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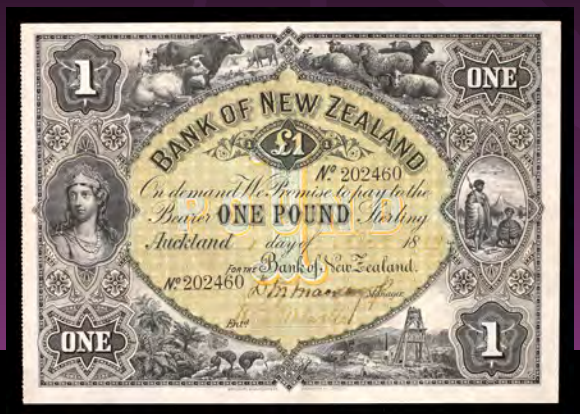

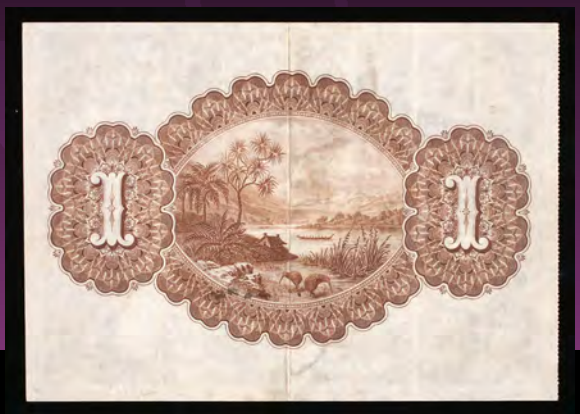

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President's Report

Our eighth biennial international numismatic conference (NAAC2019) was held at the State Library of New South Wales. National Organiser Walter Bloom and the local Organising Committee of Ken Sheedy and Gil Davis put together an interesting program, the fruits of which can be seen in this current volume of the Journal. Highlights included keynote speakers, Ross MacDiarmid, RAM Director (*The future of collecting and the role of the Royal Australian Mint*) and Claire Rowson, Perth Mint (*Mint Condition: New directions for numismatic conservation in Australia*). We were pleased to see a strong New Zealand contingent in Sydney and for the first time in some years the conference ran at a (slight) profit.

I am delighted to advise the winning of the 2019 Paul Simon Memorial Award by Graeme Petterwood. Graeme has been very active on the Tasmania numismatic scene, even when the Tasmanian Numismatic Society had spent a significant time in hibernation. Over this crucial period he kept the Society on the numismatic map with his publishing of the bi-monthly newsletter *Tasmanian Numismatist*. Graeme's contribution to the Society has been recognised with the McDonald Encouragement Award, 1994; R V McNeice Literary Award 1995, 1996; Lockwood Medal 1998; Tasmanian Numismatic Society Bronze Medallion 1996, 2000, 2003; TNS President's Award 2000; TNS Distinguished Service Medal 2013; and TNS Life Membership 2014. Graeme also won the André Fecteau Prize (Association des Numismates Francophones du Canada; http://anfc.info/) literary award. Congratulations Graeme from the Australian numismatic community.

The NAA website has experienced some serious issues, well beyond my expertise as Website Manager. After many unsuccessful attempts at fixing the problems, both through the hosting company and the website developer, the Association is looking to pay an expert to get the website back on-line.

We continue to enjoy sponsorship at a sustainable level, with Noble Numismatics (Gold), Coinworks, Downies (Silver), Drake Sterling, Mowbray Collectables, Sterling & Currency and Vintage Coins & Banknotes (Bronze) all contributing to ensure the Association's continued success. However expenses are rising and receipts are falling, even with the steady level of membership. On the positive side, many continue to take out ten-year memberships which is certainly good for the short to medium term.

I am appreciative of the support of Council and other NAA members throughout the year, and particularly our Secretary, Jonathan Cohen, and Treasurer, Lyn Bloom, who are pivotal in the running of the Association, and our Managing Editor, Gil Davis, for his ongoing work with the journal. The Association is looking to hold its 2020 AGM in Perth with those members in the Eastern States invited to skype into the meeting. With 15 NAA members in WA including three Office Bearers, we should have no difficulty making a physical quorum.

Finally, I was sorry to miss this year in Sydney (due to illness), my first missed conference since their inception in 2005, and also my first missed AGM since I took up the Presidency in 2006.

Professor Walter R. Bloom
President, NAA
www.numismatics.org.au

Editor's Note

This journal is the showcase of the Numismatic Association of Australia (NAA), the peak body for numismatics in the country. It provides a venue for excellent scholarship with a requirement that all articles either offer new material or fresh interpretations. All submissions are required to undergo a rigorous, double-blind peer review. The 29th volume is the largest we have produced and comes as a result of a decision to combine 2018 and 2019 into one volume, with many of the articles generated from the biennial NAA conference held on 6-7 April 2019. Once again, there is a good balance of modern and ancient interests reflected in a remarkably diverse range of topics. It is pleasing to see the contributions made on New Zealand numismatics.

We have a strong international editorial board who contribute their wisdom, experience and help. I thank them and mourn the premature loss of one of our number, the late Professor Matthew Trundle whose obituary appears at the end of the volume. I thank Professor John Melville-Jones and Mr John O'Connor for their skill and application in proof-reading the articles and Mr Barrie Newman for his dedication in producing the volume. As always, I thank Professor Walter Bloom, President of the NAA, for his personal support and encouragement in dealing with the myriad of matters that editing a journal entails.

This volume has some changes from its predecessors. At the conference we ran a session in which a number of speakers gave a short presentation on a 'Numismatic Gem'. This was highly successful and amusing. Two of the presentations have been turned into brief articles including the winning entry by Darren Burgess on a 'humble' token from the English Civil War, and a charming story by Barrie Newman on his first coin, which led him to a lifelong interest in collecting. We have also included a review by David Rampling of the important book by Peter Lane on the South Australian 'Coin Cabinet'.

There are five articles on modern topics. The first two are about New Zealand with Andrew Clifford and Robert Tonner presenting a history of New Zealand banknotes, superbly illustrated from Robert's own collection, and David Galt following up with medals issued for the New Zealand Wars. Richard and Carmel S. O'Hair take us into the world of early Australian medals issued by a Geelong Highland society, while Darren Burgess provides a full listing and discussion of the Centenary of Sydney and Melbourne Commemorative medals. Yuri Rapoport suggests, perhaps controversially, that there is a fifth variety of the 1931 penny.

There are also five large articles on topics spanning a thousand years of ancient history. Lloyd Taylor provides an exemplary study of the Alexander tetradrachms that he attributes to the Phoenician port city of Karne. From there, we segue into the vexed question of the so-called Porus medallions of Alexander, explored in detail by Michael Habicht and his colleagues. Staying in the ancient East, Rachel Mansfield reattributes a previously incorrectly identified coin type minted in the Levantine port city of Jaffa under the Severan emperors. Bruce Marshall discusses the introduction of slogans to Roman republican denarii. Finally, Christian Cuello discusses the extent to which imperial authority was conveyed in the 'imitation' coinage of 'barbarian' rulers in late antiquity.

All the articles contain significant research providing the volume with enduring value. They are well written and informative. I hope you enjoy reading them.

Dr Gil Davis
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Articles must comprise original research on numismatic material including but not limited to Australasian numismatics (coins, tokens, medals, banknotes) or ancient or mediaeval numismatics. Manuscripts can be emailed to any member of the Editorial Board in your area of research, along with a copy to the Managing Editor.

A slogan on a Late Roman Republican *denarius*

Bruce Marshall

Abstract

The only words appearing on late Roman republican denarii *following their introduction c. 211 BC were the legend* ROMA *and (eventually) long or short abbreviations of moneyers' names. A hundred years later a* denarius *was struck containing a further term, in this case* PROVOCO *('I appeal'). The argument here is that this was a political slogan, reflecting concerns at the time about recent military failures, the consequent pressure from Roman magistrates to conscript more citizens, and an emphasis on the rights of citizens to call on tribunes to 'appeal' against these magisterial pressures. This use of an additional term on a coin set a precedent for a number of other* denarii *issued subsequently to include a slogan or descriptor.*

Keywords

[*denarius*] [*tresviri monetales*] [*provocatio*] [P. Porcius Laeca] [T. Turpilius Silanus] [Q. Caecilius Metellus] [C. Marius] [M. Iunius Silanus]

A new silver coin, the *denarius*, was introduced at Rome about 211 BC, during the Second Punic War (218-202 BC). The standard obverse of this new coin had a helmeted head of Roma, with the legend ROMA and the letter X behind indicating its value.[1] This standard obverse type continued for nearly one hundred years

1 The new *denarius* contained an average of 4.5 grams, or 1/72 of a Roman pound, of silver. The X stands for its equivalence to 10 asses. The weight of the coin gradually diminished, and it was re-tariffed to 16 asses c. 141 (*RRC* 224/1) (with the symbol now of XVI or X with a dash through it). The new *denarius* was introduced as part of the overhaul of the coinage, alongside a short-lived silver coin called the *victoriatus.* The last coins of this latter denomination were issued around 179-170 (*RRC* 159/1, 162/1a-b, 166/1, and 168/1). The reason for the introduction of the *denarius* had to do with the economic exigencies caused by the seriousness of the war with Hannibal. See Crawford 1974: *Introduction*, vol. 1, pp. 32-3.

Throughout, coins are referred to by their numbering in the definitive collection of M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1974, with the abbreviation *RRC*. The images of the coin in Fig. 1 are taken from the Catalogue of Roman Republican Coins in the British Museum, and copyright is gratefully acknowledged by inclusion, as requested, of its accession number.

almost without variation.[2] The reverse initially showed the Dioscuri on horseback,[3] and similarly this remained mostly the standard for about 45 years, though frequent even after that. Prior to the creation of the *denarius*, there were issues in gold (rare), silver, and bronze (the most common); some of these denominations, primarily the bronze coins, continued to be issued. The bronze coins in particular had a wider variety of images, primarily deities on both obverse and reverse.

Management of the minting of coins in republican Rome was in the hands of three annually elected officials called *tresviri monetales*.[4] This office, along with other positions in the *vigintisexvirate*, was often held by young men to gain administrative experience, with some having the intention of moving on to further office (such as the *quaestorship*, usually held about the age of 30). Moneyers would usually be in their late 20's, and would have come from well-to-do families.

The first variation to the standard *denarius* with Roma and the Dioscuri came in c. 194-190, when on one issue (*RRC* 133/3) the Dioscuri were replaced by Luna in a *biga* (a two-horsed chariot). [5] Images of other figures in chariots came to be used on the reverse of coins, though the Dioscuri were still common. Other deities also began to figure on the obverse, replacing Roma: for example, in 137 a bust of Mars (*RRC* 234/1), and a laureate head of Janus in 119 (*RRC* 281/1).

There were some additions to the standard type, commonly on the reverse. One sort of addition were simple signs, such as a corn ear, a dolphin, a prawn or a fly. It is unclear what these signs intended to convey. A second sort was monograms, and occasionally groups of 1-4 letters, but it is difficult to identify the moneyer from these. Later, from

2 Around 241-235 in the middle republic, the word ROMA had replaced an earlier ROMANO, which had been used on silver and bronze coinage in the early republic. The legend ROMA was put on the obverse from the beginning of the *denarius* coinage; later, on a *denarius* of 134 (*RRC* 244/1), the legend appeared for the first time on the reverse, and from then on it could be shown on either side (or in some instances, not at all: e.g. *RRC* 300/1, issued in 110 or 109).

3 According to legend (Liv. 2.19-21, Dion. Hal. 1.66), the semi-divine twin horsemen, the Dioscuri, appeared miraculously at Lake Regillus, in a battle fought against the tribes of the Latin League gathered by the ageing Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome, who had been expelled in 509 and who was trying to recover his throne. The Dioscuri saved the day for the Romans, who were fighting to preserve their recently established Republic. Interrupting the regular use of the Dioscuri on the reverse of the *denarius* were 11 instances of Luna in a *biga* and nine of Victory in a *biga* down to 143 (see n. 5 below).

4 Their formal title was the *tresviri* a.a.a.f.f. (an acronym for *aere argento auro flando feriundo* ('the three men for casting and striking of bronze, silver and gold'). See Hamilton 1969: 181-2; Lintott 1999: 140 for information on their appointment and function. The three *monetales* were grouped with the other minor officials in a body called the *vigintisexviri.*

5 The image of Luna in a *biga* (two-horsed chariot) was used ten more times on a coin reverse down to 150. An image of Victory in a *biga* occurred first on a *denarius* of 157-6 (*RRC* 197/1), and appeared another eight times in quick succession down to 149. In between these images the regular Dioscuri were used on the reverse. In 144 a series of unusual reverse images began: for example, Jupiter in a *quadriga* (four-horsed chariot) (*RRC* 221/1), Diana in a *biga* of stags (*RRC* 222/1), Hercules in a *biga* of centaurs (RRC 229/1), Juno in a biga of goats (*RRC* 231/1), and Apollo in a *quadriga* (*RRC* 236/1a-f).

the 190's on, a third sort of addition appeared: the names of moneyers in long or short abbreviations, making it easier to tell who they were. These three sorts of additions were not a linear development: symbols, monograms, letters, and abbreviated names appeared variously and in combination in successive mintages.

Realising the propaganda value of coins, *monetales* began placing on their coins not only their names, but also images which represented the achievements of their ancestors, as a way for the moneyer to point to the worth of his family – and therefore of himself as a potential candidate for office.[6] These deeds of ancestors were illustrated on the reverse of the coin, while the head of Roma still appeared on the obverse. As the possibilities of propaganda value developed, the conservatism of standard obverse and reverse was abandoned, and a great multiplicity of types appeared, reflecting the individual concerns of the annually changing moneyers.[7] Moneyers were presumably advised of the amount of coinage to be produced each year, by the Roman senate on the advice of the consuls (mainly for the purpose of funding military campaigns), but they seem to have been free to work out their own designs, allowing them to take advantage of the advertising possibilities.[8]

As Rome moved into the period of the late republic, from 133 to the decade after the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44, three trends emerged: one, a wider variety of deities and personifications replaced Roma; two, more recent, or even contemporary, deeds or events were depicted; and three, items representing personal achievements were shown. And there was another trend: written slogans or descriptors, with a specific reference to a political event or circumstance. These did not begin appearing until the very end of the second century, and not often for some time after that. Previously, the only words appearing on coins were the names of the moneyers (shortened or abbreviated), occasional acronyms (for example, AED. PL. = Plebeian Aedile, or S.C. = by order of the Senate), and the legend ROMA.

The earliest instance of a coin with a slogan is a *denarius* issued by P. Porcius Laeca: the date proposed by Crawford is 110 or 109.[9] The obverse has a head of Roma as usual, with

6 Hamilton 1969: 181-199 argues that the use of coins for propaganda purposes grew gradually from the 140's, and was more noticeable from the 90's and 80's on, as moneyers came increasingly from known aristocratic families. Tables are included to show these trends. This is the traditional interpretation of many of the designs on republican coinage. However, Cheung 1998: 53-61, and Meadows and Williams 2001: 27-49 suggest that these representations should be seen in the context of a wider Roman cultural practice of honouring one's ancestors. Republican coins may not have been issued solely for the purposes of propaganda, but as a commemoration or *monumentum* for the family to which the moneyer belonged.

7 From about the 130s, while some conservatism persisted, there developed a multiplicity of images on both obverse and reverse: Howgego 1995: 67.

8 Lintott 1999: 140.

9 Various other dates are put forward: for example, see Grueber 1910: 2.301 (124-103), and Sydenham 1952: lx.78 (119-110). Crawford has the advantage of his extensive examination of coin-hoards for the dating of *denarii* and other coins, so his date for this coin is certainly more reliable.

ROMA above the head, and the moneyer's last name on the left, while the reverse has a figure in military dress, another in a toga, and an attendant holding rods, with the slogan PROVOCO (= 'I appeal') (see Fig. 1). According to legend the various laws ensuring *provocatio* ('the right of appeal') appeared early in republican history, arising out of conflict between the aristocrats and the plebeians (called the 'Struggle of the Orders'). In all likelihood they did not occur until much later: a *lex Valeria* in 300 (perhaps) and the Porcian laws dated to the first decade of the 2nd century.[10] These laws aimed to protect ordinary citizens against unjust decisions by magistrates, who came from the upper classes; the tribunes were given the right of intervening on behalf of a citizen. One of these laws is associated with P. Porcius Laeca, a tribune c. 195, and a forebear of the moneyer of this coin.

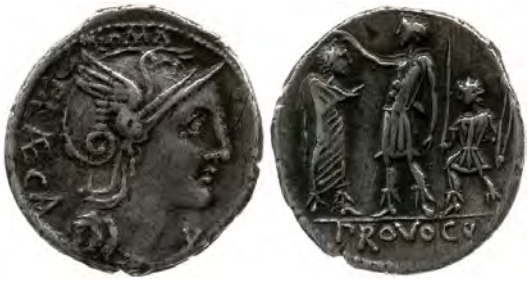

Fig. 1: *denarius* of P. Porcius Laeca, *RRC* 301/1, 110 or 109 BC
[British Museum R.7821]

Though the examples found in Broughton's *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* are scrappy and conjectural, the few careers of someone who was a *monetalis* and moved on to holding a tribunate suggest a gap of between six to twelve years. Broughton (*MRR* 3.171) thinks Laeca may have secured a tribunate in the 90s, though this too is a speculation. So the sort of gap observed between being a *monetalis* and holding the tribunate might give additional support for Crawford's date of 110 or 109.

The scene depicted on the reverse might itself give a clue to the dating. It shows the process of *provocatio* in action: a citizen in a toga (left), perhaps a tribune, is holding up his hand to prevent the attendant carrying rods (right) from summoning the citizen before the commander (centre) to receive a beating. A consul was primarily a military commander, and beating with rods by a consul's attendants (called lictors) was a form

10 On the various early *provocatio* laws, see Rotondi 1922: 235-6 and 268-9; Lintott 1972: 230ff.

of punishment used for breaches of military discipline.[11] In this case, what breach might the citizen have been summoned for?

Gruen puts forward a suggestion that the coin relates to a specific incident described in Plutarch, *Marius*, 8.1:[12] the scandalous treatment of T. Turpilius Silanus by his commander, Q. Caecilius Metellus, for the loss of the Roman garrison at Vaga in Numidia during the war against Jugurtha. Turpilius was condemned to be scourged and executed. Marius, a *legatus* ('legionary commander') under Metellus, was a member of the general's *consilium* which examined the case. He pressed for Turpilius' condemnation, though at that time he was cultivating popularity among the soldiers, had promoted popular causes earlier in his career, [13] and should, one would think, have recognised Turpilius' right of *provocatio*. Gruen's claim is that Marius did this in order to embarrass Metellus, who was a political opponent of Marius at the time.

That is too specific an explanation. In my view there is a better, more general explanation which can be put forward. Because of a recent series of military defeats and set-backs – against the Germanic tribes at Noreia in 113, and the losses against Jugurtha since 111 – there had been difficulties in raising a sufficient number of troops, and increasing

11 Punishments for breaches of military discipline, such as failure to answer the magistrate's summons to be enlisted, could be severe: for example, M' Curius Dentatus (cos. II 275) ordered the confiscation and sale of one man's property when he failed to appear for conscription, and when he appealed to the tribunes, Curius ordered that the man himself be sold into slavery (Val. Max. 6.3.4). For further examples see Brunt 1971: 391, and cf. Nicolet 1976: 136-7; Lintott 1999: 98-9.

12 Plut. *Mar.* 8.1: "He [*Metellus*] was particularly upset by what happened in the case of Turpilius, a man connected with him by a long-standing tradition of friendship between their families. At this time Turpilius was serving in Metellus' army as chief engineer, and had been put in command of the garrison in the large town of Varga. Here he relied for safety on doing the inhabitants no harm, but rather treating them with kindness and humanity. Before he realised it, he found himself in the hands of the enemy, since the people let Jugurtha and his troops into the city. Still, they did Turpillius no harm, but obtained his release and sent him away safe and sound. As a result he was charged with military failure, and Marius, who was one of those examining the case, spoke so harshly against Turpilius and so angered the others against him that Metellus, much against his will, was forced to condemn the man to death. Soon afterwards it became clear that the charge had been unwarranted, and everyone except Marius sympathised with Metellus in his distress, but Marius, full of joy and claiming the condemnation as his own work, was not ashamed to go about saying that he had placed on the back of Metellus an avenging demon who would punish the guilt of murdering a family client." For his interpretation see Gruen 1968: 152-4. Gruen's view is anticipated (briefly) by Carney 1961: 27, n. 141.

13 As tribune in 119, Marius had carried a law which narrowed the *pons* ('bridge') over which voters passed, making it harder for others to observe how their votes were being cast and thus eliminating the intimidation by nobles or their agents which they had exerted before, reducing aristocratic influence over the voting process, and ensuring the secrecy of written ballots, which had recently been introduced to ensure freedom for the Roman plebs. References in *MRR* 1.526. A *denarius* of P. Licinius Nerva, issued shortly after (c. 113, *RRC* 292/1), depicts the scene of a voter passing over the *pons* and collecting his ballot.

reluctance on the part of citizens to be conscripted.[14] The Roman army was a citizen conscript army, with a minimum property qualification; they would be called up for service by each year's consuls. But as the empire expanded, more and more citizens, with lower and lower property qualifications for eligibility being introduced, were called up to undertake longer periods of service, including overseas. An indication of difficulties with the levies at the specific time of this coin can be seen in the actions of one of the consuls of 109. M. Iunius Silanus repealed a number of recent laws which had reduced the maximum number of terms of military service; that is, he went back to the earlier number of terms and thus made more citizens liable for service.[15] It did not do him any good – he went on to suffer a major defeat in Gaul.

Citizens could appeal against the use of *coercitio* ('compulsion') by a magistrate with military authority (*imperium*) by invoking the *provocatio* law. If, as is likely, there were difficulties with enlisting troops at this time, popular dissatisfaction with the levies, and increased pressure from the magistrates to conscript more citizens, that might very well be the occasion for issuing a coin drawing attention to the right of *provocatio*, particularly by a moneyer who was a descendant of the Porcius Laeca who had introduced one of the appeal laws. A good example, incidentally, of the way in which a moneyer depicted the deed of an ancestor.

This slogan, it is suggested, had a specific reference to the immediate circumstances of the time, in this case problems over the levy due to military emergencies and losses. Following this, a slogan or a 'descriptor' (a legend explaining an image used on a coin) came to be placed occasionally on late republican coins to re-inforce or explain the specific message contained in the other images. As the late republic progressed, there was increasing political violence and civil conflict caused by ambitious war-lords, which led to the breakdown of the republican form of government. The incidence of slogans or descriptors on coins increased also, with terms like *concordia* ('harmony') and *libertas* ('freedom') appearing frequently, expressing more a hope than a reality, to serve the propaganda claims of one side or the other in their competition for power and influence.

Author

Bruce Marshall retired as an Associate Professor from the University of New England in 1995 after nearly 30 years there. His particular area of research was – and still is – the late Roman republic, on which he has published extensively. Since retirement his interest has

14 On two occasions, 151 and 138, tribunes had temporarily imprisoned the consuls because of popular opposition to the levies. See Taylor 1962: 19-27. On the number of years of service (*stipendia*) required of citizen conscript troops, see Brunt 1971: 398-402. Harsh punishments for breaches of military discipline increased citizens' reluctance to be called up.

15 Ascon. 68.16-18 C. For comments on Silanus' repeal of the laws, see Brunt 1971: 401 with n. 4, and 407; Marshall 1985: 241-2. Silanus was defeated in 108 somewhere in the valley of the Rhone, most likely by the Cimbri.

focused on late Roman republican coinage. For many years he was Honorary Secretary of the Australasian Society for Classical Studies, and for his work on behalf of the Society, and for his general promotion of the Humanities at the secondary and tertiary levels in Australia, he was made a Member of the Order of Australia in 2013. He is currently an Honorary Senior Research Fellow at Macquarie University.

Acknowledgement

I should like to thank Professor John Melville-Jones, from the University of Western Australia, for his comments on a draft of this paper and for his valuable general advice about ancient Roman coins, and the anonymous readers of the article for this journal for their useful comments which improved the content. I hope in due course to produce some further discussions of slogans and descriptors on subsequent late republican *denarii*.

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Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia Inc (JNAA)

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Subject Matter: should offer new information or throw new light on an area of numismatics, although preference is given to Australian and New Zealand authors or subject matter.

Submitted Articles: should be as much as possible the result of **original research**. Articles should not have been previously published or presently be under consideration for publication elsewhere.

All submitted articles are refereed before being accepted for publication

Once their work has been published in the *JNAA*, authors are asked not to re-publish that work elsewhere within a two-year period. Any applications for exemption from this requirement should be submitted in writing to the Managing Editor.

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Articles: should be sent as an MS Word file, .doc, .docx or .rtf format. Submission should be made in the first instance by email attachment.

Images and Tables: Submit article images and tables individually to the text document in high resolution JPEGs or TIFFs for images, or a separate MS Word or MS Excel document for tables. DO NOT supply images and tables only within the body of your document.

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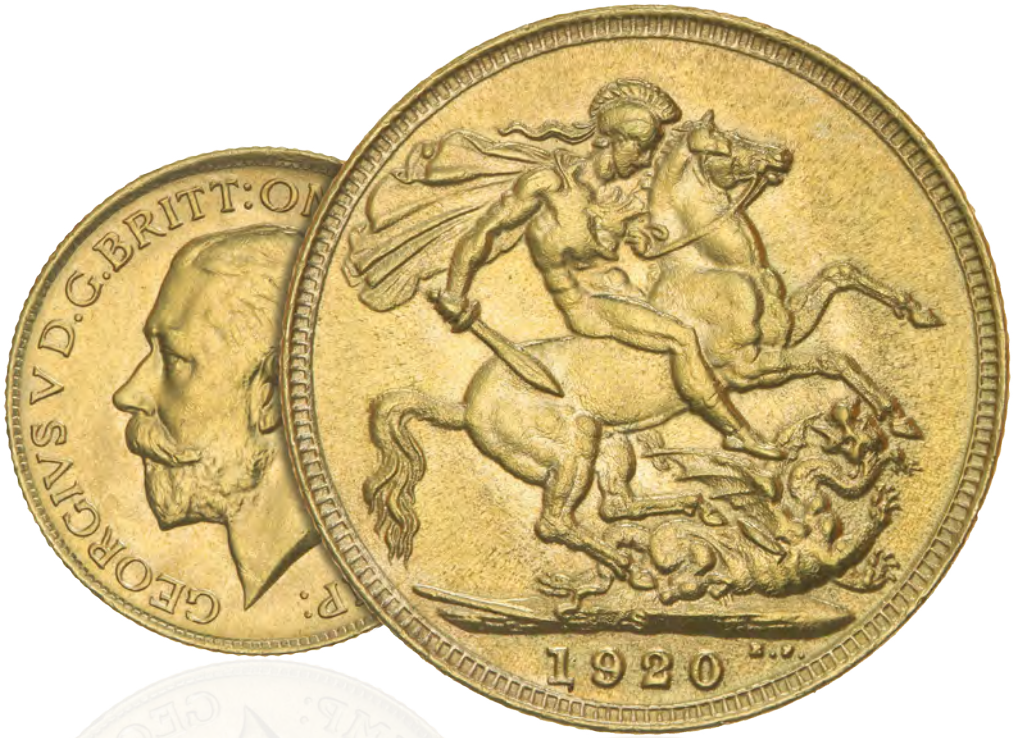

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