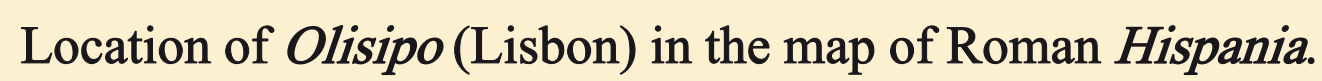


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Objectives: The study of the Hispanic-roman religious world remains a field open to investigation. Therefore, it is proposed to analyse the Lusitanian inscriptions identified in the *municipium Olisiponense*, from the *urbs* to the limits of the *ager*. In that context, an overview of the distribution of the cults of the indigenous deities can be established, enabling in turn to trace the social profile of the worshipers throughout an onomastic analysis, allowing to raise some questions about their origin and social status.

This small group of sources, although written in Latin characters, represents an indigenous language (and culture). The following are the main methodological difficulties:

- **Semantics:** against the limitations in the knowledge of the language, many specific problems arise in the field of linguistics when it comes to reading and interpreting the theonyms. Therefore, insecurity is the predominant emphasis in etymological analysis.

- **Lexicon:** ‘local deities’ vs. ‘indigenous deities’

- **Chronology:** due to the lack of contextualization of the monuments and the fact that it is not feasible to apply an internal chronology, the dating process is essentially based on paleographic characteristics. Nevertheless, although some authors accept that the indigenous inscriptions date back, approximately, to the first century A. D., some monuments may be from later on, dating from the 2nd or 3rd centuries (Encarnação and Guerra, 2010: 96-97).

We benefit from a long knowledge of the indigenous deities of *Olisipo*, emerging since the end of the nineteenth century in the works *Religiões da Lusitânia* of J. Leite de Vasconcellos (1897-1913); in the monograph *Epigrafia de Olisipo. Subsídios para a*

História da Lisboa Romana (1944) of A. Vieira da Silva; in the thesis *Divindades Indígenas sob o Domínio Romano em Portugal (Subsídios para o seu Estudo)* of J. d'Encarnação (1975); and in the last *corpus* of votive inscriptions *Religiões Antigas de Portugal – Aditamentos e observações às Religiões da Lusitânia*, of J. M. Garcia (RAP, 1991). Despite the fact that these great *corpora* remain valid as indispensable references, because they built the foundations of the current research, today they are understandably obsolete, lacking a rigorous revision. In this sense, "*because the data that we dispose are not unique, but rather complementary*" (Encarnação, 1993: 323) it is imperative, as future perspectives, to 1) initiate a peninsular union in the search for new epigraphs and in "*the return to the stone*"; and to 2) apply new interdisciplinary approaches that result from an alliance between Epigraphy, Archaeology and Linguistics, allowing the (re)insert of the inscription in its original historical-archaeological context.

When the romans reached the Tagus estuary, *Olisipo* was not a lost village on the threshold of the *finis orbis* but, due to an easily navigable coast, fertility of the fields (Var., *Res Rust.* 2.1.19; Plin.*Nat. Hist.* IV, 21-22, 116; *idem*, VIII, 67, 166) and to the *aurifer Tagus* (Estr. 3.3.1), it constituted a privileged commercial port and, over time, a point of contact between peoples and cultures.

Ager Olisiponensis

Group I: peninsular religious background

Band- Ilurbedae Triborunni

Group II: local religious background

Kassaeco Araco Arantoniceo Mermandiceo

Vrbs

Group III: controversial sources

Cinteri et Muno

<i>Municipium Olisiponense</i>	Deities	Worshippers	Onomastics	Abbr. Bibl.
<i>Ager Olisiponensis</i>	<i>Band-</i>	<i>I.(?) Omnia</i>	uncertain	RAP 33; HEP 11, 2001, 681
	<i>Triborunni</i>	<i>T. Curiatius Rufinus</i>	latin	RAP 198 ; FE 14 (1985): 59
	<i>Ilurbedae</i>	anonymous	unknowned	RAP 153 ; HEP 6, 1996, 1061a
	<i>Kassaeco</i>	<i>M. Caecilius Caeno</i>	indigenous	RAP 208; HEP 9, 1999, 751)
	<i>Araco Arantoniceo</i>	<i>Iulia Maxima</i>	latin	RAP 10; HEP 10, 2000, 731
	<i>Mermandiceo</i>	<i>Cassia</i>	indigenous	RAP 167; BÚA, GUERRA. 2011, 407
<i>Vrbs</i>	<i>Cinteri et Mumo</i>	<i>G. P. Marcinius uel -anus</i> <i>G. P. Marcello Crescente</i>	latin	FE 128 (2015): 541

In resemble to the large onomastic conservatism of the rural space (see below), there is also a greater conservatism in the religious manifestations, characterized by the considerable indigenous theological repertory (85,71% of the votes to indigenous deities takes place in the *ager*), against a weak representation in the urban area, where only the ara dedicated to *Cinteri et Munio* emerged. Thereby, these testimonies reveal a territory of deep rural character marked by a tradition where the pre-Roman cultural elements could subsist until later.

Two indigenous religious groups can be distinguished in the *ager*: one made by *Band-*, *Ilurbeda* and *Triborunnis*, associated with social migration and allowing a connection between the Lisbon Peninsula and the areas of Beira Interior and the provinces of Cáceres and Salamanca; and another, by *Kassaecus*, *Aracus Arantoniceus* and *Mermandiceus*, that have in common the evident linguistic relation with Hispanic personal names (Guerra, 2003: 142-47).

The most frequent reality in the indigenous cults of Lusitania consists of unique testimonies in all empire, as reflected in the Group II. In contrast, the deities of Group I, appear again in the *conuentus* of Northern Hispania. Far from their origin region, their presence in the *ager Olisiponensis* can only be explained by a diffusion made by immigrants.

Social analysis: the onomastic profile of *Olisipo* worshipers

The data shows a universe of 7 different deities and 7 worshipers, which nomenclature reveals a society perfectly integrated in the Roman onomastic tradition, mainly displaying the latin *tria nomina*, reflex of a strong and premature Romanization. In the areas where this process was faster and more intense, such as the *urbs*, the substrate of indigenous anthroponymia presented is residual (Reis, 2015). On the contrary, in

the rural territory, in spite of the precocious Roman presence, a particular conservatism is manifested regarding the onomastic traditions. Consequently, personal names with traces of indigenous origin can only be found in rural areas, in this case, *Caeno* and *Cassa/Casa/Qasa*, contaminated by the Latin gentilicities, *Caenius* and *Cassia* (Guerra, 2002: 64). Thus, based on the onomastic analysis it can be concluded that the *Olisipo* worshipers consisted in Romanised indigenous, although the majority use Latin names. In this context, some of the elite families stand out, namely members of the *gentes Iulia*, *Caecilia* or *Cassia*, who participate simultaneously in the agro exploration and in the administration of the city. They emerge as the owners of the *villae rusticae* around *Olisipo*: *T. Curiatius Rufinus*, owner of a *villa* in Freiria (Cascais) that consecrates a vote to *Triborunni*; and *M. Caecilius Caeno* to *Kassaeco*.

The Lusitanian identity retained its uniqueness through a mix of influences between indigenous, Latin and oriental beliefs, being the religious tolerance and the conscious permeability to the various influences the basic characteristics of Romanization. The analysed inscriptions reveal the fulfilment of private votes, being absent the public and official religious acts, which predominantly took place in the urban area. *Olisipo* is thus shown as a clear example of the dichotomy:

- *ager* / private cults / indigenous deities / indigenous
onomastics **VS.**

- *vrbs* / official cults / classic deities / latin onomastics.

To conclude, the rural world is, however, characterized as a world where traditional values have remained rooted for a longer time, since Roman acculturation was later and less profound, allowing the previous cultural marks to be maintained; but also as a world that was letting itself, little by little, become shaped by diversified cultural nuances.

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