

A place for peace in a time of war

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COINS
OF THE
ROMAN REVOLUTION
49BC-AD14
EVIDENCE WITHOUT HINDSIGHT



Edited by
Anton Powell
and
Andrew Burnett

COINS OF THE ROMAN REVOLUTION,
49 BC–AD14

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Editors

Anton Powell and Andrew Burnett

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The Classical Press of Wales, an independent venture, was founded in 1993, initially to support the work of classicists and ancient historians in Wales and their collaborators from further afield. It now publishes work initiated by scholars internationally, and welcomes contributions from all parts of the world.

The symbol of the Press is the Red Kite. This bird, once widespread in Britain, was reduced by 1905 to some five individuals confined to a small area known as ‘The Desert of Wales’ – the upper Tywi valley. Geneticists report that the stock was saved from terminal inbreeding by the arrival of one stray female bird from Germany. After much careful protection, the Red Kite now thrives – in Wales and beyond.

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ANTON POWELL
(1947–2020)

Anton Powell died on 11 June 2020. The world has lost a great scholar of the history and historiography of ancient Greece and Rome.

I first met Anton in 1994, the year after he launched the Classical Press of Wales. We met at the Classical Association conference in Exeter, where I was lucky enough to hold a Leverhulme Fellowship shortly after completing my doctoral thesis. Already at that conference he was talking about a future project – an investigation of Caesar’s Commentaries, which had received very little scholarly attention for many decades. After my return to Sydney, I received an invitation to join his team at Hay-on-Wye in 1996, where the papers that eventually became *Julius Caesar as Artful Reporter* were first presented. What came next was a complete surprise. Anton wrote again, asking if I would consider co-editing the volume with him, an offer I gladly accepted. The initiative says so much about Anton Powell. He was willing to ignore the inconvenience of having his fellow editor on the other side of the world, as well as my lack of experience, because he thought I could do the job. He had also identified a kindred spirit, although it was the later discovery of our common interest in Sextus Pompeius, Anton’s favourite figure from the Civil War period, that cemented our friendship and our scholarly alliance. New South Wales and Old South Wales, he would say, should unite to reanimate the investigation of the “forgotten decade” of the civil war, to get people to read Appian and Cassius Dio as well as Virgil and Propertius, and, especially, to read the period without the sense of an inevitable Caesarian victory that pervades ancient and modern discussions.

Over the more than two decades that followed (and, for the first of those, without any of the technology that we now have at our fingertips), I learned the art of editing at the feet of a consummate master. His excellence sprang from meticulous attention to detail. He relied not just on his thorough knowledge of the ancient languages but also an acute instinct for style, argument, and narrative flow. And, as many grateful authors can attest (myself very much included), he had a finely-tuned radar for picking up errors, even in material well outside his own fields of expertise. That radar was also perfect for discerning potential wherever it could be found, and thus his comments aimed always and only to bring about the best possible outcome for anything he published.

So much has changed in the study of the Roman Revolution since 1994. From being “the forgotten decade”, it is now attracting attention from a huge number of scholars across the world. Anton Powell played a fundamental part in that shift. He led from the front with several more edited collections as well as a monograph of his own, but he also encouraged others to open up this important field. The main (and now famous) title of his monograph, *Virgil the Partisan*, advertised the content, but the rider, a *Study of the Re-integration of Classics*, spoke to his project of bringing together those who consider themselves historians and those who focus on poetic or other “literary” texts. One of the most profound moments in his introduction to that book asked readers what they would not know about the history of the civil wars if they had only the contemporary poetic texts that his own book examined in microscopic detail. The titles he gathered under the book series *Roman Culture in an Age of Civil War* also attest his profound desire to read different categories of evidence together and to facilitate conversations between scholars with diverse disciplinary and cultural backgrounds.

In this spirit, Anton long dreamed of gathering a group of experts to examine the rich numismatic evidence for the Age of Civil War. It was not until 2016 that the panel that led to this book took place under the umbrella of the Celtic Conference in Classics (another of his initiatives) at University College Dublin. I was lucky enough to be there, and to see the fruits of so much intellectual endeavour and scholarly passion. Once again, Anton had assembled the right team for the job, and, as it sadly transpired, did so in good time – just. With the editing of the volume almost completed in December 2019, he was proud to reveal the results to me ahead of publication. These essays are a fitting *monumentum* to a scholar who changed the way we read and understand the Roman civil wars and the age that followed them.

Kathryn Welch

INTRODUCTION

This volume originated as a panel at the Ninth Celtic Conference in Classics at University College Dublin, 22–25 June 2016. The panel was conceived by Anton Powell, with advice from Dr Kathryn Welch. It attracted some 17 papers, 11 of which are represented here. Andrew Burnett attended the panel and accepted the invitation to share responsibility for editing the planned volume, and to write its Introduction.

The theme of the volume arose from the convergence of several special interests, and of Anton Powell's convictions. First, the book is meant as a small stimulus towards resisting the seductiveness of hindsight, which affects all areas of the study of ancient history and is already the subject of *Hindsight in Greek and Roman History* (edited by Anton Powell, CPW, 2013). Unlike historians, Rome's citizens and provincial subjects in the thirteen years after the collapse of Julius Caesar's autocracy did not know what was coming. At the time there might, for many, be a Republic to restore, but there was certainly no Principate of Augustus to be explained. To explore the mentality of those adults who lived through the period 49 BC–AD 14 is an exacting test of method, because our literary sources were written years later, focusing on the route, or even the inevitability, of Octavian's rise to power. Pointers to a different outcome, such as Octavian's insecure health, his unpopularity at Rome, and his military ineptitude (as demonstrated both at Philippi and in the wars against Sextus Pompeius), tend to be undervalued. For writers under the Principate such memories might obstruct political correctness as to the legitimacy, and so the stability, of Julius Caesar's 'son' and of his successors. In modern times they may distract from a historical syllabus which, understandably, seeks to simplify by stressing those facts which conduced to Octavian's rise. What results is a gulf between the mentality of those, on the one hand, who lived through the events we study, and whose chief concern was to protect themselves by forecasting amid intense uncertainty, and, on the other hand, historians tempted to neglect those forecasts – the majority of which, perhaps – were not fulfilled. Such predictions, with hindsight, may seem to have 'led nowhere'. However, in reality they led contemporaries in many directions. Those directions may have led to lost battles, slaughter, and to the economic ruin of large territories; that in itself is still 'somewhere'. And even the subsequent propagandistic history of victors can often not be understood without knowledge of the resistance, armed, ideological or intellectual, which they eventually overcame.

The period from Caesar's death to the early 20s BC has accordingly been, until recently, particularly understudied. In part, as already suggested, that is for pedagogic reasons: these years of grand insecurity are conceived as falling between two areas of syllabus, the Late Republic and the Early Principate. Paradoxically, however, our literary information for this 'intermediate' period is relatively rich, at least before the Battle of Actium. In particular the period down to 35, for which both Appian (whose surviving narrative ended then) and Dio supply much information, is – for us – far more copiously detailed than later years. One has only to note how Dio's narrative dwindles in volume as Augustus' reign proceeds. What chiefly vitiates these literary narratives, however, is their Augustan bias. So here the historian should turn gratefully to the coins. Coinage, always a medium which deserves study by the historian but often neglected in comparison with literary texts, is shown by the Roman revolutionary period perhaps at its fullest didactic value. Our book, then, is part of a series intended to encourage study of a medium, coinage, and of a period, both of which are fertile and under-explored.

The coinage studied here reflects, as compared with earlier and later periods of comparable length, a far greater diversity of individuals with high ambitions. The chief focus in our present book is on issues struck in the interests of seven pretenders and warlords: Julius Caesar, Antony, Octavian, Sextus Pompeius, Cato 'Uticensis', Metellus Scipio, Cornu(i)ficius. Less ambitious official moneyers also receive attention. There were of course numerous other grand dynasts, less noticed here, of whom Brutus, Cassius, Lepidus and Domitius Ahenobarbus are only the best known. It has not been our purpose, then, to be comprehensive in the study of individuals, but rather by extensive sampling to demonstrate the possibilities of a historical method. That method involves a principle which, once more, should pervade the study of ancient (as indeed of modern) history: the interpretation of ideals expressed. Coins were a prime site for the statement of (usually self-serving) ideals. And ideals when stated should always be examined as potential evidence of corresponding problems. A noted historian of Rome, M.P. Charlesworth, wrote well of a later period in Roman history: 'Coins proclaim the "Loyalty of the Armies", *Fides exercituum*, at the very time when armies are rebelling; or "The Unity of the Armies", *Concordia exercituum*, when they are turning their swords against each other' (quoted at de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, 1981, 392). This was no mere irony of history, but points to a fundamental cognitive method, one deployed with success from our earliest years but sometimes neglected in the course of mature research. Thus every English-speaking child in the 20th century is likely to have

known what was (likely to be) happening if they heard the idealising phrase ‘Big boys don’t cry’. Whereas, to take an example from Athenian social history, scholars may still be tempted to be slightly too impressed, too depressed, by Perikles’ reported remark that widows should have the lowest possible reputation among males (Thuc. 2.45.2). Statements of ideal, on coins as elsewhere, point – sometimes misleadingly – to the sensibilities, the values, of a particular intended audience. However, in the case of our coins there are, as yet, learned differences of opinion, touched on in this book, as to whether their images and legends were intended primarily to impress (potential) soldiers or a wider public.

Coins of the best-known Roman revolutionary era allow a small host of rival pretenders, or their trusted agents, to speak to us directly. These coins reveal hopes for a future which we, unlike Romans of the time, know would never transpire. For example, after the deaths of Caesar (in 44 BC) and Cicero (in 43) hardly one word has been reliably transmitted to us from even the two most powerful opponents of Octavian: Mark Antony and Sextus Pompeius – except through the medium of coinage and the occasional inscription. But to look at closely, or better still to hold in the hand, coins of the era encourages the imaginative effort to see the world as did, for a moment, the warlords and politicians responsible for their issue. That effort is particularly necessary for these revolutionary years, because of the influence of its three best-known surviving texts. Augustus in the *Res Gestae*, and Virgil in *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, sought to remove the nuances and contours from the history of the period, and largely to efface Octavian’s defeated rivals. Antony is named only once in those three texts (*Aen.* 8.685), and Sextus not at all. This impoverished picture has imposed itself for millennia. In our own age, when public untruthfulness about recent events is increasingly accepted – or challenged, we may value anew the discipline of searching in the ancient world for other voices which ruling discourse has not quite managed to silence.

The civil wars at the end of first century BC were a period of continuous bloodshed and political change, and saw the emergence of the monarchical rule of Augustus, the *de facto* founder of the Roman empire. These momentous events found a visual expression in the coinage produced at the time by the various parties and factions, and it too underwent a similar process of change. The diverse designs used on the Republican coinage had generally referred to some aspect of the family history of the moneyers who were responsible for its production, and they often did so in a way that seems obscure to us and can hardly have been understood by their contemporaries. Such enigmatic designs continued into the reign of Augustus, and saw their last expression on the revived coinage of the

moneyers in the decade between 20 and 10 BC. However, more direct designs had come to play a greater role, and started to convey the political slogans in a more explicit and immediate way. In turn, with the restoration of peace under Augustus, they came to play a role as reflections of the set of ideals which he and his successors wished to promote.

The papers in this volume all document different stages of this transition, some giving overviews, and some providing more detailed commentaries on specific coin issues. Most of the authors are in the earlier stages of their careers, and their treatments bring a freshness and enthusiasm to the objective of looking at the coins as historical documents without the benefit of hindsight. Lasting discussions of these topics have been published in the past, notably by Crawford, Wallace-Hadrill, and Woytek, but every generation finds new interests and new approaches. Several of the papers published here move from the attempt to understand the mind-set of the moneyers and others who produced the coins, to taking the perspective of the users, whether military or civilian. What would contemporaries have made of these coins, as they found them, for instance, in north Africa, or later walked the peaceful streets of Pompeii?

The opening essay by Laignoux acts as an introduction to the volume, by inviting us to consider the coin designs of 44 to 29 as a whole. Rather than stressing differences between the messages put out by the different figures of the time, she stresses their homogeneity. All of the six main contenders do much the same thing: they concentrate on military and religious titles and virtues (in the latter case only *virtus* and *pietas* are frequent); they all concentrate on their families, and their relationship to the gods, and in this sense their political programmes are all much the same, distilled from the themes present on the coinage, which were manipulated by all of the leaders in much the same way.

Carbone picks up the story by looking at the coinage of the provinces, examining both portraiture and metrology, and arguing that Antony was the main innovator, paving the way for Augustus. The first provincial portraits had been those of Julius Caesar; the triumviral period saw a number of provincial issues portraying one or other of the leaders. There were differences: there were more such portraits in Antony's domain and he also allowed more family members to appear, while Octavian was more concerned to focus attention on himself. The metrology of the period, and indeed of the subsequent Augustan period, is very difficult, and Carbone has made the first attempt since RPC I in 1992 to understand it as a whole. Starting with the few issues that bear value marks, she argues that Antony tried to bring together Greek and Roman systems, seeing it as a period of great monetary experimentation,

and suggesting that his use of a quartuncial standard led to its widespread introduction in the East.

The choice of coin types used in Africa in the early 40s by the Pompeians, Metellus Scipio and Cato, is analysed by Devoto and Spigola. They contrast Cato's conservative outlook and his close repetition of his ancestor's coin types, with the innovative approach adopted by Scipio; they see the different approach of these 'allies' as an aspect of the differences of opinion and of ideals which existed between the two men. Scipio's coinage has a particularly complex iconography. His initial coinage, produced only in his own name, was as conservative as Cato's, but the issues made with P. Crassus Iun. adopt a series of references to Africa (the *Genius Terrae Africae*, the head of Africa) and combine them with 'family' types, and symbols of political power and victory. The designs are very complicated and hard to interpret.

A few years later Africa saw the coinage of Q. Cornuficius (or Cornificius), which is analysed by Méritiens. He does not share Syme's view that, by the late 40s, Africa had come to play only an insignificant part in the civil wars. His analysis of the coinage, with its African iconography (Africa, Tanit and Ammon), stresses that the images also have a Roman significance, and were intended to support his claims to legitimacy after he had been repudiated by the triumvirs. He sees the enigmatic type of the 'coronation' of Cornuficius as part of this broader claim.

Sextus Pompey held power further north in Sicily, and Wright deploys his coinage as an antidote to the hostile written sources. Specifically he looks at the figure of Scylla which appears on two of his coin types, and suggests that it does not just have some local reference to a battle, but is a bolder claim of appeal, intended to attract recruits from southern Italy.

A more thematic approach is adopted by Cornwell, who sets the appearance of *Pax* in the wider context of the rhetoric of the civil wars. The head identified as PAXS on a rare quinarius of Caesar in 44 BC finds a place among a range of other concepts, such as *libertas* and *pietas*, promoted between 49 and 39 to express the ideals of the various factions. Cornwell suggests that the Pax coin reflects the creation of a personification, rather than necessarily implying the existence of a cult, and that it plays a role in the way that the coinage was used to promote ownership of a set of ideals with which a leader might guarantee the *res publica*.

Suspène and Chausserie-Laprée publish an account of the early Augustan hoard of aurei found in an excavation at Martigues in southern France. They use the contents of the hoard to contrast Antony's ideology with that of Octavian: the former emphasising his dynastic family claims and his appeal to his military forces, the latter concentrating on himself

and stressing his position as *Imp Caesar Divi filius*: the successful general deriving his legitimacy from his adoptive father. Suspène and Chausserie-Laprée switch the focus from the producer of the coins to the perspective of the users. They consider what message the users – or a single user, if the hoard represents a single act of largesse – would have taken from the coins in the hoard, although the way that all the coins were, for some reason that escapes us, deliberately damaged, makes any interpretation difficult.

Russell picks up the user's perspective in her discussion of the letters SC on Augustus' reformed bronze coinage. She concludes that we will never know the exact significance of the letters, but urges us, in her memorable phrase, to 'get out of the catalogue and into the streets'. The streets in question, where she starts, are those in Pompeii, where the population would have seen time and time again the letters SC, and understood the clear reference to the Senate. It suited both Augustus and the Senate to represent each other so prominently together at the start of the 'principlat'.

The user again takes central stage in Rowan's examination of the coinage of the Augustan moneyers, particularly some of the issues of L. Aquilius Florus and M. Durmius. She links the way that they combine ideas of family history and the person of Augustus to modern discussions of cultural memory. It suited the young *nobiles* moneyers to link their family history with the new regime through the coins for which they were responsible. Augustus also benefitted from linking his present to the Republican past on his coinage, just as he placed the *summi viri* in the Augustan forum and encouraged Livy to write Republican history.

The same college of Augustan moneyers is the focus of Woods' detailed discussion. He focusses on Durmius's coins with the crab and butterfly, but looks at the three moneyers' coinage as a whole, emphasising how this is designed so that one face of each coin refers to Augustus and the other to some aspect of the moneyer's family history. This rule applies equally both to the heads on the obverses and the figural designs on the reverses. However, the repertoire is restricted to only five achievements of Augustus, and each moneyer uses only two personal themes, which were linked with the Augustan ones. This structure places limitations on possible interpretations of the crab and butterfly. He is tempted to see an unexplained pun on the moneyer's name, related to the verb *dirimo* and reflecting a theme of hunting.

Greet has examined the occurrence of the eagle on Augustan coinage. The eagle appears in different contexts, as a legionary standard on the coins of veteran colonies or on the coins that celebrate the return of the lost standards from Parthia. Greet focusses on the issues of 27 BC, which show an eagle delivering the *corona civica* and the laurel branches, and suggests

that it is a symbolic representation of the bestowal of these honours by Jupiter, and an aspect of the likening of Augustus to gods, including Jupiter, that is a theme of the early coins of his reign.

The nine essays do not, of course, claim to give a complete account of the coinage of the period. They do not touch very much on the coins as pieces of money and the many changes that affected the coinage of the late Republic and early Empire in this respect. Their concern is almost entirely with the designs used on the coins, examining, often in novel ways, some topics, which have been little covered in the past and others which have been well-trodden. As a group they attest the endless fascination of the coins of this period, and their importance as a source for our understanding of the seismic changes which were affecting the ancient Roman world. The volume shows that the study of the coinage is alive and well, and will long continue to be so.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The panel at Dublin which gave rise to this book benefited also from papers, and discussion, provided by several scholars of whose work much is to be published elsewhere. The editors gratefully acknowledge the contributions provided by: Antonino Crisa, Rachel Deyts, Rebecca Katz, Andrew McCabe, Nandini Pandey, Aura Piccioni, Matthieu Soler and Kathryn Welch. Further thanks are due to Nandini Pandey, for her guidance and support in establishing the panel, and for acting as chair.

Special thanks are due to CPW's revered and long-established typesetter Louise Jones (of Gomer Press). Her ingenious and meticulous work on numerous volumes from our press has gone far beyond the strict requirements of typesetting, and has amounted to an additional level of formal editing. For the present volume she has surmounted a particularly exacting task, given the high number of images and captions, in various formats, to be integrated in the text. The index was compiled by George Watson.

The volume was in an advanced state of preparation when Anton Powell died, and an obituary was written by Stephen Mitchell and Paul Cartledge for the *Council of University Classical Departments Bulletin (49)* (<https://cucd.blogs.sas.ac.uk/files/2020/07/MITCHELL-CARTLEDGE-Anton-Powell-1947-2020.pdf>). They include further tributes from Thomas J. Figueira (Rutgers University), Carmen Soares (Universidade de Coimbra) and Ellen Millender (Reed College). *The Daily Telegraph* also published an obituary on 13 August (<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/obituaries/2020/08/13/anton-powell-self-made-classicist-advanced-studies-sparta/>).

Kathryn Welch, a good friend of Anton and a participant at the Dublin conference panel, has kindly written the short tribute published here.

A PLACE FOR PEACE IN A TIME OF WAR

Hannah Cornwell

In the wake of his victory at Actium, Augustus championed a rhetoric of peace achieved by land and sea, notably expressed as the central message of his monumental Latin inscription at Nicopolis (PACE [·] PARTA · TERRA [·] MARIQVE)].¹ At the same time, he proclaimed himself the Defender of the Liberty of the Roman People (LIBERTATIS P(opuli) R(omani) VINDEX) on coinage minted at Ephesus, accompanied on the reverse by a labelled depiction of the female personification of Peace (PAX), who held a caduceus whilst trampling on a sword (*RIC I*² Aug. 476). Such rhetoric, which was further developed in the display of the Ara Pacis Augustae, exemplifies an early incarnation of what would become a prominent imperial ideal by the latter half of the first century AD.² The championing of peace as an imperial possession belies the intense struggle and debate for control of the Roman state during the civil conflicts of the 40s and 30s BC from which such a rhetoric evolved. Alongside extreme instances of violence, Rome's civil conflicts also produced a rapidly expanding repertoire of virtues or ideals, exemplified on the coinage, as part of a political language of crisis.

The introduction of Peace onto the coinage in a period of internal instability is part of a much wider programmatic statement made by Julius Caesar in 44 BC. In this year, Caesar increased the number of the *triumviri monetales* (moneyers responsible for issuing the annual coinage) from three to four and through these individuals produced a complex though clear 'Caesarian' programme on the large series of coins minted at Rome (*RRC* 480/2–28).³ Not only was Caesar's portraiture introduced onto the coinage, stressing his position within the state and his control over it, but the other images and symbols depicted on the numismatic field emphasised the security of the state as contingent on Caesar's successes, victories, and the perpetuation of his memory (even after his death).⁴ One small issue within the series was a quinarius, minted by L. Aemilius Buca, whose somewhat unimpressive appearance belies its political significance. The obverse of the quinarius depicts a bare-headed female, with the identifying legend PAXS⁵ ('Peace'), whilst the joined hands of *fides/concordia* are

encircled by the moneyer's name on the reverse (Fig. 1).⁶ It is striking as the first attestation of Pax explicitly labelled on the coinage.⁷



Fig. 1. Quinarius of L. Aemilius Buca, minted at Rome in 44 BC (*RRC* 480/24). The obverse depicts a female head with the legend PAXS. The reverse depicts two clasped hands, surrounded by the legend L. AEMILIVS BVCA IIII VIR (Image: Numismatica Ars Classica, NAC AG, Auction 63, lot 462).

This coin is indicative of the increased presence in the numismatic field, over the course of the 40s at Rome, of a range of virtues⁸ or ‘divine qualities’,⁹ which were also the embodiment of political ideals of the state (see Table 1 [pp. 132–5] for coins depicting through image and/or legend these ‘qualities’). In this chapter, I argue that this increase reflects the correlation between contemporary concerns due to civil conflicts and those ideals considered inherent to the stability of the state. The introduction or rather re-assertion of certain concepts into the political landscape at Rome may be linked to moments when the terms were politically topical and expedient, and their relevance to the political debate was articulated through visual markers, such as coinage and shrines. For example, the first explicit depiction of the deity Concordia on coins in the mid 60s reveals the political relevance of the term. Two issues depicted a veiled, diademed female head, accompanied by the legend CONCORDIA (*RRC* 415) or CONCORD(ia) (*RRC* 417). Crawford dates the coins to 62, seeing them as representative of the political ideology of Cicero in 63, as Paullus, one of the moneyers, was a supporter of Cicero (Cic. *Fam.* 15.13.2; Cic. *Vat.* 25; Sall. *Cat* 31.4). The success of the war against Catiline was also plausibly commemorated in the coinage of Libo, moneyer in the same year,¹⁰ which depicts the head of Bonus Eventus (*RRC* 416).¹¹ However, recently Akar has argued against a definitive link to Cicero’s own politics, and interprets the coinage as evidence of a wider engagement of the political elites with the concept in the 60s, and places the coins’ date between 66–61 BC.¹² In a similar fashion, although the debate was not carried out in the

numismatic field, we can observe that Clodius' construction of a shrine to Libertas on the site of Cicero's Palatine house was an important part of his political battle with the consul of 63 (Cic. *De domo sua* 108).

The emergence of Pax on the coinage of 44 is part of the crystallisation of the concept as a major internal political concern since the outbreak of civil war in 49.¹³ In this respect, it joined a variety of abstractions, which appeared on the coinage of the period not only alluding to the socio-political problems experienced at the time, but also the specific responses of the different political actors to such concerns as part of their 'propaganda' war for supremacy in the state. It is hardly surprising that the coinage during the period of civil wars shows a promotion of good relations, and ideals and values that represent the *res publica* (*fortuna populi Romani, salus, libertas, pietas, fides, felicitas, concordia* etc.), particularly if we consider Morstein-Marx's argument that coinage was 'a medium of communication comparable to late-Republican mass oratory... its apparent intended 'audience' and its frequent use of relatively subtle, yet highly specific allusions to the services to the Republic of great men of the past place high demands on the civic consciousness of their viewers'.¹⁴ Moneyers, like orators, publicised their own (or their superiors') integral and beneficial role within the state through a type of language.¹⁵ Through an examination of the ideals variously expressed on the coinage throughout the 'Roman revolution' we can see how the war, not only for control of the state, but also for what the *res publica* amounted to, was waged.

The novelty of the appearance of Pax on the coinage is made clear through a comparison with the busts on several obverse types produced as part of the series by Buca's colleagues, M. Mettius and P. Sepullius Macer. Mettius issued a quinarius with the head of Juno Sospita and a sestertius with the bust of Venus, and Macer issued a quinarius with the bust of Victory and a sestertius with the bust of Mercury. Buca himself issued a sestertius with the head of Luna. Of all these smaller denomination issues, the PAXS quinarius is the only one to carry an accompanying legend to identify the female head.¹⁶ The others are identifiable by their attributes and depict deities well-attested in the numismatic field: Juno Sospita, wearing her goat skin headdress and accompanied by a coiled snake (*RRC* 480/23); Victory depicted as a winged bust (*RRC* 480/25); Luna, diademed with a crescent moon above her (*RRC* 480/26); Mercury, wearing his petasos and accompanied by the caduceus (*RRC* 480/27); Venus, with her staple diadem and jewellery (*RRC* 480/28).¹⁷ The head of PAXS has no such means of deciphering it, save the legend alone, although the clasped hands offer further information as to the potential characteristics publicised

through the coin, symbolising ideas of *fides* and *concordia*. The legibility of the coin relies on an audience engaging with the legend together with the iconography, in order to understand the meaning of this newly imagined ideal.

In what follows, I examine first the relationship of attributes and legends on the numismatic field in order to understand the coinage as multi-layer medium for communication of personal, political messages, building on Wolters' recent study on a radical change on the coinage from 137 BC, which saw an appropriation of the numismatic field to communication of contemporary political ideas.¹⁸ I then use this framework for understanding the contests of ownership of political ideals disseminated through the coinage in order to locate the place of peace during the civil war conflicts and to highlight the competitive discourses which lay behind the emergence of the imperial ideals.

Attributes, legends and meanings

Given this differentiation between identification by attribute and identification by legend, it is worthwhile considering the various means through which ideals and qualities were expressed on the coinage to an audience, particularly as it offers us insight into how new concepts were presented and expected to be received. Above, I stated that Pax, through her introduction into the numismatic field, had joined a number of 'abstractions' being articulated and disseminated as a possible response to the crises faced by the state. Thinking of concepts such as 'peace' (*pax*), 'harmony' (*concordia*), 'freedom' (*libertas*), and 'duty' (*pietas*) as mere abstractions of thought, however, is perhaps limiting as regards Roman mentality. In certain respects, these concepts were seen as concrete conditions brought to the state by the power of some divinity, who in turn was conceptualised as the embodiment of the quality or utility it bestowed.¹⁹ Nevertheless, when we examine the numismatic field we find a variety of ways of expressing a specific virtue or quality: legends, the figural form of the deity with her attributes, and the abstraction of these attributes to become stand-alone symbols.²⁰

Nearly all the qualities depicted in the numismatic field before 44 received cult, prior to their representation on the coinage.²¹ The association of a divinity's attributes with a figure of cult is perhaps most strongly attested with the introduction of Libertas into the numismatic field: Libertas first appeared on the coinage in 126 and 125 BC, both times depicted on the reverse in a quadriga and identified by the pileus in her right hand without any identifying legend (*RRC* 266/1, 270/1). It is striking that with the exception of Victory, who had appeared in the form of the

Greek Nike since the mid third century, Libertas appears to be the only 'quality' whose first appearance on the coinage was not accompanied by an identifying legend. All the other qualities, even though they may later appear with an attribute, are first identified by their name given as the following legends: PIETAS (108/7 BC, *RRC* 308/1); SALVS (91 BC, *RRC* 337/2); VIRTVS (71 BC, *RRC* 40/1); HO(nos) (70 BC, *RRC* 403/1); CONCORDIA (c. 62 BC *RRC* 415/1, 417/1); BON(us) EVENT(us) (c. 62 BC, *RRC* 416/1); FORT(una) P(opuli) R(omani) (49 BC, *RRC* 440/1); VALETV(do) (49 BC, *RRC* 442/1); FIDES (47 BC, *RRC* 454/1–2); FELICITATIS (45 BC, *RRC* 473/3); CLEMENTIAE CAESARIS (44 BC, *RRC* 480/21); PAXS (44 BC, *RRC* 480/24). Notably, all these coins, with the exception of the *RRC* 442/1 (Valetudo as the figure of Hygeia on the reverse, with Salus in bust form on the obverse)²² and *RRC* 480/21 (commemorating the vowing of a temple to the Clementia of Caesar on the obverse), depict the divine quality as a head, rather than a full figural representation, unlike the earliest Libertas coins. The depiction of a divine quality as a full figure on the reverse with a legend does also occur after its introduction into the numismatic field, notably with Sextus Pompeius' representation of Pietas in 45 (*RRC* 447).

The increasing concentration of such representations on the obverse as a divine head, identifiable by legend, is a consequence of several, overlapping factors in the development of numismatic iconography over the course of the second and first centuries. Wolters has recently stressed that, whilst it has generally been held that the 'public types' of the newly introduced denarii later gave way to 'private types' or 'family issues', the second half of the second century saw the numismatic field being appropriated as a vehicle for examining contemporary domestic, political concerns. Although by the mid second century a standardised composition of 'wagenfahrenden Gottheiten' ('chariot-riding deities') was commonplace on the coinage, Wolters argues that from 137 revolutionary new images began to appear.²³ This is not to deny that a strong sense of family history and promotion persisted, and indeed the early depictions of Libertas in 126 by C. Cassius, and in 125 by M. Porcius Laeca appear to allude to the *lex Cassia tabellaria* (137 BC) and *leges Porciae de provocatione* (199–184 BC) respectively.²⁴ Nevertheless, from the introduction of legislation regarding secret voting for elections in 139 onwards, Wolters notes a new public discourse appearing through the coinage as a means of communication. Alongside this move to explore new modes of expression and new concerns to be addressed, we may observe the gradual emergence (and from the late 60s onwards a rapid increase in the range) of qualities and ideals being promoted (see Appendix 1).

One possible reason for choosing to depict the quality as a head on the obverse with an identifying legend, as opposed to a full figural scene on the reverse, is clarity of communication. Libertas' pileus and Pietas' stork may be distinctive, but attributes such as a cornucopia, branch and even rudder may be associated with a number of deities.²⁵ Secondly, as Hölscher has argued, the attribute may imply a more restrictive form of the quality than the full extent of the concept left open by the legend alone.²⁶ Furthermore, marking the quality out as the divinity on the obverse with a clear legend opens up the possibility of elaborating on the specifics of the message on the reverse: for example, in 48 Pansa minted a coin of Libertas laureate (no pileus attribute) on the obverse, with Roma on the reverse seated on a pile of spoils with her foot on a globe and being crowned by Victory (*RRC* 449/4). The associations of freedom with Caesar's military victories present a rather different message of freedom to that presented by M. Iunius Brutus in 54 BC, where the reverse image grounds the concept of *libertas* in the constitutional power of the consul, depicting a togate figure (usually identified as L. Junius Brutus) walking between two lictors carrying the fasces, and preceded by an accensus (*RRC* 433/1). This does not mean that these two coins are in opposition in any explicit way, and indeed Arena stresses a shared notion of the meaning of *libertas*, in relation to which politicians then sought to orientate their actions and resistance to others' policies.²⁷

The reorientation of a shared political ideal around the immediate concerns of a specific individual and their cause is a particular characteristic of the 40s, especially with the concept of *pietas*. The Pietas celebrated on the coinage of D. Iunius Brutus Albinus, colleague of Pansa in 48, associates the deity with the caduceus clasped between two hands (*RRC* 450/2). This asserted the socio-political stability at Rome with continuation of the mint after the flight of the Pompeian moneyers of 49, and affirmed a message of peace, fidelity and agreement in a broad, socio-political message on behalf of Caesar.²⁸ A few years later in Spain, Sextus Pompeius associated his sceptre- and palm-bearing Pietas with filial duty (and so the Pompeian cause), depicting his father, Pompey the Great, on the obverse. The Triumviral coinage of 42 attempts, in part, to reclaim an association to *pietas*, through Octavian's relation to Caesar, depicting the sceptre- and palm-bearing version of the goddess on the reverse of coins bearing the head (and legend) of the 'young' Caesar alone (*RRC* 494/19). Such contests over the representation and depiction in the numismatic field are part of a wider debate across a range of media about the ownership and meanings of such concepts.²⁹

Political ideals and numismatic representations

These contests of ownership of political ideals extended to a certain fluidity in the application of attributes and symbols. Coinage of 41 BC depicting Mark Antony as triumvir on the obverse, was clearly designed to celebrate L. Antonius' familial duty to his brother, with a female figure holding a rudder and cornucopia accompanied by two storks on the reverse, with the legend PIETAS COS (*RRC* 516/4–5). The legend refers to L. Antonius, consul in 41 BC, who allegedly took the cognomen Pietas during his conflict with the young Caesar to illustrate his brotherly devotion (*Dio Cass.* 48.5.4). The figure is clearly an embodiment of that *pietas*, notably indicated by the storks, although the rudder and cornucopia are usually the attributes of Fortuna.³⁰ These embellishments to the figure enable Antony to expand the sphere within which this brand of *pietas* can be understood to operate: at a time when the Antonians were fighting against the young Caesar over land rights in Italy (*App. BC* 5.30–49; *Dio Cass.* 48.4–14), the *pietas* of the Antonians would also bring about good fortune, steady helmsmanship to the state and the promise of plenty.

This malleability went ever further in some cases, where the attributes and other symbols were separated from the divine qualities and projected as abstractions in their own right. From the late 80s onwards, some moneyers chose to employ a combination of symbols to signify a nexus of meaning: C. Norbanus in 83 at Rome depicted on the reverse of his coins a prow stem, fasces with axe, caduceus and ear of corn (*RRC* 357), whilst Cn. Cornelius Lentulus in Spain in 76–5 depicted on the reverse of his coins a wreathed sceptre, globe and rudder (*RRC* 393/1). These combination reverses were in a minority, but they nevertheless illustrate one of the many ways in which symbols abstracted from divine attributes could be used as an expression of beneficial ideals for the state, and moreover illustrate that an audience was expected to be able to comprehend the sum of the parts, even though the combination was unique. Nowhere is such expectation more clearly demonstrated than on a denarius minted by L. Aemilius Buca as part of the Caesarian programme in 44. On the coin's reverse the crossed fasces and winged caduceus are surrounded by an axe, globe and clasped hands (*RRC* 480/6). Caesar, claiming an uninterrupted tenure as Dictator (*Dictator perpetuo*),³¹ embodied magisterial *imperium* (fasces), world dominion (globe), religious office and piety (axe), and the restoration of peace (caduceus), harmony and *fides* (clasped hands).³² Alongside this visual programme, heavily reliant on the comprehensibility of such symbols, the quinarius of Buca provided a much smaller field on which to communicate its intent. Nevertheless, it still drew on the iconography of the more visually complex issues, while, at the same time, also making use of the legend to

proclaim the coin's message. By combining the clasped hands on the reverse with the representation of PAXS on the obverse, the quinarius served to introduce not just *pax* into the public discourse of the coinage, but also to promote a Caesarian concept of *pax*. This image of agreement, symbolised by the joined hands, echoes sentiments expressed by Caesar himself in his *commentarius* of the civil war, wherein he continually stressed his desire for peace and reconciliation in contrast to his opponents' violent measures,³³ and even programmatic statements made in his correspondence in 49, where he claimed to desire reconciliation with Pompey, and to employ mercy and generosity (*miseriordia et liberalitas*) to fortify his position.³⁴

Despite Caesar's usage of the language and imagery of negotiation, reconciliation and peace throughout the 40s, it is only in 44 that PAXS explicitly enters the numismatic field. As discussed above, the explicit introduction of such concepts onto the coinage may reveal the political relevance and even expediency of the ideal. Early in 44 the senate decreed a number of honours to Caesar, several of which include the vowing of temples to various 'divine qualities' such as Concordia Nova, Felicitas, and Clementia Caesaris (Dio Cass. 44.4–6). These proposed temples suggest a celebration of Caesar's dictatorship in terms of values which attest the internal stability and unity of the state: according to Dio, the temple of Concordia Nova was vowed because through Caesar's actions the Roman people now experienced peace (εἰρηνοῦντες; Dio Cass. 44.4.4) and seems to have been marked out as distinct from the temple of Opimius and as intended to invoke a new wave of *concordia*.³⁵ Similarly, the introduction of a temple not just to Clementia, but specifically to the clemency of Caesar suggests an orientation of a number of ideals concerned with the internal stability and coherence of the state around the figure of one individual. Notably, *clementia* was not a concept that Caesar himself explicitly referenced in his writings. It was, however, a lens through which his contemporaries chose to view him and his regime: Cicero, for example, in a number of speeches from 46, stresses Caesar's quality of clemency and its integrity to the maintenance of the *res publica*.³⁶ The coin of 44 may indicate an implied acceptance, from the Caesarian side, of this image, although it is primarily commemorating the senate's decision to honour that quality, which the elites wished to see in Caesar.

There is no explicit testimony that a temple or cult was offered to Pax, who, unlike the majority of divine qualities depicted on the coinage throughout the second and first centuries, did not have an historical presence at Rome, although some have taken the quinarius of 44 as evidence of a Caesarian cult.³⁷ Whilst the commemoration of the temple to

Clementia Caesaris does imply an (intended) cult, the depiction of PAXS, together with the clasped hands (which had previously been used within the decade to express other qualities and concepts) may indicate the creation of a personification of the concept, rather than necessarily the explicit creation of cult.³⁸ The PAXS quinarius, together with earlier numismatic depictions of Bonus Eventus and Valetudo, demonstrates the use of the coinage to promote and advertise certain ideals that did not exist as an object of cult worship, but were inherent and relevant to the contemporary political discourse. Bonus Eventus appeared on a series that also celebrated Concordia in the 60s, and is likely to be understood as a quality contingent on the presence of internal harmony within the state.³⁹ In 49 BC, Mn. Acilius introduced Valetudo onto the coinage, depicted in the guise of the Greek Hygeia (holding a snake) as the reverse to the already well-attested Salus. Clark has sensibly pointed out that the use of Valetudo (‘Personal Health’) to represent a healing aspect of Salus (‘Public Welfare’) may draw on the familial, personal associations of the Acilii (Glabriones) with the introduction of the first Greek doctor to Rome.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Acilius’ choice of Salus as the deity likely feeds into the contemporary situation at Rome. At the outbreak of civil war in 49, the idea of the *fortuna* of the Roman people (*RRC* 440/1) along with symbols of victory and success (palm-branch, winged caduceus, wreath) was celebrated on the coinage of Q. Sicinius on behalf of Pompey, which must speak to the concerns about the impending clash with Caesar. Once Caesar had gained control of Rome later that year, Acilius’ issue of Salus, who is laureate, can be seen as a reassurance of what Caesar’s control of Rome and Italy would provide for both the state and the individual, while at the same time still allowing Acilius a personal platform. Similarly, in 44 once Caesar was established as Dictator without interruption, the presence of PAXS on the coinage served to promote one of several ideals that the Caesarian camp saw as politically relevant to the concerns of the *res publica*, particularly after the resolution of civil conflict.

Examined through the numismatic output (Table 1 and Appendix 1), the political discourse of the 40s had a preoccupation with a diverse range of ideals, several of which were new to the numismatic field (although most had established cults at Rome). This suggests not merely an immediate concern with the well-being of the state, but also a diversification as to how best to express this concern. This diversification is best explained as part of the competition between the various political factions to promote their cause over those of their opponents, particularly when we consider diversification alongside the debates over, if not the identity of a set of core ideals, the question of how they were to be realised.

Table 1. The representation of politically relevant concepts as either ‘divine qualities’ or as a composite of symbols, on the coinage minted in the 40s BC. Where the legend identifies the concept/quality, it is in bold (in the **Obverse/Reverse** columns); where the concepts are not explicitly identified by legend, they have been put in lower case italics (in the **Quality** column).

<i>Year</i>	<i>Quality</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>RRC</i>
49	Fortuna	F(ortuna)•P(opuli)•R(omani) : diademed head	Q•SICINIVS III•VIR: Palm-branch tied with fillet and winged caduceus in saltire; above, wreath.	440/1
49	Salus and Valetudo	SALVTIS : laureate head	MN•ACILIVS III•VIR•VALETV(do): female figure resting left arm on column and holding snake	442/1
48	Libertas	LIBERTATIS : Laureate head	C•PANSA•C•F•C•N: Roma, helmeted and crowned by flying victory, seated on pile of arms, holding sceptre and placing foot on globe.	449/4
48	Pietas	PIETAS : bare head	ALBINVS•BRVTI•F: Two hands clasped round caduceus	450/2
48	<i>concordia</i>	C•PANSA: head of Pan	ALBINVS•BRVTI•F: Two hands clasped round caduceus	451
47	Fides	FIDES NERVA : Laureate head	A•LICINI III VIR: Horseman galloping right with right hand dragging naked warrior	454/1
47	Fides	FIDES A•LICINIVS : Laureate head	NERVA III•VIR: Horseman galloping right with right hand dragging naked warrior	454/2
46	<i>various</i>	ROMA: helmeted head	Sceptre, cornucopia on globe and rudder; below, T•CARISI. The whole within laurel-wreath.	464/3
46	<i>various</i>	C•CONSIDIVS: winged bust of Cupid	Double cornucopiae on globe	465/8

45	Felicitas	FELICITATIS: diademed head	PALIKANVS: Victory in biga, holding wreath	473/3
45	Libertas	LIBERTATIS: bare head	PALIKANVS: Rostra, on which stands subsellium	473/1
45	Honos	HONORIS: laureate head	PALIKANVS: Curule chair, ears of corn on either side	473/2
45–44	Pietas	SEX•MAGNVS IMP: Head of Pompey	PIETAS: female figure standing, holding palm branch and sceptre	477/1a-b
45–44	Pietas	SEX•MAGN•PIVS• IMP SAL: Head of Pompey	PIETAS: female figure standing, holding palm branch and sceptre	477/2-3
44	<i>various</i>	CAESAR•DICT – PERPETVO: laureate head of Caesar	Fasces and caduceus; axe; globe; clasped hands.	480/6
44	Clementia	CLEMENTIAE CAESARIS: tetrastyle temple with globe in pediment	P•SEPVLLIVS MACER: Desultor, holding reins and whip; behind, palm-branch and wreath.	480/21
44	<i>fortuna</i>	Bust of diademed Victory	P•SEPVLLIVS MACER: Female figure standing holding rudder and cornucopia	480/25
44	Pax	PAXS: bare head	L•AEMILIVS•BVCA• III•VIR: two clasped hands	480/24
43/42	Libertas	LIBERTAS M• AQVINVS•LEG: diademed head	C•CASSI PRCOS: Tripod with cauldron, with two laurel-branches	498–499
43/42	Libertas	LEIBERTAS C•CASSI IMP: diademed head	LENTVLVS / SPINT: Jug and lituus	500/2-5
43/42	Libertas	LEIBERTAS: diademed head	Prow-stem and anchor	506/3
43/42	<i>Libertas</i>	BRVT•IMP L•PLAET• CEST: bare head of M. Junius Brutus	EID•MAR Pileus between two daggers	508/3

42	<i>fortuna?</i>	M•LEPIDVS•III•VIR• R•P•C: bare head of Lepidus	P•CLODIVS•M•F•III• VIR•A•P•F: Female figure standing, holding sceptre and cornucopia	494/4
42	<i>various</i>	M•ANTONIVS•III• VIR•R•P•C: bare head of Antony	P•CLODIVS•M•F•III• VIR•A•P•F: Winged male figure (Genius), wearing radiate crown, with bow and quiver over shoulder, holding caduceus and cornucopia, resting right foot on globe; on right, shield; on left, eagle on cippus.	494/5
42	<i>concordia</i>	M•LEPIDVS•III• VIR•R•P•C: bare head of Lepidus	C•VEIBIVS / VAARVS Clasped hands	494/10
42	<i>concordia</i>	M•ANTONIVS•III• VIR•R•P•C: bare head of Antony	C•VEIBIVS / VAARVS Clasped hands	494/11
42	<i>concordia</i>	C•CAESAR•III•VIR• R•P•C: bare head of Octavian	C•VEIBIVS / VAARVS Clasped hands	494/12
42	Concordia	CONCORDIA: veiled head	L•MVSSIDIVS•LONGVS: Two hands clasped around caduceus	494/41
42	Concordia	CONCORDIA: veiled head	CLOACIN L•MVSSIDIVS• LONGVS: Shrine of Venus Cloacina	494/42
41	Fortuna	F(ortuna)•P(opuli)• R(omani) M•ARRIVS SECVNDVS: diademed bust	Wreath, hasta pura and phalerae	513/1
41	Pietas/ <i>fortuna</i>	ANT•AVG•IMP• III•V•R•P•C: head of Antony	PIETAS•COS: Female standing left, holding rudder in right hand and cornucopia in left hand; at feet, stork	516
40	<i>various</i>	Head of Marcus Antonius, lituus behind.	M•ANT•IMP III•VIR• R•P•C: Caduceus between two cornucopiae on globe.	520

40	<i>fortuna</i>	DIVI - IVLI•F: head of Octavian	TI•SEMPRON•GRACCVS - IIII•VIR•Q•D: Female figure standing left, holding rudder in right hand and cornucopia in left hand.	525/1
39	<i>pax?</i>	CAESAR IMP: bare head of Octavian	ANTONIVS IMP: Winged caduceus	529/2
39	<i>pax?</i>	ANTONIVS•IMP: bare head of Antony	CAESAR – IMP: winged caduceus	529/3
39	<i>concordia</i>	veiled and diademed head	II•VIR•R•P•C / M•ANTON•C•CAESAR: two hands clasped around caduceus	529/4

The concept of political freedom (*libertas*) was advertised at Rome in 48 and 45 in the wake of Caesar's victories (*RRC* 494/4, 473/1).⁴¹ However the opposing response to Caesar's dictatorship was a rejection of the rhetoric of peace and stability intimately linked to Caesar's rule over the state. His political opponents made a declaration of their own brand of *libertas*. In Africa, Cato minted coins, based on a series minted by his ancestor in 89 (*RRC* 343/1–2), depicting the bust of Roma on the obverse, and a seated Victory holding a palm-branch and patera, with the legend VICTRIX on the reverse (*RRC* 462/1), and other issues with Liber on the obverse (*RRC* 462/2). He thus re-emphasised both his family's associations with Victoria (Cato Censorius had built the shrine of Victoria Virgo in 193, Livy 35.9.6) and his own support and presentation of Roma in contrast to that of Caesar (e.g. *RRC* 449/4, depicting Libertas, and a victorious Roma), even whilst fighting on the African front. At the same time, Q. Metellus Pius Scipio minted Victory holding a patera and caduceus (a possible response to Caesar's caduceus-bearing Victory of 48, *RRC* 448/1).⁴² In 43–42, C. Cassius and Brutus justified tyrannicide as an act of *libertas*, with the frequent presentation of the bust of Libertas (with legend: *RRC* 498/1, 499/1, 500/2–5; 501/1, 506/3; without legend: *RRC* 502), references to victory (*RRC* 502/3, 503/1, 504/1, 505/4–5, 506/2; 507/1–2), and most notably the depiction of the pileus between two daggers, with the date EID•MAR. (*RRC* 508/3). The use of different sets of ideals, or even different realisations of similar ideals, on the coinage was an integral part of an ideological battle being fought over the *res publica*.

Those responsible for the minting of coins evidently felt a need, during a period of civil and political instability at Rome, to impress upon their audience a rhetoric of stability. It is not only political debates and contest of ownership that can be seen on the coinage; particularly following the formation of the Triumvirate in 43 there was asserted an image of unity and cohesion, across the coinage of all three magistrates.⁴³ Despite the show of unity on the Triumviral coinage, and a sense of shared values, as well as re-appropriated ones (such as *pietas*), omission was also important. The absence of Lepidus from the coinage after 42 is notable, and would appear to stress the removal of the consul of 42 from any serious, effective position of control or management within the Triumvirate.⁴⁴ We should take into consideration the fact that with the closure of the mint at Rome (where Lepidus remained until he was sent to Africa) in 40, the numismatic evidence shifts the focus onto the series minted on the move by Antony, young Caesar, Brutus, Cassius, and Sextus Pompeius.⁴⁵ Whilst young Caesar kept Lepidus at hand and overseeing Africa after the Perusine war, he did not perceive him as integral any more to the message of the Triumvirate he was disseminating: he did not feature him as his fellow Triumvir on any of his coinage after 42, unlike his other colleague Antony. Despite the silencing of Lepidus, the validity and integrity of the constitutional office of Triumvir continued.

The show of unity continued, without a visible presence of Lepidus, through 40–39, where messages of agreement, peace, and reconciliation abound in the coinage. Alongside dual portraiture coins (*RRC* 528, 529/1) were depicted the winged caduceus (*RRC* 529/2–3) and the diademed, veiled head of a female, with two hands clasped around a caduceus on the reverse (*RRC* 529/4). This head is conventionally identified as Concordia, although the reverse type had previously been used in 48, accompanying the head of Pietas (*RRC* 450/2), and the PAXS coin of 44 similarly used the joined hands, minus the caduceus. In a post-Perusia world, the key concerns were to solidify and commemorate the reassertion of the alliance, made at Brundisium (*App. BC* 5.60–65; *Dio Cass.* 48.29–30; *Hor. Odes* 1.5). Messages of both *pax* and *concordia* are found in the epigraphic record for 40–39. The *Fasti Capitolini* record the award of an ovation to both Antony and the young Caesar ‘because [each] made peace’ (*quod pacem fecit*) with the other (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.1.87), while the recently founded veteran colony of Casinum, in Italy, celebrated Concordia with a statue and inscription, dating to 12 October 40 (*CIL* 10.5159).⁴⁶ These epigraphic and numismatic displays attest the anxious promotion of enduring peace, which was particularly pertinent in light of the fragility of the alliance, as the battle of Perusia had demonstrated.

The coinage of 40–39 illustrates what may be termed the normalisation of the celebration of reconciliation and peace between Romans in civil war and beyond. The promotion of such ideals was a veil over the actual instability of the political situation. The debate over claims to exclusive ownership of ideals promoting the stability of the state continued situation; it lies behind the rhetoric employed by Augustus in the wake of his ultimate victory in the civil war. The assertion of Pax victrix on the cistophori of Ephesus in 28 BC marked a *terminus* to the wars of the late Republic, clearing a way for a new imperial ideal, which itself would only appear sporadically on the coinage until a resurgence in the mid-70s accompanying Vespasian's *templum Pacis*.⁴⁷ The story of peace in the Augustan period and beyond was a sanitised version of the concept now that there was no opposition or possibility of contest. The story behind this accomplishment, as we have seen, was not so simple.

Notes

¹ Cornwell 2017, 81–120, esp. 106–20 for the Nicopolis monument and inscription.

² Cornwell 2017, 155–86 for the Ara Pacis and 187–96 for the imperial development of the *pax Augusta*. See also Noreña 2011, esp. 127–32.

³ For *triumviri monetales* as those responsible for the design of the annual coinage at Rome, see Howgego 1995, 67–70.

⁴ Crawford 1974, 492–4. Regarding the chronology of the series, Crawford places the denarius depicting Sulla's dream first (*RRC* 480/1), since it has no direct or explicit association with Caesar; the others he judges to refer uniformly to Caesar.

⁵ Thome 2000, 86 reads this legend as PAKS, although the letter-form is consistent with other contemporary uses of 'X' rather than 'K'; see *RRC* 473 for the coins of 45 BC minted by PALIKANVS for the letter form of 'K'. For the spelling of PAXS see Cornwell 2017, 53 n. 33.

⁶ Crawford 1974, 494; King 2007, 30–1. For the joining of right hands as a sign of *fides* see Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.104: *ubi fides, ubi exsecrationes, ubi dextrae complexusque?* ('where is the loyalty, where are the solemn oaths, where are the right hands and embraces?'), cf. Cic. *Att.* 7.1.4: *ubi illae sunt densae dextrae?* ('where are those frequent pledges'), on which see Shackleton Bailey 1968, 279; see Piganiol 1959 for an alternative reading of *aeneae dextrae*. My thanks to Niall Livingstone for drawing my attention to Eur. *Med.* 21–2: βοῶ μὲν ὄρκους, ἀνακαλεῖ δὲ δεξιᾶς / πίστιν μεγίστην ('she calls loudly on his oaths, invokes the mighty assurance of his right hand') for a comparable sentiment, suggesting a deeply ideological and embedded cultural symbol. On the relationship of *manus* and *fides* see Otto 1909, 2281–6; Boyancé 1964; Levi 1985; Lind 1989, 6; Thome 2000, 54. Crawford 1974, 446 takes the clasped hands to symbolise *concordia* rather than *fides*, given the context of Caesarian rhetoric of reconciliation during the civil war. These two concepts need not necessarily be separate and may both be equally represented or understood in the Caesarian coinage of 48 (*RRC* 450/2, 451/1) and 44 (*RRC* 480/6, 480/24). On the correlation of *fides* and *concordia*, particularly in relation to the problem of debts, see Akar 2013, 366–86.

⁷ A coin of 128 BC (*RRC* 262/1), which depicts a female in a biga, carrying a sceptre and branch, is sometimes interpreted as Pax, though Crawford 1974, 287 stresses that she may also be Juno Regina; see also Clark (2007) 159 n. 107. A coin of 82–1 BC (*RRC* 366/1) depicts a diademed female bust with a winged caduceus behind and scales before, which Clark 2007 includes in her appendix 3 for numismatic attestations of Pax, although the coin has elsewhere been interpreted (for example by Babelon 1963) as Anna Perenna, due to the moneyer's name, C. Annius.

⁸ See Fears 1981 esp. 828–41; Noreña 2011, 59 distinguishes between 'virtues' and 'abstract ideals'.

⁹ Clark 2007 esp. 1–28.

¹⁰ Paullus Lepidus and Scribonius Libo minted coins (*RRC* 417) that combined their two individual issues, with Paullus's head of Concordia and his name on the obverse (obverse of *RRC* 415), and Libo's Puteal Scribonianum and name on the reverse (reverse of *RRC* 416).

¹¹ Crawford 1974, 441–2.

¹² Akar 2013, 245–51; Conrad 1971 dates the coins to 55 BC and sees them as referencing the concord made at Luca between Caesar, Pompey and Crassus.

¹³ See Cornwell 2017, 43–80.

¹⁴ Morstein-Marx 2004, 91; see also Wolters 2017, 155; Clark 2007, 137.

¹⁵ See Hölscher 1980, 265–81 for the development of a new 'Bildersprache' through the coinage of the late Republic; see also Clark 2007, 142–3 for the 'abstract language of signs'.

¹⁶ In fact, it is the only obverse legend of the series (besides *RRC* 480/1) that does not explicitly refer to Caesar, and is only one of two legends which name the quality depicted (the other being *RRC* 480/21, depicting a temple with the identifying legend of CLEMENTIAE CAESARIS, discussed below).

¹⁷ Several of these deities were long-established figures on the numismatic field. Both Mercury and Victory appeared on the coinage prior to the introduction of the denarius; Mercury having associations with commerce (*RE* 11 332, 340–2), and Victory being a clear association for an emerging imperial power, which continued to be commonplace from the late third century onwards (notably giving its name to the Victoriatus denomination). Luna is first attested at the very beginning of the second century (*RRC* 133/3, 194–190 BC) and Venus from the end of the second century (*RRC* 258/1, 129 BC). The Venus head type of *RRC* 480/28 emerges in the numismatic field from Sulla onwards: see *RRC* 357, 359, 382; Crawford 1974, 372–3; *LIMC* 8.1, 216. The earliest appearance of Juno wearing the distinctive goat-skin headdress on the coinage is *RRC* 316/1 (105 BC), with an identifying legend of I(un)o S(ospita) M(ater) R(egina).

¹⁸ Wolters 2017.

¹⁹ Fears 1981, 828–33 on the issue of using terminology such as 'personification', 'abstraction' and 'deification of abstract ideas' when trying to make comprehensible the worship of 'a specific condition or quality'.

²⁰ Clark 2007, 137–47; Hölscher 1980, 269–81

²¹ Clark 2007, Appendix 1 for 'Republican Temples and Shrines to Divine Qualities'; see also Ziolkowski 1992. The only exceptions are Bonus Eventus, who appears once on the coinage of c. 62 BC (*RRC* 416/1), Valetudo, who appears on the

coinage in 49 (*RRC* 442/1) most likely denoting an aspect of the goddess Salus, who is depicted on the obverse, and Pax in 44.

²² See n. 21.

²³ Wolters 2017. Notably the earliest coinage of Libertas follows this formal composition of ‘wagenfahrenden Gottheiten’.

²⁴ Arena 2012, 40–2.

²⁵ For the stork as an attribute of Pietas: Publ. Syr. frg. P. 306 Ribbeck²; Lind 1992, 19. The rudder and cornucopia were attributes of the Greek Tyche (*OCD* s.v. *Tyche*), and also considered the attributes of the Roman Fortuna (cf. *RRC* 480/25, 525/1). Notably the two Republican coin legends that explicitly reference FORTUNA P(opuli) R(omani) do not depict these attributes (*RRC* 440/1, 513/1). They are combined with the storks on a coin of Mark Antony in 41 (*RRC* 516), discussed below.

²⁶ Hölscher 1982, 273, see also Clark 2007, 145–6; Arena 2012, 40–2. I note that once the legend LIBERTAS is used to identify the female bust (55 BC onwards), the pileus is not used. Prior to this only the pileus was used to identify Libertas. The pileus only reappears on the coinage in 43–2 BC with the famous EID. MAR. coin of Brutus (*RRC* 508/3), which marked, according to Arena 2012, 42 ‘[a] further redefinition of the semantic range of liberty... The prominent role of the *pileus*, which takes centre stage in the representation, associated paratactically to the legend, operates a metaphorical shift not of the intrinsic meaning of liberty, which is still conceived as a status of non-slavery, but rather of the dominion of which *libertas* (of lack of it) is described’.

²⁷ Arena 2012, 8–9.

²⁸ Koch 1941, 1226.

²⁹ On the contests of *pietas* see Welch 2012, 26–31, 102–10, 142–53, 182–94; Laignoux 2011, 4; Powell 2008, esp. 51–75; Thome 2000, 42–4, who labels the concept as a ‘Propagandaschlagwort der rivalisierenden Parteien’ (‘propaganda-slogan of rival parties’).

³⁰ See n. 25 above.

³¹ Buttrey 2015, 220–7 argues that Caesar’s title of *Dictator perpetuo* was not, despite subsequent interpretation by contemporaries and later Greek writers, intended for life (δικτάτωρ διὰ βίου; *dictator perpetuus*). Rather, the adverbial use of *perpetuo* in the new formation of Caesar’s title in 44 BC (i.e. CAESAR DICT(ator) PERPETVO) denotes the uninterrupted possession of constitutional power, intended to secure Caesar’s position during his absence whilst on campaign against Parthia (set for 19 March 44).

³² The fasces, axe, and even to a certain extent the caduceus, had a contemporary functional presence in Roman political, religious and diplomatic activities, whilst the globe, as a symbol of conquest of the *orbis terrarum*, was depicted in a number of different media: *LIMC* 8 s.v. ‘Oikoumene’ 1: 16–17; Östenberg 2009, 285–9. See Cornwell 2017, 34–41; on the caduceus as a symbol of peace see Gell. *NA* 10.27.3–5 recording an account of Varro on the *basta* and *caduceus* as the *signa duo belli aut pacis* (‘two signs of war and peace’); see also Polyb. 4.52.2 for the use of the spear and herald’s staff as the symbols of war and peace. For the symbolic interpretations of the clasped hands see n. 6 above.

³³ There are 23 instances of *pax* in Caesar’s *de bello civili*, 22 of which explicitly concern verbal communication and ideas of negotiation and his opponents’ refusal to

negotiate (*BCiv.* 1.11, 1.26 (x2), 1.74, 1.85 (x5), 3.10 (x3), 3.17, 3.18, 3.19 (x6), 3.57 (x2)); the final instance (3.90) comes in an indirect address of Caesar to his troops on his achievements. See Cornwell 2017, 61–3; see Batstone and Damon 2006, 33–88 for an analysis of the themes Caesar sets up in the structure of *de bello civili* 1 to create a sense of closure and stress his achievements.

³⁴ *Cic. Att.* 9.7c; Cornwell 2017, 57–60.

³⁵ Clark 2007, 250; Akar 2013, 386–91.

³⁶ *Cic. Lig.* 6, 15, 19, 29, 30, *Marcell.* 1, 12, 18, *Deiot.* 8, 40, 43; Lassandro 1991; Clark 2007, 247–50; Picone 2008. In *Phil.* 5.38–40 Cicero contrasted Lepidus' *clementia* and service to the state with the actions of Caesar.

³⁷ For a cult of Pax under Caesar, see Weinstock 1960, 46–7; Weinstock 1971, 260–9; Heatley 1976, 17–20; Clark 2007, 8 n. 15, 105–6, 159–61.

³⁸ See Clark 2007, 140: “The potential to develop “female figures with divine attributes” (in other words to create a “personification” of a quality one wishes to represent, on a coin or in other plastic form) was of course latent in this representation of divine qualities on coins’.

³⁹ See above, nn. 10–12.

⁴⁰ Clark 2007, 153–4.

⁴¹ See Weinstock 1971, 133, 142–3 for Caesar as Liberator after Munda.

⁴² The chapter in this volume by Claudia Devoto and Barbara Spigola explores the messages in the coinage of Cato and Scipio in 47–46.

⁴³ See Buttrey 1956 for the triumviral portrait gold coinage.

⁴⁴ See Weigel 1992, 67–93 on Lepidus' role within the Triumvirate; see 76–7 on the Triumviral coinage of 42 and reduced role of Lepidus thereafter.

⁴⁵ Once in Africa, Lepidus was likely minting coins at Carthage, in order to pay his troops: see Weigel 1992, 84.

⁴⁶ Coarelli 2007, 40 argues that Casinum was most likely elevated from a municipality to a colony in 41.

⁴⁷ Cornwell 2017, 189–91.

APPENDIX 1

Divine qualities (as figural depictions) in the numismatic field in the Late Republic. Italics indicate where the deity is identified by attribute, without a legend; capitalisation indicates the use of an identifying legend.

- 126 BC: *Libertas* (RRC 266/1)
125 BC: *Libertas* (RRC 270/1)
108–7 BC: PIETAS (RRC 308/1)
91 BC: SALVS (RRC 337/2)
81 BC: *Pietas* (RRC 374/1–2)
75 BC: *Libertas* (RRC 391–392)
71 BC: VIRTVS (RRC 401/1)
70 BC: HO(nos) and VIR(tus) (RRC 403/1)
c 62 BC: BON(us) EVENT(us) (RRC 416/1); CONCORDIA (RRC 415/1, 417/1)
55 BC: CONCORDIA (RRC 429/2); LIBERT(as) (RRC 428/2)
54 BC: LIBERTAS (RRC 433/1)
52 BC: CONCORDIAE (RRC 436/1)
49 BC: FORT(una) P(opuli) R(omani) (RRC 440/1); SALVTIS and VALETV(do) (RRC 442/1)
48 BC: LIBERTATIS (RRC 449/4); PIETAS (RRC 450/2)
47 BC: FIDES (RRC 454/1–2)
45 BC: FELICITATIS (RRC 473/3); HONORIS (RRC 473/4); LIBERTATIS (RRC 473/1); PIETAS (RRC 477)
44 BC: CLEMENTIAE CAESARIS (RRC 480/21); PAXS (RRC 480/24); *Fortuna* (RRC 480/25)
43–2 BC: LIBERTAS (RRC 498–499), LEIBERTAS (RRC 500, 501/1, 506/3); *Libertas* (RRC 502, 505, 508/3)
42 BC: CONCORDIA (RRC 494/41–42)
41 BC: F(ortuna) P(opuli) R(omani) (RRC 513/1); *Fortuna*/PIETAS COS (RRC 516)
40 BC: *Fortuna* RRC 525/1
39 BC: *Concordia* (RRC 529/4)

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