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Design & layout: Petru Ureche

ANCIENT HISTORY

D(IS) M(ANIBUS) S(ACRUM) - An Overview of Funerary Behaviours on the Territory of Present-day Switzerland from Late Protohistory to Early Medieval Times Through the Study of Material Remains, Textual Sources and Funerary Inscriptions

Abstract: The present article addresses the subject of funerary behaviours on the territory of present-day Switzerland from the end of the protohistoric period to the beginning of the Middle Ages. In order to explore this topic, a careful analysis of material remains, textual sources and funerary inscriptions was carried out. This approach primarily aimed at developing an up-todate and multidisciplinary vision of the question of funerary behaviours in the defined chronological and geographical range. In this sense, gestures, rites, commemorative modalities, funerary recruitment, as well as legal and religious frameworks and the collective social understanding of death were closely studied. By doing so, this research endeavoured to include any contribution to the clarification of the topic under study provided by various disciplines such as funerary archaeology, biological anthropology, ancient history, geography, social anthropology, religious sciences, law, literature and philology, and ancient funerary epigraphy. Considering these different sources and insights for the case of 6 distinct places in Switzerland (Geneva - Genava, Nyon - Colonia Iulia Equestris, Augst / Kaiseraugst - Augusta Raurica, Valais - Vallis Pænina, Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch - Vindonissa and Avenches - Aventicum) enabled to draw - in a relatively precise manner - the outline of the funerary phenomenon in Switzerland during Antiquity. Thus, several different dynamics in the evolution of funerary behaviours, according to the places under study, were observed. This state of fact probably reflects the way in which the different communities which lived on the territory of presentday Switzerland during Antiquity interacted, made sense of, appropriated or disregarded Roman funerary and/or cultural codes more globally speaking. In the same way, the partial hybridization of local ancestral customs and the diffusion of exogenous ideas throughout the complex geopolitical and sociocultural structure of the Roman provincial world – and more specifically Gaul - could also be highlighted thanks to this novel approach; at least in as much as the territory of present-day Switzerland is concerned..

Keywords: Switzerland, Roman funerary rites, Multidisciplinarity.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research lies in the study of funerary behaviours on the territory of present-day Switzerland in a chronological frame spanning the 1st century BC to the 6th century AD, or in other words, from the end of the protohistoric period till the dawn of the Middle Ages. Funerary behaviours, in terms of gestures¹, rites², commemorative modalities3, funerary recruitment4, 5, as well as legal and religious frameworks⁶ and the overarching collective funerary imaginary and understanding⁷, will be investigated. To this end, this research proposes to address these aspects by developing a multidisciplinary approach. The latter aims to consider - in a transdisciplinary dialectic any contribution to the clarification of this object of study at stake originating from various disciplines, such as funerary archaeology, bioanthropology, ancient history, geography, social anthropology, religious sciences, law, literature and philology as well as funerary epigraphy.

2. PROBLEMATISATION, SCOPE AND LIMITS

Death is one of the common denominators of all living species and, a fortiori, of all human communities8. Yet, each human community develops its own funerary world and associated behaviours. The latter represent forms of rites of passage⁹ in the sense that their elaboration responds to culturally (or community) specific logics of appropriation and making sense of the ineluctable biological reality that death represents10. A. Van Gennep's theory of rites of passage11 (Fig. 1) also highlights the fact that funerary behaviours are not punctual events isolated in time but rather a series of different processes taking place either in parallel or in sequence¹². A. Van Gennep's theorisation, through a standardised division of any rite into three distinct stages (pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal stages), renders a temporal dimension to the unfolding of any rite. This temporal framework enables to restitute the relevant sequence of production or the stage to which the different categories of considered artefacts and sources (namely material remains, textual sources and funerary inscriptions) refer to. In this sense, and considering the cultural nature of funerary behaviours, several distinct factors can influence their development and renewal, amongst which one might cite the evolution of the overarching spiritual or religious frame, ancestral indigenous tradition and exogenous cultural influence and contact¹³. Indeed, as one reads in the entry describing "cultural contact" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*¹⁴:

"The effects of culture contact are generally characterized under the rubric of acculturation, a term encompassing the changes in artifacts, customs, and beliefs that result from crosscultural interaction. Voluntary acculturation, often referred to as incorporation or amalgamation, involves the free borrowing of traits or ideas from another culture. Forced acculturation can also occur, as when one group is conquered by another and must abide by the stronger group's customs. [...] Assimilation is rarely complete; most groups retain at least some preference for the religion, food, or other cultural features of their predecessors."

Furthermore, in the same vein and regarding the Roman world more particularly, Maureen Caroll¹⁵ (2013: 10-11) also states:

"In the pluralistic and poly-ethnic society of the empire, there was ample room to express belonging on the local level and also to convey a participatory role in the larger collectivity that was the Roman world."

One thus recognizes that individuals (one of the vectors of given cultural identities) can interact and engage in varying degrees with other forms of cultural identity, without however that complete assimilation should be seen as the only logical or even ineluctable consequence in this type of interaction. On the contrary, partial adoption or selective internalization of certain allochthonous cultural elements or traits seems to have constituted the norm throughout time, particularly in regard to funerary practices ¹⁶. Furthermore, it should also be emphasized that this type of process was rarely, if ever, unidirectional. Since, in fine, all parties involved tended to take on certain traits of their counterparts, thus giving rise to a phenomenon known as "creolization" or "syncretisation" ¹⁷.

Based on this theoretical understanding, the problematisation of the research topic under investigation becomes more evident. Starting from the observation of the non-static and diverse character of funerary behaviours during Antiquity, the aim is to understand the influences, evolutionary driving forces and modalities which shaped, stimulated, held back and eventually led to the establishment and subsequent evolution of Antique funerary behaviours on the territory of present-day Switzerland¹⁸. This study therefore intends to highlight certain mechanisms specific to funerary behaviours as a sociocultural manifestation in its own right, but which also partly animate the whole of Roman society (such as the Roman conquest of the Celtic sphere, the emergence of Gallo-roman society, the Christianisation of the provinces, the imperial crisis of the 3rd century AD, as well as the institutional and societal renewals during the Late Empire)19.

¹ TILLIER 2009, 5-28, 47-50.

² BLAIZOT 2009(b), 312-327; TILLIER 2009, 5-28; 112-130, RUBY 2009, 11-24

³ KATTAN 2002, 17-31; GIUST-DESPRAIRIES 2009, RUBY 2009, 11-24.

⁴ For a more precise definition of the concept of "funerary recruitment" or "funerary admission", the author invites to read P. Sellier's scientific production, and in particular his contribution entitled "Tous les morts? Regroupement et sélection des inhumés: les deux pôles du "recrutement funéraire"", in the collective work "Le regroupement des morts: Genèse et diversité archéologique" (2012, 83-94), edited by D. Castex, P. Courtaud, H. Duday, F. Le Mort and A.-M. Tillier.

⁵ BLAIZOT 2009(b), 312-327; TILLIER 2009, 5-28; 95-105; RUBY 2009, 11-24

 $^{^{\}scriptscriptstyle 6}$ ARIÈS 1977; DESTEMBERG/MOULET 2006, 81-91.

⁷ ARIÈS 1977; DESTEMBERG/MOULET 2006, 81-91.

⁸ TURNER 1990; SAN FILIPPO 2006, 4-15; BUSSIÈRES 2009, 1-77.

⁹ VAN GENNEP 1909, 11-58, 150-168.

¹⁰ TILLIER 2009, 5–28.

 $^{^{\}scriptscriptstyle{11}}\,$ VAN GENNEP 1909, 11-58, 150-168.

 $^{^{\}rm 12}~$ MORRIS 1992 : XIII-XIV; SCHEID 2000 ; RUBY 2009, 11-24.

¹³ LE ROUX 2004, 287–311; PAUNIER 2006; MARRONE/SOLINAS 2013,

Encyclopedia Britannica 2016: https://www.britannica.com/topic/culture-contact

¹⁵ CARROLL 2013, 10-11.

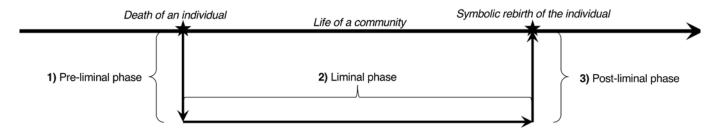
¹⁶ ALEKSHIN et alii 1983, LAURENCE/BERRY 2001, 1-10, LE ROUX 2004, ANDERSON/BIRO/PETTITT 2018.

¹⁷ LE ROUX 2004.

¹⁸ MARTIN-KILCHER 2002, 325-365, DERKS 2012, 43-80.

¹⁹ PRIEUR 1986: 7-40; TRANOY 2007, 83-106.

Arnold Van Gennep's "Rites de passage": funerary contextualisation



3 fundamental stages of a "rite de passage" in funerary context:

- 1) Death induces the separation / isolation of the deceased from his community, initiating a series of ritual behaviours in the wake of his death within his community.
- 2) The funeral represents the effective phase of these ritual behaviours; its main aim is to prepare the post-liminal phase.
- 3) The execution of the funeral ensures that the deceased is assimilated into the funerary world; at the same time, he / she is reintegrated into his / her community through the commemoration ensured by the latter. The rite is concluded.

Contribution of each of the considered disciplines to the study of these different stages:

- Archaeology sheds light on the liminal and post-liminal phases by studying funerary material remains (graves, human remains, grave goods. etc.) and their specific arrangement, which is itself the result of practices and gestures implemented during these phases.
- History sheds light on the liminal and post-liminal phases by studying the written sources describing how funerary rituals were carried out, in terms of spiritual, ceremonial and religious frameworks, as well as textual sources informing on the collective funerary imaginary.
- Epigraphy sheds light on the liminal and post-liminal phases by clarifying the composition of the funerary world in terms of identity and sociodemographic and socio-economic characteristics of the deceased, as well as by providing information on the actors of these particular phases (commissioners, craftsmen, etc.).

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Theoretical framework and analytic approach: presentation

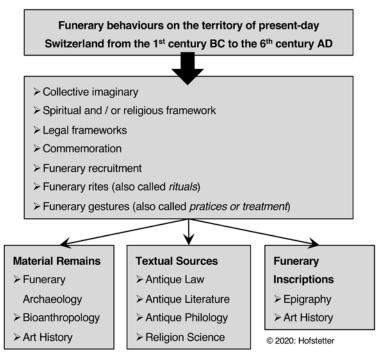


Fig. 1: Top: Arnold Van Gennep's "Rite de passage" scheme applied in funerary contexts. Bottom: Presentation of the theoretical and analytical approach guiding the present study.

Considered datasets: geographical projection Semiology: Antique site : Geneva - Genava Other discovery sites: Carouge, Céligny, Discovery site of an Antique inscription (in situ) Genthod. Landécy, Versoix Discovery site of an Antique inscription (in reuse) Antique site: Nyon - Colonia Iulia Equestris Other discovery sites: Céligny, Versoix Antique site: Augst / Kaiseraugst - « Augusta Raurica » (Colonia IPaterna Munatia Felix Apollin]iaris [Augusta E]meritia [Raur]ica) Other discovery sites: Basel, Argovia (?) Antique site: Valais - Vallis Pœnina Other discovery sites: Bourg-Saint-Pierre, Fully (VS), Martigny - Forum Claudii Valensium, Plan-Conthey, Sierre, Sion, Saint-Maurice -Acaunum Antique site: Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch -5 Vindonissa Other discovery sites: Königsfelden Antique site : Avenches - « Aventicum » (Colonia Pia Flavia Constans Emerita Helvetiorum Foederata) © 2020: Swiss Federal Department of Topography Other discovery sites: Amsoldingen, Faoug, Morat, Morens, Villars-les-Moines

Fig. 2: Map of Switzerland presenting the considered datasets.

Since funerary behaviours represent a colossal mass of data and conceivable analytical approaches, the present study proposes to reduce this documentary and interpretative volume by developing a targeted highlighting of this global phenomenon and by defining clear geographical and chronological frames. Hence, it focuses on the territory of present-day Switzerland between the 1st century BC and the 6th century AD. These voluntary limits are based on the fact that Switzerland represents a coherent political unit as of today and that previous research on the topic follows these same geographical restrictions. In chronological terms, the considered period corresponds roughly to the maximum temporal limits of Roman presence and / or influence on the territory under study. In addition to these voluntary limits, certain epistemological thresholds also apply, i.e.: in terms of data compatibility produced by different sciences. Indeed, due to the focus of each of the considered disciplines on a particular type of object of study (Fig. 1), the synthesis of the results thus obtained must be regarded with a certain caution. In addition, the representativeness bias of the archaeological, historical and epigraphic funerary datasets at disposal must not be lost of sight. These biases are induced by the circumstances of research as well as due to the state of preservation or the differential capacity of the considered sources to survive through time. Finally, the existence of a form of funerary recruitment, as well as the unequal access of the deceased to certain forms of funerary treatment during the considered periods, constitutes a further restriction to be kept in mind²⁰.

3. SELECTION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE CONSIDERED CORPUS

The best documented areas - as far as funerary behaviours are concerned - are typically ancient urban centres. Indeed, due to high inhabitants' concentrations, such places are fitted with large necropolises²¹ which tend to yield substantial material remains analysable by archaeology, bioanthropology and epigraphy. Additionally, a wealth of written sources is usually also produced, due to the corollary development of an important administrative, judicial and cultural life in such ancient urban centres²². Geographically speaking (and in the Swiss case), the majority of these centres is concentrated in an area known currently as the Swiss Plateau (extending roughly from Lake Geneva in the south-west to Lake Constance in the north-east). The Alpine region is far less populated, except for the upper Rhone valley (known nowadays as "Valais") but still presents a series of characteristics of interest to this research (notably its position on one of the major transalpine transit axes or its proximity to the Roman world, even before its assimilation into the Roman hegemony zone).

Hence, in order to guarantee a certain diversity and representativeness to this study, an analysis considering both the Swiss Plateau and the Alpine region was elaborated. This approach takes into account urban centres

²⁰ DUDAY 2009; KINNES et alii 2009.

²¹ According to Strabo (*Geographica*, 12,1), the term "necropolis" describes a space for the dead and the preparation of bodies, located in the ancient city of Alexandria in Egypt. By extension, this toponym has been used by scholars to designate any kind of funerary spaces even beyond the Graeco-Roman Antique period. In the case of this study, it is mobilized to designate graveyards in the region under consideration.

 $^{^{22}\,}$ PAULI-GABI et alii 2002, 75-105; BOSSART et alii 2006, 67-108; BLAIZOT 2009(b), 1-14; AMMAN/CASTELLA 2013, 7-34.

that underwent different processes of interaction and inclusion into Roman controlled territory; from progressive assimilation (Genava) to Roman ex nihilo foundation (Colonia Iulia Equestris), or by gradual development of an urban centre around a fortified camp (Vindonissa). The considered centres also held different legal statuses (vicus, regional capital, military camp, veteran colony, etc.) and are known to have had a substantial occupation period. A last considered criterion was the availability of a significant set of funerary inscriptions presenting a certain degree of demographic and socioeconomic variability and scope²³. This led to the consideration of the following localities (listed in their order of chronological assimilation into the Roman hegemony zone) (Fig. 2): Geneva - Genava; Nyon- Colonia *Iulia Equestris*; Augst / Kaiseraugst – *Augusta Raurica*; Valais - Vallis Pænina; Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch - Vindonissa; Avenches - Aventicum.

4. CONTEXTUALISATION

Textual sources depict the territory of presentday Switzerland as culturally diverse and animated in the considered timeframe. In the 1st century BC, according to various ancient authors²⁴, around ten Celtic communities shared this territory (Fig. 3). In 58 BC, some of these groups took part in a migration project towards the west of presentday France. This migration was interrupted in the same year at Bibracte (France) by the Roman army. Following this defeat, the vanquished were forced to return to their former territories, in order to prevent a Germanic push to the south. Subsequently, the Romans gradually extended their area of influence to include the territory of present-day Switzerland. They created colonies in Nyon (46 to 44 BC), Augst / Kaiseraugst (44 to 43 BC), Martigny (47 BC) and Avenches (69 to 79 BC). As a result of this assimilation, the territory of present-day Switzerland (initially part of Gallia Narbonensis and Gallia Belgica), Vallis Pænina and Rhætia-Vindelica) - located on the borders of Roman territory gained strategic importance. This resulted in significant Roman investment (transalpine communication routes, militarisation, etc.). The extension of the Roman Empire beyond the Rhine marked a period of economic prosperity and cultural renewal, during which Gallo-Roman society developed and thrived²⁵. From the 1st century AD onwards, the Swiss territory was part of the provinces of Gallia Narbonensis, Germania Superior, Alpes Graia et Pæninæ and *Rhætia*. The 3rd century AD on its part, represents a period of political, economic and military turmoil in the Roman world as a whole, characterised by anarchic imperial successions, secessions and repeated barbarian incursions²⁶. Gaul was not exempt from these upheavals, since the secessionist empire known as the "Gallic empire" was implemented and the pressure of the peoples from across the Rhine was clearly

Chronology: overview

Cilionology. Overview		
Protohistoric period		
- Bronze Age:	2200 to 800 BC	
- First Iron Age (Hallstatt period):	800 to 450 BC	
- Second Iron Age (La Tène period):	450 to 25 BC	
• Antiquity		_
- Early Empire:	27 BC to AD 305	
- Late Empire:	AD 305 to AD 476	
Medieval period		-
- Early Middle Ages:	476 to 9th century AD	
- High Middle Ages:	9th to 13th century AD	
- Late Middle Ages:	13th to 15th century AD	

Fig. 3: Chronological overview of the periods under study.

felt²⁷. The latter also locally raided and pillaged through the provinces. Although the contribution of material remains and textual sources from this period are limited, they still point to a rupture and a socio-cultural renewal. Thus, the spread - although largely cryptic in character but growing all the same - of Christianity, as well as the contribution of other indigenous or non-indigenous ideologies, is felt in a context of gradual weakening of imperial power in the provinces. The end of the 3rd century AD and the beginning of the 4th century AD marked a return to strong imperial power, under the impetus of Diocletian's administrative reforms. The provinces were remodelled, and the Swiss territory was integrated into the provinces of Maxima Sequanorum, Alpes Graia and Pæninæ and Rhætia. From the 5th century AD, under barbarian pressure, the Roman troops withdrew from the Rhine, allowing the Burgundians and the Alamanni to settle on the territory of present-day Switzerland, marking the advent of the medieval era²⁸.

In terms of periodisation, archaeological, historical and epigraphic studies propose a chronological division punctuated by the various socio-cultural developments presented above. Below is an abbreviated compilation (Fig. $4)^{29}$:

5. ANALYSIS

We now proceed to present the most significant data from the study of the various locations under consideration. They are discussed in their order of integration into the Roman hegemony zone.

²³ SHAW 1984, 457-497; MEYER 1990, 74-96; PIETRI 1997, 1407-1468; LOMAS 2004, 179-198; CARROLL 2006, VII-VIII; CARROLL 2013, 559-579; OLIVER 2000; LE ROUX 2013, 167-180; SOLIN 2013, 729-795; BÉRARD 2014, 118-125; BRUUN/EDMONDSON 2014, 627-648.

²⁴ Caesar, Commentarii de bello Gallico, 1, 2-6; Tacitus, De Origine et Situ Germanorum, 28.

²⁵ FREI-STOLBA 2015.

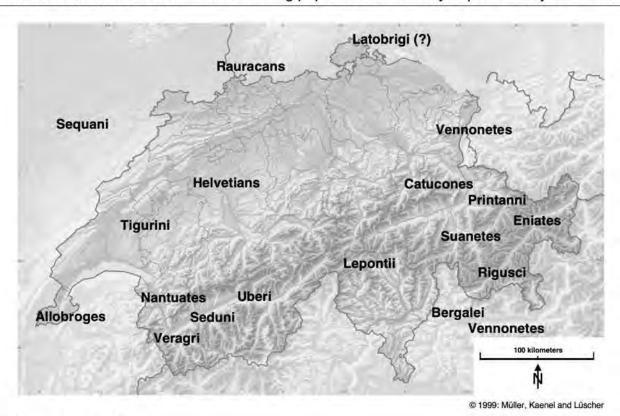
²⁶ ALFÖLDI 1938, 5-18; DRINKWATER 2007.

²⁷ LORIOT/NONY 1997, 65-80.

²⁸ TARPIN et alii 2002, 41-74; De SÉMAINVILLE 2003, 17-40; STEINER 2003, 181-190.

²⁹ These dates are adapted from: Des Alpes au Léman: Images de la préhistoire, edited by Alain Gallay (2008), for the protohistoric period (CORBOUD/ RACHOUD-SCHNEIDER/STUDER 2008, 15-48) and Quand la Suisse n'existait pas: le temps des Romains. La Suisse du Paléolithique à l'aube du Moyen-Âge (vol. 5, Époque romaine), edited by Laurent Flutsch, Urs Niffeler and Frédéric Rossi (2002) for the part concerning Antiquity (TARPIN et alii 2002, 41-74). Some minor adjustments have been made to ensure consistency between these sources.

Cultural context: Celtic communities having populated the territory of present-day Switzerland

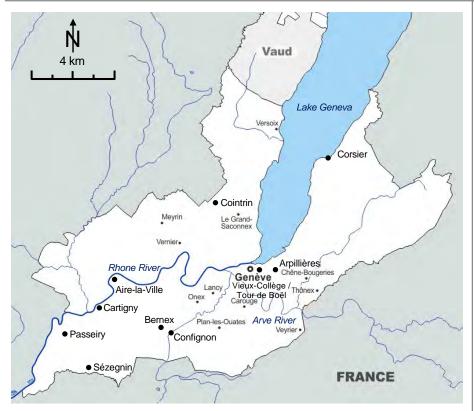


Main events: timeline

3rd century BC	222 - 202 :	Conquest of northern Italy, including Ticino and the southern alpine valleys of Graubûnden				
2ne century BC	128 - 118 :	Submission of the Allobroges. Geneva (Genava) integrated into Gallia Transalpina	113 - 101 :	Migration of the Cimbri and Teutons with the Tigurini (Helvetian Celtic tribe)		
14	58 :	Migration of the Helvetians, Battle of Bibracte, Julius Caesar orders forced return of the defeated	57:	Roman defeat at Octodurus	50 - 44 :	Julius Caesar founds the equestrian colony of Nyon under the name of <i>Colonia Iulia Equestris</i>
century BC	44/43:	L. Munatius Plancus founds Lyon (<i>Lugdunum</i>) and Augst / Kaiseraugst (<i>Augusta Raurica</i> (<i>Colonia [Paterna Munatia Felix Apollin]iaris</i> [<i>Augusta E]meritia [Raur]ica</i>)	27 :	Octavian becomes Augustus, the Empire replaces the Republic	15:	Conquest of the Alps by Augustus; Helvetia included into the area of Roman hegemony and becomes part of Gallia Belgica
12	16-17:	Conquest of <i>Germania</i> abandoned, Imperial border fixed on the Rhine. 13th legion in Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch (<i>Vindonissa</i>)	47 :	Claudius builds the Great St, Bernard road and founds will Forum Claudii Valensium). The 21 st legion settles in Vindonissa		
century AD	69 – 79 :	Vespasian becomes emperor. Avenches (Aventicum) granted colony status and becomes Colonia Pia Flavia Constans Emerita Helvetiorum Foederata. The 11 th legion settles in Vindonissa	73 – 74 : 85 – 89 :	The 21st legion settles in Vinionissal Conquest of the Decumate Fields. Construction of the Rhine-Danube limes. Domitian creates the province of Germania superior	69 :	Nero succession war. Helvetian uprising. Destruction of Baden and defeat of the separatists at Bözberg (Mons Vocetius) (?)
century		Togoti ostao ii viilosiiota			101 :	Demilitarisation of the Swiss plateau. Vindonissa castrum partially dismantled.
3rd century AD	212 :	Constitutio Antoniniana: Citizenship is granted to all free people of the Empire	213:	Alamanni defeated by Caracalla on the Rhine		
	250 :	0: Earthquake in Augusta Raurica 260: Further Alam	Further Alamanni incursions. Fall of the Germania limes. Border re-established on the	233 – 235 :	Alamanni incursions into Germania superior and Rhætia	
		284 - 305 :	Rhine. Restoration of the <i>Vindonissa castrum</i> . Reign and reforms of Diocletian: new division	270 - 275 :	Alamanni incursions. Traces of destruction and fighting in and around Augusta Raurica	
4 th century AD	ca. 300 :	Genava granted city status		of the provinces. Alamanni defeat near Vindonissa		
	320 - 326 :	Castra constructions in Augusta Raurica (Castrum Rauracense), Yverdon (Eburodurum), etc.	ca. 350 :	Chur becomes capital of <i>Rhætia prima</i>	313 :	Constantine, first Christian emperor, establishes religious freedom (Edict of Milan)
	364 - 365 :	Division of the Roman Empire (East and West)			354	Constantius II negotiates with Alamanni kings near Augusta Raurica
	391 - 392 :	Edicts of Theodosius prohibiting pagan cults. Christianity becomes the state religion			.371 :	Fortified constructions alongside the Rhine River
century AD			401 :	Stillchon withdraws his troops from the Rhine in order to defend Italy	443 ;	Aetius settles the Burgundians in Savoy and
	457 -470 :	Genava becomes Burgundian capital	476 : End of the Western Roman Empire	1,0	French-speaking Switzerland (Sapaudia)	
						© 2002: Flutsch, Niffeler and Rossi

Fig. 4: Top: Map of Switzerland presenting the different Celtic communities having populated the territory of present-day Switzerland during the time span under consideration. Bottom: Timeline of main events which happened during the time span under study.

Geneva - Genava: archaeological data



A) Geneva – Genava: Major modern urban centers and archaeological discovery sites mentionned in text

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B) Sézegnin necropolis: Tightly packed and aligned inhumation burials (4th to 8th century AD)

© 1976: Jean-Baptiste Sevette (Cantonal Archaeological Department of Geneva; Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse)

C) Geneva - Saint Antoine: "Assix" (400 to 200 BC), seated inhumation burial

© 2020: Art and History Museum of Geneva



D) Le Grand-Saconnex - Pré-du-Stand: Structure 02 - US416 (250 to 150 BC) Burnt human remains deposit in a pit

© 2021: Besse et al.



E) Cartigny – Trois Fontaines: Cinerary um deposit (Structure 02 – US416 (1st century AD)

© 2016: Cantonal Archaeologicial Department of Geneva

Fig. 5: Geneva - Genava: overview of archaeological data presented in text.

Geneva – Genava:

Material and textual perspectives: A slow evolution of funerary practices and gestures throughout Protohistory and Antiquity is perceptible (Fig. 5)30. Concretely, a more

BUCHSENSCHUTZ 2004, 337-361; BLAIZOT 2009(b), 1-14.

or less gradual transition from inhumation (the dominant practice during the Iron Ages according to the current state of research³¹) to cremation (which represents the ritual

³¹ REBER 1917, 225-229; LANDRY/BLAIZOT 2011, 147-150; NEMEC-PIGUET et alii, 2015, 81-83; BESSE et alii 2021, 562-585.

proper to the beginning of Antiquity) is observable. This slow evolution also evidences the coexistence of different funerary gestures at certain periods³², since during the Second Iron Age, cremation and inhumation cooccur in the Geneva region (as funerary deposits from Le Grand-Saconnex, Cartigny, Arpillères, Corsier, Meyrin, Passeiry and Genève - Vieux-Collège and Tour de Boël testify)33. In this sense, supine inhumation graves were gradually supplanted by cremation in the last two centuries BC. During this interval, the predominant funerary treatment evolved from burials to cremation of the deceased with his or her offerings directly over a sepulchral grave or in a space reserved for this purpose before being secondarily deposited in a container³⁴. This funerary treatment seems to have been upheld during the Early Empire even though a specific treatment was sometimes applied to very young individuals. The latter tended to be buried separately from adults, in accordance with Pliny the Elder's comments on the topic³⁵. All in all, this evolution of funerary gestures appears to result from the progressive inclusion of Geneva into the Roman hegemony zone; a phenomenon also occurring elsewhere in the Celtic world $^{\rm 36}$, in the sense that one feels a form of cultural contact and exchange, most probably catalysed by the gradual intensification of commercial exchanges and the resulting amplification of links between the local Celtic communities and the Roman world³⁷.

It is more difficult to assess the modalities of the transition from cremation back to inhumation (mostly in individual pits and wooden-plank coffins), which seems to take place during the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. This difficulty stems from the fact that only limited discoveries revealing funerary practices have been made for this period. Isolated inhumation burials have been discovered at Aire-la-Ville $(3^{rd} \text{ to } 5^{th} \text{ century AD})^{38}$, but it is not until the advent of the Late Empire, or even the dawn of the medieval era, that inhumation necropolises of a more substantial size appear (in Aire-la-Ville, Bernex, Cartigny, Cointrin, Confignon, Sézegnin or Veyrier for instance)39. In any case, the transition from cremation to inhumation has been linked at least partially - to changes in the social apprehension of death, possibly catalysed by the crisis period endured by the Roman world in the 3rd century AD, as well as by the growing Christian influence in the provinces⁴⁰.

A gradual decrease in grave goods quantity is observable between the end of the protohistoric and the beginning of the medieval periods. This diminution might also reflect a change in mentality or apprehension of

³² RUFFIEUX 2006, 98-102.

materiality within society, or alternatively, as proposed by certain scholars⁴¹, an indicator of the impoverishment of certain strata of society - notably the rural inhabitants of the provinces, as opposed to the ruling strata⁴² – during the Late Empire⁴³.

Finally, archaeological data show a massive underrepresentation of funerary remains from the first three centuries of our era. It is likely that some of the cremation graves were destroyed during the 3rd and 4th century AD since it appears that certain cremation necropolises were continuously used and progressively transformed into inhumation necropolises (inducing a covering and destruction of earlier funerary structures). It is also highly likely that sepulchral remains prior to the 3rd century AD suffered from looting and demolition already in Antique times (notably due to material recycling)⁴⁴. The replacement of stelae and the destruction of funerary structures probably accelerated from the High Middle Ages onwards, fuelled in particular by the production of lime⁴⁵. This underrepresentation is probably also a reflection of our current archaeological knowledge of the question in the Geneva region since the modern agglomeration almost completely covers Antique structures.

Epigraphic perspectives: At first sight, the epigraphic habit (Fig. 6) appears to be relatively standardised (on the material, dimensional, stylistic, typological and graphic levels as well as in the small-scale and familial management the monuments), the socio-demographic, socioeconomic and onomastic characterisation of the deceased population allows us to affine this observation somewhat. Indeed, a clear over-representation of certain categories of individuals is observable; notably male deceased, holding Roman citizenship, displaying no evident Celtic ancestry and who exercised political, religious or military functions. Conversely, peregrini (especially of Celtic origin), freedmen and slaves are largely under-represented. This is all the more true for female representatives of these different categories. This imbalance of social categories in the epigraphic sources has been observed regularly and at all times within the Gallo-Roman world, albeit with a fluctuating ratio⁴⁶. It therefore seems that the apparent normality of epigraphic funerary practices observed in the Gallo-Roman world only reflects the habits of certain particular social categories; a postulate that is also supported by the very small number of Antique funerary inscriptions known in Genava, given the size of the city. Moreover, as has been observed a little further north, on the imperial Rhine-Danube border, the very practice of a form of funerary epigraphy represents an innovation with respect to the funerary regimes of the local populations during the late protohistoric period. It seems therefore that a part of the local population had appropriated itself this new commemorative tool and infused it with its own values, in order to affirm not only their attachment to the funerary

REBER 1917, 225-225, GENAVA 1942, 67-74; BESSE et alii 2021, NEMEC-PIGUET et alii 2015, 81-83; HOFSTETTER 2020, 54.

REBER 1917, 225-229; LANDRY/BLAIZOT 2011, 147-150; NEMEC-PIGUET et alii, 2015, 81-83; BESSE et alii 2021, 562-585.

Pliny the Elder, Naturalis Historia, 7.16.

³⁶ PAUNIER 1996, 261-270; MAIER 1983, 9-15; TARPIN et alii 2002; 44-47; HALDIMANN 2009, 20-21; LAUBRY 2009(b); LAUBRY 2009(b), 281-305; LAUBRY 2016, 75-93; LE ROUX 2013, 167-180.

PAUNIER 1996, 261-270; MAIER 1983, 9-15; TARPIN et alii 2002; 44-47; Haldimann 2009, 20-21; LAUBRY 2009(b); LAUBRY 2009 (b), 281-305; LAUBRY 2016, 75-93; LE ROUX 2013, 167-180.

BRON/CONSAGRA 2016, 2-3.

³⁹ PRIVATI 1982, 148-152; STEINER 2002, 307-316.

⁴⁰ PRIVATI 1982, 148-152; STEINER 2002, 307-316.

⁴¹ SARACHU 2012, 51-53.

⁴² SARACHU 2012, 51-53.

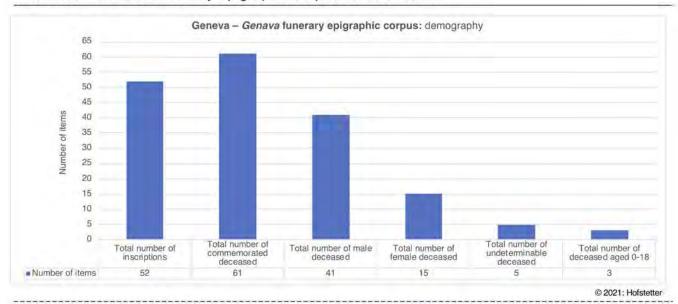
FELLMANN 1992, 291-312; MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 328-355; GLEIZE 2010, 48-57.

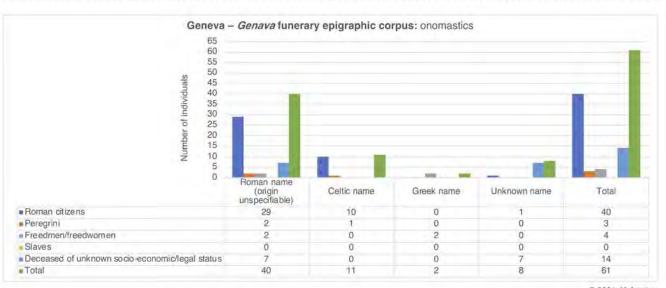
⁴⁴ PAUNIER 1981; FELLMANN 1992.

⁴⁵ PAUNIER 1981, 19-22; MAIER 1983; WIBLÉ 2005, 200-319.

⁴⁶ HATT 1949, 13-19; MACMULLEN 1982, 233-246; SALWAY 1994, 124-145, CARROLL 2013, 2-21.

Geneva - Genava: funerary epigraphic corpus caracterisation





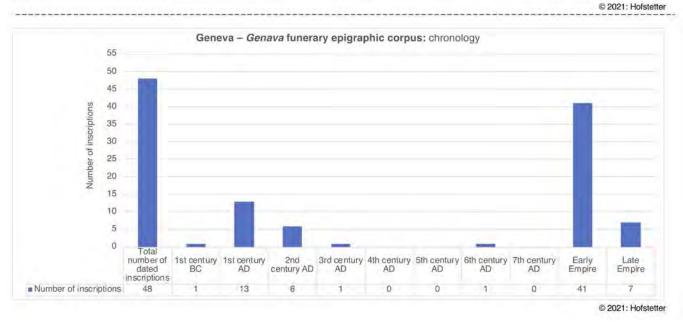
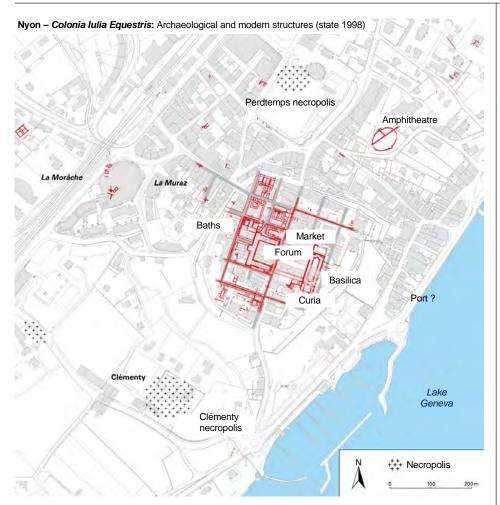


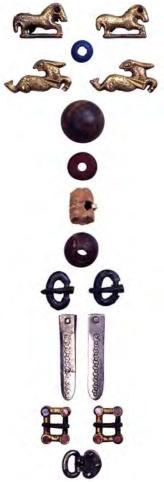
Fig. 6: Geneva – Genava: overview of funerary epigraphic data presented in text.

Nyon - Colonia Iulia Equestris: archaeological data



A) Nyon – Colonia Iulia Equestris: Archaeological and modern structures (state 1998)

© 1998: Archeodunum SA; Cantonal Archaeological Department of Vaud; Kohli cartography – Bern



B) Nyon – Clémenty necropolis: Grave goods of Germanic tradition (5th to 6th century AD)

© 2017: Hervé



C) Nyon - Colonia Iulia Equestris: Remains of the basilica

© 1974: Cantonal Archaeological Department of Vaud



D) Nyon - Colonia Iulia Equestris: Remains of the amphitheatre

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Fig. 7: Nyon – Colonia Iulia Equestris: overview of archaeological data presented in text.

customs of the newcomers, but also and above all to use it to express their own local identity⁴⁷. Accordingly, one sometimes distinguishes either liberties taken in the interpretation and in the application of certain contemporary Roman funerary epigraphic traits, or possible reminiscences of more ancient or properly Celtic habits. These are expressed in particular in the iconographic register, as for example in the bust accompanying the meridionally inspired epitaph of Sevva (Appendix 1: no. 33) and the lunula figurations of Celtic tradition that it displays.

Nyon - Colonia Iulia Equestris:

Material and textual perspectives: Archaeological and historical funerary data dearly lack for the protohistoric period and are of help only starting from the transition to Antiquity onwards. In this sense, these data reveal in which way the so-to-say ex nihilo Roman foundation of Nyon shaped the local funerary behaviours. Through the establishment of Colonia Iulia Equestris (Fig. 7) - a colony under Roman law and populated by veteran soldiers and by individuals in close contact with Roman culture - this town developed a way of functioning in line with contemporaneous Roman trends and standards. This is true for the administrative, political and religious domains, but also seems to reflect in the funerary world⁴⁸. Indeed, one observes relatively standardised funerary practices; in terms of localisation of necropolises, in terms of funerary gestures (predominance of cremation until the dawn of the $3^{\rm rd}$ century AD, followed by the resurgence of inhumation). On the other hand, as far as funerary recruitment is concerned, the main necropolises appear reserved for adult individuals, while children seem to have been buried in other specific places; a feature which existed both during the Late Iron Age as well as throughout the Roman world⁴⁹, although not exclusively⁵⁰. From the $5^{\text{\tiny th}}$ century AD onwards, Franc and Alamanni influence is expressed by a gradual shift in the type of local grave good dotation (mainly comprising adornments and clothing accessories, crafted in a fashion never before seen on the present-day Swiss territory yet showing clear affinities with contemporary productions from beyond the Rhine) (Fig. 7).

Epigraphic perspectives: The funerary epigraphic habit (Fig. 8) appears to be relatively standardised (in terms of material, dimension, stylistic, typological, graphic and in the small-scale and familial management of funerary structures)⁵¹. Even so, the socio-demographic, socio-economic and onomastic characterisation of the deceased population allows us to put this observation into perspective. Indeed, certain social categories appear to be over-represented. This is notably the case for male deceased who held Roman citizenship and political, religious or military positions. Conversely, peregrini, freedmen and slaves are under-represented, while female deceased are completely absent from the epigraphic sample at our disposal. In fact, the observation previously made in the case of Geneva

seems applicable here as well; the observable standardisation of epigraphic funerary practices seems only illustrative of the habit of certain social categories. Indeed, exposure to the funerary customs in vogue among the Roman newcomers could - amongst other - occur while holding a position within the Roman administration (political elites, religious officials, military personnel, etc.). It therefore appears that the reproduction or adaptation of this type of funerary custom was probably only meaningful in the eyes of the select population sample at stake, which is why it perpetrated or adapted them. However, and unfortunately, in the case of Colonia Iulia Equestris, the elements allowing to understand the funerary customs followed by other individuals than those commemorated in this way are extremely scarce and do not enable to describe these parallel behaviours in any meaningful way.

Augst / Kaiseraugst - Augusta Raurica:

Material and textual perspectives: Material and textual evidence from Augusta Raurica (Fig. 9) shows a rupture induced by the arrival of the Romans in the region. This rupture in funerary practices takes on the form of a swift transition from the predominance of pit graves in woodenplank coffins during the La Tène period to the traditional Roman practice of the first centuries AD, characterised primarily by cremation. This transition appears to have been rapid given that the site of Augusta Raurica was not densely populated before its Roman re-foundation in 44/43 BC52 by Lucius Munatius Plancus. In fact, Iron Age settlements and necropolises were mainly located in the Basel region (for example Basel - Gasfabrik or Münsterhügel)53. From the 1st century AD onwards however, a series of new necropolises sometimes containing rather ostentatious funerary monuments – developed on the outskirts of Augusta Raurica, along the main communication axes. More particularly, these necropolises distinguish themselves from the La Tène graveyards by the massive predominance of cremation and individual secondary deposits. A few cases of pyre graves and buried cremains (sometimes in tiled graves) and family burials are also attested, thereby indicating a certain diversity of funerary gestures. Grave goods consist essentially of clothing accessories, adornment elements, monetary or food offerings. Nevertheless, it appears that - with regard to the estimated size of Augusta Raurica's population - a strict funerary recruitment was applied. This might explain the small number of funerary remains documented up to date. It is difficult however to characterise this funerary recruitment in bioarchaeological terms, given that the predominant practice of cremation allows for limited bioanthropological characterisation of the deceased⁵⁴.

From the end of the 2nd century and especially in the course of the 3rd century AD, one observes a generalised evolution to less ostentatious tombs (in terms of architecture

⁴⁷ CARROLL 2013, 2-21.

⁴⁸ WEIDMANN 1978, 75-78; STEINER 2002, 307-316; FREI-STOLBA 2004, 463-466; ANDREY 2007, 33-81.

⁴⁹ FELLMANN 1992: 291-312; MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 339-

⁵⁰ CARROLL 2018.

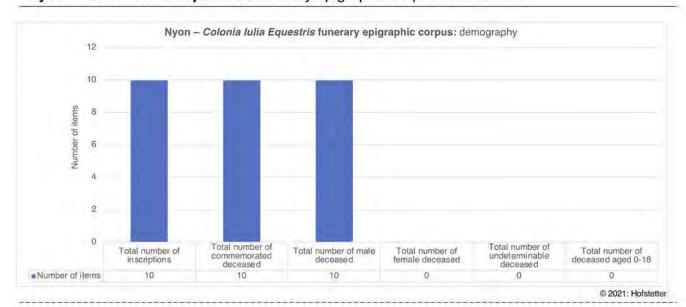
⁵¹ MAIER 1983; GRZYBEK 2002, 309-316; WIBLÉ 2005, 200-319.

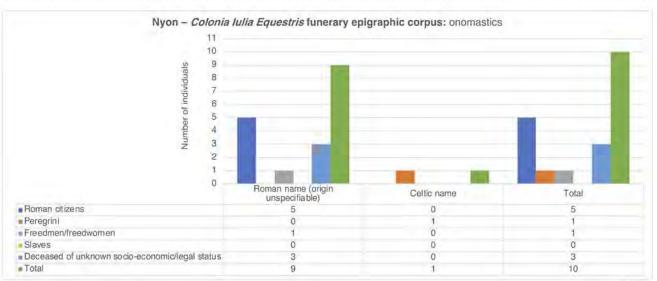
⁵² SCHWARZ 2004, 355-359; FURGER 1998, 6-9; FURGER 2005; NOUVEL/ CRAMATTE 2013, 384-409

LASSAU 2008, 95-98; BRÖNNIMANN/RISSANNEN 2017, 93-97.

⁵⁴ TOMASEVIC-BUCK 1982, 141-148; RÜTTI 1994, 211-217; LASSAU 1995, 79-90; MÜLLER et aliI 1996, 89-105; SCHWARZ 2002, 153-168; BOSSART et alii 2006, 67-108; FACCANI 2012., 108-109; MAYER 2012, 41-45; SCHWARZ 2012: 307-349, AMMANN/CASTELLA 2013, 20-22; ADLER 2015; AMMAN 2015.

Nyon - Colonia Iulia Equestris: funerary epigraphic corpus caracterisation





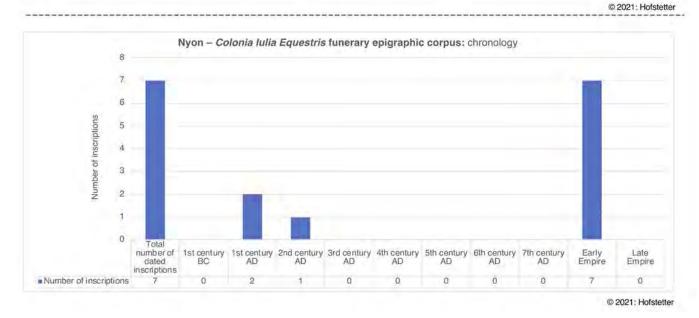
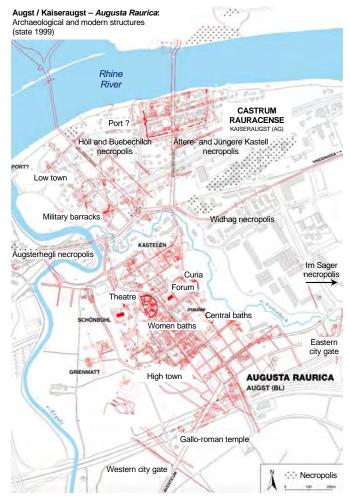
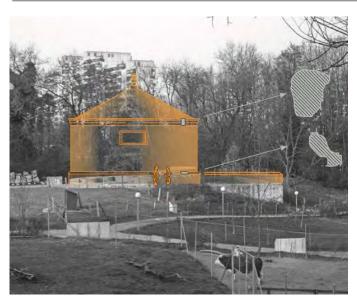


Fig. 8: Nyon – Colonia Iulia Equestris: overview of funerary epigraphic data presented in text.

Augst / Kaiseraugst - Augusta Raurica: archaeological data



A) Augst / Kaiseraugst – Augusta Raurica: Archaeological and modern structures (state 1999) © 2000: Römermuseum Augst; Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse; Kohli cartography – Bern



E) Kaiseraugst - Osttor: Big-sized funerary monument (digital rendering)

© 2012: Berger

Fig. 9: Augst / Kaiseraugst: Augusta Raurica: overview of archaeological data presented in text.







B) Kaiseraugst – Im Sager necropolis: Tomb 413 (1st to 2^{nd} century AD), cinerary urn

C) Kaiseraugst – Im Sager necropolis: Tomb 449 (3rd to 4th century AD), inhumation burial

D) Kaiseraugst - Im Sager necropolis: Tomb 1304 (3rd to 4th century AD), tegulae caisson grave

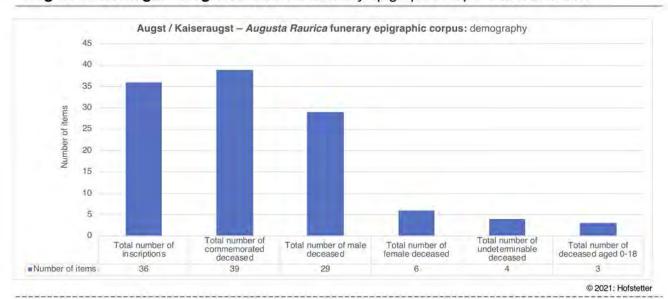
© 2015: Ammann

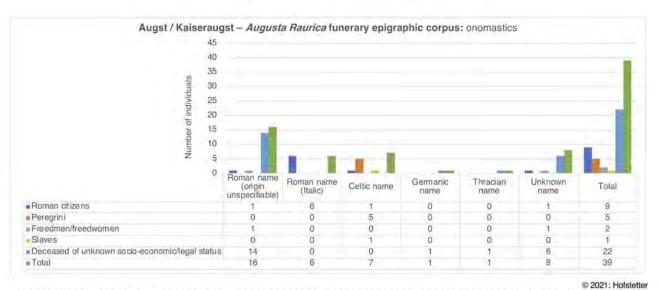


B) Basel - Gasfabrik necropolis: Tomb 28 (320 to 280 BC), inhumation grave with weaponry dotation

© 2010: Cantonal Archaeological Department of Basel-

Augst / Kaiseraugst - Augusta Raurica: funerary epigraphic corpus caracterisation





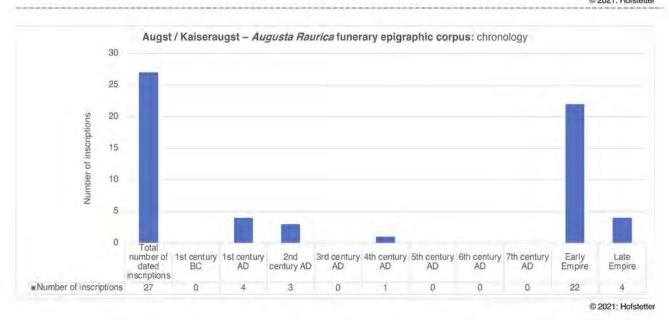


Fig. 10: Augst / Kaiseraugst – *Augusta Raurica*: overview of funerary epigraphic data presented in text.

and grave dotation). This phenomenon is particularly visible in the Widhag necropolis⁵⁵.

Furthermore, the shift back to inhumation, which takes place between the 3^{rd} and 4^{th} centuries AD in the Upper Rhine bend region, is also clearly discernible in the Ältere and Jüngere Kastellnekropole. Since the Jüngere Kastellnekropole also shows significant material evidence of the spread of Christianity, it seems reasonable to consider this new religion as one of the driving forces behind this renewal of funerary behaviours⁵⁶. Furthermore, in Augusta Raurica, the 3^{rd} century AD seems to have represented troubled times (as evidenced by the discovery of numerous monetary caches, textual mentions and physical evidence of Alamanni incursions). This state of fact seems to have catalysed (or at least contributed in a certain extent to) a change in the social apprehension of death: after two centuries of prosperity, gallo-roman society, exposed to growing Alamanni influence essentially due to the weakening of the imperial hold on its edges, possibly favoured the advent of funerary behaviours refocused for example on the expression of a particular form of local ancestral heritage or on the input of neighbouring regional traditions⁵⁷.

Another aspect raised by archaeological and historical data is the fate of tombs in this particular region, and more specifically, of funerary markers over time. Indeed, Roman law, as well as traditions and religion required the maintenance of funerary structures and the practice of a cult of the dead, forcing the living to make periodic contact with their deceased⁵⁸. In Augusta Raurica, at least one example of a renovated funerary stele is known (cf. epitaph of Castius Peregrinus (Appendix 3: no. 10), indicating that such legislation seems indeed to have been taken seriously in given cases. Similarly, Roman institutions formally proscribed the violation, destruction or partial reuse of funerary structures⁵⁹. However, it is also recognised that a large part of the known epigraphic supports in the region was reused to build or fortify the Castrum Rauracensis from the middle of the 3rd century AD onwards⁶⁰. Hence, it appears that in the event of force majeure, it is nevertheless the interests of the living that prevail over those of the dead⁶¹.

Epigraphic perspectives: As in the cases of Genava and Colonia Iulia Equestris, the funerary epigraphic habit of Augusta Raurica (Fig. 10) appears to be relatively standardised (on the material, dimensional, stylistic and typographical levels as wells as in the small-scale and familial management of the monuments). However, the socio-demographic, socio-economic and onomastic characterisation of the deceased population invites to reconsider this observation to some extent. Indeed, individuals with Roman citizenship constitute the dominant fraction of the commemorated population, far exceeding the peregrini, freedmen and slaves. Generally speaking, representatives of Celtic origin also appear largely under-represented in the corpus under

55 MAYER 2012, 41-45.

consideration⁶²; an observation that represents an extension of the reflexions already proposed in the cases of *Genava* and Colonia Iulia Equestris. It should however also be noted that the case of Augusta Raurica is somewhat different in that individuals who held political, religious or military positions are not over-represented. On the contrary, mentions of professional activities are extremely rare in this particular epigraphic corpus. Yet, and on the whole, this standardisation still probably only reflects the habits of particular social groups. This observation is further substantiated by the very small number of known funerary inscriptions from Augusta Raurica in the period under consideration, given the size of the ancient city⁶³. But the epigraphic data from Augusta Raurica still enables to refine the scenarios regarding the diffusion and reception of contemporary Roman epigraphic habits in Gaul. In this sense, the observation made in the cases of Genava and Colonia Iulia Equestris (where individuals most likely to engage with Roman administration and society also appear most incline to adopt, take over or reappropriate certain elements of its epigraphic funerary practices) seems only partially applicable to Augusta Raurica's case⁶⁴. Indeed, individuals holding Roman citizenship prevail but, from what can be ascertained from the epigraphic funerary corpus, individuals showcasing certain traits of Roman epigraphic funerary habits do not necessarily have more explicit links with Roman administration or society than others (particularly in the case of Celtic peregrini). Also, they do not seem to reinterpret or selectively adapt these habits in any significant way (as it is notably the case for the funerary stele of Ioincatia Nundina (Appendix 3: no. 12)). In fact, as B. Hartmann⁶⁵ suggests, this state of fact could result from two social phenomena working in parallel: firstly, the effective and transpopulational acculturation of the local Celtic community and secondly, the far-reaching appropriation of certain traits of Roman funerary epigraphic habits by the local Celtic Rauracan community. In this case, the local population thus seems to have adapted the funerary mode of expression of the newcomers, in order to communicate and articulate their own identity and self-perception by making use of these new expressive devices⁶⁶.

Valais (VS) - Vallis Poenina:

Material and textual perspectives: One notes a form of regularity in funerary behaviours in Valais at least since the First Iron Age onwards (Fig. 11). Indeed, in addition to the fact that the geographical implantation of necropolises seems to be dictated by quasi-timeless conventions, inhumation appears to have been the predominant practice since Hallstattian times⁶⁷. During this period, the presence of significant socio-economic disparities constitutes another constant characteristic of Valais' funerary world. These disparities materialize in the erection of large and richly endowed tumuli graves, also incorporating peripheral tombs, which are clearly less well bestowed. Bioanthropological data

⁵⁶ SCHWARZ 2002, 153-168.

⁵⁷ SCHWARZ 2002, 153-168.

⁵⁸ AUDIN 1965, 79-87; KATTAN 2002, 17-31; LAUBRY 2016, 75-93

⁵⁹ WAMSER 1887; LAUBRY 2016, 12-14.

⁶⁰ SCHWARZ 2012, 307-349.

⁶¹ SCHWARZ 2012, 307-349.

HARTMANN 2013, 117-136.

⁶³ BOSSART et alii 2006, 67-108.

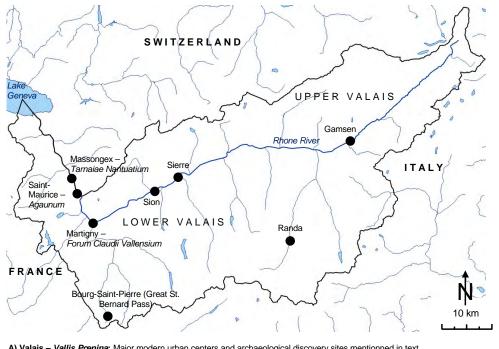
⁶⁴ HARTMANN 2013, 117-136.

HARTMANN 2013, 117-136.

⁶⁶ HARTMANN 2013, 117-136; CARROLL 2013, 2-21.

⁶⁷ SAUTER 1950, 35-50; CURDY 2018(b); CURDY 2018(b).

Valais - Vallis Pœnina: archaeological data



A) Valais - Vallis Pœnina: Major modern urban centers and archaeological discovery sites mentionned in text

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B) Sion – Don Bosco necropolis: Tomb 18 (800 to 450 BC), coffin burial with rich grave goods dotation

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C) Sion – Don Bosco necropolis Cairn "G", tomb "K" (800 to 450 BC), Cairn inhumation burial with rich grave goods dotation

© 2019: ARIA SA; Cantonal Archaeology Department of Valais



D) Sion – Parking des Remparts necropolis: Tomb 19 (UT188) (200 to 150 BC), inhumation with plank

© 2006: TERA s.à.r.l.; Cantonal Archaeology Department of Valais © 2018: Hofstetter







D) Gamsen - Waldmatte necropolis: Structure RV 50 (1st to 3rd century AD), cinerary urn in archictectured pit deposit

© 2019: TERA s.à.r.l.; Cantonal Archaeology Department of Valais

E) Sion - Don Bosco necropolis: Fomb 110 (1st to 3rd century AD), burnt human remains deposited into an architectured pit

© 2019: ARIA SA; Cantonal Archaeology Department of Valais

F) Sion - Sous-le-Scex necropolis: Overview of the funerary basilica (6th century AD)

© 2019: Cantonal Archaeology Department of Valais

Fig. 11: Valais – Vallis Pænina: overview of archaeological data presented in text.

further suggest a very restrictive funerary recruitment⁶⁸. This specific organisation of the funerary world was upheld during the Second Iron Age⁶⁹. Even though La Tène inhumations do not necessarily express the same ostentatious character as their imposing predecessors - the Hallstattian burial mounds - funerary recruitment, epigenetic and genetic proximity of La Tène individuals, their state of health and

68 MARIÉTHOZ 2011.

grave goods still point to funerary practices reserved for a form of social elite, also during this period⁷⁰. Even the integration of Valais into the Roman sphere does not seem to have radically transformed local funerary behaviours (at least in wider comparison with other Celtic regions incorporated into the Roman world)71. Inhumation appears to remain the norm at least until the last quarter of the 1st

⁶⁹ CURDY et alii 2009; MOGHADDAM et alii 2016, 149-160; MOGHADDAM et alii 2018, 1067-1085.

CURDY et alii 2009, 199-210; MOGHADDAM et alii 2016, 149-160; MOGHADDAM et alii 2018, 1067-1085, HOFSTETTER et alii 2021.

⁷¹ FELLMANN 1992, 302; CURDY et alii 2009, 199-210; DUBOSSON 2006; DUBOSSON 2007, 134-136; DOBLER 2008.

century AD (or even until the 2nd century AD in the case of Upper Valais)72. In fact, rather than inducing a thorough renewal of funerary practices and rituals, the arrival of the Romans in Valais seems to have catalysed a very selective adoption of certain Roman funerary features; an observation already made both by J.-J. Hatt and M. Carroll in their respective studies of funerary practices in Roman Gaul⁷³. This phenomenon is evidenced in Valais - at least until the 3rd century AD – within certain graves presenting very marked La Tène reminiscences, but where the traditional indigenous grave goods are being replaced by Roman productions⁷⁴. In this respect, the case of Valais is illustrative of at least three fundamental socio-cultural mechanisms. On one hand, the weight of ancestral traditions, which are maintained over time, albeit displaying an evolution of their own alongside with a fluctuating perceptibility over time, and on the other hand, the contribution and influence of new exogenous habits, as well as the differential adoption of the latter by the local populations, according to their sociocultural and geographical exposure to these new customs and their respective dispositions to adopt them or not, fully or partially⁷⁵.

These observations highlight the particularism and variable hermeticity of the different Celtic communities of Valais, both socio-culturally speaking and more specifically in funerary terms. This phenomenon is already observable during the protohistoric period, since graves from central Valais - the territory of the Seduni, according to ancient sources⁷⁶ - are easily distinguishable based on grave goods dotation and body positioning⁷⁷. During early Antiquity, despite the inclusion of these different communities into the Roman world, their specific characteristics seem to change only superficially, for some of them almost not at all. This is particularly the case of the Uberi in the Upper Valais ⁷⁸. It is not until at least well into the 2nd century AD that cremation appears in these remote Alpine valleys⁷⁹. It thus seems that cremation only made its way here only roughly a century before inhumation started its comeback, on most of the Swiss territory and throughout the Roman Empire⁸⁰. Hence, in addition to the specific cultural hermeticism (itself probably induced by a strong attachment to ancestral traditions or a relative lack of interest in the habits of the Roman newcomers)81, these local peculiarities probably also result in part from the relative geographical isolation of these Alpine communities⁸².

Lack of funerary data for the period spanning the end of the 3rd century to the beginning of the 5th century, renders it difficult to assess the modalities of transition from cremation back to inhumation in Valais. However, this observation is complementary to the material and

DUBOSSON 2006; DUBOSSON 2007, 134-135.

textual data retrieved from the study of the non-funerary domain. Indeed, the latter indicate a slow decline in Valais from the end of the 3rd century AD and especially during the 4th century AD. Urban centres appear to be affected in priority, catalysing a significant rural exodus. The breakup and dispersion of the population into smaller, outlying localities (notably in agricultural agglomerations) partly accounts for the absence of funerary remains for this period. Funerary ensembles now take on a communitarian or even family-sized scale and are scattered across the landscape⁸³. It is only at the end of the 4th and during the 5th century AD in particular, that the development of larger burial complexes associated with funerary basilicas marks a change in trend, highlighting the performative character of Christianity on funerary behaviours (notably within this region thought to be the site of the legendary martyrdom of Saint-Maurice of Agaunum and the Theban legion during Diocletian's reign⁸⁴)⁸⁵.

Epigraphic perspectives: The funerary epigraphic habit of Valais (Fig. 12) appears to be relatively standardised (on the linguistic, material, dimensional, stylistic and typographic levels, and in the family character of the management of the monuments). As observed in all other sites considered so far, the socio-demographic, socio-economic and onomastic characterisation of the deceased population calls for some nuance to this observation. The previously observed bias in favour of male deceased is observable in this case as well. Likewise, individuals holding Roman citizenship make up almost two-thirds of the corpus, while those who held political, religious or military positions account for a third. Peregrini, freedmen, slaves, and a fortiori, female representatives of these various social categories, remain largely under-represented. This is all the more true in view of the limited number of funerary inscriptions known for the whole of Valais (which, as previously stated, amount to a total of n = 36). By way of comparison, at least n = 60 burials are recorded for the entire La Tène period in the central Valais alone86, which clearly indicates an under-representation of Antique burials. This under-representation is certainly partly the result of the archaeologically and historically evidenced reticence and conservatism of Valais' Celtic communities towards adopting or renewing their funerary practices87. However, this view cannot explain this under-representation in its entirety. The hazards of conservation and archaeological research can also be set aside, as structures dating from these two periods are subject to them to the same degree. In this sense, the most rational explanation seems to lie in the fact that, on the whole, the Celtic communities of the ancient Valais only gradually adopted certain specific aspects of Roman epigraphy. Indeed, funerary epigraphy appears here again to be the prerogative of certain social categories, such as, for example, the rich senatorial families in Forum Claudii Vallensium or Agaunum⁸⁸. In parallel to this observation, it is also interesting to note the rather pronounced meridional

HATT 1949, 83-105; FELLMANN 1992, 302, CARROLL 2013.

⁷⁴ Curdy et alii 2009, 208-210.

⁷⁵ CARROLL 2013.

⁷⁶ Caesar, Commentarii De Bello Gallico, 1, 2-6.

⁷⁷ CURDY et alii 2009: 123-124, HOFSTETTER et alii 2021.

FELLMANN 1992, 302.

⁷⁹ PACCOLAT 2015; BYSTRITZSKY-PAPILLOUD 2018, 15-16.

⁸⁰ PACCOLAT 2015; BYSTRITZSKY-PAPILLOUD 2018, 15-16.

PACCOLAT 2015; BYSTRITZSKY-PAPILLOUD 2018, 15-16.

⁸² PACCOLAT 2015; BYSTRITZSKY-PAPILLOUD 2018, 15-16; WIBLÉ 2018(b); WIBLÉ 2018(b); WIBLÉ 2018(c).

B3 DUBOSSON 2006; 2007, 134-138, DOBLER 2008; WIBLÉ 2018(b); WIBLÉ 2018(b); WIBLÉ 2018(c).

ZANGGER 2015.

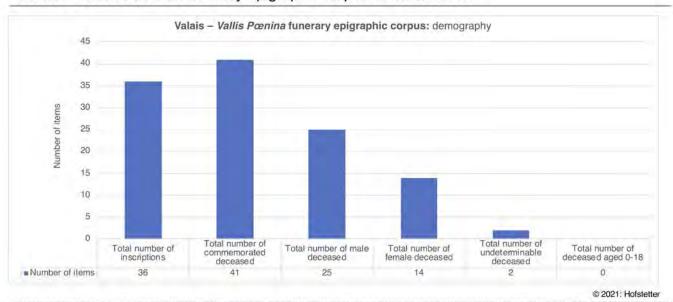
⁸⁵ DOBLER 2008; WIBLÉ 2018(b); WIBLÉ 2018(b); WIBLÉ 2018(c).

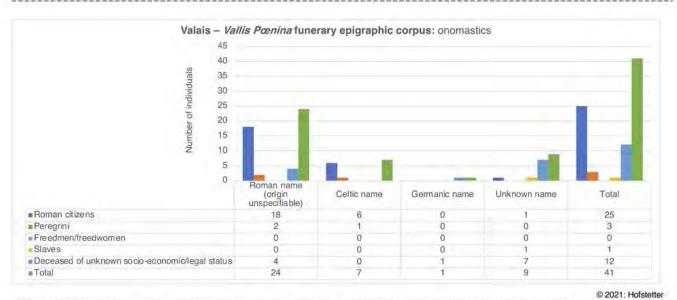
CURDY et alii 2009; HOFSTETTER 2018.

CURDY et alii 2009: HOFSTETTER 2018.

⁸⁸ DUBOSSON 2007: 133

Valais - Vallis Pænina: funerary epigraphic corpus caracterisation





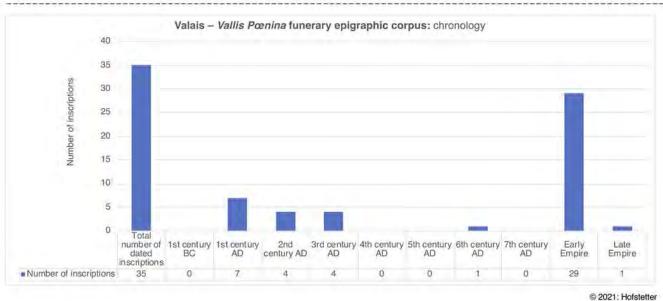
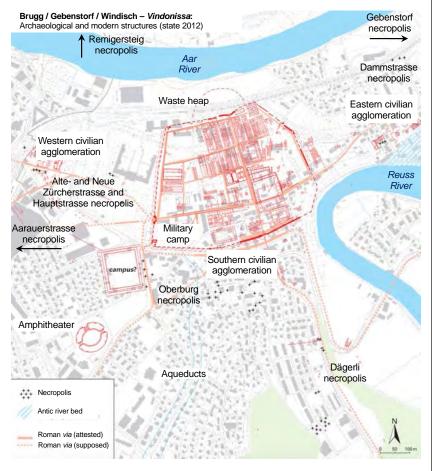


Fig. 12: Valais – Vallis Pænina: overview of funerary epigraphic data presented in text.

Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch - Vindonissa: archaeological data



A) Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch - Vindonissa: Archaeological and modern structures (state 2012)

© 2012: Cantonal Archaeological Department of Aargau; Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse; Kohli cartography –



E) Brugg – Remigersteig necropolis: Grave goods accompagnying the grave of Maxsimilla and Heuprosinis (1st century AD), architectured tomb

© 2014: Trumm and Huber







B) Brugg - Alte und Neue Zürcherstrasse Hauptstrasse necropolis: Structure 667 (1st century AD), cinerary urn deposit in a unarchitectured pit

© 2012: Baerlocher et al.

C) Brugg - Remigersteig necropolis: Funerary memorial of Maxsimilla and Heuprosinis (1st century AD). architectured tomb

© 2014: Trumm and Huber

D) Brugg - Remigersteig necropolis: Adult inhumation grave ($\overline{4^{th}}$ to 5^{th} century AD), coffin burial with grave goods dotation

© 2014: Trumm and Huber

Fig. 13: Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch - Vindonissa: overview of archaeological data presented in text.

stylistic influence in certain funerary epigraphic productions from Valais, which materializes tangible links between this region and the south of the Alps. In fact, due to its geographical situation on a main axis through the Alpine massif, Valais was exposed to important exogenous cultural influences at least since recent Protohistory89. However, it is once again very likely that exposure and subsequent assimilation of certain exogenous cultural traits, particularly

89 CURDY et alii 2009; HOFSTETTER et alii 2021.

from the south, took on a very variable importance depending on the individuals, their respective socio-economic status as well as in terms of communities and geographical regions more generally speaking. Upper Valais apparently remained more on the fringe of this phenomenon than Lower Valais, given that one of the major ancient transalpine axes runs through this region (Latin: Mons Jovis and nowadays Grand St. Bernard pass)90.

⁹⁰ CURDY et alii 2009; HOFSTETTER et alii 2021.

Brugg / Windisch / Gebenstorf - Vindonissa:

Material and textual perspectives: Presently, the available data do not allow to present a clear picture of the transition and renewal of funerary practices between the end of the protohistoric period and the beginning of Antiquity in the Vindonissa region (Fig. 13); one might only mention that Second Iron Age cremations were unearthed at Windisch -Spillmanwiese⁹¹. From the Early Imperial period onwards, this data set does however depict an interesting chronological evolution⁹². First, the necropolis of Brugg - Remigersteig as well as those of Brugg - Alte- and Neue Zürcherstrasse / Hauptstrasse, Brugg - Aarauerstrasse, Gebenstorf and Windisch - Dägerli show an intense but relatively short-lived functional phase, corresponding to the implantation of the Vindonissa castrum. At least 800 cremation graves (mostly in urns) and about 30 inhumation graves are known in these different necropolises. Their phases of use range from the initial third of the 1st century AD to the final third of the 1st century AD. In addition, some of these sites (Brugg - Aarauerstrasse, Windisch - Dägerli) also show a less intensive phase of use that extends into the beginning of the 2^{nd} century AD, or even episodic reoccupations during the Late Empire. Yet, there is a gap of almost a century between the end of use of the oldest known funerary sites at Vindonissa and the establishment of new necropolises. In this regard, the necropolises of Windisch -Dammstrasse and Windisch - Oberburg, and to a lesser extent Brugg - Remigersteig, show a functional period that begins only in the 3^{rd} century AD and extends roughly until the 8^{th} century AD93. Unfortunately, it is mainly during the hiatus spanning the middle of the 2nd century AD to the beginning of the 4th century, that funerary practices underwent a significant renewal. During this period, inhumations (in coffins or wooden-planks assemblages) gradually became the norm. To date, nearly 400 inhumations from the Late Empire are distributed among the various funerary ensembles of Vindonissa. In the meantime, ostentatious and richly endowed inhumation graves (with funerary beds, precious ceramics, metal ware, adornments, etc.) installed in vaults, mausoleums or on pedestals gradually give way to more sober graves. The latter were no longer monumentally signified and bestowed with goods such as clothing accessories, sometimes showing growing Alamanni influence expressing itself in the presence of small ceramic assortments, metal or glass containers, daggers or knives and occasionally small food offerings). This renewal of funeral behaviours, has been interpreted as the expression of the weakening of imperial power during the 3rd century AD. Indeed, episodes of barbarian incursion might well have catalysed a diffusion and/or return-movement to ancestral and communitarian inspired belief systems). All the same, ongoing economic stagnation increasing social inequalities and the spread of new ideologies in the provinces - including Christianity - might also have played an important role in this renewal towards a visually less ostentatious funerary panorama94.

Furthermore, it is worth highlighting the discovery of burnt funeral bed remains⁹⁵ as well as two Coptic amulets within the necropolises of Vindonissa⁹⁶. At their respective scales, these elements provide specific insights into the nature of the local funerary behaviours and the perceptions of death developed by the inhabitants of Vindonissa during Antiquity. The presence of burial beds to the North of the Alps is an extremely rare phenomenon; only few other isolated occurrences in Germany (Birten, Haltern, Cologne and Mainz), France (Fréjus and Cucurion), and Slovenia (Colatio) are known⁹⁷. All these finds are linked to the excavation of military installations. Furthermore, it is known that such ostentatious pieces of furniture played a central role in certain Roman funeral ceremonies (both for display of the deceased and subsequent cremation of the bodies), particularly in the wealthy social classes between the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD⁹⁸. In view of these elements, it is therefore possible that the spread of funeral beds beyond the Alps was the work of rather prosperous individuals (such as military officers) who exported certain aspects of Roman high society funerals to the provinces99. Similarly, the presence of Coptic amulets (dated to the 2nd and 5th centuries AD) in the necropolis of Windisch (AG) -Oberburg not only evidences the large-scale circulation of new religious ideas throughout the Roman world, but also the fact that localities on the fringes of Roman territory, such as *Vindonissa*, were not excluded from this type of network. In this respect, one of the motors usually invoked for the propagation of ideas and new cults within the Roman world is its army100; a consideration that seems fairly applicable in the present case. It could also further explain the somewhat "cosmopolitan" character of the funerary behaviours within a hinterland centre such as Vindonissa¹⁰¹.

Epigraphic perspectives: The funerary epigraphic habit (Fig. 14) appears as relatively standardised. This observation is valid from the material, dimensional, stylistic and typographic points of view, as well as in light of the small-scale or familial management of graves. However, the socio-demographic, socio-economic and onomastic characterisation of the deceased population puts this observation into perspective, given that certain social categories appear to be over-represented (such as male deceased holding Roman citizenship and political, religious or military positions). Conversely, peregrini, freedmen and slaves are under-represented and in particular women of such conditions. At the same time, as in the case of Colonia Iulia *Equestris*, one sense the important influence of the military and administrative function of Vindonissa on its funerary world. Indeed, the dead affiliated with the army are largely over-represented. In addition, the observable diversity of origins of the deceased in Vindonissa probably also results from the fact that it was an important military base.

⁹¹ AMMANN/CASTELLA 2013, 24-25.

⁹² HINTERMANN 1998, 55-62; TRUMM 2011, 3-22; TRUMM 2012, 81-93; CASTELLA/AMMANN 2013: 24; TRUMM 2015.

⁹³ HINTERMANN 1998, 55-62; TRUMM 2011, 3-22; TRUMM 2012, 81-93; CASTELLA/AMMANN 2013: 24: TRUMM 2015.

HINTERMANN 1998, 55-62; TRUMM 2011, 3-22; TRUMM 2012, 81-93; CASTELLA/AMMANN 2013: 24; TRUMM 2015.

BAERLOCHER et alii 2012, 29-55.

KOSACK/PAULI-GABI 2003, 11-15

⁹⁷ BÉRAUD/GÉBARA 1986, 183-210; JELENKO/GROH 2006, 405-422; BERKE 2011, 285-291; BAERLOCHER et alii 2012, 29-55.

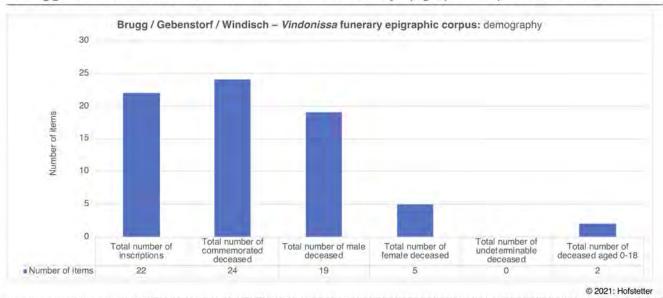
BÉRAUD/GÉBARA 1986, 183-210; JELENKO/GROH 2006, 405-422; BERKE 2011, 285-291; BAERLOCHER et alii 2012, 29-55.

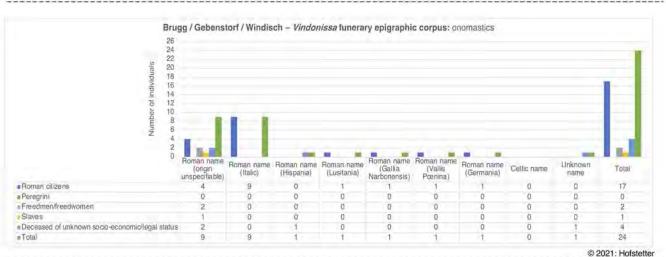
BAERLOCHER et alii 2012, 33-36.

¹⁰⁰ SOUTHERN 2007, 87-111.

¹⁰¹ TRUMM 2015.

Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch - Vindonissa: funerary epigraphic corpus caracterisation





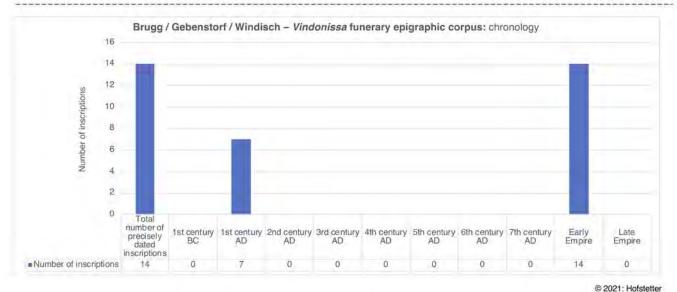


Fig. 14: Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch - Vindonissa: overview of funerary epigraphic data presented in text.

Avenches - Aventicum: archaeological data

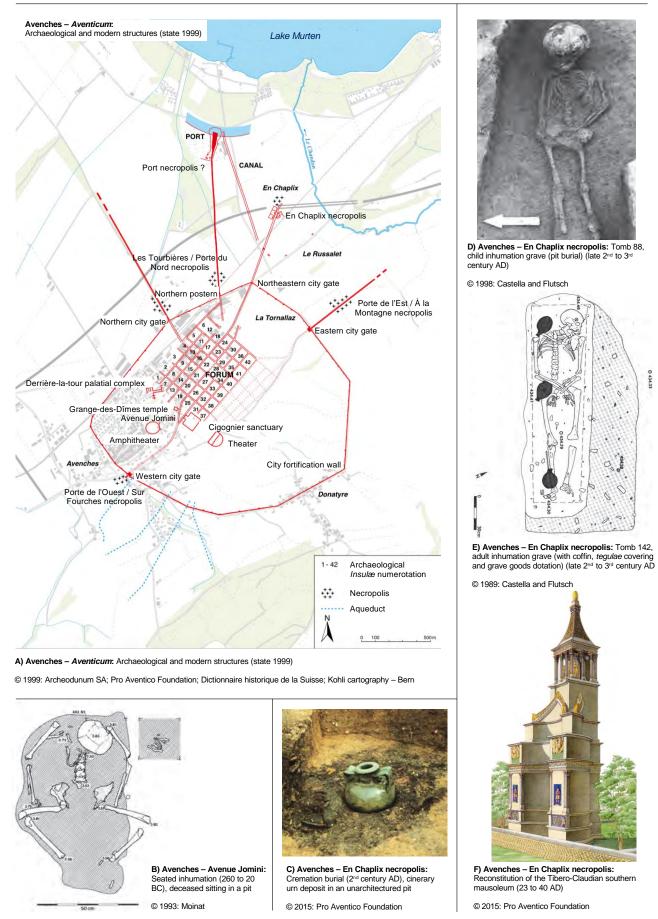


Fig. 15: Avenches - Aventicum: overview of archaeological data presented in text.

Avenches - Aventicum:

and textual perspectives: Although <u>Material</u> protohistoric material remains are scarce, they nonetheless indicate a certain diversity in terms of funerary behaviours (Fig. 15). This diversity is archaeologically observable starting from the end of the La Tène period. At this time, supine inhumation graves 102 as well as seated inhumations 103 and even cremation burials can be found in the Avenches region 104. During Antiquity itself, the necropolises of Avenches present a broad and diversified panorama of funeral practices. The necropolis of Avenches - En Chaplix - for instance - illustrates the case of a large private necropolis, functional during several centuries and probably associated with an important suburban exploitation. It evidences the gradual evolution of funerary behaviours - within a stratum of society that was probably relatively wealthy – from cremation, during the first three centuries AD, to the reestablishment of inhumation during the 3rd century AD¹⁰⁵. Furthermore, in addition to testifying of the local prosperity, two monumental Tiberio-Claudian mausoleums within this necropolis offer a nice overview of the taste, and the stylistic mastery (with regard notably to the integration of meridional architectural elements to develop a local fashion) on the present-day Swiss territory during the 1st century AD106. Additionally, the discovery of trenches containing ashes, remains of burnt offerings, or donations not subjected to the action of flames, but with no human bones is also noteworthy. These structures have been interpreted as either dumping pits, cenotaphs or the materialization of funerary rituals practiced alongside inhumation. This suggests that, in parallel to the archaeologically and historically well-documented funerary practices, a series of other customs also existed during this period. The latter might have included the scattering of ashes, the cleaning and selection of bones 107 or burials in other places bearing an important symbolic charge $^{\! 108}\!.$ The discovery of tableware, animal offerings, amphorae and ceramic vessels within these trenches has also been seen as indicative of their use during periodic ceremonies in honour of the deceased (funerary banquets, commemorative rituals, etc.)¹⁰⁹.

The Porte de l'Ouest necropolis, although less ostentatious, is nevertheless the largest-known funerary complex in the Avenches region, and as such sheds additional light on funerary behaviours, particularly in the case of a necropolis under public jurisdiction. The same applies to the other necropolises of Avenches (Port and Porte de l'Est)¹¹⁰. In fact, it is noteworthy that the observable funerary practices within these different complexes are relatively similar, even though they probably all applied their own funerary recruitment scheme. Thus, in addition to a standardised implantation (outside the town and along the main communication axes), they all display a rather early transition from cremation to inhumation during the late 2nd

RUFFIEUX 2006, 98-102; RUFFIEUX 2009, 187-200.

century AD. The considered necropolises also highlight the absence of a clear internal graves' organisation according to any identifiable variable, in archaeological, historical or epigraphical terms¹¹¹. Furthermore, they do not show any clear discrimination in funerary recruitment, notably against young children¹¹². One also senses a slow evolution in tomb construction as well as in grave good composition. Indeed, they progress from relatively ostentatious tombs and opulent offerings (such as faunal remains, coins, elements of adornment, clothing accessories, ceramics, etc.) during the first centuries of our era to smaller monuments with much fewer grave goods during the Late Empire. The overall funerary stratigraphy of Avenches also depicts an under-representation of remains from the 3rd century AD. These phenomena probably reflect both the global imperial economic situation and the more specifically provincial socioeconomic and socio-cultural evolution, as well as a globalized change in the socio-cultural apprehension of death¹¹³.

Epigraphic perspectives: The funerary epigraphic habit (Fig. 16) appears to be relatively standardised (on the material, dimensional, stylistic and typographic levels and in the small-scale and familial management of the monuments). In contrast, the socio-demographic, socio-economic and onomastic characterisation of the deceased population differs from the other places considered so far. In Avenches, female deceased constitute a majority within the currently known corpus. However, the isolated nature of this atypical situation, renders it very difficult to explain it other than resulting from conservation biases, or - alternatively - because of the consideration of data from a large private necropolis (Avenches - En Chaplix). Furthermore, one does not observe the usual preponderance of deceased persons having exercised political, religious or military functions. Yet, here again, individuals holding Roman citizenship and displaying no Celtic ancestry remain the best represented, while on the contrary, peregrini (especially of Celtic origin), freedmen and slaves are largely under-represented. The study of Avenches' funerary epigraphic corpus also reveals another onomastic peculiarity specific to the Gallo-Roman world: the progressive omission of the mention of the father's praenomen in the case of epitaphs commemorating individuals who died at a young age, as early as the second half of the 2nd century AD¹¹⁴.

6. DATA SYNTHESIS

On the following pages, a synthetic vision characterising funerary behaviours on the present-day Swiss territory during Antiquity is presented.

Gestures and practices, ritual, legal and religious aspects and the collective funerary imaginary: a material and textual assessment

The considered data outline the contours of the funerary phenomenon on the Swiss territory during Antiquity in a relatively precise way. One observes that the

¹⁰³ MOINAT 1993, 5-13.

¹⁰⁴ ANDERSON/CASTELLA 2007, 153-158; AMOROSO 2016, 43-46.

CASTELLA/FLUTSCH 1989.

¹⁰⁶ FLUTSCH/HAUSER 1993, 99-103.

¹⁰⁷ Dio Cassius, Historia Romana, 56, 31.3; GRAHAM et alii 2019, 240-254.

CASTELLA et alii 2001, 79-81.

¹⁰⁹ CASTELLA et alii 2001, 79-81.

¹¹⁰ DEWARRAT MARGAIRAZ 1989, 109-137.

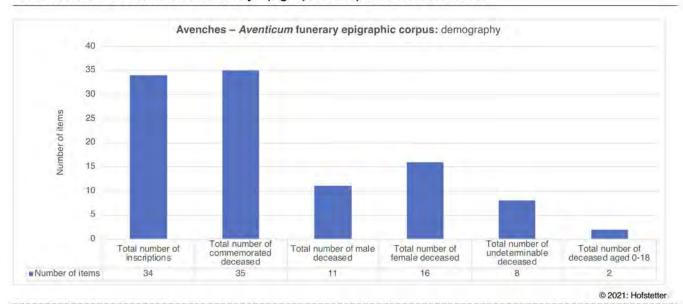
¹¹¹ DEWARRAT MARGAIRAZ 1989, 109-137.

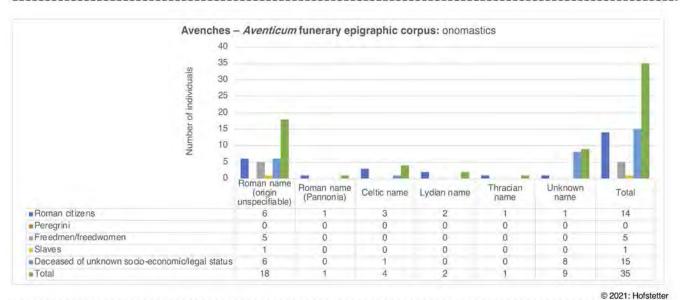
¹¹² KRAMAR/BLANC 2005, 18-59.

¹¹³ MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 348-350; NOUVEL/CRAMATTE 2013, 391-392,

¹¹⁴ FREI-STOLBA/BIELMAN 1996, 57-61.

Avenches - Aventicum: funerary epigraphic corpus caracterisation





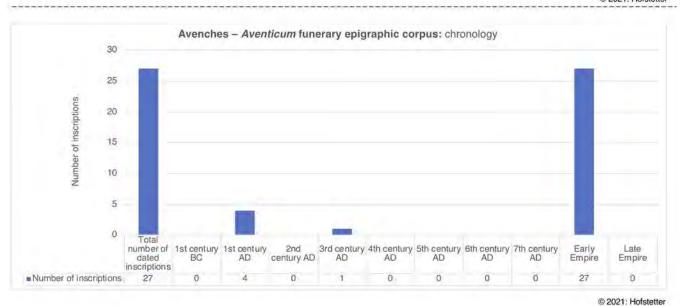


Fig. 16: Avenches – Aventicum: overview of funerary epigraphic data presented in text.

majority of urban or rural centres of a certain importance present one or several associated funerary ensembles. Since death throughout Antiquity was mostly seen as a form of pollution, it was usually kept away from the world of the living¹¹⁵. This led to the implantation of necropolises outside of towns, along the main communication axes, or in the case of farms, on the fringes of the pars rustica¹¹⁶. These graveyards are not necessarily clearly delimited or hidden by walls. Sometimes, as given cities develop, necropolises installed in the suburbs are integrated into the urban fabric or into peri-urban activity zones¹¹⁷.

It remains difficult to apprehend the internal organisation of these graveyards, either in terms of chronospatial evolution or the grouping of individuals. This difficulty is all the more pronounced during the Early Empire, during which the predominance of cremation (sometimes leaving only few material traces) combined with long periods of exploitation of necropolises, result in a rather blurred image of the phases of use and the criteria for the arrangement of space within these areas. During the Late Empire, return to inhumation, as well as to a certain extent, standardisation of burial orientation, tends to give the funerary ensembles a more orthogonal appearance, rendering their archaeological reading easier. Underlying this evolution is the gradual transition - in the perialpine region - from the arrangement of the funerary world at the beginning of the imperial period around a few ostentatious monuments, to the visually more egalitarian model prevailing at the end of Antiquity. This model expresses the parity of the deceased in terms of funerary treatment and of grave goods dotation. In sum, the funerary heritage of the protohistoric period (characterised in particular by the presence of a select number of deceased who most likely belonged to an exclusive social elite (knights, local seigneurs, etc.) easily distinguishable from the rest of the buried population), is thus entirely reinterpreted and amplified by diverse allochtonous or regional inputs during Antiquity to finally lead to a new, more egalitarian mode (in appearance at least) 118 . The latter possibly finds its origin in the spread of Christianity or in the revival of local ancestral belief systems¹¹⁹. This observation should not, however, obscure the fact that a form of social elite continued to exist, since, although proportionally less numerous, sumptuous funerary monuments from the Late Empire also existed. This fact allows to somewhat refine the idea of the evolution of provincial socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions during this period. In sum, it appears that a sort of latent fusion occurs between the poor and middle classes, while a more restricted and exclusive elite is put in place, prefiguring the societal changes of the Middle Ages to come¹²⁰.

It also appears that graves that were mostly materialised with relatively simple surface markings (small cairn, earthen mound, wooden aedicule or stele, or a simple fence). In some cases, as exposed previously, graves were equipped with a stone stele or a masonry monument, which could sometimes take on impressive dimensions (for example the mausoleum of Augusta Raurica - Osttor or the mausoleums at Avenches - En Chaplix). This habit seems to decline from the 2nd century AD onwards, although the ancient and medieval reuse of funerary monuments as building material distorts this view to a certain extent¹²¹. Thus, while some funerary monuments are restored and used for several generations, others are integrated into later constructions after their decommissioning or destruction, thus evidencing the fluctuating application of the ancient religious and legal vision conferring an eternal character and prohibiting the profanation of such monuments¹²².

Chronologically speaking, an evolution in funerary behaviours is discernible from the end of the protohistoric period to Antiquity. Standardised inhumation necropolises disappear, while from the first half of the 1st century AD, numerous new cremation burial sites appear in peri-urban and rural contexts. They are generally used until the late 2^{nd} or 3^{rd} century AD. These necropolises differ from their predecessors known for the La Tène period by the fact that cremation constitutes the norm, their obvious connection to inhabited areas (towns or farms), as well as by their larger size (in terms of sheltered deceased)¹²³. This renewal of funerary habits obviously raises a number of questions. Does this reflect the assimilation or selective adoption (and making sense) of certain Roman funerary traits on part of the local Celtic communities? Or does it reflect the desire – on the part of the Roman provincial authorities – to standardise customs and practices in a newly conquered area? Alternatively, one can understand this renewal as a reflection of the constitution of an affluent class of the Celtic population, living in close contact with Roman culture and from which it takes on certain elements and appropriates them as their own identity markers at the microcommunitarian level (a vision largely supported by epigraphy). In addition, funerary ensembles highlight several stages and other specificities of the funerary process (cremation of the deceased with his or her offerings directly over a sepulchral grave (bustum), or in a space reserved for this purpose (ustrinum) before being secondarily deposited in a container¹²⁴, tegulae columbariums, etc.)125. The considered ensembles also hint at the practice of holding funeral banquets; a shared feature of Late Iron Age and Gallo-roman funerary traditions. In overall terms, the small quantity of individuals contained in these ensembles also point to the fact that, during the entire period under consideration, probably only a small fraction of the provincial population had the financial means, the cultural interest, the will or even simply the right to be buried there 126.

In terms of grave goods, these cremation necropolises present - in addition to the deposits of grave offerings - large

¹¹⁵ MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 332-354; PATURET 2012, 22-29; PATURET 2017, 1-25

¹¹⁶ MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 332-354; PATURET 2012, 22-29; PATURET 2017, 1-25.

¹¹⁷ AUDIN 1965, 79-87; MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 332-335; KOLB/FUGMANN 2008, 10-26; LAUBRY 2016, 75-93.

AUDIN 1965, 79-87; MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 332-335; KOLB/FUGMANN 2008, 10-26; LAUBRY 2016, 75-93.

AUDIN 1965, 79-87; MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 332-335; KOLB/FUGMANN 2008, 10-26; LAUBRY 2016, 75-93,

¹²⁰ BUSINO 1988, 209; SARACHU 2012, 51-53.

ACHARD-COROMPT et alii 2016, 35-64; CASTELLA 2016, 105-122; KREMER 2016, 75-92.

¹²² AUDIN 1965, 79-87; FELLMANN 1992, 307-311; MARTIN-KILCHER/ CASTELLA 2002, 333; LAUBRY 2016, 75-93.

¹²³ MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 339-340.

Sextus Pompeius Festus, De verborum significatione, 32.7.1

 $^{^{125}\,}$ CASTELLA/FLUTSCH 1989, 277; TRUMM/HUBER 2014, 16-21.

¹²⁶ MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 340-349.

trenches containing no bones, but rather ashes, remains of burnt offerings, or donations not subjected to the action of the flames. These trenches have thus been interpreted as cenotaphs or the materialization of a funerary ritual practiced in parallel of the treatments discussed so far. In Sion - Don Bosco or Avenches - En Chaplix for example, several such trenches containing large quantities of metal tableware, animal offerings, amphorae and ceramic vessels indicate that these trenches might have been used during periodic ceremonies in honour of the deceased (funerary banquets, commemorative rituals). These trenches can therefore be linked to the protohistoric funerary tradition on one hand, while at the same time incorporating certain elements of seemingly Roman traditions (especially material elements and ceremonial aspects)¹²⁷. This observation is substantiated archaeologically by the pronounced similarity that these trenches share with examples from the Celtic world in western Germany (Trier region, Rhineland-Palatinate) and in central-western France (Fléré-la-Rivière region) 128 , as well as by ancient textual echoes, notably in Augustine of Hippo¹²⁹ and in the so-called Testament of the Lingon 130.

In terms of funerary gestures and practices, although cremation appears to be the predominant practice during the Early Imperial Period, this does not mean that inhumation completely disappeared from the Helvetic funerary landscape during the first centuries of our era. According to current knowledge, it remains predominant for very young deceased. The latter were often buried in a domestic context, in specific sectors of necropolises or in burial complexes reserved for them. All such practices are also attested during Protohistory¹³¹. As far as Roman traditions are concerned, Pliny the Elder states that the theoretical turning point for this differential funerary treatment is defined by the moment of eruption of the first teeth (i.e. at the age of four to six months)¹³². This procedure seems to have been applied in a rather flexible manner since most of the assemblages considered also sheltered children, adolescents and sometimes young adults in their midst, in Italy and throughout the Empire more generally speaking¹³³. In addition to these socio-demographic variables in funerary behaviours, the influence of geographical factors and cultural isolation must also be considered. In this regard, as previously mentioned, the Alpine region, and in particular the Valais area, presents a certain hermeticity to exogenous cultural influence¹³⁴. As a result, individual inhumations in monoxylean coffins or in wooden plank casings, accompanied by a standardized set of grave goods, remained relatively widespread throughout the Early Empire¹³⁵.

MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 333-356; VAN ANDRINGA/ LEPETZ 2005, 339-346; VAN ANDRINGA/LEPETZ 2008, 1131-1161, VAN ANDRINGA 2011, 79-88; BYSTRITZSKY-PAPILLOUD 2018, 11-15.

In terms of chronological distribution, the studied corpus is characterised by a lack of data regarding the 3rd century AD. From an archaeological point of view, a rupture is apparent: funerary deposits become rarer, and the quantity as well as the quality of grave goods recedes. The second half of the 2nd and especially the first half of the 3rd century AD also marks the return of inhumation, which gradually replaced cremation, on the territory of present-day Switzerland (and throughout the Roman world in general)¹³⁶. Nevertheless, as textual and material sources suggest, this period was also a rather troubled one, marked by an unfavourable economic climate, a decline in imperial control over the provinces and repeated Alamanni incursions. Amidst an economic, identarian and migration crisis, it is possible that a part of the provincial population adopted ancestral, local or exotic funeral traditions¹³⁷. As a matter of fact, in the case of local customs, they most certainly never completely ceased to exist. It is also likely that some of these customs amalgamated with certain elements of Roman tradition (notably in the iconographic or epigraphic register). Yet, the absence of tangible archaeological and historical evidence of these customs tends to indicate that the grave and body deposit itself did not necessarily occupy a central place in such practices. This state of fact of course, renders their archaeological identification utterly difficult. Thus, their existence is mainly highlighted in the "negative", in the sense that there must have existed other ways of honouring the dead. This conclusion can be drawn from the fact that the currently known funerary corpus cannot conceivably represent the entirety of mortality throughout this period and the variability of ways in which death was apprehended throughout the time span under¹³⁸.

The renewal of funerary traditions (such as the return to inhumation for example), may have been disseminated by several vectors (institutions, army migrations, revival of local traditions, etc.) before finding a firm institutional and socio-cultural anchoring. Thus, and as French archaeologist and historian R. Turcan summarises it 139:

"An examination of the texts concerning the rites of consecratio, from the time of Augustus until the middle of the third century, shows that, in the case of Antoninus at least, who is of Italic origin, solemn cremation became purely fictitious. But the ceremonial varied with the ancestral customs of the deceased. The massive influx of Etrusco-Ombrians into the senate, and then of Greeks from Asia Minor, certainly contributed in an important way to the thriving of the art of sarcophagi from the 2^{nd} century onwards. This funerary traditionalism of the new senatorial aristocracy gave rise to a fashion that intellectuals wished to establish in reason [...]"

In the wake of a somewhat unclear period, from the very end of the 3rd century AD and especially in the course of the 4th century AD, a new impetus is observable. Large necropolises are established on the fringes of urban centres (a phenomenon documented in particular in

CURDY et alii 2009.

¹²⁸ CASTELLA et alii 2002: 33-49, 333-356; VAN ANDRINGA/LEPETZ 2005, 339-346; VAN ANDRINGA/LEPETZ 2008, 1131-1161, VAN ANDRINGA 2011, 78-88; BYSTRITZSKY-PAPILLOUD 2018, 11-15; BIOTTI-MACHE 2019, 30-31.

¹²⁹ Augustine of Hippo, De Civitate Dei contra paganos, 13, 27.

Testament of the Lingon, 1-3.

MARTIN-KILCHER/ CASTELLA 2002, 305-357; CURDY et alii 2009.

 $^{^{132}}$ Pliny the Elder, Naturalis Historia, 7, 16.

BAILLS-TALBI/DASEN 2008, 595-618; CARROLL 2018.

FELLMANN 1992, 295-307; MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 333-356: KOLB/FUGMANN 2008, 10-26.

FELLMANN 1992: 302; DUBOSSON 2006: 17; DUBOSSON 2007;

¹³⁶ MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 340-356.

¹³⁷ MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 340-356.

¹³⁸ MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 340-356.

 $^{^{139}}$ TURCAN 1958, i, translation by author.

Geneva, Kaiseraugst and Yverdon-les-Bains as well as in rural areas (cf. Sézegnin for instance) 140 . These important ensembles express the re-established preponderance of inhumation, accompanied by a progressive regularisation of body positions and orientations during the Late Empire¹⁴¹. Indeed, from the 5th century AD onwards, the deposit of bodies in dorsal decubitus with folded hands over the pubis and an alignment of burials along a West-East axis, seems to constitute the norm. Although difficult to demonstrate in practice, these developments have nevertheless been linked to the spread and institutional anchoring of Christianity¹⁴². In terms of funerary treatment, the deceased are now buried in nailed coffins, or more rarely, in tile assemblages or mineral sarcophagi. At the same time, one observes the emergence of funerary basilicas, sometimes centred around the tomb of an important individual (such as an evergete, a political or religious dignitary), notably in Geneva - Saint-Gervais, in Kaiseraugst, in Martigny, in Saint-Maurice - Notre-Dame, but also in Sion - Sous-le-Scex.

In terms of grave dotation, the main observable evolution between the Early and the Late Imperial Period is (apart from the fact that human remains and grave goods no longer necessarily pass through the pyre) a gradual quantitative reduction of the latter. One ought to emphasise that this reduction must not be interpreted de facto as an impoverishment of the population as it may also reflect a change in social mentality towards death or more subtle evolutions of socio-economic and socio-cultural frameworks. Typologically, grave goods can be broadly divided into three distinct categories: food offerings, personal objects, clothing accessories and symbolic or ritual items. Moreover, food offerings were omnipresent under the Early Empire. Generally composed of quarters of pork, beef, goat, gallinaceous meat, or more exceptionally game, they also took the form of cereal, fruit or vegetable deposits. The exact intention behind these deposits remains unclear; is it a way of integrating the deceased into the funerary banquet, or is it rather food for the journey and/or stay in the afterlife¹⁴³? These deposits are regularly found until the 4th century AD before disappearing from the funerary panorama. In this respect, the stylistic evolution of the associated containers materialises the syncretisation of local craftsmanship, first under Roman influence (a phenomenon already visible during the La Tène period in Valais for example), and under Alamanni influence in northern Helvetia¹⁴⁴. One further notes the quasi absence of tombs containing weapons, a tradition that is well established in the case of La Tène graves¹⁴⁵. From the very end of the La Tène period and at least until the 3^{rd} century AD, one also observes recurrent offerings of ritual or symbolic items, which include coins (interpreted as obols to Charon), oil lamps or apotropaic

140 PRIVATI 1982, 148-152; STEINER/MENNA 2000; STEINER 2002, 307-

objects (amulets, statuettes of deities, etc.)146. In sum, these modalities of grave good dotation comprising several distinct objects lasted until the 5th century AD, before giving way to a new fashion of offering a single symbolic item to the deceased147.

Materiality of epitaphs, modalities of commemoration and the funerary domain: towards an epigraphic assessment

Gallo-Roman funerary epigraphic habits essentially reveal the existence of a sort of underlying mortuary rhetoric148. In this respect, the existence of certain secular principles governing this everchanging "way of projecting oneself into eternity" make it possible to address specific issues in the apprehension of death during Antiquity within the Gallo-Roman sphere¹⁴⁹. Thus, in material terms, the study of epigraphic data evidences relatively obvious regularities of treatment.

In this sense, and from a stylistic and typographical point of view, the standardisation of the supports expresses the existence of a kind of model (in this case, most probably the epitaphs from the Roman heartland) imported into the provinces and readapted or redefined according to local tastes and needs (or even rejected en bloc for that matter), while still remaining exposed to the influences of fashion and other spiritual or ideological trends that animated the entire Roman funerary world¹⁵⁰.

Epitaphs are mainly engraved in Latin using Roman capitals and generally present a rather sober outline or pediment ornamentation. These decorations sometimes reflect a clearly autochthonous inspiration (cf. the epitaph and associated bust of Sevva (Appendix 1: no. 33), that of Ioincatia Nundina (Appendix 3: no. 12), as well as that of Maxsimilla and Heuprosinis (Appendix 5: no. 18). Moreover, the formulary appears to be standardised and follows a similar evolution to what is known elsewhere in the Gallo-Roman world (with regard to the habit of mentioning the Manes at the beginning of the epitaph during the first three centuries AD¹⁵¹, the mention of the ascia, the attribution of certain specific epithets to the deceased, and the renewal of the formulary in connection with the spread of Christianity, for instance)¹⁵². In addition, it sometimes provides information on the circumstances of death (cf. epitaphs of Gaius Arcius Marcianus (Appendix 1: no. 23), Tetto (Appendix 3: no. 17) and Iunius Marinus (Appendix 4: no. 5). It can also provide information about the funeral setting (cf. commemorative plaque of Caius Valerius Camillus' funerals (Appendix 6: no. 34)) or shed light on logistical aspects related to a specific death (cf. epitaph of Nitonius Vegetinus, which specifies that after his death in Rome, his body was repatriated to Valais

¹⁴¹ STEINER/MENNA 2000; STEINER 2002, 307-316.

¹⁴² MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 333-356; BLAIZOT 2009(b), 311-343; MÁRTON/GAUTHIER 2011, 695-742; FACCANI 2012, 97-120.

¹⁴³ MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 305-357.

¹⁴⁴ MARTI 2000, 27-44; MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 305-357; STEINER 2003, 181-190; SCHWARZ 2004, 355-359.

¹⁴⁵ CURDY et alii 2009; MOGHADDAM et alii 2018.

FELLMANN 1992, 300-307; MARTI 2000, 27-44; MARTIN-KILCHER7CASTELLA 2002, 351-356.

FELLMANN 1992, 300-307; MARTI 2000., 27-44; MARTIN-KILCHER7CASTELLA 2002, 351-356; THEUWS 2009, 283-286.

¹⁴⁸ THEUWS 2009, 283-315.

¹⁴⁹ ELSNER/MEYERS 2014, 233-350; DE HOZ 2017, 187-220.

¹⁵⁰ FELLMANN 1992, 307-311; MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 333-335; KOLB/FUGMANN 2008, 10-26.

¹⁵¹ RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 2002, 221-227.

¹⁵² MAIER 1983; FELLMANN 1992, 307-311; MARTIN-KILCHER/ CASTELLA 2002, 333-335; KOLB/FUGMANN 2008, 10-26.

(Appendix 4: no. 4; Appendix 10))¹⁵³. The formulary can also express ways of commemorating or being commemorated (testamentary will, commissioning of a monument by the deceased himself during his lifetime, close relatives' initiative, etc.), budgets invested in the erection of a grave marker or the indication of the presence of the remains of the deceased near the inscription)¹⁵⁴. Finally, the study of the epigraphic corpus under consideration reveals a local onomastic specificity typical of the Gallo-Roman world. This is the gradual omission of the father's praenomen in inscriptions commemorating individuals who died at a young age; a phenomenon that gradually began in the second half of the 2nd century AD¹⁵⁵.

Architecturally speaking, the considered funerary inscriptions display rather homogenous dimensions. They may have been embedded in larger monuments in the case of notable individuals or those characterised by a certain financial affluence (although this does not seem to have been an absolute rule). Furthermore, the nature of the benefactors of the epitaphs points to a community or familial management of such funerary structures¹⁵⁶.

The socio-demographic and socio-economic indicators as well as the onomastic study, however, reveal the incomplete and biased nature of the considered corpus. Thus, the overrepresentation of certain categories of individuals in relation to others (adults versus children, men versus women, Roman citizens versus peregrini, natives and slaves; public figures versus 'ordinary' individuals, etc.) is, in all likelihood, indicative of the fact that the funerary behaviours thus highlighted only represents the habits of a very particular fraction of the provincial population. In short, a social class composed of individuals who were amongst the most exposed to Roman influence, i.e. members of the Celtic or Roman aristocracy, or individuals integrated into local political, military, religious or economic life. More globally speaking, this includes individuals who had the greatest interest in appropriating or adapting the funerary customs of the Roman newcomers and lending them a specific meaning in their own microcommunitarian way (as has been demonstrated in the case of freedmen in Rome for instance $^{157)158}$.

Given that archaeology supports this finding (through the fact that only a small quantity of graves is known), it becomes clearer that there must - quasi necessarily - have existed other forms of funerary behaviours specific to the various strata and groupings of individuals within the provincial society of Antique Switzerland, especially for young individuals 159 (as has been incidentally shown to be the case also elsewhere throughout the Empire 160). These different behaviours can then be partially identified by archaeology, history and epigraphy (or more precisely, through the

sources)161. In this sense, one can envisage parallel funerary behaviours, leading for their part to an almost complete disappearance or decomposition of the bodies (typically by cremation or by exposure to the natural elements, etc.), and/ or coupled with a ritual and commemorative approach to the deceased that does not focus on their mortal remains and the symbolic preservation of the latter. In this respect and as previously exposed, the presence within certain necropolises, of trenches containing offerings without presenting obvious sepulchral characteristics or being associated with any deceased constitute a rather tangible trace of this type of parallel funerary behaviours¹⁶².

absence of material remains as well as textual and epigraphic

Finally, on the chronological level, nearly three quarters of the considered inscriptions date back to the epoch between the end of the Republican period and the end of the Early Empire (n = 140; 74%) with a significant trend shift occurring between the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. In fact, the precisely datable inscriptions were essentially produced during the first three centuries of our era¹⁶³; an evolution that is quite similar to what is known for the rest of the Gallo-Roman world (and notably in the Lyon region), but which contrasts notably with the case of the North African provinces¹⁶⁴. Thus, this distribution – specific to the Gallic provinces - possibly reflects the local value instilled in practices seen as either strictly allochtonous, typically Roman or proper to a form of elite, and the way in which the Gallo-Roman population reappropriated and made sense of them¹⁶⁵. In this regard, E Mayer's theoretical conception of this aspect is proposed below 166:

"The curve of epitaphs from the city of Lyon (cf. figure [17]), [...] starts to rise after the town's refoundation as a colony in A.D. 48, and peaks in the years between A.D. 70 and 110. As in Africa, this is the point when an initially small, fairly homogeneous, imitable epigraphical population (characteristically imperial slaves and functionaries, freedmen, and seviri Augustales [...] expands dramatically to include obvious locals, unexceptional Roman-citizen names, and those lacking Roman nomenclature but 'citizens' of other towns. [...] On the other hand, the graph does not fall off dramatically after A.D. 212, nor does the very high percentage of citizens commemorated; and there is no clear or obvious explanation for this. Perhaps the funerary formula favoured in Lyon in the second and third centuries, D.M. ... 'sub ascia dedicavit' ('dedicated under the axe'), implies a comfortable combination of Roman and local custom that everyone liked, and that epitaphs had gradually come to be a deeply rooted local habit whose meaning, although initially based on competitive announcement of Roman status, had developed greater complexity than in North Africa. [...] The erection of tombstones starts as a way of 'acting Roman' and imitating Roman practices once Roman status is achieved, and is, in short, one index of conscious romanization [...]"

¹⁵³ WIBLÉ 2005, 200-319.

¹⁵⁴ FELLMANN 1992, 307-311; MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 333-335; KOLB/FUGMANN 2008, 10-26; RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 2002,

¹⁵⁵ FREI-STOLBA/BIELMAN 1996, 57-61.

¹⁵⁶ FELLMANN 1992, 307-311; MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 333-335; KOLB/FUGMANN 2008, 10-26.

¹⁵⁷ MACINERNEY 2019, 156-206.

¹⁵⁸ CARROLL 2013.

¹⁵⁹ BAILLS-TALBI/DASEN 2008, 595-618.

¹⁶⁰ CARROLL 2018.

¹⁶¹ BAILLS-TALBI/DASEN 2008, 595-618; CARROLL 2018.

MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 348-349; KOLB/FUGMANN 2008, 10-26.

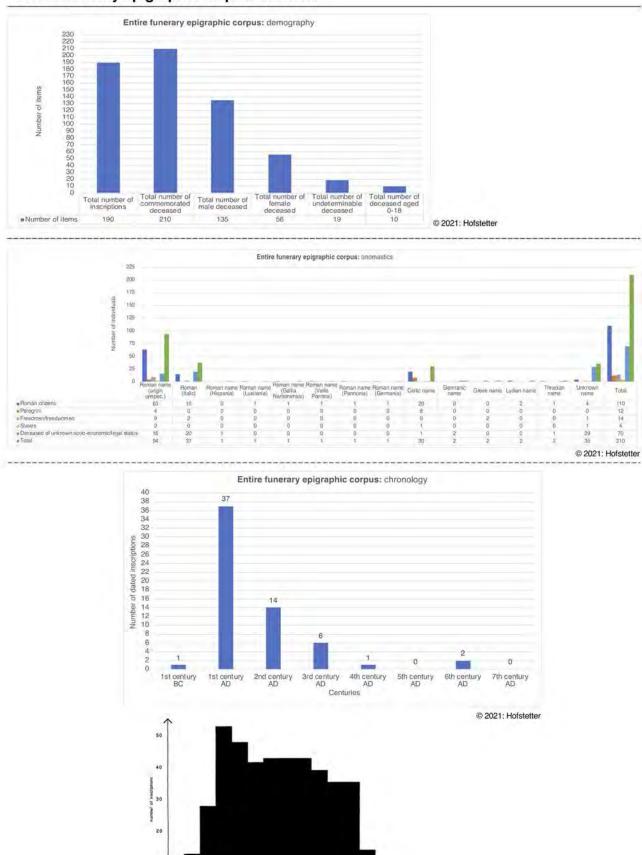
¹⁶³ RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 2002, 221-227.

¹⁶⁴ MEYER 1990, 79-96

¹⁶⁵ MEYER 1990, 89-91.

¹⁶⁶ MEYER 1990, 91-92.

Entire funerary epigraphic corpus: overview



25 80 76 100 125 150 175 200 225 250 276 300 325

Fig. 17: Overview of entire funerary epigraphic corpus.

FIG. 4, GRAPH SHOWING EPIGRAPHIC CURVE OF EPITAPHS FROM LYON (TOTAL NUMBER = 442)

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In this sense, the gradual decrease in the production of epigraphic funerary markers seems to testify to the evolution of provincial epigraphic habit as a whole (Fig. 17). However, from the point of view of funerary behavioural evolution, it is also possible to consider that these epigraphical data reflect a broad social paradigm change regarding death or, at least, a shift in the way in which local societies thought about the overarching way in which Romans treated death. This change of paradigm is expressed within Gallo-Roman communities in particular, by a certain taking of distance in regard to specific understandings of death, possibly considered as typically Roman, or as an expression of displaying one's belonging to the elite. This seems to be notably the case in the epigraphic and stylistic register. It appears that after a phase of intense bilateral cultural contact and syncretisation during the first centuries of the Early Empire, which led to the creation of a Gallo-Roman form of funerary expression, one observes that the perpetuation of this funerary mode and understanding tends to decrease during the Late Empire. Furthermore, the fact that the chronologies of this shift are slightly different between the Lyon region and the presentday Swiss territory also highlights the existence of further local arythmies and specificities; micro-phenomena whose further investigation may prove to be of great interest to our overall understanding of the social mechanisms within the Roman world.

Thus, in addition to expressing a form of local syncretisation, readaptation or selective adotion of certain Roman epigraphic traits, the overall Gallo-Roman provincial funerary epigraphic practice also seems to reveal an evolution towards a quantitative and qualitative reduction of commemorative markers, a demonumentalisation, as well as a progressive anonymisation of the funerary world as a whole167.

These observations have been interpreted by R. MacMullen as being indicative of a society whose members no longer seek to symbolically mark their involvement in the given society and their attachment to it (i.e.: because of a lack of feeling of belonging or recognition in the values of the society in question, or because they no longer necessarily believe in its long-term survival, rendering it absurd to perpetuate values that are now considered obsolete). More precisely, R. MacMullen formulates it as follows¹⁶⁸:

"Apparently the rise and fall of the epigraphic habit was controlled by what we can only call the sense of audience. In the exercise of the habit, people (I can only suppose) counted on their world still continuing in existence for a long time to come, so as to make nearly permanent memorials worthwhile; and they still felt themselves members of a special civilization, proud (or obliged) to behave as such. Later, in not bothering any more to record on stone their names or any other claim to attention, perhaps they expressed their doubts about the permanence or importance of that world. Perhaps. At least I cannot see in the evidence anything less than the sign of some very broad psychological shift."

This view is all the more interesting in that it allows to propose links between archaeological and historical observations on the period of imperial and identarian crisis of the 3rd century AD and on the subsequent evolution of funerary behaviours. As such, the weakening of the imperial power structures coupled with repeated episodes of Alamanni invasions, might well have resulted in a gradual disinterest of part of the local population for the rites developed and practiced so far and thus brought upon a renewal of funerary behaviours (based amongst other on ancestral funerary traditions and allochthonous rites) in the perialpine region¹⁶⁹.

7. CONCLUSIONS: FUNERARY BEHAVIOURS AND THE WORLD OF THE LIVING

As a conclusion to this study, a reflection on the value of funerary behaviours as a "mirror of the world of the living" is proposed. This aspect is apprehended by questioning the reliability of the representations of social structure provided by the considered data set, as well as by reflecting on its capacity to highlight transregional cultural phenomena and dynamisms.

Hence, on the scale of the present-day Swiss territory, Roman expansion led to the partial absorption of the pre-existing indigenous elite - notably through the imperial granting of Roman citizenship to members of the Celtic aristocracy - as well as through the involvement of wealthier peregrini in provincial imperial institutional structures (army, politics, economic life, etc.). These various engagements could all ultimately lead to the obtention of Roman citizenship. Later, citizenship was extended to entire territorial portions (territory of the city of Avenches, the Valais, etc.). At the same time, the installation of legions in Vindonissa and the settlement of some wealthy Roman citizens from Italy and other provinces contributed to the emergence of a cultural exchange dynamic between the latter and various members of the upper and middle segments of Celtic society. The bilateral influence of these communities on each other led to the syncretisation of local customs and traditions¹⁷⁰. During the Late Empire and the transition to the medieval era, it further appears that the elites gradually distanced themselves (in economical and physical terms) from the rest of the population and that a latent fusion of the poorer sections of society also took place¹⁷¹.

Starting from these observations, one notes that the simultaneous consideration of material remains, textual and epigraphic funerary sources produces a data set which also highlights the existence and evolution of social stratifications within Gallo-Roman society. Indeed, the archaeologically observable inequalities in commemorative monuments' architecture¹⁷² and mentions of more or less ostentatious public or private funerals in ancient texts indicate that a difference in funerary treatment was common, according

¹⁶⁷ ACHARD-COROMPT et alii 2016, 35-64; CASTELLA 2016, 105-122; KREMER 2016, 75-92.

¹⁶⁸ MACMULLEN 1982, 246.

¹⁶⁹ FELLMANN 1992, 307-311; MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 305-357; KOLB/FUGMANN 2008, 10-26; FACCANI 2012, 97-120.

¹⁷⁰ BIELMAN et alii 2002, 268-270.

¹⁷¹ SARACHU 2012, 51-53.

¹⁷² CASTELLA 2016.

to the socio-economic class of the deceased¹⁷³. Similarly, the socio-demographic, socio-economic and onomastic study of the epigraphic corpus indicate the institutionalised nature of these different social statuses since they are specified even on epitaphs. In addition, funerary epigraphy also testifies to the evolution of indigenous Celtic society and its partial hybridization in contact with the Roman world; with more or less pronounced shifts depending on the degree of interaction that the indigenous society in question could, wished to, or even had to develop, with the Roman world (cf. for example, the local peculiarities of the Upper Valais¹⁷⁴). In fact, one observes in a fairly consistent way, for all considered localities (and in the case of individuals holding Roman citizenship, freedmen and slaves) that the deceased population is mostly composed of individuals with Roman names (generally displaying no particular geographical origin or socio-cultural affiliation) and a smaller fraction of individuals with Celtic names as well as rarer cases of people possibly originating from other regions of the empire (mostly soldiers or slaves, etc.). Among the peregrini, it is not surprising that individuals with Celtic names predominate. Their scarcity within the corpus (n = 30individuals; 14%) also expresses either a form of exclusion, a certain disinterest, or even a form of reserve or distancing on part of this provincial middle class from contemporary fashionable Roman funerary behaviours. Part of this underrepresentation can also be explained as a consequence of the Constitutio Antoniniana or due to a selective appropriation and "making sense" of certain Roman funerary traits by these individuals¹⁷⁵. In addition, funerary epigraphy also highlights the way in which each considered region and community visibly developed its own interaction and engagement pattern with the Roman newcomers and their complex funerary heritage. Furthermore, it shows that certain specificities, such as the recurrent figuration of the ascia and the gradual omission of the mention of the father's praenomen - in the case of individuals who died in infancy - which has been noted in neighbouring regions¹⁷⁶, also existed throughout the territory of present-day Switzerland during Antiquity.¹⁷⁷.

In sum, Antique funerary behaviours on the presentday Swiss territory illustrate a slow evolution as well as a chrono-spatial variability in the partial adoption of certain Roman funerary traits, from the end of Protohistory until the 3rd century AD. From the 3rd century AD, one observes a rarefaction of graves and sepulchral markers. This evolution seems to express the renaissance of local identities within the Gallo-Roman socio-cultural framework as a whole, possibly based on a revival of pre-Roman traditions as well as a gradual integration of exogeneous funerary elements. The latter finding their way to Switzerland in particular by intensified cultural contact with neighbouring regions. This state of fact having been induced amongst others thanks to the inclusion of the territory of present-day Switzerland into the Roman sphere. Similarly, the spread of new ideologies expressing themselves in the funerary world can also be linked to this phenomenon (cf. diffusion of oriental cults, Christianity, etc.)¹⁷⁸. Lastly, the renewal of socio-economic structures, prefiguring the advent of medieval feudal society, is distinguishable in the ultimate phases of evolution of the funerary behaviours under study¹⁷⁹.

It thus appears that Antique funerary behaviours constitute - on the scale of the current Swiss territory - a relatively targeted but rather reliable mirror of the functioning of Gallo-Roman society and the various communities at its origin development, and mostly, of the way in which they interacted.

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¹⁷³ Consult Appian, Bellum Civile, 1, 500 and Dio Cassius, Historia Romana, 56, 42; 59, 11; 74, 5; 75, 15.

¹⁷⁴ HOFSTETTER et alii 2021.

¹⁷⁵ CARROLL 2018.

¹⁷⁶ SALWAY 1994.

 $^{^{177}\,}$ FREI-STOLBA/BIELMAN 1996, 57-61.

¹⁷⁸ MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 332-349.

¹⁷⁹ MARTIN-KILCHER/CASTELLA 2002, 332-349.

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APPENDIX 1: List of studied epitaphs (Geneva – *Genava*)

Appendix 1

Funerary epigraphic corpus of Geneva – Genava (I)

- 1) Epitaph of Caius Craxsius Hilarus: Roman citizen of Celtic origin (man / 25 years), Voltinia tribe 1st to 2nd century AD - CIL XII, 2622, Maier 1983: 25-26 (2); Wiblé 2005: 285-285 (874)
- 2) Fragmentary, lost epitaph: Unknown deceased (woman) Deonna 1926: 36 (114); Maier 1983: 28 (6); Wiblé 2005: 315-316 (895)
- 3) Epitaph of [...V]alerius Kanus: Roman citizen (man / 25 years), Voltinia tribe 1st to 2nd century AD CIL XII, 2634; Maier 1983: 29 (8); Wiblé 2005: 309 (889)
- 4) Epitaph of Rufia Aquilina: Roman citizen (woman) of senatorial rank 2nd to 3rd century AD CIL XII, 2599; Maier 1983: 30 (9); Wiblé 2005: 237-238 (842)
- 5) Epitaph of Servilia Sabina: Roman citizen of Celtic origin (woman) 2nd or 3rd century AD Maier 1983: 31 (10); Wiblé 2005: 303-305 (885)
- 6) Epitaph of [...sa]bina: Roman citizen (woman), flamen 1st century AD (?) CIL XII, 2616; Maier 1983: 33 (14); Wiblé 2005: 259-261 (857)
- 7) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) 1st to 3rd century AD Maier 1983: 34 (16); Wiblé 2005: 317 (896)
- 8) Fragmentary, lost epitaph: Unknown male soldier (10th legion Gemina (?)) 1st century AD CIL XII, 2609; Deonna 1926:16 (109); Maier 1983: 36 (20); Wiblé 2005: 275 (867)
- 9) Epitaph of Sextus Attius Carpophorus: Freedman, sevir augustalis 1st century AD C/L X/I, 2612; Maier 1983: 36 (21); Wiblé 2005: 267-268 (862)
- 10) Epitaph of Marcus Connius Secundus: Roman citizen (man) 1st to 2nd century AD CIL XII, 2621; Maier 1983: 47 (28); Wiblé 2005: 283–284 (873)
- 11) Epitaph of Lucius Nammius Numida: Unknown deceased (man) 1st to 2nd century AD CIL XII, 2629; Maier 1983: 48 (29); Wiblé 2005: 298–299 (881)
- 12) Plinii family epitaph: 2 Roman citizens (men / 12 and ? years), Cornelia tribe, aedil and duumvir 1st century AD - CIL XII, 2614; Maier 1983: 49 (30); Wiblé 2005: 252-253 (852)
- 13) Flavii family epitaph: 6 Roman citizens (4 men, 2 women), 1 soldier of the 22nd legion *Primigenia* and 1 magistrate - 2nd century AD - CIL XII, 2604; Maier 1983: 54-55 (34); Wiblé 2005: 264-267 (861)
- 14) Fragmentary epitaph (?): Roman citizen (man), duumvir and flamen CIL XII, 2605; Maier 1983: 57 (36); Wiblé 2005: 253-254 (853)
- 15) Ricci family epitaph: 2 Roman citizens (1 man, 1 woman) of Celtic origin 1st century AD Maier 1983: 59 (38); Wiblé 2005: 301-302 (883)
- 16) Epitaph of [Cnaeus T]arutius Celer: Roman citizen (man), eques, soldier 1st to 2nd century AD CIL XII, 2603; Maier 1983; 63 (41); Wiblé 2005: 270-271 (864)
- 17) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man) 1st to 2nd century AD CIL XII, 2619; Maier 1983: 70 (45); Wiblé 2005: 312-313 (892)
- 18) Epitaph of Sextus Uccius Secundus: Roman citizen (man) of Celtic origin 1st century AD CIL XII, 2635; Maier 1983: 71 (46); Wiblé 2005: 309-310 (890)
- 19) Epitaph of Verria Verula: Roman citizen (woman) 2nd to 3rd century AD C/L XII, 2636; Maier 1983: 72 (47); Wiblé 2005: 310-312 (891)
- 20) Epitaph of [Titus R]iccius Fronto: Roman citizen of Celtic origin (man), duumvir aerarii, Voltinia tribe 1st century AD - CIL XII, 2615; Maier 1983: 74 (49); Wiblé 2005: 250-251 (851)



Funerary epigraphic corpus of Geneva – Genava (II)

- 21) Epitaph of Quintus Iulius Sergius: Roman citizen (man) 2nd century AD CIL XII, 2627, Maier 1983: 75 (51); Wiblé 2005: 294-295 (878)
- 22) Epitaph of Cal[...] Verna: Roman citizen (?) (man) 2nd to 3rd century AD C/L X/I, 2620; Maier 1983: 76 (52); Wible 2005: 280-281 (871)
- 23) Epitaph of Gaius Arsius Marcianus: Roman citizen (man), aedil 3rd century AD CIL XII, 2611; Maier 1983: 79 (55); Wiblé 2005: 255–257 (855)
- 24) Epitaph of Valentinus: Peregrinus with connubium right 2nd century AD C/L XII, 2633; Maier 1983: 82 (97); Wiblé 2005: 307-309 (888)
- 25) Epitaph of [Lucius] Aemilius Tutor: Roman citizen (man) of Celtic origin, Voltinia tribe, flamen and quattuorvir 1st century BC to 1st century AD - CIL XII, 2600; Maier 1983: 84-85 (59); Wiblé 2005: 247-248 (849)
- 26) Epitaph of Coius Astutus: Roman citizen (man) of Celtic origin -2nd century AD Maier 1983: 89 (63); Wiblé 2005: 281-283 (872)
- 27) Epitaph of Iulia M[arcel]lina and Severia V[eru]la: 2 Roman citizens (women) 2nd century AD Maier 1983: 90 (265); Wiblé 2005: 295-297 (879)
- 28) Epitaph of Severa: Peregrina 2nd to 3rd century AD Maier 1983: 90 (66); Wiblé 2005: 306-307 (886)
- 29) Epitaph of [...] Quintilla: Roman citizen (woman), flamen 1st to 2nd century AD Maier 1983: 92 (68); Wiblé 2005: 261-262 (858)
- 30) Epitaph of Quintus Octavius Pellitus: at least 1 Roman citizen (man), eques (?) 1st century AD AE 1983 (679); Maier 1983: 93-94 (69); Wiblé 2005: 244-246 (847)
- 31) Lost epitaph of [Ma]nsuetina lu[st]ina: Freedwoman 2nd to 3rd century AD C/L X/I, 2628; Maier 1983: 95 (71); Wiblé 2005: 297-298 (880)
- 32) Lost epitaph of Aurelius Valens: Imperial freedman, chief of the Quadragesima Galliarum 2nd to 3rd century AD - AE 1919: 21; AE 1983 (678); AE 2003 (1126); Maier 1983; 102 (77); Wiblé 2005: 278-280 (870)
- 33) Epitaph of Sevva: Peregrina (?) of Celtic origin 1st century AD AE 1919 (20); AE 1983 (678); AE 2004 (899); Maier 1983: 104-105 (78); Wiblé 2005: 306-307 (887)
- 34) Ricci family epitaph: refer to number 15 (above)
- 35) Epitaph of Palladius: Unknown deceased with a Greek name (man) 2nd to 3rd century AD CIL XII, 2630; Maier 1983: 112 (84); Walser 1979: 60 (26); Wiblé 2005: 299-301 (882)
- 36) Epitaph of Caius Segellius Terrenus: Roman citizen (man) 1st century AD CIL XII, 2632; Maier 1983: 112 (85); Wiblé 2005: 303 (884)
- 37) Epitaph of Decimus Iulius Modestinus: Roman citizen (man) 2nd century AD C/L XII, 2626; Maier 1983: 122 (91); Wiblé 2005: 292-294 (877)
- 38) Epitaph of Marcus Carantius Macrinus: Roman citizen (man) of Celtic origin, soldier of the cohortis Prima Urbana - 1st century AD - CIL XII, 2602; AE 1995 (1044); Maier 1983; 123-124 (92); Wiblé 2005: 272-275 (866)
- 39) Epitaph of Antiphilus: Freedman (18 years) with a Greek name CIL XIII, 5016; Maier 1983: 125 (93)
- 40) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XII, 2631; Maier 1983: 127 (96)

Funerary epigraphic corpus of Geneva - Genava (III)

- 41) Epitaph (?) of Publius Decius Esunertus: Roman citizen (man) of Celtic origin, magistrate, Voltinia tribe 1st century BC - CIL XII, 2623; Maier 1983: 128-129 (97); Wiblé 2005: 275-277 (868)
- 42) Epitaph of [...] Ripanus Capito: Roman citizen (man), Voltinia tribe CIL XIII, 5008; Maier 1983: 133 (100)
- 43) Epitaph of Titus Iulius Valerianus: Roman citizen (man), eques, magistrate 1st century AD C/L X/I, 2608; Maier 1983 (25); Wiblé 2005 (846)
- 44) Epitaph of Blandius Latinus: Roman citizen, soldier (centurio) of the 1st legion Italica, 9th legion Hispana, 2nd legion Augusta, 1st to 2nd century AD - CIL XII, 2601; Maier 1983 (32); Wiblé 2005 (865)
- 45) Epitaph of Marcus Iulius Marcianus: Roman citizen (man) 1st to 2nd century AD CIL XII, 2625; Maier 1983 (12); Wiblé 2005 (876)
- **46)** Fragmentary epitaph: Christian deceased (man / 13 years) 5th to 7th century AD CIL XII, 198; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Geneva catalog]
- 47) Epitaph of Adelfina: Christian deceased (woman / 33 years) 6th century AD CIL XII, 2644; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Geneva catalog]
- **48) Epitaph of Ursolus:** Christian deceased (man) 5th to 7th century AD C/L XII, 2645; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Geneva catalog]
- 49) Fragmentary epitaph: Christian deceased (man, woman?) 3rd to 8th century AD CIL XII, 2646; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Geneva catalog]
- **50)** Fragmentary epitaph: Christian deceased (man, woman?) 5th to 7th century AD Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Geneva catalog]
- 51) Fragmentary epitaph: Christian deceased (man, woman?) 5th to 7th century AD Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Geneva catalog]
- 52) Epitaph of Aelloldus: Christian deceased, religious dignitary 5th to 6th century AD Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Geneva catalog]



APPENDIX 2: List of studied epitaphs (Nyon – *Colonia Iulia Equestris*)

Appendix 2

Funerary epigraphic corpus of Nyon - Colonia Iulia Equestris (I)

- 1) Epitaph of Cornelius: Peregrinus of Celtic origin 1st to 3rd century AD C/L XIII, 5018, Maier 1983: 126 (94)
- 2) Epitaph of Decimus Valerius Sisses: Freedman, sevir augustalis 1st century AD CIL XIII, 5012; Maier 1983: 130 (98)
- 3) Epitaph of Lucius Aurelius Repertus: Roman citizen (man / 19 years), lawyer 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5006; Maier 1983: 134 (101); Kolb 2011: 331-345
- 4) Epitaph of Philetius Britta: Unknown deceased (man / 24 ans) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5020; Maier 1983: 146 (111); Walser 1979: 94 (43)
- 5) Epitaph of Caius Lucconius Tetricus: Roman citizen (man), duumvir, flamen, Cornelia tribe 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5010; AE 1994 (1288); AE 2002 (1052); AE 2003 (80); Grzybek 2002: 309-316 (1)
- 6) Epitaph of Quintus Severius Marcianus: Roman citizen (man), duumvir, flamen, Cornelia tribe 1st to 3rd century AD – AE 1978 (567); AE 1994 (1288); AE 2003 (80); Grzybek 2002: 309-316 (2)
- 7) Epitaph of Quintus Vennius Succ[...]: Roman citizen (man) 1st century AD AE 1992 (1265); Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Nyon catalog]
- 8) Epitaph of [...] Flaccus: Unknown deceased (21 years) AE 2002 (1053); Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Nyon catalog]
- 9) Epitaph of Apherus: Unknown deceased (man) CIL XII, 1698; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Nyon
- 10) Epitaph of Caius Camillus Quintillus: Roman citizen (man) CIL XII, 5017; AE 1991 (1257); Epigraphik Datenbank (<u>www.db.edcs.eu</u>) [Nyon catalog]

APPENDIX 3: List of studied epitaphs (Augst / Kaiseraugst – *Augusta Raurica*)

Appendix 3

Funerary epigraphic corpus of Augst / Kaiseraugst – Augusta Raurica (I)

- 1) Epitaph of Valens: Thracian (?) of unknown status (man / 13 years) CIL XIII. 5269. Hartmann 2013: 117–136 (1)
- 2) Epitaph of an unknown veteran: Roman citizen (man), veteran of 1st legion Martia 4th to 5th century AD CIL XIII, 5270; Schwarz and Furger 1988: 36–37; Hartmann 2013: 117–136 (2)
- 3) Epitaph of Caius Sua[...]dus: Peregrinus (man) of Biturigi origin 2nd century AD CIL XIII, 5276; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (3)
- 4) Epitaph of Tiberius In[g]nuus Satto and his son Sabinianus: 2 Roman citizens (men), doctors 2nd century AD - CIL XIII, 5277; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (4)
- 5) Epitaph of Adianto and Marulina: Peregrini couple of Celtic origin (man and woman) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII. 5278: Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (5)
- 6) Epitaph of Marcus Attonius Apronianus: Roman citizen (man) of Celtic (or Germanic?) origin 1st to 3rd century AD - CIL XIII, 5279; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (6)
- 7) Epitaph of Publius Aulius Memusus: Roman citizen (man) 2nd to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5280: Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (7)
- 8) Epitaph of Divixtus: Peregrinus of Celtic origin 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5281; Hartmann 2013: 117–136
- 9) Epitaph of Blandus: Slave (man) of Celtic origin 1st century AD CIL XIII, 5282; Hartmann 2013: 117–136 (9)
- 10) Epitaph of Castius Peregrinus: Unknown deceased (man) 2nd to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5284; Schwarz 1988: 259–264; Hartmann 2013: 117–136 (10)
- 11) Epitaph of Comus: Unknown deceased (man) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII. 5286: Schwarz and Furger 1988: 8-9; Schwarz and Berger 2000: 113-117; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (11)
- 12) Epitaph of Ioincatia Nundina: Unknown deceased (woman) CIL XIII, 5287; Hartmann 2013: 117–136 (12)
- 13) Caius Iulius Fecu[ndus]: Freedman 1st century AD (?) CIL XIII, 5290; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (13)
- 14) Epitaph of Marinius Attili[anus]: Roman citizen (man) of Celtic origin CIL XIII, 5291; Schwarz and Furger 1988: 10-11; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (14)
- 15) Epitaph of Masuconius: Unknown deceased (man) CIL XIII, 5292: Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (15)
- 16) Epitaph of Sabinu[s]: Unknown deceased (man / 65 ans) 2nd to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5294; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (16)
- 17) Epitaph of Tetto: Peregrinus of Celtic origin 1st to 2nd century AD CIL XIII, 5295; Frei-Stolba 2000: 133–145; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (17)
- 18) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) 2nd century AD (?) CIL XIII, 5296; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (18)
- 19) Epitaph of Baudoaldus: Christian deceased (man / 55 ans), with a Germanic name 6th to 7th century AD CIL XIII, 5308; AE 2000 (1034); Schwarz and Berger 2000: 113-117; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (19)
- 20) Epitaph of Radoara: Christian deceased (woman) 7th to 8th century AD CIL XIII, 5309; Schwarz 2002: 156-157; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (20)



Funerary epigraphic corpus of Augst / Kaiseraugst – Augusta Raurica (II)

- 21) Epitaph of an "actarius peditum": Soldier (man) 3rd to 5th century AD CIL XIII. 11544: Schwarz and Furger 1988: 38–39; Hartmann 2013: 117–136
- 22) Epitaph of [Va]lens: Unknown deceased (man) CIL XIII, 11547; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (22)
- 23) Epitaph de Rhenicius Regalis: Unknown deceased (man) 2nd to 3rd century AD C/L XIII, 11548; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (23)
- 24) Epitaph of [L]ucius Succ[...]: Unknown deceased (man) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 11549; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (24)
- 25) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) 2nd to 3rd century AD C/L XIII. 11550; Schwarz and Berger 2000: 113-115: Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (25)
- 26) Epitaph of Olus and Fuscinus: 2 Roman citizens (12 and 16 years) 1st century AD AE 1951 (101); AE 1951 (260); AE 2000 (1042); AE 2001 (1525); Schwarz and Furger 1988: 12–13; Häuptli 2000: 231-243; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (26)
- 27) Epitaph of Eusstata: Christian deceased (woman / 65 years) with a Greek name 4th century AD Laur-Belart 1948: 57-63; Perler 1964: 1-8; Bürgin-Kreis 1968: 25-46; Boppert 2000: 107-117; Faccani 2012: 97-120; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (27)
- 28) Epitaph of a tradesman: Unknown deceased (man) Hartmann 2013: 117–136 (28)
- 29) Epitaph of an unknown soldier of the ala Moesica: Soldier (man) 1st century AD AE 1971 (277); AE 1969/70 (421); AE 1992 (1276); Speidel 1992: 165-175; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (29)
- 30) Epitaph of Prisca Iulia: Roman citizen (woman / 20 years) of Italic origin 1st century BC to 1st century AD AE 1952 (16); Hartmann 2013: 117-136
- 31) Epitaph of Marcus Attius Severus: Roman citizen (man) of Italic origin 2nd to 3rd century AD AE 1991 (1266); Schwarz and Furger 1988: 6-7; Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (31)
- 32) Epitaph of Iusinus: Unknown deceased (man) Hartmann 2013: 117–136 (32)
- 33) Epitaph of Bellinius Rhenicus: Unknown deceased (man) 1st to 3rd century AD AE 1996 (1143); Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (33)
- 34) Fragmentary epitaph: Freedwoman 1st to 3rd century AD Hartmann 2013: 117–136 (34)
- 35) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (35)
- 36) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) Hartmann 2013: 117-136 (36)

APPENDIX 4: List of studied epitaphs (Valais – *Vallis Poenina*)

Appendix 4

Funerary epigraphic corpus of Valais – Vallis Pænina (I)

- 1) Epitaph of Nitonia Avitiana: Roman citizen (woman) of senatorial rank 3rd century AD AE 1985 (645); Collart 1941: 24-25 (11)
- 2) Epitaph of Lucius Tincius Verecundus: Roman citizen (man), magistrate 1st to 2nd century AD C/L X/I, 152; Collart 1941: 65 (12)
- 3) Epitaph of V[ine]Ilia Veg[e]tin[a]: Roman citizen (woman) of Celtic origin 2nd century AD AE 1995 (646); Collart 1941: 65-66 (13a); Frei-Stolba 2010; Wiblé 1995: 275-290.
- 4) Epitaph of Nitonius Vegetinus: Roman citizen (man / 25 years) of Celtic origin 3rd to 4th century AD CIL XII, 155; Collart 1941: 65–66 (13b); Frei-Stolba 2010
- 5) Epitaph of Iunius Marinus: Roman citizen (man), eques, procurator ducenarius 2nd to 3rd century AD CIL XII, 149; Collart 1941: 66-67 (14)
- 6) Epitaph of Marcus Pansius Severus: Roman citizen (man), duumvir, flamen 3rd century AD CIL XII, 151; Collart 1941: 67-68 (15)
- 7) Epitaph of Decimus Pansius Severus: Roman citizen (man / 36 years) 2nd century AD CIL XII, 156; Collart 1941: 67-68 (16a)
- 8) Lost epitaph of Iulia Decumina: Roman citizen (woman) 2nd century AD C/L XII, 150; Collart 1941: 67-68 (16b)
- 9) Fragmentary epitaph: Roman citizen (man) 1st century AD AE 1985 (647); Collart 1941: 68 (17)
- 10) Epitaph of Sextus Varenus Priscus: Unknown deceased (man / 57 years), sevir augustalis 1st to 2nd century AD - CIL XII, 153; Collart 1941: 68 (18)
- 11) Fragmentary epitaph: Roman citizen (man) of Celtic origin (?), pontifex 2nd to 3rd century AD C/L XII, 154; Collart 1941: 68-69 (19)
- 12) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (woman) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XII, 160; Collart 1941: 69 (20)
- 13) Epitaph of Acaunensia: Slave (woman) 3rd century AD AE 1987 (4); Collart 1941: 69-70 (21)
- 14) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man) 1st to 3rd century AD Wiblé 1978a: 35 (50)
- 15) Epitaph of Atticus Senator: Peregrinus (25 years) of Celtic origin 1st century AD AE 1985 (654); AE 2004 (870); Wiblé 1978(a): 36 (51); Wiblé 1978(b): 158-161 (1)
- 16) Epitaph of Sabellus: Peregrinus (25 years) of unknown origin 2nd century AD AE 1985 (655); Wiblé 1978(a): 36 (52); Wiblé 1978(b): 158-161 (2).
- 17) Epitaph of Quarti[ni]a Va[I]eria: Roman citizen (woman) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XII, 142; Wiblé 1978(a): 36
- 18) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man) 3rd to 4th century AD Wiblé 1978(a): 36 (54)
- 19) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) 2nd to 3rd century AD CIL XII, 158; Wiblé 1978(a): 36 (58)
- 20) Epitaph of Caius Cominius and Nac[in]a Bot[tia]: 2 Roman citizens (man and woman), duumvir 1st century AD – AE 1978 (458); AE 1988 (852); AE 2004 (870); Wiblé 1978(a): 37 (59)

Funerary epigraphic corpus of Valais – Vallis Pænina (II)

- 21) Epitaph of V[in]elia Modestina: Roman citizen (woman) of senatorial rank and Celtic origin 3rd to 4th century AD - AE 1973 (324); AE 1978 (459); Wiblé 1978(a): 37 (60)
- 22) Epitaph of Valerius Terentius: Unknown deceased (man) 1st to 2nd century AD C/L XII (134); Wiblé 1978(a):
- 23) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) 1st to 3rd century AD Wiblé 1978(a): 38 (62)
- 24) Marcus Floreius Ingenuus and Vinia Fusca: 2 Roman citizens (man and woman) duumvir, flamen and flamen - 1st to 4th century AD - CIL XII, 140; Wiblé 1978(a): 38 (63)
- 25) Epitaph of Titus Campanus Priscus Maximianus: Roman citizen (man / 43 years) magistrate and religious dignitary - CIL XII, 137; Wiblé 1978(a): 38 (64)
- 26) Epitaph of Titus Exomnius Mansuetus: Roman citizen (man / 22 years) of Celtic origin, eques, soldier of the secunda cohortis Hispanorum - 1st century AD - AE 1988 (854); Wiblé 1987: 344-351 (1); Wiblé 1988: 110-112 (1)
- 27) Epitaph of Veratius: Peregrinus of unknown origin 1st century AD AE 1988 (855); Wiblé 1987: 351–353 (2); Wiblé 1988: 110-112 (2)
- 28) Epitaph of Lucius Sentius Secundus, Gellia Tinda and Seiius: 3 Roman citizens (2 men and 1 woman), duumvir and aedil - 1st century AD - AE 1988 (856); Wiblé 1987: 354-359 (3); Wiblé 1988: 110-112 (3)
- 29) Epitaph of Saturninus: Unknown deceased (man) 3rd to 4th century AD AE 1988 (857); Wiblé 1987: 360-362 (4); Wiblé 1988: 110-112 (4)
- 30) Epitaph of Lucius Exomn[i]us Comitialis: Roman citizen (man) 2nd to 3rd century AD AE 1997 (1014); Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Valais catalog]
- 31) Epitaph of Quinctia Maximia: Roman citizen (woman) 1st century AD AE 1985 (650); Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Valais catalog]
- 32) Epitaph of Pantonia Pervinca and Aurelius Maximianus: 2 Roman citizens (man and woman), soldier of the 7th legion Augusta - 3rd century AD - AE 1996 (985); AE 2004 (870); AE 2010 (1067); Nelis-Clément and Wiblé 1996: 271-309; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Valais catalog]
- 33) Epitaph of [...]nia Ni[ceph]oridis: Unknown deceased with a Greek name (?) 1st to 3rd century AD Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Valais catalog]
- 34) Epitaph of Iulia Libera Germaniciana: Unknown deceased (woman) of Germanic origin (?) or freedwoman of Germanicus (?) – 2nd to 3rd century AD – Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Valais catalog]
- 35) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man) 1st to 3rd century Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Valais catalog]
- 36) Epitaph of Rusticus: Christian monk 6th century AD Muller 1976: 67–73; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Valais catalog]

APPENDIX 5: List of studied epitaphs (Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch – Vindonissa)

Appendix 5

Funerary epigraphic corpus of Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch -Vindonissa (I)

- 1) Epitaph of Marcus Apronius: Soldier of the 11th legion Claudia Pia Fidelis (37 years), from Hispania Citerior 1st to 2nd century AD - CIL XIII, 5207; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- 2) Epitaph of [Marcus I]ulius Maximus: Roman citizen (man), soldier of the 11th legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, Quirina tribe, from Germania Superior, Quirina tribe 1st to 2nd century AD CIL XIII, 5209; AE 2001 (1522)
- 3) Epitaph of Quintus Lucilius Pudens: Roman citizen (man / 33 years), soldier of the 11th legion Claudia Pia Fidelis , Veturia (Voturia) tribe, from Northern Italy - 1st to 2nd century AD - CIL XIII, 5210
- 4) Epitaph of Marcus Magius Maccaus: Roman citizen (man / 33 years), soldier of the 11th legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, Publilia (Poblilia) tribe, from Northern Italy 1st to 2nd century AD CIL XII, 5211; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- 5) Epitaph of Publius Tettio Vala: Roman citizen (man / 21 years), soldier of the 11th legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, Cornelia tribe – 1st to 2nd century AD – CIL XIII, 5212; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- 6) Epitaph of Lucius Titennius Victorinus: Roman citizen (man), soldier of the 11th legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, Lemonia tribe, from Northern Italy 1st to 2nd century AD CIL XIII, 5213; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- 7) Epitaph of Caius Valerius Campanus: Roman citizen (man), soldier of the 11th legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, Voltinia tribe, from Gallia Narbonensis -1st to 2nd century AD - CIL XIII, 5214; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- 8) Epitaph of Lucius Vecna[tius] Maximus: Roman citizen (man / 48 years), soldier of the 11th legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, Pollia tribe, from Central Italy - 1st to 2nd century AD - CIL XIII, 5215; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- 9) Epitaph of Caius Vegelo Rufus: Roman citizen (man / 40 years), soldier of the 11th legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, Aniensis tribe, from Northern Italy 1st to 2nd century AD CIL XIII, 5216; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- 10) Epitaph of Titus Vite(Ilius) (?) Fe[lix (?)]: Roman citizen (man), soldier of the 11th legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, Sergia tribe, from Vallis Pcenina - 1st to 2nd century AD - CIL XIII, 5217; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- 11) Fragmentary epitaph: Soldier of the 21st legion Rapax (43 years) 1st century AD CIL XIII, 5218; AE 2003 (1238); Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- 12) Epitaph of Iulia [Ve]nusta: Freedwoman of unknown origin 1st century AD CIL XIII, 5226; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- 13) Epitaph of Maria: Unknown deceased (woman / 6[...] years) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5227; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- 14) Epitaph of Gaius Ennius Titus: Roman citizen (man / 36 years), soldier of the 11th legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, Veturia (Voturia) tribe, from Northern Italy 1st to 2nd century AD Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch
- 15) Epitaph of Marcus Nervinus Saturninus: Roman citizen (man) 1st to 3rd century AD AE 1978 (5665); Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- **16) Epitaph of Tiberius Claudius Hymnus and Claudia Quieta:** Freedman and unknown woman, military doctor in the 21st legion Rapax 1st century AD CIL XIII, 5208; AE 2003 (1238); Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- 17) Epitaph of Lucius Ruti[lius] [Ma]crinus: Roman citizen (man), soldier, Sergia tribe CIL XIII, 11524; Epigraphik Datenbank (www.db.edcs.eu) [Windisch catalog]
- 18) Epitaph of Maxsimilla and Heuprosinis: Roman citizen (woman / 40 years) and slave (woman / 10 years), from Northern Italy and of unknown origin - 1st century AD - AE 2012 (998); Trumm et al. 2013: 26-33 (1); Trumm and Huber 2014: 16-21
- **19) Epitaph of Quietus:** Boy (4 years) from Northern Italy (?) 1st century AD AE 2013 (1148); Trumm et al. 2013: 26–33 (2); Trumm and Huber 2014: 16–21
- 20) Epitaph of Caius Allius Oriens: Roman citizen (man), soldier of the 13th legion Gemina, Pomptina tribe, from Northern Italy - 1st century AD - CIL XIII, 5206; Fellmann Brogli et al. 1998: 3-27

Appendix 5

Funerary epigraphic corpus of Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch -Vindonissa (II)

- 21) Epitaph of Caeno [...]: Roman citizen (man / 40 years), soldier of the cohortis Hispanorum; from Lusitania 1st century AD - AE 1971 (276); Hintermann 1998: 55-62
- **22) Epitaph of Marcus Luxsonius Festus:** Roman citizen (male / 30 years), soldier of the 11th legion *Claudia Pia Fidelis*, Romilia tribe, from Northern Italy 1st to 2nd century AD *AE 1924 (9); AE 2001 (1522); Hintermann 1998: 55*-

APPENDIX 6: List of studied epitaphs (Avenches – *Aventicum*)

Appendix 6

Funerary epigraphic corpus of Avenches – Aventicum (I)

- 1) Epitaph of Lucius Pollentius Dexter: Roman citizen (man / 23 years), soldier of the 1st legion Adiutrix, from Pannonia Superior – 1st century AD – AE 2012 (989); AE 2013 (1125); AE 2015 (974); Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (1)
- 2) Epitaph of Marcus [...]us Nig[e(?)r: Roman citizen (man), soldier of the 1st legion Adiutrix, from Thrace 1st century AD - AE 2012 (990); Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (2)
- 3) Epitaph of Decimus Iulius Iunianus: Roman citizen (man) 1st to 3rd century AD C/L XIII, 5135; Frei-Stolba and Bielman 1996: 55-56 (11); Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (3)
- 4) Epitaph of Marcus Alpinius Virilis: Roman citizen (man), of Celtic origin 1st to 3rd century AD C/L X/II, 5130; Frei-Stolba and Bielman 1996: 62–64 (14); Schenk et al. 2012: 227–253 (4)
- 5) Epitaph of Paulinus Sapidus: Freedman of unknown origin, sevir augustalis 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5108; Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (5)
- 6) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5147; CIL XIII, 5148; Schenk et al 2012: 227-253 (6)
- 7) Epitaph of Pompeia Gemella: Freedwoman of unknown origin 1st century AD (?) CIL XIII, 5138; Frei-Stolba and Bielman 1996: 28-30 (3); Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (7)
- 8) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) CIL XIII, 5139; CIL XIII, 5140; Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (8)
- 9) Epitaph of Flavia Severilla: Unknown deceased (woman / 36 years) 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5132; Frei-Stolba and Bielman 1996: 57-58 (12); Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (9)
- 10) Epitaph of Ianuaria Ianuaris: Slave (woman / 29 years) of unknown origin 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5134; Schenk et al 2012: 227-253 (10)
- 11) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) CIL XIII, 5131; Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (11)
- 12) Epitaph of Visellia Firma: Roman citizen (woman / 1 year) 1st to 2nd century AD AE 1990 (769); Frei-Stolba and Bielman 1996: 59-61 (13); Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (12)
- 13) Epitaph of Matern[us (?)] Fronto: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) 1st to 3rd century AD AE 2004 (988); Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (13)
- 14) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) 1st to 2nd century AD AE 1992 (1268); Schenk et al. 2012: 227–253
- 15) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (15)
- 16) Epitaph of [Ae]lia Modestina: Unknown deceased (woman / 2 years) CIL XIII, 5129; Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (16)
- 17) Fragmentary epitaph: Roman citizen (man / 40 years), soldier of the cohors I Montanorum Romanorum (?), Aniensis tribe - CIL XIII, 5095; AE 2012 (987); AE 2013 (1125); Frei-Stolba 2012: 261-266; Schenk et al. 2012: 227-
- 18) Epitaph of Severia Martiola: Unknown deceased (woman) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5112; Stumpf 1548: VIII, 263; Schenk et al. 2012: 227–253 (18)
- 19) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (19)
- 20) Epitaph of Iulia Cen[s]orina: Roman citizen (woman) of Celtic origin 1st century AD CIL XIII, 5136; Frei-Stolba and Bielman 1996: 65–66 (15); Schenk et al. 2012: 227–253 (20)



Funerary epigraphic corpus of Avenches – Aventicum (II)

- 21) Epitaph of Lucius Camillius Faustus: Freedman (man / 92 years), sevir augustalis 1st to 3rd century AD C/L XIII, 5097; AE 1961 (54); Castella 2013: 4-6; Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (21)
- 22) Epitaph of Otacilla Faventina: Freedwoman of unknown origin 1st to 3rd century AD C/L XIII, 5107; Stumpf 1548: VIII, 264; Schenk et al. 2012: 227–253 (23)
- 23) Epitaph of Titus Nigrius Saturninus: Roman citizen (man) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5137; Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (24)
- 24) Epitaph of Hibernia Valentina: Freedwoman (?) of unknown origin 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5133; Stumpf 1548: VIII, 264; Schenk et al. 2012: 227–253 (25)
- 25) Epitaph of Valeria Secca: Unknown deceased (woman / 60 years) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII. 5111: Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (26)
- 26) Epitaph of Camillius Polynices and Camillius Paulus: 2 Roman citizens (men / 33 years) of Lydian origin 1st to 3rd century AD - CIL XIII, 5154; AE 1974 (434); Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (27)
- 27) Epitaph of Severius Commendatus: Roman citizen (man), dendrophori augustalis 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5153; Hagen 1876-1879: 805-807; Veuthey 2010; Schenk et al. 2012: 227–253 (28)
- 28) Epitaph of Flavia Pusinna: Roman citizen (woman / 18 years) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5155; Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (29)
- 29) Epitaph of Pompeia (?) Hospita: Roman citizen (woman / 32 years) 2nd to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5157; Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (30)
- 30) Epitaph de Mati[di]a Pu[s]inna: Unknown deceased (woman) 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII, 5156; Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (31)
- 31) Epitaph of A[q]uil[liae]: Unknown deceased (woman) Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (32)
- 32) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (man, woman?) 1st to 3rd century AD Schenk et al. 2012: 227–253
- 33) Fragmentary epitaph: Unknown deceased (woman / 25 years) of Celtic origin 1st to 3rd century AD CIL XIII. 5034; Schenk et al. 2012: 227-253 (35)
- 34) Epitaph of Caius Valerius Camillus: Roman citizen (man) of Celtic origin 1st century AD CIL XIII, 5110; Frei-Stolba 1996: 59-72; Frei-Stolba and Bielman 1996: 35-39 (5); Fuchs 2002: 9-24; Von Cranach 2005

APPENDIX 7: Epigraphical insights (Geneva – Genava)

Appendix 7

Geneva – Genava: Epigraphical insights



- (1) [L(ucio)] AEMILIO • M(arci) • Feil(io)
- VOL(tinia tribu) TVTORI IIII VIR(o) (2)
- (3)I(ure) ● D(icundo) ● PRAEF(ecto) ● FABRVM
- FLAMI(ini) MARTIS FLAM(ini) (4)
- ROMAE ET AVGVSTI [M(arcus)] (5)
- AEMILIVS L(uci) F(ilius) TVT[or f(aciendum) c(uravit) (6)

Epitaph of [Lucius] Aemilius Tutor [CIL XIII, 2600; Maier 1983 (59); Wiblé 2005 (849)] - 26 BC to 19 AD

- Roman citizen (man) of Celtic origin, quatuorvir and flamen

Translation:

"For [Lucius] Aemilius Tutor, son of Marcus, member of the Voltinia tribe, quatuorvire iure dicundo, praefectum fabrum, flamen of Mars and flamen of Rome and Augustus. [Marcus] Aemilius Tutor, son of Lucius, had this (monument) erected for the deceased."



- (1) SEVVAE VE
- **RECVNDAE** (2)
- (3)FIL(iae)

Epitaph of Sevva [AE 1919 (20); AE 1983 (687); AE 2004 (899); Maier 1983 (78); Wiblé 2005 (887)] – 1st century AD

- Peregrina (?) of Celtic origin

Translation:

"For Sevva, daughter of Verecunda."



APPENDIX 8: Epigraphical insights (Nyon – Colonia Iulia Equestris)

Appendix 8

Nyon - Colonia Iulia Equestris: Epigraphical insights



- (1) Q(uinto) • SEVERIO • Q(uinti) • SEVERI
- (2)MARCELLI • FILIO
- (3)CORNEL(ia tribu) • M[a]RCIANO
- (4) DEC(urioni) • COL(oniae) • I[u]L(iae) • EQUES[t(ris)]
- AEDIL(i) PR[ae]FECT(o) PRO (5)
- IIVIRIS [pra]EFECT[(o)] ARCE[ndor(um) I]ATROC(iniorum) (6)
- (7) IIVI[ro bis (?) fla]M(ini) AU[g(usti)]

Epitaph of Quintius Severius Marcianus [AE 1978 (567); Grzybek 2002 (2)] - 1st to 3rd century AD

- Roman citizen (man), duumvir, flamen

Translation:

"For Quintus Severius Marcianus, son of Quintus Severius Marcellus, member of the Cornelia tribe, decurion of the Colonia Iulia Equestris, aedil, prefect (replacing duumvirs) responsible for the repression of robbery. Served two terms as duumvir and flamen of Augustus."



- D(ecimo) VALERIO ASIATICI LIBERT(o)
- SISSI IIIIII VIR COL(oniae) EQ(uestris)
- EX T(estamento)

Epitaph of Decimus Valerius Sisses [CIL XIII, 5012; Maier 1983 (98)] - 1st century AD

- Freedman, sevir augustalis

Translation:

"For Decimus Valerius Sisses, freeddman of Asiaticus, sevir augustalis of the Equestrian Colony, according ot his testament."

APPENDIX 9: Epigraphical insights (Augst / Kaiseraugst – Augusta Raurica)

Appendix 9 Augst / Kaiseraugst - Augusta Raurica: Epigraphical insights



- (1) [D(is)] M(anibus)
- (2)**CASTIO**
- **PEREGRINO**
- (4) **CASTIA**
- (5) CO(n)IV[x]
- (6)FECI(t)

Epitaph of Castius Peregrinus [CIL XIII, 5309; Schwarz 2002; Hartmann 2013 (20)] - 7th to 8th century AD

- Unknown deceased (man)

Translation:

"To the Manes, for Castius Peregrinus, Castia, his wife, had this (monument) erected for the deceased."



- (1) D(is) • M(anibus)
- (2) ET MEMORI(a)E AE
- (3)TERNI(a)E EVSSTAT(a)E
- CONIVGI DVLCI (4)
- SIM(a)E QVI VISIT (sic) (5)
- (6)ANN[o]S LXV
- AMATVS POSVIT (7)

Epitaph of Eusstata [Laur-Belart 1948; Perler 1964; Bürgin-Kreis 1968; Boppert 2000; Faccani 2012; Hartmann 2013 (27)] - 4th century AD

- Christian deceased (woman / 65 years) with a Greek name

Translation:

"To the Manes and eternal memory of Eusstata. For his beloved wife, which lived 65 years, Amatus had this (stone) erected. 3

APPENDIX 10: Epigraphical insights (Valais – Vallis Poenina)

Appendix 10

Valais – Vallis Pœnina: Epigraphical insights



- NITONIAE * AVITIANAE * CLAR(issimae) * FEM(inae) (1)
- (2)VASSONIVS * GELLIANVS * ET
- (3)NITONIA * MARCELLA * ET
- NITONIVS * POMPEIVS * FILII (4)
- (5) M(anibus) * MATRIS * CARISSI MAE * M

Epitaph of Nitonia Avitiana [AE 1985 (645); Collart 1941 (11)] - 3rd century AD

- Roman citizen (woman) of senatorial rank

Translation:

"For Nitonia Avitiana, woman of senatorial rank, Vassonius Gellianus and Nitonia Marcella and Nitonius Pompeius, her children; for the Manes of their beloved mother.





- (1) D(is) • M(anibus) •
- NITONI VEGETINI (2)
- (3) ROMAE ● DE
- (4) FVNCTI • QVI • VIXIT • ANNOS • XXV
- MENSES III DIES XXXIII (5)
- NITONIVS SEVERVS PATER INFELIX CORPVS (6)
- (7) EIVS • DEPORTATVM • HIC • CONDIDIT

Epitaph of Nitonius Vegetinus [CIL XII, 155; Collart 1941 (13b)] -3rd to 4th century AD

- Roman citizen (man / 25 years) of Celtic origin

Translation:

"To the Manes of Nitonius Vegetinus, who died in Rome, after living for 25 years, 3 months and 24 days. Nitonius Severus, his desperate father, had the body of his deceased son buried here, after rapatriation."

APPENDIX 11: Epigraphical insights (Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch – *Vindonissa*)

Appendix 11 Brugg / Gebenstorf / Windisch - Vindonissa: Epigraphical insights



- Q(uintus) LVCILVS Q(uinti) F(ilius) (1)
- VOT(uria) PVDENS BER (2)
- (3)GOMI • MIL(es) • LEG(ionis) • XI •
- C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) I(centuria) GELLI AGRICO
- LAE ANN(orum) XXXIII STIP(endiorum) (5)
- (6) XIII • H(ic) • S(itus) • E(st)
- HER(es) FAC(iendum) CVR(avit) (7)

Epitaph of Quintus Lucilius Pudens [CIL XIII, 5210] – 1st to 2nd century AD

- Roman citizen (man / 33 years), soldier of the 11th legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, member of the Veturio (Voturia) tribe, from Northern Italy

Translation:

"For Quintus Lucilius Pudens, son of Quintus, member of the Voturia tribe, from Bergomum, soldier of the 11th legion Claudia Pia Fidelis, within the centuria of Gellius Agricola, died at age 33 after having served for 14 years. He rests here, his heirs had this (monument) erected for the deceased"



- MAXSIMIL[i]A (sic) (1)
- CASSIA L(uci) F(ilia) BON (2)
- (3)ONIE(n)SIS • ANN(orum) • XL
- (4) HEVPROSINIS • AN
- (5) $N(orum) \bullet X \bullet L(uci) \bullet ATILI \bullet ANCIL(Ia)$
- (6)H(ic) ● SITAE ● SVNT
- L(ucius) ATILIVS CONTVB(ernali) (7)
- SVAE POSVIT (8)

Epitaph of Maxsimilla and Heuprosinis [AE 2012 (998); Trumm et al. 2013 (1); Trumm and Huber 2014] - 1st century AD

- Roman citizen (woman / 40 years) from Northern Italy and slave (woman / 10 years) of unknown origin

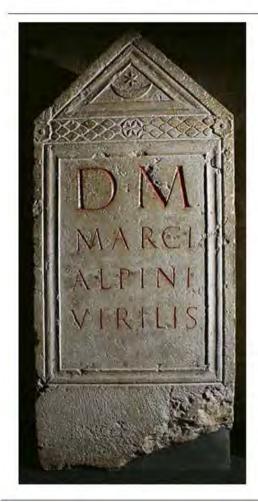
Translation:

"Maxsimilla Cassia, daughter of Lucius, from Bononia, who lived 40 years, and Heuprosinis, slave of Lucius Atilius, who lived 10 years, are buried here. Lucius Atilius had this (monument) erected for his deceased wife."

APPENDIX 12: Epigraphical insights (Avenches – *Aventicum*)

Appendix 12

Avenches - Aventicum: Epigraphical insights



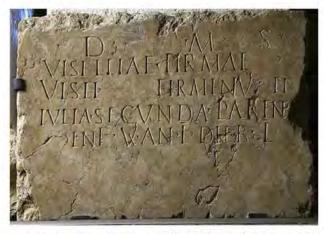
- D(is) M(anibus) (1)
- (2)MARCI
- (3)**ALPINI**
- **VIRILIS** (4)

Epitaph of Marcus Alpinius Virilis [CIL XIII, 5130; Schenk et al. 2012 (4)] - 1st to 3rd century AD

- Roman citizen (man), of Celtic origin

Translation:

"To the Manes of Marcus Alpinius Virils"



- (1) D(is) • (Manibus) • S(acrum)
- (2) VISELLIAE . FIRMAE
- VISEL(lius) FIRMINVS • ET (3)
- (4) IULIA • SECVNDA • PARENTE[s]
- INFE(licissimi) VIX(it) AN(no) I DIEB(us) L (5)

Epitaph of Visellia Firma [AE 1990 (769); Schenk et al. 2012 (12)] – 1st to 2nd century AD

- Roman citizen (woman / 1 year)

Translation:

"To the Manes of Visellia Firma. Visellius Firminius and Iulia Secunda, her deeply afflicted parents had (this monument) erected. She lived 1 year and 50 days."