

## ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: EMBODIED ETHOS: NEGOTIATIONS OF  
AUTHORITY, CREDIBILITY, AND TRUST IN  
ROMAN REPUBLICAN COINAGE AND  
RENAISSANCE TEXTS

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“Embodied Ethos” explores how coins negotiate rhetors’ ethos in antiquity and how Renaissance texts illustrated with coin images reconstruct and appropriate the ethos of ancient coins. With a methodological framework that puts in conversation ancient rhetorical theories, modern theories in visual and material rhetoric, and cognitive linguistics, the project approaches ethos as an interweaving of authority, credibility, and trust, as well as a form of inter-subjectivity between rhetors and audiences. Applied to a discussion of early Greek and Roman coinage, this framework reveals that the negotiation of ethos occurs in relation to transcendental, social, or individual systems of power, truths, and values. An analysis of Roman Republican coins minted at the onset of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey suggests that the warring factions use coin iconography and inscriptions to negotiate the leaders’ ethos and to mount responses to political crises. While Pompeian coinage invokes Rome’s past and elevates Pompey to

transcendental status, Caesarean coinage invokes Rome's future and encourages allegiance to Caesar as an individual. In the Renaissance, coin images import the ethos of ancient coins into printed texts. Guillaume Rouillé's *Promptuaire des medalles* integrates coin images into literacy-based contexts and appropriates the ethos of ancient coins in order to energize the life of the text, to advance a form of literacy that balances oral and visual reading, and to help audiences negotiate their own ethos as readers. Madeleine de Scudéry's *Les Femmes illustres* appropriates the ethos of ancient coins to support the ethos of women as marginalized rhetors. In this text, coin images invoke the public roles of famous women of antiquity, draw attention to the female orators as a community of speakers, and encourage audiences to accept and read a rhetorical text about women. Overall, the transmission of coin ethos from antiquity into the Renaissance suggests that, as objects of cultural significance, coins participate in complex networks of objects and texts and carry persuasive messages across cultures and time periods.

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TRUST IN ROMAN REPUBLICAN COINAGE AND RENAISSANCE TEXTS

by

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## Chapter 1: Historical and Theoretical Frameworks for Understanding the Authority, Credibility, and Trust of Early Greek and Roman Coinage

In the account of the civil wars that followed the death of Julius Caesar, Cassius Dio mentioned that “Brutus stamped upon the coins which were being minted his own likeness and a cap and two daggers, indicating by this and by the inscription that he and Cassius had liberated the fatherland” (47.25.3). Because many Roman generals struck coins after Caesar’s death, the ancient historian’s reference to a specific coin is rather exceptional. Today, the silver denarius that made it into the history books of antiquity (Figure 1) is celebrated as the most famous Roman coin. Maybe what makes this coin so attractive today is the direct reference to one of the best known events of ancient history – the assassination of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March by a group of conspirators led by Marcus Junius Brutus and Gaius Cassius Longinus. Maybe what makes this coin so striking, as well, is its bold, unapologetic celebration of Caesar’s death: on the obverse, the portrait appears to show Brutus’s complete confidence in his actions’ righteousness; on the reverse, the inscription *EID • MAR*, along with the cap of liberty and the daggers carried by Brutus and Cassius, celebrates the Ides of March as a day of Roman freedom.



Figure 1

Roman Imperial. M. Junius Brutus with L. Plaetorius Caestianus. Late Summer 42 BC. AR Denarius (3.60 g). Mint moving with Brutus in Northern Greece. Ob: Bare head of Brutus r; BRVT IMP – L·PLAET·CEST. Rx: Pileus between two daggers; EID·MAR. Crawford 508/3. CNG 66, lot 1326. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

Even without a deep knowledge of Roman history, one may be struck by the forcefulness with which the images and inscriptions on the famous Ides-of-March

denarius claim that Brutus had the moral and political authority to carry out Caesar's assassination, that Brutus had the same credibility as the tyrannicides of Rome's ancient past, and that he deserved the trust of righteous followers. While Brutus's supporters might have believed these claims, Cassius Dio did not. Written over two centuries after Brutus's death, Dio's *Roman History* is unmistakably critical of Brutus's character. In fact, the immediate context for the reference to the Ides-of-March denarius also includes a reference to Brutus's decision to "invest himself with the title and dignity of imperator, thinking that he should thus carry on his war against Caesar<sup>1</sup> and Antony more easily" (47.25.2). In other words, Cassius Dio did not bring up the Ides-of-March denarius as evidence of Brutus's great taste in coins but as evidence of Brutus's great self-centeredness and arrogance.

Claims to authority, credibility, and trust that may work well will certain audiences but not with others (such as Brutus's supporters versus Cassius Dio) or that may work differently in different contexts (such as the context of a Roman civil war versus the context of modern numismatic studies) bring to mind the rhetorical notion of *ethos*. Is it possible, therefore, to suggest that ancient coins have *ethos*? If so, how is coin *ethos* constructed? Furthermore, how is coin *ethos* received and interpreted by different audiences in different contexts? In this chapter, I explore these questions and propose that coins as currency negotiate *ethos* on their own behalf, while coins as communication vehicles negotiate *ethos* on behalf of the issuer as rhetor. To test and refine this claim, I engage in a three-step inquiry: first, I explore the relationship between ancient coins and credibility, authority, and trust; second, I investigate the relationship between the

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<sup>1</sup> Cassius Dio refers here to Octavian Caesar, Julius Caesar's heir.

interweaving of credibility, authority, and trust and the rhetorical notion of *ethos*; and third, I develop methodological tools for understanding the construction of Roman coin ethos.

In the first chapter section, “The Credibility, Authority, and Trust of Early Coinage,” I propose that, both in the Greek and in the Roman world, the birth and development of early coinage were prompted by crises of credibility, authority, and trust. In the second chapter section, “Theoretical Frameworks for the Appropriation of Ancient Rhetorical Theory,” I suggest that notions in cognitive linguistics and material rhetoric facilitate the application of rhetorical terminology to the discussion of coins; in addition, I propose that the interweaving of credibility, authority, and trust on ancient coins can be successfully interpreted from the perspective of ancient and modern conceptions of ethos. In the third chapter section, “Framework for the Analysis of Roman Republican Coin Ethos,” I outline a methodology that, in the next chapter, will facilitate the analysis of coin ethos at the start of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

### *The Credibility, Authority, and Trust of Early Coinage*

In the first step of the inquiry into the nature and construction of ancient coin ethos, I seek confirmation of the intuition that coins possess credibility, authority, and trust. Although these are tightly interwoven, for the purpose of this analysis they are disentangled as pertaining, respectively, to the impression of authenticity, to the assumption of responsibility for this authenticity by a certain power entity, and to the guarantee that the power entity – having assumed responsibility for the coin’s authenticity – will accept the coin back as payment. Because the emergence of Roman

coinage retraced, to a significant extent, the steps that led to the emergence of the earliest known coinage, my discussion begins with an inquiry into the birth of coins in Asia Minor. By focusing primarily on the evidence provided by the Artemision hoard (a deposit of electrum coins discovered at the temple of Artemis in Ephesus), I propose that the transformations leading to the advent of coinage in the Greek world were prompted by concerns with credibility, authority, and trust, and I suggest that the birth and rise of Roman coinage were similarly prompted by various crises of credibility, authority, and trust. In addition, the Roman coins' effective responses to these crises and their success at establishing stable credibility and trust created opportunities for issuing authorities (the individuals responsible for striking coins) to advance individual agendas and use coins as vehicles for mass communication. By addressing these concerns as outcomes of communication and negotiation processes, I invite a conversation with the rhetorical notion of *ethos*, a conversation that represents the main focus of the next chapter section.

#### The Artemision Hoard and the Birth of Coinage

In 1904 through 1905, a British Museum expedition led by D.G. Hogarth excavated the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus and uncovered evidence of three successive building projects: a Central Basis (a structure which, according Hogarth, lasted between 700 B.C. until its destruction by the Kimmerians about 660 B.C.), an enlarged structure (which lasted between 650 B.C. until about 600 B.C.), and a yet another enlargement (which was completed about 550 B.C.), sponsored by Croesus, king of the Lydian empire and overlord of Ephesus. Excavations of the different layers revealed a wealth of artifacts, among which were ninety-three electrum coins – ninety-one struck on the Lydo-

Milesian standard and two on the Phocaeian standard. Not all coins were part of the same deposit, and not all exact find locations were specifically recorded at the time of the excavation (Robinson 156). However, a hoard of twenty-four electrum coins, unearthed in the foundations of the earliest structure, generated special interest at the time of its discovery and spurred inquiries from historians and numismatists that continue to the present day.

This is the earliest known group of coins, and its find site suggests that it served as a “foundation deposit,” positioned intentionally when construction of the Artemision began. In theory, the temple’s beginnings provide an end date for the deposit and a tentative start date for the first coin issues. In practice, the dating of the earliest electrum remains a matter for discussion and debate. E.S.G. Robinson, for instance, challenged Hogarth’s chronology, suggesting that the earliest coin deposits must have been made around 600 B.C. or later (165). More recently, numismatist Joseph Linzalone proposed 660 B.C., which falls during the reign of the Lydian king Gyges, as the time for the introduction of coinage (xii). Although the dating debates have not yet been settled, the general consensus remains that the foundation deposit at the Central Basis, along with the remainder of the Artemision hoard, includes a range of coin issues starting sometime during the seventh century and extending into the reign of Croesus.

This range of issues spans eight denominations, from a half stater weighing approximately seven grams to a ninety-sixth of a stater weighing approximately 0.14-0.15 grams, and includes a variety of designs, from unmarked surfaces to discernable types (Kraay 21). Colin Kraay categorized the Artemision electrum hoard designs as follows: two unmarked lumps, three typeless pieces with incuse squares punched on the



reverse, four striated obverses with incuse reverses, and a variety of obverse types, all accompanied by incuse reverses. The obverse types depict a lion's head (twenty-three examples), a lion's paw (twenty-two examples), cocks on striated background (thirteen examples), goat's head on striated background (four examples), beetle (three examples), griffin's head (two examples), seal's head (two examples), bull's head (one example), stag's forepart (one example), male human head (one example), facing lion's head (one example), and recumbent lion (one example) (21-22). Along a couple of these types emerge the earliest known coin inscriptions – the Greek *ΦΑΝΟΣ ΕΜΙ ΣΕΙΜΑ* (“I am the badge of Phanes”), which accompanies the stag type, and the Lydian *Walwes-* or *Walwet-*, which accompanies one of the lion types and which may refer to Alyattes, the father of Croesus.

The range of designs and denominations of the Artemision electrum hoard casts light on the early life of an invention that would soon transform how much of the ancient world conducted business, politics, and war. Specifically, the Artemision hoard – along with other early electrum finds – suggests that, from its earliest inception, ancient coinage demonstrated sustained concern with credibility, authority, and trust. The material and visual qualities of the early electrum coins – such as metal weight, metal color, obverse and reverse design, and inscription – indicate that these concerns had to be negotiated with an audience of coin users, had to be sustained through ongoing efforts towards stability, and had to be re-negotiated – sometimes radically – whenever a certain type of stability was no longer sustainable.

## Credibility

In the early electrum coinage, credibility – understood as an impression of correctness and authenticity that could be accepted by a user without need for further verification – concerned primarily the quantity and quality of the metal, as reflected by the coin’s weight (which conformed correctly to the accepted weight standard) and metal purity (which ensured that the coin was real or authentic as opposed to a fake or a forgery). The need for the credibility of the bullion used in large-scale transactions – especially those transactions conducted or mediated by the state – seems to have prompted a few important developments in the life of early coinage: the creation of the proto-coins (the unmarked electrum lumps), the introduction of the reverse punch, the appearance of the first obverse designs (or types), and the eventual end of the electrum series. A consideration of these key developments reveals an important tension in the nature of coin credibility: although reasonably stable credibility was essential to the existence of coins as money, coin credibility was in fact quite tenuous and therefore had to be frequently re-negotiated with an audience of coin users, especially in times of economic or political change.

The emergence of proto-coinage (or carefully weighed bullion blanks) did not occur in a vacuum. In fact, the ancient Near East had long relied on pre-monetary systems based on weighed silver. Silver was stored in various forms, from bracelets to ingots, and then weighed. Large transactions relied on pre-weighed, sealed bags of silver, while smaller transactions relied on bits of silver chopped off larger pieces (*Hacksilber*) and then weighed at the time of the transaction (Kroll 37). David Schaps suggests that the earliest coinage addressed a problem of weight credibility – since the bullion came pre-

weighed – and might explain the presence of very small denominations, such as the 1/96<sup>th</sup> stater (which weighed only 0.14-0.15 grams). Schaps proposes that the smallest fractional denominations would have been too small and too valuable for ordinary retail trade and might have been used to balance the scale (100). John Kroll makes a similar argument, proposing that electrum coinage would have eliminated the cumbersome weighing procedures associated with the use of *Hacksilber*; nevertheless, the emergence of coinage in Lydia had little to do with silver. Instead, the creation of coins such as the ones discovered at the Artemision can be explained by the availability of natural electrum in Lydia and by the inconsistent nature of the electrum alloy (38).

The availability of electrum created tremendous economic opportunities, but its inconsistent chemical composition generated new credibility problems. The source of the famed Lydian wealth was Mount Tmolus, from which the action of the rivers Pactolus and Hermus, which flowed through the Lydian capital of Sardis, disseminated large quantities of alluvial gold. The metal that the Lydians collected from the rivers was not pure gold, however, but an alloy containing up to 40% silver as well as varying amounts of copper (Ramage 17). The pale-colored alloy earned the Greek name *elektron*, which originally meant ‘amber’ (Konuk 44). This valuable and abundant metal was not easy to trade, however, because the gold quantity was inconsistent. The intensity of the amber color provided a first visual clue to the quality of the metal; a second visual test involved scraping the bullion on a touchstone and observing the color of the streaks (Kroll 38). The touchstone method would have been extremely cumbersome for testing numerous small electrum nuggets – hence the need for an easier method of establishing the bullion’s credibility.

Koray Konuk suggests that “coinage was meant to solve a local difficulty in Lydia and its subject territories: that of using a metal of inconsistent value in transactions. By putting devices on carefully weighed lumps of electrum, the issuing authority would fix the face value of electrum at apparently the highest point in its intrinsic value” (44). Very few of the early electrum coins were struck out of natural electrum, however. The majority of the device-bearing coins, such as the lion-head issues found in the Artemision hoard, were made of a manipulated electrum alloy with a composition of about 54% gold, 2% copper, and 44% silver (Konuk 44), the copper being added so as to preserve the “amber” appearance of natural electrum varieties that included a higher gold percentage. While Ramage disagrees with arguments that the Lydians were purposefully debasing their coinage, suggesting that silver was added simply to create an alloy of constant purity (17), Konuk and Kroll maintain that the face value of the artificially-manipulated electrum was as much as 20% higher than its intrinsic value and therefore generated hefty profits for the issuing authorities.

Whether Lydian authorities sought to standardize a bullion of inconsistent composition through the invention of coinage (thus consolidating the bullion’s credibility) or to profit from this invention (thus misusing its credibility), electrum coinage must have continued to generate unsustainable credibility problems, because King Croesus ended the series by separating gold and silver and transitioning to a bi-metallic monetary system. When Cyrus of Persia defeated Croesus in 546 B.C., Lydian coinage came to an end, but the use of coins continued to spread. The conquering Persians continued Croesus’s bimetallic monetary system, and the free Greek colonies of Asia Minor minted coins of their own.

The early life of coinage, as evidenced by the Artemision hoard and similar finds, suggests that coinage faced a problem of credibility that pertained not only to the metal's composition but primarily to its authenticity. In other words, coins needed to prove that the weighed bullion of which they were made was indeed electrum and not base metal passed off as electrum. Surviving specimens of electrum fourrées (or electrum-plated base metal such as copper) demonstrate that coinage had to contend with forgeries from its very onset. The transition from unmarked blanks to blanks with incuse reverses represented the first attempt at countering forgeries: the incuse punch that penetrated the metal surface was meant to establish the coin's credibility by showing that the coin was not plated but made of solid metal (Figure 2). Nevertheless, forgers caught on, and a second verification was added to the obverse, in the form of striations (Figure 3).



Figure 2

IONIA, Uncertain. Circa 650-600 BC. EL 12th stater or hemihecte (7mm, 1.07 g). Lydo-Milesian standard. Ob: Plain globular surface. Rx: Incuse square. Karwiese, Artemision, Type I.1; Elektron I 5-7; SNG Kayhan 676-7. CNG 421, lot 169. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Figure 3

IONIA, Uncertain city. Circa 650-600 BC. EL Hekte – Sixth Stater (9.5mm, 2.33 g). Lydo-Milesian standard. Ob: Flattened striated surface. Rx: Two incuse squares. Weidauer Group II, 6-8; Karwiese, Artemision, Type I.6; Elektron II 11-2; Traité I 12; SNG Kayhan 680. Triton XXI, lot 480. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

The presence in the Artemision hoard of coins with discernable types (or designs) against a striated background further demonstrates that striations were not successful in meeting credibility needs and that other levels of proof were required.

The emergence of obverse types indicates that the solution to this credibility problem was ideological in nature: the assumption of responsibility by a certain authority for the weight and quality of the metal, responsibility indicated by the authority's seal or badge, which served as the obverse type. This new counter-measure did not prevent or even discourage all forgeries (as demonstrated by the existence of fourrées with types – Figure 4), but added a new dimension to the question of credibility, which was no longer just about the weight and the color or the metal but also about the visual features of the design. The style specific to the issuing authority thus became important for its potential to differentiate between an authorized coin and a fake.



Figure 4

IONIA, Miletos. Circa 600-550 BC. Fourrée Hemihekte – Twelfth Stater (7.5mm, 0.88 g). Ob: Head and paw of lion right. Rx: Stellate pattern incuse. For prototype: cf. Elektron I 66; cf. SNG Kayhan 446-8. VF, plating broken in spots. CNG 413, lot 93. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

### Authority

The variety of designs on the obverses of the Artemision hoard coins suggests that an expression of authority – understood as a power structure that sponsored, endorsed, or monopolized the production of coinage – functioned as an emergently dominant solution to credibility problems. Nevertheless, the Artemision coins and similar early electrum finds raise a number of questions, such as: Who or what is an issuing authority? What do the designs represent? What is the relationship between images and inscriptions? As concerns the early electrum coinage, these questions are still being investigated, and the current answers remain tentative. However, firmer answers emerge with regard to the

coinage that postdates the end of the Lydian electrum series. Overall, these tentative answers suggest that issuing authorities included both cities and individuals, that designs expressed the issuing authorities' assumption of responsibility for the coinage they produced, and that authority was negotiated with an audience of coin users, primarily as a means of stabilizing the coins' credibility.

The question of who claimed the status of issuing authority and therefore assumed responsibility for the production of early electrum coinage has so far received cautious answers. After considering the rich variety of types present in the Artemision hoard, Colin Kraay advances two possible (but not mutually exclusive) options – the devices on the electrum obverses represent either cities or individuals (22). The first option would suggest that the devices on the Artemision coins represent cities from the Ionian league. For instance, the seal represents Phocaea, the stag represents Ephesus, the recumbent lion represents Miletus, and the griffin represents Teos or Phocaea. Kraay points out, however, that important city states from the Ionian League, such as Chios or Samos, are not represented and that there are more types than known mints (23). The second option (which does not rule out the first) suggests that – while some devices may represent cities – other devices may belong to private individuals. Kraay maintains that there is no reason to believe that these individuals would have been private bankers or bullion dealers (3) but rather absolute rulers or persons placed in charge of an issue of coins (22-23). On the other hand, Koray Konuk takes a more guarded position. Like Kraay, Konuk emphasizes the great variety of known electrum types, indicating that the Artemision hoard and other finds have so far revealed over one hundred different devices (100). Nevertheless, Konuk suggests that we simply don't know whether private bankers struck their own coinage or

whether states maintained monopolies over coinage (47). Schaps proposes, on the other hand, that the earliest types would have been seals of private bankers, who guaranteed the quality of the bullion coming out of their shops (100). The uncertainties surrounding the production of early electrum coinage dissipate to a certain extent when coinage takes hold in the Greek world and the designs often become clearer identifiers of the issuing authority.

The questions of what the images represent therefore follows from the question of authority and overlaps with it to a large degree. Nevertheless, when addressed separately, this question allows for technological considerations and for the tracing of broad trends. At the technological level, the introduction of a type (from the Greek *τύπος* – meaning “a mark created by a blow”) became responsible for the conversion of bullion into coins (Kraay 2). Konuk summarizes the technological processes for the minting of early electrum as follows: “The type was engraved on a die on which was placed the pre-weighed piece of electrum, which was then struck with a punch (a simple rod) and a hammer. As a result, the main side received the type in the positive; the other side was left with one or several punch marks (called an incuse), which exposed the interior of the coin” (45). The introduction of a carved die in the minting process marked the coin’s integration into a power system which announced itself by means of the type. The rationale that informed the choice of type is not always easy to discern, especially in the case of early electrum. Nevertheless, general trends emerge that permit the classification of types into two broad categories: types that signal individual authority and types that signal corporate authority.



In in the Artemision hoard, for instance, the lion signals the individual authority of Lydian dynasts, while the stag or bee signals the corporate authority of the city of Ephesus. Although the staggering variety of types on the electrum coinage of Asia Minor renders such classifications difficult, the types on the silver coinage of the Greek states demonstrate a clear and consistent preference for the corporate authority model. Various states therefore deployed city symbols as coin types, symbols which were meant to be recognizable and consistent, but which were not completely rigid. The expression of corporate authority followed, in turn, several broad trends: cities used their patron deity as the main coin type (such as Arethusa on the coinage of Syracuse), a device or animal associated with a patron deity (such as Athena's owl on the coinage of Athens), or the city's claim to fame (such as the tunny-fish on the coinage of Cyzicus or the ear of barley on the coinage of Metapontum) (Kraay 3-4). The type therefore communicated the coin's participation in a power system controlled or upheld by the issuing authority. More often than not, the type did not signal authority by itself but in conjunction with an inscription.

The question of the relationship between the type and the inscription, while not fully understood in the early electrum coinage, becomes clearer in the early silver coinage, especially as a means of expressing the authority's ownership of responsibility. The Artemision hoard includes examples of the first known inscriptions, which have received cautious explanations. The Lydian *Walwet* which accompanies the lion's head (Figure 5) has been tentatively attributed to Alyattes, Croesus's father, while the retrograde  $\Phi\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\Sigma\ \text{E}\text{M}\text{I}\ \Sigma\text{E}\text{I}\text{M}\text{A}$  ("I am the badge of Phanes") on the stag stater has been attributed to an unknown individual named Phanes. On smaller denominations, the same inscription appears in abbreviated forms, such as  $\Phi\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\Sigma\ \text{E}\text{M}\text{I}$  or simply  $\Phi\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\Sigma$

(Figure 6). Kraay proposes that, while Phanes might have been a prominent yet private individual such as a banker, it is more likely that the inscription refers to a dynast of Halicarnassus who used the stag as his personal badge (23). Konuk does not venture an explanation of who Phanes might have been but proposes that the word *sema* (commonly translated as “badge”) refers to both the device and the inscription together; therefore, *sema* would be more accurately translated as “seal” or “signature.”



Figure 5

KINGS of LYDIA. Alyattes. Circa 620/10-564/53 BC. EL Trite – Third Stater (12.5mm, 4.69 g). Sardes mint. Ob: Head of roaring lion right, "sun" on forehead; WALWEL (in Lydian); all on plain background. Rx: Two square punches. Weidauer Group XVII, 91–2. CNG 105, lot 359. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Figure 6

IONIA, Ephesos. Phanes. Circa 625-600 BC. EL Trite (14mm, 4.67 g). Ob: ΦΑΝΕΟΣ (in retrograde archaic Greek), stag grazing right. Rx: Two incuse punches. Weidauer 40; SNG München 14. Triton XIX, lot 2056. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

Although the identity of Phanes remains a mystery, the genitive ΦΑΝΟΣ (“of Phanes”) sets up a model for the use of the genitive as a means of expressing individual or collective authority. Kraay points out that, in the coinage of Greek states, genitive inscriptions generally refer to either the place or the people, such as, for example, ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (“of the people of Syracuse”), ΑΚΡΑΓΑΝΤΟΣ (“of Acragas”), ΣΟΛΙΚΟΝ (“of Soli”), or ΣΟΛΙΕΩΝ (“of the people of Soli”) (5-7). Inscriptions referring to places or people – also known as “ethnics” – often appear in truncated forms (such as *META* (in the coinage of Metapontum) or *AΘE* (in the coinage of Athens). Nevertheless, whether in

complete or in abbreviated form, “ethnics” establish the coins’ credibility by invoking the authority of the entire state and of its people.

As suggested by Konuk in reference to the Phanes electrum, the type and the inscription are bound together as part of a “seal” serving to identify the issuing authority. The deep interweaving of visual and verbal content becomes especially apparent in coinage where the type serves as a pun for the name of the city. For instance, Phocaea uses as a principal coin type the image of a seal (*φώκη / phoke*), Melos the image of an apple (*μήλον / melon*), and Side the image of a pomegranate (*σίδη / side*) (Kraay 6). That images and inscriptions invoke and “translate” one another suggests that, very soon after its advent, coinage was recognized as an intrinsic part of a complex social system that extended beyond the guarantee of bullion weight and quality and also involved aspects of public communication. The question of authority, therefore, starts to extend beyond the domain of economic exchange and into the domain of culture. That the Greeks usually referred to coins as *nomismata* (“customary things”) suggests, furthermore, that tradition functioned as yet another source of authority.

### Trust

In its various facets, authority served as a guarantee of credibility but also as a guarantee of trust, which can be understood as the coin user’s expectation that the coin would fulfill the functions established for it by custom, functions that included, for example, tax payments, salary payments, and certain forms of retail trade.<sup>2</sup> Although trust

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<sup>2</sup> When referring to early electrum coins, Kroll suggests that, “as small, preweighed and hence prevalued ingots of precious metal that were stamped with the certifying badge of the issuing government, they were instantly acceptable in payment on trust” (39).

was essential to the circulation of any coin issue, no early coinage circulated exclusively on trust. Early electrum and silver coinage was not fiduciary money (as is most currency today) but relied on the intrinsic value of its bullion, as determined by the bullion weight and quality. For this reason, when removed from the sphere of trust generated by a certain authority, a coin would lose its credibility and revert to bullion. When they lost authority-backed credibility and trust due to the collapse of government power structures (as in the case of war), due to changes in monetary systems (as in the case of the Lydian electrum series, which ended when Croesus transitioned to a bi-metallic system), or due to circulation outside the area of origin (as in the case of international trade), coins would be melted, restruck, test cut, or punched with countermarks. Melting, restriking, countermarking, and test cutting reveal that, when the tightly interwoven bonds between credibility, authority, and trust became loosened or broken, these bonds had to be somehow restored for the coin to re-enter circulation as money.

Melting and restriking completely repurposed coinage that lost its original source of authority. Melting formed new flans (possibly on a different weight standard), while restriking reused existing flans that conformed to an authorized weight standard. Both melting and restriking relied on some level of the bullion's credibility, even if this credibility might have been very low. For instance, in situations when melting did not modify the bullion composition, the new issuing authority must have assumed that the bullion quality was adequate. Repurposed coins had higher credibility when they were restruck, as the issuing authority accepted as adequate both the metal's quality and its weight. In either case, melting and restriking removed previous marks of authority and thereby reincorporated coins that had reverted to bullion into a new sphere of authority.

Countermarking, on the other hand, did not remove marks of authority but supplemented them with other marks, which were applied sometime after the coin was issued. Countermarking is a phenomenon that, in the case of early coinage, affected primarily the coinage of Asia Minor. Early electrum – especially the electrum from Lydia – abounds in countermarks, and as many as eighteen countermarks have been observed on certain coins (Kraay 15). The precise purpose of these first countermarks is not certain; nevertheless, Kraay proposes that, after Croesus transitioned Lydian coinage to the bi-metallic system, the electrum that had lost its official backing remained in circulation when stamped by money-changers (15). If Kraay is correct, an Alyattes coin past its “expiration date” (such as the one in Figure 7) had some credibility, since the



Figure 7

KINGS of LYDIA. Time of Alyattes II to Croesus. Early 6th century BC. EL Twelfth (8mm, 1.15 g). Ob: Head of lion right, rayed disk on forehead. Rx: Quadrilateral incuse punch. Weidauer 79-85; Rosen 654. VF, several countermarks on the obverse and around the edge. CNG 126, lot 72. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

issuing authority had already guaranteed the bullion’s weight and quality, but little trust, since the coin was no longer accepted in official transactions. By applying countermarks, bankers therefore restored an intermediate, unofficial level of trust by indicating that they would accept that coin in trade. After the end of the electrum series, however, the application of countermarks most likely became the privilege of an issuing authority which validated an alien coin’s circulation within that authority’s own area of influence (Figure 8). Therefore, such countermarks usually displayed designs invocative of the local authority. (Examples of countermark designs include the goat of Celenderis, the

triskeles of Lycia, or the bull of Tarsus.) Official countermarks thus extended trust to an alien coin by guaranteeing its acceptance in various forms of payments and trade.



Figure 8

CILICIA, Kelenderis. Circa 350-333 BC. AR Stater (24mm, 9.98 gm). Ob: Youth riding rearing horse right; monogram before. Rx: Goat kneeling right, head left; monogram below; countermark bull walking right under shield. For undertype: SNG von Aulock 5637. For countermark: SNG Levante pl. 1, 10. CNG 61, lot 38. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

Test cutting generally affected coins that circulated outside the zone of influence of a well-recognized and well-respected source of authority. These coins enjoyed a fair level of trust (they were accepted in certain international trade situations), but they had limited credibility. Because the issuing authority had little or no reach where the coin was used for trade, it could not guarantee the bullion's authenticity. Therefore, those who traded the coin re-established its credibility by cutting into the coin to demonstrate that the metal was genuine. The coin most commonly disfigured in this manner was the tetradrachm of Athens (Figure 9), which circulated very widely (even as far as India) due to its highly respected source of authority, heavy weight, and high quality silver. Coins of Alexander the Great, whether lifetime or posthumous, also commonly displayed test cuts, often in conjunction with countermarks (Figure 10).



Figure 9

ATTICA, Athens. Circa 454-404 BC. AR Tetradrachm (23mm, 17.12 g, 12h). Ob: Helmeted head of Athena right, with frontal eye. Rx: Owl standing right, head facing; olive sprig and crescent behind; all within incuse square. Kroll 8; HGC 4, 1597. VF, lightly toned, trace deposits, test cuts. CNG 139, lot 404. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Figure 10

KINGS of MACEDON. Alexander III. 336-323 BC. AR Tetradrachm (28mm, 17.07 g). Uncertain mint. Struck circa 310-280 BC. Ob: Head of Herakles right, wearing lion skin. Rx: Zeus Aëtrophoros seated left; monograms in left field and below throne. Price 4049. Test cut and countermark on obverse. CNG 324, lot 44. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

In sum, the emergence of coinage in the Greek world suggests that early coins depended on authority, credibility, and trust for their function as money, as well as on a correct balance between stability and change, between continuity within a political and economic system and adaptation to crises. Although early money was primarily a Greek invention, ancient societies that developed trade-based economic systems eventually adopted this invention and made it their own. The ancient Romans, for instance, were rather slow in developing coinage, but – once they did – they had to contribute their own solutions to problems of authority, credibility, and trust.

#### Trust and Credibility in Republican Bronze Coinage

The Romans adopted coinage much later than their Greek neighbors, who had thriving colonies on the southern part of the Italian peninsula (such as Rhegium, Tarentum, and Thurii) and the island of Sicily (such as the powerful Syracuse). When the Romans eventually embraced the use of coinage, they followed a process similar to that of the Lydians and the Greeks of Asia Minor: they first weighed and then stamped the metal that served as the primary medium of exchange. For the Romans, however, it was bronze – not silver or gold – that constituted this medium of exchange. The transformations of Roman bronze from coinage with intrinsic value into fiduciary money

and then into “virtual currency” point to the complete dependence of bronze coinage on credibility and trust.

The first known step towards the development of Roman coinage occurred in the form of irregular bronze lumps known as *Aes Rude* (“crude bronze”). The next step occurred towards the end of the fourth century B.C., when bronze was cast into stamped bars known as *Aes Signatum* (“marked bronze”). The *Aes Signatum* were produced until the end of the First Punic War (241 B.C.). Sometime during the circulation of the *Aes Signatum*, bronze also started being cast on circular flans. The circular units of exchange are known as *Aes Grave*, and they represent the earliest form of Roman coinage. Eventually, the *as* replaced the earlier forms of bronze currency and became the basis of the *as* system. This monetary system, introduced circa 280 B.C., functioned on a libral standard and reckoned based on the *as*. This means that one *as* weighed one *libra* (Roman pound or 324 grams) and that fractional denominations represented subdivisions of the *as*. In this early system, the major subdivisions were the *semis* ( $1/2$  *as*), *triens* ( $1/3$  *as*), *quadrans* ( $1/4$  *as*), *sextans* ( $1/6$  *as*), and *uncia* ( $1/12$  *as*).

The transition from Roman proto-coinage (the *Aes Rude* and *Aes Signatum*) towards coinage (the *Aes Grave* and the later *as* system) suggests a gradual shift from a concern with credibility towards a concern with trust. The proto-coinage relied on the credibility of the metal weight, but this credibility must have suffered a crisis around the time of the Pyrrhic Wars, when the libral *as* came into circulation (around 280 B.C.). It is possible that the economic demands of the war required a more expedient and more standardized monetary system, which nevertheless remained grounded in established trade customs. Although the libral *as* reduced the weight of the bronze bars, it borrowed



credibility from the already accepted weight system of the traditional Roman pound. The introduction of a cast type such as the bearded Janiform head reinforced this credibility by indicating that the metal did not need to be re-weighed and invited trust by indicating that the coins would be accepted as payment.

The seeming balance between credibility and trust achieved by the libral *as* gradually shifted towards trust as metal shortages prompted several weight reductions. Around 269 B.C., the *as* was struck on a reduced libral standard of 265 grams, and, in 211 B.C., the *as* was struck on a sextantal standard of 44 grams. The standard was reduced even further during the second century, when the *as* weighed an *uncia* (Roman ounce), and again in 91 B.C., when – as the result of the Lex Papiria – the *as* fell to a *semuncia* (half ounce). The different changes in the weight standard also affected the minting of bronze denominations. In 211 B.C., when the silver denarius appeared, the *Aes Grave* production ceased completely (Sear, *Roman Coins* 165-66). The production of the reduced *as* continued, but then stopped in 146 B.C., only to emerge again about three decades later. In 140 B.C. a new bronze denomination – the *sestertius* – appeared, but the minting of bronze coinage did not carry on with regularity. In 82 B.C., bronze issues disappeared almost completely, but then reappeared intermittently during the 40's and 30's B.C. As the result of the various weight reductions, Republican bronze coinage seems to have transformed from coinage with intrinsic value determined by weight into coinage with very little or no intrinsic value grounded in trust. Similar to the pocket change we use today, Roman bronze functioned primarily as fiduciary coinage, dependent primarily on trust in a government-backed system of trade. However,

interruptions in the minting of fiduciary bronze suggest that trust without credibility (especially the credibility granted by intrinsic metal value) was not sustainable.

The monetary reform of 211 B.C. introduced the silver denarius as the primary coinage of the Roman Republic and thus reestablished a balance between credibility and trust. Although silver coinage displaced bronze coinage at times partially and at other times completely, bronze paradoxically provided essential continuity to the Roman monetary system because the Romans continued to reckon in bronze well into the late Empire. According to Crawford, the role of bronze in the reality of reckoning can be summarized by these propositions: the Romans officially reckoned in *asses* up to the point when the denarius was re-evaluated at sixteen asses instead of ten asses, and afterwards they reckoned in sestertii; state assessments previously made in asses were converted to sestertii; all state payments previously computed in asses were converted and made out into silver denarii; however, individual practices did not necessarily conform to official practices (621). Crawford's synthesis indicates that – even when bronze no longer physically appeared in official payments – it still remained a form of “virtual currency” that validated and stabilized the denarius system. The endurance of bronze as an ideal measure of value even when material bronze coins enjoyed neither trust nor credibility on the actual market suggests that the Romans envisioned their monetary system as grounded primarily in trust.

## Credibility and Trust in Republican Silver and Gold Coinage

Crises of trust in fiduciary bronze very likely prompted the emergence of Roman silver coinage, which – based on various evidence from various Italian hoards – can be traced rather accurately to the time of the Pyrrhic War, around 280 B.C. (Crawford 37-41). The first Roman silver coins likely responded to a need for a monetary system that aligned with that of the city-states of Magna Graecia, states which at first found themselves on either side of the conflict and then gradually fell under Roman control. The Romans therefore struck their silver on the weight standard of Greek Southern Italy, producing denominations such as the didrachm and the drachm. The Roman didrachms had a fixed obverse design (Janiform head) and inscription (*ROMANO*, or “of the Romans”) that communicated their Roman identity. The Greek weight standard collapsed, however, during the Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.), probably as the result of a new crisis of trust. When southern Italian cities fell under Carthaginian influence – either as the result of defection or of conquest – the kind of trust imparted by the Greek weight standard became superfluous. Therefore, possibly due to a combination of factors that may have included not only a changed political landscape but also bullion shortages, a lighter and completely new silver coinage known as the *denarius* emerged around 211 B.C. as a uniquely Roman currency. From 211 B.C. onward, the denarius became the main silver coinage of the Republic, valued first at 10 asses and then revalued at 16 asses in 141 B.C. (Crawford 624-25). The denarius circulated alongside other silver denominations such as the quinarius ( $\frac{1}{2}$  denarius) and the victoriatum (initially  $\frac{3}{4}$  denarius and later  $\frac{1}{2}$  denarius), but the smaller denominations appeared irregularly, usually at times of crisis.

Republican gold, like Republican silver, first developed from a Greek standard and later evolved into a uniquely Roman currency. The first Roman gold issues were staters and the half-staters, struck as emergency measures at the onset of the Second Punic War (217-216 B.C.). Following the Greek denominations, Roman denominations such as the 60-as, the 40-as, and the 20-as emerged alongside the denarius in 211 B.C. Like bronze denominations or silver fractional denominations, however, gold coins were struck intermittently. Soon after the emergence of the denarius system, the production of gold coinage ceased until Sulla introduced a new denomination – the aureus (worth 25 denarii) in 82 B.C. After Sulla's retirement, the aureus all but disappeared again until Julius Caesar resumed its production in 47 B.C (Ghey, n.p.).

#### Authority

Similar to the development of Lydian electrum, the development of Roman bronze, silver, and gold relied on expressions of authority as guarantors of the coins' credibility and trust. Although the responsibility of the issuing authority remained rather constant – to produce *authorized* coinage, or coinage legally approved for payments of various kinds – changes in the issuing authority created opportunities for individuals to use coin designs as vehicles for self-advertisement and to coopt the coins' credibility and trust for personal gains.

When the city of Rome began striking coins, the control over minting activities was in the hands of the censors and, about mid-second century B.C., passed into the hands of the Senate (Crawford 615-16). After 211 B.C., however, the production of coinage became the responsibility of three annually elected moneyers, the *triumviri auro*

*argento aere flando feriundo* (“the three men responsible for casting and striking gold, silver and bronze”).<sup>3</sup> According to Crawford, the activity of the moneyers was regulated by a set of standard procedures: at the beginning of the year, the Senate estimated expenditures and authorized the production of a corresponding amount of coinage; then, the quaestors delivered to bullion to the moneyers and collected the resulting currency; finally, based on the total of new and existing coinage, the Senate authorized expenditures (617). Moneyers did not have complete authority over coinage, however, and magistrates such as quaestors or curule aediles also issued coins on certain occasions. During conflicts such as the Second Punic War, the civil war between Sulla and Marius, and the multiple wars following Caesar’s crossing of the Rubicon, military leaders also issued coinage in their own right, outside the normal legal parameters.

The authority responsible for the minting activities made itself manifest in the types and legends struck on the coins. However, the manner in which authority announced itself also changed over time. Early Roman coinage imported from Greek coinage not only its first weight standard, but also a typology focused on the city and its gods. Early didrachms, for example, showed Mars, Apollo, and Roma as obverse types and stated Roman identity by means of the inscriptions *ROMA* and *ROMANO*. Around 230 B.C., the didrachm known as quadrigatus appeared, and with it a movement towards a standardized Roman design centered on Rome’s deities. Thus, the quadrigatus dies invariably showed a Janiform head on the obverse and, on the reverse, Jupiter and

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<sup>3</sup> Crawford suggests that, although little detail is available regarding the actual administration of the Roman mint, the moneyers might have divided the year into periods and operated in turn, producing coins based on need, which could also explain the great differences in the amount of coinage struck by moneyers serving on the same college (619).

Victory galloping in quadriga (hence the name of this denomination). When the denarius emerged in 211 B.C., so did a new standard design: the helmeted head of Roma on the obverse, accompanied by one of only three reverse types – the Dioscuri in biga, Luna in biga, or Victory in biga (Sear, *Roman Coins* 89). Smaller silver denominations such as the quinarius or the short-lived silver sestertius (discontinued circa 208 B.C.) bore the same designs, with the exception of the victoriatus, which had its own standard – Jupiter on the obverse and Victory crowning a trophy on the reverse. These set designs are known in numismatic references as “public types” because they centered on the authority of the Republic rather than of specific individuals. The public types continued to be struck until the end of the Republic, but they increasingly competed with other expressions of authority – the “private types” (Crawford 712-34).

Private types emerged as magistrates gradually started presenting themselves – rather than the state – as the minting authority (Crawford 712). This transition developed within the public types themselves, as moneyers started including their initials and their monogram on the reverse types; this practice became normal by 170 B.C., when almost every denarius issue was signed (Crawford 725). Starting in 154 B.C., the moneyers’ names started appearing in fuller forms, and, in 144 B.C., T. Annius Rufus made the first innovation on a denarius reverse – instead of the traditional Dioscuri/Luna/Victory in biga, he represented Jupiter in biga (Sear, *Roman Coins* 92; Crawford 727). Countless innovations followed, first on the reverse types and then on the obverse itself, as moneyers started advertising their family deities and ancestors. Although the decade following 124 B.C. saw a return to public types, the private types came to dominate Republican iconography, especially during the age of the imperators, when powerful

military commanders asserted their own authority to mint coins in the name of the state or as a replacement of the state.

The great variety of visual images and inscriptions on the Republic's main denomination – the silver denarius – a variety which by far surpasses that of any preceding or contemporary Greek coinage, suggests that coinage became a part of a complex and sophisticated communication system. In addition, the infrequency of disfigurement evidence (such as test cuts or graffiti) on Republican denarii suggests that Republican silver acquired sufficient credibility (with regard to the metal quality and weight) and sufficient trust (with regard to adequate circulation) that, from a material standpoint, it no longer generated acute problems that needed to be solved. Although never exempt from the responsibility to guarantee the bullion's quality, weight, and circulation, issuing authorities gained substantial freedom to redirect issues of credibility and trust away from the material qualities and economic functions of coinage towards ideological issues related to the varying agendas of the Republic or of the individuals involved in the minting of coinage. Republican coinage therefore became a powerful communication tool with a reach stretching from the heart of Rome to the farthest points of Rome's influence.

By making use of this communication tool, issuing authorities appropriated aspects of coins' credibility and trust for themselves. Thus, credibility also concerned the authority's truthfulness, and trust also concerned the authority's ability to deliver on promises. Issuing authorities increasingly targeted specific communication situations and demonstrated a refined awareness of their own role in crafting and disseminating a message. In other words, issuing authorities functioned as rhetors who understood their

rhetorical situations and addressed audiences accordingly. If coins participated in communication processes, then an important question emerges: How can the negotiation of authority, credibility, and trust be understood from a rhetorical perspective?

### *Theoretical Frameworks for the Appropriation of Ancient Rhetorical Theory*

In the second step of the inquiry, I seek to confirm the relationship between the interweaving of credibility, authority, and trust and the rhetorical notion of *ethos*. Although the application of terminology from ancient rhetorical theory to material objects that may predate known articulations of this theory poses methodological challenges, I propose as a solution a theoretical framework informed by notions in cognitive linguistics and material rhetoric. I advance a definition of *ethos* as a form of intersubjectivity achieved through the convergent alignment between a rhetor and an audience with regard to a stance object, where the stance object represents an aspect of the rhetor and his/her discourse, and where credibility, authority, and trust account for various facets of the stance object. I also propose that the cognitive framework is capable of extracting from ancient rhetorical theory schematic modes of thinking about ethos and of supplying methodological tools for the analysis of coins. My discussion of ancient rhetorical theory centers on three articulations of ethos – the Platonic, the Aristotelian, and the Ciceronian. Combining these ancient articulations with a cognitive framework, I abstract three modes of thinking about ethos – relabeled as *transcendentally oriented*, *socially oriented*, and *individually oriented ethos* – and I identify the presence of these ethos modes on early Republican coins.



## Methodological Challenges and Solutions

For the purpose of this discussion from this point on, I propose a preliminary definition of *ethos* as the outcome of the tight interweaving of authority, credibility, and trust, as manifested by the rhetor and/or the rhetor's discourse. To the extent that we accept this preliminary definition, we can say that the coins' issuing authorities, as well as the coins themselves, have ethos and that this ethos is subject to reception – the purposeful borrowing, reinterpretation, and reinvention of ethos by other rhetors and pieces of discourse. It is important to emphasize, however, that this preliminary definition represents a modern, methodological appropriation of an ancient rhetorical notion and that this appropriation is distinct in scope and purpose from a historical reconstruction attempt. Nevertheless, the potential gap between the ancient rhetorical notion and its modern appropriation can be bridged by cognitive linguistics and rhetorical materialism.

To answer questions such as, “How do coins generate ethos?” or “How do coins borrow and re-interpret ethos?” it is possible to remain anchored in a modern perspective while acknowledging the difficulty of capturing the perspective of the past. However, divorcing the material evidence supplied by ancient coins from the verbal evidence supplied by ancient rhetorical theory may cause us to overlook significant insights emerging from conversations between visual and verbal media. Nevertheless, the application to a discussion of coins of notions from ancient rhetorical theory developed for verbal discourse poses methodological problems, the most significant of which may be the lack of substantial evidence that those involved in the production of coins (such as the die carvers, for example), would have been familiar with such theories or would have used them deliberately.

Kathleen Lamp addresses a similar methodological difficulty in her analysis of the Augustan altar of Ara Pacis from the perspective of epideictic topics and enthymematic arguments. Lamp resolves this difficulty by engaging in the historical reconstruction of a network of relationships between ancient rhetorical theory (especially that of Quintilian) and material artifacts (especially monumental architecture). Lamp suggests that the theoretical framework of epideictic is validated by a broadening of rhetoric in the late republic and early empire. Lamp proposes that this broadening “funnels more traditional rhetorical practices not only into many literary genres, but also into a variety of media like monuments, coins, and city planning. Such changes in rhetorical theory and practice are evidence toward the inclusion of such nontraditional rhetorical media within the standard classical rhetorical theory without anachronistically imposing contemporary practice on the past” (24). Lamp’s discussion of material objects from the Augustan era with the theoretical tools of ancient rhetorical theory is mediated by the canon of memory, which employed visualization techniques involving monumental surroundings, as well as by the notion of the “mind’s eye,” which led to techniques such as *phantasia*, *enargeia*, and *ekphrasis*.

The validity of Lamp’s historical reconstruction and the presence of genuine parallels between verbal and non-verbal discourse is reinforced by the fact that the material and verbal evidence occupy a reasonably similar space-time – that of the late Republic and early Principate. However, a similar reconstruction attempt aimed at ancient rhetorical notions (such as *ethos*) that can be applied to Roman coinage spanning from the beginnings of Republican coinage into the early Empire is much more problematic. For instance, the first Republican denarii, which were issued around 211

B.C., pre-date known evidence of Roman rhetorical theory. In addition, it is by no means certain that either the first moneyers or the first denarius die carvers would have known Aristotle's *Rhetoric* or would have been familiar with *ethos*. On the other hand, emperors such as Gnaeus Pompey, Julius Caesar, or Mark Antony – who were also responsible for issuing coins – were highly educated, highly skilled orators well versed in rhetorical practice (and probably theory as well). Nevertheless, it is by no means certain that the emperors either used the term *ethos* or conceptualized it the same way as Aristotle did. Therefore, from the standpoint of historical reconstruction, identifying likely conversations between ancient rhetorical theory and ancient coins proves more challenging. From the standpoint of modern methodological appropriation, however, such conversations can prove not only possible but also very productive, as long as they are adequately mediated.

Building on Lamp's analysis of monumental architecture in the framework of epideictic, an analysis mediated primarily by memory and the mind's eye, I propose that an analysis of Roman Republican coins in the framework of *ethos* can be mediated by theoretical notions supplied by rhetorical materialism and cognitive linguistics. The role of notions in rhetorical materialism and cognitive linguistics as mediators can be

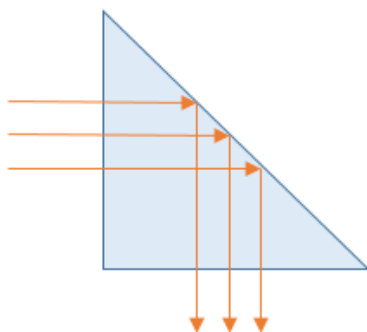


Figure 11

imagined by analogy with a triangular lens. When light hits perpendicularly the side of a right-angle triangular lens, the lens hypotenuse reflects the light at a right angle. Similarly, cognitive linguistics and rhetorical materialism have the ability to receive from ancient space-times theories of verbal discourse and reflect

these theories on non-verbal discourse produced in either similar or different ancient space-times. However, the model in Figure 11 is an ideal one; in reality, the lens substance is imperfect and the angles imprecise, so light inevitably suffers both refraction (meaning that the transition from one medium to another changes the angle at which light travels) and diffusion (meaning that light becomes scattered by imperfectly transparent and imperfectly reflective surfaces). Similarly, the cognitive-materialist lens inevitably distorts as well as dissipates aspects of ancient rhetorical theory. Nevertheless, more can be gained than lost by the use of this lens in a modern methodological appropriation of ancient rhetorical theory for the purpose of a partial reconstruction of the mechanisms by which coins create, borrow, transmit, and interpret authority, credibility, and trust.

In the context of the lens analogy, rhetorical materialism represents the substance of the lens – a medium capable of diffusing some chronological constraints while proving sufficiently transparent to inputs from conversations on verbal and non-verbal discourse. By supplying a definition of rhetoric grounded in general human experience, rhetorical materialism diffuses considerations of when, from a chronological standpoint, we can start referring to a verbal or non-verbal artifact as rhetorical. Michael McGee, for instance, suggests that rhetorical materialism envisions rhetoric as “a natural social phenomenon in the context of which symbolic claims are made on the behavior and/or belief of one or more persons, allegedly in the interest of such individuals, and with the strong presumption that such claims will cause meaningful change” (31). If rhetoric is a natural social phenomenon, then it can be observed anytime and anywhere human beings produce discourse; in addition, the existence of rhetoric does not depend on the existence of deliberate theorizing or naming attempts. By rejecting the dualist ontology that

separates speech from materiality (Greene 49), rhetorical materialism also supplies a theoretical environment transparent to the existence of complex relationships between language and matter. Laurie Gries, for instance, conceives of these relationships as “mangles,” or entanglements of material, natural, social, and political actants. If rhetoric participates in such entanglements, then it can also become bound to other complex objects such as coins.

In the context of the same lens analogy, cognitive grammar supplies a reflective surface capable of “bouncing” rhetorical theory onto coins by providing a perspective on language anchored in fundamental phenomenological experiences. Specifically, cognitive linguistics posits that language structures emerge from *image schemas*, “described as schematized patterns of activity abstracted from everyday bodily experiences, especially pertaining to vision, space, motion and force. Image schemas are seen as basic, ‘preconceptual’ structures that give rise to more elaborate and more abstract conceptions (or at least provide their skeletal organization) through combination and metaphoric projection” (Langacker 32). Ronald Langacker proposes that such basic structures include minimal concepts in particular domains of experience (such as line, angle, curvature, brightness, color, precedence, and sensation of muscular force), configurational concepts independent of particular experiential domains (such as contrast, boundary, change, or continuity), and conceptual archetypes (such as a physical object, an object in motion, an object in a location, or the human body) (33). The presence of image schemas thus emphasizes the fundamental entanglement between language and embodied experiences and serves as a fitting theoretical complement to rhetorical materialism.

Cognitive linguistics and rhetorical materialism can therefore provide the theoretical material for methodological tools that can afterwards be employed in the analysis of coins and their ethos. The forging of these methodological tools involves a few important tasks: refining the preliminary, modern definition of ethos as the interweaving of credibility, authority, and trust; isolating key conceptions of ethos in ancient rhetorical theory; extracting cognitive patterns from the ancient conception of ethos; and identifying these patterns in ancient coin designs.

### Ethos and Stance

The task of refining a definition of ethos capable of encompassing both material objects and ancient rhetorical theory centers on concepts of subjectivity, which represent the shared concern of materialist approaches to rhetoric and of cognitive approaches to discourse. From a materialist perspective, Ronald Green argues that the goal of materialist rhetoric should be to “avoid rediscovering a generalized rhetoricality inherent in cultural forms and objects. Instead, we should pay attention to the emergence of a more concrete rhetorical subject, a subject that speaks and is spoken to, and the different techniques and technologies organized to transform individuals into a communicating subject” (44). In addition, Greene proposes that “rhetorical materialism first and foremost should be committed to addressing how the production and value of the rhetorical subject informs the articulation of political, cultural, and economic modes of production” (49-50).

The notion of a subject that speaks and is spoken to and is shaped by a variety of social, cultural, political, and economic factors takes a central place in the scholarship of

John DuBois. DuBois argues for an understanding of the speaking subject in the context of intersubjectivity and stance. DuBois proposes that, “When we learn to see how one speaker’s subjectivity reacts to another’s subjectivity, we witness the dialogic emergence of intersubjectivity” (162). Furthermore, DuBois proposes that intersubjectivity develops through stance, defined as “a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field” (163).

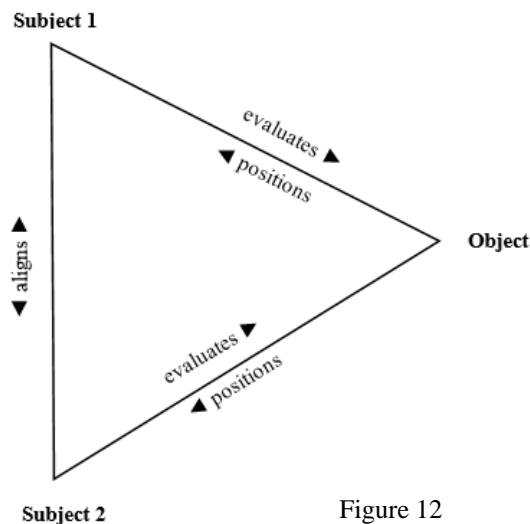


Figure 12

DuBois envisions stance in terms of a triangle (Figure 12), where the vertices represent a speaker (Subject 1), an interlocutor (Subject 2), and a stance object, and the sides represent the acts/processes by which inter-subjectivity is achieved. Specifically, these acts involve evaluation, positioning, and

alignment. According to DuBois, *evaluation* is “the process whereby a stancetaker orients to an object of stance and characterizes it as having some specific quality or value;” *positioning* is “the act of situating a social actor with respect to responsibility for stance and for invoking sociocultural value;” and *alignment* is “the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances, and by implication between two stancetakers” (143) – an act which “is in play whether the direction is convergent, divergent, or as often happens, ambiguous between the two” (162).

In the theoretical framework supplied by DuBois's stance triangle, I propose that *ethos* represents a form of inter-subjectivity achieved through the convergent alignment between a rhetor and an audience with regard to a stance object, where the stance object is an aspect of the rhetor and her/his discourse. *Authority* emerges when the stance object is the rhetor's participation in a power system. In the inter-subjective negotiation of authority, the rhetor positions himself/herself within a power system and evaluates this position as higher than others'; then, audiences position themselves and the rhetor within the same power system and evaluate their relative positions as unequal; finally, the rhetor and the audiences align when audiences recognize and accept the rhetor's power position as higher than their own. Similarly, *credibility* emerges when the stance object is the rhetor's participation in a truth system. In the inter-subjective negotiation of credibility, the rhetor positions his/her discourse within a certain truth system and evaluates this discourse as conforming to the constraints imposed by that system; then, audiences position the rhetor's discourse and their own beliefs within the same system and evaluate them as compatible; finally, audiences and the rhetor align when audiences accept the rhetor's discourse as conforming to the constraints of the truth system. In addition, *trust* emerges when the stance object is the rhetor's participation in a system of interpersonal values capable of predicting the rhetor's future behavior. In the inter-subjective negotiation of trust, the rhetor positions herself/himself within the interpersonal values system and evaluates his/her actions as conforming this this system; then, audiences position the rhetor and their own interpersonal values within the same values system and evaluate them as compatible; finally, the rhetor and her/his audiences align when



audiences accept the rhetor's conformity to the system of interpersonal values as a guarantee that the rhetor's future actions will conform to the same system.

This definition of ethos can serve as a filter for ancient rhetorical theory as a way of abstracting schematic modes of thinking about ethos, modes that can be (at least partially) detached from the space-time of their historical articulation and applied to the discussion of coins. Three historical articulations in particular – the Platonic, the Aristotelian, and the Ciceronian – can supply such modes of thinking about ethos and, once filtered through the stance lens, serve as methodological tools.

#### Platonic Ethos in the Stance Framework

The Platonic conception of *ethos* emerges in the work of James Baumlin as the primary focus of a larger historical survey ranging from ancient to postmodern views of ethos. Baumlin proposes that “ethos concerns the problematic relation between human character and discourse; more specifically, it raises questions concerning the inclusion of the speaker's character as an aspect of discourse, the representation of that character in discourse, and the role of that character in persuasion” (xvii). In the context of this definition, Baumlin contrasts the Platonic and the Aristotelian modes of ethos as grounded in alternative conceptions of selfhood – whereas the Aristotelian self is a social, context-based identity constructed through discourse, the Platonic self is a stable core identity independent of time and change. Baumlin discerns the Platonic conception of self and ethos in Socrates's critique of Lysias in the *Phaedrus*. According to Baumlin, Socrates covers his face in shame while responding to Lysias's ghostwritten speech and thus points out the immorality of the disjunction between speaker and discourse. Baumlin

suggests that, “in Platonic fashion, ethos defines the space where language and truth meet or are made incarnate within the individual” and that “a Platonic definition of ethos and ethical argument, therefore, is premised on the moral and, ultimately, theological inseparability of the speaker-agent from the speech-act” (xiii).

In the context of the stance triangle, Baumlin’s interpretation of Platonic ethos can, in turn, be interpreted as a rhetor’s presentation of identity as a stance object, where this identity is rooted in a reality that transcends the individual. In the *Phaedrus*, the nature of this reality becomes articulated primarily in the context of the analogy between the immortal soul and a charioteer driving a pair of horses. To glean the indescribable nature of the gods’ immortal souls, Socrates refers to the perfect ease with which the gods’ charioteers maneuver the horses, permitting the gods to ascend even beyond the heavens, into the region of true being, where truth and virtue find their unadulterated expression:

True being is the province of everything that counts as true knowledge. So since the mind of god is nourished by intelligence and pure knowledge (as is the mind of every soul which is concerned to receive its proper food), it is pleased to be at last in a position to see true being, and in gazing on the truth it is fed and feels comfortable, until the revolution carries it around to the same place again. In the course of its circuit it observes justice as it really is, self-control, knowledge – not the kind of knowledge that is involved with change and differs according to which of the various existing things . . . it makes its object, but the kind of knowledge whose object is things as they really are. (247c-e).

In Socrates's theological vision, the gods' identity is anchored in a reality that perfectly merges divine power, truth, and virtue. Human beings who aspire to master the unruly horses of one's soul and thereby attain genuine selfhood model themselves on the gods and join their favorite god's chorus. This fastening of human identity on a divine identity becomes manifest in inter-personal relationships, especially those relationships informed by love: "And so it goes for every single god: as long as he has not yet been corrupted and is living the first of his lives here on earth, an individual spends his life honoring and imitating to the best of his ability the god to whose chorus he belongs, and in all his dealings and relations, including his love-affairs, he conforms to this mode of behavior" (252d).

By offering as a stance object a human identity modeled on divine identity, which is in turn modeled on true being, a rhetor claims participation in a reality where power, truth, and inter-personal values transcend the self. In this framework, the negotiation of authority, credibility, and trust starts with the rhetor's positioning of the stable self in relation to the power, truth, or inter-personal values aspect of this transcendent reality, followed by the evaluation of this position as conforming to this reality. For instance, Socrates claims authority for the true lover by making him a follower of a god and thus subordinating him to divine power; similarly, Socrates claims credibility for the lover by having the lover recognize an image of the god in the beloved; furthermore, he claims trust by having the lover act towards the beloved as he would towards the god he honors. The successful negotiation of authority, credibility, and trust requires Phaedrus's positioning of his own identity in the context of the same transcendental reality and the evaluation of Socrates's claims as conforming to this reality. The true lover's ethos – and

by implication Socrates's own ethos – depends therefore on the convergent alignment between Socrates's and Phaedrus's understanding of the self and the rejection of Lysias's toxic advocacy for the disjunction between emotions and behavior, self and discourse.

Filtered through the lens of the stance triangle, Platonic ethos can be understood as the convergent alignment between a rhetor and an audience with regard to a stance object consisting of an identity anchored in a transcendent reality. As constituent facets of ethos, authority, credibility, and trust foreground the power, truth, or values aspect of a coherent and stable transcendence. In this schematic interpretation, Platonic ethos furnishes a way of thinking about ethos that may be recognized in contexts other than Plato's documentable zone of influence and in media other than verbal discourse. To avoid confusion with a historical reconstruction attempt, the "filtered" Platonic ethos can be relabeled as *transcendentally oriented ethos* and deployed as a methodological tool in the discussion of coins. In my analysis of coin images and inscriptions, *transcendentally oriented ethos* does not depend, however, on a reality as abstract as Socrates's "true being." Rather, this transcendental reality can consist of any reality that is substantially larger than the specific individual responsible for minting a coin issue at a specific time. For instance, such a reality can consist of the state, an office of the state, patron deities of the state, and divine or state-sanctioned customs.

The anonymous denarius in Figure 13, for example, negotiates transcendentally oriented ethos. On this denarius, the moneyer is not identified; however, the obverse and reverse images and inscriptions invoke realities much larger than the individual responsible for this issue. For instance, the obverse image of Roma invokes the Roman Republic, while the reverse image of the Dioscuri invokes a divine realm, as represented

by the Republic's patron deities. In addition, the obverse mark X, in conjunction with the reverse inscription *ROMA*, invokes a state-sanctioned system of values, where the denarius is worth ten asses. In this example, the moneyer as rhetor claims authority for the denarius (not for himself) by positioning the coin in relation to the joint power system of the Republic and the divine. In addition, the rhetor claims credibility by positioning the denarius in relation to the truth system embedded in the Republic's monetary values system. Furthermore, the rhetor claims trust by invoking inter-personal values traditionally associated with the Republic and its patron deities, such as justice, courage, and prudence – values that guarantee the state's backing of the new silver currency. For the negotiation of ethos to be successful, audiences must position themselves in relation to the same larger realities and make similar evaluations of the denarius's place in the transcendental power, truth, and interpersonal values systems.



Roman Republic. Anonymous. 211-208 BC. AR Denarius (19mm, 4.12 g). Ob: Helmeted head of Roma right; X (mark of value) to left. Rx: Dioscuri on horseback right; wreath between two stars above; ROMA raised in linear frame below. Crawford 110/1a. CNG 408, lot 386. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

Figure 13

This transcendental negotiation can be put in conversation with Calvin McGee's materialist conception of a macrorhetorical experience. McGee envisions rhetoric as existing on a continuum of experiences, ranging from "the absolutely specific experience of being persuaded to the absolutely general experience of having been conditioned to a pattern of social and political opinions" (24). McGee labels the ends and the middle of this continuum as *microrhetorical*, *sociorhetorical*, and *macrorhetorical* experience. At one end of the continuum, microrhetorical experience occurs when a single speaker

confronts a specific audience; in the middle of the continuum, sociorhetorical experience occurs when the speaker assumes a public persona identified by his/her membership in a social group and addresses the audience as a social group; at the other end of the continuum, macrorhetorical experience occurs when institutions function as rhetors and address a very audience (25-27). In McGee's framework, transcendentally oriented ethos, especially as negotiated by Republican coinage, requires that rhetor assume the voice of an institution and engage the audience in the macrorhetorical experience of being persuaded of a very broad change – such as, for example, accepting a new form of currency.

#### Aristotelian Ethos in the Stance Framework

In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle places *ethos*, along with *pathos* and *logos*, in the category of *entechnic* or “artistic” *pisteis* – those proofs prepared by method and provided through speech, as opposed *atechnic* or “non-artistic” *pisteis* (such as witnesses or contracts) – proofs that are pre-existing and are merely used (not invented) by the speaker (1.2.2). As an “artistic” proof constructed through language, *ethos* makes an essential contribution to the speaker's trustworthiness:

[There is persuasion] through character whenever the speech is spoken in such a way as to make the speaker worthy of credence; for we believe fair-minded people to a greater extent and more quickly [than we do others], on all subjects in general and completely so in cases where there is not exact knowledge but room for doubt. And this should result from the speech, not from a previous opinion that the speaker is a certain kind of person; for it is not the case, as some of the

handbook writers propose in their treatment of the art, that fair-mindedness [*epieikeia*] on the part of the speaker makes no contribution to persuasiveness; rather, character is almost, so to speak, the most authoritative form of persuasion.

(1.2.4)

Scholars concerned with the historical reconstruction of Aristotle's rhetorical theory generally agree that Aristotelian ethos is bound with the rhetor's discourse and is therefore contextual. For instance, Jan Swearingen suggests that, in Aristotle's conception of ethos, discourse constructs an apparent character that is different from an individual's actual character; however, the rhetor must make invisible to the audience this difference between the 'real' self and its fictive representation (121). Similarly, Jakob Wisse suggests that Aristotle's ethos is rational and concerned with the reliability of the speaker. Wisse refers to this type of ethos as the former of two principal variants: ethos aimed at reliability (where ethos "is limited to the qualities making the speech reliable by suggesting that a speaker with those qualities will tell the truth") and ethos aimed at sympathy (where ethos "comprises every quality that might win the sympathy of the hearers") (7). Wisse argues that, while ethos aimed at sympathy informs Ciceronian rhetoric, ethos aimed at reliability informs Aristotelian rhetoric as fully rational and distinct from pathos (which in Aristotle's conception includes both gentle and violent emotions). From a complimentary perspective, James Baumlin contrasts Aristotelian with Isocratean ethos. Baumlin proposes that, from the Isocratean perspective, discourse reveals character, while from the Aristotelian perspective discourse constructs character. Thus, Isocratean ethos precedes the act of speaking and become manifest in the actions of

one's life, while Aristotelian ethos is morally neutral and context-bound, shaped by the rhetorical situation and the rhetor's social circumstances.

Filtered through the lens of the stance triangle, Aristotelian ethos can therefore be understood as the convergent alignment between a rhetor and an audience with regard to a stance object consisting of an identity bound to a dynamic social structure and invoked through context-dependent discourse. As constituent facets of ethos, authority, credibility, and trust foreground the power, truth, or inter-personal values aspect of the social structure. To claim authority, the rhetor positions herself/himself within a social structure and evaluates this position as endowed with a certain degree of power; to claim credibility, the rhetor positions his/her discourse in relation to the larger discourse of the social structure and evaluates her/his discourse as compatible with the larger discourse; to claim trust, the rhetor positions his/her attitudes and actions in relation to the behavior norms of the social structure and evaluates her/his attitudes and actions as compatible with these norms. The successful negotiation of authority, credibility, and trust requires that the audience engages in similar acts of positioning and evaluation, thereby achieving convergent alignment with the rhetor. To avoid confusion with a reconstruction attempt, the "filtered" Aristotelian ethos can be labeled *socially oriented ethos*; in this schematic form, it can be deployed in the discussion of coins.

For example, the denarius in Figure 14 negotiates socially oriented ethos. Unlike the moneyer of the Roma and Dioscuri denarius (Figure 12), who remains anonymous, the moneyer of this denarius, L. Titurius L.f. Sabinus, identifies himself in the obverse inscription (*SABIN*) as well as the reverse inscription (*L TITVRRI*). The head of King Tatius on the obverse and the rape of the Sabine women on the reverse position the



moneyer Sabinus in the context of one of Rome's foundation myths – a story of bitter conflict followed by reconciliation and the increased strength of Rome. According to Livy's *History of Rome*, Romulus founded a successful Roman state by establishing civil and religious law, government structures such as the Senate, and a strong physical infrastructure for the growing city. Soon, Rome became unmatched in strength among its neighbors, but its future was threatened by the scarcity of women. After unsuccessful attempts at securing inter-marriages with surrounding tribes, Romulus resorted to ruse: he organized the games of the Equestrian Neptune and invited the neighboring Sabines, who attended with their entire families, including their daughters. During the games, the Roman youth received a sign from Romulus and carried off the young women in attendance. According to Livy, these women were not forced but persuaded into honorable marriages with Roman men, being granted full civil and property rights. When war later erupted between the Romans and the Sabines, these women, leaving aside all fear, threw themselves in the middle of the opposing armies, convincing them to stop fighting and negotiate peace. As a result, the Sabines became incorporated into the Roman state, and the Sabine King Tatius became the co-ruler of Rome (I.8-13).



Figure 14

Roman Republic. L. Titurius L.f. Sabinus. 89 BC. AR Denarius (19mm, 3.81 g). Rome mint. Ob: Bareheaded and bearded head of King Tatius right; ligate TA (for Tatius) to right. Rx: Two soldiers, facing each other, each carrying off a Sabine woman in his arms; LTITVRI in exergue. Crawford 344/1a. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

This story of conflict and reconciliation was particularly relevant in 89 B.C., when Sabinus was moneyer. This was the time of the Social War (91-88 B.C.), a brutal conflict that pitted Rome against some of its Italian neighbors. Rome suffered heavy

losses and came close to defeat, but the war eventually ended in victory for the Romans, in no small part due to the actions of Lucius Julius Caesar, consul of 90 B.C., who proposed legislation granting citizenship to Italian allies who did not fight against Rome. The denarius of Titurius Sabinus celebrates this contemporary act of reconciliation by putting it into conversation with the ancient/mythical reconciliation between the Romans and the Sabines. Furthermore, the moneyer places himself within this conversation by drawing attention to himself not as a private individual but as a citizen who has a connection to Rome's ancient past (as reflected by the cognomen Sabinus) and who endorses peace. In McGee's terminology, Sabinus participates in a socio-rhetorical experience by emphasizing his identity as a Roman citizen and by addressing an audience of citizens – both those who were born so and those who were newly enfranchised.

#### Ciceronian Ethos in the Stance Framework

Scholars of ancient rhetorical theory suggest that Ciceronian ethos differs from Aristotelian ethos in two important aspects: Ciceronian ethos aims at building a personal connection between the rhetor and the audience; in addition, Ciceronian ethos extends beyond the rhetor's discourse and the immediate rhetorical situation. Jakob Wisse, for instance, suggests that, "whereas Aristotle's ethos is 'rational' and not aimed at any emotion, Cicero's ethos comprises all aspects of the persons of orator and client that may put them in a favorable light, and is aimed at sympathy" (249). Richard Enos proposes that "for Cicero, ethos was not only a 'proof' created within the discourse; indirectly, ethos was manifested in the development of personal power and public glory" (206). Enos submits that Ciceronian ethos, which is not clearly labeled and defined (as it is in

Aristotle), represents a synthesis of three essential character traits: *ingenium* or *natura* (the orator's natural ability), *prudentia* (the orator's adaptability to various situations), and *diligentia* or *industria* (the orator's commitment). Enos suggests that the audience co-creates with the rhetor the meaning of *ingenium*, *prudentia*, and *diligentia* as contributors to *dignitas* (205). Enos furthermore suggests that the benefits of Ciceronian ethos extend beyond the rhetorical situation and fall into three important areas: *autocritas*, *honor*, and *gloria*, which in turn provide routes for the attainment of *potestas*, understood as power emerging from one's character.

Filtered through the lens of the stance triangle, Ciceronian ethos can be understood as the convergent alignment between a rhetor and an audience in relation to a stance object, where the stance object is the rhetor's individual identity, as shaped by intrinsic traits – whether these traits are bestowed by divine benevolence, inherited from worthy ancestors, or acquired through personal efforts. While not exclusive of a transcendental or a social aspect of the self, this expression of identity emphasizes the unique and unrepeatable aspect of individuality. To claim authority, the rhetor positions himself/herself in relation to socially, politically, or religiously defined parameters for human achievement and evaluates this achievement as high. To claim credibility, the rhetor positions herself/himself in relation to the truth system that informs the achievement parameters and evaluates his/her discourse, personal qualities, or achievements as conforming to this system. To claim trust, the rhetor positions herself/himself in relation to the behavior norms for the socially, politically, or religiously defined achievement parameters and evaluates his/her actions as conforming to these norms. For the negotiation of authority, credibility, and trust to be successful, the

audience must acknowledge the framework for personal achievement invoked by the rhetor and must make similar evaluations of the rhetor's claims. Because the stance object foregrounds the rhetor's individuality, the achievement of convergent alignment forges a personal connection between the rhetor and the audience – a connection that is not only rational but also emotional. In other words, this type of ethos encourages the audience to “like” the rhetor by providing the audience with ways of relating to the rhetor on a personal level. To avoid confusion with a historical reconstruction attempt, this “filtered” Ciceronian ethos can be labeled *individually oriented ethos*. In this schematic form, *individually oriented ethos* can be deployed in the discussion of coins.

For example, the denarius in Figure 15 negotiates the individually oriented ethos of Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius, an issuing authority who was not a moneyer minting coins on behalf of the state but a military commander minting coins on his own behalf. Struck in 81 B.C. at a military mint moving with Metellus in North Italy, this denarius features Pietas on the obverse and, on the reverse, an elephant accompanied by the issuer's initials (*Q C M P I*). The images and inscription invoke the issuer's identity as a unique set of individual traits – the image of Pietas invokes Metellus's filial piety, while the elephant invokes the Metelli's (the father's as well as the son's) military successes in Africa.



Figure 15

Roman Republic. Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius. 81 BC. AR Denarius (18mm, 3.74 g). North Italian mint. Ob: Diademed head of Pietas right; to right, stork standing right. Rx: Elephant walking left; Q C M P I in exergue. Crawford 374/1; Sydenham 750; Caecilia 43. CNG 372, lot 366. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

Metellus's filial piety became manifest in the actions that made possible the return from exile of Metellus's father, Quintus Caecilius Metellus Numidicus. Metellus Numidicus served as consul in 109 B.C. and, in this capacity, he waged war in Africa against Jugurtha of Numidia. Metellus Numidicus's former lieutenant, the ambitious Gaius Marius, eventually displaced Numidicus as commander and forced him into exile through the machinations of the tribune Saturninus. According to Plutarch, at Marius's bidding, the tribune Saturninus proposed a clause to the agrarian law that forced the senators to take an oath "that they would abide by whatsoever the people might vote and make no opposition to it" (*Gaius Marius* 29.1). While the other senators caved in, the elder Metellus did not, and, "adhering to his principles and prepared to suffer any evil rather than to do a shameful deed, he left the forum, saying to those about him that to do a wrong was mean, and to do the right thing when there was no danger was any man's way, but to act honorably when it involved dangers was peculiarly the part of a good and true man" (*Gaius Marius* 29.4). As the consequence of his integrity, Metellus Numidicus had to take refuge on the island of Rhodes, but, after the death of Saturninus and the election of a new tribune, Numidicus's son successfully campaigned for an end to Numidicus's exile. As the result of his efforts on the father's behalf, the younger Metellus earned the cognomen Pius. The obverse image of Pietas invokes this cognomen and celebrates the pious son's exceptional political accomplishment.

The reverse image of the elephant, however, invokes the Metelli's military involvement in Africa, an involvement that placed both the father and the son participation in the anti-Marian camp of the civil war between Marius and Sulla. According to Plutarch, the elder Metellus became a victim of Marius's jealousy and

unbridled ambition. After accepting a commission from the elder Metellus, Marius left his patron in Africa and returned to Rome, where he began slandering his former benefactor for the benefit of his own political advancement. As a result, Marius was elected consul; in this position, he returned to Africa at the end of the conflict and claimed Metellus's labors for himself: "When he had crossed to Africa, Metellus, now become a victim of jealousy, and vexed because, after he had brought the war to an end and has nothing further to do except to seize the person of Jugurtha, Marius was coming to enjoy to the crown and the triumph – a man whose ingratitude towards his benefactor had raised him to power" (*Gaius Marius* 10.1). Eventually, Sulla robbed Marius of the African victory, thus planting the seeds of a brutal conflict between the two imperators. At the height of this conflict, Metellus Pius went to Africa himself, where he raised an army on Sulla's behalf. In 81 B.C., when Metellus Pius struck his Pietas-and-elephant denarius, he was in fact campaigning in Cisalpine Gaul against Sulla's enemies Papirius Carbo and Gaius Norbanus. The same year, he took the office of Pontifex Maximus; the following year, in 80 B.C., he became consul together with Sulla (Broughton 77-78). The image of the elephant thus not only advertises the Metelli's military accomplishments but also justifies Metellus Pius's anti-Marian political stand.

Since Metellus struck coins from a military mint for a primary audience comprised most likely of his own soldiers, this celebration of filial piety and strength of character, political acumen and military ability, in addition to superb lineage and excellent breeding, probably aimed at forging a personal connection between the politician-general and his supporters in a civil conflict shaped to a great extent by personal allegiances. Metellus thus claimed authority by emphasizing filial piety as his

chief personal accomplishment. Metellus also claimed credibility by invoking his father's steadfastness to truth – even though the consequence was exile – and by positioning himself within the same truth system. In addition, Metellus Pius claimed trust by invoking his father's integrity-directed actions as well as his own piety-directed actions – behaviors that conform to culturally accepted norms for how a good man should conduct himself. Metellus Pius thereby invited his audience to relate to someone who was a good son to a good father, as well as a truthful individual and a skilled commander. In the framework of McGee's rhetorical continuum, the younger Metellus engaged his audience in a micro-rhetorical experience by emphasizing his individuality and the individuality of his audience.

#### Additional Questions

The emergence of coinage in Asia Minor and the adoption of coinage in the Roman Republic indicated that coins depend on authority, credibility, and trust for their function as money. In addition, the authority, credibility, and trust of coins can be subsumed by the rhetorical notion of *ethos*, with the provision that this notion represents a modern methodological appropriation of ancient rhetorical theory filtered through the lens of cognitive linguistics and materialist rhetoric. Furthermore, ancient ways of thinking about *ethos*, after being filtered through the lens of DuBois's stance triangle, can be labeled as *transcendentally oriented*, *socially oriented*, and *individually oriented ethos* and deployed in the discussion of coins. At this point, however, the relationship between coins and their issuing authorities as rhetors requires additional clarification, especially since the issuing authorities do not communicate synchronously with their audiences, and

neither do they “speak,” “write,” or even strike coins directly. In other words, the rhetors are not really present in the act of communication, and neither are they really present in the making of coins (as speakers would be in the making of speeches or writers would be in the making of written texts). Therefore, it is actually the coins that negotiate ethos on the rhetors’ behalf as well as on their own behalf, in a communication process where the rhetors and the audiences might be separate by great distance in space and time.

This new methodological concern raises the additional question of how exactly *transcendentally oriented, socially oriented, or individually oriented ethos* can be recognized on a coin. In the brief discussions of the anonymous denarius, of the denarius of Titurius Sabinus, and of the denarius of Metellus Pius, I proposed that these coin issues illustrate these different modes of ethos by invoking transcendental, social, or individual realities. However, what exactly might allow us to suggest that the Dioscuri stand for courage, or that the rape of the Sabine women invokes social reconciliation, or that an elephant points a Roman consul’s exploits in Africa? What specifically permits us to link images and inscriptions on ancient coins to what we might read in the accounts of Livy or Plutarch or Appian or other historiographers? In addition, how can *transcendentally oriented, socially oriented, and individually oriented ethos* as methodological tools help us trace the reception of ethos – its appropriation, transference, or re-imagination? Although none of these questions may have a full or a perfect answer, a partially satisfactory answer may be discerned from a consideration of coins as mediators of the rhetor’s ethos and stance objects themselves. Such a consideration, however, requires us to account for the coins’ materiality, for the images’ and



inscriptions' role as discourse, and for the embodied nature of the audience, who receives the rhetor's message not by hearing it but by seeing and touching it.

### Framework for the Analysis of Roman Republican Coin Ethos

In the third major step of the inquiry into the nature and construction of ancient coin ethos, I propose a framework for an analysis of Roman coins that accounts for the materiality of coins, for the complex relationships between images and inscriptions, and for audiences' sense perception. To this end, my discussion recruits the contribution of three supporting notions – *materially-anchored conceptual blend*, *frame metonymy*, and *perceptual force*. I will briefly define these supporting notions and then outline a methodology where they help identify the presence of transcendently oriented, socially oriented, and individually oriented ethos, as well as clarify the rhetor's and the audience's stance-taking processes. I will then deploy this framework in the next chapter, in the analysis of Roman coinage produced at the onset of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

#### Brief Definitions

The notion of *materially anchored conceptual blend* facilitates a discussion of coins that emphasizes materiality as a conveyor of ideas. Articulated by Edwin Hutchins, as well as by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, *material anchor* refers to an object that functions as a vehicle for thought. (For instance, a clock serves as a vehicle for thinking about time, and a compass serves as a vehicle for thinking about spatial orientation.) As explained by the same scholars, *conceptual blend* refers to a notion whose meaning

results from the input of two or more *mental spaces*, or “pre-formed” ways of thinking about various aspects of reality. (Fauconnier and Turner, for instance, suggest that – at the most basic level – money receives input from the Goods space and from the Values space). Fauconnier and Turner point out that blends are not sums of information drawn from various input spaces but new structures resulting from the process of *composition* (which selectively recruits conceptual content from the inputs), *completion* (which recruits background knowledge into the blend), and *elaboration* (which modifies the blend imaginatively) (42-44).

The notion of *frame metonymy* emphasizes that coin images and inscriptions function as discourse and therefore have the ability to engage in inter-textuality with other forms of verbal or non-verbal discourse. Barbara Dancygier and Eve Sweetser define *frame metonymy* as “usage where one element of a frame is used to refer to either the frame as a whole or to other associated elements of the frame” (101). In this definition, *frame* has a similar meaning to Fauconnier and Turner’s *mental space*, in that it refers to pre-made knowledge invoked in the process of discourse production. Although *space* and *frame* are sometimes used interchangeably, Fauconnier and Turner suggest that mental spaces function as subsets of frames, which represent long-term schematic knowledge. Similarly, Dancygier and Sweetser refer to *frames* as “prefab” chunks of knowledge structure or scripts for realities and experiences. (Marriage, for instance, is a frame.) In the discussion of coins, *frames* can refer to certain cultural scripts or to stories of collective significance. Hence, *frame metonymy* refers to images or inscriptions that call to mind this story or script.

The notion of *perceptual forces* accounts for the embodied nature of the audience by emphasizing the role of sight in the interpretation of coin images and inscriptions and by facilitating an approach to visual composition as art. Theorized by Rudolph Arnheim from a cognitive perspective, *perceptual forces* relate to the viewer's experience of an object and "organize perception as a field experience, which accounts for patterns of a whole" (*Art and Visual Perception* 16-17). In the analysis of coin images and inscriptions, *weight* as a perceptual force is especially important. According to Arnheim, weight exerts itself "in other directions than the gravitational pull," so a design element's weight is influenced by its position on the structural framework, by spatial depth, by the intrinsic interest of the subject matter, by isolation, and by shape (*Art and Visual Perception* 23).

#### Methodology Outline

My analysis of Roman coin ethos is organized by the processes that, according to Fauconnier and Turner, contribute to the formation of a blend and by the processes that, according to DuBois, contribute to stance-taking. My methodology adapts Fauconnier and Turner's perspective on *composition*, *completion*, and *evaluation*, in order to answer questions related to the stance-taking processes of *positioning*, *evaluation*, and *alignment*: What material, visual, and verbal features of a coin facilitate the rhetor's positioning and evaluation? What material, visual, and verbal features of a coin facilitate the audience's positioning, evaluation, and alignment? What might be the outcome of the rhetor's and the audience's alignment? The exploration of these questions can also help answer other

important questions, such as: What is the type of ethos? Why does the type of ethos matter? What purpose does the reception or re-interpretation of ethos serve?

In the analysis of coin ethos, *composition* can subsume considerations of coins as material objects, as objects of visual perception, and as discourse. In addition, composition can address the question of what material, visual, and verbal features of a coin facilitate the rhetor's positioning and evaluation. On a material level, *composition* refers to the selection of a coin issue's denomination, metal type, and metal quality. (However, a discussion of these material features is only necessary when there is a deliberate deviation from the minting of silver denarii, which represent the dominant currency of the late Republic.) On a visual level, *composition* refers to the selection of images and inscriptions and to the relationship between them. On a conceptual and discourse level, *composition* refers to contributions from various frames invoked by the coin's visual and material features. Because *composition* accounts for coin designs as discourse, the analysis of design composition requires the consideration of potential frame metonymies, which may point to the design's relationships with other forms of verbal and non-verbal discourse. Furthermore, because *composition* accounts for coins as objects of visual perception, the analysis of design composition requires the consideration of perceptual forces such as *weight*, which are responsible for the foregrounding of certain design elements and of the corresponding frames. Together, the various aspects of a coin's composition support the rhetor's positioning in certain power, truth, and values systems and thus facilitate the rhetor's negotiation of authority, credibility, and trust.

In the analysis of design composition, the selection of images and inscriptions in relation to a visual and verbal "vocabulary" shaped by tradition can be understood in

terms of *paradigmatic relationships*. Paradigmatic relationships occur on a vertical axis of selection and convey meaning by inviting comparisons with other uses of the same spaces or other deployments of verbal or visual “vocabulary.” In addition, the placement of images and inscriptions relative to each other can be understood in terms of *syntagmatic relationships*. Syntagmatic relationships occur on a horizontal axis of combination and convey meaning by inviting reflection on the ways in which the design elements complement one another. Paradigmatic relationships usually invoke frames, while syntagmatic relationships create connections between frames. As contributors to a design’s composition, both types of relationships can foreground frames that organize certain transcendental, social, or individual realities. Overall, all aspects of composition support the rhetor’s positioning and evaluation relative to transcendental, social, or individual realities. In addition, the various aspects of composition construct an ideal audience based on the coin issuer’s assumptions about what the coin user knows and remembers.

In the analysis of coin ethos, the notion of *completion* therefore accounts for the contribution of the ideal audience’s knowledge and memory, and addresses the question of what material, visual, and verbal features of a coin facilitate the audience’s positioning, evaluation, and alignment. For the negotiation of ethos to be successful, the audience may be required to contribute political and historical knowledge (such as knowledge of the Republic’s institutions and of important people or events), religious and cultural knowledge (such as knowledge of Rome’s deities and of important myths), and visual and haptic knowledge (such as the ability to recognize images of deities and people or the ability to identify a coin’s correct weight). This background knowledge and its

timely recollection permit the ideal audience to position itself in the same reality as the rhetor and to evaluate the rhetor's claims favorably. If the audience's positioning and evaluation meet the rhetor's expectations, then the rhetor and the audience achieve convergent alignment, the negotiation of ethos is successful, and the type of ethos (transcendentally oriented, socially oriented, or individually oriented) emerges based on the kind of reality in which the rhetor and the audience meet each other. However, if a less-than-ideal audience does not meet these expectations or meets them only partially, then the negotiation of ethos either fails or takes a different form than the one intended by the rhetor. The notion of *elaboration* therefore accounts for the effects of alignment, especially as concerns influences on the audience's beliefs, attitudes, and actions, as well as for the factors that facilitate the transmission and reception of ethos.

In the next chapter, this theoretical framework will support an analysis of coins produced at the onset of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. At this stage of the discussion, however, a brief illustration of this framework's application can elucidate the negotiation of ethos in Brutus's Ides-of-March denarius. The paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships generated by the images and the inscriptions, as well as the role played by the audience's knowledge and memory, indicate that the Ides-of-March denarius mediates Brutus's negotiation of transcendentally oriented ethos. The success of this negotiation and its practical outcomes depend, however, on the extent to which the conditions for alignment are met.

A consideration of design composition reveals that the images and inscriptions on the Ides-of-March denarius engage in paradigmatic relationships that invoke the overthrow of Tarquinius Superbus by L. Junius Brutus, the assassination of Julius Caesar

by M. Junius Brutus, and the broader, ongoing Roman fight for freedom. The obverse portrait of M. Junius Brutus enters into a paradigmatic relationship with representations of L. Junius Brutus, which appear primarily on the earlier coinage of M. Junius Brutus. M. Junius Brutus was moneyer in 54 B.C., and in this capacity he advertised his descent from L. Junius Brutus, the Republican hero who ended the tyranny of Tarquinius Superbus and served as Rome's first consul (Figure 16). This paradigmatic relationship thus invokes the birth of the Republic and invites a direct comparison between M. Junius



Figure 16

Roman Imperial. M. Junius Brutus with L. Plaetorius Caestianus. Late Summer 42 BC. AR Denarius (3.60 g). Mint moving with Brutus in Northern Greece. Ob: Bare head of Brutus r; BRVT IMP – L·PLAET·CEST. Rx: Pileus between two daggers; EID·MAR. Crawford 508/3. CNG 66, lot 1326. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Roman Republic. Marcus Junius Brutus. 54 BC. AR Denarius (3.71 g). Rome mint. Ob: Bare-headed and bearded head of L. Junius Brutus right; BRVTVS behind. Rx: Bare-headed and bearded head of Caius Servilius Ahala right; AHALA behind. Crawford 433/2. Triton IX, lot 1308. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

Brutus and his famous ancestor. Another important paradigmatic relationship links the pileus (the cap of liberty) to its previous representations on early Republican denarii, where the pileus featured on the heads of the Dioscuri. Because, according to myth, the Dioscuri fought against Tarquinius Superbus at the battle of Lake Regillus, the pileus serves as a metonymy for the fight for freedom. The daggers that accompany the pileus are new design elements and therefore may not engage in paradigmatic relationships with previous representations; nevertheless, they serve as two separate metonymies: one metonymy is for the oath to end tyranny that L. Junius Brutus swore on the dagger he

pulled from Lucretia's body;<sup>4</sup> the other metonymy is for Brutus and Cassius, who led the plot against Caesar's life and used daggers to carry out the assassination. Overall, the paradigmatic relationships and the metonymies invoke various aspects of three major frames: the frame for the end of Roman monarchy and the birth of the Republic, the frame for the end of Caesar's dictatorship and the rebirth of the Republic, and the frame for Republican ideals of liberty.

The syntagmatic relationships that connect the images and the inscriptions to one another forge relationships between the major frames and foreground a dominant frame. For example, the overlap between the daggers as metonymies for the oath of L. Junius Brutus and as metonymies for Brutus and Cassius suggests a close similarity between the frame for the end of Tarquinius's rule and for the end of Caesar's rule. Furthermore, the placement of the daggers and of the inscription around the central pileus, which carries the most weight, point to the fight for freedom as encompassing the other frames. Because the transcendental frame for the pursuit of liberty emerges as the dominant frame, the power, truths, and values associated with this frame advance claims to authority, credibility, and trust. The combination of the daggers and the pileus advances a claim to credibility by suggesting that Brutus and Cassius acted in accordance to the same truths that had inspired previous freedom fighters. In addition, the daggers and the inscription *EID • MAR* advance a claim to authority by suggesting that the assassins' political power comes from the restoration of freedom. Furthermore, the obverse portrait and the pileus advance a claim to trust by suggesting that Brutus abides by the behavioral

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<sup>4</sup> After being raped by Tarquinius's son Sextus, Lucretia denounced her attacker publicly and then committed suicide. Lucius Junius Brutus then mobilized the outraged Romans in a rebellion against Tarquinius (Livy 1.57-59).



codes and values of the Republic. Overall, the syntagmatic relationships position Brutus in the transcendental frame for liberty and therefore support the construction of transcendently oriented ethos.

For the negotiation of transcendently oriented ethos to be successful, however, the ideal audience would have needed to complete the blend as intended by the rhetor. For instance, the ideal audience would have contributed knowledge of Brutus's descent from Rome's first consul, knowledge of L. Junius Brutus's role in the founding of the Republic, and knowledge of Caesar's assassination. In addition, the ideal audience would have had the visual memory necessary to recognize and interpret design elements such as the pileus and the daggers. By drawing from historical, political, and visual knowledge and memory, the ideal audience would also have perceived all paradigmatic relationships (such as between Brutus and his ancestor) and all syntagmatic relationships (such as between the daggers and the pileus) from the same perspective as the rhetor. Most importantly, the ideal audience would have positioned itself in the same dominant frame for Roman liberty and to evaluate positively Brutus's claims to authority, credibility, and trust.

If any of these conditions were not met, the negotiation of transcendently oriented ethos would have failed. When Cassius Dio recounted that "Brutus stamped upon the coins which were being minted his own likeness" (47.25.3), he did not refer to something ordinary but to something extraordinary. That Dio found Brutus's coin portrait worth mentioning suggests that the historian might have perceived a different paradigmatic relationship – not a relationship between Brutus's portrait and his ancestor's portrait but a relationship between Brutus's portrait and Caesar's portrait (Figure 17). The

association between Brutus and Caesar entails a highly negative evaluation of Brutus, not only because Brutus participated in Caesar's assassination but also because Republican traditions included a prohibition against representations of living persons on coins. So strong was this prohibition that no minting authority – no moneyer, quaestor, or imperator – ever placed a living person's portrait on a coin until Julius Caesar. Even then, Caesar did not defy tradition directly but through the intermediary of M. Mettius, the moneyer who struck the denarius bearing Caesar's living portrait. After Caesar's death, Mark Antony immediately followed suit and placed his own portrait on coins. On the other side of the conflict, Brutus did the same thing.



Figure 17

Roman Imperial. M. Junius Brutus with L. Plaetorius Caestianus. Late Summer 42 BC. AR Denarius (3.60 g). Mint moving with Brutus in Northern Greece. Ob: Bare head of Brutus r; BRVT IMP – L·PLAET·CEST. Rx: Pileus between two daggers; EID·MAR. Crawford 508/3. CNG 66, lot 1326. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Roman Imperial. M. Mettius. January-February 44 BC. AR Denarius (18mm, 3.45 g). Rome mint. Ob: Wreathed head of Julius Caesar right; lituus and simpulum to left; CAESAR IM[P]. Rx: Venus Victrix holding Victory and transverse scepter, elbow resting on shield set on celestial globe; L to left and M • METTIVS to right. Crawford 480/3. CNG 104, lot 734. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

The change in the perception of paradigmatic relationships would have unraveled the syntagmatic relationships and affected the nature of alignment. The audiences who would have perceived Brutus's coin portrait and Caesar's coin portrait as similar would likely have perceived Brutus and his ancestor as dissimilar. If Marcus Junius Brutus was nothing like Lucius Junius Brutus, then the assassination of Caesar was nothing like the

overthrow of Tarquinius Superbus. The combination between the daggers and *EID • MAR* would have placed Brutus and Cassius at the scene of Caesar's murder, but the combination between the daggers and the pileus would have indicated an act against freedom rather than in the service of freedom. Therefore, Brutus's claims to authority, credibility, and trust would not have been evaluated in a frame for Roman liberty by in a frame for individual ambitions. The resulting alignment would have been divergent rather than convergent, and Brutus would have appeared not as a freedom fighter but as an ambitious hypocrite. On a practical level, the divergent alignment would have entailed political opposition from contemporary audiences and a poor review from later audiences such as Cassius Dio.

The tenuous construction of transcendently oriented ethos on the Ides-of-March denarius points to the presence in contemporary political arenas of a very important and very divisive question: How can Republican values become reconciled with unprecedented individual power? The conspirators responded to this question by assassinating the powerful Caesar, an act of violence that the Ides-of-March denarius sought to justify and praise. How did the question of a clash between the Republic's values and the Republic's leaders emerge, however? How did coin ethos respond to this question? To explore these issues, the next chapter deploys the theoretical framework outlined in this section in the analysis of coinage produced four-to-five years prior to Caesar's death, at the onset of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

## Chapter 2: The Ethos of Roman Coinage at the Onset of the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey

At the beginning of 49 B.C., when the rivalry between Caesar and Pompey escalated into civil war, the Roman Republic started experiencing the major convulsions of what would soon become its death throes. These convulsions, which affected all aspects of Roman society, also affected the production of coinage, as the result of the temporary closure of the Roman mint and the partial dissolution of Rome's principal coin issuing authority – the Senate (Sear, *Roman Imperators* 4-5). At the onset of the civil conflict, disruptions in the activity of the mint, the treasury, and the Senate therefore caused Republican coinage to experience an important crisis of authority. Although significant, this crisis did not, however, bring about a collapse of Rome's monetary system, mainly because Rome's chief currency – the silver denarius – had intrinsic value and was traded extensively. In other words, the denarius already benefited from substantial credibility (based on its weight and metal quality), as well as from a good amount of trust (based on its wide circulation); for this reason, credibility and trust were able to “prop up” the denarius's authority in times of crisis. Nevertheless, the authority crisis foregrounded questions that Republican coinage had to address with more urgency than before: Who struck this coin? Who authorized this coin?

By attempting to provide coherent answers to these questions, issuers who minted coins in unusual circumstances (such as from traveling military mints) had to respond to contexts that disrupted or weakened the traditional mechanisms for achieving alignment and therefore needed to reassess or reinterpret the previous strategies for negotiating the coins' transcendentally oriented, socially oriented, or individually oriented ethos.

However, the need to identify a coin's source of authority also created unprecedentedly rich opportunities for coin issuers to negotiate their own ethos and thus advance their faction's political goals. As vehicles for partisan ideologies, coins were particularly effective in spreading messages far and wide, especially because they were durable, portable, and valuable, and also because they went everywhere the Romans went. Their small size, though, required the careful and intelligent packaging of words and images for their message to make its point and for their negotiation of ethos to be successful. In order to find out how coin issuers negotiate ethos at the beginning of the Republic's end, in this chapter I examine responses to the crisis of authority mounted by the coinage of the Pompeian and of the Caesarean sides. By employing the methodological tools developed in the previous chapter, I analyze representative coins from both camps and explore answers to one overarching question: in the negotiation of ethos mediated by coinage, how does each side reconcile the traditions of the Republic with the rule of one individual?

To address this overarching question, I focus on coinage produced in a timeframe spanning from Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon (January 49 B.C.) to the aftermath of the battle of Pharsalus (August 48 B.C.), and I analyze six coins and of their contemporary reception: three coins issued for the Pompeian side (a denarius of Gnaeus Nerius, a denarius of Calpurnius Piso, and a denarius of Terentius Varro) and three coins issued for the Caesarean side (Caesar's elephant denarius and Caesar's Clementia denarius and aureus). Using as organizational tools Fauconnier and Turner's notions of *blend composition*, *blend completion*, and *blend elaboration* discussed in the previous chapter, I explore three main areas of investigation: the composition of the obverse and reverse

design, as achieved by means of syntagmatic relationships (combinations between images and between images and inscriptions) and paradigmatic relationships (the selection of images and inscriptions from a previously established verbal and visual vocabulary or new contributions to this vocabulary); the contribution of the audience's visual, religious, and political memory, along with the contribution of the audience's emotions and reasoning processes; and the type of ethos resulting from the design's composition and the audience's contributions.

Overall, I propose that the Pompeians responded to the crisis of the civil war by interpreting traditional forms of transcendently oriented, socially oriented, and individually oriented ethos in order to generate new forms of hybrid or transcendently oriented ethos that raise Pompey to the status of an institution. To negotiate this kind of ethos, Pompeian coinage relied heavily on the audience's visual memory, knowledge of Rome's history and institutions, and ability to perceive connections between the ancient past and current events. On the other hand, Caesar's coinage responded to the crisis by interpreting traditional forms of individually oriented ethos in order to create new forms of individually oriented ethos that invite the audience to forge a personal allegiance to Caesar. To negotiate this kind of ethos, Caesar's coinage tapped into the audience's knowledge of Caesar, the ability to make connections between the recent past and the present, and the ability to offer an emotional response.

Constructions of Ethos in Pompeian Coinage of 49-48 B.C.

During the first stage of the civil war, the series of events that led to the Pompeians' evacuation of Rome and their dispersal through Greece and Asia Minor also led to the fragmentation of the issuing authority responsible for the production of coinage. At the beginning of 49 B.C., everything seemed normal: the moneyer Q. Sicinius and the urban quaestor Cn. Nerius minted coins out of the Rome mint under the authority of the Senate and the consuls. However, this tenuous normalcy was underscored by the failed peace negotiations between Caesar and the pro-Pompeian government and by the looming prospect of a civil conflict. When the conflict finally broke out after Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon, the Pompeian supporters, including many magistrates and senators, fled Rome. The exiled Pompeians still needed money, however, so they continued to mint coins. The exiled moneyer Q. Sicinius and the praetor C. Coponius oversaw moving mints in the East, while the former consuls L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus struck coins in the East, as well as at Apollonia in Illyricum; in addition, Pompey's pro-quaestors Cn. Piso and T. Varro struck coins in Pompey's name from moving mints in Greece (Sear, *Roman Imperators* 4-8). This dispersal of authority among a number of issuers operating at various locations created for the Pompeians the need to justify the legality of their coinage and to establish a sense of unity and common purpose.

The construction of ethos in the denarius struck by Nerius and in the denarii struck by Piso and Varro in the name of Pompey suggests that Pompeian coinage is responsible for a significant innovation: it negotiates intersubjectivity on more than one level, as coin issuers seek to establish authority, credibility, and trust not only for

themselves but also for their patron or their patron's patron. Specifically, Nerius's denarius generates three levels of intersubjectivity as it negotiates ethos for Nerius, for Nerius's patrons (the consuls Lentulus and Marcellus), and for the consuls' patron (Pompey). Piso's denarius, on the other hand, generates two levels of intersubjectivity as it negotiates ethos for Piso and for Piso's patron, Pompey. Finally, Varro's denarius generates a "shadowed" level of intersubjectivity (or one-and-a-half levels of intersubjectivity) as it negotiates ethos primarily for Pompey and very little for Varro.

Although the Pompeians were not necessarily the first to articulate the voices of multiple rhetors in their coin designs (earlier coinage issued in Sulla's name employed similar strategies), they did this on a much wider scale and with a stronger sense of purpose. This purpose pertains to the reconciliation of a number of contradictions generated by the crisis of the civil war: the Pompeian supporters were citizens of Rome, yet they lived in exile; many of the Pompeian leaders were magistrates of the Republic, yet they were separated from the physical location of their respective institutions; the Pompeians claimed allegiance to Republican traditions, yet they rallied around one man. In the negotiation of ethos, the Pompeian coin designs attempt to resolve these contradictions by interpreting transcendentally oriented, socially oriented, and individually oriented ethos on three, two, or one-and-a-half levels of intersubjectivity that raise Pompey from individual to transcendental status. Therefore, the Pompeian answer to the question of individual rule within a Republican political system is transcendence. The Pompeians "rarefy" Pompey and elevate him to the level of a frame governed by a complex script – a frame where his supporters can align with one another and model their alignment for their audiences.



The presence in Pompeian coinage of more than one level of intersubjectivity evidences the possibility of putting in conversation coin discourse and the epideictic genre of verbal rhetoric. Although all coinage may be considered epideictic in the sense that it affirms and praises the power, truth, and values systems that permit the negotiation of authority, credibility, and trust, the deliberate attempts by Pompeian coin issuers to praise their superiors make the connection between coins and epideictic particularly relevant.<sup>5</sup> The integration of the cognitive framework with epideictic discourse also facilitates an approach to epideictic topics or topic categories (such as exterior attributes, bodily attributes, and attributes of the soul – categories addressed by the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*) as conceptual matrices that enable alignment.

Furthermore, the cognitive framework reveals how the deployment of various frames results in amplification, a strategy that Aristotle's *Rhetoric* identifies as specific to epideictic discourse:

Amplification [*auxēsis*], with good reason, falls among forms of praise; for it aims to show superiority, and superiority is one of the forms of the honorable. . . In general, among the classes of things common to all speeches, amplification is most at home in those that are epideictic; for these take up actions that are agreed upon, so that what remains is to clothe the actions with greatness and beauty (1368a.39-40).

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<sup>5</sup> Jeffrey Walker proposes that epideictic discourse, which is meant to be memorable and repeatable, “shapes and cultivates the basic codes of value and belief by which a society or culture lives; it shapes the ideologies and imageries with which, and by which, the individual members of a community identify themselves; and, perhaps most significantly, it shapes the fundamental grounds, the ‘deep’ commitments and presuppositions, that will underlie and ultimately determine decision and debate in particular pragmatic forums” (9).

The discussion of the three Pompeian denarii will therefore point out the presence and type of amplification based on Aristotle's taxonomy: "if the subject [of praise] is the only one or the first one of a few who most has done something;" "from the historical contexts or the opportunities of the moment;" "if the subject has often had success in the same way;" "if incitements and honors have been invented or established because of him;" "comparison with famous people; for the subject is amplified and made honorable if he is better than [other] worthy ones" (1368a.38).

### Three-Level Intersubjectivity in the Denarius of Gnaeus Nerius

The opening days of 49 B.C. were a time of great confusion for the Republic's governing bodies. During the previous year, the Senate had ordered Caesar to give up his pro-consular command, while also barring him from running for consul in absentia. This created a big problem for Caesar, because during his third consulship (52 B.C.) Pompey had opened the way for the prosecution of corruption: he allowed citizens to call into account anyone who held public office during a period dating back twenty years, a period that, incidentally, included Caesar's consulship. For Caesar, this meant that, if he returned to Rome without the immunity of a magistrate, he was vulnerable to prosecution and to the machinations of Pompey. Yet, while still in command of his faithful legions, Caesar proposed a compromise: either both he and Pompey retain their armies, or they both dismiss them and return to private life (Plutarch, *Caesar* 29-30). Mediated by the plebeian tribune Gaius Scribonius Curio, the negotiations seemed to be going well. According to Appian, Curio brought before the Senate the question of whether both Caesar and Pompey should lay down their commands and earned a resounding victory:

three hundred seventy senators voted in favor and only twenty two against (2.30.1). However, this move towards reconciliation was quickly derailed when “suddenly a false rumor came that Caesar had crossed the Alps and was marching on the city, whereupon there was a great tumult and consternation on all sides” (Appian 2.31.1). As a result of this rumor, the consul Claudius Marcellus declared Caesar a public enemy and appointed Pompey to take military action against Caesar.

Gnaeus Nerijs’s exceedingly short career as *quaestor urbanus* (urban quaestor) probably started at the beginning of 49 B.C., during the period of confusion surrounding the negotiations between Caesar and Pompey and likely ended around the time of Caesar’s crossing of the Rubicon (which took place on January 10), when most of the pro-Pompeian government officials fled Rome. In normal times, the *quaestor urbanus* oversaw the operation of the *aerarium* (the state treasury) but did not usually mint coins, as this was the responsibility of the moneyers. However, in certain situations – especially during times of crisis – the urban quaestor issued coins, as well (Crawford 601-3). When Nerijs exercised his coin minting prerogatives, he struck a silver denarius that made an elaborate case for the normal functioning of the Republic’s institutions. On the obverse, this denarius shows Saturn with *harpa* over the shoulder and the inscription *NERI • Q • VRB*. On the reverse, the denarius shows an *aquila* (legionary eagle) and two *signa* (military standards) inscribed *H* and *P* (*hastati* and *principes*, two classes of spearmen), along with the inscriptions *L • LENT / C • MARC / COS* (Figure 18). This denarius negotiates inter-subjective alignment on three levels: the first level invites alignment with Nerijs; the second level invites alignment with Nerijs’s patrons, the consuls Lentulus and Marcellus; and the third level invites alignment with the consuls’ patron, Pompey.

Pompey's transcendence emerges in the third level of intersubjectivity from a complex interplay of frames that heavily taxes the audience's memory, knowledge, and powers of reasoning.



Figure 18

Roman Republic. Cn. Nerius. Early 49 BC. AR Denarius (19mm, 4.07 g). Rome mint. Ob: Head of Saturn right, harpa over shoulder; (NE)RI • Q • (VR)B. Rx: Aquila between two signa inscribed H (hastati) and P (principes), respectively; L • LE(NT) up left, C • MARC up right, COS across field. Crawford 441/1. Triton VI, lot 856. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

The selection of the types and inscriptions that make up the composition of the obverse and reverse designs invoke the dominant frames and identify the individuals whose ethos is negotiated. The obverse type is the bearded head of Saturn, accompanied by *harpa*, a scythe-like weapon that Saturn (like his Greek counterpart Cronos) used in order to mutilate his father Uranus. In Roman mythology, Saturn was believed to have ruled during the Golden Age, and was therefore honored as a god of agricultural abundance and of wealth in general. At first glance, it might appear that the head of Saturn invokes the frame for the cult of this deity, but this is not the case. In the earliest days of the Republic, a temple of Saturn was dedicated at the foot of the Capitoline Hill (509 B.C.), and this temple housed the state treasury or *aerarium*, along with the official scales for weighing metal, the state archives, and military insignia. On the obverse of Nerius's denarius, the head of Saturn invokes not the broad frame for Saturn's cult but the smaller frame for the state treasury located inside Saturn's temple and administered by the urban quaestor. A second frame emerges on the reverse type, which consists of an *aquila* (legionary eagle) and two *signa* (military standards) inscribed *H* and *P* (*hastati* and *principes*, two classes of spearmen). This is the frame for *imperium* (or military

command), which was a key attribute of a consul. If the types invoke two dominant frames – *Aerarium* and *Imperium* – the inscriptions indicate the presence of two sets of rhetors and ethos contenders: the obverse inscription *NERI • Q • VRB* (the abbreviation of “Nerius Quaestor Urbanus”) identifies the urban quaestor Nerius as an individual contender, while the reverse inscription *L • LENT / C • MARC / COS* identifies the consuls L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus as an inseparable team.

The syntagmatic relationships between the inscriptions and the images, sustained by the artistic features of the design, support two steps towards the negotiation of ethos: the positioning of the rhetors within the dominant frames and the evaluation of the rhetors’ place inside these frames. Thus, the obverse inscription *NERI • Q • VRB* positions Nerius in his institutional role as urban quaestor inside the frame for the institution which he serves. Furthermore, the placement of the inscription in the right field, a space which visually bears more weight, foregrounds the individual against the frame and emphasizes the authority conferred upon the quaestor by the *aerarium*. Furthermore, the reverse inscription *L • LENT / C • MARC / COS* positions the consuls L. Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus inside the frame for imperium and therefore emphasizes their authority. This positioning is supported by the visual arrangement of the inscriptions, with the horizontal *COS* bearing weight and the vertical *L • LENT* and *C • MARC* bearing little or no weight, and with *COS* markedly different from the markedly parallel *L • LENT* and *C • MARC*. In the theoretical framework of Gunther Kress, this arrangement creates an overt taxonomy chained in a tree-like structure, where two Subordinates (Lentulus and Marcellus) are bound to a Superordinate

(the office of consul).<sup>6</sup> The chaining of Lentulus and Marcellus as subordinates to the superordinate role of consul therefore serves as tool for evaluation, by effacing the consuls' individualities and differences while emphasizing their institutional capacities. Simply put, the reverse composition represents the consuls as magistrates in perfect agreement, who care not for themselves but for their duties.

If syntagmatic relationships present on the obverse position Nerius in the frame Treasury and syntagmatic relationships preset on the reverse position Lentulus and Marcellus in the frame Imperium, the syntagmatic relationship between the obverse and reverse positions the quaestor and the consuls relative to each other by means of a clever bi-directional embedding of frames. For instance, because money supported military efforts, the frame for treasury becomes embedded in the frame for imperium; in addition, because the quaestor traditionally functioned as secretary to a consul, the frame for quaestorship becomes embedded into the frame for Consulship. Furthermore, because the legionary eagle and standards were normally stored in the *aerarium*, imperium becomes embedded into treasury; also, because the consuls served as patrons for the urban quaestor, consulship becomes embedded into quaestorship. This tight interlacing of frames serves as a form of evaluation of Nerius, Lentulus, and Marcellus in their respective institutional roles, showing that all functions are fulfilled appropriately and therefore all is as it should be in the Republic. This interlacing also demonstrates the previously accomplished, convergent alignment between the quaestor and the consuls in the overarching frame of the Republic's institutions.

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<sup>6</sup> According to Rudolph Arnheim, this kind of subdivision enhances difference, while similarity erases difference (*Art and Visual Perception* 79).

The relationships between the images and inscriptions appear to negotiate authority with a redundancy that verges on overkill, but the same level of attention does not seem to apply to the negotiation of credibility and trust. While the urban quaestor and the consuls are carefully positioned within power systems, they do not seem as carefully positioned within truth and values systems. Nevertheless, credibility and trust are in fact negotiated by means of paradigmatic relationships between the obverse and reverse types and earlier deployments of the same types. These paradigmatic relationships are rather complex and extremely important, especially since they also establish the third and most important level of intersubjectivity – between the audience and Pompey. The paradigmatic relationships fulfil several key functions: they selectively invoke the earlier issues' contexts of production, as well as the frames and the individuals invoked by the earlier issues; they set up analogies between frames and between the individuals positioned in these frames; they set up analogies between kinds of alignment; they create “depth perception” for the current events and bring the present into focus. On the obverse, these functions are fulfilled by two main paradigmatic relationships – with a bronze semis (which represents the earliest occurrence of the Saturn type) and a denarius on M. Nonius Sufenas (which represents the most recent occurrence of the same type); on the reverse, the functions are fulfilled by one main paradigmatic relationship – with a denarius of Valerius Flaccus.

The first paradigmatic affecting the obverse of Nerius's denarius involves the earliest occurrence of the Saturn type – on an anonymous semis issued after the First Punic War and during the Second Punic War as part of the Republic's system of bronze currency, but which most likely was no longer in use at the time when Nerius was quaestor urbanus.<sup>7</sup> The semis obverse features the head of Saturn accompanied by *S* (the mark of value) in the left field, while the reverse features the prow of a galley, *Q S* (the mark of value) above the galley, and *ROMA* below (Figure 19). The obverse image of



Figure 19

Roman Republic. Cn. Nerius. Early 49 BC. AR Denarius (19mm, 4.07 g). Rome mint. Ob: Head of Saturn right, harpa over shoulder; (NE)RI • Q • (VR)B. Rx: Aquila between two signa inscribed H (hastati) and P (principes), respectively; L • LE(NT) up left, C • MARC up right, COS across field. Crawford 441/1. Triton VI, lot 856. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Roman Republic. Anonymous. 211-210 BC. Æ Semis (25mm, 14.94 g). Southeast Italian mint. Ob: Laureate head of Saturn right; S (mark of value) to left. Rx: Prow of galley right; Q and S (mark of value) above, anchor to right. Crawford 86B/2. CNG 316, lot 343. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

Saturn probably also invoked the temple that housed the *aerarium* (as it later did on Nerius's denarius), while the reverse galley prow invoked the rapid expansion and success of the Roman navy during the First Punic War. Without any marks of individual authority, this semis negotiated the transcendently oriented ethos of the Republic within the overarching frames of the Republic's financial and military successes. By recycling

<sup>7</sup> Valued at half an *as*, the semis was probably minted with regularity at least until 146 B.C., when the production of the reduced *as* ceased for a few decades. Because the production of bronze coinage stopped almost completely in 82 B.C., the semis was probably obsolete in 49 B.C. (Sear, *Roman Coins* 17-18).



this early and rather uncommon type, Nerius invokes Rome's success in overcoming the most serious threats to its existence – the First and Second Punic Wars – as the most remote yet maybe most important historical frame. In the framework of epideictic rhetoric articulated by the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Nerius praises the Republic through the topic of achievements / kinds of power.

The second paradigmatic relationship affecting the obverse of Nerius's denarius involves the latest occurrence of the Saturn type (prior to Nerius's deployment of the same type) – on a denarius issued by the moneyer M. Nonius Sufenas in 59 B.C. The obverse of Sufenas's denarius shows the head of Saturn accompanied by the *harpa* and the inscriptions *SC* and *SVFENAS*, while the reverse shows Roma seated on a pile of shields and crowned by Victory, accompanied by *PR L V P F* around the top half of the image and *SEX NONI* in exergue (Figure 20). Like the earlier semis, Sufenas's obverse



Figure 20

Roman Republic. Cn. Nerius. Early 49 BC. AR Denarius (19mm, 4.07 g). Rome mint. Ob: Head of Saturn right, harpa over shoulder; (NE)RI • Q • (VR)B. Rx: Aquila between two signa inscribed H (hastati) and P (principes), respectively; L • LE(NT) up left, C • MARC up right, COS across field. Crawford 441/1. Triton VI, lot 856. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



M. Nonius Sufenas. 57 BC. AR Denarius (18mm, 3.78 g). Rome mint. Ob: Head of Saturn right; to left, harpa above baetylus (conical stone); S • C; SVFENAS. Rx: Roma seated on pile of arms, being crowned by Victory; SEX • NONI in exergue; • PR • L • V • P • F around. Crawford 421/1. Triton XVII, lot 538. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

probably invokes the *aerarium*; unlike the semis, however, Sufenas positions the treasury as well as himself under the authority of the Senate, as suggested by the inscription *SC*.

The reverse of Sufenas's denarius invokes the accomplishments of his father, S. Nonius

Sufenas, who was praetor in 81 B.C. and who established the games in honor of Sulla's victory in the civil wars against Marius (Crawford 445-46). This reverse might also have alluded to the victories of Pompey, who had recently (61 B.C.) celebrated his triumph for multiple victories in the Mithridatic, Syrian, and Judean wars. This denarius negotiates the moneyer's socially oriented ethos by emphasizing Sufenas's family connections and this family's participation in Rome's successes. By faithfully copying Sufenas's obverse, Nerius's obverse places two more frames against the background of Rome's successes in the Punic Wars – the temporally closer frames for Sulla's and Pompey's victories. Yet another, even closer frame, involves the earlier model's context of production. Sufenas struck his denarius in 59 B.C., the year when Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus formed the First Triumvirate – a time when powerful men put aside their differences and struck an alliance, supposedly for the benefit of the Republic. In the framework of epideictic discourse, Nerius praises Rome's important leaders through the topic of accomplishments.

The paradigmatic relationships affecting the obverse thus invoke a series of receding frames: the First Triumvirate, Pompey's multiple victories, Sulla's victories in

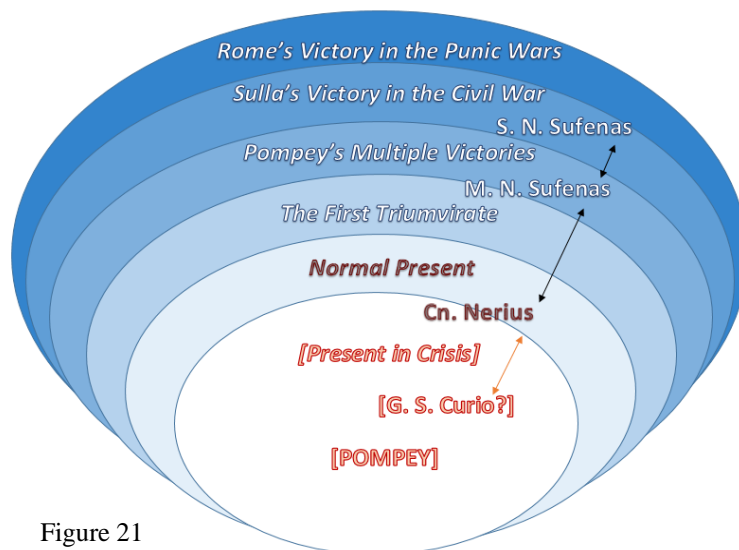


Figure 21

the civil war with Marius, and Rome's victories in the Punic Wars (Figure 21). These frames serve as backgrounds for the "standard republican

time” or the normal present imagined by Nerius, where all institutions function properly and everything is as it should be. The frames therefore create perspective for this normal present, but – maybe most importantly – they also invite focus on the present in crisis and the emerging events of the civil conflict. Furthermore, the receding backgrounds also invite comparisons between certain individuals positioned in the frames – especially between Nerius and Sufenas, who were both plebeians. (Sufenas belonged to gens Nonia, which was a plebeian family, while Nerius belonged to gens Neria, which was a plebeian family, as well.) Nerius’s and Sufenas’s shared plebeian background was important, not only because plebeians did not usually hold magistracies such as moneyer or quaestor urbanus (these magistracies were usually held by patricians) but especially because in 50 B.C. the plebeian tribune C. Scribonius Curio was actively seeking ways to dissolve the tensions between Caesar and Pompey. The class relationship between Nerius and Sufenas thus brings into focus the tribune’s efforts to broker peace and avoid a new civil war, while also allowing Nerius to negotiate credibility and trust by claiming adherence to principles of peace and reconciliation, as well as adherence to the impartiality of his magistracy. Nerius thus engages in his own praise by advertising qualities of character such as justice and wisdom.

Like the paradigmatic relationships affecting Nerius’s obverse, the paradigmatic relationship affecting the reverse brings current events into focus by generating historical “depth perception” for the two consuls’ attitudes and activities. The model for Nerius’s reverse is a denarius issued by the provincial governor C. Valerius Flaccus at Massalia in 82 B.C. The obverse of this denarius shows the bust of Victory, while the reverse shows a legionary eagle between two standards inscribed *H* and *P* (*hastati* and *principes*),

accompanied by the vertical inscriptions *C•VAL•FLA* and *IMPERAT* on the left and the right of the standards and by the horizontal inscription *EX S•C* below the eagle (Figure 22). C. Valerius Flaccus, the issuer of this denarius, was consul in 93 B.C. and later governor of Spain and Gaul. Although he came from a family of *populares* with ties to Marius's faction and although he himself engaged in *populares* politics by promoting the expansion of Roman citizenship, he attempted to remain neutral in the conflict between Marius's *populares* faction (to which young Caesar also belonged) and Sulla's *optimates* faction (to which young Pompey belonged). When Sulla emerged victorious in the civil war, Flaccus was finishing up his term as governor, so the Senate authorized Flaccus to strike coinage to cover the expenses of his final months in command. The denarius struck by Flaccus at Massalia commemorated his victories over the Celtiberi and negotiated individually oriented ethos in the frames of his own imperium and successful pursuit of the traditional *cursus honorum*.



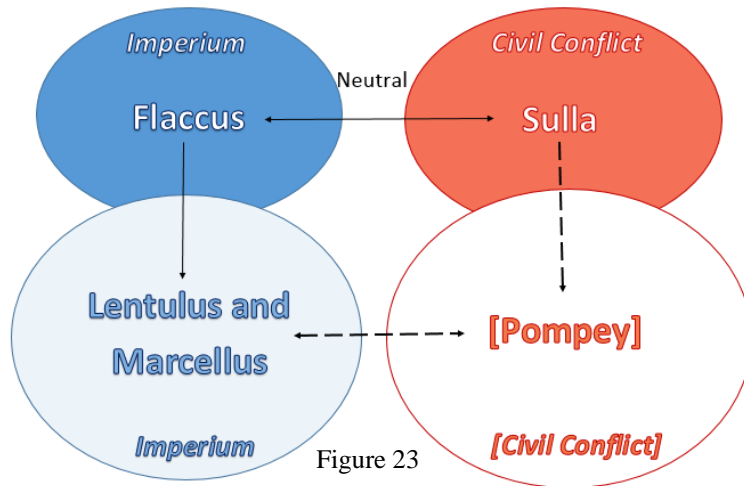
Figure 22

Roman Republic. Cn. Nerius. Early 49 BC. AR Denarius (19mm, 4.07 g). Rome mint. Ob: Head of Saturn right, harpa over shoulder; (NE)RI • Q • (VR)B. Rx: Aquila between two signa inscribed H (hastati) and P (principes), respectively; L • LE(NT) up left, C • MARC up right, COS across field. Crawford 441/1. Triton VI, lot 856. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Roman Republic. C. Valerius Flaccus. 82 BC. AR Denarius (3.80 gm). Ob: Draped bust of Victory right. Rx: Legionary eagle between two standards inscribed H and P; C. VAL. FLA left, IMPERAT right, EX. S. C. below. Crawford 365/1a. CNG 60, lot 74. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

By recycling Flaccus's reverse, Nerius invites a series of analogies: between the imperium of Flaccus and the imperium of Lentulus and Marcellus, between the civil conflict in which Sulla was involved and the civil conflict in which Pompey was about to



get involved, and between two models of alignment – the alignment between Flaccus and Sulla and the alignment between the consuls and Pompey (Figure 23). These analogies invite

the conclusion that, since Flaccus remained neutral in the conflict between Sulla and Marius, Lentulus and Marcellus will also remain neutral in the conflict between Pompey and Caesar. This comparison thus supports the negotiation of the consuls’ credibility and trust on the basis of their neutrality, integrity, and faithful adherence to the duties of their office. In the framework of epideictic rhetoric, these comparisons achieve amplification through an argument from anteriority, as indicated by Aristotle’s amplification strategy “from the historical contexts or the opportunities of the moment” (1368a.38).

Unfortunately, the consuls’ neutrality and their endorsement of reconciliation were aspects of Nerius’s hopeful imagination. In reality, Claudius Marcellus was directly responsible for derailing Curio’s peace efforts. Appian recounts that, even after the rumor that Caesar had crossed the Alps was proven false and in spite of Curio’s opposition, the consul and his colleague charged Pompey with taking action against Caesar: “When Curio opposed him [the consul Claudius Marcellus] on the ground that the rumour was false he exclaimed, ‘If I am prevented by the vote of the Senate from taking steps for the public safety, I will take such steps on my own responsibility as consul.’ After saying this he darted out of the Senate and proceeded to the environs with his colleague, where he

presented a sword to Pompey, and said, ‘I and my colleague command you to march against Caesar in behalf of your country’” (2.31.1).

Although more hopeful than factually accurate, the negotiation of the quaestor’s and the consuls’ credibility and trust supports the creation of a third level of intersubjectivity – between the audience and Pompey. Because the magistrates’ abidance by the truths and values of their respective offices is demonstrated on the basis of these magistrates’ attitudes and behaviors in the frame of the current civil conflict, the implication is that Neriuss, Lentulus, and Marcellus had achieved a type of lukewarm, appreciative-but-not-partisan, semi-neutral alignment with Pompey. Their alignment therefore serves as a model for the audience, who is invited to align with Pompey in the same way – in other words, to appreciate his accomplishments in the perspective of Rome’s historical successes but not necessarily become dragged into a civil conflict. It is important to point out that this third level of intersubjectivity is not explicitly supported by any specific elements on the obverse or reverse design and that the existence of this intersubjectivity depends on the audience’s ability to bring the present crisis into focus by filling in the blanks in the sequence of receding frames and by making the right connections between the various invoked individuals. In other words, the audience’s background knowledge and memory are essential to the effectiveness of all paradigmatic relationships (and of the syntagmatic relationships, as well).

What it would have taken, therefore, for ideal audiences to fill in all blanks, complete the blend, and thus achieve alignment with Neriuss, Lentulus and Marcellus, and Pompey? First, ideal audiences would have needed memory of the background knowledge recruited in the composition of the blend. For instance, audiences would have

needed to remember the previous occurrences of the obverse and reverse types and would have needed to have a fair knowledge of history and current events. Second, audiences would have needed to find a frame in which to position themselves. With so many different frames to choose from, maybe the most readily available would have been either the broadest ones – the frames for the Republic’s institutions and history – or the closest one – the frame for the present crisis. Third, audiences would have needed to evaluate the claims to authority, credibility, and trust centered on Nerius, Lentulus and Marcellus, and Pompey. This would also have involved some evaluation of the people who served as past or present points of comparison, such as Sufenas, Curio, Flaccus, or Sulla. Fourth, audiences would have needed to agree with all claims and align on all levels. Otherwise, someone who didn’t believe the consuls’ claim to neutrality might not have trusted Nerius; similarly, someone who was a passionate supporter of Pompey might not have appreciated the consuls’ lukewarm neutrality. In other words, because the levels of intersubjectivity are so tightly interwoven, failure to align on one level most likely would have affected the alignment on all levels. Nevertheless, if all these conditions were met, then Nerius’s denarius would have successfully negotiated the transcendently oriented ethos of the quaestor and his patrons in their respective institutional roles.

Considering Nerius’s exceptionally short-lived career at the state treasury and his exceptionally complicated negotiation of ethos, one might expect Nerius’s denarius to have had a very poor reception in the Pompeian camp. Surprisingly, this is not the case. In fact, this denarius is trend-setting in two important ways: it generates interest in the Republic’s early coinage, and it articulates the voices of multiple rhetors. For example, the bronze semis from which Nerius copied the obverse design also becomes a model for

the denarius struck a short while later by Calpurnius Piso, who copied the reverse design. Moreover, a chorus of rhetors is also present in the coinage of Nerius's exiled colleagues, the moneyer Q. Sicinius and the praetor C. Coponius. After their flight from Rome, Sicinius and Coponius strike together denarii that show on the obverse the head of Apollo accompanied by the inscriptions *Q SICINIVS* and *III•VIR* and on the reverse the club of Hercules accompanied by the inscriptions *C COPONIVS* and *PR•S•C* (Crawford 444/1a-c). Like Nerius's denarius, the denarii of Sicinius and Coponius negotiate intersubjectivity on three levels: the lowest level is occupied by Sicinius and Coponius, the intermediate level is occupied by Pompey (who is represented metonymically by the inscription *III VIR* for "triumvir"), and the highest level is occupied by the Senate (which is represented metonymically by the inscription *SC*, for *senatus consulto* or "by the authority of the Senate"). Although three-level intersubjectivity is not as common as two-level intersubjectivity, it nevertheless expresses the Pompeians' fondness for the collective negotiation of ethos as a means of building solidarity and community.

#### Two-Level Intersubjectivity in the Denarius of Gnaeus Piso

By refusing to entertain Curio's attempts at mediation and to dismiss the rumors regarding Caesar's crossing of the Alps, the consuls Lentulus and Marcellus found a way to turn these rumors into reality. After being declared a public enemy, Caesar did indeed cross the Alps but settled at Ravenna, from where he still tried to negotiate peace. According to Appian, Curio delivered to the Senate a letter that included Caesar's terms: until elected consul, Caesar would disband his army but retain two legions, Illyria, and Cisalpine Gaul. Pompey agreed, but the Senate and the consuls did not (2.32-33). The



Senate received the letter as a declaration of war and directed Pompey to assemble his army; moreover, “they voted him for the war all the money in the public treasury at once, and their own private fortunes if they should be needed for the pay of the soldiers” (2.34.1). Caesar, however, did not wait for the enemy side to complete its preparations but instead crossed the Rubicon with a small contingent and advanced swiftly towards Rome. Dismayed by Caesar’s speed and still unprepared, the Senate and the consuls panicked, and Pompey decided to evacuate. Followed by the consuls and a large number of senators and prominent Romans (including Cato and Cicero), Pompey left Italy and assembled his forces in Greece. In the span of maybe less than ten days, Rome’s governing officials and leading citizens exchanged their boastful security for the reality of exile. Appian’s account of Pompey’s response to a malicious jeer captures the ideological rally of the Pompeians’ exile. When taunted regarding his missing armies at the time of the evacuation of Rome, Pompey replied: “You can have them . . . if you will follow me and not be horrified at the thought of leaving Rome, and Italy also if need be. Places and houses are not strength and freedom to men; but men, wherever they may be, have these qualities within themselves, and by defending themselves will recover their homes” (2.37.1).

The words that Appian attributes to Pompey capture the essence of Pompeian ideology in exile – the notion that Rome’s institutions, along with their founding principles, can survive the loss of their physical location and can be transplanted and replanted by the guardians of the Republic. In fact, most expressions of Pompeian ideology mediated by Pompeian coinage elaborate on this notion as a response to a crisis just as important as the political and military crises – the crisis of identity experienced by

the Roman exiles. One of two denarius issues struck in Pompey's name during Pompey's lifetime, the denarius of Gnaeus Piso mounts a response to this crisis of identity by raising Pompey to a transcendental status and "stretching" him to the level of a large frame, one capable of encompassing all who wanted to preserve the Republic. This denarius, which shows the head of Numa Pompilius on the obverse and a galley prow on the reverse (Figure 24), was struck out of a moving military mint in Greece, probably soon after the Pompeian evacuation of Rome. The design's composition generates two levels of intersubjectivity as it negotiates ethos for Piso as well as Pompey, while demonstrating the legitimacy of the coin issue and inviting the audience to recognize that defending the Republic means siding with Pompey.



Figure 24

Roman Imperial. Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus. 49-48 BC. AR Denarius (4.51 gm). Uncertain mint in Greece. Ob: Diademed head of Numa|Pompilius right; NVMA / CN PISO PRO Q. Rx: Prow right; MAGN / PRO COS. Crawford 446/1. CNG 812. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

The composition of the denarius obverse establishes the first level of intersubjectivity (between Piso and the audience) and positions Piso in a frame of family relationships dominated by the issuer's illustrious ancestor Numa Pompilius. The obverse shows a bearded male facing right, wearing a diadem inscribed *NVMA*; on the left of the male head, the inscription *CN PISO PRO Q* indicates the issuer's name (Gnaeus Piso) and title (pro-quaestor, which at that time meant quaestor outside of Rome). The syntagmatic relationships organizing the obverse design clarify the selection of frames and position Piso in these frames. For instance, the inscription *NVMA* identifies the bearded male as the legendary Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, while the

inscription *CN PISO* positions Piso in the frame of Numa's family, since Piso was a member of the Calpurnia *gens* and therefore a descendent of Calpus, the son of Numa. Furthermore, the inscription *PRO Q* identifies Piso's institutional role as pro-quaestor and positions Piso in the frame of Rome's earliest institutions, which were founded by Numa Pompilius. The placement of the coin issuer's name and title on the left side of the flan and behind the right-facing head, where they bear very little weight, takes the focus off Piso and places it on Numa, as the shared center of the frame for the Republic's institutions and of the frame for one of Rome's most illustrious families.

The paradigmatic relationships are less marked, however, since the head of Numa was a new type and Piso's invention. However, this is not the first time the legendary second king of Rome appears on a republican coin. The moneyer Pomponius Molo (97 B.C.) previously depicted Numa sacrificing a goat on the reverse of his denarius issue, as a means of advertising his descent from Pompo, Numa's son and the primogenitor of the Pomponii. In addition, the moneyer C. Marcus Censorinus (88 B.C.) depicted on his denarius obverse the jugate heads of Numa Pompilius and his grandson Ancus Marcius, as a means of advertising the moneyer's *gens* Marcia. Although Piso's obverse neither copies nor invokes previous issues, paradigmatic relationships are still relevant in the sense that the composition does not defy expectations and fits within a tradition of bragging about one's ancestry. In the framework of epideictic discourse, Piso uses an established strategy for deploying the epideictic topic of origin. Because Piso's ancestor was a paragon of every kind of virtue, as well as the individual who originally articulated Rome's system of truths and values, this strategy supports a shortcut for negotiating credibility and trust.

The composition of the denarius reverse generates a second level of intersubjectivity – between the audience and Piso’s patron, Pompey – and positions Pompey within the double frame of his and the Republic’s accomplishments. The significance of the reverse design, which shows a galley prow and the inscriptions *MAGN* and *PRO•COS*, is informed by syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships that magnify Pompey’s stature beyond that of a mere individual. For instance, the galley type at the center of the flan seems to invoke Pompey’s naval victories, most likely against the Cilician pirates. However, the association between the type and the inscriptions seems to enlarge this frame to one for successes in general. *MAGN* stands for Magnus, the cognomen Pompey earned as the result of his military successes, and *PRO COS* stands for Pro-Consul, the title Pompey earned as the result of his political successes.<sup>8</sup> Neither the cognomen nor the title are temporally related to the victory against the pirates, however, as the nickname Magnus was bestowed upon him by Sulla quite early in Pompey’s career, while the title of pro-consul was brand new, indicating both that Pompey was a former consul and that he was acting on behalf of the current consuls (Lentulus and Marcellus). If neither the military nor the political honor were either causally or temporally related to naval victories, then how does the combination between the image and the inscriptions affect the coherence of the message?

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<sup>8</sup> At that time, a pro-consul was a former consul or someone acting on behalf of a current consul. Pompey met both of these definitions: he had been a consul, and his military command during the civil war was granted by the consuls Lentulus and Marcellus.

The coherence of the syntagmatic relationships becomes apparent in conjunction with the paradigmatic relationships affecting the reverse. The paradigmatic relationships further enlarge the frame for Pompey's naval victories against the pirates by setting it against the frame for Rome's naval victories in the Punic Wars. This enlargement is made possible by the close modeling of the reverse on the reverse of the same bronze semis that also served as a model for Nerius's denarius (Figure 25). On Piso's reverse, the image of



Roman Imperial. Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus. 49-48 BC. AR Denarius (4.51 gm). Uncertain mint in Greece. Ob: Diademed head of Numa Pompilius right; NVMA / CN PISO PRO Q. Rx: Prow right; MAGN / PRO COS. Crawford 446/1. CNG 812. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

Figure 25



Roman Republic. Anonymous. 211-210 BC. Æ Semis (25mm, 14.94 g). Southeast Italian mint. Ob: Laureate head of Saturn right; S (mark of value) to left. Rx: Prow of galley right; Q and S (mark of value) above, anchor to right. Crawford 86B/2. CNG 316, lot 343. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

the galley prow follows the model closely, but *MAGN* replaces the model's *Q S* (the mark of value), and *PRO COS* replaces the model's *ROMA* (the mark of authority). This composition supports the interlacing of the two frames at three points of articulation: military power, political institutions, and values. In turn, this interlacing suggests that the two frames may not be embedded, in the sense that the Republic's past provides the broader background for Pompey's accomplishments. Rather, the two frames appear equal, with the frame for the Republic's past serving as a measure of comparison for Pompey's successes, which seem as important as those of the early Republic. In the frame for epideictic discourse, this strategy serves as a form of amplification "from

historical contexts” (*Rhetoric* 1368a.38). This amplification foregrounds Pompey’s authority but also raises the individual (whose pronomen and nomen are not mentioned) to transcendental status, so much so that he becomes positioned in his own frame.

If the obverse negotiates primarily Piso’s credibility and trust and the reverse negotiates primarily Pompey’s authority, the obverse-reverse combination negotiates Piso’s authority and Pompey’s credibility and trust. Although the obverse and the reverse types do not appear to suggest an embedding of frames – since Numa Pompilius didn’t have anything to do with the navy – this (at least) partial separation of frames, in conjunction with the verbal parallelism between *NVMA* and *MAGN*, functions as another strategy for amplification. Numa does not serve as a superordinate for the subordinate Pompey; nevertheless, he serves as one member of a comparison between two men of equal virtue – one of the past and one of the present. In other words, Pompey’s qualities – as reflected by the cognomen Magnus (“The Great”) – compare to those of the legendary Numa. If this comparison allows for the negotiation of Pompey’s trust, Pompey’s credibility emerges in a frame that encompasses both Numa and Pompey as equals – the broad yet diffuse frame of Rome’s past and institutions. In this frame, the title of Pro-Consul (as opposed to Imperator) suggests Pompey’s reliance on the laws of the Republic rather than on his own military power. In turn, the legality of the pro-consul’s position confers both authority and credibility to the pro-consul’s subordinate, the pro-quaestor.

The relationship between the obverse and the reverse also indicates the alignment between Piso and Pompey. In the frame for the Republic’s institutions, this alignment is demonstrated by the pro-quaestor’s role as the pro-consul’s subordinate. The alignment between the individual Piso and the individual Pompey also occurs – less explicitly but

much more importantly – in the frame of transcendental Pompey, a frame infused by Numa’s virtues and the Republic’s successes, raised to the height of a hero and enlarged to the size of Rome. What this second alignment might have meant for someone who compared his leader to Numa is not certain. However, Plutarch’s later account of a utopian Rome under Numa suggests that this frame might also have been where Pompey’s followers projected their hopes and dreams:

For there is no record either of war, or faction, or political revolution while Numa was king. Nay more, no hatred or jealousy was felt towards his person, nor did ambition lead men to plot and conspire against his throne. On the contrary, either fear of the gods, who seemed to have him in their especial care, or reverence for his virtue, or a marvelous felicity, which in his days kept life free from the taint of every vice, and pure, made him a manifest illustration and confirmation of the saying which Plato, many generations later, ventured to utter regarding government, namely, that human ills would only then cease and disappear when, by some divine felicity, the power of a king should be united in one person with the insight of a philosopher, thereby establishing virtue in control and mastery over vice. (*Numa* 20.5-8)

Apart from echoing the Pompeians’ aspirations for the Republic, the connection between Numa and Pompey serves as a strategy for amplification by means of “comparison with famous people; for the subject is amplified and made honorable if he is better than [other] worthy ones” (*Rhetoric* 1368a.38).

If the composition of the obverse and reverse designs positions Piso and Pompey in various frames, evaluates their conformity to these frames, and demonstrates the convergent alignment between Piso and Pompey, how would the audience have achieved positioning, evaluation, and alignment? First of all, the ideal audience would have needed the background knowledge recruited in the composition processes. In other words, the audience would have needed basic political and historical knowledge regarding Numa Pompilius, the early Roman navy, Pompey, and Rome's institutions. In addition, the audience would have needed the visual memory of earlier bronze coinage. Furthermore, the audience would have needed to align with Piso and Pompey within relevant shared frames. For instance, the audience could have aligned with Piso in the frame for Rome's network of family relationship and with Pompey in the frame for Pompey's accomplishments. If the alignment on these two levels of intersubjectivity was successful, then Piso's denarius would have negotiated socially oriented ethos for Piso and a kind of transcendently oriented ethos for Pompey. In turn, this ethos would have supported the persuasive message that only Pompey was capable of returning Rome to a time of peace and glory comparable to the time of Numa's rule.

In the context of the diverse and rather fragmented Pompeian coin iconography, Piso's denarius generates two important kinds of reception: it revives interest in the Republic's early bronze coinage and transforms the galley prow type into a metonymy for Pompey; in addition, it either initiates or consolidates a trend in the negotiation of two-level intersubjectivity, a trend that would become widespread in the coinage of the civil war. The Pompeians' interest in the Republic's early bronze coinage becomes apparent in 46-45 B.C., when Gnaeus Pompey the Younger (one of Pompey's sons) starts



the production of a bronze *as* in Spain (Crawford 471). This *as* features the laureate head of Janus on the obverse and a galley prow on the reverse, accompanied by the inscription *CN MAG IMP*. The reverse design thus draws from Piso's revival of the early republican type and makes it serve as a double metonymy for Pompey and for the son with the same name. Furthermore, the Pompeians' employment of two-level intersubjectivity becomes apparent in the coinage for the African and Spanish fronts (47-45 B.C.). In Africa, for example, Metellus Scipio's legates Crassus Junianus and Marcus Eppius mint coins on behalf of Metellus and display their own names along with the name of their patron (Crawford 460/3, 460/4, 461); in Spain, Marcus Poblucius strikes coins with Gnaeus Pompey the Younger (Crawford 469/1a-e). Interestingly, two-level intersubjectivity also starts to infiltrate Caesar's camp during the second stage of the civil war, when Aulus Alienus strikes coins on Caesar's behalf in preparation for the African campaign. (However, two-level intersubjectivity is not present in this form in the Caesarean camp during the first stage of the civil war.) In sum, although Piso's design does not have a very wide following, his negotiation of two-level intersubjectivity is representative of a rising trend in the negotiation of ethos.

#### “Shadowed” Intersubjectivity in the Denarius of Terentius Varro

The importance of Pompey to the identities of those who left Rome and followed him at the onset of the civil war, as well as the notion that Roman identity can survive the crisis of exile, can be gleaned from Plutarch's account: “But most pitiful was the sight of the city, now that so great a tempest was bearing down upon her, carried along like a ship abandoned of her helmsmen to dash against whatever lay in her path. Still, although their

removal was such a pitiful thing, for the sake of Pompey men considered exile to be their country, and abandoned Rome with the feeling that it was Caesar's camp" (*Caesar* 34.4). The fear and confusion captured by Appian and Plutarch found its fulfilment when Rome indeed became Caesar's camp. For the Pompeians, however, the reality of exile became indistinguishable from the realities of war. Pompey's forces in Spain, as well as the pro-Pompeian city of Massilia in Southern Gaul, fell to Caesar. The next year, Pompey amassed fresh forces in Greece and nearly defeated Caesar at Dyrrhachium in Illyria, but Caesar withdrew to Thessaly, waiting for Pompey's next move. During this time of uncertainty, when victory and defeat were still in balance and when loyalties wavered, the faithful Pompeians needed an ideological rally around their leader.

The denarius struck by Pompey's pro-quaestor Terentius Varro (who should not be confused with the famous writer Marcus Terentius Varro) responds to the need for a rally with a fresh design and a fresh way of negotiating ethos. Varro's denarius (Figure 26) displays new types (the head of Jupiter Terminalis on the obverse and a scepter



Figure 26

Roman Imperial. Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus. Spring 48 BC. AR Denarius (18mm, 3.96 g). Uncertain Greek mint. Terentius Varro, Pro Quaestor. Ob: Diademed terminal bust of Jupiter Terminus right; VARRO PRO Q. Rx: Vertical scepter; to left, dolphin swimming right and eagle standing; MAGN PRO COS. Crawford 447/1a. CNG 94, lot 986. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

flanked by dolphin and eagle on the reverse) and negotiates ethos not for Varro but for Pompey alone. This kind of "shadowed" one-level intersubjectivity, where the issuer invites the audience's alignment with his patron while effacing himself, was not completely unheard of. For instance, in 82 B.C., Sulla's pro-quaestor L. Manlius Torquatus employed a similar strategy on a denarius showing the head of Roma on the

obverse and Sulla in triumphal quadriga on the reverse. Nevertheless, because regular issues of the Roman mint hardly ever negotiated the ethos of a living person other than the moneyer himself, Varro's denarius represents an innovation relative to the timeframe of his audience's lifetime. The exact date and place for this coin's production are uncertain, though. Sear proposes that Varro struck his denarius around the same time as Piso and suggests that, "although Grueber assigned these issues to Pompey's supporters in Spain it seems much more likely that they were produced in Greece between the time of Pompey's arrival from Italy, early in 49 B.C., and the fateful battle of Pharsalus on August 9 the following year" (*Roman Emperors* 7). Sear's attribution (which appears to represent the current consensus regarding this coin) supports the possibility that Varro's denarius represented an early response to the need for a Pompeian group identity.

The design's composition expresses this identity and negotiates ethos by "stretching" Pompey much wider than the composition of Piso's denarius, thus incorporating Pompey into a transcendent frame and capturing the audience inside that frame. The composition negotiates "shadowed" one-level intersubjectivity primarily through metonymic relationships generated by the types and through syntagmatic relationships generated by the combination between the obverse and the reverse and between the types and the inscriptions. Supported by the design's artistic features, these relationships appear to invoke just one frame – that of the Republic – and then explain the essential content of the frame in a manner that makes Pompey an absolutely vital part of the frame. In the negotiation of ethos, this strategy permits the foregrounding of authority, as well as the combined, implicit, and undifferentiated negotiation of credibility and trust.

The obverse type – the bust of Jupiter Terminalis – invokes the frame of the Roman Republic by serving as a metonymy for Rome’s center as well as its borders. Having assimilated an earlier cult of Terminus, the cult of Jupiter Terminalis addressed those aspects of Jupiter that protected borders and boundaries for the preservation of justice and peace. Plutarch assigns the beginning of this cult to Numa Pompilius, who “knew that a boundary, if observed, fetters lawless power; and if not observed, convicts of injustice” (*Numa* 16.1). According to Plutarch, Numa’s purpose in establishing the worship of Terminus was “to remove the destitution which drives men to wrongdoing, and to turn the people to agriculture, that they might be subdued and softened along with the soil they tilled” (*Numa* 16.3). In the early cult of Terminus, the sanctity of borders was therefore meant to foster prosperity through the practice of agriculture, order and justice through an equitable partitioning of the land, and peace through respect for the neighbor’s property. In later religious practices, the sanctity and permanence of Rome’s borders were represented by an immovable stone shrine inside the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Because the temple of Jupiter was located on the Capitoline Hill, near the Roman Forum, the image of Jupiter Terminalis functions therefore as a metonymy for the heart of Rome as well as its outermost boundaries – in other words, for Rome as a whole. The obverse type therefore invokes the undifferentiated frame for everything encompassed by Rome’s perimeter, from its political and geographical center to its farthest borders.

The reverse, however, organizes this undifferentiated frame and represents it as a cosmos, whose balance and harmony are visually represented by the symmetry of the design. The flan is divided into three sections: two vertical sections that split the top two-

thirds of the flan precisely in half, and a horizontal section that occupies the bottom third of the flan. The section on the left holds a dolphin, the device of Poseidon and a metonymy for the sea, while the section on the right holds an eagle, the device of Jupiter and a metonymy for the earth. (Since Jupiter Terminalis was not a celestial but a telluric deity, in this case the eagle most likely represents the earth and not the sky.) The separation between the right and left sections is accomplished by a vertical scepter, a traditional indicator of consular rank, as well as imperium. The separation between the top and the bottom is accomplished by a horizontal line, which creates the exergue, in which appears the inscription *MAGN•PRO COS*. The visual composition thus represents the concept of border as an organizing principle of a world in perfect balance. However, these borders are not abstract. The imperatorial/consular scepter and the inscription suggest that, through military victories on sea and land, a force of cosmic proportions upholds the borders and preserves the Roman cosmos in good order and peace. This force is Pompey.<sup>9</sup>

The invocation and minimalist deconstruction of just one major frame suggests that the composition strives towards unity, a unity which is supported by the design's relative simplicity.<sup>10</sup> In the case of Varro's denarius, the purpose served by relative

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<sup>9</sup> In the framework of ancient rhetorical theory, Varro advertises the worthiness of Pompey through epideictic topics such as kinds of power (consulship and imperium), titles to fame (Magnus and Proconsul) and accomplishments (victories on land and sea).

<sup>10</sup> In the theoretical framework of Rudolph Arnheim, *relative simplicity* represents a strategy for fulfilling a purpose or function and is different from absolute simplicity in the sense that it can apply to every complexity level. According to Arnheim, an artist achieves relative simplicity through *parsimony* (the artist does not go beyond what is needed for the purpose and uses the simplest structure that serves the purpose) and *orderliness* (the artist uses the simplest way of organizing this structure) (*Art and Visual Perception* 58).

simplicity is the integration of Magnus, the Proconsul, in the frame for Rome. It is not certain, however, whether this integration means that the individual Pompey becomes positioned within the frame or whether Pompey's titles become an organic component of the frame. The perfectly balanced visual composition suggests the latter as the stronger possibility, which entails that the individual Pompey becomes implicitly positioned in a coherent frame organized by his own accomplishments. The parsimony and orderliness of the visual design foregrounds Pompey's authority, especially since his titles appear in *exergue*, a place traditionally reserved for the identification of authority. Credibility and trust, however, are also negotiated implicitly, since Jupiter Terminalis represented not only the power of the Republic but also its truths and values. In addition, Varro's de-emphasized position suggests that Varro aligned with Pompey in this coherent transcendental frame and invites the audience to align the same way. Simply put, the design composition invites the coin user to join the Pompeian cause, just as Varro did.

What was needed, then, for audiences to align with Pompey? First of all, audiences would have needed the religious, political, and visual knowledge recruited by the composition. Since Jupiter was Rome's chief deity and Pompey was one of Rome's chief imperators, this background knowledge was as basic as possible and therefore consistent with the relative simplicity of the visual design. In addition, audiences would have needed a frame in which to position themselves. Such a frame would have been easily accessible, too, since the invoked frame encompasses everything within Rome's borders. In other words, anyone living in the Roman world would have been a part of the frame. This easily accessible frame also entails that audiences don't really have the freedom of positioning and evaluation, or even alignment. If someone lived anywhere

within Rome's vast borders and was not an impious blasphemer who rejected the gods or a treacherous rebel who defied borders, then that person was obligated to respect the authority of Jupiter, the Roman state, the Roman borders, and Pompey. In the frame for Rome, therefore, there is only one acceptable and honorable alignment – with Pompey. Any other alignment is wicked and treasonous. If audiences happily accepted this obligatory alignment within an inescapable frame, then Varro's denarius would have successfully negotiated (or commanded) transcendently oriented ethos on behalf of Pompey.

The Pompeians must have really appreciated this kind of alignment, because Varro's design had the strongest reception among Pompey's followers. For example, Metellus Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law and the commander of the Pompeian forces in Africa after Pompey's death, deploys two different Jupiter types – one in conjunction with a curule chair reverse (Crawford 460/2) and one in conjunction with an elephant reverse (Crawford 459) – as a means of invoking the late leader of the Republican cause. Among the Pompeians, the association between Jupiter and Pompey in fact becomes so strong that Jupiter functions as a metonymy for Pompey rather than for the heart of the Republic. Pompey's complete absorption into the transcendental frame for the Republic and its chief deity does not entail, however, that Pompey's invocation through a Jupiter type always negotiates transcendently oriented ethos. For instance, Scipio's Jupiter-and-curule-chair design negotiates transcendently oriented ethos in the frame for the Republic, but his Jupiter-and-elephant design negotiates socially oriented ethos in the frame for his family connection to Pompey. Nevertheless, these forms of reception suggest that Varro's design was the most successful in negotiating Pompey's ethos.

## Conclusions on the Ethos of Pompeian Coinage

From a cognitive perspective, the denarii of Nerius, Piso, and Varro show that Pompeian coinage articulates the voices of multiple rhetors and negotiates ethos on more than one level of intersubjectivity. By invoking multiple frames, the obverse and reverse designs create historical “depth perception” and offer standards of behavior and beliefs against which the present can be evaluated. While the arrangement of the frames invites audiences to bring the present to mind, Pompeian negotiations of ethos look towards the past for its sources of authority, credibility, and trust. In addition, by fusing Pompey to the frame for the Roman Republic, they elevate him to an institutional or transcendental status. This dissolution of Pompey’s individuality attempts to resolve the conflict between the traditions and values of the Republic and Pompey’s exceptional military and political prominence. In the negotiation of ethos, Pompeian designs ask audiences to do *a lot of cognitive work* in order to arrive at a very precise form of alignment, which allows for little flexibility. To appreciate how tight this alignment is, it helps to refer to Muzafer Sherif and Carl Hovland’s theory of social judgment, which proposes that perceptions of values, beliefs, and actions exist on a continuum including latitude of rejection, latitude of non-commitment, and latitude of acceptance. Sherif and Hovland found – not surprisingly – that persuasive messages are more likely to produce attitude change when they fall within the audience’s latitude of acceptance. However, attitude change is still possible up to a certain degree of discrepancy; if the discrepancy exceeds a certain range, then rejection follows. Pompeian negotiation of intersubjectivity falls within audiences’ latitude of acceptance because the Pompeians cannot imagine disagreement with the Republican traditions in which they ground their negotiation of ethos.



The visual features of the Pompeian denarii also encourage viewers to perceive the connections on which the negotiation of ethos relies so heavily. Specifically, the designs encourage the perception of similarity by means of visual parallelism and the perception of hierarchy by means of the partitioning of the flan space. Tentative conclusions on the visual features of Pompeian anchor coins can benefit, however, from a new observation: the steep demands placed on the audience's knowledge, memory, and reasoning abilities suggest that the designs encourage systematic rather than heuristic perception. In the theoretical framework of Charles Hill, *systematic processing* is "contemplative, analytical, and responsive to the argumentative quality of the message," while *heuristic processing* is a "shortcut decision-making rule to construct an attitude" (32). Systematic processing, which entails the sequential and rational examination of design elements and their connections, matters because this kind of perception takes more time, more attention and energy, and more education. These reasons also matter because they can potentially "filter out" audiences who don't have this kind of time, attention, energy, or education. While excluding certain audiences from the adequate comprehension of the coins' messages may have served the *optimates* ideology of the Pompeian camp, this strategy might not have been particularly wise in a conflict where success depended on strong numbers and robust allegiances. Nevertheless, the Pompeian designs argue<sup>11</sup> for loyalty by deploying epideictic topics and amplification techniques that integrate individual rhetors into frames for the Republic's history or institutions.

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<sup>11</sup> Laurent Pernot identifies a strong connection between amplification and argument: "First, amplification does not mean 'development,' even less 'padding out.' It involves not the lengthening of the speech but increasing the size of the subject, by emphasizing its importance, its beauty, its nobles, etc. Next, we must underline that amplification is very much a form of argumentation, and not an exterior ornament. When an orator says

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If the Pompeian experience of the civil war was one of exile and defeat, Caesar's experience was one of hard decisions and hard battles leading to generally successful outcomes. Moreover, if the authority crisis affecting Pompeian coinage was caused primarily by the Pompeians' exile, the authority crisis affecting Caesar's early coinage was caused primarily by the absence of the legal framework for Caesar's production of money. In other words, if the Pompeians' coinage was physically separated from authorizing institutions such as the Senate, the Treasury, and the Rome mint, Caesar's first coinage was downright unconstitutional, having no authorization other than Caesar's military and political success. My analysis of Caesarean coinage focuses on Caesar's first coin issues – a denarius issue struck around the time of Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon (January 49 B.C.) and a denarius and aureus issue of identical design struck after the battle of Pharsalus (August 48 B.C.). I propose that Caesar's coin designs respond to the authority crisis by interpreting traditional ways of negotiating individually oriented ethos and introducing a significant innovation – alignment options for the audience. These options consist of a really bad choice – opposing Caesar and becoming defeated – and a really good choice – joining Caesar and benefiting from his magnanimity.

The contrast between the bad idea and the good idea can be conceptualized in terms of *alternative space relationships*, which, according to Eve Swetser, “exist between incompatible fillers of the same real or imagined space / time situation, such as positive and negative counterpart spaces” (314). Because “bringing up the negative invokes the

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that the agent was the first to act, for example, or compares him to other heroes, he is arguing for the quality of the object of praise. This is the reason why, in the epideictic genus, amplification has been treated as argumentation and not as style” (87-88).

corresponding positive, in a way that bringing up a positive does not bring up the corresponding negative” (Sweetser 313), the construction of alternative spaces increases the pull of convergent alignment by encouraging audiences to abandon the negative space of opposition to Caesar and embrace the positive space of agreement with Caesar. The construction of alternative spaces supports a conversation with the ancient rhetorical notion of *enthymeme*, where *enthymeme* is understood in the sense proposed by Jeffrey Walker – a “strategic, kairotic, argumentational turn that exploits a cluster of emotively charged, value-laden oppositions made available (usually) by an exetastic buildup, in order to generate in its audience a passional identification with or adherence to a particular stance, and that (ideally) will strike the audience as an ‘abrupt’ and decisive flash of insight” (53). A conversation with the notion of *enthymeme* does not mean that the epideictic features of Pompeian coinage are absent in Caesar’s coins; rather, it means that Caesar blends demonstrative self-praise with pragmatic arguments in order to secure allegiances.

#### Alternative-Space Intersubjectivity in Caesar’s Elephant Denarius

After his negotiation attempts were snubbed by the Senate and the consuls, Caesar decided not to wait for his enemies to complete their war preparations but instead made his move with unexpected swiftness. On January 10, 49 B.C., after setting aside all deliberations, doubt, and anxiety, he crossed the Rubicon. On that day, the shallow river that marked the boundary between Cisalpine Gaul and Italy also marked an irreversible change in a Republic headed towards civil war. For this change, Suetonius blamed divine interference: “A person remarkable for his noble mien and graceful aspect appeared close

at hand, sitting and playing upon a pipe . . . snatched a trumpet from one of them, ran to the river with it, and, sounding the advance with a piercing blast, crossed to the other side” (*Deified Julius* 32). Plutarch, on the other hand, blamed suspension of reason: “But finally, with a sort of passion, as if abandoning calculation and casting himself upon the future, and uttering the phrase with which men usually prelude their plunge into desperate and daring fortunes, ‘Let the die be cast,’ he hastened to cross the river” (*Caesar* 32.8). Appian, however, blamed Caesar’s concern with his personal welfare over the welfare of mankind: “‘My friends, to leave this stream uncrossed will breed manifold distress for me; to cross it, for all mankind.’ Thereupon, he crossed it with a rush like one inspired, uttering the familiar phrase, ‘The die is cast: so let it be!’” (2.35). Regardless of who or what might have been to blame for the onset of the civil wars, Caesar’s bold move paid off – at least in the short term – because Caesar was able to take over Rome without much opposition from the Pompeians who fled the city in terror. The time of crisis for the Pompeians was therefore a time of victory and adjustment for Caesar, who immediately set out to restore order.

Ancient historians consistently report that Caesar did not confirm the fears of those who still remembered the atrocities of the civil war between Sulla and Marius; on the contrary, he acted with clemency and civility, even towards his enemies. However, one instance in which Caesar didn’t show such civility was noteworthy enough to make it into the accounts of Appian as well as Plutarch – the commandeering of the state treasury. Plutarch writes that, when the tribune Metellus tried to prevent Caesar from entering the treasury to take the reserve funds, Caesar frightened him off with a stern rebuke:

But if thou art displeased at what is going on, for the present get out of the way, since war has no use for free speech; when, however, I have come to terms and laid down my arms, then thou shalt come before the people with thy harangues. And in saying this I waive my own just rights; for thou art mine, thou and all of the faction hostile to me whom I have caught. (*Caesar* 35.7-9)

Scared for his life, the tribune fled as Caesar ordered his smiths to break down the treasury door. The confrontation between the tribune and Caesar over the state reserves highlights the complicated relationship between money, discourse, power, and war – a relationship which can place even a military victor in crisis.

Caesar struck his first denarius in response to such a crisis, around the time of his crossing of the Rubicon. The exact date for this issue is uncertain though. Sear suggests that it remains a matter of conjecture whether the issue started in Gaul, as part of Caesar's preparations for the invasion, or whether it started in Rome, as the result of Caesar's commandeering of the treasury (*Roman Emperors* 9). However, a more recent article by Debrah Nousek proposes that the enormous size of this issue (at least 22.5 million pieces) points to the treasury as the more likely source for the quantity of bullion needed to produce the third largest issue in the history of Republican coinage (293). Whether Caesar's first denarius predated the crossing of the Rubicon or whether it postdated the unequal standoff with the tribune Metellus, the crisis faced by Caesar would still have been informed by a combination of at least two urgent material and ideological needs: the need to pay troops and the need to secure loyalties at a critical juncture in the civil conflict. If the denarius originated in Rome, then Caesar would have also faced the additional need to make up for the inactivity of the Roman mint, which had stopped its

operation after the flight of the pro-Pompeian officials. In this case, the denarius would have provided only an immediate, short-term response, because the mint re-opened probably very soon after Caesar's takeover of Rome, when Caesar appointed Manius Acilius Glabrio as the moneyer for 49 B.C. (The next year, the mint resumed its normal activity under a full college of moneyers comprised of Hostilius Saserna, Gaius Vibius Pansa Caentronianus, and Decimus Junius Brutus.)

Apart from discussions regarding its context of production, Caesar's first denarius also continues to generate discussions on two other important points of uncertainty: the identification of the obverse and the reverse and the significance of the design. One side of this famous issue features an elephant walking right, trampling on a serpent head rearing before it, with *CAESAR* in exergue (although certain die variations do not feature the serpent), while the other side features the emblems of the pontificate – the simpulum, aspergillum, axe, and apex – with no inscription (Figure 27). Which side is the obverse, and which is the reverse then? Crawford identifies the pontifical emblems as the obverse, while Sydenham, Babelon, Sear, and the majority of current catalogs identify the elephant as the obverse. Yet, opinions on this matter are still split. Nousek, for instance, sides with Crawford on grounds that an obverse exergue is highly unusual in Republican coinage (290-1). In spite of valid reasons for both kinds of attributions, this argument cannot be settled objectively in the absence of material evidence (unavailable at this time) supplied by actual dies, which would show what design was carved into the stationary part of the die (the obverse) and what design was carved into the moving part of the die (the reverse). The uncertainty about the obverse and the reverse also feeds uncertainties about the significance of the design, especially on the side featuring the elephant, the

serpent, and the inscription *CAESAR*. Crawford interprets the image of the elephant trampling the serpent as the victory of good over evil, but Nousek proposes that Caesar draws from imagery previously deployed by families in the enemy camp, as well as from knowledge of the natural enmity between the elephant and the serpent, to make a strong point regarding his victory at the start of the civil war.



Figure 27

Roman Imperial. Julius Caesar. Spring 49 BC. AR Denarius (18mm, 3.97 g). Ob: Elephant advancing right, trampling on horned serpent; CAESAR. Rx: Emblems of the pontificate: simpulum, aspergillum, securis, and apex. Crawford 443/1. CNG 357, lot 475. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

My analysis of Caesar's elephant denarius relies on the more common attribution, which assigns the elephant to the obverse and the pontifical emblems to the reverse, and suggests that the various uncertainties surrounding this coin issue highlight its highly unusual nature, along with yet another aspect of Caesar's experience of this early crisis – the paradox that the man who held the military and political power in Rome didn't have any authority to mint coins. In fact, Caesar's elephant denarius was unconstitutional, since it was not authorized by the Senate and was not produced within any legal parameters of the Republic. By complementing rather than refuting other interpretations of the design's significance, I propose that the unusual design mounts a crisis response informed by an acute need for the negotiation of ethos. While Caesar negotiates ethos for his illegally-issued denarius by presenting himself as the only relevant source of authority (as reflected by the inscription), he also negotiates individually oriented ethos for himself. The individually oriented ethos emerges from only one level of intersubjectivity (between the audience and Caesar) but from two, mutually complementary perspectives: one that

overlooks the crisis and the coin's immediate context of production and one that draws attention to the crisis and production contexts.

Abstracting the elephant denarius from its immediate context of production does not mean ignoring the crisis but rather acknowledging that Caesar does not represent himself as being in crisis. From a rhetor-centered perspective, everything is very much under control, so the elephant denarius is just another issue minted in the republican tradition. In the “keep-calm-and-carry-on” frame of republican minting practices, Caesar negotiates individually oriented ethos not unlike other issuing authorities did before him: by anchoring one's identity in the generally accepted frame for male accomplishment – the *cursus honorum*, or the race for honors. In the frame for the *cursus honorum*, Caesar's identity, represented by the inscription *CAESAR*, is “decompressed” into two sets of roles: the role of imperator, as represented by the elephant trampling a serpent, and the role of Pontifex Maximum, as represented by the pontifical emblems. Both roles foreground the individual's authority; however, credibility and trust are also implicit in the duties of the pontifex. For the negotiation of ethos to be successful, the audience would need to evaluate these accomplishments as genuine and align with the rhetor in the traditional manner, by showing respect and admiration for the successful individual. As a matter of fact, the interpretation of Caesar's elephant denarius could stop right here, since the design does not appear to recruit additional background knowledge; therefore, any potential paradigmatic relationships do not affect the nature of the inter-subjective alignment – or do they?

In the case of the obverse type, the potential for paradigmatic relationships is rich and complex, since the elephant already had a long history in Republican coinage. The



elephant first appeared in Roman Republican coinage on a bronze ingot issue struck 275-242 B.C. (before the eruption of the First Punic War almost until its conclusion), where it featured on the obverse, in combination with a sow on the reverse (Crawford 9).

According to Crawford, the iconography commemorates an incident from the Pyrrhic war, when Pyrrhus's elephants were frightened by the presence of pigs at the battle of Heraclea (718). Because this coin continued to be issued throughout the time of the First Punic War, the mythos of the elephant scared by the pig might have served as a snub of Carthaginian power. The elephant later appeared in the coinage of the Metelli and commemorated the accomplishments of two illustrious family members over an African opponent: the victory of L. Caecilius Metellus (consul of 251 B.C.) over Hasdrubal during the First Punic War and the victory of Metellus Numidicus (consul of 109 B.C.) over Jugurtha of Numidia. Specifically, the moneyers Caecilius Metellus Diadematus (128 B.C.) and C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius (125 B.C.) commemorated L. Caecilius Metellus on their denarius reverses, by means of an elephant's ear or a pair of elephants driving Jupiter's biga (Crawford 262; 269). Moreover, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (82-81 B.C.) commemorated Metellus Numidicus by means of a walking elephant (Crawford 374). In the coinage of the Metelli, as well as on early bronze, the elephant therefore invoked a Roman victory against an enemy with an African connection.

The elephant, however, also has a separate history in coinage of Carthage and its allies. In Italian coinage from the Second Punic War, the elephant featured on the coinage of Carthaginian allies, such as Capua in Campania (SNG ANS 147) or Val di Chiana in Etruria (SNG Cop. 47-50), cities which, along with Syracuse and Tarentum, had joined Hannibal's forces after the annihilation of the Roman army at Cannae in 216 B.C.

Furthermore, the elephant appears consistently as a reverse type on Carthaginian coinage of the Second Punic War (conceivably as an emblem of Hannibal and his family) in conjunction with an obverse male head (possibly the god Melkart with the features of Hannibal) (SNG Cop. 382-3). Regardless of the elephant's significance on Carthaginian coinage, scholars agree that the elephants on the Italian issues do not copy real-life models but numismatic models, as a means of propagandizing the Italian cities' allegiance to Carthage (Sear, *Roman Emperors* 14). Where, therefore, does Caesar's elephant fit in, since Caesar was not related to the Metelli and did not have an African victory of his own at that time? Was Caesar like Hannibal? In fact, the potential parallels between Caesar and Hannibal were not missed by Caesar's contemporaries. Cicero, for example, wondered anxiously as Caesar made progress towards Rome: "Is this a general of the Roman people we are talking about, or Hannibal?" (qtd. in Holland 297).

These questions reveal the importance of the second interpretive perspective, which accounts for the coin's immediate context of production and the kairotic nature of the denarius's composition. Plutarch writes that, as Caesar was moving his forces, panic gripped Rome and its surroundings:

After the seizure of Ariminum, as if the war had opened with broad gates to cover the whole earth and sea alike, and the laws of the state were confounded along with the boundaries of the province, one would not have thought that men and women, as at other times, were hurrying through Italy in consternation, but that the very cities had risen up in flight and were rushing one through another; while Rome herself, deluged as it were by the inhabitants of the surrounding towns who were fleeing from their homes, neither readily obeying a magistrate nor listening

to the voice of reason, in the surges of a mighty sea narrowly escaped being overturned by her own internal agitations. For conflicting emotions and violent disturbances prevailed everywhere. (*Caesar* 33.1-3)

In this context of heightened anxiety, the image of the elephant creates a space for fear through the very uncertainty of the elephant's meaning. Does the elephant facing the serpent refer to Caesar's recent victories in Gaul? Does it refer to his present intentions of crushing his civil enemies? Is Caesar like the old heroes of the Republic? Is he like Hannibal? It doesn't really matter if the audience would have recognized any of the old coin types or become aware of any paradigmatic relationships, since the mind troubled by fear would have generated its own questions and invoked the frames most relevant to one's individual circumstances. Will I be proscribed? What will happen to my property? What will happen to my social standing or my job? Will I be killed?

If the obverse design creates a space for uncertainty and anxiety, the reverse design creates a space for security and peace. The reverse shows the emblems of the Pontifex Maximus, who oversaw the cult of Vesta. The temple of Vesta was located in the Roman Forum and held the sacred flame which the Romans believed to be intimately tied to the fortunes of Rome – should the flame go out, disaster will follow. The temple also held important documents, as well as sacred cult objects, such as the famous Palladium – the statue of Athena believed to have been salvaged from Troy by Aeneas, who then brought the Palladium to Italy. The careful guardianship of the flame, of the archive, and of the cult objects was the responsibility of the vestal virgins, who were in turn guarded by the Pontifex Maximus. The virgins and the pontifex therefore had one of the most sacred duties – to protect Rome's hearth. This hearth was not so much about

political institutions and power structures but rather about what made Rome a home for its people, a place secure from enemies and a haven for present and future generations. The pontifical emblems thus halt fear by suggesting that the Pontifex will *not* commit sacrilege and defile the hearth for which he is responsible. Whatever frames might be invoked by the audience's anxious imagination – whether these frames pertain to the past, present, or future – they are not particularly relevant, since the powerful Caesar defeats only Rome's enemies but does not act impiously towards Rome herself.

The two sides of Caesar's denarius thus set up two alternative spaces: one of fear and one of safety; one in which those who oppose Caesar should tremble, and one in which those who do not oppose him should not worry. Similarly, the two interpretive perspectives – one that brackets the immediate political context and one that accounts for it – set up alternative spaces as well: one organized by one traditional frame, the race for honors, and one disorganized by an array of various competing frames. Anything but contradictory, the two perspectives greatly reinforce the pull of alignment, by inviting the audience to move from a space of worry, which the audience inhabits, to a space of calm, which Caesar inhabits. The audience, however, is not held hostage, like the audience of Varro's denarius. The audience in fact has many, many options: one can panic, freeze, run, scream, rebel, defect, and so on. However, only one option is a good one – to carry out one's duties and side with Caesar.

In the framework of ancient rhetorical theory, Caesar deploys the epideictic topic of power – the elephant obverse shows military power, while the pontifical emblems show religious and political power. This topic is doubled by the topic of virtue – the elephant obverse advertises Caesar's courage, while the pontifical emblems reverse

advertises Caesar's piety. This correlation between power and virtue is not random. As Aristotle observed, "praise [*epainos*] is speech that makes clear the great virtue [of the subject praised]. There is thus need to show that actions have been of that sort" (1367b.33). In other words, actions (and the power that results from them) reflect the subject's virtue. In Caesar's case, the achievement of military success reflects his courage, and the assumption of pontifical duties reflects his piety. This balance between power and virtue is in fact what the audience is invited to observe when moving from a place of fear to a place of calm. This choice between anxiety on one's own and security with Caesar, complemented by the relief that Caesar is *not* an enemy of Rome, also indicates the presence of an enthymeme which may conform to Aristotle's enthymematic topic "from contrasted choices" (*Rhetoric* 1399b.19).

In spite of its powerful and complex message, neither the moneyers who sought to honor Caesar nor Caesar himself ever use the elephant type again. Only Octavian (later Augustus) revives this type after Caesar's death, during the interregnum (SNG Cop. 544) and then in Augustan Africa (SNG Cop. 566-7). It may appear therefore that the obverse type gets discarded because the elephant image responds to a very specific and limited communication need at the very beginning of the civil war. However, the reverse type (the pontifical emblems), does reappear a couple of years later in modified form (as combined pontifical and augural emblems), in conjunction with Vesta or Ceres on the obverse (Crawford 466 and 467/1a-b). Although the elephant image appears time-sensitive and therefore incapable of sustaining itself past the expiration date of the early crisis, it is possible that Caesar abandons the elephant-and-emblems design after refining his ethos-negotiation strategies. It is also possible that the reception of Caesar's first

denarius should not be sought in the recurrence of the same images but in the polishing of original strategies such as the construction of alternative spaces. If this is the case, then Caesar's next coin issue, which features *Clementia* and the Gallic trophies, may represent an evolution of the elephant issue, because it contrasts alternative spaces more sharply and articulates Caesar's voice more clearly.

#### Alternative Alignment Options in Caesar's *Clementia* Denarius and Aureus

Once master of Rome, Caesar promptly organized a provisional government: he placed the city under the authority of the praetor M. Aemilius Lepidus and Italy under the commander-in-chief Mark Antony. Then, he launched an attack on Pompey's forces in Spain and subdued the pro-Pompeian city of Massilia in Southern Gaul. Generals Afranius and Petreus, as well as Pompey's legate Varro, submitted to Caesar. By August, 49 B.C., the threats in the West had been eliminated, and Caesar was free to return to Rome, where he had been named dictator in his absence. The next year (48 B.C.), Caesar became consul for a second time and resigned his dictatorship, but his stay in Rome was again cut short. Pompey had amassed fresh forces, so Caesar gave pursuit. After a near defeat at Dyrrhachium in Illyria, Caesar withdrew to Thessaly, where he nearly despaired of success.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, Caesar moved his camp, hoping to draw his enemies into battle in a place where he would hold the advantage (Plutarch, *Caesar* 39.10-11). Pompey

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<sup>12</sup> Plutarch writes that, although Caesar's situation was dire, Pompey never pressed his advantage. Pompey's hesitation prompted Caesar to reflect that his enemy did not know when to win: "So completely had Caesar given up his cause for lost that, when Pompey, either from excessive caution or by some chance, did not follow up his great success, but withdrew after he had shut up the fugitives within their entrenchments, Caesar said to his friends as he left them: 'To-day victory had been with the enemy, if they had had a victor in command'" (*Caesar* 39.8).

remained reluctant to fight until, pressed by his associates, he acted against his better judgment<sup>13</sup> and engaged Caesar near the town of Pharsalus on August 9. The consequences for the Pompeians were disastrous, although the loss of life was mitigated by Caesar's magnanimity: he opened his ranks to the enemy soldiers who were willing to join him and pardoned many former magistrates who had joined Pompey (Plutarch, *Caesar* 46.2-4). Hoping to recover from the defeat at Pharsalus, Pompey fled to Egypt, but was assassinated upon landing on the orders of young Ptolemy XIII, who was eager to curry favor with the victor (Plutarch, *Pompey* 77-80).

Soon after the battle of Pharsalus, Caesar issued a silver denarius featuring Clementia on the obverse and Gallic trophies on the reverse (Figure 28). Both Clementia



Figure 28

Roman Imperial. Julius Caesar. Late spring-early summer 48 BC. AR Denarius (20mm, 4.04 g). Military mint traveling with Caesar. Ob: Laureate female head (Clementia) right; LII to left. Rx: Gallic trophy, holding shield and carynx surmounted by wolf's head; securis to right; CAE SAR across field. Crawford 452/2. Triton XVIII, lot 949. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

and the Gallic trophies are new types, and they represent the beginning of Caesar's entirely original voice in the negotiation of ethos. From this point on, all coinage issued in Caesar's own name (without any other issuing authority) deploys only feminine images on the obverse (of goddesses such as Clementia, Vesta, Ceres, and Venus) and only new types on the reverse. Despite the novelty of the types, however, the Clementia

<sup>13</sup> Plutarch writes that Pompey was cautious about engaging Caesar and that Cato was the only one who agreed with him; "All the rest, however, reviled Pompey for trying to avoid a battle, and sought to goad him on by calling him Agamemnon and King of Kings, implying that he did not wish to lay aside his sole authority, but plumed himself on having so many commanders dependent on him and coming constantly to his tent" (*Caesar* 41.1-2).

denarius fits seamlessly in the iconographic tradition and negotiates individually oriented ethos not unlike the elephant denarius – by creating alternative spaces and by concurrently ignoring and invoking the crisis of the civil war. The syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships that contribute to the design’s composition can therefore be interpreted in two different large frames: the frame for Caesar’s Gallic War, which is specifically invoked by the design and which completely ignores the current civil conflict, and the frame for the civil conflict, which is not specifically invoked by the design but must be invoked by the audience. Each of these frames includes alternative spaces that offer options for the audience’s alignment – either a convergent alignment or a divergent alignment. The construction of the large frames and the alternative spaces aims to strengthen the pull of convergent alignment by relying heavily on the audience’s emotions.

In the frame for Caesar’s Gallic War and possibly the even larger frame for Caesar’s service to the Republic, the syntagmatic relationships that contribute to the design’s composition “decompress” Caesar’s personality into a cooperative side and a competitive side, while also demonstrating his alignment towards his enemies. On the obverse, *Clementia* invokes a system of interpersonal values, while the inscription *LII* (the number 52) invokes Caesar metonymically by means of his age. (Caesar, who was born on July 12 or 13, 100 B.C., was fifty two when he issued this coin.) The combination between the inscription and the type negotiates trust by positioning Caesar in the values system and foregrounding clemency as Caesar’s chief virtue. On the reverse, the Gallic trophies invoke a military power system, while also serving as metonymies for Caesar’s defeated enemies. The combination between the inscription



*CAESAR* and the trophies negotiates authority by positioning Caesar within this power system and foregrounding Caesar's dominance over this system. In addition, the combination between the obverse and reverse serves two main purposes: it shows a balance between Caesar's cooperative virtues and martial virtues and evidences Caesar's dual alignment towards his defeated enemies – forbearance towards those who ceased hostilities and the utter destruction of those who did not.

Because the obverse and the reverse types are new, they might seem not to engage in significant paradigmatic relationships. Nevertheless, paradigmatic relationships are still very important because, by making innovation appear traditional, they invite – maybe even compel – the audience's awareness of the current crisis. Specifically, the obverse and reverse reinforce their connection to tradition by not defying the audience's visual expectations. Although Caesar's Gallic trophies were never featured before and although trophies were more commonly displayed in triumphs than on coins (maybe because not many issuing authorities had military victories to brag about), they are not unusual. For instance, Faustus Cornelius Sulla (the son of Sulla the dictator) represented trophies on a denarius of 56 B.C. Furthermore, *Clementia* fits the traditional and rather standardized representation of minor female deities. In the theoretical framework of Rudolph Arnheim, this kind of conformity supports visual recognition by helping viewers use visual knowledge acquired in the past in order to detect an object in the visual field and assign to that object a place in their worldview (*Visual Thinking* 90). Simply put, visual familiarity makes the object relatable; it makes it a part of one's world and one's experiences.

Indeed, this visual familiarity taps into the viewers' experience and memory of Caesar's behavior through an interplay between certainty and uncertainty. On the one hand, it is absolutely certain that the obverse female figure is a goddess, since human females – whether living or dead – never featured on Roman coins until a few years after Caesar's death. On the other hand, the identity of the goddess is uncertain. Modern attributions refer to the obverse female figure as “Clementia?” or “Clementia or Pietas” as a hedging strategy, because the goddess on Caesar's denarius has no identifying markers. Pietas (who looks very similar) already had a history of representation on Roman coins, but she usually appears veiled or with a simple diadem – not with an oak wreath. Clementia did not, however, have any previous history of representation. The modern identification of the female deity as Clementia may therefore rely on current knowledge of Caesar's desire to advertise his clemency, especially as demonstrated by the temple dedicated to Clementia by the Senate in 44 B.C. For Caesar's contemporary audiences, this potential uncertainty may have meant that they had to draw from their own knowledge of Caesar and of his behavior towards his enemies. Whether the goddess personifies piety or clemency, she invites the audiences' positioning in Caesar's values system and prompts the favorable evaluation of Caesar's humanity.

Along with the types, the inscriptions also engage in meaningful paradigmatic relationships, both as a result of their selection and as a result of their placement on the flan. For example, *LII* is unprecedented in Roman coinage, since no previous moneyer, quaestor, or other magistrate announced his age on a coin.<sup>14</sup> The placement of the numeral *LII* is not unusual though, since it occupies the space that early Republican

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<sup>14</sup> Regnal years, however, were commonly included on Hellenistic coins.

coinage reserved for the mark of value (on an early denarius, this was the numeral *X*, which indicated that this silver coin was worth ten asses). If on early Republican coinage the mark of value invoked the truth system that informed the striking and circulation of coinage, Caesar's age probably negotiates credibility by invoking his personal truth system – especially those principles that inform his actions towards his enemies. In addition, *LII* also occupies a space in the left field where an inscription might have identified the female deity, although such an inscription might also have been placed in the right field or distributed between both fields.<sup>15</sup> On Caesar's denarius, *LII* is the only identifying marker for the generic-looking deity, which probably means that she is a virtue unique to Caesar. This interpretation might strengthen the case for the deity being *Clementia* rather than *Pietas*, since Caesar might not have wanted to advertise a virtue already claimed by other people before him, the most illustrious of whom was *Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius*, the ancestor of *Metellus Scipio*, Pompey's father-in-law and Caesar's enemy. If, in relation to early Republican denarii, the obverse *LII* replaces *X* – the mark of value, the reverse *CAESAR* replaces *ROMA* – the mark of authority. These paradigmatic relationships negotiate credibility and authority by suggesting that Caesar's own truth and power systems are sufficient guarantors of his coin's circulation.

Apart from generating an interplay between novelty and familiarity, paradigmatic relationships are particularly important because they recruit the audience's knowledge of Caesar and prompt the audience's invocation of the frame for the civil conflict. The

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<sup>15</sup> For example, the moneyer *Q. Sicinius*, who fled Rome before Caesar's arrival, placed a similar-looking female deity on his denarius's obverse and identified her with the inscription *FORT P R* (*Fortuna Populi Romani* – the Fortune of the Roman People) distributed between the left and the right fields.

design element especially responsible for inviting the connection between the past Gallic war and the present civil war is the inscription *LII*, since Caesar turned fifty two about three weeks before the battle of Pharsalus. Why does Caesar, however, mount a response to the civil crisis by deliberately avoiding direct references to the crisis? Caesar avoids bragging about Pharsalus because celebrating the defeat of one's own countrymen would have been inappropriate, especially considering the significant loss of life in a conflict that turned former relatives or associates into deadly enemies. Writing a few centuries later, Cassius Dio captures the unnatural horror of the internecine battle:

Yet why should anyone, then, lament the fate of the others involved, when those very leaders, who were all these things to each other, and had, moreover, shared many secret plans and many exploits of like character, who had once been joined by domestic ties and loved the same child, one as a father, the other as grandfather, nevertheless fought? All the ties with which nature, by mingling their blood, had bound them together, they now, directed by the insatiate lust of power, hastened to break, tear, and rend asunder. (41.57)

In the temporally closer frame for the civil conflict, the obverse *Clementia* and the reverse Gallic trophies invoke embedded frames that invite the audience's recollection of Caesar's recent actions. *Clementia* and the trophies invoke frames (rather than mental spaces) because they call to mind larger and more complex scripts for Caesar's behavior patterns (rather than smaller chunks of knowledge pertaining to Caesar's character features). These scripts summon the audience's memory of benevolent actions, such as Caesar's treatment of Titus Labienus or Domitius Ahenobarbus. According to Plutarch, "Caesar sent to Labienus his money and his baggage," although Labienus, who had been

Caesar's friend, ran off to Pompey before Caesar's arrival in Rome (*Caesar* 34.5). Also according to Plutarch, Domitius, who had occupied Corfinium with thirty cohorts soon after the Pompeian evacuation of Rome, was ready to commit suicide after losing the city to Caesar, but was thwarted by his physician and the news of Caesar's clemency:

Domitius, despairing of his enterprise, asked his physician, who was a slave, for a poison; and taking what was given him, drank it, intending to die. But after a little, hearing that Caesar showed most wonderful clemency towards his prisoners, he bewailed his fate, and blamed the rashness of his purpose. Then his physician bade him be of good cheer, since what he had drunk was a sleeping-potion and not deadly; whereupon Domitius rose up overjoyed and went to Caesar, the pledge of whose right hand he received, only to desert him and go back to Pompey. (*Caesar* 34.6-8)

If, in the frame for Caesar's Gallic war, the obverse *Clementia* and the reverse trophies invoke complimentary cooperative and competitive virtues, in the frame for the civil war they invoke the contrasting frames for clemency and conflict and offer two options for the audience's positioning and alignment: positioning on the side of clemency, leading to convergent alignment, and positioning on the side of conflict, leading to divergent alignment. To help the audience decide, the reverse design offers a powerful evaluation tool: the arms of the defeated Gallic warriors. In addition, the entire frame for the Gallic war serves as an evaluation tool for Caesar's forbearance or harshness, depending on whether his enemies converted or persisted.

For Caesar's contemporary audiences, proof of clemency comes in yet another, highly tangible form – the presence of the same design on an aureus, a gold coin which

was very rarely issued in the Roman Republic and which had not been struck since 71 B.C., when Pompey celebrated his triumph (Sear, *Roman Imperators* 9). For those who saw or handled the aureus, the metal itself served as material proof of Caesar's munificence and as a strong negotiator of Caesar's credibility and trust. Overall, the interplay between frames poses some simple yet powerful questions to the audience: "Which side do you want to be on? Do you want to side with Caesar, or do you want to oppose him? If you side with Caesar, you will benefit from his clemency and generosity; if you oppose him, you will be defeated, and only your gutted armor and spoiled weapons will remain after you perish." These implicit questions aim to move (or scare) the audience away from the competitive and towards the cooperative side, thereby increasing the pull of convergent alignment.

In sum, Caesar's *Clementia-and-trophies* design negotiates individually oriented ethos in a manner that looks traditional but in fact is highly innovative. The design's visual familiarity makes it blend seamlessly into the minting tradition while advancing Caesar's original interpretation of individually oriented ethos and his response to the crisis of the civil war. Caesar's one-level intersubjectivity aims at forging a personal connection with his audience and at securing allegiances at the onset of the civil conflict, while the negotiation of intersubjectivity in two contextual frames and alternative spaces aims at encouraging convergent alignment by presenting the audience with the choice between a good decision and a bad decision. Unlike the receding or parallel frames invoked by Pompeian designs, the frames invoked by Caesar's design do not set up comparisons between Caesar and someone else. Instead, the mirror frames share Caesar as the main point of intersection (Figure 29).

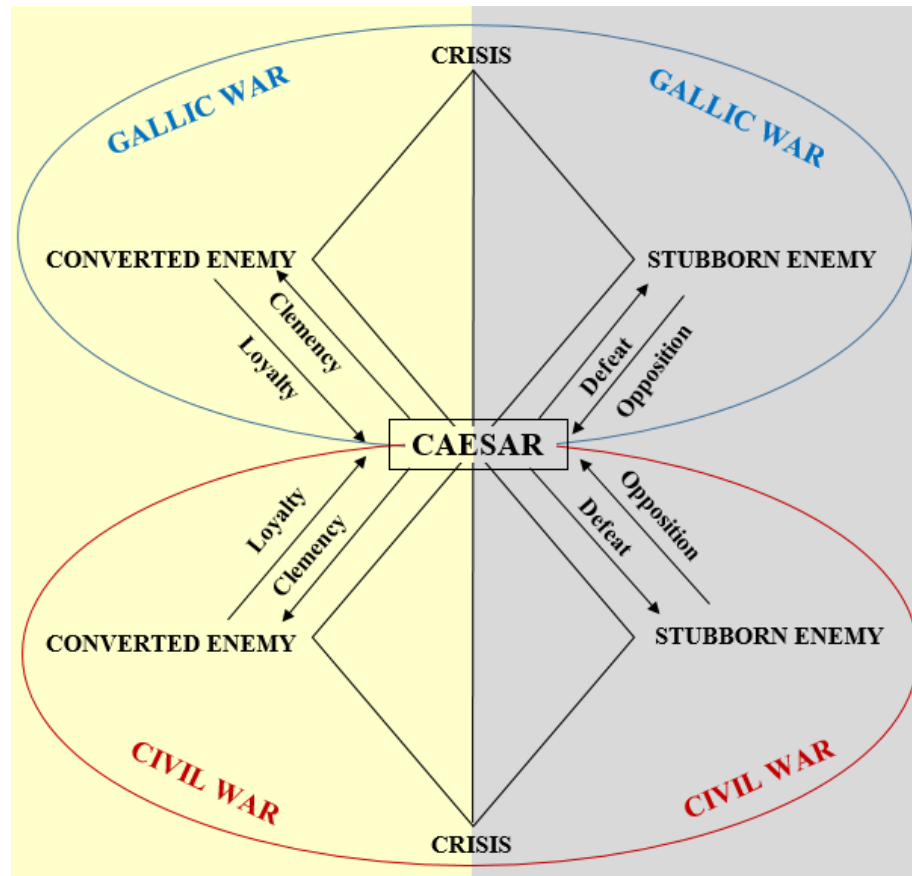


Figure 29

In these frames, Caesar gains larger-than-life status not because he is like some illustrious predecessor but because he is not like anyone else. Caesar's interpretation of individually oriented ethos does not abstract him from his humanity but enhances his humanity, does not represent him as institutional but as heroic. Caesar's fully-fledged claim to heroism emerges a couple of years later, in the Venus denarius issued for the African campaign. Nevertheless, at the onset of the civil war, *Clementia* and the Gallic trophies begin to articulate Caesar's original voice.

From the perspective of ancient rhetorical theory, Caesar's voice articulates two topics of praise: *Clementia* on the obverse articulates the topic of justice / piety, while the trophies on the reverse articulate the topic of power / accomplishments. Because virtues and actions are correlated, the audience is invited to determine what action might result

from Caesar's piety and what virtue might have produced Caesar's trophies. If the audience realizes that Caesar's generous treatment of former enemies stems from his piety and that his courage earned him the trophies, then these inferences, complemented by the contrast between the different kinds of virtues and actions, point to the presence of an enthymeme. This enthymeme might fit Aristotle's category of enthymematic topic from opposites and might take a form such as, "If your troubles come from opposing Caesar, then siding with him will make everything better," similar to Aristotle's example, "If the war is the cause of present evils, things should be set right by making peace" (*Rhetoric* 1397a.1).

The rich reception of the Clementia-and-trophies design serves as proof that Caesar's voice was well heard. The college of moneyers of 48 B.C., comprised of Hostilius Saserna, Gaius Vibius Pansa Caetronianus, and Decimus Junius Brutus, devised various ways to echo or amplify Caesar's voice. Although some of the designs proclaimed a return to normalcy by advertising the moneyers' family connections in the traditional manner, other designs strived to invoke Caesar. For example, two denarii of Gaius Vibius Pansa show the bearded head of Pan on the obverse and Jupiter Axurus on the reverse (Crawford 449/1a-b) as a means of advertising the moneyer's family history and descent from C. Vibius Pansa, moneyer of 90 B.C. However, the denarii of Hostilius Saserna deliberately refer to Caesar by copying the Clementia type (Crawford 448/1a-b) or by inventing the type of a defeated Gallic warrior, possibly Vercingetorix (Crawford 448/2 a-b). Furthermore, Decimus Brutus copies the Clementia obverse but identifies the deity as Pietas, while inventing a reverse of two hands clasped around a caduceus – a symbol of peace and reconciliation (Crawford 450/2). Unlike the transcendently



oriented ethos negotiated by the Pompeian quaestors, the moneyers of 48 B.C. negotiate socially oriented ethos, either by advertising their own family connections or by advertising their client-patron relationship with Caesar. The coins that make reference to Caesar by means of a female deity or by means of defeated Gauls bear only the moneyers' names (not Caesar's name), so the coins negotiate ethos mainly for the moneyers themselves. Nevertheless, these moneyers interpret socially oriented ethos by showing proof of convergent alignment on Caesar's cooperative side.

### Conclusions on the Ethos of Caesarean Coinage

From a cognitive perspective, Caesar's elephant and *Clementia denarii* encourage audiences to forge a personal connection with Caesar and negotiate individually oriented ethos by means of alternative spaces that move audiences away from the bad place of opposition to Caesar into the good place of support for Caesar. As a tool for recruiting the support not only of those who already agreed with Caesar but especially of those who might have disagreed with him, the alternative-space strategy can benefit from a brief conversation with Leon Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance.<sup>16</sup> In this framework, the obverse elephant type and the reverse trophies type force Caesar's opponents into experiencing cognitive dissonance: on the one hand, Caesar's opponents might have thought it was a good idea to fight against him; on the other hand, reality shows that

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<sup>16</sup> In its basic form, this theory posits that people work to reduce dissonance resulting from elements of cognition that are in conflict with one another. Festinger suggests that "elements of cognition correspond for the most part with what the person actually does or feels or with what actually exists in the environment" and posits that "the reality which impinges on a person will exert pressures in the direction of bringing the appropriate cognitive elements into correspondence with that reality" (11).

Caesar's enemies are utterly defeated. To resolve this conflict and reduce dissonance, all the enemies have to do is stop fighting and join Caesar.

In response to Festinger's theory, Joel Cooper proposes that, "in the need to reduce dissonance, a person can work to lower the discrepancy between cognitions, or can work to add cognitions that are consonant with one of the cognitions" (8). In other words, one can become comfortable (or less uncomfortable) by confirming what one already knows, feels, or believes. Caesar's supporters would have increased their comfort by looking at the pontifical emblems reverse or at the *Clementia* obverse, thereby receiving confirmation of Caesar's piety and forbearance. At the same time, Caesar's enemies, who would have experienced the sharpest cognitive dissonance, would have found relief in one more reason to change their mind: if before they didn't think it was a good idea to join Caesar, it's not too late to do it now; after all, Caesar is generous towards his former enemies. It is important to note that cognitive dissonance is not present in Pompeian designs. While Caesar acknowledges that some might love him and some might hate him, the Pompeians reinforce beliefs of their core group.

Caesar's innovative negotiations of individually oriented ethos are also supported by the relative simplicity of the coin designs. However, Caesar's designs do not achieve relative simplicity through partitioning or visual parallelism but through an interplay between balance and slight asymmetry. For example, the reverses of the elephant denarius and of the *Clementia* denarius are balanced but not perfectly symmetrical (like Nerius's reverse, for example). For this reason, the arrangement of the pontifical emblems or of the Gallic trophies discourages the perception of distinctions among the different emblems or among the different trophies and instead encourages the interaction

of the different design elements within the same field.<sup>17</sup> In other words, Caesar makes it a lot easier for the audience to understand his message.

These relatively low demands on the viewers' intellect complement the relatively high demands on the viewers' emotional investment, an investment encouraged by visual enthymemes. The contrasts that generate the enthymemes of Caesar's coin discourse either stir up or capitalize on conflicting emotions such as anxiety and tranquility or fear and reassurance, thus facilitating the audience's positioning and alignment in frames dominated by positive emotions. Our understanding of how enthymemes inform stance-taking can benefit from Jeffrey Walker's insight that the enthymeme is "a grounds-claim kind of movement, in which the 'claim' is not simply a proposition but an inferential and attitudinal complex – a stance – and the 'grounds' consist not simply of a quasi-syllogistic premise but, more fully, of a cluster of emotively significant ideas (or images) that work to motivate a passional identification with that speaker's stance" (59). In the case of Caesar's coin discourse, this passional identification is rather *passion-less*, as the audience is encouraged to set aside the violent emotion of fear in favor of gentle sympathy for Caesar.

#### Additional Questions Raised by Audiences' Knowledge and Memory

The examples of Pompeian and Caesarean coinage have shown that the two factions responded differently to the crisis of the civil war and that audiences' knowledge and memory played different roles in Pompeian and Caesarean negotiations of ethos.

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<sup>17</sup> In the framework proposed by Charles Hill, this kind of field perception supports *heuristic processing*, which requires less time, knowledge, and cognitive effort than the systematic processing supported by the Pompeian designs.

What happens, however, when what the rhetor thinks audiences should know and remember and what audiences actually know and remember do not match? What happens when audiences cannot supply either the background knowledge or the visual and haptic competency recruited by the rhetor? What happens when someone looks at a Roman coin such as Nerius's denarius but has no idea who Lentulus and Marcellus were or where the treasury was located or why people like Nerius were anxious?

In the next chapters, I address the ethos of ancient coins outside their historical contexts of production and search how, during the Renaissance, ancient coin enthusiasts filled gaps of knowledge and trained their senses in order to renegotiate the authority, credibility, and trust of objects that had not functioned as money for many centuries. In Chapter 3: "Reconstructions and Appropriations of Ancient Coin Ethos in Guillaume Rouillé's *Promptuaire des medalles*," I investigate how acts of reading restored audiences' memory of ancient coins and created new, literary-based contexts for the coins' circulation. In Chapter 4: "Speaker Ethos and Coin Ethos in Madeleine de Scudéry's *Les Femmes illustres*," I explore how ancient coins not only restored but also corrected audiences' memory of ancient heroines who spoke out in times of crisis.

### Chapter 3: Reconstructions and Appropriations of Ancient Coin Ethos in Guillaume Rouillé's *Promptuaire des medalles*

In 1553, the Lyonnaise book dealer Guillaume Rouillé published a book that he authored, *Promptuaire des medalles des plus renomées personnes qui ont esté depuis le commencement du monde: Auec brieue description de leurs vies & faits, recueillie des bons auteurs (Promptuary of Medals of the Most Renowned People Who Lived Since the Beginning of the World, with a Brief Description of Their Lives and Deeds, Recounted from Good Authors)*. Consisting of a coin portrait collection accompanied by biographic summaries, the *Promptuary* was the crowning achievement of Rouillé's prolific publishing career. What made Rouillé especially proud of this text was not only the literary research involved in the creation of illustrious people's biographies but also the visual and material research, complemented by collaborations with various artists, involved in the printing of the portrait images. The title refers to the portraits as *medalles* (*medals*) – a generally accepted Renaissance term for ancient coins – and therefore implies that the images are ancient coin reproductions. In this chapter, I investigate the roles of coin images in Rouillé's text, and I propose that they sustain the text's ethos and life cycle.

The images in Figures 30 and 31 illustrate the structure of Rouillé's *Promptuary*: coin portraits on each page, accompanied by biographic notes. For instance, the page shown in Figure 30 includes two portraits of Julius Caesar – a lifetime portrait on the left and a posthumous portrait on the right (354). The lifetime portrait approximates the obverse of a denarius struck by Sepullius Macer in February 44 B.C. (Figure 32), while the posthumous portrait approximates the obverse of a denarius struck by Voconius



IVLES Cesar fut premier Empereur de Rôme, en l'an du monde 3918. auât la nat. de Iesus 44.ans. Luy estât Consul, eut la charge de conquerer les Gaules & Illyrie, avec dix legions: car l'Asie estât subiugée par Pöpee, la fortune adöc trãporta à cetuy ce qui restoit en Europe. Or est il ç les plus fortes natiöns, qui sont les Gaulois & Germains, restoyët: & cöbien que l'Angleterre soit separee du monde, toutesfois elle trouua qui la vainquit. Iules donc subiuga les Suisses: puis quasi tousiours victorieux par tresgrandes batailles, passa iusques à la mer d'Angleterre: & en 9.ans cöquist toute la Gaule qui est entre les Alpes, le Rosne, le Rein, & la mer Oceane: print ostages des Anglois qu'il feist tributaires aux Romains, qui n'estoyët des Anglois cögnus, nö pas seulement de nom. Puis passa le Rein, & par fortes batailles vainquit les Alemans. la fortune luy fut seulement contraire par trois fois: sus la mer d'Angleterre la tẽpeste luy abyssma presque tous ses gës: & à Clermör en Auvergne, il en perdit vne legion: & sus les limites d'Alemaigne ses capitaines furent tuez par embusches. A sön retour, demãda estre encor Consul, mais Marcel, Bibulus, Pöpee, & Cato y repugnët: & on luy manda tõpre le cãp, & retourner à Rôme, de là vint la source de la guerre ciuile tresmiserable. Luy s'en viët en armes cõtre son païs: tout le Senat s'enfuit en Grece avec Pöpee, qui le vainc au premier choc: puis est vaincu en Thessalie par Cesar, qui à son retour vainc Pharnax: puis en Afrique les nobles Ro. avec le roy Iuba: & puis en Espagne les fils de Pöpee: mais fut à la premiere rencontre si bien secous par eux, qu'il se voulut tuer. en fin victorieux, se portant trop fierement, fut tué par vn iour de court, ou il estoit: l'an de son Empire 3. ou 4. de son aage 56. Sueto. Eutr. li. 6. & Plutar. Au reste pource que lon a trouuë 2. medalles antiques de Cesar, toutes deux sont icy exprimees.

Figure 30



POMPEE, surnommé le Grand, apres avoir eueusemët & tost vaincu les pirates, alla contre Mithridates en l'an du monde 3897. auant la natiuité de Iesus Christ 65.ans. la bataille fut liuree de nuit, en Armenie la mineur: Pompee vainquit, & ne perdant que trente hommes des siens, en deffist 40000. des autres. Mithridates s'enfuit luy quatrieme, dont sa femme estoit l'vne. Pompee marche contre Tigranes, Roy de la grand' Armenie, qui se rend à luy, se met à genoux deuant luy, & luy presente sa couronne entre les mains: mais Pompee la luy remet sus la teste. donna Paphlagonie à Attalus, & à Pylimenes: & Armenie la mineur à Deiotarus roy de Galatie, pource qu'il luy ayda contre Mithridates. Feit Aristarc roy de Colchos: tost apres dompta les Itureens & Arabes: mit en liberté Seleucie, qui n'auoit accueilli Tigranes: rendit les ostages d'Antioche. de là passant en Iudee, en trois mois print Ierusalem: occist douze mil Iuifs, le reste il print à merci. Puis s'enflãma la guerre ciuile (Florus l'apelle generale, & plus que guerre) entre Pöpee & Cesar, la plus troublee & plus dangereuse de toutes: à la premiere rencontre Cesar fut vaincu, & par fuite se sauua, Pöpee ne le voulant pourfuyure sus la nuit. Lors dist Cesar, que Pompee ne sauoit pas vaincre: & que luy ne pouuoit estre vaincu qu'adöc. Puis y eut grosse bataille en Pharsalie: & Pompee vaincu s'enfuit vers Ptolemee (de qui il estoit tuteur ordõné par le Senat) qui suyuant plus la fortune que l'amitié fait trencher la teste à Pompee, & l'enuoya à Cesar: qui la voyant, ne se peut tenir de pleurer. Voyez Plutar. en Pompee. Eutr. liu. 6. Appi. 2. liu. Iosep. liu. 14. chap. 8.

IVLIE fille de Cesar, fut femme de Pompee, & mourit en peine d'enfant.

Figure 31

Vitulus in 40 B.C. (Figure 33). Both reproductions include inscriptions (*CAESAR / DICT PERPETVO* and *DIVI IVLI*, respectively) that correspond to the ancient models, but the first inscription is placed differently, with *CAESAR* behind the portrait instead of in front of it. The page shown in Figure 31, which includes the portraits of Pompey the Great and of his wife Julia, Caesar's daughter, takes greater liberty with ancient coin images (356). The lituus behind Pompey's portrait and the inscription *MAGNVS PI POM* suggest that the image is loosely based on the obverse of a denarius struck after Pompey's death by his son Sextus (Figure 34), although neither the image nor the inscription accurately corresponds to the denarius of Sextus Pompey or to any other

known ancient coin. In the case of Julia's portrait, however, both the image and the inscription are fantasies, because Julia never had a coin struck in her name or memory.

These image examples suggest that Rouillé and the artists with whom he collaborated had some access to ancient coins, and that whenever possible they reconstructed the portraits based on ancient models. When they did not have access to certain coin specimens, they seem to have made every effort to reconstruct the missing images with all available resources, which may have included other reproductions, verbal accounts, or sheer imagination.



Figure 32

Roman Imperial. P. Sepullius Macer. Jan.-Feb. 44 BC. AR Denarius (4.03 g, 19 mm). Rome mint. Ob: Wreathed head of Caesar right; CAESAR / DICT PERPETVO behind. Rx: Venus Victrix standing left, holding Victory in outstretched right hand and resting left arm on vertical scepter set on shield; P SEPULLIVS / MACER. Crawford 480/10. Triton XVI, lot 902. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Figure 33

Roman Imperial. Q. Voconius Vitulus. 40 BC. AR Denarius (3.85 g, 18 mm). Rome mint. Ob: Wreathed head of Caesar right; lituus to left; DIVI • IVLI downward to right. Rx: Bull-calf walking left; Q • VOCONIVS above, VITVLVS in exergue. Crawford 526/2. Triton XXI, lot 670. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Figure 34

Roman Imperial. Sextus Pompey. 42-40 BC. AR Denarius (3.48 gm). Uncertain Sicilian mint. Ob: Bare head of Pompey the Great right between lituus and capis; MAG. PIVS IMP ITER]. Rx: Neptune left, foot on prow, between the brothers Anapias and Amphinomus, with their parents on their shoulders; PRÆF above, CLAS. ET. O[RÆ] MARIT. EX. S. C.] in exergue. Crawford 511/3a. Triton VI, lot 790.

Why were coins so important to Rouillé, and how did he envision the process of recovering and appropriating ancient coin images? What do coin images contribute to the authority, credibility, and trust of Rouillé's book? I explore these questions by analyzing Rouillé's theory of the nature and function of ancient coins, a theory articulated in the *Promptuary's* preface. To carry out this analysis, I rely on two sets of theoretical frameworks: a rhetorical framework based on Cicero's topics and the cognitive framework outlined in previous chapters. The ancient rhetorical perspective complements the cognitive perspective because Rouillé most likely relied on Ciceronian topics to construct the arguments presented in his preface. These highly compatible theoretical perspectives contribute important tools for unpacking Rouillé's arguments: the rhetorical perspective reveals the argument structure and its important inter-textual relationships, while the cognitive perspective reveals strategies for securing the audiences' alignment with the coin images, the book, and its author, as well as with their own roles as readers. In the analysis of Rouillé's theory, the Ciceronian and the cognitive frameworks support the overarching claim that Rouillé reconstructs and appropriates ancient coin ethos in order to advance an approach to literacy that balances verbal and visual communication and enhances the audience's participation in the text; this approach creates a tight interdependence between coin ethos and book ethos and thus energizes the life of the book.

In the three main sections of this chapter, I support my overarching claim by analyzing mechanisms for the reconstruction and appropriation of ancient coin ethos. In the first section, "Notes on Rouillé's Life, Name, and Activity," I situate the *Promptuary* in the context of Rouillé's work as publisher and author, and I provide a background for notions of authorship that emerge in the *Promptuary's* preface. In the second section,



“Reconstructions of Ancient Coin Ethos,” I propose that Rouillé creates new contexts for the re-circulation of ancient coins, contexts where coins regain authority, credibility, and trust as the result of their ability to mediate the audience’s access to the coins’ sources of power, truths, and values. In the third section, “Appropriations of Ancient Coin Ethos,” I suggest that the ethos of coins supports the ethos of the author, of the book, and of the audience by emphasizing the transformative and therapeutic value of portrait images.

*Notes on Rouillé’s Life, Name, and Activity*

Who was Guillaume Rouillé? In his life-time, he was a successful publisher and book dealer of Lyon, a businessman of skill and integrity, and a person of vast and varied learning, most likely acquired through self-study and experience in the publishing business. Today, he is a beloved Renaissance celebrity in the city of Lyon and an important name on the roster of Renaissance publishers. Yet, despite Rouillé’s fame, he has not received wide scholarly attention and has remained understudied. In modern scholarship, key studies on Guillaume Rouillé include Élise Rajchenbach-Teller’s article “De ‘ceux qui de leur pouvoir aydent et favorisent au public.’ Guillaume Rouillé, libraire a Lyon” (2012), John Cunnally’s book chapter “Comme au Clair Miroir de l’Âme: Rouille, Physiognomy, and the Renaissance *Bildnisvitenbücher*” (1999), and Natalie Zemon Davis’s “Publisher Guillaume Rouillé, Businessman and Humanist” (1966). While John Cunnally discusses Rouillé in relation to the history of Renaissance numismatic texts, Élise Rajchenbach-Teller and Natalie Zemon Davis address Rouillé’s activity as a publisher. In their studies, Rajchenbach-Teller and Zemon Davis draw from and add to an entry in the nineteenth-century *Bibliographie lyonnaise* by Henri and Julien

Baudrier, a text which to date provides the most extensive and detailed research on Rouillé's life and activity. Although existing studies on Rouillé do not have rhetorical notions as their primary focus, an inquiry into coin and book ethos can benefit from highlighting considerations raised or clarified by these studies, such as the key events of his life, the nature of his activity, and the *Promptuary's* place in his career.

Information on Rouillé's life comes primarily from Baudrier's *Bibliographie lyonnaise: recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au XVIe siècle / par le président Baudrier; publiées et continuées par J. Baudrier*.<sup>18</sup>

The original researcher, Henri Baudrier, died one year before the appearance of the first edition, but his son Julien continued the work, reflected in subsequent editions of this text. The entry on Guillaume Rouillé (which in the ninth edition covers over four hundred pages) appears to be the work of Julien Baudrier and includes a detailed biographical note, which indicates that Rouillé was born in 1518 in the burg of Dolus near the town of Loches and died in Lyon in 1589 (17). Rouillé spent some of his youth in Italy, where he apprenticed with the bookseller Giovanni Giolito de Ferrari and then with Giovanni's son Gabriel. Upon his return to France, Rouillé entered into the service of Dominique de Portonariis, an Italian bookseller of Lyon. Around 1544, Rouillé married Madeleine de Portonariis, daughter of Dominique de Portonariis, and continued the family business after the death of his father-in-law. Having become a widower at an uncertain date,

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<sup>18</sup> Published in multiple editions between 1895 and 1921, the *Bibliographie lyonnaise* was the outcome of a father-son collaboration that drew from an extensive array of archival documents and printed texts to outline the activity of printers, publishers, bookbinders, and compositors in sixteenth-century Lyon.

Rouillé later married Claudine Revel, with whom he had no children (18).<sup>19</sup> From the first marriage, Rouillé had four surviving daughters, and the eldest, Drivonne, continued her father's business. The examination of various documents of the Rouillé family led Baudrier to conclude that Guillaume Rouillé was kind, charitable, and prudent. He provided for the orphaned children of a struggling bookseller colleague, showed kindness to his servants,<sup>20</sup> supported his less fortunate relatives, maintained a hospital, and conducted business with impeccable integrity.

Rouillé's irreproachable life and good reputation served well the success of his business and career, which appear to have been grounded in fair-minded collaboration. By sharing publishing costs, risks, and benefits with booksellers and printers of Lyon, Paris, Venice, Geneva, and various Spanish towns, as well as by supporting struggling colleagues, Rouillé achieved a rich publication output, comprised of classical texts, translations of classical texts, theological texts, and texts on law, medicine, pharmacy, and botany.<sup>21</sup> To clarify the scope of Rouillé's activity, Henri Baudrier indicates that Rouillé was primarily a *libraire*, which at that time meant that he sold books that he edited and published. Although Rouillé on a few occasions assumed the title

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<sup>19</sup> Baudrier insists that Rouillé was not at any time married to a daughter of the famous bookseller Sébastien Gryphe (as Chamel and Giraudet had claimed) and that Rouillé's family connections to the book trade were limited to the Portonariis (19).

<sup>20</sup> As evidence of Rouillé's generosity towards his servants, Baudrier references the will of Rouillé's gardener. According to this document, the gardener had been cared for during his illness in Rouillé's own home, so the servant chose to show his gratitude by bestowing upon his master a small house and a parcel of land (26).

<sup>21</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis complements Baudrier's account by classifying and quantifying Rouillé's publication output. Zemon Davis indicates that Rouillé published 149 medical texts in Latin and vernaculars (17.8%), 67 miscellaneous scientific texts on surgery, pharmacy, and botany (8%), 183 texts on civil and canon law (22%), and 194 religious texts (23.2%) (81).

*Typographus* and although he might have owned printing presses later in his career, he was most certainly not a printer (42-43). Instead, Rouillé followed contemporary practices of maintaining essential printing supplies and commissioning the work to trusted workshops. Rajchenbach-Teller supports Baudrier's claims regarding the nature of Rouillé's collaborative activity and suggests that, as a publisher, author, and translator, Rouillé showed genuine consciousness of his role as an intermediary and a dealer in texts (101), as well as a "transmitter, fixer, and conservator of memory" (107; my translation).

Rouillé's multiple professional personas suited for diverse cultural and linguistic contexts found expression in various spellings of his name and, in modern times, generated involved debates regarding the the best way to reference the Lyonnaise publisher. According to Julien Baudrier, Rouillé printed his name, following the example of his contemporaries, in French, Italian, and Spanish, with variations such as *Rouille*, *Rouillé*, *Roville*, *Rouville*, *Rouillius*, *Rovillius*, *Rouillio*, or *Roviglio* (14-15). Baudrier argues that the spelling *Roillet*, which appears in documents following Rouillé's arrival at Lyon, represents the closest reflection of the name's pronunciation, since in sixteenth-century French *o* was pronounced like *ou*, while *et* was pronounced like *é* (as it is in modern French); therefore, *Rouillé* represents the most accurate modern spelling. Henri Baudier, on the other hand, previously claimed *Rouille* (with a mute *e* and no final accent) as the best rendition of the name's pronunciation.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> In the 1883 study *De l'orthographe du nom de Guillaume Rouville et de quelques autres particularités de sa vie, à propos du livre de dr. Giraudet de Tours sur l'origine de l'imprimerie dans cette ville*, Henri Baudrier suggested that, during the entire sixteenth century, *o* and *ou* were interchangeable and that *u* and *v* were the same letter. Therefore, *Rouville* and *Rouille* represented equivalent spellings (26-27). Furthermore, Henri Baudrier argued that, although the use of accents in print began towards the middle of the sixteenth century, editions that use accents with some consistency do not necessarily

Henri Baudrier's and Julien Baudrier's efforts to extract a precise and final answer from a great variety of textual evidence reflects the need for a tight relationship between accuracy and consistency in the bibliographic research of their time. In addition, their debate illustrates the need for what Michel Foucault labels as the "author function" – the classificatory nature of an author's name, which "permits one to group together a certain number of texts, define them, differentiate them from and contrast them to others" (227). However, their carefully constructed arguments do not necessarily settle the matter in question, and opinions are still split. For example, Cunnally opts for *Rouille*, while Rajchenback-Teller and Zemon-Davis opt for *Rouillé*. Instead of offering a definite answer, the Baudriers' research suggests that Rouillé may have been less concerned with an "author function" and more concerned with a rich variety or *copia* of personas, each suited to a specific context.<sup>23</sup>

Rouillé's preoccupation with *copia* found its full expression in the *Promptuaire des medalles*, a text which responded to intellectual trends that privileged the use of coins in education. John Cunnally suggests that, although by the end of the fifteenth century coins were commonly used to educate princes and immerse them in ancient culture and virtue (13), schoolmasters for the less privileged, who did not have access to coin collections, needed coin books to teach their students (19). The first response to this need was Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines*, a collection of medallion-style portraits

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show an accent in Rouillé's name. For instance, in 1548, Rouillé associated with printer Macé Bonhomme to produce *Emblèmes d'Alciat*, a French translation of Alciati's *Emblemata*; this edition includes accents, but Rouillé's name does not (31).

<sup>23</sup> In my analysis, I use the spelling *Rouillé* in order to maintain consistency with current French references; nevertheless, I suggest that the spelling debates raise the possibility that consistency was not essential or even relevant to Rouillé's rhetorical purposes.

accompanied by brief biographies and a model for future image collections. Although not the only text patterned after the *Illustrium imagines*, the *Promptuaire des medalles* was the most ambitious. Its 828 portrait images trace an illustrious lineage spanning from Adam and Eve into Rouillé's present and express an ideal of abundance and variety that "had ethical as well as aesthetic consequences, encouraging the development of the multitalented, versatile, and infinitely adaptable personality we associate with the Renaissance *cortigiano*" (Cunnally 13).

The visual abundance of the *Promptuaire des medalles* was made possible by Rouillé's collaboration with multiple artists who reproduced or invented images of ancient coins, drew portraits of contemporary celebrities, or copied portraits produced in other media. Although most of these artists remain unknown, Baudrier identifies the engraver Georges Reverdy as one of Rouillé's collaborators and suggests that some contemporary celebrities might have sat for Reverdy's portraits (34). In addition, Baudrier indicates that other celebrity portraits might have been drawn from the famous portrait collection of the royal painter Corneille de la Haye (34). The text that accompanied the illustrations was, on the other hand, Rouillé's own work, which he based on a variety of ancient, medieval, and contemporary sources.

From a modern perspective, Rouillé's complex collaborations illustrate Roland Barthes's vision of the text as a "tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centers of culture" ("The Death of the Author" 203). Rouillé, however, describes his work in different terms. In the opening dedication to Margueritte de France, Rouillé claims that, "in truth, this work . . . is a Lernaean Hydra, albeit without poison, because it has not just seven heads but more than seven or eight hundred heads of diverse shapes and different

sexes, and also because of the prudence and serpentine ancientness manifest in this Hydra, which renews itself from year to year and from century to century, as well as because it gave me great labors, beyond Herculean, until I was able to reach its completion” (n.p.; my translation). The metaphor of the Hydra thus emphasizes not only the labor involved in the creation of a text that generated ever-rising challenges, but also Rouillé’s hope for the text’s endurance and ongoing renewal.

### *Reconstructions of Ancient Coin Ethos*

Rouillé’s hope for the endurance and renewal of his book rests on the eight hundred heads of men and women that rise from distant times and spaces with the help of the coins that represent their likeness. In the *Promptuary*’s preface, which addresses a general readership, Rouillé theorizes the make-up and function of these coins, as well as the essential role they play in the make-up and function of his text. Rouillé articulates his theory in two extended definitions that mirror each other: an extended definition of ancient coins, which reconstructs coin ethos, and an extended definition of his book, which appropriates coin ethos and binds it to the book’s ethos. From a rhetorical perspective, the extended definitions reconstruct the authority, credibility, and trust of ancient coins in contexts that involve various kinds of embodied reading, so as to support an argument for the value of visual reading mediated by coin images. From a cognitive perspective, these definitions negotiate coin ethos within complex networks of stance objects; by moving through these networks, audiences also negotiate their own ethos, especially with regard to the roles of learner and reader.

## Rouillé's Definition of Ancient Coins

In all likelihood, Rouillé was familiar with topical invention and used it deliberately to construct his arguments. In the absence of any evidence that Rouillé's impressive erudition was the result of formal higher education,<sup>24</sup> Rouillé's translating and editing activities suggest that Cicero was his rhetorician of choice. Baudrier's bibliography, for instance, lists Rouillé as the translator of *Les oeuvres de M. T. Cicero: Les offices, le livre d'amitié, le livre de vieillesse, les Paradoxes, le Songes de Scipion* and as the editor of the three-volume *Operum M. Tullii Ciceronis*, of *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera omnia quae exstant*, of *M.T. Ciceronis sententiae insigniores*, and of Dolet's translation *Épîtres familiaires de Cicéron*. Although it may not be possible to determine the full extent of Rouillé's familiarity with Cicero, a reference to the myth of Zeuxis (which I will discuss in the next chapter section) suggests that he knew *De Inventione*, in addition to the works he translated and edited. Furthermore, considering that, by the time Rouillé wrote the *Promptuary*, Cicero's *Topics* had already enjoyed a rich reception (such as in Boethius's *De topicis differentiis*, for example), it is by no means unlikely that Rouillé knew how to deploy the fundamental strategies of topical invention, especially since Cicero was also a pillar of fundamental education in Latin.

From the perspective of Ciceronian topics, Rouillé constructs his arguments for ancient coins' authority, credibility, and trust within the frame of an extended definition, which seems to follow Cicero's pattern for a definition by enumeration, "when the thing which has been set up for definition is divided into its members," and for a definition by

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<sup>24</sup> Rouillé's biographers mention his various apprenticeships but present no evidence that Rouillé received a university education.



analysis, which “includes all the species that come under the genus which is being defined” (*Topica* VI.28). The definition by enumeration allows Rouillé to theorize a coin’s make-up as consisting of two material parts: an image (the type) and an image-bearing substance (the metal). In addition, the definition by analysis allows Rouillé to theorize each part in relation to the species of a genus. The image thus belongs to the species *Illustrious Face* of the genus *Human Face*, while the image-bearing substance belongs to the species *Metal* of the genus *Inscribable Matter*. Rouillé constructs his definition by moving from the image genus to the image species and then from the substance genus to the substance species and by deploying supporting arguments from analogy, difference, authority, or etymology. This movement from genus to species facilitates a gradual narrowing of perspective from panoramic vistas to miniature spaces, while the various supporting arguments highlight the power, truths, and virtues borne by ancient coins.

Rouillé’s address to the reader, as well as his definition of an ancient coin, opens with the praise of the face. Rouillé pronounces that, in the theater of the universe, just as in the ancient Colosseum, the face presents the most dignified and noble spectacle. Imprinted with the glory of God and all the virtues, the face sets humans apart from animals. While animals generally keep their faces down and look to the ground, humans keep their faces upright and can therefore look up to the heavens and the stars:

As, long ago, in the great games of the Roman Colosseum, under the shade of rolling tents, among other attractions of the spectacle, the various faces of masked actors representing diverse personages appeared as the most respectable and the most attractive to the onlookers’ eyes, so in this low terrestrial world, a spacious

theater established under the cover of the revolving heavens, nothing can be seen that is of more dignity and of grander appearance than the human face. In it (even by the confession of the invisible spirits) are signed the marvelous and venerable light and the image of God. And thus in it shine the signs of all virtues, in a space so small, yet as majestic as it is august. Of its nobility and excellence, Ovid thus sang in his verses, translated by Marot:

Although any other animal  
Downward directs its gaze,  
To man, God gave an upright face,  
And ordered him to behold the heavens' excellence  
And lift his eyes to the stars' brilliance. (3; my translation)

In the praise of the human face, the analogy between the face and a theater mask represents the face as the species of a larger genus of inscriptions and endows the face with the ability to communicate social and individual truths. The relationship between the face and a theater mask in the context of a public spectacle highlights a conception of the face as a representation of character. Rouillé's vision of "masked actors representing diverse personages" eliciting respect and admiration suggests that the face serves as a mediator between an inner individual reality and an outer social reality. In the social reality of the human spectacle, respect and admiration are ways in which the onlookers' eyes decode the face and the reality hidden underneath. The idea that someone's eyes can "read" someone else's face calls to mind fundamental notions of pseudo-Aristotelian physiognomy, which was a popular intellectual trend in Rouillé's time. Although Rouillé does not, at any point, elaborate on specific correspondences between physiognomic

traits and character traits, the presentation of the human face as a decodable image serves the first step of an argument that spans Rouillé's entire project – an argument that “reading” the face of illustrious persons, in conjunction with reading their biographies, can not only educate the reader but also improve the reader's character.

Complementing the explicit analogy between the face and a theater mask, an implicit analogy between the face and an inscription permits the face to function as a species of the inscriptions genus and as the genus for the species of ancient coin images. These species-genus relationships endow the human face with divine authority and the ability to channel divine truths. Rouillé's statement that “the marvelous and venerable light and the image of God” are signed in the human face implies that the face serves as the substance for an inscription of divine grace. Furthermore, because all the virtues shine “in a space so small,” the face is a miniature, a scaling down of the immeasurable vastness of grace to a level accessible to human perception. Thus, the human face is a sort of coin prototype: first, because it is “signed” or imprinted by the highest possible authority; second, because this authority manifests itself in a miniature space. In conjunction with the analogy between the face and a theater mask, the analogy between the face and a divinely-wrought visual inscription implies that the respect and admiration experienced by the spectators who looked at the mask are the result of their ability to perceive what the mask represents, which is the grace of God. In other words, the “reading” of the face offers access to the transcendence inscribed in the face, and this “reading” is awe-inspiring because it reveals the great beauty and vast potential of human beings.

The distinction between the human face and the animal face reinforces the analogies by suggesting that the gaze serves as the *differentia* between the human and the animal *genera*. In an argument from authority, Rouillé quotes from the first book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to suggest that the position of the face and the direction of the gaze set humans apart from animals. The translation that I provided attempts to render Marot's rhymed translation cited by Rouillé, but renditions of the Latin text capture this *differentia* more clearly. For instance, Ian Johnson's version reads:

Other creatures  
keep their heads bent and gaze upon the ground  
but he gave man a face which could look up  
and ordered him to gaze into the sky  
and, standing erect, raise his countenance towards the stars.  
Thus, what had been crude earth  
and formless was transformed and then took on  
the shapes of human life, unknown until then. (1.23-25)

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the creation of the human being thus concludes a section on the creation of the world from Chaos, a lifeless substance of a paradoxical nature: its various elements were neither combined nor differentiated, things had no shape yet obstructed one another, and the physical properties of things, such as cold and hot, wet and dry, soft and hard, heavy and light, fought with each other in the same body (1.1-28).

As described by Ovid, the creation of the world occurs through life-bearing and order-bearing combinations and differentiations, culminating with the combination between the face and the gaze and the distinction between humans and animals. Although

expressed in biological terms, this distinction captures a spiritual disposition which, according to Ovid, must fulfil a crucial need of creation: “What was missing was an animal / more spiritual than these, more capable / of higher thinking, which would be able / to dominate the others” (1.107-10). What happens when this need is properly met becomes apparent in what immediately follows the creation of the human being – The Golden Age.

Ovid describes The Golden Age as a time when human life was free from struggle and pain because it unfolded in harmony with every aspect of creation. The first and maybe the most important aspect of this harmony, which Ovid mentions immediately after the creation of man, is the social aspect, the peace and goodwill that defined human relationships. Human beings’ ability to stand erect and look towards the heavens thus finds expression in The Golden Age because, by looking up, humans gain access to those truths and values that order their lives well:

The Golden Age was born first. It fostered  
faith and right all on its own, without law  
and without revenge. Fear and punishment  
did not exist. There were no threatening words  
etched in brass and set up for men to read,  
nor were a crowd of suppliants afraid  
of the looks of men who judged them. They lived  
in safety, with no one there to punish. (1.126-33)

By quoting Ovid in an appeal to authority, Rouillé invokes Ovid’s notion that an upright face can contemplate divinity and that the gaze can enlighten and educate. In

Rouillé's argument, the face is therefore not only an object of perception and a seal of transcendent grace, but also an agent of perception and an instrument of access to the transcendent realm. This double function of the face – to see and be seen – frames Rouillé's narrowed focus on a species of the human face genus – the face of an illustrious person. The treatment of this species is rather succinct, and it is interlaced with a discussion of another genus and species: various forms of verbal and non-verbal inscriptions (the genus) and the metal coin (the species). According to Rouillé, the ancients wanted to preserve the memory of illustrious men and women and educate future generations, so they conserved the images of the illustrious in various media, such as letters, as well as many kinds of visual arts. Among the visual arts, coins stand out because they are made of metal, which is more durable than paper, and because they are visual representations, which are more convincing than verbal representations:

That is why the good Ancients, eager to extend through the centuries the immortal glory of noble personages, as well as of their own, thus very prudently conserving the memory of antiquity and providing for the education of posterity, depicted not only by letters, or verbal descriptions, as if by certain fine traits the bare forms of illustrious men and women, but also arranged to guard these for posterity in statues, paintings, insignia, and portraits, erected, engraved, carved, cast, or struck; and primarily the most beautiful, most honest part of the human being, the part which Nature wanted to be very apparent to plain sight and always uncovered: this is the face, which they marked and signed in small metal rounds and all sorts of coin, in gold, silver, or copper. And this is mainly for two reasons. First, because these coins last longer (due to their solid metallic substance and

also due to the peculiar protection of hidden treasures), while the written letters or those printed with fluid ink on frail paper are not permanent. Second, because (according to the statement of King Candaules in Herodotus), the eyes are more trustworthy than the ears. Because (as Horace said):

The thing heard, which the ears receive  
Arouses the spirit more slowly  
Than the thing seen, which the eyes perceive,  
Present to the viewer clearly. (4; my translation)

As a species of the inscriptions genus, the image-bearing metal of an ancient coin is affected by three sets of differentiae: the size and shape of the surface, the durability of the substance, and the impact on the senses. First, the differentia of size and shape set apart coins within the genus of memory-preserving objects. Although Rouillé avoids (as a matter of contextual common sense) discussing the shape and size of various written descriptions, statues, paintings, and so on, he emphasizes that coins are “small metal rounds.” That their round shape and miniature size sets coins apart from other monuments of the illustrious implies that, in all other respects, coins are like the other members of the genus: they are memory-preserving and instructive. Second, the differentia of durability sets coins apart from written and printed texts. While the paper on which texts are inscribed by the human hand or by the printing press is frail, the metal of which coins are made is durable and therefore less affected by the passage of time. That coins and texts differ with respect to their durability suggests that in other respects they are similar: like texts, coins are inscribed with a message that can be interpreted. Third, the differentia of impact on senses sets coins apart from verbal messages based on

the manner in which messages are interpreted: because seeing is more impactful than hearing, coins, which target the eyes, are more memorable than verbal discourse, which targets the ears. The third differentia appears important enough to benefit from an additional argument from authority, as Rouillé draws from Herodotus and from Horace to declare the superiority of seeing over hearing.

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CANDAVLES fut quatrième Roy de Lydie, en l'an du monde 3248. avant la natiuité de Iesus Christ 714. ans. Il ayma si fortémēt sa femme, que ne faisant que prescher de sa beauté (comme si n'en parlant point, sa beauré eut esté diminué) en fin la feit voir, par vn soir, & toute nue, à Gyges son familier, quoy faisant, rendit son ami ennemi, l'induifant à mal & à tentation: & perdit l'amitié de sa femme, comme l'abandonnant à autruy. Si que bien tost la mort de Candaules luy fut le loyer de son mariage: la femme ayant comme pour douaire le sang de son mari, donna le royaume d'iceluy, & elle mesme, à son paillard. Voyez Iustin liu. i. Herodote escrit en son liu. i. que la Royne manda le lendemain querir Gyges, & luy dist telles paroles ( bien que repugnant, & contraint l'eust veü toute nue) Ou il faut que celuy qui t'a cōseillé, meure, ou toy-mesme qui m'as regardée nue, luy oyant tel propos, & qu'il falloir passer par là, eleut plus-tost de tuer le Roy. Si s'en vint le trouuer le soir, dormant, & le tua au lieu mesme où il auoit veü la Royne nue. Voyez comme dessus.

GYGES fut Roy de Lydie apres qu'il eut tué Candaules, en l'an du monde 3265. avant la natiuité de Iesus Christ 697. ans. Il feit guerre contre Milete, & Smyrne, villes, & print par force celle de Colophon. Voyez Herodote li. i. Lon dit de luy, chose fabuleuse, qu'il entra dās vn cheual d'airin, qui auoit ouerture au flanc, & trouua leans vn homme mort, ayant vn anneau d'or en vn de ses doigts, lequel anneau il print: & le porta en son doigt: & quād il ne vouloit estre veu de personne, tournoit la pierre, ou chaton de l'anneau, dedans sa main: ainsi (dit-on) il coucha avec la Royne, & tua le Roy, sans estre aperceü: & puis fut Roy luy-mesme. Voyez Cice. 3. li. des Offic.

Figure 35

beautiful wife that he contrived to show off her unmatched loveliness. Because Candaules was not satisfied with telling Gyges about his wife's beauty and because

Rouillé invokes Herodotus in

reference to King Candaules, who appears in Book I of the *Persian Wars*.<sup>25</sup>

In the context of a lengthy explanation of the history of enmity between the Greeks and the Persians, Herodotus traces the succession of Lydian kings. While

Herodotus gives the most attention to Croesus, he dedicates a vivid short

narrative to how Croesus's great-grandfather Gyges came to power.

According to Herodotus, Gyges was the bodyguard and confidant of King

Candaules, who was so proud of his

<sup>25</sup> Rouillé expands on this reference by dedicating a page to Candaules and Gyges (Figure 35).



Candaules wanted Gyges to see her himself, the king arranged for the bodyguard to sneak into the royal bedroom and spy on his wife as she disrobed. After some protestation, Gyges agreed. He therefore hid in the bedroom, watched the queen take off her clothes, and then quietly slipped away. However, his presence didn't go unnoticed. Greatly offended, the queen pretended not to notice Gyges, but not long afterwards she summoned him to her presence and gave him a choice: either die right then and there for his offence or murder Candaules, marry her, and seize the throne. Finding the option of keeping his life more attractive than the alternative, Gyges murdered Candaules, married the queen, and became the next Lydian king. For Candaules, therefore, the price of showing rather than telling was death; for Gyges, on the other hand, the price of seeing rather than hearing was a rich kingdom and a stunning wife.

In Herodotus, the immediate context for Rouillé's reference is the initial conversation between Candaules and Gyges, when the king decided to offer visual proof of his bragging rights:

This Candaules, then, fell in love with his own wife, so much that he supposed her to be by far the fairest woman in the world; and being persuaded of this, he raved of her beauty to Gyges, son of Dascylus, who was his favourite among his bodyguards; for it was to Gyges that he entrusted all his weightiest secrets. Then after a little while Candaules, being doomed to ill-fortune, spoke thus to Gyges: "I think, Gyges, that you do not believe what I tell you of the beauty of my wife; men trust their ears less than their eyes; do you, then, so contrive that you may see her naked." (1.8)

By quoting Candaules, Rouillé invokes the king's perspective on the superiority of unmediated over mediated perception of reality. While seeing something with one's own eyes offers immediate proof of that thing's existence, listening to someone's account of the same thing is subject to the distortions of another person's point of view. Because he skips over the heavy price poor Candaules paid for feeling that words were just not good enough, Rouillé appears to privilege the visual over the verbal. However, the reference to Horace hints at a balance between the visual and the verbal, a balance that informs the entire project of the *Promptuary*.

To nuance the distinction between seeing and hearing, Rouillé quotes from Horace's *Ars Poetica*. The immediate context for the quotation is Horace's advice to an aspiring playwright on the right balance between showing and telling. According to Horace, the dramatic poet must remember that hearing the narrative of an event excites the audiences' minds less than seeing that event performed. The understanding of the roles of hearing and seeing can therefore help the dramatic poet create a level of excitement that falls within the appropriate range of a play's *decorum*. While some actions are more vivid when seen on stage, other actions that are too vivid – either because they are too violent or too outlandish – should only be narrated:

Either an event is acted on the stage, or the action is narrated. Less vividly is the mind stirred by what finds entrance through the ears than by what is brought before the trusty eyes, and what the spectator can see for himself. Yet you should not bring upon the stage what should be performed behind the scenes, and you will keep much from our eyes, which an actor's tongue will narrate anon in our presence; so that Medea is not to butcher her boys before the people, not impious

Atreus cook human flesh upon the stage, nor Procne be turned into a bird,  
Cadmus into a snake. Whatever you thus show me, I discredit and abhor. (179-88)

Rouillé's choice of two quotations which, in their original contexts, problematize the balance of seeing and hearing informs not only the differentiae that identify the image-bearing coin metal as a distinct species but also the intrinsic connections that bind coins to literacy. It is important to note that, in Rouillé's extended definition of ancient coins, the differentia of durability and the differentia of impact on the senses do not distinguish coins from written language, on the one hand, and from spoken language, on the other hand. Rather, both differentiae set coins apart from written language – while durability distinguishes between the metal on which portraits are imprinted and the paper on which texts are inscribed, the impact on the senses distinguishes between *seeing* a portrait and *hearing* a text.

The notion that different senses are involved in decoding visual and verbal inscriptions may appear strange to modern readers, who generally conceive of reading as a visual and silent activity. However, Rouillé refers to reading as an activity that privileged the oral over the visual. As Roger Chartier suggests, this was the most common conception of reading in Rouillé's time: "Often in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the implicit reading of a text, literary or not, was construed as a vocalization and its 'reader' as the auditor of read speech [*parole lectrice*]. Thus addressed to the ear as much as the eye, the work played with forms and processes designed to submit the written word to the requirements of 'oral performance'" (53). By proclaiming that coin images, which appeal primarily to the eyes, are more vivid than written texts, which appeal primarily to the ears, Rouillé attempts to balance seeing and hearing in the act of

reading. Hinted at in the references to Herodotus and Horace, this balance finds its full expression in the structure of the *Promptuaire*, which matches each coin portrait to a biographical sketch.

After theorizing the make-up of ancient coins in terms of two parts involved in genus-species relationships and affected by key differentia, Rouillé invokes the entire object in an argument from etymology. In this argument, the metal and the face feature in conjunction with each other and support claims to coins' power, virtue, and truthfulness. Rouillé suggests that the term *medal*, which was the generally accepted way of referring to ancient coins in Rouillé's time, derives from *metal*, which in turn derives from the Greek verb *ΜΕΛΩ*. Because *ΜΕΛΩ* refers to imperium, the term *medal* indicates that ancient coins are imperial and bear the emperors' marks of authority. The intrinsic honor inscribed in ancient coins prompts lovers of learning and virtue to search for these coins and recover them from various sites. In addition to possessing authority and honor, coins also possess truth, since they are accurate representations of illustrious people:

Or is it possible that these round sorts of coins, or tokens, or seals, because of their material suited for casting, striking, or engraving, which his Metal, were called Metalles, and by the softening of the consonant Medalles. Or else maybe someone found better to deduce their name from the Greek verb ΜΕΛΩ, which means "to have Imperium," and to call them Medalles, as in Imperials, because in these the Emperors are for the most part signed. In these times so curious about ancient things, to conserve the eternal honor of venerable antiquity and to preserve it from ruin and perdition, these Medals were diligently searched for by studious people: some were recovered from ancient monuments, some were

pulled from the bowels of the earth, where they were hidden, and some were found fortuitously. They are such vivid representations of the proper, natural forms of noble ancient personages of both sexes that in the medals' faces, like in a clear mirror of the soul, one can, by physiognomic reasoning, perceive who were those signed in them.

Because (as told by the Sages)

the spirits are shown in the visages. (4; my translation)

Although the etymology cautiously advanced by Rouillé is largely a fantasy, the topic of etymology allows Rouillé to revisit and weave together argument strands that he developed earlier. One argument strand claims that coins possess authority, truth, and virtue because the images imprinted on the metal faithfully represent illustrious faces, which in turn faithfully reflect the divine grace imprinted on them. Another argument strand claims that coins possess authority, truth, and virtue because the image-bearing metal commemorates illustrious people, because these people “signed” or authorized the metal as a way to preserve their own memory, because the metal is more durable than paper, because the coins' small size and round shape more easily bring coins before the eyes, and because eyes offer more immediate access to reality than do ears. The topic of etymology not only prompts an argument review but also introduces a new argument: the effect of ancient coins on a user from a later time.

Rouillé theorizes the effects of ancient coins on an audience from a different space-time in terms of sight. These terms articulate both well-established notions

regarding the primacy of sight<sup>26</sup> and Rouillé's own strong preference for visually-enhanced communication. Natalie Zemon Davis suggests that Rouillé had a "highly developed taste for the visual arts – painting, medallions, which he collected, and of course woodcuts and engravings" (92). Zemon Davis also proposes that Rouillé's choice of the works he published was influenced not only by market demands but also by Rouillé's own intellectual preferences, which included strong affinities for illustrations. For instance, Rouillé's deep interest in pictures of plants motivated his decisions to publish works on botany such as the *Historia Generalis Plantarum* (92-93). Furthermore, his interest in emblems motivated him to publish a French edition of Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata* while also personally collecting examples of Alciati's work (92). The culmination of Rouillé's interest in illustrations remains, of course, his own *Promptuary*.

Established Renaissance notions concerning visual perception, as well as Rouillé's own fascination with sight, find expression in the statement that coins "are such vivid representations of the proper, natural forms of noble ancient personages of both sexes that in the medals' faces, as in a clear mirror of the soul, one can, by physiognomic reasoning, perceive the people signed in them" (4; my translation). This statement draws from notions of seeing as a sensory and cognitive activity in order to theorize how the parallel nature of coins and of the eyes allows coins to function as mediators between an

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<sup>26</sup> According to Stewart Clark, it was widely-accepted in the Renaissance that vision was the primary facilitator of learning and essential to the life of the mind. Clark suggests that "throughout Renaissance Europe the general opinion was that the eyes provided the most direct knowledge of things, based on the most distinctions and the widest range; in functional terms, they were organs of power, liveliness, speed, and accuracy" (10). This is a commonplace that Rouillé probably deployed both as a way of establishing common ground with his readers and also perhaps as a guide to his personal and professional choices.

embodied audience alive in the present and the illustrious people of the past, who, although disembodied by death, become re-embodied in their coins. The new “bodies” provided by coins are perfectly suited for the preservation of the illustrious people’s memory because they facilitate seeing as a physical activity, as a spiritual activity, and as an interpretive activity.

Stewart Clark illuminates Renaissance conceptions of seeing as a physical activity by identifying these conceptions’ ancient origins and contemporary circulation, as well as by outlining a physiology of sight. Clark suggests that, in early modern culture, the account of perception “was largely Aristotelian in origin, transmission, and attribution (albeit with some Platonic or Neoplatonic elements), and it was socially agreed, at least among the educated classes, because it was deeply embedded in the textual and other practices – textbooks, commentaries, syllabuses, examinations, disputations – that made up the normal, constant construction, iteration, and exchange of routine knowledge” (14). According to this account, the sensible qualities of objects produced species which radiated from objects and then became impressed on the eye. In the early modern period, the Aristotelian account of the physiology of seeing enabled the “idea of the point-by-point mapping onto the eye’s crystalline humor of the rays of light transmitted from object along a ‘visual pyramid’” (16).

This physiology of sight facilitates a close analogy between eyes and coins, an analogy which extends to the power and exactness of representation. The crystalline humor is impressed by an image just as the metal flan is impressed by a type; therefore, just as an object generates a perfect representation on the eye’s crystalline humor, so does the illustrious face generate a perfect representation on a coin’s flan. The nearly perfect

similarity between an eye and a coin makes it possible for coins to replace eyes in the commonplace metaphor of eyes as windows of the soul. For Rouillé, coins, like eyes, are a “clear mirror of the soul,” a mirror that provides access to the people depicted by the coin images. In other words, the image of the illustrious makes the same physical impression on the viewer’s eye as it did on the metal flan, but on the human eye this impression forges a pathway to knowledge.

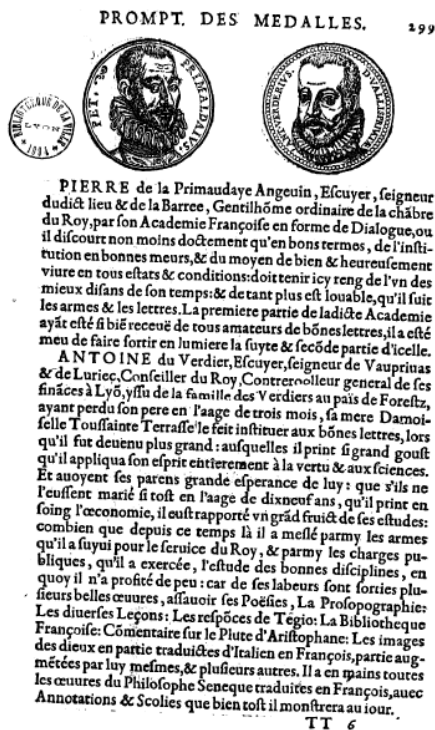


Figure 36

of the knowledge of God:

First of all, they [the eyes] are the chief members among all bodily senses, because of their nature, which comes close to the nature of the soul and of the spirit, and also because of their likeness and harmony with each other. Thus they rightly govern the other senses and all the members of the body. Because they

The conception of seeing as a spiritual and intellectual activity finds expression in the work of Pierre de la Primaudaye, the author of the highly influential *Academie françoise*, one of the intellectual celebrities represented in the second part of Rouillé’s *Promptuaire* (Figure 36), and a likely influence on Rouillé’s theory. In the second part of his *Academie*, Primaudaye includes a dialogue that exalts the eyes for their ability to connect an embodied human being to the spiritual realm. For Primaudaye, the eyes are



were given to man primarily as a guide and as a skill to pursue the knowledge of God by the contemplation of His beautiful works, manifested especially in the sky and in its order, of which we couldn't gain true awareness and knowledge if we were aided by a sense other than the eyes. (42; my translation)

Second to the pursuit of the knowledge of God is the pursuit of the sciences. Sight is a "mistress," a driving force in the quest for knowledge because sight generates admiration for the works of creation, and admiration in turn generates focus and mindfulness: "The chief and first honor is justly given to the eyes and the sight. Sight is the first mistress that pushed men to the study and inquiry of sciences and wisdom. Because from sight is born admiration of the things we see; and the more this admiration occurs, the more we consider these things closer and take heed of them" (42; my translation). Rouillé echoes Primaudaye's perspective when he suggests that admiration connects the spectators in the universal theater to the faces of illustrious people and inspires them to understand their characters.

In conjunction with the metaphor of sight as a mistress, Primaudaye relies on the metaphor of the eye as a mirror to communicate the spirituality of sight and to illustrate the processes by which the human being participates in the knowledge of God. In principle, the processes of spiritual sight parallel the physiology of sight, in that they involve impressions made by images. While physical sight occurs when images of objects make an impression on the crystalline humor, spiritual sight occurs when the image of God makes an impression on human understanding. The impression on human understanding, however, requires receptivity, which entails not only the willingness to receive the divine image but also a purposeful focus on God. According to Primaudaye,

spiritual sight is therefore transformative, molding the inner being and making it a participant in the divine:

Since the eye is like a mirror, which receives the images of things presented before it, God impresses images of Himself in our understanding as in a mirror. Because, just as a mirror cannot receive any image if things are not put before it, so cannot the image of God shine, nor become impressed in human understanding, if one does not place God always before the eyes to receive His image. And, just as the eye is illumined by the rays which proceed from the sun, so is human understanding illumined by the splendor of divine light, in which we contemplate the unity of God the Father, as the source and fountain of all light, and the Son, as the rays and the splendor begotten from this light, and the Holy Spirit, as a flame that proceeds from it, rendering the eye of human understanding a recipient of the light and a participant in it. (43; my translation)

Rouillé's own deployment of the mirror metaphor adopts Primaudaye's perspective on seeing as a spiritual activity while also redirecting this perspective towards seeing as an interpretive activity. Applied to coins rather than the eyes, the mirror metaphor in Rouillé's text relies on the generally accepted notion that the face provides access to a person's character, a notion reflected in the statement that, when looking at coins, "one can, by physiognomic reasoning, perceive the people who were represented in them" (4). Although Rouillé does not elaborate on specific notions of physiognomy, he draws from the basic principles of physiognomy in order to theorize the audience's role in the study of coins and to argue, in terms similar to Primaudaye's, for the transformative nature of this study.

At their very core, the basic principles of physiognomy rested on the close relationship between the soul and the body. According to Marke Ahonen, in antiquity physiognomy received favorable attention from philosophers and medication authors, who, despite the lack of consensus as to its theoretical bases, generally agreed that “bodily events cause changes in the soul, mental events affect the body, emotions take on a visible manifestation in facial expressions and gestures, and basic bodily qualities, such as temperature and density of one’s blood, may even determine one’s mental characteristics” (623). In antiquity, the major sources for such reflections were treatises by Pseudo-Aristotle (end of third century or beginning of second century B.C.), Polemon (second century A.D.), and an anonymous Latin author (third or fourth century A.D.). In the Renaissance, ancient physiognomy seems to have entered the intellectual mainstream



IVVENALIS Poëte natif d'Aquinc, fut disciple de Frontin Grammericé, & compofa cinq liures de Satires, mais ils ont été tous perdus ormis 16. fatires, qui font en lumiere, & Imprimées prefque par toutes les Imprimeries de l'Europe, tant est estimé & célébré ledit auteur. Il estoit fort verfé aux poëmes fatiriques: auffi que l'on peut cōiecturer en ce qui cest mōftre afpre & violant à reprendre & accufer les vices & mauuais meurs, plus que Lucilnie ny autre Poëte qui aye esté iufques a prefent. Il fut du temps de Martial, & furent intimes amis. Il mourut en Egypte aagé de huitante ans. Il floriffoit enuiron l'an du mōde 4060. & de Chrifit 100. Voyez Cōrad Gefnere en fa biblioteque.

GALEN natif de Pergame, fils de Nicon, excellent Geometrien, & Architecte, qui estoit homme riche, fut disciple de Pelops, comme il certifie luy mefme en fon quatrième liure des Lieux affectez, chap. 7. & au liure de la Bile noire, ou melancolie. Il viuoit à Rome du temps de Traian Commode, & d'Antoninus Pius Emper. l'an du monde 4100. & du falut du monde 140. Il a beaucoup escrit en Geometrie, Dialectique, Rhetorique, Philosophie, & principalement en Medecine. Et pour ceste caufe Auerroes au cinquième de fes recueils, n'a fait difficulté de le preferer à tous les autres Medecins. Il a vefcu foixāte & dix ans, felō l'aduis de Suida: autres difent qu'il a vefcu 140. ans, cōme certifie Cælius, en fon feixième liure de fes antiques Leçons, chap. 40. & en fin il mourut en fon pays. Voyez Conrad Gefnere en fa Biblioteque.

via two main routes: a philosophical route influenced by the pseudo-Aristotelian tradition and a medical route influenced by Galen, who was in turn influenced by Polemon.

Rouillé, who was an important publisher of medical texts, seems to have been especially influenced by the medical traditions inspired by Galen, whom he included in the *Promptuary* (Figure 37). According to Natalie Zemon Davis, Rouillé’s medical texts were dominated

Figure 37

by Latin editions of Galen, “freshly translated and with commentaries by outstanding sixteenth-century physicians – Linacre of England, Cop of Basel, Sylvius of France, Leonicus of Italy, and so on. As in the case of jurisprudence, Rouillé’s publications expressed the current humanist view of medicine, which favoured Galen over Hippocrates” (83). Similarly, Élise Rajchenback-Teller suggests that the choice of physicians represented in the second part of the *Promptuary* – Pierandrea Mattioli, Antoine Donat, André Vésale, Jean Argentier de Chateauneuf, and Guillaume Rondelet – privileges Galen over the Aristotelian tradition (107). By endorsing Galen and contemporary physicians influenced by Galen, Rouillé thus advocates for the value of empirical inquiry, especially as concerns the relationship between the mind and the body.

Galen’s view of physiognomy, shared by early modern physicians who followed Galen’s inquiry methods, forges a connection between medicine and rhetoric that also preoccupied Rouillé’s contemporaries. Galen’s connection to rhetoric seems to emerge from the beginning of his training. After studying medicine at Pergamum in the Temple of Asclepios, Galen went to Smyrna, where the rhetoric school of Polemon of Laodicea was flourishing after Polemon’s death under the leadership of Aristides. Elizabeth Evans suggests that, since Polemon’s handbook on physiognomy was highly quoted at Smyrna, Galen must have been familiar with it; however, Galen relied on physiognomy primarily for the purpose of medical diagnosis (290). Evans proposes that Polemon’s *Physiognomy* represents “a practical guide to the recognition of certain types and characteristics, yet there is no attempt to suggest the reasons why such traits occur” (291). On the other hand, in Galen “is found a significant effort to study the relationship of the physique of a man to his character, an effort to relate the humours of the body to the temperament” (291).

By following Galen, the medical communities of the Renaissance not only adopted his interests in physiognomy but also developed a keen preoccupation with the therapeutic powers of discourse. Stephen Pender suggests that Galen's early modern disciples insisted that "confidence and trust in a physician, both secured rhetorically, are essential to healing" (8). Pender also proposes that early modern physicians were highly aware that both rhetoric and medicine are pragmatic and inquiry-driven, informed by probabilities and by the need for proofs (9) and that, "in the intimate scene of inquiry and remediation, both patients' and practitioners' activities are largely rhetorical: praying, detailing symptoms, reading self-help manuals and regiments, chatting with visitors and physicians, receiving counsel, occasioning or assuaging emotion" (11).

In Rouillé's argument from effects, the connections between physiognomy, medicine, and rhetoric that shaped Rouillé's intellectual environment and influenced his work imply that the visual examination of coins is morally therapeutic and that discourse on coins can serve as a mediator of spiritual healing. The effectiveness of this argument probably rests in part on the recognizable nature of these inter-disciplinary connections, which occasionally were quite literal. In France, for instance, the first examples of genuine numismatic scholarship were the work of physicians, such as Antoine Le Pois and later Charles Partin, who studied coins as a hobby.<sup>27</sup> In part, the argument's effectiveness may also rest on the recognizable nature of the claim regarding "coin therapy." Not surprisingly, coin books published at various places in a similar timeframe as the *Promptuary* make almost identical claims. For example, in the "Proemio" to the *Discorsi sopra le medaglie* (first published in 1555), Enea Vico asserts that those who

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<sup>27</sup> The Austrian Wolfgang Lazius was also a physician.

acquire ancient coins (which he calls *medaglie*) esteem them as something honorable, useful, and virtuous (12). Similarly, in the preface to the *Discours sur les medalles et gravures antiques, principalement Romaines* (1579), Antoine Le Pois claims that coins not only refresh and delight the spirit, but also bring great intellectual profit, by providing proof of history and by improving the minds of those who study them (n.p.).<sup>28</sup>

In summary, Rouillé's extended definition claims that coins are composed of two material parts (an illustrious face and a metal) bound together by a name (*medal*) and that ancient coins can affect users from different space-times by granting them access to the people represented by the coin portraits. Furthermore, coins possess multiple kinds of authority: divine authority, which is imprinted by God on the human face; social and cultural authority, which is imparted by the ancients who wanted to instruct later generations; and individual authority, which is conferred by the power of those whose faces appear on coins. In addition, coins possess truth and virtue because they accurately represent illustrious people and because they serve as conduits for these people's excellence. Because coins require visual interpretation, their authority, credibility, and trust center on sight, which provides a more direct access to the represented reality than hearing. Additionally, because illustrious faces and their corresponding coin images are kinds of inscriptions, they require visual reading, which is facilitated by physiognomy and which has a transformative and therapeutic effect on the reader.

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<sup>28</sup> The argument for coins' usefulness appears to have evolved into a key point of agreement among numismatic authors. About a century later, for example, Charles Patin writes in the first chapter of his *Introduction a la connoissance des medailles* (1667) that medals can contribute to the enjoyment of people of all conditions: princes can find models of virtue, rich people can find investment opportunities, scholars can find objects of study, and even women can find models of admirable behavior and virtue (3-4).

## Cognitive Perspectives on Rouillé's Reconstruction of Ancient Coin Ethos

From the perspective of Ciceronian topics, ancient coins have authority, credibility, and trust in Rouillé's theory because they draw from various sources of power, truths, and virtues. As I suggested in Chapter 1, this rhetorical framework does not necessarily support a discussion of the authority, credibility, and trust of material objects (such as coins) in terms of ethos. On the other hand, a cognitive framework informed by stance facilitates an analysis of coin ethos in the context of a definition of ethos as the inter-subjective alignment between a rhetor and an audience with regard to a stance object that participates in transcendental, social, or individual systems of power, truths, and values. My analysis of Rouillé's theory of coins relies on this cognitive conception of ethos, as well as on the processes of composition, completion, and elaboration discussed in the previous chapters. Here, the process of composition facilitates an understanding of how various frames and stance objects relate to one another; the process of completion clarifies how the audience achieves alignment through acts of positioning and evaluation; and the process of elaboration elucidates how coins become integrated into the audience's worldview. From a cognitive perspective, Rouillé's definition of coins reconstructs ancient coin ethos by creating new, primarily literacy-based contexts for the re-circulation of ancient coins; in turn, the reconstructed coin ethos supports audiences' negotiation of their own ethos in literacy-related roles.

In Rouillé’s definition, the contexts for the recirculation of ancient coins emerge from the treatment of the stance objects in the negotiation of inter-subjectivity. As discussed in the previous chapters, in a theoretical framework informed by DuBois’s notion of stance, the negotiation of inter-subjectivity can be visualized as a triangle where the vertices represent the rhetor (Subject 1), the audience (Subject 2), and the stance object, and where the sides represent the acts of evaluation, positioning, and alignment by which inter-subjectivity is achieved<sup>29</sup> (Figure 38). A cognitive analysis of Rouillé’s theory of ancient coins reveals the presence of not only one stance object but of a complex network of stance objects connected in a manner that sustains the repetition of the stance cycle (Figure 39).

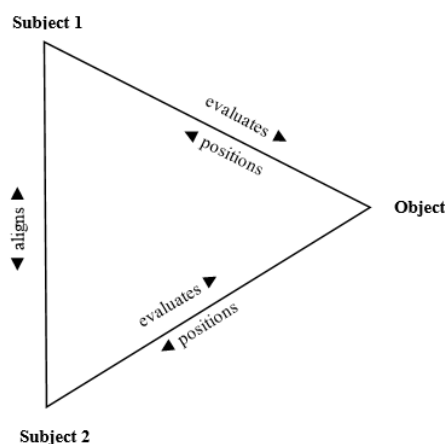


Figure 38

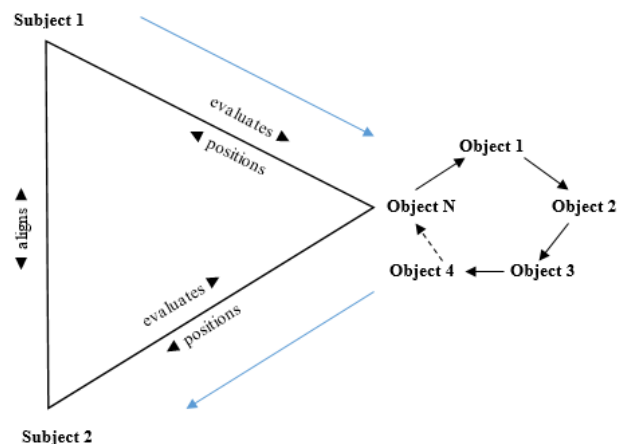


Figure 39

<sup>29</sup> As indicated in Chapter 1, according to DuBois, *evaluation* is “the process whereby a stancetaker orients to an object of stance and characterizes it as having some specific quality or value;” *positioning* is “the act of situating a social actor with respect to responsibility for stance and for invoking sociocultural value;” and *alignment* is “the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances, and by implication between two stancetakers” (143) – an act which “is in play whether the direction is convergent, divergent, or as often happens, ambiguous between the two” (162).



The network of stance objects emerges, first of all, from frame embedding, which maps the place of coins in relation to other objects (Figure 40). For example, in the

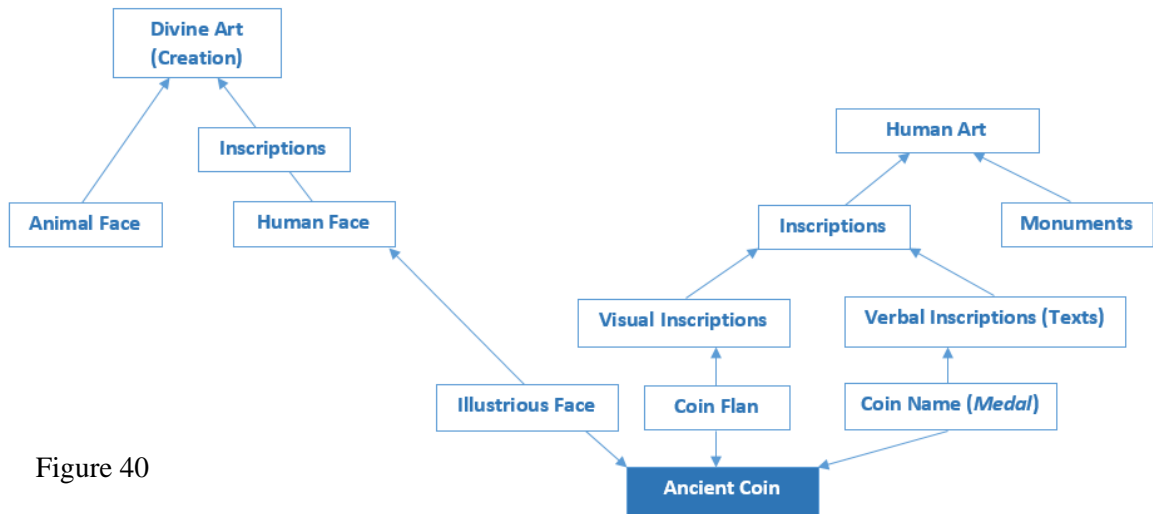


Figure 40

argument from the genus and the species of the coin image, the human face, in which “is signed the marvelous and venerable light, and the image of God,” appears embedded in a frame for divine-made inscriptions. The animal face, on the other hand, does not belong to the frame for divine inscriptions but, together with the human face, belongs to the broad frame for creation. Furthermore, the illustrious face is embedded in the frame for the human face. In the argument from the genus and species of the coin substance, the grouping of letters together with “statues, paintings, seals, and images, erected, engraved, carved, cast, or struck” defines a frame for human art, which complements the frame for creation, or divine art. The frame for human art encompasses smaller frames for monumental art (such as statues and paintings) and inscriptions (letters, seals, and images<sup>30</sup>). In turn, the frame for inscriptions encompasses a frame for verbal inscriptions, to which written texts belong, and a frame for visual inscriptions, to which coin flans

<sup>30</sup> Because the “images” to which Rouillé refers are struck, they most likely refer to coin types.

belong. However, the argument from etymology, which speculates on the origin of the name *medal*, places the coin name in the frame for texts. In the network of relationships created by frame embedding, the frame for ancient coins thus receives contributions from three immediately adjacent frames: for the illustrious face, for the coin flan, and for the coin name.

An important implication of the coins' place in the network concerns their composition. While the ancient coin as a material object consists of an illustrious face impressed on a metal flan (an image and an image-bearing substance), a third component, the name *medal*, identifies the coin as discourse. However, this discourse is substantively different from the inscription surrounding the portrait image. *Medal* represents meta-language and a means of identifying ancient coins in a space-time widely removed from the coins' original context of production. Meta-language therefore represents an essential component of coin composition, a component which reinforces the need for a context in which ancient coins can circulate again. In the absence of the economic contexts that granted the coins' function as money, new intellectual contexts incorporate ancient coins into new discourses. Another important implication of the coins' place in the network concerns the reverse direction of embedding. While category relationships embed smaller frames into larger frames, the process of composition compresses larger frames into the smallest frame in the network – the frame for ancient coins. This compression entails that features of all the frames connected to the frames for the illustrious face, the coin flan, and the coin name are packed into the frame for ancient coins.

If, in the network of stance objects, embedding creates hierarchical connections between various object frames, foregrounded qualities tighten the network by connecting frames not already connected through embedding. In Rouillé’s definition of ancient coins, foregrounded qualities thus create crisscrossing connections between frames and distinguish the face as the most important “hub” for these connections (Figure 41).

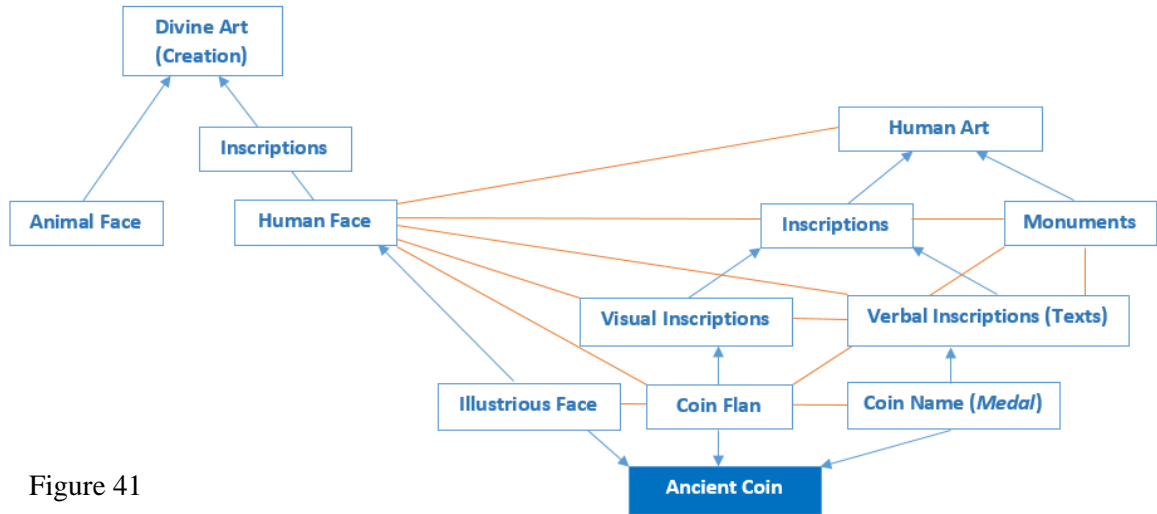


Figure 41

For example, the analogy between a human face and a theater mask foregrounds the face’s participation in artistic acts and connects the face to the frame for human art. The same analogy foregrounds the readable surface of the face and connects it to the frame for verbal inscriptions or texts. Furthermore, the analogy between the face and a divine seal foregrounds a three-dimensional impression on a malleable substance; this quality connects the face to the frame for inscriptions as well as to the frame for visual inscriptions. The analogy with a divine seal also foregrounds the miniature size of the face (in relation to the infinite vastness of the divine grace impressed on it) and therefore connects the face to the coin flan, which is also a miniature (in relation to the greatness of the personages impressed on the metal). Apart from the connections radiating from the face, other connections emerge from other frames, as well. For example, both visual and

verbal inscriptions share with monumental art mimetic and memory-preserving qualities. Furthermore, the coin flan shares with monuments the quality of durability and with verbal inscriptions the quality of interpretability. Moreover, the coin name (*medal*), which Rouillé imagines to derive from the verb “to rule,” shares with the illustrious face the quality of imperium.

In addition to tightening the network, foregrounded qualities serve other important functions: they invoke broad relationship frames, and they embed the object frames within the relationship frames (Figure 42). For instance, the quotation from Ovid, which foregrounds the upright quality of the human face and its ability to look towards the heavens, in conjunction with the analogy with a divine seal, invokes an overarching frame for relationships with the divine. In addition, the analogy with a theater mask, which foregrounds the public nature of the human face, invokes a frame for social relationships. Furthermore, the indirect reference to the Golden Age implies that these social relationships are harmonious and therefore in accord with divine relationships.

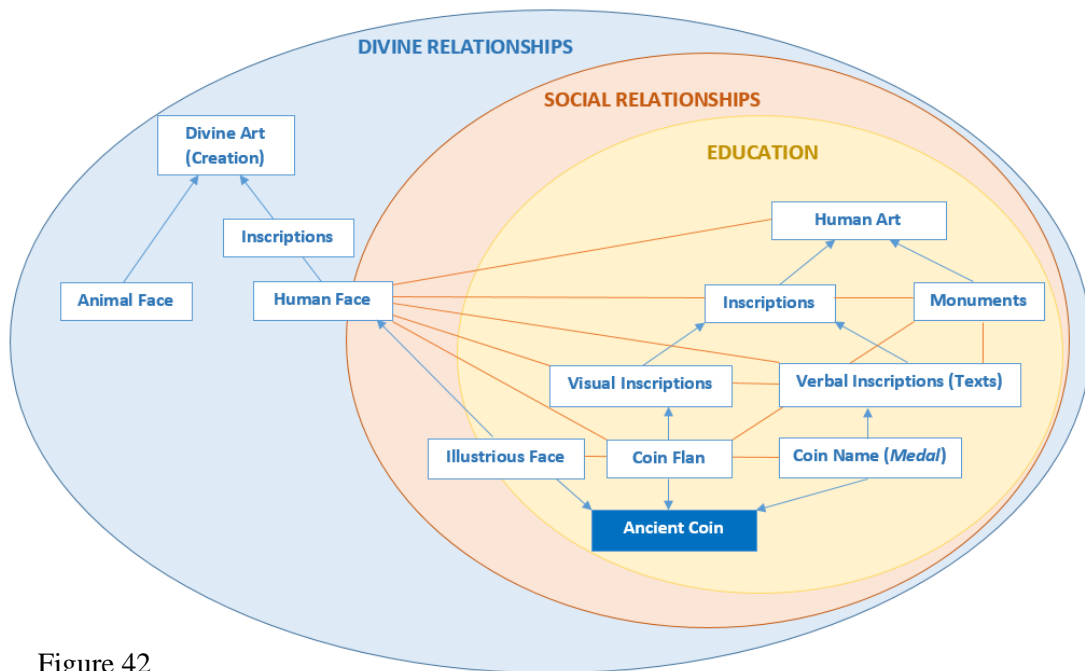


Figure 42

Moreover, the objects of art that the ancients created to teach future generations and to preserve the memory of illustrious people invoke a frame for education, or teaching-and-learning relationships, which is in accord with harmonious social relationships. The frame for divine relationships therefore encompasses the frame for social relationships, and the frame for social relationships encompasses the frame for education. Because the frame for human art is embedded in the frame for education, all the frames embedded in the frame for human art are embedded in the frame for education, as well. The comparison between coins and texts with regard to durability and appeal to the senses reinforces the connection to education.

The placement of ancient coins in the network thus reconstructs three sets of contexts for the re-circulation of ancient coins: an immediate context of teaching-and-learning relationships, a larger context of social relationships, and an all-encompassing context of divine relationships. An important implication of coins' placement is that aspects of all relationship frames – including the systems of authority, credibility, and trust that organize these frames – are compressed into the frame for ancient coins. In other words, aspects of divine grace are reflected in harmonious social relationships, which are in turn reflected in proper education. Another implication is that coins can decompress the larger frames by providing access to these frames. Because coins are educational, they engage the user from a later time in harmonious social relationships and reveal to that user the excellence of divine grace.

The configuration of the various object frames into a network of stance objects means that every object involves audiences in acts of positioning, evaluation, and alignment. Anything but disparate, these acts move audiences through the network and

guide audiences towards convergent alignment with ancient coins. Responsible for audiences' movement through the network are acts of positioning and evaluation facilitated by foregrounded qualities related to sight and literacy. These foregrounded qualities connect audiences to the stance object, position audiences in a relationship frame, and encourage audiences to transfer their attention from the larger frames to the smaller frame for ancient coins. The movement through the network starts with the human face, continues away from the animal face towards human art, passes quickly over inscriptions and monuments, touches verbal inscriptions but swings towards visual inscriptions, and settles on the object called *medal*, which consists of an illustrious face imprinted on metal.

This journey through the network is possible if audiences recognize that they have an upright face capable of contemplating divinity, eyes capable of admiring other people's faces in the theater of life, a mind capable of grasping the lessons taught by monuments and inscriptions, an appreciation for texts and visual images capable of recognizing the superiority of sight over hearing and of durable metal over paper, and visual perception capable of "reading" the illustrious face impressed on metal. By recognizing how their own features complement the features of the stance objects, audiences position themselves in the frames for divine relationships, social relationships, and education. By relying primarily on visual perception, audiences can grasp how the face of another person reflects divine truths and virtues and how artistic renditions of that face preserve, communicate, and teach the same truths and values. Therefore, if audiences evaluate favorably and align with the human face, with the illustrious face,

with various forms of verbal and non-verbal art, as well as with written texts, then these audiences must also evaluate favorably and align with ancient coins.

Audiences' engagement with the network through acts of positioning, evaluation, and alignment also reveals various audience roles as stance objects linked to the network. Roles such as contemplator of divinity, spectator in the theater of life, student of the ancients' wisdom, visual learner, reader, and coin enthusiast emerge, respectively, from the audiences' ability to look towards the heavens, admire other people's faces, learn from the ancients, interpret verbal and visual inscriptions, and appreciate coins (Figure 43).

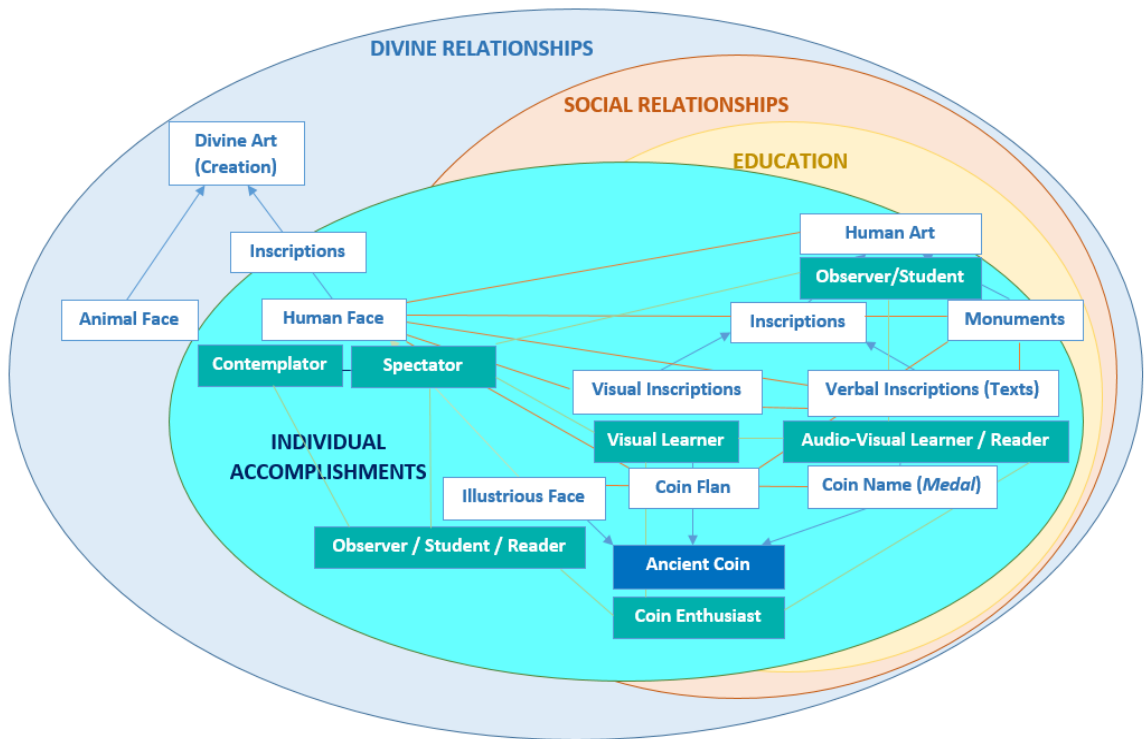


Figure 43

These roles not only “shadow” and complement various object frames but also forge another network embedded in a frame for individual accomplishments. Because the frame for individual accomplishments intersects the frame for divine relationships, social relationships, and education, it becomes infused with aspects of the power, truths, and values that organize the other frames. By positioning themselves in relation to various roles, audiences move through the network of individual accomplishments on a path that includes the role of coin enthusiast. Furthermore, by evaluating their various roles relative to the power, truths, and values that inform individual accomplishments and by aligning with these roles, audiences in fact negotiate their own ethos and incorporate ancient coins into the ethos negotiation processes. The place of coin enthusiast in the role network thus entails that coins scaffold the negotiation of audience ethos, while audience ethos scaffolds the negotiation of coins ethos. Simply put, coin appreciation indicates that a person is educated and devout, and someone who is educated and devout lends authority, credibility, and trust to coin appreciation.

The presence of two interconnected networks of stance objects – a network of material objects and a network of audience roles – thus reconstructs two major contexts for the recirculation of ancient coins outside their original space-time: a context of production and a context of use. The context of production links coins to other products of spiritual and intellectual activities, while the context of use links coins to the activities of the audience as user. Moreover, the presence of relationship frames that connect both objects and the coin user to the divine, groups of people, and individual potential suggests that coin ethos is negotiated in transcendental, social, and individual systems of power, truths, and values. Therefore, in Rouillé’s theoretical framework, ancient coins have



individually oriented, socially oriented, and transcendently oriented ethos. However, these kinds of ethos appear fully embedded in one another and the difference between them seems a matter of the audience's perspective. Because the audience participates in the networks primarily by means of visual perception, individually oriented, socially oriented, and transcendently oriented ethos emerge as different areas in the audience's line of sight.

The importance of the audience's line of sight in the embedding of individually oriented, socially oriented, and transcendently oriented coin ethos emerges most clearly in Rouillé's argument from etymology, which culminates with the claim that coin enthusiasts can see in coin portraits, "as in a mirror," the souls of the emperors whose honor and memory the ancients wanted to defend from oblivion. The construction of this argument implies that the visual perception of an ancient coin has great depth, despite the coin's small size. By looking at the coin portrait, the viewer sees the represented individual's spirit (thereby gaining access to the frame for individual accomplishments), the efforts of the "studious people" who found the coins and of the wise ancients who made the coins (thereby gaining access to the frame for education), the society where the illustrious people ruled (thereby gaining access to the frame for social relationships), and the divine realm from which the illustrious people's honor and virtue originate (thereby gaining access to the frame for divine relationships).

The embedding of individually oriented, socially oriented, and transcendently oriented ethos prompts the question of what other transformations ancient coins undergo in Rouillé's theory. Beyond the glaringly obvious fact that ancient coins have two sides instead of one or that portraits are not the only coin type, the cognitive perspective can

address this question by identifying key points of comparison between ancient coins in their original contexts of production and circulation, on the one hand, and ancient coins in Rouillé's theory, on the other hand. These points of comparison include the entity whose ethos is negotiated by coins, as well as the processes of composition (the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships affecting the coins' visual and material features), completion (the audience's contributions), and elaboration (the coins' place in the audience's worldview).

In the discussion of early coinage, I indicated that the first coins negotiated their own authority, credibility, and trust in order to function as money; moreover, coins mediated the authority, credibility, and trust of their issuers, who communicated with the coin users by means of types and inscriptions. In the discussion of early Roman coinage, I also indicated that the success and stability of the silver denarius facilitated an increased focus on the issuer as rhetor. In the discussion of Roman coinage at the onset of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, I suggested that political crises turned coins into vehicles for partisan propagandas and that coins became instrumental in negotiating the party leaders' ethos. Overall, in the discussion of ancient coins, especially of late Roman Republican coins, I suggested that the primary function of coin images and inscriptions was to negotiate the issuer's ethos. In Rouillé's theory, this function is not absent, but it is not primary; instead, the coins' most important role is to mediate the ethos of the audience.

Furthermore, representative examples of Roman Republican also reveal that a design's composition relies on syntagmatic relationships between various design elements, as well as on paradigmatic relationships between these design elements and

established traditions of visual representations. Thus, syntagmatic relationships create internal contexts for the interpretation of the design's message, while paradigmatic relationships connect the design and its message to external contexts. In Rouillé's interpretation, however, paradigmatic relationships are absent, while syntagmatic relationships apply only to the combination between the image and the metal. This radical simplification of coin composition accounts for the loss of the original contexts and explains why the new, literacy-based contexts are essential to restoring (or rather reimagining) the coins' meaning. The simplified composition also explains why, in Rouillé's theory, the negotiation of ethos targets the audience more than the rhetor: this shift in focus occurs because the audience's intellectual interests can provide the most sustainable context for the recirculation of ancient coins.

In the discussion of Roman Republican coinage in previous chapters, I also indicated that a coin's design places demands on the coin users, who must complete the design's message by contributing visual, religious, and political knowledge, and who must elaborate on the message by integrating it into their lives. In the analysis of Caesarean and Pompeian coinage, for instance, I proposed that design elements acting as frame metonymies invoke culturally significant stories, which coin users must understand and remember in order to make sense of the images and inscriptions struck on coin flans. In addition, I showed that, in times of civil conflict, Roman Republican coins conveyed highly persuasive messages that sought supporters for the warring parties and that often praised competing party leaders. In Rouillé's theory, on the other hand, users from a different space-time don't contribute knowledge and memory to the understanding of coins but have their knowledge and memory restored by coins. In other words, coin

enthusiasts from Rouillé's time may not know much about the myths, political systems, or major events of antiquity, but they can learn about them by studying coins.

Furthermore, in Rouillé's interpretation, coin images are exclusively about the praise of illustrious individuals and are persuasive insofar as they encourage coin users to imitate these individuals' virtues. Therefore, coin users from a different space-time can integrate ancient coins into their lives by making them a part of their intellectual and moral development (although Rouillé avoids the issue of how audiences should react to images of exceptionally non-virtuous individuals such as Nero.)

Because Rouillé took many liberties in his interpretation of coin composition, completion, and elaboration, one might be tempted to accuse him of deep ignorance. However, Rouillé's lack of numismatic knowledge may not provide a correct explanation for the ways in which he constructed his definition. Rouillé would have been acutely aware that ancient coins benefited not only from intellectual but also from economic contexts, since in his time ancient coins were sold and bought as collectibles and therefore participated in complex systems of trade. Because Rouillé was a coin collector, he would have understood the intricacies of this trade and would have had many opportunities to see and handle ancient coins, as well as engage in various conversations with dealers and other collectors. It is therefore quite impossible that Rouillé didn't know that ancient coins had reverses and often showed images other than portraits. For this reason, purpose rather than ignorance is a more likely explanation for Rouillé's re-imagination of ancient coins. In the next chapter section, I analyze Rouillé's definition of the *Promptuary* and suggest that Rouillé's interpretation of ancient coins seeks to optimize how coin images and the printed text "mesh" and scaffold each other's ethos.

In summary, the cognitive perspective on Rouillé's definition of ancient coins reveals that the reconstruction and negotiation of coin ethos occurs in a complex network of stance objects linked by foregrounded qualities and incorporated into frames for divine, social, and learning relationships. In addition, audience roles such as *coin enthusiast*, *student*, and *reader* create another network embedded in a frame for individual accomplishments. By aligning with these roles, audiences gain access to the systems of power, truths, and values that organize the various frames. Furthermore, audiences' involvement in the reconstructed contexts makes the negotiation of ethos bi-directional: on the one hand, audience ethos scaffolds coin ethos; on the other hand, coin ethos scaffolds audience ethos. Because audiences' participation in the networks is mediated by various acts of seeing, the individually oriented, socially oriented, and transcendentally oriented ethos of ancient coins represent different points on the line of sight. In addition to embedding the different types of ethos, Rouillé's interpretation of ancient coins privileges the audience over the rhetor, restores rather than requires knowledge and memory, and centers on praise rather than deliberation.

#### *Appropriations of Ancient Coin Ethos*

Following his definition of ancient coins, Rouillé creates a transition that highlights his agency as a student, collector, and participant in the preservation of illustrious people's memory: "Considering these things and wanting to please the studious lovers of antiquity, we spared neither labor nor expense for such pieces recovered from different countries, and for great Seigneurs marked in pieces of gold, silver, or bronze, or carved in precious stones, as each noble person found advisable to

conserve one's antiquity and cherish the memory of oneself and of one's kin" (4-5; my translation). This transition introduces a second definition, of Rouillé's *Promptuary*, which parallels to a certain degree the definition of coins and which emphasizes both Rouillé's agency as the book's author and the audience's agency as the book's reader and continuator. In this chapter section, my discussion of this definition from the perspective of Ciceronian topics shows that coin images facilitate the complete transfer into the book of coins' authority, credibility, and trust; in addition, coin images support an argument for a type of literacy that balances visual and oral reading and enhances the audience's involvement in the text. Furthermore, considerations from a cognitive perspective suggest that the book serves as a new frame, where the negotiation of ethos targets the continued existence and renewal of the text.

#### Rouillé's Definition of the *Promptuary*

Rouillé theorizes the make-up of his book in a brief argument from the parts of the whole and an implicit argument from etymology. According to Rouillé, his text consists of coin images reproduced from original specimens, of historical summaries drawn from various historiographies, and of a title, *Promptuary*, informed by the text's function as a repository of memorable knowledge:

And then we had these Metals, or more naturally pronounced Medals, drawn in close resemblance of the ancient pieces, and afterwards we had them imprinted, having written under each Medal a brief summary of memorable things, briefly recounted from the Historiographers and the Chroniclers who everywhere guarded the order of the times and the ages, and the succession or concurrence of

Empires and Kingdoms. The total work, with regard to finding in it memorable things and persons, is very simple and expedient: we thought best to call it

*Promptuary*. (5; my translation)

The make-up of Rouillé's text thus closely mirrors the make-up of an ancient coin, as both the text and a coin consist of two parts and a name. The two parts make up the material object, while the name identifies the object in meta-discourse. However, while in Rouillé's theory an individual ancient coin consists of one portrait and one substance, a copy of Rouillé's book consists of a broad class of coin portraits and a broad class of biographic summaries.

Furthermore, the parts that make up the book, like the parts that make-up a coin, anchor the entire object in various sources of authority, credibility, and trust. The images anchor the text in the authority of coins, the summaries in the authority of historiographers and chroniclers, and the title in the authority of the Renaissance fascination with *copia*. In addition, the emphasis on the process that produced the book's constituent parts argues for the parts' credibility based on the accuracy with which they represent authoritative models. For instance, the portrait images, which Rouillé had drawn and then printed, are claimed to accurately represent real ancient coins, which in turn are claimed to accurately represent illustrious people. Similarly, the biographic summaries, which Rouillé composed to accompany each image, are claimed to accurately derive knowledge from old historiographies and chronicles, which in turn are claimed to accurately represent "the order of the times and the ages." Moreover, the title, which Rouillé selected so as to convey the nature of his project, is claimed to accurately reflect the variety of images and information comprised in the text.

Complementing the emphasis on accuracy, an emphasis on the actions involved in the making of the book (such as drawing, imprinting, or recounting) serves an additional purpose: it subtly articulates Rouillé's agency as an author. This agency emerges from an interplay between the placement, relative to the audience's perspective, of the author's work in the foreground and of the author himself in the background. The foregrounding of the work as the outcome of Rouillé's labors anchors the project not only in transcendental and social realities but also in the author's individual reality, which can serve as another source of authority, credibility, and trust. Thus, the subtle arguments that Rouillé possesses authority due to his erudition, credibility due to his concern with accuracy, and trust due to his humility allow a few essential character traits to serve as proofs for the author's own anchoring in systems of power, truths, and values. Paradoxically, the audience is meant to notice the author's modest self-effacement and appreciate his truthfulness and virtue, thereby bringing the author into focus and in the foreground, in spite of the author's professed intention to keep himself out of focus and in the background. Although the flipping between the foreground and the background of the author's presence may open Rouillé to charges of false humility, this interplay appears to aim primarily at sensitizing the audience to the *copia* of relationships that make-up the *Promptuary*. The audience is thus encouraged to perceive not only abstract relationships such as those between images and divine or social truths and virtues but also interpersonal relationships, such as those between the reader and the crafter of the book.

Out of this complex network of relationships emerges a conception of authorship that can be explained in part by Chartier and Stallybrass's notion of an author bound with the book and in part by Rajchenbach-Teller's notion of *passeur de textes*. On the one



hand, Roger Chartier and Peter Stallybrass suggest that the author is the outcome of a set of material, intellectual, and economic relationships. Chartier and Stallybrass suggest that the transition from the scroll to the codex resulted in the book as a gathering not only of folia but also of the work of readers, editors, and booksellers (194-5). Because the author represents an aspect of this gathering, “one way of defining an author is as someone who is bound with him or herself” (195). On the other hand, Elise Rajchenbach-Teller, whose concern is not with general notions of authorship but with Rouillé’s activity, refers to Rouillé as a *passeur de textes*, a conveyor of texts. Thus, while Chartier and Stallybrass envision authorship as the consolidated outcome of various gathering and binding activities, Rajchenbach-Teller envisions Rouillé’s role as a flexible mediator of activities involved in a text’s production and circulation. Both gathering and mediation appear to inform Rouillé’s authorship, as he presents himself both as a collector of images and stories and as an intermediary of their preservation and transmission.

Rouillé’s authorship thus becomes integrated in the extended definition of his *Promptuary* and supports an argument from effects that “binds” the audience together with the book and its craftsman. Rouillé claims that his work facilitates a meeting between the reader and the illustrious men and women of the past and that this meeting has a transformative effect on the reader, who will not only obtain knowledge of another time but in a sense become a part of this time and share in the lives of those long gone:

In this *Promptuary* we place before eyes the eyes and before faces the faces of men and women who from the beginning of the world were worthy of memory.

This work, having required incredible labor, we hope will bear incomparable fruit. Because the spectators of this Theater will not only delight their eyes and not look

at vain paintings, but will also refresh their spirits with the excellent knowledge of things and persons, and as in a mirror they will see in present contemplation those who departed this life long ago but who by these works have been recalled from the deep darkness into a new light. These spectators will see the noble persons present through their effigies, will hear them speak through the written words, will contemplate their noble deeds through the historical accounts, and will bring back the times long gone from human memory into the present age. Finally, in every part of this work they will be able to read examples of various manners of life. And in remembering the things presented here, they will grasp what these things represent and live with those who are no more. (5; my translation)

The argument for the book's effects on the audience parallels, to a certain extent, the argument for the coins' effects, especially with regard to the heavy emphasis on sight as a form of direct access to illustrious people from different space-times. However, Rouillé does not repeat the earlier argument but develops it by advocating for a type of literacy that resembles a face-to-face conversation between the reader and the illustrious. Because the *Promptuary* facilitates this conversation, the book's authority, credibility, and trust depend on the book's ability to serve as a channel that leads somewhere important but that is also direct, clear, and clean. Thus, the book has authority because the channel leads not only to important people but also to an important need: to restore the past to life in one's own consciousness. In addition, the book has credibility because the channel is direct and undistorted: the coin portraits, which provide a contemporary representation of their models, make the channel direct, while "point-by-point" seeing, which guarantees a perfect correspondence between an object and its visual impression,

makes the channel clear. Furthermore, the book has trust because the circulation of only useful knowledge and virtuous delights makes the channel clean. Rouillé's claim that the audience will "not look at vain paintings" is very important, because it implies the presence of a filter that protects the audience's eyes from being "impressed" by anything harmful. Although the negotiation of credibility and trust seems to rely primarily on visual perception, the emphasis on sight restores the balance between visual and oral reading by making the conversation not only about hearing the words but also about seeing the faces of those who communicate through the channel of the text.

The argument from effects thus outlines a conception of reading as a conversation between an embodied reader and illustrious interlocutors who, although disembodied by death, become re-embodied in their coin images. Because coin images provide bodies for the noble people of the past and because they literally make an impression on the audience's eyes and minds, the images' truthfulness is so important that it must be beyond reproach. For this reason, Rouillé goes beyond claiming that the reader "will not look at vain paintings" and creates an elaborate refutation in which he defends the coin images against potential charges of falsehood. In this refutation, Rouillé counters possible claims that the images could be false either because they have as models imaginary coins or because they have as models forgeries instead of authentic artifacts. To counter the first possible claim of falsehood, Rouillé acknowledges that some images of people who lived at the beginning of the world, such as Adam, Abraham, or the Patriarchs, do not have corresponding artifacts. However, Rouillé invokes the myth of Zeuxis to argue for the artist's right, in the absence of a tangible model, to extrapolate the model's features from a variety of sources. To counter the second possible claim of falsehood, Rouillé

points to the effort and expense with which he acquired authentic ancient coins. If, by any chance, the examples reproduced in the *Promptuary* do not match examples known to the readers, this is because coins have a great variety of types.

The reference to Zeuxis, most likely gleaned from Cicero's *De Inventione*, aims to draw authority from Cicero's argument that an eclectic compilation of various sources can arrive at a more truthful representation than any individual source. In the opening of Book II, Cicero invokes the challenge faced by the famous painter Zeuxis of Heraclea, who was commissioned by the citizens of Croton to paint a picture of Helen, which would adorn the temple of Juno. Because Zeuxis obviously couldn't use Helen herself as a model, he devised an ingenious solution: first, he visited the gymnasium and observed the beauty of the young men training there; then, he asked to see these youths' sisters; afterwards, he selected five of the most beautiful girls. Following this inquiry and selection process, Zeuxis represented and combined each model's best features, for no individual maiden was flawless in every respect: "He chose five because he did not think all the qualities which he sought to combine in a portrayal of beauty could be found in one person, because in no single case has Nature made anything perfect and finished in every part. Therefore, as if she would have no bounty to lavish on the others if she gave everything to one, she bestows some advantage on one and some on another, but always joins it with some defect" (2.3). Cicero uses Zeuxis's challenge and solution as an analogy for the process involved in the crafting of his rhetorical treatise: an evaluation of potential sources, a selection of the best sources, and a selection of the best features of these sources. The intended outcome of this process is the Helen of rhetorical treatises: a work that surpasses all its models.

By using Cicero as a source of authority, Rouillé attempts to gain credibility for the idea that Zeuxis's work can be carried out across both verbal and non-verbal media and that compilations of literary sources can therefore result in truthful visual representations. This is a tenuous argument, especially in the light of repeated claims that the audience can, thanks to coin images, see the models "as in a mirror." Nevertheless, it is an argument for the restorative capacities of art, which can "re-materialize" what was irreversibly "de-materialized" by the passage of time. Because the internal consistency of the overall argument is significantly tested by departures from "point-by-point" correspondences and incursions into the realms of imagination, the author's own credibility must serve as a cohesive agent, guaranteeing that the compilations are informed by a genuine quest for truth. However, because the author's credibility needs the backing of at least some material evidence, Rouillé also invokes his coin collection as proof of the images' authenticity, suggesting that, "if by any chance some might find in this Promptuary a Medal different from one they might own, they should know that neither theirs nor ours is the only one in the world; that, should we want to be quarrelsome, we could argue with better reason that theirs is false while ours is not" (5; my translation).

Despite Rouillé's efforts to demonstrate the images' authenticity, modern numismatists have indicated that the majority of the ancient coin images are fantasies, while some are copied from existing woodcuts and some are based on genuine ancient coins. John Cunnally suggests, for instance, that the majority of the early Caesars and possibly most of the later emperors and their consorts were copied from woodcuts in Huttich's *Imperatorum et Caesarum vitae* of 1534. However, Cunnally also identifies a

rather impressive array of Greek coins that would have served as models, such as “coins of Rhodes, Catania, Gela, Philip of Macedon, Alexander, Lysimachus, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Ptolemy V, Arsinoë, Mithridates, and Prusias of Bithynia” (101). Although the presence of authentic coin images confirms Rouillé’s claims regarding his coin collection, Cunnally also points out that many of the images are misattributed. Some of these misattributions include, for example, the mislabeling of Queen Arsinoë as Cleopatra, the helmeted Athena as Alexander the Great, Alexander the Great as Lysimachus, and Zeus as Philip. On the other hand, Hellenistic kings such as Demetrius Poliorcetes, Prusias of Bithynia, and Mithridates the Great are identified correctly (101). Cunnally’s comparison between known ancient coins and Rouillé’s ancient coin images therefore indicates that Rouillé most likely either owned or at least had access to a significant number of genuine ancient coins; however, Rouillé had a very limited knowledge of coin attribution, and the number of images included in the *Promptuary* by far exceeds the number of authentic models.

The last argument from effects suggests, however, that the *Promptuary*’s purpose is not the advancement of numismatics but the advancement of the audience. In the conclusion of the preface, Rouillé makes the boldest claim for his book’s impact by challenging the readers to imitate the excellence of illustrious individuals and thus earn a place in future versions of the *Promptuary*:

Finally, honest Reader, you have here a sort of treasure of the richest possessions in the world: examples of virtue, glory, honor, and immortality. Here you can see the leaders of the world and their faces as if breathing and speaking, personages who were excellent, great, and foremost among people and nations, who by their

good spirit, virtue, and excellence of noble deeds acquired for themselves immortal honor. Wherefore by the imitation of their examples you can earn praise for your own virtues, you deserve that your own Image and Medal obtain a place among the others, to the increase and successive impressions of this book, which cannot have an end, as long as virtuous people leave a memorial of themselves in deed or in writing. (5; my translation)

In this concluding argument, seeing and hearing serve as prerequisites for acting and writing, which in turn serve as prerequisites for being remembered and earning immortality. These sets of prerequisites form a cycle of embodied literacy mediated by the book: by “reading” the faces of the illustrious, the readers will gain virtue, which will translate into noble deeds, which will be remembered in images and script, which will bestow upon the readers immortality and glory. Once the readers become illustrious themselves, their faces will be “read” by future generations, who will then imitate the predecessors’ virtues, then act on these virtues, then memorialize noble actions, thus endlessly enriching and perpetuating the life of texts.

In this literacy cycle, physiognomy appears to serve as the primary tool for decoding visual discourse and a key accompaniment to reading verbal discourse. By invoking physiognomy as the way to “read” visual images, Rouillé weaves the traditional connection between physiognomy and medicine together with a connection between physiognomy and art. While medical physiognomy facilitates the physical diagnosis and healing by a physician of someone who is observed and “read,” artistic physiognomy facilitates the spiritual diagnosis and healing by the one who is “read” of the one who reads. In other words, the faces of the illustrious and the accompanying stories have the

ability to restore the audiences to spiritual health primarily by restoring their memories of the past. Furthermore, because this healing is performed through both a spiritual and a material impression, it must be manifested through actions that make an impact on the world. Of these actions, writing is especially important because it guarantees the continuation of the cycle.

### Cognitive Perspectives on the Appropriation of Coin Ethos

A cognitive perspective on the composition of Rouillé's book suggests that the book negotiates its own ethos, as well as the ethos of the author and of the audience, by becoming linked to the networks of stance objects to which coins belong and by serving as a new frame. The book becomes linked to the networks of stance objects by importing, together with the coin images, all the relationships and all the frames in which coins participate. The coin images thus become a source of authority, credibility, and trust because they grant direct access to the systems of power, truths, and values embedded in the frames for education, social relationships, and divine relationships. The book, however, is not composed only of coin images but also of text. The syntagmatic relationships between the coin portraits and the biographic summaries rely on a foregrounded quality consisting of a reading strategy. While physiognomy supplies a visual reading strategy for the portraits, traditional reading provides an audio-visual strategy for the biographic summaries.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, the syntagmatic relationships

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<sup>31</sup> The need for a way to "mesh" the images and the text may explain why Rouillé theorized coin make up only in terms of a portrait and a metal. In the absence of a way to interpret the great variety of coin images, Rouillé might have settled for a widely accepted way of interpreting faces.



between the numerous image-text combinations permit the book to function as a new frame, which creates a new context for the re-circulation of coins. In this frame, Rouillé negotiates his ethos as author by invoking the hard and honest work involved in the making of the book. Also in this frame, readers are invited to negotiate their own ethos by aligning with all the roles associated with the study and appreciation of coins, as well as with a new role: that of participant in the book.

The role of participant in the book requires a two-fold contribution from the audience: a willingness to be impressed and a desire to make an impression. The willingness to be impressed involves both receptivity for visual images and a generous disposition capable of admiration. At the same time, the desire to make an impression involves acting on one's environment and transforming it. By receiving and making impressions, the audience therefore becomes not only a reader of text but also a maker of text. This new role invokes a frame for the life-cycle of the book, a frame where all audience roles, together with the author's roles, sustain various aspect of this cycle.

Because Rouillé was a skilled businessman with a thorough understanding of the making and circulation of books (as his biographers indicated), he likely had his own model for what this cycle might have looked like. In the absence of access to Rouillé's model, Harold Love's model<sup>32</sup> provides an informed approximation. Love theorizes print culture as "a sequencing of actors and activities which can be modeled as a continuously

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<sup>32</sup> Love adapts an earlier model described by Robert Darnton, who suggested that "printed books generally pass through roughly the same life cycle. It could be described as a communications circuit that runs from the author to the publisher (if the bookseller does not assume that role), the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader. The reader completes the circuit, because he influences the author before and after the act of composition" (67). Love, however, shifts the focus of the model from agents to processes.

evolving, ever-repeating cycle in which each set of events is linked sequentially to a predecessor set and a successor set, and more distantly with the predecessor's predecessor and the successor's successor" (57). According to Love, this cycle comprises six stages: the stage of production covers the manufacturing of the material record; the stage of distribution comprises the economic and social means that permit the persistence of the cycle; the stage of consumption encompasses the history of reading; the stage of reconstruction involves reformulating reading experiences into new acts of writing; the stage of print authorship binds the work to an author; and the stage of commissioning and enabling, especially important in the Renaissance, includes patronage relationships (57-59).

In the frame for the book's life cycle, different audience and author roles cluster around stages of the cycle, which serve as new stance objects (Figure 44). By aligning

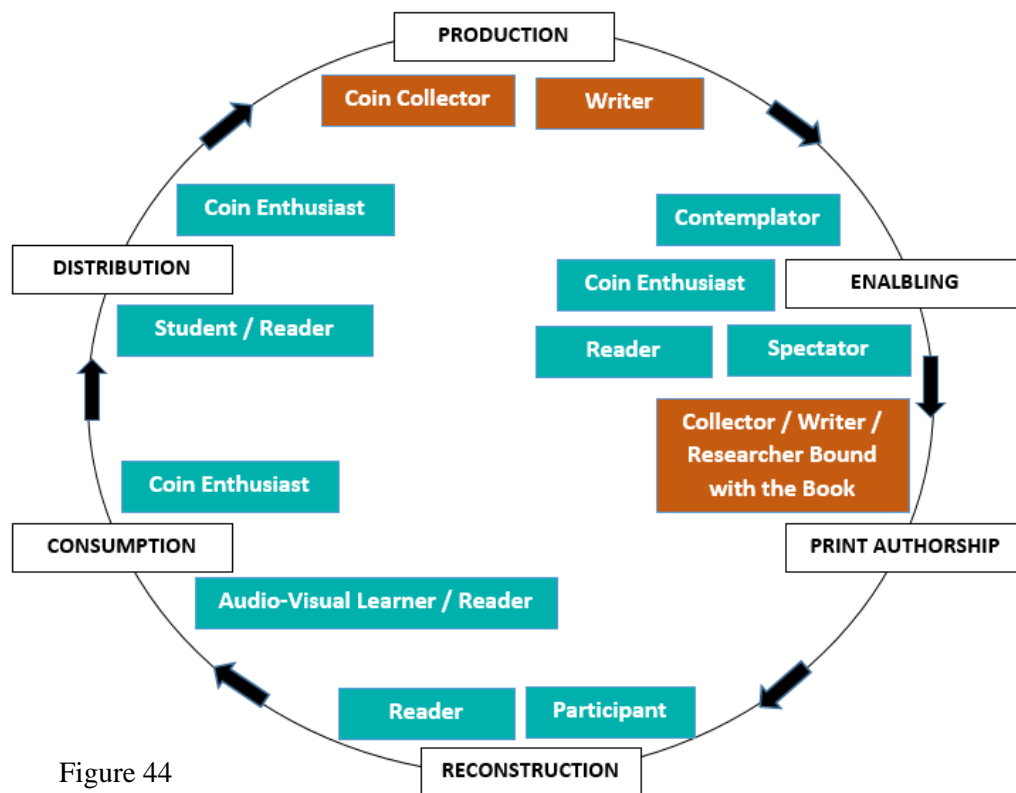


Figure 44

with certain roles, the audience also aligns with a stage of the cycle and sustains it. For instance, the role of participant in the text, in conjunction with the role of reader, sustains the stage of reconstruction, where reading prompts writing and the emergence of new texts from old texts. In addition, the roles of coin enthusiast and student / reader facilitate the consumption and distribution of the text because readers who love coins buy the book and create a need for future printings and editions.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, mindful spectators in the theater of life, coin enthusiasts, and readers enable both the making and the continuation of the text. Furthermore, author roles such as coin collector, writer, and researcher sustain the production stage and the authorship stage. The integration of life cycle stages into the networks of stance objects suggests that the readers' movement through the networks, apart from helping the readers negotiate their own ethos, targets the repetition of the cycle and the continuation of the book.

The presence of a frame for the life of the book indicates that, like coins, texts need contexts. Like the contexts that enable the circulation of coins, the contexts that enable the circulation of books are both intellectual and material. While sometimes the intellectual aspect gains prominence (as in the reconstruction and consumption stages) and sometimes the material aspect does (as in the production and distribution stages), the intellectual and the material are tightly bound together and inseparable, like the impression on a coin flan. In other words, both coins and books have bodies with a spirit and a substance, bodies that require environments and energy for their existence.

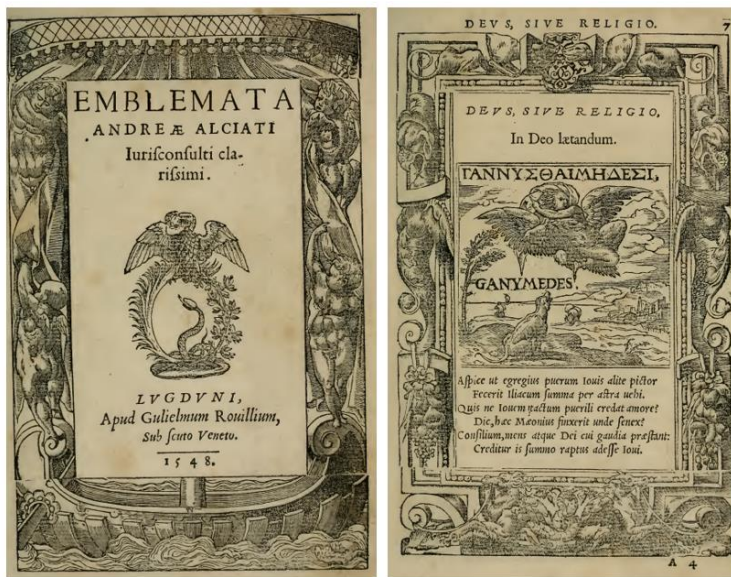
Because, in Rouillé's theory and authorship practice, book users are the primary energy

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<sup>33</sup> Rouillé strived to maximize consumption and distribution by including portraits of contemporary celebrities as a way of advertising his text.

source for the life of books, the books' bodies must therefore inhabit the users' environments in order to survive. In the case of the *Promptuary*, coins attempt to secure the book's place in the readers' intimate, personal spaces by "binding" the readers' eyes to the images. This "binding" depends on similarities between the eye and a coin, similarities which include the ability to receive impressions on a material substance, as well as the ability to compress vast sources of authority, credibility, and trust into miniature round spaces. Moreover, coins also attempt to secure the book's place in the readers' open, public spaces by "binding" the readers to the actions of the public figures represented by the coins. This "binding" depends not only on the verbal text (the biographic summaries) but also on the readers' willingness to employ the book as a tool for shaping these spaces through their actions.

Furthermore, coins provide an environment for the life of Rouillé's book by positioning it in established or emerging intellectual contexts that privilege a balance between verbal and visual reading. An established intellectual context was one inhabited



by emblem books, a context that Rouillé supported by publishing a seminal work in this genre, Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata*.<sup>34</sup> (The image in Figure 45 shows the frontispiece and the first emblem page in Rouillé's

Figure 45

<sup>34</sup> Rouillé published Alciati's *Emblemata* both in Latin and in French translation.

Latin edition of the *Emblemata*.) From emblem books, Rouillé borrowed the page format, which presented an image accompanied by text, as well as the collection format, which assembled a series of separate entries. However, Rouillé did not attempt to create another emblem book but instead to participate in a new intellectual environment, one generated by the first collection of coin images, Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines*.

A brief comparison between the pages shown at the beginning of this chapter and similar entries in Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines* suggests that Rouillé aimed at improving upon this pioneer text. Rouillé includes two coin images per page instead of one and sometimes two biographic summaries instead of one, thereby highlighting relationships between a character's life stages (as in the entry on Julius Caesar) or relationships between different characters (as in the entry on Pompey and Julia). Furthermore, the coin images include inscriptions and use or approximate real artifacts. For example, the posthumous image of Julius Caesar has an inscription that matches an ancient coin, while Fulvio's image does not (Figure 46). Moreover, the image of Pompey in Rouillé's text bears some resemblance to an ancient artifact, while the image of Pompey in Fulvio's text is a complete fantasy. The near perfect similarity between the imaginary coin of Julia in both texts suggests though that Rouillé's artist collaborators might have copied Julia's image from Fulvio's book or from a woodcut for that book (Figure 47). This instance of direct borrowing indicates that Rouillé was more concerned with binding his work to existing contexts rather than with making huge departures from these contexts, probably because he counted on the audience's familiarity with the genre of coin image anthologies.



IVLES Cefar fut premier Empereur de Rôme, en l'an du monde 3918. auât la nat.de Iefus 44.ans. Luy eſtât Conſul, eur la charge de conquerer les Gaules & Illyrie, avec dix legions: car l'Aſie eſtât ſubiugée par Pöpee, la fortune adöc trãſporta à cetuy ce qui reſtoit en Europe. Or eſt il ç les plus fortes natiöns, qui ſont les Gaulois & Germains, reſtoyēt: & cöbien que l'Angleterre ſoit ſeparee du monde, toutesfois elle trouua qui la vainquit. Iules donc ſubiuga les Suiſſes: puis quaſi toujours victorieux par tresgrandes batailles, paſſa iuſques à la mer d'Angleterre: & en 9.ans cöquilt route la Gaule qui eſt entre les Alpes, le Roſne, le Rein, & la mer Oceane: print oſtages des Anglois qu'il feit tributaires aux Romains, qui n'eſtoyēt des Anglois cögnus, nö pas ſeulement de nom. Puis paſſa le Rein, & par fortes batailles vainquit les Alemans. la fortune luy fut ſeulement contraire par trois fois: ſus la mer d'Angleterre la tēpeſte luy abyſma preſque tous ſes gēs: & à Clermöt en Auvergne, il en perdit vne legion: & ſus les limites d'Alemaigne ſes capitaines furēt tuez par embuſches. A ſö retour, demãda eſtre encor Conſul, mais Marcel, Bibulus, Pöpee, & Cato y repugnēt: & on luy mande röpre le cãp, & retourner à Rôme, de là vint la fource de la guerre ciuile tresmiferable. Luy s'en viēt en armes cötre ſon païs: tout le Senat s'enfuit en Grece avec Pöpee, qui le vainc au premier choc, puis eſt vaincu en Theſſalie par Cefar, qui à ſon retour vainc Pharnax: puis en Afrique les nobles Ro, avec le roy Iuba: & puis en Eſpaigne les fils de Pöpee: mais fut à la premiere rencontre ſi bien ſecours par eux, qu'il ſe voulut tuer. en fin victorieux, ſe portant trop fierement, fut tué par vn iour de court, ou il eſtoit: l'an de ſon Empire 3 ou 4. dē ſon aage 56. Sueto. Eutr. li. 6. & Plutar. Au reſte pource que lon a trouuē 2. medalles antiques de Cefar, toutes deux ſont icy exprimees.



Figure 46



POMPEE, ſurnommé le Grand, apres auoir eueufemēt & eſt vaincu les pirates, alla contre Mithridates en l'an du monde 3977. auant la natiuité de Iefus Chriſt 65. ans. la bataille fut liuree de nuit, en Armenie la mineur: Pompee vainquit, & ne perdant que trente hommes des ſiens, en deſſit 40000. des autres. Mithridates s'enfuit luy quatrième, dont ſa femme eſtoit l'vne. Pompee marche contre Tigrañes, Roy de la grand' Armenie, qui ſe rend à luy, ſe met à genoux deuant luy, & luy preſente ſa couronne entre les mains: mais Pompee la luy ſemet ſus la tēte, donna Paphlagonie à Artalus, & à Pylimenes: & Armenie la mineur à Deiotarus roy de Galatie, pource qu'il luy ayda contre Mithridates. Feit. Aſitiare roy de Colchos: oſt apres dompté les Iuereux & Arabes: mit en liberté Scleucie, qui n'auoit accueilli Tigrañes: rendit les oſtages d'Antioche, de là paſſant en Iudee, en trois mois print Ieruſalem: occidit douze mil Iuiſ, le reſte il print à merci. Puis s'enſläma la guerre ciuile (Florus l'appelle generale, & plus que guerre) entre Pöpee & Cefar, la plus troublee & plus dangereuſe de toutes: à la premiere rencontre Cefar fut vaincu, & par fuite ſe faua, Pöpee ne le voulant pourſuyure ſus la nuit. Lors dit Cefar, que Pompee ne ſuyt pas vaincu: & que luy ne pouoit eſtre vaincu qu'adüc. Puis y eut groſſe bataille en Pharſalie: & Pompee vaincu s'enfuit vers Prolmee (de qui il eſtoit cöteur ordonné par le Senat) qui ſuyant plus la fortune que l'amitié fait trēcher la teſte à Pompee, & l'enuoya à Cefar: qui la voyant, ne ſe peut tenir de pleurer. Voyez Plutar. en Pompee. Eutr. li. 6. App. 1. li. Iosep. li. 14. chap. 8.

IVLIE fille de Cefar, fut femme de Pompee, & mourit en peine d'enfant.

Figure 47



In the dedication to Marguerite de France, Rouillé expressed his hope for the regeneration of the *Promptuary* by comparing it to a Hydra with many heads but “without poison,” a Hydra which “renews itself from year to year and from century to century” (n.p.). Did Rouillé’s hope materialize? Did his *Promptuary*, like the Hydra, continue to raise new heads and therefore endure on? Was Rouillé’s book capable of sustaining its contexts or generating new ones? On the one hand, the *Promptuary* created new contexts because other students of ancient coins became interested in cutting off the Hydra’s false heads. Motivated by the many fantasies and gross errors in image collections such as Fulvio’s or Rouillé’s, scholars such as Jacopo Strada, Wolfgang Lazius, Enea Vico, or Hubert Golzius worked on establishing methods for the systematic study of coins and on negotiating the ethos of the emerging discipline of numismatics. On the other hand, the *Promptuary* created new contexts because others were inspired by the variety of the Hydra’s heads and by these heads’ capacity to blur the distinction between history and myth.

Madeleine de Scudéry’s *Les Femmes illustres*, for instance, appropriated the format of the *Promptuary* and the ethos of coin images to create a new collection, of women’s images and speeches. In the next chapter, I focus on Scudéry’s *Les Femmes illustres* and explore how coin images position this text in the contexts generated by the *Promptuary* and how these contexts help negotiate the women orators’ authority, credibility, and trust. In addition, I explore how the balance between visual and oral reading advanced by the *Promptuary* encourages audiences’ perception of Scudéry’s speakers as people who are both seen and heard.

## Chapter 4: Speaker Ethos and Coin Ethos in Madeleine de Scudéry's *Les Femmes illustres*

In 1642, the already famous Scudéry name increased its prestige with a new publication – the first volume of a collection of twenty fictional orations by famous women of antiquity. The complete title, *Les femmes illustres, ou les harangues heroïques de Monsieur de Scudéry, avec les veritables portraits des ces heroïnes, tirez des medailles antiques* (*The Illustrious Women, or the Heroic Harangues of Monsieur de Scudéry, with the Genuine Portraits of These Heroines, Drawn from Ancient Medals*) communicates the content of the book and makes a compact claim to authority (the women are illustrious), credibility (the portraits are genuine, and the medals are ancient), and trust (the harangues are heroic). The title also identifies as the author Georges de Scudéry, the brother of Madeleine de Scudéry, although this text is now consistently attributed to Madeleine and not to her brother. The binding of the author, the illustrious women, the fictional orations, and the portraits, as conveyed by the title, is also reflected in the make-up of the text. A preface in the form of a dedicatory letter to the ladies (“*Epistre aux Dames*”) addresses female audiences in a male voice; in addition, portraits in the style of ancient coins (to which the title refers as “medals,” as was the general practice in the Renaissance) illustrate each oration.

The claims advanced by the title and reflected by the make-up of the text raise questions as to how the joining of the authorial persona, the women speakers, the speeches, the coin portraits, and the text is accomplished and as to how the various relationships among the participants in this joining negotiate ethos. My discussion of *Les Femmes illustres* suggests that one of these relationships in particular – between the



female orators and the text – creates an acute need for the text to be accepted by audiences who manifest either reservation or hostility with regard to women’s public speaking. Because both the book and its heroines need ethos, other relationships create a complex scaffold that supports a “walkway” for reticent audiences into the construct of the text. The male authorial persona encourages the first step, while coin images guide the next steps, reassuring audiences that all steps lead to an understanding of glory, truth, and virtue. Furthermore, the portrait illustrations and the verbal text encourages a balance between visual and oral reading, a balance that gives the heroines two bodies: an ancient body memorialized by the coin image and a contemporary body animated by the reader’s voice. In addition, a *copia* of genre relationships invoked both by the images and by the verbal text converge towards the same overarching goal: to “move” audiences from expressing reticence or antagonism to appreciating the ancient heroines as competent speakers and to carrying this appreciation into the present. If ancient women were effective orators, can’t contemporary women be effective orators, as well?

In this chapter, I explore relationships among the author, the ancient heroines, the orations, the coin images, and the text and explicate the construction of ethos as the interweaving of authority, credibility, and trust. In the first section, “The Life of *Les Femmes illustres* and Questions of Authorship and Text,” I survey the text’s transmission in French editions and English translations and suggest that the author’s identity and the portrait illustrations at certain times moved and at other times halted the text’s lifecycle. In the second section, “Theoretical Framework,” I merge the cognitive framework deployed in the previous chapters with Muckelbauer’s notion of imitation as invention in three movements: reproduction, variation, and inspiration. I suggest that these

movements are invention strategies that encourage audiences' alignment based on similarities and differences between the text and other verbal and non-verbal artifacts. In the third section, "The Movement of Reproduction," I discuss the role of coin images in establishing relationships with verbal and non-verbal genres such as coin portrait anthologies, numismatic studies, and coin forgeries, and I propose that reproduction emphasizes the historical reality and public status of Scudéry's heroines. In addition, I discuss the rhetorical theory articulated by the preface and identify a play between concealment and revelation that protects eloquent women from social exclusion. In the fourth section, "The Movement of Variation," I discuss the role of coin images and of aspects of typography (such as font styles and the frontispiece) in forging genre connections with other rhetorical texts, with emblem books, as well as with dramatic texts, connections that highlight the text's originality, balance visual and oral reading, and emphasize the heroines' roles as speakers. In addition, I suggest that visual metaphors deployed in the preface draw attention to the cohesion of the text as a collection of orations and to the heroines as a community of speakers. In the fifth section, "Reproduction, Variation, and the Defense of Truth and Virtue in 'Mariamne to Herod,'" I analyze the second oration and propose that reproduction and variation facilitate Scudéry's responses to ancient sources and the framing of Mariamne's speech as a moral imperative. In the sixth section, "Tentative Conclusions: The Movement of Inspiration," I suggest that inspiration belongs to the text's audiences, who must transfer their acceptance of women's speaking from the ancient past into the present.

The Life of Les Femmes illustres and Questions of Authorship and Text

The life of *Les Femmes illustres* was documented primarily by Georges Mongrédien, who remains the main authority on the presence and chronology of the French editions. In the second instalment of his three-part “Bibliographie des oeuvres de Georges et Madeleine de Scudéry” (1933), Mongrédien lists four editions for the first volume and three editions for the second volume. According to Mongrédien, the first volume, published under the title *Les femmes illustres, ou les harangues héroïques de Monsieur de Scudéry avec les véritables portraits de ces Héroïnes, tirez des Medailles Antiques*, was first printed in 1642, followed by a second edition in 1644, a third edition in 1665, and a fourth edition in 1666 (dated 1667 on the title page). The second volume, published under the title *Les femmes illustres, ou les harangues héroïques de Monsieur de Scudéry. Seconde partie*, was first printed in 1644, followed by a second edition in 1661 and a third edition in 1666 (dated 1667 on the title page).<sup>35</sup> Mongrédien also mentions the existence after the seventeenth century of highly personalized, non-print transmission methods, such as the manuscript copy created by L. Grégoire (1772 and

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<sup>35</sup> Mongrédien appears to have based his analytical bibliography on the range of editions exemplified in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, although he indicates the presence of scattered examples in other libraries, such as a copy of the original edition in the Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne or copies of the second edition of the first volume and the first edition of the second volume in Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève. However, based on the evidence of copies held by the Fondo Palatino library (created from the private library of the grand duke of Tuscany), Rossa Galli Pelegrini argues for an amendment to Mongrédien’s chronology and proposes the existence of two previously unknown editions – a 1655 edition for the first volume and a 1654 edition for the second volume. Galli Pelegrini compares the 1655 copy of the first volume with the original 1642 edition and the 1654 copy of the second volume with the original 1644 edition, and notes that the differences in the frontispiece, typography, and engravings are significant enough to exclude the likelihood of a pre-edition. Galli Pelegrini’s argument for two new editions does not appear to have influenced current scholarship though, so Mongrédien’s analytical bibliography still remains the primary authority on Scudéry editions.

1775) and dedicated to Marie Antoinette. *Les Femmes illustres* appears to have fallen into complete oblivion, however, until the 1991 edition by Claude Maignien resurrected interest in this text. This edition contextualizes the production of *Les Femmes illustres* by providing an extensive preface on the life of Madeleine de Scudéry and actualizes the verbal text by employing modern paragraph and spelling conventions; however, this edition includes only sixteen orations and omits the original portrait illustrations.

The popularity of *Les Femmes illustres* in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain becomes apparent in the translations that followed the French editions. The best known translation belongs to James Innes and appeared in Edinburgh in 1681 and in London in 1693. The Innes translation seems to have been republished, without a named translator and with a different preface, in London in 1714, 1728, and 1768. Apart from the complete translation of the first volume by James Innes, two partial translations also exist. A translation by I.B. Gent, published in London in 1656 includes nine orations from the second volume; in addition, a translation by an unnamed translator, published in Dublin in 1744, includes three orations from the first volume. However, other English translations were not completed until Karen Newman translated the oration “Sapho to Erinna” (2003), and Jane Donawerth and Julie Strongson translated “Mariam to Herod,” “Sophonisba to Masinissa,” “Zenobia to Her Daughters,” and “Sappho to Erinna” (2004). Both the French editions and the English translations thus show wide fluctuations in the text’s transmission, ranging from periods of great popularity to periods of total obscurity followed by a surge in academic interest. The complicated life of *Les Femmes illustres* thus raises questions as to how its transmission might have been impacted by notions of authorship and notions of text.

## Questions of Authorship

The life of the text raises questions of authorship because the complete title, *Les femmes illustres, ou les harangues héroïques de Monsieur de Scudéry avec les véritables portraits de ces Héroïnes, tirez des Medailles Antiques*, attributes this text to Georges de Scudéry, Madeleine's brother. This attribution in turn poses the problem of the relationship between brother and sister with regard to the production and marketing of this text. Madeleine de Scudéry's biographers generally agree that Georges de Scudéry, a successful writer himself, was a controlling and egotistical individual who caused a good deal of distress in his sister's life. Because Madeleine de Scudéry never married, she remained a ward of her brother, who signed all her works during his lifetime. However, different scholars nuance differently Madeleine's role in her deprivation of public ownership of her works. Dorothy McDougal, for example, portrays Madeleine's relationship with Georges as oppressive and limits Madeleine's choice in the acknowledgment of authorship (37-48). Nicole Aronson, on the other hand, cites the contemporary accounts of Tallemant and proposes that Georges signed his sister's works so that they would sell better (*Madeleine de Scudéry* 19). Because Georges was already a popular playwright, he had a contract with publishers Courbé and Sommaville, a contract that he extended to include Madeleine's works. Nonetheless, Aronson suggests that Madeleine might also have chosen not to sign her works out of modesty. This modesty was a response to the widespread hatred of educated women in seventeenth-century France, to the questionable propriety of women engaging in literary careers, and to the perceived impropriety of women writing about love. Aronson also suggests that Madeleine, who did not sign her works even after her brother died and published

anonymously instead, might have actually chosen and even preferred the distance between her private life as a salonnière and the public life of an author (*Voyage* 37-43). The attribution of *Les Femmes illustres* to Georges de Scudéry might have therefore served as a necessary source of authority for this text during Madeleine's lifetime.

Ironically, this source of authority might also have halted this text's transmission cycles because *Les Femmes illustres* fell into oblivion once Georges's posthumous reputation plummeted (Galli Pelegrini 511). However, the bibliographic indexing of *Les Femmes illustres* under Madeleine's name started a new transmission cycle in the influence zone of feminist rhetorical theory. Exactly how the authorship of this text came to be transferred from Georges to Madeleine remains rather unclear, however. Mongrédien's 1933 bibliography does not list the works of brother and sister separately; nevertheless, the entry on the first edition of *Les Femmes illustres* mentions the contemporary testimony of Tallemant de Réaux, who knew Madeleine and Georges and wrote of a collaboration between brother and sister (421). In her 1976 article "Su due edizioni di *Les Femmes illustres* di Georges de Scudéry," Galli Pelegrini does not indicate an exact transition point for the text's attribution: she refers to C. Clerc, who, in his 1929 defense of Georges's work, does not clearly assign *Les Femmes illustres* either to the brother or to the sister; in addition, she refers to Montgrédien's bibliography and the indexing of the text under Madeleine's name in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but she does not fully engage the question of authorship.

This question might have remained only partially addressed because this text has not generated sufficient interest for a detailed and careful comparative stylistic analysis. In her 1986 collection of essays *Madeleine de Scudéry ou le voyage au Pays de Tendre*,

Nicole Aronson suggests that the attribution criteria might be entirely subjective.

Aronson leans heavily towards Madeleine as the text's author by relying on content and "common sense" as the main criteria; however, she allows for the possibility that Georges might have written the orations dealing with characters that he reused in later works, such as Eudoxia and Dido (125-37). In the preface to the 1991 French edition of *Les Femmes illustres*, Claude Maignien does not question authorship and solidly assigns the text to Madeleine. In the U.S., Scudéry scholars and translators such as Jane Donawerth, Julie Strongson, and Karen Newman approach *Les Femmes illustres* as Madeleine's, based on the literary and rhetorical features of this text.

My discussion of *Les Femmes illustres* focuses on the original, 1642 edition and stems from the premise that Madeleine de Scudéry is the writer of the verbal text. My discussion also proposes, however, that Madeleine engaged in complex collaborations with those who published her work and that the male authorial persona targeted the good will of hostile audiences. The text's visual and verbal features, as reflected by the relationship between coin images and verbal text, reveal that the writer very likely began to collaborate with publishers and illustrators in the early stages of the text's composition. This collaboration was probably mediated to a certain extent by Madeleine's brother; nevertheless, this collaborative model of authorship grounded *Les Femmes illustres* in a variety of genres that supplied rich sources of ethos. In addition, the text's preface, where the writer addresses audiences in a male voice, uncovers a rhetorical theory that playfully invites these audiences to accept a text about women.

## Questions of Text

The life of *Les Femmes illustres* in English editions reflects translators' and editors' struggles to account for what constitutes the text and for what are the text's essential sources of authority, credibility, and trust. Although the original title makes an appeal to credibility by referring to the heroines' "genuine portraits" drawn from ancient coins, none of the English editions refer to coin portraits in the title, and only a few include portrait illustrations. Therefore, most English translations approach the verbal text as substantive and the illustrations as incidental; nevertheless, they promote the project of *Les Femmes illustres* by invoking sources of authority, credibility, and trust grounded in their readers' interests.

The earliest English translation (London, 1656) rendered selections from the second volume of *Les Femmes illustres* and used the title *A Triumphant Arch Erected and Consecrated to the Glory of the Feminine Sexe*. Either the translator (I.B. Gent) or the publishers (Hope and Herringman) ignored the original title and instead used a phrase from the volume preface, possibly as a means of advertising the general project of the text and of appealing to a female audience. The translation by James Innes (Edinburgh, 1681; London, 1693) used the title *Les femmes illustres or The heroick harangues of the illustrious women written in French by the exquisite pen of Monsieur de Scuddery governour of Nostre Dam*. This title preserves a portion of the original title in French ("Les femmes illustres"), while the English rendition truncates as well as expands the remainder of the title – the translation omits the reference to portraits drawn from ancient medals and adds the title of Georges de Scudéry ("governour of Nostre Dam"). The reason for the code switching between English and French can only be a matter of



speculation; however, it is possible that the French text was sufficiently well known that the translator and publishers wanted to capitalize on its existing popularity. The reason for the truncation, on the other hand, is quite clear – neither the Scottish nor the English edition of Innes’s translation includes any portrait illustrations.

The republication of Innes’s translation in the eighteenth century occurred under new titles: *The Female Orators: or, the Courage and Constancy of divers Famous Queens, and Illustrious Women, Set forth in their Eloquent Orations, and Noble Resolutions: Worthy the Perusal and Imitation of the Female Sex. English'd from the French edition of Monsieur de Scudéry* (London, 1714); *The Female Orators: or, the Courage and Constancy of divers Famous Queens, and Illustrious Women, Set forth in their Undaunted Defences and Noble Resolutions: Worthy the Perusal and Imitation of the Female Sex. English'd from the French edition of Monsieur de Scudéry. The third edition adorn'd with cuts engraven by J. Sturt* (1728); and *The Female Orators: or the Courage and Constancy of Divers Famous Women, Set forth in their Undaunted Defences and Noble Resolutions, in Preservation of their Virtue and Liberty. Worthy the Perusal and Imitation of the Fair Sex. English'd from the French edition of Monsieur de Scudéry* (1768). These three largely similar titles attempt to capture the nature of the text content (“Female Orators,” “Famous Queens, and Illustrious Women”), appeal to female readers (“Worthy of the Perusal and Imitation of the Female Sex”), and qualify the text’s moral and aesthetic qualities (“Courage and Constancy,” “Eloquent Orations, and Noble Resolutions,” or “Undaunted Defences and Noble Resolutions”). In addition, the 1728 edition, whose title refers to “cuts engraven by J. Sturt,” advertises the aesthetic qualities of that edition, which reproduces rather faithfully the portrait illustrations of the French

editions. However, the same need for qualifying detail is not present in *The Illustrious Ladies of Antiquity. Translated from the French of the Celebrated Mr. De Scudéry*, the title of a partial translation published in Ireland (Dublin, 1744).

The various titles of the English translation most likely functioned as a strategy for attracting readers. The code-switching of Innes's title suggests an advertising strategy based on maintaining a close connection to the popularity of the Scudéry name; on the other hand, the elaborate eighteenth-century titles indicate an advertising strategy based on an appeal to the moral sentiments of prospective readers. By comparison, the task of twenty-first century translators – to introduce this little known text to modern readers – seems more difficult, requiring a way to bridge the project of *Les Femmes illustres* to contemporary points of interest. The partial translation by Karen Newman responds to this challenge by anthologizing the twentieth oration (“Sapho to Erinne”) along with another text by Madeleine de Scudéry (*The Story of Sapho*) under the title *The Story of Sapho*.<sup>36</sup> Newman's title thus frames her project in the context of academic interests in feminist poetics. Newman's anthology does not, however, make any mention of medals and does not reproduce the portrait illustration that originally accompanied Sappho's address to Erinne. Donawerth and Strongson anthologize four orations (“Mariam to Herod,” “Sophonisba to Masinissa,” “Zenobia to Her Daughters,” and “Sappho to Erinna”), along with other texts by Madeleine de Scudéry, under the title *Madeleine de Scudéry. Selected Letters, Orations, and Rhetorical Dialogues*. Their title identifies rhetorical theory as a point of interest, and – like Newman's title – appeals to academic

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<sup>36</sup> This title reflects the French spelling of Sappho's name.

audiences. In addition, theirs is the only modern anthology that reproduces portrait illustrations.

By pointing to these various approaches to the text of *Les Femmes illustres*, my discussion seeks to join a vibrant conversation but does not aim to challenge certain translators' or editors' decisions. I acknowledge that these decisions respond to specific contexts of transmission, and I agree with McKenzie, who proposed that, "whatever its metamorphoses, the different physical forms of any text, and the intentions they serve, are relative to a specific time, place, and person. This creates a problem only if we want meanings to be absolute and immutable. In fact, change and adaptation are a condition of survival, just as the creative application of texts is a condition of their being read at all" (60-61). Nevertheless, my analysis argues that the coin portraits of the original edition, which are reproduced from Rouillé's *Promptuary*, play an essential role in negotiating both the text's and the heroines' authority, credibility, and trust. The portraits forged connections to numismatic texts and emblem books, and these connections emphasized the women orators' historical reality, their public roles, and their roles as speakers. Furthermore, the portrait illustrations, in conjunction with the verbal text, encouraged a balance between visual and verbal reading that sought to actualize the ancient heroines' presence through the readers' performance of their speeches.

### Theoretical Framework

The complicated life of *Les Femmes illustres* indicates that ethos was essential to the text's transmission and that publishers and translators from different times and cultures sought to reaffirm, reconstruct, or reinterpret this ethos in ways that suited their contexts of work. To inquire into the construction of ethos, as well as investigate questions of authorship and text, in my discussion of *Les Femmes illustres* I rely on notions of imitation. The portrait illustrations, in conjunction with the complete title, prompted the choice of imitation as an organizing framework and led to the discovery of other instances where imitation supports the negotiation of authority, credibility, and trust. I do not propose, however, that *Les Femmes illustres* lacks originality; quite on the contrary, I argue that imitation served as a strong invention strategy targeting the text's positive reception by reticent audiences.

A theoretical framework informed by imitation is appropriate for a discussion of *Les Femmes illustres* because in the Renaissance imitation benefited from the prestige of a long and rich presence within the history of rhetorical education. From Quintilian's education model (where *facilitas* involved nature, art, and practice, and where practice involved imitation, exercise, and composition) to various progymnasmata models (of which Aphthonius's model was the most popular) to Erasmus's exercises in *copia*, imitation served as an essential tool for the development of rhetorical skills. Equally important was the role of imitation in the acquisition of values. Edward Erdmann, for example, proposes that in sixteenth-century humanist education imitation pedagogy not only targeted the assimilation of style but also provided tools for ethical training. According to Erdmann, Erasmus's pedagogy, in particular, approached imitation as a

path to genuine understanding and encouraged students “to absorb ethical lessons while developing the skill to use language to advocate actions” (5). This aspect of imitation is especially relevant to *Les Femmes illustres* because this text relies on models to communicate its role in upholding virtues and truth.

My discussion of *Les Femmes illustres* approaches imitation as a path towards invention, as well as a path towards acceptance by reluctant or hostile audiences. To address how the author and her audiences travel on these paths, I have adapted the framework of John Muckelbauer, who envisions imitation as invention in three movements: reproduction, variation, and inspiration. In “Imitation and Invention in Antiquity: An Historical-Theoretical Revision,” Muckelbauer addresses the “deeper logic of imitation, one that goes beyond the apparent opposition to invention” (65). To build a framework for exploring this deeper logic, Muckelbauer develops Terryl Givens’s claim that “any act of imitation contains three basic components: a model (the object of imitation), a copy (the product of imitation), and some relation of likeness that obtains between them” (67). Muckelbauer suggests that the true stakes of imitation concern the dynamics between the model and the copy, a dynamics that involves three principal movements: repetition of the same, resulting in reproduction; repetition of difference, resulting in variation; and difference and repetition, resulting in inspiration. Muckelbauer proposes that the movement of reproduction, which in antiquity aimed to replicate the stylistic excellences of earlier models, places the writer within the rigid structural framework of the model and invites him to invent within that framework. The movement of variation, on the other hand, reproduces the model differentially: “Rather than encountering the model as a determinate content, it is encountered as a constellation of

possible effects; hence, to imitate the model means to provoke those effects rather than to reproduce a particular content” (83). Finally, in the movement of inspiration, “the very existence of the model is at stake” as “the model becomes responsiveness itself” (84). Inspiration thus imparts not the model’s content or structure but a force that can split from or even obscure the model.

The three movements of imitation – reproduction, variation, and inspiration – structure my analysis of *Les Femmes illustres*. However, I adapted slightly the definitions of these movements to account for the interlacing of verbal and visual features in Scudéry’s text, as well as to mesh Muckelbauer’s framework with the cognitive framework grounded in DuBois’s notion of stance and deployed in previous chapters. The imitation framework and the cognitive framework are particularly well-suited for a merge, because the new text as an artifact and its verbal and non-verbal models can be envisioned in terms of frames whose various relationships encourage audiences’ convergent alignment. To this merge, the cognitive framework contributes an understanding of these relationships and accounts for the audiences’ participation in the movements of imitation. In addition, the cognitive framework contributes an understanding of reproduction, variation, and inspiration as strategies for negotiating ethos.

My discussion approaches reproduction as invention within certain formal features supplied by other verbal or non-verbal artifacts, invention which emphasizes the similarities between the new artifact and its models. From a cognitive perspective, the new artifact displays visual and verbal features that invoke existing frames by means of paradigmatic relationships. (For example, the coin portraits of *Les Femmes illustres*,

which are copied from Rouillé’s *Promptuary*, invoke genres of texts illustrated with coin images.) These paradigmatic relationships, which are generated by features shared by the new artifact and its models, create zones of intersection between the frame for the new artifact and the frames for the models. (For example, *Les Femmes illustres* intersects with the genres of coin portrait collections, numismatic scholarship, and ancient coin reproductions.) The existing frames supply tools for positioning and evaluation that encourage audiences’ alignment within zones of intersection with the new artifact frame (Figure 48). Because these tools are shaped by the models’ authority, credibility, and

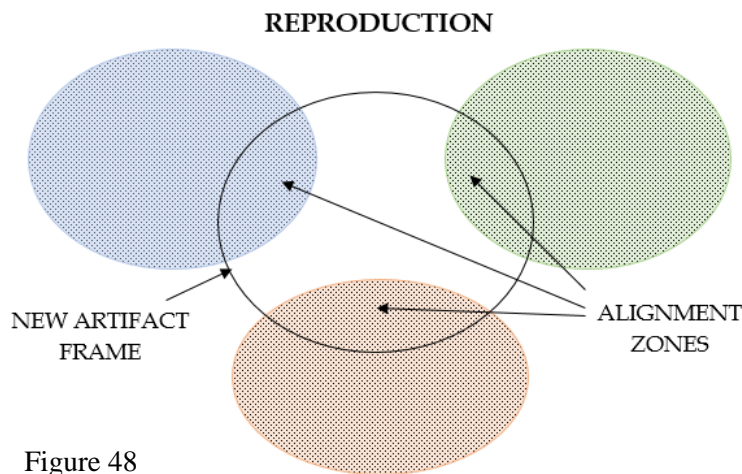


Figure 48

trust, successful alignment means that the new artifact acquires ethos as the result of its conformity to the models.

Reproduction scaffolds variation, which is invention that adopts formal features of other artifacts in order to emphasize the differences between the new artifact and its models. From a cognitive perspective, the new artifact invokes frames by means of syntagmatic relationships. (For example, *Les Femmes illustres* invokes emblem books through combinations between images and short poems.) These syntagmatic relationships then forge connections that encourage the perception of difference between the new artifact frame and the model frames. (For example, *Les Femmes illustres* is unlike emblem books because the illustrations are coin portraits instead of allegorical drawings.)

In the movement of variation, both the model frames and the new artifact frames supply positioning and evaluation tools that encourage audiences' alignment immediately outside the zones of intersection between frames (Figure 49). If the alignment is successful, the new artifact gains ethos as the result of its difference from the models.

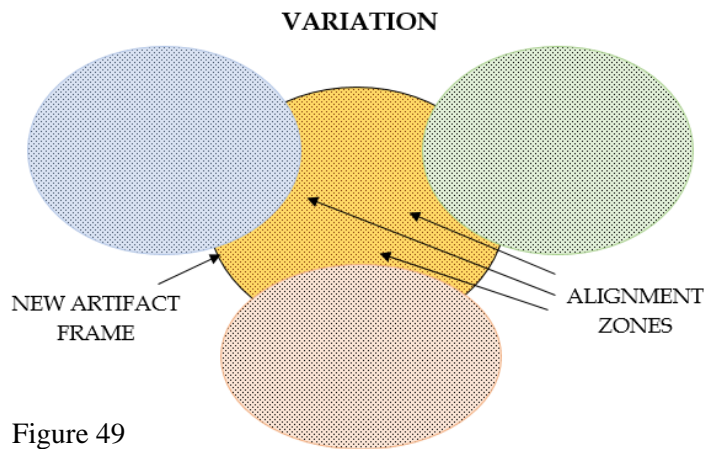


Figure 49

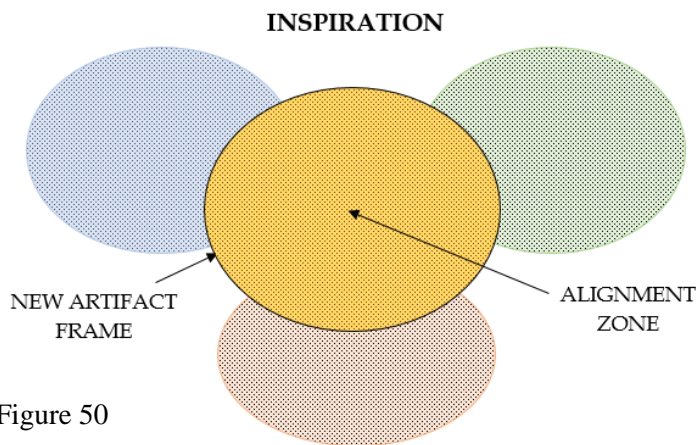


Figure 50

Inspiration, on the other hand, is invention that pushes the models into the background. Although intersections between the new artifact frame and other frames may still exist, these intersections are overlooked or deemphasized (Figure 50). The new artifact frame supplies its own tools for evaluation and positioning and encourages alignment independent of other frames.

If this alignment is successful, the new artifact gains ethos as the result of its novelty relative to the models.

Reproduction, variation, and inspiration thus “move” audiences from the periphery of the new artifact frame to its center. In *Les Femmes illustres*, this movement is gradual and heavily anchored in a variety of model frames, most likely to ensure that



audiences advance towards rather than recoil from accepting a text about women. (However, reproduction, variation, and inspiration do not necessarily coincide with steps towards originality, for the most original aspects of invention may occur within any of these movements.) The discussion of *Les Femmes illustres* in the framework provided by the movements of imitation suggests that reproduction targets audiences' alignment with Scudéry's heroines as historical personalities, that variation targets alignment with the ancient heroines as speakers, and that inspiration encourages audiences' acceptance of contemporary women as speakers. This negotiation of acceptance relies, to a significant extent, on acts of reading that account both for the visual and for the oral qualities of the text.

### *The Movement of Reproduction*

*Les Femmes illustres* makes open claims to reproduction in relation to the portrait illustrations and in relation to the Ciceronian speech structure, claims that negotiate the authority, credibility, and trust of the text and of the female orators. The claim that concerns the portrait illustrations appears in the complete title, which announces that the text includes "genuine portraits of these heroines, drawn from ancient medals," and again in the preface, which guarantees that the "medals" are authentic. The claim that concerns the Ciceronian speech structure appears in the preface, where Scudéry guarantees that the heroines' speeches reproduce this structure and therefore meet the quality standards of ancient rhetoric, but they do so in veiled and unexpected ways. To investigate how these open claims might help identify other aspects of reproduction, the discussion of this movement of imitation addresses the relationship between *Les Femmes illustres*,

Rouillé's *Promptuary*, coin image anthologies, and numismatic texts; in addition, the discussion explores as the place of reproduction in the rhetorical theory articulated by the preface. Overall, in the discussion of reproduction, I suggest that connections between *Les Femmes illustres* and other genres that reproduce coin images negotiate the ancient heroines' authority as people who held public roles, their credibility as real human beings instead of fictional characters, and their trust as people of virtue. Furthermore, in the analysis of aspects of reproduction in Scudéry's rhetorical theory, I propose that the partial concealment of the heroines' rhetorical skills represents a play on the audiences' prejudices, a play that encourages audiences to forego these prejudices and accept the ancient women's authority, credibility, and trust.

#### The Women of the *Promptuary* and the Composition of *Les Femmes illustres*

The close reproduction of Rouillé's portraits, although completely unacknowledged by the author and publishers of *Les Femmes illustres*, strongly suggests that the *Promptuary* played a meaningful role in the composition of *Les Femmes illustres*. A side-by-side comparison between the illustrated pages of Scudéry's text and corresponding entries in Rouillé's text, as shown in Figures 51-70, reveals that the illustrator of *Les Femmes illustres* copied select *Promptuary* portraits in great detail. Furthermore, a consideration of the immediate verbal and visual contexts for the portrait illustrations suggests that *Les Femmes illustres* borrows from the *Promptuary* not only coin images but a combination of visual and verbal features. In Scudéry's text, these contexts include the oration titles, which identify the speakers and their interlocutors, and the orations' subject matter; in Rouillé's text, the contexts account for the page design

and for the content of the biographic notes. Correspondences between portrait images and between elements of verbal and visual contexts reveal that the twenty orations that make up the first volume of *Les Femmes illustres* can be grouped based on the number of key features shared with the *Promptuary* (three, two, one, or none). These shared features point to various degrees of proximity between the orations of *Les Femmes illustres* and their *Promptuary* models and reveal a movement of invention that pertains primarily to the speakers' identities, the interlocutors' identities, and the orations' subject matter.



Figure 51



Figure 52

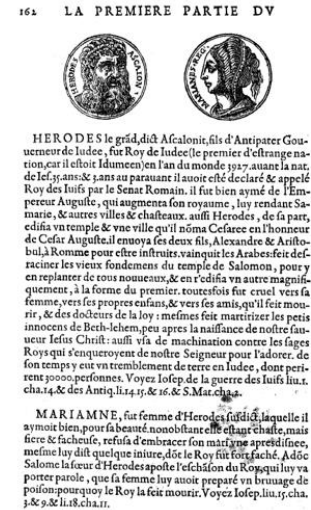


Figure 53

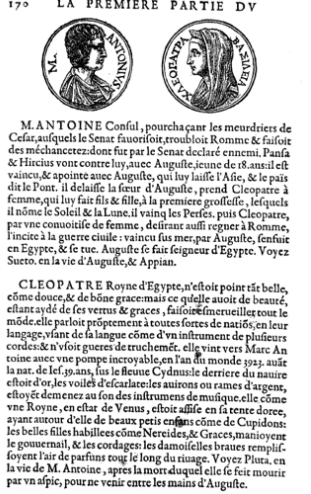


Figure 54

Five orations (“Mariamne to Herod,” “Cleopatra to Mark Antony,” “Lucretia to Colatin,” “Athenais to Theodosius,” and “Cloelia to Porsenna”) reproduce three key features of Rouillé’s

*Promptuary*: the portrait illustrations, the identities of the historical characters represented by the portraits, and the match-up between the women and their interlocutors (Figures 51-55).

The women’s portraits that illustrate these orations are identical or nearly identical to the portraits of the *Promptuary*,



Figure 53

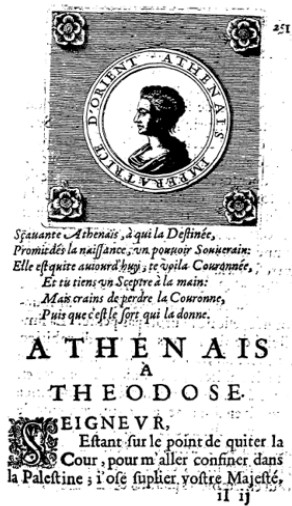
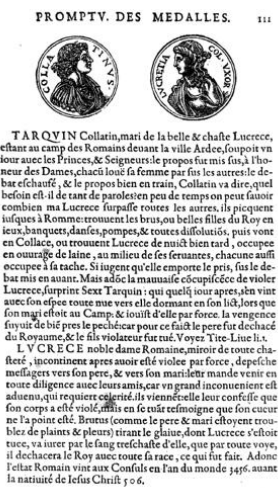


Figure 54

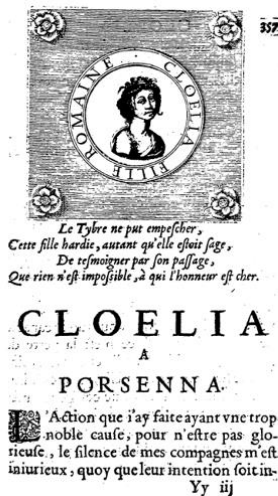
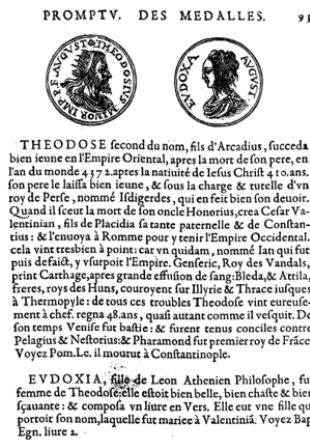
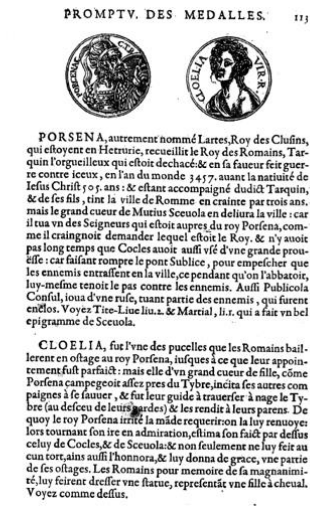


Figure 55



but in Scudéry's text the portraits appear within a double border that frames the French inscriptions. These inscriptions, in conjunction with the oration titles, indicate that the images in Scudéry's text represent the

same historical character as they do in Rouillé's text. (However, in the oration "Athenaïs to Theodosius," the Byzantine empress Aelia Eudoxia appears with her pre-baptismal name, Athenaïs.) Furthermore, the

female speakers' male interlocutors, who are identified in the oration titles, are represented in Rouillé's *Promptuary* on the same page as their female counterparts.

Farther removed from the *Promptuary* model, eleven orations reproduce two key features of Rouillé’s text: the portrait illustrations and the identities of the women represented by the portraits. The interlocutors of Scudéry’s speakers do not, however, have corresponding coin images in Rouillé’s *Promptuary*. In this group of orations, several subgroups show different levels of reproduction, each level a step farther away from the model.

The first subgroup is the closest to the model and consists of two orations (“Artemisia to Isocrates” and “Volumnia to Vergilia”) where the women’s interlocutors are mentioned in Rouillé’s corresponding biographies and where the objects of the women’s speeches have corresponding images in the *Promptuary* (Figures 56 and 57). For instance, Rouillé’s biography of Artemisia mentions the rhetoricians Isocrates and Theopompus, who are the interlocutors of Scudéry’s

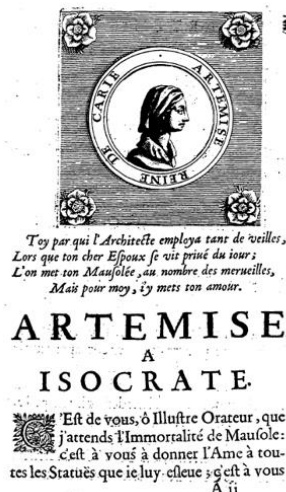
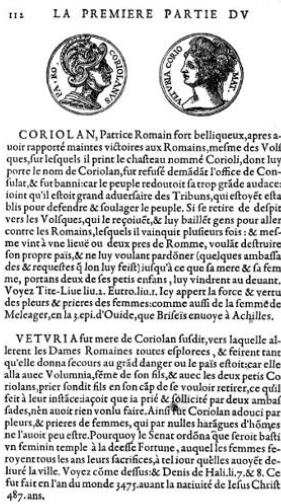
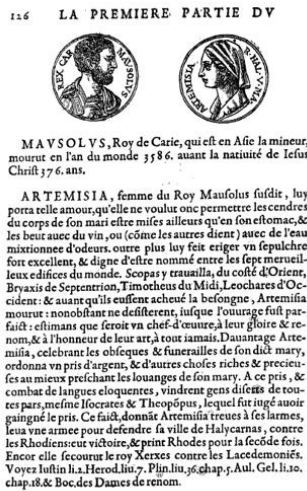


Figure 56



Figure 57







171

*O rare exemple d'amitié!  
Objet digne d'envie, & digne de pitié.  
Belle & genereuse Panthea:  
Abbradée en son mauvais sort,  
Peut-il se plaindre d'une mort,  
Que l'on voit si bien plaindre, & si bien imitée?*

**PANTHEE**  
A  
**CYRVS**

**V**ous voyez, ô grand & genereux  
Cyrus, ce que vous a coûté la victoi-  
re: Abbradé a été la victime, qui  
vous a rendu les Dieux propices: son sang a



377

*O qu'elle fut constante & belle!  
Qu'elle fut charmante & fidelle!  
Que son esprit eut de douceur!  
O qu'elle mit d'obstacle, à cette guerre inuisible!  
Et qu'elle se fit voir, & d'Antoine, & d'Auguste,  
Et digne femme, & digne saur!*

**OCTAVIE**  
A  
**AVGVSTE**

**D**egrace Seigneur, ne me commandez  
point de quitter la Maison d'Anthoi-  
ne: & ne me mettez pas en la nécessité de



423

*Vous voir en cette belle chose,  
L'estonnement de V'vniuers:  
Mais souviens-toy que cette Prose,  
N'est pas si belle que ses Vers.*

**SAPPHO**  
A  
**ERINNE**

**I**L faut Erinne, il faut que ie s'irmon-  
te auourd huy en vostre ame, cette  
defiance de vous-mesme, & cette fausse  
honte, qui vous empeschent d'employer



**S**APPHO fut femme Poete, du temps de Tarquin Prif-  
que, & d'icelle Plato mefine, admiroit la sapience: toutesfois  
estant veue d'un homme bien riche, de qui elle eut vne fille,  
s'enamoura de Phaon demesurement: car comme il fut allé en  
Sicile, & elle eut doute d'estre peu aymee de luy, d'vne ardeur  
& rage impatient de l'amour proposa au peril de sa vie, appaiser  
celle fureur, & se jerra d'un mont d'Epire en la mer. Elle eut  
pour amie Erinne, aussi Poete: & lon trouue en vn epigramme  
Grec, que d'autre que Sappho en vers lyriques passoit Erinne,  
d'autant Erinne passoit Sappho en vers hexametres. Elle inueta  
vne sorte de vers qu'on appelle Sapphiques, à cause de son nom:  
elle fut dite Iato, Muse, & nombree entre les 9. Poetes Lyri-  
ques. Elle estoit de Metelin où y eut vne autre Sappho, mais de  
mauais bruit. Voyez Rhodig. li. 9. chap. 24. & lin. 10. chap. 1. &  
lin. 14. cha. 1. & la 21. epistre d'Ouide.

**P**ANTHEE femme d'excellente beauté & chaste, eust  
prinse en guerre par Cyrus, fut baillée en charge à Araspes, qui  
afferma deuir Cyrus qu'onques n'estoit nec femme plus belle,  
toutesfois Cyrus constant n'alla vers elle, ny ne la manda, pour  
ne distraire son esprit de ses entreprises, elle voulant reconnoi-  
stre cela pour vn grand bien, à sauoir qu'il ne l'auoit vifce, ny  
preffice de son honneur, incita son mari, qui n'estoit pas capter,  
prede alliance de Cyrus, & luy venu avec ses gens de guerre,  
fut par elle mesme animé, & armé, à combattre pour Cyrus:  
mais il y demonstra: & elle mettant la teste sus l'estomac de son  
mari mort, se coupa la gorge: aut en firent trois de ses fer-  
uiteurs, qui auoyent veu ce pitreux cas. Voyez la Cyropedie de  
Xenophon liu. 7. & Rhodig. li. 13. chap. 33.

Figure 60



**M**ARCEL fut mari d'Octauius, seur d'Auguste, de la-  
quelle il eut vn fils, qu'Auguste adopta, mais à 16 ans tomba en  
maladie, & à 18 ans mourut: qui fut dom mage, car il estoit en  
la vigueur de ieucesse, beau ieune Prince, bien adextre, & ac-  
compli en beaucoup de vertus. Vergile fait honorable men-  
tion de luy, sus la fin du 6. liure de son Eneide: & pour vers, eut  
d'Octauius 200. escus, femme qu'il eut contant 1000. escus pour  
18. vers qu'il recita deuir Auguste & Octauius: à laquelle fallit  
le cueur, quand sus la fin il nomma le ieune Prince Marcel,  
son fils, qui estoit trespassé: comme luy dit. Or s'en faut il be-  
sueoup, certes, que telle liberalité des Princes & Princeffes,  
regne au iourd huy enuers les gens de sauoir, mesme enuers  
l'excellente diuinité de Poésie, mais pour retourner à mon  
propos (& toutesfois encor d'abondant en faueur des lettres,  
& Sciences) Octauius estoit en l'honneur & memoire de fondit  
fils, Marcel, vne belle librairie: & Auguste aussi edifia vn  
Theatre qu'il nomma Marcel, du nom de ce ieune Prince, son  
nepueu. Voyez Suetone en la vie d'Auguste. Plus en la vie de  
M. Cl. Marcel, qui gignit Syracuse en Sicile, comme nous auis  
dit cy dessus, page 138. & duquel M. Cl. Marcel, C. Marcel fut  
dit est descendu.

**O**CTAVIE fut seur de l'Empereur Auguste, de par pere,  
& femme de C. Marcel, & mere du ieune Prince fufdit, elle es-  
toit belle, bonne, & d'un bon esprit. Apres la mort de Marcel,  
elle fut mariee à M. Antoine, qu'elle ayma bien, & mieux qu'il  
ne luy appartenoit: & fut apres luy iudique en Arabas avec  
force presens, & eust pas d'autre, si elle ne fut contremandee:  
mais son mari estoit ditrate & enchaté par fa courtisane Cleo-  
Plutara en la vie de M. Antoine.

Figure 61



**S**APPHO fut femme Poete, du temps de Tarquin Prif-  
que, & d'icelle Plato mefine, admiroit la sapience: toutesfois  
estant veue d'un homme bien riche, de qui elle eut vne fille,  
s'enamoura de Phaon demesurement: car comme il fut allé en  
Sicile, & elle eut doute d'estre peu aymee de luy, d'vne ardeur  
& rage impatient de l'amour proposa au peril de sa vie, appaiser  
celle fureur, & se jerra d'un mont d'Epire en la mer. Elle eut  
pour amie Erinne, aussi Poete: & lon trouue en vn epigramme  
Grec, que d'autre que Sappho en vers lyriques passoit Erinne,  
d'autant Erinne passoit Sappho en vers hexametres. Elle inueta  
vne sorte de vers qu'on appelle Sapphiques, à cause de son nom:  
elle fut dite Iato, Muse, & nombree entre les 9. Poetes Lyri-  
ques. Elle estoit de Metelin où y eut vne autre Sappho, mais de  
mauais bruit. Voyez Rhodig. li. 9. chap. 24. & lin. 10. chap. 1. &  
lin. 14. cha. 1. & la 21. epistre d'Ouide.

**P**ANTHEE femme d'excellente beauté & chaste, eust  
prinse en guerre par Cyrus, fut baillée en charge à Araspes, qui  
afferma deuir Cyrus qu'onques n'estoit nec femme plus belle,  
toutesfois Cyrus constant n'alla vers elle, ny ne la manda, pour  
ne distraire son esprit de ses entreprises, elle voulant reconnoi-  
stre cela pour vn grand bien, à sauoir qu'il ne l'auoit vifce, ny  
preffice de son honneur, incita son mari, qui n'estoit pas capter,  
prede alliance de Cyrus, & luy venu avec ses gens de guerre,  
fut par elle mesme animé, & armé, à combattre pour Cyrus:  
mais il y demonstra: & elle mettant la teste sus l'estomac de son  
mari mort, se coupa la gorge: aut en firent trois de ses fer-  
uiteurs, qui auoyent veu ce pitreux cas. Voyez la Cyropedie de  
Xenophon liu. 7. & Rhodig. li. 13. chap. 33.

Figure 62

and Germanicus's images in the *Promptuary*. However, Rouillé's biography of Agrippina the Elder does not include a reference to the Roman people, whom Scudéry's Agrippina addresses in her oration.

Another subgroup consists of four orations ("Panthea to Cyrus," "Amalasantha to Theodat," "Octavia to Augustus," and "Sappho to Erinne") where the speakers' interlocutors are mentioned in Rouillé's corresponding biographies but not shown in an image (Figures 59-62). Moreover, these orations are not about people represented in the *Promptuary*.

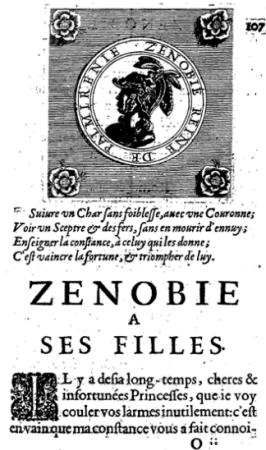


Figure 63

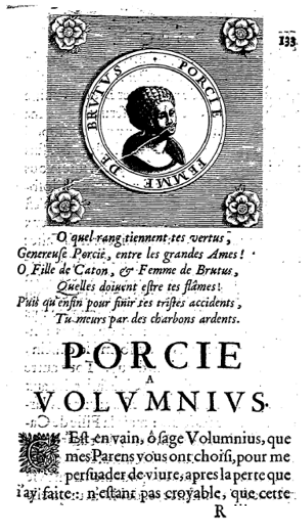


Figure 64

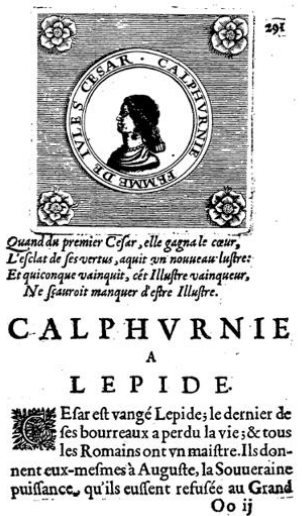


Figure 65



AVRELIAN fut Empereur en l'an du monde 4233. apres la natiuité de Jeſus Chriſt 271. ans. Il eſtoit fils d'un païſan. Feit de grands faits-d'armes, dont on le compare ou prefere à Alexandre, qui demoura treize ans auant que d'entrer aux Indes: mais celuy en cinq ans alleura l'Empire contre tous les ennemis & barbares nations: vainquit les Suetes & Sarmates: puis les Marcomans, qui auoyent pillé le pais de Milan: remit l'Empire Romain en ſes premieres limites: enluttoit la ville de Rome de plus forts murs. Mais avec cela, fut cruel, aux diens meſmes: auſſi fut il tué par ſon ſecreſtaire, pres Conſtantinople. Il fut le premier Empereur Rom. qui porta diademe ſus ſa teſte, & qui ſe veſtit robes de drap d'or, fermées de pierres precieufes. regna cinq ans & demi. Aure. Vi.d. & Egnatius.

ZENOBIÉ, dame fort belliqueuſe, tint l'Empire en Orient au nom de ſes deux fils. En fin, & bien à peine, fut vaincue, & priſe par Aurelian, qui luy demanda, *Comment eſtes tu, ſoy qui te ſouuenir pour contre l'Empereur Zenoſian?* elle reſpondit, *Je te reuogny eſtre Empereur qui vaincs, brief, Aurelian triompha d'elle, tant couuert de bagues qu'à peine les pouuoit elle porter. ſon col, ſes mains, ſes piez eſtoyent liez de carquans & chaînes d'or: elle fut belle & chaste: auoit ſes yeux noirs & viſ, ſes dents ſi blanches, que lon penſoit que fuſſent perles, la voix ferme, ſentant ſon homme, l'eſprit diuin: fut douce & rigoureuſe on l'aloit. Aurelian luy donna lieu pour viure mes de Rome, Trebel.Pollio.*



PORCIA fut fille de Caro Vicienſe, & femme de Brutus. elle ayant des nouuelles de la mort de ſon mari, delibera de le ſuyure bien toſt, attendu qu'elle l'aymoit tant: mais ſes parens & amis n'en eſloyent d'aduſ: ainſi fougneufement preuenant garde à elle: ce nouuoſant ſe peurent garder ny empêcher de le faire mourir. car elle d'vn grand cœur, & d'vn acte non pareil, va prendre des charbons tous viſ & ardents, dont elle vous emplit ſa bouche, puis la ferme, & quane & quât la porte de ſa vie. Voyez Plutar. en la vie de Brutus, Valere li. 3. & 4. ch. 2. & 6. & Appi. li. 4. Vous pouuez auſſi voir vn bel epigramme d'elle, au premier liure de Martial. ledit epigramme commence ainſi: *Coniugio au diſſeſ famam cum Porcia Brutus.*

MARTIA fut fille puiffnee de Cato. on luy demanda, quand elle eſtoit veſte, pourquoy elle ne ſe remarioit: & elle reſpondit: C'eſt pource que ie ne trouue homme qui m'ayme mieux que mon bien. par laquelle reſponſe elle nota les hommes, qui communement quierent pluſtoſt la richeſſe que la vertu aux femmes: ainſi elle n'eſtima le mariage qui n'eſt principalement mené & lié par amitié: & celuy qui prend femme pour les biens, eſt pluſtoſt vn mari à louage, qu'il n'eſt pas vray mari. Vne autre fois on luy demanda quand elle vouloit mettre fin aux pleurs, plaintes, & regrets qu'elle faiſoit de la mort de ſon mari: & elle reſpondit que le dernier iour de ſa vie, ſeroit le dernier de ſon deuil. telle reſponſe feiſt eſte payenne, à la honte & vergonne de pluſieurs Chreſtiens, qui à peine eſtant leur mary enterré, ſe remarioient. Voyez Bôce de Diſſoph. d'Eraſme li. 8.



COSVTTIA, qui eſtoit fille de noble & riche maiſon, fut femme de Iules Ceſar, quand il n'auoit que dixſept ans, & fut par luy delaiſſee. Voyez Sueto.

CORNELIE, fille de Cinna, quatre fois Conſul, fut ſeconde femme de Ceſar, de luy tant aynee que le Dilateur Sylla ne le peut onc contraindre à la delaiſſer. Ceſar eſtant Queſteur, feiſt oraiſon ou harangue publique, ſelon la coutume, à la louange d'icelle.



POMPEIE, fille de Q. Pompee, & niece de L. Sylla, fut tierce femme de Ceſar: laquelle il delaiſſa, la ſouſponnant de P. Clodius, & diſant: *que le lit nuptial de Ceſar ne doit prius ſeulement eſtre ſans pailardie, mais auſſi ſans ſonſon de pailardie.* Voyez Sueto. & Plutar. en la vie de Ceſar.

CALPHVRNIE fille de L. Piſo, fut quatrieme & derniere femme de Ceſar, laquelle apres ſa mort, porta tout ſon argent à M. Antoine. Voyez Sueto.

An additional subgroup includes four orations (“Zenobia to Her Daughters,” “Porcia to Volumnius,” “Calpurina to Lepidus,” and “Livia to Maecenas”) where the speakers’ interlocutors are neither mentioned in Rouillé’s biographies nor shown in Rouillé’s illustrations (Figures 63-66). Even farther removed from the *Promptuary*, the oration “Berenice to Titus” shares with Rouillé’s text the heroine’s portrait and name (Figure 67). However, Scudéry’s Berenice is not the same historical character as Rouillé’s Berenice. Rouillé represents Berenice I of Egypt, whose husband, Ptolemy I



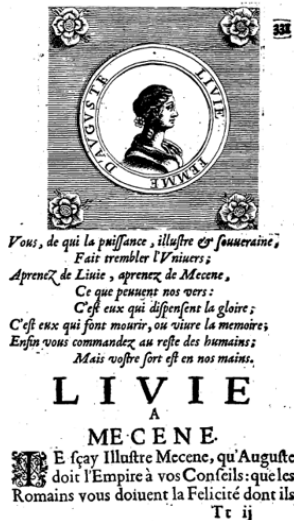


Figure 66

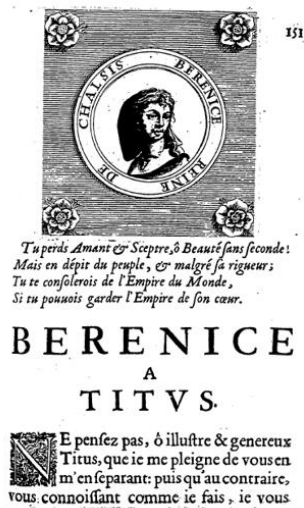


Figure 67



Figure 68



SCRIBONIE fut femme de l'Empereur Auguste, apres qu'il eut laissee Claudia, à laquelle il avoit fait promesse de mariage, comme l'ay dit cy dessus: icelle Scribonia avoit auparavant esté mariee par deux fois, & à chacune fois à un César de Rome, mais Auguste depuis aussi la delassa & repudia, pour ce qu'elle estoit trop facheuse: & d'elle il eut vne fille nommée Livia. Voyez Suetone en la vie de l'Empereur Auguste.

LIVIE Drusille fut aussi femme d'Auguste, laquelle estoit à Tibere son mari, à pere de Tibere, qui depuis fut Empereur: & encor lors qu'elle estoit enceinte, de Drusus, qu'elle enfanta trois mois apres qu'elle fut avec Auguste, lequel Drusus fut né avant terme, & fut pere de Claudius, cinquieme Empereur. Or Auguste ayant parfaitement & parfaitement icelle Livie Drusille, & desiroit fort en avoit enfanté, ce qu'il n'eut osé, dont il fut fort marri. Somme qu'il mourut en la basant, & disant, O Livie, ie te prie que durant ta vie tu ayes memoire de nostre mariage: & Adieu. Voyez Suetone en la vie d'Auguste & de Tibere Empereur Romain.



PTOLEMEVS fils de Lagus, fut élu Roy d'Egypte apres la mort, d'Alexandre le grand, en l'an du monde 3640. avant la natiuité de Iesus Christ 322. ans. il tint avec l'Egypte, vne partie de l'Afrique & de l'Arabie. Alexandre l'avoit élu de simple soldat, & fait vn des principaux de sa Court, fut bien aimé de ses subiects, & Roys circonvoisins, tira grans deniers d'Egypte, auquel sien royaume adjoins la ville de Cyrene, vainquit Demetrius fils d'Antigonus: puis luy rendit ses amis captifs, & toute la prinse: meisme luy envoya encor des presents par dessus: disant qu'il avoit fait guerre pour son honneur, non pour son profit. Depuis le vainqueur fut vaincu sur mer, & lors Demetrius vint de meisme honneur & enuers luy, luy renouvant son fils, son frere, & ses amis qu'il avoit prins: ainsi en guerre meisme, s'entre faisoient des presents à l'ennuy: & pour monstrier que non pour hayne, ains pour honneur ils combatoyent, tant plus honorablement se traitoyent adonc les guerres, que ne font ores les amities. Il envoya Ambassadeurs à Rome pour alliance: institua Philadelphie, son fils puiné, Roy apres luy, qui dressa la librairie tant renommée, & assembla les septante interpretes, regna 40. ans, & tint Cypre & Phenice. De son nom tous les autres Roys d'Egypte, furent appelez Ptolemees. Voyez Iustin li. 13. 14. & 15. Orose li. 3. chap. 23.

BERENICE fut femme de Ptolemeus, à l'honneur de laquelle son fils Philadelphie fit bastir vne belle ville pres le goulphe d'Arabie, & la noma aussi Berenice. Philadelphie eut aussi d'Antioch vne fille ainsi nommée, qui estoit Evergetes, dont son faint que se cheueleure soit au ciel transportee, & transmuee en sept estoilles.



ACHILLES fils de Peleus, Roy de Theffalie, & de Thetis, fut estimé le plus fort de tous les Grecs. En son adolescence sa mere le mit & cacha, comme l'ay dit, entre les filles du Roy Lycomedes, veües de meisme (mais par Vlysses fut decouvert) & entre les dites filles, luy veües d'habit de fille, se ious fit bien qu'il en engroissa l'vne, à favoir Deidamie, & engendra Pyrrhus. D'auantage estant en la guerre, desista de batailler pour l'amour de Briseis, ieune dame, qui paravant estoit dite Hippodamie, laquelle il avoit prinse à l'assaut de Lygne, & luy avoit esté ordonnée pour sa part du butin: toutefois luy avoit depuis esté tollie par Agamemnon, mais quand il sceut la mort de Patroclus son grand amy, reprist les armes, & tua Hector qui avoit tué Patroclus: puis luy meisme fut tué par Paris, qui luy traverfa le pied d'vne fagete, lors qu'il estoit au temple d'Apollon à genoux, n'y pensant point, ainsi seulement à ses amours, & au mariage & traité de nocces d'entre luy & Polyxene. Voyez Homere en son Iliade, & Vergile au second liure de l'Encide.

POLYXENE fille de Priam & de Hecuba, pleine de grande beauté, fut meee par Pyrrhus au tombeau d' Achilles pour appaiser l'ame dudit Achilles son pere, qui avoit esté tué au temple ou il pensoit la prendre en mariage. Car son tient qu' Achilles la voyant sus les murs de Troie, fut espris de son amour, & la demanda pour femme, & son pere Priam luy octroya: qu'ils vindrent au temple d'Apollon pour traicte de la paix, & de ce mariage: mais le fol Paris troubla tout. Voyez dessus.

Soter, succeeded Alexander the Great as ruler of Egypt. Scudéry, on the other hand, represents Berenice of Cilicia, the daughter of Herod I Agrippa and a client queen of the Roman empire, who became romantically involved with Titus, the son of Emperor Vespasian (Tacitus. *Histories* 2.2), but who had to separate from Titus against her will after he became emperor (Suetonius. *Titus* 7).

The orations "Sophonisba to Massinissa" and "Sisygambis to Alexander" have even less in common with the *Promptuary*, as they borrow only the portrait illustrations but not the characters' names or identities. Sophonisba and Sisygambis do not feature in the *Promptuary*, and their portraits in Scudéry's

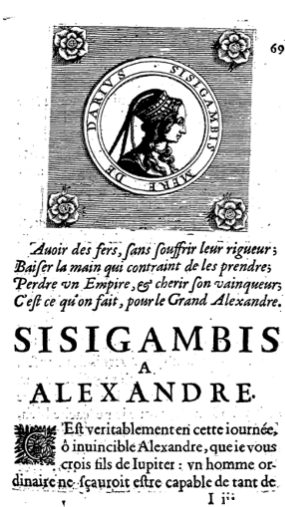


Figure 69

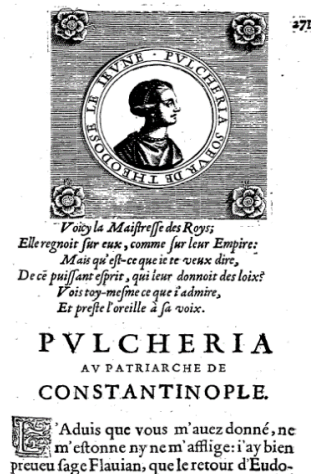


Figure 70



IOSEPH, fils de Jacob & de Rachel, à cause qu'il estoit grandement amy de son Pere, eut les autres freres enuieux contre luy: & pourrant le ietterent en vne cisterne du desert de Sichem: mais, par le conseil de son frere Iude, il fut tiré dehors, & puis vendu aux Ismaelites, lesquels le vendirent à Phutiphar, Eunuque de Pharao. Quelque temps apres, à cause que sa maistrise le chargea qu'il l'auoit voulu forcer, qu'à, au contraire, elle mesme le pressoit, fut mis en prison: là où il exposa les fonges du maistre des Boulengers & des Sommeliers de Pharao: & depuis fut mis hors de prison, pour exposer aussi ceux de Pharao mesme, qui luy donna tout gouvernement sous luy en Egypte, le nommant Sauueur du monde. Qui fut en l'an de la creation du monde 2230. & auant la natiuité de nostre Sauueur Iesus Christ 1731. Finalement il mourut en l'age de cent & dix ans. Voyez Gene. 37. chap. iusques à la fin. Et Ioseph lit. 2. chap. 2. iusques au 9.

ASENETH, fille de, Phutiphar, prestre de Heliopolis, fut femme de Ioseph: laquelle luy enfanta deux fils: à fauoir Manasses & Ephraim: lesquels furent adoptez par Iacob, qui leur donna aussi sa benediction, deuant que rendre son ame à Dieu. Voyez comme dessus.

text belong respectively, to Rouillé's Polyxena and Asenath (Figures 68 and 69). Finally, "Pulcheria to the Patriarch of Constantinople" (Figure 70) has no matching illustration or biography. The second part of the *Promptuary* represents family members of Saint Aelia Pulcheria, but it does not include a biographic note on her. It is therefore possible that her portrait is an original illustration or a composite of other female portraits,

In summary, the reproduction of Rouillé's portrait illustrations demonstrates that Scudéry's claim for the coin portraits' credibility is not grounded in material models such as coins but in a textual model that claimed to have used material models accurately. In other words, Scudéry makes a second-hand claim based on the apparent assumption that Rouillé's claim was correct. Furthermore, the reproduction of varying combinations of visual and verbal features of the *Promptuary* suggests that Rouillé's text very likely served as an important starting point for Scudéry's project and inspired Scudéry's focus on certain ancient heroines as speakers, fictional audiences for these heroines, and subject

matters for the heroines' speeches. However, the *Promptuary* model was neither rigid nor fully satisfactory, prompting various degrees of departure. Furthermore, the intertwining of visual and verbal features in the movements of reproduction suggests that the text's writer engaged in active collaborations with the text's publishers and illustrators.

#### Coin Image Anthologies as Sources of Ethos

The reproduction of verbal and visual features of Rouillé's *Promptuary* generates a strong connection between *Les Femmes illustres* and the genre of coin image anthologies to which the *Promptuary* belongs. This connection serves as an important source of authority, credibility, and trust both for the portrait illustrations of *Les Femmes illustres* and for the speakers represented by the illustrations, primarily because collections of coin images created verbal and visual contexts that gave presence to women's images and because these texts contributed to a visual culture that took interest in historical women. For instance, the page design, in conjunction with the biographies that accompanied the women's coin portraits, conferred authority upon historical women and their images by emphasizing the women's public status. Furthermore, coin portrait anthologies created traditions of visual representation that gave credibility to women's images, mostly in the sense that the images depict real women. In addition, visual contexts that invoke monumental art forms generated trust by highlighting virtues worthy of public remembrance.

For example, Andrea Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines* (1517), the pioneer text in the genre of coin portrait anthologies, gives comparable visual presence to men's and women's images and biographies. Fulvio's text emphasizes family relationships, so the women generally feature as mothers, sisters, or wives of Rome's male worthies. Nevertheless, the parallelism of the page design, as exemplified by the images of Julius Caesar's father and mother (Figure 71), gives equal visual prominence to men's and women's portraits. Although mostly fantasies, these portraits are drawn to resemble obverse coin types and are set against backgrounds that invoke funerary monuments or cenotaphs. Thus, both the coin and the monumental iconography emphasize the public nature of the images and represent the historical personalities as worthy of remembrance and admiration – whether these personalities are men or women.

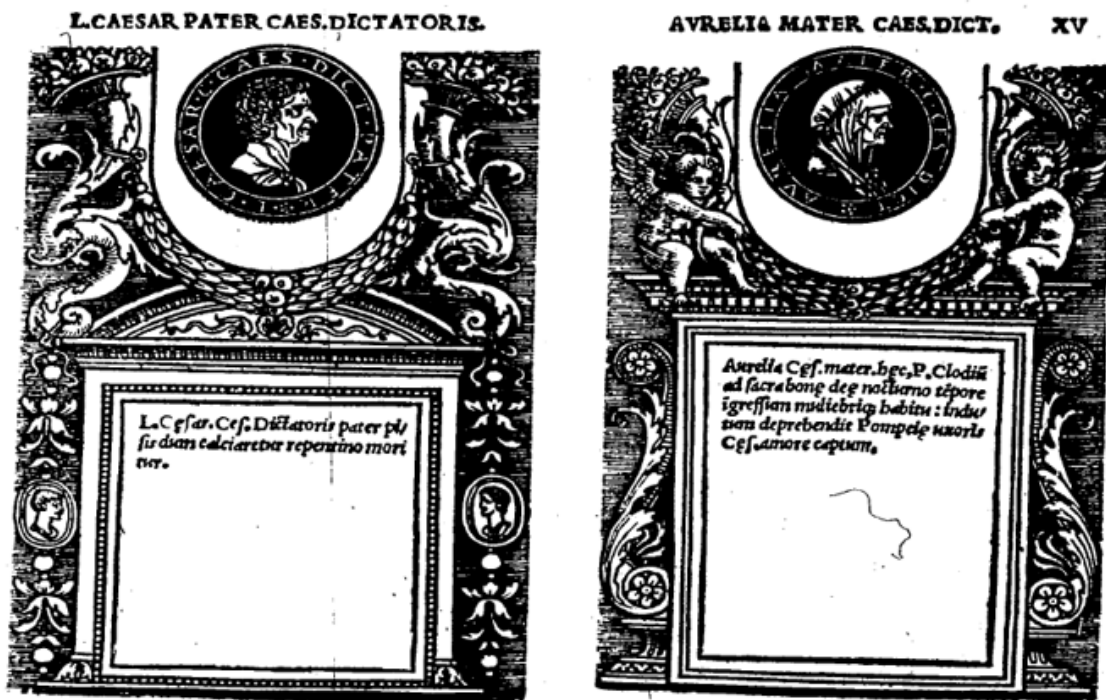


Figure 71

Similar notions of public monumentality inform another pioneer text in this genre, Enea Vico's *Le imagini delle donne Auguste* (1557), which assembles images and biographies only of illustrious women. In this text, the women's biographies are more extensive, and the coin portraits double as plaques for the women's funerary monuments, as exemplified by the entry on Aurelia (Figure 72). Although Vico's collection of illustrious women's images emphasizes these women's family connections to illustrious men, the fusion between coin and funerary iconography also highlights these women's importance as public figures and their well-deserved place in public memory.



Figure 72

Guillaume Rouillé, who in many respects imitated Andrea Fulvio quite heavily, refocused the page design by eliminating monumental imagery in favor of coin portraits and by strengthening, as well as expanding, the connections between images. Instead of representing family relationships in a sequence of pages, as Fulvio did, Rouillé represents



L. IVLES Cefar, fut pere de C.Iules Cefar Dictateur, & premier Empereur: il fut Consul de Romme en l'an du monde 3900. avant la natiuité de Iefus 62. ans, qui estoit l'annee deuant que Cicero le fust avec M.Antoineil fut auffi Preteur, & ayant ia adminiftré l'office, mourut à Pife, de mort fubite en fe chauffant par vn matin, fans qu'il y eult aucune apparence occasion de maladie pour le faire mourir. ce fut cinq ans apres qu'il auoit esté Consul. Or eftant Preteur il fubiuga les Iberes, c'eft à dire Efpaignols, iufques à l'Ocean, ou à la mer du Ponent: & ne yefquit pas gueres apres qu'il fut de retour. Voyez Appian li.2. Plin.li.7.chap.52.

AVRELIA fut femme de L.Iules Cefar, fufdiq̄, & mere de C.Iules Cefar Dictateur, & premier empereur de Romme.

15

Figure 73

related individuals on the same page, as exemplified by the entry on Julius Caesar's father and mother (Figure 73). In addition, Rouillé features other kinds of relationships, such as participation in the same historical event or contributions to the same field of knowledge. Rouillé's innovations in page design thus resulted in *Promptuary* entries that generally show a man and a woman together on the same page.<sup>37</sup> Although the

men's coin portraits feature on the left side of the page and their biographies come first in the text, in positions of greater visual weight, the balanced distribution of the images gives nearly equal visual prominence to the male and female portraits.

The similarities between Fluvio's, Rouillé's, and Vico's texts suggest that the movements of reproduction not only bind together texts in the same genre but also create traditions of visual representation that give women's images a place in visual culture. For instance, although Aurelia's coin portrait in Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines* is a fantasy, this portrait's close reproduction by Rouillé's and Vico's illustrators creates a standard of visual representation for a person who lived during a period of the Roman Republic when human women, whether living or dead, never appeared on coins.<sup>38</sup> Sometimes, these standards of representation extended beyond printed texts into other media. For instance,

<sup>37</sup> Some entries show only men or only women in groups of two, three, or four personalities.

<sup>38</sup> Images of goddesses did appear on coins, however.

the fantasy portrait of Calpurnia, Caesar's fourth wife, makes its way out of Fulvio's text into Rouillé's text and into Vico's text. When Calpurnia's portrait eventually appears in *Les Femmes illustres*, it joins a tradition of portraits that had gained credibility through reproduction (Figure 74). In other words, the migration of images through texts belonging to the genre of coin portrait anthologies seems to have created a standard of truth independent of ancient artifacts.



Andrea Fulvio. *Illustration imagines*

PROMPTV. DES MEDALLES 111



Guillaume Rouillé. *Promptuaire des medalles*



Enea Vico. *Imagini delle donne auguste*



Madeleine de Scudéry. *Les Femmes illustres*

Figure 74

Apart from granting substantial visual presence to images of women, coin image anthologies also contributed to a reading of history that substantially refocused ancient historiographies in women's favor. For instance, Suetonius's *Life of Julius Caesar* mentions Calpurnia only briefly, when Suetonius refers to Caesar's last marriage (21.1) and then to the portents of Caesar's death (81.1). Similarly, Plutarch's *Life of Julius Caesar* mentions Calpurnia as a part of Caesar's scheme to acquire greater political influence through marriage (14.7) and then again as the recipient of a vision concerning Caesar's assassination (63-64). Overall, Calpurnia's name appears only twice in Suetonius and six times in Plutarch, in very limited contexts. Nevertheless, Calpurnia has a page of her own in Fulvio's book, a page of images and a developed text biography in Vico's book, and an entry in Rouillé's book that groups her together with Caesar's previous wives. Thus, Calpurnia receives the same amount of space in coin image anthologies as figures that benefited from much more extensive treatment in ancient historiographies. By helping Calpurnia, Aurelia, and other ancient women like them emerge from the margins of ancient historiographies into the spotlight, coin image anthologies create models of amplification that serve as precedents for the lengthy orations delivered by Scudéry's heroines.

In sum, coin image anthologies serve as sources of authority for ancient women and their images because the page design of texts such as Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines*, Vico's *Imagini delle donne Auguste*, or Rouillé's *Promptuaire des medalles* gives equal or at least comparable visual presence to portraits of illustrious men and of illustrious women. Furthermore, texts such as Fulvio's *Illustrium imagines* and Vico's *Imagini delle donne Auguste* serve as sources of authority because they feature coin portraits against



backgrounds of funerary or monumental art, thereby emphasizing not only the images' public nature but also the women's public roles. The coin image anthologies also represent sources of trust because the biographies that accompany the women's images prompt reflections on virtues. These anthologies further draw credibility from ancient texts but also refocus the reading of these texts through greater attention to women. Moreover, this genre creates its own standards of credibility by repeatedly reproducing images that may have no relationship to ancient artifacts. By drawing from these sources of authority, credibility, and trust, the illustrated orations of *Les Femmes illustres* thus rely on the defended notions that ancient heroines held public roles, that coin portraits represent real women, and that authors can legitimately expand on ancient texts.

#### Numismatic Studies as Checks on Ethos

Unlike coin portrait collections, numismatic studies of the sixteenth and seventeenth century did not rely on fantasy images, but instead approached ancient artifacts as sources of information about the past. Although the authors of these studies were occasionally duped by forgeries, they made genuine efforts to rely on authentic artifacts as the basis for their discussions and conclusions. By studying the coinage of Roman imperial women, who often had the ability to strike coins in their own names,<sup>39</sup> scholars significantly strengthened the authority of ancient women and of their images. In addition, because numismatists used coin iconography to show that personified virtues featured on women's coinage, their scholarship also substantially enhanced trust. However, by documenting material evidence and by developing methods for detecting

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<sup>39</sup> Imperial women who held the title *Augusta* generally had the authority to strike coins.

fantasies and forgeries, numismatists also raised the standard for coin images' credibility. In addition, numismatists' scholarly interests also influenced the visual presence of women's images, causing this presence to fluctuate from very strong to very weak. Although *Les Femmes illustres* does not belong to the genre of numismatic texts, the coin images and the historical content made it liable to evaluation in the disciplinary framework of numismatics. On the one hand, this evaluation would have been of great advantage to Scudéry's text, because numismatic scholarship provided documentable material evidence of ancient women's authority and trust. On the other hand, this evaluation would have been of great disadvantage, since the portraits of *Les Femmes illustres* could not meet the credibility standards set by this discipline.

Guillaume du Choul's *Discours de la religion des anciens Romains* (1581) is an example of a text that substantially enhanced the visual presence, as well as the authority, credibility, and trust of women's coin images. Du Choul's *Discours* is a hybrid historical and numismatic study that used genuine ancient coins, along with some marbles and engraved gems, as evidence of Roman religious beliefs and practices. This text's exquisite illustrations include a significant number of coins representing Roman imperial women, coins which Du Choul uses to discuss Roman cults of virtues, ideals, or deities. By explicating the relationship between the women of imperial families and various aspects of Rome's religion, Du Choul emphasizes not only the public aspect of female virtues but also the women's connection to aspects of public life that extend beyond marriage and family.

Du Choul's discussion of the cult of personified virtues includes, for instance, female deities such as Pudicitia (Chastity) and Fecunditas (Fertility). Du Choul illustrates the connection between imperial women and these deities through carefully chosen coin specimens. For instance, Du Choul shows Pudicitia on a denarius of Julia Domna (110; Figure 75), the wife of Septimus Severus. Du Choul's text reproduces both the obverse and the reverse of this denarius, which was struck under Caracalla and which shows seated Pudicitia on the reverse (Figure 77). Similarly, Du Choul illustrates the cult of Fecunditas with the reverse of a denarius of Faustina Junior, the wife of Marcus Aurelius, and the reverse of a sestertius of Julia Mamaea, the mother of Severus Alexander (173; Figure 76). The denarius of Faustina Junior proclaims the empress's fertility<sup>40</sup> in the image of Fecunditas holding infants and flanked by small children, as well as in the inscription *FECVND AVGVSTAE* (Figure 78). The sestertius of Julia Mamaea conveys the same message on a reverse where the inscription *FECVNDITAS AVGVSTAE* surrounds the image of Fecunditas holding cornucopiae and protecting a small child (Figure 79). In these examples, the relationship between the deities' images and the women's Augusta status announces the public nature of these female virtues. Thus, Julia Domna's chastity or Faustina's and Julia Mamaea's fertility was not only a private matter of the imperial family but also a concern of the state, as the Augustae were represented not only as preservers of imperial lineages but also as models for the innumerable families of the empire.

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<sup>40</sup> Faustina Junior was famously fertile, as she had thirteen children with Marcus Aurelius.

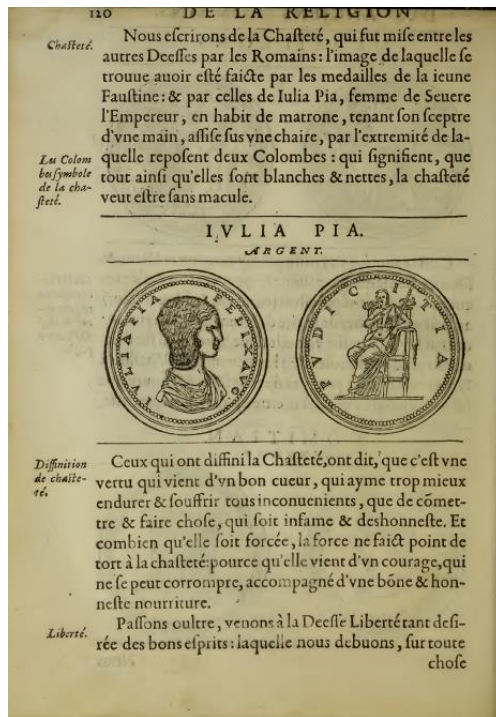


Figure 75

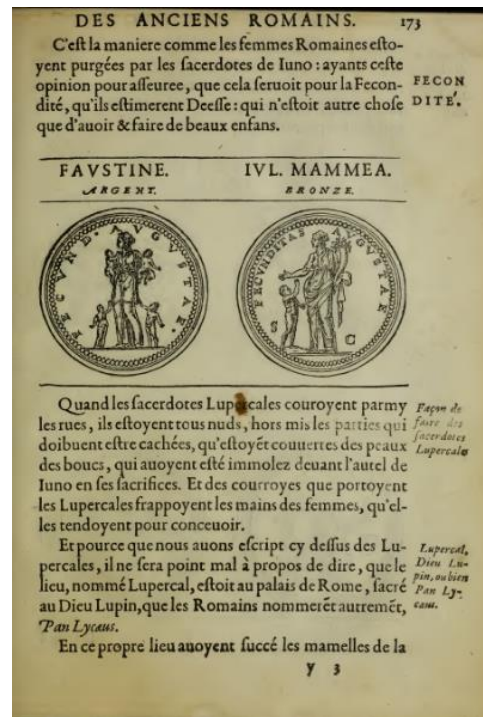


Figure 76



Figure 77

Julia Domna. Augusta, AD 193-217. AR Denarius (18mm, 3.32 g, 12h). Rome mint. Struck under Caracalla, AD 211-215. Ob: Draped bust right; IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG. Rx: Pudicitia seated on throne holding scepter; PVDICITIA. RIC IV 386. CNG 294, Lot 722. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Figure 78

Faustina Junior. Augusta, AD 147-175. AR Denarius (17mm, 3.25 g). Rome mint. Struck under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, AD 161-164. Ob: Draped bust right; FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Rx: Fecunditas holding two infants; to left and right, children with hands raised; FECVND AVGVSTA. RIC III 676. CNG 351, Lot 649. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Figure 79

JULIA MAMAEA, mother of Severus Alexander. Augusta 222-235 AD. Æ Sestertius (30mm, 23.94 g). Struck 232 AD. Ob: Diademed bust right; IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA. Rx: Fecunditas standing left, holding cornucopiae; small child on right; FECVNDITAS AVGVSTAE. RIC IV 668. CNG 120, Lot 251. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

Du Choul's text, however, identifies not only connections between imperial women and female virtues but also connections between imperial women and ideals or virtues of great importance to male emperors, as well. For instance, Du Choul illustrates the cult of Concordia (Harmony) with four coin specimens: two issued in the name of Augustae and two in the name of Augusti. The examples of empresses' coinage include a denarius of Faustina Junior and a denarius of Plautilla. The reverse of Faustina's denarius shows a crow, the symbol of Harmony, surrounded by the inscription *CONCORDIA* (30; Figure 80), and the reverse of Plautilla's denarius shows Plautilla and her husband, Caracalla, surrounded by the inscription *CONCORDIA FELIX* (31; Figure 80). The examples of emperors' coinage include the reverse of a denarius of Trajan and the reverse of an *as* of Philip I, reverses which show military standards surrounded by inscriptions (31; Figure 80). Among these standards, Du Choul points to the *Manus* (the standard surmounted by an open hand) as a symbol of the trust and harmony between the emperor and his troops. Although the inscriptions on Trajan's and Philip's reverses do not mention Concordia, Du Choul interprets the harmony between the emperor and his troops as similar to the harmony between the emperor and his wife. Du Choul's interpretation of the *Manus* also serves as a transition into a discussion of the cult of Fides Publica Populi Romani (Public Trust of the Roman People), which Du Choul documents with representations of Fides on bronze issues of Plotina, Vespasian, and Domitian, as well as with representations of the *Manus* on bronze issues of Hadrian and Commodus (34-35; Figure 81). Du Choul's discussion of Concordia and Fides thus integrates women's images in contexts that extend beyond the family into matters of public policy and the military.

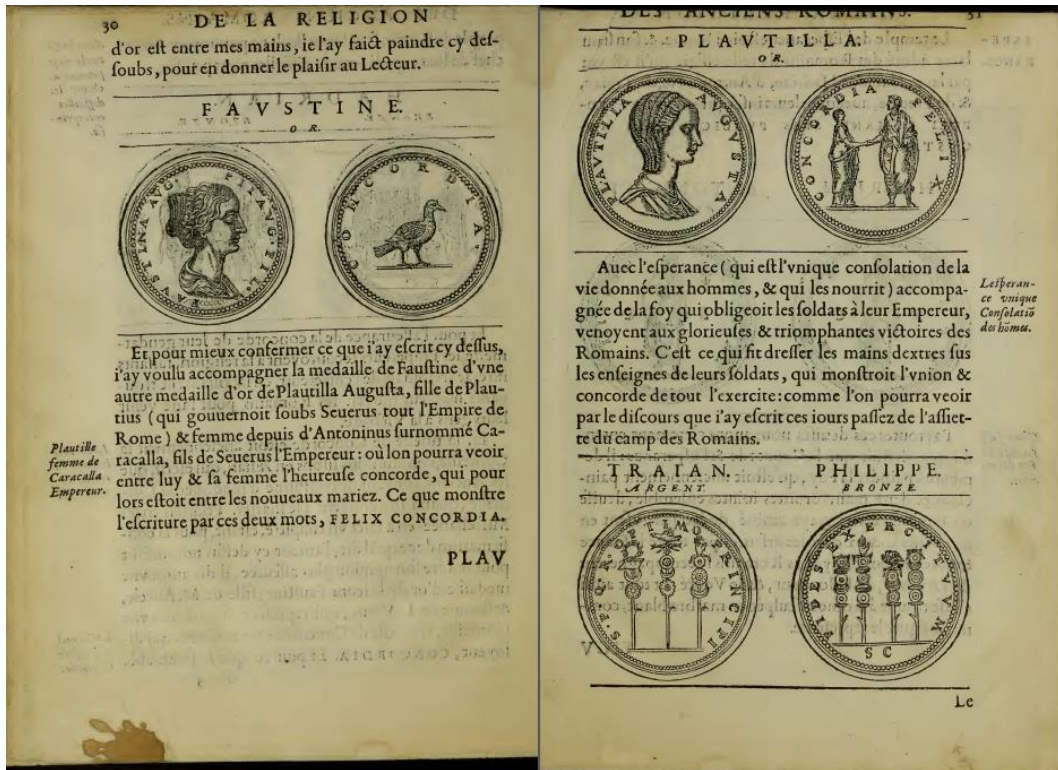


Figure 80

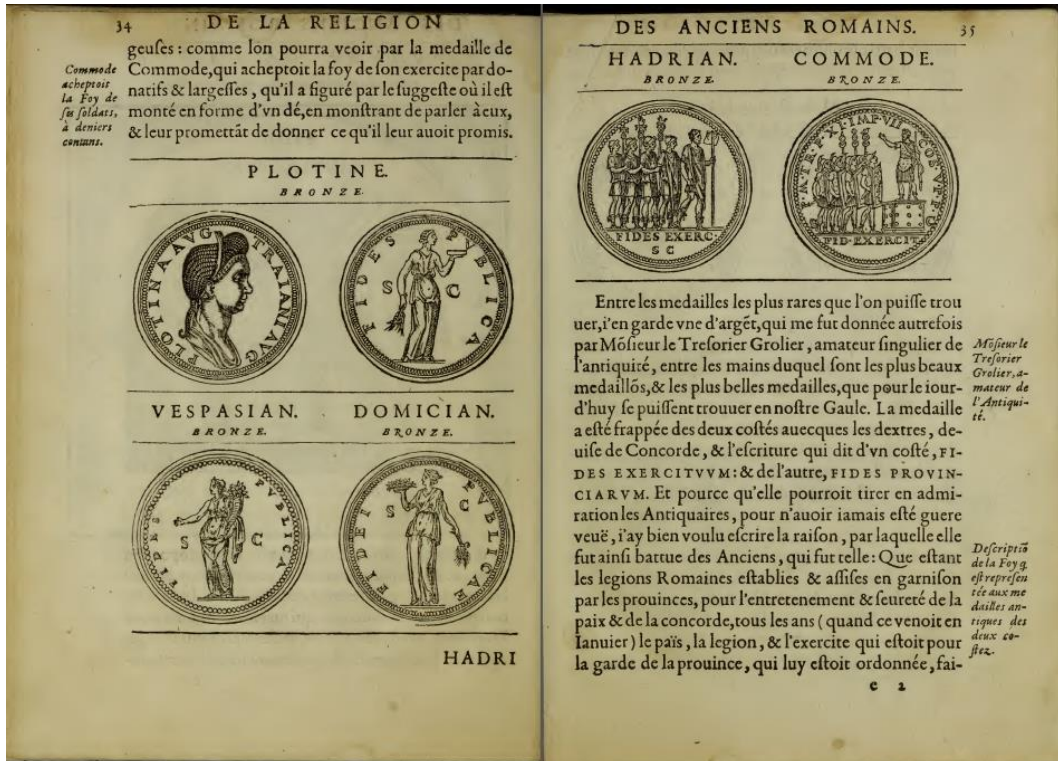


Figure 81

If the authority and trust of women's images substantially benefited from image collections and from historical studies such as Du Choul's, the credibility of these images was both strengthened and limited by the development of numismatics as a field of study and by the shaping of disciplinary methodologies and conventions. On the one hand, coin images acquired greater credibility in numismatic studies, especially because Renaissance numismatists approached material artifacts as sources of information capable of elucidating ancient historical accounts. On the other hand, coins became subject to more scrutiny, as numismatists developed methods for detecting forgeries; furthermore, coin images became subject to higher standards of accuracy, as numismatists documented ancient artifacts with fine, carefully executed copperplate illustrations, which replaced the woodcut illustrations used in image collections. In the contexts generated by numismatic studies, women's coin portraits generally gained credibility as part of larger classes of coin images, but they often lost visual presence when the scholar's focus changed.

For example, in his *Discours sur les medalles et gravures antiques, principalement Romaines* (1579), Antoine Le Pois demonstrates a particular concern with the credibility of numismatics as a scholarly discipline and with the credibility of coins as objects of study; however, his focus on Roman Republican coins results in a near total loss of visual presence for women's images. To enhance the credibility of numismatic scholarship and of his own text, Le Pois dedicates the first chapter to a survey of key texts on ancient coins, a survey which represents the first numismatic literature review. To boost the credibility of coins as objects of study, Le Pois argues that coins elucidate obscure aspects of ancient historiographies. In the preface to his *Discours*, Le Pois proves this point with Plutarch's account of Monime, a wife of Mithridates, who hung herself

with her diadem. Considering that in modern contexts the word *diadem* refers to a crown or a headpiece, Le Pois wonders how it would have been possible for Monime to hang herself with her diadem. Coin images provide an answer to this quandary, because coins represent diademed individuals with ribbons tied around their heads. Thus, the logistics of Monime's suicide and Plutarch's account are no longer baffling, since the queen did not kill herself with a metal headpiece but with a cloth ribbon (n.p.). Coins are therefore credible objects of study because they truthfully inform historical accounts.

In Le Pois's text, coins' overall credibility extends to coin portraits. Unlike Rouillé or other authors of coin portrait collections, Le Pois addresses the great variety of Roman coin imagery and attempts to categorize it. Thus, Le Pois distinguishes between Republican coinage (which he labels "Consular") and imperial coinage, and he addresses obverse and reverse imagery in each category. In a discussion of imperial obverses, Le Pois indicates that, as a general rule, these obverses represent emperors or emperors' family members. After raising the question of whether these portraits are accurate, Le Pois refers to Roman practices of creating funerary masks, of placing effigies of ancestors in homes, and of displaying emperors' statues in public places such as the Senate. Le Pois concludes, therefore, that coin portraits, like effigies based on funerary masks, must be accurate representations of individuals (16). By contextualizing coin images in relation to other art forms and by drawing conclusions based on perceived connections between classes of artifacts, Le Pois thus boosts the general credibility imperial portraits, whether these portraits represent men or women.

Le Pois's particular interest in Republican imagery led him to observe not only the absence of women's images but also the masculine qualities of female deities. For



instance, Le Pois points out that, although Roma is frequently represented on Republican obverses, she actually represents masculine virtues, especially martial prowess. Even Luna, who often features on Republican reverses in conjunction with the obverse Roma, is as masculine as she is feminine (16). Le Pois’s focus thus results in a near total loss of emphasis on women’s images. Even his exquisitely drawn and meticulously explained



Figure 82

plates include only one female portrait, of Cleopatra of Egypt (Figure 82, bottom right). However, this portrait is accompanied by a scathing explanation. Le Pois reads the inscription *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΠΙΤΡΑΣ ΟΥΣΣΑΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΑΣ* as “Queen Cleopatra, Guardian of Everything,” and he decries the outrageous arrogance of the queen who exalted herself in this inscription, although she failed to guard her own honor and chastity when she prostituted herself with Mark Antony (110). Unfortunately, the scandalized Le Pois appears to have fallen

victim to a forgery, as the offending coin is not ancient. The forger most likely adapted a portrait of the famously beautiful Arsinoe II of Egypt or of Cleopatra Thea of Syria and then based the inscription on the titles of Cleopatra VII of Egypt, *ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΙΤΡΑ ΘΕΑ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑ* (“Queen Cleopatra, the New-Born Goddess”).

The presence of the “Cleopatra” illustration in Le Pois’s text suggests that even meticulous scholars were often duped by fakes. To protect themselves from deceitful imitations, Renaissance scholars began to categorize forgeries and to devise methods for detecting them. For instance, Enea Vico’s *Discorsi sopra le medaglie de gli Antichi* (1558) distinguishes between ancient and modern forgeries. According to Vico, ancient forgeries include coins with a base metal core covered by a precious metal (which are currently known as *fourrées*) and mismatched obverses and reverses from different sets of dies (which are currently known as *mules* or *mule error coins*). In addition, Vico identifies modern forging methods such as striking a rare type on an ancient coin of little value, casting copies of ancient types, and striking imitations of ancient dies. To catch fakes, Vico recommends not only knowledge of types and metals, but also knowledge of ancient patinas (62-66). Although none of Vico’s methods were foolproof, they encouraged critical scrutiny of ancient artifacts and their images. Interestingly, Vico authored not only the *Discorsi sopra le medaglie*, a text in the genre of numismatic scholarship, but also the *Imagini delle donne Auguste*, a text in the genre of coin portrait anthologies. Considering that in the *Discorsi* Vico shows considerable knowledge of coins, while in the *Imagini* he relies on fantasy illustrations, it is possible that the credibility standards were different in the two genres and that creative license was permitted or maybe even expected in portrait collections.

The presence of the “Cleopatra” coin in Le Pois’s *Discours* also suggests that forgers were often more interested in women’s coins than numismatists were and that forgers may have enhanced the presence of women’s images in Renaissance visual culture. Giovanni da Cavino, for example, imitated rare issues of Roman imperial

women, and his imitations were, in turn, extensively copied. Cavino was a Paduan medalist who lived approximately 1500-1570 and who produced, apart from medals of contemporary worthies, a significant number of ancient coin imitations. Although it may not be possible to ascertain whether Cavino's imitations were meant to deceive ancient coin collectors, his exquisite carvings make him today a known and collectible artist in his own right. As an ancient coin imitator, Cavino appears to have specialized in the Twelve Caesars, the Adoptive Emperors, and the early Severans, and to have struck "coins" showing not only emperors but also empresses and other female members of the imperial family. Whether he intended to mislead or not, Cavino probably responded to collectors' interests and therefore imitated sought-after issues, such as the "dupondius" of Antonia Minor (Figure 83), or the "medal" of Faustina Junior (Figure 84).



Figure 83

ANCIENT THEMES, Roman Imperial. Antonia Minor. Augusta, AD 37 and 41. Æ 'Dupondius' (31mm, 14.59 g). By Giovanni da Cavino, 1500-1570. Ob: Draped bust right; ANTONIA AVGVSTA. Rx: Claudius standing left, holding simpulum; TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP / S C. Klawans 3. Struck example. CNG 106, lot 1034. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)



Figure 84

ANCIENT THEMES, Roman Imperial. Faustina Junior. AD 147-175. Æ Medal (35mm, 29.03 g). By Giovanni da Cavino. Struck circa 1550. Ob: Draped bust right; FAVSTINA AVGVSTINA ANTONINAE. Rx: Six Vestal Virgins sacrificing before the Temple of Vesta; S C in exergue. Johnson & Martini 1729-30. Struck example. CNG 103, lot 1117. (Picture and attribution courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group)

Although Cavino carved his own dies and struck them on new flans, later Paduan forgers produced cast copies of his work, especially of Cavino's renditions of Antonia, Faustina Junior, Agrippina Senior, or Didia Clara. Because forgers deliberately sought what was rare and unusual, they not only increased the frequency of the less common female images but also drummed interest in them. For instance, collectors of the Twelve Caesars might not have had great difficulty assembling ancient coin examples for each of the Caesars. However, putting together a run of the Caesars and their consorts would have posed a greater challenge, one which forgers were happy to ease.

In sum, numismatic texts either increased or decreased the visual presence of women's images, depending on the researchers' interests. For example, scholars who focused on the Roman Empire discussed the coinage of imperial women, while those who focused on the Roman Republic noticed the absence of women's portraits, as well as the scarcity of feminine imagery. Regardless of the extent of their visual presence, women's coin portraits gained authority, credibility, and trust when coins in general became the object of study of an emerging discipline. In the disciplinary framework of numismatics, ancient women gained authority because coins documented the women's political and public roles; in addition, women gained credibility because coins proved that they were real people and not characters of made-up stories; furthermore, women gained trust because coins showed women's portraits accompanied by images of personified virtues. In a parallel development, forgers enhanced the visual presence of women's images but undermined their credibility. Because numismatists developed methods for detecting forgeries and fantasies, they created tools for discrediting the claims to credibility advanced not only by fake coins but also by coin portrait anthologies.

From a cognitive perspective, the coin portraits reproduced from Rouillé's *Promptuary* enter into paradigmatic relationships with other occurrences of the same or similar images and invoke frames for the genres of coin image anthologies, numismatic scholarship, and coin forgeries (Figure 85). The frame for coin image anthologies provides positioning and evaluation tools that invite the audiences' convergent alignment in the wide zone of intersection with the frame for *Les Femmes illustres*. If the

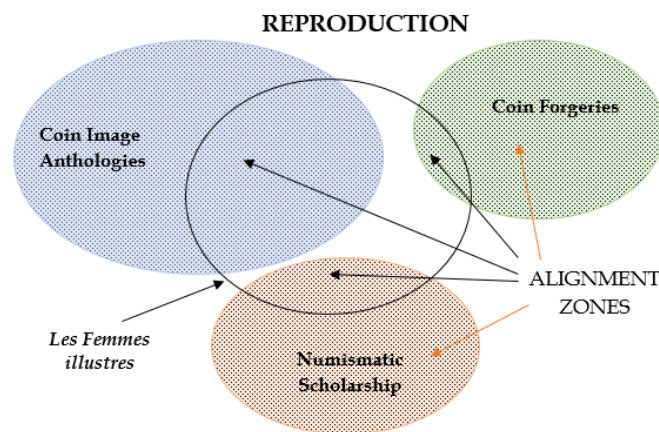


Figure 85

convergent alignment is successful, then the text of *Les Femmes illustres* has ethos.

Similarly, the frames for numismatic scholarship and coin forgeries supply

positioning and evaluation

tools that invite convergent alignment in zones of intersection; however, these frames also provide tools that can position audiences outside these zones and thus change the direction of alignment from convergent to divergent. Depending on the direction of alignment, the text may or may not have ethos. Nevertheless, the ethos of the speakers represented by the coin images may not be affected by unstable alignments with the images, because all the frames foreground aspects of the women's authority, credibility, and trust against backgrounds of historical evidence. Thus, even if a connoisseur of ancient coins dismisses Berenice's coin portrait as a fake, the same connoisseur will not claim that Berenice was not a real person or that she was not a queen.

## Reproduction, Concealment, and Revelation in Scudéry's Rhetorical Theory

The rhetorical theory articulated in the preface to *Les Femmes illustres* addresses questions of reproduction in connection to rhetoric, as a means of arguing for the authority, credibility, and trust of women's speech. In an appeal to authority, Scudéry invokes the formal standards developed by ancient rhetorical theory as a potential way to discredit women's speeches, which may not replicate these standards due to women's lack of rhetorical training. To restore both authority and credibility, Scudéry introduces cosmetic metaphors – hairstyle and make-up – as illustrations of women's art of concealing and revealing the formal features of their speeches. Furthermore, to restore both credibility and trust, Scudéry illustrates the necessity of partial disguise with an example of a woman from the "Latin country," who must hide her education and rhetorical abilities to avoid exclusion. In Scudéry's rhetorical theory, reproduction thus participates in a play of concealment and revelation, a play motivated by the potentially severe hostility of the speakers' audiences.

In her "Letter to the Ladies," Scudéry introduces questions of reproduction as potential instruments for separating women's speeches from the authority of ancient rhetorical theory. Scudéry wonders whether readers would find it strange that she chose women speakers for a collection of orations and whether these readers might imagine that the art of oratory is completely unknown to women. Then, Scudéry appeals to the wisdom of "the Ancients," albeit not in relation to a lofty statement but in relation to the commonplace of women's natural eloquence, which she conveys in a male voice: "In truth, among thousands of beautiful qualities that the Ancients observed in your sex, they always said that you possess eloquence without art, without work, and without pain; that

Nature gave you liberally what she sells us expensively; that you are born what we must become; that the ability to speak well is natural to you, while to us it is acquired” (n.p.; my translation). Immediately afterwards, Scudéry refers to these Ancients’ quality standards in relation to her heroines’ speeches: “Maybe they might say to me, since Ladies are naturally eloquent, why don’t you have them promptly observe all the parts of the oration, as Rhetoric teaches these parts in schools?” Will one see in this book “the exordia, the narrations, the epilogues, the amplifications, the metaphors, the digressions, the antitheses, and all the beautiful figures that customarily enrich the works of this kind” (my translation; n.p.)? In other words, can women’s speeches naturally reproduce the formal features of arrangement and style mastered by men through the toils of education? Scudéry answers that they can and they do; all these elements of arrangement and style are present, but they are more cunningly placed.

The wisdom of the Ancients thus separates women orators from its own authority in two ways: first, by proclaiming women naturally eloquent and therefore in no need of education; second, by holding women accountable to standards of reproduction that were never taught to them. To reconnect women’s speeches to the authority of ancient rhetoric, Scudéry deploys another cliché – the comparison between rhetoric and cosmetics – that she reinterprets as an illustration of women’s rhetorical skill and practice. After referring to women’s cunning placement of elements of arrangement and style, Scudéry invokes women’s cosmetic arts:

The most delicate artifice consists in making one believe that it doesn't exist. You wear on your face *mouches*<sup>41</sup> that your skill placed there to reveal the paleness of your complexion. But they are placed in such a way that one would think they are alive and flew there by accident. You curl and coil your hair, but you do so with such a subtle negligence and agreeable nonchalance that one would suspect the wind rather your hand to have aided Nature. (n.p.; my translation)

When Scudéry writes about hair and make-up she does not, however, write about cosmetics but about rhetoric. Nevertheless, Scudéry does not draw this comparison in the commonly derogatory sense of “covered up” or “painted” falsehood. Quite the contrary, the curling of hair and the placement of *mouches* (false beauty marks) become metaphors for precise gestures aimed at creating the appearance of natural gifts displayed casually. The cosmetic metaphors thus reconnect women's speeches to ancient oratory by implying that women reproduce its formal features in ways that appear casual and unstudied.

Nevertheless, questions of credibility emerge from hair and make-up as illustrations of women's tapping into the authority of “the Ancients.” Are hair and make-up real or fake? Is “natural eloquence” truth or pretense? The cosmetic metaphors provide a context where art dissolves these surface dichotomies by suspending disbelief and by revealing a deeper truth. One would hardly fail to realize, for example, that curls are made with a hot iron or that *mouches* are applied with makeup or glue. However, by suspending disbelief, one can observe the beauty of the woman's face and admire the skill of her hands. In other words, the woman's art aims not to conceal defects but to

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<sup>41</sup> In this context, *mouches* refers to “beauty marks;” however, *mouches* also means “flies.” This double meaning permits Scudéry to suggest that the beauty marks seem so alive as to fly on the women's faces.



reveal qualities that might otherwise go unnoticed. Like cosmetic arts, women's rhetoric must therefore shed light on important yet overlooked attributes while retaining the impression of a casual, unplanned, and spontaneous expression of a "natural" gift.

However, the impression of unstudied eloquence is not a matter of artistic choice as much as it is a matter of necessity, especially because women are not sanctioned to draw from the authority of the Ancients. These Ancients may be long gone, but those who currently uphold their authority are far from willing to share it with women. To articulate the necessity for women's rhetorical cosmetics, Scudéry relies on a series of carefully balanced antitheses:

Nevertheless, I tried here to make my heroines eloquent, but I did not presume that the eloquence of a Lady should be the same as the eloquence of a Master of Arts. The manners of the breakfast parties and the classrooms, the colleges and the Louvre, the Court and the University are such different manners that they could belong to far-off peoples. And, if someone were to introduce a demoiselle from the Latin Country to the young people of the Court, they would regard her as a monster and treat her with ridicule. (n.p.; my translation)

These antitheses presumably contrast the academy and the court as a way of illustrating the distinction between the rhetoric of the male master of the art (who studied in the academy) and the rhetoric of the heroines (who expressed themselves in courtly settings). However, the example of the young lady encountering contemptuous youth completely reverses this contrast. The young woman is not a lady from the court meeting

a group of university students but a lady from the “Latin Country”<sup>42</sup> encountering a group of courtiers. If the demoiselle is educated, then her education makes her so foreign to the courtly milieu that she is at risk of appearing monstrous and ridiculous. The woman rhetor must, therefore, conceal her art in the same way a coquette conceals her make-up; if the concealment fails, the consequences are serious – dehumanization, contempt, and exclusion.

Hair, make-up, and the demoiselle from the Latin Country thus restore the heroines’ orators’ authority by showing that women follow the conventions of ancient oratory; they also confirm the heroines’ credibility by suggesting that their speech is truthful; furthermore, they establish trust by implying that partial concealment is not prompted by vanity but by necessity. It is important to note, however, that Scudéry uses *visual* metaphors to defend women’s rhetorical abilities and practice – hair, make-up, and the demoiselle are evaluated by sight and not by speech. The implication for the primacy of sight in this context is that audiences’ attitudes towards educated women rhetors are matters of perception. For instance, one might choose to believe that a *mouche*, or a fly, flew on a woman’s face and transformed into another kind of *mouche*, or a beauty mark. However, this suspension of disbelief might not be necessary if one were simply willing to see the woman for who she is – with or without make-up. Likewise, one might choose to spare one’s own sensibilities and believe that women’s speeches either can’t reproduce ancient quality standards or that women cover up their ability to do so. In fact, as the analysis of Mariamne’s oration will show, the parts of the oration and other technical

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<sup>42</sup> It is not certain what Scudéry means by “Latin Country,” which may invoke Roman antiquity or a contemporary yet non-specific Mediterranean land.

features are displayed quite clearly in the heroines' speeches. Seeing or missing these features therefore depends on the audiences' receptivity and the quality of their perception.

### *The Movement of Variation*

As a movement of invention, variation negotiates the authority, credibility, and trust of *Les Femmes illustres* as a rhetorical text and of the ancient heroines as speakers. The discussion of verbal and visual features of *Les Femmes illustres* identifies connections with verbal genres such as oration collections, emblem books, and drama, as well as with categories of material objects such as coin collections or display cabinets. This discussion proposes that *Les Femmes illustres* negotiates its ethos as an original project by drawing attention to the differences that set it apart from other texts, by emphasizing the cohesion of the collection of orations, and by balancing visual and oral reading. In addition, an analysis of variation in the rhetorical theory articulated by the preface suggests that visual metaphors emphasize the heroines' participation in a community of speakers.

#### Variation, Collections, and the Interplay of Words and Images

In the preface to *Les Femmes illustres*, Scudéry makes a claim to variation in reference to Manzini's harangues, whose success inspired the translator to undertake an original project: "I wanted to see if I would succeed as well in the original as I did in the copy and if I wouldn't stray if I advanced without a guide" (n.p.). This reference is to the translation by Scudéry (Georges or Madeleine) of a collection of orations by Giovanni

Battista Manzini, which appeared in French in 1642 (shortly before the publication of *Les Femmes illustres*) with the title *Les Harangues ou Discours Académiques de Jean Batiste Manzini*. Although Scudéry invokes the women orators as evidence of the project's originality, the movement of variation emerges out of a movement of reproduction and extends beyond the choice of all-female speakers to structural and visual features of Manzini's text. For instance, Scudéry's orations reproduce the exact break-down of Manzini's orations into an "Argument" (in which the author provides a context for the speech), a fictional speech by a historical character, and an "Effect" (in which the author explains the practical outcome of the speech). However, reproduction gives way to variation as Scudéry's titles name not only the speakers but also their interlocutors; in addition, coin portraits surrounded by inscriptions and accompanied by short poems identify the speakers both visually and verbally. To illustrate this movement of variation, Figures 86 and 87 show the "Argument" page, the speech first page, and the "Effects" page of Cleopatra's oration in Manzini's text<sup>43</sup> and in Scudéry's text. A comparison between the page designs of the two texts suggests that, as an expression of difference, coin portraits signal that the women speakers set *Les Femmes illustres* apart from other collections of orations. Thus, if the movement of reproduction underscores the heroines' historical identities and public roles, the movement of variation emphasizes the heroines' roles as speakers. Furthermore, variation transfers onto these roles the authority, credibility, and trust negotiated through reproduction.

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<sup>43</sup> In Manzini's text, this is the only speech by a female character.

pareil de sa blesseure, s'arracha mesme les entrailles, & les deschira, de peur qu'on ne le forçast à viure. Ainsi mourut ce grand homme, auquel on donna le glorieux tiltre du premier des hommes, & du dernier des Romains.

ARGUMENT.

**C**LEOPATRE inconsolable pour la mort d'Antoine, & pour la perte de son Royaume, & de sa liberté, receut vne visite d'Auguste: & comme il couroit desja quelque bruit, qu'il auoit dessein de la mener en Triomphe à Rome, pour rascher de luy en faire perdre la volonté, elle luy parla de cette sorte.



CLEOPATRE

HVMILIEE.

**N**EN'ay veu ce que ie n'auois iamais creü possible, Cleopatre obligée parvn mortel: c'est icy le premier Triomphe que tu remportes de l'Egpte, & Cesar: lors que tu as surmonté les Royaumes par ta fortune, ta fortune te porte à visiter Cleopatre: non pour me donner quelque consolation parmy de si grands desastres; Mais afin que tout le monde apprenne, qu'on doit autant s'abaisser deuant ta vertu, que s'e sloigner de ton espée. Quelles paroles plus douces peut gouster ton oreille, & quel spectacle plus agreable pourroient desirer tes yeux, que d'entendre parler Cleopatre humiliée, & que de voir Cesar en estar, que la Reyne d'Egypte a

F ij

EFFET DE CETTE HARANGVE.

Chacun sçait qu'Auguste traitta ceste infortunée, & belle Reyne, avec beaucoup de civilisé. Mais elle ne laissa pas de remarquer à trauers cette courtoisie le dessein qu'il auoit de la mener en Triomphe. De sorte que pour euiter vne honte qu'elle craignoit tant, elle se fit mourir par vn aspic, qu'on luy apporta parmy des fleurs: & par la generosité de sa mort, effaca toutes les taches de sa vie.



G ij

Figure 86



ARGUMENT.

**P**res la perte de la Bataille d'Actium, arriuée par la fuite de Cleopatre, qui fut suivie de celle d'Antoine: il eut quelque opinion qu'elle l'auoit voulu trahir, & luy en tesmoigna ses resentimens. Mais cette belle & adroite Egyptienne, qui luy voulut oster vne impression, qui luy estoit si desaduantageuse, luy parla de cette sorte, en faueur de son innocence. Au moins ay-ie fondé les paroles que ie mets en la bouche de cette Reine, sur des coniectures de l'Histoiere: & voicy selon mon sens, ce qu'elle püt dire en cette occasion, à cet Amant irrité.



Cette Reine en son mauvais sort, Comme de la pitié, peut donner de l'enuie; Puis que la gloire de sa mort, Oste la honte de sa vie.

CLEOPATRE

A MARC-ANTOINE.

**E**st donc vray, qu'Antoine a pü soupçonner Cleopatre, d'auoir fauorisé son ennemy? qu'il a pü penser, que de sa propre main, elle auoit voulu

EFFECT DE CETTE HARANGVE.

**E**ux qui aiment, se laissent aisément persuader les choses qui leur peuent plaire: & la voix de ce beau Monstre du Nil, ne manqua pas d'attirer l'ame d'Antoine, au point qu'il la desiroit. Il n'auoit pas suivy Cleopatre, pour l'abandonner apres: & sa colere estant vn effect de son amour, ausis bien que l'auoit esté sa fuite, il ne luy fut pas plus difficile de s'apaiser que de fuir. Il creut donc tout ce qu'elle voulut luy dire: il se repentit d'auoir souhonné sa fidelité: & ne se repentit plus, d'auoir perdu l'Empire du Monde, pour conseruer Cleopatre. Il la suivit dans Alexandrie; où quoy qu'elle fust plus genereuse cette seconde fois que

I

Figure 87

In addition to signaling the difference between *Les Femmes illustres* and other rhetorical texts, the portrait illustrations engage in other aspects of variation that emphasize the cohesion of the text and the balance of verbal and visual messages. For example, although the coin portraits are drawn from the *Promptuary*, their immediate visual context is different. In the *Promptuary*, the coin images appear against a background of white space; in *Les Femmes illustres*, the images appear against striated backgrounds that invoke wooden mounts for items in a collection, such as a coin cabinet or display boxes.<sup>44</sup> The visual cues that the heroines' coins are part of a collection thus also communicate the unity of the text as a collection of orations.

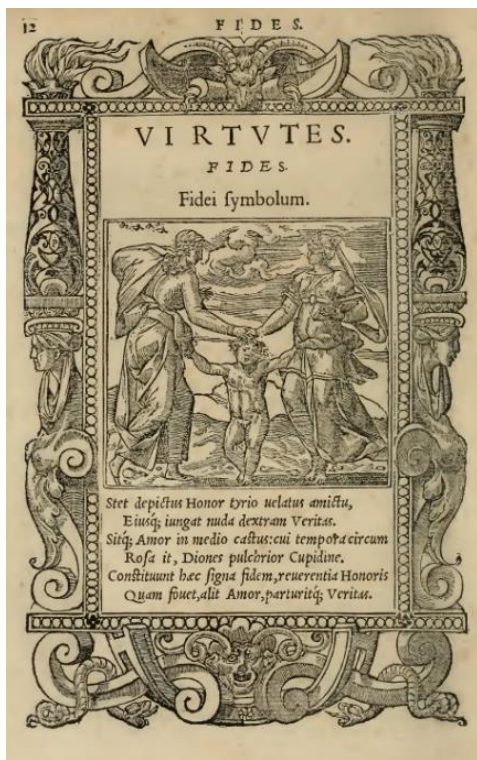


Figure 89

Furthermore, the short poems that appear below the portrait illustration suggest a variation on emblem books. Although emblem books did not use coin illustrations, they paired symbolic drawings and short poems as a way of revealing meaning through the interplay between images and text, as shown in the example from Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata* (Figure 89). As variations on pages from emblem books, the portrait-and-poem combinations of *Les Femmes illustres* therefore highlight the images' and the verbal text's ability

<sup>44</sup> Cunnally suggests that Renaissance collectors, among whom were noble women such as Isabella d'Este, often kept coins in wooden boxes left on display for their visitors' enjoyment and admiration (26-28). Because George de Scudéry was an avid collector himself, Madeleine would have been quite familiar with collection displays.



107

*Suivre un Char sans foiblesse, avec une Couronne;  
 Voir un Sceptre & des fers, sans en mourir d'ennuy;  
 Enseigner la constance, a celuy qui les donne;  
 C'est vaincre la fortune, & triompher de luy.*

Figure 90

to explicate each other. This mutual explication serves as an important source of trust, because the poem underneath the coin portrait generally identifies the value at the center of the speech. For example, in the poem that accompanies Zenobia's portrait (Figure 90), the central value is fortitude, which resists humiliation inflicted by a conqueror:

To follow a chariot without weakness, while wearing a crown;

To see a scepter and chains without dying from distress;

To teach confidence to him<sup>45</sup> who inflicts misfortunes:

This is what it means to conquer fortune and triumph over the persecutor. (107; my translation)

The placement of the oration title and the opening lines on the same page as the portrait-and-poem combination suggests that, like the coin image, the verbal text functions as a type of portrait; therefore, the immediate verbal and visual context for the oration opening indicates that *Les Femmes illustres* is also a variation on the genre of *ethopoeia*, an exercise included in ancient progymnasmata manuals. In the Renaissance, Aphthonius's *Progymnasmata* was a particularly well-known manual and a pillar of rhetorical instruction. Drawing from Aphthonius's approach to *ethopoeia*, the impersonation of historical or mythological figure by means of an imaginary speech

<sup>45</sup> Zenobia refers to the Roman emperor Aurelian. In the speech addressed to her daughters, Zenobia recalls the humiliation of having been marched in Aurelian's triumphal procession, but she argues that a virtuous person should not fear humiliation.

became a form of entertainment in the French salons (Donawerth and Strongson 21). Scudéry's fictional orations thus invoke the genre of *ethopoeia*, but they also strive to elevate the status of the rhetorical exercise by focusing audiences on the heroines' public roles.

As aspects of variation, coin images, their backgrounds, the short poems, and the oration openings thus ground *Les Femmes illustres* in the genre of rhetorical texts, point to the unity of the collection of orations, strike a balance between visual and verbal messages, and invite a perception of the heroines as speakers who are both seen and heard. In addition to these aspects of variation, font styles create intersections between the genres of prose, poetry, and drama, intersections that underscore the spoken word and encourage oral reading.

In the first volume of *Les Femmes illustres*, the alternating italic and regular fonts indicate the presence of two categories of verbal text. On the one hand, the author's dedication, the poems, the "arguments," and the "effects" appear in italic font; on the other hand, the orations appear in regular font. However, the classificatory function of the font styles becomes apparent primarily in the larger contexts of the publishers' printing practices and the visual culture of print. Indeed, the publications of Augustine Courbé and Antoine Sommaville (the publishers of *Les Femmes illustres*) in the decade preceding the original edition of *Les Femmes illustres* (1642) reveal important trends in the use of font styles. The use of the italicized font for the dedicatory letter appears to have been a matter of general preference but also a matter of the publisher's consistency. Courbé is



rather consistent in printing italicized dedications, but Sommaville less so.<sup>46</sup> Both publishers are quite consistent, however, in the treatment of other aspects of verbal text. With the exception of the front matter, prose appears in regular font. Poems, on the other hand, always appear in italic font.<sup>47</sup> The treatment of dramatic texts is also highly regular: titles, headings, and stage instructions are printed in regular font, while the characters' speaking parts are always printed in italic font.

It is possible therefore to extrapolate that italicized font drew special attention to the originator of the verbal message. For this reason, italics may have functioned as an *index*, or a trace of the physical presence that engendered the verbal discourse. As a type of index, italics focused the reader on *who* wrote or spoke the printed words: the dedicatory letter emphasized the writer, the poems emphasized the poet, and the dramatic text emphasized the speaking character. In the case of poetry and drama, the italics might also have indicated the genre of the verbal text. Regular font, on the other hand, appears to have de-emphasized the "who" in favor of the "what." In *Les Femmes illustres*, the regular font of the orations thus signals the prose genre<sup>48</sup> and draws attention to the orations' content. Conversely, the italicized dedication and poems appeal to the prestige

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<sup>46</sup> For example, Georges de Scudéry's *La Comedie des Comediens* (Courbé, 1635) has an italicized dedication to "Monsieur le Marquis de Coalin, Colonel General des Swisses;" *La Mort de Caesar* (Courbé, 1637) includes an italicized dedication to Cardinal Richelieu; *Apologie du théâtre* (Courbé, 1639) includes an italicized preface; and *Andromire* (Sommaville, 1641) includes an italicized letter to the readers. On the other hand, Madeleine's *Ibrahim ou l'Illustre Bassa* (Sommaville, 1641), includes a dedication to Mademoiselle de Rohan printed in regular font; similarly, Georges's *L'Amour tyrannique* (Courbé, 1639) includes a dedication to the Duchesse D'Aiguillon, also in regular font.

<sup>47</sup> The collection *Autres Oeuvres de Monsieur de Scudéry* (Courbé, 1637) is such an example.

<sup>48</sup> Models of classical education classified oratory as a prose genre.

of handwritten manuscript as evidence of the connection between the verbal text and its author, while the “arguments” and “effects” invoke dramatic performance<sup>49</sup> and invite a perception of the text as a dialogue between author and readers.

The transmission of *Les Femmes illustres* in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English editions indicates that the font styles of the Courbé and Sommaville editions belonged to a wider visual culture of print. For example, the 1681 edition of James Innes’s translation (published under the title *Les femmes illustres or The heroick harangues of the illustrious women written in French by the exquisite pen of Monsieur de Scudery governour of Nostre Dam*) includes the translator’s dedication, in italic font, to “Her Royal Highness Mary of Este, Duchess of Albany and York,” followed by the translation of Scudéry’s dedication to the ladies, published in regular font. In this edition, the “argument” and “effect” are also italicized, as in the original French edition, although the medal illustrations are missing. Three eighteenth-century adaptations of Innes’s translation demonstrate a similar concern with typography. The 1714 edition (published under the title *The Female Orators: or, the Courage and Constancy of divers Famous Queens, and Illustrious Women, Set forth in their Eloquent Orations, and Noble Resolutions: Worthy the Perusal and Imitation of the Female Sex. English'd from the French edition of Monsieur de Scudéry*) italicizes the argument and effect and emphasizes their dramatic quality by translating the original headings as “Prelude” and “Consequence.” This edition, however, omits the medal illustrations and replaces

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<sup>49</sup> Citing Galli Pellegrini, Nicole Aronson suggests that the sequence of argument, oration, and effect follows a tragic pattern, where the argument serves as the chorus, the effect serves as the denouement, and the harangue serves as the body of the tragedy (*Voyage* 133).

Scudéry's preface with the editor's dedication, printed in regular font. Subsequent editions of the same translation demonstrate an increased concern with aspects of typography: the 1728 edition uses similar font styles but adds medal illustrations, and the 1768 edition also italicizes the editor's preface.

As participants in the contexts generated by the publishers' printing practices and by the larger visual culture of print, font styles thus engage *Les Femmes illustres* in movements of variation that play on the genres of prose, poetry, and drama. The most important of these movements, however, may concern the spoken word. By invoking the orality of conversation and dramatic performance, font styles paradoxically help the verbal discourse transcend the visual fixity of print and reclaim the dynamic quality of speech. They serve as a reminder that Madeleine de Scudéry's context of work included salon culture, where reading was often a communal activity, practiced with a small public and involving the reanimation of the printed text by the reader's voice. The text typography conveys, therefore, a perspective on reading as "inscribed in the text" (Chartier and Gonzales 50). Typography, in conjunction with the illustrations, "scripts" the reader's role as participant in the text's multi-modality, as interpreter of visual and verbal content, and as animator of verbal discourse.

Another aspect of typography, the frontispiece of the original edition, represents a variation on frontispieces for dramatic texts published by Augustin Courbé, as well as on a wide genre of drawings of monumental art. This frontispiece (Figure 91) shows a woman standing on a pedestal under a triumphal arch; the woman wears Roman military garb and holds a spear in one hand, while the other hand rests on a shield inscribed *LES FEMMES ILLVSTRES*. Above her head, there is a banner inscribed *A LA GLOIRE DV*



Figure 91

*SEXE*; beneath her feet, at the base of the pedestal, there are four captives – two undefined figures on the left and right and a chained male satyr and female medusa in the front. The composition of the frontispiece places the woman at the center of the visual field and articulates relationships with the images that form its immediate visual context. For example, the woman’s position above the chained satyr and medusa indicates a victory not

over fellow human beings but over vices such as lasciviousness (embodied by the satyr) and hatred (embodied by the medusa). In addition, the woman’s position next to the arch’s decorations – musical instruments and books – suggests that her “weapons” are not implements of war but of the arts. In addition, the immediate verbal context provided by the shield and banner inscriptions extends the argument to the volume content by indicating that the text titled *Les Femmes illustres* is about women’s virtue triumphing over vice with the weapons of the arts, to the glory of their sex.

The reader’s ability to recognize the symbolic relationship between the triumphal arch and victory or between the chained captives and vice, as well as the metonymic relationship between the inscriptions and the totality of text, stems from the frontispiece’s connection to a larger context of visual culture. The frontispiece belongs to a rich variety of drawings and illustrations that reflect an intense preoccupation with Rome in

Renaissance France. According to Margaret McGowan, travel journal and guidebook illustrations, along with architectural drawings, exemplified a vision of Rome deeply engaged with Rome's antiquity and monumentality (14-52) as well as mesmerized by the interdependence between architectural structures (the monuments) and identifying text (the inscriptions). In addition, the frontispiece creates yet another connection to coin portrait anthologies such as Fulvio's or Vico's, which use monumental art as background for coin images.

Furthermore, the frontispiece also belongs to the visual culture of print, as reflected by the publishers' output. For example, Augustin Courbé, one of the publishers of *Les Femmes illustres*, had a long-standing relationship with Georges de Scudéry, and he printed many of Georges's plays with a similar type of frontispiece. The frontispiece



Figure 92

for Georges's *La Mort de Caesar*, for instance, shows Mark Antony standing at a podium inside an arched structure (possibly the Senate) and delivering an oration to a company of Romans who flank the urn with Caesar's ashes; above Mark Antony, a plaque surmounted by a two-headed eagle displays the text title: *La Mort de Caesar, Tragedie par Mons de Scudéry* (Figure 92). The similarities between the frontispiece of

*Les Femmes illustres* and the frontispiece of *La Mort de Caesar* include the framing of the central figure by an arch, the articulation between the central figure and the surrounding images, and the incorporation of the title into the image. These similarities

suggest that the publisher used the frontispiece to announce the volume content. In addition, these similarities place the historical female and male orators on the same level of importance.

In sum, the movement of variation establishes connections between *Les Femmes illustres* and a *copia* of genres, which serve as sources of authority, credibility, and trust for the text, as well as for the ancient heroines. These connections argue for the originality of *Les Femmes illustres* by drawing attention to what makes this text different; in addition, they balance images and words and invite oral performance of the verbal text. Furthermore, the movement of variation imports all the authority, credibility, and trust conferred on the ancient heroines by the movement of reproduction but highlights the women's roles as speakers. From a cognitive perspective, the coin images, their backgrounds, font styles, the frontispiece, and the verbal text create combinations and generate syntagmatic relationships that invoke new frames, such as frames for the genres

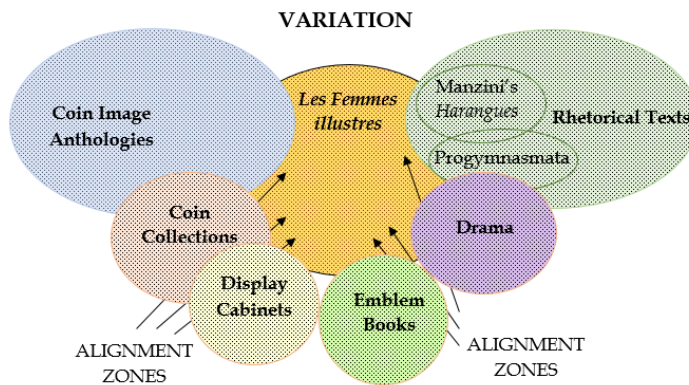


Figure 93

of rhetorical texts, emblem books, or drama, or for categories of objects such as coin collections and display cabinets (Figure 93). By balancing the perception of

similarity with the perception of difference, these relationships encourage audiences' convergent alignment immediately outside the zones of intersection between the frame for *Les Femmes illustres* and the other frames. The text therefore strengthens its ethos if audiences move from the frame periphery closer to the center.

## Variation, Community, and Remembrance in Scudéry's Rhetorical Theory

In Scudéry's dedication to her readers, variation is articulated both in visual and in verbal terms by means of the metaphor of the flower bouquet, the reference to the translation of coin inscriptions, and the metaphor of the triumphal arch. The metaphor of the flower bouquet stands both for a collection of orations and for a community of speakers, conveying how the individual members of the collection or community differ from one another yet remain bound by complex relationships; the translation of Greek and Latin inscriptions into the vernacular communicates how language variation facilitates access to antiquity and actualizes the past; and the metaphor of the triumphal arch stands for the heroines' public memory, expressing how text can function as a variation on monumental architecture and therefore conserve the memory of the past. Overall, the movement of variation emphasizes that the women orators form a community that spans space and time, that they have public lives that complement their private lives, and that their place in public memory must be preserved by the belles-lettres and actualized by reading.

The metaphor of the flower bouquet problematizes the arrangement of orations delivered by heroines from different space-times and argues for a playfully artistic balance between variety and unity, disorder and structure. Following her argument that women rhetors must conceal their art in the same way that they curl their hair or apply make-up, Scudéry explains that the non-chronological arrangement of orations is not random but deliberate: "I imitated on this occasion the skill of those who make bouquets, and who, with controlled confusion, mix roses and jasmine, orange and pomegranate blossoms, tulips and daffodils, so that out of this beautiful blend of colors results an

agreeable diversity that always pleases the eye” (n.p.; my translation). In other words, the maker of the bouquet chose an arrangement that balances the perception of difference with the perception of unity. Had the florist gathered all the roses together, all the orange blossoms together, all the tulips together, and so on, viewers would have seen distinct groups of flowers. Viewers would have perceived differences between groups and similarities within groups, but not the individuality of each flower or connections among all flowers. Likewise, had Scudéry not deviated from the expected chronological order of historical texts and had she not introduced aspects of surprise and randomness in the order of orations, readers might have perceived the heroines as bound to discrete historical events but not as bound to one another. The metaphor of the flower bouquet therefore stands for a cohesive collection of orations and for an interconnected community of speakers.

Arrangement logic also motivates Scudéry’s analysis of her book’s title: she points out that *Les femmes illustres, ou les harangues heroïques* includes faulty parallelism – the women are not the same thing as the harangues. To explain this choice, Scudéry invokes Herodotus, who used the names of the nine Muses as the titles for the nine books of his *History*. In other words, the heroines inspired and authorized Scudéry’s orations in the same way the Muses inspired and authorized Herodotus’ histories (and maybe also in the same way imperial women inspired and authorized their coinage). As an aspect of variation, the imperfect parallelism between the women and the harangues invokes a metonymic relationship between the speakers and their speeches. Conversely, the closer parallelism between the heroines and the Muses invokes a metaphoric relationship: the heroines are Muses because they are sources of invention but also



because they are a group of beings. In conjunction with each other, the Muses and the flower bouquet also communicate the interplay between the fragility of the heroines' private lives and the endurance of their public memory.

In spite of Scudéry's specific claim that she arranged the orations purposefully, not all scholars agree. In the preface to the 1991 edition, for example, Claude Maignien suggests that the speeches do not have any apparent connection to one another (25). Nicole Aronson, on the other hand, identifies multiple connections between the orations, based on a number of factors: what characters feature in other works by Georges and Madeleine, what characters elicit sympathy or admiration, or what characters fight for individuality or die for another (*Voyage* 127-37). Nevertheless, Aronson does not believe that all orations have the same author, and so her analysis emphasizes the eclecticism of the text rather than its coherence.

Eclecticism and coherence are not opposites, however, because various themes and subthemes crisscross the fabric of the collection and give it unity. For example, within the general theme of famous women, there are women who defend themselves (Mariamne, Cleopatra, Athenais, Pulcheria, or Cloelia) or dead men (Calpurnia and Agrippina); there are women who accuse others (Amalasontha) or themselves (Lucretia and Volumnia); there are also women who succumb to despair (Sophonisbe, Porcia, and Lucretia) or embrace hope (Zenobia); there are women who uphold the home (Octavia) or the arts (Artemisia, Livia, and Sappho); there are women who perish for marital love (Artemisia) or gratitude (Sisigambis); furthermore, there are masters of epideictic oratory (Artemisia and Agrippina), forensic oratory (Mariamne), or deliberative oratory

(Cleopatra). These various subthemes thus supply cohesion to the assembly of eclectic speakers, situations, and exigencies.

Variation, names, and credibility also come into play in Scudéry's reference to ancient coins. She assures the reader that the "medals" are genuine and that the French inscriptions are not a reason to assume that the "medals" are false, since she translated the inscriptions for the benefit of those who do not know Greek or Latin. As an aspect of linguistic variation, translation thus preserves the original's credibility while also fulfilling additional rhetorical functions: first, the vernacular actualizes the ancient models, so that the heroines' speeches can escape the confines of the past; second, the vernacular conceals women's rhetorical skills, which do not require the medium of classical languages to demonstrate their effectiveness.

The dedication to the ladies ends with an appeal to indulgence and the promise of a second volume of orations, in case the readers were not fully satisfied with the triumphal arch erected to the glory of their sex. The metaphor of the triumphal arch, which is also visually represented in the frontispiece and reiterated in the conclusion of the twentieth oration ("Sappho to Erinne"), synthesizes the project of *Les Femmes Illustres*: to commemorate the victory of the heroine's virtue over time and death. In more than one sense, the triumphal arch is the very opposite of hairstyle, beauty marks, and flower bouquets; it is not ephemeral but enduring, not private but public, not finely concealed but broadly visible. Scudéry's triumphal arch represents a variation on monumental architecture because it aims to accomplish with words what monuments accomplish with hard matter: to conserve in plain sight the memory of those worthy of remembrance. Therefore, the playful concealment invoked by the metaphors of make-up,

hair styling, and flower bouquet does not aim to place anything outside audiences' range of perception but to train the audiences' eyes gently, so that the women's light dawns gradually on them, not shocking them with its brightness or making them recoil from exceptional human beings as from monsters.

*Reproduction, Variation, and the Defense of Truth and Virtue in "Mariamne to Herod"*

As movements of invention, reproduction and variation establish the text's authority, credibility, and trust by means of complex relationships with a variety of verbal and non-verbal genres. The movement of reproduction negotiates the ancient heroines' authority as public figures, their credibility as real human beings, and their trust as people of virtue, while the movement of variation emphasizes the heroines' roles as speakers. In Scudéry's rhetorical theory, these movements play on concealment and revelation but aim for the public acknowledgement of the heroines' triumphs over adversity. In the second harangue, "Mariamne to Herod," reproduction and variation in relation to textual models defend the heroine's reputation as a capable speaker and as a person of moral integrity, thereby not only preserving but also correcting her representation in public memory.

The oration "Mariamne to Herod" reproduces the breakdown of Manzini's orations into "Argument," speech, and "Effect." Moreover, this oration also shares three key features with a corresponding page in Rouillé's *Promptuary*: Mariamne's portrait illustration is the same as in the *Promptuary*; Herod, who is Mariamne's interlocutor, features next to Mariamne in the *Promptuary*; furthermore, Herod is also mentioned in Rouillé's biography of Mariamne (Figure 94). On the other hand, the content of this

oration varies greatly both from Rouillé's biography of Mariamne and from Rouillé's source, Flavius Josephus, and mounts a response to these texts that defends Mariamne's reputation as a person of exceptional integrity, justifying Mariamne's public speaking as an expression of virtue. In addition, Mariamne's oration reproduces the Ciceronian structure for a forensic speech and deploys relevant *stases*; however, Mariamne does not speak to protect her life but her reputation. Because Mariamne finds herself in a predicament where silence and virtue are utterly incompatible, it is impossible for her not to speak and remain moral: if she keeps quiet, she become an accomplice to Herod's crimes.



19

*Monstre, qui fis perir cette innocente Reine,  
Dont ton cœur adoroit le visage charmant:  
Quel seroit l'effect de ta haine,  
Si tu fais mourir en aimant?*

**MARIAMNE**  
A  
**HERODES.**

 E n'est ny la crainte de la mort, ny le desir de la vie, qui me font parler aujourd' huy : & si j'estois assurée, que la Posterité me rendist Justice quand ie

C ij

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**HERODES** le grād, dict Ascalonit, fils d'Antipater Gouverneur de Iudee, fut Roy de Iudee (le premier d'eftrange nation, car il estoit Idumeen) en l'an du monde 3927. auant la nat. de Ief. 35. ans. & 3. ans au parauant il auoit esté déclaré & appelé Roy des Iuifs par le Senat Romain. il fut bien aymé de l'Empereur Auguste, qui augmenta son royaume, luy rendant Samarie, & autres villes & chasteaux. aussi Herodes, de sa part, edifia vn temple & vne ville qu'il nōma Cefaree en l'honneur de Cefar Auguste. il enuoya ses deux fils, Alexandre & Aristobul, à Rome pour estre instruits. vainquit les Arabes: feit defraciner les vieux fondemens du temple de Salomon, pour y en replanter de tous nouueaux, & en r'edifia vn autre magnifiquement, à la forme du premier. toutesfois fut cruel vers sa femme, vers ses propres enfans, & vers ses amis, qu'il feit mourir, & des docteurs de la loy: mesmes feit martirizer les petis innocens de Berth-lehem, peu apres la naissance de nostre sauueur Iesus Christ: aussi vsa de machination contre les sages Roys qui s'enqueroient de nostre Seigneur pour l'adorer. de son temps y eut vn tremblement de terre en Iudee, dont perirent 30000. personnes. Voyez Iosep. de la guerre des Iuifs liu. i. cha. 14. & des Antiq. li. 14. 15. & 16. & S. Mat. cha. 2.

**MARIAMNE**, fut femme d'Herodes susdict, laquelle il aymoit bien, pour sa beauté. nonobstant elle estant chaste, mais fiere & facheuse, refusa d'embracer son mari yns apresdisnee, mesme luy dist quelque iniure, dōc le Roy fut fort faché. Adōc Salome la sœur d'Herodes aposte l'eschâson du Roy, qui luy va porter parole, que sa femme luy auoit préparé vn bruuage de poison: pourquoy le Roy la feit mourir. Voyez Iosep. liu. 15. cha. 3. & 9. & li. 18. cha. 11.

Figure 94

Scudéry's variation on Rouillé and Josephus aims to draw nearer to truth by means of art. Because Rouillé's biographical note offers a truncated reading of Josephus that represents Mariamne as contentious, Scudéry recovers missing information through a more attentive reading of the ancient source, thereby reframing the heroine's speaking practices in contexts informed by truth and virtue. Furthermore, because Josephus's interpretation of Mariamne's personality includes contradictions that invoke an artificial literary character rather than a real human being, Scudéry reinterprets Josephus's facts so as to restore Mariamne's psychological integrity and recast her as a grounded and moral person. Therefore, Scudéry's variation on these authors aims to draw nearer to truth by means of art.

Rouillé may have elicited Scudéry's response likely because his biography of Mariamne creates wide gaps of information and logic that permit Mariamne's speech to appear as a character flaw. Although Rouillé generally praises the women represented in his *Promptuary*, his brief account of Mariamne's life combines commendation with censure by contrasting Mariamne's beauty and chastity with her immoderately bold speech:

Mariamne was the wife of Herod, who loved her very much because of her beauty. Although she was chaste, she was also proud and contentious, and she refused to embrace her husband after dinner and even said something injurious to him, which made the king very upset. Salome, Herod's sister, then dispatched the king's cupbearer to say that his wife prepared him a poisoned drink; therefore, the king put her to death. (162; my translation)

Even though Rouillé cites Flavius Josephus as his source, he appears to synthesize only a specific passage from *The Antiquities of the Jews*, a passage which relates events leading to Mariamne's execution:

However, these misfortunes, which had been kept under some decency for a great while, burst out all at once upon such an occasion as was now offered; for as the king was one day about noon lain down on his bed to rest him, he called for Mariamne, out of the great affection he had always for her. She came in accordingly, but would not lie down by him; and when he was very desirous of her company, she showed her contempt of him; and added, by way of reproach, that he had caused her father and her brother to be slain. And when he took this injury very unkindly, and was ready to use violence on her, in a precipitate manner, the king's sister Salome, observing that he was more than ordinarily disturbed, sent in to the king his cup-bearer, who had been prepared long beforehand for such a design, and bid him tell the king how Mariamne had persuaded him to give his assistance in preparing a love potion for him; and if he appeared to be greatly concerned, and to ask what that love potion was, to tell him that she had the potion, and that he was desired only to give it him; but that in case he did not appear to be much concerned at this potion, to let the thing drop; and that if he did so, no harm should thereby come to him. (15.7.4)

Rouillé's synthesis of this passage, however, strips down Josephus's account of essential details, such as the source of Mariamne's resentment against Herod (the murder of her grandfather and brother), so all that is left is the picture of a quarrelsome woman who refuses to love her husband and argues at dinnertime. This excising of contextual

information also undermines the logical coherence of Mariamne's biography, because it makes little sense why Mariamne's unspecified yet "injurious" words would have prompted Salome to accuse Mariamne of attempted poisoning. As a response to Rouillé's vague and therefore misleading summary of Josephus's accounts, the oration "Mariamne to Herod" recovers key factual information from Josephus's *Antiquities* and thus reframes Mariamne's speaking in a manner that substantially changes its meaning, from irrationally contentious to morally necessary.

Scudéry not only recovers historical facts but also challenges how ancient historiographers interpreted these facts. While Rouillé aimed to reconstruct the memory of illustrious people, Scudéry strives not only to ensure that ancient heroines are remembered but also that they are remembered correctly. In the "Argument" that precedes Mariamne's imaginary oration, Scudéry clarifies her intent to engage her sources critically: "Few people don't know that Herod put his wife to death, but not all know what she said in her defense. Of the two historians who speak about her, one was not from her time, and the other was a flatterer of her husband; therefore, it is up to us to search for the truth amid the ignorance of one and the malice of the other" (18; my translation). The two historians to whom Scudéry refers are Flavius Josephus and Nicolaus of Damascus, who was Herod's rhetoric teacher and court historian. It is unlikely, though, that Scudéry would have read Nicolaus's extant fragments, and she most likely became familiar with him via Josephus, who frequently cites and criticizes Nicolaus.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Nicolaus's universal history in 144 books is not extant. Only a few fragments survive, and the content of this text is preserved mainly in Josephus's references to Nicolaus, which are often critical. For instance, Josephus reproaches Nicolaus for partiality towards

Although Scudéry echoes Josephus in the reference to the malice of Herod's flatterer, she also engages Josephus's account by presenting her apology of the "unfortunate beauty" as evidence of the heroine's true character (18). Scudéry thus responds to Josephus's depiction the queen as a tragic hero, torn between exceptional qualities such as chastity and generosity, on the one hand, and the hubris of her immoderate and contentious speech, on the other hand:

And thus died Mariamne, a woman of an excellent character, both for chastity and greatness of soul; but she wanted moderation, and had too much of contention in her nature; yet had she all that can be said in the beauty of her body, and her majestic appearance in conversation; and thence arose the greatest part of the occasions why she did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done; for while she was most indulgently used by the king, out of his fondness for her, and did not expect that he could do any hard thing to her, she took too unbounded a liberty. Moreover, that which most afflicted her was, what he had done to her relations, and she ventured to speak of all they had suffered by him, and at last greatly provoked both the king's mother and sister, till they became enemies to her; and even he himself also did

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Herod: "For he wrote in Herod's lifetime, and under his reign, and so as to please him, and as a servant to him, touching upon nothing but what tended to his glory, and openly excusing many of his notorious crimes, and very diligently concealing them. And as he was desirous to put handsome colors on the death of Mariamne and her sons, which were barbarous actions in the king, he tells falsehoods about the incontinence of Mariamne, and the treacherous designs of his sons upon him; and thus he proceeded in his whole work, making a pompous encomium upon what just actions he had done, but earnestly apologizing for his unjust ones" (16.7.1).



the same, on whom alone she depended for her expectations of escaping the last of punishments. (15.7.6)

Although Josephus defends Mariamne's innocence and presents a generally sympathetic account of her life, the contradictions on which he builds his apology are hard to reconcile. For instance, Josephus claims that Mariamne "did not expect that he [Herod] could do any hard thing to her." However, earlier in his account, he mentions two separate instances in which Mariamne found out that Herod gave standing orders to have her killed should he himself die. In addition, Josephus claims that Mariamne "did not prove so agreeable to the king, nor live so pleasantly with him, as she might otherwise have done," especially on account of what Herod "had done to her relations." Yet, Josephus explained earlier that Herod had killed Mariamne's grandfather, Hycarnus II, and her brother, Aristobulus. It is hard to conceive, therefore, how Mariamne could have believed that Herod was incapable of harming her or how she could have lived pleasantly with her family's murderer. Josephus represents Mariamne as a woman of great beauty and unimpeachable sexual ethics, but he seems to struggle with extending Mariamne's morality beyond the realm of sexuality. The resulting contradictions therefore invoke a fictional tragic hero rather than a real human being possessing a working moral compass and reasonable intelligence.

In response to Josephus's characterization of Mariamne, Scudéry restores the heroine's moral and psychological integrity. Mariamne's fictional oration, delivered in defense not of her life but of her posthumous reputation, resolves Josephus's contradictions by invoking and interpreting key events from the perspective of a woman whom Scudéry endows with strong ethical principles. Scudéry's Mariamne delivers a

forensic speech that reproduces the six-part structure and *stases* discussed in Cicero's *De Inventione*. The skillfully constructed *exordium*, *narratio*, *partitio*, *confirmatio*, *refutatio*, and *peroratio* respond to the accusations of Mariamne's persecutors and show that Mariamne is a competent speaker who has absolutely no need for verbal cosmetics in order to cover up her rhetorical abilities.

Mariamne's *exordium* depicts a calm, rational, and fearless speaker, and thus invokes Josephus's testimonial that Mariamne "went to her death with an unshaken firmness of mind, and without changing the color of her face, and thereby evidently discovered the nobility of her descent to the spectators, even in the last moments of her life" (15.7.5). This *exordium* identifies as the exigency of the speech Mariamne's need to preserve her posthumous reputation. By highlighting the absence of her desire for self-preservation, Mariamne's *exordium* posits that silence and virtue are utterly incompatible:

It is neither the fear of death nor the desire to live that makes me speak today. And if I were sure that Posterity would render me justice when I am no more, I would hasten to the aid of my accusers and enemies. I would regard the last day of my life as the first day of my felicity, and I would wait for the hour of my execution with so much composure that I might put to confusion those who persecute me. But because they desire both my virtue and my life, it would be cowardly of me to suffer calumny without an answer. Innocence and glory are so precious that one should do everything in one's power to preserve them. (19-20; my translation)

If the exordium frames the entire speech in the light of reason unimpaired by fear of death, the *narratio* frames Mariamne's defense in the light of feelings grounded in piety. Scudéry responds to Josephus's claims that Mariamne was proud and contentious by invoking Mariamne's ancestry and Herod's crimes and by thus correcting Josephus's interpretation of Mariamne's hubristic emotions. Scudéry's Mariamne is therefore not proud but dignified, not arrogant but conscious of her legitimate place in an illustrious line:

Without a doubt, you did not forget that I hail from an illustrious race that has given kings to Judea for centuries; that all my predecessors justly held the scepter that you now hold; that by the right of their birth they wore the crown which Fortune placed on your head; that if things were in normal order, far from calling you my judge, I would count you as one of my subjects and legitimately exercise on you the power that you usurp from me (20-21; my translation).

Furthermore, Mariamne is not contentious but pious, justly mourning the deaths of her grandfather<sup>51</sup> and brother<sup>52</sup>:

I could no longer hide my crying; I could no longer muffle my voice; I shed tears; I cried out; I let out lamentations and sobs. But how could she do less than this,

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<sup>51</sup> Josephus recounts that Hycarnus's murder occurred at banquet. While dining with the unsuspecting Hycarnus, Herod inquired whether Hycarnus had received letters or gifts from the Arab king Malchus. Hycarnus candidly answered that he had received only greetings and four horses for his journey home. Nevertheless, Herod accused Hycarnus of treason and bribery and had him strangled. (15.6.3)

<sup>52</sup> Josephus relates that Aristobulus, who was High Priest at only seventeen, elicited the crowds' affection as he performed the sacrifices for the Feast of the Tabernacles. After the festival ended, Herod's company gathered to feast at Jericho. There, the bitterly jealous Herod encouraged Aristobulus to swim in a palace pool to find relief from the heat. Herod's friends then joined Aristobulus in the pool and pressed him down in the water until he drowned (15.3.3).

the granddaughter of Hycarnus, who expired by your orders? How could she do less than this, the sister of young Aristobulus, who perished by your inhumanity, so that you might seize the scepter in your hands? Indeed, patience would have been criminal. I was without doubt born for the throne, but I did not want to ascend in this manner, as I couldn't do it without stepping over the corpses of my grandfather and brother. This throne was drenched in their blood, and the least I could do was wash it with my tears, for I was not permitted to spill the blood of their enemy. (23-24; my translation)

Had Mariamne not honored her place in the line of kings, she would have disrespected her ancestors and disregarded their legitimate authority; had she not mourned for her grandfather and brother, she would have become their murderer's accomplice and their usurper. Therefore, the recollection of Mariamne's legitimate status and justified grief highlights the moral impossibility of hiding and silencing what should be known openly and publicly. For instance, in a society under the rule of law, the murder of an acting High Priest (such as Aristobulus) or of a former king and High Priest (such as Hycarnus) would receive appropriate retribution. Under tyranny, however, shameful deeds are covered and those who expose them reviled. Mariamne's vocal lamentations therefore remain the only morally acceptable response to her relatives' murder. Deprived of the authority to punish the guilty lawfully, Mariamne would not resort to assassination; therefore, the least she can do is weep. Far from expressions of uncontrolled emotions, Scudéry's Mariamne models dignity and grief as signs of a healthy heart and a rational mind that refrain from revenge.

Following the *narratio*, the *partitio* refers to the calumniators' three accusations against Mariamne: that she sent her portrait to Mark Antony in order to seduce him; that she was intimate with her brother-in-law, Joseph; and that she made an attempt on Herod's life (25). Following the *partitio*, a brief *confirmatio* that invokes the Ciceronian topics of manner and life and fortune (*Inventione* I.35) supplies a transition towards Mariamne's defense: "O, Heaven! How is it possible that Mariamne should be forced to respond to such accusations? Is it not sufficient to say that it is Mariamne who is accused in order to say that she is innocent? No, I perceive that, without remembering either my condition or my virtue, they condemn me unjustly" (25-26). Mariamne's *refutatio* then responds to each of the three accusations by deploying Ciceronian *stases* but rarely moving beyond conjecture. By focusing her defense on questions of conjecture, Mariamne discredits the grounds of the accusations against her while demonstrating her own ability to reason dispassionately.

Mariamne's response to the first accusation – that she sent a portrait to Mark Antony as proof of her affection<sup>53</sup> – develops the issue of conjecture by relying on topics such as the nature of the facts, motivation, and character. The topic of the nature of the

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<sup>53</sup> Here, Scudéry invokes, interprets, and counters Josephus's account of Alexandra's intentions to use her children's exceptional beauty as a way of currying political favor with Mark Antony. Josephus writes that Antony's friend Dellius visited Judea on business and was struck by the loveliness of Aristobulus and Mariamne, Alexandra's children. Therefore, he convinced Alexandra to send their portraits to Mark Antony in Egypt, telling her that Antony would not deny her any request, if he would just glance at the young people, even from afar. Because Alexandra was seeking the High Priesthood for Aristobulus, she had her children's portraits painted and sent to Antony. Antony became enraptured by the portraits, but was embarrassed to ask for Mariamne to be sent to him, as she was married to Herod; instead, he asked for Aristobulus. Concerned that Antony might abuse the young man, Herod appointed Aristobulus High Priest, so that the youth would be unable to leave the country (15.1.5-6).

fact uncovers the accusers' lack of material evidence through questions such as: Who is the painter of the portrait? Who delivered the portrait? To whom did Antony show it? (26). The topic of premeditation exposes the accusers' faulty reasoning regarding Mariamne's motivations by raising questions such as: Why would Mariamne attempt to associate with Antony, who was her husband's ally? Why would she provoke Cleopatra, Antony's mistress? (27-28). In addition, the topic of character reveals the accusers' ignorance of Mariamne's ethics. To defend her character, Mariamne declares that her heart would not have stooped to the inglorious conquest of Antony (26) and that her beauty never provoked her to vanity, for she always cared more for her virtue than for her appearance (28).

Mariamne's response to the second and third accusations – that she committed adultery with Joseph<sup>54</sup> and that she plotted Herod's poisoning – addresses conjecture under the same headings: the nature of the facts, motivation, and character. The nature of the facts reveals the absence of a witness to the adultery (35) or of evidence that she conspired with her alleged poisoning accomplice (36-38). Similarly, by deploying the topic of motivations, Mariamne emphasizes how absurd it would have been of her to choose Joseph as her lover and a man of low birth as her accomplice, considering that Joseph was Herod's favorite and the husband of her bitter enemy and that a servant

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<sup>54</sup> Josephus recounts that Mark Antony commanded Herod to come to him and explain himself for the death of Aristobulus. On his departure, Herod left orders with Joseph, Salome's husband, to kill Mariamne and Alexandra should anything happen to him. Unwittingly, Joseph revealed Herod's plans to Mariamne with the intention of proving Herod's great affection for her. Mariamne, however, did not see this as proof of affection at all, so she eventually reproached Herod for his plans to have her killed. Upset that Mariamne learned of his orders, Herod accused Mariamne of intimacy with Joseph (15.3.5-9).

would not have kept her secret. Furthermore, by deploying the topic of character, Mariamne proclaims her illustrious birth and nobility of soul and derides the nonsensical possibility that she could have had feelings for Antony and Joseph simultaneously. Although Mariamne's defense focuses on conjecture to demonstrate the baselessness of the accusations against her, on one occasion she relies on definition to counter claims that Herod's orders for her death stemmed from his great love for her:

Don't tell me that this order was the effect of the great passion you had for me. The death of the beloved can never be proof of affection. Hate and love are not the same thing; they can sometimes reign successively in the heart, but never together. A man who loves cannot always live without his beloved, but he can always die without her. To him, her loss should never be an agreeable thought. He should regret that he must part from her, but he should not regret that she doesn't die with him. But your manner of love is altogether different, and your inclination is naturally so cruel that poisons and daggers are the most agreeable presents that one can receive from you when you wish to show your affection. (31-32; my translation)

Finally, Mariamne's *peroratio* follows the Ciceronian model by including a defense summary, which reaffirms that Mariamne did not send her portrait to Antony, that she was not intimate with Joseph, and that she did not plot Herod's death. Instead of suffering for her guilt, she suffers for her innocence: "But because her blood is too illustrious and her soul is too noble for the baseness and cowardice of her enemies, Mariamne must die; she must perish; she must be sacrificed to the hatred of her persecutors" (39; my translation). In addition to the summary, the *peroratio* includes a

brief *conquestio* (arousal of pity and sympathy) that focuses on Mariamne's orphaned children, who must find comfort in their virtue, as well as a more developed *indignatio* (outrage against the opponent) that predicts Herod's torment for his crimes (41). Most importantly, the *peroratio* reiterates the exigency of Mariamne's speech: "It is neither the fear of death nor the desire for life that made me speak today. The first prepares me only crowns, while the other gives me nothing but suffering" (39-40; my translation).

In sum, relative to Rouillé's and Josephus's accounts, the movement of variation restores Mariamne's authority, credibility, and trust by representing her as a dignified queen of illustrious lineage who speaks the truth and upholds her virtue. In addition, variation preserves the heroine's memory by correcting misconceptions about her, especially those pertaining to her immoderate speech. Relative to Cicero's arrangement and invention strategies, the movement of reproduction demonstrates that Mariamne is a competent rhetor who speaks in defense of truth and justice without concern for self-preservation and without need for concealment. Mariamne's rhetorical competence also suggests that the interweaving concealment and revelation invoked by the cosmetic metaphors, in conjunction with the male voice of the preface, may actually be plays on the prejudices of hostile audiences, who may expect women to speak "naturally" and show few signs of rhetorical education.

In fact, Scudéry's own dedication to the ladies follows the Ciceronian arrangement. The *exordium*, for example, appeals to the readers' interest and good will by offering the ladies a way to identify with the heroines' glory. The *narratio* recounts the success of the translation of Manzini's *Harangues* and the inspiration it provided for a collection of women's orations; and the *narratio* includes the key statement of fact – that



women's eloquence conceals its art. The *divisio* discusses the structure of the text and emphasizes the absence of chronological arrangement as a strategy for emphasizing the diversity of the speeches. The *confirmatio* offers reasons for the enjoyment of these speeches, such as the arousal of compassion for the afflictions of virtuous heroines. The *refutatio* counters objections to the faulty parallelism of the title and the authenticity of the medals. Finally, the *peroratio* urges the readers to appreciate the "triumphal arch" created for their glory and to watch for the sequel. Scudéry's and her heroines' ability to follow this model is therefore obscured only by audiences' inability to recognize the model in a text about women.

*Tentative Conclusions: The Movement of Inspiration*

In conjunction with each other, the movements of reproduction and variation support the movement of inspiration. However, while the movements of reproduction and variation result from a variety of verbal and non-verbal features of the text, the movement of inspiration belongs to the readers. Inspiration is therefore a movement from the past into the present, from acknowledging that ancient women could speak to appreciating that contemporary women can speak, as well. For some of Scudéry's readers, this might have been a small step; for others, this might have been a big leap. In either case, reproduction and variation provide a complex support structure designed to make it easy for all audiences to move towards inspiration. However, neither reproduction nor variation make this move in the audiences' place, because the activation of the text, or its emergence into the present, requires the audiences' embodied presence in the acts of visual and oral reading. To bring the text and the ancient women to life, readers must see

the heroines in their coin portraits and hear them in their orations. More importantly, readers who perform this actualization have the opportunity to acquire their own audiences, audiences who can see these readers in the present and hear them speak— first with the ancient women’s voices and next with their own voices.

From a cognitive perspective, inspiration invites readers to perceive *Less Femmes illustres* as a new frame (Figure 95) but also to create or enrich a frame for themselves as ethical people. Because the orations respond to different exigencies and raise various

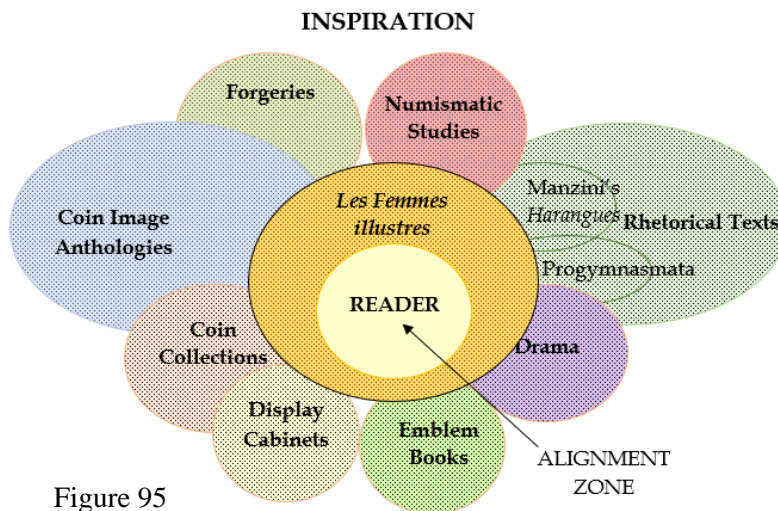


Figure 95

moral questions, readers have rich opportunities to shape and enhance this frame by identifying qualities shared with the ancient heroines. For instance, a reader who learns of Zenobia’s

decision to survive humiliation with courage and of Sophonisba’s decision to die instead of facing shame will ask herself, “What would I do? What do I believe?”

The title of the 1728 English edition (*The Female Orators: or, the Courage and Constancy of divers Famous Queens, and Illustrious Women, Set forth in their Undaunted Defences and Noble Resolutions: Worthy the Perusal and Imitation of the Female Sex*) captures to a limited extent the purpose of inspiration by suggesting that the orations are “worthy of perusal and imitation” and therefore implying that reading can bring about moral improvement. However, Scudéry does not advocate for imitation in the

sense that contemporary women should do what ancient women did. (For instance, in the argument and effect of “Lucretia to Colatin,” Scudéry commends Lucretia for her noble remorse but questions Lucretia’s decision to yield to rape in order to save her reputation and disagrees with Lucretia’s choice to commit suicide.) As a movement of imitation, inspiration does not encourage the indiscriminate repetition of illustrious women’s actions but provides tools for positioning and evaluating these actions in one’s own moral frame. In addition, because the ancient heroines’ actions invariably include speaking, readers must also ask themselves, “What would I do? Would I speak, or would I remain silent?”

The movement of inspiration belongs, however, not only Scudéry’s contemporary readers but also to modern translators, editors, and publishers who sustain the lifecycle of the text and renegotiate the text’s ethos in new contexts. Currently, the life of *Les Femmes illustres* is sustained primarily by feminist scholars who recover and study women who wrote about language. In their recovery efforts, these scholars must decide whether to approach the visual features of *Les Femmes illustres* as forms of “rhetorical accretion,” which Vicki Tolar Collins defines as the “process of layering additional texts over and around the original text” (547), and – if so – how to interpret these accretions, which are the outcome of voluntary or imposed collaborations between the writer and other people involved in the production of her text. In my discussion of *Les Femmes illustres*, I hope to inform future recoveries by suggesting that coin images not only negotiated the text’s ethos but also provided context and recruited readers. Context and readership, however, are also reasons why this discussion does not claim definite answers or supplant the movement of inspiration of other students of this text.

The future life of *Les Femmes illustres* depends, nevertheless, on the movement of inspiration, which carries the text from the past into the present and actualizes it as a new frame. The continued life of the text also depends on how scholars position themselves, evaluate, and align with existing frameworks for textual recovery, such as those constructed by McKenzie, Chartier, or McGann. McKenzie, for example, suggests that “any history of the book – subject as books are to typographic and material change – must be a history of misreadings . . . Every society rewrites its past, every reader rewrites its texts, and, if they have any continuing life at all, at some point every printer redesigns them” (25). Similarly, Chartier advises that “a fixed text is invested with new meaning and being [*statut*] when the physical form through which it is presented for interpretation changes” (50-51). Likewise, McGann recommends that the editor’s choice “be based upon two dialectally related factors: the obligation placed upon the present by the authority of past events, and the demands made upon the past by present requirements” (91). Ultimately, ongoing acts of positioning, evaluation, and alignment represent essential sources of energy because, as indicated by the analysis of Rouillé’s and Scudéry’s works, the ethos of texts relies on the ethos of readers.

## Conclusion

In my dissertation project, I explored a few overarching questions: Is it possible to discuss ethos in relation to material objects such as coins? If so, how is the ethos of ancient coins constructed? How and why is this ethos appropriated and re-imagined outside ancient coins' original contexts of production? To address these questions, I put in conversation rhetorical theories, numismatics, and cognitive linguistics, and I focused on coinage produced at the end of the Roman Republic and on Renaissance texts illustrated with coin images. Overall, I approached ethos as a form of inter-subjectivity and as an interweaving of authority, credibility, and trust. I suggested that, within original contexts of production and circulation, the ethos of ancient coins relies on audiences' knowledge and memory; conversely, in contexts where ancient coins no longer function as money, coin ethos requires new contexts supplied largely by audiences' intellectual interests.

In Chapter 1: "Historical and Theoretical Frameworks for Understanding the Authority, Credibility, and Trust of Early Greek and Roman Coinage," I explored how the ethos of ancient coins can be conceptualized and analyzed. I drew from numismatic scholarship to suggest that the birth and rise of coinage in the Greek and Roman worlds relied on a tight interweaving of authority, credibility, and trust, and I proposed that this interweaving represents the coins' ethos. I acknowledged the methodological difficulty of applying the notion of ethos to material objects that might have predated conceptualizations of ethos in ancient rhetorical theory, and I suggested that a cognitive framework informed by inter-subjectivity can mediate the discussion of ethos across different time periods and cultures. I adapted John DuBois's stance triangle, and I

proposed an approach to ethos as a form of convergent alignment with regard to a stance object consisting of an aspect of the rhetor's identity and discourse. I suggested that authority grounds the rhetor in systems of power, credibility in systems of truth, and trust in systems of values. Furthermore, I proposed a classification of ethos into three types: transcendentally oriented, socially oriented, and individually oriented.

Although this classification is an abstraction that highlights three major areas on a continuum of possible interpretations, it can serve as a useful analytical tool because it can identify changes in the negotiation of coin ethos and can trace the reception of ethos across various contexts. I illustrated the negotiation of transcendentally oriented ethos with an anonymous denarius showing the head of Roma on the obverse and the Dioscuri on the reverse (211-208 B.C.), and I suggested that this early type effaces the moneyer's identity while foregrounding the power, truths, and values upheld by the Republic's tutelary deities. I then proposed that socially oriented ethos, as exemplified by a denarius of Titurius Sabinus (89 B.C.), shifts the focus away from the city of Rome while drawing attention to the moneyer's social connections and participation in current events. Thus, the denarius of Titurius Sabinus, which shows King Tatius on the obverse and the rape of the Sabine women on the reverse, advertises the moneyer's descent from the ancient Sabines and argues for the reconciliation between Rome and its Italian neighbors at the end of the Social War. I also suggested that individually oriented ethos represents yet another shift, which brings into focus the moneyer's accomplishments and unique identity. For example, a denarius of Caecilius Metellus (81 B.C.), which shows the head of Pietas on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse, publicizes the moneyer's piety and military successes in Africa. The classification of coin ethos into transcendentally

oriented, socially oriented, and individually oriented thus captures major trends in the negotiation of ethos by Roman Republican coinage, as well as supplies frames of reference for later interpretations of these trends.

In Chapter 2, “The Ethos of Roman Coinage at the Onset of the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey,” I applied the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 1 to coinage produced at the onset of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey (49-48 B.C.), and I addressed two main questions: How can the construction of ethos be identified on ancient coins? While negotiating the issuers’ ethos, how does Pompeian and Caesarean coinage reconcile the traditions of the Republic with the rule of one individual? By exploring the first question, I extended the methodology developed in Chapter 1, and I suggested that a certain type of ethos emerges from various verbal and non-verbal features of coin design: combinations of design elements, relationships with similar designs, and the frames invoked by the design elements. Guided by the second question, I inquired into how Republican coinage responds to political crises that propelled individual warlords such as Caesar and Pompey to positions of great power, from which they commanded vast human and material resources. I suggested that Pompeian coinage interprets earlier forms of transcendently oriented ethos in order to raise Pompey to the status of an institution, while Caesar interprets individually oriented ethos in order to invite personal allegiances.

After examining the coinage produced for the Pompeian side of the conflict, I found that coin issuers negotiate ethos on multiple levels of inter-subjectivity. For example, a denarius issued by the quaestor Gnaeus Nerius constructs three levels of inter-subjectivity by negotiating the ethos of the quaestor, of the quaestor’s patrons (the

consuls Lentulus and Marcellus), and of the patrons' patron (Pompey). A denarius struck by the pro-quaestor Gnaeus Piso deploys two levels of inter-subjectivity and supports the ethos of the pro-quaestor and of the pro-quaestor's patron (Pompey). In addition, a denarius struck by the pro-quaestor Terentius Varro demonstrates "shadowed" inter-subjectivity, as it negotiates the ethos of Pompey with minimum emphasis on Varro. Overall, Pompeian coinage forges a sense of group identity among the exiled supporters of Pompey, but this coinage places heavy demands on audiences' visual memory and knowledge of history. On the other hand, the coinage struck by Caesar in his own name negotiates Caesar's ethos on one level of inter-subjectivity. Caesar's first coin issues – a denarius showing an elephant on the obverse and pontifical emblems on the reverse, and a denarius and aureus showing *Clementia* on the obverse and Gallic trophies on the reverse – contrast Caesar's competitive and cooperative sides and tap primarily into audiences' knowledge of Caesar's character and accomplishments.

In Chapter 3: "Reconstructions and Appropriations of Ancient Coin Ethos in Guillaume Rouillé's *Promptuaire des medalles*," my inquiry was guided by the question of how and why Rouillé reconstructs and appropriates the ethos of ancient coins. I suggested that Rouillé advances an approach to literacy that balances verbal and visual communication and enhances audiences' participation in his text. In turn, this approach creates a tight interdependence between coin ethos and book ethos and energizes the life of the book. I proposed that, in the preface to the *Promptuaire*, Rouillé creates an extended definition that provides a context for the understanding of ancient coins. According to Rouillé, ancient coins consist of three parts: an illustrious face, an inscribable surface, and a name (*medal*). Rouillé constructs the definition so as to embed



each of these parts in larger categories. For example, the illustrious face belongs to the category of human face, which is an inscription of God's grace; the metal surface (or the flan) belongs to the category of visual inscriptions; and the coin name belongs to the category of verbal inscriptions. Because these categories also invoke larger frames for education, social relationships, and divine relationships, Rouillé's definition argues that coins can teach truth and virtue, can promote healthy social relationships, and can serve as a conduit to the divine.

In addition, roles that Rouillé invites audiences to assume (such as *coin enthusiast*, *student*, and *reader*) invoke a frame for individual accomplishments embedded in the frames for education, social relationships, and divine relationships. By aligning with these roles, audiences gain access to the systems of power, truths, and values that organize the various frames. Because this access is mediated by various acts of seeing, the individually oriented, social oriented, and transcendently oriented *ethos* of ancient coins represent different points on audiences' line of sight. Rouillé urges his audiences to become transformed by these acts of seeing and to make positive changes in their environment, both through actions and through discourse. Rouillé also challenges his audiences to negotiate their own ethos as rhetors and to earn a place in future versions of his book.

In Chapter 4: "Speaker Ethos and Coin Ethos in Madeleine de Scudéry's *Les Femmes illustres*," I explored how the ethos of ancient coins supports the ethos of women as marginalized rhetors. I explored the relationship between the illustrations of *Les Femmes illustres* and the verbal text, and I suggested that coin images invoke verbal and non-verbal contexts that sustain the heroines' ethos as people with public roles and as

competent speakers. In addition, I analyzed the rhetorical theory articulated in the preface and suggested that references to ancient coins, in conjunction with a series of visual metaphors, encourage audiences to accept and read a rhetorical text about women.

After examining the portrait illustrations of *Les Femmes illustres*, I found that the women's images are reproduced from Rouillé's *Promptuaire des medalles*. This finding prompted me to blend the methodology I developed in the first chapter with John Muckelbauer's movements of imitation, which consist of reproduction, variation, and inspiration. I adapted Muckelbauer's definitions to suggest that reproduction prompts invention within formal features supplied by other verbal or non-verbal artifacts; that variation draws from formal features of other artifacts in order to emphasize the differences between the new artifact and its models; and inspiration represents invention that pushes the models into the background. I suggested that Scudéry capitalizes on the ethos-building potential of imitation to establish the ethos of the women orators and of her text. I also proposed that the movement of reproduction invokes genres such as coin image anthologies, numismatic scholarship, and coin forgeries, where images of women benefited from substantial visual presence, and that the movement of variation forges connections to additional genres, such as oration collections, emblem books, and drama. Reproduction and variation sustain the ethos of the women orators by emphasizing the ancient heroines' public roles and their participation in communities of speakers. Furthermore, the movement of inspiration invites readers to draw connections between the ancient heroines and contemporary women and to cultivate their own voices as rhetors.

In my dissertation project, I therefore focused on the rhetorical aspects of ancient coins in order to understand how these objects of historical and cultural significance mediate acts of communication, both within and outside the original contexts of production and circulation. I explored how the ethos of ancient coins is constructed, reconstructed, and appropriated across different space-times, and I proposed a methodology that blends rhetorical and cognitive approaches to discourse.

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