

REVUE NUMISMATIQUE

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# The Aurea Aetas and Octavianic/Augustan Coinage

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*Abstract: Octavianic/Augustan coins connected with the aurea aetas introduce and incorporate symbols of Hellenistic divine monarchy into Roman coinage. Coin types such as the sidus Iulium, cornucopia, Capricorn as well as Aion Plutonium, Apollo, and Diana represent a saeculum novum. A survey of these types shows that this iconography was greatly influenced by Hellenistic artistic media. Many of these Hellenistic images also advertised the advent of a new age. The concept of a Golden Age clearly had roots in Hellenistic monarchy; and so, these Octavianic/Augustan coins reflect these origins.*

## 1. Introduction

Augustan coins connected to the so-called *aurea aetas* introduce and incorporate symbols of Hellenistic divine monarchy into Roman coinage. Numerous Octavianic/Augustan coins depict types, such as the *sidus Iulium*, cornucopia, Capricorn, and Apollo, that represent the concept of an *aurea aetas*. Such iconography was also employed in Hellenistic visual media. These images can be found on Hellenistic coins, sculpture, or reliefs and also advertise the advent of a Golden Age.

These Octavianic/Augustan coin types are not necessarily innovative, but follow the seemingly already established Octavianic/Augustan trend to employ Hellenistic motifs. There are numerous debts of Late Republican coins to Hellenistic coinage. The Octavianic CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series of c. 32-27 BC should be characterized in a “Hellenistic monarchic” tradition. Late Republican promagistrates and generals styled themselves in the tradition of the various modes of representing Hellenistic monarchs. In the same way, Octavian styles himself in a myriad of roles: as a military commander, world conquerer, founder, and triumphator.<sup>1</sup> The Roman concept of an *aurea aetas* clearly had roots in Hellenistic monarchy. The reign of a Hellenistic monarch was often equated to a prosperous, golden age. Some Ptolemaic kings were even portrayed as Aion Plutonium, the deity of eternal time who brought back the return of the Golden Age. The Octavianic/Augustan coins depicting symbols of a *saeculum frugiferum* reflect these origins.

## 2. The aurea aetas in the age of Augustus

The concept of an Augustan *aurea aetas* essentially derives from Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*. In this *Eclogue*, written in 40 BC to celebrate Asinius Pollio's consulate, Virgil prophesizes the return of the Golden Age. The reign of Saturn has come back – *redeunt Saturnia regna*. Virgil envisions a golden age of Saturn based on agricultural labour that is preceded by a *durum genus* (the *ferrea gens*). He refers to Italy as *Saturnia tellus* in *Georgic* 2.173, implying the agricultural heritage of Rome where Saturn was at first an agricultural deity. Saturn created a civilized race by establishing laws and morals. Virgil writes in *Georgic* 2.536-538 that men enjoyed Iustitia during Saturn's reign. In *Aeneid* 6.794-796, it is said that Augustus will bring back a Golden Age to Latium, where Saturn once ruled – *Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet/saecula qui rursus Latio, regnata per*

<sup>1</sup> For the CAESAR DIVI F and IMP CAESAR series of c. 32—27 BC, see Győri 2012: 40-75.

*arva/Saturno quondam...*<sup>2</sup> This will be an age of prosperity and bliss, the *ultima aetas* of the Cumaean Sibyl that is ushered in by Apollo – *tuus iam regnat Apollo*. Here, Virgil cites a Sibylline oracle, written by an anonymous Greek, which states that the ages of the world were divided into ten *saecula*, each attributed to a specific metal and divine ruler. The tenth and final *saeculum* – this *ultima aetas* – was prophesized to be a Golden Age under the rule of Apollo. Apollo, an *augur* and god of healing, as Horace points out in *Carmen Saeculare* 61-64, was the patron of Octavian/Augustus. The *nascens puer*, with whom this Golden Age begins, is not a mortal (e.g., Octavian or the expected son of Antony and Octavia), but the personification or symbol of a new age. This child, the bringer of blessings, is similar to the youthful Aion Plutonium. As will be discussed later, Aion, symbolizing the rebirth of the world, is portrayed more often than not as a young *kosmokrator*.<sup>3</sup>

This *novum saeculum aureum* was also said to have been foretold by the appearance of the *sidus Iulium*, the comet that appeared for seven days during the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* in July of 44 BC. The *sidus Iulium* was taken to represent Julius Caesar's apotheosis.<sup>4</sup> In *Eclogue* 9.46-49, Caesar is entering heaven as a star. His star so pleases nature that there is now widespread prosperity – an *aurea aetas*: *...quo segetes gauderent frugibus et quo/duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem*. On account of this very passage, Servius records the soothsayer Vulcanius' public declaration that the comet "signified the end of the ninth age and the beginning of the tenth."<sup>5</sup> In *Ode* 1.12.46, Horace writes: *micat inter omnis/Iulium sidus velut inter ignis/luna minores* [the Julian star shines among the other stars just as the Moon among lesser fires]. Pliny says that Octavian believed the comet was favourable for himself and that it contained his own birth in it. He also says that the comet made the world prosperous.<sup>6</sup> Octavian subsequently added a star to statues he erected of Caesar. For instance, a star was attached to the statue of Caesar set up in the Temple of Divus Iulius as well as on a statue of Caesar in the Temple of Venus Genetrix and yet on another statue of Caesar on the Capitoline.<sup>7</sup> It has even been reported that engraved the *sidus Iulium* on Octavian's helmet at the Battle of Actium.<sup>8</sup>

The *Ludi Saeculares* of 17 BC officially celebrated this Augustan *aurea aetas*. They were originally planned to take place in 23 BC, but were postponed because of Marcellus' untimely death. In 20 BC, the Roman battle standards lost to Parthia in 53, 40, and 36 BC were recovered. In 18-17 BC, Augustus passed many of his *leges Iuliae*.<sup>9</sup> Rome achieved a type of *pax Romana* with the diplomatic settlement of 20 BC and the social legislation initiated in 18-17 BC, and so, could advertise this new age of prosperity made possible only by *imperium* and moral reform. The Prima Porta statue expresses this link between conquest and *pax* perfectly: the upper zone of the cuirass shows Caelus (as the father of Saturn evokes the *Saturnia tellus*), while the central zone depicts the return of the Roman standards from Parthia (a Roman soldier receives a Roman *aquila* from a Parthian), and on the lower zone Tellus reclines on the bottom zone, wearing a crown of grain ears and holding a cornucopia. Below Caelus is Sol driving his chariot and Luna carrying torch-bearing Aurora. Below them to one side is Apollo with his lyre, and on the other, Diana with her hind.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed analysis of Saturn in Virgil, see Johnston 1977.

<sup>3</sup> The bibliography on the Fourth *Eclogue* is clearly extensive. For a relatively recent, concise summary of previous scholarship, see Du Quesnay 1976. For further identification of the *nascens puer*, see my analysis below of M. Sanquinius' reverse type on *aurei* and *denarii* minted in 17 BC. For further discussion on Apollo, see my note on the *Carmen Saeculare* and my analysis on Augustan coins depicting Apollo below.

<sup>4</sup> Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 88.

<sup>5</sup> Servius, *Eclogue* 9.46-47.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny, *NH* 2.93-94.

<sup>7</sup> Scott 1941: 257-258.

<sup>8</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.681.

For a list of all literary references to the *sidus Iulium*, see Ramsey and Licht 1997: 155-178.

For a detailed analysis on Virgilian passages related to the *sidus Iulium*, see Williams 2003.

<sup>9</sup> For further reference on the return of the Roman standards from Parthia in 20 BC, see Rich 1998 and Spannagel 1999. For Augustus' *leges Iuliae*, see Galinsky 1981.

Below these two deities are the personifications of an unconquered Roman nation (e.g. Armenia in the East) and a conquered Roman nation (e.g. Spain in the West).<sup>10</sup>

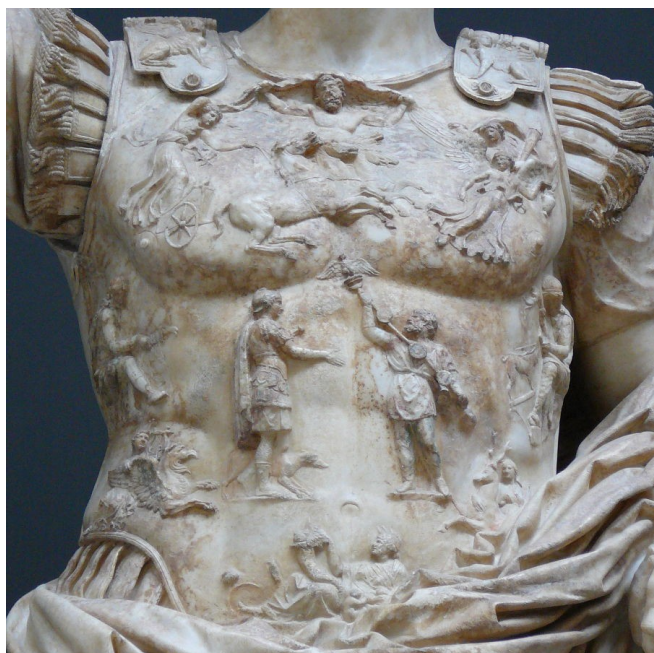


Figure 1: Prima Porta Augustus. Marble copy of a bronze original. After 20 BC, found at the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta. Rome, Vatican<sup>11</sup>.

From May 31<sup>st</sup> to June 3<sup>rd</sup> of 17 BC, Augustus and Agrippa, as members of the college of *XVviri sacris faciundis*, celebrated these games with various rituals, including sacrifices to Terra Mater, Apollo, and Diana. Sacrifices were no longer made to deities of the underworld, Dis and Proserpina. At the end of three-day festival, a chorus of children sang Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* on both the Capitoline and the Palatine. Apollo and Diana are addressed: Apollo as the archer with a gleaming bow and Diana as queen of the forests. Apollo is specifically asked to guarantee Rome and Latium's prosperity for future generations.<sup>12</sup> Johnston writes that Horace "celebrates the achievement under Augustus of a golden age, along with the virtues which were lost as the metallic age deteriorated."<sup>13</sup> After Augustus frightened away the Medes, Scythians and the Indians, Horace claims that in this new age:

*iam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque  
priscus et neglecta redidre Virtus  
audit aparetque beata pleno  
Copia cornu*

[Now Faith, Peace, Honor and time-honored Modesty  
dare to return and Abundance appears blessed with her full horn].<sup>14</sup>

This proclamation embodies the essence of the Augustan *aurea aetas*; that is, prosperity and fecundity can only be achieved through hard labour.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Fig.1.; For further analysis, see, for instance, Galinsky 1996: 155-164.

<sup>11</sup> [http://industryexercise.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/prima\\_porta\\_augustus\\_lg.jpg](http://industryexercise.files.wordpress.com/2013/02/prima_porta_augustus_lg.jpg)

<sup>12</sup> Horace, *Carmen Saeculare* 65-68.

<sup>13</sup> Johnston 1980: 78-79.

<sup>14</sup> Horace, *Carmen Saeculare* 54-60.

<sup>15</sup> The bibliography on the *Ludi Saeculares* and Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* is vast. See, for instance, Mattingly 1934, Gagé 1955: 622-637, Hall 1986, Zanker 1988: 167-172.

### 3. Symbols of the *aurea aetas* on Octavianic/Augustan coinage

Imagery related to this *aurea aetas* is a prominent feature on Octavianic/Augustan coins. The *sidus Iulium* entered Roman numismatic typology in 38 BC. In 38 BC two bronze coin types were issued simultaneously at a Southern Italian mint. The first type depicts the bare head of Octavian with the legend CAESAR DIVI F on the obverse and a laureate head of Caesar with the legend DIVOS IVLIVS on the reverse. The second type depicts the bare head of Octavian with the legend DIVI F on the obverse, and the *sidus Iulium* seen here substitutes the name CAESAR. The reverse bears the legend DIVOS IVLIVS within a laurel wreath that substitutes the head of Caesar.<sup>16</sup> Another type issued in 38 BC, minted in Gaul by Agrippa, shows the laureate head of Caesar with a star placed before his forehead and the legend IMP DIVI IVLI F TER III R P C.<sup>17</sup> A reverse type minted in Africa in 36 BC depicts a projected design of the temple of Divus Julius. This temple was vowed in 42 BC, did not begin to be built until 31 BC, and was not dedicated until 29 BC. Nevertheless, what is important here is the *sidus Iulium* that appears on the pediment and the legend DIVO IVL on the architrave of the temple within which is a veiled figure of Caesar holding a *lituus*.<sup>18</sup> Two Octavianic coins minted in c. 32-27 BC also show the *sidus Iulium*. On a CAESAR DIVI F reverse type Venus is seen holding a sceptre in her left hand and the helmet of Mars in her right. A shield with the *sidus Iulium* is seen on the ground. The other coin type shows the head of Mars with the legend IMP on the obverse and the *sidus Iulium* on a shield with the legend CAESAR on the reverse.<sup>19</sup> A reverse type dated after 27 BC from an unattributed mint depicts a Capricorn with a star above and the legend AVGVSTVS.<sup>20</sup>



Figure 13: Head of Alexander the Great surmounted by a crescent, a larger and two smaller stars. Amisus in Pontus. Brussels, Musée du Cinquantenaire<sup>21</sup>.

The comet showing eight rays and a tail also appears on reverses of coins issued from Colonia Caesaraugusta in c. 19-16 BC with the legend DIVVS IVLIVS.<sup>22</sup> M. Sanquinius issued *aurei* and *denarii* at the mint of Rome in 17 BC that were devoted to the *Ludi Saeculares* which took place in the same year. He minted an obverse type on *aurei* and *denarii* showing a herald, wearing a helmet with double feathers, holding a winged caduceus in one hand and a round shield with the a six-

<sup>16</sup> Figs.2-3; *RRC* 535/1-2.

<sup>17</sup> Fig.4; *RRC* 534/1.

<sup>18</sup> Fig.5; *RRC* 540/2.

<sup>19</sup> Figs.6-7; *RIC* I<sup>2</sup> 250a and 274.

<sup>20</sup> Fig.8; *RIC* I<sup>2</sup> 542 ; For other Augustan coin types with the Capricorn, see below, p. 42-43.

<sup>21</sup> [http://www.livius.org/a/1/alexander/alexander\\_kosmokrator\\_amisus\\_kmkg.JPG](http://www.livius.org/a/1/alexander/alexander_kosmokrator_amisus_kmkg.JPG)

<sup>22</sup> Fig.9; *RIC* I<sup>2</sup> 37a-38b.



pointed star, the *sidus Iulium*, on it in the other with the legend AVGVST DIVI F LVDOS SAEC. The reverse type of these coins portrays a laureate, youthful head with a comet of four rays and tail above. This youthful head with a comet is also depicted on reverses of other *aurei* and *denarii* of Sanquinius with an obverse showing a head of Augustus.<sup>23</sup> As will be discussed below, this youth is a type of Aion Plutonium figure, the *Genius* of the *Ludi Saeculares*.<sup>24</sup> Scholars disagree about the coin of L. Lentulus minted in Rome in 12 BC that depicts Augustus, laureate and togate, resting on the *clipeus virtutis* and placing a star on a half-clad figure, apparently a statue, holding a Victory and a spear. Some, such as Mattingly, identify the figure as Agrippa, while others, such as Sutherland, suggest Julius Caesar. Since Agrippa was never deified, it is therefore safe to attribute this figure to Caesar. Augustus is thus shown placing the *sidus Iulium* on a figure of Julius Caesar.<sup>25</sup>

The births, accession to the throne, or deification of Hellenistic and Near Eastern monarchs were represented by stars and comets. A portrait head of Alexander the Great from Amisus in Pontus is surmounted by a crescent and a star of the sun above it and another star on either side of it.<sup>26</sup> Obverse portraits of Antiochus IV Epiphanes minted in Syria in c. 175-164 BC display a star over his head.<sup>27</sup> Hazzard and Williams make a parallel between these coins and the star and comet imagery of Ptolemy V Epiphanes. Three coin types of Ptolemy V show stars.<sup>28</sup> The first coin shows a star on either side of a cornucopia. The second shows a star or comet on either side of a winged thunderbolt. The third depicts a star next to the obverse portrait of Ptolemy V and a star next to the eagle on the reverse. Hazzard suggests that the stars on Ptolemy's coins refer to the comets that appeared in 210 BC before the birth of Ptolemy V and in 204 BC when he ascended the throne and thus proclaim the beginning of a golden age.<sup>29</sup>

A comet is portrayed on some bronze coins of Mithridates VI Eupator as well as on tetradrachms of Tigranes II. According to Justin, "heavenly signs foretold the future greatness of [Mithridates VI]. For, in the year in which he was born and the year in which he was enthroned, a comet shone with such splendour through both periods for seventy days that the whole sky seemed ablaze."<sup>30</sup> Chinese sources also recorded the appearance of a comet in 135 BC, the year of his birth, and in 119 BC, the year he ascended the throne.<sup>31</sup> Some small bronze Pontic coins minted early in Mithridates' reign depict the bust of a horse with a large flower-like star of eight rays on its neck on the obverse and on the reverse a slightly larger star with the same number of rays, one of which flares out into a comet's tail.<sup>32</sup> Some tetradrachms and silver and bronze coins of Tigranes II minted in Armenia depict Tigranes wearing the traditional Armenian tiara decorated with a star between two eagles. On a rare series of tetradrachms, drachms, and bronze coins, the tiara worn by Tigranes depicts a single star with an elongated, curved tail.<sup>33</sup> Halley's Comet appeared in 87 BC, during Tigranes' reign. There is discrepancy, however, as to whether the comet displayed on these coins shows Halley's Comet or the comets of 135 and 119 BC. Halley's Comet always has a straight tail while the comets of 135 and 119 BC had curved tails. Tigranes II was a close ally of Mithridates, and so it could be possible that his coin types promote Mithridates' cause.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, what is important here is that comet iconography was interpreted as a favourable omen among Hellenistic and Near Eastern monarchs. Thus, in the same way, the *sidus Iulium* was viewed positively in the aftermath of Caesar's death.

<sup>23</sup> Figs.10-11; *RIC I* 337-340.

<sup>24</sup> See below, p.41-42.

<sup>25</sup> Fig.12; *RIC I* 415; Mattingly *BMCRE I*: cviii and Sutherland *RIC I* 415.

<sup>26</sup> Fig.13; Weinstock 1971: pl.27.1.

<sup>27</sup> Fig.14; Weinstock 1971: pl.28.1 and p. 375.

<sup>28</sup> Figs.15 and 16, and Hazzard 1995: 432n.14. ; Hazzard 1995: pl.2.nos.15-16.

<sup>29</sup> Hazzard 1995: 422 and 426-7; Williams 2003: 23-24.

<sup>30</sup> Justin 37.2.1.

<sup>31</sup> Ramsey 1999: 205-213.

<sup>32</sup> Fig.17; Ramsey 1999: fig.1.

<sup>33</sup> Figs.18 and 19; Weinstock 1971: pl.25.21 and Mayor 2009: fig.2.2.

<sup>34</sup> Mayor 2009: 30-33.

M. Sanquinius' obverse type depicting a youthful head with a comet is Aion Plutonium, the deity of the renewal of the natural cycle of life, shown here as the *Genius* of the *Ludi Saeculares*. In *BMCRE I*, Mattingly suggests these obverses portray the deified Julius Caesar, and in *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> Sutherland agrees with this view.<sup>35</sup> Mattingly later suggests Iulus, the son of Aeneas, based on the reference to *Aeneid* 2.679-704.<sup>36</sup> In this passage, it is said that Aeneas' fate of departing Troy to eventually found Rome is foretold by the flame that appears over Iulus' head. This suggestion, however, seems too specific, and it more likely that this head of a rejuvenated Julius Caesar. Another possibility is the *Genius* of the *Ludi Saeculares* proposed by Boyce, which is even more likely given the fact that these coins were minted in the same year in which these games were held.<sup>37</sup> Boyce says that this young cometed bust may be the "New Age itself, the *Saeculum*, or to put it in Roman terms, the *Genius* of the *Ludi Saeculares*."<sup>38</sup> She even connects this type, and rightfully so I believe, to the child in Virgil's *Eclogue* 4, symbolic of the new age.<sup>39</sup> I would like to further Boyce's proposal by specifically equating this *Genius* of the *Ludi Saeculares* with Aion Plutonium. Aion may be translated as "eternity" and in Latin is indeed "*saeculum*". Plutonium may be translated as "bringer of rich crops." Aion Plutonium can be linked to the role of a new ruler as the inaugurator of a new era. This phenomenon began with the Ptolemies. Alföldi writes: "Euergetes [Ptolemy III], as a divine being, combining the powers of Zeus, Helios and Poseidon, is Aion, the poikilomorphos god, ruler of the universe, who introduces the rebirth of the world."<sup>40</sup> On gold *octodrachms* minted under Ptolemy IV, Ptolemy III Euergetes appears as Aion. He is portrayed on the obverse with a youthful face with the aegis of Zeus, the rays of Helios emerging from the royal diadem, and the trident of Poseidon over his shoulder. The reverse shows a radiate cornucopia with the ribbons of the royal diadem.<sup>41</sup> Another Hellenistic Aion Plutonium figure can be seen on a reverse type of some tetradrachms of Pharnaces I of Pontus. He is shown holding a cornucopia and a caduceus in one hand and vine leaves in the other with a hind at his feet. He wears the cap of Mithras (equating him with the Mithraic Saturnus-Chronos) and a winged thunderbolt is seen above him. A star and crescent are depicted next to him. Antony minted a similar reverse type in 42 BC. This type shows a radiate and winged Aion figure with a bow and quiver over his shoulder, holding a caduceus in one hand and a cornucopia in the other. His right foot rests on a globe, and there is an eagle on a cippus below on one side of him and a shield on the other.<sup>42</sup> These Aion figures are clearly composed of the most common symbols related to an *aurea aetas*: e.g. a star and a radiate crown, a caduceus, and a cornucopia.

In fact, a dedication to Aion was made at Eleusis around the time of the *Ludi Saeculares*. A statue of Aion was erected there by three Romans, Aulus Pompeius and his brothers Quintus and Sextus.<sup>43</sup> The later Severan *Saeculum Frugiferum* figure is also Aion Plutonium. On some *sestertii* of Septimius Severus minted in AD 193, a young, radiate Aion is depicted half-nude like Jupiter, holding a caduceus with corn ears in his right hand and a trident over his left shoulder. The reverse legend reads SAECVLO FRVGIFERO.<sup>44</sup> Septimius Severus celebrated the *Ludi Saeculares* in AD 204. It should also be noted that the herald on Sanquinius' coins holds a caduceus rather than a wand. On Domitianic coins of the *Ludi Saeculares* minted for the Secular Games of AD 88 the herald carries only a simple wand.<sup>45</sup> The caduceus is obviously a symbol of prosperity related to the new age which was implied in the herald's proclamation of the *Ludi Saeculares*. The youthful,

<sup>35</sup> *BMCRE I* 69-73 and *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> 337-340.

<sup>36</sup> Mattingly 1947: pl.9no.1.

<sup>37</sup> Boyce 1965.

<sup>38</sup> Boyce 1965: 6.

<sup>39</sup> Boyce 1965: 7.

<sup>40</sup> Alföldi 1997: 156.

<sup>41</sup> Fig. 20; *SNG Copenhagen* 196.

<sup>42</sup> Figs. 21 and 22; Mørkholm 1991: no.621 and *RRC* 494/5.

<sup>43</sup> *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1125 and see Graindor 1922: 440-443.

<sup>44</sup> Fig.23; *RIC* 4 655

<sup>45</sup> *RIC* 2: Domitian 600.

cometed head on Sanquiunius' coins, then, is an Aion figure and can indeed be equated to the *puer* of Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue* who is, in essence, the personification of the Augustan *Saeculum*.<sup>46</sup>

Another Aion figure appears on an Augustan reverse type minted in Spain at Colonia Patricia dated to c. 19-16 BC. A radiate, nude Aion hovers with an outstretched veil over Capricorn carrying an oar with the legend AVGVSTVS.<sup>47</sup> Scholars traditionally attribute this radiate figure to either Aurora, Sol, or Zephyr. Mattingly suggests it is Aurora as does Robertson. Simon suggests Venus. Banti and Simonetti as well as Pollini say it is Sol. van der Vin interprets the figure as Zephyr. Sutherland says it could be either Aurora or Zephyr.<sup>48</sup> The male genitalia on this figure immediately negates an identification with any female deity. The radiate crown makes Sol a very likely choice. The outstretched veil, however, suggests a connection to a wind deity. Wind deities such as those on the Tower of the Winds in Athens (including Zephyr, the West wind) and on the Tazza Farnese as well as Caelus on the Prima Porta statue appear with billowing mantles. van der Vin offers a strong case for Zephyr for this coin type based on literary sources that assign the Capricorn's rule to the Western provinces (e.g. Manlius, *Astronomica* 4.791-796). However, I rather assign this figure to Aion, a wind god himself.

Aion is said to have been born from the wind Kolpias and his wife Baaut.<sup>49</sup> As a wind deity, Aion was more often than not invoked as the god of the four winds in magical texts and was associated with the seasons.<sup>50</sup> In many artistic representations of youthful Aion he is portrayed draped, holding a Zodiac of the year such as on a silver patera from Parabiago dated to the second-fourth century AD and on a Hadrianic reverse type dated to AD 117 he is seen within a Zodiac wheel, holding a globe on which rests a phoenix and the legend SAEC(ulum) AVR(eum).<sup>51</sup> Aion on this Augustan coin, then, appears as the endless renewal of the seasons of life with Augustus' own Zodiacal sign, the Capricorn – symbolizing the boundless fecundity of the *Augustan Saeculum*.

As can be seen from this reverse and the aforementioned reverse with the Capricorn and the *sidus Iulium*, the Capricorn, Augustus' natal sign, was also a popular Augustan coin type. Suetonius writes that "Augustus made his horoscope public and issued a silver coin stamped with the sign of the constellation Capricorn, under which he been born."<sup>52</sup> There was an inexplicable link between the Capricorn and the idea of the coming of a world ruler. As mentioned earlier, Manlius' *Astronomica* 4.791-796 links the Capricorn's power over the Western provinces. This idea was also alluded to by Horace (*Ode* 2.17.19-20) and Propertius (*Elegies* 4.85-86). On Octavian's birth in 63 BC, Suetonius, *Augustus* 94.5, reports that the senator and astrologer Publius Nigidius Figulus told Octavian's father that "the ruler of the world is now born" - *dominum terrarum orbi natum*. Nigidius' own account of the sign of the Capricorn equates the Capricorn to a world saviour. He says that when the gods fled into Egypt in fear of Typhon, they asked Pan for advice. He suggested they transform themselves into animals so as to deceive Typhon until they were able to seek revenge. Pan transformed himself into a goat, and it was through his help that rule of the gods was re-established and tyranny was oppressed. The gods thus honoured Pan with a place in the heavens as a Capricorn.<sup>53</sup> Augustus, then, as the victor of the Battle of Actium over Antony and leader of a successful Parthian campaign, was also a world saviour.

<sup>46</sup> For a detailed study on Aion Plutonium, see Alföldi 1997, specifically p. 135-167.

<sup>47</sup> Fig.24; *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> 124.

<sup>48</sup> *BMCRE I* 349-350, *HCC I*: xi.2, Simon 1957: 55n.72, *CNR* 264, Pollini 1993: 285n.15, van der Vin 1976, and *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> 124.

<sup>49</sup> Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 1.10.7.

<sup>50</sup> Levi 1944: 296.

<sup>51</sup> Levi 1944: pl.12 and *BMCRE 3*: Hadrian 312, respectively; For other iconographical examples of Aion, see n.46 above and Levi 1944.

<sup>52</sup> Suetonius, *Augustus* 94.12.

<sup>53</sup> Nigidius Figulus, *de Capricorno* (Hopfner, T. (1922-1925) *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae*, Bonn: 84-86). See also Kraft 1967, Dwyer 1973, and Barton 1995.

The first appearance of the Capricorn on Augustan coinage occurred on obverses of the AEGVPTO CAPTA coins of 28-27 BC.<sup>54</sup> A Capricorn already appears on the obverse of a coin of Q. Oppius from c. 88 BC at Laodiceia.<sup>55</sup> The Capricorn then is seen on a reverse type of *aurei* from Pergamum minted in 19-18 BC with the legend SIGNIS RECEPTIS. The Capricorn also appears on a reverse type of 12 BC from Lugdunum holding a globe with the legend IMP XI.<sup>56</sup> As will be discussed below, the Capricorn also is shown on various issues with the cornucopia fitted with the royal diadem.<sup>57</sup>

The sphinx, another Augustan personal emblem, also appears on Augustan coins.<sup>58</sup> The sphinx is depicted on *cistophori* and *aurei* issued in 27-26 BC and 19-18 BC, respectively at Pergamum.<sup>59</sup> An earlier Republican type of 46 BC minted at Rome by T. Carisius depicts a Sibyl on the obverse and a sphinx, the Sibyl's heraldic animal, on the reverse.<sup>60</sup> The Sibyl, of course, is the guardian of the Sibylline oracles which eventually predict, as mentioned above, the Augustan *aurea aetas*. Here, the Sibyl on this Caesarian type refers to the Sibylline oracle which said that Parthia could only be defeated by a king, i.e. Caesar; that is, Caesar had to acquire the title of *rex*.<sup>61</sup> The sphinx is obviously a prominent Hellenistic image. Octavianic iconography already employed the sphinx as can be seen on a cameo of 30-28 BC that portrays Octavian seated on a throne decorated with a sphinx. It should be noted that Octavian is here seen as the successor of Ptolemaic rulers: he holds not only a sceptre but also a double cornucopia.<sup>62</sup>



Figure 32: Ptolemaic Cameo of Octavian and Roma, 30-28 BC. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna<sup>63</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> Fig.25; *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> 544-45.

<sup>55</sup> Fig.26; *RRC* 550/2d.

<sup>56</sup> Figs.27-28; *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> 521-2 and 174.

<sup>57</sup> See below, p.44-45.

<sup>58</sup> Suetonius, *Augustus* 50.

<sup>59</sup> Figs.29-30; *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> 477 and 511-13.

<sup>60</sup> Fig.31; *RRC* 464/1.

<sup>61</sup> Plutarch, *Caesar* 60. Cf. the return of the Roman standards from Parthia on p. 37-38 above.

<sup>62</sup> Fig.32

<sup>63</sup> [http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/7d/Caligula\\_und\\_Roma\\_Kameo\\_KHM\\_IXa\\_59.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/7d/Caligula_und_Roma_Kameo_KHM_IXa_59.jpg)



Hellenistic monarchs also employed natal signs as personal emblems. As discussed earlier, Chinese sources record the occurrence of a comet in 135 BC, the year of Mithridates VI Eupator's birth. This comet appeared in the constellation of Pegasus. Mithridates VI Eupator minted a coin type depicting a Pegasus drinking with a raised foreleg and a star above a crescent.<sup>64</sup> Thus, not only did Pegasus refer Bellephron or to the hero Perseus, Mithridates' ancestor, but became Mithridates' natal emblem. One of the Roman moneyers of 19 BC, P. Petronius Turpilianus, issued two reverse types evocative of these Mithridatic coins. Turpilianus minted one type depicting Pegasus with a raised foreleg and another one with a six-rayed star above a crescent.<sup>65</sup> It should be noted that this star above a crescent type is also seen on the coin of Pharnaces I and above the head of the bust of Alexander the Great that were mentioned earlier.<sup>66</sup> Another personal badge of the Hellenistic monarchs, of course, was the anchor employed by the Seleucids. It is said that Seleucus I's mother saw in a dream that whatever ring she would find she would give to him to carry, and that wherever he would lose that ring would be the land he would rule over. The ring she found had an anchor on it, and Seleucus lost the ring near the Euphrates.<sup>67</sup> The anchor thus became a personal emblem of Seleucus I and all subsequent Seleucids, as displayed on coinage.<sup>68</sup>

The cornucopia on some of the coins discussed above is also of great importance. It was a standard reverse type on Ptolemaic coinage symbolizing the blessings bestowed by the ruler. The cornucopia on Ptolemy V's coins is decorated with the loose ends of a royal diadem as seen on Fig.15. More often than not a double cornucopia is depicted, such as on the coins struck under Ptolemy II portraying the obverse portrait of Arsinoe II in 253-252 BC.<sup>69</sup> The Augustan age also employed the cornucopia as a symbol of felicity, prosperity, and abundance. As discussed above, in *Carmen Saeculare* 59-60, Horace connects the cornucopia with the personification of Abundance. Tellus appears on the lower zone of the cuirass on the Prima Porta Augustus holding a cornucopia. Augustan coins also show the loose ends of a royal diadem as well as the conical cake and fruits on the top of the horn, grapes hanging down from the side of it, and the goat's horns at the tip of the horn in the same manner as their Hellenistic precedents. *Cistophori* dated to c. 27-25 BC from Pergamum and Ephesus depict a reverse type showing just such a cornucopia held by a Capricorn with the legend AVGVSTVS all enclosed in a laurel wreath.<sup>70</sup> In the very same series as these Pergamene and Ephesian *cistophori* were minted another reverse type also associated with the fruitfulness that the *aurea aetas* brings. This type shows six bunched corn-ears.<sup>71</sup> *Aurei* and *denarii* dated to c. 19-16 BC from Colonia Patricia in Spain show a Capricorn holding a globe attached to a rudder with a cornucopia decorated with these loose ends above its back with the legend AVGVSTVS as a reverse type. This image combines symbols of world dominion and the Golden Age: the globe and rudder join the cornucopia-bearing Capricorn.<sup>72</sup> The Gemma Augustea depicts both the Capricorn and a cornucopia in the upper zone. The Capricorn appears on a solar nimbus above Augustus and Roma while Italia holds a cornucopia in her left hand. Again here, there is a link between victory and peace: the lower zone depicts Roman soldiers erecting a trophy among subjugated barbarians as triumphant Tiberius steps down from his quadriga on the upper zone, but Oceanus and Italia, holding a cornucopia and accompanied by two children (most likely symbolizing summer and fall), appear directly opposite Tiberius and Germanicus.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Fig.33; Mørkholm 1991: no.625. Ramsey 1999.

<sup>65</sup> Figs.34-35; *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> 297 and 300. The Roman moneyers of 19 BC, Turpilianus, Florus, and Durmius employ many Hellenistic motifs related to Greek heroic myth to advertise Augustus' Parthian success of 20 BC. For further reference, see Győri 2012: 93-99.

<sup>66</sup> See above, p. 39 and 41.

<sup>67</sup> Appian, *Syrian Wars* 56

<sup>68</sup> Fig.36; Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.271.

<sup>69</sup> Fig.37; *SNG Copenhagen* 134.

<sup>70</sup> Fig.38; *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> 488 and 477.

<sup>71</sup> Fig.39; *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> 490 and 478.

<sup>72</sup> Fig.40; *RIC I*<sup>2</sup> 125.

<sup>73</sup> Fig.41



Figure 41: Gemma Augustea. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. c.AD 10<sup>74</sup>.

It should be noted that earlier representations of this type of cornucopia already appear on Late Republican coins. In 81 BC *denarii* were minted for Sulla that depicted a reverse type showing a double cornucopia bound with the loose ends of a diadem. In 40 BC *denarii* for Antony were issued that depicted a caduceus between two cornucopiae on a globe. These cornucopiae are decorated with the loose ends of a diadem.<sup>75</sup>

It is also possible to suggest that the Apollo type of C. Antistius Vetus minted at Rome in 16 BC and those minted at Lugdunum in 15-13 BC and 11-10 BC may have been influenced by Apollo types found on Seleucid coinage. Apollo was considered to be the divine ancestor and patron of the Seleucids. Justin writes that Apollo was the father of Seleucus I Nicator.<sup>76</sup> This story is an imitation of the story of Alexander the Great, who was said to have been the son of Zeus.<sup>77</sup> Although it is not clear whether the story of his birth began to be advertised by Seleucus I himself or by his son, Antiochus I, after 281 BC Apollo began to be advertised as the dynastic god of the Seleucids. Apollo prominently appears on Seleucid coinage, most notably seated on an omphalos. A tale also circulated that Apollo was the father of Augustus.<sup>78</sup> Indeed, Apollo became Augustus' divine patron from the onset as he recognized Apollo as his protector at Actium. By 40 BC Octavian already dressed up as Apollo at a banquet of Gods.<sup>79</sup> As mentioned above in Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*, the Augustan *aurea aetas* was to be led by Apollo.

Scholars and numismatists have attempted to match the Augustan coin types depicting statues of Apollo to existing statues.<sup>80</sup> However, it is more likely that they are symbolic representations of Apollo based loosely on Seleucid Apollonian iconography. For instance, the Augustan Apollo type of Vetus that shows Apollo standing in a long robe on a platform decorated with three *foruli* (in

<sup>74</sup> <http://ancientrome.ru/art/artwork/glyptics/cameos/c0246.jpg>

<sup>75</sup> Figs.42-43; *RRC* 375/2 and 520. For further reference on the Hellenistic precedents for the cornucopia on these Republican and Augustan coins, see Alföldi 1997: 3 and 33ff.

<sup>76</sup> Justin 15.4.3.

<sup>77</sup> E.g. Plutarch, *Alexander* 2.6.

<sup>78</sup> Suetonius, *Augustus* 94.4, Cassius Dio 45.1.2. For further reference on the similarities between the stories of Seleucus I's and Augustus' births, see Engels 2010.

<sup>79</sup> Suetonius, *Augustus* 29.3.

<sup>80</sup> For a recent summary, see Lange 2009: 177-181.

which the Sibylline books were housed – *sub Palatini Apollinis basi* (Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.1)) and two anchors and holding a lyre in one hand and a *patera* in the other is very similar to the Apollo type of Antiochus IV Epiphanes that also shows Apollo standing, holding a cithara and a *patera*. This figure of Apollo was based on a statue of Bryaxis made for the temple of Apollo at Daphne near Antioch.<sup>81</sup> The Apollo types issued at Lugdunum which show Apollo standing in a long robe and holding a lyre in one hand and a *plectrum* in the other also resembles Seleucid types depicting Apollo wearing a long robe and holding a cithara and a *plectrum*, such as on this coin of Seleucus III.<sup>82</sup> The SICIL reverse type that appears on the *aurei* and *denarii* from Lugdunum in the same series as these Apollo types shows Diana advancing, holding a bow and taking an arrow from a quiver.<sup>83</sup> The legend clearly associates Octavian's Naulochean victory with Diana. Moreover, these Apollo and Diana reverse types, minted in 15-13 BC and 11-10 BC, also recall the *Ludi Saeculares* that was celebrated only a couple years before. As mentioned above, Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* is indeed addressed to Apollo and Diana.

It should also be noted that a butting bull also appears on *aurei* and *denarii* from Lugdunum alongside these Apollo and Diana types. The bull has either been compared to the bull types from Thurium or suggested to symbolize Philippi, as the bull was the sacrificial animal to Mars.<sup>84</sup> Another explanation may be the Seleucid types that also show a butting bull, representing Seleucus I's prowess when he suppressed a bull that broke free during a sacrifice to Alexander. This butting bull subsequently became a common Seleucid coin type. Augustus' strength, then, is also symbolized by this butting bull.<sup>85</sup>

#### 4. Conclusions

The extent to which Augustan coinage was influenced by Hellenistic ideals and artistic media is far-reaching. A comprehensive survey of all the debts Augustan coinage owed to Hellenistic coinage would be extremely valuable. Here, the Augustan coin types related to the *aurea aetas* have been examined. The age of Augustus was considered to be a *novum saeculum aureum*. Each of these coin types can be related to a Hellenistic precedent. For instance, two of these Augustan types recall Aion Plutonium, the deity of eternal time responsible for the renewal of the Golden Age. The idea of an *aurea aetas* is fundamentally Hellenistic, and these coins are evocative of this distinction.

<sup>81</sup> Figs.44-45; *RIC P* 365-6 and Mørkholm 1991: no.653.

<sup>82</sup> Figs.46-47; *RIC P* 171a and Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.940.

<sup>83</sup> Fig.48; *RIC P* 173a.

<sup>84</sup> E.g. Kraft 1969: 229-235.

<sup>85</sup> Appian, *Syrian Wars* 57. Figs. 49-50; *RIC P* 166 and Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.151.



2

Bronze. Italy, 38 BC. RRC 535/1.

Obv: CAESAR DIVI F – bare head of Octavian, r./Rev:

DIVOS IVLIVS – laureate head of Julius Caesar, r.

<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=690098&AucID=1273&Lot=380&Val=f43a936b4519e40eeecdfffd68076aa1>



3

Bronze. Southern Italian mint, 38 BC. RRC 535/2.

Obv: DIVI F – bare head of Octavian with slight beard, r., before, sidus Iulium/Rev: DIVOS IVLIVS in laurel wreath.

<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=690099&AucID=1273&Lot=381&Val=99d6e8bdf65f94166ebf38567a3fefed>



4

Aureus. Mint moving with Octavian. RRC 534/1.

Obv: IMP DIVI IVLI F TER III VIR R P C – laureate head of Julius Caesar, r.; above, sidus Iulium/Rev: M AGRIPPA COS DESIG

<http://www.coinproject.com/siteimages/thumbs/145-24-0010.JPG>



5

Denarius. Mint moving with Octavian, 36 BC. RRC 540/2.

Obv: IMP CAESAR DIVI F III VIR ITER R P C – bare head of Octavian, r./Rev: COS ITER ET TER DESIG – tetrastyle temple within which is a veiled figure holding lituus in r. hand; DIVO IVL inscribed on architrave; star on pediment; in field to l., a lighted altar.

<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=713930&AucID=1320&Lot=701&Val=537790bce619812037486f566fa5c403>



6

Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 250a.

Obv: bare head of Octavian, r./Rev: CAESAR DIVI F – Venus standing r., holding a helmet in r. hand and a sceptre in l. hand and leaning against a column; behind, a shield bearing the sidus Iulium.

[https://c1.staticflickr.com/3/2308/2127455667\\_4664aa5619\\_z.jpg?zz=1](https://c1.staticflickr.com/3/2308/2127455667_4664aa5619_z.jpg?zz=1)



7

Denarius. Rome, c. 32-27 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 274.

Obv: IMP – helmeted bust of Mars/Rev: CAESAR – shield, lying on crossed spear and sword, bearing the sidus Iulium.

<http://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=1485106>





8

Denarius. Uncertain mint, after 27 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 542.  
Obv: laureate head of Augustus, r./Rev: AVGVSTVS –  
Capricorn, r.; sidus Iulium above.  
[http://www.gemmarius-](http://www.gemmarius-sculptor.de/bilder/cnc%20coin%20augustus%20stern.gif)  
[sculptor.de/bilder/cnc%20coin%20augustus%20stern.gif](http://www.gemmarius-sculptor.de/bilder/cnc%20coin%20augustus%20stern.gif)



9

Denarius. Spain - Colonia Caesaraugusta, c.19 BC.  
RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 37a.  
Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – oak-wreathed head of  
Augustus, r./Rev: DIVVS IVLIVS – eight-rayed  
comet.

[http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=](http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=696531&AucID=1289&Lot=2054&Val=89000d10c6929f27c2cceb4fd7785307)  
[696531&AucID=1289&Lot=2054&Val=89000d10c69](http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=696531&AucID=1289&Lot=2054&Val=89000d10c6929f27c2cceb4fd7785307)  
[29f27c2cceb4fd7785307](http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=696531&AucID=1289&Lot=2054&Val=89000d10c6929f27c2cceb4fd7785307)



10

Denarius. Rome, 17 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 340.  
Obv: AVGVST DI VI F LVDOS SAE – herald standing l.,  
wearing long robe and feathered helmet, holding winged  
caduceus in r. hand and a round shield bearing the sidus  
Iulium in l. hand/Rev: M SANQVI NIVS IIIVIR - laureate  
head of Aion Plutonium as the Genius of the Ludi  
Saeculares r., above, sidus Iulium.

[http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=695](http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=695279&AucID=1289&Lot=799&Val=8878a8c16691e5b71816a833e13f0ed2)  
[279&AucID=1289&Lot=799&Val=8878a8c16691e5b718](http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=695279&AucID=1289&Lot=799&Val=8878a8c16691e5b71816a833e13f0ed2)  
[16a833e13f0ed2](http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=695279&AucID=1289&Lot=799&Val=8878a8c16691e5b71816a833e13f0ed2)



11

Denarius. Rome, 17 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 338.  
Obv: AVGVST DIVI F – bare head of Augustus,  
r./Rev: M SANQVI NIVS IIIVIR – laureate head of  
Aion Plutonium as the Genius of the Ludi Saeculares, r.,  
above, sidus Iulium.

[http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=](http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=686333&AucID=1267&Lot=3106&Val=6caa2cd2ca3d30e0cf0e7a5726929632)  
[686333&AucID=1267&Lot=3106&Val=6caa2cd2ca3d](http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=686333&AucID=1267&Lot=3106&Val=6caa2cd2ca3d30e0cf0e7a5726929632)  
[30e0cf0e7a5726929632](http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=686333&AucID=1267&Lot=3106&Val=6caa2cd2ca3d30e0cf0e7a5726929632)



12

Denarius. Rome, 12 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 415.  
Obv: AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: L  
LENTVLVS FLAMEN MARTIALIS – Augustus, laureate  
and togate, standing facing, placing star with r. hand on  
half-clad Julius Caesar, who holds Victory in r. hand and a  
spear in l. hand, and resting l. arm on shield inscribed C V.

[http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/RIC1/Augustus/RIC415.j](http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/RIC1/Augustus/RIC415.jpg)  
[pg](http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/RIC1/Augustus/RIC415.jpg)



14

Tetradrachm. Syria, c.175-164 BC. BMC Syria 34.  
Obv: diademed head of Antiochus IV, r.; with star  
overhead.

Scanned image from Weinstock, S. (1971) Divus  
Julius, pl.28no.1.



15

Octadrachm. Alexandria, c. 204-198 BC. Hazzard 1995: pl.2.15.

Obv: head of Ptolemy V r., wearing a radiate crown and resting a spear on l. shoulder/Rev: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ – cornucopia in between two stars.  
[http://media.liveauctiongroup.net/i/5667/8604327\\_1.jpg?v=8CBEEC9F36E0E80](http://media.liveauctiongroup.net/i/5667/8604327_1.jpg?v=8CBEEC9F36E0E80)



16

Tetradrachm. Uncertain mint, c. 204-198 BC. Hazzard 1995: pl.2.16.

Obv: head of Ptolemy V r., diademed and draped/Rev: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ – winged thunderbolt in between two stars.  
<http://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=1143182>



17

Bronze. Pontus, c. 110-80 BC. Ramsey 1999: fig.1  
 Obv: head and neck of horse r., eight-rayed star on neck, surrounded by a circle of dots/Rev: eight-rayed star, one ray of which flares out into the tail of a comet.  
[http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/albums/userpics/29833/thumb\\_Pontus\\_01.jpg](http://www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/albums/userpics/29833/thumb_Pontus_01.jpg)



18

Tetradrachm. Syria, c. 83-69 BC. BMC Syria: 104.  
 Obv: head of Tigranes II r., wearing Armenian tiara with a star.

[http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/37/Tigran\\_Mets.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/37/Tigran_Mets.jpg)



19

Tetradrachm. Syria, c. 83-69 BC. Mayor 2009: fig.2.2.  
 Obv: head of Tigranes II r., wearing Armenian tiara with a comet.  
<http://www.abc.net.au/science/news/img/space/halleycoin19504.jpg>



20

Octadrachm. Alexandria, c. 225-205 BC. SNG Copenhagen 196.

Obv: radiate and diademed head of Ptolemy III Euergetes r., wearing an aegis and a trident over left shoulder/Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ – radiate cornucopia bound with royal diadem.  
<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=733561&AucID=1359&Lot=188&Val=a62e8e241fee0f9777f50c4ad56f03bc>





21

Tetradrachm. Pontus, c.185-170 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.623.

Obv: diademed head of Pharnakes I, r./Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΥ - male figure, wearing petasos, standing facing, holding a cornucopia and kerykeion in l. hand, and a vine branch in r. hand; star-in-crescent to upper left; to lower left, deer standing right, feeding on vine.

[http://www.forumancientcoins.com/numiswiki/imagesh/n/fi\\_g262.jpg](http://www.forumancientcoins.com/numiswiki/imagesh/n/fi_g262.jpg)



22

Aureus. Rome, 42 BC. RRC 494/5.

Obv: M ANTONIVS III VIR R P C – bare head of Antony, r./Rev: P CLODIVS M F IIII VIR A P F Aion standing l., r. foot on globe; winged and wearing a radiate crown with a bow and a quiver over shoulder, holding a caduceus in r. hand and a cornucopia in l. hand; on ground, an eagle on a cippus.

<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/>



23

Sestertius. Rome, AD 193. RIC IV 655.

Obv: IMP CAES L SEPT SEV PERT AVG - laureate head of Septimius Severus, r./ Rev: SAECVLO FRVGIFERO TR P COS SC - Saeculum Frugiferum standing left, holding caduceus, grain-ears & trident.

[http://www.vcoins.com/en/stores/ancient\\_numismatic\\_enterprise/9/product/septimius\\_severus\\_193211\\_ad\\_ae\\_sestertius\\_29\\_mm\\_2244\\_gm\\_struck\\_193\\_ad\\_rare\\_clodius\\_albinus\\_reverse\\_saeculum\\_frugiferum\\_fine/37426/Default.aspx](http://www.vcoins.com/en/stores/ancient_numismatic_enterprise/9/product/septimius_severus_193211_ad_ae_sestertius_29_mm_2244_gm_struck_193_ad_rare_clodius_albinus_reverse_saeculum_frugiferum_fine/37426/Default.aspx)



24

Denarius. Spain – Colonia Patricia, c. 19-16 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 124.

Obv: bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: AVGVSTVS – radiate Aion Plutonium hovering r. above a Capricorn r. with an oar.

<http://www.romanatic.com/images/coins/207.jpg>



25

Denarius. Uncertain mint, 28-27 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 545.

Obv: bare head of Augustus, r.; Capricorn below neck/Rev: AEGVPTO CAPTA – crocodile, r.

<http://www.forumancientcoins.com/Coins/17094p00.jpg>



26

Bronze. Italy, 46 BC. RRC 550/2d.

Obv: diademed head of Venus, r.; Capricorn behind/Rev: PIVS PR - Victory walking l., holding a palm branch and a basket of fruit.

<http://www.coinarchives.com/0ed23ab91e52534a65c27aa4297b9f8f/img/heritage/3035/thumb29188.jpg>



27

Aureus. Pergamum, 19-18 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 521.

Obv: AVGVSTVS - bare head of Augustus, r./Rev:

SIGNIS RECEPTIS – Capricorn, r.

<http://ancientcoins.narod.ru/rbc/ric1/augustus/pict/521.jpg>

28

Denarius. Lugdunum, 12 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 174.

Obv: AVGVSTVS DIVI F – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: IMP XI - Capricorn holding globe, r.

<http://www.coinarchives.com/d2a50a3258735a7474cdcc0b26f70882/img/baldwin/090/thumb01305.jpg>

29

Cistophorus. Pergamum, 27-26 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 487.

Obv: IMP CAESAR – bare head of Augustus, r.; in front, a lituus/Rev: AVGVSTVS – Sphinx seated r.

[http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.1\(2\).aug.487](http://numismatics.org/ocre/id/ric.1(2).aug.487)

30

Aureus, Pergamum, 19-18 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 512.

Obv: AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: Sphinx, r.

<http://www.romanatic.com/images/coins/422.jpg>

31

Denarius, Rome, 46 BC. RRC 464/1.

Obv: head of Sibyl, r./Rev: T CARISIVS – Sphinx, r.

<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=704604&AucID=1304&Lot=183&Val=0e8807d7718901d362882e274855d232>

33

Tetradrachm. Pontus, 89-88 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.625.

Obv: diademed head of Mithridates VI, r./Rev : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΙΘΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΠΙΑΤΟΡΟΣ, Pegasus l., pawing ground, star in crescent in l. field and all around an ivy wreath.

[http://coins.www.collectors-society.com/usercontent/images/article\\_images/Kings%20of%20Pontos%20Mithradates.jpg](http://coins.www.collectors-society.com/usercontent/images/article_images/Kings%20of%20Pontos%20Mithradates.jpg)





34

Denarius. Rome, 19 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 297.  
Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus,  
r./Rev: P PETRON TVRPILIAN III VIR – Pegasus  
walking r.

<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=705793&AucID=1306&Lot=918&Val=8a1e7b16036cc04c40851f39967f1812>



35

Denarius. Rome, 19 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 300.  
Obv: CAESAR AVGVSTVS – bare head of Augustus,  
r./Rev: TVRPILIANVS III VIR – six-rayed star above  
crescent.

<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=679286&AucID=1251&Lot=505&Val=1848ead25197165bb4056ac487a7ee05>



36

Bronze. Seleucus I, uncertain mint. Houghton and Lorber  
2002: no.271

Obv:single Dioscuri/Rev: anchor.  
Scanned image from Houghton and Lorber (2002)  
Seleucid Coins: a Comprehensive Catalogue, no.271



37

Octadrachm. Alexandria, 253-252 BC. SNG  
Copenhagen 134.

Obv: head of Arisnoe II r., diademed and veiled/Rev:  
ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ – double cornucopia  
bound with fillet.

<http://www.forumancientcoins.com/Coins/17799p00.jpg>

g



38

Cistophorus. Pergamum, c.27-26 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 488.  
Rev: AVGVSTVS – Capricorn bearing cornucopia; all  
within a laurel wreath.

<http://numismatics.org/collectionimages/19001949/1937/1937.158.456.rev.width350.jpg>



39

Cistophorus. Pergamum, c.27-26 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 494  
Obv: IMP CAESAR – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev:  
AVGVSTVS - six bunched corn-ears.

<http://www.romanatic.com/image-412>



40

Denarius. Spain – Colonia Patricia, c. 19-16 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 126.

Obv: bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: AVGVSTVS – Capricorn r., holding globe attached to a rudder, a cornucopia above its back.

[http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=717172&AucID=1325&Lot=376&Val=47218f8f9868f8f72cfa\\_dab19d9d93cc](http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=717172&AucID=1325&Lot=376&Val=47218f8f9868f8f72cfa_dab19d9d93cc)



42

Denarius. Uncertain mint, 81 BC. RRC 376.  
Obv: diademed head of Venus, r./Rev: Q - double cornucopia.

<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=705740&AucID=1306&Lot=865&Val=05ce110cbfed72c44041c7de175a9363>



43

Denarius. Mint moving with Antony, 40 BC. RRC 520.

Obv: bare head of Antony, r.; behind, a lituus/Rev: M ANT IMP III VIR R P C – caduceus in between two cornucopiae on a globe.

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/images/AN00624/AN00624991\\_001\\_m.jpg](http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/images/AN00624/AN00624991_001_m.jpg)



44

Denarius, Rome, 16 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 366.  
Obv: IMP CAESAR AVGVS TR POT IIX – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: C ANTIST VETVS IIIVIR APOLLINI ACTIO – laureate and robed Apollo standing l. on platform ornamented with three foruli between two anchors, sacrificing over altar with patera in r. hand and holding a lyre in l. hand.

<http://www.romanatic.com/images/coins/314.jpg>



45

Tetradrachm. Syria, 166 BC. Mørkholm 1991: no.653.

Obv: laureate head of Apollo, r./Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ANTIOXOY ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ – laureate and robed Apollo standing r., holding a cithara in l. hand and a patera in r. hand.

<http://romanumismatics.com/articles/article/seleukid-kings-of-syria-the-panhellenic-festival-at-daphne/>



46

Denarius. Lugdunum, 15-13 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 171a.  
Obv: AVGVSTVS DIVI F – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: IMP X ACT – Apollo, draped, standing l., holding a plectrum in r. hand and a lyre in l. hand.

[http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=686664&AucID=1267&Lot=3438&Val=8c3ccab0dceb\\_a8cd013b6dfa95117e9b](http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=686664&AucID=1267&Lot=3438&Val=8c3ccab0dceb_a8cd013b6dfa95117e9b)





Houghton and Lorber 2002: no. 940

47

Bronze. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, 225-223 BC. Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.940.

Obv: head of Seleucus III, r./Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ – Apollo robed and standing r., holding a plectrum in r. hand and a cithara in l. hand.

Scanned image from Houghton and Lorber (2002) Seleucid Coins: a Comprehensive Catalogue, no.940.



48

Denarius. Lugdunum, 15-13 BC, RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 173a. Obv: AVGVSTVS DIVI F – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: SICIL – Diana standing l., holding spear and bow, hind at feet.

<http://terrasinianancientcoins.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/SICIL-300x146.jpg>



49

Denarius. Lugdunum, 15-13 BC. RIC 1<sup>2</sup> 167a.

Obv: AVGVST DIVI F – bare head of Augustus, r./Rev: IMP X – butting bull, r.

<http://www.beastcoins.com/RomanImperial/I/Augustus/Z7435.jpg>



50

Bronze. Antioch, 280 BC. Houghton and Lorber 2002: no.151

Obv: winged head of Medusa, r./Rev: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ – butting bull, r.

<http://wildwinds.com/coins/sg/sg6852.html>

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