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Front cover: Photo of the Alexander tetradrachm, no. 68 (see article of Lloyd Taylor Fig 1 page 52)



NUMISMATIC ASSOCIATION OF AUSTRALIA INC

President's Report

With COVID-19 now endemic, the Association has not been able to hold a conference because of the upsurge this year of the virus Australia-wide, but nevertheless the NAA has continued to function with an upgraded website and the publication of this double volume JNAA31, which is available for free download at the NAA website. We plan to hold a conference next year in Adelaide, 19 – 20th October 2023, hosted by the Numismatic Society of South Australia.

I am delighted to announce the award of the Ray Jewell Silver Medal to our Managing Editor, Associate Professor Gillan Davis for his services to the NAA, and his numismatic work both in Australia and overseas for which he has an international reputation. Congratulations Gil from all of us.

The NAA continues to enjoy sponsorship at a sustainable level, with Noble Numismatics (Gold), Coinworks, Downies (Silver), Coins & Collectables Victoria, 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 contributions by sponsors and members, the Association can function in these difficult times.

The NAA now has a new Secretary, Bridget McClean, and a new address in Nunawading, Victoria. This is convenient as the NAA is incorporated in Victoria. Much time has been spent changing bank signatories and updating Consumer Affairs Victoria; nothing happens quickly these days!

The Numismatic Association of Australia now has a functioning PayPal account linked to president@numismatics.org.au. This is very convenient for payments coming from overseas and avoids most international bank fees. Like with banking, setting up a PayPal account is not a five-minute exercise, but well worthwhile.

I am impressed with the considerable work our Managing Editor Gil Davis has put into this volume notwithstanding his being extraordinarily busy transferring between universities and setting up new programmes at the Australian Catholic University. Also, I am grateful to Barrie Newman for his on-going work in getting the journal set up and printed, taking on the tasks of both layout and copy editor.

Council continues to meet by ZOOM, hosted by David Galt at Mowbray Collectables.

Finally, the Association cannot function without the dedication of its secretary and its treasurer (Lyn Bloom); thank you both Bridget and Lyn.

Professor Walter R. Bloom

President, NAA

www.numismatics.org.au

3rd August 2022

Editor's note

This volume has been a long time in the making. Usually, an issue is based around the NAA annual conference, but COVID-19 made that impossible. More importantly, as the peak body for numismatics in the country, we are focussed on making each volume wide ranging, interesting and impactful. So, we waited on the completion of a couple of key contributions and have brought out a combined two-year issue which I have dubbed 'the professors' volume' on account of the academic attainment of most of the authors. I trust you will agree that the results justify the decision, because here we offer a splendid collection of eleven articles on an eclectic range of topics with some of the best numismatic analysis and writing I have read. Personally, I have learnt a lot, and I expect that you will too. The collection is rounded out by an obituary by NAA stalwart Peter Lane of the late Maurice B Keain, a real character on the Australian scene.

There are two articles on Australian topics. Vincent Verheyen offers a forensic scrutiny of 'proofs' and 'specimens' from the Melbourne and Perth mints issued in just two years, 1955 and 1956 and seeks to differentiate between them. Walter Bloom provides an interesting study of Western Australian numismatic medallions and badges with an emphasis on the Castellorizian Brotherhood which represented the émigrés from that Greek island.

Lloyd Taylor gives us a Hellenistic trilogy which is a tour de force in numismatic analysis. He starts with a brief but compelling argument correcting one of Hersh's additions to Price's Alexander typology showing that it was already in the corpus. Next, he reattributes Macedonian imperial coinage attributed to Berytos to Byblos. Finally, he shows that an issue of tetradrachms struck in the name of Philip III was in fact a posthumous issue of Seleukos.

There are four articles on a Roman theme:

- Bruce Marshall moves us into the turbulent period of the late Roman Republic with a study of 'labels' on a small number of denarii which he contends fed into the contemporary political discourse.
- Graeme Stephens and John McDonald offer us something unusual and valuable. They document and analyse an unpublished hoard of fourth and fifth centuries AD Roman coins and local imitations from Sri Lanka.
- Andrew Chugg explores the veracity of commemorative medallions of Antinous, paramour of the emperor Hadrian who was deified after his death in the Nile, arguing that there are ways of distinguishing between genuine and fake examples.
- John Melville-Jones offers us a magnificent work listing the names of Roman coins as used by the Romans themselves and sometimes just by modern numismatists.

Written in John's inimitable style, this is an invaluable reference for collectors, students and scholars.

The next article by Emy Kim and Cristiana Zaccagnino takes us into the fascinating world of a numismatic collection of some 600 Greek and Roman coins housed at Queen's University in Canada that is being used in teaching and research. They show just how valuable coins can be when treated as artefacts used to inform historical and scientific understanding. This represents a welcome trend in modern scholarship to integrate numismatics into cross-disciplinary studies.

Finally, we publish a long autobiographical article by Maria Caltabiano. This is justified by the profound impact which she has made on numismatics in a lifetime as professor of numismatics at the University of Messina in Sicily. Along the way, she describes many of her projects with a particularly fascinating exposition of an example of iconic programmatic minting in late fifth century BC Kamarina in the period of the 'signing masters' – some of the most exquisite ancient coinage ever struck. Sadly, we tend not to know enough about numismatics in early Europe, and this article goes some way towards filling the gap.

I sincerely thank the many diligent anonymous reviewers who have done so much to improve the papers. Likewise, I thank the members of the editorial board who stand ready and willing to help when called upon, and John Melville-Jones who happily proofreads the articles. Above all, I pay tribute to Barrie Newman without whose tireless efforts across the years, these volumes would not see the light of day.

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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.

‘Labels’ on late Roman Republican *denarii*

Bruce Marshall

Abstract

The only terms 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 legend, PROVOCO (‘I appeal’). In an earlier article in this journal the argument was put forward that this was a political slogan, providing an emphasis on the rights of citizens to call on tribunes to ‘appeal’ against magisterial pressures. This use of an additional legend on a coin set a precedent for other denarii issued subsequently to include such a ‘label’. It is these other eleven denarii which were issued down to c. 52 BC, that are examined here. The argument is that the additional legend on each of the coins contains a slogan promoting not only an ideal or quality from among the values of the Roman res publica, but also contributing to contemporary political discourse.

Keywords

[*denarius*] [*tresviri monetales*] [*pietas*] [M. Herennius] [C. Marius] [Q. Caecilius Metellus] [*salus*] [D. Iunius Silanus] [*virtus*] [M. Aquillius] [*concordia*] [*honos*] [L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus] [L. Scribonius Libo] [P. Fonteius Capito] [Villa Publica] [*libertas*] [Q. Cassius Longinus] [M. Iunius (Caepio) Brutus] [Cn. Pompeius Magnus] [L. Vinicius]

In an article in an issue of the *Journal of the Australian Numismatic Association*,¹ the first example of a *denarius* (Fig. 1 below) containing a written ‘label’ (in this case, PROVOCO), was examined. This was the first time that a word, other than the (abbreviated) name of a moneyer and the legend ROMA, appeared on a *denarius*, just over 100 years after the

1 JNAA 29 (2018-19) 59-65. An article relevant to the coin, A.H.J. Greenidge, ‘The Porcian Coins and the Porcian Laws’, *Classical Review* (1897) 437-40, came too late to my attention, courtesy of Professor John Melville Jones, University of Western Australia, for consideration in my discussion.

introduction of this new silver coinage in c. 211 BC.² The argument in the earlier article was that the label was a slogan related to a specific context or set of circumstances. Subsequent to the appearance of this coin, other *denarii* were issued, occasionally, containing a 'label' (a written term explaining or referencing an image on such coins). All of these coins have a personification, usually female, on the obverse, identified by the label.

This article will examine these eleven subsequent coins, to determine the context or circumstances surrounding the type.³ The argument put forward here is that there must have been a specific reason for the inclusion of a 'label' at the particular time of an issue, which amounts to a 'slogan.' It fits with the frequently made observation that *monetales* became aware of the propaganda value of coinage.⁴

2 The *denarius* was introduced as part of the overhaul of the coinage alongside a short-lived silver denomination called the *victoriatus*. The last *victoriati* seem to have been issued in 179-170 (*RRC* 159/1, 162/1a-b, 166/1, and 168/1). The reason for the introduction of this new coin had to do with the economic exigencies caused by the serious war with Hannibal, when his invasion of Italy and early successes made it look as though he might actually defeat the Romans and capture the city. On the introduction of the *denarius* system and its development, see Crawford 1974: *Introduction*, vol. 1, pp. 32-33; Woytek 2012: 315-318; Rowan 2019: 1-2.

Throughout, coins are referred to by their numbering in the definitive collection of Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1974, with the abbreviation *RRC*. Images of coins are taken from the *Catalogue of Roman Republican Coins* in the British Museum, and copyright is gratefully acknowledged, as requested, by inclusion of the registration number for each coin.

- 3 Woytek 2012: 327 makes the point that 'contemporary politics was . . . a major factor in the choice of coin types, and pictorial records of – or comments on – current events appeared quite frequently alongside more "personal" designs.'
- 4 Hamilton 1969: 181-199 argues that the use of coin types for self-promotion 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. The traditional interpretation of many of the designs on later republican coinage is that they alluded to the achievements of the moneyers' ancestors: cf. Howgego 1995: 67. 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 forebears. Cf. Rowan 2019: 2, who calls the coins 'monuments in miniature'.

Republican coins will not have been issued solely for the purposes of aristocratic propaganda – one has to remember that they did have an economic purpose (Woytek 2012: 329), but there is value in the view that they may also have served as a commemoration or *monumentum* to the family to which the moneyer belonged.



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

The second coin to have a written label was issued soon after the first one which was examined in the earlier article: a *denarius* in 108 or 107 of M. Herennius. On the obverse is a female head, a personification of *Pietas* obviously, since the label *PIETAS* (‘dutiful conduct’ or ‘loyalty’) is inscribed on the left, and there is a scene of *pietas* in action on the reverse (RRC 308/1a-b, Fig. 2), together with the moneyer’s name. There are two interpretations of the scene on the reverse. One is that it refers to the story of the escape of Aeneas from Troy carrying his father Anchises. The second is that the scene refers to the story of the two brothers from Catania in Sicily, Amphinomos and Anapias, who on the occasion of a great eruption of Mt Etna abandoned their property and carried their aged parents away on their shoulders.⁵ *Pietas* was a quality highly regarded in Roman thinking; there had been a Temple of *Pietas* in Rome since 181, built as the result of a vow in 191 by Manius Acilius Glabrio.⁶ The word on the coin may be regarded as much a slogan as a label, since there must have been a specific reason why the moneyer chose to put this label and the images on this coin at this particular time.

5 Reference to the story of the Catanean brothers in literature is widespread: for example, Strabo 6.269; Pausanias 10.28.4; Hyginus 254; Valerius Maximus 5.4. ext. 4; Lucil. *Aetn.* 602-40; Claudian *Idyll.* 7; Silius Italicus 14.196. A similar image is found on later coins showing Aeneas carrying his father Anchises from the fall of Troy (e.g. RRC 458/1, 494/3a and b); these date from the time of Julius Caesar, when you might expect an emphasis on the connection of the Julii with Aeneas. For the arguments about which scene is being portrayed on this coin of Herennius, see Sydenham 1952: 77 (no. 567); Mattingly 1967: 67; Yarrow 2014 and 2016: <https://livyarrow.org/2014/02/07/catanaean-brothers/> and [/2016/01/10/pius-aeneas/](https://livyarrow.org/2016/01/10/pius-aeneas/), and Yarrow 2021: 89 with n. 77.

6 Glabrio, consul in 191, led a successful campaign against Antiochus and the Aetolians in Greece: references in MRR 1.352. It was common for commanders to vow to build a temple if they were successful, in order to gain the gods’ favour for their campaign.



Fig. 2: *denarius* of M. Herennius, RRC 308/1a-b, 108 or 107 BC
[British Museum 1938,0508.8]

What might that reason have been? One of the aspects of *pietas* was the mutual loyalty between patron and client;⁷ the Marian family were hereditary clients of the Herennii who came from the same Italian town of Arpinum, and who were also clients of the Caecilii Metelli, a powerful political clique at Rome (Plut. *Mar.* 4.1). Marius had served his first military position as a military tribune under Scipio Aemilianus at Numantia in 134-3. It would seem the Metelli supported him to secure his first political position as a tribune in 119. In that office he proposed popular legislation, not likely to be approved by the Metelli, which caused a break with them.⁸ That probably explains Marius' difficulty in securing further office: he stood for election as aedile but failed, and just scraped in last when he stood for the praetorship in 116.

He was prosecuted for bribery at this praetorian election. C. Herennius, a senator from the moneyer's family, was summoned to give evidence, but pleaded that it was not customary for a patron to give witness against a client. According to Plutarch (*Mar.* 5), Marius opposed this plea, claiming that, since he had been elected to office, he had now ceased to be a client – apparently not true, as that rule applied only to those elected to a

7 Wealthy patrons would attract numbers of clients from those of lower socio-economic status, even those from well-off families but of lower standing. In return for the patron's support (both financial and political), clients were expected to follow the patron's lead in political decision-making. On the patron-client relationship, see Taylor 1964: 41-3; cf. Morstein-Marx 2004: 6 and 205.

8 As tribune in 119, Marius had carried a law which narrowed the *pons* (bridge) over which voters passed, thus reducing scrutiny of how they voted and thereby eliminating the intimidation by nobles or their agents which had been exerted before, reducing aristocratic influence over the voting process (Plut. *Mar.* 4.1), and ensuring the secrecy of written ballots, which had recently been introduced to ensure freedom for the Roman citizenry. References in MRR 1.526. See also Ooteghem 1967: 91-2. 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.

curule office. Whatever the truth of that, Marius was acquitted of the charge by the skin of his teeth, with a hung jury, and was therefore free to take up his praetorship for 115.⁹

By 108 Marius had reconciled with the Metelli, it would seem, and was chosen as a *legatus* to serve under Q. Metellus (consul in 109) in his command against Jugurtha. But they fell out again, when Marius sought leave from his commander to return to Rome to stand for the consulship of the following year; when permission was not granted, Marius returned to Rome anyway and campaigned on a platform of replacing Metellus in the command against Jugurtha.¹⁰ Around this time is when the *denarius* of Herennius was issued. Could it be that the label on the coin emphasised the *pietas* of Marius towards his patrons, the Herennii, as a slogan to bolster his forthcoming bid for the consulship? Another conjecture is that Herennius was using the label to remind Marius of the need to exercise *pietas* towards his patrons in the light of the conflict with the senator from the Herennii family at the trial for bribery just a few years earlier.¹¹

These are conjectures, of course, but one might gain some support for the first suggestion above from this further conjecture. A Marcus Herennius secured the consulship of 93 as a *novus homo* ('new man'); this M. Herennius may have been the *monetalis* who issued the *pietas* coin in 108 or 107 – the career pattern would fit. These are the steps in the conjecturing: the Herennii and Marius had an inherited patron-client relationship; by the 90's Marius was the *novus homo* par excellence, with a highly unusual (and irregular) six consulships to his name; Marius was thereby a man of deep political influence in this later period; he helped secure the election of M. Herennius to the consulship in return for his support, for example through the *pietas* coin and its slogan. Syme nominates four *novi homines*, including Herennius, in the period 104-93, who he said were all probably partisans of Marius.¹² It would all make sense.

A *denarius* issued by D. Iunius Silanus in 91 (*RRC* 337/2b-f; Fig. 3) contains the label SALVS, identifying the personification on the obverse. It could perhaps be taken as referring also to the Temple of Salus built by C. Iunius Bubulcus Brutus and dedicated by him in 302;¹³ most likely the moneyer is claiming descent from this earlier Iunius. Noticeably, on another *denarius* issued by Silanus (*RRC* 337/1) a plough is shown

9 Plut. *Mar.* 5.1. Following his year in office, he proceeded to a governorship of Further Spain, where he made valuable connections with equestrian entrepreneurs.

10 For the details of this falling out and of Marius' election to the consulship of 107, see Carney 1961: 26-8; Ooteghem 1967: 152-3.

11 I owe this suggestion to Dr Paul Burton, made during discussion of an earlier version of this paper delivered at a seminar at the ANU in October 2019. Mattingly 1967: 67 says that the images on the coin are probably in reference to the moneyer's family.

12 Syme 1939: 94, n. 2.

13 The temple was vowed by Brutus when consul (317, 313, or 311); the contract was let when he was censor in 307; and the building was dedicated when he was dictator in 302 (*Liv.* 9.43.26, 10.1.9). See Richardson 1992: 341-2.

(*bubulcus* means ‘ploughman’, his [putative] forebear’s *cognomen*). What specific reason could there be for issuing a coin with such a label at this particular time? The year of issue marked the start of the Social War between Rome and its Italian allies, and perhaps the term *salus* takes on more the aspect of a message, a sort of prayer for the safety of the Roman state in its conflict with the *socii*. A hope rather than a reality, as can be seen in a number of the coins examined in this article. The references on the coin to Bubulcus Brutus may then be apposite, since he was engaged in conflict with Italian peoples of his time, such as the Aequi and the Samnites, when Rome was expanding its control over Italy.¹⁴



Fig. 3: *denarius* of D. Iunius Silanus, RRC 337/2b-f, 91 BC
[British Museum 2002,0102.1851]

M'. Aquillius issued a serrated *denarius* in 71 (RRC 401/1, Fig. 4), with a helmeted head of Virtus on the obverse, and the label VIRTVS (upwards on right) and IIIVIR (downwards on left). The reverse shows a soldier with a shield raising up a fallen female figure, with the moneyer's name occupying either side, and SICIL in the exergue. The female figure presumably represents Sicily being 'rescued' by the warrior. The reverse would therefore refer to the benefits conferred on the people of Sicily by the moneyer's grandfather, M'. Aquillius (cos. 101), who conducted the Slave War there in 100 and 99 and completed the pacification of the island.¹⁵ The coin therefore is not unusual in its depiction of the deeds of a forebear.

¹⁴ References in *MRR*: 1.155, 158, 161, and 169.

¹⁵ Crawford, *RRC*, vol. 1. p. 412.



Fig. 4: serrated *denarius* of M. Aquillius, RRC 401/1, 71 BC
[British Museum R.8574]

One possibility as the moneyer of this coin is the senator mentioned by Cicero in 74 (*Cluent.* 127), but this man is otherwise unknown. As Willems suggests,¹⁶ it would be unusual for a person to take up the position of a *IIIvir monetalis* after holding a quaestorship (the office which made him eligible to become a senator), so there is uncertainty about the identity of the moneyer and the date of the coin. If, however, it is to be dated to the end of the 70's (as seems to be the consensus), what might be the context for the use of the label *virtus*? Given that the reverse alludes to the Sicilian slave war conducted by the moneyer's forebear, could it be that the coin had a specific context related to the recent serious slave revolt led by Spartacus in Italy, which was finally brought under control by M. Licinius Crassus?

In that context *virtus* could be alluding to the manly qualities displayed by the Roman troops in eventually defeating the slaves, after the early armies sent against them had been defeated due to poor discipline. It was only after Crassus, though only of praetorian rank, took over the command of the legions poorly led by the consuls of 72, L. Gellius Publicola and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus, and restored military discipline, that success was gradually secured.¹⁷ If the coin is to be dated a little earlier, it could represent a call to the state to show *virtus* in the face of the threat from the slave uprising.

A *denarius* (RRC 403/1, Fig. 5) has the jugate heads of HONOS and VIRTUS on the obverse, with the initials HO on the left, and a ligature for VIRTUS on the right, with KALENI underneath. The issue is usually dated to around 70 because of the scene on the reverse (see below).¹⁸ It shows Roma standing on the right (with RO) and Italia on

16 Willems 1885: 1. 543 (cf. 426), lists Aquillius as a senator of quaestorian rank.

17 For Crassus and the Slave War, see Marshall 1976: 25-33; Ward 1977: 83-95.

18 Crawford dates the coin to 70; Yarrow 2021: 89 dates it to c. 70; Hersh and Walker 1984: 138 (Table 2) push it down to 68 on the basis of their examination of the Mesagne hoard.

the left (with a monogram for ITALIA) clasping hands; there is a *cornucopia* between the clasped hands, and a winged *caduceus* behind Italia; Roma wears a diadem, holds a short sword (?) in her left hand and places her right foot on a globe; CORDI in the exergue.



Fig. 5: serrated *denarius* of Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Mucius Cordus, RRC 403/1, 70 BC
[ANS 1937.158.150 – obv and rev]

Two moneyers are known from the board of *triumviri monetales* for this year. From the name KALENI on the obverse, the first is usually taken to be Q. Fufius Calenus.¹⁹ The name of the second moneyer takes some working out: the *Cordi* on the reverse is taken by Crawford to refer to a P. Mucius (Scaevola?) who had added the *cognomen* Cordus to reflect his descent from a legendary hero Mucius, 'on whom the *cognomen* Cordus was foisted as the legend [about his *honor* and *virtus* shown in his attempt to assassinate Porsenna] developed.'²⁰

The scene on the reverse is plausibly interpreted as alluding to the reconciliation (the *caduceus* representing *concordia*) between Rome and Italy after the Social War when the allies were finally admitted to citizenship (obtaining benefits represented by the *cornucopia*) by the censors of that year.²¹ The censorship in 70 was held for the first time since 86 by Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus and L. Gellius Publicola, the two consuls of 72 who had failed against the Slave War led by Spartacus and who are usually taken to be pro-Pompeian.²²

19 Calenus was a *novus homo* who rose to the consulship of 47. He was tribune in 61 and praetor in 59, becoming a partisan of Caesar; after Caesar's assassination he took the side of Antonius in his manoeuvrings with the young Caesar. See Welch 2012: 122 and 124.

20 Crawford, RRC vol. 1. p. 413, followed by Yarrow 2021: 89, who takes him to be the P. Mucius Scaevola attested as a *pontifex* and the son of the consul of 95.

21 Crawford, RRC vol. 1. p. 413, followed by Yarrow 2021: 89. Sydenham 1952: 131 (no. 797) takes the view that the date of the coin is too uncertain to connect it with the Roman pacification of the Italian allies.

22 For this view of the censors, see e.g. Seager 2002: 37-9.

There were two temples in Rome for Honos and Virtus jointly. The earlier of the two may go back to one said to have been established by Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus in 234, and subsequently refurbished by M. Claudius Marcellus in 208 when a separate *cella* for Virtus was added. The second temple was built by Marius from the spoils obtained from the defeat of the Cimbri and Teutones.²³

Why might the qualities of Honos and Virtus be emphasised on this coin at this time? The significant issues at the time politically were the moves, supported by both consuls, for the restoration of the tribunician powers which had been curbed ten years earlier by Sulla, and the agitation for something to be done about corruption in the jury-courts. But the qualities represented on Calenus' coin do not seem to have any connection with those issues at this particular time.

Virtus, however, seems to have been a quality particularly emphasised by *novi homines* ('new men').²⁴ Calenus was a *novus homo*, whose family was possibly from Cales;²⁵ he would have been keen to promote himself and may have taken the first step in aspiring to a political career by holding the position of *triumvir monetalis* and using this coin to promote his own qualities (and, given the reverse, his Italian origin?). It is perhaps appropriate that Calenus, a *novus homo*, portrays both Honos and Virtus, the qualities emphasised by the *novus homo* par excellence, Marius, seven times consul, who built the joint temple. Sallust puts a speech into the mouth of Marius, pointing out the *virtus* of the new man, which leads to his *industria* and in turn to his securing of *honores* (the plural of *honor* = 'offices').²⁶

The *triumviri monetales* of 62 issued *denarii* clearly containing a slogan.²⁷ One was issued by Paullus Lepidus (*RRC* 415/1, Fig. 6), that is, L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, who went on to become consul in 50.²⁸ The obverse shows a veiled head of Concordia, with

23 For the chronology of these buildings, see Richardson 1992: 190.

24 Wiseman 1971: 111 and 116; followed by Crawford *RRC* vol. 1. p. 413.

25 Wiseman 1971: 232 (no. 185).

26 Sall. *BJ* 85. See esp. §4: *mihi spes omnes in memet sitae quas necesse est virtute et innocentia tutari* ('All my hopes rest in myself, and they must be maintained by my own worth and integrity'), and §17: *quod si iure me despiciunt, faciant idem maioribus suis, quibus uti mihi ex virtute nobilitas coepit. invident honori meo; ergo invideant labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi* ('But if they [hereditary aristocrats] look down on me, let them also do the same thing with their forefathers. Their nobility began, as with mine, in manly deeds. They begrudge my office; then let them begrudge my toil, my honesty, even the dangers I faced, since it was through them that I secured that office.')

27 There is wide agreement that the issue date of these *denarii* is around 62: e.g. Crawford *RRC*: vol. 1. pp. 441-2; Hersh and Walker 1984: 138 (Table 2); Yarrow 2021: 165. Some put it later, in 55 or 54; Sydenham 1952: 131 (no. 797) suggests somewhere between 71 and 67; cf. Welch 2012: 114 with n. 45.

28 Lepidus Paullus' claim to descent from the Aemilii Paulli is spurious; he used the *agnomen* as a *praenomen* on his coin: SB, *Atticus*, vol. 1, p. 399. The reverse with its three trophies and the word TER recalls the three times on which L. Aemilius Paullus (cos. 168) was hailed as *imperator* during his campaign against Perseus, which culminated in the battle of Pydna; it is not evidence for three triumphs conducted by Paulus, which is a later (and false) assumption.

the label *CONCORDIA* inscribed on the right and Lepidus' name on the left. A second *denarius* was issued jointly by Lepidus Paullus and L. Scribonius Libo (*RRC* 417/1a and b, Fig. 7); it has a obverse, with *concordia* and Lepidus' name, and a reverse with Libo's name.

Another *denarius* issued by Libo (*RRC* 416/1, Fig. 8) has *BON(us) EVENT(us)* on the obverse, and a similar reverse as 417/1. The reverses of these two coins have the Puteal Scribonianum, labelled around the top of the coin.²⁹ There are some slight differences in symbols on the reverses: some have a hammer, others a pair of tongs, and yet others an anvil. These symbols of Vulcan allude to the fact that the Puteal Scribonianum was located on a spot where there was a lightning strike.



Fig. 6: *denarius* of L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus, *RRC* 415/1, 62 BC
[British Museum R.8706]



Fig. 7: *denarius* of L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus and L. Scribonius Libo, *RRC* 417/1a and b, 62 BC
[British Museum R.8715]

²⁹ The Puteal Scribonianum was an elaborate well-head in the Roman Forum, marking the spot of a lightning strike and set up by a Scribonius Libo, hence commemorated by the moneyer. See Crawford, *RRC* vol. 2. p. 442; Richardson 1992: 322-3; Yarrow 2021: 164-5.



Fig. 8: *denarius* of L. Scribonius Libo, RRC 416/1, 62 BC
[British Museum R.8714]

If these coins are all to be dated to around 62, it is reasonable to see what message the *denarii* issued by Lepidus and Libo is aiming to show. Lepidus Paullus was a known supporter of Cicero (Cic. *Vat.* 25; Sall. *Cat.* 31.4). There is no evidence linking Libo with Cicero, but he was closely connected to the family of Pompeius through his grandmother Pompeia Magna, and these ties were strengthened later in 55 when Pompeius' son, Sextus Pompeius, married Libo's daughter, Scribonia.³⁰ Given that in the late 60's Cicero was a strong supporter of Pompeius, and that Libo was favourably disposed to the great general, it is not too much to assume that Libo had similar political attitudes to Cicero. The head of Concordia and the label can therefore be taken as a slogan reflecting the central theme of Cicero's policy in his bid for the consulship of 63 and in his consular year – *concordia ordinum*.³¹ An obvious propaganda slogan to reinforce the theme of his consulship as a 'new man', and to signify the support he received to justify his killing of citizens arrested during the Catilinarian conspiracy,³² while the image of *Bonus Eventus* (Good Outcome, or Success) on Libo's *denarius* conveys the message of the successful suppression of the conspiracy.³³

The sixth *denarius* with a label was minted in 55 by P. Fonteius Capito, one of the *tresviri monetales* that year (RRC 429/2a, Fig. 9). It too has a personification and the label CONCORDIA on the obverse; the Villa Publica is depicted on the reverse with the name T. Didi(us) and Imp(erator), along with the name of the moneyer and his office

30 On these family connections, see Welch 2012: 113-4, with n. 45. Her view is that the date of the coin issues and of the marriage cannot be securely dated.

31 For a discussion of Cicero's long-held policy of *concordia ordinum*, see Stockton 1971: 143-4 and 163-5; Mitchell 1979: 202-4. This is an example where the constant drumming by Cicero on his theme represents a hope rather than a reality: Yarrow 2015: 345.

32 For discussion of the ideal of *Concordia*, see Yarrow 2014 and 2016: <https://livyarrow.org/2014/02/07/catanaean-brothers/> and [2016/01/10/pius-aeneas/](https://livyarrow.org/2016/01/10/pius-aeneas/); Cornwell 2020: 124-5; Yarrow 2021: 164-5.

33 Crawford, RRC, vol. 1, p. 442; Cornwell 2020: 124-5; Yarrow 2021: 163-5.

IIIVIR. The name of Titus Didius, the consul of 98, appears in association with the Villa Publica because it was restored by him,³⁴ and presumably the references are made because Didius was a family connection.³⁵ But why CONCORDIA?³⁶ The slogan is often taken to have Ciceronian connotations with his regular theme at this time of *concordia ordinum* or *consensus omnium bonorum*, like the previous coins (see above, Figs 6 and 7). There is a Fonteius who is noted as a friend of Cicero's in 54 (*Att.* 4.15.6): Cicero writes that he returned to Rome in July that year *Fontei causa* ('for Fonteius' sake'). Broughton and Shackleton Bailey raise the possibility that this Fonteius was *praetor urbanus* that year, and that Cicero had returned presumably to attend games being put on under Fonteius' presidency.³⁷ He would have been too old to hold the position of moneyer the previous year, if he were praetor in 54, since the position of *triumvir monetalis* was normally held by men in their 20's. Crawford, however, says that this Fonteius need not necessarily have been a praetor, and could be a possibility as the moneyer.³⁸ Another person sometimes suggested as the moneyer is the P. Fonteius who adopted P. Clodius Pulcher so that he could transition into the plebeian order.³⁹ This Fonteius was 20 years old at the time of the adoption in 60 (Clodius was 35), so not too old to be a moneyer in 55. But, as other members of the family had connections with Cicero,⁴⁰ it is not likely that someone who co-operated in the adoption of Cicero's enemy Clodius would mint coins with Ciceronian connotations.

34 The Villa Publica was a public building in Rome which served as the censors' base of operations. It was originally erected on the Campus Martius in 435, when the first census was supposedly compiled there (*Liv.* 4.22.7); the building was restored and enlarged in 194 and restored again by T. Didius (cos. 98). As well as its use by the censors, the Villa Publica also served as a place where foreign ambassadors were received, where generals waited to hear if they would be granted a triumph, and where army levies could be based. See Richardson 1992: 430

35 Crawford, *RRC*, vol. 1, p. 453.

36 There was a Temple of Concordia near the Forum, supposedly dedicated by Camillus in 367 to mark the end of disturbances over the 'Licinian Rogations'. It was restored by L. Opimius in 121, after the killing of C. Gracchus and his supporters (see Richardson 1992: 98-9), another occasion of a plea for 'harmony' after disturbances. Crawford, *RRC*, vol.1, p. 453 is puzzled by the reference to Concordia on this coin. For a neat summary of the implications of the Temple of Concordia for contemporary politics, see Morstein-Marx 2004: 54-5 and 101-3.

37 Broughton, *MRR* 1.566; SB, *Atticus*, vol. 2, p. 210.

38 Crawford, *RRC*, vol.1, p. 453.

39 For the references, see Münzer, *RE* 6.2845-6.

40 There was the M. Fonteius whom Cicero defended in 69 (?) on a charge of provincial extortion following his governorship of Gallia Narbonensis at the end of the 70's and who thus provides a connection with Cicero. M'. Fonteius C. f., *monetalis* in 85 (*RRC* 353/1-3), is possibly the military tribune named on another *denarius* of Fonteius Capito in 55 (*RRC* 353 and 429/1, with Crawford's comments) and possibly brother of the M. Fonteius defended by Cicero (*Cic. Font.* 5; Crawford, *RRC*, vol. 1, p. 347). C. Fonteius, a *legatus* in Fonteius' army when he was governor of Gaul (*Cic. Font.* 18; *MRR* 2.105), may be another relative.



Fig. 9: *denarius* of P. Fonteius Capito, *RRC* 429/2a, 55 BC
[British Museum R.8764]

But what if the slogan *concordia* does not refer to Cicero's political theme? After all, it is separated by six or seven years from the events of 63-2 in which Cicero was heavily involved. Are there circumstances around the year 55, when the *denarius* was minted, which might lead to a slogan calling for 'harmony'? There had been political turmoil in Rome since Julius Caesar's consulship in 59 and the formation of the coalition between Pompeius, Crassus and Caesar; that coalition had provoked both conservative and public opposition; Clodius had had himself notoriously transferred into the plebeian order in order to secure the tribunate of 58; in that office he had stirred up popular agitation, partly against the coalition, and had brought about the exile of Cicero. Division had continued in 57, and Cicero had been brought back from exile. The three men of the coalition had met at Luca in 56 to renew their alliance, with Pompeius and Crassus being supported in their bid for a second consulship in 55, which continued the serious political divisions in Rome.⁴¹

One can make a case that some members of the Fonteii family were favourably disposed to Pompeius.⁴² For example, M. Fonteius, governor of Gallia Narbonensis from 74-72, was defended by Cicero in 69 (?) on a charge of provincial extortion following that governorship. He is said by Cicero (*Font.* 13) to have sent large troops of cavalry, large sums of money, and large amounts of grain to assist Pompeius in the war against Sertorius in Spain, and other commanders elsewhere in the Roman world. Cicero mentions (*Font.* 16) that Pompeius' large army from Spain wintered in Gaul during

41 Pompeius and Crassus were first consuls in 70. For an account of the political chaos of this later period leading to Pompeius' sole consulship, see Ascon. 30-36 C. Cf. Marshall 1985: 160-5; Seager 2002: 133-5.

42 Ward 1977: 118; contra, Seager 2002: 41, with nn. 3 and 4.

Fonteius' governorship there. Pompeius sent in a *laudatio* for Fonteius at his trial.⁴³ There are also those family members listed in n. 40 who served under this M. Fonteius. If the moneyer of the *denarius* inscribed with *concordia*, Fonteius Capito, was also related to M. Fonteius and shared his relatives' pro-Pompeian stance, could it be that the coin was minted under Pompeius' influence to calm the public strife and support his bid for his second consulship?

Even if this suggestion, that the moneyer was a supporter of Pompeius and placed the slogan on his coin to suit a desire by Pompeius to promote *concordia*, is seen as overly conjectural, given the general premise of this article, that there should be a specific circumstance for the use of a written term on a coin, the question to be asked is whether there is some other, more general, circumstance to which the slogan *concordia* could be referring. There would at least have been a strong desire in the Roman community at this time for 'harmony', and the moneyer may simply have put the slogan on his coin in view of the divisions and conflicts apparent in the state – an example of the use of a slogan more in hope than reality, as has already been noted (above, n. 31).

A *denarius* issued in 55 by Q. Cassius, usually taken to be Q. Cassius Longinus, possibly grandson of the tribune of 104, quaestor under Pompeius in 52 (probably), and tribune in 49, has a head of Libertas personified on the obverse, with the slogan LIBERT and the moneyer's name (RRC 428/2, Fig.10). It has the same reverse as another *denarius* issued by this moneyer (RRC 428/1): the round temple of Vesta in the Roman Forum where the sacred fire, tended by the Vestal Virgins, was kept alight, with a magisterial chair inside it, a voting urn on the left, and a voting tablet containing the initials A and C on the right. The reverses, with their depiction of the temple of Vesta, allude to the trial of the Vestals in 113 presided over by L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla (a forebear of the moneyer), with the magisterial chair signifying Ravilla's presidency. The voting urn and tablet refer to the law passed by Ravilla as tribune in 137 extending the use of written ballot, regarded by Cicero (*leg.* 3.33-37) as 'the guardian of liberty' (*vindex libertatis*).⁴⁴ At such judicial proceedings the voters would be issued with a waxed tablet marked with the letters A and C (A for *Absolvo* and C for *Condemno*); when called upon to cast their vote they would scratch out the verdict they did not want, file past the front of the Assembly in tribal order and put their tablet into a voting urn.⁴⁵

43 Alexander 1990: 94. Submitting a *laudatio* for a fellow *nobilis* – or indeed appearing as a defence counsel – was not an unusual practice and did not necessarily indicate a close relationship with the accused, or a shared political stance; indeed, in some trials political opponents can even be found serving on the same side. In this case, however, there are other indications of a likely connection between Fonteius and Pompeius.

44 For an outline of Longinus Ravilla's proposal of the law about written ballot in 137 and his role in the trial of the Vestals in 113, see Marshall 1997: 56-8. On this *denarius* of Cassius, see *ibid.* 65-6.

45 Taylor 1966: 77.



Fig. 10: *denarius* of Q. Cassius Longinus, RRC 428/2, mid-50's BC
[British Museum R.8759]

Why might a coin issued in 55 specifically have a slogan *LIBERTAS*? The Cassian family used the term *libertas* more or less as a family motto,⁴⁶ and there were some events at the end of 56 and the beginning of 55 which could be seen as threatening the people's freedoms. Primarily these were the actions of the three 'dynasts' in disrupting the consular and other elections at the end of 56 to accommodate the wishes of Pompeius and Crassus to secure a second consulship and a suitable provincial command for each, as agreed to at their meetings at Ravenna and Luca in April 56, and to block out the strong opposition candidates, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (for the consulship) and M. Porcius Cato (for the praetorship). The year 55 started without consuls, requiring a series of *interreges*, until an *interrex* favourable to the dynasts was found to approve the election of Pompeius and Crassus. Then a co-operative tribune was found to propose the extensive five-year commands for the two new consuls (the two Spanish provinces for Pompeius, and Syria for Crassus), and a five-year extension for Caesar's command in Gaul (giving him an unprecedented ten-year command in all).⁴⁷ The tactics and machinations used by the dynasts to secure their personal goals could be seen as assaults on the Roman people's *libertas*, and opposition to them could well explain the issue of a coin by Cassius stressing *libertas*.

The second last *denarius* to be discussed is one issued by M. Iunius [Caepio] Brutus in c. 54 (RRC 433/1, Fig. 11). On the obverse is a head of *Libertas* personified with the label *LIBERTAS* behind, and on the reverse the consul [L. Iunius] Brutus walking between two lictors and preceded by an attendant. Brutus too had a family history of *libertas* – on his paternal side with the L. Iunius Brutus who had expelled the last tyrannical king

46 Alföldi 1956: 92 refers to the use of symbols, especially the *pileus* (cap of freedom), on their coins as *wappenartiges Abzeichen*, the Cassian family coat of arms.

47 For a discussion of the political chaos of this period leading to Pompeius' and Crassus' second consulship, see Seager 2002: chaps 10 and 11.

of Rome in 509 and helped to establish the republic, and on his mother's side with the C. Servilius Ahala who slew Spurius Maelius in 439 on the grounds that he was plotting to set himself up as a tyrant.⁴⁸ Another *denarius* of Brutus issued at this time shows the theme of *libertas*, with his forebear Brutus on the obverse and Ahala on the reverse (RRC 433/2).



Fig. 11: *denarius* of M. Iunius (Caepio) Brutus, RRC 433/1, c. 54 BC
[British Museum 2002,0102.4363]

In the mid-50s the person possibly seen as threatening 'freedom' might have been Pompeius. In the political anarchy of that period there was continual difficulty holding the consular elections, scandals about electoral bribery, gang warfare, and public violence.⁴⁹ Plutarch (*Pomp.* 52.1) records that Cato encouraged L. Domitius Ahenobarbus to continue his consular candidature against Pompeius and his associates during the elections of 55, because the struggle with the 'tyrants', he said, was not for office, but for 'freedom'. Further, as early as 54 there were suggestions that Pompeius be appointed dictator (Cic. *Q.f.* 2.14.5; *Att.* 4.183). There was no love lost between Pompeius and Brutus, from the time when Pompeius, the *adulescentulus carnifex* ('teenage butcher'), was responsible for the death of Brutus' father at Mutina in 77 after the latter had joined the rebellion of M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 78), which was put down by the young Pompeius.⁵⁰ It was only later, at the time of the civil war against Caesar, that there was a reconciliation between them. The issue of a coin by Brutus stressing *libertas* seems apposite at this time when some felt that the freedoms of the Roman people were being threatened.

⁴⁸ Nep. *Att.* 18.3 tells of a family tree drawn up by Atticus (cf. Cic. *Att.* 13.40.1) showing his descent from the two slayers of 'tyrants', i.e. Brutus and Ahala. Cf. Plut. *Brut.* 1-2 who also shows the connection with Brutus the elder and with Ahala.

⁴⁹ For these events, see the references in n. 47.

⁵⁰ For the references to Lepidus' rebellion and Pompeius' suppression of it, see *MRR* 2.85 and 90.

Finally, a *denarius* issued by L. Vinicius (RRC 436/1, Fig. 12) in 52, the year of Pompeius' sole consulship. On the obverse is a head of Concordia personified, with the label CONCORDIA in front, and on the reverse a personified Victory walking and carrying a palm-branch decorated with four wreaths, with the moneyer's name downwards on the right. These symbols echo the reverse of a *denarius* issued by Faustus Sulla in 56 (RRC 426/4a and b), which has one large and three smaller wreaths and which is decidedly Pompeian (Faustus was Pompeius' son-in-law). Crawford remarks that, as Vinicius showed pro-Caesarian leanings when tribune the following year, the slogan on the coin may have been aimed at encouraging concord in the rising tension between the two rivals, Pompeius and Caesar.⁵¹



Fig. 12: *denarius* of L. Vinicius, RRC 436/1, c. 52 BC
[British Museum 1904,0204.139]

The labels on late republican *denarii* were designed to reinforce the message contained in the other images on them. While there were general, sometimes family, reasons why some moneyers placed written labels on their coins, there had also to be a specific reason or circumstance to explain why they were used at a specific time, and in some cases the labels became more of a slogan. As the late republic progressed, there was increasing political violence and civil conflict caused by ambitious warlords, which led to the breakdown of the republican form of government. The incidence of slogans on coins increased also, with terms like *Concordia* (harmony) and *Libertas* (freedom) appearing more frequently, expressing a hope rather than a reality, to serve the propaganda claims of one side or the other in their competition for power and influence.

51 Crawford, RRC 1. p. 457. As tribune in 51 Vinicius had vetoed a senatorial proposal about the provinces for the consuls of that year as part of the ongoing optimate attempts to replace Caesar in his province (Cael. in Cic. *Fam.* 8.8.6). For Faustus Sulla's alignment with Pompeius, see Marshall 1987: 91-101; Yarrow 2021: 74-6.

Author biography

Bruce Marshall retired as an Associate Professor from the University of New England in 1995 after nearly 30 years there. He was an Honorary Senior Research Fellow at Macquarie University from 1996-2016. His particular area of research was – and still is – the late Roman republic, on which he has published extensively. Since retirement his interest has 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.

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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 examine further such identifying legends ('labels') on late republican *denarii* minted in the years of Julius Caesar's dictatorships.

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