

Local Cult in Global Context: *Interpretatio* and the Emergence of New Divine Identities in the *provincia Tarraconensis*

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0. Since I have recently dealt with the role played by *interpretatio* (*Celtic and Roman*)¹ in the religious Romanisation of the Latin west and Hispanic provinces, in this work I am going to concentrate specifically on the epigraphic documentation² of the Tarraconensis, referring to these studies and the references contained therein³ for all that has to do with the polyfacetic – and apparently contradictory – nature of the process of assimilation of the ‘gods of others’; a process with a wide range of solutions in these systems where divine personalities of different systems correspond to each

1. One of the problems of the one-way Romanization models is the assumption of distinct, homogeneous, and bounded “Roman”, “Native”, or “Celtic” cultural entities. But such bounded societies never existed (BARRETT [1997]; WOOLF [1995]; LUCAS [2003]), and these categories probably reveal more information about modern theoretical paradigms than about the people being investigated. By using the terms *interpretatio Romana* and *Celtica* (or indigenous assimilation), I am basically referring to the *initiative* of the colonisers or natives, respectively, in translating the name or image of the foreign deity to their own category. My view is that cases of indigenous assimilations are much more common, and probably older, made spontaneously mainly by the indigenous elite, at least in the early stages of the process. Cf. also the relative chronology in DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2007/forthc.). See on this also illustrations I.1–5 on p. 197–199 in this volume.

2. Together with rituals and sacred architecture, one of the essential ‘media’ of symbolic communication: RÜPKE (2011) 26.

3. WISSOWA (1916–1919); GIRARD (1980); SCHENK (1989) 83–121; WEBSTER (1995) 153–161; SPICKERMANN (1997); SADDINGTON (1999); MARCO SIMÓN (1995–2007); ANDO (2006); CADOTTE (2007); OLIVARES PEDREÑO (2008); MARCO SIMÓN (2010a); *id.* (2012); HÄUSSLER (2012). Cf. also the bibliography quoted in the contribution by HAINZMANN & DE BERNARDO STEMPEL in this volume.

other, systems which were however sufficiently flexible in their polytheistic structure as to make possible these cultural translations of diverse *numina*.

The importance of this topic lies in the essential role played by religion not only in the construction and expression of identity,⁴ but also in the communication between the various ‘players’ of the new provincial societies. Recent history writing’s deconstruction or reformulation of the concept of “Romanisation” from a post-colonial perspective,⁵ has not been accompanied by a sufficient critique of the notion of *interpretatio Romana*, derived substantially, as we know, from Tacitus⁶

The pre-eminence of the name in the divine personality seems obvious, at least from an emic perspective. According to Varro (fragm. 87 Cardauns), the name described the function of the god and denoted his character, and we all recognise the importance of the etymological studies on the theonyms. But from an etic perspective, it is widely accepted that the name is merely one of the components, not necessarily the most important, of a concrete divine personality. A deity is above all defined in terms of his or her functions and

4. “The specific space created for local self-assertion lies above all in religion”: ELSNER (2001) 151.

5. See for example HINGLEY (2005) with references.

6. Tac. Germ. 43,4: *apud Nahannarvalos antiquae religionis lucus ostenditur. praesidet sacerdos muliebri ornatu, sed deos interpretatione Romana Castorem Pollucemque memorant. ea vis numini, nomen Alcis. nulla simulacra, nullum peregrinae superstitionis vestigium; ut fratres tamen, ut iuvenes venerantur*. See on this also illustrations no. I.1–3 on p. 197–198 in this volume.

the sphere of influence (the *provincia*, to put it in Latin terms) within the community that worships that god. Furthermore, it is well known that both Roman and Celtic polytheism dispersed divine personalities on a cult level, something which almost certainly complicated *interpretatio* even further.⁷ All these circumstances underline even more the importance of the archaeological and cultural context in which a testimony was inscribed.⁸

In short, *interpretatio*, far from being a ‘*processus bien établi*’ (Debatty [2006] 173), as it has been optimistically considered by various authors, is subject to great uncertainty, no stranger to the initiatives and choices carried out by the individuals themselves when relating their ancestral deities to the gods of the others. And this explains the vast differences that had existed between the evolution of the pantheons of cities in the same region since ‘pre-Roman’ times (see Häußler [2010] for Gallia Narbonensis). Religious ‘Romanisation’ involved, more than coexistence, syncretism or fusion of native and ‘Roman’ deities, the establishment of new combinations and new divine statutes.⁹

Analysis of inscriptions shows therefore the discretionary nature of *interpretatio* by natives, which varied enormously depending on the zones. Based on a brief examination of the tables included in Jufer & Luginbühl’s useful collection (2001), we can say that *interpretatio* in a broad sense seems to have been particularly intensive in Germania Inferior. In the rest of the western provinces, the “non-interpreted” divine names make up the majority of the testimonies, with a more active *interpretatio* in Germania Superior, Britannia or Gallia Narbonensis than in Aquitania, Belgium or Gallia Lugdunensis. The figures enable us to make a distinction (Jufer & Luginbühl [2001] 109) between a “southern facies”, taking in Gallia Narbonensis, the South-West of Aquitania and the Alps, where the various types of local or micro-regional *MARS* were common, together with dedications to *APOLLO BELENOS*, and a “northern facies” (central and northern Gaul) defined rather by the various Gallo-Roman Mercuries, tribal or supra-regional *MARS* and *APOLLO GRANNOS*.

7. On the difficulties of assimilating Esus or Teutates, two components of Lucan’s triad (Phars. 1.444–447), to Mars or Mercury, see *i.a.* HÄUSSLER (2008b) and HOFENEDER (2008) 317–321.

8. Understanding ‘context’ to be such diverse elements as the possible audience, the location – be it a room, a funeral, a religious space, public or private – the occasion, the purpose or function inherent in the artefact as an image (SMITH [2006] 73), in our case inscriptions. Cf. also SPICKERMANN (2013, ed.).

9. The gods worshipped by the indigenous population were not turned into Roman gods, “indeed, this would mean little sense: the Roman gods are first and foremost the gods of the city of Rome”: VAN ANDRINGA (2011) 133.

1. At any event, *interpretatio* was less common in the Hispanic provinces. In his recent study on the epigraphic *interpretatio* and religious syncretism in Celtic Hispania, Olivares ([2004] 219) has accounted for 573 inscriptions dedicated to indigenous deities (40%), 76 to Romano-indigenous (only a 5%), 741 to the Roman gods and goddesses (52%) and 47 to oriental deities (3%).

A key Hispanic feature is the low incidence of *interpretatio* with the major male gods of the Roman pantheon – with the relative exception of *Iuppiter* – as against the usual trend in the other north-western provinces. We have attested only 5 mentions of *Iuppiter* and another 5 of *Mars*, with only one testimony of Mercury, so frequent in the Galliae (see appendix). With one exception (a Cantabrian called Irmumicus mentioning his *gentilitas*), the dedicants to a *Iuppiter* accompanied by indigenous epithets are onomastically Latin, with *tria nomina* and, in two cases, are *liberti Augustales* (one of them, M. Ulpus Eutyches, a *procurator metallorum Albocolesium*, who dedicates an altar to *Iovi Anderoni*. Three of the epithets of *IUPPITER*, *CANDAMIOS* (*CANDAMV*) and *CANDIEDIO* are possibly related with the modern toponym Candanedo, the name of a mountain pass in Northern Spain.

The dedicants of the altars to *MARS* are also onomastically Latin; one of them is the well known Iulius Melanius, the *procurator Augustorum* of Eastern origin who dedicates an ara in Asturica Augusta to *MARS SAGATVS* (whose epithet refers to the *sagum*, a typical garment of the Hispanic Celts) or *APOLLO GRANNOS* – which does not refer to an Hispanic god – among other deities. The epithet *TILENOS* appearing on a bronze ring from Asturica is presumably derived from the name of the mount Teleno towering over the city of Astorga. It is possible that this paucity of examples of Romano-Celtic *Mars* in Hispania is due to the importance, well known through epigraphy, of such epichoric deities as *Bandua* or *Cosus* in the westernmost regions of the Peninsula, having in mind that these deities probably have a tutelary character quite close to that of the Gallo-Roman *Mars*. But at the same time it is also surprising that this supposed similarity between the divine personalities of the indigenous and the Latin god did not lead to an assimilation between them like that operating in Gallia or Britannia. In any case, the Latin epigraphy does not dissipate the doubt about the ancestral name of the god to whom – according to Strabo (Geogr. 3, 3,7) – the tribes in the north of Iberia made sacrifices.

The only case of dedication to Mercury comes from the Ebro Valley, and the epithet *VISVICIOS* points to the well known testimonies in Germania Superior. The Nymphs and *TVTELA* have 4 four testimonies in each case, and their dedicants bear Latin names. One of them is Cn. Lucius Ter-

entius Homullus, the legate of the *legio VII Gemina* who gives the name of the city where the inscription has appeared. Only one of the dedicants to Tutela has an autochthonous name (Silo, who dedicates to *Tutela Berisis*).

2. Another key feature of *interpretatio* in the Tarraconensis is the paramount importance of the *Lares*, amounting to about 80 out of the 122 cases of mixed formulae with a Latin deity and an epichoric epithet in our provincia. Thirty of these instances refer to the *Lares* with topic adjectives, and they are particularly well represented in the Conventus Bracaraugustanus, since 12 of the 14 cases of the Lucensis come from the extraordinary – in so many respects – sanctuary of Cangas de Morrazo, Facho de Donón, a peninsula of the Rias Baixas on the Atlantic Ocean in front of the Cies Islands. In this cultic place, on the very same area of a settlement datable to the Second Iron Age that was abandoned two centuries before, the peregrines erected more than 150 aras to *deus Lar Berobreus*, from the middle of the third to the beginning of the fifth century (Koch [2005]). An extremely interesting feature is that, with two exceptions, all the epigraphs are anonymous and are expressed in the first person singular, the usual formula being: *deo Lari Berobreorum posui*, sometimes with the formula *pro salute*. This lack of mention of the dedicants seems to point to a rather closed cultic social group, perhaps of the type of the *DI LARES GAPETICORVM GENTILITATIS* (CIL II 804) mentioned in the Latin Lusitanian inscription of La Oliva (Cáceres). The placing of this Galaico-Roman sanctuary on the still visible ruins of an old abandoned settlement poses very interesting questions about the creation of mythical landscapes, the religious appropriation of the past and the construction of memory in Celtic Hispania during several generations of worshippers, issues I cannot deal with now.

The other mentions to the *Lares* have a topic character and most of them present the typical suffix *-aecus*, *-aegus* and variants. One Ladronius Avilis f. dedicates an altar in Marecos to *Lari Patrio*, and Saturninus, an Augustan liberatus with African *origo* related to local mining activity, to the *LARES CALLAECIARVM* together with other deities (in an inscription dated to the end of the 2nd c. by P. Le Roux). The names of the dedicants to these *Lares* with indigenous epithets,¹⁰ although Latin in part, are also traditional, espe-

cially in the filiation, as opposed to the norm in the dedications to the other deities already mentioned.

The cult of these *LARES* is typical of rural areas, and this contrasts clearly with the Roman deities with autochthonous epithets in Britannia or Gallia, attested in urban settlements or in connection with soldiers.¹¹ They are in my opinion a good example of indigenous *interpretatio*, which breaks the limits of the domestic realm of the Roman *Lares*.

But the most numerous of all the testimonies are those related to the *LARES VIALES* (Marco Simón [2010b]). We have about 50 inscriptions in the Tarraconensis, mainly in the Conventus Lucensis, as opposed to the concentration of the *Lares* with indigenous epithets in the Conventus Bracarenensis, even if from Bracara Augusta the appearance of 5 new altars dedicated to them has been recently reported. One of the aras is dedicated by the members of a *vicus*, the *Vicani Circoiebrenses* in *Aquae Flaviae* (Chaves), and the *cultores* have predominantly Latin names, although they are not citizens (the only *tria nomina* come from Lucus and are not accompanied by the mention of the *tribus*). But some of the dedicants have autochthonous anthroponyms and/or filiation, and in some case they express their *gentilitas* (the *Reburrus Bedacium* – mentioned in one of the inscriptions from Narros, Ávila – in the Conventus Carthaginensis, outside the nucleus of the cultic geography in the North West). The almost complete lack of this theonym in the Latin inscriptions outside Hispania – as against the frequency of e.g. the *LARES COMPITALES* – as well as the importance of the mixed theonymic formulae of the *Lares* with indigenous epithets, point to an *interpretatio* of some ancestral deities through the new Latin classifier. I want to draw attention to the fact that in these areas of the conventus Lucensis and Bracarenensis there is the greatest concentration of *miliaria* in all the Roman Empire, and having this in mind, it could be possible to interpret these numerous votive altars as a practice induced by the Romans themselves in accordance with the imperial propaganda in the western most distant confines of the Empire through ancestral divinities. Be that as it may, the *LARES VIALES* seem to be a new divine combination to express optimally the new era of prosperity and easy communications brought by the *pax Romana*.¹²

10. D'ENCARNAÇÃO & GUERRA ([2010] 100) exclude – due to serious problems related with reading or interpretation – *Lari Sefio* and doubt about the *Lares* mentioned in three lost inscriptions from the region of Chaves which were reconstructed by HÜBNER on the basis of a reading from 18th c. manuscripts: *Laribus Cuseleisibus, Erredicis, Findeneticis* (see Appendix).

11. For the contrast between the distribution of votive altars found around the military garrisons in the centre and the north of Britannia and the location of 'Romano-Celtic' temples in the south (and the magical *defixiones* in the south-west), see MATTINGLY (2011), particularly 223–231.

12. In a similar way to that of the *Ianus Augustus* mentioned in some inscriptions, an extraordinary monument at the frontier of the province of Baetica that was a focus for the emperor's cult (SILLIÈRES 2003).

A final remark regarding the distribution of the mixed theonymic formulae that express the process of the *interpretationes*: the assimilation of the foreign gods by “Romans” and “natives” is stronger in the most distant conventus of the Northwest (Dopico Caínzos & Santos Yanguas 2012), the Lucensis and the Bracaraugustanus, with a more discrete facies in the Cluniensis, and is almost insignificant in the Caesaraugustanus and the Carthaginiensis (not to speak of the Tarraconensis itself, where it is lacking). This distribution is consistent with other variants of *interpretatio* and may be explained not only by the larger number of votive altars in these zones, but also as the result of the spreading of the *ius Latii* (Andreu [2004]; Ortiz de Urbina Álava [2012]), which almost certainly would result in an intensification of religious ‘Romanisation’ in these areas of north-west Hispania (González Rodríguez [2012]). On the contrary, the *Matres* with indigenous epithets are centred especially in the conventus Cluniensis and in the Celtiberian area (where 10 of the 17 cases are attested) and express the paradoxical importance of the local deities within the new culture of globalization, like e.g. the *Matronae* in the Rhine areas or the *Matres* documented in the Narbonensis.¹³

3. In contrast with the relative abundance and originality of the funerary iconography on stelae in these areas, not only in the conventus of the Northwest (González García [2010]; Blázquez Martínez & García-Gelabert Pérez [2011]), but also, and especially, in the Cluniensis and the Asturum (Abásolo Álvarez & Marco Simón [1995]), divine iconography is also quite rare in the Tarraconensis. But the fascinating world of images supplies particularly useful examples about the uncertainty in the identification of foreign gods,¹⁴ with a feature that seems characteristic and documentable in all the areas studied: the adoption of classicist iconic definers in the representation of indigenous gods, whether they were interpreted or not. The Celtic predilection for elusive, abstract and symbolic expression was behind the adoption of this markedly classicist iconic language. Examples of this would be the figuration of *TONGOS NABIAGOS*, the patron god of the “Altar do idolo” in Braga (Garrido Elena & Mar & Martins [2008]), with a markedly classical iconography, the same as the *SALVS VMERITANA* depicted in the patera from

Otañes, in Cantabria.¹⁵ In the paucity of the examples of iconographical *interpretatio* – if compared with other more abundant material in Gallia or the Germaniae – we find another feature of the relative weakness of the process of *interpretatio* in the Hispanic provinces in general and in the Tarraconensis in particular within the wider context of the western provinces of the Empire.¹⁶

4. As it has been also proposed for other regions of the western Roman Empire, the Hellenistico-Roman religious elements were not adapted or assimilated directly, but through different processes of selection according to the different cultural contexts and religious traditions, in the general frame of new religious systems. All this is the result of the capacity for change that seems to be inherent in polytheism in Antiquity; changes that involve not the oblivion of prior religious tradition, but its adaptation to new social contexts within the Roman Empire. These *interpretatio* (indigenous and Roman) processes were very important, but only the exact knowledge of the archaeological and cultural contexts can explain the various choices made by the devotees – be they natives or colonists – within the new framework of local cults in the new global context of the imperial religious *koiné*, to open the door to new deities upon which the hopes, concerns and frustrations of new times were pinned.

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13. On the *Matres/Matronae* see BAUCHHENS & NEUMANN (1987); WOOLF (2003); CARROLL (2010). Although it is not clear in my opinion that the *Matres* with epichoric epithets are a case of *interpretatio*, the Latin expression of the theonym proper justifies their inclusion in these tables of mixed theonymic formulae.

14. Iconic interpretation of a deity is beset with ambiguity and underlines the “muddy waters” (BUTCHER [2003] 332) of identity.

15. But see ABASCAL PALAZÓN (2011) on “iconographical bilingualism” as expression of ethnic identity in Celtic Hispania.

16. The contrast between the paucity of divine iconography in the Tarraconensis (and in Hispania in general) and the much more exuberant Gallo-Roman iconography (HATT [1987]; VAN ANDRINGA [2011]) is clear.

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Appendices (for the abbreviations used see p. 232)

Appendix 1: Votive inscriptions in Celtic Hispania (after OLIVARES PEDREÑO [2008] 219)

Indigenous Deities	573	40%
Indigenous-Roman	76	5%
Roman	741	52%
Orientalis	47	3%

Appendix 2. Mixed theonymic formulae in Tarraconensis.

THEONYM/EPITHET	ORIGIN	DEDICANT	REFERENCE
<i>Genio Laquiensi</i>	S. Miguel de Caldas de Vizela (Braga)	Flavius Fullo Flauini f.	CIL II 2405
<i>Genio Tiauranceaico</i>	Estorãos, Viana do Castelo	Camala, Arqui f., Talabrigensis	AE 1952, 65
<i>Genio Tongobrigensium</i>	Freixo/ Tongobriga (Porto)	Flavius	CIL II 5564; ILER 659
<i>Genio Viriocelensi</i>	Vilela, Amares (Braga)	Lucretius Sabinus	HEp 8, 581; AE 1998, 759
<i>Iovi Candamio</i>	Candanedo (León)		CIL II 2695; AE 1987, 472; IRL 50
<i>Iovi Optimo Maximo Candiedioni</i>	Galicia	T. Caesius Rudus Salaenus	CIL II 2599
<i>Iovi Ladico?</i>	Codos de Larouco (Orense)	M. Ulpus Gracilis, Aug. lib.	CIL II 2525; AE 1977, 445; HEp 2, 578; HEp 7, 533
<i>Iovi Candamo?</i>	Olleros de Pisuerga (Palencia)	Irmumicus Urrilicum?	ERP 32; HAE 2601
<i>Iovi Anderoni</i>	Galicia	M. Ulpus Eutyches, Aug. lib., proc. metallorum Albocolesium	CIL II 2598
<i>Marti Cariogiego</i>	Tuy (Pontevedra)	L. Hispanus Fronto	CIL II 5612; AE 1957, 316
<i>Marti Tileno</i>	Quintana de Marco (León)		IRL 51; EE 9, 293
<i>Marti Tarbuceli</i>	Setefontes de S. Vitor (Braga)	Coporici Materni f.; fullones	AE 1983, 562
<i>Marti Sagato Apollini Granno</i>	Astorga (León)	Iulius Melanio, proc. Augustorum duorum	AE 1968, 230
<i>Marti Cari[e]co</i>	Refoios de Lima, Ponte de Lima (Viana do Castelo)	Aurelianus	AE 1983, 561; D'ENCARNAÇÃO & GUERRA (2010)
<i>Ermaei Devori</i>	Outeiro Seco (Vila Real)	G. Cexaecius Fuscus	CIL II 2473; AE 1955, 233; AE 1959, 84

THEONYM/EPITHET	ORIGIN	DEDICANT	REFERENCE
<i>Mercurio Visuciu</i>	Agoncillo (La Rioja)		AE 1976, 327; ERR 10; DE BERNARDO STEMPEL (2010) 20 f.
<i>Nymphis Varcilenis</i>	Valtierra, Vaciamadrid (Madrid)	L. Iulius Rufinus	CIL II 3967
<i>Nymphis Lupianis</i>	Tagilde, Guimarães (Braga)	Antonia Rufina	CIL II 6288
<i>Nymphis Fontis Amevi or Ameucni</i>	León/ <i>Legio VII Gemina</i>	Cn. Lucius Terentius Homullus Iunior, Luci f., legatus legionis VII Piae Geminae Felicis	CIL II 5084; AE 1974, 390; IRL 27
<i>Nymphis Fontis Amevi or Ameucni</i>	León/ <i>Legio VII Gemina</i>	Cn. Lucius Terentius Homullus Iunior, Luci f., legatus legionis VII Piae Geminae Felicis	CIL II 5676; IRL 28
<i>Salus Umeritana</i>	Otañes (Cantabria)		CIL II 2917
<i>Tutela[e] Bolgens[i]</i>	Cacabelos de El Bierzo (León)	Claudius Capito	AE 1928, 176; IRL 62
<i>Tutelae Liriensi</i>	Seixo de Ansiães Carrazeda de Ansiães, (Bragança)	Pompeius Clitus, Pompeius Corinthus, Pompeius Calvinus	EE 8, 111 ^a ; AE 2002, 759; HEp 12, 611
<i>Tutelae Berisi</i>	S. Vicente de Coucieiro, Baños de Molgas (Orense)	Silo Silonis f.	AE 1981, 537
<i>Tutelae Cal(...)</i>	Rodanillo, Astorga (León)	Flaccus Avitus	AE 1994, 962

Appendix 3: Lares with indigenous names

THEONYM/EPITHET	ORIGIN	DEDICANT	REFERENCE
<i>Laribus Tarmucenbaecis Ceceaeicis</i>	Samaiões, Chaves (Vila Real)	P. Aelius Flavius	CIL II 2472; AE 1973, 312; AE 1987, 5621; HEp 2, 854
<i>Laribus Cerenaecis</i>	S. Salvador de Tuías, Marco de Canaveses (Porto)	Niger Proculi	CIL II 2384
<i>Laribus Cusicelensibus?</i>	Couto de Algeriz, Chaves (Vila Real)	Q. Fulvius Flavinus, Placidi filius?	CIL II 2469
<i>Laribus Erredicis?</i>	S. Pedro de Agostem, Chaves (Vila Real)	Rufus	CIL II 2470
<i>Laribus Findeneticis?</i>	Celeiros o Selhariz, Chaves (Vila Real)	Albinus Balaesini f.	CIL II 2471
<i>Lari Sefio?</i>	Adaufe, Braga	Comes?	ILER 861
<i>Lari Beiradiego</i>	Sta. María de Arnoso (Braga)	Lucretius Caturonis f.	AE 1983, 560
<i>Laribus Callaeiarum</i>	Lugo	Saturninus, Aug. lib.	AE 1973, 294; HEp 1, 457
<i>Laribus Buricis</i>	Carrazedo, Amares (Braga)	Bloena	AE 1973, 320; AE 1974, 391
<i>Laribus Anaecis?</i>	Larages, Penafiel (Porto)	Priscus	HEp 1, 689

THEONYM/EPITHET	ORIGIN	DEDICANT	REFERENCE
<i>Laribus Gegeiqis</i>	Arcosso, Chaves (Vila Real)	Mauxumus Rufinus Trupeisi f.?	AE 1987, 562c; HEp 2, 840
<i>Lari Circeibaeco Proenetiaego</i>	Moreiras, Pereiro de Aguiar (Orense)	L. Campanius Macer	AE 1974, 410
<i>Lari Pemanieco</i>	Readegos, Villamarín (Orense)		AE 1974, 409; HEp 2, 602
<i>Lari Ocaelaego</i>	Paradinha, Moimenta da Beira	Q. Apanicus Capito	AF 2, 152
<i>Lari Patrio</i>	Marecos, Penafiel (Proto)	Ladronius Avilis f.	AE 1973, 319
<i>Laribus Ormonufis or Belaecis?</i>	Pitoes de Junias, Montalegre (Vila Real)	Sulpicius Coraecus	HEp 2, 873
<i>Laribus Gumelaecuis?</i>	Vilanova, Celanova (Orense)	M. Licinius Veleiensis	AE 1981, 530; HEp 2, 527
<i>Laribus Tur(...)</i>	Trasmiras, Xinzo de Llímia (Orense)	M. Tertiolus	HEp 7, 504

Appendix 4: The *Lares Viales* in the *provincia Tarraconensis*

CULT PLACE	DEDICANT	REFERENCE
Brandomil (La Coruña)	Dentonius Verecundus	CIL II 5634
Sta. Cruz de Fragoso, Santiago de Compostela (La Coruña)	Valo[---]?	
El Pino, Castrofeito (La Coruña)	Arc(---)	HEp 4, 341
El Pino, Castrofeito (La Coruña)	Val(erius) O[---]	HEp 4, 341
Cerceda (La Coruña)	Iulius	HEp 12, 146
Puentes de García Rodríguez (La Coruña)	Siulrius (Silurius, Silverius?)	AE 2005, 845; HEp 14, 168
Belesar, Chantada (Lugo)		HAE 1716
Chantada (Lugo)	C[.]o[---]	HEp 13, 426
Arcos, Pol (Lugo)		HAE 1716
Becerreá (Lugo)		HAE 308
Neira de Jusá, Papín (Lugo)	Placid(i)na	HAE 313
Lugo/ <i>Lucus Augusti</i>	Marcus Annius Varus, Marcus Annius Verinianus, pater et filius	CIL II 2572; EDH 10844
Santa Cruz de Parga, Guitiriz (Lugo)	Caesanus	
A Graña, S. Pedro de Buriz, Guitiriz (Lugo)		BERMEJO BARRERA (1986) 199
S. Vicente de Castellós, Patón (Lugo)	Cl(outius?) Gauceas Crierus Veren(sis)	BERMEJO BARRERA (1986) 199–200
Carballedo (Lugo)	A(¿)	HEp 13, 424
Sta. María de Temes, Carballedo (Lugo)	M[---]	EDH 7276
Ourol (Lugo)	[Fla?]vi f(ilus)?	HEp 13, 437
Begonte (Lugo)		HEp 13, 423
Cervo (Lugo)	Au(relius)	HEp 13, 425
Pontecesures, Padrón(Pontevedra)	S(ervius o Sextus) Lutus	HAE 1743

CULT PLACE	DEDICANT	REFERENCE
Sta. María de Caldas de Reis/ <i>Aquae Celenae</i> (Pontevedra)	Rec[t]us	HAE 1744
Grava, Silleda (Pontevedra)	Publius Optatius	HAE 1745
Torres d'Oeste, Catoira/ <i>Turris Augusti</i> (Pontevedra)	A(---)	EDH 13417
San Andrés de Geve (Pontevedra)	P(uella)?	HAE 1747
El Grove (Pontevedra)	A. L+	HEp 6, 758
Pontecesures (Pontevedra)	(---) Lupus	HEp 6, 758
Santa Comba de Bande/ <i>Civitas Limicorum</i> (Orense)	Maxumus [L]ovessi f.	CIL II 2518; HEp 14, 226
La Puebla de Trives/ <i>Nemetobriga</i> (Orense)	[V]allius [M]aximus	
Taboadela (Orense)	Silo Sil(onis)	HEp 2, 595
S. Xiao de Fontefría (Orense)	Petronius	EDH 11043
S. Martín de Besulla, Comba (Orense)	PRO(¿)	EDH 2877
	Maternus Rufi	MCV 9, 1973, 20
Castelo de Neiva (Braga)	Val(erius) Ruf(us)	EDH 68
Braga/ <i>Bracara Augusta</i>	Fl. Sabinus	CIL II 2417
Braga/ <i>Bracara Augusta</i>		HEp 11, 654
Braga/ <i>Bracara Augusta</i>		HEp 11, 654
Braga/ <i>Bracara Augusta</i>		HEp 11, 654
Braga/ <i>Bracara Augusta</i>	[C(aius) Iu]lius [S]aturninus	HEp 14, 420
Chaves	Vicani Circoiebre(nses) (o Circoiebe(nses))	HEp 13, 1032
Noceda del Bierzo (León)	Ani.com(meatus) Int(eramni). Fl(avii)	HEp 8, 328
Santianes de Tuña, Tineo (Asturias)	Sem(pronius) Cas(sius)	CIL II 5734; HEp 1, 78
Lugo de Llanera (Asturias)		HEp 4, 67
Narros del Puerto (Ávila)	Iul(ius) Gaianus	HEp 13, 69
Narros del Puerto (Ávila)	Rebu[rrus] Bedaciq(um)	HEp 13, 72b
Coruña del Conde/ <i>Clunia</i> (Burgos)	V(alerius) Reburus ex visu	EDH 12044
Saelices/ <i>Segobriga</i> (Cuenca)	Amauca pro (H)elv(i)a Marcella	AE 1903, 185; EDH 31257
Cervera del Río Alhama (La Rioja)	[---]Ullici	CIL II 2987
Setla/ <i>Dianium</i> (Alicante)	Festivos ex somnio	HEp 2, 16; EDH 12299

TOTAL NUMBER IN					
LUCENSIS	BRACARAUG.	ASTURUM	CLUNIENSIS	CAESARAUG.	CARTHAG.
27	13	4	1	1	4

Appendix 5: Distribution of the interpreted theonyms in the *Conventus of Tarraconensis*

THEONYM	TOTAL NUMBER	LUCENSIS	BRACARAUG.	ASTURUM	CLUNIENSIS	CAESARAUG.
<i>Genius</i>	4		4			
<i>Iuppiter</i>	5	2	1	1	1	
<i>Lares</i>	30	14 (12 at Cangas de Morrazo)	16			
<i>Lares Viales</i>	49 (4 in C. Carthagin.)	27	12	4	1	1
<i>Mars</i>	5	1	2	2		
<i>Matres</i>	17		4	1	10	2
<i>Mercurius</i>	1					1
<i>Nymphae</i>	4		1	2		1
<i>Salus</i>	1				1	
<i>Tutela</i>	4	1		3		
<i>Apollo</i>	1			1		
<i>Erma Devoris</i>	1		1			
TOTAL	122	45	41	14	13	5

Abbreviations used in the Appendices

AE = L'Année Épigraphique.

AF = Anuarii de filologia. Departamento de Filología Latina. Universidad Central de Barcelona.

CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

EDH = Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg.

EE = Ephemeris Epigraphica.

ERP = Luis SAGREDO SAN EUSTÁQUIO & Santos CRESPO ORTÍZ DE ZÁRATE, *Epigrafía romana de la provincia de Palencia*, Palencia: Universidad de Valladolid, Departamento de Historia Antigua, Institución Tello Tellez 1978.ERR = Urbano ESPINOSA RUIZ, *Epigrafía Romana de La Rioja*, Logroño: Comunidad Autónoma de La Rioja 1986.

HAE = Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica. Suplemento anual de Archivo Español de Arqueología.

HEp = Hispania Epigraphica.

ILER = José VIVES, *Inscripciones latinas de la España romana*, 2 vol., Barcelona: Publicaciones de los Departamentos de Filología Latina 1971–1972.IRL = Francisco DIEGO SANTOS, *Inscripciones romanas de la provincia de León*, León: Institución Fray Bernardino de Sahagún 1986.

MCV = Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez.