Tiberius and the Romanization of the Vasconia – Continuity and change in the early Principate based on a Tiberian coin type from Calagurris

Tiberio y la Romanización de la Vasconia – Continuidad y cambio en el Principado basado en un tipo de moneda del reino de Tiberio de Calagurris

TIMO KLÄR

University of Greifswald, Germany /
Saarland University, Saarbrücken, Germany

E-mail: timo.klaer@mx.uni-saarland.de

Orcid ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0663-8051>

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Abstract: This paper intends to approach a study about the ongoing process of Romanization during the period of government of Tiberius by means of a provincial coin emission from Calagurris in the territory of the Vasconians. To achieve this objective we present an analysis of important elements shown on the coin: the imperial title on the obverse, the iconography and the two duoviri mentioned on the reverse.

Keywords: Romanization; Calagurris; Tiberian reign; Numismatics; Roman-Vasconian identity

Resumen: El presente trabajo pretende estudiar el proceso de romanización durante el gobierno de Tiberio mediante una emisión de moneda provincial de Calagurris en el territorio de los vascones. Para ello, presentamos un análisis acerca de los elementos importantes que se muestran en la moneda: el título imperial en el anverso, la iconografía y los dos duoviri mencionados en el reverso.

Palabras Clave: Romanización; Calagurris; imperio de Tiberio; numismática; identidad romana-vascona.

INTRODUCTION

SCHOLARS have dated a coin emission of Tiberius from Calagurris in the Vasconia¹ to his reign from AD 14–37 and identified it as Tiberius’ first emission, i.e. the 18th of the mint of Calagurris.² The coin type has the denomination of an *as*, in our case (Figure 1) with a diameter of 25 mm, a weight of 11.64 g and an orientation of 12h. The obverse shows a laureate head of Tiberius to the right with the inscription TI AVGVS DIVI AVGVSTI F IMP CAESAR. The reverse features a bull standing to the right with his head facing and the inscription L FVL SPARSO, L SATVRNINO, II VIR on right and M [C I] on left.³

This paper discusses primarily the historical significance of the visual elements, i.e. the image and the inscription of this coin type (RPC 448), whereas other aspects characteristic of the issue such as for example the choice of the denomination, the origin of the metal and the circulation of the coins with the iconography of a bull will not be discussed here. The focus lies only on Calagurris, other Vasconian cities, like for example Graccurris, will not be discussed here, even though similarities are to be assumed in terms of the iconography of the bull under Tiberian rule.⁴

Figure 1

As from Calagurris (RPC 448; SNG Copenhagen 585; de Guadán 1980, 172, 692 and 693; VAuctionsTriskeles 326, 247). John C. Lavender of VAuctions Triskeles

¹ Recent scientific research identified not only Calagurris as a Vasconian city but also as a Vasconian mint: (Collado Cenzano, 2006; Beltrán Lloris; Velaza Frías, 2009). Earlier research had suggested a Beronian origin of the native coinage: (García-Bellido, 1997).

² (Espinosa, 1984: 98; García-Bellido; Blázquez, 2002: 225; Grant, 1950: 36 adn. 143). Grant suggests on iconographical considerations a late, or fairly late date for a number of municipal issues of Ilici, Osca, Calagurris, Graccurris and Cascantum: (Grant, 1950: 140–141): “[...] eight *municipia* appear to have issued coinage under Tiberius and only five in the last years of Augustus. It cannot, therefore, be concluded that any diminution of municipal mints started at the accession of Tiberius, any more than a diminution of colonial mints; nor is any diminution noticeable *during* his reign, in which a number of municipal issues are late [Grant’s italics].

³ For the two types of the coins: one with a bull standing in its entirety and another with a head of a bull: (Gozalbes, 2020: 55).

⁴ For a detailed discussion of the diffusion of the bull’s image under Tiberius in the middle valley of the Ebro: (Gozalbes, 2020).

The omission of the *praenomen imperatoris*, created by Tiberius' predecessor Octavian/Augustus, on the obverse legend requires some remarks. Interestingly, the *praenomen imperatoris* seems to be missing not only on other Tiberian coins from Calagurris and *Hispania*⁵, but also the second emperor seemed to abstain from its use entirely; however the official title of the second *princeps* was Imperator Tiberius Caesar Augustus.⁶

Map of Roman Mints in Hispania (left); Detail of the Mints in Northern Hispania (right).
Pere Pau Ripollès

The reverse of the coin illustrates one moment of the progressive Romanization of the *municipium Calagurritanum* with the iconography of the bull and the names of the *duoviri*. Especially the bull is quite common in the iconography of coins in the Early Principate, which has stimulated an ongoing and controversial debate on his iconographic symbolism. On the one hand, research found common ground in a civic and religious interpretation of it in general. On the other hand, the bull could be

⁵ Missing *praenomen imperatoris* on coins from Calagurris: (García-Bellido; Blázquez, 2002: 225, No. 22–25 (Tiberian coins: emissions 18–20); Grant, 1950: 46–47; Hill, 1931: 170). Grant mentions only one single irregular coin-title at Calagurris with the *praenomen imperatoris*: IMP CAESAR TI AVGVS DIVI AVGVSTI F. Missing *praenomen imperatoris* on coins from Hispania: (García-Bellido; Blázquez, 2002: 18, No. 7–8 (Abdera); 20, No. 5–8 (Acci); 45, No. 61–64 (Sagunt); 66, No. 17–21 (Bilbilis); 75–79, No. 23–50 (Caesaraugusta); 100, No. 33–37 (Carthago Nova); 119, No. 70 (Ebusus); 125–127, No. 42–50 (Emerita Augusta); 142–143, No. 5–6 (Ercavica); 153–154, No. 71–80 (Gades); 155, No. 1–2 (Gracurris; also a Vasconian city and also a bull on the reverse); 176, No. 3 (Ilercavonia); 180–181, No. 7–12 (Ilici); 214–215, No. 5–6 (Italica: No. 5 has IMP TI CAESAR AVGVSTVS PON MAX; no. 6 has TI CAESAR AVGVSTVS PONT MAX IMP); 219–220, No. 5–8 (Cascantum); 240, No. 36–37 (Celsa); 310, No. 24–31 (Osca); 341, No. 9–10 (Segovia); 364–365, No. 17–25 (Tarraco); 380–382, No. 38–46 (Turiaso; no. 41–43 with bull on the reverse); 399, No. 1–3 (Osicerda; no. 2 with bull on the reverse).

⁶ Suet. Tib. 26,2; Cass. Dio 57,2,1; 57,8,1–2; 59,3,2. Missing *praenomen imperatoris* on imperial coins: RIC I2 Tiberius 93–101, s.v. obverse legends; BMC I Tiberius 120–145, No. 1–177. On inscriptions: e.g. CIL II 1660 (=ILS 161); CIL VI 930 (=ILS 244). BMC I, LXVI–LXVII: “What is certain is that Augustus used ‘imperator’ as a praenomen, suppressing his own praenomen ‘C. (Gaius)’, while Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius abstained from its use entirely.” For the official titles: PIR II2 C 941, 224–225; (Hammond, 1957: 22 with note 5; Kienast; Eck; Heil, 2017: 71).

interpreted in Hispania locally different, i.e. its meaning could vary from one region or micro-region to another quite significantly.⁷ The coin emission therefore could give an insight into the administrative structures of the Hispanic north in the first decades of the early Roman Empire by means of the imperial title, the Romanization of Calagurris and the two *duoviri* mentioned on the reverse: L. Fulvius Sparsus and L. Saturninus. In the following chapters I will elaborate the significance of the coin type further.

1. THE OBVERSE: REMARKS ON THE IMPERIAL TITLE OF TIBERIUS

On 19 August AD 14, the first Roman *princeps* Augustus died in Campo Nola. The adoption of Tiberius in June AD 4 had made him the successor of Augustus; since then he was called *Tiberius Iulius Caesar*.⁸ The name of Augustus was, probably on 17 September AD 14, transferred to Tiberius, whose full name was now *Tiberius Caesar Augustus*, also an indication of the transition of power.⁹ Since the winter of 40/39 BC, shortly after the *pax Brundisina*, Octavian had begun to use the imperial title as his *praenomen*,¹⁰ in addition to the patronym *Divi (Iuli) filius* and the imperial acclamation:

“[He personally monopolized] the title of victorious Roman generals to an extent that had not occurred before. Simultaneously, the title was no longer linked to specific achievements, i.e. victories, which raised Octavian victorious quality to an absolute height and perpetuated it limitlessly. The new *Imperator Caesar* emphasized his claim to being the ultimate and unsurmountable victor.”¹¹

⁷ (Gozalbes, 2020: 41–44) with further literature and recent research on the subject.

⁸ FAmitt June 27; Vell. Pat. 2,103,3 (27 June). (Scheid; Broise, 1980: 234; Bernecker, 1980: 16; Kienast; Eck; Heil, 2017: 71).

⁹ On the events surrounding the transition of power: Tac. Ann. 1,7–52; Vell. Pat. 2,123–125; Cass. Dio 56,31–47; Suet. Tib. 22–26; (Timpe, 1962: 48–56; Sage, 1982/1983). For the 17 September as *dies imperii*: (Fabia, 1909; Hohl, 1933; Schmitt, 1958; Kampff, 1963; Goodyear, 1972: 169–176; Flach, 1973). Beginning of September: (Wellesley, 1967; Schrömbges, 1986: 65–92). For a later date in October: (Pippidi, 1944: 125–132; Béranger, 1953: 7–24; Klingner, 1954: 26–37; Grenade, 1961: 394–443; Levick, 1976: 68–81). For the name: (Kienast; Eck; Heil, 2017: 71).

¹⁰ On the assumption of the *praenomen imperatoris* by Octavian: (McFayden, 1920; Syme, 1958a; Le-suisse, 1961; Deininger, 1972: 994–995; Eck, 2006: 49; Havener, 2016: 9–34). For the date: Sydenham, 1952: 207, no. 1329; 1331; IAPH 2007, 8,25–26; 30–32 (39/38 B. C.); (Syme, 1958a: 179–182; Kienast, 1961: 403; 419–420; Stäcker, 2003: 426; Dahlheim, 2010: 191; Levick, 2010: 37). 40 BC: (Combès, 1966: 132–135; Schumacher, 1985: 203–205) with the reference to RRC 534,1: Ov: IMP DIVI IVLI FTER III VIR R P C. The coin marks the transition to the *praenomen imperatoris*: (Kienast, 2009: 48; Assenmaker, 2012: 139; Galinsky, 2012: 38; Havener, 2016: 16; 68; Kienast; Eck; Heil, 2017: 32).

¹¹ (Havener, 2016: 13): “[...] [Er personalisierte] den Titel der siegreichen römischen Feldherren in einem Maße, wie dies bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch nicht vorgekommen war. Zugleich wurde der Titel auf diese Weise von der Bindung an spezifische Leistungen, d.h. Siege, befreit und damit die Sieghaftigkeit Octavians gleichsam verabsolutiert und unbegrenzt perpetuiert. Der neue *Imperator Caesar* machte seinen Anspruch deutlich, als ultimativer und unübertrefflicher Sieger aufzutreten.” [My translation; Havener’s italics]. (Syme, 1958a: 181): “The wider connotations of ‘imperator’ being admitted, it will appear plausible that the praenomen ‘Imperator’ embodies and advertises the peculiar claim of Octavianus to be the military leader par excellence.” (Grant, 1950: 46–47).

In doing so, Octavian had created an innovation. He had to defend himself against his rivals during the triumviral period and with this title he was able to emphasize not only the special affinity to the soldiers, but also the renewal of Rome, and therefore could use it in the public life of Rome. The military reference of the imperial title was important, because it lifted him over the other generals who could also call themselves *imperator*.¹² Tiberius however, unlike his predecessor, declined the *praenomen imperatoris* and also the title of *pater patriae*.¹³ This was surprising because the princeps as commander-in-chief had to prove his victoriousness over and over again; in that he was responsible for the prosperity and achievements of the *res publica*. What, therefore, could be more fitting than an unlimited perpetuation of the imperial title by taking it as a *praenomen*? The imperial acclamation, open in principle to all generals, was thus turned into an element of imperial nomenclature by Augustus. Why then did Tiberius decline the honours for the *princeps* and endangered the newly established system of power? After all, the military was one of three important pillars of the Principate.¹⁴

A look at the development of the imperial title during the Roman Republic should shed some light on the matter. Cassius Dio mentions that Caesar was already granted the use of the *praenomen imperatoris* in 45 BC. This is doubtful.¹⁵ In the Republican period, a victorious general who had been acclaimed by his troops as *imperator*, was allowed to carry the title only until the day of his triumph. The magistrate had to wait outside the *pomerium* with his troops until a decision was made by the senate whether he would be awarded a triumph. Sometimes, this took so much time that a cancellation of a triumph could occur: In this case the general remained in possession of his command.¹⁶ One could assume that the imperial title was initially used exclusively to sample out temporarily a magistrate of the Late Republic.

There is evidence for a further development of the imperial/imperial title, on the basis of Caesar's titles since the beginning of 45 BC. A dedication from Curubis in *Africa Proconsularis* carries the inscription *C. Caesare imp. cos. IIII, L. Pomponius L. l. Malcio duovir V murum oppidi totum ex saxo quadrato aedific. coer.* and a senatorial decree from Mytilene shows the title Γάιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ.¹⁷ On *denarii* struck by

¹² (Kienast, 1961: 420; Campbell, 1984: 93–96; Stäcker, 2003: 428–439; Havener, 2016: 14–15).

¹³ Suet. Tib. 26,2; Cass. Dio 57,8,1; Tac. Ann. 1,72,1; 2,87. BMC, LXVII.

¹⁴ (Flaig, 1992).

¹⁵ Cass. Dio 43,44,2; Suet. Iul. 76,1; (Syme, 1958a: 176–179; Kienast, 1961: 417–418; Combès, 1966: 123–130; Deininger, 1972: 991–993; Stäcker, 2003: 427–428; Havener, 2016: 12).

¹⁶ Cicero acclamation in October 51 BC: Cic. Att. 5,20,3; see. Cic. Att. 10,11,5. Since January 4, 49 BC he waited outside the *pomerium* for a triumph: Cic. Fam. 2,12,3; 15,5,2; Cic. Att. 6,8,5; 7,1,5; 7,1,7; 7, 2,6; 7,3,2; 7,4,2; 7,3–4; Plut. Vit. Cic. 37. He left Italy in June 49 BC without having celebrated the triumph: Cic. Fam. 16,11,3; 16,12,5; 14,7; Cic. Att. 7,11,5; 7,14,2; 7,15,2; 9,18–10,18; Plut. Vit. Cic. 38; Cass. Dio 41,18,4. ILS 877; 890, where it is also noticeable for Late Republican times that an ordinal number does not have to follow the title.

¹⁷ Curubis: Dessau, ILS 5320. Mytilene: Syll.³ 764, 10–11; (Kienast, 1961: 417).

the *monetales* M. Mettius, P. Sepullius Macer and C. Aemilius Buca roughly a month before Caesar's death, the legends include CAESAR IMPER, CAESAR IMP and CAESAR IMP M. Here the imperial title could be understood as a *cognomen* and not as *praenomen imperatoris*, as it is assumed by Cassius Dio. It is possible that Cassius Dio confuses the *praenomen imperatoris* for Caesar with the honour to carry the imperial title permanently, which was granted by the senate in October 45 BC, contrary to tradition. Caesar appears on the obverse of the said types with a golden royal wreath, which suggests yet another further development, i.e. a monarchical understanding of his role.¹⁸ Thus, it was only a little step from the permanent imperial title, interpreted as *cognomen*, to the interpretation as a *praenomen* by Octavian and hence the creation of the *praenomen imperatoris*.¹⁹

Since Tiberius, as the heir of Augustus, had the convenient option to also adopt the *praenomen imperatoris* himself. The fact that he not only declined that privilege but also rejected or only reluctantly accepted other honours, led to a new style of rule, which was formative for the principate: "[...] at the level of discourse, [Tiberius] introduced a new style of demonstrative differentiation from Augustus [...]"²⁰

Tiberius' official title was *Imperator Tiberius Caesar Augustus*. According to the ancient sources he rejected this title at the beginning of his reign. Further numismatic and epigraphic evidence shows that the *praenomen imperatoris* for Tiberius appears only on a very limited quantity of provincial coins from Hispania, and on provincial inscriptions.²¹ Here, it could be argued however, that the exact title of the princeps in the province was not widely known. Though the omission of the *praenomen imperatoris* on other coins from Hispania is striking,²² it is far more plausible to suggest a

¹⁸ (Kraft, 1952/1953: 65–74). For the monarchical understanding of the role of Caesar: (Gelzer, 1921: 252–309; Kroymann, 1970; Gesche, 1976: 142–179; Meier, 1980: 65–96; Meier, 1982: 510–533; Jehne, 1987; Botermann, 1992; Will, 1992: 194–217; Girardet, 1996; Welwei, 1996; Jehne, 1997: 101–114; Morgan, 1997; Dahlheim, 2005: 217–234; Will, 2009: 163–182; especially 174–176; Gardner, 2009: 57–71; Meier, 2014; Sigmund, 2014: 169–182; Stevenson, 2015: 123–180), with further literature. (Rosenblitt, 2019) for the political culture of the Late Roman Republic. Coins: (Alföldi, 1953: 86).

¹⁹ (Syme, 1958a: 177): "[...] a cognomen can be transferred and used as a praenomen."

²⁰ (Havener, 2016: 376): "[...] [Tiberius begann] in demonstrativer Abgrenzung zu Augustus [...] auf der Ebene des Diskurses einen neuen Stil einzuführen. [My translation]; (Gotter, 2015: 223–231, especially 230): "What was built up by one (successful) emperor in terms of meeting expectations was constantly undermined by his successor, whether one subtly rejected the achievement of the deceased or went straight for the jugular. [...] Emperors thus became spokesmen of a discourse, which delegitimized the previous emperor and, in the endless repetition of the procedure, propagated tropes showing an anti-monarchic component."

²¹ Coins: (García-Bellido; Blázquez, 2002: 214–215, No. 5–6 Italica): No. 5 has IMP TI CAESAR AVGVSTVS PON MAX; no. 6 has TI CAESAR AVGVSTVS PONT MAX IMP. Grant mentions only one single irregular coin-title at Calagurris with the *praenomen imperatoris*: IMP CAESARTI AVGVSTI DIVI AVGVSTI F: (Grant, 1950: 46–47) with further literature and here note 6. Inscriptions: CIL VIII 685: Romae et imp. Ti. Caesari Augusto sacrum. CIL VIII 10023: Imp. Caes. Augusti f. Augustus.

²² Here, note 6.

knowledge of Tiberius' rejection of the *praenomen imperatoris*. This new style can be seen in the legend on the obverse: TI AVGVS DIVI AVGVSTI F IMP CAESAR; it is demonstratively different to its predecessor Augustus. Tiberius used the title *imperator* certainly not as a *praenomen*, but one can understand the title as a *cognomen*, which led Tiberius to link himself with the Late Republican tradition, since Tiberius was acclaimed as *imperator* several times in the wars he fought under Augustus – more than any other general. With that, Tiberius could refer to his military quality as a leader as well as achieve a differentiation from Augustus.²³

Coins from Northern Hispania without the *praenomen imperatoris* of Tiberius and the Bull on the Reverse

Figure 2

As from Celsa (RPC 279a). Pere Pau Ripollès

Figure 3

As from Graccurris (RPC 429). Pere Pau Ripollès

²³ Suet. Claud. 12,1. Connection with the Republican tradition: (Campbell, 1984: 94; Grant, 1950: 47–48) for the *cognomen imperatoris*. Imperial acclamation: CIL XI 367 (=ILS 113). For this inscription: (Hammond, 1957: 20 with note 3; Horster, 2000: 35). However Tiberius seems to have referred back to his predecessor on coins in his early reign. Augustus is mostly remembered as *divus*, not as military leader: (Günther, 2014: 57–59).

Figure 4

As from *Cascantum* (RPC 425 NY HSA). Pere Pau Ripollès

2. THE REVERSE LEGEND:

THE ROMANIZATION OF THE *MUNICIPIUM CALAGURRITANUM*

Calagurris Nassica received municipal status probably in 26 BC.²⁴ In that year, Augustus took action in the Cantabrian War against the Cantabrians and Asturians on the Iberian Peninsula. For this purpose he had initially stayed in Tarraco, before moving on to Segisama. He may have stopped in Calagurris to grant municipal rights there.²⁵ Regardless, *asses* and *semisses* from Calagurris with the obverse legends MVN CAL, MVN CAL IVL, MVN CAL (AG), MVN CAL IVLIA (*asses*), MV CAL (*semisses*), M C I, M CAL I and the reverse legend II VIR, which can be dated to the Augustan period, prove a granting of these rights under the first princeps.²⁶ The use of the *nomen gentile* Iulia caused M. Ruiz Trapero to accept the award of municipal status under Caesar, but the evidence is difficult and inconclusive.²⁷

In military terms, Calagurris was also important for peacekeeping, because it was close to the battle zones, but as a Vasconian city was not involved.²⁸ Shortly thereafter, a mint was founded in Calagurris, which underlines the importance of the city.²⁹ Furthermore, the close relationship of the Calagurritans to Octavian/Augustus could have played a role in the granting of the rights. Since the triumviral period, the later princeps had Calagurritans as bodyguards, whom he dismissed shortly after his victory over

²⁴ (Beltrán Lloris, 2017: 526).

²⁵ Augustus in *Hispania* 26 BC: Suet. Aug. 26,3; Flor. 2,33,48; Oros. 6,21,1; (Espinosa, 1984: 73; 83–87). For the date: (Grant, 1946: 165–166). This was already doubted by (Vittinghoff, 1951: 108 with note 4 and Brunt, 1971: 603). Before 27 BC: (Wiegels, 1985: 103).

²⁶ (Hübner, 1893: No. 64a; Hill, 1931: 176–179; Vives, 1924: 96–99). Municipal status: (Hernández Vera; Núñez Marcén; Martínez Torrecilla, 2005: 109). Possible verification of the municipal status: ERRioja 5: ---/[---Pio/F]eli[ci In]/vict[o Aug(usto)/pont(ifici) max(imo)/tribu[n(icia) pot(estate) ----?/pa]tri p[atriae---/mu]ni[c(ipium) ?---]. (Pascual Mayoral; Pascual González, 1984: 62).

²⁷ (Ruiz Trapero, 1968: 92–93).

²⁸ (Iguácel de la Cruz, 2007). Allegiance between Vasconians and Romans: (Klär, 2017: 49–107).

²⁹ (Espinosa, 1984: 75–83; García-Bellido, 2007).

Antony at the battle of Actium.³⁰ Already, his adoptive father Caesar had Hispanic bodyguards around him, and it is likely that they also included Calagurritans. Augustus had also been able to convince himself on several occasions of their suitability and may have used his journey to Hispania to now express his gratitude for Calagurritan services with the elevation of Calagurris to a *municipium Romanorum* in 26 BC.³¹ This started the Romanization process of Calagurris, which continued in the Tiberian period. This is clearly evident in the coin to be discussed, as reference is still made to the municipal status (M C I) and moreover, to the *duoviri* (L FVL SPARSO, L SATVRNINO - II VIR).

While there is hardly any evidence for L. Saturninus, the sources are better for L. Fulvius Sparsus. The Calagurritan *gens Fulvia* enjoyed a high reputation in the late-Augustan and early-Tiberian periods in Calagurris, as coin findings show.³² A C. Fulvius Rutilus is documented as *duumvir* of the city between 2 BC and 14 AD and could easily have paved the way for our L. Fulvius Sparsus, *duumvir* in Tiberian times. If one looks at the urban Roman prosopography of this time, one notices that a namesake of the Calagurritan L. Fulvius Sparsus in the Augustan period was a student of M. Porcius Latro, a *rhetor* or *declamator* in Rome.³³ The latter came from Corduba, suggesting that L. Fulvius Sparsus also came from Hispania, as Romans from the same region of provenance preferred to come together.³⁴

The *princeps* had been reorganizing the provinces in *Hispania* since 27 BC. He divided *Hispania ulterior* into two new provinces: *Lusitania* and *Baetica* and *Hispania citerior* was expanded into the north-west to *Gallaecia*. Augustus also set up juridical divisions in the Hispanic provinces, i.e. *conventus iuridici*, for religious, fiscal and political purposes; with these *conventus* the rural population was forced to go into the cities to perform their duties. Additionally, certain provincial cities received the status as *colonia*, *municipia* or *civitas vetera*, i.e. Roman cities; in these, the local population could cooperate with the Romans in many ways. For example, the local elite assumed office as *duovires* in the *municipia*, which led to a process of Romanization that was essential to a successful integration and administration in *Hispania* after Augustus.³⁵ Thus, it would be obvious to assume a connection from Calagurris to Rome and vice-versa already in the Augustan period. This could have been conducive to the Romanization of Calagurris.³⁶

³⁰ Suet. Aug. 49,1; (Espinosa, 1984: 71).

³¹ Suet. Aug. 8,1; Vell. Pat. 2,59,3; Nic. Dam. 10,21-11,25; (Espinosa, 1984: 71-75; Klär, 2017: 106).

³² (Grant, 1946: 166; Espinosa, 1984: 96-97).

³³ Sen. contr. 1,2,2; 1,3,3; 1,3,7; 1,4,3; 1,7,15; 2,5,10; 7,2,3; 7,4,1-2; 7,6,3; 7,6,23; 9,1,7; 9,2,5; 9,3,4; 9,4,3; 9,5,4; 9,6,1; 10 praef. 11-12; 10,1,5; 10,2,4; 10,3,3; 10,4,8-10; 10,4,14; 10,4,23; 10,5,8-10; 10,5,23; 10,5,26. For Lucius Fulvius Sparsus: PIR III 560; (Bornecque, 1902: 167; Münscher, 1910: 279-280).

³⁴ Origin of Latro: (Helm, 1953: 234; Klär, 2017: 112).

³⁵ For the administration: (Alföldy, 1969; Alföldy, 2007). *Conventus*: (Sancho Roger, 1981: 25-33; Dopico Caínzos, 1986; Le Roux, 2004; Alföldy, 2007: 333-338; Klär, 2017: 14-15; 97-100) with further literature and references to the measures under Augustus. For the *municipia*: (Ortiz de Urbina, 1995). For the local population and the assumption of Roman culture: (Barceló, 1995: 63-64).

³⁶ (Espinosa, 1984: 98). Importance of the *gens* in *Hispania*: (Badian, 1958: 309; Syme, 1958b: 783; Klär, 2017: 111-112). For the coin types in Calagurris in relation to the municipal status: (Klär, 2017: 105-106 with note 44).

3. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE REVERSE: THE BULL AS REPRESENTATION OF A SYNCRETISM?

A passage from book three of Strabon's *Geographika* refers to the Celtiberians and their northern neighbours, the Vasconians, as moon worshippers, who offer sacrifices to a nameless god at full moon.³⁷ The deity is not mentioned, but on the basis of archaeological evidence it can be demonstrated that the moon cult was associated with a bull that was worshipped in the Vasconian territory as the deity Lacubegis. Ujué (Navarra) may possibly have been adopted as the centre of the deity,³⁸ because there is a bull protome on a side of a votive offering from Ujué which is dedicated to the native god Lacubegis (Figure 5;7). The decoration of the votive offering and the name Lacubegis have led researchers to assign different functions to this god. On the one hand it has been associated with fertility.³⁹ On the other hand it was assumed that the name refers to water and it was suggested that the god Lacubegis may be associated with the Rio Aragón and a nearby torrent flowing in the vicinity of Ujué.⁴⁰ Moreover an interpretation as patron god can be found, based on the second part of the name, which means in Basque *begi* = eye.⁴¹ However, the Basque word *behi* = bovine fits better as a form of this deity for a moon cult, and is therefore more likely.⁴² The founders of the stone can be determined in their social position. Both Coelius Tesphoros and Coelius Telesinus point to a Greek origin in the cognomina. Thus the founders could be identified as *liberti*.⁴³

Another votive for Iuppiter from Ujué has been discovered,⁴⁴ which has the same benefactors as the Lacubegis votive (Figure 6). Both votives are practically identical, except for the dedication, which can be interpreted as a variation of the formula. Both were probably erected at the same time. Since Iuppiter is often associated with the bull, for example in the myth of Europe⁴⁵, a veneration of Lacubegis as Iuppiter should not be ruled out.⁴⁶ Thus, this may be an indication that the local population understood

³⁷ Strabo 3,4,16.

³⁸ (Canto, 1997: 31–40). The bull, which can certainly be found elsewhere in the Ebro valley, is interpreted quite differently by other natives: (García-Bellido; Blázquez, 2002: 221–225; Gonzalbes 2020).

³⁹ ILER 860; IRMNa 34 with pl. 34 a und b; HEp 7, 2001: 480; HEpOl 457: Coeli(i) Te/sphoros/et Festa/et Teseli/nus Lacu/begi ex/voto. Votive and inscription: (Taracena; Vázquez de Parga, 1946: 465, 59 with pl. 27 and 28; Blázquez, 1962: 176–177 with pl. 38; Gamer, 1974: 243, 39 with pl. 55a; Gamer, 1989: 250, NA 18 with pl. 44c und d; Canto, 1997: 37–38, with 13 und figure 7; Velaza, 2011: 575–576, 3 with figure 1). Name *Lacubegis*: (Blázquez, 1975: 111–112; Velaza, 1995: 213).

⁴⁰ (Elorza, 1972: 363; Hernández Guerra 1997, 172, No. 10).

⁴¹ (Uranga, 1966: 223; Elorza, 1972: 363; Hernández Guerra, 1997: 172, 10).

⁴² (Iraburu, 1975: 83–85; Huarte Lerga, 1997: 361–368).

⁴³ (Solin, 1982a: 363–366; Solin, 1982b: 1296; Velaza, 2011: 576).

⁴⁴ IRMNa 33 with pl. XXXIII: Coelii/Tespho/ros et/Festa/et Tele/sinus Io/vi sacrum. (Taracena; Vázquez de Parga, 1946: 464, 58c with pl. 26; Gamer, 1974: 243, 40; Iraburu, 1975: 85; Gamer, 1989: 250, NA 19 with pl. 43e; Velaza, 2011: 576, 3 with figure 2).

⁴⁵ (Cook, 1914: 633–715; Canciani, 1997: 421–470). For the Europe-Bull myth: Ov. met. 2,833–875.

⁴⁶ (Velaza, 2011: 576–578).

the god Lacubegis as Iuppiter and worshipped him ritually. Another example is an altar for Iuppiter from Aibar, where also a head of a bull appears as decoration, which perhaps also points to an interpretation of the god Lacubegis as Iuppiter.⁴⁷ Therefore, these votive stones are a sign of worship of the local gods in interplay with the Roman deities. If this syncretism was intentional, it is a clear indication of the integration of the Vascons into Roman territory.

Votives from Ujué for Lacubegis and Iuppiter

Figure 5

Votive for the Vasconian deity Lacubegis
(Museo de Navarra, Pamplona).

M. Ramírez Sánchez

Figure 6

Votive for Iuppiter
(Museo de Navarra, Pamplona).

M. Ramírez Sánchez

⁴⁷ AE 1930: 18; AE 1951: 280; ILER 54; IRMNa 17: Iovi O(ptimo)/M(aximo) L(ucius) Se/mpro/nius G/eminus/l(ibens) p(ecunia) s(ua). (Escalada, 1927: 599f. w. Figure; Escalada, 1929: 190–192; Escalada, 1943: 126–130; Taracena; Vázquez de Parga, 1946: 441, No. 1, w. Figure I und II; Mezquíriz, 1956, 22 w. Figure; Gamer, 1974: 241, No. 21 w. Figure 54a–d; Gamer, 1989: 248, No. NA 1 w. Figure 41a–d; Velaza, 2011: 588 w. Figure 15).

Figure 7

The two votives together with the bull protome on the side of the votive for Lacubegis (Museo de Navarra, Pamplona). M. Ramírez Sánchez

A bull on the reverse of Tiberian coins in the Vasconian territory therefore could indicate, in my opinion, the preservation of local Vascon traditions by the Romans and also the friendly relationship between Vasconians and Romans. Iconographically, since the 4th emission under Augustus a bull on the reverse is shown as early as the elevation of the city to *municipium* 26 BC.⁴⁸

Thus, in the Early Principate the Vasconians appear in the numismatic evidence as a prime example of the Romanization process, as the iconography of the reverse can be interpreted both Roman and Vasconian in a religious sense; the legend on the reverse shows the integration of Calagurris as *municipium*, which underlines the importance of the city in a civic sense.

⁴⁸ (García-Bellido; Blázquez, 2002: 222–225, No. 5–25 (emissions 4–20)). The iconography on the reverse seems to be a supraregional assumption from a Phoenician, Iberian and Celtiberian tradition, which is reinterpreted in the Vasconia as a local deity: (García-Bellido; Blázquez, 2002: 38–45, No. 2–6; 12–22 (Arse); 46–47, No. 1–6 (Asido); 68, No. 1 (Bora); 71–81, No. 19; 27; 50 (Caesaraugusta); 97–100, No. 13 (Carthago Nova); 111, No. 1–2 (Detumo); 114–119, No. 1–27 (Ebusus); 129–141, No. 8; 36?; 39 (Emporion); 142–143, No. 3–5; 8–9 (Ercavica); 155, No. 1–2 (Graccurris; Vasconian city and mint); 216–217, No. 5–6; 9 (Ituci); 219–220, No. 7–8 (Cascantum; probably Vasconian city); 227–233, No. 2; 9–10; 13; 16; 19–25; 32–35; 38; 43–48 (Castulo); 234, No. 2 (ke.li.n); 235–240, No. 19–24; 26–30; 35–37 (Celsa); 253–254, No. 4; 6; 8–9 (Clunia); 261, No. 1–2 (Lacipo); 284–286, No. 1–2; 9–10 (n.e.r.o.n.k.e.n); 290–295, No. 17–21; 33–35; 37–39 (Obulco); 304–305, No. 1–5 (Orippe); 353–355, No. 13 (Sexs); 362–365, No. 23 (Tarraco; Tiberian reign); 375–382, No. 41–43 (Turiaso; all in Tiberian reign); 388–396, No. 2–3; 18; 30; 33; 43; 45; 47; 64–65 (u.n.ti.ke.s.ke.n); 399, No. 2–3 (Osicerda); 403–404, No. 1–5 (Vesci)). (Gozalbes, 2020) with further details on the coin types and the emissions.

4. CONCLUSION

The coin emission is significant for the reign of Tiberius. The obverse with the title of the emperor is to be seen in demonstrative differentiation to his predecessor Augustus, i.e. by avoiding the *praenomen imperatoris*, which propagates a new style of rule.⁴⁹ However, the reverse is to be seen in continuity with Augustus, because here the focus is on the process of Romanization. This is evidenced by the *duoviri* and the reference to the *municipium Calagurritanum* on the reverse. Both refer to the new administrative structures in *Hispania* and both were implemented under Augustus in the early years of his principate with a reorganization of the two provinces *Hispania ulterior* and *Hispania citerior* since 27 BC. With the creation of at least 11 *conventus iuridici* and by awarding the status as *colonia*, *municipia* or *civitas vetera*, local residents could participate as high level officials in the Roman Empire. This was an important step not only towards a successful integration of the natives into the mechanisms of Roman Imperial rule, but also a main trigger for the process of Romanization, which began in the Julio-Claudian dynasty and reached its peak in the second century AD.⁵⁰

With this coin emission Tiberius cleverly succeeds iconographically in depicting the Roman and the native Vasconian components in a religious and civic sense side by side⁵¹, referring in turn to his predecessor, who founded cities in the Vasconia in order to propagate a friendly relationship between Romans and Vasconians. The reverse was struck already under Augustus, which strengthens the argument.⁵² Calagurris was already allying itself with Caesar during the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey,⁵³ therefore Tiberius might even refer back to the *res publica* with the reverse. The coin is an example of how Tiberius addresses both the Roman and the provincial populations and was able to illustrate his new style of rule – different from Augustus but with continuity – through the circulation of coins in *Hispania* and beyond.⁵⁴ It is suggested, therefore, that the coins with these two *duoviri* are to be dated in the early years of the government of Tiberius. A further clue is the namesake of L. Fulvius Sparsus, the student of Latro, the latter of whom died around 4 BC.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ It could be argued, however, that the exact title of the *princeps* in the province of *Hispania* was not widely known. However, coins with the *praenomen imperatoris* are already known under Augustus: (Hill, 1931: 178, 6).

⁵⁰ Further literature in note 32.

⁵¹ It could be argued, however, that the coin was struck by two *duoviri*, but it can be assumed that this did not happen without the consent of the emperor: (Regling, 1933: 483–484; 489).

⁵² (García-Bellido; Blázquez, 2002: 222–225) with further literature. Here note 6.

⁵³ Val. Max. 7,6,ext 3; (Klär, 2017: 87–91).

⁵⁴ On the circulation of coins: (Wolters, 2006; Frey-Kupper; Stannard, 2018).

⁵⁵ Hieron. Chron. 194,1.

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