

From Document to History

Epigraphic Insights into the Greco-Roman World

Edited by

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Secundae Nuptiae: A New Look at Remarriage through Epigraphy — A Few Examples from Roman Spain

Anthony Álvarez Melero

Despite the increasing number of studies devoted to Roman social history during the imperial period, little attention has been paid to marriage and weddings in general.¹ This is less true of the senatorial order, but the equestrian order, the local elites, and the lower strata are generally left behind in such studies.² The main reason is to be found among the sources, predominantly inscriptions. The information they provide is fragmentary and less detailed than that of the

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- 1 I would like to thank C. Noreña, N. Papazarkadas, E. Mackil, and the members of the organizing committee for inviting me to deliver my first public address at the University of California, Berkeley on January 5, 2016 at the 2nd North American Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (NACGLE). I would also like to express my warmest thanks to my friends and colleagues M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (Université Libre de Bruxelles) and F. Cidoncha Redondo (Universidad de Sevilla) for their help and valuable comments as well as to M. Delaissé (Université de Namur), M^a A. Toda Iglesias (Universidad de Sevilla), and A. Sánchez Ortega (Universidad de Sevilla) for revising my English text. All remaining errors are my own. Except where otherwise indicated, all dates are CE. This work has been undertaken within the framework of the Research Projects (I+D) “*Funciones y vínculos de las élites municipales de la Bética. marco jurídico, estudio documental y recuperación contextual del patrimonio epigráfico. I*” (ORDO V) (Reference: HAR2014–55857-P) and “*Marginación política, jurídica y religiosa de la mujer durante el alto Imperio romano (siglos I–III)*” (Reference: HAR2014–52725-P) of the “Programa Estatal de Fomento de la Investigación Científica y Técnica de Excelencia del Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad”, cofunded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). It has also benefited from the generous financial support from the VPPI-US.
- 2 Without claiming to be exhaustive, on the equestrian order, the local elites, and the lower strata from the western as well as the eastern provinces in Republican times, see Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1989; 1992; and 1998: 213–20 and 233–52; Álvarez Melero 2016. During the Empire: Stein 1927: 107–362; Alföldy 1981: 194–8 (see also Alföldy 1986: 187–91); Alföldy 1984 (see also Alföldy 1986: 239–84); Demougin 1988: 553–676; Burnand 1990; Curchin 1990; Fabre 1990; Fabre, Mayer, and Rodà 1990; Raepsaet-Charlier 1992 (see now Raepsaet-Charlier 2016: 109–29); Raepsaet-Charlier 1994 (see now Raepsaet-Charlier 2016: 131–57); Cherry 1997; Raepsaet-Charlier 1999 (see now Raepsaet-Charlier 2016: 195–215); Schäfer 2000: 70–9; McGinn 2002; McGinn 2004; des Boscqs-Plateaux 2005: 145–69; Burnand 2008; Kirbihler 2009; Pérez Zurita 2011: 426–68; Phang 2011; Álvarez Melero 2012; Álvarez Melero 2013; Armani 2013; Curchin 2015; de Carlo 2015: 279–303; Álvarez Melero 2018a and 2018b (in press).

literary texts. What is more, only lawful unions and concubinage³ are normally taken into consideration, since rarely is remarriage itself approached as a specific subject, due to the complex problems it raises.⁴

Nevertheless, it is with remarriage that I choose to begin my own investigation of Roman marital habits. This phenomenon was extensively studied by M. Humbert in his highly influential book which was published in 1972.⁵ While the French scholar rightly highlights the importance of remarriage in Roman society, his study is based mainly on juridical and literary sources, and this prevents him from considering all social strata. Additionally, his results are incomplete since he does not take into account the representativeness of his samples. Indeed, he does not use the literary and the epigraphic texts in a systematic way, and he concentrates chiefly on the late republican and early imperial periods. The same criticism can be raised against the works of P.E. Corbett (1930: 249–51), J.F. Gardner (1986: 51–6), S. Treggiari (1991: 501–2), K.R. Bradley (1991: 156–76), J.-U. Krause (1994, relying on papyrological texts), and J. Evans Grubbs (2002). Whether they approach the subject as a specific topic or within the scope of a general study on marriage, they all rely on juridical and literary sources, and thus repeat the same heuristic pattern as Humbert. This casts doubt on the significance of their conclusions.

As a result of the distinctive features of our sources, none of the works I have mentioned so far, which are rightly considered essential for this issue, allows us to grasp this very complex phenomenon as a whole. A thorough examination of the epigraphic data will contribute to broadening our perspectives and shedding new light on the situation. This paper should therefore be considered as an introduction to the study of the matrimonial practices not only of the non-senatorial elite members, but also of the lower strata, which sets out the problems we have to face with this topic.

Before presenting the epigraphic texts, it will be convenient to trace the history of marriage in ancient Rome. Indeed, *matrimonium*, as it was called in Latin and which implies a *mater*, was mainly a private decision made by the parents of the spouses-to-be, if they were not *sui iuris*.⁶ The wedding did not take place without the spouses' consent and lasted as long as they kept the *affectio maritalis*, namely the wish to co-exist as husband and wife.⁷ The goal

3 On that specific topic, Friedl 1996 and Tramunto 2009.

4 See Hübner 2009, for the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire only.

5 Humbert 1972.

6 On marriage in general Corbett 1930; Gardner 1986: 31–65; Treggiari 1991; Fayer 1994; Evans Grubbs 2002: 81–269; Frier and McGinn 2003: 25–187. On religious rituals: Hersch 2010. For a historiographic review: Dixon 2011: 245–61 and Armani 2015.

7 Ulp., *Dig.* 24, 1, 32, 13. See also Ulp., *Dig.* 35, 1, 15 et Ulp., *Dig.* 50, 17, 30.

of every marriage was to produce legitimate children, *liberorum creandorum causa*.⁸ Nevertheless, the commitment was not unbreakable: divorce and widowhood did occur and led to remarriage, after 6 and 12 months respectively, periods of time which were extended to 18 and 24 months in accordance with Augustan legislation.⁹ These habits were perhaps more frequent than we normally think and were supported at the highest level.¹⁰

To corroborate this point, we need to highlight the consequences of the Augustan legislation. From its promulgation, the authorities interfered in the bed-chamber, which was something new, without annihilating the decision-making power of the *pater familias*.¹¹ The declared aim of these laws was to look after the probity of the members of the highest *ordines* and to increase their birth rate by compelling them to marry, the *principium urbis et quasi seminarium rei publicae*,¹² through rewards or penalties, if necessary.¹³ This obligation prevailed for all social groups, including Roman knights, who were not subject to the same restrictions as the senators.¹⁴

However, imagining that marriage only aimed at bringing legitimate heirs into the world would be simplistic. Romans were still free to create their own kinship groups. They could choose whomever they wanted, as long as the partner was morally and legally suitable.¹⁵ Furthermore, from the time of the engagement links were forged between the families even before the marriage was consummated.¹⁶ This is why implicit economic interests (dowries and inheritance) as well as familial interests (expanding bonds with other families) contributed to the selection of the best groom or bride.¹⁷

As for remarriage, Humbert demonstrated that this was not a marginal phenomenon during the Republic or the Empire, until Roman emperors adopted

8 Cf. Livy 59, 8 who alludes to Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus' speech, delivered in 131 BC. See also Gell. 1, 6 and Corbier 2004: 75.

9 Ulp., *Reg.* 14; Paul., *Sent.* 1, 21, 13; Cod. Iust. 5, 9, 2; Frag. Vat. 320–321.

10 Corbier 1990: 5 and 19.

11 Corbier 1990: 4 and 12.

12 Cic., *Off.* 1, 17, 54.

13 Cf. Rawson 1986: 7 and 31 who claims that the lower strata and the poor families did not feel compelled by the effects of the Augustan laws, the rules of which were more rigorous for the elites.

14 Cf. f. i. Ulp., *Reg.* 13 and the list drawn up by Friedl 1996: 152–69. See also McGinn 2002: 50–7.

15 Corbier 1990: 4 and 17.

16 Corbier 1990: 23.

17 Cf. Corbier 1990: 17–8; 23 and 30; Corbier 2001: 356 and 365–7; Corbier 2004: 76–7. On inheritance: Corbier 1985. On dowries: Saller 1984 and 1994: 204–24. See also Broekaert 2013.

Christianity.¹⁸ Whatever the reasons for remarriage might be, it carried the same legal effects and consequences as a first wedding.

My larger goal will be to try to complete the work of these scholars, but here I have chosen to focus mainly on epigraphic texts from Roman Spain that date from the 1st to the 3rd century CE, which are more specifically linked to the lower strata of Roman provincial society. It goes without saying that our sources already provide us with examples of remarriage amongst Roman knights and their close relatives.¹⁹ Table 17.1 (pp. 315–321) presents the sample on which this study is based and helps to illustrate its argument. Each reference consists of the initial letter of the three Spanish provinces (Baetica, Lusitania, and Tarraconensis) and a serial number, assigned according to the locations of the findings (the chronology does not provide convincing results).

I begin with a reference to the mother of Voconius Romanus, Pliny the Younger's best friend. We know, thanks to a letter from Pliny to the Emperor Trajan, that she came from a renowned family of Saguntum, "*e primis*," and that she married twice: first to C. Voconius Placidus, and then to C. Licinius Marinus, who adopted Romanus, born of her first marriage (T9).²⁰ We do not know the name of this *matrona*, as Pliny does not mention it, but this is not the case for Placidus and Romanus, who appear, with latter's wife, Popillia L. f. Rectina, in the local epigraphy of Saguntum.²¹

There are two more epigraphic examples from Spain of women related to Roman knights. First, a Cornelia Aciliana, from Tarraco, who was married to the equestrian officer Plautius Plautianus, but whose son, Florius Vegetus, had previously been *flamen* of the province of Hispania Citerior (T12). The *gentilicium* of Vegetus, Florius, which is scarcely attested in Roman Spain, proves that Aciliana had had a former husband before remarrying Plautianus.

We leave Tarraco and move now to Augusta Emerita, where a funerary altar was discovered. The inscribed text makes reference to a Lebisinia Auge (whose *gentilicium* is still a *hapax*), honored by her husband, the procurator P. Cussius Phoebianus, and her son M. Iulius Verinus (L3). The name of each

18 Humbert 1972 with the comments made by Bradley 1991: 156–76 for the Late Republican times.

19 For the equestrian order, see my doctoral dissertation: Álvarez Melero 2018a.

20 Placidus appears on *CIL* 11²/14–1, 365 = *IRSaguntum* 69: *C(aio) Voconio C(ai) f(ilio) / Gal(eria) Placido, aed(ili), / Iluiro II, fl(ami)ni II, / quaestori, /⁵ saliorum magistro* and on *CIL* 11²/14–1, 366 = *IRSaguntum* 70: [- -] / *Voconius Romanus, / patri optimo*. On Placidus, see now *PIR*² v 918. On his anonymous wife, Álvarez Melero 2018b (in press), nr. 746.

21 *CIL* 11²/14–1, 367 = *IRSaguntum* 71: *Popilliae L(uci) f(iliae) / Rectinae, an(norum) XVIII, / C(aius) Licinius C(ai) f(ilius) / Gal(eria) Marinus /⁵ Voconius Romanus, / uxori*. On Rectina and Romanus, see *PIR*² P 846 and *PIR*² L 210 respectively. On Rectina, see also Álvarez Melero 2018b (in press), nr. 544.

of them is different and Verinus can in no case be Phoebianus's son, unless we acknowledge an adoption or an abbreviated nomenclature. So we must conclude that Lebisinia was first married to Verinus's father, and that her child accompanied her during her stay in Lusitania.

On the basis of these examples related to the equestrian order, we see how onomastics is generally the only way, when any other mention of a familial tie is lacking, to confirm that we are dealing with a case of remarriage. Can we assume that the same happened for the lower social categories, too? Perhaps. If brothers or sisters bear different *gentilicia* from each other, for example, we can infer that one of their parents had remarried. This could be the case with the decurion, pontiff, and aedile of Tarraco, M. Granius Probus, who was commemorated by his mother, Caecilia Galla, and his sister, Herennia Aphrodite (T₁₁). Of course *soror* not only means "sister," but also "half-sister."²² This Aphrodite was evidently the daughter of a Herennius, Galla's former (or second) husband. This man could have been of freedman stock, given Herennia's Greek surname. So this appears to be a case of remarriage (but the investigation of names can also lead to errors, as I will show below).

What are the other clues to identify remarriage? Besides onomastics, we must turn to kinship terms such as *nouerca*, which refers to a "stepmother," as attested in Olisipo, in Lusitania (L₁₁). There, Iulia Severa Audalea is described as the stepmother of the dedicator Tuscus (or of his deceased son). Tuscus buried them and highlighted their moral values with the laudatory adjectives *optimus* and *pia*.

Another word is *priuignus/a*, that is, a "stepson" or "stepdaughter," as shown in the following text from Barcino, in Hispania Citerior, in which we read that M. Aemilius Optatus, son of Lucius, enrolled in the *Galeria* tribe, was bestowed the honors of aedile and *IIvir* free of charge and was the stepson of M. Herennius C. f. Gal. Severus, who was also his tutor (T₁). Otherwise, Severus is known as aedile, *IIvir*, and *flamen* of Augustus, in an inscription erected by his sister Herennia C. f. Optata.²³ I will soon return to this Severus.

It is also possible to identify remarriages from words like *filiaster/filiastra*, "stepson/stepdaughter," which never appear in Spanish epigraphy, or *utricus*, "stepfather," whose only testimony in Spain comes up in chapter 95 of the *lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* of Urso, in which it is written that nobody must compel relatives of charged persons to give evidence against their will during a

²² See *OLD* s. v. *soror*.

²³ *CIL* II, 4525 = *IRC* IV, 61: *M(arco) Her[ennio] / C(ai) filio G[al(eria)] / Seuero, / aedili, / Iuir(o), /^s flam(ini) Aug(usti), / Herennia C(ai) [f(ilia)] / Optata, / fratri optim[o - - -]*.

legal action. Among these relatives, there are stepsons as well as stepfathers, and kin by blood or marriage.²⁴

Along with these words, there exist other formulations, such as *uxor prior* (e.g., Sempronia L. f. Campana in Dianium, Hispania Citerior). Her husband, L. Domitius Eques, who died at the age of 35, declares that Campana, who passed away at the age of 18, was his first wife (T4). She must have predeceased him instead of divorcing him, which would explain why he chose to commemorate her in such a way. Unfortunately, we do not know the name of his second wife.

Finally, how else can we explain the phenomenon of successive wives, as in the case of M. Calpurnius Vernio in Itucci (Baetica), married first to Calpurnia M. l. Thyce and then to Blattia Modesta, or of Proculinus in Valhelhas (Lusitania), whose example is illustrative in this regard? Actually Proculinus states that Valeria as well as Amabilis were his wives (*uxoribus*) (L14). Moreover, a closer look at the text shows that not only had Amabilis been *nutrix*, i.e., the wet nurse who took care of the children born from her husband's previous marriage, but also Proculinus's second spouse, after Valeria's death.²⁵ In addition, note that Proculinus, son of Proculus, Valeria, and Amabilis all bear Latin names, but all remain *peregrini*.²⁶ This proves that remarriage also existed for non-Roman citizens.

Another example from Vizmanos, next to Numantia (Hispania Citerior), can be added to this list, with the two husbands of this anonymous woman bearing clearly indigenous anthroponyms, Arancises and Agirsenus, while their sons are Roman citizens: Cornelius Viator, son of Arancises; Cornelius Valens; and Aemilius Severus, son of Agirsenus (T15).

Also consider the freedwoman Terentia L. l. Felicula from Anticaria (Baetica) and her *soror et heres* Fabia L. f. Fabulla (B1). According to the inscriptions, Felicula married L. Calpurnius Senecio and brought (L. Calpurnius) Hispanianus into the world. Both bases were erected by Fabulla, who was born *ingenua* unlike her sister Felicula. Given that they bear different names, we must conclude that they had the same mother, a Terentia, who remarried. She must have been a slave, freed along with her daughter Felicula, by her then

24 CIL 11²/5, 1022: *XCV // Qui recipatores dati erunt si eo die quo iussi erunt / non iudicabunt: (...) neue quem inuitum testimonium dicere cogito (q)ui ei quae r(es) tum age/tur gener, socer, uitricus, priuignus, patron(us), / lib(ertus), consobrinus, propiusue cum ea cognatione afinitate{m}ue contingat (...).*

25 Cf. Crespo Ortiz de Zárate 2005: 94–96.

26 Crespo Ortiz de Zárate 2005: 95–96 suggests that Proculinus was a Valerius and that he married firstly his freedwoman Valeria. After her death, he took Amabilis, a slave he had freed, as his wife.

husband, a L. Terentius. Once emancipated, she wed this L. Fabius and gave birth to Fabulla.

Occasionally, the texts also foresee complex circumstances so that we can understand in concrete terms the legal implications of remarriage. The best example is shown by M. Aemilius L. f. Gal. Optatus, stepson to M. Herennius C. f. Gal. Severus, his tutor, whose sister's name Herennia C. f. Optata, and especially her *cognomen*, Optata, possibly alludes to a previous close kinship bond between the Aemilii and the Herennii of Barcino (T1).²⁷ The fact that Severus had been the tutor in addition to being Optatus' stepfather may also reinforce this idea.

Sometimes, we cannot state if we are dealing with familial, social, or geographic endogamy or exogamy. A good example is provided by Iulia Glyconis, *natione Nicomedica*, in Bithynia, who was buried in Augusta Emerita by her two sons, L. Munatius Asclepiades and M. Lucanius Avitus (L2). Unfortunately, we do not know the reasons of her travel to Lusitania nor the cause of her remarriage, as both the *gentilicia* Lucanius and Munatius are attested in Lusitania²⁸ (as well as in Nicomedia²⁹). Nevertheless, the *cognomen* Avitus is well documented in this Spanish province,³⁰ while the surname Asclepiades, with two more instances in Lusitania,³¹ may denote a Greek background. These facts suggest that the Lucanii might have come from Lusitania and that Iulia Glyconis remarried in Augusta Emerita, after coming with her first husband from Bithynia, where Asclepiades was born.

Finally, some problems remain unsolved, such as those related to onomastics and the transmission of the maternal name, not to speak of the abbreviated nomenclature, mainly observed among the upper *ordines*,³² which at all times distort the analysis.³³ Indeed, without any unambiguous mention of familial ties on the stones, several interpretations may contradict one another. A good example comes from Ebora (Lusitania), a *municipium iuris Latini*. It

27 These *Herennii* could also have had a close tie of *amicitia* with L. Licinius Sura and his freedman L. Licinius Secundus if C. Herennius Optatus, friend of Secundus can be identified with the father of M. Herennius Severus and Herennia Optata: *CIL* II, 4545 = *IRC* IV, 97.

28 Navarro Caballero and Ramírez Sádaba 2003: 217: Lucanius, 3 times, and 243: Munatius 7 times, but 4 in *Augusta Emerita*.

29 *IK Iznik* 516A: Πόπλιος Λου/κάνιος/ς Ούλπ/σιανός / Ἀγαθο/κλήης / ζήσας / ἔτη ξε' (...) and *IK Iznik* 117: Σευήρος Κλήμεντος ζών ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικί Μουνατία Φιλ[ου]μένη / κατεσκεύασεν τὴν σκάφην [σὺν τῷ περι]κιμένῳ περι[βόλῳ] (...).

30 Navarro Caballero and Ramírez Sádaba 2003: 107–10.

31 Navarro Caballero and Ramírez Sádaba 2003: 102.

32 Raepsaet-Charlier 1981 (see now Raepsaet-Charlier 2016: 45–56).

33 Armani 2003.

refers to an anonymous mother who mourns her children, Q. Tullius Habiti f. Gal. Modestus, Tullia Habiti f. Tusca, and Q. Alfius Modestus (L9*). At first glance, even though we do not know the name of the dedicator, the *gentilicia* Tullius and Alfius seem to indicate that the siblings were stepbrothers. However, according to S. Armani,³⁴ the *praenomen* of the boys, Quintus, their common *cognomen*, Modestus, as well as the anthroponym Habitus support another hypothesis: i.e., they were born from the same parents. Their father may have been named Q. Tullius Habitus and their mother Alfia Modesta, who handed down her *gentilicium* to one of her sons. Indeed, the Romans could freely decide to choose the maternal grandfather's name instead of the paternal one, as did Poppaea Sabina, Nero's wife.³⁵

Nonetheless, since Armani's statements seem to reveal a quite common practice in *Lusitania*, we should perhaps classify them as dubious, which would reduce the number of instances of remarriage. Caution is thus called for, as in the case of the lost inscription of Baesucci (Baetica), in which we read that T. Meduttius Philetus, maybe a freedman, died aged 51. He was buried by M. Meduttius Fuscus, Valeria Proba, and Granius Exochus, who called him *pater* (B3). Fuscus, Proba (who honors his memory elsewhere)³⁶ and Exochus were siblings. Did Valeria Proba gain her name from her mother? Who is Exochus? Was he born from Philetus's other marriage (or *contubernium*) to an unknown Grania? Was he adopted? It is difficult to say.

To conclude, we can confirm that remarriage appears 34 times in the three Roman Spanish provinces. *Lusitania* and *Tarraconensis* have nearly the same number of examples, with fewer in *Baetica*. Successive weddings affect people of all legal statuses and social classes. Their *patriae* may well be cities promoted to the rank of *colonia* or *municipium iuris Latini* or *ciuium Romanorum*, but this does not prevent the presence of *peregrini* or of freedpersons, as I have just shown with Proculus and his spouses, and Felicula and Fabulla's mother, respectively.

If we take a closer look at this matrimonial practice, it is at first not always possible to ascertain whether the new wedding took place after the death of the spouse, which is very likely, as for Voconius Romanus's mother, or after a divorce. Furthermore, the Spanish provinces provide more examples of remarrying women than men. In spite of these assessments, my sample does not

34 Armani 2000 (= *AE* 2000, 676 = *HEp* 10, 725).

35 Armani 2000, who mistakenly names the mother Alfia Commoda (but see *HEp* 10, 725).

36 *CILA* Ja, 1, 59: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / M(arcus) Meduttius / Fuscus, ann(orum) XXXXV, / pius in suis, h(ic) s(itus) e(st), s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(euis). /⁵ V(aleria) Probata posuit / non merenti mor/tis memoriae. / Val(e), aue, s(alue).*

allow us to judge the reasons³⁷ or the frequency of remarriage,³⁸ on the basis of the highly laudatory statements for the *uniuirae*.³⁹

Some questions about remarriage therefore must remain open. Only a comprehensive study, focused on the African and Gallic provinces, will contribute to clarifying matters (e.g. onomastics) and removing most of the doubts on these issues.

37 Cf. Krause 1994: 108–113.

38 Cf. Kajanto 1969: 102–103 who points out that divorce would not have been common among the lower strata, contrary to what contemporary authors imply.

39 Raepsaet-Charlier 1981–1984: 167 (see now Raepsaet-Charlier 2016: 98).

TABLE 17.1 List of remarriages from Roman Spain
Hispania Ulterior Baetica

Reference	Place	Dating	Husband's name	Wife's name	Children's name	Source
B1	Anticaria	II	1) L. Terentius (---) 2) L. Fabius (---)	(Terentia L. I. ---)	1) Terentia L. I. Felicula 2) Fabia L. f. Fabulla	<i>CIL</i> II ² /5, 754 ^a and <i>CIL</i> II ² /5, 755 ^b
B2	Arva	?	1) Q. Traius Areianus 2) (Sergius)	Aemilia Lucilla	1) Q. Traius Q. Trai Areiani fil. Quir. Areianus 2) Sergius Rufinus	<i>CIL</i> II, 1065 ^c
B3	Baesucci	III	T. Medutius Philetus (---)	(---)	1) M. Medutius Fuscus 2) Valeria Probata 3) Granius Exochus	<i>Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Andalucía</i> Ja 1, 58 ^d
B4*	Italica	III	1) (C. Aemilius) 2) (Aelius)	?	1) C. Aemilia 2) Aelia	<i>AE</i> 2008, 661 = <i>Hispania Epigraphica</i> 17, 120 ^e
B5	Itucci	I	M. Calpurnius [M. I. ?] Vernio	1) Calpurnia M. I. Thyce 2) Blattia Modesta	1) Calpurnia M. I. Nebris 2) M. Calpurnius M. I. Chryseros (?) 3) Calpurnia M. I. Phyramis 4) Calpurnia M. I. Vitalis	<i>CIL</i> II ² /5, 424 ^f

TABLE 17.1 List of remarriages from Roman Spain (*cont.*)

Hispania Ulterior Lusitania

Reference	Place	Dating	Husband's name	Wife's name	Children's name	Source
L1	Augusta Emerita	II	1) (Aurelius ---) 2) Claudius Gracilis	Iulia Alla	Aurelia Anna	<i>AE</i> 2010, 674 = <i>HEp</i> 19, 51 ^g <i>AE</i> 1993, 907 = <i>HEp</i> 5, 92 ^h
L2	Augusta Emerita	II	1) (L. Munatius ---) 2) (M. Lucanius ---)	Iulia Glyconis	1) L. Munatius Asclepiades 2) M. Lucanius Avitus	Hübner 1894: 469–470, n. 7 (= <i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i> VIII, p. 365, n. 25) = <i>Epigraphia romana de Augusta Emerita</i> 109 ⁱ
L3	Augusta Emerita	II	(Iulius) <i>P. Cussius Phoebianus</i>	Lebisia Auga	M. Iulius Verinus	<i>AE</i> 1993, 910 = <i>HEp</i> 5, 95 ^j <i>HEp</i> 7, 118 ^k
L4	Augusta Emerita	II	1) (Memmius?) 2) L. Attius Quintilius	Memmia Suavola	Memmius Suavis	<i>CIL</i> II, 900 ^l
L5	Augusta Emerita	II–III	P. Caecilius Rufinus	1) (---) 2) Pompeia Chrysis	P. Caecilius Rufinianus	
L6	Caesarobriga	II	(Antonius)	?	Alla Antonius	
L7	Capera	II	Iulius Fuscus Tuberianus	1) (---) 2) Caelia Aunia	Iulius Avitus	<i>CIL</i> II, 820 ^m

TABLE 17.1 List of remarriages from Roman Spain (*cont.*)

Reference	Place	Dating	Husband's name	Wife's name	Children's name	Source
L8*	Evora	I-II	1) (L. Cornelius) 2) (Valerius)	(---)	1) Cornelia L. f. Maxima 2) Valeria Amoena	<i>Inscrições romanas do Conventus Paecensis: subsidios para o estudo da romanização</i> 393 ⁿ IRCP 407 ^o
L9*	Evora	I	1) (Q. Tullius) Habitus 2) (Q. Alfius ---)	(---)	1) Q. Tullius Gal. Modestus 2) Tullia Tusca 3) Q. Alfius Modestus	HEp 9, 743 ^p
L10*	Lorvão	I-II?	1) (M. Antonius) 2) (C. Valerius)	(--- Iuliana?)	M. Antonius Iulianus C. Valerius Iulianus	CIL II, 5008 ^q
L11	Olisipo	II?	C. Fabius Tuscus	1) (---) 2) Iulia Severa Audalea	C. Fabius C. f.	
L12	Salacia	III	1) (Antonius) 2) Q. L(icius?) Niger	Mumia L. f. Cupita	Antonia Fundana Mumia Rufina	CIL II, 38 = IRCP 331 ^r
L13	Salmantica	II-III	Accius Reburus	1) (---) 2) Atilia Clara	L. Accius Reburus	CIL II, 871 ^s
L14	Valhelhas (Lancia Oppidana)	II	Proculus Proculi	1) Valeria 2) Amabilis	(filii)	AE 1960, 190 ^t

TABLE 17.1 List of remarriages from Roman Spain (*cont.*)

Hispania Citerior Tarraconensis

Reference	Place	Dating	Husband's name	Wife's name	Children's name	Source
T1	Barcino	II	1) (L. Aemilius) 2) <i>M. Herennius C. f. Gal. Severus</i>	(---)	<i>M. Aemilius L. f. Gal. Optatus</i>	<i>Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne</i> IV, 52 ^u
T2	Barcino	I	(Q. ---) (Sex. ---)	(---)	[---] <i>us Q. f. Gal. Secundus</i> [---] <i>a Sex. f. Sexta</i>	IRC IV, 75 ^v
T3*	Beleno	II	1) (Aelius) 2) (Septimius)	(---)	1) Aelius 2) L. Septimius Silo	<i>CIL</i> II, 5735 ^w
T4	Dianium	I	L. Domitius Eques	1) Sempronia L. f. Campana 2) (---)		<i>CIL</i> II, 5964 ^x
T5*	Ilerda	II	1) (Marcus?) 2) (Sempronius)	Marcia Tempesta	<i>M. Marcus Gal. Masclus</i> Sempronia Tempesta	IRC II, 3 ^y and IRC II, 6 ^z
T6*	Requena	II-III	1) (Caecilius) 2) (Fabius)	(---)	Caecilia C. I. Titus Fabius Messenius	<i>Inscriptions romanes del País Valencià</i> . Vol. IV. <i>Edeta i el seu territori</i> 174 ^{aa}
T7*	Saetabis	II	1) (M. Granius) 2) (Cornelius)	(---)	1) <i>M. Granius M. f. Gal. Superstes</i> 2) P. Cornelius Iunianus	<i>CIL</i> II, 3624 ^{bb}

TABLE 17.1 List of remarriages from Roman Spain (cont.)

Reference	Place	Dating	Husband's name	Wife's name	Children's name	Source
T8	Saguntum	I	1) (Aemilius) 2) Fabius Avitus	Antistia P. f. Festiva		<i>CIL</i> II ² /14-1, 741 ^{cc}
T9	Saguntum	I-II	C. Voconius Placidus C. Licinius Marinus	(---)	C. Licinius C. f. Gal. Marinus Voconius Romanus	Plin., <i>Ep.</i> II, 13, 4 ^{dd}
T10	Tarraco	II	Caecilius Polychronius	Aurelia Primitiva	Valeria Modestina	<i>CIL</i> II ² /14-3, 1697 ^{ee}
T11	Tarraco	II-III	1) (M. Granus) 2) (Herennius)	Caecilia Galla	1) M. Granus Probus 2) Herennia Aphrodite	<i>CIL</i> II ² /14-3, 1211 ^{ff}
T12	Tarraco	I-II	(Florius) Plautius Plautianus	Cornelia Aciliana	Florius Vegetus	<i>CIL</i> II ² /14-2, 1187 ^{gg}
T13	Tarraco	I-II?	[---]	1) [---] 2) [---]		<i>CIL</i> II ² /14-3, 1266 ^{hh}
T14*	Valdeverdeja	II	1) (Iulius) 2) (Aurelius)	(---)	Iulia Vitalis Aurelius Cosconianus	<i>CIL</i> II, 5342 ⁱⁱ
T15	Vizmanos	?	1) Arancises 2) Agirsenus	(---)	Cornelius Viator Cornelius Valens Aemilius Severus	<i>AE</i> 1990, 572 = <i>HEp</i> 3, 363 ^{jj}

NB: entries marked with an asterisk refer to the ambiguous cases of remarriage on onomastics grounds (transmission of maternal name, adoption, etc.), which led me to exclude the inscription *CIL* II, 776 as its interpretation remains doubtful (see Mantas 2002: 284). I also have italicized the names of those individuals who were members of the equestrian order or of the local elites. Finally, for ease of reading, I decided to keep the number of references to the epigraphic corpora to a minimum: I restricted them mainly to the *CIL* II in its more recent edition or to any corpus published after its release, on condition that it provides a new interpretation of the texts, as well as to *L'Année épigraphique* or *Hispania Epigraphica*.

- a *L(ucio) Calpurnio Senecioni, / Terentia L(uci) lib(erta) Felicula / testamento poni iussit, / Fabia L(uci) filia Fabulla, soror /⁵ et heres, dedicauit.*
- b *Terentia / L(uci) lib(erta) Felicula, filio / Hispaniano poni iussit, / Fabia Fabulla, soror /⁵ et heres, dedicauit.*
- c *Q(uinto) Traio Q(uinti) Trai Are/iani fil(io) Quir(ina) / Areiano, Aruensi, / huic ordo municipi(i) /⁵ Flauī Araensis ob / merita laudation(em) / impensam funeris / locum sepulturae / et statuum decreuit. /¹⁰ Aemilia Lucilla, mater; / et Sergius Rufinus, fra/ter ei{tus}, / h(onore) u(si) impensam remisere.*
- d *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) T(itus) M(eduttius) / Philetus an(norum) LI, M(arcus) / Meduttius Fuscus, / Val(eria) Probata /⁵ et Granius Exochus / patri [eorum] pro s[ua] / indulgentia fec(erunt), / sit tibi t(erra) l(euis), h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*
- e *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / C(aia) Aemilia / uix(it) an(nis) XXII / et die Aelia, /⁵ sorori pi(a)e, / posuit, h(ic) s(ita) e(st), s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(euis).*
- f *M(arcus) Calpurniu[s - - -] / Vernio, Augustalis, / [C]alpurnia M(arci) l(iberta) Thyce (!), uxor, / Calpurnia M(arci) l(iberta) Nebris, filia), /⁵ M(arcus) Calpurnius M(arci) l(ibertus) Chrysero[s, filius?], / Calpurnia M(arci) l(iberta) Phyramis (!), filia), / [C]alpurnia M(arci) l(iberta) Vitalis, filia), / Blattia Modesta, uxor, fecit.*
- g *D(is) [M(anibus)] s(acrum) / Cl(audio) Graci[li, m]il(iti) leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) F(elicis) et / Iuliae All[a]e, matri, Aurelia Anna, / parentib(us) pientissimis, fecit h(ic) s(itus) est TI.*
- h *D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)] / Iul(ia) Glyconis, / nat(ione) Nicomedita, / ann(orum) XXXV, s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(euis), /⁵ L(ucius) Munatius Asclepiades et M(arcus) Lu/canius Auit(us), filii), m(atr) p(iissimae) fecerunt.*
- i *D(is) M(anibus) / Lebisiniae Auges, / P(ublius) Cussius Phoebianus, / proc(urator) Aug(usti), maritus, et /⁵ M(arcus) Iulius Verianus, / filius. On Phoebianus, PIR² C 1639. On Verinus, PIR² I 617 and on Auge, PIR² L 138 and Álvarez Melero 2018b (in press), nr. 422.*
- j *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) // L(ucio) Attio Quintili[o], / an(norum) LXV, s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) [l(euis)], / Memmius Suau[is], / [p]riuignus, et /⁵ Memmia Su[a]uola, uxor, / f(aciendum) curauerunt.*
- k *P(ublio) Caecilio Rufi/niano, an(norum) II, m(ensium) IIX, / P(ublius) C(aecilius) Rufinus, filio, / et Pomp(eia) Chrysis, pri/⁵uigno, fec(erunt).*
- l *Dis Manib(us) / Antonius Seuerus, / Segisamensis, / Allae, matri, Seuerae, sorori, /⁵ Antonio, au(u)nculo, Valeriae, ux(ori), / Seuerino, filio), an(norum) XXI / et sibi an(norum) LXXVIII, / hoc m(o)n(umentum) her(edem) / non sequetur.*
- m *Caelia Aunia / Iuli Fusci / Tuberiani / uxor, an(norum) L, /⁵ Clun(iensis), h(ic) s(ita) e(st). / Iulius Auitus, / priuignus, / d(e) s(uo) f(aciendum) curauit.*
- n *D(is) M(anibus) Corneliae / L(uci) filiae Maxumae (!), / Cornelius Valens, / maritus, Valeria /⁵ Amoena, soror, f(aciendum) curauerunt.*
- o *Q(uintus) Tullius Habiti / filius) Gal(eria) Modestus, / an(norum) XX, Tullia Habiti / filia) Tusca, an(norum) V, Q(uintus) Alfius /⁵ Modestus h(ic) s(it) s(unt), s(it) u(obis) t(erra) l(euis), / mater f(aciendum) curauit.*
- p *G(aius!) Valerius Iulianus, Seiliensis, / annorum XVIII, h(ic) s(itus) e(st), s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(euis), / M(arcus) Antonius Iulianus, / fratri piissimo, /⁵ faciendum curauit.*
- q *Iuliae Seuerae Audaleae, G(ai!) Fabi C(ai) filii), G(aius!) Fabius Tuscus, optimo filio et piae nouercae.*
- r *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / M(umia) L(uci) filia Cu/pita, ann(orum) XXXXIII, / Q(uintus) L(- - -) N(- - -), marit(a)e, et /⁵ Antonia Fundana / et Mu[m]ia Rufina, / filias (!), matri pi(iissim)a)e, posue/runt /¹⁰ h(ic) s(ita) e(st), s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(euis).*

- s *Lucius Accius Rebur/rus, Ter(mestinus?), ann(or)um XVI, h(ic) s(itus) / e(st), s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(euis), / Accius Reburrus, fil(io), et /⁵ Atilia Clara, priuig/no pio, f(aciendum) c(urauerunt).*
- t *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Proculinus / Proculi sibi / et uxoris (!) /⁵ piiss(i)mis / Valeri(a) e et / Amabili, / nutrice / filiorum /¹⁰ meorum (!), / f(aciendum) c(urauit).*
- u *M(arco) Aemilio / L(uci) fil(io) Gal(eria) Optato, / priuigno, /⁵ annor(um) XIII; / huic ordo / Barc(inonensium) aedilic(i)os / et Iluirales / gratuit(o) honores /¹⁰ d(ecreuit), / M(arcus) Herennius Seuerus, t(utor). On Severus and Optatus, see Curchin 1990: nr. 433–434.*
- v *[- -]us Q(uinti) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Secund(us), / [aed(ilis), II]uir, flamini (!), / [- -]a Sex(ti) f(ilia) Sexta, sor(or), / [- -] Secundilla /⁵ [- -].*
- w *D(is) M(anibus) m(onumentum) / Ael(ius) pos(uit) Sep(timio) Sil(oni), / fra(tri) suo, Vad(iniensi), / anno(rum) XXXV, /⁵ s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(euis), / L(ucio) Sep(timio) Sil(oni), ben(e).*
- x *L(ucius) Domitius Eques, / an(norum) XXXV, / Sempronia L(uci) f(ilia) / Campana, uxor /⁵ prior, an(norum) XVIII, h(ic) s(it) s(unt).*
- y *G(aio!) Marcio / Gal(eria) Masclo, / aed(ili), Iluir(o), / flam(ini), /⁵ Marcia / Tempestiua, / mater. On Masclus, Curchin 1990, nr. 744.*
- z *Semproniae / Tempestiuae, / Marcia / Tempestiua / mater.*
- aa *Caec[ili]ae / C(ai) lib(ertae) [T]itidi, / ann(or)um XXXVIII, m(ensium) II, d(ierum) XXIII, / Fab(ius) Messenius, /⁵ sorori piissimae.*
- bb *M(arco) Granio M(arci) f(ilio) / Gal(eria) Superstiti, / cui omnes hono/res ob merita uit[ae] /⁵ a municipibus / suis oblata sunt, / P(ublius) Cor(nelius) Iunianus, / fratri, ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum), / honore /¹⁰ usus, / ex testamento.*
- cc *C(aius) Aemilius Fron/to, an(norum) LX, Coelia / [-] f(ilia) Aestiu(a), an(norum) LX, Antistia / P(ubli) f(ilia) Festiua Fabi Auiti, /⁵ nummulari, uxor, an(norum) XXV, / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur).*
- dd *Is erit Voconius Romanus. Pater ei in equestri gradu clarus; clarior uitricus, immo pater alius (nam huic quoque nomini pietate successit), mater e primis.*
- ee *Memoriae / Valeriae / Modestinae / quae uixit an(nis) / XXVIII, m(ensibus) III, d(iebus) XXVII, /⁵ Caecil(ius) / Polychronius / et Aurelia / Primitiua, / filiae / karissimae.*
- ff *M(arco) Granio / Probo, dec(urioni), / pontifici, ae/dilic(i)s hono/⁵ribus functo, / Caecilia Gal(la), mater, et / Herennia Aphro/dite, soror. On Probus, Curchin 1990: nr. 916.*
- gg *[- -]I / [- -]MM / R[- -] Corneliae / Aciliana[e], matri /⁵ Flori Vegeti, / fl(aminis) p(rouinciae) H(ispaniae) c(terioris), uxori / Plauti Plautiani, / pr(aefecti) eq(uitum), / ex d(ecreto) p(rouinciae) H(ispaniae) c(terioris). On Aciliana, Álvarez Melero 2018b (in press), nr. 236.*
- hh *Memoriae / [- -]an(norum) XXV, libertae et uxoris, / [- -] mag(ister) Lar(um), Vxamens(is) Ambirodacus, / [- -] uiuus feci[t] et sibi et libertis libertabusq(ue) suis /⁵ [posteri]sque eorum / [et memoriae - -]ae prioris uxoris apu(d) s[e] defunctae.*
- ii *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / [Tu]l(iae) Vitali, / s(o)rori ca/rissimae, /⁵ ann(or)um LXV, Au(-)r[el]ius Cos/conianus, / [f]rater, f(aciendum) c(urauit).*
- jj *Cornel[i]us Viator Ara/ncisus f(ilius), an(norum) L, Corneliu(s) / Valens, f(ilius), an(norum) XXV et / Ae(milius) Seuerus Agirseni /⁵ f(ilius) an(norum) XXXV f(aciendum) c(urauit) mate[r], / s(it) uobis t(erra) l(euis), h(ic) se[p]ulti sunt.*

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