

3

Mutinies?

The unprecedented rise of Roman power had its detractors. A large portion of the military history of the Republic is the story of attempts to re-assert control over peoples and territories already ostensibly subdued. It is also the story of Romans fighting Romans. The collegiality among the elite required to uphold the Republican constitution was difficult to maintain and often in the last century severely compromised. Coins can help us around the problem of history being written (primarily) by the victors.¹ They reflect the self-presentation of those who chose to oppose Rome or attempted to usurp her power. In many cases, the makers of these coins sought to define themselves with iconographic vocabulary borrowed from Rome at the same time as they presented themselves as antithetical to the Roman cause. In a few cases, the imagery was chosen to align the community with an alternative to Roman power. In all cases, the coin designs draw on the repertoire of existing coins in order to borrow legitimacy from the better-known types.

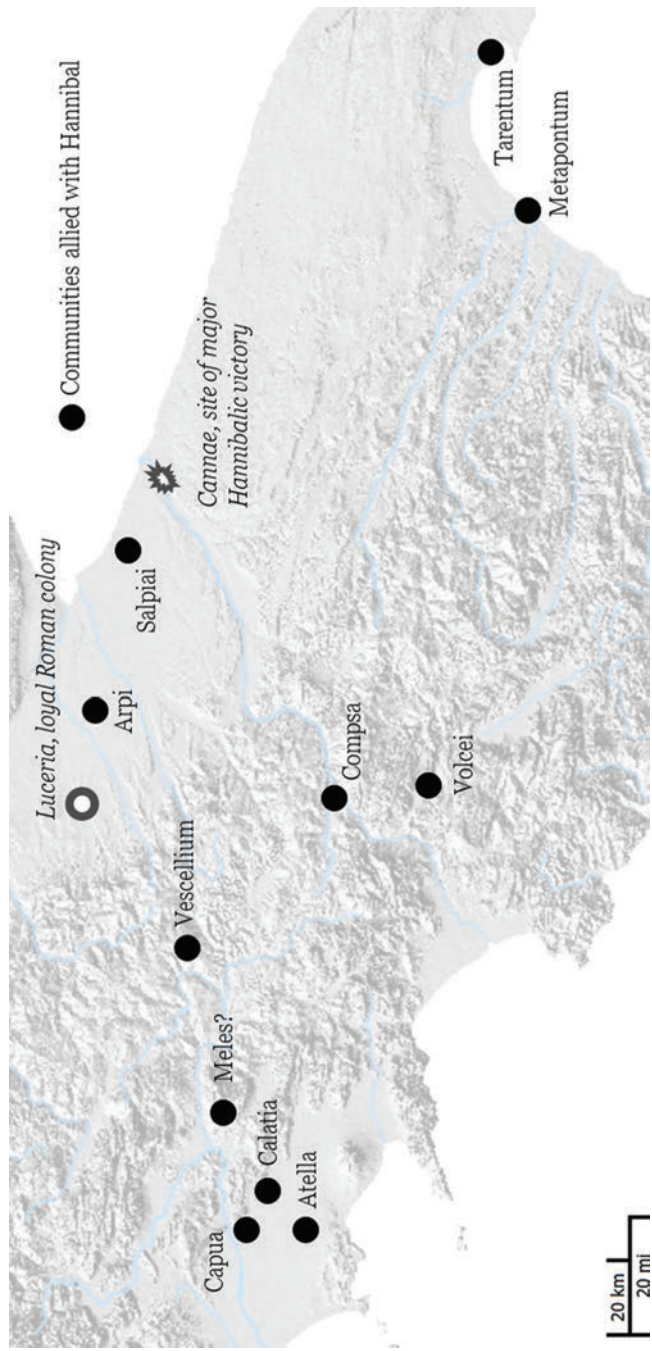
3.1 Failures in *Fides*

The following three sub-sections look at instances where Rome temporarily lost control of peoples who had previously fallen under her dominion. All of the instances discussed here are based in Italy and Sicily: the defection of Italian allies to the Punic cause after the defeat at Cannae, the uprisings of enslaved peoples in Sicily, and the attempts by the Marsi, Samnites, and others to form an Italian confederacy to challenge Roman hegemony. These are not the only attempts to resist Roman authority, and such actions were not limited to the West. Readers interested in this topic will want to read further elsewhere on such instances as Philip VI, also known as Andriscus or the Pseudo-Philip, and his attempt to re-establish the Macedonian kingdom after Rome had divided it into four republics; Eumenes III, also known as Aristonicus, who fought Rome's 'inheritance' of the Attalid kingdom and attempted to establish a city free from slavery; and most especially Mithridates VI Eupator, who inspired widespread rebellion against Rome throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond.²

3.1.1 Hannibalic War

Part of Hannibal's strategy for his invasion of Italy was to bring disaffected peoples and communities over to his side and use this anticipated manpower and resources against Rome.³ After his successes at Cannae in the summer of 216 BCE, Hannibal relied on diplomacy to win over a party of aristocrats, mostly from the family of a leading man, Dasius Altinius, and with them their hometown, Arpi, an Apulian community that had been loyal to the Romans since they willingly entered into an alliance in 318 BCE. Arpi probably supplied momentum for the defection of other Apulian communities, including Herdonia and Salapia. Family ties between the elite citizens of these communities may also have played a role in the series of defections. The motivations for these defections are perhaps better ascribed to local rivalries among the elite for status and control of the local community rather than an ideologically anti-Roman stance among the population of Apulia. Apulia at this time was in transition to more urbanized centers with strong cultural influence from the neighboring communities of Magna Graecia; intercommunity rivalries for status and control of regional resources were high. Rome had originally built alliances in this region because they and the Apulians had a shared adversary in the Samnites. The establishment of Luceria as Roman colony in 314 BCE directly infringed on Arpi's regional interests.

The numismatic evidence is tantalizing and not fully understood. Both Arpi and Salapia minted coins with the name of each city in Greek and also the name 'Dazou', which is plausibly taken to be the same family name, Dasius, of which we hear in our literary sources (Figures 3.1, 3.4). For a long time this was enough for numismatists to date at least some of the coins to the time of the defection to Hannibal.⁴ Unfortunately, the physical evidence complicates this picture: the didrachm (Figure 3.1) shares a weight standard with other regional coins in circulation c. 275 BCE, and specimens have been found in two small hoards believed to have been deposited no later than 269 BCE.⁵ Thus, it is better to take the names on the coins not as evidence from the time of Hannibal but rather as testimony of Arpi and Salapia's pre-existing strong connections, probably with some shared relations among their ruling elite. The coins more likely to be from the time of Hannibal are notable for their lack of personal names and their use of the reverse type and denominational system of Metapontum – a grain of ear for each obol of value, so that the triobol has three grain-ears (HN Italy 646). The choice of weight standard seems to be an attempt to allow for easy



Map 7 South Italian communities siding with Hannibal



Figure 3.1 HN Italy 633, Arpi, c. 325–275 BCE(?), didrachm, 7.6 grams, ANS 1944.100.2437. **Obv.** Head of Demeter (or possibly Persephone), wearing grain-ear crown. **Rev.** Prancing horse, star above, ΔΑΖΟΥ below. Cf. Figure 3.2.⁶



Figure 3.2 RRC 15/1, c. 250 BCE*,⁷ didrachm, 7.25 grams, ANS 1957.172.1. **Obv.** Laureate head of Apollo, ROMANO before. **Rev.** Prancing horse, star above. Rome's second silver issue.

exchange between the Punic and Greek coinage systems, so that the half-drachma (= triobol) was the equivalent of the Punic quarter-shekel. This weight standard is also used for Hannibalic issues of Metapontum and Tarentum.⁸ Yet for all that these Arpi triobols could be exchanged with Punic coins, the iconography is wholly Hellenistic and predominantly aligning Arpi with Metapontum, not the Punic cause.

Within the territory traditionally controlled by the Samnites, the Hirpini were a distinct group occupying a mountainous region between Campania and Apulia (approximately the modern province of Avellino). A number of Hirpinian towns rebelled during the Hannibalic War, probably in 216 BCE, almost certainly by 215 BCE. Among those named in our literary sources are Compsa, Vescellium, and Meles.⁹ The numismatic choices here are in sharp contrast with those seen in Apulia: the cast bronze of Meles directly



Figure 3.3 HN Italy 642, Arpi, c. 375–275 BCE, bronze, 7.67 grams, ANS 1944.100.2441. **Obv.** Laureate head of Zeus, ΔΑΖΟΥ before. **Rev.** Boar, spearhead above, ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ in exergue.



Figure 3.4 HN Italy 690, Salapia, c. 225–210 BCE(?), bronze, 5.11 grams, ANS 1944.100.2522. **Obv.** Laureate head of Zeus, ΣΑΛΑΠΙΝΩΝ before, thunderbolt behind. **Rev.** Boar, trident above, ΠΥΛΛΟΥ in exergue.

imitates the Punic coinage created in Spain (Figures 3.5–6). Yet, the casting of bronze coins is largely a Roman phenomenon, and the weight standard chosen by Meles for this issue was the semilibral standard introduced by Rome because of the financial hardships of the war itself (cf. Figure 1.22 and Section 1.2.1). The image indicates loyalty to the Carthaginians, while the weight standard says the people of Meles continue to think within the economic system of the Romans.

Like Arpi in Apulia, Capua had long held a dominant regional position, a significant factor in its ability to recruit other communities to join the defection from Rome to the Punic cause.¹⁰ Capua's revolt came after Cannae, when Hannibal brought his army into Campania but, if Livy is



Figure 3.5 HN Italy 442, Meles, c. 215–212 BCE, cast sextans, 16.04 grams. **Obv.** Bearded head of Hercules(?). **Rev.** African elephant with driver. Haeberlin 1910: pl. 69, no. 39. Public domain. Illustrated to scale.



Figure 3.6 Villaronga 1973: no. 31, uncertain Spanish Punic mint, c. 221–212 BCE,¹¹ silver coin, 14.26 grams, ANS 1944.100.81012. **Obv.** Laureate, bearded head of Melkart. **Rev.** African elephant with driver. It is often suggested that the heads on the Barcid coinage of Spain could be portraits of members of the dynasty in the guise of Melkart/Heracles. The recurrent identification has its origins in a suggestion of E. S. G. Robinson: “in spite of the attributes, the heads, with their strongly marked features and close-curling hair, show so much of the African Semite.” This type of racialized reading of antiquity here and elsewhere must be acknowledged as such and rejected.¹²

to be believed, the ground was already being laid by the Capuan aristocracy in 217 BCE. Capua possessed *civitas sine suffragio* – they were citizens without the vote, citizens who forsook Rome for Hannibal! This was not just a formal status: Capuan elite had strong marriage ties with Roman elite, and some 300 young Capuans were *equites* in the Roman legions in Sicily.¹³ The Roman narrative tradition presents Capua as desiring to replace Rome as the dominant power in the whole of Italy, with this being Hannibal's chief promise to the city upon his arrival.¹⁴ The coins struck by Capua at this time are intended to disseminate the message of Capuan independence, as well as serve as monetary units. Before the arrival of Hannibal, Capua had struck no coinage.¹⁵ The city's revolt from Rome was its primary impetus to strike. In fact, Capua, Atella, Calatia, and Volcei (Velecha) are all known to have taken Roman coins and directly overstruck those coins with their own types – this means a hasty striking process (not taking the time to melt down the coins to make new flans) and one that was also ideologically driven (not wanting to use 'enemy' coin).¹⁶ All of these cities chose to name themselves on the coins using Oscan, not Greek or Latin.¹⁷

These mints also share iconography. Capua and Atella both produced a type with two soldiers swearing an oath on a pig (Figures 3.7–8). As discussed in Chapter 2, Rome had very recently deployed oath-swearing imagery on its own coinage to invoke ideals of fidelity (Figure 1.24, cf. Figure 1.37 and Section 2.2.1). Here, the Campanian communities are responding with their own claims to their own vision of loyalty. The two soldiers on the Campanian coinage are represented as equals, near mirror images of each other. The Roman coins represent an older man and younger soldier, the two clearly distinguished from each other, each with their own dignity. Capua, Atella, and Calatia all minted coins with a nearly identical reverse image: Zeus driving a *quadriga*, the imagery certainly influenced by Rome's quadrigatus coinage (Figure 3.9, cf. Figure 1.19).¹⁸ Likewise, there are iconographic parallels between Capuan bronzes and Roman *victoriati* (Figure 3.10, cf. Figure 1.29) and even a surprising parallel between the smallest denomination of an unusual Roman bronze series and a much more common Capuan type (Figure 3.11, cf. Figure 3.12).¹⁹

There are also Punic-inspired types: most obviously, Meles, Capua, Atella, and Volcei all strike coinage depicting elephants (Figures 3.5 and 3.13–14).²⁰ These imitate elephants on coins struck by the Carthaginians themselves in southern Italy in silver (Figure 3.15).²¹ Unlike Meles, all these mints, including the Carthaginian mint, seem to be rejecting the Roman denominational system with its base-12 counting and instead



Figure 3.7 HN Italy 487, Capua, 216–211 BCE, biunx (a two-uncia piece in a base-10 denomination system), 15.94 grams, ANS 1944.100.456. **Obv.** Laureate head of Zeus, two stars behind. **Rev.** Two soldiers face each other with drawn swords, holding a pig between them in an oath-swearing scene, *kapu* in Oscan script, right to left in exergue. Illustrated to scale.



Figure 3.8 HN Italy 466, Atella, 216–211 BCE, biunx, 15.94 grams, ANS 1944.100.438. **Obv.** Laureate head of Zeus, two stars behind. **Rev.** Two soldiers face each other with drawn swords, holding a pig between them in an oath-swearing scene, *aderl* in Oscan script, right to left. For denomination, cf. Figure 3.7. Illustrated to scale.



Figure 3.9 HN Italy 481, Capua, 216–211 BCE, as, 40.59 grams, BnF Luynes 103. **Obv.** Jugate heads of Hera with scepter and laureate Zeus. **Rev.** Jupiter holding scepter and thunderbolt driving a *quadriga*, *kapu* in Oscan script, right to left, in exergue. Illustrated to scale.



Figure 3.10 HN Italy 493, Capua, 216–211 BCE, uncia, 8.10 grams, Yale 2001.87.53. **Obv.** Laureate head of Jupiter. **Rev.** Victory crowning a trophy, *kapu* in Oscan script, right to left, in exergue. Illustrated to scale.



Figure 3.11 HN Italy 485, Capua, 216–211 BCE, AE biunx, 16.92 grams, ANS 1944.100.454. **Obv.** Bust of female divinity wearing a turreted crown with a thunderbolt, two stars and strigil behind. **Rev.** Horseman charging with spear lowered, two stars behind, murex shell below horse's legs, *kapu* in Oscan script, right to left in exergue. For obverse design, cf. Figure 3.12. For denomination, cf. Figure 3.7. Illustrated to scale.



Figure 3.12 RRC 39/5, 217–215 BCE, semuncia, 5.38 grams, ANS 1944.100.60. **Obv.** Bust of female divinity wearing turreted crown. **Rev.** Horseman galloping holding whip, ROMA below horse's legs. The identity of the female divinity on this and 3.11 is not certain; the personification of cities and their Tyches (Fortunae) and Cybele (Magna Mater) are commonly represented with a turreted (mural) crown. Illustrated both to scale (right) and twice life-size (left).

using a base-10 system. As we saw in Chapter 2, the elephant was a key symbol of Carthaginian strength, but one that the Romans quickly appropriated as a mark of their own conquest. The Carthaginians themselves were comfortable imitating Roman coins to their own advantage, even going so far as to strike an electrum stater with a janiform female head



Figure 3.13 HN Italy 510, Capua, 216–211 BCE, *semuncia*, 2.19 grams, ANS 1916.192.8. **Obv.** Head of Athena wearing helmet. **Rev.** Indian elephant, *kapu* in Oscan script, right to left in exergue.²² Capua's economic difficulties near the end of its rebellion are demonstrated by its reductions in weight standard, leading to the very small size of this coin. This coin is illustrated at twice life-size, as are all coins in this volume, except where otherwise noted.



Figure 3.14 HN Italy 1344, Volcei, 216–209 BCE, *sextans*, 12.25 grams, ANS 1938.127.20. **Obv.** Facing radiate head of Helios (Sol), two pellets either side of neck. **Rev.** African elephant, *velexa* in Oscan script, right to left in exergue.²³ This type derives from a similar Capuan type (HN Italy 468), which in turn was likely inspired for its obverse design by RRC 39/4.



Figure 3.15 HN Italy 2030, Carthaginian mint in Bruttium, 216–211 BCE, silver two-as piece, 1.09 grams, ANS 1944.100.293. **Obv.** Youthful head of Hermes (Mercury) in flat hat (no wings!), prominent collar. **Rev.** Indian elephant with tower, two pellets in exergue.²⁴ Elephant towers are known from other artistic media but have no numismatic precedents.²⁵



Figure 3.16 HN Italy 2013, Carthaginian mint in Bruttium, 216–211 BCE, electrum 3/8-shekel, 2.95 grams, ANS 1944.100.292. **Obv.** Janiform heads of female divinity wearing a *stephane* (tiara-like crown). **Rev.** Zeus holding scepter and thunderbolt driving a *quadriga* driven by Victory. Cf. Figure 1.20.

and *quadriga* reverse (Figure 3.16, cf. Figures 1.19–20). Why imitate their enemies? Was Carthage also showing its ability to appropriate images as a sign of conquest or anticipated conquest (cf. Section 2.2.6)? Or was it simply a matter of attempting to make the coinage more ‘spendable’, by appearing more familiar in design (cf. discussion in Section 1.2)? The latter seems at first more compelling, but the denomination (probably three-eighths of a shekel) and even the metal itself, electrum, are so unfamiliar to an Italic audience that surely the design was chosen for other reasons.

This minting by communities in revolt – of which the preceding is only a fraction – had a distinct impact on Roman monetary policy after they regained control of the peninsula. After the Hannibalic War, they imposed two related major changes on Italy. First, the evidence of hoards from the period 218–201 BCE shows that the Romans

took aggressive measures to remove all non-Roman silver from circulation and to replace it with the new Roman silver coinage of denarii. The unusual and violent nature of this change . . . reflects the profound effect that the war had had on the mentality of the Romans in the face of the devastation of the war.²⁶

And, second, in those regions where we have detailed evidence, such as Bruttium, a large number of local mints stopped issuing coins; residual bronzes from the fourth and third centuries stayed in circulation, but the precious metal coinage of Greek, Brettian, and Carthaginian mints did not. And there is little evidence for overstrikes. The major pattern is of co-existing coinages: Rhegium bronzes, bronzes from Latin Colonies (Copia and Valentia), residual bronzes, and denarii all circulate together.²⁷

3.1.2 Uprisings of Enslaved Peoples

From the end of the Second Punic War to the second half of the second century, Rome's dominion over Italy went largely unchallenged. The majority of Rome's military engagements were overseas or north of the Apennines. In 146 BCE, the symbolic destruction of both Corinth and Carthage pronounced Rome's hegemony over the whole of the Mediterranean. Yet, there are consequences to empire. The complexity of these consequences included management of new material resources and the maintenance of human relationships. Rome had always been an enslaving society with a strict social hierarchy, but the broader their geographical control, the more cultures the Romans encountered among their allies, enemies, subject populations, and enslaved peoples. The ability of the Roman elite to exercise control over all these peoples, as well as the Roman lower classes, in peacetime proved limited. In the Republic, Rome's militarism and its corresponding use of force and reinforcement of social hierarchies were capable of establishing an empire but were ill-suited for stable, peaceable maintenance of such an empire. A proverb attributed to Sennius Capito, a late first century BCE grammarian, expresses just this anxiety: 'as many enemies [as we have], so many slaves; as many slaves [as we have], so many enemies'.²⁸

One of the largest and most successful historical acts of self-liberation by enslaved peoples took place at the end of the second century BCE in Roman Sicily; in scale it is comparable to the Zanj Rebellion begun near Basra (869–883 CE) and perhaps a quarter of the size of the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804 CE). One leader of this uprising was Antiochus, originally from Apamea (Syria). After being enslaved, he was sold to Antigones of Enna and was called 'Eunus'. Discontent with remaining in bondage, 'Eunus' led his fellow slaves to overthrow the slave-owners of their city. Then, as leader of a combined force of both formerly enslaved peoples and free-born Sicilians, he captured the city of Tauromenium and defeated a Roman legion.²⁹ For at least three years his control in Sicily was secure enough that he minted coins declaring himself 'King Antiochus' (Figure 3.17), a name and title later writers confirm.³⁰ Finally, the Roman consul Publius Rupilius laid siege to Tauromenium in 132 BCE.³¹ Rupilius won the siege, and Antiochus' men fled to the countryside. Antiochus died during the siege surrounded by the luxuries of his new station, including people he himself kept enslaved.³²

Diodorus, a Sicilian historian writing about a century later, tells us that Antiochus pursued freedom and kingship because it was a fate revealed to



Figure 3.17 Campana, Enna 14, c. 133–132 BCE, struck bronze of uncertain denomination, 3.43 grams, Drawing of British Museum 1868,0730.156 after Robinson 1920. **Obv.** Head of Demeter (or Persephone), wearing grain-ear crown and veil. **Rev.** Grain-ear, BACI and ANTI on either side. Illustrated approximately to scale.

him by the gods, and that he used the Syrian ethnic identity to unify his followers and build for himself a broader religious following based on Syrian religious practices.³³ The historian reasons that Antiochus successfully rallied slaves to his cause because their Sicilians enslavers were too cruel, branding and starving them, and often even denying them clothes.³⁴ The poor of this Roman province also preferred to rise up with the foreign-born enslaved peoples than align themselves with the elite Sicilians and the ruling Romans. The coinage teaches us a number of points about Antiochus' uprising. It employed a model of political power familiar from the successors of Alexander and attempted more specifically to invoke the authority associated with the Seleucid dynasty that ruled in Syria. At the same time, however, the design selected themes seen on many autonomous bronze coinages of Sicilian Greek communities: Demeter on the obverse and grain on the reverse can be found on coins struck by Gela, Leontini, and Enna in Sicily, and even more commonly on the coins of Magna Graecia.³⁵ Antiochus was striking coins to legitimate his government, and to do so in ways that most spoke to his followers, both the Sicilian-born population and the formerly enslaved population, who had been forcibly transported to the island, many of whom came from Seleucid territories in Syria. In his choices are also encoded an inherent rejection of Roman legitimacy.

The Romans, of course, desired to delegitimize Antiochus' leadership, his specific revolts and similar attempts at self-liberation, not just in the moment, but also in historical memory. On Roman coinage we see two different strategies. In the next generation, a moneyer shows a Roman soldier subduing with a whip an armed former slave. The whip symbolizes the re-establishment of 'correct' social hierarchies through the Roman refusal to meet the rebel forces as equals (Figure 3.18). Two generations later, a grandson celebrated this grandfather's military successes against enslaved peoples, as if it was a (re)conquest of Sicily as a



Figure 3.18 RRC 294/1, 110 BCE*, denarius, 3.86 grams, ANS 1944.100.602. **Obv.** Head of Roma, X below, ROMA (in ligature) behind. **Rev.** Roman soldier (shod) with sheathed sword whips a barefoot warrior resisting re-enslavement, the whip causes the warrior to turn his face fully towards the viewer, T·DEIDI in exergue. Moneyer: T. Didius, cos. 98 BCE. Crawford described the reverse as gladiatorial combat; the interpretation offered here was widely accepted in earlier scholarship.³⁶ Gladiators are not known to have fought with whips, but like all enslaved peoples they were subject to whipping; the whip was a common symbol of the enslaver's control.³⁷ The imagery is likely inspired by an episode in Herodotus, in which the Scythians reconquer their former slaves. "As long as they see us armed, they think they are our equals and the sons of our equals; when they see us with whips and not the weapons of war, they will understand that they are truly our slaves, and no longer resist our authority." (Herodotus 4.3; Loeb trans. modified, cf. Justin 2.5)³⁸

whole, an erasure of the memory of the slave status of the enemy (Figure 3.19). The strategy of commemoration on this latter coin was likely influenced by the controversy surrounding what honors were appropriate for Crassus after the defeat of Spartacus, given the servile status of the enemy.³⁹ Even if the Romans wanted to forget the Sicilian uprisings, we have much, if scattered, testimony to their aftermath. Antiochus' revolt and its initial instigation among the enslaved was successful enough to inspire many more attempts, not just in Sicily, but also on the Italian mainland.⁴⁰ We even hear of remnants of the last group of such rebels in Italy in the late 60s BCE!⁴¹ Antiochus' coin is thus a reminder to read our literary sources with extra care when they attempt to diminish the memories of these rebellions.⁴²

Because of this coin type, the moneyer's father has in the past been assumed to be a praetor in Sicily in 138 BCE engaged in suppressing an uprising, but there is no independent evidence attesting to this; indeed, Cicero refers to Didius as a *novus homo*.⁴³



Figure 3.19 RRC 401/1, 65 BCE*, serrated denarius, 4.05 grams, ANS 1937.158.147.

Obv. Helmeted bust of Virtus, IIIVIR behind, VIRTVS before. **Rev.** M. Aquillius, cos. 101 BCE, in military dress holds the arm of a personification of a defeated Sicily, /W·AQVIL /W·F·W·N, SICIL in exergue. Moneyer: Grandson of the cos. 101 BCE.⁴⁴ The rehabilitation of the grandfather's memory by this type requires the viewer to forget the charges of corruption he faced and his ignominious capture, display, and gruesome execution by having molten gold poured down his throat by Mithridates (cf. Section 3.1.3).⁴⁵ Just like the relief depicting Nero and Armenia from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, the reverse is modeled on Hellenistic depictions of Achilles and Penthesilea; it thus provides an early example of the adaptation of the form and meaning of a Hellenistic mythological group to an allegory of Roman imperialism.⁴⁶ On five-stroke M, cf. Figure 2.6.

3.1.3 Italia's Failed War for Independence

It was not only the enslaved and poor who found themselves dissatisfied with Roman governance in the decades after 146 BCE. Allied communities of greater Italy also found cause to complain, often about their rights (or lack thereof) to the lands they had traditionally farmed, when the use of that land was given over to Roman citizens of all walks of life, from the wealthiest land owners to the urban poor and army veterans (cf. Section 4.3). This discontentment reached its peak in the late 90s BCE and the eruption of the Social War, the war against the *socii* or allies. However, it is clear that the complaints of the allies were well-known to Romans and seen as a matter for potential political action as early as the mid 120s BCE.⁴⁷ It used to be said that the Italian allies went to war with Rome in order to gain Roman citizenship. This view of events has rightly become more nuanced. The Italian allies collectively wanted better treatment at the hands of the Roman state, and for some, before the war, citizenship seemed one avenue toward that goal; others seem to have desired a more autonomous status. The Social War represents



Figure 3.20 HN Italy 427, Italia, 90–89 BCE, denarius, 3.53 grams, ANS 1967.153.19 (Campana 98k). **Obv.** Head of Dionysus wearing ivy crown, *mútil-embratur* in Oscan script, right to left in exergue. **Rev.** Bull goring wolf, *c-paapi* in Oscan script, right to left in exergue. The connection between the Oscan name for Italia, Víteliú, and the word for bull-calf (*vitulus* in Latin), is supported by the use of a bullock as a canting pun on RRC 526 (40 BCE) by the moneyer Q. Voconius Vitulus.⁴⁸ The interpretation that the bull is raping the wolf is influenced by the representation of the bull on one British Museum specimen with what has been interpreted as an erect phallus;⁴⁹ this is most likely a die cutting variation without symbolic meaning, given its lack of occurrence on most other specimens. The legend reads, ‘C. Papius Mutilus Imperator’; he is called consul of Italia in our literary sources (cf. Figures 3.29–30, 3.33).⁵⁰ Dionysus and Liber are both strongly associated with the idea of liberty, cf. Section 4.4.1 n. 101 and Section 4.4.2.

the moment when the Italian allies gave up on finding any legal or diplomatic solution to their disaffection with Roman abuses of power. They abandoned such a hope and established the first Italia, an independent political state created with the express intent to usurp Roman authority.⁵¹ The coins are the most powerful argument in favor of this interpretation of events.

On the most famous Social War coin type, a bull gores a wolf (Figure 3.20). The bull has deep symbolic meaning for Italic identity, especially Samnite identity.⁵² A bull also appears alongside a soldier, or more likely a warrior god, on what is perhaps the most common type made in the name of Italia during the Social War (Figure 3.21).⁵³ The wolf is meant as a symbol of Rome, one widely used by the Romans themselves, but which our literary sources often report is deployed in rhetorical criticisms of Rome. In the *Epitome of Trogus*, Mithridates is made to say:

They themselves say that their founders were nourished by the teats of a wolf and thus their whole population has the spirit of wolves,

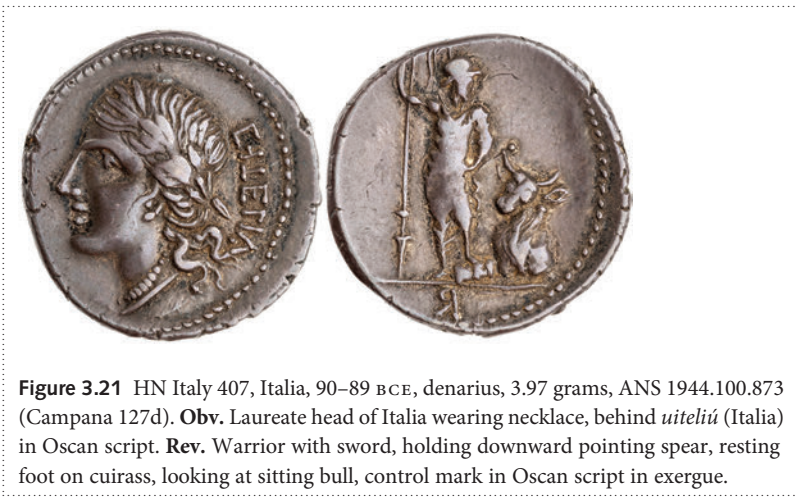


Figure 3.21 HN Italy 407, Italia, 90–89 BCE, denarius, 3.97 grams, ANS 1944.100.873 (Campana 127d). **Obv.** Laureate head of Italia wearing necklace, behind *uiteliú* (Italia) in Oscan script. **Rev.** Warrior with sword, holding downward pointing spear, resting foot on cuirass, looking at sitting bull, control mark in Oscan script in exergue.

insatiably bloodthirsty and sordidly greedy for power and riches. (Justin, *Epitome of Trogus* 38.6; Alder trans.)⁵⁴

And in Vellius Paterculus' account of the battle of the Colline Gate in 82 BCE, the commander of the Samnites is reported as saying:

“The last day is at hand for the Romans,” and in a loud voice exhorted his men to overthrow and destroy their city, adding: “These wolves that made such ravages upon Italian liberty will never vanish until we have cut down the forest that harbours them.” (Velleius Paterculus 2.27.2; Loeb trans.)⁵⁵

The coins of Italia from the Social War suggest that these passages reflect something more than a historical topos: probably the actual rhetoric used to condemn Roman behavior in some instances.

Like the Samnite general's exhortation to destroy the wolves of Rome, the bull goring the wolf imagery strongly implies a desire not just to conquer or eclipse Rome but to fully destroy and replace her hegemony. The same strength of messaging seems present in a few coins which suggest a willingness to partner with Roman enemies in the attempt to destroy Rome. One suggests that victory will come to Italy from a royal ally bringing military aid from the sea (Figure 3.22). A unique gold coin suggests that Italia had hopes of a partnership with Mithridates, the king of Pontus; it directly imitates the designs of bronze coins of Amisos, Mithridates' primary mint, but uses an Oscan legend with the name of an otherwise unknown Italian commander (Figures 3.23–4). Likewise, the use of Dionysus on the obverse of the bull goring wolf type and on the reverse of another denarius may also be allusions



Figure 3.22 HN Italy 416, Italia, 90–89 BCE, denarius, 4.22 grams, BnF Luynes 43 (Campana 107c). **Obv.** Bust of Athena wearing aegis, being crowned by Victory. **Rev.** Two warriors clasp right hands before a ship's prow bearing a filleted scepter and a pair of shields and spears,⁵⁶ control mark in Oscan script in exergue.



Figure 3.23 HN Italy 406, Italia, c. 90–89 BCE, gold stater, 8.49 grams, drawing of BnF Luynes 31 after BMCRR, p. 334, see Campana p. 135. **Obv.** Head of Dionysus wearing ivy crown. **Rev.** Thyrus tied with fillet and faun skin rest on *cista mystica* (ritual woven chest), *mi. iefis. mi* right to left in Oscan script in exergue (Mi(nius) Iegius, son of Mi(nius)).⁵⁷



Figure 3.24 RGA 24, Amisos, c. 85–65 BCE, bronze coin, 8.22 grams, ANS 1944.100.41270. **Obv.** Head of Dionysus wearing ivy crown. **Rev.** Thyrus tied with fillet and panther skin rest on *cista mystica* (ritual woven chest), AMIEOY below.

to Mithridates, who embraced the title of 'New Dionysus' (cf. Figure 3.20).⁵⁸ There are suggestions in the literary record that such aid was sought by Italia from the Pontic king, such as in this speech, which ostensibly convinced the Athenians to defect from the Roman cause (Figures 3.25–26, cf. Figure 3.44):

King Mithridates is master of Bithynia and Upper Cappadocia; he is master of the whole continent of Asia as far as Pamphylia and Cilicia. Armenian and Persian kings form his bodyguard, as are the princes ruling over the tribes who dwell round the Maeotis and the whole of Pontus, making a circuit of three thousand six hundred miles.⁵⁹ The Roman commander in Pamphylia, Quintus Oppius, has been delivered up to him and now follows in his train as a captive; Manius Aquillius, the ex-consul, who celebrated a triumph after his Sicilian campaign, bound hand and foot by a long chain to a Bastarnian seven and a half feet tall,⁶⁰ is dragged along on foot by a man on horseback. Of all the other Roman citizens, some are prostrated before the images of the gods, while the rest have changed their togas to square Greek cloaks,⁶¹ and once more call themselves by the countries to which they previously belonged. And every community is greeting Mithridates with more than human honours, invoking him as the god-king; oracles from all quarters predict his supremacy over the inhabited world. He is dispatching massive armies into Thrace and



Figure 3.25 Thompson 1145b, Athens, 87–86 BCE,⁶² tetradrachm, 15.86 grams, ANS 1953.119.4. **Obv.** Helmeted head of Athena. **Rev.** Owl standing on an amphora within wreath, ΑΘΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΗΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ in field with star between two crescents. The legend resolves 'Athens; King Mithridates; Aristion'. This issue also contains drachms (Thompson 1146). It is probable the Athenian issue with Pegasus should also be associated with Mithridates (97–96 BCE, Thompson 959–989). Illustrated at 1.5 times life-size.



Figure 3.26 Thompson 1128e, Athens, 90–89 BCE, tetradrachm, 15.94 grams, ANS 1957.12.18. **Obv.** Helmeted head of Athena. **Rev.** Owl standing on an amphora within wreath, ΑΘΕ ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΚΛΕΑΣ ΦΙΛΩΤΑΔΗ in field with seated Roma crowned by Victory. The legend resolves ‘Athens; Quintus; Kleas; Philotades’. There is another Athenian issue with a personification of Roma as well (91–90 BCE, Thompson 959–989). This Quintus appears on Athenian coinage again a few years later and is part of a wider phenomenon of Roman engagement with local coinages.⁶³ Illustrated at 1.5 times actual size.

Macedonia, and all parts of Europe have gone over to his side en masse. **Yes, ambassadors have come to him not only from Italic tribes, but even from the Carthaginians, demanding that they be allies to accomplish the destruction of Rome.** (A fragment from the history of Posidonius preserved in Athenaeus’ *The Dinner-Sophists* 5.213C; Loeb trans. modified)⁶⁴

On balance, few scholars believe Mithridates actually intended to intervene in the Social War, even if perhaps he was approached by ambassadors. The Mithridatic images on the coins of Italia are typically explained as a means to raise hope amongst the allies that aid was coming from abroad and encourage them to continue their struggle against Rome.⁶⁵

Beyond the use of the bull, the emergent state of Italia/Viteliú also marks out its identity as non-Roman by its embrace of the Oscan language and bilingualism. The coins with Oscan legends circulate alongside those with Latin legends.⁶⁶ This numismatic use of Oscan might also be a nod back to its use by rebel communities during the Hannibalic War (cf. Section 3.1.1).⁶⁷ Oscan disappears from the epigraphic record in Italy after the war, probably the result of active suppression by Romans.⁶⁸

And yet, for all the difference, most of the coins of the short-lived state of Italia/Víteliú will have seemed deeply familiar to those used to the issues of the Roman mint, and they readily circulated alongside denarii. The designs and legends were tweaked to support the cause of Italia/Víteliú, but their Roman models are readily identifiable. Where Roman coins display and celebrate Roma as a personification of their state, so Italia/Víteliú is personified, sometimes as a war goddess visually indistinguishable from Roma, sometimes without military attributes, but with a crown of laurels representing her (anticipated) victory (Figures 3.27–8). Perhaps the most



Figure 3.27 HN Italy 412, Italia, 90–89 BCE, denarius, 3.91 grams, ANS 1947.97.10. **Obv.** Laureate head of Italia, X before. **Rev.** Italia with spear and sword seated on three shields being crowned by Victory, ♯ to left, ITALIA in exergue. X is a denomination mark borrowed the Roman series, cf. Figure 1.26 and Section 1.2.2.1.



Figure 3.28 RRC 335/1, c. 91 BCE, denarius, 3.82 grams, ANS 1941.131.125. **Obv.** Laureate head of Apollo, crescent below, A·ALB·S·F before, L·METEL below. **Rev.** Roma with spear and sword seated on three shields being crowned by Victory, C·MALL to left, ROMA in exergue. Moneyers: Probably C. Publicius Malleolus, q. 80 BCE (cf. Figure 4.41), A. Postumius Albinus (cf. Figures 2.57–8), and L. Metellus, pr. 71 BCE.⁶⁹



Figure 3.29 HN Italy 428, Italia, 90–89 BCE, denarius, 4.02 grams, ANS 1908.89.8 (Campana 89a, listed as ANS 0000.999.633). **Obv.** Head of Mars, *mútil-embratur* in Oscan script, right to left before. **Rev.** Oath-swearing scene derived from Figure 1.24 and/or Figure 1.37 with small variations: e.g. here both spears point downward and less artistic attention has been given to differentiating the primary participants, *c-paapi* in Oscan script, right to left in exergue. For C. Papius Mutilus and legend, see Figure 3.20. The obverse uses a helmet style first used on RRC 319/1 and Figure 2.32 and then revived on Figure 4.41. Illustrated at 1.5 times actual size.



Figure 3.30 HN Italy 425, Italia, 90–89 BCE, denarius, 3.93 grams, ANS 1944.100.876 (Campana 85b). **Obv.** Bust of Mars, X and *uiteliú* (Italia) right to left in Oscan script behind. **Rev.** Oath-swearing scene with four soldiers touching pig held by fifth kneeling figure with their swords, *c-paapii.c* in Oscan script, right to left in exergue. For C. Papius Mutilus, see Figure 3.20. Both obverse and reverse are influenced by RRC 234/1 (Figure 1.37). On X, see Figure 2.27. Illustrated at 1.5 times actual size.



Figure 3.31 HN Italy 408, Italia, 90–89 BCE, denarius, 3.93 grams, ANS 1944.100.865 (Campana 73f). **Obv.** Laureate head of Italia, ITALIA behind. **Rev.** Oath-swearing scene with eight soldiers touching pig held by ninth kneeling figure with their swords, spear or standard behind, control mark (Q) in exergue. Illustrated at 1.5 times actual size.

ideologically charged adaptations of a Roman coin are the oath-swearing scenes. Sometimes just two soldiers are represented, as on the Roman prototype, but on others the soldiers multiply to four or eight, and what had been a soldier's spear on the Roman coin seems to become a shared military standard before which all the soldiers gather (Figures 3.29–31). Just as with the Campanian oath-swearing scenes on the coinage for the Hannibalic War (Figures 3.7–8), the emphasis is on equal status of all who swear the oath as much as on the oath itself that binds the disparate groups together. However, other coins of the Social War are almost identical to Roman coins, with the exception of the legend indicating the issuing authority (Figures 3.32–4).



Figure 3.32 HN Italy 422, Italia, 90–89 BCE, denarius, 3.79 grams, ANS 1944.100.871 (Campana 1j). **Obv.** Head of Italia. **Rev.** Dioscuri galloping, *uiteliú* (Italia) right to left in Oscan script in exergue.



Figure 3.33 HN Italy 426c, Italia, 90–89 BCE, denarius, 4.02 grams, ANS 1977.155.1 (Campana 3a). **Obv.** Head of Italia, wreath behind, *mútil* in Oscan script, right to left below. **Rev.** Dioscuri galloping apart, *c.papii.c* in Oscan script, right to left in exergue. For C. Papius Mutilus and legend, see Figure 3.20. Type based on Figure 3.34.



Figure 3.34 RRC 239/1, 135 BCE*, denarius, 3.95 grams, ANS 1937.158.599. **Obv.** Head of Roma, wreath behind, ROMA below. **Rev.** Dioscuri galloping apart, C·SERVEILI·M in exergue. Moneyer: Probably grandson of C. Servius Geminus, cos. 203 BCE.

Chapter 3

- 1 Yarrow 2006 offers examples of non-Romans responding to Roman imperialism in the late Republic.
- 2 Both tetradrachms (e.g. Yale 2001.87.9886, image available online) and drachms (five known, all in trade, three of which are overstruck on RRC 217/1, requiring the later type to be dated some years earlier than previously thought, de Callatay 2018: 41) were struck in the name of Philip VI, cf. MacKay 1968; on coins of Andiscus, Bussi 1997 and de Callatay 2018; on coinage of Mithridates, de Callatay 1997; on Aristonicus, Robinson 1954.
- 3 Fronda 2010.
- 4 So Crawford 1985: 65, tentatively followed by Fronda 2010: 84–5.
- 5 Siciliano 1995, followed by Rutter 2001: 76–7.
- 6 Burnett and Crawford 2014: 236.
- 7 See Section 1.1.1 n. 21.
- 8 Robinson 1964: 44 discusses weight standard and the specimens of the Taranto 1908 hoard (*IGCH* 2016); followed by Rutter 2001: 77.
- 9 Fronda 2010: 331–3.
- 10 Fronda 2010: 101.
- 11 Robinson 1956; if one accepts that the Meles type (Figure 3.5) copies this one, then it provides a *terminus ante quem*.
- 12 The idea appears in older textbooks and popular histories, e.g. Cary and Scullard 1975: 600 n. 16 and Prevas 2009: 45; more scholarly treatments now tend to raise the possibility with caveats, e.g. Hoyos 2005: 72. Crawford 1974: 310 rightly rejects the suggestion.
- 13 Livy 23.2.5–6, 4.7–8, 33.3, 34.4; Fronda 2010: 104–5.
- 14 Livy 23.10.1–2, cf. Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 1.19, 2.88, and *passim* (63 BCE); Fronda 2010: 219–22 argues that this indeed may be considered a historically plausible factor in Capua's revolt.
- 15 Didrachms in the name of the Campani (HN Italy 476–8) were likely struck at Neapolis for the people of Capua during the last decade of the fifth century BCE.
- 16 Crawford 1974: 105 and 1985: 336. The greatest number of such overstrikes are for the Atellan coinage. Cf. the coin of Philip VI (Andiscus), on which see Section 3.1 n. 2.
- 17 On Oscan as a marker of identity, see Adams 2003: 115.
- 18 Cf. HN Italy 463 and 470.
- 19 Cf. HN Italy 490.
- 20 Cf. HN Italy 468.
- 21 Cf. HN Italy 2031 and 2032.
- 22 This representation of an elephant probably derives from HN Italy 69, a small Etruscan bronze, strongly associated with the western Po Valley, likely dating to 218/7 BCE and Hannibal's presence in that region; Baglione 1976 and Yarrow forthcoming (a).

- 23 See n. 22.
- 24 See n. 22.
- 25 Cf. painted plates, Ceccarelli 1973: nos. 33–4; votive statue, Ambrosini 2001. Other elephant artifacts of the period include a lamp from Catania, Metropolitan Museum 26.212 (image available online) and an oil jar from Vulci, British Museum 1849,0620.4 (image available online).
- 26 Burnett 2006: 38.
- 27 Visonà and Frey-Kupper 1996.
- 28 *quot servi tot hostes. . . quot hostis tot servi*; Fr. 17 = Festus 261.29; a version of the saying is discussed as a proverb in Sen. *Ep.* 47.5.2.
- 29 Diod. 34/35.2.11–14, 16; cf. Yarrow 2006: 222.
- 30 The coin illustrated here has received the most scholarly attention, but there are other small bronzes also attributable to King Antiochus; see Campana, Enna 11–13, also illustrated and discussed in Morton 2009: figs. 6, 11, and 13.
- 31 Diod. 34/35.2.22. For the question of the dating of this war, see Dowden's commentary on this passage of Diodorus, *BNJ* 108 F 108a. For an account of Diodorus' sources on this war separate from Dowden, see Matsubara 2003.
- 32 Diod. 34/35.2.22, 24. For the coins, see Morton 2009, Engels 2011. Digital photographs of the specimen are available online: www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online.
- 33 Diod. 34/35.2.5–7; 34/35.2.10–11; the most complete historiographical reading of Diodorus on Eunus is Morton 2013.
- 34 Branding: Diod. 34/35.2.1 Clothes: Diod. 34/35.2.2. Urbainczyk 2008 and Bradley 1990 both recount the First Sicilian Slave War, with Urbainczyk contextualizing within the larger history of ancient slave revolts and Bradley providing as thorough a historical narrative as possible. Maróti 1967 sees Diodorus as sympathetic to the slaves on account of these hardships; Morton 2013 problematizes this reading.
- 35 E.g. Gela (SNG ANS 1335); Leontini (SNG ANS 274); Enna (Calciati 4), cf. Metapontum (SNG ANS 2.487), Heraclea Lucaniae (SNG ANS 2.99), Paestum (SNG ANS 2.785).
- 36 E.g. BMCRR 530, p. 276.
- 37 Tert. *De spect.* 21.4, Sen. *Ep.* 7.4; Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 16; Mart. 14.49.
- 38 A contemporary of Shakespeare, Massinger wrote a play about an ancient Slave Revolt set in Sicily, *The Bondsman*, and also included a similar scene; Edwards 1964: 25.
- 39 Cf. Plut. *Crass.* 11.8.
- 40 Polla stone, likely concerning events c. 130 BCE, *CIL* 1, 638 = 10, 6950; Titus Minucius Vettius, a young Roman eques, led an uprising in Italy, c. 120–110s BCE, Diod. 36.2; sources on the First and Second Sicilian Slave Revolt and Spartacus revolt collected in translation by Shaw 2001.

- 41 Suet. *Aug.* 3.1 and 7.1.
- 42 There are two gold staters, both one of a kind, both with a variation of the name Philip. These appeared for sale and it has been suggested they were produced at Enna for Eunus, but on balance they are considered by most to be fakes; Morton 2009: 105. It is at very least likely that they take Figure 3.28 or RRC 335/2 as their inspiration, and they are likely to have been made at least after 91 BCE, if not in the modern era.
- 43 Cic. *Mur.* 17, cf. *Planc.* 61.
- 44 Cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 127.
- 45 On Sicilian actions, Diod. 36.10.1–3; on corruption, *Rhet. Her.* 4.50, Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.3.
- 46 Smith 1987: 118–19.
- 47 Pobjoy 2000: 194 with Gell. *NA* 10.3 (speech of Gaius Gracchus) and Val. Max. 9.5.1 (citizenship bill of Fulvius Flaccus, 125 BCE).
- 48 The same canting pun is likely present on RRC 123/1, cf. Hersh 1977: 29; cf. Varro, *Rust.* 2.5.3 with Pobjoy 2000: 201.
- 49 cf. Dench 2005: 126 n. 104 and BM 1867,0101.1110.
- 50 App. *B Civ.* 1.42, Oros. 5.18, Vell. Pat. 2.16, Diod. 37.1. I am skeptical that he could be the same Papius Mutilus discussed at Livy *Per.* 89, as is sometimes suggested.
- 51 Mouritsen 1998; Pobjoy 2000.
- 52 Dench 1995: 214–15, which is largely followed by Pobjoy 2000.
- 53 The suggestion that the warrior figure rests his foot on a Roman standard is attractive but not readily supported by a survey of different specimens, *pace* Dench 1995: 214.
- 54 Cf. historiographical discussions of this passage, Adler 2011: 49, Yarrow 2006: 173.
- 55 The passage may go back to Sulla's own memoirs: Lewis 1991, Pobjoy 2000: 203, Smith 2009: 68.
- 56 I follow Pobjoy 2000: 203 here; clearly not a mast, cf. mast imagery on RRC 213 and 438/1 and the filleted scepter on Antony's ship coinage, RRC 544.
- 57 Color image available in the BnF database: gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8474900b.
- 58 Mayor 2011: 36–45; McGing 1986: 90, 99, 119.
- 59 The area described here includes the whole coast of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, the modern nation-states of Georgia, Turkey, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, and northern parts of Syria, Iraq, and Iran. The completeness of Mithridates' control is likely exaggerated for rhetorical effect.
- 60 The Bastarnae probably lived in the region inland from the Danube delta, bordered by the Pruit and Dniester rivers and roughly corresponding to the modern nation-state of Moldova. Their ethnicity is disputed: perhaps Celtic, perhaps Germanic, perhaps Scytho-Sarmatian.
- 61 This indicates a rejection of citizenship which the toga symbolizes.

- 62 On dating of New Style Attic tetradrachms generally, see Mattingly 2004: 30–43 and 59–99 with bibliographical references, on this issue, p. 70.
- 63 De Callataÿ 2011b, esp. 64.
- 64 Cf. Diod. 37.2.11; Yarrow 2006: 288–9.
- 65 Pobjoy 2000: 202–3. Mattingly 2004: 189–92 connects the gold stater to Plut. *Luc.* 11.5 and the intended corruption of Lucullus’ troops by Aristonicus, Mithridates’ admiral, and the fact that the Oscan was used to unsettle the Italian troops in Lucullus’ army and encourage them all the more to revolt. The idea has not gained traction and should probably be dismissed.
- 66 In most cases coins use either Oscan or Latin, but one type, HN Italy 426b, uses both.
- 67 Pobjoy 2000: 200.
- 68 Zair 2017: 140; McDonald 2015: 235.
- 69 Cf. n. 39 above.

