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**Sacred Place:
Contextualizing Non-Urban Cult Sites and Sacred
Monuments in the Landscape of Lusitania from the 1st
to 4th c. AD**

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Appendix I:

Catalogue of Non-urban Cult Space of Lusitania (1st – 4th c. AD)¹

Part 1) Cult sites and religious monuments

1.1) Alcántara (Map 1:E7)

Modern Location: Alcántara, Cáceres, Extremadura, ESP

Conventus: Emeritensis

Latitude/Longitude: N 39° 43' 18.1"; W 6° 53' 29.6"

Elevation: 154 m (at temple)

Type: Temple (associated with monumental bridge)

Date: From the Flavian era. In a detailed study, Liz Guiral has shown that the bridge and temple were initiated following the Flavian decree of *ius latii*; however, the bridge was not completed and dedicated – by the addition of its arch – until the reign of Trajan (1988:201-207; CIL II 759).

Topography: This small temple is located at the south-east end of the monumental Roman bridge of Alcántara. It is located mid-way up a hill which forms part of the left bank of the wide Tagus River. It overlooks the deep, lush valley cut by this river.

Description: The cult space in question is a small temple, distyle in antis, of Tuscan order (20' x 14' $\frac{3}{4}$ x 22' $\frac{10}{12}$) (see figs.2.8 and 3.11). It lacks a differentiated podium, and has a single cella with pronaos and a-shaped roof. It was constructed of granite ashlar and includes a dedicatory lintel (now a reconstruction of the original). The inscription on this lintel records that the temple was dedicated to Trajan, erected by the bridge's architect Gaius Iulius Lacer, and also includes twelve elegiac verses (HEpOL 21739; CIL II 761). Gimeno has argued against the authenticity of this temple and its lintel inscription (an ongoing topic of scholarly controversy) (1995). The subject is especially complex due to the various reconstructions that the bridge and associated structures have undergone (see Gimeno 1995; Liz Guiral 1988). The

¹ This is not an epigraphic corpus. Inscription texts will only be offered in certain cases, especially where they are controversial or not easily available (e.g. in AE, HEpOL, etc.). In all other cases reference to the inscriptions found at a given site will be noted in the 'source' sub-section; many of the inscriptions can be quickly accessed through Hispania Epigraphica online (HEpOL). Also see Appendix IV of this Volume for a table of inscriptions which record deity-names and have known find-spots. For the map locations of the cult sites and religious monuments of this catalogue, see Map 1 at the end of Volume I.

primary reasons for Gimeno's conclusion against the authenticity of the temple and lintel inscription are: various structural abnormalities of the temple which she sees as uncharacteristic of Roman period architecture (e.g. the lack of podium; disequilibrium between the massive ashlar and the small temple size; a-shaped roof made of flat granite slabs; posterior pediment undifferentiated from the back-wall and made of unworked ashlar; a single ashlar header extending out from the back wall; two columns without entasis and with differing numbers of drums); as well as two inscriptions from within the temple that were proven to be false (Hübner, CIL II 76* a and b), and the highly irregular lintel inscription that she also shows to be false (1995). I agree with her detailed denunciation of the lintel inscription. However, as Alvarado et al. have already pointed out, this temple has a parallel in the small temple of Piedras Labradas which shares some of the characteristics that Gimeno uses to argue that the structure is not Roman: it also has next to no podium (a single level of ashlar) and would have had an a-shaped roof of stone slabs (Alvarado et al. 1998:4; Rio-Mirando 2010:199). Besides this, Liz Guiral has convincingly argued that the Alcántara bridge and temple were initiated in the Flavian era after the decree of *ius latii* (1988:201-207); the temple of Jarilla was possibly built during the same period of monumentalization (chapter two, section d). Both temples are also in view of the Tagus. Therefore, on comparison with the temple of Jarilla and in agreement with Liz Guiral, I tentatively posit that the Alcántara temple was a Flavian construction rather than a later 15th century structure (as Gimeno argues, 1995:137). It was perhaps built, opportunistically, of ashlar being used in the bridge construction (which need not imply that it post-dates the bridge). Some of the more peculiar components, like the columns, were surely much later additions, as was the lintel inscription (Gimeno 1995). The original temple was probably a modest edifice that was perhaps dedicated to the Emperor, following the decree of *ius latii*.

Deity: Imperial cult?

Sources: Hübner in CIL pp.89-96; Mélida 1924:119-138 [temple 134-138] and 1929:285-286, fig.127; Callejo Serrano 1970:213-218; Blanco Freijeiro 1977; Liz Guiral 1986:32-43 and 1988 [temple 181ff]; Trillmich et al. 1993:Taf.148, 363-4, Abb.63, 137; Gimeno 1995:87-145; Alvarado et al. 1998:4; HEP 6, 1996,189; AE

1959, 289; HEpOL 21739; TIR J-29, Lisboa (1995), IIa, pg.27; CIL II 761 (and 759, 760 from the bridge); MTN 1:25000, 648.4 (1:50,000 = 648; Series L: 9-26)

Figures²: 2.8; 3.11

1.2) **Alto da Vigia, Colares** (Map 1:A5)

Modern Location: Alto da Vigia, Praia das Mações, Colares, Sintra, PRT

Conventus: Scallabitanus

Latitude/Longitude: N 38° 49' 22.4'' W 9° 28' 21.8''

Elevation: 25 m

Type: Altar cluster, possible temple

Date: Between the late 2nd century AD and early 3rd century AD (based on the three extant votive altars). One of these altars is dated to between 200 and 209 AD (CIL II 259; Cardim Ribeiro 2002b:235). Another appears to date to AD 185 based on the governor, Sextus [Ti]gidius (?) Perennis (CIL II 258) (Cardim Ribeiro 1982-3:166,426, note.9; Alarcão 1994:61).

Topography: This promontory juts out into the Atlantic Ocean west of the Serra de Sintra in the Parque Natural de Cascais (see fig.3.15). It is located directly south of the estuary of the Colares River which Cardim Ribeiro considers to be a *via maritima* (2002b:236; CMP 1:25000, 415). The region is dominated by the lush and forested Serra de Sintra immediately west of this promontory. See 3.2 below, for ancient reference to the Serra de Sintra as both a sacred mountain and a mountain of Selene (which accords well with the cult of Sol and Luna evidenced, here, on this adjacent promontory).

Description: Three altars were recorded on this promontory by a series of early modern travel writers of the 16th to 18th centuries (see sources). Certain of these sources also make reference to ruins of a Roman temple/s in the sands nearby (see Cardim Ribeiro 2002b:236). A 16th century sketch, by Francisco de Holanda, depicts sixteen small prismatic stones or altars in a circle on this promontory (see fig.3.2) (in Segurado 1968:114-115 and Alves 1986). Today, three altars from this site are extant. Two found in this immediate environment were dedicated to Sol and Luna by

² All figure references refer to the main text of this thesis.

Sextus [Ti]gidius(?) Perennis³, governor of Lusitania in AD 185 (CIL II 258; HEpOL 21311), and by Iun[ius?] Coelianus between AD 200 and 209 (CIL II 259; HEpOL 21312). A third altar that appears to be consecrated to Sol Aeternus (though it is difficult to make out) was found in nearby S. Miguel de Odrinhas. As other authors have noted, this altar's proximity to this promontory, the deity to whom it was dedicated, and the fact that it was also set up by a member of the provincial governing apparatus (Caius Iulius Celsus a member of the senatorial order, and procurator in Lusitania, who lived at the end of the 2nd c. AD), argue that it belongs to this sanctuary (Cardim Ribeiro 1994:86-87; Alarcão 1988b:Vol.II, 5/192, 5/219; HEpOL 16771). Cardim Ribeiro argues that this may be the altar erroneously depicted as a hybrid dedication to "Soli Aeterno and Christo" in Holanda's 16th c. drawing of the cult space here, and also the third illegible altar referred to by André de Resende in this same century (Cardim Ribeiro 1994:86-7). In short, there is ample reason to include this altar within this site's repertoire of finds. No remains are visible on this promontory today, and it has never been excavated.

Deity: Sol and Luna

Sources: Holanda 1571 as cited in Segurado 1968:114-115 or Alves 1986; Resende 1593 [1996 (ed): 38ff]; Brito 1597 [1973 (ed.): Livro Quatro, 335]; Breval 1726:313-314; Murphy 1795:252-255; Vasconcellos 1905:217-220 and 1913:239-240; 364-365; Gorani 1945 (ed.):193-194; Étienne 1958:511-512; Momigliano 1964:3-11; Cardim Ribeiro 1982/3:165ff, 1994:86-87, and 2002b:235-240; Alarcão 1988b:Vol.II, 5/192, 5/219; Canto 2004:276-277 [on John Breval], footnotes 70-75; Guerra 2005:235-246; RAP nos. 430a, 431, 432; CIL II 258,259; HEp 11, 2001, 692; HEp 14, 2005, 448a and b; HEpOL 16771, 21311, 21312; CMP 1:25000, 415 (4th ed, 1991)

Figures: 3.2; 3.15

1.3) **Baños de Montemayor** (Map 1:G8)

Modern Location: Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres, ESP

Conventus: Emeritensis

³ Variant interpretations of this name exist. See HEp 14, 2005, 448a for these differing interpretations including Canto's most recent interpretation of "Cest(ius) Acidius Perennis" following John Breval (Canto 2004:277, no.1 and 326, note. 73).

Latitude/Longitude: N 40° 19' 10.4" W 5° 51' 29.3" (In town at modern baths adjacent to ancient bath remains)

Elevation: 738 m (outside modern baths though the ancient baths are below floor level so this should be slightly lower)

Type: Roman baths with votive offerings

Date: 1st to 4th c. AD (based on coin finds, the earliest being an as from Saguntum from the 1st half of the 1st century, the latest a nummus of Constantius II, 348-350 AD) (Díez de Velasco 1998:37; also see Abad 1994 on coins). The numerous votive altars found here do not offer any significant contribution to these dates, being themselves dated broadly from the mid-1st to 3rd c. AD, by Roldán (1965), via palaeography.

Topography: These baths are situated at the western base of the Sierra de Candelario, in the valley created by the Ambroz River (in a region where the valley narrows before opening out onto the plains around Salamanca). This is also very close to the border between modern Cáceres and Salamanca. Hot-springs of hyper-thermal, 43 degree waters, feed the baths.

Description: Nineteen votive altars were found at the site of these Roman baths: fifteen to the nymphs (seven as Nymphis Caparensium, one with Fontana); two to Salus; and two to deities that cannot be determined. Additionally, nineteen conserved coins of 1st c. BC to 4th c. AD were found here, and 16th c. references exist of marble columns and fragments of marble and bronze statues (see Díez de Velasco 1998:37). Clay anatomical ex-votives were also recorded in a well adjacent to the baths; however, the source of this information is generally determined to be unreliable (Díaz y Pérez 1880). A verraco (pig-boar-bull) sculpture was found reutilized in the later bath buildings here – though it is now lost (López Monteagudo 1989: 82, no.129). Besides these remains of probable sacred nature, various architectural remains of the Roman bath structure exist at this site.

Deity: Nymphs (of Capera), Salus, Fontana

Sources: Díaz y Pérez 1880:170 (though unreliable); Fita 1894:145-151; Mélida 1924:153-4; Roldán 1965:5-37; Mora 1981:no.80; Díez de Velasco 1987:180-195, 1998:3.6/1 and inscrip. no.14/9-24 and no.16/1-2 and 2002:141-144; Haba and Rodrigo 1991:21; Abad 1992:no.22, 160-167 and 1994:617-652 (coins); Blázquez

and García-Gelabert 1992:35,38,48; Salinas de Frías 2000:146; Regidor Martín 2000; Blázquez 2002:23; Vargas et al. 2007:555-564; Figuerola and Menéndez 2007:59,61; TIR K-30; BRB 78; IL2, 243-244; HEpOL 703, 12807, 18228, 20020, 20796, 21821-30, 24936, 24983, 24996, 25210, 25567; MTN 552 (just on the border of four MTN designations:553, 576, 575 and 552) (Series L Hervás, 12-23, 575)

1.4) **Cabeço das Fráguas** (Map 1:E8/9)

Modern Location: Pousafoles do Bispo, Sabugal, Guarda, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Latitude/Longitude: N 40° 25' 28.2" W 7° 13' 20.7" (at inscription)

Elevation: 997 m

Type: Rock inscription and possible cult edifice (pre-Roman sanctuary and settlement)

Date: Rock inscription = 1st century AD (Correia Santos and Schattner 2010:101 – belonging to the final phase of this site, from the 1st c. BC to late 1st c. AD)⁴; the hill-fort itself exhibits three phases of occupation: 1) beginning in the late Bronze/early Iron Age (8th -7th c.BC); 2) from the Iron Age II (4th – 3rd c. BC); 3) from the 1st c. BC to the late 1st c. AD (Correia Santos and Schattner 2010:97).

Topography: This site is located at the top of a nearly 1000m high hill that is rugged and difficult to ascend due to the fact that boulders cover much of its surface (see fig.3.3). From here there are ample views over the surrounding terrain in all directions. This site overlooks the Roman period settlement of Quinta de S. Domingos, which is located at the southern base of the hill (see C.1.22 below).

Description: The primary evidence of cult activity at this site is a liturgical rock inscription that lists various animal victims to be sacrificed to a series of indigenous deities. It is inscribed in the so-called ‘Lusitanian’ language⁵, and is situated on a flat

⁴ Though, prior to these recent excavations, this inscription was often dated to the 2nd or early 3rd c. AD (Alfayé and Marco 2008:291; Osório da Silva 2005:38). However, there is no reason to assume it would post-date the abandonment of the hill, by the late 1st c. AD.

⁵ Five inscriptions in the so-called ‘Lusitanian’ tongue have been found to date. Two of these were inscribed on large rocks/rock-outcrops at Cabeço das Fráguas [the current example] and Lamas de Moledo [C.1.18 below]. The others were inscribed on stone slabs and cannot be confirmed to be in their original placement so have been omitted from this catalogue. They include three pieces from two inscriptions from Arroyo de la Luz, Cáceres, and another from Arronches, Portalegre (see Appendix II, nos.2,3). See fig 2.4, for the find-spots of all of these inscriptions. For their inscribed texts, see Appendix III.

rock outcrop at roughly the center of this hill-peak. Remains of a fortified hill-top settlement from the 8th/7th century BC onwards, have also recently been excavated here. The site's plan includes a large central, circular structure (lacking an interior hearth), which Correia Santos and Schattner argue had a sacred function (2010). This structure was renovated and expanded (c. 8m diameter) during the Iron Age II, which was this sanctuary's zenith (beginning in the 4th/3rd c. BC) (see fig.2.2). A final, and clearly residual, phase of the sanctuary's existence belongs to the 1st century AD. At this time a new central, circular structure, of reduced dimensions (c. 4m diameter) was erected over the previous, putative cult building. Sometime in this same century, the aforementioned Lusitanian-language rock inscription was inscribed here (Correia Santos and Schattner 2010). By the end of the 1st century AD, the archaeological record shows that this site had been abandoned (ibid: 101).

Deity: Trebarune and Reve (Untermann 1997:758 and 1999:515; Búa Carballo 1999:326); Trebopala, Laebo/Labbo, Iacona Loiminna, Trebaruna, Reva (Tovar 1985:244 w/o Iacona Loiminna; Ribeiro 2002:369-370; Santos 2007:182); Iacona = *Ekwona and certain nature spirits (Prósper 2002:56). For more on these five prevalent interpretations see: Santos 2007:180ff.

Sources: Almeida 1943:47-52; Rodrigues 1959:111-128 and 1959-60:71-77; Blázquez 1972:86-87, 1975:176 and 1995:50; Tovar 1985:227-253; Curado 1987a:4-5, no.11, 1989:349-370 and 2002:71-73; Untermann 1987:63ff, 2002:69-70 and 2010; Alarcão 1988b:Vol.I, 97 and Vol. II 4/303; Rodrigues 1988:111ff; Rodríguez Colmenero 1995:221-222; Encarnação 1995:269; Hoz 1995:22-27; Marco 1996: 86-87; Búa Carballo 1999:326; Prósper 1999:151-183 and 2002:41-56; Osório da Silva 2000:vol.2, no.46 and corpus no.14; 2002:310 [Quinta de S. Domingos]; 2005:35-65; Villar and Pedrero 2001:242-243, 248-252, 254; Cardim Ribeiro 2002c:369-370; Carvalho 2006:181-183; Silva 2006: 11, no.8; Santos 2005:41ff and 2007:180-6 (w/ five existing possible translations of the text, p.180) and 2009:187-188; Correia Santos et al. 2008:175-202; Correia Santos and Schattner 2010:89-108 (esp. 96ff); Correia Santos 2010c:131-141; Prósper 2010:63-67; Koch 2010; RAP 466; MLH IV L.3.1, 755-758 (w/ further epigraphic bibliography p.755); HEpOL 23173; Hep 5,

1995, 1029; 6,1996,1042; 9,1999,745a-f; 13, 2003/4, 992; IGESPAR: CNS 28492 and 3625; CMP 1:25000, 214 (3rd ed., 1998).

Figures: 2.2; 3.3

1.5) **Caldas de Lafões/ Termas de São Pedro do Sul** (Map 1:C/D9)

Modern Location: Várzea, São Pedro do Sul, Viseu, PRT

Conventus: Scallabitanus

Latitude/Longitude: N 40° 44' 21.7" W 8° 5' 26.3"

Elevation: 202m

Type: Roman baths with votive offerings

Date: From the early 1st c. AD (Roman, Medieval Christian)

Topography: These baths were situated on the south bank of the River Vouga and fed by thermal waters which leave the earth at 68.7° C (Frade 1993:885, no.23).

Description: This site consists of remains of a large Roman bath complex within which a cippus to Mercury Augustorum Aguaecus and part of a lintel-stone which appears to be a dedication to Aqua, were found (Díez de Velasco 1998:12/3, 21/1). A third altar to Jupiter was found built into a house near to here (Díez de Velasco 1987:243-245 and 1998:24/1). The bath remains include various pools, apses, exterior buttressing, vaulting, worked ashlar from opus quadratum walls, and a porticoed natatio. These baths were initially constructed in the early 1st c. AD, and remodeled later in this same century (Frade 1993:885, no.23). Since the Roman period the baths have undergone numerous renovations and are currently being excavated.

Deity: Mercury Augustorum Aguaecus, Aqua (part of stone is missing and controversy exists over whether or not this is votive), Jupiter (inscription reused in a house nearby) (Díez de Velasco 1998:12/3, 21/1, 24/1).

Sources: Girão 1921:9-10,13; Almeida 1930; Brandão 1959; Figueiredo 1970; Santos 1972:445-497; Mora 1981:no.76; Díez de Velasco 1987:243-245 and 1998:38-39; nos.12/3, 21/1, 24/1; Frade and Beleza Moreira 1992: 515-544; Blázquez and García-Gelabert 1992:32, 52-3; Frade 1993:885-886, no.23 [with full bibliography for the bath structure]; Raposo 2001:128, no.151; HEpOL 21437,

23110, 2960; RAP 228, 239, 312; HEp 4, 1994, 1101-2; IGESPAR: CNS 313 [with extended bibliography]; CMP 1: 25000, 177 (3rd ed., 1999).

1.6) **Caldas de Monchique** (Map 1:B2)

Modern Location: Caldas de Monchique, Faro, PRT

Conventus: Pacensis

Latitude/Longitude: N 37° 17' 2.6" W 8° 33' 15.5" (near Hotel Termal/the modern baths)

Elevation: approx. 200 m

Type: Roman baths with votive offerings

Date: Coin finds date from the 1st to 4th c. AD (Abad 1992:no.30, 172-174).

Topography: The site is in a valley that is very lush in comparison to the surrounding Algarve terrain: water runs down into the valley from the hills around. A tributary of the Ribeira da Boina runs through the town of Caldas de Monchique. The baths are fed by four springs of circa 32° C (Frade 1993:890, no.40).

Description: Remains of a Roman bath-structure (e.g. vestiges of a vaulted structure, rectilinear pools revetted with opus signinum, water channels, tanks and mosaic pavements) were found here as well as evidence of worship. This evidence is a collection of material recovered from two small rooms of the ancient bath structure (see fig.6.4). It includes: a small votive altar to *Aquae Sacrae*, a fragment of a clay patera, the rim and top 1/3 of a small amphora, numerous oil lamp sherds,⁶ 115 silver pins,⁷ a bronze figurine of *Fortuna* (or a dedicator), the arm of a bronze figurine, two bronze cornucopiae, a bronze ring, a gold palmetto, an iron forfex and unidentified object, and a lead pipe. Twenty coins were also collected at the baths which date from the 1st to 4th c. AD (with the majority from the 4th century) (Abad 1992:no.30, 172-174).

Deity: *Aquae Sacrae* (votive altar), *Fortuna* (figurine and two bronze cornucopiae)

⁶ Formosinho et al. record many hundreds of oil lamp fragments of a fairly homogeneous whitish-yellow. Where depictions can be made out, they note some possible mythological scenes. The most common depiction, though, is that of a rooster. The fact that this is an attribute of *Aesculapius* is also not lost on these researchers as a point of possible significance. They only isolate the oil lamp chronology to the 1st c. AD and beyond (1953-4:211-212).

⁷ The original provenance of the silver pins is not suggested by any of publications. Santos records that they have a small head created from rolling over the end and vary in length from 4.7 cm to 2.4 cm (1972:50).

Sources: Acciaiuoli 1940:20, 1944:I, 55, IV, 165-192, 1952-3:I,28-29; Formosinho 1947:207-214; Franco 1949; Formosinho et al. 1953-4:201-214; Ferreira 1963:15; Santos 1972:43-51; Mora 1981:no.85; Termas 1984:108-109; Alarcão 1988b:102, Vol.II, 7/71; Díez de Velasco 1987:196-201 and 1998:31 and no.12/1; Abad 1992:no.30,172-174; Blázquez and García-Gelabert 1992:48; Frade 1993:890, no.40; Pinto 2002:170-1, no.37 and 456-6, nos.371-2, est.192; IRCP: nos.56 and 102; ILER 535 and 5966; RAP 240; HEpOL 23497; IGESPAR: CNS 844; CMP: 585 (3rd ed. 2005)

Figure: 6.4

1.7) **Castro de Mogueira**⁸ (Map 1:D10)

Modern Location: S. Martinho de Mouros, Resende, Viseu

Conventus: Scallabitanus

Latitude/longitude: N 41° 06' 45.3" W 7° 53' 34.2" (Correia Santos 2010:187)

Elevation: 450 m (Silva, Medeiros and Correia 1997:32; Silva and Vaz 2001:75; Mantas 1984:363)

Type: Rock inscriptions (fortified hill-top settlement)

Date: Mantas dates the first rock inscription found here as no later than the end of the 1st century AD, based on palaeography, internal elements (use of nominative, foreign type of denomination, onomasty), and archaeology for the zone (Mantas 1984:370; Silva Medeiros and Correia 1997:no.14). A precise chronology for the hill-top settlement is still lacking (further archaeological excavation is needed), though the site is generally referred to as an Iron Age settlement that became Romanized. Medieval remains are also recorded here. In respect to the putative cult space around the rock inscriptions (see below), Correia Santos briefly notes that two engravings found here (to be elucidated in her forthcoming articles), and the other inscriptions, suggest that the space was used from the late Bronze Age/Iron Age until the end of the 3rd c. AD (2010b:154). However, the inscriptions cannot be dated to a precise time within the Roman period; they could have been engraved at one

⁸ Those interested in this site should also seek out three forthcoming articles by Correia Santos, recent excavator here (see sources). These were not available in time to be incorporated into this thesis. However, certain of Correia Santos' findings at this site, outlined in a few earlier articles by this same author, are taken into account in this thesis.

particular moment or over many years. This author awaits publication of the two engravings by Correia Santos; however these, and the eight brief rock inscriptions, do not seem sufficient evidence to suggest continuity of use.

Topography: This settlement is situated on a rough granitic hill on the left bank of the Douro River. The hill is almost completely surrounded by waterways (tributaries of the Douro) (Mantas 1984:362-363).

Description: This site consists of a Romanized settlement that includes various rock-hewn habitations as well as a series of three defensive walls, sepulchers carved out of the rock at the base of the hill (towards the river), ashlar blocks, and tegulae fragments concentrated in the northwest (Mantas 1984:363-364).⁹ Remains that were initially determined to be a rock sanctuary were found inside the third circuit wall, in a relatively flat area between the northwest slope and the hill-peak. These include: a large granitic rock outcrop with various roughly accentuated platforms at different levels, rock-hewn stairs, construction ceramics which may hint at a structure here, and, just in front of this, a well lined with opus signinum. The sacred nature of this area had been argued primarily on account of a rock inscription that was found close to the putative rock sanctuary on the slope looking towards S. Martinho dos Mouros and in comparison to rock-hewn features at the paradigmatic rock sanctuary of Panóias, Gallaecia (Mantas 1984). However, Correia Santos, who recently excavated here, argues that this putative rock sanctuary was in actuality rock-hewn foundations of medieval habitations. She argues that the site's cult space would, instead, have been closer to the base of this hill, towards the Douro (/Duero) River, where a series of rock inscriptions have been found. These inscriptions were first observed by Silva and Vaz (2001:79-82). Seven of these are very difficult to discern and consist primarily of one word each. These are situated a few dozen meters away from the first rock inscription found here, which is considered to be votive. Mantas (1984:365) interprets the deity-name on this initial inscription as Cat..., however Correia Santos sees this as part of an anthroponym.¹⁰ In fact, Correia Santos

⁹ Vasconcellos recorded that the locals say that a pot containing what appear to have been Roman coins was found in a small cave excavated in the rock north of the tegulae concentration. However, he admits he did not observe the coins personally (Vasconcellos 1895:10)

¹⁰ Correia Santos 2010a: 190: Text 1 = QVI(ntus) ATIL(ius) CVAMI (filius) / C(aius) ROTAMVS. TRITEI (filius) / V(otum) M(erito solverunt) and Text 2 = CAT(urus vel Catuenus); Variants, Mantas (1984:365) = QVIATIA CVMI (filia) / ROTAMVS TRI(T)EI (filius) / CAT (¿) [...] / V(otum)

interprets all eight of the inscriptions from this site as anthroponyms engraved on the rock-face which would have been part of a cult space, similar to the better known Celtiberian sanctuary of Peñalba de Villastar (2010a:187-192). The votive formula of the first discovered rock inscription here, V(otum) M(erito), is, however, the only definitively ‘sacred’ inscribed element from the site. Forthcoming material on the excavations here will hopefully help to clarify this site’s sacred character (Correia Santos forthcoming a-c).

Deity: Cat... ? (Mantas 1984); D(eo) Ver(ore)? (Silva and Vaz 2001:82); Unsure (Correia Santos 2010a)

Sources: Vasconcellos 1895:9-10; Mantas 1984; Pessoa and Ponte 1987; Alarcão 1988b:97, 4/5; Rodríguez Colmenero 1995:206-208; Encarnação 1995:268-9; Silva, Medeiros and Correia 1997:no 13 (Castro), no.14 (rock inscription); Silva and Vaz 2001:75-87; Olivares 2002:52; Vaz 2002:39-42; Correia Santos 2010a:187-192; 2010b:154 and forthcoming a, b and c; RAP 598; HEp 1, 1989, 709; AE 1986, 293; HEpOL 22876; CMP 1:25000, 126; IGESPAR: CNS 233.

1.8) **Castro dos Três Rios** (Map 1:D9)

Modern Location: Castro dos Três Rios, east of Parada de Gonta, Viseu, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Latitude/Longitude: approx. 40° 35’ 9” N 7° 59’ 8” W

Elevation: 291m (Vaz 1995b:105)

Type: Rock inscriptions (two on one rock) and rock-cut features (stairs and two basins) (Vaz 1995b:107); fortified hill-top settlement

Date: pre-Roman (settlement), Roman (rock inscription and settlement)

Topography: The site is located on a hill, in the foothills of the Serra de Caramulo, and is part of a pre-Roman to Roman period fortified settlement (castro). The hill is situated next to the confluence of three rivers – where the Rio Asnês meets with the Ribeira Sasse and Rio Pavia (see fig.3.10) (CMP:188).

M(erito); and Rodríguez Colmenero (1995:206-208) = QVIATIL(ius) CVAMI (filius) / CVROTAMVS TRITEI (filius) /CAT(uroni) V(otum) M(erito) [S(olverunt)].

Description: Two inscriptions, 210 cm apart, were found on a rock of 6m x 2m within this Romanized hill-top settlement.¹¹ The first of these has been interpreted as a dedication to the indigenous deities denominated ‘Peinticis’ (dative). Untermann considers these to be gods of a family or clan, whose name is linked to an anthroponym (1965). The inscribed rock also exhibits rudimentary rock cut stairs and two basins hollowed out in the area below the inscriptions (Vaz 1995b:107). Vaz records that the rock inscriptions are oriented south-east to face the point of confluence of the three rivers listed above (1995b:106). Various other habitation remains, found on this hill, relate to the Iron Age and Roman period settlement.

Deity: Penticis (plural dative) (deity on second inscription difficult to discern)

Sources: Coelho 1957 (first to record it in 1941); Untermann 1965:8-18; Alarcão 1988b:97 (4/203); Rodríguez Colmenero 1995:142-145, no.8 and lam. 8a and b (w/ a variant reading); Vaz 1995:279-282, 1995b:105-107 and 2002:39-42; Olivares 2002:49-50; Marques 2003:143-153; ILER 652, 783; RAP 179; HAE 2328; HEp 5, 1995, 1068; HEpOL 23177; IGESPAR: CNS 11861.

Figures: 3.10

1.9) **Cenicientos** (Map 1:J8)

Modern Location: Outskirts of Cenicientos, Madrid, Madrid, ESP.

Latitude/Longitude: 40° 15’ 52” N 4° 27’ 54” W (approx. at Cenicientos)¹²

Elevation: uncertain

Type: Rock inscription and carving

Date: 2nd c. AD (Canto 1994 :285 [2nd c. AD inscription covered by a Medieval /Modern inscription]; Knapp 1992:no.221 [2nd c. AD monument; existing inscription Medieval]); Between late 2nd and late 3rd c. AD (Mangas et al. 1988:59)

Topography: The large granite rock on which this monument is carved is located on a small hillock, in a valley which opens towards the depression of the Tejo/Tajo

¹¹ Text 1 = L(ucius) Manlius D(ecimi) f(ilius) tr(ibu) Aemilia / a(nimo) l(ibens) m(erito) v(otum) s(olvit) Peinticis; Text 2 = CEIO? Tiusgi (filio)? / Tureius (Untermann 1965:10). Variant: Text 1 = L(ucius) Manlius D(ecimi) f(ilius) Ti(burnus) Aemilia / Almus(?) Peinticis; Text 2 = Gliotius Gi/tureius (Rodríguez Colmenero 1995:142-5, no.8; HEp 5, 1995, 1068 [HEp records that Untermann’s reading is preferable]).

¹² I was unable to visit this site –which now sits on a private property –to get an accurate long/lat and elevation. No other source for this site mentions a long/lat except TIR K-30 which records: 40° 14’ N 4° 26’ W. This is, however, inaccurate.

River (Mangas et al. 1988:58). It is located 4km SW of Cenicientos on the northern side of the valley of the Alberche river, in a frontier zone between the Sierras of Guadarrama and Gredos and the plains of Toledo (Canto 1994:273-4). It sits within a private vineyard (El País 12-10-1995).

Description: This site consists of a large granite rock of 7m height and 9m perimeter. On one side, at the centre of the rock, there is a carved niche with a relief-carving of three female figures (varyingly interpreted as nymphs, worshippers, participants in a matrimonial scene with a deity),¹³ next to an altar (see fig.3.12). To the right of this there is an inscription, which Knapp interprets as a later testament: A las tres Marías (Knapp 1992:no.221; El País 14-10-1995). Canto argues that this overlies an earlier, Roman period inscription to Diana: A(nimo) l(ibens) s(olvit votum) Sisc(inius?) Q(—) Dianae (Canto 1994:277). Holes around the the rock carving are suggested by Knapp to possibly be votive, but argued convincingly by Canto to relate to a later shelter (perhaps set up by shepherds) (Canto 1994 :276). Other cavities on the back of the rock outcrop are suggested to relate to a roof (TIR K-30) or stairs. In contrast, Canto sees these as forming an oval around a larger cavity in the shape of a bear paw (fig.3.16) (1994:286). Some common-ware ceramics were recorded around the monument. However, the site is unexcavated. On the west side of the small valley, c. 200 m from the monument, medieval rock cut sepulchres have been identified.

Deity: Diana (Canto 1994); possibly Nymphs (Knapp 1992)

Sources: Mangas et al. 1988:58-9; Knapp 1992:195-6, no.221; Canto 1994:271-296; El País 12 and 14-10-1995; Morón and Martín Mompeán 1995:20-22; Alfayé 2009:139-145; TIR K-30,178-9; HEpOL 16199 [with images]; HEp 6, 1996, 642

Figures: 3.12; 3.16

1.10) **Cerezo** (Map 1:G8)

Modern Location: Cerezo, Cáceres, ESP

Latitude/Longitude: 40° 14' 13" N 6° 13' 39" W

Elevation: c. 400 m

¹³This engraving was vandalized and various markings obscure much of it. There appear to have been depictions of animals below the main scene with the female figures, but these are now very difficult to appreciate (Canto 1994:275; Knapp 1992:no.221)

Type: Altar cluster

Date: Roman Imperial period

Topography: The altars were found incorporated into a church and cemetery which sits on the top of a small hill, on the western side of the Vale del Alto Alagón, and the right side of the Río Almonte. This location allows for panoramic views over the valley in which the civitas capital of Capera was situated, and the important ancient thoroughfare, the iter ab Emerita Asturicum (known colloquially as the Vía de la Plata).

Description: At the Parrochial church of S. Juan Bautista, Cerezo and in its immediate surroundings five votive altars were found: one inside the church on the left of the church altar (Olivares and Rio-Miranda 2009:no.1); three altars [one anepigraphic] built into the cemetery wall (Ibid:no.2; Fita 1911:408-409); one altar built into a fence at Palomero, which was linked to the cemetery of Cerezo and the chapel of the Virgen del Teso that had previously existed there (Olivares and Rio-Miranda 2009 :no.3 [reinterpret inscription]; Paredes 1909a:441). Another altar that may well belong to this group was found outside Cerezo, built into a wall along the roadway (Rio-Mirando 2010:185-6, no.101). Worked ashlar were recorded in the cemetery wall (Olivares and Rio-Miranda 2009:194). Local reports exist of a gold coin and frequent ceramic finds here (Olivares and Rio-Miranda 2009:195), as well as of a funerary stela (Rio-Miranda 2010:178). The site has not been excavated.

Deity: Arantius Niaetreus; Nitu[c]eus; Aernus; another inscription is very difficult to read but Olivares and Río-Miranda suggest it may refer to either [N]i[e]t[--]i' or Vi[c]t[or ?]i (in the dative) (2009:193-200)

Sources: Paredes 1909a:441; Fita 1911:408-409; Olivares and Rio-Miranda 2009:193-200; Rio-Miranda 2010:177-186, nos.95-101; HEpOL 24362 (and 19092 funerary stela)

Justification: The fact that five altars were found together here at the site of a Christian church suggests that this was a Roman period cult space, as does the location at the top of a hillock with wide-ranging views over the surrounding terrain. The altars were made of granite, which is found in abundance in the region, and which is not likely to have been carried great distances for re-use.

1.11) **Collado de Piedras Labradas** (Map 1:G8)

Modern Location: Collado (hill) of Piedras Labradas, Jarilla, Cáceres, ESP

Latitude/Longitude: 40° 10' 30.13" N 5° 58' 10.44"

Elevation: 1038 m (Rio-Miranda 2010:198)

Type: Roman temple (w/ altar cluster)

Date: Possibly second half of the 1st c. AD. This is based tentatively on the Flavian monumentalization of the nearby civitas capital of Capera. A small collection of finds (see below) found in a spring c. 230 m away date to the late Republican or early Imperial period; it is unclear how these relate to the chronology of the temple.

Topography: The temple ruins are located at nearly 1038 m altitude and are difficult to access. The hill of Piedras Labradas is located in the foothills of the mountain ranges of the Iberian Sistema Central in general, (and more specifically, backs onto the Montes de Tras la Sierra), which run east of it in a SW-NE orientation. To the west it overlooks the plains of the Ambroz River valley. The ruins of Capera (the civitas to which the site would have belonged) are located in the Ambroz River valley, circa 12km west of this site.

Description: This site includes the ruins of a small rectangular-plan temple in opus quadratum, consisting of a cella without pronaos (figs 1.1, 2.6, 2.7, 3.5). This first level of ashlar blocks (which serves as a podium) measures 6 m N-S x 6.9 m E-W; the cella measures 4.5 m N-S x 5.3 m E-W (Alvarado et al. 1998:2-3). Though only the first layer of ashlar remains in situ, fallen structural elements prove that the roof would have been a-shaped and covered with granite plaques (Rio-Miranda 2010:199). A stone lintel of 2.12 x 0.53 x 0.38m with tabula ansata (though no remaining inscription) was found here as well as thirty-four whole and fragmentary votive altars. Rio-Miranda and Iglesias record that three fragments of Campanian ware from a patera (Lamboglia B5); two Republican coins; a denarius of Augustus; and a bronze coin from the mint at Celsa (from between 27 to 23 BC) were recorded in the 80's next to a spring, circa 230 m from the temple ruins (2004:no.350, coins = Villaronga 1979: nos.958 and 1036).

Deity: Most of the altars were anepigraphic but one is dedicated, simply, to Dea (Rio-Miranda and Iglesias 2004:no.350 = HEp 2003/4,13, 243). Rio-Miranda has recently suggested that five of these patchy and difficult documents, might be

dedications to an otherwise unknown deity denominated Aro (Rio-Miranda 2010:nos.117-121). Sayans thought one of the altars was dedicated to Caesar, though most authors have subsequently argued that the ‘Caes’ component of this inscription is instead part of the dedicator’s name (Sayans 1957:no.5). Rio-Miranda (2010:199-200, no.116) argues that the term ‘Caepai’ in this same inscription is another deity name, rather than the dedicator’s father’s name as Alvarado et al. attest (1998:8, no.3). However, the interpretation by Alvarado et al. seems more plausible based on the location of the term within the inscription: Sever[us] Caepai [f] Caes[ius].

Sources: Sayans Castaños 1957:208-217; Haba and Rodrigo 1986:54-55 and 1991:22-23; Alvarado Gonzalo et al. 1998:1-19; Rio-Miranda and Iglesias 2004:no.350 and 2007:25-26; Rio-Miranda 2010:198-204, nos.116-123; CPILC 807, 318, 808; HEp 13, 2003/4, 243; HEpOL 20803, 23424, 24758; MTN 1:25000, 575.4 (1:50,000, 575; Series L, Hervás)

Figures: 1.1; 2.6; 2.7; 3.5

1.12) **Covões, Caldas de Monte Real** (Map 1:B7)

Modern Location: Monte Real, Leiria, PRT

Conventus: Scallabitanus

Latitude/Longitude: N 39° 51’ 18” W 8° 52’ 15”

Elevation: 14 m (Bernardes 2002: IIa, no.01, p.13).

Type: Thermal spring and votive offerings

Date: The four identified coins are of the mid 2nd and mid 3rd c. AD.¹⁴ Based on palaeography, the votive formula, the lack of praenomen, and the archaeological context, Bernardes dates the votive altar to the second half of the 2nd c. AD or 3rd c. AD (2002: Corpus epigráfico, no.1, p.119).

Topography: This is the site of a thermal spring, of 18.5° C, located on the left bank of the River Lis.

Description: During reconstruction of the modern baths of Monte Real, in 1807, next to the spring which feeds the baths, a small collection of coins were unearthed

¹⁴ Abad (1992:168-9, no.24) records four copper coins: 1) A./ AVRELIVS (dated to between Antoninus Pius –Lucius Verus, AD 138-180); 2) A./ ...INA = Faustina? (141-175 AD); 3) Severus Alexander (231-235), RIC IV, part 2, 121, no.642-647; 4) Phillipus Caesar II (244-246) c. RIC IV, part 3, 101. Abad is unable to offer RIC references for the first two of these coins as they are very difficult to make out. An earlier analysis of these coins was made by Heleno (1922:13-15).

within a cavity in a marble stone, as well as an anepigraphic stone (cippus)¹⁵ and a votive altar to F(ons) / F(ontanus/-a). The altar was erected by Front[o]nius Avitus, probably the same man who set up an epitaph for his father that was found nearby, in Leiria (Tavares 1810:140-143; Bernardes 2002: Ila, no.01, p.13; HEpOL 20024, 21398). These remains were first recorded by Francisco Tavares (1810:140-143) and subsequently reiterated by various authors. A recent survey in the area did not turn up any additional finds (Bernardes 2002: Ila, no.01, p.13).

Deity: F(ontana)/F(ontanus)/F(ons)/F(ortuna)?

Sources: Tavares 1810:140-143; Vasconcellos 1913:503; Heleno 1922:8-15; Alarcão and Delgado 1969:83-85, no.96; Díez de Velasco 1987:275-276 and 1998:46, no.5.6/3; no.13/2; Alarcão 1988b: vol.2, 3/192; Abad 1992:no.24, 168,169,191; Frade 1993:887, no.30; Bernardes 2002:81, 96, 288, Ila, no.01, p.13 and Corpus no.01, pp.117-119 (w/ an exhaustive bibliography); Fernandes 2002:134; Marques 2005:56 and Corpus no.36; CIL II 337; AE 1925, 12; ILER 454; RAP 565; HEpOL 20024; IGESPAR: CNS 17635; CMP 1:25000, 273 (3rd ed. 2003).

1.13) **Fonte da Tigela** (Map 1:F8)

Modern Location: Fonte da Tigela, Aldeia da Ponte, Sabugal, PRT

Latitude/Longitude: N 40° 24' 44.6" W 6° 51' 38.5" (approx., 750 m from Aldeia da Ponte)

Elevation: 800m (Osório da Silva 2000:Vol.II, 24, no.32)

Type: Rock inscription, spring

Date: Probably 2nd -3rd c. AD (Curado 1987b:no.99).

Topography: The site is located on the border road between Aldeia da Ponte and Albergaria de Argañan, 750m from the former town. There is a rock inscription here at an elevation of 800m above sea-level, in keeping with the general elevation of the local undulating landscape.

Description: This site consists of a rock outcrop with an inscription that reads: Laneane Tang(inus?) f(ecit?) (HEpOL 20563); this is the same deity (Laneana)

¹⁵ As Bernardes points out, Tavares only records one other “pedra de marmore” (marble stone) here, though certain subsequent authors (Heleno, Alarcão and Delgado), whose references are based on Tavares, have nonetheless recorded various such stones (anepigraphic cippi) (Bernardes 2002: Ila, no.01, footnote 1). The same is true of the IGESPAR entry (CNS: 17635).

worshipped by means of the rock inscription at Fuente de la Higuera, 133 km away. Below the inscription a spring bubbles forth and a cavity in the rock collects the pooled water. No other associated archaeological remains have been found (Osório da Silva 2000:24, no.32).

Deity: Laneana

Sources: Curado 1987a:4; Curado 1987b:no.99; Osório da Silva 2000:24, no.32 and 41, no.5; RAP p.573; HEp 2, 1990, 800; AE 1988, 694; HEpOL 20563; IGESPAR: CNS 25241; CMP 1:25000, 216 (3rd ed, 1998).

1.14) **Fuente de la Higuera** (Map 1:G6)

Modern Location: Fuente de La Higuera, Torreorgaz, Cáceres, ESP

Latitude/Longitude: N 39° 19' 14" W 6° 12' 32"

Elevation: 450 m

Type: Rock inscription

Date: Roman Imperial period

Topography: The site is located 5km south of Torreorgaz, in an area of lowlands and various springs (e.g. Fuente del Canalón, Fuente de las Mujeres) (MTN Hoja 11-29 [729]). Callejo Serrano describes the location as: "...a beautiful spot, with enormous rock outcrops surrounded by leafy vegetation. At the foot of one of these rock outcrops, there is a small spring which, so they say, never runs out, not even in times of the lowest water levels, and they call it the Fuente de al Higuera" (1965:21 [my translation]).¹⁶

Description: A rock inscription that records the deity name Laneana (= Laneane s(acrum)) was found here above a spring (HEpOL 15150). There is a second inscription recorded on another rock outcrop situated at a right angle to that in question. This reads: Locus + / constus / in circum / pedes CL (HEpOL 15150; Callejo Serrano 1965:21, no.9). CPILC (509) records this as a marker of a border or cultivated area, villa or mine, although Correia Santos argues that it might describe the area of the temenos space (2010:135-136). No archaeological remains have been recorded in the immediate vicinity, although there is a Roman mine not far from here

¹⁶ "...un paraje delicioso, con enormes peñascos rodeados de frondosa vegetación. Al pie de uno de estos peñascos, mana una pequeña fuente que, según dicen, no se agota ni en los más rigurosos estiajes y la llaman Fuente de la Higuera."

and a small bridge over the River Salor with Roman vestiges (Callejo Serrano 1965:21). Two funerary inscriptions were recorded at nearby Torreorgaz (ILER 5007, 5042) and two funerary inscriptions, a possible honorific inscription (difficult to read), and a votive inscription to Hercules, were recorded at nearby Torrequemada (ILER 5028-9; 6014; 208). This site is similar to the rock inscription Laneane and spring, found at Fonta da Tigela (C.1.13 above).

Deity: Laneana

Sources: Callejo Serrano 1965:22, no.10; Encarnação 1987:26 (suggests Laneana might have something to do with the ancient site of Lennium –yet to be located); Osório da Silva 2000:Vol.I, 131 and Vol.II, 24, no.32; Correia Santos 2010:135-136; CPILC 510 (Laneana inscription), 509 (border marker inscription); HEpOL 15150, 20203; MTN 1:25000, 729.2 (1:50000, 729; Series L, no.11-29 (729), Alcuéscar)

1.15) **Herdade da Vigária** (Map 1:D5)

Modern Location: Bencatel, Vila Viçosa, PRT

Conventus: Pacensis

Latitude/Longitude: N 38° 45' 50" W 7° 27' 27" (approx., based on military map)

Elevation: 479m (Monte da Vigária)

Type: Rock carving and spring

Date: Early Roman Imperial Period.¹⁷ The quarry was used from the 1st c. AD based on a fragment of South Gaulish sigillata with Geminu inscribed on it and a thin walled vessel of pre-Flavian date (Alarcão 1988b:Vol.II, 6/244; Alarcão and Tavares 1989:1-7; Souza 1990:28, no.65).

Topography: This is a quarry of white marble, utilized during the Roman period, and still today.

¹⁷ Rodrigues Gonçalves posits a 3rd c. AD date for the Herdade de Vigária bas-relief in comparison with the 'lintel of the Rivers' (fig.3.8) from Emerita which dates to the second half of the 3rd c. AD (2007:287-288, no.128). To my mind there is no particular reason to see the two reliefs as connected; we have no idea where the person who commissioned the relief at Herdade de Vigária may have come from, and the reclining river god is a prolific Roman iconographic motif. Yet, even if we accept that the inspiration for this depiction had come from the capitol, Emerita, this need not necessarily have come specifically from this 3rd century lintel. The 2nd c. AD sculpture of a river deity/Oceanus, from Emerita, is equally comparable to the relief in question (MNAR CE00085). Moreover, as early as the period of Emerita's foundation, coins from this city show what has been interpreted by some as the ancient bearded figure of a river god (Nogales Basarrate 2002:98).

Description: A bas-relief of an aquatic deity was carved on a rock outcrop, 3.5 m high, over a cleft in the rock where water flowed into a small pool at the base of the crag (fig.4.13) (Alarcão 1988:Vol.II, 6/244). The relief is 68 cm h x 96 cm l (Gonçalves 2007:286); it has since been removed from its original location and now sits outside the archaeological museum in Vila Viçosa.

Deity: A masculine aquatic divinity. However, this is a point of controversy: Alarcão and Tavares incline towards the interpretation of this as a female divinity (Alarcão and Tavares 1989:6). Both Fernandes and Cardim Ribeiro reiterate the ascription of a reclining nymph (Fernandes 2002:133, footnote 17; Cardim Ribeiro 2002a: 436, no.XX). Contrary to this Loza Azuaga, Souza and Rodrigues Gonçalves all conclude that this is the spring numen or personification of the spring, under the common iconographic representation of a masculine fluvial divinity (Loza Azuaga 1993:98, footnote no.65; Souza 2002:250; Gonçalves 2007:288, no.128).¹⁸ Upon close inspection of the piece I accord with the latter authors that this clearly depicts a masculine divinity. Though the facial features do not remain, the lower portion of the head clearly extends in the v-shape of a beard, and the pectoral muscles are very masculine (see fig.4.13).

Sources: Alarcão 1988a:80 and 1988b:Vol.II, 6/244; Alarcão and Tavares 1989:1-7, fig.6; Souza 1990:28,69,no.65 and 2002:250; Loza Azuaga 1993:98; Alarcão, A. 1997:86, no.1, pl.5.1; Fernandes 2002:133; and 7; Cardim Ribeiro 2002a:436, XX; Gonçalves 2007:Vol.I, 286-8, no.128; T.I.R. J-29, 163; IGESPAR: CNS 5835; CMP 440 (top of map) (2nd ed. 1970).

Figure: 4.13

1.16) Horta das Faias, Peroguarda (Map 1:C3)

Modern Location: Horta das Faias, Peroguarda, Ferreira do Alentejo, PRT

Conventus: Pacensis

Longitude/Latitude: N 38° 05' 33.8" W 8° 02' 48.5" (at Peroguarda)

Elevation: c.145m (at Peroguarda, varying slightly in the surrounding terrain)

Type: Votive deposit (oil lamps)

¹⁸ Souza appears to have changed his interpretation of this piece from 1990 when he saw it as a 'Quellnymph' under the common reclining-nymph iconography (1990:28, no.65).

Date: Viana recorded that the majority of the lamps were to be dated to the 1st to 3rd centuries AD with a few possibly extending beyond these dates (Viana 1956:137). By comparing these oil lamps with others recovered within the Alentejo, Alarcão and Ponte further refine the chronological parameters for the lamps to the mid 1st c. AD to the late 3rd c. AD (1976:78, footnote 18).

Topography: The site is located on farmland beside a stream. Clay soils left by alluvial deposits from this stream form the terrain on which the farm sits. In the past, the stream had run through the centre of the area of this farm. The actual deposit of lamps is located 35 meters from the ancient stream bed (or 70 meters from the modern stream bed) (Viana 1956:124).

Description: This site consists of a votive deposit made up of a fossa with hundreds of oil lamps (figs. 4.12, 6.3a) (Lopes 2003:44, no.174; Ribeiro 1959:79-102; Viana 1956:110-167).¹⁹ The deposit is no greater than 3m long x 1.50 m wide, and excavated to 1.10 m in depth (Viana 1956:124-5). Two or three sepulchers were recorded in the vicinity of the Horta das Faias; this number hardly accords with the length of the tradition of offering these numerous oil lamps (Viana 1956:126).

Deity: Unknown

Sources: Viana 1956:123-138; Nunes Ribeiro 1959:79-102; Alarcão and Ponte 1976; Dias 1978:37-38; Alarcão 1988a:Vol.II, 8/78; Loza Aguada 1993:98, footnote no.65; Lopes 2003:no.174; T.I.R. J-29, 126; IGESPAR: CNS 6715; CMP: 509 (3rd ed. 2000)

Figure: 6.3a

1.17) Laje do Adufe²⁰ (Map 1:E8)

Modern Location: Quinta de Samaria, Ferro, Covilhã, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Latitude/Longitude: 40° 12' 55.65" N 7° 27' 10.3" W

Elevation: 690 m (Carvalho 2006:345-6, no.110)

Type: Rock inscription

¹⁹ An exact count of these lamps is not offered by any of the sources, as many were fragmentary. I have found note that there were more than four hundred sole handles among the fragments (Alarcão and Ponte 1976:1).

²⁰ This site is also called the "Pedra do Livro"

Date: 2nd c. AD (on account of the text structure, qualification of the deity-name, and palaeography) (Redentor et al. 2005:no.359).

Topography: A outcrop located on a small peak of the hillock of Pedra Aguda, which divides the councils of Covilhã and Fundão (Redentor, Osório and Carvalho 2005:no.359). The rock inscription is oriented towards the NW and near to what Carvalho terms a small line of water (“uma pequena linha de água”) (2007:199, no.110).

Description: An inscription to the indigenous deity Nabia Musticana²¹, engraved on the flat side of a rock outcrop, with a crack running through its middle. According to Carvalho the text was encircled by a small channel defining the quadrilateral space and topped with a rough pediment (Carvalho 2006:346, no.110). This is listed as an isolated find by Carvalho but he notes that it was near to a possible Roman road and a fortified hill-top settlement occupied during the Iron Age and possibly into the early Roman period (2006:442, no.22/2007:199, no.110 and 282, no.22).

Deity: Nabia Mustinaca

Sources: Redentor, Osório and Carvalho 2005:no.359; Carvalho 2006:345-6, 442, nos.22,110 and 2007:199, 282, nos.22, 110; HEpOL 23642; HEp 14, 2005, 423; AE 2005, 746; IGESPAR: CNS 15988; CMP 1:25000, 235 (4th ed., 2000)

1.18) **Lamas de Moledo** (Map 1:D9)

Modern Location: Lamas de Moledo, Castro Daire, Viseu, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Latitude/Longitude: N 40 ° 49’ 50.7” W 7° 54’ 32.7”

Elevation: 575 m

Type: Rock inscription

Date: 2nd to 3rd century AD (Alarcão 1988b:4/82)

Topography: The surrounding terrain is fertile agricultural land, and there are various other rock outcrops in the area (Vaz 1995b:107). The land gently inclines downwards towards the Ribeiro de Corgo, circa 500m south-east. The fact that the large rock in question is tipped up onto its end, and the text is now oriented

²¹ Mant[a]us Mo/gu[l]in[i l]ibert/us ++++nesis (sic) / ara(m) de[ae] Nabi/ae Mu[.]tina[c]/ae m(erito) l(ibens) f[ec]it (HEpOL 25642)

perpendicular to the ground, makes it apparent that the rock was shifted at some point in history. Still, the vast size of the rock confirms it would not have been moved any significant distance from its original location.

Description: This is a sacrificial inscription engraved on a large rock outcrop. Apart from an introit in Latin (Rufinus et Tiro scripserunt), naming the inscribers, the text is in the local, indo-european tongue that scholars term ‘Lusitanian’ (figs.2.4 [map], 3.13, 4.6, and Appendix III). The inscription has most commonly been interpreted to refer to animal sacrifices made to two indigenous deities: Crougea Magareaicoi and Iovea Caelobrigoi (for variants see Santos 2005:49ff; MLH IV, L.2.1, 750-754). However, a few scholars, including Balmori, Tovar, and Rodríguez Colmenero, argue that this was a possible juridical action (especially on account of the: Rufinus et Tiro scripserunt). The religious interpretation is, however, well defended by the find of a votive altar in Freixoso dedicated to Crougae/Crougeai: the deity also named on this rock inscription (Vaz 1988:349-350, 352). Besides the rock inscription, four funerary inscriptions, fragments of ceramics and worked stones have been recorded in Lamas de Moledo (Vaz 1993: no.6)

Deity: Crougea Magareaicoi and Iovea Caelobrigoi (MLH IV, 753)

Sources: Balmori 1935; Azevedo 1954; Ramalho 1954:40-42; Tovar 1961:91-92; Tavares and Silva 1971:267-269; Faust 1975:201 ff; Untermann 1983:804-5 and 1987:64-66; Alarcão 1988b:97 (4/82); Vaz 1988:345-358, 1989:327-328, 1993:no.6, 234-240, 1995:283-289 and 1995b:107ff; Curado 1989:349-370 and 2002:73-76; Rodríguez Colmenero 1995:216-220, lam.40; Marco 1996:87-88; Villar and Pedrero 2001:242-3, 254-5, 260; Prósper 2002:57-68; Santos 2005:49ff; MLH IV, L.2.1, 750-754 (w/ further bibliography of earlier sources); CIL II 416; HEp 5, 1995, 1064 and 9, 1999, 756; AE 1989, 382 and 1992, 944; RAP 467; HEpOL 18975; IGESPAR: CNS 265; CMP 1:25000, 167 (3rd ed. 1998).

Figures: 3.13; 4.6

1.19) **Narros del Puerto** (Map 1:19)

Modern Location: Narros del Puerto, Ávila, ESP

Conventus: Emeritensis

Latitude/Longitude: N 40° 32' 26.3'' W 4° 59' 21.9''

Elevation: 1148 m

Type: Altar cluster

Date: Uncertain, c. mid 1st to mid 3rd c. AD. See ERAv for variant approximate altar dates (ranging from two altars of the 1st c. AD to an altar from the 3rd to 4th c. AD, and various uncertain cases, based largely on the names of the dedicators and palaeographic criteria).

Topography: Located just south-east of Narros del Puerto close to an important ancient pass between the slopes of the Sierra de Gredos; near the ‘Cruz de Hierro’ where three routes meet at the Calzada del Puerto del Pico (see more about these possible Roman roads: Hernando and Gamallo 2004) (fig.6.8). The altars are built into a chapel which sits on a hill-slope, with a stream (the Ullaque River, a tributary of the Adaja) visible from the west side of the church at the hill’s base. There are views of mountains all around – they are especially imposing on the south-east to south-west but are apparent in almost all directions. To the north of the site, the moist, fertile lowland of the valley of the Adaja runs in a NE-SW orientation. This valley is then bordered on the far side by the Sierra de Ávila.

Description: A cluster of ten altars were found built into the 12th century parochial church of Narros del Puerto, in 2000, during conservation and reconstruction work on this structure. The site is unexcavated.

Deity: 1 Jupiter, 1 Lares Viales, 1 Ilurbeda, 1 Illurbeda and Lares Viales, and 6 anepigraphic altars (Hernando and Gamallo 2004: nos. 336-346; ERAv 2005:nos. 130-139).

Sources: AvRo² pp.156-9; Hernando and Gamallo 2004:no.336-346; Hernando 2005:153-164; ERAv 2005:192-199, nos.130-9; MTN 1:50000: 530 (Series L = 15-21; 1:25,000 = 530.4). About the proximate Roman roads: Fernández, Martínez, Pinedo y Soba 1987:16-24 and 1990.

Justification: Although these altars were found reused in a later church, the location of this structure, very near to an ancient mountain pass, is perfectly in keeping with an Empire-wide pattern of pagan worship (e.g. the cult of Jupiter Poeninus at the Great St. Bernard Pass over the Alps). This suggests that the altars are close, if not at, their original location. This is corroborated by the facts that: 1) these altars were made of low-value granite that would not have been moved great distance for re-use

after the Roman period; 2) the high quantity of the altars; 3) the fact that the Lares Viales, very appropriate deities for a mountain pass cult, are worshipped here.

Figure: 6.8

1.20) **Nossa Senhora das Cabeças** (Map 1:E8)

Modern Location: Orjais, Orjais, Covilhã, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Latitude/Longitude: N 40° 20' 23.9" W 7° 25' 4.0" (at front of podium)

Elevation: 663 m (at the front of the podium); the peak of hill where an Iron Age castro was located is c. 690m.

Type: Temple

Date: The site's excavator, Carvalho, identifies three phases: 1) a period before the construction of the temple which was pre-Roman in date (of indeterminate character); 2) a construction and utilization phase of the temple, from the 2nd half of the 1st c. AD; 3) a Medieval phase (XII-XIII c.) (of indeterminate function) (2003:158-161 and 2006:330m no.77).

Topography: The temple was situated on the eastern slope of a foothill that rises up west of Orjais. From here there is ample view over the agricultural lands to the east, and the Zêzere River that weaves through these lands in the valley below, on the far side of which is the Serra de Malcata. The hill itself is a rocky massif with various areas where rock outcrops are visible. In fact, this bedrock forms the base on which the temple sits; it required carving in order to facilitate the erection of the temple walls (Carvalho 2003: 161-164).

Description: This is a large, Roman period temple constructed of granite ashlar and oriented to face southeast (figs 2.9, 3.4, 4.3a). Much of the ancient podium of this temple is extant; it measures 18.88 x 8.70m (1:2.1). The back of the podium is crowned on top with a cornice and its base is also molded, similar to the temple of Évora, for instance (see fig.4.3a; Carvalho 2003:162 and fot.3,4). The whole of the structure is built over bedrock on a hill-slope. There is no remaining evidence of the cella on the rectangular podium – although Carvalho notes that it can be confirmed that no crypt would have been located below the cella as the podium is built directly over bedrock (ibid). In front of, and at an inferior level to, the main rectangular

podium of this temple, there is another, adjoining, narrow podium of 20.05 x 5.98m. This extends further south-westwards than the wall of the main rectangular podium, creating what appears to be a T-shape (although the opposite south-eastward extension of this inferior podium is yet undetermined) (fig.2.9). Carvalho records remains of stairs at one end of this (ibid). Its façade is still intact and is made up of large, well-worked granite ashlar (fig.3.4). To the site's excavator, Carvalho, the plan of this temple suggests a rectangular cella in front of which may have been a small vestibule or pronaos with two or four columns (2003:162-3). Also found in Orjais were two funerary inscriptions; two inscriptions to Banda Brialeacus; and remains of a castro (fortified hill-top settlement) further up the hill (Maia records that these remains relate primarily to the Iron Age, with a small amount of residual Roman material at surface level, including Roman tile, tegulae and dolia fragments - 1991:10). Archaeobotanical results at the site showed 87% pine in the deepest sample (though the sample wasn't large). It appears pine and holm oak woods were used here for construction or combustion. Other woods (heather and arbutus) which relate to smaller trees, with good calorific value and easy combustion, could have been utilized in small fires, perhaps for cult activities (Leeuwaarden and Queiroz 2004:5).

Deity: Uncertain; two inscriptions to Banda Brialeacus were found in the associated town of Orjais (Encarnação 1987b:19; RAP nos.21, 22); Alarcão posits that the temple was dedicated to this indigenous deity or Jupiter (1993:37).

Sources: Encarnação 1975:125-126 and 1987b:19; Alarcão 1988b:Vol.II, 4/331 and 1993:36-37; Maia 1991 (Iron Age castro); Raposo 2001:121, no.94; Carvalho 2003:153-182, 2005:159 ff, 2006:329-331, 658-705 and 2007:325-332; Leeuwaarden and Queiroz 2004; Silva 2006:35, no.70; Frade 2002:20, no.37; RAP no.21,22; HEpOL 20128, 24148; HEp 3,1993,470 and 11, 2001, 659; AE 1967, 135; FE 1983:v.6, 3-4,12-13 (funerary altars); IGESPAR: CNS 16 (with photos); CMP 1:25000, 224 (3rd ed., 1998)

Figures: 2.9; 3.4; 4.3a

1.21) **Postoloboso** (Map 1:H8)

Modern Location: Postoloboso, Candeleda, Ávila, ESP

Conventus: Emeritensis

Latitude/Longitude: N 40° 7' 01 W 5° 20' 21''

Elevation: 303 m [in the area of Postoloboso where Fernández's excavations were carried out (1973:173)]

Type: Altar cluster

Date: Roman Imperial period, c. 2nd – 3rd century, with later 4th/5th century material. These dates are based on coins which range from an as from the reign of Nerva and one from the Antonine era, to four late Imperial coins;²² altars primarily dated by scholars to the 2nd – 3rd c. AD; terra sigillata and other ceramics of the 2nd/3rd c. AD, and sigillata Africana of the 4th/5th c. AD (Fernández Gómez 1986:895ff; Schattner et al. 2006 and 2007; Knapp 1992:84-97). This evidence is followed by architectural remains of a Visigothic church, destroyed in the Arabic period, and a later chapel of San Bernardo (see Fernández Gómez 1973:256 ff for possible dating). Fragments of Iron Age hand-made pottery also found in this area indicate some indeterminate human activity prior to the establishment of the Roman period cult space (Schattner et al. 2007:81 and 2006:200).

Topography: The site sits in the lowlands at the base of a hill in the foothills of the Picos de Gredos, near the confluence of the three water courses (the Garganta de Chilla and Alardos meet near to here and then together empty into the Tiétar) and near the geographic border between Ávila, Cáceres and Toledo (figs 3.9a and b). The structures into which the altars were built are located c. 8 to 10 kms from the important Iron Age fortified hill-top settlement of El Raso, and quite close to various other Iron Age fortified hill-top settlements and cemeteries in the region (Schattner et al. 2007:80-1, fig.3).

Description: Twenty-one inscribed and anepigraphic altars were found built into a chapel, and adjoining farm structures, at this site (Knapp 1992:84-97; ERAv 2005:nos.144-164; AvRo²: pp.207ff). These were dedicated to the native deity Vaelicus.²³ Besides these, various coins, ceramic and glass fragments of the mid and

²² The paucity of the Roman period coins collected through survey here, in comparison to the frequency of other Roman period finds, might suggest that these were collected in later uses of the site (Cebrián Sánchez, in Schattner et al. 2007:95). RIC numbers for coins are not given in the relevant publications.

²³ Vaelicus was also venerated on an altar found in the nearby Iron Age hill-top settlement of El Raso (ERA v 2005:no.164). A pre-Roman style zoomorphic sculpture of a bull (López Monteagudo

late Roman eras have been recovered here (see 'Date' subsection). Fernández Gómez (1986:19) also notes metallurgic remains at Postoloboso. A possible betyl found in front of the chapel at this site has been argued to relate to ancient cult activity (Seco 2010:278-282; Fernández Gómez 1986:965). No remains of a Roman temple have yet been located during excavations here. Geophysical survey recently completed by Schattner and team (2004/05) revealed remnants of walls 50 or 60m south of the chapel, which need elucidation through excavation; they may possibly relate to a Roman period cult edifice (Schattner et al. 2006 and 2007). Finds from Fernández Gómez's earlier excavations reveal that a Visigothic church would probably have existed here, though its exact location is uncertain (1973:251). After the Arabic period another chapel was erected at this site (parts of which are extant), oriented east to west (Ibid: 250).

Deity: Vaelicus

Sources: Fernández Gómez 1973:173-270 and 1986 (esp. Vol. II, 879-906); Alföldy 1987:59; López Monteagudo 1989:62, no.44 (zoomorphic sculpture from El Raso); Knapp 1992:84-97; Marco 1996:93-4; Sánchez Moreno 1997:135-136; Nünnerich-Asmus 1999:85 (under El Raso de Candeleda); Bonnaud 2002:79-82; AvRo²:pp.207ff; Schattner et al. 2006:193-220 and 2007:75-100; ERAv 2005:nos.144-164 and p.238; Alfayé 2009:221-224; Seco 2010:269-282; Koch 2010; T.I.R. K-30 Madrid.

Figures: 3.9a; 3.9b

Justification: Although the altars found here were built into a chapel and not in situ various factors argue for the fact that the original cult site would nevertheless have been in the immediate environment: 1) other contemporary pottery finds from the site; 2) the important natural qualities of the area which included two nearby river confluences (Sánchez Moreno 1997:135-136); 3) the high quantity of votive altars found here; 4) the fact that the altars were made of low-quality granite that would not have been transported far for reuse.

1.22) Quinta de São Domingos (Map 1:E8/9)

1989:62, no.44), a bronze figurine and a bronze handle in the form of a hand may relate to pre-Roman ritual in the area of the castro of El Raso (Fernández Gómez 1986:891-894, fig.473).

Modern Location: Quinta de S. Domingo, Pousafoles do Bispo, Sabugal, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Latitude/Longitude: N 40° 25' 10" W 7° 13 29"

Elevation: 822 m (taken at the sign for the Quinta)

Type: Altar cluster

Date: Roman Period

Topography: At the southwest base of the hill of Cabeço das Fráguas, noted above.

Description: This cult site is characterized by ongoing finds of altars and altar fragments built into and around the current chapel. These finds include: initial reference to fourteen uninscribed altars (now lost); two altars to Laepus and an anepigraphic altar found during reconstructions of the chapel (Curado 1984a:no.28, 8-12); two altars, recently found, on which the deity name cannot be made out [one records the vicani Ocelonenses] (Osório da Silva 2002:310.1 and 310.2); and, finally, two other altar fragments and one uninscribed altar found in the most recent archaeological campaign (Santos et al. 2008:187). Other finds from the chapel and area suggest a Roman settlement existed adjacent to here. For example, a funerary inscription, Roman iron works with kilns and slag, tegulae and imbrices fragments, and worked ashlar, all point in this direction (Alarcão 1988b:Vol.II, 4/304; Santos et al. 2008:186-187). Reference also exists to millstones and wine presses carved out of the rock (Encarnação 1983:224). Some scholars have posited that a Roman temple existed below the chapel at Quinta de S. Domingos. However, Correia Santos and Schattner could not confirm any such structure in their recent archaeological campaign there, although, they suggest that tegulae and imbrices as well as some worked ashlar on the surface could suggest a cult edifice (2010:95). They also found a spring encased in large granite ashlar near to the chapel in which the altars were found (see fig.3.7); ceramic finds date it to the Roman period (though it was later reconstructed) (2010:94, fig.6).

Deity: Laepus/Laebus

Sources: Rodrigues 1959-60:74-76; Alarcão 1988b:Vol.II, 4/304; Curado 1984a:no.28, 8-12, 1984b:3-4 and 1987a: 4, nos.8-10; Encarnação 1975:153 and 1983:224; Osório da Silva 2000:vol.II, 28-29, 41-43, 48, and 2002:310.1, 310.2; Fernandes et al. 2006:185-191(vicus Ocelona); Correia Santos et al. 2008:175-202

(w/ Cabeço das Fráguas); Correia Santos and Schattner 2010:92-96; RAP 157-159; HEpOL 20484-5, 24159, 24515; AE 1984, 480-1; CMP 1:25000, 214 (3rd ed., 1998); IGESPAR:CNS 1140.

Figure: 3.7

1.23) **Retortillo** (Map 1:F9)

Modern Location: Balneario de Retortillo, Retortillo, Salamanca, ESP

Conventus: Emeritensis

Longitude/Latitude: N 40° 47' 50" W 6° 24' 47" (modern baths)

Elevation: 711m

Type: Modest Roman baths (?) with votive offerings

Date: 1st c. BC to 3rd c. AD (by numismatic evidence)

Topography: This is the site of a thermal spring by the bed of the Río Yeltes (Yeltes River).

Description: When a thermal spring at Retortillo was diverted to be utilized in modern baths, an ancient pavement was found, adjacent to the spring. Below this pavement, Fita records that a small collection of coins and an altar venerating the waters of the Yeltes River (to the Aquis Eletesibus) were recovered (Fita 1913:543-5 [based on personal correspondence with D. Ramón Marcos y Sánchez who found the site], Gómez Moreno 1967:59-60). Pottery shards, bricks, and a man-made well were also recorded here (ibid).

Deity: Aquae Eleteses (reflecting the River Yeltes –denominated Heltes in 1174 – Fita 1913).

Sources: Fita 1913:543-545; Malquer 1956:94, 138, no.91; Gómez Moreno 1967:59-60; Mora 1981:no.78; Díez de Velasco 1987:257-259 and 1998:37,38; no.12/2; Morán 1990 [reprint from 1926:113 ff]; Abad 1992:no.20, 158-159 [coins]; Blázquez and García-Gelabert 1992:35, 54; Hernández Guerra 2001:28, no.16; ILER 655; HEpOL 6358; AE 1914, 19; MTN 1:25000, 501.1 (1:50000 = 501; Series L, 11-20); TIR K-29, 1991, 91 (modern baths over Roman thermal establishment)

1.24) **Santa Bárbara de Padrões** (Map 1:C2)

Modern Location: S. Bárbara de Padrões (possibly ancient Arannis²⁴), Beja, Castro Verde, PRT

Conventus: Pacensis

Latitude/Longitude: N 37° 38' 13" W 7° 58' 51"

Elevation: 244 m

Type: Votive deposit (oil lamps)

Date: mid 1st to late 3rd c. AD

Topography: This deposit is situated on the eastern slope of a low hill in the rolling plains of the central Alentejo. The hill has visual dominance over the surrounding lands.

Description: A deposit of thousands of oil-lamps in a trench, 15 x 2 m, (expanded in the 3rd c. AD), was excavated here in 1994 by Maia and Maia (1997) (see figs 6.2, 6.3b).²⁵ These same excavators assert that they uncovered remains of a possible palaeo-Christian basilica under the modern chapel on this hill's peak; however, these are not further elucidated and remain unpublished (1997:13, 22). Vasconcellos records that a well with surrounding opus signinum existed at the base of the hill (1930/1:232; Bernardes 2006:161). Besides this votive deposit, there are remains of a Roman period settlement in the plain around the hill that have never been excavated, but that Maia and Maia consider Arannis of the Antonine Itinerary (see footnote 24 below). These include vestiges of sepulchers made of bricks, a possible ancient dam, and various architectural ceramics scattered over an area of c. 6 to 7 hectares (Bernardes 2006:160; Vasconcellos 1930/1:231).

Deity: Unknown

²⁴ Maia and Maia have proposed that Santa Bárbara de Padrões was the site of Aranni mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary (426.3), the Ravenna Cosmography (306.13), and by Ptolemy, as Arandis (Geographia 2.5.2) and by Pliny, who refers to the Aranditani (Naturalis historia 4. 118) (M^a Maia 2000; Manuel Maia 2006). The location of this site has always been controversial (see Bernardes 2006:155-156 for alternative interpretations). Nevertheless, Maia and Maia put forth a compelling argument based on the archaeological remains at Santa Bárbara, the requisite 60 Roman miles between this site and Ossonoba, and a roadway connecting these two sites with Pax Iulia (Maia and Maia 2000; Bernardes 2006:157ff). I follow Bernardes, though, in taking Santa Bárbara (Arannis) as a 'secondary agglomeration' or mansio, rather than a civitas capital as Maia and Maia have posited, on account of the nature of the observable archaeological remains (2006:153-164, esp.161). However, excavation is needed to clarify this.

²⁵ For a full description of this deposit see chapter six, section a.1.

Sources: Vasconcellos 1930/1:230-246; Maia and Maia 1997; Maia [M^a] 2000:23ff; Silva 2002:43,45,47; Maia [Manuel] 2006:39-45; Bernardes 2006:153-164; IGESPAR: CNS 4552.

Figures: 6.2; 6.3b

Justification: It is possible that Santa Bárbara de Padrões corresponds to Arannis noted in various ancient sources (see footnote 24). Only excavation will tell what type of town this was, and whether its size and remains suggest that it eventually became a municipium. To date, although remains have been observed to extend up to 6 or 7 hectares, none of these give the impression of a civitas capital (e.g. no forum space, monumental edifices, or significant assemblage of epigraphy has yet been identified). For this reason I have included this site within this catalogue of non-urban cult spaces.

1.25) Santa Lucía del Trampal (Map 1:G6)

Modern Location: Santa Lucía, El Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres, ESP

Conventus: Emeritensis

Latitude/Longitude: N 39° 9' 10.4" W 6° 13' 21.5"

Elevation: 441 m

Type: Altar cluster

Date: c. 2nd-3rd c. AD²⁶; Mozarabic (late 8th/9th c. AD) church

Topography: The church of Santa Lucía del Trampal is located at 441m, midway down the south-eastern slope of the Sierra Centinela, looking out towards the valley of the Aljucén River. Various streams flow down the mountain towards the fertile river valley. Haba and Rodrigo, note a spring, nearby the church ("en los

²⁶ Salas and Rosco attribute the inscribed votive altars varyingly to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, with the exception of one which they date to the late 1st to 2nd c. AD (1993:63-103 [esp. no.4.10, pp.76-77 = Abascal 1995:no.6]). Abascal, by comparison with other regional inscriptions, tentatively attributes these to the later 2nd to early 3rd c. AD. The Roman period funerary stelae also found built into the chapel alongside the votive altars, are dated broadly, by Abascal, to the late 1st to early 3rd c. AD, based on form and content of the altars and their comparison with others of the region (1995:76). Similar dating is proposed by Salas and Rosco, though only one of the ten funerary inscriptions which they analyse is ascribed, by them, to the 1st c. AD (1994:65-82 [esp. no.2.7, p.71]). The church, once considered Visigothic, is now thought to be Mozarabic (late 8th/9th c. AD) (Caballero and Sáez 1999:18, 330; Mateos and Caballero 2003:18-19).

alrededores”), has a permanent flow of 5 l/s and appreciable medicinal qualities (1991:23; also Caballero and Rosco 1988:240).

Description: Fourteen altars to Ataecina were found built into the church here, as well as another eighteen that are anepigraphic or illegible, but are presumed to relate to her cult, and one each to Jupiter and the Lares Viales. These were found alongside a collection of funerary stelae (Salas and Rodrigo 1994:65-82) and Roman building materials (ashlars, bricks and tiles) also built into the chapel. However, no Roman or late Roman period pottery was recorded in the excavations here. The site’s excavator, Caballero, notes two architectural features below the Mozarabic (previously considered Visigothic) church edifice: a construction ditch oriented north-south crossing the centre of the apses, and an earlier wall foundation whose direction follows that of the ditch and the church’s general orientation (Caballero 1987:65; Caballero and Sánchez 1990:447-448). It is unclear to what period these belong, though they may relate to the Roman period cult space.

Controversy exists over whether Sta. Lucía was the original location of the cult space that would have housed this large collection of votive altars. A number of proposed, possible ‘original’ locations are shown in the table below, though it should be kept in mind that much of the region surrounding the church has not been excavated and so the cult site might also be yet to be identified.

Site	Remains	Distance from Sta. Lucía
Sta. Lucía del Trampal (itself)	Votive and funerary altars, ashlar, bricks, tiles	0 km
Las Torrecillas	Hypocaustum, republican and imperial coins, human bones, statue fragments, ashlar, iron saucepan, simpulum, bull craneum, bronze figurine, marble relief fragment, water channel hewn into stone blocks (Santos y Egay 1900:409-410; Abascal 1996:276-278)	c.7 km
San Jorge	Late Roman pottery fragments, granite column shafts, signs of walls, iron slag (Caballero and Sáez 1999:22)	1.5 km
Chapel of Santiago	Visigothic chapel remains (w/ marble molding fragments, opus signinum flooring, threshold), iron slag around (Caballero and Sáez 1999:22)	600m

Considering the beautiful natural terrain around Sta. Lucía, I prefer the hypotheses that situate the original cult place either at this spot or in the immediate vicinity (i.e. San Jorge or the Chapel of Santiago) (see ‘Justification’ below). For reasons put forth by García-Bellido, I am not inclined to see Las Torrecillas as the original location of this cult site without further supporting evidence (2001:60).²⁷

Deity: Dea Sancta Ataecina Turobrigense (with variant spelling and combinations), Jupiter, Lares Viales

Sources: Caballero 1987; Caballero and Rosco 1988; Caballero and Sánchez 1990; Caballero et al. 1991; García-Bellido 1991:68-75, 1996 and 2001 (lucus feroniae); Salas and Rosco 1993 (votive altars) and 1994 (funerary stelae); Haba and Rodrigo 1991:23; Rodrigo and Haba 1992:376-377; Abascal 1995, 1996 (Torrecillas as the original cult site) and 2002; Marco 1996:92-3; Sánchez Moreno 1997:136-137 (relation to water/water-cult); Caballero and Sáez 1999; Nünnerich-Asmus 1999: 87-8; Prósper 2002:287-307; Olivares 2003:306 ff; Salinas and Rodriguez 2004:286-291; Alfayé 2009:224-229; MTN 1:25000, 752.2 (Carmonita) (1:50,000, 752; Series L, 11-30)

Justification: The lack of Roman/late Roman pottery recovered at the site has led certain authors to presume that the cult site would not have been located at the site of the chapel (into which the altars were built). Nevertheless, the vast quantity of Roman building materials, votive altars, and funerary stelae, and the lush, watery, nature of the locale, allow us to assume that the cult site to Ataecina was probably located either here, or in close proximity to this site. This is further reinforced by the fact that the altars were made of granite which would not have been transported far from its original find-spot for post-Roman reuse, as it is widely available and of low value.

²⁷ Abascal suggested that this cult place was originally located at Las Torrecillas (1996:275-280). The crux of Abascal’s argument in favour of this site as the cult place rests on the similarity between a funerary stela here and others built into the church of Sta. Lucía. García-Bellido, though, is doubtful about this: “Equally it seems difficult to me to justify that the fifty altars and stelae reused in the construction of the church of Sta. Lucía come from Las Torrecillas because one similar stela has been found at this site” (2001:60, my translation). She further counters Abascal’s assertion by pointing out that brick and masonry was used in parts of the construction of the ancient chapel at Sta. Lucía. If the remains of Las Torrecillas were supplying the material for the Mozarabic church here, then there is no reason why they would not have had sufficient supply to complete the edifice. The filling material utilized suggests the supply was more local and not quite adequate to do the job (ibid; Caballero 1987:67).

1.26) **Santana do Campo** (Map 1:C5)

Modern Location: Arraiolos, Évora, PRT

Conventus: Pacensis

Latitude/Longitude: N 38° 46' 2" W 8° 2' 0.5"

Elevation: 282 m

Type: Roman Temple (adapted into a Christian church), possible vicus

Date: c. 2nd AD (from Hadrian onwards). Espanca follows Correia in suggesting that this temple could date to the 3rd c. AD, but neither author offers justification for these dates (Espanca 1975 ed: 32; Correia 1972 ed: 232). From the perspective of the related epigraphy, Encarnação does not date the two altars found built into the structure but does suggest that the third altar found at S. Justa, and thought to derive from Santana do Campo, may belong, based on palaeographic criteria, to the 2nd c. AD (IRCP 410-412). Schattner does not find the structure or remains sufficiently diagnostic to draw conclusions on the site's precise chronology (1995-7:510). He admits, however, that some help towards this end comes from the vaulting that was part of this temple: this is a feature which, he states, came into use in temples in Rome from the period of Hadrian and so can be seen as a terminus post quem for the temple (ibid). I suggest that this structure dates sometime between the 2nd and mid-3rd centuries AD. As it would be rare, in this province, for a vicus temple to be constructed ex nihilo in the 3rd century (see chapter two), one might further refine these dates to within the 2nd century (from Hadrian). However, archaeological excavation is needed to confirm or deny this hypothesis.

Topography: This temple, and subsequent church structure, sits at an elevation of 282 m on the slope of a gently inclined hill. It is oriented facing uphill, towards the north-west. The Ribeira de Arraiolos runs east of the community of Santana do Campo and may have been visible from the temple (CMP 1:25000, 423,437). The region is dotted with cork oaks and has poor agricultural soil consisting mostly of dry soils on prominent granite bedrock.

Description: This site consists of extant remains of a Roman temple which were subsequently converted into a Christian church (figs 4.7a and c) (Schattner 1995-

7:488, 505-507).²⁸ The Roman temple includes a cella measuring 10.70m x 8.90m (Schattner 1999:212).²⁹ This was built of large granite ashlar with buttresses on two opposing (east and west) sides which presumably would have supported a cylindrical vaulted roof (Schattner 1995-7:508). Through a study of the visible remains of this temple, Schattner has shown that the cella opened onto a large rectangular courtyard, 28 x 34.6 m (1999:213).³⁰ Rehabilitation work done to the edifice in 1980 found ashlar wall remains which are posited to relate to a podium of the temple (Silva and Perdigão 1998: Folha 437.3, III-3). Schattner argues that the temple plan is closest to that of the temple à cour (courtyard temples) found primarily in North Africa (see fig. 4.7b) (1995-7:508-512).³¹ Two inscriptions to Carneus Calanticensis were built into the edifice and another was found in this region (IRCP 410-412; HEpOL 21214; 21215; 23737). Pereira recorded remains of Roman sepulchers north of the church/temple (1891:29).

Deity: Carneus (Calenticensis)? This temple is thought to have been dedicated to the indigenous divinity Carneus owing to two dedications found built into the structure of the church, which venerate this pre-Roman divinity with the epithet Calanticensis (IRCP 410, 411). Encarnação has added to this count a third possible testament to the divinity from Santa Justa, Arraiolos circa 12 km northeast of Santana do Campo (now located in the Seminário Maior de Évora) (IRCP:no.412).³²

Sources: Pereira 1891:29-37; Correia 1900 :1-3 and 1972 ed:229-234; Espanca 1975 ed:31-33; Rivára 1979:1-5; Alarcão 1988b:Vol.II, 6/234, fig.143, Vol.I, 113; Hauschild 1989-90:66,68 and 2002:220; Schattner 1995-7 and 1999; Encarnação 1990:237-8; Silva and Perdigão 1998:139; IGESPAR:CNS 10086; IRCP 410-412; RAP 42,43,563; CIL II 125,126; HEpOL 21214, 21215, 23737; CMP 1:25000, 437 (top), 423 (bottom).

²⁸ See chapter two, footnote 122 for chronology of the Christian church.

²⁹ However, in his 1995-7 publication Schattner records these dimensions as 11.2 x 9.4 m (p.508).

³⁰ Yet, in his 1995-7 publication (p. 509) Schattner records these measurements as 28.6 x 36.2m. Hauschild records dimensions of 34.6 x 36.9m including the temple cella into the overall enclosure measurements (2002:220). Prior to Schattner's study of this site in the mid-90's which identified this as a courtyard temple, researchers such as Pereira, Rivára, Correia, and later Espanca, had argued that the lateral east and west extensions of the building belonged to a cruciform ancient temple (or T-shaped temple in Espanca's estimation) (Rivára 1979:2-3; Correia 1900:1-3; Pereira 1891:34; Espanca 1975:32).

³¹ See chapter four, footnote 231.

³² It should be mentioned that the interpretation is fairly speculative, the deity name being interpreted as: [C(arneo?)] C(alanticensi?).

Figures: 4.7a; 4.7b

1.27) **São Miguel de Mota** (Map 1:D5)

Modern Location: Hill of São Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal, Évora, PRT

Conventus: Pacensis

Latitude/Longitude: N 38° 38' 37 W 7° 26' 30 (Guerra et al. 2003 :417)

Elevation: 295m

Type: Sanctuary complex (Altar cluster, structural elements of probable temple(/s) and adjunct buildings)³³

Date: Julio-Claudian era until the 2nd/early 3rd centuries AD (Guerra et al. 2003:433); later 4th/5th century limited utilization of the hill-peak.

Topography: The distribution of artefacts found in recent excavations shows that the sanctuary would have been located on the eastern slope of the hill-promontory of S. Miguel da Mota (Guerra et al. 2003). The majority of the region of Alandroal (within which S. Miguel da Mota is located) consists of uneven, schist terrain with a thin soil cover and low agricultural capacity, though sectors of deeper, more fertile soils exist, especially by river valleys (Calado 1993:9-10). The whole region is bisected by the Lucefécit River (a tributary of the Anas [Guadiana]) which flows nearest to the sanctuary at the SW foot of the hill of São Miguel da Mota (figs 3.6 and 4.5). Besides this, a band of thermal springs is known between Alandroal, Bencatel, Glória, Estremoz, Santa Vitória and Cano (Calado 1993:9). None of these appear to be related to the hill in question, even though Vasconcellos makes passing reference to a spring at the base of this hill (1905:125). Of significance in the regional topography, are the marble-rich lands located to the north-east of this site in the regions of Borba, Pardais, Vila Viçosa and Estremoz (Fabião et al. 2008).

Description: Nearly ninety votive inscriptions have been found on this promontory and in the surrounding area,³⁴ as well as numerous sculptural pieces that depict the

³³ In a personal communication, Guerra tells me that they no longer consider this a terraced sanctuary, a hypothesis which was put forth by Guerra et al. in their 2003 report on the site.

³⁴ Guerra et al. note 85 altars to Endovellicus in evidence prior to their excavations (though circa 12 of these do not have fixed archaeological contexts nor deity-name and are assumed by association only, and many of the altars, in general, are fragmentary) (2003:457). I make this number 86, taking Encarnação's (IRCP) catalogue of 84 such inscriptions (a good number fragmentary), and including FE 64 set-up by T(itus) Annius and FE 188 by Eutichius. To these are to be added the three votive

god, Endovellicus, as well as worshippers and boar/pigs (figs 6.11 and 6.15) (Matos 1995:nos.61-108; Guerra et al. 2003:461-469). Other remains found here include coins, building ceramics (tegulae, imbrices, tiles), and ample fragments of dolia and amphorae, as well as fine-ware ceramics (Guerra et al. 2003:427-434, 455-457). The recent excavations carried out at this site by the German Archaeological Institute of Madrid and the University of Lisbon isolated the location of the sanctuary to the eastern slope of the promontory where the greatest accumulation of ceramics was found. Though no temple structure has yet been uncovered on this promontory, either in these excavations or in the work carried out here by Vasconcellos a century ago, architectural elements (e.g. granite ashlar, paving stones, marble revetments, columns built into the University at Évora, a caryatid, and construction ceramics) all point to the existence of shrines and temples on this hill, as does one epigraphic testament that records the donation of an aedeolum here (HEpOL 23802). For a study of the materials recently excavated here see, primarily, Guerra et al. 2003 and 2005 (German version). Further papers by these excavators also shed light on specific finds from S. Miguel da Mota, especially relating to the sculptural assemblage (Schattner et al. 2008 and 2009 [sculpture]; Fabião et al. 2008 [marble assemblage]; Guerra 2008 [epigraphy]).

Deity: Endovellicus

Sources: Vasconcellos 1905:112-146 (see his references for 16th–19th c. publications on this site) and 1938a:197-206 and 1938b: 206-213; Toutain 1967:127-131; Pereira 1934:368-375 [1889 reprint]; Lambrino 1951:93-146; Alarcão 1988b:Vol.II, 6/288; Souza 1990:33-8; Calado 1993:61,63-4, nos.26, 38 (two nearby proro-historic settlements) and 1996:97-108 (possible relation to nearby pre-Roman Rocha da Mina ‘cult site’); Matos 1995:nos.61-108; Dias and Coelho 1995-7; Marco 1999b:39; Olivares 2002:63, 228-23; Cardim Ribeiro 2002a:379-400; 2002a:79-90 and 2005 :721-766; Guerra et al. 2003:415-479 and 2005:184-234 (German version); González 2004:299-303 (contra, see Cardim Ribeiro 2005:725, footnote 1); Schattner et al. 2005, 2008 and 2009; Gonçalves 2007:Vol.1, 305-351 [2.4.2], 577-583 [3.1.6] and Vol.2, nos.131-188; Guerra 2008; Fabião et al. 2008; TIR, Hoja J-29,

inscriptions which they found in the 2002 campaign (Guerra et al.2003:457-461), therefore reaching an impressive total of 89 altars/fragmentary altars.

Lisboa (1995), IIIc, pg.144; IGESPAR: CNS 1771; CMP 1:25000, 451 (2nd ed. 1965); For inscriptions see IRCP no.482-565 as well as FE 64 and 188, Guerra et al. 2003:457-461 (AE 2004 :703-5), Guerra 2008:161-165.

Figures: 3.6; 4.5; 6.11; 6.15

Part 2) Possible cult sites and religious monuments

2.1) Altar de São João (Map 1:D10)

Modern Location: Sendim, Tabuaço, Viseu, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: This is a possible rock sanctuary located near to the remains of a Roman period settlement at Fontelo (Sendim), on the slope of the Monte do Cabeço de São João, at 870m altitude (Perpétuo et al. 2005). It consists of a flat platform at the top of a rock outcrop (3.72 x 2.5 m) – which could have included an ephemeral cult edifice – reached via rock hewn stairs running all the way around (IGESPAR:CNS 19931; Raposo 2001:119, no.84; Perpétuo et al. 2005). The Portuguese Institute of Archaeology classifies the site as undetermined, but suggests that the remains there could have been a small Roman rural shrine accessed by rock-cut stairs (IGESPAR: CNS 19931). Al-Madan and the archaeologists in Tabuaço um Passado Presente (Perpétuo et al. 2005) record this as a shrine (“temple”) of the Roman period, based on its physical appearance, though they note this is not absolutely certain. Beyond these references the site is inedited and unexcavated. Perpétuo et al. (2005) record that tegulae and imbrices have often been found around this putative rock-cut shrine.

Sources: Costa 1979:Vol.II, 189; Freitas 1991:62; Monteiro 1991:449; Correia 1997:61; Perpétuo 1999:189-190; Raposo 2001:119, no.84; Perpétuo et al. 2005; IGESPAR:CNS 19931; CMP 1:25000, 139.

2.2) Canas de Senhorim/Carvalhal Redondo (Map 1:D9)

Modern Location: Canas de Senhorim and Carvalhal Redondo, Nelas, Viseu, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: This site includes a small altar cluster of three votive altars. Their pertinence to the same private cult site is argued by the fact that they were all set up

by one dedicator (Docquirus son of Celtus). One of the altars was found in the garden of the house of Dr. Reis Pinto, in Canas de Senhorim and the other two were built into a press in nearby Carvalhal Redondo. One of the altars was erected to the local deity Besencla, while the other two omit the deity name, but may well have been intended for this same divinity. A bronze handle, with a figurine of a centaur, from a Roman period dish, might relate to ritual at this putative cult site, though Araujo et al., who studied the piece, only record that it was found in Canas de Senhorim (2003). As the exact location of this cult site is unknown it is impossible to assess the topography. It is worth noting, though, that Tavares (1810:Cap.X, 68-71) records sulfuric springs in both Canas de Senhorim (half a league away near the Mondego River) and in nearby Carvalhal Redondo (the two areas in which the three altars were found reused). Alarcão (1989:308) has suggested this area was a vicus on the border between the civitates of Viseu and Bobadela. A funerary altar and various other remains possibly related to a modest villa or farm were found in nearby Laja do Quarto, and construction ceramics and other remains related to Roman period habitation were found close at hand, in Passal (Vaz 1987:65).

Sources: Tavares 1810:68-69; Vasconcellos 1929:214; Vaz 1989:328-9 and 1993:259-264; Alarcão 1989:308; Olivares 2002:51; Araujo et al. 2003:523-526 (patera); Dias and Gaspar 2007:13 (call this a private sanctuary); FE 1989, 138-139b; HEp 2, 1990, 897, 899, 900 = AE 1989:384, 386a and b; HEpOL 12690, 22788, 22789, 22790; IGESPAR: CNS 17639; CMP 1:25000, 200.

2.3) **Cardosa del Mayoralgo** (Map 1:F6)

Modern Location: Cardosa del Mayoralgo, Sierra de San Pedro, Cáceres, ESP

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: Three votive altars were found together in a secondary context, on a private pasture c. 30km from Cáceres, near Puerto de la Mezquita, in the Sierra de San Pedro. Though their readings are difficult, Melena has interpreted them as dedications to the indigenous deity Nabia/Navia (HEp 1, 1989, 159-161; HEpOL 22590-22592). The fact that they were dedicated to the same deity, coupled with their identical find-spots, suggests they may belong to one private cult site (Melena 1984:258-259; HEp 1, 1989, 159-161). Callejo Serrano noted that the property on

which they were found is a fertile region where oaks are grown, and in which there is a spring of good water. He proposes that either a villa, or a sanctuary related to the spring, may have existed here in Roman times (1967:89). Both hypotheses could be true: this may well have been a spring cult on a private landholding in the Roman period. However, as the altars are not in their primary context (though probably nearby), and as archaeological study has not been carried out here, the exact particulars of this putative cult site cannot be known.

Sources: Callejo Serrano 1967:89-92, nos.3-5; Melena 1984:258-259; HEp 1, 1989, 159-161; HEpOL 22590-22592.

2.4) **Castro de Ucha** (Map 1:D9)

Modern Location: Figueiredo de Alva, São Pedro do Sul, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: This is the site of a Romanized fortified hill-top settlement (castro) that, according to Vaz, included a rock sanctuary. This author records a rock outcrop here on which you can see carved rectangular basins and circular cavities. He suggests that small depressions carved out of the stone may indicate the placement of altars (Vaz 1993:109-110, no.108; 2002:41; 1995b:107; 1997:427-8). He argues that the altars in question may be those two, found at the same site, that venerate Band[--] Oce(laeco?) (dative) and Genius Depenor (with variant interpretations) (RAP no.204; HEp 7, 1997, 1295; HEpOL 16766, 22648). On a personal visit to this site, I found it very difficult to assess this putative cult space as heavy foliage now obscures one's view of the possible rock sanctuary. The surrounding terrain is hilly and lush. Girão notes two streams which have their confluence by the base of the mountain (1921:60). Mantas (1993:224 ff) notes that this site was on a route between Emerita and Bracara, that also passed by Centum Cellas, and he argues that another trajectory leaves this route by this settlement. This site is also called Castro da Ladreda, Castro do Mau Vizinho, and Castelo de Súmios. It has yet to be excavated.

Sources: Girão 1921:60-61 (Ucha, he calls it O Castelo de Súmios); Vaz 1993:109-110, no.108, 228-229, no.6 (w/ further limited references), 1995b:107; 1997:183-4;202-4;427-8 and 2002:39-42; Marco 2005:313; HEp 7, 1997, 1294 and 1295; RAP 27, 204; HEpOL 16766, 22648; IGESPAR: CNS 3450; CMP 1:25000, 166.

2.5) **Collado de la Lobosilla** (Map 1:G8)

Modern Location: Cabezabellosa, Cáceres, ESP

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: This site is unexcavated and, apart from a brief mention by Alvarado et al., also inedited (1998:5). According to Alvarado et al. the remains of a rectangular structure of indeterminate dimensions and irregular granite masonry can be seen here (a corner of which is preserved and demonstrates a NW-SE axis). They also mention three granite columns from the same site – two are 2m long x 0.75m diameter, another that is unfinished on the end, is 1.52m long x 0.30m diameter – and a granite capital of 0.55m long x 0.45m wide x 0.14m high (1998:5, figs. 6-8). Two fragments of what appear to be anepigraphic altars derive from the same site (1998:5, 9 nos.30 and 31). Only future excavation can confirm the nature of these remains – though they do hold certain similarities to the temple of Piedras Labradas (above) as Alvarado et al. (1998) duly note. It is also possible that these vestiges may be part of a villa or a funerary monument (though this latter hypothesis does not explain the votive altar fragments).

Sources: Alvarado et al. 1998:5, 9, nos.30, 31, figs.6-8; MTN 1:25000, 598.2 (1:50000, 598; Series L 12-24).

2.6) **Conde** (Map 1:E10)

Modern Location: Numão, Vila Nova de Foz Côa, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: This site consists of two rock inscriptions found in 1995 by ANSC during rescue archaeology work conducted here prior to the construction of the Catapereiro dam, which has subsequently left the site submersed. The inscriptions are located on large rocks circa 100 m south of ‘Moinhos de D. Palmira,’ very close to the Ribeira Teja at 430m above sea level (Coixão 2000:291). The location was near to a river confluence that may have carried symbolic significance (Coixão 2000:291, fig.145). One of the inscriptions is uncertain (HEpOL 21057); the other has been argued to possibly venerate Hercules. This reads: Antirus po[s]uit He(rculi)? / sine furtu (o?)raculo (Coixão 2000:291-2, No. inv. 112/CFC; HEpOL

21058). Uncertainties in this interpretation, along with the fact that the site is now submerged make it impossible to conclude for certain whether this was a religious inscription. However, the interpretation of the term *oraculo* suggests a religious context.

Sources: Coixão 2000:291-2; Coixão and Encarnação 1997; HEpOL 21058; HEp 11, 2001, 675; AE 2001, 1162; CMP 1:25000, 140.

2.7) **Fonte da Feia** (Map 1:D7)

Modern Location: Herdade de Pero Galego, Montalvão, Nisa, Portalegre, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: Two votive inscriptions to Jupiter Repulsor and one to a deity whose name is missing were found on the same rural property (Encarnação 1977:59-67, nos.1,2,4). Henriques and Caninas (1980:41, no.148) classify this as a possible temple based on the three votive altars; IGESPAR (CNS: 2392) and Encarnação (1977:67) as a sanctuary; and Mantas (2002b:405) as a rural sanctuary. Nevertheless, as I have found no reference to other finds at the site and as the altars were not found in situ but built into separate buildings (Vasconcellos 1933:182-4), I have classified this only as a possible cult site. In favour of a single cult site, here, is the fact that two of the altars name the same divinity, and presumably belong together. Also, Encarnação attests that the altars are of similar workmanship and may have come from the same workshop (1977:67). The site sits on a slight elevation, off highway 562-2, south-west of Montalvão. It is unclear whether the Fonte in the place-name might refer to a spring in conjunction with the altars. The closest Roman sites to this, recorded by Henriques and Caninas (1980), are a small press (*lagareta*) (small circular cavity on the edge of a rock outcrop) (no.147); two tumuli opened in the schist rock outcrop (nos.145, 146); and a site with Roman ceramics at surface level (no.165).

Sources: Vasconcellos 1933:172-185; Lambrino 1967:217; Encarnação 1977:59-67; Henriques and Caninas 1980:41, no.148; Alarcão 1988b:Vol.II, 6/20 (listed in Alarcão and other epigraphic sources as: Herdade de Pero Galego, Montalvão); Mantas 2002b:405; RAP 276, 277; IRCP nos.638 and 640; AE 1934:22; HEpOL 23847, 23849; IGESPAR, CNS: 2392; CMP 1:25000, 315 (Feia).

2.8) **Fonte da Tapada da Almeda** (Map 1:D5)

Modern Location: Ervedal, Avis, PRT

Conventus: Pacensis

Description: This site consists of a votive altar found next to a spring.³⁵ The altar was set up by Threptus the slave of Gaius Apuleius Silo thanking the divinity Fontanus for the spring which he found: “ob aquas inventas” (IRCP 437; RAP 247; HEpOL 23751).³⁶ Based on palaeography, Encarnação dates this altar to between the late 1st and early 2nd c. AD (IRCP 437). Alarcão also notes columns [which I have been unable to confirm] and ‘unspecified finds’ in the area (1988b:Vol.I, 102; Vol.II, 6/135). Vasconcellos records the existence of ceramic sherds here (though he offers no further specifics). He also notes the existence of a spring – “nascente grande de água” – next to the inscription (Vasconcellos 1913:620-621). Unfortunately, I have been unable to find any further information to support the current existence of this spring. The Carta Militar de Portugal (1:25000, 382) shows a Nascente de Azenhas, near to Ervedal, that could be that recorded by Vasconcellos. IGESPAR CNS: 1702, refers to a ‘balneario’ (baths) in Ervedal which might be the spring in question, but Pilar Reis was not able to verify this on the ground (nor in the relevant bibliography) (2004:no.85). It is possible that the spring recorded by Vasconcellos has since dried up. However, as the inscription on the votive altar records the finding of a spring and was dedicated to a spring deity, there remains no doubt that this was meant to be located next to a spring.

Sources: Vasconcellos 1913:620-621; Lambrino 1967:211; Alarcão 1988b:Vol.I, 102; Vol.II, 6/135; Pilar Reis 2004:no.85; IRCP 437; RAP 247; HEpOL 23751; IGESPAR: CNS 1702 (Ervedal); CMP 1:25000, 382 (3rd ed, 2005)

2.9) **Fonte de Vilares** (Map 1:D5)

Modern Location: Acenha das Freiras, Bencatel, Vila Viçosa, PRT

Conventus: Pacensis

³⁵ The altar’s present location = MNAE no. 6356

³⁶ Fontan[o?] / sacrum / Threptus C(ai) Appulei / Silonis ser(vus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo) / ob aquas inventas (HEpOL 23751).

Description: Vasconcellos suggests that an altar to Fontana and Fontanus, found here, might relate to a cult site consisting of an altar and a spring, similar to the Fonte da Tapada, recorded above. He notes that Padre Espanca recorded that this altar was found in the fields of Villares (Bencatel) at the site of Acenha das Freiras, at the foot of a spring. On personal inspection of the site, he notes that the spring is at ground level, and that it could have been transformed in antiquity. He also notes that the surrounding terrain had many tegulae fragments and worked marble stones, and that Roman coins have been reported here as well (Vasconcellos 1913:256-257 and footnote 1).

Sources: Vasconcellos 1913:256-257; Alarcão 1988b:Vol.II, 6/245 (Bencatel); Frade 1997:305-306; Fernandes 2002:133; CIL II 150; RAP 248; IRCP 438; HEpOL 21239.

2.10) **Fuentidueñas** (Map 1:G7)

Modern Location: Fuentidueñas, Plasencia, Cáceres, ESP

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: This site consists of the remains of a Roman edifice which was converted into a chapel in the middle ages and then a farm building (Melida 1924:Vol.I, 163). The structure is quadrangular – 9.80m(L) x 8.70m(W) x 4.95m(H) – and made of granite ashlars, though it has been extended eastwards with the addition of the chapel (Alvarado et al. 1998:4). It conserves a podium and molding around its base. There is no pronaos. Two fragments of a column were found near the Roman edifice (Blázquez 1968:63). Authors identify this as either a funerary monument or a temple/aedicula, though the latter identification is more common (TIR J-29 [funerary monument]; García y Bellido 1971:145-6, no.7 [sepulchral tower]; Blázquez 1968:63-65 [temple]; Melida 1924:Vol.I, 163-4 and 1929:286 [temple/nymphaeum]; Sayans 1957:202; Alvarado et al. 1998:4 [temple]). The site is unexcavated and no votive material has been recorded here, but a spring is noted in the vicinity (Melida 1924:Vol.I, 164). Ceán Bermúdez and Víu made reference to an inscribed stone which was built into the church altar here, and recorded “...Sarco / ...s. Pater / C...”, but which they thought might belong to a sarcophagus (as recorded in Melida 1924:Vol.I, 163). Rodrigo and Haba note that one of the two epigraphic

pieces here records “... /... anf... / ... v(otum) l(ibens)”, which they consider as evidence of the sacred character of this place (1992:368-369). The Arroyo de la Umbría (river) runs parallel to the modern road, nearby the site.

Sources: Melida 1924:Vol.I, 163-4 and 1929:286; Sayans 1957:202; Blázquez 1968:63-65, Lam. I-III; García y Bellido 1971:145-6, no.7; Haba and Rodrigo 1991:23; Rodrigo and Haba 1992:368-369; Alvarado et al. 1998:4; Bonnard 2004:393-4; CIL II 854; CPILC 390; HEpOL 21793;
Map: MTN 1:25000, 623.1 (1:50000, 623).

2.11) **Las Torrecillas** (Map 1:F/G6)

Modern Location: Las Torrecillas, Alcuéscar, Cáceres, ESP

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: Abascal proposed that this site was the community of Turobriga and the original cult site for the votive altars recovered from Sta. Lucía del Trampal (1996). Although, I am inclined to disagree with this proposal (see C.1.25 above, and footnote 27, following García-Bellido 2001:60), the remains from this site warrant consideration as they appear to be cultic in nature and related to some sort of religious site, probably within a town or villa estate. The archaeological remains found here, or considered to derive from here, include a hypocaustum, Republican and Imperial coins, a water canal hewn into stone blocks, building foundations, pavements, ashlar, a bronze figurine (Minerva), a marble statue fragment of Venus, and other statue fragments. Three human skulls, unspecified bones, an iron ladle with a bull-head on its handle (/simpulum –Abascal 1996: 278), an iron knife, a peg, and a bull cranium were all found in a chamber of the hypocaust and are considered to have votive significance (Santos and Egay 1900:409-410; Abascal 1996:276-278; García-Bellido 1996:284-285). Further archaeological investigation is needed to elucidate the particulars of this site.

Sources: Santos y Egay 1900:409-410; Sanguino 1911; Abascal 1996; García-Bellido 1996:284-285.

2.12) **Minas da Senhora das Fontes** (Map 1:E9)

Modern Location: Next to the ancient mines at Senhora das Fontes, between Sorval and Santa Eufémia, Pinhel, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: This site consists of a rock inscription that appears to be votive in nature. Perestrelo interprets this text as either: 1) Di[s] / Leia dedit / Pabanicus (vel Paranicus), or 2) Di[s] / Leia dedit / Pabanic(us) (vel Paranic(us) v(otum) s(oluit) (2000:67). This is situated on a small hill, next to ample habitation remains which are thought to relate to a villa (e.g. construction and common ceramics; slag; prepared and worked stones; column bases and shafts; mortar walls; mosaic pavements) (Perestrelo and Ferreira 2000:102-103, no.18; Perestrelo 2000:66-68, no.73). A votive altar was found 2km from here at the town of Santa Eufémia, and may derive from the villa. It reads: [C]asabius / [B]urrilli f(ilius) / v(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito) / R(eve?) C(- - -) (HEpOL 20432).

Sources: Perestrelo 1998:no.271; Perestrelo and Ferreira 2000:no.18, 102-103; Perestrelo 2000:66-68, no.73; AE 1998, 703; HEp 8, 1998, 605; HEpOL 20886.

2.13) **Monte Jálama** (Map 1:F8)

Modern Location: Monte Jálama, in the Sierra de Gata, ESP

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: This is the highest peak in the Sierra de Gata mountain range that runs along the border between Cáceres and Salamanca. A votive altar to the local deity, Salama, was found at ‘Molino de la Churra’, Villamiel near the base of the mountain (HEpOL 22843). Melena has argued in depth that the deity-name Salama can be linked to the name of this mountain – Jálama – which he traces back to the medieval era (Melena 1985). Therefore, it is possible that this peak was seen as sacred to Salama during the Roman Imperial period, in which the votive altar was erected near its base. It is also fitting to attribute this peak with a sacred importance due to the fact that it is the highest in this range. As Salinas de Frías points out, two other inscriptions to Iovi Optimo and Iovi Maximo Deo Tetae from Villamiel and another to I.O.M. from Robledillo de Gata, all in the Sierra de Gata close to the find-spot of the Salama altar, may further attest to veneration linked to this mountain (or other mountains in the range) (2001:169).

Sources: Melena 1985:475 ff (links Salama to Monte Jálama); García Figuerola 1999:127; Rodríguez and Lourenço 1980: 21ff; Salinas de Frías 2001:157, 164, 169; Olivares 2003:299; AE 1956, 224 and 1961, 346; HEp 1, 1989, 204; HEpOL 22843; MTN 1:25000: 573.3 (1:50,000: no.573 and Series L: 10-23)

2.14) **Outão** (Map 1:B4)

Modern Location: Nossa Sr^a. da Anunciada, Serra de Arrabida, Setúbal, PRT

Conventus: Pacensis

Description: In the 18th century the remains of what was suggested to be a temple to Neptune were identified here based on finds found during the expansion of the local military fort (fortaleza). In his Dicionário Geographico, Cardoso notes that during this work they recorded finds which included marble column pieces and bases, fragments of an architrave, as well as a votive inscription to Neptune on a marble statue base, a metal figurine of Neptune, coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Hadrian, and inscriptions which name the site the Promontory of Neptune (Cardoso 1747:584-585; also cited in Figueiredo 1896:163-164; Silva and Cabrita 1964:29; Ferreira et al. 1993:279, no.22). Cardoso also very briefly notes that some say there were remains of a temple of Apollo near here, above the Convento dos Padres Arrabidos, though this is not further confirmed or denied (Cardoso 1747:584). Unfortunately, none of the aforementioned material is extant today.

Sources: Cardoso 1747: 584-5, Figueiredo 1896:163-164, no.58; Silva and Cabrita 1964:29; Alarcão 1988a:171 and footnote 80; Ferreira et al. 1993:279, no.22; Mantas 1996:354-356 [possible lighthouse here] and 2002:161, 162, no.8 [also cited Jordão 1859:27, 48, 260 which are inscriptions to Neptune, however, they do not derive from Outão].

2.15) **Quinta do Campo** (Map 1:E9)

Modern Location: Quinta do Campo, Meda, Guarda, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: This is the site of a probable vicus, evidenced by a votive altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus set up by the vicus Segoabonca (with variant spelling), found in neighbouring Coriscada (3.4km NE of Quinta do Campo), and by various

surface finds at Quinta do Campo itself (Fernandes et al. 2006:182ff; Perestrelo 2003:54-5, no.42; Alarcão 1998:150). This site – which is located on gently sloping, well-irrigated agricultural land – has unfortunately never been excavated. Nonetheless, the principal nucleus of the site has turned up ceramic building materials and common and fine-ware ceramics, dolia, and slag dispersed over c. 65 000 m² as well as various architectonic remains including column pieces and worked granite ashlar (Fernandes et al. 2006:184; Perestrelo 2003:54-55, no.42; Perestrelo and Ferreira 2000). Fernandes et al. propose that the area of this site on the top of the slope may have been the location of a temple to which the I.O.M. altar would have pertained (2006:184). Here there is a structure, currently a threshing floor, which they posit may correspond to the foundations of a Roman period temple. It measures 9.75 x 14 m and is built of granite ashlar. They also note that directly northeast of here there is an area that stands out in the terrain, constructed of smaller stones, some purposefully aligned, with rectangular outline of 11 x 14 m. Together the two make an area of 20.75 x 14m (Ibid:184 and footnote 27). It is possible that this second structure could have been a courtyard space adjoining the granite ashlar temple. Fernandes et al. also note that few remains have been found in close proximity to the putative temple on this hill-slope, which they argue suggests that this edifice would have been within an open-air enclosure or possible temenos space (Fernandes et al. 2006:182-185). The hills prominent location within the hypothesized area of the vicus is a fitting space for a temple. Excavation would be needed to confirm or deny this hypothesis.

Sources: Curado 1985a:no.45; Alarcão 1998:150; Perestrelo and Ferreira 2000; Brichard 2000:132; Perestrelo 2003:54-55, no.42; Fernandes et al. 2006:182-185; RAP no.306 AE 1985, 525; HEpOL 18512; IGESPAR CNS:14320.

2.16) **Santa Eulália (Chapel)** (Map 1:D9)

Modern Location: Repeses, Viseu, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: Three votive inscriptions were found in this chapel; the only one with a legible deity name is dedicated to Albuclainco Efficaci (dative) (Vaz 1993:183). Another inscription appears to mention a ‘fonte’ (Vaz, in FE 1990, v.35:no.158;

HEpOL 20594).³⁷ José Coelho (1949:35-42) noted a sepulcher here which Vaz suggests is similar to those of the early medieval necropolis of the city of Viseu (1993:183). There are two column shafts built into the chapel shed, as well, which Coelho thought were milestones but Vaz argues are columns (1993:183; Coelho 1943:11). The altars and column shafts may all relate to the same, probably private, cult space. However, it is unclear whether this would have been at the site of the chapel itself or somewhere else in the immediate area.

Sources: Coelho 1943:11 and 1949:36-41; Vaz 1993: Vol.I, 182-4, 240-246 nos.11-14; Vol.II, 565, 572; Vol. III, Est.LVI; Vaz 1990a-c = FE 1990, v.35: nos 157-159; AE 1990, 502-504; HEp 4, 1994, 1103-1105; HEpOL 20593-20595.

2.17) **Vendas de Cavernães** (Map 1:D9)

Modern Location: Cavernães, Viseu, PRT

Conventus: Emeritensis

Description: Evidence exists for a small, Roman period settlement at Vendas de Cavernães, 8.6 km northeast Viseu (Interamnium), that appears to have had a shrine to the local god Lurunis (dative = Luruni). This is suggested by four votive altars to this deity found here (Vaz 1993:269-275, nos.27-30; García 1991:nos.163-166). Two of the altars were built into a tower near the village, a third was found in the church of Nossa Senhora de Pena and another on a local property. In the 17th century Manuel Botelho Ribeiro Pereira recorded, in his *Diálogos Morais e Políticos*, the existence of remains of a temple or tower (of indeterminable age) along with worked stones, column pieces, a spring and two of the above-noted inscriptions (Pereira 1955 ed: 111; also referenced in Alvelos 1952:263; Vaz 1993:158; Alarcão 1988a:164). There is also modern record of abundant construction ceramics and domestic pottery and small fragments of sigillata Hispanica found in this village (Vaz 1993:157, no.167). A Roman road would have passed by this locale (Vaz 1993:159). Unfortunately, cultivation for vineyards and planting of trees, along with urban expansion, has destroyed all that remained of this site (Vaz 1993:159).

Sources: Aragão 1894:86; Alvelos 1952:263-266 and 1967:1-14; Pereira 1955 ed:111; Untermann 1965:18-22; Vaz 1982:784-787 and 1993: Vol.I, 157-9, no.167

³⁷ Val[erius(?)] / Placed[us] / exs(!) orti [f]onte surpde/um po/suit (HEpOL 20594)

(w/ further bibliography) and 269-275, nos.27-30, and Vol.II, 564; Ferreira 1986:no.71; Alarcão 1988a:164 and 2002-3:167; Olivares 2002:47-48; RAP 163-166; CIL II 404, 413; ILER 872- 874; HEPOL 18963, 18972, 20121, 20525; CMP 1:25000, 178.

Part 3) Cult sites known from ancient sources alone:

3.1) Cabo São Vicente (Map 1:A1)

Modern Location: Cabo de São Vicente (Cape St. Vincent), Sagres, Vila do Bispo, PRT

Conventus: Pacensis

Description: This site is primarily known to us through Strabo's Geography (3.1.4) (see fig.3.14). He writes that Artemidorus, on his visit to the site at the very end of the 2nd c. BC, negated Ephorus' earlier (4th c. BC) assertion that a temple to Hercules existed on the Cape. Rather, Artemidorus attested that the site was host to various groups of three or four large rocks that were considered sacred and over which libations of water were poured. He adds that visiting the site at night was forbidden as the gods occupied it at this time (Strabo 3.1.4). Although Strabo's report makes no mention of which deity (/deities) was worshipped here at the time when Artemidorus visited it, scholars generally either attribute the cult to Melqart (as at Gades) and his Classical counterpart Hercules, or to Baal-Hammon and his counterpart Saturn (Salinas de Frías 1988:139-140 [Hercules/Melqart]; Blázquez 1983:63-64; FHA:VI,136-137 [Baal-Hammon/Saturn]; Leite de Vasconcellos 1905: 199-216 [Baal-Hammon/ Saturn; Kronos]). The first hypothesis agrees with Ephorus' earlier assertion – recorded by Strabo – that there was a temple to Hercules here (though Artemidorus found no such edifice) (3.1.4). The second, relates to possible betyl cult here (deriving from veneration of Baal), and is supported by the fact that Avienus calls the adjacent region of Sagres, the *cautes sacra Saturni* (Avienus, *Ora Maritima*

215-216). Few Roman period remains have been found on this promontory.³⁸ Various Classical authors refer to this spot as the sacred promontory (see sources).

Sources: Strabo *Geographia* 3.1.4; Mention of Sacred Promontory: Mela, *Chorographia* 3.7; Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 2.242 and 4.115-116; Ptolemy, *Geographia* 2.5.2; Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, 201 [Cyneticum iugum]; Modern sources: Landmann 1818:Vol.2, 139; Vasconcellos 1905:199-216; Santos 1971:35-6; Monteiro and Gomes 1979:355-374 (menhirs); Beirão and Gomes 1980:33; Blázquez 1983:63-4; Gomes 1983:385 (menhirs); Gomes and Silva 1987:17-25; Salinas de Frías 1988:135-147; Guerra 1993:140-142, 2002:43-45 and 2005:235-246; Barata 1997:117-133; García Quintela 1999:169-176 and 1999b:233-241; Canto 2004:289; IGESPAR: CNS 1817; CMP 609 (4th ed. 2005).

Justification: Although the cult activity described by Artemidorus can only be dated to the late 2nd century BC / start of the 1st century BC, it is possible that the Cape St. Vincent remained terra sacra during the Roman period. This is supported by the fact that the promontory retained its denomination of ‘sacred’ into Roman times and was not otherwise architecturally embellished (Mela, *Chorographia*, 3.7; Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 2.242 and 4.115-116; Ptolemy, *Geographia* 2.5.2). The remains of the martyr Saint Vincent were later housed in a chapel on the spot (the Igreja do Corvo) from the 8th century AD (Gomes and Silva 1987:65, no.111.1).

Figure: 3.14

3.2) Serra de Sintra (Map 1:A5)

Modern Location: Serra de Sintra, Sintra, PRT

Conventus: Scallabitanus

Description: Varro and Columella refer to a sacred mountain west of Olisipo which most scholars consider the Serra de Sintra.³⁹ Ptolemy similarly refers to a mountain in this location; he calls this the Mountain of Selene (*Geographia* 2.5.4). The Serra de

³⁸ Two small votive figurines, one of a wild-boar and the other a bull, dated to the 2nd-1st c. BC, were located circa 18km northeast of the site at the Monte de Pedralva, Vila do Bispo (Gomes and Silva 1987:23; Cardim Ribeiro 2002a:361, nos.7,8). There is no clear reason to associate these with the site in question, yet they may, as argued by Cardim Ribeiro, be reflective of animals commonly sacrificed in this region (2002a:361)

³⁹ Varro actually refers to a monte Tagro, however most authors follow Vasconcellos in seeing this as a corruption of monte Sacro (Vasconcellos 1905:30, 31; 1931:353-355; see also Cardim Ribeiro 1982-3:165-166).

Sintra is the mountain that rises up east of the cult space at Alto da Vigia, where Sol and Luna were worshipped (C.1.2). Considering the proximity of the moon and sun cult on Alto da Vigia to the Serra de Sintra, Ptolemy's attribution of this mountain to the moon goddess, Selene, is very fitting. In respect to archaeological finds on this mountain: only a couple Roman age dwellings have been identified here. Cardim Ribeiro notes some lamps and an 'iberic' votive from Sintra, studied by Veiga Ferreira and Couto Tavares (1954). However, in general, he points out a lack of archaeological material for the Roman/pre-Roman period settlement on this mountain; he argues that this confirms the nature of the mountain as *terra sacra* (1982-3:165). Instead, he argues this was a sacred area dotted with diverse shrines and temples, on account of the Sol and Luna dedications at Alto da Vigia as well as two inedited fragments of marble column shafts found below the chapel of Santa Eufémia (freg. de S. Pedro) (1982-3:166).

Sources: Varro, *De re rustica* 2.1.19; Columella, *De re rustica*, 6.27.7; Ptolemy, *Geographia* 2.5.4; Vasconcellos 1905:30, 31, 217ff and 1931:353-5; Cardim Ribeiro 1982-3:165-6, map.1; Figueiredo 1947:77-8, note 30; FHA VIII, 99, 167; Guerra 2005:235-246.

Appendix II:

Omissions: Attestations of cult sites which do not meet parameters of this study or cannot be confirmed

1) Alange (Badajoz, Extremadura, ESP / Conventus Emeritensis):

This is the site of an important Roman bath complex which still stands today, c.17 km as the crow flies, south-east of Emerita. An altar to Juno Regina, also found in Alange, and first recorded by Ambrosio de Morales in 1575, could relate to worship within these baths. The altar was dedicated by Licinius Serenianus, a vir clarissimus and governor of Capadocia, and Varinia Flaccina, femina clarissima, for the health of their daughter Varinia Serena (CIL II 1024; HEpOL 849). However, the exact find-spot of the altar was the chapel of San Bartolomé in Alange, so it not possible to confirm with certainty that the altar was originally erected within the baths (Díez de Velasco 1998:116, no.23/1; Goffaux 2006:65; EE IX, 161; Morales 1575:97).

2) Arronches (valley of Ribeira da Venda, Arronches, Portalegre, PRT / Conventus Emeritensis):

This is a stone slab, inscribed in the so-called ‘Lusitanian’ tongue, recently found at the property of Monte do Coelho, in the valley of the Ribeira (stream) da Venda, near Arronches. It is interpreted to be record of a sacrifice. Yet, as its original location is unknown, it is omitted from this thesis’ catalogue of sites. For more on this inscription, see Carneiro et al. 2008; Prósper and Villar 2009; Cardim Ribeiro 2010; HEp 17, 2008, 251; see Appendix III for the inscription text and fig.2.4 for a map of its location.

3) **Arroyo de la Luz I-III** (Arroyo de la Luz /Arroyo del Puerco, Cáceres, ESP / Conventus Emeritensis):

In the 18th century S.B. Boxoyo recorded two inscriptions in the so-called 'Lusitanian' language, one of which was found in the village of Arroyo de la Luz (also called Arroyo del Puerco) near Cáceres and, the other, in an adjoining pasture (Villar and Pedrero 2001:235; Masdeu 1800:630-1, nos.2165 and 2166). These appear to belong to the same piece, but have since been lost. A recent find of a third inscription on a grey slate slab, from the village of Arroyo de la Luz, helps to corroborate them. The putative religious character of all three speaks to some sort of cult space in this vicinity (Villar and Pedrero 2001:235-274). However, the primary contexts of all three inscriptions are lacking, so they are omitted from this thesis' catalogue. See also: CIL II 738 and 739 (=Arroyo de la Luz I-II); Villar et al. 1999; Villar and Pedrero 2001; Prósper 2002:69-88; Almagro Gorbea 2003:221-222; Alfayé and Marco 2008:289-292,296ff; MLH IV, L.1, 747-750 (Arroyo I-II; w/ epigraphic bibliography p.747). See Appendix III for the inscription text and fig.2.4 for a map of its location.

4) **Casal Comba** (Mealhada, Aveiro, PRT / Conventus Scallabitanus):

IGESPAR (CNS: 2159) lists this as a Roman sanctuary based on Vasconcellos' report of the find of a statuette of Mercury here (found in 1877). Vasconcellos, however, only noted that this statuette was in the collection of Sr. Azuaga, and that it came from Casal Comba where other artefacts had also been found (he lists a gold ring, coins of Constantine and unspecified ceramic fragments) (1895b:23). No indication of the statuette's precise find-spot is given, and it is unclear whether it was in situ or not. Besides this, it is also possible that the statue decorated a villa estate, or some type of domestic space, rather than a shrine or sanctuary.

5) **Celorico da Beira** (Guarda, PRT / Conventus Emeritensis):

This is a Latin rock inscription that was dislodged from its original location and built into the wall of the medieval castle of Celorico. Neither its original location nor its tentative interpretation as a dedication to the indigenous deity, Munidis, can be

confirmed with any certainty, as Encarnação has already pointed out (1995:270). For the inscription see Curado 1985:641-643; HEpOL 21441; CIL II 424.

6) **Corgas Roçadas/As Torres** (Carvalhal de Vermilhas, Vouzela, Viseu, PRT / Conventus Scallabitanus):

This is a rock inscription once interpreted as a dedication to the otherwise unattested divinity Paisicaicus / Paisicaicoeus (Vaz 1995:289-290, no.3; Alarcão 1988b:Vol.2, 3/55). However, it is now widely held to be a terminal marker/stone (HEp 10, 2000, 753). As Encarnação confirms, Paisicaicus has parallels in anthronymns and ethnonyms, and this inscription, therefore, refers to an ethnic group and marks a border (Encarnação 2001:369).

7) **Fontánario de Armês** (Armês, Terrugem, Sintra, PRT / Conventus Scallabitanus):

This is a quadrangular water font made of marble slabs and covered with a slab on the front of which is a dedicatory inscription by a flamen divi Augusti that reads: L(ucius) Iulius Maelo Caudic(us) flam(en) divi Aug(usti) d(e) s(uo) f(ecit). Cardim Ribeiro (1982/3) suggests that this had a religious tenor; however, there is nothing in the inscription that confirms this, even though the dedicator is a priest. See also: Cardim Ribeiro 1982-3:166-188, 396-402 (with bibliography of references to the inscription, p.172) and 1983:337-338; CIL II 260; HEpOL 21313.

8) **Freixo da Numão** (Vila Nova de Foz Côa, Guarda, PRT / Conventus Emeritensis):

Hübner records a rock inscription here based on a recording of it by Frei Joaquim de Santa Rosa de Viterbo (1744-1822): IVNO / VEAMVAERVM / TARBOVMAN / CNVNARVM / SACRVM / CIRI / CVR (CIL II 430). This much disputed inscription is lost and nothing is known of its original find-spot apart from that it was somewhere around Freixo da Numão (Alarcão 2004:209-210). For a synopsis of the interpretations of this inscription, see Alarcão 2004:209-212; Prósper 2010:67-69; HEp 13, 2003/4, 994; HEpOL 21447.

9) **Island of Saturn** (Isla Berlenga, Peniche, PRT/ Conventus Scallabitanus):

Avienus refers to an island sacred to Saturn, generally considered to be one of the Berlenga Islands, off the coast of Peniche (Ora Maritima, 164-165). Avienus based his work on the c. 6th century BC, Massiliote Periplus, therefore, it is impossible to determine whether the sacred nature of this place, which may relate to Punic activity in the region, would have been retained into Roman times (on the dates of the sources used by Avienus, see Mangas and Plácido 1994:22-27). There are no archaeological remains of Roman period cult activity here (IGESPAR: CNS 16630 w/ further references and 30701).

10) **Marofa** (Colmeal, Figueira de Castelo, PRT / Conventus Emeritensis):

This is a hill peak (the Serra da Marofa) where a buried votive altar to the non-Roman divinity Corua was found while trenches were being opened for the construction of foundations for the chapel of Nossa Senhora de Fátima.⁴⁰ According to Perestrelo this might be a sanctuary site due to the votive altar and the site's high elevation with ample visual field (Perestrelo 2000:27-28, no.18 [w/ further bibliography] and 2003:40-41, no.18). Further excavation is needed to assess whether the altar was in its primary context.

11) **Mirobriga** (Santiago do Cacém, PRT / Conventus Pacensis):

This is the site of the municipium of Mirobriga Celticorum. Almeida (1964:30; 1988) termed this municipium a rural sanctuary or santuario campestre to Aesculapius, based primarily on a dedication to Aesculapius found, decontextualized, at the site which he took to derive from the forum temple. University of Missouri excavations at this site in the 80's identified what they termed an Iron Age II temple, and a Republican temple here, which seemed to corroborate the impression of the important sacred nature of this location put forth by Almeida (Soren 1983:54-6). Barata has reassessed these two putative temples in light of new excavations at the site, and convincingly argues that they were both profane space, probably domestic (1997a:9-10,12-19; 1999). Also see chapter two, footnote 65.

⁴⁰ Coruae / pat(ernus?) ex / v(oto) patr/is a(ram) p(osuit) (RAP 47; Perestrelo 2000:no.18).

12) **Mountain of Aphrodite** (Sierra de San Vicente, Talavera de la Reina, ESP / Conventus Emeritensis):

Appian (Iberike 64) mentions that after a battle with C. Plautius Hypsaeus, the legendary Lusitanian commander, Viriathus, crossed the Tagus and camped on a mountain covered in olive groves dedicated to Aphrodite (146-145 BC). It is unclear whether this elevation would have retained its sacred significance into the Roman Imperial period, even though certain authors have taken an altar to Togo (dative = Togoti) from Hinojosa de San Vicente at the base of the Sierra de San Vicente, as evidence of continued sacredness (Vega 1992:336; CIL II 893; HEpOL 196 w/ extended bibliography; Seguido 1989:141-150). See: Appian Iberike 64; FHA IV, 110-111; Seguido 1989:141-150; Vega 1992:336, 346.

13) **Mountain of Zephyrus** (Serra de Monte Figo, Algarve, PRT/ Conventus Pacensis):

Avienus records the existence of both a iugum Zephyrus sacratum and arcis summates Zephyris uocata (Ora Maritima 225-228). Like the Island of Saturn, the ridge and peaks of Zephyrus cannot be confirmed to have remained terra sacra in the Roman period as Avienus' work is based on a 6th century BC source.

14) **Murtede** (Cantanhede, Coimbra, PRT / Conventus Scallabitanus):

An altar to Tabudicus, in the form of a column, was found built into the local church at Murtede as well as another votive inscription – the deity-name on which cannot be made out (HEpOL 7038, 22127). Some other Roman remains were found in the vicinity including a miniature bronze horse figurine, a burial with coins and pottery, opus signinum, brick and tile, domestic pottery, and slag (Alarcão 1988b:3/82; Pinto 2002:220, no.79, est.81). Rodrigues suggested that this was a sanctuary (1997:11-17). However, the site is unexcavated and the original find-spots of the two altars and figurine are unknown. I have therefore omitted it from this thesis' catalogue, though excavation may bring to light a village or farm here that could well have included a small cult space therein. See also: Marques 2005:81-2, nos.80, 81; RAP 192, 632.

15) **Poço de Cortes** (Lisbon, PRT/ Conventus Scallabitanus):

This is a circular crypt where excavators also found bones, pottery and an altar. Outside the crypt were two more altars, a funerary inscription, and a cremation urn and a brick/masonry tomb. This site is omitted from this thesis' catalogue due to the fact that it is an instance of 'funerary cult' (which is outside the main focus of this thesis). For more on this site, see for instance: Vieira da Silva 1944a:37-41 and 1944b:268-278; Cardim Ribeiro 1985-6:311-325; Alarcão 1988b:5/244; Marques 2005:40-41; Búa and Guerra 1997.

16) **Rocha da Mina** (São Pedro, Terena, Évora, PRT / Conventus Pacensis):

This is termed a 'sanctuary' by IGESPAR (CNS 10539), and Correia Santos classifies it as a type A.1, rupestral cult structure (following her own typology, 2010b:152). Calado has argued that this was a possible Iron Age cult site of Endovellicus, which then moved to the hill of S. Miguel da Mota, less than 4km away (1996). Stairs hewn out of a rocky slope, a refurbished natural basin with groove marks, and remains of schist walls are all recorded here, as well as remains of habitations (ibid; Correia Santos 2010b:152). Ceramic finds belong primarily to the Iron Age II, and include Iron Age manual and wheel-made ceramics. Calado also records that this site was part of a mine, of undetermined period, evidenced by slag, transversal ditches, and by the place name itself (lit: 'Rock of the Mine') (1993:59 and 1996:100-102). The rock-cut features noted above could be part of this same mining activity. There are no archaeological finds, animal bones, votives, etc. to confirm this was a sanctuary, and absolutely nothing to confirm the attribution of the cult of Endovellicus to this spot, beyond simple conjecture (as many authors have noted, e.g. Cardim Ribeiro 2002a:80). Also, this is situated far outside the usual area in which 'rock sanctuaries' are commonly attested (see for example Calado's map of such sites, 1996:105). As its purpose is therefore ambiguous and its chronology primarily outside the period of focus for this thesis, I have omitted this site as one of the countryside cult sites.

17) **San Miguel** ('El Rubio' enclosure, Eljas, Extremadura, ESP / Conventus Emeritensis):

This site has not been excavated, but García Figuerola notes that many, clearly Roman, worked ashlar, as well as column shafts and an anthropomorphic sarcophagus have been found here (1999:no.23). To my mind, the sarcophagus suggests this was a funerary monument, though García Figuerola argues these remains are a public construction which could have been an aedicula, and includes it in a section on religious edifices (1999:123). Near here, also at the place-name San Miguel, García Figuerola records an inedited basin for pressing grapes, excavated in the rock and tegulae fragments (1999:no.22).⁴¹

18) **Serra de S. Pedro** (Trancoso, PRT / Conventus Emeritensis):

Although this seems difficult to prove, Perestrelo (2003: 170) suggests that some worked ashlar found on the peak of this mountain, where there is now a chapel to S. Pedro, could be indicative of a Roman sanctuary with dominant views. Without excavation, this suggestion remains speculative.

19) **Statio Sacra** (hypothesized location: Quinta de Marim, Olhão, PRT / Conventus Pacensis):

This site is listed in the Ravenna Cosmography (304, 11) between Balsa and Ossoño. The name suggests a cult site or perhaps rural sanctuary. Silva argues that it might refer to Moncarapacho, which is located between two elevations: the Monte São Miguel (pos. mountain of Zephyrus, see above) and the Cerro da Cabeça, where this author posits another, earlier, sanctuary may have existed (based on caves, a monolith, and a natural basin in the rock-face) (2002:47-9, 89 [Cerro da Cabeça], 92-3). In the late 19th century, Estácio da Veiga suggested, instead, that the denomination might relate to the Roman villa at Quinta de Marim (1887:390-391). This site's current excavator, Dennis Graen, has persuasively argued a similar conclusion in which he considers the place-name to refer to an Early Christian Basilica and cemetery that he has clearly identified at the site (2007:275-288). The attribution of the name to a late Roman/Byzantine structure accords well with the

⁴¹ His other two proposals of possible religious structures at Santa Maria (1999:no.51 and p. 123) (due to small holes and circular engravings in a rock-face), and La Cerca Magdalena (1999:no.45 and p.123) (due bases and shafts of columns, found with tegulae and a loom-weight), are unconvincing without further evidence.

dates of the Ravenna Cosmography and the fact that the name was not recorded in the earlier Antonine Itinerary. For reason of chronology, then, this site falls outside the purview of this thesis. For full bibliography see Graen (2007).

20) **Tarouquela** (South-bank of the Douro River, opposite Vimieiro, Cinfães, PRT / Conventus Scallabitanus):

This is a rock inscription which is interpreted to read: Mirobieo / loco Abrui / Arquí (filius) / [- -]apiobricesis (HEpOL 24145; RAP 168). Certain scholars have argued that this was dedicated to the native deity Mirobieus (Alarcão 1988b:3/21; RAP 168). However, no votive formula is recorded, and as Encarnação has argued, the inscribed word, loco, suggests this may better refer to a specific locale. He cautions that the sacred or administrative function of such a place cannot be made out with any certainty (1995:271).

21) **Valdelazura** (Plasencia, Extremadura, ESP / Conventus Emeritensis):

V. Paredes Guillén recorded two votive altars, which are very difficult to read, from this area and perhaps related to a spring of mineral-medicinal waters, utilized in modern times to feed private baths (Haba and Rodrigo 1986:53-4, nos.1-2; Paredes Guillén 1909). Abundant Roman period remains in the immediate surroundings suggest to some that this was a villa (Haba and Rodrigo 1986:53), though Bonnaud cautions against this due to the lack of mosaic (2004:393). There are no remains yet found of a Roman bathing structure here, though one may have existed, and the votive altars might well relate to it. Further archaeological study is needed to elucidate this site. See: Paredes Guillén 1909:260-269; Haba and Rodrigo 1986:52-54 and 1991:22, 29; Bonnaud 2004:392-3; HEp 2, 1990, 216, 217.

22) **Vilar de Mó** (Chapel of S. João Evangelista, Belver, PRT / Conventus Scallabitanus):

IGESPAR records that in 1945 during restoration work on the chapel two votive altars were found (not in situ), and that tegulae and dolia were found in the area around the chapel (CNS 2870). One altar records an indigenous deity varyingly interpreted as Banneus Picus (/Rannelpicius). The other has been interpreted as a

dedication to Mars, or a votive altar with the deity-name omitted (HEpOL 20046, 20047). Batata records evidence of a rural settlement of the Iron Age and Roman period in this vicinity (Batata 2002:no.253). The information available to date on this site is far too speculative to determine whether this chapel was the site of the ancient cult place to which these altars once belonged.

23) **Vila Viçosa** (outside Vila Viçosa, PRT / Conventus Pacensis):

Three inscriptions to Proserpina were found just outside Vila Viçosa by Resende (1593:fol.229, see 1996 edition), and two of these were subsequently transcribed by the English traveller, John Breval (1726:320, nos.9-11). Breval also notes remains of a Roman temple visible beneath what he terms the church of St. James (= church of Santiago) (1726: 320, nos.9-11). He posits this may be the temple of Proserpina to which these altars belong (ibid). He writes:

The town, among many other noble Antiquities, has some Tracks of a Roman Temple, which is thought by the following monuments, dug up thereabouts, to have been dedicated to Proserpina: A Church dedicated to St. James stands now in the room of it (Breval 1726:320).

After this statement he then goes on to list the three altars to Proserpina. Canto observes that there are no visible remains of a Roman temple at this spot any longer (2004:333, endnote 98). It is impossible to assess whether Breval's very brief report of "Tracks of a Roman Temple" is accurate without excavation. No other definitive information exists about the discovery of these altars, which may or may not have been in situ. Therefore I have omitted this site from this thesis' catalogue. For more on these altars see CIL II 143-145; Vasconcellos 1895c:244-245 [argues that the altars come from Elvas]; Canto 2004:282-3 [translates Breval] and 333, endnotes 98-100; HEpOL 21232-21234.

3) Arroyo de la Luz III

ISAICCID · RVETI ·
PVPPID · CARLAE · EN
ETOM · INDI · NA . [
. . . . CE · IOM ·
M·

Source: Villar and Pedrero (2001)

4) Cabeço das Fráguas

OILAM.TREBOPALA.
INDI.PORCOM.LABBO.
COMAIAM.ICCONA.LOIM
INNA.OILAM.VSSEAM.
TREBARVNE.INDI.TAVROM
IFADEM[
REVE.*RE[

Source: MLH IV, 757

5) Lamas de Moledo

RVFINVS.ET
TIROSCRIP
SERVNT
VEAMNICORI or VEAMINICORI
DOENTI
ANGOM
LAMATICOM or LAMMATICOM
CROVCEAIMAGA
REAI^{COI}.PETRANIOI.T or PETRAVIOI.
ADOM.PORGOMIOVEA or AI
CAELOBRIGOI

Source: MLH IV, 753.

Appendix IV:

Deities named on votive inscriptions from rural and urban Lusitania

a) Indigenous Deities

Deity ⁴³	Find-Spot	N/U ⁴⁴	References
Abericea(e)	El Bodón, Salamanca	N	HEp 11, 2001, 368
Acpulsoio	Lagunilla, Salamanca	N	HEp 10, 2000, 456
Aerbin(ae)	Salvaterra de Santiago, Cáceres	N	HEp 5, 1995, 242
Aervinae	Dehesa Boyal de Zorita, Cáceres	N	HEp 10, 2000, 145
Aetio	Alcaria, Fundão	N	RAP:no.5
Aetio	Sabugal, Sabugal	N	FE 2002:Vol.69, no.309
Albucelainco Efficaci	Repeses, Viseu	N	FE 1989:Vol.34, no.157
Ammae Araceleni	Vale de Azres, Celorico da Beira	N	FE 2004:Vol.77, no.347
Ara Bocorobe Eicobo Talusico?	Arroyomolinos de la Vera, Cáceres	N	HEp 13, 2003/2004, 215
Araco Arantoniceo	Alcabideche, Cascais	N	Albertos 1983:477; RAP:no.10
Arantia Ocelaeca et Arantio Ocelaeco	Quinta de Ribeiro de Moinho, Ferro, Covilhã	N	RAP:no.11
Arantiae et Arantio Eburo[b]ricis	Castelejo, Fundão	N	AE 2004, 721
Arantio Niaetreo	Cerezo, Cáceres	N	Olivares and Rio-Miranda 2009:no.3
Arantio Tanginiciaeco	Tapada da Ordem, near Rosmaninhal, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.12
Arase [*or Ara se(pulcralis)]	Meimosa, Penamacor	N	HEp 17, 2008, 239
Arasei Collouesei Caeloni Cosigo [*or ara(m) sei(pulcralis)]	Furtado, Fornos de Algodres	N	HEp 17, 2008, 244
Arentia Arentio Am(b)runaeco	Coria, Cáceres (<i>Caurium</i>)	U	CPILC 771
Arentiae Arentio Am(b)[r]un(aeco)	Coria, Cáceres (<i>Caurium</i>)	U	CPILC 772
Arentiae Equotullaicensi	Sabugal, Sabugal	N	RAP:no.14
Arentiae et Arentio	Near to Ninho do Açor, Castelo Branco	N	RAP:no.13
Arentio	Chão do Touro, near Monsanto, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.15
Arentio	Moraleja, Cáceres	N	AE 1985, 540
Arentio Cronisensi	Zebras, Fundão	N	RAP:no.16
Ariconae	Talavera de la Reina, Toledo (<i>Caesaro-briga</i>)	U	HAE 147

⁴³ These indigenous deities are in the dative case – as they appear on the given inscriptions – because certain of these gods do not have a known or obvious nominative case. The Classical deities in table b are in the nominative case.

⁴⁴ N= Non-Urban (found in a location that was not a civitas capital during the Roman period); U= Urban (found in or very close to a location that was a civitas capital during the Roman period). See Chapter 5, section a, for a discussion of the degree to which find-spots might be indicative of original location.

Arpaniceo	La Codosera, Badajoz	N	HEp 7, 1997, 69
Asi[tritae] Raphiciogisae	Malpartida de Plasencia, Cáceres	N	CPILC 744
Asidia	Alcains, Castelo Branco	N	Assunção, Encarnação and Guerra 2009:181-183
Asidia Poltuzea	Alcains, Castelo Branco	N	Assunção, Encarnação and Guerra 2009:183-184
Asitritae	Navaconcejo, Cáceres	N	CPILC 813
Ataecina	El Gordo, Cáceres	N	HEp 5, 1995, 209
Ataecinae	Caleruela, Toledo	N	Abascal 1995:no.2
Ataecinae	Talavera de la Reina, Toledo (<i>Caesarobriga</i>)	U	HEp 5, 1995, 784
Ataecinae, Proserpinae: D(eae) s(anctae) A(taecinae) T(uribrigensi) P(rosperpinae)	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	CIL II 461
Ataecinae, Proserpinae: Dea Ataecina Turibrig(ensis) Proserpina	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	CIL II 462
Ataecinae: [D(eae) d(ominae) or D(eae) d(ominae) s(anctae)?] Turibr[i](gensi)? Ad? aegin[ae]	Salvatierra de Santiago, Cáceres	N	HEp 6, 1996, 241
Ataecinae: [D(eae)?] Sanctae s/acr(um)	Herguijuela, Cáceres	N	CPILC 260
Ataecinae: [D]o[minae] S(anctae) Tur(ibrigensi) A(taecinae)	Garrovillas de Alconétar, Cáceres	N	CIL II 5877; Abascal and Cebrián 2003-4:no.3
Ataecinae: [T]uribri(gensi) A[t/d]ecin[ae/e-]	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.14
Ataecinae: Adecin[a]e sanctae	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.1
Ataecinae: D(eae) D(ominae) S(anctae)	Malpartida de Cáceres, Cáceres	N	HEp 6, 1996, 235
Ataecinae: D(eae) d(ominae) s(anctae)	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.2
Ataecinae: D(eae) d(ominae) s(anctae) T(uribrigensi) A(taecinae)	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.5
Ataecinae: D(eae) d(ominae) s(anctae) Turibri(gensi) Adaecinae	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.4
Ataecinae: D(eae) d(ominae) s(anctae) Turibri(gensi) Atteginiae	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.3
Ataecinae: D(eae) dom[i]nae Tur(ibrigensi)	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.7
Ataecinae: D(eae) S(anctae) T(uribrigensi) Ad(aeginae)	La Zafrilla farm, Malpartida de Cáceres, Cáceres	U	CPILC 138 & 331
Ataecinae: Daeae Sanctae Turibrige(nsi)	Herguijuela, Cáceres	N	CPILC 263
Ataecinae: De(ae) s(anctae) A(daeginae) T(uribrigensi)	Malpartida de Cáceres, Cáceres	N	CIL 5299
Ataecinae: Deae Ataecinae Turobriga(e) [San]ctae	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	HEpOL 1861; EE IX 42

Ataecinae: Deae Sanc(tae) Turib(rigensi)	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	EE IX 43; HEpOL 24219
Ataecinae: Do(minae) d(eae) s(anctae) Turibri(g) e(nsi) (sic) Adegin(a)e	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.6
Ataecinae: Do[mi]na[e] T]urib[ri(gensi)] Add[æg?]jina[e]	Salvaterra de Santiago, Cáceres	N	HEp 6, 1996, 244a and b
Ataecinae: Domina[e] Turibr(igensi) Attaec[i]nae	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.8
Ataecinae: Domina[e]...	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.11
Ataecinae: Dominae Turibri(gensi) [A]degin(a)e	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.9
Ataecinae: Dominae Turibri(gensi) Addaecin(a)e	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.10
Ataecinae: Dominae Turibrig(ensis) Adaegina[e]	Medellín, Badajoz (<i>Metellinum</i>)	U	CIL II 605
Ataecinae: S(acrum) d(eae) d(ominae) [T-]uri[b-]ri(gensi)	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.15
Ataecinae: Tur(ibrigensi) Ad(aecinae)	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.13
Ataecinae: D(eae) s(anctae) Turubric(ensi)	Quintos, Beja	N	RAP:no.55
Ataecinae?: [At]/acina[e?]	Santa Ana, Cáceres	N	HEpOL 25600; CPILC 448 (=Acia)
Ataecinae?: Deae sanctae	Quintos, Beja	R	RAP:no.54
Ba[n]di Is(i)b[r(aiegui)]	Bemposta, Penamacor	N	RAP:no.25
Ban(di)	Malpartida de Plasencia, Cáceres	N	CPILC 333
Ban[di] Vort[ia]jeci	Malpartida de Plasencia, Cáceres	N	HEp 11, 2001, 122
Band(---) Oce(laeco?)	Castro da Ucha, Sul, S. Pedro do Sul	N	HEp 7, 1997, 1295
Bande Luguano	Torre de Namorados, Fundão	N	HEp 17, 2008, 230a
Bande Velugo Toiraeco	Vila da Feira, Feira	N	RAP:no.19
Bandeí Brialeacui	Orjais, Covilhã	N	RAP:no.21
Bandeí Brialeacui	Orjais, Covilhã	N	RAP:no.22
Bandi Arbariaico	Capinha, Fundão	N	RAP:no.23
Bandi Haracui	Arronches, Portalegre	N	Carneiro <i>et al.</i> 2008:167-178
Bandi Isibraiegui	Bemposta, Penamacor	N	RAP:no.24
Bandi Langobricu	Longroiva, Guarda	N	RAP:no.26
Bandi Oilienaico	Esmolfe, Penalva do Castelo	N	RAP:no.28
Bandi Saisabro	Maranhão, Avis, Évora	N	FE 1994:Vol.46, no.206
Bandi Tatibeaicui	Queiriz, Fornos de Algodres	N	RAP:no.29
Bandi Vordeaicui	Meda, Meda, Guarda	N	FE 2003:Vol.71, no.315
Bandi Vordiaigeui laciensi	Aldeia de Sta. Margarida, Idanha-a-Nova	N	HEp 17, 2008, 235
Bandi Vorteaeco	Salgueiro, Fundão	N	RAP:no.30
Bandi Vorteaecio	Olival Queimado, Penamacor	N	HEp 5 1995, 994
Bandi: [Ba]ndi Bria[le]aeco	Castelos Velhos, Guarda	N	Encarnação and Rodrigues 2009:227-238

Bandiae Apolosego	Brozas, Cáceres	N	HEp 3, 1993, 120
Bandu Picio	São Vicente de Beira, Castelo Branco	N	FE 2003, Vol.74, 329
Bandu(e) Rouda(e)co	Madroñeira, Cáceres	N	HEp 11, 2001, 121
Bandua Horrico/Bandua Etobrico	Alenquer?, Lisbon	N	HEp 11, 2001, 681a; RAP:no.33
Bannei Picio	Vilar de Mó, Belver, Gavião	N	RAP:no.35
Baraeco (contested authenticity)	Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgalium</i>)	U	HEp 14, 2005, 102
Bereco	Famalicão, Guarda	N	HEp 11, 2001, 671
Besenciae	Canas de Senhorim, Nelas	N	HEp 2, 1990, 897
Bleti: D(eo) Bleti	Barrantes, Cáceres	N	HEp 2, 1990, 206
Broeneiae	Arronches, Portalegre	N	Carneiro <i>et al.</i> 2008:167-178
Caesariciaeco	Martiago, Salamanca	N	HEp 5, 1995, 664
Caluabonco?	Longroiva, Meda	N	Encarnação and Guerra 2010:104; FE 2006:Vol.82, no.364 (=Bonco)
Cantunaeco	Fuenteguinaldo, Salamanca	N	CIL II 861
Carneo Calanticensi	Santana do Campo, Arraiolos	N	RAP:no.42
Carneo: [C(arneo?)] C(alanticensi?)	S. Justa, Arraiolos	N	IRCP:no.412
Carneo: [Carneo?] Calanticensi	Santana do Campo, Arraiolos	N	RAP:no.43
Cat...?	Castro of Mogueira, Resende	N	Mantas 1984:361-364
Cauco	Plasenzuela, Cáceres	N	HEp 5, 1995, 229
Celiborcae	Villasbuenas, Salamanca	N	Solana and Hernández 2001:no.246
Colu(au)	Ibahernando, Cáceres	N	HEp 10, 2000, 120; CPILC 306 (=Selu)
Coluau, Mercurio: Mercurio Coluau	Salvatierra de Santiago, Cáceres	N	HEp 10, 2000, 132
Coruae	Serra da Marofa, Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo	N	RAP:no.47
Crouceai Magareaicoi Petranioi	Lamas de Moledo, Castro Daire	N	MLH IV, 753
Crougae Nilaigui	Freixiosa, Mangualde	N	RAP:no.52
Cusei Baeteaco	Aguada de Cima, Águeda	N	Encarnação and Guerra 2010:104; RAP:no.49 (=Cusei Paeteaico)
Deae Sanct(a)e Pia(e)	Vila Verde de Ficalho, Serpa	N	RAP:no.57a
Dee Sancte Burrulob[ri]gensi	Elvas, Elvas	N	RAP:no.56
Deiba	Proença-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova	N	Curado 2008:129-130
Deo Tueraeo Volenti	Vila da Feira, Feira	N	RAP:no.20
Eaeco	Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgalium</i>)	U	CPILC 519
Eaeco: D(eo) Eaeco	Coria, Cáceres (<i>Caurium</i>)	U	CPILC 204
Eciricu: Eci[r?]icu	Villamiel, Cáceres	N	HEp 6, 1996, 251
Edigenio	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	ERAE 30
Edigenio	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	ERAE 573
Endovellico: [D]eo Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.113

Endovellico: [De]o Endov[ell]ico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.125
Endovellico: [De]o Indovel[l]ico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.121
Endovellico: [Deo En][?]/dovel[l]ico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.74
Endovellico: [Deo?En]dovellico Sacr(um)	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.93
Endovellico: [E?]ndovell(ico)	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.122
Endovellico: [E]ndove[l]ico...	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.134
Endovellico: [En]dovoli[co..	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.130
Endovellico: [End]ovolico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.80
Endovellico: [Endo]vellic[o]	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.84
Endovellico: [Endo]volico [Sacru]m	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.90
Endovellico: [Endov?]ell[ico?	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.132
Endovellico: [Endov]ellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.123
Endovellico: D(eo) E(ndovellico)	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.129
Endovellico: Deo [Endovel]l]ico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.111
Endovellico: Deo Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.119
Endovellico: Deo Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.118
Endovellico: Deo Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.78
Endovellico: Deo Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.97
Endovellico: Deo Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.95
Endovellico: Deo Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.76
Endovellico: Deo Endovellico Praestantissimi et Praesentissimi Numinis	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.73
Endovellico: Deo Endovellico sacrum	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.70
Endovellico: Deo Endovellico sacrum	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.66
Endovellico: Deo Endovolico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.107
Endovellico: Deo Indovel[l]ico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.85

Endovellico: Deo Indovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.101
Endovellico: Deo Indovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.94
Endovellico: Deo Sancto Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.65
Endovellico: Deo Sancto Indovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.88
Endovellico: End(ovellico) Sacr(um)	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.96
Endovellico: End[ovellico]	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.127
Endovellico: End[ovellico]	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.131
Endovellico: Endo(vellico) D[eo?]	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.133
Endovellico: Endov[el]ic[o]	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.128
Endovellico: Endove[l]ic[o]	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.124
Endovellico: Endovelico	Convent of Frades Agostinhos, Vila Viçosa (from S.Miguel da Mota)	N	RAP:no.75
Endovellico: Endovelico sacrum	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.77
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.117
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.115
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.114
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.64
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.71
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.83
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.82
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.103
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.99
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.110
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.81
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.109
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.89

Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.108
Endovellico: Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.68
Endovellico: Endovellico sacrum	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.67
Endovellico: Endovolico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.98
Endovellico: Endovollico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.116
Endovellico: Endovollico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.102
Endovellico: Endovollico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.106
Endovellico: Endovollico Sacrum	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.91
Endovellico: Enobolico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.100
Endovellico: [E]ndovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.105
Endovellico: [Endovell]ico[...]	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.135
Endovellico:D(eo) Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.69
Endovellico: Deo Endovelico sacrum aedolu(m)	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.104
Endovellico: Deo Sancto Endovellico	S. Miguel da Mota, Terena, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.112
Endovellico: Endovollico sacrum	Church of N. Senhora do Loreto, Juromenha (from S. Miguel da Mota)	N	RAP:no.136
Eniracillo	Casas de Millán, Cáceres	N	CPILC 822
Erbine laedi Cantibidone	Segura, Idanha-a-Nova	N	HEp 5, 1995, 992
Erbine laidi Cantibidone	Segura, Idanha-a-Nova	N	HEp 5, 1995, 993
Harase	Arronches, Portalegre	N	Carneiro <i>et al.</i> 2008:167-178
Icona Loiminna	Cabeço das Fráguas, Pousafoles do Bispo, Guarda	N	MLH IV, 757
Igaedo	Church of N. Senhora do Almortão, 7km east of Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.152
Ilurbeda: [Il]urbed[a/e]	Covas dos Ladrões, Alto das Cabeçadas, Alvares	N	RAP:no.154
Ilurbedae	Covas dos Ladrões, Alto das Cabeçadas, Alvares	N	RAP:no.155
Ilurbedae	Faião, Sintra	N	RAP:no.153
Ilurbedae	La Alberca, Salamanca	N	FE 2006:Vol.84, no.377
Ilurbedae	San Martín de Trevejo, Cáceres	N	FE 2007:Vol.86,

			no.391
Ilurbedae	Segoyuela de los Cornejos, Salamanca	N	AE 1985, 543
Ilurbedae	Zamarra, Salamanca	N	HEp 11, 2001, 430
Ilurbedae, Laribus Vialibus: L(aribus) V(ialibus) [l]lurbeda[e]	Narros del Puerto, Ávila	N	FE 2004:Vol.76, no.338
Ilurbedae: [l]lurbe/[d]a(e)	Narros del Puerto, Ávila	N	FE 2004:Vol.76, no.337
Iouea Caelobrigoi	Lamas de Moledo, Castro Daire	N	MLH IV, 753
Issibaeo	Miranda do Corvo, Coimbra	N	RAP:no.156
Kassaeco	Poço de Cortes, Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	Búa and Guerra 1997:332-334; RAP:no.208 (=Iovi Assaeco)
Lacibaea	Albalá del Caudillo, Cáceres	N	HEp 6, 1996, 187
Lacipeae	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	ERAe 58
Lacipeae	Conquista de la Sierra, Cáceres	N	HEp 6, 1996, 226
Lacipeae: Lac(ipaeae)	Torre de Santa María, Cáceres	N	HEp 6, 1996, 249
Laepo: Labbo	Cabeço das Fráguas, Pousafoules, Sabugal	N	MLH IV, 757
Laepo: Laepo	Quinta de S. Domingos, Pousafoles, Sabugal	N	RAP:no.158
Laepo: Laepo	Quinta de S. Domingos, Pousafoles, Sabugal	N	RAP:no.159
Laepo: Laiipo	Quinta de S. Domingos, Pousafoles, Sabugal	N	RAP:no.157
Laneane	Torreorgaz, Cáceres	N	CPILC 510
Laneane	Fonte de Tigela, Aldeia da Ponte, Sabugal	N	HEp 2, 1990, 800
Luruni	Cavernães, Viseu	N	RAP:no.165
Luruni	Vendas de Cavernães, Viseu	N	RAP:no.163
Luruni	Vendas de Cavernães, Viseu	N	RAP:no.166
Luruni: [L]u[r]uni	Vendas de Cavernães, Viseu	N	RAP:no.164
Marati Boro	Castelo Branco, Castelo Branco (<i>civitas</i> of the Taporí?)	U	HEp 17, 2008, 221
Marati Boro	Monsanto, Idanha-a-Nova	N	HEp 12, 2002, 623
Mermandiceo	Sintra, Sintra	N	Guerra 2002a: 64; RAP:no.167 (=Mandiceo)
Mirobieo	South bank of River Douro, Tarouquela, Cinfães	N	RAP:no.168
Munidi Eberobrigae Toudopalandaigae	Talaván, Cáceres	N	HEp 6, 1996, 246
Munidi: [M]unidi	Celorico da Beira, Guarda	N	RAP:no.169a
Munidi: Mun[i]di Igaed(itanae)	Monsanto, Idanha-a-Nova	U	RAP:no.169
Munitie Caria Cantibidone	Arronches, Portalegre	N	Carneiro <i>et al.</i> 2008:167-178
Nabiae	Roqueiro, Pedrógão Pequeno, Sertão	N	RAP:no.170

Nabiae	Villa del Rey, Cáceres	N	HEp 5, 1995, 190
Nabiae	Cáceres, Cáceres (<i>Norba Caesarina</i>)	U	CPILC 155
Nabiae Mustinacae	Quinta de Samaria, Ferro, Covilhã	N	HEp 14, 2005, 423
Nabiae, Salamati: Salam(ati) ac Nabi(e)	Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgalium</i>)	U	CPILC 557
Nabiae: A(ugustae) Nabiae	El Gaitán, Cáceres	N	AE 1984, 494
Nabiae: d(eae) Navi(ae)	Alcántara, Cáceres	N	CPILC 24
Nabiae: d(eae) Navi(e)	La Cardosa de Mayoralgo, Sierra de San Pedro, Cáceres	N	HEp 1, 1989, 159
Nabiae: Na(biae)	La Cardosa de Mayoralgo, Sierra de San Pedro, Cáceres	N	HEp 1, 1989, 161
Nabiae: Na(biae) S(acrum)	La Cardosa de Mayoralgo, Sierra de San Pedro, Cáceres	N	HEp 1, 1989, 160
Nabiae: Nabi(e)	Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgalium</i>)	U	HEpOL 25570; CPILC 572 (= Abisai)
Natrico?	Alba de Tormes, Salamanca	N	Hernández Guerra 2001:no.10; HEp 1, 1989, 520 (=Na(biae))
Neto: [deo Marti?] Neto	Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.175
Neto: Netoni Deo	Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgalium</i>)	U	CPILC 554
Nituceo	Cerezo, Cáceres	N	Olivares and Rio-Miranda 2009:no.2
Ocrimirae	S. Salvador de Aramenha, Marvão (<i>Ammaia</i>)	U	RAP:no.177
Oipaengi(ae)	Ladoeiro, Castelo Branco	N	HEp 5, 1995, 990
Oipainciae	Ladoeiro, Castelo Branco	N	FE 1993:Vol.44, no.198
Paramaeco: de[o] Pa[ra]maeco	Pardieiros, Fóios, Sabugal	N	HEp 2, 1990, 802
Peinticis: (diis) Peinticis	Castro de Três Rios, Parada do Gonta, Viseu	N	RAP:no.179
Picio	Oliveira do Hospital, Oliveira do Hospital	N	RAP:no.36
Q[uan]cei[o]	Nisa, Nisa, Portalegre	N	HEp 2, 1990, 833
Qu[an]geo	Nisa, Nisa, Portalegre	N	HEp 2, 1990, 830
Quangeio	Bandurro (Roman villa), Sortelha, Sabugal	N	RAP:no.574, ad.18
Quangeio	Malpartida de Plascencia, Cáceres	N	HEp 3, 1993, 127
Quangeio	Penamacor, Penamacor	N	RAP:no.182
Quangeio Tanngo	Salavessa, Montalvão, Nisa	N	RAP:no.180
Quangeio Turicaeco	Borba, Évora, Portugal	N	AE 1991, 946
Quangeio: [Q]uan[g]/[ei]o	Bemposta, Penamacor	N	RAP:no.181
Quangeio: [Q]uange[i]o	Rua da Roseira, Capinha	N	RAP:no.592
Quangeio: Qv]angei[o]	Bandurro (Roman villa), Sortelha, Sabugal	N	RAP:no.574, ad.19
Remetibus	Condeixa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.183

Reve	Cabeço das Fráguas, Pousafoles do Bispo, Guarda	N	MLH IV, 757
Reve Aharacui	Arronches, Portalegre	N	Carneiro <i>et al.</i> 2008:167-178
Reve: [R]eve	Medelim, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.185
Reve: [Re]ve Langanitaeco	Proença-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.186
Reve: Reve Langanid(aeco)	Castro of Cabeço Pelado, Alcains, Castelo Branco	N	RAP:no.187
Reve: Reve Langanidaegui	Medelim, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.184
Revve Anabaraeco	Ruanes, Cáceres	N	CPILC 422
Runeso Cesio: Sanct(o) Runeso Cesio Sacru(m)	Herdade de Claros Montes, Évora	N	RAP:no.188
Salamati	Ceclavin, Cáceres	N	CPILC 201
Salamati, Nabiae: Salam(ati) ac Nabi(e)	Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgalium</i>)	U	CPILC 557
Salamati: Deo O(ptimo) Salamati	Villamiel, Cáceres	N	HEp 1, 1989, 204
Salqui?	Chapel of Nossa Senhora da Alegria, Gouveia	N	RAP:no.189
Sigerio Stillifero: divo Sigerio Stillifero	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	AE 1955:234
Tabudico	Murtede, Cantanhede	N	RAP:no.192
Togae	San Martín de Trevejo, Cáceres	N	CPILC 443
Togae	Martiago, Salamanca	N	AE 1955, 235
Togae	Valverde del Fresno, Cáceres	N	García de Figuerola 1999:157, no.1
Togae Almae	Barretos, S. António das Areias, Marvão	N	RAP:no.194
Togoti	Hinojosa de San Vicente, Toledo	N	CIL II 893
Togoti: deo To(goti?)	Ávila, Ávila (<i>Avila</i>)	U	ERAv 2005:no.5
Trebaronae: T[r]/ebaron[ae]	Coria, Cáceres (<i>Caurium</i>)	U	CPILC 217
Trebaronna	Cabeço dos Tiros, Penha Garcia, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.195
Trebaronne	Quinta de Alverca, near Lardosa, Castelo Branco	N	RAP:no.196
Trebarunae: A(ugustae) Treba(runae)	Talavera la Vieja, Cáceres (<i>Caesarobriga</i>)	U	CPILC 492
Trebarunae: Aug(ustae) Trebar[unae]	Oliva de Plasencia, Cáceres (<i>Capera</i>)	U	HEp 12, 2006, 93
Trebarune	Fundão (pos. Roman villa), Fundão	N	RAP:no.197
Trebarune	Cabeço das Fráguas, Pousafoles do Bispo, Guarda	N	MLH IV, 757
Trebopala	Cabeço das Fráguas, Pousafoles do Bispo, Guarda	N	MLH IV, 757
Triborunnis	Casal de Freiria (Roman villa), S. Domingos de Rana, Cascais	N	RAP:no.198
Tritiaecio	Navaconcejo, Cáceres	N	HEpOL 21711
Tritiaecio: Deo Tritiaecio	Torremenga, Cáceres	N	CPILC 806
Turculae	Puerto de Santa Cruz, Cáceres	N	HEp 5, 1995, 231
Urilouco	Talavera de la Reina, Toledo (<i>Caesarobriga</i>)	U	HEp 5, 1995, 785

Vaelico	El Raso <i>castro</i> , Candelada, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.164
Vaelico: Vae[li]co	Postoloboso, Candelada, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.144
Vasego	Soure, Soure, Coimbra	N	RAP:no.200
Velico	Postoloboso, Candelada, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.145
Velico	Postoloboso, Candelada, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.148
Velico: d(eo) V(elico)	Postoloboso, Candelada, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.149
Velico: d(eo) V(elico)	Postoloboso, Candelada, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.150
Velico: d(eo) V(elico)	Postoloboso, Candelada, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.151
Velico: d(eo) Velico	Postoloboso, Candelada, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.153
Velico: deo Velico	Postoloboso, Candelada, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.146
Velico: deo Velico	Postoloboso, Candelada, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.147
Velico: V[---]	Postoloboso, Candelada, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.154
Vord[i]o Talagonio	Sortelha, Sabugal	N	FE 1999: Vol.61, 276
Vordiacio: Vordi[ac]io	Granadilla, Cáceres	N	HEp 11 2001, 141
Vorteaecio: Vort[e]aecio	Monte de S. Martinho, Castelo Branco, Castelo Branco	N	RAP:no.31
Vortiacio	Montehermoso, Coria	N	HEp 4 1994, 242
Vortiaeco	Quinta da Arrochela, Salvador, Penamacor	N	RAP:no.32

b) Classical Deities

Deity	Find-spot	N/U	References
Aesculapius	Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.232
Aesculapius	Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.234
Aesculapius	Santiago de Cacém, Sines (<i>Mirobriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.231
Aesculapius Augustus	Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.233
Apollo	Freixial, Telhado, Fundão	N	HEp 10, 2000, 722
Apollo	Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.237
Apollo	Beringel, Beja	N	RAP:no.236
Apollo Augustus	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.238
Aquae	Roman Bath, Lafões/S. Pedro do Sul, Viseu	N	RAP:no.239
Aquae Eleteses	Retortillo, Salamanca	N	ILER 655
Aquae Sacrae	Caldas de Monchique, Faro	N	RAP:no.240
Aquae Sacrae	Mação, Santarém	N	HEp 7, 1997, 1200.
Aquae: Aquiaii sacrum	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.9a
Bellona	Aceituna, Cáceres	N	HAE 2706
Bellona	Herguijuela, Cáceres	N	ILER 319
Bellona	Herguijuela, Cáceres	N	CPILC 262
Bellona	Herguijuela, Cáceres	N	CPILC 261
Bellona	La Cumbre, Cáceres	N	HEp 5, 1995, 203
Bellona	Madroñera, Cáceres	N	HAE 2703
Bellona	Madroñera, Cáceres	N	AE 1955, 31
Bellona	Monroy, Cáceres	N	AE 1978, 392

Bellona	Montánchez, Cáceres	N	HEp 6, 1996, 237
Bellona	Plasenzuela, Cáceres	N	HEp 11, 2001, 129
Bellona	Ruanes, Cáceres	N	HEpOL 24976
Bellona	Santa Ana, Cáceres	N	HAE 1886
Bellona	Santa Marta de Magasca, Cáceres	N	CPILC 465
Bellona	Sta. Eulália, Elvas, Elvas	N	HEp 6, 1996, 1065
Bellona	Talavera la Vieja, Cáceres (<i>Augustobriga</i>)	U	HEp 5, 1995, 252
Bellona	Trujillo (<i>Turgalium</i>), Cáceres	U	CPILC 556
Bellona	Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgallium</i>)	U	HEp 14, 2005, 99
Bellona	Villa la Cumbre, Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgalium</i>)	U	HEpOL 24977; CPILC 319
Bellona	Villamesías, Cáceres	N	FE 2012: Vol.94, no.420
Ceres	Puebla de Alcocer, Badajoz	N	HEp 5, 1995, 113
Concordia	Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.241
Concordia Augusti	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	CIL II 465
Dea	Piedras Labradas, Jarilla, Cáceres	N	FE 2004:Vol.77, no.350
Dea	Talaíde, S. Domingos de Rana, Cascais	N	RAP:no.564
Dea	Tejeda de Tiétar, Cáceres	N	CPILC 725
Dea Medica	Serpa, Serpa, Beja (<i>Serpa</i>)	U	RAP:no.403
Dea Sancta	Alcáçova do Castelo de Mértola, Mértola (<i>Myrtilis</i>)	U	RAP:no.53
Dea Sancta	Las Piedras, Mérida (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	HEp 2, 1990, no.34
Dea Sancta	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	HEp 6, 1996, 134
Dea: D(eae) S(anctae)	Herdade da Defesinha, 4km north of Ouguela, Campo Maior	N	RAP:no.57
Deae Di	Montehermoso, Cáceres	N	CPILC 746
Deae et Di	Valdeobispo, Cáceres	N	CPILC 751
Di Deae Pinionenses: D(i)bu(s) (dea)bus pinione(n)sibus	Santiago del Campo, Cáceres	N	CPILC 467
Di deaeque Coniumbrigensium: Dis deabus(que) Coniumbrig(ensium)	Numão, Vila Nova de Foz Côa	N	RAP:no.201
Dī Omnes	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	HEpOL 24982
Diana	Los Arcos, Badajoz	N	CIL II 980
Diana	Silves, Faro (<i>Cibilis?</i>)	U	RAP:no.243
Diana, Silvanus?: S(ilvano) S(ilvestri) D(ianae)?	Albufeira, Faro	N	HEp 12, 2002, 635
Diana/Silvanus: D(ianae) S(ilvestri) vel D(eo) S(ilvano)	Church of S. Clemente, Loulé	N	CIL II 5136
Diana: [Dī]anae	Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.244
Diana?	Cenicientos, Madrid	N	HEp 6, 1996, 642
Fons	Dehesa de Peñas Blancas, Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	HEpOL 2894

Fons	Ericeira, Travessa da Misericórdia, Mafra	N	RAP:no.249
Fons	Senhora da Moita, Galega, Carvoeiro, Mação	N	RAP:no.250
Fontana, Nymphs: [Ni]mphi[s] Fontanae	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 65
Fontanus	Fonte da Tapada da Alameda, Ervedal, Avis	N	RAP:no.247
Fontanus	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	HEp 7, 1997, 124
Fontanus et Fontana	Acenha das Freiras, Vilares, Bencatel, Vila Viçosa	N	RAP:no.248
Fontanus et Fontana	Feria, Badajoz	N	EE IX 162
Fontanus/Fontana/Fortuna?: F S(acrum)	Covões, west of Monte Real, Leiria	N	RAP:no.565
Fontes sacrum	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	CIL II 466
Fortuna	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	CIL II 467
Fortuna	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	CIL II 5262
Fortuna	Roman Baths at Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.253
Fortuna	Ruins of Beselga, Torres Novas, Santarém	N	RAP:no.252
Fortuna Augusta	Luz de Tavira, Tavira (<i>Balsa</i>)	U	RAP:no.251
Fortuna: F[or]tun[ae]	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	HEp 4, 1994, 1050
Genius	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	HEp 2, 2002, 626
Genius	Poço de Cortes, Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.255
Genius Baselecae: Giinio Basele[c]ae	Ruins of the cryptoporticus in Coimbra (<i>Aeminium</i>)	U	RAP:no.257
Genius coloniae Iuliae Augustae Emeritae: G(enio) C(oloniae) I(uliae) A(ugustae) E(meritae)	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	AE 1984:485
Genius Conimbrigae	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.203
Genius Depenor (/Defen[s]or?)	Castro de Ucha, Sul, S. Pedro do Sul	N	RAP:no.204; <i>contra</i> Encarnação and Guerra 2010:99
Genius Lacimurgae	Navalvillar de Pela (near <i>Lacimurga</i>), Badajoz	U	CIL II 5068 = CIL II 5550
Genius Municipii	Chapel of S. Sebastião, Midões, Tábua	U	RAP:no.258
Genius Municipii	Tapada da Eira, 300 m from Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.259
Genius Municipii	Tomar, Tomar (<i>Sellium</i>)	U	RAP:no.256
Genius Oppidum Constitutum	S. Salvador de Aramenha, Marvão (<i>Ammaia</i>)	U	RAP:no.254
Genius Turgalensium	Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgalium</i>)	U	HEPOL 21602

Hercules	Conquista de la Sierra, Cáceres	N	HEp 5, 1995, 193
Hercules	San Vicente de Alcántara, Badajoz	N	HEp 1, 1989, 200
Isis	Beja, Beja (<i>Pax Iulia</i>)	U	IRCP:no.338
Isis Domina	Alcácer do Sal (<i>Salacia</i>)	U	IRCP:no.182
Isis Domina	Torre de Miguel Sesmero, Badajoz	N	CIL II 981
Janus	Valencia de Alcántara, Cáceres	N	CPILC 735
Juno	Beja, Beja (<i>Pax Iulia</i>)	U	RAP:no.375
Juno	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.376
Juno	Freixo de Numão, Vila Nova de Foz Côa	N	HEp 13, 2003/4, 994
Juno	Monsanto, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.377
Juno Regina, Jupiter Conservator: Iou(i) C(onservatori) I(unoni) R(eginae)	Santarém, Santarém (<i>Scallabis</i>)	U	RAP:no.162
Juno: Iononi Reginae Sacrum	Alange, Badajoz	N	AE 1997, 805
Juno: Iun(oni) [---] [sa]cru[m]	La Morera, Badajoz	N	EE IX, 161a; HEpOL 25466
Juno: Iunoni Lineaigae	Monte de S. Martinho, Castelo Branco	N	Búa 2000:485-486
Juno: Iunoni sac(rum)	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	EE IX 44
Jupiter	Abertura, Cáceres	N	CPILC 796
Jupiter	Aldenuueva de San Bartolomé, Toledo	N	HEpOL 156
Jupiter	Azután, Toledo	N	HEpOL 157
Jupiter	Berzocana, Cáceres	N	HEpOL 22835
Jupiter	Berzocana, Cáceres	N	HEpOL 23038
Jupiter	Brozas, Cáceres	N	CPILC 97; CIL 743
Jupiter	Brozas, Cáceres	N	HEpOL 21730
Jupiter	Caldas de Lafões, Várzea	N	RAP:no.312
Jupiter	Candeleda, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.142
Jupiter	Chapel of Sta. Catarina, Freixial do Campo, Castelo Branco	N	AE 1991, 949
Jupiter	Church of S. Vicente de Fora, Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.278
Jupiter	Fuenteguinaldo, Salamanca	N	Hernández Guerra 2001:no.3
Jupiter	Ibahernando, Cáceres	N	HEpOL 25598
Jupiter	Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Viseu (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.289
Jupiter	Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova, Viseu (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	FE 2006:Vol.81, no.361
Jupiter	La Cumbre, Cáceres	N	HEp 5, 1995, 200
Jupiter	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	HEp 5, 1995, 81
Jupiter	Miajadas, Cáceres	N	HEp 2,1990, 214
Jupiter	Monsanto, Castelo Branco	N	RAP:no.292
Jupiter	Montelavar, Sintra	N	RAP:no.280
Jupiter	Narros del Puerto, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.131

Jupiter	Nogales, Badajoz	N	EE IX, 156
Jupiter	Pichéis , Ade, Almeida	N	RAP:no.305
Jupiter	Ruanes, Cáceres	N	CPILC, 419
Jupiter	S. Salvador de Aramenha, Marvão (<i>Ammaia</i>)	U	RAP:no.274
Jupiter	S. Vicente da Beira, Castelo Branco	N	RAP:no.287
Jupiter	Vila Pouca, Resende	N	HEp 12, 2002, 677
Jupiter	Villar del Rey, Badajoz	N	HEpOL 20875
Jupiter: [I]ovi	Plasenzuela, Cáceres	N	HEp 3, 1993, 131
Jupiter: [I]ovi Aug(usto) sacrum]	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	HEp 2, 1990, 36
Jupiter: I(ovi) M(aximo) Deo Tetae vel I(nvicto) M(itrae) Deo Tetae (CPILC)	Villamiel, Cáceres	N	HAE 410; CPILC 643
Jupiter: S(acrum) Deo Maximo	Talavera de la Reina, Toledo (<i>Caesarobriga</i>)	U	CIL II 5319
Jupiter?: [D(eo) s(acrum) ?] I(ovi)	Talavera de la Reina, Toledo (<i>Caesarobriga</i>)	U	CIL II 5318
Jupiter?: Io[.]	Viccolozano, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.122
Jupiter Optimus	Villamiel, Cáceres	N	HEp 3, 1993, 148
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Abertura, Cáceres	N	HEp 5, 1995, 164
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Abertura, Cáceres	N	HEp 12, 2002, 87
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Alcántara, Cáceres	N	CPILC 27
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Aldeia de João Pires, Penamacor	N	RAP:no.299a
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Antas, Penalva do Castelo, Viseu	N	RAP:no.309
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Arrebertão, Meimão, Penamacor	N	RAP:no.303
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Azinhate, Vila Nova de Foz Côa, Guarda	N	RAP:no.308
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Badajoz, Badajoz	N	CIL II 1015
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Bermellar, Salamanca	N	Hernández Guerra 2001:no.1
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Britiande, Lamego	N	RAP:no.313
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Caleruela, Toledo	N	HEp 1, 1989, 601
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Campo Lugar, Cáceres	N	CPILC 177
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Casas de Don Antonio, Cáceres	N	HEp 6, 1996, 225
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Cepeda, Salamanca	N	HEp 13, 2003/2004, 541
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Condiexa-a-Velha, Condeixa-a-Nova (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.24
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Coriscada, Meda	N	RAP:no.306
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Farm of El Sauzar, Sierra de S. Pedro, Cáceres, Cáceres	N	CPILC 148
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Farm of Vila Maior, Vale da Vilariça, Torre de Moncorvo	N	FE 2001:Vol.67, no.300
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Fonte Santa or Vale da Senhora da Póvoa (pos. Roman villa), Penamacor	N	RAP:no.302
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Herdade da Abóbada, Nova de S. Bento, Serpa	N	RAP:no.268
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Herguijuela, Cáceres	N	AE 1985, 545

Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Herguijuela, Cáceres	N	AE 1977, 433
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Herguijuela, Cáceres	N	HEp 13, 2003/2004, 235
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.288
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Igrejz Matriz da Mata, Castelo Branco	N	RAP:no.286
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Inguias, Belmonte	N	RAP:no.297
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Iron Age II village of 'El Castillo' in Villasbuenas de Gata, Cáceres	N	HEp 12, 2002, 96
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Juromenha, Alandroal	N	RAP:no.270
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.279
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Logrosán, Cáceres	N	HEp 13, 2003/2004, 244
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Madroñera, Cáceres	N	AE 1985, 544
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Marialva, Meda (<i>Civitas Aravorum</i>)	U	RAP:no.307
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Mato, Vale Formosos, Covilhã	N	RAP:no.298
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Monsanto, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.293
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Montánchez, Cáceres	N	HEp 5, 1995, 222
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Monte de Santa Maria/Monte Redondo, Fiães, Feira	N	RAP:no.315
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Montemor-o-Velho, Montemor-o-Velho	N	RAP:no.281
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Oliveira do Hospital, Oliveira do Hospital (<i>Civitas</i> at Bobadela)	U	RAP:no.282
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Paços de Tarouquela, Cinfães	N	RAP:no.313a
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Paraíso, Casteleiro, Sabugal	N	RAP:no.295
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Pasarón de la Vera, Cáceres	N	HEp 9, 1999, 253
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Passos, Mangualde	N	RAP:no.311
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Plasenzuela, Cáceres	N	HEp 1, 1989, 181
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Proença-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.294
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Puerto de Santa Cruz, Cáceres	N	CPILC, 405
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Quinta do Burrinho, Relva, Monsanto, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.290
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Quintela de Azurara, Mangualde	N	RAP:no.310
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Quintela de Azurara, Mangualde	N	FE 2004:Vol.77, no.348
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Relva, Monsanto, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.291
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	S. Bartolomeu de Messines, Serra de Monchique	N	RAP:no.266
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	S. Salvador de Aramenha, Marvão (<i>Ammaia</i>)	U	RAP:no.272
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	S. Salvador de Aramenha, Marvão (<i>Ammaia</i>)	U	RAP:no.273
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	S. Salvador de Aramenha, Marvão (<i>Ammaia</i>)	U	RAP:no.275
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Cáceres	N	AE 1977, 434
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Senhora da Moita, Galega, Mação	N	RAP:no.283
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Termo de Crato, Crato, Portalegre	N	RAP:no.271

Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Torrão, Alcácer do Sal	N	RAP:no.267
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Torre de Almofala, Castelo Rodrigo (<i>Civitas Cobelcorum</i>)	U	FE 1998:Vol.58, no.266
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Torre de Miguel Sesmero, Badajoz	N	HEpOL 25467; EE IX 160
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Torre dos Namorados, Chão da Torre, Vale de Prazeres	N	RAP:no.296
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Villamesías, Cáceres	N	CPILC 627
Jupiter Optimus Maximus	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	HEp 5, 1995, 188; Abascal 1995:no.12 (=Dom(inae))
Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Emperor	Santarém, Santarém (<i>Scallabis</i>)	U	RAP:no.587
Jupiter Optimus Maximus Augustus	Boadilla, Salamanca (Roman site of Los Villares)	N	HEp 9, 1999, 494
Jupiter Optimus Maximus Augustus	Cáparra, Cáceres (<i>Capera</i>)	U	CPILC 814
Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus	Talaván, Cáceres	N	FE 2011:Vol.81, no.409
Jupiter Optimus Maximus Conservator	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	HEp 5, 1995, 1019
Jupiter Optimus Maximus Conservator	Escalos de Cima, Castelo Branco	N	RAP:no.285
Jupiter Optimus Maximus Conservator	Vale de Lagoa, Escalos de Cima, Castelo Branco	N	RAP:no.284
Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Deus Augustus, and all the other immortal gods	Riverbank of the Lampreia, near is confluence with the Tejo, Alvega, Abrantes	N	IRCP:no.647
Jupiter Optimus Victor Conservator: I(ovi) O(ptimo) V(ictori?) C(onservatori?) P(restabili?)	Arrifana, Feira	N	RAP:no.314
Jupiter Repulsor	Alcántara, Cáceres	N	HEp 1, 1989, 150
Jupiter Repulsor	Herdade de Pero Galego, Montalvão, Nisa	N	RAP:no.276
Jupiter Repulsor	Herdade de Pero Galego, Montalvão, Nisa	N	RAP:no.277
Jupiter Repulsor	Mata de Alcántara, Cáceres	N	AE 1977, 427
Jupiter Repulsor	Olivar de la Villa, Valencia de Alcántara, Cáceres	N	CPILC 591
Jupiter Solutorius	Alburquerque, Badajoz	N	HEp 7, 1997, 22
Jupiter Solutorius	Botija, Montánchez, Cáceres	N	CIL II 5290
Jupiter Solutorius	Botija, Montánchez, Cáceres	N	CPILC 504
Jupiter Solutorius	Brozas, Cáceres	N	CPILC 88
Jupiter Solutorius	Brozas, Cáceres	N	HEp 1, 1989, 155
Jupiter Solutorius	Caleruela, Toledo	N	HEp 4, 1994, 881
Jupiter Solutorius	Fuente del Apio, Talavera de la Reina, Toledo	N	CIL II 5339
Jupiter Solutorius	Gallegos de Argañan, Salamanca	N	Hernández Guerra 2001:no.4
Jupiter Solutorius	Meimoa, Penamacor	N	RAP:no.304
Jupiter Solutorius	Monroy, Cáceres	N	AE 1977, 426
Jupiter Solutorius	Moraleja, Cáceres	N	CPILC 343

Jupiter Solutorius	Moraleja, Cáceres	N	CPILC 344
Jupiter Solutorius	Oropesa, Toledo	N	CIL II 944
Jupiter Solutorius	Plasenzuela, Cáceres	N	CPILC 398
Jupiter Solutorius	Pozuelo de Zarzón, Cáceres	N	CPILC 798
Jupiter Solutorius	Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgalium</i>)	U	AE 1983, 500
Jupiter Solutorius	Villamesías, Cáceres	N	CPILC 603
Jupiter Solutorius?: Iovi S[olutorio] I(ibens) a(nimo)	Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Cáceres	N	CPILC 455
Jupiter Solutorius?: Iovi Sol[utorio]	San Vicente de Alcántara, Badajoz	N	CIL II 728
Jupiter Supremus Sumus	Quinta da Mourata, Orjais, Covilhã	N	RAP:no.299
Lares	Albalá del Caudillo, Cáceres	N	HEPOL 2963
Lares	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.379
Lares	Quinta Horta da Serra, Idanha-a- Velha, Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.381
Lares	Valencia de Alcántara, Cáceres	N	CPILC 597
Lares	Vale de Aldeia, Meda	N	FE 2003:Vol.71, no.316
Lares, Mars: Ma(rti?) S(ancto) sa(crum) Larebu(s)	Ibahernando, Cáceres	N	HEp 13, 2003/2004, 238
Lares: [La]ribu[s] / [s]acru[m]	Herdade de S. Romão (Roman villa), Alvito	N	FE 1999:Vol.62, no.280
Lares: Fl(aviae) Conimbriga[e] et Larib(us) eiu[s]	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.211
Lares Lubanci Dovilonicorum Horum	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.210
Lares Patrii	500m from the valley of Remígio, Mortágua, Viseu	N	RAP:no.380
Lares Turolici	Freixo de Numão, Vila Nova de Foz Côa	N	RAP:no.213
Lares Viales	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.379
Lares Viales	Monte das Esquilas, Barbacena, Elvas	N	Mantas 1993:220
Lares Viales	Narros del Puerto, Ávila	N	ERAv 2005:no.132
Lares Viales, Ilurbeda: L(aribus) V(ialibus) [I]lurbeda[e]	Narros del Puerto, Ávila	N	FE 2004:Vol.76, no.338
Lares Viales	Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Alcuéscar, Cáceres	N	Abascal 1995:no.15
Lares Viales	Valdefuentes, Cáceres	N	HEp 2, 1990, 223
Liber	Herguijuela, Cáceres	N	CPILC 265
Liber et Libera	Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgalium</i>)	U	HEp 2, 1990, 222
Liber et Libera: D(i)b(us) L(ibero) et L(iberae)	Cáceres, Cáceres (<i>Norba Caesarina</i>)	U	HEp 2, 1990, 206
Liber Pater	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.389
Liber Pater	Herdade da D. Brites, S. Salvador, Serpa	N	RAP:no.386
Liber Pater	Moraleja, Cáceres	N	CPILC 341

Liber Pater	Poço de Cortes, Lisbon, Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.388
Liber Pater	Talavera de la Reina, Toledo (<i>Caesarobriga</i>)	U	HEp 4, 1994, 899
Liber Pater	Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgalium</i>)	U	CPILC 524
Liber Pater	Villamiel, Cáceres	N	HEp 1, 1989, 207
Liber Pater et Libera	Chão de Cachopas, Monsanto, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.390
Libera et Liber	Robledillo de Trujillo, Cáceres	N	HEp 9, 1999, 254
Libera et Liber: [L]ibiiraii iit [L]ibiiro	Zorita, Cáceres	N	HEp 1, 1989, 212
Libera: Libiiraii	S. Bartolomeu, Arronches	N	RAP:no.388
Luna, Sol Aeternus	Alto da Vigia, Colares, Sintra	N	RAP:no.432
Luna, Sol: Sol et Luna	Alto da Vigia, Colares, Sintra	N	RAP:no.431
Lux Divina	Albalá del Caudillo, Cáceres	N	HEp 10, 2000, 113
Lux Divina	Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Cáceres	N	CPILC 457
Lux Divina	Valdeobispo, Cáceres	N	HEp 14, 2005, 103
Lux Divina	Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Cáceres	N	CPILC 452
Magna Mater: Deum Matri	Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.459
Magna Mater: M(agnae) Div(um) Matr(i)	Faro, Faro (<i>Ossonoba</i>)	U	IRCP:no.1
Magna Mater: M(atri) d(eorum) s(acrum)	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	CIL II 5260
Magna Mater: M(atri) D(eum) C(ybele) [l]d(a)eeae	Ávila, Ávila (<i>Avila</i>)	U	HEp 14, 2005, 30
Magna Mater: M(atri) D(eum) S(acrum)	Beja, Beja (<i>Pax Iulia</i>)	U	IRCP:no.289
Magna Mater: M(atri) D(eum) S(acrum)	Senhora dos Mátiros, Estremoz, Évora	N	RAP 458
Magna Mater: Matri Deum	Cáparra, Cáceres (<i>Capera</i>)	U	CIL II 805
Magna Mater: Matri Deum Mag(nae) Id[e]ae Phryg(iae)	Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.460
Mars	Ahigal, Cáceres	N	CPILC 812
Mars	Alpedrinha, Fundão	N	RAP:no.401
Mars	Cañamero, Cáceres	N	HEp 13, 2003/2004, 228
Mars	Garcíaz, Cáceres	N	HEp 4, 1994, 235
Mars	Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	HEp 2, 1990, 773
Mars	Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.400
Mars	Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.397
Mars	Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.398
Mars	Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.399
Mars	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	HEp 1, 1989, 108
Mars	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	CIL II 468
Mars	Torre de Palma (Roman Villa), Monforte	N	RAP:no.393

Mars	Santiago de Cacém, Sines (<i>Mirobriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.392
Mars	Tomar, Tomar (<i>Sellium</i>)	U	RAP:no.394
Mars	Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgalium</i>)	U	HEp 5, 1995, 276
Mars	Valverde del Fresno, Cáceres	N	HEp 5, 1995, 279
Mars, Lares: Ma(rti?) S(ancto) sa(crum) Larebu(s)	Ibahernando, Cáceres	N	HEp 13, 2003/2004, 238
Mars: M(arti?) Do(mino?)	Puerta del Carmen, Ávila, Ávila (<i>Avila</i>)	U	ERAv 2005:no.2
Mars: Ma[rtis Aug(usti)]?	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.396
Mars Augustus	Sines, Sines (close to <i>Mirobriga</i>)	U	FE 1996:Vol.51, no.230
Mars Augustus: [Marti] A.V.G.(usto)	Bobadela, Oliveira do Hospital (<i>civitas</i> at Bobadela)	U	RAP:no.558
Mars Augustus: Marti Au[g(usto)] Sacrum	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.395
Mercury	Valencia de Alcántara, Cáceres	N	HEp 1, 1989, 202
Mercury	Villar de Plasencia, Cáceres	N	Salinas de Frias 2001:165, note 42; Paredes 1909:260
Mercury Augustorum Aguaecus	Roman Bath remains at Lafões/S. Pedro do Sul, Viseu	N	RAP:no.228
Mercury Augustus	Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.406
Mercury Esibraeus	Medelim, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.227
Mercury, Coluau (=dative)	Salvaterra de Santiago, Cáceres	N	HEp 10, 2000, 132
Mercury: D(eo) D(omino) S(ancto) Mercurio	Valle de la Zarza, Montánchez, Cáceres	N	HEp 16, 2007, 66
Mercury: Mercur[i]o[Caesa[ris] August[i]]	Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.405
Mercury: Mercurio [C]hortali	Lisbon (<i>Olisipo</i>)	U	RAP:no.407
Mercury: S. Mer(curio) sa(crum?)	Trujillo, Cáceres (<i>Turgalium</i>)	U	HEp 5, 1995, 275
Minerva	Mina (Roman villa), Valado dos Frades, Alcobça	N	RAP:no.410
Minerva Sangra	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	HEp 12, 2002, 628
Minerva, Venus: Veneri be[... Min?]ervae	Centum Cellas, Belmonte (<i>civitas Lancienses Oppidani</i>)	U	HEp 12, 2002, 619
Minerva: [Tem]plum M[inervae / ...]	Bico Sacho, S. Sebastião do Freixo, Batalha (<i>Collipo</i>)	U	HEp 6, 1996, 1043
Mithras	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	ERAe 20
Mithras	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	HEp 1, 1989, 99
Mithras	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	ERAe 27
Mithras	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	ERAe 19
Mithras	Beja, Beja (<i>Pax Iulia</i>)	U	RAP:no.463
Mithras (cult): Caute	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	CIL II 464
Mithras: Deo Invicto	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	ERAe 26

Mithras: Deo Invicto	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	ERA 25
Mithras: Invicto	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	ERA 21
Mithras: Invicto Deo	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	ERA 24
Nemesis	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	HEp 6, 1996, 127
Nemesis: Dominae cur(atrici) anima[e]	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	AE 1984:no.486
Neptune	Bobadela, Oliveira do Hospital (<i>civitas</i> at Bobadela)	U	RAP:no.411
Nymphs	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 67
Nymphs	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 72
Nymphs	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 78
Nymphs	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 74
Nymphs	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 79
Nymphs	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 68
Nymphs	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 69
Nymphs	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	ERA 7
Nymphs	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	ERA 8
Nymphs	Ávila, Ávila (<i>Avila</i>)	U	ERAv 2005:no.3
Nymphs	Monforte, Monforte	N	RAP:no.412
Nymphs	Talavera de la Reina, Toledo (<i>Caesarobriga</i>)	U	CIL II 894
Nymphs Augustus: Nym[ph]is Aug(ustis) s(acrum)	Chapel of San Juan Bautista, Parrillas, Toledo	N	HEp 4, 1994, no.893
Nymphs, Fontana: [Ni]mphi[s] Fontanae	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 65
Nymphs: [Nimph]is [C]a[parensium]	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 62
Nymphs: [Ny]mp(his) C(a)parensium	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 77
Nymphs: [Ny]mpis [Capar]ensium	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 70
Nymphs: [Nymphis] C(a)parensium	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	HEp 8, 1998, 44; CPILC 76
Nymphs: Nin[phis] Capare(nsium)	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 58
Nymphs: Nymphis Capa[r]ensium]	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 57
Nymphs: Nymphis Capa[r]ensium)	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 73
Nymphs: Nymphis Caparensium	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 71
Pietas	Bobadela, Oliveira do Hospital (<i>civitas</i> at Bobadela)	U	RAP:no.421
Pietas: Pietati Aug(ustae)	Condeixa-a-Velha, Coimbra (<i>Conimbriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.420
Pietas: Pietati Aug(ustae) Sacr(um)	Left bank of the Nabão, Tomar, Tomar (<i>Sellium</i>)	U	RAP:no.419
Proserpina	Elvas, Elvas	N	RAP:no.422
Proserpina	Elvas, Elvas	N	RAP:no.423

Proserpina	Herdade da Fonte Branca, Caia e S. Pedro, Elvas, Elvas	N	RAP:no.425
Proserpina	Herdade da Fonte Branca, Caia e S. Pedro, Elvas, Elvas	N	RAP:no.426
Proserpina	La Garrovilla, Badajoz	N	HEp 5, 1995, 76
Proserpina Servatrix	Elvas, Elvas	N	RAP:no.424
Proserpina, Ataecina: D(ea) s(anctae) A(taecinae) T(uribrigensi) P(rosperpinae)	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	CIL II 461
Proserpina, Ataecina: Dea Ataecina Turibrig(ensis) Proserpina	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	CIL II 462
Salus	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 64
Salus	Baños de Montemayor, Cáceres	N	CPILC 63
Salus	Cáparra, Cáceres (<i>Capera</i>)	U	HEp 9, 1999, 251
Salus	Coria, Cáceres (<i>Corium</i>)	U	HEp 5, 1995, 196
Salus	Madrigalejo, Cáceres	N	CPILC 322
Salus	Montánchez, Cáceres	N	HEp 1, 1989, 175
Salus	Robledillo de Trujillo, Cáceres	N	HEp 3, 1993, 135
Salus	Pisões (Roman villa), Beja, Beja	N	RAP:no.427
Salus	S. Bento do Mato, Azaruja, Évora	N	RAP:no.428
Salus	Torres Novas, Santarém	N	HEp 3, 1993, 488.3
Salus	Valencia de Alcántara, Cáceres	N	CPILC 592
Salus Augusta	Jerez de los Caballeros, Badajoz	N	HEp 7, 1997, 89
Salus Augusta	Usagre , Badajoz	N	AE 1962, 74
Salus Bidiensis	Montánchez, Cáceres	N	CPILC 336
Salus: S(aluti)?	Santa Ana, Cáceres	N	CPILC 447
Salus: Safu(ti)?	Baños de Valdelazura, Cáceres	N	HEp 2, 1990, 216
Serapis	Beja, Beja (<i>Pax Iulia</i>)	U	IRCP:no.231
Serapis: [S]arapi	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	ERAE, 17
Silvanus	Almendra, Salamanca	N	HEp 5, 1995, 663
Silvanus	Torremejía, Badajoz	N	ILER 306
Silvanus, Diana?: S(ilvano) S(ilvestri) D(ianae)?	Albufeira, Faro	N	HEp 12, 2002, 635
Silvanus: [Nu]mini(i) Silvani	Barcarrota, Badajoz	N	HEp 7, 1997, 38
Silvanus: [S]ilvan[o] [sa]cru[m]	Olivenza, Badajoz	N	HEp 7, 1997, 155
Sol	Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.429
Sol	Mejinhos, Lamego	N	RAP:no.429
Sol Aeternus, Luna	Alto da Vigia, Colares, Sintra	N	RAP:no.432
Sol Aeternus: S[oli Aet]ern[o]	Region of Colares, Sintra	N	RAP:no.430a
Sol et Luna	Alto da Vigia, Colares, Sintra	N	RAP:no.431
Tutela: [T]utell(a)e	Ribeiro de Muro, Alameda, Castelo Branco	N	HEp 12, 2002, 620
Venus	Santiago de Cacém, Sines (<i>Mirobriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.436
Venus Augusta	Cáceres, Cáceres (<i>Norba Caesarina</i>)	U	HEp 13, 2003/2004, 217
Venus Victrix	Mérida, Badajoz (<i>Augusta Emerita</i>)	U	CPILC 252

Venus Victrix Augusta	Santiago de Cacém, Sines (<i>Mirobriga</i>)	U	RAP:no.437
Venus, Minerva: Veneri be[... Min?]ervae	Centum Cellas, Belmonte (<i>civitas Lancienses Oppidani</i>)	U	HEp 12, 2002, 619
Venus: [Vene]ris Templum	Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.439
Venus: Veneri Aug(ustae) Sacrum	Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.438
Victoria	Alcántara, Cáceres	N	AE 1977, 428
Victoria	Atalaia, Fundão	N	RAP:no.447
Victoria	Castelo Branco, Castelo Branco (<i>civitas</i> of the Taporí?)	U	RAP:no.442
Victoria	Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca (<i>Mirobriga</i>)	U	HEp 11, 2001, 371
Victoria	Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.444
Victoria	Idanha-a-Velha, Idanha-a-Nova (<i>Igaedis</i>)	U	RAP:no.445
Victoria	Salvaterra de Santiago, Cáceres	N	HEp 2, 1990, 221
Victoria	Santo André, Meimoa, Penamacor	N	RAP:no.448
Victoria	Santo Estêvão, Sabugal	N	RAP:no.450
Victoria	Torre, Sabugal	N	RAP:no.449
Victoria	Zebreira, Idanha-a-Nova	N	RAP:no.443
Victoria	Fundão (pos. Roman villa), Fundão	N	RAP:no.446
Victoria	Lerilla, Salamanca	N	Hernández Guerra 2001:no.5
Victoria Aeterna: Vic[toriae?] Aet[ernae?]	Bobadela, Oliveira do Hospital (<i>civitas</i> at Bobadela)	U	RAP:no.451
Victoria Augusta: Victoriae Aug(ustae) sacrum	Salvaterra de los Barros, Badajoz	N	CIL II 982
Victoria: Victoriae Templum	Midões, Tábua (probably from the <i>civitas</i> at Bobadela)	U	RAP:no.441

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Abbreviations:

AE = *L'Année épigraphique*

AvRo = Rodríguez Almeida, E. (1980), *Ávila romana. Notas para la arqueología, la topografía y la epigrafía romanas de la ciudad y su territorio*, Ávila.

AvRo² = Rodríguez Almeida, E. (2003), *Ávila romana. Notas para la arqueología, la topografía y la epigrafía romanas de la ciudad y su territorio. 2ª edición corregida y ampliada*, Ávila.

BRB: Manderscheid, H. (1988), *Bibliographie zum römischen Badewesen*, Munich.

Brill's New Pauly = Cancik, H., Schneider, H. and M. Landfester (2007), *Brill's New Pauly Online*, (accessed 09.01.10),
http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/uid=1849/title_home?title_id=bnp_bnp

Bronces: (1990), *Los Bronces Romanos en España (Mayo-Julio 1990: Palacio de Velázquez, Parque del Retiro, Madrid)*, Madrid.

CIL II = Hübner, E. (1869), *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum II. Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae*, Berlin; (1892), *Inscriptionum Hispaniae Latinarum Supplementum*, Berlin.

CMP: *Carta Militar de Portugal*

CPILC = Hurtado San Antonio, R. (1977), *Corpus Provincial de Inscripciones Latinas de Cáceres*, Cáceres.

EE IX = *Ephemeris Epigraphica* IX

ERAe = García Iglesias, L. (1973), *Epigrafía romana de Augusta Emerita*, PhD thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

ERAv: Hernando Sobrino, M. R. (2005), *Epigrafía Romana de Ávila*, Ausonius, Bordeaux-Madrid.

ERBC = Canto, A. M^a (1997), *Epigrafía Romana de la Beturia Céltica*, (Col. de Estudios, no.54), Madrid.

FE = *Ficheiro Epigráfico*

FHA: *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae*

HAE = *Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica*

HEp = *Hispania Epigraphica*

HEpOL = *Hispania Epigraphica*, <http://www.eda-bea.es/>

IGESPAR: Instituto de Gestão do Património arquitectónico e arqueológico, Endovelico Archaeological Heritage database:
<http://www.igespar.pt/en/patrimonio/pesquisa/geral/arqueologico-endovelico/>

IL2: Tovar, A. (1976), *Iberische Landeskunde II. Lusitania*, Baden-Baden.

ILER: Vives, J. (1971/2), *Inscripciones Latinas de la España Romana*, Barcelona.

ILS = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*

IRCP = Encarnação, J. d' (1984), *Inscrições romanas do conventus pacensis. Subsídios para o estudo da romanização*, Coimbra.

LRBC: Hill, P.V., Kent, J.P.C. and Carson, R.A.G. (1960), *Late Roman Bronze Coinage, AD 324-498*, London.

MLH IV: Untermann, J. (1997), *Monumenta Linguarum Hispanicarum IV. Die tartessischen, keltiberischen und lusitanischen Inschriften*, Wiesbaden.

MNA: Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon

MNAR = Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida

MTN: *Mapa Topográfico Nacional de España*

OCD: Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. (2009), eds, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* [online version], 3rd edition, Oxford.

RAP: García, J.M. (1991), *Religiões Antigas de Portugal: Aditamentos e Observações às Religiões da Lusitânia de J. Leite de Vasconcellos*, Lisbon.

RIC: Kent, J.P.C. (1981), *Roman Imperial Coinage VIII, The family of Constantine I, AD 337-364*, Spink and Son, London.

TIR: *Tabula Imperii Romani*

Termas = (1984), *Termas de Portugal*, Associação Nacional dos Industriais de águas minero-medicionais e de Mesa (ANIANMM), Lisbon.

ThesCRA = (2004), *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum (ThesCRA), I, Processions, Sacrifices, Libations, Fumigations, Dedications*, Los Angeles.