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GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY IN ROMAN LUSITANIA: AN EPIGRAPHICAL
PERSPECTIVE

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An important feature of many Roman inscriptions is the place of origin (*origo*) of the individual referred to on the stone.¹ Although it has not suffered complete lack of attention,

¹ The topic of this paper has developed out of the work of Robert J. Rowland Jr., *Geographic Mobility in Roman Spain in Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, (forthcoming). The author has kindly allowed me to read his article before its publication. I wish to thank Professor Rowland of the University of Maryland for his helpful criticism and comments. I, of course, bear responsibility for the opinions, and errors which may appear.

The following were the principal works consulted for this paper:

AE: *L'Année Épigraphique*.

CIL: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

EE: *Ephemerides Epigraphicae*.

ILER: José Vives, *Inscripciones Latinas de la España Romana*.

IRCP: José D'Encarnação, *Inscrições Romana do Conventus Pacensis* (Coimbra, 1984).

ILS: H. Dessau, ed., *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin, 1892-1916).

RIT: Géza Alföldy, *Die Römischen Inschriften von Tarraco*, (Berlin, 1975).

ALARCÃO: Jorge de Alarcão, *Roman Portugal*, vol. 1, (Warminster, England), 1988.

BIERS: *Mirobriga: Investigations at an Iron Age and Roman Site in Southern Portugal by the University of Missouri-columbia, 1981-1986*. ed., William R. Biers, *BAR International Series 451*, (Oxford, 1988).

BLAZQUEZ: J.M. Blázquez, "Estado de la Romanización de Hispania Bajo César y Augusto," *Emerita* 30 (Madrid, 1962), 71-129.

BRANDÃO: Domingos De Pinho Brandão, *Epigrafia Romano Coliponense, Conimbriga XI* (Coimbra, 1972), 41-92.

CRESPO and SAGREDO, *Profesiones: Santos Crespo and Luis Sagredo*, "Las profesiones en la sociedad de Hispania romana," *Hispania Antiqua* VI, (Valladolid, 1976) 53-78.

CRESPO and SAGREDO, *Enseñanza: Santos Crespo and Luis Sagredo*, "La enseñanza en la Hispania romana," *Hispania Antiqua* VI, (Valladolid, 1975), 121-134.

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LE ROUX: Patrick Le Roux, *L'Armée Romaine et L'Organisation des Provinces Ibérique D'Auguste a L'Invasion de 409* (Paris, 1982).

MERINO: Carmen Merino, *Poblacion y Poblamiento En Hispania Romana: El Conventus Cluniensis* (Valladolid, 1975).

NAVASCUÉS: Joaquin Ma. De Navascués, "Salamanca in Roman Times: An Onomastic Study," *Classical Folia* vol. XXII, 1968, pp.214-263.

SANTOS: Francisco Diego Santos, *Inscripciones romanas de la provincia de Leon*, (Leon, 1986).

VAZ: João Luiz Vaz: "Inscrições Romanas do Museu do Fundão," *Conimbriga XVI* (Coimbra, 1977), 5-31.

VIERA DA SILVA: A. Vieira Da Silva, *Epigrafia de Olisipo: Subsídios Para a Historia da Lisboa Romana* (Lisbon, 1944).

VILAS: Felipe Arias Vilas, Patrick Le Roux, and Alain Tranoy, *Inscriptions romaines de la province de Lugo* (Paris, 1979).

the place of origin has not received the consideration which it warrants when considering the more distant Roman provinces of the early Roman Imperial period. However, inscriptions which record the origo of individuals are not without importance, particularly as it relates to the effects of Roman influence in these distant areas. Indeed, it is not uncommon to find inscriptions in every part of the Roman world which testify to foreign origins. Among those who most frequently listed their origins were soldiers stationed in frontier military zones.² But a variety of other individuals listed their distant origins, the more celebrated of which included Italian and non-Italian merchants. Notable examples of the latter include agents of great Italian business houses who carried out commercial activities in the provinces,³ the ubiquitous Syrian merchants,⁴ and the multiplicity of foreign businessmen who lived in Rome itself and served as agents for business concerns from the farthest reaches of Rome's empire.⁵

Undoubtedly, immigrants were attracted to distant regions which were newly urbanized; to territories where military forces were stationed; and to areas which may have enjoyed a resurgence in trading, settlement, or mining activities. Some immigrants may have even been drawn from beyond the Empire,⁶ while others may have migrated but a short distance (a doctor who relocated from Pax Iulia to Mirobriga: CIL II 21).

Although most people who migrated to a new location left no record of their move, especially the commoners, as it relates to Roman influence in the more distant provinces there may be merit in considering those whose origins are recorded. This paper, therefore, will consider geographical mobility as suggested by the origo of individuals in one of Rome's most remote provinces, Lusitania (Portugal). Inquiry has been limited to those inscriptions connected with the towns which fall within the geographical boundaries of Lusitania of the Imperial period. These boundaries extended from the southern coast of Lusitania (the present-day Algarve) northward to the Douro (Durius) River, and from the Atlantic coastal region eastward to Caesarobriga (Fig. 1 p. 267).⁷

² e.g. a soldier from Sichem in Palestine died at Emerita Augusta in Lusitania CIL II 515; a soldier from Germania superior died with Thracian troops in Mauretania Tingitana: CIL VIII, 9381; a Palmyrene in Britain, RIB 1065; a soldier from Mantua/Italy in Bostra/Arabia CIL III, 102.

³ Among the many examples see the Italian commercial activities in Noricum and Pannonia: cf. Géza Alföldy, *Noricum*, 72ff.; Jen Fitz, "Economic Life," in A.Lenygel and G.T.B.Radán, eds. *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, Budapest, 1980,329-333.

⁴ M.Mazza, *Lotte Sociali e Restaurazione autoritaria nel 3° secolo d.c.* Catania, 1970,165.

⁵ e.g., A dealer in clothing made from Eastern furs was from Babylonia, CIL VI, 9431; Four Celtic importers of woolen clothing, CIL VI, 7971, 37378, 37774; and a negotiator and mercator from Paphlagonia, CIL VI, 9675. On industry and commerce see: Helen Jefferson Loane, *Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome (50 B.C.-200 A.D.)*. Baltimore, 1938.

⁶ Rowland draws attention to the unidentified daughter of Musulamius from the Gabula tribe (ILAlg. 1.3144: Theveste) and Danfiola, the daughter of Danfeianus, civis Veliocassinia Inscr. Tr. Gaulles 251: Lyon).

⁷ Antonio Tovar, *Iberische Landeskunde II, Lusitanien* (Baden-Baden, 1976). See map following p.307.

It is evident from many inscriptions found in Lusitania that individual migrations occurred, although the reasons why the majority of the individuals migrated is not as clear. Certainly, some individuals moved because of their military or administrative obligations to the Roman government. Although, there are difficulties in determining whether they settled in Lusitania or died there in the course of their duties. During the early Empire soldiers came to Lusitania, particularly to Emerita Augusta where there was a military garrison. That town, established as the provincial capital of Lusitania in 19 B.C., was founded by Augustus as Colonia Iulia Augusta Emerita and was initially settled by discharged soldiers of the fifth and tenth legions. We would therefore expect to find soldiers in Emerita Augusta whose origins were from outside the peninsula. Likewise, we might anticipate similar inscriptional evidence for soldiers and administrative officers in at least the larger towns throughout Lusitania.

Because any of a variety of economic, occupational, or other reasons may have served as an impetus to move, most individuals may have moved simply out of the desire to improve their condition in life. Certain individuals may have moved from one locale to another because of their trade or skill (e.g. C. Attius Ianuarius, medicus: CIL II 21; from Pax Iulia to Mirobriga; C. Sevius Lupus, architectus, CIL II 2559, from Lusitania to Gallaecia). Still others may have had to migrate because of their freedman or slave status.⁸ Whatever the motive for moving, the large majority of the inscriptions examined in this study appear to have belonged to ordinary persons who left no specific indication of why they migrated.

Although our understanding of motives for migration may be incomplete, it is possible to learn other things about migration by considering specific categories of migration which are suggested by the *origo* of individuals. For the inscriptions examined in this paper three categories of migration are evident in Lusitania: 1) immigration into the province from a region outside of the Iberian peninsula or from other provinces within the Iberian peninsula, 2) relocation within the province, and 3) exit to regions outside of Lusitania. With respect to migration outside of Lusitania, consideration is restricted here to only those cases of migration into other regions of the Iberian peninsula, reserving for a future study comment about those individuals who completely exited Iberia to other parts of the Empire.

The inscriptions which have been examined record the names of one hundred and forty-three individuals whose origins are known. An attempt has been made to collect as large a sample as possible from the major epigraphical sources as well as from numerous specific regional epigraphical studies of Lusitania. However, because some inscriptions may have been overlooked, the comments presented here cannot be definitive nor, in light of the paucity of inscriptions with an *origo*, could such a claim ever safely be presented. Nevertheless, it is believed that the number of inscriptions which have been collected for this paper has been

⁸ Optata Aeli Scapulae lib., Clu(niensis), (CIL II 163: Ammaia); Vicinia (serva?), Cluniensium, (CIL II 821: Capera); Quintus Cai Flavi Baetici, servus, Conimbrig(ensis), (AE 1905, 24: corrected by HAE 668: Emerita); Corinthus Helvi Philippi ser., ex Lusitania Municip. Collipponensi, (BRANDÃO, #1, pp.47-50; CIL VI 16100: Rome).

rather full and is sufficient to present general observations concerning geographical mobility in Lusitania.

Among the one hundred and forty-three samples of individuals examined, a total of seventy (48.9%) record origins which indicate immigration into Lusitania. That is, twelve (8.4%) of the total samples of individuals are from origins outside of the Iberian peninsula, while fifty-eight (40.6%) are from locations outside of Lusitanian borders, but from regions within the Iberian peninsula (Baetica, 12; Tarraconensis, 46). Fifty-two persons (36.4%) list a place of origin which illustrates that the type of migration was nothing more than a simple relocation within Lusitania. Twenty-one others (14.7%) list origins which indicate that they had left Lusitania for some locale within the Iberian peninsula, i.e. to Baetica (eight for 5.6%) or Tarraconensis (twelve for 8.4%).⁹

The inscriptions show that there were several methods of indicating origins. The most frequent was through the use of the adjectival form of the tribe, city, or town, usually in -sis (eighty-five), or an oblique case of the town's name (forty-six). There are twelve other examples of different ways by which place of origin was indicated. Among these are included domo Vienna (AE 1935, 5: Merida), domo Ateste (AE 1968, 206: Italy), Italicus nat(ione) (LE ROUX Nr. 84, p. 194: Emerita Augusta), nat(us) col(onia) (LE ROUX Nr.1, p. 173: Elvas), d.c. (= de gente) Aravorum (AE 1952, 109; Merida), castello Durbede (IRCP, 122: Ourique), colonia Emerita Aug(usta) (CIL II 4177: Tarraco), and Lusitanus (ILER, 4188). In some instances the name of an individual suggests the origin: i.e. Victorina Celtiberia (HAE 1-2, 1951-52, p. 15, Nr. 213: Celtiberia?), Geminius Gargilianus (LE ROUX Nr. 221, p. 235: Africa?), and Lusegicar meioser - Nomiae f. ..ngiu.. Lusitanus (HAE 2145: Lusitania: locus incertus). Sometimes the name of the town and the province occur together, i.e. Aeminiensis Lusitanus (CIL II 2559: La Coruña). With these types of migration in mind, we can turn to the lists of those individuals who fall into the three categories of migration.

I. IMMIGRATION INTO LUSITANIA

A. Soldiers and Administrative Officers

Among the inscriptions which record immigration into Lusitania, eight samples of soldiers and officials are listed. Six of these soldiers have origins outside of the Iberian peninsula (three from Italy, one from North Africa, one from Vienna, one from Germany), while one each is recorded from Tarraconensis and Baetica. All of the soldiers are found at Emerita Augusta. However, it should be noted that with regard to the migration patterns we are studying, their presence in Lusitania presents a problem of interpretation. The case can be made that these soldiers and officials were on temporary service and were thus not true

⁹ The specific destination of one other individual (HAE 2145) in either Baetica or Tarraconensis cannot be clearly established.

migrators, since upon the completion of their duties many soldiers would have returned to their original home, perhaps outside of Iberia. Consequently, for those soldiers recorded in Lusitania, it cannot be determined with certainty whether their presence in Lusitania was because they died there during their terms of service or whether they had settled there after their discharge. Although our list of soldiers with an expressed origo is small, the very name of the capital-city, Emerita Augusta, suggests that because the town was founded by discharged soldiers (*emeriti*) some, doubtlessly from other places, did settle in the general area on land which they had received upon their retirement. Therefore, with the above qualification in mind and at the risk of skewing the statistics to a small degree, we will list here those soldiers whose origins are known.¹⁰ The six soldiers with origins outside of the Iberian peninsula are as follows:

1. T. Pompeius T. f. Trom. Alfinus, domo Vienna, II vir; tr. mil. VI Vict(ricis), adiutor T. Decidi Domitiani procuratoris Caesari Augusti, (AE 1935, 5: Merida).
2. A. Axonius Q. f., nat(us) col(onia) Firmo piceno, leg. XX, (LE ROUX Nr. 1, p. 173; Elvas).
3. M. Tavonius M. f. Firmus, dom(o) Ateste, mil(es) leg. VI Vict(ricis), (LE ROUX Nr. 36, p. 181; AE 1952, 123; AE 1968, 206: Emerita Augusta).
4. Geminius Gargilianus, Africa? mil(es) leg VII G., (LE ROUX Nr. 221, p. 235: Emerita Augusta).
5. Lininius Settianus, Cirtensi Numidia Africa, veteranus, (LE ROUX Nr. 148, p. 213; AE 1911, 91; EE VIII, 28: Emerita Augusta).
6. C. Titius D. f. Cl. Similis, Agrippinensis (Germ. Inferior) proc. prov. Lusitaniae, (CIL II 484: Merida).

B. Other Immigrations from Outside the Iberian Peninsula

Six other samples list six individuals found in Lusitania whose origins were outside of the Iberian peninsula. They bring the total to twelve samples of individuals whose inscriptions indicate that they had migrated into Lusitania from outside of the peninsula.

7. C. Iulius Felix, Cappado(x), VIEIRA DA SILVA Nr. 40, p. 141; CIL II 224: Olisipo).
8. Iustinus Menandri f. Flavius, Neapolitanus = Sichem in Palestine, (CIL II 515: Emerita Augusta).
9. Fulvius Rufus, Sestatienses = Sextantio in Gallia Narbonensis?, (CIL II 852: Capera).

¹⁰ It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine with certainty if there had been a true migration with regard to these soldiers. It is possible that some of the men who had served in Lusitania had returned to Lusitania after subsequent service elsewhere outside of the peninsula. This may apply to T. Pompeius (domo Vienna), and M. Tavonius (domo Ateste) whose inscriptions indicate service in other provinces. Two other soldiers, A. Axonius (col. Firmo Picene) and C. Titius Similis (Agrippinensis [Germ. Inferior]) record service only in the Iberian peninsula and may have died during their service there. This same situation may apply to the two soldiers whose names suggest African origins, Geminius Gargilianus and Lininius Settianus.

10. C. Blossius Saturninus, Napolitanus Afer Areniensis incola Balsensis, (CIL II 105: Pax Iulia).
11. Arentius, Cronisensis (Greece?), (HAE 1207: Idanha).
12. L. Firmidius Peregrinus, Uticensis, (CIL II 17: Mertola).

The small number of these samples (six soldiers, six non-soldiers), seem to suggest that in the imperial period immigration into Lusitania from outside of the Iberian peninsula may not have been extensive. Furthermore, considering the balance in the samples, the proportion of actual immigrations between the military and ordinary civilians may have been relatively equal.¹¹ In addition, there is relative parity among those who immigrated from a short distance (four from Africa and one from Gallia Narbonensis) and those who came from the more distant provinces (one from Germania Inferior, one from Palestine, two from Greece, and three from Italy).

C. Intra-provincial Immigrations

By far, most of the samples (fifty-eight for 40.5%) record individuals whose origins are from one of the two other provinces within the Iberian peninsula: Tarraconensis (forty-six for 32.2%) and Baetica (twelve for 8.4%). However, the samples suggest that few soldiers appear to have been among those who immigrated into Lusitania from the other two Iberian provinces (one from Tarraconensis and one from Baetica). In both sample cases, the soldiers are located at towns in central and north-central Lusitania. The locations of the individuals who moved to Lusitania from Tarraconensis and Baetica are presented in (Fig. 1 p.267), The names of those who migrated are listed below.

1. Tarraconensis

A. Soldiers

13. M. Val(erius) Secundus, Tarraco, Fr(umentarius), leg. VII Gem., (LE ROUX Nr. 155, p. 215: AE 1905, 25: HAE 666; ILER 278: Emerita Augusta).

B. Other Intra-Provincial Immigrants into Lusitania

14. C. Sempronius Aebarus Viscunosini f., Clunie(n)s(is), (AE 1950, 221: Feiteira-Belver).

¹¹ Since the sampling of civilian and military immigrants is small, an equality in the number of immigrants necessarily has to be accepted with reservation. However, when such Lusitanian foundations as Pax Iulia (Augustan), Emerita Augusta (Augustan) and Norba (Augustan) were established the Lusitanians were not sufficiently Romanized to be enrolled as *coloni*. Perhaps, these inscriptions are an illustration of the effect of incentives (land?) which attracted or persuaded both civilian and military individuals to settle in Lusitania. On colonial and town foundations see: B.D.Hoyos, *A Study of Settlement and Administration to A.D. 14*. D. Phil. Thesis (Oxford, 1971), 137-144. On *coloni* see: Hoyos, 230. On emigration see A.J.N.Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (Manchester, 1966), 22f. and P.A.Brunet, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.-A.D. 14* (Oxford, 1971), 207f. On the availability of land for possible settlers at Augusta Emerita see: Nicola Mackie, *Local Administration in Roman Spain A.D. 14-212*. BAR International Series 172, (Oxford, 1983), 230.

15. Sedatus Agenais ..lonis f., Cluniensis, (MERINO Nr. 26, p. 437; CIL II 822: Villar [Cáceres]).
16. Amme Festi f., Albocolensi, (MERINO Nr. 61, p. 442; CIL II 880: Miranda de Azan [Salamanca]).
17. Apinae Luci f., Pisira (Asturica), (CIL II 772: Caurium).
18. Arreno Crescentis f., Libiensi, between Caesaraugustus and Legio VII, (CIL II 439, cf. Itin. Ant. 394. 2: Idanha).
19. Camillius Arrus Aionis f., Clun(iensis), (MERINO Nr. 20, p. 436: Valencia de Alcantara).
20. Caelia Aunia, Clun(iensis), (MERINO Nr. 22, p. 436; CIL II 820: Caparra).
21. T. Boutius Segonti f., Cl(uniensis), (MERINO Nr. 58, p. 442: Vila Pouca de Aguiar [Vega de Samardá; near Tresminas]).
22. G. Caecilius ... Sergii f., Ux(amensis), (MERINO Nr. 28, p. 437: Corgijo, between Cáceres and Trujillo. east of Cáceres).
23. L. Aemilius Cario, Cluniensis, (MERINO Nr. 25, p. 436; CIL II 819: Plasencia [Cáceres]).
24. M. Coronio Celso, Interann(iensis), (CIL II 510: Emerita Augusta).
25. Victoria Celtibera, Celtibera?, (MERINO Nr. 27, p. 437; HAE 1-2, 1951, p.15 Nr. 213: Zorita [Cáceres]).
26. Cornelia G. f., Uxamesis Argelorum = Uxama Argailai or Argela Arevacorum, (CIL II 696: Norba).
27. Cornelia G. f., Uxame(n)sis, (MERINO Nr. 21, p. 436: Cáceres).
28. L. Cornelius Q. f., Cluniens(is), (HAE 1121: Idanha).
29. L. Cornelius Q. f., Cluniens(is), (MERINO Nr. 54, p. 441; HAE 6-7, 127:Idanha a Velha).
30. C. Counaencus Fusci f., Cluniensis, (MERINO Nr. 60, p. 442; CIL II 2390: Villarelho [S. Miguel de Tresminas]).
31. Crissus Talaburi, Aebosocucensis (Tarraconensis?) (HAE 1504: Caurium; HAE 945; AE 1952, 130).
32. G. Domitius Mustari f., Clu(niensis), (MERINO Nr. 56, p. 442: Santa Marinha [Castelo de Vide]).
33. M. Attius Firminus, Interanniensis, (CIL II 509; cf. Plin. NH 4. 118: Emerita Augusta).
34. Flavinus, Clun(iensis), (CIL II 5311: Caurium).
35. C. Fabius C. f. Fuernus, Cluniensi, (MERINO Nr. 53, p. 441; HAE 6-7, 127: Idanha a Velha).
36. Laci...us, C(luniensis), (CIL II 2390; MERINO Nr. 60, p. 442: Villarelho [S. Miguel de Tresminas]).

37. C. Lininius, Clun(iensis), (MERINO Nr. 59, p. 442: Vila Pouca de Aguiar [Vega de Samardá; near Tresminas]).
38. Aemilius Marcellus M. f., Arcobrigensi, (CIL II 765: Caurium).
39. Optata, Clu(niensis), (CIL II 163: Ammaia).
40. Paternus, Clun(iensi), (MERINO Nr. 55, p. 442; HAE 6-7, 127: Idanha a Velha).
41. C. Aelius Segonti f. Paternus, Clun(iensis), (CIL II 818; MERINO Nr. 23, p. 436: La Oliva [Cáceres]).
42. C. Caelius Paternus, Cluniensis, (CIL II 821; MERINO Nr. 24, p. 436: La Oliva [Cáceres]).
43. Q. Licinius Paternus, Interanniensis, (CIL II 511: Emerita Augusta).
44. C. Vatro Frontonis f. Reburus, Clun(iensis), (MERINO Nr. 52, p. 441; HAE 6-7, 1076: Idanha a Velha).
45. C. Pompeius Caturonis f. Rectugenus, Uxsamensis, (MERINO Nr. 50, p. 41: Caldas de Vizella [near Guimarães]).
46. [F]abius Iusti f. Rufus, Cluniens(is) (VIEIRA DA SILVA 35, p. 135; CIL II 214: Olisipo).
47. Samacia Piirii Caii f., Amo(censis?), (CIL II, 764: Caurium).
48. C. Septimius, Clu(niensis), (MERINO Nr. 57, p. 442: Vila Pouca de Aquiar [Vega de Samardá; near Tresminas]).
49. Antonius Severus, Segisamensis, (CIL II 900; cf. Plin. NH. 2.4.26; Ptol. 2.6.50: Caesarobriga).
50. Sextilia Marcella M. f., Cluniensis, (CIL II 899: Caesarobriga).
51. Vegetus Vegetini f., Interaniensis, (AE 1967, 184: Idanha).
52. Cassius Vegetus, Celtico Flaviensis, (CIL II 880; MERINO Nr. 61, p. 442: Miranda de Azan [Salamanca]).
53. C. Fabius C. f. Vernus, Cluniensis, (HAE 1127: Idanha).
54. C. Licinius Verus Medugeni f., Clu(niensis), (CIL II 162: Ammaia).
55. L. Domitius T. f. Vetto, Otobesan(us), west of Valencia, CIL II 829; cf. Caes. BCiv. 1.61.4; Ptol. 2.6.63: Capera).
56. Vicinia, Cluniensium, (CIL II 821; MERINO Nr. 24, p. 436: La Oliva [Cáceres]).
57. ...vatro (dative case) Frontonis f., Clun(iensis), (HAE 1176: Idanha).
58. ...?, Intera(nniensis?), (CIL II 826: Capera).

2. Baetica

A. Soldiers

59. L. Caecilius L. f. Celer, Baetica?, Quaestor provinc. Baet., Trib pleb., Praetor, (VIEIRA DA SILVA Nr. 22, p. 126: Olisipo).

B. Other Migrators from Baetica

60. L. Iulius Aptus, Itala (= Italica), (AE 1933, 24; ILER 5814; IRCP 98: Mértola).
 61. Boete, Laurien(sis), (AE 1941, 132: Caurium).
 62. Rutilia M. liberta Chrysis, Ossetana near Seville, (HAE 1839: Emerita).
 63. C. Marcius Clarus, Hispalensis, (CIL II 825: Capera).
 64. C. Rubrius Flaccus, Tuccitan(us), (CIL II 522: Emerita).
 65. M. Furius Flo(...), Italicus Nazione, (LE ROUX Nr. 84, p. 194: Emerita Augusta).
 66. L. Cocceius Italicus, Ital(icensis?), (AE 1967 162: Idanha).
 67. Pineanus, Furnacian(us or -sis), (AE 1941, 132: Caurium).
 68. G. Agrius Rufus Silonis F., adlectus Italicensi, (IRCP 151: Santiago do Cacém).
 69. C. Antonius L. f., Urso, (VIEIRA DA SILVA Nr. 32, p. 132: Olisipo).
 70. Q. Fabius Zosimus, Itali(ca), (VIEIRA DA SILVA Nr. 84, pp. 196-7: Olisipo).

II. RELOCATION MIGRATION

The second largest group of samples which illustrate migration are those which record individuals who lived within Lusitania and simply relocated to another locale within Lusitania itself. Our sample study includes fifty-two (36.4%) relocators. From this group twelve individuals are distinguished by being either soldiers, administrators, religious officials, or holders of some other professional rank. The remaining forty individuals give no indication of their status, occupation, or position. As to where the fifty-two individuals relocated within Lusitania: fourteen towns record a single example of a person who has listed his origin, five towns have two persons indicating their origins, three towns have three persons, one town has four persons, one town has seven persons, and one town has eight persons who have recorded their origins.¹² The location of those individuals who relocated within Lusitania are presented in (Fig. 2 p.268).

¹² Towns which list a single relocation: Caesarobriga, Villamejia, Ossonoba, Salacia, Elvas, Numão, Aldiguelo, Fundão, Miróbriga, Caurium, Ourique, Monsaraz, Villa Nova de Gaia, Church of Matriz de Femedo in Concelho de Arouca. Towns which list two relocations: Conímbriga, Collipo, Salmantica, Pax Iulia, Évora. Towns which list three relocations: Olisipo, Badajoz, Santarém. Towns which list four relocations: Capera. Towns which list seven relocations: Idanha. Towns which list eight relocations: Emerita Augusta.

A. Soldiers

71. G. Iulius Gallus, Emerita, veteranus leg. VII G.F., (LE ROUX Nr. 100, p. 200; CIL II 5212: Elvas).
72. L. Hermelius L.f., Emerita Augusta(?), vet(eranus) leg. XX, (LE ROUX Nr. 2, p. 173; CIL II 662; Villamejia, near Turgalium).
73. C. Valerius Maxsumus, Caesaraugusta, veter(annus), leg. VII Geminae Felicis, (LE ROUX Nr. 131, p. 208; AE 1946, 20: Badajoz).
74. P. Cincio Pap. Ruf(us), Augusta (Emerita), m(iles) leg. X, (LE ROUX Nr. 4, p. 173; CIL II 1016: Badajoz).
75. Ti(berius) Claudius Sancius, Coniumbric(ensibus, or - ensium), eq(ues) chor(tis) III Lusitanorum, (LE ROUX Nr. 73, p. 191; CIL II 432: Numão).
76. L. Lavius L. f. Aemilia trib. Tuscus, Felicis Iul(iae) = Olisipo, miles leg. X Gem., vict (Le ROUX Nr. 27, p. 179; HAE 465; AE 1953, 268: Villa Nova de Gaia).
77. piria..? ..?, Emerita Augusta?. ...leg. XX, (LE ROUX Nr.3 p. 173; CIL II 719: Aldiguelo, near Turgalium).

B. Religious Offices

78. (C. Iuli)o L. (f. F)elici(or), Vi(pasce(nsi)s or Ulisiponensis, fl(am(en) et Ilvir (CIL II 5141: Ossonoba).
79. Laberiae L. f. Gallae, Flaminicae Eboresi Flaminicae Prov. Lusitaniae, (CIL II 339: Leiria, Collipo).
80. L. Iunius Latro, Conimbricensis, flamen prov. Lusit., (CIL II 5264: Merida).
81. Flavia L. f. Rufina, Emeritensis, Flaminica Prov. Lusitaniae item Col. Emeritensis Perpet. et Municipi Salacien(sis) (CIL II 32: Salacia).

C. Other Professions

82. C. Attius Ianuarius, Pacensis, Medicus, (CIL II 21: Mirobriga).

D. Other Relocations

83. P. Albicianus, Sal(acinsis), (CIL II 518: Emerita).
84. Albinus Tangini f., Lanciensis, between the Tagus and Durius rivers, (AE 1967, 147: Idanha).
85. Iulia P. f. Ammaia, Ammaia?, (VIEIRA DA SILVA Nr. 132, p. 249: Olisipo).
86. A ... Vitia Ammira (?), Lamesis, (CIL II 885: Salmantica).
87. Apci....tuu..nin..., Caparesis, (CIL II 884: Salmantica).
88. Aunia Arantoni Celtiatici f., Lanc(iensis), between the Tagus and Durius rivers, (HAE 1088: Idanha).
89. Iulia Avita, Olisiponens(is), (AE 1940, 20: Caurium).
90. Avitianus, d.c. (de gente?) Aravorum, (AE 1952, 109: Merida).
91. L. Antius Avitus, Salamantic(us), (CIL II 438: Idanha).
92. M. Iulius Avitus, Olisip(onensis), (IRCP 296: Beja).

93. Ladronus Dovai (filius) Bracarus, Castello Durbede, (IRCP 122: Ourique).
94. C. Furnius Lycius, Emer(itensis), (HAE 119: Idanha).
95. Iulia Decimi filia Casiana, Castrensi, (VIEIRA DA SILVA 69, p. 171; CIL II 4994: Olisipo).
96. Q. Antonius M. f. Celer, Olisiponesi, (VIEIRA DA SILVA 144 B, p. 264: Santarém).
97. C. Silius Cosmos, Aravus, (CIL II 1017: Badajoz).
98. C. Furius Eutyches, Emer(itensis), (HAE 1119: Idanha).
99. Q. Baebius Florus, Pacensis, (CIL II 516: Emerita).
100. L. Licinius Fundanianus, Salaciensis, (CIL II 518: Emerita).
101. Hispanus Tangini f., Meidubrigensis, (VAZ, p. 19: Fundão).
102. M. Antonius M. f. Lupus, Olisiponesis, (VIEIRA DA SILVA 144a, p. 262; CIL II 327: Santarém).
103. Claudia Maria, Pacensis, (CIL II 517: Emerita).
104. ..?.. M. f. Myrtilis, Myrtilis, (VIEIRA DA SILVA Nr. 9, p. 102: Olisipo).
105. L. Attius Natalis, Lamensis, a town among the Vetones?, (CIL II 513: Ptolemy 2.5.9: Emerita).
106. Iulia Norbana, Emer(itensis), (IRCP 385: Évora).
107. Iulia Paterna, Olisiponensi, (VIEIRA DA SILVA Nr. 144, p. 265: Santarém).
108. M. Allarris Celer Paullianus, Conimbrigensis, (AE 1967, 183: Idanha).
109. Iulia Q. f. Quintilla, Eborensis, (CIL II 5187: Pax Iulia).
110. Mar(ius) Q. f. Quintilian(us), Ulisiponens(is), (CIL II 124: Eborá).
111. Quintus, Limicus, between the Tagus and Durus rivers, (CIL II 827: cf. Plin. NH 2.2.28: Capera).
112. Quintus Cai Flavi Baetici, Conimbrig(ensis), (AE 1905, 24: corrected by HAE 668: Emerita).
113. Arine Revus Laberi Exonati f., Olisiponsis, (VIEIRA DA SILVA 144 D, p. 266: Church of Matriz de Fervedo in concelho de Arouca).
114. Flavia Rufina, Augustobriga, (CIL II 941: Caesarobriga).
115. Aurelius Rufus, Emerita, (CIL II 371: Conímbriga).
116. Valeria M. f. Salvia, Emeriten(sis), (CIL II 824: Capera).
117. Cocceia Celsi fil. Severa, Norbensis, (CIL II 814: Capera).
118. ...us Silvanus, Olisiponensis, (CIL II 5240: Conímbriga).
119. Claudia Sosuma, Emeriten(s)i, (BRANDÃO, 21, pp. 113-115: S. Sebastião do Freixo near Collipo).
120. L. Publicius L. f. pap. Thiamus, Emerit(ensis), (CIL II 823: Capera).
121. Anniae Vecetae Anni Valentis, Lanciensis?, between the Tagus and Durus rivers, (HAE 1083: Idanha).
122. D(ecimus) Iulius D. (f.) ..?.., Eborensis, (IRCP 423: EE IX 14: Monsaraz).

III. MIGRATION OUTSIDE OF LUSITANIA

The final group of individuals are those who departed Lusitania to one of the other two provinces in the Iberian peninsula, Baetica or Tarraconensis. There are twenty-one samples (14.7%) of these individuals (Fig. 3 p. 269); four are soldiers, and one other individual lists his profession as architectus. In all, there are nine samples (6.3%) of individuals who exited Lusitania to Baetica, and twelve (8.4%) who migrated to Tarraconensis.

A. Soldiers

123. M. Antonius M. f. Gal. Augustinus, pace, miles leg VII Gem. Fel., (LE ROUX Nr. 92, pp. 197-198; CIL II 2425: Bracara Augusta).
124. (I)ulius C. f., (Em)erita Au(gusta), Vetera(nus) L. VII. G. F. ?), (LE ROUX Nr. 104, pp. 200-201; CIL II 4177; Tarraco).
125. L. Asullius L. (f.) Modes[...], miles Leg VII G. F., Emerita Augusta, (LE ROUX Nr. 93, p. 198; HAE 1489; RIT 909,: La Canonja, near Tarraco in Tarraconensis).
126. C. Iulius C. f. ..., colonia Emerita Aug., veteranus, (RIT 219; CIL II 4177: Tarraco).

B. Other Professions

127. C. Sevius Lupus, Aeminiensis Lusitanus, architectus, (CIL II 2559: La Coruña, Gallaecia).

C. Other Migrators

128. ... Lucianus M. f. Albanus, Emer(itensis), (CIL II 1026: Ugultuniacum, Baetica).
129. Camala Argui f., Talabrigensis, between Aeminium and Langobriga, (AE 1952, 65: Estorãos, near Ponte de Lima).
130. Corinthus Helvi Philippi, ex Lusitania Municip. Collipponensi, (BRANDÃO 1, pp. 47-50; CIL VI 16100: Leiria, in the area of Cluny).
131. Q. Laberius Exoratus, Olisiponensis, (HAE 1918: Avobriga = Chaves).
132. Marius Let...s, Salacensis, (HAE 5183: Italica).
133. L. Helvius Lupus, Emeritensis, (AE 1965, 298: Rio Tinto, Huelva region).
134. Modesta Modesti filia, Pacensis, (CIL II 920; ILER 3766: Arruci, Baetica).
135. Gellia Patricia, Emerit(ensis), (CIL II 5485: Astigi, in Baetica).
136. Norba Q. f. Quintilla, Norbensis, (CIL II 5550: Lacimurga).
137. Tongilia R. f. Maxuma Scaevini, Emeritensis, (HAE 2084: Zalamea de la Sereña, Baetica).
138. Allia Severa, Igaeditana, (CIL II 987: Zafra, near Nertobriga in Baetica).
139. Uykui (dative case, ?) Rufine, Olisip(onensi), (AE 1965, 266: Santa Iria, Gallaecia?).
140. ...? ...?, Olisiponensis, (CIL II 959: Alosno, El Campo de Andevalo, Baetica).
141. Lusegicar Meiosern - Nomiae f. ..nginu.. Lusitanus, Lusitania (locus incertus), (SANTOS, 232; HAE 2145: Santa Marina de Somoza: Leon in Tarraconensis).
142. ...?, Emerita Augusta, (RIT 716; EE IX 146, 394: Tarraconensis).

143. M. Val(erius) Fronto, Lusitanus (locus incertus), (VILAS, 59-60; EE, 9. 288; ILER, 4188 = 5362: Lugo: Tarraconensis).

The categories of geographical mobility presented in the foregoing inscriptions are interesting in themselves, but also for what they appear to suggest about the elements of Roman influence introduced or transferred by migrators. Principally these suggestions are that: A) very few individuals migrated into Lusitania from beyond the Iberian peninsula, B) the amount of soldiers settling in the Lusitania does not appear to have been large, C) and once elements of Romanization had reached Lusitania their transference throughout the province may have been conservative because only one-third of the samples illustrate relocation within the province. Perhaps, what these categories of migration suggest about the general level of cultural sophistication attained by Lusitania are more clear when integrated with other aspects of the Luso-Roman experience. There are numerous aspects of Romanization available for comparison, but three appear especially informative; that is, onomastic studies, the development of towns, and the types of known occupations within the province.

Recent studies of Roman names in the Iberian peninsula serve as helpful references to the nature of Roman onomastic influence at the rural level. One study, by Stephen L. Dyson, suggests that despite abundant evidence for great Roman family names of the Republic, during the second and early first centuries B.C. there was apparently a high degree of 'rural locational conservatism' in Iberia. He adds that although migration from the rural setting to larger towns such as Olisipo and Emerita did occur, there must have also been a strong degree of 'relative rural continuity' with respect to the families who adhered to tradition and continued to live in the countryside or in smaller rural centers if not for centuries certainly for generations. Furthermore, he further suggests, though there is lack of evidence to the contrary, there was apparently no large migration into the Iberian country side. This would be a factor of particular importance in the dissemination of Romanization into rural areas.¹³

In a second study of Roman names, Joaquin Ma. De Navascués, has examined Roman onomastic influence in the Spanish provincial region around Salamanca in what was formerly the far northeastern area of Lusitania. Focusing on onomastic development from the mid second through the third centuries A.D., De Navascués suggests that while Romanization was quite advanced elsewhere in Spain during this late period indigenous names survived and held an advantage over Roman names throughout the Lusitanian area around Salamanca.¹⁴ Although more research is needed, these two studies suggest that despite centuries of Roman influence there were specific areas of Lusitania in which, for at

¹³ DYSON, p. 257 and 295. In this present study only ten individuals (7%) clearly suggest by their names of filiation that they had a close connection to native origins.

¹⁴ NAVASCUÉS, 234.

least this one aspect of Romanization, the transference of Roman influence was not complete.

In considering the transference of Roman influence, 'rural locational conservatism' appears to be reflected especially in the category of individuals who relocated (36.4%) within the province. These individuals undoubtedly played a role in the transference of various elements of Romanization, but a large amount of cultural transference may be suspect. Most samples of relocation involved individuals who had simply moved from one strongly Romanized town to another of perhaps comparable sophistication, while the examples of those who moved from a large center to a much smaller rural setting was very small (six for 4.2%).¹⁵

Although there is a paucity of rural and urban studies of Roman Lusitania, small towns may also reflect 'locational conservatism.' One example may be Mirobriga (Santiago do Cacém) situated just off the south-central coastal plain below Lisbon (Olisipo). It possessed a number of sophisticated Roman architectural features, however its pottery forms demonstrate that it possessed an economy which remained conservative and essentially regional throughout its history.¹⁶

Perhaps reflections of 'locational conservatism' may also be seen in urban rebuilding projects and the establishment of new towns, especially during the Augustan and Flavian periods. Situated near the coastal plain of north-central Lusitania north of Olisipo, the city which most clearly illustrates the rebuilding programs for these periods in Conimbriga. Other cities along the coast were probably also rebuilt at the first of the imperial era, including Olisipo, Scallabis, Eburobrittium, Collipo, Sellium, Aeminium, Talabriga and Lancobriga, of which several were elevated to the status of municipium.¹⁷ However, as Jorge Alarcão emphasizes, at present inscriptional evidence and excavation materials do not prove that the imperial rebuilding programs which took place at Conimbriga have comparable counterparts elsewhere in Lusitania. In fact, Alarcão believes that the rebuilding which took place at Conimbriga under the Augustan and Flavian periods may not have been typical for the rest of Lusitania.¹⁸ In the absence of detailed studies, such a suggestion leads to the inference that, with the possible exception of certain towns (Emerita Augusta, Pax Iulia, and Eborac), interior Lusitanian towns may have been less developed along Roman standards and thus may have been less attractive to those migrating into or within the province.

Rebuilding and urban development programs were clearly important components in the development of Lusitania, but such programs led to a number of significant problems which perhaps are also reflected in the patterns of migration. The success of such programs would

¹⁵ Among only the samples of relocators (fifty-two), those who migrated to a smaller town is 11.5%.

¹⁶ Biers, 140. Mirobriga had a forum, temple, bath-complex, and circus. It has an Iron-Age origin and its occupation by the Romans continued into the fourth and fifth centuries.

¹⁷ Alarcão, 37-38, 42.

¹⁸ Alarcão, 39, 42.

require immense financial backing and a myriad of specialized skills, trades, and craftsmen. For Lusitania, many, if not most, of the skills necessary for construction were essentially unknown to the indigenous population. As we will see, this seems to be substantiated by the few epigraphical or literary references to those occupations. Normally, as an area came more under the influence of a higher culture, there would be the expectation that at least in the larger towns elements of Romanization could be detected in the presence of a broad range of occupations including the multifarious trades necessary for daily life and the 'higher' skills of doctors, lawyers and teachers. Two recent studies offer insight to occupations.

Excluding soldiers, magisterial and religious offices, a study by Santos Crespo and Luis Sagredo has focused on the 'higher' professions of doctors, lawyers, and teachers in the Iberian provinces.¹⁹ However, the references drawn from this study which are applicable to Lusitania are very sparse and illustrate that little more than generalities may be made about these particular occupations in Lusitania.²⁰ In their study, Crespo and Sagredo mention only eight inscriptional references to these professions in Lusitania, of which only one sample clearly indicates demographic movement (a medicus who relocated from Pax Iulia to Mirobriga: CIL II 21).²¹ However, now may be added another inscription found at Lugo referring to a man from Lusitania (M. Val. Fronto: ILER, 4188) who exited Lusitania for Lugo and who perhaps was the master of a school at which a discipula (Valeria Frontilla) was taught.²²

A more helpful analysis is the comprehensive study by Leonard A. Curchin which collects all known references to occupations in the Iberian provinces. The study has identified more than two-hundred different occupations for the three Iberian provinces.

¹⁹ CRESPO and SAGREDO, *Profesiones*, 53-78. On magistrates in Lusitania see: Julian Franciso Martin, "Los Magistrados Municipales en Lusitania durante el Alto Imperio," *Memorias de Historia Antiqua* (Oviedo 1977) 227-247.

²⁰ CRESPO and SAGREDO, *Profesiones*, 68-69, have compared the known samples of doctors, lawyers, and educators in the Iberian peninsula and hold that out of the specific samples which they have studied these specific occupations in Lusitania were small. Lusitania had 17.64% of the known doctors; and, without counting the inscription at Vipasca which refers only to the position for the *ludi magistri* without giving an indication of specific numbers, Lusitania has only 15.38% of the teachers known in the Iberian peninsula. The single architectus attested in Lusitania probably represents a percentage (33.33%), which overstates the actual size of this occupation in Lusitania since only three architects have been specifically identified for all of the Iberian peninsula.

²¹ Another individual, an architectus, appears to have migrated from Lusitania. A votive stone at La Coruña in *Tarraconensis* records his name: C(aius) Servius Lupus (La Coruña in *Tarraconensis* [from Aeminium]: CIL II 2559 and 5639; CRESPO and SAGREDO, *Profesiones*, 55-56). The higher professionals are: Doctors: C. Ianuarius (CIL II 21, Crespo and Sagredo, *Profesiones*, 59: Pax Iulia). C. Caecilius Fortunatus (Crespo and Sagredo, *Profesiones*, 56: Norba). Iulia Saturnina (CIL II 497; Crespo and Sagredo, *Profesiones*, 59: Emerita). L. Cordius Symphorus (CIL II 470; Crespo and Sagredo, *Profesiones*, 56: Emerita). Teachers: Lutatata Severa (Crespo and Sagredo, *Profesiones*, 59: Emerita). Q. Iulius Maximus (CIL II 354; Crespo and Sagredo, *Profesiones*, 58: Collipo). *Ludi Magistri*, unknown number, (CIL II 5.181 1/57; Crespo and Sagredo, *Enseñanza*, 123: Vipasca). Architects: Lacer (CIL II 761; Crespo and Sagredo, *Profesiones*, 61: Alcántara).

²² Vilas, p. 59-60. Frontilla may have been the daughter of the master, Fronto.

Significantly, less than thirty different occupations are specifically attested in Lusitania.²³ Although not conclusive, the smaller range of different occupations listed for Lusitania may have some bearing on suggesting a lower level of general Romanization attained by certain Lusitanian towns.²⁴ The small number may also mean that the diversity of occupational opportunities was less in Lusitanian than elsewhere in Iberia. If this was the case, it may partially explain why there was apparently less migration of various skilled individuals to Lusitania. Obviously, the several sophisticated Roman towns and villas in Lusitania illustrate that skilled artisans and craftsmen were employed in their construction. Unfortunately, epigraphical and literary references are few and do not fully inform us as to whether those closely connected with construction skills were transient workers and craftsmen, slaves, or army personnel.²⁵

Once the towns were elaborated with Roman architecture, however, there remained the problems of social and cultural change. This would involve educating the people in a number of the attributes of Roman civilization, especially in the use and enjoyment of Roman style houses, baths, theaters and temples. Clearly, one of the best methods to familiarize the indigenous population to Roman culture would be to introduce Roman immigrants who by the examples of their daily lives and customs could help to affect the social and cultural changes necessary for the native inhabitants to understand and appreciate all which Romanization implied. However, as the samples indicate, few immigrants came from outside of the peninsula (twelve for 8.4%), suggesting that most Romanization originated with those who immigrated from the other Iberian provinces. We must remember, though exact numbers cannot be established, that we cannot exclude the very important influence brought by soldiers who were on duty throughout Iberia.²⁶

Although several towns in Lusitania were embellished with various sophisticated architectural features, the towns themselves may be reflective of the vitality of Roman influence brought by those who immigrated into the province. By example, the use of temples would require conversions to Roman religion.²⁷ But, despite the adoption of Roman religious practices, there are examples that the worship of local deities continued, as testified by the remote but apparently prosperous sanctuary to Endovellicus situated near S. Miguel da Mota.²⁸

²³ Leonard A. Curchin, "Jobs in Roman Spain," *Florilegium*, 4, 1982, 32-62.

²⁴ The occupations listed by Curchin range from farmlaborers, to miners, potters, weavers, fullers, cobblers, sculptors, mosaic-workers, marble-workers, auctioneers, money changers, actors, contractors, tax-collectors, inn-keeper, barbers, and hunters. The variety is substantially less than those recorded for the other two Iberian provinces.

²⁵ Only five of the twenty-nine attested occupations in Lusitania were connected with the construction trade (mosaic workers, architect, marble workers, and contractors).

²⁶ cf. P.Bosch-Gimpera, "Les soldats ibériques agents d'hellénisation et de romanisation." *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'épigraphie et d'histoire offert à Jérôme Carcopino*, Vendôme, 1966, 141-148.

²⁷ Alarcão, 39-40.

²⁸ Alarcão, 45, 92: D'Encarnação, Divindades, 181f.

The utilization of such truly Roman amenities as the bath were also an important part of urban and villa life. There are numerous examples of baths at villas and several towns. However, though we must await the results of further exploration for a more full understanding, if the bath complex at Mirobriga may serve as an example for other smaller towns, the use of bath complexes may have been of short duration. At Mirobriga the bath was in use only from the early second century until the second half of the third century A.D., or slightly later.²⁹ Interestingly, though it is not known why, with very few exceptions most baths of the Iberian peninsula reflect Republican traditions, not imperial characteristics.³⁰ Does this suggest less interest in later urban development of the province, and by implication less migration to the province?

While only a few temples have been located in Lusitania,³¹ there are even less theaters and amphitheatres. Amphitheatres are at Emerita Augusta, Conimbriga, and Bobadela, and theaters are found at Olisipo, Emerita Augusta, and possibly at Eborac.³² The rarity of theaters makes the sophistication level of Lusitanian audiences unclear, particularly because by the end of the Republic the forms of plays throughout the empire had shifted from more serious themes to lower class presentations of scenic plays, with comedies and mimes being most popular.³³

Clearly, the effects of Romanization are evident in the architectural remains of the several Roman towns and the many villas built in Lusitania.³⁴ But questions remain about the level of Roman cultural acceptance and about who introduced Romanization. If it may be supposed that the most effective Romanizing influences are reflected in the individuals who entered Lusitania directly from outside of the Iberian peninsula, we note that this group is represented by only 8.5% of the samples examined in this study. In fact, the majority of these samples are recorded at only one city, the Lusitanian capital city Emerita Augusta. Furthermore, if Roman influence followed the path of greater demographic movement, it would appear that because most individuals entered Lusitania from Tarraconensis (32.4%) than from Baetica (8.5%) or from outside of the peninsula (8.5%), perhaps most Roman influence in Lusitania, clearly so in central Lusitania, may have entered from Tarraconensis. Considering that the greater percentage of our sample migrators came to Lusitania from the other two Iberian provinces rather than from Italy (2%), questions might be posed as to

²⁹ On villas and baths: cf. António de Carvalho Quintela, et al, *Aproveitamentos Hidráulicos Romanos a Sul do Tejo*, (Lisbon, 1988); Gorges, *Les Villas Hispano-Romaines*; Alarcão, 114-115. On Mirobriga, Biers, *Mirobriga*, 48-117.

³⁰ Gloria Mora, "Las termas romanas en Hispania," *ArchEspArq* 54 (1981) 76-77. The exceptions are Conimbriga in Lusitania and Italica in Baetica.

³¹ Alarcão, 109-113: at Emerita Augusta, Conimbriga, Egítania, Ossonoba, Pax Iulia, Eborac, Mirobriga, Arraiolos, Almodôvar, and possibly at Bobadela and S. Miguel da Mota.

³² Alarcão, 113-114.

³³ Margarete Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, (Princeton, 1961), 227f.

³⁴ cf. Gorges, Jean Gérard. *Les Villas Hispano-Romaines: Inventaire et Problématique archéologiques*. Bordeaux. 1979.

whether some, if not all, of the multifarious aspects of Romanization may have experienced some diminution before their transference to Lusitania.³⁵ Would this have any part in explaining the apparently less Romanized interior areas, especially in north-central Lusitania? In addition, there is the curiosity that while the Roman coastal towns testify as being some of the best examples of Roman development, so few of these towns demonstrate individuals with an extra-Lusitanian or extra-Iberian origo.³⁶

Finally, although the study of Roman Lusitania is far from complete, one advantage of examining the origo of individuals in Lusitania has to do with what geographical mobility may reflect about the differences in the vitality of Roman influence experienced in the province. That there was a difference appears to have some accord with conclusions reached elsewhere that the pace of Romanization in Lusitania was slower than the rest of the Iberian peninsula.³⁷ If the migration patterns examined here are any indication, Lusitania may well have been one of the provinces least affected by Roman influence. As we have seen, this suspicion seems to be somewhat verified by a possible connection between the categories of immigration and the various aspects of Romanization which have been considered. This includes the few individuals with documented extra-peninsular origins, the relatively small group of individuals who relocated in Lusitania, the apparent regional weakness of Roman onomastic influence, and the paucity of references to professions and occupations in Lusitania.

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³⁵ It would appear that since most individuals entered Lusitania from Tarraconensis (32.4%) than from Baetica (8.5%) or from outside of the peninsula (8.5%), perhaps most Roman influence in Lusitania, clearly so in central Lusitania, may have entered from Tarraconensis.

³⁶ Only one (CIL II 224, Olisipo) has an origo which is from outside of the Iberian peninsula.

³⁷ BLAZQUEZ, 121, 124.





