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Contents

Editors' Note

The abundance of articles received for the *American Journal of Numismatics* in 2016–17 has given us the opportunity to get fully caught up with the calendar. What was originally planned to be volume 29 (2017) is being printed as two volumes instead: volume 29 (2017) and volume 30 (2018), which will be printed and mailed at the same time. We are already reviewing articles for volume 31, which we expect to send to readers in early 2019.

We are also very pleased to announce that ANS Fellow Nathan T. Elkins, Associate Professor of Art History at Baylor University, will be Co-Editor of *AJN* starting with volume 31, replacing Ute Wartenberg. He will oversee articles on ancient Greek and Roman topics, including the rest of the ancient European, West Asian, and North African world. ANS Associate Curator David Yoon will continue as Co-Editor of *AJN* for medieval, modern, and non-Western topics.

Ute Wartenberg
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Romulus' Apotheosis (*RRC* 392)

Plates 31–34

Liv Mariah Yarrow*

The *denarii* of L. Farsuleius Mensor *(RRC* 392) have on the reverse a depiction of the deification of Romulus, specifically the form of deification described by Ennius (*Ann*. 54–55) and echoed by Ovid (*Met.* 14.805–828 and *Fasti* 2.475–96). As such, the coin type provides a Republican precedent for apotheosis scenes known from Imperial art, especially the Belvedere Altar and the apotheosis of Lucius Verus on the Parthian frieze from Ephesus. The scorpion on *RRC* 392/1 provides an astrological setting for the apotheosis (cf. *Verg. Georg.* 1.33 with Servius' commentary and comparative iconography on Cades, *Impronti*, libro 6, classe I, J, no. 25). Numerous scholars have suggested that Sulla may have modeled his image on Romulus or that he at least affected how those who came after him "remembered" Romulus. It is argued here that Mensor provides a "popular" reclaiming of Romulus and a complementary image of Rome's other protector and founding deity, Mars.

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The *denarii* of L. Farsuleius Mensor (*RRC* 392; Pl. 31, 1) have on the reverse a depiction of the deification of Romulus, specifically the form of deification described by Ennius (*Ann*. 54–55) and echoed by Ovid (*Met*. 14.805–828 and *Fasti* 2.475–96). As such, the coin type provides a Republican precedent for apotheosis scenes known from Imperial art. I offer here a detailed analysis of the iconography with relevant literary and artistic parallels, followed by a brief speculation on the significance of the type to the moneyer, as well as the historical context of its issue.

The obverse has a draped female bust adorned with a necklace, earrings, and stephane. The legend MENSOR runs in a linear fashion in front of the face with the top of the letters towards the center of the design, and the bottom of the letters towards the edge of the die. Her hair is coiled along the hairline, with a slight bun at the nape of the neck from which one or two tendrils drop down her back. Below the bun in the field is a *pileus*. Some specimens show a control number above the *pileus* and place SC under her chin (*RRC* 392/1a); other specimens place the SC above the *pileus* (*RRC* 392/1b). The reverse shows a *biga*, a two-horse chariot, in which stands a tall figure wearing armor and holding a scepter or spear. This figure offers a hand to a slightly smaller figure in a toga who is stepping into the car of the *biga*. Beneath the *biga* is either a scorpion (*RRC* 392/1a) or a control number (*RRC* 392/1b). In the exergue, the legend reads L·FARSVLEI.

The *biga* is in motion: the horses' front legs are all off the ground. *Bigae* and *quadrigae* that carry gods are traditionally represented in this "fast" manner on the early Republican coin series.[1] By contrast mortal Romans are typically represented in "slow" *bigae* and *quadrigae*, as the use of the chariot typically represents a specific ceremonial occasion.[2] The chariot as part of the visual depiction of an

1. Typical examples are Jupiter in a fast quadriga on the pre-*denarius* coinage (*RRC* 28/3), and Victory in a fast *biga*, so common on the *denarius* from the 150s onward (*RRC* 197/1). There are of course exceptions, such as the "triumphant" Hercules in a slow *quadriga* (*RRC* 255/1a).

2. *Triumphator*s: *RRC* 326/1, 367, 402/1 (cf. *RRC* 348). Praetor at the *ludi Apollinares*: 404/1 (cf. Hendrik S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 130–31 for justification of this attribution). In *RRC*, Crawford identifies 358/1 as a *triumphator*, but based on the long flowing robes, trophy, and radiate crown, I think a divinity is more likely intended. If it is a Roman *triumphator* holding a trophy, it may only be one who dedicated *spolia opima*, thus Romulus or M. Claudius Marcellus, cf. Harriet I. Flower, "The tradition of the *spolia opima*: M. Claudius Marcellus and Augustus," *Classical Antiquity* 19.1 (2000): 34–64. There are two instances of mortals in fast *bigae*, but in both cases the figures represent Gallic warriors, i.e., non-Romans (*RRC* 282 and 448/2). The intention in these instances is to distance the naked barbarian enemy from representations of Romans.

apotheosis is well known from later artistic traditions of the Imperial period, in particular the Belvedere Altar (Pl. 31, 2) and the apotheosis of Lucius Verus on the Parthian frieze from Ephesus.[3] It derives from Hellenistic representations of mythical abductions and is omnipresent on later Roman sarcophagi.[4]

Crawford correctly observed that the central armored figure in the chariot must be Mars, as the representation conforms closely to standard Republican representations of the god. While there are numerous representations of Mars on the Republican coin series, perhaps the most productive comparison is with so-called "Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus," also known as the "Census Relief," dated to the second century BC.[5] On the historical frieze, the unidentified censor depicts his activities culminating in the center with his final sacrifice (Pl. 32, 3). Mars is depicted receiving this sacrifice on the opposite side of the altar (Pl. 33, 4). The designer of the reliefs has used a very gentle hierarchy of scale to ensure the god is given distinction over the mortal figures. Otherwise he is primarily distinguished from the ordinary soldiers in the same composition by the holding of his spear (or scepter) as a divine attribute (Pl. 33, 5–6). The comparison of this frieze and Mensor's coin is instructive in two ways: (1) that Republican art allowed mortals and divinities to be represented in the same space; and (2) Mars is to be distinguished from an ordinary Roman soldier by his spear and his (slightly) greater relative size.

How can we be certain the togate figure is Romulus? Here we need the literary evidence. We know from the *de Re Publica* (51 BC) that Ennius discussed the apotheosis of Romulus, dating it by an eclipse. Cicero describes this as a raising up by *Virtus*, even though his body came to the same fate as all mortals.[6] There is

3. Bridget A. Buxton, "A New Reading of the Belvedere Altar," *American Journal of Archaeology* 118 (2014): 91–112; and Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100–450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 123–5. An image of the apotheosis of Lucius Verus taken in 2012 is also available online (http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=4549).

4. Verity J. Platt, *Facing the Gods: Epiphany and Representation in Graeco-Roman Art, Literature and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 362–9 traces the iconography from the fourth-century depiction of the abduction of Persephone from the tomb at Vergina through the high empire.

5. The bibliography on this relief is immense. Good introductions may be found in Mario Torelli, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 5–16; Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor, : University of Michigan Press, 1988), 12–14.

6. *Quibus quidem Romulum tenebris etiamsi natura ad humanum exitum abripuit; virtus tamen in caelum dicitur sustulisse* (1.25). "In the obscurity of which it was affirmed that Virtue bore Romulus to heaven, in spite of the perishable nature which carried him off by the common fate of humanity" (Yonge trans.).

an inherent ambivalence here as to whether *Virtus* the divinity or simply *virtus* the character trait is meant.[7] In the second book of this same treatise, Cicero again expands on the credibility of Romulus' deification, crediting the mechanism to *eximia virtutis gloria* (or perhaps, *eximia Virtutis gloria*).[8] Scholars are universally in agreement that we have a surviving fragment of Ennius' apotheosis of Romulus preserved in Varro's *Lingua Latina* and twice quoted by Ovid.[9]

> *Unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli*
> *templum* (Ennius, *Annales* 54–55)
>
> There will be one whom you shall bear up to the azure regions of the sky (Elliot translation)

Varro does not attribute the line to Ennius, but it comes from a section where he is discussing difficult word meanings in early Latin poetry; he uses this quote to illustrate one meaning of *templum* (7.6). Ovid quotes this line in two different poems, leaving out *templum*. Each time he does so, it is in the context of Romulus' apotheosis:

> Tatius died, and you, Romulus, gave orders equally to both peoples. Mars, removing his helmet, addressed the father of gods and men in these words: "The time has come, lord, to grant the reward (that you promised to me and your deserving grandson), since the Roman state is strong, on firm foundations, and does not depend on a single champion: free his spirit, and raising him from earth set him in the heavens. You once said to me, in person, at a council of the gods (since I am mindful of the gracious words I noted in my retentive mind), '**There will be one whom you will raise to azure heaven**.' Let your words be ratified in full!"
>
> Omnipotent Jupiter nodded, and, veiling the sky with dark clouds, he terrified men on earth with thunder and lightning. Mars knew this as a sign that ratified the promised ascension, and **leaning on his spear, he vaulted,**

7. On the former, see Anna Clark, *Divine Qualities: Cult and Community in Republican Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), on the latter Myles McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

8. 2.17–20; Spencer Cole, *Cicero and the Rise of Deification at Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 85–95, discusses at length Cicero's portrayal of Romulus' apotheosis; cf. Marie Ver Eecke, *La République et le roi: le mythe de Romulus à la fin de la République romaine* (Paris: De Boccard, 2008), 322–34.

9. Jackie Elliot, *Ennius and the architecture of the Annales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 145, cf. also 179 for discussion of how Cicero may distort our perceptions of Ennius on Romulus' apotheosis, and also Cole, *Cicero*, 194 n. 6.

fearlessly, into his chariot, the horses straining at the blood-wet pole, and cracked the loud whip. Dropping headlong through the air, he landed on the summit of the wooded Palatine. There he caught up Romulus, son of Ilia, **as he was dealing justice, not royal will, to his people**. The king's mortal body dissolved in the clear atmosphere, like the lead bullet, that often melts in mid-air, hurled by the broad thong of a catapult. Now he has beauty of form, and he is Quirinus, clothed in ceremonial robes, such a form as is worthier of the sacred high seats of the gods.
(Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 14.805–828; Kline translation, amended)

The next day is not notable, but the third is Quirinus',
(He was Romulus before), who is so called
Either because a spear was *curis* among the ancient Sabines,
(By his spear that warlike god won his place among the stars),
Or because the Quirites gave their name to their king,
Or because he united the city of Cures to Rome.
For when the father, lord of weapons, saw the new walls
And the many wars waged with Romulus' hands,
He said: "Jupiter, Roman power possesses strength:
It doesn't need the services of my people.
Return the son to his father. Though one is dead,
The one who remains is enough for himself and Remus.
You said to me: '**There'll be one you'll raise**
To the azure sky.' Let Jupiter keep his word."
Jupiter nodded his agreement. Both the poles trembled
At his nod, and Atlas shifted the weight of the sky.
There's a place the ancients called the She-goat's Marsh:
You chanced to be judging the people there, Romulus.
The sun vanished, and rising clouds obscured the sky,
And a heavy shower of torrential rain fell.
Then it thundered. Then the sky was split by lightning:
All fled, and the king rose to the stars behind his father's horses.
(Ovid, *Fasti* 2.475–96; Kline translation)

In both instances Ovid makes his Ennian line a quotation in the narrative, thus drawing deliberate attention to its status as a quotation and thus his own relationship to the *Annales*. We cannot assume that his emulation of Ennius is straightforward or exact in details. Quite the opposite in fact—we know that he

rejected Ennius' dating of the apotheosis to July and moved it to February.[10] We may, however, note that in both of Ovid's narrations, the agent of the transfiguration from mortal to divinity is Mars in his chariot. This is enough for Skutsch to conclude that Ennius is likely to have used similar imagery for the apotheosis.[11] Moreover, Ovid emphasizes that at the moment of the apotheosis, Romulus was fulfilling the civic duties of a magistrate.[12]

forte tuis illic, Romule, ***iura*** *dabas* (*Fasti* 2.492)

reddentemque suo non regia ***iura*** *Quiriti*
abstulit Iliaden. (*Metamorphoses* 14.823–4)

Ius has a broad meaning, covering laws, rights, and justice, but as the contrast with *regia* makes clear in the line from the *Metamorphoses,* it is that which is shared by the community as a whole, not simply royal whim or prerogative. The Roman magistrate, when *dare iura* (administering the law, dispensing justice), was properly clothed in a toga. I would argue that the toga on the coin is intended to help the ancient viewer identify the figure being taken into Mars' chariot as Romulus the lawgiver. This can be contrasted with the Republican traditions around the apotheosis of Aeneas, who disappeared in the midst of the Battle of the Numicus River.[13]

One portion of Mensor's issue, representing perhaps half the total dies, has a control mark on the obverse die and a scorpion on the reverse; the other subissue has no control mark on the obverse and has a control mark on the reverse

10. Carole Elizabeth Newlands, *Playing with Time: Ovid and the Fasti* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 42–43.

11. Otto Skutsch, *The Annals of Q. Ennius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 201, 260.

12. Anne Gosling, "Sending Up the Founder: Ovid and the Apotheosis of Romulus," *Acta Classica* 45 (2002): 51–69. 2002: 55, *passim*.

13. Dion. Hal. *RA* 1.64.4; possibly represented on Esquiline frescoes from the "Tomb of the Statilii." See Marina Sapelli, *Palazzo Massimo Alle Terme. Guide Electa per la Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma* (Milan: Electa, 1998), 14; Roger David Von Dippe, *The Origin and Development of Continuous Narrative in Roman Art, 300 B.C.–A.D. 200* (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2007), 241. The heroic figure depicted sacrificing and crowned by Victory on the marble base from the Città Castellana (Falerii Novi) Cathedral atrium dated c. 40 BC usually has been taken to represent Aeneas (Karl Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969], 22–23; Jane DeRose Evans, *The Art of Persuasion: Political Propaganda from Aeneas to Brutus* [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 199], 49–51), but Peter J. Holliday, "The Rhetoric of 'Romanitas': The 'Tomb of the Statilii' Frescoes Reconsidered," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 50 (2005): 96–98 argues that it is Romulus' apotheosis. It may well be an apotheosis based on comparison with Esquiline frescos, but he does not make the case for his identification of the figure as Romulus.

in place of the scorpion.[14] The scorpion requires further explanation. It may be that Scorpio is associated with either Mars or Romulus or both.[15] The literary evidence from antiquity is slim and late, consisting of Servius' fourth-century commentary on Vergil's *Georgics*. Nevertheless, it is suggestive. First, Vergil's original poem:

> and you too, Caesar, who, in time, will live among a company
> of the gods, which one's unknown, whether you choose
> to watch over cities and lands, and the vast world
> accepts you as bringer of fruits, and lord of the seasons,
> crowning your brows with your mother Venus' myrtle,
> or whether you come as god of the vast sea, and sailors
> worship your powers, while furthest Thule serves you,
> and Tethys with all her waves wins you as son-in-law,
> or whether you add yourself to the slow months as a Sign,
> where a space opens between Virgo and the grasping claws,
> Even now fiery Scorpio draws in his pincers for you,
> and leaves you more than your fair share of heaven
> (Vergil, *Georgics*, 1.24–35; Kline translation)

Vergil expresses his confidence in this preface that Augustus will be raised up as god at his death. The *Georgics* is often dated to first part of Augustus' sole reign, but this presents no particular problem for this sentiment as Augustus also began construction on his mausoleum shortly after his victories at Actium and Alexandria. The question Vergil poses is where in the heavens will Augustus make his home and how will the stars accommodate him. The reference to Venus is clearly an allusion to his Julian heritage, the sea his recent military victories. Scorpio is read by Servius to be the sign of Mars. He begins his commentary with a summary of astrological systems and how constellations correspond to deities, which then allows him to assert:

14. Harold Mattingly, *From Coins to History: Selected Numismatic Studies* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 242, gives die estimates for this issue and others of the same time comparing counts by different scholars; oddly these estimates seem to ignore the die counts offered by the numbered dies themselves. In *RRC*, Crawford documented obverse dies for 392/1a as high as 73 and reverse dies for 392/1b as high as 98.

15. In *RRC*, Crawford makes a connection to Mars citing Georg Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1898), 71. This interpretation was already known to Edward Greswell, *Origines kalendariae italicae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1854), 175–6, who also directly connects Scorpio to Romulus. However, the only relevant primary evidence offered by either is Servius' commentary.

> *sed remotis Sole et Luna, quorum sunt domicilia leo et cancer, hi quinque ordine, quo eorum sunt circuli, bina possident signa, unum a sequentibus et unum a superioribus: ut Mercurii sint virgo et gemini, Veneris libra et taurus, Martis scorpius et aries, Iovis sagittarius et pisces, Saturni capricornus et aquarius. unde per haec loca siderum Augustum et fortem propter scorpium, id est Martis domicilium, et iustum propter libram et prudentem propter vicinam virginem, id est Mercurii domicilium, fore significat.*
>
> Sol and Luna being far off have Leo and Cancer as their respective domiciles. The five ordinary ones, by which there is an orbit of these, each possess two signs, one from those following and one from those above: so Mercury has Virgo and Gemini, Venus Libra and Taurus, Mars Scorpio and Aries, Jupiter Sagittarius and Pisces, Saturn Capricorn and Aquarius. He [sc. Vergil] signifies by the position of these constellations that Augustus will be strong by proximity to Scorpio (the house of Mars), and just by proximity to Libra, and prudent by proximity to Virgo (the house of Mercury).
> (Serv. *Verg. Georg.* 1.33; the translation is my own).

This is the only literary source to make the connection, but a similar connection may be demonstrated by the use of iconography on ancient intaglios. While the scorpion has many symbolic aspects, of which the most prevalent is its apotropaic protection against the evil eye, a connection with Mars and martial activity is also clearly evident.[16] One design known from multiple specimens has an owl perched on a garlanded altar with a shield and helmet to one side, two spears behind, and a scorpion on the other side (Pl. 34, 7).[17] While the owl most certainly represents Minerva, the overall theme of the type is martial prowess. Likewise, there are two known intaglios that have the scorpion as a central element with a crescent in its claws and flanked on each side by a fighting cock, legionary standard, and star.[18] Still other intaglios confirm a link between

16. For the scorpion and the evil eye, compare the mosaic from the "House of the Evil Eye," Antioch, Syria (Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi, Antakya, Turkey inv. no. 1024; a public domain image may be seen here: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Antiochia_-_House_of_the_Evil_Eye.jpg) and an impression of an ancient intaglio documented in the Beazley archive (stable record url: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/22D96CFA-36A2-4720-B519-CCF9FD7F3E6F). Less elaborate representations of scorpions or the combination of the scorpion and Mercury and other attributes, should probably be interpreted as intended to be protection for the original wearer of the intaglio.

17. Thorvaldsen I709 (dated by the museum to the late Roman Republic); two more impressions of ancient intaglios are recorded in the Beazley archive: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/344BDADD-427D-492C-A9A9-86526E8478A5 and http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/952E9E26-59BD-4C6F-B957-157A48E6BC1E.

18. An impression of an ancient intaglio in the Beazley archive: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.

the constellation of Scorpio and Aries, which supports the idea that Servius is drawing upon well-known ideas in the passage above.[19] But perhaps the most convincing intaglio to support Servius' claim of a connection between Mars and Scorpio in the context of this coin is a carnelian depicting Mars in a fast *biga* armed with a spear and shield; beneath the horses' legs are a ram and a scorpion (Pl. 34, 8).[20] The scorpion is probably present on Mensor's coin type to help the ancient viewer understand that Mars is taking Romulus up among the stars, thus underscoring further the theme of apotheosis, just as Vergil in his preface to the *Georgics* uses the constellations to envision Augustus' future apotheosis.

The question remains: why would this appear on a Republican moneyer's coin type in the mid-70s BC? The date is relatively uncontroversial; Crawford lists it under 75 BC, Hersh and Walker prefer 76, and Hollstein gives the date as "ca. 75."[21] Our sense of events in this period of the Republic is fragmented. We lack any major narrative history for the period, but the general impression is clear enough. By 77, Lepidus' revolt in northern Italy was quelled, and by 76 Pompey had arrived in Spain to fight Sertorius, the last of the Marians. In 76, L. Sicinius, as tribune of the plebs, agitated for the restoration of the rights of the tribunes that Sulla had abolished, and was killed by the consul Curio. The year 75 saw a partial restoration of these rights, initiated by the conservative consul Cotta, and riots over the price of grain. The Romans continued to fight in the East as well, and the preliminary catalysts for the Third Mithridatic War may be set in this year. All of this would have been narrated in book two of Sallust's *Histories*.[22] It seems fair to say that Mensor struck coins during a period when tensions were high in Rome, especially between the people and the elites, and that Rome's security still seemed precarious. Indeed, the persistence of Italic instability can be seen in the successes of Spartacus just two years later.

uk/record/59B59A7F-795D-42D1-91CF-0226338F4EC3 and a jasper intaglio in the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—SPK. inv. no. FG 8640 illustrated on the Arachne database from a plaster impression (http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/reproduktion/3307005).

19. An impression of an ancient intaglio in the Beazley archive: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/0A57EEC6-3C7E-4F26-8C7E-D57445C85F69 and a glass paste in the Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—SPK. inv. no. FG 3260 (illustrated from a plaster impression on the Arachne database (http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/reproduktion/3307012).

20. http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/record/A9160CD2-BC08-47D4-93E2-A524FE165289.

21. Wilhelm Hollstein, "Quirinus oder flamen Quirinalis: der Denar des N. Fabius Pictor (*RRC* 268)," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 61 (1993): 380–2 for a comparative table of dating by himself and earlier scholars. Also see Crawford's additional comments in the introduction to *RRC* (82).

22. See John T. Ramsey, *Fragments of the Histories: Letters to Caesar. Sallust*, II (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015), 116–213.

By way of numismatic context, it is safe to assume that C. Egnatius Maxsumus was Mensor's colleague in the moneyership.[23] Maxsumus issued three types, all well described by Crawford (Pl. 34, 9–11). Of these types, the most conservative in design is a serrated *denarius* with the bust of Venus with cupid on her shoulder and Libertas in a *biga* crowned by victory with a *pileus* behind her. I agree with Crawford that this type, and the series as a whole, is attempting to reclaim the iconography of Venus from the memory of Sulla. Libertas had not appeared on a coin in more than 50 years, and her previous appearances were at the instigation of moneyers whose families were strongly associated with protecting and extending the rights of the ordinary citizen.[24] Even if visually this first type is conservative, in message it strongly supports the ideology of the *populares*.[25] His other two types are far from conservative. One has Cupid on the obverse, and Iuppiter Libertas and Libertas in their temple on the Aventine on the reverse.[26] This is the first Roman coin to show the god(s) in a temple, a design type that became deeply influential.[27] The other has the head of Libertas on the obverse (the first type to do so!) and on the reverse a standing personification of Roma resting her foot on a wolf head next to Venus being crowned by cupid; flanking the figures are rudders resting on ship prows. The moneyer's name appears, not in the exergue, but on a plinth, as if representing a statue base from which the ship beaks protrude. The overall visual impression of two gods framed by monumental elements, namely the rudders and plinth, seems to intentionally echo the composition of his other type with Iuppiter Libertas and Libertas. It cannot be

23. Again, see Hollstein, "Quirinus," 380–2 with Crawford 1974: 82.

24. *RRC* 266/1 issued by C. Cassius (Crawford dates to 126 BC; Mattingly, *From Coins*, 208, to 131 BC) and *RRC* 270/1 issued by M. Porcius Laeca (Crawford 125 BC; Mattingly, *From Coins*, 208, prefers 123 BC). For Libertas on the Republican coin series, see Valentina Arena, *Libertas and the Practice of Politics in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 30–44, 56–8, and 76–8; and Anna J. Clark, *Divine Qualities: Cult and Community in Republican Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 142–151.

25. On the popular character of this issue and it ideological relationship to Mensor, see Hubert Zehnacker, *Moneta: Recherches sur l'organisation et l'art des émissions monétaires de la République romaine* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1973), 588–590.

26. On the temple including evidence for how the coin type connects to other surviving evidence, Adam Ziółkowski, *The Temples of Mid-Republican Rome and their Historical and Topographical Context*, Saggi di storia antica, 4 (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1992), 85–87; however his speculation as to how this evidence connects with contemporary Roman topography has not been accepted: L. Haselberger in *Digital Augustan Rome*, s.v. "Aventinus: Colonnades," map entry 257 (http://digitalaugustanrome.org). On the worship of Libertas with Iuppiter Libertas, Clark, *Divine*, 22, 58–9, 149.

27. Nathan T. Elkins, *Monuments in Miniature: Architecture on Roman Coinage* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 2015), 26.

correlated at present with any known monument in the city of Rome, but that is not an unusual phenomenon.[28]

Unlike Mensor's issue, none of these three types is marked SC. The meaning of SC on Republican coins is not without controversy, but I am inclined to believe in most cases it marks out a supplementary issue struck later in the year.[29] We know nothing of Mensor or his family, and next to nothing about Maxsumus.[30] Crawford detected in the cognomen Mensor a concern with agrarian policies, perhaps correctly. I think it probable that Mensor designed his coin types in support of and in response to those of Maxsumus, or they even may have been planned at the same time. They share a common iconography for Libertas on their obverses, even if the stylistic execution is very different. In both cases the *pileus* is placed behind the bust as the identifying mark; otherwise the goddess has a draped bust and is adorned with a necklace, earrings, and stephane. Maxsumus' Libertas is usually cut with a tall, narrow head, while Mensor's is usually fleshy and rounded. Likewise, the *pileus* on the former is narrow and conical, whereas on the latter nearly semicircular. Maxsumus' types promote Venus' status as protector of Rome and as a goddess compatible with the ideals of the *populares*, especially *libertas*. Moreover, his personification of Roma draws direct attention to the foundation legends by the inclusion of the wolf head as a totemic animal of the city.[31] Venus is, of course, one of Rome's founding deities through the Aeneas legend.

28. Cf. *RRC* 438/1 for another unidentified naval monument and *RRC* 297/1 for a legend imitating a statue base.

29. See *RRC*, p. 606, for his views of its usage, disputed by D. B. Hollander, "The Management of the Mint in the Late Roman Republic," *Ancient History Bulletin* 13 (1999): 14–27; I am inclined to follow Crawford, pointing to *RRC* 426 where 1 and 2 have no SC and familial types of the moneyer, Faustus, Sulla's son, but where 3 and 4 have types relating to Pompey (perhaps inspired by the designs of 1 and 2) and we also have Cicero's letter to Quintus (2.5, 8 April 56 BC) saying: "On the 5th of April, by a decree of the senate, a sum of money amounting to 40 million *sestertii* was voted to Pompey for the business of the corn-supply. But on the same day there was a vehement debate on the Campanian land, the senators making almost as much noise as a public meeting. The shortness of money and the high price of corn increased the exasperation." (Shuckburgh trans., modified). It seems reasonable to connect Faustus' SC issue with Pompeian themes to this decree.

30. If the reference to the Egnatii in Cic. *Clu*. 135 is the same family, it is far from flattering, suggesting censorial demotion from the senate! The two other references to Egnatii in the letters are terse and show no great respect or suggestion of equal social standing (*Att*. 13.34 and 45). Egnatii are only known to have held minor magistracies in the first century BC and before. Farsuleius is a relatively common *nomen gentile* in the Imperial period, but no members of the *gens* are known to have held office in the Republic.

31. Kurt Raaflaub, "Between Myth and History: Rome's Rise from Village to Empire (The Eighth Century to 264)," in *A Companion to the Roman Republic*, ed. Nathan Rosenstein

Mensor provides a similar "popular" reclaiming of Romulus and the complementary image of Rome's other protector and founding deity, Mars. Numerous scholars have suggested that Sulla may have modeled his image on Romulus or at least that he affected how those who came after him "remembered" Romulus.[32] Sallust has the consul Lepidus give a speech in 78 BC in which he calls Sulla, *scaevos iste Romulus*, "that perverse Romulus."[33] Gabba has gone so far as to hypothesize that Dionysius of Halicarnassus drew upon a political pamphlet of the 70s BC, entitled "The Constitution of Romulus," that credited the king with creating a tripartite governmental structure in order to favor the elite.[34] However, Romulus could also be seen as an emblem of the very *libertas* celebrated on the obverse.[35] Livy says Servius Tullius modified Romulus' original constitution in which each citizen's voice had carried the same weight and all had shared the same rights (1.43.10–11). There is also a strong tradition that Romulus distributed land to his followers equally.[36] This idea of Romulus' Rome as an egalitarian space is also embodied in the myth of his asylum, offering to include those who joined him a place in his new city.[37] The preface to Livy's second book has been read as presenting Romulus' rule as a readying of the people, shepherds and immigrants, for *libertas*.[38] By placing the deification of Romulus the lawgiver (togate Romulus) on his coin type, Mensor explicitly links Roman *libertas* with not only the foundation of the city, but also the divine protection Rome enjoys, not only through Mars and Venus, but also through the deified Romulus himself.

and Robert Morstein-Marx (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006); the wolf as a symbol of Mars, cf. Livy 10.27.9, cf. 22.1.12; or the wolf as symbol of Rome, *RRC* 388/1 with Pliny's testimony that the wolf was one of the legionary standards before Marius' reforms (*NH* 10.16), cf. M. Pobjoy, "The First Italia," in *The Emergence of State Identities in Italy in the First Millennium* BC, ed. K. Lomas and E. Herring (London: Accordia Research Institute, 2000), 203, on the Social War coinage, Trogus 38.6.7–8, and Vell. Pat. 2.27.2.

32. Ver Eecke, *La République,* 171–189 with references to previous scholarship.

33. Sal. *Hist*. 1 fr. 49.5.

34. Emilio Gabba, *Dionysius and the History of Archaic Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 201–8; Arena, *Libertas*, 99–101 does not fully endorse the hypothesis but does demonstrate its consistency with other literary evidence.

35. Cf. Ver Eecke, *La République*, 287–322.

36. Dion. Hal. *RA* 2.7.4 only emphasizes equal distribution among each *curia*, but Varro. *Rust*. 1.10.2; Plin. *NH* 18.7, 19.50; Festus 47.1–21 all report him giving two *iugera* to each man; see Arena 2012: 143–4, especially n. 302 for discussion, context, and earlier scholarship.

37. Kent J. Rigsby, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 575–7 and Emma Dench, *Romulus' Asylum: Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1–25.

38. Livy 2.1, with Stephen Rex Stem, "The Exemplary Lessons of Livy's Romulus," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 137.2 (2007): 466–7.

This idea of Romulus carrying on his role as Rome's guardian even after death is found in yet another Ennian quotation from Cicero:

> *pectora … tenet desiderium; simul inter*
> *sese sic memorant: "o Romule, Romule die,*
> *qualem te patria te custodem di genuerunt!*
> *o pater, o genitor, o sanguen dis oriundum!*
> *tu produxisti nos intra luminis oras…"*
> (Ennius, *Annales* 2.105–9 = Cicero, *de Re Publica* 1.64)

> longing gripping their hearts…and then all together among themselves they said: "O Romulus, godlike Romulus, what a guardian of our fatherland the gods brought forth in you! O father, o sire, o bloodline sprung from the gods! You brought us forth into the regions of light."
> (Elliot translation)

Cicero uses this quote as part of his evidence for the apotheosis of Romulus.[39] For our purposes, what is particularly meaningful is Cicero's testimony that in the *Annales* this praise of Romulus is inspired by the loss of their "truly just king" (*iusto quidem rege*). In Ovid, it is Romulus giving *ius* that is emphasized with his apotheosis. Cicero here lets us see that the theme may also be originally an Ennian one. Mensor's coin type presents this just king as a continued guardian of Roman *libertas* through his deification. Through their coin types, Maxsumus and Mensor make the argument that *libertas* is as essential to the foundation and continued success of Rome as either Venus, Mars, or Romulus.

Two final addenda: first, it is possible that Mensor was not the first moneyer to choose the theme of Romulus' apotheosis for his coin type. During the very first phase of experimentation with design variations on the *denarius*, Gn. Gellius, probably the historian of the same name, created a type with Mars in a quadriga with a draped figure behind him. The draped figure might well be Romulus being taken to the heavens, a not inappropriate subject for an historically-minded moneyer whose literary work intersected with Ennius' *Annales*. However, the rendering of the drapery is not so precise as to make us confident that the figure is intended to be togate, and not, by contrast, a female deity or personification.[40]

39. Elliot, *Ennius*, 178–9 (with references to earlier scholarship) holds Cicero's use is disingenuous, and there is nothing in this fragment that promotes the deification of Romulus; I am ambivalent on the correct interpretation of Ennius' original meaning, but would argue ancient audiences other than Cicero may have also naturally taken the passage as an allusion to his apotheosis.

40. *RRC* 232/1 dated to 138 BC by both Crawford and Mattingly, *From Coins*, 214. I find Crawford's dismissal of the identification of the figure as Nerio (or Neria) to be too hasty:

Second, I would emphasize that I do not think that it is meaningful to call the togate figure stepping into the chariot on *RRC* 392 Quirinus, the name usually given to the deified Romulus. Quirinus' status as a Roman god and his association with Romulus is complex, much tied up in the syncretic approach of the Romans when co-opting the gods of conquered peoples, a theme beyond the scope of this short paper. I would only note that the iconography of Quirinus elsewhere in the Roman coin series does not connect with the representation of Romulus here.[41] For Mensor in the mid-70s, it was far more important to represent the Roman lawgiver and divine guardian of the Roman state, rather than a warrior god with Sabine roots.

List of Illustrations

1. *RRC* 392/1a. Image courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group (www.cngcoins.com).
2. Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano inv. 1115. Image from W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturendes Vatikanischen Museums,* Vol. 2 (Berlin, 1908), plate 15. Public Domain.
3. Relief of Domitius Ahenobarbus, Louvre, no. MA 975, photographed by Marie-Lan Nguyen 2007 and placed in the Public Domain.
4. Detail of the relief of Domitius Ahenobarbus, Louvre, no. MA 975, photographed by Marie-Lan Nguyen 2007 and placed in the Public Domain.
5. Detail of the relief of Domitius Ahenobarbus, Louvre, no. MA 975, photographed by Marie-Lan Nguyen 2007 and placed in the Public Domain.
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7. Thorvaldsen I709. The Thornvaldsen Museum has placed the image in the public domain.
8. Cades, *Impronti*: Libro 6, classe I, J, no. 25. Image courtesy of the Beazley Archive.
9. *RRC* 391/1b. ANS 1974.161.2.
10. *RRC* 391/2. ANS 1944.100.1970.

Gellius the historian was certainly interested in the idea of Neria as the wife and companion of Mars (*FRH* 14 F5 with commentary = Gell. 13.23.13).

41. *RRC* 427/2 and 268/1 with Hollstein, "Quirinus" and Gary D. Farney, *Ethnic Identity and Aristocratic Competition in Republican Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 273; on Quirinus and Romulus, esp. as shaped by the Caesarian usage, see Ver Eeke, *La République*, 384–8. On the complexities of understanding the god Quirinus, Dominique Briquel "Remarques sur le dieu Quirinus," R*evue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 74.1 (1996): 99–120 and Rabun Taylor, "Watching the Skies: Janus, Auspication, and the Shrine in the Roman Forum," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 45 (2000): 1–40.

11. *RRC* 391/3. Image courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group (www.cngcoins.com).

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Romulus' Apotheosis (*RRC* 392)

Plate 32

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Romulus' Apotheosis (*RRC* 392)

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Romulus' Apotheosis (*RRC* 392)

Plate 34

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Romulus' Apotheosis (*RRC* 392)