

AUGUSTUS
FROM REPUBLIC TO EMPIRE

EDITED BY
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ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING LTD

Gordon House
276 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 7ED

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978 1 78491 780 7
ISBN 978 1 78491 781 4 (e-Pdf)

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Front cover illustration: A part of a wall painting from Villa of Livia on the via Flaminia. Photo AFSSCol

Back cover: Portrait of young Octavian. The National Museum, Krakow, inv. no. MNK IV-Ew-Zł-439.
Photo National Museum, Krakow.

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Printed in England by Oxuniprint, Oxford
This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website www.archaeopress.com

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Preface

This collection of texts is the fruit of a conference entitled 'AUGUSTUS. 23.09.63 p.n.e.-19.08.14 n.e. – 2000 lat boskości' ('AUGUSTUS. 23 September 63 BC-19 August 14 AD – 2000 years of divinity') organised on 12 December 2014 by the Institute of Archeology of the Jagiellonian University, the Centre for Comparative Studies of Civilisations at the Jagiellonian University and the National Museum in Krakow. During the conference, which was hosted by the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum – a branch of the National Museum in Krakow – and commemorated the anniversary of Augustus's death, papers were delivered by 13 participants. Not all the participants decided to publish their presentations, but three additional, excellent authors were invited to contribute to this collection.

As a result, we are able to offer readers a volume of 13 articles that deal with a variety of topics ranging from architectural, urban issues and painting to fine art represented by glyptics and numismatics. The volume includes articles devoted to the publication of new objects, texts presenting iconographic research, deliberations on propaganda, and analyses of the political situation and source texts. Chronologically, some of the texts go beyond the age of August, yet are relevant to the understanding of the transformations that took place in art and architecture during the reign of the first princeps, the widely understood middle and late periods of the republic and the early Empire. The geographic scope of the presented texts covers the entire territory of the Empire. This diverse topic allows various research threads on the epoch of August to be presented from a broad perspective. We truly believe that our publication will constitute an important element in the mosaic, published in connection with the jubilee year 2014, of works devoted to Augustus and his era.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank the authors, as well as the reviewers and everyone who was involved in the conception and preparation of this publication. We would like to thank the following reviewers: Prof. Bartosz B. Awianowicz, Prof. Martin Henig, Dr Grzegorz Majcherek, Prof. Ernest Niemczyk, Prof. Patrizio Pensabene, Dr hab. Monika Rekowska, Prof. Alessandro Roccati, Prof. Joachim Śliwa, Dr Klaus Vondrovec. We would like to express our gratitude to Marcin Lubecki and Katarzyna Migdał for typesetting and formatting the articles for printing, and to Steven Jones for proofreading and translation. Special thanks go to Prof. Rafał Czerner for his exhaustive help and invaluable advice in preparing this publication and for the cover design.

Thank you very much to the publishing house Archaeopress for publishing our book. For the organisational and financial support of the conference and the publication, we would also like to take this opportunity to thank the Dean of the Faculty of History, Prof. Jan Święch, the former and current directors of the Institute of Archeology of the Jagiellonian University respectively, Prof. Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz and Prof. Paweł Valde-Nowak and the Director of the Centre for Comparative Studies of Civilisations at the Jagiellonian University, Prof. Marta Kudelska. We would like to thank the former director of the National Museum in Krakow, Zofia Gołubiew, for providing lecture rooms in the Emeryk Hutten-Czapski Museum. The Director of Livia's villa, Dr Marina Piranomonte, deserves a special mention for her permission to include a part of a mural from the Villa of Livia on the front cover. We are also grateful to Dr hab. Andrzej Betlej, the current Director of the National Museum in Krakow, for his permission to use the photograph of a gem from the former collection of Konstantyn Schmidt-Ciążyński on the cover of our publication.

Grażyna Bąkowska-Czerner
Jarosław Bodzek

IMP XV/SICIL – The debate over the Augustus golden *quaternio* of Pompeii

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Abstract

The ideological importance of Augustus' medallion with the legend IMP XV SICIL and the presentation of Diana on its reverse side, discovered in 1759, in Pompeii, is still the subject of scientific discussions. The aim of this article is a re-analysis of this medallion and an attempt to answer the question about the idea that the *quaternio* was supposed to commemorate or spread. The medallion is often analysed and interpreted in the context of the coins in circulation from the same mint in Lugdunum, but minted earlier than the *quaternio*, in the years 15-8 BC. They are assigned to Octavian's and Agrippa's victories from the thirties BC in the battles of Naulochus and Actium. Attention is focused on 'reviving' the topic of the victories at Naulochus and Actium, which took place after 16 BC and related to, among others, the atmosphere of *ludi saeculares* of 17 BC. According to most researchers, the symbolism of *quaternio* from Pompeii, like the earlier Lugdunum coins with Diana, applies to commemorating the role of the goddess in achieving Octavian's victory at Naulochus. This association is not the only one, although the most widespread interpretation. Sometimes, along with commemorating the victory at Naulochus and the role of Diana in achieving this victory, additional concepts were introduced. I think *quaternio* of Pompeii can be considered in terms of the timeless ideology of victory. Diana from the medallion of Pompeii – probably the same goddess to whom Octavian owed his victory over Sextus Pompeius – is in the Lugdunum coinage Diana in her new version, in line with the ideological meaning of *ludi saeculares*. The symbolism of the analysed medallion did not refer, in my opinion, to the single military victory, but rather emphasised Augustus' ideology of victory and his relationship with Diana, understood universally and timelessly.

Key words: Roman medallions; Diana; Augustus; Naulochus; Actium; *ludi saeculares*; ideology of victory

'La parola 'Medaglione' racchiude ed esprime quanto v'ha di più distinto, di più artistico, di più raro, di più aristocratico nella Numismatica Romana,' wrote Francesco Gnechi in the preface to his three-volume classic catalogue of Roman medallions, paying attention to the unique character of the numismatic objects which the study had been dedicated to (Gnechi 1912, iii). He also emphasised the rarity of the coins out of general use: 'I medaglioni sono tutti rari in genere e, meno poche eccezioni, rarissimi individualmente.'¹ Regardless of the kind of metal used, they were a sign of prestige in society even in antiquity,² whereas today they are of the greatest rarity and form the most elite part of numismatic collections. This is especially so in the case of golden medallions since they survived till the present days in far fewer numbers than silver or bronze specimens.³ Namely one such rarity, preserved in one copy only, is the golden medallion from the times of Augustus,⁴ discovered in the course of archaeological excavations in Pompeii in March 1759 along with other gold coins which had been issued in the early principate (from the reign of Augustus to Vespasian).⁵ From the beginning it has been part of the collection of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli,⁶ established in 1750 on the initiative and at the cost of the king of Spain, Charles III, of the House of Bourbon (Figure 1).

¹ On the rarity of medallions, see Gnechi 1912, l-liii.

² On medallions generally: Gnechi 1912, xxiii-liii; for the definition of medallions, see i.a. Gnechi 1912, xxxii-xxxvi; Toynbee 1986: 15-18; RIC 1², 8-9; Bursche 1998: 10-16; Mittag 2012: 13-21. Recently about the function of medallions, see Mittag 2012: 21-22.

³ On golden medallions in *Barbaricum*, see Bursche 1998.

⁴ Mittag, Aug 19 = RIC 1², 204 = PAH I, 87-88 = AdE II, introduction = Eckhel 1796: 116-117 = Coh. 177 = Bahrfeldt 237 = Gn. 1.3.1 = CBN 1677* = Simon, 60. Mint of Lugdunum(?), gold (aureus). Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Napoli, inventory number 3692; diameter 33,4mm; weight 30,88g (on the basis of Mittag 2012: 120). Khell 1765; Cesano 1934: 104-144; Gorini 1968: 43; Kienast 1999: 57.

⁵ PAH I, 87-88. For other objects found with the medallion, see Pagano and Prisciandaro 2006: 30. Recently in details about identification of the place of finding of this numismatic object and about the archaeological context: Cantilena 2010: 461-467. In their two-volume publication of 2006 Mario Pagano and Raffaele Prisciandaro (Pagano and Prisciandaro 2006) take the view that the medallion was discovered in *Casa di Diana* in Pompeii. See about it in Cantilena 2010: 472-473 (*addendum*).

⁶ Inventory number: 3692. With an interval between 1977 and 1980, when after a robbery it disappeared from the museum. It was luckily retrieved in Paris and since 2001 it has once again been displayed in the Neapolitan collection.

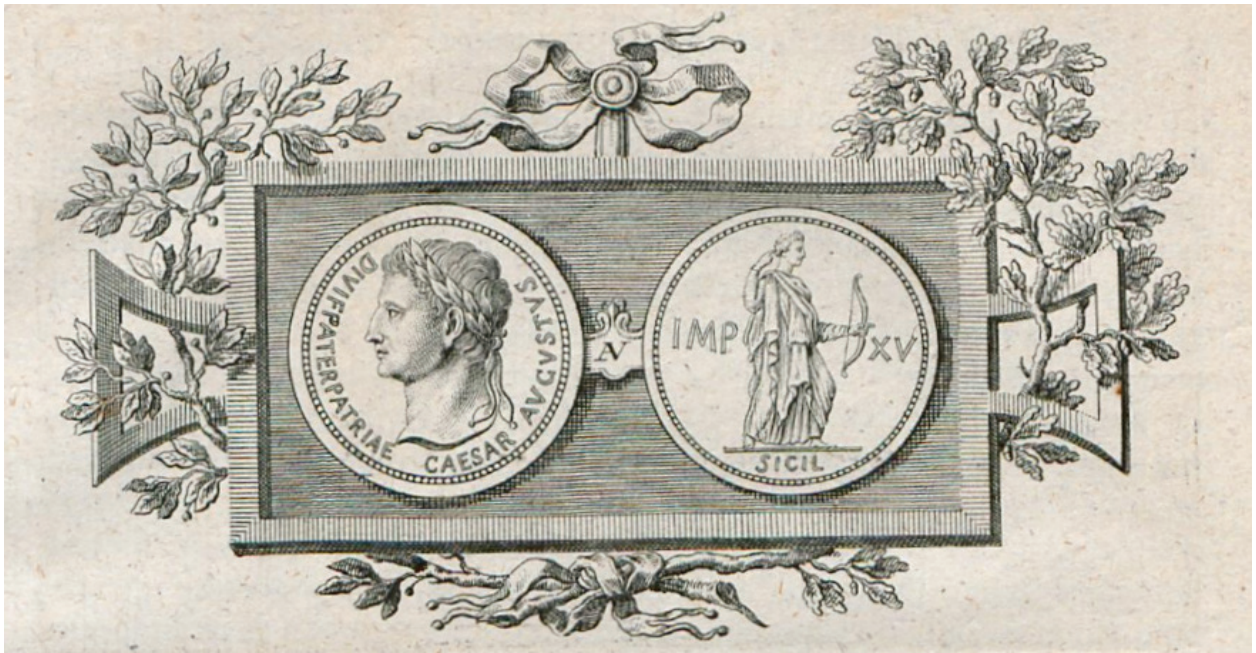


Figure 1. Drawing of the medallion. Reproduced from Khell 1765: 3

The obverse of the medallion depicts Augustus' head laurel-wreathed, turned to the left; the legend reads CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE. The reverse shows the hunting goddess Diana turned to the right in peplos, with a polos on her head. There is a bow in the goddess' outstretched left hand, while with her right hand she is taking an arrow from the quiver. Along with the iconography goes the legend IMP XV/SICIL (Figure 2). The medallion belongs to the group of golden *multipla*, that is, numismatic objects minted irregularly and existing out of regular use (cf. Cantilena 2010: 467), sporadically acknowledged as belonging to the period of the early empire, and particularly for the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Its value (*quaternio*) and weight (30,88g) are four times those of a standard aureus. It was struck between AD 2-3 (Cass. Dio 55.10a.7; Kienast 2011: 66) and 6⁷ in the imperial mint in Lugdunum.⁸

It is not an easy task to interpret the iconography of the medallion or its connection with legend. Many fundamental issues remain unsolved. Neither the circle of its receivers, nor the intention of the issuer and significance of the idea it was meant to convey are known. Possibly, like other numismatic specimens, it might have functioned as a gift, a kind of 'medal' (Trillmich 1988: 489) for the outstanding personages of the Imperial House or people originating from the military or administrative circles (Cantilena 2010: 459, footnote 2, 467; Mittag 2012: 32).⁹ Its uniqueness proves that it could have belonged to a member of some respected family, probably close to the imperial circles (Cantilena 2010: 471); its owner, although unidentified, must have been a Roman citizen of outstanding merit (Trillmich 1988: 489). The medallion must have been a sign of prestige for the person who was awarded it, and at the same time it emphasised the extraordinary, special position of the princeps.¹⁰ The iconography as well as the legends of the obverse

⁷ AD 6 is the year of the XVI acclamation of Augustus. Cass. Dio 55.28.5. Kienast 2011: 66. Cautious relative dating to AD 2-3 until 6 stems from the legend on the reverse – the number of the imperial acclamation of Augustus (IMP XV). I accept the dating of the acclamation after Kienast 2011: 66, and as the result of the latter, the relative chronology of embossing the medallion after Mittag 2012: 32. Other suggestions of the date when the medallion was embossed, which occur in the literature of the subject, resulted partly from the debate over the dates of individual acclamations of Augustus (see e.g. Gnechi 1912: 3; AD 5, Grant 1950: 24; c. AD 1-4; Toynbee 1986: 127). It happens that the medallion is dated strictly to the XV acclamation, i.e. to AD 2 (see i.a. Trillmich 1988: 489; CBN 52; 229; Cantilena 2010: 460; AD 2). See also Winckelmann 2011: 111: 9/8 BC (the same Wilson 1990: 291).

⁸ All catalogues enlist the medallion among numismatic objects struck in the mint in Lugdunum. See recently Mittag 2012: 31. In another way Giovanni Gorini, who speaks for an Eastern mint (Gorini 1968: 55).

⁹ On this subject but relating to the golden medallions from *Barbaricum*, see Bursche 1998; 2001: 83-102, esp. 95. Recently about the matter of imperial gifts in the Late Roman Empire, including *multipla*, Beyeler 2011. On the groups of receivers of art, including numismatic specimens, see Lummel 1991 (for the period of Augustus see Lummel 1991: 35-42).

¹⁰ On the golden *multipla* from the times of Augustus see Mittag 2012: 31-32.



Figure 2. Gold medallion of Augustus from Pompeii, the imperial mint at Lugdunum, (AD 2 or 3-6?), diameter 33,4mm, weight 30,88g. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, inv. number 3692. Photo Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples

and reverse sides are the most controversial; although simple in their form, they are highly ambiguous as far as their interpretation is concerned. The reflections in this article are aimed at a reconsideration of Augustus' golden medallion and are an attempt to answer the question about the idea which the object was meant to commemorate or disseminate.

The medallion with Diana¹¹ has been analysed and interpreted within the framework of discussions over the coins in general use, *aurei* and *denarii*, struck earlier than the *quaternio*, that is, between 15 and 8 BC,

¹¹ Recently about Diana in Augustian mintage, possible artistic prototypes or equivalents (Iulia?) of this goddess, with literature of the subject and the debate: Küter 2014: 239-243. Cf. also Jentoft-Nilsen 1985.

in the same, newly opened imperial mint in Lugdunum.¹² They bore particular numbers of Augustus' imperial acclamations (IMP X, IMP XI, IMP XII, IMP XIII) and contain references to various images: Diana,¹³ Apollo,¹⁴ a bull,¹⁵ one or two legionaries passing a laurel branch to Augustus sitting on the podium (RIC 1², Aug. 162a-165b (IMP X, 15-13 BC)), Capricorn holding the globe (RIC 1², Aug. 174 (IMP XI, 12 BC)), Victoria sitting on the globe (RIC 1², Aug. 184 (IMP XII, 11-10 BC)) or Augustus sitting on the podium, having an infant introduced to him (RIC 1², Aug. 200 (IMP XIII, 8 BC)). Special attention has been paid particularly to those issues that have the images of Diana and Apollo, because of their similarity as far as the iconographic order of the reverse and legends are concerned. These types are signed with the tenth, eleventh and twelfth acclamations of Augustus, as well as the legends SICIL and ACT accordingly (see e.g. Gabrici 1905: 182-198; Kraft 1969: 25-29; Jucker 1982: 82-100; Simon 1984: 826, no. 228). Most researchers, headed by Harold Mattingly among others, considered the aforementioned issues as a set and saw them as a kind of parallel. Therefore, they ascribed the issues with Diana and Apollo to the theme of the victories of Octavian and Agrippa from the 30s BC, in the Battles of Naulochus and Actium (cf. i.a. Khell 1765; Eckhel 1796: 93-94; Mattingly 1926, cxv-cxvi; Pace 1926: 91-94; Sutherland 1951: 66-67; Grant 1954: 75).¹⁶ Towards the end of the 1960s, Konrad Kraft introduced significant aspects to this polemic. Although the latter put the discussed issues and the thesis about their associations with both naval battles in a section entitled 'Offene Fragen (IMP X-XII),' eventually he accepted the existing thesis. He went further in his interpretations, claiming, in regard to the issue with an image of a bull, that this animal symbolized the god Mars, i.e. the Roman army, and commemorated the earliest of the great battles of the age of the civil wars, fought at Philippi.¹⁷ Thus, these three series – with a bull, Diana and Apollo – would reflect the victorious battles of Philippi, Naulochus and Actium. The view of connecting Diana and Apollo with both naval battles of Octavian has become firmly established in the literature, primarily due to the epithets of both the goddess and the god depicted on the reverse sides: SICIL and ACT.¹⁸ On the contrary, the attractive thesis by Kraft about the bull and its alleged reference to Philippi has not been

¹² The debate over the dating of these coins, described by Dietrich Mannsperger (1974: 939) as 'Triumphalprägungen,' and identification of the mint, has lasted a long time. Its summary with reference to the history of the discussion and report of the coins, see e.g. Simon 1993: 8-13, 89-101.

¹³ IMP X (15-13 BC): RIC 1², Aug. 172 = CBN 1391; RIC 1², Aug. 173a = BMC 463; RIC 1², Aug. 173b = BMC 464; RIC 1², Aug. 175. IMP XI (12 BC): RIC 1², Aug. 175. IMP XII (11-10 BC): RIC 1², Aug. 181; RIC 1², Aug. 182 = CBN 1414; RIC 1², Aug. 183 = BMC 487; RIC 1², Aug. 194a = BMC 488; RIC 1², Aug. 194B = CBN 1428; 195 = CBN 1427 = Trillmich 360. The coins are decorated with two different types of standing Diana – static, in a short hunting tunic, leaning on a spear, with a bow in her hand and a dog sitting at her feet (IMP X (15-13 BC) – Diana: RIC 1², Aug. 172 = CBN 1391; RIC 1², Aug. 173a = BMC 463; RIC 1², Aug. 173b = BMC 464; RIC 1², Aug. 175. Apollo: RIC 1², Aug. 170 = BMC 459; RIC 1², Aug. 171a = BMC 461; RIC 1², Aug. 171B = BMC 134. IMP XI (12 BC) – Diana: RIC 1², Aug. 175. IMP XII (11-10 BC) – Diana: RIC 1², Aug. 181; RIC 1², Aug. 182 = CBN 1414; RIC 1², Aug. 183 = BMC 487; RIC 1², Aug. 194a = BMC 488; RIC 1², Aug. 194B = CBN 1428; RIC 1², Aug. 195 = CBN 1427. Apollo: RIC 1², Aug. 179 = CBN 1417; RIC 1², Aug. 180 = BMC 478; RIC 1², Aug. 190a = CBN 1429; RIC 1², Aug. 191 = BMC 480; RIC 1², Aug. 192a = BMC 481; RIC 1², Aug. 192b = BMC 485; RIC 1², Aug. 193a = BMC 484; RIC 1², Aug. 193B = BMC 486; or dynamic, in a long drapery (peplos), with polos on her head, holding a bow in her outstretched hand and reaching for an arrow to the quiver on her back (the latter motif must have served in the Lugdunum mint for embossing the *quaternio* discussed here) (IMP XII (11-10 BC) – Diana: RIC 1², Aug. 196 = BMC 489 = Trillmich 361; RIC 1², Aug. 197a = BMC 490; RIC 1², Aug. 197b).

¹⁴ IMP X (15-13 BC): RIC 1², Aug. 170 = BMC 459 = Trillmich 362; RIC 1², Aug. 171a = BMC 461; RIC 1², Aug. 171B = BMC 134. IMP XII (11-10 BC): RIC 1², Aug. 179 = CBN 1417; RIC 1², Aug. 180 = BMC 478; RIC 1², Aug. 190a = CBN 1429; RIC 1², Aug. 191 = BMC 480; RIC 1², Aug. 192a = BMC 481 = Trillmich 363; RIC 1², Aug. 192b = BMC 485; RIC 1², Aug. 193a = BMC 484; RIC 1², Aug. 193B = BMC 486. See i.a. Pace 1926: 91-94; Jucker 1982; Simon 1993: 89-101; Lange 2009: 34, footnote 59; Küter 2014: 204 as well as cf. footnote 1576.

¹⁵ IMP X: RIC 1², Aug. 166a = BMC 450; RIC 1², Aug. 166b = BMC 454; RIC 1², Aug. 167a = BMC 451; RIC 1², Aug. 167b = BMC 455; RIC 1², Aug. 168 = BMC 457; RIC 1², Aug. 169 = BMC 458; IMP XII: RIC 1², Aug. 176a = BMC 468; RIC 1², Aug. 176b; RIC 1², Aug. 177 = BMC 475; RIC 1², Aug. 178a = BMC 476; RIC 1², Aug. 178b; RIC 1², Aug. 186a = BMC 471; RIC 1², Aug. 186b; RIC 1², Aug. 187a = BMC 474; RIC 1², Aug. 187b; RIC 1², Aug. 188a = BMC 477; RIC 1², Aug. 188b; RIC 1², Aug. 189a = CBN 1422; RIC 1², Aug. 189b = CBN 1424. Issues with the depiction of a bull are dated back to 15-13 and 11-10 BC.

¹⁶ Cf. also Gabrici 1905, who, along with the thesis about the commemorating of Naulochus and Actium, pays attention to the fact that by means of the aforementioned issues it was possible to refer to the cults then popular in southern France. About the opinion that the coins were a gesture of Augustus towards Marcus Agrippa, who in 13 BC had his tribune power renewed, whereas a year later he died, see Sydenham 1968: 25; Fullerton 1985: 473-483; Fullerton 1990: 26. The victory at Naulochus: Livy, *Per.* 129; Vell. Pat. 2.79-81; Suet. Aug. 16; Flor. 2.18; App. B. Civ. 5.121; Oros. 6.18.29.

¹⁷ Kraft 1969: 230: 'Wir stellen nun die Behauptung auf, daß der stoßende Stier eine Anspielung auf den Sieg von Philippi enthalte, ähnlich wie das Bild der Diana auf den Sieg von Naulochus und das Bild des Apollo auf den Sieg von Actium Bezug nehmen.' The thesis by Kraft was accepted e.g. by Sutherland 1976: 48: 'The butting bull [...] might conceivably represent the Latin Mars, i.e. the Roman army, but more probably symbolizes the great river Rhone;' *contra* to his concept about a bull being the representation of the river Rhone – Mannsperger 1991: 387-388, footnote 90; Sutherland and Carson 1984: 28 (with question mark); Trillmich 1988: 488; Simon 1993: 100; Gurval 1995: 287; Zanker 2003: 227.

¹⁸ Including Sutherland 1976: 48: 'Other types looked back to the victories of Naulochus in 36 (Diana SICIL(iensis) and Actium in 31 (Apollo ACT(ius))).' See also Sutherland 1976: 105; Jucker 1982: 84-85; Sutherland, Carson 1984: 28; Raaflaub, Bowersock, 1990: 347; Mannsperger 1991: 387-388; Simon 1993: 89-101; Zanker 2003: 227; Giuliano 2001: 17-24; Lange 2009: 34, footnote 59: 'in 15-10 BC, coins from Lugdunum celebrated the naval victory of Naulochus with Diana the Huntress and underneath the legend 'SICIL'.' See also Lange 2009: 198; Mittag 2012: 32: 'Seit 15 v. Chr. wurden in Lyon Edelmetallmünzen geprägt, die Diana zeigen und Bezug auf die Schlacht von Naulochus nehmen.' Footnote 80 on the same page contains a similar opinion referring to the battle of Actium, to which Apollo Actius was to make references on coins of the same issues; Küter 2014: 204-211 (emphasising the issues with Apollo); Rich 2014: 148; Györi 2014: 45-46 (here also the concept stating that issues of Lugdunum could have reflect ideas and patterns of Seleucid mintage).

accepted by other researchers (Kraft's latter suggestion was criticised¹⁹).²⁰ In respect of the thesis about the commemoration of the famous naval battles of Octavian by means of the recalling of the images of the divine siblings of Diana and Apollo, some researchers point out that these symbolic references are astonishingly delayed (see i.a. Kraft 1969: 226; Jucker 1982: 85; Gurval 1995: 287-288; Rich 2014: 148 and footnote 50). Attention has been drawn to the 'revival' of the matter of the victories at Naulochus and Actium, which occurred after 16 BC. It was aimed at reminding the past deeds of Augustus²¹ and also at the uplifting atmosphere of *ludi saeculares* in 17 BC. The latter might have influenced the perception of both deities as well as both the battles which were associated with them, and as a consequence corresponding themes occurred in the mintage (cf. e.g. Mannsperger 1991: 387-388. Cf. Lange 2009: 198). It must be stated, though, that all the issues from Lugdunum which bear particular numbers of the imperial acclamations of Augustus, contain a kind of symbolism that is not easy to interpret unambiguously today.²²

According to most researchers, the symbolism of the *quaternio* from Pompeii, just as the earlier Lugdunum coins with Diana, was to commemorate the importance of the goddess in Octavian's victory in the battle fought near Naulochus, off the coast of Sicily, on the 3rd of September 36 BC (EJ 51), over Sextus Pompey, son of Pompey the Great (cf. Mattingly 1923, cxv; Toynbee 1986: 127, 140; Raaflaub and Bowersock 1990: 347; Lange 2009: 178, footnote 85; Cantilena 2010: 471; Mittag 2012: 32; Rich 2014: 148). An interpretation of this kind is based on the inscription SICIL, which can be seen in the section of the coin underneath the depiction of Diana, as well as on an iconographic motif of the reverse of the medallion – the personification of Diana. Assuming that this inscription indicates the venue of Diana's veneration, one may dare to conclude that the medallion might have presented a local goddess, *Artemis Phacelitidis*, whose sanctuary was situated not far from Mylae.²³ Hardly ever does this deity occur in the sources, but she does appear in the context of the fight between the main adversaries of the conflict in 36. According to Appian and Cassius Dio, land operations, which were undertaken before the decisive naval battle, took place in the neighbourhood of a small settlement (*polichne*) called Artemision. One of several Sicilian sanctuaries of *Artemis Phacelitidis* was located there²⁴ (the precise location of the sanctuary remains unknown²⁵) (App. B. Civ. 5.116; 484; Cass. Dio 49.8.1; 49.8.3). In the opinion of Olivier Hekster and John Rich, the proximity of Artemision could indeed have influenced the association of Artemis/Diana with the victory of Octavian. Thus, it cannot be excluded that one of his legates, Lucius Cornificius, future consul (35 BC), commanding a part of the fleet and land forces, was induced to restore the temple of Diana on the Aventine. The temple had already originated in the kings' times (it is associated with King Servius Tullius) and was the main sanctuary of this deity in Rome (Hekster and Rich 2006: 154).²⁶ The potential connection of Artemis/Diana with the victory of Octavian and Agrippa is also indicated by the coins, especially by the somewhat later (in relation to the battle, as originated c. in 29-27 BC) aureus with an image of Diana on the obverse (which may be a reflection of her cult status (Wilson 1990: 290)) and the schematic representation of the temple (*tetrastylus?*) on the reverse.²⁷ Inside the shrine a sea trophy is represented, *triskeles*, symbol of

¹⁹ See e.g. Jucker 1982: 85; Morawiecki 2014: 199-200 (here also the summary of the discussion); recently Küter 2014: 204-205, footnote 1576.

²⁰ Other hypotheses referring to the meaning of images with a bull: Blanchet 1947; Sutherland 1951: 67; Ritter 1982: 365-370; Jucker 1982: 85; Morawiecki 2014: 199-200.

²¹ For example Sutherland, Carson 1984: 28; Toynbee 1986: 127, 140; Simon 1993: 99-101; Lange 2009: 178: 'There was a revival around that time, with coins showing the victory of Actium and Naulochus,' Lange 2009: 178, footnote 87: 'Perhaps this revival was meant to remind the Romans of the past deeds of Augustus,' Lange 2009: 198.

²² The vagueness of Michael Grant's view must have stemmed from similar doubts. This researcher noticed in the Lugdunum issues something that he described in a Pythian way as 'complex symbolism' (Grant 1949: 22-35). A similar opinion was shared by Carol H.V. Sutherland. In the publication of 1947, he stressed that the types of Lugdunum were mostly simple in form but inexplicit and ambiguous in content (Sutherland 1947: 56: 'For the best part of a decade the types of Lyons were [...] stereotyped in character and often vague in their suggestive content.'

²³ For more about the attempts to identify the statues and places of veneration of Artemis/Diana in Sicily, see Wilson 1990: 290-291, footnote 73; Giuliano 2001; Fischer-Hansen 2009: 215-228. The goddess was known in Rome at least a century before the Octavian's times (see Sil. 14.260, who used Lucilius 102-104. On the worship of *Artemis Phacelitidis*, see Pace 1926: 85-93; Fischer-Hansen 2009: 224-228.

²⁴ The epithet of the goddess derives from a word *phakeloi*, meaning a bundle of willow twigs or reed; Orestes is said to make use of such to hide the worshipped representation of the goddess (Fischer-Hansen 2009: 225). The origins of the veneration of *Artemis Phacelitidis* are usually placed in the tradition of mythical Orestes, who was the one to establish this cult in Sicily. Places of the goddess' worship in Sicily: Rhegion, Lipari, Tyndaris, Mylae. More about it recently: Fischer-Hansen 2009: 224-227.

²⁵ Wilson 1990: 290, 409, footnote 73 (with the reference to the literature); Fischer-Hansen 2009: 227 and footnote 109. Vibius Sequester, the Roman author of the turn of the 4th century, in his work entitled *De fluminibus, fontibus, lacubus, nemoribus, paludibus, montibus, gentibus per litteras libellus* 124, informs that next to the temple of Diana ran the river *Phalinus*: 'Phacelinus, Siciliae, iuxta Peloridem, confinis templo Dianae.'

²⁶ On the restoration of *templum Dianae* on the Aventine by L. Cornificius, see Suet. *Aug.* 29.5; cf. CIL VI 4305 = ILS 1732. About the temple, see Livy 1.45; Zonar. 7.9; Aur. Vict. *De vir. ill.* 7.9.

²⁷ Pierre Assenmaker thinks that this is one of the temples of Diana. However, it is difficult to resolve which one: on the Aventine Hill, from the

Sicily, in the tympanum, whereas the inscription IMP CAESAR is placed on the frieze (RIC 1², Aug. 273 = BMC 643 = Bahrfeldt 110 = CBN 91 = Trillmich 324 = Simon 44 (31-27 BC)).²⁸ The religious consequences of the battle of Naulochus were also significant for defining the connection between Diana and Augustus, as well as for the interpretation of the iconography of the medallion. Most probably in 36, in the same year that he made the decision to build the temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill (Cass. Dio 49.15.5; Vell. Pat. 2.81.3; Suet. Aug. 29.3.),²⁹ Octavian also decided about the construction of the temple of Diana. The studies by Filippo Coarelli on the architectonic remains in the Circus Flaminius showed that the aforementioned temple had been erected exactly there and replaced the earlier shrine in honour of this deity, which had already been built in the 2nd century BC (Coarelli 1968: 191-209). Of some importance might also be the fact that this temple of Diana, vowed in 187 and dedicated in 179, was erected by Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (Livy 39.2.8; 40.52.1), consul of 187 and 175 and great-grand father of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, triumvir, and the last highest priest of the Roman republic (*pontifex maximus*).³⁰ Robert Palmer sees the reconstruction of the temple of Artemis/Diana in Rome by Octavian as an act of political symbolism (Palmer 1978: 324-328). The temple of the goddess was once built by the great ancestor of the triumvir Marcus Lepidus and renewed in 36 by Octavian. Apart from being a visual symbol of the victory over Pompeii, it was meant to be a sign of the end of the political influence of the *Lepidii* family, for in the conflict between Octavian and Sextus Pompey, the triumvir Marcus Emilius Lepidus was an ally of the latter. Accused of a lack of loyalty and an attempt at laying claim to power, he was sent by Octavian into exile to Circeo (today San Felice Circeo). The restoration of the temple of Diana, once erected by Emilius Lepidus' ancestor, would have meant the adoption of the veneration of Diana by Octavian, and thus depriving the Lepidii family of that privilege.

Linking the medallion with the commemoration of Diana's role in the victory at Naulochus is not the only, although the most disseminated, way of interpretation. Sometimes, along with the thesis about the commemoration of the victory at Naulochus and Diana's function in this achievement, additional concepts have been introduced. Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee published, in 1944, one of the most important analytic monographs on the Roman medallions (reprinted in 1986). Not excluding the thesis about the commemoration of Naulochus (Toynbee 1986: 127, 140³¹), she proposed another possible interpretation. As the criterion for determining the historic context, she applied the number of Augustus' acclamation, which was connected with the armed operations carried out in the east of the empire at that time. Therefore, as the reason for embossing the medallion, the researcher considered also the commemoration of the Armenian fortress Artagira, surrendered to Augustus' grandson, Gaius Caesar, which resulted in quelling the uprising in Armenia (Toynbee 1986: 127).³² Michael Grant in his analyses in the study from 1950 was guided by the date of the fifteenth acclamation of Augustus too (Grant 1950: 24). The researcher was inspired by the series of other *multipla* struck at Augustus' own initiative most probably at the same time and dedicated to Gaius and Lucius Caesar. Both grandsons of Augustus are presented in togas with silver shields and spears. Next to these honorific attributes, the *simpulum* and *lituus* – symbols of the colleges of pontiffs to which they both belonged – are shown (RIC1², Aug. 205-215).³³ The researcher does not exclude the possibility that the discussed the medallion might have been struck with the same idea which initiated the issue of medallions with Lucius and Gaius, i.e. the thirtieth anniversary of *res publica*

Circus Flaminius, or from Sicily. For the summary of the debate along with the references to literature, see Assenmaker 2007: 172, footnote 58.

²⁸ The relation of the coin to the victory at Naulochus was emphasised by e.g. Taylor 1931: 131-132; Coarelli 1968: 191-209; Trillmich 1988: 507-508; Sutherland 1976: 52-53, footnote 87; Jucker 1982: 89-90; Wilson 1990: 290; Simon 1993: 94-95; Gurval 1995: 57-58 (who carefully points out that the origins and nature of this relationship remain unknown); Hekster and Rich 2006: 154-155; Assenmaker 2007: 171; Lange 2009: 34, 161, footnote 11. Otherwise, see Fuchs 1969: 40, in whose opinion *tropaeum* was devoted to Neptune ('Eine sinnvolle Verbindung des Gebäudes mit dem auf der Vorderseite der Münze angebrachten Bild der Diana läßt sich nicht entdecken'). For the dating, see recently Lange 2009: 34, footnote 59 and 161, footnote 11. For the summary of the discussion related to the identification depicted on the reverse of the temple, see Simon 1993: 95.

²⁹ As regards determining the moment of the devotion of this temple, the researchers do not share their opinions. Some consider that the decision of Octavian should be connected directly with the victorious battle of Naulochus (i.a. Zanker 2003: 58; Gros 1993: 54). *Contra* e.g. Gurval 1995: 113; Hekster and Rich 2006: 154 and footnote 25-26. As it can be concluded from the preserved sources, this temple was not a form of thanksgiving to Apollo for gaining victory at Naulochus. See Hekster nad Rich 2006: 154.

³⁰ About Marcus Emilius Lepidus, see e.g. Weigel 2002.

³¹ Cf. also Toynbee 1986: 206, where she expresses the hypothesis that the medallion with Diana could have been the pendant to the analogous one with Apollo (the latter has not been hitherto found).

³² For the success of Gaius Caesar, see Vell. Pat. 2.102; Flor. 2.32; Cass. Dio 55.10a.7. On the expedition of Gaius Caesar to the East, cf. recently Luther 2010: 103-127.

³³ Legend of the reverse: C L CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT.

restituta. In his opinion, the medallion could have had something in common with Tiberius assuming command in Gallia in AD 4. Other researchers in turn suggest that the iconography of the medallion was meant to evoke a wider response and to commemorate, namely, the veneration of Diana in Sicily (Wilson 1990: 290-291). Jocelyn Toynbee pays attention to the fact that reference to the goddess by Augustus was to serve the confirmation of the hegemony of Italy on the one hand, and the acknowledgment of Diana by Augustus as the second tutelary deity, besides Apollo, on the other (Toynbee 1986: 127, 140).

As for the *quaternio* from Pompeii, the following questions appear concerning the issuer's motivation and the meaning of the inscription accompanying Diana, that is, SICIL. Need it have been only a reference to the victorious battle of Naulochus and the role of Diana in this achievement? Can the medallion be viewed merely in the light of the battle fought years earlier and the civil wars? What was the reason for fixing in people's minds the memory of the victory gained in the fratricidal wars and, what is more, over such a troublesome enemy as Sextus Pompey was for Octavian? To tell the truth, this victory made it impossible for Pompey to continue the war, and Octavian celebrated the day of the 13th of November 36 BC with *ovatio* granted to him by the senate.³⁴ Nevertheless, despite the great prestige connected with this form of triumph, he did not flaunt the name of the loser. In his autobiography he mentioned this clash curtly as a war against pirates and slavers; neither did he mention the name of his adversary.³⁵ It is characteristic that in the mintage contemporary to these events – i.e. from the year 36 BC – Octavian did not cite Diana.³⁶ In such circumstances the 'heating up,' with the help of the medallion or earlier issues with Diana, of nothing else but the victory at Naulochus or the responsibility of Diana in this success, does not seem to offer Augustus any real benefit whatsoever as far as his image is concerned. Taking into consideration the new realities (after 27 BC and especially after 17 BC), this sudden turn to Diana Siciliensis must provoke discussion.³⁷ Carol H.V. Sutherland was right to note in his works published in 1947 and 1951 in relation just to the coins themselves, that the types from Lugdunum, bearing the inscriptions ACT and SICIL, happened to lose their original message meanwhile and gain some completely different one in the new reality.³⁸ At the end of the 1980s, Lesław Morawiecki in his study on charismatic power, also made references to the issues of the Lugdunum coins in circulation. He categorically emphasised the cosmic nature of both deities and expressed the opinion that the 'Lugdunum issues with images of Apollo Actius and Diana Siciliensis cannot be separated from this universal atmosphere and be bound only with the commemoration of victorious but fratricidal battles. With their solar significance, Diana and Apollo referred to the mystic atmosphere of *ludi saeculares* and recalled their protection over the future fate of Rome' (Morawiecki 2014: 202; see widely on pages 197-205). A few years later Robert Gurval, in the context of monetary issues as well, considering the role of Apollo, wrote about the 'new and more glorified status of the naval victory' (cf. also Gurval 1995: 90). Walter Trillmich made a compelling argument to perceive both these issues and the medallion with Diana in a similar spirit. The researcher considered the battles commemorated by these numismatic items as a part of 'Gründungsmythos des augusteischen Prinzipats.'³⁹ On one hand, I decidedly share the reserve and balanced judgement of Barbara Simon, who in her study from 1993 established in relation to the *multiplum* that neither the occasion for reciting Diana nor the connection of iconography with the legend IMP XV could be determined.⁴⁰ On the other

³⁴ *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1.569 = EJ 34; RG 4.1; Suet. *Aug.* 22; App. BC 5.130; Cass. Dio 49.15.1-6. See Humphrey and Reinhold 1984: 60-62; Balbuza 2005: 70-71.

³⁵ RG 25.1: 'Mare pacavi a praedonibus. Eo bello servorum qui fugerant a dominis suis et arma contra rem publicam ceperant, triginta fere milia capta dominis ad supplicium sumendum tradidi.' RG 25.2: 'Iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua et me be[lli], quo vici ad Actium, ducem depoposcit.'

³⁶ Before 31 BC there was an issue of silver *quinarii* (dated back to 36) from the military mint of southern or central Italy, which might have directly referred to the victory at Naulochus. The obverse shows a galley and an inscription IMP CAESAR, while the reverse depicts the goddess Victoria with a wreath, rudder and palm branch (Italian mint, *quinarius*, RIC 1, *Aug.* 9 = RSC 94. Coin not in RRC). For other numismatic commemorations of the battle of Naulochus see e.g. Simon 1993: 89-101; Gurval 1995: 57; Assenmaker 2007: 170-177.

³⁷ Rich (2014: 148) both in relation to the coins from Lugdunum in general use and to the medallion with Diana: 'issues from Lugdunum [...] show Apollo and Diana in an explicit and strangely belated celebration of the victories at Actium and Naulochus.'

³⁸ Sutherland 1947: 55, footnote 32: 'even ACT(ium) and SICIL(ia) were words which, repeated indefinitely, would lose their original magic;' Sutherland 1951: 66-67: 'Apollo and Diana looked to Actium and Naulochus: only lately the Secular Games had emphasized the new importance which Augustus had assigned to them as 'young' deities.'

³⁹ Trillmich 1988: 489: 'inzwischen hatten jene Ereignisse an Aktualität in der Erinnerung der Menschen verloren, aber dafür an Ewigkeitswert gewonnen. Sie gehörten jetzt zum Gründungsmythos des augusteischen Prinzipats, und ihre symbolische Darstellung auf Münzen und Medaillen schmückte gleichsam wie Reliefs den Sockel des Denkmals, zu dem die Figur des Augustus bereits zu Lebzeiten ausgestaltet wurde.'

⁴⁰ Simon 1993: 101: 'Ein spezifischer Anlaß für die Wiederaufnahme des Bildes der Diana oder ein Zusammenhang mit der Legende IMP XV läßt sich nicht erkennen.'

hand, I see the medallion taking into account the religious, cultural and political realities of the times it was embossed and must have been imbedded in. Therefore, I agree that like the earlier Lugdunum issues it should be discussed in the context of the epoch of the golden age which was inaugurated by Augustus in 17 BC by means of *ludi saeculares*. Already before 27 BC, but to the greater extent in 17 BC, the celebrations of *ludi saeculares* began not only the change of Augustus' political style but also the transformation of the imperial visual language as well as the process of the shaping of the new, peaceful, and at the same time cosmic nature of the deities – Diana and Apollo (cf. Gurval 1995: 89-90 and footnote 6, as well as 278-279).⁴¹ Even if these deities once favoured Octavian to be successful at Naulochus and Actium, after 27 BC they acquired different semantics – after all in accordance with the general tendency initiated by Augustus. The evolution accomplished in this respect was best reflected in a song of the ages (*carmen saeculare*) by Horace which was performed in front of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill during the *ludi saeculares*. The first imploring words of the choir were directed namely to the pair of the divine offspring of Latona (EJ 30-33; Zanker 2003: 172-177; Price 1996: 834-837; Schnegg-Kohler 2002).⁴² The choir asks the deities associated with the corresponding Uranic deities, Luna and Sol, who administer the cosmic order, for their protection over Rome and the following generations. These deities were given the task accordingly to the contemporary, strictly peaceful trend. One of the fundamental senses of the *ludi saeculares*, achieved by reminding about the founding act of *Urbs*, was the idea of eternity (*aeternitas*), which stemmed from the deep belief that Rome and the Roman power would last forever. It is worth noting here that it was precisely during the epoch of Augustus that the ideology advocating the eternity of *Urbs*, Roman power and the princeps himself became established.⁴³

In my opinion, the *quaternio* from Pompeii can be also considered in terms of the timeless ideology of winning which was faithful to the rhetoric of the period after 17 BC. According to this ideology past successes in civil wars, including the victory over the son of Pompey the Great, consisted of the element of the foundation myth of the principate, as was once aptly expressed by Walter Trillmich. As far as the iconography and wording of the legend of the reverse are concerned, two subjects should be taken into account: an imperial acclamation, as well as an image of the goddess Diana, connected with her veneration on Sicily and her role in winning the naval victory in 36 BC. The scientists who analysed the medallion rightly paid attention to the number of imperial acclamations of Augustus seen on the reverse. After all, it is visible on all the coins previously mentioned from the Lugdunum mint which are earlier than the medallion with Diana. Although such diversified images and symbols can be observed on these coins, it is the numbers of acclamations – the symbol of military victory – that they have in common. This fact as well as some iconographic patterns, used both in the cases of the coins and the medallion from Pompeii, are more or less directly related to the universally defined idea of victory. Diana, Apollo and Victoria are the patron deities of Octavian/Augustus in various military undertakings. The sphere of victory is associated also with the remaining images and symbols that can be found on the coins. On the other hand, I believe that the Diana depicted on the medallion from Pompeii – most likely the same goddess who Octavian owed his victory over Sextus Pompey to – is Diana shown in a new and different way in the Lugdunum mintage. Her nature was shaped by the timeless atmosphere of the *ludi saeculares*, which gave the divine offspring of Latona new clothes and new meaning. The new language of the symbols and new rhetoric offered the idea of victory a more general and timeless dimension. Thus the image from the *multiplum* – to my conviction – carried a deeper message. In its symbolic dimension it exceeded the individual victory at Naulochus, emphasising the timeless and universally comprehended Augustus' ideology of victory as well as his connection with the tutelary deity;⁴⁴ therefore, the infinite duration of himself and Rome was to be guaranteed.

⁴¹ About the new role and new status of Apollo after 31 BC e.g. Zanker 2003: 90-96.

⁴² Hor. *Carm. saec.* 1.4: 'Phoebe silvarumque potens Diana, / lucidum caeli decus, o colendi / semper et culti, datae quae precamur tempore sacro.'

⁴³ It can be confirmed by the Augustan poets, for instance, or by the Spanish coins issued by Tiberius at Tarraco and Emerita in commemoration of Augustus' consecration. More, Balbuza 2014a; 2014b.

⁴⁴ Cf. Toynbee 1986: 140, who pays attention also to the fact that such acceptance of Diana as one of the tutelary deities was of great importance for these subsequent emperors, who created their image as new Augustuses, and which guaranteed Italy authority over the rest of empire. A situation like this occurred during the reign of Hadrian as well as the reign of Antoninus Pius.

List of abbreviations

AdE	Bayardi O. A. (ed.) 1757-1765. <i>Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano Esposte I-IV</i> . Napoli; 1767-1792. <i>Della antichità di Ercolano V-VIII</i> . Napoli.
Bahrfeldt	von Bahrfeldt M. 1923. <i>Die römische Goldmünzenprägung während der Republik und unter Augustus</i> . Halle (=Aalen ² 1972).
BMC	Mattingly H. (ed.) 1923 (1965 ²). <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum 1</i> . London.
CBN	Giard J.-B. (ed.) 1976. <i>Catalogue des monnaies de l'empire romain 1: Auguste</i> . Paris.
Coh.	Cohen H. (ed.) 1880-1892. <i>Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain 1-8</i> . Paris.
Eckhel	Eckhel I. (ed.) 1828. <i>Doctrina numorum veterum 2. De Moneta Romanorum 6: Numos imperatorios a Iulio Caesare usque ad Hadrianum eiusque familiam</i> . Vindobonae.
EJ	Ehrenberg V. and Jones A. H. M. (eds) 1955 ² . <i>Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius</i> . Oxford (reprinted with addenda 1976).
Gn.	Gnecchi F. 1912. <i>I medaglioni romani descritti ed illustrati da Francesco Gnecchi 2</i> . Milano.
Inscr. Ital.	Degrassi A. (ed.) 1963. <i>Inscriptiones Italiae 13</i> . Roma.
Küter	Küter A. 2014. <i>Zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit. Die Münzmeisterprägung unter Augustus</i> . Berlin.
Simon	Simon B. 1993. <i>Die Selbstdarstellung des Augustus in der Münzprägung und in den Res Gestae</i> . Hamburg.
Mittag	Mittag P. F. 2012 ² . <i>Römische Medaillons. Caesar bis Hadrian</i> . Stuttgart.
PAH I	Fiorelli G. (ed.) 1860. <i>Pompeianarum antiquitatum historia: quam ex cod. mss. et a schedis diurnisque R. Alcubierre, C. Weber, M. Cixia, I. Corcoles, I. Perez-Conde, F. et P. La Vega, R. Amicone, A. Ribav, M. Arditi, N. D'Apuzzo ceteror / quae in publicis aut privatis bibliothecis servantur nunc primum collegit indicibusque instruxit Ios. Fiorelli 1</i> . Napoli.
RIC 1	Mattingly H. and Sydenham E. A. (eds) 1923. <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage 1: Augustus to Vitellius</i> . London.
RIC 1 ²	Sutherland C. H. V. and Litt D. (eds) 1984. <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage 1²: From 31 BC to AD 69</i> . London.
RRC	Crawford M. H. (ed.) 1974. <i>Roman Republican Coins</i> . London.
RSC	Seaby H. A. (ed.) 1952. <i>Roman Silver Coins 1</i> . London.
Trillmich	Trillmich W. 1988. Münzpropaganda. In Heilmeyer W. D. (ed.), <i>Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik. Eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin 7. Juni-14. August 1988: 474-528</i> . Mainz.

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