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L. Cornelius Sulla in the Roman Numismatic Tradition

In the history of Roman coins the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st century BC is the period when more clear-cut references to politicians, their progenitors and other great Romans of the historical and legendary past appear in the coin legends and iconography than in the earlier period. We can perceive the phenomenon through the names and portraits of the Romans, and the ideas associated with them, that emerge from the monetary representations.

Also L. Cornelius Sulla highlighted his own person, his power and personal virtues in the form of monetary images, showing himself as a chief, a conqueror and a charismatic politician, protected by the gods¹. That image, created in Sulla's

¹ Cf. H. Zehnacker, *Moneta. Recherches sur l'organisation et l'art des émissions monétaires de la République romaine (289–31 av. J.-C.)*, Rome 1973, p. 573: "le premier homme politique romain qui ait systématiquement orchestré sa propagande sur les monnaies, en vue de l'exercice du pouvoir personnel. Il a fait preuve, dans ce domaine, d'une hardiesse et d'une habilité dont Marius paraissait incapable et que Pompée, après lui, ne sut ou n'osa pas imiter". List of Abbreviations: Bab. – E. Babelon, *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la République romaine vulgairement appelées monnaies consulaires*, Paris 1885–1886; BMCG – *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, eds. R.S. Poole et alii, London 1873 ff.; BMCRR – *A Catalogue of the Roman Coins in the British Museum. Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, ed. H.A. Grueber, London 1910; CRR – E.A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London 1952; Komnick – H. Komnick, *Die Restitutionsmünzen der frühen Kaiserzeit. Aspekte der Kaiserlegitimation*, Berlin – New York 2001; MacDonald – D. MacDonald, *The Coinage of Aphrodisias*, London 1992; Mionnet – T.E. Mionnet, *Description des médaillons antiques, grecques et romaines avec leur degré de rareté et leur estimation*, 3, Paris 1808; MIR 14 – B. Woytek, *Die Reichsprägung des Kaisers Traianus (98–117)*, Wien 2010; MIR 18 – W. Szaivert, *Die Münzprägung der Kaiser Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus und Commodus (161–192)*, Wien 1986; RIC – *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, eds. H. Mattingly et alii, London 1967 ff.; RIC 1² – *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. 1, Revised Edition, ed. C.H.V. Sutherland, London 1984; RRC – M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974; Strack – P.L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des*

own coinage and in that of the moneyers connected with him, is not, however, the object of my interest. I solely undertake to consider the ways of perpetuating the memory of Sulla in the coinage of the post-Sullan period. I also study the possibility of how to make it lasting. A special role in the process of preserving and storing the memory of people and the ideas related to them could be played by coin iconography. And although certain iconographic motifs may be distinctive for an individual only, in principle the majority of them could become a common good. The iconographic motifs that were primarily associated with Sulla, could on a secondary basis, enrich the reverse imagery of the coins emitted later. Such examples are also an element of numismatic tradition which consists in reproducing the iconographic ideas drawn from the repository of Sulla's coinage.

The message carried by Roman coins was to build up, around a current moneyer or his mandatory, imperator and later emperor etc., the elements of the world that may be called positive. That world is filled with desired values and those who act in it are the originators of this positive order. The representatives and constituents of another world function only under the surface and on the margin. From the issuer's viewpoint, the Roman coins carried the message "for". It was a natural consequence of the relationship between the money and power. Besides, it was the relationship with the power "now", with current issues and governing. Repeating the old monetary motifs or drawing on numismatic tradition may be the sign of attention to what has gone by, what used to be but, though belonging to the past, builds the image of what lasts and exists. In the numismatic tradition there was not much room for Sulla himself; however, in the coinage of post-Sullan times one could draw abundantly on the iconographic patterns elaborated for Sulla.

A certain difficulty in selecting the group of coins which refer to Sulla from the Roman republican coinage arises from the fact that monetary representations have a polysemantic nature, they depict the condition of the state, the political acts, the stages of *cursus honorum* and the deeds of a definite politician by means of certain universal motifs and they lack clear references dating the emissions. Sometimes it is difficult to place the striking of the coins and the message conveyed by them in a particular political context and link their contents with a definite leading politician. The names of the moneyers quoted in the legends and other coin inscriptions do not generally suffice. That is why certain scenes, allegories, divine figures and symbols which appear on the coinage from the times of Sulla may be decoded as components of the message promoting Sulla and his deeds. Not less frequently, in the interpretations, there emerges an alternative identity of a hero – a different politician, contemporary to Sulla, around whom the mon-

etary contents concentrate. The representations on the coins are not univocal. Their message was or perhaps was to be comprehensive enough to describe the merits and achievements of different persons, symbolize important events, also successes, which took place in various circumstances. When we presently try to uncover the sense – in view of the polysemanticity of the representation – we usually base on the detected or hypothetically assumed connections between the moneyers, and they are often little known figures in the Roman history, with the main personages of the current political scene, e.g. with Sulla. Besides, to some extent automatically, we can assume an opportunistic character of the monetary images and view the contents of the coins through the political antagonisms in the decadent period of the Republic.

In the interpretations, the coins of the times of Sulla take on either pro-Sullan or, on the contrary, anti-Sullan overtones. The illustration may be a few examples. C. Marius Capito's denarius: bust of Ceres, C MARI C F CAPIT / ploughman holding staff, with yoke of oxen, dated between 84 and 74 BC², may commemorate the actions taken by Sulla or Marius activity to establish colonies or to enlargement of the *pomerium* by Sulla³. Similarly, the message carried by the iconography of C. Mamilius Limetanus denarius – bust of Mercury, with caduceus / Ulysses walking, holding staff, and extends his hand toward his dog, Argos, who advances to him, C MAMIL LIMETAN⁴ – remains unclear for us. Here a mythological wanderer Ulysses combines with the tradition of *gens* Mamilia⁵. Yet, it is not certain if, apart from familial connections, the moneyer intended to include another other meaning in that image, that would raise it to the level of conflict between the Marian faction and Sulla⁶.

² Bab., Maria, nos 7–9 (84 BC); BMCRR 1, nos 2844–2890 (c. 82 BC); CRR, no 744 (c. 82–79 BC); RRC, nos 378/1a–c (81 BC); M. Galinier, *L'image publique de Trajan*, (in:) *Images romaines*, ed. C. Auvray-Assayas, Paris 1998, p. 130 (79–74 BC).

³ Cf. Bab., pp. 201–203; BMCRR 1, p. 353, n. 1; CRR, pp. 118–119; T.F. Carney, *Coins bearing on the age and career of Marius*, "Numismatic Chronicle" 19, 1959, p. 82; E. Bernareggi, *Eventi e personaggi sul denario della Repubblica romana*, Milano 1963, pp. 72–74; RRC, p. 392; H. Zehnacker, *Moneta*, op. cit., pp. 568–569. Cf. also A. Alföldi, *The Main Aspects of Political Propaganda on the Coinage of the Roman Republic*, (in:) *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly*, eds. R.A.G. Carson, C.H.V. Sutherland, Oxford 1956, p. 91.

⁴ RRC, no 362/1 (82 BC); BMCRR 1, nos 2716–2729 (c. 83 BC); Bab., Mamilia, no 6 (84 BC); CRR, no 741 (c. 82–79 BC).

⁵ D. Hal., 4.45.1; Liv., 1.49.9; Ov., Met. 13.146; Festus, s.v. Mamiliorum familia; RRC, nos 149/1a–5b (189–180 BC); Bab., Mamilia, nos 1–5 (217 BC).

⁶ Cf. A. Alföldi, *The Main Aspects*, p. 80; T.J. Luce, *Political propaganda on Roman Republican coins circa 92–82 B.C.*, "American Journal of Archaeology" 72, 1968, p. 39; CRR, pp. 118–119; H. Zehnacker, *Moneta*, op. cit., pp. 571–572.

Also *nummi restituti* convey multiplicity of meanings. The representations placed on such coins transpose certain ideas drawn from the past into the current reality; they also testify that the issuers of coins referred to particular traditions⁷. Besides, in the times of the Republic the main channel of communication between the past and the present was iconography. So when M. Caecilius Metellus, C. Servilius and Q. Fabius Maximus issued their denarii: head of Apollo, ROMA / macedonian shield decorated with elephant's head⁸, head of Apollo, *lituus*, ROMA / battle on horseback between man armed with sword and man armed with spear, C SERVEIL⁹, head of Apollo, lyre, ROMA / *cornucopiae* on thunderbolt, wreath composed of ear of barley, ear of wheat and assorted fruits¹⁰, replicating the motifs which, half a century earlier, were placed on the coins struck by M. Caecilius Metellus, cos. 115 BC, C. Serv(e)ilius Vatia and Q. Fabius Maximus, cos. 116 BC¹¹, the turn to the past becomes a strong argument for the situating the issues of these denarii in 82–80 BC (Michael H. Crawford) and interpreting them in compliance with Sulla's programme of esteem for the past. This connection with Sulla may also be rendered by the figure of Apollo on the obverses of the denarii: beside Venus he was another patron of Sulla¹². Another interpretation (Edward A. Sydenham) suggests that the images on these *nummi restituti*, this time dated to c. 85 BC, express the spirit of ideological and political convictions of Sulla's opponents and it is them that Apollo protects¹³.

The antagonism(s): Sulla – others, is/are in general, an important factor in decoding the sense of the message carried by the coins: it imposes *a priori* how to decipher their contents. And it really happens, although the monetary images mostly do not reflect univocally a moneyer's involvement in the conflict on this side or the other. It is generally difficult to single out from the monetary rep-

⁷ Cf. A. Kunisz, *Mennictwo w Cesarstwie Rzymskim w I w. n.e.*, Katowice 1978, p. 122.

⁸ RRC, no 369/1; CRR, no 719; cf. Bab. Caecilia, no 30 (122 BC); BMCRR 1, no 1148 (94 BC).

⁹ RRC, nos 370/1a–b; CRR, no 720; Bab., Servilia, no 7; BMCRR 1, nos 1168–1170 (94 BC).

¹⁰ RRC, no 371/1; CRR, no 718; Bab. Fabia, no 6; BMCRR 1, no 1159 (94 BC).

¹¹ RRC, nos 263/1, 264/1, 265/1 (127 BC); CRR, nos 478–479, 480, 483 (c. 125–120 BC); Bab., Caecilia, no 28 (122 BC); Bab., Servilia, no 5 (123 BC); Bab., Fabia, no 5 (123 BC); cf. also BMCRR 1, no 1166 (94 BC); BMCRR 1, no 1157 (94 BC). Cf. A. Alföldi, *Redeunt Saturnia Regna (L'attente du roi-sauveur à Rome)*, "Revue Numismatique" 13, 1971, pp. 76–81.

¹² Plur., Sulla 29; Frontin., Strat. 1.11.11; Val. Max., 1.2.3; Stat., 5.3.293; Serv., ad Aen. 7.637; cf. M.H. Crawford, *The coinage of the age of Sulla*, "Numismatic Chronicle" 4, 1964, pp. 141–158, esp. pp. 144–145; T.J. Luce, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–36.

¹³ CRR, pp. 112–113.

representations what was an exclusively Sulla's domain. Besides, classifying certain representations as Sullan does not necessarily mean that they propagate the ideas with which Sulla really identified himself with, but also the ideas whose core was Sulla himself and his deeds.

In the context of the above observations it becomes clear that Sulla was quite modestly represented in the numismatic tradition. The Roman coinage of post-Sullan period needed special circumstances to find a place for Sulla and recall him directly. Such circumstances occurred rarely.

Still the memory of Sulla was revived in the fifties and fourties of the 1st century BC in consequence of the moneyers' activity: M. Nonius Sufenas, who commemorated *ludi Victoriae* organized by Sulla in 81 BC: head of Saturn, *harpa*, *betylus*, S C, SVFENAS / Roma seated on pile of arms, she is crowned by Victory, who stands behind her, SEX NONI, PR L V P F¹⁴; C. Considius Nonianus, who struck coins: bust of Venus, C CONSIDI NONIANI, S C / temple on the summit of a mountain, surrounded by a wall with gateway in the centre, and tower at each side, ERVC¹⁵ – perhaps in order to recall Sulla by reference to his patroness (Venus). On the other hand, Q. Pompeius Rufus portrayed his ancestors Sulla and Q. Pompeius Rufus, cos. 88 BC, on some of his coins (head of Sulla, SVLLA COS) / head of Q. Pompeius Rufus, RVFVS COS, Q POM RVFI¹⁶ while on others he repeated the information about Sulla's consulate (*sella curulis*, laurel-branch, Q POMPEI Q F, RVFVS, COS / *sella curulis*, *lituus*, wreath, SVLLA COS, Q. POMPEI RVF)¹⁷.

A special place on that list of recollections has a series of coins emitted by Faustus Cornelius Sulla, son of L. Cornelius Sulla (c. 63–62 BC – E.A. Sydenham,

¹⁴ RRC, no 421/1 (59 BC); CRR, no 885 (c. 62–63 BC); Bab., Nonia, no 1 (60 BC); BMCRR 1, nos 3820–3823; cf. Vell., 2.27.6; H. Mattingly, *The denarius of Sufenas and the ludi Victoriae*, "Numismatic Chronicle" 16, 1956, pp. 189–203.

¹⁵ RRC, no 424/1 (57 BC); Bab., Considia, no 1 (60 BC); CRR, nos 886–888 (63–62 BC); BMCRR 1, nos 3830–3832; cf. S. Mirone, *Il tempio di Afrodite Ericina sul denaro di L. Considio Noniano*, "Rivista Italiana di Numismatica" 31, 1918, pp. 189–198; G.K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome*, Princeton 1969, p. 184 and n. 109; F. Coarelli, *Venus Erucina*, aedes, (in:) *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, ed. E.M. Steinby, 5, Roma 1999, pp. 114–116.

¹⁶ RRC, no 434/1 (54 BC); Bab., Cornelia, no 48 and Pompeia, no 4 (81 BC); CRR, no 908 (c. 59 BC); BMCRR 1, no 3883 (57 BC); cf. H. Zehnacker, *Premiers portraits réalistes sur les monnaies de la République romaine*, "Revue Numismatique" 3, 1961, p. 42; T. Ganschow, *Die Münzen des Quintus Pompeius Rufus mit dem Bildnis des Sulla*, "Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abt." 110, 2003, pp. 37–55.

¹⁷ RRC, no 434/2 (54 BC); Bab., Pompeia, no 5; Bab., Cornelia, no 49 (81 BC); CRR, nos 909–909a (c. 59 BC); BMCRR 1, no 3885.

54 BC – M.H. Crawford and H. Zehnacker)¹⁸. It comprises a few denarius types, taking up the themes connected with Sulla:

– bust of Diana, *lituus*, FAVSTVS / Sulla, seated, before him kneels Bocchus, king of Mauretania, holding olive-branch; behind is seen Jugurtha, king of Numidia, with long beard, also kneeling; his hands tied behind him, FELIX¹⁹;

– bust of Hercules, wearing diadem and lion-skin, FEELIX / Diana in biga, she holds *lituus* and reins, above her head, crescent, above and below horses, two stars, FAVSTVS²⁰;

– bust of Venus, wearing diadem, behind, sceptre, S C / three military trophies between *capis* and *lituus*, monogram of moneyer's name²¹;

– head of Hercules, wearing lion-skin, S C, sometimes monogram of moneyer's name / three small wreaths and one large wreath around a terrestrial globe, *aplustre*, corn-ear²².

On the obverses of his coins Faustus Sulla recalls three divinities: Diana and Hercules, for whom he felt reverence like his father²³, and Venus, who supported Sulla with her divine protection. At the same time the motifs on these coins are quite equivocal. Some of them may express reverence of Faustus Sulla both for his father Sulla and for Cn. Pompeius. The iconographic details in this series of coins may include references to both of these politicians and the messages carried by them may overlap. It is assumed that three *tropaea* on one of the types transform the image engraved on Pompey's signet ring²⁴, but it is worth noticing, I will return to that later, that the motif of *tropaea*, though not identical and in two samples only, may be found on Sulla's own coins (RRC, no 359/1–2); probably, he also used to wear a signet ring decorated with the these symbols (Cass. Dio 42.18.3). There is no doubt, however, that the word FELIX inscribed on a coin

¹⁸ RRC, pp. 449–451; CRR, pp. 145–146; H. Zehnacker, *Moneta, op. cit.*, pp. 698–700.

¹⁹ RRC, no 426/1; BMCRR 1, nos 3824–3825 (c. 62 BC); Bab. Cornelia, no 59; CRR, no 879.

²⁰ RRC, no 426/2; BMCRR 1, nos 3826–3829; Bab., Cornelia, no 60 (Obverse: “buste diadémé de Jugurtha à droite, avec la peau de lion sur les épaules”); CRR, nos 880–881.

²¹ RRC, no 426/3; BMCRR 1, nos 3909–3911 (c. 54 BC); Bab., Cornelia, no 63; CRR, no 884.

²² RRC, nos 426/4–5; BMCRR 1, nos 3912–3914 (c. 54 BC); Bab., Cornelia, nos 61–62; CRR, nos 882–883.

²³ Diana – cf. Vell., 2.25.4; CIL X 3828 = ILS 251. Herkules – cf. Plut., Sulla 35; Stat., 4.6.59–60 and 85–88; Mart., 9.43; Ovid., Fast. 6.209–212; D. Palombi, Hercules Sullanus, (in:) *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, ed. E.M. Steinby, 3, Roma 1996, pp. 21–22.

²⁴ Cass. Dio, 42.18.3; for three triumphs of Pompey see Cic., Balb. 9 i 16; Cic., Sest. 129; Val. Max., 5.1.10; Plut., Pomp. 45.

directs attention to L. Cornelius Sulla. An elaborate scene on the denarius reverses (RRC, nr 426/1) illustrates Sulla's success in Jugurthine war between Rome and Jugurtha king of Numidia. It is a reference to the contents, and may be also to the structure of the monument, described later by Plutarch: the statues of the goddess of victory, holding war trophies, were standing on the Capitol, beside them a figure of Jugurtha being handed over to Sulla by Bocchus²⁵. The motif, so glorious for Sulla was probably repeated and certainly well-known to many of his contemporaries: as we know Sulla himself used to wear a ring containing the scene of Jugurtha's surrender, and he used it to seal like a signet ring²⁶. So we can assume, that in the given case of Faustus Sulla denarii the inscription FELIX was not a condition *sine qua non* of applying Sullan interpretation of their contents.

In a similar manner L. Aemilius Buca picks up a Sullan theme, thus broadening the monetary iconography. He makes Sulla's night dream, which Sulla had before his march on Rome in 88 BC, as related by Plutarch, the topic of the reverse representation. The text reads as follows: "It is said, also, that to Sulla himself there appeared in his dreams a goddess whom the Romans learned to worship from the Cappadocians, whether she is Luna, or Minerva, or Bellona. This goddess, as Sulla fancied, stood by his side and put into his hand a thunder-bolt, and naming his enemies one by one, bade him smite them with it; and they were all smitten, and fell, and vanished away"²⁷. In the numismatic interpretation we find Sulla reclining against a rock, a mysterious goddess standing before him while the goddess Victoria, standing over Sulla, symbolizes the unknown goddess's call for striking the enemies with thunderbolts and its effects. The contents of the reverse harmonizes with that of the obverse – the head of Venus, Sulla's patroness²⁸.

²⁵ Plut., Sulla 6; Plut., Marc. 32; cf. M. Sehlmeier, *Statuae: C. (sic) Cornelius Sulla, Bocchus, Jugurtha*, (in:) *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, ed. E.M. Steinby, 4, Roma 1999, p. 360; C.S. MacKay, *Sulla and the monuments: Studies in his public persona*, "Historia" 49, 2000, pp. 162–166; M. Gisborne, *A Curia of Kings: Sulla and Royal Imagery*, (in:) *Imaginary King. Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome*, eds. O. Hekster, R. Fowler, München 2005, p. 113.

²⁶ Plut., Sulla 3; Plut., Marc., 10; Val. Max. 8.14.4; Plin., NH 37.4.9.

²⁷ Plut., Sulla 9, trans. by B. Perrin; cf. also *ibidem* 27.

²⁸ 44 BC – RRC, no 480/1, Reverse: "Sulla reclining; on r., Luna; behind, Victory with outspread wings, holding staff in raised r. hand"; CRR, no 1064, Reverse: "Sulla's dreams: in foreground, on l., Sulla reclining, on r., Selene holding torch and with veil floating over her head; in background, Victory holding palm-branch"; BMCRR 1, no 4160: Reverse: "Sulla's dream; in the foreground, on the l., Sulla reclining against a rock; his l. arm supporting his head; on the r. is seen Selene descending from a mountain; crescent on her forehead, and above her head, a floating veil; in r. hand she holds a lighted torch; in the background, facing, is Victory, holding palm-branch"; Cf. Bab., Julia, no 38, Reverse: "Endymion (*sic* – A.A.K.) dormant, couché sur une peau, la tête appuyée sur une rocher,

The imagery in the coinage of Faustus and Buca makes a new quality in the numismatic tradition associated with Sulla. It is not confined to common iconographic symbols like e.g. in the case of Q. Pompeius Rufus' coins, but more elaborate and filled with various figures. Faustus Sulla denarii contain a multi-figured scene commenting on the historical events. On Buca denarii, apart from Sulla, the figures of divinities were introduced. These images may be regarded as elements of what should be called Sulla's legend, that persisted still for several dozen years after his death. The legend, rooted in actual events of the past and in those which grew out of pure ideology.

The figure of Sulla – as revealed above – returned only in the Trajan's series of *nummi restituti*, presumably in 112/113 AD²⁹. Most of these restored coins imitated the patterns of the Republican coins, whereby in the coinage of the beginning of 2nd century AD the figures of those historical and legendary Romans appeared, who were earlier the protagonists of the scenes pictured on the coins struck in the times of the Republic. Sulla had a place among them. Trajan's "Restitution" denarii replicated the images on the coins of C. Norbanus³⁰, C. Mamilius Limetanus³¹, C. Marius C.f. Capito³² and on the Restored denarii of M. Caecilius Metellus³³ – insofar as the contents of these Republican coins included references to Sulla. On the other hand, the restored denarii, whose prototypes were the coins of Faustus Sulla, do not raise any doubt: male bust, FEELIX / FAVSTVS, Diana

une couverture étendue sur les jambes; au-dessus, l'Amour voltigeant; devant, à droite, Diane assise et tenant un voile que le vent fait flotter au-dessus de sa tête".

- ²⁹ Komnick, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–138; G. Seelentag, *Taten und Tugenden Traians. Herrschaftsdarstellung im Principat*, Stuttgart 2004, pp. 413–418; MIR 14, p. 509. *Contra* – 107 – H. Mattingly, *The Restored Coins of Trajan*, "Numismatic Chronicle" ser. 5, 6, 1926, p. 266; RIC 2, pp. 302–303; J.E. Blamberg, *The Public Image Projected by the Roman Emperors (A.D. 69–117), As Reflected in Contemporary Imperial Coinage*, Diss. Indiana University 1976, Ann Arbor 1977, pp. 36–37; R.A.G. Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire*. London–New York 1990, p. 39; cf. Strack 1, pp. 41–42.
- ³⁰ RIC 2, Tr., no 782 = Komnick, Type 15.0 = MIR 14, no 813; cf. RRC, no 357/1b (83 BC).
- ³¹ RIC 2, Tr., no 780 = Komnick, Type 16.0 = MIR 14, no 814; cf. RRC, no 362/1 (82 BC).
- ³² RIC 2, Tr., no 781 = Komnick, Type 20.0 = MIR 14, no 819; cf. RRC, no 378/1c (81 BC).
- ³³ RIC 2, Tr., no 770 = Komnick, Type 18.0 = MIR 14, no 816; cf. RRC, no 369/1 (82–80 BC).

in biga³⁴ and bust of Diane, FAVSTVS / Sulla, Bocchus kneeling and Jugurtha kneeling, FELIX³⁵.

We do not know, if by creating the series of Trajan's restorations the republican prototypes were sorted out to build up a new, coherent and clear message or perhaps the imagery on the preserved samples of coins was exploited irrespective of their ideological contents, for more utilitarian reasons. The problem is not in the least a simple one and does not come down to drawing conclusions from mathematical calculations, namely that the prototypes from 3rd – 2nd century BC are few and those from 1st century BC are numerous. The chronological distribution of the republican coins, used as patterns, is more complex³⁶ and possibly shows, that by their selection the criterion of availability of certain types was at least as important as the subject matter of their imagery.

In compliance with feature of topicality of the message, as described above, Trajan's *nummi restituti* created a portrait of the emperor, "subtly" recalled in the formula recurring on the reverses: IMP CAES TRAIAN AVG GER DAC P P REST. Trajan's own virtues and deeds are manifested by recalling the power of Rome, the military victories and great deeds of the old Romans and their reverence to the gods³⁷. Generally, in all those associations there is room for Sulla. Together with the other legendary or historical Romans, he could be associated with certain elements of the meaning conveyed by Trajan's *nummi restituti*. Above all Sulla's contribution to the capture of Jugurtha, commemorated in the coin iconography, could be pointing at the victories of Trajan, the conqueror of Dacia³⁸. Nonetheless, Sulla remains quite unimportant here: his person provides merely an opportunity for Trajan to emphasize his own person and the positive quality of his reign.

³⁴ RIC 2, Tr., no 793 (Obverse: "Diademed head r. (Sulla?)" = Komnick, Type 31.0 (Obverse: "Männlicher Kopf (...) Hercules?)" = MIR 14, no 830 (Obverse: "Büste des Bocchus"); cf. RRC, no 426/2.

³⁵ RIC 2, Tr., no 792 = Komnick, Type 30.0 = MIR 14, no 829; cf. RRC, no 426/1.

³⁶ 3rd century BC – 3, 2nd century BC – 6, 99–90 BC – 1, 89–80 BC – 10, 79–70 BC – 2, 69–60 BC – 4, 59–50 BC – 10, 49–40 BC – 15 of the originals of these restored types, see H. Mattingly, *The Restored Coins of Trajan*, pp. 233–278; Komnick, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–132.

³⁷ J.E. Blamberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37; J.R. Fears, *The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology*, (in:) *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, Hrsg. H. Temporini et alii, Berlin–New York, II, 17/2, 1981, pp. 913, 922–923; M. Galinier, *op. cit.*, pp. 118–132; G. Seelentag, *op. cit.*, pp. 410–484; cf. M. Fell, *Optimus princeps?: Anspruch und Wirklichkeit der imperialen Programmatik Kaiser Traians*, München 1992, pp. 84–86; J. Bennett, *Trajan, optimus princeps, A Life and Times*, London 1997, pp. 130–131.

³⁸ Komnick, *op. cit.*, pp. 435–436.

The search for the traces of the iconographic heritage of Sulla's coins or the coins of his era in the numismatic tradition is more gratifying. The moneyers of the time used an interesting iconography. It may reflect their pursuit to find an attractive and at the same time possibly the most communicative way of conveying the desirable contents.

An intensive development of the models and variants of the pictorial representations can be observed in the Roman republican coinage beginning from the end of 2nd century BC. However the solutions, though numerous and varied, equally often turned out to be conventional, schematic; they were frequently repeated as precise or slightly modified reproductions³⁹. All the more interesting in tracing such chains of repetitions or iconographic transformations are their first and early links. Now and again the representations on Sulla's coins rise to the rank of Roman prototypes: the coinage of post-Sullan times may have been inspired by the iconographic ideas drawn from Sulla's coins.

The theme of Sulla's victories occupied much space in creating his public portrait, propagating his personal merits and bringing out of his activity the effects that were worth popularizing. Sulla himself grew into *victor ac triumphator*, and the memory of his courage and soldier virtues survived as a positive part of his legend⁴⁰. Yet the coin interpretation of what was praiseworthy for Sulla could only be manifested in form of numerically few ideas. That is why Sulla's coinage exploits an already known iconographic model of Victory in quadriga, holding palm-branch or Victory in biga, holding palm-branch⁴¹. Such representations were quite frequent in the Republican coinage⁴², especially on the coins struck to commemorate war successes. Apart from that, however, on Sulla's aurei and denarii there appears a new image: helmeted head of Roma, L M ANLI PROQ /

³⁹ Cf. P.G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art, with Special Reference to the State Reliefs of the Second Century*, Uppsala-Köbenhavn 1945, pp. 41–42; cf. T. Mikocki, *Zgodna, pobożna, płodna, skromna, piękna... Propaganda cnot żeńskich w sztuce rzymskiej*, Wrocław 1997, p. 11.

⁴⁰ See e.g. Amm. Marc., 16.12.41.

⁴¹ RRC, nos 366/1–4 (82–81 BC); CRR, nos 748 and 749 (c. 81–80 BC); Bab., Annia, nos 1–5 (82–81 BC).

⁴² E.g. coins of M. Tullius – RRC, no 280/1 (120 BC); Bab., Tullia, no 1 (c. 135 BC); CRR, no 531 (109 BC). See also: Jupiter in quadriga – e.g. coins of Q. Caecilius Metellus – RRC, no 256/1 (130 BC); Bab. Caecilia no 21 (129 BC); CRR, nos 486b–c (c. 125–120 BC); 509–510b (c. 119–110 BC); M. Vargunteius – RRC, no 257/1 (130 BC); Bab., Vargunteia, no 1 (c. 129 BC); CRR, no 507 (c. 119–110 BC); Q. Fabius Labeo – RRC, no 273/1 (124 BC); Bab. Fabia, no 1 (144 BC); CRR, nos 532–533 (c. 109 BC); cf. coins of Mn. Acilius Balbus – RRC, no 271/1 (125 BC); Bab., Acilia, no 1 (134 BC); CRR, nos 498–499a (c. 119–110 BC); Hercules in quadriga – e.g. coins of M. Acilius M. f. – RRC, no 255/1 (130 BC); Bab., Acilia, no 4 (129 BC); CRR, no 511 (c. 119–110 BC).

male figure, togate, in triumphal quadriga, holding laurel-branch, above, Victory flying and bearing wreath, L SVLLA IM(PE)⁴³. Here we find a man, not a god, in a quadriga, which can be inferred from the lack of an attribute translocating his identity to the sphere of the supernatural. Sebastiano Erizzo was the first to recognize Sulla in that image and contemporary researchers consider this human dimension of a triumphator represented in the iconography as noteworthy⁴⁴, because until then – as it may be – only Marius was portrayed in this way: helmeted head of Roma / male figure in quadriga, holding laurel-branch and sceptre, on near horse, rider holding laurel-branch, Q C FVNDAN⁴⁵. On the other hand, later Pompey – possibly encouraged by the example drawn from Sulla's coinage – was shown in a chariot as triumphator: head of Africa, wearing elephant's skin, jug, *lituus*, MAGNVS / male figure in triumphal quadriga, holding branch, on near horse, rider, above, flying Victory with wreath, PROCOS⁴⁶. Above all, however, it was in Roman imperial coinage that the image of a Emperor as a triumphator in a quadriga, accompanied by Victory, belonged to the canon of quite popular images depicting the ceremonies of the triumph, *processus consularis*, *adventus*, or just symbolizing the victories of a Roman ruler. A prototype of this model was the idea realized on the Republican coins of Sulla (or Marius). Similarly, in the image showing the equestrian statue of Sulla, placed on the reverses of his coins: helmeted bust of Roma, draped, A MANLI A F Q / horseman wears laurel-branch and *sagum*, raises hand, L SVLL FE(LIX) DIC⁴⁷, one perceives a prefiguration of the picturing of Emperor's *adventus*. The motif is frequently employed in the imperial coinage of the subsequent times, realized as a portrait of a horseman, rising his right hand as a greeting⁴⁸.

⁴³ RRC, nos 367/1–5 (82 BC); Bab., Cornelia, nos 38–43 (81 BC); Bab., Manlia, nos 3–8 (81 BC); CRR, nos 756–759 (82–81 BC); BMCRR 2, pp. 461–462, nos 5–15 and n. 1.

⁴⁴ [Sebastiano Erizzo, 1525–1585], *Discorso di M. Sebastiano Erizzo. Sopra le Medaglie degli Antichi. Con la Dichiaratione delle Monete Consulari, & delle Medaglie de gli Imperadori Romani*, In Vinegia 1571, p. 204; cf. Bab., p. 178 and 410–411; BMCRR 2, pp. 461–462; CRR, p. 123; H. Zehnacker, *Moneta*, *op. cit.*, pp. 575–576, 658. Cf. also M. Gisborne, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–116.

⁴⁵ RRC, no 326/1 (101 BC); CRR, nos 583–584 (c. 100–97 BC); cf. Bab., Fundania, no 1 and p. 515; BMCRR 1, nos 1681–1695 and p. 231, n. 1; H. Zehnacker, *Moneta*, p. 548; see also RRC, no 358/1 (83 BC): S C, head of Jupiter / LATERENS, triumphator in quadriga, holding palm-branch and trophy.

⁴⁶ RRC, nos 402/1a–b (71 BC); Bab., Pompeia, no 6 and p. 342 (81 BC?); CRR, no 1028 (61 BC?).

⁴⁷ RRC, nos 381/1a–b (80 BC); Bab., Manlia, nos 9–10 (81 BC); CRR, no 762 (c. 81–80 BC); BMCRR 2, pp. 463–464 (81 BC).

⁴⁸ ADVENTVS CAES – RIC 3, Comm. under M. Aur., no 604; MIR 18, no 334. Cf. e.g. RIC 2, Hadr., nos 186–188, 204–205, 293, 515, 717; MIR 18, nos 1003–1004; RIC 3,

Also an episode connected with Sulla's coinage seems early and important in the history of employing the image of a double cornucopia in the Roman coinage. While the image of a double cornucopia has a long history, it can rarely be found in the Roman republican coinage until the times of Sulla. It appears occasionally on the coins signed by M. Herennius at the end of 2nd BC⁴⁹. Then it was used in the iconography of Sulla's aurei and denarii in 81 BC: head of Venus, wearing diadem / double *cornucopiae* filled with fruit and flowers, and bound with fillet, Q⁵⁰. That symbol of affluence and welfare was to strengthen visually the impression of Sulla's prosperity, good fortune, that accompanied him in his life and actions. Gradually the image of a double cornucopia appears more often in the Roman coinage: it becomes an alternative attribute of some personifications like Abundantia, Aequitas, Felicitas, Fortuna, Liberalitas, Pax and others but also an autonomous element of the coin iconography. As late as in the forties of the 1st century BC the moneyers C. Considius Paetus⁵¹, L. Valerius Asciculus⁵², and then also M. Antonius⁵³ still exploited it in the same way. A direct connection between these early reiterations of the iconographic element with the idea employed on Sulla's coins is by no means obvious, but taking nothing for granted, such a correlation is probable from a genetic standpoint. So in such recurrences we can see the heritage of Sulla's coinage.

A meaningful but also evident symbolism of cornucopia did not have to entail ideological associations with Sulla and "genetic" relationship with the imagery of

M. Aur., nos 281, 295; MIR 18, nos 243, 264 etc.; R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art. The Use of Gestures to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage*, Copenhagen 1963, pp. 47–48; P. Dufraigne, *Adventus Augusti, Adventus Christi. Recherches sur l'exploitation idéologique et littéraire d'un cérémonial dans l'antiquité tardive*, Paris 1994, pp. 56 and 60.

⁴⁹ RRC, nos 308/4a–b (108 or 107 BC), CRR, no 568b (c. 101 BC); Bab., Herennia, no 4.

⁵⁰ RRC, nos 375/1–2 (81 BC); Bab. Cornelia, no 32 (82 BC); cf. CRR, nos 754–755 (c. 85 BC); BMCRR 1, no 2891; BMCRR 2, p. 463 (81–80 BC); cf. Bab., pp. 409–410, nos 35–37; BMCRR 1, p. 358 and n. 1; CRR, nos 764–766: head of Hercules or Mercury, or Roma / double *cornucopiae* with fruit, ROMA; these bronze coins without moneyers name are attributed to Sulla. Cf. A. Alföldi, *The Main Aspects*, pp. 82–83; L. Pedroni, *L'Eredità di Tolomeo e le monete di Silla*, "Pomoerium" 3, 1998, pp. 90–92.

⁵¹ Bust of Cupid, C CONSID(IVS) / double *cornucopiae* on globe – RRC, nos 465/8a–b (46 BC); Bab., Considia, nos 10–11 (49 BC); CRR, no 997 (45 BC).

⁵² *Asciculus ASCICVLVS* / double *cornucopiae* – RRC, no 474/7 (45 BC); Bab., Valeria, no 23 (46–45 BC); CRR, no 1005.

⁵³ Head of M. Antonius, behind, *lituus* / winged caduceus between two *cornucopiae*, on globe, M ANT IMP; III VIR R P C – 40 BC – RRC, no 520/1; CRR, no 1189; Bab., Antonia, no 35; BMCRR 2, s. 495, nos 114–115.

his coins. Yet, in the contemporary interpretation, the fact of including this element as the main motif in the reverse iconography, argues for such a possibility. There were suggestions that this characteristic element was used to refer to Sulla on the dupondii issued during Tiberius' reign in the East, maybe on the initiative of Cn. Sentius Saturninus, the governor of Syria⁵⁴: caduceus between two crossed cornucopias framing two crossed branches, COS III IMP VII TR POT XXI or COS III IMP VII TR POT XXII⁵⁵. The circumstance, which provided the possibility of making such an allusion were the effects of Germanicus' activity in the East or the establishing of the provinces of Cappadocia and Commagene⁵⁶. This success was to recall Sulla's victory in the war with Mithridates VI king of Pontus and Sulla's reorganisation in the East. The hypothesis was based on the chronology of Sulla's emissions and those from the times of the Empire. The assumption was, that they were separated by 100 years and the dupondii were regarded an anniversary series. As *terminus ante quem* of the said administrative transformations in the Roman East is marked out by Germanicus death⁵⁷, it provides basis for such reasoning. However, interpreting this reference to the motif of Sullan coinage also as a sign of Tiberius' approval of optimate régime of Sulla and resemblances between the Sullan and imperial régimes or of the position of *gens* Cornelia under Tiberius is not very convincing⁵⁸.

Emitting his coins Sulla was the first to introduce another iconographic motif of two *tropaea* to the Roman coinage: head of Venus, wearing diadem, Cupid standing and holding palm-branch, L. SVLLA / *capis* and *lituus* between two trophies, IMPER ITER(VM)⁵⁹. It was undoubtedly a numismatic reference to the Chaeronean trophies meant to immortalize his success in the Mithridatic War⁶⁰. Possibly, the picture of Sulla's trophies was contained also in the iconography of tetradrachms emitted in Athens in the half of the eighties of the 1st century BC

⁵⁴ Cf. Tac., Ann. 2.74.

⁵⁵ RIC I², Tib., nos 89–90.

⁵⁶ Tac., Ann. 2.56; Suet., Cal. 1.

⁵⁷ Tab. Siar. 1.37–38; Tac., Ann. 2.83.

⁵⁸ Cf. critical arguments – M. Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues, An Exploratory Study of the Numismatic and Medallion Commemoration of Anniversary Years, 49 B.C. to A.D. 375*, Cambridge 1950, pp. 57–59 and 162.

⁵⁹ RRC, nos 359/1–2 (84–83 BC); Bab., Cornelia, nos 28–30 (87 BC); CRR, nos 760–761a (82–81 BC); BMCRR 2, pp. 459–460, nos 1–4 and n. 1; cf. T.R. Martin, *Sulla Imperator iterum, the Samnites and Roman Republican coin propaganda*, "Revue Suisse de Numismatique" 68, 1989, pp. 19–45; M. Gisborne, *op. cit.*, p. 114; F. Santangelo, *Sulla, the Elites and the Empire. A Study of Roman Policies in Italy and the Greek East*, Leiden–Boston 2007, p. 205.

⁶⁰ Paus., 9.40.7; Plut., Sulla 19; Plut., de fort. Rom. 318c–d.

with the reverses exceptional in the history of silver Athenian's coinage: head of Athena / owl standing on amphora, and two trophies⁶¹. Probably, *tropaea* were also engraved on the ring which Sulla used as a signet⁶². Possibly, the trophies were integrated into the sculptural decoration of the Capitol monument commemorating the capture of Jugurtha, the event to which much weight was attached in the pro-Sullan propaganda⁶³. In the context of these evidences and presumptions regarding various material forms, it may be assumed that the image of "multiplied" trophies was especially liked by Sulla. So when later Faustus Sulla issued coins decorated with the motif of three trophies⁶⁴, the iconographic idea and its symbolism might, *nolens volens*, have drawn on Sulla's tradition and combine into one whole more current themes, referring to the Pompey achievements.

Tropaeum became popular later in the Roman coinage. Yet its image was seldom employed as an independent element of a monetary representation, and even more seldom in the form of two or three *tropaea* depicted in this way. We can mention here the asses issued in 116–117 AD during Trajan's reign (IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P COS VI P P, head of emperor / SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS S C, two trophies), and in 166–167 AD during Marcus Aurelius's and Lucius Verus's reign (M ANTONINVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX, head of emperor / TR P XXI IMP IIII COS III S C, three trophies, and L VERVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX, head of emperor / TR P VII IMP IIII COS III S C, three trophies)⁶⁵. It is difficult, in such cases, to speak about the reiteration of an iconographic idea introduced in Sulla's coinage. Nonetheless, one may be tempted by the hypothesis to see, in these later coin realizations, the manifestation of Sulla's numismatic tradition understood as an enrichment of the inventory of iconographic models by the ones primarily created for Sulla.

Presumably an episode from Sulla's life left a trace in the local coinage of the Roman East. Sulla *Epaphroditos*, worshipped Aphrodite and Venus *Felix*, the dispenseress of hapiness whose image as Venus *Pompeiana* was preserved on Pompeian

⁶¹ Thompson, nos 1341–1345 and pp. 430–433. Cf. P.G. van Alfen, *The Coinage of Athens, Sixth to First Century B.C.*, (in:) *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, ed. W.E. Metcalf, Oxford 2012, pp. 99–100.

⁶² Cf. Cass. Dio, 42.18.3.

⁶³ A.M. Bertoldi, *Un monumento commemorativo sul Campidoglio*, (in:) *Studi di Topografia romana in onore di Antonio M. Colini*, Roma 1968, pp. 39–53; E.S. Ramage, *Sulla's Propaganda*, "Klio" 73, 1991, pp. 93–121; F. Santangelo, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 and 206; cf. C.F. Giu-liani, *Ricerche per la ricostruzione di un monumento commemorativo sul Campidoglio*, (in:) *Studi di Topografia romana*, pp. 55–61.

⁶⁴ RRC, no 426/3; BMCRR 1, nos 3909–3911; Bab., Cornelia, no 63; CRR, no 884.

⁶⁵ RIC 2, Tr., no 681 = MIR 14, no 587; RIC 3, M. Aurel., no 947 = MIR 18, no 153; RIC 3, L. Ver., nos 1464–1465 = MIR 18, no 153.

paintings⁶⁶. Appian informs, that Sulla, following the pronouncements from the Oracle of Delphi, sent Aphrodite to the sanctuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, where she was especially hallowed, the gifts of a golden crown and an axe⁶⁷. Possibly that episode was a factor which determined the introduction of new images in the coinage of Aphrodisias, in which double-axe (*labrys*) appears as an independent iconographic motif both on the obverses and reverses. The motif was earlier known in the nearby Plarasa⁶⁸, yet it was not used in Aphrodisias. Here it was introduced in the 1st century BC on the coins of the types: head of Aphrodite / double-axe, handle crossed by two palm-branch, ΑΦΡΟΔΙ CIEΩΝ⁶⁹; bust of Eros / double-axe, ΠΛΑΡΑ ΑΦΡΟ⁷⁰; double-axe / cuirass, ΠΛΑΡΑ ΑΦΡΟ⁷¹. Then during the reign of Augustus the coins with the head of Augustus /, double-axe bound with fillets, ΑΦΡΟΔΙ C I E ΩΝCΩZΩΝ⁷², while in 1st – 2nd century AD the coins with a humped bull / double-axe bound with fillets, ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΕΩΝ⁷³ were struck. It is the early representations which attract our attention: they are characteristic of the decadence of the Republic. It cannot be excluded, that the combinations of *labrys* / Aphrodite, *labrys* / Eros and *labrys* / cuirass dated to this period are reminiscent of Sulla's votive gift mentioned by Appian.

This hypothesis is supported by other numismatic arguments. Aphrodite, in the coinage of Aphrodisias, reveals herself in various images, but they have a peaceful character⁷⁴. Against the background of these images the coins with Aphrodite and Ares from c. 88–40 BC stand out: head of Aphrodite / Ares standing, holding

⁶⁶ A. Alföldi, *The Main Aspects*, pp. 81–82; T.J. Luce, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–27; F. Santangelo, *op. cit.*, pp. 207–209.

⁶⁷ App., BC 1.11.97; cf. L.R. Brody, *Aphrodite of Aphrodisias*, Mainz am Rhein 2007, p. 97.

⁶⁸ MacDonald, Type 1: head of Zeus / double-axe surmounted by eagle, ΠΛΑΡΑΣΕΩΝ ΔΑΜΟΝΙΚΟΣ (2nd century BC). The issues before the association of Plarasa and Aphrodisias. The combination of the communities of Aphrodisias and Plarasa perhaps took place between about 127 and 88 BC; cf. J. Reynolds *The politieia of Plarasa and Aphrodisias*, "Revue des Études Anciennes" 87, 1985, pp. 213–218.

⁶⁹ BMCG Caria, Aphrodisias, no 20; MacDonald, Type 37.

⁷⁰ MacDonald, Type 33.

⁷¹ Mionnet, p. 322, no 107 (Plarasa); BMCG Caria, Plarasa and Aphrodisias, nos 1–3; MacDonald, Types 29–32.

⁷² Mionnet, p. 326, no 135; BMCG Caria, Aphrodisias, no 89; MacDonald, Type 45 (c. 2 BC–14 AD).

⁷³ BMCG Caria, Aphrodisias, no 83; MacDonald, Type 48.

⁷⁴ C. Friedrich, *Die Aphrodite von Aphrodisias in Karien*, "Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Athenische Abth." 22, 1897, pp. 361–381; M. Floriani Squarciapino, *Afrodite di Aphrodisias*, (in:) *Aphrodisias de Carie*, textes réunis par J. de la Genière, K. Erim, Paris 1987, pp. 65–79; S. Price, *Local Mythologies in the Greek East*, (in:) *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*, eds. Ch. Howgego, V. Heu-

spear and shield, ΠΛΑΡΑΣΕΩΝΚΑΙ ΑΦ[] ΔΙΣΙΕΩΝ⁷⁵. Ares is rarely depicted on the coins from Aphrodisias⁷⁶. Possibly, showing him in a duet with Aphrodite is a reflection of not only a myth in which the relationship of this goddess with Ares was strong and frequently rendered in iconographic representations but, maybe also of a symbolic role of the god of war in the conflicts between Rome and Mithridates VI of Pontus in the eighties of the 1st century BC. It was then that Aphrodisias, as one of few cities in Asia, took the side of Rome in the war against Mithridates VI.

* * *

Bearing in mind the two premises, namely the importance of Sulla and his deeds in the history of Rome as well as the thematic vividness of the coins characteristic of the 1st century BC, we could expect many references to Sulla in the Roman numismatic tradition of post-Sullan era. In fact, it is not like that.

We can point out only a few incidental types of coins referring directly to the person of Sulla and to his accomplishments. These are the coins of the last years of the Roman Republic and Trajan's *nummi restituti*. However, taking into account the number of the monetary types and the expressiveness of the message about Sulla, the last case from the time of Principate yields precedence to the republican solutions: it is a reproduction of only a small number of motifs selected from them.

Sulla left a permanent trace in the Roman coinage. His coins contain interesting imagery. The old elements of the iconography, known in the mintage, were joined into original compositions, thus creating new iconographic models.

They are so original that in their reiterations in the coinage of post-Sullan times segments of Sullan tradition can be identified. At least some of them, the earliest repetitions of the iconographic models made up the components of a positive Sulla's legend, they resulted from the favourable assessment of his achievements, successes or political role in the Imperium Romanum. A trace of the assessment of Sulla's role in Roman history are the coins, whose imagery contained well-known themes from the biography and legend of this politician. Still, the subsequent and incomparably more numerous repetitions contain other contexts than those referring (exclusively) to Sulla. These mechanical or deliberate replicas and trans-

chert, A. Burnett, Oxford–New York 2005, p. 123; L.R. Brody, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–41 and pp. 85–96.

⁷⁵ MacDonald, Type 27 (Plarasa and Aphrodisias) and p. 67.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 30. Cf. *ibidem*, Type 89 (c. 209–211 AD): IOΥΛΙΑΔΟ ΜΝΑΘΕΒΑΧΤΗ, bust of Julia Domna / Μ ΕΝΙΙΙΙΙΟΚΑΝ ΕΘΗ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΕΩΝ, Aphrodite standing, embracing Ares, standing, behind, the net of Hephaestus in the form of a curtain.

formations of the iconographic ideas drawn from Sulla's coinage attest to the attractiveness of the iconographic message in creating the images of other Romans.

Streszczenie

L. Korneliusz Sulla w tradycji numizmatycznej

W artykule wskazano osobisty wymiar, potencjalną niejednoznaczność oraz ponadczasową atrakcyjność ikonografii namonetnej. Pokazano też obiektywne trudności odnalezienia postaci Sulli w rzymskiej tradycji numizmatycznej czasów postsullańskich.

Sam Sulla natomiast wyrył trwały ślad w dziejach mennictwa rzymskiego, zwłaszcza w sferze ikonografii monetarnej. Wprowadził nowe wyobrażenia, zaś starym nadał nieszablonową wymowę, łącząc w nowe kompozycje ikonograficzne elementy znane we wcześniejszym mennictwie republikańskim.

W wykorzystaniu tych oryginalnych wyobrażeń w mennictwie w czasach postsullańskich dostrzec można segmenty tradycji sullańskiej. Przynajmniej niektóre, najwcześniejsze powtórzenia modeli ikonograficznych tworzyły składniki pozytywnej legendy Sulli, były efektem oceny pochlebnej dla jego osiągnięć i roli politycznej w Imperium. Śladem oceny miejsca Sulli w historii rzymskiej są też monety, których wyobrażenia podejmowały – naturalnie w sposób symboliczny i uproszczony – wątki z biografii i legendy tego polityka. Jednakże liczne, mniej lub bardziej przetworzone modele ikonograficzne, zwłaszcza te pochodzące z lat Cesarstwa, kryją konteksty inne niż te dotyczące osoby Sulli. Treści monet, na których je zamieszczono, odnosiły się bowiem do postaci bieżącej sceny politycznej.