 202
Pax Iulia	CIL 2, 3105	CIL 2, 1553
CIL 2, 47	Singilia Barba	Ulia
Pollentia	CIL 2, 2014	CIL 2, 1532
CIL 2, 5990	Soricaria	Urgavo
Regina	CIL 2, 1570	CIL 2, 2106
CIL 2, 1027	Tarraco	CIL 2, 2107
Sacili	AE 1955, 244	CIL 2, 2111
CIL 2, 2181	CIL 2, 4083	Uxama
Saepo	CIL 2, 4093	EE 8, 143
CIL 2, 1339	CIL 2, 4094	Valentia
CIL 2, 1340	CIL 2, 4096	CIL 2, 3732
Saetabis	CIL 2, 4097	CIL 2, 3733
CIL 2, 3619	CIL 2, 4099	CIL 2, 3734
Saguntum	CIL 2, 4100	CIL 2, 3735

CIL 2, 3736

CIL 2, 3737

CIL 2/14/1, 19

Vivatia

CIL 2, 3343

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