

ROMAN NUMISMATICS:  
FURTHER MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

By HAROLD MATTINGLY

*Fellow of the Academy*

1. THE RELATIONSHIP OF TYPES IN ROMAN SERIES OF AES GRAVE

WE have to deal with what look like four distinct series, each running through two periods. For study of them I recommend Haebler's *Aes Grave* and Sydenham's *Roman Republic*.

Let us begin with 'Janus'-Mercury, light series. It bears its symbol, the sickle, on one side only; it will be convenient to call this side the reverse. The sickle, by the by, is a probable attribute of Saturn, traditional king and god of Latium.

The types are:

As: Mercury    Sem.: Female Head    Triens: Dolphin    Quad-  
rans: Right hand.    Sextans: Caduceus    Uncia: ☉    Sem-  
uncia: Σ.

The caduceus of the sextans is an attribute of Mercury. The dolphin of the triens is an attribute of Neptune. The female head is quite uncertain; could she be Ceres? Cf. the quadrans of the obverse, below with two ears of corn.

The same types without sickle are found on the heavy series.

As obverse of the series, both heavy and light, we find:

As: 'Janus'    Sem.: Mars r.    Triens: Thunderbolt    Quadrans:  
Two ears of corn    Sextans: Scallop-shell-convex    Uncia:  
Knucklebone    Semuncia: Acorn.

The type of the As is original. All the other types are taken from the Diana-Diana series, except that on one, the quadrans, we get the new type of corn-ears, while the right hand has been transferred to the reverse.

The types of the Diana-Diana series are:

*Obv.* As: Diana r.    Sem.: Mars r.    Triens: Thunderbolt  
Quadrans: Right hand    Sextans: Scallop-shell-convex    Un-  
cia: Knucklebone    Semuncia: Acorn.

The types of the reverses are the same reversed—heads l. instead of r., left hand for right, scallop-shell-concave, &c.

The semuncia is found for these two series only.

The second series with Diana-Diana symbol has the same types, with club on both sides. There is no obvious relation between the types of the As in the two series. The 'Janus'-Mercury might suggest the double head in petasus on Asses of Volaterrae. If the young Janus were Dianus there would be a link with Diana. We usually call him Fontus, as son of Janus. The hand is a puzzle; might it be the *fulminantis magna manus Iovis*? The chief outstanding puzzle is: why does the right hand take its place on reverse instead of obverse of 'Janus'-Mercury?

The scallop-shell might suggest Venus or a seaport. The knucklebone as mark of luck might apply to Mercury.

The main fact is that the 'Janus' series borrows five types of the Diana for its obverse and one for its reverse.

While Diana is thus related to 'Janus' she is connected closely, but in quite a different way, with Apollo. In his series as in hers the obverse types are 'reversed' for the reverses. The types are:

*Obv.* Apollo r. Sem.: Pegasus r. Triens: Horse's head r.  
 Quadrans: Boar r. Sextans: Head of Dioscure r. Uncia:  
 Corn-grain.

So much for the heavy series. The light series is not known in all denominations, but, as far as known, they are the same. It has as symbol a vine-leaf, which is missing on the silver didrachm.

Apollo, of course, was the twin of Diana. Pegasus may be here as the horse of the sun; he occurs on token Aes, with obverse Hercules, symbol, club (S. 7). The horse's head occurs on silver of the 'Janus' series and may refer to Mars. The corn-grain reminds us of the two ears of corn in the 'Janus' series.

The peculiarities, here noted, link all the series of Aes Grave. 'Janus', mint of Ostia (?), is tied to Diana, mint in the south (Tarentum?). Diana is linked to Apollo (mint of the 'calles' of South-East Italy). She is also tied to Diana-wheel (mint of Rome). Diana-wheel at Rome is succeeded by Janus-prow; the connexion is seen in the use of a standard type for all reverses, and also in the absence of an uncia. In the other three mints the connexions observed hold good for both earlier and later series. There is nothing in these observations, which would have been new to Haeblerlin, to whose magnificent *Aes Grave* we are all so profoundly indebted. But not many will know them as he did, and without a full realization of them, no one will be able to reconstruct that 'Systematik' of early Roman coins which Haeblerlin with fine instinct divined.

It is almost impossible to make sense of these observations, unless we admit four main series (mints), each in two successive periods.

## 2. THE LENGTH OF DURATION OF THE DENARIUS

A useful check on the date of origin of the denarius may be provided by working backwards, period by period, from dates that can be taken to be exact and beyond question.

The dates which we shall assume as sure are:

123 B.C. for the XVI denarius.

118 B.C. for the Narbo issue.

100 B.C. for Piso-Caepio.

91 B.C. for D. Silanus.

70 B.C. for C. Hosidius Geta.

49 B.C. for Q. Sicinius.

In general, we confine our attention to denarii. We base ourselves on E. A. Sydenham's *Coinage of the Roman Republic*; it should always be in our readers' hands.

There are so many minor uncertainties involved that no two persons would be likely to arrive at just the same results. But the figures that I shall offer have been arrived at honestly and are not likely to be seriously misleading.

Our periods, beginning from the bottom, are:

(1) 70-49 B.C. 'Free' types. *c.* 42 moneyers.

(2) 91-70 B.C. Mainly 'free' types. *c.* 60 moneyers.

(3) 118-91 B.C. 'Free' types, coming in beside the old. *c.* 71 moneyers.

(4) *c.* 130-118 B.C. Bellona on obverse, Dioscuri or divine charioteers (with an occasional 'free' type) on reverse. *c.* 82 moneyers.

(5) *c.* 145-130 B.C. Bellona on obverse, Dioscuri or Victory in biga or Diana in biga (two varieties) on reverse; probably from three mints. *c.* 35 moneyers.

(6) *c.* 160-145 B.C. Bellona on obverse, Dioscuri on reverse. The victoriate, with Jupiter on obverse, Victory and trophy on reverse, regularly appears, linked by a symbol or letter, to the denarius. *c.* 21 moneyers.

Whatever minor changes might be made in our numeration, it would be exceedingly hard to carry the six classes back above *c.* 160. The very heavy coinage, allotted to the age of Gaius Gracchus, might be lightened by carrying some of its types earlier or later. But that would make little difference to the general picture.

The moneyers of the denarii (see 3) before *c.* 160 run in several marked series, with quite a number of 'outliers'. Even if we allow for some consecutiveness in time, as well as for geographical distribution,

and for the use of other denominations, quadrigatus and victoriate, it is hard to assign more than thirty years to the period.

With this in view let us consider the possibility of a date of origin for the denarius in the Second Punic War.

1. Reduction of As from semilibral to sextantal standard in a little over ten years seems rather crowded.
2. The 'denarii' of 197, of the weight of late quadrigati (Livy and Plautus), imply a difficult overlap of quadrigatus with X denarius. But Sydenham has already guessed at such an overlap from the 'eighties' to *c.* 170.
3. The Mars-Eagle gold is tightly bound up with some of the earliest denarii. What are we to make of the ratio of gold to silver, 1 to 20, if Pliny is right and the marks are sestertii? No explanation of so high a ratio has yet been given. 1 to 8, if we read Asses. This very low ratio might be at once explained by the reduced value of gold at the gold-rush in Noricum, which we have come to associate with Aquileia and a later date.
4. In this paper we have shown that a date before 200 B.C. is very hard to reach by working backward from certainly dated denarii.

New possibilities have always to be faced; they must not be ruled out without question. So, the 'middle' date of the denarius must be faced and debated.

One point occurs to me as possibly in its favour. Populonia at about the date required marks its didrachms XX instead of the earlier X. The mark of value suggests a possible connexion—and the cities of Etruria *did* contribute to Scipio's expedition to Sicily and Africa.

But Populonia's didrachm, XX, is, I think, light for a double denarius.

### 3. THE FIRST AGE OF THE DENARIUS, ENDING *c.* 160 B.C.

Relying as usual on Sydenham, I wish here to throw some light on the first period of the denarius, neglecting for the moment the Aes and only occasionally referring to other denominations of the silver. I will deal with some fairly well-defined series.

1. Rhegium (or neighbouring mint). Symbols: anchor, prow, apex and hammer, apex.
2. Sardinia. Symbols, &c.: knife, sceptre, C, MA, AVR.
3. Sicily. Symbols, &c.: corn-ear, adze, laurel-branch, C. AL., C. VAR.
4. Uncertain. Symbols, &c.: female head, wreath, Q.L.C., VAR, AV.

5. Uncertain (Magna Graecia?). Symbols, &c.: bull, owl, gryphon, ear, D., GR., SX., Q.

Rather less clearly defined are a number of mints with letter marks: B, H., MT, MA., U, RA.\* To these must be added many issues with symbols: spear-head, pentagram (two mints at least), caduceus (two mints at least), anchor, repeated from series (1), shield and carnyx, rudder, star, sceptre-feather, dolphin, cornucopiae. There are also anonymous issues: Syd. 140, 166-8, 191-2, 207-8, 273.

Series 1 to 3 seem to be early and approximately contemporary. Series 4 and 5 might well be later, 5, perhaps, later than 4. The rest of the coins lie up and down the period, those with large heads mostly early, those on a smaller scale later. Sydenham seems to introduce some little confusion by separating the gold from certain silver to which it might reasonably be allied. He is, in my judgement, more seriously to blame in including in this period the denarii, linked by symbols and letters to victoriates. The symbols are: pentagram, sceptre, thunderbolt, dog, hog, knife, meta, crescent, trident, helmet, fly, M., NAT. TAMP. We ought, perhaps, to include in our list victoriates with symbols MP, C.M., VB, U, CROT, L-T, TL, Q, MT, CKR, RA\* and L (the last five also on quinarii).

We arrive at a total of about 53 issues, not to mention the victoriates and quinarii. I have suggested in another paper (2) a time range of some thirty years. But much depends on whether the distribution is in time or space. If the distribution is more in time than we have been accustomed to think, we may have to allow rather more than the thirty years. This preparatory study, based on Sydenham, should invite further study of the material which he so generously spreads before us.

#### 4. THE LOCAL CIRCULATION OF QUADRIGATUS, VICTORIATUS, DENARIUS, QUINARIUS, AND SESTERTIUS

I come back here to a question which I handled in *Num. Chron.* 1943, pp. 14-20, in which I tried to relate the Roman coins, mentioned in my title, to the 'Little Talents' of the West—the denarius as the 'nummus' of the Alexandrine talent, the quinarius as 'nummus' of the Neapolitan, the sestertius as 'nummus' of the Sicilian, the victoriates as the Rhene talent itself. The evidence is still scrappy and hard to interpret, but it may be worth while to stretch it as far as it will go.

The quadrigatus (not considered in my earlier paper) may originally have been struck for Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica; its reverse—the quadriga—was very dear to Sicilians. In the Second Punic War

\* Underlining indicates monogram.

it is fairly obvious that it became the chief Roman silver coin. It is probable, though not quite certain, that Rome delegated part of the striking to two or three assistant mints. The quadrigatus has no mint-marks, symbols, or letters, to link it with denarii or victoriates. Its only mint-mark, the corn-ear, is of a form found for it only and is commonly supposed to be Sicilian. Yet the quadrigatus lived on beside victoriates and, even, denarii; occasionally odd specimens remind us of the styles of sextantal Asses. Some overlap of quadrigati and denarii there most probably was; as early denarii of the mint of Rome seem to be quite rare, we may think of the quadrigatus as holding its place there.

The victoriata betrays no close relationship to its double piece, the quadrigatus, though, as it replaces the half-quadrigatus with chariot type, it should naturally run with it. In the end we may possibly find related series of unmint-marked quadrigati and victoriates.

The victoriata strikes commonly without mint-mark—then with letter marks—MP, C.M., VB, Q., V, MT, CRK, RA, CROT, L, L-T, MP. In five of these it is related to the Quinarius—Q, MT, CRK, RA, and L.\* It seems probable, though there is no certainty, that these issues of victoriates and quinarii were contemporary, as those of denarii and victoriates certainly were later. If so, we shall have to try to find a meaning for fairly close contact between victoriata talent (Rhegine) and Neapolitan 'nummus' (quinarius). So far, the record of mints does not help much. CROT and VB\* might be Croton and Vibo Valentiae. Q a quaestorship in South Italy. C.M. might be Campanian (Cumae-Misenum?). Corcyra lies rather far afield for either denomination. RA\* is the only mint that shows denarii, victoriates, quinarii, and sestertii together. Its issues are rare.

The great issue of denarii and victoriates, linked by symbols, seems to be late, though Sydenham gives it an early beginning. Quinarius and sestertius both seem to have disappeared. We might claim that the denarius now covers three fields—those of the Alexandrine, Neapolitan, and Sicilian talents, while the fourth, the Rhegine, is left to the victoriata. It is hard to attribute to the few and rare early sestertii any serious effect on circulation in Sicily. It might be easier to imagine such an effect for the restored sestertii of 91 B.C. and later under Julius Caesar.

What of the range of the early denarii? Our evidence suggests Rhegium (or neighbouring mint), Sardinia, Sicily, Rome (apparently quite rare), a number of stray cities, marked by letters or symbols. H might stand for Hatria, B for Beneventum (or Brundi-

\* Underlining indicates monogram.

sium). A butting bull might stand for Thurii, an owl for Heraclea. We can thus form some conception of the range of the Alexandrine 'nummus', the denarius, though it might have to be extended, if we could give values to more symbols and letters. We cannot make much of the range of quinarius and sestertius. The victoriante is hard to isolate by itself, but it insists on involving itself, first with quinarii, then with denarii. It is puzzling not to be able to place any quinarii surely in the Neapolitan area.

Obviously, this is a field in which most of the work still remains to be done. But there can hardly be any doubt that the different denominations had their areas of circulation and we must be on the right track in trying to trace those areas out.

### 5. THE COINAGE OF 91-70 B.C.

This is a continuation of my paper in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 1957, pp. 179-210. It draws very largely on Sydenham, *Roman Republic*, pp. 95-191, but presents some new points of view. (The coinage of the rebels in the Social War, Sydenham, pp. 89-95, is not included here.)

For mint-marks the following abbreviations will be used: D for dot, FR for fractional sign, L for letter (L—Latin, G—Greek), N for numeral, S for symbol.

#### A. MINT OF ROME

<i>Moneyer and types of denarius</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Mint-marks</i>	<i>Other silver</i>	<i>Aes</i>
(1) c. 91-90				
D. SILANVS L.F.	S. 644-9a	L, N, S	Sest. E.L.P. ( <i>obv.</i> Roma; <i>rev.</i> Victory)	As, Sem.
(a) <i>Obv.</i> Silenus, ROMA <i>Rev.</i> Victory in biga. D. SILANVS L.F.				
(b) <i>Obv.</i> Salus, SALVS. <i>Rev.</i> Victory in biga, D. SILANVS L.F.				
(c) <i>Obv.</i> Roma. <i>Rev.</i> Victory in biga, ROMA. D.SILANVS L.F.				
(2) c. 91-90				
L. PISO L.F. FRVGI	S. 650-77d	D, FR, L (L. and G.) N, S	Qn. ( <i>obv.</i> Apollo; <i>rev.</i> Victory) Sest. ( <i>obv.</i> Apollo; <i>rev.</i> Horse, E.L.P.)	As, Sem., Qd. ( <i>obv.</i> Apollo; <i>rev.</i> Prow or anchor and rudder)
<i>Obv.</i> Apollo r. or l. <i>Rev.</i> Horseman carrying torch, palm-branch or whip, L. PISO FRVGI				

This very large coinage, probably a separate mint by itself, cannot easily be summarized.

RA\* occasionally appears for ROMA, \* sometimes occurs on obverse or reverse, bead and reel border is rarely found. The sestertius now ceases to be issued.

\* Underlining indicates monogram.

<i>Moneyer and types of denarius</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Mint-marks</i>	<i>Other silver</i>	<i>Aes</i>
(3) <i>c.</i> 91-90 ANONYMOUS AES With L.P.D.A.P. Without L.P.D.A.P.	S. 678- 82			As, Sem., Tr., Qd. As — U. Sem. ( <i>obv.</i> Saturn; <i>rev.</i> Prow, foot, ROMA. Similar <i>obv.</i> <i>rev.</i> Prow; small prow l. <i>rev.</i> Prow; Vic- tory flying r.)
No legend; symbols				
(4) <i>c.</i> 89 C. VIBIVS PANSA C.F.	S. 683- 90	FR, L (L and G) N, S	No Qn. or Sest.	As ( <i>rev.</i> Triple] prow r.; palm- branch and caps of the Dioscuri. ROMA, C.PANSA)
(a) <i>Obv.</i> Apollo, PANSA <i>Rev.</i> Ceres, C. VIBIVS C.F.				
(b) <i>Obv.</i> Apollo, PANSA <i>Rev.</i> Minerva in quadriga l., C. VIBIVS C.F.				
(c) <i>Obv.</i> Minerva in quadriga r., PANSA <i>Rev.</i> Minerva in quadriga r., C. VIBIVS C.F.				
(d) <i>Obv.</i> Mask of Pan r., PANSA <i>Rev.</i> Mask of Silanus, C. VIBIVS c.r.				
(e) <i>Obv.</i> Mask of Silenus, PANSA <i>Rev.</i> Mask of Pan, C. VIBIVS C.F.				
(5) <i>c.</i> 89 Q. TITIVS	S. 691-7		Qn. ( <i>obv.</i> Victory <i>rev.</i> Pegasus)	As, Sem. ( <i>obv.</i> Apollo; <i>rev.</i> Minerva in quad- riga) Tr. ( <i>obv.</i> Pan; <i>rev.</i> Ceres) Qd. ( <i>obv.</i> Pan; <i>rev.</i> Mask of Silenus)
(a) <i>Obv.</i> Mutinus Titinus <i>Rev.</i> Pegasus, Q.TITI				
(b) <i>Obv.</i> Bacchus <i>Rev.</i> Pegasus, Q.TITI				
(6) <i>c.</i> 89 L. TITVRIVS SABINVS	S. 698- 701	L, N, S		As ( <i>rev.</i> Sometimes prow, with Vic- tory and wreath) Sem., Qd. ( <i>obv.</i> Apollo)
(a) <i>Obv.</i> Tatus, SABIN. Ā <i>Rev.</i> Sabine women; palm- branch or A. PV. L. TITVRI				
(b) <i>Obv.</i> Tatus, SABIN. <i>Rev.</i> Tarpeia, L. TITVRI				
(c) <i>Obv.</i> Tatus, SABIN. <i>Rev.</i> Victory in biga, A. PV. = 'Argento publico'. Ā may equal 'tribunus aerarius'.				
(7) <i>c.</i> 88 CN. LENTVLVS	S. 702- 4a		Qn. ( <i>obv.</i> Jupiter; <i>rev.</i> Victory and trophy)	As (sometimes triskles as sym- bol on <i>rev.</i> ) Sem. (sometimes trident as sym- bol on <i>rev.</i> )
<i>Obv.</i> Mars <i>Rev.</i> Victory in biga, CN. LENTVL.				



<i>Moneyer and types of denarius</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Mint-marks</i>	<i>Other silver</i>	<i>As</i>
(8) <i>c.</i> 88				
L. RVBRIVS DOSSENVS	S. 705-		Qn. ( <i>obv.</i> Neptune; <i>rev.</i> Victory)	As ( <i>obv.</i> Janus: serpent round altar; <i>rev.</i> Prow)
(a) <i>Obv.</i> Jupiter <i>Rev.</i> Victory in quadriga, L.RVBRI	11			As ( <i>obv.</i> Hercules-Mercury conjoined; <i>rev.</i> Serpent in distyle temple, round altar, and prow)
(b) <i>Obv.</i> Juno, DOS <i>Rev.</i> As in (a)				Sem. Qd.
(c) <i>Obv.</i> Minerva, DOS <i>Rev.</i> As on (a) (but Victory in fast biga above) L.RVBRI.				Sext. As on second As
(9) <i>c.</i> 87				
M. FONTEIVS C.F.	S. 724-5			As ( <i>on rev.</i> Prow caps and stars)
<i>Obv.</i> Young head, <u>AP</u> * M. FONTEI C.F.				U. ( <i>on rev.</i> Prow caps and stars)
<i>Rev.</i> Infant genius on goat. Caps of Dioscuri, thyrsus: in laurel-wreath				
(9A) <i>c.</i> 87				
ANONYMOUS	S. 726-7		Qn. (types as on denarii)	
<i>Obv.</i> Young head, <u>AP EX A.P.</u> <i>Rev.</i> Infant genius as on (9) EX A.P. = 'ex argento publico'				
(10) <i>c.</i> 87				
GAR OGV <sup>L</sup> VER.	S. 721-3	L		As ( <i>rev.</i> Prow, GAR. OGV <sup>L</sup> VER. in varying order)
<i>Obv.</i> Vejovis <i>Rev.</i> Jupiter in quadriga, GAR OGV <sup>L</sup> VER (in varying order)				
ANONYMOUS				
<i>Obv.</i> Vejovis <i>Rev.</i> Jupiter in quadriga				
(11) <i>c.</i> 87				
M. FANNIVS L. CRITONIVS	S. 717			
<i>Obv.</i> Ceres, AED. PL. <i>Rev.</i> Two aediles seated, P.A. M.FAN. L.CRIT. P.A. = 'Publico argento'				
(12) <i>c.</i> 86				
P. FOVRIVS CRASSIPES	S. 735			
<i>Obv.</i> Turreted female head, AED. CVR. Deformed foot <i>Rev.</i> Curule chair, P.FOVRIVS CRASSIPES Date possibly a year or so earlier.				
(13) <i>c.</i> 86				
C. CENSORINVS	S. 713-	FR, L		As ( <i>obv.</i> Numa and Ancus conjoined NVMA POMPILI, ANCVS MARCI
(a) <i>Obv.</i> Numa Pompilius and Ancus Marcius <i>Rev.</i> Rider with two horses, C.CENSO.	16	(L and G) N, S		(a) <i>rev.</i> Prow and stern of second vessel in which is Victory
(b) <i>Obv.</i> Apollo <i>Rev.</i> Free horse, C. CENSOR.				

\* Underlining indicates monogram.

<i>Moneyer and types of denarius</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Mint-marks</i>	<i>Other silver</i>	<i>Aes</i>
				(b) <i>rev.</i> Two arches: Victory on column on that on l.: prow passes through arch on r. side)
The Marian party seems now to come into power.				
(14) <i>c.</i> 85				
L. IVLIVS BURSIO	S. 728	L, N, S		
<i>Obv.</i> Young head				
<i>Rev.</i> Victory in quadriga,				
L.IVLI.BVRSIO				
(14A) <i>c.</i> 85				
ANONYMOUS	S. 729,			
<i>Obv.</i> As above	730			
<i>Rev.</i> Victory in quadriga,				
EX A.P.				
EX A.P. = 'ex argento publico'				
The quinarius stops here.				
(15) <i>c.</i> 85				
C.LICINIUS L.F. MACER	S. 732,			
<i>Obv.</i> Vejovis l.	733			
<i>Rev.</i> Minerva in quadriga,				
C.LICINIUS L.F. MACER				As ( <i>rev.</i> prow: standing soldier, EX S.C.)
(15A) <i>c.</i> 83				
ANONYMOUS	S. 734	L		As ( <i>rev.</i> Prow; EX S.C.)
(16) <i>c.</i> 86				
L.C. MEMIES L.F. GAL	S. 712	D. L		
<i>Obv.</i> Saturn, sickle, EX S.C.				
<i>Rev.</i> Venus and Cupid in biga,				
L.C.MEMIES L.F. GAL				
These two men were urban quaestors: cp. Saturn of the acraium on the <i>obv.</i> GAL = Galeria (the tribe).				
(17) <i>c.</i> 86				
C. CASSIVS L. SALINATOR	S. 731			As only (D.S.S. on <i>rev.</i> )
END OF COINAGE IN AES				
(18) <i>c.</i> 84				
L. CENSORINVS, P. CREPVSIVS, C. LIMETANVS	S. 736	N		
<i>Obv.</i> Venus, L. CENSORIN.	and a			
<i>Rev.</i> Venus in biga r., P.CREPVS. C.LIMETAN.				
(19)				
L. CENSORINVS	S. 737	L, N, S		
<i>Obv.</i> Apollo				
<i>Rev.</i> Marsyas, CENSOR.				
(20)				
P. CREPVSIVS	S. 738	L, N, S		
<i>Obv.</i> Apollo	and a			
<i>Rev.</i> Horseman, P.CREPVS.				
For serrate issue of C.LIMETANVS, see Pisa, no. 1 (S. 741).				

<i>Moneyer and types of denarius</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Mint-marks</i>	<i>Other silver</i>	<i>Aes</i>
--------------------------------------	-------------	-------------------	---------------------	------------

(21) c. 83

C. NORBANVS	S. 739,	N		
-------------	---------	---	--	--

Obv. Venus, C. NORBANVS	740			
-------------------------	-----	--	--	--

(a) Rev. Fasces between corn- ears and caduceus				
--	--	--	--	--

(b) Rev. The same, but with prow to l.				
---	--	--	--	--

Norbanus possibly struck as a substitute for Limetanus at Rome, while he went to Pisa. Here a complete break in style seems to mark the victory of the Sullan party.

## SULLAN PERIOD

22-24

A triumvirate of the year 121 B.C. restored c. 82

(22)

Q. MAXIMVS	S. 718			
------------	--------	--	--	--

Obv. Apollo ROMA * Q.MAX.				
---------------------------	--	--	--	--

Rev. Cornucopiae and thunder- bolt				
---------------------------------------	--	--	--	--

(23)

M. METELLVS Q.F.	S. 719			
------------------	--------	--	--	--

Obv. Apollo, ROMA *				
---------------------	--	--	--	--

Rev. Elephant's head in wreath, M. METELLVS Q.F.				
---	--	--	--	--

(24)

C. SERVEILIVS				
---------------	--	--	--	--

Obv. Apollo, ROMA *				
---------------------	--	--	--	--

Rev. Horseman with shield marked M spearing another horseman, C. SERVEIL.				
---	--	--	--	--

(25) c. 87

ANONYMOUS	S. 763			
-----------	--------	--	--	--

Obv. Venus				
------------	--	--	--	--

Rev. Cornucopiae, EX S.C.				
---------------------------	--	--	--	--

Qd. (rev. Prow, double cornu- copiae)				
---	--	--	--	--

Sx and U (rev. Double cornu- copiae)				
--	--	--	--	--

There are also

ANONYMOUS	S. 754			
-----------	--------	--	--	--

A and D Obv. Venus	and 5			
--------------------	-------	--	--	--

Rev. Double cornucopiae				
-------------------------	--	--	--	--

It is not certain that any of these coins are of Rome.

(26) c. 80

L. SULLA, A. MANLIVS	S. 762			
----------------------	--------	--	--	--

A Obv. Rome, A.MANLI.A.F.Q.				
-----------------------------	--	--	--	--

Rev. Equestrian statue, L.SVLLA FELI.DIC.				
--	--	--	--	--

The style is close to that of C.PVBLCI at Pisa, no. 5 (S. 768).

(27) c. 80

L. SVLLA	S. 767			
----------	--------	--	--	--

As (obv. Janus; rev. Prow.				
-------------------------------	--	--	--	--

L.SVL. IMPE.)				
---------------	--	--	--	--

The only de- nomination.				
-----------------------------	--	--	--	--

The title IMPE. raises a doubt about the Roman mintage of the coin.

	<i>Moneyer and types of denarius</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Mint-marks</i>
<b>AFTER SULLA</b>			
(28)	c. 78 M. VOLTEIVS M.F.	S. 774	
	(a) <i>Obv.</i> Jupiter <i>Rev.</i> Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, M.VOLTEI. M.F.		
	(b) <i>Obv.</i> Hercules <i>Rev.</i> Boar, M.VOLTEI.M.F.	S. 775	
	(c) <i>Obv.</i> Bacchus <i>Rev.</i> Ceres in chariot M.VOLTEI.M.F.	S. 776	S
	(d) <i>Obv.</i> Attis <i>Rev.</i> Cybele in biga of lions, M.VOLTEI.M.F.	S. 777	N (G)
	(e) <i>Obv.</i> Apollo <i>Rev.</i> Tripod with serpent, M.VOLTEI.M.F. S.C.D.T.	S. 778	
	S.C.D.T. = 'Senatus consulto de tripode'(?)		
(29)	c. 78 L. CASSIVS Q.F.	S. 779	N
	<i>Obv.</i> Bacchus <i>Rev.</i> Libera, L.CASSI Q.F.		
(30)	c. 77 L. RVTILIVS	S. 780	
	<i>Obv.</i> Roma, FLAC <i>Rev.</i> Victory in biga, L.RVTILI	and a	
(31)	c. 75 P. SATRIENVS	S. 781	N
	<i>Obv.</i> Mars <i>Rev.</i> Wolf, ROMA. P. SATRIENVS	and a	
(32)	c. 75 L. LVCRETIVS TRIO	S. 783	
	(a) <i>Obv.</i> Sol <i>Rev.</i> Crescent and seven stars, L.LVCRETI. TRIO	and 4	
	(b) <i>Obv.</i> Neptune <i>Rev.</i> Winged genius on dolphin, L.LVCRETI. TRIO.		N
(33)	c. 75 L. COSSVTIVS SABVLA C.F.	S. 790	N
	<i>Obv.</i> Medusa, SABVLA <i>Rev.</i> Bellerophon on Pegasus, L.COSSVTI.C.F.		
(34)	c. 73 C. POSTVMIVS	S. 785	
	<i>Obv.</i> Diana <i>Rev.</i> Hound: hunting-spear, C.POSTVMI Æ (rarely with- out Æ)	and a	
	Æ may stand for 'tribunus aerarius'.		

Here the next period, 70-49 B.C., begins. C. Hosidius Geta who strikes as III VIR both at Rome (non-serrate) and at Pisa (serrate) may be the first to lead off in 70 B.C. (S. 903, 4).

The introduction of the signature, III VIR, by the President may belong to that year of reform, 70 B.C.

## B. MINT OF PISA

That this mint, which I guess to have been at Pisa, while Sydenham is content to assign it to Italy (presumably North), struck even before the Social War is probable, but not yet proved. That it played some part in the Social War, which was fought in two main fields, Northern and Southern, is reasonably certain. Sydenham assigns to it parts of Silanus, Piso and Q. Titius, Pansa, C. Censorinus, M. Fannius, L. Critonius, M. Fonteius, L. Iulius Bursio, C. Licinius Macer, P. Fourius Crassipes. As my points of argument with him are few it seems best to leave the problem open.

I think it most unlikely, however, that aediles struck outside Rome. With C. Limetanus, who strikes a serrate coin, while sharing in a non-serrate issue at Rome with L. Censorinus and P. Crepusius, we reach surer ground. The Marian faction is losing its grip on Rome, and a new start is made at Pisa, with serrate issues. We have already admitted the uncertainty surrounding Pisa before this date.

	<i>Moneyer and types of denarius</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Mint-marks</i>	<i>No other silver and no aes</i>
(1) c. 84-83	<b>C. MAMILIVS LIMETANVS</b> <i>Obv.</i> Mercury <i>Rev.</i> Ulysses and dog Argus, <b>C. MAMILIMEAN</b>	S. 741	D, L	Serrate
(2) c. 82	<b>Q. ANTONIVS BALVVS</b> <i>Obv.</i> Jupiter r. S.C. <i>Rev.</i> Victory in quadriga, <b>Q. ANTO.BALB.PR.</b>	S. 742 and <i>b</i>	D, L	Serrate
(3) c. 81	<b>C. MARIVS CAPITO</b> <i>Obv.</i> Ceres, <b>C.MARIC.F.CAPIT.</b> <i>Rev.</i> Ploughman and yoke of oxen; (sometimes S.C.)	S. 744 <i>a</i> and <i>b</i>	M, S	Serrate
END OF MARIAN ISSUES				
(4) c. 78	<b>Q. VOLTEIVS STRABO</b> <i>Obv.</i> Jupiter <i>Rev.</i> Europa on bull, <b>L.VOLT.L.F.STRABO</b>	S. 743	L	Serrate
(5) c. 79	<b>C. POBLICIVS</b> <i>Obv.</i> Roma, <b>ROMA</b> <i>Rev.</i> Hercules and lion, <b>C.POBLICI.Q.F.</b>	S. 768	L	Serrate
(6) c. 77	<b>L. PROCILIVS</b> <i>Obv.</i> Juno Sospita, S.C. <i>Rev.</i> Juno Sospita in biga, <b>L. PROCILI.F</b> F = 'Filius' (?)	S. 771		Serrate

	<i>Moneyer and types of denarius</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Mint-marks</i>	<i>No other silver and no aes</i>
(7) c. 78	A. POSTVMIVS ALBINVS (a) <i>Obv.</i> Diana <i>Rev.</i> Sacrifice on hill, A.POST.A.F.S.N. ALBIN. (b) <i>Obv.</i> Hispania, HISPAN <i>Rev.</i> Togate figure between eagle and fasces, A.POST.A.F.S.N.ALBIN.	S. 745-6		Serrate
But for the evidence of hoards these coins might be placed later.				
(8) c. 75	C. NAEVIVS BALBVS <i>Obv.</i> Juno, S.C. <i>Rev.</i> Victory in triga, C.N/Æ.BALB.	S. 769 a, b	L, N, S	Serrate
(9) c. 75	TI. CLAVDIVS T.F.AP.N. <i>Obv.</i> Diana, S.C. <i>Rev.</i> Victory in biga, TI.CLAVD.T.F. AP.N	S. 770 and a	D, N	Serrate
(10) c. 70	C. HOSIDIVS GETA <i>Obv.</i> Diana, III VIR <i>Rev.</i> Boar, C.HOSIDI.C.F.	S. 903		Serrate
(11) c. 71	Q. CREPEREIVS ROCVVS <i>Obv.</i> Amphitrite <i>Rev.</i> Neptune in chariot, Q.CREPEREI ROCVVS	S. 796	L, S	Serrate
(12) c. 70	T. VETTIVS SABINVS <i>Obv.</i> Tatius, SABINVS S.C. Ā <i>Rev.</i> Togate figure in biga, corn-ear, IVDEX P. VETTIVS.	S. 905		Serrate

Sydenham's late date (c. 60) is probably due to misleading evidence from hoards.

The 'tribunus aerarius' (Ā) may be one of the first to be appointed to the courts for judges in 70 B.C. His style is very close to that of Geta. Pisa, with its nos. 1-12, presents a fairly convincing picture of a mint. But difficulties soon arise around it. It seems to be at first in Marian hands (1-3). From 4 on we are bound to think of it as again in optimate hands. It probably served the war in Spain, not as was once thought, on the side of Sertorius but on behalf of the Government. Had it been a mint striking for Sertorius, it must have been more separated from the Roman issue, than it is and it must have ceased, we should assume, at his fall.

Of the officers of the mint Q. ANTONIVS BALBVS was PR(aetor) and Sardinia was destined to be his province. Praetors in this period were busily concerning themselves with the coinage and an unofficial coinage by a praetor in Rome might be thought of, but the fact that this issue is serrate seems rather to indicate Pisa. The following moneyers seem to be either special commissioners (if they sign S.C.) or ordinary III viri a.a.f.f. if they do not. L.PROCILI (6) may perhaps be an exceptional moneyer at Lanuvium (cf. L.PAPI).

## C. VARIOUS ISSUES, PROBABLY ITALIAN RATHER THAN ROMAN

With S.C. Non-serrate.

	<i>Moneyer and types of denarius</i>	<i>Ref.</i>	<i>Mint-marks</i>	<i>No other silver and no aes</i>
(1) c. 77	L. PROCILIVS <i>Obv.</i> Jupiter, S.C. <i>Rev.</i> Juno Sospita, L.PROCILI.F. Cf. L.PROCILIVS F (6), serrate, at Pisa.	S. 771		
(2) c. 75	L. RVSTIVS <i>Obv.</i> Mars. <i>Rev.</i> Ram, S.C. * L.RVSTI.	S. 782		
(3) c. 73	Q. POMPONIVS RVFVS <i>Obv.</i> Jupiter, S.C. RVFVS <i>Rev.</i> Eagle on sceptre, Q.POMPONI	S. 793	N, S	
(4) c. 73	L. FARSVLEIVS MENSOR <i>Obv.</i> Libertas S.C. MENSORI cap. <i>Rev.</i> Roma assisting someone to enter car.	S. 789 and a	N	Bead and reel border
(5) c. 71	L. AXSIVS NASO <i>Obv.</i> Mars, NASO S.C. <i>Rev.</i> Diana in biga, hound, L.AXSIVS L.F.	S. 794, 5	N	

## D. VARIOUS ISSUES, AS ABOVE BUT WITH Q.S.C.

(1) c. 73	L.PLAETORIVS <i>Obv.</i> Juno Moneta, MONETA S.C. <i>Rev.</i> Athlete running r., L.PLAETORI L.F.Q.S.C.	S. 792a		
(2) c. 72	P. LENTVLVS <i>Obv.</i> Hercules, Q.S.C. <i>Rev.</i> Genius of Rome crowned by Victory, P.LENT.P.F. L.N.	S. 791 and a		
(3) c. 72	CN. LENTVLVS <i>Obv.</i> Genius of Rome G.P.R. <i>Rev.</i> Globe, rudder and sceptre, EX. S.C. CN. LEN. Q. (or LENT.CVR*FL)	S. 752 and a		Also <i>N</i> ( <i>obv.</i> Jupiter; <i>rev.</i> Eagle on thunderbolt, CN. LENTVL. Bead and reel border)

## E. VARIOUS ISSUES, BUT WITH NAMES ONLY

(1)	L. PAPIVS <i>Obv.</i> Juno Sospita <i>Rev.</i> Gryphon, L.PAPI.	S. 773	S (Paired on both sides)	Serrate. Bead and reel border
(2)	C. EGNATIVS MAXSVMVS (a) <i>Obv.</i> Venus and Cupid, MAXSVMVS <i>Rev.</i> Libertas crowned by Victory in biga: cap., C.EGNATIVS CN.F. CN.N.	S. 786 and a	N	Serrate
	(b) <i>Obv.</i> Libertas: cap., MAXSVMVS <i>Rev.</i> Two goddesses standing between oars, CN. EGNATIVS CN.F. CN.N	S. 787 and a	L	Not serrate
	(c) <i>Obv.</i> Cupid, MAXSVMVS <i>Rev.</i> Distyle temple of Jupiter and Libertas, CN. EGNATIVS CN.F. CN.N	S. 788	N	Not serrate

All these issues, C–E, seem to be alike in being Italian rather than Roman. But with that not very much has yet been gained.

In C the moneyers give name, but no title; they all have the mark S.C. The S.C. marks these as special issues. We have no means of determining their mints. L. PROCILIVS (1) is closely related to L. PROCILIVS (6) at Pisa: or is the serration this once not the mark of Pisa, but of another mint, nearer Rome—Lanuvium, in fact? (Cf. what we shall say of L. PAPIVS, below.) L. RVSTIVS (2), Q. POMPONIVS RVFVS (3), and L. AXSIVS NASO (5) are fairly close in style; we have no certain clue to their mint. L. FARSVLEIVS MENSOR (4) is, in style, very close to L. PLAETORIVS (D. 1) and C. EGNATIVS MAXSVMVS (E. 2).

In D, we have three quaestors, all striking S.C. P. LENTVLVS (2) and CN. LENTVLVS (3) are not far apart in style. L. PLAETORIVS, as we have seen, has other affinities. In spite of this, can we assign all three to one mint—Praeneste or, just possibly, Ostia, striking for Praeneste? The occasion would be the holding of the games of Victory, definite evidence of which is found in the next period, when we come to Sufenas and his successors. Plaetorius stresses Juno Moneta—as if for a new mint (even if derived from an old one; the athlete of the reverse would suit the games). Both Lentuli stress the importance of the Genius of Rome, P. Lentulus in connexion with Victory.

In G. L. Papius may have struck at Lanuvium. He refers to its chief goddess, Juno Sospita; his family is connected with the city. As sacrifice to Juno was offered annually on behalf of the Roman people, we might reasonably suppose that the Roman trade guilds were represented there and that it is their badges that supply the mint-marks. The L. PROCILI F. issues (both serrate and non-serrate) might belong to a similar occasion.

C. EGNATIVS MAXSVMVS is, as we have seen, closely related in style to L. FARSVLEIVS MENSOR (C. 4) and to L. PLAETORIVS (D. 1)—but he lacks the S.C. of the former and the Q.S.C. of the latter. We are still tempted to assign him to the mint of the other two, and to place that mint at Ostia ('provincia aquensis'). He has both serrate and non-serrate issues, but covers the same range of types in both. His Libertas and temple of Libertas and Jupiter seem to refer to Feronia (Libertas) of Tarracina and her worship there with Jupiter. His two goddesses, standing between oars, make us think of the two goddesses of Antium. One of them was martial, the other was gentler and was attended by a child (Venus and Cupid?): there is a type of Julia Domna which suggests the identification (M. & S. iv. 1, p. 67, no. 554 FORTVNAE FELICI, Fortune with child). The 'provincia



aquensis' at Ostia would seem to be able to cover both Antium and Tarracina.

Clearly we are in the field of experimental research, with suggested mints at Ostia, Lanuvium, and Praeneste. The S.C. of C. suggests that its moneyers were issuing exceptionally, if not as quaestors, perhaps as special commissioners like CN. LENTVLVS (D. 3) CVR(ator) \* (denarii) FL(andis). We must remember that any explanation that applies to him must also apply to the S.C. moneyers of Pisa.

As in the period following this we find quaestors striking at Praeneste, we are naturally interested to see if we can trace them back, into this period. The three moneyers Q.S.C. of D. might possibly be placed there. Some, at least, of the S.C. moneyers of C. might also belong. But, now that we are fairly certain of some issues at mints near Rome, it will be wise to remember that there may be others as yet undiscovered.

## PORTS OF EMBARCATION FOR SPAIN AND SARDINIA

	<i>Moneyer and types of denarius</i>	<i>Ref. Syd.</i>	<i>Mint-marks</i>	<i>Other silver</i>	<i>Aes</i>
(1)	<b>C. ANNIVS</b>				
	(a) <i>Obv.</i> Feronia (?), C. ANNI. T. F. caduceus-scales, PRO. COS.EX S.C. <i>Rev.</i> Victory in quadriga, L.FABI L.F. HISP. Q.	748 a, b	D, L	No other silver or Aes	—
	(b) <i>Obv.</i> as above, but no caduceus or scales (other minor variants Syd. 748 e.g.)	748 c, d	D, L, S		
	(c) <i>Obv.</i> As in a, but scales only <i>Rev.</i> Victory in biga r., C.TARQVITI. P.F.Q.	749			

C. Annius was appointed to the command in Spain in 81. His two quaestors struck at two mints (or conceivably three, two for L. Fabius). We doubt if his mints were in Spain itself. (See below.)

(2)	<b>Q. METELLVS</b>				
	(a) <i>Obv.</i> Pietas <i>Rev.</i> Elephant, Q.C.M.P.I.	Syd. 750			
	(b) <i>Obv.</i> Pietas <i>Rev.</i> Lituus and jug in wreath, IMPER.	Syd. 751			

The style of Metellus seems to be close to that of C. Annius (c). That is in favour of a port in Northern Italy, which C. Annius used while preparing for Spain and Metellus used as imperator, fighting for Sulla in the North. If Metellus had struck in Spain, why should he not be PRO.COS.? And why of two or three mints should C. Annius use only the least productive?

## THE EAST

(1)	<b>L. SVLLA</b>				
A and D	<i>Obv.</i> Venus and Cupid, L.SVLLA.	Syd.		The <i>rev.</i> reminds one of coins of Athens. The coins were probably struck for Sulla by Lucullus.	
ε. 87	<i>Rev.</i> Jug and lituus between trophies, IMPER. ITERVM.	760, 761A			

## (2) L. SVLLA

A and B *Obv.* Bellona, L.MANLI, PRO.Q.  
 c. 83 *Rev.* Sulla in triumphal quadriga,  
 L.SVLLA IM.

Syd.  
 756-9

Probably in Asia about 82 B.C.  
 There seem to be two distinct  
 styles (?) mints.

## GAUL

## (1) C. VALERIVS FLACCVS

c. 82-81 *Obv.* Victory  
*Rev.* Eagle and standards, H, P.  
 C. VAL. FLA. IMPERAT. EX S.C.

Syd.  
 747,  
 a, b

The S.C. with IMPERATOR is  
 unique: one imagines that Sulla  
 was recognized by the senate,  
 just when Flaccus began to strike.

The period has a number of interesting features:

1. Semuncial reduction of Aes with new variations of reverse types.
2. The cessation of Aes issues c. 85 B.C.
3. The reintroduction of the quinarius with other than victoriate types: stops c. 87 B.C.
4. The reintroduction of the sestertius, c. 91-90 B.C.
5. First clear appearance of the mint of Pisa.
6. Appearance of a number of Italian mints, some with names only, some with S.C., some with Q.S.C. It seems likely that coins for use in Spain were struck at some Italian ports.
7. Definite appearance of mints in the provinces—in the East and in Gaul.
8. New mint authorities—AED.PL and AED.CVR, PR, CVRATOR \* FL. Quaestors, urban and provincial, became commoner than before.

It is perhaps the period in the Republican coinage most fruitful in change, until we come to Julius Caesar and the Civil Wars.

There is a good deal to be observed about the party strife at Rome. The democrats seem originally to have stood for serrati, but we must not push the principle too far. For the serrate mint seems quite unlikely to have served Sertorius—so our later serrati seem to have served the Roman Government. The serration, with its deluding promise of pure silver, seems to have attracted the provincials in the Western provinces. Our positive knowledge (from Tacitus) concerns Germany, but what he tells may well be true of Gaul, Spain, and Sardinia too ('pecuniam probant veterem serratos bigatosque'—*Germania*, ch. 5.).