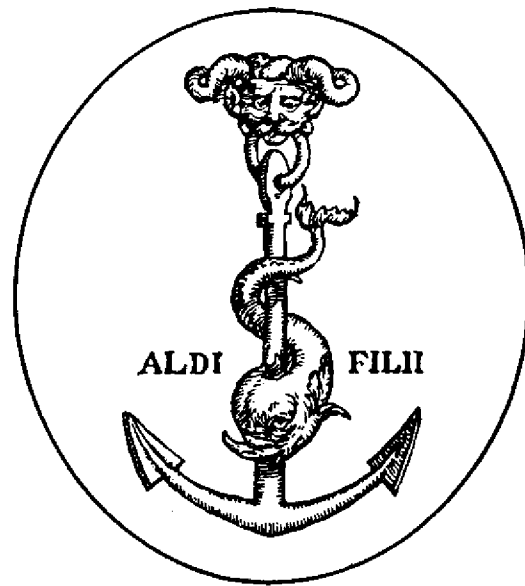


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INDIGENOUS CULTURE AND THE PROCESS OF ROMANIZATION IN IBERIAN GALICIA¹

I. Introduction

1.1 The Problem

The subject of this article is the nature and depth of Romanization in Iberian Galicia. The story is worth telling for several reasons. First, the evidence indicates that Keltic, or indigenous,² culture remained a vital (and by modern scholars an unrecognized) force in northwestern Spain at least until the middle of the 2nd century, A.D. Indeed, newly discovered and/or re-discovered evidence indicates that Roman policy toward the defeated was characterized by restraint and flexibility; that Rome, with the establishment of order and the recognition of her authority, exhibited considerable tolerance toward indigenous culture even when aspects of that culture continued in a Romanized context. Second, and equally important, the Kelts, as Roman citizens, felt no ambiguity about their continued use of native institutions. In sum, what we find in Galicia is evidence for that process by which the indigenous peoples of western Europe became Roman. This process was slower in Galicia than it was elsewhere in Iberia and, because it was slower, we can observe that individuals adopted *mores Romanorum* on a selective basis, that they retained many vital elements of their own culture and that the Roman administrators tolerated great variation in the expression of *Romanitas*.

Despite these qualities, Roman Galicia has not been well served by historians or archaeologists.³ The reasons for the neglect are clear. In

¹The research on this problem was made possible by grants from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the L. L. Stewart Fund. The author gratefully acknowledges the comments of J. Untermann of the University of Cologne and Armin Stylow of the German Archaeological Institute in Madrid.

²'Indigenous' is used here to refer to the Keltic culture as it existed in Galicia at the time of the Roman conquest. Let it be noted, however, that the Kelts themselves were loosely organized and recent intruders who, at the time when the Romans arrived, had been gradually extending their dominion southward through Iberia.

³This is especially true of works in English. Barry Cunliffe's *The Celtic World* (American Journal of Philology 108 (1987) 129-151) is 1987 by The Johns Hopkins University Press

none of the former Roman municipia in the area (Orense, Lugo, Braga, etc.) have any of the spectacular monuments or illuminating texts been found which, for example, make Merida or Tarragona or Malaga so interesting. Moreover, what does survive, inscriptions, are generally on rough stone and poorly cut. In sum, the opportunity for aesthetic enrichment is indeed limited.'

1.2 The Political and Administrative Context'

The conquest and political organization of the Galicia was a major goal of Augustan imperial policy.⁶ The degree of the concern in triumphal Rome that Iberia finally be pacified is demonstrated by the fact that six individuals earned triumphs there during the years 36-26 B.C. Among these triumphators was C. Statilius Taurus who was active in the northwest in 29 (Dio 51. 20). Augustus, himself, campaigned there in 26-25. It was, however, Agrippa who finally completed the conquest in 19 and attached Galicia (*Callaecia*) to the province of Lusitania (Min. NH 4, 118). Sometime between 16 and 13, the area was transferred to *Hispania citerior* (or *Tarraconensis*) where it remained until Diocletian constituted a unique province of *Callaecia*.⁷ Within the province, however, there were significant administrative changes. A *legatus iuridicus* was assigned to the area under the Julio-Claudians; certainly by the principate of Vespasian the northwest had been re-organized into the three districts of *Bracaraugustana*, *Lucensis* and *Asturia*; a *praefectus Callaeciae* and a *procurator Asturiae et Callaeciae* were appointed during or shortly after the Flavian period.⁸ Like the rest of Iberia, the mu-

(New York 1979) does not mention Galicia at all and gives only the most minimal attention to the Iberian Kelts. For the literature in other languages, see R. Knapp, "The Epigraphic Evidence for Native and Roman Religion in Iberia," *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress on Greek and Roman Epigraphy* (Athens 1984) 222, note 10.

⁴For a useful review of the town monuments, see Knapp, 221-22.

⁵Alain Tranoy's, *La Galice romaine* (Paris 1981) contains a general survey of this problem and the state of scholarship, pp. 125-43, as does G. Pereira Menaut, *La formación histórica de los pueblos del norte de Hispania: El caso de Callaecia como paradigma*, *Vella N. S.* 1 (1984) 271 ff.

⁶On this issue, see R. Syme, *The Conquest of North-West Spain*, *Legto VII*, 83-107 = *Roman Papers II* (Oxford 1979) and W. Schmitthenner, *Augustus' spanischer Feldzug und der Kampf um den Prinzipat*, *Historia* 11 (1962) 43 ff.

⁷Tranoy, 132 ff., 402 ff.

⁸For the details, see Tranoy, 150 ff., with the useful summary table on p. 188, and G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* (Wiesbaden 1969) 81-96, 230-52,

nicipia of Galicia also received the *ius Lath* from Vespasian.⁹ In sum, the major political and administrative changes in the northwest date to the Augustan, to the Flavian and to the Diocletianic periods.

Pliny the Elder, to complete this brief survey, notes that the northwest was rich in minerals, including gold, silver, iron and two kinds of lead and, indeed, there is considerable archaeological evidence of mining activity in the area.¹⁰ Especially interesting is the fact that Pliny also provides population figures for free persons. In Asturia, there were 240,000, in Lucensis, 166,000 and in Bracara, 285,000 (NH III, 28). As he does not note such figures for any other *conventus*, it is reasonable to believe that, as procurator,¹¹ he had acquired some special knowledge of the area.

1.3 Theses and Methods

The "history" of Galicia begins formally with the Roman conquest of northwestern Spain. Though Strabo, Pliny the Elder and other writers provide much important information on the characteristics of the area and its peoples,¹² it is, rather, the epigraphical material which indicates both the course and degree of Roman penetration and the response to it. What is of special interest here is not that Galicia became Romanized — this happened here and elsewhere—but the fact that Keltic culture remained vital and visible even among those who were otherwise thoroughly Romanized. Perhaps more significant is the fact that Rome not only tolerated such deviation but also accepted the "deviants" as citizens. This casual attitude toward the indigenous population and culture was surely a fundamental factor in the whole process of Romanization in Galicia and elsewhere.

To address these issues, this paper will focus on two kinds of epigraphical evidence. First, the *tesserae hospitalis* will be analysed not only because, being dated, they provide the basis for a chronological framework, but also because these texts contain apparent irregularities which can only be explained by assuming that Keltic institutions stand behind the Latin formula. The second group of texts is religious or cultic in character. Though undated, they constitute a major part of

⁹On this point, Pereira Menaut, *op. cit.*, 285-86.

¹¹². Cf. XXXIII, 78. The evidence is summarized by Tranoy, 220-33.

¹¹R. Syme, Pliny the Procurator, *HSCP* 73(1969) 201-36 and Tranoy, 180-81.

¹²Cf. A. Schulten, *Fontes hispaniae antiquae* = *FHA* (Barcelona 1937) ff.

the total number of surviving texts and contain overt references to the vitality of Keltic religion even among otherwise thoroughly Romanized Galicians.

2, On the Nature of the Evidence

It is the epigraphical material especially that provides the evidence for the process and policy by which indigenous peoples (here Kelts) became Romanized and by which Rome admitted them to her ranks. That the problem can be addressed at all depends upon a considerable volume of scholarship which has been done in the last fifteen years by Spanish, Portugese, French and German scholars. As much of this work has been directed at the Keltic language and material culture, it is not directly relevant to this paper." The emphasis here rather is on the great volume of Latin inscriptions which begin to appear in Galicia immediately after the conquest." The most widely available collection of the evidence on the problem is, of course, Emil I-hibner's collection of Latin inscriptions from all of Iberia, namely *CIL II* (1869) with its *Supplementband 1* (1982); these volumes comprise about 6300 texts.¹ *Supplement band 2*, currently being prepared under the auspices of the German Archaeological Institute, may not appear until 1992, but it is already clear that the number of inscriptions to be incorporated in this volume (covering the whole of Iberia) will at least double and perhaps triple the number published in the 19th century and will surely alter current perceptions of Roman Iberia and of the process of Romanization. Until this volume is published, scholars will have to rely on a large number of not widely available regional collections of material, including the *Inscriptiones romanas de Galicia*."

It is important to recognize what constraints apply to the discus-

"Among the many valuable studies, especially to be recommended are: J. Untermann, *Sprachraume und Sprachbewegungen im vorrömischen Hispanien* (Wiesbaden 1961) and M. L. Albertos Firmat, *Organizaciones suprafamiliares en la Hispania antigua* (Valladolid 1975) and now Knapp's recent survey cited above.

¹The most recent general discussion of the epigraphical evidence is by Alain Tranoy, *La Galice romaine* (Paris 1981) but a whole school of French scholars from Bordeaux have been active in the area.

¹⁵On the limitations of Hübner's collection, see Knapp, 229.

"*Inscriptiones romanas de Galicia*, ed. by F. Bouza Brey, D'Ors, et al. volumes I- IV, Santiago de Compostela, 1949 ff. As with others of its kind, this series, too, is not widely available.

sion. First, let it be noted that, unlike other areas, there is comparatively little material relevant to the political institutions of an urban culture. This is not to say that the Romanized Kelts had no urban culture," but, rather that language and stones were most frequently used to express spiritual instead of political needs. It is at this point especially that Keltic culture and the process of Romanization can be studied.

A second constraint is that the great majority of the texts carry no temporal indications. This factor, together with the generally irregular letter forms, makes it very difficult to be precise about how values, customs and institutions changed over three centuries.

Third, and the major problem for the historian and the linguist, is the nature of the material, namely granite, on which the texts are inscribed. In brief, the texts are, for a number of reasons poorly cut and badly preserved. Unlike marble, the local granite is composed of large, coarse crystals with a high proportion of feldspar. Consequently, it was difficult for the stonecutter to control the plane of cleavage. Moreover, as the mica between the crystals weathers easily, there is a tendency for the crystals to become dislodged with even the slightest touch. Moving, re-using or taking "impressions" of the stone can then have a deleterious effect on the legibility of a text. Regardless, then, of how well or poorly inscribed the stones once were, some are now extremely difficult to decipher, others are in such a state that a consensus on a reading will never be attained. Finally, there is a large group of stones for which there is considerable uncertainty about whether they are inscribed at all.

To understand the magnitude of the problem, one may note that the editors of *CIL II, Supplbd. 2*, have already recognized that as many as 80% of the texts published by Hubner in the earlier editions of *CIL* have to be revised. *IRG* represents significant improvement.

Even with all the limitations mentioned above, some conclusions may be drawn. Admittedly, there will never be complete agreement on every text; the preservation of the stone, the variations in the spellings of Keltic names (always difficult) and our limited understanding of Keltic institutions make such agreement unlikely. Nevertheless, because the character of the text, whether it be Roman, indigenous or "mixed", is

"Bracara, Aquae Flaviae, Aurense, Luco, Irae Flaviae are the most important *cUatates* and *municzpia*. It is, however, by no means clear how 'urban' the culture of these communities was. See also, Knapp, 221.

generally clear,¹⁸ it is possible to identify the general pattern of development.¹⁸

In sum, because there are virtually no extensive or detailed texts, the discussion of the problem of Romanization must proceed by considering groups of texts and representative examples.

3. Cultural Continuity, Phases of Romanization and the *TESSERA E HO SPITA LIS*

3.1 Patterns of Cultural Change

Though the political and administrative changes in Roman Galicia can be assigned to reasonably distinct periods, it is much more difficult to do the same for cultural change. The reason, quite simply, is that there is not enough cultural material which can be securely dated. Moreover, there is no reason to assume that change in a particular direction proceeded in all areas at the same rate. Indeed, any number of factors may have influenced the decision, for example, to Romanize one's name or to identify a local deity with a Roman equivalent. Even so, the Flavian extension of the Latin right to communities in the Hispanic provinces surely accelerated the process of cultural change even if the pace of it varied locally. One group of texts, the *tesserae hospitalis* provide some indication of this process.

3.2 The Evidence of the *tesserae hospitalis*

The *tesserae*, bronze plaques which commemorate the establishment of *hospitium* between two parties," are useful for several reasons. First, these texts occur with relative frequency in the northwest of Spain,²¹ Second, in contrast to the great majority of texts from Galicia,

¹⁸ A good example of this may be seen in the example quoted below in section 4.3. Line 4 of Cit. 11, 2471, is variously read as PINDENET, as FINDENEI or as FINDLNEI or FINDENET but there is no question about the fact that it refers to an indigenous group.

"See also the discussion of Capriociegus mentioned in the section 4.3.

"On the *tesserae*, see A. D'Ors, *Epigrafia jurídica de la España romana* (Madrid 1953), J. Nicols, "Tabulae Patronatus: A Study of the Agreement between Patron and Client Community," *ANRW*, II, 13, 535 ff. and Tranoy, 378 ff.

²¹ One third of all the known cases involving communities come from the Tarraconensis, for the breakdown, see Nicols, *Tabulae Patronatus*, Appendix 2.

they are dated by consular years. Third, one can trace the pattern of change in nomenclature from indigenous to a Latin form and finally, to that sign of full citizenship, the *tria nomina*. Fourth, the early *tesserae*, in so far as one party is a community, reveal qualities radically different from conventional Roman usage; this suggests that native institutions stand behind the Latin formulae. Consider the bronze *tessera* found at Torre de Cabreira in 1959, and now in the provincial museum of Lugo.¹ The text in question reads:

APPIO IUNIO SILANO P SILIO
 NERVA COS
 TILLEGVS. AMBATI. F. SVSARRVS
 AIOBAIGIAECO. HOSPITIVM
 FECIT. CVM LOVGEIS CASTELLANIS (5)
 TOLETENSIBVS. **SIBI** UXORI. LIRE
 RIS POSTERISQUE. SVIS. EUMQ
 VE VXOREM LIBEROSQUE. EIVS
 IN FIDEM. CLIENTELAMQVE. SVA
 M. SVORVMQVE. IN PERPETVO. CAS (10)
 TELLANEL TOLETENSIS. RECEPERVNT
 EGIT. TILLEGVS. AMBATI IPSE
 MAG. LATINO. ARI ET AIO TEMARI

Several points are significant here. First, there is the date, the year A.D. 28; that is, *hospitium* was established barely one generation after the conquest.²² Within a generation, then at least these two parties had adopted the Latin language and Roman formula of an institution which was similar to, if not identical with, the one they knew. Second, all of those named, including Latinus, have Keltic paternity and lack the *tria nomina*. Latinus himself would appear to have taken the first step of "Romanizing" in that he has adopted, or been assigned, an Italic name.²⁴

To what degree the sense of the text reflects Roman or indigenous institutions is a central issue. Similar texts and formulae have been found throughout the northern Iberia and also in non-Keltic areas like Mallorca, North Africa as well as Italy.¹ Indeed, *hospitium*, as an insti-

²²Arias Vilas, F. et al. *Inscriptions romaines de la province de Lugo* (Paris 1979) No. 55, hereafter *IRdeL*; cf. Nicols, *Tabulae Patronatus*, 551-52.

²³See section 1.2 above.

²⁴"Peregrinus. Apri filius" discussed below, section 4.2.

¹Nicols, op. cit. 538

tution of guest-friendship, was common throughout the ancient world. There is, however, an important difference between this *tessera* and those found outside Galicia, when, as is the case here, one of the two parties is a community. In other areas, the patron is always an individual and the client is always a community; in Galicia, however, the situation is reversed and the individual becomes the client of the community; that is, the individual, Tillegus, became a client of the Lougeii Castellani, a group. The standard Latin formula is employed, but it is used to define a distinctly un-Roman arrangement.²⁶ The two parties appear then to have adopted the Latin language and Roman formula of an institution similar to, but not identical with, the one they knew.' We have, then, genuine evidence for the continuity of Keltic culture despite the adoption of Latin as a written language.²⁸

It should be noted that the community in question, the Lougeii, did know the proper form. A new and still unedited *tessera*,²⁵ now in police custody in La Coruna, reads: C. *Caesare Aug f. L. Aemilio Paullo cos. / ex gente Asturum convent us Arae / August(a)e / civitas Lougeiorum hospitium fecit cum / Asinio Gallo liberis posterisque eius / eumque liberos posterosque eius sibi libe / rein postereis eiusque suns patronum cooptarunt / isque eos in fidem clientelamque suam suo / rumque rece pit / egerunt legati / Silvanus Clouti / Andami.* This text dates to A.D. 1, that is, it is earlier than the Tillegus inscription cited above. It is noteworthy, however, that the wording and the institutions are consistent with the standard Latin texts of this type." Note, too, that the legates in this case do bear Latinized *nomina* and Keltic filiation. The fact that these two texts can be dated to roughly the same period suggests that the two traditions, Roman and Keltic, could co-exist.

A third *tessera hospitalis*, found near Astorga,' dates to the same period as the Tillegus text and exhibits similar characteristics and implications. The text reads:

²⁵The one comparable case, *CIL II*, 2633, from Astorga will be discussed below. Untermann's excellent survey, "Die althispanischen Sprachen," *ANRW II* 29, 791 ff., has no listing for a pre Roman written language in Galicia.

²⁶Pereira quotes the text in a footnote, p. 282. This author has not yet seen the original or the photos. This transcription cannot be considered definitive.

²⁸See Nicols, *Tabulae Patronatus*.

"*CIL II*, 2633: Tranoy, 378, provides a full bibliography and a photograph, plat

M. LICINIO CRASSO
L. CALPVRNIO PISONE
COS
K MAIAS
HOSPITIVM GENTILITAS DESONCORVM EX GENTE
ZOELARVM (5)
ET GENTILITAS TRIDIAVORVM EX GENTE IDEM
ZOELARVM HOSPITIVM VETUSTVM ANTIQVOM
RENOVAVERVNT EIQUE OMNES ALIS ALIVM IN FI
DEM CLIENTELAM SVAM SVORVMQVE LIBERO
RVM POSTERORVMQVE RECEPERVNT. EGERVNT (10)
ARAVSA BLECAENI ET TVRAIVS CLOVTI DOCIVS ELAESI
MAGILO CLOVTI BODECIVS BVRRALI ELAESVS CLVTAMI
PER ABIENVM PENTILI MAGISTRATVM ZOELARVM
ACTVM CVRVNDA

Once again, we find many of the same characteristics mentioned above. First, it is noteworthy that the Latin language is employed to seal a contract between indigenous groups. Second, the date, A.D. 27, is, of course, only one year before the Tillegus-tessera and the names of the individuals acting are decisively Keltic; indeed, not one of them here has even begun to Romanize his name. Third, and this is fundamental, there is, once again, the institutional oddity reflecting Keltic rather than Roman custom. The formula, *recepere in fidem clientelamque* is of course very common in Latin texts of this nature, but I know of no other example where the two parties agree to enter the clientele of one another." The parties in question clearly adopted the standard Latin formulae, but did so in a manner contrary to Roman convention."

³² Nicols, *Tabulae Patronatus*, 550.

"Armin Stylow has brought to my attention two *tesserae hospitalis* found at Castro da Senhora da Satide (Pedroso, Vila Nova de Gaia, near Oporto) in 1982. These texts, which date to A.D. 7 and 9 respectively, read: Q. *Caecilio Metello A Licinio cos D Julius D f Gal Cilo hospitium fecit sibi liberis posterisque Buis cum Nigro et Rufo et Prisco Turdulis Veteribus libertis posterisque eorum* and *Sulpicio Camerino C Poppaeo Sabina cos D Julius D f Gal Cilo hospitium fecit cum Lugario Septanii f ex Turdulis Veteribus eumque et leiberos posterosque emus in fidem clientelam que suam recepit leiberorum post erorumque suorum egit Lugarivs Septanu*. The name D. Julius M. f. Gal. Cilo indicates a man with Roman citizenship while the Keltic cognomen suggests Iberian origin. He is a good example of *the* local variation in the process of Romanization. These *tesserae* are not immediately relevant to the discussion above for two reasons, first the Turduli Veteres belong to the province of Lusitania, not Tarraconensis (Plin. *NH* IV, 11.3) and, second, the two texts involve individuals only, not communities,

This pair of texts may be compared to another set of *tesserae* from the second century. The differences between the two groups of inscriptions are indeed dramatic and suggestive of how far Romanization had proceeded in some places. The first one, dating to 152, is actually the second part of the text found at Astorga and quoted above. It reads:

GLABRIONE ET HOMVILLO COS V IDVS IVLIAS
 IDEM GENTILITAS DESONCORVM ET GENTILITAS (15)
 TRIDIAVORVM IN EANDEM CLIENTELAM EADEM
 FOEDERA RECEPERVNT EX GENTE AVOLGIGORVM
 SEMPRONIUM PERPETVVM ORNIACVM ET EX GENTE
 VISALIGORVM ANTONIVM ARQVIVM ET EX GENTE
 CABRVAGENIGORVM FLAVIVM FRONTONEM ZOELAS (20)
 EGERVNT
 L. DOMITIVS SILO ET
 L. FLAVIVS SEVERVS
 ASTVRICAE

—CIL II, 2633

The bottom half Astorga *tessera* is very similar to one found at Castro-mao in September 1970 and published a year later.¹ The text reads:

G. IVLIO. SERIO. AVGVRIANO. G. TREBIO
 SERGIANO. COS
 COELERNI. EX. HISPANIA. CITERIORE.
 CONVENTVS. BRACARI. CVM. G. AN
 TONDO. AQVILLO. NOVAVGVSTANO. (5)
 PRAEF. COH. I. CELTIBERORVM.
 LIBERIS. POSTERISQVE. EIVS. HOS
 PITIVM. FECERVNT.
 G. ANTONIVS. AQVILVS. CVM. COELER
 NIS. LIBERIS. POSTERISQVE. EORVM. (10)
 HOSPITIVM. FECIT.
 LEGATVS. EGIT.
 P. CAMPANIVS. GEMINVS

In the first place it is noteworthy that the individuals mentioned in these two texts all have good Roman *nomina*. Only (Antonius) Arquius of the Astorga text has a cognomen suggestive of a Keltic origin. Secondly, it is apparent that the individuals in question are not Romans who have settled in Galicia. In the Astorga text the *gentilitates* of those named are all

¹Ferro Couselo, J. and J. Lorenzo Fernandez, La Tessera HospUalis del Castro-mao, *Bol. Aunense* 1 (1971) 9-15.

Keltic. Moreover, we have a continuation of the same Keltic institution whereby individuals enter into the clientele of communities, a practice attested in Galicia and nowhere else. Hence, despite, the Romanization of the names, there is nonetheless continuity in the indigenous institutions; Roman formulae were employed, but they describe native institutions. The text from Castromao, on the other hand, reveals all the proper elements and understandings of the traditional Roman *tessera hosPitalls*.³⁵ Here the lettering and the language are excellent, the formula and contents reveal none of the Keltic variations noted in the other texts.

These two cases, the second half of the Astorga *tessera* and the one from Castromao provide then some indication of the relative chronology of the process of Romanization. That is, by the middle of the second century, at least some Keltic areas had mastered Roman nomenclature and the Roman variations on institutions similar to their own. Others, however, continued to employ Latin to describe their native institutions. Even so, both traditions are represented in the second century, indicating that there was considerable local variation in the process and degree of Romanization.

3.3 Summary

It is, of course, difficult to generalize from four cases however definitive the evidence may be. Nonetheless, the dated *tesserae* do provide an indication of the degree to which nomenclature had changed during the century following the Roman conquest. Moreover, one may also identify at least one convention of indigenous *hospitium/clientela* which, though contrary to Roman usage, persisted despite the adoption of Latin formulae to confirm the arrangements. That is, though the *tesserae* were written in Latin and were primarily concerned with individuals and institutions of Keltic origin, they also bear witness to the vitality of native institutions and to the selectivity of the indigenous peoples when confronted with Roman culture. Finally, it should be observed that the evidence indicates that change proceeded with considerable local variation.

³⁵ On the standard form and formulae, see Nicols, *Tabulae Patronatus*, 54S.

4. *Keltic Cults and Roman Cults: Religion and Romanization in Galicia*

4.1 Introduction

Continuity of institutions is especially apparent in the field of religion. In matters of cult and ritual, societies tend to be conservative. That those Callaeci who retained their indigenous names continued to worship their native gods is not surprising, but that they did so in a foreign language (Latin) and employed foreign devices (the traditional Roman altar among others) is noteworthy. More significant is the fact that even those natives who had assumed Latin names and the Latin language continued to worship the gods of their ancestors. It begs the question to argue that there was no alternative for a written language¹ or that the stone cutters only had Roman models: when Medamus makes an offering to Bormanicus in Latin and in the Roman style he is expressing his conviction that the efficacy of this offering is not diminished by the use of "foreign" forms. Even full Roman citizens (with names like C. Julius Hispanus) retained their loyalty to such un-Roman deities as Lugubus Arquienobus or Lahus Paraliomegus.³⁷ This is remarkable for it suggests not only that indigenous religion remained vital but also that Romanized Kelts felt no ambiguity or contradiction about or between their acquired status and their inherited religious convictions.³⁸ Moreover, it is also apparent that the Roman authorities did not perceive the practice of traditional religion to be an impediment to advancement in the civil or military structure.

Though Asturia and Callaecia belong to the same administrative district for most of their history under Roman dominion, this discussion of cultic matters is limited to Callaecia proper (that is, to Bracaraugustana and Lucensis). The reasons for this concentration are twofold. First, the very fact that the Romans themselves made such a distinction is implicit in the name *conventus Asturiae et Callaeciae* and, second, Asturia with its important military camps, has a disproportionately high number of dedications by soldiers.³⁹ This material, though inter-

¹See Untermann, "althispanischen Sprachen," note 28 above.

³⁷*IRdel*, 5 and 67-68.

³⁸Admittedly, it may also reflect a very superficial degree of Romanization even among those who bore full citizenship. Note, however, that both interpretations are predicated on the continuing vitality of indigenous religion.

³⁹A glance at Tranoy's map nos. 12-14, will indicate the seriousness of the problem.

esting in itself and for other questions, creates distortions and is, moreover, not immediately relevant to the issue of Romanization in Callaecia. Limiting the discussion to the traditional Callaecian areas, one can identify about 800 inscriptions, 390 of which have already appeared *CIL*. Cultic references appear on over one-third (actually on 37%) of this total. The data may be summarized as follows:

TABLE 1: FREQUENCY OF REFERENCE TO DIVINITIES BY CONVENTUS

	CONVENTUS BRACARUM	CONVENTUS LUCENSIS	TOTAL
KELTIC GOD	65	46	111
ROMAN GOD, KELTIC SURNAME	22	3	26
ROMAN GOD	105	52	157
TOTAL OF CULTIC	193	101	294
TOTAL INSCRIPTIONS	ca. 500	ca. 300	800
POPULATION (FLAVIAN ERA)	285,000	166,000	451,000

With any such collection of data one may legitimately question how "valid" or "representative" it may be. One indication that these are both "valid" and "representative" is derived from evidence provided by Pliny the Elder. Pliny, who, as noted above, had administered this area, records that the population of Bracaraugustana and Lucensis were 285,000 and 166,000 respectively; this constitutes a ratio of 5 : 3. This ratio of one population to another is identical to the ratio of inscriptions surviving from the two areas, 500 and 300, respectively. Though this "correlation" is not conclusive, it does suggest that there is indeed a legitimate, underlying basis for the following discussion.¹

¹See section L2 above.

²One may also indulge one's imagination in more "playful" estimates, ones which have little or no statistical validity, but do suggest something of the order of phenomenon. For example, assume that all or nearly all of texts date to the first four centuries A.D.

As *with the tesserae*, the nomenclature (here of gods and of men) provides an analytical tool. Though many texts indicate little more than the name of the deity in the dative and the name of the dedicator in nominative and though the individual cases represent a wide variety of names, formulae and sentiments, they can nonetheless be organized into meaningful categories. The evidence indicates that despite change in the nomenclature, that is, despite the Romanization of the native indigenous religion remained a powerful and distinct force in and, Galicia. Moreover, even when the Callaeci began to worship Roman divinities by their Latin names, the selection of gods appears to reflect the fact that the Kelto-Romans had succeeded in equating indigenous religious entities with certain Roman gods.⁴²

The main thrust of this discussion is to understand the process "Romanization." To do so, we must comprehend also those aspects of native culture which "resisted" that process." Indigenous culture is clearly one example of this phenomenon. For this discussion, however, it is not as appropriate to explicate Keltic/indigenous "theology" as it is to document its vitality."

4.2 The Keltic Divinities and Their Worshipers

As noted in the Table 1 above, over one hundred inscriptions found in Callaecia make reference to Keltic divinities. In Bracara Augusta, there are about forty-five different divine names, but *Bandu* with eight references and *Habza* with four are the most common.' The distribution is somewhat different in Lucensis; there *Veroca* (with man

(reasonable), and that they are evenly distributed over that period (more doubtful). This would yield about seventy inscriptions per generation (reckoning twelve generations through four centuries. That is, we have seventy texts for the 450,000 who lived in Callaecia in the Flavian period: one text for every 6,500 individuals. Or, in other words, we have a ratio of about one-sixth of one percent (0.015% to be exact) of the population!

"Knapp, who surveys an area much larger than Galicia, reaches similar conclusions.

"I do not mean "to resist" in any violent way, which Roman authorities would not have tolerated, but that certain institutions maintained their vitality and identity in Romanized context. Though it cannot be demonstrated, I suspect that the dynamic elements of Keltic cult persisted under Roman/Latin labels.

"On this rich subject, see J. M. Blasquez-Martinez, *Religiones primitivas de Hispania* (Madrid 1962) and Tranoy, 264 ff.

⁴⁵beyond the general agreement that these are titular deities, little is known; indeed the evidence is ambiguous even as to gender. See Tranoy, 266 ff,

variations in spelling) and *Navia* predominate among about twenty different divinities.⁴⁶

The dedicators, judging by their nomenclature, may be divided into three sub-groups. First, there are eight individuals who bear Keltic names. Note, for example, the following:

MEDAM	SENA
VS CAMAL	ICO
BORMANI	ARQVIVS
CO. V. S. L. (m)	CANTABR (i)
—CIL II, 4202	L. A. P.
	—AE. 1973, 307

In these cases (and in the other six as well), the dedicators, Medamus and Arquius (both Keltic names) appear in the nominative, have indigenous filiation (Camalus) or origin (? Cantabrus), dedicate their offerings to Keltic divinities, Bormanicus' and Senaicus, and employ Latin formula, *votum solvit libens (merito)* and *libens animo posuit*, to do so. Such indications, and the relative rarity of this combination of Keltic nomenclature and Latin formula, suggest that the dedicators felt comfortable employing the Latin language and Roman forms (the altars) for what was essentially a private act of worship." They were not, however, so "Romanized" that they have Latin names for themselves personally or in their filiation. It is tempting to assign these texts to the pre-Flavian period," or perhaps even earlier, but there is no concrete evidence for such an assumption.

Far more common (103 of the 111 dedications to Keltic divinities) are the numerous altars and funerary dedications in which the dedicator has a Latin or a Latinized name, but the dedication is to a distinctly Keltic divinity. Two examples illustrate this category:

⁴⁵On what is known about the qualities and competency of these divinities, see J. D'Encarnac5o, *Divindades indigenas sob o dominio romano in Portugal* (Lisbon 1975) and Tranoy, 266-95.

⁴⁷Bormanicus is an especially interesting figure, for he is worshipped also in Gaul. On the evidence and its implications, see Tranoy, 269, and J. M. Blazques, *Las religiones indigenas del area noroeste de la peninsula iberica en relation con Roma*, *Legio VII*, 171-73.

"To what extent Keltic was a written language and to what extent writing was known in the northwest, in particular, is a difficult issue. See Untermann, *Die althhispanischen Sprachen*, note 28 above.

"Tranoy assigns no date to the Bormanicus text and a *late* first to early second century date to the Senaicus text, *La Galice romaine*, 266-69.

PEREGRINVS
APRI F REVS.
EISVTO
—IRG IV, 93

AEGIAMVN
NIAEGO.
ANTISTIVS
PLACIDIVS
CIL. FILIVS
ALTERNIAICINVS
V. S. L. **M**
--CIL II, 2523

In both of these cases, the paternity of the dedicators (Aprus and Cil) and the distinctly Keltic names of the divinities (Reve and Aegiamniaegus), indicate that the two individuals (Peregrinus and Antistiu despite their Latin names, are indeed of Keltic extraction." Again though it is very tempting to date this material to the first century, it is impossible to be certain. As concluded above in the discussion of the *tesserae*, there was considerable temporal and local variation in the adoption of Latin names and those in question here could equally represent individuals in the population who Romanized their names early or later. Regardless of the interpretation, the fact remains that the partially Romanized Kelts, though they used the Latin language, nevertheless continued to direct their spiritual aspirations to Keltic divinities. This suggests, first, that, in the religious sphere (as in some social and cultural areas) indigenous institutions remained vital and vigorous and second, that the Kelts were selective in their absorption of Roman *mores*, adopting foreign forms, but preserving with native content.

4.3 "Transitional" Divinities

A second group of texts, twenty-five in all, but twenty-two combined from the Bracaraugustana, indicates that the Callaeci believed that the two religious systems could be reconciled; they represent then an attempt at syncretism. Consider the following:

MARTI CA[p]
RIOECICO
L. HISPANI
VS FRONTO
EX. VOTO
SACRVM
--CIL II, 5612

ALBINVS
BALESIN
I. LARIBVS
FINDENEI
ICIS. LIBE
NS. POSUI
CIL II, 2471

"It should be noted that the overwhelming majority of the texts in this category are little more than minor variations on these forms.

In these cases, the dedicators have combined deities of traditional Roman religion (Mars and the Lares) with those of the Keltic. Hence, Tranoy argues Capriociegus must be the Keltic Mars.⁵¹ The most frequent combination, however, one which constitutes over half of the known cases (12 of 22), consists of Lar or Lares with some form of an indigenous ethnic identity, that is, Lar or Lares with the Latinized name of an indigenous social group (by domicile or clan). They have become, in essence, titular deities. It is interesting to note in this respect that the second most common combination of this kind involves *genius* with the name of a Keltic community. Such selectivity suggests once again that the Callaeci were eclectic in their approach to Roman institutions; that is, they selected those Roman divinities for this linkage whom they perceived as being compatible with traditional religious practices.

As to the dedicators themselves, the overwhelming majority have Romanized names (19 of 22 cases from Bracara Augusta) and six of these nineteen record indigenous filiation. All the evidence indicates then that the dedications in question were made by natives, by Romanized Kelts, and not by immigrants.

4.4 The Worship of Divinities of Greco-Roman Origin

When we turn to the worship of the classical Roman and Greek divinities, the evidence becomes more difficult to interpret. It is, for example, impossible to determine whether a dedicator with the *trio nomina* is a Kelt with Roman citizenship or an immigrant. Nonetheless, the evidence does allow us to assess the various preferences of the population. The indigenous Keltic peoples, regardless of their degree of Romanization, surely remained the overwhelming majority. How many mining engineers, traders and others were attracted to Callaecia and why they remained is beyond speculation. Moreover, though the nearest legionary camp was, after A.D. 70 at Legio (Leon, about 200 km. to the east), there is evidence, in the form of *miliaria*, encampments and discrete epigraphical references, to the presence of Roman legionaries and auxiliaries.⁵² Nonetheless, as we can never be certain what the lack of an

⁵¹ P. 304. Tranoy argues for the variation given here, that is, he prefers to read Capriociego. A fault in the stone makes certainty impossible, but the reading is consistent with other references in the area. D'Encarnacao gives the variations on the text, (note 46 above) 214-16.

⁵² For a discussion of this evidence, see Tranoy, 167 ff., and maps 12-14 for the sites. The items, it should be noted, are not comparable to those for Asturia.

origa in any given text means, it is not possible to distinguish between Romanized native and immigrant.

References to the more commonly cited "Olympian" divinity (altogether twenty-eight different ones are mentioned) may be summarized as follows:

	JUPITER	DIANA	MARS	MERCURY	NYMPH
BRACAR-					
AUGUSTANA	49	2	3	3	11
LUCENSIS	14	2	2	4	3

Tranoy, who has collected the data, attempts to divide the material context; that is to note wherever possible whether the inscription has "Romanized," an "official" or an "indigenous" context. For Bracaraugustana, it is noteworthy that only four inscriptions can be assigned to an "official" context while the remainder are divided about equally between Romanized and indigenous contexts. Essentially, then, the material at hand reflects private offerings of a very mixed and largely indeterminate group of citizens, soldiers, provincials and other ethnic groups. What one can say, given this distribution, is that in a "mildly indigenous" the two most popular cults were those of Jupiter and of Nymphae. Of the thirty-one such texts in Bracaraugustana, eighteen long to this group (twelve and six, respectively). In Lucensis, there are seventeen texts in this context, but, as over half the dedications there are to the Lares, the emphasis is somewhat different. These variations, even within Callaecia, indicate that indigenous religion was indeed diverse and, once again, that the Kelts were selective about what elements of Roman religion they wished to adopt. Moreover, if indigenous religion remained as vital as has been suggested, then one may speculate that the Callaeci were particularly interested in those divinities and qualities which might be identified with their traditional convictions. That the Kelts as Romans would have continued to seek spiritual satisfaction in entities similar to the ones with which they were already familiar.

Texts dedicated to classical divinities assume a form identical to the pattern already observed. Generally, we find altars and stelae inscribed on granite and, as a group, no better preserved than those of a more indigenous character. Consider the following:

¹La Galice, 308-26.

²On the Lares in Spain, see Knapp, 226, 35.

I. O. M.	NYMPHIS	TELLVRI
CONSERVA	CALPUR	G SVLP
TORE. M. AVR	IAABANA	FLAVVS
SEVERVS	AEBOSO	EX VOTO
VOTVM	EX VISV	—IRG IV, 73
S. L. M	V. S. L	
IRdeL 4	—IRG IV, 74	

The dedications to Jupiter and to Tellus were made by individuals with the *tria nomina* and who give no indication of Hispanic or Keltic origin. The case of Calpurnia Abana is, however, different. The *rumen*, Calpurnia, suggests Roman citizenship, but the cognomen (Abana) and the domicile, if that is what Aeboso refers to, clearly indicate Keltic and local origin. Moreover, though her dedication is to nominally Roman deities, we do well to remember that the worship of thermal divinities is a common phenomenon in Keltic areas.⁵⁵ That the worship of the Nymphae might have had a Keltic connection is also suggested by the fact that the majority of the dedications to these goddesses were made by women, who, like Calpurnia, retain in their nomenclature some sign of their ethnic origin.

There is another indication of this phenomenon. In the modern province of Orense, references to twenty Roman gods have been found and of them, nine are to Jupiter. In the same area, references to nineteen indigenous gods have been found, six of them to Bandua. The rough equivalency of these proportions suggests that Bandua may, in the end, have been identified with Jupiter and that the references to the Roman divinity reflect, at least in part, the native cult under a new name.

It is very difficult, in sum, to distinguish between Kelts with the *tria nomina* and immigrants. Nonetheless, the selection of divinities to be worshipped and the frequency with which reference is made to them may reflect Keltic preferences.

4.5 The Imperial Cult and the Process of Romanization

The role of the imperial cult in the Iberian peninsula has been studied intensively by R. Etienne in his *Le culte imperial dans la Peninsule Ibirique d'Auguste d Diocletien*.⁵⁶ His thesis is that the cult was

Bormanicus discussed above, section 4.2.

⁵⁶ Paris 1958, reprinted in 1974.

intended to secure the cohesion of all peoples in the Iberian province under the name of Rome and Augustus. The imperial cult was both a program of pacification as well as of Romanization. Tranoy examined the evidence for the cult in Galicia and concluded that a pattern defined by Etienne for the rest of the peninsula existed also in the northwest, albeit not as pronounced as attested elsewhere.⁵⁷ (Scholars have, I believe, overstated the case for the success of the imperial cult in Galicia. The evidence indicates that, though Augustus indeed made an attempt to establish this cult in Galicia, it did not take root during his reign nor during that of his Julio-Claudian successors.) Indeed, it is not until the middle of the second century, until the reign of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, that the cult is attested with any frequency in the epigraphical material. The imperial cult was then a factor in the progress of Romanization in the northwest, rather a consequence of it.⁵⁸

That Augustus and his advisors were committed to the establishment of such a cult in Galicia is beyond dispute. Pliny the Elder records the existence of *tres arae Sestianae Augusto dicatae* (NH IV, 111) at near Cape Finisterre. These altars may have been built by L. Sestius Turrinus during his campaigns of 22-19 B.C. That this was a conscious policy to extend the imperial cult is confirmed by an inscription from Braga which dates to about 3/2 B.C., and reads:

IMP. CAESARI. DIVI. F. AVG
PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. XXI
SACRVM

BRACARAVGVSTANI
PAVLLI. FABI MAXIMI. LEG. PRO. PR
NATALI. DEL DEDICATA. EST

—EE VIII, 2

These two dedications by legati indicate that the central government did indeed attempt to establish the imperial cult in Galicia during the first period.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Pp 326-34.

⁵⁸ 'On the role of the imperial cult in the process of Romanization, see A. Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship*, second edition (Oxford 1973) 402 ff.

⁵⁹ I am not convinced that the two honorific plaques from Lugo, *IRdeL*, nos. 1 and 20 demonstrate this proposition; the reconstruction of the texts is too speculative. Nonetheless, the intention of Fabius in this respect is clear.

Once Fabius had left the area, however, the cult literally disappears from Galicia for a good century or more. Tranoy, in attempting to develop a case for continuity, notes eight inscriptions dating to the first century which he believes refer to the existence of the cult. It is not, however, a convincing case. First, some of the texts, like CIL II, 2422 (to C. Caesar) and 6217 (to Claudius) have a simple, non-religious character, i.e., they are honorific. The same is true for the well known inscription found on a column near the Roman bridge at Chaves (CIL II, 2477); this dedication by the *Iegio VII* and *Civitates X* is not only to the individual members of the Flavian family (with no references which might be construed as religious in character), but also to the Legatus Augusti, C. Calpurnianus Rantius Quirinalis Valerius Festus.⁶⁰ Nor, finally, can the filiation *divi f* in the imperial titulature be construed as proof of the existence of the imperial cult.

Evidence supporting the existence of an imperial cult, such as there is, dates to the reigns of Antoninus Pius and of Marcus Aurelius; that is, it covers only a short period in the second century. Even then, the dedicators tend to be members of the military: five of the eight inscriptions cited by Tranoy as dedications to Aurelius were made by legionaries or auxiliaries.⁶¹ In sum, there is no substantial evidence to support the hypothesis that the imperial cult was successful among Romanized Kelts or that the government after Augustus made much of an effort to encourage the cult or use it as a vehicle to promote loyalty and Romanization at the local level. This is not, of course, to deny the fact that the cult did serve this function at the provincial level.⁶²

4.6 Summary

Though it cannot be cogently demonstrated (the lack of dated texts makes that impossible), it is most probable, if the arguments above are accepted, that the Keltic divinities appear on chronologically earlier (1st and 2nd century) inscriptions while Roman divinities appear on inscriptions datable to all periods, but with increasing frequency in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. But, even if this chronological distinction be re-

⁶⁰For his career and activities in the Iberian provinces, see Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanenses*.

⁶¹*ILP* 332.

⁶²On this phenomenon, see G. Alföldy, *Flamines provinciae Hispaniae Citeriores* (Madrid 1973).

jected, it is manifest that indigenous religious concepts continued to play an important part in the lives of the Romanized Kelts and, what is more important, there is no suggestion that such beliefs in any way compromised one's *"Romanitas."* Equally significant is the attitude of official Rome; there is no evidence that native cults were suppressed or that the imperial cult, after Augustus, was forced on the indigenous population. The evidence suggests rather that Keltic religion was treated with -benign neglect" and considerable toleration. This attitude ("policy" may be too strong a word) indicates that such cults were not perceived to be rallying points for "nationalist" elements or to threaten in any way Roman religious and political institutions.

By the third century, the Keltic divinities may have been "Romanized" or formally identified with their Roman equivalents. The process by which this transformation occurred surely proceeded at a different pace in the various areas of Callaecia but would appear, in the end, to have been as complete as the linguistic transformation.

5. Conclusions

Three general conclusions are relevant to this discussion. First, because the bulk of the epigraphical material is undated and because the lettering is frequently so poor and/or poorly preserved, it is not possible to generate any reliable chronological scheme of the process of Romanization in Galicia. When the material is dated, as is the case with the *tesserae hospitalis*, one finds a fairly consistent pattern in the nomenclature: Keltic names are appropriate to the pre-Flavian period, Keltic filiation to the period from Vespasian to Hadrian and full Latinization thereafter. Nonetheless, such distinctions must be used with care because the pace of Romanization proceeded at different rates in different places.

More significant is the fact that Keltic culture remained remarkably vital during the first two centuries of Roman domination. Certain social concepts, like the relationship between individual and community, retain a distinctly indigenous basis despite the fact that Latin is the language employed to define the connection. In religion, this phenomenon is readily observable. Keltic gods continue to be worshipped by individuals who bear Keltic names, by those who bear Latinized names and by those who have the *tria flamina*. That is, the Kelto-Romans continued to seek spiritual satisfaction in their traditional religion and perceived no ambiguity or dissonance between their inherited religion and

their acquired status. Moreover, even when the Kelto-Romans had abandoned the names of their traditional gods, the distribution of classical divinities worshipped suggests not that they had assumed Roman religion indiscriminately, but that they had selected for worship those deities who might be identified with traditional belief.

Even more significant is the fact that the Roman authorities did not perceive the private worship of Keltic divinities to present a threat to peace and stability. Individuals advanced in status despite the fact that they worshipped Bandua or Navia or the Nymphae. This suggests that one of the reasons why the Roman Empire was so successful, and why it won the loyalty of so many, was not only the benefit of Roman law and peace, but also that the Romans proved themselves to be remarkably tolerant of cultural diversity.

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