

MONETA AND THE MONUMENTS: COINAGE AND POLITICS IN REPUBLICAN ROME

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(Plate I)

The mint of Republican Rome was located on the Capitol somewhere in the vicinity of the temple of Juno Moneta.¹ This is one of the best known but perhaps worst attested pieces of topographical information concerning the Republican city of Rome. The evidence that the coins of the Roman Republic were made there is exiguous to say the least. Indeed, there are only two literary sources that explicitly site the mint at Juno Moneta's temple. The first is Livy's account of the condemnation and execution of M. Manlius Capitolinus, the hero who had previously saved the Capitol from assault by the Gauls. Livy mentions that the people passed a law to the effect that no patrician would thereafter be permitted to live on the Capitol or the Arx, for Manlius' house had stood on the site where, Livy says, now stands the *aedes atque officina Monetae*, the temple and the workshop of Moneta.² The second is contained in the *Suda* (s.v. Μονήτω), in a passage to be discussed below. These are the sole threads of evidence on which the location of the mint of Republican Rome hangs. Nevertheless, despite an attempt to impugn Livy's reputation for topographical accuracy, they should suffice.³

There are, after all, no indications that the mint was anywhere else and so, by default, and because there are no strong reasons to doubt that Livy knew where the mint was in Rome in his own day, these brief pieces of evidence must be allowed to stand. Moreover, a forceful rebuttal on the part of Coarelli of any suggestion that the Republican mint should be moved elsewhere has now brought archaeological and topographical considerations to buttress the case.⁴ Following Giannelli, Coarelli has identified the remains of a building whose three successive phases cover the period from the Archaic period to the late first century A.D. as those of the temple of Juno Moneta. And, in a thought-provoking reconsideration of the topography of the area, he has also argued convincingly that the mint on the Arx was linked to the Aerarium or treasury in the temple of Saturn down in the Forum via a secure covered corridor which still runs through the building usually known as the 'Tabularium'.⁵ This route, he argues

¹ Versions of this paper were delivered to audiences at the Royal Numismatic Society in London, The Queen's University, Belfast, and the University of Oxford, and it has benefited greatly from their contributions; as it has from those of Andrew Burnett, Michael Crawford, Christopher Howgego, Laura Dance, the Editorial Committee and anonymous readers of this journal. In the production of the plate we were assisted by J. Larkin and S. Dodd. To all we are grateful. Bibliographical abbreviations used hereafter are as follows:

ANRW = W. Haase and H. Temporini (eds), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*

BMCRE = H. Mattingly et al. (ed.), *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire* (1923-)

LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (1981-99)

LTUR = E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (1993-2000)

MRR = T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (1951-2)

RCS = E. Rawson, *Roman Culture and Society* (1991)

RRC = M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (1974)

² Livy 6.20.13.

³ See J. D. MacIsaac, *The Location of the Republican Mint of Rome and the Topography of the Arx of the Capitoline*, unpub. dissertation Johns Hopkins University (1987).

⁴ F. Coarelli, 'Moneta. Le officine della zecca di Roma tra Repubblica e Impero', *AIIN* 38-41 (1994), 23-65; G. Giannelli, 'Il tempio di Giunone Moneta e la casa di Marco Manlio Capitolino', *BCAR* 87 (1980-1), 7-36.

⁵ For a reconsideration of the identity and function of the 'Tabularium', see N. Purcell, 'Atrium Libertatis', *PBSR* 61 (1993), 125-55, and below, pp. 34-5. See also A. Mura Sommella in *LTUR* V, 17-20.

plausibly, was built to provide a safe passage for the transfer of bullion and coin between the treasury and the mint.⁶

The location of the mint and its association with the temple of Moneta is reasonably secure, then, and seems to make sense in the light of what else we know or may conjecture about the topography of this part of Republican Rome. But why was the mint where it was, and what was the meaning of its location? These questions are open to two different kinds of answer. First, there are practical considerations. The mint was obviously a potential security risk and it would clearly make sense to put it up on the Capitol where its valuable contents might be protected from the criminal attentions of thieving Romans or the assaults of foreign enemies. There is good reason to think that mint establishments in the Roman world were not usually very impressive or significant public buildings, and that their locations are simply explicable in terms of accident or convenience.⁷ Second, religion and the temple of Juno Moneta. Is the proximity of the mint of Rome to the temple of Juno Moneta of any special significance? It is the contention of this paper that it was, and that what we know of the contents of the temple has a great deal to say about the development of Roman coin types in the late Republican period. These two approaches, the practical and the symbolic, are of course by no means mutually exclusive. Concrete issues such as security and the availability of space may initially have led to the location of the mint on the Arx next to Juno Moneta but, as we shall argue, she was also a particularly appropriate goddess to be associated with the mint and its functions. Whether this was part of the original intention or a later inference drawn from a chance juxtaposition is a question which, for our purposes, does not need to be answered.

What kind of goddess was Juno Moneta, and what else do we know about her temple? Located up on the Capitol,⁸ hers would have been one of the most prominent temples in the city and we may presume that it played an important role in the sacred life of the Roman community.⁹ Something of its history and contents have found their way into the literary evidence, all of which seems to suggest that the temple of Juno Moneta acted as a centre for the maintenance of standards and measures of various sorts and the recording of past events. Both of these functions, we shall argue, have important implications for our understanding of the location of the mint at the temple of Juno Moneta and also for the development of Roman coin typology in the late Republican period.

The goddess and her temple seem to have been associated with the standard of the official Roman unit of length, the foot. It appears from a passage of Hyginus in which

⁶ Coarelli, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 30–47. This interpretation also involves the identification of a building adjoining the south-west end of the side of the 'Tabularium' facing the Forum underneath the later Portico of the *Di Consentes* with the Republican treasury, this having outgrown the restricted confines of the temple of Saturn. For the origins of this attractive notion, see R. Delbrück, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium I* (1907), 23–46 on the 'Tabularium', and esp. 31 and 46 on the 'Südwestbau', the construction of which apparently preceded that of the 'Tabularium', and its possible connections, physical and functional, with the mint and the treasury. See also Purcell, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 147, who sees in the fortress-like construction of the 'Tabularium' a connection with the secure and secret movement of valuables, especially coin. On the new location of the imperial mint, thought to lie beneath the church of St Clemente, see Coarelli, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 47–65, with *idem* in *LTUR III*, 280–1.

⁷ Such, for instance, was the opinion of G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani IV.2.1* (1953), 141–2: '... il collegamento della zecca col tempio di Moneta è puramente casuale e dovuto alla particolare sicurezza che offriva la posizione sulla rocca'. See also A. M. Burnett, 'The invisibility of Roman mints', in L. Travaini (ed.), *I Luoghi delle Zecche* (forthcoming), who argues that mints in the Roman world were not

generally located in very significant or monumental public buildings.

⁸ It may not be without significance that the only other recorded cult of Juno Moneta appears to have had its home on the Capitolium of the Roman colony of Signia, where a bronze plaque has been discovered marking a dedication to the goddess: 'Iunonei | Monetai | donom' (*ILLRP* 166). The inscription was first published by A. Della Seta, *Catalogo del museo di Villa Giulia* (1918), 221. See most recently F. Coarelli in *Roma Medio Repubblicana. Aspetti culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei secoli IV e III A.C.* (1973), 337–8 (to whose bibliography may be added A. K. Lake, 'Juno Moneta', *ProcPhilAss* 64 (1933), xlix–l).

⁹ Two festivals in her honour are known: one on 1 June for the dedication of the temple on the Arx (Ovid, *Fast.* 6.183; Macrobius, 1.12.30; Lydus, *De mens.* 4.89; *Fasti Venusini*, *Inscr. It.* 13.2.58; *Fasti Antiaties Miores*, *Inscr. It.* 13.2.12); and another on 10 October (*Fasti Sabini*, *Inscr. It.* 13.2.53; *Fasti Antiaties Miores*, *Inscr. It.* 13.2.20). For discussion see A. Ziolkowski, 'Between geese and the Auguraculum: the origin of the cult of Juno on the Arx', *CPh* 88 (1993), 206–19, at 211–13, who suggests that the two festivals may indicate two separate temples. Could this second temple have been that vowed in 173 B.C. by C. Ciceronius on the Mons Albanus (Livy 42.7.1, cf. 45.15.10)?

Roman units of measurement are contrasted with foreign ones that the Roman foot was known by the technical name *pes monetalis*, the 'monetal foot'. The simplest explanation for this is that Juno Moneta was regarded as one of the guardians of the Roman unit of length and that some form of official standard length was kept in the temple.¹⁰ From the imperial period there is also scattered evidence that various weights and measures were kept on the Capitol. Two inscriptions on bronze vessels, one dated to A.D. 75 and the other to the early third century A.D., refer to standard measurements of capacity on the Capitol;¹¹ while an inscription on the beam of a steelyard dated to A.D. 77 refers to Capitoline weight standards.¹² Any of these could conceivably have been connected with Moneta, although caution is required. The Capitol in general seems to have been an appropriate place for the location of measures, above all because of its association with Jupiter, the supreme guarantor of the stability and continuity of the life of the Roman commonwealth. Thus a cube the size of one amphora capacity is mentioned as having been dedicated to Jupiter on the Capitol by the Romans in order to discourage the use of illegal measures.¹³ Moreover, the lack of bureaucratic centralization in the Roman Republic would make it surprising if all weights and measures were located in a single repository at this period.¹⁴ None the less, while every temple undoubtedly had a set of weights and measures for its own daily use,¹⁵ the important point remains that the standards of length and monetary weight maintained by Moneta applied beyond the confines of her precinct, becoming standard terms of measurement in Rome and beyond. The temple of Juno Moneta thus seems to have contributed to the curation of standard weights and measures at a different level from the other sacred repositories. This was a function that was of prime importance for the coinage, and therefore of particular significance for the location of the mint on the Capitol, near her temple, a point we shall return to later.¹⁶

The second thing that we know about the temple of Juno Moneta is that within was kept the historical record known as the *libri lintei*: the Linen Rolls. From Livy it is clear that these were lists of magistrates (*magistratum libri*).¹⁷ Their chronological extent is not certain, though from the four occasions in which they are adduced by Livy it is clear that they covered at least the years from 444 to 428 B.C., preserved the names of

¹⁰ For text and translation, see now B. Campbell, *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors. Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary* (2000), 90.2–9, where the length of the *pes monetalis* (the technical term for the Roman foot) is compared to that of the 'Ptolemaic' foot and the 'Drusian', together with the size of the different *iugera* they produce: '*eorum mensura . . . , monetali autem mensura . . .*'. On the nature and size of the *pes monetalis* see R. P. Duncan Jones, 'Length-units in Roman town planning: the *pes monetalis* and the *pes drusianus*', *Britannia* 11 (1980), 127–33.

¹¹ *ILS* 8627 ('mensurae ad exemplum earum quae in Capitolio sunt'); *ILS* 8628 ('mensurae exactae in Capitolio'). Cf. *ILS* 8632 ('[sic] Capitolio esaminata'). A handful of other inscriptions of this sort dated to the first century A.D. refer to an 'Articuleian' standard (e.g. *ILS* 8630–1, 8633–5), perhaps named after an Articuleius in whose name a law or decree had been passed regulating weights and measures.

¹² *ILS* 8629 ('exacta in Capit').

¹³ Ps. Priscian, *Carmen de ponderibus*, ll. 61–2: 'amphora fit cubus hic, quam ne violare liceret, / sacravere Iovi Tarpeio in monte Quirites'. For the text see F. Hultsch (ed.), *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiae* ii (1864), 88–98. Cf. *SHA Maximin.* 4.1, where Maximinus is said often to have drunk a Capitoline amphora of wine (*vini Capitolinam amphoram*) a day.

¹⁴ On archival practice in the Roman Republic, see P. Culham, 'Archives and alternatives in Republican Rome', *CPh* 84 (1989), 100–15.

¹⁵ So, for example, the temple of Ops, also located on the Capitol; *ILS* 8637a: 'II templi Opis Aug' ('two

[pounds], temple of Augustan Ops'); 8637b: 'V templi Opis Aug' ('five [pounds], temple of Augustan Ops').

¹⁶ For the association between coinage, weights, and measures in the Greek context, cf., e.g., the reforms attributed to Pheidon of Argos which included the introduction of silver coinage in Aegina and the establishment of public weights and measures (Parian Marble: *IG* XII.5.444, 45–7, Str. 8.3.33, with Hdt. 6.127); the Athenian 'Standards Decree' (*IG* I³ 1453 and R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis (eds), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (rev. edn, 1988), no. 45); and Polybius' comments on the use of common laws, coins, weights and measures, as well as political institutions, as a reflection of the degree of political unity subsisting between the cities of the Achaean League (Pol. 2.37.10). Cf. also the centrality of the Tower of London to minting and the maintenance of standards in medieval and later England, though the standards themselves were kept and overseen by the Exchequer: see R. D. Connor, *The Weights and Measures of England* (1987). As London's most secure fortified location the Tower, like the Capitol, was also used as a repository for records and documents, as well as being for many centuries the location of the Royal Menagerie and Armoury.

¹⁷ Livy 4.20.8: 'qui si ea in re sit error quod tam ueteres annales quodque magistratum libri, quos linteos in aede repositos Monetae Macer Licinius citat identidem auctores.' See further B. W. Frier, *Libri Annales Pontificum Maximorum: The Origins of the Annalistic Tradition*, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 27 (2nd edn, 1999), 155–9.

eponymous and other minor magistrates, and seem to offer a tradition independent of the magistrate lists derived (in Roman minds at least) from the pontifical chronicle.¹⁸ When they were compiled is entirely a matter for speculation. They seem to have been 'discovered' in the temple perhaps around the 80s B.C. by C. Licinius Macer. To this last point we shall return, but we must first ask what the *libri lintei* were doing in the temple of Moneta. Whether they had been deposited in the temple from an external source, or were records kept by a priestly college is impossible to say on the basis of the scant evidence we possess. In either case their location of deposit, the Moneta temple, cannot be without significance.¹⁹ Roman temples had all sorts of material dedicated and deposited in them, of course — spoils of war piled up over the centuries, rusting shields and other objects often with decaying inscriptions that were barely legible by the late Republic when historians and antiquarians began to turn their attention to them.²⁰ But organized series of records of an archival nature tended to accumulate in temples of significance to their subject matter. Chief amongst these was the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with its laws, military diplomas, decrees, *senatus consulta*, and the Sibylline books (subsequently and equally appropriately moved to the temple of Apollo); Saturn's temple became the treasury of the Roman people; laws might also be kept in the temple of Fides; plebeian records were kept in the temple of Ceres on the Aventine; and land distribution records in the temple of Diana.²¹ Two questions thus present themselves. Is there any internal cohesion between the contents and activities of the temple of Juno Moneta — weights, measures, the minting of coins, and linen *libri magistratum*? What, if any, is the relevance of this assemblage to Juno Moneta?

The practical link between coinage and other standards of measurement is fairly clear. Weights and measures belong together: the maintenance of a consistent weight standard is crucial to the institution of coinage. If there is enough evidence to suggest that units of length and capacity were kept on the Capitol, some of them in the temple of Moneta, then it would make sense if, in the light of the association with the mint, standard units of weight were also kept up there. How far back in time the association between the temple of Moneta and the guardianship of standards of measurement went is entirely unclear, as is the date at which the mint was first located in, or by, the temple of Moneta. But it does not seem implausible to suppose that the association stretched far back into Republican history, perhaps to the date at which Livy says the temple was founded in the mid-fourth century.²² This on the currently accepted chronology²³ is about fifty years before the first issues of Roman coinage were produced but not, of course, before the adoption of standard units of bronze by weight as legal fines, as attested by the Twelve Tables dating from the fifth century, and probably for other purposes such as the census, army pay, and tax assessment.²⁴

But what might the relationship between these weights and measures and the linen rolls have been, and why were they all in the Moneta temple? It seems logical to begin

¹⁸ Livy 4.7.3–12 (444 B.C.), 4.13.7 (440–439 B.C.), 4.23.1–3 (435 B.C.), 4.20.8 (428 B.C.) with Frier, loc. cit. (n. 17).

¹⁹ Dion. Hal. 11.62.3 apparently refers to them as ἱερῶν τε καὶ ἀποθέτων βιβλίων, presumably a translation of *libri sacri et reconditi*. For a survey of other linen books and the possibility that those in the Moneta temple represented pontifical records of some form see S. Walt, *Der Historiker C. Licinius Macer. Einleitung, Fragmente, Kommentar* (1997), 83–5. J. Linderski, 'The *Libri Reconditi*', *HSCP* 89 (1995), 207–34, at 213–14, has recently argued that the combined facts of Moneta's association with advice and warning, together with the proximity of her temple to the *auguraculum*, may suggest that the Moneta temple was home to the records and sacred literature of the Augurs.

²⁰ A list of archaic documents cited by later Republican authors is provided by C. Ampolo, 'La storiografia su Roma arcaica e i documenti', in E. Gabba (ed.), *Tria Corda. Scritti in onore di Arnaldo Momigliano* (1983), 9–26, at 15–16. On the need to accept

these as genuine see T. J. Cornell, 'The tyranny of the evidence: a discussion of the possible uses of literacy in Etruria and Latium in the archaic age', in M. Beard *et al.*, *Literacy in the Roman World*, *JRA Suppl.* 3 (1991), 7–33, at 28–9.

²¹ For all of these instances and sources see Culham, *op. cit.* (n. 14), 110–12.

²² Livy 7.28 (344/3 B.C.). On the various traditions concerning this see below.

²³ For the chronology of the earliest Roman coins see A. M. Burnett, 'The coinages of Rome and Magna Graecia in the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC', *SNR* 56 (1977), 92–121; 'The first Roman silver coins', *NAC* 7 (1978), 121–42; *Coinage in the Roman World* (1987), ch. 1.

²⁴ For the circumstances of the promulgation of the twelve tables see now M. H. Crawford *et al.* (eds), *Roman Statutes* (1996) II, 556–7. For penalties in bronze, see *Tabula* 1, 14–16; uncoined bronze in the censorial *aestimatio*: Festus 322. 7 L ('in aestimatione censoria aes infectum rudus appellatur'). On the use of bronze in the census see further below, p. 35.

to seek the answer to these questions in the nature of the goddess herself. Indeed, the quest for the origins of Juno Moneta was a popular activity in the pages of numismatic and historical journals in the last century and recent reinterpretation of the archaeological remains on the Capitol has raised the matter again.²⁵ A review of what can be said reveals serious problems with such a pursuit however. The method common to most attempts has been to seek to identify the 'true nature' of the goddess, through investigation either of her etymological origins or of the development of her cult. Neither approach has produced clear results, nor managed to take full account of all the traditions preserved about the goddess from antiquity. The problem lies partly in the assumption that there can be any one true identity to an ancient divinity, and partly in the belief that the evolution of this could ever be recoverable from the highly limited sources available. The safest method by which to approach the problem of the nature of the goddess seems rather to establish the range of connotations that Moneta could hold in a Roman mind of the middle and late Republic and to see if these can advance our inquiry. Amongst Roman writers we find, broadly speaking, two different types of characterization of the goddess and her purview.

On the one hand Moneta may be a specific version of Juno, her name operating quasi-epithetically to identify one specific aspect of the goddess' sphere of interest. This view of Moneta seems to underlie various of the surviving traditions concerning the foundation of Juno Moneta's temple on the Arx. Among the earliest of these is that found in Livy recorded under the years 345–4 B.C. Lucius Furius Camillus, the son or grandson of the great Camillus, having been appointed dictator to deal with attacks by the Aurunci, vowed a temple to Juno Moneta in the heat of battle. The temple was duly dedicated in the following year, 344 B.C.²⁶ This is the version widely accepted as correct by modern scholarship.

According to Valerius Maximus (1.8.3), however, the temple was vowed by Marcus Furius Camillus, the great Camillus, conqueror of the Etruscans, following his capture of Veii (396 B.C.). Valerius adds the detail that Camillus in fact imported the cult statue and cult from Veii in Etruria, the principal place of her worship hitherto.²⁷ Ovid also records a tradition that the temple was founded by Camillus.²⁸ His statement is usually taken to support the version of Livy, but the fact that Ovid refers simply to 'Camillus' without any further specification strongly suggests that he too thought that it was the great M. Camillus who was responsible for the creation of the temple on the Arx. Given that Livy (5.21.1–7) also records a tradition that Marcus Camillus imported from Veii the cult of Juno Regina, whose temple and cult were on the Aventine, one must conclude that a complex amalgamation or confusion of *evocatio* and dedication stories has taken place. However, where or when this happened is unclear. That there was a strong tradition already in the first century B.C. concerning the Veientine origin of Juno Moneta is confirmed by Cicero's treatment of the goddess in the *De Divinatione*. In a passage in the second book he launches a spirited attack on Veientine prophecy. Among his targets

²⁵ Few who have written in general on the subject of the Republican coinage have been able to avoid some discussion of Moneta. Among studies devoted specifically to the goddess one must note: E. Assmann, 'Moneta', *Klio* 6 (1906), 477–88; M. Hands, 'Juno Moneta', *NC*⁴ 10 (1910), 1–12; E. Babelon, 'Moneta', *MémAcInscr* 39 (1913), 241–92 (reviewed by W. Kubitschek, *NZ* 6 (1913), 233–6); E. L. Shields, *Juno. A Study in Early Roman Religion*, Smith College Classical Studies 7 (1926), 59–62; Lake, *op. cit.* (n. 8). For other accounts of the goddess see e.g. G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens* (1965), 221–3; E. Marbach, *s.v. Moneta*, in *RE* XVI.1 (1933), 113–19; R. E. A. Palmer, *Roman Religion and Roman Empire* (1974), 29ff., 98f.

²⁶ Livy 7.28.4–6: 'dictator tamen, quia et ultro bellum intulerant et sine detractatione se certamini offerebant, deorum quoque opes adhibendas ratus inter ipsam dimicationem aedem Iunoni Monetae uouit; cuius damnatus uoti cum uictor Romam reuertisset, dictatura se abdicauit. senatus duumuiros ad

eam aedem pro amplitudine populi Romani faciendam creari iussit; locus in arce destinatus, quae area aedium M. Manli Capitolini fuerat . . . anno postquam uota erat aedes Monetae dedicatur C. Marcio Rutulo tertium T. Manlio Torquato iterum consulibus.' S. P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy, Books VI–X. Vol. II* (1998) ad loc. notes that this dedication on the field of battle is the first of a series that appear in Livy over the period c. 350–265 B.C.

²⁷ Val. Max. 1.8.3: 'Nec Minus voluntarius in urbem nostram Iunonis transitus. captis a Furio Camillo Veis milites iussu imperatoris simulacrum Iunonis Monetae, quod ibi praecipua religione cultum erat, in urbem translaturi sede sua movere conabantur. quorum ab uno per iocum interrogata dea an Romam migrare uellet, uelle se respondit.'

²⁸ Ovid, *Fasti* 6.183–6: 'Arce quoque in summa Iunoni templa Monetae / ex voto memorant facta, Camille, tuo. / ante domus Manli fuerat, qui Gallica quondam / a Capitolino reppulit arma Ioue.'

is Juno Moneta: 'What,' he asks, 'did she ever warn us about, except the pregnant sow?' Cicero is referring to the story that a voice emerged from Juno's temple warning of an imminent earthquake that could be prevented by the sacrifice of a pregnant sow.²⁹ Cicero, like Valerius Maximus, connects the cult with Veii, and reveals that this tradition regarded the epithet Moneta as a later addition to the goddess already present on the Arx. Moreover, Cicero gives the first indication of the existence of a Roman explanation of the epithet as deriving from a warning issued by the goddess. Moneta in his mind is clearly cognate with the verb *moneo*. He cites the tradition only to ridicule it, however, and the element of warning is one he explicitly rejects. Clearly it was possible for Cicero to dismiss such an obvious linguistic aetiology, and it is interesting that the two traditions linked to the Camilli do not suggest a particular warning as the catalyst for the construction of the temple on the Arx. This aetiological *topos* surfaces again in the scholiast to Lucan who makes the first surviving link between Juno Moneta and the famous episode of the warning of the attack of the Gauls on the Capitol, thereby offering a third occasion for the vowing of the temple, c. 390 B.C.³⁰ Certainly there is no mention of the epithet in the account of this event in Plutarch's life of the great Camillus (*Camillus* 27), although the sacred geese and a temple are mentioned. Whether it is correct to prioritize Livy's version of the origins of the temple over the other extant traditions concerning the *evocatio* is a moot point, as is the question of whether this cult was in fact imported to Rome in the fourth century, or whether the temple replaced an existing temple. Various literary sources preserve the tradition that the temple stood on the site of the house of M. Capitolinus or the Sabine king T. Tatius.³¹ Archaeological investigations in the garden of the convent of S. Maria in Aracoeli have revealed a small structure beneath the remains of what is presumed to be the fourth-century temple of Moneta. This small structure of blocks of *cappellaccio*, it has been suggested, may be an earlier temple of Juno on the site of the Moneta temple.³² However, the attempt to use the literary evidence to support this archaeological interpretation or vice versa is essentially circular. The important points for our enquiry are that all of these traditions concerning the origins of Juno Moneta at Rome existed in the first century B.C., that none has any prior claim to be the 'true story', and that we lack as a consequence any clear explanation of the nature of Juno Moneta. In at least one Roman's mind a dedication to *Iunoni Monetae Reginae* was feasible, indicating nothing if not complete confusion.³³

Another tradition preserved in the *Suda* (s.v. Μονήτα) claims a much later origin for the epithet, during the war against Pyrrhus and the Tarentines in the first quarter of the third century B.C. The Romans, it is stated, having been short of money (δηθέντες χρημάτων), were successful in the war by following Juno's advice. They duly accorded her the title Moneta, glossed as σύμβουλος, 'counsellor' or 'adviser'. They decided at the

²⁹ cf. Cicero, *De Div.* 1.101 ('Atque etiam scriptum a multis est, cum terrae motus factus esset, ut suae plena procuratio fieret, vocem ab aede Iunonis ex arce extitisse; quocirca Iunonem illam appellatam Mone-tam') and 2.69 ('Quod idem dici de Moneta potest; a qua praeterquam de suae plena quid umquam moniti sumus?').

³⁰ Schol. ad Lucan 1. 380: 'Moneta Iuno dicta est. cum enim Senones a Capitolio removisset, Moneta dicta est, quod monuisset ut Capitolium tuerentur.' Remarkably, no ancient source connects Juno Moneta with the geese of Juno who appear in versions of the sack of Rome. See N. J. Horsfall, 'From history to legend: M. Manlius and the geese', *CJ* 76 (1980-81), 298-311, at 308-9. For discussion of the whole complex of the Gauls, geese, and Manlius myth, see T. P. Wiseman, 'Topography and rhetoric: the trial of Manlius', *Historia* 28 (1979), 32-50. Cf. Giannelli, op. cit. (n. 4) and Ziolkowski, op. cit. (n. 9).

³¹ Manlius: Livy 6.20.13, 7.28.6; Plut., *Cam.* 36.9; Diod. Sic. 13.35.3; *De Vir. Ill.* 24.6; Ovid, *Fast.* 6.185. Tatius: Plut., *Rom.* 20.5; Solin. 1.21. The two traditions need not be mutually exclusive.

³² For the identification of these remains and their association with sixth/fifth-century terracottas also found in the garden see G. Giannelli, 'La leggenda dei "mirabilia" e l'antica topografia dell'arce capitolina', *StRom* 26 (1978), 60-71, at 64-6. Cf. Giannelli, op. cit. (n. 4) and *LTUR* III.123-5; F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano I. Periodo Arcaico* (1983), 104. For caution as to the sacred nature of the archaic structure and discussion of the apparently contradictory archaeological and literary evidence see Ziolkowski, op. cit. (n. 9), 207-11.

³³ *CIL* 6.362 = *ILS* 3108: 'Iunoni Monetae Regin. | sacrum | [L.] Antonius L.l. Euthetus | et Antonia Dionysia | vot. sol.'

same time, presumably because of the financial nature of the crisis averted, to strike coins in her temple (το νόμισμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτῆς ὀρίσαντες χαράττεσθαι).³⁴

As we have noted, it is impossible to know the degree of 'truth' that underlies any of these traditions, but it is interesting that the Romans themselves seem to have had no single tradition concerning the Moneta aspect of Juno Moneta. Three principal origins of the cult of Moneta were suggested in antiquity: (1) a foreign cult title imported by *evocatio* to Rome; (2) a warning issued in time of war or earthquake; (3) advice issued in time of war. The fullest and most coherent surviving account, that of Livy, offers no explanation at all for the title 'Moneta'. There is, we must acknowledge, little hope of gaining an insight into the true origins of the cult at Rome from what later Romans thought and wrote.

Juno Moneta was not, however, the only guise in which a Roman writer could conceive of the goddess Moneta. She could also exist as a goddess in her own right, and the evidence for this is quite early. From a fragment of his *Odyssea* it is clear that Livius Andronicus translated the name of the Greek goddess Μνημοσύνη into the Latin equivalent, *Moneta*.³⁵ In the Greek world *Mnemosyne* was the goddess of memory, the remembrancer, and the mother of the Muses. For Andronicus and his audience Moneta could thus have a life of her own as the goddess Memory. Moreover, it seems that this identity is not confined only to the early years of Latin literature. For Cicero in the *De Natura Deorum* (3.47) Moneta appears alongside Honos, Fides, Mens, Concordia, and Spes, the goddesses 'quae cogitatione nobismet ipsi possumus fingere'. As late as the second century A.D., the mythographer Hyginus described the Muses as born *ex Iove et Moneta* (*Fabulae* 27 l. 1). It is interesting that this meaning apparently survived alongside the later identification of Moneta with the mint and its coinage.³⁶

It seems clear, then, that Moneta could carry the function of 'memory', or more actively 'remembrancer' or 'reminder' when she existed in her own right. It is curious that this aspect of the goddess never explicitly emerges when she appears as an epithet to Juno, even though the two aspects of the goddess were clearly chronologically concurrent. We can, however, proceed little further than this basic delineation of the ways in which ancient Romans viewed and explained Moneta and Juno Moneta. The nature of the evidence simply does not permit the reconstruction of the development of the Juno Moneta complex. We would merely note two points that seem relevant to our enquiry. First that the primary sphere of Moneta when considered in her own right, as an individual deity, was Memory: the testimony for this is unambiguous. Second, that the stories adduced from the late Republican period onwards provide evidence only for the fact that all Roman antiquarians who took an interest in the matter assumed the root of the word Moneta to be the same as that of the verb *moneo*,³⁷ the verb which signified

³⁴ It is tempting to suggest that this tradition may in some sense be linked to the persistent, though erroneous, ancient belief that the Romans first began to use silver coinage after the Pyrrhic War: Pliny, *NH* 33.42-4; Livy, *Epit.* 15; Syncellus p. 523 Bonn; Jerome, *Chron.* p. 130 Helm; *Chronicon Paschale* 173 Migne; Zonaras 8.7.

³⁵ *Odyssea* F. 23 Morel: 'Nam divina Monetas filia docuit', translating *Odyssey* 8.480-1 (οὐνεκ' ἄρα σφέας | οἴμας Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε) or 488 (ἦ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, Διὸς πάϊς, ἦ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων). It is possible that this translation of the goddess' name first occurred in Andronicus (so e.g. Palmer, op. cit. (n. 25), 98-9), but by no means certain.

³⁶ This identity clearly postdates the introduction of the mint to the temple of Juno Moneta. The earliest representation of the goddess appears on a denarius of L. Plaetorius in 74 B.C., and then again on an issue of T. Carisius in 46 B.C. (*RRC* nos 396 and 464). In both cases the head or bust is labelled simply 'MONETA'.

Carisius' types were revived on an anonymous issue of A.D. 68-9 (*BMCREI*, 291 n.†, pl. 50.1 with the reverse legend 'SALVTARIS'), and by Trajan in A.D. 107 (*BMCREI* Trajan no. 688). At least as early as the reign of Domitian Moneta as the goddess of coinage and the mint had been endowed with her own iconography, bearing a striking resemblance to that of Aequitas. See R. Mowat, 'Le bureau de l'Équité et les ateliers de la Monnaie impériale à Rome d'après les monuments numismatiques et épigraphiques', *NZ* 42 (1909), 87-116 and *LIMC Suppl. s.v.* Moneta.

³⁷ In addition to Cicero's outburst in the *De Div.* and the scholiast to Lucan, note, for example, the explanation of Isidore, writing at a time when the word 'moneta' had been transferred to the mint and its product, coinage (*Orig.* 16.8.8): 'moneta appellata est, quia monet, ne qua fraus in metallo vel pondere fiat.' Cf. *OLD s.v.* 'moneo', 1: 'to bring to the notice of, remind, tell (of)'; 2: 'to suggest a course of action to, advise, recommend, warn, tell'.

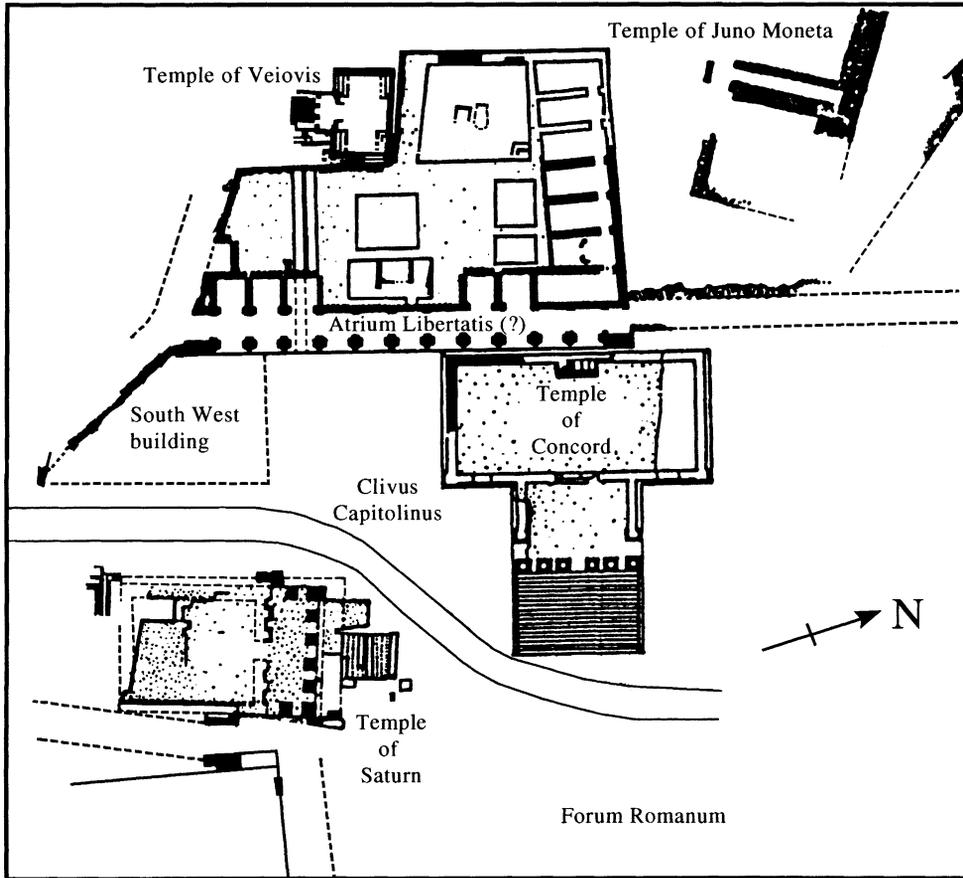


FIG. 1 PLAN OF THE AREA BETWEEN THE MINT AND THE AERARIUM, c. 120 B.C. (Drawing by Simon Pressey based on plan of G. Ioppolo)

primarily the concept of reminding, warning, and advising, particularly in the context of advice emanating from temples and priests.³⁸

These two points cannot be unrelated, but can this element of Moneta's identity (Memory, Warning, Advice) help to explain what we know of the contents of the Moneta temple — the weights, the measures, the mint on the one hand and the *libri lintei* with their lists of magistrates on the other? At first sight this looks like a heterogeneous collocation of material. It is our contention that there is a link between these different elements, and that the key to understanding this link may lie in the location of the temple.

Our appreciation of the immediate locale of the Moneta temple on the Capitol (Fig. 1) has been transformed by the two recent studies by Coarelli and Purcell of, respectively, the relations between the temple and its neighbouring buildings and the identity of these neighbouring buildings.³⁹ Coarelli, as already noted (above, p. 27–8), has made the case for viewing the Moneta temple and its *officina* on the one hand and the Aerarium based in the temple of Saturn on the other as two ends of a building complex that united the source of the bullion with the place of its manufacture into coinage. The link between the two structures — one on the Capitol, the other at the north-western end of the Forum Romanum — was created by an enclosed corridor passing along the front of the long structure conventionally known as the 'Tabularium'. This building however, so central to the Aerarium-Moneta complex, is certainly not

³⁸ See Oakley, *op. cit.* (n. 26), 708. For the suggestion that Moneta's temple may have been the place of deposit for the records of the augurs see above n. 19.

Note that the archived records of augural *observationes* were known as *monumenta* (Cicero, *De Div.* 1.72).

³⁹ Coarelli, *op. cit.* (n. 4); Purcell, *op. cit.* (n. 5).

solely a *tabularium*, as Purcell has made clear. It is instead, he argues, to be identified as the Atrium Libertatis, administrative home to the censors. Whether Purcell is correct or not, the sphere of the censors is in fact the obvious place to look next for the conceptual basis for the collocation of weights, measures, and *libri magistratum*, since the one activity which does seem to link all of these elements in a single purpose is the formal assessment of the Roman people undertaken in the census.

To understand structurally how this connection works, it is helpful to consider the bipartite nature of the census. In origin this classification of the Roman population may have been military in function, with the male citizens being assigned positions in the battle-line on the basis of their equipment.⁴⁰ By the middle Republic, however, the censors oversaw a timocratic system not only for the arrangement of the army, but also for the important spheres of voting in the Centuriate assembly and for payment of the *tributum*.⁴¹ Each citizen found his position in the order of things by a complex new procedure. He was required to make an assessment of his total worth, and this assessment was to be given in monetary terms.⁴² The precise formula by which he converted the value of his land, its produce, and his other chattels into a sum in asses is unfortunately lost, but such a formula there must have been.⁴³ Moreover, this system of assessment clearly would have required at least three state-recognized standards, to ensure consistency of returns: one for measuring distances or area; one for measuring volume; and one for measuring money (by weight). These three elements fit snugly together in a system of status assessment, and so also in a communal repository of lore, such as the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitol. It was the task of the censors to lay down the standards used in the self-assessment element of the *aestimatio*.⁴⁴ Moneta's temple, if next to their headquarters was a convenient and appropriate place of deposit for the standard weights and measures to be used, as well as for the production of the money that would eventually form a substantial part of the wealth to be assessed.

But assessment of property and wealth was only one half of the complex censorial process. It is clear from the surviving evidence of the censors' activities that far more than wealth could govern their decisions.⁴⁵ As Livy famously put it, 'This same year (443 B.C.) saw the beginning of the census, a process with modest origins which was subsequently so increased that it undertook the regulation of Roman *mores* and *disciplina*, judgement of honourable and dishonourable conduct in the Senate and the centuries of the *equites*, the legal right of public and private places came under their control, and the taxes on the Roman people were at their nod and judgement'.⁴⁶ In

⁴⁰ G. Pieri, *L'histoire du cens jusqu'à la fin de la République Romaine*, Publications de l'Institut de Droit Romain de l'Université de Paris 25 (1968), 69–75. T. P. Wiseman, 'The census in the first century B.C.', *JRS* 59 (1969), 59–75, at 59.

⁴¹ The precise origins and development of this aspect of the census remain largely obscure. While few would now take at face value the late Republican tradition as embodied by Livy's account of the Servian introduction of the census (Livy 1.42–3), it seems none the less likely that the basic wealth assessment that lay at the heart of the organization of the Roman citizenry dates from the fifth or fourth centuries at the latest. See C. Nicolet, *Le métier de citoyen dans la Rome républicaine* (1976), 76; R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy 1–5* (1965), 166–8; Pieri, *op. cit.* (n. 40), 47–55.

⁴² On the precisely monetary nature of this *aestimatio* see C. Nicolet, 'Mutations monétaires et organisation censitaire sous la République', in *Les "Devaluations" à Rome. Époque Républicaine et Impériale (Rome 13–15 novembre 1975)* (1978), 249–72, at 250 n. 3 (= *idem*, *Censeurs et publicains* (2000), 147–8 n. 3).

⁴³ Many modern discussions of the monetary nature of the Servian census are vitiated by the dogmatic insistence that the bronze values there described presuppose the existence and widespread use of a

bronze monetary medium. Weights of bronze in this and other early contexts are being used as convenient units of account: nothing more need be inferred.

⁴⁴ Note Festus (51.1–2 L): 'Censores dicti, quod rem suam quisque tanti aestimare solitus sit, quantum illi censuerint.' On the mechanism of self-assessment see T. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*³ (1887) II.1, 394–6; Pieri, *op. cit.* (n. 40), 53 n. 21.

⁴⁵ There is a considerable modern bibliography on this topic. See most recently A. E. Astin, 'Regimen Morum', *JRS* 78 (1988), 14–34. Cf. Pieri, *op. cit.* (n. 40), 108–13; Nicolet, *op. cit.* (n. 41), 103–13; *idem*, *Tributum. Recherches sur la fiscalité directe sous la République Romaine* (1976), 29–33: 'on voit que les "classes fiscales" auxquelles aboutissait le census n'étaient pas uniquement fondées sur le capital, foncier et mobilier: elles exprimaient une "hiérarchie volontaire" et civique, soulageant les pauvres sans doute, mais taxant moins la richesse que les honneurs' (31–2).

⁴⁶ 'Idem hic annus censurae initium fuit, rei a parva origine ortae, quae deinde tanto incremento aucta est, ut morum disciplinaeque Romanae penes eam regimen, senatui equitumque centuriis decoris dedecorisque discrimen, sub ditione eius magistratus publicorum ius priuatorumque locorum, vectigalia populi Romani sub nutu atque arbitrio essent.' (Livy 4.8.2).

another memorable passage Dionysius of Halicarnassus (20.13) summarizes the extent to which censors could ensure the maintenance of this *regimen morum et disciplinae*: 'The Romans, throwing open the whole home, and even extending the authority of the censors as far as the bedroom, made them scrutineers and guardians of everything that happened in the home. For they believed that a master should not be savage in the punishment of his slaves, that a father should not be too severe or soft in the upbringing of his children, that a husband should not be unjust in his partnership with his wife, that children should not disobey their elders, that brothers should not pursue more than their fair share, that symposia and drinking should not last all night, that there should be no licentiousness and corruption among young comrades, that the ancestral honours (προγονικὰς τιμὰς) of sacrifices and funerals should not be forgotten, and that there should be nothing else done which was against the custom or the interest of the state.' As this summary makes plain, this was in some cases not just *regimen morum*, but also *regimen morum maiorum*. The census, as Astin has recently stressed,⁴⁷ was not simply a tool to combat corruption and abuse of power, but had a deeper significance. The continued revalidation of the senatorial and equestrian orders that the censorial *lectio* provided served to reinforce a sense of identity and common status. Crucial to this identity were aspects both of pecuniary and familial position. Familial origin, posts that an individual or his family had held, and the moral integrity of the households within that family could all play a part in the censorial decision. An individual's inherited social status could be at least as important as his economic status in the censorial *arbitrium*, and was equally susceptible of proof by notionally official documents. Such documents thus had a logical place alongside the physical yardsticks in the assessment of individual status. It is through their position in this nexus of *aestimatio* and *arbitrium* that documents such as the *libri lintei* find their conceptual place in the Moneta temple.⁴⁸

Striking confirmation that the *libri lintei* could be and were viewed in precisely this light by Romans of the early first century B.C. may be found in the activities of the historian C. Licinius Macer. As (in all probability) a *tresvir monetalis* in around 84 B.C. (Pl. I, 1: *RRC* no. 354), Macer was no doubt alive to the possibilities offered by the temple archive when he came to write his history in the decade or so that followed.⁴⁹ The precise reason for Macer's recourse to what was, in the annalistic tradition of the day, a new source is not certain. It may be that Macer had an axe to grind against the earlier historian, Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, who had been, historiographically speaking, an iconoclast. While the annalists and antiquarians of the previous eighty or so years had spent much effort imaginatively recreating the history of early Rome, Quadrigarius seems to have rejected this fabrication as dishonest. It is possible that Macer's recourse to the *libri lintei* was an attempt on his part to shore up the tradition against which Quadrigarius was reacting.⁵⁰ Such a reconstruction, while plausible, cannot be certain however: Macer may rather have been seeking to find evidence further to condemn the earlier annalists, or may simply have sought to bring more evidence to bear on the subject through the use of a new source, without any preconceived notions about the reliability of any previous writer.⁵¹ But whatever his reasons, what Macer needed was a new, official list of magistrates of impeccable pedigree from a wholly convincing source.

⁴⁷ Astin, *op. cit.* (n. 45), 33–4.

⁴⁸ One can only guess at the significance of the fact that the first two magistrates that we can be certain that the *libri lintei* mentioned also happen to be the first two censors: L. Papirius Mugillanus and L. Sempronius Atratinus. See Livy 4.7.10–12 for their mention in the *libri* and *MRR* I, 54 for the sources on the censorship.

⁴⁹ For the career of Macer as politician and historian see now Walt, *op. cit.* (n. 19), 1–184. For the identification of the historian with the moneyer see the commentary *ad RRC* no. 354 and Walt, 4–8. Caution about the identification of the politician with the historian has been expressed by T. J. Cornell in his review of Walt, *JRS* 89 (1999), 229–30, at 229.

⁵⁰ This reconstruction of the relationship between

Macer and Quadrigarius was first put forward by B. Frier, 'Licinius Macer and the consules suffecti of 444 BC', *TAPA* 105 (1975), 79–97, at 92–3 (cf. Frier, *op. cit.* (n. 17), 121–7), who suggests that Quadrigarius was probably also the author of the work cited by Plutarch (*Numa* 1.2) by the title Ἐλεγχος χρόνων ('An attack on chronology'), in which he justified the start of his history in 390 B.C. on the basis that all previous records of the Roman state had been destroyed in the Gallic sack of that year. Cf. T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics* (1979), 19, 22–3; S. P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy, Books VI–X. Vol. I* (1997), 27–8.

⁵¹ Caution in this matter is preferred by Walt, *op. cit.* (n. 19), 81.

The Moneta temple was clearly a promising avenue of enquiry and the document he found there could be cited in his history with credibility.⁵² The documents he produced were the *libri lintei*, and who could impugn the secret and sacred linen books of magistrates from the temple of the Remembrancer? Just as Moneta guaranteed the surveyor's *pes* and the moneyer's silver, so she kept indisputable records of Rome's past, and cast-iron evidence for the pedigrees of Rome's oldest families.

We have seen what Moneta meant and what her relevance was to the group of institutions associated with her temple: that she was a divine guarantor of accurate and fair weights, measures and coinage, and of the functions which these institutions performed within Roman society including measures of social status. It is this aspect of the goddess's persona that made her temple an appropriate location for the mint, quite apart from its advantageous and secure situation on the Capitol. But Romans could also conceive of the name Moneta aetiologically and associate the goddess with warning, advice, and memory. Understood in this sense, the association with history and historical records, as attested by the presence of the *libri lintei* in the temple, also begins to make sense, if Moneta is a goddess who remembers and certifies the accuracy of the records and measures held within her walls. Feet measure distance, coins measure *pecunia*, and a consular list measures the past. These, moreover, are all elements of the regular re-establishment and reaffirmation of the social order performed by the censors. Common to all these controversial areas of crucial public interest is the need for their regulating authorities to be reliable, impartial, and constant, a requirement of which Moneta served as the divine trustee, with the *IIIviri Monetales* as the earthly executive.

But there is more that we can do with the character of Moneta and her temple. Not only do they help to explain the location of the mint, they also clarify the most intriguing aspect of the coinage made there in the late Republic: the unprecedented turn taken by coin design in the late second century B.C. To understand the extraordinary nature of this change some background is necessary. In or around 212 B.C. the Romans introduced the denarius, the denomination that was to remain their principal silver coin for the next four and a half centuries.⁵³ For the first eighty years or so of production standard designs were maintained with some rigidity. On the obverse, always, appeared a head of Roma, while on the reverse there appeared initially the Dioscuri on horseback (Pl. I, 2: *RRC* no. 44, c. 212 B.C.). From around the 190s an alternative reverse design of Luna and other deities driving a biga began to appear (Pl. I, 3: *RRC* no. 141, c. 180s B.C.).⁵⁴ From the beginning control symbols appeared on denarii. In some cases, such as that of *RRC* no. 73 (c. 209–208 B.C.) where the symbol is a *dolabra* or *dolabella*, these symbols probably refer to the moneyers responsible for the issue. At the same time monograms serve the same function, as in the case of *RRC* no. 74 (Pl. I, 4: c. 209–208 B.C.) where the letters may be deciphered as C. Var, probably indicating a Terentius Varro. Early in the second century abbreviated forms of the moneyers' names began to intrude on the coinage (Pl. I, 5: *RRC* no. 210, an issue of C. IVNI C. F., c. 149 B.C.).

Thus far, in both conception and actual design, Roman coinage conformed to the norms of Greek coinage, past and contemporary. It followed a basic rule of conservatism that dictated that a state's coin design should remain to a large degree static. There were sound economic reasons for this: in the pre-modern world of intrinsic-value coinage familiarity bred acceptability. The only fluid elements in such coin design are the subsidiary identifying marks, signatures, symbols, and monograms of the ever-changing cast of characters who were responsible within the state for the coinage. Down to the 130s B.C. Roman coinage was thus a Greek coinage, like any other in circulation in the Mediterranean of the second century B.C. Then, however, beginning in the 130s B.C., something extraordinary happened: the designs changed. But this was not a simple

⁵² There has, inevitably, been a modern scholarly debate as to the authenticity of the *Libri*. A full history of this is provided by Walt, *op. cit.* (n. 19), 78–81, who inclines like most recent commentators towards acceptance. For the purposes of our argument, of course, what matters is not the falsity or authenticity of the documents, but rather the fact that Macer

regarded these documents as likely to convince thanks to their stated origin being the temple of Moneta.

⁵³ On the date of the introduction of the denarius see M. H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic* (1985), 55–6.

⁵⁴ On this change and the date see *RRC*, 720–1.

movement from one set of designs to another, it was a paradigm shift. Out of the window went the stability and continuity hitherto associated with much of the ancient coinage tradition, both Greek and Roman, and in came a fluidity and constant inventiveness more or less unparalleled before or since.⁵⁵ From this point on the designs of the denarii began to change on an annual basis, and ceased to act simply as identifiers of the state coinage of Rome. They began to carry designs of relevance to, and hence presumably chosen by, the moneyers responsible for them. The singular nature of this change is readily apparent from a few early examples.⁵⁶

The mould was broken, so to speak, by two denarius issues dated by Crawford to the year 137 B.C.⁵⁷ The first (Pl. I, 6: *RRC* no. 234) is in the name of a Ti. Veturius, and has as its obverse type a head of Mars, and as its reverse an oath-taking scene in which two warriors face each other over a kneeling figure who is holding a pig. The second issue is in the name of Sex. Pompeius, the praetor(?) of 119 B.C. He maintained the traditional obverse of the head of Roma, but adopted as his reverse type a scene of the discovery by Faustulus of the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus at the foot of the *ficus ruminalis* (Pl. I, 7: *RRC* no. 235). The import of the designs used on these two issues has been the subject of some speculation, and their interpretation remains controversial.⁵⁸ While the designs may have had some relevance to the families of the moneyers responsible, it is also worth pointing out the essentially antiquarian nature of these designs *qua* coin designs. Mars' head had appeared on the obverse of Rome's earliest silver coinage over a hundred and fifty years earlier (*RRC* no. 13), the oath scene had appeared on a series of gold coins issued during the Second Punic War (*RRC* nos 28–29), while the wolf and twins had made their previous appearance on silver didrachms at around the beginning of the First Punic War (*RRC* no. 20). These designs effectively commemorate and monumentalize earlier coins. The intent of the moneyers in taking this somewhat retrospective approach to their issues cannot be recovered. The crucial point for our purpose is that here at around the same time, perhaps in the same year, two moneyers abandoned the traditional denarius design to produce two issues of radically different appearance. In so doing they altered the basic model on which Roman gold and silver coinage would be produced. Within a decade or so of this first break from tradition the coin types of the Roman Republic had become a blank canvas for the depiction of the moneyers' chosen scenes. In many cases the familial references are straightforwardly recoverable.

Familial origins are a predictable preoccupation. Twice before the end of the second century members of the Iulii had referred to their supposed descent from the goddess Venus. On the issue of Sex. Iulius Caesar (Pl. I, 8: *RRC* no. 258, c. 129 B.C.) Venus was depicted driving the biga with Cupid behind trying to crown her. L. Iulius Caesar presents the biga as driven by Venus and drawn by a brace of Cupids (Pl. I, 9: *RRC* no. 320, c. 103 B.C.). The otherwise unknown L. Pomponius Molo placed on the reverse of his denarius issue a scene depicting the king Numa Pompilius about to

⁵⁵ Note C. J. Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins* (1995), 67: 'It is the specific character of subsequent Roman types which needs explaining, rather than the more typical conservatism of Greek coinages.'

⁵⁶ For a useful tabulation of moneyers using ancestral themes on their coins see H. I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (1996), 333–8.

⁵⁷ Their collocation is based, however, on Crawford's interpretation of the significance of their reverse types (on the uncertain nature of which see next note). See *RRC*, 62 with n. 1.

⁵⁸ Crawford *ad RRC* no. 234 favours allusion in the obverse to Ti. Veturius Philo, *flamen martialis* from 204 B.C.; for the reverse he suggests a reference to an early version of the story of the disaster of the Caudine Forks, now topical in the light of the *foedus Numantinum* of 137 B.C. This would also have had a familial significance, the Caudine disaster having occurred in the consulship of T. Veturius Calvinus. On this and

other interpretations of the oath scene see H. Zehnacker, *Moneta: Recherches sur l'organisation et l'art des émissions monétaires de la République romaine* (1973), 310–14. Crawford also sees a reference to the *foedus Numantinum* in *RRC* no. 235, in the blatantly imperialistic nature of the wolf and twins which, he suggests, urges support for the repudiation of the treaty. In taking this approach Crawford is forced to read the word FOSTLVS which appears after the name SEX POM in the reverse legend as a label applied to the male figure in the design. Others had preferred to regard the whole as the moneyer's name: Sex. Pompeius Faustulus. See e.g. *MRR* II, 449; E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (1952), 54 with n. 461; Zehnacker, 463. The type thus interpreted has a deeply familial point of reference. On this whole problem see now W. E. Metcalfe, 'Coins as primary evidence', in G. M. Paul and M. Ierardi (eds), *Roman Coins and Public Life under the Empire* (1999), 1–17, at 5–10.

sacrifice a goat (Pl. I, 10: *RRC* no. 334, c. 97 B.C.). The Pomponii claimed descent from Pompo, the son of Numa.

The achievements of earlier members of the family were no less fertile ground for numismatic display. C. Servilius took the opportunity to depict a scene of two men on horseback fighting each other, one of whom has the letter M on his shield (Pl. I, 11: *RRC* no. 264, c. 127 B.C.). The reference seems to be to the martial prowess in single-combat of the moneyer's ancestor M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.⁵⁹ At approximately the same date members of the Metelli were trumpeting the military achievements of more recent forebears. M. Caecilius Metellus (cos. 115 B.C.) placed on the reverse of his denarii a Macedonian shield. In the centre of this appears the head of an elephant (Pl. I, 12: *RRC* no. 263, c. 127 B.C.). Here the design of the shield very clearly alludes to the victory over Andriscus in 148 B.C. of the moneyer's father Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (cos. 143 B.C.). The elephant head, however, seems to look back to a previous generation of the family, and the victory of L. Caecilius Metellus (cos. 251 B.C.) over Hasdrubal at Panormus in 250 B.C., and his capture there of Hasdrubal's elephants. Just a couple of years after this issue another member of the family, Caius the consul of 113 B.C., would decorate the reverse of his denarii with a biga pulled by elephants, presumably also an allusion to Panormus (Pl. I, 13: *RRC* no. 269, c. 125 B.C.).⁶⁰

Civic activity could also qualify for commemoration. The issue of P. Porcius Laeca literally speaks for itself (Pl. I, 14: *RRC* no. 301, c. 110 B.C.). On the reverse a magistrate in military dress, summoning a lictor carrying a rod, is faced by a Roman citizen in a toga. The latter's cry of 'provoco' is inscribed below in exergue. The allusion is presumably to one of the *Leges Porciae de provocatione* of the second century.⁶¹ N. Fabius Pictor, on the other hand, recorded his ancestor Q. Fabius Pictor's achievement in holding two offices (Flamen Quirinalis and praetor) at the same time in 189 B.C. (Pl. I, 15: *RRC* no. 268, c. 126 B.C.).

Finally, monuments dedicated to or established by ancestors were an equally obvious choice for depiction. Thus in around 114/113 B.C., Mn. Aemilius Lepidus placed on his denarii a depiction of the aqueduct begun by M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. (I) 187 B.C.), surmounted by an equestrian statue of the same man (Pl. I, 16: *RRC* no. 291). The acts, works, and monuments of the great consul of 187 B.C. would resurface on coins of the first century too.⁶²

How and why did this remarkable change in design come about? The favourite place to seek an explanation for this phenomenon has always been the contemporary political sphere,⁶³ and the publication in 1969 of *Roman Republican Coin Hoards* by Michael Crawford allowed a new element of precision in this approach. Taking a new look at the chronology of the coin issues of this period, Wiseman noted an upsurge of holders of the office of *triumvir monetalis* at around this time who subsequently went on to become consuls.⁶⁴ This suggested to him that the office of moneyer became more

⁵⁹ For this interpretation see Crawford *RRC* ad loc. and Zehnacker, op. cit. (n. 58), 465–6.

⁶⁰ The elephant had also appeared on the issue of yet another Metellus (*RRC* no. 262) a year or so previously. On the significance of these types see Crawford ad *RRC* nos 262, 263, and 269. On the commemoration of military activity in general on coins of this period see W. V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome* (1979), 21 with n. 2.

⁶¹ On the interpretation of this type see A. W. Lintott, 'Provocatio. From the struggle of the orders to the Principate', *ANRW* I.2, 226–67, at 249–53.

⁶² For the identification of the type of *RRC* no. 291 see M. Stuart, 'The denarius of M. Aemilius Lepidus and the Aqua Marcia', *AJA* 49 (1945), 226–51; Zehnacker, op. cit. (n. 58), 530; Crawford ad *RRC* no. 291. For later commemoration of M. Aemilius Lepidus' equestrian statue, his position as *Tutor Regis* to Ptolemy V, and the Basilica Aemilia see *RRC* no. 419.

⁶³ For explanations in terms of political parties or personal ambitions see e.g., G. MacDonald, *Coin Types* (1905), 190–1; H. Mattingly, 'Some new studies of the Roman Republican coinage', *PBA* 39 (1953), 239–85, at 281–2; idem, *Roman Coins*² (1960), 57; C. H. V. Sutherland, *Roman Coins* (1974), 61; A. Alföldi, 'The main aspects of political propaganda on the coinage of the Roman Republic', in R. A. G. Carson and C. H. V. Sutherland (eds), *Essays in Roman Coinage presented to Harold Mattingly* (1956), 63–95, at 71–2: 'Since the monetary representations concerning the idea of the state began to vanish in the decades of the Gracchi owing to the selfish efforts of the controlling officials to supplant the old devices by new ones, relating to the might and glory of their families, no general rules or prescriptions restrained the new trend.'

⁶⁴ T. P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate* (1971), 4–5, 148–9 with Appendix 6.

attractive to consular aspirants in the 140s–130s. This observation further suggested to him a link with the *Lex Gabinia tabellaria* of 139 B.C., a law which provided for secret ballots at elections and had considerable implications for the traditional system of patronage, potentially opening up the business of politics at Rome to self-advertisement in place of the old ways of the *nobiles*. Crawford has developed this idea further: ‘Once the possibilities had been seen, the consequences of the *Lex Gabinia* provided a consistent inducement to potential contestants for office to use the coinage for self-advertisement . . . ; use of the coinage was an obvious way in which men could attempt to bring their claims to public notice.’⁶⁵

Though superficially attractive, this interpretation is far from certain.⁶⁶ It may well be that these political and numismatic developments ran in parallel, but it does not automatically follow that there is a causal link between them. Moreover Wiseman’s conclusions are not beyond dispute: another study, published simultaneously with Wiseman’s own, draws quite different conclusions from the same evidence, finding only a handful of *monetales* who went on to have successful careers in the period 150–125 B.C.⁶⁷ It is also important to note that Wiseman’s own conclusion that ‘the moneyership quite suddenly became more popular with promising young members of powerful families at about the time (and doubtless as a result) of the *lex Gabinia* of 139’ can only be based upon the coin issues where the moneyer is clearly identifiable. Since many moneyers’ names before the middle of the second century are in the form of symbols, monograms, or abbreviations, accurate data for this period simply is not available. Wiseman’s conclusion may well be based upon a skewed body of evidence.

None the less, we would not wish to claim that the political circumstances were entirely irrelevant to the change we observe in coinage at this time. Potentially, as Burnett has argued, there may be a significant correlation from the 180s B.C. onwards between the families of moneyers responsible for the coinage and those of the contemporary consuls who, he suggests, were responsible for appointing them.⁶⁸ If Burnett is correct then it seems likely that consuls were often inclined to appoint members of their own family, sometimes their sons, as *tresviri monetales*. This cannot explain the sudden change in the model of Roman coinage in 130s, but it does suggest ways in which the coinage can be viewed as a political phenomenon. Since the *tresviri monetales* obviously could not have been appointed until after the consuls had been elected, we cannot on this reconstruction explain the choice of moneyers, and from the 130s their choice of designs, in terms of electoral gambit. The elections would already have taken place. Instead we have to view appointment to the moneyership as another aspect of the glory that accrued to a family from the election of one of its number to the consulship. In a sense, the harnessing of this additional perk for the good of the family was a natural development out of the circumstances in which it was acquired.

In fact, the over-simplicity of the supposed connection of the *Lex Gabinia* with altering coin types has recently come under attack on another front. In her work on ancestor masks Flower has argued that coin types of familial significance must be seen in the broader context of ancestral representation and commemoration in the Roman Republic.⁶⁹ This makes perfect sense. There was a strong tradition of commemoration of ancestors and their deeds in various media at Rome. The *imagines* are a good example. These wax death masks of the holders of high *imperium* were displayed prominently in the houses of their descendants. At public sacrifices and family funerals, according to

⁶⁵ Crawford, *RRC*, 728.

⁶⁶ For acceptance of his general proposition see e.g. A. Wallace-Hadrill, ‘Image and authority in the coinage of Augustus’, *JRS* 76 (1986), 66–87, at 74; Burnett, *op. cit.* (n. 23, 1987), 22. More cautious is Howgego, *op. cit.* (n. 55), 67.

⁶⁷ C. D. Hamilton, ‘The *tresviri monetales* and the Republican *cursus honorum*’, *TAPA* 100 (1969), 181–99, at 190.

⁶⁸ A. M. Burnett, ‘The authority to coin in the late Republic and early Empire’, *NC* 137 (1977), 37–63, at 40–4. His conclusions have not met with complete acceptance. See e.g. H. Mattingly, ‘The management of the Roman Republican mint’, *AJN* 29 (1982), 9–46, at 10–11; Crawford, *op. cit.* (n. 53), 56 n. 6.

⁶⁹ Flower, *op. cit.* (n. 56).

Polybius, these masks were worn by actors impersonating the ancestors.⁷⁰ It was, amongst other criteria, the ability to produce these masks at public processions that marked a family as *nobilis*, and, as we have noted, failure to perform this function adequately was a legitimate ground for action by the censors.⁷¹ Hence the current status of the family derived directly from the deeds of its ancestors. But these *imagines*, like the *laudatio* delivered at the funeral, were again just individual aspects of the Roman families' monumentalizing of their ancestors, and their own past: 'Further reminders', Flower notes, 'were provided by monuments and buildings, statues and their inscriptions, games or anniversaries, paintings, triumphs and rival political claims.'⁷²

No one, indeed, would claim that this entire monumental apparatus was established by the great families of Rome for the purpose of the political advancement of individual family members. Quite the reverse is surely true. Political advancement of individual family members was a means to maintain and expand the family's monumental portfolio. All aspects of this familial-ancestral monumentality concern family status: from the right to carry *imagines* to the right to post *spolia* outside one's home, to the building of monuments, to the counting of consuls or censors in the family tree. Such status could have political import, of course. In the crisis of the Second Punic War, when the Senate reached dangerously low membership levels, Livy tells us that the mechanism for replenishing it consisted of appointing new members from those who exhibited spoils outside their houses.⁷³ But the important point remains that the status offered by such monuments was the primary goal of their erection, only in exceptional circumstances did it become instrumental in the attainment of a particular political-electoral goal. The Roman *nobiles* did not for centuries post *spolia* on their doorposts in the hope that one day this would become a specific criterion for membership of the Senate. They did so for the prestige it brought them, their family, and through them the Roman state. It is in this constant drive to establish and maintain status that the earliest familial coin types find their context.

Public displays of status were central to the life of the Roman aristocracy. They could take various forms: ritual, rhetorical, architectural. But all were designed to remind their peers and the Roman people as a whole of the social and political position of the family concerned, and of its present and past members. The word in Latin that encapsulates all of these diverse activities is *monumentum*, which clearly derives from the same root from which Moneta was also thought to derive, the verb *moneo*.⁷⁴ A *monumentum* was whatever served as a means of bringing something or someone to mind. In Latin, as in English, the most frequent sense of the word was architectural. A *monumentum*, in general parlance, was a construction of bricks or stone dedicated to the memory of a person or an event, usually with an inscription and/or an image attached. More particularly, it might imply a grave monument, as indeed the word 'memorial' in English. But this was only one specific application of a potentially much wider meaning. So Porphyry: 'A monument is not just a grave-memorial but anything that bears witness to the memory (of something)';⁷⁵ while according to Varro: 'Remembering (*meminisse*) derives from memory (*memoria*) . . . From the same root is reminding (*monere*), because he who reminds (*monet*) is just like a memory. So also the monuments which are on

⁷⁰ Plb. 6.53.5–9: ἡ δ' εἰκὼν ἐστὶ πρόσωπον εἰς ὁμοιότητα διαφερόντως ἐξεργασμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν πλάσιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπογραφὴν. ταύτας δὴ τὰς εἰκόνας ἔν τε ταῖς δημοτελέσι θυσίαις ἀνοίγοντες κοσμοῦσι φιλοτίμως. ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκίῳ μεταλλάξῃ τις ἐπιφανῆς, ἄγουσιν εἰς τὴν ἐκφορὰν, περιτιθέντες ὡς ὁμοιοτάτοις εἶναι δοκοῦσι κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην περικοπήν. οὗτοι δὲ προσαναλαμβάνουσιν ἐσθῆτας, ἐὰν μὲν ὑπατος ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ γεγωνῶς, περιπορφύρουσ, ἐὰν δὲ τιμητῆς, πορφύρας, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ θεριαμβευκῶς ἢ τι τοιοῦτον κατεργασμένους, διαχρῦσους.

⁷¹ On the relation between the *imagines* and *nobilitas* see Flower, *op. cit.* (n. 56), esp. 61ff. On the role of the censors see above p. 36.

⁷² Flower, *op. cit.* (n. 56), 86.

⁷³ Livy 23.23.8. See E. Rawson, 'The antiquarian

tradition: spoils and representations of foreign armour', *RCS*, 582–98, at 583.

⁷⁴ See above pp. 33–4 with n. 37.

⁷⁵ Porph., *ad Hor. Carm.* 1.2.15: 'monumentum non sepulchrum tantum dicitur, sed omne quicquid memoriam testatur'; cf. *Dig.* 11.7.2.6 (Ulpian): 'monumentum est quod memoriae servandae gratia extitit' ('a monument is what exists for the purposes of preserving the memory'); Paulus ex Festo 123 L: 'monumentum est quod et mortui causa aedificatum est et quicquid ob memoriam alicuius factum est, ut fana, porticus, scripta et carmina' ('a monument is both what is built for the sake of a deceased person and whatever is made for the sake of someone's memory, like shrines, porticos, writings and poems').

tombs and in fact by the roadside, that they may remind passers-by that they themselves were mortal and that the passers-by are as well. From this, the other things that are written or done to preserve memory are called monuments (*monimenta*).⁷⁶ The architectural, and more specifically sepulchral, sense of the word may be primary for Varro, but he is clear that anything that calls to mind the memory of a person or an event can reasonably be called a *monumentum* without resorting to metaphor, as would be the case in modern English. In Latin, anything that is intended to call to mind (*monere*) the memory of a person or event is a *monumentum*, be it a work of history or poetry, an inscription, a building, or a statue.⁷⁷ The etymological connection which Varro constructs between *memoria*, *monere*, and *monimenta*, not to mention *manere* and *mens* elsewhere in the same passage, is similarly reflected in the correspondence cultivated between Latin *Moneta* and Greek *Mnemosyne*, the divine personification of memory, depending as it does on the same perceived nexus of associations between *monere* and *memoria* and the common Roman interpretation, whether right or wrong, of the name *Moneta* as deriving from *monere*.

The point of this digression into the meaning of *monumentum* is to point to the new monumental aspects of the coin types of the late Republic, and to the relevance of Juno Moneta to them. She has something more than the purely etymological to say about the unprecedented developments that occurred in Roman coin typology in this period. But in what sense can we consider coins as monuments? From the mid-sixteenth century A.D. onwards ancient coins were increasingly considered as monuments to the people and events of the ancient world by European antiquarians, along with many other sorts of non-literary evidence for the ancient past (though the collecting of ancient coins had begun in earnest in the fifteenth century).⁷⁸ The reason for this was that they provided evidence for, and recalled the memory of, events and people long gone simply by virtue of having survived, and because they bore images and inscriptions of individuals, especially Roman emperors, whose likenesses were brought back into general currency by the rediscovery of their coins in this period. The commemorative effect of these pieces of antiquity was appreciated and, in turn, taken up by the princes of Renaissance Italy in the fifteenth century who, in imitation of Roman emperors and in the hope of finding in their coins and medals a similarly long-lasting means of memorializing their own appearances and their *virtù*, had portraits of themselves imposed on their currencies and their medals, together with allegorical reverses representing their personal qualities on medals.⁷⁹ So they translated the residual, commemorative value of Roman imperial coin typology into a conscious intention with regard to their own coins and medals. We would argue that the Renaissance perception of the significance of Roman coin types was essentially correct, and that commemoration, the creation of a *monumentum*, is the appropriate cultural category within which to interpret the new developments in Roman coin typology of the late second century B.C.: not propaganda, at least in the sense of the circulation of a political message, but propagation of a different sort, that of the *memoria* and the *res gestae* (and at the end of the Republic the ancestral *imagines* as well) of the family to which the moneyer belonged.⁸⁰

From the examples mentioned above it is apparent that it was not just continuity that was dispensed with in the 130s B.C., so too was the exclusively civic, or royal, flavour of all previous Greek and Roman coin design. In its stead came not only variety and annual change, but also the invention of an entirely new conception of coin design that

⁷⁶ Varro, *LL* 6.49: 'meminisse a memoria . . . Ab eodem monere . . . ; sic monimenta quae in sepulcris, et ideo secundum viam, quo praetereuntis admoneant et se fuisse et illos esse mortalis. Ab eo cetera quae scripta ac facta memoriae causa monimenta dicta.'

⁷⁷ See *OLD* s.v. 'monumentum' 4–5.

⁷⁸ See R. Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (1969), 167–79 on the rise of numismatic collecting in the Renaissance; F. Haskell, *History and its Images* (1993), esp. 13–25, 87–9, on the developing use of coins as historical evidence in the sixteenth century; A. Schnapp, *The Discovery of*

the Past. The Origins of Archaeology (1996, English trans.), 182–5 on seventeenth-century developments.

⁷⁹ See, e.g., E. Corradini, 'Medallic portraits of the Este: *effigies ad vivum expressae*', in N. Mann and G. L. Syson (eds), *The Image of the Individual. Portraits in the Renaissance* (1998), 22–39; and G. L. Syson, 'Circulating a likeness? Coin portraits in late fifteenth-century Italy', *ibid.*, 113–25.

⁸⁰ For a list of ancestor portraits on Republican coins, beginning only in the 50s B.C., see *RRC*, 746. See also Flower, *op. cit.* (n. 56), 84.

permitted the inclusion of family-oriented types, presumably consciously chosen by the moneyer concerned. Designs no longer simply consisted of the unchanging symbols representative of a common civic identity, but came to be determined by the varying predilections of the successive members of the annual boards of magistrates responsible for producing the coinage, the *tresviri monetales*. The unprecedented shift in the typology of the denarius from immobility to constant motion is best understood in terms of monumentalization, that is the transformation of the previously neutral and unchanging field of coin design into an opportunity for commemorating and thereby advertising the reputations and achievements of the moneyer and his family. Those coins thus conceived — and it must be conceded that not all of the post-130s types were thus conceived⁸¹ — became small-scale but widely circulating monuments to the moneyer himself and to the family from which he sprang. They were also potentially long lasting, a crucial attribute of a successful monument. The ever-growing corpus of coin types in circulation in the late Republic thus came increasingly to constitute a competitive series of monumental images, testifying to the names and histories of some of the most famous Roman families.⁸²

The significance of monumentality to the change that was afoot is well demonstrated by two of the earliest of the new types to appear. Dated by Crawford to 135 and 134 B.C. (*RRC* nos 242 (Pl. I, 17) and 243), two moneyers named C. and Ti. Minucius Augurinus, probably brothers, both depict the Columna Minucia, an early Republican monument which was later thought to have been erected to commemorate the sterling deeds of their ancestor L. Minucius Augurinus who, according to various versions of an inconsistently told tale, was said to have distributed corn to the people in a time of shortage in 440 B.C. and informed the Senate of the evil intentions of Sp. Maelius who was aiming at kingship. On either side of the column are two figures: the one on the left who seems to be holding loaves is identified by Wiseman as L. Minucius himself, and by Crawford as P. or M. Minucius, consuls in 492 and 491 B.C. at a time of corn-distribution; while the one on the right who holds an augur's *lituus* is more securely identified as M. Minucius Faesus, who was among the first plebeian members of the college of augurs to be admitted by the Lex Ogulnia in 300 B.C. The togate figure on top of the column who holds a sceptre is identified by Crawford as L. Minucius himself, and by Wiseman as the divine or human founder of the Minucii.⁸³ However this may be, and whatever the various conflicting stories related to the identity and origin of this column, the point is clear that it had come to be generally accepted as a monument which commemorated a great benefit conferred on the people by a past member of the Minucian family. The representation, or commemoration, of this well-known Roman monument on a coin is an important new departure, but it would be wrong simply to read it as an indication of the incipient 'privatization' of the coinage in the period of the late Republic, still less as a part of the collapse of common Republican institutions in anticipation of the fall of the Republic itself.⁸⁴ Rather, this change is suggestive of the ways in which the story of the *populi Romani gesta* ('the deeds of the Roman people') was mostly understood by members of the great political families from the partial viewpoint of their own traditions,

⁸¹ See *RRC*, 729 on the return to 'public' types from 124 to 115 B.C.

⁸² That the coin types of the Republic and early Empire were regarded as monuments in later times is strongly suggested by the so-called 'restored types' of the late first and early second centuries A.D., when emperors re-issued coins with ancient types. On this phenomenon see H. B. Mattingly, 'The "restored" coins of Titus, Domitian and Nerva', *NC*⁴ 20 (1920), 177–207, and 'The restored coins of Trajan', *NC*⁵ 6 (1926), 232–78: 'There is good reason then for assuming that Trajan's restoration series was accepted as an historical monument to the Early Empire and Republic . . .' (at 278). The standard legend accompanying such 'restorations' consisted of the restoring emperor's name plus 'REST(ITVIT)', indicating a close conceptual parallel with the restoration of built monuments. These restorations raise the question of

the deliberate 'curation' of coins of types otherwise out of circulation. See now also a newly discovered 'restoration' of the reign of Gallienus, copying a Republican *quadrigatus* didrachm of the late third century B.C. which by then had been out of circulation for over 450 years. On which, see R. A. Abdy, 'A new coin type of Gallienus found in Hertfordshire', *NC* (forthcoming).

⁸³ For the various sources on L. Minucius see *RRC*, 273–4; with T. P. Wiseman, 'The Minucii and their monument', in *idem*, *Roman Drama and Roman History* (1998), 90–105.

⁸⁴ *contra*, e.g., *RRC*, 726; and T. P. Wiseman, 'Valerius Antias and the palimpsest of history', in *Wiseman*, *op. cit.* (n. 83), 77: 'More and more the standard symbols of the Roman community were replaced by "private" types, referring in particular to the family of the moneyer responsible for the design.'

the public memory and recognition of which they tried their best to foster and cultivate from generation to generation.⁸⁵ There was no inherent tension or conflict between a proper sense of Roman civic patriotism and a forthright and public proclamation of the family's outstanding record of achievement in the service of the Roman state. There is, after all, nothing new *per se* in the phenomenon of aristocratic self-promotion in the late second century B.C. by appeal to ancestral virtues and achievements. What *is* new, however, is the usurpation of the coinage as a medium for monumentalizing and publicizing these histories.

The use of historical, or monumental, *and* constantly changing reverse types is a specifically Roman phenomenon that begins in the late second century B.C. and persists down to the fourth century A.D. Many of what become the most characteristic kinds of Roman coin types — buildings, statues, and trophies — have their origins in this important development in Republican iconography. Two important questions arise, then. Why in Rome, and why in the late second century B.C.? Two points about the Romans seem important here: the role of public monuments in the political and social life of the Roman élite, and the highly competitive nature of late Roman Republican politics.

Architectural monuments in Rome were also taking on a new significance for the Roman nobility in the second century B.C., during which they were increasingly called by the name of the individual who had them built. This is a phenomenon that may reach back as far as the late fourth century B.C., if the names of the Via Appia and Aqua Appia of 312 B.C. are contemporary with their construction and not later.⁸⁶ Ap. Claudius' road was followed by a further series of named roads in the third century, and his aqueduct by the Aqua Marcia of the 140s.⁸⁷ Though there were buildings from the distant past thought to have been named after the kings who supposedly built them, such as the Tullianum or the Curia Hostilia, the custom of naming public buildings after their dedicators only really took off in the second century, during which several major monumental constructions were erected in the civic centre of Rome and named after the individuals who caused them to be built. By 120 B.C., there were in the city centre, and especially located around the Forum, a Circus Flaminius (221 B.C.); a Basilica Porcia (184 B.C.), Fulvia (179 B.C.), Sempronia (169 B.C.), Aemilia (160s? B.C.), and Opimia (121 B.C.);⁸⁸ a Fornix Scipionis (190 B.C.), a Fornix Fabianus (121 B.C.), and no less than three Fornices Stertini (196 B.C.); two Porticus Aemiliae (193 B.C.), a Porticus Octavia (168 B.C.), and a Porticus Metelli (147 B.C.) — all built within the previous century. This list is no doubt incomplete but it serves to demonstrate how the transformation of the public built environment of the city centre over the course of the second century brought with it the unprecedented application of the names of private individuals to the

⁸⁵ For *populi Romani gesta*, see Cato, *Origines*, fr. 1 Peter (= 1.1 in M Chassignet (ed.), *Caton. Les Origines (Fragments)* (1986)): 'si quos homines sunt, quos delectat populi Romani gesta describere . . .' ('If there are any people who take pleasure in recounting the history of the Roman people . . .').

⁸⁶ Among other early fourth- and third-century B.C. examples of monuments named after individuals, cf. the Columna Maenia, identified in the traditions either as a victory monument to C. Maenius of 318 B.C. or as a platform for watching the games constructed from the remains of the house of one Maenius demolished to make way for the Basilica Porcia in 184 B.C. (see M. Torelli in *LTUR* I, 301–2); the Columna Rostrata C. Duilii, a monument to the naval victory of C. Duilius of 260 B.C.; the Columna Rostrata M. Aemilii Pauli of 255 B.C.; and the Atrium Maenium and Atrium Titium, both demolished to make way for the Basilica Porcia in 184 B.C. (Livy 39.44–7).

On the adjectival use of the gentilicium for public and semi-public undertakings see further W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (1904), 510–12.

⁸⁷ T. P. Wiseman, 'Roman Republican road-building', in idem, *Roman Studies* (1987), 126–56 (= *PBSR* 37 (1970), 122–52). Cf. also the apparently second-century appearance of towns in Italy, especially in the North, named after Roman families, usually assumed to be those of their founders, e.g. Regium Lepidum, Forum Semproni, Forum Livi, Forum Flamini, Forum Licini. On which see E. Ruoff Väänänen, *Studies on the Italian Fora* (1982).

⁸⁸ For the controversy on the locations and history of the Basilicas Fulvia and Aemilia, see E. M. Steinby, 'Il lato orientale del Foro Romano', *Arctos* 21 (1987), 139–84; eadem in *LTUR* I, 167–8, and H. Bauer, *ibid.*, 173–5; T. P. Wiseman, 'Rome and the resplendent Aemilii', in Wiseman, *op. cit.* (n. 83), 106–20.

public monuments of the city of Rome.⁸⁹ The Roman aristocratic culture of monumentality was expanding its range beyond the construction or refinement of private monuments such as domestic dwellings, which were increasing in magnificence in this period, and funerary monuments such as the tombs of the Scipios, which were embellished architecturally in the middle of the second century, to encompass major new public building projects which imported new Greek architectural styles, no doubt incorporating highly visible inscriptions recording the name of the dedicator, and which changed the face of the Republican city centre.⁹⁰ These developments are clearly paralleled in the apparent encroachment of inscriptions and types relating to individuals and their families onto the coins. The new coin types of the latter part of the period thus begin to make sense within the context of a certainly changing, and probably intensifying, culture of competitive aristocratic monumentality over the second century, which saw the inclusion of new fields for public display and commemoration within its reach.

It is surely no coincidence that a hard battle was being fought over the history of Rome by its historians in the late second and early first centuries B.C.⁹¹ Central to this, apparently, was the question of the fabrication of the history of early Rome by historians and other individuals seeking to give false pedigrees, unearned status, to certain families. Such at least was the perception of the author of the *Elenchos Chronon*, so too of Cicero and Livy: 'I am inclined to think [wrote Livy at the end of Book 8] that history has been much corrupted by means of funeral panegyrics, false inscriptions on *imagines*, as each family has sought by false representation to appropriate to itself the fame of warlike exploits and public honours.'⁹²

The history of the development of Latin historiography in the second century B.C. is fraught with uncertainty. However, certain general trends and debates can be recovered from the fragmentary remains of its shadowy practitioners. The main question at issue, then as indeed now, was essentially how the ancient history of Rome could be retrieved, between its mythical beginnings and the more securely attested later period after, say, the supposed destruction of Rome by the Gauls in 387 B.C., which was sometimes thought to have destroyed most of the city and with it all existing public records.⁹³ It could not of course, at least not straightforwardly, and so the process that Badian has memorably dubbed 'the expansion of the past' continued unabated.⁹⁴ The general lines of the process can be followed by examining the indications contained within the fragments of the historians of this period of the length of their respective works. The earliest Latin writers of history in the early second century, Cato and L. Cassius Hemina, took four books to reach the Second Punic War. So too around 130

⁸⁹ For a conspectus of building activity in and around Rome in the second century B.C., see F. Coarelli, 'Public building in Rome between the Second Punic War and Sulla', *PBSR* 45 (1977), 1–23, esp. 4–6 and 20–3. For accounts of the development of the public and private architecture of Rome in this period, see P. Gros and M. Torelli, *Storia dell'urbanistica. Il mondo romano* (1988), 104–16; P. Gros, 'L'urbanesimo romano dopo le guerre d'Oriente', in *Storia di Roma* vol. 2.1 (1990), 385–98; F. Kolb, *Rom. Die Geschichte der Stadt in der Antike* (1995), 198–221.

⁹⁰ On the tomb of the Scipios, see F. Coarelli, *Il Sepolcro degli Scipioni a Roma* (1988). On Hellenistic parallels in the naming of architectural and other benefactions to Greek cities after their royal donors, see K. Bringmann, 'The king as benefactor: some remarks on ideal kingship in the age of Hellenism', in A. W. Bulloch, E. S. Gruen, A. Long and A. Stewart (eds), *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World* (1993), 7–24; for the evidence, see K. Bringmann and H. von Steuben (eds), *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer*, vol. 1, *Zeugnisse und Kommentar* (1995).

⁹¹ A coincidence first noted by Alföldi, *op. cit.* (n. 63), 74. Interestingly, as Frier, *op. cit.* (n. 17), 217–18, has pointed out, it is from around 135 B.C., precisely the time of the revolution of the denarius types, that a preference becomes apparent in the sources for the title *annales* for the works of the historians of this period.

⁹² Livy 8.40.4–5: 'Vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor falsisque imaginum titulis, dum familiae ad se quaeque famam rerum gestarum honorumque fallente mendacio trahunt; inde certe et singulorum gesta et publica monumenta rerum confusa.' Cf. Cic., *Brut.* 62: 'quamquam his laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior. multa enim scripta sunt in eis quae facta non sunt: falsi triumphi, plures consulatus, genera etiam falsa et ad plebem transitiones, cum homines humiliores in alienum eiusdem nominis infunderentur genus.' See further Frier, *op. cit.* (n. 50), 92–3.

⁹³ On the destruction of public and private historical records in the Gallic sack, see Livy 6.1.2 (*monumentis*), and Plut., *Num.* 1.1.

⁹⁴ E. Badian, 'The early historians', in T. A. Dorey (ed.), *Latin Historians* (1966), 1–38, at 11.

B.C. did the annalist L. Piso Frugi.⁹⁵ The decade or so that followed, however, saw the publication of the history of Cn. Gellius. With Gellius, who was, as it happens, quite possibly a moneyer around 138 B.C. (Pl. I, 18: *RRC* no. 232), the history of Rome took on an entirely different scale. Where his predecessors had taken four books to reach the Hannibalic War, Gellius reached the events of 216 B.C. somewhere between Books 30 and 33 (even Livy would get there in twenty-three). Gellius' work was immense, unfeasibly so.⁹⁶ Whether Gellius was single-handedly responsible for this explosion of early history, or (which seems more probable) he comes towards the end of a period of fervid elaboration of stories, is impossible to say, and for our purposes does not matter. What does matter, and what seems indisputable is that the last third of the second century B.C. saw a significant increase in the quantity of Roman historiography, that this provoked debate among authors at the time about the credibility of what had been written, both in detail and in general, and that one of the criticisms levelled at the new historiography was that it had placed too much trust in unreliable sources purporting to stem from the early Republic, in particular the traditions maintained and monumentalized by the great Roman families, as a means of making sense of the early history of Rome.

The other major development in late second-century historiography was the composition of antiquarian works on aspects of the Roman constitution, laws, and sacred traditions. C. Sempronius Tuditanus, consul in 129 B.C., and one M. Iunius Gracchanus both wrote works on Roman magistracies, while the doyen of the first generation of Roman antiquarians, L. Aelius Stilo, as only one aspect of a varied output, wrote commentaries on the *Carmen Saliare* and probably the Twelve Tables.⁹⁷

It was this same period that saw the appearance of family stories on the coinage of Rome. It is no doubt chance that the Columna Minucia was one of the earliest family monuments to appear on coins, and that the story that lay behind its erection was the subject of an examination and vindication by Macer through recourse to the *Libri Lintei*.⁹⁸ But the coincidence clearly shows that coin designers and historians of this period were drawing on a similar repertoire of family stories that often related to the monumental features of the city. At a broader level the connection between the new coin types of the late second century B.C. and the expansion in historiography of the same period is more than coincidental. For they are both aspects of an important feature of late Republican Roman culture, the monumentalization of the past in both built and written forms. In answer to the question, 'why monumentalize?', Woolf has argued that built monumentality is often to be interpreted as a response to a perception of social change and instability on the part of the monument-builders.⁹⁹ The monuments they construct are meant to last forever, to outlive the present, and thereby to deny change. Similarly, Rawson saw the vogue for antiquarian historiography in the late second century as a response to a perception of contemporary social tension and political change.¹⁰⁰ Antiquarianism of this sort monumentalized the Roman past in written,

⁹⁵ For fundamental discussion of the second-century historians, E. Rawson, 'The first Latin annalists', *RCS*, 245–71 (= *Latomus* 35 (1976), 689–717). On Piso, see now G. Forsythe, *The Historian L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi and the Roman Annalistic Tradition* (1994).

⁹⁶ cf. Badian, op. cit. (n. 94), 12: 'there was simply not as much information to be had as Gellius produced.'

⁹⁷ E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (1985), 234–5. For Tuditanus' work on magistracies, see Macr., *Sat.* 1.13.21. The M. Junius, surnamed Gracchanus (because of his friendship with the Gracchi according to Plin., *NH* 33.36), who wrote a work *De Potestatibus* (mentioned by Cic., *Leg.* 3.49, who says it was dedicated to Atticus' father; *Dig.* 1.13.1.pr. (Ulpian) in connection with the origin of the quaestorship; and Lyd., *De Mag.* 1.24), is usually presumed to be identical with Junius Congus, a historian and legal writer mentioned by Cicero (*De*

Or. 1.256; *Planc.* 58), and a Iunius Congus named by Lucilius as his ideal reader, neither too learned nor ignorant (595f. MARX = 591–3 Krenkel = 26.17 Charpin). For discussion, see C. Cichorius, *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius* (1908), 121–7; B. Rankov, 'M. Junius Congus the Gracchan', in M. Whitby, P. Hardie and M. Whitby (eds), *Homo Viator. Classical Essays for John Bramble* (1987), 89–94. On Aelius Stilo, see R. A. Kaster (ed.), *C. Suetonius Tranquillus. De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* (1995), 68–70.

⁹⁸ Livy 4.13.7 with Frier, op. cit. (n. 17), 156.

⁹⁹ G. D. Woolf, 'Monumental writing and the expansion of Roman society in the early Empire', *JRS* 86 (1996), 22–39, at 30–1.

¹⁰⁰ Rawson, op. cit. (n. 95), 260; and eadem, 'Cicero as historian and antiquarian', *RCS*, 58–79 (= *JRS* 62 (1972), 33–45), at 62: 'Just as the crisis of the late second century had stimulated a first flowering of antiquarianism, the breakdown of Republican order in the fifties gave the impulse for the second.'

literary form, providing by resort to the deep antiquity of the people of Rome a moral antidote to the current ills of the time however they were variously defined by different observers. And the narratives of past events related by these authors were often situated topographically around some surviving monument within the city itself as well as chronologically within the annalistic framework.¹⁰¹ From the fragments it appears that the historian and political figure L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, consul in 133 B.C., wrote a good deal about the past history of Rome, and particularly about its built monuments.¹⁰² He also famously thought that Rome was in moral decline, dating the inception of this slide to 154 B.C., when a fig tree sprouted on the altar of Jupiter on the Capitol. From that time onwards, says Pliny, in the estimation of Piso, that venerable author (*gravis auctor*), decent behaviour had been overthrown (*puccitiam subversam*).¹⁰³ Moralism of this sort need not have been an indispensable attribute of the late second-century historian, but it was clearly rather characteristic, as it was of many prominent Romans of the time.

There are other signs that particular attention was being paid to the monuments of the area around the Capitol and the Forum in the late second century B.C., and that this too had a close connection with the prevailing sense of moral unease and real horror at the increasingly murderous violence that characterized Roman political life. The temple of Concordia was rebuilt in 121 B.C. and the Basilica Opimia probably also constructed in the same year, as was the Fornix Fabianus; the temple of Castor was rebuilt in 117 B.C.; and the temples of Mens and Fides were also both reconstructed, probably shortly thereafter.¹⁰⁴ It is perhaps also to this period of intense architectural remodelling that the 'Tabularium' belongs.¹⁰⁵ It is clear that in the case of the twin monuments of 121 B.C. commissioned by L. Opimius there was a moral and political point, especially in his restoration of the temple of Concord after an episode of bitter civil strife. This may also have been so in the case of the refundations of the Capitoline temples of Mens and Fides, both probably initiated by the great M. Aemilius Scaurus in his year as consul in 115 B.C.¹⁰⁶ This was also the year of what seems to have been an extraordinarily severe census when thirty-two senators, or about 11 per cent of the total, were expelled by the censors L. Caecilius Metellus and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who must also have appointed Scaurus as *princeps senatus*.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps this was a year of moral posturing in which antiquarian refundations and censorial harshness were prominent themes in the wake of partisan conflicts consequent upon the turbulent years 122–21 B.C.¹⁰⁸ Scaurus also carried a sumptuary law as consul, always a favourite of would-be moralists, and

¹⁰¹ cf. Cic., *De Or.* 2.53 (of Fabius Pictor, Cato, and Piso): 'sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum gestarumque rerum relinquerunt' ('they left records only of times, people, places and deeds, devoid of all rhetorical embellishment').

¹⁰² Rawson, *op. cit.* (n. 95), 251–65.

¹⁰³ Fr. 38 Peter = Pliny, *NH* 17.244. For another of his moralizing outbursts, cf. fr. 40 Peter ap. Cic., *Fam.* 9.22.2: 'Piso ille Frugi in annalibus suis queritur, adulescentes peni deditos esse' ('The famous Piso Frugi complains in his History that the young men are given over to the penis').

¹⁰⁴ For references, see Coarelli, *op. cit.* (n. 89), 22. The refundation of the Capitoline temple of Ops is often dated to c. 117 B.C. and attributed to L. Metellus Delmaticus (cos. 119 B.C.). This is entirely uncertain. See J. Aronen in *LTUR* III, 362–4 for the evidence.

¹⁰⁵ cf. Purcell, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 150–1. If, as seems plausible, the connection between this building and the two inscriptions (*CIL* I².737 = *ILS* 35 = *ILLRP* 367; *CIL* I².736 = *ILS* 35a = *ILLRP* 368) traditionally assumed to pin its construction to 78 B.C. is thought not to be beyond doubt, its date can be allowed to be a more movable feast, regardless of its eventual identity. Purcell also conjectures (*ibid.*, 151 and 'Rediscovering the Forum', *JRA* 2 (1989), 156–70, at 161) that the

location of the Basilica Opimia might be sought in the porticoed façade running along the south-east face.

¹⁰⁶ That Scaurus rededicated both these temples is attested by Cicero, *ND* 2.61. The exact date is not. See C. Reusser in *LTUR* II, 249–52 on Fides and III, 240–1 on Mens, who proposes that Scaurus vowed both temples whilst on campaign in northern Italy as consul in 115 B.C., and dedicated them as censor in 109. He firmly rejects the notion (argued for by H. G. Martin, *Römische Tempelkultbilder* (1987), 126–31) that the Scaurus in question was his son of the same name, the aedile of 58 B.C. See further *idem*, *Der Fidestempel auf dem Kapitol in Rom und seine Ausstattung* (1993), 55–61.

¹⁰⁷ See Astin, *op. cit.* (n. 45), 28–31. On the evidence for Scaurus' appointment as *princeps senatus* in 115 B.C., see *MRR* I, 533 n. 2.

¹⁰⁸ It is also worth noting that L. Piso Frugi must have been censor in 120 B.C. There is no clear evidence that he exercised an especially severe censorship, though his extra *cognomen* Censorius is at least suggestive, unless it simply means 'former censor'. Not all censors were so named however, and the frequency of its use in connection with Piso surely suggests that his censorship was especially memorable. See *MRR* I, 523 and Forsythe, *op. cit.* (n. 95), 421 for the sources.

went on to be censor in the next college of 109 B.C., though he was forced to resign by the tribunes upon the death of his colleague, M. Livius Drusus.¹⁰⁹

If it is right to see this resort to the monuments, people, and events of the Roman past in the late second century as a historiographical, antiquarian, and religious response, whether escapist or prophetic in intent, to widespread contemporary uncertainties and anxieties about the moral state of the Roman commonwealth, then the same urge to monumentality in a time of perceived change may also help to explain the appearance of the new types that appear on Roman coins in the late second century B.C. The historians of the period monumentalized the past in written form, while the new coin types sought to monumentalize the past of the moneyers' families in visual form, not however for instrumentally conceived electoral purposes, but to stress in a similarly moralizing, antiquarian manner the grand achievements of past members of the family as exemplars for today's generation.

The public commemoration of family history had a long tradition in Rome. But why monumentalize and historicize the designs on the coinage in this way? It is, after all, a wholly unprecedented development in the history of ancient coinage, and needs a further piece of explanation fully to make sense of it. The answer, it seems to us, lies in the character of Moneta. She is not merely an important divine guarantor of weights and measures, she also had a historical dimension, to which the *libri lintei* testify. She was the Roman *Mnemosyne*, in which capacity she certified the authenticity of memory and the recorded past as well as the genuineness of Roman coins and measures. Moneta guaranteed the standard of the coinage, and therefore she also ensured the authenticity of the scenes that appeared on her coinage. Macer's discovery of the Linen Rolls in her temple is the literary equivalent of a moneyer's imposition of a scene from his family's traditions onto a coin: both imply a strong and persuasive claim to reliability and genuineness. The association with Moneta in each case indicates that both coin and document are meant to be true and trustworthy *monumenta* of the Roman past.

To sum up, we think that we have taken the study of the significance of Moneta and the siting of the mint of Rome a few steps further than the etymological or the aetiological. As so often, Mommsen was closest when in his *Römische Geschichte* he called her the *Göttin der Erinnerung*.¹¹⁰ She is the goddess who acts as guarantor both of historical memory and of standards of measurement and coinage, and who also guards against falsifications of either. This, it seems to us, is the more significant aspect of her status as warning goddess with regard to the location of the mint and her association with weights and measures, which her other role as warner against impending disasters does not so well explain.

Moneta comes out from behind the confused tradition concerning the foundation of her temple as having a wider and more interesting function as the maintainer of standards of truth and accuracy of many different sorts. We neither wish, nor need, to argue that this was her 'original' or 'real' significance, nor that she acquired her role as averter of disaster at a secondary stage, though that may have happened. Ancient deities were elusive, many-sided beings, with various functions and aspects which did not necessarily coalesce into a single, theologically definable personality. All that we need to show is that the divine person of Moneta had associations wider than merely warning against military or natural disaster, that she was also understood as a goddess connected with accurate memory and recording, and that as such she was closely implicated in the maintenance of reliable weights and measures, and the preservation of records from the past. Moreover the topographical location of Moneta's temple on the Capitol, close to the Atrium Libertatis and probably too the Atrium Libertatis, ensured that both of these areas of record served a practical purpose. This crucial aspect of Moneta, her role as unimpeachable guardian of records, explains why the coinage was adopted as an appropriate medium for the exposition of historical scenes from the Roman past testifying to the ancestral virtues of the moneyers' families, and thereby participating in the Roman concept of the *monumentum*.

¹⁰⁹ Sources for consulship in *MRR* I, 531; for censorship in *MRR* I, 545.

¹¹⁰ T. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte* (1920), I, 216.

Secondly, we propose monumentality as the heading under which the unique phenomenon of the changing coin types of the late Republic should be investigated.¹¹¹ Propaganda, a term we have deliberately avoided throughout this paper, was never quite the right term for it, but there were no persuasive alternatives.¹¹² There was clearly some kind of communication of a message going on, but the word propaganda has far too many inappropriate and anachronistic connotations attached to it. Romans did try concerted efforts to diffuse facts and ideas about themselves, not however in order to *persuade* an audience of a particular political or ideological viewpoint, but in order to *remind* people of their appearances, of their achievements in war and politics, their virtues and their renown. The monumentalizing of the typology of the coinage was one response on the part of members of the Roman political class to the ever more strenuous competition for high office and social prestige that characterized the late Republican scene in the second century B.C., just as the rise of antiquarian historiography can also be seen as a moralizing reaction to the anxieties provoked by changes in the character of Roman public life in this period. Both together point to a general retreat in contemporary thought to the safe moral ground of the Roman past, whether as a solution to, or an escape from, the intractable problems of the present. But in so doing Roman history itself became a field of conflict as the controversies of the day were played out in disputes over the past: whether concerning issues of political principle such as the contested nature of the Roman Republic, to which antiquarian and historical questions relating to the origins and development of the various organs of the Roman state could be crucial; or more personally-motivated issues such as competition for places in the consular lists or the triumphal *fasti* of the early Republic (which no doubt intensified at the same time as their correlates in the present).

The invention of a new kind of monument to the Roman past in the new-style designs on the Roman coinage was intended to promote ideas of continuity and tradition in relation to the family to which the moneyer belonged, and to the Roman state as a whole. This is, after all, characteristically how monuments purport to operate. But, set within the historical context of the late Republic, the monumental façade which was so industriously constructed in architecture, writing, and the coinage in the late second century B.C. is revealed as a response to and index of irreversible social change.

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¹¹¹ For a similar conclusion with regard to Roman imperial coins, see the excellent article by A. Cheung, 'The political significance of Roman imperial coin types', *SM* 48 (1998), 53–61.

¹¹² For a recent review of the long-standing debate about propaganda and coin types, see B. Levick, 'Messages on Roman coinage: types and inscriptions', in Paul and Ierardi, *op. cit.* (n. 58), 41–60.



1. AR DENARIUS OF C. LICINIUS MACER, *RRC* NO. 354; *BMCRR* ROME NO. 2468; 2. ANONYMOUS DENARIUS, *RRC* NO. 44; *BMCRR* ROME NO. 6; 3. AR DENARIUS, 'BIRD AND TOD', *RRC* NO. 141; *BMCRR* ROME NO. 591; 4. AR DENARIUS OF C. VAR., *RRC* NO. 74; *BMCRR* ROME NO. 288; 5. AR DENARIUS OF C. IUNIUS C.F., *RRC* NO. 210; *BMCRR* ROME NO. 663; 6. AR DENARIUS OF TI. VETURIUS, *RRC* NO. 234; *PCR* NO. 82; 7. AR DENARIUS OF SEX. POMPEIUS, *RRC* NO. 235; *BMCRR* NO. 927; 8. AR DENARIUS OF SEX. IULIUS CAESAR, *RRC* NO. 258; *BMCRR* ROME NO. 1140; 9. AR DENARIUS OF L. IULIUS CAESAR, *RRC* NO. 320; *BMCRR* ROME NO. 1405; 10. AR DENARIUS OF L. POMPONIUS MOLO, *RRC* NO. 334; *PCR* NO. 122; 11. AR DENARIUS OF C. SERVILIUS, *RRC* NO. 264; *BMCRR* ROME NO. 1166; 12. AR DENARIUS OF M. CAECILIUS METELLUS, *RRC* NO. 263; *BMCRR* ROME NO. 1146; 13. AR DENARIUS OF C. CAECILIUS METELLUS, *RRC* NO. 269; *BMCRR* ROME NO. 1180; 14. AR DENARIUS OF P. PORCIUS LAECA, *RRC* NO. 301; *PCR* NO. 114; 15. AR DENARIUS OF N. FABIUS PICTOR, *RRC* NO. 268; *BMCRR* ROME NO. 1176; 16. AR DENARIUS OF MN. AEMILIUS LEPIDUS, *RRC* NO. 291; *PCR* NO. 106; 17. AR DENARIUS OF C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, *RRC* NO. 242; *BMCRR* ROME NO. 953; 18. AR DENARIUS OF CN. GELLIUS, *RRC* NO. 232; *BMCRR* ROME NO. 919.

(References for individual specimens are to H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (1910) or R. A. G. Carson, *Principal Coins of the Romans* (1978))

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