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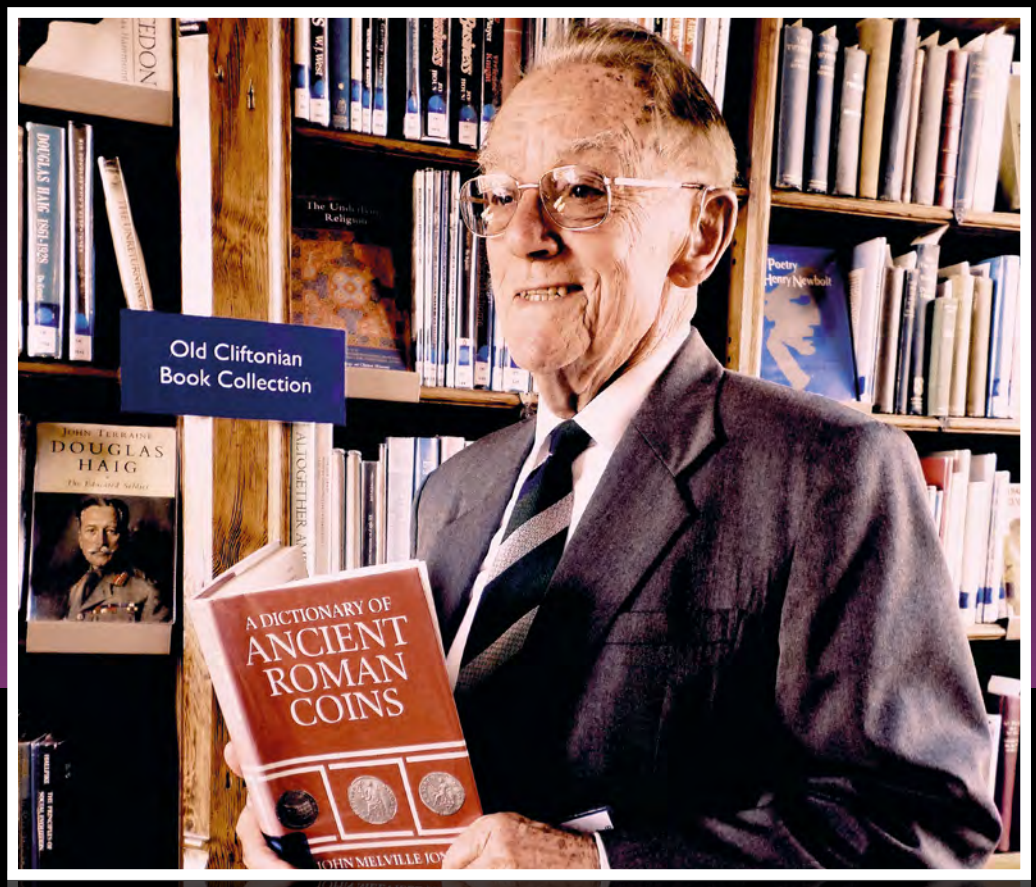

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President's Report

With COVID-19 in its second year, the NAA is looking to rebadge itself to adapt to the rapidly changing environment. Together with this special issue of the Journal we have already embarked on a new approach to increase our online presence; our website is in the process of being revamped and there will be a return to annual publication of the Association's journal (mainly online). We will publish the standard range of articles every even year, and every other year produce a special volume of which this is the first. We will replace the face-to-face biennial conference by online webinars in the first instance (and then progress to more conference-like activities) and hold the Annual General Meeting and Council/Executive meetings online.

I am grateful to Distinguished Professor Lee Brice of Western Illinois University for co-editing with Dr Gil Davis this special volume on numismatics in the education context. It has been a pleasure having Professor Brice working with the NAA to produce a volume of international importance. It goes to the standing of our Association and Australian numismatics that we can attract such high-profile numismatists from around the world to contribute as they have.

Our next volume will be part of the standard cycle for which we take submissions at any time, and already have some under consideration. If you have an interesting piece that you would like to see published, either new material or an original observation on existing work, then please submit your article which will then be placed into the reviewing process.

Following the AGM (held online last October) the centre of gravity of the NAA Executive has moved from Perth to Victoria, with Jonathan Cohen and Lyn Bloom stepping down as Secretary and Treasurer respectively, replaced by Darren Burgess and Philip Richards. I continue as President, Richard O'Hair as Vice President and Gil Davis as Managing Editor.

The Executive are having regular ZOOM meetings to jump-start the NAA's plunge into the new world. As an easy step towards online conferences we are looking to mount webinars mid-year with topics that should have wide appeal, one on the preservation and conservation of coins, a second on grading Australian coins both for the novice and for the more experienced collector looking to submit items to Grading Authorities.

We continue to enjoy sponsorship at a sustainable level, with Noble Numismatics (Gold), Coinworks and Downies (Silver), Drake Sterling, Mowbray Collectables, Sterling & Currency and Vintage Coins & Banknotes (Bronze) all contributing to ensure the Association's continued success. Membership is being maintained, and with the contribution by sponsors and members, the Association is able to function in these difficult times.

I am appreciative of the support of Council and other NAA members, and in particular our Secretary, Darren Burgess, and Treasurer, Philip Richards, who are pivotal in the running of the Association, and our Managing Editor, Gil Davis, for his ongoing work with the journal. On behalf of the NAA I thank both Jonathan Cohen and Lyn Bloom for their excellent contribution to the Association, and our auditor Mona Loo who has worked through the financial statements and associated material in forensic detail.

Professor Walter R. Bloom
President, NAA
www.numismatics.org.au
9th April 2021

About the Numismatic Association of Australia Inc

The Numismatic Association of Australia was founded in the early 1980s and incorporated in Victoria (A0024703Z) in 1992. It is the peak body for numismatics in Australia with seven sponsoring societies around Australia and New Zealand and a direct (individual) membership both national and international. The Association has four main functions:

- Promote the interests of numismatics in Australia. It brings together collectors, hobbyists and academic scholars in a shared love of anything to do with coins, banknotes, medals, tokens and numismatic paraphernalia.
- Biennial conference. This major event rotates through different States. Papers are presented by invited keynote speakers and others with sessions on ancient through to modern numismatics.
- Journal. The annual publication of the Association features a range of articles, approximately half on Australian and New Zealand topics, and the remainder from elsewhere, but especially on the ancient world. The journal has an esteemed editorial board and submissions are double-blind peer reviewed. It is published in hardcopy and online with open access and has a wide international readership. Every second year, it will be publishing a special edition on a specific topic.
- Website – https://numismatics.org.au/. This is the public forum of the Association hosting numismatic news, events, awards, conference details and the journal.

How you can help

- **Become a member**. If you are interested in numismatics in Australia and want to see it survive into the future and prosper, then support your national Association. It cannot function without members and you will be part of a community that shares your passion. The cost is only $25 per year.
- **Be involved**. The Association runs on a voluntary basis. Anything you can do to help would be greatly appreciated and there is a range of roles and tasks.
- **Make a donation**. If you really want to help secure the future of numismatics in Australia, donate to the Association; small or large, every bit helps.
- **Support the advertisers**. The advertisers do their best to help us and, in these precarious times, where would we be without them?

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Contact Darren Burgess, secretary@numismatics.org.au, for any further information.

Coinage and literature, two complementary approaches to the transformative aftermath of the First Punic War[1]

Lucia F. Carbone

Abstract

Latin literature and Roman coinage can only be fully understood in the frame of the constant dialogue between Roman tradition and that of central and southern Italy in the course of the third century. Having secured their control over the central and southern part of the Italian peninsula in the third century BCE, the Romans faced the problem of having to define what was 'Roman,' especially in connection with the emergence of the provincial system represented by Sicily and then Sardinia. The creation of a literature and a coinage of Roman production were both pivotal in this process of self-definition. Both literature and coinage originated in the middle ground between Greek and Roman tradition that characterised the end of the fourth and the third century BCE. At the same time, literary texts and numismatic sources concur in indicating the aftermath of the First Punic War as being a transformative moment for the emergence of Roman identity. 240, the year after the end of the First Punic War, was thus a semantically ideal starting point for both literature and coinage, as Rome had become by then a Mediterranean superpower, whose literature and coinage, though grounded in Greek tradition, began to present a new language.

Keywords

[First Punic War] [Latin Literature] [Roman identity] [Andronicus] [Naevius] [Aes Grave] [Aes Rude] [currency bars] [Campania] [Tarentum]

In the course of the third century BCE, and more specifically around 240, something changed dramatically for Rome, when it simultaneously established an empire and a literature.[2] After the First Punic War, the Romans faced the problem of having to

1 I wish to thank Liv M. Yarrow, who shared with me drafts of her then unpublished *The Roman Republic to 49 BCE: Using Coins as Sources* and other unpublished manuscripts.

2 Cowan 2015, 63-64. Literature in this context is intended as "a convenient shorthand for poetry (including drama) and prose genres (primarily historiography), without wishing to assert any primacy of writing over performance, or indeed of assuming that a precise conceptual category corresponding to the modern word existed in Graeco-Roman antiquity" (Cowan 2015, 63 n.1). See also Goldberg 2005 for a discussion of the term. All dates in this article are BCE unless otherwise indicated.

actively define Rome (and Italy) in connection with the emergence of the provincial system represented by Sicily and then Sardinia.[3]

The creation of a coinage minted in Rome was pivotal in this process of self-definition, as coinage can be considered "the most deliberate of all symbols of public communal identity."[4] Of course, coins can be produced for a variety of reasons.[5] Minting efforts at the hands of the cities allied to Rome had supported Rome's campaigns well before 240, but the years after the First Punic War seem to be a transformative moment for Roman coinage. Suffice to say that after 240 the Roman mint began to issue its own silver coinage, instead of relying on the Campanian mints for its production.[6] In these years there was a remarkable transition from silver coinage produced *for* Rome, to the one produced *in* Rome. *Mutatis mutandis*, the First Punic War and its aftermath dramatically changed the production patterns of Roman bronze coinage. In the same way, the beginning of Latin literature in 240 marks a fundamental watershed in Roman culture, whose pivotal importance did not escape Roman intellectuals in the centuries to come.[7]

Literary texts and numismatic artefacts – two complementary and deeply interrelated heuristic tools to better understand Roman civilization – thus concur in indicating the aftermath of the First Punic War (specifically, 240) as a transformative moment for the emergence of Roman identity. Through the dialogue between literary texts and numismatics, this paper aims to investigate the conditions that made the aftermath of the First Punic War such a transformative moment for what was perceived as 'Roman'.

The integrated use of these two resources can greatly enhance the understanding of so complex an age for students of Roman history, but not only. In the words of H. Langford Wilson, a pioneering Professor of Classics at John Hopkins University at the end of the nineteenth century, "nothing has more power to attract and hold the attention of students, to awaken and sustain their enthusiasm, than the constant presence of the tangible remains of antiquity, the actual work of Greek and Roman hands."[8]

Even when material evidence from Antiquity cannot be held in one's hands, it nevertheless represents a reminder that the study of Roman history is not a mere intellectual abstraction, but serves the ultimate goal of revealing the flesh and blood of men and women that once were. The more complex an historical period is, the more teachers and students need to be reminded of this ultimate goal, and how the use of

3 For the creation of Italian identity see Carlà 2017, esp. 164–74.
4 Millar 1993, 230. For the relationship between coinage and identity see Howgego 2005.
5 Howgego 1990; Hollander 2007; Bernard 2018.
6 For the most updated summary for the chronology of early Roman coinage see Bernard 2017 reviewing Coarelli 2013; Burnett and Crawford 2014.
7 Cowan 2015 (with bibliography).
8 Harry Langford Wilson, Professor of Classics, Johns Hopkins University, as cited by Olcott 1908, 206.

material evidence – coins specifically – can contribute to the understanding of events and thoughts distant in time and space.

1. The birth of Latin literature

1a. A disputed chronology

According to Cicero,[9] Livius Andronicus, allegedly a Greek freedman from Tarentum,[10] staged his first play in Rome in 240, thus setting the official starting date of Latin Literature. Cicero chose to dismiss Accius' testimony, according to which Andronicus first came to Rome in 209 and represented his first drama in 197.[11] Livy, who states that Andronicus composed a *partheneion* to Juno for M. Livius Salinator during Salinator's consulship in 207, adds that Livius is remembered as the first one to have created theatrical dramas with a plot in Latin.[12]

The chronology suggested by Cicero, at least as it has been interpreted by part of contemporary scholarship,[13] would have Andronicus leaving Tarentum already in 272, producing his first drama more than thirty years later, finally composing the *partheneion* quoted by Livy almost seventy years later.[14] Such a long stretch of years might be difficult to accept, as no ancient source makes any reference to the capture

9 *Brutus* 72: *hic Livius (sc. Livius Andronicus) [qui] primus fabulam C. Claudio Caeci filio et M. Tuditano consulibus docuit anno ipso ante, quam natus est Ennius post Romam conditam […] quartodecimo et quingentesimo.* "Livius was the first one to write a *fabula* (sc. a play), in the year, when Gaius Claudius, son of Caecus, and Marcus Tuditanus held the consulship, one year before Ennius was born and five hundred and fourteen years after the founding of Rome" (Transl. J. Henderson).

10 Hier. *chron. a Abr*. 1829/30 (= 188/187) Helm 1956, 137: *Titus (sic!) Livius, tragoediarum scriptor clarus habetur. qui ob ingenii meritum a Livio Salinatore, cuius liberos erudiebat, libertate donatus est.*

11 Cic., *Brutus* 72-73: *Accius autem a Q. Maximo quintum consule captum Tarento scripsit Livium, annis XXX post quam eum fabulam docuisse et Atticus scribit et nos in antiquis commentariis invenimus, docuisse autem fabulam annis post xi C. Cornelio Q. Minucio consulibus ludis Iuventatis, quos Salinator Senensi proelio voverat. In quo tantus error Acci fuit, ut his consulibus XL annos natus Ennius fuerit; quoi aequalis fuerit Livius: minor fuit aliquanto is, qui primus fabulam dedit, quam ei, qui multas docuerant ante hos consules, et Plautus et Naevius.* "Accius, however, stated that Livius was taken captive from Tarentum by Quintus Maximus in his fifth consulship, thirty years after Livius had produced his first play, according to Atticus, whose statement I find confirmed by early records. Accius goes on to say that Livius produced his first play eleven years after the date (of his capture) in the consulship of Gaius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius at the *Ludi Iuventatis*, which Livius Salinator had vowed at the battle of Sena. In this the error of Accius is so great that in the consulship of these men Ennius was already forty years of age. But suppose that Livius was his contemporary: it will appear then that the first one to produce a play at Rome was somewhat younger than the two who had already produced many plays before this date, Plautus and Naevius" (transl. J. Henderson).

12 Livy 27.37.7 (*partheneion* in 207); 7.2.7: *Liuius post aliquot annis, qui ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere.* "Several years later Livius for the first time abandoned the loose satyrical verses and ventured to compose a play with a coherent plot" (transl. F. Gardner Moore).

13 An example of this interpretation is in Rocca–Sarullo 2012, 134–36. For a standard interpretation of Livius' chronology see Weiss 2004.

14 Cicero's sources for his chronology were quite likely Atticus (see for this Caratello 1979, 12–20) and Varro, *De poetis* (Dahlmann 1963; Welsh 2011, 39-47). Varro's sources are less precisely identifiable: Wiseman 2015, 47. For a rebuke of Accius' chronology with previous bibliography see Welsh 2011, esp. 32–38.

of Tarentum following the War against Pyrrhus.[15] However, while admitting that the date of Aristonicus' first play is a matter of controversy,[16] Cicero vehemently rejects Accius' chronology, according to which Livius would have been captured in Tarentum in 209 and produced his first play at Salinator's votive *Ludi Iuuentatis* in 197. Cicero's conclusive argument was that, in case Accius' chronology were to be accepted, Ennius would appear to have been the first poet of Latin literature, instead of Livius.[17]

Why was it so important that Livius was bestowed this honour? Unlike Ennius, who was appreciated as "the second Homer,"[18] Livius was neither praised as an author nor as a model to be seriously imitated. The only merit for which Livius was actually acknowledged was that he brought literature to Rome.[19] In the same vein, Cicero compares Livius' *Odusia,* arguably his most lasting contribution to Latin literature, to a statue of Daedalus, remarking that it represented an absolute first.[20] In the same passage, he also discards Livius' dramatic works by saying that they are "not worth to be read a second time."[21]

A likely explanation for the apparent contradiction between Livius' alleged lack of artistic merits and his identification as the father of Latin literature lies in the fact that the point at stake is not his merit as an author, but in the crucial date of 240.[22] In the eyes of Cicero, the birth of Latin literature was inextricably bound to the end of the First Punic War.[23] This is explicitly stated by Gellius, who declares that Livius was the

15 For the details of the controversy and a philologically accurate reconstruction of Andronicus' chronology see Beare 1940; Welsh 2011, 39–50.

16 Cic. *Brutus* 72: *est enim inter scriptores de numero annorum controuersia.* "For there is a dispute among writers about the precise number of years [the date of Andronicus' first play]" (transl. A. Wessels).

17 *Brutus* 73.

18 Hor. *epist.* 2.1.50: *Ennius et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus.* For the relationship between Ennius and Livius Andronicus see Sciarrino 2006, 462–69. Most recently, on the relationship between Ennius and Homer, see Gouvea 2019.

19 For example, the rhetorician Quintilian admits that Livius had introduced something, while also disqualifying him as a good poet. Quint. *Inst.* 10.2.7: *quid erat futurum si nemo plus effecisset eo quem sequebatur? Nihil in poetis supra Livium Andronicum [...] haberemus).* "Once again, what would have happened if no one had achieved more than the man he was following? We should have nothing in poetry better than Livius Andronicus" (transl. E.G. Butler).

20 Cic. *Brut.* 71: *nam et Odyssia Latina est sic tamquam opus aliquod Daedali.* Daedalus was likely a speaking name, to be associated with the Greek word for wooden statues (δαίδαλα, cf. Paus. 9.3). He was considered to be the first artist, the πρῶτος εὑρέτης of art works (Apollod. 3.14.8).

21 Cic. *Brut.* 71: (Livianae fabulae) *non satis dignae quae iterum legantur.* A similar assessment of Livius' poetic quality can be found e.g. in Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.61-75 (further *testimonia* on Livius Andronicus in Schauer 2012, 21-27).

22 Wessels 2015, 3-5.

23 Wessels 2015, 5-6; Cowan 2015.

first poet to stage a play after "peace with the Carthaginians had been made" (*pace cum Poenis facta*).[24]

1b. Rome and Tarentum, a fruitful though frayed cultural relationship

In the same text Gellius highlights the connection between Livius, and thus the beginning of Latin literature, and Greek culture by chronologically relating Livius' performance to the deaths of Sophocles, Euripides and Menander (Livius performed the *fabulae* 160 years after the deaths of Sophocles and Euripides, and 52 years after Menander).[25] By establishing a firm relationship between Livius and Greek authors, not only of Attic Tragedy, but also of Hellenistic Comedy, Gellius hints at the continuous line between the two cultures and implies that Roman drama found its rightful predecessors in Greek tragedy and comedy.

However, Cicero's text is even more specific than Gellius' for what concerns the Greek tradition that played a relevant role for the beginnings of Latin literature. Indeed, the only element from Accius' testimony Cicero accepts is the fact that Livius came from Tarentum.[26] The importance of this city of Magna Grecia in the Latin literary imagination is such that John Lydus, a sixth-century CE antiquarian, considers the contribution of the Tarentine poet Rinthon fundamental, even for Lucilius' satirical production.[27] Contemporary philology concurs in placing Rinthon's production between the late fourth and the early to mid-third century, likely a few decades before Livius' *floruit*.[28] Independent of the truthfulness of Lydus' claim, the point at stake here is the fact that, already in the Classical world, Tarentum was considered tightly related to the beginnings of Latin literature.[29]

At the same time, the relationship between Roman and Tarentine literary production was not one-sided. Tarentine authors, most notably Rinthon, included the Hellenised

24 *NA* 17.21.42–43: *pace cum Poenis facta consulibus <C> Claudio Centhone, Appii Caeci filio, et M. Sempronio Tuditano primus omnium L. Livius poeta fabulas docere Romae coepit post Sophoclis et Euripidis mortem annis plus fere centum et sexaginta, post Menandri annis circiter quint quaginta duobus.* [...] "when peace had been made with the Carthaginians and when the consuls were C. Claudius Centho, son of Appius the Blind, and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, the poet Lucius (!!!) Livius was the very first to put plays upon the stage at Rome, more than a hundred and sixty years after the death of Sophocles and Euripides and about fifty-two years after the death of Menander" (transl. J.C.Rolfe).

25 Wessels 2015, 6–7.

26 For a summary of the Tarentine cultural life between the end of the fourth and the mid-third century see Favi 2017, 58–63.

27 Lyd. *Mag.* 1.41: […] καὶ διαφερόντος τὸν Ῥίνθονα, ὃς ἑξαμέτροις ἔγραψε πρώτος κωμῳδίαν·ἐξ οὗ πρώτος λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς Λουκίλιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἡρωϊκοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐκωμώδησεν. […] "And especially Rinthon, who first wrote a comedy in exameter: taking inspiration from him the Roman Lucilius was the first one to write comedies in exameter." For the importance of Rinthon see Favi 2017, 63–112; Di Giuseppe 2020, esp. 407–409.

28 Favi 2017, 56–58 (with bibliography).

29 For the specific relationship between Tarentine poetic tradition and the beginning of Latin literature see Favi 2017, 112–17 (with bibliography).

version of Latin words in their works.[30] For example, Rinthon uses terms like κάλτιος, directly borrowed from Latin *calceus*[31] or κομάκτωρ, clearly deriving from Latin *coactor*.[32] The presence of Latin loanwords in Rinthon's literary production is mirrored by the epigraphic presence of Latinisms in contemporary inscriptions in the region.[33] The literary tradition and the linguistic attestations thus concur in showing the relevance of the linguistic and literary interaction between Rome and Tarentum in the course of the third century.

Moreover, the relationship between the beginning of Latin literature and southern Italian Greek culture is further highlighted by Suetonius, who stated that the "earliest teachers (Livius and Ennius) were Italian Greeks (*semigraeci*), who predominantly engaged in "interpreting the Greeks."[34] The first teachers 'in' and 'of' Latin language were thus not Roman citizens, but *semigraeci*.

It is also important to remark that Livius is either described as a former slave (*libertus*) or in lowly occupation as a private tutor (*praeceptor*) or an actor.[35] In the words of Sciarrino, "early Roman drama and epic were cultural expressions translated by non-elite and non-Roman individuals based on the manipulation of the different linguistic codes and song traditions belonging to each of these codes."[36] The fact that Livius is 'other' from the Roman elite allows Rome to take advantage of the Greek literary tradition, while at the same time distancing itself from the negative values still attached to southern Italian Greeks.[37]

30 Favi 2017, 82–83.

31 Favi 2017, frag. 5 K-A, esp. 157–59. The *calceus* was a flat-soled, usually hobnailed footwear, that entirely covered the foot and ankle, up to the lower shin. It was secured with crossed thongs or laces. It immediately qualified the individual wearing it as Roman citizen.

32 Favi 2017, frag. 7 K-A, esp. 167–68. The *coactor* was a tax collector.

33 E.g., the presence of the Latin term for 'herald,' *calator* (*Lapis Niger*, CIL I^2,1) on the caduceus MLM 1 Ta (from the Messapian city of Valesius), on which the following Messapian inscription is read: *Blatθihi kalatoras Baletθihi*, "of Blathes, herald from Valesius.' For the spreading of Latin in the Tarentine region in the course of the fourth – third century see Santoro 1988.

34 Suet., *Gramm.* 1: *Initium quoque eius mediocre exstitit, siquidem antiquissimi doctorum, qui iidem et poetae et semigraeci erant (Livium et Ennium dico, quos utraque lingua domi forisque docuisse adnotatum est), nihil amplius quam Graecos interpretabantur, aut si quid ipsi Latine composuissent praelegebant.* "The beginnings of the subject, too, were humble, for the earliest teachers, who were also both poets and Italian Greeks (I refer to Livius and Ennius, who gave instruction in both tongues at home and abroad, as is well known), did no more than interpret the Greeks or give readings from whatever they themselves had composed in the Latin language" (transl. M. Ihm).

35 *Libertus* and *praeceptor*: Hier. *chron. a Abr. 1829/30* (= 188/187) Helm 1956, 137. *Actor*, member of the *collegium scribarum histrionumque*: Festus, Lindsay 446–48. For the testimonia on this collegium see Crowther 1973.

36 Sciarrino 2006, 454.

37 Lindsay, 1913; Carlà 2017, 186–89 (with bibliography).

Still in the first century CE, Strabo describes the inhabitants of Tarentum as characterised by hubris, political instability, luxury, and decadence.[38] Valerius Maximus considers wantonness (*petulantia)* one of the characteristics of the town.[39] In the same vein, Livy states that "the Tarentine was no match for the Roman in courage, in arms, in the art of war, in bodily energy and strength."[40] This negative connotation of the inhabitants of Tarentum clearly derives from the accusations of indulgent living (τρυφή, *truphé*), already used in Greek literature against the Greek *poleis* (city-states) of southern Italy, first in reference to Sybaris,[41] and afterwards to Tarentum.[42]

However, Livius Andronicus *left* Tarentum and *chose* to write his literary works in Latin. He translated in Latin one of the Greek epic poems *par excellence*, the Odyssey. He not only translated a Greek poem in Latin, but adopted in it the Saturnian verse, tightly related to Italian tradition and, even more specifically, to the Roman elite.[43] Moreover, Livius 'culturally migrates' Greek concepts and mythological characters into the Roman cultural sphere.[44] Independently of its intrinsic literary value, Livius' work 'migrated' into the Roman cultural sphere of relevant elements of Greek literature, making tropes and themes of Greek literature relatable for Roman society. By doing this, he kickstarted something completely new, i.e., Latin literature. In the words of Sciarrino, "Poetic craftsmanship was distinct from and yet involved in the long-distance acquisitions that the Roman elite were now pursuing by war, and, from war, poetic craftsmanship drew force and meaning."[45]

38 Strab. 6.3.4.

39 Val. Max. 4.3.14a. Simon 2011, 391–94.

40 Livy 27.16.1: *non animo, non armis, non arte belli, non vigore ac viribus corporis par Romano Tarentinus erat. Igitur pilis tantum coniectis prius paene, quam consererent manus, terga dederunt, dilapsique per nota urbis itinera in suas amicorumque domus*. "The Tarentine was no match for the Roman in courage, in arms, in the art of war, in bodily energy and strength. Therefore, after merely throwing their javelins, they retreated almost before they came to blows, and slipped away along the familiar streets of the city to their homes and those of friends" (transl. F.G. Moore).

41 E.g. Ath. *Deipn*.518c–521f; Strab.6.1.13.

42 Ath. *Deipn*. 12.522d–e; 528a–d; Strab. 6.3.4. Lomas 1993, 10, 1997, 31–34; Barnes 2005, 25–28; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 338–39.

43 For a recent reassessment of the Saturnian see Mercado 2012. For attestation of the Saturnian verse in *dicta* related to members of Roman aristocracy and epitaphs see for example Appius Claudius's *dicta* (5–6 Morel), the *Carmen Saliare* and the *Carmen Arvale*, the Scipionic elogia (*CIL* 1.29–30, *CIL* 1.32, *CIL* 1.33, *CIL* 1.34), the *elogium* of Atilius Calatinus (p. 7 Morel), the *tabulae triumphales* of acilius Glabrio and L. aemilius regil- lus (*GL* 6.265 Keil), and the inscription located in the temple of Hercules Victor in which the victory of L. Mummius at Corinth in 146 was commemorated (*CIL* 1.541). For a discussion of the topic see Sciarrino 2006, 457–59.

44 For a recent discussion of the linguistic choices of Livius Andronicus see Livingston 2004; Rocca–Sarullo 2012, 133–40 (with bibliography).

45 Sciarrino 2006, 459.

1c. The "maritime moment"[46]

Even more relevantly to his Roman audience, Livius' *Odusia* sang of Ulixes, a hero who travelled by sea and experienced the adversities of sea-faring. In the years of the First Punic War, Romans had experienced first-hand the dangers inherent in travelling by sea.

In 264, Roman armies under the command of the consul Appius Claudius crossed the Strait of Messina and entered Sicily. This event is narrated by the historian Florus, who remarks that these straits were not only characterised by the violence of their waters but were also notorious for Scylla and Charybdis, the mythical monsters that inhabited them.[47] Eleven years later, when the consuls Gnaeus Servilius and Gaius Sempronius found themselves grounded on the island of Meninx, off the Libyan coast, the historian Polybius reminds the readers that Meninx was formerly the land of the Lotus-Eaters.[48] These two episodes were constructed to mark the fact that in the course of the First Punic War, the Romans were faring the same course already charted by Odysseus.[49] Livius' *Odusia* was thus "a story well chosen to evoke Italy's unique ties to Odysseus' journeys and to speak of Roman wartime experience at sea."[50] Livius' Ulixes fears the sea in much stronger terms than his Homeric counterpart and his fears find perfect correspondence in the struggles of Rome at sea.[51]

Despite the fact that Rome had already fought naval battles,[52] the fleet preparation for the First Punic War is depicted as a first *(primum)* in Livy.[53] The creation of a navy in the course of the First Punic War is also seen as a pivotal moment in Polybius' account. The Arcadian historian describes the building of the Roman fleet as if the Romans never waged war by sea before.[54] Though not the first 'real' one ever built by the Romans, the Roman fleet in the First Punic War acquires the semantic value of a 'first' because it is through it that the Romans acquired a maritime empire. As T. Biggs puts it, "Polybius

46 For a definition of "maritime moment" see Leigh 2010.

47 Flor. 1.18.5: *Appio Claudio consule primum fretum ingressus est fabulosis infame monstris aestuque violentum.*
Scylla and Charybdis: Polyb. 34.2.12–3.11; Strab. 1.2.9, 14, 18, for Scylla and Charybdis, and 6.2.3 for the proximity of Charybdis to Messina. See also Verg. *Aen.* 3.410–32, 684–86; Plin. *HN* 3.89; Just. *Epit*. 4.1.11; Schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 46.

48 Polyb. 1.39.1–2, cf. 34.3.12.

49 Leigh 2010, 265.

50 Biggs 2017, 352. For the relationship between Livius' *Odusia* and the First Punic War see Leigh 2010; von Albrecht 1999.

51 *Od.* frag. 12 Blänsdorf: *namque nullum / peius macerat humanum quamde mare saevum;/ vires cui sunt magnae topper confringent/ inportunae undae.* "For nothing torments a man worse than the savage sea; a man whose strength is great the shelterless waves will soon shatter" (transl M. Leigh). This passage is an adaptation of Hom. *Od.* 8.138–39, where Laodamas confronts the shipwrecked Odysseus. For a relevant comparison between the two passages see Leigh 2010, 275–76.

52 For Roman sea-fearing before the First Punic War see Leigh 2010, 266–67 (with bibliography).

53 Per. 16: *transgressisque tunc primum mare exercitibus Romanis aduersus Hieronem saepius bene pugnatum.* For the importance of firsts in the Livian *periochae* see Chaplin 2010.

54 Polyb. 1.20.13–14.

thus distorts the historical context of the scene to privilege its positive resonance and in turn produces an *aition* both for the fleet itself and for the Roman state as a Mediterranean power."[55] To reinforce the wonder at the Roman achievement, Florus states that the Roman fleet seemed to have been made "as if by divine assistance."[56] While it is impossible to trace back with certainty Florus' source for this passage, it certainly appears to be somewhat reminiscent of Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*, where one of Aeneas' ships is said to have been built by Mercury.[57]

Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*, an epic poem celebrating the bravery (*virtus)* of Roman armies, connected the recent historical past of the First Punic War with the mythical origins of Rome.[58] In the *Bellum Poenicum,* Aeneas' journey from Africa to Italy to first found Rome is inversely mirrored by the valorous deeds of the Roman soldiers, who sailed to Sicily and to Carthage to make Rome an empire. The battles with the sea of Aeneas and his kin are mirrored by the ones of Roman soldiers. According to his commentator Servius, Vergil derived all of Aeneas' speech to his men after the storm in *Aeneid* 1 from Naevius' poem.[59]

Naevius was thus the first one to have confronted Aeneas with a catastrophe at sea.[60] The fear of the sea is also recognisable in Anchises' invocation to Neptune on behalf of all the Trojans.[61] Not even the gods are spared fear of the sea, as it appears from Venus' prayer to Zeus on behalf of Aeneas after the storm that almost cost the hero his life.[62]

The epic narrative finds correspondence in historical reality. The fear of the sea is a central motive in the eulogy of L. Scipio, Roman commander in Sardinia and Corsica

55 Biggs 2017, 352.

56 *Ep*. 1 18.7: *ut non arte factae, sed quodam munere deorum conversae in naves atque mutatae arbores viderentur*.
For the relationship between ship-building and divine intervention see, most recently, Mac Góráin 2015, esp. 239.

57 Serv. Dan. *ad Aen*. 1.170 Thilo 5 Blänsdorf 7 5 Flores XVI): *novam tamen rem Naevius Bello Punico dicit, unam navem habuisse Aeneam, quam Mercurius fecerit.* "Naevius relates a novel thing in his Bellum Punicum, that Aeneas had one ship, which Mercury made" (Transl. T. Biggs).

58 For the latest critical edition of the *Bellum Poenicum* see Flores 2011 and 2014. For the relationship between myth and history in the *Bellum Punicum*, see Barchiesi 1962, esp. 224–93, 328–46; Häußler 1976, 113–20; Feeney 1991, 99–120, 250–69; Goldberg 2010; Gesuwald 2014.

59 Naev. *B Pun*. frag. 13 Blänsdorf = Serv. Dan. *ad* Verg. *Aen.* 1.198: *et totus hic locus de Naevio belli Punici libro translatus est*.

60 Leigh 2010, 274.

61 Naev. *B Pun.* Blänsdorf 9 5 Flores XI): *Senex fretus pietati deum adlocutus summi deum regis fratrem Neptunum regnatorem marum.* "The old man reliant on piety called upon the god Neptune, the brother of the highest king of the gods" (transl. M. Leigh).

62 Naev. *B Pun*. frag. 15 Blänsdorf = Varro *Ling*. 7. 51 (*patrem suum supremum optumum appellat*) and frag. 16 Blänsdorf = Fest. 306 L (*summe deum regnator, quianam genus odisti*) are joined by L. Mueller, and this wins the approval of Barchiesi 1962, 332, and of Blänsdorf himself. Note that the last two words of frag. 16 are transmitted as *genus isti* at Fest. 306 L and emended to *genus odisti* by Leo.

in 259/8, i.e., in the first years of the Punic Wars.[63] Lucius Cornelius is here lauded for having saved his fleet from a storm and thus *meritod* (deservedly) dedicated a temple to the Storms. As Ovid recalls in his *Fasti*, the temple to the *Tempestates* was dedicated after Scipio's fleet escaped a storm off Corsica.[64]

As a further clue of the tight relationship between epic narrative and historical reality in the *Bellum Poenicum*, Valerius Messalla, a commander who overcame the dangers of sea and brought his soldiers to victory is celebrated not only in the poem,[65] but also in the paintings of the *Curia Hostilia*, where the senators used to meet.[66] Furthermore, Naevius is said to have been a veteran of the First Punic War.[67] He thus experienced first-hand what his heroes, both mythical and historical, had suffered. As Leigh puts it,

> In the years of the First Punic War Roman landsman had, in fact, taken to sea, and had done so in quite unprecedented numbers. He now knew what it was to be an Odysseus, to be an Aeneas trapped in a storm. He may from this have concluded that it would be better not to repeat the experience. For now, however, he had had his maritime moment and his epic moment too.[68]

Lastly, it is important to highlight that Naevius, like Livius Andronicus, was not Roman, but Campanian, as made clear by his epitaph.[69] As in the case of Livius, Latin literature is indebted to a poet whose first language was not Latin. As will become clear in the second part of this paper, the Campanian region gave a fundamental contribution to Rome's rise to Mediterranean power in the years of the First Punic War and in its aftermath. Naevius' poem plays a significant part in this process, since it first showed the mythological justification and the necessity of Roman rise, while depicting the painful price paid by everybody involved in the process. Once again, his being 'other'

63 CIL I.2.2.9: *honc oino ploirume consentiont R[omane duonoro optumo fuise viro./ Luciom Scipione. filios Barbati/ consol censor aidilis hic fuet [apud vos. hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe,/dedet Tempestatibus aede mereto[d.* "This man Lucius Scipio, as most agree, was the very best of all good men at Rome. A son of Barbatus, he was consul, censor, and aedile among you; he it was who captured Corsica, Aleria too, a city. To the Storms he gave deservedly a temple" (transl. M. Leigh).

64 *Fasti* 6.193–94: *te quoque, Tempestas, meritam delubra fatemur / cum paene est Corsis obruta classis aquis.* For the cult of the *Tempestates*, see also Plaut. *Stich.* 403; Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.51; Hor. *Epod.* 10.23–24; Verg. *Aen.* 5.772; Ziolkowski 1992, 162–64, 253–54; Lazenby 1996, 74.

65 Naev. *B Pun.* Blänsdorf 3 5 Flores IV: *Manius Valerius/ consul partem exerciti in expeditionem ducit.* "Manius Valerius the consul led part of the army on an expedition" (transl. T. Briggs). See also Barchiesi 1962, 394–95; Goldberg 1995, 79–80.

66 Biggs 2017, 360–62 (with bibliography).

67 Gell. 17.21.45 = Flores II = Strzelecki 44: *Cn. Naevius... quem M. Varro... stipendia fecisse ait bello poenico primo, idque ipsum Naevium dicere in eo carmine quod de eodem bello scripsit.* "Gnaeus Naevius... Varro says that he served in the First Punic War, and that Naevius himself said this in that poem that he wrote about the same war" (transl. M.Leigh).

68 Leigh 2010, 278.

69 Gell. *Ep.* 1.24. Gellius possibly encountered the epitaph in Varro's *De poetis*: see Dahlmann 1963, 65–68. For a linguistic study of this epitaph see Krostenko 2013.

qua non-Roman citizen gave him the freedom to depict the pain inflicted on its citizens (and non-citizens) by the military rise of the Roman *res publica*.

1d. Preliminary conclusions

The birth of Latin literature seems thus to be tightly connected to the Roman military conquests of the first half of the third century, most notably the First Punic War. This historical event not only made Rome a power to be reckoned with at the Italian and Mediterranean level, but also introduced the Roman collective imaginary to the dangers of seafaring, most famously represented by the peregrinations of the Homeric Odysseus and of the Trojan Aeneas.

Greek themes needed to be translated into Latin and adapted to Roman society and, in the case of Naevius, specific historical context. Ideal mediators in this process were thus the southern and central Italian poets Livius Andronicus and Naevius, non-Roman citizens, whose otherness gave them freedom of expression, otherwise unavailable to members of the Roman elite.[70] The importance of the chronological coincidence between their work and the First Punic War was so relevant that centuries later Roman authors were still trying to prove it. The same connection to warfare and to southern and central Italian roots proves relevant for the beginning of Roman coinage.

2. The beginning of Roman coinage

2a. Silver coinage for the Romans: enhanced monetary integration in Italy

In the introduction to this paper, I made the distinction between coinage *for* the Romans, a coinage not Roman in its appearance, but minted to address Rome's economic needs or needs created by the presence of Rome, and coinage *of* Roman production, directly minted in Rome. In the next pages I will argue that Rome did not produce coinage in any significant quantity until 240, relying instead on coinage minted by other allied cities, mostly Campanian.[71] In this respect, the end of the First Punic War represented a transformative moment for the monetary production of Rome, since after this year the coinage minted by the Roman mint began playing a significant role in the Italian circulation pool.[72]

In the course of the fourth century, several mints in southern Italy enjoyed an increased production, an extension of the geographical use of coinage and a growth in the production of smaller denominations.[73] The Campanian cities, which had started

70 Sciarrino 2006, 459.

71 For issues of funding the First Punic War, see Tan 2017, 93-117. Some of the mints included in this coordinated striking included Cora (*HN Italy* 343), Cales (*HN Italy* 434), Suessa (*HN Italy* 447) and Teanum Sidicinum (*HN Italy* 451–452); Yarrow 2021a, 34 Map 1.4. For the circulation patterns of these issues, especially relatively to the silver coinage issued in the name of the Romans see Burnett 2006.

72 Burnett and Molinari 2015, esp. 82–96.

73 Burnett 2012, 297–98 (with bibliography); Burnett 2005.

minting during the fifth century,[74] continued producing coins after their conquest by the Oscans and were joined in their minting effort by other communities with no Greek past. However, the use of the same dies on coins minted for different towns seems to suggest that the entire minting activity took place in Naples.[75] Since the early fourth century, the Neapolitan mint probably produced coins for the Samnitic towns of Allifae and Phistelia, as well (Fig. 1-2).[76]

Fig. 1. Campania, Allifae. Silver obol, ca. 325-275 BCE.
Obv. Laureate head of Apollo r.; [three dolphins] around. Rev.: Skylla r., holding sepia and fish; mussel below. Campana 2a;
HN Italy 460 (Bertolami, E-Auction 92, 2 Oct. 2020), lot 370). 10 mm. 0.58 g.

Fig. 2. Campania, Phistelia. Silver obol, ca. 325-275 BCE.
Obv. ΦΙΣΤΕ-ΛΙΑ Young male head facing, turned slightly to r. Rev. 𐌁𐌉𐌔𐌕𐌋𐌉𐌔 ('fistluis' in Oscan) Dolphin swimming to r., above barley grain and mussel shell.
HN Italy 613 (Leu Numismatik 6, 23 Oct. 2020, lot 28). 11 mm. 0.71 g.

74 Rutter 2001, 66–67 (Cumae); 68–71(Neapolis).
75 Crawford 1985, 26–28; Catalli 1995, 42; Cantilena 2000, 82–83; Rutter 2012, 135–36; Carlà 2017, 255-56.
76 Cantilena 1984, 86–90; Tagliamonte 2005, 222; 244; Scopacasa 2015, 222–23. Allifae: *HN Italy* 460–463. Phistelia: *HN Italy* 613–619.

Fig. 3. Campania, Neapolis. Silver didrachm, ca. 320–300 BCE.
Obv. Head of Mars l., wearing Corinthian helmet; traces of oak-spray behind. Rev. [R]OMANO on raised tablet below head and neck of horse r., ear of corn behind. *RRC* 13/1.
HN Italy 266 (ANS 1969.83.1, gift of E.R. Miles). 20 mm. 7.13 g.

Fig. 4. Campania, Neapolis. Silver obol, ca. 320-300 BCE.
Obv. Head of Mars r., wearing Corinthian helmet; behind, oak spray (?). Rev. Head of horse r.; behind, corn ear and before, ROMANO downwards. *RRC* 13/2.
HN Italy 267 (NAC 72, 16 May 2013, lot 396).10 mm. 0.66 g.

In the last years of the fourth century, the Campanian region was also responsible for the minting of the so-called 'Romano-Campanian' emissions, the first silver coins issued in the name of the Romans, including some rare fractions (Figs. 3-4).[77] Table 1 shows how the weight standard adopted in the Romano-Campanian production was in line with the Campanian one, i.e., with the Neapolitan one.[78]

77 Chronology: Burnett and Crawford 2014, 236 gives ca. 310. Bernard 2018, 150-51 argues for a date closer to 300. Mint: Crawford 1985, 28–30; Burnett 1998 argues for an identification of the mint with Rome; also Rutter 2001, 45–50. Yarrow 2021a, 29–34 argues that *RRC* 13 has a different trace gold content to later Roman didrachms meaning it was likely created at a different mint; it has a similar trace gold content profile to coins struck at Naples, and like these coins *RRC* 13/1 has a random die-axis (see Burnett 2016b, 13). Burnett 2016b, 25 suggests that the early Roman silver coins were indeed 'Romano-Campanian', made in Cales. There are strong links between the symbols and letters used as 'control-marks' on the coins of Cales and the Roma/Victory ROMANO coins. Coinage of Cales: Pantuliano 2011.

78 Burnett 2016a, 145 Tab. 1, Burnett 2016b, 25.

	Neapolis Obols group II Mid 4th century	Neapolis Obols group III c. 330-10	Fistelia c. 310-00	Anonymous (Fistelia) c. 310-00
0.80-89	-	-	2	-
0.70-79	-	5	24	8
0.60-69	7	8	92	83
0.50-59	4	16	90	91
0.40-49	1	11	40	22
0.30-39	-	2	-	-
0.20-29	-	2	1	-
Average	0.61 (12)	0.54 (44)	0.59 (247)	0.58 (203)

Table 1. Compatibility between Roman (*RRC* 13/2) and Campanian obols. Burnett 2016a, 145.

For what concerns southern Italy, after the end of Pyrrhic War the weight standard for the Tarentine *nomos* was reduced from ca. 8 g. for the didrachm to ca. 7 g, approaching the standard in use in the Neapolitan mint (Figs. 5-6).[79] Tarentum, Livius' fatherland, and one of the major mints of the region, thus adopted a silver weight standard compatible with the Neapolitan one.[80] The so-called Campano-Tarentine coinage, an interesting series of didrachm with the Neapolitan head of a nymph on the obverse and the young horseman of Tarentum on the reverse, was also issued in the years immediately following the Pyrrhic War (Fig. 7).[81] These didrachms, probably minted in Naples, represent coordinated issues between these two important mints and show the extent of the monetary integration at the end of the Pyrrhic War.

Fig. 5. Calabria, Tarentum. Silver nomos, ca. 302-280 BCE.
Obv. Youthful nude jockey on horse standing r., holding, with his right hand, a wreath to crown the horse's head and the reins with his left; above, ΣΑ. Rev. ΤΑΡΑΣ /ΑΓΑ Phalanthos seated astride dolphin to l., holding bunch of grapes in his right hand.
HN Italy 960. *SNG ANS* 1052. Vlasto 673-75. (Nomos 20, 10 July 2020, lot 24). 23 mm. 7.86 g.

79 Pre-280 Tarentine *nomoi*: *HN Italy* 957–974. Post-280 reduced standard *nomo*i and drachms: *HN Italy* 997–1046.

80 Neapolis: *HN Italy* 586-588.

81 *HN Italy* 1098.

Fig. 6. Calabria, Tarentum. Silver nomos, reduced standard, ca. 272-240 BCE.
Obv. The Dioskouroi on horseback riding r.; ΝΙΚΥΛΟΣ below. Rev. Phalanthos, nude, holding kantharos in extended right hand and cradling trident in left arm, riding dolphin l.; AP monogram to r., ΤΑΡΑ[Σ] below.
HN Italy 1046 (Triton X, 9 Jan. 2007, lot 35). 21 mm. 6.54 g.

Fig. 7. Calabria, Tarentum. Campano-Tarentine series. Silver nomos, ca. 281-272 BCE.
Obv. Diademed head of Satyra l. Rev. Nude youth crowning horse he rides r.; crescent to l., dolphin below.
HN Italy 1098 (Pegasi 27, 6 Nov. 2012, lot 21). 19.5 mm. 6.50 g.

At the same time, there was a notable decrease in the number of mints producing silver coinage in central and southern Italy. Croton, Thurium, and Metapontum had ceased their production by the end of the Pyrrhic war.[82] In Lucania, the mint of Velia also ceased its production during the Pyrrhic period.[83] Only Heraclea continued its production on a reduced standard until the end of the First Punic War.[84] The hoard of Oppido Lucano, likely buried in the course of the Pyrrhic War, represents a good sample of pre-280 circulation patterns and shows a considerable variety of mints, though dominated by Neapolitan and Tarentine issues.[85] On the other hand, the end of the Pyrrhic War represents the end of this variety and a significant increase in the standardisation of the silver weight standards.

82 Croton: *HN Italy* 2195–2201; Thurium: *HN Italy* 1924–1934; Metapontum: *HN Italy* 1702–1716.

83 Velia: *HN Italy* 1316–1318.

84 Heraclea: *HN Italy* 1428–1435.

85 *IGCH* 1961 (http://coinhoards.org/id/igch1961?lang=en). The hoard includes thirteen coins from Naples, five from Tarentum, further pieces from Heraclea (3), Metapontum (1), Thurii (20), Velia (28), Kroton (3), Locri (1) and Terina (1) and one Roman-Campanian didrachm (*RRC* 13/1).

It is difficult not to see a sign of growing Roman influence in the decrease of the number of mints producing silver coinage and in the enhanced and coordinated production of the Neapolitan and Tarentine mints.[86] The same conclusion is suggested by one of last silver issues from Locris Epizephyri, on a reduced Achaean standard compatible to the Tarentine one.[87] The reverse of this series of coins depicts the goddess Roma being crowned by *Pistis*, the Greek equivalent of *Fides* (Fig. 8). The Roman conquest of southern Italy, initiated by the treaty with Neapolis in 326 [88] and culminated in Pyrrhus' defeat at Heraclea in 280, created the conditions for the establishment of a sort of monetary *koiné*, where coins of similar standards circulated together.[89] It is worth noting that the mints enabling this monetary integration under Roman hegemony are the ones of Neapolis and Tarentum, the cities of origin of the first authors of Roman literature.

Fig. 8. Bruttium, Lokroi Epizephyrioi. Silver nomos, ca. 275-270 BCE. Silver Nomos.
Obv. Laureate head of Zeus l. Rev. ΡΩΜΑ left, ΠΙΣΤΙΣ r., ΛΟΚΡΩΝ in exergue, Roma seated r. on pile of arms, being crowned by Pistis standing l.
HN Italy 2351 (Busso Leu 380, 3 Nov. 2004, lot 140. 20 mm. 7.15 g.

At first sight, the fact that the first Roman silver issues (*RRC* 13/1-2) circulated in southern Italy alongside coins from other mints, without replacing them, could be perceived as a paradox. Indeed, Roman issues were designed to enter an existing system, not to compete with or replace it.[90] In the hoards in which Roman types are present, they make up an almost negligible portion of the value of each hoard and there are no known hoards made up primarily of these types.[91]

However, the paradox only becomes apparent if we consider that during both the Pyrrhic War and First Punic War, Roman colonies and allies engaged in coordinated striking, clearly to support the Roman war effort, but rarely with any direct reference

86 Rutter 2001, 8.
87 *HN Italy* 2347–2351.
88 Livy 8. 32–35
89 An example of this integrated circulation is represented by the hoard of San Martino in Pensilis, buried around 240; Burnett 2006.
90 Yarrow 2021a, 31–33.
91 Burnett 1977; Vitale 1998; Burnett 2006; Burnett and Molinari 2015, esp. 92–96.

to Rome on the coins themselves (Figs. 9–10).[92] In this same period Rome was engaged in other political actions that required economic expenditure, namely colonisation and road-building projects, which required military control and defence fortifications. As shown clearly by Yarrow, there is a strong correlation between the findspots of the first Roman silver coinage and the distribution of Roman colonisation and road-building initiatives in southern Italy.[93]

Fig. 9. Campania, Cales. Silver didrachm, ca. 268-260 BCE.
Obv. Head of Athena-Minerva to r., wearing crested Corinthian helmet decorated with a coiled serpent on the bowl, triple-pendant earring and necklace; behind her neck, small wing; below, H. Rev. CALENO. Nike-Victory driving fast biga to l., holding kentron in her right hand and reins in her left.
HN Italy 434 (NAC 13, 8 Oct. 1998, lot 31). 23 mm. 7.35 g.

Fig. 10. Campania, Suessa Aurunca. Circa 265-240 BCE. Didrachm (Silver, 21 mm, 7.24 g, 5 h). Laureate head of Apollo to r., with his hair long and flowing down his neck; behind, spear head upwards. Rev. SVESANO Dioscouros, wearing pileus and holding a palm branch tied with a fillet, riding to l., with a second horse beside him.
HN Italy 447. (Nomos 20, 10 July 2020, lot 18). 21 mm, 7.24 g.

Silver coins were thus issued *for* Rome on the Neapolitan-Tarentine standard, but they were not produced *in* Rome. As Yarrow states, "the products of these mints are not symbolic gestures; they are intensive efforts to fund the defence of Rome, the dominant

92 For issues of funding the First Punic War, see Tan 2017, 93-117. Some of the mints included in this coordinated striking see Cora (*HN Italy* 343), Cales (*HN Italy* 434), Suessa (*HN Italy* 447) and Teanum Sidicinum (*HN Italy* 451–52); Yarrow 2021a, 34 Map 1.4. For the circulation patterns of these issues, especially relative to the silver coinage issued in the name of the Romans see Burnett 2006.

93 Yarrow 2021a, 33 map 1.2; 34 map 1.4; Coles 2020.

regional power to whom these communities owed not just allegiance, but real resources and manpower."[94] Silver coinage was thus minted *for* Rome and, in some limited cases, in the name of Rome by Roman allies, especially Campanian. Tarentum was at the same time issuing a significant amount of silver coinage on the same weight standard. However, no silver coinage was actually produced in Rome. Recent studies focusing on the comparison of the die axes of Roman and Italian didrachms suggest that the actual production of silver coinage *in* Rome did not begin before 240.[95] The beginning of silver coinage in Rome is thus clearly shown to go hand-in-hand with the end of silver coinage production in the central and southern Italian mints.

2b. Roman fiduciary bronze and fiduciary bronze coinage for the Romans

The production and circulation patterns of Roman coined bronze in the course of the third century presents some striking elements, some of which are complementary to what has been observed up to this moment for the silver coinage. While the mints producing Italian silver coinage steadily decreased in these years, the number of Italian mints producing bronze coinage greatly increased in number and in geographical distribution. Rutter calculates that the number of mints producing bronze coinage in central and southern Italy sky-rocketed, from seventeen in the fourth century to fifty in the third century (Fig. 11).[96]

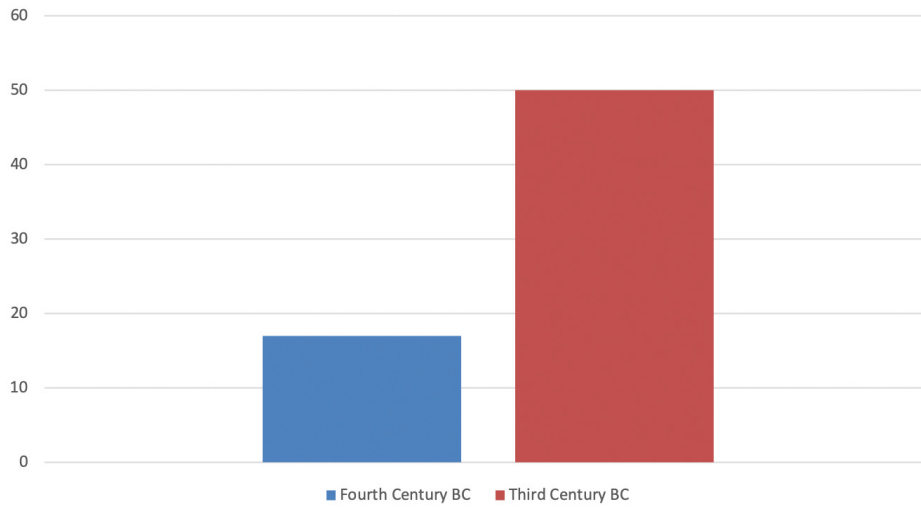

Fig. 11. Increase in the number of Italian mints producing bronze coinage during the third century. Source Rutter 2001.

94 Yarrow 2021a, 32.

95 Bernard 2017 reviewing Coarelli 2013; Burnett and Crawford 2014. For the evidence derived for die axis analysis see Burnett 2016b, 19–26.

96 Rutter 2001, 8.

While Neapolis and Tarentum enjoyed an almost continuous production until the end of the century, most mints had occasional rather than continuous production, so these coins could be interpreted as serving specific purposes such as financing Roman campaigns in the course of the Pyrrhic War and the First Punic War.[97] The coordinated striking for at least some of the mints located in southern Latium and northern Campania in the course of the first century is suggested by the shared Minerva/cock types and by the fixed die axis, which greatly differ from the rest of the Italian bronze coinage produced at the time (Figs. 12- 13).[98] The coordinated striking of cities allied to Rome once again helps explain the absence of a Roman production, after the two Greek-inspired bronze issues with the ROMANO inscription, presumably struck in Neapolis at the end of the fourth century.[99] This relationship of course finds parallels in the production patterns of silver coinage in the area, as both silver and bronze coinages were used to support the Roman campaigns.[100]

Fig. 12. Campania, Suessa Aurunca. Bronze, ca. 265-240 BCE.
Obv.Helmeted head of Minerva l. Rev. Cock standing r.; star to upper l.
HN Italy 449 (CNG E- Auction 350, 6 May 2015, lot 4). 19.5 mm. 6.12 g.

Fig. 13. Campania, Teanum Sidicinum. Bronze, ca. 265-240 BCE.
Obv. Helmeted head of Minerva l. Rev. Cock standing to r.; TIANO before, star to upper l.
HN Italy 453 (Roma Numismatics XV, 5 Apr. 2018, lot 7). 20 mm. 7.88 g.

97 Rutter 2001, 9; Yarrow 2021a, 34 Map 1.4.

98 Minerva/cock types: *HN Italy* 435 (Cales), 449 (Suessa), 453 (Teanum Sidicinum). Fixed die axis: Burnett 2016b, 16–17 Tables 7–9.

99 *RRC* 1 & 2. Taliercio 1998.

100 Yarrow 2021a, 32.

A further clue to the connection between coin production and war efforts is offered by the small issue of coined bronze types with head of goddess/eagle (*RRC* 23/1; Fig. 14), which was likely minted in Sicily around 240, or possibly earlier.[101] The connection with the Roman campaign in the island is made even more likely by the compatible weight standard with the Mamertine coinage.[102] Most of the bronze coinage coined by the allied cities in Campania was, thus, *for* the Romans, who seemed to have avoided minting their own coinage unless absolutely necessary, as in the case of *RRC* 23/1.

Fig. 14. Sicily, Messana (?). Bronze double Litra. Obv. Head of Minerva left, wearing Corinthian helmet; behind, symbol. Rev. Eagle standing left, wings outspread, head reverted, on thunderbolt; before, legend and sword. *RRC*.23/1. RBW 31. (ANS 2015.20.2036, bequest of R.B. Witschonke). 26.9 mm. 16.55 g. The reverse legend is ROMA and not ROMANO as letters are well visible, the coin not very worn and there would be no space for the 'NO' at the end. As such, this is a variant of *RRC* 23.1 in a period where ROMA was used concurrently with ROMANO.

The end of the First Punic War represented a threshold for the production of Greek-inspired bronze coinage, with the Roman mint beginning fully-fledged production after 240; this second phase in the production is signalled by the transition from the inscription ROMANO to ROMA on the coins.[103] Coined silver and Greek-inspired bronze coinages, therefore, followed similar patterns between the end of the fourth and the mid-third century.

After some initial and limited issues in the Campanian area, the Roman state seems to have mostly relied on the coin production of the allied cities in the course of the first half of the third century. Only after 240 the coin production of the Roman mint took the front seat through the enhanced production of both silver and bronze coins. After this date Roman coinage minted in Rome, outnumbered for number and volume of issues, the coinage minted *for* the Romans by the allied cities.

101 Burnett–McCabe 2016.
102 Burnett–McCabe 2016, 251–57.
103 Bernard 2017; Burnett and Crawford 2014.

2c. A mixed circulation pattern for currency bars

The First Punic War also represents the likely historical context for the production of the Roman currency bars (Fig. 15–16).[104] The dating of these bars to those years is based on the following elements: 1) metallurgical testing at the British Museum, which showed that all the currency bars, with the exception of *RRC* 5/1) have a similar composition;[105] 2) the bars with naval imagery are probably connected to Duilius' distribution of booty after his *triumphus navalis* in 260.[106] Given their consistent composition and the fact they were produced in a relatively short amount of time, it is likely that the currency bars represented a way to facilitate the distribution of booty in the aftermath of Duilius' triumph, rather than a regular form of currency.[107] While the naval imagery on the *RRC* 10 – 12/2 bars is probably related to the naval battles fought in the First Punic War, the cocks represented on *RRC* 12/1 suggest a relationship to the already mentioned coin series with the Minerva/cock type, issued by the Campanian cities of Cales, Suessa and Teanum Sidicinum in the same years (Fig. 17).[108] Currency bars and Italian fiduciary bronze coinage seem thus to represent two elements of the same funding effort in the course of the First Punic War.

104 *RRC* 3/1-12/2. For the discussion of *RRC* 12/2 (originally considered a forgery in Crawford 1974, 548 n. 23, then recognized as an original following metallurgical testing see Ghey, Leins, and Crawford 2010). Italian currency bars: Haeberlin 1910, 12 2 pl. 6, 4, 19 no. 1 pl. 7,1, 20–21 nos. 1-3 pl. 8, 1–3, pl. 32, 2; Vecchi 2013 nos. 4–9. For the up-to-date scholarship overview for the date of introduction of the Roman currency bars see Yarrow 2021a, 38–39. For a discussion of the dating of the Roman currency bars to the First Punic War (with the exception of *RRC* 5/1) see Yarrow 2021b.

105 Burnett, Craddock, and Meeks 1986.

106 *RRC* 10-12/2. Kondratieff 2004, cf. Polyb. 1.21-24. The subsequent discovery of the Egadi rams from a sea battle around 241 further strengthened the argument (Cutroni Tusa 2013, esp. pl. 31). Most recently, Yarrow 2021b.

107 Yarrow 2021b.

108 See *supra*. Minerva/cock types: *HN Italy* 435 (Cales), 449 (Suessa), 453 (Teanum Sidicinum). Yarrow 2021b.

Fig. 15. Rome. Bronze currency bar, ca. 260- 240 BCE.
Obv. Trident tied with fillet. Rev. Caduceus tied with fillet.
RRC 11/1. (BNF REP-423).97.5 –188 mm. 1,680.1 g.

Fig. 16. Rome? Bronze currency bar, ca. 280-240 BCE.
Obv. Bull, l. Rev. Bull, r. Haeberlin 1910, p. 144 no. 4 table 57,3 (this bar).
RRC 5/1. (MKB 1891/26). 95-163 mm. 1,347 g.

Fig. 17. Rome. Bronze currency bar, ca. 260- 240 BCE.
Obv. Two chickens facing each other. Between them stars above and below. Rev. Two tridents with two dolphins between.
RRC 12/1. (BNF REP-424). 93.4-169 mm. 1,526.1 g.

In the early years of the third century, the Roman mint began producing *aes grave*, cast heavy bronzes (Figs. 18–19).[109] In the words of Burnett, *aes grave* coinage represented "an amalgam of the central Italian idea of heavy metal currency with the south Italian (and Greek) idea of round coins."[110] The coins were round and two-sided with fixed denominations, but their value was determined according to their weight, not their position into a denominational system.[111] Recent archaeological investigation pursued at the sanctuary of *Sol Indiges* at Lavinium suggested that the first *aes grave* was deployed to fund Roman fortifications of the Tyrrhenian coastline, especially after the Pyrrhic War.[112] As rightly noted by Yarrow, "the coin evidence helps us see Rome preparing for a potential conflict with Carthage before it actually manifests, and in doing so, creating and deploying a new form of coinage on an economically significant scale."[113] This form of currency circulated together with currency bars and *aes rude*, a non-coin type of money, which consisted of unworked pieces of bronze (Fig. 20).[114] Since these three forms of currency were all based on metal weight rather than denominational value, their mixed circulation comes as no surprise.

Fig. 18. Rome. Libral bronze as, ca. 280–275 BCE.
Obv. Janiform head of Dioscuri, hair tied with band. Rev. Head of Mercury in petasus, l.
RRC 14/1. (ANS 1969.83.386, Gift of E.R. Miles). 70 mm. 325. 89 g.

109 Vecchi 2013 nos. 10–114. For a summary of scholarly discussion on the chronology of *aes grave* see Burnett 2012, 304 (with bibliography).

110 Burnett 1987, 5.

111 For partial corrections to this statement see Bransbourg 2011 and 2013.

112 Jaia and Molinari 2011; key to dating these early *aes grave* has been establishing that they are contemporary with a Roman small stamp workshop (atelier des petites estampilles) of black glaze pottery (*vernice nera*). For a map showing the correlation between *aes grave* finding spots and Roman fortifications see Yarrow 2021a, 37 map 1.5.

113 Yarrow 2021a, 37.

114 On the regional tradition of using *aes rude*, unshaped pieces of bronze, and *aes formatum*, variously (roughly) shaped pieces of bronze, as money: Bertol and Farac 2012. On metallurgical composition, Burnett, Craddock, and Meeks 1986; Baldassarri et al. 2007; and DeCaro, Ingo, and Salvi 2005. Hoards with *aes grave*, *aes rude,* and currency bars: *CHRR* 13. Hoard with *aes grave* and currency bars: *CHRR* 13,16, 21 and Molinari 2011.

Fig. 19. Rome. Reduced libral bronze as, ca. 275–264 BCE. Obv. Head of Apollo, right, with hair tied back with band. Rev. Head of Apollo, l., with hair tied back with band. *RRC* 18/1. (ANS 1969.83.411, gift of E.R. Miles). 69 mm. 325.16 g.

Fig. 20. Aes rude. 17.17 g. ANS 0000.999.563.

A more surprising element is represented by the presence of mixed hoards where full-value and fiduciary bronze coinage circulated together (Fig. 21).[115] While the circumstances that allowed the mixed circulation of full–value and fiduciary coins still need to be investigated, these hoards show a remarkable monetary integration between coinages of different provenience and different nature.[116] These integrated circulation patterns are certainly enabled by Roman power, whose hegemony over the central and southern part of the Italian peninsula is secured by the end of the First Punic War.

115 *CHRR* 20 (Ardea), 24 (Pietrabbondante), 30 (Rome), 50 (Carife), 51 (Castagneto), 52 (Cava dei Tirreni).

116 Crawford suggests that 1 didrachm (7.3 g) = 3 asses (972-840 g) implying a 1:120 AR/AE ratio. The problem begins if the fiduciary bronzes (ca. 4 g.), usually considered *litrae,* were exchangeable with didrachms. In that case, 1 didrachm (7.3 g.) = 10 litrae (40 g.), implying a 1:5.5 AR/AE ratio. The presence of mixed hoards shows that full-value and fiduciary bronze interacted with each other (Crawford 1985, 41). Crawford (weakly) explains this in the following way: "It is remarkable that those to whom cast bronze issues were paid did not, as far as we know, use them to forge token bronze coin issues; that they did not is remarkable evidence of the moral cohesion of Roman Italy in the third century BCE." (Crawford 1985, 41).

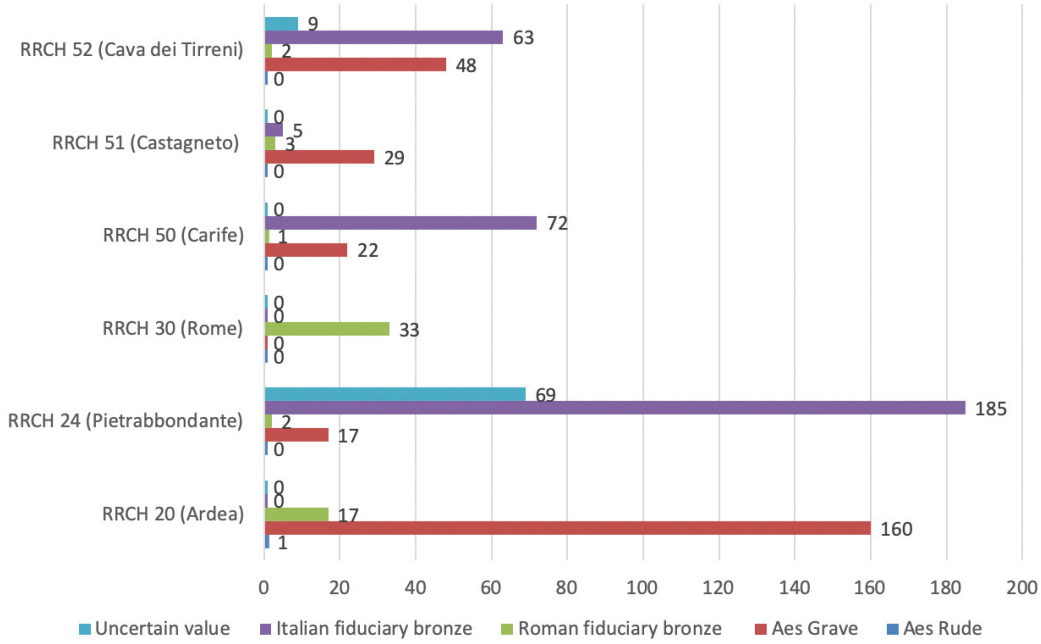

Fig. 21. Mixed hoards of fiduciary and full value bronze coinage. (*RRCH*)

3. Conclusions

Latin literature and Roman coinage can only be fully understood in the frame of the constant dialogue between Roman tradition and that of central and southern Italy in the course of the third century. Having secured their control over the central and southern part of the Italian peninsula in the third century, the Romans faced the problem of having to define what was 'Roman,' especially in connection with the emergence of the provincial system represented by Sicily and then Sardinia.[117] The creation of a literature and a coinage of Roman production were both pivotal in this process of self-definition. As the first literary text of Roman literature is the *Odusia*, a translation from a Greek original made by a *semi-Graecus*, an Italian of Greek descent, in the same way (even if the chronology is slightly different) the first Romano-Campanian issues (*RRC* 1-2) are an adapted form of Greek models made by the Neapolitan mint, a Greek mint under Roman hegemony.

Minting efforts by cities allied to Rome supported Rome's campaigns well before 240, but the years after the First Punic War seem to be a transformative moment for Roman coinage. After 240 the Roman mint began to issue its own silver and bronze fiduciary coinage, instead of relying on the Campanian mints.[118] In these years there is a remarkable transition from coinage produced *for* Rome, to the one produced *in*

117 For the creation of Italian identity see Carlà 2017, esp. 164–74.
118 Bernard 2017; Burnett and Crawford 2014.

Rome. In the same way, the beginning of Latin literature in 240 marks a fundamental watershed in Roman culture, the pivotal importance of which did not escape Roman intellectuals in the centuries to come.[119]

Tarentum and Campania, Andronicus' and Naevius' places of origin, the first poets of Roman literature, were also the mints that provided a 'model' for Roman coinage and, in the case of the Campanian mints, actually produced it. During the third century, the growing power of the Roman state provided the conditions for establishment of a cultural and monetary *koine*, which finds its attestations in the Hellenised Latin words appearing in the works of the Tarentine poet Rinthon and, for what concerns coinage, in the adoption of compatible weight standards for the coinage produced by different mints and in integrated circulation patterns. Indeed, literature and coinage represent two complementary and deeply interrelated heuristic tools to better understand Roman civilisation.

Both literature and coinage originated in the middle ground between Greek and Roman tradition that characterised the end of the fourth and the third century. At the same time, literary texts and numismatic artefacts concur in indicating the aftermath of the First Punic War as being a transformative moment for the emergence of Roman identity. It is after this date that Roman history and Roman mythical past became worthy of literary treatment and it is only after the naval victories over Carthage that Roman coinage became a relevant element in the central and southern Italian monetary circulation patterns.

240, the year after the end of the First Punic War, was thus a semantically ideal starting point for both literature and coinage, as Rome had become by then a Mediterranean superpower, whose literature and coinage, though grounded in Greek tradition, began to speak a new language.

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119 Cowan 2015 (with bibliography).

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Ray Jewell Award Recipients

Silver Medal (for services to the NAA)

Raymond T N Jewell (posthumously), 1998
John Hope, 2003
W James Noble, 2004
John R Melville-Jones, 2011
Leslie J Carlisle, 2011
Walter R Bloom, 2013
Peter D Lane, 2015

Bronze Medal (for best article from two journals)

John Sharples. Vol 7, *Catalogue of Victorian trade tokens*.
Paul M Holland. Vol 9, *Master die types of Australian halfpennies*.
Peter Lane and Peter Fleig. Vol 12, *London private museums and their tokens*.
Richard A J O'Hair and Antoinette Tordesillas. Vol 13, *Aristocrats of crime*.
Peter Lane and Peter Fleig. Vol. 15 *William Henshall*.
Christopher Addams. Vol 18, *Counterfeiting on the Bermuda convict hulk* Dromedary.
Mark Stocker. Vol. 19, *The Empire Strikes Back.*
Helen Walpole. Vol 22, *The role of sporting medals in a sports museum.*
Peter Lane. Vol 23, *S. Schlank & Co Ltd: medal and badge makers of Adelaide 1887-1971.*

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The Paul Simon Award was established in 1977 by Mrs Jessica Simon of Ballarat, Victoria, in memory of her late husband, Paul Simon. The award is given for outstanding contribution to the Australian numismatic fraternity.

Special Silver Award: 1977, R T N (Ray) Jewell, Australia

Bronze Award

1.	1977, J Gartner	Vic	25.	1996, J Chapman	Vic
2.	1977, W J Mira	NSW	26.	1997, S McAskill	WA
3.	1977, R M Greig	SA	27.	2001, D Junge	Vic
4.	1977, R V McNeice	Tas	28.	2001, F Dobbins	NSW
5.	1977, G D Dean	Qld	29.	2001, G Farringdon-Davis	Vic
6.	1977, S J Wilson	WA	30.	2003, P Lane	SA
7.	(Allocated as the silver award to Ray Jewell)		31.	2004, F Gare	WA
8.	1978, O C Fleming	NSW	32.	2006, M C Williams	Qld
9.	1978, M B Keain	SA	33.	2006, J A Hanley	NSW
10.	1979, T M Hanley	NSW	34.	2007, G Shea	Qld
11.	1979, A Ware	NSW	35.	2007, W R Bloom	WA
12.	1981, C J Tindall	SA	36.	2008, R Sell	NSW
13.	1983, D G Sandeson	Qld	37.	2008, G D Snelgrove	Qld
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16.	1986, H Powell	WA	40.	2011, P Fleig	SA
17.	1987, N Harper	Tas	41.	2013, B V Begley	Qld
18.	1989, T W Holmes	Tas	42.	2014, S Appleton	Qld
19.	1990, D G Stevens	Qld	43.	2015, T J Davidson	Qld
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23.	1994, L P McCarthy	Qld	47	2019, G Petterwood	Tas
24.	1995, F S Seymour	SA			

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