

Segeda and Rome. The historical development of a Celtiberian city-state.

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The year 154 BCE constitutes a key date for the ancient History of Hispania, for it was the point at which, in the words of Polibius (3, 4, 12), ‘the war fought by Romans against Celtiberians and Vaccaei’ broke out. This event was adopted by Polibius himself as the heading for the last section of his oeuvre. According to Livius (*per.* 47), these events brought about the modification of the Roman elections, so that the voting day for the Roman consuls was shifted from the Ides of March to January the first. However, war had not been declared against the Celtiberians, or the Belli and Arevaci, but rather against the particular Celtiberian city-state that constitutes the focus of this paper: Segeda (Appian *Iber*, 44-47; Diodorus 31, 39-41 and Florus 1, 34, 3).

The political weight of Segeda is corroborated by its monetary mints, which display the city’s name in Celtiberian (i.e. *sekeida*), as well as the substantial area covered by its two archaeological sites, which were successively occupied. The first city, Segeda I, was located on the hill of Mara (Zaragoza). Ensuing its destruction in 153 BCE, a new city (Segeda II) was erected in Durón de Belmonte de Gracián (Zaragoza). The latter was destroyed during the Sertorian Wars (fig. 1).

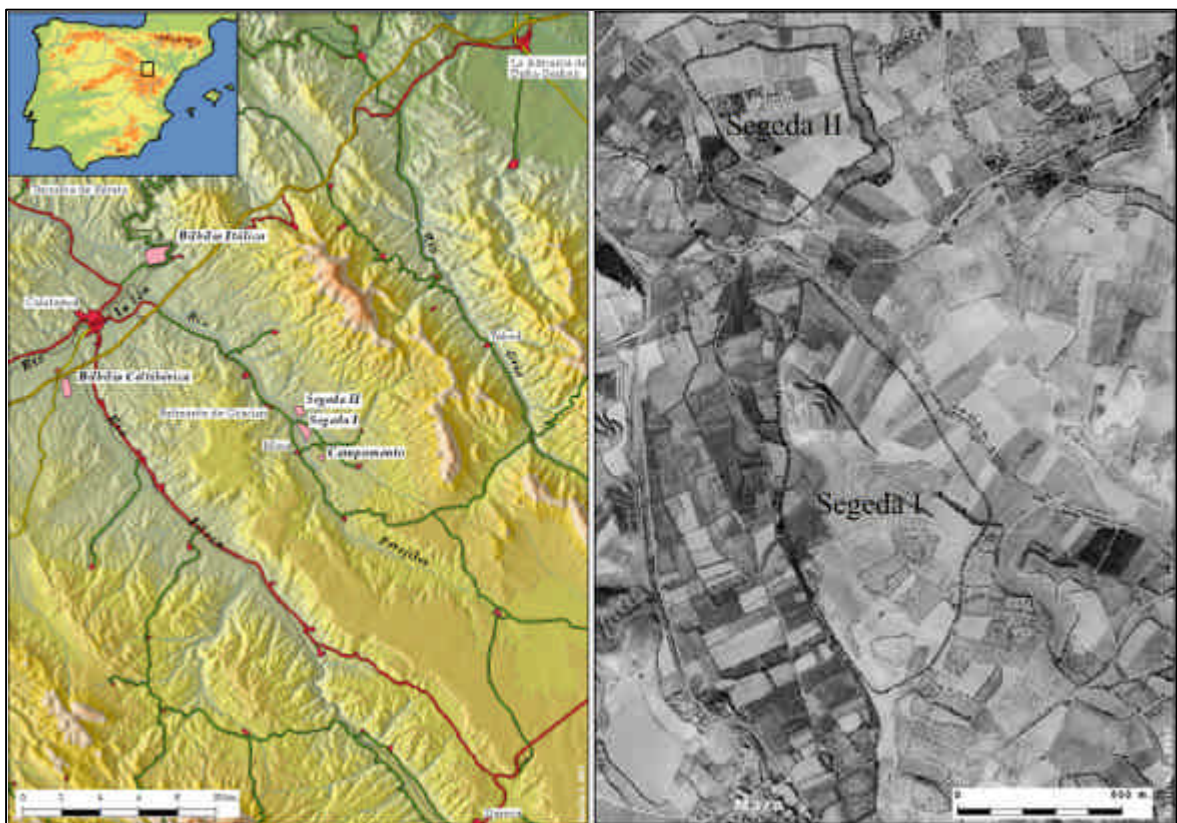


Fig. 1. Situation of Segeda

The Segeda Project was initiated in 1998 and combines data derived from documental and numismatic sources with the archaeological study of the city and its associated territory. The results obtained thus far have contributed towards a better knowledge of the development of this Celtiberian city-state throughout a period of approximately one century (i.e. the time spanning between the Pacts of Gracchus and the Sertorian Wars). This project, as well as the contents of the bibliography generated throughout the various studies about Segeda, can be accessed via web page: www.segeda.net.

The location of Segeda

The earliest studies about the city of Segeda revolved almost entirely around the references found in classical texts. The hypothesis that Segeda was located in Canales de la Sierra (Rioja) (Zapata 1657) was based exclusively on a reference from a document of 1133. In his text of 1914 about Numantia, Schulten maintained that Segeda should be sought along the High Jalón River, i.e. the locus of the first stages of the Celtiberian War during 153 BCE.

The legend displayed by the coins minted in Segeda is interpreted today as *sekeida* (Rodríguez 2001-02). However, scholars had read it as *segisa* or *sethisa* until the early twentieth century (Pujol and Camps 1885), so that the toponym was not associated with the city of Segeda. Hence, a number of rather farfetched suggestions for the location of the city were offered at the time: e.g. Sax (near Almansa), where the Segisa of the Bastetani was located (Delgado 1876, 371), or Cartagena (Zobel, 1877-79). Only the scholars who analysed the distribution patterns of Segedan coins pointed out the significant concentrations found in the region of Calatayud, particularly on the archaeological site of Durón de Belmonte de Gracián (Pujol y Camps 1885), where Segeda II is located. Still, the mint itself was not associated with the site, despite the fact that documental sources emphasising its importance were already known by the seventeenth century (Labaña 1895, 135).

A. Schulten (1933) was the first scholar to combine data from documental sources with numismatic and archaeological evidence, arriving at the conclusion that Segeda was located on the site of Durón (as suggested by narratives about the bellicose events of 153 BCE) and that it minted coins with the legend *segisa*. Next to Durón stands the hill of Mara, where another archaeological site dating to the Celtiberian period and displaying the recognisable features of a city can be found. The outstanding proximity of both sites became a problematic factor for scholars at the time of identifying the names of each city. However, this was resolved by associating the hill of Mara with the city of Segeda (as mentioned in the classical texts) and the second phase of the city (i.e. Segeda II, erected after the destruction and abandonment of Segeda I) with the nearby Durón (Burillo and Ostalé 1983-84).

The suggestion that Segeda had two distinct, subsequent locations was substantiated by the application of two of the analytical tools of Spatial Archaeology to city-state-type societies. According to the so-called 'rank-size' rule, two settlements of the size of the hill of Mara and Durón should be regarded as cities, and according to the 'central place' theory, these cities cannot be contemporaneous. Hence, the only viable solution was to consider these as two distinct phases of the same city. This conclusion was corroborated by archaeological evidence. Certain elements found in Durón have been dated post quem of the destruction of Segeda (i.e. 153 BCE, according to the classical sources), such as Campanian pottery (which was found in relative abundance at the superficial level), the presence of *opus signinum* mosaics, and particularly the urban structure (which is similar to that of the cities constructed *ex novo* after the destruction of Numantia) (Burillo 1986).

Although there are no references to Segeda after 153 BCE in the classical sources, there is little doubt about the city's continuity under the same name, for this name was maintained in the coins that were still minted until the Sertorian period. The results obtained from archaeological excavations carried out in Segeda I have confirmed this and corroborated the chronology for the abandonment of the first city of Segeda (Burillo 2001-2002). It could be argued that the urban sequence displayed by Segeda with its two distinct locations is unique in Celtiberia, for other contemporary cities such as Uxama, Tiermes, and Numantia display instead a superposition of occupation phases.

Segeda I, a Celtiberian *oppidum* in the Valley of Ebro

The Iberian Peninsula's northeast became the epicentre of a series of important historical events in the last decades of the third century BCE that started with the confrontation between Romans and Carthaginians as a result of the Second Punic Wars (Burillo 2002). Ensuing these confrontations, the first monetary emissions (i.e. Emporion-imitation drachmae) were produced along the eastern stretch of the valley of Ebro between 218 and 212 BCE (Villaronga 1994, 33). These coins display 46 different legends (Javier de Hoz 1995). Some are associated with Iberian person names, which indicates the existence of individuals who had enough wealth, political status, and social hierarchy as to produce this monetary emission in silver. Other coins display names of places, which are associated with the nuclei of particular territories. Although most of these settlements remain unknown, a number of *oppida* have been identified: *barkeno* or Barcino (Barcelona), *tarakonsalir* or Tarraco (Tarragona), *iltirta/iltirtasalir* or Ilerda (Lérida), and *iltirkasalir* (probably Dertosa).

The Roman advance along the River Ebro takes place during the early second century BCE and includes two significant chronological landmarks: that of Cato in 195 BCE and that of Gracchus in 179 BCE. Greco-Latin authors provide a city-by-city account of the conquest in this territory, which indicates the existence of a political structure that was atomised into *oppida*, with no other form of superior political unity. Certain references such as *sedetanum agrum* and *agrum ilergetum ausetanarumque*, cited by Livius in 206 BCE (28, 31, 5 and 29, 1, 19), reveal the existence of a territory that was associated to these *oppida*, namely Sedeis, Ilerda, and Ausa (which, in this concrete case, seem to be linked with the city of Osi-cerda (Burillo 2001-02). As indicated by a reference to seven *castella* (*bergistanorum civitatis septem castella* [Livius 34, 16, 3]), *castros* (hill-forts) were located in the territories of these *oppida*. They were associated with the city of Bergium and rebelled against Cato in 195 BCE.

In 195 BCE, Cato besieged Segestica, *opulentam civitatem* (Livius 34, 17). A number of scholars have suggested that this city might have been no other than Segeda (Beltrán 1976, 423), although there is no conclusive evidence for this. On the other hand, it can be argued that Segeda was located in the territory conquered by Cato within the Valley of Ebro, for it stood along the path that connected this territory with Hispania Ulterior. In any case, this *oppidum* was already conquered by 179 BCE, given that Segeda, 'a large and powerful city of the Celtiberians known as Belli', took part in the Pacts of Gracchus (Appian *Iber.* 44) (fig. 2).

The material record retrieved during the archaeological excavations of the Hill of Mara corroborates the fact that Segeda I disappeared in 153 BCE. Some artefacts are particularly worth pointing out, such as the kalathoi from the territory of Ampurias, (Cano et alii 2001-02), Campanian A and Calenian pottery, and a rim fragment from a Greco-Italic amphora. This evidence confirms the existence of a stable trade network linking Segeda with the Iberian Peninsula's northeast and the Italic Peninsula (Burillo 2001-02). It is worth pointing out that

Italic pottery of similar age in the Celtiberian territory are only found in the indigenous settlements of the eastern area (Cerdeño *et alii*. 1999, 275). I therefore believe that the division made by historians between Celtiberia Citerior and Ulterior stems from the territorial relations established by this region with the Mediterranean during the period raging between Cato and Nobilior (Burillo 1998, 34).

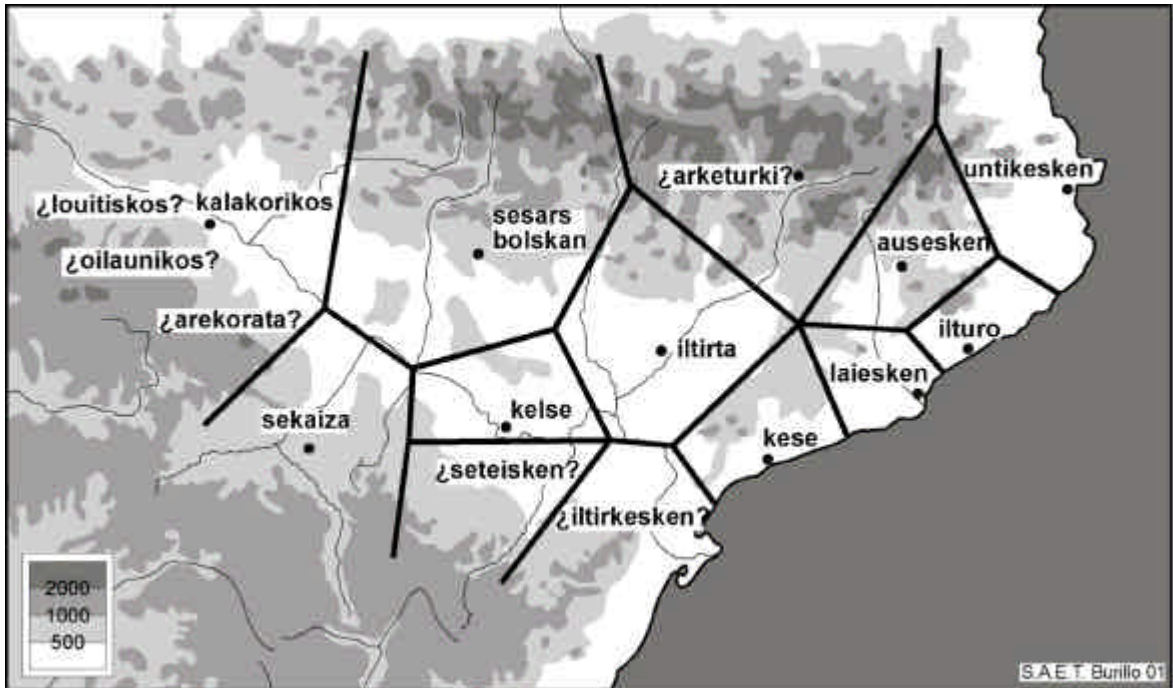


Fig. 2. Monetary emissions (*oppida*) within the Valley of Ebro in 160 BCE. (F. Burillo, 2002, fig. 4).

The slopes of the Hill of Mara were the first sector of Segeda to be inhabited. There has not yet been any archaeological intervention on the hilltop, although the eastern slope has been excavated, revealing a large two-storey house erected after a laborious process of terracing. One of its rooms displays a 2.60-metre tall wall with traces of holes left by the scaffolding used to support the second floor. The stonework was stuccoed with clay, whitewashed, and painted with a black strip running along the floor as a base. The floor surface was made out of plaster. Moreover, a press with a capacity of 2,000 litres was retrieved in one of the corners, which corroborates the existence of vineyards in Segeda's territory. This find acquires a central importance when considering that the consumption of wine in Segeda had traditionally been associated with the presence of Italic amphorae remains.

Part of a house belonging to an isolated quarter has been retrieved 300 metres south of the hill, on the limits of the city. Not far from it is a vast area that was used as a dump, similar to the Vaccaean ash fields (Wattenberg 1959).

The first *sekeida* mints. Fiscal and monetary systems.

Appian (*Iber.* 44) provides a synthesis of Segeda's relations with Rome from 179 to 154 BCE (the point at which war breaks out): '*The senate learned of this and (...) demanded from them the taxes laid down by Gracchus and ordered them to provide troops to fight with the Romans, since this was required by Gracchus' treaties. They replied that, so far as the wall was concerned, the Celtiberians were forbidden by Gracchus to found cities, not to wall existing ones; and as to the taxes and the recruitment, they said that they had been released from these by the Romans themselves after the time of Gracchus. And in fact they had been released from these obligations, but the senate, in giving such concessions, always adds that they shall be in force for so long as seems good to the senate and the people*' (Richardson 2000, 51).

Whether Rome established a regular taxation system or not during this period is still the subject of debate (Muñiz 1982; Ñaco 1997). The fact is that the first Iberian mints started emerging during the first half of the second century BCE. All the producing mints at this stage belonged to *oppida*. They were scarce and their distribution coincided with the territory controlled by Rome after Gracchus. An important distinguishing factor between the mints from Hispania Citerior and those of Hispania Ulterior is that the former minted coins exclusively in silver. This can be explained in terms of the fiscal distinction carried out by Cato in both territories (García-Bellido 1993, 98). Several authors have underscored the centrality of the fiscal system for the emergence of denarii mints (Crawford 1969; García-Bellido 1993; Beltrán 1998). It can be argued that the *sekeida* silver mints of the period prior to the destruction of Segeda I (in 153 BCE) were produced at a stage in which the Roman advance had been interrupted. They can therefore be associated with the economic expenses caused by the war. On the other hand, very few cities mint coins during this period (see fig. ...). Their regular distribution reflects an organised hierarchy within the territory, which implies that the cause for their emergence transcends the cities themselves. I believe that Rome carried out a selection of the most politically developed cities strategically located within the conquered territory in order to convert them into tax collection points for the conquered Citerior zone. Among these mints, *sekeida* and *arekorata* constitute the only cities that minted denarii within the territory of Celtiberia (Burillo 2002).

At this point I must emphasise another issue that I believe is of central importance. Segeda I also minted bronze coins: as, semis, triens, and quadrans. This array of denominations confirms the establishment of a complete monetary system, adapted from the more developed *kese* (Villaronga 1994, 176, 160). The different denominations were not intended to fulfil the needs of the fiscal system, but rather to allow for a variety of day-to-day payments. This therefore implies the existence of a population that could not rely merely on barter for the obtainment of their daily nutritional needs. But what sector of Segeda I's population adopted a monetary economy along with the first mints? It is most likely that this monetary system was developed in order to fulfil the needs of a population that was already making use of coins as part of their economic system. The only plausible explanation I can think of points towards the Roman troops stationed in the *oppida* and the recently conquered territories (Crawford 1985, 99 and Aguilar and Ñaco 1997, 85).

The finds from Nobilior's camp of Numantia have demonstrated that the troops were being paid with bronze, which was often supplied by Rome. Only during the mid-second century BCE were they paid with silver (Crawford 1985, 99; García-Bellido 1993, 115 and Ripollés, 1994, 135). A set of bronze coins (including *sekeida* and *areikoratikos* types) has been attributed to this camp (Arriols y Villaronga 1984). Approximately 43% of these coins were divisors, which implies that their circulation was necessary for the soldiers' day-to-day spending needs (García Garrido and Villaronga 1986-87, 40).

Obviously, the circulation of bronze coins fostered the gradual development of a monetary economy within the society of Segeda. As corroborated with later societies (Barceló 1992; Retamero 2000), monetary circulation may have allowed certain sectors of Segeda's population such as craftsmen, traders, or miners to acquire goods in exchange for money. Money would therefore reach the peasants, who would thus acquire the possibility of paying their taxes to the State of Segeda with something else than cereals and wine. Otherwise, how could one explain the presence of four *sekeida* ases retrieved in the *castro* of La Coronilla (Cerdeño and García Huerta 1992, 75)?

The synecism at Segeda I

Appian (Iber. 44) illustrates the circumstances that led Rome to declare war on Segeda: '*This city caused smaller towns to move to its side, and built a wall of some forty stadia in circumference around itself, and forced the Titthi, another neighbouring tribe, to join with it*' (Richardson 2000, 51).

Archaeological excavations seem to corroborate these events. East of the Hill of Mara, next to the Orera watercourse is a vast sedimentary area. The excavations carried out forty metres from the hill revealed part of a block of houses buried under a layer of sediments ranging between 1.60 and 2.40 metres of thickness. Three houses were identified from three different hearths. Two of the hearths were located in the centre of two large rooms with an area over 40 m² that displayed no internal partitions. This layout contrasts with the houses of small rooms and a similar chronology discovered in the settlement of Castellares de Herrera de los Navarros (Burillo 1983). One of these houses is located in an elongated outdoor area in which an iron oven and, next to it, a well were also discovered.

These houses share a wall and their reticular layout confirms that there was a previous design as well as an urban planning that may well have consisted of a series of streets running parallel to the base of the hill and the Orera watercourse with interconnected perpendicular streets. The simplicity of the construction system sets this sector apart from the buildings found on the hillside. There is no limestone or plaster stonework, and large boulders extracted from the nearby fluvial channel were used to build single-storey houses and construct the socle of the clay walls, which were made out of the same sedimentary soil. The structural simplicity of these houses and their vast, non-partitioned spaces indicate that they were built through a short period of time with no intervention from specialised stonemasons. This evidence has led us to the conclusion that Segeda constitutes the archaeological testimony of Appian's abovementioned narration—the confirmation of the synecism carried out by Segeda with their neighbours (i.e. the Titthi), for whom this sector of the city was urbanised (Burillo 2003). Two trenches dug out in other points of the sedimentary area have yielded positive results and demonstrated that this extension of the city had an area of at least 5 hectares (fig. 3).

A series of archaeological trenches dug out along the footpath of Viver, which runs approximately 600 metres south of the Hill, resulted in the discovery of a stretch of 4.10-metre wide wall. The wall displayed a double row of large limestone boulders (one metre tall along the external surface) and a filling of middle-sized stones. Archaeological evidence leads us to affirm that only the base was constructed. This wall seems to be the one mentioned by the written sources in 154 BCE. Three isolated structures have been identified alongside the fields through which the wall runs. The excavation of one of them revealed a rectangular layout and a 3.89-metre thick wall base. These features have allowed archaeologists to identify the structures as isolated outposts, thus confirming the existence of an unfinished defensive system that ran along the area southeast of the city of Segeda, where the elevation of the terrain starts to increase.

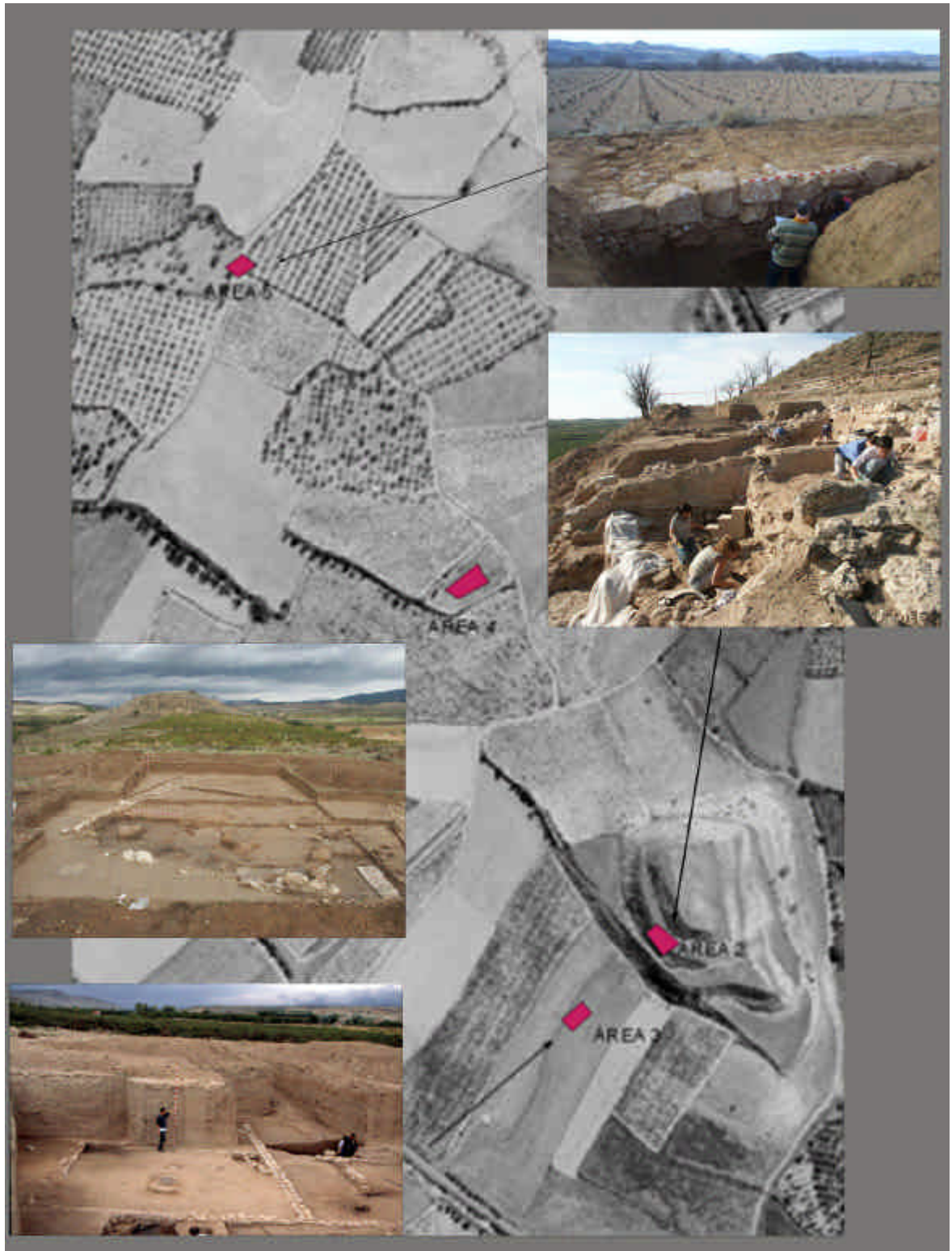


Fig. 3. Segeda I.

What the final layout of the wall would have been had the construction been completed remains unknown, although it would have limited the expansion of the city into the sedimentary

zone. According to Appian, the wall was forty stadia long (equivalent to a 4.7 kilometre perimeter), which seems a rather exaggerated figure, given that the space that the wall would have had to enclose exceeded 300 hectares—an area with no precedents in the Hispanic sphere, as illustrated by M. Almagro-Gorbea's study (1994). Although we have no data regarding the exact magnitude of Segeda's expansion into the sedimentary terrain, the area circumvallating the possible layout of the wall would have been just over forty-two hectares. In any case, as we have already pointed out, not all of this area was urbanised.

Another piece of evidence, this time from Appian himself (*Iber.* 90), suggests that the figure of forty stadia is an overstatement, for he also offered an inaccurate measurement for the walls of Numantia, which he described as having a perimeter of twenty-four stadia. In pointing this out, Schulten (1937, 75) also mentioned that the equivalent of this figure (i.e. 4.4 kilometres) coincides with the circumference of three miles calculated by Orosius (5, 7, 2-18). This implies an approximate area of 120 hectares. Nonetheless, modern archaeological studies have confirmed that the indigenous city of Numantia had an area of only eight hectares (Jimeno et alii, 2002, 26-28). On the other hand, two facts have indeed been corroborated from the data offered by Appian: that the population of Segeda increased the boundaries of the defensive walls in order to host the population of the Titthi, and that the perimeter of these walls was much larger than that of Numantia's.

The new city of Segeda II

A city with an entirely new layout was erected next to the ruins of Segeda I. This was Segeda II—headquarters of the same political entity as Segeda I, for the city kept minting coins with the same name of *sekeida*. This new city coincides with an urban model that I have termed 'plane cities' (Burillo 1986). It is similar to other settlements with a reticular layout located in the Valley of Ebro and the Peninsula's northeast, such as Caridad de Caminreal (Teruel), perhaps close to *orosid*; La Cabañeta del Burgo de Ebro (Zaragoza); La Corona de Fuentes de Ebro (Zaragoza), belonging to *lakine*; Valdeherrera de Calatayud (Zaragoza) where *bilbilid* is located; Badalona (Barcelona) associated with Baetulo and Mataró (Barcelona) or Iluro. We are therefore dealing with a generalised urban process that developed within a very particular sphere of the Iberian Peninsula during the second half of the second century and the first quarter of the first century BCE (Guitart 1993; Asensio 1994) (fig. 4).

Systematic archaeological excavations have not yet been carried out in Durón de Belmonte de Gracián, although a series of finds have been made in different periods. In 1867, the Commission for Historical and Artistic Monuments of Zaragoza released the news of the discovery of various structures, among which were buildings with mosaics displaying a preserved *opus sectile* design (Burillo 1999, 15). La Fuente pointed out in 1884 the discovery of mosaics and other construction remains. In 1993, A. Schulten published Lammerer's plan of Segeda II, including the location of the walls, the topographic development of a fifteen-hectare city, and the excavation results of a 'Roman house' (a term that could have also been applied to the room discovered later in 1949). A surviving photograph shows a room with an *opus signinum* pavement and stuccoed walls with decoration that imitates an isodomic structure belonging to the first Pompeian style (Mostalac y Guiral 1998, 323). This Roman influence can also be appreciated on the preserved wall façade. José Angel Asensio's study (1994, 245; 1995, 248; 2001) reveals that it is an *opus quadratum* with plaster ashlars. The ashlars display the multiples of a Roman foot and are the equivalent of the *Iesso* walls (Guissona, Lérida) and the Italic walls of Segni and Vicivaro.

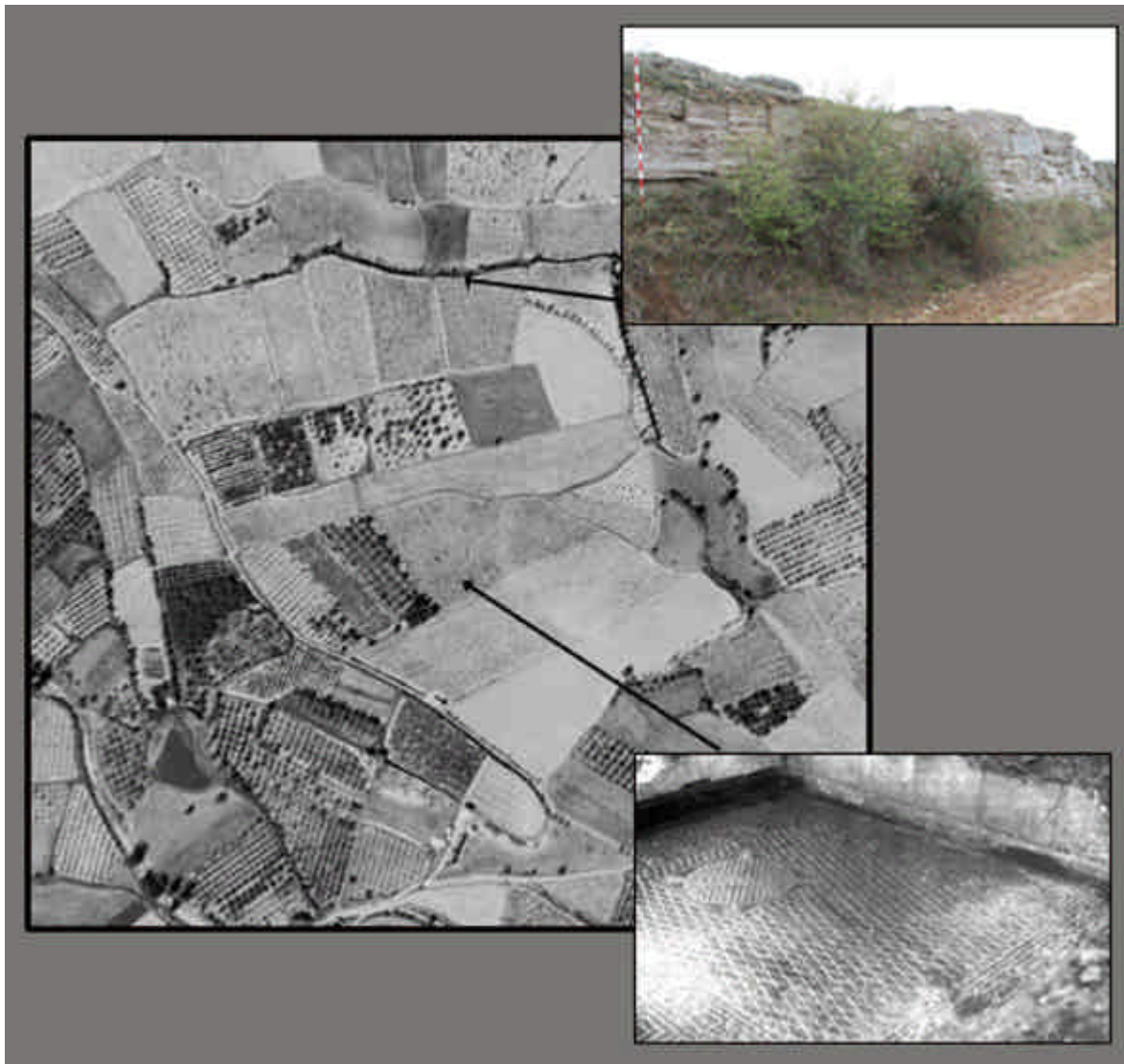


Fig. 4. Segeda II.

The study carried out on the monetary mass minted by *sekeida* has evidenced the large volume of coins belonging to the third mint, in which M. Gomis (2001) has recognised 797.48 dies. Based on their calculation systems (Gomis 1998), this figure would be equivalent to a quantity ranging between 249.212 and 747.637 denarii. I believe that this vast quantity of coins was minted by the State of Segeda in order to fund the costs associated with the construction of the new city of Segeda II: excavating the large ditch, erecting the wall, and urbanising the interior (Burillo 2001) (fig. 5).

Segeda II is probably the oldest of the new cities with a new layout. All the new cities share Roman characteristics in their urbanism, house modules, and construction materials. However, only Cabañeta del Burgo de Ebro has provided epigraphic evidence for its construction by immigrants from the Italian Peninsula, which has led its excavators to identify it as *Castra Aelia* (Ferrueruela and Mínguez 2003). All other cities were built and inhabited by indigenous people who had already adopted the Roman lifestyle, as corroborated by the excavations of spacious Italic-type houses in Caridad de Caminreal (Vicente et alii 1991; Asensio 1994, 231).

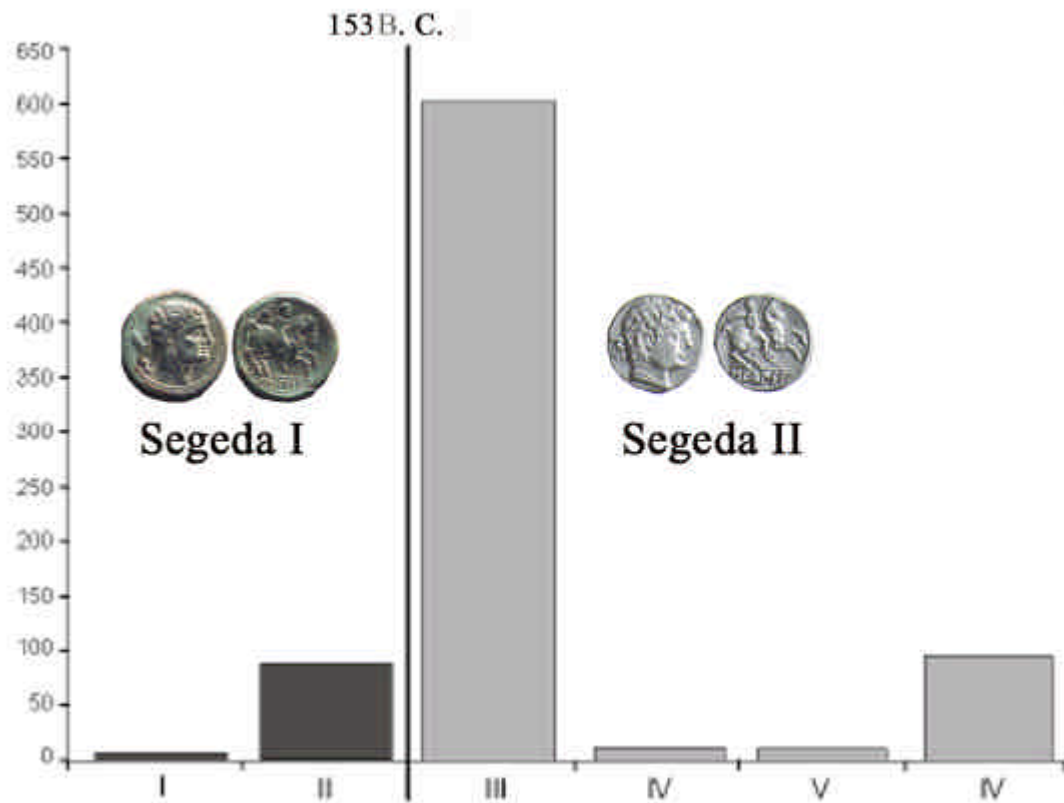


Fig. 5. The monetary mass minted by *sekeida* (source M. Gomis 1998, 2001).

Nonetheless, I believe that these indications of full romanisation do not imply that the emergence of these new cities was a direct result of Roman intervention. The 900 m² covered by the 'house of Likine' (which are unprecedented dimensions for Celtiberia) indicate that it probably was the house of an aristocrat who had adopted and exploited the slavery system (Burillo 1998, 270). However, the construction was carried out by indigenous people, as evidenced by the inscription in an *opus signinum* mosaic associated with a similar example retrieved in Andelos (Navarra) (Untermann 1993-94, 128). Moreover, their inhabitants have left graffiti exclusively in the Celtiberian script and language (Vicente *et alii*. 1993). The indigenous nature of the city was further emphasised when its name was confirmed. In the case of Segeda II, the fact that the name was maintained in the coins and the same Celtiberian legend of *sekeida* constitutes the best piece of evidence for the resettlement of the inhabitants of the old city of Segeda I and the continuation of its state organisation.

Sekeida's denarii of the second half of the second century BCE reveal that the city kept establishing a hierarchy within a vast territory in the Valley of Ebro (Burillo 1982; 1998, 295). The series with their legend disappeared during the Sertorian stage, probably because they were substituted by the mints of *bolsken*, which was converted into a mobile mint by Sertorius himself as evidenced by the fact that a die and a coin-shaped bronze from this mint have been discovered in Valdeherrera (Calatayud, Zaragoza) (Dominguez and Galindo 1984 and Medrano and Moya 1988). I believe that it can be affirmed that the silver mines of the State of Segeda yielded the metal for the series of the denarii of *bolsken* minted in this territory during the campaigns of the war against Pompey.

The Sertorian Wars caused the destruction of Segeda II. The city's alliance with the losing coalition accounts for the fact that it was not reconstructed ever again. A similar set of circumstances have been documented for the city of La Caridad and the construction *ex novo* of cities on high elevations in areas that were located a few kilometres from the old cities. Thus, Leonica was moved to San Esteban del Poyo del Cid (Teruel), and Segeda II to the Hill of Bámbola de Calatayud (Zaragoza), where *Bibilis Itálica* would later emerge, assimilating the population of the Celtiberian *bilbilid* (abandoned and destroyed by the abovementioned civil wars).

A Segedan colonisation in the Celtic Baeturia

There have been other toponyms of cities called Segeda/Segida in the Iberian Peninsula: among the Turdetani (Ptolemy, 2, 4, 10 and Pliny, 3, 10), the Turduli (Ptolemy, 2, 4, 9), and the Celts (Pliny *N.H.*, III, 3, 13) (Schulten 1937, 7). Scholars have been able to find an explanation for the origin of the toponym only in the case of the latter: *The Celtici that arrived from Lusitania descend from the Celtiberi, and this is evidenced by the religious rites, the tongue, and the names of the oppida that are distinguished in Baetica by their cognomens: Seria was called Fama Iulia, Nertobriga was called Concordia Iulia, Segida was called Restituta Iulia...'*

Naturally, many historians have speculated about the actual historical period that Pliny is making a reference to. Although some have maintained that it may have corresponded with the disappearance of the so-called *oppida* in the Extremenian territory in 400 BCE (Almagro-Gorbea, 2001; Berrocal 2001), I believe that the explanations that have focused on a later period might be more accurate: namely the time range between the second half of the second century and the beginning of the first century BCE (Rodríguez Díaz 1995), when the Celtic Nertobriga emerged (Berrocal 1997).

In shedding light over this issue, numismatics has provided the single most important piece of evidence. Due to its iconography and Celtiberian legend, *tamusia* was considered a mint located in the territory of the Jalón River, not far from *sekeida* (Villaronga 1990). However, *Tamusia* has been discovered in the *oppidum* of Villas Viejas de Tamuja (Botija, Cáceres), where the toponym remains and very characteristic Celtiberian elements of material culture (such as hospitium tesserae) have been retrieved (Sánchez and García 1988; García-Bellido 1995 and Pellicer 1995). On the other hand, scholars had already been pointing out for a long time the significant concentrations of Celtiberian coins found in Andalusian and Extremenian territories, particularly those belonging to *sekeida*, which led A. Delgado (1876, 375) to affirm 'that the few Celtiberian objects found in Andalusia are mainly of this type'. Today we know that these coins belong to the mints of Segeda II and are found mainly in the mining settlements of the abovementioned territories. The fact that these coins are bronze and not denarii (which was the coin used during this period for long-distance trade or to pay legionaries) has caused some scholars to associate their presence with the immigration of certain peoples—in particular the citizens of Segeda (De Hoz 1992; Otero 1993; Blázquez Cerrato 1995 and García-Bellido 1995). Even M^a. P. García y Bellido and C. Blázquez (2001, 367) have suggested that the coins of *sekeida* and *titiakos* found in the Extremenian sphere were minted in the same territory (fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Tamusia, as, and distributions of the monetary finds and “two dolphins numismatic area (F. Burillo 1998, fig. 88).

With regard to the cause for these migrations, which, judging by the number of settlements involved, must have included a large mass of people from several Celtiberian city-states, F. Pina (in press) points out that we could be dealing with deportations organised by the Roman State. This situation would eventually give rise to new settlements or an increase in the population of the existing ones, as was the case with the populations of other conquered territories from which we do have written testimonies (Picentes, Campanians, Ligures Apuani, Aquei, etc.). However, the mints belonging to the series with the ‘two dolphins’ on the obverse belong to the sixth and last series of *sekeida* (Gomis 2001) and are therefore distant in time from the bellicose events of the end of the Celtiberian Wars in 133 BCE that have been suggested as a possible cause for these alleged deportations. Moreover, we must not forget that, after the fall of Segeda I, the historical texts about its inhabitants (who are referred to as Belli and Titthi as of 152 BCE) start describing people who were considered allies of Rome (Polibius 35, 2). I still believe that the large-scale arrival of Celtiberians to the Celtic Baeturia ought to be associated with the mining and metallurgic developments taking place in the latter territory (Burillo 1998, 305-312; Canto, in press), which are a similar set of circumstances to those that fostered the emergence of the city La Caridad de Caminreal in Celtiberia itself. Rome’s interest in this process is evident, although it clashed with that of the indigenous communities that were involved. In any case, this is the direction in which evidence such as the continuity of the toponyms and the legends of the coins in the Celtiberian tongue appears to be pointing at.

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