

NUMISMATIC PROPAGANDA UNDER CINNA

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In a previous paper, "Saturn, Saturninus, and the *Socii*," I tried to demonstrate that the pro-Italian element among Roman politicians utilized the head of Saturn on their coins as a suitable reminder to both sides of the struggle for citizenship for the Italians "not only of the close ethnic ties that originally existed between Rome and her neighbors, but even more of the hospitable manner in which Janus had acted toward Saturn and of the intimate associations that the Italians' divinity Saturn had with the very heart of Rome."¹ After the Italians

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¹ *CP*, July 1967. There I present the evidence for the stories that Janus and Saturn, both putative immigrants to Italy, brought culture and civilization to the rude Italians, that Janus hospitably received Saturn and shared with him his kingdom, and that Saturn was considered to be the progenitor of the rustic Italians. Interesting is the connection between Janus, Mars, Vedjovis, and Sol Indiges with the Agonalia (founded by Numa: Valerius Antias, fr. 4 P) on 9 January, 17 March (the same day as the Liberalia), 21 May, and 11 December respectively (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.2.393–94, 425–26, 460, 535–36). The Aurelii, a prominent member of whose family was prosecuted under the lex Varia (E. S. Gruen, "The Lex Varia," *JRS* 55 [1965] 64), had a family cult of Sol and were charged by the state with the worship of that deity (Fest. 22 L), who was assimilated with Apollo (Macr. *Sat.* 1.18.107) and with Liber (Bruhl 262–67). As the father of

had been forced to resort to a bloody war to vindicate their liberty and their claims to Roman citizenship (cf. Strab. 5.4.2; Vell. 2.15.2, 27.2; Flor. 2.6.3; Justin. 38.4.13), there were still those in Rome who desired to forestall the Italians' claims. It is the primary purpose of the present paper to show that those who, during the 80's B.C., favored the integration of the Italians into full citizenship and whom we may term "Cinnans"—the direct inheritors of Marian policies²—utilized divine and antiquarian themes on their coins to foster the cause which they championed. It will readily be admitted that the Cinnans seem to have been in no hurry to enrol new citizens—they had to placate not only those who were waiting for Sulla,³ but also the urban populace whom a generation of oligarchic demagogues and centuries of tradition had taught to fear the inevitable;⁴ the promised (and justly deserved) rewards could wait. It will be convenient to divide our discussion into two parts: first, the moneyers and their coins; second, the symbolism of the coins.

THE MONEYERS AND THEIR COINS

The denarii of L. Titurius Sabinus (CRR 698–700) portray the Sabine ruler of Rome, Titus Tatius. The "Sabinism" of these obverse types is emphasized by SABIN to the left of the king's head; Tatius' only

Circe, Sol was an ancestor of Latinus and other mythological figures of early Italy (Verg. *Aen.* 12.162–64; Serv. *Aen.* 7.47, 12.164); he was one of those deities worshiped by Titus Tatius (Varr. *LL* 5.74; Dion. Hal. 2.50.3; Augustine, *CD* 4.23) and had a connection with Aeneas (Plin. *HN* 3.56).

² For Marius' support of Italian enfranchisement, see T. F. Carney, *A Biography of C. Marius* (Assen 1962) 13, 45–46, 48, 49, 51–52, 54–55, 58, 60–65, 69–70; on Cinna's conciliatory policy, *id.*, 68, note 290. For Cinna and the Italians, see H. Bennett, *Cinna and his Times* (Menasha 1923) 6–10, 43–45, 57–58, 67–69. Basic sources for Marian-Cinnan support of the Italians: App. *BCiv.* 1.55, 63–68, 76–77, 79, 96, 107, with the notes of E. Gabba, *Appiani Bellorum Civilium Liber Primus* (Firenze 1958). See especially P. A. Brunt's excellent paper, "Italian Aims at the Time of the Social War," *JRS* 55 (1965) 90–109, particularly 103–9, and C. Bulst, "Cinnanum Tempus," *Historia* 13 (1964) 323–30. For the glamor of Marius' name in Italy more than forty years after his death, see Val. Max. 9.15.1.

³ See E. Badian, "Waiting for Sulla," *JRS* 52 (1962) 47–61 = *Studies in Greek and Roman History* (Oxford 1964) 206–34; "Where Was Sisenna?" *Athenaeum* 42 (1964) 422–31.

⁴ Cf. Bennett's remark (above, note 2) that "the subject of Italian equalization was one issue on which senate and Subura stood together in perfect unanimity" (p. 6).

other appearance on the coinage of the Republic is similarly characterized (*CRR* 905). On the reverses of these denarii are portrayed the rape of the Sabine women (698), Tarpeia (699), and Victoria (700), the equivalent of peace and concord (cf. Liv. 26.23.4). Noteworthy is the fact that Titurius' *asses*, *semisses*, and *quadrantes* (701) portray Janus, Saturn, and Apollo. Numa Pompilius (*CRR* 713) and Ancus Marcius (715-16: jugate with Numa) are represented on coins minted by the well known Cinnan leader C. Marcius Censorinus (who also portrayed Apollo and Saturn: 714, 716). Certain of Censorinus' coins portray Victory on the reverse. Q. Titius (Mutto?) recalled, it has been thought (Alföldi 89), a putative ancestor, the deity Mutinus Titinus. Münzer calls Titius a "Parteigänger Sullas,"⁵ but there is no certain evidence. His coin-types associate him with Vibius Pansa (Grueber, *CRRBM* 1.789, note 2);⁶ most significant is the fact, which I regard as conclusive evidence that he was not a Sullan, that he alone of our moneyers actually portrays Bacchus, who was one of the deities portrayed on the coins of the Italian confederation.⁷ Grueber thought that this Titius may have been the Q. Titius who joined Sulla after the battle of Chaeronea, but that individual is called "a prominent man among the *negotiatores* in Greece" (Plut. *Sull.* 17.1 = Sulla, fr. 16 P), which implies that he had been in Greece for some time.

C. Vibius Pansa, about 89 or 88, issued coins portraying, among others, Apollo, Janus, Saturn, and Victory (*CRR* 683-90). This Pansa is undoubtedly the person who became the adoptive father of the Caesarian Pansa, who, about 48, imitated and expanded the earlier Pansa's coin-types (*CRR* 944-50). The latter added Bacchus, who also figures on a coin of C. Vibius Varus (*CRR* 1138), who minted in

⁵ *RE* 6A (1937) 1568, s.v. "Titius (33)."

⁶ Crawford 141 regards Q. Titius, Pansa, and L. Piso Frugi as forming a college in the year 90.

⁷ See below, p. 417. In regard to Titius' affiliations, it may be helpful, but not decisive, to note the ally of Saturninus, Sex. Titius, tr. pl. in 99 (*MRR* 2.2); the *eques Romanus* and *Latinus orator* C. Titius (*ORF*² 201-3; Cic. *Brut.* 167); the leader of a mutiny against L. Porcius Cato in 89 (Dio, fr. 100; cf. Sisenna, fr. 52 P); the Caesarians, C. Titius (*MRR* 2.355), L. Titius (*MRR* 2.279), and the latter's brother and father (*Bell. Afr.* 28.2); Clodius' henchman Titius, a Sabine from Reate (Cic. *Sest.* 80); the Roman knights P. Titius (Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.135-39) and L. Titius Strabo (Cic. *Fam.* 13.14); P. Titius, tr. pl. in 43 (*MRR* 2.340); L. Titius, the husband of a woman from Sentium (*MRR* 2.466; Val. Max. 8.3.1); and M. Titius, who was married to a sister of L. Munatius Plancus (Münzer, *RE* 16 [1933] 556, s.v. "Munatius [41]").

a season when the Golden Age was a topic of conversation.⁸ The Cinnan Pansa was proscribed by Sulla (Dio 45.17.1).⁹

Vedjovis,¹⁰ Jupiter, and Janus appear on coins minted in about 85–83 by a college of moneyers who sign themselves GAR, OGUL, and VER (CRR 721–22), which can now be interpreted as Gargonius, Ogulnius, and Vergilius.¹¹ There are four Gargonii known from our period,¹² one of whom, C. Gargonius, was a renowned orator from the equestrian order. Cicero names him immediately after mentioning M. Vergilius, P. Magius, and Q. Sertorius, whose Marian sympathies are well known. This M. Vergilius, as tribune of the plebs, instituted proceedings against Sulla at Cinna's instigation (MRR 2.47) and may be identified with, or related to, the Cinnan moneyer Vergilius.¹³ The name Ogulnius had disappeared from history more than a century before it reappears here. The Ogulnii had undoubtedly retired from a modest position in Rome as clients of the Fabii to local prominence in Etruria, the family's place of origin.¹⁴ As local magnates, they may have played an important role among the Etruscans who politicked in Rome during this period and, more important, who flocked to support Marius (and suffered the consequences of Sulla's wrath).

Vedjovis, Minerva, and Janus are exhibited on the coins minted by C. Licinius Macer (CRR 732–33) whose "popular" and pro-Etruscan inclinations are well attested;¹⁵ Vedjovis, Saturn, and Janus figure on

⁸ His coins are dated *ca.* 39 by Sydenham (CRR 1136–46) and his types show a number of parallels with those here being discussed. For the Golden Age in 40/39, see, above all, Verg. *Buc.* 4; cf. Nilsson, *RE* 1A (1920) 1709–10, s.v. "Saeculares ludi."

⁹ Dio must mean that it was Vibius who was proscribed, not the Caesarian Pansa's natural parent Caetronius. The fact of an adoption, which can be adduced from Pansa's name (C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus), will have altered his status as one of the sons of the proscribed; cf. R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) 71, note 4, for the puzzle implicit in Pansa's holding office in 51; and that same scholar's "Ten Tribunes," *JRS* 53 (1963) 55–60, especially 56, note 14, for some of the problems raised by adoption.

¹⁰ Professor Luce now thinks (cf. Ogilvie 7–8) that Vedjovis on these coins is not Vedjovis, but Apollo accompanied by a thunderbolt.

¹¹ R. Syme, "Senators, Tribes, and Towns," *Historia* 13 (1964) 117; T. P. Wiseman, "Prosopographical Notes," Appendix II to Crawford, 157.

¹² Aulus and Quintus (*ILS* 3340), Lucius (*ILS* 5427), and Gaius (Cic. *Brut.* 180).

¹³ Wiseman (above, note 11) suggests Verres, which seems to be unlikely.

¹⁴ See F. Münzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* (Stuttgart 1920) 83–89.

¹⁵ For Macer, see Ogilvie 7–12; E. Badian, "The Early Historians," *Latin Historians*, ed. T. A. Dorey (London 1966) 22. Macer need not have (temporarily) deserted to the

the coinage of M'. Fonteius (CRR 724-25), whose connections may have been similar to his kinsman's (brother's?), M. Fonteius (from Tusculum: Cic. *Font.* 41), who served both the Cinna and the Sulla governments (MRR 2.60, 78, 97, 104). Janus, Saturn, Minerva, and Hercules appear on a series of anonymous coins (CRR 678-82) issued from the "Auxiliary Italian Mint B." In Rome, about 87-85, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus¹⁶ utilized the bust of Mars, and the heads of Jupiter, Janus, and Saturn; most of his coins portray Victory on the reverse (CRR 702-4). L. Rubrius Dossenus, probably in 87, portrayed a number of deities including Minerva, Neptune, Janus, Saturn, and Hercules; again, Victory is prominent on the reverse of the coins (CRR 705-11). H. Zehnacker has shown that it is very likely that the temple portrayed on the reverse of some of Rubrius' coins is the temple of Aesculapius on the *Tiberina insula*.¹⁷ Rubrius' coins, therefore, recall the importation of Aesculapius into Rome on the occasion of a great plague, probably commemorating the bicentennial of the dedication of that temple (291 to 91), most likely inspired by the great plague of 87. Since Aesculapius' festal day was 1 January, Janus is portrayed for his having accorded hospitality to Aesculapius, who, as a savior and an immigrant, will be particularly pertinent to our conclusions.

L. and C. Memies (= Memmius), the sons of a Marian moneyer of the time of Saturninus, emphasizing their Italian sympathies by the spelling of their name, portray Saturn on the obverse of their only issue, with Venus and Cupid on the reverse (CRR 712). About 83, the curule aedile, P. Fourius Crassipes (note the spelling "Fourius"), probably on the occasion of the Ludi Megalenses (Alföldi 89), issued a coin on which is portrayed a turreted female head, which very probably represents the Phrygian Magna Mater.¹⁸

Sullans as Badian thinks; Aemilius Lepidus was elected consul over the vigorous objections of Sulla (Plut. *Sull.* 34.4-5, *Pomp.* 15.1-2).

¹⁶ Wiseman (above, note 11) 156, says that Cn. Lentulus cannot be a Marcellinus; however, as Professor Luce has pointed out to me in a letter, the triskeles on some of his *asses* (CRR 704) suggests the Marcelli (cf. CRR 606, 1029, 1147).

¹⁷ "Le Monnayage de L. Rubrius Dossenus et la Victoire d'Esculape," *Hommages Bayet, Coll. Latomus* 70 (Brussels 1964) 739-48.

¹⁸ According to Herodian (1.11.3), the Romans asked for the Magna Mater of Pessinus because of the relationship between the Romans and the Phrygians; Marius made a vow to that goddess during the war with the Cimbri and Teutones and undertook a special

About 85, the plebeian aediles M. Fannius and L. Critonius represent Ceres wearing a grain wreath on the obverse and two figures (surely the aediles themselves) togate, seated on a *subsellium*, the symbol *P(ublico) A(rgento)*, and a grain ear on the reverse, to commemorate a grain distribution. This probably occurred at a time when Cinna had rehabilitated the state's finances, possibly at about the same time as the famous edict of Marius Gratidianus (*MRR* 2.57). Noteworthy is the fact that these coins were minted not at Rome, but at the Italian mint. There was no need to remind the urban populace of the event which they had recently witnessed, but there was a need to advertise to the Italians that the government of Rome had renewed peace and prosperity. A similar notion is advertised by the reverses of the coins of C. Norbanus, who used grain ear, *caduceus* (cf. Gell. *NA* 10.27.3), and *fascēs* to advertise the peace and prosperity of the government; Norbanus' Venus, like the Venus on other Cinnan coins, accompanied by the symbol of *imperium*, is Venus Genetrix or Venus Frutis (Cassius Hemina, fr. 7 P), the mother of Aeneas, and stands in opposition to Sulla's Venus Victrix (*CRR* 739-40; cf. Alföldi 87).¹⁹ Like so many others in this period, M. Fannius saw in good time which side would be victorious in the civil war; he was praetor in 80 (*MRR* 2.80). A kinsman may have remained loyal: a certain L. Fannius served under Sertorius in Spain (App. *Mith.* 68).²⁰ It seems likely that Fannius had at home a good example of political maneuverability; he may have been a son (or grandson) of the renegade Gracchan who was consul in 122. He may also have been related to the Roman knight Cn. Fannius (Cic. *Verr.* 1.128) and to Marius' benefactress and *hospes*, Fannia of Minturnae (Val. Max. 8.2.2, cf. 1.5.5; Plut. *Mar.* 38.3-9).

journey to the East to fulfil the vow (Plut. *Mar.* 31.1). Cornelius Sisenna, who lived through Cinna's dominance, was interested in the "archaeology" of Pessinus (fr. 133 P), but he may have reproduced Catonian information (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 11.316). Also, the Phrygian cap worn by Ascanius in A. Furtwängler, *Die antike Gemmen* (Leipzig 1900) 30.61, may have some bearing on the interest shown during the Cinnan period in the Trojan origins of Rome.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the Latin Venus of Lavinium (Strab. 5.3.5) as the equivalent of the Trojan Venus, see R. Schilling, *La Religion romain de Vénus* (Paris 1954) 67-89; for Venus as the goddess of the Vinalia, worshiped in much of rustic Italy, *id.*, 91-155; for Venus Frutis, 79-89, 245-46.

²⁰ See Münzer, *RE* 6 (1909) 1992-93, s.v. "Fannius (12)."

The name Critonius is an uncommon one and is possibly Etruscan;²¹ L. Critonius is probably a new citizen and most likely the father of the Critonius who was aedile in 44 (*MRR* 2.322–23).

C. Cassius and a L. Salinator, whose *nomen* may have been either Iulius or Livius, also used Janus for their obverse type (*CRR* 731). Cassius is usually identified with the consul of 73; however, a ten year interval between the office of moneyer and the consulate, while not completely unprecedented, seems even for these troubled times highly unlikely.²² Three possibilities present themselves: if Cassius was a Longinus, he may have been, not *L. f.* as was the consul of 73, but *C. f.*, i.e. a son of the consul of 96; or he may have been related to Marius' friend Cassius Sabaco (*Plut. Mar.* 5.4–5); or he may have been related to the L. Cassius who, as tribune of the plebs in 89, roused a mob of creditors to kill the praetor Sempronius Asellio (*MRR* 2.34). Salinator is probably to be identified with the officer who was killed while serving under Sertorius in 81 (*Plut. Sert.* 7.1–2).

At about the time of Sulla's return to Italy, in addition to figuring on the coins of Norbanus, Venus—or (it has been suggested) Concordia²³—is prominent on an issue of the *monetales* L. Marcius Censorinus (brother of Gaius), P. Crepusius, and C. Mamilius Limetanus; each moneyer issued coins separately, portraying Apollo, Marsyas, Mercury, and Ulysses. The Mamilii traced their descent back to Telegonus, father of Mamilia and of Italus (*Altheim* 68); Mamilius is here showing his kinship with the Italians (cf. *Cn. Gellius*, fr. 9 P; *Plin. HN* 7.15, 25.11; *Serv. Aen.* 7.750; *Sil. Ital.* 8.505).²⁴ The last coins of this series were serrate (*CRR* 741); Mattingly thought that the introduction of serration was the work of the popular government

²¹ W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin 1904) 70, cf. 313.

²² Cf. M. Aemilius Lepidus, m. ca. 66, cos. 46; Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, m. ca. 55, cos. suff. 34; L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, m. ca. 90–89, pr. 74; C. Cassius, m. ca. 119–110, cos. 96; L. Cassius, m. ca. 76, pr. 66; L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus, m. ca. 101, cos. 83; Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, m. ca. 108–7, cos. 96; M. Fonteius, m. before 84, pr. ca. 75; Q. Fufius Calenus, m. ca. 70–68, pr. 59; L. Iulius Caesar, m. ca. 94, cos. 64; M. Iunius Brutus, m. ca. 60, pr. 44; L. Manlius Torquatus, m. ca. 65, pr. 49; L. Marcius Philippus, m. ca. 105–4, cos. 91; L. Roscius Fabatus, m. ca. 58, pr. 49; C. Vibius Pansa, m. ca. 49–48, cos. 43.

²³ B. Kaposy, "Marsyas und die Politik der Populares," *GNS* 15 (1965) 77, with note 21.

which was following a policy of sound money.²⁵ There can be no question but that the serrate coins struck by the praetor Q. Antonius Balbus in 82 were a special military issue produced in the waning moments of the Cinnan government; this Antonius is clearly the Q. Antonius who, as praetor (or propraeor?) was driven from Sardinia by the erstwhile Cinnan censor L. Philippus (now termed *legatus Sullae*) and killed in 82 (Liv. *Per.* 86), apparently fairly early in the year. Antonius' coins can be identified with those struck by a decree of the senate from the gold and silver ornaments of the temples *ne militibus stipendia deessent* in 82 (Val. Max. 7.6.4). Not all serrate issues, however, are popular. C. Marius Capito and A. Postumius Albinus (CRR 744-46) minted for Sulla. Both the names and the coin-types of these two call for comment. Whatever his relationship with the family of the great Marius, C. Marius Capito was chosen as moneyer for one purpose only, to advertise his allegiance to the Sullan government. If a Marius could co-operate with the restored oligarchy, what reason for others to hold out or to rebel? Further, his use of Ceres as a coin-type promoted Sulla's agrarian measures. If Sydenham's date for the coinage of A. Postumius Albinus is correct (cf. Crawford 144), these coins must be Sullan. This is quite enlightening, since a Postunius Albinus was a prominent Cinnan, falling in the battle at the Colline Gate (App. *BCiv.* 1.93; cf. Vell. 2.27.3). The Sullan use of kinsmen of prominent Marians to advertise the loyalty of some members of a family to issue a call for harmony (and perhaps to advertise *clementia*) has an interesting parallel in the names of the consuls of 77: an Aemilius Lepidus and a Iunius Brutus were in revolt against the government while an Aemilius Lepidus and a Iunius Brutus were elected consuls in Rome.²⁶ Mattingly,²⁷ noting that Sertorius worshiped Diana with exceptional devotion, seems to imply that Albinus' Diana is connected with Sertorius'. Actually, the opposite is more likely; Sulla, too, had special devotion to Diana. After his victory over Norbanus, he paid special homage to that goddess

²⁴ His father was a well known *popularis* of the previous generation, while the family seems to have had close connections with Etruria (ILLRP 1148).

²⁵ "Some Historical Coins of the Late Republic," *JRS* 12 (1922) 234; *Roman Coins*² (London 1960) 75-76.

²⁶ See G. V. Sumner, "Manius of Mamercus?" *JRS* 54 (1964) 41-42.

²⁷ *Roman Coins*² (London 1960) 63.

(Vell. 2.25.4).²⁸ That Albinus' Diana is Sullan is reinforced by that moneyer's other coin-types (*CRR* 746), on which a personified Hispania is featured as a mourning woman, extolling the glory of an ancestor who triumphed over Spain (Alföldi 95); she is mourning probably because of her treatment by Sertorius.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE COINS

Titus Tatius recalls Rome's first war, against the Sabines, and the eventual union of Romans and Sabines under the dual kingship of Romulus and Tatius, each with equal authority and equal honors (Dion. Hal. 2.46.2). Strabo uses the term *koinônia* both of this alliance and of the *tota Italia* eventually resulting from the Marsic war (5.3.2, 4.2). The rape of the Sabine women recalls the early history of the city of Rome, how the men gathered together, what sort of men they were, and how they acquired their first wives (Liv. 1.8.4-13.8; cf. Ogilvie 62-81), with the natural result that there was no such thing as a "pure" Roman.²⁹ The representation of Tarpeia recalls the human drama of the struggle, the base (or noble) passions that drove men, in contrast with the idyllic scene that followed the cessation of hostilities; Tarpeia, whom Piso exculpated from the charge of treachery (fr. 5 P), is also perhaps intended to exalt Sabine glory (Morel 32-37). Numa Pompilius and Ancus Marcius certainly bring to mind famous ancestors of the moneyer Marcius Censorinus; the tradition was that Numa was Ancus' grandfather and that the Marcii descended from Ancus (Cic. *Rep.* 2.33; Liv. 1.32.1; Plut. *Num.* 21.1-7). But, in the context of the 80's, we may be justified in seeing further implications. The conjunction of the two kings undoubtedly symbolizes the union of the Sabines and the Romans. The representations of Tatius, Numa, and Ancus

²⁸ Furthermore, as the story is related by Plutarch (*Sert.* 11.1-3), the white fawn was not given to Sertorius until after he had returned to Lusitania from Africa.

²⁹ All the Romans were a mixture of Roman and Sabine blood, just as Romulus was a descendant of the Aborigine Lavinia and the immigrant Aeneas, who was himself hospitably received by Latinus (e.g. Cato, fr. 11 P). Significantly enough, it was Cato who emphasized (and perhaps introduced) the theme of the mixture of the races in the Aeneas legend: J. Perret, *Les Origines de la Légende troyenne de Rome* (281-31) (Paris 1942) 532-44. It is also in Cato's account that Lavinium takes on something of its later importance (*id.* 535-36) and that the urbanization of Latium began with Aeneas, who performs the same function as Saturn and Janus (cf. Sall. *Cat.* 6.1-2; Serv. *Aen.* 1.6).

have clear reference to the heights that one of "foreign" stock could attain in Rome. In Livy's account, Ancus appears as a generous bestower of Roman citizenship on the Latins.³⁰ Numa was the second founder of Rome, particularly of its religious institutions, but broadly of its *ius, leges ac mores* (Liv. 1.19.1); in one tradition regarding Numa, he built and shut the temple of Janus (Piso, fr. 9 P; Liv. 1.19.2-4; Plin. *HN* 3.33; Serv. *Aen.* 7.607), while another version holds that Tatius and Romulus, having made peace, built that temple, *unde et duas facies Janus habet, quasi ut ostendat duorum regum coitionem* (Serv. *Aen.* 1.291; cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 1.258). There can be no denying the fact that Janus was both a welcomer of foreigners (as well as an immigrant himself), particularly of Saturn, and a god of peace.³¹ It was in both of these guises that he appeared on the coins issued by a regime that made valiant efforts to solve the Italian question and succeeded in establishing a *triennium sine armis* (Cic. *Brut.* 308). One of the chief functions of the Sabine motif on the coins of this period is to serve as a reminder of the *disciplina tetrica et tristis* of the *veteres Sabini* (Morel 59); this *disciplina* was the quality for which Cato praised the Italians in general (fr. 76 P) and which made Numa representative of the Sabines, *quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit* (Liv. 1.18.4).³²

The representation of Mutinus on a coin of a Titius may, on one interpretation, serve to call to mind the *Titii sodales*, instituted by Titus Tatius (Tac. *Ann.* 1.54.1),³³ who, after allying with Romulus, dedicated altars to, among others, Vedjovis and Saturn (Varr. *LL* 5.74). Saturn was considered to be the special divinity of the rustic Italians;³⁴

³⁰ Liv. 1.33.1-5; cf. Dion. Hal. 2.16.1. See also Liv. 1.34.6, 35.2-5.

³¹ For Saturn and Janus see above, note 1. For Janus and peace, particularly the return of peace, see J.-Cl. Richard, "Pax, Concordia et la Religion officielle de Janus," *MEFR* 75 (1963) 303-86.

³² There are some other interesting implications. Ogilvie (90) notes that "Numa wished to use religion as a political tool to secure a disciplined and harmonious community. He wished to replace the *metus hostilis* by the *metus deorum* as the unifying force in the state." Livy begins the history of the reign of Ancus (deriving from Macer: Ogilvie 126) with the statement that "Ancus thought that the previous reign, excellent in other respects, had failed to prosper for one reason only, because religious rites had been either neglected or improperly observed" (1.32.2); Cinna, who had been replaced as consul by the Flamen Dialis Cornelius Merula (*MRR* 2.47), after he had been driven from the city by a consul who neglected omens (Val. Max. 1.6.10), had reason to express similar sentiments.

³³ See Weinstock, *RE* 6A (1937) 1538-40, s.v. "Titii Sodales."

³⁴ See above, note 1.

Vedjovis had many connections with a number of deities, among whom was Feronia, a Sabine goddess of freedom and asylum (Altheim 255–63) whom Varro called Libertas (Serv. *Aen.* 8.564).³⁵ Of primary interest is the widely held belief that Vedjovis presided over the asylum which Romulus established when he set about collecting his followers to whom he promised citizenship and a share of the land, and whom he kept with him by daily examples of sociability and kindness.³⁶ Similarly Bacchus, Hercules, the Dioscuri—all of whom appeared on the coins of the Italian confederation (CRR 617, 625, 628, 631, 635, 641, 643; Sambon 213)—and Marsyas appear on our coins primarily because of the fact that they were protectors of liberty and were considered to be benefactors and saviors of mankind.³⁷

On Censorinus' coin, Marsyas wears a Phrygian cap, equivalent to the *pilleus*, symbol of liberty; significantly enough, he stood *in tutela Liberi patris* (Serv. *Aen.* 3.20; Myth. Vat. 3.12.1). *A fortiori*, Bacchus was more concerned with liberty than was his servitor, which adds a special dimension to Marius' calling himself *neos Dionysos* (Val. Max.

³⁵ For Vedjovis and Apollo: Gagé, 83–98; for Vedjovis and Jupiter: C. Koch, *Der römische Jupiter* (Frankfurt 1937) 61–91.

³⁶ Dion. Hal. 2.15.4; Altheim 255–63; Koch (above, note 35) 82–85; Ogilvie 8.

³⁷ Bacchus (= Liber Pater) may be equated with Jupiter Liber, who seems to have been especially worshiped in central Italy (cf. *ILLRP* 193, 194, 508) and in Rome, and who was very likely equated with Libertas (Bruhl 20–21). Closely equated with Ceres—whose son some thought him to be (Cic. *ND* 2.62)—Liber shared with her a temple on the Aventine, likewise sharing, no doubt, her concern for the common people (cf. H. Le Bonniec, *Le Culte de Cérès à Rome* [Paris 1958] 254–311). For Liber and liberty: Bruhl 41–45; artistic representations in Italy: M. P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Lund 1957) 66–206. See, in general, Bruhl 13–45, 129–44; and H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos* (Paris 1951) 453–68. For Hercules in Italy: *ILLRP* p. 455, and J. Bayet, *Les Origines de l'Hercule romain* (Paris 1926) 485–88. See, in general, Roscher 1.2253–98, s.v. "Hercules." For the Stoics' idealization of Hercules and Liber as benefactors of mankind: W. C. Stephens, "Two Stoic Heroes in the *Metamorphoses*: Hercules and Ulysses," *Ovidiana* (Paris 1958) 274–82; cf. Lucan 8.800–2, where Pompey is implicitly equated with both Hercules and Bacchus. For the Dioscuri (*sôteres*: Strab. 5.3.5): K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich 1960) 174–76. For Marsyas: G. Tibiletti, "Marsyas, die Sklaven und die Marser," *Studi in onore di Emilio Betti* (Milan 1962) 4.351–59; B. Kapossy (above, note 23) 74–79. As eponymous founder of the Marsi, he was an immigrant to Italy (Cn. Gellius, fr. 8 P; Sil. Ital. 8.503; Serv. *Aen.* 3.359), in which regard he is connected with, among others, a certain Phrygian Megales whom the Sabines received (Cn. Gellius, fr. 7 P; see Bayet, *op. cit.* [this note] 219–25). "Megales" makes little sense as it stands; I suggest that it is a corruption of *Megaloi Theoi*, a Greek term for the Dioscuri (Roscher 2.2522–41) and for the Di Penates (Cassius Hemina, fr. 6 P).

3.6.6; Plin. *HN* 33.150). Hercules was especially remembered by the Italians for the name which he gave to Italy, Vitulia (Dion. Hal. 1.34.5-35.3), which was used on the Oscan coins of the Social war (*CRR* 625-28, 638), and for his establishing "lawful monarchies, well-ordered governments, and humane and sociable modes of life. Furthermore, he mingled barbarians with Greeks, and inhabitants of the inland with dwellers on the seacoast, groups which hitherto had been distrustful and unsocial in their dealings with each other" (Dion. Hal. 1.41.1).

Apollo is particularly prominent on the coinage of the 80's; this may be, if Gagé is right (223-347, cf. 384-93), because by this time Apollo had become a symbol "des traditions culturelles très anciennes et très italiennes" (347). The Apollo on at least some of our coins appears to be Apollo Soranus, worshiped among the Falisci.³⁸ A very attractive theory, advanced by Luce,³⁹ is that "in Apollo, (the Cinnans) had a deity whose worship was widespread and popular, unhampered by optimate associations or regional particularism. He was the patron of peace, culture, safety, and superstition."

CONCLUSIONS

It seems that at a time when some Romans were attempting to impede full citizenship for the lately rebellious Italians, the coins of the Cinnan government show that the aftermath of Rome's victory (such as it was) would be a refounding of the Roman state, a true *tota Italia*, a Golden Age under the protection of a number of deities who had broad implications for pan-Italic unity and liberty and for the notions of hospitality and harmony (cf. Crawford 148). The Romans were reminded of their own mixed origins and of the hospitable receptions accorded to their own ancestors by the natives of Italy and to the Sabines and other Italici by the early Roman kings. A renewal of religious observances was also in order. It was no accident that Cinna chose as Flamen Dialis the young C. Iulius Caesar who traced his origins back to Ascanius, Aeneas, and Venus on the one side, and to

³⁸ For Apollo Soranus: Morel 20-25; worshiped by the Hirpini among the Falisci: Gagé 84-87.

³⁹ In an unpublished paper; see above, introductory note.

Ancus Marcius on the other (Suet. *Iul.* 6.1); the importance of this selection is underlined by the fact that Cinna gave his own daughter in marriage to Caesar (Suet. *Iul.* 1.1). It seems clear—although this will require further investigation—that the legend of the Trojan origins of Rome began to take on a new importance during the few brief years of the Cinnan government. The time seemed suitable for renewal; a *saeculum* had ended in 88 and an unmistakable prodigy announced the advent of a new age (Plut. *Sull.* 7; Suid. s.v. *Sullas*). The Golden Age, however, and, to a lesser extent, *tota Italia* would require a more painful birth than Cinna could foresee; an ambitious and ruthless proconsul returning from the East had different plans. Posterity did not treat Cinna too kindly; it remained for the son of Cinna's flamen to initiate the *novus ordo saeculorum*.